

Documentation and Grammatical Description of Gwama

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person	VP	Verb Phrase	JUSS	Jussive
2	Second person			L	Low tone
3	Third person			LH	Rising tone
C	Consonant			LOC	Locative
C₁	First Consonant			M	Masculine
C₂	Second Consonant			M	Mid tone
CAUS	Causative			MAN	Manner
CONJ	Conjunction			NEG	Negative
CONT	Content			NOM	Nominative
COP	Copula			NP	Noun Phrase
DD1	Deictic Directional 1			O	Object
DD2	Deictic Directional 2			OPT	Optative
DEF	Definiteness			ORD	Ordinal
DEMO	Demonstrative			PASS	Passive
EXCL	Exclusive			PFV	Perfective
F	Feminine			PL	Plural
FREQ	Frequentative			POL	Polar
FUT	Future			POSS	Possessive
GEN	Genitive			POSS	Possibility
GER	Gerund			PROB	Probabilistic
H	High tone			PROG	Progressive
HAB	Habitual			PROH	Prohibitive
HL	Falling tone			PURP	Purpose
IMP	Imperative			REAS	Reason
IMPFV	Imperfective			REC	Reciprocal
IMPOS	Impossibility			RED	Reduplication
INCH	Inchoative			S	Subject
INCL	Inclusive			SG	Singular
INCP	Inceptive			SGV	Singulative
INF	Infinitive			TV	Terminal Vowel
INTR	Interrogative			V	Vowel

ABSTRACT

This dissertation was begun with the intention of describing the Grammar of Gwama and presenting annotated multimedia documentation of riddles, tales, and cultural practices of the ethnic group. To comprehensively describe the language and produce multimedia documentation, corpus data were collected from Gwama speaking group using different data collection methods. The data sources were communicative events such as elicitations, observed communicative events, and staged communicative events. The data were results of four stages of fieldwork activities. In the four-round fieldworks, consultants from different villages of Mao-Komo Special Woreda took part in this study, and the main sites of data collection were Tongo, Zebsher, and Asosa.

The linguistic description of the language is presented in this dissertation in six chapters excluding the introductory one, which gives an overview of the Gwama ethnic group and their language. The issues covered in six chapters are phonology, noun morphology, pronouns, verb morphology, modifiers, and syntax. The phonology chapter presents consonant and vowel phonemes of the language, syllable structure, tone, phonological processes, and morphophonological processes. Gwama has 22 consonant phonemes, and the glottal stop /ʔ/ has a marginal status. These phonemes consist of six stops (/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, and /g/), four ejectives (/pʼ/, /tʼ/, /kʼ/, and /sʼ/), four fricatives (/f/, /s/, /z/, and /ʃ/), four nasals (/m/, /n/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/), two liquids (/l/ and /r/), and two glides (/w/ and /j/). All these consonants appear in all environments except the fricatives /z/ and /h/, the nasal /ŋ/, and the glide /w/. The alveolar fricative /z/, the glottal fricative /h/, and the glide /w/ are not attested word finally, whereas the velar nasal /ŋ/ is not recorded word initially. The language allows a sequence of two consonants word medially and finally. Dominantly occurring consonant cluster (C₁C₂) is formed from a sonorant and an obstruent. In a bunch of lexemes having consonant sequence, a phoneme that appears first (C₁) is nasal, and in limited instances such a phoneme is lateral. A consonant that dominantly appears next (C₂) can be a stop, a fricative, or a nasal phoneme. There are five phonemic vowels along with equal number of long counterparts in the language. The schwa /ə/ and the front open-mid vowel /ɛ/ seem to have phonetic status. In fact, the schwa is mainly attested in connected speeches. Gwama has both open and closed syllable structures. In this regard, the syllable template of the language can be (C)V(V)(C)(C). The language is tonal, and three contrastive level tones (High (H), Mid (M), and Low (L)) are identified. Long vowels seem to have a rising (LH) and a falling (HL)

tones, which requires further investigation. Tone in Gwama has lexical and grammatical role. Phonological processes such as labialization, assimilation, and vowel nasalization undergo word internally. The morphophonemic processes such as vowel deletion and reduplication are common in Gwama.

The noun morphology of the language covers inflectional and derivational issues. The Gwama nouns are not morphologically marked for gender. Gender is identified through either with gender identifying definite markers *-te/-e* for masculine and *-to/-o* for feminine or suffixing gender-identifying lexemes *kikjata* ‘female’ and *kike:zi* ‘male’. Prepositions serve as analytic case markers. The language is not rich in its derivational morphology. A relatively productive way of noun formation is compounding. Similar to other Koman languages, Gwama has subject and object personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. Subject and Object pronouns are identical. Verb morphology of the language includes issues like inflection and derivation, aspect/tense, and copula constructions. The language has different forms of modifiers, such as adjectives, adpositions, and numerals. The constituent order of phrases and clauses indicate that Gwama follows SVO structure, though sometimes SOV word order appears during conversations. Finally, it seems important to suggest that those who took the initiative in developing orthography and preparing teaching materials may consider this document as data source.

Chapter One

1. Introduction

This opening chapter focuses on providing the general ethnographic description of Gwama, the language context, sociolinguistic situation, review of previous research works on the language, and the why and how of the present study. The description of ethnographic situation covers issues about the community such as historical background, geographical location, cultural practices, religious view, and livelihood. The context of the language is overviewed from two angles: nomenclature and genetic affiliation. The sociolinguistic situation raises points about the language in relation to its speaking community that include population size and number of speakers, level of endangerment, and language contact situation. In the fourth sub-section, the focal areas of previous research works done on Gwama are reviewed. Lastly, I gave a full account of justifications for doing this work and the way the project has been handled.

1.1. Ethnographic Notes

This section provides an overview of the cultural phenomena of the Gwama society focusing on historical background, location, religious view, and means of livelihood.

1.1.1. Historical Background

The late twentieth century and the beginning of twenty-first century mark the emergence of research reports of ethnic groups in Beni-Shangul. The recent historical account presents investigative notes on Western Ethiopia by Meckleburg (2015) focusing on memories of descendants of slaves in Mao and Komo. He writes that the ethnic groups living in the Ethio-Sudan borderland seems to have shared history. Abdussamad (1999 and 2014) presents two works focusing on the history of the frontier from 1898-1931. He discusses the history of Mao and Khoma, which potentially represents Komo and/or Gwama, as part of the ethnic groups in the borderland. Second, it seems that “Koma subsumes various groups such as Komo, Gwama, and Ganza” (Meckelburg, 2015:349). González-Ruibal and Fernández (2005) report on the history of Komuz and Bertha based on archeological findings. Of these works, the finding by González-Ruibal and Fernández (2005) may be taken as an initial source of knowledge for having little historical background about Gwama.

González-Ruibal and Fernández (2005:7-8) write that:

The Komuz tradition is characterized by archaeological sites that date to the late 1st millennium BC or early 1st millennium AD. The modern descendants of this archaeological tradition are the Koman (Kwama, Komo, Mao) and Gumuz-speaking groups, once called Komuz by philologists (Bender 1994; 2000, 46) due to their linguistic affinities (now two different groups are recognized). The pottery from Komuz sites bears important resemblances with that of the modern Kwama,...

The work of González-Ruibal and Fernández (2005) focuses on presenting their finding in terms of archaeological sites that indicate a particular year in the past and not on reconstructing the historical phenomena of the ethnic groups. As a result, they do not tell us the history of the Koman in general and the Gwama in particular beginning from the period (i.e. late 1st millennium BC or early 1st millennium AD) indicated in their finding. No work traces back to this period to describe the Gwama history.

Two of Abdussamad's (1999:434 and 2014:71) papers present the history of border enclaves in Beni-Shangul and Gumuz that included the "Bertha, Gunza, Mao, Khoma, Meban, and Uduk" ethnic groups. He mentions that the nineteenth century history of Mao and Khoma is related to slavery. During this period, slave traders of the area were the Watawit who were a feudal class of Sudanese Arab descent (Meckelburg, 2015:350; Abdussamad, 1999:433-434). The Watawit had first come to Beni-Shangul as merchants and religious teachers in the first quarter of the century (Ibid:433). Through time, they dominated the ethnic groups living in the area and "expanded their power and territory at the expense of the neighbouring Mao and Khoma peoples to the south" (Ibid:434). Slaves were often sold to Sudanese Arab merchants who visited the markets of Beni-Shangul and served as cultivators, servile soldiers, and concubines (Ibid).

At the end of the nineteenth century, Minilik II (1889-1913) expanded into Beni-Shangul and subordinated the Watawit (Abdussamad, 1999:435-436; Meckelburg, 2015:350). One of the rulers of the Watawit Sheikh Khojele al-Hassen of Aqoldi (Asosa) became the governor of Beni-Shangul under Emperor Minilik II. The governor began to extract natural resources like

gold using slave labor (Abdussamad, 1999:437; Meckelburg, 2015:351), and the slaves mainly came from Mao and Khoma communities (Abdussamad, 1999:437).

Slavery and continued raids held until the first three decades of the twentieth century brought wide-ranging socio-economic dislocation over Bertha, Khoma, Mao, Gumuz and other minority groups on the Ethiopian-Sudanese borderlands (Abdussamad, 1999:445).

1.1.2. Location

The Gwama community sparsely populate in Mao-Komo special woreda, an ethnically defined district, located south of Benihangul-Gumuz regional state, Western Ethiopia. Mao-Komo is located south of the region. It is adjacent to Asossa Zone of Benishangul-Gumuz region on the north, Oromia Region of Ethiopia on the east and south, and (north) Sudan and South Sudan on the west. Within this Woreda, there are reportedly 32 Kebele administrations. Except Tongo¹ town, all are rural Kebeles. According to the 2007 census report of the country, majority of the ethnic groups living in this Woreda include Oromo, Mao, Berta, and Komo.

It may be difficult to tell a particular village where only the Gwama live, for they amicably reside together with other ethnic groups, mainly the Komo, in the same areas (see also Küspert 2015:16). According to language consultants, however, Kebeles where the Gwama dominantly reside include Zebsher², Kesser, Ya'a Mesera, and Lak'i located in the special woreda. Few of them also live in Yangu (ጎጎጎ), P'enshuba, Kawo Shumete, and Tongo. This ethnic group knows the existence of other Gwama speakers in Yabus area of Sudan. The ethnologue on the otherhand notes that the language is spoken in nineteen (19) villages found south of Asosa of Benishangul-Gumuz to Gidami woreda in Qellem Wollega, Oromia Regional State, including one (Yabus) in Sudan (Lewis, 2014).

¹ Tongo is a town of the Special Woreda, where the Woreda officials are working. This town is Kebele 01.

² An old consultant called Harun Kaya told me that the Gwama in Zebsher used to live a bit far from the current village before the government resettled them in 2011 G.C. in the village they are living now.

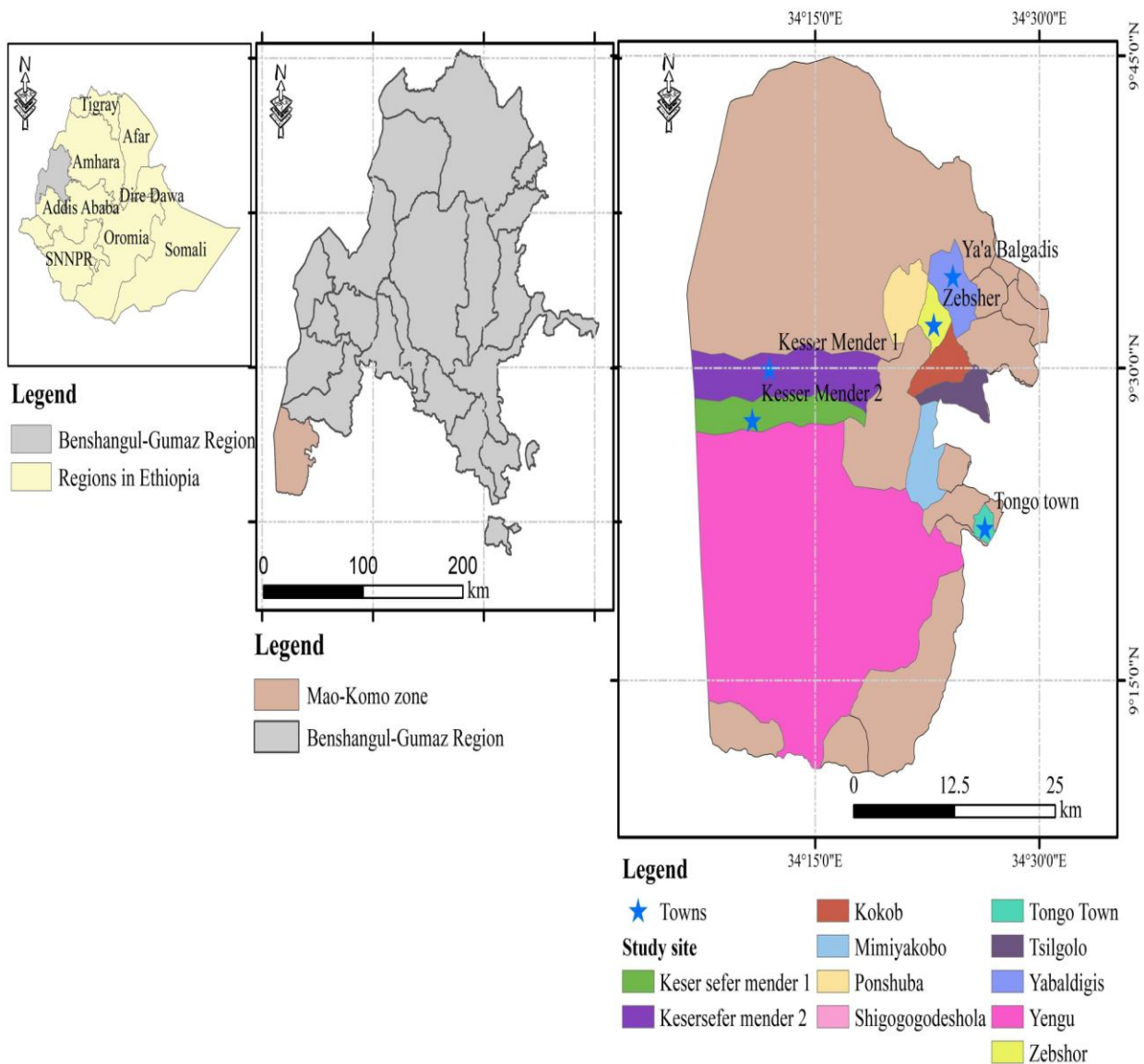


Figure 1. Mao-Komo Special Woreda Map³

1.1.3. Culture

There is no any written record that specifically describes the culture of Gwama, but some notes are provided in the work of Gonzalez-Ruibal (2014), which depicts the cultural history of the Ethiopian-Sudanese borderland from the archaeological point of view. The cultural heritage of the community that I learned and observed include division of labor between male and female, performance (or dancing), marriage system, hunting, collecting wild honey, local

³ A map produced by Abeyou Wale (Ph.D), a researcher at Texas A & M, hydrologist and remote sensing expert.

alcohol brewing, beehive making and honey production, house building, etc. The cultural attributes that encompass division of labor, performing art, marriage, hunting, and honey collection are all intangible heritages, and brewing alcohol, making beehive, building house, pottery etc can be considered as tangible cultural heritages. Some of these traditions are discussed in what follows.

***gi* ‘Labor’**

The Gwama performs different activities for survival. These include cutting bamboo to make beehives, hunting, collecting wild honey, collecting firewood, cooking, planting seeds, etc. The tasks of men are different from the tasks given to women. As I noticed at Zebsher and Tongo and heard from one of the consultants, men are engaged in outdoor jobs that require physical strength including cutting bamboo and making beehive for sell as well as for personal use, collecting wild honey, and hunting. Gwama women, on the other hand, make all things that involve household tasks such as cooking, fetching water, and making local alcohol. In addition to household tasks, women go to forest and collect firewood. Men clear fields and dig the land for planting seeds, and women, usually the wives, burry *samun* ‘maize’ and/or *dulbu* ‘haricot bean’ as can be seen in Fig. 2. Women whose husbands died usually do both the digging of the field and the burial of the seeds in the pit alone.



Figure 2. Gwama women sowing *samun* ‘maize’ and *dulbu* ‘haricot bean’

***if-p'a* ‘Dancing Festival’**

The Gwama have a culture of dancing in groups in various occasions, a common Nilo-Saharan culture in the area (González-Ruibal, 2014:230). The performance is usually held after hunting, when a group accomplishes making someone’s hut, and in wedding ceremonies. The youth, however, also does the dancing in ordinary circumstances. The dancing is commonly performed in mixed gender. One night in Zebsher, I heard sounds of musical instruments and ululation close to our hut, and I requested my informant about it. He told me that sometimes with their own interest the Gwama youth prepare dancing festivals known as *if-p'a* in which a group of male and female youths dance together singing and playing instruments called *tu:ru* ‘musical instrument made of horn’, *gambu* ‘flute made of bamboo’, *kjansa* ‘rattle made of gourd’. Another informant of this study, called Meko, at Tongo has said that such music and dancing occasions are considered in Gwama as recreational festivals.

***bok* ‘Marriage’**

The common traditional means of marriage system among the Koman groups (Gwama, Komo, Mao, and Gumuz) was sister-exchange marriage, in which the bridegroom promises a sister to the family of the bride for marriage (James, 1979 cited in González-Ruibal, 2014:70; James, 1975). Nowadays, a youngster proposes a girl he wants to marry to his father, and elders will be sent to the bride’s parents to request consent. If her parents refuse the request, the marriage will not be held. Exogamy, also known as out-marriage, is a socially accepted arrangement for marriage among the ethnic groups living in Mao-Kom, mainly between Gwama and Komo.

The Gwama marriage system, the past as well as the present, forbids simultaneous husbands. However, if a husband having children passes away, the woman will marry his brother, who may be married or not. I asked the consultant why a man marries his sister-in-law. He replied that no one would cosher the children, except their uncle. In such circumstances, a man can have two wives, which may be considered as polygamy.

***fwi* ‘Local alcohol’**

The Gwama women brew local alcohol called *fwi* using maize and malt. Brewing *fwi* has its own process, which women follow to prepare. It can be said that it is one of the hardest tasks

left for women that involve grounding maize by hand in a traditional way. This local beer is usually prepared when there is a task like *kwi* ‘weeding and/or ploughing’, *pùnt* ‘harvesting’, and *gi swi* ‘making hut’ that all require collective role.

According to the information from language consultants, a family or an individual who intends to request neighbours for cooperation lets a woman, usually a wife, start preparing *fwi* two weeks in advance to the day of making the hut, and she brews the alcohol early in the morning when the invited people to help the family start building the hut. Huts are usually designed in a similar fashion in Mao-Komo Special Woreda.

They construct a circled hut using wood, bamboo stick, interwoven bamboo, and grass. The woods serve as colonnades. The spaces between the colonnades are usually filled with bamboo sticks so that women can mudplaster the wall. Bamboo woods are also used as benches of a roof, and the grass will be used to cover the bamboo roof. The wall will finally be covered with interwoven bamboo. Most of the houses I observed at Zebsher have interwoven bamboo walls that are not mudplastered.



Figure 3. The Gwama housing

As the group accomplishes building the hut, the owner serves the *fwi*. The community has a collective *fwi* drinking tradition. Five to ten people will form one group. Both women and men take part in the drinking. Each group will be offered *fwi* filled in a big casserole as can be seen in Fig. 4. Each person in a group is given a straw made of bamboo, known as *pi:nzi*, for drinking. When there is shortage of straw, they drink sharing the available ones.



Figure 4. Collective *fwi* drinking

When the filtered *fwi* in the casserole is all drunk and it remains with residue, the waitress will fill it with water. Then, they continue drinking until it remains with very little sediment.

***gi/wa ge:ndi* ‘Making Beehive’**

Honey, known as *tám* in Gwama, is one of the food items that the Gwama usually use for drink by mixing it with water and/or for brewing mead known as *bi:ti*. In the past, they used to collect wild honey in forest. Nowadays, they rarely go to forest to gather wild honey; instead, their main source of honey is a traditional beehive that they hung on trees. In dry season, from December to February, there is a tradition of making hives. For the making of a hive, they use a flexible stick called *ge:ni*, which is used to make circular basements, about one meter long cloven bamboo sticks to be tied round the circled sticks, grass to cover the bamboo sticks, and dung with which they smear the inside of the beehive to smoothen for the comfort of bees. They usually go to riversides when they wish to make hives for two reasons.

For one thing, they soaked a bark like flexible stick, which serves as a rope, at least a day before the making in the river. Second, they need water for thinning the dung. As the old man I met finished making the beehive, he held water in his mouth, sprinkled over the hive, and begged his lord by saying *jer-ni ti-ga-ti* ‘God, give me Please’.



Figure 5. Coating Beehive with Dung

1.1.4. Religion

Nearly all the Gwama are followers of Islam (cf. Zelealem, 2005:2), but there are indicators that they had traditional belief system. Though my consultants at Zebsher told me that they are Muslims, I did not see them practically exercising the religion. For example, one of the five pillars of Islam is *salat*, i.e. prayer sessions held five times daily, but they are not totally seen giving such a prayer. There is a mosque in the village, but they do not go. It is also common to see the community drinking alcohols named *fwi* “local alcohol”, *selja* “local beer”, *bi:ti* “mead”, *bo:ko* “strong mead”, etc including the strongest liquor known as *wuha arək’i*⁴ “Katicala”. Educated Gwama whom I met at Tongo sometimes practice the prayer. These all suggest that the Gwama do not regularly exercise Islamic practices probably because of their past traditional belief system.

⁴ Borrowed from Amharic

Moreover, they call their God *je:re*. a young educated language consultant interchangeably uses the words *jas-jan-je:re* ‘place of begging God’ and *məsgid* to mean ‘mosque’. Others commonly use the later. One of the oldest consultants of this study, whom I met in Tongo, calls a prayer house, or mosque, *swi fu:mu/ swi mumun* ‘house of god/spirit’. According to this person, the Gwama word *fu:mu* refers to a spirit that is believed to have power over nature. A person who possesses this spirit is called *sit fu:mu/ sit mumun*. Another old consultant in Zebsher told me that there is *sit fu:mu* in the village. They believe that this person can cure pain, can exorcize evil-spirit, can tell about ones future, etc. Kievit and Robertson (2012:12) write that, in Gwama, Islamic religion is mixed with “traditional beliefs which revolve around the existence of something called *mumun*, a spirit which can bring health and a good life.” As Zelealem (2005) said, few of the Gwama people could still worship traditional belief though the language consultants stated that they are no more practicing the traditional one. From this scenario, one may deduce that, in the past, they used to follow traditional religion, which perhaps replaced by Islam later.

1.1.5. Means of Livelihood

The Gwama livelihood is based on small-scale agriculture (cf. Zelealem 2005:2; Kievit and Robertson, 2012:11). They mainly hoe a farmland to cultivate maize (see Figure 6). Some also cultivate haricot bean, sorghum, millet, etc. Very few who are considered affluent use ox to plough farmland for crop cultivation. The overwhelming majority of household do not seem to produce sufficient agricultural product for annual consumption. Therefore, to subsidize their living, they hunt different wild animals (such as *wap* ‘warthog’, which they call *im-a-ba:ba* ‘father’s ox’, *sis* ‘field mouse’, *ni* ‘antelope’, *fu:nk* ‘guinea fowl’ etc), dig up edible roots such as *kolam* “yam; potato like root” (see Figure 7), collect edible grass like plants (such as *fu:ju*, *pwas’i*), produce honey, etc. Besides, few of them breed domestic animals, particularly *wa:ŋa* ‘hen’ and *ŋa* ‘goat’.



Figure 6. Hoeing a Farmland



Figure 7. *kolam* 'yam' in roasted and boiled form

1.2. The Language

1.2.1. Designation

The overlapping of the Gwama with the Komo and other ethnic groups, in habitat, makes it difficult to identify the Komo, who live “in Ethio-Sudan border...as far South as Gambela”, and the Gwama (Bender, 1983:260). Clearly, the name given to the special woreda (Mao-Komo) emanates from the ethnic name Mao, who lives in and in the vicinity, and one of the Koman language-speaking groups, the Komo, in which the Gwama are subsumed. Government officials and other ethnic groups in the surrounding call both the people and their language Komo (Siebert et al, 2002). Some government officials have learnt the ethnic name Gwama only recently with the help of researchers who have worked on the language and culture of the people. It is hardly possible to find people who knew the name Gwama in Asosa.

There is no common understanding among researchers in the designation of the ethnic group (the Gwama) and their language. Bender (1971; 1983) claims that *Kwama* refers to the people and *t’wa Kwama* refers their language. Zelealem (2005), Kievit and Robertson (2012), Amare (2013), Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014), and Küspert (2015) write as the term *Gwama* represents the people and *t’wa Gwama* their language. The ethnologue has listed different alternative names for the language: t’wa Gwama, t’wa Kwama, T’awama, Gwama, Gome, Gogwama, Koma of Assosa, North Koma, Nokanoka, Afaan Mao, or Amam (Lewis, 2014).

All consultants participated in this study agreeingly call themselves Gwama and their language *t’wa Gwama* ‘language of Gwama’. Meckelburg (2015:349) claims that the Gwama phrase *t’wa Gwama* is used to mean ‘black people’, which is not attested in this study, rather it is composed of the word *t’wa*, which they use to mean ‘mouth’ or ‘language’, and the ethnic name *Gwama* that can totally be translated as either ‘language of Gwama’ or ‘mouth of Gwama’. In this paper, *Gwama* is used to refer to the people as well as the language.

1.2.2. Genetic Affiliation

Gwama is one of the five languages in the Koman group under the Nilo-Saharan language family (Greenberg 1963; Bender 1983; 1997; Ehret 2001). Greenberg’s (1963) pioneering classification of the Koman as Nilo-Saharan languages paves the way to following

researchers. Since Nilo-Saharan is the least researched of other language families (Bender 1996 in Childs 2003), the constituent languages and groups in the family remain controversial (Childs 2003). Bender (1997) also believes that the groupings and structure of the Nilo-Saharan genetic unit has not been solved yet. Except a question of internal classification, the position of the Koman languages under Nilo-Saharan members has never been debatable until Mikkola (1999) doubts their nuclear position and Dimmendaal (2008:843; 2011:312) suggests they are possible isolates whose genetic status remains debatable due to lack of extensive data.

Greenberg's (1963:130) Nilo-Saharan family consists of six branches: Songhai, Saharan, Maban, Fur, Chari-Nile, and Koman. In his proposal of the Koman languages as members of the Nilo-Saharan family, Gwama is not specifically mentioned in the list. The members of the Koman group include Koma, Ganza, Uduk, Gule, Gumuz, and Mao. Bender (1976: 14, 57, 60) came up with an internally modified proposal of the Nilo-Saharan family in which the Koman consists of Gumuz (Ganza), Koma (North Koma, South Koma, and Central Koma, Uduk), Northern Mao, and Gule. In 1983 Bender introduced a reconstructed proto-Koman branch that embraces five languages: Komo, Twampa (Uduk), Anej (Gule), Kwama, and Opuo (p. 259). Gumuz, which was one of the Koman languages in Greenberg's (1963:130) classification, became a separate sub-unit in Bender's (1983) Nilo-Saharan phylum. Gwama is represented by the name Kwama, a potential synonym as discussed in 1.2.1. Greenberg's (1963) classification of the Nilo-Saharan consists of a "conservative list" of ten sub-units (Bender 1983:260). These are Songay, Saharan, Maba, Fur, East Sudanic, Central Sudanic, Berta, Kunama, Koman, and Gumuz. Note that Greenberg's (1963:85-129) Chari-Nile has been divided into four sub-units (East Sudanic, Central Sudanic, Berta, and Kunama).

Bender (1997:10, 64) continued working on the internal classification of Nilo-Saharan languages and came up with two more families (namely, Kuliak and Kado) to his previous (1983) listing, and it raises the Nilo-Saharan sub-units to twelve. He further grouped the twelve branches into three main types: Outlier-Satellite-Core (Bender 1997:64). Outliers and Satellites do not form genetic groups among themselves (Bender 1995; 1997). He added, "Outliers are coordinates with each other and with Satellite-Core (S-C), while Satellites are coordinates with each other and with Core" (1997:64). In this grouping, five of the Koman languages are considered as members of the Core group as can be seen in the figure below.

- | | | | |
|------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|
| A. Songay | D. Fur | G. Berta | J. Gumuz |
| B. Saharan | E. East Sudanic | H. Kunama | K. Kuliak |
| C. Maban | F. Central Sudanic | I. Koman | L. Kado |

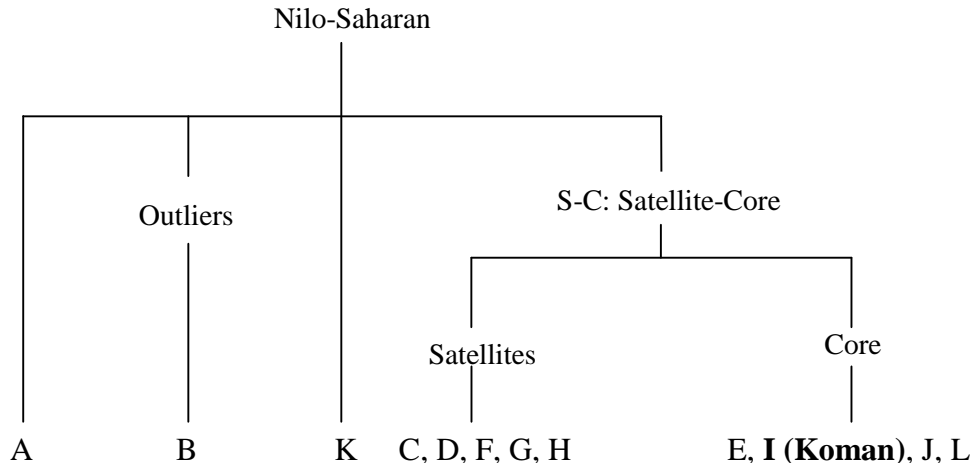


Figure 8. Koman in Nilo-Saharan family tree (Bender 1997:64)

Ehret (2001) proposes a two-way division of Nilo-Saharan based on shared semantic innovation in core vocabulary. His two primary branches of the phylum are Sudanic and Koman. Koman comprises Western Koman and Gumuz, the former of which further divided into Southern Koman and Gule. Southern Koman again comprises Southwest Koman and Kwama. Southwest Koman languages are Uduk, Komo, and Opuo, and Kwama includes North Kwama and South Kwama (see Figure 9).

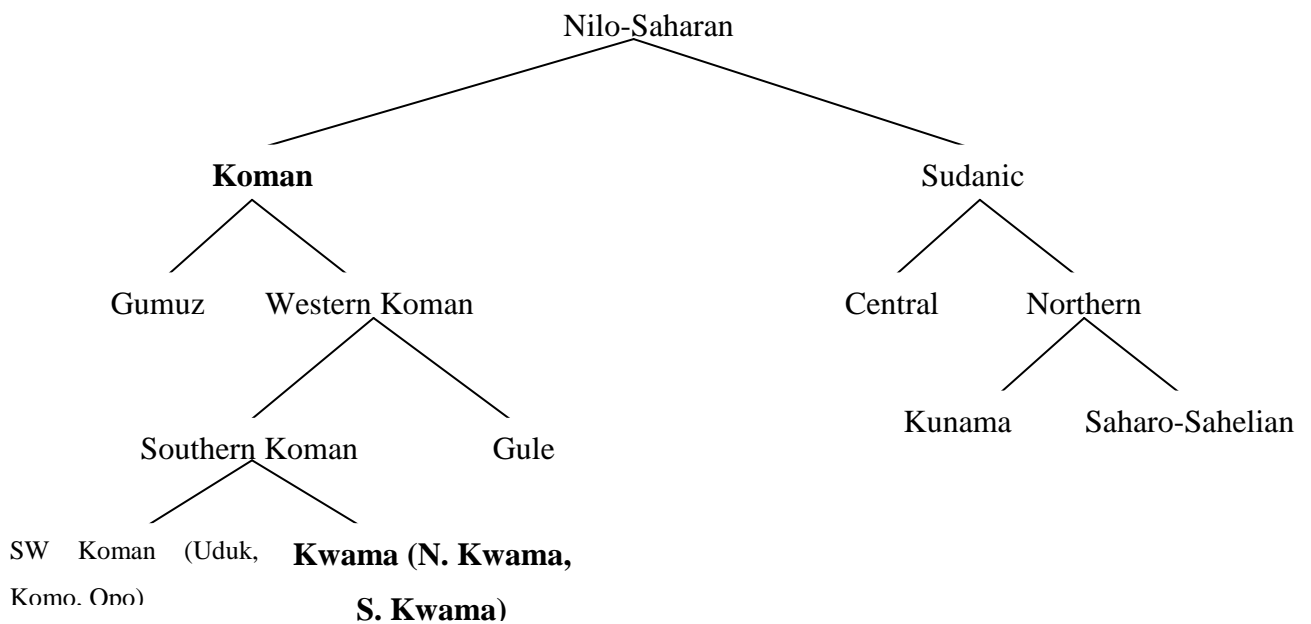


Figure 9. Kwama in (Ehret's 2001:88) Nilo-Saharan Sub-classification

Blench (2000:297) argues “One area where Bender can not be faulted is the prior publication of language data both on individual groups and reconstructions of the most important subgroups of Nilo-Saharan, notably Koman and Central Sudanic.” A thoroughly described sub-classification of Nilo-Saharan is Bender’s (1991b, 1991c) proposal, which he did it based on grammatical isomorphs and shared innovations (Blench 2006:5). Based on Bender’s (1991b) classification, in 2006, Blench presented what he calls “Conventional Sub-grouping of Nilo-Saharan” that splits the grouping into Outliers (Songhay, Saharan, Kunama-Ilit, and Kuliak) and the remaining as Core group in which the Koman is placed (p. 5). This proposal does not emphasize on the internal classification of the phylum but tries to show how it is related to Niger-Congo (Blench 2006:5). His 2014 draft paper presents lists of African undisputed and controversial isolates where the Koman has not been included (Blench 2014).

The grouping of the Koman as a Nilo-Saharan family begins to be questioned by Mikkola (1999) and Dimmendaal (2008; 2011). In 1999, Mikkola expresses his doubt whether the Koman belong to the Core Nilo-Saharan branch (p. 130) and places it together with Kadu, Saharan, and Niger-Congo as outliers in his tentative family tree (p. 136). Following Mikkola (1999), Dimmendaal (2008) describes his suspicion about the inclusion of the Koman under Nilo-Saharan. He writes,

More and more grammatical evidence has emerged over the past decades for a Nilo-Saharan family, as a result of improved descriptions and historical-comparative studies on lower-level units. Still, two groups do not fit in with the emerging historical reconstructions, Songhai and Coman plus Gumuz... very few of the more widespread nominal and verbal morphological markers of Nilo-Saharan are attested in the Coman languages plus Gumuz, which are spoken in the border area between Ethiopia and Sudan. Their genetic status remains debatable, mainly due to lack of more extensive data.

(Dimmendaal 2008:843)

The above quoted idea has also been repeated in Dimmendaal’s *Historical Linguistics and the Comparative Study of African Languages* (2011:313). He compliments Ehret’s (2001) comparative study of Nilo-Saharan taking some methodological issues into account (Dimmendaal 2011:314-318). Dimmendaal (2011:318) believes considering the Nilo-Saharan

phylum with the exclusion of Songhay, Koman, and Gumuz is valid and worthwhile. The Songhay cluster or Gumuz and the Koman languages need to be treated as independent families until more extensive grammatical evidence becomes available (Dimmendaal 2011:408; 2014:2).

A different idea, however, emerges recently portraying the existence of some evidence that indicates the Koman and Gumuz are Outlier branches of the Nilo-Saharan phylum (Ahland 2013 cited in Dimmendaal et al. 2019:331). However, the genetic affiliation of the Koman family is still not assured (Dimmendaal et al. 2019:326). In a tree diagram (Figure 8 below) showing internal sub-groupings of the Koman languages, Gwama appears alone in its branch while the second branch chains the remaining Koman languages: Komo-Uduk-Dana⁵-Opuo (Otero 2016 cited in Dimmendaal et al. 2019: 332). This implies that the genetic affiliation of Gwama in particular and the Koman in general remains unsolved.

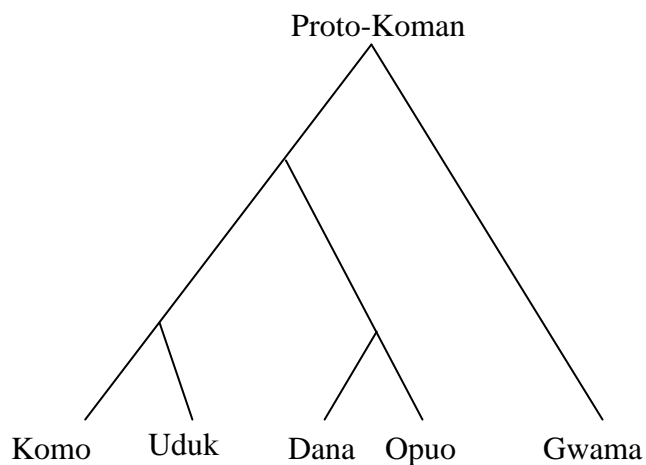


Figure 10. Koman subgrouping

1.3. Notes on Sociolinguistic Situation

In this sub-topic, three sociolinguistic issues are overviewed. These are the number of Gwama speakers, endangerment level of the language, and contact situation.

⁵ Dana is supposed to be a variety of Opuo, or probably a distinct language (Dimmendaal et al. 2019).

1.3.1. Population Size and Number of Speakers

The population size has not been precisely reported in the population and housing census documents of Ethiopia. The ethnologue, with no statistical evidence, puts 15,000 as the total population size of Kwama (Lewis 2014). In 1983, Bender writes as the Kwama ethnic group number 10-20,000, which again seems sole estimation. In Ethiopia, a statistical data that recognizes the existence of Gwama was given in the 1998, Volume I, page 99, table 2.17⁶ analytical report of the 1994 Ethiopian population and housing census that counts 140 for the total number of Kwama ethnic group (See also Daniel and Abebayehu 2006⁷; Hudson 1999). According to this document, of the total population figure, only 99 are mother tongue speakers. The report, however, seems to have lower number of people if one looks in line with the number of villages the Gwama inhabit.

The 2007 population and housing census statistical report of Ethiopia records 50,061 as the total number of people from different ethnic groups living in Mao-Komo Special Woreda (p. 54). The document, however, contains no figure for Gwama. Probably, the Gwama are counted in the census by the name Mao or Komo, particularly the name Mao is used as alternate name for Gwama in literature separated by slash (cf. Meckelburg 2015:349; Küspert 2015:10). The significant mismatch between the total number of Mao people (i.e. 13,228⁸) in Mao-Komo Special Woreda and the number of Mao mother tongue speakers (i.e. 7,812⁹) in this woreda written in 2007 census report page 54 and 66, respectively, may also be an indication for assuming the count of Gwama as Mao.

1.3.2. Is Gwama an Endangered Language?

Languages may face different endangerment levels due to a number of factors the speaking group lives in. A “UNESCO ad hoc expert group” prepared a proposal having nine criteria

⁶ The statistical table is entitled *Population Size by Ethnic Group and Mother Tongue (Country Total)*

⁷ Daniel and Abebayehu use the figure in table 2.14, page 66, entitled *Population Size of Regions by Ethnic Group, Sex, Urban and Rural*, which counts 141 for the total number of Kwama.

⁸ Page 54, Table 3.1 Population by Urban-Rural Residence, Sex, and Ethnic Group

⁹ Page 66, Table 3.2 Population by Urban-Rural Residence, Sex, and Mother Tongue

that can help to evaluate the level of endangerment of the world's languages (Brenzinger et al. 2003). These are:

1. Intergenerational language transmission;
2. Absolute numbers of speakers;
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population;
4. Trends in Existing Language Domains;
5. Response to new domains and media;
6. Materials for language education and literacy;
7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use;
8. Community members' attitudes towards their own language; and
9. Amount and quality of documentation

The first six criteria are proposed as the “Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality,” the following two factors are discussed under “Language Attitudes and Policies” and the last one is considered as “Urgency for Documentation” (Brenzinger et al. 2003:7-16). Based on these factors, a language is labeled as endangered if a speech community desists using its language, uses it in very few communicative domains, and/or halts passing it to posterity (Ibid:2). As I observed, the Gwama ethnic group in Zebsher, in most contexts, live isolated from the dominant language (i.e. Afaan Oromo) speaking community in the area. They all therefore use their language in different milieus, and its intergenerational transmission looks uninterrupted. In certain communication contexts such as markets, shops, different level of administrative offices, etc, the dominant language has usurped. In this view, the language can be considered endangered. A small language group like Gwama, whose absolute number of speakers is unknown, is always at risk, for the community may merge with other coexisting group losing its own language and culture.

Nowadays, Gwama is being used in the domain of education at primary level, particularly in grades one and two. Prior to practical implementation of teaching materials, Goldberg and Hellenthal first introduced the orthography of Gwama in 2014 in their publication. In the same year, a trial edition of a 41 pages textbook entitled *t'wa Gwama mi fun-a-fun* ‘Love/Enjoy the Gwama Language!’ was developed by a joint project between Benishangul-

Gumuz Regional State Education Bureau and the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) Ethiopia. The Gwama are currently exercising their language in education, though it is in its infant stage. Grade one and two students found in Yabusu, Shanta, and Kesser k’ebeles are now learning in their mothertongue, and only grade one students residing in Zebsher, Gulgolo, Mimi, and Shigogo k’ebeles are attending classes in their mothertongue. This beginning along with the community’s enthusiasm towards their language may contribute much in keeping Gwama develop.

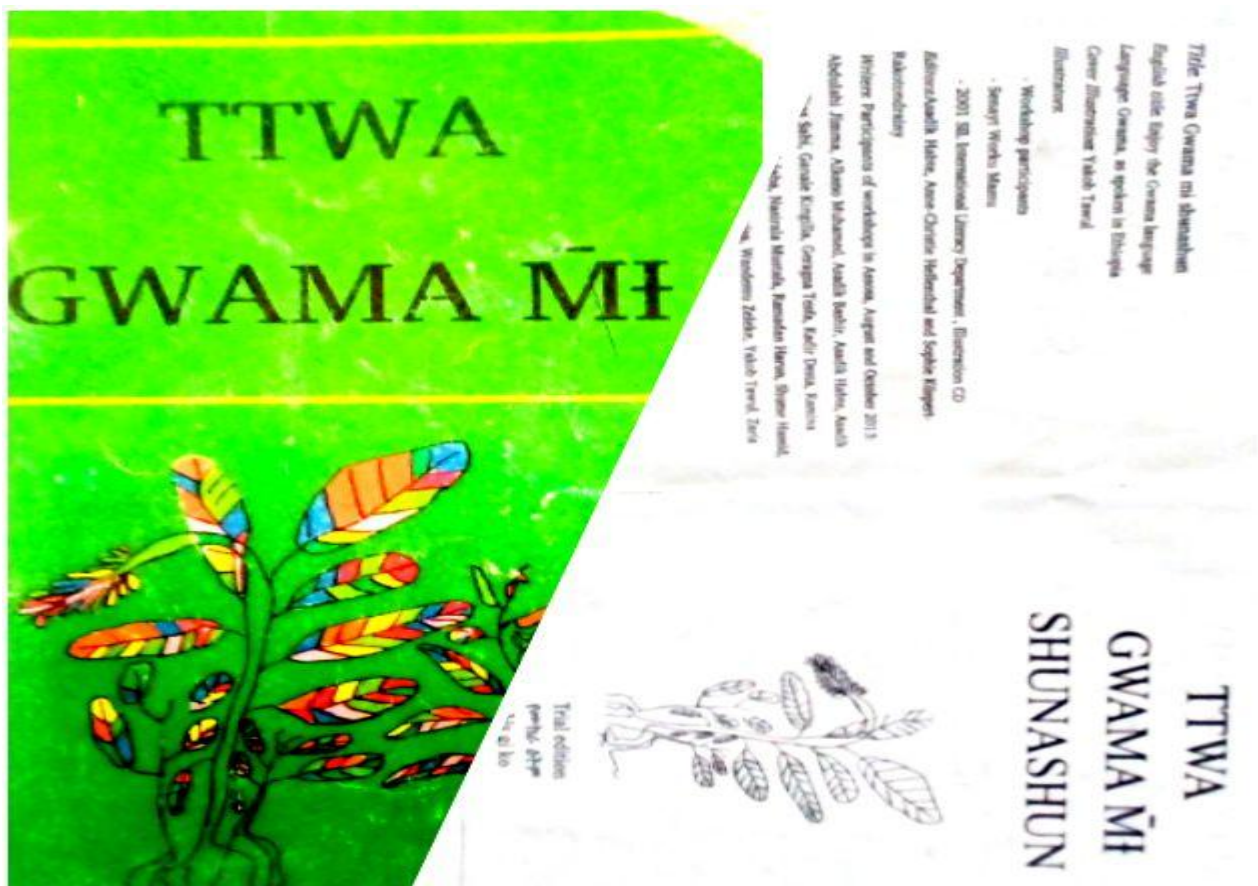


Figure 11. t’wa Gwama textbook (trial version)

1.3.3. Language Contact Situation

The Gwama amicably live with different ethnic groups in the special woreda. The existence of Arabic loan words in older consultants may indicate their past relationships with Arabic speakers. James (1975:84-85) writes, “The Koman have long had links with the Oromo and the Amhara of Ethiopia and with the Arabs and the Nilotes of the Sudan.” As a result, in nearly all households of these people “either the Arabic or the [Afaan Oromo]

is known at least to the men” (Ibid:85). The contact situations, however, according to this author, do not let the Koman lose their own family languages and their way of life for two reasons: many of their contacts with outsiders had been violent and there had been the memory of slave trade (Ibid).

One of the irrefutable truths is the dynamic nature of language. As far as there is interethnic contact, there would be an environment of exchanging elements of languages. Therefore, languages and cultures are always in contact all over the world as its people are. In the current study, a set of loan words of neighbouring languages, that directly or indirectly may affect the description of Gwama, are identified. Languages that put much pressure on Gwama are Arabic and Afaan Oromo. Elder native users are heard uttering out Arabic loan words while telling stories, during elicitation, and in their day-to-day communication as well. As noted above, this could be as a result of the contact they had with the Arabic speaking group of the neighbouring Sudan and/or with the Arab rulers who had been in the area. Two of my consultants, Ramadan Harun and Meko Mehandis, told me that there are still many people in the ethnic Berta that are fluent both in Fedashe and in Arabic. This shows the influence of Arabic in Ethiopia-Sudan borderland. The pressure of other neighbouring small languages such as Komo, Mao, and Ganza does not seem to be significant, or may be Gwama is dominant among them, that almost no loan word is found. Of course, there could be certain words Gwama shares with Komo as they are in the same family. The table below contains Arabic loan words and their Gwama equivalents.

Table 1. List of Arabic Loan Words

Arabic Lexemes	Gloss	Gwama Equivalent
kətəb	‘to write’	kwans'
badini	‘then’	Kelko
ila	‘by (Prep.)’	gi
k'ali	‘expensive’	ep'i
gara	‘school’	swi dozo
lisa	‘still’	
alam	‘to learn’	do:zo
zatu	‘mean’	
wərək	‘paper’	

harəbja	‘car’	‘kwanza/t’imbir’
anos	‘half’	daga
ajwa	‘good’	no:ko

The Arabic definite marking prefix *al-* has also been attested attached to Gwama words. These include *al-mang* ‘mango’, *al-mus* ‘banana’, *al-selja* ‘a kind of local alcohol’, *al-mumun* ‘dream’, *al-hede* ‘thread’, *al-kepe* ‘pocket’, etc.

Some of the attested loan words from Afaan Oromo include *rəkina* ‘problem’, *ε*: ‘yes’, *bake* ‘desert’, *sena* ‘history’, and *bəra* ‘past period of time’ whose Gwama equivalents are *ragat*, *no:ko*, *tawawan*, *t’wa fingo*, and *fingo* respectively.

1.4. Previous Research Works on the Language

Previous to this study, five research works were carried out on Gwama by different authors. These include Zelealem’s (2005) sketch grammar entitled *Gwama, a Little-known Endangered Language of Ethiopia: A Sketch of its Grammar and Lexicon*, Kievit and Robertson’s (2011) *Notes on Gwama Grammar*, Amare’s (2013) *Documentation and Description of Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Gwama*, Goldberg and Hellenthal’s (2014) *Notes on the Gwama Language*, and Hellenthal’s (2018) *Semantics of Directional Verb Morphology in Gwama*. These works focus on the Gwama language and describe it to different extent. The contents and findings of these papers are discussed as follows according to their period of publication to help notice differences and new developments through time.

Zelealem Leyew (2005)

In 2005, Zelealem introduced a sketch of the Gwama grammar. His work covers issues like phonology, morphology, and a little syntax showing syntactic word order of the language. A list of 24 consonant phonemes has been suggested in his publication (see Table 3 on page 36 below). Of the 24 consonant phonemes, the labio-dental voiceless fricative /f/ is not found now. The two examples (*fatafat* ‘touch’ and *mafi* ‘fall’) given in his work to show its phonemic status are cross checked and found to be *pat* ‘touch; feel’ and *pi* ‘fall’. *pat-a-pat* is an imperative used to mean ‘Touch!’, and *ma-n-pi* means ‘He fell.’ The vowel phonemes shown in his data are five short and five corresponding long ones. Zelealem (2005) recognizes the existence of rising and falling tone levels in the language. He suggests further

investigation to confirm the few indications for the existence of a glide tone. He also observes that the basic constituent order of declarative sentences is SVO.

Kievit and Robertson (2011)

These two researchers contributed a research work entitled *Notes on Gwama Grammar*. In their grammatical sketch of Gwama, they mark an overview of the people and the language, a brief review of previous works on the language, and description of the phonology with relative focus to the morphology. Of course, there is also a fair amount of syntactic description in their paper.

Their phonological inventory contains 22 consonants and 7 vowels. Their vowel inventory encompasses four [+ATR] /i/, /e/, /u/, and /o/ and three [-ATR] /ɛ/, /ɔ/, and /a/ phonemes. Long vowels are not part of their inventory, but they say, "...length appears to be phonemic for vowels" (Kievit and Robertson 2011:20, 23). Ten lexemes are given as minimal pairs to confirm the status of their proposed vowel inventory. The given minimal pairs, as they put (Ibid. 21), are:

punipu	'pulls out'	túʃàtúʃ	'defecate!'	s'í	'death'
pònípò	'spits'	tóʃátóʃ	'push!'	s'é	'mouse'
pònípò	'barks'	tóʃàtóʃ	'fry!'	s'éé	'necklace'
				s'ɛ	'ear'

The examples in the first two columns are at sentence level structures. The Gwama word *po:* 'to bark (for dog)' and short vowel has been attested in *t'of* 'to fry; to burn', which begins with an alveolar ejective.

Similar to Amare (2013) and Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014), Kievit and Robertson (2011) identified eight pronouns having inclusive and exclusive forms for first person plural. The pronouns *mɛnɛ* 1PL (INCL) and *hap* 3FSG differ from Amare and Goldberg and Hellenthal's *mini*, with [-ATR] vowels, and *hap'*, with a bilabial ejective coda, respectively. Moreover, Kievit and Robertson (2011) put two sets of demonstrative pronouns: proximal and distal, "each set is inflected for gender". As noted above, in addition to noun and verb morphology, their paper includes syntax that holds a lot of valuable information.

Amare Tsehay (2013)

Amare's (2013) MA Thesis paper on the Gwama Tense, Aspect, and Mood was done before Goldberg and Hellenthal's (2014) publication. The main points covered in his work are pronouns, aspect, and mood (pp. 7-57).

Amare (2013:7-13) has presented subject, object, possessive and reflexive pronouns. The subject, object, and possessive pronouns are the same as Goldberg and Hellenthal's (2014) list. He has identified eight reflexive pronouns for each person and number. He then moves to the aspect of Gwama.

Four issues are raised under the heading aspect: Imperfective, Perfective, Progressive, Habitual, and Inceptive aspects (Amare 2013:15-48). He identifies the imperfective aspect *a-* and gives examples. The perfective aspect markers he mentions in his work are *ma-* and *-gi*. Amare (2013) gives illustrations that contain the morpheme *ze-* functioning as progressive aspect. He writes that Gwama marks habitual aspect through reduplication. However, present habitual actions are indicated by the morpheme *a-* according to the current data (see 5.4.2). The inceptive aspect prefix *us-*, which Amare (2013) identifies, is not attested in the present work. The Gwama rather express the beginning of an action using the verb *tif* 'start' as shown in 5.5.4.

He finally describes mood (Amare 2013:50-57). Conditional and interrogative structures of Gwama are discussed. He classifies the conditionals into Real, Unreal (Hypothetical), and Counterfactual conditions and states "no word for 'if' appears" in these conditions (p. 52). Two points have to be made clear here about the conditional structures of the language. First, Gwama expresses only two conditions: possible/probable and impossible, and conditionality is marked with *ama-/a-*. Impossible conditions take the morpheme *kal-* besides to the conditionality morpheme.

Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014)

The work of Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014) is one of the contributions that present a grammar sketch of the language. The introduction section presents lists of the vowel and consonants of Gwama. The description deals with morphological issues that include noun, pronouns, and verbs. The researchers believe that their work is not dedicated to present a full

and comprehensive description of the language (Ibid:4). As the authors stated in the foreward, they wrote the paper for a Gwama (hence, non-linguistic) audience.

The phonemes introduced in the introduction section contain 20 consonants and 7 vowels. Following the phonemes of Gwama, Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014) describe noun morphology where they identify singular and plural number marking morphemes *u-* and *ma-* respectively. It has to be noted that unlike the singular morpheme, plural nouns are usually marked for number, though it can sometimes be dropped. They then describe words that are added to nouns such as demonstratives, numerals, and adjectives. In addition, they have identified eight personal pronouns of Gwama. These are *ga* 1SG, *mini* 1PL (INCL), *ma* 1PL (EXCL), *ik* 2SG, *um* 2PL, *hay* 3MSG, *happ* 3FSG, and *hun* 3PL. They also recognize the correlating possessive pronouns to each number and person, *na* 1SG, *mini* 1PL (INCL), *ma* 1PL (EXCL), *ke* 2SG, *kum* 2PL, *de* 3MSG, *dapp* 3FSG, and *bun* 3PL.

In the verb description sections, they show subject agreement markers, verbs with objects, and sentences with more than one verb. Note that they also mention direction and constructions showing verb valency, though not in full length. Their work helps much in giving clues to analyze this research.

Hellenthal (2018)

The most recent work in Gwama is on *Semantics of Directional Verb Morphology* by Hellenthal (2018). This paper focuses on two contrastive deictic directional (DD) morphemes grounded in the spatial domain. Hellenthal (2018) writes that the semantics of these directional morphemes also extend into the temporal/aspectual domain. In her data the default deictic center is ‘here’ and ‘now’ in the spatial and temporal dimension and first person in a discourse situation. Three paradigms are presented, which motion verbs reveal an unmarked paradigm (direction unspecified), direction to the speaker (DD1) marked with **-i**, and direction to the addressee (DD2) marked with **-gi**. The paper also raised pivotal issue on the function of DD2 in counterfactual constructions. Besides, the role of DD markers in benefactive constructions is discussed. This article of Hellenthal (2018) plays pivotal role in providing better understanding of the verb morphology.

1.5. The Why and How of the Current Study

This section presents justifications to why the Gwama language documentation and description becomes the focus of this study, what the study may contribute to future projects on Gwama, the delimitation of the study, and the way this study is managed in turn.

1.5.1. Statement of the Problem

Gwama is one of the least-studied languages of the Koman family in the Nilo-Saharan phylum. As noted in 1.1 and 1.4, research publications on the language and culture of the Gwama ethnic group have begun to appear more recently. Some reports have come up with no consent on part of its structure as well as on its genetic affiliation. Previously, various sociolinguistics and political situations did not allow researchers to go and live with the community for data collection, which still is inconvenient and unsecured to spend time in rural households of the Gwama. Consequently, to my knowledge, all of them were forced to collect raw data inviting one or more youths to towns, Addis Ababa and/or Asosa, which may put data intelligibility in question for not participating elders whose vocabulary competence is by far better. Besides, their cultural practices and traditions remain undocumented. Above all, the language had not been comprehensively described before.

Though the language seems to have a strong hold in its speaking group, it may give way to dominant language of the area through time. As mentioned in 1.3.2, it already loses its position in certain social domains. Clearly, looking for a language of wider communication (LWC) across ethnic groups is a common practice in the world. Such an experience has been seen keeping only the dominant languages wealth, however. The crux of the matter is then searching for the mechanisms to keep endangered languages safe. Among the prior tasks of safeguarding an endangered language is therefore describing its grammar. Unfolding the culture and community knowledge system to the research community could also have huge contribution.

1.5.2. Objectives of the Study

The ultimate goal of this study is to document a fully described grammar of the Gwama and to give brief notes on some cultural practices of the community. To attain these objectives various speech events and elicitations were recorded from Gwama speakers, and these recorded primary data were transcribed and translated together with consultants of the study.

1.5.3. Significance

This study avails a comprehensive description of the Gwama grammar, which in turn can help to settle typological issues, and documents initial notes of the Gwama cultural practices. This dissertation is therefore presumed to have the following particular contributions.

1. Gwama is not only a least-studied language but also is not comprehensively described and documented so far. Thus, this study undoubtedly fills this gap and may help to examine linguistic data and resolve many of the unresolved issues regarding the Gwama grammar in previous studies.
2. There is still a heated debate among linguists regarding the internal classification of Nilo-Saharan in which a consensus has not yet been reached so far. The genetic classification of the Koman, in particular, as a core or isolate family of the phylum remains in question. Gwama, on the other hand, is being put in its own branch in the Koman family, where the other four languages are classified in another. Linguists are therefore in need of a fully described data of the Koman languages to reach a consensus on the typological and/or genetic classification. This comprehensive description of the language data is supposed to assist comparative linguists to settle the unresolved classification(s) of Gwama in particular and the Koman in general.
3. As mentioned in sub-section 1.3.2, using Gwama as language of primary school level education is in its initial stage. The present data is thus hoped to provide data to textbook developers vis-à-vis orthographic improvement, dictionary preparation, and some reading passage texts.
4. The Gwama texts on cultural practices documentation portion of this study may trigger researchers from ethnographic field of study to describe the Gwama culture and history scientifically.
5. The wordlist data collected from one of the consultants, who is from Ya'a Baldigis, has shown some sort of variation compared to others from Tongo and Zebsher. Küspert (2015:17) states the existence of a Koman language called "Mao... spoken in the Begi and Tongo areas" which is very similar to Gwama. The set of wordlists and

fully described grammatical structures provided in the present study can be used as traits and/or stepping-stones to further investigate and precisely indicate the distinctive features of the Gwama varieties.

The driving forces for studying Gwama are therefore to fill gaps to previous research works and to contribute a comprehensive description, for it is one of the least documented endangered language. As overviewed in the review of previous works section (i.e. 1.4), those four publications cover brief description with very few details, and the researchers asseverate the need for a comprehensive description of the language. This study therefore attempts to fill this gap. Second, as a minority language at risk of endangerment, Gwama should fully be documented to provide reliable information about its situation for stakeholders that wish to make language support efforts and/or wish to retain the culture, the language, and the knowledge system of the community. That is, this work may contribute to global efforts to work on appropriate material development for education.

1.5.4. Scope of the Study

This study was started with the intention of producing comprehensive grammatical description, corpus based documentation of sample cultural practice of the community, and Gwama-English glossed wordlist. The structural analysis of the language is given due emphasis and covers issues related to the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Gwama. Topics related to these major ideas are presented in seven chapters. These include phonology, noun morphology, pronoun, verb morphology, modifiers, and syntax. In each chapter, an attempt is made to present grammatical structures in detail.

An overview of the cultural practices of the community is given in the introductory chapter, and the documentation of different annotated texts that express *gi ge:ndi* ‘making beehive’, *gi hank’a* ‘making arrow’, *s’i gi andure* ‘mouse and cat’, etc are attempted. These and other texts are annexed in this dissertation. Above 1,800 Gwama-English glossed wordlist has been prepared and annexed in the appendices.

The data was collected from Gwama speaking consultants who are from three different villages of the community: Zebsher, Ya’a Baldigis, and Tongo. Much of the data were gathered at Zebsher. The wordlist items from Zebsher were crosschecked with a person from

Tongo. A Gwama speaking member from Ya'a Baldigis participates in translating some texts, checking words that vary in tone, and collecting additional wordlist items (see 1.5.5.4. for more).

1.5.5. Methodology

This section focuses on unfolding the collected data types, techniques employed to collect those data, fieldwork and language consultants, data analysis techniques, and organization of this dissertation.

1.5.5.1. Data Sources and Data Collection Methods

As stated above, the goal of this study is describing Gwama comprehensively and documenting some linguistic practices of the speech community. The approach to data collection is therefore beyond the way data is collected for describing a language. In traditional descriptive linguistics sense, describing a language means collecting, transcribing, translating, and analyzing linguistic data, where one or two examples could be enough to illustrate statements (Dimmendaal 2010). Collecting data via audio recording for linguistic analyses only becomes insufficient to document an endangered language, i.e., for those interested in revitalization (Austin 2010; Dimmendaal 2010). Therefore, language documentation in principle requires a comprehensive audio and/or video recordings of the essential linguistic practices and traditions characteristic of a speech community (Himmelman 1998; Dimmendaal 2010; Lüpke 2010). These data collected for the purpose of documenting a language “requires the collecting of information of potential relevance for other disciplines, including sociolinguistics, sociology, anthropology, and the study of oral history” (Himmelman 1998:163; Dimmendaal 2010:152).

The data sources of this study are three types of communicative events: a) Observed Communicative Events (OCEs), b) Elicitations (Es), and c) Staged Communicative Events (SCEs). From these data sources ethnographical information necessary for documentation and description and elicited data for grammatical description of Gwama are collected. Therefore, in this study, ethnographic and descriptive methods of data gathering are employed. A Language Documentation and Description data should result from “a battery of methods aimed at elucidating different aspects of linguistic structure and knowledge” (Lüpke 2010:57).

1.5.5.2. Collected Data Types

The data for Language Documentation and Description ideally encompass representative samples of language use of the speech group “complemented by data providing negative evidence and insight into linguistic intuitions” (Lüpke 2010:62). As mentioned above, the data sources are named communicative events (Himmelman 1998) and the types of data that are ideally included in a field-based documentary corpus are categorized into OCEs, Es, and SCEs (Himmelman 1998; Lüpke 2010). Himmelman’s (1998) classification of events includes a fourth type called Natural Communicative Events that are not affected by any external interference, but such events, he adds, are not amenable to documentation because the process of documentation itself has extraordinary factor in the communicative situation. Lüpke (2010:62) summarizes the three Himmelman’s (1998) event types as follows.

- Observed communicative events (OCEs) where the only influence of the researcher is (ideally) their presence;
- Elicitations (Es) being communicative events heavily influenced linguistically by and only created for the sake of the researcher, such as word lists, paradigms or acceptability judgments.
- Staged communicative events (SCEs) occupy a middle ground between OCEs and Es: they are prompted or ‘staged’ for linguistic purposes, but often use non-linguistic prompts such as pictures, video clips that consultants are asked to sort or describe, or games they are invited to play and describe. While they owe their existence to the research project and hence do not constitute speech events in the sense of Hymes (1972), their linguistic structure is less likely to be directly influenced by the researcher than that of elicitations.

In line with this, data collected from OCEs of Gwama through audio and/or video include monologues such as story telling, narrating a process of doing different things, etc. and interactive discourse such as riddles that are all included in this dissertation as a documentary appendix to linguistic descriptions. Some of the narratives and riddles are video recorded for documentation purpose. To this end, the data from OCEs are used both for linguistic description and for making annotated and translated video documentation.

Es and SCEs are employed to collect more than 1650 words, phrases, and sentences. Es is not only used to request meanings of words in monologues and dialogues but also gather additional phrase and sentence level structures for linguistic description. In SCEs, consultants are requested to describe pictures in Gwama, particularly words and/or phrases that consultants do not clearly understand to tell the Gwama equivalents. In brief, data collected through these two mechanisms are mainly used for grammatical description.

1.5.5.3. Data Collection Techniques

To collect data from observed, elicited, and staged communicative events, different data collection methods were employed. Different forms of data are thus gathered by using various techniques.

1.5.5.3.1. Observation

Language Documentation and Description research requires a collaborative effort between a linguist and a community (Dwyer 2006). As I met some of the Gwama people at Tongo and Zebsher, I approached them, introduced the project, and created good relationship. Most of the stories and riddles were video recorded at Zebsher during observation. Though I recorded these data mainly being an observer of the events, I was also participant observer of some activities such as bringing bamboo from forest for beehive making, recording interactive discourse being a participant of coffee ceremony and eating potato like edible root called *koləm* together.

1.5.5.3.2. Elicitation

Elicitation can be applied in three ways to gather data: contextualizing elicitation, translation, and judgment (Himmelman 1998:186). In contextualizing elicitation native speakers are requested to comment on and provide contexts for words and constructions; in translation, native speakers are asked to translate forms into Gwama. In judgment, consultants are asked to evaluate the acceptability or grammaticality of phrase and sentence structures. Clearly, data collected from monologues and interactive discourses are not sufficient for wordlist and linguistic description. Hence, in order to gather terminologies of various paradigms, the flora and fauna, phrases, and sentences of the Gwama, the elicitation techniques have been employed spending time with members of the community.

1.5.5.4. Fieldwork Activities and the Informants

Documentation and systematic analysis of a language requires fieldwork tasks that can be done together with a speech community. The data for this study result from four stages of fieldwork and data collection activities. Four field trips have therefore been made. The first travel was for preliminary survey of the research area done in October 2013, in which I contacted four ethnic Gwama high school students¹⁰ with the help of their teacher Hizbawi Tadese¹¹ and identified some of the Gwama villages. Prior to making this trip, an official letter that requests cooperation for a fieldwork was obtained from Addis Ababa University addressed to Mao-Komo Special Woreda. Accordingly, I approached the Mao-Komo Special Woreda officials for a formal letter expressing my academic fieldwork to Zebsher kebele administration. This trip was crucial in meeting a key consultant and facilitator Ramadan Harun, who was working as a peace and security officer of the Mao-Komo Special Woreda. Since the rainy season did not totally end, it was difficult to travel to Zebsher crossing rivers.



Figure 12. Travelling to Zebsher by tractor

¹⁰ They were Amanuel Pilubel and Share Ababegir from Lak'e; and, Jafar Mohammed and Siraj Hamid from Keser.

¹¹ A history teacher at Tongo Secondary and Preparatory School

The following fieldwork was held at Zebsher from January 20 to February 7, 2014. To go to Zebsher, I took a minibus from Asosa to Gure, a small village on the way to Tongo, and requested an investor's tractor that travels to Zebsher. As I arrived, I met Ramadan and he then introduced me with his family. His father, Harun Kaya, invited two of his neighbours¹² for participation. During this first stay, different communicative events including narratives, riddles, and interactive discourse were audio-video recorded. Besides, about 500 lexical items were collected. Three of the consultants took role in all forms of events and data. Then, I went to Tongo, where I stayed from February 12 to February 15, 2014. At Tongo, Ramadan Harun and Meko Mehandis¹³ crosschecked all the lexical items gathered at Zebsher.

In October 2014, SIL Ethiopia brought Ramadan and other Gwama speaking consultants to Addis Ababa for a week. With the help of Ramadan and his friends, I (re)collected about 1200 lexical items based on Snider and Roberts' (2006) SIL Comparative African Wordlist (SILCAWL). Besides, Ramadan narrated and translated three texts about *gi fwi* 'making local alcohol', *ho-ná i-jas-ílīŋ* 'I go to hunting place.', and *ke-ni-gi já* 'I was goat herder', which were all presented by himself to the trial edition textbook entitled *t'wa Gwama mi fun-a-fun* 'Love/Enjoy the Gwama Language!'. Sections of these texts are transcribed, translated, and used as illustrations where appropriate.

The third round fieldwork was from December 20 to January 16, 2015. During this time, first, I went to Tongo and worked with Meko Mehandis from December 22-27, 2014, checked the sounds of words that vary in tone, gathered additional wordlist based on SILCAWL, and collected various phrase and sentence level structures. For further syntactic structures and other events, from January 01-16, 2015, I stayed at Zebsher and worked with Harun Kaya.

Much of the hitherto collected data thus far were not sufficient for linguistic description. For further linguistic data, I made the last fieldwork from March 15-20, 2019 in Asosa. During this period, I worked with Asadik Habtie¹⁴. Translations of parts of some previous texts were

¹² Jawan Sambo and Yasin Wakene

¹³ Meko Mehandis, a resident at Tongo, is from Lak'e.

¹⁴ Asadik Habte is attending his BA degree in summer program in the Department of English Language and Literature, Asosa University. He is from Ya'a Baldigis of the Mao-Komo Special Woreda

made, some of the previously recorded words and phrases were checked, additional lexical items were collected, and various phrasal and sentential structures of the language and some short tales were recorded.

To sum up, About fourteen¹⁵ different age group Gwama speaking members took part in data collection and translation. Of the fourteen participants, six had active role. Meko Mehandis, Harun Kaya, Jawan Sambo, and Yasin Wakene are all above 50 years of age, whereas Ramadan Harun and Asadik Habtie are in their twenties.

1.5.5.5. Data Analysis

Most of the collected audio and/or video data are transcribed using IPA and translated into English for the purposes of linguistic description, wordlist creation, and ELAN annotation. The grammatical description has been done predominantly based on conjugations collected through elicitation. Phrasal and sentential structures of different natural texts have also been used in the linguistic description of the language.

More than 1650 lexical items collected through elicitation were transcribed in Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX) software with Amharic and English gloss. The Gwama lexemes are transcribed in IPA, the Amharic equivalents were given in its Ethiopic script, and the English equivalents were given in its own Latin writing system.

As noted in 1.5, this study gives due emphasis to the grammatical description of the language. As a result only ten minutes annotation of video and audio corpus are done in ELAN 4.1.1. The video annotation consists of a riddle performed by three Gwama speaking elders: Yasin Wakene, Harun Kaya, and Jawan Sambo. The audio annotation consists of six different short texts presented by Asadik' Habie, a Gwama speaking youth. The texts are about *wa gendi* 'Making Beehive', *gi hank'a* 'Making Bow', *s'i gi andure* 'Rat and Cat', *ma-min kumut* 'Five Things', *t'wa jingo* 'Story/History', *Tongo gi Asosa* 'Tongo and Asosa'. All the annotations are done in five tiers. These are a tier for transcription of sentence level

¹⁵ Ramadan Harun, Asadik Habtie, Harun Kaya, Jawan Sambo, Yasin Wakene, K'erse Miskin, Mekja Musa, Mohammed Sale, Jemila Ramadan, Beshir Harun, Amanuel Pilubel, Share Ababegir, Jafar Mohammed, and Siraj Hamid,

utterances in IPA, a tier for tokenizing the sentence-level transcriptions into word level IPA transcription, a tier for tokenizing the word-level transcription into morphemes IPA transcription, a tier for glossing the morphemes, and a tier for free translation of the sentences.

As part of the linguistic description, the works in FLEEx and ELAN changed into manageable file formats and submitted to the department. First, a backup of the wordlist in FLEEx was created and an .eaf file of the ELAN annotation was saved. The backup and .eaf files are put on CD. In brief, the CD is submitted along with the dissertation.

1.5.6. Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized in eight chapters. The first chapter presents an overview of the Gwama ethnic group, their language, and the way the present study is done. The second chapter deals with the phonology of Gwama. Noun morphology and pronouns of Gwama are discussed in chapters three and four, respectively. A structural account of the Gwama verb morphology is presented in the fifth chapter. The following two chapters, i.e. sixth and seventh, consist of the description of modifiers and syntactic structure in the language. In the eighth chapter, a summary and conclusion of the dissertation is given focussing on the themes of each chapter.

Chapter Two

2. Phonology

This chapter focuses mainly on the linguistic description of the phonology of Gwama. The vowel and consonant phonemes and their allophonic variants are identified and described. The phonotactics, syllable structure, tone, phonological processes, and morphophonemic processes are also discussed. For transcription, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is employed.

2.1. Consonants

Different research works have been conducted on Gwama so far, and these research reports introduced different number of consonant phonemes. Bender (1983) in his investigation on the proto-Koman phonology has introduced 22 consonant phonemes. Zelealem (2005) has found 24 consonants. Kievit and Robertson's (2012) inventory of consonant phoneme contain 21 consonants. Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014), on the other hand, suggested 20 consonant phonemes. The present study indicates the existence of 22 consonant phonemes; the glottal /ʔ/, which has been part of the consonant phonemes in Bender (1983) and Zelealem (2005), is found to be marginal. This figure is based on a collection of more than 1,650 words and 12 interlinearized short texts, of which 5 are riddles¹⁶.

The following five different tables contain the consonant phonemes identified by Bender (1983), Zelealem (2005), Kievit and Robertson (2012), Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014), and this study, respectively.

¹⁶ The first four riddles presented in the annexed section are taken from the trial edition textbook entitled *t'wa Gwama mi fun-a-fun* 'Love/Enjoy the Gwama Language!' They were all found unanalyzed in the textbook.

Table 2. Consonant phoneme inventory of Gwama by Bender (1983:264)

Manner of Articulation			Place of Articulation					
			Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar/ Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Plosive	V.less	p		t		k	ʔ
		Voiced	b		d		g	
Ejectives	Stop		p'		t'		k'	
	Affricate				s'			
Fricatives	Voiceless			f	s	ʃ		h
	Voiced				z			
Nasals			m		n			
Liquids	Lateral				l			
	Trill				r			
Glides			w			j		

Table 3. Consonant phoneme inventory of Gwama by Zelealem (2005:5)

Manner of Articulation			Place of Articulation					
			Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar/ Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Plosive	V.less	p		t		k	ʔ
		Voiced	b		d		g	
Ejectives	Stop		p'		t'		k'	
	Affricate				s'			
Fricatives	Voiceless			f	s	ʃ		h
	Voiced				z			
Nasals			m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
Liquids	Lateral				l			
	Trill				r			
Glides			w			j		

Table 4. Consonant phoneme inventory of Gwama by Kievit and Robertson (2012:17)

Manner of Articulation			Place of Articulation				
			Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar/ Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Plosive	V.less	p	t		k	
		Voiced	b	d		g	
Ejectives	Stop		p'	t'		k'	
	Affricate			s'			
Fricatives	Voiceless			s	ʃ		h
	Voiced			z			
Nasals			m	n		ŋ	
Liquids	Lateral			l			
	Trill			r			
Central approximants	Un-rnd				j		
	Rnd					w	

Table 5. Consonant phoneme inventory of Gwama by Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014)

Manner of Articulation			Place of Articulation				
			Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar/ Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Plosive	V.less	p	t		k	
		Voiced	b	d		g	
Ejectives	Stop		p'	t'		k'	
	Affricate			s'			
Fricatives	Voiceless				ʃ		h
	Voiced			z			
Nasals			m	n		ŋ	
Liquids	Lateral			l			
	Trill			r			
Glides			w		j		

Table 6. Consonant phoneme inventory of Gwama in this study

Manner of Articulation			Place of Articulation				
			Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar/ Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Plosive	V.less	p	t		k	(?)
		Voiced	b	d		g	
Ejectives	Stop		p'	t'		k'	
	Affricate			s'			
Fricatives	Voiceless			s	ʃ		h
	Voiced			z			
Nasals			m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Liquids	Lateral			l			
	Trill			r			
Glides			w		j		

The present study posits 22 consonant phonemes for Gwama while the glottal stop /ʔ/ is claimed to be marginal, for it has rarer distribution and lacks minimal pair. In the consonant inventory of this study (table 6), the bracket denotes the marginal status of /ʔ/. The phonemic chart (in table 6) shows a total of six stops, four ejectives, four fricatives, four nasals, two liquids and two glides, i.e. 22 consonant phonemes. Bender's (1983) list of consonant phonemes does not include velar nasal /ŋ/ and the palatal nasal /ɲ/ but adds labiodental fricative /f/ and glottal stop /ʔ/. Zelealem's (2005) phoneme inventory includes labiodental fricative /f/ and glottal stop /ʔ/. Kievit and Robertson's (2012) list does not contain palatal nasal /ɲ/. Goldberg and Hellenthal's (2014) inventory does not include two phonemes: voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, and palatal nasal /ɲ/.

Of the 22 consonant phonemes, the most frequently occurring ones are sonorants and obstruents. Though all obstruents appear in all positions, /b/ appears very rarely word finally. Similarly, the labial and palatal glide /w/ and /j/ are very rare word finally. The glottal fricative phoneme /h/ is attested only word initially and medially in limited instances.

2.1.1. Description of the Consonants

2.1.1.1. Stops

According to their place of articulation, Gwama has two bilabial, two alveolar, and two velar. Kievit and Robertson's (2012) and Goldberg and Hellenthal's (2014) have also introduced the same number of stop consonant phonemes. Bender (1983) and Zelealem (2005) have included the glottal stop /ʔ/, which is considered to have a marginal status now. In a neighbouring Koman language Komo, this phoneme is also found to be marginal (Otero 2018). In what follows, the distribution of each phoneme in words and the positional variants (allophones) of each are discussed with examples.

/p/: It is a voiceless bilabial stop realized phonetically as [p^h], [ɸ] and [b]. This phoneme occurs in all environments as shown in 1 below.

1.	Initial		Medial		Final	
	pídí	'(be) hungry'	gápá	'belly'	súp	'heap up'
	pòm	'pregnant'	má:pà	'needle'	kúp	'smelt'
	pák	'shoe'	ʃùpák	'window'	káp	'hollow out (log)'

As noted above one of the allophones of /p/ is aspirated [p^h] that appears especially word-initially when it is followed by a vowel as in 2 below.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----|---|---------------------|------------|
| 2. a. | pé | ~ | [p ^h é] | 'exorcise' |
| b. | píʃ | ~ | [p ^h íʃ] | 'broom' |
| c. | pák | ~ | [p ^h ák] | 'shoes' |

The allophone [p^h] can be captured as:

/p/ > [p^h] /#_

Word-medially, particularly between vowels, and word-finally after a vowel, /p/ is in free variation with [ɸ] as in 3.

3. a. a:pa~[a:ɸa] ‘uncle’
 b. la:pa~[la:ɸa] ‘handicapped’
 c. ap ~ [aɸ] ‘arrange’

The allophone /ɸ/ of phoneme /p/ observed in 3 can be generalized as:

$$/p/ \longrightarrow [ɸ] / \text{V ______ V (or ______ \#)}$$

Unless cautiously listened, the allophonic variant [ɸ] can be understood as the labio-dental fricative [f]. That could be the reason why Zelealem (2005) considers the labio-dental fricative [f] as an independent phoneme of Gwama. Zelealem (2005:5) gave two ‘lexical items’ (i.e. *fatafat* ‘touch’ and *mafi* ‘fall’) as illustrations of the presence of this phoneme, but consultants of this study do not accept both of them. For one thing, two of the instances are not lexical items, but they are clauses as in 4a and 4b. Second, the phoneme considered as [f] is found to be the bilabial voiceless stop /p/, i.e. *pát* ‘touch’ and *pì* ‘fall’ (see 4c and 4d below).

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>4. a. fat-a-fat
 touch-3FSG-RED
 ‘She touches.’</p> | <p>c. pát-a-pát
 touch-3FSG-RED
 ‘She touches.’</p> |
| <p>b. ma-fi
 PFV-fall
 ‘fell’</p> | <p>d. ma-pì
 PFV-fall
 ‘fell’</p> |

Phoneme /p/ is also realized as a voiceless labialized bilabial stop [pʷ] when followed back vowels.

5. a. pùgún ~ [pʷùgún] ‘sugarcane’
 b. pùmút' ~ [pʷùmút'] ‘finger millet’
 c. pùj ~ [pʷùj] ‘to shell groundnuts’
 d. po ~ [pʷo] ‘throw’
 e. do:ko ~ [dʷo:ko] ‘potato’

$$/p/ \longrightarrow [pʷ] / \text{______ V [+back]}$$

This feature is also identified in Opuo (Mellese 2017), Uduk (Killian 2015), and Komo (Tesfaye 2014).

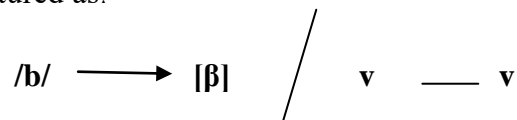
/b/: A voiced bilabial stop, which is phonetically realized as [β] and [b^w]. /b/ occurs in all environments: word-initially, medially, and finally. Consider the following examples.

6. Initial	Medial	Final
bús' 'choke'	ńimbir 'car'	kàlàb '(be) sad'
bùndùr 'gun'	kú:bú 'pus'	gúb 'lake'
bíj 'shiver'	pámbá 'drum'	tab 'to follow'

Phoneme /b/ is realized as [β] when it appears between vowels. Look at the following examples.

7.	ba:ba ~ [bà:βá]	'father'
	anuba ~ [ánùβá]	'talking drum'
	koboƒ ~ [koβoƒ]	'steal'
	t'abal ~ [t'aβal]	'lid'

This can be captured as:



Before back vowels, /b/ is realized as [b^w].

8.	bo:ko → [b ^w o:ko]	'mead'
	botin → [b ^w otin]	'mix'
	búk' → [b ^w uk']	'jump'

Note that the voiced bilabial stop, similar to other stop consonants, occurring word-finally is commonly acoustically distinguished unreleased as in [tab̚] 'to follow' and [gub̚] 'husband'.

/t/: It is a voiceless alveolar stop occurring in all environments as shown below.

9. Initial		Medial		Final	
twá	‘forehead’	ì:tì	‘monkey’	sìt	‘person’
tus	‘urine’	àtá	‘to read’	gút	‘short’
tùmát	‘tobacco’	gátá	‘clitoris’	tát	‘abdomen’

The voiceless alveolar stop is phonetically realized as [t^h], especially when it occurs word-initially, in the context of a vowel that appears following the phoneme /t/ (as in 10). It can also be realized as labialized [t^w] when it appears preceding back vowels (as in 11).

10. tede ~ [t^hede] ‘distance’
 tim ~ [t^him] ‘forbid’
 tal ~ [t^hal] ‘order’
 tab ~ [t^hab] ‘follow’

11. tók ~ [t^wók] ‘taste’
 top’ ~ [t^wop’] ‘ride’
 tú ~ [t^wú] ‘tall; long’
 tùl ~ [t^wùl] ‘village’

/t/ > [t^h] /# _

/t/ > [t^w] /# _ V

/d/: It is a voiced alveolar stop occurring in all environments though there exist only three instances that show the phoneme word-finally, one of which, i.e. *gàmad* ‘pleased; happy’, is a borrowed word from Afaan Oromo.

12. Initial		Medial		Final	
déri	‘saliva’	bídó	‘sheep’	gamad	‘pleased; happy’
dá?	‘butter’	badí	‘scar’	dud	‘arm’
dì:lì	‘blessing’	àndúré	‘cat’	biríd	‘fork (road)’

The voiced alveolar stop /d/ is realized as [d] only in one instance, i.e. [há:qníkò] ‘big’, which could be a loan word. Besides, few instances of alternation between [d] and [t] is attested.

13. p'ádá ~ [p'át'á] 'serve; help'
 k'ondol ~ [k'ont'ol] 'horse'
 twada ~ [twat'a] 'order'

Since both [d] and [t'] are phonemes in the language, the variation is not frequent, it is difficult to identify which form is the basic and which is an allophonic occurrence, for the language speakers use both interchangeably. Whatever way this can be captured as:

/d/ > [t'] / v_v

The voiced alveolar stop /d/ can also be labialized before back rounded vowels (as in 14).

14. dól ~ [d^wól] 'shout'
 dò:kó ~ [d^wò:kó] 'potato'
 dù:gí ~ [d^wù:gí] 'knee'

/k/: It is a voiceless velar stop. /k/ occurs in all environments.

15. Initial		Medial		Final	
kò	'put'	ká:ká	'grandmother'	ík	'you'
kónjò	'chair'	kókì	'cheek'	pák	'shoe'
kù	'sorrow; grief'	bákē	'field'	bák	'hair'
kikjátá	'female'	bó:kó	'strong mead'	dák	'done; end up'

Similar to /p/ and /t/ the voiceless velar stop is realized as aspirated [k^h]. Such aspirated feature is also attested in all Koman languages as confirmed by Tesfaye (2014) in Komo, Killian (2015) in Uduk, and Mellese (2017) in Opuo.

16. kins' ~ [k^hins'] 'to knot'
 kis' ~ [k^his'] 'to enter'
 kà:ná ~ [k^hà:ná] 'dog'
 kap ~ [k^hap] 'to bring'

Akin to other Koman languages like Uduk (Killian 2015:30) and Opuo (Mellese 2017:25), /k/ can be realized as labialized [k^w] when it appears preceding back vowels.

17. ku ~ [k^wu] ‘sorrow; grief’
 ku:ru ~ [k^wú:rù] ‘donkey’
 kolam ~ [k^wolam] ‘yam’
 ko ~ [k^wo] ‘to roast’

The aspirated and labialized voiceless velar stop can be captured as:

/k/ > [k^w] / _v [+Back]
/k/ > [k^h] / #_

/g/: It is a voiced velar stop occurring in all environments. There are, however, only two instances that show its occurrence at word-final position as can be seen below.

18. Initial		Medial		Final	
gólì	‘left’	dúgì	‘knee’	máng	‘mango’
góm	‘to remember’	zùgú	‘to stop; to stand’	ʃìg	‘name’
gapá	‘belly’	órgá	‘elephantiasis’		
gámbù	‘flute’	pjàngó	‘ladle’		
gùs	‘to run’	pò:gó	‘river’		

The illustrations in 16 show phonetic realization of /g/ as [g^w] at word initial position before back vowels.

19. gut ~ [g^wút] ‘short’
 gursi ~ [g^wúrsi] ‘chair (stool)’
 gom ~ [g^wom] ‘remember’
 go:do ~ [g^wo:do] ‘hut’

2.1.1.2. Ejectives

/pʼ/: A voiceless bilabial ejective, which is phonetically identified as [b] and [pʷ]. This phoneme occurs word initially, medially, and finally. Of course, only few words are attested at word medial position.

20. Initial		Medial		Final	
p'íkìn	‘ash’	kòp'óf	‘to steal’	ǰáp'	‘to hit’
p'á	‘to dance’	àlp'ánzá	‘lizard’	k'óp'	‘stink’
p'ádá	‘to mediate’	ép'í	‘expensive’	samp'	‘rib’
p'ús'	‘kneead’	gabt'p'á	‘holiday’	háp'	‘she’
p'idìn	‘stone’			wap'	‘hippopotamus’

The phoneme */pʼ/* appearing in between mid back vowel can vary with [b] as in */k'op'of/* ~ *[k'obof]*. Besides, in continuous connected speech, the phoneme */pʼ/* acoustically identified as [b] at morpheme boundary, as illustrated in 21.

21. k'ump'-ba-k'ump' ~ [k'umb- ba-k'ump']
 sip-3PL-RED
 ‘They have sipped.’
- s'ùp'-nì-s'ùp' ~ [s'ùb-nì-s'ùp']
 suck-3MSG-RED
 ‘He sucked.’
- t'óp'-nì-t'óp' ~ [t'ób- nì-t'óp']
 drink-3MSG.-RED
 ‘He drank.’

Moreover, in word-final position, the ejective */pʼ/* is realized as the voiceless unreleased stop [p] like [ǰáp̚] ‘to hit’, [k'úmp̚] ‘fingernail’, and [k'óp̚] ‘smel’.

/tʼ/: It is a voiceless alveolar ejective and occurs in all positions within a word.

22. Initial		Medial		Final	
t'á:dá	'bake; fry'	kán t'á	'ugly'	mít'	'hand'
t'îjé	'neighbour'	t'ò t'ó	'black'	sònt'	'foot'
t'ágám	'stutter'	títí	'hoof'	ánt'	'fire'
t'ó:ló	'anvil'	t'ù t'ójo	'flea'	bùlbút'	'dust'

The voiceless alveolar ejective appearing in word-final position is realized as the voiceless unreleased stop [t̚] as in [kùmút̚] 'five', [kát̚] 'loose', [pànt̚] 'mud blocking', which coincides with a wider pattern of voiceless unreleased stop in the language.

/k'/: It is a voiceless velar ejective occurring in all environments.

23. Initial		Medial		Final	
k'ā	'to eat (meat)'	hók'óf	'dimple'	búk'	'to jump'
k'álá	'swamp grass'	ják'ás'	'leaf'	mújūk'	'soup'
k'á:li	'to allow'	k'uk'ut	'cough'	sɪŋk'	'smoke'
k'à:fá	'to deceive'	sɪŋk'ó	'spice (of coffee)'	jù:ŋk'	'guinea fowl'
k'áj	'stir'	tak'áf	'to cut open (fruit)'	sóŋk'	'foot'

This phoneme displays a very similar pattern to the alveolar and labial ejectives. That is, in the final position of a word, the glottal ejective /k'/ is realized as a voiceless unreleased [k̚]. The other allophonic variety of /k'/ is [kʷ]. It is realized as labialized [kʷ̚] when it is followed by back vowels.

24.	k'o:po ~ [kʷo:po]	'cut'
	k'op' ~ [kʷop']	'bad smell'
	k'u ~ [kʷu]	'fetch'
	k'ump' ~ [kʷump']	'fingernail'

/s'/: It is a voiceless alveolar affricate ejective and occurs in all environments.

25. Initial		Medial		Final	
s'é	'ear'	hàs'í	'stamp (of foot)'	bàs'	'milk'
s'ám	'blood'	mì:s'í	'sweet'	bús'	'(be) choked'
s'éwán	'moon'	bé:s'ín	'four'	golkós'	'throat'
s'áns'	'root'	pwas'í	'sort of shrub'	hìpís'	'wrinkle'
s'í	'rat'	gé:s'é	'to devalue (job)'	démes'	'to belch'

The voiced alveolar fricative [z] is used as a variant of /s'/ either intervocalically (as in 26a-c) or between a nasal and a vowel sounds (as in 26d).

26. a. mì:s'í ~ [mì:z] 'sweet'
 b. pùns' ~ [pùnz] 'beard'
 c. hó:s'ó ~ [hó:zó] 'wash'
 d. p'ì:ns'í ~ [p'ì:nzí] 'straw made of bamboo to sip alcohol'

/s'/ > [z] / {V, N} _v

2.1.1.3. Fricatives

Gwama has voiceless alveolar, voiced alveolar, voiceless palatal, and voiceless glottal fricative phonemes, i.e. /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, and /h/. The positions of these fricatives in words and their allophonic variants are discussed as follows. Two of the Koman languages Komo (Otero 2018) and Uduk (Killian 2015) have also these four fricatives. In Opuo (Mellese 2017), however, only two fricatives (i.e /s/ and /h/) are attested.

/s/: It is a voiceless alveolar fricative occurring in all environments as shown in 27.

27. Initial		Medial		Final	
sámp	'rib'	iskú	'sesame'	kwás	'back'
sú	'twin'	àkàsá	'other'	ís	'ripe'
sép	'sword'	gè:sé	'millet'	jàs	'village; place'
sà:nzá	'money; property'	gásì	'handmade cloth'	kìs	'to forbid'
sámún	'maize'	twàsén	'three'	twàṅás	'chest'

The phoneme /s/ acoustically distinguished as [z] intervocalically and/or between a nasal and vowel sound, as in /sìsì/~ [zìzì] ‘green’ and /kijansa/ ~ [kijan^za] ‘rattle (musical instrument)’, respectively. These morphemes are in free variation in the sense that they can be used in these words without affecting meaning.

/z/: It is a voiced alveolar fricative. It occurs only in word initial and medial positions.

28. Initial		Medial
zí	‘eye’	bá:zá ‘springbok’
zé	‘live; exist’	kónzó ‘fly (insect)’
zìzé	‘to sit’	hì:nzí ‘flower’
zì:zí	‘to search’	mì:zí ‘son in law’
zùlí	‘to spill (liquid)’	tàzí ‘face’

/ʃ/: A voiceless post-alveolar fricative. This phoneme is recorded in all positions as in 29.

29. Initial	Medial	Final	
ʃúnʃ	‘nose’	í:ʃíʃ ‘vine’	dídíʃ ‘new’
ʃáp	‘to hit’	bwáʃá ‘snake’	káʃ ‘red’
ʃín	‘arrow’	pì:ʃì ‘to chase’	túʃ ‘excrement’
ʃwì	‘local alcohol’	bú:ʃì ‘stomach’	pòʃ ‘arrive’
ʃá	‘to eat’	kwáʃá ‘grain’	kíkíʃ ‘tortoise’

/h/: A voiceless glottal fricative. This phoneme occurs word initially and medially. At word medial position, only two instances are recorded (as in 30).

30. Initial	Medial	
hòrá	‘bowl’	úháj ‘he’
hádùm	‘ring’	dóhì ‘cock’
há:ḡá	‘vulture’	
hé	‘to admit’	
hínt'	‘(be) lost’	

2.1.1.4. Nasals

Gwama has four nasal consonant phonemes. These are /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/. They are produced in bilabial, alveolar, post-alveolar, and velar places of articulation, respectively. These four nasal consonants are also reported in other Nilo-Saharan languages like Gumuz (Ahland 2012), Uduk (Killian 2015), Opuo (Mellese 2017), and Kunama (Anteneh 2018). List of Gwama words suggesting the distribution of these consonants are given below under each phoneme.

/m/: It is a voiced bilabial nasal and occurs in all environments.

31. Initial	Medial	Final
mus' 'soup'	dó:mó 'waist'	kígím 'to kneel'
mít' 'hand'	sìmp' 'egg'	póm 'pregnant'
má 'we'	k'úmp' 'nail'	s'ám 'blood'
mà:pà 'needle'	bámbé 'sweet potato'	p'wákám 'sister'
mógó 'namesake'	pùmút' 'finger millet'	sùm 'meat'

When the voiced bilabial nasal /m/ appearing at initial position is followed by high back vowels, the nasal phoneme becomes labialized and is realized as [m^w] as shown in 32.

32. mú ~ [m ^w ú]	'to wash (face)'
mú:zì ~ [m ^w úzi]	'beard'
mo ~ [m ^w o]	'conquer; defeat'
mome ~ [m ^w ome]	'well'

This can be generalized as:

$$/m/ \longrightarrow [m^w] \quad / \quad \text{V [+back]}$$

/n/: It is a voiced alveolar nasal phoneme, which occurs word initially, medially, and finally as can be seen below.

33. Initial		Medial		Final	
ná	‘mother’	ánt	‘fire’	án	‘menstruation’
nà:tà	‘year’	àlpánzà	‘lizard’	bótìn	‘to mix’
ná:já	‘many’	bíns	‘fishing line’	ján	‘to pray’
ní	‘bushbuck’	hìnt	‘(be) lost’	bìsàn	‘star’
nìni	‘to hide’	bwánzá	‘youth’	kònón	‘to snore’

When the voiced alveolar nasal /n/ is followed by velar consonants like /g/, /k/, /k/, it undergoes a regressive assimilation in place of articulation and becomes [ŋ]. Consider the following examples.

34. /bòbón gó/ ~ [bòbónŋ gó] ‘frog’
 /fùnk/ ~ [fùnk] ‘tendon’
 /ángár/ ~ [ángár] ‘bed (made of bamboo)’

This can therefore be generalized as:

$$/n/ \longrightarrow [ŋ] \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right. [+ \text{velar}]$$

/ɲ/: It is a voiced post-alveolar nasal and occurs in all environments though in a very few words¹⁷.

35. Initial		Medial		Final	
ɲá	‘goat’	íɲi	‘heart’	hirɲ	‘to hire’
ɲaskin	‘very’	móɲé	‘mortar’	zì:zɲ	‘garden’

/ŋ/: It is a voiced velar nasal and occurs at medial and final positions.

36. Medial		Final	
pwáɲa	‘road’	ǰáɲ	‘locality’
há:ɲá	‘vulture’	kàláɲ	‘stew’

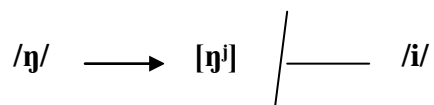
¹⁷ This phoneme appears at medial and final position adjacent to a front vowel, so it resembles an onomatopoeic word. However, I confirmed its phonemic status through slow repetition and minimal pairs.

kùṅú	‘wolf’	dilṅ	‘ear ring’
t’ó:ṅó	‘blind’	apáṅ	‘no; nothing’

The voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ becomes palatalized [ɲ] when it appears preceding a high front vowel /i/, and sometimes may acoustically be identified as a post-alveolar nasal [ɲ].

37.	dóṅí ~ [dóɲí]	‘cock’
	hùṅí ~ [hùɲí]	‘to crunch’
	k’ìṅí ~ [k’ìɲí]	‘to chop’

This can be described as:



2.1.1.5. Liquids

/l/: It is a voiced alveolar lateral. This phoneme is recorded word initially, medially, and finally as illustrated below.

38.	Initial		Medial		Final	
	lá:pá	‘handicapped’	àpíló	‘goitre’	túl	‘village; place’
	làmunu	‘lemon’	bùlbúb	‘dust’	wàl	‘child’
	lógón	‘wall’	dó:ló	‘pumpkin’	dùkùl	‘log’
	lós	‘to choose’	gólì	‘left’	ṭabal	‘stopper; plug’
	lù:lù	‘to attack’	dalàs	‘fence’	jàdibàl	‘grasshopper’

In some lexical items, the voiced alveolar lateral /l/ and the voiced alveolar lateral alternate freely. Since they are optionally used in such words, it is difficult to say one of them is the basic form and the other allophonic occurrence. Examples of these words are given below.

39.	[tìfál] ~ [tìfár]	‘lion’
	[zì:lí] ~ [zì:rí]	‘morning’

/r/: It is a voiced alveolar lateral occurring more often word medially and in few instances word finally.

40. Initial		Medial		Final	
ragat ¹⁸	‘problem’	àndùré	‘cat’	bwábar	‘uncle (father’s brother)’
		hòrá	‘bowl’	bùndùr	‘gun’
		ári	‘sorrow’	gatìr	‘ladder’
		wéré	‘mad’	zégér	‘scabies’
		p`à:rá	‘hut’	ángár	‘bed’

Similar to other Nilo-Saharan languages, such as Komo (Tesfaye 2014) and Kunama (Anteneh 2018), the voiced alveolar liquid /r/ is not recorded word initially.

2.1.1.6. Glides

/w/: It is a voiced bilabial glide.

This phoneme has limited distribution. It appears word initially and word medially. It does not however occur word finally.

41. Initial		Medial	
wàl	‘child’	k`wás	‘back’
wé	‘to wear’	t`wá	‘mouth’
wúpí	‘wife’	p`wákàm	‘sister’
wà:ŋà	‘hen’	swí	‘house’
wà:ŋó	‘fox’	p`wáf	‘porridge’

/j/: It is a voiced palatal glide which occurs in all positions as illustrated below.

42. Initial		Medial		Final	
ják`i	‘sweat’	swájá	‘tree; wood’	káj	‘to stir’
ják`as’	‘leaf’	kú:jù	‘grey hair’	dùj	‘to buy’
jìs	‘body’	bójá	‘colour’	úháj	‘he’
je:re	‘God’	ìjjá	‘water’	páj	‘wide’
ján	‘to pray’	gjá	‘hoe’	túj	‘(be) hollow’

¹⁸ It can be a loan word.

2.1.2. Minimal and Near Minimal Pairs

Under this sub-topic minimal and near minimal pairs are presented to strengthen the phonemic status of Gwama consonants. The contrasting phonemes are shown in 43 below.

43. a.	/p/ /b/	[pák]	‘shoes’
		[bàk]	‘hair; feather’
b.	/p/ /p’/	[pì]	‘give birth’
		[p’í]	‘clever’
		[p ^w ùmút’]	‘finger millet’
		[p ^w umut’]	‘flour’
c.	/t/ /d/	[twà]	‘forehead’
		[dwá]	‘girl’
d.	/t’/ /d/	[d ^w út’]	‘testicle’
		[d ^w ud]	‘arm’
e.	/k/ /g/	[k ^w ú:ɲù]	‘wolf’
		[g ^w ú:ɲù]	‘hyena’
f.	/t/ /t’/	[tóp’]	‘to ride a horse, donkey, etc.’
		[t’òp’]	‘to drink’
g.	/k/ /k’/	[k ^w úmp’]	‘fist’
		[k ^w úmp’]	‘fingernail’
h.	/s/ /z/	[sì]	‘heavy’
		[zì]	‘eye’
i.	/w/ /j/	[wáɣì]	‘announcement’
		[jáɣì]	‘sweat’
j.	/l/ /r/	[p’álá]	‘peg’
		[p’à:rá]	‘hut’

k.	/m/ /n/	[mán]	‘children’
		[nán]	‘to tell’
l.	/m/ /ɲ/	[í:mí]	‘cow’
		[í:ɲí]	‘heart’
m.	/n/ /ɲ/	[ná]	‘mother’
		[ɲa]	‘goat’
n.	/m/ /ɲ/	[ʃám]	‘look for’
		[ʃáj]	‘locality’
o.	/z/ /ʃ/	[mà:zá]	‘(be) weak, or tired’
		[má:ʃá]	‘(be) drunk’
p.	/tʰ/ /d/	[kʰá:ntʰá]	‘ugly’
		[kʰàndá]	‘throw away; drop’
q.	/pʰ/ /tʰ/	[pʰádá]	‘to mediate’
		[tʰá:dá]	‘to bake’
r.	/b/ /d/	[bʰó:kó]	‘mead’
		[dʰó:kó]	‘potato’
s.	/sʰ/ /s/	[sʰwúp]	‘(be) cold’
		[swùp]	‘heap up’
t.	/s/ /t/	[kìs]	‘to forbid’
		[kìt]	‘to curse’
u.	/l/ /m/	[dʰó:ló]	‘pumpkin’
		[dʰó:mó]	‘waist’
v.	/w/ /b/	[wásʰ]	‘fish’
		[bàsʰ]	‘milk’

The above minimal and near-minimal pairs illustrate the distinctiveness of the consonant phonemes identified in this study.

2.1.3. Phonotactics

The term phonotactics in its general sense refers to the sequential arrangements and combinations of sounds in a language's system (Crystal 2003:478), and it specifically explains the constraints on the free arrangement of sound segments (Clark and Yallop, 1995:70).

2.1.3.1. Restrictions of Consonant Occurrence

Nearly all consonants occur in all positions of words though some are attested in a few lexical items word medially such as /p/ and /h/ and word finally such as /g/ and /d/. Few phonemes are not attested in one of the three positions. For example, the alveolar voiced lateral /r/ and the velar nasal /ŋ/ do not occur word initially. What is more, the velar fricative /z/, the glottal fricative /h/, and the bilabial glide /w/ do not appear word finally.

2.1.3.2. Restrictions of Consonant-Vowel Sequence

The language has restrictions of consonant-vowel sequence word initially. The palatal glide /j/ for example does not occur preceding the back vowels /o/ and /u/ word initially. The bilabial glide /w/ does not occur before the mid back vowel /o/. The velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/ on the other hand does not appear preceding the mid high vowel /e/ and the high back vowel /u/ at word initial position. Besides, the high front vowel /i/ is recorded following this phoneme only in two lexical items, which are *ní* 'bushbuck' and *nìni* 'to hide'. The post-alveolar nasal /ɲ/ however is only attested before the low vowel /a/ word initially, and the only attested lexical items in this study are *ɲá* 'goat' and *ɲaskin* 'very'. Lastly, at the beginning of a word, the velar fricative /z/ does not occur preceding the low vowel /a/.

2.1.3.3. Consonant Sequence

Gwama allows consonant sequences word initially, medially, and finally, and the number of consonants permitted to appear in cluster is mostly two at all positions. A sequence of three can rarely occur at medial position in words like *gáns'kà.ràn* 'praying mantis' and

gabtp'a ‘holiday’ mainly, and such a cluster can mainly appear in compound words like *dud-kwapa* ‘forarm’. Word initial sequences largely occur as a combination of an obstruent and one of the glides. Similar to other Nilo-Saharan languages, such as Opuo, consonant clusters (C₁C₂) at medial position can also be formed from sonorant (C₁) and obstruent (C₂). C₁ is mainly nasal and rarely lateral, and C₂ can be a voiced or voiceless stop, voiced or voiceless fricative, or nasal. The obstruent is predominantly ejective; to mention, *soŋk* ‘foot’, *s’ans* ‘root’, *dúmp* ‘to plaster wall’, *ánt* ‘fire’, *páns* ‘hatchet/axe’, *p’ánt* ‘sticky’, *kwáns* ‘bridge’, *símp* ‘egg’ reveal consonant cluster of two at word final position having C₁ nasal and C₂ ejective. The following table shows the possible consonant cluster in Gwama with illustrative examples.

Table 7. Possible Consonant Cluster in Gwama

Cluster	Examples		
	Initially	Medially	Finally
lp, kp, pj, pw, bj, bw, dw, gj, gw, kj, kw, sw, zj, pr, kʔ, kn	<i>pjanza</i> ‘shin’; <i>pwans</i> ‘bridge’; <i>bjántá</i> ‘blow’; <i>bwanza</i> ‘youth’; <i>dwa</i> ‘girl’; <i>gja</i> ‘hoe’; <i>gwe</i> ‘notice’; <i>kjansa</i> ‘rattle’; <i>kwaga</i> ‘fear’; <i>swaja</i> ‘tree’; <i>zjarko</i> ‘straight’; <i>praf</i> ‘mat’; <i>kʔap</i> ‘choke’; <i>knit</i> ‘dew’	<i>ólpiná</i> ‘to respect’; <i>pákpùf</i> ‘bread’;	
mb, lb, bk’		<i>bambe</i> ‘sweet potato’; <i>kikambi</i> ‘camel’; <i>pambira</i> ‘t-shirt’; <i>bùlbút</i> ‘dust’; <i>dùlbù</i> ‘haricot bean’; <i>wabk’of</i> ‘old’	
tw	<i>twá</i> ‘forehead’		

nd, dn, dw		<i>àndùrè</i> ‘cat’; <i>k’onde</i> ‘horse’; <i>kanda</i> ‘sorghum’; <i>hadniko</i> ‘big’; <i>dwa</i> ‘girl’;	
mk, sk, kw, lk	<i>kwá</i> ‘sick’; <i>kwàk</i> ‘raven’; <i>kwánt</i> ‘tattoo’; <i>kwàgà</i> ‘fear’; <i>kjálkìn</i> ‘smile’	<i>k’úmké</i> ‘termite’; <i>iskú</i> ‘sesame’	
ng, ŋg, lg, rg		<i>fingó</i> ‘previously’; <i>gonggo</i> ‘skin’; <i>guŋu</i> ‘hyena’; <i>sulganda</i> ‘trouser’; <i>órgá</i> ‘elephantiasis’	
mp’, lp’		<i>p’ìlp’ìndì</i> ‘chisel’	<i>k’úmp’</i> ‘fingernail’; <i>p’ìmp’</i> ‘scratch (itch)’; <i>sámp’</i> ‘rib’;
nt’, t’w	<i>t’wá</i> ‘mouth’		<i>sónt’</i> ‘name’; <i>ŋínt’</i> ‘blow nose’; <i>hínt’</i> ‘(be) lost’
ns’			<i>káns’</i> ‘to shoot’; <i>kìns’</i> ‘to knot’; <i>páns’</i> ‘axe’
nk’, k’w, lk’	<i>k’wánzá</i> ‘ringworm’; <i>k’wàpá</i> ‘earring’; <i>k’wé</i> ‘to chew’;	<i>sìnk’ó</i> ‘spice of coffee’; <i>fìnk’i</i> ‘medicine’; <i>gòlk’ós’</i> ‘throat’; <i>k’ùlk’útù</i> ‘back part of the head’	<i>fúnk’</i> ‘vein; tendon’;
ns, sk	<i>kjánsá</i> ‘musical instrument’	<i>iskú</i> ‘sesame’	
nz		<i>àlp’anzá</i> ‘lizard’; <i>bwánzá</i> ‘youth’; <i>hì:nzi</i> ‘flower’; <i>kónzó</i> ‘fly’	

nʃ, ɲʃ		<i>fù:nʃ</i> ‘nose’; <i>ʃi:nʃi</i> ‘to rest’	
ɲh		<i>doɲhi</i> ‘cock’	
nj, lj		<i>bet'anja</i> ‘blanket’; <i>selja</i> ‘local alcohol’;	

As mentioned above, initially, a cluster of obstruent and one of the glides (/w/ or /j/) appear, and medial and finally, a sequence of sonorants and obstruents attested frequently. However, some of the attested consonant sequences are combinations of an obstruent plus another obstruent or a sonorant plus another sonorant. The rarely occurring two obstruents sequencing include an alveolar fricative followed by a velar stop /sk/ in the words *iskú* ‘sesame’ and *iskó* ‘under; below’, a bilabial stop followed by an alveolar ejective like /bt/ or /pt/ is not totally attested, and a bilabial stop followed by a velar ejective /bk/ in the only example *wabk'of* ‘old’. The observed cluster of sonorants are a velar nasal followed by a palatal glide /nj/ as in the only word *bet'anja* ‘blanket’, an alveolar lateral followed by a palatal glide /lj/ in the word *selja* ‘local alcohol’, and an alveolar lateral followed by a bilabial nasal /lm/ in the only instance *k'àlmá:zá* ‘caterpillar’. Briefly, in terms of permissible combination of clusters, the patterns observed in the data are:

- **Obstruent + Glide**
- **Sonorant + Obstruent**
- **Obstruent + Sonorant**
- **Sonorant + Sonorant**

2.2. Vowels

Bender (1983), Zelealem (2005) and Kievit and Robertson (2012) have described the Gwama vowels in their research reports. Bender (1983) writes that the Proto-Koman languages have five vowel systems and depicted that Gwama has distinctive long vowels. Zelalem (2005) has identified five short and five long vowels. These are /i/, /e/, /a/, /u/ and /o/. Kievit and Robertson (2012), referring to Hellenthal and Kutsch (2011), write seven basic vowels which include two [+ATR], /i/ and /u/, and five [-ATR], /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /ɔ/ and /a/. They mentioned that vowel length is predictable. ATR vowel systems are also found in Komo

(Otero 2018) and Opuo (Mellese 2017). These two languages are described as having seven vowels. In the present data¹⁹, five short vowels and a corresponding number of long vowels, similar to Bender (1983 and 1997) and Zelealem (2005), are identified. Nilo-Saharan languages that have such a five vowel system include Gumuz (Ahland 2012), Uduk (Killian 2015), and Kunama (Anteneh 2018).

Table 8: The Vowel Phonemes

i, i:		u, u:
e, e:		o, o:
	a, a:	

The most recurring vowels are the back ones /u/ and /o/; and the least frequent one is the mid front vowel /e/. These vowels appear in all environments. Open-mid front vowel seems to appear as allophonic variant of /e/ in lexemes like ε : ‘yes’, $s\varepsilon:le$ ‘white’, and $z\varepsilon$ ‘sit’.

2.2.1. Short Vowels

Five of the Gwama short vowel phonemes appear in all positions within words. These vowels are described below with examples.

/i/: It is a high front vowel occurring in all environments as can be seen in the data below.

44. Initial	Medial	Final
iskú ‘sesame’	bis’an ‘star’	p’í ‘nape’
íjá ‘where’	bíj ‘to shiver’	sì ‘heavy’
ík ‘you’	bít ‘bird’	písi ‘be hungry’
íliŋ ‘to hunt’	mít ‘hand’	sindí ‘a sort of antelope’
ípi ‘heart’	dídíj ‘new’	dùndí ‘stick of arrow’

¹⁹ Though my data from Zebsher and Tongo show the vowel systems that I claim, there could still be doubt as compared to other Koman languages vowel systems like Komo and Opuo. Length particularly can be affected by ATR feature and Tone. Hence, in light of my hesitancy in vowel quality, I suggest the need for a detailed instrument based further analysis of vowels.

/e/: It is a mid front vowel attested in word initial, medial, and final positions though its occurrence at word initial position is limited only to four lexemes from the entire data collected for description.

45. Initial	Medial	Final
én ‘to improve’	déri ‘saliva’	s'é ‘ear’
éses ‘to mumble’	sép ‘sword’	sasé ‘be old; not new’
élé ‘oven’	k'ép ‘to hear’	wéjè ‘lower grinding stone’
élēm ‘be happy’	péti ‘bad’	bāké ‘field’

/a/: It is a low central vowel appearing in all positions as shown below.

46. Initial	Medial	Final
ánt ‘fire’	bàk ‘hair; feather’	gá ‘I’
án ‘menstruation’	gàmbú ‘flute’	k'álá ‘swamp grass’
àpìló ‘goiter’	ƚap ‘to hit’	k'àndá ‘to avoid’

/u/: It is a high back vowel occurring in all environments in words as in 47.

47. Initial	Medial	Final
ùp ‘to wash oneself’	ánùbá ‘talking drum’	k'ùndù ‘to finish’
ùƚ ‘anus’	bùndùr ‘gun’	t'ùt'ùmù ‘door’
ùjú ‘tail’	ƚúdìn ‘rope’	kú ‘to cry’

/o/: It is a mid back vowel attested in all positions (see 48 below). However, out of 1650⁺ lexemes encoded, its occurrence at word initial position is limited only to five lexical items.

48. Initial	Medial	Final
ōkō ‘grain grinder’	bók ‘marriage’	bùbótó ‘yogurt’
órgá ‘elephantiasis’	bótìn ‘mix’	bòbóngó ‘frog’
ómó ‘praise’	sónk ‘foot’	kó ‘roast’

2.2.1.1. Minimal Pairs and Near-Minimal Pairs

The minimal and near-minimal pairs presented below can help to substantiate the phonemic

status of Gwama short vowels described above.

/i/ and /e/

49. pī ‘berry’
pé ‘to load’
wē ‘to dress’
wí ‘to watch’

/i/ and /a/

50. s’í ‘rat’
s’á ‘to apply ointment’
tím ‘to forbid’
tám ‘honey’

/i/ and /u/

51. tǐf ‘to start’
túf ‘excrement’
bít ‘bird’
bùt ‘bait’

/a/ and /o/

52. ák ‘hair; feather’
bók ‘marriage’
k’á ‘to eat (meat)’
k’ó ‘(be) awake from sleep’

/u/ and /a/

53. tút ‘answer’
tát ‘abdomen’
pút ‘pick, pluck (fruit)’
pát ‘to touch, feel’

/u/ and /o/

54. tùtó ‘liver’
tòtò ‘to carry on head’
pù ‘to transplant’
pó ‘move away; migrate’

Distinctive short vowel phonemes of the language are illustrated by the minimal and near minimal pairs given above.

2.2.2. Long Vowels

As noted in (2.2.), all short vowel phonemes of Gwama have long counterparts (see also Bender 1983 and Zelealem 2005). The distribution of the five corresponding long vowels is shown below.

/i:/ It is a high front long vowel occurring in all environments.

55. Initial		Medial		Final	
ì:tí	‘monkey’	k'í:ǰí	‘gourd’	kì:	‘to look after’
í:mí	‘cow’	mì:mí	‘mosquito’	sí:	‘bone’
í:ǰí	‘vine’	kì:sí	‘near’	gì:	‘work’
í:	‘fill (a container)’	mì:s'í	‘sweet’	s'í:	‘necklace’

/e:/ It is a mid front long vowel attested at word initial, medial and final positions even though there are only two lexical items that show its distribution word initially.

56. Initial		Medial		Final	
é:	‘yes’	hè:ǰé	‘to harvest’	zé:	‘animal’
é:ǰé	‘food made from false banana’	mé:ǰé	‘to sharpen knife’	wé:	‘revenge’
		kè:té	‘to relax’	kè:	‘to sweep’
		gé:s'é	‘to devalue’	p'é:	‘prostitute’

/a:/ It is a low central long vowel appearing in all environments. However, only two lexical items are attested at word final position as in 57.

57. Initial	Medial	Final
à:já ‘stumbling block’	kà:ná ‘dog’	sá: ‘be engaged’
à:tá ‘to count’	bá:zá ‘springbok’	ná: ‘fetch (firewood)’
á:pá ‘uncle (mother’s brother)’	gá:fá ‘digging stick’	

/u:/ It is a high back long vowel occurring mainly at word initial and medial positions, whereas at word final position only two lexical items are recorded.

58. Initial	Medial	Final
ú:gú ‘gourd’	dú:lù ‘cane; walking stick’	bú: ‘deep hole’
ú:gún ‘firewood’	dù:fú ‘blunt; dull’	kú: ‘mourning’
ù:jù ‘maize sprout’	dù:gí ‘knee’	
ù:kú ‘cloud’	k’ù:zí ‘ten’	

/o:/ It is a mid back long vowel appearing in all environments as in 59.

59. Initial	Medial	Final
ò:jò ‘cloth’	dò:pó ‘lazy’	kó: ‘mountain’
ó:kó ‘grinding stone’	bó:kó ‘mead’	pó: ‘to bark (dog)’
ó:fò ‘to reconcile’	k’ò:ṅó ‘pot’	sò: ‘pierce; stab’

Note that the illustrations given above (52-56) indicate the distribution of long vowels. All long vowels, i.e. /i:/, e:/, a:/, u:/, o:/, occur in all positions within words. However, the mid, front, long vowel /e:/ is not so frequent word initially. Besides, the low, central, long vowel /a:/ and the high, back, long vowel /u:/ do not frequently happen word finally. Hence, the mid, front, long vowel /e:/ occurs word initially only in the words *é:* ‘yes’ and *é:fé* ‘food made from false banana’. The low, central, long vowel /a:/ occurs word finally only in the words *sá:* ‘be engaged’ and *ná:* ‘fetch firewood’. And the high, back, long vowel /u:/ occurs word finally only in the words *bú:* ‘deep hole’ and *kú:* ‘mourning’.

Phonemic vowel length is one of the features observed in Nilo-Saharan languages (Stirtz, 2011). Kievit and Robertson (2011:23) illustrate the presence of phonemic long vowels in Gwama. Each of the following pairs of words containing short and long counterparts strengthens this argument.

/i/ and /i:/

- | | | | | |
|------------|-----|----------------------|------|-----------------|
| 60. | i | ‘a sort of antelope’ | s’i | ‘rat’ |
| | i: | ‘fill (a container)’ | s’i: | ‘necklace’ |
| | zi | ‘eye’ | pi | ‘to give birth’ |
| | zi: | ‘green’ | pi: | ‘fishing’ |

/e/ and /e:/

- | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-------------------|-----|------------------|
| 61. | ke | ‘to smell lemmon’ | we | ‘to dress; wear’ |
| | ke: | ‘to sweep’ | we: | ‘revenge’ |
| | ze | ‘live’ | | |
| | ze: | ‘animal’ | | |

/a/ and /a:/

- | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------------------|-------|------------------|
| 62. | aja | ‘know’ | na | ‘mother’ |
| | a:ja | ‘stumbling block’ | na: | ‘fetch firewood’ |
| | kaga | ‘grain container’ | ʃaja | ‘jewellery’ |
| | ka:ga | ‘bitter’ | ʃa:ja | ‘be happy’ |

/u/ and /u:/

- | | | | | |
|------------|--------|-------------|-----|----------------|
| 63. | k’uzi | ‘heel’ | u:p | ‘head’ |
| | k’u:zi | ‘ten’ | up | ‘wash oneself’ |
| | tuf | ‘excrement’ | ʃu | ‘saw’ |
| | tu:f | ‘to push’ | ʃu: | ‘tauten’ |

/o/ and /o:/

- | | | | | |
|------------|-----|------------|-------|----------|
| 64. | ko | ‘roast’ | koŋo | ‘bottle’ |
| | ko: | ‘mountain’ | ko:ŋo | ‘chair’ |

2.2.3. Nasalization

Nasalization refers to the effect on sounds which are produced while the soft palate (or velum) is lowered, allowing air to escape through the nose (Marlett 2001:284). It is a common feature across languages displayed on vowels because of articulatory influence of an adjacent nasal consonant. Hence, a vowel appearing preceding a nasal consonant becomes nasalised. Examples are given in 65.

65.	sont' → [sõnt']	'foot'
	fú:nk' → [fũ:nk']	'guineafowl'
	s'inzí → [s'ĩnzí]	'roof'
	pùnt' → [pũnt']	'harvest maize'
	kumbi → [kũmbi]	'cover of something'

2.3. Syllable Structure

Maddieson (2005:54) defines syllable as it “is a well-recognized unit in linguistic analysis which explains quite well the number of rhythmic units that will be perceived in a word. This number is usually equal to the number of vowels in the utterance”. In this view, languages can have a syllable containing a vowel nucleus only. Gwama has both open and closed syllable structures. The syllable template of the language can be (C)V(V)(C)(C). A list of possible syllable patterns in Gwama is given in the following table.

Table 9. Syllable Structure of Gwama

Syllable Types	Examples			
Monosyllabic				
V	í	'a sort of antelope'	ú	'grind'
VV	é:	'yes'	í:	'fill'
VC	án	'menstruation'	áf	'burry'
VCC	ánt'	'fire'	úss	'sew'
V.CV	ā.tá	'count'	è.lé	'oven'
CV	bì	'wipe off'	dé	'chase'
CVV	gìì	'work'	búú	'well'
CVVCC	ʃùùnf	'homespun thread'	ʃúúnk'	'guineafowl'

CVC	dól	‘shout’	dút’	‘testicles’
CVCC	súns’	‘bite’	kùmp’	‘fist’
Disyllabic				
CV.CV	k’ó.ǰó	‘mother-in-law’	hás’ì	‘foot stamp’
CVV.CV	háá.wá	‘yawn’	dòòkó	‘potato’
CV.CVC	dù.dùk	‘elbow’	gó.k’óǰ	‘husk corn’
CVC.CVC	gòl.k’ós’	‘throat’	bùl.bút’	‘dust’
VV.CV	àà.já	‘stumbling block’	òò.jò	‘cloth’
V.CVC	í.liṅ	‘hunt’	ú.gùn	‘firewood’
V.CV.CV	ú.gú.tù	‘hump’	á.nù.bá	‘talking drum’
Trisyllabic				
CVC.CV.CV	bùl.bú.lù	‘butterfly’	k’òn.dò.lò	‘semi circle’
CV.CVC.CV	bō.bón.gó	‘frog’		
VC.CV.CV	ól.pì.ná	‘respect’	àl.pū.ká	‘tobacco container’
Quadrisyllabic				
CV.CV.CV.CV	mà.zō.zò.jó	‘window’		

Both nouns and verbs have open syllable structures like V(V) and CV(V) and closed syllables structures like VC and CV(V)C. Most verbs are monosyllabic and disyllabic and have the pattern CV, CVC, and CV(V)CV respectively. The shortest verb is *ú* ‘to grind’ having the pattern V, and the longest verb is *kùmbarà* ‘to cultivate’ which has CVC.CV.CV pattern. Most nouns on the other hand are disyllabic having the pattern CV(V)CV. There is also a fair amount of CVC(C) nouns. Nearly all trisyllabic words are nouns. The shortest noun is *í* ‘a sort of antelope’ having V pattern, and the longest noun is *màzōzòjó* ‘window’, a quadrisyllabic having the syllable pattern CV.CV.CV.CV. The following longest noun is *bùlbùlù* ‘butterfly’, a trisyllabic having CVC.CV.CV pattern. The other longest trisyllabic noun *bōbóngó* ‘frog’ has the syllable pattern CV.CVC.CV. Gwama has therefore monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, and quadrisyllabic words. The first two forms are dominantly appearing lexemes, whereas the least frequent is quadrisyllabic ones.

Note that the syllable structure types shown in the table above indicated that the possible syllable patterns of Gwama are V, VV, VC, CV, CVV, CVC, VCC, CVCC, CVVC, and CVVCC. In words that are composed of two and above syllables, CV can occur at word

initial, medial, and final positions, CVC can appear word initially and finally, and CVV and CVVC can appear word initially. Besides, CVCC is attested word initially in trisyllabic words *gáns'.kà.ràn* ‘praying mantis’ and *gab't'.p'a* ‘holiday’, lexemes which consist of a cluster of three consonants in the middle. The remaining syllable types V, VV, VC, VCC, and CVVC are attested in monosyllabic words.

In the syllable structure of the language, all consonants except the velar nasal /ŋ/ can occur at onset position. A sequence of two consonants at word initial position is permissible. The only consonant phonemes that occur as the second member of a cluster onset at word initial position are the glides /w/ and /j/. That is, the language allows a branching onset that consists of a consonant plus a glide.

All consonants except /z, h, w/ appear at coda position. A syllable coda can have two consonants. The consonants that appear as the first member of a cluster coda are the sonorants /n, m, ŋ, l, r, w/ in words like *s'áns* ‘root’, *sìmp* ‘egg’, *sìŋk* ‘smoke’, *jé:rf* ‘God’, and *pìnáws* ‘fruit’. The remaining consonants appear as the second element of a cluster coda. The second element of a cluster coda is mostly an ejective.

Gwama also permits a sequence of two consonants in the middle of a word in two or more syllable words. When such sequence of consonants appear in the middle of a word, the first member of the cluster (C₁) becomes the coda of the first syllable, and the second member of the cluster (C₂) becomes the onset of the following syllable. For example, of the consonant sequence in the word *pjàŋ.go* ‘ladle’, /ŋ/ is the coda of the first syllable and /g/ is the onset of the second syllable.

2.4. Tone

The sounds of all languages show pitch variations during production, but in a tone language those pitch differences are used phonemically either to differentiate between word meanings or to convey grammatical distinctions (Katamba, 1989:53; Yip, 2002:1; Gussenhoven, 2004:12). Therefore, tone refers to “the use of pitch to convey word meaning” (Yip, 2002:i). As vowels and consonants are vital in representing words of any language, tone is also employed for this purpose in tone languages (Yip, 2002:i; Gussenhoven, 2004:26). In Gwama, pitch variation of sounds differentiate the meanings of words. To this end, like other

Nilo-Saharan languages, Gwama is a tonal language. The tone bearing units of the language are vowels.

Previous research reports gave little space to the tone system of Gwama. Bender (1983) has only stated as the language has distinctive tone level. Zelealem (2005) writes that Gwama has two tone levels, a rising and a falling. Hellenthal and Kutsch Lojenga (2011), as mentioned in Kievit and Robertson (2012), identified three contrastive tone levels (High, Mid, and Low), as well as a rising and a falling tone. Kievit and Robertson (2012), however, stated that they used only Low and High tone marks in their paper. Amare (2013) has mentioned the presence of three tone levels, i.e. High, Mid, Low, and five basic tonemes in Gwama: H, M, L, LM, and HL. In this study, three contrastive tone levels (High (H), Mid (M), and Low (L)) are identified. High tone is represented by (\acute{V}), mid tone without any mark as (\mathbf{V}), and low tone by (\grave{V})²⁰. The following examples of minimal pairs show the three contrastive level tones of the language.

66.	H	sís	‘swelling’
	M	sis	‘field mouse’
67.	H	fút	‘to tie tightly’
	L	füt	‘whistle’
68.	H	fá	‘to eat’
	M	fa	‘to dig’
	L	fà	‘blaze’
69.	H	pí	‘fall’
	M	pi	‘berry’
	L	pì	‘give birth’

2.4.1. Lexical Function

Zelealem (2005) notes the presence of lexical tone by proving the phonemic status of

²⁰ Tone is hardly marked throughout this work. It is attempted to be put only in this section.

tone with minimal pairs. However, the Gwama tone indicates that it has lexical and grammatical functions. That is, tone in Gwama is phonemic. Two or three similarly spelt lexemes differ in meaning as a result of the tone their vowels bear. As noted in the illustrations above (66-69), in addition to minimal pairs (as in 74-77), triplets (as in 70-73) are found to show the lexical function of tone.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| 70. | H | jĩ | ‘tooth’ |
| | M | ji | ‘to slice meat’ |
| | L | ji | ‘to see’ |
| 71. | H | s’í | ‘rat’ |
| | M | s’i | ‘shave’ |
| | L | s’i | ‘untie’ |
| 72. | H | k’úf | ‘kill’ |
| | M | k’uf | ‘sound’ |
| | L | k’ùf | ‘neck’ |
| 73. | LH | ƒùgún | ‘louse’ |
| | HH | ƒùgún | ‘to cook’ |
| | MM | ƒugun | ‘to boil (water)’ |
| 74. | LLM | sì:zi (sìzì) | ‘crocodile’ |
| | HHL | sí:zì (sízì) | ‘disturb’ |
| 75. | H | páj | ‘to fly’ |
| | L | pàj | ‘to cross (road or river)’ |
| 76. | HH | kí: (kíí) | ‘bile’ |
| | LL | kì: (kìì) | ‘to guard’ |
| 77. | H | kwáns’ | ‘bridge’ |
| | L | kwàns’ | ‘to write’ |

2.4.1. Grammatical Function

The grammatical function of tone identified in the current data include subject agreement markers (see 5.3.1) for 1SG, 3MSG, 1PL.INCL (as in 78a); 1PL.EXCL, 2PL (as in 78b), and PL number marking, PFV, 1PL.SBJ.EXCL (as in 78c)²¹.

78. a. *-ni* (M) ‘1SG’ *-ní* (H) ‘3MSG’ *-nì* (L) 1PL.INCL
b. *-mì* (L) ‘1PL.EXCL *-mí* (H) ‘2PL’
c. *mà-* (L) ‘PL’ *ma* (M) ‘PFV’ *má* (H) ‘1PL.SBJ.EXCL’

2.5. Phonological Processes

Under this section, the attested salient phonological processes of Gwama vowels and consonants are presented. It mainly focuses on homorganic nasal assimilation, vowel harmony, and nasalization of vowels.

2.5.1. Homorganic Nasal Assimilation

Assimilation is any process by which one sound becomes more like another in its environment (Marlett 2001:282). A nasal that appears preceding a velar phoneme goes through homorganic assimilation. That is, for instance, the alveolar nasal /n/ becomes the velar nasal /ŋ/ before a velar stop or ejective. Consider the examples in 79.

79. *ángár* → [áŋgár] ‘bed’
 máng → [máŋg] ‘mango’
 fúŋk’ → [fúŋk’] ‘vein’
 zjango → [zjango] ‘only’
 fíngo → [fíngo] ‘previously; in the past’

As noted in 75 above, sequences of consonants appearing word-internally can share place of articulation when the sequence contains an alveolar nasal plus a velar stop. This process of assimilation is also attested at morpheme boundary. A word-final alveolar or velar nasal agrees with the place of articulation of the following consonant if the following word begins

²¹ The tone system of the language still requires detailed analysis so that further lexical as well as grammatical tone structures can be introduced.

with a bilabial or velar plosive. For instance, the alveolar nasal /n/ and the velar nasal /ŋ/ become the bilabial nasal [m] when they are followed by bilabial nasal or bilabial stops. Examples are given in 80.

- 80.** ʃin ‘spear’ + miné ‘this’ → [ʃ**m**-miné] ‘this spear’
 ʃun ‘love’ + bi 3PL → [ʃ**um**-bi-ʃun] ‘they love’
 s’ewan ‘moon’ + be:s’in ‘four’ → [s’ew**am**-be:s’in] ‘December’
 ma ‘PFV’ + n ‘1SG’ + pas’ ‘laugh’ → [ma-**m**-pas’] ‘I laughed.’
 paŋ ‘to’ + pò:gó ‘river’ → [pa**m**-pò:gó] ‘to the river’

The other observed process is the change of an alveolar nasal /n/ to a velar nasal [ŋ] before velar consonants /k/, /k’/, and /g/ at morpheme boundary. The examples in 81 show this morphophonemic process.

- 81.** man ‘children’ + k’ija ‘how many’ → [ma**ŋ**-k’ija] ‘how many children’
 min ‘thing’ + kwans’ ‘to write’ → [mi**ŋ**-kwans’] ‘book’
 min ‘thing’ + k’eze ‘story’ → [mi**ŋ**-k’eze] ‘tale’
 ma ‘PFV’ + n ‘1SG’ + gus ‘run’ → [ma-**ŋ**-gus] ‘I ran.’

Note that in 80 and 81 above, regressive assimilation of place of articulation is observed at morpheme boundary.

2.5.2. Vowel Harmony

Kramer (2003:3) defines vowel harmony as the process “where potentially all vowels in adjacent moras or syllables within a domain like the phonological or morphological word systematically agree with each other with regard to one or more articulatory features.”

A vowel assimilation feature attested at word level is a type of rounding harmony that appear in tri-syllabic nouns as shown below.

- 82.** búbótó ‘yogurt’
 dùgúʃù ‘onion’
 k’ùlk’útù ‘back part of the skull’
 kùsúnù ‘chin’

bobóngó	‘frog’
bùlubùlù	‘butterfly’
k’òndòlò	‘semi circle’

The other phonological process of VH attested in the language is vowel height harmony. In this regard, the low vowel /a/ in the Gwama negative prefix *da-* becomes the front vowel [e] for harmony if the following word has a front vowel. The examples given below (in 83 and 84) strengthen this argument.

- | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|------------------------|----------------|-----|-----------|-----------------------|----------------|-----|
| 83. a. | ga | dab-ga- | ʃa | e. | um | de-mi- | ʃa |
| | I | NEG-1SG- | eat | | you | NEG-2PL- | eat |
| | ‘I don’t eat.’ | | | | ‘You (PL) don’t eat.’ | | |
| b. | ma | da-ma- | ʃa | f. | uhaj | de-be- | ʃa |
| | we | NEG-1PL- | eat | | he | NEG-3MSG- | eat |
| | ‘We (EXCL) don’t eat.’ | | | | ‘He doesn’t eat.’ | | |
| c. | mini | deb-ni- | ʃa | g. | hap | dab-ab- | ʃa |
| | we | NEG-1PL- | eat | | she | NEG-3FSG- | eat |
| | ‘We (INCL) don’t eat.’ | | | | ‘She doesn’t eat.’ | | |
| d. | ik | deb-gi- | ʃa | h. | hun | da-bun- | ʃa |
| | you | NEG-2SG- | eat | | they | NEG-3PL- | eat |
| | ‘You (SG) don’t eat.’ | | | | ‘They don’t eat.’ | | |

Note that in the above example the negative prefix *da-* becomes *de-* in 83c, d, e, and f because the person markers contain front vowels. In the example given below, the vowel in the negative prefix becomes in harmony with the copula *wet*.

- | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|------------------|---------------|
| 84. a. | de-wet- | a-na | e. | de-wet- | a-de |
| | NEG-COP- | GEN-1SG.POSS | | NEG-COP- | GEN-3MSG.POSS |
| | ‘It is not mine.’ | | | ‘It is not his.’ | |
| b. | de-wet- | a-ma | f. | de-wet- | a-dap |
| | NEG-COP- | GEN-1PL.POSS | | NEG-COP- | GEN-3FSG.POSS |

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>c. de-wet- a-ke
 NEG-COP- GEN-2SG.POSS
 ‘It is not yours (SG).’</p> | <p>g. de-wet- a-bun
 NEG-COP- GEN-3PL.POSS
 ‘It is not theirs.’</p> |
| <p>d. de-wet- a-kum
 NEG-COP- GEN-2PL.POSS
 ‘It is not yours (PL).’</p> | |

2.5.3. Palatalization

Palatalization is the addition of of a high front tongue gesture, similar to for /i/, to another gesture (Ladefoged and Johnson 2015::244). Palatalization appears as secondary articulation in Gwama and is symbolized by [j].

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>85. pwaŋ-i-t’osuja
 road-LOC-second
 ‘The second turning/road’</p> | → | <p>[pwaŋ^j-i-t’osuja]
 ‘The second road’</p> |
| <p>ma-ho-ni paŋ-i-t’umu
 PAST-go-3SG to-LOC-home
 ‘He went to home.’</p> | → | <p>[...paŋ^j-i-t’umu]
 ‘... to home’</p> |
| <p>uhaj ma-n-ho gaŋ-iliŋ i-tatfuŋu
 he PFV-3MSG-go to-hunt LOC-forest
 ‘He went to the forest to hunt.’</p> | → | <p>[...gaŋ-iliŋ^j-i-tatfuŋu]
 ‘...to the forest to hunt.’</p> |

The dorsal consonant in 85 can phonetically be heard as a palatal nasal [ɲ] due to the front high vowel that follows it.

Palatalization is also triggered by the palatal glide /j/ in the language.

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p>86.</p> | <p>pjanza → [p^jjanza] ‘shin’</p> | <p>k’japa → [k^j’japa] ‘narrow’</p> |
| <p>tjafa → [t^jafa] ‘thigh’</p> | <p>sjata → [s^jata] ‘kid’</p> | <p>kikjata → [k^jikjata] ‘female’</p> |
| | | <p>sjana → [s^jana] ‘sorghum’</p> |

2.6. Morphophonological Processes

Morphophonological process is a phonological process across morpheme boundary. The morphophonological processes attested in Gwama include vowel shortening and delation. The description and illustration of these morphophonological processes are presented below.

2.6.1. Vowel Deletion

Deletion is a loss of a feature or segment in a given context (Marlett 2001:283). The Gwama disyllabic words undergo deletion of their terminal vowel (hereafter TV) when definiteness markers (as in 86a), demonstrative pronouns (as in 86b), person markers (as in 86c), or adjectives are suffixed to the words (as in 86d). Through the deletion of terminal vowels, long vowels become short. From the list of examples given below, 86a-86d show the processes of TV deletion and long vowel shortening, and 85e-h show the process of TV deletion in words having short vowels. The words that go through the process of deletion are printed in bold.

87. a. wà:ɲà ‘hen’ + -te ‘DEF’ → [wàɲ-te] ‘the hen’
b. ma- ‘PL’ + í:mí ‘cow’ + -tunu ‘those’ → [ma-**ím**-tunu] ‘Those cows’
c. dò:zó ‘learn’ + gi ‘2SG’ → [dòz-gi gəf-bi?] ‘Why do you learn?’
d. kú:rù ‘donkey’ + gàfar → [**kúr**-gàfar] ‘Big donkey’
e. kikjátá ‘woman’ + -o ‘DEF’ → [**kikját**-o] ‘The woman’
f. swájá ‘tree’ + kùs’ ‘dry’ → [**swáj**-kùs’] ‘Dry tree’
g. pò:fo ‘arrive’ + -na ‘1SG’ → [**pòf**-na] ‘I arrive’
h. ma- ‘PFV’ + p’a:t’a ‘help’ + -ni ‘3MSG’ → [ma-**p’at**’-ni] ‘He helped.’

Deletion of TV in disyllabic words also takes place during reduplication. The following example sentences (in 88) show the process of final vowel deletion of disyllabic words as can be seen in bold.

88. a. bila-tu a-dap **faj**-n-ap’-**fa:ja**
tallness GEN-3FSG.POSS RED-3MSG-3FSG-beautiful
‘Her tallness makes her beautiful.’

- b. bilana gi-bilakum **nok-bi-no:ko**
 motherhood CONJ-fatherhood RED-3PL- please
 ‘Motherhood and fatherhood pleases.’
- c. gaf- a-**zinz**-ga-**zi:nzi**, dab-ga-duj-duj
 REASON-COP-RED-1SG-tight, NEG-1SG-buy-RED
 ‘I did not buy it because it was tight for me.’
- d. **k’iŋ-a-k’i:ŋi**
 RED-3NSG-break/cut
 ‘Break/Cut it!’

2.6.2. Reduplication

One of the common features of the Nilo-Saharan phylum is reduplication (Dimmendaal 2018:12). Similar to other Koman languages, reduplication is a commonly appearing morphological process in Gwama. This phenomenon is mainly occurred in verbs and adjectives. It takes a variety of forms (phonologically) and serves a variety of purposes such as plural formation of adjectives (as in table 10_ADJ), formation of imperatives (as in table 10_IMP), and formation of jussive mood (as in table 10_JUSS).

Table 10. Structures of Reduplication

Class	Root		RED Word	
ADJ	tú	‘tall’	ma-tú-tú	‘talls’
	sì	‘heavy’	ma-sì-sì	‘heavies’
	ti:ndi	‘fat’	ma-ti-ti:ndi	‘fats’
	t’o:t’o	‘black’	ma-t’u-t’o:t’o	‘blacks’
IMP	wè	‘wear’	wè-a-wé	‘Wear it!’
	fà	‘eat’	fà-fá	‘Eat!’
	gús	‘run’	gù-gús	‘Run!’
JUSS	hó	‘go’	ta-ni-hù-hó	‘Let him go’
	gús	‘run’	ta-ni-gù-gús	‘Let him run’
	t’uf	‘tie’	ta-ni-t’uf-a-t’uf	‘Let him tie it.’

The above table reads the presence of partial and full reduplication of adjectives and verbs. Adjectives, as noted above, reduplicate for plural formation. In fact, the plural number marker, which marks an entire NP, appears prefixed to the reduplicated forms of adjectives. In such reduplication structures adjectives having CV syllable patten show full reduplication, where as those with CVC and C(V)VCV show partial left to right reduplication (see 6.1). The reduplications shown in the imperative and jussive moods follow diferrent pattern for transitive and intransitive verbs (see 5.6). Transitive verbs take a morpheme *a* 3NSG and have complete reduplication. Reduplication of intransitive verbs, on the other hand, varies based on syllable patterns. Intransitives having CV structure undergo complete reduplication while those having CVC go through partial reduplication.

Chapter Three

3. Noun Morphology

This chapter describes the Noun morphology of Gwama. It has three main sections. The first section focuses on structure of nouns. The second section describes the inflectional morphemes of Gwama and gives descriptions of definiteness, gender, and number. Besides, Case is discussed in the second section. The third section treats noun derivation via affixation and compounding.

3.1. Structure of Nouns

Gwama nouns in their citation form terminate in vowels as in Table 11 Column 1 and in consonants as in Table 11 Column 2. Most nouns nevertheless end in vowels. All the five vowels are attested as terminal vowels. The data shows that the most recurring terminal vowels are *a*, *o*, and *u*. The remaining terminal vowels *e* and *i* occur only rarely. The association of terminal vowels with noun stems seems arbitrary and only lexically determined. The following are nouns ending with all the five terminal vowels and nouns ending with consonants.

Table 11. Vowel and Consonant-ending Nouns

Vowel ending nouns		Consonant ending nouns	
pámbá	‘drum’	bùndùr	‘gun’
sáǵá	‘harp’	pans'	‘hatchet’
mázá	‘calf’	kwàk	‘raven’
órgá	‘elephantiasis’	sép'	‘sword’
báké	‘field’	tùmàt	‘tobacco’
bámbe	‘sweet potato’	kwánt	‘tattoo’
s'é	‘ear’	mūs'	‘soup’
ǵìǵì	‘hoof’	p'ámáǵ	‘bride’
mímí	‘mosquito’	p'ìdìn	‘stone’
tází	‘face’	kùmdàm	‘bee’
sí	‘bone’	ǵúgún	‘louse’
kónzó	‘fly’	ǵàdìbál	‘grasshopper’
bídó	‘sheep’	dút'	‘testicle’

tùtó	‘liver’	gòlk’ós’	‘throat’
pó:gó	‘river’	tát	‘abdomen’
gàmbú	‘flute’	mít’	‘hand’
búlúbúlú	‘butterfly’	wál	‘child’

Note that majority of the nouns end in vowels. All types of vowels are attested at the final position of nouns, but not all consonants of the language are recorded ending Gwama nouns. The most frequent consonants that end nouns are bilabial nasal /m/, alveolar nasal /n/, voiceless post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/, and ejectives /s’/ and /t’/.

3.2. Inflections of Nouns

Gwama nouns are inflected to indicate different grammatical categories such as gender, definiteness, and number. This section focuses on the inflectional morphemes used on nouns and gives descriptions of gender, definiteness, and number.

3.2.1. Gender

Gender refers to grammatical classification of nouns as masculine, feminine, and neuter (Katamba 1993:332). Gwama distinguishes masculine and feminine gender. Gender is expressed by using nouns that inherently denote male and female entities, using the inherently gender identifying lexemes as attributives, and using agreement markers.

As in many other languages, nouns with natural gender refer to items that express “male” and “female” (Crystal 2003:206).

Table 12. Words for “male” and “female”

Feminine		Masculine	
kikjátá	‘female’	kikè:zí	‘male’
gwábún	‘aunt (mother’s sister)’	ápá	‘uncle (mother’s brother)’
ǰēné	‘aunt (father’s sister)’	bwábar	‘uncle (father’s brother)’
semε	‘cousin’	ù?ápá (??)	‘nephew’
wál-kikjátá	‘child (female)’	wál-kikè:zí	‘child (male)’
wùpì	‘wife’	wùtùb	‘husband’

k'ófó	'mother-in-law'	mà:dú	'father-in-law'
màfì	'sister-in-law'	náfá	'brother-in-law'
májēgí	'daughter-in-law'	mì:zì	'son-in-law'
p'áfù	'widow'		
ná	'mother'	bà:bá	'father'
p'wákām	'sister'	wál-kwám	'brother'
dwá	'girl'		

Gwama usually expresses the gender of most animate nouns by using gender marking lexemes as modifiers. That is, *kìkè:zì* 'male' and *kìkjátá* 'female' function as adjectives to modify another noun and indicate masculine and feminine gender, respectively. Below are examples of such gender identifying strategy in Gwama nouns.

1.	wál	'child'	wál-kìkè:zì	'boy; son'
			wál-kìkjátá	'girl; daughter'
	ná	'goat'	na-kìkè:zì	'he-goat (Lit. Male goat)'
			ná-kìkjátá	'she-goat (Lit. Female goat)'
	bídó	'sheep'	bido-kìkè:zì	'ram (Lit. Male sheep)'
			kìkjátá-bídó	'ewe (Lit. Female sheep)'
	ì:mí/ím-kìkjátá	'cow'	ím-búbú	'ox (Lit. Male cow)'
	ka:na	'dog'	kan-kìkè:zì	'male dog'
			kan-kìkjátá	'bitch (Lit. Female dog)'
	ku:ru	'donkey'	kur-kìkè:zì	'male dokey'
			kur-kìkjátá	'female donkey'

Definite nouns of Gwama are marked for gender by the morphemes *-te* for masculine and *-to* for feminine.

2. Definite Masculine

wal-te	'the boy'
child-DEF.M	
waŋ-te	'the cock'
chicken-DEF.M	

Definite Feminine

wal-to	'the girl'
child-DEF.F	
waŋ-to	'the hen'
chicken-DEF.F	

Gwama has third person singular pronouns that distinguish gender. That is, the pronouns *uhaj* ‘he’ and *hap* ‘she’ indicate masculine and feminine gender respectively.

3. *uhaj* *wet-ni* *sitdozo*
he COP-3MSG teacher
‘He is a teacher.’ (*uhaj* ‘he’ indicating MASCULINE)
- hap*’ *wet-a* *sitdozo*
she COP-3FSG teacher
‘She is a teacher.’ (*hap* ‘she’ indicating FEMININE)

3.2.2. Definiteness

Definiteness marking is a strategy that languages employ to signal the common awareness between the speaker and the hearer concerning the referent or uniqueness or specificity of the entity that can be inferred from the particular context (Lyons 1999:2). Definiteness in Gwama refers to a specific, identifiable entity that is familiar to both the speaker and the hearer. In the indefinite structure, the speaker is aware of the referent, but the hearer may not; in the definite structure, however both participants have awareness of what is being referred.

The definiteness and indefiniteness of many languages are indicated by certain elements added to a noun phrase. Komo expresses definiteness using the morpheme *de* for masculine gender and *duwej* for feminine, whereas the indefinite forms are *der* for masculine, *dep* for feminine, and *den* for plural (Tesfaye 2014). Uduk has two definite forms *je* ‘the one’ and its plural counterpart *ku* ‘the ones’ and two indefinite forms *a kama* ‘the other, other, another’ and *tija* ‘some, someone, something’ (Killian 2015).

In Gwama, indefinite nouns are not morphologically marked, but definite nouns do. Definiteness markers of Gwama show a great deal of interaction with gender. The interaction of definiteness with gender is seen prominently in singular nouns where masculine gender is marked by the morpheme *-te* and feminine gender is marked by the morpheme *-to*. It should be noted that *-te* and *-to* are demonstrative markers (see 4.3). In many languages, it is possible to use demonstratives to mark definiteness (Dryer 2005:154). The other definite marker *-tun* is a plural demonstrative pronoun functioning as definite marker for plural nouns. These definiteness markers are discussed as follows.

One of the most common definite markers in Gwama is the use of the morpheme *-te* which is used with singular nouns of masculine gender. Nouns take the morpheme *-te* for definiteness as revealed in the following evidences.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>4. a. ù-sít-te ma-n-ìf
 SGV-person-DEF PFV-3MSG-sleep
 ‘The man slept.’</p> | <p>e. ù-wál-te
 SGV-boy-DEF
 ‘The boy’</p> |
| <p>b. úŋ-te ze-n-gí’ bák
 tail-DEF exist-3MSG-DD2 hair
 ‘The tail has hair.’</p> | <p>f. ù-tifel-kikezi-te
 SGV-lion male-DEF
 ‘The male lion’</p> |
| <p>c. fí-te bú-t-ní sùm
 teeth-DEF cut-3MSG meat
 ‘The teeth cut meat.’</p> | <p>g. ja-kikezi-te
 goat male-DEF
 ‘The male goat’</p> |
| <p>d. u-t’u-t’ot’o u-sit-te
 SGV-RED-black SGV-man-DEF
 ‘The black man’</p> | |

As can be seen in the above examples, the definite marker *-te/-ge* is the suffix that comes after the nouns which it defines. This definite marker is used only for masculine gender.

The other commonly used definite marker in Gwama is the suffix *-to*, which is used for singular feminine gender.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>5. a. wál-to ze-fá-fá
 child-DEF PROG-eat-RED
 ‘The girl is eating.’</p> | <p>e. ja kikjata-to
 goat female-DEF
 ‘The female goat.’</p> |
| <p>b. kikjata-to ma-fá
 female-DEF PFV-eat
 ‘The woman ate.’</p> | <p>f. tífal kikjata-to
 lion female-DEF
 ‘The female lion’</p> |

- c.** kukuk-to ze-t'op'-a ija **g.** a-ti-tindi kikjat-to
 duck-DEF PROG-drink 3FSG water GEN-RED-fat waman-DEF
 'The duck is drinking water.' 'The fat woman'
- d.** andure kikjata-to
 cat female-DEF
 'The female cat.'

As noted above, Gwama uses the distal plural demonstrative morpheme suffix *-tùn(u)* to mark plural nouns for definiteness. All languages are supposed to have demonstratives, and demonstratives “seem to be inherently definite, which is in part why definite articles almost always arise from them” (Lyons, 1999:107). The following structures illustrate the plural definite marker *-tun(u)*.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>6. a. ma-kikezi-tùnu ma-b-ìj̣f
 PL- male-DEF PFV-3PL-sleep
 'The males slept.'</p> <p>b. ma-sìtkóp'òf-tùnu ma-b-ìj̣f
 PL-thief-DEF PFV-3PL-sleep
 'The thieves slept.'</p> <p>c. ma-im-tùnù
 PL-cow-DEF
 'The cows'</p> <p>d. ma-kikjata-tunu
 PL-female-DEF
 'The women'</p> <p>e. ma-kur-gafar a-t'u-t'ot'o-tunu
 PL-donkey-big ?-RED-black-DEF
 'The big, black donkeys'</p> | <p>f. ma-ja-tunu
 PL-goat-DEF
 'The goats'</p> <p>g. man-tunu
 children-DEF
 'The children'</p> <p>h. ma-tifal-tunu
 PL-lion-DEF
 'The lions'</p> <p>i. ma-wa:ɲa-tunu
 PL-hen-DEF
 'The hens'</p> <p>j. ma-sit-tunu
 PL-man-DEF
 'The men'</p> |
|---|---|

As noted above, the language does not morphologically mark indefiniteness. That is, indefinite nouns are attested unmarked. The following constructions show morphologically unmarked indefinite nouns. Plural indefinite structures are shown in 7f and 7g.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>7. a. wál ma-n-huho
boy PFV-3MSG-come
'A boy came.'</p> | <p>d. bido ma-n-gus
sheep PFV-3MSG-run
'A sheep ran.'</p> |
| <p>b. tíjal ma-n-huho
lion PFV-3MSG-come
'A lion came.'</p> | <p>e. ú-sít ma-n-huho.
SGV-man PFV-3MSG-come
'A man came'</p> |
| <p>c. gaŋo ma-n-gus
horse PFV-3MSG-run
'A horse ran.'</p> | <p>f. ma-sitkóp'óf
PL-thief
'Thieves'</p> |
| <p>d. ku:ru ma-n-gus
donkey PFV-3MSG-run
'A donkey ran.'</p> | <p>g. ma-ŋa a-si-sele
PL-goat ?-RED-white
'white goats'</p> |

3.2.3. Number

Koman languages have different mechanisms of number marking system. In Komo, singular nouns are unmarked for number, whereas plural nouns are marked with the morpheme *gu-* (Tesfaye 2014). In Opuo, *u-* marks singular for masculine, and *bi-* marks plural for variety of nouns. Gwama also distinguishes singular and plurals in nouns. Masculine gender is identified as single entity with the singular prefix *u-* (see also Zelealem, 2005:15 and Kievit and Robertson, 2012: 60). This commonly uttered singular marker *ú-* refers to one and used for masculine gender. Consider the following examples.

- 8.** ú-sít-kóp'óf ma-n-hùhó
SGV-person-steal PFV-3MSG-come
'A thief came.'
- ú-wál ma-n-húhó.
SGV-child PFV-3MS-come
'A child came.'

ú-sit ma-n-hùhó.
 SGV-man PFV-3MSG-come
 ‘A man came’

ú-bwáǰǎ-sìsìsì-te ma-na-ǰǎ
 SGV-snake-DEF PFV-1SG-see
 ‘I saw the green snake.’

In plural nouns, plural number is expressed by the prefix *mà*²²- (cf. Zelealem, 2005:15). In addition to the prefix *mà*-, the distal plural demonstrative pronoun *-tun(u)* and the free morpheme *gátì* ‘many’ are also attested functioning as plural markers.

A commonly used plural marking prefix is *mà*-. As shown in the examples below prefixing the morpheme *mà*- to basic noun forms form plural nouns. Any countable noun is pluralized in this morpheme.

9.	Singular		Plural	
	kwi	‘elephant’	ma-kwi	‘elephants’
	ǰa	‘goat’	ma-ǰa	‘goats’
	ka:na	‘dog’	ma-ka:na	‘dogs’
	kašmana	‘hyena’	ma-kašmana	‘hyenas’
	tǰǎl	‘lion’	ma-tǰǎl	‘lions’
	hi:nzi	‘flower’	ma-hi:nzi	‘flowers’
	ku:ru	‘donkey’	ma-ku:ru	‘donkeys’
	s’ì	‘rat’	ma-s’ì	‘rats’
	sit	‘person’	ma-sit	‘persons’
	bit	‘bird’	ma-bit	‘birds’

The following sentential (10a-f) and phrasal (10g) examples illustrate the structure of plural nouns at sentence and phrase levels. In all subjects of the given sentences, the plural morpheme *ma*- is prefixed for number.

²² The tone in the plural marker *mà*- is low in which the prefix differs from the past tense morpheme *ma*- with level tone and the first person plural subject pronoun *má*- with high tone.

10. a. *mà-sìtkóp'ój* *ma-b-huho*
 PL-thief PFV-3PL-come
 'Thieves came.'
- b. *mà-sìt* *ma-b-huho*
 PL-person PFV-3PL-come
 'People came.'
- c. *mà-sìt-ján* *ma-b-huho*
 PL-person-beg PFV-3PL-come
 'Beggars came.'
- d. *mà-kìkját* *ma-b-huho*
 PL-female PFV-3PL-come
 'Women came.'
- e. *mà-sìt* *ma-b-huho*
 PL-person PFV-3PL-come
 'All people came.'
- f. *mà-k'as'mán-tùn* *ma-bá-k'á-wáj-tó.*
 PL-hyena-DEF PFV-3PL-eat-hen-DEF.
 'The hyenas ate the hen.'
- g. *mà-sùj* *mintùn*
 PL-house those
 'Those houses'

The prefix *mà-* is also used to mark plural number in adjectives, and it appears prefixed to a reduplicated adjective. Adjectives with CVC and CVCV structures show partial reduplication, and adjectives with CV structure reduplicates fully. Examples are given in 11.

- | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 11. <i>nò:kó</i> | 'beautiful' | <i>ma-nù-nò:kó</i> | 'beautiful (plural)' |
| <i>t'ò:t'ó</i> | 'black' | <i>ma-t'ù-t'ò:t'ó</i> | 'blacks' |
| <i>sēlē</i> | 'white' | <i>ma-si-sēlē</i> | 'whites' |
| <i>k'áf</i> | 'red' | <i>ma-k'i-k'áf</i> | 'reds' |
| <i>tìndí</i> | 'fat' | <i>ma-tì-tìndí</i> | 'fats' |
| <i>zì:nzí</i> | 'thin' | <i>ma-zì-zìnzí</i> | 'thins' |

sì	‘heavy’	ma-sì-sì	‘heavies’
gút	‘short’	ma-gú-gút	‘shorts’
tú	‘tall’	ma-tú-tú	‘talls’

Note that adjectives are marked with plural prefix *mà-* when they are used in isolation. However, if the adjectives appear in an NP, the plural prefix marks the NP (see 6.1.2).

Numerals or quantifiers can be used in order to express the quantity of nouns. Still the noun can be pluralized by adding the prefix *ma-* if there are no other number indicating morphemes (as in 13). To express a large number of entities the word *naja* ‘many’ is used as in 12b and 12d. On the other hand, the quantifier *k’japa* ‘some/few’ is used to indicate a small amount or number as in 12e and 12f. The plural marker *ma-* does not occur with uncountable nouns.

12. a. ma-k’ondol suja
 PL-horse two
 ‘Two horses’
- b. ma-k’ondol naja
 PL-horse many
 ‘Many horses’
- c. ma-waŋ besini
 PL-hen four
 ‘Four hens’
- d. ma-waŋ naja
 PL-hen many
 ‘Many hens’
- e. ma-im k’japko
 PL-cow few
 ‘Few cows’
- f. bas’ k’japko
 milk some
 ‘Some milk’

The distal plural demonstrative pronoun *-tùn(ú)* ‘those’ is also attested functioning as plural number marker suffix. In all cases, this suffix seems literally mean ‘those’. Consider the subjects in the following questions.

13. a. wáŋ-tun ze-b-k’já?
 hen-PL exist-3SG-many?
 ‘How many hens are there?’ (Lit. ‘How many hens are those?’)
- b. já-tun ze-b-k’já?
 goat-PL exist-3PL.-many?
 ‘How many goats are there?’ (Lit. ‘How many goats are those?’)

- c. ìm-tun ze-b-k'ja?
 cow-PL exist-3PL-many?
 'How many cows are there?' (Lit. 'How many cows are those?')

In some phrases and sentences the word *gati* 'many' comes preceding nouns as a prefix to indicate plural number. Although *gati* is not the commonly used plural marker, it is among the morphemes that mark plurality in rare situations. The following instances reveal the function of this plural marking.

14. a. *gati wáŋ a-ná*
 many hen- GEN-1SG
 'My hens (Lit. My many hen)'
- b. *gati siz-bá-nunu*
 many crocodile-3PL-these
 'These crocodiles (These many crocodile)'
- c. *gati sìt-tùnú*
 many person-those
 'Those people (Lit. Those many person)'

The least common plural formation in Gwama is the suppletive plural formation. The only attested irregular structure is *mán* 'children' for the singular noun *wal* 'child'. The following sentences reveal the singular and plural forms in context.

15. a. *wal ma-ø-hùhó.*
 child PFV-3FSG-come
 'A child came.'
- b. *mán ma-n-hùhó.*
 children PFV-3PL-come
 'Children came.'

3.2.4. Case

Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads, the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition,

postposition or another noun at the phrase level (Blake, 2001:1). Different languages may have different types of case markers. Some languages lack morphological case, and they express the relationship “by word order and/or by morphologically and prosodically independent function words (... prepositions and postpositions), and partly also by morphological devices on the verb” (Iggesen, 2005:202). Thus, the number of cases varies from language to language.

The connection between adpositions and case is not a new concept. Blake (2001:9) suggests that languages can have adpositions serving as analytic case marker. That is, adpositions and cases can perform similar semantic function, sometimes having equivalent interpretation (Asbury 2008:16). The Gwama cases do not escape this conception of adposition-case connection. Except the genitive case marker *a-*, all cases are recorded functioning as adpositions, i.e. prepositions (see 6.2).

Similar to two of the living Koman languages Komo (Tesfaye 2014) and Uduk (Killian 2015), Gwama does not have nominative case marker. Besides, Objects are not morphologically marked for accusative case, which is also attested in Komo (Tesfaye 2014). In Gwama, many morphemes are heavily polysemous, i.e. carry multifaceted semantic functions depending on the context. Cases like comitative, instrumental, and ablative are, for example, marked with the same prefix *gi-*. This same morpheme is attested in Komo expressing dative, instrumental and ablative cases (Tesfaye 2014:57). The following table presents the list of case markers in Gwama.

Table 13. Gwama Case Markers

	Case	Marker	Example
Core case	Nominative	Unmarked	ga ze-buk'-ni-buk' I PROG -jump-1SG-RED 'I am jumping.' ú-sít ma-n-hùhó SGV-man PFV-3MSG-come 'A man came.'
	Accusative	Unmarked	hap' ma-duj-a o:jo She PAST-buy-3FSG cloth

			‘She bought cloth.’
Peripheral cases	Genitive	a-	ti-ga s’up’ a-ɲa give-1SG.OBJ milk GEN-goat ‘Give me goat’s milk.’
	Dative	gaɸ-	gaɸ-u-sit-e DAT-SGV-man-DEF ‘to the man’
	Comitative	gi-	gi-walkwam-a-ná ‘with my brother’
	Instrumental	gi-	gi-tàŋá ‘with bamboo’
	Ablative	gi-	gi-gábí ‘from market’
	Locative	í-/itat-	í-pà:já ‘in a pot’
	Allative	zi-/paŋ-	paŋ-pò:gó ‘to the river’

As can be seen in Table 13 above, Gwama has at least four morphologically distinct cases excluding the nominative and accusative cases for they are marked by zero morpheme (\emptyset). Hence, the four different cases and their markers are comitative, instrumental, and ablative that are marked by *gi-*, genitive marked by *a-*; locative marked by *í-*, and allative marked by *zi-* or *paŋ-*.

3.3. Derivation

One of the widely used criteria for derivation is that it uses derivational morphemes that may change the syntactic category of the resulting word (Bybee, 1985: 82). It is therefore the set of morphological operations used to form a new word (Radford, 2009: 453). Nouns can be derived from root forms of other classes of words via derivational affixes. The process of forming nouns from verbs or adjectives is known as nominalization (Crystal 2003:328). In addition to derivational affixes, compounding is a highly productive form of nominal derivation in all living Koman languages (Tesfaye 2014; Killian 2015; Mellese 2017) and in Gumuz (Ahland 2012).

Bybee (1985: 82) identifies two types of derivational morphemes. These are morphemes that change the syntactic category of the word to which they apply and those morphemes that do

not change. Katamba (1993: 50) has summarized this as the derivational affixes are used to create new words by one of the following processes.

- i. They may cause a shift in the grammatical sub-classes of a word without moving it into a new word class.
- ii. They bring about a shift in the grammatical class of a base as well as a possible change in meaning.
- iii. They modify significantly the meaning of the base to which they are attached, without necessarily changing its grammatical category.

Noun derivational morphemes of Gwama can cause a shift in the grammatical sub-class without forming a new word class (as in the case of *kum* (N) ‘father’ and *bilakum* (N) ‘fatherhood’) and can bring about a change in word class and a shift in meaning (as in the case of *jan* (V) ‘beg’ and *sitjan* (N) ‘beggar’).

Using derivational affixes is not the only process of nominalization in Gwama. Like the Koman languages Opuo and Uduk, the language can also derive nominals through the process of compounding. The following sections describe those nouns derived from nouns, verbs, and adjectives by derivational prefixes and those nouns derived by compounding two nouns, nouns and verbs, and nouns and adjectives.

3.3.1. Noun Derivation through Prefixation

This section describes nouns that can be derived from different roots by adding prefixes to them. Like other Koman languages such as Uduk, which has limited derivational morphemes (Killian, 2015: 90), Gwama is not rich in its derivational morphology (see also Zelealem, 2005: 16). The prefixes *bila-* and *i-* are somewhat productive nominative morphemes in the language. *bila-* is prefixed on nominal or adjectival roots to form abstract nouns (see 3.3.1.1, and 3.3.1.2), whereas *i-* is prefixed to verbs to derive manner nominals (see 3.3.1.4).

3.3.1.1. Abstract Nouns formed from Nouns

In Gwama, Abstract nouns are formed from other nouns by adding the prefix *bila-* (as in 16). Zelealem (2005) states that abstract nominals and simple nouns are identical. He adds that abstract nouns can rarely be derived by prefixation, reduplication, and modification.

16.	Noun Root/Stem		Derived Noun
	kum	‘father’	bila-kum ‘fatherhood’
	walkwam	‘brother’	bila-walkwam ‘brotherhood’
	wal	‘child’	bila-wal ‘childhood’
	sitnusu	‘friend’	bila-sitnusu ‘friendship’
	kikjata	‘woman’	bila-kikjata ‘womanhood’
	se:ne	‘one’	bila-se:ne ‘unity’
	kike:zi	‘male’	bila-kikezi ‘malehood’
	na	‘mother’	bil-ana ‘motherhood’
	pwakam	‘sister’	bila-p,wakam ‘sisterhood’

3.3.1.2. Abstract Nominals Derived from Adjectives

Gwama also forms abstract nominals from adjectives by attaching the same prefix, i.e. *bila-*, like that of nouns. Examples are given below.

17.	Adjective Root/Stem		Derived Noun
	faja	‘beautiful’	bila-faja ‘beauty’
	t’ot’o	‘black’	bila-t’ot’o ‘blackness’
	situlu	‘poor’	bila-situlu ‘poorness’
	sitnusu	‘friend’	bila-sitnusu ‘friendship’
	k’at’	‘weak’	bila-k’at’ ‘weakness’
	sele	‘white’	bila-sele ‘whiteness’
	p’i	‘brave’	bila-p’i ‘bravery’

The sentences given in 18 contain abstract nominal derived from adjectives.

18. a. bila-faja a-noko
 beauty COP-attract
 ‘Beauty attracts.’
- b. bila-t’ot’o a-noko
 blackness COP-beauty
 ‘Blackness is beauty.’

- c. bila-k'at'/bila-maza dab-ga fun
 weakness NEG-1SG like
 'I dislike weakness.'
- d. hap' bila-p'í a-de fun-ni-ge-fun
 3FSG.SBJ bravery GEN-3SG.POSS like-3MSG-?-RED
 'She likes his bravery.'

Abstract nouns can also be formed by prefixing the same derivational prefix *bila-* to the Gwama colour terms. The derived nouns hold the meaning of 'being the color mentioned by the adjective'. The following examples show the colour terms of Gwama and the derived abstract nouns.

19. Colour Adjectives		Derived Nouns	
k'af	'red'	bila-k'af	'redness'
zizi	'green'	bila-zizi	'greenness'
sisi	'blue'	bila-sisi	'blueness'
t'ot'o	'black'	bila-t'ot'o	'blackness'
sele	'white'	bila-sele	'whiteness'
dawaŋa	'yellow'	bila-dawaŋa	'yellowness'

The sentences given in 20 below present the abstract nominals derived from colour terms of Gwama.

20. bila-t'ot' a-oj-te a-noko
 blackness GEN-cloth-DEF COP-good
 'The blackness of the cloth is good.'
- bila-sɛle a-dap' ga ma-n-a-fun
 whiteness GEN-3FSG.POSS 1SG PFV-3MSG-3FSG-like
 'I like her whiteness.'

3.3.1.3. Gerundive Nominal

Gwama forms verbal nouns (gerund or infinitival nominal) without attaching any derivational morphemes by a process of conversion. Conversion refers to the derivational process whereby an item comes to belong to a new word-class without the addition of an affix

(Crystal 2003:114). The gerundive nominal and the verb root are identical in the language. Examples are provided below.

21.	Verb root	Gerundive
	gus 'run'	gus 'to run/running'
	kabkas 'breath'	kabkas 'to breath/breathing'
	hoo 'come'	hoo 'to come/coming'
	íʃ 'sleep'	íʃ 'to sleep/sleeping'
	ʃá 'eat'	ʃá 'to eat/eating'
	tíbí 'listen'	tíbí 'to listen/listening'
	jì 'play'	jì 'to play/playing'
	ké 'smell'	ké 'to smell/smelling'

The following example sentences show gerundive nouns (as in 22a-c) and infinitival nominal (as in 22d and 22e). This noun derivation mechanism is also common in Komo (Tesfaye 2014).

22. a. t'op' wet-ni min-apipeti
 drink.GER COP-3SG thing-bad
 'Drinking is a bad habit.'
- b. ʃá ti-ni p'í
 eat.GER make-3SG strong
 'Eating makes strong.'
- c. túbí ʃam-na-ʃam
 listen.GER necessary-3SG-RED
 'Listening is necessary.'
- d. ga ʃam-ni gwe ik
 I want-1SG see.INF you
 'I want to see you.'
- e. ga dab-ga ʃam ze ini
 I NEG-1SG want live.INF here
 'I don't want to live here.'

3.3.1.4. Manner Nominals

Manner nominal are nouns that indicate the way actions take place or performed. These nouns are derived from verbs by adding the derivational morpheme *i-*. Consider the following lists of verb roots and derived manner nominals.

23. Verb	Derived manner nominals
ʃá ‘dig’	i-ʃá ‘manner of digging’
gus ‘run’	i-gus ‘manner of running’
ʃà ‘eat’	i-ʃà ‘manner of eating’
jì ‘play’	i-jì ‘manner of playing’
zε ‘sit’	i-ze ‘manner of sitting’
hó ‘walk’	i-hó ‘manner of walking’

The above derived manner nominals are contextually illustrated in the following sentential examples.

24. a. i-jì a-de deb-a-noko
 manner-play GEN-3MSG.POSS NEG-COP-good
 ‘His manner of playing is not good/attractive.’
- b. i-ʃà a-noko
 manner-eat COP-good
 ‘The manner of eating is good.’
- c. i-gus a-de pas’-ni sit
 manner-run GEN-3MSG.POSS laugh person
 ‘His manner of running makes person laugh.’
- d. i-ʃá deb-a-noko
 manner-dig NEG-COP-good
 ‘The manner of digging is not good.’

In all of the above illustrations manner nominal are formed with the prefix *i-* plus a verb. This derivation process also seems to be common in Komo (see Tesfaye 2014).

3.3.2. Compounding

The term compounding refers to the formation of a new lexeme by adjoining two or more different lexemes (Payne 1997: 92; Bauer 2003:40; Matthews 1991: 82). In other words, compounding is a word formation process that involves combining two roots to form new stems (Dixon 2010:138; Payne, 2006:45; Kroeger, 2005:248). This word formation process in Gwama operates on free forms and the combination of free roots form compound nouns.

Compounds can be classified based on the semantic and grammatical relationships holding between the elements that make them up (Lieber, 2009:47). These are attributive compounds, coordinative compounds, and subordinative compounds. In an attributive compound, the non-head functions as a modifier of the head. In coordinative compounds, two of the elements in a compound have equal weight; that is, one of the elements does not modify the other. And, in subordinative compounds, one of the elements is interpreted as the object of the other, specifically when one of the elements is a verb or is derived from a verb. Attributive, coordinative, and subordinative compounds can further be divided into endocentric or exocentric varieties (Lieber, 2009:48). Compounds are called endocentric when the referent of the compound is the same as the referent of its head. If the referent of the compound as a whole is not the referent of the head, it is named exocentric compound (Ibid:48).

Booij (2007) writes that compounds contain two combined words, in which one word modifies the meaning of the other, the head. “Most of the compounds in all languages have their head within the compound, thus they are endocentric compounds” (Dressler, 2005:270). Most of the Gwama compounds are endocentric attributive compounds where the referents of the derived compounds and the referents of their heads are identical (Lieber, 2009:48) and the function of the non-head is as a modifier of the head (Lieber, 2009:47). For example, in Gwama, the adjoining of *swi* ‘house’ and *tuf* ‘excrement’ produces *swituf* meaning ‘toilet’, which is a kind of house. Sometimes, endocentric subordinative compounds like *sit-de-t’imbir* ‘car driver’ can be attested in the language. The compound *sit-de-t’imbir* ‘car driver’ is composed of three roots (*sit* ‘person’, *de* ‘chase/drive’, and *t’imbir* ‘car’). *sit-de* alone can have the meanings ‘one who chases’ and ‘one who drives’. The noun *t’imbir* ‘car’ seems mandatory. In brief, the meanings of Gwama compounds are mostly predictable based on the meanings of their constituents.

A few of the attested compounds, such as *punzu-t'wa* 'mustache', are exocentric in which the referents of the compound and the head are different (Lieber, 2009:48). *punzu-t'wa*, which is formed from *pu:nzu* 'chin' and *t'wa* 'mouth' for instance, refers to the facial hair between the nose and the upper lip (i.e. mustache) rather than type of mouth or chin. Hence, in most cases, it is possible to predict the meaning of Gwama compounds from the meanings of their constituents.

Like other Nilo-Saharan languages, compounding is a productive means of noun formation in Gwama. The language derives compound nouns from noun-noun, noun-verb, and noun-adjective combinations. In other words, a noun combined with another noun, or with other root word of different syntactic category, gives a semantically somewhat related and/or different noun word. The Gwama nouns formed from two different roots are in most cases leftheaded. Each of the different compounding strategies of the language is described as follows.

3.3.2.1. Noun-Noun Compounding

One of the extensively functioning word formation processes is noun-noun combination. To form a noun that refers to a type of house, or room, the noun *swi* 'house', as head word, is combined with another root or derived noun. Note that the noun *swi* 'house' can also be combined as a modifier with noun *k'ak'ja* 'sort of grass' to form the compound *k'ak'ja-swi* 'thatch'. Nouns formed in this process are mainly endocentric and leftheaded. Examples of compound forming nouns and the newly formed nouns are shown in 25.

25.	Head Noun	Modifier Noun	Compound Noun
	swi 'house'	do:zo 'learning'	swi-do:zo 'school'
	swi 'house'	k'ozo 'cooking'	swi-k'ozo 'kitchen'
	swi 'house'	fu:mu 'sorcerer'	swi-fu:mu 'mosque'
	swi 'house'	atá 'herb/medicine'	swj-atá 'clinic; health care centre'
	swi 'house'	tuf 'excrement'	swi-tuf 'toilet'

Gwama also combines the noun *dud* 'arm' with another noun to name some of the body parts. Such nouns can be leftheaded as in 26a, or rightheaded as in 26b, or exocentric as in 26c.

26.

a.	dud	‘arm’	kwapa	‘hand’	dud-kwapa	‘forearm’
b.	dud	‘arm’	mit’	‘finger’	dud-a-mit’	‘hand finger’
c.	dud	‘arm’	sonk’	‘foot’	dud-sonk’	‘ankle’

Gwama forms a compound noun referring to a certain young female animal by combining the noun stem *dwakap* ‘young girl; grown up girl’ with a noun expressing an animal. *dwakap* ‘young girl’ itself is composed of the noun *dwa* ‘girl’ and *kap* ‘bring’. The kind of relationship of the compound is endocentric, and such compounds are mostly righthanded. Consider the examples in 27.

27.	Modifier Noun	Head Noun	Compound Noun			
	dwakap	‘young’	imi	‘cow’	dwakap-imi	‘heifer’
	dwakap	‘young’	bido	‘sheep’	dwakap-bido	‘ewe lamb’
	dwakap	‘young’	ja	‘goat’	dwakap-ja	‘doeling’

Gwama has a rich compound formation. The following lists of examples illustrate some of the attested compound nouns formed from noun-noun combination. Most of them are endocentric compounds and are leftheaded.

28.

pù:nzú	‘chin’	t’wá	‘mouth’	pùnzú-t’wá	‘mustache’
kwám	‘brother’	mít’	‘hand’	kwám-mít’	‘hand finger’
sít	‘person’	ʃín	‘arrow’	sít-ʃín	‘soldier’
bak	‘hair’	zì:	‘eye’	bak-zì	‘eyebrow’
bak	‘hair’	jis	‘body’	bak-jis	‘body hair’
sít	‘person’	kaf	‘witchcraft’	sít-kaf	‘witch’
s’e	‘ear’	pa:ka	‘bread’	s’e-pa:ka	‘crust’
sít	‘person’	swi	‘house’	sít-ʃwi	‘guest’
ʃoʃo	‘bag’	sanza	‘money’	ʃoʃ-sanza	‘wallet’

3.3.2.2. Noun-Verb Compounding

The other means of forming compound nouns in Gwama is via noun-verb combination. In this word formation process of compounding, a noun and a verb combine to form a complex stem whose category is noun. Through noun-verb combination, nouns referring to a person who works something (or referring to a certain profession) known as agentive, nouns referring to a particular place, and nouns having other semantic categories are produced. To form a noun that expresses someone who works a certain job, the noun *sit* ‘person’ serves as a head noun and joins with an action verb. In all the attested cases, each produced compound is leftheaded. Examples of agentive nouns are provided in 29 below.

29.	Head Noun	Modifier Verb	Compound Noun
	sit ‘person’	kup ‘melt’	sit-kup ‘blacksmith’
	sit ‘person’	kwi ‘cultivate/plough’	sit-kuj ‘farmer’
	sit ‘person’	pi ‘bore’	sit-pi ‘midwife’
	sit ‘person’	je ‘slaught’	sit-je ‘butcher’
	sit ‘person’	iliŋ ‘hunt’	sit-iliŋ ‘hunter’
	sit ‘person’	pu ‘exorcise’	sit-pu ‘exorcist’
	sit ‘person’	ján ‘beg’	sit-ján ‘beggar’
	sit ‘person’	t'aja ‘send; order’	sit-t'aja ‘messenger’
	sit ‘person’	k'uf ‘kill’	sit-k'uf ‘killer’
	sit ‘person’	ki ‘keep’	sit-ki ‘guard’
	sit ‘person’	jì ‘play’	sit-jì ‘player’
	sit ‘person’	jí ‘sing’	sit-jí ‘singer’
	sit ‘person’	gus ‘run’	sit-gus ‘runner’
	sit ‘person’	fun ‘to love’	sit-fun ‘lover’

As shown above, Gwama has a derivational process whereby verbs can be changed into nouns having the meaning ‘doer/experiencer of an action’ denoted by the verb. These derived nouns are known as agentive nouns. These nouns are formed by combining verb roots with the nouns *sit* ‘person’ and/or *wal* ‘child’ (See also Zelealem, 2005: 16). Root forms of verbs and derived agentive nominals are further illustrated in the following pairs of sentence structures.

30. a. hun ma-b-gus
3PL.SBJ PFV-3PL-run
'They ran.'
- b. hun wet-bi sit-gus a-nu-noko
3PL.SBJ COP-3PL runner GEN-RED-good
'They are good runners.'
31. a. Ali jan-ni sa:nza
Ali beg-3MSG money
'Ali begs money.'
- b. Ali wet-ni sit-jan
Ali COP-3SG beggar
'Ali is a beggar.'
32. a. Saladin ji-ni kwasi
Saladin play-3SG ball
'Saladin plays football.'
- b. Saladin wet-ni sit-ji
Saladin COP-3SG player
'Saladin is a player.'

The other commonly used semantic category expressed by noun-verb compounding refers to a particular place of something, which takes the lexeme *jas* 'place' as a head noun and combined with a modifier verb. Similar to other compounds, these compounds are leftheaded. The examples given in 33 illustrate compound nouns expressing bedroom, habitat, entrance (of hut), forge, and cemetery respectively.

33.	Head Noun	Modifier	Compound Noun
	jas 'place'	ijf 'sleep'	jas-ijf 'bedroom; sleeping place'
	jas 'place'	ze 'live'	jas-ze 'habitat'
	jas 'place'	kis' 'enter'	jas-kis' 'entrance (hut)'
	jas 'place'	kup 'melt'	jas-kup 'forge'
	jas 'place'	af 'burry'	jas-af 'cemetery'

In addition to expressing someone’s job (as in 29) and a specific place (as in 33), there are other semantic categories expressed by nouns derived from verb-noun combination. For example, to mean ‘headache’, Gwama uses *k’a-wp* (as in 34a), which is composed of the verb *k’a*, as a head word, meaning ‘to eat (referring to sickness)’ and the noun *wp* ‘head’, and to mean ‘stomachache’, the Gwama say *k’a-tat* (as in 34b), which is composed of the head verb *k’a* ‘to eat’ and the noun *tat* ‘stomach’. The attested compounds are all leftheaded. Some of the verb-noun compoundings are presented below.

34.	Head Verb	Modifier Noun	Compound Noun
a.	k'a 'eat'	wp 'head'	k'a-wp 'headache'
b.	k'a 'eat'	tat 'stomach'	k'a-tat 'stomachache'
c.	k'ut 'cut'	o:jo 'cloth'	k'ut-o:jo 'baby sling'

3.3.2.3. Noun-Adjective Compounding

A large number of compound nouns are also formed in Gwama through the process of noun-adjective combination. The joining of noun root and adjective root/stem produce an attributive endocentric compound noun. Similar to most of Gwama compounds, these compounds are leftheaded. The following are some examples of noun-adjective compounding.

35.	Head Noun	Modifier Adjective	Compound Noun
	zi: 'eye'	t'ót'ó 'black'	zí-t'ót'ó 'pupil (of eye)'
	zi: 'eye'	se:le 'white'	zì-se:le 'cornea'
	jas 'place/area'	ùnzú 'rubbish'	jas-ùnzú 'garbage dump'
	mit' 'hand'	walwal 'little'	mit'-walwal 'little finger'
	mit' 'hand'	idaga 'middle'	mit-'idaga 'middle finger'

As can be seen in the above illustrations, the first two examples indicate parts of the eye. The compound nouns share the headnoun *zi* ‘eye’ which is followed by the adjectives *t'ót'ó* ‘black’ and *se:le* ‘white’ to form *zit'ot'o* ‘pupil’ and *zise:le* ‘cornea’, respectively. In the last two illustrations the diminutive adjective expressed via reduplication *walwal* ‘little’ and the adjective *daga* ‘middle’ are placed following the noun *mit'* ‘hand’ to refer to little finger and middle finger, respectively.

3.3.2.4. *min* ‘thing’ plus Verb Compounding

In Gwama, verb roots combined with the word *min* ‘thing’ to express something that can be used to perform the action indicated by the verb or to mean something related to the idea expressed in the verb. The following examples show compound nouns formed from *min* + *Verb* (36a-e) combination.

36.	Verb Root	Compound Noun
a.	ǰǎ ‘eat’	min-ǰǎ ‘food’
b.	ǰa ‘dig’	min-ǰa ‘hoe’
c.	ho:s’ó ‘wash’	min-ho:s’ó ‘bathing place’
d.	zize ‘sit’	min-zize ‘shelter’
e.	kwans’ ‘write’	min-kwans’ ‘book’

Chapter Four

4. Pronouns

Pronouns are free forms (as opposed to affixes) that function alone to fill the position of a noun phrase in a clause (Payne 2006:119). This chapter gives a description of different types of pronouns in Gwama. It describes personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns.

4.1. Personal Pronouns

Schachter and Shopen (2007:24) define personal pronouns as “words used to refer to the speaker (e.g. I, me), the person spoken to (you), and other persons and things whose referents are presumed to be clear from the context (he, him, she, her, it, etc.)”. Gwama has identical subject and object personal pronouns (cf. Kieviet and Robertson 2012; Amare 2013; Goldberg and Hellenthal 2014). Other Koman languages such as Komo (Tesfaye 2014:70) and Opuo (Mellese 2017:55) also exhibit the same form of subject and object personal pronouns. Gender distinction is attested only in third person singular pronoun. The table below reveals the Gwama subject and object pronouns.

Table 14. Gwama Subject and Object Personal Pronouns

Number and Person	Subject	Gloss	Object	Gloss
1SG	gá	I	gá	me
2SG	ík	You	ík	you
3MS	úhàj	He	úhàj	him
3FS	háp’	She	háp’	her
1Pl (INCL)	míni`	We	míni`	us
1Pl (EXCL)	má	We	má	us
2Pl.	úm	You	úm	you
3Pl.	hùn	They	hùn	them

Personal pronouns in Gwama make a seven-way distinction (two numbers namely singular and plural), three persons (first, second, third) and two genders (feminine and masculine). As can be seen in the above table, there are totally eight pronouns, the first four are for the singular and the following four are for the plural (cf. Amare 2013; Goldberg and Hellenthal 2014).

The other point that can be seen in the table is the inclusive and exclusive distinction of the first person plural pronoun, which is a common feature in all living Koman languages (cf. Tesfaye 2014; Killian 2015; Mellese 2017). The pronoun *míni* is inclusive and thus the addressee is included along with the speaker, whereas the pronoun *má* is exclusive and therefore it does not include the addressee.

Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014:15) present Gwama alternative personal pronouns for second person masculine and feminine singulars *uja* and *aja*, respectively, that are used “to call a person.” However, in this study, *uja* is attested as a variant of *uhaj* ‘3MSG’, but *aja* is not attested. To mention, one of my informants called Harun Kaya use *uja* in sentences instead of *uhaj* to mean ‘he’. Consider the data in 1.

1. *uja s’it-ni kikjata*
 he has-3SG woman
 ‘He has a wife/woman.’
- uja a-paŋ*
 he COP-no
 ‘He is not around.’

The sentential examples in 2 below present the subject personal pronouns of Gwama.

2. a. *gá ze-búk’-ni-búk’*
 I PROG-jump-1MSG-RED
 ‘I am jumping.’
- b. *má ze-búk’-mì-búk’*
 we PROG-jump-1PL.EXCL-RED.
 ‘We (EXCL) are jumping.’
- c. *mini ze-buk’-ni-gi-buk’*
 we PROG-jump-1PL.INCL-RED
 ‘We (INCL) are jumping.’
- d. *ík ze-búk’- gi-búk’*
 you PROG-jump-2SG-RED.
 ‘You (2SG) are jumping.’

- e.** úm ze-búk'-mí-búk'
 you PROG-jump-2PL-RED.
 'You (2PL.) are jumping.'
- f.** úhaj ze-búk'-nì-búk'
 he PROG-jump-3MSG-RED.
 'He is jumping.'
- g.** hap' ze-búk'-a-búk'
 she PROG-jump-3FSG-RED.
 'She is jumping.'
- h.** hùn ze-búk'-bí-búk'
 they PROG-jump-3PL-RED.
 'They are jumping.'

The following sentence structures can help to compare the form of object pronouns with that of subject pronouns shown in 2 above.

- 3. a.** Ramadan gwe-n-gi ga
 Ramadan see-3MSG-DD2 me
 'Ramadan saw me.'
- b.** Ramadan gwe-n-gi ma
 Ramadan see-3MSG-DD2 us (1PL.EXCL)
 'Ramadan saw us (EXCL).'
- c.** Ramadan gwe-n-gi mini
 Ramadan see-3MSG-DD2 us (1PL.INCL)
 'Ramadan saw us (INCL).'
- d.** Ramadan gwe-n-gi ik
 Ramadan see-3MSG-DD2 you (2SG)
 'Ramadan saw you (2SG).'

- e. Ramadan gwe-n-gi um
 Ramadan see-3MSG-DD2 you (2PL)
 ‘Ramadan saw you (2PL).’
- f. Ramadan gwe-n-gi haj
 Ramadan see-3MSG-DD2 him
 ‘Ramadan saw him.’
- g. Ramadan gwe-n-gi hap’
 Ramadan see-3MSG-DD2 her
 ‘Ramadan saw her.’
- h. Ramadan gwe-n-gi hun
 Ramadan see-3MSG-DD2 them
 ‘Ramadan saw them.’

4.2. Possessive Pronouns

Gwama expresses possession by prefixing the genitive morpheme *á-* to possessive forms of pronouns. Nearly all the possessive pronouns of the language are different from the subject and object pronouns discussed above. As can be seen in table 15 below, only the first person plural inclusive (*mini*) and exclusive (*ma*) forms of these pronouns are identical to the subject pronouns (cf. Kievit and Robertson, 2012: 45). Of course, some of the possessive pronouns show some sort of similarity in structure with the subject and/or object pronouns. That is, third person feminine singular possessive pronoun takes /d/, and becomes *dáp’*, in place of the subject pronoun onset /h/ in *háp’*. Second person plural possessive pronoun, on the other hand, takes /k/ to the subject pronoun *um* and becomes *kum*. The third person plural possessive pronoun *bún* perhaps originated from the fusion of subject agreement pronominal *bi* and subject pronoun *hùn*. Zelealem (2005:8) writes that Gwama exhibits gender distinction between masculine (i.e. *a-kun* ‘their/3MPL’) and feminine (i.e. *a-bun* ‘their/3FPL’) in the third person plural possessive pronoun. Such gender identifying third person plural possessive pronouns are not attested in this data. The only recorded possessive pronoun for 3PL masculine and/or feminine is *a-bun* (cf. Kievit and Robertson, 2012:43; Amare, 2013:10). The table given below contains the possessive pronouns of Gwama from elicited data.

Table 15. Possessive Pronouns

Number and Person	Possessive Pronouns	Gloss
1SG	á-ná	my
2SG	á-kè	your
3MS	á-de	his
3FS	á-dáp'	her
1PL (EXCL)	á-ma	our
1PL (INCL)	á-mini	our
2PL	á-kùm	your
3PL	á-bún	their

As noted above, the genitive marker *a-* comes preceding the possessive pronoun markers *na* '1SG', *mini* '1PL (INCL)', *ma* '1PL (EXCL)', *ke* '2SG', *kum* '2PL', *de* '3MSG', *dap* '3FSG', and *bun* '3PL' to express ownership. These pronouns appear in sentences suffixed to the head nouns they modify. The phrasal examples in 4a-g and the sentential instances in 5a-g illustrate the structures of the Gwama possessive pronouns in context.

4. a. swi a-ná
house GEN-1SG
'my house'
- b. swi a-mini
house GEN-1PL
'Our (INCL) house'
- c. Swi a-kè
house GEN-2SG
'your house'
- d. swi a-kùm
house GEN-2PL
'your (PL) house'
- e. swi a-de
house GEN-3MSG
'his house'
5. a. ma-ŋa- ø-na hun-ini
PL-goat GEN-1SG.POSS 3PL-here
'My goats are here.'
- b. hùnanun swi a-má- ba-te
these house GEN-1PL-3PL-DEF
'These are our (EXCL) houses.'
- c. oj- a-ke haj-dono
Cloth GEN-2SG.POSS COP-there
'There is your cloth.'
- d. hunanuni ná-ø-kùm
these goat-GEN-2PL
'These are your (PL) goats.'
- e. hun ma-kap-bi ɟof-a-de
they PFV-take-3PL bag-GEN-3MSG
'They took his bag.'

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>f. swi a-dáp’
house GEN-3FSG
‘her house’</p> | <p>f. oj á-dap’ a-jisk’ija?
cloth GEN-3FSG.POSS GEN –which
‘Which one is her cloth?’</p> |
| <p>g. swi a-bún
house GEN-3PL
‘their house’</p> | <p>g. hùné mán- a-bún.
these children-GEN-3PL
‘These are their children.’</p> |

Note that possessive pronouns attached to nouns ending with low vowels as in *na* ‘goat’ delete the genitive marker as in 5a and 5d. The possessive adjectives of Gwama illustrated above also serve as object possessive pronouns having the meaning mine, ours, yours, his, hers, and theirs. As noted above, the possessive adjectives occur following the noun they modify, whereas the objective case possessives appear at the end of a sentence. The examples given in 6 strengthen the notion regarding possessive pronouns copula complement.

6. a. swi mìn-e a-ná
house thingthis GEN-1SG
‘This house is mine.’
- b. swi mìnè a-mini
house this GEN-1PL
‘This house is ours (INCL).’
- c. swi mìnè a-kè
house this GEN-2SG
‘This house is yours.’
- d. swi mìnè a-kùm
house this GEN-2PL
‘This house is yours.’
- e. swi mìnè a-de
house this GEN-3MSG
‘This house is his.’

- f. swi mìnè a-dáp’
house this GEN-3FSG
‘This house is hers.’
- g. swi mìnè a-bún
house this GEN-3PL
‘This house is theirs.’

4.3. Demonstrative Pronouns

All languages have at least two demonstratives, but their form, meaning and use vary tremendously across the languages of the world (Diessel, 1999:1). As pointed out by Diessel (1999: 36), the primary deictic distinction that demonstratives make in most languages is a spatial one, that is, between proximal and distal. They indicate the relative distance of an object, location, or person to the speaker. Gwama has two demonstratives²³: proximal demonstratives referring to an entity near the speaker and distal demonstratives indicating referents that are located at some distance to the speaker. These demonstratives are sensitive to gender distinction, which is also the feature of Komo (see Tesfaye 2014:78). The following table shows the demonstrative pronouns of Gwama.

Table 16. The Gwama Demonstrative pronouns

Gender	Proximal		Distal	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
Masculine	aʔe/uwe/-e ‘this’	nuni/anuni ‘these’	ate/ute/-te ‘that’	tunu ‘those’
Feminine	àʔó/-o ‘this’	nuni/anuni ‘these’	ato/-to ‘that’	tunu ‘those’

The above table reveals that the demonstrative pronoun for masculine proximal singular is *aʔe*, *úwé* or *(-)é* and for feminine proximal singular is *àʔó* or *(-)ó*. The demonstrative used for both masculine and feminine proximal plural is *nuni/anuni*. The language also uses different demonstrative pronouns to express distal. In this regard, masculine distal singular nouns are expressed by the demonstrative *ate/úte/-te*; and, the demonstrative pronoun for feminine

²³ Hellenthal claims that there is a three way distinction of demonstrative pronouns in Gwama (a comment).

distal singular is *áto/-to*. The plural distal demonstrative pronoun that is used both for masculine and feminine gender is *-tunu*. Below the proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns are discussed with examples. Besides, directional demonstratives of Gwama are also treated.

4.3.1. Proximal Demonstratives

These demonstratives can come preceding the referent they indicate in phrases and copula constructions as in 7a-c. The demonstratives *e* for masculine and *o* for feminine can also appear suffixed to the referent in verbal clauses as in 7d and 7e.

7. a. *úwé-j kíké:zì*
 this-? male
 ‘this is a male’
- b. *é swi a-ná*
 this house GEN-1SG.POSS
 ‘This is my house.’
- c. *à?ó-j p’wákam a-ná*
 this-? sister GEN-1SG.POSS
 ‘This is my sister.’
- d. *u-kan-e k’uf-ni gus*
 SGV-dog-this fast-3SG run
 ‘This (M) dog runs fast.’
- e. *pa-o fa-ga fuɸuɸu*
 goat-this eat-DD2 grass
 This (F) goat ate grass.

The plural proximal demonstrative *hunanuni*, or *anuni*, or *nuni* is used to indicate objects closer to the speaker. The demonstrative forms *hunanuni* and *anuni* appear preceding the referent they demonstrate as in 8c and 8d, whereas the plural proximal *nuni* commonly occur suffixed to the referent as in 8a and 8b. These demonstratives are used both for masculine and feminine gender.

8. a. ma-kikjat-nuni hoo-ba gi Asosa
 PL-woman-these come-3PL from Asosa
 ‘These women come from Asosa.’
- b. ma-sit-nuni wet-bi ma-sitʃin
 PL-man-these COP-3PL PL-soldier
 ‘These men are soldiers.’
- c. anuní mán- á-ná
 these children- GEN-1SG.POSS
 ‘These are my children.’
- d. hùn-anuní mán- a-dé.
 these children- GEN-3SG.POSS
 ‘These are his children.’

As noted in 8d, it is common to hear the third person plural subject pronoun *hun* prefixed to the plural proximal demonstrative pronoun *anuni* when it appears as agent of the clause.

4.3.2. Distal Demonstrative Pronouns

Gwama indicates objects or people that are far from the speaker are demonstrated using different forms of demonstrative pronouns based on gender and number. The singular masculine distal is demonstrated by *úte/-te*, meaning ‘that’; and the singular feminine is indicated by *áto/-to* ‘that’. The demonstratives *ute* and *ato* stand alone like the subject pronouns and placed preceding their referents as in 9a-c, whereas the demonstratives *-te* and *-to* usually appear suffixed to their referents as in 9d and 9e. Phrase and sentence level examples are provided below.

9. a. ute ú-sit-te
 that SGV-man-DEF
 ‘that person’
- b. ute-j u-sitdò:zò
 that-? SGV-teacher
 ‘That (M) teacher’

- c. u-sit-te k’uf-ni tɪʃal
 SGV-man-that kill-3SG lion
 That man killed a lion.
- d. áto-j kikját-to
 that-NOM woman-DEF
 ‘that woman’
- e. kan-to todi- a-po
 dog-that ??- 3FSG-bark
 That (F) dog barks.

Again, Gwama mostly demonstrates plural things or objects that are far from the speaker by using the demonstrative *tunu* ‘those’. This demonstrative is used for feminine as well as masculine gender as in 10b and 10c, respectively. It occurs suffixed to the plural object it demonstrates as in 10a-c.

- 10.** a. ma-kan-tunu k’a-bi sum
 PL-dog-those eat-3PL meat
 ‘Those dogs ate meat.’
- b. ma-kikjata-tunu ma-ʃa-bi
 PL-woman-those PFV-eat-3PL
 ‘Those women ate.’
- c. ma-kikez-tunu ma-t’ob-bi ʃwi
 PL-man-those PFV-drink-3PL local alcohol
 ‘Those men drank local alcohol.’

4.3.3. Adverbial Demonstratives

The term demonstrative adverb applies to locational deictics such as *here* and *there* in English (Diessel, 1999:74). Koman languages use different morphemes to indicate the location of the event or situation that is expressed by a cooccurring verb functioning as verb modifier. Komo has *ma* ‘there’ and *mo* ‘here’ (Tesfaye 2014:78), Uduk has *mahan* ‘here’ and *mattan* ‘there’ (Killian 2015), and Opuo exhibits *a-pe-nɔ* ‘here’ and *apani* ‘there’ (Mellese 2017). Likewise, Gwama has these two adverbial demonstratives, *ini* ‘here’ and *idono* ‘there’.

The adverbial demonstrative *ini* ‘here’ seems to be derived from the locative marker *i-* and the third person masculine agreement marker *-ni*. The *i-* in *idono* ‘there’ is also potentially a locative morpheme. The following table contains the two adverbial demonstratives of Gwama.

Table 17. Adverbial Demonstratives in Gwama

Proximal		Distal	
<i>íni</i>	‘here’	<i>ídono</i>	‘there’

Note that the adverbial demonstratives *ini* ‘here’ and *idono* ‘there’ take the preposition *ika* ‘up’ before them and form *ika-ni* ‘up here’ and *ika-dono* ‘up there’. *ika* ‘up’ itself seems to be derived from the locative marker *i-* and the word *ka* ‘up; top’. Similarly, the demonstratives *zi-ni* ‘towards here’ and *zi-dono* ‘towards there’ seem to be composed of the allative morpheme *zi-* ‘to; towards’ and the adverbial demonstratives *ini* ‘here’ and *idono* ‘there’, respectively. These adverbial demonstratives are discussed below with examples categorized into adverbial demonstratives of location (*íni* ‘here’ and *ídono* ‘there’) and adverbial demonstratives of direction (*zi-ni* ‘towards here’ and *zi-dono* ‘towards there’). Other words of Gwama such as *gi-ni* ‘from here’, and *gi-dono* ‘from there’ provide locational qualification for verbs.

4.3.3.1. *ini* ‘here’ and *idono* ‘there’

a. *íni* ‘here’

This adverbial demonstrative pronoun refers to an object or person that is closer to the speaker. As noted above, the formation of this word seems the combination of the locative case marker *i-* and third person masculine singular subject agreement marker. The following sentences illustrate this demonstrative pronoun.

11. a. u-sitdozo haj-ini
 SGV-teacher COP-here
 ‘The teacher is here.’

- b. ma-ɲa a-na hun-ini
 PL-goat GEN-1SG.POSS COP-here
 ‘My goats are here.’

- c. ko-a ini
 Put-3NS.O here
 ‘Put it here.’

b. *idono* ‘there’

This demonstrative pronoun is used to indicate a person or an object that is far from the speaker.

12. a. ma-ɲa a-na hun-idono
 PL-goat GEN-1SG.POSS 3PL.COP-there
 ‘My goats are there.’
- b. ma-hoo-na gi idono
 PFV-come-1SG from there
 ‘I came from there.’
- c. oj a-ke haj-dono
 Cloth GEN-2SG.POSS 3MSG.COP-there
 ‘There is your cloth.’
- d. ko-a idono
 put-3NS.O there
 ‘Put it there.’

Note that, as can be seen in 12 above, copula constructions with adverbial demonstratives are formed with personal pronouns functioning as copulative elements.

4.3.3.2. *zi-ni* ‘towards here’ and *zi-dono* ‘towards there’

a. *zi-ni* ‘towards here’

Gwama uses *zi-ni* ‘towards here’ to provide the locational direction of something. It is composed of the preposition *zi* ‘towards’ and the proximal adverbial demonstrative *ini* ‘here’. Since the preposition ends with a high front vowel, the locative marker *i-* in the demonstrative *ini* ‘here’ seems to be deleted, i.e. vowel deletion is triggered by phonotactic constraint. The deletion of the locative morpheme *i-* can be correlated to the structure *gi-dono* ‘from there’, where the *i-* in *idono* undergo the process of deletion because of the the high front vowel in *gi-*. Consider the following illustrations.

13. a. ja ma-n-gus-na zi-ini
 goat PFV-run-3MSG toward-here
 ‘A goat ran towards here.’

b. tɪfal ma-gus-na zi-ini
 lion PFV-run-3MSG toward -here
 ‘A lion ran towards here.’

b. *zi-dono* ‘towards there’

In Gwama, *zi-dono* is used in sentences to mean ‘towards there.’ It refers to a locational direction which is far from the speaker. Similar to the proximal directional *zi-ni* ‘towards here’, the distal demonstrative *idono* ‘there’ takes the preposition *zi-* to derive *zi-dono* ‘towards there’. The following sentences illustrate this adverbial demonstrative.

14. a. u-tɪfal ma-n-gus-ni zi-dono
 SGV-lion PFV-3MSG-run-3MSG toward-there
 ‘A lion ran towards here.’

b. ho-n-ho zi-dono
 go-1PL-RED toward-there
 ‘Let’s (INCL) go towards there.’

c. bido ma-n-gus-gi zi-dono
 sheep PFV-3MSG-run-DD2 toward-there
 ‘A sheep ran towards there.’

4.4. Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are expressions which are prototypically used to indicate that a nonsubject argument of a transitive predicate is coreferential with the subject (Töpper 2005:194). In all living Koman languages (Komo, Opuo, and Uduk), reflexive pronouns are formed with body parts (see Tesfaye 2014; Mellese 2017; Killian 2015). The Gwama reflexive pronouns are also formed by attaching the lexeme *up* ‘head’ to the possessive pronouns of each person. As noted in 4.2, the genitive morpheme *a-* comes preceding each possessive pronoun as a connector, and in the reflexives the word *up* ‘head’ appears

preceding the genitive marker of the possessive pronouns (see also Amare 2013:13; Zelealem, 2005:17). The following list shows the reflexive pronouns of Gwama.

Table 18. Reflexive Pronouns

Number and Person	Reflexive	Gloss
1SG.	úp-a-ná	myself
2SG.	úp-a-kè	yourself
3SG.M.	úp-a-dé	himself
3SG.F.	úp-a-dáp'	herself
1PL (EXCL)	up-a-ma	ourselves
1PL (INCL)	úp-a-mini	ourselves
2PL.	úp-a-kùm	yourself
3PL.	úp-a-bún	themselves

The phrasal structures given below illustrate the above reflexive pronouns of Gwama.

15. a. gá úp-a-ná
 I head-GEN-1SG.POSS
 'I myself'
- b. má úp-a-má
 we head-GEN-1PL.INCL.POSS
 'We (EXCL) ourselves'
- c. min úp-a-mín
 we head-GEN-1PL.EXCLPOSS
 'We (INCL) ourselves'
- d. ík úp-a-ké
 you head-GEN-2SG.POSS
 'You (SG) yourself'
- e. úm úp-a-kùm
 you head-GEN-2PL.POSS
 'You (PL) yourself'
- f. úhaj úp-a-dé
 he head-GEN.-3MSG.POSS
 'He himself'
- g. háp' úp-a-dáp'
 she head-GEN-3FSG.POSS
 'She herself'
- h. hùn úp-a-bún
 they head-GEN-3PL.POSS
 'They themselves'

As can be seen in the above phrasal structure, the object reflexive pronouns appear following the subject. These reflexives usually (not always as in 16f&g) inflect for the instrumental prefix *gi-* meaning 'by' to show emphasis on the subject, that is, to indicate that an action is

done by the interest of the subject only without any assistance from others. The occurrence of the instrumental form and an object reflexive pronoun has a reading of ‘by oneself’. Such emphatic reflexive constructions are attested in sentences as well as phrases of Gwama. The following sentential examples illustrate the reflexives. They occur after the subjects of each sentence.

16. a. hap' gi up-a-dap' ma-fap'-a wal a-dap'
 she by head-GEN-3FSG.POSS PFV-hit-3FSG child GEN-3FSG.POSS
 ‘She herself hit her child. (Lit. She hit her child by herself.)’
- b. uhaj gi up-a-de ma-n-k'uf-n u-tifal
 he by head-GEN-3MSG.POSS PFV-3MSG-kill-3MSG SGV-lion
 ‘He himself killed a lion. (Lit. He killed a lion by himself.)’
- c. ik gi up-a-ke ma-fap'-g u-sit
 you by head-GEN-2SG.POSS PFV-hit-2SG SGV-man
 ‘You (SG) yourself hit the man. (Lit. You hit the man by yourself.)’
- d. ga gi up-a-na ma-k'uf-ni tifal
 I by head-GEN-1SG.POSS PFV-kill-1SG lion
 ‘I myself killed a lion. (Lit. I killed a lion by myself.)’
- e. hap' ma-p'-fap' gi k'up-a-dap'
 she PFV-3FSG-hit by head-GEN-3FSG.POSS
 ‘She hit herself.’
- f. hun ma-gwe-bi up-a-bun
 they PFV-3PL-look head-GEN-3PL.POSS
 ‘They looked at themselves.’
- g. gwe-gi up-a-ke
 watch-2SG head-GEN-2SG.POSS
 ‘watch yourself’

On the other hand, the object reflexive pronouns take that same prefix *gi-* to express benefactive relation. This dative form has the meaning ‘for’, and together with a reflexive

pronoun, the structure describes the idea ‘for oneself’. The following examples illustrate this point.

17. a. hun gi up-a-bun ma-kab-bi ja
 they to head-GEN-3PL.POSS PFV-take-3PL goat
 ‘They took the goat for themselves.’
- b. hap' gi up-a-dap' ma-duj-a almusu
 she to head-GEN-3FSG.POSS PFV-buy-3FSG banana
 ‘She bought banana for herself.’
- c. ik gi up-a-ke ma-duj-gi bas'
 you to head-GEN-2SG.POSS PFV-buy-2SG milk
 ‘You (SG) bought milk for yourself.’
- d. ma gi up-a-ma ma-ma-p'i-gi
 we to head-GEN-1SG.INCPOSS PFV-1PL-hard-work
 ‘We worked hard for ourselves.’

4.5. Interrogative Pronouns

Similar to other pronouns, interrogative pronouns or question words can be used to substitute or stand for a noun (Crystal 2003:391; Bhat 2004:1). Gwama constructs questions using interrogative pronouns. Interrogative pronouns form content questions that inquire information through question words.

To show the content interrogatives of Gwama, Zelealem (2005:211) presents a list of questions. Some of the constructions contain interrogative pronouns that are identical to this study, but some others have different forms. These include *yabsi* ‘when’, *kara* ‘who’, and *akara* ‘whose’. The lexemes this study attested for these question words are *gigjas* ‘when’, *di* ‘who’, and *a-di* ‘whose’.

Gwama has five basic content interrogative forms. These are *di* ‘who’, *bi* ‘what’, *ija* ‘where’, *k'ija* ‘how’ and *gigjas* ‘when’. The interrogatives *di* ‘who’, *bi* ‘what’, and *k'ija* ‘how’ are productive from which the question words *a-di* ‘whose’, *ga/bi* ‘why’, *jisk'ija* ‘which’, and *wetnik'ijá* ‘how much, how many’ are derived. That is, the genitive case marker *a* and

prepositions can be used to form question words that are semantically different from the basic content interrogative forms. The following table contains the content interrogative pronouns of Gwama that are used to construct interrogative sentences.

Table 19. Gwama Interrogative Pronouns

Pronoun	Basic forms	Constructions
di	di-∅ 'who'	gaf-di 'to whom'
		a-di 'whose'
		gi-di 'with whom'
bi	bi-∅ 'what'	gaf-bi 'to what'
		a-bi 'of what'
		gi-bi 'with what'
ija	ija-∅ 'where'	gi-ja 'from where'
k'ija	k'ija-∅ 'how, how much, how many'	jisk'ija 'which'
gigjas	gigjas-∅ 'when'	---

di 'who'

One of the basic forms of interrogative pronouns of Gwama is *di* 'who'. This question word combines with prepositions to form semantically varying question words as shown in table 19. The following interrogative structures show the derived interrogative words *gaf-di* 'to whom' (as in 18c), and *a-di* 'whose' (as in 18d), and *g-u-di* 'with whom' (as in 18e).

18. a. u-sit-e u-di?
 SGV-man-this SGV-who
 'Who is this man?'
- b. fun-gi u-di?
 Love-2SG SGV-who
 'Whom do you love?'
- c. a-na ti gaf di?
 GEN-1SG.POSS give to who
 'To whom shall I give?'

- d. u-swi-min-e a-di?
 SGV-house-thing-this GEN-who
 ‘Whose house is this?’
- e. a-gi-ho g-u-di
 IMPFV-2SG-go with-SGV-whom
 ‘With whom will you go?’

Note that except the question word in 18d, which is formed from the genitive case marker that indicates possession and the basic question word *di* ‘who’ to mean ‘whose’, the remaining question words are combinations of prepositions and the basic question word. All question words take the final position in sentences.

***bi* ‘what’**

bi ‘what’ is also one of the basic question words that functions as an interrogative pronoun in Gwama. This type of question word also combines with the genitive case morpheme *a-* and prepositions like *gaf* ‘to’ and *gi* ‘with’ to form semantical different question words. These question words are shown in table 20.

Table 20. Question Words formed using *bi* ‘what’

‘what’	‘why’	‘of what’	‘with what’
bi	gaf-bi to-what	a-bi GEN-what	gi-bi with-what

The sentential examples given below present the different forms of the interrogative *bi* ‘what’. The interrogative sentence in 19a contains the basic form *bi* ‘what’, and the remaining constructions from 19b-d present the derived forms.

19. a. heja-jas wet-ni- bi
 quake-earth COP-3SG-what
 ‘What is earthquake?’
- b. ik gaf-bi jil-gi-hoo-awe
 2SG.SBJ to-what not-2SG-come-?
 ‘Why don’t you come?’

- c. Gwama wet-na a-bi
 Gwama COP-3SG GEN-what
 ‘Of what is Gwama?’
- d. u-Ali a-tifal k’uf-na gi-bi
 SGV-Ali ? -lion kill-3SG with-what
 ‘With what does Ali killed the lion?’

***ija* ‘where’**

ija ‘where’ is the other basic interrogative pronoun of Gwama from which interrogative forms of place adverbs like *gija* ‘from where’ is derived via inflection. Since the morpheme *ija* ‘where’ begins with a high front vowel, the vowel in the preposition *gi* ‘from’ is eluded when combined. The *i* of the preposition is dropped, in analogy with *gi + u-sit > gu sit* ‘with the person’. The basic and derived forms of *ija* ‘where’ are given in 20.

20. a. hoo-na gi-ja?
 come-3MSG from-where
 ‘Where does he come from?’
- b. minkuans’ a-na haj-ija?
 book GEN-my 3MSG –where
 ‘Where is my book?’
- c. u-i:ti a-ja?
 SGV-monkey COP-where
 ‘Where is the monkey?’

***k’ija* ‘how, how much, how many’**

The Gwama interrogative word *k’ija* is used to ask about number or amount of things expressed by a noun or a noun phrase. The sentences given in 21a-c below present the question word *k’ija*.

21. a. wet-a nat k'ija
 COP-3FSG year how
 ‘How old is she?’
- b. s'it-gi man k'ija
 have-2SG children how many
 ‘How many children do you have?’
- c. a-gi-ti k'ija
 IMPFV-2SG-pay how much
 ‘How much do you pay?’

k'ija also serves to ask time and what ones name is. That is, it is used in interrogative sentences to mean ‘what’ in requesting time as well as someone’s name as in 22a and 22b respectively. Consider the following sentence.

22. a. sa wet-ni- k'ija
 time COP-3SG- how
 ‘What time is it?’
- b. twi-b-i k'ija?
 name-3PL-2SG how
 ‘What is your name? (Lit. How do they call you?)’

When the basic question word *k'ija* ‘how’ is combined with the word *jis* ‘place’, a different interrogative pronoun, i.e *jisk'ija* ‘which’, is formed. The following sentential examples illustrate the derived interrogative word *jisk'ija* ‘which’.

23. a. im-e-ke u-jisk'ija
 cow-GEN-your SGV-which
 ‘Which one is your (SG) cow?’
- b. oj- a-dap' a-jisk'ija
 cloth- GEN-her COP –which
 ‘Which one is her cloth?’

***gigijas(a)* ‘when’**

One of the five basic question words that function as interrogative pronoun in Gwama is *gigijas* ‘when’. Akin to other question words, *gigijas* basically appears after the verb in final position of interrogative sentences as in 24a and 24b.

24. a. a-gi-ho *gigijas*
 IMPFV -2SG-go when
 ‘When will you go?’

b. ho-ni *gigijasa*
 go-3MSG when
 ‘When did he go?’

Chapter Five

5. Verb Morphology

This chapter focuses mainly on the structure of the verb roots, the derivation of Gwama verbs, and inflections of verbs. Accordingly, the first section deals with forms of verb roots, the second section covers verbal extensions, and the last one describes the inflections of Gwama verbs to person, gender, and number.

5.1. Structure of the verb root

A large number of Gwama verbs have monosyllabic structure with the pattern CV and CVC (see also Zelealem, 2005:10). These patterns are also the most frequent form of verb roots in all living Koman languages (cf. Komo (Tesfaye 2014), Uduk (Killian 2015), and Opuo (Mellese 2017)). Disyllabic verbs with CV(V)CV structure are also as many in number as monosyllabic ones. Only one trisyllabic verb is attested in the data. The possible CV structures of Gwama verb roots are presented below with illustrative examples.

1. V(V)

i 'fill'

i: 'lead'

2. VC

is 'cook'

en 'compromise'

áp 'carve'

áf 'burry'

up 'wash; to polish'

us 'sew'

3. CV

bì 'wipe off'

de 'chase'

he 'admit'

jé 'plant; to sow'

ji 'hum'

k'a 'eat (meat)'

kē 'feed (animals)'

6. CVC₁C₂

kins' 'knot'

p'ins' 'shell maize'

dump' 'plaster'

suns' 'bite'

kans' 'shoot (arrow or gun)'

p'imp' 'scratch'

7. CV(V).CV

bé:ǰé 'pacify'

pi:ǰi 'chase'

dé:pè 'indicate'

dudi 'whisper'

hè:ǰé 'cut (hair); harvest'

huǰi 'crunch'

ke:me 'pretend'

kiǰi 'chop into pieces'

p'ada 'saw wood'

8. CV.CVC

k'i	'remove (tooth)'	botin	'mix'
ko	'roast'	garap	'spank (child)'
4. V.CV		gok'of	'husk (corn)'
á:tá	'count'	hirin	'hire'
uba	'grind'	huɲuf	'crawl'
5. CVC		k'ek'em	'sneeze'
bif	'shiver; tremble'	kigim	'kneel'
buk'	'jump'	koɲof	'bend down'
bun	'shout'	9. CVC.CV.CV	
bus'	'choke'	k'umbara	'hoe'
dol	'cry out'		
duj	'buy'		
hof	'store; assemble'		
k'aj	'stir'		
kis	'forbid'		
kit	'curse'		
k'uj	'trap'		
s'up'	'kiss'		

Though monosyllabic verb roots exceed in number, in the current data, among the above entire verb roots, monosyllabic verbs with CV, CVC and disyllabic ones with CV.CVC and CV(V).CV are the dominant structures. The verb roots with VC and CVC₁C₂ structures are relatively fewer in number. As can be seen in 6 above, the consonant sequence that mostly appear in CVC₁C₂ verb roots are nasals and ejectives, respectively. The remaining verb roots such as V and the trisyllabic one CVC.CV.CV have the least number of lexemes as shown in 1 and 9 of the above examples.

5.2. Verbal Extensions

Gwama uses verbal extensions to form different verbs. The morphemes that appear as verbal extensions include causative, passive, and reciprocal. They all occur prefixed to verb roots. In this regard, the language has mainly prefixal verb morphology that permits concatenation of two and above morphemes in forming a verb stem. The three verbal extensions are discussed in the following sub-sections.

5.2.1. Causative

Causative constructions are known as valence-increasing constructions in which an extra argument, the causer, is introduced (Comrie 1989: 175; Payne, 2006: 258). Causatives convey the notion of one event producing another event or one person causes another person to do something. The first is the causing event, in which the causer triggers an action, while the second is the caused event, in which the causee is affected by the causing event (Comrie 1989: 165). Gwama forms causatives from verb roots and adjectives.

The language forms a causative verb stem by prefixing the morphem *i-* to a verbal root (see also Goldberg and Hellenthal, 2014:31). Although Zelealem (2005) claims that the causativizer in Gwama is the discontinuous morphem *ti...n*, the current data doesn't prove that. The following table illustrates the derivation of causatives.

Table 21. Cauative verb stems

Verb Root	Gloss	Causative Verbs	Gloss
t'op'	'drink'	i-t'op'	cause to drink
ti	'give'	i-ti	cause to give
t'wa	'tell'	i-t'wa	cause to tell
pop'	'hide'	i-pop'	cause to hide
tab	'follow'	i-tab	cause to follow
a:ja	'know'	i-a:ja	cause to know
ji	'get out'	i-ji	cause to get out
t'uf	'tie'	i-t'uf	cause to tie
kap	'take'	i-kap	cause to take
sus	'find'	i-sus	cause to find
k'anda	'hate'	i-k'a:nda	cause to hate
s'i	'die'	i-s'i	cause to die
k'uf	'kill'	i-k'uf	cause to kill
pas'	'laugh'	i-pas'	cause to laugh
ze/tul	'live'	i-ze/i-tul	cause to live
ji	'play'	i-ji	cause to play
kís'	'enter'	i-kís'	cause to enter

ǰǎ	'eat'	i-ǰǎ	cause to eat
kù	'cry'	i-kù	cause to cry

Gwama is productive in forming such types of verbs that add semantic properties to transitive as well as intransitive ones. However, the language does not show double causative structure of verbs.

As noted above, causative verbs of Gwama differ in form from verb roots since causatives have one more argument than that of the corresponding non-causative. This additional argument is the causer (or agent of cause). The following sentential examples show the use of causative verbs.

10. a. uhaj i-t'ob-ni i:ja gaf wal-a-de
 3SG.SBJ CAUS-drink-3MSG water to child-GEN-3SG.POSS
 'He made his child drink water.'
- b. hun ma-i-k'uf-b- u-k'as'mana gi sitki
 3PL.SBJ PFV-CAUS-kill-3PL SGV-hyena by guard
 'They made the guard kill the hyena.'
- c. Almaz i-ǰa-∅ jas gaf kum
 Almaz CAUS-dig-3FSG land to father
 'Almaz caused her father to dig.'
- d. minkwans' i-nan- a-ga t'wa-Gwama
 book CAUS-know-GEN-1SG mouth-Gwama
 'The book caused me to know Gwama language.'

Note that the causativized verbs in the above sentences have three noun phrases (i.e. the causer, the causee, and the effect) because of the additional argument, the causer. These are the subject NP (agent of cause), the indirect object NP (causee or agent of effect), and the direct object NP (effect). Compare the NPs in 10a above, which has a causativized verb *i-t'ob* 'cause to drink', and in 11 below, which has a non-causative verb *t'ob* 'drink'. The later has two NPs, the subject NP *wal* 'child' and the direct object NP *i:ja* 'water'.

11. u-wal ma-t'ob-ni i:ja
 SGV-child PFV-drink-3MSG water
 'The child drank water.'

Causatives are not only formed from verb roots. Such verbs having the meaning 'cause to do something' are also formed from adjectives. That is, though derivation of verbs is not a productive means of word formation in the language, it can be said that a verb can be derived from adjectives using the causativizing prefix *i-*, which is "the most stable derivation marker in Nilo-Saharan" (Dimmendaal 2018:5). Consider the following examples.

12.	Adjectives	Gloss	Causative Verbs	Gloss
	kus'	'be dry'	i-kus'	cause to dry
	gut	'be short'	i-gut	cause to be short
	paj	'be wide'	i-paj	cause to be wide
	handa	'be big'	i-handa	cause to be big

5.2.2. Passive

The term passive is used in the grammatical analysis of voice referring to verb forms where the grammatical subject is the recipient of the action denoted by the verb (Crystal 2003:353). There are four basic features of a canonical passive formation (Dixon, 2012:206): (a) the derivation applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive, (b) the underlying object (O) becomes subject (S) of the passive, (c) the underlying agent (A) goes into a peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, adposition, etc. This argument, which is required by a transitive verb, can be omitted, (d) the verb or verb group in the passive construction is distinct from its active counterpart by formal marking of a passive construction. The marking can go through a morphological process applying to the verb or a periphrastic verbal construction (as in English, where it involves auxiliary verb *be*, plus suffix *-en* or *-ed* on the verb) (Keenan and Dryer, 2007:333; Dixon, 2012:206).

Koman languages form passive using different morphemes. Opuo, for example, expresses passive with the morpheme *un-* (Mellese 2017) and Komo uses *a-* for singular and *u-* for plural subjects (Tesfaye 2014). The Passive voice in Gwama is also a morphological process, which is expressed via the morpheme *b-*. The morphological structure of the third person passive forms of some transitive verb roots is shown in the following table.

Table 22. Passive Form of Verbs

Verb root	Gloss	Passive Verb	Gloss
tí	'give'	ma-b-e-tí	was given
ǰá	'eat'	ma-b-e-ǰá	was eaten
aja	'know'	ma-b-e-aja	was known
t'op'	'drink'	ma-b-e-t'op'	was drunk
ku	'cry'	ma-b-e-ku	was cried
kis'	'enter'	ma-b-e-kis'	was entered
ǰi	'see'	ma-b-e-ǰi	was seen
t'uj	'tie'	ma-b-e-t'uj	was tied
gi	'work'	ma-b-e-gi	was worked
ǰap'	'beat'	ma-b-e-ǰap'	was beaten

Note that, the perfective marker *ma-* usually appears preceding the passivizing morphemes. Object agreement marker *e-* appears following the passive morpheme *b-*.

Kieviet and Robertson (2012) claim that the morpheme of the passive structure has different forms according to person and number. These are *ba* for 1SG, 1PL (EXCL), 1PL (INCL), 2PL, *bi* for 2SG, *ǰap'* for 3FSG, *be* for 3MSG, and *bun* for 3PL. The data in this study, however, shows that the morphemes, which they consider as passive forms, are the fusions of the passive form *b-* and object agreement markers. Second, the current data identifies different forms of the fused agreement markers shown in the 1SG, 1PL (INCL and EXCL), and 2PL. The following sentential examples show the perfective (13) and imperfective (14) passive voice structures of the language.

13. a. ga ma-b-ga-ǰap'

I PFV-PASS-1SG-beat

'I am beaten.'

b. ma ma-b-ma-ǰap'

we PFV-PASS-1PL.EXCL-beat

'We (EXCL) are beaten.'

14. a. ga a-b-ga-ǰi-ǰap'

I IMPFV-PASS-1SG-RED-beat

'I will be beaten.'

b. ma a-b-ma-ǰi-ǰap'

we IMPFV-PASS-1PL-RED-beat

'We (EXCL) will be beaten.'

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>c. mini ma-b-mi-ʃap'
we PFV-PASS-1PL.INCL-beat
'We (INCL) are beaten.'</p> | <p>c. mini a-b-mi-ʃi-ʃap'
we IMPFV-PASS-1PL-RED-beat
'We (INCL) will be beaten.'</p> |
| <p>d. ik ma-b-i-ʃap'
you PFV-PASS-2SG-beat
'You (SG) are beaten.'</p> | <p>d. ik a-b-i-ʃi-ʃap'
you IMPFV-PASS-2SG-RED-beat
'You (SG) will be beaten.'</p> |
| <p>e. um ma-b-um-ʃap'
you PFV-PASS-2PL-beat
'You (PL) are beaten.'</p> | <p>e. um a-b-um-ʃi-ʃap'
you IMPFV-PASS-2PL-RED-beat
'You (PL) will be beaten.'</p> |
| <p>f. hap' ma-b-ap'-ʃap'
she PFV-PASS-3FSG-beat
'She is beaten.'</p> | <p>f. hap' a-b-ap'-ʃi-ʃap'
she IMPFV-PASS-3FSG-RED-beat
'She will be beaten.'</p> |
| <p>g. uhaj ma-b-e-ʃap'
he PFV-PASS-3MSG-beat
'He is beaten.'</p> | <p>g. uhaj a-b-e-ʃi-ʃap'
he IMPFV-PASS-3MSG-beat
'He will be beaten.'</p> |
| <p>h. hun ma-b-un-ʃap'
they PFV-PASS-3PL-beat
'They are beaten.'</p> | <p>h. hun a-b-un-ʃi-ʃap'
they IMPFV-PASS-3PL-RED-beat
'They will be beaten.'</p> |

In each of the above structures, both in the perfective and imperfective, the passive form *b-* appears preceding object markers. These are *-ga* 1SG, *-ma* 1PL.EXCL, *-mi* 1PL.INCL, *-i* 2SG, *-um* 2PL, *-ap'* 3FSG, *-e* 3MSG, and *-un* 3PL. The examples also indicate that passivaization in Gwama promotes an object of a transitive verb into a subject state and mostly deletes the doer. Note that passive constructions can also take an agent as in 15a and 15b.

- 15** a. sum-e gi kan ma-b-e-k'a
meat-DEF by dog PFV-PASS-3MSG-eat
'The meat was eaten by dog.'
- b. minʃa-je gi s'i ma-b-e-ʃa
food-DEF by rat PFV-PASS-3MSG-eat
'The food was eaten by rat.'

In these structures, i.e. 15a and 15b, where the agent of the action is included in the passive structure, the morpheme *gi-* functioning as a preposition ‘by’ comes before the agent noun.

5.2.3. Reciprocals

A clause in which two participants act upon each other where both are agent and patient is considered as a prototypical reciprocal clause (Payne, 2006:244). That is, the reciprocal verb expresses an action performed by two or more persons who are both agents and patients at the same time. Kemmer (1993: 96-97) also writes that the prototypical reciprocal context is a simple event frame expressing a two-participant event in which there are two relations; each participant serves in the role initiator in one of those relations and endpoint in the other.

Of the Koman languages, Uduk indicates reciprocal action by *cem* (Killian 2015), Opuo forms reciprocal construction with the reflexive morpheme *es* ‘body’, i.e. reciprocal and reflexive markings coincide, (Mellese 2017), and Komo has a verb *gama* ‘find’ functioning as a reciprocal morpheme as in *gama funan* ‘love each other’ (Otero 2014). Gwama reciprocals are formed by putting the verb *dena* ‘meet’; find’ preceding the main verbs. A verb taking *dena* forms an intransitive stem. The reciprocal verb refers to a two-participant activity. The following table reveals reciprocal verbs formed by taking the morpheme *dena-*.

Table 23. The Reciprocal Verb Stem

Verb Root	Gloss	Reciprocal Form	Gloss
ʃapʼ	‘beat’	ma-b-dena-ʃapʼ	beat each other
sʼit	‘hold’	ma-b-dena-sʼit	held each other
kʼuʃ	‘kill’	ma-b-dena-kʼuʃ	killed each other
a:ja	‘know’	ma-b-dena-à:jà	knew each other
ʃù	‘pull’	ma-b-dena-ʃù	pulled each other
tūʃ	‘pull’	ma-b-dena-tūʃ	pushed each other
ʃi	‘see’	ma-b-dena-ʃi	saw each other
īzi	‘advise’	ma-b-dena-īzi	advised each other
úp	‘wash’	ma-b-dena-up	washed each other
wūs	‘hug’	ma-b-dena-wus	hugged each other

As can be seen from the above table the reciprocal form *dena* produces reciprocal verb stems. The perfective marker *ma-* and the reduced form of the third person plural pronominal affix *bi-* appear preceding *dena*.

The following example sentences show how Gwama reciprocal verbs form prototypical reciprocal clauses.

16. a. man ma-b-dena-ʃap'
 children PFV-3PL-REC-hit
 'The children hit each other.'
- b. Halima gu Ali ma-b-dena-s'up'
 Halima and Ali PFV-3PL-REC-kiss
 'Halima and Ali kissed each other.'
- c. ma-andure ma-b-dena-gwe
 PL-cat PFV-3PL-REC-see
 'The cats saw each other.'
- d. hun ze-dena-t'wa-bi-t'wa
 3PL.SBJ PROG-REC-talk-3PL-RED
 'They are talking to each other.'
- e. ma dena-twi-mi gi-sónt' a-ma
 1PL.SBJ REC-call-1PL by-name GEN-1PL.POSS
 'We call each other by our names.'
- f. hun dena-aj-bi-a:ja
 3PL.SBJ REC-RED-3PL-know
 'They know each other.'
- g. hun dena-ʃun-bi-ʃun
 3PL.SBJ REC-love-3PL-RED
 'They love each other.'

Note that in the present progressive reciprocal clause (as in 16d) and the present reciprocal ones (as in 16e-g), agreement markers appear following the main verb. In perfective

reciprocals (16a-c), agreement pronominals occur following the perfective marker *ma-*, which is prefixed to the reciprocal morpheme *dena*.

5.3. Verb Agreement

The inflectional morphology of Gwama verbs is addressed in this section. Different inflectional categories like person, object, aspect/tense, and mood are given due emphasis.

5.3.1. Person

Gwama verbs display agreement with their subject noun phrases via pronominal affixes. Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014) show person marking pronominal affixes that Gwama uses for imperfective structure. In the current data, two forms of pronominal affixes are identified, those pronominal affixes used in imperfective structures and those used in perfective ones. The following table shows person marking used on the verb.

Table 24. Number and Person Markers

Number and Person	Subject Personal Pronouns	Subject Agreement Markers	
		IMPFV (PFV)	PFV
1SG	ga	-nī	n-
2SG	ik	-gi	g-
3MSG	uhaj	-ní	n-
3FSG	hap'	-(b)a/-ø	ø-
1PL (EXCL)	ma	-mì	m-
1PL (INCL)	mini	-nì	n-
2PL	um	-mí	m-
3PL	hun	-bi	b-

As can be seen in the third column of the above table, the imperfective person marking pronominal affixes of 1SG, 3MSG, and 1PL (INCL) differ only in tone. The same pronominal affixes, which vary in tone, are also used for 1PL (EXCL) and 2PL subjects.

The sentences in 17a-h contain the subject agreement markers *ni* with mid tone for 1SG, *gi* for 2SG, *ní* with high tone for 3MSG, *a* for 3FSG, *mì* with low tone for 1PL (EXCL), *nì* with low tone for 1PL (INCL), *mí* with high tone for 2PL, and *bi* for 3PL respectively.

17. a. ga ze-buk'-nī-buk
I PROG-jump-1SG-RED
'I am jumping.'
- b. ma ze-buk-mì-buk
we PROG-jump-1PL-RED
'We (EXCL) are jumping.'
- c. mini ze-buk-nì-buk
we PROG-jump-1PL-RED
'We (INCL) are jumping.'
- d. ik ze-buk'-gì-buk'
you PROG-jump-2SG-RED
'You are jumping.'
- e. úm ze-buk'-mí-buk'
you PROG-jump-2PL-RED
'You (PL) are jumping.'
- f. úhaj ze-buk'-ní-buk'
he PROG-jump-3MSG-RED
'He is jumping.'
- g. hap' ze-buk'-a-buk'
she PROG-jump-3FSG-RED
'She is jumping.'
- h. hun ze-buk'-bí-buk'
they PROG-jump-3PL-RED
'They are jumping.'

As can be seen from the above illustrative sentences, the verbs contain person markers of Gwama. These person markers are 1SG *ni*, 2PL (EXCL) *mì*, 1PL (INCL) *nì*, 2SG *gì*, 2PL *mí*, 3MSG *ní*, 3PL *bí*, and, 3FSG *a*. As noted above, of these person-marking affixes, the morphemes for first person singular, first person plural inclusive, and third person masculine singular ones differ only by tone. The same variation is also attested in the second person and

third person plurals. Vowel reduced form of subject markers are also attested in sentences of the language. Only consonant segments of the subject markers are usually used when preceded by the perfective marker *ma-* and probably when the markers appear preceding the verb. Such types of sentential structures lack complement or object. The following sentences show the verb *gus* ‘run’ inflected for consonant segments of subject markers.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>18. a. ga ma-n-gus
I PFV-1SG-run
‘I ran.’</p> | <p>e. um ma-m-gus
you PFV-2PL-run
‘You (PL) ran.’</p> |
| <p>b. ma ma-m-gus
we PFV-1PL-run
‘We (EXCL) ran.’</p> | <p>f. haj ma-n-gus
he PFV-3MSG-run
‘He ran.’</p> |
| <p>c. mini ma-n-gus
we PFV-1PL-run
‘We (INCL) ran.’</p> | <p>g. hap' ma-\emptyset-gus
she PFV-3FSG-run
‘She ran.’</p> |
| <p>d. ik ma-g-gus
you PFV-2SG-run
‘You (M) ran.’</p> | <p>h. hun ma-b-gus
they PFV-3PL-run
‘They ran.’</p> |

The above illustrations contain the vowel-reduced person markings attached to the verb *gus* ‘run’ preceded by the perfective morpheme *ma-*. The person marking pronominal for 3FSG -*a-*, as shown in 18g, is deleted because the morpheme *ma-*, which is prefixed to the subject marker, ends with a low vowel.

In sentences having direct or indirect objects, Gwama subject markers appear following verbs. This is, for example, attested in structures shown in 19a-d where the unreduced subject markers are suffixed to verbs. The sentences in 19a-c contain the verb *gweʃi* ‘see’, which seems a fusion of *gwe* ‘watch’ and *ʃi* ‘see’, preceded by the perfective prefix *ma-* and followed by the suffixed subject markers *ni* 3MSG, *a* 3FSG, and *bi* 3PL, respectively. I can, therefore, say that the position of subject markers depend on the presence/absence of objects. The verb in 19d *ti* ‘give’ is similarly preceded by *ma-* and followed by *ni* 3MSG as a suffix.

19. a. haj ma-gweʃi-ni k'as'mana
3MSG.SBJ PFV-see-3MSG hyena
'He saw a hyena.'
- b. hap' ma-gweʃj-a k'as'mana
3FSG.SBJ PFV-see-3FSG hyena
'She saw a hyena.'
- c. hun ma-gweʃi-bi k'as'mana
3PL.SBJ PFV-see-3PL hyena
'They saw a hyena.'
- d. ma-ti-ni pakpuʃ
PFV-give-3MSG bread
'He gave a bread.'

A subject agreement marker is an obligatory component of a finite verb form, in contrast to the subject noun or pronoun, which is optional. Omission of the subject agreement makes the structure unacceptable while omission of the latter does not as illustrated below. That is, the language has pro-drop property.

20. a. ma-n-gus
PFV-3MSG-run
'He ran.'
- b. ma-∅-gus
PFV-3FSG-run
'She ran.'
- c. ma-b-gus
PFV-3PL-run
'They ran.'

Note that first person and second person are not identified by gender; different gender markers are only used for the third person singular, which are marked for gender with the morpheme *-a* for feminine and the morpheme *-ni'* for masculine.

5.3.2. Object

Gwama has also the following object marking morphemes.

Table 25. Object Agreement Markers

Number and Person		Object Agreement Markers
1SG		ga-
2SG		i-
3SG	Masculine	e-
	Feminine	ap’-
	Neuter	a-
1PL (EXCL)		ma-
1PL (INCL)		mi-
2PL		um-
3PL		un-

Consider the above object agreement markers in the following sentential examples.

21. a. Meko ma-n-ga-fi
Meko PFV-3MSG-1SG.OBJ-see
‘Meko saw me.’
- b. Meko ma-n-ma-fi
Meko PFV-3MSG-1PL.EXCL.OBJ-see
‘Meko saw us (1PL.EXCL).’
- c. Meko ma-n-mi-fi
Meko PFV-3MSG-1PL.INCL.OBJ-see
‘Meko saw us (1PL.INCL).’
- d. Meko ma-n-i-fi
Meko PFV-3MSG-2SG.OBJ-see
‘Meko saw you (2SG).’
- e. Meko ma-n-um-fi
Meko PFV-3MSG-2PL.OBJ-see
‘Meko saw you (2PL).’

- f. Meko ma-n-e-ʃi
Meko PFV-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ-see
'Meko saw him.'
- g. Meko ma-n-ap'-ʃi
Meko PFV-3MSG-3FSG.OBJ-see
'Meko saw her.'
- h. Meko ma-n-un-ʃi
Meko PFV-3MSG-3PL.OBJ-see
'Meko saw them.'

In the examples shown above, the object agreement markers occur following the subject agreement morpheme *n* '3MSG', which is prefixed to the verb *ʃi* 'see'. The third person masculine object agreement is *e-* for animate (as in 21f above and 22a below) and *a-* for inanimate (as in 22b and 22c below).

22. a. Ramadan ze-gwe-n-e-gwe
Ramadan PROG-watch-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ-RED
'Ramadan is watching him.'
- b. a-g-a-k'u-k'undu
IMPFV-2SG-3MSG.OBJ-RED-finish
'You will finish it.'
- c. ma-n-a-ʃa
PFV-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ-eat
'He ate it.'

Kievit and Robertson (2012:43) and Amare (2013:31) claim that the third person singular inanimate object marking pronominal *a-* fused with the subject agreement morphemes function as subject agreement markers. These are *na-* 1SG, *ma-* 1PLE.EXCL, *na-* 1PL.INCL, *ga-* 2SG, *ma-* 2PL, *na-* 3MSG, *ba-* 3FSG, and *ba-* 3PL. In these morphemes, the consonant segments are subject agreement markers and the vowel segment *a-* is an inanimate object marker as shown in the following conjugation.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>23. a. ga ma-n-a-t'op'
I PFV-1SG-3MSG.OBJ-drink
'I drank it.'</p> | <p>e. um ma-m-a-t'op'
you PFV-2PL-3MSG.OBJ-drink
'You (PL) drank it.'</p> |
| <p>b. ma ma-m-a-t'op'
we PFV-1PL-3MSG.OBJ-drink
'We (EXCL) drank it.'</p> | <p>f. haj ma-n-a-t'op'
he PFV-3MSG-3MSG.OBJ-drink
'He drank it.'</p> |
| <p>c. mini ma-n-a-t'op'
we PFV-1PL-3MSG.OBJ-drink
'We (INCL) drank it.'</p> | <p>g. hap' ma-b-a-t'op'
she PFV-3FSG-3MSG.OBJ-drink
'She drank it.'</p> |
| <p>d. ik ma-g-a-t'op'
you PFV-2SG-3MSG.OBJ-drink
'You (SG) drank it.'</p> | <p>h. hun ma-b-a-t'op'
they PFV-3PL-3MSG.OBJ-drink
'They drank it.'</p> |

5.4. Directionality

Otero (2019:148) notices that Deictic Directional (DD) verb morphology is a core feature of the Koman verb system. He claims that the DD systems of the Koman languages consist of two to three suffixes that occur immediately on the verb stem (Ibid). As to Otero (2019:149), all living Koman languages have two Deictic Directional morphemes with the exception of Komo, which has three. Hellenthal (2018:180) identified two deictic-directional morphemes of Gwama. Her semantic based detailed analysis presents three paradigms that include an unmarked one (direction unspecified). The marked ones are expressed by **-í (DD1)**, which indicates direction to the speaker, and **-gí (DD2)**, direction to the addressee (Ibid). The data for this study has also confirmed these DD markers movement towards and away from the deictic center.

In this sub-section, the DD markers of Gwama suffixed to motion²⁴ verbs are presented. The morphemes with motion verbs (i.e. DD1 and DD2) could be perceived as “ventive” and “itive”, respectively (cf. Hellenthal 2018:182).

²⁴ For further illustrations regarding Gwama DD markers suffixed to Non-Motion Verbs, consult Hellenthal (2018).

5.4.1. Directional with Motion Verbs

Hellenthal (2018:182) referring to Talmy (1985) and Schaefer & Gaines (1997) writes that “motion verbs are commonly defined as coding an event in which a figure changes its spatial location in relation to a ground or another entity, and direction or PATH as the course or trajectory of the figure.” The DD markers indicate the motion to the deictic referent point, which is the goal. Similar to other Koman languages, the Gwama DD suffixes express motion towards the speaker and motions towards the addressee (Cf. Otero 2019:151). The illustrations shown below contain DD1 that indicate motion towards the speaker.

24. a. uhaj ma-ho-na gaj kab-i-manga
3MSG PFV-go-3MSG to bring-**DD1**-mango
'He went to bring mango.'
- b. ú-saku “ti-tut-i-ga-ija?” ko-ni-ga-ko
SGV-grandfather “RED-come-**DD1**-1SG. -where?” say-3MSG-1SG-RED
'Grandfather, “Where do you come from?” said to me.'

Note that one of the default referent point, or deictic center, for spatial dimension is ‘here’. The above structures show the motion towards the speaker and carry the semantics of the spatial dimension “...to here.”

As mentioned above, Gwama expresses motion towards the addressee with the suffix **-gi** (**DD2**) attached to verbs. The data in 25 below show that the DD2 suffix expresses motion to the addressee.

25. a. gidon ga dab-ga hoo-**gi**-hoo
then I NEG-1SG come-**DD2**-RED
'Then, I do not go.'
- b. ga a-ni-kwa ho-**gi**-ho
I IMPFV-1SG-PROB go-**DD2**-RED
'I may go.'
- c. ga ma-n-ho-gi-ho
I PFV-1SG-go-**DD2**-RED
'I went.'

- d. ga ho-n-gi zi Addis Ababa
 I go-1SG-**DD2** to Addis Ababa
 ‘I had gone to Addis Ababa.’
- e. ma ho-m-gi zi Addis Ababa
 we go-1PL-**DD2** to Addis Ababa
 ‘We (EXCL) had gone to Addis Ababa.’

Similar to the illustrations in 24, the structures in 25 above express spatial dimensions. In the later case the motion is away from the speaker and can be interpreted as “...from a certain place.”

The semantics of the directional morphemes can also extend into the temporal/aspectual domain (Hellenthal 2018). In this sense, the default referent point, i.e. deictic center, for temporal dimension is ‘Now’ (Ibid:180).

26. a. ga wet-ni-gi wal-dozo
 1SG.SBJ COP-1SG-**DD2** child-education
 ‘I was a student. (but not now)’
- b. ma wet-mi-gi man-dozo
 1PL.EXCL COP-1PL-**DD2** children-education
 ‘We (EXCL) were students. (but not now)’
- c. gi-poʃ- a-dap’, uhaj ze-t’op’-ni-gi jwi
 when-arrive- GEN-3FSG.POSS, he PROG-drink-3MSG-**DD2** alcohol
 ‘When she arrived, he was drinking alcohol. (but not now)’
- d. ga ze-ho-ni-gi zi t’umu
 1SG.SBJ PROG-go-1SG-**DD2** to home
 ‘I was going to my home. (but not now)’

All the above illustrations shown in 26 can semantically be interpreted from temporal dimension, and thus the actions performed in the past are no longer being done. They all have implications that can semantically be put as “...but not now.”

5.4.2. Directional with Non-Motion Verbs

Hellenthal (2018) gives detailed analysis of Gwama DD markers that include ample data regarding the use of the deictic directional morphemes with Non-Motion verbs. The current study does not have much data to show the DD markers in action and state verbs as Hellenthal (2018) does. The attested deictic directional with non-motion verbs is the DD2 as shown below.

27. a. ga a-n-ab-ti-**gi**-ti
I IMPFV-1SG-3FSG-give-**DD2**-RED
'I will give her.'
- b. u-sit-a-tul-**gi**-tul-ge ma-wet-ni-sit-s'it
SGV-man-GEN?-poor-**DD2**-RED-DEF PFV-COP-3SG-man-have
'The poor man became rich.'

The illustration in 27a indicates that the speaker intends to give something to someone someday, though not specifically known when to give. The second illustration indicates that the man was poor sometime in the past, but this situation is changed now.

5.5. Aspect/Tense

According to Comrie (1976:3) "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation". Borik (2006) also writes that aspect is one of the grammatical categories that play a key role in determining temporal interpretation, both in sentence grammar and across sentences in discourse. Languages differ considerably in the way they encode aspectual differences, but aspect finds a way into the grammatical system of almost every language. Aspect is mainly classified into two. These are perfective and imperfective aspects (Comrie 1976). I have adopted this classification of aspect, with some sort of revision as discussed below, to describe the aspects of Gwama. Perfective denotes single, completed events located in the past (Dahl, 1985; Bybee et al. 1994) and imperfective unfinished situations. That is, in the case of aspect-prominent languages, perfective-imperfective distinction correlates with the fact that from an aspectual point of view present and future appear as imperfective and past as perfective (Bhat, 1999:183). To this end, perfective and

imperfective aspects are treated as two main categories that include all three tenses: the perfective includes past tense and the imperfective includes present and future tenses.

5.5.1. Perfective Aspect

Gwama marks verbs to indicate perfective aspect with the morpheme *ma-*, which expresses completed action (cf. Amare, 2013: 23). This perfective prefix is also used to mark past tenses (cf. Zelealem, 2005: 11). The perfective morpheme *ma-* is prefixed to verbs. The following illustrative sentences show how the verb *buk* ‘jump’ is conjugated in the perfective-completive form in Gwama.

28. a. ik ma-g-buk’
you PFV-2SG-jump
‘You (SG) jumped.’
- b. um ma-m-buk’
you PFV-2PL-jump
‘You (PL) jumped.’
- c. uhaj ma-n-buk’
he PFV-3MSG-jump
‘He jumped.’
- d. hap’ ma-∅-buk’
she PFV-3FSG-jump
‘She jumped.’
- e. hun ma-b-buk’
they PFV-3PL-jump
‘They jumped.’

5.5.2. Imperfective Aspect

Unlike the perfective aspect that views a situation as completed, the imperfective aspect presents the situation as ongoing or habitual actions and states (Bhat, 1999:46; Booij, 2007:135). This type of aspect encompasses various subdivisions of imperfectivity, in

particular prospectiveness, habituality, progressiveness, and inceptiveness (Comrie, 1976:13). Gwama marks present (habitual and factual) and future aspects.

Habitual situations are categorized as one of the imperfective aspects (Comrie, 1976:13; Dahl, 1985: 95; Bhat, 1999:53). The use of habitual involves quantification over a set of occasions in the sense that the event is predicted (inductively) to be occurring on a majority of such occasions (Dahl, 1985:97; Bhat, 1999:53). Gwama uses the prospective aspect marker *a-* to mark present habitual actions. This morpheme is usually attached to verbs preceding subject markers as in 29a-e.

29. a. ma kaj-kukum a-mi-ho i-swidozo
 we day-all IMPFV-1PL-go LOC-school
 ‘We always go to school.’
- b. hap' a-∅-gi minjifa
 she IMPFV-3FSG-do food
 ‘She cooks food.’
- c. ga kaj-kukum a-ni-ho gi gi-a-na
 I day-all IMPFV-1SG-go work work-GEN-1SG.POSS
 ‘I always go to work.’
- d. gi-ma-das'-a-ko-ji, a-pas'-a ko samun.
 by-PFV-grind-3FSG-put-after, IMPFV-soak-3FSG put maize
 ‘After she ground the flour, she soaks maize.’
- e. gi-anzili a-ti-taj-a-fwi a-t'op'-ba-tu-tok
 in-morning IMPFV-RED-brew-3FSG-alcohol IMPFV-drink-3PL-RED-taste
 ‘In the morning, she brews the alcohol and they taste.’

Imperfective forms of future actions are also marked with the prefix *a-*. This type of aspect refers to actions or situations that are going to be done in the future, so we do not exactly know now whether it will be performed. The following sentences are taken from a text. They all contain the imperfective aspect morpheme prefixed to the verbs preceding subject agreement markers.

30. a. giotko anzili a-ø-ho zi jas-gi
 tomorrow morning IMPFV-3FSG-go to place-work
 ‘Tomorrow morning, she will go to work.’
- b. kaj-bi-hoo, a-bi-fa pwaɸ
 day-3PL-come IMPFV-3PL-eat porridge
 ‘When they come, they will eat porridge.’
- c. ho-ga kam-na a-ke a-ø-ti-gi-ti
 go-2SG get-mother GEN-2SG IMPFV-3FSG-give-2SG-RED
 ‘Go to your mother; she will give you.’

5.5.3. Progressive Aspect

The progressive (also called continuous) aspect indicates that the situation is in progress at reference time (Dahl, 1985:24; Bybee and Dahl, 1989:55). In present progressive aspect, the action is in progress at the time of speaking, and in past progressive, the event was in progress at a particular reference time (Dahl, 1985:24).

In Gwama, the progressive aspect that implies an ongoing, dynamic process is encoded by morpheme *ze-* that is prefixed directly to the verb. Below are examples illustrating the prefix that expresses progressive/continuous aspect in the present as in 31a-e and in the past as in 32a-e.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>31. a. ga ze-ho-ni zi t’umu
 I PROG-go-1SG to home
 ‘I am going to home.’</p> <p>b. hun ze-gi-bi-gi
 they PROG-work-3PL-RED
 ‘They are working.’</p> <p>c. uhaj ze-fa-ni-fa
 he PROG-eat-3MSG-RED
 ‘He is eating.’</p> | <p>32. a. ga ze-ho-ni-gi-ho
 I PROG-go-1SG-DD2-RED
 ‘I was going.’</p> <p>b. ma ze-gi-mi-gi-gi
 we PROG-work-1PL-DD2-RED
 ‘We (EXCL) were working.’</p> <p>c. ik ze-at-gi-gi-à:ta
 you PROG-RED-2SG- DD2-Read
 ‘You (SG) were reading.’</p> |
|--|---|

d. hap' ze-ji-a-ji
 she PROG-play-3FSG-RED
 'She is playing.'

d. uhaj ze-doz-n-gi-dozo
 he PROG-RED-3MSG-DD2-learn
 'He was learning.'

e. ik ze-jì-gi-jì
 you (SG) PROG-sing-2SG-RED
 'You are singing.'

e. hap' ze-jì-a-ga-jì
 she PROG-sing-3FSG-DD2-RED
 'She was singing.'

This progressive morpheme *ze-* and the verb *ze* 'exist; sit' seem identical. This implies that such type of aspect "may be expressed by using postural verbs such as 'to sit' and 'to stand' in coordination with a main verb" (Booij, 2007:201). Such a feature is also attested in Opuo (Mellese 2017), where existential auxiliaries (*to* 'be/EXIST.SG', *wa* 'sit/EXIST.SG' and *k'u* 'sit/EXIST.PL') mark both past and present progressive aspects.

5.5.4. Inceptive Aspect

The inceptive aspect refers to an aspectual relationship which expresses the beginning of an action or event (Bybee et al. 1994: 318; Bhat, 1999: 164; Baye, 2006: 197; Nurse 2008:161). Uduk marks inceptive aspect with the auxiliary verb *mur* 'be ready' (Killian 2015), and Komo marks inceptive with a morpheme *ta-* 'be'. Gwama expresses an event that indicates the start of a situation using the verb *tif* 'start' and/or the morpheme *us-*. What is more, an inceptive morpheme *us* is also recorded expressing the starting point of an event. The following sentences (in 33 and 34) illustrate the use of the verb *tif* 'start' and the morpheme *us*'INCP' to express the beginning of eating, respectively.

33. a. ga ma-n-tif ja
 I PFV-start-1SG eat
 'I started eating.'
- b. ma ma-m-tif ja
 we PFV-1PL-start eat
 'We (EXCL) started eating.'
- c. mini ma-n-tif ja
 we PFV-start-1PL eat
 'We (INCL) started eating.'

- e. um ma-m-tif ja
 you PFV-start-2PL eat
 'You (PL) started eating.'
- f. haj ma-n-tif ja
 he PFV-start-3MSG eat
 'He started eating.'
- g. hap' ma-n-tif ja
 she PFV-start-3FSG eat
 'She started eating.'

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>d. ik ma-g-tiʃ ʃa
 you PFV-start-2SG eat
 ‘You (SG) started eating.’</p> | <p>h. hun ma-b-tiʃ ʃa
 they PFV-start-3PL eat
 ‘They started eating.’</p> |
|---|---|

The verb *tiʃ* ‘start’ that indicates the entry into a certain activity and/or situation appears following a perfective morpheme and subject agreement markers. The infinitive/gerundive form of a verb *ʃa*, which carries the action of eating, appears after the inflected inceptive verb.

Gwama also expresses the coming into being of or entry into a situation or state by using the morpheme *us-* ‘INCP’ (Cf. Amare 2013). Consider the illustrations below.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>34. a. ga us-ga-ʃa
 I INCP-1SG-eat
 ‘I began eating.’</p> | <p>e. um us-mi-ʃa
 you INCP-2PL-eat
 ‘You (PL) began eating.’</p> |
| <p>b. ma us-mi-ʃa
 we INCP-1PL-eat
 ‘We (EXCL) began eating.’</p> | <p>f. uhaj us-ni-ʃa
 he INCP-3MSG-eat
 ‘He began eating.’</p> |
| <p>c. mini us-ni-ʃa
 we INCP-3PL-eat
 ‘We (INCL) began eating.’</p> | <p>g. hap' us-a-ʃa
 she INCP-3FSG-eat
 ‘She began eating.’</p> |
| <p>d. ik us-gi-ʃa
 you INCP-2SG-eat
 ‘You began eating.’</p> | <p>h. hun us-bi-ʃa
 they INCP-3PL-eat
 ‘They began eating.’</p> |

5.6. Mood

Mood refers to conceptual categories that express various speaker attitudes or perspectives on an event, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood (Bybee 1985: 22; Payne 1997:244 and 2006:335). Imperative, jussive, and conditional moods are common structures among Koman languages (cf. Komo (Tesfaye 2014); Uduk (Killian 2015); and Opuo (Mellese 2017)). These three types of moods attested in Gwama are discussed as follows.

5.6.1. Imperative

Palmer (2001: 80) associates imperative mood with deontic modals and says, “it is clearly directive and usually portrayed as indicating a command.” This can be written as, with an imperative, one does not evaluate or assert a proposition but gives a directive for the addressee to follow up. Direct commands are restricted to a second person subject (Lyons, 1977: 747; Baybee, 1985: 171; Palmer, 2001: 81). As a result, “in many languages, the imperative has only two forms: one for singular and one for plural” (Baybee, 1985: 171). Clearly, the imperative second person subject is not overtly expressed in many languages. This has also been observed in Gwama.

In Uduk, imperative is expressed with *-i* (Killian 2015), and in Opuo, it is marked with the morpheme *-a* (Mellese 2017). The Gwama imperatives, however, are not morphologically marked. That is, second person singular imperative is an uninflected reduplicated verb root as in 35a-e (cf. Zelealem, 2005:19; Kievit and Robertson, 2012:70).

35.	Root verb	Imperative 2SG	Imperative 2PL
a.	ta ‘leave’	ø-ta-ta 2SG-leave-RED ‘Leave!’	mi-ta-ta 2PL-leave-RED ‘Leave!’
b.	gus ‘run’	ø-gu-gus 2SG-RED-run ‘Run!’	mi-gu-gus 2PL- RED-run ‘Run!’
c.	ʃà ‘eat’	ø-ʃà-ø-ʃà 2SG-eat-3SG.N.OBJ-RED ‘Eat!’	mi-ʃa-ø-ʃa 2PL-eat-3SG.N.OBJ-RED ‘Eat!’
d.	t'ùʃ ‘tie’	ø-t'ùʃ-a-t'ùʃ 2SG-tie-3SG.N.OBJ-RED ‘Tie it!’	mi- t'ùʃ-a-t'ùʃ 2PL-tie-3SG.N.OBJ-RED ‘Tie it!’
e.	k'ɪŋi ‘break/cut’	ø-k'ɪŋ-a-k'ɪŋi 2SG-break-3SG.N.OBJ-RED ‘Break/Cut it!’	mi- k'ɪŋ-a-k'ɪŋi 2PL-break-3SG.N.OBJ-RED ‘Break/Cut it!’

As can be seen in the above examples of prohibitive constructions, in singular imperative mood, 2SG is unmarked. The plural imperative form, however, takes the second person plural subject marker *mi-*. The first two intransitive (35a and 35b) and the next three transitive (35c-e) imperatives show three different patterns of reduplication. These are a) intransitive verbs with CV structure show full reduplication (as in 35a); b) intransitive verbs having CVC structure show partial reduplication (as in 33b); and c) transitive imperatives with CV (35c), CVC (35d), and CVCV (35e) show full reduplication linked with the third person singular neuter object element *-a*.

Transitive imperatives having object noun phrase show a different pattern. That is, the verb appears without reduplication.

36. \emptyset -fa minfifa
 2SG-eat food
 ‘Eat food!’
- \emptyset -t’uf ja
 2SG-tie goat
 ‘Tie the goat!’
- \emptyset -pat’ up-a-ke
 2SG-help yourself
 ‘Help yourself!’
- \emptyset -gwe up-a-ke
 2SG-watch yourself
 ‘Watch yourself!’

Note that the imperative form does not identify gender. An imperative structure for male also works for female. The imperative is also not inflected for tense and/or aspect.

5.6.2. Prohibitive Mood

Prohibitive is the mood used for expressing negative commands (Bybee et al. 1994:179; Palmer, 2001:180). Prohibitive is the negative form of imperative mood in Gwama. In other words, opposite to the imperative form that proposes ‘do’, the prohibitive proposes ‘do not do’.

This type of mood is expressed through the negative marker *bilgi* (*birgi*), which appears before the verb (cf. Zelealem 2005:19; Kievit and Robertson 2012:71). Consider the following examples.

37. Prohibitive for 2SG	Prohibitive for 2PL
a. \emptyset -bilgi ho	mi-bilgi ho
2SG-NEG-2SG.OBJ go	2PL-NEG go
‘Don’t go!’	‘Don’t go!’
b. \emptyset -bilg-a t’úf	mi-bilg-a t’úf
2SG-NEG-3SG.N.OBJ tie	2PL-NEG-3SG.N.OBJ tie
‘Don’t tie (it)!’	‘Don’t tie (it)!’

As can be shown above, unlike the imperative, the verbs in the prohibitive do not reduplicate. Singular prohibitive structures are not commonly inflected for subject markers, whereas in plural prohibitive mood the subject marking morpheme *mi-* appears prefixed to the negative marker *bilgi*.

5.6.3. Jussive

“Jussive is a directive mood that signals a speaker’s command, permission or agreement that the proposition expressed by his or her utterance be brought about” (Gadilia, 2007:2). Gwama does not morphologically mark first person singular jussive (as in 36a). The third person singular and plural is represented by *ta-* (cf. Zelealem, 2005:18). The morpheme seems similar to the lexeme *ta* ‘let something happen; allow’. The jussive marker for first person plural is *ho-*, which seems to be identical to the word *ho* ‘go’. Both markers appear preceding the subject marker inflections. The verbs in all persons share the feature of reduplication.

38. a. Verb	Jussive Mood	Gloss
t’úf ‘tie’	ga a-na-t’u-t’úf / a-na-t’u-t’úf	‘Let me tie.’
	I 1SG-RED-tie/ IMPFV-1SG-RED-tie	
hó ‘go’	ga a-ni-hu-ho / a-ni-hù-hó	‘Let me go.’
	I 1SG-RED-go / IMPFV-1SG-RED-go	

	gús ‘run’	ga a-ni-gu-gus / I 1SG-RED-run / IMPFV-1SG-RED-run	a-ni-gù-gús	‘Let me run.’
b.	Verb	Jussive Mood		Gloss
	t’úf ‘tie’	ho-ni-t’úf-a-t’úf JUSS-1PL-tie-LINK-RED		‘Let us tie.’
	hó ‘go’	ho-ni-hu-ho JUSS-1PL-RED-go		‘Let us go.’
	gús ‘run’	ho-ni-gu-gus JUSS-1PL-RED-run		‘Let us run.’
c.	Verb	Jussive Mood		Gloss
	t’úf ‘tie’	ta-ni-t’úf-a-t’úf JUSS-3MSG-tie-LINK-RED		‘Let him tie.’
	hó ‘go’	ta-ni-hu-ho JUSS-3MSG-RED-go		‘Let him go.’
	gús ‘run’	ta-ni-gu-gus JUSS-3MSG-RED-run		‘Let him run.’
d.	Verb	Jussive Mood		Gloss
	t’úf ‘tie’	ta-ø-t’u-t’úf / ta-ø-t’úf-a-t’úf JUSS-3FSG-RED-tie		‘Let her tie.’
	hó ‘go’	ta-ø-hu-ho JUSS-3FSG-RED-go		‘Let her go.’
	gús ‘run’	ta-ø-gu-gus JUSS-3FSG-RED-run		‘Let her run.’
	ho: ‘come’	ta-ø-hó: JUSS-3FSG-come		‘Let her come.’
e.	Verb	Jussive Mood		Gloss
	t’úf ‘tie’	ta-bi-t’úf-a-tuƒ JUSS-3PL-tie-LINK-RED		‘Let them tie.’
	hó ‘go’	ta-bi-hu-ho JUSS-3PL-RED-go		‘Let them go.’
	gús ‘run’	ta-bi-gu-gus JUSS-3PL-RED-run		‘Let them run.’

ho:	‘come’	ta-bi-hó:	‘Let them come.’
		JUSS-3PL-come	
jí	‘sow’	ta-bi-ji-a-ji	‘Let them sow.’
		JUSS-3PL-sow-LINK-RED	

Note that in the first person singular jussive constructions in 38a, where the subject noun phrase is optionally omitted, the imperfective aspect marker *a-* is prefixed to the verb preceding the subject marker inflection. As noted above verbs in the jussive mood reduplicate, but the verb *hò:* ‘come’ shows vowel length as in 38d and 38e above.

As noted above, similar to prohibitive mood, the negative jussive for second person plural and third person singular and plural is constructed with a special negative marker *bilg*, or its variant *birg*, prefixed to the verb following the person marker inflections as in 39a for 1SG and 1PL and 39b for 3MSG, 3FSG, and 3PL below. In the first person singular, negation is indicated with *dab*, the common negative marker for declaratives, which appears prefixed to the verb preceding the person marker inflection as in 39a. In contrast to the affirmative jussive, the verbs in the negative constructions do not reduplicate.

39. a. Negation for 1SG JUSS

dab-ga-ho
 NEG-1SG-go
 ‘Let me not go!’

dab-ga-t’uf
 NEG-1SG-tie
 ‘Let me not tie!’

Negation for 1PL JUSS

ni-bilgi-ho
 1PL(INCL) –NEG-go
 ‘Let us not go!’

ni-bilg-a-t’uf
 1PL(INCL)-NEG-3SG.N.OBJ-tie
 ‘Let us not tie!’

b. Negation for 3SG JUSS

ni-bilgi-ho
 3MSG-NEG-go
 ‘Let him not go!’

ni-bilg-a-t’uf
 3MSG-NEG-3SG.N.OBJ-tie
 ‘Let him not tie!’

Negation for 3PL JUSS

ni-bilgi-ho
 3PL-NEG-go
 ‘Let them not go!’

a-bilgi-ho
3FSG-NEG-go
'Let her not go!'

ni-bilg-a-t'uj
3PL-NEG-3SG.N.OBJ-tie
'Let them not tie!'

a-bilg-a-t'uj
3FSG-NEG-3SG.N.OBJ-tie
'Let her not tie!'

5.7. Copula Constructions

Copula is a linking verb that relates subject and complement (Crystal 2003:116). Three of the Koman languages mark copula with the verb *ta* 'COP' (Komo (Tesfaye 2014), Uduk (Killian 2015), and Opuo (Mellese 2017)). In Komo, *ta* is a present copula and *taku* past (Tesfaye 2014). Gwama uses different copula forms for present, past, and future clauses. The basic copular verb used in all these three types of clauses is *wet-* 'COP'. In what follows, the present, past, and future copula constructions are described in turn.

5.7.1. Present Copula

Copular clauses related to the present moment are expressed in three different ways. One of the present copulative elements is *wet-*, which is used to construct equative copula clauses. Equative structures "are used, characteristically, to identify the referent of one expression with the referent of another" (Lyons, 1977:472). In a sentence with an NP-subject, an equative complement can be a proper name, a pronoun or a definite noun-phrase, but not an adjective (Ibid). The copula *wet* is inflected for person marker and appears following the subject NP preceding the complement NP. The following sentence illustrates this copula marker that puts two noun phrases into a relationship of identity.

40. uhaj wet-ni u-Asadik'
 he COP-3MSG ?-Asadik'
 He is Asadik'.

Second, object pronouns can function as copula (cf. Zelealem 2005:13), where there is attributive identity between the subject NP and the complement. Ascriptive structures are used to "ascribe to the referent of the subject-expression a certain property" (Lyons,

1977:472). An ascriptive complement is usually an adjective (Ibid). The copulative elements agree with the subject. Consider the following sentences that indicate the ascriptive (as in 41) structures.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>41. a. ga ga-p'i
I 1SG.COP-strong
'I am strong.'</p> | <p>e. uhaj e-p'i
he 3MSG.COP-strong
'He is strong.'</p> |
| <p>b. ma ma-p'i
we 1PL.EXCL.COP-strong
'We (EXCL) are strong.'</p> | <p>f. hap' ab-p'i
she COP-clever
'She is clever.'</p> |
| <p>c. ik i-p'i
you 2SG.COP-clever
You (F/M) are clever.</p> | <p>g. hun un-p'i
they 3PL-strong
'They are clever.'</p> |
| <p>d. um um-p'i
you 2PL.COP-strong
'You are strong.'</p> | |

As shown in 41 above, the ascriptive structures, where the complements are adjectives, the copulative markers are derived from subject pronouns. Accordingly, *ga* 1SG, *ma* 1PL.EXCL, and *um* 2PL are all subject pronouns functioning as copula. The copula *i-* in 41c is derived from *ik* 2SG, *ab-* in 41f from *hap'* 3MSG, and *un-* in 41g from *hun* 3PL (cf. Zelealem, 2005:13).

Copula clauses can also be constructed without any copulative element that relates the subject and the complement, which is also the feature of Komo (cf. Tesfaye 2014). This strategy of copula construction is particularly attested in sentences that contain possessive NPs as predicates like *swi a-ná* 'my house'. In such structures, only the subject and the complement appear as complete copula construction. The following clauses having predicate possessions are attested with no copula marker.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>42. a. aʔo-j p'wakam a- na
this-NOM sister GEN- 1SG
'This is my sister.'</p> | <p>d. mane man a- de
these children GEN- 3MSG
'These are his children.'</p> |
|--|--|

- b.** ná-mine a- ke
goat-this GEN- 2SG
'This goat is yours.'
- e.** e swi a- na
this house GEN- 1SG
'This is my house.'
- c.** aʔe a- de ge:ndi
this GEN- 3MSG beehive
'This is his beehive.'

Note that unlike Kievit and Robertson's (2012:75) who claim "a copula is not normally used", the present data confirms that a copula is usually used in the language except in possessive NP predicative constructions shown in 42 above.

5.7.2. Past Copula

Past copular construction of Gwama is expressed with the copula marking morpheme *wet-* and the DD2 inflectional morpheme *-gi(a)*, which occurs after person marker inflections. The vowel in the DD2 *gi* changes to *ga* after 3FSG person marker *a* (as in 43b) for vowel harmony. Compare the following pairs of sentences showing the present and past copular structures.

- 43. a.** hap' wet-a sit-doza
she COP-3FSG student
She is a teacher.
- 44. a.** ik i-p'i
you 2SG.COP -clever
You (SG) are clever.
- b.** hap' wet-a-ga sit-doza
she COP-3FSG-DD2 student
She was a teacher.
- b.** ik wet-gi-gi sitap'ip'i
you COP-2SG-DD2 clever
You (SG) were clever.
- 45. a.** hun wet-bi sitgi
they COP-3PL farmer
They are farmers.
- 46. a.** ga wet-ni wal-doza
I COP-1SG student
I am a student.
- b.** hun wet-bi-gi sit-gi
they COP-3PL-DD2 farmer
They were farmers.
- b.** ga wet-ni-gi wal-doza
I COP-1SG-DD2 student
I was a student.

47. a. uhaj wet-ni sit-gi
 he COP-3MSG farmer
 He is a farmer.

b. uhaj wet-ni-gi sit-gi
 he COP-3MSG-DD2 farmer
 He was a farmer.

48. a. ma wet-mi man-dozo
 we COP-1PL student
 We (EXCL) are students.

b. ma wet-mi-gi man-dozo
 we COP-1PL-DD2 student
 We (EXCL) were students.

As shown in 44b, past copula construction with adjective complement can take the copulative element *wet-* like other structures.

5.7.3. Future Copula

The future tense copula clause is expressed by the imperfective morpheme *a-* and the basic copula marker *wet-*. The morpheme *a-* is prefixed to the copulative element preceding person marker morphemes. Consider the examples below.

49. a. hap' a- \emptyset -wet sit-doza
 she FUT-COP person-learn
 'She will be a teacher.'

b. hun a-bi-wet- sit-gi/sit-kwi
 they FUT-3PL-COP- person-plough
 'They will be farmers.'

c. uhaj a-ni-wet- sit-doza
 he FUT-3MSG-COP- teacher
 'He will be a teacher.'

d. ik a-gi-wet- sit-a-pi-pi
 you FUT-2SG-COP- person-GEN-clever-RED
 'You (SG) will be clever.'

e. ga a-ni-wet- wal-doza
 I FUT-1SG-COP - child-education
 'I will be a student.'

In all the above examples the imperfective marker indicating the future and the copulative element *wet-* are used having the person markers in between. However, in 49a the 3FSG marker *-a-* is dropped because of the preceding imperfective morpheme *a-*, and in 46e the imperfective marker *a-* is not heard in fast speech because of the preceding low vowel in the subject *ga* ‘I’.

5.7.4. Negative Copula Construction

The present negative copula construction of Gwama takes the common verbal negative marker *deb-/dab-* followed by person marker inflections and the copula *-wet* as in 50-53. *deb-* seems to appear in all person (as in 50a and 51a) except in first person singular in which *dab-* is used (as in 52a).

- 50. a.** uhaj deb-e-wet sit-tulu
 he NEG-3MSG-COP person-poor
 ‘He is not poor.’
- b.** uhaj wet-ni sit-tulu
 he COP-3MSG person-poor
 ‘He is poor.’
- 51. a.** hap’ deb-ap’-wet- sit-dozo
 she NEG-3FSG-COP- person-education
 She is not a teacher.
- b.** hap’ wet-a sit-dozo
 she COP-3FSG perso-education
 ‘She is a teacher.’
- 52. a.** ga dab-ga-wet- wal-dozo
 I NEG-1SG-COP- child-education
 ‘I am not a student.’
- b.** ga wet-ni wal-dozo
 I COP-1SG child-education
 ‘I am a student.’

53. a. minɸifa a-peti-gi-peti ga ɸa dab-a-no:ko
 food GEN-bad-?-RED to at NEG-3NSG.COP-good
 ‘Eating spoiled food is not good.’
- b. ɸa a-no:ko
 eating 3NSG.COP-good
 ‘Eating is good.’

Copula constructions containing derived adjective complements such as *sit-tulu* ‘person who owns nothing; poor person’ (as in 50a) and noun complements (as in 51a and 52a) both take the negative marker and the basic copula morpheme. However, basic adjectives like *no:ko* ‘good’ do not take the copula *wet* in copula constructions (as in 53a and 53b). Instead, the 3NSG object marker *a-* functions as copula.

The morpheme *de-* was also recorded as a negative marker in negative copula construction of possession. The copula *-wet* appears immediate after the negative prefix. Consider the following conjugation.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>54. a. de-wet- a-na
 NEG-COP- GEN-1SG.POSS
 ‘It is not mine.’</p> <p>b. de-wet- a-ma
 NEG-COP- GEN-1PL.POSS
 ‘It is not ours.’</p> <p>c. de-wet- a-ke
 NEG-COP- GEN-2SG.POSS
 ‘It is not yours (SG).’</p> <p>d. de-wet- a-kum
 NEG-COP- GEN-2PL.POSS
 ‘It is not yours (PL).’</p> | <p>e. de-wet- a-de
 NEG-COP- GEN-3MSG.POSS
 ‘It is not his.’</p> <p>f. de-wet- a-dap’
 NEG-COP- GEN-3FSG.POSS
 ‘It is not hers.’</p> <p>g. de-wet- a-bun
 NEG-COP- GEN-3PL.POSS
 ‘It is not theirs.’</p> |
|--|--|

In past negative copula construction, the DD2 marker *-gi* is suffixed to the present copula structure. That is, the DD2 morpheme appears after the basic copulative element. The negative

copula appears following the subject but preceding the complement as the examples in 55a-d illustrate below.

- 55. a.** uhaj deb-e-wet-gi- sitdozo
 he NEG-3MSG-COP-DD2 teacher
 ‘He was not a teacher.’
- b.** hun deb-un-wet-gi- sitdozo
 they NEG-3PL-COP-DD2- teacher
 ‘They were not teachers.’
- c.** ik deb-gi-wet-gi- sitap’ip’i
 you NEG-2SG-COP-DD2- clever
 ‘You (SG) were not clever.’
- d.** ga dab-ga-wet-gi- waldozo
 I NEG-1SG-COP-DD2- student
 ‘I was not a student.’

5.7.5. Interrogatives in Copula Constructions

Gwama copula interrogative sentences are constructed by suffixing *-da* in the final component of the copula complements both in the present and past tense copula structures. Both tenses take the copula *wet-* preceding the person marker inflections, but the past interrogative tense adds the DD2 morpheme *-gi* after the person marker inflections. The following pairs of sentences illustrate this issue.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>56. a. ik wet-gi sitgi-da?
 you COP-2SG farmer-INTRO
 ‘Are you (SG) a farmer?’</p> | <p>57. a. hap' wet-a sitkoboɟ-da?
 she COP-3FSG thief-INTRO
 ‘Is she a thief?’</p> |
| <p>b. ik wet-gi-gi sitgi-da?
 You COP-2SG-DD2 farmer-INTRO
 ‘Were you (SG) a farmer?’</p> | <p>b. hap wet-a-ga sitkoboɟ-da?
 she COP-3FSG-DD2 thief-INTRO
 ‘Was she a thief?’</p> |

- 58. a.** ma wet-mi sitgi-da?
we COP-1PL farmer-INTRO
'Are we (EXCL) farmers?'
- b.** ma wet-mi-gi sitgi-da?
we COP-1PL-DD2 farmer-INTRO
'Were we farmers?'
- 60. a.** hun wet-bi mandoz-da?
they COP-3PL student-INTR
'Are they students?'
- b.** hun wet-bi-gi mandoz-da?
TheyCOP-3PL-DD2 student-INTRO
'Were they students?'
- 59. a.** ik wet-gi sitde-t'imbir-da?
you COP-2SG driver-car-INTRO
'Are you (SG) a driver?'
- b.** ik wet-gi-gi sitde t'imbir- da?
you COP-2SG-DD2 driver car-INTRO
'Were you a driver?'
- 61. a.** uhaj wet-ni sitdoz-da?
he COP-3MSG teacher-INTRO
'Is he a teacher?'
- b.** uhaj wet-ni-gi sitdoz-da?
he COP-3MSG-DD2 teacher-INTRO
'Was he a teacher?'

As can be seen above, the interrogative morpheme *-da* appears after the final word of the copula complement in both tenses. The present interrogative copula structural pattern is COP + SUBJECT MARKER + COMPLEMENT + INTRO, and the past interrogative copula structural pattern is COP + SUBJECT MARKER + DD2 + COMPLEMENT + INTRO.

5.8. The Verb 'to have'

This section describes the way of possessive predication in Gwama. The language usually represents the verb 'to have' with the word *s'it*, which literally means 'catch; hold; possess', to which the subject markers are suffixed in affirmative structures (cf. Zelealem, 2005:14; Kievit and Robertson, 2012:71). Consider the examples in 62.

- 62. a.** s'it-ni na-suja gi bido- se:ne
have-1SG goat-two and sheep-one
'I have two goats and one sheep.'
- b.** ma s'it-mi ka:na
we have-1PL dog
'We (EXCL) have a dog.'

- c. hap' s'it-a ka:na
she have-3FSG dog
'She has a dog.'
- d. Ramadan s'it-ni swi-suja
Ramadan have-3MSG house-two
'Ramadan has two houses.'
- e. s'it-gi im-k'ija
have-2SG cow-how many
'How many cows do you (SG) have?'
- f. ma s'it-mi swi
we have-1PL house
'We (EXCL) have a house.'
- g. um s'it-mi ija
you have-2PL water
'You (PL) have water.'

In negative structures of possessive clauses, the common verbal negative marker *da-/de-* is prefixed to the verb *s'it* preceding the subject markers. Examine the following examples.

- 63. a.** ma da-ma- s'it swi
we NEG-1PL have house
'We (EXCL) have no house.'
- b.** um de-mi- s'it ija
you have-2PL have water
'You (PL) have no water.'

Zealelem (2005:14) claims that the verb *s'it* is inflected for only the subject markers, but it is attested inflected for the DD2 marker *-gi* as in 64a-b below. In affirmative sentences, the person marker and the DD2 morphemes appear following the verb 'to have', where the person marker precedes the DD2 marker as in 64a. In negative past tenses, the negative

morpheme and the subject markers respectively appear prefixed to the verb *s'it*, and the DD2 is suffixed to the verb as in 64b.

- 64. a.** hun s'it-bi-gi gati-na
 they have-3PL-DD2 many-goat
 'They had many goats.'
- b.** hun dab-un- s'it-gi gati-na
 they NEG-3PL- have-DD2 many-goat
 'They had not many goats.'

5.9. Existential Constructions

Existential constructions indicate the existence of some entity, usually in some specified location (Payne 1997:112). Uduk expresses the existence of something through the verb *di* 'to be somewhere; to sit, stay, keep' (Killian, 2015:234). In Komo, affirmative existential clauses are expressed through *k'et/sok* 'exist', and negative ones are formed by the negative morpheme *mid-* (Tesfaye 2014). Gumuz uses the verb *ot* 'exist' for existential construction (Ahland 2012).

Gwama has affirmative and negative forms of existential constructions. The affirmative structures are expressed through the verb *ze* 'exist; live; sit', and the negative ones are represented through *paŋ(ko/go)* 'not exist' combined with reduced and full forms of subject pronouns as copulative elements. The affirmative existential constructions of Gwama assure the presence of something, whereas the negatives repudiate its existence.

Kievit and Robertson (2012:72) write that an example they give about the existential verb *ze* of Gwama comes from a person whose first language is Komo, and they suggest to be checked with native speakers of Gwama. It is definitely a verb for predicative existence, but as they claim, it is not attested as a synonym for the verb 'to have' *s'it*. The following sentences extracted from a text and a riddle show the affirmative existential verb *ze* expressing the entities presence.

65. a. gá gì-gwe-ni-kin ma-tifer ze if-bi-if
 I when-watch-1SG-like this PL-lion exist sleep-3PL-RED
 ‘When I watch like this, lions have slept.’ (Lit. ..., lions exist sleeping)
- b. ma-sit k’uzotkubasene ze-b-a swì-ka
 PL-person sixteen exist-3PL-3SG.N house-up
 ‘Sixteen people live/exist in the upper room.’
- c. ma-k’uzotkubasene-ŋi ze-b-a zin
 PL-sixteen-also exist-3PL-3SG.N low
 ‘Sixteen also live in the lower.’
- d. kukum ze-n-ze
 all exist-3MSG-RED
 ‘All are available. (Lit. All exists.)’

As mentioned above, the negative predicative existence is expressed through the verb *paŋk(g)o*, or its short form *paŋ* to mean ‘does not exist; not there’. The subject pronoun copulative elements for 3MSG (as in 66b and 67b below) and 3PL (as in 68) are attested attached to this negative existential verb and becomes *a-paŋ* ‘is not there (Lit. does not exist)’ and *un-paŋgo* ‘are not there (Lit. do not exist)’ respectively. The following pairs of sentences show the affirmative existential constructions and their negative counterparts with 3MSG copula marker.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>66. a. gi ze-n-ze
 work exist-3MSG-RED
 ‘There is work’</p> <p>b. gi a-paŋko
 work 3SG.N.COP-not exist
 ‘There is no work.’</p> | <p>67. a. t’o ze-n-ze
 problem exist-3MSG-RED
 ‘There is problem.’</p> <p>b. t’o a-paŋ
 problem COP-not exist
 ‘There is no problem.’</p> |
|--|---|

The following sentence taken from a text also shows the negative predicative existence *paŋgo* having the 3PL copula *un-* prefixed to it.

- 68.** gá gife-gwé-ni-kin ma-kana í-k'was a-na un-paŋgo
 1SG when-watch-like this PL-dog- LOC-back GEN-1SG 3PL.COP-not exist
 'When I watch my back, there are no dogs.'

The conjugation in the following pairs of sentences show the form of the negative predicative existence expressed by the negative existential marker *paŋ*. Copulative elements that are prefixed to the negative existential verb include *ga-* for 1SG, *ma-* for 1PL.EXCL, *i-* derived from *ik* 'you (SG)' for 2SG, *um-* for 2PL, *ap'* derived from *hap'* 'she' for 3FSG, and *e-* for 3MSG. Consider the following contrasting structures.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>69. a. ga a-paŋ
I 1SG.COP-not exist
'I am not there.'</p> <p>b. ga ze-ni-ze idono
I exist-1SG-RED there
'I am there.'</p> | <p>70. a. um um-paŋ
you 2PL.COP-not exist
'You (PL) are not there.'</p> <p>b. um ze-mi-ze idono
you exist-2PL-RED
'You (PL) are there.'</p> |
| <p>71. a. ma ma-paŋ
we 1PL.COP-not exist
'We (EXCL) are not there.'</p> <p>b. ma ze-mi-ze idono
we exist-1PL.EXCL-RED there
'We (EXCL) are there.'</p> | <p>72. a. hap' ap'-paŋ
she 3FSG.COP-not exist
'She is not there.'</p> <p>b. hap' ze-ja-ze idono
she exist-3F.SG-RED there
'She is there.'</p> |
| <p>73. a. ik i-paŋ
you 2SG.COP-not exist
'You (SG) are not there.'</p> <p>b. ik ze-gi-ze idono
you exist-2SG-RED there
'You (SG) are there.'</p> | <p>74. a. uhaj e-paŋ
he-DEF 3MSG.COP-not exist
'He is not there.'</p> <p>b. uhaj ze-ni-ze idono
he exist-3M.SG-RED there
'He is there.'</p> |

Note that, in 72a, the copula marker for 3FSG is *ap'*, but the bilabial ejective in the copula assimilates in manner with the initial bilabial voiceless of the following form *paŋ*, so it is

acoustically distinguished as *a-paŋ* in fast speech. Affirmative existential structures do not take copula.

The table on the next page summarizes all the morphemes that mark verbal extensions, person agreement, tense/aspect, mood, directionals, and copula.

Table 26. Summary of Verbal Affixes without structural slots

Verbal Extensions			Verb Agreement			Tense/Aspect		Directional	Mood		Copula			
Causative	Passive	Reciprocal		Subject Markers	Object Markers						Clauses with NP Complement		Clauses with Adjective Complement	
i-	b-	dena-	1SG	-nī	ga-	Perfective	ma-/gi	-í (DD1)	Imperative	No morpheme	Present	wet	1SG	ga-
			1PL.EXCL	-mī	ma-	Imperfective	a-	-gí (DD2)	Prohibitive	<i>bilgi/ birgi</i>	Past	wet-gi	1PL.EXCL	ma-
			1PL.INCL	-ní	ni-	Progressive	ze-		Jussive		Future	a-wet	1PL.INCL	ni-
			2SG	gi	i-								2SG	i-
			2PL	-mí	um-								2PL	um-
			3MSG	-nì	e-								3MSG	e-
			3FSG	-a	ap'								3FSG	ap'-
			3SG.N	----	a-								3SG.N	a-
			3PL	-bi	un-								3PL	un-

Chapter Six

6. Modifiers

This chapter describes the morphology of modifiers of nouns and/or verbs. Modifiers are adjuncts to an NP or VP (Kroeger 2005:87; Dryer 2005:342). Modifier can be genitives, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, adverbials, adpositions, relative clauses etc. The major function of such modifiers is adding information to another element in a sentence. They give additional information to the word they modify. Of the above mentioned modifiers genitives and demonstratives (in 4.3) have already been discussed; relative clauses are described under Syntax in section 7.3.2. Hence, only single-word modifiers that include adjectives, adverbs, and numerals are addressed in here.

Gwama modifiers are described in four sections. The first section addresses adjectives. The second section deals with adpositions. Adpositions entail prepositions, for Gwama does not have postpositions. The third part gives account of adverbs. Lastly, the numeral system of the language will be discussed.

6.1. Adjectives

Adjectives are divided into four types of adjective class based on their grammatical properties (Dixon, 2009:63). One of the classes includes those adjectives that have the same grammatical properties to those of verbs. Such adjectives can be inflected for some or all of tense, aspect, modality, and/or mood like verbs. The other class of adjectives share similar grammatical properties to those of nouns. These adjectives may inflect for gender and number. Thirdly, there are adjectives that combine the structural properties of nouns and verbs. The last class on the other hand has properties different from nouns and verbs.

It seems difficult to tell the properties of the Gwama adjectives in the view of Dixon's (2009) classifications. On one hand, there are Adjectives inflected for grammatical categories like number and definiteness as nouns do; they also exhibit reduplication like verbs and can be used as verbs (e.g. *ma-n-k'at* 'have become soft/flexible'); and, many occur in relative clauses, with the relative marker *ā* (*ijá= ā s'í~sēlē* water=REL RED~become.clean 'water that is clean' hence 'clean water').

In some languages, adjectives form a distinct word class, and in others, they do not and are verbs or nouns (Dryer, 2005:354). Adjectives seem to form an independent word class in some Koman languages (cf. Opuo (Mellese, 2017:114) and Uduk (Killian, 2015:123)). This feature is not clearly identified in Gwama. As noted above, they predominantly appear in relative clause form. Only few can not, i.e. *u-kan- gafar* SGV-dog-big ‘big dog’ and *u-sit gata* SGV-person old ‘old person’.

6.1.1. Categorization of Adjectives

Adjectives, in many languages, are placed preceding or following the noun they modify and used to express semantically dimension, age, value, colour, physical property etc (Dixon, 2009:73). The Gwama adjectives follow the nouns they modify, and semantic categories expressed by adjectives include dimension, color, age, value, physical property and human propensity of the referent. Examples of these six types of semantic categories are given as follows.

Dimension

1.	ha:dniko	‘big’	zoro/kwi	‘deep’
	warkin	‘small’	du:ju	‘round’
	tu	‘high’	ʃe:ni	‘light’
	gut	‘short’	me:ʃe	‘sharpen’
	ti:ndi	‘fat, thick’	k'at	‘smooth’
	zinzi	‘thin’	k'japa	‘narrow’
	paj	‘wide’		

Colour

2.	se:le	‘white’	zizi	‘yellow’
	foto	‘black’	sis	‘green’
	kaf	‘red’	tadus	‘blue’

Age

3.	bwanza	‘young (for male)’
	dwa	‘young (for female)’
	ga:ta	‘old’

Value

4.	situlu	‘poor’	no:ko	‘good’
	sits’it	‘rich’	peti	‘bad’
	ep’i	‘expensive’	da:ŋa	‘wrong’

Physical Property

5.	mi:s’i	‘sweet’	p’i	‘strong’
	if’i	‘wet’	ma:za	‘weak’
	í’u:gu	‘sour’	ùnzú	‘dirty’
	ka:ga	‘bitter’	s’éré	‘clean’
	kus’	‘dry’	si:	‘heavy’

Human Propensity

6.	gomga	‘kind’	p’i	‘clever’
	kana	‘selfish’	kege	‘coward’
	aman	‘honest’	no:ko	‘healthy’
	jam	‘happy’	p’i:zi	‘intelligent’
	piss	‘jealous’	kwaga	‘shy’

All types of adjectives occur next to the noun they modify, and they partially or fully reduplicate depending on the syllable type as verbs do. The reduplication is held left to right. The relative marker *ā-* appears before the reduplicated adjective. The following sentential examples show the forms and positions of some of the above listed adjectives.

7. a. ga ma-n-t’op’-gi ija a-si-sele
I PFV-1SG-drink-DD2 water REL-RED-clean
‘I drank clean water.’

- b. wal a-ŋi-faja ma-n-s’i
child REL-RED-handsome PFV-3MSG-die
‘The handsome boy died.’

- c. pak a-u-unzu ma-n-hint
shoes REL -RED-dirt PFV-3MSG-lost
'The dirty shoes lost.'
- d. u-sit a-pi-peti-ge ma-n-ho
GEN-man REL -RED-bad-DEF PFV-3MSG-go
'The bad man went.'
- e. wal-dwa a-k'i-k'af-to twi-ab-twi
child-girl REL -RED-red-DEF call-3FSG-RED
'Call the red woman.'

6.1.2. Inflection of Adjectives

Attributive adjectives of Gwama take some of the morphological process applying to nouns with in a noun phrase. That is, as mentioned above, they are inflected for number and definiteness when used without context to refer to something. In this sense, they are noun-like adjectives (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2004:227). In inflected NP, the inflection is to the noun phrase itself and not to the adjective per se, and the adjectives reveal the property of Gwama verbs.

As nouns of Gwama are inflected for plural number by the prefix *ma-*, adjectives also become plural with the same prefix. Look at the plural marking prefix *ma-* that occurs prefixed to adjectives that are used in isolation.

8. a.	no:ko	'beautiful'	ma-nu-no:ko	'beautiful (PL)'
b.	t'ot'o	'black'	ma-t'u-t'ot'o	'blacks'
c.	sele	'white'	ma-si-sele	'whites'
d.	k'af	'red'	ma-k'i-k'af	'reds'
e.	tindi	'fat'	ma-ti-tindi	'fats'
f.	zinzi	'thin'	ma-zi-zinzi	'thins'
g.	si	'heavy'	ma-si-si	'heavies'
h.	gut	'short'	ma-gu-gut	'shorts'
i.	tu	'tall'	ma-tu-tu	'talls/longs'

As shown in 8 above, when adjectives appear independently without the (understood) head noun as the main and only element in a noun phrase position, they take the plural morpheme *ma-* before them as nouns in isolation do. Disyllabic adjectives and those having CVC syllable structure inflected for number undergo a left to right partial reduplication. When the adjectives have CV syllable structure as in 8g and 8i, full reduplication takes place. The relative marker *a-* which appears preceding the reduplicated adjectives is dropped probably because of the identical low vowel in the plural marker *ma-*.

Although adjectives are marked for number when they occur without the head noun, their most common occurrence is in their singular forms in an NP having the head noun. That is, Gwama attributive adjectives do not show agreement in number with the head nouns because the adjectives do not separately inflect for number. The plural morpheme attached to the noun inflects the NP as a whole. In most cases the terminal vowels of words is deleted to avoid the occurrence of two identical vowel sequences at morpheme boundary as *bwafa* ‘snake’ in example 9a. The following sentential examples illustrate the contextual use of uninflected (singular) forms of adjectives modifying inflected forms of nouns.

9. a. ma-bwaf- a-t'u-t'ot'o ma-n-un-k'uf
 PL-snake- REL -RED-black PFV-3MSG-3PL.OBJ-kill
 ‘Black snakes were killed.’
- b. ma-ɲa- a-zi-zinzi ma-b-s'i
 PL-goat- REL -RED-thin PFV-3PL-die
 ‘The thin goats died.’
- c. man- a-k'ijapko-nunu hun a-na
 children- REL -little-these they GEN-1SG.POSS
 ‘These little children are mine.’
- d. ma-dwa- a-ʃi-ʃaja-tunu ma-b-huho
 PL-girl- REL -RED-beautiful-DEF PFV-3PL-come
 ‘The beautiful girls came.’
- e. ma-duj-ni ma-ɲa- a-si-sele
 PFV-buy-1SG PL-goat- REL -RED-white
 ‘I bought white goats.’

As can be seen in the above examples, the plural prefix *ma-* attaches to the noun in an NP. Number marker does not alternatively move to the attributive adjectives from the head noun. In plural NP with demonstrative pronouns or definite markers, the demonstrative and definiteness markers are attached to the modifiers as *-nunu* ‘these’ and *-tunu* ‘the’, respectively in examples 9c and 9d.

A noun phrase containing a head noun and an adjective is inflected for definiteness as nouns do inflect. The definiteness morphemes employed for inflection are *-te* for masculine, *-to* for feminine, and *-tunu* for plural forms. In definite adjectival NPs, the definite marker moves to the modifiers and appear after the adjectives. The following pairs of definite and indefinite adjectival NPs show the structures of the phrases and the position of the definite markers.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>10. a. kikjat- a-ti-tindi
 woman- REL -RED-fat
 ‘fat woman’</p> | <p>11. a. u-sit- gata
 SGV-man old
 ‘old man/person’</p> |
| <p>b. kikjat- a-ti-tindi-to
 woman REL -RED-fat-DEF
 ‘The fat woman’</p> | <p>b. u-sit- gata-te
 SGV-man old-DEF
 ‘The old man’</p> |
| <p>12. a. u-kan- gafar
 SGV-dog big
 ‘big dog’</p> | <p>13. a. ma-ɲa- si-sele
 PL-goat RED-white
 ‘white goats’</p> |
| <p>b. u-kan- gafar-te
 SGV-dog big-DEF
 ‘The big dog’</p> | <p>b. ma-ɲa- si-sele-tunu
 PL-goat RED-white-DEF
 ‘The white goats’</p> |

As can be seen in the above illustrations, attributive adjectives in definite noun phrases are marked for definiteness with definite morphemes, whereas attributive adjectives in indefinite noun phrases are not marked for definiteness morphologically. In all cases, the definite markers are placed after the modifiers.

However, definite markers can also alternatively move to the head nouns from the attributive adjectives, though not common. In Gwama, the usual position of adjectives in a noun phrase

is after the head noun. However, sometimes adjectives may come preceding the nouns they modify as in 14b, 14c, and 4d. The noun phrases given below show the movement of the definite markers and the position of adjectives.

- | | | | | | |
|---------------|--|-------------------------|-----------|---|------------------------|
| 14. a. | u-sit-e-
SGV-man-DEF
'the short man' | gu-gut
RED-short | c. | a-ti-tindi
GEN-RED-fat
'the fat cow' | im-go
cow-DEF |
| b. | u-t'u-t'ot'o
SGV-RED-black
'the black man' | u-sit-ge
SGV-man-DEF | d. | a-si-sele
GEN-white
'the white woman' | kikjat-go
woman-DEF |

Although there are times when the definiteness morphemes move from adjectives to the head nouns, they frequently occur suffixed to adjectives. The following sentential structures illustrate the position of the definite markers in a definite noun phrase, where attributive adjectives modify nouns.

- | | | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 15. a. | u-bwaf-
SGV-snake | a-si-sisi-te
REL -RED-green-DEF | ma-na-ŋi
PFV-3SG-see | |
| 'I saw the green snake' | | | | |
| b. | ma-bwaf-
PL-snake | a-si-sisi-tunu
REL -RED-green-DEF | ma-nun-ŋi
PFV-3PL-see | |
| 'I saw the green snakes.' | | | | |
| c. | im-
cow | gafar-to
big-DEF | ma-ŋa
PFV-eat | ŋufufu
grass |
| 'The big cow ate the grass.' | | | | |
| d. | uhaj
he | ma-ŋa-
PL-goat | a-si-sele-tunu
REL -RED-white-DEF | ma-nun-tuf
PFV-3PL-tie |
| 'He tied the white goats.' | | | | |

In Gwama, it is possible to use sequences of attributive adjectives in a noun phrase. Each adjective partially reduplicates to the left. In definite noun phrases, the adjective that comes last attracts the definite morpheme as in 16a.

16. a. ma-kur- gaɟar a-t'u-t'ot'o-tunu ma-b-gus
 PL-donkey big REL -RED-black-DEF PFV-3PL-run
 'The big, black donkeys ran.'
- b. wal-dw- a-ɟi-ɟaj- a-ti-tindi ma-n-ab-gwe
 child REL -red-beautiful REL -RED-fat PFV-1SG-3FSG-see
 'I saw a beautiful fat girl.'
- c. wal-dw- a-zi-zinzi- a-si-sele ma-∅-huho
 child-girl REL -RED-thin REL -RED-white PFV-3FSG-come
 'A thin white girl came.'

Gwama adjectives can also occur as predicates. When they function as predicates, reduplication does not take place. Similar to the attributive adjectives, the predicate adjectives occur following the head noun as in 17 below.

17. a. u-pak-e a-t'ot'o
 SGV-shoe-this COP-black
 'This shoe is black.'
- b. uwe u-sit-i e-p'i
 that SGV-man-? COP-clever
 'That man is clever.'

6.2. Prepositions

Prepositions are one of the adpositions that are “invariable elements, preceding or following a complement of a nominal nature and relating it to another element of the sentence” (Adler and Kurzon, 2008:2). The term adposition covers prepositions, postpositions, and other phenomena such as circumpositions as in Amharic. The adpositions of Gwama are prepositions (see also Zelealem, 2005:26). The prepositions always precede nouns. The following are commonly used prepositions in the language.

18. ká 'up' t'ózi 'in front of; before'
 ɟìɲ 'below' i 'at'

uf	‘under’	gaf	‘for’
dága	‘between’	duf	‘toward’
t’á	‘outside’	tát	‘in/inside’
sigá	‘beside’	k’wás	‘behind’
jil-	‘without’	pàŋ/zi	‘to’
gi	‘by’	s’ins’a	‘top’

From the above listed prepositions, some are derived from nouns and adjectives via grammaticalization (cf. Zelealem, 2005:27; Kievit and Robertson, 2012:50). These include the nouns *tat* ‘stomach’, *k’was* ‘back’ and the adjective *daga* ‘half; moderate’. The negative prefix *jil-* also functions as a preposition. The following sentential examples show the use of those prepositions given in 19.

- 19. a.** u-wal-te ze-na i-uf-swaja
 SGV-child-DEF sit-3MSG LOC-under-tree
 ‘The child sits under the tree.’
- b.** u-wal zug-na i-siga kum
 SGV-child stand-3MSG LOC-beside father
 ‘The child stands beside his father.’
- c.** kikjat-o ze-a- k’was- a-wutup
 woman-DEF sit-3FSG behind-GEN-husband
 ‘The woman sits behind her husband.’
- d.** swi- a-ma ze-na i-t’ozi- a-mesgid
 house GEN-1PL.POSS exist-3MSG LOC-infront GEN-mosque
 ‘My house is in front of the Mosque.’
- e.** u-kana iŋ-na i-k’was-swi-(t’a)
 SGV-dog sleep-3MSG LOC-behind-house-(outside)
 ‘The dog sleeps outside the house.’
- f.** wal-doz-te ze-na daga- Ali-gu-Yasin
 child-education-DEF sit-3MSG between Ali-and-Yasin
 ‘The student sits between Ali and Yasin.’

- g. hap' ma-ku-a pakpuɸ jil-gi-wanda
 she PFV-carry-3FSG Bread NEG-with-basket
 'She carried the bread without basket.'

Kievit and Robertson (2012:50) write that the negative word *páŋ* functions as a postposition carrying the meaning 'without', and they thought that it "may have a different origin." In this regard, three points should be noted. First, the negative marker, which is recorded in the current study, having the meaning 'without' is *jil*, as in 19g above, and it serves as a preposition. Second, the basic negative existential verb is *páŋ*, with high tone, along with copula markers derived from subject personal pronouns (see 5.6.7). For example, the 3MSG negative existential becomes *a-páŋ*, with alternative variant *a-paŋko(go)*, which is commonly used to mean 'does not exist; is not there/around' and functions as the negative verb of existence (as discussed in 5.6.7).

In fast speech, the commonly used existential verb *páŋ* may seem to drop the copulative element for 3MSG *a-* when there is identical low vowel at word final position of the preceding lexeme as in 20a and 20b (i.e the lexeme as *suja* 'two' and *sanza* 'property; money'). Instead, it is the vowel in the preceding word that drops (or assimilates with) the copula prefixed to *paŋ*.

20. a. Harun kikjat-suj a-paŋ
 Harun woman-two 3MSG.COP-no
 'Harun has not two wives (Lit. There are no two women for Harun.)'
- b. ga tul-ni sa:nza; sanz a-paŋ
 I poor-1SG money; money 3MSG.COP-no
 'I have no money; there is no money.'

The example shown in 21a below by Kievit and Robertson (2012:51) seems to have two sentences as in 20b above. In this sentence, the last two lexemes seem to form the structure *oj a-paŋ* 'there is no cloth' because for onething the full form to mean 'cloth' is *o:jo*; second usually its short form *oj* is used. A good evidence for this is 21b in which the short form of *o:jo* 'cloth' is used. The structure *oj a-paŋ* seems therefore a sentence by itself given as a reason for the preceding statement. This indicates that *a-paŋ* functions as negative existential.

- 21. a.** hò tò-tò kò-bé iyísá kòjì nyá òòyè páṅ
 come take-RED put-3PL.SBJ.PFV body skin goat clothes without
 ‘They come and take the body and put it on the goat skin without clothes.’
- b.** oj a-ki-kif ma-na-saza
 cloth REL-RED-wet PFV-1SG-hung out
 ‘I hung out wet cloth.’

Therefore, as Kievit and Robertson (2012:50) claim, the negative existential morpheme *páṅ* does not have a role of postposition in Gwama. However, the language has a similar lexeme *pàṅ* ‘to’, with low tone, which functions as a preposition. The following sentences extracted from a story show the preposition *pàṅ* ‘to’ that appear before a noun *t’umu* ‘home’.

- 22. a.** gida- ma-t’op’ k’und-bi-fwi-te
 when- PFV-drink finish-3PL-alcohol-DEF
 a-bi-ho duḻ-pàṅ-bun-i-t’umu
 IMPFV-3PL -go DIRE-to-3PL-LOC-house
 ‘When they finish drinking the alcohol, they go to their home.’
- b.** ma-ho-ni pàṅ-i-t’umu
 PFV-go-3MSG to-LOC-home
 ‘He went to home.’

Example 23a and 23b below illustrate the preposition *s’ins’a* ‘top’ that appear preceding a noun but following the locational morpheme *i-*.

- 23. a.** uhaj ze-na i-s’ins’a-ko
 he live-3MSG LOC-top-mountain
 ‘He lives at the top of the mountain.’
- b.** ga dab-ga- poj i-s’ins’a-karsa
 I NEG-1SG reach LOC-top-shelf
 ‘I can’t reach the top shelf.’

Examples 24a-c illustrate the preposition *tat* to mean ‘in’ in sentence 24a, to mean ‘on’ in sentence 24b, and to indicate the inside circumference of something as in 24c.

24. a. i-tat-huru ku-ja-gi t’af
 LOC-in-casserole put-3MSG-2SG salt
 ‘Add salt in the casserole.’
- b. u-wal ma-pi-na i-tat-pwaja
 SGV-child PFV-fall-3SG LOC-road
 ‘The child fell down on the road.’
- c. tat-zoro/tat-gumbur a-paj
 area/inside-well INCH-wide
 ‘The well becomes wide. (Lit. The inside/circumference of the well becomes wide.)’

6.3. Adverbs

The most frequent function of adverbs is to specify the mode of action of the verb (Crystal, 2008:14). Adverbs are usually related to questions like when, how, how much, or where, and can be classified accordingly as adverbs of time, adverbs of manner, adverbs of frequency, and adverbs of place (Ibid). Gwama has all these adverbs that give additional information about an action. Adverbs can be derived from adjectives, “or an adjective may also be used in adverbial function” (Dixon, 2012:366). Some Gwama manner adverbs are derived from their adjectival counterparts by adding the morpheme *gi-*. The following sub-sections present the attested Gwama adverbials with illustrative sentences.

6.3.1. Time Adverbs

Time adverbs also known as temporal adverbs are used to signal the time of events in a sentence. In here, I begin with adverbs that indicate times within a day. Gwama has different adverbial time frames that describe periods in a day as in 25. Most of these time frames begin with *an*.

25.	kwaŋa	‘dawn (before sunrise)’
	anzili	‘morning’
	ant’oŋ-kaja	‘noon’
	ankajfunu	‘afternoon’
	ansugun	‘evening’

Gwama has also different time adverbs that refer a certain moment in a day based on the time reference *das’ini* ‘now’.

26.	das’ini	‘now’
	it’ozi	‘before’
	ik’was	‘after/latter’

The third type of time adverbs of Gwsama indicate present, past, and future times of a day. The reference point for such adverbs is *gikene* ‘today’. Most of these adverbs begin with the prefix *gi-*.

27.	gikene	‘today’
	giotko/ gik’jana	‘tomorrow’
	gi-ʔiŋ-suja	‘the day after tomorrow’
	kajkukum	‘always’
	akama/gikama	‘yesterday’
	akamusu	‘the day before yesterday’
	gijingo	‘in the past’
	asas-a-ŋinko	‘a long time ago’

Likewise, there are adverbs that indicate the present year, the past year, and the next year as in 28 below. The adverbs of time that refer the year are results of two or more combined words. The adverb *nat-mine* ‘this year’ for example is the joining together of *nata* ‘year’ and *mine* ‘this’, and the time adverb *nata-i-kwas* ‘last year’ is formed from the word *nata* ‘year’, the locative morpheme *-i-* and the noun *k’was* ‘back’.

28.	nat-mine	‘this year’
	nata-i-k’was	‘last year’
	nata-beƿ-ga-inzi	‘the year before last year’
	nata-i-t’ozi /	‘next year’
	nat-ko-ho	
	nata-ko-ho-t’ozi	‘the year after next year’
	nat-suja-gikene	‘after two years’

Gwama divide the year into months based on Ethiopian calendar. Each of the twelve years is described by using the lexeme *s’ewan* ‘moon’ plus a cardinal number. For example, the first month *s’ewan-sene* ‘September’ holds the noun *s’ewan* ‘moon’ and *sene* ‘one’. Gwama has no leap year, so there is no term for it. However, one of my informants said that it is sometimes considered as a thirteenth month and called *sewan-k’uz-ot-twasene* which is composed of *s’ewan* ‘moon’, *k’uzi* ‘ten’, and *twasene* ‘three’.

29.	Lexeme	Gloss
	s’ewan-sene	‘September’
	s’ewan-suja	‘October’
	s’ewan-twasene	‘November’
	s’ewan-besini	‘December’
	s’ewan-kumut’	‘January’
	s’ewan-kuba-sene	‘February’
	s’ewan-kub-suja	‘March’
	s’ewan-kub-twasene	‘April’
	s’ewan-kub-bes’ini	‘May’
	s’ewan-k’uzi	‘June’
	s’ewan-k’uz-ot-sene	‘July’
	s’ewan-k’uz-ot-suja	‘August’

Gwama has five working days, from Monday to Friday. These days are expressed by adjoining three lexemes, i.e. the noun *kaja* ‘sun’, the preposition *gi* ‘and’, and a cardinal number one to five. Finishing the working days *sene* ‘one’ to *kumut* ‘five’, they describe Saturday and Sunday by using the cardinal numbers *sene* ‘one’ and *suja* ‘two’ again

combined with *kaj-baj*, which is composed of *kaja* ‘sun’ and *baj* which refers to the break in the working week.

30. Lexeme	Gloss
kaj-gi-sene	‘Monday’
kaj-gi-suja	‘Tuesday’
kaj-gi-twasene	‘Wednesday’
kaj-gi-besini	‘Thursday’
kaj-gi-kumut’	‘Friday’
kaj-baj-sene	‘Saturday’
kaj-baj-suja	‘Sunday’

The following sentential examples show some of the time adverbs of Gwama. The adverbs appear after the verb they modify (cf. Zelealem, 2005:26).

- 31. a.** mini de-ni-gi-den t’oses’k’in
 we RED-1PL-DD2-meet once
 ‘We (INCL) met once.’
- b.** uhaj a-ni-ho gikene
 he IMPFV-3MSG-go today
 He will go today.
- c.** hap’ ho-ba kama
 she go-3FSG yesterday
 ‘She came yesterday.’
- d.** ik ho:-ga kamusu
 you come-2SG the day before yesterday
 ‘You (SG) came the day before yesterday.’
- e.** ik a-gi-ho: giotko
 you IMPFV-2SG-come tomorrow
 ‘You (SG) will come tomorrow.’

- f. ma mi-ho: gi-ʔif-suja
 we 1PL-come the day after tomorrow
 ‘We (EXCL) will come the day after tomorrow.’

6.3.2. Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs express the way in which the action is carried out. Gwama derives manner adverbs by prefixing adjectives with a preposition *gi-*. Kievit and Robertson (2012:51) claim that the suffix *-ko* ends manner adverbs, which has not been attested in the present data.

32. Adjectives		Derived Adverbs	
ʃaja	‘beautiful’	gi-ʃaja	‘beautifully’
ki:si	‘near’	gi-ki:si	‘nearly’
ma:za	‘weak’	gi-ma:za	‘weakly’
ki	‘careful’	gi-ki	‘carefully’
ʃep	‘fast’	gi-ʃep	‘fast’

These derived adverbs of manner, akin to time adverbs, appear following verbs they modify. Below are sentential examples that illustrate the adverbs *gikwi* ‘deeply’, *gifiʃep* ‘fast’, and *giki* ‘carefully’ respectively.

33. a. bu ma-ni-ʃa gi-kwi
 well PFV-1SG-dig in-deep
 ‘I dug the well deeply.’
- b. uhaj ma-ho gi-ʃi-ʃep
 he PFV-go by-RED-fast
 ‘He went fast.’
- c. ma-ba-kʉnd gi-ki
 PFV-3PL-finish by-careful
 ‘They finished carefully.’

6.3.3. Adverbs of Frequency

Gwama derives frequency adverbs from time adverbs through partial reduplication or combining two words. The frequency adverb *kaj-kukum* ‘always’ (lit. all day), for example, is

the result of the word *kaja* ‘day’ and *kukum* ‘all’. Some reduplicated frequency adverbs drop only the last vowel of the reduplicated word as in *anzil-anzili* ‘every morning’, which is derived from the word *anzili* ‘morning’. Some time adverbs formed from three morphemes, such as *kaj-gi-sene* ‘Monday’, reduplicate only the last morpheme to function as a frequency adverb as in *kaj-gi-sen-sene* ‘every Monday’. Deleting the last vowel during reduplication is a common phenomenon in Gwama.

34.	<i>kaja</i>	‘day’	<i>kaj-kukum</i>	‘always’
	<i>kaj-sene</i>	‘once’	<i>kaj-sen-sene</i>	‘sometimes’
	<i>anzili</i>	‘morning’	<i>anzil-anzili</i>	‘every morning’
	<i>ankajfunu</i>	‘night’	<i>ankajfun-ankajfunu</i>	‘every night’
	<i>kaj-gi-sene</i>	‘Monday’	<i>kaj-gi-sen-sene</i>	‘every Monday’
	<i>kaj-gi-twasene</i>	‘Wednesday’	<i>kaj-gi-twasen-twasene</i>	‘every Wednesday’
	<i>kaj-baj-sene</i>	‘Saturday’	<i>kaj-baj-sen-sene</i>	‘every Saturday’
	<i>kaj-baj-suja</i>	‘Sunday’	<i>kaj-baj-suj-suja</i>	‘every Sunday’

Unlike time and manner adverbs, these frequency adverbs appear preceding verbs in sentences. Sentential illustrations of the above listed adverbs are given in 35 below.

- 35. a.** *ma kaj-kukum a-mi-ho i-swi-dozo*
 we day-all IMPFV-1PL-go LOC-house-education
 ‘We (EXCL) always go to school.’
- b.** *hun i-kaj-baj-sen-sene a-bi-ho i-gabi*
 they LOC-day-rest-RED-one IMPFV-3PL-go LOC-market
 ‘They go to market every Saturday.’
- c.** *ga kaj-sen-sene tob-ni fwi*
 I day-RED-one drink-1SG local alcohol
 ‘I sometimes drink local alcohol.’
- d.** *ankajfun-ankajfunu at-ni minkwans*
 RED-night read-1SG book
 ‘I read book every night.’

- e. i-kaj-gi-kumut-kumut ho-na i-jas-jan-jere i-masgid
 LOC-day-by-five-RED go-1SG LOC-place-beg-Allah LOC-mosque
 ‘I go to mosque every Friday.’
- f. i-kaj-baj-suj-suja ho-na i-swi-jan
 LOC-day-rest-RED-two go-1SG LOC-house-beg
 ‘I go to church every Sunday.’

During left to right partial reduplication, usually words or part of words that end in vowel (as in 35b-d and 35f) or that end in consonant (as in 35a) drop the final sound. However, it is also common to find adverbs of frequency that undergo full reduplication of the last morpheme of the words as *kaj-gi-kumut-kumut* ‘every Friday’ in example 36e. Besides, the Gwama equivalent for ‘every Tuesday’ is recorded as *kaj-gi-suja-suja*, so it is optional to fully reduplicate the number indicators.

6.4. Numerals

There are two forms of numerals in Gwama – cardinals and ordinals. Zelealem (2005:22) has identified one up to hundred cardinal numerals. Though his description is more or less similar to this study, the numeral system found in the current data has some sort of variation from the list of numbers given. To mention, he writes that *diba* means ‘hundred’; however, based on the current data ‘hundred’ is *s’its’it-kùmút* (lit. ‘have five’). Kievit and Robertson (2012:53), on the other hand, list and analyse the first twenty cardinal numbers.

6.4.1. Cardinal Numerals

The numbers of Gwama follow the first five numeral systems (cf. Kievit and Robertson, 2012:53). In other words, the system seems to be quinary, i.e. five-based, (cf. Zelealem, 2005:22), which suggests a relationship with the fingers of the hand. However, the names for the fingers of the hand are not exactly the same as the numerals, and as far as the current data is concerned, there is no confirmed direct relationship between them though Zelealem (Ibid) suggests that *k’uzi* ‘ten’ refers to fingers. The Gwama word for ‘hand finger’ is *dudamit*. The language has also different representations for each finger, i.e. for ‘thumb’ *kwamit*, also called *mit’kwam*, for ‘index finger’ *mit’de:pe* (lit. ‘hand that indicates’), for ‘middle finger’

and ‘ring finger’ *mit'idaga* (lit. ‘hand located in the middle’), for ‘little finger’ *mit'walwal* (lit. ‘hand little’). All of the present data informants counted one upto five in the following manner.

36.	Lexeme	Gloss
	se:ne	‘one’
	sùjá	‘two’
	twàsen	‘three’
	bé:s'in	‘four’
	kùmút'	‘five’

The above list of numbers show that the numerals one to five are root forms that have no any other word or affix attached to each. However, the numerals from six to nine take the morpheme *kuba*, whose etymology is potentially *kwapa* ‘hand’, followed by the numbers one to four. For example, number ‘six’ is *kuba-sen(e)* (which is the combination of *kuba* ‘hand’ and *se:ne* ‘one’ and literally means ‘a hand and one’) and ‘nine’ is *kub-be:s'in* (lit. ‘a hand and four’), whereas the Gwama equivalent for number ‘ten’ is *k'u:zi*, which is totally different from the structures noticed from six to nine. Informants do not use *kumut'* ‘five’ for 6-9 (as in 37), but it seems implicately understood. That is, when they say *kuba-sen* ‘six’, they literally mean that ‘a hand having five fingers plus one’.

37.	Lexeme	Gloss
	kùb-a-sen	‘six’
	kùb-sùjá	‘seven’
	kùb-twàsen	‘eight’
	kùb-bé:s'in	‘nine’
	k'ù:zi	‘ten’

Numerals are used to indicate the exact number of something in a noun phrase. The Gwama numerals appear following the nouns they modify. When numerals above one are used as modifiers of the head noun, the plural morpheme is prefixed to the noun. The following are examples illustrating some of the above listed numerals in phrasal structures.

38. swáj- se:né/se:s'k'in ma-swáj- bé:s'ìn
tree one PL-tree- four
'one tree' 'four trees'
- ma-swáj- sùjá ma-swáj- kùmút'
PL-tree- two PL-tree- five
'two trees' 'five trees'
- ma-swáj- twàsen
PL-tree- three
'three trees'

The form recorded in the number system 11-20 contains *k'ù:zi* 'ten' as its base followed by the numeral system one to nine. The base, *k'ù:zi*, however, reduced to *k'úz-* and is followed by *-ot-* which probably means 'and'. Zelealem (2005:22) claims that the base *k'uz* is followed by *-at-* and uses *k'uzat-*, instead. Kievit and Robertson (2012:54), on the other hand, put *k'ooziote-* for numbers eleven and twelve (i.e. "*k'ooziote-sen* 'eleven' and *k'ooziote-swja* 'twelve'"). The *ε* sound in *-ote-* of Kievit and Robertson's work is acoustically distinguished in the current data as *-ota-*, which is only found *k'úz-ota- sen* 'eleven'. Similarly, the researchers use *-ot-* for the remaining numerals from thirteen to nineteen. The current data reveals the following number systems for 11-20.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>39. a. k'úz- ota- sen
 ten and one
 'eleven'</p> <p>b. k'úz- ot- sùjá
 ten and two
 'twelve'</p> <p>c. k'úz- ot- twàsen
 ten and three
 'thirteen'</p> | <p>f. k'úz- ot- kùb-á-sen
 ten and take-GEN-one
 'sixteen'</p> <p>g. k'úz- ot- kùb-sùjá
 ten and take-two
 'seventeen'</p> <p>h. k'úz- ot- kùb-twàsen
 ten and take-three
 'eighteen'</p> |
|---|---|

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>d. k'úz- ot- bé:s'ìn
ten and four
'fourteen'</p> | <p>i. k'úz- ot- kùb-bé:s'ìn
ten and take-four
'nineteen'</p> |
| <p>e. k'úz- ot- kùmút'
ten and five
'fifteen'</p> | <p>j. jìs-a-sene
body-GEN-one
'twenty'</p> |

In the above examples, the numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed from *k'uz-* 'ten' plus *-ot-* 'and' plus numbers one to nine. The literal meanings of these numbers are ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, ten and four, etc. However, the number system for twenty is different from the preceding numbers. It takes the noun *jìs* meaning 'body' followed by the connector *-a-* and then *-sene* 'one', which literally means 'body of one'. This may be related to the fingers and toes of a person. That is, one person is one body, and one body has totally twenty fingers. This is how the Gwama and other Koman languages count numbers (cf. Komo (Tesfaye 2014), Uduk (Killian 2015), and Opuo (Mellese 2017)).

The numeral *jìs-a-sene* 'twenty' is used as base for numbers 21-30. It is followed by the morpheme *-ot-* 'and' and numbers one to ten. The numbers, beginning from twenty-one, literally means body of one and one, body of one and two, body of one and three etc as in 40 below.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>40. jìs-a-sen- ot-sen
body-GEN-one and-one
'twenty one'</p> | <p>jìs-a-sen- ot-kùb-a-sen
body-GEN-one and-take-GEN-one
'twenty six'</p> |
| <p>jìs-a-sen- ot-sùjá
body-GEN-one and-two
'twenty two'</p> | <p>jìs-a-sen- ot-kùb-sùjá
body-GEN-one and-take-two
'twenty seven'</p> |
| <p>jìs-a-sen- ot-twàsen
body-GEN-one and-three
'twenty three'</p> | <p>jìs-a-sen- ot-kùb-twàsen
body-GEN-one and-take-three
'twenty eight'</p> |

jìs-a-sen-	ot-béés'in	jìs-a-sen-	ot-kùb-bé:sìn
body-GEN-one	and-four	body-GEN-one	and-take-four
'twenty four'		'twenty nine'	
jìs-a-sen-	ot-kùmút'	jìs-a-sen-	ot-k'ù:zì
body-GEN-one	and-five	body-GEN-one	and-ten
'twenty five'		'thirty'	

Kids and youths can only count up to twenty, and few youths can count in Gwama up to twenty-nine and continue in Afaan Oromo. Only elders are able to count above thirty. This is also confirmed in Zelealem's (2005) work. He writes that, above 30, "the bases are all borrowings from Afaan Oromo" (Ibid:22). In his analysis, *saddoma* 'thirty', in Afaan Oromo, is the base to construct 31-39, and he claims that the Gwama say *saddoma sene* to mean thirty one. In the present data, the base *jìs-a-sen-ot-k'úz* 'thirty' is used to construct numbers 31-39. It is followed by the morpheme *-ot-* plus numbers one to nine. Consider the following list.

- 41. a.** jìs-a-sen-ot-k'úz- ot-sen **f.** jìs-a-sen-ot-k'úz- ot-kùba-sen
body-GEN-one-and-ten and-one body-GEN-one-and-ten and-six
'thirty one' 'thirty six'
- b.** jìs-a-sen-ot-k'úz- ot-sùjá **g.** jìs-a-sen-ot-k'úz- ot-kùb-sùjá
body-GEN-one-and-ten and-two body-GEN-one-and-ten and-seven
'thirty two' 'thirty seven'
- c.** jìs-a-sen-ot-k'úz- ot-twàsen **h.** jìs-a-sen-ot-k'úz- ot-kùb-twàsen
body-GEN-one-and-ten and-three body-GEN-one-and-ten and-eight
'thirty three' 'thirty eight'
- d.** jìs-a-sen-ot-k'úz- ot-bé:sìn **i.** jìs-a-sen-ot-k'úz- ot-kùb-bé:sìn
body-GEN-one-and-ten and-four body-GEN-one-and-ten and-nine
'thirty four' 'thirty nine'
- e.** jìs-a-sen-ot-k'úz- ot-kùmút' **j.** s'ít-s'ít-sùja
body-GEN-one-and-ten and-five have-RED-two
'thirty five' 'forty'

As can be seen in 41j, the structure for numeral forty is different from the way 31 to 39 are constructed. It is composed of the reduplicated possessive word *s'it* 'have' and the numeral *suja* 'two', which literally means 'have two'. This could probably be analysed in relation to the preceding number 39, which is literally read as body of one and ten plus nine, and when one is added on this, it becomes 'have two' or two bodies. That is, the sum of fingers and toes of two people. Zelealem (2005:23) writes that 'forty' is *ma-sit suja* (lit. 'two persons').

The reduced form of *k'ù:zì* 'ten', i.e. *k'uz*, which has been used from 31 to 39 does not have place in the numeral system of 40-49. Instead, the base *sít-s'ít-sùja*²⁵ 'forty' plus numbers one to ten are used as shown below.

<p>42. s'ít-s'ít-sùja- se:ne have-RED-two one 'forty one'</p>	<p>s'ít-s'ít-sùja- kùb-á-sen have-RED-two six 'forty six'</p>
<p>s'ít-s'ít-sùja- sùja have-RED-two two 'forty two'</p>	<p>s'ít-s'ít-sùja- kùb-sùja have-RED-two seven 'forty seven'</p>
<p>s'ít-s'ít-sùja- twàsen have-RED-two three 'forty three'</p>	<p>s'ít-s'ít-sùja- kùb-twàsen have-RED-two eight 'forty eight'</p>
<p>s'ít-s'ít-sùja- bé:sìn have-RED-two four 'forty four'</p>	<p>s'ít-s'ít-sùja- kùb-bé:s'ìn have-RED-two nine 'forty nine'</p>
<p>s'ít-s'ít-sùja- kùmút have-RED-two five 'forty five'</p>	<p>s'ít-s'ít-sùja- gi-k'ù:zì have-RED-two and-ten 'fifty'</p>

²⁵ This can be hypothesized that the etymology of the first *s'it* 'have; catch' in *s'it-s'it* can be *sit* 'person', which later changed to the voiceless alveolar affricate ejective coda.

The numeral fifty literally mean ‘two bodies and ten’. The following numerals 51-59 take this basic form *s’ít-s’ít-sùja-gí-k’úz* ‘fifty’ followed by the morpheme *-ot-* ‘and’ and the first nine numerals.

43. *s’ít-s’ít-sùja-gí-k’úz-* *ot-sen*
have-RED-two-and-ten and-one
‘Fifty one’
- s’ít-s’ít-sùja-gí-k’úz-* *ot-sùja*
have-RED-two-and-ten and-two
‘Fifty two’
- s’ít-s’ít-sùja-gí-k’úz-* *ot-twàsen*
have-RED-two-and-ten and-three
‘Fifty three’
- s’ít-s’ít-sùja-gí-k’úz-* *ot-bé:sìn*
have-RED-two-and-ten and-four
‘Fifty four’
- s’ít-s’ít-sùja-gí-k’úz-* *ot-kùmúf*
have-RED-two-and-ten and-five
‘Fifty five’
- s’ít-s’ít-sùja-gí-k’úz-* *ot-kùba-sen*
have-RED-two-and-ten and-six
‘Fifty six’
- s’ít-s’ít-sùja-gí-k’úz-* *ot-kùb-sùjá*
have-RED-two-and-ten and-seven
‘Fifty seven’
- s’ít-s’ít-sùja-gí-k’úz-* *ot-kùb-twàsen*
have-RED-two-and-ten and-eight
‘Fifty eight’
- s’ít-s’ít-sùja-gí-k’úz-* *ot-kùb-béésìn*
have-RED-two-and-ten and-nine
‘Fifty nine’

s'ít-s'ít-twàsen
 have-RED-three
 'Sixty'

Note that the form for number sixty is similar to forty. It literally means 'have three', which potentially refers to number of bodies. This indicates that Gwama has a vigesimal system of multiples of ten. The base for the numeral system 61 to 70 is *s'íts'ít-twàsen* 'sixty', which is followed by *-ot-* and the numerals one to ten like that of forties.

- 44. a.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen- ot-sen
 have-RED-three and-one
 'sixty one'
- b.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen- ot-sùja
 have-RED-three and-two
 'sixty two'
- c.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen- ot-twàsen
 have-RED-three and-three
 'sixty three'
- d.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen- ot-béés'in
 have-RED-three and-four
 'sixty four'
- e.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen- ot-kùmút'
 have-RED-three and-five
 'sixty five'
- f.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen- ot-kùbá-sen
 have-RED-three and-six
 'sixty six'
- g.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen- ot-kùb-sùjá
 have-RED-three and-seven
 'sixty seven'

- h.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen- ot-kùb-twàsen
 have-RED-three and-eight
 'sixty eight'
- i.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen- ot-kùb-bé:sìn
 have-RED-three and-nine
 'sixty nine'
- j.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen- ot-k'ù:zì
 have-RED-three and-ten
 'seventy'

As can be observed in the above numerals from 61 to 69, *-gí-k'úz*, or *-ot-k'uz*, 'and ten' is dropped like the numerals 21 to 29 and 41 to 49. Numerals referring to cardinals from seventyone to seventynine constitute the combination of the base *s'ít-s'ít-twàsen-ot-k'ù:zì* 'seventy' and the numerals one to nine. Eighty, which is a multiple of twenty, has a different form like that of forty and sixty.

- 45. a.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen-ot-k'úz- ot-sen
 have-RED-three-and-ten- and-one
 'Seventy one'
- b.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen-ot-k'úz- ot-sùjá
 have-RED-three-and-ten- and-two
 'Seventy two'
- c.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen-ot-k'úz- ot-twàsen
 have-RED-three-and-ten- and-three
 'Seventy three'
- d.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen-ot-k'úz- ot-béésìn
 have-RED-three-and-ten- and-four
 'Seventy four'
- e.** s'ít-s'ít-twàsen-ot-k'úz- ot-kùmúf
 have-RED-three-and-ten- and-five
 'Seventy five'

have-RED-four- and-four 'Eighty four'	have-RED-four-and-ten- and-four 'Ninety four'
sít-sít-bé:sìn- ot-kùmúf have-RED-four- and-five 'Eighty five'	sít-sít-bé:sìn-gí-kúz- ot-kùmúf have-RED-four-and-ten- and-five 'Ninety five'
sít-sít-bé:sìn- ot-kùba-sen have-RED-four- and-six 'Eighty six'	sít-sít-bé:sìn-gí-kúz- ot-kùba-sen have-RED-four-and-ten- and-six 'Ninety six'
sít-sít-bé:sìn- ot-kùb-sùjá have-RED-four- and-seven 'Eighty seven'	sít-sít-bé:sìn-gí-kúz- ot-kùb-sùjá have-RED-four-and-ten- and-seven 'Ninety seven'
sít-sít-bé:sìn- ot-kùb-twàsen have-RED-four- and-eight 'Eighty eight'	sít-sít-bé:sìn-gí-kúz- ot-kùb-twàsen have-RED-four-and-ten- and-eight 'Ninety eight'
sít-sít-bé:sìn- ot-kùb-bé:sìn have-RED-four- and-nine 'Eighty nine'	sít-sít-bé:sìn-gí-kúz- ot-kùb-bé:sìn have-RED-four-and-ten- and-nine 'Ninety nine'
sít-sít-bé:sìn- gí-kù:zì have-RED-four- and-ten 'Ninety'	sít-sít-kùmúf have-RED-five 'Hundred'

As illustrated so far, cardinals referring to multiples of twenty, i.e. 20, 40, 60, 80, and 100, have similar structures. They take the reduplicated possessive word *s'it* 'have' followed by the numerals one to five, respectively. Each refers to the number of whole person(s), so *k'uz* 'ten' is not needed. The cardinals referring to the numerals 30, 50, 70, and 90, on the other hand, have similar structures that are different from the multiples of twenty. They constitute the combination of multiples of twenty followed by *ot-k'ù:zì*, or *gí-k'ù:zì*, 'and ten'. Therefore, thirty is one whole person plus ten, fifty is two whole persons plus ten, seventy is three whole persons plus ten, and ninety is four whole persons plus ten.

Gwama cardinal numerals inflect for definiteness. The example in 48c presents the head noun *ge:ni* ‘flexible stick’, which is inflected for definiteness with the morpheme *-tunu*. The following illustrative examples extracted from texts show the function of cardinal numerals in sentences.

47. a. kaj-sene ga ma-ni-ga s’it kam pidi
 sun-one I PFV-1SG-DD2 have get hunger
 One day, I was very hungry.
- b. gide-wet-ni-gi nat-k’uz-ot-sùja...
 when-COP-1SG-DD2 year-ten-and-two
 ‘When I was twelve years old,...’
- c. ma-geji twasene-tun-ji...
 PL-stick three-DEF-also
 ‘The three circled flexible sticks also...’

6.4.2. Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals of Gwama are constructed by attaching the ordinal morpheme *t’o-* ‘th’ before cardinal numerals. Opuo and Komo have also ordinal markers *-en* (Mellese 2017:121) and *-de* (Tesfaye 2014:104), respectively. The first ten ordinal numbers of Gwama are given below. As noted in 7.1.1, locative marker *i-* is prefixed to the ordinal morpheme *t’o-* in a noun phrase.

48.	t’o-sés’k’in	‘first’	t’o-kùb-á-sén	‘sixth’
	ORD-one		ORD-six	
	t’o-sùjá	‘second’	t’o-kùb-sùjá	‘seventh’
	ORD-two		ORD-seven	
	t’o-twàsen	‘third’	t’o-kùb-twàsen	‘eighth’
	ORD-three		ORD-eight	
	t’o-béés’in	‘fourth’	t’o-kùb-béés’in	‘ninth’
	ORD-four		ORD-nine	
	t’o-kùmúf	‘fifth’	t’o-kùùzi	‘tenth’
	ORD-five		ORD-ten	

Ordinal numbers beyond tenth are also derived by adding the same morpheme to the cardinal numbers. Some of the ordinal numbers are given here as example.

49.	t'o-kúz-ot-sen ORD-eleven	'eleventh'	t'o-jise-sen ORD-twenty	'twentieth'
	t'o-kúz-ot-sùjá ORD-twelve	'twelveth'	t'o-jise-sen-gí-kùùzì ORD-thirty	'thirtieth'
	t'o-kúz-ot-twàsen ORD-thirteen	'thirteenth'	t'o-sít-sùja ORD-fourty	'fortieth'
	t'o-kúz-ot-béésìn ORD-fourteen	'fourteenth'	t'o-sít-sùja-gí-kùùzì ORD-fifty	'fiftieth'
	t'o-kúz-ot-kùmúf ORD-fifteen	'fifteenth'	t'o-sít-twàsen ORD-sixty	'sixtieth'
	t'o-kúz-ot-kùbá-sen ORD-sixteen	'sixteenth'	t'o-sít-twàsen-gí-kùùzì ORD-seventy	'seventieth'
	t'o-kúz-ot-kùb-sùjá ORD-seventeen	'seventeenth'	t'o-sít-béésìn ORD-eighty	'eightieth'
	t'o-kúz-ot-kùb-twàsen ORD-eighteen	'eighteenth'	t'o-sít-béésìn-gí-kùùzì ORD-ninety	'ninetieth'
	t'o-kúz-ot-kùb-béésìn ORD-nineteen	'nineteenth'	t'o-sít-kùmúf ORD-hundred	'hundredth'

Chapter Seven

7. Syntax

Syntax is the study of how words combine to form larger structures, such as phrases and clauses (Payne, 2006:25). Syntactic (also “analytic”) patterns are systematic ways that languages express meaning by combining words or arranging words in phrases and clauses.

Basic issues of the syntax of Gwama are presented in this chapter. First, an overview of constituent ordering in different types of phrases is given. Then, the structures of declarative, interrogative, and negative clauses of the language are addressed. Finally, the syntax of clauses is described.

7.1. Word Order

One of the main ways that help to differentiate languages from one another is their order of constituents or constituent order, which is most commonly known as word order (Dryer, 2007a:61; Payne, 1997: 71). What is commonly known about word order, i.e. when constituent order of a language is referred, is specifically to the order/position of subject, verb, and object with respect to each other. However, order of constituents refers in a broad sense to the order of any set of elements, either at clause level or within phrases, such as the order of elements within a noun phrase (Dryer, 2007a:61).

7.1.1. The Noun Phrase (NP)

A noun phrase (hereafter NP) can be formed in Gwama from a head noun alone or a head noun plus another noun, adjective, demonstrative, numeral, possessive, and/or relative clause. Adnominal components follow the head noun they modify. The examples given in 1 below show the positions of the number markers and the definite marker in noun phrases.

- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| 1. a. | u-na-te | c. | u-swi-te |
| | SGV-goat-DEF | | SGV-house-DEF |
| | ‘The goat’ | | ‘The house’ |

- | | |
|---|---|
| b. u-kondol-te
SGV-horse-DEF
‘The horse’ | d. ma-swi-tunu
PL-house-DEF
‘The houses’ |
|---|---|

As can be seen above, both the singulative and plural markers precede the head noun as in 1a-c, where the singulative morpheme *u-* is prefixed, and 1d, where the plural morpheme *ma-* is prefixed, respectively. The definite morpheme *te-* appears following the head nouns as in 1a-c, and in 1d, the plural definite morpheme *-tunu* appears following the head noun.

Noun phrases in Gwama can also be composed of a head noun and a demonstrative adjective. In such NP constructions, the demonstrative occurs following the head noun.

- 2. a.** u-swi-ʔe
 SGV-house-this
 ‘This house’
- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| b. u-ɲa-ʔe
SGV-goat-this
This goat | ʃa-ni-gi
eat-3MSG-DD2
ate | ʃufufu
grass
grass. |
|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
- c.** ma-bit-nunu
 PL-bird-these
 ‘These birds’
- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| d. ma-sit-nunu
PL-man-these
These men | wet-bi
COP-3PL
are | ma-sitʃin
PL-soldier
soldiers. |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|

Gwama can also form noun phrases combining a head noun and a possessive pronoun. Akin to the definite marker and demonstrative, the possessive appears following the head noun. Consider the following examples.

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 3. a. u-kan-
SGV-dog-
‘My dog’ | a-na
GEN-1SG.POSS
my | e. kan-
dog-
‘Her dog’ | a-dap’
GEN-3FSG.POSS
her |
|---|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|

- | | |
|---|---|
| b. ma-kan- a-má
PL-dog- GEN-1PL.POSS
‘Our (EXCL) dogs’ | f. u-kan- a-de
SGV-dog- GEN-3MSG.POSS
‘His dog’ |
| c. ma-kan- a-mini
PL-dog- GEN-1PL.POSS
‘Our (INCL) dogs’ | g. u-kan- a-ke
SGV-dog- GEN-2SG.POSS
‘Your (SG) dog’ |
| d. ma-kan- a-bun
PL-dog- GEN-3PL.POSS
‘Their dogs’ | h. kan- a-kum
dog- GEN-2PL.POSS
‘Your (PL) dog’ |

Cardinal numerals modify a noun and occur following the head noun as in 4a-d.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 4. a. swi-ses’k’in
house-one
‘One house’ | e. swi- i- t’o-ses’k’in
house-LOC- ORD-one
‘The first house’ |
| b. ma-swi-suja
PL-house-two
‘Two houses’ | f. swi- i- t’o-suja
house-LOC-ORD-two
‘The second house’ |
| c. ma-man-kumut’
PL-children-five
‘Five children’ | g. ma-swi- i- t’o-twasen
PL-house-LOC-ORD-three
‘The third houses’ |
| d. ma-ɲa-kub-twasene
PL-goat-take-three
‘Eight goats’ | h. swaj- i- t’o-be:s’in
tree-LOC-ORD-four
‘The fourth tree’ |

If a numeral higher than one is used as a quantifier, the head noun takes the plural prefix *ma-*. The other type of numeral is ordinal numerals, which identify a referent in terms of its order with respect to other referents. As noted in 6.4.2, ordinal numerals of Gwama are derived from cardinal numerals by prefixing the morpheme *t’o-*, and they appear in NPs following the head nouns they modify as in 4e-h. When an ordinal numeral is used to identify the order of a referent, or head noun, the locative morpheme *i-* is placed preceding the ordinal marker *t’o-*,

and if a plural noun is used with an ordinal modifier, the plural morpheme *ma-* appears before the head noun, as in 4g.

An NP can also be formed from the combination of a head noun, a cardinal numeral as a quantifier, and a possessive adjective expressing ownership. In such constructions, the quantifier and the possessive adjective follow the head noun, where the quantifier appears preceding the possessive adjective as in 5a-c.

5. a. ma-im-suja a-na
 PL-cow-two GEN-1SG.POSS
 ‘My two cows’
- b. ma-kan-kumut’ a-bun
 PL-dog-five GEN-3PL.POSS
 ‘Their five dogs’
- c. ma-ŋa-k’uzi a-ke
 PL-goat-ten GEN-2SG.POSS
 ‘Your (SG) ten goats’

When an NP is composed of a noun and an attributive adjective the constituent order is that the adjective follow the noun and is inflected for definiteness as in 6a-d.

6. a. u-kan- gat-e
 SGV-dog- old-DEF
 ‘The old dog’
- b. ma-man-dozo- a-p’i-p’i-tunu
 PL-children-learn- GEN-RED-clever-DEF
 ‘The clever students’
- c. ma-man-dwa- a-k’ijapko-tunu
 PL-children-girl- GEN- little-DEF? -DEMO
 ‘Those little girls’

- d.** ma-im- ni-naj-nun
 PL-cow- RED-many-DEMO
 ‘These many cows’

As can be seen in 6c above, the suppletive plural *man* ‘children’ is inflected for plural number, but it is not common. In noun phrases that are composed of a head noun and a sequence of attributive adjectives, the adjectives occur following the head nouns. Zelealem (2005:29) writes that “the pattern seems to be strict regarding demonstratives which must appear preceding all modifiers”. However, as shown in 6c-d above, demonstrative markers are suffixed to the adjectives that follow the head, and if there are sequences of adjectives, it is suffixed to the adjective that appears last as in 7.

- 7.** ma-k’ondol- a-gi-gafar- a-t’u-t’ot’o-tunu
 PL-horse- GEN-RED-big- GEN-RED-black-DEMO
 ‘Those big, black horses’

When a sequence of attributive adjectives is used with a degree marker *apaj* ‘very’, the morpheme that specifies degree appears preceding the first attributive adjective.

- 8.** wal-dwa- a-ʔapaj- nu-noko- a-zi-zinzi
 child-girl- GEN-very- RED-beautiful- GEN-RED-thin
 ‘A very beautiful, thin girl’

In relative clause constructions, the head appears preceding the complement as in the clauses shown below (see 7.3.2 for detailed description).

- 9. a.** u-sit a-we-gi sulganda t’u-t’ot’o-te
 SGV-man REL-wear-REL trouser RED-black-DEF
 ‘The man who wears a black trouser’
- b.** kikjata a-ti-ni-gi- sa:nza-go
 woman REL-give-1SG-REL money-DEF
 ‘The woman for whom I gave money’

Based on the data shown so far, it can be concluded that Gwama is basically a head initial language that follows a head plus complement pattern in an NP.

7.1.2. The Verb Phrase (VP)

A verb phrase (hereafter VP) is a constituent which can fill the predicate slot within a clause, and its head is typically a verb (Dixon, 2012). A VP may consist of a head verb and other constituents such as prepositional phrases, noun phrases, and adverbs. The positions of such constituents in a verb phrase differ from language to language. The following illustrations show some of Gwama verb phrase structures.

- 10. a.** uhaj a-ni-ho gikejene
 he IMPFV-3MSG-go today
 ‘He will go today.’
- b.** hap' ho-ba akama
 she go-3FSG yesterday
 ‘She came yesterday.’
- c.** hun ma-ba- k'und giki
 they PFV-3PL- finish carefully
 ‘They finished carefully.’
- d.** ma-kan-tunu k'a-bi sum
 PL-dog-those eat-3PL meat
 ‘Those dogs ate meat.’
- e.** ma-kikezi-tunu ma-t'ob ɟwi
 PL-male-those PFV-drink alcohol
 ‘Those men drank local alcohol.’
- f.** hun gaf-hap' ma-b-hab-ti sa:nza
 they for-her PFV-3PL-3FSG-give sanza
 ‘They gave her money.’
- g.** haj gaf-hun ma-n-un-gi swi
 he for-them PFV-3MSG-3PL-build house
 ‘He built them a house.’

The examples given above illustrate different kinds of verb phrases in Gwama. In the first three illustrations (10a-c), the VPs are constituents of Vs and adverbial complements *gikene* ‘today’, *akama* ‘yesterday’, and *giki* ‘carefully’, where the pattern of the VPs look V plus ADV (cf. Zelealem, 2005:29). In the VPs shown in 10d and 10e, a direct object appears as complement following its head. In VPs having a direct and an indirect object NP, the indirect object, which has a PP structure, appears preceding the verb and the direct object occurs following the verb as in 10f and 10g.

As noted above, temporal adverbs are usually used to modify verbs. Gwama VPs may contain temporal adverbs like *gikejene* ‘today’, *gik’ijana* ‘tomorrow’, and *gikama/akama* ‘yesterday’ in its structure. The position of such adverbs does not seem to be restricted. In some cases, they occur at the beginning of a sentence, preceding the subject as in 11a. In other cases, they occur following the subject, preceding the verb as in 11b and 11c. In addition, they are attested following verbs as in 11d.

- 11. a.** akama ma-ŋa-tunu ma-bun-t’uʃ
yesterday PL-goat-DEF PFV-3PL-tie
‘Yesterday, they tied the goats.’
- b.** ma-ŋa-tunu akama ma-bun-t’uʃ
PL-goat-DEF yesterday PFV-3PL-tie
‘They tied the goats yesterday.’
- c.** hap’ gikejen buk’-a-buk’
she today jump-3FSG-RED
‘She jumped today.’
- d.** ma-ŋa-tunu ma-bun-tuʃ akama
PL-goat-DEF PFV-3PL-tie yesterday
‘They tied the goats yesterday.’

7.2. Types of Sentences

All languages have grammaticalized ways of indicating whether a clause, or a speech act, is an assertion (declarative), a request (interrogative), or a command (imperative) (Payne,

1997:294). Accordingly, simple sentences in Gwama can be categorized into declarative, interrogative, and imperative. The structure of imperatives has already been addressed in 5.5.1. The types and constituent order of declaratives, interrogatives (polar and content interrogatives), and negation are described in this section.

7.2.1. Declarative Sentences

In traditional grammar the term “declarative” represents sentences that simply assert information (Payne, 1997:294). This type of sentences are typically used to make statements (Kroeger, 2005:53). The simple declarative sentences of Gwama can be classified into two: affirmative and negative declarative sentences (see 7.2.3 for negative structures).

Payne (1997:294) writes that “declarative clauses are usually the normal, unmarked clause type”. Gwama verbs of declarative clauses do not receive a special declarative marker both in the imperfective and perfective paradigms. The basic order of constituents in such sentences with intransitive verbs and overt subjects is that the verb appears following the subject (SV). Consider the following imperfective (in 12a-h) and perfective (in 13a-h) paradigms of the verb *pas* ‘laugh’.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>12. a. ga a-ni-pu-pas’
I IMPFV-SG-RED-laugh
‘I will laugh.’</p> | <p>13. a. ga ma-n-pas’
I PFV-1SG-laugh
‘I laughed.’</p> |
| <p>b. ma a-mi-pu-pas’
we IMPFV-1PL-RED-laugh
‘We (EXCL) will laugh.’</p> | <p>b. ma ma-m-pas’
we PFV-1PL-laugh
‘We (EXCL) laughed.’</p> |
| <p>c. mini a-ni-pu-pas’
we IMPFV-1PL-RED-laugh
‘We (INCL) will laugh.’</p> | <p>c. mini ma-n-pas’
we PFV-1PL-laugh
‘We (INCL) laughed.’</p> |
| <p>d. ik a-gi-pu-pas’
you IMPFV-2SG-RED-laugh
‘You (SG) will laugh.’</p> | <p>d. ik ma-g-pas’
you PFV-2SG-laugh
‘You (SG) laughed.’</p> |

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>e. um a-mi-pu-pas'
you IMPFV-2PL-RED-laugh
'You (PL) will laugh.'</p> | <p>e. um ma-m-pas'
you PFV-2PL-laugh
'You (PL) laughed.'</p> |
| <p>f. uhaj a-ni-pu-pas'
he IMPFV-3MSG-RED-laugh
'He will laugh.'</p> | <p>f. haj ma-n-pas'
he PFV-3MSG-laugh
'He laughed.'</p> |
| <p>g. hap' a-ø-pu-pas'
she IMPFV-3FSG-RED-laugh
'She will laugh.'</p> | <p>g. hap' ma-ø-pas'
she PFV-3FSG-laugh
'She laughed.'</p> |
| <p>h. hun a-bi-pu-pas'
they IMPFV-3PL-RED-laugh
'They will laugh.'</p> | <p>h. hun ma-b-pas'
they PFV-3PL-laugh
'They laughed.'</p> |

In the following simple declarative sentences, a direct object appears following the transitive verb. Hence, the basic order of constituents in such types of sentences is SVO (see also Zelealem, 2005:27).

- 14. a.** u-s'i sus'-n u-bura
SGV-rat bit-3MSG SGV-cat
'The rat bit the cat.'
- b.** u-sit ʃap'-ni wupi
SGV-man hit-3MSG wife
'The man hit his wife.'
- c.** kukuk-to t'op'-a ija
duck-DEF drink-3FSG water
'The duck drinks water.'
- d.** hap ma-duj-a o:jo
She PFV-buy-3FSG cloth
'She bought cloth.'

- e. p'wakam- a-na ma-ʃap' -a haj
 sister- GEN-1SG PFV-hit-3FSG him
 'My sister hit him.'

Though Koman languages exhibit SVO word order, other word orders like SOV are also attested (Dimmendaal 2019:343). Likewise, Gwama allows flexibility of ordering constituents. The following sentence illustrates the attested OV order of constituents in simple declarative sentences.

15. na gi bido ma-na-duj
 goat and sheep PFV-1SG-buy
 'I bought goat and sheep.'

The order of constituent shown in 15 above may not be considered as the basic word order in Gwama. It should, however, be noted that in the middle of a conversation one can come up with such structures. Hence, it can be concluded that the language indicates its flexibility nature in such a form.

7.2.2. The Interrogative Sentences

Grammatical structures that specify a particular utterance to be understood as a request for information rather than an assertion are known as interrogative clauses (Payne 1997:295). People pose questions because they want to know something. The ways questions are constructed to confirm something and to seek information are different. Questions that seek confirmation are called "yes/no questions" or polar interrogatives (Dixon, 2012:377). Whereas, questions that seek information are known as content questions (Ibid), in which languages usually employ interrogative words.

Gwama has two types of basic interrogative structures: the polar interrogative and content interrogative.

7.2.2.1. Polar Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives are typically used to inquire about the truth or falsity of the proposition they express (Konig and Siemund, 2007a:291). Languages use different mechanisms to

distinguish interrogatives from declarative sentences. The most common ways of expressing polar interrogatives across the languages of the world, regardless of their genetic affiliation, from the highest frequency of occurrence to the least frequency are by using special intonation patterns, interrogative particles, the addition of special tags, disjunctive-negative structures, a change in the relative order of constituents and particular verbal inflection (Konig and Siemund, 2007:292; Kroeger, 2005: 203). The most prominent, among these six strategies, are the use of a special intonation pattern and the addition of a particular particle (Konig and Siemund, 2007:292).

Nilo-saharan languages like Uduk, Gumuz, and Gwama add interrogative particles that distinguish polarity. In Uduk, for instance, polar interrogatives are marked by a clause-final particle *á*, or more rarely, a raise in prosodic pitch (Killian, 2015). In Gumuz, a yes-no question is identified by a clause-final question particle *ác* or *áj* (Ahland, 2012). Likewise, Gwama uses a clause-final interrogative marker *dá* to distinguish polar questions both in the informative and permissive ‘yes-no’ questions. Informative polar questions are those that require ‘yes’ or ‘no’ reply to have information about something. These are questions like ‘Do you know how to make beehive?’ Permissive polar interrogatives on the other hand are those that are used to request permission to do something. These include questions like ‘May I go to market with you?’ The basic order of constituents in polar interrogative sentences of Gwama with intransitive verbs is usually S + V. Consider the following informative ‘yes-no’ questions.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>16. a. ga ni-gu-gus- da?
 I 1SG-RED-run- POL
 ‘Do I run?’</p> | <p>e. um a-mi-gu-gus- da?
 you IMPFV-2PL-RED-run- POL
 ‘Do you (PL) run?’</p> |
| <p>b. ma mi-gu-gus- da?
 we 1PL-RED-run- POL
 ‘Do we (EXCL) run?’</p> | <p>f. uhaj a-ni-gu-gus- da?
 he IMPFV-3MSG-RED-run- POL
 ‘Does he run?’</p> |
| <p>c. mini a-ni-gu-gus- da?
 we IMPFV-1PL-RED-run- POL
 ‘Do we (INCL) run?’</p> | <p>g. hap' a-gu-gus- da?
 she IMPFV-RED-run- POL
 ‘Does she run?’</p> |

- d.** ik a-gi-gu-gus- da? **h.** hun a-bi-gu-gus- da?
 you IMPFV-2SG-RED-run- POL they IMPFV-3PL-RED-run- POL
 ‘Do you (SG) run?’ ‘Do they run?’

Note that the verb *gus* ‘run’ undergoes left to right partial reduplication in the conjugation. The word order in these questions with an intransitive verb is the same as the declarative sentences S + V. In a polar interrogative with a transitive verb and an overt subject and object, the basic order of constituent is S + V + O . Examine the structure of the examples given below.

- 17. a.** ik fam-gi pakpuɸ- da?
 you need-2SG bread- POL
 ‘Do you (SG) need bread?’
- b.** hun gi-ma sum a-ba-k’i-k’a- da?
 they with-1PL meat IMPFV-3PL-RED-eat- POL
 ‘Do they eat meat with us?’

Like the order of declarative sentences, Gwama polar interrogatives show flexibility of order of constituents as in 17b above, which has SOV word order. The basic SVO order attested in the above information seeking polar interrogatives has also been attested in permission seeking polar questions as in 18a below. However, Gwama has no rigid word order in this type of sentences, too. The SOV order of constituents shown in 18b confirms this.

- 18. a.** ga a-ni-ho paŋ- gabi- da?
 I IMPFV-1SG-go to- market- POL
 ‘May I go to market?’
- b.** ma ma-ŋa-tunu ni-t’uɸ-un-t’uɸ- da?
 we PL-goat-DEF 1PL-tie-3PL-RED- POL
 ‘May we tie the goats?’

Similar to most of the world languages, the Gwama polar interrogatives have either of two responses, i.e. ‘yes’ or ‘no’. For each question, the response can be either *é*: ‘yes’ or *aj* ‘no’

alone, or one of these words along with thematic sentential response. Following are polar interrogative questions with the structure of their positive responses.

	Polar Interrogatives	Positive Responses
19. a.	ik ʃam-gi pakpuʃ- da? you need-2SG bread- POL ‘Do you (SG) need bread?’	e: ʃam-na-ʃam yes need-1SG-RED ‘Yes, I need.’
b.	hun gi-ma sum a-ba-k’i-k’a- da? they with-1PL meat IMPFV-3PL-RED-eat- POL ‘Do they eat meat with us?’	e: a-ba-k’i-k’a yes IMPFV-3PL-RED-eat ‘Yes, they eat.’
c.	ga ni-ho paŋ- gabi- da? I 1SG-go to- market- POL ‘May I go to market?’	e: huho yes go ‘Yes, go.’
d.	ma-ŋa-tunu ni-tuʃ-un-tuʃ- da? PL-goat-DEF 1PL-tie-3PL-RED- POL ‘May we tie the goats?’	e: t’uʃ-un-t’uʃ yes tie-3PL-RED ‘Yes, tie them.’

As mentioned above, the negative response for the above polar interrogatives is expressed with *aj* ‘no’, which seems a borrowing from Amharic. Below are those questions with their negative replies.

	Polar Interrogatives	Negative Responses
20. a.	ik ʃam-gi pakpuʃ- da? you need-2SG bread- POL ‘Do you (SG) need bread?’	aj ga dab-ga ʃam no I NEG-1SG need ‘No, I don’t need.’
b.	hun gi-ma sum a-ba-k’i-k’a- da? they with-1PL meat IMPFV-3PL-RED-eat- POL ‘Do they eat meat with us?’	aj da-bun-k’a no NEG-3PL-eat ‘No, they don’t eat.’

As can be seen in the positive and negative responses of the polar interrogatives shown above, the order of constituents of the replies begin with either of the two words, i.e. *é*: ‘yes’ and *aj* ‘no’, followed by SV ordered statements.

7.2.2.2. Content Interrogatives

Content questions are questions that contain an interrogative word meaning something like ‘who’ or ‘where’, in which some more specific answer, other than ‘yes’ or ‘no’, is expected (Dryer 2005:378 & 470). These question words are always the focused elements of the questions, representing the crucial piece of new information that is being requested. A list of interrogative words used to form content questions in Gwama is given in table 27 below.

Table 27. Gwama Content Interrogative Words

udi	‘who’
bí	‘what’
ujisk’ija	‘which one’
ujija	‘which’
ijá	‘where’
gigijasa	‘when’
gaf-bi	‘why’
k’ija	‘how, how much, how many’

Note that some of the above listed interrogative words are constructed by combining question words with other lexemes to give a particular meaning. For example, *k’ijá* more often means ‘how; how much; how many’, but in combination with the lexeme *jis* ‘body’, it gives an interpretation of ‘which’ or ‘which one’. *bi* more often means ‘what’, but in combination with the preposition *gaf* ‘to’, it gives an interpretation of ‘why’. The structures shown in the sentences given in 21 below contain content question words. The basic constituent order of content interrogative questions is SVO + CONT, but mostly the subject is omitted and the question begins with a verb. However, it is also common to see content questions with OV + CONT order of constituent. The interrogative words of Gwama usually appear clause-finally, which is also attested in other related languages (cf. Gumuz (Ahland 2012), Komo (Tefaye 2014), and Uduk (Killian 2015)).

- 21. a.** u-na a-ʃab-ga gi-swaja u-di?
 SGV-goat IMPFV-hit-DD2 with-stick SGV-who
 ‘Who hit a goat with a stick?’
- b.** hun ʃa-bi gi-bi?
 they eat-3PL what
 ‘What do they eat?’
- c.** sanz-ge ko-ba ja?
 money-DEF put-3PL where
 ‘Where do they put the money?’
- d.** ho-ba zi-kja?
 go-3PL to-where
 ‘Where did they go?’
- e.** ho-ni gigijasa ?
 go-3MSG when
 ‘When did he go?’
- f.** ho-ga gaʃ-bi gik’was?
 go-2SG for-what back (late)
 ‘Why are you (SG) late?’
- g.** a-p’wama-ke hab-a- jisk’ija?
 GEN-sister-2SG.POSS COP -3FSG- which
 ‘Which one is your (SG) sister?’
- h.** s’it-gi im- k’ija?
 have-2SG cow- how many
 ‘How many cows do you (SG) have?’

Note that question words in all of the above content interrogatives appear at the end of the sentences, but in 21f, where the interrogative word is located in the middle. Nearly all the structures begin with verbs. The structure in 21c shows that the object begins the interrogative followed by the verb. In all of the above interrogative sentences (shown in 21), there is only one interrogative word in each question. Few languages restrict the number of

interrogative words to be used in a clause, but many languages allow several (Dixon, 2012: 406). In Gwama, it is possible to have two or more interrogative words in a clause. For example, in the clauses given in 22a-c, two interrogative words are used, whereas 22d and 22e have three and 22f has four.

- 22. a.** udi gi-ni bi?
 who do-3MSG what
 ‘Who did what?’
- b.** udi ʃab-n udi?
 who hit-3MSG whom
 ‘Who hit whom?’
- c.** udi gus-ni zi-ja?
 who run-3MSG to-where
 ‘Who run to where?’
- d.** udi gweʃi-ni-bi ja
 who see-3MSG-what where
 ‘Who saw what, where?’
- e.** udi ti-ni-bi gaf-udi?
 who give-3MSG-what to-whom
 ‘Who gave what to whom?’
- f.** udi gu-di gi-ni- bi ja?
 who with-who do-3MSG- what where
 Who did what with whom and where?

In questions that request village or country where someone is from, the preposition *gi* ‘from’ is prefixed to the interrogative word *ija* ‘where’. These sentences form verbless structures. Even the copulative markers do not occur to construct such questions. Therefore, the order of constituent is S + INTRO. Consider the following conjugation.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 23. a. ga gi-ja?
I from-where
‘Where am I from?’ | e. um gi-ja?
you from-where
‘Where are you (PL) from?’ |
|---|---|

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>b. ma gi-ja?
we from-where
'Where are we (EXCL) from?'</p> | <p>f. uhaj gi-ja?
he from-where
'Where is he from?'</p> |
| <p>c. mini gi-ja?
we from-where
'Where are we (INCL) from?'</p> | <p>g. hap' gi-ja?
she from-where
'Where is she from?'</p> |
| <p>d. ik gi-ja?
you from-where
'Where are you (SG) from?'</p> | <p>h. hun gi-ja?
they from-where
'Where are they from?'</p> |

7.2.3. Negation

For negation of clauses, many world languages have an independent grammatical word, which is commonly known as a 'particle' (Dixon, 2012: 95), and some other languages use affixes (Schachter and Shopen, 2007: 44). The negative particle or affix of many languages varies depending on the tense, aspect, mode, or other factors (Payne, 1997:285). For example, negative imperatives may employ a different particle than negative assertions. This is true in Gwama.

Gwama expresses negation in different ways. Three negative markers are attested in the language. These include *bilgi*, which is mainly used in prohibitive structures (see 5.5.2), *jil*, and *da*. Negation of a simple declarative clause is done through either of the last two markers, *jil* or *da(b)*²⁶. As in other Nilo-Saharan languages such as Komo (Otero 2014 and Tesfaye 2014), Uduk (Killian 2015), and Opuo (Mellese, 2017), a negation marker in Gwama always appears prefixed to a verb. The negative marker agrees with the subject in person and number. Consider the following examples.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>24. a. ga jil-ne- ti -gi-ti
I NEG-1SG- give-DD2-RED
'I didn't give.'</p> | <p>e. um jil-mùn- ti-gi-ti
you NEG-2PL- give- DD2-RED
'You (PL) didn't give.'</p> |
|--|--|

²⁶ The contexts these negative markers are employed is not yet solved.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>b. ma jil-mún- ti -gi-ti
we NEG-1PL- give- DD2-RED
'We (EXCL) didn't give.'</p> | <p>f. jil-nun ti-gi-ti
NEG-3MSG-give- DD2-RED
'He didn't give.'</p> |
| <p>c. mini jil-mūn- ti-gi-ti
we NEG-1PL- give- DD2-RED
'We (INCL) didn't give.'</p> | <p>g. hap' jil-ab- ti-gi-ti
she NEG-3FSG-give- DD2-RED
'She didn't give.'</p> |
| <p>d. ik jil-gun- ti-gi-ti
you NEG-2SG- give- DD2-RED
'You (SG) didn't give.'</p> | <p>h. hun jil-bun- ti-gi-ti
they NEG-3PL-give- DD2-RED
'They didn't give.'</p> |

As noted above, negation of perfective declarative sentences is expressed with the negative marker *jil*. This negation element is inflected for tense/aspect and subject agreement markers. The subject agreement markers suffixed to the negation marker are different from the markers commonly used in affirmative verb forms. These are *ne* 1SG, *mún* 1PL.EXCL, *mūn* 1PL.INCL, *gun* 2SG, *mùn* 2PL, *nun* 3MSG, *ab* 3FSG, and *bun* 3PL. First person plural exclusive, first person plural inclusive, and second person plural subjects use similar agreement markers that differ in tone. They have high, level, and low tones, respectively.

Gwama also uses the negative marker *dab* or *da* to express negation in declarative sentences. The negation morpheme *dab* becomes *da* deleting its final consonant before a bilabial nasal and a bilabial voiced stop sound as in 25b, 25e, 25f, and 25h below. This negation element is also inflected for tense/aspect and subject agreement markers. The subject markers are *ga* 1SG, *ma* 1PL.EXCL, *ni* 1PL.INCL, *gi* 2SG, *mi* 2PL, *be* 3MSG, *ab* 3FSG, and *bun* 3PL, which are more or less different from agreement markers used in affirmative verb forms. When the negative clitic *dab* is prefixed to *ni* 1PL.INCL (as in 25c), *gi* 2SG (as in 25d), *mi* 2PL (as in 25e), and *be* 3MSG (as in 25f), which all have front vowels, it becomes *deb* for vowel harmony.

- 25. a.** ga dab-g-a- ja
I NEG-1SG-3NSG eat
'I don't eat it.'

- b.** ma da-m-a- ja
we NEG-1PL-3NSG eat
‘We (EXCL) don’t eat it.’
- c.** mini deb-ni- ja
we NEG-1PL- eat
‘We (INCL) don’t eat.’
- d.** ik deb-gi- ja
you NEG-2SG- eat
‘You (SG) don’t eat.’
- e.** um de-mi- ja
you NEG-2PL- eat
‘You (PL) don’t eat.’
- f.** uhaj de-be- ja
he NEG-3MSG- eat
‘He doesn’t eat.’
- g.** hap' dab-ab- ja
she NEG-3FSG- eat
‘She doesn’t eat.’
- h.** hun da-bun- ja
they NEG-3PL- eat
‘They don’t eat.’

Negation of copular clauses is expressed with the usual negative marker *da(b)*. This negative marker is inflected for special subject markers like the negative declarative construction shown in 26 above and appears preceding the copula marker *wet* as in 28. In the affirmative copular clauses, however, the subject markers are suffixed to the copula. That is, in negative structures, subject agreement markers appear suffixed to the negative morpheme. The following imperfective conjugation shows both the affirmative (in 26) and the negative (in 27) copular clauses.

- 26. a.** ga wet-ni sitkwi
I COP-1SG farmers
'I am a farmer.'
- b.** ma wet-mi ma-sitkwi
we COP-1PL PL-farmer
'We (EXCL) are farmers.'
- c.** mini wet-ni sitkwi
we COP-1PL farmer
'We (INCL) are farmers.'
- d.** ik wet-gi sitkwi
you COP-2SG farmer
'You (SG) are a farmer.'
- e.** um wet-mi sitkwi
you COP-2PL farmer
'You (PL) are farmers.'
- f.** uhaj wet-ni sitkwi
he COP-3MSG farmer
'He is a farmer.'
- g.** hap' wet-a sitkwi
she COP-3FSG farmer
'She is a farmer.'
- h.** hun wet-bi sitkwi
they COP-3PL farmer
'They are farmers.'

- 27. a.** ga dab-ga- wet sitkwi
I NEG-1SG- COP farmer
'I am not a farmer.'
- b.** ma da-ma- wet sitkwi
we NEG-1PL- COP farmer
'We (EXCL) are not farmers.'
- c.** mini deb-ni- wet sitkwi
we NEG-1PL- COP farmer
'We (INCL) are not farmers.'
- d.** ik deb-gi- wet sitkwi
you NEG-2SG- COP farmer
'You (SG) are not a farmer.'
- e.** um de-mi- wet sitkwi
you NEG-2PL- COP farmer
'You (PL) are not farmers.'
- f.** uhaj de-be- wet sitkwi
he NEG-3MSG- COP farmer
'He is not a farmer.'
- g.** hap' dab-ab- wet sitkwi
she NEG-3FSG- COP farmer
'She is not a farmer.'
- h.** hun da-bun- wet sitkwi
they NEG-3PL- COP farmer
'They are not farmers.'

The structure for the perfective copular clauses is similar to the imperfective one. That is, the subject appears preceding the copula and the copula is followed by an object. In the affirmative perfective structure, the copula is inflected for subject and Dectic Directional markers as in 28. However, in the negative form, the subject marker is suffixed to the negative marker, and the DD2 morpheme is suffixed to the copula as in 29.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>28. a. ga wet-ni-gi sitkwi
I COP-1SG-DD2 farmers
'I was a farmer.'</p> <p>b. ma wet-mi-gi ma-sitkwi
we COP-1PL-DD2 PL-farmers
'We (EXCL) were farmers.'</p> <p>c. mini wet-ni-gi sitkwi
we COP-1PL-DD2 farmer
'We (INCL) were farmers.'</p> <p>d. ik wet-gi-gi sitkwi
you COP-2SG-DD2 farmer
'You (SG) were a farmer.'</p> <p>e. um wet-mi-gi sitkwi
you COP-2PL-DD2 farmer
'You (PL) were farmers.'</p> <p>f. uhaj wet-ni-gi sitkwi
he COP-3MSG-DD2 farmer
'He was a farmer.'</p> <p>g. hap' wet-a-ga sitkwi
she COP-3FSG-DD2 farmer
'She was a farmer.'</p> <p>h. hun wet-bi-gi sitkwi
they COP-3PL-DD2 farmer
'They were farmers.'</p> | <p>29. a. ga dab-ga- wet-gi sitkwi
I NEG-1SG- COP-DD2 farmer
'I was not a farmer.'</p> <p>b. ma da-ma- wet-gi sitkwi
we NEG-1PL- COP-DD2 farmer
'We (EXCL) were not farmers.'</p> <p>c. mini deb-ni- wet-gi sitkwi
we NEG-1PL- COP-DD2 farmer
'We (INCL) were not farmers.'</p> <p>d. ik deb-gi- wet-gi sitkwi
you NEG-2SG- COP-DD2 farmer
'You (SG) were not a farmer.'</p> <p>e. um de-mi- wet-gi sitkwi
you NEG-2PL- COP-DD2 farmer
'You (PL) were not farmers.'</p> <p>f. uhaj de-be- wet-gi sitkwi
he NEG-3MSG- COP-DD2 farmer
'He was not a farmer.'</p> <p>g. hap' dab-ab- wet-gi sitkwi
she NEG-3FSG- COP-DD2 farmer
'She was not a farmer.'</p> <p>h. hun da-bun- wet-gi sitkwi
they NEG-3PL- COP-DD2 farmer
'They were not farmers.'</p> |
|--|--|

7.2.3.1. Negation of Possessive Clauses

Gwama negative possessive clauses are constructed in the same way as copular sentences are structured. In the affirmative possessive clause, subject markers are suffixed to the possessive verb 'to have' *s'it*, but in the negative possessive clause the subject markers are suffixed to the negation marker *dab*, which appears preceding the possessive verb *s'it*. The illustrations

given below show the imperfective affirmative (in 30) and negative (in 31) possessive clauses. Similar to other Gwama sentences, the subject pronouns of these sentences are optional.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>30. a. (ga) s'it-ni ka:na
I have-1SG dog
'I have a dog.'</p> | <p>31. a. (ga) dab-ga- s'it ka:na
I NEG-1SG- have dog
'I don't have a dog.'</p> |
| <p>b. (ma) s'it-mi ka:na
we have-1PL dog
'We (EXCL) have a dog.'</p> | <p>b. (ma) da-ma- s'it ka:na
we NEG-1PL- have dog
'We (EXCL) don't have a dog.'</p> |
| <p>c. (mini) s'it-ni ka:na
we have-1PL dog
'We (INCL) have a dog.'</p> | <p>c. (mini) deb-ni- s'it ka:na
we NEG-1PL- have dog
'We (INCL) don't have a dog.'</p> |
| <p>d. (ik) s'it-gi ka:na
you have-2SG dog
'You (SG) have a dog.'</p> | <p>d. (ik) deb-gi- s'it ka:na
you NEG-2SG- have dog
'You (SG) don't have a dog.'</p> |
| <p>e. (um) s'it-mi ka:na
you have-1PL dog
'You (PL) have a dog.'</p> | <p>e. (um) de-mi- s'it ka:na
you NEG-2PL- have dog
'You (PL) don't have a dog.'</p> |
| <p>f. (uhaj) s'it-ni ka:na
he has-3MSG dog
'He has a dog.'</p> | <p>f. (uhaj) de-be- s'it ka:na
he NEG-3MSG- has dog
'He doesn't have a dog.'</p> |
| <p>g. (hap) s'it-a ka:na
she has-3FSG dog
'She has a dog.'</p> | <p>g. (hap) dab-ab- s'it ka:na
she NEG-3FSG- has dog
'She doesn't have a dog.'</p> |
| <p>h. (hun) s'it-bi ka:na
they have-3PL dog
'They have a dog.'</p> | <p>h. (hun) da-bun- s'it ka:na
they NEG-3PL- have dog
'They don't have a dog.'</p> |

Similar to other clause types, the above affirmative and negative possessive clauses have SVO word order. The negative verb has NEG + AGR + V pattern. The same order of

constituents has been attested in past possessive clauses. In the past affirmative possessive clauses, both the subject and tense markers are suffixed to the possessive verb *s'it* as in 32. However, in the negative ones, as usual, the subject markers are suffixed to the negation clitic *dab* and the tense marker is suffixed to the possessive verb *s'it* as in 33.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>32. a. ga s'it-ni-gi ma-bido
I have-1SG-DD2 PL-sheep
'I had sheep.'</p> | <p>33. a. ga dab-ga- s'it-gi ma-bido
I NEG-1SG- have-DD2 PL-sheep
'I had no sheep.'</p> |
| <p>b. ma s'it-mi-gi ma-bido
we have-1PL-DD2 PL-sheep
'We (EXCL) had sheep.'</p> | <p>b. ma da-ma- s'it-gi ma-bido
we NEG-1PL- have-DD2 PL-sheep
'We (EXCL) had no sheep.'</p> |
| <p>c. mini s'it-ni-gi ma-bido
we have-1PL-DD2 PL-sheep
'We (INCL) had sheep.'</p> | <p>c. mini deb-ni- s'it-gi ma-bido
we NEG-1PL- have-DD2 PL-sheep
'We (INCL) had no sheep.'</p> |
| <p>d. ik s'it-gi-gi ma-bido
you have-2SG-DD2 PL-sheep
'You (SG) had sheep.'</p> | <p>d. ik deb-gi- s'it-gi ma-bido
you NEG-2SG-have-DD2 PL-sheep
'You (SG) had no sheep.'</p> |
| <p>e. um s'it-mi-gi ma-bido
you have-2PL-DD2 PL-sheep
'You (PL) had sheep.'</p> | <p>e. um de-mi- s'it-gi ma-bido
you NEG-2PL- have-DD2 PL-sheep
'You (PL) had no sheep.'</p> |
| <p>f. uhaj s'it-ni-gi ma-bido
he has-3MSG-DD2 PL-sheep
'He had sheep.'</p> | <p>f. uhaj de-be- s'it-gi ma-bido
he NEG-3MSG-has-DD2 PL-sheep
'He had no sheep.'</p> |
| <p>g. hap s'it-a-ga ma-bido
she has-3FSG-DD2 PL-sheep
'She had sheep.'</p> | <p>g. hap dab-ab- s'it-gi ma-bido
she NEG-3FSG- has-DD2 PL-sheep
'She had no sheep.'</p> |
| <p>h. hun s'it-bi-gi ma-bido
they have-3PL-DD2 PL-sheep
'They had sheep.'</p> | <p>h. hun da-bun- s'it-gi ma-bido
they NEG-3PL- have-DD2 PL-sheep
'They had no sheep.'</p> |

7.3. Complex Sentences

Complex sentence refers to a sentence consisting of a main clause and at least one subordinate clause (Crystal 2003:95). In this section, complex clause structures of Gwama that include complement clauses, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and converbal clauses are described.

7.3.1. Complement Clause

“A prototypical complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause” (Payne, 2006:291). That is, the complement clause appears as one of core arguments of a main (or matrix) clause (Payne, 1997:313).

When finite complements function as objects, the verbs of the complements are usually morphologically marked in that they take subject markers and tense/aspect morphemes. That is finite complements are like independent clauses (Payne, 1997:314). In VO languages, object complements tend to follow the matrix verb (Ibid). Likewise, such object complements of Gwama follow the matrix clause. Main clause + subordinate pattern applies in complement clauses as in 34a and 34b below. The language however does not seem to be rigid in its constituent order. Similar to Zelealem’s (2005:31) data, subordinate + main clause order of complement clauses is also attested in this study as in 34c and 34d below.

- 34. a.** ga wet-ni silakon **ze-hò-ba-ho:**
I COP-1SG certain PROG-come-3FSG-RED
'I am sure that she is coming.'
- b.** ga wet-ni silakon **ma-na-gi-ji-gi**
I COP-1SG certain PFV-3MSG-do-3MSG-RED
'I am sure that he did it.'
- c.** **a-hò-ho:** a-ku-ko dab-n-ap'-ki-gi-ki
3FSG-come-RED ?-RED-say NEG-3MSG-3FSG-expect-DD2-RED
'He never expected that she would come.'
- d.** hun bila **bef-bi-befe** ti-ma-k'ep
they when pass-3PL-RED make-PFV-hear
'He heard them passing by.'

In the first two sentences, the main and subordinate clauses are juxtaposed with no subordinator attached to the dependent clause. In the last two on the other hand the subordinators *a-ku-ko* ‘say’, which represents the English ‘that’, and *bila* ‘when’ are used to introduce the subordinate clauses respectively.

7.3.2. Relative Clauses

A relative clause is a type of clause that functions as nominal modifier (Payne, 1997: 325). Zelealem (2005:23) claims that Gwama uses a discontinuous morpheme *a-gi-* as one of relativizer elements in relative clause constructions. According to his analysis in between this relativizer discontinuous morpheme, the verb stem and subject markers appear. This structure, of course, is also confirmed in the present data. It should, however, be noted that the morphemes *ā-* functions as the relative clause marker, where as the morpheme *gi-* is a DD2 morpheme. Kievit and Robertson (2012) on the otherhand claim that a relativizer that is often placed at the end of a relative clause is morpheme *-i*. They give an example sentence of adverbial clause where the morpheme suffixed. In adverbial clause constructions recorded in this study, the morpheme *-i* has not been attested as a relativizer.

As mentioned above, Gwama relative clause functions as noun modifier, and when serving attributively, the relative clause always appears at the beginning of the sentence following the head noun. The matrix clause appears after the relative one. And the subordinator occurs prefixed to the relative clause verb. Examples are provided below.

- 35. a.** kikjata a-ti-ni-gi sa:nza-go, ma-ø-s'i
 female REL-give-1SG- DD2 money-DEF PFV-3FSG-die
 ‘The woman for whom I gave money has died.’
- b.** u-sit a-ƶap'-g u-wal-ge, polis ma-ne-s'it
 SGV-man REL -beat- DD2 SGV-child-DEF police PFV-3MSG-catch
 ‘Police caught the man who beat the child.’
- c.** u-sit a-we-gi sulganda t'u-t'ot'o-te, ga aj-ni-aja
 SGV-man REL-wear- DD2 trouser RED-black-DEF I RED-1SG-know
 ‘I know the person who wears a black trouser.’

- d. u-sit a-hun-gi-hunu-ge, ma-ne-ʔiwe
 SGV-man REL-RED- DD2-sick-DEF PFV-1SG-heal
 ‘I healed the man who was sick.’
- e. uhaj min a-kwa-ni- ti-ma-ti, da-ma-k’anda
 he thing REL-PROB-3MSG give-1PL-RED NEG-1PL-dislike
 ‘We will not dislike the gift that he is giving.’
- f. min a-kwa- t’wa-ma haj, da-ma-kijigi
 thing REL- PROB tell-1PL he NEG-1PL-oppose
 ‘We will not oppose what he will tell us.’

Note that according to the typology of relative clause formation in African languages, all the above relative clause constructions of Gwama show that the language employs head-internal non-reduction relativization strategy, where “the head noun appears as a full-fledged noun phrase in the relative clause and has no explicit representation in the matrix clause” (Comrie, 1998 in Kuteva and Comrie, 2006:211). In main clause constituent order dominantly VO languages usually have postnominal relative clauses (Payne, 1997:326). Likewise, similar to Uduk (cf. Killian, 2015:278), the relative clauses of Gwama are basically postnominal, where the clause occurs after the head. Nevertheless, in few utterances prenominal relative clause constructions are also observed as in 36f. And the common order of clauses in a sentence is relative + main.

7.3.3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses function as adverb modifying a verb phrase or a whole clause (Payne, 2006: 297). These clauses attach to complete clauses and give additional information to what is expressed in the other clause. The information type expressed in adverbial clauses is similar to the information expressed by adverbs, such as time, place, manner, purpose, reason, etc (Ibid: 298). Some of the adverbial clauses of Gwama, including time, reason, manner, and purpose, are discussed in the following sub-sections. The adverbial clauses of Gwama are subordinate to main (matrix) clauses, and the basic ordering of the clauses is adverbial-main.

7.3.3.1. Temporal Clause

Adverbial clauses of time are formed in Gwama by using time adverbs like *gide* ‘when’, or its short form *gi-* ‘when, while, before’, *bile(a)* ‘while, after’, *kaja* ‘as soon as’, *daga* ‘untill’ etc. These forms of time adverbs appear preceding the verb. Consider the following sentences.

36. a. **gide** pof-a-dap’, uhaj ze-t’op’-ni-gi fwi
 when arrive-GEN-3FSG, he PROG-drink-3MSG-DD2 alcohol
 ‘When she arrived, he was drinking alcohol.’
- b. uhaj **bila** ze-ʔif-ni-gi-ʔif, ma-sitkobof ma-ho
 he while exist-sleep-3MSG-DD2-RED, PL-thief PFV-go
 kobof-bi-ja
 steal-3PL-goat
 ‘While he was sleeping, thieves took his goats.’
- c. u-Hassen **bila** ma-n-ho:, u-Ali ho-ni zi-Asosa
 SGV-Hassen after PFV-3MSG-come, SGV-ALI go-3MSG to-Asosa
 ‘Ali went to Asosa after Hassen came here.’
- d. u-Ali **gide** jil-n-a je-pofo,
 SGV-Ali before NEG-3MSG-3NSG from-arrive,
 u-Kemal ma-ja- k’und-ni minʃifa
 SGV-Kemal PFV-eat- finish-3MSG food
 ‘Kemal had eaten all the food before Ali reached.’
- e. u-Ali **kaja** ma-n-pofo, a-ni- fab-gi-ʃap’
 SGV-ALI as soon as PFV-3MSG-reach, IMPFV-3MSG- call-2SG-RED
 ‘Ali will telephone you as soon as he returns.’
- f. **daga** a-ni-tu-tu-tut, gi-ki-ga-ki
 till IMPFV-1SG-RED-RED-return, 2SG-wait-1SG-RED
 ‘Wait till I return.’
- g. bila ho gwe-bi-gwe, tɪʃal ze-zug-bi-zugu
 when go watch-3PL-RED, lion PROG-RED-3PL-stand
 ‘When they go and watch, lions are standing there.’

In all of the above sentences, adverbial clauses appear preceding the main clauses. Hence, the same phenomenon of subordinate + main clause pattern applies in adverbial clauses of time.

7.3.3.2. Reason Clause

Reason clause is marked in Gwama by using *gaf-*, which is also attested functioning as a preposition (see 6.2). This morpheme appears before the relative clause verb, and its meaning literally denotes ‘because’. In all of the following sentences, the reason clause precedes the main clause.

- 37. a.** *gaf-* *jil-ga-* *at-gi-ata,* *ma-n-pi*
 REAS- NEG-1SG- RED-DD2-study, PFV-1SG-fail
 ‘For I don’t study, I failed.’
- b.** *gaf-* *a-ju-n-a-ju,* *ma-n-a-p’ada*
 REAS- REL-love-3MSG -3FSG-RED, PFV-3MSG-3FSG-help
 ‘He helped her because he loves her.’
- c.** *gaf-* *a-ju-gi ketema-je,* *ma-ni ga ano:ko*
 REAS- REL-like-2SG town-this, PFV-1SG I happy
 ‘I am glad because you like this town.’
- d.** *gaf-* *a-zinz-ga-zinzi,* *dab-ga-duj-duj*
 REAS- REL-RED-1SG-thin, NEG-1SG-buy-RED
 ‘I did not buy it because it was tight (for me).’

As shown in 37a, in negative reason clauses, the negative marker *jil* appears following the reason indicator *gaf*. In affirmative reason clauses there is a morpheme *a-*, whose function is not clearly identified-perhaps a relative one, that appears following the reason marker prefixed to the relative clause verb as in 37b-d.

7.3.3.3. Purpose Clause

Similar to other Nilo-Saharan languages, such as Gumuz, Gwama uses the morpheme *gaf-* to mark a clause as being a purpose adverbial. In all of the following illustrative sentences this purpose clause marking clitic is noticed prefixed to the infinitive and/or gerundive form of a verb.

- 38. a.** Dawit ho-na gaf-duj mus i-t'a
 Dawit go-3MSG PURP-buy banana LOC-outside
 'Dawit went out to buy banana.'
- b.** u-jas-mine gaf-fɪnfi a-no:ko
 SGV-place-this PURP-rest COP-good
 'This place is good to rest.'
- c.** uhaj ma-ho-na gaf-iliŋ i-tat-fuɸu
 he PFV-go-3MSG PURP-hunt LOC-in-forest
 'He went to the forest for hunting.'
- d.** u-ʔel-mine pat'-ni gaf-t'at' paka
 SGV-oven-this help-3MSG PURP-bake injera
 'This oven is used for baking injera.'
- e.** ma-ho-ma gaf-ʃa ajant'oʃkaja i-ʃa
 PFV-go-1PL PURP-eat lunch LOC-outside
 'We (EXCL) went out for eating lunch.'

Note that most languages treat purpose and reason in a similar manner (Payne, 2006:298), and Gwama uses the same morpheme to express these two clauses.

7.3.3.4. Concessive Clause

Concessive is a general term for a clause which makes a concession against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted (Thompson et al. 2007:262). Gwama marks concessive clause with the concessive subordinator *awetif* 'though, although, eventhough'.

- 39. a.** awetif sit-a tul-sanza deb-a-jan
 CONC person-3FSG no-money NEG-2SG-beg
 'Though she is poor, she does not beg.'
- b.** awetif sit-s'it-ni sanza de-be-ji-jam
 CONC person-have-3MSG money NEG-3MSG-RED-happy
 'Though he is rich, he is not happy.'

- c. awetifj sont'-it'-ap' nan-a-ga-nan toti-na s'ins'
 CONC name-RED-3FSG tel-GEN-1SG.-RED ? -1SG forget
 'Though she told me her name, I forget.'

In the above concessive clauses, the concessive subordinator appears at the initial position of the subordinate clause. In these sentences, subordinate + main clause pattern applies similar to Gumuz (Ahland 2012) and Komo (cf. Tesfaye 2014).

7.3.3.5. Conditional Clause

Conditional refers to clauses whose semantic role is the expression of hypotheses or conditions (Crystal 2003:99). All living Koman languages mark conditionality using different morphemes: *da* or *?a* in Komo (Tesfaye 2014), *wakki* in Uduk (Killian 2015), and *ma* in Opuo (Mellese 2017). Amare (2013:52) claims that Gwama uses “no word for ‘if’ in conditionals”. The present data shows that Gwama marks possible and impossible conditionals with the subordinator *a-/ama-* ‘COND’ (cf. Zelealem 2005). Possible conditions are those which might happen; impossible conditions are those which did not. Consider the following structures of possible conditions with conditionality marker *ama-*.

40. a. ama-jil-ni-ho das'ini, a-ni-pofj i-k'was
 COND-NEG-1PL-go now, IMPFV-1PL-arrive LOC-back
 'We (INCL) will be late if we don't leave now.'
- b. ama-na-gi a-p'i, a-ni-wet sit-s'it- sa:nza
 COND -1SG-work IMPFV -hard, IMPFV-1SG-be person-has- money
 'If I work hard, I will be rich.'
- c. a-p'i ama-na-ata, a-mingi a-na-bi-befe
 IMPFV-hard COND -POSS-1SG-study, IMPFV-exam GEN-1SG-RED-pass
 'If I study hard, I will pass the exam.'
- d. t'imbir aj-kaṅsko ama-ga-s'it, a-gi-kam a-pu-pofo
 car GEN-first COND-2SG-have, IMPFV-2SG-want GEN-RED-arrive
 'If you take the first bus, you will arrive on time.'

the hypothetical condition differs for having “the perfective suffix *-gi*” in the protasis. The present data shows the use of the conditionality morpheme *a-* for impossible conditional structures, and the deictic directional morpheme *-gi-* appears in a reduplicated verb following subject markers as in 42a-f.

- 42. a.** a-p’i at-kal-n-gi-ata,
 COND-hard RED-COND-3MSG-DD2-study,
 a-kal-ni bej-gi-beje
 IMPFV-COND-3MSG RED-DD2-pass
 ‘If he studied hard, he would pass the exam.’
- b.** a-wet kal-n-gi sit-s’it- sa:nza,
 COND-COP COND-1SG-DD2 person-has- money,
 a-kal-ni duj swi
 IMPFV- COND-1SG buy house
 ‘If I were rich, I would buy a house.’
- c.** a-p’i gi-kal-n-gi-gi, a-kal-ni
 COND-hard work- COND-1SG-DD2-RED, IMPFV-IMPOS-1SG
 wet sit-s’it- sa:nza
 be person-has- money
 ‘If I worked hard, I would be rich.’
- d.** a-so kal-b-e-ge gi ʃiki, a-kal-ni
 COND-pierce COND-PASS-3MSG-DD2 with knife, IMPFV- COND-3MSG
 s’i-gi-s’i
 die-DD2-RED
 ‘If he was pierced with knife, he would die.’
- e.** a-tif kal-b-a-gi anziri,
 COND-start COND-3PL-3NSG-DD2 morning,
 a-kal-ba k’und-gi-k’undu
 IMPFV- COND- RED-DD2-finish
 ‘If they started in the morning, they would finish.’

- f. a-tij- kal-n-a-gi anzili,
 COND-start- COND-1PL-3NSG-DD2 morning
 ‘If we (INCL) started in the morning,’

In impossible conditions, there exist the conditionality morpheme *a-* as a beginning element of each clause. The pattern for such conditional protasis having a direct or indirect object is COND + Verb + *kal* + AGR + DD2 and having no object is COND + RED + *kal* + AGR + DD2 + Verb. The attested pattern of the hypothetical (possible) and counterfactual (impossible) conditionals is Protasis + Apodosis (Subordinate + Main clause).

7.3.4. Converb Constructions

Converbs can be defined as “verb forms that are specialized for the expression of adverbial subordination, but can not for a sentence on their own, i.e. they do not occur as main predicates of independent clauses” (Bisang 1995:141). One of the features of Nilo-Saharan languages spoken mainly west of the Ethiopian region, which is shared with Afroasiatic languages of the country, is the use of converbs in clauses (Azeb and Dimmendaal, 2006:393). Based on Haspelmath’s (1995) conception of converbs, the Gwama converb constructions meet two of the three requirements that are attested cross-linguistically. First, syntactically, converbs are subordinate in the sense of being embedded as an adverbial constituent. Second, on the semantic level, converbs are non-finite verb forms that generally modify verbs in a clause. Morphologically, the converbs have no markers, so root or stem forms of verbs function as non-finite form. In such clausal constructions of the language, series of events are conjoined, where the event expressed by the converb appears anterior to the event expressed by the finite verb (cf. Zelealem 2005:31; Kievit and Robertson 2012:76).

In Gwama clauses having related consecutive verbs, the converb appears preceding the finite verb. Both the converbs and finite verbs are equally important in the clause because semantically they express sequence of actions. Both verbs share the same argument. Converbs can show restrictions on person and aspect markers (Bisang 1995:141). The following examples that are taken from texts show converb constructions in Gwama. The converbs are printed in bold.

43. a. **ho** sham-b-un-sham
 go want-3PL.SBJ-3PL.OBJ-RED
 ‘Having gone, they sought them.’
- b. **ho** kam-b-un
 go find-3PL.SBJ-3PL.OBJ
 ‘Having gone, they found them’
- c. ma-**ho duj** tut-n-a-tut
 PFV-go buy return-1SG-3NSG-RED
 ‘Having gone and bought (it), he has returned here’
- d. **k’iŋi** k’a-ni
 cut eat-1SG
 ‘having cut eat, (or I cutting eat)’
- e. **ho** kis’b-a
 go enter-3PL-3NSG
 ‘They, having gone, enter.’

In 43c above, the non-finite verb is inflected for aspect. That is, Gwama converb clauses may not show restrictions on aspect markers. Obviously, the two verbs share the aspect marker, and they also seem to share the person markers. In all cases, two consecutive actions are expressed (cf. Kievit and Robertson, 2012:76). What’s more, in converb constructions having three verbs in a series, two non-finite verbs can appear preceding the finite one again as in 43c. Some more illustrations of converb structures are also given below.

44. a. **s’it-a** k’a-ap’-k’a
 catch-? eat-3FSG-RED
 ‘Having caught, eat her!’
- b. **den-a** farat’-bi-farat’
 meet-? compete-3PL-RED
 ‘They, having met, they competed.’

All the above illustrations are examples of consecutive event constructions where the action performed first occurs preceding the action that follows (cf. Kievit and Robertson, 2012:79).

In some situations, Gwama expresses a single event with two verbs that denote a sequence of two actions. For example in 45a, the converb construction *k'uf k'a* (which literally means 'kill and eat') is used to express a single event 'eat', and *so k'uf* in 45b (which literally means 'stabbed and killed') is used to express a single event 'kill'. Both illustrations are taken from a text.

45. a. zehum gi fingo **k'uf** k'a-ni sit
tiger in past kill eat-3SG person
'In the past, a tiger, having killed, eats person.'
- b. u-tifal ma-be-**so** k'uf gi-fin
SGV-lion PFV-3SG.PASS-stab-kill with-spear
'A lion, having stabbed, killed with a spear.'

Chapter Eight

8. Summary and Conclusion

This dissertation presents the descriptions of the Grammar of Gwama, a Nilo-Saharan language spoken in Beni-Shangul Gumuz Regional State, Western Ethiopia. The documentation part was done in ELAN 4.1.1, and it provides a video annotation of riddles and an audio annotation of six different short texts. A wordlist of 1650⁺ is done in Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX). The study uses corpus data collected from speakers of Gwama living in Mao-Komo special Woreda of the region. The Gwama population size is not clearly documented. The subsequent paragraphs present summary of the findings of the study and conclusion.

The first chapter of this dissertation presents an overview of the ethnic group, their language, sociolinguistic situation, review of previous research works, and about the present study. The ethnographic notes cover history of the community, their location, religious view, and means of livelihood. There is no research report on their history. Even publications of historical reports on the ethnic groups in the frontier do not mention Gwama by name. This ethnic group reside mainly in Mao-Komo Special Woreda of Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State, Western Ethiopia. Nearly all Gwama are Muslims and lead life in small scale farming and hunting. They call themselves Gwama and their language *t'wa Gwama*, which literally means 'Mouth of Gwama'. Though it was previously considered as one of the core Nilo-Saharan languages, recent research reports brought a different view that puts Gwama along with other Koman languages outliers. It is least studied, and no comprehensive description so far. This one, I believe, contributes description of some linguistic facts about Gwama.

In the second chapter, a description of the phonology is presented. The topics covered in this section include Consonant Phonemes, Vowel Phonemes, Syllable Structure, Tone, Phonological Processes, and Morphophonemic Processes. Totally 22 consonant phonemes are attested in the data. These comprise of six stops (p, b, t, d, k, g), four ejectives (p', t', s', k'), four fricatives (f, s, z, ʃ), four nasals (m, n, ŋ, ɲ), two liquids (l, r), and two glides (w, j). The glottal stop /ʔ/ shows a marginal distribution, for its phonemic status is hardly possible to confirm through minimal pairs. All stop consonants appear in all environments except a voiceless glottal one, which is not attested word initially. It even occurs at medial and final positions in very few lexemes out of the 1650⁺. Stop consonants /d/ and /g/ are attested word

finally only in three and two lexical items, respectively. Ejectives appear in all positions. Of the four fricatives, two (s and ʃ) are recorded in all environments, whereas /z/ and /h/ do not appear word finally. Besides, /h/ has been attested at word medial position only in two words. The nasals /m, n/ and /ɲ/ are attested in all environments though /ɲ/ is recorded word initially in three lexemes and word finally in two lexemes only. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is not found at word initial position. The liquids /l/ and /r/ occur in three of the positions, but at initial position, there exists only one lexeme for the phoneme /r/. Of the remaining phonemes (/w/ and /j/), when /j/ is attested in all environments, the glide /w/ is not found word finally. The language allows consonant sequences word initially, medially, and finally, and only two consonants appear in cluster at initial and final positions but upto three at medial particularly in compound words. The consonant cluster (C₁C₂) patterns observed in the data are sonorant-obstruent, obstruent-sonorant, and sonorant-sonorant. The recurring cluster of consonants initially is combinations of an obstruent and a sonorant (i.e. one of the glides). At medial position, the first consonant (C₁) in the cluster is mainly nasal and rarely lateral, whereas the second consonant (C₂) can be a voiced or voiceless stop, a voiced or voiceless fricative, or a nasal phoneme. In fact, in this same position, very few instances of consonant sequences attested in the present data show combinations of an obstruent plus another obstruent, such as /bt'/ in *gabt'p'a* 'holiday' and /bk'/ in *wabk'of* 'old woman', and/or a sonorant plus another sonorant, such as /nj/ in *bet'anja* 'blanket', /lj/ in *selja* 'local alcohol', /lm/ in *k'alma:za* 'caterpillar'. Gwama is a five-vowel system language. The present data indicates the presence of five short vowels (/i, e, a, u, o/) along with their long counterparts. Though these are the basic vowels of the language, the front mid vowel /e/ seems to have an allophonic variant /ɛ/. All the Gwama vowels appear in all positions. The language has both open and closed syllable structures, and the syllable template can be (C)V(V)(C)(C). As it is a tonal language, three contrastive level tones (High, Mid, and Low) are identified, and lexical and grammatical functions of tone are overviewed. Tone needs to be studied separately. The attested phonological processes that undergo word internally include homorganic nasal assimilation, vowel harmony, and nasalization. An alveolar nasal that appears preceding a velar phoneme goes through homorganic assimilation. Vowels that appear before a nasal consonant undergo nasalization. The morphological processes attested in the language include vowel deletion and reduplication. To conclude, of the phonological analyses, tone is found to be the most difficult and needs further investigation.

Following the phonology of Gwama, the noun morphology is discussed in chapter 3. In this chapter, issues related to inflection and derivation of nouns are given due emphasis. Basic forms of Gwama nouns end both in vowels and in consonants. However, most of the attested nouns have vowel endings. Of which, the majority terminate either in *a*, *o*, or *u*. Disyllabic nouns that terminate in vowels in their citation form drop their final vowel when morphemes like the definite marker *-te* are suffixed to them. The second section of the chapter describes the morphological processes of noun inflection for gender, definiteness, number, and case. Gwama nouns are grammatically inflected for gender by the 3MSG agreement morpheme *-ni* and 3FSG agreement marker *-a*. Besides, the language uses different strategies to indicate males and females. One of which is the use of two-way gender system for definite common nouns in which the definite morphemes *-te* for masculine and *-to* for feminine are employed. Using inherently gender-identifying lexemes *kikjátá* for ‘female’ and *kikè:zí* for ‘male’ as attributives is another strategy. Nouns nevertheless do not inflect for indefiniteness. Gwama distinguishes singular with *u-* and plural countable nouns by the morpheme *ma-*. Adpositions and case have connection, where prepositions function as analytic case markers. Finally, in the third section, two forms of noun derivation (i.e. inflection and compounding) are described. Gwama is not rich in its noun derivation via inflection though abstract nouns are derived by prefixing the morpheme *bila-* on nominal or adjectival roots. A productive means of noun formation is compounding. These nouns formed via combining two different roots are in most cases leftheaded. As compared to the verb morphology, noun morphology does not show a complex system.

In chapter 4, five types of pronouns are discussed. These include subject and object personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. Personal pronouns in Gwama make a seven-way distinction (two numbers namely singular and plural), three persons (first, second, third) and two genders (feminine and masculine). The singular refers to a single entity, while the plural refers more than one distinct entity. Of the totally eight personal pronouns, four (*ga* ‘I’, *ik* ‘you (SG)’, *uhaj* ‘he’, and *hap* ‘she’) are used for singular and the remaining four (*mini* ‘we (INCL)’, *ma* ‘we (EXCL)’, *um* ‘you (PL)’, *hun* ‘they’) for plural. The eight personal pronouns have equivalent number of possessive forms. All the possessive forms take the genitive morpheme *a-*. The possessive pronouns are *a-na* ‘my’, *a-ke* ‘your (SG)’, *a-de* ‘his’, *a-dap* ‘her’, *a-ma* ‘our (EXCL)’, *a-mini* ‘our (INCL)’, *a-kum* ‘your (PL)’, and *a-bun* ‘their’. Similar to many other world languages, the Gwama demonstratives make spatial distinction. It has two basic

demonstratives locating the referent at two different points on a distance scale: a proximal demonstrative referring to an entity near the speaker, and a distal demonstrative indicating a referent that is located at some distance to the speaker. The proximal singular and the distal singular demonstratives are sensitive to gender. The language has also two adverbial demonstratives, *ini* ‘here’ and *idono* ‘there’. Reflexive pronouns are formed in the language by prefixing the word *up* ‘head’ to possessive pronoun forms of each person. Finally, the forms of interrogative pronouns of the language are described with examples. This last section covers the content interrogatives *di* ‘who’, *bi* ‘what’, *ija* ‘where’, *k’ija* ‘how’ and *gigjas* ‘when’ and the polar interrogative clitic *-da*.

Verb morphology of the language is treated in the fifth chapter. Gwama has a complex verb morphology. There are verbal extensions and inflectional affixes in the language. Verbal extensions are formed through a morphological process by attaching affixes to verb roots. In this regard, causative verbs are formed by prefixing the morpheme *i-* to verb roots. The passivizing morphemes of the language is *b-*. Reciprocal verbs are formed by attaching the morpheme *dena* to verb roots. The language inflects verbs for person, aspect/tense, and mood. It has agreement morphemes for subject and object NPs. The subject agreement morphemes that are attached to verbs are *nī* 1SG, *gi* 2SG, *ní* 3MSG, *a* 3FSG, *mì* 1PL(EXCL), *nì* 1PL(INCL), *mí* 2PL, and *bi* 3PL. In perfective structures, mainly in past tenses, the vowels of the subject agreement markers are usually eluded and only consonant segments appear. Perfective aspect is marked with the morpheme *ma-*, and the imperfective aspect is indicated with *a-*, which can also serve as future time indicator. One of the core features of the Koman is directionality, which is represented in Gwama by *-i*, the speaker, and *-gi*, to the addressee. The language has three different directive moods: imperative, jussive, and prohibitive. Singular imperative is not inflected for person marker, whereas the plural imperative is inflected for 2PL with the prefix *mi-*. The language expresses the jussive mood using different morphemes for first person and third person. The 1SG takes no morpheme at all, whereas the 1PL has the morpheme *ho* ‘go’ attached to a reduplicated verb. The 3SG and 3PL jussive, on the other hand, prefixes the morpheme *ta* ‘leave’. These two morphemes do not appear in negative jussive structures. The negative form in both persons basically begins with subject marker followed by the negative marker *bilg* plus unreduplicated verb. The language has different ways of morphological copula constructions. Copular clauses having an NP complement are basically constructed with the copula *wet-*: the past takes *wet-gi* and the future has *a-wet-*. In clauses having adjectives as complements, reduced forms of subject

pronouns are used as copulative elements. However, when one expresses possession such as *aʔo-j p'wakam a-na* 'This is my sister.' no copula marker is employed. What is more, Gwama has possessive verb *s'it*. It has also positive and negative verbs of existence, *ze* and *paŋ* respectively. In brief, the verb morphology has complex structure, particularly identifying the agreement markers that show tone variation was tiresome.

In chapter six, morphemes functioning as modifiers of nouns and verbs are described in three main sections: Adjectives, Adpositions, Adverbs, and the number system of the language. The Gwama adjectives express six semantic categories: dimension, colour, age, value, physical property, and human propensity. These adjectives have noun-like and verb-like feature, which make this category difficult to consider adjectives as a separate word class. Derivation of adjectives is not productive. The attested adpositions of Gwama are only prepositions. The prepositions always appear preceding nouns. Gwama has three types of adverbs: time adverbs, manner adverbs, and frequency adverbs. The language has different adverbs of time that describe periods in a day, days in a week, months in a year, and years (present, past, and future). Adverbs of manner, on the other hand, are derived from adjectives by attaching a prefix *gi-*. The language derives frequency adverbs from time adverbs through partial reduplication such as *anzil-anzili* 'every morning' or combining two words like *kaj-kukum* 'always', which is the result of the words *ka:ja* 'sun' and *kukum* 'all'. Finally, the cardinal and ordinal numerals of Gwama are discussed. The numbers follow the first five numerals system, which seem to be quinary, though the names for the fingers of the hand are not exactly the same as the numerals. The numbers from six to nine take the lexeme *kup* 'to take', which is acoustically distinguished as *kub* in fast connected speech, to numbers one to four respectively. The genitive morpheme *a* appears following *kub* when they say 'six', i.e. *kuba-sene*. The Gwama number ten is *k'u:zi*, and the numbers from eleven to nineteen suffix the first nine numerals to *k'u:zi*. In fact, the Gwama word for number ten drops its final vowel as well as length and followed by a morpheme *-ot-*, i.e. *k'uz-ot-*. The morpheme *-ot-* is potentially used to mean 'and'. The Gwama equivalent for number twenty refers to the sum of hand fingers and toes. It is formed from the word *jis* 'body', the genitive marker *a*, and the word for number one *se:ne* (i.e. *jis-a-sene*, which literally means 'one body'). To mean 'forty', they say *s'it-suja* 'have two', which can be interpreted as two bodies. This indicates that Gwama has a vigesimal system of multiples of ten. Ordinal numerals of the language, on the other hand, are constructed by attaching the ordinal morpheme *t'o-* 'th' to cardinal

numbers. To conclude, analysing the modifiers of Gwama is simple and interesting, particularly the number system is so impressive.

Chapter 7 is all about how the Gwama words are combined to form larger structures such as phrases and clauses. A noun phrase in the language can be formed from a head noun alone or a head noun plus number marker, definite marker, attributive adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, and possessives. Only singulative morpheme *u-* and plural number marker *ma-* appear preceding the head nouns, whereas the rest appear following the head nouns they modify. A verb phrase on the other hand can be composed of only the head verb, in imperative constructions, as in the imperative *ho!* ‘Go!’ or a verb plus aspect, subject marker, tense marker, and/or adverbials. Aspects always appear preceding verbs, whereas tense markers and adverbials can appear suffixed to verbs. The position of verbs in statements having overt subject and overt object is following subjects and preceding objects, i.e. SVO. The second section of this chapter is about clauses: declarative and interrogative. The basic constituent order of objectless verbal declarative sentences is SV, and in sentences having direct objects, the object appears following the verbs. That is, such a sentence commonly appears with SVO word order. However, Gwama shows flexibility in its word order that sentences with SOV constituent order are also recorded. Negative declarative sentences have also the basic SVO word order, and the negative marker *jil* or *da(b)* is prefixed to a verb preceding a subject marker. Gwama has structures for “yes/no” and “wh” questions, i.e. polar and content interrogatives respectively. In a polar interrogative with a transitive verb and an overt subject and object, the basic order of constituent is S + V + O + POL, and in intransitive verbs, the word order is S + V + POL. In the present data, eight content interrogative words are identified. These are *udi*, ‘who’, *bi* ‘what’, *ujisk’ija* ‘which one’, *ujija* ‘which’, *ija* ‘where’, *gigijas(a)* ‘when’, *gasbi* ‘why’, *k’ija* ‘how; how much; how many’. Similar to the polar element in polar questions, the question words appear at the end of sentences in content interrogatives, so *wh* questions have basically SVO + CONT word order. Finally, the syntax of complex clauses include complement clauses, relative clauses, adverbial clauses (Temporal clause, reason clause, manner clause, purpose clause, concessive clause, and conditional clause), and converbial clauses. The basic constituent order of complex clauses is subordinate + main clause.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Gwama-English Wordlist

In this section of the appendices, Gwama-English wordlist is presented. It consists of a total of 1650+ words arranged alphabetically.

A

anzì:l(r)í <i>n</i> morning	àlse:lja/se:lia <i>n</i> beer (traditional)
àk'op' <i>adj</i> smelly	ámán <i>adj</i> (be) honest
ap'ù-p'át'á <i>useful</i>	ámán <i>v</i> believe
ā-w-di <i>pro</i> whose	án <i>n</i> menstrual period
á:já <i>v</i> clever; know; believe; teach; experience	àndúré/búrá <i>n</i> cat
à:já <i>n</i> stumbling block, obstruction	ángár <i>n</i> bed
ā:ngā/hā:nk'ā <i>n</i> bow (hunting)	ankajkun <i>n</i> winter
á:pá <i>n</i> mother's brother (uncle)	ankajfunu <i>n</i> afternoon
à:tá <i>v</i> count	ansa <i>n</i> gold
abokado <i>n</i> avocado	ánt' <i>n</i> fire
áj-mì-ájá <i>acquaintance</i>	ánùbá <i>n</i> talking drum
ájédé <i>n</i> human will	añá <i>adv</i> previous situation; before now
ájsít <i>v</i> introduce	ap <i>adj</i> (be) flatten; carve; arrange
áj? <i>n</i> sister-in-law	apaj <i>adj</i> very
àk'àsá <i>adj</i> other	àpánkó <i>pro</i> nothing
ákàma <i>adv</i> yesterday	ápáŋ <i>det</i> not exist
akamusu <i>adv</i> the day before yesterday	àpíló <i>n</i> goitre
àlbénì <i>n</i> sickle	árí <i>n</i> sorrow
àlgā:dā <i>n</i> pot used for making porridge	af <i>v</i> sow
àlgābùt <i>n</i> bag	áf1 <i>v</i> burry
álgàdá <i>n</i> plate	áf2 <i>v</i> bury
àlgibba <i>n</i> hijab	áfabá/áfábá <i>v</i> wait
alhadidi <i>n</i> iron	at'ít'ìns' <i>adj</i> flexible
àlhédè <i>n</i> thread	àta <i>n</i> medicine
àlképè <i>n</i> pocket	àtá <i>v</i> read/study
àlmang <i>n</i> mango	átápà <i>v</i> suffer
	áton <i>pro</i> those

àlmùmùn <i>n</i> dream	áwét kúté/ama <i>advlizer</i> if
àlmus <i>n</i> banana	āzì <i>adj</i> yellow
àlp'ánza <i>n</i> lizard	á?é <i>det</i> this
àlpūká <i>n</i> a small container made from gourd to put tobacco	

B

bá:bà <i>n</i> father	bírìjǝ <i>n</i> locally made carpet for sleeping
bá:zá <i>n</i> springbok (small gazelle that leaps high in the air repeatedly when startled)	birtukana <i>n</i> orange
bādì <i>n</i> scar	bjántá <i>v</i> blow (horn)
bàk <i>n</i> hair/feather	bó:kó <i>n</i> mead made from honey and water (fermented for about a week)
bāké <i>n</i> field; desert	bobóngó <i>n</i> frog
bākjis <i>n</i> hair (of body)	bójá <i>n</i> colour
bākzì <i>n</i> eyebrow	bók1 <i>n</i> marriage
bālās <i>adj</i> (to) erase mistake on paper	bók2 <i>v</i> marry
báldí <i>n</i> bucket, pail	bokok-a-bwafa venom (of snake)
baliss <i>n</i> wrong doer (criminal)	bótìn <i>v</i> mix
balìss <i>adj</i> (be) guilty	bú <i>n</i> burrow; pit; hole in the ground; cave
bámbe <i>n</i> sweet potato	bù bídó/bù bá:gá <i>n</i> ram (male sheep)
bandira <i>n</i> flag	bú:bú <i>n</i> he-goat, billy goat
bas good	bú:jí <i>n</i> stomach
bàs <i>n</i> milk	bú:jú/pó:gó <i>n</i> malaria (fever)
batak' <i>v</i> mend, repair	buboto <i>n</i> yogurt
bāfārjá <i>n</i> lamp, torch	búk'(bók') <i>v</i> jump
bé:jé <i>v</i> appease, pacify	bùl(r)bút' <i>n</i> dust
bes'in <i>det</i> four	bùlbúlù <i>n</i> butterfly
bef t'wasensene <i>adv</i> infrequently	bùlk'wámāt' <i>n</i> armpit
bet'anja <i>n</i> blanket	bún <i>v</i> (to) shout
bì <i>v</i> wipe off	buna <i>n</i> coffee
bí:tí <i>n</i> mead made from honey for immediate drink	bùndùr <i>n</i> gun
	búrk'án <i>n</i> cloth, ornamented, worn by women

bídó/bá:gá <i>n</i> sheep	in their front
bila bulubulu <i>n</i> insect	bús' <i>v</i> choke
bìllá <i>n</i> machete, cutlass	búf túf <i>v</i> break wind, fart (happening when during excretion)
bíns' <i>n</i> fishing ; fishing line	búfú <i>n</i> to gather for meeting or somethingelse
birìd <i>n</i> fork (in path)	but <i>v</i> to cut wood into pieces
bìs'an <i>n</i> star	bùt <i>n</i> bait; piece
bìsmará <i>n</i> nail	bwábār <i>n</i> father's brother (uncle)
bìf <i>v</i> shiver, tremble	bwánzá <i>n</i> young man/youth; groom
bít <i>n</i> bird	bwáfà <i>n</i> snake
bíte/bí? <i>pro</i> what	

D

da <i>n</i> oil	dìfín <i>v</i> lie down; lean against
dá:dé <i>n</i> sister (elder)	dò:kó <i>n</i> potato
dá:gá <i>n</i> half;moderate	dó:ló <i>n</i> container made of gourd
dá:ḡá (be) wrong	dó:mó <i>n</i> waist
daga <i>adv</i> till	dó:pò <i>adj</i> (be) stupid
dágá <i>v</i> cross (river)	dò:pó <i>n</i> idele (one who hates work)
dák <i>v</i> done/finished	do:zo <i>v</i> teach
dakt'ojkaja <i>n</i> midday	dó:zó <i>v</i> learn;education
daktəsugun <i>n</i> midnight	dól <i>v</i> shout, cry out
dālàs <i>n</i> fence	don <i>v</i> access;find
dani-ájá <i>n</i> stranger (unknown person)	doḡhi; waḡ bubu <i>n</i> cock
das' <i>v</i> grind	dóḡí <i>adj</i> (be) restless, (be) unsettled
das'ini <i>adv</i> now	dù:gí <i>n</i> knee
dà? <i>n</i> fat, butter, edible/cooking oil	dù:jú <i>adj</i> (be) round
de <i>v</i> to drive	dú:lù <i>n</i> cane, walking stick
dé <i>v</i> chase	dú:f <i>n</i> homespun thread
dé-bé góm <i>n</i> forgetful	dù:fú <i>adj</i> (be) blunt, dull
de-bé-k'ép' <i>adj</i> stupid person	dúd <i>n</i> arm
dé-bé-kwágá <i>adj</i> (be) courageous, (be) brave	dudamit' <i>n</i> finger (of hand)

dé-bé-nápà <i>adj</i> (be) corrupt	dúdi <i>v</i> whisper
dé-bé-s'it <i>n</i> poor man	dúdkwápà <i>n</i> forearm
dé-bé-wé <i>v</i> undressed	dudozo <i>v</i> learn
de-bé-ʔén <i>adj</i> (be) impatient	dudsoŋk' <i>n</i> ankle
dé-bjɛblɛ <i>no</i>	dùdùk <i>n</i> elbow
dé/pi:ʃi <i>v</i> to give chase	dùdùŋi <i>n</i> chisel of wood; short pieces of wood
dé:pe <i>v</i> indicate, point (as with the finger)	duguʃ <i>n</i> onion
dé:pé <i>n</i> omen	duguʃu-k'af <i>n</i> red onion
démēs <i>n</i> belch	duguʃu-sele <i>n</i> white onion
dén-pwáná <i>n</i> crossroads, intersection	dùj <i>v</i> to buy
dena <i>adv</i> together; all	dùj-túl <i>v</i> rule over, dominate
dene <i>v</i> meet, encounter	dùkùl <i>n</i> log
déné <i>n</i> word	dúlbù <i>n</i> haricot bean
dénità <i>adj</i> (be) fierce	dump' <i>n</i> to plaster (wall)
dérì <i>n</i> saliva	dùndi <i>n</i> stick of arrow
dəwl <i>n</i> bell	dupa <i>n</i> friend
dé-bé bàlàs <i>adj</i> (be) innocent	duʃ <i>n</i> cotton
débəsús <i>v</i> fail (to be unsuccessful)	dút' <i>n</i> testicles
dì:lí <i>v</i> bless, praise (someone)	dùzé <i>n</i> pipe-stem
dì:lì <i>n</i> blessing	dwá <i>n</i> girl
dídìʃʃ <i>adj</i> (be) new	dwá káp' ná <i>n</i> kid (young goat)
dígá <i>n</i> fine (for greeting)	dwá-káp' <i>n</i> heifer (young female cow)
dil <i>v</i> push/hold tightly	dwá-káp'-bídó <i>n</i> lamb (young sheep)
diliŋ <i>n</i> earring (the big/long one)	dwàŋá <i>adj</i> yellow
díná <i>n</i> enemy	

E

e:ke <i>n</i> rock (large)	epeti <i>adj</i> bad
é:ʃé <i>n</i> food made of false-banana/'ensete'	épètì <i>adj</i> (be) difficult
ek ant' <i>n</i> flame	ésas <i>v</i> mumble
èlé <i>n</i> oven	étá <i>adv</i> away from
élēm <i>adj</i> be happy	étú <i>adj</i> (be) high

én *v* compromise
 énà?én *adj* (be) patient
 ep'i *adj* expensive
 epáj *adj* wide

é~ ba *adj* yes it is!
 é-ti:bi *adj* difficult
 é: yes

G

gá *pro* self
 gá: *pro* I
 gá:já *n* Oromo
 gá:ηó *n* mule
 gá:sí *n* hand made cloth
 gá:fá *n* digging stick
 gá:tá *n* cultivation
 gabala *n* table; locally made wooden chair
 gabārá *n* brideprice (for bride's family)
 gābārà; bāmbār *n* stool
 gabat *n* season
 gabat-is' Summer season
 gabat-kajkun *n* Winter season
 gabt'p'a *n* holiday
 gadar *v* able to do
 gādì-sìt persons
 gàlàfùlú *n* dragonfly
 gamati *adj* happy/pleased
 gàmbú *n* flute
 gamízí *n* shirt
 gáns'kàrà *n* praying mantis
 gapa *n* belly
 gàràp *v* spank (child)
 gàt kwì *n* field
 gátá *n* adult
 gātí (gəti) *n* price

gik'was *adv* late; later
 gík'wás *v* obstruct
 giotko *adv* tomorrow
 girf *n* cents
 gis'in *adj* (be) alone
 gibriná *n* agriculture
 gjá *n* hoe
 gó:dó *n* hut
 gó:ló *n* granary
 gó:ng(k')ó *n* skin (of animal)
 gójó *n* sound disturbance
 gok'óf *n* bark of a tree; husk (corn)
 gok'of-a-simp' eggshell
 gok'of-a-was' fish-scale
 gok'of-samun *n* shell of maiz
 gok'of-swaja *n* bark (of a tree)
 gólì *n* left hand
 gòlkós' *n* throat
 góló *n* a metal used to catch fish
 góm *adj* (to) remember/recall; think
 gom-a-i-t'ozi vision
 gom-ā-kù *n* sorrow
 góndil *adj* crooked; not straight
 gónjk'-zí *n* iris
 gót/k'ùf *v* (to) catch fish/fishing
 gózóm *n* Amhara

gatir *v* bare, show (teeth)
 gawála *n* crime
 gé:ndí *n* beehive
 ge:ne *v* go round, detour
 gè:ne/gòndil *adj* (be) crooked
 gé:ni *n* a flexible stick used to make beehive
 gé:s'é *v* to undermine jobs
 gè:sé *n* millet
 gél *v* herd, tend (cattle, sheep)
 gét *v* (be) lying down
 gè *coordconn* and
 gí-dā:lás fence in
 gí-swájá wood work
 gí-swì domestic work
 gi-ja-j-t'umu homework
 gi-?i-suja the day after tomorrow
 gè: *v* work; construction
 gí: t'ùmù *v* servant
 gibri *n* tax
 gidon *adv* then
 gègájá *n* wasp
 gigijas *pro* when
 gègjàmā *n* trap

gú *prep* with
 gú:ṅù (k'azmana) *n* hyena
 gu:pu *v* bump, knock against
 gúb *n* lake
 gubu *n* hump
 gumbur *n* well
 gùmbúff *v* ferment (alcohol)
 gúnì gút *v* diminish
 gunun *v* gowl
 gúnz-ā-gúns'/ze:húm *n* tiger
 gúrsì *n* chair
 gús *v* run
 gús-ā-hó drive away
 gús-a-tá letting a car leave (when one can not reach)
 guf-a-fu *n* drizzle
 gút *adj* short;dwarf
 gwábùn *n* mother's sister (aunt)
 gwáfāf *n* basket
 gwé *v* notice
 gwézi *n* argue
 gwìdí *v* tickle
 gwiliṅ-gwiliṅ *n* bell

H

há:d(t)nikó *adj* (be) big
 há:ndá1 *n* grown up; big
 há:ndá2 *adj* (be) abundant
 há:ṅá *n* vulture
 há:wá *n* yawn
 hábbábà *n* fan
 hádùm *n* ring (finger)

hínt' *adj* (be) lost
 hiji *v* shake
 hípìs' *n* wrinkle (on skin)
 hijajni *n* heartbeat
 hìrij *v* hire
 ho *v* to go
 hó *v* walk

hágám *n* penalty, punishment
 hállà/fákì *n* cooking pot (earthenware)
 hant'up'i *n* guinea fowl
 haŋa-tup'i *n* dove; ostrich
 háp' *pro* she
 házá *n* shame
 hášì *n* stamp (with foot)
 hà? *v* copulate, have sexual intercourse
 hé *v* admit (to a wrong)
 hé-káp *v* accept, receive
 hè:ǰé *v* to sickle grass
 hérì *n* fortune-teller, diviner
 hè:ǰé *v* cut (hair); to sickle
 hí:mì *v* go to war
 hi:nzi *n* flower
 hi:ni *v* swing, go back and forth
 himbi *v* (be) ripe
 hìmí *n* fight
 hìndáp' *n* door, doorway cover
 hìnt' *n* belong

hó:bì *v* lie (falsehood)
 hó:s'ó *v* wash (clothes, utensils)
 hódjá *n* club, cudgel
 hók'óf *n* pimple
 hóó *v* come
 hòrá *n* bowl
 hóf1 *v* assemble, meet together
 hóf2 *v* store (up)
 hoǰeket *n* locality (k'ebele)
 hófóf/pófó-pófó *n* lung
 hù:ná *adj* strength; force
 hù:ná/gidí *n* duty, obligation
 hú:nú *n* disease, malaise
 hu:pu *v* extinguish fire
 hùho *Go!*
 hún *pro* they
 hunu *adj* sick
 húŋĩ *v* crunch
 hùŋúf *v* crawl
 hùrú *n* kitchen utensils

I

í *n* a sort of gazelle, antelope
 ì *adj* whole
 í: *v* fill (a container)
 ì: *v* lead (go in front)
 ì:já *n* water
 í:mí (imkikiata) *n* cow
 í:mí/ímbùbù *n* ox
 í:ǰif *n* vine which has an edible root
 í:tí *n* monkey
 í:zì *v* advise

ìsjá *n* semen
 ìskó *prep* under, below
 isku *n* sesame
 istófò *n* small, oily black seed
 ìǰ *n* sleep
 ìǰ pǎ *n* feast
 íǰá2 *n* sacrifice
 íǰá1 *v* invite
 ìǰá *n* feast
 íǰájá *v* decorate

í:zú:gù v prevent	íjí adj (be) wet
ídá:gá prep between	íjǐ v (be) sleepy
ídé:pé v announce	it'okikja n border (also in Mao)
ídé:pè n guide	it'á prep outside
ídónó adv there	itamba n beer
ìgólí adv left (direction)	itát prep inside
íhándá v widen	iti v give
íjá pro where	it'ózì adv forward (direction)
ijas adp to	ítú v lengthen
ík pro you	iwe v to heal
íká2 prep up	iws n sky
íká1 n north (upward)	izenzi adj thin
ìká:ná adv right (direction)	izìn adj downward
ìkáǐǐ v bewitch, cast spell	ízúgù v protect, defend, stop up
ìkjápá v shorten	í?ámán v persuade
ìkwás1 adv backward (direction)	ídá adj sideward
ìkwás2 prep behind	ijá kí: n bile, gall
ìlìl v wail, ululate (at funeral)	íjí n debt
ìlǐŋ v hunt	ijás prep down
ínì adv here	ijásada n oath
ìjní n heart	ik'id n plan
is' n summer	ilá adv perhaps
ís v cook	indóbá correlconn because

K

k'a v (to) eat (mainly used for meat e .g. ká sum 'eat meat')	kawfunu n evening
k'ā v to construct; to build (for house)	kě v look after animals; feed (animals)
k'á-nì-k'á labour, birth pains	kě v to smell fruit like lemmon
k'à-tát n stomach ache, upset stomach	ké: v sweep
k'á-wp n pain	ke:ge n clay
k'á-wùp n headache	ké:gé v threaten
k'á:lí v allow, permit	ké:mè v pretend; imitate
	ke:nzé v shave

k'a:na <i>n</i> right hand	ké:nzè <i>v</i> insult
k'á:nt'á <i>adj</i> ugly	kè:té <i>v</i> to relax
k'ā:fá <i>v</i> deceive	kégè <i>adj</i> coward
k'aba <i>v</i> underhand	keleb <i>v</i> walk
k'ábí <i>pro</i> why	kéʃ1 <i>v</i> divine, prophesy
k'áj <i>v</i> stir	kéʃ2 <i>n</i> poison
k'ak'af <i>n</i> porcupine	kéʃ3 <i>n</i> poison
k'ák'î <i>n</i> roof; jaw	kéʃèn/gikene <i>adv</i> today
k'ák'já-swì <i>n</i> thatch	két'eʃ <i>n</i> stumbling block
k'álá <i>n</i> swamp grass	kəràkərì <i>n</i> plead, implore
k'àlàb1 <i>v</i> (be) sad	kətəma <i>n</i> town
k'àlàb2 <i>adj</i> (be) confused	kí-ǰéré <i>adj</i> (be) fair, just
k'alap' <i>v</i> step	kí: <i>n</i> kí:gall bladder/bile, gall (similar to gall bladder)
k'ālāp' <i>adj</i> (be) amusing	kì: <i>v</i> to guard; to look after
k'àlì <i>adj</i> (be) expensive	kì:gì <i>v</i> cackle (as of chicken)
k'àndà <i>v</i> cast away, or discard; avoid	kí:ndí <i>n</i> hernia (umbilical)
k'àndì <i>n</i> headpad	kì:sí <i>adv</i> near
k'áṅà <i>n</i> knot (in wood)	kíbìʃ <i>n</i> blink
k'āp <i>v</i> hollow out (log)	kígim <i>v</i> kneel
k'ás <i>v</i> subtract, take away	kikambi <i>n</i> camel
k'át' <i>adj</i> (be) smooth; flexible	kíké:zí <i>n</i> man (male)
k'ās'i <i>n</i> rag	kikjata <i>n</i> woman/female
k'asga <i>n</i> east	kíkjátá <i>n</i> woman
k'áf <i>adj</i> red	kíkjátá-bídó/bág kikjátá <i>n</i> ewe (female sheep)
k'át'1 <i>adj</i> (be) inexpensive	kìns' <i>v</i> knot
k'át'2 <i>adj</i> (be) loose; slack; soft	kìṅì <i>v</i> chop into pieces
k'at'-a-kaja dusk, twilight (after sunset)	kis <i>v</i> set
k'át'/hóngól <i>adj</i> loose	kìs <i>v</i> forbid
k'át'-ní-k'át' <i>v</i> make smooth/loose	kis' <i>v</i> enter
k'é:k-t'wa <i>n</i> lower lip	kis'-a-pugun <i>n</i> dive
k'e:se <i>v</i> snatch	kìs'-ká:já <i>n</i> west
k'é:ǰé <i>v</i> boast; to undermine	kìʃigì <i>v</i> oppose
k'ék'ém <i>v</i> sneeze	

k'ep' <i>v</i> listen	kìt <i>v</i> curse
k'ép' <i>v</i> hear	kítáb <i>n</i> amulet, charm, fetish
k'épízi <i>v</i> obey	kiwi <i>n</i> storm
k'es'e <i>v</i> be satisfied	kízi <i>v</i> get in
k'es'en <i>n</i> soil	kiwus <i>v</i> wake
k'és'ín kwì <i>n</i> fertile soil	kiws <i>v</i> stand
k'ì <i>v</i> (to) remove (a tooth)	kjábàpás <i>v</i> deepen
k'ĩ <i>v</i> enwrap; twist	kjálkìn <i>v</i> smile
k'ĩ̃ <i>v</i> groan (with pain) or grunt (from effort)	kjánsá <i>n</i> rattle (musical instrument)
k'ì'n <i>v</i> defecate	kjánsá/tà:rà <i>n</i> music
k'ì:ndí <i>n</i> darkness	kjen <i>adv</i> now
k'ì:fi <i>n</i> calabash; bowl made of gourd to drink local alcohol	knit' <i>n</i> dew
k'ija <i>pro</i> how	ko <i>v</i> put, place, set
k'iji <i>v</i> melt	kó <i>v</i> roast
k'ík'íf <i>n</i> tortoise	kō <i>v</i> say
k'ífin <i>n</i> arrow	kô: <i>n</i> mountain
k'ĩ? <i>v</i> wrap up	kó:ηò <i>n</i> chair
k'japa <i>adj</i> narrow	kò:ηó <i>n</i> pot (for water)
k'jápá <i>adj</i> small	kò:ηò <i>n</i> pot
kótónó <i>n</i> steer (castrated male cow)	kó:rà <i>n</i> string
k'ó <i>v</i> (be) awake	kóbòf/kóp'óf <i>n</i> steal; adultery
k'o:ki <i>n</i> cheek	kolam <i>n</i> edible root (looks like sweet potato)
k'ó:pó <i>v</i> (to) cut a tree/log	kóm-k'ófò-na mother-in-law
k'ók'ók'ó <i>n</i> earwax	kongo <i>n</i> civet cat
k'ond/t'ol-kikjata <i>n</i> mare (female horse)	kónzó <i>n</i> fly
k'onde <i>n</i> horse	koη-up <i>n</i> pillow
k'òndòlò <i>n</i> semi circle	kóηò <i>n</i> bottle
k'óp' <i>adj</i> stink, smell (bad)	kóηóf <i>v</i> bend down, stoop
k'ōrō <i>n</i> vice (f or administrator)	kórón <i>n</i> snore
k'óf/gá:tá <i>adj</i> (be) old (not young)	kófé <i>n</i> skin (of goat)
k'ófó <i>n</i> mother-in-law	koji <i>n</i> mattress
k'ofón <i>n</i> navel	kófi/jászé <i>n</i> carpet (of floor)
	kú: <i>n</i> mourn; cry

k'óḡòn-à-ná descendant	kú:jù <i>n</i> grey hair
k'ózó <i>n</i> cooking	kú:mù <i>n</i> heap
k'ú <i>v</i> draw water	kú:ḡù <i>n</i> wolf
k'ú:bú <i>n</i> pus	kú:rù <i>n</i> donkey
k'ú:ndù1 <i>v</i> to finish	kù:ḡ <i>v</i> (be) smoked
k'ú:ndù2 <i>v</i> finished	kú:tù <i>n</i> clitoris
k'ù:zí <i>det</i> ten	kuba-sen <i>det</i> six
k'ú:zú <i>v</i> control	kuba-swja <i>det</i> seven
k'új <i>v</i> to (trap);	kub-twasene <i>det</i> eight
k'uk'ut <i>v</i> to cough	kubaja <i>n</i> cup
k'ùlk'útù <i>n</i> head (back part)	kube:s'in <i>det</i> nine
k'ulla <i>adj</i> naked	kuj <i>v</i> wake
k'úlūm <i>v</i> plunge; swim under water	kùj <i>v</i> draw (picture)
k'úmbùrù <i>n</i> fish dam	kuk <i>v</i> start
k'úmk'é <i>n</i> termite	kukoj <i>v</i> stand
k'ump' <i>n</i> fingernail; claw	kúkwí <i>adj</i> (be) deep
k'úndù <i>v</i> (to) finish	kum; kam <i>n</i> father
k'undut' <i>v</i> pucker	kùmbārà <i>v</i> hoe
k'uns' <i>v</i> scratch	kūmbī <i>n</i> cover of a traditionally woven house
k'up <i>v</i> surround; coil (rope)	hold used to put on 'injera'
k'uf <i>n</i> voice; sound	kùmdàm <i>n</i> bee
k'úḡ <i>v</i> (to) kill, murder	kùmp' <i>n</i> fist
k'ùḡ <i>n</i> neck	kumut' <i>det</i> five
k'ùḡ-né-t'wá (be) eloquent	kùnán <i>n</i> account (report)
k'ùt <i>n</i> circumcise; cut	kuns' <i>adv</i> tip
k'út-ó:jó <i>n</i> baby sling	kup <i>v</i> take
k'úzí <i>n</i> heel (of the foot)	kúp1 <i>v</i> to melt a metal
k'wánzá <i>n</i> ringworm	kúp2 <i>v</i> castrate
k'wàpá <i>n</i> earring (smaller one)	kúp3 <i>v</i> shaping metal with anvil
k'was <i>n</i> back	kurum <i>n</i> pig
k'wasmit' <i>n</i> back of a palm	kurum sere <i>n</i> boar
k'wáḡá <i>n</i> pea	kurum-kikezi/bubu <i>n</i> boar (male pig)
k'we <i>v</i> ruminant	kurum-kikjata <i>n</i> sow (female pig)

k'wé <i>v</i> chew	kús' <i>adj</i> (be) dry
k'o:do <i>n</i> underwear	kùs'1 <i>adj</i> barren (woman)
k'umb-a-k'ump' sip	kùs'2 <i>adj</i> (be) empty
k'wapa <i>n</i> ring	kūs' <i>v</i> swallow
ká:gá <i>adj</i> (be) bitter	kùsùnù <i>n</i> chin
kà:gá <i>n</i> alcohol (general)/something bitter	kúfũn/kassi <i>adj</i> (be) dim; shadow
ká:já <i>n</i> sun	kujup' <i>n</i> brother-in-law
ká:jà <i>v</i> open	kutí <i>n</i> worm
kà:jà <i>adj</i> (be) open	kú? <i>v</i> carry on head;load
ká:k'á <i>n</i> strong alcohol	kwa <i>v</i> sick, ill
kà:lá <i>n</i> hunchback (occurred after birth because of health problem)	kwá <i>v</i> build
ká:má <i>n</i> wound;bruise	kwá-né-jìs/kwá-né-jìskwá-né-hú:nú (be) sick, (be) ill
kà:ná <i>n</i> dog	kwábkwá <i>n</i> fellow-wife, co-wife
ká:sí <i>n</i> painting	kwágá <i>v</i> frighten
ká:f <i>adj</i> closed	kwàgà <i>n</i> fear ; be shy
kaga <i>adj</i> boring	kwàk(a) <i>n</i> raven
kágá <i>n</i> bed like container used to put grains	kwám-í:mí <i>n</i> horn
káj bók <i>n</i> marriage (state of wedlock)	kwám-sònt' <i>n</i> toe
kaj-kub-suja week	kwam <i>n</i> his/her mother
kajade <i>n</i> century	kwàma <i>adj</i> big; old
kajken/t'ojkaja <i>n</i> day	kwamit' <i>n</i> thumb
kajkukum <i>adv</i> often; always	kwan <i>n</i> her mother
kàkà <i>n</i> grandmother	kwáns' <i>n</i> bridge
kálánj <i>n</i> stew	kwàns' <i>v</i> write
kàlmá:zá <i>n</i> caterpillar	kwans/gātir <i>n</i> ladder
kam <i>v</i> find; get	kwánt' <i>n</i> (facial) incision(s), tattoo(s)
kámbí <i>n</i> camp, encampment	kwanza apajus/t'ajara <i>n</i> airplane
káná <i>adj</i> (be) selfish	kwanza/t'imbiri <i>n</i> car
kanda-k'af <i>n</i> red sorghum	kwaja <i>n</i> dawn
káns' <i>v</i> to shoot (arrow or gun)	kwap <i>n</i> horn
kàns' <i>n</i> hunting	kwap a was' <i>n</i> fin
kapisko <i>adv</i> early	kwàpá <i>n</i> hand; arm; wing; handle

kàṅát *n* phlegm
 káp *v* take (away), carry away; raise, lift
 kàp *v* bring
 karsa *n* shelf
 kás *n* wind; weather
 kàsās *v* accuse
 kàṅ *v* shut (the door); hang up (phone)
 kafe *v* turn over
 káṣṣjána *n* leprosy
 káṣṣ1 *v* close, shut by twisting a bottle
 káṣṣ2 *n* witchcraft

kwapan *n* a piece of gourd made to cover container
 kwás' *n* buffalo
 kwàtì *n* birdlime (adhesive to catch birds)
 kwébgé ; swít *v* to peel bark of a tree
 kwenge *v* stretch; scrape; peel
 kwi1 *v* cultivate, farm
 kwi2 *n* elephant
 kwí *v* to pack or put things together
 kwì *n* chief, headman; judge
 kwìwùs *v* wake up
 kʔáp' *v* choke

L

lá:pá *adj* handicapped
 làmunu *n* lemon
 làwásá *adj* (be) curious

lógón *n* wall
 lós *v* choose, pick
 lù:lù *v* (to) attack

M

má *pro* we
 má:dú *n* father-in-law
 má:jà *v* swear
 'má:lá *v* spy, spy on
 má:pà *n* needle
 má:ṣá *v* (be) drunk/ intoxicated
 má:ṣì *n* sister-in-law
 mà:zá *v* (be) tired
 màjégí *n* daughter-in-law
 málàk *n* spoon (traditional)
 mám *v* carry (child) on back
 mán *n* children

min-k'eze/min-k'es'e *n* tale
 min-ségó *prep* over, above
 min-ṣà *n* digging thing
 min-ṣá *n* food
 min-t'it'ua *v* talk
 mìn-t'úmú *adj* domestic, tame
 min-zizé *n* shelter
 mín-sís *n* abscess
 miraja *n* glass
 mit' *n* finger
 mìt' *n* hand
 mit'--k'ijapkol □ it □ □ ring finger

man *v* awe, reverence (for God)
 man-dulu *n* tomato
 man-ka:na *n* puppy
 man-p'idin *n* gravel
 mǎn-sònt' *n* toes
 man-wa:ŋa *n* chicken
 mǎn-ʒís *n* become ripe
 mangá *det* enough
 màpá *n* needle
 mǎf *n* both bride and groom
 mafama *n* plastic carpet for floor
 mǎfjǎtá *n* palm wine
 mǎwál *n* retarded
 màzòzòjò *n* window
 mé:mé *adj* (be) lazy
 mé:ʒé *v* sharpen (knife)
 mǎ-n p'í:zì *adj* (be) intelligent
 mì:mí *n* mosquito
 mì:s'ì *adj* sweet
 mì:zì *n* son-in-law
 míkì *v* chat
 min *pro* it; thing
 mìn-hó:s'ó *n* bathing place

mit'-de:pe *n* index finger
 mit'-gà:tá; kwamit' *n* thump
 mìt'-gólí *n* east; left hand
 mit'-i-daga middle finger
 mìt'-k'á:ná *n* south; right hand
 mit'-kwam *n* hand fingers
 mit'-walwal; mit'- kijapko *n* little finger
 mit'i *adv* ever so; highly
 mìt'i *v* damage
 milas'í *n* razor
 mǒ: *v* win
 mógó *n* namesake
 mómé *n* well
 móné *n* mortar, pounding pot
 mórá *n* bone marrow
 mós *n* naming (baby)
 mù *v* wash
 mú:zì *n* tears
 múkín/kūkùm *adj* all
 mus'1 *v* squeeze;
 mus'2 *n* soup, broth
 mús' *v* tighten
 mùʒúk' *n* comb

N

na *v* to pick up
 ná *n* mother
 ná:n/ó:dó *n* news
 ná: *v* fetch (firewood)
 ná:já *adj* giant
 ná:ʒá *n* brother-in-law
 nà:tà *n* year
 nagàd *n* inheritance

naja-bit *n* flock (of birds)
 naja-kumtam *n* bumble bee
 nán *v* decide
 náʒkó *adv* well
 ní *n* bushbuck
 nìni *v* to hide
 nó:kó *adj* good; true; correct; healthy
 ɲá *n* goat

nāgād trader
nápá *adj* (be) dizzy
naja *adj* many

ná-kìkjáta *n* she-goat, nanny goat
nán *v* beg (for money)

O

ò:jò *n* cloth
ó:kó *n* grinding stone
ó:ʃò *v* to reconcile
óbó *n* brother (elder)
ój-nì:nzì *n* mask

ólpiná (Affan Oromo) *n* to respect; request
humbly
ómó *n* praise
órgá *n* elephantiasis
otilə *n* gum

P

p'á *n* dance
p'á:ʃù *n* widow
p'ád *v* (be) used up
p'ádá1 *v* help
p'ádá2 *adj* (be) important; help; intercede,
mediate
p'ádá3 *v* intercede, mediate
p'adà *v* saw (wood)
p'ala *n* wall which is not plastered
p'álá *n* mark out, peg out (ground)
p'álílí *n* palate
p'ámáf *n* bride
p'ap'a *v* dance
p'as *adj* additional/extra
p'ás *v* continue, resume
p'ás/paf *v* add
p'át'á *adj* (be) generous
p'átíl *adj* tight
p'í *adj* (be) hard/strong
p'í1 *n* nape (the back of the neck); mane

pétì *v* spoil (food)
pètì *adj* (be) wicked
pú *v* exorcise
pì *n* berry
pí *v* fall
pí *v* land (for bird etc)
pì *v* bear (child), give birth
pí: *v* fish
pí: sás *v* winnow, throw in air (grain)
pí:gi *n* drought, famine
pí:nt'í *n* metallic instrument used to transplant
teeth
pì:nzì *n* straw; a thin bambo made to sip local
alcohol
pì:ss *adj* (be) jealous
pídì *v* (be) hungry, hunger
pimaʃa *n* sycamore
pìnáws *n* fruit
pìngjánà *n* coffee cup
pís *v* boast, brag

p'í2 <i>v</i> hard	pis'abala <i>n</i> a large tree which produces figlike fruit
p'í3 <i>v</i> grow up	píƒ <i>n</i> broom
p'í4 <i>adj</i> (be) strong (physically)	píƒapíƒ <i>n</i> driver
p'ĩ <i>adj</i> (be) heavy	pít <i>v</i> split
p'i:/ko:ko <i>n</i> shoulder	pìt knock down, knock over; throw away
p'í:zí <i>v</i> (be) wise	pít <i>n</i> vagina
p'ĩdìn <i>n</i> stone	pjàmbi <i>n</i> log
p'ĩdìn-búná <i>n</i> pestle, pounding stick	pjàngó <i>n</i> ladle
p'ĩdìn-ís <i>n</i> cooking stone	po <i>v</i> burst
p'íkín <i>n</i> ash	pó <i>v</i> move away, migrate
p'ĩlp'ĩndi/ʔóss <i>n</i> chisel	pō <i>v</i> throw
p'imp' <i>v</i> scratch (itch)	pó: <i>v</i> bark (dog)
p'íns' <i>v</i> to shell maize	pó:gó <i>n</i> river
p'is'i <i>v</i> twist	pó:kó <i>n</i> cloth which whomen wear below the waist
p'ósóp' <i>n</i> a man having two wives; polygamy	pó:ʃó <i>v</i> start to speak
p'umut' <i>n</i> flour	pójós' <i>v</i> miscarriage
p'us' <i>v</i> crush	polu <i>v</i> flow (flood)
p'ús' <i>v</i> knead	pòm <i>adj</i> pregnant
p'us'un <i>n</i> piece	pónó <i>n</i> hem
p'wákàm <i>n</i> sister	póp' <i>v</i> flee, run away from
p'wakama <i>n</i> aunt	póp' <i>v</i> to hide
pá:já <i>n</i> a large, earthenware ewer	pòʃo <i>v</i> arrive/reach/become available
pà:ká <i>n</i> big flat bread (injera)	póʃʔúƒ <i>n</i> buttock
pà:rá/go:do <i>n</i> hut	práf <i>n</i> mat
pá:ʃá <i>v</i> condole, comfort; advise	prigant' <i>n</i> spark
páj <i>v</i> to fly; flap the wings	pù <i>v</i> be transplant
pàj <i>v</i> to cross	pú:ns' <i>v</i> pluck (feathers)
pájás' <i>v</i> vomit	pù:ns'/pu:nzu <i>n</i> beard
pák <i>n</i> shoe	pù:ru <i>n</i> flood
pákpùƒ/pakdojo <i>n</i> bread	pú:t <i>v</i> harvest, dig up (yams)
pālit <i>n</i> splinter, sliver	pugun1 <i>n</i> sugarcane
pámbá <i>n</i> drum	
pambira <i>n</i> t-shirt	

páni-ʒúp'-íjì palpitate (of heart)	pugun2 v to swim
pans' n hatchet; axe	púj v shell (groundnuts)
pánt' v to stick; mud block	pújá v (be) thirsty, thirst
pánt'-twat'á n wall	púkùn v swim
pánt'ká:já n silk worm	pul v (to) take
papaja n papaya	pulum n pumpkin
pas' v to soak	púm v (be) pregnant
pás' v laugh	pùmút' n finger millet
páf v cover	puns'/punzu t'wa <i>adj</i> mustache
pàf v revive; exceed; escape	pùnt' v harvest or cut maize
pát v touch, feel; hold	púf bundle
pàtán n edible root like the food made of 'ensete'	puƒ v coil
pé v load	pút v pick, pluck (fruit)
pé: (pé: samun) v harvest (maize)	pwájá n path, road
pè:kè n fight (between people)	pwapo v spray/puff at the end of blessing
pé:ǰé v slap, smack	pwás'í n shrub like plant which is used to make stew
pémbì n wooden pole	pwáf n porridge
pétí <i>adj</i> (be) ugly	

S

s'a (to) burn an arm with fire	sìt-ǰú:mú n sorcerer (male)
s'á v apply (ointment), besmear; to paint (a house)	sìt-ǰwí n guest, visitor
s'aja <i>adj</i> angry	sìt-t'úf n prisoner, captive
s'ám n blood	sìt-ʒúp n traitor
s'àm n blood	sìt-ʒútwaƒa potter
s'am-a-ná relative (by blood)	sìt-ǰé n butcher
s'àmse:ne n clan	sìt-ǰín n soldier
s'áns' n root	sìzì n weed
s'é n ear	sì: <i>adj</i> heavy
s'é-pá:ká n crust	sjana se:le n white sorghum
	sjásá n security agent

s'éré *v* strain (food) ; clean
 s'ewan *n* moon/month
 s'ewan-a-sen *n* September
 s'ewan-k'u:zi *n* June
 s'ewan-k'uz-ot-sen *n* July
 s'ewan-k'uz-ot-suja *n* August
 s'ewan-ku-bis'in *n* May
 s'ewan-kuba-sen *n* February
 s'ewan-kub-twasen *n* April
 s'ewan-kub-suja *n* March
 s'ewan-kumut' *n* January
 s'ewan-suja *n* October
 s'ewan-twasen *n* November
 s'ewanbis'in *n* December
 s'í *n* rat
 s'ĩ *v* untie
 s'í: *n* necklace
 s'í:1 *v* die
 s'í:2 *n* corpse
 s'igi *n* dough
 s'íjǎ *adj* (be) torn
 s'íjǎǎ *adj* (be) angry
 s'ins' *v* to forget
 s'ins'-a-ko summit, highest point
 s'ins'a *adv*lizer top
 s'inzí *n* roof
 s'is'in *n* charcoal
 s'it1 *v* to catch or hold; tight (for cloth)
 s'it2 *adj* wealthy/developed
 s'it *n* possess
 s'it-nì-s'it *n* master
 s'it-t'wá *v* promise
 s'it-pí *n* midwife

sò: *v* stab; sò:pierce (ears)
 sòkòròk *v* limp
 sónt' *n* name
 sōnt' *n* foot
 sónt'-ā-bún *n* footprint (human)
 sóp' *v* (to) cut up meat
 sú *n* twin
 sú:nzú *n* a large tree that bears edible fruit and
 the wood of which is used in making tables,
 doors, etc
 suja *det* two
 sulganda *n* trouser
 sulganda-agugut *n* shorts
 sùm *n* meat
 súns' *v* bite
 sùp *v* heap up
 sús *v* succeed
 sut *v* hang up
 swáj jí:ndí jí tooth stick, toothbrush
 swájǎ *n* wood;tree
 swaja-manga *n* mango tree
 swaja-pans' *n* handle
 swaƒu *n* lightning
 swí *n* house
 swī *v* take out (from container)
 swi-ata *n* clinic
 swi-bit *n* nest
 swì-dó:zó *n* school
 swì-k'òzó *n* kitchen
 swì-ǒú:mú/swì-múmún *n* mosque
 swi-ǒwí *n* local alcohol house
 swì-tùs' (?) *n* kidney
 swi-tuf *n* toilet

s'jáká <i>adj</i> unripe	swì-túf <i>n</i> latrine, toilet
s'jata <i>n</i> baby/kid	ʃì-kwi <i>n</i> elephant's tusk
s'játá <i>n</i> baby	ʃa <i>v</i> dig
s'ú <i>v</i> to transplant teeth	ʃá <i>v</i> eat
s'ù <i>v</i> to hollow out something	ʃà <i>v</i> be burn, blaze
s'ú:gú <i>v</i> admire	ʃá-ànzìrì (ʃá:nzìrì) breakfast
s'u:mu <i>n</i> hock	ʃá-káj káʃũnù evening meal
s'úkí <i>v</i> waking someone up	ʃa-t'of-ká:jà lunch
s'unt' <i>n</i> maggot (in rotten meat)	ʃà:ja <i>adj</i> (be) beautiful
s'úp <i>adj</i> (be) cold	ʃá:já; jám <i>adj</i> (be) happy, (be) joyful
s'úp' <i>n</i> breast	ʃabut <i>n</i> ash
s'úp'-í:mí <i>n</i> udder	ʃàjá <i>n</i> jewellery/decoration
s'úp'-nì-s'úp' <i>v</i> suck	ʃakeʃun <i>n</i> dinner
s'úpun <i>v</i> to kiss	ʃám <i>v</i> want, desire
s'wàkàp' <i>n</i> intestine	ʃám-ná-ʃám (be) eager, (be) zealous
s'we <i>v</i> tear off	ʃaŋ <i>n</i> locality/vicinity
s'is'íkini <i>n</i> shrew	ʃaŋ-a-kaja sunshine
s'it-bes'in <i>det</i> eight hundred	ʃaŋ-a-s'ewan <i>n</i> moonlight
s'it-bes'in-ot-kumut' <i>det</i> nine hundred	ʃáŋá <i>adj</i> (be) bright; light
s'it-jis-a-sen <i>det</i> two hundred	ʃap' <i>v</i> shoot
s'it-jis-a-sen-ot-kumut' <i>det</i> three hundred	ʃáp'-mít' <i>v</i> clap (hands)
s'it-k'u:zi one thousand	ʃarat' <i>v</i> to compete
s'it-kumut' <i>det</i> hundred	ʃát'áná <i>n</i> demon, evil spirit
s'it-suja <i>det</i> four hundred	ʃawan <i>n</i> rainbow
s'it-suja-ot-kumut' <i>det</i> five hundred	ʃè <i>v</i> slaughter, kill (animal for butchering)
s'it-twasen <i>det</i> sixth hundred	ʃe/k'ija <i>n</i> crevice
s'it-twasen-ot-kumut' <i>det</i> seven hundred	ʃe:né <i>n</i> father's sister (aunt)
sa <i>n</i> hour	ʃéb <i>v</i> travel, go on a trip
sá: <i>adj</i> (be) engaged, (be) betrothed	ʃébí <i>n</i> frontier (of ethnic area)
sá:nzá <i>n</i> animals; money	ʃébì <i>n</i> boundary (of field)
sá:zá <i>v</i> unwrap	ʃém-nì-á-kwá-jis give pain, hurt
sàbāp' <i>n</i> danger	ʃéńí <i>adj</i> (be) light (not heavy)
sabunu <i>n</i> soap	ʃep <i>n</i> speed; (be) fast

s'ájá <i>v</i> be sad	ḡere <i>n</i> law
sàkú <i>n</i> grandparent	ḡét <i>n</i> desert antelope
saku-a-na <i>n</i> grandfather	ḡi <i>v</i> slice
sami <i>n</i> health	ḡí <i>n</i> teeth
sámp' <i>n</i> rib	ḡi <i>v</i> (to) see
sàmún <i>n</i> maize	ḡi-ses'kin tooth
sándúk' <i>n</i> box	ḡi:ḡí <i>v</i> refuse
sánz-a-ná <i>n</i> possessions	ḡi:kí <i>n</i> knife
sáḡá <i>n</i> harp	ḡi:nḡi <i>n</i> breath;soul, spirit (of living person);
sàs; ḡù:pu <i>v</i> thresh, beat (grain)	pant
sasé <i>adj</i> (be) old (not new)	ḡi:nḡi <i>v</i> rest
sàtì-hè:ḡé <i>n</i> arvest season	ḡi:pi <i>n</i> partridge
sawá <i>adj</i> (be) equal	ḡig <i>n</i> name
se:le <i>adj</i> white	ḡigi <i>v</i> refuse; disagree
sé:s'kìn/sondo/sé:né <i>det</i> one	ḡigóḡ <i>n</i> spirit (of dead person) (invisible)
sel <i>v</i> to climb	ḡín <i>n</i> lance (spear); arrow
seme <i>n</i> cousin	ḡingó <i>adv</i> previously/in the past
sen-ses'kìn <i>pro</i> everybody	ḡinì <i>n</i> hunting net
sép' <i>n</i> sword	ḡínḡí <i>v</i> tell, recount (story)
si1 <i>n</i> heavy (weight)	ḡínt' <i>n</i> blow nose
si2 <i>v</i> shave	ḡíḡí <i>v</i> say goodbye, take leave of;accompany
si3 <i>v</i> wrap; stretch	ḡiḡk'í <i>n</i> drug/medicine
sí <i>n</i> tribe, ethnic group	ḡipá <i>n</i> rosary
sì <i>n</i> bone	ḡiḡandjaḡa <i>n</i> spider
sí kwás <i>n</i> spine, backbone	ḡiḡi/ḡiḡá <i>adj</i> (be) sharp
sì(t)ḡátá <i>n</i> old person/elderly	ḡiḡḡ; ḡùpú <i>v</i> quench, extinguish
si: <i>v</i> unload	ḡit' <i>v</i> wither (plant)
sì: <i>v</i> to thank	ḡit'os'inzi <i>n</i> edge
síḡá <i>prep</i> beside	ḡó <i>n</i> street boy/girl
si:gata <i>n</i> elderly	ḡó:ló credit
sí:nzí <i>v</i> smell	ḡó:ḡó <i>n</i> containers
sí:zì <i>v</i> annoy, disturb	ḡó:ḡó/ḡóḡ-óḡò <i>n</i> purse/bag
sì:zi <i>n</i> crocodile	ḡóló <i>v</i> borrow; lend

sija <i>n</i> penis	foŋe <i>n</i> forest
sijana <i>n</i> sorghum	fof-haŋa; fof-waŋa <i>n</i> gizzard
sìjásít <i>n</i> skeleton	fof-sánzà <i>n</i> wallet
silakon <i>adj</i> sure	fofó <i>n</i> quiver
sílákón <i>adv</i> really, truly	fót <i>v</i> squat
sílik <i>n</i> set (trap)	fu1 <i>v</i> take out
sìmp' <i>n</i> egg	fu2 <i>v</i> pull; drag
simp' a-waŋa a- k'ik'aŋ yolk	fú rain
simp'-wáŋá <i>n</i> egg	fũ <i>n</i> saw
sina <i>n</i> story	fũ-s'it-gi-wa:sa hail
síndí <i>n</i> blesbok (a reddish brown antelope)	fú: <i>n</i> Traditional curig mechanism by burning the patient on the arm with a glowed red-hot metal.
sìŋk' <i>n</i> smoke	fũ: <i>v</i> to make taut
sìŋk'ó <i>n</i> spice used for coffee	fú:jù <i>n</i> grass like plant which is eaten
sis <i>n</i> field mouse	fú:mbì <i>n</i> elephant's trunk
sisi <i>v</i> to twist	fũ:mì <i>n</i> administrator
sìsì <i>adj</i> green	fũ:mù <i>n</i> god (lesser), fetish (spirit)
sìsìsì <i>n</i> multicolored	fú:ngú <i>n</i> whip
sít <i>n</i> wild fruit that tastes like lemon	fũ:nk̃ <i>n</i> guineafowl
sìt <i>n</i> person	fũ:nŋ <i>n</i> nose
sìt-à-ná family	fú:nù <i>n</i> brain
sìt-ā-swì host	fú:fú <i>n</i> grass
sìt-áj-swájà medicine man, traditional healer	fúdìn <i>n</i> rope
sit-de-t'imbir car driver	fúgè <i>n</i> bottle (little in size)
sit-dos'o <i>n</i> teacher	fugun <i>v</i> boil (water); bubble up; cook
sìt-gátá <i>n</i> elder	fũgún <i>n</i> louse
sìt-gí-swi (domestic) servant	fujt' <i>v</i> abrade
sit-ilìŋ <i>n</i> hunter	fum; mít <i>v</i> stumble
sìt-káŋŋ <i>n</i> witch (female)	fún <i>v</i> (to) love; (to) like
sìt-kẽ <i>n</i> shepherded	fún-ā-ná girlfriend/boyfriend
sìt-kì: <i>v</i> guard	fũŋk̃ <i>n</i> tendon
sìt-kúp <i>n</i> blacksmith	fúŋk' <i>n</i> vein
sìt-kwì <i>n</i> farmer	
sìt-nī-sìt rich man	

sìt-nú:sú <i>n</i> friend	ʃùpák <i>n</i> window
sìt-nán <i>n</i> beggar	ʃurabi/ój(ò)pák <i>n</i> socks
sìt-p'ádá <i>n</i> servant	ʃúrùt'í <i>n</i> loincloth
sìt-p'é: <i>n</i> prostitute	ʃùʃ-dúj <i>v</i> sell
sìt-pí-wás' <i>n</i> fisherman	ʃufum <i>n</i> serpent
sìt-pú <i>n</i> exorcist	ʃút <i>v</i> to tie tightly, fasten
sìt-s'ít <i>n</i> owner	ʃùt <i>v</i> whistle
sìt-se:ne <i>pro</i> nobody	ʃwá:ɲá <i>n</i> bracelet
sìt-se:re <i>n</i> white man	ʃwí <i>n</i> local alcohol (beer)
sìt-ʃin <i>n</i> army	ʃwidi <i>v</i> peel

T

t'à <i>n</i> outdoor	ta:ɲa <i>n</i> bamboo
t'a:gja <i>n</i> muslim hat	tá:pá <i>v</i> hurt
t'á:já <i>v</i> send (someone to do something)	tá:ʃá <i>v</i> wave (hand as a greeting)
t'abal <i>n</i> stopper, plug	tab <i>v</i> follow
t'aja <i>v</i> to send	tàb-k'wàs-à- tàmbáʃ grandchild
t'àjá <i>n</i> messenger	tàbúk <i>n</i> interpersonal contact
t'ākáʃ <i>v</i> cut open (fruit)	tábúk' <i>v</i> benefit; suit; agree
t'akí <i>n</i> flame	tadus <i>adj</i> blue
t'ákí <i>n</i> tongue	tágá <i>n</i> speech
t'am <i>v</i> shall; better	tāgàm <i>v</i> stutter
t'àmá-t'àmá <i>n</i> fetus	tàgàs' <i>n</i> bug
t'àmbáʃ <i>n</i> firstborn	taja <i>adj</i> soft (skin of body)
t'āɲ <i>v</i> to split or cut wood	tál <i>v</i> order (someone to do something)
t'áʃ <i>n</i> salt	tám <i>n</i> honey
t'afa <i>n</i> mushroom	tàm-sísì-gí ulcer (leg)
t'at' <i>v</i> bake	támít' <i>n</i> knuckle
t'ì:bì <i>v</i> (be) difficult	tandura <i>n</i> skirt
t'ígít'ígí <i>n</i> cockroach	tanik'ja <i>det</i> how long
t'ís' <i>v</i> forget	taɲa <i>n</i> roof
t'ìʃ <i>v</i> peel banana; clutch peanut	táp' <i>v</i> trample; kick

t'ífé *n* neighbour
 t'íff *n* odour, smell
 t'itî *n* hoof
 t'it'ibí *adj* difficult
 t'if smell
 t'o-be:s'n *det* fourth
 t'o-k'u:zi *det* tenth
 t'o-kuba-sen *det* eighth
 t'o-kubsen *det* sixth
 t'o-kubasuja *det* seventh
 t'o-kubes'in *det* ninth
 t'o-kumut' *det* fifth
 t'o-ses'kin *det* first
 t'o-su:ja *det* second
 t'o-twasen *det* third
 t'ó-kikjá *prep* towards
 t'ó-zì *prep* in front of, before
 t'ó:ló *adj* anvil
 t'ó:ḡó1 *adj* (be) blind
 t'ó:ḡó2 *v* stalk
 t'o:rò *n* hammer
 t'oḡ-né-zí blind person
 t'óḡ-zì *v* blinded
 t'op' *v* drink
 t'òp' *v* drink
 t'of *n* blaze; to fry; to burn
 t'óf *v* throb
 t'of (kaja) *n* sun rise
 t'óf-ní-t'óf *v* throb
 t'ót'ò *adj* black
 t'ót'umu *n* door
 t'ù t'wá/zé: bé speech, discourse
 t'ú:gú *adj* mould;(be) sour

tápàn *v* lick
 tapi *n* grasshopper
 tasúgún night
 taf *v* brew
 tāf já kó light (colour)
 táf né táfá greet (he greeted)
 táfwá *adj* (be) myopic, (be) short-sighted
 tát *n* abdomen
 tat-mit' *n* palm
 tát-sónt' *n* sole
 tāt-soḡk' *n* sole
 tāt-swi *n* floor
 tat-fufu *n* dessert; grassland; forest
 tàwán *n* blaze; warm;fever;(be) hot (objects)
 tází *n* face
 té:ḡē *adj* (be) bald
 tè:gì *v* winnow
 tede *n* distance
 téf-ḡup *n* baldness or hairlessness
 tewawan *n* desert
 tí *v* pay (for goods, services, etc.); give
 tì:ndì *adj* (be) fat, (be) thick
 tì:dì *v* to pray
 tì:m *n* obstacle
 tì:nì *n* baboon
 tìlì *n* fish trap/fishing net
 tím *v* forbid; taboo
 tím ná tím *n* I forbid.
 timbi *v* cover
 tindi *v* roll
 tísi: *v* to be grateful; awe, reverence (for God);tisi:adoration; to respect
 tìf1 *v* start/begin

t'údúm <i>n</i> cripple	tù2 <i>n</i> song
t'új <i>adj</i> (be) hollow; to percolate through a hole	tifer/zεfer <i>n</i> lion
t'um <i>v</i> spin	titeŋ <i>adj</i> no
t'urup <i>n</i> acne	tjaba/tika <i>n</i> belt
t'úf <i>v</i> tether (sheep, goats)	tjáfá <i>n</i> thigh
t'úff <i>v</i> tie (knot)	tó: <i>v</i> caress
t'ùt'ójó <i>n</i> flea	tò:pó <i>n</i> a belt made of cloth or bark of a tree used by women to hang cloth from the waist
t'ut'ùmù <i>n</i> door	tó:tó <i>v</i> to pick something up
t'ut'wa <i>v</i> take the stage/talk/tell	tók1 <i>v</i> taste
t'wá1 <i>n</i> mouth	tók2 <i>v</i> try
t'wá2 <i>n</i> language	tók3 <i>n</i> begin
t'wá k'á? <i>v</i> gossip	tóp-tám <i>v</i> harvest, collect (honey from hive)
t'wá ná t'wá speak, talk	tóp' <i>v</i> (to) ride a horse, donkey, etc
t'wá-bók <i>n</i> marriage relations	tòt'ùmù <i>n</i> compound, house
t'wá-bók (kwá-bók) <i>n</i> in-law, relative by marriage	tòtò <i>v</i> to take; to carry on head
t'wá-ŋgó <i>n</i> story (tale)	tú <i>adj</i> (be) long
t'wājā <i>v</i> (be) tight (for rope)	tù <i>adj</i> long
t'wasene <i>adv</i> once	tú: <i>n</i> spit
t'wasensene <i>adv</i> sometimes	tú:gù <i>n</i> beam, rafter, pillar (of a house)
t'wí <i>adj</i> hole; pierce	tú:lú <i>v</i> lack
t'o-jis-a-sen <i>det</i> twentieth	tú:rú/tu:lu <i>n</i> horn (musical instrument)
t'o-jis-a-sen-k'uzi <i>det</i> thirtieth	tùj <i>n</i> meaning
t'o-k'uz-ot-a-sen <i>det</i> eleventh	tuk <i>n</i> point
t'o-k'uz-ot-bes'in <i>det</i> fourteenth	túk <i>n</i> country, ethnic area
t'o-k'uz-ot-ku-bes'in <i>det</i> nineteenth	túk'-s'é <i>n</i> deaf (mute) person
t'o-k'uz-ot-ku-besin <i>det</i> sixteenth	tùl <i>n</i> village
t'o-k'uz-ot-kub-suja <i>det</i> seventeenth	tumat <i>n</i> tobacco
t'o-k'uz-ot-kub-tuasen <i>det</i> eighteenth	tús' <i>n</i> urine
t'o-k'uz-ot-kumut' <i>det</i> fifteenth	tùs'-k'í-tús' <i>v</i> urinate
t'o-k'uz-ot-twasen <i>det</i> thirteenth	túf <i>n</i> excrement, faeces
t'o-kuz-ot-suja <i>det</i> twelfth	tùf <i>v</i> to push
	tút <i>n</i> answer, reply; return

t'o-s'it-bes'in *det* eightieth
 t'o-s'it-bes'in-gi-k'uzi *det* nine hundredth
 t'o-s'it-bes'in-k'uzi *det* ninetieth
 t'o-s'it-k'umut' *det* hundredth
 t'o-s'it-suja-gi-k'uzi *det* fiftieth
 t'o-s'it-twasen *det* sixtieth
 t'o-s'it-twasen-gi-k'uzi *det* seventieth
 t'os'itsuja *det* fortieth
 tá *v* wait; abandon; leave (place); divorce
 tà *adv* far
 tá-ǰúǰúǰú *n* bush dweller
 fá:dá1 *v* fry
 fá:dá2 *v* bake (in ashes)
 tá:já *adj* (be) slippery; slither (slide)
 tà:ndá *adj* (be) impotent; barren

tùt'ùm-swájá *n* plank
 tûtó *n* liver
 tútúl *n* upper grinding stone
 twá *n* forehead
 twánǰá *v* hate ; quarrel
 twánǰás *n* chest
 twasene *det* three
 twat'(d)a *n* mud
 twe *v* rub
 twi *v* try
 twi *v/n* Call (somebody); name
 twí *n* pity
 t'wì: (to) grow (for seed)
 twokon *n* Amen

U

ú *v* grind
 ú:gú *n* gourd
 ú:gút *adj* hunchback (naturally occurring)
 ú:gútù *n* hump (of animals)
 ù:jù *n* maize sprout
 u:ku *n* fog/cloud
 ú:ǰú *n* tail
 ú:p *n* skull
 u:p'i *n* wife
 u:tup' *n* husband
 u:ws *v* bind/mend
 uba *v* to grind
 úbdì *n* funeral
 udi *pro* who
 ugun *n* log; firewood
 uhaj *pro* he

unanun *pro* these
 únzù *adj* rubbish
 úǰú *n* tail
 úp *v* polish
 ùp *v* polish; bathe, wash oneself
 up-a-na *pro* myself
 úp'ǰnì *n* life
 úp'ǰnì gi s'í life and death
 ús *v* sew
 ús' *n* diarrhea
 ùǰ *n* anus; buttock
 uǰtur *n* world
 ut'af *n* salt
 ute *pro* that
 ùtúmát *n* tobacco pipe
 úwál *n* boy

uku *n* cloud
ukun *n* sort of wild tree
úlù *v* clear (land for planting)

úwé *pro* this
u?anza *n* bran; chaff
ú?ápà *n* nephew
ú?t *n* threshing-floor

W

wa *v* make; prepare
wá *v* crush
wà:ṅà *n* chicken
wà:ṅó *n* fox
wa:sa *n* ice
wá:zí *v* explain
wabk'of *adj* old
wáḡì *n* announcement
wák' *v* despise, disdain
waka *n* rope (of bark)
wákáb *n* a kind of fruit commonly eaten by
monkey
wákì *v* uncover
wako *adj* quick
wál *n* child
wal-a-k'ondol *n* colt
wal-a-ku:ru *n* foal
wal-a-kurum *n* piglet
wal-andure *n* kitten
wal-doza *n* student
wál-dwá *n* girl
wal-gwafí/wal-kwam *n* brother
wál-í:mí *n* calf
wál-kíké:zí *n* son
wal-kikiata *n* daughter
wal-kikiazi *n* son
wál-kíkjátá *n* daughter

wám-ḡá *n* eating utensils
wám-twát'á *n* pottery
wámá *n* load, burden
waṅas' *n* sand
wájás' *adj* (be) rough
wāngí *n* hardship, distress
wáp *n* wedding (ceremony)
wap' *n* warthog
wàrkin *adj* (be) small
wàrkwám *n* brother
was' *n* fish
wáf *v* hesitate
wáwú *n* orphan
wází *v* slander
wé *v* heal (tr), cure (v)
wè *n* nurse, suckle (baby)
wē *v* to dress; wear
wé *n* watch
wé sánzá *n* animal husbandry
wé: *v* take revenge
wé:ḡé *v* contradict; (be) different
wérè *adj* mad person
wéḡè *n* lower grinding stone
wēt *n* kind/type
wétnik'já *det* how much
wí *v* look at, watch
wija *adv* please

wal-kin1 *adj* little
 wal-kin2 *adj* few
 wàl-kìn *adj* (be) low
 wál-kòbāf *n* bastard, illegitimate child
 walwal-mit' *n* little finger
 wám-swì1 *n* parts of a house
 wám-swì2 *n* furniture

wúlhándá *adj* very big
 wúpí *n* wife
 wus *n* sky
 wús *v* embrace, hug
 wùs *v* abstain
 wùfú *v* pour
 wútúb *n* husband

Y

jàdìbàl *n* grasshopper
 jág(k'ì) *v* perspire, sweat
 ják'as' *n* leaf
 ják'ì *v* sweat of somebodyelse
 jakuru *n* peanut
 jam *adj* happy
 ján *v* pray
 jás *n* vicinity;village;earth
 jàs áf *n* funeral (at occasion of death)
 jās íff' *n* bed place
 jās kís' *n* entrance hut
 jās kúp *n* forge
 jàs múkn *adv* everywhere
 jās séné *n* herd (cattle, sheep)
 jàs úbdì *n* cemetery
 jās únzù *adj* garbage dump
 jàs zé *n* habitation
 jas-jan-jere *n* mosque
 jásəséné *v* resemble
 jáсэнé *n* crowd
 jāsìl bī kwkwì *n* (be) barren (of land)

jasìf *n* a place for sleeping on
 jasìf/kofì *n* mattress
 jaskwi *n* wooden coffee serving tray
 jé *v* sow, plant
 jε:re *n* God (supreme being)
 jεεrf *n* God/Allah/creator
 jésəs' *n* ankle ring, bangle
 jetita *adv* far
 ji *n* outdoor
 jí *v* exit
 jì *v* hum
 jī *v* play
 jil *adv* without
 jildudi *adj* quiet
 jíp fìn *n* throwing stick (n), throwing knife
 jìs *n* body
 jisnajas *n* root
 jíss *v* turn round
 jit *v* marry
 jí? *v* to trust

Z

<p>zé <i>v</i> sit; live</p> <p>zè <i>v</i> dwell, inhabit</p> <p>zé: <i>n</i> animal (general)</p> <p>zédì <i>n</i> oil</p> <p>zégar <i>n</i> scabies (the itch)</p> <p>zeʃna <i>v</i> find</p> <p>zet <i>n</i> pepper (green or red)</p> <p>zərí <i>n</i> blood relations</p> <p>zərìàná <i>n</i> ancestor</p> <p>zì-séné <i>adj</i> (be) same</p> <p>zì-sé:lè <i>n</i> cornea</p> <p>zì-t'ó:t'ó <i>n</i> pupil (of eye)</p> <p>zí: <i>n</i> eye</p> <p>zí: <i>adj</i> blue</p> <p>zì: <i>v</i> immitate</p> <p>zi:ze <i>v</i> welcome/sit</p> <p>zí:zì <i>v</i> (to) investigate/search</p> <p>zí:zìj <i>n</i> garden</p> <p>zijango <i>adj</i> only</p> <p>zijaŋa <i>n</i> out of water</p> <p>zìji <i>n</i> seed</p>	<p>zikaga <i>n</i> occult; magic</p> <p>zin <i>n</i> west; low</p> <p>zínʃàkò <i>adj</i> empty</p> <p>zínzì <i>adj</i> (be) thin</p> <p>zit <i>v</i> pour</p> <p>zìwáŋá <i>n</i> wrist</p> <p>ziwus <i>v</i> ascend, go up</p> <p>zizi <i>adj</i> yellow</p> <p>zìzì (?) <i>adj</i> green</p> <p>zìzì:ní <i>n</i> doorway</p> <p>zì <i>n</i> in front/ahead</p> <p>zjárkó <i>adj</i> (be) straight</p> <p>zó:nzó <i>v</i> follow</p> <p>zólá <i>n</i> seashell;shell</p> <p>zópèdé <i>adj</i> (be) stubborn</p> <p>zóró <i>n</i> well; deep hole</p> <p>zù:gù <i>v</i> stand</p> <p>zúgì-sónf-sènè <i>v</i> straddle???</p> <p>zùgu <i>v</i> to soak</p> <p>zùlì <i>v</i> spill (liquid)</p>
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Appendix II: Different Texts

Below are seven short texts of Gwama. The first two texts were primarily presented by Harun Kaja at Zebsher and Meko Mehandis at Tongo, respectively. They were collected in 2015. However, elicitation of these texts, with some sort of revisions and/or improvements, were made in 2019 with the help of Asadik' Habtie. Asadik' further presented the remaining five texts and played huge role in translating them.

1. wa gendi (120101_004)

sit gida jambi u -gendi koba geni , fujt'iba waka, k'ob-i-ba zjata, sisiba fujdin ta:na hefbi fufufu. gidon pasbi waka gi ija gi mankaƙ fukoba izjaŋa . kab-i-ba geni twasene uba gi zjata taba fuƙba gi fujdin waka te . ma geni twasene tunfi u sene kobe itwa , u sene kobe i daga , u sene kobe iuf. gidon pas' duƙbi fufufu gi fujdin taŋa gi ija . kaja mankaƙ fukoba i zjaŋa pitni fujdin taŋa te sina jas suja kabana fufufu si na si . gidon kabana kala gendi te puƙnapuƙ. kaja manapuƙa dak kabana tuf imi gi pwası sana sa.

'If people want to make beehive, they prepare rope, cut bamboo, sickle grass. Then, they soak the bamboo rope in water. When it becomes flexible, they take it out. They bring three circled flexible stick and tie pieces of bamboo round with the bark rope. The three circled flexible stick will be put in the top, in the middle, and at the bottom. Then, they bring the bamboo rope and grass and soak in water. When it becomes flexible, they take out and put outside. Then, they bring and coil the beehive. When they finish coiling, they smear it with the mixture of cow dung and a lubricant grass. The end!'

wa gendi 'Way of Making Beehive'

sit gida jam-bi u-gendi k'ob-i-ba geni,
person when want-3PL SGV-beehive cut-DD1-3PL flexible stick
fujt'-ba waka, k'op-ba zjata,
abrade-3PL rope (bark), cut-3PL piece of bamboo,
sisi-bi fujdin ta:na, hef-bi fufufu.
twist-3PL rope bamboo, sickle-3PL grass

'If people want to make beehive, they prepare rope, cut bamboo, sickle grass.'

gidon pas'-bi waka gi ija. gi ma-n-k'at' fu ko-ba i-zjaŋa.
 then soak-3PL bark in water. when PFV-3MSG-smooth take out put-3PL LOC-outside
 'Then, they soak the bamboo rope in water. When it becomes flexible, they take it out.'

kab-i-ba geŋi twasene u-ba gi zjata
 bring-DD1-3PL flexible stick three ?-3PL and bamboo
 ta-ba t'uf-ba gi fujdin waka-te.
 ?-3PL tie-3PL with rope bark-DEF

'They bring three circled flexible stick and tie pieces of bamboo round with the bark rope.'

ma-geŋi-twasene-tun-ji, u-sene ko-be i-twa,
 PL-stick-three-DEF-also SGV-one put-PASS LOC-top(mouth)
 u-sene ko-be i-daga, u sene ko-be i-uf.
 SGV-one put-PASS LOC-middle SGV-one put-PASS LOC-bottom

'The three circled flexible stick will be put in the top, in the middle, and at the bottom.'

gidon pas' duɸ-bi fuɸufu gi fujdin ta:ŋa gi ija.
 then soak ?-3PL grass with rope bamboo in water
 'Then, they bring the bamboo rope and grass and soak in water.'

kaja ma-n-k'at' fu ko-ba i-zjaŋa
 when PFV-3MSG-flexible take out put-3PL LOC-outside
 'When it becomes flexible, they take out and put outside.'

pit-ni fujdin taŋa-te si-na jas suja
 split-3MSG rope bamboo-DEF stretch-3MSG place two

ka-bā-na ʃuʃuʃu si-na-si.
bring-3PL-3MSG grass wrap-3MSG-RED

‘They split the bamboo rope, stretch on two places, bring grass, and spread on.’

gidon ka-ba-na kala gendi-tɛ puʃ-na-puʃ.
then bring-3PL-3MSG before beehive-DEF coil-3MSG-RED

‘Then, they bring and coil the beehive.’

kaja ma-na-puʃ-a-dak ka-ba-na tuʃ imi
when PFV-3MSG-coil-LINK-finish bring-3PL-3MSG dung cow
gi pwas’i s’a-na-s’a.
and lubricant smear-3MSG-RED

‘When they finish coiling, they smear it with the mixture of cow dung and a lubricant grass.’

ma-n-k’undu
PFV-3MSG-end
‘The end!’

2. gi-ja hank’a

sit gida ʃambi gi hank’a t’umbi ʃudin. ʃujdin tɛ gidama ba tumba dak k’op’bi swaja zizinzi tiba gi t’uʃa kuns’ jasuja. kaja mant’waja k’obiba swaj tɛ kans’a tokbatok. kaja mannoko kapba hobba ijas iliŋ itat ʃuʃu. itat ʃuʃu-tɛ mina iliŋ hun ʃi, i, ni, sis. mamin tunu kaja mabun kam tibun gi kans’a k’uʃ. kaja mabs’i tibun gi ʃɛ tota ho duʃ bun i t’umu. tibun gi k’a.

‘When people want to make arrow, they spin rope. After they finish spinning the rope, they cut thin stick and tie its two tips. When the rope becomes tight, they shoot to taste. In the forest, they hunt antelope, bushbuck, and field mouse. If they find these animals, they shoot and kill. If the animals die, they slaughter them and go home to eat. The end!’

gi-ja hank'a

'Way of Making Bow'

sit gida fam-bi gi hank'a, t'um-bi judin.

person when want-3PL make arrow, spin-3PL rope

'When people want to make arrow, they spin rope.'

fujdin-te gida ma-ba-t'um-ba dak, k'op-bi

rope-DEF when PFV-PASS-spin-3PL finish, cut-3PL

swaja zizi-n-zi ti-ba gi t'uf-a-kuns' i-suja.

stick thin-3MSG-RED ?-3PL in tie-LINK-tip LOC-two

'After they finish spinning the rope, they cut thin stick and tie its two tips.'

kaja ma-n-t'waja ka-bi-ba swaj-te kans' a-tok-ba-tok.

when PFV-3MSG-tight bring-?-3PL stick-DEF shoot-LINK- IMPFV-try-3PL-RED

'When the rope becomes tight, they shoot to taste.'

kaja ma-n-noko kap-ba ho-ba i-jas ilin i-tat- fufu.

when PFV-3MSG-good take-3PL go-3PL LOC-place hunt LOC-in- jungle

'If it is good, they take and go to hunt in the jungle.'

i-tat- fufu-te min-a ilin-bi-ilin hun-fi

LOC-in-jungle-DEF thing-IMPFV-hunt-3PL-RED they-also

i, ni, sis.

antelope, bushbuck, and field mouse

'In the forest, they hunt antelope, bushbuck, and field mouse.'

ma-min tunu kaja ma-bun kam ti-bun gi kans' a-k'uf.

PL-thing these when PFV-3PL find ?-3PL by shoot IMPFV-kill

'If they find these animals, they shoot and kill.'

kaja ma-b-s'i ti-bun gi je tota ho duf bun i-t'umu ti-bun gi k'a.

if PFV-3PL-die ?-3PL by slaughter ? go ? 3PL LOC-home ?-3PL to eat

'If the animals die, they slaughter them and go home to eat.'

ma-n-k'undu
PFV-3MSG-end
'The end!'

3. ma-min kumut'

s'is'ikini, s'i, kak'af, ze, gi kwi

ma-min kumut' nuńi dena ʃarat'-bí-ʃarat'. u-s'is'ikini ko-ńi-ko, "ho-ńi kis' i-tat wawan t'am-ńi dena s'a gi ant'". u di kwa ji we i-tat shabut? u- s'is'ikini, s'i gi kak'ash ho kis'-ba i-tat wawan kis'-ba bu. u-ze ʃi, sela pop'-ńa i-wus swaya. u-kwi ʃi, kis'-a pop'-ńa i-tat wawan. ze gi u-kwi ti-bigi ʃa k'undut' i-tat ant'. u-s'is'ikini ko-ńi-ko, ze gi u-kwi huńi ja? ho ʃamun ʃam!. gi ho ʃam-bun-ʃam ho kam-bun i-tat ʃabut ma-bʃa k'undut'. gidon s'is'ikini , s'i gi kak'af mo-duf-bi-mo.

'These five things compete. The shrew says, "let's go to forest and burn it and see who will be destroyed by fire. Let's just see who can come out of the ash? Shrew, rat, and porcupine go to forest and enter in hole. Whereas other animals climb tree and hide there. The elephant on the other hand enter to forest and hide there. Other animals and elephant burn and pucker in fire. The shrew says, "Where are other animals and the elephant? Go and look for them? When they search and find them in the ash, they were burned and puckered. Then, shrew, rat, and porcupine win the competition.'

ma-min kumut'

PL-thing-five

'Five Things'

ma-min kumut' nuńi dena ʃarat'-bí-ʃarat'.
PL-thing five these compete-3PL-RED
'These five things compete.'

u-s'is'ikini ko-ńi-ko, "ho-ni kis' i-tat- wawan
SGV-shrew say-3MSG-RED go-3PL enter LOC-in- forest
t'am-ńi dena s'a gi ant'".
let-3PL all burn with fire

'The shrew says, "let's go to forest and burn it and see who will be destroyed by fire.'

u-di kwa-ji- we i-tat- jabut?

SGV-who PROB-out just LOC-in-ash

‘Let’s just see who can come out of the ash?’

u-s’is’ikini, s’i, gi kak’ash ho kis’-ba i-tat wawan kis’-ba bu.

SGV-shrew, rat, and porcupine go enter-3PL LOC-in forest enter-3PL hole

‘Shrew, rat, and porcupine go to forest and enter in hole.’

u-ze fi, sel- a-pop’-ña i-wus swaya.

SGV-other animals whereas climb LINK-hide-3SG LOC-on tree

‘Whereas other animals climb tree and hide there.’

u-kwi fi, kis’- a-pop’-ña i-tat wawan.

SGV-elephant on the other hand enter LINK-hide-3SG LOC-in forest

‘The elephant on the other hand enter to forest and hide there.’

ze gi u-kwi ti-bi-gi-ja k’undut’ i-tat ant’.

Other animals and SGV-elephant ? -3PL-DD2-burn pucker LOC-in fire

‘Other animals and elephant burn and pucker in fire.’

u-s’is’ikini ko-ñi-ko, ze gi u-kwi huñi ja?

SGV-shrew say-3MSG-RED, animal and SGV-elephant those where

ho jam-un-jam!.

go search-3PL-RED

‘The shrew says, “Where are other animals and the elephant? Go and look for them?”

gi ho jam-bun-jam ho kam-bun i-tat jabut ma-b-ja k’undut’.

when go search-3PL-RED go find-3PL LOC-in ash PFV-3PL-burn pucker

‘When they search and find them in the ash, they were burned and puckerred.’

gidon s’is’ikini, s’i gi kak’af mo-duf-bi-mo.

then shrew, rat, and porcupine win-?-3PL-RED

‘Then, shrew, rat, and porcupine win the competition.’

4. s'i gi andure

'Rat and Cat'

kaja sene wal-a s'i gi wal-a andure den-ba i-jas ji. gida ma-b-ji pis ho duɸ-bi t'umu. kaj poɸ-ba i-t'umu wal-a s'i ko-a-ko gaɸ kwam ga ji-na gi wal-a andure ʃi-ʃaja a-jis a-dap' a-taja. kwam ko-a-ko ma-sit a-k'a dima sij-a mini-ba-te bilgi tu-ji gi hun. wal-a s'i ko-a-ko a-noko.

wal-a andure ko-a-ko gaɸ kwam ga ji-na gi wal-a s'i a-jis a-dap' a-ʃaja. kwam ko-a-ko sum k'a mini-ba-te ama-gab dene s'ita k'ap k'a. wal-a andure ko-a-ko a-anoko. wal-a andure twj-a wal-a s'i bila kwa s'it a-k'ap' k'a hap' ʃi, totija ʃigi. bila nan gi kwan, na na ma ga nan gi nan. gidon ga dab-ga ho-gi-ho.

'When they finish playing, they go home. When they arrive home, the young rat says to her mother, "I and a kitten play and its body is soft." Her mother says, "They are the ones who eat our children and don't play with them again." The young cat says, "It is right."

'The kitten says to its mother, "I play with a beautiful young rat." The kitten's mother says, "It is our food. If you meet her catch and eat." The kitten says, "It is right." The kitten calls the young rat to play together with the intention of eating her, but the young rat refuses.' As your mother advices you, my mother advices me. Then, I do not go.'

s'i gi andure 'Rat and Cat'

kaja sene wal-a s'i gi wal-a andure den-ba i-jas- ji.
day one child-GEN rat and child-GEN cat meet-3PL LOC-place play

'One day, a young rat and a kitten meet in a playing field.'

gida ma-b-ji pis ho duɸ-bi t'umu.
when PFV-3PL-play enough go to-3PL home

'When they finish playing, they go home.'

kaj poɸ-ba i-t'umu wal-a s'i ko-a-ko gaɸ kwam a-dap'
when arrive-3PL LOC-home child-GEN rat say-GEN-RED to mother GEN-her

ga ji-na gi wal-a andure ʃi-ʃaja a-jis a-dap' a-taja.
I play-1SG and child-GEN cat RED-beautiful GEN-body GEN-her COP-soft

‘When they arrive home, the young rat says to her mother, “I and a kitten play and its body is soft.”’

kwam a-dap’ ko-a-ko ma-sit-a- k’a dima sij a-mini-ba-te
mother GEN-her say-LINK-RED PL-race-GEN- eat GEN-our-3PL-DEF
bilgi tu-ji gi hun.
NEG ?-play with they

‘Her mother says, “They are the ones who eat our children and don’t play with them again.”’

wal-a s’i ko-a-ko a-noko.
child-GEN rat say-LINK-RED COP-good
‘The young cat says, “It is right.”’

wal-a andure ko-a-ko gaf na a-dap’
child-GEN cat say-LINK-RED to mother a-dap’
ga ji-na gi wal-a s’i a-jis a-dap’ a-faja.
I play-1SG and child-GEN rat GEN-body GEN-her COP-beautiful
‘The kitten says to its mother, “I play with a beautiful young rat.”’

na ko-a-ko sum k’a a-mini-ba-te
mother say-LINK-RED rat eat GEN-our-3PL-DEF
ama-g-ab dene s’it-a k’a-p-k’a.
if-2SG-3FSG meet catch-3FSG eat-3FSG-RED
‘The kitten’s mother says, “It is our food. If you meet her catch and eat.”’

wal-a andure ko-a-ko a-anoko.
child-GEN cat say-LINK-RED COP-good
‘The kitten says, “It is right.”’

wal-a andure twj-a wal-a s’i
child-GEN cat call-3FSG child-GEN rat
bila kwa s’it-a k’a-p’-k’a. hap’ ji, toti-ja figi.
as PROB catch-3FSG eat-3FSG-RED she whereas respond-3FSG refuse

‘The kitten calls the young rat to play together with the intention of eating her, but the young rat refuses.’

bila nan- gi na, na a-na ma-ga nan-gi-nan.
as advice- 2SG mother, mother GEN-my PFV-1SG advice-1SG-RED
‘As your mother advices you, my mother advices me.’

gidon ga dab-ga hòo-gi-hoo
then I NEG-1SG come-DD2-RED
‘Then, I do not come.’

5. Tongo gi Asosa

‘Tongo and Asosa’

gi fingo Tongo gi Asosa ho-ba gi sont’ s’it-ni kaj suja. gi o ga ho-ba gi t’imbir s’it-ni sa twasene. a teda Tongo gi Asosa fi, s’it-ni sene gi k’uz-ot suja (112 km). kasa ji Tongo gi Asosa fi dena paj-ni-paj. gi o kasa ji Tongo daba ji tawana mit’i. a ji Asosa ni fi, gi tat sugun gi tat t’of kaja kum tawan-ni-tawan.

‘In the past, people used to go from Tongo to Asosa on foot which takes two days. By now, they travel by bus for three hours. The distance between Tongo and Asosa is hundred and twelve kilometers. The weather of Tongo and Asosa varies. Nowadays, the weather condition of Tongo is not very hot. Asosa’s weather, however, is hot both in day time and at night.’

Tongo gi Asosa

‘Tongo and Asosa’

gi fingo Tongo gi Asosa ho-ba gi sont’ s’it-ni kaj- suja.
in past Tongo and Asosa go-3PL on foot take-3MSG day- two
‘In the past, people used to go from Tongo to Asosa on foot which takes two days.’

gi-o ga ho-ba gi t’imbir s’it-ni sa twasene.
by-now ? go-3PL by bus take-3MSG hour three
‘By now, they travel by bus for three hours.’

a- ted-a Tongo gi Asosa fi, s'it-ni sene gi k'uz-ot suja.
 GEN- distance-LINK Tongo and Asosa also, has-3MSG one and ten-and two
 'The distance between Tongo and Asosa is hundred and twelve kilometers.'

kas-a ji Tongo gi Asosa fi dena paɸ-ni-paɸ.
 weather-GEN outdoor Tongo and Assosa also both exceed-3MSG-RED
 'The weather of Tongo and Asosa varies.'

gi-o kas-a ji Tongo da-ba ji tawana mit'i.
 by-now weather-GEN outdoor Tongo NEG-3SG outdoor warm very
 'Nowadays, the weather condition of Tongo is not very hot.'

a- ji Asosa-ni fi, gi tat-sugun gi tat-t'of-kaja-kum tawan-ni-tawan.
 GEN- outdoor Asosa-3MSG also at night and day both warm-3MSG-RED
 'Asosa's weather, however, is hot both in day time and at night.'

6. u-s'i gi andure

kaja sene s'i twi-ni naja-de gaɸ miki t'wa andure t'wa aɲa s'ita k'a k'unt'-ni naja-bun. andure
 jas-ni bilgi-ni k'a ani kwa t'am k'ja? u-s'i sene ko-ni-ko a-nap' t'uf-gi gwilingwiliɲ. gidon
 ani k'ep k'uf-a gwilingwiliɲ ani gus-a kis' i-tat bu. gidon ma-s'i dena ko-bi-ko, u-di a kwa
 t'ufap' gi gwilingwiliɲ? gidon ma-s'i ma-b dena kwaɲa andure gaɸ-a aɲa s'ita k'a-bun-k'a.
 gidon ma-s'i kwag duɸ-bi jas-a kwa-bi t'ufap' gi gwilingwiliɲ.

'One day, a rat invites many rats to confer about a cat that eats many of their friends. What
 shall we do not to be eaten by cat? One of the rats says, "Let's tie a bell on the cat." Then,
 when we listen the bell sound, we will enter to the hole. Then, rats say, "Who is going to tie
 the bell on the cat." Then, because cat eats all the rats that try to tie, so all the rats fear to tie
 the bell. Then, all of them are not able to tie the bell on her.'

u-s'i gi andure

'Rat and Cat'

kaja sene s'i twi-ni naja-de gaɸ miki t'wa andure
 day one rat call-3MSG many-3MSG to confer issue cat
 t'wa aɲa s'it-a k'a k'unt'-ni naja-bun.

issue before now catch-LINK eat finish-3PL(INCL) many-them

‘One day, a rat invites many rats to confer about a cat that eats many of their friends.’

andure jas-ni bilgi-ni k’a a-ni kwa t’am k’ja?

cat place-3PL NEG-3PL eat ? -3PL PROB shall what

‘What shall we do not to be eaten by cat?’

u-s’i sene ko-ni-ko a-n-ap’- t’uf-gi gwilingwiliŋ.

SGV-rat one say-3MSG-RED GEN-3PL-3FSG- tie-2SG bell

‘One of the rats says, “Let’s tie a bell on the cat.”’

gidon a-ni k’ep k’uf a-gwilingwiliŋ

then IMPFV-3PL listen sound GEN-bell

a-ni gus-a kis’ i-tat bu.

IMPFV-3PL run- enter LOC-in hole

‘Then, when we listen the bell sound, we will enter to the hole.’

gidon ma-s’i dena ko-bi-ko, u-di a-kwa t’uf-ap’ gi

gwilingwiliŋ?

then PL-rat together say-3PL-RED SGV-who IMPFV-PROB tie-3FSG with

bell

‘Then, rats say, “Who is going to tie the bell on the cat.”’

gidon ma-s’i ma-b dena kwaga andure

then PL-rat PFV-3PL together fear cat

gaŋ-a aŋa s’it-a- k’a-bun-k’a.

to before catch-LINK- eat-3PL-RED

‘Then, because cat eats all the rats that try to tie, so all the rats fear to tie the bell.’

gidon ma-s’i kwag duŋ-bi jas-a kwa-bi t’uf-ap’ gi gwilingwiliŋ.

then PL-rat fear go-3PL place-3FSG PROB-3PL tie-3FSG with bell

‘Then, all of them are not able to tie the bell on her.’

7. t'wa fingo

ma-sit suja kam-bí burtukana i-jas. ma-sit-a kam-a-kam-te ma-zi suja. a kap-a gi jas ma-sit k'umut'. ma-sit kumut'-te man-mit' k'umut'. a t'if-a-t'if ma-sit k'uzi. ma-sit k'uzi tuni ma-mit' suja. a fa fa ma-sit twasen gi suja. ma-sit twasen gi suja-te ma-fi.

'Two people find orange on the ground. Five people are going to pick it. First, two eyes find the orange. The five people are five fingers. Ten people peel it. The ten people are two hands. Thirty-two people eat it. Those thirty two people are teeth.'

t'wa fingo

'Story/History'

ma-sit suja kam-bí burtukana i-jas.
PL-person two get-3PL orange LOC-ground
'Two people find orange on the ground.'

ma-sit a-kam-a-kam-te ma-zi suja.
PL-person GEN-get-RED-RED-DEF PL-eye two
'First, two eyes find the orange.'

a-kap-a gi jas ma-sit kumut'.
Gen-pick- on place PL-person five
'Five people are going to pick it.'

ma-sit kumut'-te ma-n-mit' kumut'.
PL-person five-DEF PL-3MSG-hand five
'The five people are five fingers.'

a-t'if-a-t'if ma-sit k'uzi.
GEN-peel-LINK-RED PL-person ten
'Ten people peel it.'

ma-sit k'uzi-tuni ma-mit' suja
PL-person ten-DEF PL-hand two
'The ten people are two hands.'

a-ʃa-ʃa ma-sit twasen gi suja.
 IMPFV-eat-RED PL-person three and two
 ‘Thirty two people eat it.’

ma-sit twasen gi suja-te ma-ʃi.
 PL-person three and two-DEF PL-tooth
 ‘Those thirty two people are teeth.’

Appendix III: T'wá sisikila ‘Riddle’

Below are five riddles of Gwama. The first four riddles were first collected and translated with the help of Ramadan Harun in Addis Ababa while they were working with SIL in 2014. These riddles were included in the trial edition textbook produced by SIL in collaboration with Beni-Shagul Gumuz Regional State Education Bureau. These texts were found unanalyzed. The fifth riddle was collected at Zebsher in which Harun Kaya, Jawan Sambo, and Yasin Wakene participated.

1. gida iʃ-ni-iʃ bila s'i; gida dol-ni-dol bila tiʃar(l)
 when sleep-3MSG-RED like die; when shout-3MSG-RED like lion
 u-di haj?
 SGV-who he
 ‘When sleeping, he looks like a corpse; when shouting, he looks like a lion; who is he?’
 tut: bundur
 Answer: Gun!

2. ga t'op'-na-t'op' ga a-ni-s'i s'i
 I drink-1SG-RED I IMPFV-1SG-die-RED
 ga ʃa-na-ʃa ga a-ni- p'i p'i
 I eat-1SG-RED I IMPFV-1SG strong-RED
 ‘When I drink, I will die; when I eat, I become strong;’
 ga di?
 I who
 ‘Who am I?’
 tut: ant'
 Answer: Fire!

3. anzili ho-ni gi sont' bes'ini

morning go-3MSG by foot four

ant'of ka:ja ho-ni gi sont' suja

afternoon go-3MSG by foot two

ankaj kaga funu ho-ni gi sont' twasene

night go-3MSG bi foot three

'In the morning, he walks with four legs; in the afternoon, he walks with two legs; and in the evening, he walks with three legs.'

u-bi?

SGV-waht

'What is it?'

tut: sit

Answer: Person!

4. ma-sit k'uzotkuba-sene ze-ba swi ka; ma-k'uzotkuba-sene fi ze-ba zin;

PL-person sixteen live-3PL home top; PL-sixteen others live-3PL below

'Sixteen people live on the top floor; the other sixteen live below.'

gi hoo sit'wi dena-toti-bi-fap'; ma-di hun?

when come guest REC-?-3PL-beat; PL-who they

'When guest comes, they fight each other; Who are they?'

tut: fi

Answer: Teeth!

5. Yasin: gi-n-dal aja?

2SG-3MSG-POL(?) know

'Do you know?'

Harun: gi-na gi-na

2SG-3MSG 2SG-3MSG

'I know.'

Yasin: fi-ga-fi min-sene

see-I-RED thing-one

'I see one thing.'

Harun: wet-na bila bi?
COP-3MSG like what
'What is it?'

Yasin: u-min min-di Walaj
SGV-thing thing-3MSG.POSS in the name of Allah
gabi-ni tul-a gi-kefen
market-3MSG village-3FSG in-today
i-gabi-ni bile lakin gati a-de e-p'i.
LOC-market-3MSG like probably many GEN-3MSG.POSS COP-expensive
gati a-de e-p'i de-bi gadar
many GEN-3MSG.POSS COP-expensive NEG-3PL able
'The thing is found in the market, but it is too expensive which we can not afford.'

Harun: noko. gi-kefen-fi min i-ji gaba don. dugufse:le
good in-today-also thing LOC-outside market ? white onion
'Good. A thing found in today's market. White onion.'

Yasin: titeŋ
wrong

Harun: dugufk'af
Red onion

Yasin: titeŋ
Wrong

Harun: u-t'af
SGV-salt

Yasin: titeŋ
Wrong

Harun: buna
Coffee

Yasin: titeŋ
Wrong

Harun: sink'o
Spice

Yasin: titeŋ

Wrong
Harun: bambe
Sweet potato
Yasin: titej
Wrong
Harun: i:fiʃ
vine
Yasin: titej
Wrong
Harun: simp' waja
egg
Yasin: titej
Wrong
Harun: wa:ɲa
hen
Yasin: titej
Wrong
Harun: k'ɔʃoro
Biscuit
Yasin: titej
Wrong
Harun: puɠunu
Sugarcane
Yasin: titej
Wrong
Harun: debteri
Exercise book
Yasin: titej
Wrong
Harun: al-galam
Pen
Yasin: titej
Wrong

Harun: min-katabi al-warak'af man
thing-write paper person
'Something with which children write on paper.'

Yasin: titeŋ
Wrong

Harun: a-ʃ-eba e-ʃ-ba e... ʔuha arək'e
Katikala (liquor)

Yasin: titeŋ
Wrong

Harun: u-ʃwi zjango
SGV-local beer ?

Yasin: aj aj aj titeŋ
Wrong

Harun: selja
Local alcohol

Yasin: titeŋ
Wrong

Harun: min a-ku-ba-kud ... k'wapa
Ear ring

Yasin: titeŋ
Wrong

Harun: ʃwa:ŋa
Bracelet

Yasin: titeŋ
Wrong

Harun: s'i:
Necklace

Yasin: titeŋ
Wrong

Harun: ʃipa
Rosary

Yasin: titeŋ
Wrong

Jawan: sabuna

Soap

Yasin: titeŋ

Wrong

Harun: eh.. mine sitpa k'uf sitpa twaŋ mine. sapunu

Soap

Yasin: titeŋ

Wrong

Harun: otila

Gum

Yasin: titeŋ

Wrong

Harun: otile u-k'wi-bi-k'we

Gum SGV-RED-3PL-chew

'Gum that is chewed.'

Jawan: k'ibati

Oil

Yasin: titeŋ

Wrong

Harun: u-fwetɪ wal-wal-a u-k'wi-ni ʃiŋe

SGV- little-RED-3FSG SGV-chew-3MSG ?

Yasin: ti-ga-ko Addis Ababa ant huho. ga ti-ho Addis Ababa. ti-ga-ko

give-I? Addis Ababa ? go I ?-go Addis Ababa. give-I?

'Give me Addis Ababa. I will go to Addis Ababa. Give me.'

Harun: k'ork'oro

Corrugated iron

Yasin: aj. titeŋ

No. Wrong

Harun: ama tufɪba kikja ini ini ini maɟama

Plastic carpet for floor

Yasin: titeŋ. min-min-di de-bi if gabi done k'ali i-don de-bi gadar.

Wrong. thing-RED-? ? market expensive LOC- NEG-3PL able

abi ko-ʃi-n-ko bilize tul gati bila bila kwi-ba-kwi. gabi-de itʃe bila

Jawan: pak

Shoe

Yasin: titej

Wrong

Jawan: o:jo

Cloth

Yasin: titej

Wrong

Harun: bat'anja

Blanket

Yasin: titej

Wrong

Jawan: furabi

Sweater

Yasin: titej

Wrong

Harun: a-ze-de

?

Yasin: titej. ti-ga Addis Abeba.

Wrong. give-me Addis Abeba

'Wrong. Give me Addis Ababa.'

Harun: gi-ho-ba-ho ja. ho-ho. ti-ma

2SG-go-3PL-RED ?. go-RED give-1PL(EXCL)

gaŋo a-ʃi-faja. kuru a-pi-peti

muel COP-RED-attractive donkey COP-RED-bad

'You go. Go! We give you attractive muel. Donkey is bad.'

Yasin: ba-Harun Kaja gi Jawan Sambo ma-b-ho

PL-Harun Kaja and Jawan Sambo PFV-3PL-go

mazi gel-e-ti-n - kuru a-pi-peti gi-kam i-k'was-i

weak ride -GEN -give -3MSG donkey GEN-RED-bad 2SG-find LOC-back

Tobia-j ga gri gus-na jarbi a-de ...

Ethiopia-NOM run-1SG car GEN-3MSG.POSS

Zebfer-i tul a-na.

Zebfer-NOM village GEN-1SG.POSS

um-fi-te am-u-bi

2PL-also-DEF ? -SGV-what

‘I, together with Harun Kaya and Jawan Sambo will go to Addis Ababa by donkey and come back to our village Zebsher. What do you think I see?’

Harun: bi-fi a-g-bi

what-see IMPFV-2SG-what

‘What do you see?’

Yasin: da-me dwa duj-ba gi-ja don?

INTR-1 girl buy-3PL how much find(?)

‘How much do you pay for a girl?’