THE KEMANTNEY LANGUAGE: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND GRAMMATICAL STUDY OF LANGUAGE REPLACEMENT

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BY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative
ADV	Adverb
ADJ	Adjective
AG	Agent
Amh/A.	Amharic
ATS	Active Terminal Speaker
AUX	Auxiliary
B	Bilin
BEN	Benefactive
BL	Borrowed Lexicon
COND	Conditional
CAUS	Causative
COM	Comitative
COMP	Comparison
DIR	Directional
F	Female/Feminine
GEN	Genitive
GER	Gerundive
Ge	Government Employee
H	Hybrid
IF	Indigenous Form
IL	Indigenous Lexicon
IMP	Imperfect
IMR	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
IMPV	Imperative
JUS	Jussive
Kem/K	Kemantney
M	Male/Masculine
MAL	Malefactive
MT	Mother Tongue
N	Noun
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
OCC	Occupation
P	Postposition
PASS	Passive
PB	Place of Birth
Pe	Peasant
PL	Plural
POL	Polite
POSS	Possessive
PP	Postpositional Phrase
PR	Place of Residence
PROG	Progressive
PS	Past
PTS	Passive Terminal Speaker
P(W)	Peasant (Widow)
R	Rural
RDL	Replaced Language
Re	Religion
RED	Reduplication
REL	Relative
Ret	Retention
RGL	Replacing Language
S	Sex
SG	Singular
SUB	Subordinator
TS	Terminal Speaker
U	Urban
V	Verb
Vd	Voiced
Vl	Voiceless
VP	Verb Phrase
W	Widow
X	Xamt'aŋa

ABSTRACT

This study is about the sociolinguistic and grammatical description of Kemantney, an endangered Ethiopian language on the verge of extinction. To describe the replacement process of Kemantney by Amharic, three vantage points are discussed in some detail. These are: the sociolinguistic analysis of the speech behaviour of the last generation of speakers, the historical analysis of the external setting and, finally the grammatical description of the structural consequences.

The sociolinguistic analysis reveals the high functional reduction of Kemantney. It is used only in rituals and secret talks. Amharic is used for other purposes. Kemantney speakers have a native command of in and a positive attitude towards Amharic, the replacing language, for practical reasons. Their proficiency in Kemantney is bound to age, place of birth and residence, and religious affiliation. The young generation has developed a negative attitude towards Kemantney. The denial of knowledge of Kemantney and of their identity as Kemant is commonly observed among adults. In general, there is a shift of linguistic identity accompanied by a shift of social identity.

The historical analysis of the external setting reveals the political, economic and cultural factors which have contributed to the obsolescence of Kemantney. Among these, the geographical location, the long-standing history of contact and peaceful co-existence with the Amhara, the derogatory implication of the name Kemant, intermarriage, and the speared of schools and administrative structures, are the major causes. The immediate cause is, however, the mass conversion of the Kemant people to Orthodox Christianity. Diachronically, the language has gone through both radical and gradual death processes and has ended up with a bottom-to-top type of obsolescence.

The lexical and grammatical description of Kemantney reveals that the language has still maintained its Agew – Cushitic features. And yet, striking reductions and simplifications are exhibited in its structure which is attributable to either contact-induced change or language decay. There is a good deal of lexical transfer from Amharic to Kemantney through borrowing. Stem borrowing is common in verbs. The hierarchy of borrowing is: Nouns – Adjectives – Verbs – Adverbs – and finally Postpositions. Frequently occurring and structurally less complex words are more remembered. There is a tendency of replacing

sounds typical to Kemantney by related sounds from Amharic. Morphemic borrowing and the borrowing of discourse elements are found. The proficiency continuum ranges from fully competent speakers to rememberers of words and isolated phrases.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

1.1 Theoretical Framework

This chapter is an assessment of the existing literature on language death. It starts with the definition of the term language death and examines the current macro and micro linguistic data on dying languages. At the macro level, those works whose focus is the sociolingusitc and historical aspects of language death are examined. At the micro level, works dealing with structural aspects are explored. The phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical aspects that are sensitive to loss and retention are examined. The significance of salvage linguistics or the study of dying languages will be highlighted. Besides, the methods and approaches employed in the study of language death are discussed.

1.1.1 Language Death: Definition

According to Brenzinger et al. (1991), the expression 'language death' may seem strange to some scholars and inappropriate to others. As a consequence, different names have been proposed for the phenomenon. The field of study is also known by a number of terms such as language obsolescence, language demise, language loss, language decay, language decline, language attrition, language contraction, language drift, language replacement, language suicide and language de-acquisition (see Denison, 1977). However, although different writers have used the above synonymous terms for the same field of study, 'language death' is the most commonly used term in the literature for the phenomenon (Dorian, 1977a; Dressler, 1988; Hill, 1983). According to Elmendorf (1981:37),

> With few exceptions, instances of language death that I have seen analysed involve language replacement. That is, they are cases where descendants of members of a former speech community are still extant, but no longer speak the former language. Instead, they speak a replacing language, which has superseded the former one, after an intermediate period of bilingual usage.[1]

Since language replacement is more expressive in describing the phenomenon with regard to Kemantney, I use it in this study following Elmondorf (1981).

Various definitions have been given to the term language death or language obsolescence. Some scholars view the phenomenon in terms of the internal coherence of the linguistic

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[1] Since this study deals with the death of a language, this chapter does not highlight to dialect death. However, cases of the death of a dialect are also evident in the literature, as in Heine (1992a).

structure and the ability of the language to change or the cessation of structural/lexical development, as in, for instance, Vachek's definition: 'A language must be regarded as dead as soon as it stops developing' (mentioned in Denison, 1977:14). Most other definitions of language obsolescence emphasize on the functional reduction of the obsolescent language. Denison (1977), for instance, considers a language obsolete when it is no longer spoken by anyone as a native tongue. According to Schlieben-Lange (1977), a language is abandoned when it no longer performs its function, and dies when this extends to the whole geographic area where it used to be spoken. In such a case the language ceases to have its dual function of establishing common actions and identities among members of the speech community. Schlieben-Lange's 'the whole geographic area' should be understood as the extinction of a language over the entire world. For instance, if French is endangered in Maine or Louisiana, or Punjabi is endangered in England, it does not mean that these languages should be considered obsolete since they continue to be widely spoken in their homelands. Thus, a language is obsolete insofar as it is so everywhere in the world. Such a death should also include the death of a language not only in its standard form but also in all of its dialects; when a dialect of a language disappears, but the language itself continues to be spoken elsewhere in other forms, especially in a standardised form, it would seem odd to speak of language death or obsolescence. Dorian (1992) writes that a language is considered dead when its transmission to the next generation ceases and the remaining number of terminal speakers shrinks and eventually disappears.

Hill (1973:33) defines language death as, 'The reduction ad absurdum of the narrowing of function, where a new language replaces the older one over its entire functional range, usually rather gradually over many years and sometimes many generations of speakers'. Dressler (1982) explains language decay and language obsolescence from the point of view of structural and functional phenomena respectively. According to him, language decay refers to the impoverished form of the grammar as compared to its earlier form due to structural reductions; language death, on the other hand, is the terminal stage of language decay in which a language becomes sociolinguistically dysfunctional for young speakers compared to their elders.

The above definitions may seem to differ in their point of emphasis, perhaps due to differences in the backgrounds of the scholars. However, all of them seek to explain the term language obsolescence either from the linguistic or from the sociolinguistic viewpoint, and do not show any substantial difference. Thus, in general, language death can be taken as a social

phenomenon and a linguistic process which results in the disappearance of a language through either radical or gradual shift to another language.

1.1.2 Types of Language Obsolescence

Campbell and Muntzel (1989) identify four different types of language death: sudden death, radical death, gradual death and bottom-to-top death. Sudden death happens rarely and refers to the obsolescence of a language when all of its speakers die suddenly. This kind of death creates great sorrow among linguists, especially when a language dies without being recorded. Hence, in the case of Tasmanian, which died due to rapid and total annihilation of its speakers, and Yana or Yahi, which died when Ishi, the last speaker, died. Linguists have relatively little to say about the process and the grammatical structure of a language that dies with its last speakers (Craig, 1997; Dorian, 1981; Swadesh, 1948). Radical death refers to the rapid obsolescence of a language due to severe political problems which often lead to genocide. Radical death is similar to sudden death in that it involves massive death of speakers; but it is different because of the presence of survivors and the relatively longer period of time it takes to die compared to sudden death. Cases in point are Lenca, Cacaopera and Pipil in El Salvador, which died in the 1930s as a result of the genocide of the speakers in the hand of government forces recorded in history as 'la Matanza' (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989; Swadesh, 1948). In such situations, a language dies quite rapidly because its speakers stop speaking it as a self-defence mechanism. Another case of language obsolescence due to genocide has been reported of the Khoisan languages in Africa (Brenzinger and Dimmendaal, 1992).

Gradual death is the third type of language obsolescence. This refers to a gradual shift of a replaced language (hereafter RDL) to the replacing language (hereafter RGL) in language contact situations, resulting in shifting bilingualism. It is the most common case of language obsolescence that spans over various generations and it is also the most likely type of language obsolescence to be accompanied by linguistic change. In this case, gradual language obsolescence often shares much with the process of diachronic linguistic changes. However, the former differs from the latter in the speed and scope of the change, and ultimately in its final outcome. Various cases of this type of obsolescence have been well described and documented, for instance, Eastern Sutherland Gaelic in Europe (Dorian, 1981); Mexicano (Nahuatl) in Latin America (Hill and Hill, 1986); Norwegian in the USA (Haugen, 1989); and Dyirbal in Australia (Schmidt, 1985). Recently, language obsolescence studies of the same type have been conducted in Eastern Africa (Brenzinger (ed.) 1998; Dimmendaal, 1989). The

fourth kind of language obsolescence, which is associated with functional shift of a RDL is bottom-to-top-death, sometimes called the 'latinate pattern' (Hill, 1983). According to Hill (1983:269), in such language obsolescence situations, 'the language is lost first in contexts of family intimacy and hangs on only in elevated ritual contexts'. The examples given for this kind of language obsolescence are Yaqui of Arizona, Coptic, and South-eastern Tzeltal (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989; Hill, 1980, 1983). Kemantney and Ge'ez also fit into this group.

1.1.3 Levels of Language Obsolescence

We are told in the anthropological and linguistic literature on language obsolescence that the extinction of languages is a common world-wide phenomenon throughout the recorded history of the languages of the world. The termination of languages such as Latin, Sumerian, Egyptian, Etruscan, Tasmanian, Gothic, Iberian, Hittite, Gafat etc. illustrates this fact (see also Sasse, 1992a; Schmidt, 1985). According to Miller (1971:115), 'the number of languages that have died since the human race has been on the face of the earth is far greater than the number of languages currently spoken'. Hill (1978) also writes that in the last five hundred years alone about half of the known languages of the world have disappeared. The phenomenon of language extinction is still going on in all parts of the world. Recently reported cases include, to mention some: Gaelic, in Scotland (Dorian, 1981); Breton, in Western Europe (Dressler, 1972); Paračі and Ormuri, in the Middle East (Kieffer, 1977); Yahi, Luiseño and Cupeño, in North and South America (Hill, 1973; Swadesh, 1948); Bom, Mmani and Shebro, in Africa (Sapir, 1971), Batsbi and Kamas, in the former USSR (Comrie, 1981; Lewis, 1972). Dixon (1980) estimates that out of the two hundred languages spoken in Australia, only one fourth are in a relatively healthy condition. Sommer (1992)[2] reported that several African languages are either extinct, or in the process of extinction or threatened by extinction at different levels. It is only in the past ten years that language maintenance and language shift as a field of study in its own right has attracted the attention of scholars, leading to the systematic study of obsolescent languages in several sub-disciplines of linguistics and anthropology.[3]

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[2] As Sommer (1992) says, her survey is not exhaustive, but it is indeed a good guide for future research.

[3] Some other terms have been used by scholars in earlier times for language maintenance and language shift. These are: Spracherhaltung (Kloss, 1927), language persistence (Nelson, 1948), language replacement (Levi-Strauss et. al, 1953), language shift (Levi-Strauss et. al, 1953), language retention (Haugen, 1953), and language displacement (Haugen, 1969). Fishman (1964), who introduced the terms for the first time, considers that language maintenance and language shift have the advantage of indicating the existence of a continuum of processes and outcomes more clearly than the other terms.

Most often, in the literature, one speaks of dying languages when obsolescence appears to be imminent, and of endangered and threatened languages when the likelihood of the continued existence seems to be not promising but their obsolescence less imminent. Brenzinger et al. (1991) propose three tentative levels of language obsolescence in Africa: extinct languages, languages in the process of extinction and languages threatened by extinction. The first level of extinction includes languages whose complete obsolescence can be confirmed from several sources, ideally from recently collected data of actual language use and sociocultural background of the speech community. Languages belonging to the second level of extinction include those which have a restricted function and whose speakers as a result have a skewed competence. The third level of extinction, however, lacks a clear-cut definition, in the sense that most of the languages supposedly belonging to this group might turn out to be in the second group or might not be found to be threatened at all. [4]

1.1.4 Causes of Language Obsolescence

One aspect of language obsolescence which has attracted the attention of sociolinguists is the causes of the phenomenon. These can be divided into two: language obsolescence caused by the death of all speakers or 'language murder' (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter, 1977) and language obsolescence resulting from language shift (Denison, 1977; Dorian, 1981, 1989; Schmidt 1985). As has been mentioned earlier, the death of speakers may be due to genocide and fatal epidemics or natural disasters such as heavy flood, earthquake or famine. Such causes are apparently relatively unusual. Most language obsolescence cases known so far are the result of language shift arising from the swamping effect of languages spoken by populations which are numerically, socially and economically superior.

Viewed in global context, the shift of speech communities to another language and the endangerment of their own native tongue are directly associated with the vast expansion of major languages like English, French, Spanish, Mandarin Chinese, Hindi-Urdu, Portuguese, Arabic, Swahili, Hausa and others which have political, cultural and economic power and hence have effect on minority languages at international or national level (Craig, 1997;

[4] Wurm (1998) classifies endangered languages into potentially endangered, endangered, seriously endangered, moribund and extinct. Krauss classifies them as moribund, safe, and others in between the moribund and the safe (see the details of the classification of endangered languages in Wurm (1998:192) and Krauss (1998:102)). The problem of making a clear-cut distinction among endangered languages especially in Africa regarding the level of endangerment was taken as a point of emphasis in the symposium on endangered languages held at Leipzig University in 1997. It was recommended to be considered as a major question that researchers in the study of endangered languages shoud consider in field. Though the official manuscript has not come out yet, following the Leipzig recommendation, a discussion on the demarcation of endangered languages was held in Germany in February 2000.

Dorian, 1981; Schmidt, 1985).[5] In such circumstances, language shift may take place across the entire population, resulting in an increasing use of the RGL in a wider context by both young and old leading to the abandonment of the RDL. In other circumstances, the shift may take place chiefly among the young while the elders continue to use the RDL. It is when elderly speakers show relatively little shift and the young strikingly more that a proficiency continuum of speakers appears. Such a continuum for speakers of obsolete languages reflects the variation in their linguistic ability or structural knowledge ranging from fully competent or fluent speakers (sometimes monolinguals in the RDL) to passive semi-speakers or merely rememberers with very little knowledge. As we shall see in the next section, among fluent speakers of a language, one can make a distinction between younger and older speakers (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989; Dorian, 1981; Dressler, 1991; Sasse, 1992a; Schmidt, 1985). The proficiency continuum for semi-speakers (see 1.1.6 for an elaborated definition) corresponds to the various patterns of language obsolescence, and can tell the extent to which the language in question is endangered. Besides linguistic competence, one can consider the actual use of the obsolescent language in daily interactions, which has a strong connection with the sensitivity in social contexts such as ethnicity (Hill, 1983).

Another cause of language shift is change in the ecology of language. This has to do with the change of cultural and social settings in which a given language has been functioning for a very long-time; in other words, it refers to the interaction between a language and its environment (Haugen, 1972; Wurm, 1991). According to Haugen, language refers to lexicon and grammar, while environment refers to speech community which uses language as one of its codes. Given that language and environment have a strong connection resulted from the ever-present contact of peoples and cultures, changes exhibited in an environment can affect a language when it fails to adjust to the new changes in the environment, and may lead to replacement by a new and quite different language. In other words, the traditional language may turn out to be unsuitable as a vehicle of expression of the new culture when compared to the new contact language. This phenomenon has aroused interest among anthropologists, who consider language contact as one aspect of culture contact and language interference as a facet

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[5] Minority refers to the diminished numerical strength of the speakers of a certain language as a result of language endangerment (Dressler, 1988). At the same time, the term minority language may also refer to its status in comparison with the more dominant language spoken in the area (Sommer and Vossen, 1995). According to Adegbija (1997), factors determining a minority language are: (a) smallness of the size of the population, (b) low language devlopment status, (c) tendency of endangerment, (d) less power, less use and less prestige. In light of this, Kemantney, as a threatened language spoken by a small number of people as compared to most of the other Ethiopian languages, is taken to be a minority language.

of cultural diffusion and acculturation (Dorian, 1981; Sasse, 1992a; Weinreich, 1968; Wurm, 1991). Language replacement may also take place due to modernisation and nationalisation (Denison, 1971; Timm, 1973). Marriage contact can be another cause of language replacement. According to Dimmendaal (1989), Kwegu is being replaced by Mursi and Bodi as a result of intermarriage which also paves the way to the loss of the Kwegu identity as a separate linguistic group. Other causes of language shift mentioned in the literature include economic influence, political influence and conquest, urbanisation, industrialisation, and secularisation.

These are the major causes which act as agents for the diffusion of particular languages over others. The world-wide influence of a small number of large ethnic groups and major languages on many minority ethnic groups and languages, the formation of large national states, the development of transportation technology and the spread of supra-regional communication media have contributed to large scale language extinction, which can hardly be stopped.

1.1.5 Language and Ethnicity

It is commonplace in the literature that language is an important indicator of ethnic identity. The link between language and identity in general and the identity which semi-speakers show in particular has attracted the attention of sociolinguists, anthropologists and ethnographers. There are, at least, two different approaches to viewing the relationship between language and ethnicity. Some scholars consider language and ethnicity to be linked in a direct way, or isomorphically, and view language as the sole marker of ethnic identity. They claim that 'ethnic group members identify more closely with someone who shares their language than with someone who shares their cultural background' (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977:326). Other scholars consider such assertion to be too strong and argue that language may not be as important a potential symbol of ethnic identity as some have been led to believe (see Dimmendaal, 1989; Dorian, 1980a; Hohenthal and McCorkle, 1955; Newman, 1970; and Rottland and Okombo, 1986 for the description of individual cases where language and ethnic identity are not isomorphic). In light of this counter-assertion, few scholars take an intermediate position by considering the connection between language and ethnicity to be very strong but not isomorphic.

> Anything can become symbolic of ethnicity (whether food, dress, shelter, land tenure, artefacts, work, patterns of worship), but since language is the prime symbol system to begin with and since it is commonly relied upon so heavily

> (even if not exclusively) to enact, celebrate and 'call forth' all ethnic activity, the likelihood that it will be recognised and singled out as symbolic of ethnicity is great indeed. (Fishman, 1977:25)

1.1.6 The Semi-speaker

In the study of language obsolescence in general, and the description of the relationship between ethnic identity and language in particular, the focus of attention has always been given to semi-speakers, a term first proposed by Dorian (1973). This category of speakers is prototypical of language obsolescence, and emphasis has been given to the study of the situations which create them and to the linguistic behaviour they exhibit during the process of shift from the RDL to the RGL (Dorian, 1981; Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter, 1977). The term semi-speaker is defined as an imperfect speaker 'with very partial command of the productive skills required to speak it, but almost perfect command of the receptive skills required to understand it' (Dorian, 1982:32). According to Craig (1997), although semi-speakers are members of a linguistic community, they deviate from the linguistic norms of the RDL and are hence considered as imperfect speakers who make mistakes. This skewed performance, vis-à-vis that of the set by fluent speakers, makes semi-speakers develop insecurity about their knowledge of the RDL.

Semi-speakers show two types of loss of language skill in their ancestral language, according to Andersen (1982): dysfunctional attrition and cosmetic attrition. Dysfunctional attrition refers to a loss of linguistic competence which leads to reduction in the transfer of messages, that is, loss of communicative competence in general. Loss of linguistic competence in dysfunctional attrition can be due to stigmatisation leading to a negative evaluation and attitude on the part of fluent speakers, or factors promoting feelings of insecurity, inadequacy, alienation or rejection on the part of semi-speakers. Cosmetic attrition refers to the reduction of structural features of phonology, morphology and syntax. Speakers showing the above two kinds of loss can range from relatively 'fluent speakers' to 'terminal speakers' or 'last-generation speakers'.[6] Dorian (1981:107) elaborates the distinctive qualities that semi-speakers have in the context of East-Sutherland Gaelic as follows:

> Unlike the older Gaelic dominant bilinguals, the semi-speakers are not fully proficient in Gaelic. They speak it with varying degrees of less than full fluency, and their grammar (and usually also their phonology) is markedly aberrant in terms of the fluent speaker norm. Semi-speakers may be distinguished from fully fluent speakers of any age by the presence of deviations in their Gaelic which are explicitly labelled 'mistakes' by the fully

[6] In this study, I use the term terminal speakers (TSs) following Tsitsipis (1981) on the basis of the precarious stage of Kemantney whose present speakers would unquestionably constitute the last generation.

> fluent speakers. That is, the speech community is aware of many (though not all) of the deficiencies in semi-speaker speech performance. Most semi-speakers are also relatively halting in delivery, or speak Gaelic in rather short bursts, or both; but it is not manner of delivery which distinguishes degrees of confidence and 'fluency'. At the lower end of speaker skill, semi-speakers are distinguished from near-passive bilinguals by their ability to manipulate words in sentences. Near-passive bilinguals often know a good many words or phrases, but cannot build sentences with them or alter them productively. Semi-speakers can, although the resultant sentences may be morphologically or syntactically askew to a greater or lesser extent.

On the basis of the above explanation, one can identify at least three groups of speakers: older fluent speakers, semi-speakers and rememberers. The last category consists of speakers who may have been native speakers of the RDL at an early stage in life, or who may have learnt some elements of it a long time ago, but, have lost much of their ability. Such speakers are found at an advanced stage of language obsolescence, and are relatively socially isolated. Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) identified four categories of semi-speakers in their analysis of Tübatulabal: 'best' speakers who could use and understand complex sentences; fluent speakers who could use and understand simple sentences; inserters of words; and simple understanders.

Sasse (1992a) speaks of 'later loss' vs. 'incomplete acquisition' hypotheses and classifies semi-speakers in terms of language acquisition. In the 'later loss' hypothesis are grouped the 'rusty' speakers who lose their language at a later age and whose competence thus vanishes due to lack of regular use of the RDL. In the 'incomplete acquisition' hypothesis are subsumed those imperfect speakers who never learn the complex structures of the RDL in a normal language acquisition process at an early age.

Gal (1989:314) writes that: 'complex linguistic structures that are acquired late in childhood will be lost since this is the very time when children in many communities stop fully using the obsoleting language.' Thus, imperfect speakers acquire little knowledge of a dying language at a later age. Hence, a semi-speaker is a 'member of the post language transmission break generation with imperfect knowledge of the abandoned language' (Sasse, 1992a:18). Though the 'later loss' and the 'incomplete acquisition' hypotheses represent different types of imperfect semi-speakers, both can exist within the same speech community.

1.1.7 Sociolinguistic vs. Linguistic Change

In sociolinguistics, the interest in studying language obsolescence lies in the integration of linguistic and social aspects: the mechanism of language obsolescence starts with social change which results in the subordination of one speech community to another speech community. The causes and circumstances of language obsolescence are also of special

interest to the sociolinguist (Brenzinger, 1997; Craig, 1997). Emphasis has also been given to the analysis of generation gaps, preferably obtained from longitudinal studies covering a sufficient period of development or change and encompassing different age groups of speakers. In studying dying languages, sociolinguists have been interested in the analysis of bilinguals or semi-speakers from the point of view of code-switching or interference, which is thought to be one of the most important mechanisms for deep borrowing and shift phenomena (Myers-Scotton and Okeju, 1973). They write that code-switching is involved in language obsolescence in the sense that the latter may involve the pervasive addition or substitution of grammatical elements from the RGL through code-switching.

The study of language obsolescence is of great concern to sociolinguistics because, as mentioned in 1.1.4, except where an entire language group is rapidly eliminated, language obsolescence is the result of language shift, which in turn implies language contact. In language contact situations, there often arises a restricted use of one language with lesser prestige than another with higher prestige, leading to a generational shift towards the latter. According to Weinreich (1968:79), 'the term ''prestige'' is often used indiscriminately to cover also (or rather) the usefulness of a language as a means of communication, its literary cultural value, possibly even its emotional significance, or the total dominance configuration. As a technical term, however, 'prestige' had better be restricted to a language's value in social advance.'

Language contact, which is the normal prerequisite for language obsolescence, is considered by some anthropologists as but one aspect of culture contact; and the interference of one language in another as a facet of language diffusion and acculturation (Weinreich, 1968). In studies of language obsolescence, the major interest of sociolinguists and anthropologists is, therefore, the interplay between structural and non-structural factors that promote or impede the obsolescence process. A change of culture in a certain speech community influences the structure of its language, especially the lexicon. It has been confirmed that lexical infiltration and loss in a RDL arise from cultural contact and it can be explained by studying the cultures and languages of the speakers of both the replaced and the replacing languages. Dutton (1992) mentions the strength of language and culture contacts in his case studies from Melanesia and writes that as a result of language contact, the cultures of Melanesia have undergone increasing and often dramatic changes: traditional religious ceremonies have been discarded in favour of western traditions, gardening practices and foodstuffs have changed and former trading cycles have been abandoned. Interesting East

African cases of culture and language changes have been presented in Brenzinger (1992) and Dimmendaal (1989, 1992).

Many scholars have divided the changes exhibited in obsolescent languages into external, that is, sociolinguistic, and internal, that is, linguistic. For linguists, the scientific interest of the study of language obsolescence resides chiefly in the fact that many obsolescent languages undergo internal structural changes,[7] that is, in reductions and simplifications; such cases offer data for the study of the general process of language obsolescence, which in itself tells the nature of human language in general. Many writers use the terms reduction and simplification interchangeably which, according to Trudgill (1978), has created considerable confusion in the literature. He considers reduction and simplification as two distinct kinds of loss. Reduction, refers to the inner form and is characterised as the actual loss of some structural parts of the language. Simplification, on the other hand, refers to the outer form and can be thought of as an increase in regularity.

Dorian (1977b:24) writes that 'on the whole the assumption that the reduced use of a language will also lead to a reduced form of that language seems realistic.' There have been quite a number of contributions in the last decades dealing with individual obsolescent languages. These contributions as a whole can be grouped into three categories. The first group of studies, Denison (1977), Miller (1971), Schlieben-Lange (1977), Swadesh (1948), etc. concentrate on the study of language obsolescence from a socio-cultural viewpoint. The second category deals with the structural aspects of an obsolescent language. These include Andersen (1982); Campbell and Muntzel (1989); Dorian (1973, 1977a, 1978); Dressler (1972, 1977); Hill (1973); Hill and Hill (1977); Voegelin and Voegelin (1977). The third category comprises the in-depth studies of Dorian (1981) and Schmidt (1985). These can be recognised as the first detailed analyses on the subject of language obsolescence since they thoroughly document both the social and the linguistic condition of East Sutherland Gaelic and Dyirbal, respectively.

In linguistic studies of language obsolescence which consider structural consequences, it has been confirmed that the most reduced and impoverished area is the lexicon. According to

[7] The structural consequences of language shift seem to have been given less attention by both Fishman (1964) and Weinreich (1968). Weinreich (1968: 106-107) writes that, 'whereas interference, even in its socio-cultural setting, is a problem in which considerations of linguistic structure enter, the matter of language shifts is entirely extra-structural'. According to Fishman (1964:33), 'the consequences that are of PRIMARY concern to the student of language maintenance and language shift are NOT interference phenomena per se but, rather, degrees of maintenance or displacement in conjunction with several sources and domains of variance in language behavior'.

Dorian (1973, 1978), the old fluent speakers of Gaelic have retained a great deal of the vocabulary. But, the loss of this component among the young semi-speakers is immense. This is one of the ways in which the decline of a language can be gauged.

Other language obsolescence case studies have also confirmed the same process of lexical attrition. They show that one of the strategies of compensating for a widespread loss of genuine lexicon in long-term language contact situations is the massive infiltration of vocabulary items from a RGL into a RDL. This is referred to as 'relexification' (Hill and Hill, 1977). Based on other empirical data, Andersen (1982) has proposed the following three hypotheses regarding the lexicon of an obsolete language.

> a) An LA will have a smaller number and a smaller variety of lexical items available to him than a comparable LC in the same language.[8]
>
> b) An LA's lexical repertoire will match his recent (and prior) experience with different domains of use and semantic areas. His lexicon will be most impoverished in those areas where he has had little or no experience. He will exhibit greater numbers of gaps in those areas where he has not had recent experience in comparison with other areas where he has had recent experience using the language.
>
> c) What lexicon the LA has retained will be of common, highly-frequent, unmarked lexical items; the gaps will be of less-common, low frequency, highly marked items.

Andersen (1982) presents two compensatory strategies which semi-speakers use for their lexical deficiencies in the RDL: lexical borrowing and innovation. In the former case, a semi-speaker of RDL uses a greater number of lexical items from RGL than a fluent speaker of RDL does. In the latter, a semi-speaker uses lexical items which (s)he has innovated on the basis of the system of language (s)he knows well.

Beyond the purely linguistic aspects, language contact studies also deal with lexical borrowings for a quite different reason: interestingly, this phenomenon has been widely acknowledged as the first linguistic manifestation of culture contacts. Hence, the linguistic and etymological study of the lexicon has been given attention not only in the field of linguistics but also in anthropology.

Another area where obsolescent languages exhibit structural change is in phonology. Three basic principles underlying observed phonological reductions have been proposed by Andersen (1982). They are:

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[8] Andersen's LA and LC refer to 'Linguistically Attriter' (attriter is his own coinage but not a recognized/standard English word) and 'Linguistically Competent' respectively. In this study, LA and LC are taken as passive speaker and fluent speaker, respectively following Campbell and Muntzel (1989).

a) An LA will exhibit a smaller number of phonological distinctions in language X than will an LC of the same language.

b) Phonological distinctions that exist in both the LA's weaker and stronger language will not be reduced significantly. Phonological distinctions that exist in the LA's weaker language, but not his stronger language will be reduced in comparison with an LC's use of that language.

c) Phonological distinctions that carry a high functional load (whether phonologically or morphologically or both) in language X will be maintained by an LA longer than phonological distinctions that carry a low functional load.

The above phonological principles tend to be supported by the well described case studies of Breton (Dressler, 1972) and East Sutherland Gaelic (Dorian, 1981).

Language obsolescence is also accompanied by morphological reduction of allomorphy and levelling of paradigms, as has been described and documented in Andersen (1982), Campbell and Muntzel (1989) and Dorian (1977a). Campbell and Muntzel (1989) mention two examples: Ocuilteco, in which imperfect speakers often ignore the dual and plural markers, and American Finnish, which shows a tendency to loss of case endings on adjectives as opposed to standard Finnish, where adjectives agree in case and number with the nouns they modify. Dorian (1977a) writes that semi-speakers of Southern Sutherland Gaelic show insecurity about the appropriate gender and case in nouns. They show deviations in the future and conditional suffixes while they preserve the past tense better. Dyirbal has lost several of its morphological characteristics: ergativity is replaced by nominative-accusative pattern; case markers and the complex noun classification system are reduced to a simple gender system based on animacy and sex (Schmidt, 1985). On the basis of such empirical data, Andersen (1982:97) has proposed the following five hypotheses of morphological reduction.

a) An LA will exhibit a smaller number of morphologically-marked categories in language X than will an LC of that language. Moreover, where the LA and the LC both mark a given morphological category, the LA will tend to exhibit variability, the LC categorical marking of that category.

b) The degree of maintenance or reduction of morphologically-marked distinctions in an LA's use of language X will correlate significantly with the relative frequency of use of these morphologically-marked distinctions by LCs of that language. Those distinctions which appear with highest textual frequency in the use of the language by LCs will be maintained the longest by LAs; those distinctions which appear with the lowest textual frequency will be the first to become variable and eventually be lost by LAs.

c) Those morphological categories also marked in the stronger language of an LA will be maintained in the use of his weaker language. That is, for two grammatical morphemes X and Y, where X has an equivalent in the LA's stronger language, but Y does not, X will be maintained longer and occur with a higher percentage of accuracy than Y.

> d) Those morphological distinctions which have a high functional load (where a loss of the distinctions would result in frequent loss of information) in language X will be maintained in the use of language X by an LA.

Andersen (1982) gives three strategies which are used to compensate for morphological reductions. According to the first strategy, which he calls morphosyntactic transfer, a semi-speaker produces in the RDL morphological and syntactic constructions on the basis of the RGL. In the second strategy, semi-speakers often rely on transfer of elements as a compensatory strategy in those cases where the internal structure of the RDL makes it possible to produce the same construction through over-generalisation. As a third compensatory strategy, Andersen proposes that a semi-speaker innovates morphological and/or syntactic constructions in the RDL on the basis of similar constructions from the RGL that utilise free, regular and invariant morphemes.

Dying languages also exhibit reduction in their syntactic structure, as has been documented in the literature by Andersen (1982) and Hill (1973, 1978). In Pipil, 'future' marking suffixes of older texts are dropped, being replaced by periphrastic constructions (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989). Another example from Pipil involves the once-productive passives, which are now found only in frozen verb forms. One of the syntactic phenomena most frequently reported in linguistic studies of various obsolescent languages is that subordinate structures become either less frequent or less well-formed, as in Cupeño and Luiseño of Southern California (Hill, 1973; Voegelin and Voegelin, 1977). In these languages, the proper use of subordinate clauses was considered to be characteristic of the most highly valued style of language. On the basis of data from case studies of individual languages, Andersen (1982:99) proposes the following principles of syntactic reduction in dying languages.

> a) An LA will use a smaller number of syntactic devices (transformations, constructions) than an LC of the same language. In addition, where the LA and LC both employ a syntactic transformation in their use of the language (provided it is an obligatory transformation), application of this transformation will be variable for the LA, categorical for the LC.
>
> b) The LA will preserve and overuse syntactic constructions that more transparently reflect the underlying semantic and syntactic relations.
>
> c) Where there is more than one possible surface structure for a given underlying relation (ex. negation), the LA will tend to collapse the different surface structures into one. (This will be evidenced by a smaller variety of surface structures for the LA as compared to an LC.
>
> d) Where elimination of a transformation (or a syntactic construction of a given type) would result in informational loss, an LA will (1) tend to preserve that transformation in his use of the language or (2) eliminate the transformation but compensate for its elimination in some other way.

As mentioned earlier, another type of change exhibited in obsolescent languages is external or sociolinguistic change. Such changes, in a larger sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic perspective, correlate with the restriction or loss of certain functions of the language. Restriction in language use often arises when one of the languages in contact has lesser prestige; the less the value of a language in social advancement (resulting in a generational shift towards the language of greater prestige), the more it gets restricted in use, becomes obsolete and eventually perishes (Weinreich, 1963). The most widespread case involves the loss of higher cultural functions, notably the use of the language in the public arena, including socio-political and religious traditions, which require ability in the use of formal registers and styles of language. Indeed, the study of language shift should encompass the analysis of language use of the RDL vs. the RGL, including comprehension and production; oral and written use of the language; functions of language such as arguing, complaining, apologising, etc.; domains of use such as home, office, church, etc. and activities such as making speech, listening to lecture, writing technical report, socialising, and so on; and finally discourse perspective which includes strategies that language users employ when their interlocutor is a semi-speaker - how (s)he compensates for his/her own deficiencies, how a fluent speaker compensates for the semi-speaker's deficiencies, etc..

Another reduction of language involves the loss of registers and the language forms associated with them. A case in point is the monostylism of terminal semi-speakers, who control only casual styles used for intimate and routine interactions, as in Breton (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter, 1977; Dressler, 1991). In such a situation, most semi-speakers of an obsolescent language are not proficient enough to tell tales using traditional oral literary devices; discourse devices may be curtailed; competence in the formulaic ritual language employed in religious and marriage ceremonies can be lost (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989; Campbell, 1985; Dorian, 1980b; Hill, 1973, 1978, 1980). The usual development is that as the styles and discourse patterns of a RDL are forgotten, they are replaced by the styles and discourse patterns of the RGL. However, speakers of a RDL may sometimes transfer the patterns of their discourse to the RGL, as in the case of Koyukon Athabaskan. This language underwent sudden extinction, but was replaced with a very specific community-wide variety of English much influenced by the styles and discourse patterns of the Koyukon, which provided a strong sense of Koyukon identity for its speakers (Craig, 1997). Regarding the reduction in use and break in linguistic tradition in general, Andersen (1982:91) has put forward the following hypotheses:

> a) An LA's use of language X will be significantly restricted in comparison with an LC's use of the same language and the LA's earlier use of language X when he was an LC (if he indeed was an LC at one time).
>
> b) An LA will exhibit (through self-report, ethnographic study, etc.) a lack of adherence to the linguistic norm adhered to by an LC, both speakers of the same language X. ('Adherence' here to be defined extra-linguistically, since it will be used to predict linguistic correlates of this break in adherence to a linguistic norm.).

In sum, studies of language shift conducted so far reveal that even though a well established theory of language obsolescence is still lacking, a variety of disciplines have always been involved and have contributed to the shaping of a sound conceptual framework (Sasse 1992a, Sommer 1997). Weinreich's pioneering work (1953) paved the way for further research on language contact. Other more recent studies, such as Romaine (1989) on bilingualism; Thomason and Kaufman (1988) on language contact; and Dorian (1982c, 1989 (ed.)); Dressler (1988) and Sasse (1992a,b) on language obsolescence, have added empirical data and substantiated the theoretical concepts already present, in part, in Weinreich's work.

Sociologists of language have developed an interest in language maintenance and language shift as a field of study, with language shift frequently leaving a dying language in its wake. According to Fishman (1964:32),

> Language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other.

Weinreich (1968) defines language shift as referring to the change of the habitual use of one language to another as a result of language contact. In another definition, language shift simply means 'the process of abandoning an ancestral language' (Dorian, 1992:135). Language death is just the final stage in the general process of language shift, or the complete disappearance of a language (Brenzinger et al., 1991). Hence, because of the intimately related nature of the two phenomena, investigating the processes of language obsolescence means studying language shift.

Fishman (1964) has approached the study of language maintenance and shift from the point of view of sociology, focusing on the role of language in society and, among other things on the speech behaviour of bilingual groups. He writes that language attitude towards the replaced and replacing languages influences the speech behaviour of speakers in a particular way (see also Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970). Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) view language shift from the point of view of social psychology. Other studies have added further insight into

the study of language shift by asking how the replacement of one language by another affects the ethnolinguistic identity of the people who abandon their language.

1.1.8 Approaches of Language Obsolescence Studies

Language obsolescence as a new and developing field of study in linguistics emerged towards the end of the seventies (Sasse, 1992a).[9] However, even though work on endangered languages is becoming an acknowledged priority in the linguistic profession, there is no well established theory for this new field of study. Among the main reasons for this is the limited number of well described and well documented case studies. In recent times, there has come a great awareness among linguists and anthropologists about the situation and steps are being taken on documentations and descriptions of the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of endangered languages. Publications along these lines include Brenzinger (ed.) (1992) and (1998); Dorian (ed.) (1989); Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (eds.) (1977); Grenoble and Whaley (eds.) (1998); Matsumura (ed.) (1998); and Robins and Uhlenbeck (eds.) (1991). However, almost all studies which have dealt with language obsolescence in greater detail have concentrated on a limited number of European and North American minority languages. Among the well-documented cases are Arvanitika, the peripheral Albanian dialect of Greece (Tsitsipis, 1981; Sasse, 1985, 1991); the East Sutherland variety of Gaelic, in Great Britain (Dorian, 1981); and Dyirbal, in Australia (Schmidt, 1985). Other interesting but smaller case studies have been conducted on Breton, in France (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter, 1977); Hungarian, in Austria (Gal, 1979); and Nahuatl, in Mexico (Hill and Hill, 1977). Though these and many other works provide empirical data on certain aspects of language obsolescence, they do not cover the entire array of phenomena whose investigation is necessary in order to obtain a clear picture of the process as a whole. Many articles and dissertations have also been written on language shift, which has been a topic of interest for linguists for a long time. But there are still huge geographical areas like Africa about which a great many cases of language extinction have been reported but no comprehensive studies have been conducted yet (Sasse, 1992a; Sommer, 1992). Hence, all the above works taken together are insufficient to serve as empirical basis for the formulation of a theory of language obsolescence (Craig, 1997; Dorian, 1981; Fishman, 1964). According to Dorian (1982:36), 'it seems premature to expect

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[9] According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), 'Herodotus' linguistic observation about a community established by a group of Scythian men and their Amazon wives was written in the fifth century B.C; it is the oldest mention of contact-induced language change known to us'. They also mentioned that the earliest well-known description of language death as an individual phenomenon is Bloomfield's 1927 study of a Menomini semi-speaker.

definitive conclusions regarding the strictly sociolinguistic and linguistic aspects of language obsolescence when the data are as yet so meagre'.

Language obsolescence most often has both a sociolinguistic and a structural component and, attempting only one component while excluding the other would result in an unbalanced and incomplete work. There have, indeed, been a few comprehensive studies, but most studies which have been done so far on endangered languages have concentrated either on the sociolinguistic or on the linguistic aspects of language obsolescence. Weinreich (1968:4) writes that 'a linguist who makes theories about language influence without considering the socio-cultural setting of language contact leaves his/her study suspended, as it were, in mid-air'. In a similar vein, Sasse (1992a:9) writes that:

> A brief look at the literature on language obsolescence reveals that the problem is often tackled from quite different angles: some authors deal with the socio-economic factors which have given rise to a certain situation but do not describe the actual linguistic events; others investigate structural phenomena of dying languages without paying attention to the sociolinguistic status of the speech form under consideration. In order to understand the entire process, however, a holistic approach is necessary which takes the interplay and the possible causal connections of the phenomena investigated into account.

According to Sasse (1992a), an explanatory and a complete study of research in the area of language obsolescence should subsume the historical analysis of the external setting, a sociolinguistic analysis of the community's speech behaviour and the structural description of speakers with different stages of proficiency, preferably obtained in longitudinal studies covering a sufficient period which shows the change of the language in question.

On the basis of the above considerations, therefore, an explanatory level of research and a full study of language obsolescence can only be attained if the study covers the historical analysis of the external setting (social, political and economic aspects), the sociolinguistic analysis of the community's speech behaviour (the regular use of linguistic variables bound to social parameters, such as the use of different languages in multilingual settings, and of different styles in one language, attitudes towards variants of languages, and so on); and finally, the linguistic description of the structural (phonological, lexical, morphological, syntactic and semantic) consequences of different degrees of speaker proficiency, preferably obtained in longitudinal studies covering a sufficient period of development (Craig, 1997; Fishman, 1964, 1965; Sasse, 1992a; Weinreich 1968).

1.2 Methodology

It is obvious that research, especially fieldwork on obsolescent languages, is a complex and challenging exercise. The first problem that a linguist who is engaged in the study of an obsolescent language encounters is the unavailability or the limited choice of fluent native speakers, as opposed to the situation in studying 'healthy' languages. A dying language may have only a few semi- or terminal speakers to choose from or even sometimes may offer no choice at all. In this case, the inclusion of adequate and diversified data turns out to be impossible. The study of an obsolete language is still more challenging when the language under investigation is not spoken by a community anymore, and if the older generation of speakers cannot provide stories for the purpose of text compilation. A very common problem of working with semi-speakers is their lack of confidence in the RDL; this can affect the standard qualitative research or data collection as has been widely reported in the literature (Craig, 1997; Dorian, 1977b, 1981, 1986; Dressler, 1991; Schmidt, 1985).

The type of research involved in the linguistic documentation of dying languages raises important issues of fieldwork methodology: quantitative studies may be severely constrained by the very nature of the situation, and qualitative studies require sensitivity to the particular relation of the last speakers towards their stigmatised obsolescent language. Innovations in field methods, particularly the emphasis on quantitative methods and collection of data in natural context as suggested in the work of Labov (1966) and (1973), provide new opportunities for scholars working on obsolescent languages. In addition, fieldwork on obsolescent languages raises all the questions of ethics inherent to research on marginalized minority populations, issues which are best addressed before and monitored during the time of fieldwork.

According to Labov (1972, 1994), there are two major methods of controlled comparison applicable to the study of linguistic change, including that of obsolescent languages: observations in apparent time and observations in real time. Apparent time comparison is the most straightforward approach in the study of linguistic change in progress. It focuses on the distribution of linguistic variables across age levels, and a time depth is simulated by comparing the speech of contemporary speakers at various ages. This method has been applied by Dorian (1981) in Gaelic; Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977) in Breton; and Hill and Hill (1977) in Nahuatl. Real time comparison refers to the longitudinal comparison of texts recorded at different times, either by comparing earlier findings with current ones or by

returning to the community after a lapse of time and repeating the same study. This method has been applied by Dorian (1981); Hill (1973); and Voegelin and Voegelin (1977).

In language obsolescence studies, attention must be given to the structural differences and similarities between the RDL and the RGL in order to determine the changes that the RDL has undergone and to identify potential forms of interference. The grammatical descriptions can be obtained either from previous works or through fieldwork. Foreign elements or borrowed words can sometimes be determined by direct questioning of an informant (Weinreich, 1968). Dressler (1972) stresses on the necessity of a statistical approach as one of the methods of studying an obsolete language as such a language is characterised by fluctuations and uncertainties of its speakers.

In the study of language obsolescence, the analysis of the external setting cannot be well understood simply by describing the available linguistic data; it requires the utilisation of linguistic techniques on an interdisciplinary basis (Weinreich, 1968). The most basic problem, however, concerns the lack of older materials or diachronic data reflecting the past healthy state of the language. This situation is most likely true because obsolescent languages are by and large spoken by marginalized or minority peoples whose language has not previously received linguistic attention. According to Sasse (1992b), when a linguistic study of language obsolescence is conducted in the absence of old texts, and above all if the language in question is spoken only by semi-speakers whose speech could most likely be distorted, the original 'healthy' system of the grammar of the language can be reached only by way of reconstruction.

In the study of language obsolescence, one of the major methods of investigating the sociolinguistic and historical aspects is by employing a questionnaire, as applied by Dorian (1978, 1981); Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977); and Schmidt (1985). According to Dorian (1981), questionnaire as a source of information is widely used and valued in social science in general. In addition, questionnaires are used in part because they are relatively easy and quick, first, to distribute and second, to collect results from, so that the investigator can reach more people than (s)he could observe or interview personally. The last way of investigating language obsolescence is by employing the methods of interview and participant observation.

1.3 Significance of the Study

There are signs of increasing awareness and response on the part of the linguistic and anthropological professions to the issue of the rapid decline of the vast majority of the world's

languages. Linguists are being engaged in discussions as to whether and how to document, protect and maintain endangered languages, just as biologists are engaged in the protection of endangered animal and plant species (Hale, 1992a,b; Krauss, 1992; Wurm, 1991).

Language is one of the most deep-seated and persistent of all the cultural elements which identify and characterise a community. In situations of language shift, it is not only the language which shifts, but the speech community itself is transformed along with it. The extinction of a language is particularly distressing because in such a situation, not only the language perishes but also the cultural tradition expressed with it and the socio-cultural or even ethnic independence of the people who speak it (Sasse, 1992a). The process of such shifts does not proceed uniformly but usually affects certain sections of the population first. These are definable in terms of geographical location, age group, sex, economic and cultural status, and/or personality type. Once the new language is widely adopted, there are certain groups and personalities that show particular persistence in retaining the old one. These differences of receptivity, both in the initial and in the final stages, can reflect the structure of the community and the kinds of personality that develop in it - hence the significance of studying language obsolescence from the viewpoint of the sociology of language (Swadesh, 1948).

Salvage linguistics or the linguistic documentation of dying languages (Craig, 1997) can make a crucial contribution not only as a matter of archiving but also as an effort for revitalising or maintaining threatened languages.

The study of obsolescent languages has also been offering many opportunities to the study of universals of language change and to the relationship between linguistic structure and the functional roles of language (Hill and Hill, 1977). Lehmann (1962:111) writes that the study of endangered languages is of paramount importance in historical linguistics because it gives insights into earlier extinctions: 'many languages of which we know are now extinct, the steps to their extinction may be understood more clearly if we have thorough descriptions of languages now on the way to extinction'.

The study of language contact and its consequences involves an interdisciplinary research approach. According to Weinreich (1968:4),

> Geographers and ethnographers have described bilingual populations; sociologists have examined the functioning of coexisting languages in a community; jurists have studied the legal status accorded to minority languages in various states; the inquiries of educators interested in bilingual children and in foreign - language teaching have stimulated psychologists to analyse the effects of bilingualism on personality.

A study of endangered languages will have its own contribution in enriching the body of source material for scholars in various fields of study. It plays an important role in the current emphasis on universal processes and the establishment of a theory of language obsolescence. Thus, according to Dorain (1994:802),

> It is worth reminding ourselves that, when the data samples are gathered and the texts are archived, there will still be ample time and opportunity to do all the theorising any linguist's heart might desire. But if considerable numbers of linguists are not willing to take temporary leave of their desks, blackboards, and computers for an urgent stint of fieldwork, there will be incalculably fewer data and texts for their successors to measure future theoretical models against.

In the United States, the discussion on endangered languages has progressed through a chain of events triggered by the LSA (Linguistic Society of America), which organised a special symposium on endangered languages in 1991, followed by a resolution to respond to the situation by supporting documentations and study of obsolescent and threatened languages, and steps taken in the research of such languages. A committee on endangered languages was set up, and special sessions were conducted on endangered languages at the 1995 LSA meeting. Symposiums have been organised at international level.[10]

The LSA resolution of 1992 states that responsibility for the study of endangered languages is not limited to only linguistic field-workers, but must encompass 'fostering the granting of degrees, positions, and promotion in academic institutions for such work'. Anthropologists and linguists are advised to give priority to, and take steps toward the documentation of, endangered languages - for the intrinsic scientific value of the knowledge encapsulated in those languages, for the human value of their role in cultural identity, for the scientific interest in the process of attrition of which language obsolescence is a case. Having mentioned the absence of mobilising will on the part of linguists and anthropologists to work hard on the documentation of endangered languages, Dorain (1994:799) proposes that, '...it seems to me, for great benefit in at least two very different respects from making it a professional requirement that Ph.D. candidates in Linguistics and Linguistic Anthropology undertake a descriptive study of an undocumented or only minimally documented language as a dissertation topic'.

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[10] These symposiums include the following: 'Language obsolescence in East Africa', held in Bad Homburg, Germany in 1990; 'Symposium on endangered languages', held in Tokyo, Japan in 1995; 'Symposium on

endangered languages have been published (see 1.3).

The other contribution is by Conti Rossini (1912). Unlike Reinisch, Conti-Rossini did not use the Ethiopic script and is hence more useful than that of Reinisch. The first major problem of this work is on the reliability of the data. As he himself acknowledges, Conti-Rossini did not collect the data from the place where the language was spoken but took it from d'Abbadie (1872) who was not a linguist himself conversant with the linguistic science of his day. He admitted that his attempts to collect Kemantney data from a Kemantney speaker in Asmara failed due to inconveniences of the person to work with him. He has an extensive word list though it incorporates a massive inundation of Amharic words. His transcription has some problems because he used some diacritic marks which are not found in the IPA and as a result can not be easily understood. I consider the small hyphen on top of a vowel as long (macron) and the small curved mark again on top of a vowel as short (breve). The consonant *n* with a dot on top is taken as *ŋ*. One major problem is the *a* vowel with a small hyphen at the centre. I tentatively took it as a mid-central vowel *ä* following Hetzron (1976). In general, the two works by Reinisch and Conti-Rossni are considered as source materials but with much care.

The most recent, rigorous and systematic work of Kemantney is Appleyard's 1975 work. He did his fieldwork in 1974 and produced a descriptive sketch of the language the following year. His data was collected from Tikil-Dingay, north of Gondar. Appleyard calls the dialect, Kerker. Except in some minor cases, the Kemantney data he collected are very similar to my data and texts of Chilga. It is possible to say that the section on the grammar is an extension of Appleyard's (1975) brief outline. The present study is different only in its depth, method and areas from where the data and texts have been collected.

1.6 The Informants: Some Background Information

The following fifteen informants were involved in the collection of the linguistic data and texts on the grammar.

Abiye Asresa (AA), (42), is a peasant. He was brought up by his grandparents and has lived at Sheb-Diba since birth. He is self-educated with reading and writing skills improved during the literacy campaign. He has lived in different places as a bandit, guard and soldier within Chilga. His major address/destination has, however, been Sheb-Diba. He and, Taddese Adugna, are known by the community as the youngest perfect speakers of Kemantney bacause they narrate some stories in the language. Abiye is also known as a singer in Kemantney by translating songs from Amharic.

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[11] Dorian says, 'Data elicited from a last few speakers of a dying language may be of dubious reliability, since a

Adugna Tesemma (AdT), (52), was born at *ar x^{w}ïna* (later called *mar huna*). His place of birth and residence is a place where there are lots of Kemantney speakers today. His first language is Amharic. He learned Kemantney first from his parents and then from his elder brother, Ayelign Tesemma. He was the chairman of the Chilga Peasant Association during the previous regime during which he had the chance of living in town. He now lives at *ar x^{w}ïna* and is a self-educated person.[12]

Alemu Tesemma (AlT), (54), was born at *ar x^{w}ïna*. Because his parents were using Kemantney at home in addition to Amharic, he had the opportunity to acquire the language. But due to the influence of other members of the family, and above all, his peer groups, his first language became Amharic. He first entered church school, and later modern school, whereby his knowledge of Kemantney has been eroded. Later, he became a government employee and has lived in different towns for several years. He regrets all the time the death of the language and seems to be proud of his Kemant identity.[13] While most of his friends and relatives have been ashamed of their Kemant identity, he has never been shy of using the language in public. He has, thus, retained good knowledge of it.

Ayana Tasew (AT), (53), is a school guard. He was born at *šänšax^{w}* (which was later changed to *č'änč'ok'*), one of the well-known villages where Kemantney speakers are still found. He lived here and acquired both Kemantney and Amharic simultaneously even though his Amharic became dominant later. He is an eighth grade drop out.

Ayelign Tesemma (AyT), (62), acquired Kemantney as L1 as a result of which he was more proficient in it than in Amharic, which he learned later. But following his conversion to Christianity, he became a priest in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which contributed to the abandonment of Kemantney in favor of Amharic. He had attended modern school and served as a government employee in different ministries and places where Amharic is widely used. He has now retired and lives in Gondar, far away from Kemantney speakers.

Beletu Hailu (BH) is 57 and has lived in Chenchok since childhood. She is a widow earning her living by selling traditional beer and food. She is non-literate. She has three children of whom one is a development agent in the Ministry of Agriculture. The other two are high

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language in the process of extinction is likely to suffer reduction and loss' (1977b:31).

[12] A self-educated person in this sense is one who teaches him/herself how to read and write Amharic without going to school.

[13] Most Kemant people show up their Kemant identity for researchers perhaps for promoting individual interests out of which they expect some benefits. At other times, however, they hide their identity. Hence, sometimes, the

school students at Aykel. None of her children likes her speaking Kemantney. She has reported that they redicule her whenever she uses the language with other elderly people.

Damt'e Alemayehu (DA), (64), is a literate peasant, who lives in Serak'o, a village in the outskirts of Aykel. He was born in this same village. Damt'e was brought up bilingual in both Amharic and Kemantney. He learned Kemantney from his grandmother, who knew little Amharic. Because of the proximity of his village to the small town, he has frequent access to Aykel.

K'es Abe Abegaz (AA), (65), is a non-literate person. He is the second high priest (*kämäzäna*) next to the Womber in Teber.[14] His first language is Kemantney and he learned Amharic at a later age. He has resisted conversion into Orthodox Christianity. He lives close to the Womber. He regrets the obsolescence of the religion and the language. As a result, he has recruited one of his sons as a Kemant priest.

Lak'ew Tesfaye (LT), (61), is a peasant, who lives in Midrä-bara about thirty kilometres north-east of Aykel and about ten kilometres east of Chenchok'. Because of the long distance between the town and his village and the rugged nature of the landscape, he has rare access to the town. Lakew has been a bilingual in Amharic and Kemantney since his childhood. He is literate in Amharic.

Mant'egbosh Taggele (MT), (63), is a non-literate woman who has lived at Seraba village since childhood. Seraba is one of the villages where the language was widely used and as a result, where there still exist several remnant speakers with whom she has the opportunity of practising her language. Until she got married at the age of eight and learned Amharic thereafter, she had been monolingual in Kemantney.

Muluneh Mellese (MM), (72), is a literate peasant, who lives at Fäfäri (a small village in Mar-huna) about twenty kilometers from Aykel on the route to Chenchok'. He is a well-known and respected advisor and mediator in the village. Formerly, he was the chairman of the peasant association of his village. His first language was Kemantney, which was followed by Amharic later.

Taddese Adugna (TdA), is 36 years old, one of the youngest TSs. He is literate, born in Sheb-Diba and now living sometimes in Sheb-Diba and other times in Chenchok. He

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knowledge of the language seems to have no function of identity in a situation where most are still ashamed of using Kemantney while Amharic is held in esteem (see Chapter III).

[14] Teber is one of the villages in Chilga where speakers of the language are still found.

cultivates his land in Sheb-Diba and at the same time earns some money from petty trading in Chenchok.

Tegegne Ak'anaw (TA), (50), was born at Seraba and acquired Amharic as L1. He learned Kemantney at a later age. Even though people recommend him as having a good command, he himself is not comfortable with his Kemantney. He believes that he has gradually forgotten it, especially after he joined modern school. He was also away from Chilga for some years due to socio-political reasons. He is now a store-keeper at Aykel secondary school where he completed grade twelve.

Womber Muluneh Mersha (WMM), (68), is a self-educated person and a fully fluent speaker of the language. He is the head of the Kemant religion and has thus, the chance to practising the language in daily prayers and rituals. The main reasons for his retaining the language are: (a) his position as a religious and ethnic leader (Wombership) of the Kemant people for the last sixty years, (b) his place of birth, Tembera, and his residence Teber, are localities where there is a large number of speakers of Kemantney, (c) the opportunity of using Kemantney with his wife, the Kemant priests and other followers of the religion during rituals and rarely in ordinary communication, (d) his acquisition of Kemantney as L1 followed by Amharic as L2, (e) his being from a high ancestral class *(kïbbïr)*[15] known for being enthusiastic about the Kemant religion and culture, (f) his overall positive attitude toward the Kemant people, their culture and language.

Yelfign Mekete (YM), (62), is a non-literate woman, born at Tembera, but has been living in Aykel for thirty years. Like the Womber, she is from a high class moiety, that is, *kïbbïr*. Her first language is Kemantney, followed by Amharic. She feels sad whenever she thinks about the extinction of the language and strongly condemns those Kemant people who do not speak it. She has a highly positive attitude toward the language and the religion. Even though she is a follower of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, she does not totally abandon her former Kemant religion. Her frequent contact with her rural relatives as well as the Kemant priests have given her the chance of using the language on occasions. Before their conversion to Christianity, all of the above informants had been followers of their own traditional religion.[16]

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[15] It is the name of the first and superior moiety among the two social parties of the Kemant people (see also Flad, 1866; Gamst, 1969).

[16] The number of informants considered in the forthcoming chapters fluctuates between six and ten due to personal inconveniences on the part of the informants.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EXTERNAL SETTING

2.1 Introduction

As mentioned in chapter I, among the four types of language death namely, gradual, radical, sudden and bottom-to-top death, the first and commonest type taking relatively a long period of time is gradual language death. It refers generally to the death of a language resulting from its speakers shifting to a more prestigious language in a contact situation. Radical death shares features with both sudden and gradual language death situations especially in the time span it takes. It assumes more time and is, therefore, less rapid than sudden death. On the other hand, it requires less time and is, hence, more rapid than gradual language death. Besides, radical language death is like sudden death because it leads to an abrupt disappearance of speakers due to severe political repression or rapid population decline resulting from cultural destruction, epidemic, etc. It is like a gradual death because it leaves 'rusty speakers' or semi-speakers as its trace whose competence of the language can be analyzed on an age-based proficiency continuum (Sasse, 1992a).

Schmidt (1985) mentions the report by Ian Green (p.c. with Annete Schmidt) that Marithiel (North Australia) died out fairly quickly in two or three generations. The Dyirbal language is also one of those reported as showing a relatively quick death (Schmidt, 1985). In contrast, the Gaelic case is much more gradual, taking place over hundreds of years (Dorian, 1981).

Dying languages exhibit differences not only in the duration of time that the death process takes but also in the similarities as well as differences in the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors which trigger the death. Hill writes the following about the potential uniqueness of each case study of dying languages.

> There is not enough homogeneity in the process [of language death] to justify the current emphasis on *universals*. Investigators of language death should be extremely suspicious of general claims about the presence or absence of particular linguistic processes in language death, since there seems to be no a priori reasons for all these different situations to be accompanied by the same kinds of linguistic processes. (1983:272)

As mentioned in Chapter I, Sasse (1992a) identifies three ways of studying language death. The first, which he calls the external setting, encompasses the extra-linguistic factors such as political, economic, social, cultural, ethno-historical, etc. issues which create the situations for speakers to give up their language. The second phenomenon is the sociolinguistically analyzable speech behavior of terminal speakers such as the use of variables, domains of languages and styles, attitudes towards the replacing and the replaced languages, and so on. The third way of studying language death is by describing the structural consequences manifested in the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of a decaying language.

This chapter concentrates on the historical analysis of the extra-linguistic phenomena and it discusses the political, economic, cultural and social factors which triggered the gradual and at the same time radical death of Kemantney. It gives emphasis to the analysis of the role of the Kemant traditional religion as the immediate cause for the radical replacement of the language. Hence, the replacement of Kemantney is viewed as a radical as well as gradual language death phenomenon.

2.1.1 The People

According to the 1994 census, the total number of the Kemant people is 172,291. Except those who live in towns, the Kemant people by and large are farmers. Those who live in towns are traders, government employees, etc. They do not have a unique occupation setting them apart from the neighbouring Amhara or from the rest of the Agew peoples in the regions of Gojjam and Wollo. The Kemant people own land, and most of them lead their lives as farmers or traders.

The overwhelming majority of the Kemant people are indistinguishable from their neighbours physically. Their way of living, their diet, their customs (such as wedding or mourning ceremonies), and their agricultural activities are the same. Some old Kemant people used to say that the Kemant people were mainly identified by their *Jins* (as they call it), which

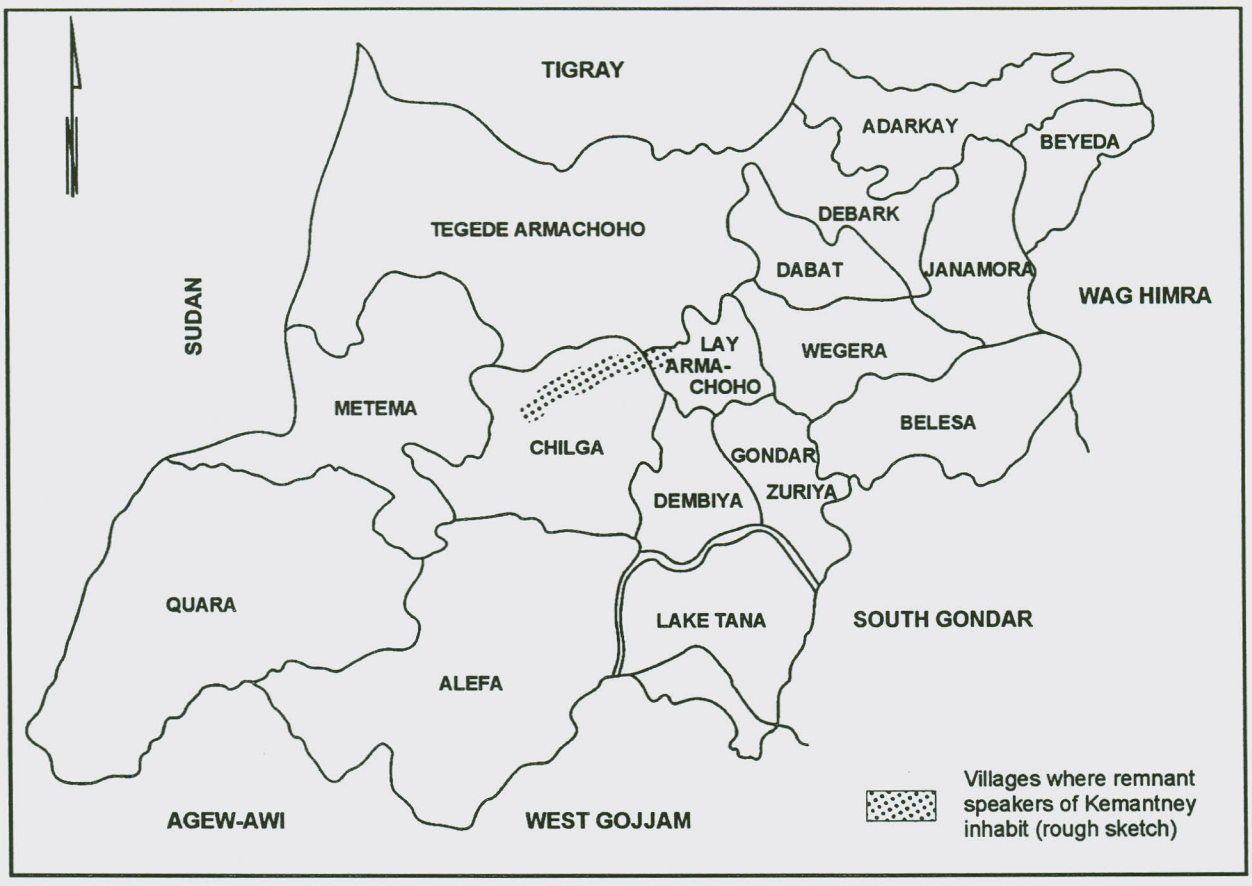
means 'ancestry'. Currently, they have only their near-extinct language and religion that can in any way place them as a separate group. These are therefore directly relevant to this study. Gamst (1967) considers the Kemant as people who have long remained culturally distinct from the neighbouring groups, and socially semi-autonomous because of what he calls their 'pagan-Hebraic religion'. Their religion, according to his understanding, has acted as a barrier to assimilation. This may have been the case at the time when the religion was functioning on a large scale. But, as will be discussed in the following sections, since the Kemant rites are now practiced by only a very few individuals, the Kemant are unlikely to be able to preserve their distinct religion and culture.

2.1.2 The Language

As mentioned in Hetzron (1969), the Agew languages were once widely spoken in the North-east and North-west parts of Ethiopia though their distribution at present is reduced to small pockets, far apart from each other (see map V). Kemantney[1] (Western Agew) together with its sister languages, Bilen of Eritrea (Northern Agew), Xamt'aŋa of Wollo (Eastern Agew), and Awŋi of Gojjam (Southern Agew) constitute the Central Cushitic language family, traditionally called Agew (for more information on the classification, see Bender and Fleming (1976), and Appleyard (1988)). Kemantney was once spoken in several villages in North Gondar especially in the districts of Chilga and Lay Armachoho[2] (see map I below). However, it is now one of the most endangered languages, perhaps, the first in the list of nearly extinct languages.

[1] The name of the language is well known by either Kemant (Appleyard, 1975; Sasse, 1973) or Qemant (Conti-Rossini, 1912; Gamst 1969) or Qimant (Bender and Fleming, 1976). Though he uses 'Kemant' in his works, Appleyard (1987a) was the first to mention the name Kemantney. I used Kemantney as the right representation of the language on the basis of recommendation by the Kemant people, especially speakers of the language who only believe the latter but not the formers as the genuine name of the language.

[2] I was told by the North Gondar Culture, Tourism and Information department that there are no more Kemantney speakers in Lay Armachoho (Kerker, Tikil-Dingay, Walaj, Kosoye and Gaba Gala Ager) except perhaps some elderly individuals who live in different households far from each other. In fact, due to their nearness to the town of Gondar, the complete replacement of the language from the above mentioned areas could be evident.



Map I: North Gondar
Source: Gondar Zone Central Statistical Authority (1988 Eth.)

Today, the language is 'alive' only in Chilga in some semi-desert villages located at the bottom of the gorge of the mountainous escarpment and in those villages located on the plateau which has a relatively cool climate. But, whereas Kemantney is maintained in the mouth of few elderly individuals inhabiting the highland area, the number of speakers in the late thirties and above is enormous among residents in the villages at the bottom of the gorge. Taddese Adugna (38), the youngest speaker of the language I met so far, is from *šäb dïba,* one of the villages in the gorge. Indeed, the presence of young people who understand the language but do not speak it, is evident in these villages. According to the census of 1994, Kemantney is spoken by 1625 people as L1 and 3450 people as L2 among the total number of 172,291 people. This proportion of the number of speakers of the language and the size of the population clearly indicates that Kemantney has lost ground due to centuries of contact with the dominant group surrounding its speakers, the Amhara.

2.2 Causes of the Shift from Kemantney to Amharic

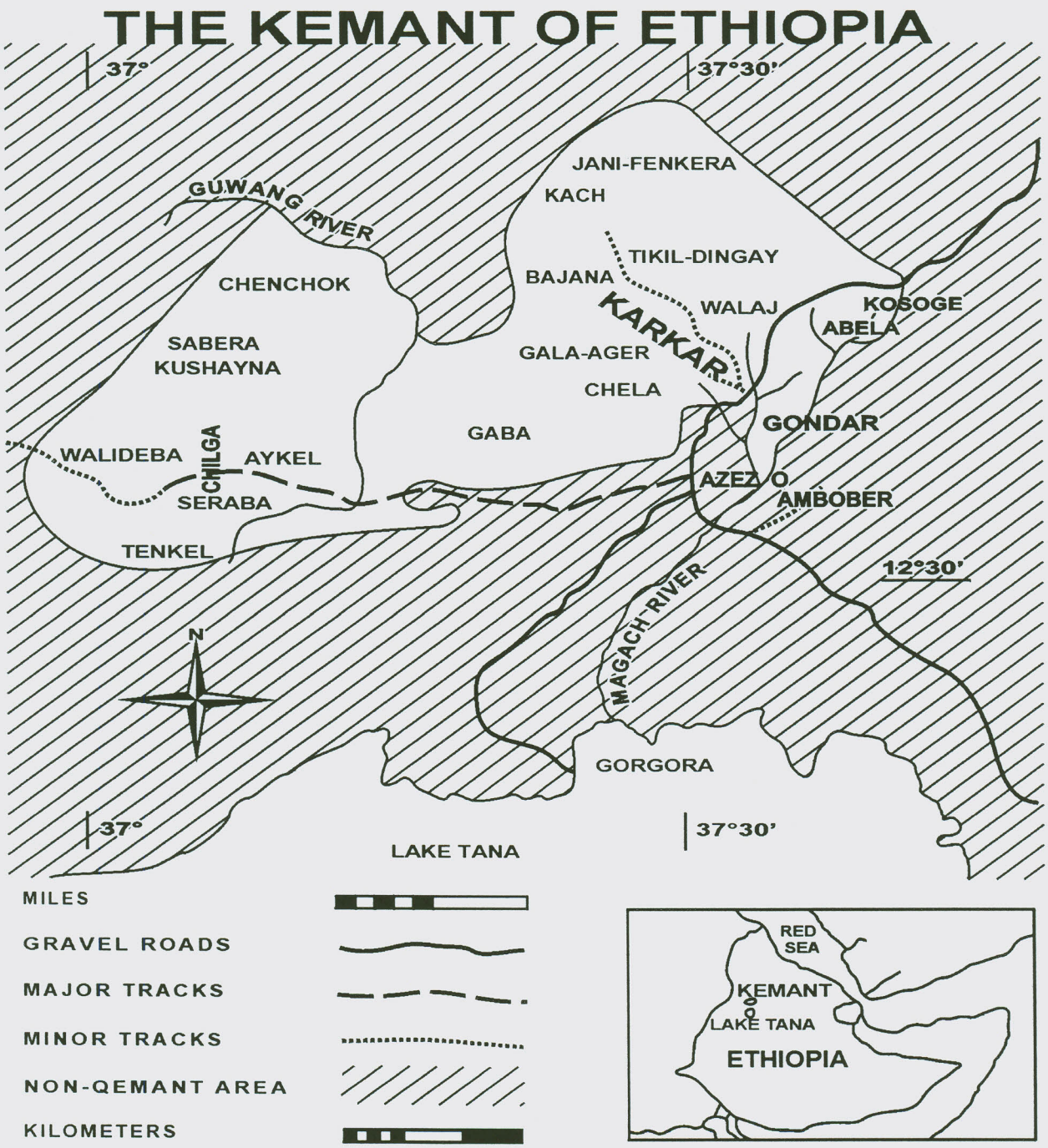
2.2.1 The Strategic Nature of Chilga and Gondar

Gondar was the capital and residence of the Ethiopian kings during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and continued as such until the rise of Tewodros II, one of the greatest figures in Ethiopian history who came to power in 1855. Gondar was also nominally the seat of different princes during the confused period of the early nineteenth century which is known in history as the Era of Princes. In this period, it was a very large town with forty-four churches in it (Buxton, 1957). Its role as a royal capital had a great impact on the political and social progress of the country in general and on its vicinity in particular. Since its establishment as the imperial capital around 1636, the town of Gondar served as the seat of its founder, Fasiledes (1632-1667), and his successors Yohanes I (1667-1682), Iyasu I (1682-1706), Tekla Haymanot (1706-1708), Tewoflos (1708-1711), Yostos (1711-1716), Dawit III (1716-1721), Bakaffa (1721-1730), and Iyasu II (1730-1755) (Huntingford et.al, 1954; Pankhurst, 1967). Besides, the Era of Princes from 1755 to 1855, and the reign of Tewodros II from 1855 up to 1868, during which a lot of major historical events took place, were part and parcel of the chronicles of Gondar. Modernization and urbanization, particularly after the establishment of Gondar as the permanent capital, had much influence on the incorporation of different cultures and languages of the Agew peoples. The obsolescence of Kemantney and the Kemant religion around Chilga and its extinction from the areas of Kerker is a prominent example. Hence, Gondar and its vicinity have been attractive not only to historians but also to anthropologists and linguists. Regarding the effect of the establishment and expansion of Gondar on Kemantney, Sasse writes the following:

> I assumed that the rapidity of shift in Gondar is to be attributed to the fact that the town which has been a socio-political and economic center for centuries and the capital of the Abyssinian empire between the 1630s and 1850s has exerted a particularly strong influence during the recent increased Amharaization and urbanisation process connected with the reign of the last two Ethiopian emperors Menilik II and Haile-Sellasie I, who transformed Ethiopia into a more modern national state (1992b:73).

Another factor which played a crucial role in the incorporation of the language and culture of the Kemant people into the language and culture of the Amhara was the strategic location of the Kemant area, especially that of Chilga. According to Gamst (1967), the Kerker-Chilga axis was the Kemant heart-land. Kerker is to the north of Gondar in Lay Armachoho, and Chilga is located

to the west of Gondar following the mountainous and rugged areas of Walaj and Gaba Galla[3] Ager (see map II). Oral tradition of the Kemant people tells us that Kemantney was also spoken down in Metemma and K'^{w}ara.[4]



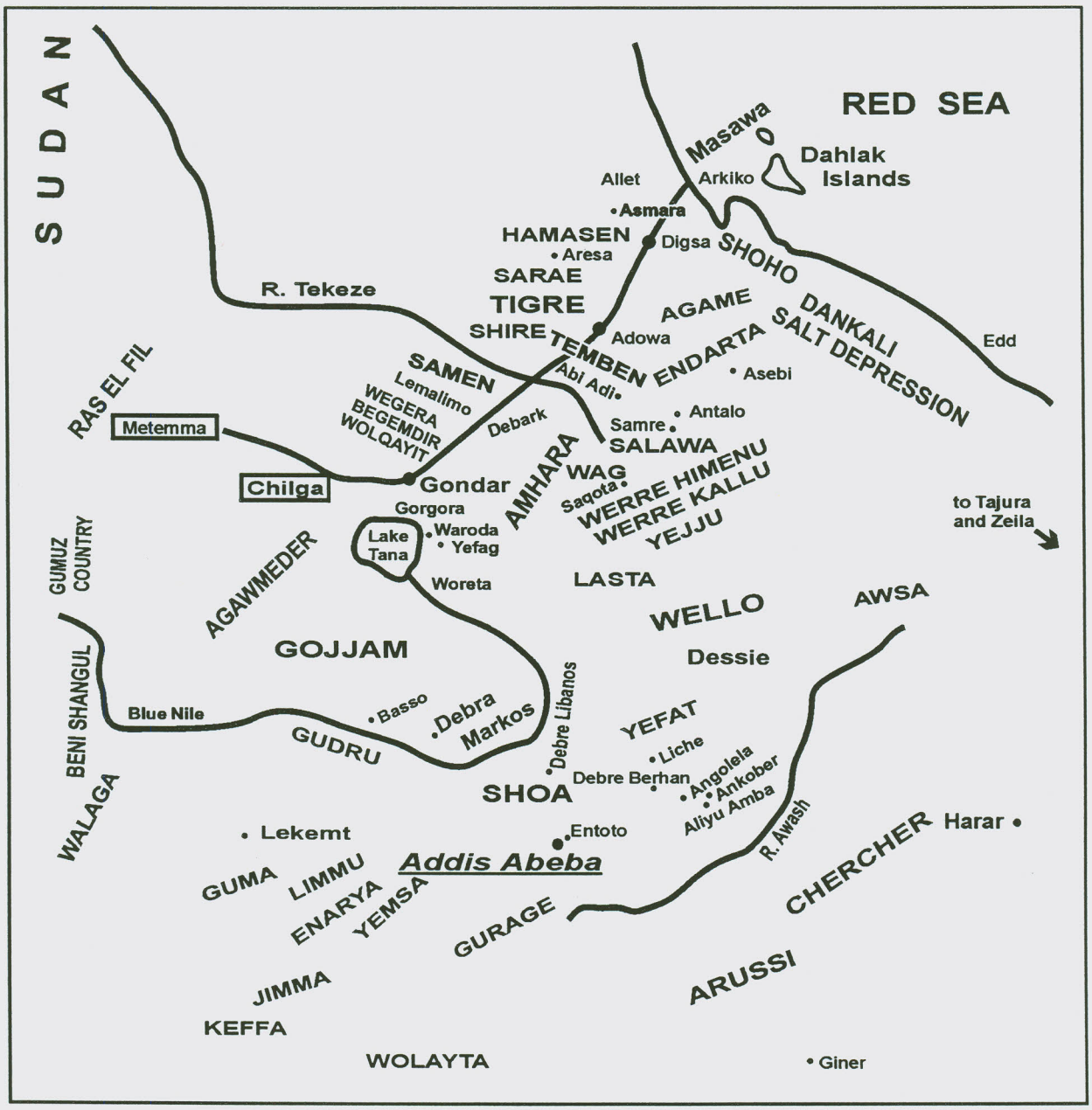
Map II: Source: Gamst (1969:I)[5]

[3] It does not refer to the former name of Oromo. It means 'is' in Kemantney. *gaba gala agär*, lit. 'quarrel-is-country', referring to the inhabitants of the area who are considered as quarrelsome and indifferent.

[4] The present name *k'^{w}ara* is derived from the Kemantney word *k^{w}ara* which means *sun*.

[5] I have made some minor changes on the representation of some place names in this and other maps that follow.

As indicated in Map II above and Map III below, the Kemant area lies on the oldest trade route which extends from Gondar to Metemma, connecting Ethiopia with the Sudan (Pankhurst, 1964).



Map III: Trade Centers of the North
Source: Richard Pankhurst, Economic History of Ethiopia (1968:354)

This trade route had a significant economic importance in the import-export trade of Ethiopia. It was the most important trade route next to the Gondar-Adowa-Masawa route connecting the southwestern part that was the source of the country's exports. The slave trade

to the Muslim world in the nineteenth century and earlier was carried out through the Gondar-Chilga-Metemma route (Pankhurst, 1968). In addition to slave trade, this route was famous for the exportation of domestic products such as ivory, gold, civet, wax, honey, cattle and butter to the outside world via the Sudan. In turn, cloth, silk, carpets, beads, firearms, Maria-Theresa dollars, copper, lead, sword, blades, needles, gunpowder, etc. were imported.

Chilga was known not only as an outlet to Metemma but also as one of the major markets for imported goods before they reach Gondar and Metemma. The market was regularly attended in the 1880s by 3000 people and was held three days a week (Pankhurst, 1961). Whereas Debark on the trade route to Massawa was paying 300 US dollars to the governor of Semen as revenues annually, Chilga on the Sudan route was paying an average of 100,000 dollars (Rassam, 1869). This indicates the commercial importance of the route. The outlet via Chilga was also known to be the nearest and safest route from and to Ethiopia by travelers like Bruce, Halevy, Rassam, and others.

As we shall see the details in the following sections, though its importance as a trade route deteriorated from time to time, the Gondar-Chilga-Metemma area turned out to be politically strategic during the reigns of Tewodros II, Yohanes IV, Haile-Selassie and even today, a factor which has had its own influence on the spread of Amharic and on the obsolescence of Kemantney.

> In Chilga, the main factor which affected the degree of Kimant incorporation into the general society was the increasing economic and strategic importance of the Chilga district in itself and as a part of the Gondar-Sudan route during the rise of Tewodros II to national power. The increasing importance of Chilga was significant for the Kemant relationship to the state because they held the mountain passes and natural fortresses of the region in their hands 'like a key' and therefore the King had to ensure their loyalty or at least acquiescence. (Quirin, 1977:287)

The wonderful chains of mountain ranges of Chilga were used as prisons and places of detention until the reign of Haile-Selassie. The rock fortress of *Wohni* to the south of Aykel on the road to Metemma was a famous prison for revolting rulers and members of the royal family especially during the Era of Princes (Pankhurst, 1967). *Awra amba*, a rocky mountain which is located in a gorge surrounded by Kemant villages, was also famous in earlier times as a prison for rebels and bandits. Chilga has also been known as an important strategic place until the present day for its secured borders with the Sudan. As a result, a new and relatively modern kind of road began to be constructed from Gondar to the Sudan during the reign of Haile-

Selassie.[6] The Guang river bridge (see map II), which is the boundary between Chilga, Dembiya and Gondar, was officially opened by His Imperial Majesty Haile-Selassie in 1962. The same road is still being constructed on the rocky, mountainous and steep area of Chilga. It covers a distance of about 200 kilometers from Gondar to Metemma, of which about 166 kilometers lie within the Kemant area. In addition to the Ethiopian Road Authority camps established at different places, small towns such as Ayimba, Bohna, Aykel, Seraba, Negade-Bahir etc. have also been founded along the road. Above all, the participation of the Kemant people in the construction of the road and their movement from place to place by bus has intensified the contact between them and the Amhara people. It is hence evident that the social and economic history of this road in the long-standing contact of the two peoples has contributed to the shift from Kemantney to Amharic.

2.2.2 The Sensitive Nature of Chilga as a Zone of Contention

As mentioned above, the strategic location of Chilga on the main trade route from Gondar to Metemma, its reputation as the most important trade center, its proximity to the Sudan and its reliable security have all contributed to the gradual abandonment of Kemantney in favor of Amharic. But, later in the nineteenth century, the name Chilga also became associated with an area of aggression. A number of battles were fought and rebellions arose in and around Chilga in which the Kemant people were actively involved. The two most important events that involved the Kemant people were the battles between Emperor Tewodros II and the royal family in Gondar before 1855, on the one hand; and between Yohanes IV and the Dervishes, in 1889, on the other.

Tewodros II was born in the sub-district of Quara on the border with the Sudan, in 1818 (see map I above). During his youth, it is believed that Tewodros II might have spoken Amharic and the dialect Quarinya (Ullendorff, 1960). He was not a descendant of the royal family but came to power only after he had rebelled against the rulers of Gondar and defeated Empress Menen, her son Ras Ali, and Dejach Wube, one after the other. With such a glorious victory, he came to the throne at the end of the Era of Princes, known for its ceaseless civil war, strife, bloodshed and fragmentation of the country. In this vacuum of power, he put an end to the civil war and

[6] This road is still known as an 'international road' by inhabitants of the area. It is called international because it leads to the Sudan via Metemma (Yohanes Kätäma).

tried to unite the country. Tewodros II was also known for his novel ideas of modernization, leadership and bravery (Bahru, 1991; Pankhurst, 1967).

During his time of banditry, Tewodros spent quite a long time in the Kemant areas of Quara, Chilga and Lay Armachoho. As a result, he had the support of the Kemant people who joined his army. His contact with them, according to oral traditions volunteered by elderly people, contributed to his success in overthrowing the Yejju lords and ruling the country for twelve years. Because Chilga is located on the main route from Quara to Gondar, many Kemant people joined Tewodros' army. The Kemant people were not only soldiers but also caretakers of emperor's family. Fitawrari Kolba, a prominent Kemant, had the role of taking care of Tewabech (Tewodros' wife) for more than six years during the emperor's difficult times. He secured her safety in caves at Sabera and Antira, areas of steep cliffs and mountain ranges.[7]

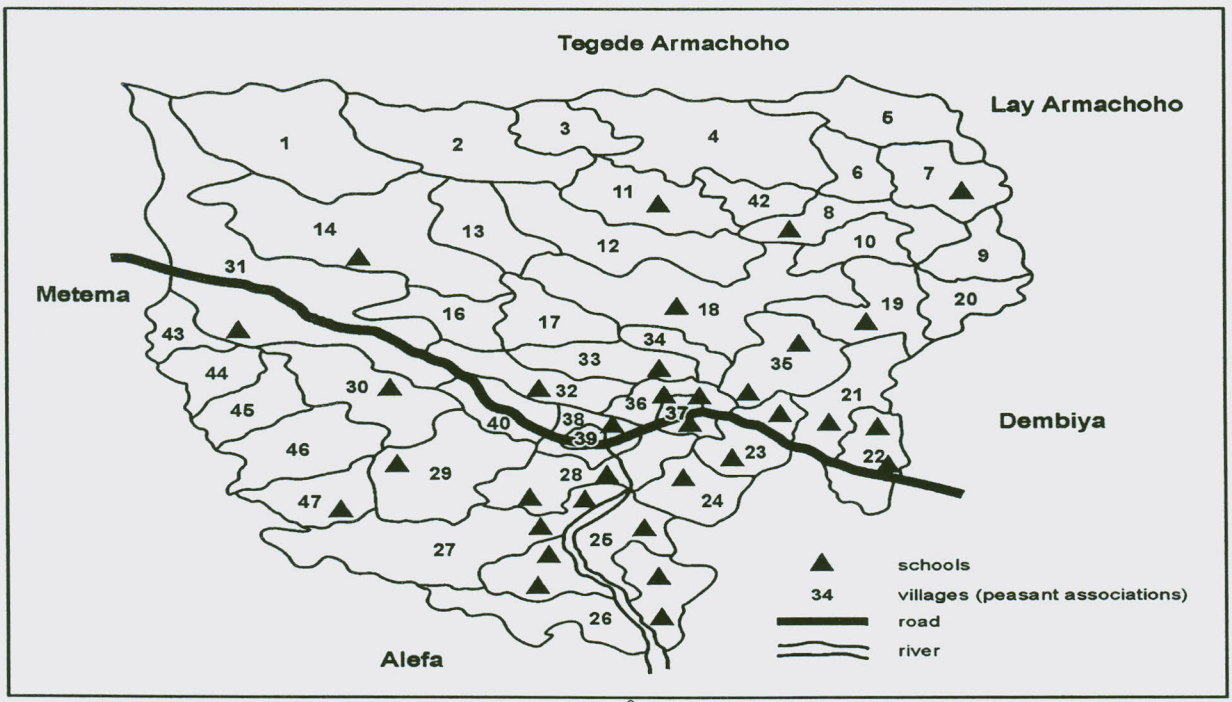
As indicated by Halevy (1877), the Kemant people were fond of military life. According to their oral history drawn from elderly people, their involvement during the Metemma war was also evident. The campaign required a huge expedition of people from as far away as Tigray via Chilga to Metemma, on the Sudan border. The war brought together Tigrinya, Amharic and Kemantney speakers, and this may have contributed to the linguistic and cultural interactions. The expedition of Yohanes IV to Metemma against the Dervishes in 1889 was another major event in the process of the extinction of Kemantney.

2.3.3 The Spread of Christianity and the Introduction of Modern Education

Modernization, specifically education both secular and religious in the Kemant area has contributed to the decline of Kemantney and the spread of Amharic especially among the young. Modern education was introduced to this area during the reign of Haile-Selassie and a lot of schools have been built since then. The first school, which is still in use as a junior high school, was opened at Seraba in 1961. There is one secondary school at Aykel and about thirty-three elementary schools in the rural villages. These schools are by and large located in places inhabited by the Kemant people. The medium of instruction in all of them is Amharic which is the national official language of the country and which was institutionally supported to be

[7] Accoring to Trimingham (1952), Tewodros used force to convert the Kemant people to Christianity and made them wear *matäb* 'cord of Christians'. However, the use of force by the king is never mentioned in the oral tradition of the present day Kemant people.

medium of instruction. By the time schools were opened for the first time, children were already speakers of Amharic as L1, some of them with some rudimentary knowledge of Kemantney (interview with senior residents and former students of the school). This exposure to modern education has made young people develop a negative attitude towards learning Kemantney, favoring Amharic. Hence, those who already knew some Kemantney did not improve it; rather they completely forgot what they had known earlier. The opening of the first school in 1961 coincided with the 1958/1959 last phase of 'Amharization' (to use Gamst's 1967 word) and the flourishing of other schools, since then, in rural villages has accelerated the replacement of Kemantney.



Map IV: Map of the school distribution of Chilga[8] (Source: The Chilga Woreda Educational Office)

[8] Key to the numbers in Map IV.

1. alänge	2. kirubiya	3. wuzaba	4. andïnnät
5. k'äy-afär/gällo-meda	6. däŋgolto	7. tämbäbäy	8. dangura/agidäya/särawa
9. abäl-wuha	10. addis-zämän	11. ambäza	12. gaza
13. šutära	14. č'ak'o	15. serawa	16. lezamba
17. kentäb-daza	18. kušayna/mïǰïwa	19. mïhrät-amba	20. mïdrä-bara
21. dïl-amba	22. aläm-s'ähay	23. awdarda/nara	24. k'änwot't'a
25. č'andïbba/däbäga	26. k^{w}ak/čančïwa	27. šaliya/däbïr/fäläsayba	
28. särt'iya/warkaye	29. tänfa/g^{w}ïba	30. däŋgorsa/minibaks	
31. k^{w}abir/nägade-bahïr/lomïye	32. tämbära/kiwa/wïlah	33. mäk'änät	34. ïngïdage
35. laza/buladge	36. täbär/särak'o	37. Aykäl	38. ïyaho
39. säraba	40. walidäba	41. daza	42. mändär
43. šäharda	44. leza	45. Molalit	46. wäbälsäg
47. däŋgäl			

As indicated in the following sections, the Christianisation process of the Kemant people was accompanied by the construction of more churches. Churches began to be built around 1268 (see Appendix 1), that is toward the end of the Zagwe dynasty (1137-1270) and the beginning of the reign of Yikuno Amlak (1270-1285).[9] In this case, it can be assumed that the first conversion of the Kemant people to Christianity and the establishment of churches in different Kemant villages would indicate the first phase of the shift from Kemantney to Amharic. As time went on, a large number of Kemant people who were originally followers of their traditional religion but later converted to Christianity became more and more exposed to Amharic. Several young Kemant men joined the clergy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as deacons and priests. For example, Mekonnen Akanaw (76), Ayelign Tessema (66), and Gedamu Melke (79) became Christians late in life and were active in converting others to Christianity. The role of the Christian-Kemants was, thus, immense in the decline of the old religion and language. My informants believe that Christian-Kemants, especially those, who became priests in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, did their best to persuade their relatives to give up their language and traditional religion in favor of Amharic and Christianity. Today, several Kemant people consider the Christian-Kemants who had been converted earlier and who, as a result, had positions either in the church or in government offices, as responsible for the obsolescence of their language and religion.

2.2.4 Political Involvement and Intermarriage

Kemant oral traditions tell us that the Kemant people had good relationship with the different kings of the country. They are proud of being enthusiastic supporters of the monarchs. They identify themselves as loyal by saying *kïmänt-i nïgus amn-äw na-matäb t'än-äw kïmänt-ï gaɣïlla*, lit. 'The Kemant, who believe the king and who are firm with their Christian faith are the Kemant'. The German traveler Martin von Heuglin described the strong contact that Kemant people had with the then monarch as follows: 'The Gamants, because of their faithfulness and bravery to the emperor, are very much valued and are for the most part special retainers of his family...' (1868:256). As mentioned earlier, the strongest contact of the Kemant people according to oral traditions was witnessed during the reign of Tewodros II (1885-1868).

[9] Some writers like Huntingford et. al (1954) take 1268 as the year marked for the end of the Zagwe dynasty and the restoration of the Solomonic dynasty by Yikuno Amlak (1268-1283).

The following text is taken from Kinde Godo as evidence for their political involvement during his reign.[10]

> as'e tedrosïš kïmantï däǰač bitäwyäw däǰač t'ašuyïw agärïs adäladälšïnosab kïmantïs argïs gobäñtïnosab nahaymanotïs sïmäw kïmantï wanä argï däǰän haymanot šïyäw gaʏïlla balambaras gälmoy ǰäbdu balambaras ïŋgïdey ǰäbdu särnïʏʷ
>
> Lit. During Atse Tewodros, Kemants, like Dejazmach Bitewa, like Dejazmach Tashu, setting the country in place, visiting the bed (throne), lived being loyal to their religion. Kemants are barricades of the bed (throne) and keep their religion. Balambaras Gelmo, Balambaras Engida performed acts of heroism.

As a result of their enthusiastic support for the kings, the Kemant people have been involved in politics and had a say in government affairs. Gamst says that, 'the Amhara monarchs could place more trust in their Qemant vassals than they could in Amhara and Tigre nobility and peasants who could aspire to regional political autonomy or even national political control' (1969:9). For instance, one of the higher titles of the day, *azaž*, was given to Chiwsa, an important Kemant leader who lived during the reign of Yohanes I (1667-1682). As the Kemant people were known to be fond of military life, there were high ranking war leaders and royalist generals during the reign of Tewodros II mentioned by Halevy (1887). Several Kemant people joined Tewodros' force as private soldiers adopting Amharic names and converting themselves to Christianity. Some of them were later promoted to high military ranks and administrative positions (Quirin, 1977). One of Tewodro's noted war leaders, Gelmo, was a Kemant from the *Gïmb (Chenchok)* area. Rassam writes the following about Kemant loyalty to the emperor:

> No King of Abyssinia had ever had such loyal subjects as these Kemants have proved themselves by their devotion to Theodore, for they stack by him to the last. (1869:209)

One of the direct consequences of the large influx of the Kemant people as soldiers during and after Tewodros was their high social and institutional incorporation into Amhara. This manifested linguistically as the obsolescence of Kemantney and culturally as that of their traditional Kemant religion.

Though not as strong and as purposeful as in the time of Tewodros II, the obedience of the Kemant people to their rulers and their dedication to their country continued during the reign of

[10] Aba Kinde Godo (78) is a well-respected and famous storyteller and speaker of the language. He lives at Shutaz, two hours walk from Aykel.

Yohanes IV (1871-1889). Observe the following text recorded from Kinde Godo, one of my informants.

> ïŋgiyarï at'e yohanïsïz ïnsï šäbän gïdïz t'ämäk'sänir aʏän zämätno däǰač bitäwyäw k'äñamač adälyäw dïmt'u zäwdïyäw dïmt'u mängäšyäw dïmt'u fäläk'yäw at'e yohanïsdï mätämä gämïn däbädäbsïnaʏ kïmanti gaši gaʏïlla
>
> Lit. Later too, by As'e Yohanes, though Kemants were baptized by force; those - like Dejazmach Bitewa, like Kegnazmach Adela, like Dimt'u Zewde, like Dimtu Mengesha, like Dimt'u Feleke, who were assassinated having gone down to Metemma for the war with As'e Yohanes; the Kemant are shield.

During the reign of Menelik II (1889-1913), the royal seat moved from Gondar to Shewa in 1889. This can be considered, as far as the Kemant are concerned, including those who had been forcibly converted before, as a time of revisiting their cultural and linguistic identity because they now had the opportunity to turn to their religion and language. The frequent contact with the rulers and their representatives in neighboring districts had relatively decreased and peace was maintained fairly well in the area. Hence, several people changed their mind, at least tentatively, and started practising the Kemant religion and started speaking Kemantney again.

Another important factor for turning to their language and religion was the relatively more liberal policy of Menelik II on religion contrary to conservative kings of Gondar who were keen in maintaining Orthodox Christianity and were as a result committed to the conversion of the Falasha, the Kemant as well as the Moslem people to Christianity. Hence, elderly Kemant used to say that their fathers fought in the battle of Adwa on the side of Menelik II because his call was for every Ethiopian irrespective of religious and linguistic differences.

Later, during the reign of Haile-Selassie (1923-1974), the Kemant people, together with other Ethiopian patriots also fought in the patriotic struggle against the Italian fascist invasion. This is illustrated with the following oral tradition.

> hayläsïlaseš t'ïlyan fašïšt tïwä agärïs t'aso hayläsïlase ländon täsädädno yïnzï gïze tïmbïrïʏʷšo fiyaʏ gize agärïs mäläytïn danšäw ïne läwïz kïmantïs amïniwi fitarari alämayähu fitarari zäläk'ä ïne agamaš aʏno agärïs mäläytïno tagälsïno täwagsïno saʏʷäläwïz arbäñäz fitarari räda fitarari ayälä täsäma täkälakälsïnosab bädä zämäd tïwgï haymanot tät'ansosab däbïr täkʷässïgï agär zäräfsïgï täkälakälsïno gizäs däwšïnïwanäkʷïn
>
> Lit. During Haile-Selassie, when Italian fascist entered having violated the country, when Haile-Selassie was in exile in London, at that time, when the fascist went on creating disorder, those who saved and kept the country relying on

> Kemants were Fitawrari Alemayehu and Fitawrari Zeleke to the right. And to the other side, were the patriots Fitawrari Reda and Fitawrari Ayele Tesema, who kept on fighting strongly by defending their country without entering into non-relative-relative distinction and strengthening their religion, kept the church without being burnt, the country without being looted. We have passed through that time.

After the introduction of Christianity to the Kemant people, inter-ethnic marriage became a common phenomenon. As a result, a high degree of social and cultural incorporation into the Amhara took place especially among those converted into Christianity. Christian-Kemants started to marry either Christian-Kemants or Christian-Amharas whereas Kemants who stuck to their traditional religion still practised endogamic marriage. Intermarriage between Kemant and Amhara has been a common practice especially in villages where Kemantney and Amharic speakers live adjacently. The effect of intermarriage on the obsolescence of Kemantney and the spread of Amharic is obvious from the interview with Mamo Alene (70).

> I was born in Daza, a place where Kemantney was widely spoken. At that time, there were people who did not know Amharic at all. Children were acquiring Kemantney as their mother tongue. But, while I started talking Kemantney as my first language like others during my childhood, a well known Kemant person from our village got married to an Amhara woman and as a result, he insisted and sometimes imposed on the villagers that they stop speaking Kemantney and use Amharic instead. With this effect, my first language became Amharic for the benefit of the Amhara lady. Amharic immediately dominated my Kemantney. But, I learned it as a second language later in Sabera.

Elderly Kemant used to tell a true story about an event that happened when Haile-Selassie visited Gondar in 1959. The king was told about the different religion that the Kemant people followed. After listening to the report patiently, he said to the governors 'why do you not 'eliminate' them?' The governors interpreted the king's response wrongly as though he wanted the Kemant people to be eliminated. One of them said to the king, 'Oh! it is a matter of giving an assignment to a small group of soldiers to put an end to them'. The king's retributive remark was this: 'when I said eliminate them, I did not mean that you should kill them, but reduce their number through intermarriage'.[11]

Generally speaking, the Kemant people, to be beneficiaries of the monarchy at any level, were supposed to show their loyalty to the monarchy by speaking Amharic and by following Christianity. When they do this, they could eat 'with the same knife' and 'drink from the same

[11] Interview with Adugna Tessema and Alem Zenebe.

glass' together. Hence, there were economic, political, and social motivations for the shift from Kemantney to Amharic.

2.2.5 The Movement of the Falasha to Israel

It has been assumed by scholars that Quarenya or Quarässa is an Agew dialect in the regions of Quara and Chilga. It belongs to the same dialect cluster as Kemant (Conti Rossini, 1912; Reinisch, 1885-7; Halevy, 1877) and Falashan (Flad, 1866). Kaylinya was also perceived as a dialect of Falasha Agew by Faïtlovitch (1910). On the other hand, Kaylinya is claimed to have affinities with Xamir, Xamt'a and Xamt'aŋa (Reinisch, 1884; C. Rossini, 1904; Appleyard, 1987). Tucker and Bryan (1966) write that Quara is a dialect spoken in the region to the west of Lake Tana and has a variant called Quarasa spoken by the Falasha. They also mention Kemantney as a dialect spoken in the region to the northern shore of Lake Tana. On the same page, Tucker and Bryan write that Kayla is a dialect spoken by the Falasha, that is, by the Agew Jews of the Kemant region. Though, they do not mention the language to which all these dialects belong, it revolves only around the same Agew group mentioned in Shack (1974). In addition, Halevy (1877) and Ludolf (1684) talk about the dialect of Dembea; Simoons (1958) mentions another dialect spoken by the Sahalla people near the Semien mountains north of Gondar. All these dialects are non-existent today. The most recently extinct dialect is Quara (see Appleyard, 1998).

In this case, there seems to be some kind of confusion especially regarding the status of 'Agew' and the dialects spoken in the North Gondar area. Agew is a term alternatively used for the Central Cushitic language family comprising the four sister languages mentioned in section 2.1.2 (see also Hetzron, 1976; Bender and Fleming, 1976; Appleyard, 1984, 1988). Hetzron (1976) says that the term 'Agew' refers to the relatives or to the ancestral group of the speakers of the four languages: Awngi or Kunfäl, Bilin Agew, Xamta Agew, and Kemant Agew. Regarding the status of the dialects mentioned as Quarenya or Quarässa, Falashan, Kaïliña etc., it is true that they were dialects, but not of 'Agew'. Rather, they were dialects of Kemantney. This can be proven by comparing the Quarenya texts (Appleyard, 1994; Reinisch 1887) with the Kemantney texts (Appleyard's, 1975; Conti-Rossini's, 1912; and the present author). Appleyard (1984:34) says, 'Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that what has been called Quara, for instance, can be included within the language here called Kemant.'

Kemantney is a language spoken by the Kemant people. In fact, the Falasha who lived near the Kemant people spoke Kemantney proper whereas the Falasha who lived around Quara spoke the dialect Quarenya or Quaräsa as has been mentioned by the scholars. But, this does not mean that Kemantney belongs to the Falasha people. From my successive field trips to the Kemant area, I have learnt that the Kemant people call the Falasha 'Kayla' which means 'evil-eye' and the dialect they spoke Kayla or Kaylinya. This is done to marginalize them. Gamst (1969) writes that the Kemant usually say the Falasha are *budas* (evil-eyed).

As indicated in map (I) and map (II) above, Kemantney was a language spoken in the narrow, long, mountainous and rugged region stretching from Tikil Dengay (Lay Armachoho), about twenty-five kilometers north of Gondar, to Chilga which is further down to the south-west. According to Gamst (1967), the land, which the Kemant people inhabit, covers approximately 4000 sq. km. There were also Falasha people (Kayla) who lived in small pockets within the Kemant region and, who as a result of their proximity, were speakers of both Amharic and Kemantney. In very many other places where the Falasha lived with the Amhara, they were native speakers of Amharic. According to Lipsky (1962), Shack (1974) and Leslau (1951), the Falasha who settled among Tigrinya speakers spoke Tigrinya. Halevy (1877), during his travels in Gondar, communicated with the Falasha in Amharic. He also writes that the Falasha around Tyelga[12] were natives of Kuara,[13]the language which he does not speak.

> I greatly regretted that I was not acquainted with this language, a knowledge of which is the sole means for the right understanding of the customs, notions and character of the Falashas. (Halevy 1887:237)

The same person, during his travel in the Kemant area, also confirmed the mutual use of Kemantney between the Kemant and the Falasha. He writes the following about a certain Gebremariam, a Kemant royalist 'general' from Awra Amba.

> He spoke for few minutes (the general) with the Falashas in their own tongue, which is not understood by the Amharas. I could only make out the last words, which were uttered in loud tones - *Sheriag, fidoowo,* 'Let him go'. (Halevy 1887:241)

In present day Kemantney, Halevy's *sheriag* is *šäraɤ* 'all right', and *fidoowo* is *fäydo* 'let him go'. The whole expression *šäraɤ fäydo* means 'All right! Let him go.'

[12] Halevy's (1877) Thyelga is taken as the present day Chilga, where Kemantney is still alive.

Flad has also confirmed the mutual understanding between the Kemant and the Falasha. He says:

> So ist eine auffallende Aehnlichkeit zwischen den Falascha's und den Kemanten, nur daß die Letztern in noch größerer Unwissenheit und Finsterniß sich befinden als die Ersteren. In ihren Sprachen sind nur einige kleine dialektische Verschiedenheiten, so daß sie einander ganz gut verstehen können. (1866:75)

In fact, what we know about the language the Falasha people spoke in earlier times still remains puzzling. One thing is, however, clear, that is, the Falasha people had gone through different processes of language shift. According to Ludolf (1684), the Falasha spoke a corrupt Talmudic dialect. On the other hand, James Bruce says that the Falasha spoke a language called Chaldaec:

> I asked them, being from Judea, whence they got that language which they spoke, whether it was one of the languages of the nations which they had learned on the coast of the red sea. They apprehended, but it was mere conjucture, that the language which they spoke was that of those nations they had found on the red sea, after their leaving Judea and settling there; and the reason they gave was certainly a pertinent one; that they came into Abyssinia, speaking Hebrew, with the advantage of having books in that language; they had now forgotten Hebrew, and it was therefore not probable they should retain any other language in which they had no books, and which they never had learned to express by letters. (1790:487)

As far as historical records are concerned, there is no doubt that the languages widely spoken in Gondar and its vicinity, Chilga and Tikil-Dingay, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the above travelers visited the area, were Amharic and Kemantney. If so, it would be possible to say that the languages the Falasha people spoke during Ludolf's and Bruce's visits to the area were both Kemantney and Amharic, in Chilga and Tikil-Dingay, and only Amharic elsewhere. If we take what the travelers say without any linguistic evidence, we may conclude that the Falasha have undergone the following processes of shift:

Hebrew → Talmudic → Chaldaec → Kemantney → Amharic → Hebrew
or
Hebrew → Talmudic → Chaldaec → Tigrinya → Hebrew
or
Hebrew → Talmudic → Chaldaec → Amharic → Hebrew

[13] Halevy's (1877) Kuara in the context of Chilga is not actually correct because this dialect of Kemant was spoken only in Quara.

The first line refers to those Falasha people who lived closer to the Kemant; the second and the third refer to those who lived closer to Tigrinya and Amharic speakers respectively. The appearance of Hebrew finally refers to the language the Falasha are now exposed to in Isreal.

The most important point here is that the emigration of the Falasha who were speakers of Kemantney to Israel has its own contribution to the obsolescence of Kemantney in the sense that the number of speakers of the language has decreased considerably in a short period of time. The probability of finding proficient Kemantney speakers among the Falasha would have been greater because they were despised by the Kemant and the Amhara, the two peoples highly assimilated linguistically and culturally.

2.2.6 The Stigma of the Name Kemant

The Kemant people have been renouncing their Kemant identity addressing themselves as Amhara. They have also been denying the use of Kemantney in favor of Amharic. Simoons (1958) writes that some Christian Agew villagers in Begemdir considered themselves to be Amhara but were regarded as Agews by the Amhara around them. The inferiority complex the Kemant have developed which has led to the denial of their own social and linguistic identity evolved internally from their own traditions and externally from the contempt of the neighbouring ethnic groups. The following have been identified as the main factors for the Kemant people to develop a sense of 'frustration' amongst themselves.

(1) The name Kemant has had a derogatory sense because the origin of the people known by this name has been associated with 'wood'. This association evolved historically from the time of Fasiledes (1632-1667). Though the livelihood of the Kemant people was based on agriculture, they were also known for the faggots of firewood they brought to Gondar. They were active people who never refused to do any kind of work (Halevy 1877). Bruce (1790:736) also writes that,

> ...their riches, however, are still greater than their power, for though their province in length is nowhere 60 miles, nor half that in breadth, yet Gondar and the neighbouring country depend for the necessities of life, cattle, honey, butter, wheat, hides, wax, and a number of such articles, upon the Agows, who come constantly in succession, a thousand and fifteen hundred at a time, loaded with these commodities to the capital...They are hewers of wood, and carriers of water to Gondar, and are held in great detestation by the Abyssinians.

Similarly, Flad (1866:76,77) described the activities of the Kemant people during his visit to the area. He says,

> Die Kemanten halten sich hauptsächlich in der Nähe von Gondar auf, ferner in Woggera, Kerker und Dschelga. Die in der Nähe von Gondar sind in der Regel arm und ernähren sich von ihrer Hände Arbeit. Die Männer versorgen das Vieh in Gondar mit Gras und Heu und die Frauen tragen Holz zum Verkauf auf den Markt. In Dschelga und Kerker, wo sie häufig Ackerbau treiben, sind sie wohlhabender.

When the castles of Gondar were built during the reign of Fasiledes (1632-1667), a lot of people were involved. The Kemant participated by providing logs, sand, stone, etc. and by engaging themselves as laborers during the whole constructions for the complex (Quirin 1977). They also served the royal family and the nobility as domestic laborers, soldiers and guards. This enabled them to closely interact with the Amhara and spend most of their time in and around Gondar. On the way from their villages, the Kemant used to drop the logs they carried at a place now called *gïnd mät'aya* 'log dropping place', located about five kilometers north of Gondar.[14] After the construction of the castle, the Kemant continued supplying the town with firewood from the densely forested area of the time while still engaged in farming. Their ceaseless effort of supplementing their income by selling firewood led to the name *yä-ïnč'č'ät lïǰ* 'child of wood'. Since then, the name Kemant has become synonymous with 'wood'. As a result, they began to deny their identity as Kemant. There are three things they need to do in this regard: (a) become Christian, (b) speak perfect Amharic, and (c) finally become Amhara.[15]

(2) The Kemant people were followers of a religion that had some Hebraic, Christian and pagan elements (Gamst, 1967). Quoting Plowden's preliminary papers and correspondences, Quirin (1977) writes that the traditional religion of the Kemant has been referred to as 'bastard creed' constituting Moslem, Christian and Jewish features. Another view about it is Halevy's (1877:242), which says, 'the Kemants had no religious book whatever, and that they were neither Jews, Christians, nor Mahomedans'. Rassam also says, 'Their religion is as great a mystery in Abyssinia as that of the Ansairies is in Syria, and ... they still continue to practice certain rites and ceremonies unknown to either Christians or Mussulmans' (1869:1:209). Even today, the religion remains a mystery to the neighboring people, including Christian-Kemants. But it has never been a threat to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the overall political

[14] Interview with Nega Get'e.

structure. Though it has never attracted people from other religions, it is still practiced by some individuals primarily the priests and the Womber.[16] The Christian Kemant still believe that, 'God listens to the prayer of Kemant priests. As a result, whenever there is shortage of rain, the priests pray and there will be rain; and whenever the rain becomes destructive, they pray for it to cause no harm.'[17] This belief is reflected in the following oral tradition of the Kemant people.

> kïmänti kïmänti märet mäšäränti kïmänti yädärey däğaf bïzänti kïmänti kïmänti ax^{w} mänïw daʏän fäfäršänti kïmänti tägïb daʏän tägïb gämsänti sïwi bäǰaʏän sïwäs säk'älänti
>
> Lit. The Kemant, the Kemant, land clearer; the Kemant, opener of the door of God; the Kemant, the Kemant, when water of washing-stone dries, water bearer; the Kemant, when shower dries, shower bearer; when rain becomes destructive, rain hanger.

But, generally speaking, the Kemant religion and its followers have been scorned and laughed at, which has led to fear and shame in the minds of the people. They have been considered as followers of 'a strange and mysterious religion', 'worshipers of wood' etc. by the Christian-Kemant and by the Amhara, and especially by priests of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. This has led to the development of a negative attitude by the people towards their identity as Kemant. This has resulted in a massive conversion to Christianity. This, in turn, led to endangerment of the language.

(3) According to oral traditions still recalled by elderly people, the Kemant had a tradition of marriage between a widow and her brother-in-law.[18] Regarding this, Flad (1866:78) writes, '...und eine geschiedene Frau darf sich mit dem Bruder ihres frühern Mannes verheirathen.' This tradition was abhorred by the neighbouring ethnic groups, especially by the Christian Amhara, and later, by Christian-Kemants. It was considered as backward. It is believed that such a tradition was reduced, if not completely stopped, probably after the decree by Yohanes I (1667-1682) which says 'No man may marry his sister-in-law nor any woman her brother-in-law' (Pankhurst,

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[15] Interview with Aba Womberu, Kinde Godo, Yelfign Mekete, Damte Alemayehu, Mekonnen Akanaw etc.

[16] Womber is a title given to a religious and social leader of the Kemant people. It means *chair* in Amharic. The name Womber is given as a title probably because the person, with this name sits conspicuously surrounded by other worshippers gathered during prayer (see also Trimingham, 1952).

[17] I myself attended a big ritual on April 16, 1998 at Shilim, four and half-hours on foot from Aykel. It was attended by the Womber, six priests, five ordinary followers and about one-hundred and fifty Christian-Kemants. This ceremony was videotaped.

[18] Incidentally, this is a Judaic tradition known as 'levirate', and is also reported for the Falasha.

1967:102). It is no more practiced now. But, such a tradition of many generations has left a sense of inferiority complex ultimately leading to self-denial.[19]

(4) Another tradition, which has created an inferiority complex, is the piercing of women's ears wide and large to hold up big wooden earrings. This was common among Kemant women as recently as the reign of Haile-Selassie. Bruce (1790), wrote his eye-witness as follows:

> Their women pierce their ears, and apply weights to make them hang down, and to enlarge the holes into which they put earrings almost as big as shackles, in the same manner as do the Bedowis in Syria and Palestine. (1790)

According to elderly informants who witnessed the last generation of women with such earrings, there were those with their ears hanging down to their shoulders. This tradition began in the sixteenth century when the then king became infatuated with the beauty of the wife of Azaž Chiwsa's (chief of the Kemant people) and wanted to have an affair with her. Chiwsa was ordered to take her to the king. He reported that the lady was going through her cycle. Knowing that he would have to take her one day, he pierced her ears so that she would smell bad from the infection. When he took her later, the king dismissed her because of the smell from her ears. From that time onwards, Kemant women started piercing their ears and wear large wooden earrings (see also Quirin, 1977).

When a woman became too old to get married or when she no longer wanted to listen to what people talked about, or when she became fed up with her life in general, she would fold up her enlarged ear lobe and fix it with the upper part. This was a sign of hatred for life. The Kemant people still mention this as a factor for their degradation by neighbouring ethnic groups who call them *ïŋʏʷï kʾʷärat'* 'tilted ear'. The practice came to an end when Dejach Bitewa Wase, himself Kemant, became governor of Chilga after his detention in Shewa during the reign of Menelik.[20]

(5) The other cultural practice with the same effect of disdain is slitting the forehead of women. Several women still show marks of this suggesting that the practice stopped only recently. Slitting of the forehead is done by the best lady of a bride. The cut is done from the top down with a sharp object. Then, it is burned with a piece of cloth to stop the bleeding. A

[19] Interview with Damte Alemayehu, Adugna Tesema, Aba Womberu and others.
[20] Interview with Muluneh Mersha, Gedamu Melke, Bicha Zelelew, Beletu Hailu, Yeshi Tessema.

woman without slits would be considered as cursed and dishonored. She would enjoy no company while eating or drinking. She would have no one accepting anything from her.[21]

(6) Kemant society has had the tradition of keeping a woman outdoor for five days during her cycle of menstruation and for fifteen days after childbirth. This tradition is still practised by some people.[22]

There is another story (Gamst calls it wild tale) about the Kemant reported by Flad. He says, 'they never let a person die a natural death, but if any of their relatives is near expiring, the priest of the village is called to cut his throat...' (1866:18-19). There is, however, no reference in the oral traditions of neither the Kemant nor the Amhara.

All the above cultural traits were promoted by the ancestors of the Kemant people with degrading consequences. The practices have become crystallized in the minds of the present generations, and in effect, have created a sense of inferiority complex. The present generation of Kemant never accepts the stigma. People want to distance themselves from such practice once and for all. This has gone to the extent of denying their social and linguistic identity in favor the social and linguistic identity of the dominant group. Kemants, who were speakers of Kemantney, would already act as Amharic natives by denying their knowledge of Kemantney. When they went out of their village or amongst people of other nationalities, they would deny their place of residence so as not to be identified as Kemants. In fact, with the abandonment of their traditions, religion and language, they have become successful in acquiring Amhara identity.

As observed by Simoons (1958), those who are not successful in attaining an Amhara social and linguistic identity, or in other words, those who are identified as belonging to the Kemant ethnic group, used to say *mïngizem kïmant mäbal-ač-ïn al-k'ärr-ä* 'we are never free from being addressed Kemant'. This implies many things: their regret for the near extinction of both their language and religion, their continuing concern for the loss of their Kemant identity in favor of Amhara and the development of a sense of fostering a feeling and consciousness of some different identity by showing loyalty to their obsolete language and religion. In general,

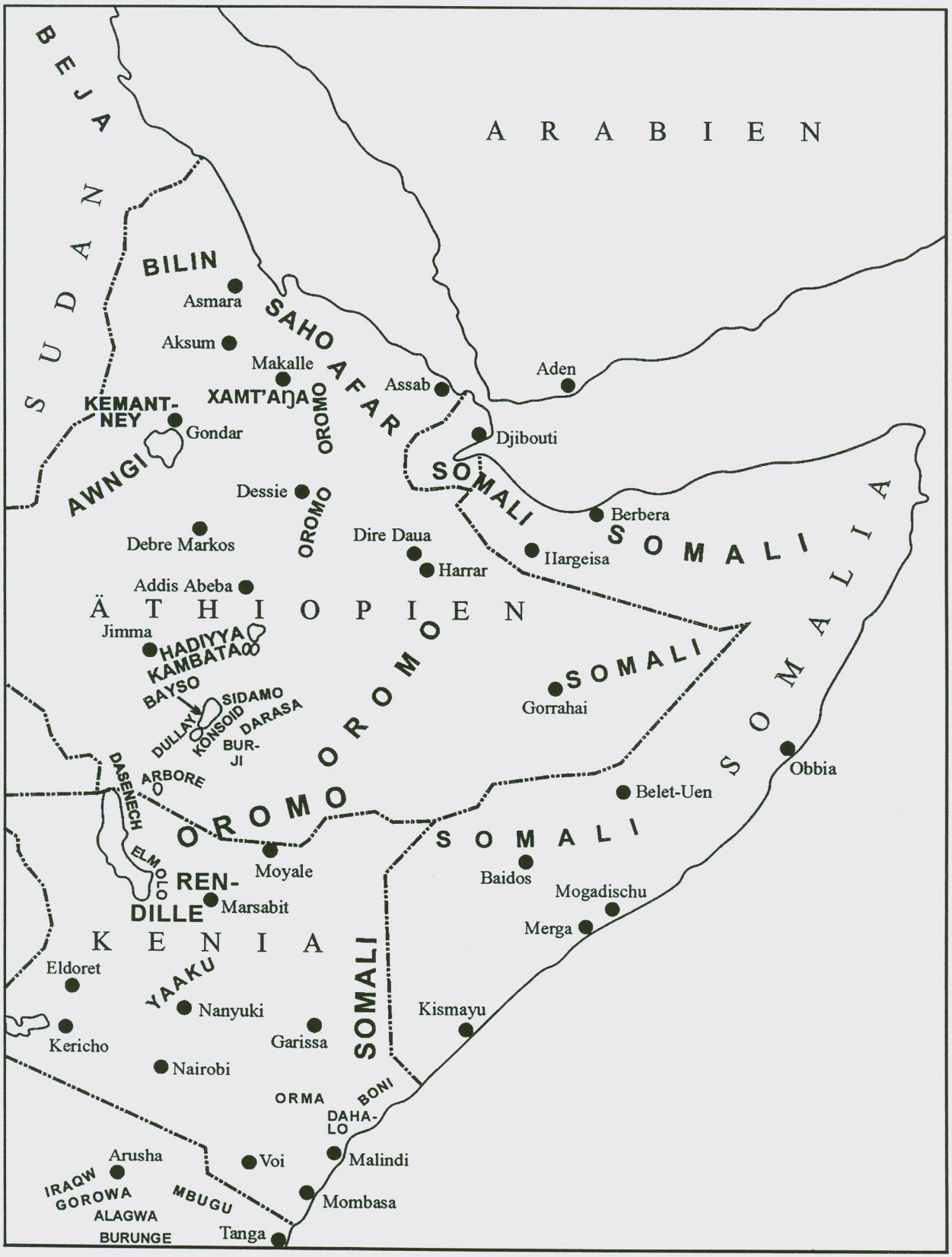
[21] Interview with Beletu Hailu, Mantegbosh Tagele, Yelfign Mekete and adugna Tessema.
[22] Interview with Aba Womberu, Abiye Asresa, Beletu Hailu, Taddese Adugna, Yelfign Mekete.

the cumulative effect of lack of confidence in their own identity has led to the development of native competence in Amharic in place of Kemantney.

2.2.7 The Geographical Location of the Kemant Land

Whereas the locations of the other Agew languages like Awŋi and Xamt'aŋa have contributed to their continued existence, the location of Kemantney has contributed to its near extinction. Awŋi, for instance, has the influence of Amharic on the east, north and south, but it has other minority languages like Shinasha and Gumuz on its west. As a consequence, it is still spoken by thousands of monolinguals along the border with those languages. On the other hand, Xamt'aŋa is spoken between Amharic and Tigrinya speakers. It is, therefore, highly influenced by both languages. But, even though Tigrinya is also a major language, its influence on Xamt'aŋa does not seem to be as strong as that of Amharic. In this area, people belong to either of the following: Xamt'aŋa-Amharic bilinguals; Xamt'aŋa-Tigrinya bilinguals; Xamt'aŋa-Amahric-Tigrinya trilinguals; Amharic monolinguals; or Xamt'aŋa monolinguals (see also Appleyard 1987a; Wedekind et.al 1995).

As for Kemantney, the situation is different. The people have been totally surrounded by Amharic speakers for a long time. This has resulted in an overwhelming language contact which has paved the way for Kemantney to be replaced by Amharic. As Mackey (1980:35) puts it, 'if a small fish gets in contact with a big fish, it is the smaller which is more likely to disappear.' The geographical proximity that the Kemant people have to Gondar, which was the center of the Ethiopian polity as mentioned earlier, and their proximity to Amharic speakers has led not only to language contact but also to frequent cultural, economic, religious, social contact, all of which contribute, in one way or another, to the replacement of their language by Amharic.



Map V: The Kemant and other Cushitic languages in Ethiopia and the neighboring countries
Source: Sasse (1981:188)

One other point worth mentioning with regard to the geographical location of the Kemant people is the physical environment of the area and the demographic situation. As also mentioned by Gamst (1967), they inhabit an extremely rugged and gorgy escarpment in north Gondar. The altitude ranges from 4,000 to 10,000 feet. The whole area covers roughly 4000 sq. kilometers. According to the district Agricultural Office, Chilga covers an area of 251,100 hectares, of which only 95,089 hectares are cultivable. The population is increasing whereas the fertility of the soil is diminishing due to natural and man-made reasons.[23] Hence, because of shortage of cultivable land, the people have always been moving to Amharic speaking places and work as farmers or shepherds. Wherever they move, they establish relations through marriage and other ties such as *yä-kïrïstïna lïǰ*, lit. 'God child' or *yä-t'ut lïǰ*, lit. 'breast-child'. A considerable number of them have moved to Metemma and Quara, about three - six days journey. The movement to such Amharic speaking areas has contributed to the obsolescence of their language.

2.2.8 Religious Conversion, the Prime Cause

As mentioned in the preceding sections, the Kemant people had their own traditional religion called *kïmant haymanot* 'Kemant religion'. Halevy writes the following brief note on what he heard from the Kemant people about the religion.

> Two Kemant officers were sitting down one day near my hut, and I seized the opportunity of addressing some questions to them respecting their religious belief. They asserted that they were not Christians, though their names and the blue cord they wore might have led to that impression. They have no religious book of their own, though they have places of worship where they occasionally meet to recite prayers, which are known only to their priests. They have no fast days[24], but they keep a great annual festival, which sometimes falls in the month of Meskerem, and sometimes in the month of Thekemt. (1877:243)

Aba Womberu's estimate of the present number of followers of the traditional religion is about five hundred.[25] There are more than twenty priests with their wives following the same

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[23] The size of the total population of Chilga, according to the census of 1994, is 166, 086.

[24] During my stay in Chilga, I realized that the Kemant people have fasting days. I know, at least, two fasting times in August and some time between March and April before Easter. The first is called *s'omä mariam* 'Fasting of Marry' and the second *abiy s'om* 'Major fasting' by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The difference between the two groups is only on the date of the feast. Followers of the Kemant religion fast short and celebrate the feast earlier than Christians. Among others, fasting could be taken as one of the recent introductions into the Kemant religion from Christianity.

[25] The same number (500) was volunteered to Gamst during his fieldwork before thirty years (see Gamst, 1969).

religion. Some Kemant priests recruit their sons as their successors. Examples are Aba Womberu himself who has recruited his son to replace him and K'es Abe who wants his son to be a priest. Surprisingly, the recruited do not speak Kemantney.

History tells us that Christianity was introduced to Ethiopia in the middle of the fourth century, during the Axumite Kingdom. It is believed that prior to that the Abbysinians must have been partly pagans and partly adherents of a form of Judaized religion (Ullendorff, 1960). Their conversion was slow and limited to the principal centers of the time. As a result, the diverse strands of religious habits and practices coexisted for time. However, later, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, an immense expansion of Christianity into the southern and northwestern parts of the country was witnessed (Taddese, 1972; Ullendorff, 1960). One such expansion includes the Christianization of the Agew people by monks from around Lake Tana.

The Kemant religion has had an interesting and direct association with the language. When the religion was thriving; at least before the first phase of conversion into Christianity around the thirteenth century (Taddese, 1986), the language was also flourishing. At this time, the people were monolingual. After the thirteenth century, following the introduction of Christianity, people started to be bilingual. As their development coincides, the wider use of the religion and the language has been witnessed hand in hand and therefore, both are on the verge of extinction today. The revival and obsolescence of the religion at different times together with other additional factors mentioned determined the fate of the language. Therefore, today, it is possible to predict that if a Kemant person is a follower of the religion, then it is most likely that (s)he knows Kemantney. The fact that one speaks the language does not suggest that (s)he also follows the religion.

As stated above, Christianity was introduced to the Kemant people around the beginning of the thirteenth century (see Appendix 1 on the history of the establishment of churches around Chilga). However, it seems difficult to tell exactly when conversion started for the first time. In fact, one thing can be taken for granted. That is, the gradual conversion into Christianity and the abandonment of the language started long before and continued until 1958/9, whereas the time of the final conversion and the ultimate near-extinction of both the language and the religion was witnessed in 1958/9. With this account and with the reports of travelers, 1958/9 could be taken as a landmark in the history of the Kemant language and religion.

According to Bruce (1790) and Halevy (1877), the Kemant people had been converted to Christianity during the reign of Fasiledes (1632-1667). Though the concerns of these travelers were the source of the Nile (J. Bruce) and the Falasha people (J, Flad; d' Abbadie and J. Halevy),[26] their account about the Kemant people has a paramount importance for the present study. Concerning the conversion of the Kemant people, Bruce (1790:275) says that it happened during the reign of Fasiledes, toward the second half of the sixteenth century.

> ...at a quarter past four, we came to the river Toom Aredo which arising in the country of the Kemmont, (a people inhabiting the high grounds above the south-west falls into the river Mahaanah. The Kemmont were a sect once the same as the Falasha, but were baptized in the reign of Fasilidas, and ever since, have continued separate from their ancient brethren. No grate pains seem to have been taken with them since their admission to Christianity, for they retain most of their ancient customs. They eat the meat of cattle killed by Christians, but not of those that are slaughtered either by Mohametans or Falasha. They hold as a doctrine, that, being once baptized, and having once communicated, no sort of prayer, nor other attention to divine worship, is further necessary. They wash themselves from head to foot after coming from the market, or any public place, where they may have touched anyone of a sect different from their own, esteeming all such unclean. They abstain from all sorts of work or Saturday, keeping close at home; but they grind corn, and do many other such like works upon Sunday. Their language is the same as that of the Falasha with some small difference of idiom. They have great abhorrence to fish, which they not only refrain from eating, but can not bear the sight of; and the reason they give for this is that Jonah, the prophet (from whom they boast they are descended) was swallowed by a whale, or some other such great fish.

On the other hand, Flad (1866) writes, 'Seit der Regierung des Königs Theodoros haben einige Kamanten das Christenthum angenommen; jedoch nur um irdischer Interessen willen, um dem König zu gefallen und von ihm einträgliche Beamten-Stellen zu erhalten.' From this, we can understand that the conversion of the Kemant people to Christianity took place in the eighteen century.

However, from the history of the Orthodox churches in Chilga, we can understand that the process began much earlier, around 1268 (see Appendix 1) in the reign of Yikuno-Amlak (1270-1285). This is three and half centuries before Fasiledes (1636-1667), and five centuries before Teodros II (1885-1868).

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[26] J. Bruce himself talked more about the *Falasha* than about the *Kemant people*. The reason is perhaps a matter of religious affiliation. The former were the interest of travelers who were themselves Jewes like Halevy. Most of the materials on Kemant are simple reports of one or two lines or paragraphs, unlike the Falasha who have been getting higher attention than the rest of the Agew group.

The chronicle of the Zagwe dynasty could be taken as additional historical evidence for the time of conversion of the Kemant people before both Fasiledes and Tewodros II. After the decline of the Axumite empire around the ninth century, Ethiopian civilization continued to develop under the rule of the Zagwe dynasty which took over the throne in the tenth century and ruled the country for three hundred years up to 1270. The Zagwe kings were Agews and could be bilinguals in Amharic and in one of the Agew languages, most likely, Xamt'aŋa. Their seat of government was in Lasta where Xamt'aŋa is still spoken. One of the wonderful cultural achievements which has made the Emperors of the dynasty, especially King Lalibela, famous is the construction of the remarkable churches, which were named after him. Many other churches and monasteries were also founded during their time (Pankhurst, 1967; Jones and Monroe, 1968; Buxton, 1957). If, according to the chronicle, the kings were Christians, the introduction of this religion to the Agew peoples, including the Kemant, must be before they came to power.

As indicated in Appendix 1, the conversion process which is followed by the establishment of churches started around the first half of the thirteenth century and has continued until now. The phenomenon of conversion of the Kemant people followed by the building of churches has a direct association with the shift of religion, language and identity. A total of 141 churches were built in Chilga between 1268 and 1997. The oldest churches founded in 1268 coincide with the end of the Zagwe dynasty and the restoration of the Solomonic dynasty, perhaps two years before Yikuno-Amlak (1270-1285), according to Pankhurst (1967) or exactly when he came to power (1268-1283), according to Huntingford et al. (1954). The conversion of religion, the establishment of churches and the shift of language and identity continued during the reigns of Amde-Tsion (1314-1344), Seife-Arid (1344-1371), Yisihak' (1413-1430), Beide-Mariam (1468-1478), Eskindir (1478-1494), Gelawdewos (1540-1559), Fasiledes (1632-1667), Zemane-Mesafint (1755-1855), Tewodros II (1855-1868), Tekle-Giorgis (1868-1871), Yohanes IV (1872-1889), Menelik II (1889-1913), until the 1958/1959 mass conversion, during the reign of Haile-Selassie (1923-1974). The conversions since 1958/59 has not brought significant changes on the language and religion because they take place at an individual level. It is also hardly possible to take the recently founded churches as indicators of conversion because the people who become Christians are few in number and are already Amahric speakers.

The conversion of the Kemant people to Christianity is still fresh in the minds of the Kemant elders as reflected in their oral tradition. According to their tradition, the first mass conversion was during the reign of Yohanes IV (1872-1889) and the second during Haile-Selassie (1923-1974). As mentioned earlier, the two periods of the process are different since the first was forced whereas the second was based on the will of the people (see also Sasse, 1992b). The process in the reign of Tewodros II could also be said voluntary as it happened when the Kemant people were closer to the Amharic-speaking people, especially by joining the army.

The Kemant elders know why the conversion during Yohanes IV was forceful. They say that the Kemant, the Falasha and the Muslim were forced to be Christians during the time of Yohanes IV as he was fanatic. Besides, of his desire for a more united Ethiopia, with no internal problems, the king ordered all non-Christians to join the national church (Trimingham, 1952). According to the elderly, before the war with the Dervishes in 1889, there was a tale that a non-Christian opponent would kill Yohanes IV. As a result, as a prophylactic measure, the king ordered all non-Christians to become Christians before his departure for Metemma. Because of their vulnerable location, which lies on the way to Metemma, the Kemant people, including priests, were among those forced to convert enmasse to Christianity. This is clear form the following:

> at'e yohanïs nan šïkisaʏʷäta ämäy säraxäŋʷ ayxud galä t'ämäk'sïgaʏ kʷït kʷaʏ yïno mʷartïzir avvärïzir dabdabšän laʏ karäz xʷïyšari yaʏ ardäyä ïnsïk šäbo yaʏ yän danla t'ïmk'ïsi t'ämäk'sïnïʏʷ nitir t'ämäk'sïgaʏ dïrbuš galä kʷaʏ mätäma amirä gämïʏʷ dïrbuš däbädäbïʏʷ
>
> Lit. When As'e Yohanes governed for 18 years, he was told by a wizard that a Jew who is not baptized will kill him. The king saw this prophecy in his dream and he tried to make people eat with one and the same knife, he having slaughtered. He did all what he had said. But, he was not spared. The baptism, we were baptized. It was the Dervishes who were the non-baptized and who killed him. He went down to Metemma Amira; Dervishes killed him.

The last phase of the process of conversion, which put the language out of the public domain, and in some villages out of the home domain, took place during the reign of Haile-Selassie in 1958/1959. At this time, the Christian-Kemant people who had positions in the government and the Church took the lion's share in converting their people to Christianity.

> The imposition was coming not only from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church but mainly from our own people who were among the 'big men' of the time and who had despised their forefathers' religion and became Christians long time before the mass conversion. This includes those who went through modern education and

> those who became priests in the Church. They considered us as pagans and archaic. They considered the language as primitive and useless. Let alone the Kemant-Kemants, they scorned even those who had become Christians but who continued speaking the language, and ridiculed them. For them, if a person is a Christian, he must not speak Kemantney. Those who were speakers of Kemantney were told to give up their language in favor of Amharic. They stopped talking in our language. Amharic spread everywhere, Kemantney vanished.[27]

The 1958/9 mass conversion took place mainly by a parson called Aba Layke-Mariam Birru under the auspices of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. More than ninety percent of the Kemant people, especially those above the age of fifty-five, mention this phase as the first and foremost cause for the death of their language. After the conversion, the Kemant society fully became part and parcel of the social and political structure of the state. Aba Womberu's response to my question of the cause for the language to be in such a state is the following:

> The major cause is only one, that is, the conversion of the Kemant people who were followers of their own religion to Christianity. People who were living in twenty-two villages in Chilga were converted in less than two years. I, as a Womber, resisted the action and went to the imperial court for appeal and Haile-Selassie told the officials of Gondar not to force me or my people to be converted. I praised the king and came back home. In fact, I know Aba Layke-Mariam personally. He was a knowledgeable person because he was always preaching our people only to accept Christianity. Nevertheless, he did not say a word to the people to quit talking Kemantney. Instead, he use to say, 'do not forget your language'. He himself was trying to communicate in Kemantney so as to be a model among the Kemant people not to abandon their language. But, for the reason, which I do not clearly know yet, our people themselves all of a sudden, have given up the language since the conversion. I am still kin to my religion. I speak the language very well, my wife too. We are determined to keep the customs and traditions inherited from our forefathers.[28]

One oral tradition from Kinde Godo also takes the 1958/9 conversion by Aba Layke-Mariam as the cause for the immediate disappearance of the language from the home and public domain.

> hayläsïllaseš nan mämhïr laykemariyam tïnaʏ gize yätät'ämäk'ä yïdan yaltät'ämäk'ä yïdäyyän yïno kïrïstïni täfafamäsab tiyäŋʷ gizi malägaʏ ïlla kïmäntnäy k'ʷaŋk'ʷi dämäsäsosab an t'ïmk'ätïz bïlaʏä gayïl yaʏ t'ämäk'sosab ka gïrgitïz kïmänti k'ʷaŋk'ʷi k'ʷäzäk'ʷäzaʏ ïnzï gala
>
> Lit. During Haile-Selassie, when Memhir Layke Mariam came saying, 'let he who is baptized be saved; let he who is not baptized be cursed', and when Christianity was spreading, there was no one to reject it. The extinction of Kemantney language, as for me, is through baptism. He baptized, having said 'I am Amhara through baptism'. Little by little, it is due to this reason that Kemantney went on shrinking.

[27] Interview: Aba Womberu , Mekonnen Akanaw, Adugna Tesema, Gedamu Melke.

[28] This is a translation of an Amharic interview.

An interesting case, which is encountered among people of this area, is their perception of religion, language and ethnicity. For almost all the Kemant people, the 1958/9 mass conversion is perceived not only as a change of religion but also as a change of ethnic and linguistic identity (see details in chapter III). For them, the traditional religion was inextricably linked with Kemantney and abandoning it meant abandoning the language as well. Abandoning both the religion and the language also meant abandoning their ethnic identity as Kemant. Hence, the abandonment of the Kemant religion and language in favor of Christianity and Amharic meant becoming Amhara. Kemantney has been perceived not only as the language of the Kemant people but also as the language of the Kemant religion. In the same way, the Kemant people take Amharic not only as the language of the Amhara but also of Christianity. Becoming a Christian is thus becoming Amharic speaker and then Amhara, a change of ethnic identity. One senses this kind of perception in every day life.[29] Whenever a Kemant person is asked how (s)he happens to be Amhara, the answer is always: 'I was baptized and became Amhara'.

The Kemant people believe that their language and their religion are considered backward in every aspect of life. A diglossic situation prevailed because the people view Amharic as a language of modern and Christian life characterized by political, economic and social advantages. Even though the Kemant people did not formally declare to abandon their language in favor of Amharic, they failed to teach the young, especially after the last phase of mass conversion. The case seems to be similar to that of the Yaaku (also known as Mogogodo) of Kenya, who made a decision in the 1930s to abandon their own language, Yaaku, in favor of Massai. This was taken as an adaptive strategy of becoming pastoralist (Heine, 1975a).

The abandonment of the language was felt to be the only way to keep the Kemant people firm Christian. They were thus forced more and more to speak Amharic. Together with the above-mentioned reasons, which have led to the development of Amhara identity, it was also at this time in the history of the people that the converts completely stopped using their language.

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[29] While I was walking with my informant, in Aykel on February 19, 1998, I saw a girl coming towards us carrying a heavy basket full of meat. Two other girls were walking in the opposite direction. The girl with the meat asked them to help her unload the basket. The two girls immediately called me and said, *ïbak-ïh gaššä amara ïndä-hon-h yï-čč-ïn lï ǰ awïrd-at* 'Please sir, if you are Amhara, would you help this girl unload the heavy basket?'. I realized later that the two girls did not want to help because they were Moslem. They did not want to touch the meat as it was from the slaughter of Christian, which in their understanding, is the same as Amhara. There are football teams organized under

As in the case of, for instance, Gaelic (Dorian, 1981) and Bhojpuri (Mohan and Zador, 1986), Kemantney has been marginalized in favor of Amharic. In addition, the Kemant-Kemant people considered Christian-Kemants as beneficiaries of the state, leading a more civilized life. As Gamst (1969) has mentioned, lower administrative positions in Kemant areas were often filled by Christianized Kemant or by those with alliance with the Amhara. Quirin's quote of Girazmach Kassegn Alemayehu, who was a judge of the Supreme Court at Gondar, explains this fact.

> You see, at that time, unless one was a Christian he did not have much chance to participate in the governmental facilities. They wanted to get close to the rulers and get offices.... Unless one was converted to Christianity his survival was doubtful. In the army, unless he ate and drank together with the rest of the army, how do you think he would survive? He must be converted. (1977:292)

The conversion into Christianity among the Kemant-Kemant people exists even today. As a result, more and more followers of the traditional religion become Christians or, in their understanding, become Amhara. As we shall observe in some detail in the next chapter, the frustration of not being considered Kemant: *kïmä?antä y-ïs-n-äk*^{w} 'We shall be called Kemants' seems to be felt by the present generation.

Thus, the death process of Kemantney can be taken as both gradual and radical. It is gradual in the sense that it has been going on since some seven hundred years back and yet there are some terminal speakers. It is radical (see also Sasse, 1992b) in the sense that its domain has been greatly reduced just to few households abruptly, since the 1958/9 mass conversion.

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the names Amhara and Moslem around Chilga which suggest the way people of this area perceive ethnicity, religion and language.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH BEHAVIOR

3.0 Introduction

Except for sudden language death, several other language shift cases from a RDL to a RGL are always accompanied with changes in the sociolinguistic environment of the endangered languages in question and of their speakers. These changes are mainly exhibited in the speech behavior of the remnant speakers. There will be reduction of users and contractions of functional domains. This is directly correlated with the negative attitude people show towards the moribund language. This syndrome may also lead to a change and eventually to a loss of identity. All such issues are addressed in sociolinguistics, and analyzing them is important for the study of language replacement and demise (Dimmendaal, 1998; Dorian, 1981; Sasse, 1992a; Schmidt, 1985).

The main focus of this chapter is the analysis of the speech behavior of the last generation of speakers of Kemantney. It is organized as follows: First, an overall demographic information of respondents (sample size, sex, age, religion, place of birth and residence, occupation, educational background and mother tongue) will be given. Second, their language use situation will be discussed. Third, all the stereotyped attitudes towards the replaced and the replacing languages will be described. Following this, the relationships of the language and identity will be considered. Finally, the prospect of Kemantney will be discussed from the point of view of trends in language revitalization effort.

In order to address the issues raised above, an integrated set of research techniques has been employed. This includes: (a) analysis and interpretation of data based on a statistical account of sociolinguistic questionnaire,[1] (b) frequent visits to the Kemant area and close observation of the

[1] It is commonplace in the literature that the validity of a questionnaire on its own is equivocal (Dorian, 1981; Pütz, 1995; Romaine, 1989). This is particularly evident with terminal speakers of a moribund language. One major problem encountered during data collection was the dissemination of false information among the Kemant people. My research project was interpreted as being a design for migrating them like the Falasha. They also interpreted it as a huge government exercise for the revival of their language and culture through me. My frequent visits and relatively long stay in the area intensified their misunderstanding. My close contact with the Womber for purely linguistic purposes gave them the chance of being skeptical of dealing secret operations with him. The major reason for this

people over the last four years. This includes attendance of every day activities at home, in the community, in places of worship, in schools and marketplaces, and (c) interview with some selected senior individuals who were recommended for their knowledge of oral traditions and the history of the people and the language.

The questionnaire comprises 188 items covering themes like language use, language attitude, language and identity relationships etc. (see appendix II).[2]

3.1 Demographic Information

3.1.1 Number of Respondents (Sample Size)

The number of subjects to whom the questionnaire was administered, was 269. The rationale for limiting the number to this was to keep the statistical validity of the two groups of speakers. One group consists of 1625 people who speak Kemantney as a first language. The other group includes 3450 people who speak Kemantney as a second language. The two groups make a population of 5075 speakers of which over 5% are represented.

3.1.2 Sex

Gender-based roles are clear among the Kemant. Women have the responsibility of taking care of children, cooking, fetching firewood and water, and all other activities in the house. Men cultivate the land, keep the herd, build and maintain the house. Farm work such as weeding, thrashing, etc. are often done by both sexes. Women go out of their villages only on Saturdays to sell what they have (grains, vegetables, chicken, eggs etc.) and buy essentials like salt, oil and kerosene. All other times, they stay at home.[3] This has resulted in little exposure to towns. This observation led to the hypothesis that women might retain Kemantney more than men. They were, thus, included in the sample population of 269 respondents, of which 136 (50.6%) were females.

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was their feeling of hopelessness toward the language as a result of which they did not expect anyone interested in studying it at this precarious situation. Though the unexpected problem itself gave me a lesson on the status of the language and the attitude of its speakers, the influence it had when I collected the questionnaire was undeniable. Some individuals who pretended to be concerned about the ethnic group propagated others to volunteer their response favoring Kemantney and disfavoring Amharic. To some extent, the confusion might have affected the balance of the number of respondents with some items of the questionnaire. In that case, (a) a remark is given in foot-notes, (b) the result of the questionnaire analysis is supported with facts from observations and interviews.

[2] I designed the questionnaire after a two years of observation and acquaintance with the Kemant people in general.

[3] Though women are more hesitant than men in volunteering information, their availability at home every time made data collection easier with them than with men.

3.1.3 Age

In order to determine the age profile of speakers, respondents from every age, that is, children, youngsters, adolescents and adults were represented in the sample population. As illustrated in (table 1), those who speak the language fall into one of the following age groups only.

Age	Below 31	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	90 +	Total
No. of respondents	0	16	42	72	70	57	8	4	269
Percentage	0%	6%	15.6%	26.8%	26%	21.1%	3%	1.5%	100%

Table 1: Age grouping of respondents

Table 1 shows that the youngest speakers are in their early thirties. There are neither understanders nor speakers below this age. Interestingly, the youngest speakers were brought up by their grandparents who were more proficient in Kemantney than in Amharic. According to Alehegn Taddese (39), Taddese Adugna (38) and Dagnew Tessema (37), such people would not have learned Kemantney had they been reared by their parents.

3.1.4 Educational Background

The questionnaire was randomly distributed to the respondents, with no consideration of educational background. After the data analysis, it was found out that among the 269 respondents, 212 (78.8%) were non-literate and 57 (21.2%) were literate at different levels.[4] The literate had different levels of schooling as shown below.

Elementary school	High school	Church school	Self-educated	Adult education	Total
12	7	5	26	7	57
21%	12.3%	8.8%	45.6%	12.3%	100%

Table 2: Educational background of literate respondents

Within this group, 38 respondents had non-formal education (church school, adult literacy and self-education) and they are twice the size of the respondents who had formal education as shown in the first and second columns.

[4] In this study, a literate person is defined as one who can read and write Amharic whereas a non-literate person is one, who cannot read and write Amharic.

3.1.5 Place of Birth and Residence

Among the 269 respondents, only 13 (4.8%) were born in towns such as Aykel or Seraba (see Map II) whereas the rest, 256, (95.2%) were born in rural areas.[5] During the periods of the fieldwork, 245 of the respondents (91%) were living in rural areas and only 24 (9%) in urban centers.

3.1.6 The Linguistic Repertoire

Kemantney is spoken only by 3% of the Kemant people. The questionnaire was administered to those who can speak or, at least, understand it. The rationale for this was to avoid the risk of including respondents who do not speak Kemantney. The configuration of the respondents' linguistic background is shown in (table 3) below.

Kemant and Amharic	262	97.4%
Kemant, Amharic and English	7	2.6%
Total	269	100%

Table 3: Language(s) spoken by respondents

Among the 262 Kemantney-Amharic bilinguals, 149 (56.8%) claimed to have acquired Kemantney first, and Amharic later during their childhood. 90 respondents, (34.4%) claimed to have been brought up as bilinguals in both Amharic and Kemantney. The rest 23 (8.7%) acquired Amharic first and learned Kemantney later. As shown in the table, there are no Kemantney monolinguals today.

We can see three patterns of acquisition some 50 to 60 years ago when the present Kemant elders were children: (a) the acquisition of Kemantney only as a first language, in this case by a majority, (b) the acquisition of both Kemantney and Amharic, and (c) the acquisition of Amharic only as a first language. In the first pattern, Kemantney monolinguals learned Amharic as a second language and in the pattern in (c), Amharic monolinguals learned Kemantney as a second language at a later age. All the three patterns of shift lead to the following conclusion: If an individual or group or speech community was monolingual in a RDL first, and became bilingual in both the replaced and the replacing languages and finally ended up being competent in the RGL (all being witnessed within the same generation), then the process is one of radical language death.

3.1.7 Occupation

The questionnaire was randomly distributed without any consideration of the respondents' occupation. The occupational profiles of the respondents are shown in (table 4).

Farmers	Retired	Jobless elderly persons	Merchants	Government employees	Nuns	Total
221	3	31	5	5	4	269
82.1%	1.1%	11.5%	1.9%	1.9%	1.5%	100%

Table 4: Types of respondents by occupation

The Kemant people earn their living by farming (see chapter II). With the exception of few individuals, the overwhelming majority in the small town of Aykel has direct or indirect link with farming life in their villages of origin. This keeps them in touch with rural relatives, which has an effect not only on their way of life, but also on their linguistic ability. Hence, knowledge of Kemantney is apparently tied up with direct or indirect contact people have with rural life.

As can be understood from the table, the peasant population has retained the language more than any other section of the community. The number would be even higher, if elderly jobless members and the nuns, who had once been farmers, are included. Hence, Kemantney is retained more among the peasantry than anywhere else.

3.2 Language Use

In this sub-section, the language use situation of the replaced and the replacing languages is described in some detail. The discussion focuses on (a) the order of acquisition of Kemantney and Amharic among different generations, (b) the two intersecting dimensions of language use and the potential and demographic characteristics of its users.

3.2.1 Generational Comparison of Mother-Tongue

As mentioned in 3.1.1, Kemantney is spoken by a small section of the Kemant population. Among the 172,291 Kemant people registered in the 1994 census, only 1625 (1%) have acquired the language as their MT. 3450 (2%) were registered as second language speakers of Kemantney. This is a vivid indicator of a language near extinction. The generational comparison among grandparents, parents, siblings and off-springs, is shown below in response to the question, 'What is/was ...'s MT?'

[5]Aykel and Seraba were small villages some decades ago but they are now small towns inhabited by both peasants and non-peasants. It can be taken for granted that nobody born in big towns like Gondar would speak the language.

Kemantney	Amharic	Both	Don't know	Total
240	25	1	3	269
89.2%	9.3%	0.4%	1.1%	100%

Table 5: MT among grandmothers of respondents

As illustrated in (table 5), the overwhelming majority of the respondents' grandmothers (roughly between 100-150 years) spoke Kemantney as a MT. In order to know whether or not they also spoke any other language, the 240 respondents were further asked if their grandmothers spoke any other language. 188 (78.3%) said 'yes', 46 (19.2%) said 'no' and 6 (2.5%) said 'I do not know'. This result suggests that there were Kemantney monolingual grandmothers four-five generations ago although they were smaller in number than the bilinguals. The 188 respondents with bilingual grandmothers were asked what language their grandmothers spoke. All of them (100%) said that Amharic was their second language.[6] As the change of religion plays the most vital role for the present precarious status of Kemantney, the 25 grandmothers who acquired Amharic as a MT could also be the early converts to Christianity. From this situation, we can understand that the influence of Amharic in the Kemant community goes back to the third generation.

The next question concerns the language of grandfathers of respondents. This is shown in the table below.

Kemantney	Amharic	both	Tigrinya	Don't know	Total
228	32	3	1	5	269
84.7%	11.9%	1.1%	0.4%	1.9%	100%

Table 6: MT among grandfathers of respondents

Like grandmothers, the majority of grandfathers also acquired Kemantney as a first language. Respondents were asked what other languages their grandfathers spoke as a second, third etc. language. Out of the 228 respondents whose grandfathers spoke Kemantney as a MT, 217 (95.2%) said that their grandfathers learned Amharic later and became bilingual in both. The remaining 11 (4.8%) reported that they remained monolingual in Kemantney. As shown in the table, 32 grandfathers acquired Amharic as a MT and Kemantney as a second language.

When we consider the next generation (roughly between 75 - 100 years), the number of Kemantney MT speakers decreases whereas that of Amharic MT speakers increases. Compare the

[6] Three respondents mention Tigrinya as the third language of their trilingual grandmothers.

figures in (table 7), which shows the responses to the question of the language of respondents' mothers.

Kemantney	Amharic	Both	Don't know	Total
208	53	7	1	269
77.3%	19.7%	2.6%	0.4%	100%

Table 7: MT of mothers of respondents

As in the case of grandparents, the number of Kemantney MT speakers is larger than the number of Amharic MT speakers. Out of the 208 respondents whose mothers' MT was Kemantney, 198 (95.2%) were bilingual in Amharic. Only ten were Kemantney monolinguals. A similar question was raised with regard to the language of respondents' fathers. The responses are shown below.

Kemantney	Amharic	Both	Don't know	Total
201	58	6	4	269
74.7%	21.6%	2.2%	1.5%	100%

Table 8: MT of fathers of respondents

Out of the 201 fathers of respondents whose MT was Kemantney, 37 (18.4%) were monolingual while the rest 164 (81.5%) were bilingual in both Kemantney and Amharic.

When we consider the situation with siblings of the respondents, we see a considerable fall in the number of MT speakers of Kemantney and an increase in the number of bilinguals in Kemantney and Amharic, and monolinguals in Amharic. The response to the question of MT of brothers is shown in (table 9).

Kemantney	Amharic	Both	Total
88	129	23	240
36.7%	53.7%	9.6%	100%

Table 9: MT of brothers of respondents[7]

Among the 269 respondents, 240 have brothers, and as shown in the table, 88 of them acquired Kemantney, 129 acquired Amharic, and 23 acquired both Kemantney and Amharic simultaneously as MT. The 88 respondents whose MT is Kemantney are also bilingual in Amharic.

[7] 'Brother' refers to the eldest son in the family.

The same situation is observed with the language of sisters of respondents. Out of the 269 respondents, 232 have sisters. Their response to the question of MT of sisters is shown in (table 10).

Kemantney	Amharic	Both	Total
91	104	37	232
39.2%	44.8%	16%	100%

Table 10: MT of sisters of respondents

91 sisters of respondents (39.2%) speak Kemantney as MT and are also (100%) bilingual in Amharic. 104 sisters (44.8%) acquired Amharic first and learned Kemantney later.[8] 37 (16%) acquired both as MT.

The situation is the same with couples. Out of the 203 married respondents, 75 (37%) had Kemantney MT speaking partners. 121 (59.6%) had Amharic MT speaking partners and 7 (3.4%) respondents said their partners were bilingual in both languages. All of the 75 couples (100%) were bilingual in Amharic.

Out of the 269 respondents, 255 had children, whose MT is shown in (table 11).[9]

Kemantney	Amharic	Both	Total
10	237	8	255
3.9%	93%	3.1%	100%

Table 11: MT of children of respondents

As can be seen, the great majority of the children of respondents (93%) speak Amharic as MT. Only, 3.9% speak Kemantney as MT. In fact, the acquisition of Kemantney as MT by any child of the respondents would only be possible if and only if the children were born before the last phase of the shift process ended some 42 years ago. Otherwise, as we shall see in the following sections, the present generation acquire only Amharic as a MT (see also chapter II). Let us now summarize the above tables and see comparison among the generations of the Kemant people.

[8] 'Sister' refers to the eldest daughter in a family.

	Kemantney	%	Amharic	%	Both	%	Tigrinya	%	Don't know	%	Total	% (Total)
Grandmothers	240	89.2	25	9.3	1	0.4	---	---	3	1.1	269	100%
Grandfathers	228	84.7	32	11.9	3	1.1	1	0.4	5	1.9	269	100%
Mothers	208	77.3	53	19.7	7	2.6	---	---	1	0.4	269	100%
Fathers	201	74.7	58	21.6	6	2.2	---	---	4	1.5	269	100%
Brothers	88	36.7	129	53.7	23	9.6	---	---	---	---	240	100%
Sisters	91	39.2	104	44.8	37	16	---	---	---	---	232	100%
Wives/husbands	75	37	121	59.6	7	3.4	---	---	---	---	203	100%
Off-springs	10	3.9	237	93	8	3.1	---	---	---	---	255	100%

Table 12: MT among generations

Two important conclusions can be drawn from the above table. As columns 2 and 3 show (left to right), the number of MT speakers of Kemantney is high among the older and low among the younger generation. On the contrary, columns 3 and 4 show that the number of MT speakers of Amharic is high among the younger generation and low among the older generation. As will be shown below in 3.2.2, the second important conclusion to draw from the above table concerns the very brief period of intermediate bilingualism in the transition from Kemantney to Amharic.

3.2.2 Bilingualism and Bilinguals

The generational comparison above shows that all grandparents and parents of respondents were speakers of Kemantney. The majority learned Amharic later. There were 46 grandmothers, 11 grandfathers, 10 mothers and 37 fathers who were monolingual in Kemantney. According to Kemant elders, there were non-Christian monolingual Kemant people until recently. In that case, one can imagine a linguistic situation in which Kemantney was acquired as MT, while Amharic was learned as a second language by the majority of the people. However, that situation did not last long because of the religious and linguistic influence from Amharic speakers and the Orthodox Church. As a result, the number of Kemantney monolinguals declined abruptly. This happened during the last generation of Kemants (parents' generation) roughly 75 to 100 years ago. Since then, monolingualism in Amharic has been strong among the Kemant. At present, bilinguals in Kemant and Amharic are found as remnant groups, with strong influence from Amharic. In general, the wider use of the language some decades ago and its imperilment at present indicate that the shift to Amharic has been completed in less than a century, with no extended period of bilingualism. The following schema may be illustrative of the transition from Kemantney to Amharic:

[9] For the purpose of convenience, I have considered only the first child of respondents.

Kemantney $_{\text{monolingualism}}$ → Kemantney-dominant $_{\text{bilingualism}}$ → Amharic-dominant $_{\text{bilingualism}}$ → Amharic $_{\text{monolingualism}}$

In terms of time span, the period of (Kemantney $_{\text{monolingualism}}$) and (Amharic $_{\text{monolingualism}}$) are long, whereas the periods of the two intermediate phases (Kemantney-dominant $_{\text{bilingualism}}$ and Amharic-dominant $_{\text{bilingualism}}$) were brief (cf. chapter II for the external settings which made the shift fast).

Mougeon and Beniak (1989:292) said, 'It is indeed difficult to imagine a linguistic group adopting a new language without going through a period of bilingualism'. Similarly, Fasold (1984) and Hoenigswald (1989) say that bilingualism is a precondition for language shift and death. However, there is socio-historical evidence to suggest that bilingualism, in its wider and stable sense, was not a phase in the transition from Kemantney to Amharic. This shows that the occurrence of stable community-wide bilingualism depends only on the magnitude or intensity of influence by the RGL. Hence, as mentioned in Chapter II, because of the heavy cultural, linguistic and demographic pressure on the Kemant people, the shift process was relatively fast with only a short period of bilingualism.

Investigating the speech behavior of the present terminal speakers of Kemantney may also help to determine the intensity and speed of the shift situation and thereby their level of bilingualism. Macnamara (1967) defines a bilingual person as a speaker and understander of two languages. He proposes that a bilingual is anyone who has a minimal competence in a language other than his mother tongue in one of the four basic skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing. Reading and writing skills cannot be taken as a measure for a language like Kemantney, which is not written. On the other hand, all speakers of Kemantney may qualify as bilinguals according to the above definition since they all have speaking and listening competence though the level of proficiency may vary.

The popular understanding regarding the definition of a bilingual person and bilinguality in general is that of Bloomfield (1933). He defines a bilingual person as one who can speak two languages perfectly and bilinguality as 'the native-like control of two languages' (1933:56). Those who learned Kemantney as a second language have a passive knowledge of the language. They number 3450. The rest of the people 1625 who are MT speakers of Kemantney can be taken as fluent because they were exposed first to it and then shifted to Amharic. Because they acquired Kemantney as a MT, grew with it until recently, when measured in terms of Bloomfield's

definition, the latter group of terminal speakers can be considered as bilinguals. However, though their level of fluency in both Kemantney and Amharic qualifies them as bilinguals, even the most competent terminal speakers are more comfortable in Amharic than in Kemantney. While in healthy languages, the dominance is to the MT, in the case of Kemantney, all Kemantney MT speakers are now more competent in Amharic. This is because of the restricted use of Kemantney in day-to-day activities. A deteriorating degree of fluency of active terminal speakers is witnessed in: (a) the grammar (see chapter V), (b) the slow speed with which they produce words and sentences in Kemantney, (c) the loss of memory of words in Kemantney (see chapter IV), (d) the style of use of Kemantney, which includes speaking with Amharic accentual and intonation patterns, and (e) code-switching from Kemantney to Amharic and not vice-versa.

If one has to distinguish between the levels of proficiency of terminal speakers in Kemantney and Amharic, one would say that they are coordinate bilinguals dominated by and fluent in Amharic more than in Kemantney.

3.2.3 Proficient Speakers

As a rule, speakers of minority languages are more likely to learn the language of the majority but not the other way round (see Cooper, 1976). By the same token, Amharic speakers hardly speak Kemantney. Respondents were asked if members of the neighboring ethnic group spoke Kemantney. Out of the 269 respondents, 245, (91.1%) reported that their Amhara neighbors did not speak Kemantney while 24 (8.9%) said that they did. Though they are very insignificant in number, there are very few non-Kemant elderly individuals who can speak and understand Kemantney. The knowledge of such individuals (both Moslem and Christian Amharas) suggests that the language was predominantly used in the area serving various functions not long ago.[10] Whenever they met each other, the Kemant and the Amhara use Amharic exclusively. The Kemant use only Amharic whenever they meet a person from another ethnic group, for instance, Oromo, Tigre, Shinasha, Awiya, Gumuz etc.

In order to determine whether there is a difference between, for example, the old and the young, men and women, rural and urban, literate and non-literate people in their knowledge of

[10] I remember a Moslem Amhara person who was recommended to me as a good informant. I was told that he was brought up around Chenchok, the heart of Kemantney even today. Eventually, he refused to provide data and as a result, I could not check his knowledge of the language. In fact, I met a few other individuals, who could understand the language due to their closeness with the Kemant villages during childhood. Another old man with whom I was talking in Kemantney at Bohna stopped talking immediately and ran away when he saw other persons approaching us.

Kemantney, respondents were asked whether the elderly or the young spoke proficient Kemantney. The response was as shown in (table 13).

Elders	Youngsters	Both	Total
257	1	11	269
95.5%	0.4%	4.1%	100%

Table 13: Respondents evaluation of age-based proficiency

As can be shown from the table, there is no doubt that the elderly spoke Kemantney more proficiently (cf. table 1). The decline of proficiency among the young is evident. As mentioned in (3.1.3), the language is maintained well by those whose age is 51 and above. Another major point deducible from tables (1) and (13) is that the transmission of the language has ceased, and as a result it has become increasingly the mark of the elderly. Thus, proficiency has correlation with age, the older the more and the younger the less proficient.

As shown in (3.1.2), I had the impression that women might have retained the language more than men. This emanated from the tradition of the Kemant people that women are often at home more than men. Heine (1990) reports that in the early 1970's, there were roughly 50 women as against only 6 to 8 men who could remember the old language among the Omotik speakers of Kenya. Labov (1966) has also shown that women are more speech conscious than men. Contrary to Heine and Labov, Wardhaugh (1987) writes that women have less proficiency in declining languages than men. In order to test both claims, Kemant respondents were asked a proficiency question between the two sexes. The responses are shown in (table 14).

Women	Men	Both	Total
21	19	229	269
7.9%	7%	85.1%	100%

Table 14: Respondents evaluation of sex-based proficiency

Nineteen respondents (7%) claimed that men spoke more proficiently than women whereas 21 respondents (7.9%) said that women were more proficient than men. 229 (85.1%) respondents said that both women and men spoke the language equally well. This suggests that both the above two hypotheses fail to hold true. When one closely observes the community, the number of male terminal speakers seems to be greater than that of women. This is not, however, a matter of higher proficiency but one of interest to use the language. Men dare speak the language more than

women because women are shy to say they speak Kemantney.[11] But once they start speaking it, they show the same as their male counterparts. Thus, sex does not seem to be an important demographic variable correlated with knowledge of language.

Kemantney is a language hidden in the minds of its speakers who still show a high competence in it. It gets expressed only during religious ceremonies and secret talks. As a result of its limited use, it is a surprise for most people, especially for those in towns, to hear that such a language exists. Such people got more surprised when they heard the Kemant speaking it eloquently. Such speakers are often confined to villages where most elderly people and priests live. This was confirmed with responses by respondents to questions of whether or not rural dwellers were more proficient in the language than urban dwellers. Table 15 shows this.

Urban dwellers	Rural dwellers	Both	Total
32	198	39	269
11.9%	73.6%	14.5%	100%

Table 15: Respondents' evaluation of residence-based proficiency

As shown in the table, 98.5% of the respondents said that rural dwellers are more proficient than urban dwellers. Among such people, it is common to find more competent and younger speakers in distant villages. The farther one gets from towns, the larger the number, the younger the age and the higher the proficiency of terminal speakers. The closer one gets to towns, the smaller the number, the older the age and the lesser the proficiency of terminal speakers. Hence, a very close correlation exists between knowledge of Kemantney and rural setting (cf. also 3.1.5). The more rural, the higher the proficiency.

From this, one can deduce that the shift to Amharic started in towns and then moved out to villages. In the foreseeable future, the last terminal speaker now living in those villages located in the gorges will die with the language (cf. chapter II). Thus, place of residence is ostensibly correlated with knowledge of language.

The other question forwarded paused to respondents relates to educational background and knowledge of Kemantney. The response is shown in (table 16) below.

Illiterate	Literate	Both	Total
192	11	66	269
71.4%	4.1%	24.5%	100%

Table 16: Respondents' evaluation of education-based proficiency

[11] I met several women who were perfect in the language but were not willing to speak it until somebody (mostly a man) of their acquaintance encouraged them to do so.

Table 16 (see also table 2) shows that Kemantney is believed to be spoken by the non-literate more than by the literate. Among the literate, those who did not go through modern education retain it more. This is not surprising because one of the causes for the rapid decline of the language is the introduction of schools (modernization) in the area, and the use of Amharic as the medium of instruction (cf. Chapter II). Thus, like age and locality, education has correlation with knowledge of Kemantney (cf. also 3.1.4).

With the introduction of Christianity, Kemantney has been hampered seriously and has ceased to be used first from the public arena and then from the home domain. Since the 1958/9 mass conversion (see chapter II), the use of the language has been stigmatized as a sign of betrayal from Christianity and adherence to the traditional religion. Except for some who still stick to the traditional religion, those who are Christians are reluctant to speak Kemantney. This has led to a considerable functional reduction arising from the negative attitude of the people and to the accelerated process of death of the language. The Kemant people believe that the priests know Kemantney more perfectly than the laity. This is because the priests have always been enthusiastic about their traditional religion. The answer to a question of fluency among the clergy and the laity is shown in the following table.

Kemant priests	Laity	Both	Total
262	1	6	269
97.4%	0.4%	2.2%	100%

Table 17: Respondents evaluation of proficiency among the clergy and the laity

The reason for the priests to retain the language is the opportunity the religion gives them to use it during rituals. However, the proficiency of present day priests does not seem to be strong. The young generation (sons of the Kemant priests, for example) who are expected to follow the footsteps of their fathers are Amharic speakers. They are recruited as priests only on the basis of two criteria: their willingness[12] and their ability to memorize the psalm in Kemantney and recite during prayers. Speaking skill of the language is not a requirement. They are expected to be enthusiastic only for the religion but not for the language. This shows that the death of the

[12] There are times where sons of Kemant priests refuse to serve as priests. Their inclination is much toward becoming Orthodox Christians.

language is more imminent than that of the religion. Interestingly, there are Christian priests who know the language but do not speak because of its association with the traditional religion. [13]

In summing up, elderly people, both men and women, rural dwellers, rural-borns, non-literates, and priests are more proficient in Kemantney than their counterparts.

3.2.4 Spheres of Usage

The elderly Kemant have a vestigial memory about the status of their language as a vehicle of intra-community interactions and at all levels of the traditional social and political organizations. They still recall the time Kemantney was widely used by monolinguals during the heyday of their religion. The language has ceased to exist as a means of daily communication since the last phase of Christianization in 1958/9. First, it vanished from public domains such as markets, meetings, etc. and finally from home and hearth.[14] Those who can speak Kemantney are not at ease with it. They always show some kind of psychological tension. Most of them say that they are afraid of being humiliated by the Christian Kemant and Amhara. They have lost confidence in the language and as a result they express their sorrow by saying, 'There is no use in talking about something in the grave'.

Kemantney has been reduced to a secret (in-group) code like speakers of the Tenet (Surma) (Dimmendaal, 1983) and Elmolo (Heine, 1980). The Kemant people are never heard speaking their language in normal situations. The negative attitude people show and the consequential decline of its use has lead to the decline of confidence and competence among terminal speakers. As mentioned in Dorian (1981), the East Sutherland semispeakers of Gaelic were reluctant to volunteer data because of what they called 'bad' Gaelic. In a similar vein, Kemantney speakers, especially those who learnt the language in chunks, without a complete acquisition of the grammar and the lexicon, do not want to disclose their inadequate knowledge of it.

Respondents were asked what language they used at the family level. Their responses are shown below.

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[13] The head priests of Chilga district church administration were seriously following up my research in the Kemant community in fear of any attempt against the Orthodox church favoring the Kemant religion. I was once asked for clarification by the head priest about the aim of my study. Finally, they were relieved when they knew that I was Orthodox Christian.

[14] Some people claim that Kemantney is used in marketplaces by people from distant villages. They also claim that it is widely used at home among parents. I visited different marketplaces at different times, but heard nobody using the

Kemantney	Amharic	Both	Total
11	241	17	269
4.1%	89.6%	6.3%	100%

Table 18: Language use within the family

The table shows that Amharic is used by 89.6%, both Amharic and Kemantney by 6.3%, and finally Kemantney by 4.1%.[15] Hence, Amharic is used more than Kemantney in the family.

The second question concerns the use of Kemantney among relatives of the present day terminal speakers. The question related to what language relatives (parents, brothers, sisters and children) use more frequently among themselves. The responses are shown in (table 19).

	Kemantney[16]	%	Amharic	%	Both	%	Total	%
Parents	185	68.8	48	17.8	36	13.4	269	100%
Brothers	45	18.75	150	62.5	45	18.75	240	100%
Sisters	35	15.1	154	66.4	43	18.5	232	100%
Children	---	---	252	98.8	3	1.2	255	100%

Table 19: Language use among relatives

The table shows that 185 (68.8%) respondents claimed that their parents use Kemantney more frequently than Amharic. This number almost coincides with the number of respondents who have past their 50's (cf. Table 1). Hence, it may not be surprising if parents of respondents who are supposed to be between 40 - 50 years older were using the language more frequently than Amharic. The generation of parents, as shown in table (7) and (8), lived when the language and religion were not highly threatened by Amharic and Christianity respectively. As mentioned earlier, there were also monolingual speakers of Kemantney at that time. The 48 (17.8%) respondents who claimed that their parents used Amharic are characterized by the following: (a) early conversion to Christianity, (b) close place of birth and residence to towns, (c) both. As we can see in (table 19), Amharic is much more used than Kemantney by brothers and sisters of

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language. Within the family, I heard them talking Kemantney, but I later realized that they used it only in my presence just to impress me or to make fun out of it.

[15] As far as my experience in the area is concerned, no Kemant person (including the Womber), group or family uses Kemantney more frequently than Amharic in any situation except in their prayer and religious rites. Even here, it is only the priests and some other elderly people who can understand the prayer. The majority of the participants do not understand the language at all. Thus, the response of the 11 respondents reflects only their tantalizing ambition. Such responses may be attributed to the inconvenience atmosphere mentioned in footnote 1. According to Edwards (1985) and Pütz (1995) wrong responses can also result either from lack of experience in responding to a questionnaire or from their emotional reactions (affective) which predispose them to act like that (conative) rather than reacting to what they believe or think (cognitive).

respondents. This coincides with the heyday of the influence of Amharic and Christianity. In the second, fourth and sixth columns of (table 19), respondents claimed the exclusive use of Kemantney, Amharic and both languages respectively. The bilingual use of Kemantney and Amharic alternatively is possible only with parents of respondents. However, the exclusive use of Kemantney as well as its equal use with Amharic by brothers, sisters and off-springs seems to be contrary to the existing fact.

In order to find out the extent, to which the language is used within and outside the family in different settings, respondents were asked a leading question. Their responses are presented in (table 20).

Used with:	Kemantney	%	Amharic	%	Both	%	Total	%
Your mother	92	34.2	94	35	83	30.8	269	100%
Your father	63	23.4	130	48.3	76	28.3	269	100%
Your sisters	22	9.5	156	67.2	54	23.3	232	100%
Your brothers	40	16.7	135	56.2	65	27.1	240	100%
Children	4	1.6	237	93	14	5.4	255	100%
Your husband/wife	25	12.3	137	67.5	41	20.2	203	100%
Relatives from rural areas	27	10.1	147	54.6	95	35.3	269	100%
Relatives from urban areas	9	3.3	237	88.1	23	8.6	269	100%
Your neighbors	11	4.1	173	64.3	85	31.6	269	100%
Government workers	--	--	232	86.2	37	13.8	269	100%
Teachers	7	2.6	228	84.8	34	12.6	269	100%
Administrators	3	1.1	216	80.3	50	18.6	269	100%
Strangers	7	2.6	181	67.3	81	30.1	269	100%
Priests[17]	37	13.8	148	55	84	31.2	269	100%
Elders	60	22.3	110	40.9	99	36.8	269	100%

Table 20: Language use within and outside the family domain

As shown in (table 20), and in the tables below, Amharic is used more than Kemantney. Those who used only Amharic outnumber those who used both languages. However, the responses of respondents who claimed Kemantney as the only language used, remains doubtful.[18] There are no

[16] The figure in the second column (Kemantney) seems to be equivocal especially with brothers, sisters and children. To my knowledge, there are no people who use Kemantney more frequently than Amharic.

[17] This refers to the Orthodox Christian priests, not the Kemant. In fact, Kemant priests use the language in their prayer. However, as far as my observation is concerned, the use of the language in daily communication is not considerable, even among Kemant priests.

[18] As far as my close observation is concerned, the figures in column 2 must have been blank because no one uses only Kemantney with teachers, administrators, etc. In the first place, the people who know Kemantney among the above sections of people are very few. The use of the two languages alternatively is also impossible for the most part. But, as some of the respondents tried to put it, ' I speak Kemantney if the other counterpart can speak it'. That is always the prerequisite. Hence, in the case of the sixth column, speakers of Kemantney use the language if and only if they know that the other person knows it. Note that they also refrain from using the language even if speakers know each other.

people who use Kemantney solely for communication purposes, as attested in table (5) and (6). The use of both the replaced and the replacing languages side by side for communication purposes is also unimaginable. Hence, the second column simply shows the ambition of respondents emanating from their mere wish to see their language in use.

The next question relates to possible locale of interaction, to which respondents said the following. Table 21 provides the responses.

Place of use	Kemantney	%	Amharic	%	both	%	Total	%
Tea-room	2	0.8	233	86.6	34	12.6	269	100%
Shops	3	1.1	231	85.9	35	13.0	269	100%
Court	3	1.1	225	83.7	41	15.2	269	100%
Clinic	--	--	228	84.8	41	15.2	269	100%
School	8	3.0	225	83.7	36	13.3	269	100%
Marketplace	3	1.1	218	81.0	48	17.9	269	100%
Working place	3	1.1	217	80.7	49	18.2	269	100%
Home	4	1.5	211	78.4	54	20.1	269	100%

Table 21: Language use in different places

As column 2 illustrates, the average number of respondents who said they exclusively used Kemantney is about 3.25 (1.2%) only. On the other hand, as illustrated in column 4, those who said they exclusively used Amharic numbered 216 (80.2%). Column 6 shows that those who said they used both languages numbered 42 (15.7%). Though insignificant in number, the responses in column 2 where respondents said they used Kemantney at school, in tea rooms, courts, shops etc. do not suit the reality which reveals that the language has never been heard being used in either of the above places where Amharic is used instead.

Respondents were also asked what language they used in such activities as praying, meeting, dreaming, singing, ploughing and harvesting as shown below.

Areas of use	Kem	%	Amh	%	Geez	%	Kem and Amh	%	Amh and Geez	%	Total	% (Total)
When praying	18	6.7	176	65.4	11	4.1	15	5.6	49	18.2	269	100
During meeting	3	1.1	239	88.9	--	--	27	10.0	--	--	269	100
When dreaming	10	3.7	198	73.6	--	--	61	22.7	--	--	269	100
When singing	6	2.2	227	84.4	--	--	36	13.4	--	--	269	100
When ploughing	3	1.1	229	85.1	--	--	37	13.8	--	--	269	100
When harvesting	10	3.7	216	80.3	--	--	43	16	--	--	269	100
When counting	19	7.0	161	59.9	--	--	89	33.1	--	--	269	100

Table 22: Language use in different activities

On average, 214 respondents (79.6%) said they used only Amharic when performing the above activities (cf. Column 4). Those who said they used Kemantney are only 8 (3%) on average (cf. Column 2).[19] Eleven respondents said they used Geez when praying. 49 said they used both Amharic and Geez in the same context. In both cases, these respondents are people who went to church school and might have served as priests in the Orthodox Church. The average number of respondents who used both Kemantney and Amharic in all the activities is 37 (13.5%). Close observation showed that they used Amharic in every activity. On the other hand, it is true that Kemant priests used Kemantney in their prayer though not everybody in the congregation understands it.

A question relating to the language they used to express emotional states such as anger, cursing, and insulting as well as to praise and talk secrets was raised. The responses are shown in (table 23).

	Kem	%	Amh	%	both	%	Total	% (Total)
when angry	28	10.4	174	64.6	67	25	269	100%
when talking secrets	212	18.2	10	40.2	47	41.6	269	100%
when cursing	39	14.5	136	50.5	94	35	269	100%
when praising	25	9.3	151	56.1	93	34.6	269	100%
when insulting	17	6.3	160	59.5	92	34.2	269	100%

Table 23: Language use in different emotional and other states

Except in secrets, Amharic is used more than Kemantney. The alternative use of Kemantney and Amharic would be possible especially, by Kemant priests when praising, cursing and talking secrets. And yet, the use of Amharic is quite high among priests as well. However, the exclusive use of Kemantney, as indicated in column 2, seems to be exaggerated. In general, the current disuse of Kemantney in every domain clearly shows the final stage of its contraction on the one hand and the exclusive use of Amharic on the other.

3.3 Language Attitude

The study of language attitude in the context of moribund languages gives emphasis to both the replaced and the replacing languages (see Dorian, 1981; Thomason and Kaufmann, 1988; Schmidt, 1985 etc.). In this section, the attitudes of the Kemant people towards Kemantney and Amharic will be discussed.

[19] In reality, no one uses Kemantney in contexts other than praying.

3.3.1 Attitude towards Amharic

In order to evaluate the attitude of the Kemant people towards the RGL, respondents were asked the following question: 'Are you proud of speaking Amharic?'. 258 respondents (96%) answered affirmatively whereas the remaining 11 (4%) answered negatively. Those who were positive were further asked to state their reasons. The following are their reasons.

It is a lingua-franca (common language)	161	62.4%
It is the language of court and government activities	27	10.5%
It is a language of a modern society	16	6.2%
Knowledge of any language is useful	12	4.7%
It is socially, politically and economically significant	11	4.3%
It is used by priests	10	3.9%
It is an ancient language	8	3.1%
It is a national language	5	1.9%
The time is in favor of it	5	1.9%
It is useful to integrate with the Amhara	3	1.1%
Total	258	100%

Table 24: Reasons for the use of Amharic in favor of Kemantney

From their responses, it is evident that TSs are aware of the vital role that the RGL plays as a lingua-franca for speakers of various other languages. This status has also given them the impression that it is the language of a modern society. From their exposure to different places, there is a consensus among the Kemant people that Amharic is significantly more visible and audible in the whole country in general and in and around Gondar in particular. They mentioned the use of Amharic on the radio, in public places, government and non-government offices, schools, courts, marketplaces etc. as a justification for their choice of it over Kemantney. To them, knowledge of Amharic seems to have an integrating force in that they want to know more about the Amhara and interact with them. They believe that knowledge of Amharic helps to communicate not only with the Amhara but also with others who speak Amharic all over the country. They also believe that knowledge of any language is advantageous in that one gets wisdom from it. Speaking Amharic is linked with social, political and economic advancement. They believe that knowledge of it guarantees jobs for their children. In this connection, Dorian (1993:576) said, 'The generation who do not transmit an ethnic language are usually actively in search of a social betterment that they believe they can only achieve by abandoning, among other identifying behaviors, a stigmatized language.' Cooper and Fishman (1974) also mentioned that language learning and use are particularly linked to the extent that language serves to meet specific personal goals. The Kemant people claimed that no one can be considered educated

unless (s)he speaks, reads and understands Amharic, a language which they identify as a sign of modern life. They say, '(S)he was Kemant but converted to Christianity, became Amhara, spoke Amharic and became civilized.' Amharic is also taken as a language of the clergy, Christianity and the Bible.[20] Five respondents said that the time is in favor of Amharic but not of Kemantney. This implies that there is no institutional support for their language. In general, the two languages have different status in the community. The RGL is associated with high social status and prestige while the RDL is linked with low social status and value. In other words, Amharic is viewed as a high language whereas Kemantney is looked down upon as a low language in what appears to be a clear case of a diglossic situation.

The eleven respondents who answered negatively were further asked why they are not proud of using Amharic. Nine of them said that it was not the language of their ancestors whereas two said that it was the language of the oppressors.

3.3.2 Attitude toward Kemantney

In order to understand the attitude of terminal speakers toward their language, respondents were asked several questions. The first relates to whether or not they want their children to speak Kemantney. 240 (94.1%) of them answered affirmatively whereas 15 (5.9%), answered negatively. The overall attitude of transferring the language to the next generation is positive. Those who were affirmative were further asked to state why they want their children to speak Kemantney. Their reasons are given in (table 25).

It is our ancestors' language	125	52%
It enables us talk secrets	40	16.7%
To save it from extinction	35	14.6%
It serves us for communication	31	13%
It helps us maintain our religion	6	2.5%
It is part of our cultural heritage	3	1.2%
Total	240	100%

Table 25: Reasons for knowledge of Kemantney by children

As illustrated in the table, the overwhelming majority of respondents wish their children to speak Kemantney because it is the language of their ancestors. The second major group emphasizes its function as a secret expression. 35 respondents are aware of the key role of children in the transfer of the language to the next generation. This apparently entails that the older generation is concerned about the continuity of the language though it is pessimistic about

[20] Geez is a classical language used by the clergy in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church for church services.

the role of the young generation (cf. table 26 below). This is similar to the 'Suba' of Kenya whose elderly speakers wanted to teach their language to the young generation but failed because the latter favored Luo (Heine, 1980).

31 respondents mentioned the communicative value of the language, and only 6 claimed that knowledge of Kemantney by children helps to maintain the religion.

The next question concerns the attitude of respondents toward codification, that is writing of the language. 232 (86.2%) respondents were positive and 37 (13.8%) negative. Respondents were also asked the media they listen to. 132 of them (49%) claimed that they listen to Amharic radio broadcast whereas the rest 137 (51%) said that they had no access to media at all.[21] 230 (85.5%) respondents were affirmative on the question of their language being used on the media whereas 39 (14.5%) were negative.

As mentioned earlier, though Kemantney has never been codified and never been on the radio, respondents are aware of the positive value such measures have. They also believe that their language would not have been at stake had it been written and used on the radio. They believe that such uses on the media would have generated positive attitude among the younger generation. Respondents were also asked whether or not they would want to learn reading and writing in Kemantney. 181 (67.3%) respondents said they would whereas 88 (32.7%) of them said they would not. Those who answered negatively gave old age and incapacity for not learning Kemantney.

Questions of attitude towards the use of the replacing and the replaced languages as medium of instruction were raised. The responses are as follows.

Kemantney	Amharic	Both	As they wish	Total
46	68	139	16	269
17%	25.3%	51.7%	6%	100%

Table 26: Language choice for instruction

As shown in the table, the majority of the respondents (51.7%) want both Kemantney and Amharic as medium of instruction in Chilga. 68 (25.3%) want only Amharic, and 46 (17%) want only Kemantney. Those who prefer Kemantney state the following in descending order as

[21] Those who are aware of the Ethiopian radio broadcasting in different languages, especially in the educational mass media, are eager to hear Kemantney too being transmitted. Some of them asked me whether or not I would take the recorded texts to Addis Ababa and broadcast them on the radio.

advantages: to maintain their ancestor's heritage, to sustain its existence, to maintain their culture, to talk secrets and to show their ethnic identity.

Those who favor 'Amharic' state the following in their descending order: it is a common language (lingua-franca) spoken by everyone; it is preferred by children; it has become the mother tongue of the Kemant people; it is a useful language; it is a means to securing jobs and gaining education; it is a language in which the bible is written; it is a written language; it is a modern language; it is a national language.

As can be seen in (table 24), the Kemant people are tolerant and even proud of Amharic, accepting the linguistic situation (the status it has in relation to Kemantney). They even consider it as their own language. Those who opted both Kemantney and Amharic to serve as medium of instruction emphasized the advantage of knowing different languages which they consider, gives access to more knowledge.

Regarding the prospect of Kemantney, respondents were asked if they think their children would speak it. Their responses are shown below.

Yes	No	'God knows'	Total
52	207	10	269
19.3%	77%	3.7%	100%

Table 27: Respondents' view of the language among children

The table shows that Kemant parents seem to be hopeless in transferring the language to their children. Respondents laughed when they were asked the above question because they knew that the young generation would never attempt to learn the language. They feel that the transmission of the language to the next generation is unthinkable. Some of them feel some kind of guilt for not making any effort to preserve the language. They ask, 'How can we expect our children to know the language if they do not have the chance of listening to us speaking it at home and in the neighborhood?' The table shows that 207 respondents do not believe that the language has continuity among their children. The reasons for this in their descending order are: children do not want to learn it; has no use; speaking it is being distinguished from the Amhara; no one will teach it; it is old and nearly dead. This shows that children have a negative attitude towards

learning Kemantney. They do not want even to listen to their parents speaking it; they despise them.[22] Amharic is the desired language.

On the other hand, those who said 'yes' to the above question underlined the current policy which recognizes the right of ethnic groups to develop their language. They considered Kemantney as a valuable language attracting the attention of the government. Some of them mentioned that a lot of people were being excited and interested in the language since research was being on it.[23] The people feel that their educated children may easily learn to read and write in the language. Like in the case of the Sutherland Gaelic (Dorian, 1987), my informants frequently asked whether my research would miraculously change the fate of their language.

When the language attitude test was carried out, students of the Aykel secondary school were included as one of the experimental sample groups. The overwhelming majority (more than 80%), according to the director of the school, were of Kemant family background. They were first asked whether or not there was anyone who could speak the language. There was no one. They were further asked whether or not there was anyone who could understand it. Again, there was none. The students were even reluctant to say they were from Kemant family. They did not dare say their parents spoke the language because they did not want to be identified as children of 'Kemant'. They have developed a negative attitude toward the language and their Kemant identity. From the surprise and laughter, their lack of interest in the language was clear. Teachers of the same school who were of the same background were not different from their students.[24] As Sasse has siad, 'An infant, growing up in a bilingual setting where one language is moribund, will be confronted with the collective stigmatization of this language from a very early phase of language acquisition.' (1992b:63)

In order to know the attitude they have to the use value, respondents were asked a question relating to the importance of knowledge of Kemantney. 235 respondents (87.4%) said that it was

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[22] Many parents complain about the hatred developed by their children, especially those who are students. One of my informants, Beletu Hailu, has three children: two of them are high school students while the third is a development agent in the Ministry of Agriculture. All of them do not want their mother speak the language and the mother was complaining about this.

[23] I learned from different people that there had been some kind of interest to speak the language since my frequent visits to Chilga. Students of the Aykel High School, to whom I spoke were asking some Kemantney words from their parents. Language teachers were also excited and tried to show interest by giving assignments to their students to collect Kemantney words.

'useful' whereas 34 respondents (12.6%) said it was 'useless'. The former were further asked to state their reasons. The reasons are given below.

Useful for talking secrets	122	52%
For maintaining our forefather's heritage	47	20%
For communication	24	10.2%
For praying	22	9.3%
For relatedness and identity	15	6.4%
For its continued existence	5	2.1%
Total	235	100%

Table 28: Reasons for the 'usefulness' of Kemantney

As has been mentioned in 3.3 (table 25), it is not uncommon to hear the Kemant people emphasizing the use of their language as a secret code. Interestingly, they feel that they have the advantage of possessing an additional code which other speakers of Amharic do not have. The labeling of the language as a secret code is undoubtedly the result of the declining use of the language in the community. Some of the respondents consider the language as a useful means of expressing their heritage. Some other respondents take it as a ritual language predominantly being used for prayer. 15 respondents considered knowledge of Kemantney as an expression of one's identity as Kemant.

Those who claimed that knowledge of Kemantney was 'useless' were further asked why they should think so. Their reasons in descending order include: it is dying; no one speaks it in other places; it is not used in court and other government offices; it is neither written nor used in the media. Most mentioned the very alarming state of the language as the main reason for being pessimistic. Thus, their negative attitude correlates with the reduction of its functions and domains. Their feeling of hopelessness and growing apathy have also resulted from the view of the language disappearing.

As Haugen says, 'Whenever languages are in contact, one is likely to find certain prevalent attitudes of favor or disfavor toward the languages involved (1969:95).' The favored one, in this case is Amharic, and the disfavored Kemantney, especially by the young generation. Kemantney has been perceived not only as a language of backward tradition but also as a sign of overall backwardness and a hindrance to modern life. Dorian has observed a similar case with East Sutherland Gaelic. She says, 'Gaelic had not only ceased to be socially

[24] The development of negative attitude among the young generation is evident among speakers of many African languages such as the Yaaku who shifted voluntarily to Maasai (Heine, 1975a), Xaise and Shuakwe who shifted to

dominant; it had ceased to be socially unacceptable. It had come to be looked on as the language of a wild, even savage people' (Dorain, 1981:16). As we shall see below, as a result of lack of interest in the language, most of the people who know Kemantney are not willing to speak it in order not to be identified as Kemants. They have accepted the obsolescence of their language in any kind of communicative activities. They say, *wätro yäk'ärrä nägär dämmo ahun mïn yarägall, yassädïball näwïr näw* 'What is the use of mentioning something which ceased to exist long ago, it is unbecoming and makes people feel insulted'. The use of the language is highly discouraged though the source of discouragement is not clear to most Kemant. Due to such circumstances, they have developed a kind of inferiority complex.

Respondents were also asked whether there were Kemant people who knew Kemantney but did not like to speak it. 193 of them said 'yes', whereas 69 said 'no' and only 7 said they did not know. Those who said 'no' stressed that the language and its speakers were stigmatized in feudal Ethiopia as a result of which people refrained from speaking it. They even denied knowledge of it. They claimed that, since there were attempts to promote the languages and cultures of minority ethnic groups during the last and the present regimes, those who had been ashamed of Kemantney, and even denied their Kemant identity had no more such feelings of complex and, therefore started speaking it in public. In reality, as confirmed by the majority, people still deny knowledge of the language. Those who still show sympathy to the language refrain from speaking it lest they expose their Kemant identity. The reasons why they do not like to speak the language include the following:

Not to be identified as Kemants (to be viewed as Amhara)	97	50.2%
Because they are ashamed of the language and the Kemant identity	32	16.6%
Because of Amharic domination	19	9.8%
Because of subjugation	15	7.8%
Because of religious influence	15	7.8%
Because of feeling of inferiority	11	5.7%
I do not know	4	2.1%
Total	193	100%

Table 29: Reasons for the denial of knowledge of Kemantney

Kemantney has been stigmatized by two different groups: Amharic speakers of Amhara descent and Amharic speakers of Kemant descent. It is not uncommon to hear and see speakers being ashamed of speaking the language in fear of the humiliation from these two groups.

Setswana (Batibo, 1998).

Everyone who wants to speak the language smiles and looks around before (s)he starts speaking. The smile is a sign of bewilderment and anxiety and not of courage or excitement. As shown in the table, people are ashamed of being identified as Kemant. Hence, speaking Kemantney publicly is not common in the Kemant community even now. This shows a clear lack of loyalty to their language and ethnicity.

Respondents seem to be aware of the contribution of institutional support for the spread of Amharic as a result of which the Kemant people have been indirectly attracted towards this language and to the culture of its speakers. Like the Tektiteko of Mayan (Garzon, 1992), most of the Kemant people are aware of the stigma traditionally attached to speaking Kemantney or of being identified as Kemant. However, they do not know the source of the stigma which has led to the rejection of the language and ethnic identity (cf. chapter II).

In order to know whether or not the apathy of speaking the language is specific to residence, respondents were further asked which speakers, urban or rural, refrain from using the language. 156 of them (80.8%) said that both rural and urban dwellers do not like speaking it. 20 (10.4%) of them said that the urban dwellers are more reluctant to speaking it. 17 (8.8%) said that the rural dwellers are more reluctant than urban dwellers. From this, it is possible to say that the language is rejected by all, irrespective of locale.

3.4 Language and Identity

3.4.1 The Kemant Identity and Religion

The perception of ethnic membership among the Kemant, especially after their conversion to Christianity, is strikingly different from what it was before. Let us see (table 30) about how respondents react to the question of ethnic identity.

Amhara	Kemant	Christian	Orthodox	Total
102	136	15	16	269
37.9%	50.5%	5.6%	6%	100%

Table 30: Responses to the question of ethnicity

As illustrated above, 102 respondents (37.9%) claim that they are Amhara. All of them justify this by adding a remark: '*At first, I was a Kemant, then I got baptized and became Amhara.*'[25] 136 (50.5%) claimed that they were Kemant. They were aware of their identity though most of

[25] The converts are all above the age of 40, born before the 1958/9 mass Christianization. Since then, the conversion from the traditional religion to Christianity takes place on an individual basis at any age level. Today, every Kemant child is baptized on the 40th day, if male, and on the 80th if female, according to the creed of the Orthodox church.

them were Christians by religion.[26] The remaining 31 (11.5%) gave their religious affiliation as Christians and Tewahdo (Orthodox) instead of their ethnic membership as Kemant.

One phenomenon, which is commonly observed among the Kemant people, is the association made between religion, language and ethnic membership (cf. Chapter II). In order to know the connection between language and religion on the one hand and ethnic membership on the other, respondents were asked what religion they follow.

Christian	Amhara	Orthodox	Kemant	Total
128	68	46	27	269
47.6%	25.3%	17.1%	10%	100%

Table 31: Responses to the question of religion religious membership

As shown in the table, the majority of them said they were Christians. 68 respondents (25.3%) said they were Amhara, which meant for them the same as Christian. In reality, however, the groups in columns 1, 2 and 3 have the same religious affiliation. Only 27 (10%) claimed to be followers of the traditional Kemant religion.[27]

3.4.2 Manifestations of Identity

There is a widespread assumption among linguists and sociologists that language and identity are interconnected. Quoting Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), Tabouret-Keller writes, 'The language spoken by somebody and his or her identity as a speaker of this language are inseparable. This is surely a piece of knowledge as old as human speech itself. Language acts are acts of identity' (1997:315). However, as far as the relationship between identity and language among the Kemant people is concerned, the language someone speaks may or may not serve as a behavioral attribute or it may or may not supply the terms by which identities are expressed. In other words, language and identity among the Kemant are not inseparable since there are several other ways of expressing one's identity. As we can see from (table 32) below, Kemantney has ceased to be one of the external behaviors expressing the ethnic identity of its speakers as Kemant. There are six types of identities among the Kemant people shown in the following schema.

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[26] This figure would have been much smaller had it been possible to consult them without intervention from promoters of the Kemant association who were telling respondents not to give 'Amhara' but only 'Kemant' as an answer to the question of identity.

[27] This figure (10%) cannot represent the percentage of the followers of the Kemant religion because their number is less than 1% of the total population. The figure is relatively higher because the subjects of the study comprised followers of the religion as they are the ones who know the language better.

	Language		Religion		Ethnic identity	
	Kemantney	Amharic	Kemant	Christian	Kemant	Amhara
Group 1.	--	+	--	+	--	+
Group 2.	+	+	--	+	--	+
Group 3.	+	+	--	+	+	--
Group 4.	--	+	--	+	+	--
Group 5.	+	+	+	--	+	--
Group 6.	--	+	+	--	+	--

Table 32: Forms of identity among the Kemant people

Group (1) includes those Kemant who neither speak the language nor follow the traditional religion. They identify themselves as Christian Amhara. This includes the overwhelming majority below the age of 50.

Group (2) consists of those who speak Kemantney and follow the Orthodox Christian religion, and thus, consider themselves as Amhara. This is the second largest group of Kemant people, especially in the rural areas of Chilga. These do not take their language as a form of identity; they give more emphasis to their religion since their conversion to Christianity.

Group (3) has those who speak the language but do not follow the traditional religion, and yet identify themselves as Kemant. In it are included people who used to deny their Kemant identity in the past but who are now beginning to accept it. The majority live in villages around towns and have been made to be aware of their ethnic identity through the 'Kemant association'.[28]

The fourth group includes those who neither speak the language nor follow the traditional religion. They seem to maintain their Kemant identity by virtue of being of Kemant descent. The most prominent examples are members of the executive committee of the Kemant association and their advocates.

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[28] The founder and chairman of the association is Nega Getu (52) who owns a pharmacy in Gondar. His wife is an Amhara from Gojjam. According to Nega, the objective of the association is to organize the Kemant people who have been forgotten so far and to make them develop a sense of pride in their identity. He claims to make a rigorous effort for the revival of the language and their culture. On the other hand, he admits that since its establishment, the association has faced several noticeable objections from officials as well as from people, including Kemants. The supporters of the association are much less in number than the opponents. Members of the committee have strived to win the overall support of the Kemant people both in towns and villages for the association. But the overwhelming majority of the people are still either unaware of the establishment of the committee or choose to be neutral. Those who are against Nega's effort blame him for struggling to satisfy his hunger for power at the expense of the Kemant people. They say, he simply strives for his own fame and advantage but not for the poor Kemant people; he demands a position in the district administrative council and even claims a seat in the federal parliament, all for his own benefit. Most of those who do not want to be identified as Kemant are strongly against his overall ethnocentric ideas. They say, they have lived together for centuries sharing experiences and hence developing a sense of oneness. It is hence impossible to make a demarcation between the Kemant and the Amhara people now. They say, 'The disillusion from members of the association which drives them to the Kemant community is not because they want to change the fate of the language and the culture of the Kemant people, but to gain political power. They opt for such power and fame by arousing the ethnic feeling of the Kemant people.'

In the fifth group are those who speak the language, follow the traditional religion and identify themselves as Kemant. These are priests and other ordinary people who have so far resisted conversion into Christianity. Their number, according to Aba Womberu, is estimated at roughly 500.

The last group consists of a small number of people, who are by and large children born to followers of the traditional religion, but who do not speak the language. They follow the religion and adhere to their Kemant identity so long as they are dependents. They are likely to be Christians and reject their Kemant identity as they grow older and become independent.[29]

As far as identity among the Kemant is concerned, language is not necessarily a defining factor. The best example for this are those who claimed a Kemant identity without speaking the Kemantney (cf. groups 4 and 6 in table 32). These people say, 'Kemantney is my language but I don't speak it and yet I am Kemant.' Though the language is near extinction, it has not led to a loss of the ethnic identity of Kemant (cf. groups 3, 4, 5, and 6 in table 32).[30] In this case, language loyalty does not always require actual language behavior. As mentioned in Heine (1992b), many cases in Africa suggest that language shift does not necessarily bring about a shift in ethnic identity.

On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, the majority of the Kemant people who speak the language hide their ethnic identity (cf. group 2 in table 32).

Identity among the Kemant is, rather, a socially constructed phenomenon which arises from their economic, political and social interactions, through time, with the neighboring ethnic group - Amhara. As Fasold (1984) puts it, in the majority of cases, language shift occurs when a community desires to give up its identity as an identifiable socio-cultural group in favor of an identity of some other larger community which is economically, socially as well as politically dominant. This is what is exactly seen in the case of the Kemant people who have almost completed the shift of identity and language in favor of Amhara and Amharic. Generally, the link exhibited between Kemantney and the Kemant people suggests that a RDL and its symbolization of identity is different from a 'healthy' language and its symbolization of identity. Whereas in the

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[29] Note that almost all children of the Womber and other priests are Christians, married to Christians and claim to be Amhara.

[30] Wardhaugh (1987) gives us interesting examples in this regard. He says that though the Irish language is lost, the people's feeling of Irishness has been maintained. The Welsh, though they are losing their language, they identify

case of the former, the role of a language is not so important, in the case of the latter, it is one of the principal symbols of expressing ethnic identity among its speakers. The Nahuatl communities in Mexico express their Indian identity not through their imperiled language, Tlaxcalan Nahuatl, but through their unique agricultural and communal activities as well as their conservative dressing (Hill and Hill, 1977). Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) say that ethnic groups often manifest their distinctiveness by a separate language. Indeed, as one of the components of expressions of identity, the role of language is important. However, in light of the Kemant situation, one can say there are other factors like descent, religion, locality, culture etc. (cf. tables 33 and 34) which serve as forms of identity. Generally, though language can be taken as one of the central components of one's identity, it may not always be the case that the two are inextricably linked especially from the point of view of a RDL like Kemantney (see also the arguments by Dimmendaal (1989, 1998) and Tosco (1998) in the context of other East African languages and ethnic groups). The Kemantney case tells us that as long as a language is obsolete, its role as sole manifestation of identity becomes obsolete, too.

In addition to the above ways of expressing identity, it is commonplace to observe a Kemant person with two flexible forms of identities depending on situations: Amhara and Kemant though one may or may not speak the language. They dare identify themselves as Kemant better in their locality and among their own folks.[31] In all other contexts, they always identify themselves as Amhara. As Tabouret-Keller (1997:316) notes, an identity can be created endlessly anew on the bases of historical, social, economic etc. interactions.

As mentioned in chapter II, the Kemant people have gone through different shifts of identity following their conversion into Christianity. During the reign of Emperor Yohannes IV (1871-1889), for instance, the forced mass conversion resulted not only in making them Christian but also in heavily weakening their language and ethnicity. On the other hand, the reign of Menilik II (1989-1913) was marked with the revival of their religion, language as well as ethnic identity as Kemant. The elderly Kemant people believe that the revival of their religion, language and Kemant identity was associated to Menilik's liberal policy known for not imposing Christianity or

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themselves as Welsh, not English. The Basque feel as Basque, not Spaniards even though they do not speak the language. The Jews are Jews whichever language they have at their disposal.

[31] The elder people recall some occasions where they were forced to deny their Kemantness. They were changing the name of their place of residence (Chilga) so as not to be humiliated as followers of the traditional religion. They

suppress the Kemant traditional religious practices.[32] This was attested by the Kemant saying: *bäyyabbatïh ïdär bäšämmah täkäbär*, lit. 'Remain with your forefathers' tradition and be proud of yourself' which suggests a period of self-esteem.

Finally, after the conversion of almost all the Kemant people into Christianity during the reign of Haile-Sellasie 42 years ago, the language and the religion once again declined. Following that, the Kemant people started to hide their identity for the second time. Eventually, they found out that practising the traditional religion was no more possible. They realized that they could not resist the prerogative power of the Orthodox Church. The direct and indirect humiliation from Christians repeatedly proved to them that they should give up the traditional religion and become Christians. Thus, the change of religion has had a direct influence on their language and ethnic identity as Kemant. To overcome the marginalization by Christians and show their full compliance with Christianity, they had also decided to give up their language. According to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (quoted in Tabouret-Keller 1997:322), 'The individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished' (1985:181).

The decision they made about their language was not a formal one like that of the Yaaku (Heine, 1975a); it was an informal one that marked the last phase of the shift to Amharic. Since then, people have stopped using Kemantney, which had already been considered as language of 'pagans'. The name Kemant became taboo and Amhara has gained popularity instead.[33] For the overwhelming majority of the Kemant people, becoming Christian is synonymous with becoming Amhara which in turn means speaking Amharic. Today, the Kemant people, including those who speak the language say, 'they say so and so' or 'they call it so and so' referring to themselves as if they did not belong to the speech community as a whole. This strongly suggests the inclination of the Kemant people toward abandoning their ethnic identity in favor of the Amhara identity.

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remember especially the problem they had when they went to places of holy water during sickness. They had to prove they were Christians so as not to spoil the sanctity of the water.

[32] Elderly Kemant say that the motto during the time of Menilik was, '*agär yägara nat, haymanot gïn yägïl näw* 'a country is collective but religion is private.'

[33] Interview with Kinde Godo, Gedamu Melke, Yeshi Tesemma and Aba Womberu.

The above is what one observes in the community as a whole, but respondents were also asked to tell how they know their Kemant identity. Table 33 provides the responses.

By ancestry	170	63.2%
By religion	54	20.1%
By language	34	12.6%
By place of birth and residence	10	3.7%
I do not know	1	0.3%
Total	269	100%

Table 33: Factors that help one know Kemant identity

170 (63.2%) respondents claimed that they knew their identity as Kemant from their parents who believed they were of Kemant descent.[34] 54 respondents referred to their religion. These are followers of Kemant religion. 34 respondents referred to the language as a way of knowing the Kemant identity. One may expect a higher number of respondents claiming the language as the key factor since all of them are speakers of Kemantney. However, they disregard language as a means of knowing one's identity. The reason for this is that Kemantney is giving way to Amharic. 10 respondents mentioned place of birth and residence as a symbol of their identity.[35] They never mentioned some of their unique cultural features of the Kemant people mentioned in chapter II, except the religion, for two reasons. First, their distinct cultural heritages among which some are no more practiced (see chapter II) are considered 'backward' and hence they do not identify themselves with them. They even do not want to mention the fact that women are isolated during childbirth and cycles, which is still practiced by Christian as well as non-Christian Kemants.[36] Secondly, they might have considered their cultural traits as archaic.

On the question of the definition of Kemant, respondents highlighted religion, descent, and language as major factors that can easily help them identify someone as Kemant today. Compare (table 34).

[34] According to Francis (1976:6), 'The term ethnicity, as used currently in the social sciences, refers to a collectivity in which membership is socially defined in terms of descent' (quoted in Erickson 1988:92).

[35] The language was spoken in places like Chilga, Tikil-Dingay, Gaba-Gala Ager, Kerker, Walaj etc. before superseded by Amharic after Christianization. However, it is now almost non-existent in most of these places. Hence, Kemantney has lost its territorial base (see map 2).

A follower of the Kemant religion	88	32.7%
A descendant of a Kemant family	88	32.7%
One who is a speaker of Kemantney	64	23.8%
One who practices the Kemant tradition	12	4.5%
One whose place of birth and residence are Chilga and Tikil-Dingay	11	4.1%
Others	3	1.1%
I do not know	3	1.1%
Total	269	100%

Table 34: Features claimed by respondents to identify a Kemant person

As shown in the table, 88 respondents mentioned religion as the factor defining Kemant. For these respondents, Kemants are the non-Christians, whose number is roughly 500. The same number of respondents have taken the descent as a defining element of Kemant. 64 respondents referred to the language, which has no more than 3% of the total Kemant population speaking it. In descending order, respondents also claimed Kemant traditions such as the dressing habit of the Womber and of the priests, place of birth and residence as defining features of a Kemant.

3.5 Revival (Prospects)

Language revival refers to 'the positive, successful and sustained reactivation (renaissance) and revitalization (including modernization) of not only an entirely dead language, but also of a hitherto defunct, or altogether missing, major component (such as the prestigious literary-written part, or of the 'common' spoken oral/vernacular part) of a language' (Aaron Bar Adon, 1988:1689). Strictly speaking, there has been no documented cases of successful overall revival of languages which were totally extinct. As a result, no attempts were made on the revival of, for instance, Hittite, Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, Gafat (an Ethiopian language).[37] On the other hand, the revitalization of an obsolete language is not an impossible task. The well known example in this regard is Hebrew, which regained its vernacular and most developed status after centuries of fossilized existence (Dorian, 1987). French in Quebec and Catalan in Spain are also among the most successful language reinforcement movements of this century (Fishman, 1996). Efforts of reviving the struggling moribund minority languages from the brink of extinction have

[36] One of my informants, Tigabu Hailu told me that his mother, who was not converted to Christianity, died without entering his house after he became Christian and he allowed his wife to stay in-house during her cycle and delivery. There are several other similar cases.

[37] Wurm writes about the possibility of reviving an extinct language. He says, 'A particularly interesting area for attempts and procedures for the preservation and maintenance of languages in danger and even the revival of dying and extinct languages is Aboriginal Australia' (1998:204). However, he does not give an example of a language which was revived after total extinction. On the other hand, Krauss (1992:9) has given two examples: Hebrew and Cornish. According to Krauss, the two languages were revived and have become MTs through adequate documentation after the death of the last native speaker.

also become successful with the Aborigine languages in Australia, the Fiji languages in the Pacific and Japan, the Faeroese language in North Europe, the Yukagir and other languages in Siberia, the Hawaiian language in Hawaii (North America) (Wurm, 1998), just to mention few.

A language considered socially and economically disadvantageous for one generation may not remain so for succeeding generations. Welsh is a good example in this connection. According to Jones (1992), Welsh speaking grandparents who felt they were doing a favour to their child by not passing on the language, have lived to see a grandchild sent to Welsh-medium schools. Jones writes that though there is no guarantee that the Welsh initiatives will succeed, it is certain that attitudes towards Wales have changed markedly, and educational policies and opportunities have changed along the same line. Unfortunately, at least to the knowledge of the present author, there have been no documented cases of successful revival efforts on moribund languages in Africa so far.

In recent years, there have been promising efforts made by linguists of documenting endangered languages systematically so as to preserve the irreplaceable linguistic information. Some linguists, like Fishman (1988); Dorian (1992, 1994); Hale (1992a,b); Wurm (1991) etc., agree on the possibility of reviving endangered languages and try to urge scholars and policy makers to work hard towards it. Regarding the use of safeguarding and keeping the linguistic diversity of the world, Hale (1992b:35) writes the following:

> From the perspective of the linguistic science, arguments for safeguarding the world's linguistic diversity require no special discussion in this journal. Suppose English were the only language available as a basis for the study of general human grammatical competence. We know enough about the latter to be able to say now that we could learn a great deal about it from English alone. But we also know enough about linguistic diversity to know that we would miss an enormous amount.

Supporting the linguistic diversity of the world, Fishman (1988) mentions scholars who claimed that 'survival of the fittest' should prevail in multilingual communities as it does in natural environments. He takes the efforts made by biologists with respect to bio-diversity as model and urges linguists to do the same with linguistic diversity (see also Hayward, 1995).

However, whereas there is agreement on the documentation of endangered languages, there is a considerable debate among linguists on the question of how to maintain linguistic diversity, and on whether or not it is necessary to maintain the diversity through revitalizing endangered

languages. The debate seems to be crucial especially for the African context where enough emphasis has not been given to efforts of revitalizing endangered minority languages. To be precise, the most vital question is whether or not a 'documented death' of a language really matters a great deal and whether or not revival efforts are viewed positively by communities and governments in Africa at large. Do communities and governments genuinely support revival efforts and work for their success?

Ladefoged (1992) notes that the question of whether or not the death of languages which has been a reality throughout history is a painful topic, whether or not it should be taken as a great moment especially in the African context where governments aim at achieving language unification as a sole mechanism of societal and ethnic unification needs much care.[38] 'Most African governments do not recognize minorities, their languages and cultures as important for the future development of the state[39]...Therefore to many political leaders having this negative experience, the strengthening of ethnic loyalties is a threat to national unity' (Ladefoged, 1992:809). In this case, the struggle to rescue, for instance, Yeni, Bung, Cambap, Njanga, Njerep, Kasabe, spoken by few individuals in the Nigeria-Cameroon border (Connel, 1998); Ongota, spoken by 79 persons among whom only 6 are mother tongue speakers (Fleming et.al, 1992); Kwegu (Dimmendaal, 1989); Zay, Kemantney etc. in Ethiopia; Bubbure, in Nigeria, spoken by 10 people (Haruna, 1998); and others, will not have any concert outcome. Or should we make a distinction among endangered languages on the basis of their degree of endangerment as in (Krauss, 1998; Wurm, 1998) and make effort for those, which are spoken by thousands of people, and hence, less endangered? Should linguists working in such communities respect the opinion and honor the wishes of the speakers, especially those of the young generation with whom the fate of endangered languages lie, or become agitators toward changing aberrations of few remnant speakers so as to enable them use their language?

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[38] Webb writes the following regarding the potential problem of language diversity, taking South Africa as example: 'Language, as a major social divider in South Africa, has naturally been a focal point in situations of social and political conflict in the country.' (1992:431)

[39] In fact, the neglect of minority communities is not typical of Africa. The problem is much more serious, for example, with the Amerindian languages in North America, Breton, Gaelic, Irish, Welsh and several other languages in Europe as well as in other parts of the world. According to Yamamoto, 'The major goal of English as the official language bills is to re-unite the peoples of the United States and to renew the sense of 'being Americans' (1998:216). He mentions that 'US English, English only movement' is the main cause for the extinction of American indigenous and immigrant languages.

If there are cases where speech communities voluntarily abandon their languages in favor of another language of a wider currency, like the Yaaku (Heine, 1975a), whose responsibility is to struggle for reversing the decision of the Yaaku people who have already shifted to Maasai? Paul Newman, at the symposium on African endangered languages, said that the majority of language shift situations in Africa resulted from voluntary abandonment of languages in favor of others which seem prestigious and useful to speakers of minority languages. Admittedly, the case of Kemantney is no exception. The only difference from other cases of shift is the 1888/9 forced mass conversion of religion, which also led to a voluntary ethnolinguistic shift of identity.

Though no attention has been paid to the bulk of African endangered languages so far, linguists unanimously agree on the importance of the description and documentation of these languages. Different views arise only with efforts made to reverse the situation so that endangered languages become 'healthy' again.[40] Linguists like Ladefoged (1992) believes that revitalization attempts should primarily consider the policy of governments, which regulate the overall situation of ethnic groups. Policy refers to political, economic and social guidelines designed and implemented in different countries according to objective conditions. He advises that emphasis should be given to the attitude of speakers, especially the young generation. Ladefoged (1992) believes that there exist different situations and attitudes toward imperiled languages in different parts of the world, which would take linguists beyond language issues. To this effect, linguists have encountered different situations when they work on African endangered languages in African economic, political and social contexts. These region-specific situations can undoubtedly dictate revitalization efforts either negatively or positively. As a result, he mentions a view of endangered languages different from that of Hale (1992a, b). He says,

> Hale et al. (1992) write from the perspective of linguists who have worked in particular cultures; but the attitudes of the speakers of the languages that they describe are far from universal...The views expressed in these papers are contrary to those held by many responsible linguists, and would not be appropriate in some of the African countries in which I have worked in the last few years. Tanzania,

[40] In the symposium 'On endangered languages of Africa', participants emphasized the need for documentation of African endangered languages. The struggle for revival was not an issue (see the keynote addresses by Ayo Bamgbose; Kay Williamson and Mohamed Abdulaziz in Brenzinger ed. (1998)). Scholars seem to agree that revival of endangered languages cannot be the sole concern of linguists. Paul Newman (quoted in Brenzinger (1998)) has made it clear that the Linguistic Society of America (LSA) concentrates on the documentation and analysis of languages on the way to extinction.

> for example, is a country which is striving for unity[41], and the spreading of Swahili is regarded as a major force in this endeavor. Tribalism is seen as a threat to the development of the nation, and it would not be acting responsibly to do anything which might seem, at least superficially, to aid in its preservation. (Ladefoged, 1992:809)

As Adegbija (1997) mentions, the fate of an endangered language is not the sole responsibility of scholars in general and linguists in particular. Rather, languages belong to their speakers. Williamson's conclusion quoted in Adegbija (1997:24) is very apt in this connection. She writes, 'When all is said and done, the fate of a minority language rests with its speakers. If they care enough about it to develop it as a written language, they will find the means to do so. If they do not, it will remain a spoken medium only, or even die out in favor of a larger language.'

According to Abdulaziz (mentioned in Brenzinger, 1998), the rescuing of endangered languages is not the main concern of linguists. Rather, he emphasizes the importance of preserving data of such languages for the future generation of researchers. By giving particular emphasis to endangered languages of Africa, Ladefoged says: Who are we, linguists, to tell speakers of endangered languages to strive for the revitalization of their languages in a country where multilingualism is taken as a nuisance whereas monolingualism as the safe path for development? His question is in line with what Fishman says about the merits of monolingualism and the demerits of multilingualism.

> ...this recitation of findings with the decided impression that linguistic homogeneity is currently related to many more of the 'good' and 'desirable' characteristics of polities than is linguistic heterogeneity. Linguistically homogeneous polities are usually economically more developed, educationally more advanced, politically more modernized, and ideologically politically more tranquil and stable. (Fishman, 1968:61)[42]

Language policy, especially its implementation in favor of minority and endangered languages, will also remain an issue of controversy, especially in multilingual African countries where

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[41] According to Heine (1992b:33), 'Whether, or to what extent, such unity of identity has been achieved is unclear in a number of cases.' Quoting Short (1974:274), Heine says that the introduction of Chichewa as a unifying indigenous language turns out to be a divisive rather than a unifying strategy in Malawi.

[42] Among the monolingual countries, there are three African countries (Burundi, Rwanda and Somalia) often mentioned as exceptions to linguistically homogeneous countries where there is no peace and stability. I strongly believe that the conflict in these countries does not necessarily go against Fishman's conclusion. If they are suffering from internal conflicts speaking the same language and probably following the same religion and promoting similar culture, what would have happened had they been speakers of different languages, followers of different religions and having different cultures?

linguistic heterogeneity is taken to be a hindrance for development and national unity[43] (see Heine and Reh, 1982; Cooper, 1976).[44] In a situation where there are no specific policies on endangered languages, the contribution of linguists may not go beyond (socio)linguistic descriptions. As Heine puts it, in non-active endoglossic African countries, 'There tends to be a remarkable gap between declared language policy and actual patterns of language use' (1992b:25). One of the factors that complicates the effective application of language policies in multilingual countries is the low level of development (Lambert, 1999). The role of the linguist only revolves around aiding the documentation of linguistic and sociolinguistic description of endangered languages. Otherwise, linguists do not have legal power to ensure the implementation of the policy on paper (Ennamalai, 1998).

According to Ladefoged (1992), it is not the goal of a responsible linguist to persuade speakers of endangered languages to divert their views and attitudes toward their moribund language which seems hypocritical from the view of the linguist. He says, 'we (linguists) should not assume that we know what is best for them.' Ladefoged bases his observation on experiences such as the following:

> Last summer I was working on Dahalo, a rapidly dying Cushitic language, spoken by a few hundred people in a rural district of Kenya. I asked one of the consultants whether his teen-aged sons spoke Dahalo. 'No,' he said. 'They can still hear it, but they cannot speak it. They speak only Swahili.' He was smiling when he said it, and did not seem to regret it. He was proud that his sons had been to school, and knew things that he did not. Who am I to say that he is wrong.' (Ladefoged 1992:811)

Fishman (1988) proposes the need for a policy specially designed to rescue endangered languages from extinction.[45] He stresses on the contribution of well-trained sociolinguists and

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[43] I remember an incident where I and some colleagues were confronted with when we drove to Chilga with the chairperson of the Kemant association. He let us stop the vehicle and talk to some people around Bohna, about 48 kms. away from Gondar on the road to Aykel. Confidently, he assumed that all people of that area were Kemant, with a positive attitude toward their identity. We asked one of the peasants with a gun (roughly 45 years old) if he was a Kemant. He became nervous and gave us a scary response. Referring to the chairman, the man said, 'Do not try to divide us; we are one and the same; we have become one through marriage. We can no more make any demarcation between the Amhara and Kemant; that is an old story.' The person would have been happy had we approached him as an Amhara.

[44] See the details about language policy and the problems it has in Africa in Heine and Reh (1982) and Heine (1992b).

[45] There was a policy which declared the use of minority languages during the former regime in Ethiopia (1974-1991). The objectives of the declaration were to develop all the languages of the various nationalities; to develop those already with scripts and establish as well as develop those without; to develop all cultures and custom of every nationality on equal basis and to avoid discrimination of any kind. The same kind of policy has been introduced by the current government for the promotion and development of the various languages of ethnic groups. Article (5) of

language planning specialists in the preparation of such policies in light of functional restrictions of the replacing and replaced languages. Besides, language policies of endangered languages have to assure their vernacular status and the step-by-step use of them in work, religious cults, elementary schooling which will pave the way for their transmission to the next generation as a mother tongue.[46] On the other hand, Fishman himself acknowledges the problems encountered in the preparation and implementation of such policies. He says:

> Actually, by the time a language is an endangered species, almost any proffered status planning solution to its problem involves a high level of risk relative to the likely benefits to be gained thereby. Solutions that stress entry or reentry into modernization pursuits and interactions imply a policy of direct competition and confrontation with a stronger (and often increasingly stronger) competitor. Understandably, relatively few ordinary individuals are ready, either linguistically or philosophically, to embark on such a confrontation, particularly when the forces that foster it are primarily lingaucentric in nature. Studying (or teaching)... However the huge amount of time, effort and funds necessary in order to reach that goal (both in connection with perfecting the necessary terminologies and texts, and in connection with getting teachers themselves to learn and to use them...(Fishman, 1988:7)

As can be understood, the pessimism for the revitalization of endangered languages relates to readiness (change of attitude towards endangered languages, trained manpower, and financial, societal and governmental support). These huge tasks should be considered seriously before policy formulation. Otherwise, the validity and even the need of special policies for endangered languages would turn out to be unthinkable, at least in the African context.

Wurm (1991, 1998) proposes the need to arouse ethnic feeling among speakers as a key for the revival and maintenance of endangered languages. Regarding this, Wurm writes the following:

> The main methods used to maintain endangered languages and possibly revive those seriously endangered are as follows: most importantly, the ethnic self-awareness of the speakers of such languages should be awakened and strengthened and they should be made to realize that they possess something that speakers of the dominant language around them do not have. (Wurm, 1998:197)

According to Wurm, re-awakening of ethnicity has resulted in revival of languages which had been left only with passive speakers in most parts of the world. He cites examples from the Australian Aborigines and others in the southwest Pacific. However, by and large, ethnic

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the constitution reads as follows: a) All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal recognition. b) Amharic shall be the working language of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. c) Each member of the federation shall determine its own working language. However, there has been no special policy designed to bring about concrete changes in the linguistic ecology of Ethiopian endangered languages. There have been no language planning activities to ensure the preservation of endangered religious, cultural and linguistic identities.

awareness does not necessarily lead to revival. The Welsh, Irish and Basque languages mentioned in Wardhaugh (1987) are good examples in this connection. Had re-awakening of ethnicity been the prime factor of reviving obsolete languages, every endangered language in Ethiopia including Kemantney would have attained a promising status by now. This is because there is now, in the country as a whole, a sense of ethnocentrism developed from the promotion of regional divisions on linguistic grounds. However, like the Suba of Kenya whose growing ethnic awareness has not prevented them from shifting to Luo abandoning their language (Rottland and Okombo, 1986), whether or not those who become aware of their Kemant ethnic identity would necessarily consider Kemantney a more valued resource that speakers should protect remains equivocal. Whether or not people who have already shifted to another dominant language will learn the obsolete language, considering it as an important means of defining esteemed or rewarded personal and ethnic identity is not clear either. The Kemant people, to some extent, feel sorrow for the present situation of their language. Some educated Kemant individuals have the same kind of anguish and trauma about the extinction of their language though they do not speak it. And yet, the majority, especially the young generation, do not want to be viewed as Kemant, let alone learn the language. As indicated in (table 29), the majority of those who speak the language do not admit knowledge of the language.

Some people seem to be loyal to their language and interested to see it alive. Some others speak Kemantney although it has been considered unworthy by the majority of the Kemant people. Others again, including the young generation, hold Amharic in great esteem. They want to be part of the modern society, disregarding the language of their ancestors. Surprisingly, a considerable number of people from each and every age group, educational background, occupation etc., do not like the name Kemant to be mentioned. For most of them, there is nothing to be done for Kemantney to salvage it. It would appear that those who seem to be loyal are not loyal deep at heart. Under such circumstances, therefore, talking about rescuing and revitalizing Kemantney may not lead to anything. As mentioned earlier, there are several other vital factors to be reversed first. Hence, the implementation of the proposal of Fishman (1988), Hale (1992a,b) and Wurm (1998) on reviving endangered languages from the hemorrhage in hearth and home to the level of gaining monolingual speakers with a wider communication function seems to be

[46] Fishman (1988) exclusively deals with the endangered languages of Europe and America. Unfortunately, nothing is

difficult if not impossible at least with regard to Kemantney. Brenzinger, Heine and Sommer (1991) believe that speakers of endangered languages should be guaranteed the free choice of abandoning or maintaining their own language. Matisoff (1991:221) shares the same viewpoint and elaborates it further:

> Linguists can perhaps play a positive role in the process of minor language preservation, for example by helping to develop practical orthographies, or assisting in the creation of technical neologisms needed to keep pace with modern world [sic]. But the question then arises whether it is advisable or beneficient to try to maintain non-viable languages artificially, such as by trying to educate a new generation of children in a minority language that their elders are already abandoning. Is it really any more kind of humane than trying to keep a mortally ill patient alive by heroic surgical interventions or simple organ transplants? Should we keep languages alive on respirators and breathing tubes? From a practical economic point of view it can be much more advantageous for a young person who comes from an endangered speech community to acquire mastery of a more robust language as early as possible, preferable the language of the majority culture...Is it even defensible to encourage the demise of a language that is doomed anyway a kind of linguistic euthanasia or euthanatoglossia? That is in fact the age-old paradox of minorities: how to reconcile the advantages of assimilation with the maintenance of cultural identity.

When one considers the precarious stage of its decline and the overall political, economic and social related problems discussed so far, the revival of an Ethiopian language in general and that of Kemantney in particular is not impossible but most unlikely to succeed. Dorian (1987) asked the following question: Do large scale changes in the political climate (with attendant changes in attitude toward indigenous minority languages), especially accompanied by favorable economic developments, work enough magic to bring a struggling minority language back from the RGL? The answer is both yes and no. If decline has progressed beyond a certain point, the answer is no.

Like other cases in the literature, what matters in the revitalization of Kemantney (if it happened in the future) is a matter of goodwill provided by the Kemant people themselves and a large infusion of money. It is also a question of the demographic significance of the speakers, the ethnic enthusiasm of the Kemant people as a whole and the geographical location they occupy. All must be carefully studied first.[47] Not only people who would speak or learn to speak

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mentioned about African endangered languages.

[47] There is at least one prominent case where financial support does not make a big difference in revival efforts. The case in point is Irish: 'Indeed one can look at the history of the Irish experiment in language maintenance and revival as an appalling waste of money and a colossal failure, drawing the cynical conclusion that for 60 years the Irish have chosen for purely symbolic reasons to throw good money after bad in a classically impractical and romantic way.' (Dorian, 1987:65). In that case, the major factors which hinder the successful revival of Irish are the strong pressure of English and the attitude of the young generation.

Kemantney fluently be hard to find, but also the time period required to develop orthography, produce texts, create curricula and train teachers would be too late. Since Kemantney is spoken by the elderly, all the above efforts will perhaps coincide with the time period the last native speakers who are supposed to be fluent enough to be adequate resources pass away. Besides, the study of the language and the people, be it historical, anthropological, linguistic etc. remains nearly untouched. Hence, no one (Kemant as well as non-Kemant) has ever tried any maintenance, promotion, codification and other efforts so far. There could have been a possible way of reviving the language through reviving the traditional religion, as it was the case historically. However, though no one can tell exactly when the last follower will pass away, the religion itself is also seriously endangered. It is also difficult to say that the present day society may reconsider the traditional religion. In that case, let alone a general language policy which pursue linguistic assimilation and integration of minority groups, even a specific policy incorporating endangered minority languages cannot yield much without those social, political and economic variables mentioned above included.

In summing up, it is worth stressing the major issues that should be taken seriously when considering language revitalization in the context of the Kemant community in particular and that of Ethiopian, in general. These are: change of language attitudes, and loyalty; developing and implementing language policy promoting endangered languages, and providing financial and human resources. According to Dorian (1987), the most serious reason for the failure of revival efforts is the negative attitude speakers have towards their moribund language. In her article entitled, 'The value of language-maintenance efforts which are unlikely to succeed', Dorian concludes that maintenance efforts cannot be successful in the case of East Sutherland due to the negative attitude the semi-speakers have developed towards Gaelic.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LEXICON

4.0 Introduction

As mentioned in chapter I, the linguistic description of an obsolete language includes structural consequences exhibited in the process. Studies along this line have confirmed that the component most affected is the lexicon. In situations of long-term language contact like the case of Kemantney and Amharic, vocabulary loss is commonly observed in RDLs. This loss is compensated for through borrowing from the RGL. In his account of immigrant Norwegians in the United States, Haugen (1953) has stated that immigrants had retained the basic phonetic and grammatical structures, but borrowed a lot of English words. In order to continue using their language, they had to fill in their lexical gaps from English. After his thorough account of these immigrants, Haugen was the first to observe that features of the lexicon are more likely to be borrowed than others. He says that, the more complex a linguistic structure, the less likely to be borrowed and vice-versa. Weinreich (1968) also writes that lexical borrowing is more frequent than phonological, phonetic and syntactic borrowing because the lexicon is more loosely structured, and hence easily borrowable.

In language shift processes, there is a massive infiltration of loanwords from the replacing into the replaced language. The process is known as relexification (Hill and Hill, 1977). According to Dorian (p.c.), relexification applies to only extreme cases of lexical borrowing such as in Tlaxcalan Nahuatl (Hill and Hill, 1977), and Media Lengua (Muysken, 1981), in which a massive infiltration of borrowed words replaced a large portion of the indigenous lexicon. Tsitsipis (1981:298) also states that, 'relexification implies a rather massive replacement which goes beyond the selectivity characterizing cultural borrowing'.

While most researchers emphasize the need for studying the subject of borrowing in language contact situations – of which, there is a vast literature already - some inconsistencies have been observed on the definition of the term borrowing. Regarding such inconsistencies, Haugen writes:

> At first blush the term 'borrowing' might seem to be almost as inept for the process we wish to analyze as 'mixture'. The metaphor implied is certainly absurd, since the borrowing takes place without the lender's consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan. One might as well call it stealing, were it not at the owner is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his goods. The process might be called an adoption, for the speaker does adopt elements from a second language into his own. But, what would one call a word that had been adopted-an adoptee? Anthropologists speak of 'diffusion' in connection with a similar process in the spread of non-linguistic cultural items. We might well speak of linguistic diffusion, though this would suggest the spread of the language itself rather than of elements from it. The real advantage of the term 'borrowing' is the fact that it is not applied to language by laymen. It has therefore remained comparatively unambiguous in linguistic discussion, and no apter term has yet been invented. Once we have decided to retain this well established linguistic term, we shall simply have to disregard its popular association, and give it as precise a significance as we can. (Haugen 1950:211)

Haugen has made himself an attempt for a precise definition. According to him, borrowing is a reproduction of linguistic forms previously found in another different language. This is similar to the definition given by Moravcsik (1978:99) which says, 'borrowing is a process whereby a language acquires some structural property from another language". Regarding the precondition of borrowing, Weinreich (1968) and Higa (1979) emphasize the contact between donor and recipient languages or interactions among speakers of different mother tongues, which presupposes bilingualism. Scholars in the area believe that no word borrowing can take place unless peoples of two cultures or languages come in contact with each other. In this study, borrowing is taken in its broad sense referring to linguistic interferences: lexical as well as structural from the point of view of the above definition of Haugen.

The causes of lexical borrowing are intra- and extra-linguistic. The extra-linguistic causes include the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts. These require direct borrowing of ready-made forms or designations which is more economical than coinages or innovations. The intra-linguistic factors refer mainly to frequency of words. Other things being equal, frequently used words can be easily remembered, and are, therefore, more stable than infrequent ones which are less stable, and hence subject to loss and replacement (Andersen, 1982; Dimmendaal, 1998; Weinreich, 1968). On the other hand, Dorian (1981) writes that it is not only words of low frequency that are unstable, but also those with high frequency as observed in East Sutherland variety of Gaelic.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the various processes of lexical loss and gap in Kemantney. It analyzes the result of the vocabulary test administered to terminal speakers and shows their proficiency continuum. It discusses the linguistic patterns of loanwords and the

lexical zones that are sensitive and resistant to loss. It also describes the Kemantney lexicon in light of Andersen's (1982:94) hypotheses of lexical attrition, which states:

(a) passive speakers have a smaller number of lexical items than active speakers of a language,

(b) passive speakers show more lexical gaps in areas where they lack recent experience and,

(c) passive speakers retain common, highly frequent and unmarked lexical items more than less common, infrequent and highly marked ones. [1]

A wordlist of 670 items was collected from nine supposedly proficient speakers of Kemantney. They were selected on the basis of their proficiency and their availability during the period of the fieldwork.[2] Sociolinguistic variables such as sex, age, education, occupation, place of birth and residence were considered as much as possible. Indeed, these TSs might not be taken as the nine most competent speakers out of the 1625 native speakers of Kemantney. One might find more competent TSs in the villages deep in valleys of Chilga (cf. chapter II). However, it is believed that the data from the nine informants can give insight about the general situation of the lexicon.

Tentatively, that the items collected are genuine Kemantney forms has been established in three ways. The first is agreement among TSs on the form and meaning of each item. Womber Muluneh Mersha, who is supposed to be the number one proficient speaker of the language, also verifies this. The second is observation of linguistic data supplied by the TSs in light of linguistic rules. The third is comparison of Kemantney items with their counterparts in other Agew languages, especially Xamt'aŋa, (hereafter X) and Bilin, (herefater B).

Kemantney, as a dying language, has been exposed to massive lexical interference. Conti-Rossini (1912) recorded around 1528 bound morphemes and words among which more than 50% were Amharic. Among the 670 words of the present list, 201 (30.7%) are found to be Amharic infiltrated into Kemantney with and without modifications. The rate of infiltration varies depending on the relative competence of the TSs (see the details below).

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[1]As mentioned in Campbell and Muntzel (1989), Andersen's hypotheses seem to be universal and predictable.

[2]According to Dorian (1977b), a community has the capacity to identify proficient semi-speakers among its members. In the same token, the Kement people were also active in recommending proficient speakers of the language.

4.1 Vocabulary Test

In order to see the rate of loss and retention, the TSs were asked to give equivalents in Kemantney for 670 Amharic words. These words include those in the Swadesh basic word list and other content and function words. They were 363 nouns, 195 verbs, 79 adjectives, 26 adverbs and 7 postpositions.[3] All informants volunteered borrowed Amharic words at different levels with or without modifications. The result of the proficiency test and the rate of replacement and retention is shown in (table 1) below.

	Age	S	Occ	PB	PR	IL	BL	% (Loss)	% (Ret)	Rank[4]
AA	65	M	P	R	R	495	175	26.2	73.8	3rd
AdT	52	M	P	R	R	453	217	32.4	67.6	6th
A1T	54	M	Ge	R	U	450	220	32.8	67.2	7th
AT	53	M	Ge	R	U	460	210	31.4	68.6	5th
AyT	62	M	Re	R	U	437	233	34.7	65.3	8th
MT	63	F	W	R	R	469	201	30.0	70.0	4th
MM	68	M	P(W)	R	R	518	152	22.7	77.3	1st
TA	50	M	Ge	R	U	397	273	40.7	59.3	9th
YM	62	F	W	R	U	496	174	26.0	74.0	2nd

Table I: The rate of loss and retention of vocabulary

As illustrated in (table 1), the result of the lexicostatistical testing shows the proficiency continuum of the TSs coinciding with the sociolinguistic variables of place of birth and residence, occupation, age, education and sex. As a result, rural dwellers show more retention than urban dwellers.[4] In terms of occupation, peasants and Kemant priests are more proficient than the others.[5] Age is an important factor for the level of competence among speakers of the language in general. The table shows that elderly retain more indigenous vocabulary and, therefore, show greater fluency than the young.[6] Of the nine informants, those above sixty are much better than those below.[7] In terms of sex, the place of the two females in the proficiency continuum, as second and fourth, might lead to the assumption that they retain the language better than their men

[3] The number of postpositions is not limited to seven. They are morphological elements treated in Chapter V.
[4] Compare P and P(W) with U with the exception of YM.
[5] Compare P and P(W) with Ge.
[6] However, the proficiency of the elderly people is not always true. There are some exceptions like Abiye Asresa and Taddese Adugna, who are far better than other people in their sixties and seventies. What determines in this case is the place of birth and residence of speakers.

folks.[8] Education is another factor, which has accelerated the process of death. As a result, those who had schooling are less competent than those who did not.[9] Those who had education also traveled widely which gave them a wider opportunity for abandoning Kemantney in favor of Amharic. The informants do not differ in place of birth as they are all from rural villages.

Generally, the fact that none of the informants recalled all the 670 words is evident for the high degree of lexical attrition in the RDL. This leads to borrowing from the RGL. The score of retention ranges from 397-518, and that of loss from 152-273. However, following Hill and Hill (1977) and Dorian's (p.c.) suggestion on the term 'relexification', it is not appropriate to use it for the process in Kemantney since the rate of non-indigenous items is only 30.7% whereas that of retention is 69.3% on average.

The above proficiency continuum confirms Andersen's hypothesis that passive TSs have lower retention compared to active TSs. The results would also enable us predict wider differences between the nine informants and other speakers with rudimentary knowledge of the language. This suggests limited interaction opportunities.

Individual words are retained more often than larger strings like phrases, clauses and sentences even by passive TSs. Dorian has experienced a similar situation among semi-speakers of the East-Sutherland Gaelic. She reports that, 'A near-passive bilingual, who had minimal ability to construct a Gaelic sentence, nevertheless recalled 150 words of a 230-item list' (1981:146). A similar situation has been attested for Dyirbal in Schmidt (1985).

4.2 Words with Different Equivalents (Semantic Collapse)

One of the characteristics of speakers of obsolete languages is lack of uniformity in the equivalent forms they supply. They often say forms are at the tip of the tongue or right in their heart but cannot recall them. When the forms are given to them, they all say, 'Yes, that is it; you took it right from my mouth'. They pretend they knew all of the words they were asked. Believing that they should retain every word, they regret when they fail to recall a word. Another feature of TSs is their ability to recall words more easily in contexts than in isolation. For instance, to recall

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[7] Compare MM, YM, MT and AA with others.

[8] But the answer of the respondents to my sociolinguistic questionaire reveals that both male and female elders speak the language equally fluently (see Chapter III). Therefore, the place of the two women in the proficiency continuum can not lead to the conclusion that women are better than men in Kemantney.

[9] Compare AlT, AyT, AT and TA with the rest.

the names of the numerals and the days of the week, they have to begin from the first and go on until they get it.[10]

TSs use formally different but semantically related words alternately. This means that some concepts have lost their expression and are thus expressed by related words. This indicates that there is lexical attrition on the one hand and semantic extension of existing words on the other. Observe the following examples:

Forms supplied as designations of 'back':

(1)	**Native**			**Borrowing (Amharic)**	
	yäw	'hip'	(1)	ǰärba[11]	(4)[12]
	säg	'shoulder'	(4)		

Forms supplied for 'bad':[13]

(2)	**Native**			**Borrowing (Amharic)**		
	yïzïm	'weak'	(1)	mät'fo	'bad'	(3)
	xäbära	'naughty'	(2)	gïm	'ugly'	(2)
	ax-äg-aʏ	'who does not know'	(1)			

Forms supplied for 'chew':

(3)	**Native**			**Borrowing (Amharic)**		
	saʏän-š-ïʏ^{w}	'caused to move (3ms.)'	(1)	alamät'-ïʏ^{w}	(a hybrid form)	(3)
	k^{w}aŋ-ïʏ^{w}	'ground (3ms.)'	(3)			
	x^{w}ïy-ïʏ^{w}	'ate (3ms.)'	(2)			

Similarly, for the word 'basket', the following were supplied:

(4)	**Native**			**Borrowing (Amharic)**	
	kärtäma	'pot'	(5)	kïrč'at	(2)
	čančïxa	'small pot'	(1)		
	gämbäla	'container for measuring grain'	(1)		

The word 'dry' has the following designations:

(5)	**Native**			**Borrowing (Amharic)**	
	kag-o	'he, having been dry'	(1)	däräk'	(1)
	kag-aʏ	'which is dry'	(6)		
	kag-näy	'dryness'	(1)		

It is also commonplace to hear TSs using the words: *k^{w}ïzïr/k^{w}ïzïr-a* 'elbow', *täŋkäl* 'arm', *nän* 'hand' and *kïnd* (Amh.) interchangeably.

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[10] Dorian has experienced the same phenomenon. She says that words are recalled in sentences from many fluent speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic (Dorian, 1981).

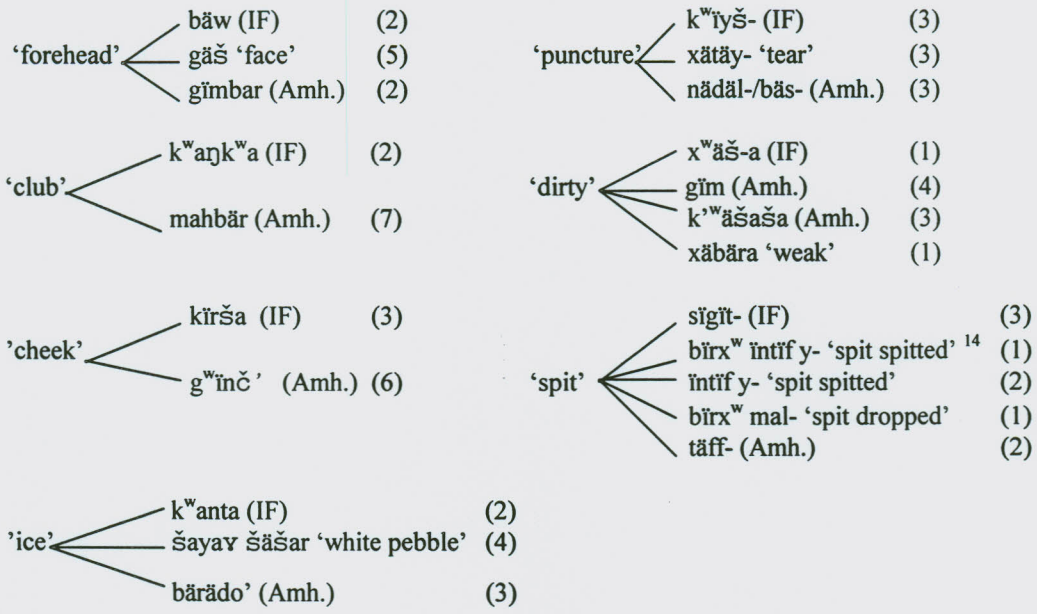
[11] Appleyard (1994) has *gïrba/säg/yäw* for the word 'back'. He writes that the Amharic word *ǰärba* is a loan from Agaw. Unless specified, the X. data is taken from Appleyard's (1987b) word list.

[12] Numbers in parenthesis indicate the number of respondents.

[13] X. has *č'ïk'a* which is from the Amharic word for 'mud'.

There were some other words whose indigenous forms were recalled by few TSs. Those who have forgotten the indigenous forms use other native words, phrases or borrowed forms as in the following examples.

(6)



All the above examples reveal that loanwords and other native forms substitute the target form eventhough indigenous words do exist in the language. Such a situation confirms Scotton's remark which says that a borrowing language takes words from another language for which it already has its own equivalents.

4.3 Lexical Accomodation

There are different ways of accommodation exhibited in the lexicon of Kemantney. These include borrowing, coinage, semantic extension and semantic shift.

4.3.1 Borrowing

As mentioned earlier, many words have been borrowed from Amharic into Kemantney. In her account of the Dyirbal language, Schmidt concludes that, 'In the terminal phase of a language, the speakers come to rely on the linguistic resources of the replacing language' (1985:189). There are various ways of importing words from the RGL into the RDL. The most important ones, according to Coulmas (1992), are modifying the borrowed words in line with the phonological and morphological properties of the RDL, applying loan translation or calquing and finally reproducing hybrid forms by combining elements from both the RGL and the RDL. In the case of

[14] *ïntïf* is an onomatopoetic representation which expresses the throwing of a spit. Compare also the X. word *tïf-yu-*.

Kemantney, a fourth way of borrowing has been encountered. This can be called direct or ready-made borrowing.

4.3.1.1 Direct Borrowing

This is what has been referred to as lexical substitution by Schmidt (1985) in discussing the Dyirbal case. In direct borrowing or lexical substitution, a word is used without any phonological assimilation in light of the properties of the RDL. This is the commonest of all other ways of lexical accommodation in Kemantney. There are several Amharic words, which have entered Kemantney without any change of form (pronunciation) or meaning. Such items include both basic and non-basic vocabulary. Examples are those in column 1 and 2 below.

1		2	
ïwnät	'truth'	sämay	'sky'
mïdïǰǰa	'hearth'	mäläkuse	'nun'
k'äst	'arrow'	wïšät	'false'
k'ïrïnč'af	'branch'[15]	asama	'pig'
k'äbäro	'fox'[16]	wäsfat	'ascaris'
t'im	'beard'[17]	samba	'lung'
gorf	'flood'	sïr	'root'[18]
t'äbäl	'holy water'	känfär	'lip'
k'äč'č'ïn	'thin'	abäba	'flower'
bïrïhan	'light'	sïnde	'wheat'[19]
t'ena	'health'	gïrar	'accacia'
kïbb	'round'	ïdme	'age'
moññ	'foolish'	kokäb	'star'[20]
bäk'i	'enough'	säne	'June'
habtam	'rich'	mäsmär	'line'
wädyaw	'immediately'	kätäma	'town'[21]
ïddïl	'luck'	wäkil	'representative'
wäfram	'fat'[22]	santim	'coin'
bïčča	'alone'[23]	lomi	'lemon'
mäč'ärräša	'last'	tïrgum	'meaning'[24]

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[15] The X. equivalent is *č'ïč'ïbäw*.
[16] The X. equivalent is *q^{w}as'la*.
[17] The X. equivalent is *xäm*.
[18] X. has the same word *sïr*.
[19] The B. and X. equivalents are *sïkma* (Palmer, 1958) and *zirwa* respectively.
[20] The X. equivalent is *s'ïgläwa*.
[21] Compare the X. equivalent *xatma*.
[22] The X. equivalent is *didnäw*.
[23] The X. equivalent for 'alone' is -lla~-llä.
[24] Whereas the bulk of my wordlist and Appleyard's are similar, there are some differences. For example, Appleyard (1996a) recorded the following words which do not exist in my material: *baxäy* 'alone', *säkaʏ* 'bad', *ïnx^{w}ïr* 'put, place', *Šïngïrwa* 'star', *xäʏa* 'throat' *lanxï* 'tongue', *ïnš-/ïnč-* 'undo', *ǰärg^{w}a* 'wheat'. In my data, the above words are recorded as Amharic borrowings. He has also recorded *ïnsaʏaʏ* 'full', *aʏmäza* 'wind' which are found as *taʏïy* and *fingäy* in my data respectively. The words for *beautiful, dance, die, liver* and *finger* which are recorded as

The loanwords in column 2 are indistinguishable from indigenous words in their internal structure. In contrast, those in column 1, are words with ejective, glottal fricative and palatal nasal sounds, as well as clusters and geminates in word-final positions which are all typical of the RGL. The appearances of phonemes typical to Amharic are confined only to loanwords; they are not diffused into the indigenous lexicon (see Chapter V).[25] These examples suggest that not all loanwords from the RGL go into the phonological patterns of the RDL. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988:38), 'The incorporation of phonological features that enter the borrowing language with loanwords may seem the first and most obvious kind of structural borrowing to be expected'. These direct borrowings indicate the final stage of the obsolescence of Kemantney and the extent of the influence of Amharic in the speakers' linguistic repertoire.

Linguists assume that a scale can be set up for the time depth of borrowing on the basis of the phonological forms of loanwords. Old loans are supposed to change more whereas recent loans may still be similar to their forms in the RGL (Haugen, 1950). In light of this, direct borrowings can be taken as relatively recent in Kemantney. If they had been old borrowings, those in column 1 would have been like: *kästï*, *tim*, *tat*, *g*^{w}*ärfi*, *xabtam*, *kïrïnč(š)af*, *kïb*, *tena*, *bïča*, *moyiŋ* etc. following the phonological and phonotactic properties of the RDL.

It is commonplace among students of lexical borrowing that assimilation of loanwords to the phonology of the RDL is apt to vary according to a speaker's level of proficiency. The level of sound substitution heavily relies on the degree of bilingualism, which is a prerequisite for borrowing. Haugen (1972) claims that, whereas a bilingual in the replaced and replacing languages will use loanwords in a phonetic form as near as that of the RGL, a monolingual in the RDL substitutes elements form his own language in producing new words. In other words, bilinguals are believed to possess the necessary skills to utter loanwords according to the phonology of RGL. On the other hand, monolinguals and less fluent bilinguals modify loanwords according to the phonology of their native language (see also Anttila, 1989; Mougeon and Beniak, 1989). That is exactly what is happening among Awŋi bilinguals today who have difficulties in

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k'onǰo, *zäläl-*, *kidïz*, *gubät*, *laŋla* in Appleyard, are recorded as *šäräy*, *kïlïŋ-*, *ki-*, *sänkäkay* and *laŋgïla* in my data, respectively.

[25] The introduction of new phonemes into the phonemic inventory of recessive languages through borrowing is not an impossible phenomenon. A good example is the healthy language Alur reported by Dimmendaal (1998) which borrowed not only vocabulary but also new sounds like the labio-velars *gɓ* and *kp* through ready-made borrowings from Lendu.

pronouncing ejectives due to their mother-tongue influence. They substitute them by their non-ejective counterparts as in *k'än* vs. *kän* 'day', *t'at* vs. *tat* 'finger', *č'äräk'a* vs. *čäräka* 'moon' etc.

Since all speakers of Kemantney have become bilinguals in Amharic with native competence, they have no difficulty in uttering the unique segments of the latter. This makes the direct borrowing so frequent. The use of unmodified loanwords shows the native-like competence of speakers in the RGL, on the one hand, and their receding potential in the RDL, on the other. Passive TSs. cannot distinguish between borrowed and native forms; they take loanwords as indigenous forms of Kemantney. Hence, the degree of phonological integration of Amharic loanwords into Kemantney can tell us not only the time depth of such words but also the level of fluency of the remnant speakers in both languages. By 'native competence' is meant internalizing the phonetic and phonemic system as well as the internal structure of the lexicon of the RGL. This is what Haugen (1950) calls childhood bilingualism, in which no adjustments are made on loanwords, as opposed to pre-bilingualism where the adjustments are made on loans.

4.3.1.2 Borrowing with Modification

4.3.1.2.1 Morphological Modification (Stem Borrowing)

This is a process of partial borrowing sometimes called morphemic substitution or hybrid. It is a fusion of Amharic bare stems and Kemantney inflections (VS_{Amh} + VI_{Kem}). Such forms are recorded from all informants. A representative example is given below for the words 'burned', 'breathe', 'began', 'believed' and 'blew' in their descending order.[26]

(1) MM	YM	AA	MT	AT	AdT	AlT	TA	AyT
nädäd-ïʏ^{w}	nädäd-ïʏ^{w}	nädäd-ïʏ^{w}	nädäd-ïʏ^{w}	nädäd-ïʏ^{w}	nädäd-ïʏ^{w}	nädäd-ïʏ^{w}	nädäd-ïʏ^{w}	nädäd-ïʏ^{w}
tänäfäs-ïʏ^{w}	tänäfäs-ïʏ^{w}	tänäfäs-ïʏ^{w}	tänäfäs-ïʏ^{w}	tänäfäs-ïʏ^{w}	tänäfäs-ïʏ^{w}	tänäfäs-ïʏ^{w}	tänäfäs-ä	tänäfäs-ïʏ^{w}
ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}	ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}	ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}	ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}	ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}	ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}	ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}	ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}	ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}
amän-eʏ^{w}	amïn-ïʏ^{w}	amän-eʏ^{w}	amän-ïʏ^{w}	amän-ïʏ^{w}	amän-ïʏ^{w}	amän-ïʏ^{w}	amän-ïʏ^{w}	amïn-ïʏ^{w}
näfäs-ïʏ^{w}	näfäs-ïʏ^{w}	näfäs-ïʏ^{w}	näfas t-ïʏ^{w}	näfäs-ïʏ^{w}	näfäs-ïʏ^{w}	näfäs-ïʏ^{w}	näfäs-ïʏ^{w}	näfäs-ïʏ^{w}[27]

This hybrid type of borrowing is possible, because the two languages share a similar [*stem* + *suffix*] pattern which makes the fusion of the stem from the RGL and the inflection from the RDL compatible. Observe the following conjugation recorded from TSs as an example where each Amharic inflection corresponds to its Kemantney counterpart.

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[26] The X. equivalents for burn, breathe, begin, believe and blow are *k'at'ïlšu*, *tïnfïsu*, *kïrmu*, *amnu*, and *ïf-yu* respectively.

[27] *näfas t-ïʏ^{w}* means 'wind came'.

(2)	Amharic		Kemantney	'Gloss'	Amharic		Kemantney	'Gloss'
	ǰämmär-hu	→	ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}	'I began'	ǰämmär-äčč	→	ǰämär-ï-t	'She began'
	ǰämmär-h	→	ǰämär-y-ïʏ^{w}	'You began'	ǰämmär-n	→	ǰämär-n-ïʏ^{w}	'We began'
	ǰämmär-š	→	ǰämär-y-ïʏ^{w}	'You began'	ǰämmär-ačč'ïhu	→	ǰämär-y-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	'You (pl.) began'
	ǰämmär-u	→	ǰämär-n-ïʏ^{w}	'You (pol.) began'	ǰämmär-u	→	ǰämär-n-ïʏ^{w}	'They began'
	ǰämmär-ä	→	ǰämär-ïʏ^{w}	'He began'				

A similar procedure of fusing Amharic stems with Kemantney suffixes is exhibited in the conjugations of different tenses as well as verbal extensions (see Chapter V). The same hybrid phenomenon has been recorded in Nahuatl (Hill and Hill, 1977) and in the speeches of the German-Hungarian bilinguals (Gal, 1979).

4.3.1.2.2 Phonological Modifications

4.3.1.2.2.1 Unpredictable Sound Modifications

At the present stage of obsolescence, Kemantney vowels tend to vary among TSs. They vary freely in both the native and borrowed lexicon without causing intelligibility problem. As also mentioned in Appleyard (1975), some of the changes exhibited in the indigenous lexicon might be due to dialectal variations. But it has been recorded that there are differences in the vowel sounds even among informants of the same dialect. Such changes are difficult to explain phonologically, as they are unpredictable. As representative examples of variation in the indigenous lexicon, observe the following.

(1)	fïntïra/fintïra	'goat'	(ï/i)	šïy-/šäy	'hold'	(ï/ä)
	g^{w}ärwä/g^{w}ïrwa/gïrwa	'husband'	(ä/ï,ä/a)	gïrgï/gïrga	'day'	(ï/a)
	kïz-/kiz-	'be better'	(ï/i)	šïšïwa/šïšäwa	'ape'	(ï/ä)
	gïrbï/gïrba	'knee'	(ï/a)	fäz-/fez-/foz-	'sew'	(ä/e/o)

Like in the above unpredictable vowel variations in the indigenous lexicon, similar variations have also been attested in the non-indigenous lexicon as in *dïmbär/dämbär* (ï/ä) 'boundary',[28] *č'ïgag/č'ïgäg* 'fog' (ï/ä), *märfe/mïrfa* 'needle' (ä/ï) and (e/a), etc. The last two alternations might be due to the rare occurrence of */-e/* as opposed to the frequent occurrence of */-a/* word-finally in most nouns of Kemantney (see chapter V, for details). A similar phenomenon of phonological variation and deviation from the standard form was reported in Arvanitika, the Albanian dialect of Greece (Sasse, 1992b).

[28] The B. word for 'boundary' is *šäl* (Palmer, 1958).

Borrowed words enter the vocabulary of Kemantney through elision of word-final vowel as in *fire* → *fir* 'fruit'[29], *bäräd*o → *bäräd* 'snow'. Such a change is motivated only by the rare occurrence of the vowels */e/* and */o/* in Kemanteny. In contrast, insertion of */-a/* has been recorded in borrowed forms like: *gumbïr* → *g^{w}ïmbïra/g^{w}ïmbïrda* 'navel',[30] *aräm* → *aräma* 'weed' etc. The addition of the vowel in borrowed words, in this case, can be attributed to the fact that most nouns end in */a/*.

Consonants remain the same in both native and borrowed forms in general. Exceptions to this are *xïša/kïša* 'worm', *g^{w}äna/k^{w}äna* 'mother' and *mïwt-/mïʏ^{w}t-* 'carry' of Kemantney, and *tïh^{w}an/tïx^{w}äna/tïʏ^{w}äna* 'bed-bug', *k'ïrfitt/k'ïrfit/k'ïrfit'* 'bark', *näfsat/näbsat* 'beast' of Amharic. Note that the *x/k* and *w/ʏ^{w}* alternations in *xïša/kïša* and *mïwt-/mïʏ^{w}t-* depend on the relative proficiency of TSs in Kemantney.[31] In general, the vocalic variations and deviations among TSs of the RDL entail that vowels are more susceptible to change than consonants in dying languages.

In consonants, the change of */t/, /s/, /š/,* and */g/,* to */y/* is exhibited more frequently in the borrowed forms like:

(2)	amät	→	amäy	'year'[32]	(t→y)		g^{w}äräbet→	g^{w}äräbäy	'neighbor'	(t→y)[33]
	g^{w}ättät-	→	g^{w}ätï/ä/y-	'pull'	(t→y)		ǰïrat →	ǰïräy	'tail'[34]	(t→y)
	mïlas	→	mïläy	'tongue'	(s→y)[35]		sïga →	sïya	'meat'	(g→y)
	mašïlla	→	mäyla	'maize'	(š→y)		waga →	waya	'price'	(g→y)

As variation in sounds is a common feature witnessed among TSs of dying languages, it is apparent that a purely linguistic explanation may not be possible to account for the change. All these sounds occur in all positions in both the replaced and the replacing languages (see phonology in chapter V). Other changes of the same nature are those of */ǰ/* to */z/*, */k/* to */x/*, */y/* to */š/* as in *ǰïgra* → *zigra* 'guinea fowl', *käbt* → *xïbt-än* 'cattle', *mïknïyat* → *mïxïnšät/mïxïnšo/mïxïññat* 'reason' respectively.

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[29] Kemantney *fir* may be an indigenous form with cognates in B. and X. According to Appleyard (p.c.), this is a fairly wide spread Afroasiatic root.
[30] X. has *ïlul*.
[31] Compare the X. equivalents: *dïx^{w}ana* and *sïq^{w}a* for 'bed bug' and 'branch' respectively.
[32] According to Appleyard (1996a), the common borrowings such as *amäy* (X.: *amra*) are believed to be adopted at earlier proto-Agaw stage from Semitic.
[33] B. has *gor* for 'neighbor' (Palmer, 1958).
[34] Compare the X. equivalent *s'ïmïr* and the B. *šïmar* (Palmer, 1958).

4.3.1.2.2.2 Predictable Sound Modification

Epenthesis is one of the ways of modifying borrowed items on the basis of the phonotactics of Kemantney. Amharic words, which end in consonant sequences insert *ï* word-finally when they enter Kemantney lexicon. Examples are: *arb* → *arbï* 'Friday', *näfs* → *näbsï* 'soul', etc. The reason is the impermissibility of consonant clusters in word final positions in Kemantney.

There are a number of loanwords, which are modified systematically (substitution, according to Haugen, 1950). The borrowings *maʔräg* 'rank' and *dïha* 'poor' are adopted as *marïg* and *dïxa* with the glottal */ʔ/* missing in the former and */h/* replaced by */x/* in the latter. Other borrowed words follow the Kemantney phonological system. These include words in which ejectives are replaced by their non-ejective counterparts in the RDL.

(1)	k'olla	→ kola	(k'→k)	'warm climate'	k'ofäk'k'of-	→	kobäkob-	(k'→k, f→b)	'knock'
	wärk'	→ wärkï	(k'→k)	'gold'[36]	č'ïk'a	→	šïxa	(č'→š, k'→x)	'mad'
	lač'č'-	→ laš-	(č'→š)	'shave'[37]	t'ïnčäl	→	čïnčäl	(t'→č)	'rabbit'
	t'am-	→ tam-	(t'→t)	'became tasty'	ambät'a	→	ambäy	(t'→y)	'locust'
	läwwät'-	→ läwäy-	(t'→y)	'change'	bäk'lo	→	bäyla	(k'→y)	'mule'
	bäk'k'äl-	→ bäkol-	(k'→k)	'germinated'	gät't'äm-	→	kätäm-	(t'→t)	'cover'

As shown in the examples, the non-existing sounds are substituted by the existing ones. The change of the word *daññа* to *deyïŋa* 'judge' might follow the same explanation of substitution since *ñ* does not exist in the RDL. That is a phonological adjustment attempted by some, though not by all TSs, to make some segments sound more like Kemantney. As mentioned earlier, linguists associate modified and unmodified forms of loans to the age of loanwords. In light of this, the above modified forms may be early loans. It is unequivocal that such forms entered the lexicon in a pre-bilingual period either by monolinguals or by less fluent bilinguals of Kemantney.

Metathesis occurs rarely in Amharic loanwords. Two instances are the nouns: *dägan* → *dïŋga* 'bow' and *lïǰagäräd* → *lïgaǰäräd* 'girl' and the verb *kämmär-* → *käräm-* 'pile up'. The change of the position of sounds in these examples is not a phonologically motivated process but an idiosyncratic difference. The co-occurence restriction of the sounds is the same in both languages.

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[35] Compare the X. equivalent *laq*.

[36] B. has *dähäb* for 'gold' (Palmer, 1958).

[37] One would expect */č/* not */š/*. This proves that the former is a very recently introduced sound in Kemantney. Compare also the X. word *las'-*.

Degemination of geminated consonants is observed in the borrowed lexicon because gemination as a phonetic feature is almost non-existent in the RDL.[38] As shown in 4.3.1.2.1 above and in 4.4.1 below, all verbs whose penultimate radical is a geminate in the RGL become degeminated in the RDL.

(2) fägäffäg- → fägäfäg- 'rub' fälläg- → fäläg- 'want'[39]
märrät'- → märät'- 'choose' gärräz- → gäräz- 'circumcise'

Another possible explanation for the degemination process is the non-existence of verb stems with geminate consonants in Kemantney (see chapter V for a more elaborated syllable structure). Nouns, though very limited, also enter the Kemantney lexicon through degemination. Examples are:

(3)	**Amharic**	**Kemantney**	
	karra	kara	'knife'
	aǰǰa	aǰa	'oats'
	lïbb	lïbäka	'heart'

Dediphthongization of diphthongs is also attested from *abuara* → *abori* 'dust' and *tïhuan* → *tïx^{w}äna/tïhona* 'bedbug'. The change is motivated by the non-existence of diphthongs in the RDL.

There is no palatalization in Kemantney and hence borrowed words with palatalized sounds like *bar^{y}a* are depalatalized and become *bara* 'slave'. In other examples, a palatal sound of the RGL turns into a non-palatal sound, as in *abbäläš-* → *abäläs-* 'spoil'. Otherwise, */š/* is found in every position in the RDL. On the other hand, geminated */s/* of the RGL is found as */š/* in only one word: *dagussa* → *daw(ï)ša* 'millet'. Such changes seem to be coincidences since they are not motivated by the features of the RDL.

Voicing of the alveolar fricative */s/* is another feature found in borrowed forms of the Kemantney lexicon as in *mïsa* → *mïzi* 'lunch' and *täkkos-* → *täkoz-* 'shoot'. As discussed in Chapter V, distributionally, */s/* and */z/* occur in all positions except that the former does not occur word-finally in native forms of Kemantney. Hence, the change seems to be not triggered by the phonological property of the RDL. Other consonant changes are witnessed in *näfsat* → *näbsat* 'beast', *näfs* → *näbsa/näbsï* 'soul'. This is due to the impermissiblity of a */-fs-/* cluster in Kemantney.

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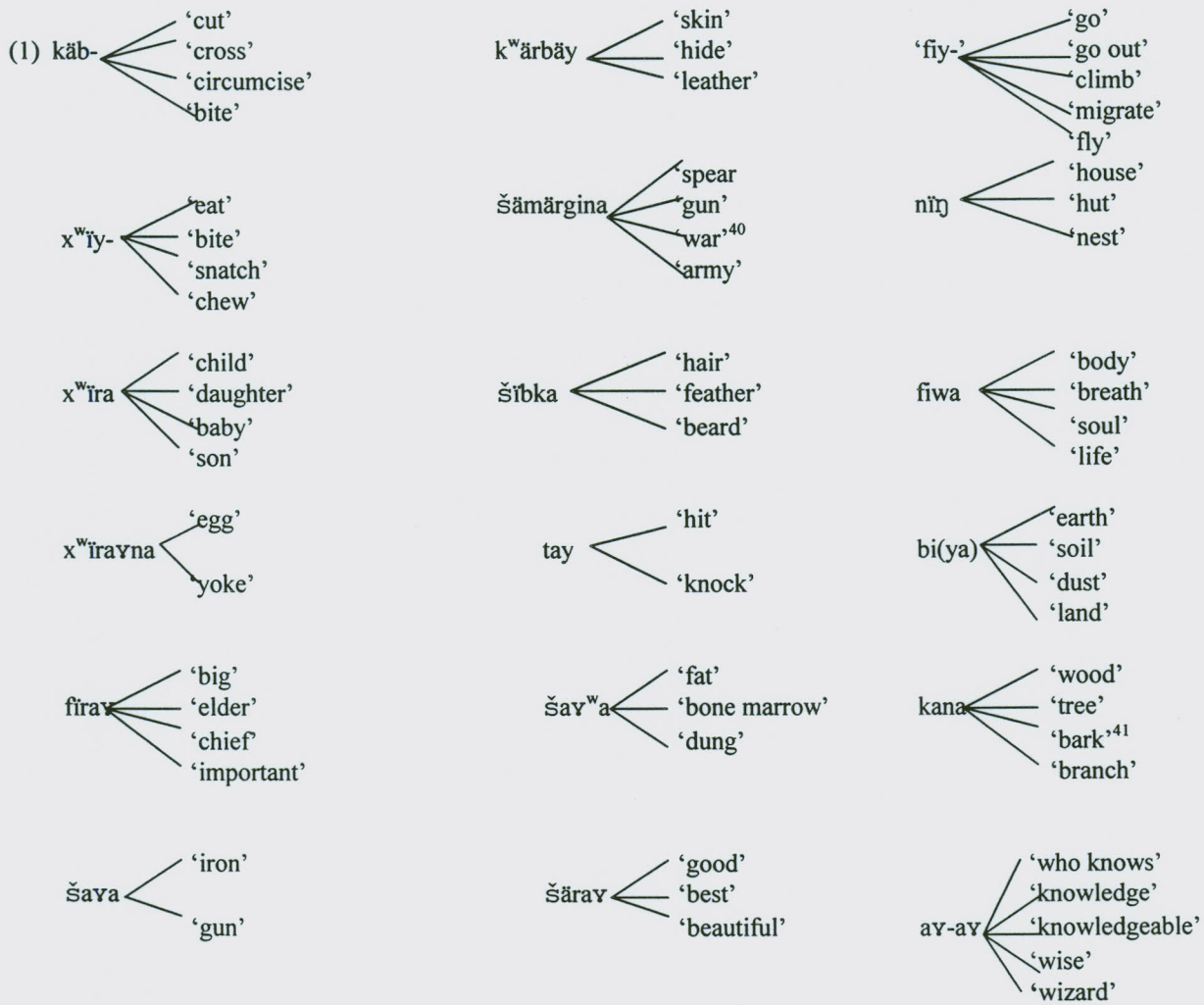
[38] Gemination as a phonetic feature is recorded in nine words, and as a phonemic feature only in one word. It also occurs in morphemic boundaries as a result of assimilation (see chapter V).
[39] X. has *tamz-/qaxš-*.

4.3.2 Semantic Load (Polysemy)

Semantic load is commonly seen in the Kemantney lexicon where one word means many things. This happens when words are lost or do not exist at all. As a compensatory strategy, passive TSs tend to use existing words for more than one thing whereas active speakers use different words for different things. Such maximal semantic transparency is a feature of decay. Observe the following representative examples where the basic meaning appears first.



The examples show how a single word in the RDL is used to designate several things in the RGL. For instance, TSs use the Amharic words *kʷärät'-* 'cut', *akʷkʷarrät'-* 'crossed', *gärräz-* 'circumcised', and *näddäf-* 'bite' to refer to different things. But all these designations are expressed by a single word *käb-* 'cut' in Kemantney. This suggests that TSs have more concepts

[40] X. has the word *ač'ïna.*

[41] Appleyard (1994) gives us *sïŋkʷa* for the word 'bark' which does not exist in the present material.

as well as words in the RGL than in the RDL. This is one of the reasons for word-borrowing by speakers of the latter.

4.3.3 Semantic Shift

An interesting case of semantic shift is exhibited in the three words: *särg-*, *kasa* and *tägïb* extracted from text II and III of section 4.4.4. In Amharic, *särräg-* is a verb meaning 'make a wedding feast'. The derived word *särg* is a noun, which means 'wedding' (cf. X. *käyan*). But the same form is a verb meaning 'get married' in Kemantney. This is an example of a semantic as well as a categorial shift. The word *kasa* in Amharic means 'indemnification' but in Kemantney the same word means 'a right of passage administered by priests to the Kemant-Kemant people' (see also Gamst, 1969). There is also a strict semantic shift of the word *tägïb* in Kemantney. Whereas it means 'storm' (which is destructive) in Amharic, the same form *tägïb* refers to 'shower' (which is constructive) in Kemantney. Hence, Kemantney fluent speakers understand the above three words as separate entries: one in the replacing and the other in the replaced language.

4.3.4 Coinage of New Words

Coinages of new words or neologisms for new concepts are rare in Kemantney because it is out of daily communication. The awareness of Kemantney speakers about the apparent inability of their language to express thoughts and activities of modern life on a par with the sociolinguistically dominant Amharic has forced them to abandon it in favor of the latter.

There are cases where TSs use what is called in historical linguistics, calquing or loan translation (Haugen, 1950; Anttila, 1989) as a means of filling in lexical gaps (see more examples of calquing in the area of toponymy in 4.5.2 and 4.5.3). The process is one of borrowing concepts and expressing them in native vocabulary. It can be called semantic borrowing. For example, two informants among the nine gave the word 'bullet' the expressions *gït-ïl tïw-aʏ* lit. 'that, which enters into buttock' and *fïlïw-s-aʏ* 'that, which is whistled'. The remaining seven informants provided the Amharic word *t'ïyyit*. The word for 'gun' is recorded as *daŋg^{w}a* 'bee-hive' from two informants in the sense that a gun contains bullets in the same way a bee-hive houses bees. Another word *šaʏa* was used by others, which simply means 'metal'. Aba Womberu used the phrase *solomon-dï käbära* 'Solomon's rope' for 'chain'. One informant used simply *käbära* 'rope', and the rest seven used the Amharic word *sänsälät* (7) for the same meaning. Another word of loan translation is *kämb-i säyïŋ* 'cloth for cold weather' translated from the Amharic *yä-*

bïrd lïbs, which literally means 'cloth for cold weather', that is, 'blanket' (cf. the B. word *sïmmir* (Palmer, 1958)). The form for 'girl' is *faʏ-k-äy* x^{w}*ïra* 'child, who has been unmarried' and for 'rust' *bi* x^{w}*ïy-ïʏ*^{w} 'the soil ate'. The word for 'car' is g^{w}*ïmbïl-aʏ* 'that, which rolls down'. Observe the following additional examples.

(1)	**Intended meaning**	**Expression used**	**Actual meaning of expression**
	'combine'	läxäl šäb-ïʏ^{w}	'do together'
	'criminal'	wänǰäl sär-aʏ yïr	'a person who commit crime'
	'dumb'	ni-mïkäy šäws-ïwan-äk^{w}	'his mouth has been sick'
		gämär-äg-aʏ	'one, who does not hear'
	'friend'	laʏ-ïl gaš-n-aʏ	'he, who grew together'
	'fly'	sämay-ïz fiy-aʏ	'went to sky'

Thus, objects are expressed with phrases, which describe their natural form or function. All TSs who do not use their language regularly resort to loan translations. The translations have the form of paraphrases, infinitive forms, relatives and gerundives within the language for lack of lexical forms. Hence, the lack of uniformity in the use of words leads to more nonce borrowings but fewer widespread words in Kemantney.

4.4 Parts of Speech

4.4.1 Verbs

As shown before, verbs are among the impoverished categories of Kemantney (see conditions in 4.6). There are verbs that have been completely forgotten by all informants and are substituted by loan forms from Amharic. Concepts like 'hurt', 'throw', 'be sad', 'ring', etc. have expressions of loan stem with native inflections for person, number, gender and tense. Such loan forms of verbs have also become the bases for the borrowing of derived nouns and adjectives from the RGL. Observe the following examples of derived adjectives and nouns showing similar forms with their counterparts in the RGL.

(1)	**Amharic**	**Kemantney**		**Amharic/Kemantney**	
	ǰämmär-	ǰämär-	'begin'	mäǰämmäriya	'beginning'
	č'ärräs-	č'äräs-	'finish'	mäč'ärräša	'last'
	azzän-	azän-	'be sorry'	(h)azän	'sorrow'
	k'älläd-	k'äläd-	'joke'	k'äld	'joke'
	k'ät't'-	k'ät'-	'punish'	k'ït'at	'punishment'
	märr-	mär-	'lead' [42]	märi	'leader'
	attaläl-	ataläl-	'cheat'	atalay	'cheat'

The above examples were supplied by all the nine informants. On the other hand, Kemantney does not seem to have derivations of the type shown here as can be deduced from other forms of

adjectives and nouns which informants volunteered. Some are loans with loan verbal bases whereas others are natives with native verbal bases depending on the level of proficiency of TSs. The following are examples.

(2)

Amharic		Kemantney				
		Passive TSs		Active TSs		
verb stems	nominals	verb stems	nominal	verb stems	nominals	
t'ärräg-	t'äräg-	t'äräg-	t'äragi	gäz-	gäz-änta	'wipe'/'wiper'
särräk'-	säräk'-	säräk'-	säräk'i/leba	xašän-	xašän-ta	'steal'/'thief'
af^{w}ač'č'-	af^{w}ač'-	af^{w}ač'-	fuč'ät	filïʏ^{w}t-	filïʏ^{w}t-a	'whistle/whistling'
räggäm-	rägäm-	rägäm-	ïrgïman	dïwš-	dïwš-a	'curse'/'cursing'

There are also verbs that are found only in the speeches of some active TSs. These include the following.

(3)

'squeeze':	šämäntaʏ-	(native form)	(3)
	č'ämäk'-*	(Amharic borrowing)	(6)[43]
'rub':	taʏäw-	(native form)	(4)
	fägäfäg-*	(Amharic borrowing)	(5)
'whisper':	sïsïʏ^{w}ït-	(native form)	(3)
	ašokäšok-*	(Amharic borrowing)	(4)
	tänšokašok-*	(Amharic borrowing)	(2)
'lose':	biy-	(native form)	(5)
	däxïyt-	'became poor'	(2)
	šäy-la	'does not have'	(1)
	biy-g-aʏ	'who does not have'	(1)
'dream':	abär-	(native form)	(2)
	abär xal-	'saw dream'	(2)
	abär xal-š-	'caused to see dream'	(4)
	abär šïy-	'dream caught'	(1)
'pull':	wätär-	(native form)	(2)
	g^{w}ätïy- or g^{w}ätät-	(Amharic borrowing)	(7)

There are also verbs, which all the informants recalled. These include the following among others.

(4)

aš-	'harvest'	käläbt-	'receive'	gaŋ-	'run'	wayt-	'buy'
däb-	'bury'	käl-	'break'	g^{w}äz-	'plough'	x^{w}-	'eat'
däw-	'pass'	lab-	'fall'	g^{w}arïʏ-	'dig'	y-	'say'
gänǰ-	'sleep'	läš-	'bring'	ǰax-	'drink'	k^{w}-	'kill'
gaš-	'grow'	t-	'come'				

[42] The X. equivalent is *k'aw-*.

[43] Verbs with asterisk geminate their penultimate radical in the RGL.

These verbs are fresh in the minds of TSs. The reason could be that they are simple in their internal structure and also belong to the core vocabulary of the language. In other words, mono- and bi- syllabic stems, which are used frequently, are easy to recall. This seems to be in line with Andersen's (1982) and Weinreich's (1968) hypotheses that, frequently used and structurally non-complex words are more stable than relatively infrequent and structurally complex forms. Exceptions to these are tri-syllabic stems like *täkʷäsïm-* 'sit', which is complex but still recalled by all speakers. On the other hand, as illustrated in (1) and (2) above, a common phenomena among TSs is the absence of high frequency forms which supports Dorian's (1981) observation with the semi-speakers of the East Sutherland Gaelic.

Another interesting case includes passive verbs. They lack uniformity across informants when borrowed from Amharic. They take the form either from the RGL or the RDL. For instance, the Amharic verb *tä-säddäd-* 'exiled' is borrowed as *sädäd-s-* (2), *tä-sädäd-* (2). The first is entirely Amharic whereas the second is partially Amharic in its stem and Kemantney in its affix. For the same verb, incompetent TSs have supplied forms like *mal fiy-aʏ* 'he, having left, went' (3), *šägär-wä fiy-aʏ* 'he, having been in trouble, went' (1), and *fiy-aʏ* 'went' (1). The passive verb *tä-wärrär-* 'is inundated' has the form *wärär-s-* (7) and *tä-wärär-* (2) in Kemantney. Similarly, the passive verb *tä-t'ärät't'är-* 'is suspected of' is passivized as *tä-t'ärät'är-* (4) *t'ärät'är-s-* (5). From the above examples, passive verbs of borrowed forms have the following two shapes:

Verb stem	+ Passive suffix (RDL)+	Inflection	
Passive prefix (RGL) +	Verb stem	+	Inflection

These two patterns show the internal structure of passive verbs in Kemantney. Most passive verbs of the RGL, however, enter the vocabulary of the RDL by stripping off the passive prefix */tä-/* and acquiring the passive suffix */-s/* of the RDL. Additional examples are the following:

(5)	tä-t'ämmäk'-	→	t'ämäk'-s-	'be baptized'
	tä-gärräf-	→	gäräf-s-	'be wiped'
	t-arräd-	→	aräd-s-	'be slaughtered'

The last point to be mentioned is the tendency of passive TSs to use negative forms of existing words for words they have forgotten. Examples are forms like *tär-* 'hate' substituted by passive TSs as *yïkäl-äla* 'does not like' which is the negative form of *yïkäl-* 'like'. This is like using the negative form 'not love' to mean 'hate'.

4.4.2 Nouns

In Kemantney, nouns are either simple or derived. While simple nouns are abundant, derived ones are exceedingly rare. There are three categories of such nominals: action, abstract and agent nominals. Instrumental nouns, which exist in Xamt'aŋa (Appleyard, 1987b), are not found in Kemantney. The same is true with manner nominals.[44] Because of these, speakers use borrowed forms, native forms of relatives, infinitives, gerundives as well as phrases. As Dressler (1982) points out, the loss of productive word formation is one of the signs of decay in a language.

4.4.2.1 Action Nominals

There are some native action nominals derived from verbal stems. Observe the following examples.

(1)

Verb root		Nominals		Alternative forms	
waŋxär-	'ask'	waŋxär	'question'	waŋxär-näy[45], t'ïyak'e (Amh.)	
wäntärš-	'answer'	wäntäršï[46]	'answer'	mäls	(Amh.)
kïlïŋ-	'dance'	kïlïŋ(a)	'dance'	zäfän	(Amh.)
šum-	'fast'	šum	'fasting'	x^{w}ïy-la	'did not eat'
wavärt-	'play'	wavär	'game'	wavärt-ïna	'to play'
šav-	'urinate'	šav[47]	'urine'	____	
ǰax-	'drink'	____	'drink'	ǰax-na	'to drink',
				mät'ät't'	(Amh)
gaŋ-	'run'	____	'running'	gaŋ-na	'to run',
				ruč'č'a	(Amh.)
x^{w}-	'eat'	____	'food'[48]	x^{w}ïy-s-av	'which is eatable.',
				mäbïl	(Amh.)

The possible and frequent forms of action nominals are similar to the corresponding verb stems and to imperative forms: *waŋxär* 'ask! (2SG)', *wäntäršï* 'answer! (2SG)', *kïlïŋ* 'dance! (2SG)', *šum-* 'fast! (2SG)', *wavärtï* 'play! (2SG)' *šav* 'urinate! (2SG)' and *ǰax* 'drink! (2SG)'. There are plenty of examples derived with the suffix */-a/* as in *k^{w}äsänt-* 'use a pillow' → *k^{w}äsän-a* 'pillow'; *g^{w}äz-* 'farm' → *g^{w}äz-a* 'farm'; *tïxïz-*'smoke' → *tïxïz-a* 'smoke'; *xïyr-*'smell' → *xïyr-a*

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[44] One interesting case has been recorded from Adugna Tesemma where a clear case of structural or skeletal borrowing is apparent in the form *a-ǰä-ǰax* 'manner of drinking' on the basis of the Amharic reduplicated pattern a1ï1ä2a2, that is, *a-t't'ät't'at'* derived from the 1ä22a verb stem of *t'ät't'a* 'he drank' (see Hailu Fulass, 1967).

[45] *-näy* is an abstract nominal marker in Kemantney but its occurrence in *waŋxär-näy* does not make sense and, therefore, is meaningless. Such a confusion of suffixes surely emanates from the passive knowledge of the language.

[46] *ï* is an epenthetic vowel.

[47] It also means 'rainy season'. Appleyard (1975) recorded *šavi* for 'rainy season'. The cognates *šïx* and *šïk'* in B. and *č'a* and *č'ara* in X. may suggest that the two are different in Kemantney too. Nevertheless, speakers of Kemantney use the same form for the two concepts.

[48] B. has *näbra* for 'food' (Palmer, 1958).

'smell'; *adäyt-*'borrow' → *adäyt-a* 'loan' etc. Two other nominals of the same type were found with the suffix */-än/*.

Nevertheless, the above derivational pattern does not work for all such nominals. For example, one would expect *gaŋ*, *x^{w}ïy* and *ǰax* to be action nominals for 'run', 'eat' and 'drink' respectively. But they do not exist in actual use; instead, infinitives, relative passives and borrowed forms are used. From the verb *kag-* 'become dry', for example, one may take *kag* to be the derived nominal form for 'drought'. However, the informants never used this form. The forms recorded are: the verb *kag-ïʏ^{w}*, the relative *kag-aʏ*, the gerundive *kag-wä*, the infinitive *kag-na* and finally the noun *dïrk'* which is Amharic. Thus, the rule, which was probably once productive, has ceased to be so.

4.4.2.2 Abstract Nominals

Abstract nominals are derived form simple nouns with the nominalizer *-näy*. Observe the following examples.

(1)	šäʏa	'mud'	→	šäʏ-näy	'muddiness'[49]	(3)
	x^{w}ïra	'child'	→	x^{w}ïr-näy	'childhood'	(4)
	xašänta	'thief'	→	xašän-näy	'stealing'	(3)
	gïrwa	'male'	→	gïrwä-näy	'maleness'	(4)
	dïxa	'poor'	→	dïx-näy	'poorness'	(5)

The above pattern is still retained by only some active TSs. Passive TSs used the simple nominal forms for the abstract whereas others use borrowings from Amharic. The pattern does not seem to be productive even among active TSs. Such patterns are more vulnerable to loss than those, which are productive.

4.4.2.3 Agent Nominals

The derivation of agent nominals is by far the most productive process well retained. Its pattern is [*verb stem* + *-änta*] as the following examples illustrate.

(1)	g^{w}äz-	'farm'	g^{w}äz-änta	'farmer'	(9)
	kïlïŋ-	'dance'	kïlïŋ-änta	'dancer'	(4)
	xašänt-	'steal'	xaš-äna/xaš-änta	'thief'	(9)
	ax-	'know'	ax-änta[50]	'knowledgeable'	(5)
	šïw-	'beg'	šïw-änta	'beggar' [51]	(7)
	amn-	'believe'[52]	amn-änta	'believer'	(3)

[49] This is a traditional title, in feudal Ethiopia, given to government appointees at a village level.
[50] It can also mean 'wise' or 'wizard'.
[51] B. has *šïwäna* for 'beggar' (Palmer, 1958).
[52] It is one of the words, which is adopted by the Agaw languages at an earlier proto-Agaw stage from Semitic (Appleyard, 1996a).

Whereas these are the correct derived forms, speakers with less fluency use the following equivalents as well.

(2)	**Indigenous forms**	**Alternative forms**	
	kïlïŋ-änta	kïlïŋ-aʏ	(the relative from)
		kïlïŋ-na	(the infinitive form)
		zäfañña	(Amharic borrowing)
	ax-änta	ax-aʏ	(the relative form)
		ax-näy	(the abstract form)
	šïw-änta	šïw-aʏ	(the relative form)
		šïw-äna	(the infinitive form)
	amän-änta	amän-aʏ	(the relative form)
		amän-t-aʏ	(the relative-passive form)
		amïn-o	(the gerundive form)
		amïn-s-ïʏ^{w}	(passive verb)
		amañña	(Amharic borrowing)

For the agent nominal 'drinker', the following five different forms were recorded:

(3)	ǰax-änta	'drinker'	nominal	(3)
	ǰax-s-ïʏ^{w}	'be drank'	passive	(1)
	ǰax-na	'to drink'	infinitive	(2)
	ǰax-aʏ	'who drinks'	relative	(2)
	t'äč'č'ï	'drinker'	(Amharic borrowing)	(1)

The agent nominal for 'governor' is *särаʏ-änta* (2) derived from the verb *särаʏ-* 'govern' with the suffix *–änta*. But the following forms were also recorded.

(4)	särax-s-aʏ	'who is governed'	passive relative	(1)
	särax-aʏ	'he, who governs'	relative	(2)
	särax-ïʏ^{w}	'governed'	verb	(1)
	agär wayt-aʏ	'he, who rules a country'[53]	relative	(1)
	gäz-ïʏ^{w}	'governed'	(hybrid form)	(1)
	gäži	'governor'	(Amharic borrowing)	(1)

On the other hand, the decay of the language tends to limit the use of nominalizers to a few words only. Though one may expect nominals like *šïwïs-änta* for 'prisoner' and *xaʏ-änta* for 'winner', none of the TSs supplied them. Instead, they supplied the verb *šïwïs-ïʏ^{w}* 'imprisoned', the passive relative *šïwïs-s-aʏ* 'one, who is imprisoned'; the verb *xaʏ-ïʏ^{w}* 'won', the active relative *xaʏ-aʏ* 'one, who wins' and the borrowed forms from Amharic, respectively.

4.4.3 Adjectives

Non-derived adjectives are very rare in Kemantney as they are in other Agew languages (see Hetzron, 1976). Simple adjectives still used by the majority of the informants include only *azi*

[53] The meaning of *agär wayt-aʏ* is 'he, who buys a country' since *wayt-* has the semantic range of Amharic *gäzz-* 'buy' – this is obviously a calque.

'new' and *šämäna* 'black'. Adjectival meanings are expressed with relativized verbs, and as a result, Kemantney is an adjectival-verb language, following the typology of Schachter (1985).

There are derived adjectives but they are also rare. They are derived from verbal bases with the suffix */-a/*. This is also the same morpheme used in the derivation of nouns. Observe the following examples:

(1)	ǰïkäk-	'be heavy'	ǰïkäk-a	'heavy'	kart-	'be far'	kartï 'far'
	$g^{w}ïʏ^{w}ïy$-	'be mad'	$g^{w}ïʏ^{w}ïy$-a	'mad'	naxt-	'become many'	naxtï 'many'
	täyt-	'be near'	täytï	'near'			

In the case of the first two examples where the verb stem ends in a single consonant, the adjectival suffix */-a/* appears in the corresponding adjectives. However, when the verb stem ends in consonant clusters, as in the other three examples, */-a/* is replaced by the epenthetic *ï* word finally. Instead of *ǰïkäk-a* 'heavy', other forms were also recorded. They are: *gärš-ïg-aʏ* lit. 'which is impossible', *ǰïkäk-äw* 'which are heavy', *ǰïkäk-äk^{w}* 'becomes heavy', *ǰikäk-aʏ* 'which is heavy' *ǰïkäk-ïʏ^{w}* 'became heavy'. All these are verbs or relatives. The IF of the verb *$g^{w}ïʏ^{w}ïy$-* 'be mad' and the adjective *$g^{w}ïʏ^{w}ïy$-a* 'mad' are retained only by one informant. The other eight supplied the borrowed forms */abäd-/* 'became mad' and *ïbd* 'mad'. For the adjective 'full', the expected form was *taʏa*, derived from the verb *taʏ-* 'fill'. But the form supplied are *taʏ-aʏ* (1) (relative form), *taʏ-wä* (gerundive form) (2), *taʏ-ïʏ^{w}* (verbal form) (3) and then the Amharic borrowed form *mulu* (4). Three adjectives were recorded with the adjectival suffix */-sa/*. These were *k^{w}älä-sa* 'lowlander', *däy-sa* 'highlander' and *aʏ^{w}äy-sa* 'big-headed' derived from the nouns *k^{w}äla* 'lowlander', *däy* 'highland' and *aʏ^{w}äy* 'head', respectively.

If a verb stem is borrowed, its derivatives are also borrowed (see also examples in 4.4.1). Observe the following examples all from Amharic.

(2)	k'ät'än-	'become thin'	→	k'äč'č'ïn	'thin'
	wäfär-	'become fat'	→	wäfram	'fat'
	säf-	'become wide'	→	säffi	'wide'

In addition to the above borrowed adjectives, the old fluent speakers use *k'ät'än-aʏ*, *wäfär-aʏ*, and *saf-aʏ*, which are relativized forms. For the word 'criminal', TSs supplied the Amharic adjective, *wänǰäl-äññä* (7); the relative form, *wänǰäl sär-aʏ yïr* 'a man who commits crime' (1); and the phrase *gïm sïrïʏ šäb-ïʏ^{w}* lit. 'he did bad.' (1). Another example is the verb for 'hunt',

which is *adän-* borrowed from Amharic[54]. The Kemantney equivalent forms for the nominal 'hunter' was supplied as *adän-aʏ* 'one, who hunts' (4) and *addäññ* (Amh. borrowing) (5).

The indigenous form for the word 'deaf' is *g^{w}är*,[55] which only two informants recalled. The rest gave the following:

(2)	was-äla	'he does not hear'	(1)
	was-äg-aʏ	'one, who does not hear'	(3)
	dänk'oro	'deaf' (Amharic borrowing)	(3)

Similarly, for the word 'foolish', the following six different expressions were used:[56]

(3)	fïrï šäy-g-aʏ	lit. 'one, who does not have seed'	(1)
	fïr(ï) šäy-la	'does not have seed'	(1)
	ax-äg-aʏ	'one, who does not know'	(1)
	zänäzäna[57]	'pestle'	(1)
	yäwah	'naive' (Amharic)	(1)
	moññ	'foolish' (Amharic)	(4)

As the examples show, derived adjectives lack uniformity among TSs. To fill in the gaps, TSs use other forms such as relatives and phrases, and even sentences. Furthermore, the few adjectives available are used for a wide range of semantic fields. However, the presence of few adjectives and the impoverished nature of the category as a whole does not suggest that the language is dying as this is also an old trait of Agew languages such as Bilin and Xamt'aŋa in general.

In Kemantney, the deficiency of lexical adjectives is compensated for by clauses. In other words, relatives are used as adjectival expressions where proper adjectives are lacking. Observe the following:

(4)	gan-	'became old'	gän-aʏ	'one, who is old'
	lägäz-	'became heavy'	lägäz-aʏ	'that which is heavy'

Such base forms can occur as predicates in structures like the following:

(5)	an šär-ar gayil	'I am good'	šär-äw gaʏïllï	'We are good.'
	ïntï šär-ar gayla	'You are good'	šär-äw gaʏïyïlla	'You are good.'
	ni šär-aʏ gala	'He is good'	šär-äw gaʏïlla	'They are good.'
	šär-ey gayla	'She is good'		

4.4.4 Other Parts of Speech and Elements of Discourse

So far, we have not considered morphological features and discourse elements. These are found best in a natural running discourse of which the following are examples.

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[54] Compare the Amharic and X. forms *addän-* and *addïn-*, respectively.

[55] The word 'deaf' in X. is *dïnk^{w}ar*.

[56] The word for 'foolish' in B. and X. are *ʕawäd* (Palmer, 1958) and *xaŋ* respectively.

[57] In Amharic and the Amhara culture, *zänäzäna* refers to one's tallness and it is metaphorically a sign of foolishness. The same holds true in Kemantney and the Kemant people, may be as a result of acculturation.

Text I (from Abiye Asresa)

kawïnto 'in ancient times' anä-abäy 'our fathers' ***gize*** 'time' ***ayale*** 'several' ***zämänat*** 'epochs' anä-gänä-š 'by our mother' an-abä-š 'by our father' ***ayal*** 'several' ***zämänat*** 'epochs' sab-o ' I, having counted' ***gïn*** 'but' ***gizä***-s 'the time' ax-äg-ir 'I, the one who do not know' aʏʷ-ä-ge 'I, having not been' ***bal-ïna*** 'husband and '***mïšt***-än 'wives' särg-ïs-ïn-o 'they, having been made married' ***mize*** 'best man' laʏ-ïl 'together' gänǰ-o 'he, having slept' ni-***mize***-at 'his bestman' ***däfär***-ïʏʷ 'he raped her' ***däfär***-o 'he, having raped' amär-eš 'by the next day' kʷïnnä 'night' niš-gʷïri 'her husband' kar-iw 'let me pass the night' y-än 'when he said' ***ay*** (hesitation or refusal form) gäbsï 'go away!' tïŋ-ta 'do not touch me!' yï-day-il 'from my side' täyt-ïta 'do not approach me!' ***abäläs***-s-wan-äkʷ 'I am spoiled' nïŋ 'today' yï-t-äy 'she, having said' ***ïmbi*** (refusal) y-ït-i 'she said' sikʷar 'the same day' kunna 'night' ***mize***-z 'from the best man' gʷäzgʷï-ti 'she conceived' kiy-e 'she, having spent the night' amär-eš 'the next day' ***gizä***-s 'the time' sab-e-sab 'she, counting' ***gizä***-s 'the time' sab-e-sab 'she, counting' sässa 'nine' arfa 'month' taʏ-äŋʷ 'when it reached' käbän-it 'she delivered' käbän-s-äŋʷ 'while delivered' xʷïrä 'child' yï-n-o 'they, having considered as' ***käbäb***-n-o 'they, having surrounded' ***göräbet***-än 'the neighbors' nayik 'all' fiy-än-äŋʷi 'when they went' ïnǰäŋäntä-s 'the python' mïräwä-s 'the snake' käbän-it-i 'she delivered' mïräwä-s 'the snake' käbän-y-äŋʷ 'when she delivered' yïn-zï 'by this' ***gize*** 'time' wä-ni 'what is' gabi 'the matter' yï-n-o 'they, having said' ***göräbet***-än 'the neighbors' ïndän-sï 'this' ***däbädäb***-n-o 'we, having beaten' kʷï-n-o 'we, having killed' ***anäk'ïn*** 'we, having hanged' mal-n-o 'we, having thrown away' yï-n-o 'they, having said' sïsïwt-än-äŋʷ 'while they whispered' was-yä 'she, having heard' ***gäsägäs***-i 'she, having run ahead' tä-t-äŋʷ 'when she entered' gaŋ-o 'he, having ran' kïrni 'stone' gaw-ïl 'in between' tïw-ïʏʷ 'he entered' kïrni 'stone' gaw-ïl 'in between' tïw-o 'he, having entered' gaš-ä-sab 'he, growing' fiy-äŋʷ 'when he goes on' dirw-i 'of hen' šašuna 'chicken' fïntïr-i 'of goat' ***gïlgäl*** 'baby goat' ***lämäd***-eʏʷ 'he became customary' ***käf*** y-äŋʷ 'as growing older' fa 'while going' kïbnä-z 'by forest' ǰaŋ-äŋʷ 'while he runs' ***tärarä*** 'mountain' kʷïtaʏ-aʏ 'who is equal to' aʏïy-äʏʷ 'he became' kanä-s 'the tree' šaŋkä-s 'the grass' ašä-s 'the leaves' ***bäkol***-š-ïʏʷ 'he let grew up on him' ni-***näbs***-ïl[58] 'on his body' ***tärara*** 'mountain' kʷïtaʏ-aʏ 'which is equal to' aʏ-o 'he, having been' ***gub*** y-aʏ 'which mounted up' aʏïy-äʏʷ 'he became' yïn-zï 'by this' ***gize*** 'time' aw 'who' yï-s-iʏʷ 'is named' ni-šïŋʷ 'his name' ***däragon***[59] 'dragoon' ***gïzat*** 'territory' ***bäkïr*** 'first' xʷïra 'child' käma 'cow' bira 'ox' xʷ-aŋʷ 'while he ate' xʷ-aŋʷ 'while he ate' ***bäkïr*** 'first' xʷïra 'child' ***gäbär***-šä-sab 'he, taxing' sïm-äŋʷ 'when he lived' ïn-zï 'by this' dag 'on' ***lïga ǰäräd*** 'girl' xʷïra-t 'the child' läš-ä 'bring!' xʷïy-iw 'let me eat' y-aʏ 'he, who said' niš-abä-š 'for her father' kʷänä-š-ïr 'for mother too' läy-ni 'she is one' fäš-n-o 'they, having taken' ***mägabit*** 'March' arfä-z 'in the month of' ***zaf***-ïl 'from tree' ***t'abya*** 'station' mädïš-n-o 'they, having allocated' f-at-i 'she went' tïkʷäsïm-y-äʏ-äl 'from where she sat down' ***gäwärgis*** 'St. George' ***abnä*** 'bishop'[60] ***k'ïdus*** 'holly' ***mänt'äliwäs*** '?Pentelewis?' säkäb-sï-n-o 'they, having been getting together' ïyyän 'people' aŋkʷa 'five' ***mälak***-än 'angels' ***adän*** 'hunting' gïrgï-n-o 'they, having spent the day' te-n-äŋʷ 'while they came' yïn 'that' ***zaf***-i 'tree' lämdäl 'shadow' täkʷäsïm-nï-wan-äŋʷ 'while they have sat down' fuy-äŋʷ 'while she cried' yï-t 'me' xʷ-aʏ 'he, who will eat' t-ïʏʷ 'he came'...

In the above text, there are a total of 36 loanwords from Amharic occurring 48 times (some occur more than once). As illustrated below, nouns are the largest followed by verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. There are also suffixes and discourse elements.

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[58] In this context, there is a semantic shift of the borrowed Amharic word *nafs* 'soul'. Some Kemantney speakers use it for 'soul' and 'body'. Others use the word *fiwa* for 'soul', which literally means 'breath'.

[59] It is the English word 'dragon' entered into Kemantney through Amharic.

[60] It is one of the highest ranks in the Ethiopian Orhtodox Church.

(1)	**Nouns**		**Verbs**		**Adjectives**	**Adverbs**	**Conjunctions**
	gize (5)	näbs (1)	däfär- (2)	gub- (1)	ayale (2)	ïmbi (1)	-ïna (1)
	mize (3)	däragon (1)	abäläs- (1)	bär- (1)	bäkïr[61] (2)		
	zämänat (2)	lïgaǰäräd (1)	käbäb- (1)		k'idus (1)		
	goräbet (2)	mägabit (1)	däbädäb- (1)		**Discourse elements**		
	tärarä (2)	t'abiya (1)	anäk'ïn (1)		ay (1)		
	zaf (2)	gäwärgis (1)	gäsägäs- (1)				
	bal (1)	abunä (1)	lämäd- (1)				
	mïšt (1)	mälak (1)	käf- (1)				
	gïlgäl (1)	adän (1)	bäkʷäl- (1)				

Text II (from Beletu Hailu)

anä-***zämäd***-än 'our relatives' kawïnto 'in ancient times' ***sär***-s-än-äŋʷ 'while they were created' kawïnto 'in ancient itmes' na-***sïr***-i 'their work' ***täfäf*** 'neat' y-aʏ 'which is' gala 'is' nïŋ-ït 'today' kïna 'like' ***k'es***-än 'priests' ***täwäsäwäs***-älla 'they don't falsify' kawïnto 'in ancient times' anä-***zämäd***-än 'our relatives' mïski[62] 'the sacred beer' ***ankʷälä*** 'gourd' šäy-n-o 'they, having held' mïski 'the sacred beer' ***ankʷäl***-äs 'the gourd' kani-dag 'on a tree' ***säk'äl***-n-o 'they, having hanged' kani-dag 'on a tree' ***säk'äl***-s-aʏ 'which is hanged' mïski 'the sacred beer' ***ankʷäl***-äs 'the gourd' ***täskar*** (the forteenth day funeral of a deceased person) f-äŋʷ 'while offered' ïyyän-aŋkʷa 'five persons' aʏïy-n-än 'if they become' t-aʏ-äni 'if who entered' ïyyän-aŋkʷa 'five persons' ïyyän-wälta 'six persons' aʏïy-n-än 'if they become' t-aʏ-äni 'if who entered' ïyyï-wälta 'six persons' ***kätäm***-s-i 'she, having been covered' tïkosïm-e 'she, having sat down' däkä 'clay pot' wan-ät 'there exists' kaš-äni 'when they cross' ***ïk'a*** material' wan-äti 'there is' däka 'clay pot' läläma 'friend' mïski 'sacred beer' ***ankol***-i 'gourd' ***ankolä*** 'gourd' wan-äkʷ 'there exists' ***bïbuñ***[63] (an alcohol free beer) nab-s-aʏ 'which is fermented' däkä 'clay pot' šäy-nï-wan-äkʷ-ïn 'they have held' yïn-sï 'that' ***säk'äl***-n-o 'they, having hanged' ***täskar*** (the forteenth day funeral of a deceased person) ***wark***i-dag 'on an oak tree' ***säk'äl***-n-o 'they, having hanged' yïn-sï 'that' naydew 'they' ***täskar*** (the fourteenth day funeral of a deceased person) fïz-än-äŋʷ 'while they give' gäms-ïn-o 'they, having brought it down' ***bïbuñ***-ïs (an alcohol free beer) näb-n-o 'they, having fermented' aŋkʷa-t 'the five' y-ïn-än 'if they said' taʏ-äni 'if it happens' aŋkʷa 'five' wälta 'six' y-ïn-än 'when they say' taʏ-äni 'if it happens' wälta 'six' mïski 'the sacred beer' ***ankʷälä*** 'gourd' šïy-äw 'they, who hold' ***t'äfäf*** 'neat' y-äw 'they, who are' bäǰï-nïŋ-ïl 'in a menstrual hut'[64] tïw-äg-äw 'they, who do not enter' ankʷä-yï-nïŋ 'on the fifth day' ***kasa*** (the rite of passage of a person administered by priests) nïŋ-ïl-ge 'in the house' tïw-än-aʏ 'where they enter' naydew 'they' tïw-älla 'they do not enter' ***t'äfäf*** 'neat' y-äw 'who are' gaʏïlla 'they are' nïŋ-ït 'today' kïnä 'like' ***täwäsäwäs***-älla 'they do not falsify' yïn-sï 'that' mïzgänä (the Kemant God) läbo 'Wednesday' kʷïnna 'night' ***märet*** 'land' wïšaʏ-n-o 'they, having made their rug' galä 'is' gänǰ-än-aʏ 'where they sleep' ***arg***-ïl 'on bed' gänǰ-ällä 'they do not sleep' naydew 'they' mïzgän 'the Kemant God' labo 'Wednesday' kʷïnna 'night' amïz 'Thursday' mïzgän 'the Kemant God' ***arb*** 'Friday' läbo 'Wednesday' kʷïnna 'night' ***märet***-ïz 'by land' galä 'is' gänǰ-än-aʏ 'where they sleep' wïšaʏa 'rug' wïšaʏ-älla 'they do not make rug' bi-l 'on earth' galä 'is' gänǰ-än-aʏ 'where they sleep' bi-l 'on earth' galä 'is' gänǰ-än-aʏ 'where they sleep' naydew 'they' ***täskar*** (the fourteenth day funeral of a deceased person) fïz-än-äŋʷ 'while they offer' sälïz 'Tuesday' ***ǰämär***-än 'they, beginning' tïw-äkʷ-ïn 'they enter' sälïz 'Tuesday' ***akʷ'at'är***-š-äkʷ-ïn 'they let others assign each other' sälïz 'Tuesday' läbo 'Wednesday' mïzgän 'the Kemant God' ***ïntïn*** (a sign of pause) kʷïnnä 'night' gala 'is' amïz 'Thursday' ***täskar*** (the fourteenth day funeral of a deceased person) šäy-nï-wan-

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[61] B. has a similar form: *bäxïr* (Palmer, 1958).

[62] According to Gamst (1969), *mïski* refers to the sacred beer.

[63] It is a common drink around Chilga similar to the traditional beer but without hops, that is, it is non-alcoholic.

[64] In Kemantney, the equivalent form for blood is *bïr* but *bäǰ-ï-nïŋ* refers to a small hut in which a woman is isolated during her period of menstruation.

äkʷ-ïn 'they have held' amïz 'Thursday' ***ard***-ekʷ-ïn 'they slaughter' yïn 'that' mïski 'sacred beer' ***ankʷälä*** 'gourd' gäm-ät 'she comes down'...

In the above text, there are a total of 22 loanwords occurring 41 times (some occur more than once). As in the previous text, nouns are largest followed by verbs and a conjunction.

(2)	**Nouns**		**Verbs**		**Conjunctions**
	ankʷäla (7)	k'es (1)	sär- (1)	ak'ʷat'är- (1)	gïn (1)
	täskar (6)	ïk'a (1)	t'äfäf- (2)		
	zämäd (2)[65]	warka (1)	täwäsawäs (2)		
	bubuñ (2)	kasa (1)	säk'äl- (4)		
	märet (2)	argï (1)	kätäm- (1)		
	ïntïn (1)	arb (1)	ǰämär- (1)		
	gize(1)		ard- (1)		

Text III (from Taddese Adugna)

an 'I' ***ïngïdih*** 'and then' ***mäččäm*** 'well' an-abäy 'by our fathers' gab-ïs 'the thing' lavʷ-lavʷ 'sometimes' ***gize*** 'time' däw-däw 'seldom' y-ïš-o 'I, having been made to say' ax-äkʷ 'I know' ïnnä 'this' ax-av 'which I know' gabi 'thing' an 'I' kawïnto 'in ancient times' käbän-s-o 'I, having been born' gaš-o 'I, having grown up' ***särg***-ïs-s-ïvʷ 'I was made married' ***särg***-ïs-s-o 'I, having been made married' yï-yïwnä 'my wife' wä 'what' yï-t-i 'she said' ***ärä*** (a form of surprise) ***t'ämäk'***-s-ïlä 'he is not baptised' ni-dï 'with him' sïmb-äl 'I will not live' y-ït-yä 'she, having said' daxärt-iyä 'she, having divorced' fäy-ït 'she went' daxärt-iyä 'she, having divorced' f-ät-äŋʷ 'when she went' an 'I' y-avoy-tïvʷ-ïz 'I by myself' fäy-ïwä 'I, having gone' aŋïwä 'Angwaho'[66] ***giworgis*** 'St. George' ***t'ämäk'***-s-ïvʷ 'I was baptized' yïllïse 'after that' ***gïn*** 'but' ïndä 'this' yïllï 'there' fäy-ïwä 'I, having gone' ïno (a form of surprise) ***gäräm***-av 'which is surprising' gabä 'thing' sïmb-än 'if there was' yï-nïwav 'my mother-in-law' ***bunä*** 'coffee' läy-t-i 'she gave' ***bunä*** 'coffee' lav 'one' nan-ïz 'by hand' gala 'is' käläbt-av 'which I received' sïmb-evʷ 'I was' an 'I' ***gïn*** 'but' niŋä 'two' nan-ïz 'by hand' käläbt-ïvʷ-***na*** 'I, having received, then' yï-mïkäy 'my mouth' xʷï-nä-s 'eating' ax-gï 'I, having not known' ***gäläb***ïz-ïvʷ 'I poured' yï-mïkäy 'my mouth' yï-mïkäy-ïz 'by my mouth' ***gäläb***ïz-än 'though I turned one over the other' yï-mïkäy 'my mouth' tïtun 'mush of cornmeal' av 'having become' sïmb-evʷ 'it was' tïtun 'mush of cornmeal' av-ävʷ 'it became' ïno (a form of surprise) wa 'what' šäb 'I, having done' xʷïy-ïw 'let me eat' wä 'what' šäb 'I, having done' ǰax-iw 'let me drink' ïno (a form of surprise) ***bät'am*** 'very' šïvus-s-ïvʷ 'I was made sick' ***ärä*** (a form of surprise) niŋä-tä-s 'the second' ***bunä*** 'coffee' as 'take!' y-ït-i 'she said' ***ärä*** (a form of surprise) käläbt-äl 'I will not receive' yï-mïkäy 'my mouth' bïvʷïra 'porridge' wan-äkʷ 'it becomes' käläbt-äl 'I will not receive' y-ïvʷ 'I said' yïllïse 'after that' ***gïn*** 'but' käläbt-äŋʷ-ir 'while I receive' lav 'one' nan-ïz 'by hand' ǰax-äŋʷ-ir 'while I drink' kamb-ïš-o 'I, having made it cool' ayävʷ 'another' ayävʷ 'another' gabä-s 'the thing' ïnä 'this' šä-sab 'I, doing' ***säravs***-äŋʷ 'while I work' sïm-ivʷ 'I lived' ïno (a form of surprise) ***gäräm***-av 'which is surprising' gabä 'thing' kʷäzo 'furthermore' lav 'once' ***zämän*** 'period' ***bahïr dar*** 'Bahr-Dar' fäy-ävʷ 'I went' ***läka*** (particle indicating surprise of discovery) gämänä 'lion' yï-s-o 'he, having been called' ***zïm*** y-av 'who keeps quite' ***aŠangulit*** 'toy' gala 'is' ïngïya 'there after' an 'I' gayïl 'is' yï-zän-dïk 'with my brother' sïmb-evʷ 'I was' ***ära*** (a form of sudden shock) yï-zän 'my brother' yï-zän 'my brother' xal 'look!' ïn 'this' gämän-äs 'the lion' xal-äl 'don't you see' ïllï 'here' täkʷäsïm-o 'he, having sat down' yïr 'man' xʷ-ag-av-ma 'does he not eat?' y-ïvʷ 'I said' ***ärä*** (a form of sudden shock' fiwä 'life' šäy-la 'he does not have' savänt-äla 'he does not move' y-ïvʷ 'he said' yï-***bïčča***-t 'I alone' yïxʷäy-ïvʷ 'I laughed' yï-zan-ir 'my brother too' ***zïm*** yï 'he, having been quite' was-ïvʷ 'he listened' tïw 'he, having entered' ax-

[65] X. has *zina*.
[66] It is a name of a village.

äg-aʏ 'who does not know' yïr 'man' aʏ-o 'he, having been' y-ïs-eʏ^{w} 'it was said' y-aʏ 'he, having said' y-ïʏ^{w} 'he said' yïllïse 'after that' ***t'anä*** 'lake Tana' fäy-n-ïʏ^{w} 'we went' ax^{w}-ïz-dag 'on the water' ***mäkini*** 'car' ǰäŋ-äk^{w} 'he runs' ax^{w}-ïz-dag 'on the water' kanä-s 'the wood' laʏ-ïl 'together' šäb-ïn 'they, having put' ***sär***-n-o 'they, having made' yïr 'man' kïrnä-s 'the stone' šan-o 'he, having loaded' fiy-äk^{w} 'he goes' ayru 'you!' yï-zän 'my brother' ïn-sï 'this' ax^{w} 'water' sïŋ^{w}-äg-aʏ-ma 'why does it not swallow?' y-än 'when I said' ***ay*** 'no!' sïŋ^{w}-äla 'does not swallow' sïŋ^{w}-äla 'does not swallow' y-ïʏ^{w} 'he said' annew 'we' ***gïn*** 'but' ax^{w}-ïl 'on the water' mal-n-äŋ^{w} 'while we drop' kanä-s 'the wood' sïŋ^{w}-s-äk^{w} 'is swallowed'...

As we can see below, there are 23 borrowings occurring 36 times in this text. Among these, nouns are again the highest in number followed by verbs and discourse elements. There are two adverbs and two conjunctions.

(3)

Nouns	**Verbs**	**Adverbs**	**Conjunctions**	**Discourse elements**
buna (2)	särg- (2)	bät'am (1)	gïn (4)	ïngïdih (1)
gize (1)	t'ämäk'- (2)	bïčča (1)	-ïna (1)	mäčäm (1)
giwärgis (1)	gäräm- (2)			ärä (5)
zämän (1)	gäläbïz- (2)			läka (1)
bahr-dar (1)	sär- (2)			ay (1) [67]
ašangulit (1)	zïm- (1)			
t'ana (1)				
mäkini (1)				

Most of the above borrowings are used by almost all TSs irrespective of difference of knowledge of the language. Some of the words are expressions of modern things like *ašangulit* 'toy' and *mäkini* 'car'. There are also words, which have entered the Kemantney lexicon only recently after the advent of Christianity. These include the following:

(4)

k'es 'priest'	giwärgis 'George'	däragon 'dragon'
mälak 'angle'	k'ïdus 'holy'	t'ämäk'- 'baptise'

As Schmidt points out, 'the degree to which foreign words infiltrate a native lexicon appears to be linked with the nature of culture contact' (1985:184). The word *buna* 'coffee' must be a recent borrowing from Amharic as a result of the close contact between the Kemant and Amhara. Others are toponyms (names of places and lakes) like *bahr-dar* and *t'ana*. In the above texts, both informants have used loanwords for things that have native expressions. Examples are the following:

(5)

bal 'husband'	mïšt 'wife'	gïlgäl 'infant'	tärara 'mountain'
nabs 'soul'	warka 'oak tree'	märet 'land'	däbädäb- 'beat'

[67] Note that the meaning given to the discourse elements is a rough translation.

Their equivalents in Kemantney are: *gïrwa, yïwne x^{w}ïra, läläma, dïba, fiwa, därg^{w}ïna, bi (ya)* and *tay-* respectively. In addition to those extracted from the texts, other discourse elements such as: *ïsti, ayi* and *ïko* were also recorded.[68] Omission of gerundive markers was observed throughout the texts, especially of Taddese Adugna. For instance, instead of *yï-wä* 'I, having said' and *šäb-wä* 'I, having done'; he used *yï* and *šäb* reducing the gerundive markers. This is also true with Beletu's text where we find *ǰämärn* instead of *ǰämär-n-wä* 'they, having started'. As mentioned in the preceding sections, TSs used what is available in the native lexicon to fill their lexical gap. For instance, Taddese Adugna used the words *gaŋ-* 'run' and *sïŋ^{w}äl-* 'swallow' to mean 'float' and 'immerse' avoiding the Amharic borrowings *tänsaffäf-* and *sät't'äm-/sämmät-* respectively.

The indigenous Noun + Quantifier pattern of Kemantney is still maintained in Beletu Hailu's speech as in the phrase *ïyyän aŋk^{w}a* 'five people'. However, in Abiye Asresa's speech, the order is Q + N as in *sässa arfa* 'nine months'. This is due to the influence of Amharic, which has a Quantifier + Noun pattern. The plural marking is irregular (see chapter V).

Rare use of the language seems to have hindered the flow of ideas and the style of narratives. Hence, there is a repetition of words and ideas in all texts, especially in Beletu's. Observe the following two examples taken from the above narratives, which constitute a long single sentence each:

> AA: kawïnto 'in ancient times' anä-abäy 'our fathers' ***gize*** 'time' ***ayale*** 'several' ***zämänat*** 'epochs' anä-gänä-š 'by our mother' an-abä-š 'by our father' ***ayal*** 'several' ***zämänat*** 'epochs' sab-o ' I, having counted' ***gïn*** 'but' ***gizä***-s 'the time' ax-äg-ir 'I, the one who do not know' aʏ^{w}-ä-ge 'I, having not been' ***bal-ïna*** 'husband and '***mïšt***-än 'wives' särg-ïs-ïn-o 'they, having been made married' ***mize*** 'best man' laʏ-ïl 'together' gänǰ-o 'he, having slept' ni-***mize***-at 'his bestman' ***däfär***-ïʏ^{w} 'he raped her'.
>
> Rough translation: (In ancient times, during the time of our fathers and mothers, though I cannot count and know the time; a bridegroom and a bride, having got married, the best man, having slept with the bride, raped her).
>
> BH: yïn-sï 'that' ***säk'äl***-n-o 'they, having hanged' ***täskar*** (the forteenth day funeral of a deceased person) ***wark***i-dag 'on an oak tree' ***säk'äl***-n-o 'they, having hanged' yïn-sï 'that' naydew 'they' ***täskar*** (the forteenth day funeral of a deceased person) fïz-än-äŋ^{w} 'while they give' gäms-ïn-o 'they, having brought it down' ***bïbuñ***-ïs (an alcohol free beer) näb-n-o 'they, having fermented' aŋk^{w}a-t 'the five' y-ïn-än 'if they said' taʏ-äni 'if it happens' aŋk^{w}a 'five' wälta 'six' y-ïn-än 'when they say' taʏ-äni 'if it happens' wälta 'six' mïski 'the sacred beer' ***ank^{w}älä*** 'gourd' šïy-äw 'they, who hold' ***t'äfäf*** 'neat' y-äw 'they, who are' bäǰï-nïŋ-ïl 'in a menustrial house' tïw-äg-äw 'they, who do not enter' ank^{w}ä-yï-nïŋ 'on the fifth day' ***kasa*** (the rite of passage of a person administered by priests) nïŋ-ïl-ge 'in the house' tïw-än-aʏ 'where they enter' naydew 'they' tïw-älla 'they do not enter'.

[68] They indicate surprise and approval, repectively (see Baye, 1994).

Rough translation: (They, having hanged that on the oak tree, when they comemmorate the forteenth day of the burial of a deceased person, they, having brought the gourd down, they, having fermented an alcohol free beer, if they said five - five gourd sacred beer, if they said six - six scared beer; they, who hold, who are neat, who do not enter the house of a women who is in her cycle; on the fifth day, when the rite of passage of a person administered by priests is offered in a house, they do not enter).

As in the case of the conjunction *-ïna* 'and' which is recorded above, there is importation of derivational and inflectional morphemes, which are supposed to be conservative elements. These include the Amharic suffixes *-očč*, *-na*, *-ot*, and *-am*. Consider the following examples.

(6)		**Singular**	**indigenous plural form**	**hybrid plural form**	
	-očč	fïntïra	fïntïr	fïntïr-očč	'goat/goats'
		yïr	ïyyän	yïr-očč	'man/people'
		Noun	**hybrid Adj.**		
	-am	gʷägzʷï	gʷägzʷ-am	'belly/greedy'	
		laŋgïla[69]	laŋgïl-am	'nail/long-nailed'[70]	
		xïrf	xïrf-am	'mucus/a man with mucus'	

From the verb *waʏš-* 'desire', a derived nominal *waʏš-ot* 'desire' was recorded in line with the Amharic word *amrot.* The connective *-na* has been recorded in sentences such as *ni nïŋ-ïl tïw-ïʏʷ-na...* 'he, entering the house, then...' and *ni ni-t xal-ïʏʷ-na...* 'he, seeing him, then...' (see more examples of morpheme borrowing in chapter V). The above examples of borrowing of suffixes and the core vocabulary, would probably provide empirical data for Sapir's 1921 doubt on the borrowability of such elements, which he considers impervious. Like the case of Ateso of Uganda (Myers-Scotton and Okeju, 1973) and that of Dahalo (Tosco, 1992), Kemantney has borrowed not only function and content words but also morphological elements in varying degrees. As Myers-Scotton puts it,

> ...in some situations of heavy contact between two languages, one language takes on not only cultural lexical forms from the other language, but also core lexical forms (that is words for which the borrowing language already has its own equivalents) and even system morphemes (i.e. function words and inflections) and syntactic patterns' (1992:31)

In the case of Kemantney, all sorts of borrowing: basic vocabulary, non-basic vocabulary, affixes and discourse elements have been noted. This suggests that borrowing is possible from every lexical and grammatical category by speakers of a RDL. On top of that, it also tells us how the Kemant culture has been highly influenced by that of the Amhara.

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[69] The word for 'nail' in Kemantney is *laŋïla*. But due to the influence of Amharic some informants use *laŋgïla* and others the Amharic word *t'ïfïr* as it is.

4.5 Names of Persons, Places, Rivers and Mountains

4.5.1 Proper Names

According to Dressler (1982:325), 'A very early, though easily reversible, sign of decay is the acculturation of proper names (their semiotic function being identification of individuals)'. Gamst (1969) says that personal genealogies indicate that the Kemant people shifted to Amharic names sometime between 1800 and 1850, that is, four or five generations ago. Nowadays and possibly for three or four generations back, the names that Kemants have been using are Amharic names. The chief examples are the names of the ancestors of Aba Womberu and Nega Getu. The genealogy of the above two persons is given below.

Aba Womberu's paternal line (father's father...) is as follows:

(1) muluneh - märša - zäwdu - wärk'e - *fizadïr - muzo - šokiya - mïzgäni - yïziyak - ašämi - gäbtagna - tïnkbägna - lïtihu - gädihu*

Of the above names, the last 11 seem to be typical Kemant names, whereas the first four are very common Amhara names. In this case, one can say that the shift to Amhara names took place five generations back.

Aba Womber's maternal line (mother's father...) is as follows:

(2) ïtagäññähu - täsämma - abboye - *halšïn*

Here again it is only the last name, which is Kemant; others are Amhara names. In this case, the shift took place four generations ago.

Aba Womberu's paternal line (father's mother...) is as follows:

(3) täwabbäčč - wändo - tïkku - adgo

All of these names are Amharic. Even though Aba Womberu failed to remember the next generation of ancestors, one may expect a Kemant name at the fifth generation and earlier.

Aba Womber's maternal line (mother's mother...) is as follows:

(4) wäläla - käbte - *yïzadir*

The last name is a Kemant one, while the rest are Amharic. Here the Kemant name emerges at the third generation.

Nega's paternal line (father's father...) is as follows:

(5) nägga - get'u - lämlämu - täsfaye - aykäl - *halihan - muzän - amgäy* - gito - kokäb - wärew - *čïhusa*

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[70] Appleyard (1996a) also recorded *gïrbïyam* for the word 'strong' which is a hybrid of *gïrba* 'knee' and the Amharic

In this line of names, the first five are Amhara names; followed by four Kemant names, followed by two Amhara names and finally by one Kemant name. Here the shift from Kemantney is at the sixth generation.

As we can understand from the above genealogies, it is possible to argue that Kemant proper names ceased to be used five or six generations ago.[71] Since then, the present-day Kemant people have taken Amharic names, exclusively. The shift to proper names in the RGL is symptomatic of the strong influence of Amharic. Given the close ties between naming and identity (see Herbert, 1995), one might expect Kemant personal names still used. However, such names are never found in towns and nearly abolished in villages. There were only four names recorded from Chenchok: *ni-mal-g-in* 'let him not drop you', *mïzgäni* lit. 'Thank (God)', *fiz-än* 'if he rises up' and *wazdi* 'bail'.[72] As we shall see below, personal names are more vulnerable to replacement faster than geographical names.

One other aspect of naming worth noting in the Kemant community is the *father-first* and *child-second* sequence. Kemants had the tradition of calling the father's name first. Even at present, some elderly people are heard calling others by their father's name, a habit passed down from former times. From this, we might infer that the *father-first* pattern had been in existence until the shift to *child-first* pattern began recently, which is the most common in Ethiopia. This again is an indication of the contact and the subsequent assimilation of cultures.

4.5.2 Names of Places

The replacement of Kemant place names with Amharic names has been common in Chilga. The village, which was called *ar* x^{w}*ï-na* 'to eat grain', has changed to *mar hun-a* 'she, having been honey'. The change is triggered by the connotation the Kemant names suggest to speakers of Amharic. For example, *ar* x^{w}*ï-na* means 'to eat grain' in Kemantney. This is due to the fact that the village is fertile. However, the word *ar* 'grain' has a bad connotation in Amharic because it refers to 'excrement'. The form x^{w}*ï-na* means 'to eat' in Kemantney, and there is the equivalent form *huna* in Amharic which means 'she, having been'. Thus, the Kemant phrase *ar* x^{w}*ï-na*,

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adjectivizer *-am*.

[71] Some people count their genealogies up to six, seven and even more with Amharic names all the way through. Such coincidences are apparently due to intermarriage between speakers of the two languages.

[72] Unfortunately, I could not meet the four persons. But I learned from my informants that all of them should have Amharic-based names at least for public use. They also told me that nobody likes to be named after Kemantney names at present. When I asked the reasons, they answered that, 'if one is a Christian, one has to have the modern Amharic name.'

means 'she, being excrement', which is negative. To avoid this, *ar* 'excrement' was substituted by *mar* 'honey' and */x/* was substituted by */h/*, and the new phrase *mar huna* means 'she, having been honey', which is positive. Accoring to AT, the Kemant people started to use Amharic instead of Kemantney names to show their allegiance to Christianity and the Amhara identity. Interestingly, some elderly villagers still use the Kemantney form *ar x^{w}ïna* though the majority of the people use *mar huna*.

Another interesting case of change of place name concerns the village called *gïrgï dïz-ïʏ^{w}* meaning 'a day lost', referring to difficult times. The first change was made by translating the name *gïrgï dïz-ïʏ^{w}* directly into Amharic, thus making it *k'än t'äff-a* 'a day lost'. This name, however, was not acceptable to government agents because of the bad impression it made among people. As a result, the translated form *k'än t'äff-a* was again changed to *k'än wät't'-a* 'a day came' referring to a period of good time.

Another case of similar nature concerns the name *gïzïŋ daʏra* 'dog's excrement'. The first change was phonological which changed *gïzïŋ* to *gïzän*, and *daʏra* to *darna*, where */ŋ/* and */ʏ/* change to */n/* and */r/* respectively, the latter also undergoing metathesis.[73] The result was *gïzän darna*. And yet, the first word *gïzän* was found to be meaningless for non-Kemantney speakers though not as strange as *gïzïŋ*. As a result, the word was made meaningful with the change of */g/* to */y/*, which yielded the Amharic word *yïzän* 'we having held'. The second word *dar-na* means in Amharic 'we let someone marry', with a sense of emphasis. Finally, the name *yïzän darna* 'we, having held (someone), let him/her marry' became prevalent in the area.

As the following examples show, the bulk of changes of place names involved direct translation from the replaced into the replacing language. Observe at the following examples.

(1)	**Former name**	**Gloss**	**New name**	**Gloss**	**Remark**
	k^{w}ara	sun	k'^{w}ara	sun	k^{w}→ k'^{w}[74]
	k^{w}äla dïba	warm mountain	k'^{w}älla dïba	warm mountain	k^{w}→ k'^{w}
	fäläs k^{w}ïra	Falasha river	fälaša wänz	Falasha river	translation
	fäläs käw	Flasha village	fälaša meda	Falasha medow	translation
	kana dïba	wood mountain	ïnč'ät amba	wood plateau	translation
	dïʏ^{w}ära märk^{w}ï	donkey kitchen	ahïya maǰät	donkey kitchen	translation
	xal-ïʏ^{w}-ge[75]	I did see	ay-ähu-ge	I did see	translation
	yïr kïrna	man stone	säw dängiya	man stone	translation

[73] In Amharic, *[ŋ]* is an allophone of */n/* and does not occur word-finally and */ʏ/* does not exist at all (see chapter V).

[74] The change is perhaps due to the occurrence of *k^{w}* more often than *k^{w}* word initially in Amharic.

[75] The suffix *-ge* has two functions. When it appears in verbs, it shows emphasis in the discourse like the Amharic form *ïnǰï*. When it appears in nouns, it refers to 'land' or 'side of' (see the *-ge* based place names in Chapter II).

šanki käw	grass village	sar mänder	grass village	translation
gïrašï waša	gray cave	gïrač'a waša	gray cave	translation
				and sound change
g^{w}ïmäy waša	stork cave	ïrk^{w}ïm waša	stork cave	translation

By contrast, there are place names retained in their Kemantney form and meaning. Examples are:

(2)	täŋkäl	'arm'	daza	'tent'
	wïlah	'field' (from wïlaʏ)	miz aba	'mead father'
	ǰäyd	'leather bag'	šïw taz	'toasted cereal of prayer'[76]

Some of the above names underwent phonological adjustments. Hence, *wïlaʏ* became *wïlah* and *ǰäydï* became *ǰäyd*. As a result, Amharic speakers are also using them without giving emphasis to their meaning. Generally, phonological changes preceed semantic changes. Most of the changes started to be introduced perhaps after the conversion of the Kemant people to Christianity and the establishmnet of churches in every village of Chilga. Like the language which was subjected to abandonment, names of places, rivers, mountains etc. started to be changed because of the influence of Amharic and Christianity in the area. The elderly people believe that the Christian Kemant people and the neighboring Amhara did not want a place where a Chirstian church is biult to be named after Kemantney as if it had strong ties with the traditional religion.

4.5.3 Names of Rivers

Like place names, river names have been vulnerable to changes. Firstly, there are names whose indigenous forms are substituted by Amharic names involving direct translation of the forms. Compare the following examples.

(1)	**Former name**	**Meaning**	**New name**	**Meaning**	**Remark**
	šämäna k^{w}ïra	black river	t'ïk'ur wïha	black water	translation
	tätäräy k^{w}ïra	river of lady	yä-ïmmäbet wänz	river of lady	translation
	ašäräy k^{w}ïra	river of thorn	agam wïha	water of thorn	translation
	azzi k^{w}ïra	river of pine	mïsana wïha	water of pine	translation

Secondly, there are river names whose indigenous forms are not changed. Examples are: *gabi k^{w}ïra*[77] 'river of thing' and *därg^{w}ïn-i k^{w}ïra* 'river of oak tree'.

4.5.4 Names of Mountains

There are names of mountains, which have changed into Amharic. The indigenous name *ǰana dïba* 'elephant mountain' has changed into the hybrid *zïhon-äy dïba* 'mountain of elephant' first

[76] *šïw taz* can also mean 'beg toasted cereal!'.

and then *zïhon tärara* 'elephant mountain' which is purely Amharic. The following are examples of other changes of mountains, which involved direct translation from Kemantney into Amharic.

(1)	**Former name**	**MeaningNew name**	**Meaning**	**Remark**	
	ǰägr-i gaʏa	cliff of monkey	zïnǰäro gädäl	cliff of monkey	translation
	x^{w}ïm dïba	neck mountain	angät tärara	neck mountain	translation
	amäy dïba	year mountain	ayne amba	plateau of my eye	translation
	dïx^{w}ïltä[78] dïba	antelope mountain	dïk^{w}ïla amba	antelope mountain	sound change and translation

On the other hand, *x^{w}ïra dïba*, 'child mountain', *šäb dïba* 'milk mountain', *ambäy dïba* 'locust mountain' etc. are indigenous names. As we see from the above toponyms, the substitutions are of two kinds: partial substitution or partial loss and full substitution or full loss. The two are similar in the sense that both involved phonological changes. Examples of partial substitution are *zïhon-äy dïba, č'an dïba* 'load mountain', *mïdrä bara* 'land of slaves', *gämän awra* 'lion chief', *čär käw* 'kind village', *gaba gala agär* 'a land of quarel', and many others with the ending */-ge/* such as *lam-ge* lit. 'cow (emphasis)', *šum-ge*[79] 'chief (emphasis)', *ïŋgïda-ge* 'guest (emphasis)', *g^{w}ämän-ge* 'cabbage (emphasis)' etc. Such names consist of Amharic bases and Kemantney endings. Examples of full substitution are like *ǰägr-i gaʏa* → *zïnǰäro gädäl*, *tätär-äy k^{w}ïra* → *yä-ïmmäbet wänz*, etc. where Kemantney forms have been substituted by the Amharic calque forms.

Another phenomenon worth mentioning regarding changes of names in general is that such processes are common in towns and nearby areas. To this effect, whereas the bulk of Kemantney toponyms are retained in far away villages, they have undergone changes in the surrounding villages and towns.

Whereas the adoption of Amhara proper names is completed, the replacement of Kemantney toponyms is still continuing. For instance, the Woreda administration has recently introduced common Amharic names for peasant associations. The name *mïrt amba* lit. 'yield plateau' was given to the peasant associations *šäb-dïba, dïkolage, gända-wïha, č'änč^{w}äk'* and *bas-dïbäb* together. The name *addis-zämän* 'new era' was given to *mariyam-walka* and *aŋg^{w}aho*.[80] Other names such as *dïl-amba, aläm-s'ähay* and *mïhrät-amba* have been imposed by the administration.

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[77] In fact, *gabi k^{w}ïra* is meaningful in Amharic too (*gabi* means 'toga' and *k^{w}ïra* is the imperative form of the verb *korr-* 'be pride'). Therefore, this could be the reason for the name to survive the change.

[78] X. has *k'äk'ma* for 'antelope'

[79] It could also have the meaning 'fasting (emph)' since *šum* means 'fast' in Kemantney.

[80] Among others, two of the village names: *gända wïha* 'trough water' and *mariyam walka* lit. 'Mary black soil' are Amharic names.

The people of the villages with such new names are not fully aware of the situation. But, it is evident that these names will replace the 'old' ones surely but slowly. Nonetheless, as illustrated above, the original Kemantney names are still considerable in number at least in Chilga (cf. appendix I). There are few instances where Amharic and Kemantney names are equally being used like *ar x^{w}ïna* vs. *marhuna*, *tätäräy k^{w}ïra* vs. *ïmäbet wänz*, etc. Though all names seem to be subjected to phonological changes to sound more like Amharic, there are variations in the pronunciation of some names between more proficient and less proficient speakers of Kemantney. The best examples are *ar x^{w}ïna/ ar huna/ mar x^{w}ïna/ mar huna* and *wïlax/ wïlah*, where the less proficient speakers use */h/* where they are supposed to use */x/*. Generally, the voluntary use of Amharic names for self-identification and naming their environment emanated from their negative attitude towards their language. As pointed out by Scotton, 'Certain types of contact situation promote desires to identify with the E(mbedded) L(anguage) culture, or at least with aspects of it' (1993:172).

Regarding the effect of resistance on borrowings, Schmidt writes the following.

> Yacqui speakers accepted many Spanish loanwords; their language is a mixture of well-integrated Spanish and Yacqui forms. In sharp contrast to this, the Tewa tribe violently resisted the encroaching Spanish culture. In both cultural and linguistic spheres, the Tewa rejected Spanish influence. This is reflected by the fact that there is a marked absence of Spanish forms in Tewa. Instead, the Tewa relied on native linguistic resources, and coined new words from their original language base (1985:185).

Like the Yacqui tribe that had a history of non-violent adaptation to the Spanish culture, the Kemant people have also shown no resistance to Amharization.

4.6 The Rate of Loss and Retention of the Parts of Speech

As mentioned earlier, borrowing from Amharic into Kemantney is exhibited in almost all parts speech: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, postpostions and also in discourse categories to a certain extent. As shown in (table 2) below, nouns are the most affected category, followed by adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions and postpostions. The following is the rate of retention and loss of each of the traditional parts of speech among the 670 words.

	N		V			Adj		Adv		P	
Informants	A	K	A	H	K	A	K	A	K	A	K
AA	139	224	3	43	149	30	49	3	23	0	7
AdT	165	198	11	48	136	38	41	5	21	1	6
AlT	172	191	8	49	138	36	43	4	22	0	7
AT	165	198	11	48	136	35	44	5	21	1	6
AyT	172	191	18	51	126	38	41	4	22	0	7
MT	157	206	2	45	148	36	43	5	21	1	6
MM	126	237	0	41	154	23	56	2	24	0	7
TA	202	161	29	54	112	37	42	4	22	1	6
YM	135	228	0	50	145	28	51	4	22	0	7

Table II: The rate of retention and loss of words in the parts of speech

On the basis of the above, we can calculate the overall rate of loss and retention among the five categories in the manner shown below:

	Amh	Kem	Loss (%)	Retention (%)
N	159.2	203.7	43.8	56.2
Adj	34.7	44.2	42.3	57.7
Adv	4.0	22.0	15.3	84.6
P	0.4	6.5	6.3	93.6

Table III: The overall rate of retention and loss of the four parts of speech

The general consensus in the literature is that nouns are borrowed most easily and occupy the highest position in almost all language contact situations (Hagen 1950, Muysken 1981).[81] They occupy the first position in Kemantney too (see also the text results in 4.4.4). The reason why nouns are borrowed more than any other category lies on their similar linguistic structure in Amharic and Kemantney, thus facilitating transfer.

The borrowing of verbs, however, has a different property. If we consider hybrid forms as borrowings, verbs stand third. But if hybrids are considered indigenous, verbs stand last, which means that they are the 'healthiest' of all the major categories. If we consider hybrid forms as part of the indigenous lexicon, the retention rate would be 95.2% and that of loss 4.6% as shown below.

	Amh	H	Kem	Loss (Amh) (%)	Retention (H) (%)	Retention (Kem) (%)
V	9.1	47.6	138.2	4.6	24.4	70.8

[81] Quoting Whitney (1881), Haugen (1953) writes that the hierarchy of borrowability is: nouns, various other parts of speech, suffixes, inflections and finally sounds in their descending order. Muysken (1981) proposes the following heirarchy: noun > adjective > verb > preposition > coordinating conjunction > quantifier > determiner > pronoun > clitic pronoun > subordinating conjunction.

However, if we take hybrid forms as non-indigenous by giving emphasis to stems, it leads to 29.2% loss and 70.8% retention as illustrated below.

	Amh	H	Kem	Loss (Amh) (%)	Retention (H) (%)	Retention (Kem) (%)
V	9.1	47.6	138.2	29.2	----	70.8

With the first alternative, the hierarchy of borrowability will be nouns (43.8%), adjectives (42.3%), adverbs (15.3%), prepositions (6.3%) and verbs (4.6%). This means that verbs are the least affected categories. But if we consider hybrid verbs as borrowed, the order will be nouns (43.8%), adjectives (42.38%), verbs (29%), adverbs (15.3%) and prepositions (6.3%). There are, however, good reasons to believe that the borrowing of stems should be accounted for as genuine borrowing from Amharic. The first reason for not considering hybrid forms as part of the native lexicon is that the stem carries the meaning. Secondly, stem borrowing always leads to borrowing of derived forms. Thirdly, except the degemination of geminated radicals, the borrowed stems represent the Amharic phonological structure more than that of Kemantney as there is lack of complete integration into the existing patterns of the latter.

Likewise, the property of adjectives also needs special attention. In Kemantney and other Agew languages, adjectives as a whole are rare. As illustrated in the preceding sections, relative modifiers dominate more than adjectives in the language. This property might lead us to exclude adjectives from comparing them with other parts of speech such as nouns and verbs, which are the major parts of speech in every language.

4.7 Areas of Lexical Resistance and Loss

It may be the case that in most language communities, loanwords may be restricted exclusively to words which belong to a small group of cultural expressions, as a result of contact of people with different cultures. On the other hand, there are intimate borrowings, which go beyond the above type of cultural borrowings when the influence of the dominant culture is strong over the recessive culture. These result from the geographical proximity or close contact that exists between different speech communities (Bloomfield, 1933).

As illustrated so far, whereas Kemantney TSs have difficulties with some less common and less frequent items, they have access to common and highly frequent words. They know the commonest verbs like *ǰax-* 'drink', *x^{w}ïy-* 'eat', *täk^{w}äsïm-* 'sit', *xal* 'see', *was* 'hear', etc. than, for instance, other verbs like *šämänta ʏ-* 'squeeze', *sïsï ʏ^{w}ït-* 'whisper', *yïma ʏ^{w}-* 'kiss', *waŋxär-* 'ask',

sïbäy- 'accuse', *kint-* 'learn'. Similarily, the nouns *ax*^{w} 'water' *sïya* 'meat', *nïŋ* 'house' etc. are recalled more than other nouns like *mïzbära* 'moon', *yïba* 'leopard', *sänkäkay* 'liver'. This condition proves Andersen's (1982) hypothesis mentioned in 4.0 which says: a semi-speaker exhibits gaps in the lexicon to which (s)he had little or no experience and exhibits more retension in those common, highly frequent and unmarked lexical items. Among the lexical fields susceptible to loss or gap in Kemantney are color terms, directions, months of the year, metal objects, body parts, fabrics, diseases, occupations, as well as other cultural items and collective nouns.[82]

Kemantney has only three color terms: *šämäna* 'black', *sayaʏ* 'white', and *säraʏ* 'red'. These exist in both conceptual and lexical forms. This may suggest that what Berlin and Kay (1969) write about the pattern of color terms across a wide variety of languages is valid in Kemantney. Accoding to them, if a language has only two color terms, they are for the colors *black* and *white* (or *dark* and *light*) and if a language contains three terms, it is red. Terms for other colors in the spectrum, such as 'green', 'blue', and 'yellow', are borrowed from Amharic at the levels of both form and meaning. However, terms for 'brown', 'orange' etc., are non-existent.

Another area of loss is seen in collective nouns such as names of the fauna and flora. For the word 'animal', they use the Amharic generic term *ïnsïsa* or the semantically related word x*ïbt-än*, taken from the Amharic word *käbt* 'cattle' with the plural ending *-än*.[83] For the compound words 'wild animal' and 'domestic animal', the translated forms *kïbn-i ïnsïsa* 'animal of forest' and *nïŋ-i ïnsïsa* 'animal of house' are supplied, respectively, in line with the Amharic *yä-dur ïnsïsa* and *yä-bet ïnsïsa*. For the word 'plant', they have only *atïkïlt*, which is Amharic. Words for individual plants and animals are, however, often recalled. Hence, among the flora are *azza* 'macro-stachyus', *därg*^{w}*ïna* 'oak tree', *bošа* 'cordia-Abyssinica', *tab* 'teff', *dawša* 'millet', *dinša* 'potato' etc.; and the fauna are *ǰägra* 'monkey', *šïšäwa* 'ape', *käm* 'cow', *fintïra* 'goat' etc. are well known. Interestingly, plants such as, *g*^{w}*ädya* 'kind of red small-size sorghum', *fizaʏa* 'kind of sycamore', and animals such as *ǰana* 'elephant', *ïnǰäŋänta* 'big snake' are recalled by few elderly speakers who knew the plants and animals physically when they were available in the

[82] The following list is given by Muysken (1981) as semantic fields which are susceptible to loss: clothing, family relationships, social positions, trade and commerce, festivities, religion, time, weather, space, topography, customs, measures, nature, body parts, disease, food, techniques, administration, education, sports and proper names.
[83] X's has *k'ïm*; *kïbt*.

area. Collective nouns such as *ïk'a* 'material', *zämän* 'epoch', *agär* 'country' etc. are mostly used as they are in Amharic.

The third area of lexical gap is exhibited in expressions of directions. There are no words for the well-known directional concepts, 'east', 'west', 'north', 'south'. Some informants volunteered *k^{w}ari fi* lit. 'from where sun goes out' and *k^{w}ari tïw* lit. 'to where sun enters', being translated on the basis of the natural rising and setting of the sun in line with the Amharic speakers' expressions: *s'ähay mäwč'a* and *s'ähay mägb^{y}a*, respectively.[84] North and south are expressed by the prepositions *sa ʏ^{w}älï ʏ^{w}* 'down' and *k^{w}äziwa/dag* 'up'. These words lack in other Agew languages as well and, therefore, may not be due to loss but non-existence.

The fourth gap is in names of months. All the names of the twelve months are borrowed from Amharic. Gamst (1967) writes that the Kemant people once had a lunar calendar. His evidence is that the word for 'month' and 'moon' in Kemantney is the same, that is *arfa*. As far as the present data, collected from the same locality, are concerned, *arfa* refers to 'month' only whereas the term for 'moon' is *mïzbära*. Hence, if it is on the basis of the similarity of the word *arfa*, which Gamst claims that the Kemant people had a lunar calendar, it is not only the evidence but also the existence of the lunar calendar, which is questionable. The reason for the lack of indigenous forms for the months of the year is probably because of the traditional counting system of the Kemant people.[85]

The fifth area of gap is in the expressions of fabrics. Fabricated items or utensils used at home such as '*bottle*', '*chair*'[86], '*table*', '*plate*', '*blade*', '*cup*', '*dish*', '*car*', etc., explosives such as '*gun*', '*bullet*', '*gun-powder*', etc., metalic objects such as '*copper*', '*silver*' and '*bronze*' are non-existent. They have Amharic borrowings for all these.

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[84] Most non-literate Amharic speakers do not understand and use of the terms of directions: *mïsrak'* 'east', *mïʔrab* 'west', *sämen* 'north' and *däbub* 'south' properly. Instead, they use the traditional expressions *s'ähay mäwč'a* 'from where sun rises', *s'ähay mägb^{y}a* 'to where sun goes', *lay* 'up' and *tačč* 'down', respectively. Appleyard (1988) has also recorded *k^{w}är tïwäna* 'sun set' from X. It may be the case that even in Amharic there are no native words for the expression of the directions. Surely, *mïsrak'* and *mïrab* are of Geez origin (Baye p.c).

[85] The following Kemantney days of the week are also more Semitic than Cushitic: *ad* 'Sunday', *sän* 'Monday', *sälïz* 'Tuesday', *läbo* 'Wednesday', *amïz* 'Thursday', *arbï* 'Friday', *sänabtï* 'Saturday'.

[86] X. has *g^{w}äyyäna* for 'chair'.

The sixth gap is exhibited in the names of animals, which are rare in the area due to climatic factors and the absence of big bodies of water such as rivers and lakes. There are no native names for *camel, giraffe, fish, crocodile*[87], *hippopotamus* etc.

The seventh gap is expressions that relate to Christianity especially in the context of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Such terms include: '*arc of the covenant*', '*confession*', '*bible*', '*cross*', '*priest*', '*deacon*', '*church*', '*baptism*', '*God-father*',[88] '*bell*', '*drum*', '*nun*', etc. Religious festivities such as '*Easter*', '*Christmas*', '*Epiphany*', etc. do not exist in the native vocabulary because the Kemant people were followers of their own traditional religion. Today, they (including the Kemant-Kemants) know all the above terms (in form and meaning) from Amharic, as they are incorporated into the Amhara culture and the Christian religion.

The eighth gap is shown in terms of body parts such as '*bile*', '*lung*', '*finger*', '*cheek*',[89] '*forehead*', '*eyelash*', '*spleen*', '*lip*', '*throat*', etc. Within names of the body parts, external body parts are retained more than that of internal. As a result, almost all TSs use the following terms of external body parts:

(1)	šïbka	'hair'	aʏ^{w}äy	'head'	gäš	'face'[90]
	g^{w}äzg^{w}ï	'belly'	yïltät	'eye'	ïŋx^{w}ï	'ear'
	ïŋg^{w}ï	'breast'	mïkäy	'mouth'	ïrk^{w}ï	'teeth',

But, they use borrowed words for all internal body parts except for 'intestine' and 'liver' for which they use the native terms *ǰïr* and *sänkäkay* respectively.[91]

There are diseases such as '*askaris*', '*malaria*', '*tapeworm*', '*gonorrhea*', '*syphilis*', etc. in places where Kemantney is spoken. But the terms used are all Amharic. Terms for handicrafts such as tanning, weaving, blacksmithing are all substituted by Amharic loanwords. The reason could be that the Kemant people have always been cultivators and, like the Amhara, they disdain and associate carfts to the Falasha and Muslims (see also Gamst, 1969).

Generally, most of the gaps in the lexicon are due to either the absence of the concepts, or due to lexical attrition resulting from infrequent use. There are some striking instances of loss

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[87] Crocodile is *aqsa* in X.

[88] Some informants supplied *kïrïstïni aba, kïrïstïni gäna, kïrïstïni x^{w} ïra* for 'God-father', 'God-mother' and 'God-child' respectively.

[89] B. has *q^{w}ïmïš* for 'cheek' (Palmer, 1958).

[90] The words for 'face' seem to have a common origin, probably Geez. Compare the Amharic *gäs'*, X. *gas'*, and B. *gäš* (Palmer, 1958).

[91] Appleyard (1996a) recorded *xäʏa* and *lanxï* for 'throat' and 'tongue' respectively whereas the same words are elicited as Amharic borrowings in the present material.

resulting from limited usage. One example is the word *šalïya* (Kem.) and the borrowed form *kara* (Amh.) both meaning 'knife' (cf. also the X. form *kärra*). It is only the Kemant priests and followers of the traditional religion who use *šalïya* because they still use it in their ritual of *mäsabit* 'sacrifice'. This has helped them to retain it. They say that, they 'eat with the same knife' excluding the Christian Kemants and the Amharas. On the other hand, the Christian-Kemant people use only the borrowed form *kara* because they have abandoned eating with 'the same knife' with the Kemant priests and Kemant-Kemants in general since their conversion to Orthodox Christianity.[92] Another example is the Amharic word *k'es* 'priest', which has substituted the native terms *kämäzäna* 'higher priest' and *gäläläka* 'lower priest'. After the advent of Christianity to the area, the Kemant poeple started to use only the Amharic form for both 'priests' as a result of which the native terms are now used rarely.

Another case is the word *dint-* 'swim', which is not recalled by all competent speakers. Those who are relatively young and who are brought up in places where there is no facility for swimming, do not know it (compare the X. form *bäbb-*).

The second person polite form *nay* is another interesting case. Only a few, among the competent informants, recall it. The reason is probably related to the diminishing number of the Kemant-Kemant, who have from time to time developed a strong sense of solidarity and relatedness belonging to the same family. As a result of this, they never address each other in the polite form.[93] Besides, speakers of Kemantney cannot use it with the Amharic speakers since the latter do not know the language. Thus, the pronoun is near extinction.

Some words such as *miz* 'mead or alcoholic drink made of honey' is remembered by only WMM and YM. Others use the Amharic word *t'äǰ* (6). Only one informant used *kan-i dag* lit.'of top of a tree' as a substitution. The words *xäfiya* 'supper' and *sïbäy* 'evening snack' are recalled only by AA and YM, and WMM respectively. Other informants use *mïzi* 'lunch' or the Amharic word *ïrat* and rarely *mäksäs*, which is Amharic again. The loss of words such as for 'chisel' and 'many' is also difficult to explain. There are the native forms *maʏʷïrna* and *naxtï* respectively but they are recalled by only two of the nine informants.

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[92] Eating of meat together and from the same basket among followers of different religions is not allowed in Ethiopia. Hence, Christians and Kemant-Kemants do not eat meat from an animal slaughtered by the other.

[93] I noticed some people addressing the Womber in the Amharic polite form.

In sum, there has been a considerable vocabulary gap and attrition in Kemantney as the test has shown. The attrition rate corresponds to the proficiency of TSs age, occupation, place of birth, residence and education. As will be shown in chapter V, the hypothesis that those who do better in the vocabulary test would also do the same in the grammatical proficiency test proves to be true.

As mentioned in 4.4.1, verbs, which have simple structure, are remembered better than those, which are complex. Infrequently used and culturally less relevant lexical items; those that refer to modern concepts, directions, some body parts, months of the year, color terms etc. have been borrowed from the RGL. There are gaps and attritions of varying degrees in parts-of-speech. There are stems, affixes as well as basic vocabulary borrowed. The reasons often mentioned by informants for the absence of equivalent forms are two. They are: (a) recent introduction of words such as items of technonyms; (b) non-existence or absence of the things in their cultural environment. What remains odd is the absence of words of the basic vocabulary such as, for instance, names of body parts.

Substitution through borrowing is the major compensatory strategy used to fill lexical vacuum. This is done with or without modification. Those with modification are old borrowings whereas those without are recent borrowings.

To overcome lexical gaps, terminal speakers do not always use loanwords. They also use indigenous forms like infinitives, relatives, gerundives, and phrases. Semantically related words and phrases also compensate for lexical gaps. This strategy, which is considered most common in language contact and language shift contexts, offers an alternative for TSs not to rely only on loanwords (see Sommer and Vossen, 1995). Kemantney has ceased to develop new words for new concepts. Instead, semantic extensions of existing words, and loan translations are used. The borrowing of especially core vocabulary and morphemes on the one hand, and the loss of the indigenous lexicon on the other, are results of both contact-induced changes and decay.

TSs show differences of vowels which, in effect, leads to individual styles and idiosyncratic variations. Word formation rules, which were productive, tend to be less so.

In general, the present status of Kemantney qualifies it as a replaced language. It has undergone a relatively fast process of replacement. It has been used very rarely in daily communications, except in rituals, especially in the last five or six decades. With all these

limitations, the proficiency of the present-day last generation of speakers is high, probably beyond the expectation of researchers. As we shall see in the next chapter, the grammar also shows the same condition. Thus, Kemantney is not like that of Arvanitika whose 'body' remains Albanian but its 'soul' Greek (Sasse, 1992b). Rather, both the body and the soul of Kemantney is still Agew, though it is probably in a more alarming situation than Arvanitika. This process would rather make the death process of Kemantney more of a bottom-to-top death.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE STRUCTURAL CONSEQUENCES

Phonology, Morphology and Syntax

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is primarily concerned with the linguistic description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Kemantney from the point of view of language obsolescence. The main purpose is to explore the structural changes in Kemantney attributable to either contact-induced changes due to the influence of Amharic or to language decay, or to both. However, since the language is minimally described, the grammatical description has been given equal importance. Hence, this chapter will also provide insights into the synchronic linguistic structure of the language. By comparing the present data with the relatively older materials of Appleyard (1975) and Conti Rossini (1912), some of the structural changes exhibited in the language will also be explained. Besides, by way of comparing the data from different informants, it is believed that the normative forms of the language can be identified.

Before going into the grammatical description of Kemantney, it is important to mention some points about the influence of Cushitic languages in general and that of Agew languages in particular on Amharic. This is significant because it is generally believed that the Agew languages, including Kemantney, are the substratum of the modern Ethio-Semitic languages, especially Amharic which in turn is influencing the Agew language - Kemantney. What is important is the form of the structure of Kemantney in the absence of a substantial grammatical influence from Amharic.

Leslau (1945:79-80) mentions the Cushitic loanwords in Amharic in areas like tools, clothes, domestic animals, vegetation and body parts. Such borrowed words are the following.[1]

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[1] There are other words which were borrowed by other Ethio-Semitic languages. For the purpose of this study, I mention those items borrowed only by Amharic.

(1). a. **Instruments and tools:**

lemat	'basket for bread'	(Oromo and Hamir)[2]
met'ad	'griddle'	(Oromo)
bärč'uma	'chair, stool'	(Sidamo, Oromo)
gan	'pitcher'	(Sidamo, Kemantney)
goǰo	'shed'	(Oromo)

b. **Animals**

zehon	'elephant'	(Cushitic)
gesella	'panther'	(Sidamo, Oromo)
gundan	'ant'	(Oromo, Hamir)
šerarit	'spider'	(Cushitic)
zïnǰero	'monkey'	(Agew)
wïšša	'dog'	(Sidamo)
färäs	'horse'	(Cushitic)

c. **Clothes:**

suri	'trousers'	(Cushitic)

d. **Vegetation:**

adäng^{w}are	'peas'	(Agew)
mašella	'sorghum'	(Oromo, Bilen)

e. **Parts of the body:**

embert	'navel'	(Agew)
säk^{w}ana	'foot of an animal'	(Agew, Beja)
ǰerba	'back'	(Agew)

f. **Numerals:**

ših/ši	'ten thousand'	(Cushitic)

g. **Geographic and astronomic terms:**

č'äräqa	'moon'	(Agew)

h. **Natural entities:**

wuha	'water'	(Agew)

Kemantney has the following equivalents for the above words.

(2)

dïx^{w}äna	'basket for bread'	mïg^{w}ïna	'griddle'
kärtäma	'pitcher'	g^{w}äǰǰo	'shed'
ǰana	'elephant'	yïba	'leopard/panther'
šärärit	'spider'	ǰägra	'monkey'
farza	'horse'	suri	'trousers'
mäyla~ïrfa	'sorghum'	g^{w}ïmbïra/g^{w}ïmbïrda	'navel'
säg	'back'	(laʏ) šï	'one-thousand'
ax^{w}	'water'	bärč'umma	'stool'
gïzïŋ	'dog'	käwa	'ant
šäx^{w}äna	'foot of an animal'	aräng^{w}a	'peas'
mïzbära	'moon'		

Among the twenty-one words in (2), Kemantney shares eight with Amharic, which makes it similar to the rest of the Cushitic languages. The rest of the words are Kemantney and Agew.

Leslau also mentions the following syntactic features of Cushitic which give the modern Ethio-Semitic languages their peculiarly non-Semitic character.

(a) Pre- and post-positions (Cushitic has postpositions, Semitic prepositions);

(b) Clause-final position of main verbs and auxiliaries;

(c) Subordinate clauses precede main clauses;

(d) Modifiers: Adjectives, relative clauses and genitive phrases precede the nouns they modify.

Leslau also mentions that the verb in the relative clause can accept bound nominal morphology, like the definite article */-u/*; the accusative marker */-n/* and the plural morpheme */-očč/*. He says that such nominal feature of the relative verb are found in Cushitic in which defining elements like demonstratives tend to be grammaticalized as relative markers.[3]

Little (1974), drawing on a large amount of scholarly work on Amharic ranging from the seventeenth century to the time she wrote her study, says that Amharic or its ancestor originally had syntactic patterns that are common in Semitic. On the other hand, she says that since linguistic study started relatively recently, in the seventeenth century, no older recorded texts are available to prove the Semitic syntactic structure of Amharic or its ancestor and therefore, the state of the language before and during the period of change remains a mystery. Despite the uniform opinion of scholars on Amharic as a Semitic language, its syntax is decidedly non-Semitic in character. She mentions the following changes that Amharic has undergone.

(a) Verb-Object order reversed so that all verbs are now final.

(b) Noun-modifier order changed so that modifiers of almost every type now precede the noun.

(c) Subordinate clauses came to precede main clauses rather than follow them.

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[2] I have reproduced here Leslau's transcription as it is. I prefer the following transcription for some of these words: *mït'ad, g^{w}äǰǰo, ǰïgra, zïhon, gïssïla, šärärit, maššilla, ïmbïrt, šäh(k)ona* and *čäräk'a*. The word *šï(h)* means 'one thousand', not ten thousand.

[3]For a more comprehensive coverage on the influence of Cushitic on Amharic (see also Bach (1970), Baye (1994), Bender and Hailu (1978), Bender (1968), Ferguson (1976), Hetzron (1972), Hudson (1972)).

Heine (1975b) also writes that Ethiopia is a convergence area, where Semitic word order drifted toward the O-V Cushitic word order resulting from the close contact between speakers of the various languages over a long period of time.

Bender and Hailu (1978) mention that by far, the most striking non-Semitic characteristics of Amharic are in its syntax. They write that no argument of Cushitic influence can be made on phonological grounds. Rather, Ethio-Semitic would appear to have simply developed its own set of phonological features. In fact, one might argue for a diffusion of features from Ethio-Semitic to Cushitic and more weakly to Omotic.

Baye (1994) mentions the following borrowings from Cushitic: *wïššа* 'dog', *sïga* 'meat', *kara* 'knife', *wïha* 'water', *šïkïna* 'pot', *arera* 'whey', *korïčča* 'saddle', *sänga* 'beef', *korma* 'bull', *k'äbd* 'advance money', *färäs* 'horse'[4] and *dulla* 'stick'. These twelve words appear in the present Kemantney text as follows.

(3)

Cushitic/Amharic	Kemantney	Gloss	Cushitic/Amharic	Kemantney	Gloss
wïššа	gïzïŋ	dog	korïčča	korïčča	saddle
sïga	siya	meat	sänga	fïrav bira	beef
kara	šalïya	knife	korma	korma	bull
wïha	ax^{w}	water	k'äbd	k'äbd	advance money
šïkïna	kärtäma	pot	färäs	farza	horse
arera	gwärämbï	whey	dulla	kïmbï	stick

As can be seen, Kemantney shares the three words: *korïčča*, *korma* and *k'äbd* with Amharic. The two languages also share the words for 'meat', 'water' and 'horse' in their modified form. The other seven words are different, most likely because these Kemantney words still retain their specific Agew forms. We can, therefore, conclude that Amharic borrowed these words from non-Agew Cushitic languages.

5.1 Phonology

5.1.1 Segments

5.1.1.1 Consonants

5.1.1.1.1 Phonetic Inventory

The following chart shows the phonetic inventory of consonants. It contains sounds recorded in both indigenous words and loanwords form Amharic.

[4] The word for 'horse' cannot in fact be considered as a borrowed word from Cushitic languages because it has the same form in most Ethio-Semitic languages as well as other non-Ethio-Semitic Semitic languages such as Arabic, Hebrew, Mehri etc. (see Leslau, 1987).

		Bilabials	Labio-dentals	Alveolars	Palatals	Velars	Labiovelar	Glottal
Stops	Vl			t		k	k^w	
	Vd	b		d		g	g^w	
	Gl			t'		k'		
Fricatives	Vl	ß	f	s	š	x	x^w	h
	Vd		v	z		ɣ	$ɣ^w$	
	Gl			s'				
Affricates	Vl				č			
	Vd				ǰ			
	Gl				č'			
Nasals	Vd	m		n	ñ	ŋ	$ŋ^w$	
Liquids	Vd							
	Vd			l				
Semi-vowels	Vd	w		r	y			

Table 1. Phonetic Chart of Consonants

As shown in (table 1), Kemantney has thirty-three consonant phones.[5] Unlike in other Agew languages, dentals are articulated a little back in the alveolar ridge, suggesting a change in place of articulation. Apparently, this shift of place of articulation from dental to alveolar is a result of the influence of Amharic, which has no dental but alveolar sounds. Unlike in Awŋi, the lack of a voiceless */p/* in Kemantney makes the bilabial-stop series incomplete. On the other hand, the lack of */ž/* in the palatal-affricate series makes it similar with the other Agew languages.

5.1.1.1.2 Positions of Occurrence

5.1.1.1.2.1 Stops

The plain stop series consists of five consonants. They are: */b/*, */t/*, */d/*, */k/* and */g/*.

/b/: It is a phoneme with the phonetic realizations *[b]*, *[ß]* and *[v]*. */b/* occurs in all environments except word-finally and between vowels. In word final position, it is found in loanwords only. In indigenous words, it is realized as *[ß]* (see 5.1.1.1.2.3). Observe the examples in (1) below.

(1)

Initial		**Medial**		**Final (loanwords)**	
/bi/	'dust'	/kĭnbĭ/	'stick'	/kĭbb/	'circle'
/bĭr/	'blood'	/anbĭra/	'cabbage'	/gĭnb/	'building'

/t/: It is a phoneme with the phonetic realization *[t]*. */t/* occurs in every environment as shown in (2) below.

(2)

Initial		**Medial**		**Final**	
/timta/	'bull'	/kartĭ/	'far'	/gĭt/	'buttock'
/tiyăr/	'aunt'	/fĭntĭra/	'goat'	/awĭt/	'where'

[5] In the transcription of these segments, I follow the standard IPA transcription and the transcription commonly used among linguists working on Ethiopian languages.

/d/: It is a phoneme with the phonetic realization *[d]*. */d/* occurs in all environments as shown in (3) below.

(3)	**Initial**		**Medial**		**Final**	
	/dĭba/	'mountain'	/yĭdära/	'God'	/kälmed/	'shepherd'
	/doša/	'frog'	/lämda/	'shade'	/ad/	'Sunday'

/k/: It is a phoneme with the phonetic realization *[k]*. */k/* occurs in all environments as shown in (4) below.

(4)	**Initial**		**Medial**		**Final**	
	/käma/	'cow'	/ĭrk^{w}ĭ/	'foot'	/-dĭk/	'if'
	/käwa/	'ant'	/ǰĭkäka/	'heavy'	/nik/	'all'

/g/: It is a phoneme with the phonetic realization *[g]*. */g/* occurs in all environments as shown in example (5).

(5)	**Initial**		**Medial**		**Final**	
	/gämäna/	'lion'	/argĭ/	'bed'	/ag/	'uncle'
	/gĭzĭŋ/	'dog'	/gĭrga/	'days'	/säg/	'shoulder'

5.1.1.1.2.2 Labialized consonants

This series consists of five consonants. They are: */k^{w}/, /g^{w}/, /x^{w}/, /ʏ^{w}/* and */ŋ^{w}/*.

/k^{w}/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments as shown below in (1).

(1)	**Initial**		**Medial**		**Final**	
	/k^{w}ara/	'sun'	/ank^{w}a/	'five'	/lĭk^{w}/	'foot'
	/k^{w}anta/	'ice'	/mĭrk^{w}ĭ/	'kitchen'	/wasäk^{w}/	'I/He (will) hear(s)'

/g^{w}/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments but word-finally as shown in (2) below.

(2)	**Initial**		**Medial**		**Final**
	/g^{w}artaʏ/	'enemy'	/šĭg^{w}e/	'small'	___
	/g^{w}ärwa/	'road'	/ĭng^{w}ĭ/	'breast'	___

/x^{w}/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments as shown in (3) below.

(3)	**Initial**		**Medial**		**Final**	
	/x^{w}ĭra/	'child'	/dindäx^{w}a/	'plough'	/ax^{w}/	'water'
	/x^{w}ĭna/	'to eat'	/ĭŋx^{w}ĭ/	'ear'		

/ʏ^{w}/: It is a phoneme occurring in all but initial positions as shown in (4) below.

(4)	**Initial**	**Medial**		**Final**	
	___	/aʏ^{w}äy/	'head'	/fuʏ^{w}/	'tear'
	___	/biʏ^{w}a/	'gourd'	/šĭlaʏ^{w}/	'whey'

/ŋ^{w}/: It is a phoneme occurring in all but initial positions as shown in (5) below.

(5)	**Initial**	**Medial**		**Final**	
	___	/ardĭŋ^{w}aʏ/	'locust'	/šĭŋ^{w}/	'name'
	___	/sĭŋ^{w}ĭʏ^{w}/	'he/I swallowed'	/g^{w}äŋ^{w}/	'well'

5.1.1.1.2.3 Fricatives

The fricative series contains the majority of Kemantney consonants. They include *[ß]*, */f/*, *[v]*, */s/*, */z/*, */š/*, */x/*, */ɣ/* and */h/*. Two of them are allophones while the rest seven are phonemes.

[ß]: It is an allophone of */b/* occurring word-finally, between vowels and preceding a consonant. Observe the examples below.

	Between vowels		**Preceding consonants**		**Finally following vowels**	
(1)	[aßäla]	'sickle'	[säßs-]	'fight'	[šäß]	'milk'
	[gïßär]	'half'	[kïßna]	'forest'	[ǰäläß]	'diarrhea'

Exceptions to the above distribution of occurrence are the words *aba* 'father' and *dïba* 'hill' where */b/* appears in the position where its variant *[ß]* is expected. The equivalents of these words in Amharic are *abba(t)* and *dïbba*, with a geminated */bb/*. Kemantney borrowed these words and a degemination process takes place. A similar process of degemination of penultimate consonants takes place in verbs (cf. chapter IV).

/f/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments except word finally. In word final position, it is found only in loanwords from Amharic. Compare example (2) below.

	Initial		**Medial**		**Final (loanwords)**	
(2)	[farza]	'horse'	[arfa]	'month'	[k'ulf]	'key'
	[fäzän]	'seed'	[ïrfa]	'maize'	[g^{w}ärf]	'flood'

[v]: It is an allophone of */b/* occurring word-medially between vowels. It has been recorded in only four indigenous words.[6] The words are the following.

(3)	[avär]	'dream'	[lävo]	'Wednesday'[7]
	[ǰavo]	'before'	[avïn]	'guest'

/h/: It has been recorded in all positions but only in loanwords.

(4)	/habt/	'wealth'	/tahsas/	'December'	/g^{w}äh/	'dusk'
	/hïdar/	'November'	/sahïn/	'dish'	/nïs'uh/	'clean'

The sound has not been recorded from active TSs in indigenous words. This suggests that */h/* is not Kemantney. However, passive terminal speakers tend to replace the velar fricatives */x/* and */ɣ/* by */h/*. The following are some contrasts where */x/* and */ɣ/* on the one hand, and */h/* on the other were recorded from active and passive terminal speakers.

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[6]Some speakers geminate *[v]* in their speech.

[7]The word for W*ednesday* is *räbuʔ* in Ge'ez (Appleyard, 1978) and *ïrob* or *ïräbu* in Amharic.

(5)	ATSs		PTSs	ATSs		PTSs
	/xʷäša/	'bad'	/hoša/	/waʏär/	'game'	/waxär/wahär/
	/xʷïra/	'child'	/hora/	/yïwïʏʷ/	'I/he gave'	/yïwïxʷ/yïwïhʷ/
	/laxla/	'bee'	/lahla/	/missïʏʷ/	'I/he forgot'	/missïxʷ/missïhʷ/
	/ǰax/	'drink!'	/ǰah/	/liʏ/	'hundred'	/lix/lih/

As shown in (4), passive terminal speakers use either the voiceless velar fricative */x/* or the glottal fricative */h/* instead of the voiced velar fricative */ʏ/*. This phonological deviation is a result of the influence of Amharic which has only */h/*.

/s/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments as shown in (6) below.

(6)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/sama/	'money'	/aʏsïra/	'earth'	/was/	'hear!'
	/sän/	'Monday'	/wasäla/	'deaf'	/as/	'take!'

/z/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments as shown in (7) below.

(7)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/zïgra/	'guinea fowl'	/fiza/	'seed'	/kʷïz/	'cover'
	/zän/	'brother'	/gïzïŋ/	'dog'	/amïz/	'Thursday'

/š/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments as shown in (8) below.

(8)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/šam/	'branch'	/kïrša/	'cheek'	/naš/	'bone'
	/šayäw/	'ice/white'	/dušän/	'curse'	/gäš/	'face'

/x/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments as shown in (9) below.

(9)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/xal-/	'see'	/axänta/	'wise'	/ax/	'know!'
	/xïyr-/	'desire'	/maxäla/	'friend'	/ǰax/	'drink!'

/ʏ/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments except word initially.

(10)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	___		/saʏïya/	'honey'	/liʏ/	'old'
	___		/laʏla/	'bee'	/gʷartaʏ/	'enemy'

5.1.1.1.2.4 Affricates

/č/: It appears in Amharic borrowings in almost all positions. Its occurrence in indigenous forms is very marginal. It was found in the following five words only in initial and medial positions.

(1)	Initial		Medial	
	/čïnčäl/	'rabbit'	/xʷïnča/	'male genital'
	/čïxʷïsa/	(name of a person)	/ïnčïz-/	'become united'
			/čančïxa/	'small pot'

The word *čïnčäl* is a modified form of the Amharic *t'ïnčäl*. The change of */t'/* to */č/* in Kemantney is attributed to either consonantal harmony or simple substitution of the ejective */-t'/*,

which only occurs in loanwords. This suggests that /*č*/ is part of the Kemantney consonantal system. On the other hand, in old loanwords such as *šïbaxa* 'a name of a tree' which is a borrowed form of the Amharic *čïbaha*, /*š*/ substitutes /*č*/. Hence, the latter is undoubtedly a recent innovation of Kemantney.

/ǰ/: It is a phoneme occurring in all positions except word-finally. In this position, it occurs only in loanwords as shown in the following examples.

(2)	**Initial**		**Medial**		**Finally (loanwords)**	
	ǰäla'	bird'	säǰǰa	'four'	färänǰ	'foreigner'
	ǰana	'elephant'	anǰïn	'yesterday'	wälaǰ	'parents'

5.1.1.1.2.5 Nasals

There are four nasal consonants. They are: /*m*/, /*n*/, /*ŋ*/ and /*ñ*/.

/m/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments as illustrated below.

(2)	**Initially**		**Medially**		**finally**	
	mïrawa	'snake'	gämäna	'lion'	yïzïm	'naughty'
	mïzbära	'moon'	damiya	'cat'	x^{w}ïm	'neck'

/n/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments as shown in (5) below.

(5)	**Initially**		**Medially**		**Finally**	
	nay	'you (POL)'	sïna	'butter'	an	'I'
	ni	'he/she'	kïrna	'stone'	zän	'brother'

/ŋ/: It is a phoneme occurring in all environments but word-initially.

(4)	**Initially**	**Medially**		**Finally**	
	____	kiŋa	'death'	säyiŋ	'cloth'
	____	niŋa	'two'	wïzïŋ	'fire'

Appleyard (1975) recorded the word *ŋaš* 'bone' from one informant where /*ŋ*/ appears initially. My data shows *naš*. In other Agew languages, Awŋi and Xamt'aŋa, for instance, /*ŋ*/ appears word-initially. Hence, whereas the word for 'house' in Awŋi and Xamir is *ŋïn* as recorded in (Hetzron, 1976), in Kemantney, it is *nïŋ*. It is possible that /*ŋ*/ may have changed to /*n*/ due to the influence of Amharic where /*n*/ occurs everywhere while /*ŋ*/ is restricted to positions before velars. Some passive terminal speakers add /*g*/ after /*ŋ*/ in their Kemantney. As a result, the words *säyiŋ* 'cloth' and *tïŋïʏ^{w}* 'found' are pronounced as *säyïŋg* and *tïŋgïʏ^{w}*. The word for 'nail' which was recorded as *laŋla* in Appleyard (1996a), is found as *laŋgïla* in the present data.

/ñ/: It is a phoneme occurring only in Amharic loanwords in medial and final positions as shown below.

(6)	**Medially**		**Finally**	
	fiññña	'baloon'	addañ̈ñ	'hunter'
	šañña	'hump of an ox	moñ̈ñ	'fool'

5.1.1.1.2.6 Ejectives

The ejective series consists of */č'/, /t'/, /k'/* and */s'/*. As mentioned in chapter IV, these sounds are found only in loanwords (see also Appleyard, 1975; Sasse, 1973). Observe the following examples.

(1)	t'ena	'health'	k'äst	'arrow'	č'ïn	'thigh'	s'/t'äbäl	'holy water'
	k'it't'ïññ	'syphillis'	nafäk'-	'yearn'	bič'a	'yellow'	s'af-	'write'

The sounds */č'/, /s'/* and */k'/* are found in names like *k'ïmant* and *č'änč'ok'* (name of a village) (see map II in chapter II) which could be taken as native to Kemantney. According to the information volunteered by senior Kemant people on the two nomenclatures, however, neither of the two are indigenous Kemantney names. The name *k'ïmant* with the ejective */k'/* was given to the Kemant people by their neighbours. The Kemant people believe that their original name was *kïmantä* or *kïmänt* with the plain velar */k/*. Regarding the name *č'änč'ok*, the original Kemantney name was *šänšax*^{w}, which was later replaced by *č'änč'ok'*. This was after the name *č'ïnč'u*, who was one of the first chiefs of the Falasha people in the area. Hence, every word with an ejective is a loan in Kemantney. Appleyard has stated the status of ejectives in Agew languages in general as follows:

> Glottalized consonants probably did not form part of the Proto-Agew sound system. They are absent from Awngi and occur in Kemantney only in recent loans from Amharic. Their presence in Bilen and Khamtanga is almost certainly due to the influence of Ethiopian Semitic. (1987a:248)

As the following examples illustrate, Xamt'aŋa ejectives (Appleyard, 1987a) have non-ejective counterparts in Kemantney.

(2)	Xamt'aŋa	Gloss	Kemantney	Xamt'aŋa	Gloss	Kemantney
	q'al-	'see'	xal-	k'ï-	'kill'	k^{w}ï-
	t'az-	'hit'	tas-	k'ana	'wood'	kana
	ark'-	'know'	ax-	č'u-	'spent the night'	kiy
	aq'-	'be'	avïy-	sïwrt'a	'onion'	surta
	čaq'-	'urinate'	šav-	xïs'a	'worm'	xïša

In some loans of Amharic, the ejectives have been substituted by their non-ejective counterparts. Such words include the following (see Chapter IV for more examples).

(3) č'an- → šan- 'load' ambač'o → ïmbäšwa 'a name of a plant'
k'ʷälla → kʷäla 'hot climate' č'ïk'a → šïʏa 'mud'

Kemantney shows some sound correspondences with Ge'ez. As a result, the ejective */s'/* of Ge'ez corresponds to the fricative */š/* of Kemantney. Compare the following examples.

	Ge'ez		Kemantney
(4)	s'ew	'salt'	šïwa
	?ans'ewa	'mouse'	ïnšïwa
	s'ïns'ïy	'fly'	šïnša

According to Appleyard (1984), words like the above suggest the old loans from Agew into Ethiopian Semitic.

5.1.1.1.2.7 Liquids

/l/: It is a phoneme with the phonetic realization *[l]*, an alveolar lateral occurring in all environments.

	Initially		Medially		Finally	
(1)	lax	'flour'	lälla	'bread'	käl	'break!'
	lïbäka	'heart'	läläma	'baby'	täŋkäl	'arm'

/r/: It is a phoneme with the phonetic realization *[r]*, an alveolar trill occurring in all environments but word initially.

	Medially		Finally	
(2)	kärämbiya	'drum'	azär	'chickpea'
	dïxʷära	'donkey'	gär	'calf'

In some loanwords from Amharic such as *resa* 'corpse', *rïst* 'inherited land', /r/ has been recorded word initially (see also Appleyard, 1975).

5.1.1.1.2.8 Semi-vowels

/w/: It is a phoneme with the phonetic realization *[w]* occurring in all environments.

	Initially		Medially		Finally	
(1)	wan-	'have/exist/have to'	fiwa	'breath'	käw	'village'
	wixa	'how much'	yïwna	'female/wife'	šäyäw	'ice'

/y/: It is a phoneme with the phonetic realization *[y]* occurring in all environments.

	Initially		Medially		Finally	
(2)	yïba	'leopard'	tiyär	'aunt'	ǰïwäsäy	'bigbird'
	yïkʷ	'scrach'	tiya	'cotton'	mïkäy	'mouth'

5.1.1.1.3 Minimal and Near-Minimal Pairs

There are some minimal and near-minimal pairs in suspicious pairs in the text involving contrasting consonants, which justify their phonemic status. Compare the following representative examples.

/t/:/d/	/tïŋ-/	'find'	/g/:/gʷ/	/gʷäŋ/	'well'
	/dïŋ-/	'finish'		/gaŋ-/	'run'
/n/:/m/	/šän/	'sister'	/kʷ/:/gʷ/	/kʷïy-/	'kill'
	/šam/	'branch'		/gʷïy-/	'wake up'
/r/:/l/	/yïr/	'person'	/z/:/š/	/gäz/	'wipe!'
	/yïl/	'eye'		/gäš/	'face'
/w/:/y/	/šïw-/	'beg'	/ʏ/:/ʏʷ/	/šaʏʷa/	'fresh-dung'
	/šïy-/	'hold'		/šaʏa/	'iron'
/gʷ/:/xʷ/	/ïngʷï/	'breast'	/kʷ/:/gʷ/	/kʷaŋ-/	'chew'
	/ïŋxʷï/	'ear'		/gʷaŋ-/	'dig'
/n/:/ŋ/	/nan/	'now/hand'	/kʷ/:/gʷ/	/kʷaŋ-/	'chew'
	/nïŋ/	'house/today'		/gʷaŋ-/	'dig'
/k/:/kʷ/	/k-/	'spend the night'	/s/:/š/	/sïwa/	'rain'
	/kʷ-/	'kill'		/šïwa/	'salt'
/š/:/s/	/šiwa/	'salt'	/z/:/š/	/zän/	'brother'
	/siwa/	'rain'		/šän/	'sister'
/f/:/š/	/fiwa/	'breathe/soul'	/x/:/ʏ/	/šax/	'urine'
	/šïwa/	'salt'		/šaʏ/	'summer'
/kʷ/:/gʷ/	/kʷïz-/	'cover'	/x/:/ʏ/	/lix/	'put mud!'
	/gʷïz-/	'pick up'		/liʏ/	'hundred'

5.1.1.1.4 The Phonemic Inventory

Excluding the ejectives, which never occur in native words, there are the following twenty-five consonant phonemes of Kemantney.

		t			k	kʷ
b		d			g	gʷ
	f	s	š	č	x	xʷ
		z		ǰ	ʏ	ʏʷ
m		n			ŋ	ŋʷ
		l				
		r				
w				y		

Table 2: The consonant phonemes of Kemantney

In Sasse (1973), twenty-four consonant phonemes were identified, excluding */č/*. He says that */ñ/, /č/, /č'/, /t'/, /k'/* are borrowed sounds from Amharic. In Appleyard (1975), twenty-eight consonant phonemes were identified, including the ejectives and the voiceless palatal affricate */č /*. The present data are minimally different from those of Appleyard and Sasse on the status of */č/*

and on the ejectives /č'/, /t'/ and /k'/. The most frequent sounds are stops followed by fricatives, nasals, liquids, semi-vowels, labiovelars and affricates.

5.1.1.2 Vowels

5.1.1.2.1 The Vowel Inventory

The vowel inventory of Kemantney has the following seven vowels.

Front	Central	Back
i	ï	u
e	ä	o
	a	

Table 3: The vowels of Kemantney

This seven vowel system is different from that of sister languages like Xamt'aŋa, which has a five vowel system. Awŋi has also five vowel system (Appleyard, 1987a). On the other hand, the Kemantney system is similar to that of Bilen. It is believed that both Kemantney and Bilen developed the seven-vowel system from Ethiopian Semitic languages. The vowels /e/ and /o/, which have a low frequency of occurrence, seem to have been introduced recently from Amharic. Sasse (1973) has identified all the seven vowels but he considered /o/ confined to only Amharic words. Though very limited, there are the following indigenous words in which it occurs.

(1) läbo 'Wednesday' g^{w}ïro/g^{w}ïrwa 'male/husband' doša 'frog'

The mid-back vowel /o/ and mid-central vowel /e/ are used alternatively in *yä* and *wä* respectively. This is observed vividly in the gerundive and jussive suffixes below.

(2)	was-wä	or	was-o	'I/He having heard'
	was-yä		was-e	'you/she having heard'
	was-nï-wä		was-n-o	'we/they having heard'
	was-dï-wä		was-d-o	'Let him hear.'
	was-tï-wä		was-t-o	'Let her hear.'
	was-nï-wä		was-n-o	'Let us hear.'

Whereas competent speakers prefer the pattern in the first column, passive speakers use the pattern in the second column.

5.1.1.2.2 Occurrence of Vowels

Most words in Kemantney end in vowels. All vowels appear in word medial and final positions. The mid-central vowel /ä/ does not occur word-finally. It mainly occurs before a pause where it alternates with the low-central vowel /a/. The only vowels which appear word initially are /ï/ and /a/, as shown in the following list.

	Initial	Gloss	Medial	Gloss	Final	Gloss
/i/	__		siya	'meat'	ni	'he'
/e/	__		annew	'we'	sïle	'yoke'
/ï/	ïntï	'you'	wïza	'ashes'	gïrbï	'knee'
/ä/	__		sän	'Monday'	gondär-wä	'to Gondar'
/a/	an	'I'	laʏla	'bee'	xʷäša	'bad'
/u/	__		šum	'fast'	amu	'thorn'
/o/	__		doša	'frog'	läbo	'Wednesday'

The central vowels */a/* and */ï/* are the most frequent vowels. The vowels */u/*, */ä/*, and */i/* also occur quite frequently. The least frequent vowels are */e/* and */o/*.

5.1.1.2.3 Minimal and near-minimal pairs

In order to confirm the phonemic status of the vowels, the following minimal pairs have been identified.

/ï/:/a/	/ïrfa/	'maize'	/ä/:/a/	/käb-/	'cut'
	/arfa/	'month'		/kab-/	'help'
/ï/:/a/	/ïyya/	'yes'	/a/:/u/	/sama/	'money'
	/ayya/	'market'		/suma/	'garlic'
/ï/:/ä/	/kïnbï/	'stick'	/i/:/a/	/wiya/	'why'
	/känbï/	'wing/feather'		/waya/	'value'
/ï/:/i/	/kiz-/	'better, be'	/o/:/e/	/was-o/	'he having heard'
	/kïz-/	'sell'		/was-e/	'she having heard'

5.1.1.3 Suprasegmentals

5.1.1.3.1 Gemination

There is consonant gemination as a phonetic feature occuring rarely. Gemination in Kemantney is a feature of tenseness of speech organs. Thus, while the articulation of geminated consonants is tense, the articulation of non-geminates is lax. The following are the geminated consonants recorded.

(1)	säǰǰa	'four'	sässa	'nine'
	lälla	'bread'	ïyya	'yes'
	xʷïrra	'children'	azza	'pine'
	amma	'pumpkin'	kʷïnna	'night'

As can be seen above, gemination is observed in continuants (liquids, fricatives, nasals and semi-vowels) and affricates. In the following loanwords of Amharic, stops have been recorded geminated.

(2)	gʷämma	'rubber'	kabba	'mantle'
	t'ïrr	'January'	addañ̃	'hunter'
	yäkkatit	'February'	mäggabit	'March'

Except for the words x^{w}ïra 'child' and x^{w}ïrra 'children', no examples have been recorded to suggest any lexical or grammatical role for gemination in Kemantney.

Gemination occurs across morpheme boundaries. Examples are the passive and causative verbal extensions as shown in (3) below.

				Passive				**Causative**
(3)	ǰaxs-	'insult'	→	ǰaxïs-s-	'be insulted'	fäš-	'take'	→ fäš-š- 'cause to take'
	was-	'hear'	→	was-s	'be heard'	läš-	'bring'	→ läš-š- 'cause to bring'
	säraxs-	'work'	→	säraxïs-s-	'be worked'	waš-	'lie'	→ waš-š-'cause to lie'

As can be seen, gemination resulted from sequencing of identical consonants or assimilation of the passive suffix */-s/* and the causative suffix */-š/* with the final segments of the verb stem identical to the endings. In gerundive and present perfect forms, the final consonants of the verb stem geminates as shown below.

(4)	tïw-	'enter'	→	tïw-wä	'he, having enetered'
	tïw-	'enter'	→	tïw-wän-äk^{w}	'he enetered.'
	wan-	'present'	→	wan-n-äk^{w}	'we are present.'
	dïw-	'tell'	→	dïw-wä	'he, having told'
	dïw-	'tell'	→	dïw-wän-äk^{w}	'we told'

As an Agew language, there is no vowel length in Kemantney. Vowel sequencing is not allowed too.

5.1.1.4 The Syllable Structure

In indigenous words, two open and two closed syllable types have been identified (see also Appleyard, 1975). They are V, CV, VC and CVC. In borrowed words like *kïbb* 'circle' and *k'äld* 'joke', a CVC_1C_1 and CVC_1C_2 syllables have been recorded. The smallest word consists of either a VC or CV syllable. In words with more than one syllable, the weakest syllable consists of a single V whereas the strongest one is CVC. Words, which consist of a single morpheme, belong to either of the following syllable types.

(1)	VC		CV		CVC	
	ar	'grain'	ni	'he'	nïŋ	'house'
	an	'I'	bi	'dust'	gär	'calf'
	ad	'Sunday'			naš	'bone'

The most frequently occurring syllable structure is CVC. The least frequent one recorded is CV. As compared to the CV syllable type, the VC syllable is more frequent.

Words with more than one syllable have either of the following syllable structures.

Syllable types	Examples			
V-CV	a-ša	'leaf'	a-ba	'father'
	a-zi	'new'	a-mu	'thorn'
VC_1-C_1V	ïl-la	'nil'	ay-ya	'market'
	ïy-ya	'yes'	ïl-lï	'here'
CVC_1-C_2V	tim-ta	'bull'	daŋ-g^{w}a	'beehive'
	lav-la	'bee'	g^{w}äz-g^{w}ï	'belly'
CV-CVC	wï-zïŋ	'fire'	gï-zïŋ	'dog'
	sä-lïz	'Tuesday'	sä-yïŋ	'cloth'
VC_1-C_2V	ïr-fa	'maize'	ax-na	'to know'
	ïn-tï	'you (SG)'	ar-fa	'month'
CV-CV	kä-wa	'ant'	kä-ma	'cow'
	wï-za	'ashes'	bi-ra	'ox'
V-CVC	a-mïz	'Thursday'		
	a-mär	'tomorrow'		
CVC_1-C_1V	lal-la	'bread'		
	säǰ-ǰa	'four'		
CVC_1-C_2VC	täŋ-käl	'arm'		
	fïŋ-gäy	'wind'		
VC-CV-CV	ïn-šï-wa	'mouse'		
CV-CV-CV	šï-šä-wa	'ape'	gä-mä-na	'lion'
	Šä-mä-na	'black'	tï-x^{w}ä-na	'bed bug'
CV-CV-CVC	ǰï-wä-säy	'big bird'		
CVC_1-C_2V-CV	din-dä-x^{w}a	'plough'		
	där-g^{w}ï-na	'oak tree'		
CVC_1-C_2VC_1-C_2V	wän-tär-šï	'answer'		

5.1.1.5 Phonotactics

In Kemantney, sequences of more than two consonants is not allowed. All consonants occur single in word initial and final positions. In other words, a sequence of two consonants is possible only word medially or at syllable boundry. The possible clusters of consonants in medial position are illustrated below.

	b	T	d	k	g	f	s	z	x	ʏ	š	č	ǰ	h	m	n	ñ	ŋ	l	r	w	y	k^w	g^w	x^w	$ʏ^w$	$ŋ^w$
b	B	+	B	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
t	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
k	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
g	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
f	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
s	-	B	-	-	+	B	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	B	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
z	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
x	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ʏ	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
š	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
č	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ǰ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
m	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
n	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	B	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
ñ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ŋ	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
l	+	+	+	+	+	B	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	B	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
w	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	B	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
y	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
k^w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
g^w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
x^w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
$ʏ^w$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
$ŋ^w$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 3: The possible sequence of consonants (B=borrowed)

The following are examples of each of the possible clusters of consonants.

(1)	-bn-	kïbna	'forest'	-rz-	farza	'horse'
	-br-	labra	'together'	-rw-	särwä	'he having built'
	-bs-	tïbs-	'pierce'	-ʏs-	aʏsïra	'earth'
	-bk-	šïbka	'hair'	-ʏl-	laʏla	'bee'
	-bš-	tïbš-	'hide'	-ʏn-	faʏn-	'to marry'
	-bt-	käläbt-	'receive'	-ǰǰ-	säǰǰa	'four'
	-bd-	k'äbd	'advance money' (B)	-ll-	ïllï	'here'
	-bw-	mïrab-wä	'to west'	-rr-	x^wïrra	'children'
	-by-	šäb-y-ä	'you having done'	-yy-	ayya	'market'
	-dm-	ïdme	'age' (B)	-mm-	amma	'pumpkin'
	-dw-	tïdwä	'Let him come'	-čč-	bïčča	'alone'
	-dr-	tewädros	(King of Ethiopia)	-nn-	k^wïnna	'night'
	-tz-	awïtzï	'by where'	-ss-	sassa	'nine'
	-tn-	awïtni	'where is it'	-zz-	azza	'pine'
	-ft'-	nïft'	'mucus'	-šš-	waššš-	'cause to hear'
	-sf-	wäsfat	'ascaris' (B)	-bb-	kïbb	'circle' (B)
	-st-	k'äst	'arrow' (B)	-ññ-	t'enäññña	'healthy'
	-sy-	wasyä	'You (SG) having heard'	-č'č'-	ač'č'ïr	'short' (B)
	-sn-	wasnïwä	'We/They having heard'	-lk-	xal-k-in	'let her not see'
	-sw-	waswä	'He having heard'	-lg-	bälga	'surghum'
	-sr-	israk'	'east' (B)	-lt-	biltïz	'oxen'
	-sg-	wasgaʏ	'he, who does not hear'	-lm-	kälmed	'herdsman'
	-šm-	nišmaxäl	'her firend'	-lb-	gïlbäna	'straw'

-šy-	fäšyä	‘you having taken’
-šw-	fäšwä	‘he having taken’
-šd-	kʷïšdï	‘with you’
-šn-	fašnäw	‘they, who took’
-šz-	nišzän	‘her brother’
-št-	ništän	‘her sister’
-šf-	nišfiwa	‘her brother’
-šg-	nišgäna	‘her mother’
-nt-	fïntïra	‘goat’
-nč-	xʷïnča	‘male-genital’
-nš-	šïnša	‘fly’
-nd-	dindäxʷa	‘plough’
-nǰ-	gänǰ-	‘sleep’
-nk-	tänkäl	‘arm’
-ns-	ïnsï	‘this (ACC)’
-nz-	ïnzï	‘by this’
-nkʷ-	sïnkʷäta	‘axe’
-nw-	xʷïnwä	‘Let us eat’
-ng-	fïngäy	‘wind’
-nk-	šämänkï	‘black (pl.)’
-nf-	ïnfära	‘baby’
-nx-	lanxa	‘tongue, palate’
-ŋn-	gaŋna	‘to run’
-ŋx-	waŋxär-	‘ask’
-ŋxʷ-	ïŋxʷï	‘ear’
-ŋgʷ-	ïŋgʷï	‘breast’
-ŋn-	xʷïraʏna	‘egg’
-ŋs-	tïŋs-	‘be found’
-ŋš-	tïŋš-	‘cause to find’
-ŋy-	gaŋyä	‘you having run’
-ŋw-	gaŋwä	‘he having run’
-ŋk-	gaŋkar	‘you, who do not run’
-ŋg-	gaŋgaʏ	‘he, who does not run’
-ŋd-	kïlïŋdïwä	‘Let him dance’
-ŋt-	kïlïŋtïwä	‘Let her dance’
-mt-	timta	‘young bull’
-mb-	xʷïmba	‘nose’
-md-	lämda	‘shade’
-ms-	gäms-	‘bring down’
-mn-	täkʷäsïmna	‘to sit’
-rkʷ-	ïrkʷ	‘tooth’
-rd-	ardïŋʷax	‘locust’
-rf-	arfa	‘month’
-rxʷ-	bïrxʷï	‘saliva’
-rš-	kirša	‘cheek’
-rt-	kärtäma	‘basket’
-rn-	kïrna	‘stone’
-rb-	gïrbï	‘knee’
-rgʷ-	därgʷïna	‘oak tree’
-rg-	argï	‘bed’
-lf-	ïlf	‘million’ (B)
-ly-	xalyä	‘You having seen’
-ls-	xals-	‘be seen’
-lš-	xalš-	‘cause to see’
-lw-	xalwä	‘he having seen’
-ln-	mal-na	‘to throw away’
-gr-	ǰägra	‘monkey’
-gš-	kagš-	‘cause to dry’
-gs-	kags-	‘be dried’
-gy-	kagyä	‘you being dry’
-gn-	kagnïwä	‘we/they being dry’
-kn-	mïknïyat	‘reason’ (B)
-ky-	was-ä-k-yäŋä	‘not to hear’
-zb-	mïzbära	‘moon’
-zgʷ-	gʷäzgʷï	‘belly’
-zkʷ	-ïzkʷï	‘and’
-zy-	gäzyäkʷ	‘You (SG) (will) wipe’
-zn-	gäznäkʷ	‘We/They (will) wipe’
-zm-	däǰazmač	(title of early times) (B)
-zw-	kïzwä	‘he having sold’
-xs-	axsïra	‘earth’
-xl-	laxla	‘bee’
-xš-	xašaxš-	‘cause to punish’
-xn-	axna	‘to know’
-xg-	faxgaʏ	‘single’
-xt-	ǰaxtïwä	‘let her drink’
-wd-	annewdï	‘with us’
-wt-	bïwt-	‘flow’
-ws-	bïws-	‘spill’
-wš-	dawša	‘millet’
-wn-	yïwna	‘girl’
-wm-	wasiwma	‘May I hear?’
-wy-	yïwyäw	‘back’
-wr-	fitawrari	(title of early times)
-yt-	šäyt-	‘burn’
-yd-	naydew	‘they’
-yŋ-	deyŋa	‘judge’
-ym-	wasïyma	‘will you hear’
-yr-	ayru	‘You (M) (vocative)’
-yt’-	säyt’an	‘devil’ (B)
-yl-	bäyla	‘mule’
-yr-	ayru	‘You (F) vocative)’
-ykʷ-	aykʷï	‘You (M) vocative)’
-yg-	šäy-g-aʏ	‘who does not catch’
-ʏy-	faʏyä	‘you (SG) having married’
-ʏw-	faʏwä	‘he having married’
-ʏm-	wasaʏma	‘will you hear?’
-ʏt-	xädaʏtïwä	‘she having fetched’
-ʏš-	faʏš-	‘cause to marry’
-ʏr-	daʏra	‘excrement’

From the above sequences, the following patterns can be captured.

	Stop	Fricative	Affricate	Nasal	Liquid	Semi-vowel	Labiovelars
Stop	+	+	—	+	+	+	—
Fricative	+	+	—	+	+	+	—
Affricate	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nasal	+	+	+	+	—	+	+
Liquid	+	+	—	+	—	+	+
Semi-vowel	+	+	—	+	+	+	—
Labiovelars	+	—	—	—	—	—	—

5.1.1.6 Morphophonemic Processes

The most commonly observed processes are insertion, deletion, alternation and assimilation.

5.1.1.6.1 Insertion

As mentioned earlier, no cluster of three consonants is allowed in Kemantney. Hence, in morpheme boundaries, the vowel *[ï]* is inserted to break clusters with more than two consonants.

(1) /gänǰ- + -na/→ [gänǰ-ï-na] 'to sleep' /gänǰ- + -wä/ → [gänǰ- + ïwä] 'he, having slept'
/wayt- + -na/→ [wayt-ï-na] 'to buy' /dint- + -wä/ → [dint- + ïwä] 'he, having swum'
/kint- + -na/→ [kint-ï-na] 'to learn' /waʏš- + -wä/→ [waʏš- + ïwä] 'he, having desired'

A sequence of two consonants is not allowed word finally. The evidences for this are loanwords from Amharic, which end in clusters of consonants. When these words enter the Kemantney lexicon, *[ï]* is always inserted to break the cluster. Examples are:

(2) särg → särgï 'weeding'
arb → arbï 'Friday'
aläk't → alk'ït/aläk'tï 'leech'

This property suggests that the name *k'ïmant*, which ends in a cluster of consonants is not originally Kemantney. Rather, it is a misnomer given to them by the neighboring people.

5.1.1.6.2 Deletion

Deletion of a vowel is commonly observed in Kemantney at morpheme boundaries. It is triggered by the non-permissibility of vowel sequencing in the language. Compare the following examples.

(1) /yï- + ag/ → [y-ag] 'my uncle' /anä + aba/ → [anaba] 'our father'
/ti- + ïŋx^{w}ï/ → [ti-ŋx^{w}ï] 'your ear' /ïntï + ara/ → [ïnt-ara] 'your (PL) grain'

At word and morpheme boundaries, */y/* is deleted and the vowel */ï/* is fronted. Examples are:

(2) yïndän + yïr → yïndan ir 'the man'
zïm + yï + tïmb-ïyä → zim i tïmbïyä 'she, standing up having been silent'
ni + yïwna → niwna 'his wife'

ïnni + yïr	→	ïnn ir	'this man'
sïmb-ïy-n-ïʏ^{w}	→	sïmb-i-n-ïʏ^{w}	'you were'
wayt-ïy-n-ïʏ^{w}	→	wayt-i-n-ïʏ^{w}	'you bought'

As shown in the examples, the semi-vowel */y/* is deleted when it appears between a consonant and the high central vowel */ï/*.

5.1.1.6.3 Vowel Change

The low-central vowel */a/* changes to the mid-central vowel */ä/* in continuous speech (see also Appleyard, 1975). Compare the examples below.

(1)	dïxa yïr	→	dïxä yïr	'poor man'
	säǰǰa x^{w}ïra	→	säǰǰä x^{w}ïrra	'four children'
	niŋa yïwnïk	→	niŋä yïwnïk	'two females'
	sama wan-äk^{w}	→	samä wan-äk^{w}	'I have money'

5.1.1.6.4 Consonantal Change (Devoicing)

The voiced stop */g/* changes into the voiceless */k/* at word boundaries.

(1) gïrga 'day' → gïrkï sïrïʏ 'daily labour'

As shown in the following examples, a similar devoicing process takes place in the negation of embedded verbs. Compare the 2SG, 3FS and 2PL with the rest in the following conjugation.

(2)	was-ä-g-ar	'I, who do not hear'	was-ä-g-ïn-ar	'We, who do not hear'
	was-ä-k-ar	'You, who do not hear'	was-ä-k-ïn-ar	'You, who do not hear'
	was-ä-g-aʏ	'He, who do not hear'	was-ä-g-äw	'They, who do not hear'
	was-ä-k-ey	'She, who does not hear'		

The voiceless labialized stop */k^{w}/* changes into its voiced non-labialized counterpart word medially.

(3) k^{w}äna 'mother' → yï-gäna 'my mother'

The voiced */d/* changes to its voiceless counterpart in the jussive marking gender distinction.

(4)	was-d-ïwä	'let him hear'	vs.	was-t-ïwä	'let her hear'
	gaŋ-d-ïwä	'let him run'	vs.	gaŋ-t-ïwä	'let her run'

/r/ changes to */l/* before the plural suffix */-tï/* after the deletion of the final vowel of the singular form.

(5)	bira	'ox'	bil-tï	'oxen'
	dïʏ^{w}ära	'donkey'	dïʏ^{w}äl-tï	'donkeys'
	gär	'calf'	gäl-tï	'calves'

5.1.1.6.5 Assimilation

There is homorganic nasal assimilation where */n/* changes to *[m]* before */b/* as in the examples below.

(1)	/käränbiya/	→	[kärämbiya]	'drum'	/anbïra/	→	[ambïra]	'cabbage'
	/tïnb-/	→	[tïmb-]	'stand'	/tïnb-/	→	[tïmb-]	'stand'
	/kanbï/	→	[kambï]	'wing/feather'	/x^{w}ïnba/	→	[x^{w}ïmba]	'nose'

In that case, *[m]* is the allophone of */n/* before the bilabial stop */b/*.

The alveolar nasal */n/* assimilates in point of articulation with the following velar stop and changes into *[ŋ]*.

(2)	**Initially**			**Medially**		
	/langïla/	→ [laŋgïla]	'nail'	/tïnkïb/	→ [tïŋkïb]	'push!'
	/ïng^{w}ï/	→ [ïŋg^{w}ï]	'breast'	/ank^{w}a/	→ [aŋk^{w}a]	'four'

As the above example shows, *[ŋ]* is the allophone of */n/* as a result of assimilation in point of articulation with the velar sounds.

Regressive assimilation is observed in passive and causative verbs. In passive verbs, stem final */z/* changes to */s/*. Compare example (2) below.

(3) **Passive**

kïz-	'sell'	→ kïz-s-	→ kïz-z-	'be sold'
k^{w}ïz-	'cover'	→ k^{w}ïz-s-	→ k^{w}ïs-s-	'be covered'
azäz-	'order'	→ azäz-s-	→ azäss-	'be ordered'

In causative verbs, stem final */z/* changes to */š/* as shown below.

(4) **Causative**

tïxïz-	'smoke'	→ tïxïz-š-	→ tïxïš-š	'cause to smoke'
kïz-	'sell'	→ kïz-š-	→ kïš-š-	'cause to sell'
k^{w}ïz-	'cover'	→ k^{w}ïz-š-	→ k^{w}ïš-š-	'cause to cover'

In sum, as has been mentioned in Dressler (1972), in the process of language decay, the phonology of RDLs adjusts to the phonology of RGLs. Kemantney shows some of these features. The influence of Amharic is exhibited in its phonetic inventory.

The pronunciation of ejectives are the best examples, which are found in loanwords only. In Awŋi, for instance, where ejectives are lacking, Awŋi speakers of Amharic use */t/*, */č/* and */k/* in place of the ejectives */t'/*, */s'/*; */č'/* and */k'/*. However, both active and passive terminal speakers of Kemantney have no difficulty in pronouncing ejectives of Amharic. As far as their phonetic competence in the replacing language is concerned, it is hardly possible to detect a Kemant from his Amharic. Phonetically, Amharic sounds have gone into Kemantney through loanwords. Hence, if one considers the speakers' command of pronunciation as a linguistic indicator of the degree of influence of the Amharic language, then no distinction can be made between Amharic speakers of Amhara descent and Kemantney speakers of Kemant descent. The change in the point

of articulation from alveolar to dental shows how Amharic has influenced Kemantney. Regarding such phonetic inter-influence across languages in sub-Saharan Africa, Greenberg writes:

> In sub-Saharan Africa there are two pre-colonial literary traditions which have exerted an important influence on contemporary spoken languages, the Arabic in some Moslem communities and the classical Ethiopic among Christian and Falasha Jewish populations in Ethiopia. An important factor in the study of these influences is the traditional pronunciation of these languages since these affect the phonetic forms taken by borrowings. (Greenberg 1971:186)

Both active and passive terminal speakers utter ejectives and the palatal nasal which do not exist in Kemantey genuine words. However, they are identifiable when they produce the phonemes */x/*, */ʏ/* and */ŋ/* of Kemantney. Whereas fluent speakers produce these sounds perfectly, passive speakers have difficulty in them. As shown in 5.1.1.1.2.3, there is a tendency of substituting the voiceless velar fricative */x/* by the glottal fricative */h/*, which is Amharic. The voiced velar fricative */ʏ/* has been substituted sometimes by its voiceless counterpart */x/* and some other times by the glottal fricative */h/*. Another interesting case is the velar nasal */ŋ/* which is an allophone of */n/* in Amharic. The allophonic rule of Amharic seems to be transferred to Kemantney as a result of which some terminal speakers produce */ŋ/* before velar stops (see examples 5.1.1.1.2.5), just like in Amharic. Another change exhibited in the velar nasal is distribution. It appears in word initial position in Awŋi and Xamt'ŋa (Appleyard, 1984), but in Kemantney, it is restricted to medial and final position just as in Amharic.

Phonological processes such as assimilation, deletion and insertion, which operate in both Amharic and Kemantney, are still maintained by terminal speakers. Consonant gemination, which occurs infrequently in Kemantney, is still preserved because the same feature exists at both phonetic and phonemic levels in Amharic. Labialized consonant phonemes are still maintained in Kemantney corresponding to similar consonants in Amharic. The sounds */ŋ/*, */x/*, and */ʏ/* which have a high functional load in Kemantney are still well preserved by the majority of the speakers though there exists no correspondence in the RGL.

5.2 Morphology

5.2.1 Pronouns

5.2.1.1 Subject Personal Pronouns

There are seven subject personal pronouns in Kemantney.

(1)

		SG	PL
1		an	an-new
2	M/F	ïntï	ïntï-ä(n)dew
	POL	nay	
3	M/F	ni	na-(y)dew

Conti Rossini (1912)[8] and Appleyard (1975) identify the following Kemantney subject personal pronouns:

(2)

	Conti-Rossini		Appleyard	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	an~ana	an-än	an	andiw~anniw
2	antä~anti	int-än~äntän	ïntï	ïntändiw~ïntän(n)iw~ïntädiw
3 M	ni	na:y	ni	naydiw
F	ni:~niy		niy	

As shown in (1), the 2MS and 2FS; and the 3MS and 3FS have identical forms. In Appleyard (1975) and Conti-Rossini (1912), gender distinction is shown in the 3SG (see also Castellino, 1975). But this distinction is almost neutralized in the speech of the present day TSs.

Number in Kemantney personal pronouns is designated by */-V(C)dew/* added to the singular pronouns (cf. also the plural demonstrative pronouns in 5.2.1.4). The V is */ä/* in the 2PL, and */a/* in the 3PL. On the other hand, the optional consonant is */-n/* in the 2PL, and */-y/* in the 3PL. There are the following morphophonemic changes taking place following the affixation.

a) In the 1PL, the */d/* of the plural suffix */-dew/* totally assimilates to the stem final segment as a result of which */n/* geminates. The change is:

an-dew → *an-new*

b) In the second person, the stem final */ï/* of the singular pronoun is deleted due to the impermissibility of vowel sequencing and the morpheme */ä(n)dew/* is suffixed. The vowel */ä/*

[8] Conti Rossini's transcription has some problems because he used some diacritic marks which are not found in the IPA and as a result the transcription cannot be easily understood. I consider the small hyphen on top of a vowel as long (macron) and the small curved mark again on top of a vowel as short (breve). The consonant *n* with a dot on top is taken as *ŋ*. One major problem is the */a/* vowel with a small hyphen at the center. I tentatively took it as */ä/* following Hetzron (1976). One other major problem, is the reliablity of his data. According to Hetzron (1976), Conti-Rossini took his Kemantney data from d'Abbadie (1872).

of the 2PL is an epenthetic vowel inserted to avoid the impermissible cluster of consonants. The change is:

ïntï-ä(n)dew → *ïnt-ädew* or *ïnt-ä(n)dew*.

c) According to Appleyard (p.c.), in the third person, *na-* is the direct product of the original Agew plural corresponding to the singular *ni-*. The glide *-y-* is likely to be a subsequent pluralizer (cf. the 3PL *naw* in Bilin with a different glide). The *dew* (*diw* in the Kerker dialect (Appleyard, 1975)) is a further pluralizer. One can also assume that the deletion of the final vowel of the 3S is due to the impermisssibility of vowel sequencing and the suffixation of the morpheme *-a(y)dew* as a pluralizer. Still another possibility would be that the 3PL is the 2POL plus a plural suffix *-dew* which gives us *naydew*. In this regard, the change would be like:

ni-a(y)dew → *n-a(y)dew* or *nay* + *dew* → *nay-dew*

The above internal structures suggest that there is a plural marker in each person of the Kemantney subject personal pronouns.

***an* '1S'**

Conti Rossini (1912) and Appleyard (1975) identify the same form. But Conti Rossini had *ana* as a variant, which has not been attested in the present text. The 1S is similar to the Amharic *ïne* and Tigrinya *anä* and to the other Semitic languages like Hebrew *ani* and Arabic *ana*. According to Tucker and Bryan (1966) and Appleyard (1986a), the */n/* of the 1S occurs in all Cushitic languages. Similarily, Zaborski (1975) writes that, unlike the other persons, the 1S and 1PL makes the Agew languages similar to the rest of the Cushitic. This pronoun is represented in Awŋi, Bilin and Xamt'aŋa as follows:

(3)	Awŋi	an(i)	(Hetzron, 1978)	an	(Tucker and Bryan, 1966)
	Bilen	an	(Palmer, 1957)	ʔan	(Tucker and Bryan, 1966)
	Xamt'aŋa	an~yan	(Appleyard, 1987a)	an, ana:	(Conti Rossini, 1912)

***ïntï* '2S'**

As shown in (1) above, Kemantney does not make distinction between the masculine and the feminine in the 2S. Appleyard and the present researcher identify the same form but different from that of Conti Rossini. His form is identical to the Amharic pronoun *antä* (2MS) and */anti/* (2FS) (the base form of *[ančï]*). According to Tucker and Bryan (1966) and Appleyard (1986a), */k/* or */t/* is common to all Cushitic languages. The Awŋi, Bilen and Xamt'aŋa forms are presented below:

(4)						
	Awŋi:	ˎ ïnt	(Hetzron, 1978)		ïntï	(Tucker and Bryan, 1966)
	Bilen:	inti:	(Palmer, 1957)		ïnti	(Tucker and Bryan, 1966)
	Xamt'aŋa:	kut~keta:	(Conti Rossini, 1912)		kït	(Appleyard, 1987a)

The exception here is Khamta.[9] According to Conti Rossini (1912), Khamta is the only Agew language that makes gender distinction in 2S where the masculine is *keta* and feminine, *kit*. According to Appleyard (p.c), since Agew languages do not distinguish gender in the 2nd person, the above Khamta data of Conti Rossini is doubtful. If they are indeed recorded, it must not be a genuine Agew data but might be replica of Semitic forms in the making.

***nay* '2POL'**

Appleyard (1975) mentioned (in a footnote) that he had recorded *nay* as a polite form from some informants. I have recorded the same form from several, but not all, of my informants. Only WMM, MT and AyT used it for the 3POL too. The other Agew language, which has a polite form, is Awŋi. The form is *ïntu* (cf. Amharic *antu*), according to Appleyard (1986a) and Hetzron (1976). Appleyard says that the introduction of such a form is along the lines of several Ethiopian languages. But since the shape of the Kemantney form is rather similar to the 3PL stem, it is possible to consider *nay* (2POL) as a reduced form of *nay-dew* (3PL). Compare the Amharic polite forms *antu* or *ïrs(ïw)o* (2S) and *ïrsačča̤w* (3S).

***ni* '3MS'**

Appleyard, Conti Rossini and the present researcher have identified the same form. Awŋi's form is *ŋi* (Hetrzon, 1976), and *ni* (Tucker and Bryan, 1966). In Bilen, it is *ni* (Palmer, 1957); and in Xamtaŋa *ieŋ~ŋi:* (Conti Rossini, 1904) or *ŋäŋ* according to Appleyard (1987a). The Amharic form is *ï(r)su.*

***ni(y)* '3FS'**

In the present text, the 3FS *ni* is identical with the 3MS. It is different from *ni:/niy* of (Conti Rossini, 1912) and *niy* of (Appleyard, 1975). Only WMM and YM believed there was a difference between the 3MS and 3FS. On the other hand, 80% of the informants show no gender distinction. The 3SG in Awŋi, Bilen and Xamt'aŋa have the following forms.

(5)	Awŋi		Bilen		Xamt'aŋa	
3MS	ŋi	(Hetzron, 1978)	ni	(Palmer, 1957)	ŋäŋ	(Appleyard, 1987a)
3FS	ŋi	(Hetzron, 1978)	nïri	(Palmer, 1957)	ŋi~ŋïr	(Appleyard, 1987a)

[9] Xamta is a dialect cluster of eastern Agew spoken in Abergelle area whose speakers are bilinguals in Tigrinya (see Hetzron, 1976).

Except Awŋi, a southern branch of the Agew family, both Bilin and Xamt'aŋa, which belong to the north branch together with Kemantney, make gender distinction in the 3S. Gender distinction in the 3S is also the property of the Cushitic family (Castellino, 1975). Hence, there can be no doubt that there has been neutralization of distinction of gender in the speech of the present day Kemantney. This is diagnostic of languages in decay. The Amharic form is *ï(r)swa.*

***an-new* '1PL'**

As shown in (2), Appleyard (1975) identifies two forms: *andiw* and *anniw*. The second form is similar with what has been recorded in the present text except for the vowels *i* and *e*, which may be a result of dialectal variation[10]. Conti Rossini's (1912) *anän*, which is similar to *an* '1S' plus a plural marker *-än*, is, however, very different from the form in the present text. Reinisch (1887) also recorded the same form for Quarenya. The 1PL in the other Agew languages looks like the following:

(6)	Awŋi	ïnnoǰi	(Hetzron, 1978)		
	Bilen	yïn	(Palmer, 1957)	yïn	(Reinisch, 1882)
	Xamt'aŋa	yïnne~ ina:	(Conti Rossini, 1912)	yïn	(Appleyard, 1987a)

Compare this with the underlying form of the Amharic 1PL */ïn-yä-a/,* which becomes *ïññа* after palatalization (for the description of Amharic pronouns, see Baye (1988) and Taddese (1988)).

***ïntï-ä(n)dew* '2PL'**

Appleyard records a form that is nearly the same, if not identical, with the present form. The difference lies only on *i* and *e,* which seems to be consistent as shown above in the 1PL and which can be attributed to dialectal differences. Awŋi, Bilen and Xamt'aŋa have the following forms:

(7)	Awŋi	ïntoǰi	(Hetzron, 1978)
	Bilen	ïntïn	(Palmer, 1957)
	Xamt'aŋa	kïtïn	(Appleyard, 1987a)

Compare this with the Amharic form *ïnn(ä)-antä* for the same person.

***ni-a(y)dew* '3PL'**

Conti Rossini's form is a bit different from this whereas Appleyard's is the same. As usual, the difference between Appleyard's and the present form is again on the vowels *e* and *i.* This pronoun has the following forms in the other Agew languages:

Awŋi	ŋaǰi	(Hetzron, 1969)
Bilin	naw, nau	(Palmer, 1957; Reinisch, 1882)
Xamt'aŋa	ŋa:yta:y~ŋu:, ŋa:y	(Conti Rossini, 1904;[11] Appleyard, 1987a)

Compare the Amharic pronoun *ïna(r)su.*

5.2.1.1.1 Terminal Speakers and the Subject Pronouns

Ten informants were asked to give the independent personal pronouns in order to compare and identify the normative forms, to find out the rate of loss and retention, and to determine the grammatical proficiency of the speakers. Their responses are shown below.

SG

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1	an	an	an	an	an	an	an	an	an	an
2 F	ïntï	ïntï	ïntï	ïntï	ïntï	ayru	ïntï	ïntï	ïntï	ïntï
M	ïntï	ïntï	ïntï	ïntï	ïntï	ayk^{w}ï	ïntï	ïntï	ïntï	ïntï
POL	nay	__	__	nay	nay	__	__	nay	nay	__
3 F	ni	__	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni(:)	ni(:)
M	ni	__	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni

PL

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1	annew	annew	andew	annew	anew	annew	annew	annew	annew	annew
2	ïntädew	ïntädew	ïntändew	ïntändew	ïntändew	ïntädew	ïntändew	ïntändew	ïntädew	ïntändew
3	nadew	naydew	yïndäw	naydew	___	nadew	nadew	naydew	nadew	naydew

Table 1: The subject pronouns among terminal speakers

The speakers have a relatively good knowledge of the pronouns. The most impaired pronoun forgotten by five of the ten informants (50%) is the 2POL. As mentioned earlier, only WMM and YM seldom make a gender distinction by vowel length in the 3S. Only AyT forgot the 3MS and 3FS and therefore, the loss is 10% each. BH confuses the 3PL with the demonstrative *yïndäw* 'those'. LT missed the 3PL. Generally, the ratio of retention and loss of the pronouns is 90%/10% respectively. In addition to the personal pronouns, the vocatives *ayk^{w}ï* and *ayru* were also used by MM for the 2MS and 2FS respectively.

7.2 Object Pronouns

Object pronouns show the object suffixes: */-(ï)t/* and */-(ï)s/*. As we shall see later, the former, which is attached to the singular object pronouns, is identical with the object marker in feminine nouns whereas the latter, which is attached to plural object pronouns, is identical with the object marker of masculine and plural nouns. Kemantney object pronouns are the following:

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[10] The data Appleyard described was that of Kerker where Kemantney is completely dead now (see Chapter II and III for more information).

[11] Conti Rossini added the forms *an* (1S), *ent* (2S), *ni:* (3MS and 3FS), *anän* (1PL), *entän* (2PL) and *na:y* (3PL) from Quara, a dialect of Kemantney, spoken far west in the Sudan border.

		SG	PL
(1)	1.	yï-t	annew-ïs
	2 M/F	kʷï-t	ïntä(n)dew-ïs
	POL	na-t	
	3 M/F	ni-t	na(y)dew-ïs

While the basic shape of the plural personal pronouns, the 2POL, 3MS and 3FS are similar to that of the subject pronouns, the 1SG and 2SG forms are different from their subject pronouns. Like the subject pronouns, gender distinction is not shown in both the 2SG and 3SG object pronouns. When asked repeatedly, two of the informants make a distinction between the 3MS and 3FS by lengthening the vowel of the latter. In the majority of cases, therefore, the set of the object personal pronouns consists of seven distinct forms like subject personal pronouns. Observe the object pronouns in the following examples.

(2) a. an ni-t xal-∅-ïʏʷ
I he-OBJ see-1S-PS
'I saw him.'

b. ni yï -t xal-∅ -ïʏʷ
he me-OBJ see-3MS-PS
'He saw me.'

c. annew naydew-ïs kašïŋ-n-ïʏʷ
we they -OBJ call -PL-PS
'We called them.'

d. naydew annew-ïs tïŋ- n -ïʏʷ
they we -OBJ find-PL-PS
'They found us.'

Conti Rossini (1912) identified the following object pronouns in Kemantney: *yi-~y-* (1S), *ku-* (2MS), *ne-~ni-* (3MS), and *kʷï-* (3FS). He also identified *anà-*, *antà-*, *niya:~na:* for the 1PL, 2PL and 3PL respectively. In order to make a comparison between the forms of the replaced and replacing languages, look at the object personal pronouns of the latter: *ïne-n* (1S), *anti-n* → *ančï-n* (2FS), *antä-n* (2MS), *irs(ïw)ä-n* (2POL), *i(r)su-n* (3MS) and *ï(r)sʷa-n* (3FS), *ïnniya-n* → *ïññа-n* (1PL), *ïnn(ä)-antä-n* (2PL) and *ïnnä-(ï)(r)su-n* (3PL).

5.2.1.2.1 Terminal Speakers and the Object Pronouns

As shown in (table 2) below, terminal speakers know the subject personal pronouns more than the object personal pronouns. The reason is that the latter are morphologically more complex than the former.

SG

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1	yït	anïn	yït	yït	anïn	yït	yït	yït	yït	yït
2 F	kʷït	ïntïn	kʷït	kʷït	ïntän	kʷït	ïntï	kʷït	kʷït	kʷït
M	kʷït	ïntïn	kʷït	kʷït	ïntän	kʷït	ïntï	kʷït	kʷït	kʷït
POL	nayït	___	___	nat	nayïn	nay-ïs	___	nay	nat	nat
3F	nit	nin	nit	nit	nin	nit	ni	nit	ni:t	ni:t
M	nit	nin	nit	nit	nin	nit	ni	nit	nit	nit

PL									
AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1 annewïs	annewïs	andewïs	annewïs	annewïs	annewïs	annew	annewïs	annewïs	annewïs
2 ïntädewïs	ïntändewïs	ïntädewïs	ïntändewïs	ïntändewïs	ïntändewïs	ïntändew	ïntädewïs	ïntädewïs	ïntädewïs
3 naydewïs	naydewïs	nadewïs	nadewïs	naydewïs	nadewïs	nadew	naydewïs	naydewïs	nadewïs

Table 2: The object pronouns among terminal speakers

The number of incorrect forms of object pronouns is more than that of subject pronouns. Like the subject pronouns, it is the 2POL form which is most forgotten by about 30% of the informants. AA and TA supplied *nay-ït* (the basic form plus the object marker); and *nay* (the basic form), respectively. But *nay-ït* is supposed to be the underlying or older form of *na-t* after the deletion of the syllable */yï/*.

An interesting contact-induced change is exhibited in the hybrid forms supplied by AyT and LT where the Amharic object suffix */-n/* is used with the Kemantney basic forms of pronouns. MT has mixed up the subject and the object pronouns as a result of which other forms are identical with the paradigms in (table 1) except for the 1S. The form *nay-ïs* supplied by MM is resulted from the confusion between the object markers of the singular and the plural forms. Generally, however, the retention of the object personal pronouns is 75.6% while the loss is about 24.4%. WMM and YM make a distinction between the 3MS and 3FS object pronouns, which is neutralized in the forms supplied by other informants.

5.2.1.3 Possessive Pronouns

There are two sets of possessive personal pronouns in Kemantney. In the first set are the independent possessive pronouns and in the second set, the bound possessive pronouns.

5.2.1.3.1 The Independent Possessive Pronouns

The independent possessive pronouns of Kemantney are the following:

(1)

		SG	PL
	1	yi-ïʏ^{w}	anä-aʏ
	2 M/F	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ïntï-aʏ
	POL	na-aʏ	
	3 F	niš-ïʏ^{w}	na-aʏ
	M	ni-ïʏ^{w}	

Unlike the subject and object pronouns, the possessive pronouns show gender distinction in the 3SG. The independent possesssive pronouns constitute the bound pronominals and the suffixes */-(ï)ʏ^{w}/* and */-aʏ/* attached to the singular and plural forms respectively. In the singular, the initial vowel of the suffix is deleted when the base ends in a vowel and resulted *in yïʏ^{w}*, *tiʏ^{w}*, *niš-ïʏ^{w}*, and *niʏ^{w}*. In the plural forms, the final vowel of the base is dropped and resulted in *anaʏ*,

ïnta ʏ and *na ʏ*. The deletion in both cases is due to the impermissability of vowel sequencing. The following example shows the use of the pronouns.

(2)	yïn bir-i yi-ïʏ^{w} gala	that ox-NOM my-POSS he is	'That ox is mine.'
	yïn bir-i ti-ïʏ^{w} gala	that ox-NOM your-POSS he is	'That ox is yours (M/F).'
	yïn bir-i na-aʏ gala	that ox-NOM your-POSS he is	'That ox is theirs (POL).'
	yïn bir-i ni-ïʏ^{w} gala	that ox-NOM his-POSS he is	'That ox is his.'
	yïn bir-i niš-ïʏ^{w} gala	that ox-NOM her-POSS he is	'That ox is hers.'
	yïn bir-i anä-aʏ gala	that ox-NOM our-POSS he is	'That ox is ours.'
	yïn bir-i ïntä-aʏ gala	that ox-NOM your-POSS he is	'That ox is yours.'
	yïn bir-i na-aʏ gala	that ox-NOM their-POSS he is	'That ox is theirs.'

The possessive suffixes are */-(ï) ʏ^{w}/* and */-a ʏ/* for the masculine singular. However, when the possessed noun is feminine, the suffixes change to */-(ï)y/* and */-äy/* in the singular and plural respectively. Observe the following example.

(3)	yïn kämä yi-ïy gayla	that cow my-POSS she is	'That cow is mine.'
	yïn kämä ti-ïy gayla	that cow your-POSS she is	'That cow is yours (M/F).'
	yïn kämä na-äy gayla	that cow your-POSS she is	'That cow is theirs (POL).'
	yïn kämä ni-ïy gayla	that cow his-POSS she is	'That cow is his.'
	yïn kämä niš-ïy gayla	that cow her-POSS she is	'That cow is hers.'
	yïn kämä anä-äy gayla	that cow our-POSS she is	'That cow is ours.'
	yïn kämä ïntä-äy gayla	that cow your-POSS she is	'That cow is yours.'
	yïn kämä na-äy gayla	that cow their-POSS she is	'That cow is theirs.'

The suffixes */-(ï) ʏ^{w}/ ~ /-a ʏ/* and */-(ï)y/ ~ /-äy/* are homophonous with the main clause past tense marker and the relativizer suffixes in the 3MS and 3FS respectively.

5.2.1.3.1.1 Terminal Speakers and the Independent Possessive Pronouns

Ten informants were asked to supply the independent possessive pronouns and the following were their responses.

SG

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1	yï-ïʏ^{w}	yï-ïʏ^{w}	yï-ïʏ^{w}	yï-ïʏ^{w}	yï-ïʏ^{w}	yï-ïʏ^{w}	yï-ïʏ^{w}	yï-ïʏ^{w}	yï-ïʏ^{w}	yï-ïʏ^{w}
2F	ti-ïʏ^{w}	—	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}
M	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}	ti-ïʏ^{w}
POL	na-aʏ	___	n-aʏ	na-aʏ	___	na-aʏ	___	na-aʏ	na-aʏ	nay
3M	ni-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ïʏ^{w}
F	niš-ïʏ^{w}	niš-ïʏ^{w}	niš-ïʏ^{w}	niš-ïʏ^{w}	niš-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ïʏ^{w}	—	nïš-ïʏ^{w}	niš-ïʏ^{w}	ni-ʏ^{w}

PL

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	an-aʏ
2	ïntä-aʏ	ïntä-aʏ	ïntä-aʏ	ïntä-aʏ	ïntä-aʏ	ïntä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ	anä-aʏ
3	nä-aʏ	nadew-ïz	nadew-zïʏ^{w}	na-aʏ	nadew-ïz	nadew-zïʏ^{w}	nadew-ïʏ^{w}	nadew-ïz	yïndäw-zïʏ^{w}	nadew-zïʏ^{w}

Table 4: The independent possessive pronouns supplied by terminal speakers

As can be observed from the table, three informants have lost the 2F, 2POL and 3FS forms, which is about 5.5%. Seven informants supplied *nadew-ïz* 'of them', *nadew-zï ʏ^{w}* and *nadew-ï ʏ^{w}*

instead of the expected *naʏ*. The distal deictic *yïndäw-ïʏʷ* 'of those' was also elicited. The last two (*nadew-ïʏʷ* and *yïndäw-ïʏʷ*) follow the Amharic pattern. The form *nadew-ïʏʷ* seems to be parallel to the 3PL possessive pronoun *yä-ïnnäsu* of Amharic which contains the prefix *yä-* and the 3PL pronoun *ïnnäsu* 'they'. Similarily, the form *yïndäw-ïʏʷ* is parallel to the Amharic *yä-ïnäziya* 'of those' which does not, in fact, exist in Kemantney. Another problem relates to the 2PL form *intaʏ* which is substituted by the 1PL in the speech of the last five speakers. In general, nineteen forms have been either completely forgotten or confused with other forms. This constitutes a loss of 21.1% and a retention of 79.9%.

2.3.2 The Bound Possessive Pronouns

In Appleyard (1975), *yï*, *ki(ku)*, *ni*, *niš*, *anä*, *ïntä* and *na* are identified as possessive pronouns for the 1S, 2S, 3MS, 3FS, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL respectively. The difference lies on the 2S only. The bound possessive pronouns are the following.

(1)		**SG**	**PL**
	1	yï-	anä-
	2 F/M	ti-	ïntä-
	POL	na-	
	3 M	ni-	na-
	F	ni-š	

As shown in (1) above, except for the 2S and 3FS, the rest are similar to the basic forms of the object pronouns. On comparative evidence, Appleyard's 2SG possessive prefix *ki-* is the original form of *ti-*. Incidentally, this is an interesting sound change, which has parallels in Amharic *ïsti/ïski* 'until/please' and *kä-/tä* 'if' etc. and in Beja *kibaalay/tibaaalay* 'finger' (Appleyard, 1996b). The number of the possessive pronouns with varying shapes are eight like the above independent possessive pronouns. Unlike the subject and object pronouns, gender distinction is shown in the 3S with the ending /*-š*/ in the 3FS. Compare the following examples of possessive noun phrase constructions.

(2) a.				b.			
yï-nïŋ	my-house	'my house'		yï-aba	my-father	'my father'
ti-nïŋ	your-house	'your (F/M) house'		ti-aba	your-father	'your (F/M) father'[12]
na-nïŋ	your-house	'your (POL) house'		na-aba	your-father	'your (POL) father')
niš-nïŋ	her-house	'her house'		niš-aba	her-father	'her father'
ni-nïŋ	his-house	'his house'		ni-aba	his-father	'his father'
anä-nïŋ	our-house	'our house'		anä-aba	our-father	'our father'
ïntä-nïŋ	your-house	'your (PL) house'		ïntä-aba	your-father	'your (PL) father'
na-nïŋ	their-house	'their house'		na-aba	their-father	'their father'

[12] Appleyard (1986a:201) writes *ki-* for 2nd. possessive and as a result *ki-aba* for 'your father'.

The 2POL and 3PL possessive pronouns are designated by */na-/*. Subject pronouns with the genitive suffix */-(ï)z/* were also used alternatively in plural bound possessive pronouns. Instead of the bound possessive pronoun prefixes *anä*, *ïntä* and *na*, the independent genitive pronouns *annew-ïz*, *ïntändew-ïz* and *naydew-ïz* are used. Hence, for instanace, the plural possessive constructions *anä-nïŋ*, *ïntä-nïŋ* and *na-nïŋ* in the first example above can be substituted by *annew-ïz nïŋ*, *ïntändew-ïz nïŋ* and *naydew-ïz nïŋ*. In the set of the second column, the final vowels of the bound pronouns appear only underlyingly. They are, however, deleted before the initial vowel of the possessed noun in utterances.

5.2.1.3.2.1 Terminal Speakers and Bound Possessive Pronouns

The above two paradigms were collected from ten informants. The result is as follows:

SG

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1	yï-	yï-	yï-	yï-	yï-	yï-	yï-	yï-	yï-	yï-
2M/F	ti-	ti-	ti-	ti-	ti-	ti-	ti-	ti-	ti-	ti-
POL	na-	__	__	na-	na-	__	__	na-	na-	na-
3F	niš-	__	nïš-	niš-	niš-	niš-	niš-	niš-	niš-	niš-
M	ni-	ni	ni-	ni-	ni-	ni-	ni-	ni-	ni-	ni-

PL

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1.	anä-	anä-	anä-	anä-	anä-	anä-	anä-	anä-	anä-	anä-
2.	ïntä-	ïntä-	ïntä-	ïntä-	ïntä-	ïntä-	ïntä-	ïntä-	ïntä-	ïntä-
3.	na-	na-	nadewïz-	na-	na-	nadewïz-	nadewïz-	nadewïz-	na-	na-

Table 3: The bound possessive pronouns among terminal speakers

The prefixal possessive markers are in 'healthy' state. Five gaps were recorded from AyT, BH, MM and MT for the 2POL and 3FS which is about 5.5% of the total paradigm. On the other hand, the 3PL bound prefix *na-* (cf. Xamt'aŋa *ŋa-* (Appleyard, 1987a) and Awŋi *ŋaǰïs* (Hetzron, 1978)) is used alternatively with the possessive genitive *nadew-ïz* 'of us' by BH, MM, MT and TA. In general, the retention count is 94.5%.

Generally, according to Tucker and Bryan (1966), grammatical gender is distinguished in all Cushitic languages. Appleyard (1986a) writes that, except Awŋi, all the Agew languages make gender distinctions. However, as shown above, Kemantney shows no such distinction in either 2S or 3S. Exception to this is the 3S possessive forms. The materials of Conti Rossini (1912) and Appleyard (1975) show that Kemantney used to show gender distinction in subject and object forms.

(4)	Subject				Object		
		Conti-Rossini	Appleyard	Present data		Conti-Rossini	Present data
	3MS	ni	ni	ni	2 MS	ku-	k^{w}ï-t
	FS	ni: ~ niy	niy	ni(:)	FS	__	k^{w}ï-t
					3 MS	ne- ~ ni-	ni-t
					FS	ku-	ni(:)-t

Conti-Rossini's data show gender distinction in both the 3SG subject and object pronouns. The former has been confirmed in Appleyard (1975). With the exception of WMM and YM who sometimes make such distinctions, the majority of Kemantney speakers make no such differences. The loss of this grammatical feature is not, in fact, due to the influence of Amharic, but due to language decay, because Amharic shows gender distinction in all such forms.

The shape of the basic forms of Kemantney subject and object personal pronouns supplied by the competent terminal speakers do not show any considerable deviation from the following Proto-Agew forms reconstructed by Appleyard (1986a).

(5)	Kemantney		Proto-Agew	
	Subject	Object	Subject	Object
SG.1.	an	yï-	*an	*yï-
2.	ïntï	k^{w}ï-	*ïnt	*k^{w}ï-~*kï-
3.	ni	ni-	*ŋi	*ŋï-
PL 1.	annew	annew-	*ïnn	*ïn(a)-
2.	ïntä(n)dew	ïntä(n)dew-	*ïntïn~än	*ïnt(a)-
3.	na(y)dew	na(y)dew-	*ŋa	*ŋa-[13]

5.2.1.4 Demonstratives and Deictic Pronouns

Kemantney has two degrees of space deixis: *ïllï* 'here' and *y-ïllï* 'there'. In any conversational situation *ïllï*, which is right close to the speaker, and *y-ïllï*, relatively farther away from the speaker, are used. The following demonstratives are used in their singular and plural forms.

(1)	**proximal**	SG	ïn~ïnni~ïndän	**distal**	SG	y-ïn~y-ïnni~y-ïndän
		PL	ïn-däw		PL	y-ïn-däw

Conti Rossini (1912) presented the following Kemantney demonstratives:

(2)	**proximal**	SG	än, ännï:	**distal**	SG	in
		PL	än-däw/ändo:		PL	in-däw/in-do

On the other hand, Appleyard (1975) has identified the following demonstratives:

(3)	**proximal**	SG	ïndän~ïn	**distal**	SG	indän~in
		PL	ïndäw		PL	indäw

The plural suffix in both 'proximal' and 'distal' forms is */-däw/* which parallels */-dew/*, the plural suffix of the subject personal pronouns. */y-/* is a marker of the far deixis in both singular

[13] As shown in the section on phonology, initial *ŋ* is lost in Kemantney. It exists in Awŋi, Bilen and Khamta.

and plural demonstratives. The singular demonstrative pronouns were supplied in full and reduced forms. The reduced forms are used preceding nouns and the full forms elsewhere. According to Hetzron (1969), Agew languages make gender distinction in demonstratives. However, in Kemantney, as in personal pronouns, the distinction of gender is neutralized in demonstratives. As in pronouns, two informants produced the demonstrative forms *ïnni:* 'this (F)' and, *yïnni:* 'that (F)' in the feminine which contrast with the masculine *ïnni* 'this (M)' and *yïnni* 'that (M)' respectively. The different singular forms, which informants supplied, might be reminiscent of the distinct gender forms of earlier times. Compare the Amharic demonstratives: *yïh* (M) and *yïčči* (F) 'this'; *ïnnazih* (3PL) 'these'; *ya* (M) and *yačči* (F) 'that'; *innäziya* (3PL) 'those'.

5.2.1.4.1 Terminal Speakers and Demonstratives

In order to identify the normative forms of demonstratives and the degree of loss and retention, the following twelve sentences were administered to eight informants.

(7)	(a)	ïnni yï-nïŋ gala	this my-house he is	'This is my house.'
	(b)	ïnni yï-yïwna sïmb-i-t	this my-wife was-PS-3F	'This was my wife.'
	(c)	yïnni ni-g^{w}äza sïmb-∅-eʏ^{w}	that his-farm was-3MS-PS	'That was his farm.'
	(d)	yïnni ni-šän gayla	that his-sister she is	'That is his sister.'
	(e)	ïndäw niš-bäg-än gaʏïlla	these her-sheep-PL they are	'These are her sheep.'
	(f)	yïndäw anä-samä sïmb-in-ïʏ^{w}	those our-property was- PL-PS	'Those were our properties.'
	(g)	ïnni yï-tiyär gayla	this my-aunt she is	'This is my aunt.'
	(h)	ïntï x^{w}ïr-äs ïllï tïŋ-nä gärš-ïy-äk^{w}	you child-ACC here find-INF can-2S-IMP	'You can find the child here.'
	(i)	ïnni yï-ag gala	this my-uncle he is	'This is my uncle.'
	(j)	an yï-bïčča yïllï fäy-na gärš-äk^{w}	I my-alone there go-to can-1S-IMP	'I can go there alone.'
	(k)	yïndäw niš-maxäl gaʏïlla	those your-friends they are	'Those are her friends.'
	(l)	ïndäw yï-fïnïra gaʏïlla	these my-goats are	'These are my goats.'

The analysis of the responses is the following.

	AA	AyT	BH	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïndäni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni
b.	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni:	ïnni:
c.	yïnni	yïnni	ïnni	yïnni	yïndänni	yïnni	yïnni	yïnni
d.	yïnni	yïnni	yïnni	yïnni	yïndäyïnni	yïnni	yïnni:	yïnni:
e.	ïndäw	ïndäw	ïndäw	ïndäw	ïndäw	ïndäw	ïndäw	ïndäw
f.	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw
g.	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni:
h.	ïllï	ïllï	ïllï	ïllï	ïllï	ïllï	ïllï	ïllï
i.	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni	ïnni:	ïnni:
j.	yïllï	yïllï	yïllï	yïllï	yïllï	___	yïllï	yïllï
k.	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw	yïndäw
l.	ïndäw	ïndäw	ïndäw	naydew	ïndäw	ïndäw	ïndäw	ïndäw

Table 5: Demonstratives among terminal speakers

As we can see, the test result reveals that demonstratives are well maintained except for some minor irregularities exhibited in the responses of MM, MT, TA and YM. MM made an error in sentence (l) where he used the 3PL subject pronouns *naydew* instead of the demonstrative *ïndäw* 'these'. MT also provided *yïndäyïnni*, which looks like a fusion of the 3PL demonstrative *yïndäw* and its singular counterpart *yïnni*, instead of the expected *yïnni*. TA omitted the demonstrative pronoun *yïllï* in the tenth sentence. Thus, the rate of retention is about 97% whereas that of loss is only about 3%. WMM and YM made gender distinction in the 3SG, though inconsistently, by lengthening the vowel for the feminine. This and the examples given above in personal pronouns clearly indicate that gender was marked in the 3S in Kemantney. Though informants sometimes use 3MS and 3FS personal and demonstrative pronouns without making any distinction, there is an indication that WMM and YM, the most competent speakers of the language, still retain such a gender distinction.

5.2.1.5 Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are identified by the suffix */-aʏ^{w}äy/* 'head' attached to pronouns. They occur following subject pronouns and are used for emphasis. Compare the following representative examples below.

(1)	a.	an yï-aʏ^{w}äy	I my-head	'I myself'
	b.	ïntï ti-aʏ^{w}äy	you your-head	'you (F) yourself'
	c.	ïntï ti-aʏ^{w}äy	you your-head	'you (M) yourself'
	d.	nay na-aʏ^{w}äy	you your-head	'you (POL) yourself'
	e.	ni ni-aʏ^{w}äy	he his-head	'he himself'
	f.	ni niš-aʏ^{w}äy	she her-head	'she herself'
	g.	annew anä -aʏ^{w}äy	we our-head	'we ourselves'
	h.	ïntändew ïntä-aʏ^{w}äy	you your-head	'you (PL) yourself'
	i.	naydew na-aʏ^{w}äy	they their-head	'they themselves'

The bound reflexive pronominal forms are identical with the bound possessive pronouns of 5.2.1.3.2. When the pronominal prefixes end in a vowel, that same vowel deletes at the surface level due to the impermissability of vowel sequencing in the language. Therefore, *yï-aʏ^{w}äy*, *anä-aʏ^{w}äy*, *na-aʏ^{w}äy* etc. become *y-aʏ^{w}äy*, *an-aʏ^{w}äy*, *n-aʏ^{w}äy* etc.

5.2.1.5.1 Terminal Speakers and Reflexive Pronouns

Nine informants were asked to supply sentences with reflexives. The following were their responses.

(3) (a) an yï- aʏʷäy-ïz šąb-∅- eʏʷ
I my-head- by do- 3MS-PS
lit. 'I did it by myself.'

(b) ïntï ti- aʏʷäy -ïz bägä -s xašänt- ïy- an- ekʷ
you your-head- by sheep-ACC steal-2MS-AUX-1MP
lit. 'You have stolen the sheep by yourself.'

(c) an yï-aʏʷäy-ïz sïl- ïs sal- ∅- ïʏʷ
I my-head-by drawing-ACC draw-3MS-PS
lit. 'I draw the picture by myself.'

(d) ni naydew-ïs na- aʏʷäy-ïs gäräf-ï- ti
she they- ACC their-head-ACC wipe-PS-3F
lit. 'She wiped they themselves.'

(e) ïntï ti- aʏʷäy-ïz ni- t ǰaʏ- y- ïʏʷ
you your-head-by she-ACC insult-2MS-PS
lit. 'You insulted her by yourself.'

(f) naydew annew-ïs anä-aʏʷäy- ïs tay-n-ïʏʷ
they we- ACC our-head- ACC hit-PL-PS
lit. 'They hit us ourselves.'

(g) ni ni- aʏʷäy-ïz yïbä- s kʷ- ∅- ïʏʷ
he his-head- by leopard-ACC kill-3MS-PS
lit. 'He killed the leopard by himself.'

(h) ïntï ti-aʏʷäy- ïz käma-t šämät-y-ïʏʷ
you your-head-by cow-ACC chase-2S-PS
lit. 'You by yourself chased the cow.'

(i) an aster-tï niš-aʏʷäy-ïs xal-∅-ïʏʷ
I Aster-ACC her-head-ACC see-1S-PS
lit. 'I saw Aster herself.'

(j) annew ïntändew-ïs ïntä- aʏʷäy-ïs kašïŋ-n-ïʏʷ
we you (PL)- ACC your-head-ACC call-1PL-PS
lit. 'We called you yourself.'

The reflexive forms supplied in the above sentences are the following:

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy
b	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy
c.	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy
d.	na-aʏʷäy	_____	na-aʏʷäy	na-aʏ ʷäy	na-aʏʷäy	na-aʏʷäy	niš-aʏʷäy	na-aʏʷäy	yï-aʏʷäy
e.	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy
f.	anä-aʏʷäy	anä-aʏʷäy	na-aʏʷäy	anä-aʏʷäy	anä-aʏʷäy	anä-aʏʷäy	anä-aʏʷäy	anä-aʏʷäy	anä-aʏʷäy
g.	ni-aʏʷäy	ni-aʏʷäy	ni-aʏʷäy	ni-aʏʷäy	ni-aʏʷäy	ni-aʏʷäy	ni-aʏʷäy	ni-aʏʷäy	ni-aʏ ʷäy
h	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ni-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy	ti-aʏʷäy
i.	niš-aʏʷäy	_____	niš-aʏʷäy	niš-aʏʷäy	niš-aʏʷäy	niš-aʏʷäy	niš-aʏʷäy	niš-aʏʷäy	niš-aʏʷäy
j.	ïntï-aʏʷäy	ïntï-aʏʷäy	ïntï-aʏʷäy	an-aʏʷäy	ïntï-aʏʷäy	ïntï-aʏʷäy	ïntï-aʏʷäy	ïntï-aʏʷäy	ïntï-aʏʷäy

Table 6: The reflexive pronouns among terminal speakers

The terminal speakers, except AyT who could not supply all of them, know the bare reflexive pronouns. Another point is the appearance of the suffix */-ïz/* in reflexive pronouns. This is undoubtedly the influence of Amharic because in the non-standard Gondar and Gojjam dialects of Amharic, one can say, for instance, *ïne (bä)-ras-e adärräg-hu-t* 'I did it (by) myself', *ïsu (bä)-ras-u hed-ä* 'He (by) himself went.' etc. TA and YM confused the 3PL with 1S and 3FS and as a result, provided *niš-aʏʷäy* and *yï-aʏʷäy* which mean 'she herself' and 'I myself', respectively; instead of *na-aʏʷäy* 'they themselves'. BH, DA, MM and TA confused the 1PL, 2PL, 2S and 3PL with the 3PL, 1PL, 3MS, 3FS, in sentences (f), (j), (h) and (d) respectively. Regarding the bare reflexive pronouns, the deviation is shown in eleven cases, which is around 12.2% while retention is about 87.8%.

5.2.2 The Verb

5.2.2.1 The Stem

The verb is the most complex category in Kemantney. The stem carries the lexical meaning. The inflections are suffixes marking person, number, gender, tense and mood. Almost all verb stems end in a single consonant and rarely in consonant clusters.

(1)	ǰax- 'drink'	was- 'hear'	gäm- 'go down'	gaŋ- 'run'	käb- 'cut'
	gänǰ- 'sleep'	tïmb- 'stand'	kint- 'learn'	wayt- 'buy'	bïws- 'spill'

Leaving aside loanwords, only five verbs are recorded in the text with an initial vowel */a/* or */ï/*. They are *ax-* 'know', *aʏ-* 'become', *awär-* 'roast', *aš(ïy)-* 'dash/harvest' and *ïnčïz* 'mix'. Such verbs are believed to be derived from common Agew roots with an initial glottal consonant (Appleyard p.c). Incidentally, except *hon-* 'become', the Amharic counterparts: *awwäk'-* 'know', *abässäl-* 'roast', *aššˇ-* 'dash' or *ačˇ'čˇ'äd-* 'mow' and *awwahad-* 'mix' have also vowel-initial roots.

Verb stems range from mono-consonantal to quadri-consonantal roots. Observe the following examples.

(2)		**Mono-conson.**	**Bi-conson.**		**Tri-conson.**		**Quadri-conson**	
	t-	'come'	kag-	'be dry'	g^{w}aräw-	'dig'	täk^{w}äsïm-	'sit'
	y-	'say'	xal-	'see'	gämär-	'speak'	g^{w}aʏänt-	'be afraid'
	f-	'go out'	tïŋ-	'find'	daxär-	'divorce'	xašänt-	'steal'

The majority of verb stems have two or three consonants and the commonest syllable type is CVC. Verb stems with mono- and quadri-radicals are not so frequent. In general, the shape of Kemantney verb stems look like either of the following:

(3)	C-	t-	'come'	y-	'say'	f-	'go out'
	VC-	ax-	'know'	aʏ-	'be'	aš(ïy)-	'harvest'
	CVC-	kag-	'be dry'	sïŋ-	'swallow'	x^{w}ïb-	'bow down'
	CVC$_1$C$_2$-	bïwt-	'pour' (int.)	wayt-	'buy'	dïwš-	'curse'
	VCVC-	awär-	'roast'	adaʏ-	'lag behind'	awïŋ-	'cry (donkey)'
	CVCVC-	kïlïŋ-	'dance'	kašïŋ-	'call'	yïx^{w}äy-	'laugh'
	CVCVC$_1$C$_2$-	waʏärt-	'play'	käläbt-	'receive'	g^{w}aʏänt-	'be afraid'
	CVC$_1$C$_2$VC-	xïyräš-	'smell'	taŋk^{w}ïz-	'make dough'	k^{w}äŋk^{w}äl-	'take a mouthful
	CVCVCVC-	täk^{w}äsïm-	'sit'	šämätaʏ-	'stitch'	g^{w}äläläy-	'depart'

Only one verb *tïmbïrïʏ^{w}-* 'create trouble' is recorded with a CVC-CV-CVC- pattern of five consonants. Verbs with single consonant stems are quite few in number.[14] Unlike other verbs,

[14] In addition to those mentioned above, the verbs *x^{w}-* 'eat', *k^{w}-* 'kill', *k-* 'over-night', *f-* 'go out', *g^{w}-* 'get up/rise' and *b-* 'leave' are included in this list of mono-consonantal stems.

such verbs show consonantal change when conjugated for the different persons (compare the conjugation of x^{w}- 'eat' in example (7) section 5.2.2.2.1.1 below).

5.2.2.2 Verb Conjugation

5.2.2.2.1 Verb Inflections

As mentioned in Hetzron (1969) and (1976), the Agew verbal system has an extremely rich inflectional system. Palmer (1957) has said that he had counted up to ten thousand verb forms in Bilen. As in most other Cushtic languages, all Kemantney verbs are suffixing. The system shows inflections of person, number, gender, tense and mood.

5.2.2.2.1.1 Person, Number and Gender Inflections[15]

Though it is not always easy to tell the exact number of the distinct verbs and their respective verbal inflections, in the majority of cases, there are five formally distinct conjugational paradigms corresponding to the seven forms of personal pronouns. The five forms are 1SG and 3MS; 2MS and 2FS; 2POL, 1PL and 3PL; 2PL and finally 3FS.[16] Observe the following examples of main verbs.

1)	an ganǰ-∅-ïɣ^{w}	I sleep-1S-PS	'I slept.'
	ïntï ganǰ-ïy-ïɣ^{w}	you sleep-2P-PS	'You (F) slept.'
	ïntï ganǰ-ïy-ïɣ ^{w}	you sleep-2P-PS	'You (M) slept.'
	nay ganǰ-ïn-ïɣ^{w} [17]	you sleep-PL-PS	'You (POL) slept.'
	ni ganǰ-∅-ïɣ^{w}	he sleep-3MS-PS	'He slept.'
	ni ganǰ-ï-ti	she sleep-PS-F	'She slept.'
	annew ganǰ-ïn-ïɣ^{w}	we sleep-PL-PS	'We slept.'
	ïntandew ganǰ-ïy-n-ïɣ^{w}	you sleep-2P-PL-PS	'You (PL) slept.'
	naydew ganǰ-ïn-ïɣ^{w}	they sleep-PL-PS	'They slept.'

There are five distinct forms showing concord relations. The form for the 2PL verb is an underlying representation. In the surface form, the person marker */y/* changes to */i/* following consonant clusters and results in *ïntandew ganǰ-i-n-ïɣ^{w}*. The vowel */ï/*, which appears preceding the person and number inflections is an epenthetic vowel inserted to break impermissible consonant clusters. The person, number and gender morphemes are the following.

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[15] Since this is the most flexible area with lots of inconsistencies, the investigation of correct forms needs several paradigms of conjugations.

[16] In some rare instances, this labeling does not work.

[17] The agreement suffixes of the 2POL and 3PL is also the same in Amharic, eg. täññ-u 'You (POL) slept.' or 'They slept.'

		Person	Number	Gender		Person	Number	Gender
(2) SG	1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	PL 1	-∅-	-(ï)n-	-∅-
	2	-(ï)y	-∅-	-∅-	2	-(ï)y/i	-n-	-∅-
	POL	-∅-	-(ï)n-	-∅-	3	-∅-	-(ï)n-	-∅-
	3 M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-				
	F	-∅-	-∅-	-t(i)-				

The morphemes for 1S and 3MS; 2MS and 2FS; 2POL, 1PL, and 3PL are identical. The 2P marker is */-(ï)y/*. Gender is shown in the 3FS only. Appleyard (1975) and Hetzron (1976) identify almost similar verbal suffixes. According to Conti-Rossini (1912) and Appleyard (1984), the */-rä/ ~ /-dä/* forms in Bilin and */-y/* in Kemantney in the 2P are relics of the old proto-Agew */*-t/*. As we shall see below in examples (6) and (10), the presence of */-t/* in very few Kemantney verbs reinforce the claim. Compare also the following conjugational paradigms.

(3)	an gäz-∅-ïʏ^{w}	I wipe-1P-PS	'I wiped.'
	ïntï gäz-y-ïʏ^{w}	you wipe-2P-PS	'You (M) wiped.'
	ïntï gäz-y-ïʏ^{w}	you wipe-2P-PS	'You (F) wiped.'
	nay gäz-n-ïʏ^{w}	you wipe-PL-PS	'You (POL) wiped.'
	ni gäz-∅-ïʏ^{w}	he wipe-3P-PS	'He wiped.'
	ni gäz-ï-t(i)	she wipe-PS-F	'She wiped.'
	annew gäz-n-ïʏ^{w}	we wipe-PL-PS	'We wiped.'
	ïntändew gäz-y-(ï)n-ïʏ^{w}	you wipe-2P-PL-PS	'You (PL) wiped.'
	naydew gäz-n-ïʏ^{w}	they wipe-PL-PS	'They wiped.'
(4)	an ǰax-∅-ïʏ^{w}	I drink-1P-PS	'I drank.'
	ïntï ǰax-y-ïʏ^{w}	you drink-2P-PS	'You (M) drank.'
	ïntï ǰax-y-ïʏ^{w}	you drink-2P-PS	'You (F) drank.'
	nay ǰax-n-ïʏ^{w}	you drink-PL-PS	'You (POL) drank.'
	ni ǰax-∅-ïʏ^{w}	he drink-3P-PS	'He drank.'
	ni ǰax-ï-t	she drink-PS-F	'She drank.'
	annew ǰax-n-ïʏ^{w}	we drink-PL-PS	'We drank.'
	ïntändew ǰax-y-(ï)n-ïʏ^{w}	you (PL) drink-2P-PL-PS	'You drank.'
	naydew ǰax-n-ïʏ^{w}	they drink-PL-PS	'They drank.'

The following inflections are the morphemes of *gäz-* (3) and *ǰax-* (4).

		Person	Number	Gender		Person	Number	Gender
(5)	SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅	PL 1	-∅-	-n-	-∅-
	2	-y-	-∅-	-∅	2	-y-	-(ï)n-	-∅-
	POL	-∅-	-n-	-∅	3	-∅-	-n-	-∅-
	3 M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅				
	F	-∅-	-∅-	-t(i)				

The inflections in (6) below are the same as those in (1), (3) and (4) except the 2P marker which is */-t/* here as opposed to */-y/*.

(6)	an tay-∅-ïʏ^{w}	I hit-1S-PS	'I hit'
	ïntï ta-t-ïʏ^{w}	you hit-2P-PS	'You hit.'
	ïntï ta-t-ïʏ^{w}	you hit-2P-PS	'You hit.'
	nay tay-n-ïʏ^{w}	you hit-PL-PS	'You (POL) hit.'
	ni tay-∅-äʏ^{w}	he hit-3P-PS	'He hit.'
	ni tay-ï-ti	she hit-PS-F	'She hit.'
	annew tay-n-ïʏ^{w}	we hit-PL-PS	'We hit.'
	ïntändew ta-ti-n-ïʏ^{w}	you hit-2P-PL-PS	'You hit.'
	naydew tay-n-ïʏ^{w}	they hit-PL-PS	'They hit.'

The final */-y/* which is dropped in the 2P is etymologically equivalent with */-r/* of Bilin and */-t/* of Xamir. It is the development of proto-Agew */*t/* in postvocalic position as in *fäy-*, *fär-* and *fït-* 'go' in Kemantney, Bilin and Xamir respectively (see also Appleyard (1980) and Zaborski (1975). Compare also the following conjugation where the loss of a root consonant is substituted by */y/*.

(7)	an x^{w}ïy-∅-ïʏ^{w}	I eat-1P-PS	'I ate.'
	ïntï x^{w}ïy-∅-ïʏ^{w}	you eat-2P-PS	'You ate.'
	ïntï x^{w}ïy-∅-ïʏ^{w}	you eat-2P-PS	'You ate.'
	nay x^{w}-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	you eat-PL-PS	'You (POL) ate.'
	ni x^{w}ïy-∅-ïʏ^{w}	he eat-3P-PS	'He ate.'
	ni x^{w}ïy-ï-ti	she eat-PS-F	'She ate.'
	annew x^{w}-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	we eat-PL-PS	'We ate.'
	ïntändew x^{w}ïy -∅-n-ïʏ^{w}	you eat-2P-PL-PS	'You (PL) ate.'
	naydew x^{w}-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	they eat-PL-PS	'They ate.'

In example (7), there are only four distinct forms of the verb which correspond to the 1S, 2S (MF), 3MS; 3FS; 2POL, 1PL and 3PL and finally 2PL. In the case of the 2P, the person marker */-y/* is dropped because of the influence of the preceding glide. Hence, the inflection of the 2SG, for instance, is empty (∅) which makes it identical with the 1SG and 3MS. Observe further examples below.

(8)	an yïw-∅-ïʏ^{w}	I give-1P-PS	'I gave.'
	ïntï yïw-y-ïʏ^{w}	you give-2P-PS	'You (F) gave.'
	ïntï yïw-y-ïʏ^{w}	you give-2P-PS	'You (M) gave.'
	nay yïw-n-ïʏ^{w}	you give-PL-PS	'You (POL) gave.'
	ni yïw-∅-ïʏ^{w}	he give-3P-PS	'He gave.'
	ni yïw-ï-t	she give-PS-F	'She gave.'
	annew yïw-n-ïʏ^{w}	we give-PL-PS	'We gave.'
	ïntandew yïw-ïy-n-ïʏ^{w}	you give-2P-PL-PS	'You (PL) gave.'
	naydew yïw-n-ïʏ^{w}	they give-PL-PS	'They gave.'

In (8) above, the usual person, number and gender marking pattern is observed. Compare the following inflections abstracted from the paradigms in (6), (7) and (8) above.

		Person	Number	Gender
(9) SG	1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
	2	-(ï)y-t-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
	POL	-∅-	-(ï)n-	-∅-
	3 M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
	F	-∅-	-∅-	-t(i)
PL	1	-∅-	-(ï)n-	-∅-
	2	-(ï)y-t-∅-	-(ï)n-	-∅-
	3	-∅-	-(ï)n-	-∅-

Finally, let us take the verb *yïx^{w}äy-* 'laugh' where */-t/* clearly marks the second person, other inflections being the same.

(10)	an yïx^{w}äy-∅-ïɣ^{w}	I laugh-1P-PS	'I laughed.'
	ïntï yïx^{w}äy-t-ïɣ^{w}	you laugh-2P-PS	'You (F) laughed.'
	ïntï yïx^{w}äy-t-ïɣ^{w}	you laugh-2P-PS	'You (M) laughed.'
	nay yïx^{w}äy-n-ïɣ^{w}	you laugh-PL-PS	'You (POL) laughed.'
	ni yïx^{w}äy-∅-ïɣ^{w}	he laugh-3P-PS	'He laughed.'
	ni yïx^{w}äy-ï-t	she laugh-PS-F	'She laughed.'
	annew yïx^{w}äy-n-ïɣ^{w}	we laugh-PL-PS	'We laughed.'
	ïntändew yïx^{w}äy-t-ïn-ïɣ^{w}	you laugh-2P-PL-PS	'You laughed.'
	nadew yïx^{w}äy-n-ïɣ^{w}	they laugh-PL-PS	'They laughed.' [18]

As can be seen in the example, */-t/* is a second person marker in both the singular and plural forms. It is reminiscent of the archaic Agew person marker morpheme.

5.2.2.2.2 Terminal Speakers and the Verb Conjugation

As mentioned earlier, terminal speakers show inconsistent verbal inflections. The same verb has different forms when used by different speakers. Even the same informant tends to use the same verb in different forms at different times. As a result, it is not easy to identify the verb inflections at once from a few examples or informants. Below are inflections of ten examples by seven informants.

(11) (a) **xal- 'see'**

	AA	AyT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
2F	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
M	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
POL	-n-	-n-	__	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
3M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
F	-t	-t	-ti	-t	-t	-t	-t
PL 1	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
2	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-y-ïn
3	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-

[18] When I rechecked my data with MM after 6 months, he gave me the verb stem *yïx^{w}ïy-* instead of the expected *yïx^{w}äy-*. He also omitted the 2P marker *-t* in his conjugation.

(b) **yïw- 'give'**

	AA	AyT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
2F	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y	-y-
M	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
POL	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
3M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
F	-t	-t	-t	-ti	-ti	-t	-t
PL 1	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
2	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n
3	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-

(c) **x^{w}ïy- 'eat'**

	AA	AyT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
2F	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
POL	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
3M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
F	-t	-t	-ti	-t	-ti	-t	-t
PL 1	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
2	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
3	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-

(d) **ǰax 'drink'**

	AA	AyT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
2F	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
M	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
POL	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
3M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
F	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
PL 1	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
2	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n
3	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-

(5) **k^{w}- 'kill'**

	AA	AyT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
2F	-y-	-t-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
M	-y-	-t-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
POL	-n-	-n-	___	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
3M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
F	-t	-ti-	-t-	-t-	-ti-	-t-	-t-
PL 1	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
2	-y-n-	-n	-y-n	-y-n	-y-n	-y-n	-y-n
3	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-

(6) **tïŋ- 'find'**

	AA	AyT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
2F	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
M	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
POL	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
3M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
F	-t	-t	-t	-t	-ti	-t	-t
PL 1	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
2	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-y-n
3	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-

(7) **dïw(y)- 'tell'**

	AA	AyT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
2F	-e-	-y-	-∅-	-y-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
M	-e-	-y-	-∅-	-y-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
POL	-ïn-	-ïn-	—	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-
3M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
F	-t	-t	-t	-t	-ti	-ti	-t
PL 1	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-
2	-n-	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-y-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-ïy-n
3	-n-	-n-	-ïy-n	-n-	-ïy-n	-ïy-n	-n-

(8) **kïlïŋ- 'dance'**

	AA	AyT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
2F	-ïy-	-∅-	-ïy-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
M	-ïy-	-∅-	-ïy-	-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-
POL	-n-	-n-	—	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
3M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
F	-t	-ti	-t	-ti	-ti	-t	-t
PL 1	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
2	-y-ïn	-∅-	-y-ïn	-y-ïn	-yï-n	-yï-n	-yï-n
3	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-

(9) **gänǰ- 'sleep'**

	AA	AyT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
2F	-ïy-	-ïy-	-ïy-	-∅-	-ïy-	-ïy-	-y-
M	-iy-	-ïy-	-ïy-	-∅-	-ïy-	-ïy-	-y-
POL	-n-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-
3M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
F	-t	-ti	-ti	-t	-ti	-t	-ti
PL 1	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-
2	-ïy-ïn-	-ïy-n-	-ïy-n-	-ïy-ïn-	-ïy-n-	-ïy-n	-ïy-n-
3	-n-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-	-ïn-

(10) **yïx^{w}äy- 'laugh'**

	AA	AyT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
SG 1	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
2F	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-
M	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-
POL	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
3M	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-
F	-t	-ti	-ti	-t	-t	-t	-ti
PL 1	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
2	-ti-n	-n-	-ti-n	-n-	-tï-n	-ti-n-	-ti-n-
3	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-

Table 8: Verb conjugation among terminal speakers

After analyzing and comparing the inflections of the seven informants, the following person, number and gender morphemes have been abstracted.

(12)	1S	2MS	2FS	2POL	3MS	3FS	1PL	2PL	3PL
Person	-∅	-(ï)y-(ï)t-∅-	-(ï)y-(ï)t-∅-	-∅-	-∅	-∅	-∅	-(ï)y-(ï)t-∅-	-∅
Number	-∅	-∅	-∅	-(ï)n	-∅	-∅	-(ï)n	-(ï)n	-(ï)n
Gender	—	-∅	-∅	—	-∅	-t(i)	—	—	—

[19]

5.2.2.3 The Verb to 'Be'

The be-verb in Kemantney has an irregular conjugational pattern as shown in example (1) below. There is a high degree of simplification of all conjugations reduced to just the 3MS form *gala*. The following are examples of the be-verb conjugation from six informants.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	
(1)	an	gayïl	gayïl	gaʏïyïl	gayil	gaʏïyl	gayïl	'I am'
	ïntï	gayla	gayla	gaʏïyïla	gayla	gaʏïyla	gayla	'You (F) are'
	ïntï	gayla	gayla	gaʏïyïla	gayla	gaʏïyla	gayla	'You (M) are'
	nay	gaʏla	gaʏïla	gaʏïla	gala	gaʏïla	gaʏïlla	'You (POL) are'
	ni	gala	gala	gaʏla	gala	gaʏla	gala	'He is'
	ni	gala	gayla	gaʏïyla	gayla	gaʏïyla	gayla	'She is'
	annew	gaʏlï	gaʏïla	gaʏïllï	gala	gaʏïlla	gaʏïllï	'We are'
	ïntändew	gaʏïyla	gaʏïlla	gaʏïyïla	gayïla	gaʏïlla	gaʏïyïlla	'You are'
	naydew	gaʏla	gaʏïla	gaʏïyla	gayl	gaʏïla	gaʏïlla	'They are'

Heine (1980) has reported a similar case about Elmolo where a 3MS form was supplied for all the persons. From the above paradigm, the following can be taken as the orthodox conjugation of the verb.

[19] The above person, number and gender inflections in the verb make Kemantney a pro-drop language. The verb expresses the subject though contextual reference is also needed to make a distinction between 1S and 3MS; 2POL, 1Pl and 3PL.

(2)	an gayïl	'I am'	ni gayla	'She is'
	ïntï gayla	'You (F) are'	annew gaʏïlla/ï	'We are'
	ïntï gayla	'You (M) are'	ïntändew gaʏïyïlla	'You are'
	nay gaʏïlla	'You (POL) are'	naydew gaʏïlla	'They are'
	ni gala	'He is'		

As shown in (2) above, the verb has inflections, which are similar to those of the negative main verb paradigm (cf. examples (1), (2) and (3) in section 5.2.2.8). This suggests the Kemantney be-verb is formally negative. As Appleyard (1980) proposes, the existence of the negative morpheme */-la/* might cancel out the negative meaning of the verb */ga-/* which is itself a negation marker in embedded verbs (cf. examples (4) and (5) in section 5.2.2.8). Like in most conjugations of matrix verbs, the copula has five distinct forms in its conjugations. The forms of the 1S and 3MS are different, whereas the form of the 3FS is identical with the 2S, which is commonly observed in subordinate verbs. The usual plural marker */-n/* is assimilated to the tense marker */-l/* ~ */-la/* as a result of which the latter geminates (cf. a similar process in negatives in 5.2.2.8).

Another way of looking at the facts is to consider the stem as *gaC-* where *C** represents a lost consonant in the 3MS. It is substituted by */y/* in the 1SG, 2SG and 3F and by */ʏ/* elsewhere. The usual 2nd person marker */-y/*, which appears in the 2PL is dropped in the 2S following the glide. The expected form would have been *gay-ïy-la* or *gay-y-la*. Hence, the inflections of person, number and gender will be like the following.[20]

(3)	1S	2MS	2FS	2POL	3MS	3FS	1PL	2PL	3PL
Person	∅	-(ï)y	-(ï)y	∅	∅	∅	∅	-(ï)y	∅
Number	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	-(ï)l	-(ï)l	-(ï)l
Gender	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	-y	∅	∅	∅

From the above, we can understand that with the exception of the 1S which is designated by */-(ï)l/*, */-la/* is a tense marker. The 3F is identical with the 2S and the 3MS is designated by the zero morpheme, as usual. Compare the above be-verb paradigm with the following affirmative and negative copula.

Affirmative copula

(4)	a.	aʏ-äk^{w}	be(come)-IMP	'I (will) become.'
		aʏ-ïy-äk^{w}	be(come)-2P-IMP	'You (will) become.'
		aʏ-ïy-äk^{w}	be(come)-2P-IMP	'You (will) become.'
		aʏ-äk^{w}-ïn	be(come)-IMP-PL	'You (POL) (will) become.'

[20] The full conjugation of the be-verb has not been treated in works on Agew languages. However, according to Palmer (1965), Hetzron (1976) and Conti-Rossini (1912), *gïn*, a zero copula, and *-i* represent the copula in Bilin, Xamir and Awŋi respectively.

	aʏ-äkʷ	be(come)-IMP	'He (will) become (s).'
	aʏ-ä-ti	be(come)-IMP-F	'She (will) become (s).'
	aʏ-n-äkʷ	be(come)-PL-IMP	'We (will) become.'
	aʏ-ïy-n-äkʷ	be(come)-2P-PL-IMP	'You (PL) (will) become.'
	aʏ-äkʷ-ïn	be(come)-IMP-PL	'They (will) become.'
	Negative copula		
b.	aʏ-ä-l	be(come)-IMP-NEG	lit. 'I (will) not become/ I do not become.'
	aʏ-ïy-ä-la	be(come)-2P-IMP-NEG	'You (will) not become/ You do not become.'
	aʏ-ïy-ä-la	be(come)-2P-IMP-NEG	'You (will) not become/ You do not become.'
	aʏ-ä-l-la	be(come)-IMP-PL-NEG	'You (POL) (will) not become/ You do not become.'
	aʏ-ä-la	be(come)-IMP-NEG	'He (will) not become/ He does not become.'
	aʏ-ïy-ä-la	be(come)-3F-IMP-NEG	'She (will) not become/ She does not become.'
	aʏ-n-ä-l	be(come)-PL-IMP-NEG	'We (will) not become/ We do not become.'
	aʏ-ïy-ä-l-la	be(come)-2P-IMP-PL-NEG	'You (will) not become/ You do not become.'
	aʏ-ä-l-la	be(come)-IMP-PL-NEG	'They (will) not become/ They do not become.'

In the above paradigm, a strange pattern is observed in forms of the 2POL and 3PL. Whereas the expected form is *aʏ-n-äkʷ*, the plural and the tense markers metathesize to result in *aʏ-äkʷ-ïn* (more examples and an explanation are given in 5.2.2.4.1.2 below). In the negative paradigm, the 1SG and 1PL drop the final vowel of the negative marker.

The conjugation of the copula for the past tense shows the same as that of finite verbs.

(5)	an sïmb-∅-eʏʷ	I be-1S-PS	'I was.'
	ïntï sïmb-ïy-eʏʷ	you be-2MS-PS	'You were.'
	ïntï sïmb-ïy-eʏʷ	you be-2FS-PS	'You were.'
	nay sïmb-ïn-eʏʷ	you (POL) be-PL-PS	'You (POL) were.'
	ni sïmb-i-ti	she be-PS-F	'She was.'
	ni sïmb-∅-eʏʷ	he be-3MS-PS	'He was.'
	annew sïmb-ïn-eʏʷ	we be-PL-PS	'We were.'
	ïntandew sïmb-i-n-eʏʷ	you (PL) be-2P-PL-PS	'You (PL) were.'
	naydew sïmb-ïn-eʏʷ	they be-PL-PS	'They were.'

The past form copula *sïmb-* and the verb *sïm-*'live' can be used alternatively. Like in other conjugational patters, */-∅/* marks the 1SG and 3MS; */-i/* or */-(ï)y/* shows 2P; */-(ï)n/* is the plural form which also shows politeness and */-t(i)/* is the 3rd person feminine suffix.

5.2.2.4 Tense and Aspect

Kemantney has two aspects and different tenses. The aspects are perfect, imperfect and progressive.[21] The perfect aspect is used for the simple past, remote-past (pluperfect) and present perfect with temporal distinctions. The imperfect is used for the habitual present and future. The progressive aspect is either a past progressive or present progressive. The morphological property

[21] According to Hetzron (1976), no aspect has been signalled in the Agew languages other than Awŋi.

of the present and the future tenses provides a good ground for considering the forms as being non-past tense and imperfect aspect.

5.2.2.4.1 The Perfective Aspect

5.2.2.4.1.1 The Simple Past

This tense expresses actions that started and completed in the past that is before the time of the utterance about them. The following are examples.

(1)	an was-∅-ïʏ^{w}	I hear-1S-PS	'I heard.'
	ïntï was-y-ïʏ^{w}	you hear-2S-PS	'You (s.) heard.'
	ni was-∅-ïʏ^{w}	he hear-3MS-PS	'He heard.'
	ni was-ï-t	she hear-PS-3F	'She heard.'
	annew was-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	we hear-1PL-PS	'We heard.'
	ïntändew was-y-ïn- ïʏ^{w}	you hear-2PL-PS	'You heard.'
	naydew was-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	they hear-PL-PS	'They heard.'

There are principally two variants of the past tense marker: */-ï/* in the 3FS and */-ïʏ^{w}/* elsewhere.[22] In rare instances, when the verb stem consists of a single syllable ending in */y/*, as in *fiy-aʏ* 'went', *biy-aʏ* 'left' and *šäy-aʏ* 'held', the tense marker in the 1SG and 3SG is */-aʏ/* which is identical with the 3MS relativizer. In forms, such as, for instance, *yïx^{w}äy-ïʏ^{w}* 'laughed', *dïwy-ïʏ^{w}* 'told', the tense marker remains */-ïʏ^{w}/*. All tense and aspect markers occur immediately following the person, number and gender markers. Appleyard (1975) has identified the same morpheme while Conti Rossini's is strikingly different. In his paradigm, which makes no distinction between person and tense inflections, *-o-g, -i-g, -o-g, -i-ti, -ano-g, -ino-g* and *ino-g*[23] are presented as past tense markers in the 1SG, 2SG, 3MS, 3FS, 1PL, 2PL, and 3PL respectively. However, Kemantney tense/aspect marking is not sensitive to person as shown above.

5.2.2.4.1.2 Present Perfect

This tense expresses an action, which started some time in the past and is completed some time in the near past. The form consists of the stem, the auxiliary and the imperfective marker. Observe the following example.

(1)	an was-wan-äk^{w}	I hear-AUX-IMP	'I have heard.'
	ïntï was-y-an-y-äk^{w}	you hear-2P-AUX-2P-IMP	'You (MF) have heard.'
	nay was-ïn-wan-äk^{w}	you (POL) hear-PL-AUX-IMP	'You (POL) have heard.'
	ni was-wan-äk^{w}	he hear-AUX-IMP	'He has heard.'
	ni was-y-an-ä-t	she hear-3P-AUX-IMP-F	'She has heard.'
	annew was-nï-wan-n-äk^{w}	we hear-PL-AUX-IMP	'We have heard.'

[22]An irregular past tense marker is witnessed in the past copula where */-eʏ^{w}/* is used instead of */-ïʏ^{w}/* (see (5) in 5.2.2.3).

[23]Conti-Rossini's *g* with a dot on top of it seems to correspond to the voiced velar fricative *ʏ*.

ïntändew was-y-ïn-wan-y-äk^{w}-ïn	you hear-2P-PL-AUX-2P-IMP-PL	'You (PL) have heard.'
naydew was-nï-wan-äk^{w}-ïn	they hear-PL-AUX-IMP-PL	'They have heard.

As we can see, the internal structure of the verb in the present perfect shows [stem + inflection + AUX + inflection + aspect]. Unlike other paradigms, the positions of number and aspect markers interchange in the 2PL and 3PL. The first segment of the AUX, that is, */w/* is deleted following */y/* in the 2S and 3FS. The imperfect markers */-ä/* (in the 3F) and */-äk^{w}/* (elsewhere) invariably show imperfective aspect and the auxiliary */-wan/~ /-an/* show tense. The AUX is identical with the verb 'to have' or 'to exist' or 'have to', as in *an wan-äk^{w}* 'I have' 'I am present' and 'I have to'. Compare this with the Amharic AUX */-all/* which is also identical with the verb *all-* 'have/ be present.'

Another feature of the verb in the present perfect tense and imperfective aspect is the repetition of the plural marker in the 2PL and 3PL. This phenomenon is related to the property of the AUX. As mentioned above, *wan-* is an AUX and at the same time a verb with the following conjugation.

(2) an wan-äk^{w}	have/present/have to-IMP	'I have./I am present./ I have to...'
ïntï wan-y-äk^{w}	have/present/have to-2P-IMP	'You have./You are present./You have to...'
ni wan-äk^{w}	have/present/have to-IMP	'He has./He is present./ He has to...'
ni wan-ä-t	have/present/have to-IMP-3F	'She has./She is present./ She has to...'
annew wan-n-äk^{w}	have/present/have to-PL-IMP	'We have./We are present./We have to...'
ïntändew wan-y-äk^{w}-ïn	have/present/have to-2P-IMP-PL	'You (PL) have./You are present./You have to...'
naydew wan-äk^{w}-ïn	have/present/have to-IMP-PL	'They have./They are present./They have to...'

As can be seen in (2), what has been exhibited in the verbs in (1) is the exact replica of the independent verb *wan-* 'have' or 'exist' or 'have to'. Observe in (3) the underlying representation of (1) above where *wan-* appears in its full conjugation.

(3) an was-wan-äk^{w}	I hear-AUX-IMP	'I have heard.'
ïntï was-y-ïwan-y-äk^{w}	you hear-2P-AUX-IMP	'You (MF) have heard.'
ni was-wan-äk^{w}	he hear-AUX-IMP	'He has heard.'
ni was-y-ïwan-ä-t	she hear-3p.-AUX-IMP-F	'She has heard.'
annew was-n-ïwan-n-äk^{w}	we hear-PL-AUX-IMP	'We have heard.'
ïntändew was-y-ïn-wan-y-äk^{w}-ïn	you hear-2P-PL-AUX-IMP-PL	'You (PL) have heard.'
naydew was-n-ïwan-äk^{w}-ïn	they hear-PL-AUX-IMP-PL	'They have heard.

In addition to the deletion of */w/* after */y/* in the 2SG and 3FS, the trace of the 2P marker which is dropped at the surface level is observed in the change of the initial vowel of the imperfective marker from *ä* to *e*. Therefore, the repetition of the plural marker in the 2PL and 3PL is attributed to the transfer of the verb 'to have' or 'to exist' with its full inflectional elements when incorporated into the main verb as AUX. In Kemantney, the meaning of example (1) or (3) is equivalent to the Amharic, *sämt-äh-all-äh* [hear-2MS-AUX-2MS] 'You have heard.', *sämt-äš-*

all-äš [hear-2FS-AUX-2FS] 'You have heard.', *sämt-o-all-ä* [hear-3MS-AUX-3MS] 'He has heard.' etc. where person markers are repeated and as a result the forms become unacceptable. Though the expected forms of the 2PL and 3PL paradigms in (2) are *wan-y-ïn-äk*^{w} and *wan-(ï)n-äk*^{w}, the tense/aspect and the plural suffixes metathesize.

5.2.2.4.1.3 The Remote Past

The remote past shows actions, which started and completed in the remote past. It is denoted by a combination of a gerundive form of a verb and the copula *sïmb-* 'be' as in the following:

(1)			
	an kïz-wä sïmb-∅-eʏ^{w}	I sell-GER be-1S-PS	'I had sold'
	ïntï kïz-y-ä sïmb-ïy-eʏ^{w}	you sell-2P-GER be-2P-PS	'You had sold'
	nay kïz-nï-wä sïmb-ïn-eʏ^{w}	you sell-PL-GER be-PL-PS	'You (POL) sold'
	ni kïz-wä sïmb-∅-eʏ^{w}	he sell-GER be-3MS-PS	'He had sold'
	ni kïz-y-ä sïmb-i-ti	she sell-3F-GER be-PS-F	'She had sold'
	annew kïz-nï-wä sïmb-ïn-eʏ^{w}	we sell-PL-RER be-1PL-PS	'We had sold'
	ïntändew kïz-y-ïn-wä sïmb-i-n-eʏ^{w}	you sell-2P-PL-GER be-2P-PL-PS	'You had sold'
	naydew kïz-nï-wä sïmb-ïn-eʏ^{w}	they sell-PL-GER be-PL-PS	'They had sold'

Both the gerundive stem and the copula show person, gender and number inflections. The tense is, however, indicated by the copula. The */w/* of the gerundive */-wä/* is deleted in the 2S and 3FS following the person marker */y/* (cf. also example 1 in 5.2.2.4.1.2). As we can see in (1) above, the past marker in the AUX in the 3F is the front high vowel */-i/* which is the variant of the mid-high vowel */-ï/* shown in 5.2.2.4.1.1.

5.2.2.4.2 The Imperfective Aspect

5.2.2.4.2.1 The Present/Future

A habitual action done customarily (present) and an action which will take place some time in the future after the moment of speech have the same form. Both show the mid-central vowel */-ä/* in the 3FS and */-äk*^{w}*/* elsewhere. The vowel */ä/* is the imperfect marker in subordinate verbs for all persons as we shall see in the following sections. Compare the example below.

(1)			
	an xal-∅-äk^{w}	I see-1P-IMP	'I (will) see.'
	ïntï xal-y-äk^{w}	you see-2P-IMP	'You (will) see.'
	ni xal-∅-äk^{w}	he see-3P-IMP	'He (will) see.'
	ni xal-ä-t	she see-IMP-F	'She (will) see.'
	annew xal-n-äk^{w}	we see-PL-IMP	'We (will) see.'
	ïntändew xal-y-äk^{w}-ïn	you see-2P-IMP-PL	'You (PL) (will) see.'
	naydew xal-äk^{w}-ïn	they see-IMP-PL	'They (will) see.'

Like in the present perfect forms, the change of the positions of the plural and the imperfect markers is witnessed in the present future tense. Some terminal speakers use the underlying pattern *xal-y-ïn-äk*^{w} and *xal-n-äk*^{w} for the 2PL and 3PL respectively at the surface level. However,

the competent speakers of the language who consistently metathesize the two inflectional elements, rejected such patterns. Incidentally, the 1PL and 3PL, which show similar forms in the past, show distinction in the present/future tense. In order to make a distinction between the present and future, adverbs of time can be used. These include *nan* 'now', *nïŋ* 'today' etc. for the present, and *amär* 'tomorrow', *šaʏo* 'next year' etc. for the future.

5.2.2.4.2.2 The Progressive (Durative) Aspect

This aspect denotes the continuation of an action either sometime in the past (past progressive) or during the time of utterance (present progressive). In both cases, the progressive aspect is indicated by suffixing */-sab/*. Consider (1) below for the present progressive conjugation.

(1) **Present progressive**

an was-ä-sab gaʏïl	I listen-IMP-PROG I am	'I am hearing.'
ïntï was-y-ä-sab gayla	you listen-2P-IMP-PROG you are	'You are hearing.'
nay was-än-ä-sab gaʏïlla	you listen-PL-IMP-PROG you are	'You are hearing.'
ni was-ä-sab gala	he listen-IMP-PROG he is	'He is hearing.'
ni was-y-ä-sab gayla	she listen-3F-IMP-PROG she is	'She is hearing.'
annew was-ïn-ä-sab gaʏïlla	we listen-PL-IMP-PROG we are	'We are hearing.'
ïntändew was-y-än-ä-sab gaʏïyïlla	you listen-2P-PL-IMP-PROG you are	'You are hearing.'
naydew was-än-ä-sab gaʏïlla	they listen-PL-IMP-PROG they are	'They are hearing.'

The morpheme */-sab/*, which is suffixed with the main verb, and the helping verb, which appears in the present, denote the present progressive. In addition to the progressive marker, the main verb is inflected for the imperfective marker */ä/*.

The past progressive is indicated by the same inflection in a similar pattern. The only difference is that the helping verb is in the past. Consider (2) below.

(2) **Past progressive**

an was-ä-sab sïmb-eʏ^{w}	I listen-IMP-PROG be-PS	'I was hearing.'
ïntï was-y-ä-sab sïmb-ïy-eʏ^{w}	you listen-2P-IMP-PROG be-2P-PS	'You were hearing.'
nay was-än-ä-sab sïmb-ïn-eʏ^{w}	you listen-2P-PL-IMP-PROG be-PL-PS	'You were hearing.'
ni was-ä-sab sïmb-eʏ^{w}	he listen-IMP-PROG be-PS	'He was hearing.'
ni was-y-ä-sab sïmb-i-ti	she listen-3F-IMP-PROG be-PS-3F	'She was hearing.'
annew was-ïn-ä-sab sïmb-ïn-eʏ^{w}	we listen-PL-IMP-PROG be-PL-PS	'We were hearing.'
ïntändew was-y-än-ä-sab sïmb-i-n-eʏ^{w}	you listen-2P-PL-IMP-PROG be-2P-PL-PS	'You were hearing.'
naydew was-än-ä-sab sïmb-ïn-eʏ^{w}	they listen-PL-IMP-PROG be-PL-PS	'They were hearing.'

The shape of the main verb in the past progressive is identical with that of the present progressive. The morpheme */-sab/* and the helping verb designate the past progressive.

3.4.3.1 Terminal Speakers and Tense/Aspect Marking

The following seven simple declarative sentences were collected from eight informants so as to determine the extent to which tense/aspect is lost or maintained among the terminal speakers.

was- 'listen'

(1) ni was-äkʷ	he hear-IMP	'He hears.'
(2) ni was-äkʷ	he hear-IMP	'He will hear.'
(3) ni was-ïʏʷ	he hear-PS	'He heard.'
(4) ni was-wan-äkʷ	he hear-AUX-IMP	'He has heard.'
(5) ni was-wä sïmb-eʏʷ	he hear be-PS	'He had heard.'
(6) ni was-ä-sab gala	he hear-IMP-PROG he is	'He is hearing.'
(7) ni was-ä-sab sïmb-eʏʷ	he hear-IMP-PROG be-3P-PS	'He was hearing.'

The responses of the eight terminal speakers show the following suffixes.

was- 'listen'

	AA	AyT	DA	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ
2	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ	-äkʷ
3	-ïʏʷ	-ïʏʷ	-äkʷ	-ïʏʷ	-ïʏʷ	-ïʏʷ	-ïʏʷ	-ïʏʷ
4	-wan-äkʷ	-wan-äkʷ	-wan-äkʷ	-wan-äkʷ	-wan-äkʷ	-wan-äkʷ	-wan-äkʷ	-wan-äkʷ
5	GV+AV-eʏʷ	GV+AV-eʏʷ	GV+AV-eʏʷ	GV+AV-eʏʷ	GV+AV-eʏʷ	GV+AV-eʏʷ	GV+AV-eʏʷ	GV+AV-eʏʷ
6	V-sab+AV	V-sab+AV	V-sab+AV	V-sab+AV	V-sab+AV	V-sab+AV	V-sab+AV	V-sab+AV [24]
7	V-sab+AVps	V-sab+AVps	V-sab+AVps	V-ŋʷ+AVps	V-ŋʷ +AVps	V-ŋʷ +AVps	V-sab+AVps	V-sab+AVps

Table 9: Tense and aspect among terminal speakers

Terminal speakers still know the imperfect (present-future). The expressions supplied for 'He listens' and 'He will listen' are normative forms and are 100% similar, *ni was-äkʷ*. Similarly, seven informants recalled the simple past. Only DA supplied the present/future form *ni was-äkʷ* which counts only 12.5% deviation.

Regarding the present perfect and the remote past, all the eight informants volunteered the normative forms *ni was-wan-äkʷ* and *ni was sïmb-eʏʷ* uniformly. This indicates that the forms are still maintained, 100%. Likewise, the present progressive is 100% uniform among the speakers. In the past progressive, there is a difference among MM, MT and TA. These three provided *was-ä-ŋʷ sïmb-eʏʷ*, which is similar to *was-ä-sab sïmb-eʏʷ* 'he was hearing'. Compare the Amharic equivalents *si-säm-a näbbär* and *ïyyä-sämm-a näbbär,* both meaning 'he was hearing.' Hence, since *was-ä-ŋʷ sïmb-eʏʷ* is also a normative utterance, this tense is also retained 100%.

5.2.2.5 Verbal Extentions

5.2.2.5.1 The Passive

The passive is predominantly indicated by the suffixes */-(ï)s/* and */-(ï)t/* as in the examples below.

(1) a. ar- i ni- z xʷïy-s- -ïʏʷ
grain-NOM he-by eat-PASS-PS
'The food was eaten by him.'

b. ïmïrt nïŋ kint-än-äw- ïz wärär- s- ïwan- äkʷ
education house learn-PL-REL-by inundate-PASS-AUX-IMP
'The school has been inundated by the students.'

[24] The abbreviations V, GV, AV and ps stand for verb, gerundive verb, auxiliary verb and past respectively.

c. mäskot ni-z käl- t- ïʏ^{w}
window she-by break-PASS-PS
'The window was broken by her.'

d. däbïr ïntändew-ïz tab- s- ïwan-äk^{w}
church you (PL)-by fence-PASS-AUX-IMP
'The church has been fenced by you.'

e. sam- i yï-z yïw- s- ïʏ^{w}
money-NOM me-by give-PASS-PS
'The money was given by me.'

f. zaf -än ïyyän- ïz takäl- s- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
tree-PL people-by plant-PASS-PL-PS
'The trees were planted by the people.'

g. ǰägr- i nadew-ïz xal-s- ïʏ^{w}
monkey-NOM they- by see-PASS-PS
'The monkey was seen by them.'

h. t'äbänǰ-i wätadär-ïz täk^{w}äs-s- ïʏ^{w}
gun-NOM soldier- by shoot-PASS-PS
'The gun was shot by the soldier.'

i. fïntïra annew-ïz tïŋ- s- ï- t
goat we-by find-PASS-PS-3FS
'The goat was found by us.'

j. naydew folis- ïz t'ärät'är-s- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
they police-by suspect-PASS-PL-PS
'They were suspected by the police.'

A variant */-t/* occurs in only three instances in the data. They are: *käl-* 'break' vs. *käl-t-* 'be broken', *käb-* 'cut' vs. *käb-t-* 'be cut' and *yïb-* 'blow' vs. *yïb-t-* 'be blown'. Appleyard (1975) says that the suffix */-t/* is an innovation in Kemantney. As opposed to Xamt'aŋa, for instance, where */-t/* occurs in limited contexts after sibilant final stems (Appleyard 1987a), its occurrence in only three instances here makes it difficult to give explanations. The passive suffix */-s/* also functions as a transitivizer as illustrated below.

(2)

gäm-	'come down'	gäm-s-	'bring down'
bïwt-	'flow (o.s.)'	bïw-s-	'flow (s.o.)'
färäs-	'collapse (o.s.)'	a-färäs-/färäs-s-	'collapse (s.o.)'

In the last example, the borrowed word is transitivized either by dropping */-s/* of the RDL and taking the transitivizer */a-/* from the RGL; or by dropping */a-/* and substituting */-s/*. An instance of double transitivization is recorded in forms like *a-färäs-s* instead of *a-färäs-* or *färäs-s-*.

As mentioned in chapter IV, in Amharic loan verbs, either the Amharic passive prefix */tä-/* or the Kemantney suffix */-s/* is used. Compare the examples *wärär-s-*, *täkäl-s-*, *täk^{w}äs-s-*, and *t'ärät'är-s-* in (b), (f), (h) and (j) above, respectively. Though terminal speakers use the Kemantney */-s/* in the majority of cases, there are instances where the Amharic */tä-/* is also used.

5.2.2.5.1.1 Terminal Speakers and the Passive

After analyzing each informant's response for the above ten sentences in (1), the rate of loss and retention of the passive morpheme has been established as follows.

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s
b.	-s	-s	-∅	-s	-s	-s	-∅	-∅	-s	-s
c.	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
d.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s

e.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s
f.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s
g.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s
h.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s
i.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s
j.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s

Table 11: The passive among terminal speakers

The morphemes */-s/* and */-t/* were supplied by almost all informants with the exception of three, where the active verb form was supplied by BH, MT and TA. In this case, the rate of loss is only 3% whereas that of retention is 97%. There are also some instances in the text where double passives have been recorded from passive terminal speakers. This involves the use of both the Amharic and the Kemantney morphemes in the same word. Examples are *tä-g^{w}är-s-* 'be hurt', *tä-t'äk'äm-s-* 'be benefited', *tä-kat'äl-s-* 'be burnt' etc. Under normal circumstances, the forms should have been *tä-g^{w}är-* or *g^{w}är-s-*, *tä-t'äk'äm-* or *t'äk'äm-s-* and *tä-k'at'äl-* or *k'at'äl-s-* using either of the two passive markers.

5.2.2.5.2 The Causative

The causative marker is */-(ï)š/*. Appleyard (1975) and Conti Rossini (1912) identify the same morpheme, plus */-(ï)z/*. However, the latter does not appear as a verbal extension in the present data. Like in the passive, the causative comes immediately following the verb stem as in the examples below.

(1) a. yïr käšïŋ-š- ïʏ^{w}
man call- CAUS.-PS
'The man caused to call.'

b. ni yï- t xašax- š- ïʏ^{w}
he me-ACC punish-CAUS.-PS
'He caused me to be punished.'

c. wätadera säw- š- ïʏ^{w}
soldier arrest-CAUS.-PS
'The soldier caused to arrest.'

d. ni yï- t šïx^{w}ïš-š- ï- ti
she me-ACC sick- CAUS.-PS-3F
'She caused me become sick.'

e. yïr k^{w} - ïš- ïʏ^{w}
man kill-CAUS.-PS
'The man caused to kill.'

f. ni niŋä x^{w}ïrr-äs täxätäl-š- ïwä fïy-aʏ[25]
he two children-ACC follow-CAUS.-GER go-PS
'He went having caused the two children follow him.'

g. x^{w}ïr- i gäräf- š- ïʏ^{w}
child-NOM flagelatte-CAUS.-PS
'The boy caused to flagellate.'

When the verb stem consists of a single consonant such as *k^{w}* - 'kill', *f-* 'go', *t-* 'enter' etc., the causative appears as */-(ï)š/* with an epenthetic vowel. Since causativization is a kind of

[25] The Amharic equivalent of *täxätäl-* is *täkätäl-* 'follow'.

transitivization, some intransitive verbs become transitive by adding /-š/ as in the following examples:

kʷänkʷäl-	'take a mouthful (o-s)'	→	kʷänkʷäl-š-	'give a mouthful (s.o)'
täz-	'break open (o.s)'	→	täš-š-	'break open (s.o)'
kät'än-	'be thin (o.s)'	→	k'ät'än-š-	'make thin (s.o)'
wäfär-	'be fat (o.s)'	→	wäfär-š-	'make fat (s.o)'
ǰïlïw-	'turn (o.s)'	→	ǰïlïw-š-	'make turn (s.o)'

Likewise, the intransitive verbs *täkäz-* 'be embarrassed', *šïʏʷ-* 'be sick' and *gʷaʏän-* 'be afraid' become transitive *täkäz-š-*, *šïʏʷ-ïš-* and *gʷaʏän-š-* (Compare (f), (h) and (j) below). Passive speakers supplied double transitivization of the loan forms. Examples are in *a-wäfär-š-* 'make fat' and *a-k'ät'än-š-* 'make thin'.

5.2.2.5.2.1 Terminal Speakers and the Causative

The following ten sentences were administered to nine informants for the purpose of checking the rate of retention and loss of the causative.

(2) (a) kasä yïbä- s kʷï- š- ïʏʷ
kasa leopard -ACC kill-CAUS-PS
'Kasa caused the leopard to be killed.'

(b) annew ni- t fäläg-š- ïn-ïʏʷ
we she-ACC want-CAUS-PL-PS
'We caused her to be searched.'

(c) an ni- t märät'-š- ïʏʷ
I he-ACC select-CAUS-PS
'I caused him to be elected.'

(d) nadew annew-ïs däs y- ïš- ïn- ïʏʷ
they we-ACC become happy say-CAUS-PL-PS
'They caused us to be happy.'

(e) ni xašän-äs šäy- š- ïʏʷ
he thief- ACC capture-CAUS-PS
'He caused the thief to be caught.'

(f) kasa annew-ïs täkïš- š- ïʏʷ
Kasa we- ACC be sad-CAUS-PS
'Kasa caused us to be sad.'

(g) nadew na- zän- ïs kin- š- ïn-ïʏʷ
they their-brother-ACC educate-CAUS-PL-PS
'They caused their brother to be educated.'

(h) kämb-i yï- t šïʏʷ- ïš- ïʏʷ
cold-NOM me-ACC be sick-CAUS-PSs.
'The cold caused me to be sick.'

(i) ni yï- t kašïŋ-š- ï- t
she me-ACC call- CAUS-PS-3F
'She caused me to be called.'

(j) kasa ni-xʷïrä-s gʷaʏän- š- ïʏʷ
kasa he-child-ACC be afraid-CAUS-PS
'Kasa caused his child to be frightened.'

As the test result reveals, the causative is among the 'healthiest' of the verbal extensions in Kemantney. Observe table (12) below.

	AA	AyT	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-
2	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-∅-	-š-	-š-	-š-
3	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-
4	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-
5	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-
6	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-
7	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-

8	-š-	-Ø-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-
9	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-
10	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-

Table 12: The causative among terminal speakers

Only AyT and MT provided the non-causative form by omitting the causativizer which is only 2%. The retention is, thus, 98%.

5.2.2.5.3 The Adjutative

This form is denoted by reduplicating the causative /-*š*/. Observe the following examples.

(1) a. ni naydew-ïs arä- s x^{w}ïy-š- ïš- ïʏ^{w}
he they- ACC food-ACC eat- CAUS-RED-PS
'He helped them eat the food.'

b. annew ni- t kanä- s läš- ïš- ïš- ïn-ïʏ^{w}
we he-ACC wood-ACC bring-CAUS-RED-PL-PS
'We helped him bring the wood.'

c. kasa ni- aba- t g^{w}äzä-s g^{w}äz- ïš- ïš- ïʏ^{w}
Kasa his-father-ACC field-ACC plough-CAUS-RED-PS
'Kasa helped his father plough the field.'

d. an niš-argï-s mïʏ^{w}- ïš- ïš- ïʏ^{w}
I her-bed-ACC carry-CAUS-RED-PS
'I helped her carry the bed.'

e. kasa annew-ïs mïräwä-s k^{w}- ïš- ïš- ïʏ^{w}
Kasa we-ACC snake-ACC kill-CAUS-RED-PS
'Kasa helped us kill the snake.'

f. ni ni- t arä- s aš- ïš- ïš- ïʏ^{w}
he he-ACC crop-ACC harvest-CAUS-RED-PS
'He helped him harvest the crop.'

g. nadew yï- t nïŋ- ïs sär- äš- ïš- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
they me-ACC house-ACC build-CAUS-RED-3PL-PS
'They helped me build the house.'

h. x^{w}ïr-i yï- t k- ïš- ïš- ïʏ^{w}
child-NOM me.ACC spend the night CAUS-RED-PS
'The boy helped in spending the night with me.'

i. nadew kasä- t g^{w}äŋ-ïs g^{w}araʏ^{w}-ïš- ïš- in- ïʏ^{w}
they Kasa-ACC well- ACC dig- CAUS-RED-PL-PS
'They helped Kasa dig the well.

j. yï- gäna yï- š yï- säyïŋ-ïs fäläg- ïš- ïš- ï- t
my-mother me-with my-cloth-ACC search-CAUS-RED-PS-3F
'My mother helped me search for my clothes.'

The adjutative marker is attached next to the verb stem and preceding other inflections.

5.2.2.5.3.1 Terminal Speakers and the Adjutative

The eight terminal speakers to which the above ten sentences were administered supplied the following adjutative marker.

	AA	AyT	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
1	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-š-	-š-	-ïš-ïš-	-š-
2	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-š-	ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-
3	-ïš-	-šš-	-šš-	-ïš-ïš-	-šš-	-šš-	-šš-	-ïš-
4	-š-	-š-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-	-ïš-	-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-
5	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-šš-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-š-
6	**-ïš-**	**-ïš-**	**-ïš-**	**-ïš-ïš-**	**-ïš-**	**-ïš-**	**-ïš-ïš-**	**-ïš-**
7	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š- ïš-	-š-
8	-š-	-ïš-ïš-	-š-	-ïš-ïš-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-
9	-ïš-	-ïš-	-ïš-	-ïš-ïš-	-ïš-	-ïš-	-ïš-	-ïš-
10	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-ïš-	-š-	-š-	-š-	-š-

Table 7: The adjutative among terminal speakers

Among the 80 responses, 29 are reduplicated forms. Six responses are recorded as geminates of */-š/* after the deletion of the vowel between the two */š/*'s. There are 45 instances where only the causative suffix */-š/* was supplied. Hence, the adjutative is much confused with the causative. The retention is 36.3% only, which makes the adjutative show high deviation.

5.2.2.5.4 The Frequentative

One of the ways of expressing the frequentative is by reduplicating the verb stem and by inserting the linking vowel */-ä/*. This is also the same for attenuative.

(1)	käl-	'break'	käl-ä-käl-ïʏ^{w}	break-LINK-break-PS	'broke again and again.'
	ǰax-	'drink'	ǰax-ä-ǰax-ïʏ^{w}	drink-LINK-drink-PS	'drank again and again.'
	bïz-	'open'	bïz-ä-bïz-ïʏ^{w}	open-LINK-open-PS	'opened again and again'
	tam-	'taste'	tam-ä-tam-ïʏ^{w}	taste-LINK-taste-PS	'tasted again and again.'

The other way of showing the frequentative is by reduplicating the verb stem and by adding a helping verb to carry the inflectional elements. The examples in (1) can also be said in the manner in (2) below.

(2)	**käl-käl šäb-ïʏ^{w}**	break-break do-PS	lit. 'did break and break'
	ǰax-ǰax šäb-ïʏ^{w}	drink-break do-PS	'did drink and drink'
	bïz-bïz šäb-ïʏ^{w}	open-break do-PS	'did open and open'
	tam-tam šäb-ïʏ^{w}	taste-break do-PS	'did taste and taste'

When the verb is tri-radical, the frequentative is designated by reduplicating the penultimate radical as in the following examples.

(3) a. annew märä- rä- t'- n- ïʏ^{w} (märät'- 'select')
we choose-RED-choose PL-PS
'We did select and select.'

b. ni kïlï-ˌlï- ŋ- ï- t (kïlïŋ- 'dance')
she dance-RED-dance-PS-3F
'She spoiled the house.'

c. nadew yïr- ïs bätä- tä- n- n- ïʏ^{w} (bätän- 'disperse')
they man-ACC disperse-RED-disperse-PL-PS
'They dispersed the people again and again.'

d. kasa ni- nïŋ- ïs läwä- wä- y- ïʏ^{w} (lawäy- 'change')[26]
Kasa his-house-ACC change-RED-change-PS
'Kasa changed his house again and again.'

Frequency of actions is indicated by reduplicating time expressions like *sän* 'Monday' and *amäy* 'year'. Compare the examples below.

(4) a. ni sän sän tiy- äk^{w}
he Monday Monday come-IMP
'He comes on Mondays.'

b. ni amäy amäy-ïz tiy- äk^{w}
he year year- by come-IMP
'He comes yearly.'

c. ni nan- ir nan- ir x^{w}-ak^{w}
he now-too now-too eat-IMP
'He eats now and then.'

5.2.2.5.4.1 Terminal Speakers and the Frequentative

The response of the informants on the frequentative pattern is not uniform. Observe the following examples.

(4) a. käl- 'break'

käl-ä-käl-ïʏ^{w}	(four informants)
käl-käl mal-ïʏ^{w}[27]	(two informants)
both the above two	(three informants)

b. bïz- 'open'

bïz-ä-bïz-ïʏ^{w}	(one informant)
bïz-bïz šäb-ïʏ^{w}	(two informants)
both the above two	(six informants)

c. ǰax- 'drink'

ǰax-ä-ǰax-ïʏ^{w}	(one informant)
ǰax-ǰax šäb-ïʏ^{w}	(three informants)
wälïšo ǰax-ïʏ^{w}	(one informant)
both the first two	(five informants)

d. abälaš- 'spoil'

abälä-lä-š-ïʏ^{w}	(six informants)
abäläš-ïʏ^{w}	(two informants)
abälä-šä-š-ïʏ^{w}	(one informant)
abälä-lä-šï mal-ïʏ^{w}	(one informant)

e. tam- 'taste'

tam-ä-tam-ïʏ^{w}	(one informant)
tam-tam šäb-ïʏ^{w}	(two informants)
both the above two	(six informants)

f. märät'- 'choose'

märä-rä-t'-ïʏ^{w}	(one informant)
märät'-märät' šäb-ïʏ^{w}	(two informants)
both the above two	(six informants)

g. dïŋ^{w}- 'finish'

dïŋ^{w}-ä-dïŋ^{w}-ïʏ^{w}	(four informants)
dïŋ^{w}-ïʏ^{w}	(two informants)
č'är-ar-äs-ïʏ^{w}	(three informants)

h. bätän- 'disperse'

bätä-tä-n-ïʏ^{w}	(six informants)
bätän-ïʏ^{w}	(one informant)

The frequentative seems to be not much observed in Agew languages. As to Kemantney, it is most likely a recent introduction from Amharic. Unlike the other verbal extensions such as the

[26] The Amharic equivalents are *märarrät'*- 'select again and again', *abbäläšaššš*- 'spoil again and again', *bätattän*- 'disperse again and again', and *läwawwät'*- 'change again and again'.

passive, the causative etc., which involve suffixation, terminal speakers are not comfortable and as a result diverge a lot in grammatical features, which involve reduplication. The good examples in this connection are reciprocity and frequentative forms. As illustrated in the examples, most speakers supplied the finite verb while one informant used the converb *wälïšwä* 'he having been fast' instead of the normative frequentative forms.

5.2.2.5.5 The Reciprocal

There are different ways of expressing reciprocity in Kemantney. Reduplication is the major one. But the reduplication process is sensitive to the syllable structure of the verb. In monosyllabic verb stems, reciprocity is marked by total reduplication of the stem, insertion of the linking vowel */-ä/* and suffixing the passive */-s/* with both the reduplicated stems. Consider the following examples.

(1) a. annew xal-s- ä- xal- s- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
we see-PASS-LINK-RED-PASS-PL-PS
'We saw each other.'

b. annew faʏ- s- ä- faʏ- s- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
we marry-PASS-LINK-RED-PASS-PL-PS
'We married each other'

c. ïntändew xal-s- ä- xal- s- i- n- ïʏ^{w}
you see-PASS-LINK-RED-PASS-2P-PL-PS
'You (PL) saw each other.'

d. ïntändew faʏ- s- ä- faʏ- s- i- n- ïʏ^{w}
you marry-PASS-LINK-RED-PASS-2P-PL-PS
'You (PL) married each other'

e. naydew xal- s- ä- xal- s- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
they see-PASS-LINK-RED-PASS-PL-PS
'They saw each other.'

f. naydew faʏ- s- ä- faʏ- s- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
they marry-PASS-LINK-RED-PASS-PL-PS
'They married each other'

Appleyard (1975) identifies */-s/* and */ïn-/*; */-s-/*; and reduplication and */-s/* as forms marking reciprocity. But as shown above, */-ïn/* is the usual plural marker. Another way of showing reciprocity in verb stems with a CVCVC syllable structure is by reduplicating the second CV syllable and suffixing the passive */-s/*. Compare the following examples.

(2) käbän- 'bear'
annew käbä-bän- s-ïn-ïʏ^{w} we bear-bear-PASS-PL-PS 'We gave birth to each other's child.'

(3) yïkäl- 'love'
ïntändew yïkä-käl-s-i-n-äk^{w} you love-RED-PASS-2P-PL-IMP 'You love each other.'

In Kemantney, reciprocity is also expressed by using the bound possessive pronouns of the 1PL, 2PL and 3PL plus the reflexive pronoun *niš-niš* 'each other' as in: *anä-niš-niš* 'we each other', *ïntä-niš-niš* 'you each other' and *na-niš-niš* 'they each other'. (2) and (3) above can also be expressed as follows:

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[27] *mal-ïʏ^{w}* means 'I/He threw it away.'

(4) annew anä-niš-niš käbä-bän- s- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
we 1PL (POSS) each other bear (RED)-PASS-PL-PS
'We gave birth to each other's child.'

(5) ïntändew ïntä-niš-niš yïkä- käl- s- i- ïn- äk^{w} -ïn
you 2PL (POSS) each other love-RED-PASS-2P-PL-IMP-PL
'You love each other.'

It is also possible to use *annew-ïz annew* lit. 'we-by we', *ïntändew-ïz ïntändew* lit. 'you-by you' and *naydew-ïz naydew* lit. 'they-by they' as shown in (a), (b) and (c) in 5.2.2.5.5.1 example (8) below. Borrowed words show hybrid forms where the reduplicated Amharic verb undergoes degemination as usual (see chapter IV) followed by Kemantney suffixes. Observe (6) and (7) below.

(6)	t-ägäbab-s-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	PASS-marry each other-PASS-PL-PS	'We married each other'
	t-ägäbab-s-i-n-ïʏ^{w}	PASS-marry each other-PASS-2P-PL-PS	'You married each other'
	t-ägäbab-s-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	PASS-marry each other-PASS-PL-PS	'They married each other'
(7)	t-äkäbabär-s-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	PASS-respect each other-PASS-PL-PS	'We respect each other'
	t-äkäbabär-s-i-n-ïʏ^{w}	PASS-respect each other-PASS-2P-PL-PS	'You respect each other'
	t-äkäbabär-s-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	PASS-respect each other-PASS-PL-PS	'They respect each other'

As the examples illustrate, the borrowings show the Amharic passive prefix */t-/* and the Kemantney passive suffix */-s/*.

5.2.2.5.5.1 Terminal Speakers and Reciprocity

The following ten sentences were administered to nine informants in order to check retention and loss.

(8) a. xal- 'see'
annew hulgize annew-ïz annew xal- s- ä- xal- s- ïn- äk^{w}
we always we-by we see-PASS-LINK-RED-PASS-PL-IMP
'We see each other every day.'

b. kašïŋ- 'call'
naydew naydew-ïz naydew kašï-šïŋ- s- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
they they- by they call- RED-PASS-PL-PS
'They called each other.

c. g^{w}aʏänt- 'fear'
ïntändew ïntändew-ïz ïntändew g^{w}aʏä-ʏän- ïs- y- äk^{w}- ïn
you your-by you fear- RED-PASS-2P-IMP-PL
'You (PL) fear each other.'

d. ǰaʏ- 'insult'
kasä-šk^{w}ï aster- ïš na- niš-niš ǰaʏ- s- ä- ǰaʏ- s- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
Kasa-and Aster-and their-each other insult-PASS-LINK-RED-PASS-PL-PS
'Kasa and Aster insulted each other.'

e. akäbär- 'respect'
naydew na- niš-niš tä- käbabär- s- äk^{w}-ïn
they their-each other PASS-respect (RED)-PASS-IMP-PL
'They respect each other.'

f. nafäk'- 'yearn'
annew anä- niš-niš tä- näfafäk'- s- ïn- äk^{w}
we our-each other PASS-yearn (RED)-PASS-PL-IMP
'We look forward each other.'

g. yïkäl- 'love'
an-k^{w}ï yï- yïwna anä-niš-niš yïk- ä- käl- s- ïn- äk^{w}
I-and my-wife their each other love-LINK-RED-PASS-PL-IMP
'I and my wife love each other.'

h. g^{w}art- 'fight'
dam-ik na- niš-niš g^{w}art-ä- g^{w}art- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
cat-PL their-each other fight-LINK-RED-PL-PS
'The cats fought each other.'

i. aräyt-
t'älat- än niŋa na-niš-niš arä- räy- s- ïn- ïʏ^{w}
enemy-PL two their-each other agree-RED-PASS-PL-PS
'The two enemies agreed each other.'

j. täy- 'hit'
an naydew-ïs na- niš-niš ta-s- ä- ta- s- ïn- ä- ŋ^{w} xal-ïʏ^{w}
I they- ACC their-each other hit-pas.-link.-RED-PASS-PL-IMP-while see-PS
'I saw them while hitting each other.'

The speakers show variations as illustrated below (the numbers in brackets show the number of informants).

	Verb	Forms volunteered		Comments
(9) a.	xal- 'see'	xal-s-ä-xal-s-	(9)	-stem + passive + link. + reduplication + passive
b.	kašïŋ- 'call'			
		kaš-ï-šïŋ-s-	(7)	-stem + reduplication of the last syllable
		kašïŋ-šïŋ-s-	(1)	-stem + reduplication of the last syllable of the stem
		kašïŋ-š-	(1)	-causative form
c.	g^{w}aʏänt- 'fear'			
		g^{w}aʏä-ʏä-s-	(1)	-reduplication of the final syllable + passive
		g^{w}aʏän-š-	(1)	-stem + causative form
		g^{w}aʏä-ʏä-nï-s-	(2)	-reduplication of the second CV of the stem
		g^{w}aʏänt-	(2)	-the verb stem only
		g^{w}aʏï-nï-nï-s-	(1)	-deletion of the last radical + reduplication
		g^{w}aʏä-ʏä-nt-	(1)	-reduplication of the second CV of the stem
		g^{w}aʏä-nï-sï-se-	(1)	-obscured form
d.	ǰaʏ- 'insult'			
		ǰaʏ-äʏ-ïs-	(5)	-reduplication of the VC of the stem
		_____	(1)	-no response

	ǰaʏ-s-ä-ǰaʏ-s-	(2)	-stem + passive + link. + reduplication + passive
	ǰaʏ-ä-sï-sï-	(1)	-stem + link. + double passive
e.	akäbär- 'respect' (Amh.)		
	tä-käbabär-s-	(6)	-Amharic borrowing but double passive
	käbär-är-s-	(1)	-reduplication of the final CV of the stem
	tä-käbabär-	(1)	-Amharic borrowing (as it is)
	yïkä-kä-l-s-	(1)	-(see the paradigm for 'love' in (g))
f.	sïsït- 'yearn' (Kemantney) nafäk'- 'yearn' (Amharic)		
	yïkäl-s-ä-käl-s-	(1)	-(see the paradigm for 'love' in (g))
	yik-ä-käl-s-	(2)	-(see the paradigm for 'love' in (g))
	näfafäk'-sï-	(1)	-Amharic reciprocity structure (borrowing) + passive
	tä-näf-af-äk'-s-	(2)	-Amharic reciprocity (borrowing) + passive
	nafäk'-sï-	(1)	-passive (Amharic verb + Kemantney passive marker)
	sïsït-	(1)	-verb stem only
	sïs-ä-sïs-	(1)	-reduplication of the first CVC + link. + passive
g.	yïkäl- 'love'		
	yïkäl-s-ä-käl-s-	(2)	-verb stem+passive + link.+ red. + passive
	yïkä-käl-s-	(7)	-reduplication of the first CV + passive
h.	g^{w}art- 'fight'		
	g^{w}art-	(5)	-only verb stem
	g^{w}art-ä-g^{w}art-	(3)	-reduplication of the verb stem + componding
	tär-s-ä-tär-s-[28]	(1)	-reduplication + passive+link. + passive
i.	aräyt- 'agree'		
	aräy-s-	(4)	-passive construction with dropping of *t*
	arä-räy-s-	(5)	-reduplication of the CV of the last syllable + passive
j.	täy- 'hit'		
	ta-s-ä-ta-s-	(6)	-reduplication + dropping of *y* + double passive
	g^{w}art-	(1)	-(see above)
	tä-däb-a-däb-s- (Amh.)	(2)	-borrowing (double passive)

In general, except *xal-*, which is invariant, the rest of the forms vary. This shows that reciprocity is one of the impaired categories. As mentioned in 5.2.2.5.4.1, grammatical features, which are indicated by reduplication, are more vulnerable to deviation.

5.2.2.5.6 Emphatic

The morpheme */-gän/* which is attached to verbs shows emphasis. It is equivalent to the Amharic */-ïko/*, which also shows the same function. Consider the following example.

(1)	an sïlaʏa ǰax-ïʏ^{w}-gän	I beer drink-PS-EMPH	'I did drink beer.'
	ïntï sïlaʏa ǰax-ïy-ïʏ^{w}-gän	you beer drink-2P-PS-EMPH	'You did drink beer.'
	ni sïlaʏa ǰax-ïʏ^{w}-gän	he beer drink-PS-EMPH	'He did drink beer.'
	ni sïlaʏa ǰax-ï-t-gän	she beer drink-PS-3F-EMPH	'She did drink beer.'
	annew sïlaʏa ǰax-n-ïʏ^{w}-gän	we beer drink-PS-EMPH	'We did drink beer.'

[28] The verb *tär-* means 'hate', not 'fight'.

ïntändew sïlaʏạ ǰax-ïy-n-ïʏʷ-gän	you beer drink-PS-EMPH	'You did drink beer.'
naydew sïlaʏa ǰax-n-ïʏʷ-gän	they beer drink-PS-EMPH	'They did drink beer.'

The other nominal emphatic marker is */-(ï)r/* which is equivalent to the Amharic */-m/*.

(2)	kasa-r ayäla-r was-n-ïʏʷ	kasa-too Ayele-too hear-PL-PS	lit. 'Kasa too, Ayele too heard'
	miz-ïs-ïr ǰax-s-ïʏʷ	mead-ACC-too drink-PASS-PS	'The mead too was drank.'
	anä-k'ʷank'ʷ-i-r dïz-ïʏʷ	our-language-NOM-too perish-PS	'Our language too perished.'
	ni gänǰ-ïy-ä-dï an-ir gänǰ-akʷ	she sleep-3F-IMP-if I-too sleep-IMP	'If she sleeps, I will sleep too.'

Cleft constructions are also used to show emphasis as shown below.

(3)	nïŋ gala täkʷäs-s-aʏ	house is burn-PASS-REL	'It is the house which was burnt.'
	ni-t gala ni xal-ey	he-ACC is she see-REL	'It is him that she saw.'
	an gayïl yïxʷïm faʏ-ar	I am last year marry-REL	'It is me who married last year.'
	anǰïŋ gala naydew fäš-n-äw	yesterday is they take-PL-REL	'It is yesterday that they took.'

As shown in example (3), the emphasized element appears initially followed by the copula and then by the relative verb. In normal utterances, however, the head noun follows its relative modifier.

The other particle which shows emphasis is */-ge/*. It is equivalent to the Amharic *ïnǰï*.

(4)	was-iw-ge	hear-JUS-EMPH	'Let me hear.'
	was-ge	hear-EMPH	'You hear.'
	was-d-ïwä-ge	hear-3M-JUS-EMPH	'Let him hear.'
	was-t-ïwä-ge	hear-3F-JUS-EMPH	'Let her hear.'
	was-n-ïwä-ge	hear-PL-JUS-EMPH	'Let us hear.'
	was-ä-ge	hear-IMP-EMPH	'You (PL) hear.'
	was-d-ïn-wä-ge	hear-3P-PL-JUS-EMPH	'Let them hear.'

As we can see from the above examples, the particle appears finally following other inflectional elements. The most frequently used emphatic marker is */-ge/* followed by */-(ï)r/*. Others forms are used by fluent speakers of the language.

5.2.2.6 Mood

5.2.2.6.1 The Gerundive

The gerundive form shows the precedence of an action over another action designated by the main verb. According to Appleyard (1992), the gerundive is formed with the suffix */-o/* in all persons. Though */-o/* was also recorded from some informants, as shown below, the predominantly used form is */-(ï)wä/*. As mentioned in 3.4.1.2 example (1), and 3.4.1.3 example (1), its variant */-ä/* appears following the suffix */-y/* in the 2S and 3F where */w/* is deleted. Observe the following examples.

(1)	an xašänt-ïwä	I steal-GER	'I, having stolen'
	ïntï xašänt-ïy-ä	you steal-2P-GER	'You (2S), having stolen'
	ni xašänt-ïwä	he steal-GER	'He, having stolen'

ni xašänt-ïy-ä	she steal-F-GER	'She, having stolen'
annew xašänt-ïn-wä	we steal-PL-GER	'We, having stolen'
ïntändew xašänt-i-n-wä	you steal-2P-PL-GER	'You (PL), having stolen'
naydew xašänt-ïn-wä	they steal-PL-GER	'They, having stolen'

The gerundive is not always marked especially in the speech of passive speakers. In the following examples, it is designated by a zero morpheme for all persons.

(2)	an gaŋ-∅	I run	'I having ran'
	ïntï gaŋ-y-∅	you run-2P-GER	'you having ran'
	ni gaŋ-∅	he run	'he having ran'
	ni gaŋ-y-∅	she run-3F-GER	'she having ran'
	annew gaŋ-ïn-∅	we run-PL	'we having ran'
	ïntändew gaŋ-y-ïn-∅	you run-2P-PL	'you having ran'
	naydew gaŋ-ïn-∅	they run-PL	'they having ran'

Irrespective of the reduction of the gerundive marker in (2) above, the expected forms are: *gaŋ-wä* (1S), *gaŋ-y-ä/i* (2S), *gaŋ-wä* (3MS), *gaŋ-y-ä/i* (3FS), *gaŋ-n-ïwä* (1PL), *gaŋ-y-ïn-wä* (2PL), and *gaŋ-ïn-wä* (3PL). In the following example, the gerundive marker */-wä/* appears only in the 2PL.

(3)	an dïw-∅	'I having told'	annew dïw-ïn-∅	'we having told'
	ïntï dïw-y-∅	'you having told'	ïntändew dïw-y-ïn-wä	'you having told'
	ni dïw-∅	'he having told'	naydew dïw-ïn-∅	'they having told'
	ni dïw-y-∅	'she having told'		

Borrowed forms show the gerundive as follows.

(4)	an fäläg-wä	I want-GER	'I, having wanted'
	ïntï fäläg-y-ä	you want-2P-GER	'you, having wanted'
	ni fäläg-wä	he want-GER	'he, having wanted'
	ni fäläg-y-ä	she want-3F-GER	'she, having wanted'
	annew fäläg-n-ïwä	we want-PL-GER	'we, having wanted'
	ïntändew fäläg-y-ïn-wä	you want-2P-PL-GER	'you, having wanted'
	naydew fäläg-n-ïwä	they want-PL-GER	'they, having wanted'

Consider the sentences below.

(5) a. ni samä -s fäš- wä ayyäy- wä fiy-aʏ
he money-ACC take-GER market-to go-PS
'He, having taken the money, went to the market.'

b. kasä ni- niŋ- ïs sär-wä akäräy-š- ïʏ^{w}
asa his-house-ACC build-GER rent- CAUS-PS
'Kasa, having built his house, rented it.'

c. an yïwnä faʏ- wä samä- s k'^{w}ät'äb-ïʏ^{w}
I wife marry-GER money-ACC save- PS
'I getting married, saved money.'

d. ni xʷïrrä ˌ niŋa käbän-y-ä gašïz-ï- t
she children two born-3F-GER rear-PS-3F
'She, having born two children, reared them.'

e. annew kasa y-ïn-wä käwäy-n-ïʏʷ
we Kasa say-PL-GER shout-PL-PS
'We shouted having said Kasa.'

f. nadew nädäd- s- ïn- wä gaŋ-n-ïʏʷ
they be angry-pas.-PL-GER run-PL-PS
'They ran having been angry.'

g. yïl xal- wä lïbäk- i färïy-äkʷ
eye see-GER heart-NOM judge-IMP
'An eye, having seen, judges the heart.'

h. ïntï wämbär-ïs fäš- y- ä ïllï täkʷäsïm
you chair- ACC take-2P-GER here sit down (imperative)
'You, having taken a stool, sit here!'

i. gämän-i kïbn- il zäläl- wä käm-ey xʷïm- ïs xïnčïl- ïʏʷ
lion- NOM forest-from jump-GER cow-of neck-acc clutch-PS
'The lion, having jumped from the forest, clutched the throat of the cow.'

j. ïntï bïzu axʷ ǰax- y- ä wäfär- iy-äʏʷ
you too much water drink-2P-GER become fat-2P-PS
'You, having drank too much water, became fat.'

The morpheme */-o/* which is similar to the Kemantney */-wä/* is also used in Amharic gerundive forms in the 3MS as in *wäsd-o* 'He, having taken', *agbït-o* 'he, having married', *ayt-o* 'he, having seen', *zäll-o* 'he, having jumped' etc. Hence, the substitution of */-wä/* by */-o/* could be due to the influence of Amharic where the morpheme */-o/* is used.

5.2.2.6.1.1 Terminal Speakers and the Gerundive

There exists no considerable loss in the gerundive morphology among competent speakers. Almost all informants supply the same morpheme. Minor differences are those below:

	AA	AyT	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä
b.	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä
c.	-wä	-∅	-wä	-∅	-wä	-∅	-wä	-wä	-wä
d.	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-a	-ä	-ä	-ä
e.	-än	-∅	-wä	-∅	-wä	-än	-wä	-wä	-wä
f.	-wä	-äw	-wä	-wä	-wä	-∅	-∅	-wä	-wä
g.	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä
h.	-∅	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä
i.	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä
j.	-ä	-ä	-ä	-∅	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä

Table 13: The gerundive among terminal speakers

There are thirteen deviations from the normative form. Nine cases were supplied without the gerundive suffix (see the ∅s by AA, AyT, LT, MT, and TA). The other four deviations are from AA, AyT, and MT where the Amharic gerundive equivalents */-än/*, */-äw/* and */-a/* and */-än/* were used respectively. Interestingly, the Kemantney gerundive was supplied uniformly in (a), (b), (g) and (i) as a result of the similarity of the 3MS gerundive suffixes in both Kemantney and Amharic. In general, the Kemantney gerundive shows 85% of retention and 15% of deviation.

5.2.2.6.2 The Jussive

The Jussive has the following forms in all except the 2nd person.

(1)	an kïlïŋ-iw	I dance-JUS	'Let me dance.'
	ni kïlïŋ-d-ïwä	he dance-3M-JUS	'Let him dance.'
	ni kïlïŋ-t-ïwä	she dance-3F-JUS	'Let her dance.'
	annew kïlïŋ-n-ïwä	we dance-PL-JUS	'Let us dance.'
	naydew kïlïŋ-d-ïn-wä	they dance-3P-PL-JUS	'Let them dance.'
(2)	an kint-iw	I learn-JUS	'Let me learn.'
	ni kint-ïd-wä	he learn-3M-JUS	'Let him learn.'
	ni kint-ït-wä	she learn-3F-JUS	'Let her learn.'
	annew kint-ïn-wä	we learn-PL-JUS	'Let us learn.'
	naydew kint-ïd-ïn-wä	they learn-3P-PL-JUS	'Let them learn.'

The jussive suffixes are */-iw/* for the 1S and */-(ï)wä/* for the other persons which makes it similar to the gerundive. As can be seen, unlike in the other verb paradigms, the suffix */-(ï)d/* appears as a 3MS and 3PL marker in the jussive. */-ïd/* changes to its voiceless counterpart in the 3FS. The jussive markers appear finally following agreement suffixes. The negative jussive, on the other hand, has the following form.

(3)	an kïlïŋ-ä-l-∅	I dance-IMP-NEG-JUS	'Let me not dance/I do not dance.'
	ni kïlïŋ-g-in	he dance-NEG-JUS	'Let him not dance.'
	ni kïlïŋ-k-in	she dance-NEG-JUS	'Let her not dance.'
	annew kïlïŋ-n-ä-l-∅	we dance-PL-IMP-NEG-JUS	'Let us not dance/We do not dance.'
	naydew kïlïŋ-g-ïn-in	they dance-NEG-PL-JUS	'Let them not dance.'
(4)	an kint-ä-l-∅	I learn-IMP-NEG-JUS	'Let me not learn/I do not learn.'
	ni kint-ïg-in	he learn-NEG-JUS	'Let him not learn.'
	ni kint-ïk-in	she learn-NEG-JUS	'Let her not learn.'
	annew kint-ïn-ä-l-∅	we learn-PL-IMP-NEG-JUS	'Let us not learn/We do not learn.'
	naydew kint-ïg-ïn-in	they learn-NEG-PL-JUS	'Let them not learn.'

In the negative, the jussive marker is */-in/* but not in all persons. In the first person singular and plural, it is a zero morpheme. Another difference between the first person and the third person

is on the negative particle. Whereas in the first person, negation is marked by */-l/*, in the third person, it is marked by */-g/ ~ /-k/* which appears in subordinate verbs (cf. section 3.16).

5.2.2.6.2.1 Terminal Speakers and the Jussive

The sentences below were administered to ten informants.

(5) a. an kʷïˑ- šdï kïlïŋ-iw
I you-with dance-JUS
'Let me dance with you.'

b. ni ni- säyïŋ-ïs läwäy- d- ïwä
he his-cloth-acc change-3P-JUS
'Let him change his clothe.'

c. annew laʏ-ïl xʷï-n-wä
we one-by eat-PL-JUS
'Let us eat together.'

d. ni t'äbänǰ-äs melt- äntä- z yïw- t-ïwä
she gun- ACC keep-AG-for give-3F-JUS
'Let her give the gun to the keeper (guard).'

e. ni gʷïyäbä- z tï- d- wä
he morning-by come-3P-JUS
'Let him come in the morning.'

f. annew fasikä-z bira wayt-ïn-wä
we easter-for ox buy-PL-JUS
'Let us buy an ox for Easter.'

g. naydew mäsärätä tïmïrt-ïz gämär-dï-n- wä
they basic education-about talk- 3p.-PL-JUS
'Let them talk about basic education.'

h. an mäǰämäre asäb-iw
I first think-JUS
'Let me think first.'

i. kasa annew-dï(k) fäy-d- ïwä
Kasa we-with go-3p.-JUS
'Let Kasa go with us.'

The following table shows their responses.

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	-iw	-∅	-iw	-iw	-iw	-iw	-∅	-iw	-iw	-iw
b.	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä
c.	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä
d.	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä
e.	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä
f.	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä
g.	-wä	-∅	-wä	-∅	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä
h.	-iw	-iw	-iw	-iw	-iw	-iw	-iw	-iw	-iw	-iw
i.	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä	-wä

Table 14: The jussive among terminal speakers

As shown in (table 14), only AyT, DA and MT supplied forms omitting the jussive marker. The responses of the other informants, however, reveal that the jussive is intact among terminal speakers. The rate of retention is 97%.

5.2.2.6.3 The Imperative

The imperative is expressed in five different ways: by complete change of verb (suppletion), suffixation of */-a/*, bare stem, and a combination of the first two. Compare the following examples:

(1) t- 'come'

laʏʷ 'You (2MS) come!' t-ït-a come-NEG-IMPR 'You (2MS), do not come!'

	laʏ^{w}	'You (2FS) come!'	t-ït-a	come-NEG-IMPR	'You (2FS), do not come!'
	laʏ^{w}-a	'You (2PL) come!'	t-ït-ïn-a	come-NEG-PL-IMPR	'You (2PL), do not come!'
(2)	xal-	'look'			
	xal	'You (2MS) look!'	xal-t-a	look-NEG-IMPR	'You (2MS), do not look!'
	xal	'You (2FS) look!'	xal-t-a	look-NEG-IMPR	'You (2FS), do not look!'
	xal-a	'You (2PL) look!'	xal-t-ïn-a	look-NEG-PL-IMPR	'You (2PL), do not look!'
(3)	gänǰ-	'sleep'			
	gänǰï	'You (2MS) sleep!'	gänǰ-ït-a	sleep-NEG-IMPR	'You (2MS), do not sleep!'
	gänǰï	'You (2FS) sleep!'	gänǰ-ït-a	sleep-NEG-IMPR	'You (2FS), do not sleep!'
	gänǰ-a	'You (2PL) sleep!'	gänǰ-ït-ïn-a	sleep-NEG-PL-IMPR	'You (2PL), do not sleep!'

As the examples show, in the affirmative, the imperative ending appears only in the plural whereas in the negative, it also appears in the singular. An irregular suppletive form are shown in the verbs *t-* 'come'[29] and *läš-* 'take' whose imperative forms are *laʏ^{w}* 'come' and *as* 'take!' respectively. As shown in the examples, the commonest imperative marker is a zero morpheme in the singular, whereas in the plural, it is */-a/*.

In the 2POL form, the imperative marker is */-in/* as in the following examples.

(4) xal-n-in see-PL-IMPR 'You (2POL) go!'
gänǰ-ïn-in sleep-PL-IMPR 'You (2POL) sleep!'

Unlike the 2PL where the plural marker */-n/* is dropped, in the 2POL, it appears. As shown in the above examples, the negative marker in the imperative is */-(ï)t/* in both the singular and plural.

5.2.2.6.3.1 Terminal Speakers and the Imperative

The following ten control sentences were given to nine informants and their responses are shown in (table 15).

(5) a. ïntï ti- säyiŋ-ïs läwäy
you (2S) your-cloth- ACC change (2S)
'You! Change your clothe!'

b. ïntï ax^{w} -s nan ǰax
you (2S) water-ACC now drink (2S)
'You! Drink the water now!'

c. nay wïlaʏi-wä gaŋ- n- in
you (POL) field- to run- PL-IMPR (2POL)
'You! Run to the field being quick!'

d. ïntändew ïwnät-ïs gämär-a
you (PL) truth-ACC tell-IMPR (2PL)
'You! Tell the truth!'

e. ïntï ïllï laʏ
you (2S) here come (2S)
'You! Come here!'

f. ayru yïllï fäy
you (2FS) there go (2S)
'You! Go there!'

g. nay mät'af-ïs yï- š anäbäb-n- in
you book- ACC me-for read-PL-IMPR (2POL)
'You! Read me the book!'

h. ïntändew abïn- tï- dï gänǰ-a
you (PL) guest-PL-with sleep-IMPR (2PL)
'You! Sleep with the guests!'

[29]According to Appleyard (1987b), such irregular imperative forms of 'come' can be taken as an areal feature of the Horn including Semitic languages.

i.	ïntï	ˌni- l	šämärginä-s	läš		j.	ïntï	fïntïra-t	ayyäy- ïwä fäš
	you (2S)	he-from	spear-	ACC bring (2S)			you (2S)	goat- ACC	market-to take (2S)
	'You! Bring the spear from him!'						'You! Take the goat to the market!'		

The following table shows the morphemes recorded.

	AA	AyT	BH	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM
a.	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
b.	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
c.	-in	__	__	-in	-in	-in	__	-in	-in
d.	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a
e.	laʏ	laʏ	laʏ	laʏ	laʏ^{w}	laʏ^{w}	laʏ^{w}	laʏ	laʏ
f.	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
g.	-in	__	__	-in	-in	-in	__	-in	-in
h.	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a
i.	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
j.	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅

Table 15: The imperative among nine terminal speakers

The informants have no problem with the 2S imperative forms. It seems that this form is easy to recall because it is identical with the verb stem itself (look at examples (a), (b), (i) and (j) which are represented by the empty morpheme (∅)). In the 2POL, AyT, BH and MT supplied the unmarked form in (c) and (g). The *laʏ/laʏ^{w}* represents the irregular imperative form *come*! Whereas some informants labialize the last consonant, others do not. On the whole, the inconsistency is detected only in four forms which is about 6.7%, while the retention rate is 93.3%.

5.2.2.6.4 The Conditional

The suffix */-dï(k)/* mark conditional or hypothetical mood which is equivalent to 'if' in English and */kä-/* in Amharic. It is suffixed to the verb of the protasis clause. Like the rest of subordinate verbs, conditional verbs are inflected for person, number and tense/aspect. Compare the following examples.

(1)	an was-ä-dï(k)	I hear-IMP-COND	'if I hear'
	ïntï was-y-ä-dï(k)	you hear-2P-IMP-COND	'if you hear'
	ni was-ä-dï(k)	he hear-IMP-COND	'if he hears'
	ni was-y-ä-dï(k)	she hear-3F-IMP-COND	'if she hears'
	annew was-n-ä-dï(k)	we hear-PL-IMP-COND	'if we hear'
	ïntandew was-y-ïn-ä-dï(k)	you hear-2P-PL-IMP-COND	'if you (PL) hear'
	naydew was-n-ä-dï(k)	they hear-PL-IMP-COND	'if they hear'

The conditional can also be expressed by the suffix */-n/* as in (2) below. */-n/* can substitute */-dï(k)/* without causing any meaning difference.

(2)	an faʏ-ä-n šäraʏ gala	I marry-IMP-COND good it is	'It is good if I marry.'
	ïntï faʏ-ïy-ä-n šäraʏ gala	you marry-2P-IMP-COND good it is	'It is good if you marry.'
	ni faʏ-ä-n šäraʏ gala	he marry-IMP-COND good it is	'It is good if he marries.'

ni faʏ-ïy-ä-n šə̈raʏ gala	she marry-3F-IMP-COND good it is	'It is good if she marries.'
annew faʏ-n-ä-n šäraʏ gala	we marry-PL-IMP-COND good it is	'It is good if we marry.'
ïntändew faʏ-ïy-n-ä-n šäraʏ gala	you marry-2P-PL-COND good it is	'It is good if you marry.'
naydew faʏ-än-ä-n šäraʏ gala	they marry-PL-IMP-COND good it is	'It is good if they marry.'

The temporal relations are expressed by the suffix /-ŋ^{w}/ 'when'. Consider example (3) below.

(3)			
	an gaŋ-ä-ŋ^{w}	I run-IMP-COND	'when I run'
	ïntï gaŋ-y-ä-ŋ^{w}	you run-2P-IMP-COND	'when you run'
	ni gaŋ-ä-ŋ^{w}	he run-IMP-COND	'when he runs'
	ni gaŋ-y-ä-ŋ^{w}	she run-3F-IMP-COND	'when she runs'
	annew gaŋ-n-ä-ŋ^{w}	we run-PL-IMP-COND	'when we run'
	ïntändew gaŋ-y-ïn-ä-ŋ^{w}	you run-2P-PL-IMP-COND	'when you run'
	naydew gaŋ-n-ä-ŋ^{w}	they run-PL-IMP-COND	'when they run'

5.2.2.6.4.1 Terminal Speakers and the Conditional

The following sentences were administered to eight informants to determine the degree of retention of conditional marking.

(4) a. an ni- t xal- ä- dï(k) k^{w}ï- š dïw-äk^{w}
I he-ACC see-IMP-COND you- for tell-IMP
'If I see him, I will tell you.'

b. an gondär-wä fiy- ä- dï(k) k^{w}ï- t kašïŋ-äk^{w}
I Gondar-to go- IMP-COND you-ACC call- IMP
'If I go to Gondar, I will call you.'

c. ni šaʏïya aʏ- y- ä- dï(k) ni faʏ- äk^{w}
she beautiful be- 3F-IMP-COND he marry-IMP
'If she is beautiful, he will marry her.'

d. ni samä tïŋ- ä- dï(k) mäkina wayt-äk^{w}
he money get- IMP-COND car buy-IMP
'If he gets money, he will buy a car.'

e. ïntï yï- t käsäs- y- ä- dï(k) an k^{w}ï- t käsäs- äk^{w}
you me-obj.accuse-2S-IMP-COND I you-ACC accuse-IMP
'If you accuse me, I will accuse you.'

f. kasa t'änkar- ä- dï(k) nan gondär tïŋ-äk^{w}
Kasa be strong-IMP-COND now Gondar reach-IMP
'If Kasa is strong, he reaches Gondar now.'

g. yïwne- x^{w}ïra ax- änta aʏ-ïy- ä- dï(k) amär tiy- ä- t
female-child know-AGEN be- 3F-IMP-COND tomorrow go-IMP-3FS
'If the woman is knowledgable, she will come tomorrow.'

h. annew kïbnä- s täk^{w}äz-n- ä- dï(k) xäšaʏ- s- ïn- äk^{w}
we forest-ACC burn- PL-IMP-COND punish- PASS-PL-IMP
'If we burn the forest, we will be punished.'

i. naydew ǰanä k^{w}ï- n- ä- dï(k) šäw- s- äk^{w}- ïn
they elephant kill- PL-IMP-COND imprison-PASS-IMP-3PL
'If they kill an elephant, they will be imprisoned.'

j. ïntändew zaf täkäl- i- n- ä- dï(k) šäläm- s- y- äk^{w}- ïn
you tree plant-2P-PL-IMP-COND reward-PASS-2P-IMP-2PL
'If you plant a tree, you will be rewarded.'

The conditional mood is among the intact morphological paradigms. As shown in (table 10) below, a considerable number of speakers use the other conditional subordinate suffixes: */-n/* and */-ŋ^{w}/* instead of */dï(k)/*.

	AA	AyT	DA	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	-dï	-ŋ^{w}	-dïk	-dï	-ŋ^{w}	-dï	-ŋ^{w}	-dï
b.	-ŋ^{w}	-dïk	-ŋ^{w}	-ŋ^{w}	-dï	-ŋ^{w}	-ŋ^{w}	-dï
c.	-ŋ^{w}	-dïk	-dï	-n	-dï	-dï	-dïk	-dï
d.	-ŋ^{w}	-dïk	-dï	-dïk	-dï	-dï	-dïk	-dï
e.	-ŋ^{w}	-dïk	-ŋ^{w}	-ŋ^{w}	-ŋ^{w}	-dï	-ŋ^{w}	-dï
f.	-dïk	-dïk	-dï	-dïk	-dï	-dï	-dïk	-dï
g.	-än	-dïk	-än	-ti	-dï	-dï	-dïk	-dï
h.	-ŋ^{w}	-dïk	-än	-än	-ŋ^{w}	-dï	-ŋ^{w}	-dï
i.	-dïk	-dïk	-än	-dïk	-dïk	-dï	-ŋ^{w}	-dï
j.	-ŋ^{w}	-dïk	-dï	-ŋ^{w}	-dïk	-dï	-ŋ^{w}	-dï

Table 10: The conditional mood among terminal speakers

Among the eight informants, AyT, MT and WMM in (a); AA, DA, MM, TA and WMM in (b); AA in (c); AA in (d); AA, DA, MM, MT and WMM in (e); AA, MT and WMM in (h); WMM in (i) and finally AA, MM and WMM in (j) use the *when-clause* for the *if-clause.* This is about 33.7%. The others (AA, DA and MM) use */-n/* which also refers to the *if-clause*. That is about 7.5%. MM used the 3F indicator */-t(i)/* with the main verb in (g) which is only 1.2%. The other 58.1% provided the */-dï(k)/* ending, as expected. The speakers use the three suffixes freely. As a result, the above conditional sentences in (4) can be uttered with a similar meaning. Observe the first three sentences as examples.

(5) a. an ni-t xal- ä- ŋ^{w} k^{w}ï- š dïw-äk^{w}
I he-ACC see-IMP-COND you-for tell-1S
'When I see him, I will tell you.'

b. an gondär-wä fiy-ä- ŋ^{w} k^{w}ï- t kašiŋ-äk^{w}
I Gondar-to go- IMP-COND you-ACC call- IMP
'When I go to Gondar, I will call you.'

c. ni šaʏïya aʏïy-y- ä- ŋ^{w} ni faʏ- äk^{w}
she beautiful be- 3F-IMP-COND he marry-IMP
'When she is beautiful, he will marry her.'

Generally speaking, the conditional suffixes are well remembered by terminal speakers.

5.2.2.7 The Interrogative

There are three kinds of interrogatives in Kemantney. The first is morphological using the morphemes: */-i/*, */-ma/* and */-a/* in verbs. This applies to 'yes' or 'no' questions. Compare first the interrogative in the affirmative conjugation.

(1)	gaŋ-i	run-Q	'Do (will) I run?'		gaŋ-n-i	run-PL-Q	'Do (wiil) we run?'
	gaŋ-y-i	run-2P-Q	'Do (will) you run?'		gaŋ-y-än-i	run-2P-PL-Q	'Do (will) you run?'
	gaŋ-i	run-Q	'Does (will) he run?'		gaŋ-än-i	run-3p.-PL-Q	'Do (will) they run?'
	gaŋ-y-i	run-3F-Q	'Does (will) she run?'				

As illustrated in (1), the interrogative marker */-i/* is suffixed to verb stems as in the 1S and 3MS or to the inflected form as in the rest. In other interrogative forms, the */-ma/* interrogative suffix, which is equivalent to the Amharic interrogative marker */-n/*, as in *ï-rot'-all-ähu-nï* 'Would I run?', *tï-rot'-all-äh-ïnï* 'Would you run?' and so on, appears following the interrogative indicator */-i/*. Hence, examples in (1) can add the interrogative morpheme */-ma/* as shown below.

(2)	gaŋ-i-ma	run-Q-Q (EMPH)	'Do (will) I run?'
	gaŋ-y-i-ma	run-2P-Q-Q (EMPH)	'Do (will) you run?'
	gaŋ-i-ma	run-Q-Q (EMPH)	'Does (will) he run?'
	gaŋ-y-i-ma	run-3F-Q-Q (EMPH)	'Does (will) she run?'
	gaŋ-n-i-ma	run-PL-Q- Q (EMPH)	'Do (will) we run?'
	gaŋ-y-än-i-ma	run-2P-PL-Q-Q (EMPH)	'Do (will) you run?'
	gaŋ-än-i-ma	run-3p.-PL-Q-Q (EMPH)	'Do (will) they run?'

In the present perfect, the interrogative marker remains */-i/* as shown in (3) below.

(3)	gaŋ-wan-i	run-AUX-Q	'Have I ran?'	gaŋ-nï-wan-i	run-PL-AUX-Q	'Have we ran?'
	gaŋ-y-an-i	run-2P-AUX-Q	'Have you ran?'	gaŋ-ïy-nï-wan-an-i	run-2P-PL-AUX-PL-Q	'Have you ran?'
	gaŋ-wan-i	run-AUX-Q	'Has he ran?'	gaŋ-nï-wan-i	run-PL-AUX-Q	'Havethey ran?'
	gaŋ-y-an-i	run-3F-AUX-Q	'Has she ran?'			

When the verb is in the simple past, the interrogative marker is */-a/* as shown in (4) below.

(4)	gaŋ-a	run-Q	'Did I run?'	gaŋ-n-a	run-PL-Q	'Did we run?'
	gaŋ-y-a	run-2P-Q	'Did you run?'	gaŋ-ïy-n-a	run-2P-PL-Q	'Did you run?'
	gaŋ-a	run-Q	'Did he run?'	gaŋ-n-a	run-PL-Q	'Did they run?'
	gaŋ-y-a	run-3F-Q	'Did she run?'			

In relative verbs, the particle is */-ma/*. In the following example, the last vowel of the interrogative marker */a/* changes to */ä/* being followed by the enclitic */-ni/* which replaces the copula.

(5)	gaŋ-ar-mä-ni	run-REL-Q-COP	lit. 'Am I/Will I be/ the one who will run?'
	gaŋ-ïy-ar-mä-ni	run-2P-REL -Q-COP	lit. 'Are you /Will you be/ the one who will run?'
	gaŋ-aʏ-mä-ni	run-REL-Q-COP	lit. 'Is he/Will he be/ the one who will run?'
	gaŋ-ïy-mä-ni	run- REL-Q-COP	lit. 'Is he/Will she be/ the one who will run?'

gaŋ-n-ar-mä-ni	run-PL-REL-Q-COP	lit. 'Are we/Will we be/ the ones who will run?'
gaŋ-ïy-än-ar-mä-ni	run-2P-PL-REL-Q-COP	lit. 'Are you (PL)/Will you be/ the ones who will run?'
gaŋ-äw-mä-ni	run-REL-Q-COP	lit. 'Are they/Will they be/ the ones who will run?'

The negative interrogative involves a relative verb in both the imperfect and perfect tenses. In (6) below is given an example for the negative interrogative in the imperfect.

(6)	gaŋ-ä-g-ir-ma	run-IMP-NEG-REL-Q	lit. 'Do (will) I not run?'
	gaŋ-ä-k-ar-ma	run-IMP-NEG(2P)-REL-Q	lit. 'Do (will) you not run?'
	gaŋ-ä-g-aʏ-ma	run-IMP-NRG-REL-Q	lit. 'Do (will) he not run?'
	gaŋ-ä-k-äy-ma	run-IMP-NEG(3F)-REL-Q	lit. 'Do (will) she not run?'
	gaŋ-ä-g-ïn-ir-ma	run-IMP-NEG-PL-REL-Q	lit. 'Do (will) we not run?'
	gaŋ-ä-k-ïn-ir-ma	run-IMP-NEG(2P)-PL-REL-Q	lit. 'Do (will) you not run?'
	gaŋ-ä-g-äw-ma	run-IMP-NEG-REL-Q	lit. 'Do (will) they not run?'

The negative interrogative in the imperfect (6) is different from the negative interrogative in the perfect (7) only in the tense/aspect marker. In the former, */-ä/* appears as imperfect marker whereas in the latter, there is no tense/aspect marker.

(7)	gaŋ-g-ir-ma	run-NEG-REL-Q	lit. 'Did I not run?'
	gaŋ-k-ar-ma	run-NEG(2P)-REL-Q	lit. 'Did you not run?'
	gaŋ-g-aʏ-ma	run-NEG-REL-Q	lit. 'Did he not run?'
	gaŋ-k-äy-ma	run-NEG(3F)-REL-Q	lit. 'Did she not run?'
	gaŋ-g-ïn-ir-ma	run-NEG-PL-REL-Q	lit. 'Did we not run?'
	gaŋ-k-ïn-ir-ma	run-NEG(2P)-PL-REL-Q	lit. 'Did you (PL) not run?'
	gaŋ-g-äw-ma	run-NEG-REL-Q	lit. 'Did they not run?'

When asking permission, the interrogative has the following form where the jussive forms appear with the interrogative suffix */-ma/*.

(8)	ǰax-iw-ma	drink-JUS-Q	'May I drink?'
	ǰax-t-ïw-ma	drink-2P-JUS-Q	'May you drink?'
	ǰax-d-ïwä-ma	drink-3MS-JUS-Q	'May he drink?'
	ǰax-t-ïwä-ma	drink-3FS-JUS-Q	'May she drink?'
	ǰax-n-ïwä-ma	drink-PL-JUS-Q	'May we drink?'
	ǰax-t-ïn-wä-ma	drink-2P-PL-JUS-Q	'May you (PL) drink?'
	ǰax-d-ïn-wä-ma	drink-3P-PL-JUS-Q	'May they drink?'

The last yes/no type of question involves the use of the question particle *wiya* lit. 'Is it so?'. This is similar to the Amharic interrogative marker *wäy*. Examples are: *ǰax-ïʏʷ wiya* 'Is it so that I/he drank?', *ǰax-ïʏʷ wiya* 'Is it so that I/he drank?', *ǰax-y-ïʏʷ wiya* 'Is it so that you (SG) drank?', *ǰax-n-ïʏʷ wiya* 'Is it so that we drank?', etc.

The second type of question is the wh-question. These interrogative forms are formed by using wh-words which include the following:

(9) a. ïnni aw- i nïŋ- ni
this who-of house-is
'Whose house is this?'

b. ni wä šäb- y- ä- sab- ni
he what do- 3F-IMP-prog.-is
'What is she doing?'

c. ni awït gänǰ-aʏ
he where sleep-REL
'Where is it that he slept?'

d. ïntï ti- ïdme wixa- ni
you your-age how many -is
lit. 'How many is your age?'

e. ni awïn t- ïʏ^{w}
he when come-PS
'When did he come?'

f. ïntï ti- šïŋ^{w} aw- ni
you your-name who-is
'What is your name?'

g. ïntï wiʏ^{w} f- ät- iʏ^{w}
you why go-2P-PS
'Why did you go?'

h. ïntï awït- zï ti- käw fät-iy- äk^{w}
you where-by your-village go-2P-IMP
lit. 'By where do you go to your village?'

i. ïntï ti- šïŋ^{w} aw- ni
you your-name who-is
lit.'Who is your name?'

Appleyard (1975) considers */-ni/* as an interrogative particle which occurs freely in nouns and verbs. In the present material, the interrogative endings which appear with verbs are the ones mentioned above. In interrogative sentences (a), (b), (d), (f) and (i), */-ni/* is attached to the question word *aw* 'what' where the interrogative sentence lacks a verb. If we take this particle as part of the question word, in all of its occurrences, such interrogative sentences will be verbless and hence unacceptable. However, the place of verbs (in this case, be-verbs) is occupied by the particle */-ni/*. For instance, (9a) should have been *ïnni awi nïŋ gala* /this whose house is/ 'Whose house is this?'. In the same way, (9f) should have been *ïntï ti-šïŋ^{w} aw gala* /you your-name who is/ 'What is your name?'. Hence, the status of */-ni/* is that of copula when it appears with nouns and interrogative pronouns.

As can be seen in the examples, the question words appear following the subject and preceding the predicate. However, they can also appear initially as shown below.

wä-ni gabi	what-is thing	'What is the matter?'
aw gänǰ-ïʏ^{w}	who sleep-PS	'Who slept?'
awït fä-t-ar-ni	where go-2P-REL-are	'Where are you going?'
wä šäb-wä gaŋ-ïʏ^{w}	what do-GER-run-REL	'Having done what did he run?'

The third way of interrogation refers to echo questions. They are intonational. Hence, whereas in other types of questions, the intonation is level, in echo questions, the intonation is rising.

5.2.2.7.1 Terminal Speakers and the Interrogative

Terminal speakers perform well in using interrogative forms. There are cases, however, where some informants confuse between the interrogative particles */-i/* and */-a/*. The use of the affirmative forms with a rising intonation like in Amharic is frequently observed. In other words, informants prefer using echo questions such as *ni sïlaʏa ǰax-ä-ti* 'She drinks beer?' than yes/no questions with interrogative suffixes like *ni sïlaʏa ǰax-y-i*.

5.2.2.8 Negation

Negation is shown by a special set of forms. The forms appear finally following the person, number and tense/aspect markers. Observe the perfect paradigm below for the verb */tïŋ-/* 'find'.

(1)	tïŋ-ïʏ^{w}	find-PS	'I found.'	tïŋ-ï-l	find-PS-NEG	'I did not find.'
	tïŋ-y-ïʏ^{w}	find-2P-PS	'You found.'	tïŋ-y-ï-la	find-2S-PS-NEG	'You did not find.'
	tïŋ-ïʏ^{w}	find-PS	'He found.'	tïŋ-ï-la	find-PS-NEG	'He did not find.'
	tïŋ-ï-t	find-PS-3F	'She found.'	tïŋ-y-ï-la	find-F-PS-NEG	'She did not find.'
	tïŋ-n-ïʏ^{w}	find-PL-PS	'We found.'	tïŋ-ï-l-la/ï	find-PS-PL-NEG	'We did not find.'
	tïŋ-i-n-ïʏ^{w}	find-2P-PL-PS	'You found.'	tïŋ-y-ï-l-la	find-2P-PS-PL-NEG	'You did not find.'
	tïŋ-n-ïʏ^{w}	find-PL-PS	'They found.'	tïŋ-ï-l-la	find-PS-PL-NEG	'They did not find.'

From the above example, it can be seen that the negation is designated by the morpheme */-la/* except in the 1S where it is */-l/*. The independent negative particle *ïlla* 'no' is a derivative of this negative suffix.[30] Consider example (2) below when the same verb conjugates in the imperfect.

(2)	tïŋ-äk^{w}	'I (will) find'	tïŋ-ä-l	find-IMP-NEG	'I will not find'
	tïŋ-y-äk^{w}	'You (will) find'	tïŋ-y-ä-la	find-2S-IMP-NEG	'You will not find'
	tïŋ-äk^{w}	'He (will) find'	tïŋ-ä-la	find-IMP-NEG	'He will not find'
	tïŋ-ä-t	'She (will) find'	tïŋ-y-ä-la	find -F-IMP-NEG	'She will not find'
	tïŋ-n-äk^{w}	'We (will) find'	tïŋ-n-ä-l	find -PL-IMP-NEG	'We will not find'
	tïŋ-y-äk^{w}-ïn	'You (will) find'	tïŋ-y-ä-l-la	find-2P-IMP-PL-NEG	'You will not find'
	tïŋ-äk^{w}-ïn	'They (will) find'	tïŋ-ä-l-la	find -IMP-PL-NEG	'They will not find'

The assimilation of the plural morpheme */-n/* to the negative morpheme */-l/* can be confirmed in the 1PL (see example (2) above) where the usual affirmative plural marker */-n/* appears. Here */-l/* is not geminated due to the occurrence of */-n/* in its position. Observe the following sentences as additional examples.

(3) a. an wäwä ara läš- ï- l
I nothing grain bring-PS-NEG
'I did not bring any food.'

b. annew anǰïŋ šïw-ï- l- la
we yesterday beg-PS-PL-NEG
'We did not pray yesterday.'

[30] Another interesting feature observed in the negative paradigm is the change of the affirmative plural marker */-n/* to */-l/*. The latter geminates as a result of a morphophonological process whereby the former assimilates into it. Incidentally, Appleyard (1992) recorded the plural marker */-n/* in all plural paradigms.

c. ni kasa-t xaʏ- ä- la
he Kasa-ACC beat-IMP-NEG
'He will not beat Kasa.'

d. ni zän šät- y-ä- la
she brother hold-F-IMP-NEG
'She does not have a brother.'

e. naydew asä x^{w}-ïna yïkäl- ä- l- la
they fish eat-to like- IMP-PL-NEG
'They do not like to eat fish.'

f. šäb šämäna aʏïy-la
milk black is- NEG
'Milk is not black.'

g. an aräk'i ǰax- ä- l
I alcohol drink-IMP-NEG
'I do not drink alcohol.'

h. zaf wälïšo gaš- ä- la
tree quickly grow-IMP-NEG
'The tree will not grow up quickly.'

i. naydew amär tiy- ä- l- la
they tomorrow come-IMP-PL-NEG
'They will not come tomorrow.'

j. ïntändew ïntä- mïz- is x^{w}ï-y- ä- l- la
you your-lunch-ACC eat-2P- IMP-PL-NEG
'You will not eat your lunch.'

In Kemantney the negative marker in subordinate verbs is different from that in main verbs, as mentioned above. In subordinate verbs, the morphemes are */-g/* and */-k/* as we can see from the following paradigm.

(4) a. an säraʏs-ä- gï x^{w}- a- l
I work- IMP-NEG-eat-IMP-NEG
'I do not eat without working.'

b. annew säraʏs-ä- g- ïn x^{w}- ïn- ä- l
we work- IMP-NEG-PL eat- PL-IMP-NEG
'We do not eat without working.'

c. ïntï säraʏs-ä- kï x^{w}- ïy- ä- la
you work-IMP-NEG eat-2S-IMP-NEG
'You do not eat without working.'

d. ïntändew säraʏs-ä- k- ïn x^{w}-ïy- ä- l- la
you work- IMP-NEG-PL eat-2S-IMP-PL-NEG
'You do not eat without working.'

e. ni säraʏs-ä-gï x^{w}- a- la
he work-IMP-NEG eat-IMP-NEG
'He does not eat without working.'

f. naydew säraʏs-ä- g- ïn x^{w}- a- l- la
they work- IMP-NEG-PL eat-IMP-PL-NEG
'They do not eat without working.'

g. ni säraʏs-ä- kï x^{w}- ïy- ä- la
she work- IMP-NEG eat-F- IMP-NEG
'She does not eat without working.'

Both the main and the subordinate verbs are negative. The negative morphemes are person-sensitive. */-g/* changes to */-k/* in the 2nd. person and in 3FS. In example (5), the main verb is in the affirmative while the subordinate is in the negative. Compare the negative morphemes.

(5) a. an käb-ä- g- ä- ŋä azäz- s- ïwan-äk^{w}
I cut- IMP-NEG-IMP-in order to order-PASS-AUX-IMP
'I have been ordered in order not to cut.'

b. ïntï käb-ä- k- y- ä- ŋä azäz- s- ïy- an- y- äk^{w}
you cut- IMP-NEG-2S-IMP-in order to order-PASS-2S-AUX-2P- IMP
'You have been ordered in order not to cut.'

c. ni käb- ä- g- ä- ŋä azäz- s- ïwan- äk^{w}
he cut- IMP-NEG- IMP-in order to order-PASS-AUX-IMP
'He has been ordered in order not to cut.'

d. an käb-ä- k- y- ä- ŋä azäz- s- ïy-an- ä- t
she cut-IMP-NEG-3FS-IMP-in order to order-PASS-F-AUX- IMP-F
'She has been ordered in order not to cut.'

e. annew käb-ä- g- ïn- ä- ŋä azäs- s- nï- wan- äkʷ
we cut-IMP- NEG-1PL-IMP-in order to order-PASS-PL-AUX- IMP
'We have been ordered in order not to cut.'

f. ïntändew käb-ä- k- y- ïn- ä- ŋä azäs- s- i- n- wan- y- äkʷ- ïn
you cut- IMP-NEG-2P-PL-IMP-in order to order-PASS-2P-PL-AUX-2P-IMP-PL
'You have been ordered in order not to cut.'

g. naydew käb-ä- g- ïn- ä- ŋä azäs- s- ïn- wan- äkʷ- ïn
they cut- IMP-NEG-PL- IMP-in order to order-PASS-PL-AUX-IMP-PL
'They have been ordered in order not to cut.'

As mentioned above and illustrated in the examples, the negative particle in the main clause occurs finally following the person, number and tense markers. On the other hand, the negative particle in the embedded verbs appear immediately following the verb stem and preceding all other inflections. Observe the following sentences of the nagative relative clauses.

(6) a. birä šäy- g- ir an gayïl
ox have-NEG-REL I am
'Who does not have an ox is me.'

b. birä šäy- k- ay ni gayla
ox have-NEG-REL she is
'Who does not have an ox is she.'

c. birä šäy- k- ar ïntï gayla
ox have-NEG-REL you are
'Who do not have an ox is you.'

d. birä šäy- g- ïn- ir annew gaʏïla
ox have-NEG-PL-REL we are
'Who do not have an ox are we.'

e. birä šäy- k- ar ïntï gayla
ox have-NEG-REL you are
'Who do not have an ox is you.'

f. birä šäy- k- i- n- ar ïntändew gaʏïyïlla
ox have-NEG-2P-PL-REL you are
'Who do not have an ox is you.'

g. birä šäy- g- aʏ ni gala
ox have-NEG-REL he is
'Who does not have an ox is he.'

h. birä šäy- g- äw naydew gaʏïlla
ox have-NEG-REL they are
'Who do not have an ox are they.'

Unlike in other subordinate negative verbs, tense/aspect marking is neutralized in the relative negative paradigms above.

The borrowing negative particle *albo~alba*[31] 'without' is used for negating nouns as in the following examples.

(7) a. nadyew mïräwä-s šämärgin-alba kʷ-ïn- ïʏʷ
they snake- ACC spear- without kill-PL-PS
'They killed the snake without a spear.'

b. an kasa- t- albo fäy-ïʏʷ
I Kasa-ACC-without go- PS
'I went without Kasa.'

[31] The instrumental negative *albo~alba* is commonly used in the Gondar dialect of Amharic. In *albo*, *al-* is the negative marker and */bo/* is a Geez verb meaning 'there is' (Baye p.c).

c. an bir-äs šalïyä-z- alba ardäy- ïʏ^{w}
I ox- ACC knife- by-without slaughter-PS
'I slaughtered the ox without a knife.'

In Kemantney, the last negative marker is */-t/* which occurs in the negative of imperatives as in section 5.2.2.6.3).

5.2.2.8.1 Terminal Speakers and the Negation

The eight informants to whom sentences (3 a-j) were administered uniformly supplied the morpheme */-l(V)/* which suggests that the particle is nearly 100% active.

5.2.2.9 Embedded Verbs

5.2.2.9.1 The Relative Paradigm

In Kemantney, the relative verb precedes its head and agrees with it in number, gender and person. The relative markers occur finally following the agreement inflections. Unlike other embedded verbs which mark tense/aspect by the vowel */-ä/*, this is neutralized in the relative verbs. In the following paradigm, the morpheme */-aʏ/* agrees with the noun *gaba* 'thing'.

(1)	an was-aʏ gaba	I hear-REL thing	'the thing that I heard'
	ïntï was-ïy-aʏ gaba	you hear-2P-REL thing	'the thing that you heard'
	ni was-aʏ gaba	he hear-REL thing	'the thing that he heard'
	ni was-ïy-aʏ gaba	she hear-3F-REL thing	'the thing that she heard'
	annew was-n-aʏ gaba	we hear-PL-REL thing	'the thing that we heard'
	ïntändew was-ïy-än-aʏ gaba	you hear-2P-PL-REL thing	'the thing that you(PL) heard'
	naydew was-än-aʏ gaba	they hear-PL-REL thing	'the thing that they heard'

As indicated in example (2) below, relative markers are head-sensitive and hence show agreement.

(2) a. anǰïŋ täk^{w}äsïm-ir an sïmb-ïʏ^{w}
yesterday sit- REL(1S) I be- PS
'The one who sat down yesterday was me.'

b. anǰïŋ täk^{w}äsïm-n-ir annew sïmb-ïn-eʏ^{w}
yesterday sit- PL-REL(1PL) we be-PL-PS
'The ones who sat down yesterday were us.'

c. anǰïŋ täk^{w}äsïm-y- ar ïntï sïmb-iy-ïʏ^{w}
yesterday sit- 2P-REL(2S) you be- 2P-PS
'The one who sat down yesterday was you.'

d. anǰïŋ täk^{w}äsïm-yï- n- ar ïntändew sïmb-i-n-ïʏ^{w}
yesterday sit- 2P-PL-REL(2PL) you be-2P-PL-PS
'The ones who sat down yesterday were you.'

e. anǰïŋ täk^{w}äsïm-aʏ ni sïmb-eʏ^{w}
yesterday sit- REL(3MS) he be- PS
'The one who sat down yesterday was him.'

f. anǰïŋ täk^{w}äsïm-äw naydew sïmb-ïn-ïʏ^{w}
yesterday sit- REL(3PL) they be- PL- PS
'The ones who sat down yesterday were them.'

g. anǰïŋ täk^{w}äsïm-ey ni sïmb-i-t
yesterday sit- REL(3FS) she be-PS-3F
'The one who sat down yesterday was her.'

The relativizer suffix for the 1st. and 2nd. persons is */-ar/*. In 3MS and 3FS, the markers are */-aʏ/* and */-ey/* respectively. For the 3PL, it is */-äw/*. [32] There is no plural marker for the 3PL. As illustrated in (3) below, the relative verbs remain identical in both the perfect and imperfect. Compare the relative verb of (3) with the relative verbs in (1) and (2) above.

(3) a. amär g^{w}äz- ar an gayïl
tomorrow plough-REL I am
'The one who will plough tomorrow is me.'

b. amär g^{w}äz- n- ar annew gaʏïllï
tomorrow plough-PL-REL we are
'The one who will plough tomorrow are us.'

c. amär g^{w}äz- y- ar ïntï gayla
tomorrow plough-2P-REL you are
'The one who will plough tomorrow is you.'

d. amär g^{w}äz- y- ïn-ar ïntändew gaʏïlla
tomorrow plough-2P-PL-REL you are
'The one who will plough tomorrow are you.'

e. amär g^{w}äz- aʏ ni gala
tomorrow plough-REL he is
'The one who will plough tomorrow is him.'

f. amär g^{w}äz- äw naydew gaʏïlla
tomorrow plough-REL they are
'The one who will plough tomorrow are them.'

g. amär g^{w}äz- y- ey ni gayla
tomorrow plough-3F-REL she is
'The one who will plough tomorrow is her.'

Relative verbs show the accusative case marker when the head noun is null as in the following.

(4) an sïlaʏa ǰax-aʏ-ïs ax-ä-l I beer drink-REL-ACC know-IMP-NEG 'I do not know who drank beer.'
an sïlaʏa ǰax-ïy-äy-ït ax-ä-l I beer drink-3F-REL-ACC know-IMP-NEG 'I do not know who drank beer.'
an sïlaʏa ǰax-äw-ïs ax-ä-l I beer drink-REL-ACC know-IMP-NEG 'I do not know who drank beer.'

When the head is overt, the case marker is attached to it as in the following.

(5) a. an sïlaʏa ǰax- aʏ yïr- ïs ax- ä- l
I beer drink-REL person-ACC know-IMP-NEG
'I do not know the person who drank beer.'

b. an sïlaʏa ǰax- ïy- ey- ït ax- ä- l
I beer drink-3F-REL-ACC know-IMP-NEG
'I do not know the person (F) who drank beer.'

c. an sïlaʏa ǰax- äw ïyyän- ïs ax- ä- l
I beer drink-REL persons-ACC know-IMP-NEG
'I do not know the persons who drank beer.'

5.2.2.9.1.1 Terminal Speakers and the Relative Verb

The following sentences were used to determine the rate of loss and retention of the relative markers.

(6) á. aster- tï faʏ- aʏ kasa šïʏ^{w}ïs- ïʏ^{w}
Aster-ACC marry-REL Kasa become sick-PS
'Kasa, who married Aster, became sick.'

b. an yïkäl-ey yïr yï-yïwna gayla
I love- REL person my-wife she is
'The person whom I love is my wife.'

[32] Conti-Rossini (1912) identifies no feminine or plural relative markers.

c. ni xašän-s- aʏ šaxä-s fäš- ïʏ^{w}
he steal- PASS-REL metal-ACC take-PS
'He took the gun which was stolen.'

d. an yïkäl-ey agär itop'ïya gayla
I love-REL country Ethiopia she is
'The country which I love is Ethiopia.'

e. an anǰïŋ xal-ey bäyla k- i- t(i)
I yesterday see-REL mule die-PS-3F
'The mule which I saw yesterday died.'

f. an anǰïŋ wayt-aʏ lämdi dïz-ïʏ^{w}
I yesterday buy- REL umbrela lose-PS
'The umbrella which I bought yesterday is lost.'

g. ni ïntï ax- aʏ yïr- dï t- ï- t(i)
he you know-REL man-with come-PS-3F
'She came with the man whom you know.'

h. ni kasa sïm-aʏ käw- ïl t- ïʏ^{w}
he Kasa live-REL village-from come-PS
'He came from the village where Kasa lives.'

i. täytï aʏ-aʏ hayk' t'anä gala
near be-REL lake T'ana he is
'The nearby lake is T'ana.'

j. ni ardiy- äw biltï šämän-kï sïmb-ïn-ïʏ^{w}
he slaughter-REL oxen black- PL be- PL-PS
'The oxen that he slaughtered were black.'

The relative verbs *faʏ-aʏ*, *yïkäl-ey*, *xašän-s-aʏ*, *wayt-aʏ*, *ax-aʏ*, and *sïm-aʏ* in examples (a), (b), (c), (f), (g) and (h) have been supplied by all informants with 100% retention identically. AyT used the 3MS relative form for the 3FS in (e), which is a 16.6% loss. AyT, BH, MT and YM supplied the main verb paradigm in (i), that is, *aʏ-ïʏ^{w}*, instead of the relative forms *aʏ-aʏ*, which is, (66.6%) loss. AyT and BH confused the 3MS with the 3FS relative and as a result, supplied */-aʏ/* instead of */-ey/* in (d) with 33.3% loss. Finally, in (j), AyT and MT supplied the 3MS relative instead of the 3PL form which shows about 33.3% distortion on the latter.

5.2.2.9.2 The Subordinator /-ŋä/

This morpheme appears suffixed to verb stems and has a subordinating function. Consider the following examples.

(1) a. an käb-ä- ŋä azäs- s- ï- l
I cut- IMP-SUB order-PASS-PS-NEG (1S)
'I am not ordered to cut.'

b. ïntï käb-y- ä- ŋä azäs- s- y- ï- la
you cut-2S-IMP-SUB order-PASS-2S-PS-NEG (2MS)
'You are not ordered to cut.'

c. ni käb-ä- ŋä azäs- s- ï- la
he cut-IMP-SUB order-PASS-PS-NEG (3MS)
'He is not ordered to cut.'

d. ni käb-y-ä- ŋä azäs- s- y- ï- la
she cut-3F-IMP-SUB order-PASS-3F-PER-NEG (3FS)
'She is not ordered to cut.'

e. annew käb-n- ä- ŋä azäs- s- ï- l- lï
we cut-PL-IMP-SUB order-PASS-PER-PL-NEG (1PL)
'You are not ordered to cut.'

f. ïntändew käb-yä-n- ä- ŋä azäs- s- y- ï- l- la
you cut-2P-PL-IMP-SUB order- PASS-2P-IMP-PL-NEG (2PL)
'You are not ordered in order to cut.'

g. naydew käb-än- ä- ŋä azäs- s- ï- l- la
they cut- PL-IMP-SUB order- PASS-PER-PL-NEG (3PL)
'They are not ordered in order to cut.'

/-ŋä/ is equivalent to the English 'in order to' or the Amharic */ïnd(ä)-/*.

5.2.2.9.3 The Subordinator /-tïz/

This suffix shows condition and it appears following the person, number and gender inflections. Observe the following examples.

(1) a. an x^w- ä- tïz gänǰ-äk^w
I eat- IMP-SUB sleep-IMP
'If I eat, I (will) sleep.'

b. annew x^w-ïn-ä- tïz gänǰ-ïn- äk^w
we eat-PL-IMP-SUB sleep-PL- IMP
'If we eat, we (will) sleep.'

c. ïntï x^w- ïy- ä- tïz gänǰ- ïy- äk^w
you eat-2P-IMP-if sleep-2P-IMP
'If you eat, you (will) sleep.'

d. ïntändew x^w-ïy- n- ä- tïz gänǰ-ïy- n- äk^w
you eat-2P-PL-IMP-SUB sleep-2P-PL-IMP
'If you eat, you (will) sleep.'

e. ni x^w- ä- tïz gänǰ- äk^w
he eat-IMP-SUB sleep- IMP
'If he eats, he (will) sleep.'

f. naydew x^w-ïn- ä- tïz gänǰ-ïn- äk^w
they eat-PL-IMP-SUB sleep-PL-IMP
'If they eat, they (will) sleep.'

g. ni x^w-ïy- ä- tïz gänǰ-ä- t
she eat-3F-IMP-SUB sleep-IMP-3F
'If she eats, she (will) sleep.'

Because of lack of equivalent form for the connective 'because', TSs. supplied */-tïz/* which is 'if' for sentences like *Because I eat, I (will) sleep*. So, it also functions as a reason.

5.2.2.9.4 The Adverbial Subordinator /-ŋ^w/

As mentioned in section 5.2.2.6.4, this suffix appears in subordinate stative or temporal (durative) verbs. Observe the examples below.

(1) a. ni an gaŋ-ä- ŋ^w xal-ïʏ^w
he I run-IMP-SUB see-PS
'He saw me while/when I ran.'

b. ni annew gaŋ-n- ä- ŋ^w xal-ïʏ^w
he we run-PL-IMP-SUB see-PS
'He saw us while/when we ran.'

c. ni ïntï gaŋ-ïy- ä- ŋ^w xal- ïʏ^w
he you run- 2S-IMP-SUB see-PS
'He saw you while/when you ran.'

d. ni ïntändew gaŋ-y- ïn- ä- ŋ^w xal-ïʏ^w
he you run-2P-PL-IMP-SUB see-PS
'He saw you while/when you ran.'

e. ni ni gaŋ-ä- ŋ^w xal- ïʏ^w
he he run- IMP-SUB see-PS
'He saw him while/when he ran.'

f. ni naydew gaŋ-än- ä- ŋ^w xal-ïʏ^w
he they run- PL-IMP-SUB see-PS
'He saw them while/when they ran.'

g. ni ni gaŋ-ïy- ä- ŋ^w xal- ïʏ^w
he she run-3F-IMP-SUB see-PS
'He saw her while/when she ran.'

Passive speakers use one subordinator for the other and hence there is no uniformity. As mentioned earlier, some forms like 'because' are lacking in the language. When they lack equivalents in the language, some terminal speakers substitute Amharic forms while some use related forms.

5.2.3 The Noun

5.2.3.1 Gender

Kemantney has a two-term gender system: masculine and feminine. The distinction is shown in the singular. As in many other languages, natural gender operates as in, for instance, *aba* 'father' vs. *gäna* 'mother', *zän* 'brother' vs. *šän* 'sister', *tiyär* 'aunt' vs. *ag* 'uncle', *bira* 'ox' vs. *käma* 'cow'. Gender is also expressed with the words *g^{w}ïrwa* 'male' and *yïwna* 'female' as in *g^{w}ïrwa/g^{w}ïre yïr* 'a male person (man)' and *yïwne x^{w}ïra* 'a female person (woman)'.

Kemantney nouns end either in a vowel or rarely in a consonant. The vowel is exclusively */a/* though there are few examples where nouns end in vowels other than */a/* (cf. 5.2.3.2.1). Hence, in the citation form, nouns do not show any gender distinction. Observe the examples below.

(1)	dïʏ^{w}ära	'donkey (M/F)'		dir^{w}a	'hen (M/F)'
	fïntïra	'goat (M/F)'		gämäna	'lioness (M/F)'
	ǰärx^{w}a	'calf (M/F)'		x^{w}ïra	'child (M/F)'

In nouns with quantifiers, the masculine is indicated by */-ʏ/* and the feminine by */-y/* which are identical with the relative markers. Consider example (2) below.

(2)	la-y šašuna	one-F chick	'one chick (F)'	la-ʏ gïzïŋ	one-M dog	'one dog (M)'
	la-ʏ šašuni	one-M chick	'one chick (M)'	la-y yïr	one-F man	'one person (F)'
	la-y dïʏ^{w}ära	one-F donkey	'one donkey (F)'	la-ʏ yïr	one-M man	'one person (M)'
	la-ʏ dïʏ^{w}äri	one-M donkey	'one donkey (M)'	la-y fïntïra	one-F goat	'one goat (F)'
	la-y gïzïŋ	one-F dog	'one dog (F)'	la-ʏ fïntïri	one-M goat	'one goat (M)'

Gender distinction is marked neither in pronouns nor verbs in the 2S. The distinction between the 3FS and 3MS pronouns is also neutralized in the speech of the majority of terminal speakers (see section 5.2.1).

The fifth way involves the verbal suffix */-t(i)/* as in *gïzïŋ käwäy-ï-ti* 'The bitch barked.', *ni gaŋ-ï-ti* 'she ran.' etc. (see section 5.2.2.2.1.1).

In sentences like the following, gender is marked by the natural gender of *bira* 'ox' and *käma* 'cow'; by */-y/* and */-ʏ/*; by */-∅/* and */-(ï)y/* and finally by the accusative suffixes */-sï/* and */-tï/*.

(a) la- ʏ birä sïmb-Ø- ä- n yïn-sï ardäy-äkʷ
one-M ox be- 3MS-IMP-COND that-ACC (M) slaughter-IMP
lit. 'Though there exists one ox, he slaughters that ox'

(b) la- y kämä sïmb-ïy- ä- n yïn- tï ardäy- äkʷ
one-F cow be- 3FS-IMP-COND that-ACC (F) slaughter-IMP
lit. 'Though there exists one cow, he slaughters that cow.'

The feminine gender has a dimunitive connotation as in:

nïŋ šäyt- ïs- ï- ti	VS.	nïŋ šäyt- ïs- ïʏʷ
house burn-PASS-PS-3FS		house burn-PASS-PS
lit. 'The small house was burnt.'		'The house was burnt.'
šär- ey nïŋ	VS.	šär- aʏ nïŋ
good-REL house		good-REL house
'The little house which is good'		'The house which is good'.

Such a phenomenon makes Kemantney similar with most Ethiopian as well as other African languages which, apart from expressing distinctions of natural gender in animate nouns, the masculine is semantically augmentative and the feminine dimunitive (see Castellino, 1975).

5.2.3.2 Number

5.2.3.2.1 Plural Marking

Agew nouns that end in */-a/* are singulatives (see Appleyard, 1975; Sasse, 1984; and Zaborski, 1986). In the citation form, most singular nouns end in */-a/* as in the following:

(1)	wïza	'ash'	šïbka	'hair'	bïta	'louse'
	sïŋkʷäta	'axe'	yïʏaʏa	'ice'	tïla	'medicine'
	xʷïmba	'nose'	xʷïnča	'male genital'	arfa	'month'

On the other hand, there are a considerable number of nouns which end either in a consonant or a vowel other than */-a/*. Compare the following examples:

(2)	ad	'Sunday'	ag	'uncle'	ar	'grain'
	bi	'soil'	nan	'hand/now'	naš	'bone'
	amu	'thorn'	käw	'village'	nïŋ	'house/today'
	yïltät	'eye'	tab	'teff (a cereal)'	gär	'calf'
	ïŋgʷï	'breast'	bäntäle	'rabbit'	fïŋgäy	'wind'

According to Appleyard (1987b), Xamt'aŋa, for instance, has singulative different from the singular and plural. He gives us the following examples.

(3)	sïk'má	'a grain of barley'	vs.	sïk'ma	'barley',
	s'ïbk'á	'a single hair'	vs.	s'ïbk'a	'hair'
	nik'ʷa	'a calf'	vs.	niw	'calf/calves'

Kemantney, however, has only two terms of number: singular and plural. Hence, the distinction exhibited in Xamt'aŋa is not found. As a result, the above nouns are either of the following:

(4)

bälga (SG)	'barley'	bälg-äk (PL)	'barley'
šïbka (SG)	'hair'	šïbk-äk (PL)	'hairs'
gar (SG)	'calf'	gar-ïk (PL)	'calves'

Plural marking in Kemantney is quite heterogeneous. As in Xamt'aŋa (Appleyard, 1987b), the choice of the plural markers is not predictable in Kemantney. Appleyard (1975) identifies eight ways. The present analysis shows that this grammatical feature is even more heterogenous, as illustrated below.

(5) (a)- by eliding the final vowel ($a \rightarrow o$) and then by adding */-ïk/*:

bäyla	'mule'	bäyl-ïk	'mules'	kätäma	'town'	kätäm-ïk	'towns'
färza	'horse'	färz-ïk	'horses'	yïwna	'female'	yïwn-ïk	'females'
dirwa	'hen'	dirw-ïk	'hens'	dïha	'poor'	dïh-ïk	'poors'
g^{w}ärwa	'road'	g^{w}ärw-ïk	'roads'	g^{w}ïrwa	'male'	g^{w}ïrw-ïk	'males'

(b)- by eliding the final syllable, in this case */-ya/*, and then by suffixing */-k/*:

šaliya	'knife'	šali-k 'knives'	ïŋgiya 'horn'	ïŋgi-k 'horns'
damiya	'cat'	dami-k 'cats'		

(c)- by suffixing */-k(ï)/*:

käw	'village'	käw-kï	'villages'	nïŋ	'house'	nïŋ-kï	'houses'
gïzïŋ	'dog'	gïzïŋ-kï	'dogs'	däbïr	'church'	däbïr-kï	'churches'
säyïŋ	'cloth'	säyïŋ-kï	'clothes'	šïŋ^{w}	'name'	šïŋ^{w}-kï	'names'

(d)- by suffixing */-t(ï)/*:

zän	'brother'	zän-tï	'brothers'	abïn	'guest'	abïn-tï	'guests'
šän	'sister'	šän-tï	'sisters'				

(e)- most borrowed nouns and adjectives use */-än/*:

säyt'an	'devil'	säyt'an-än	'devils'	räbbaš	'naughty'	räbbaš-än	'naughty (PL)'
g^{w}äbäz	'clever'	g^{w}äbäz-än	'clever (PL)'	xïbt	'cattle'	xïbt-än	'cattle'[33]
t'at	'finger'	t'at-än	'fingers'	habtam	'rich'	habtam-än	'rich (PL)'

Except for *säyt'an*, which takes */-at/* and becomes *säyt'an-at* 'devils', the rest take the Amharic plural ending */-očč/*. The Kemantney plural marker */-än/* seems to be similar to the Geez */-an/* as in *fït'ur* 'creature', *fït'ur-an* 'creatures' or *mämhïr* 'teacher', *mämhïr-an* 'teachers' etc. In both Appleyard's and the present data, this morpheme chiefly occurs in nouns borrowed from Amharic.

[33] The Amharic word for 'herd' is *käbt* and the plural form is *käbt-očč*.

(f)- by suffixing *-tät* in pair items:

yïl	'eye'	yïl-tät	'eyes'	nän	'hand'	nän-tät	'hands'

(g)- by deleting the final vowel *(a → ø)*:

fïntïra	'goat'	fïntïr	'goats'	käma	'cow'	käm	'cows'
maxäla	'friend'	maxäl	'friends'				

(h)- by changing the stem final consonant *(r → l)*, and by suffixing */-t(ï)/*.

bira	'ox'	gär	'calf'	dïʏ^{w}ära	'donkey'
bi-l-tï	'oxen'	gä-l-tï	'calves'	dïʏ^{w} äl-tï	'donkeys'

(i)- by eliding the final vowel and suffixing */-äk/:*

kïmbï	'stick'
kïmb-äk	'sticks'

(j)- by vowel change:

a → ï	g^{w} äzänta	'farmer'	g^{w}äzänt-ï	'farmers'
	kinšänta	'teacher'	kinšänt-ï	'teachers'

(k)- by suffixing */-an/:*

ïrk^{w}ï	'tooth'
ïrk^{w}-an	'teeth'

(l)- by partial reduplication and adding *-n:*

lïk^{w}	'foot'
lïk^{w}ä-k^{w}ä-n	'feet'

(m)- by way of gemination:

x^{w}ïra	'child'
x^{w}ïrra	'children'

(n)- by suppletion:

yïr	'person'
ïyyän	'persons'

Most adjectives show the plural through complete reduplication as shown below.

(6) complete reduplication: complete reduplication and suffixing */-än/* or */-a/:

šïg^{w}ey	'small'	šïg^{w}ey-šïg^{w}ey	'small (PL)'	ač'č'ïr	'short'	ač'č'ïr-än	ač'č'ïr-än	'short (PL)'
fïraʏ	'big'	fïraʏ-fïraʏ	'big (PL)'	šämän	'black'	šämän-a	šämän-a	'black (PL)'
lägäzaʏ	'tall'	lägäzaʏ-lägäzaʏ	'tall (PL)'					

There are few adjectives which take their plural form by suffixing */-(ä)w/*:

yïzän	'fat'	yïzän-äw	'fat (PL)'	azi	'new'	azi-w	'new (PL)'

The suffix */-iw/* appears with nouns and interrogative pronouns indicating plurality like the Amharic */-ïnnä/*. Compare the following examples.

(7)	aw gänǰ-ïʏ^{w}	who sleep-PS	'Who slept?'
	aw-iw gänǰ-ïn-ïʏ^{w}	who-PL sleep-PL-PS	'Who slept (PL)?'
	anǰïŋ t-aʏ aw-ni	yesterday come-REL who-is	lit.'Who is the one who came yesterady?'
	anǰïŋ t-äw aw-iw-ni	yesterday come-REL who-PL-are	lit.'Who are the ones who came yesterady?'

The suffix */-iw/* is also recorded in texts with proper nouns as an associative plural marker. As shown in (8) below, when the proper noun ends in a vowel, either the last vowel is dropped or a glide is inserted to avoid the impermissable vowel sequences.

(8) dăǰazmač bitäw-iw lit. 'Dejazmach Bitewa and others'
dăǰazmač t'ăšu-yiw lit. 'Dejazmach T'ashu and others'
at'e tewodros-iw lit. 'Emperor Tewodros and others'
fitawrari asres-iw lit. 'Fitawrari Asres and others'

The main plural marking processes are suffixation and reduplication. The rest include vowel changes, vowel addition, consonant change, gemination and suppletion.

5.2.3.2.1.1 Terminal Speakers and the Plural Forms

As shown above, plural formation is heterogenous. It is unpredictable except for those borrowed words which take */-än/*. Terminal speakers confuse one plural morpheme with another. In rare cases, they also use two plural markers with the same noun. In (table 16) below are thirty representative words whose Kemantney equivalents were elicited from the ten informants.

Sg.	yïr 'man'	ïŋxʷï 'ear'	šanka 'grass'	käma 'cow'	bira 'ox'	bäga 'sheep'
AA	yïr-tï	ïŋxʷän	šank-ï	käm-ï	bi-l-tä-t	bäg-än
AyT	ïyyän	ïŋxʷï-Ø	šank-ï	xïbt-än	bi-l-tï	bäg-än
BH	yïr-očč	ïŋxʷ-än	šanka-Ø	käm-očč	bi-l-tï	bäg-än
DA	ïyyän	ïnxʷ-äk	šank-ï	käma-Ø	bi-l-tï	bäg-än
LT	ïyyän	ïŋxʷï-Ø	šank-ï	xïbt-än	bi-l-tï	bäk
MM	ïyyän	ïŋxʷ-äk	šank-ïk	käm	bi-l-tï	bäg-ïk
MT	ïyyän	ïŋxʷ-ïk	šank-ïk	xïbt-än	bi-l-tï	bäg-än
TA	ïyyän	ïŋxʷä-kʷän	šank-ï	käm	bi-l-t-än	bäg-än
WMM	ïyyän	ïnxʷä-kʷ-än	šanka-Ø	käm	bi-l-tï	bäg-a
YM	ïyyän	ïŋxʷï-Ø	šank-ïk	käm	bi-l-tï	bäk

	dirwa 'hen'	fïntïra 'goat'	gär 'calf'	gïzïŋ 'dog'	farza 'horse'	dïxʷära 'donkey'
AA	dirw-än	fïntïrtï	gä-l-tï	gïzïŋ-ïn	farz-ï	dïxʷä-l-tï
AyT	dir-ïkʷ	fïntïr	gä-l-tï	gïzïŋ-kï	farz-ï	dïxʷä-l-tï
BH	dirw-ïk	fïntïr	gä-l-tï	gïzïŋ-kï	farz-ï	dïxʷä-l-tï
DA	dir-ïkʷ	fïntïr	gä-l-tï	gïzïŋ-kï	farz-ïk	dïxʷä-l-tï
LT	dirw-ïk	fïntïr-očč	gä-l-tï	gïzïŋ-kï	farz-ï	dïxʷä-l-tï
MM	dir-ïkʷ	fïntïr	gä-l-tï	gïzïŋ-kï	farz-ï	dïxʷä-l-tï
MT	dir-ïkʷ	fïntïr	gä-l-tï	gïzïŋ-kï	farz-ïk	dïxʷä-l-tï
TA	dirw-ïk	fïntïr-än	gä-l-tï	gïzïŋ-kï	farz-ï	dïxʷä-l
WMM	dirw-ïk	fïntïr	gä-l-tï	gïzïŋ-kï	farz-ïk	dïxʷä-l-tï
YM	dirw-ïk	fïntïr	gä-l-tï	gïzïŋ-kï	farz-ïk	dïxʷä-l-tï

	bïta 'louse'	ïnšïwa 'mouse'	tïxʷäna 'bedbug'	wämber 'chair'	argï 'bed'	säyïŋ 'cloth'
AA	bït-ï	ïnšïw-tï	tïxʷän-ï	wämbär-tï	arg-ï	säyïŋ-än
AyT	bït	ïnšïw-kï	tïxʷän-tï	wämber-tï	arg-ïk-än	säyïŋ-kï
BH	bït-ïŋg	ïnšïw-ä	tïxʷän-tï	wämber-tï	arg-ï	säyïŋ-očč
DA	bït-ïk	ïnšïw-kï	tïxʷän-tï	wämber-tï	arg-ïk-än	säyïŋ

LT	bït	ïnšïw-tï	tïx^{w}än-ïk	wämber-tï	arg-ït	säyïŋ-kï
MM	bït-ïk	ïnšïw-kï	tïx^{w}än-i	wämber-tï	arg-ïk	säyïŋ-kï
MT	bït-ïk	ïnšïw-kï	tïx^{w}än-a	wämber-kï	arg-ïk	säyïŋ-kï
TA	bït-än	ïnšïw-tï	tïx^{w}än-tï	wämber-än	alg-ïn-tï	säyïŋ-kï
WMM	bït-ïk	ïnšïw-ïk	tïx^{w}än-kï	wämber-tï	arg-äk	säyïŋ-kï
YM	bït-ïk	ïnšïw-kï	tïx^{w}än-tï	wämber-tï	arg-äk	säyïŋ-kï

	k'ämis 'dress'	k^{w}ïra 'river'	dïba 'mountain'	kïbna 'forest'	kïrna 'stone'	kana 'wood'
AA	k'ämis-än	k^{w}ïr-än	dïb-än	kïbïn	kïrn-ï	kan-ï
AyT	k'ämis-än	k^{w}ïr-tï	dïb-ïk	kïbïn-kï	kïrïn-kï	kan-kï
BH	k'ämis-än	kur-ïs	dïb-äs	kïbïn-k	kïrn-ï	kan-äs
DA	k'ämis-tï	kur-ïk	dïb-ïk	kïbïn-kï	kïrïn-kï	kan-tï
LT	k'ämis-tï	k^{w}ïr-tï	dïb-tï	kïbn-a	kïrn-ï	kan-tï
MM	k'ämis-än	k^{w}ïr-ïk	dïb-ïk	kïbn-ïk	kïrn-ïk	kan-ïk
MT	k'ämis-än	k^{w}ïr-ïk	dïb-ïk	kïbïn-k	kïrn-ïk	kan-ïk
TA	k'ämis-än	k^{w}ïr-än	dïb-än	kïbïn-kï	kïrn-ï	kan
WMM	k'ämis-än	k^{w}ïra	dïba	kïbn-a	kïrïn-kï	kan-očč
YM	k'ämis-kï	k^{w}ïr-ïk	dïb-ïk	kïbn-ïk	kïrn-ïk	kan-ïk

	aša 'leaf'	gaʏa 'cliff'	wïlaʏa 'fileld'	käw 'village'	g^{w}äza 'farm'	nïŋ 'house'
AA	aš-ï	gaʏ-ï	wïlaʏ-ï	käw-ï	g^{w}äz-ï	nïŋ-ï
AyT	aš-ïk	gaʏ-tï	wïlaʏ-ït	käw-kï	g^{w}äz-a	nïŋ-k
BH	aš-ï	gaʏ-ï	wïlaʏa	käw-kï	g^{w}äz-a	nïŋ-än
DA	aš-ïk	gaʏ-ïk	wïlaʏ-ïk	käw-kï	g^{w}äz-ïk	nïŋ-kï
LT	aš-a	gaʏ-tï	wïlaʏ-tï	käw-tï	g^{w}äz-a	nïŋ-tï
MM	aš-ïk	gaʏ-ïk	wïlaʏ-ik	käw-ïk	g^{w}äz-ïk	nïŋ-ïk
MT	aš-ïk	gaʏ-ïk	wïlaʏ-ïk	käw-kï	g^{w}äz-ïk	nïŋ-ïk
TA	aš-än-tï	gaʏ-ï	wïlaʏ-očč	käw-kï	g^{w}äz-ï	nïŋ-än
WMM	aš-a	gaʏ-a	wïlaʏ-a	käw	g^{w}äz-a	nïŋ-kï
YM	aš-ïk	gaʏ-ïk	wïlaʏ-ïk	käw-kï	g^{w}äz-ïk	nïŋ-kï

Table 16: Plural marking among terminal speakers

As we can see from the table, the forms are divergent among TSs. The same person supplies different plural endings for the same noun. The Amharic plural marker */-očč/* was recorded with some indigenous nouns. Analogical leveling is a commonly observed plural formation. As a result, once an informant started using a morpheme such as */-kï/* or */-tï/* or */-än/* etc., there is a tendency of supplying the same morpheme for all other nouns that follow.[34] Some of the informants confuse the plural with the accusative */-s/*. Whereas some informants use no plural markers, others use two markers (look at the columns of *argï* 'bed' and *aššä* 'leaf').

Consonant sequences were recorded word-finally, in violation of the phonotactic rule of the language, stated earlier. From the above thirty nouns, the following seem to be prototypical plural forms: *ïyyän, ïnx^{w}äk, šarkïk, käm, biltï, bägän, dir^{w}ïk, fintïr, gältï, gïzïŋkï, farzï/farzïk, dïx^{w}ältï,*

[34] The same phenomena was recorded from East Sutherland Gaelic (Dorain, 1977a).

bïtï/bïtïk, *ïnšïwkï/ïnšïwtï*, *tïx^{w}äntï*, *wämbarän*, *argïk*, *säyïŋkï*, *k'ämisän*, *kurïk*, *dïbïk*, *kïbnïk*, *kïrnïk*, *kanïk*, *kankï*, *aššïk/aššï*, *gaʏïk*, *wïlaʏïk/w-ïlaʏïk*, *kawïk/käwkï*, *g^{w}äzïk* and *nïŋïk/nïŋkï*.

5.2.3.2.2 Numerals

5.2.3.2.2.1 Cardinal Numerals

Appleyard (1975) has identified the following numerals in his material: *laʏ^{w}a~laʏa~la* 'one', *liŋa* 'two', *siʏ^{w}a* 'three', *säǰǰa* 'four', *ank^{w}a* 'five', *wälta* 'six', *läŋäta* 'seven', *säʏ^{w}äta* 'eight', *sässa* 'nine' and *šïka* 'ten'. Except some transcription differences, Conti-Rossini (1912) had identified nearly similar units. Instead of *šïka*, Conti-Rossini recorded *č'ika* for 'ten'. Such an inclusion of a glottal sound is the major difference between his data and those in recent works. The other difference exhibited between the present study and the two earlier works is that, whereas */n/* appears at the beginning of the units 'two' and 'seven' in here, */l/* is recorded in the two other works. The cardinal numerals identified in the present material have the following digits.

(1)	laʏ^{w}a	'one'[35]	aŋk^{w}a	'five'	saʏ^{w}äta	'eight'
	niŋa	'two'	wälta	'six'	sässa	'nine'
	seʏ^{w}a	'three'	näŋäta	'seven'	šïka	'ten'
	säǰǰa	'four'				

All numerals from 1-10 end in */-a/* like most nouns. With very few exceptions, the ending */-a/* appears with all the other paradigm of cardinal numerals. Hetzron (1967) says that */-ta/* occurs in all Agew numerals from 6-9. As shown above in example (1), however, this suffix is absent in the form for 9. Note that the digits 2-9 end in */-t/* in most Ethio-Semitic languages such as Amharic and Tigrinya.[36] Except slight phonological differences such as *lawa* vs. *laʏ^{w}a*, *sewa* vs. *seʏ^{w}a*, *sawäta* vs. *saʏ^{w}äta*; all TSs. utter the base numerals in their normative forms.

5.2.3.2.2.1.1 The Tens

The internal structure of these numerals is *šïka* 'ten' (the base numeral) + *i* (genitive) + the digits (unit numerals). The final vowel */a/* is deleted in *šïka* because vowel sequencing is not allowed. Except for *laʏ^{w}a,* which drops the final vowel, the others appear in their full forms. Observe the examples below.

(1)	šïk-i-laʏ	'eleven'	šïk-i-aŋk^{w}a	'fifteen'	šïk-i-saʏ^{w}äta	'eighteen'
	šïk-i-niŋa	'twelve'	šïk-i-wälta	'sixteen'	šïk-i-sässa	'nineteen'

[35] *laʏ^{w}a* is an independent form. When it appears with other numerals and nouns, it is either *lay* (f.) or *laʏ* (m.).
[36] The exception here is the Amharic word *zät'äññ* 'nine'.

šïk-i-sevʷa	'thirteen'	šïk-i-näŋäta	'seventeen'	näŋäyïŋ	'twenty'
šïk-i-säǰǰa	'fourteen'				

From 21-39, the numerals have the basic form *näŋäyïŋ* 'twenty' + the genitive *-i-* + the digit. The form *näŋäyïŋ* 'twenty' and *savʷäyïŋ* 'thirty' are more similar to *näŋäta* 'seven' and *savʷäta* 'eight' than to the expected *niŋa* 'two' and *sevʷa* 'three'.

(2)	a.			b.		
		näŋäyïŋ-i-lav	'twenty-one'		savʷäyïŋ-i-lav	'thirty-one'
		näŋäyïŋ-i-niŋa	'twenty-two'		savʷäyïŋ-i-niŋa	'thirty-two'
		näŋäyïŋ-i-sevʷa	'twenty-three'		savʷäyïŋ-i-sevʷa	'thirty-three'
		näŋäyïŋ-i-säǰǰa	'twenty-four'		savʷäyïŋ-i-säǰǰa	'thirty-four'
		näŋäyïŋ-i-aŋkʷa	'twenty-five'		savʷäyïŋ-i-aŋkʷa	'thirty-five'
		näŋäyïŋ-i-wälta	'twenty-six'		savʷäyïŋ-i-wälta	'thirty-six'
		näŋäyïŋ-i-näŋäta	'twenty-seven'		savʷäyïŋ-i-näŋäta	'thirty-seven'
		näŋäyïŋ-i-savʷäta	'twenty-eight'		savʷäyïŋ-i-savʷäta	'thirty-eight'
		näŋäyïŋ-i-sässa	'twenty-nine'		savʷäyïŋ-i-sässa	'thirty-nine'
		savʷäyïŋ	'thirty'		arba	'forty'

Though the expected form for 'forty' is *säǰǰäyïŋ* or a hybrid form *arbayïŋ*, the bare Amharic borrowing is used by all informants. In (3a) below, the borrowed word *arba* shows a similar pattern to other numeral paradigms.

The ending */yïŋ/* occurs in its full form when the base numeral ends in a vowel as in (2) and (3) above. But, as illustrated in (4) below, */y/* is dropped when the preceding numeral ends in a consonant.

(4)	a.			b.		
		wältiŋ-lav	'sixty-one'		näŋätyïŋ-lav	'seventy-one'
		wältiŋ-niŋa	'sixty-two'		näŋätyïŋ-niŋa	'seventy-two'
		wältiŋ-sevʷa	'sixty-three'		näŋätyïŋ-sevʷa	'seventy-three'
		wältiŋ-säǰǰa	'sixty-four'		näŋätyïŋ-säǰǰa	'seventy-four'
		wältiŋ-aŋkʷa	'sixty-five'		näŋätyïŋ-aŋkʷa	'seventy-five'
		wältiŋ-wälta	'sixty-six'		näŋätyïŋ-wälta	'seventy-six'
		wältiŋ-näŋäta	'sixty-seven'		näŋätyïŋ-näŋäta	'seventy-seven'
		wältiŋ-savʷäta	'sixty-eight'		näŋätyïŋ-savʷäta	'seventy-eight'
		wältiŋ-sässa	'sixty-nine'		näŋätyïŋ-sässa	'seventy-nine'
		näŋätiŋ	'seventy'		šavʷätyïŋ	'eighty'

In (4a), the impermissability of sequencing two consonants and a glide is the motivation for the deletion of */y/*. The initial glide in */yïŋ/* is also dropped when the preceding base form ends in a single or geminated consonant, as shown in (5a) and (5b) respectively. This suggests a rule like */-yïŋ/* appears only following vowels while */-iŋ/* appears elsewhere.

(5)	a.			b.		
		savʷätiŋ-lav	'eighty-one'		sässiŋ-lav	'ninty-one'
		savʷätiŋ-niŋa	'eighty-two'		sässiŋ-niŋa	'ninty-two'
		savʷätiŋ-sevʷa	'eighty-three'		sässiŋ-sevʷa	'ninty-three'
		savʷätiŋ-säǰǰa	eighty-four'		sässiŋ-säǰǰa	'ninty-four'

saʏ^{w}ätiŋ-aŋk^{w}a	'eighty-five'	sässiŋ-aŋk^{w}a	'ninty-five'
saʏ^{w}ätiŋ-wälta	'eighty-six'	sässiŋ-wälta	'ninty-six'
saʏ^{w}ätiŋ-näŋäta	'eighty-seven'	sässiŋ-näŋäta	'ninty-seven'
saʏ^{w}ätiŋ-saʏ^{w}äta	'eighty-eight'	sässiŋ-saʏ^{w}äta	'ninty-eight'
saʏ^{w}ätiŋ-sässa	'eighty-nine'	sässiŋ-sässa	'ninty-nine'
sässiŋ	'ninty'	(laʏ)-liʏ	'one hundred'

Conti-Rossini (1912) recorded *lên* for 'hundred', a form which exists neither in Appleyard's work nor in the present study.

5.2.3.2.2.1.2 The Hundreds

The 'hundreds' have the pattern [unit + base numeral]. It is different from the 'tens' which have the reverse pattern. As shown in (1) below, the final vowel */a/* changes to */ä/*. On the other hand, both the base and the units occur in their full forms without any linking element.

(1)	niŋä-liʏ	'two hundred'	aŋk^{w}ä-liʏ	'five hundred'	sax^{w}ätä-liʏ	'eight hundred'
	sewä-liʏ	'three hundred'	wältä-liʏ	'six hundred'	sässä-liʏ	'nine hundred'
	säǰǰa-liʏ	'four hundred'	näŋätä-liʏ	'seven hundred'	(laʏ)-šï	'one thousand'

5.2.3.2.2.1.3 The Thousands

The basic numeral *šï* 'thousand' is a borrowing from Amharic. The 'thousands' have exactly the same pattern as the 'hundreds'. In both the two and three digit numerals below, there is neither morphological nor phonological change in the basic forms except for the change of */a/* to */ä/*, a common phenomenon in word boundaries.

(1)	a. niŋä-šï	'two thousand'	b.	näŋätiŋ-šï	'seventy thousand'
	seʏ^{w}ä-šï	'three thousand'		šaʏ^{w}ätiŋ-šï	'eighty thousand'
	säǰǰä-šï	four thousand'		sässiŋ-šï	'ninty thousand'
	aŋk^{w}ä-šï	'five thousand'		(lax)-liʏ-šï	'one hundred thousand'
	wältä-šï	'six thousand'		niŋä-liʏ-šï	'two hundred thousand'
	näŋätä-šï	'seven thousand'		seʏ^{w}ä-liʏ-šï	'three hundred thousand'
	saʏ^{w}ätä-šï	'eight thousand'		säǰǰa-liʏ-šï	'four hundred thousand'
	sässä-šï	'nine thousand'		aŋk^{w}a-liʏ-šï	'five hundred thousand'
	šikä-šï	'ten thousand'		wälta-liʏ-šï	'six hundred thousand'
	näŋäyïŋ-šï	'twenty thousand'		näŋäta-liʏ-šï	'seven hundred thousand'
	saʏ^{w}äyiŋ-šï	'thirty thousand'		sax^{w}äta-liʏ-šï	'eight hundred thousand'
	arbä-šï	'fourty thousand'		sässa-liʏ-šï	'nine hundred thousand'
	aŋk^{w}ïyïŋ-šï	'fifty thousand'		ïrf	'one million' [37]
	wältiŋ-šï	'sixty thousand'			

As nouns, cardinal numerals inflect for case such as, for instance, accusative case. All the digits from 1-10 take the accusative suffix */-(ï)t/* like the singular pronouns and feminine nouns:

laʏ-ït	'one-ACC'	niŋa-t	'two-ACC'	seʏ^{w}a-t	'three-ACC'
säǰǰa-t	'four-ACC'	aŋk^{w}a-t	'five-ACC'	wälta-t	'six-ACC'

[37] *ïrf* is a borrowing from Semitic *ïlf*.

näŋäta-t 'seven-ACC' saʏʷäta-t 'eight-ACC' sässa-t 'nine-ACC'
šïka-t 'ten-ACC'

The rest of the numerals take */-(ï)s/* like plural pronouns and nouns in general. Examples are:

šïkilaʏ-ïs 'eleven-ACC' niŋäyïŋ-ïs 'twenty-ACC'
aŋkʷäyïŋ-ïs 'fifty-ACC' liʏ-ïs 'hundred-ACC' etc.

As shown above, the first digit takes the suffix */-(ï)t/* if the noun it refers to is feminine or small in size. On the other hand, if it refers to a noun which is masculine and big in size, it takes the suffix */-(ï)s/*.

All including passive speakers count the base numerals (1-10) correctly. Others with a better knowledge of the language count the basic numerals and the main digits 'twenty', 'thirty', 'fourty' etc. upto hundred. Some others go up to twenty and stop or get mixed. There are few active speakers who can count up to hundred with slight errors here and there. WMM and AA are the only ones who can count up to one thousand without errors. Due to lack of daily use, even comeptent speakers take more time when counting in Kemantney.

5.2.3.2.2.2 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed from the cardinals by a vocalic ablaut (a → ä) and by suffixing *-ta* (see also Appleyard, 1975).

laʏʷä-ta	'first'	aŋkʷä-ta	'fifth'	saʏʷätä-ta	'eighth'
näŋä-ta	'second'	wältä-ta	'sixth'	sässä-ta	'ninth'
saʏʷä-ta	'third'	näŋätä-ta	'seventh'	šïkä-ta	'tenth'
säǰǰä-ta	'fourth'				

Unlike cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals are not well known by all informants. Most of the terminal speakers who supplied the ordinals are literate ones. Others supply the cardinals for the ordinals. The quantity or degree adverbial nouns are not known by every informant. But three informants volunteered *laʏʷ* 'once', *niŋ-ïn* 'twice', *seʏʷ-ïn* 'three times', *säǰǰ-ïn* 'four times' etc. Except the first form which remains in its basic form, the rest take */-ïn/* which is identical with the plural marker in verbs.

5.2.3.3 The Case System

5.2.3.3.1 Nominative Case

In Kemantney, the nominative case is morphologically indicated by the suffix */-i/* in definite nouns.[38] The existence of a distinct nominative case is mentioned in Sasse (1974, 1984) and Appleyard (1975). Compare the following examples in (1), (2) and (3).

(1) Kemantney words:

Absolutive	**Nominative**		**Absolutive**	**Nominative**	
farza	farz-i	'horse'	ǰana	ǰan-i	'elephant'
x^{w}ïra	x^{w}ïr-i	'child'	xašäna	xašän-i	'thief'
gämäna	gämän-i	'lion'	siya	siy-i	'meat'

(2) Amharic loanwords:

Absolutive	**Nominative**	
asa	as-i	'fish'
kasa	kas-i	'Kasa' (proper noun)
karra	karr-i	'knife'
kätäma	kätäm-i	'town'

(3) Kemantney verbal nouns:

Absolutive	**Nominative**	
xalna	xaln-i	'seeing'
gaŋna	gaŋn-i	'running'
x^{w}ïna	x^{w}ïn-i	'eating'

As we can see from the examples, Kemantney nouns which end in */a/* drop this vowel and take the nominative marker */i/*. This is a typical Cushitic feature where root or stem final vowels drop in the context of a vowel initial suffix as vowel sequencing is not allowed.

When a noun ends in a vowel other than */a/* or in a consonant, the nominative marker */-i/* does not appear. Compare the following examples.

(4) (a) yïr ax^{w} ǰax-ïʏ^{w}
man water drink-PS
'The/A man drank water.'

(b) gïzïŋ siya x ^{w}ïy-ïʏ^{w}
dog meat eat-PS
'The/A dog ate meat.'

(c) gär šäb t'äb-ïʏ^{w}
calf milk suck-PS
'The/A calf suck milk.'

(d) kälmed käma xašänt-ïʏ^{w}
shepherd water steal-PS
'The/A shepherd stole cow'.

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[38] In Kemantney, definiteness and case are inseparable. The indefinite is the unmarked form.

yïr t-ïʏ^{w}	'The/A man came.'	ïyyän tïn-ïʏ^{w}	'(The) people came.'
gïzïŋ käwy-aʏ	'The/A dog barked.'	gïzïŋ-kï bäb-n-ïʏ^{w}	'(The) dogs barked.'
k^{w}ïr-i kag-ïʏ^{w}	'The river dried.'	k^{w}ïr-ïk kag-n-ïʏ^{w}	'(The) rivers dried.'
yïwne x^{w}ïra fäy-it	'The/A woman went.'	yïwïn fäy-n-ïʏ^{w}	'(The) women went.'

The response of the terminal speakers to the above control sentences is similar, and therefore, definiteness and indefiniteness are not morphologically marked in Kemantney neither in the singular nor in plural nouns.

Personal and demonstrative pronouns can be taken as evidence for the above nominative case marking rule in Kemantney since they do not show the suffix */-i/* due to their form. Furthermore, proper nouns can be examples for the same phenomenon. As a result, whereas, for instance, *kasa*, *läma*, *asäfa* become *kas-i*, *läm-i*, *asäf-i* respectively for the nominative, nouns which end in consonants and vowels other than */a/*, are unmarked.

The grammatical relation of nominative case is characterized by gender since only masculine nouns show the nominative marker */-i/*. Example (5) below shows the contrast.

(5)	dïʏʷära awïŋ-ï-t	donkey bray-PS-3F	'The/A donkey (F) brayed.'
	dïʏʷär-i awïŋ-ïʏʷ	donkey-NOM bray-PS	'The donkey (M) brayed.'
	farza yïr-ïs däd-ï-t	horse tread on-PS-3F	'The/A horse (F) trod on the man.'
	farz-i yïr-ïs däd-ïʏʷ	horse-NOM tread on-PS	'The horse (M) trod on the man.'

As illustrated above, only masuline nouns which end in */a/* take the nominative marker. Observe more examples below.

(6) a. šïwänt-i yï- t ǰaʏ- ïʏʷ
begger-NOM me-ACC insult-PS
'The beggar insulted me.'

b. xʷïrrä gänǰ-ïn- ïʏʷ
children sleep-PL-PS
'The children slept.'

c. bäyy-i wïlaʏä-s at'läk'äläk'-ïʏʷ
river-NOM field- ACC flood- PS
'The river flooded the field.'

d. bäg- i nïŋ- wä tïw- ïʏʷ
sheep-NOM house-into enter-PS
'The sheep entered (into) the house.'

e. nïŋ täk'at'äl-ïʏʷ
house be burn- PS
'The house was burnt.'

f. gʷäzäntï ayyäy-wä fäy-n- ïʏʷ
farmers market-to go- PL-PS
'The farmers went to the market.'

g. gʷär-i kʷï-t gondär-wä fäš- äkʷ
road-NOM you-ACC Gondar-to take-IMP
'The road takes you to Gondar.'

h. k'es däbïr- ïl t- ïʏʷ
priest church-from come-PS
'The priest came from the church.'

i. damiya ïnšïwa-t šämäy-ï- t
cat rat- ACC chase-PS-3F
'The cat (F) chased the rat.'

j. gïzïŋ y- ïʏʷ gala
dog me-of he is
'The dog is mine.'

As can be seen from the examples given in (6a-j) above, plural and feminine nouns as well as nouns ending in a consonant do not take the nominative suffix. Hence, there are good reasons to conclude that nominative case in Kemantney is marked only in masculine nouns which end in the vowel */a/*. As shown in example (7) below, the subject of passive sentences show the nominative case.

(7) a. siy-i gïzïŋ-ïz xʷïy-s- ïʏʷ
meat-NOM dog- by eat- PASS-PS
'The meat was eaten by the dog.'

b. kïbn-i ïyyän- ïz tä- k'at'äl-ïʏʷ
forest-NOM people-by PASS-burn- PS
'The forest was burnt by the people.'

Infinitival nominals also show the nominative case marker as shown below (see also example (3) above).

(8) (a) xal- n- i amän- na gala
see-INF-NOM believe-INF he is
'Seeing is believing.'

(b) gaŋ- n- i t'enïnnät-ïz šäraʏ gala
run- INF-NOM health- for good he is
'Running is good for health.'

Kemantney infinitivals seem to be masculine as they show the nominative affix.

5.2.3.3.1.1 Terminal Speakers and the Nominative Case

The equivalents of the sentences (6a-j) above were elicited from informants. They show the following case markings.

	AA	AyT	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	-i	-∅	-i	-∅	-i	-i	-i	-i	-∅
b.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
c.	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i
d.	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i
e.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
f.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
g.	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i
h.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
i.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
j.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅

Table 17: Nominative case among terminal speakers

As illustrated in (table 17), nominative case is marked only in singular masculine nouns. As a result, the nouns *šïwänta*, *bäyya, bäga* and *g^{w}ara* in sentences (a), (c), (d) and (g) respectively show the nominative suffix. On the other hand, in (b), (f) and (i) the suffix is not shown because whereas *x^{w}ïrra* and *g^{w}äzäntï* in (b) and (f) are plural *damiya* in (i) is feminine. In (e), (h) and (j), the nouns are not marked for nominative because they all end in consonant.

In the case of sentence (a), AyT, LT and YM supplied the bare form. This tendency of dropping nominative case is a contact-induced change known as negative borrowing (Dimmendaal, 1998). The change is the result of the contact with Amharic, which does not show nominative suffix. The subjects of sentence (c), (d) and (g) take the nominative case morpheme uniformly. By contrast, the subjects of sentences (e), (h) and (j) are not used with the nominative case. This leads to the conclusion that nominative marking in Kemantney takes place with masculine singular nouns, which end in the vowel */a/*.

5.2.3.3.2 Accusative Case

The two suffixes which indicate accusative case are */-(ï)s/* and */-(ï)t/*. The vowel is inserted when the noun to which the case suffix is attached ends in a consonant to avoid impermissible clusters. Like in the nominative, a noun takes an accusative suffix if it is definite. Compare the examples below.

(1) a. yïr zaf- ïs käb-ïʏʷ
man tree-ACC cut-PS
'The man cut the tree.'

b. kʷant-i nïŋ- ïs xätïy- aʏ
ice- NOM house-ACC puncture-PS
'The ice pierced the house.'

c. gän- aʏ yïr xʷïrrä- s gäwt- ïʏʷ
be old-REL man children-ACC praise-PS
'The old man praised the children.'

d. an mät'af-ïs niŋïn anäbäb-ïʏʷ
I book- ACC twice read- PS
'I read the book twice.'

e. an yï- gäna- t anǰïŋ xal-ïʏʷ
I my-mother-ACC yesterday see-PS
'I saw my mother yesterday.'

f. mïräw-i bäntäle-t sïŋʷ- ïʏʷ
snake-NOM rabbit- ACC swallow-PS
'The snake swallowed the rabbit.'

g. xïbt-än šaŋkä-s dïŋʷ- ïn-ïʏʷ
cattle-PL grass- ACC finish-PL-PS
'The cattle finished the grass.'

h. xašän-i samä- s gabäz-ïʏʷ
thief- NOM money-ACC loot- PS
'The thief looted the money.'

i. yïb- i fïntïrï-s ardïy- aʏ
leopard-NOM goat- ACC attack-PS
'The leopard attacked the goat.'

j. yïwne xʷïra niš-säyïŋ-ïs xäš- ï- t
female child her-cloth-ACC wash-PS-3F
'The woman washed her clothes.'

As we can see in (1a-j) above and in several other examples in the text, accusative case is marked in feminine nouns with the suffix */-(ï)t/*. There are exceptions to this. The first are singular object personal pronouns which take */-(ï)t/* like feminine nouns (cf. section 5.2.1.2). The second exceptions are masuline nouns which show */-(ï)t/* as in *kasa-t* 'Kasa-ACC', *tedros-tï* 'Tewodor-ACC', *ni-aba-t* 'his father-ACC'. In masculine and plural nouns, the accusative suffix is */-(ï)s/*. The plural personal pronouns, which take the suffix */-(ï)s/* like masuline and plural nouns belong to this group as described in section 5.2.1.2. In the same way, demonstratives take the suffix */-(ï)s/* as in the following example.

(2)

Proximal	M	ïn-sï	**Distal**	M	yïn-sï
	F	ïn-tï		F	yïn-tï
	PL	ïndäw-ïs		PL	yïndäw-ïs

Observe the examples below.

(3) a. ni ïn-sï ǰax- ∅- äkʷ
he this-ACC drink-3MS-IMP
'He will drink this one (M).'

b. ni ïn- tï ǰax- ∅- äkʷ
he this-ACC drink-3MS-IMP
'He will drink this one (F).'

c. ni ïndäw-ïs ǰax- ∅- äkʷ
he these-ACC drink-3MS-IMP
'He will drink these ones.'

d. ni yïn-sï ǰax- ∅- äkʷ
he that-ACC drink-3MS-IMP
'He will drink that one (M).'

e. ni yïn-tï ǰax- ∅- äkʷ
he that-ACC drink-1S-IMP
'He will drink this one (F).'

f. ni yïndäw-ïs ǰax- ∅- äkʷ
he those-ACC drink-3MS-IMP
'He will drink those ones.'

Reflexive pronominals show the case suffix in both the base and reflexive forms.

(4)

yï-t yï-aʏʷäy-ïs	my-ACC my-head-ACC	'I myself'
kʷï-t ti-aʏʷäy-ïs	your-ACC your-head-ACC	'you (SG) yourself'
ni-t ni-aʏʷäy-ïs	my-ACC his-head-ACC	'he himself'
ni-t niš-aʏʷäy-ïs	my-ACC her-head-ACC	'she herself'
annew-ïs anä-aʏʷäy-ïs	my-ACC our-head-ACC	'we ourselves'

ïntändew-ïs ïntä-aʏʷäy-ïs	my-ACC your-head-ACC	'you (PL) yourselves'
naydew-ïs na-aʏʷäy-ïs	my-ACC their-head-ACC	'they themselves'

Numerals also show the accusative case suffix.

(5)	laʏ-ït	one-ACC	'the one (feminine or small one)'	näŋäyïŋ-ïs	twenty-ACC	'the twenty'
	niŋa-t	two-ACC	'the two'	saʏʷäyïŋ-ïs	thirty-ACC	'the thrity'
	seʏʷa-t	three-ACC	'the three'	arbä-s	fourty-ACC	'the fourty'
	šïka-t	ten-ACC	'the ten'	lix-ïs	hundred-ACC	'the hundred'

As can be seen, the basic digits (1-10) take the feminine accusative marker while the rest take the masuline and plural accusative marker */-ïs/*.

The accusative case marker is dropped in indefinite nouns. Compare the following examples:

(4) a. kas- i kʷïri-näbayil mälak xal-ïʏʷ	b. an šäb ǰax- ïʏʷ	c.	kasa kanä säbäsäb-ïʏʷ
Kasa-NOM river-in angel see-PS	I milk drink-PS		Kasa wood collect- PS
'Kasa saw an angel in the river.'	'I drank milk.'		'Kasa collected wood.'

Thus, Kemantney shows the object affix in definite nouns only.

5.2.3.3.2.1 Terminal Speakers and the Accusative Case

The accusative case morpheme is maintained in Kemantney as all informants supplied it consistently.

	AA	AyT	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs
b.	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs
c.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s
d.	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs
e.	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
f.	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
g.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s
h.	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s
i.	-t	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s	-s
j.	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs	-ïs

Table 18: The accusative case among terminal speakers

The ratio of retention and loss looks like 99%/1% except in one case only where AA supplied */-t/* for */-s/* in sentence (i).

5.2.3.3.3 Genitive Case

The third form of morphological case is the genitive case. Like other modifying elements in noun phrases, genitive NPs precede the head they modify. The genitive endings are */-i/*, */-ä/*, */-ey/*, */-∅/* and */-dï/*. The following are examples with semantic relations of source and purpose and with the endings */-i/*, */∅/*, and */-ä/*.

(1)	a.	šïx-i nïŋ	'house of mud'	b.	šaŋk-i nïŋ	'house of grass'
		nïŋ-∅ šixa	'mud for house'		nïŋ-∅ šaŋka	'grass for house'

c.	saʏ-i miz	'mead of honey'		d.	bälg-i sïlaʏa	'tella of barley'[39]
	miz-ä saʏïya	'honey for mead'			sïlaʏ-i bälga	'barley for tella'
e.	kan-i argï	'bed of wood'		f.	šaʏ-i kïmbï	'stick of iron'
	arg-i kana	'wood for bed'			kïmb-i šaʏa	'iron for stick'

In the following examples, genitive constructions show the suffix */-ey/*.

(2)	käma	'cow'	+	giya	'horn'	→	käm-ey giya	'horn of cow'
	ašär	'thorn'	+	k^{w}ïra	'river'	→	ašär-ey k^{w}ïra	'river of thorn'
	dirwa	'hen'	+	laba	'feather'	→	dirw-ey laba	'feather of hen'

When a noun ends in a consonant cluster and as a result has the epenthethic vowel */-ï/*, the genitive is marked by a zero morpheme.

(3)	kïmbï	'stick'	+	šaʏa	'iron'	→	kïmbï-∅ šaʏa	'stick of iron'
	särgï	'wedding'	+	kïlïŋ	'dance'	→	särgï-∅ kïlïŋ	'dance of wedding'
	kartï	'distant'	+	zämäd	'relative'	→	kartï-∅ zämäd	'distant relative'

Some gentive constructions show vocalic changes of */a/* to */ä/*.

(4)	bälga	'barley'	+kïrmäna	'hip'	→	bälgä kïrmäna	'hip of barley'
	mayla	'maize'	+sïlaʏa	'beer'	→	maylä sïlaʏa	'beer of maize'
	dawša	'millet'	+araki	'alcohol'	→	dawšä araki	'alcohol of millet'

The majority of genitive constructions in Kemantney show the suffix */-i/* which is similar to the nominative case marker.

(5)	mïrawa	'snake'	+a$ʏ^{w}$äy	'head'	→	mïraw-i a$ʏ^{w}$äy	'head of snake'
	bäšïtäññä	'patient'	+g^{w}äzg^{w}ï	'stomach'	→	bäšïtäññ-i g^{w}äzg^{w}ï	'stomach of patient'
	dirwa	'hen'	+yïl	'eye'	→	dirw-i yïl	'eye of hen'
	nïŋ	'house'	+bäla	'door'	→	nïŋ-i bäla	'door of house'
	k^{w}ara	'sun'	+tïw	'entrance'	→	k^{w}ar-i tïw	'entrance of sun (west)'

Most Kemantney compound nouns have similar structure and show */-i/* as the following examples illustrate.

(6)	kïmänta	'Kemant'	+tarik	'story'	→	kïmänt-i tarik	'story of Kemant'
	kïbna	'wild'	+ ïnsïsa	'animal'	→	kïbn-i ïnsïsa	lit. 'animal of forest' (wild animal)
	gïrga	'day'	+ sïrïʏ	'labour'	→	gïrk-i sïrïʏ	lit. 'labour of day' (daily labour)

Like in (3) above, there are genitive noun phrases, which do not show any genitive marker. These include the following:

(7)	gondär-∅ yïr	'a man of Gondar'	xïbtän-∅ mänga	'herd of cattle'
	g^{w}äŋ-∅ ax^{w}	'water of well'	sayïŋ-∅ suk'	'shop of cloth'
	bïr-∅ santim	'coin of silver'	k'ïmäm-∅ $šax^{w}$	'spice of sauce'

With proper nouns, the suffix */-dï/* and */-ey/* appear as possessive genitives with the possessor noun as shown below.

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[39] *t'älla* is an Ethiopian traditional beer.

(8)	bitäwa-ey šämärgina	Bitewa-of spear	'the spear of Bitäwa'
	kasa-ey käma	Kasa-of cow	'the cow of Kasa'
	adam-dï säyiŋ	Adam-of clothe	'the cloth of Adam'
	bälay-dï kïmbï	Belay-of stick	'the stick of Belay'

The morpheme */-dï/* is suffixed to nouns which end in consonants, whereas its variant */-ey/* appears with nouns which end in vowels. As shown in (9) below, like personal pronouns (see 2.3), demonstrative pronouns also show gentive case.

(9)	a.	ïn-zïʏʷ gala	this-of is	lit. 'It is of this (M)'	b. ïn-zï käw	'of this (M) village'
		yïn-zïʏʷ gala	that-of is	lit. 'It is of that (M)'	yïn-zï käw	'of that (M) village'
		ïn-šïʏʷ gala	this-F-of is	lit. 'It is of this (F)'	ïn-šï käw	'of this (F) village.'
		yïn-šïʏʷ gala	that-F-of is	lit. 'It is of that (F)'	yïn-šï käw	'of that (F) village.'
		ïndäw-zïʏʷ gala	these-of is	lit. 'It is of these (POL)'	ïndäw-ïz käw	'of these (PL) villages'
		yïndäw-zïʏʷ gala	those-of is	lit. 'It is of those (POL)'	yïndäw-ïz käw	'of those (PL) villages'

5.2.3.3.3.1 Terminal Speakers and the Genitive Case

The following eight control sentences were used to test nine informants on their use of the genitive forms.

(9) a. an saʏ- i- miz yïkäl-äkʷ
I honey-of-mead like- IMP
'I like mead of honey.'

b. ni miz-ä- saʏya kïz-äkʷ
he mead-of-honey sell-IMP
'He sells honey for mead.'

c. naydew sïnde- ∅-sïlaʏa ǰax- nï- wan-äkʷ
they wheat-of-beer drink-PL-AUX-IMP
'They have drunk beer of wheat.'

d. naydew sïlaʏ-i- sïnde ayyäy-ïl wayt-ïn- ïʏʷ
they beer-of-wheat market-from buy-PL-PS
'They bought wheat for beer from the market.'

e. šämane ti- ∅-säyïŋ sär- äkʷ
weaver cotton-of-cloth make-IMP
'The weaver makes cotton cloth.'

f. yïr säyiŋ-∅-tiya läš- äkʷ
man cloth-for-cotton bring-IMP
'The man will bring cotton for cloth.'

g. šïʏʷïsänt-i tab- ä- bïʏʷïra xʷïy-ïʏʷ
patient- NOM teff-of-porridge eat-PS
'The patient ate porridge of teff.'

h. bïʏʷïr- i- tab ïrïkaš gala
porridge-of-teff cheap he is
'Porridge for teff is cheap.'

The responses are shown below.

	AA	AyT	DA	LT	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YT
a.	-i	-e	-ya	-i	-i	-i	-i	-ya	-i
b.	___	___	___	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-ä	-∅
c.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
d.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
e.	-i	-e	-i	-äs	-∅	-i	-i	-∅	-i
f.	-∅	-∅	-i	-i	-∅	-i	-i	-∅	-i
g.	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-ä	-∅	-ä
h.	-ä	-ä	-∅	-i	-i	-i	-i	-∅	-i

Table 20: The genitive case among terminal speakers

Table 20 shows the following variations: a) The suffixes */-i/*, */-e/* and */-ya/* were used by different informants in the same sentence (cf. (9a) and row (a) in the table. b) WMM supplied the

normative genitive form in sentence (b) whereas AA and AyT used genitives in deviant orders. Instead of *miz-ä (i) saʏya* 'honey for mead', they said *saʏ-i täǰ* 'mead of honey' and *saʏyä-s täǰ-ïz* 'with the mead of the honey'. DA supplied only the head noun *saʏya* 'honey' without a genitive modifier. The other informants supplied genitives without endings. Hence, there is a tendency of using bare NP.

5.2.3.3.4 Oblique Case

Kemantney, as is usual in SOV languages, had postpostions which assign oblique cases to the nouns they are suffixed.

As has been mentioned in Tucker and Bryan (1966), there is a problem of making a clear distinction between postpositions and case endings in Cushitic languages, as the former are considered as case suffixes by some Cushiticists and postpositions by others.[40] Kemantney has the following postpositions.

(1) /-z/	färzä-z	'by horse'	/-(d)aʏaš/	gondär-(d)aʏaš	'upto Gondar'
	yï-z	'for me'		mär aʏaš	'until tomorrow'
	bar-ïz	'in the sea'	/-wä/	yï-wä	'to me'
	fensträ-z	'through the window'		gondär-wä	'to Gondar'
	xašänä-z	'about the thief'	/-day/	kätämi-day	'near the town'
	šämärginä-z	'with a spear'	/-day-ïl/	kʷïri day-il	'by the side of the river'
	mäš-ïz	'in winter'	/-dï(k)/	abïn-dï(k)	'with the guest'

[40] Appleyard (1975) has considered Kemantney postpositions as case endings. He says the following regarding the property of postpostions in Agew languages in general.

> 'The case systems of Agew languages are larger than those of other Cushitic languages, as such categories as beneficiary, location, direction, instrument, accompaniment, etc., which are there expressed by postpostions or the like, are in Agew indicated by case endings. The markers of many of these 'secondary' cases are ostensibily derived from old postpostions, and indeed many are cognate with such particles in other Cushitic languages.' (Appleyard 1986b:357)

The study of case has shown tremendous development and has attracted interest in linguistics, especially in syntax. However, diffferent interpretations have been given to the categories of case assigners and case markers. As this problem persists, the number and type of cases varies. If one takes Kemantney postpostions as case markers, for instance, the number of cases would be eight: absolutive, nominative, accusative, genitive, dative-benefactive-malfactive-instrumental, directional, comitative and locative-ablative. In this case, the number of cases will be as many as the number of postpositions. In addition, this would lead us to the conclusion that there are no postpostions in Kemantney. If postpostions are regarded as case assigners (semantic cases), then Kemantney has only three morphologically realized cases, namely: nominative, accusative and genitive. Hence, the distinction of semantic and grammatical cases should be given emphasis.

The historical development of postpositions from case assigners into case markers and the role of postpostions in Cushitic languages in general and Agaw languages in particular either as case assigneres or case receivers needs further research and analysis.

/-(ï)l/	addis abäba-l	'from Addis Ababa'	/-dag/	kani-dag	'on the tree'
	näŋäyïŋ-li amäy	'for twenty years'	/-dag-ïl/	nïŋ dag-ïl	'above the house'
	aykäl-ïl	'at Aykel'	/-dag/	nïŋ dag	'on the house'
	yï-g^{w}äyïŋ-ïl	'by the side of me'	/-dag-ïz/	annew dag-ïz	'on us'
	nïŋ-ïl	'in the hose'	/-sïr-ïl/[41]	argï sïr-ïl	'under the bed'
	kïbni näbay-ïl	'in the forest'	/-lïk^{w}-ïl/[42]	tabi lïk^{w}-ïl	'below the fence'
	argï näbay-ïl	'below the bed'	/-gäš-ïl-gäš/	ayäy gäš-ïl-gäš[43]	'in front of the market'
	anä näbay-ïl	'between us'	/-säg-ïz/	nïŋ säg-ïz	'behind the house'
	ax^{w} näbay-ïl	'into the water'	/-näǰ-ïl/	k^{w}ïri näǰ-ïl	'by the other side of the river'
/-š/	yï-š	'for me'			
	kasä-š	'for Kasa'			

The above postpositions assign the following semantic roles to the nouns they are attached.

	DAT	LOC	INS	ABL	BEN	MAL	DIR	COM	COMP
-z	+	+	+		+				
-l		+		+					
-š					+				
-wä							+		
-day		+							
-dag		+							
-dï(k)								+	
-day-ïl		+							
-dag-ïl		+							
-dag-ïz						+			
-sïr-ïl		+							
-lïk^{w}-ïl		+							
-säg-ïz		+							
-näǰ-ïl		+							
-gäš-ïl-gäš		+							
-l-ïz									+

As shown in the table, the same postposition assigns different semantic roles. The case in point are the postpositions */-z/* and */-l/*. While the former assigns dative, locative, instrumental and benefactive, the latter assigns locative, and ablative seamantic roles.

5.2.3.4 Nominal Derivation

5.2.3.4.1 Infinitival Nominal

The infinitive derives from the verb by suffixing *(-(ï)na/* to verb stems. Observe the following examples.

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[41] sïr means 'root'.

[42] lïk^{w} means 'foot'

[43] *gäš* means 'face' and hence *gäš-ïl-gäš* means 'face to face'.

(1) kʷïy-	'kill'	→	kʷï-na	'to kill'	fäläg-	'desire'	→ fäläg-na	'to desire'
xʷïy-	'eat'	→	xʷï-na	'to eat'	kïlïŋ-	'dance'	→ kïlïŋ-na	'to dance'
ǰax-	'drink'	→	ǰax-na	'to drink'	dint-	'swim'	→ dint-ïna	'to swim'
gʷäz-	'plough'	→	gʷäz-na	'to plough'	gänǰ-	'sleep'	→ gänǰ-ïna	'to sleep'

The negative infinitive 'not to...' is shown by a combination of two verbs: a main and a helping verb. The main verb takes the negative suffix */-(ï)gï/* which appears with embedded verbs and the helping verb *bäy-* 'give up/dismiss' takes the infinitive marker */-(ï)na/*.

(2)	was-na	'to hear' →	was-gï bay-na	hear-NEG give up-INF	lit. 'to give up without hearing'
	gänǰ-ïna	'sleep' →	gänǰ-ïgï bäy-na	sleep-NEG give up-INF	lit. 'to give up without sleeping'
	kïlïŋ-na	'dance' →	kïlïŋ-gï bäy-na	dance-NEG give up-INF	lit. 'to give up without dancing'

Kemantney infinitive forms do not inflect for person, number or gender. But, they are inflected for case. Compare the examples below.

(3)	an gaŋ-nä-s ni ax-äkʷ	I eat-INF-ACC he know-IMP	lit. 'He knows my eating.'
	ïntï gaŋ-nä-s ni ax-äkʷ	you eat-INF-ACC he know-IMP	lit. 'He knows your eating.'
	ni gaŋ-nä-s ni ax-äkʷ	she eat-INF-ACC he know-IMP	lit. 'He knows her eating.'
	ni gaŋ-nä-s ni ax-äkʷ	he eat-INF-ACC he know-IMP	lit. 'He knows his eating.'
	annew gaŋ-nä-s ni ax-äkʷ	she eat-INF-ACC he know-IMP	lit. 'He knows our eating.'
	ïntändew gaŋ-nä-s ni ax-äkʷ	you eat-INF-ACC he know-IMP	lit.'He knows your (PL) eating.'
	naydew gaŋ-nä-s ni ax-äkʷ	she eat-INF-ACC he know-IMP	lit. 'He knows their eating.'

As can be observed, infinitival nominals inflect for accusative case. The vowel */a/* of the infinitve marker changes to */-ä/* as it is always the case at morpheme boundaries. As a result, *gaŋ-na-s* appears as *gaŋ-nä-s*. As shown in example (3) above, it is the main verb *ax-* 'know' which inflect for person, number, gender and tense.

As nominals, infinitives also take the bound possessive pronominal and the nominative case marker as shown below.

(4)	yï-gaŋ-n-i was-s-ïʏʷ	my-run-INF-NOM hear-PASS-PS	lit. 'My running was heard.'
	ti-gaŋ-n-i was-s-ïʏʷ	your-run-INF-NOM hear-PASS-PS	lit. 'Your running was heard.'
	ni-gaŋ-n-i was-s-ïʏʷ	his-run-INF-NOM hear-PASS-PS	lit. 'His running was heard.'
	niš-gaŋ-n-i was-s-ïʏʷ	her-run-INF-NOM hear-PASS-PS	lit. 'Her running was heard.'
	anä-gaŋ-n-i was-s-ïʏʷ	our-run-INF-NOM hear-PASS-PS	lit. 'Our running was heard.'
	ïntï-gaŋ-n-i was-s-ïʏʷ	your-run-INF-NOM hear-PASS-PS	lit. 'Your running was heard.'
	na-gaŋ-n-i was-s-ïʏʷ	their-run-INF-NOM hear-PASS-PS	lit. 'Their running was heard.'

The */a/* of the infinitive marker is deleted before */-i/* due to the impermissibility of vowel sequencing.

5.2.3.4.1.1 Terminal Speakers and the Infinitive

The following sentences were elicited from ten informants for checking the rate of loss and retention.

(1) a. annew g^{w}äz- na fäläg- n- äk^{w}
we plough-INF want-PL-IMP
'We want to plough.'

b. ni ax^{w}- ïs dint- na yïkäl-ä-ti
she water-ACC swim-INF like-IMP-F
'She likes to swim.'

c. ïntändew gänǰ-ïna fäläg-y- äk^{w}- ïn
you (PL) sleep-INF want-2P-IMP-PL
'You want to sleep.'

d. xašän-i amälät'-na mokär-ïʏ^{w}
thief-NOM escape-INF try- PS
'The thief wants to escape.'

e. naydew ax^{w}- ïs dint- ïna fäläg-äk^{w}-ïn
they water-ACC swim-INF want-IMP-3PL
'They want to swim.'[44]

f. xal- n- i amän- na gala
see-INF-NOM believe-INF he is
'To see is to believe.' (Seeing is believing.)

g. an gänät- wä fäy-na fäläg- äk^{w}
I heaven-dir. go-INF want- IMP
'I want to go to heaven.'

h. kasä-y asama x^{w}ï- n- i šäraʏ aʏïyla
Kasa-POSS pig eat-INF-NOM good is not
'Kasa's eating of pork is not good.'

i. kasa ara x^{w}ï- na fäläg-äk^{w}
Kasa injera eat-INF want-IMP[45]
'Kasa wants to eat injera.'

j. gaŋ-n- i t'enïnnät-ïz šäraʏ gala
run-INF-NOM health- for good he is
'Running is good for health.'

The response reveals that infinitivals are 100% retained.

5.2.3.4.2 Agentive Nominals

Agent nominals are derived from verbs with the suffix */-änta/* as in *g^{w}äz-* 'farm' → *g^{w}äz-änta* 'farmer', *ax-* 'know' → *ax-äntä* 'knowledgeable', *kinš-* 'teach' → *kinš-änta* 'teacher' *etc.* Observe the following examples of usage.

(1) a. ni g^{w}äz-änta gala
he farm-AG he is
'He is a farmer.'

b. ni ax- äntä yïr gala
he know-AG man he is
'He is a knowledgable person.'

c. ni kinš- änta sïmb-i-ti
she teach-AG be-PS-3F
'She was a teacher.'

d. ni läfäläf- änta gayla
she be talkative-AG she is
'She is talkative.'

e. ni šäräy kïlïŋ- änta gayla
she good dance-AG she is
'She is a good dancer.'

f. ni faʏ- änta gala
he bake-AG he is
'He is a baker.'

g. ni säkär-änta sïmb-eʏ^{w}
he drunk-AG be- PS
'He was a drunkard.'

h. ni melt- änta gala
he keep-AG he is
'He is a guard.'

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[44] As mentioned earlier, in Kemantney, the verb *dint-* 'swim' has the property of a transitive verb because it takes the noun *ax^{w}-ïs* 'water-ACC' as an object complement. Hence, the gloss is like *'they want to swim the water.'

[45] Injera is a typical Ethiopian food.

i. hayle itobawi gaŋ-äntä gala
Haile Ethiopian run-AG he is
'Haile is an Ethiopian runner.'

j. naydew šïxus-äntä aʏïy- n- ïʏ^{w}
they sick- AG become-PL-PS
'They became patients.'

5.2.3.4.2.1 Terminal Speakers and the Agentive Nominal

As mentioned in Chapter IV, */-änta/* is an agentive morpheme. The process was once very productive but now some passive terminal speakers use other forms. Compare the forms below supplied by speakers as agentive morphemes.

	AA	AyT	DA	MM	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	-änta	A	-änta	-änta	A	-änta	-änta	A
b.	-änta	-änta	-änta	-änta	-änta	-änta	-änta	-änta
c.	-äŋ^{w}	A	-äŋ^{w}	-äŋ^{w}	A	A	-änta	-äŋ^{w}
d.	-änta	A	A	A	A	A	-änta	A
e.	-änta	-ti	-ey	-ti	-änta	-t	-änta	-änta
f.	-änta	A	-aʏ	-änti	-äntä	-änta	-äntä	-änta
g.	-äŋ^{w}	A	-äŋ^{w}	-äŋ^{w}	A	-äŋ^{w}	-änta	-änta
h.	-aʏ	A	A	A	A	A	-änta	A
i.	-änta	-änta	-aʏ	-änta	-änta	-änta	-änta	-änta
j.	-änta	A	-aʏ	A	∅	∅	-änta	-änta

Table 26: Agent nominal derivation among terminal speakers

/-änta/ is still remembered by the majority of the informants though there is a tendency of using others like the stative */-ŋ^{w}/* or the relative */-aʏ/* or */-ey/*. There are also considerable cases where Amharic forms are used (represented by A in the table). In (e), AyT and MM supplied the sentence *ni šäraʏ kïlïŋ-ä-ti* 'She danced good.' instead of *ni šäraʏ kïlïŋ-änta gayla* 'She is a good dancer.' In general, among the eighty responses, 39 were genuine forms, which suggests a retention of 48.7%.

5.2.3.4.3 Abstract Nouns

As mentioned in chapter IV, abstract nouns are derived from simple nouns by suffixing */-näy/* as in the table below.

(1) x^{w}ïra 'child' x^{w}ïr-näy 'childhood' dïxa 'poor' dïx-näy 'poorness'
yïwna 'female' yïwïn-näy 'femaleness' gïrwa 'male' gïrïw-näy 'maleness'

Like other nouns, abstract nominals show the following possessive paradigm.

(2) ti-x^{w}ïr-näy your-child-ABS 'your childhood' anä-x^{w}ïr-näy our-child-ABS 'our childhood'
ni-x^{w}ïr-näy his-child-ABS 'his childhood' ïntä-x^{w}ïr-näy your-child-ABS 'your childhood'
nïš-x^{w}ïr-näy her-child-ABS 'her childhood' na-x^{w}ïr-näy their-child-ABS 'their childhood'

The process is not productive. Other than the above forms, terminal speakers also use various forms including the Amharic */-ïnnät/* which also derives abstract nominals (cf. chapter IV).

5.2.4 Adverbs

In Kemantney, there are few adverbs. They appear immediately preceding VPs. The most commonly used adverbs are time adverbs like *anǰiŋ* 'yesterday', *amär* 'tomorrow', *amär-li sïyä* 'the day before', *anǰiŋ-li sïyä* 'the day after', *yïxʷïm* 'last year', *šaʏʷä* 'next year', *nïŋ* 'now'. Compare the following examples.

(1) ni anǰiŋ kïz-s-ïʏʷ	yesterday sell-PASS-PS	'It was sold yesterday.'
ni amär gʷäz-äkʷ	tomorrow plough-IMP	'He will plough tomorrow.'
ni amär-li sïyä xäš-ïʏʷ	tomorrow-from farther wash-PS	'He will wash the day after tomoorow.'
ni anǰiŋ-li sïyä täbaʏ-ïʏʷ	yesterday-from farther milk-PS	'He milked the day before yesterday.'
ni yïxʷïm[46] t-ïʏʷ	last year come-PS	'He came last year.'
ni šaʏʷ-ä faʏ-äkʷ	pass the rainy season-GER marry-IMP	'He will marry next year'
an nïŋ xal-äl	today/now see-NEG	'I do not see today/now.'

There are few degree and manner adverbs. They are *šärši* 'very', *säsiyäš* 'immediately', *wälišˇ* 'quickly'. Consider the examples in (2).

(2)	šärši šägär-ïʏʷ	very trouble-PS	'He was very troubled'
	säsiyäš säwär-s-ïʏʷ	immediately disappear-PASS-PS	'He disappeared immediately.'
	wäliš laʏʷ	fast come	'Come fast!'

As shown in (3) below, there are hybrid adverbs from Amharic and Kemantney. Other than those adverbs mentioned in (1) and (2) above, words which function as adverbs have a postpositional phrase structure.

5.2.4.1 Terminal Speakers and the Adverb

The following ten sentences were administered for seven informants to check the rate of retention and loss of adverbs.

(3) a. ni wälïš gaŋ-äkʷ
he quickly run-IMP
'He runs quickly.'

b. an šaʏʷä ïndägäna tiy- äkʷ[47]
I next year again come-IMP
'I will come agian next year'

c. ni kïmantnäy dämb- ïz gämär-ä- ti
she Kemantney regulation-by speak-PS-3F
'She speaks Kemantney perfectly.'

d. ni dïngät- ïz kiy-ïʏʷ
he sudden-by die-PS
'He died suddenly.'

e. kasa ni-yïwna-t ni- lïbäkä-z yïkäl-äkʷ
Kasa his-wife-ACC his-heart-from love-IMP
'Kasa loves his wife deep heartedly.'

f. ni gizä- z ïllï sïm- ä- t
she time-for here live-IMP-3F
'She will stay here for the time being.'

---

[46] In another context, it consists of two morphemes: *yï-xʷïm*, which means 'my neck'.

[47] The noun *šaʏʷä* 'next year' derives from the verb *šaʏ-* which means 'spend the rainy season'. The gerundive form *šaʏ-wä* 'he having spent the rainy season' is related in form and meaning with the noun *šaʏʷä* 'next year'. Another derived noun *šaʏ* means 'urine' or 'rainy season'.

g. naydew wälïš yï- n tïŋ- äkʷ- ïn
they quickly having said-PL arrive-IMP-3PL
'They will arrive soon.'

h. annew kʷï-t anä-fïk'ad- ïz kab- n- äkʷ
we you-OBJ our-permission-by help-1PL-PS
'We will help you voluntarily.'

i. xašän-i suk'-ïs anǰïŋ zäräf-ïʏʷ
thief-NOM shop-ACC yesterday loot-PS
'The thief looted the shop yesterday.'

j. ni yïxʷïm käbän- i- ti
she last year give birth-PS-3F
'She gave birth last year.'

The following adverbs were found in their utterances.

	AA	AyT	DA	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	wälïš	fït'nätïz	wälïš	fït'nätïz	wälïš	wälïš	wälïš
b.	šaʏ-wä	šaʏ-wä	šaʏ-wä	šaʏ-wä	šaʏ-wä	šaʏ-wä	šaʏ-wä
c.	t'ïru šäbi	dämbäññäz	t'ïru šäbi	dämbïz	dämbïz	dämbïz	dämbïz
d.	dïngätïz	dïngätïz	dïngätïz	dïngätïz	dïngätäññä	dïngätïz	dïngätïz
e.	lïbäkäz	lïbäkäz	lïbäkäz	lïbäkäz	lïbäkäz	lïbäkäz	lïbäkäz
f.	gize aʏäš	šïgʷaʏïs	lägizew	gize aʏäš	gizäz aʏäš	gizäz	gize
g.	wälïš	wälïš	wälïš	wälïš	wälïš	wälïš	wälïš
h.	fïk'adïz	fïk'adïz	fïk'adïz	sabïz	fïk'adïz	fïk'adïz	fïk'adïz
i.	anǰïŋ	anǰïŋ	anǰïŋ	anǰïŋ	anǰïŋ	anǰïŋ	anǰïŋ
j.	yïxʷïm	yïxʷïm	yïxʷïm	yïxʷïm	yïxʷïm	yïxʷïm	yïxʷïm

Table 27: Adverbs among terminal speakers

As illustrated in (table 27) above, there are some inconsistencies in the use of adverbs. In (a), AyT and MT use the hybrid PPs *fit'nät-iz* 'hurriedly' (the Amharic N *fit'nät* 'hurry' and the Kemantney postposition *-iz* 'in'). In sentences (c), (d), (e) and (h), the following PPs are used as adverbs in line with the Amharic */bä-/* and the English *-ly*.

dämb-ïz	lit. 'by regulation'	to mean	'properly'
dïngät-ïz	lit. 'by-sudden'	to mean	'suddenly'
lïbäkä-z	lit. 'by heart'	to mean	'heartily'
fïk'ad-ïz	lit. 'by permission'	to mean	'willingly'

In sentence (c), AA and DA supplied an ADJ and a gerunidive *t'ïru šäb-i* 'she, having done good'. In sentence (f), the Kemantney equivalents for the adverb 'temporarily' are the hybrid form *gize aʏäš* lit. 'until the time' and *giz-äz aʏäš* lit. 'until for the time being' and the non-hybrid form *šïgʷaʏ-ïz* lit. 'for short'. The Amharic borrowing *lä-gizew* 'for the time being' was also supplied. Except TA, in sentence (d), and DA and YM in sentence (f), the occurence of pure borrowing of adverbs is rare. However, there are hybrid forms with Amharic bases and Kemantney suffixes (cf. for instance, the response of AA, in d, e, f and h).

5.2.5 Question Words

There are seven wh-question words in Kemantney. They are: *wiʏʷ*, *awït*, *awïn*, *wixa*, *aw*, *wä* and *awi*, all formed from the stems *aw-* and *wi-*.

(1) a. aw- ni dint- aʏ
who-is swim-REL
lit. 'Who is the one who swims?'

b. aykäl- ïz wixa ïyyän sïm-äkʷ- ïn
Aykel-in how many live-IMP-PL
'How many people live in Aykel?'

c. yïwne- xʷïra awït fäy-ï- t
female-child where go-PS-3F
'Where did the woman go?'

d. ni niš-säyïŋ-ïs wixa wayt-ï- t
she her-cloth-ACC how much buy-PS-3F
'How much did she buy her cloth?'

e. anǰïŋ awi nïŋ wïzïŋ xʷïy-s- ïʏʷ
yesterday whose house fire eat- pas.-PS
lit. 'Whose house was 'eaten' by fire yesterday?'

f. ni ni-yïwna-t wiʏʷ daxär- ïʏʷ
he his-wife-ACC why divorce-PS
'Why did he divorce his wife?'

g. ïntï awïn faʏ- ïy-äkʷ
you when marry-2P-IMP
'When will you marry?'

h. ïntï ayyäy- ïl aw- ït tïŋ- y- ïʏʷ
you market-from who-ACC find-2S-PS
'Whom did you meet at the market?'

i. naydew yï-l wä fäläg-äkʷ- ïn
they me-from what need-IMP-PL
'What do they need from me?'

j. ïntï fïntïra-t aw- ïšdï ard- ïy- äkʷ
you goat- ACC who-with slaughter-2S-IMP
'With whom will you slaughter the goat?'

As can be observed from the above examples, all question words appear initially.

5.2.5.1 Terminal Speakers and Question Words

To confirm the rate of loss and retention, seven terminal speakers were tested on the above ten sentences. The result is shown below.

	AA	AyT	DA	MT	TA	WMM	YM
a.	aw	aw	aw	aw	aw	aw	aw
b.	wixä	wixä	wixä	wixä	wixä	wixa	wixä
c.	awït	awït	awït	awït	awït	awït	awït
d.	wixä	wixä	wixä	wixa	wixä	wixa	wixa
e.	awi	awi	awi	awi	awi	awi	awi
f.	wä	wä-z	wä	wiʏʷ	wä-z	wiʏʷ	wä-z
g.	awïn	awïn	awïn	awïn	awïn	awïn	awïn
h.	aw	aw	aw	aw	aw	aw	aw
i.	wä	wä	wä	wä	wä	wä	wä
j.	aw	aw	aw	aw	aw	aw	aw

Table 28: Question words among the terminal speakers

The speakers have maintained almost all the words (about 94.3%). There are inconsistencies in (f) where AA and DA supplied *wä* 'what' and AyT, TA and YM *wä-z* lit. 'for what' (parallel to the Amharic *lä-mïn*) instead of *wiʏʷ* 'why'. Those who used *wä* instead of *wä-z* provided a sentence, which requires the use of the former with the same meaning. Therefore, sentence (f) has been supplied in the following two ways.

(f') ni ni-yïwna-t wä šäb-aʏ daxär- ïʏʷ
he his-wife.ACC what do-REL divorce-PS
lit. 'What to do did he divorce his wife?'

(f'') ni ni-yïwna-t wä y-ï daxär- ïʏʷ
he his-wife-ACC what say-GER divorce-PS
lit. 'Having said what did he divorce his wife.'

5.3 Word Order

5.3.1 Simple Sentences

Kemantney has the general Cushitic word order. Declarative sentences are predominantly S-O-V. Compare the following examples.

(1) a. an ni- t xäl- ïʏ^{w}
I he-ACC see-PS
'I saw him.'

b. an siyä- s x^{w}ïy-ïʏ^{w}
I meat-ACC eat- PS
'I ate the meat.'

c. kasa ni- mïzi- s x^{w}ïy-ïʏ^{w}
kasa his-lunch-ACC eat- PS
'Kasa ate his lunch.'

d. ni kanä-s käb-ïʏ^{w}
he tree-ACC cut-PS
'He cut the tree.'

Permutation of the subject and object nouns is acceptable, but it is the marked case. The above sentences can appear as in (2) respectively.

(2) (a') ni-t an xäl-ïʏ^{w} (b') siyä-s an x^{w}ïy-ïʏ^{w}
(c') ni-mïz-is kasa x^{w}ïy-ïʏ^{w} (d') kanä-s ni käb-ïʏ^{w}

Word order permutation depends on pragmatic factors such as emphasis, for example. Observe the following.

(3) ïntï ni-t kašïŋ-y-ïʏ^{w} → ni-t ïntï kašïŋ-y-ïʏ^{w} he-ACC you call-2P-PS lit. 'Him, you called him.'
ni annew-ïs kašïŋ-ïʏ^{w} → annew-ïs ni kašïŋ-ïʏ^{w} we-ACC he call-PS lit. 'Us, he called us.'

In VPs, direct objects precede indirect objects. Consider the following examples.

(4) a. kas-i argï- s almaz- ïz yïw-ïʏ^{w}
kasa-NOM bed-ACC Almaz-to give-PS
'Kasa gave the bed to Almaz.'

b. kas- i tarik- ïs almaz- ïz dïwy-ïʏ^{w}
kasa-NOM story-ACC Almaz-DAT tell-PS
'Kasa told the story to Almaz.'

c. ni t'ärmuz-än niŋa miz yï- z läy- ï- ti
she bottle- PL two mead me-for give-PS-3F
'She gave me two bottles of mead.'

DOs can occur following IOs without bearing ungrammaticality. Hence, (a), (b) and (c) in example (4) can have the following order.

(5) (a') kasa almaz-ïz argï-s yïw-ïʏ^{w}
(b') kasa almaz-ïz tarik-ïs dïwy-ïʏ^{w}
(c') ni yï-z t'ärmuz-än niŋa miz läy-ï-ti

Word order is vulnerable to change, a point mentioned in language death literature. However, this is not expected if the word order of the replacing and replaced languages is the same as in Amharic and Kemantney which share the same pattern for historical reasons.

5.4 The Noun Phrase

Kemantney is a head-final language. In a noun phrase, the head appears following its modifiers: demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, genitive nouns and relative clauses. The examples in (1) are simple noun phrase constructions with the noun heads.

(1)	(a)	šämäna ïnǰäŋänta	black big-snake	'a black big-snake'
	(b)	lax šïro dïxa yïr	one earnest poor man	'one earnest poor man'
	(c)	ax-äntä yïr	know-AG man	'a wise man'
	(d)	yïnni käw	that village	'that village'
	(e)	dirw-i laba	hen-LINK feather	'feather of hen'
	(f)	ǰax-s-aʏ sïlaʏa	drink-PASS-REL beer	'the beer which was drunk'

Quantifiers appear preceding heads as in (2) below.

(2)	wältä xʷïrra	'six children'	niŋä fïntïr	'two goats'
	wältä ïyyän	'six persons'	niŋä nïŋ-kï	'two houses'
	wältä bil-tï	'six oxen'	niŋä käw-kï	'two villages'

However, the reverse pattern is also acceptable as in (2').

(2')	xʷïrä wälta	fïntïrä niŋa
	ïyyän wälta	biltï niŋa
	bil-tï wälta	käw-kï niŋa

Statistically, this pattern is used most often by the fluent native speakers. This suggests that the original pattern may be N+Q. The common occurrence of such a pattern in Cushitic such as Bilin and Oromo may also be good evidence for this claim. Hence, the shift to Q+N, especially by young passive speakers, is clearly the influence of Amharic.

When a noun is modified by a numeral, it may appear either in its singular or plural form. Consider example (3) below.

(3)	niŋä fïntïra/fïntïr	'two goats'	wältä xʷïra/xʷïrra	'six children'
	niŋä bira/biltï	'two oxen'	wältä yïr/ïyyän	'six persons'
	niŋä käw/käw-kï	'two villages'	wältä bira/bil-tï	'six oxen'

In the following noun phrase, the noun head is preceded by a demonstrative.

(4)	ïnni kʷïra	'this river'	ïndäw kʷïr-ïk	'these rivers'
	yïnni kʷïra	'that man'	yïndäw kʷïr-ïk	'those rivers'

Demonstratives precede other modifiers like adjectives as in (5).

(5)	a.	yïnni lägäz- aʏ yïr	b.	ïnni yïzän- aʏ biri	c.	yïnni ǰïkäk- aʏ mïwït
		that be tall-REL man		this be fat-REL ox		that be heavy-REL load
		'that tall man'		'this fat ox'		'that heavy load'

Where there are more ADJs, there is no factor determining their order. Hence, the change of positions of the adjectives in (6) below is acceptable.

(6) a. yïnni lägäz-aʏ wäfär-aʏ yïr
that tall- REL be fat-REL man
'That tall fat man'

b. yïnni šämäni wäfär-aʏ bir-i
that black be fat-REL ox-NOM
'That black fat ox'

c. yïnni šay- aʏ at'är- aʏ fïntïr-i
hat be white-REL be short-REL goat-NOM
'That white short goat'

When an NP has a relative clause and an adjective as its constituents, relative clauses precede adjectives. Compare the following noun phrases.

(7) a. an anǰiŋ wayt-aʏ wud säyiŋ
I yesterday buy- REL new cloth
'The new cloth which I bought yesterday'

b. ni käb-aʏ kagaʏ kanä- s
he cut-REL dry wood-ACC
'The dry wood which he cut'

c. kasä mal- aʏ azi sïŋkʷät-i
Kasa lose-REL new axe- NOM
'The new axe which Kasa lost'

d. ïntï xal-ey šämäna bäyla
you (s.) see-REL black mule
'The black mule which you saw'

Six informants were tested on the following sentences to compare the configuration of the NP in Kemantney.

(8) a. yïnni k'ät' y- aʏ fïr- aʏ zaf käb-t- ïʏʷ
that straight say-REL be big-REL tree cut- pas.-PS
'That big tree which was straight is cut down.'

b. an niŋa šïgʷ- ey šïgʷ- ey šay- äw šay- äw dami-k šäy- an- äkʷ
I two be small-REL be small-REL be white-REL be white-REL cat- PL hold-PL-IMP
'I have two small white cats.'

c naydew t'ärmus-än niŋa t'änkarä kag-äw wïd axïy-äw miz ǰax- n- ïʏʷ
they bottle- PL two strong dry- REL expensive be-REL mead drink-PL-PS
'They drank two bottles of strong, dry and expensive mead.

d. an ïnšïwa-t šämät-ey damiya-t šämiy-aʏ gïzïŋ-ïs kʷ-ïʏʷ
I rat- ACC chase- REL cat-ACC chase-REL dog-ACC kill-PS
'I killed the dog that chased the cat that chased the rat.'

e. kasa bät'am t'ïru gobäz šïrwa t'enäññä yïr gala
Kasa very good clever lenient healthy person he is
'Kasa is a very good, clever, lenient and healthy person.'

The results reveal that, in (a), all the informants supplied the NP with the pattern Dem + REL + Adj. + N pattern uniformily. The NP in (b) which should have the pattern Quantifier + Reduplicated REL + Reduplicated REL + N pattern was supplied with different patterns. They are REL + REL + Quantifier + N, Quantifier + REL + REL + N, REL + REL + N, Quantifier + Reduplicated REL + REL + N and finally a Reduplicated REL + REL + N were recorded. More differences are exhibited among informants as the constituents increase. Hence, the pattern of the third, fourth and fifth NPs: N + Q + Adj. + RELadj + Adj. + RELAdj. + N, N + RELAdj. + N +

RELAdj. + N and Deg. Adj. + Adj. + Adj. + Adj. + Adj + N were supplied with different patterns. Thus, the internal structure of an NP in Kemantney seems to have no rigid order as long as the head noun appears finally.

5.5 Embedded Clauses

Generally, an embedded clause appears preceding a main verb. Compare the following examples.

(1) a. an ni tiy- ä- ŋa ax- äk^{w}
I he come-IMP-SUB know-IMP
'I know that he will come.'

b. an kïmantnäy x^{w}ïra wan- ä- ŋ^{w} kint- ïʏ^{w}
I Kemantney child have-IMP-SUB learn-PS
'I learned Kemantney when I was a child.'

c. ïntï ni xaʏ- ä- ŋa ax- ïy- äk^{w}
you he win-IMP-SUB know-2S-IMP
'You know that he will win.'

d. an niŋ- wä tïw- ä- ŋ^{w} naydew tïmbiy-n-ïʏ^{w}
I house-to enter-IMP-SUB they stand- PL-PS
'While I entered the house, they stood up.'

e. ni tïmbiy-ä- ŋ^{w} k^{w}ätät-äk^{w}
he stand- IMP-SUB shiver-IMP
'When he stands up, he shivers.'

f. ni dint- iy- ä- ŋ^{w} bïzu ax^{w} ǰax-ä-t
she swim-3F-IMP-SUB too much water drink-IMP-3F
'While she swims, she drinks too much water.'

g. ïntï t'ïre siyä x^{w}- ïk- ä- dï sämärta xal-s- ä- la
you raw meat eat-NEG-IMP-if tapeworm see-PASS-IMP-NEG
'If you do not eat raw meat, you will not be caught by tapeworm.'

When the embedded clause occurs preceding the main verb, the subject of the main verb can change its position. Hence, sentences (a), (c), and (d) can occur as follows.

(2) (a') ni tiy-äŋa an ax-äk^{w}
(c') ni xaʏ-äŋa ïntï ax-ïy-äk^{w}
(d') naydew an niŋ-wä tïw-ä-ŋ^{w} tïmbiy-n-ïʏ^{w}

On the other hand, when both the main and embedded verbs have the same subject, as in (b), (e), and (f), the subject appears only once. Therefore, examples (b), (e) and (f) are unaccceptable if they follow the pattern below.

(3) (b') *an kïmantnäy x^{w}ïra wan-ä-ŋ^{w} an kint-ïʏ^{w}
(e') *ni tïmbiy-äŋ^{w} ni k^{w}ätät-äk^{w}
(f') *ni dint-ïy-äŋ^{w} bïzu ax^{w} ǰax-ät

In sentence (b), the object occurs immediately preceding the main verb. The S-O-V pattern is maintained in embedded clauses.

Interrogative subordinate clauses appear preceding the main verb.

(4) a. an wä šäb-ar t- ïʏ^{w}
I what do-REL come-PS
'What to do did I come?'

b. annew wä šäb-n- ar t- ïn- äʏ^{w}
we what do- PL-REL come-PL-PS
'What to do did we come?'

c. ïntï wä šäb-iy- ar t- iy- äʏʷ
you what do- 2P-REL come-2P-PS
'What to do did you come?'

d. ïntändew wä šäb-i- n- ar t- i- n- eʏʷ
you (PL) what do- 2P-PL-REL come-2P-PL-PS
'What to do did she come?'

e. ni wä šäb-aʏ t- ïʏʷ
he what do- REL come-PS
'What to do did he come?'

f. naydew wä šäb-äw t- ïn-ïʏʷ
they what do- REL come-PL-PS
'What to do did they come?'

g. ni wä šäb-ey t- ï- t
she what do-REL come-PS-3F
'What to do did she come?'

Like in other embedded clauses, the complement clause appears preceding the main verb. The following are examples.

(5) a. ni an wayt-aʏ-ïs ax- äkʷ
he I buy-REL-ACC know-IMP
'He knows what I bought.'

b. ni annew awït fäy-n- ä- ŋa waŋxär-ïʏʷ
he we where go-PL-IMP-SUB ask- PS
'He asked where we will go.'

c. an aw fʷ- ä- ŋa xal-äkʷ
I who weep-IMP-SUB see-IMP
'I will see who will weep.'

d. naydew gondär yï- s- aʏ agär sïm-n-äkʷ
they Gondar say-PASS-REL country live-3PL-IMP
'They live in a country which is called Gondar.'

Subordinate clauses with the subordinator */-sab/* appear in the same position. Compare the following sentences in (6).

(6) a. an xašänta y- ïs- ä- sab sïm-ä- l
I thief say-PASS-IMP-SUB live-IMP-NEG
'I will not live being called a thief.'

b. ïntï xašänta y- ïs- y- ä- sab sïm- y- ä- la
you thief say-PASS-2S-IMP-SUB live-2P-IMP-neg
'You will not live being called thief.'

c. ni xašänta y- ïs- ä- sab sïm- ä- la
he thief say-PASS-IMP-SUB live-IMP-NEG
'He will not live being called thief.'

d. ni xašänta y- ïs- y- ä- sab sïm- y- ä- la
she thief say-PASS-3F-IMP-SUB live-3F-IMP-NEG
'She will not live being called thief.'

e. annew xašänta y- ïs- ïn- ä- sab sïm-n- ä- l
we thief say-PASS-PL-IMP-SUB live-PL-IMP-NEG
'We will not live being called thief.'

f. ïntändew xašänta y- ïs- y- ïn- ä- sab sïm- y- ä- l- la
you thief say-PASS-2P-PL-IMP-SUB live-2P-IMP-PL-NEG
'You will not live being called thief.'

g. naydew xašänta y- ïs- än- ä- sab sïm-ä- l- la
they thief say-PASS-PL-IMP-SUB live-IMP-PL-NEG
'They will not live being called thief.'

As has been mentioned in 5.2.2.6.4, conditional clauses have three forms with the suffix */-dï(k)/*, */-n/* and */-ŋ^{w}/*. Conditional clauses appear preceding main clauses as in the following:

(7) a. an gänǰ- ä- n yïkäl-äk^{w}
I sleep-IMP-SUB like-IMP
'I like if I sleep.'

b. annew gänǰ-ïn-ä- n yïkäl-n- äk^{w}
we sleep-PL-IMP-SUB like- PL-IMP
'We like if we sleep.'

c. ïntï gänǰ-ïy- ä- n yïkäl-y- äk^{w}
you sleep-2P-IMP-SUB like- 2P-IMP
'You like if you sleep.'

d. ïntändew gänǰ-ïy- n- ä- n yïkäl-y-äk^{w}- ïn
you sleep-2P-PL-IMP-SUB like- 2P-IMP-PL
'You like if you sleep.'

e. ni gänǰ-ä- n yïkäl-äk^{w}
he sleep-IMP-SUB like- IMP
'he likes if he sleeps.'

f. naydew gänǰ-ïn- ä- n yïkäl-äk^{w}- ïn
they sleep-PL-IMP-SUB like-IMP-3PL
'They like if they sleep.'

g. ni gänǰ-ïy- ä- n yïkäl-ä- t
she sleep-3F-IMP-SUB like- IMP-3F
'She likes if she sleeps.'

Infinitival subordinate clauses appear preceding the main verb. The infinitival form has no inflections. As shown below in example (8), only the main verb shows agreement elements.

(8) a. an gänǰ-ïnä yïkäl-äk^{w}
I sleep-INF like- IMP
'I like to sleep.'

b. annew gänǰ-ïnä yïkäl-n- äk^{w}
we sleep-INF like- PL-IMP
'We like to sleep.'

c. ïntï gänǰ-ïnä yïkäl-y- äk^{w}
you sleep-to like- 2P-IMP
'You like to sleep.'

d. ïntändew gänǰ-ïnä yïkäl-iy- äk^{w}- ïn
you sleep-INF like- 2P-IMP-2PL
'You like to sleep.'

e. ni gänǰ-ïnä yïkäl-äk^{w}
he sleep-INF like- IMP
'He likes to sleep.'

f. naydew gänǰ-ïnä yïkäl-äk^{w}- ïn
they sleep-INF like- IMP-3PL
'They like to sleep.'

g. ni gänǰ-ïnä yïkäl-ä- t
she sleep-INF like-IMP-3F
'She likes to sleep.'

The other form of subordination is the suffix */-ŋä/* (see 5.2.2.9.2) which is equivalent to the Amharic */ïnd-/* 'in order to'. The embedded verbs show agreement with subjects. Like other subordinate clauses, the */-ŋä/*-clause appears preceding the main verb. Compare the following examples.

(9) a. an käb-ä- ŋä azäs- s- ïl
I cut- IMP-SUB order-PASS-1S (NEG)
lit. 'I am not ordered in order to cut.'

b. ïntï käb-y- ä- ŋä azäs- s- i- la
you cut-2P-IMP-SUB order-PASS-2P- 2P (NEG)
'You are not ordered in order to cut.'

c. ni käb-ä- ŋä azäs- s- ïla
he cut-IMP-SUB order-PASS-1S (NEG)
'He is not ordered in order to cut.'

d. ni käb-äk- ä- ŋä azäs- s- y- an- ä t
she cut- NEG(3F) -IMP-SUB order-PASS-3F-AUX-IMP-3F
'She has been ordered in order not to cut.'

e. annew käb-äg- ïn- ä- ŋä azäs- s- ïn- wan-äk^{w}
you cut-NEG-PL- IMP-SUB order-PASS-PL-AUX-IMP
'We have been ordered in order not to cut.'

f. ïntändew käb-äk- ïn- ä- ŋä azäs- s- i- n- wan- äk^{w} - ïn
you cut- NEG (2P) -PL-IMP-SUB order-PASS-2P-PL-AUX-IMP-PL
'You have been ordered in order not to cut.'

g. naydew käb-äg- ïn- ä- ŋä azäs- s- ïn-wan- äk^{w}
they cut-NEG-PL-IMP-SUB order-PASS-PL-AUX-IMP
'They have been ordered in order not to cut.'

5.6 Connectives

In Kemantney, the form *wäyïr* 'or' is a coordinator. Observe the examples below.

(1) a. ni g^{w}äx^{w}ïy- aɤ wäyïr säkaram gala
he be mad-REL or drunkard he is
'He is either mad or a drunkard.'

b. an bäyla wäyïr färza wayt-äk^{w}
I mule or horse buy- IMP
'I will buy either a mule or a horse.'

c. kasa wäyïr ayälä tiy- äk^{w}- ïn
Kasa or Ayele come-IMP-PL
'Either Kasa or Ayele will come.'

The connective *wäy-ïr* is a hybrid of the Amharic *wäy* 'either' and the Kemantney */-(ï)r/* 'too'.

The discontinuous morpheme */-(ï)zk^{w}ï-(ï)z/* is a conjunction linking nominals. It appears in both nouns. The morpheme */-(ï)zk^{w}ï/* appears with the first conjunct and */-(ï)z/* with the second. Where there are more than two conjuncts, the connector appears with one second to the last. Compare the examples below.

(2) a. yï-zk^{w}ï ni-z sïm- n- aɤ- äs läwäy- n- äk^{w}
I- and he-and live-PL-REL-ACC change-PL-IMP
'I and he will change our residence.'

b. an x^{w}-ïnä-zk^{w}ï ǰax-na-z yïkäl-äk^{w}
I eat-inf-and drink-inf.-and like- IMP
'I like eating and drinking.'

c. ni damiya gïzïŋ dirwä-zk^{w} fïntïrä-z bïčča šäyan-äk^{w}
he cat dog hen- and goat only hold- IMP
'He has only a cat, a dog, a hen and a goat.'

d. aykäl-ïzk^{w} gondär-ïz goräbet-[48] än gaɤïlla
Aykel-and Gonder-and neighbour-PL they are
'Aykel and Gonder are neighbours.'

[48]Appleyard (1987b) has recorded the word *gïza* for 'neighbour' in Xamtaŋa for which the Amharic borrowing is used in Kemantney.

e. ambïrä- zkʷï dinšä- z atakïlt- än gaʏïlla
cabbage-and potato-and vegetable-PL they are
'Cabbage and potato are vegetables.'

f. kʷ- ïzkʷ yï- z zän- kï gaʏïlla
you-and me-and brother-PL they are
'You and I are brothers.'

g. aykäl- ïzkʷï särabä-z šïgʷey šïgʷey kätämä-n gaʏïlla
Aykel-and Seraba-and small small town- PL they are
'Aykel and Seraba are small towns.'

The less competent speakers of the language tend to reduce */-(ï)zkʷï-(ï)z/* to */-kʷï/*. Compare the following contrast.

(3)

an-kʷï ïntï	I and you	yï-zkʷï kʷï-z
burä-kʷï gešo	malt and hop	burä-zkʷï gešo-z
sardä-kʷï mïrfa	blade and needle	sardä-zkʷï mïrfä-z
xʷïnä-kʷï ǰaxnä	eating and drinking	xʷïnä-zkʷï ǰax-nä-z

The coordinating conjunction *ɑxʷar* 'but' occurs between two sentences as in the following examples.

(4) a. ni yï- t kašïŋ-ï- t axʷar an was- ï- l
she me-obj. call- PS-3F but I hear-PS-NEG
'She called me but I didn't hear.'

b. an mïräwä-s tay-äʏʷ axʷar ni kiy-ï- la
I snake- ACC hit- PS but he die-PS-NEG
'I hit the snake but it didn't die.'

c. an xal-ïʏʷ ni axʷar xal- ï- la
I see-PS he but see-PS-NEG
'I saw him but he did not see me.'

d. annew ǰax-n-ïʏʷ naydew axʷar ǰax-ï-l- la
we drink-PS they but drink-PS-PL-NEG
'We drank but they did not drink.'

Except two informants, no terminal speaker recalls the above coordinate conjunction. They use *gïna*, a modified form of the Amharic *gïn*. Consider the examples below.

(5) a. kasa bïzu säraxs-ïwan-äkʷ gïna nan-taʏäš gäräy-ï-la
Kasa too much work- AUX- IMP but now-until tire-PS-NEG
'Kasa has worked too much but he is not yet tired.'

b. an naydew-ïs yïkäl-äkʷ naydew gïna yï- t yïkäl-ä- l- la
I they- ACC like- IMP they but me-ACC like- IMP-PL-NEG
'I like them but they do not like me.'

In Kemantney, the conjoining of two consecutive sentences without conjunctions is observed frequently among passive speakers of the language. Therefore, some informants supplied sentences like (4a-d) and (5a-b) without a conjunction. As shown below, subordinating conjunctions such as the Amharic *mïkniyatum* 'because' and *sïläzih* 'therefore' do not have parallels in Kemantney. Like the Elmolo (Heine, 1980), informants supply embedded clauses without such connectives as in examples (6) below.

(6) a. an x^{w}- ïnä yïkäl-äk^{w} dïkïr šäy- an- äk^{w}
I eat-INF like- IMP hunger catch-AUX-IMP
'I like to eat because I have been hungry.'

b. ni ni- abä- y kiŋä- z tänadäd- s- ïʏ^{w}
he his-father-by death-by become angry-PASS- PS
'He became angry because of the death of his father.'

c. ni yï- t fäläg-äk^{w} an fiy- äk^{w}
he me-OBJ want-IMP I go- IMP
'He wants me, therefore I will go.'

Or, they use the Amharic connectives as in:

(a') an x^{w}-ïnä yïkäl-äk^{w} mïknïyat dïkïr šäy-an-äk^{w}
(b') ni ni-abä-y kiŋä-z sïläzih tänadäd-s-ïʏ^{w}
(c') ni yï-t fäläg-äk^{w} mïknïyat an fiy-äk^{w}

The conditional subordinator is */-nir/* 'even though' which is a fusion of another conditional subordinator */-n/* and the particle */-ir/* 'too'.

(7) a. ni k'ädäm yï- ∅ gänǰ-ä- n- ir nan- taʏäš g^{w}ïy- ï- la
he early say-GER sleep-IMP-SUB-too now-until wake up-PS-NEG
'Even though he slept early, he did not wake up until now.'

b. ni läläma aʏïy-ä- n- ir niš-šïbki šäbät- ïwan- äk^{w}
she baby be- IMP-SUB-too her-hair be grey-AUX-IMP
'Even though she is young, her hair has become gray.'

The same suffix */-nir/* also functions as 'whether' in examples like:

(8) a. naydew kašïŋ-än-ä- n- ir kašïŋ-äg- än- ä- n-ir an fiy-äk^{w}
they call- PL-IMP-if-also call- NEG-PL-IMP-if-also I go-IMP
'Whether they call me or do not call me, I will go.'

b. ni šïʏ^{w}ïs- ä- n- ir šïʏ^{w}ïs- äg- ä- n-ir šum-äk^{w}
he be sick-IMP-if also be sick-NEG-IMP-if-also fast-IMP
'Whether he is sick or is not sick, he fasts.'

The subordinator */-tïz/* and the Amharic gerundive verb */ǰämïr-o/* 'he, having began' together function as a subordinator. Compare the examples in (9) below.

(9) a. an ïllï tä- tïz ǰämär-wä nïŋ bado gala
I here come-SUB begin- GER house emplty he is
'The house is empty since I came here.'

b. ni habtam aʏïy- tïz ǰämär-wä šïʏ^{w}ïs- ïwan-äk^{w}
he rich become-SUB begin-GER be sick-AUX- IMP
'He has become sick since he became rich.'

The morpheme */-ŋ^{w}/*, which means 'when' or 'while', functions as a subordinator.

(10) a. annew bahr dar sïm- n- ä- ŋ^{w} asa x^{w}- ïn- äk^{w}
we Bahr-Dar live-PL- IMP-while fish eat-PL-IMP
'As long as we are in Bahr-Dar, we eat fish.'

b. annew šäb ǰax- n- ä- ŋ^{w} t'enäññä gaʏïlla
we milk drink-PL-IMP-while healthy we are
'As long as we drink milk, we are healthy.'

Hence, for Kemantney speakers, 10 (a) and 10 (b) have the reading 'While (when) we are in Bahr-Dar, we eat fish.' and 'While (when) we drink milk, we are healthy.', respectively.

The Amharic connectives *kä-bäh^{w}ala* 'after' and *kä-bäfit* 'before' were supplied by active terminal speakers as */-lï-gïto/* and */-lï-ǰabo/* respectively whereas the passive ones stick to the Amharic counterparts. The connectives are the fusion of the postposition */-lï/* and the adverbs *gïto* 'after' and *ǰabo* 'before'. Look at the following examples.

(12) a. naydew faʏ- s- ïn- ä- lï-gïto habtam-än aʏïy- n-ïʏ^{w}
they marry-PASS-PL-IMP-after rich- PL become-PL-PS
'They became rich after they got married.'

b. an yï- nïŋ- wä fäy-ni- lï- ǰabo särg- ïs k^{w}ï- š dïw-äk^{w}
I my-house-to go- inf.-from before wedding-ACC you-for tell-IMP
'I will tell you about the wedding before I go to my house.'

The gerundive verb plus the particle */-r/* 'too' are used as connectors. Compare example (a) below.

(13) a. an was-wä-r gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} lit. 'I having heard too, slept'
ïnti an was-y-ä-r gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'You having heard too, slept'
ni was-wä-r gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'He having heard too, slept'
ni was-y-ä-r gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'She having heard too, slept'
annew was-n-wä-r gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'We having heard too, slept'
ïntändew was-y-ïn-wä-r gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'You having heard too, slept'
naydew was-n-ïwä-r gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'They having heard too, slept'

The Amharic connector */-ïna/* is also used as a connector. Compare example (b) below.

b. an was-ïʏ^{w}-ïna gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'I heard and then slept.'
ïntï was-y-ïʏ^{w}-ïna gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'You having heard too, slept'
ni was-ïʏ^{w}-ïna gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'He having heard too, slept'
ni was-ït-ïna gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'She having heard too, slept'
annew was-n-ïʏ^{w}-ïna gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'We having heard too, slept'
ïntändew was-ïʏ^{w}-na gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'You having heard too, slept'
naydew was-n-ïʏ^{w}-na gänǰ-ïʏ^{w} 'They having heard too, slept'

Statistically, the more frequently used connector is the borrowing */-ïna/*. Only two informants supplied (a). Terminal speakers innovate equivalents from their language for any grammatical category they need. Others say that their language does not have that by remarking, 'Kemantney is straight-forward, not zigzag as Amharic is'.

As described in this chapter, there are some striking structural reductions exhibited in Kemantney attributed to both language decay as well as contact-induced changes. The first in the list is the loss of gender distinction in the 3S pronominals and demonstratives. The lengthening of the vowel which distinguishes the 3FS from the 3MS is only remembered by two informants.

These competent speakers themselves mark the distinction whenever they are asked on the distinction repeatedly. Another phenomena exhibited from few informants in object pronouns is the use of the Amharic suffix */-n/* instead of the Kemantney */-t/*. The inconsistency exhibited in the verb conjugation has brought about a reduction in the inflectional elements among the passive speakers. As a result, similar verbal forms have been recorded for different persons especially in the plural. The reduction of the different conjugational patterns in different persons to one, that is, *gala* 'he is' is commonly observed. As mentioned in Sasse (1992b), the most striking deviation from 'good' Kemantney was the general decline of verbal inflection. He says that the paradigms amount to an enormous mass of verb forms which were still quite well-mastered by elderly speakers with good knowledge of Kemantney. The inflectional elements of the verb keep changing. As a consequence, in many paradigms, it is not always possible to identify individual morphemes along with their grammatical functions. The fluctuations go to the extent that repeating exactly the same form in an interval of few minutes or hours is impossible. When speakers hear another paradigm from more competent semi-speakers or when I make paradigms and say them, they react by saying *aha! ahun tïz aläññ* 'Oh, now it comes to my mind' or *yaw näw* 'it is all the same'.

According to Hetzron (1976), the prefix conjugations of verbs in Agew languages are the most archaic and are still preserved in Awŋi and Xamt'aŋa. In Kemantney, they are lost and instead, there is only suffix conjugation. As mentioned in Dimmendaal (1989), reduction in language use is accompanied by a reduction in structure as a result of which speakers use approximations. This is what is evident in the morphological structure of Kemantney as a RDL. The adjutative is confused with the causative. Reduplication seems to be more vulnerable to be forgotten faster that other grammatical categories such as suffixation. Hence, the frequentative and reciprocity show striking dissimilarity among informants. The gerundive is simplified and as a result speakers use bare stems without the gerundive marker. Derivations of nominals and adjectives become closed classes as a result of which derivational suffixes are limited to few words only. Case simplification is the other area where terminal speakers show variations. The case in point are the nominative and genitive cases which often appear without the case markers. Plural marking, which is heterogeneous from the outset show a high degree of deviation. Terminal speakers show a high degree of uniformity or overuse of the suffix */-ïk/* indiscrimantely.

Besides, they show extreme inconsistency in using other plural forms. Conjoining and subordinate conjunctions are obliterated. Cardinal numerals are well known by every speaker up to the 'tenth' digit. Few speakers can count up to hundred and still very few up to thousand. Only few literate speakers know the ordinal numerals. The noun + quantifier pattern seem to be replaced by the reverse order after Kemantney was fully replaced by Amharic.

The features that Kemantney adopted from Amharic, especially in syntax, which are distinctively Amharic but not Agew, are not so striking because of the fact that the structure of the RDL has been adopted by the RGL and as a result have equivalent systems.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This is a sociolinguistically and linguistically oriented study of language replacement. The vantage points described are the external settings which have contributed to the replacement of Kemantney by Amharic, the speech behaviour of terminal speakers, and the structural changes exhibited as a result of language-contact and/or pathological phenomena.

By any standard, Kemantney is a language, which faces an advanced level of replacement. It shows serious sociolinguistic and linguistic symptoms of extinction. The major ones are the interruption of transmission to the younger generation, the functional reduction, the obstruction of any linguistic development and the changes exhibited in the grammatical structure.

Speakers of the language are only 1% of the population. No monolingual speaker is found today. As a result of the exclusive use of Amharic in every domain, it dominates the speech behaviour of terminal speakers. All of them codeswitch unidirectionally - from Kemantney to Amharic and not vice-versa.

So far, a language has been considered endangered from the point of view of functional reductions or structural changes or the dwindling numerical strength of speakers or all of these. However, since there exists no universally accepted parameter for making a clear distinction among endangered languages, it is only possible to group Kemantney as endangered. Though it is highly threatened, no one can tell its level of endangerment in relation to other such languages.

Amharic has a swamping effect over the entire population and areas where Kemantney was spoken. It had started in and around towns and then moved on to every rural area. The shift of culture of especially religion played a leading role in the process. The stigma associated to one's affiliation to the traditional religion has led to schizophrenic attitude towards the language. Abandoning both the religion and the language was found to be the only way out of the stigma. This is being incorporated into the dominant ethnic group. Parents stopped insisting on asking their children to speak the language, as a result of which the latter lost the chance of acquiring it. Even if there were few attempts made to use the language in household domains, children refused to speak it. Other language replacement studies have shown that a

shift of religion does not necessarily lead to a shift of language. The case of Kemantney appears to be unique in this regard since the prime cause of its abandonment is a change of religion.

Following the shift of religion, the language changes in its ecology and demography. Modern education has spread to the area. Roads were built. Towns and governmental infrastructures were established. Both Kemantney and Amharic speakers have lived peacefully for many centuries. Marriage contact between Christian-Kemant and Christian-Amhara became common. The role of Amharic as an official, literary and cultural value has been viewed as a bridge to join the modern society. The Kemant people who were once native speakers of the language and followers of their traditional religion often exacerbated the disadvantages of using their language and following their religion. Bilingualism itself was negatively viewed and hence Kemantney has been limited only to rituals. All these accelerated the replacement process to its peak.

The loss of interest was not limited to the language and religion only; rather, the cumulative effect of the two has also led to the denial of their identity. Except those who still stick to their traditional religion, the rest who accepted Christianity consider themselves as Amhara. Surely, the young generation never wants to be identified as Kemant. Even among those who consider themselves as Kemant, the role of the language as a manifestation of identity is not as significant as common ancestry. The majority do not speak the language and identify themselves as Amhara. On the other hand, whereas some who speak the language identify themselves as Kemant, the majority deny knowledge of the language and hence their identity as Kemant. The only people who dare to identify themselves as Kemant are the clergy first and the laity of the traditional religion second. Interestingly, loyalty towards the religion goes hand in hand with loyalty towards the language and identity. Hence, unlike healthy languages, which are a potential source of linguistic identity, endangered languages, like Kemantney, however, seem to play an insignificant role in manifesting the identity of their terminal speakers.

Most speakers of Kemantney acquired Amharic as a second language later in life. The priests who still adhere to the traditional religion have got the chance of using Kemantney in rituals as a result of which they have good knowledge of it. Such chances may partially fit into Andersen's (1982) hypothesis about the restriction of use of an obsolete language by passive speakers as compared to fluent speakers. However, this hypothesis does not hold true with those fluent speakers of Kemantney who do not follow the traditional religion strictly, as a

result of which, who use Amharic exclusively. The abandonment of the religion has led to the abandonment of the language just as adherence to the religion also means adherence to the language. In other words, adherence to the language is not determined by the level of proficiency of Kemantney speakers, as Andersen assumes in his hypothesis about the break in linguistic tradition mentioned in chapter I.

Overall, there are fluent speakers of Kemantney today. The fast decline in the transmission of the language to the next generation has resulted in a relatively similar age group of speakers. The absence of young generation of speakers makes it difficult to make a comparison with the speech behaviour of the elderly. In other words, there is a narrow continuum of proficiency among remnant speakers. As a result, majority of speakers do not qualify as 'semi-speakers' encountered in most other dying languages. Those who qualify as 'semi-speakers' are those who have acquired Kemantney along with Amharic and these are few in number. This tells us that there are not many gradations of speakers in Kemantney. Thus, the case of Kemantney reveals the fact that all types of speakers may not be found in every obsolescence process. Rather, all can be fluent speakers with few exceptional cases. What matters here in this case is the time span the replacement process takes and the status of the remnant speakers.

Another feature of Kemantney, which may shed light for a would-be theory of language death, is the type of replacement it went through. When examined from different historical points, Kemantney went through both gradual and radical processes of replacement, which eventually put it into a bottom-to-top type of death. In order to investigate the system, an in-depth study of the history of an endangered language and its speakers is indispensable. Kemantney showed a gradual replacement process beginning from the 13th century until the time of the mass conversion witnessed in the second half of the 19th century. During this time span, the spread of Amharic among Kemant monolinguals was apparently weak and gradual. However, the strongest pressures exerted during the two phases of Christianization in the 19th and 20th centuries made the replacement process fast leaving no room for bilingualism as a stable societal phenomenon. It was a radical type of obsolescence. Since then, Kemantney has only been restricted to a handful priests of the traditional religion. This fits into the latinate or bottom-to-top type of obsolescence. Hence, a possible theory of language death should encompass such cases like Kemantney whereby a language may involve more than one type of obsolescence phenomenon. It is also worth noting that genocide or the death of speakers, as mentioned in the literature, may not always cause radical death. The case of Kemantney

reveals the fact that a strong cultural and linguistic pressure and attitude of speakers can determine the type of death an endangered language may go through.

The replacement process of Kemantney by Amharic has been accompanied not only by functional reduction but also by structural changes. The first linguistic change is exhibited in the lexicon. Lack of uniformity of utterances among terminal speakers is a prominent feature. Whereas perfect speakers remember more, less fluent speakers recall less indigenous words and hence resort to loans. The less competent speakers tend to use one word for two or more meanings whereas fluent speakers use independent words for each (cf. Andersen's hypothesis (a) of lexical reduction). Lexical gaps are filled by loans from Amharic. These include concepts, which entered from Amharic in religion and culture as well as names for fabricated items (cf. Andersen hypothesis (b) of lexical reduction). Terminal speakers are rich in traditional concepts and common core vocabulary. In fact, some words of the core vocabulary have no corresponding Kemantney equivalents and, as a result, Amharic words are used. This proves that words of core vocabulary are also borrowable.

More common, highly frequent and unmarked lexical items are remembered more than less common and less frequent ones. This includes greetings, basic numerals, verbs, nouns and adjectives (cf. Andersen's hypothesis (c) of lexical reduction). In addition, Kemantney speakers remember more words with less complex internal structure. Hence, nouns are better remembered than, for instance, verbs.

As discussed in chapter V, terminal speakers retain the Kemantney phonological properties at different levels. Whereas, for instance, the velar fricatives */x/* and */ɤ/* are well retained at both the phonetic and the phonological level by active terminal speakers, they are substituted by the Amharic */h/* in the speech of passive speakers. Such a confusion and substitution, however, is not witnessed among fluent speakers. Within velar fricatives, passive speakers are more comfortable in articulating the voiceless than the voiced. The 'allophonization' of the velar nasal phoneme */ŋ/* is another reduction exhibited in the speech of passive speakers. The same consonant is lost word initially among all speakers of the language. A violation of phonotactic rules is also exhibited among passive speakers who utter words with final consonant clusters (cf. Andersen's hypothesis (a) of phonological reduction). Labialisation, which has a high functional load at the phonemic level in both languages, is well retained. Other phonological processes such as assimilation, insertion and deletion are maintained among terminal speakers since they operate in both languages (see Andersen's hypothesis (b) of phonological reduction).

Kemantney shows simplification and reduction in morphology. As described in chapters IV and V, terminal speakers have retained the inflectional and derivational morphemes of the language at different levels. As in the lexicon, there are grammatical morphemes, which do not exist from the out set, thus creating gaps. As compensation, terminal speakers supply unmarked forms or fill gaps with forms from Amharic. There is also a relative loss of morphemes among passive speakers. Speakers face short of forms in which case they use either Amharic forms or unmarked Kemantney forms. The personal pronouns, the gerundive and jussive moods, subordinate verbs and the case systems are good examples in this regard. Regularisation by some and fluctuations by others are observed in plural marking. Passive speakers often show a reduction of inflections in the form of the present copula often, but in some other verbal conjugations rarely. In both cases, there is a tendency of reducing all paradigms to the 3MS. This is in accordance to Andersen's hypothesis (a) of morphological reduction. In both cases analogical levelling tends to be a compensatory strategy by passive speakers. The most frequently used forms, such as singular nouns, pronouns, matrix verbs, passives, causative, etc. are better retained than subordinate forms, with the exception of relatives. There are countless examples in texts where speakers use relative instead of main verb forms. This fits into Andersen's hypothesis (b) about morphological reduction.

Terminal speakers use loan-morphemes from Amharic. The plural marker */-očč/*, the accusative marker */-n/*, the conjugation */-ïnna/* etc. are examples in this regard. This reveals that a replaced language borrows not only lexical items but also grammatical forms from a replacing language. Incidentally, both speakers use derived forms such as manner, processive, purposive and action nominals from Amharic due to lack of such forms in Kemantney. The already existing nominal derivations of abstract and agent nouns are few. Such very limited occurrence of derivational processes to few words is attributed to the functional reduction of the language, which hinders the productivity of linguistic processes in particular and the development of the language in general. In the majority of cases, conservative speakers of the language tend to resist borrowing from Amharic and use infinitive and relative forms as a compensatory strategy.

When we compare derivational and inflectional morphology among fluent terminal speakers, we find that those elements that are similar in both languages are maintained better. The best examples in this connection are person, number, gender, infinitive, passive, accusative, imperative and causative (cf. Andersen's hypothesis C of morphological reduction). On the other hand, some grammatical categories, which are not found in Amharic,

have been subjected to fluctuations. The case in point is the nominative case marker, which appears in some and not in other speech forms. The accusative marker, which is found in both languages, is well retained. The genitive case shows some variations and yet it appears marked in the speech of at least fluent speakers. On the other hand, there are grammatical elements, which operate in both languages almost similarly but show deviations. The gerundive and jussive moods are good examples in this regard.

Pronouns (except the 3POL), simple nouns, main verbs, infinitive forms, passives, causatives are retained well. Among subordinate forms, only the relative form is retained relatively better (cf. Andersen's hypothesis D of morphological reduction). However, though one cannot tell how high Andersen's high is in his claim of 'high functional load' the conjunction */-dik/*, the polite pronoun */nay/*, the gerundive */-wa/~/-o/* or */-ya/~/-e/* etc. are omitted in the speech of terminal speakers.

Speakers of Kemantney produce more normative words than sentences. They recall words more quickly in contexts than in isolation. Simple sentences are easier than complex ones. In texts, converbs are overused more than main verb forms, as a result of which, a narrative would contain only few complete main sentences but many subordinate clauses.

Generally speaking, Andersen's hypotheses are predictable referring to universally occurring phenomena across obsolete languages. His hypotheses mainly refer to the high potential of active and not passive speakers. The challenging questions regarding the grammar of replacing languages should, however, focus on the grammatical categories vulnerable to resistance and loss and on the factors leading to this. The compensatory strategies which terminal speakers use to fill gaps in the lexicon and grammar, the difference between reduction, simplification and loss, the volatility of vowels etc. which are apparent in Kemantney need explanations and investigations across similar languages.

The Kemantney case is of a special concern because structural changes exhibited especially among fluent speakers is minimal. To use Dorian's term, the language has its 'structural boots' still on (Dorian, 1973). The reasons are: a) the structural similarities shared by both Kemantney and Amharic as a result of substratum influence, b) the fairly rapid replacement process resulting in only remnant speakers, c) lack of using Kemantney in daily interactions. Languages used in daily interaction show more striking changes in their structure than those languages like Kemantney which are used in rituals and rarely in other contexts. Hence, the fact that its speakers and functions in the community are reduced is not sufficient enough to conclude that a replaced language is suffering from a serious structural reduction. Rather, as

Kemantney reveals, terminal speakers may remain flawless and the structure intact, until the death of the last speaker.

As in other case studies of endangered languages, the Kemantney experience can give some insight about the challenges that a linguist or anthropologist most likely encounters in studying an endangered language. The first challenge is how to approach and win the good will of the language helpers or informants. It is a challenge because such people may not feel confident of their proficiency in the language. The study of Kemantney, a language labelled dead, was perplexing to the community at large. Another factor is that the study of an obsolete language like Kemantney is likely to be misinterpreted, as was the case in my fieldwork. Respect, tolerance and friendliness are indispensable for a researcher in such situation. The sensitivity of the subject might also lead to sorrow among speakers of the replaced language on speakers of a replacing language. That was encountered from few speakers and non-speakers of Kemantney. The researcher has to be careful to run the carrier smoothly. The selection of informants, especially for oral traditions, autobiographies and other narratives needs much attention. In addition to the researcher's own experience, recommendations of veteran indigenous people on the appropriate informants was of much help in this study.

Irrespective of the treasure of elicited linguistic data and other narratives, at this advanced stage of obsolescence, the collection of texts from tales, stories and songs was impossible. The collection of oral traditions, autobiographies etc. from Kemantney speakers shows some distinct features such as hesitation, lack of confidence, frequent pauses and excessive codeswitching. Depending on their proficiency, terminal speakers show too much of paraphrases, repetitions and strings of long clauses with rarely occurring complete sentences at different levels.

Unexpected responses to questionnaires constituted one of the major problems. Data collection of an obsolete language should not be done in public like market-places or schools or churches or public gatherings where interruptions are likely to happen. In this regard, a special arrangement of time and place should be made. A researcher of obsolete languages should guard himself of persons who would approach him/her as informants only for financial motives. In that case, checking their proficiency by asking questions before fluent speakers would be useful to convince them of their ineligibility. Another major challenge is on how to determine lexical loss and replacement in the absence of old materials showing the healthy state of the language. The direction of borrowing is easily detectable when there are such old records.

The linguistic documentation is relatively done. Further collection of linguistic data and texts should also be made available as soon as possible. That is the task of a linguist, I believe. Any attempt to reverse the replacement process and to revive Kemantney seems to be, however, the task of the Kemant people in general. Incidentally, as far as the prevailing sociolinguistic situations are concerned, the idea of seeing Kemantney standing on its feet is probably a long hope.

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Appendix I

Place name	Year of Foundation	Place name	Year
Dengolto Medhanialem	1268	Semt'a Ewst'atiwos	1876
Denbah Kidanemihret	1276	Leza Mariam	1876
Marhuna Giyorgis	1276	Debega Mariam	1876
Meder Giyorgis	1276	Awramba Mariam	1888
Mawra Mariam	1276	Janaba Eyesus	1888
Feferi Kidanemihret	1276	Janulah Mariam	1889
Ambeza Abo	1276	Mek'enet Kidanemihret	1889
Gembelwa Giyorgis	1276	Wuzaba Mariam	1889
Dangura Giyorgis	1276	Amhagedam K'usk'wam	1889
Kerebiya Giyorgis	1276	K'inch'b Mariam	1889
Sehari Giyorgis	1276	Daza Giyorgis	1889
Arbaytunsisa	1276	Fonger Fasiledes	1889
Sarwuha Mikael	1276	Basdibeb Abo	1938
Serak'o Medhanialem	1276	Bezaho Giyorgis	1947
Lezamba Eyesus	1276	Shiwtaz P'erak'lit'os	1947
Mirign Medhanialem	1276	Angech'o Mariam	1947
Ch'ilga Amanuel	1276	Kewa Mariam	1947
Sanichecha Mariam	1276	Shilim Giyorgis	1948
Gaza Mariam	1276	Charha Kidanemihret	1952
Dangura Mariam	1276	Awkbin Giyorgis	1956
Adeza Kidanemihret	1285	Medulah Mariam	1958
Jeyd Mikael	1286	Teber Mikael	1958
Senedeba Mariam	1288	Mizaba Mariam	1959
Bihona Mikael	1335	Midre-bara Balegziabher	1959
Abo Gedam Abo	1335	Walideba Balegziabher	1959
Debrehiruyan Abunesamuel	1335	Seraba Medhanialem	1959
K'ey-Afer Mariam	1335	Buladge Mariam	1959
Dira Kidanemihret	1335	Kushayna Mikael	1959
Awdarda Mariam	1376	Ingdage Teklehaymanot	1959
Kwak Mariam	1422	Gemenawra Kiros	1959
Ch'andiba Giyorgis	1422	Wulah Mariam	1959
Chanchiwa Mikael	1422	Mijiwa Mariam	1959
Serewa Mikael	1461	Serewagna Yohanis	1959
Kentew Kidanemihret	1468	Warkaye Teklehaymanot	1959
Dengolto Mariam	1468	Angwaho Giyorgis	1959

Chaliya Mariam	1468	Shiwtera Mariam	1961
Yitera Mariam	1468	Chonchok' Mariam	1962
Gult Mariam	1468	Tembera Eyesus	1966
Tembebey Giyorgis	1468	Gendewa Giyorgis	1967
Gwariya Mariam	1468	Kilil Kidanemihret	1970
Anker Eyesus	1468	Mariam-Walka Mariam	1971
Diwadiw Mariam	1468	Ch'egwar Kidanemihret	1972
Zebanseg Teklehaymanot	1468	Baskuni Mariam	1973
Work'diba Mikael	1501	Simwarwa Eyesus	1975
Bitamage Eyesus	1552	Serejiw Abo	1980
Nara Mikael	1557	Chechela Kidanemihret	1981
Minibaks Mikael	1557	Nara Teklehaymanot	1981
Wululeaba Mikael	1557	Atla Giyorgis	1982
Wubleaba Teklehaymanot	1557	Woyn Amba Gebrel	1983
Debega Mikael	1557	Shimel Diba kidanemihret	1985
Fik'ra Mikael	1557	Gallaye Mariam	1985
Felesayba Mariam	1557	Kwabir Mariam	1986
Sabera Giyorgis	1667	Acherak'o Abo	1986
Angwaba Giyorgis	1667	Kitura Mariam	1986
Tenfa Giyorgis	1667	Lomige Mikael	1988
Mijiwa Mikael	1667	Sert'iya Giyorgis	1989
Kora Kidanemihret	1724	Negadebahir Giyorgis	1989
Gellomeda Giyorgis	1769	Kiwegeha Mariam	1990
Ch'ak'o Mikael	1785	Shumge Mikael	1990
Arebiya Giyorgis	1785	Dibiko Kidanemihret	1991
Duniya Mikael	1785	Berengwa Giyorgis	1991
Kentaho Kidanemihret	1785	Shebdiba Bata	1993
Kikra Mikael	1785	Bogbog Rufael	1993
Abelwuha Mariam	1785	Belwuha Teklehaymanot	1994
Shiwtaz Gebrel	1859	Aden Mikael	1994
K'ent'effa Mariam	1867	Eyaho Mariam	1995
Wataho Abo	1867	Bohasge Mariam	1996
Lomiye Yohanis	1871	Goshoge Mariam	1996
Kwabir Mariam	1871	Aba Gedam Abo	1997
Dengorsa Mariam	1871	Menwulah Mariam	1997
		Amba Giyorgis	1997

(Source: Woreda Orthodox Church Office)

Appendix II

No.	Questions
1.	Sex
2.	Age
3.	Occupation
4.	Ethnic group
5.	Marital Status
6.	Education
7.	If Literate, what type of education did you attend?
8.	Place of birth
9.	Place of residence
10.	Language
11.	Which language do you read?
12.	Which language do you write?
13.	Which language do you speak?
14.	Which language do you understand?
15.	Which language do you want to be perfect in?
16.	Which ethnic group is your neighbor?
17.	What language do they speak?
18.	Do they speak your language?
19.	Do you speak their language?
20.	Which language do you use when you meet each other?
21.	Have you been in another area for more than a year?
22.	Where?
23.	How long?
24.	Which language is widely spoken there?
25.	Do people of that area understand Kemantney?
26.	Which language did you use there most often?
27.	What is (was) your grand mother's mother tongue?
28.	Did (Does) she speak any other language?
29.	If yes, name them according to her level of proficiency.
30.	What is (was) your grand father's mother tongue?
31.	Does (Did) he speak any other language?
32.	If yes, name them according to his level of proficiency?
33.	What is (was) your mother's mother tongue?
34.	Does (Did) she know any other language?
35.	If yes, name them according to her level of proficiency.
36.	Can she read and write?
37.	If yes, which of the above languages?
38.	What is (was) your father's mother tongue?
39.	Does (Did) he know any other language?
40.	If yes, name them according to his level of proficiency.
41.	Can he read and write?
42.	Which language did he read and write?
43.	Do you have brothers?
44.	What is their mother tongue?
45.	Do they know any other language?
46.	If yes, name them according to their level of proficiency.
47.	Are they literate?

48.	Which language do they read and write?
49.	Do you have sisters?
50.	If yes, what is their mother tongue?
51.	Do they know any other language?
52.	If yes, name them according to their level of proficiency.
53.	Can they read and write?
54.	Which language do they read and write?
55.	Do you have husband/wife?
56.	If yes, what is his/her mother tongue?
57.	Does he/she know any other language?
58.	If yes, name them according to his/her level of proficiency?
59.	Does (s)he read and write?
60.	If yes, which language does (s)he read and write?
61.	Do you have children?
62.	What is their mother tongue?
63.	Do they know any other languages?
64.	If yes, name them according to their level of proficiency?
65.	Do they read and write?
66.	Which language do they read and write?
67.	Which language does your family use at home most often?
68.	Which language do your parents use most often when alone?
69.	Which language do your brothers use most often when alone?
70.	Which language do your sisters use most often when alone?
71.	Which language do your children use most often when alone?
72.	Which language do you use most often with your father?
73.	Which language do you use with your mother?
74.	Which language do you use with your brother?
75.	Which language do you use with your sister?
76.	Which language do you use with your wife/husband?
77.	Which language do you use with your children?
78.	Which language do you use with your relatives who come from rural areas?
79.	Which language do you use with your relatives who come from urban areas?
80.	Which language do you use with your neighbors?
81.	Which language do you use with strangers?
82.	Which language do you use with administrators?
83.	Which language do you use with priests?
84.	Which language do you use with teachers?
85.	Which language do you use with government workers?
86.	Which language do you use with elders?
87.	Which language do you use at school?
88.	Which language do you use at market?
89.	Which language do you use at church?
90.	Which language do you use at clinic?
91.	Which language do you use at working place?
92.	Which language do you use at home?
93.	Which language do you use at court?
94.	Which language do you use at shops?
95.	Which language do you use at teahouse?
96.	Which language do you use during praying?
97.	Which language do you use during meeting?
98.	Which language do you use when you dream?

99.	Which language do you use when you sing?
100.	Which language do you use when you plough?
101.	Which language do you use when you harvest?
102.	Which language do you use when angry?
103.	Which language do you use when counting?
104.	Which language do you use when talking?
105.	Which language do you use when talking secrets?
106.	Which language do you use when cursing?
107.	Which language do you use when praising?
108.	Which language do you use when insulting?
109.	Do you mind if you marry a person from another ethnic group?
110.	If no why?
111.	If yes why?
112.	Do you want your children to speak your first language?
113.	If yes why?
114.	If no why?
115.	Is inter-marriage very often here?
116.	If no why?
117.	Which language do you want to be the medium of instruction in schools here?
118.	Why?
119.	Which language do you think is very useful to know?
120.	Why?
121.	Do old people get angry when others speak a language other than Kemantney?
122.	If yes why?
123.	Are there people who don't want you to speak in Kemantney?
124.	If yes why?
125.	Is there any place where Kemantney is spoken but, differently?
126.	If there is, which place(s)?
127.	Where are they located?
128.	Do you speak Amharic?
129.	If yes, are you proud of it?
130.	If yes, why?
131.	If no why?
132.	Do you like people from another ethnic group who speak Kemantney as a second language?
133.	If yes why?
134.	If no why?
135.	Did you come across Kemants who do not speak the language of their forefathers – Kemantney?
136.	Where do they live?
137.	Why do not they know the language?
138.	Are there Kemants who know Kemantney but do not like to speak it?
139.	If yes why?
140.	Where do they live?
141.	Do you mix Amharic words in your Kemantney?
142.	Do you mix Kemantney words in your Amharic?
143.	Which language do most Kemant people speak currently?
144.	Is their any unique culture of this area different from Amhara?
145.	If yes, what?
146.	Who speaks Kemantney more proficiently between elderly and youngsters?
147.	Who speaks Kemantney more proficiently between men and women?
148.	Who speaks Kemant more proficiently between urban and rural dwellers?
149.	Who speaks Kemant more proficiently between literate and non-literate?

150.	Do you think your children will speak Kemantney?
151.	If yes, why?
152.	If no, why?
153.	Do you want your language to be written?
154.	Do you want your language to be broadcast on the radio?
155.	Which radio station do you always listen to?
156.	Have you ever come across any written material in Kemantney?
157.	If there were schools, which teach reading and writing in Kemantney, would you join them?
158.	Do you want your children to be taught in Kemantney in school?
159.	Do you know any typical Kemant personal names?
160.	Do you know any typical Kemant river names?
161.	Do you know any typical Kemant mountain names?
162.	Do you know any typical Kemant place names?
163.	How do you know that you are a Kemant?
164.	Who is Kemant in your definition?
165.	How important is one's knowledge of Kemantney?
166.	If useless why?
167.	If useful why?
168.	Are you interested to learn Kemantney in the future?
169.	What language do Kemant priests use during prayer?
170.	What language do Christian priests use during prayer?
171.	Which language do Kemant priests use in their daily interaction?
172.	Which language do Christian priests use in their daily interaction?
173.	Who Knows Kemantney better between Kemant and Christian priests?
174.	Which language do Kemant priests use when preaching?
175.	Which language do Christian priests use when preaching?
176.	Which prayer group do you understand?
177.	Did you learn during the literacy campaign?
178.	If not why?
179.	If yes, what language did you use?
180.	Did you face any language- related problem?
181.	What language do you use when you meet a person who does not know Kemantney?
182.	...with a Tigrinya speaker?
183.	...with a Gumuz speaker?
184.	...with a Shinasha person?
185.	...with an Oromo person?
186.	How do you identify your ethnic member?
187.	What is your religion?
188.	What do you think are the reasons for the extinction of Kemantney?

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25	Q26	Q27	Q28	Q29	Q30	Q31	Q32	Q33	Q34	Q35	Q36	Q37	Q38	Q39	Q40	Q41	Q42	Q43	Q44	Q45	Q46	Q47
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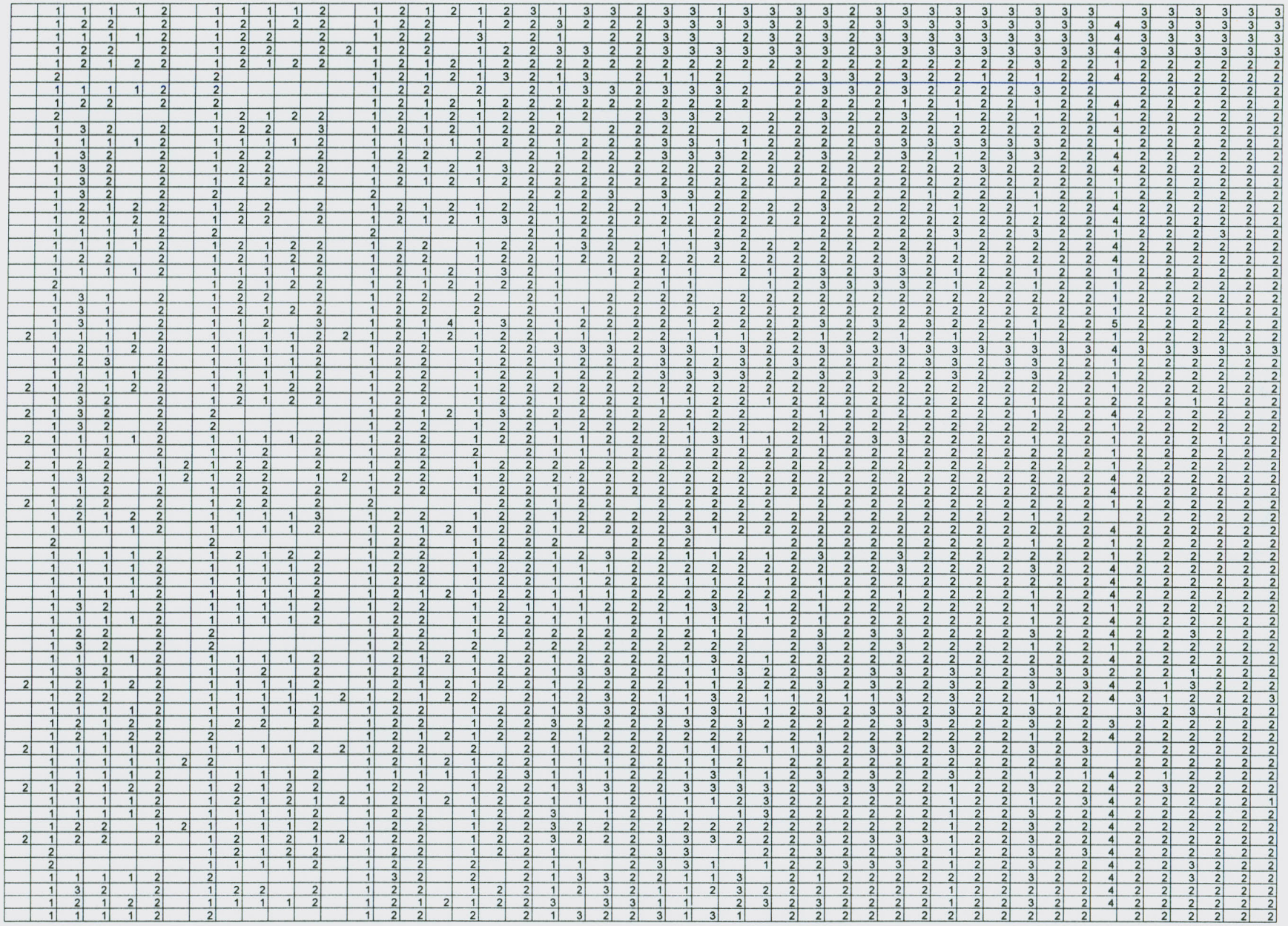

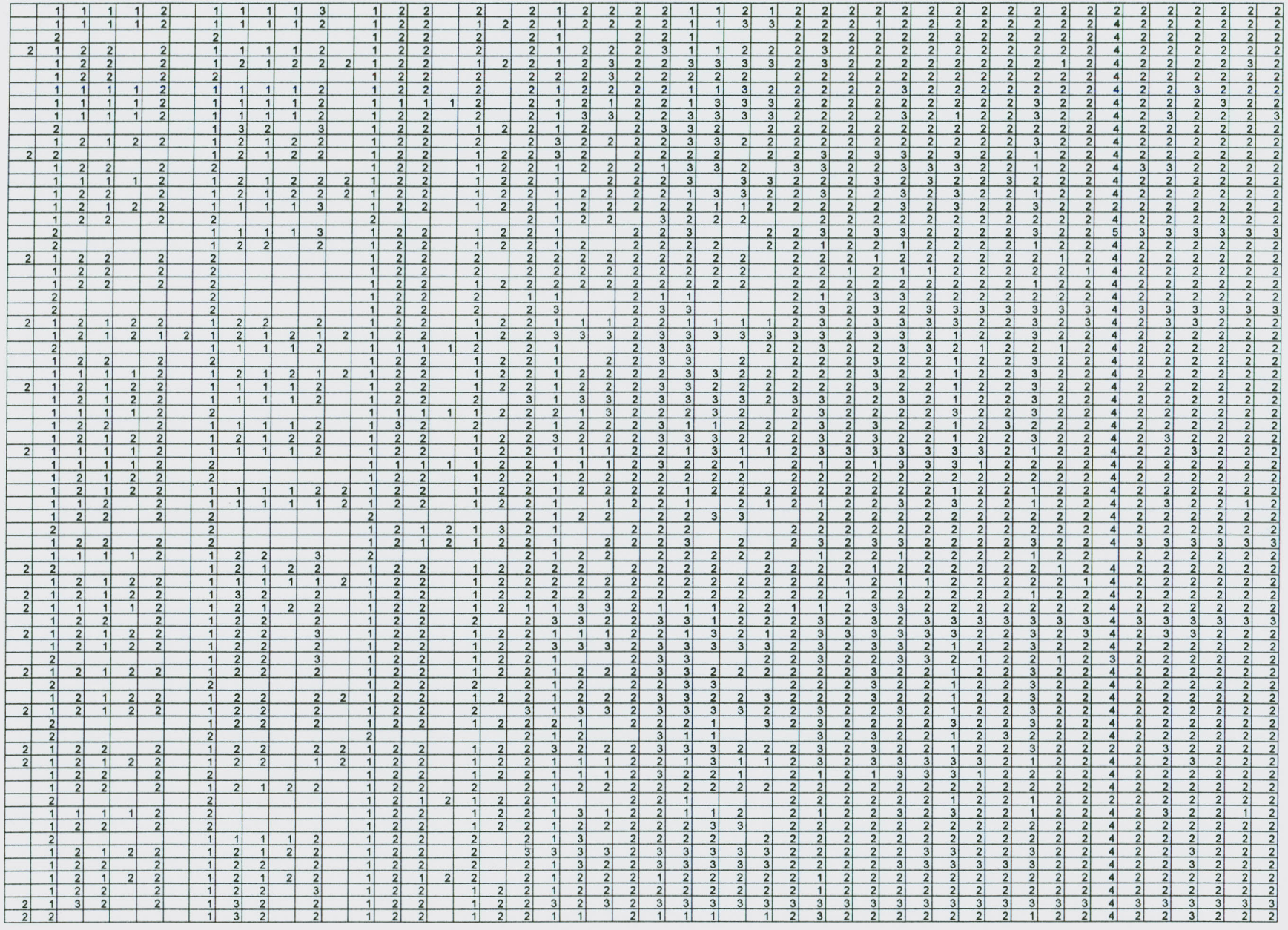

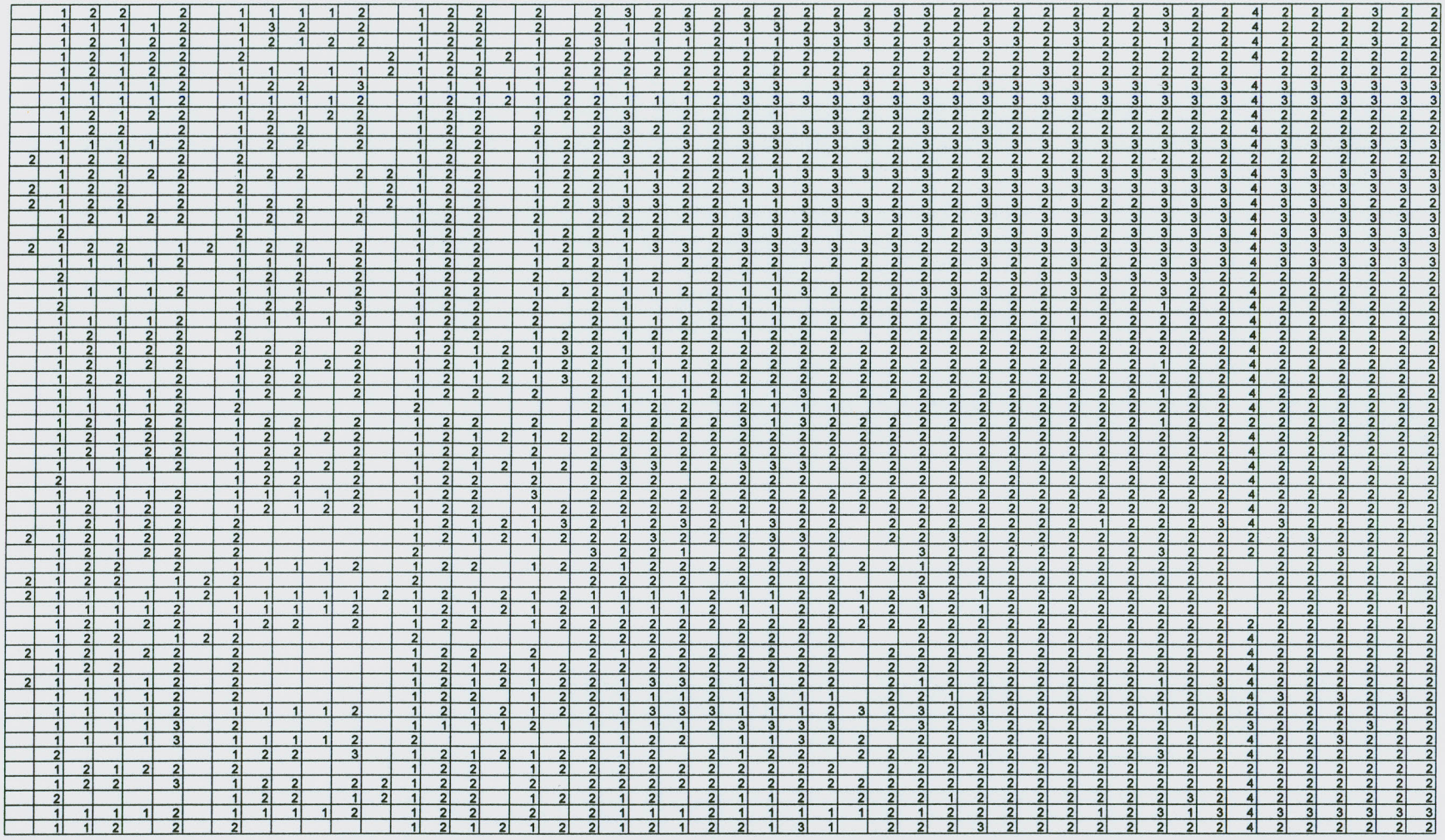

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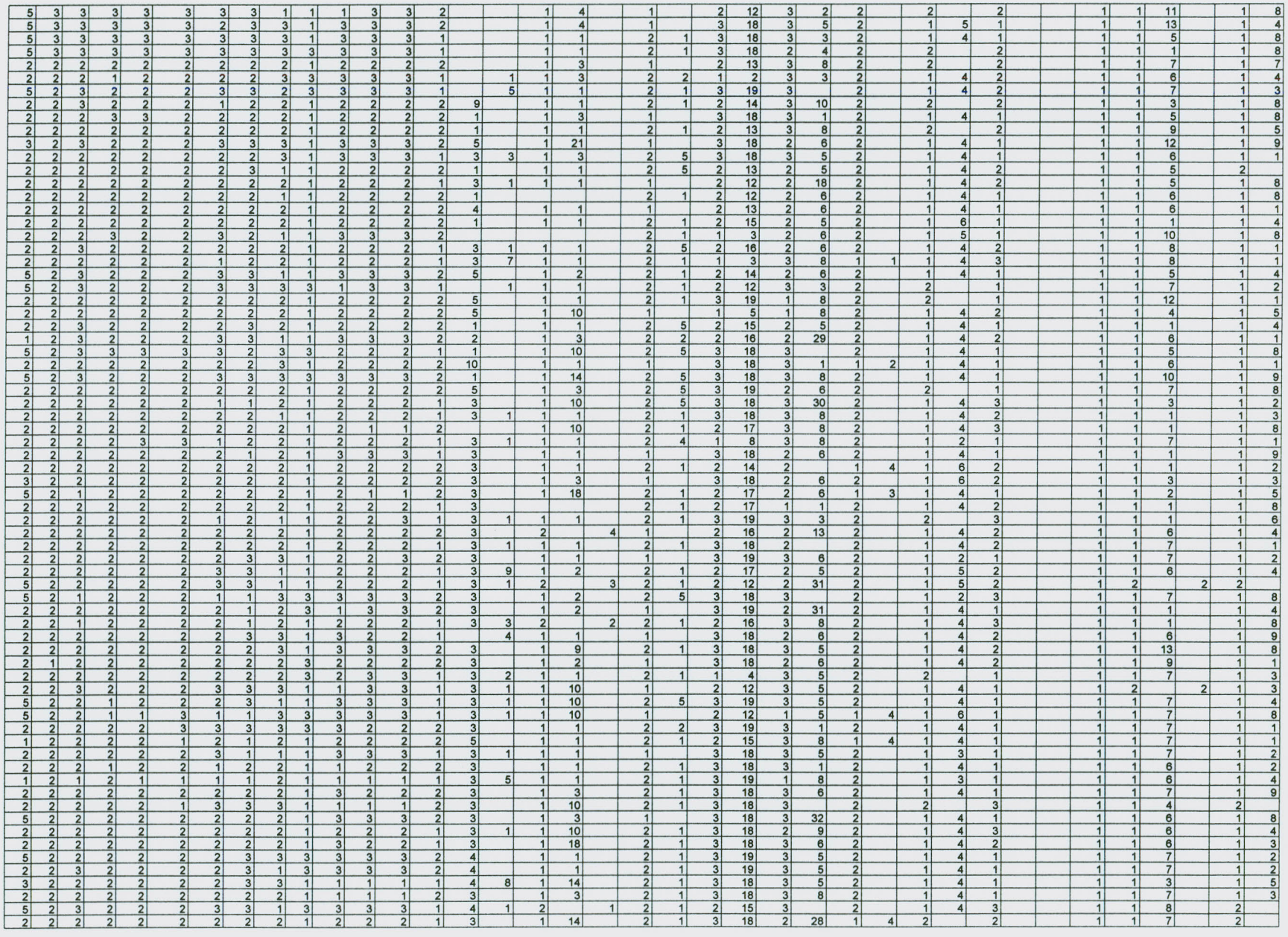

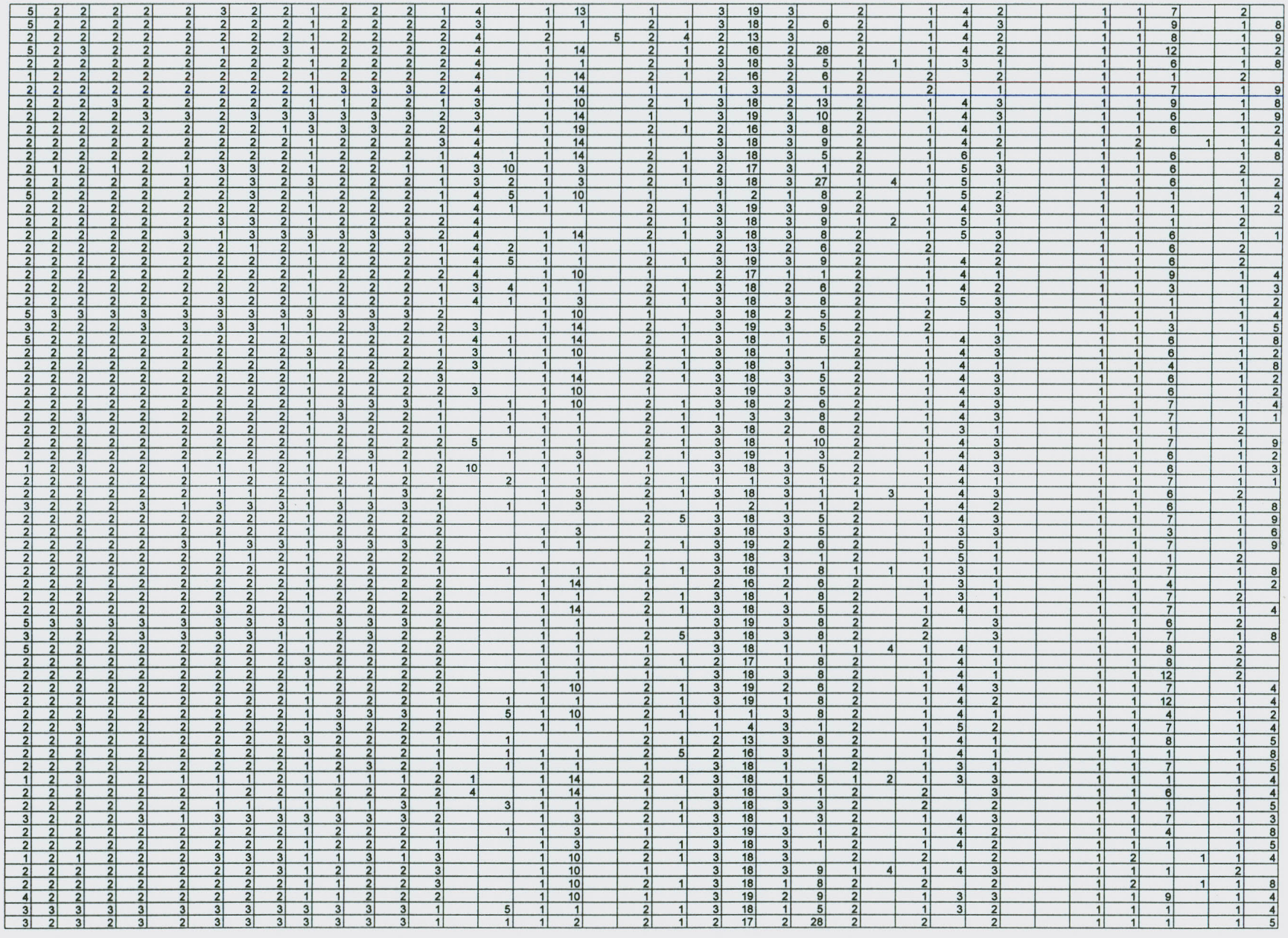

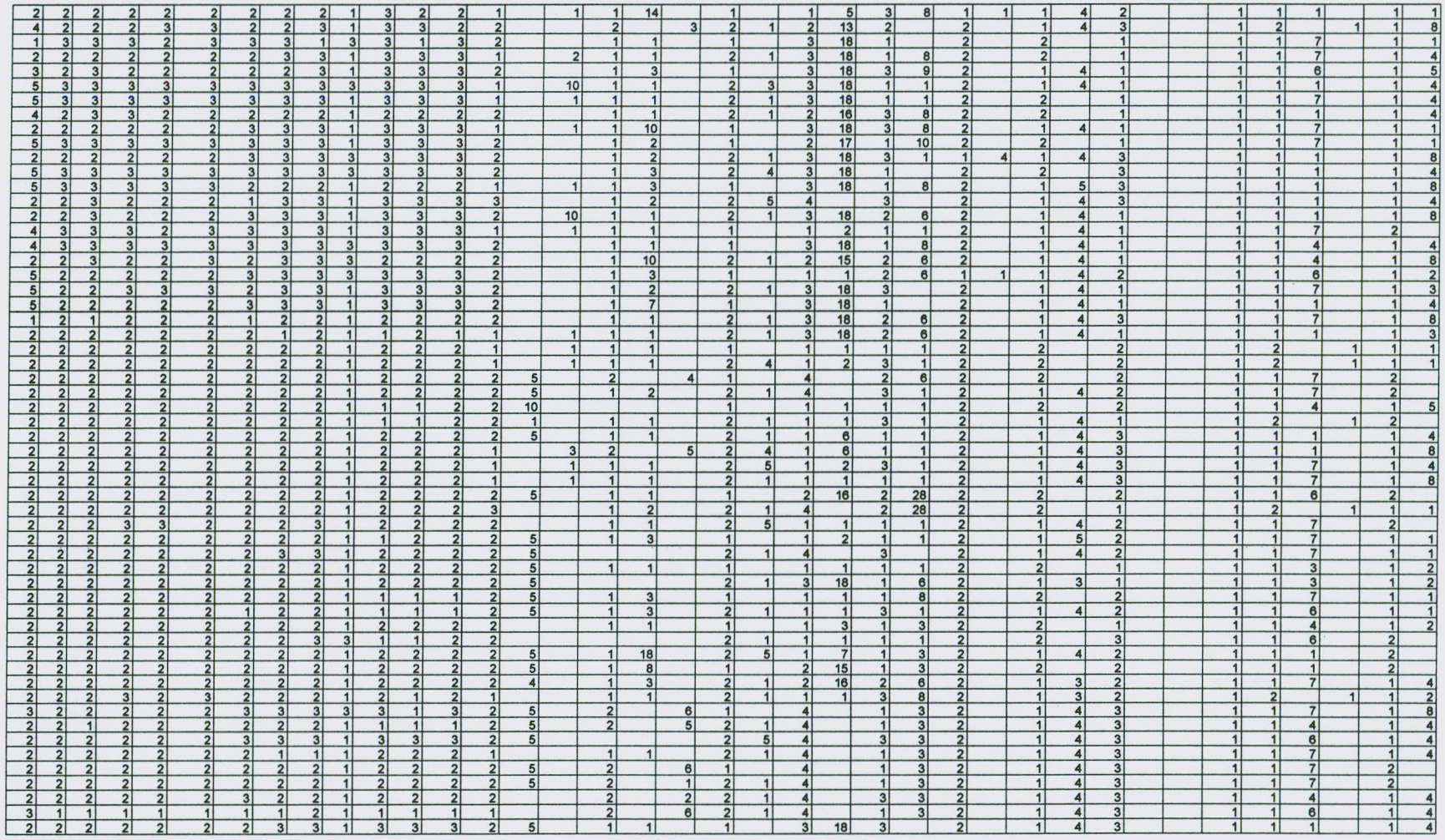

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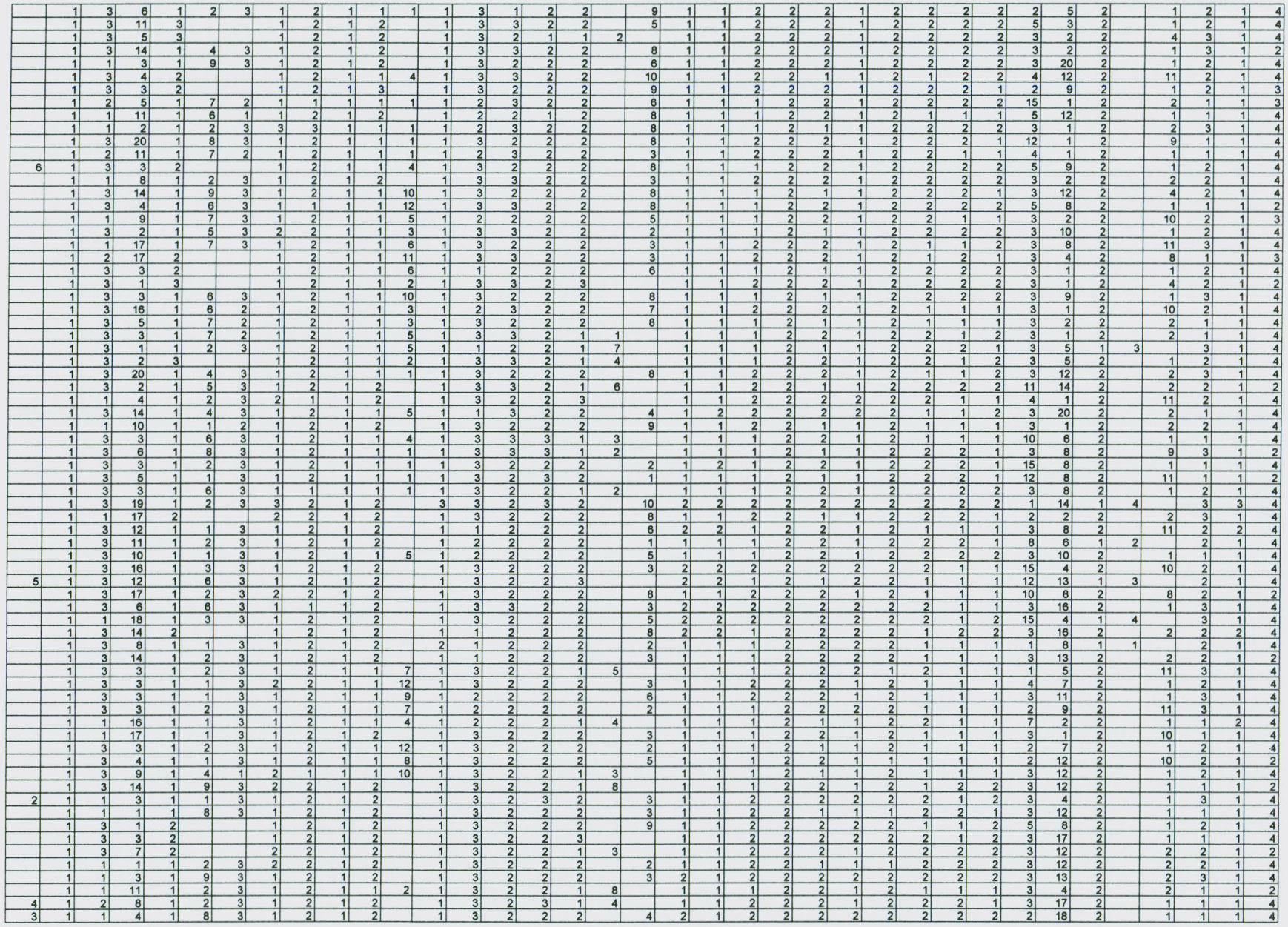

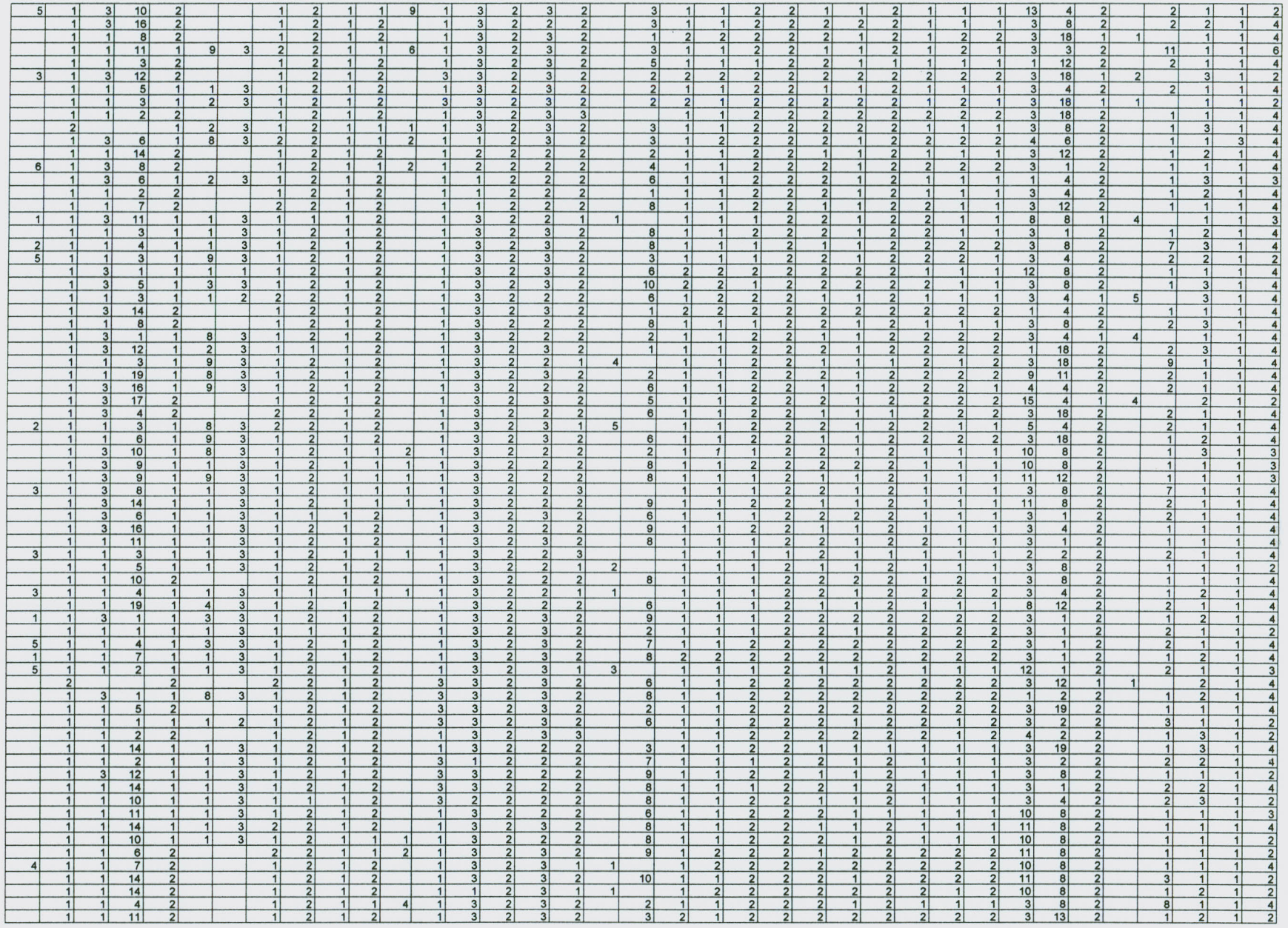

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