

Addis Ababa University
College of Humanities, Language Studies, Journalism
and Communication
Department of Linguistics and Philology

**A Grammar of Rayya Afaan Oromoo:
Documentation and Description**

By
Teferi Kumssa Dandena

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Linguistics and
Philology**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture**

Addis Ababa University
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
July 2019

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Teferi Kumssa Dandena

Advisor
Shimelis Mazengia (PhD)

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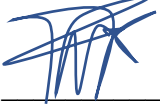
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Declaration

Except where reference is made in the text of the dissertation, this study contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a dissertation submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma. To the best of my knowledge, no other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the dissertation. This work has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other university. Accordingly, I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation hereby submitted for the degree of Philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture at Addis Ababa University is the original work.

Name: Teferi Kumssa Dandena

Signature:  _____

Date: August 13, 2019

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Teferi Kumssa entitled: *A Grammar of Rayya Afaan Oromoo: Documentation and Description* and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy (in Linguistics) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Shimeles Marcinia

Advisor


Signature

August 13/2019
Date

Ongaye Oda

Examiner


Signature

02/07/2019
Date

Deris Ado

Examiner


Signature

August 13, 2019
Date

Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator

Abstract

Rayya Afaan Oromoo is a scarcely studied dialect spoken in Northern Ethiopia. The speakers of the dialect are around 612 in southern Tigray zone. The focus of this dissertation is documenting and describing the grammar of this variety based on basic linguistic theory. The data was collected through recording of communicative events and elicitation (first field data, picture, and video elicitations). Accordingly, a comprehensive and representative linguistic practices of speech community were made based on 32 hours data corpus. An in-depth analysis of the grammar was also made from this corpus. As the study showed, this dialect has 24 native and 6 loan /z, s', χ', χ'ʷ, ʕ, h/ consonants, and 5 short native vowels with their length and 2 loan vowels /i, ə/. The study has also showed that many consonants can be alternate with /j/. The glottal stop /ʔ/ and the vowel /i/ were identified epenthetic phonemes. Vowel harmony, which is peculiar to the dialect, was also analyzed in the Rayya Afaan Oromoo. The study has also revealed that nouns can be inflected for number, gender, and case. Nouns can be formed from noun, adjective, verb, adposition, and adverb through derivation or compounding. The derived nouns include abstract, agentive, instrumental, result, manner, and gerundive. Regarding verb morphology, the structures, types and properties of verbs were analyzed. CVC in monosyllabic and CVCVC in disyllabic verb roots are attested as the most common structures in the corpus. Agreement, aspect/tense, and mood are presented in inflectional property of verbs. Valency changing operations such as causative, middle, passive, reflexive, and reciprocal were offered in verbalization. Modifiers of nouns and verbs, such as adjective, numeral, demonstrative, intensifier and quantifier, and adverb were also addressed. Clitics is expressed in two ways in the dialect: enclitic and proclitic. Pronouns, existential verb, postpositions, demonstratives, conjunctions, and negative suffix are the encliticized classes, whereas only *ʔitt=* can be procliticized in the dialect. Adpositions and conjunctions in the dialect were also identified. Finally, the overview of basic syntax that includes constituent/word order in phrases and sentences were offered. Furthermore, copula/copular-like constructions such as equational (-*dā*, -*ti* (IPFV) and *ture* (PFV)), existential (*dʒir-* 'exist'), and possessive (*k'ab-* 'to have'), relative clause, complement clause, conditional clause, and converb clause of Rayya Afaan Oromoo were addressed. In general, since the study is a descriptive work, more attention has been given to describing surface realizations rather than theorizing the process.

Acknowledgements

My mind and heart rejoices with loving memory of many dear people who helped me in one way or another in the completion of this thesis. So many people come to mind that I am afraid I will not be able to mention all of them here. To all, I offer my most sincere thanks. Most obviously, I need to thank the Rayya Afaan Oromoo (RAO) speakers. Without their enthusiasm for this work, I would never have been able to even begin this dissertation. Thanks especially to Mustefa Kune, Hashim Siraj and Haj Habib Yasin, who offered me their stories, let me record their conversations and were willing to sit with me and explain things about their language and culture. They shared more than their language; they shared their life and made me part of it. In addition, they looked after me during my stay in their villages.

I wish to express my deepest appreciation to my advisor Shimelis Mazengia (PhD). Thanks for always being there and making sure that things not only got done, but that they also got extensively improved. Countless are the times where I have entered his office in a state of confusion with regard to some issues, walking out knowing exactly how to tackle them. Dr. Shimelis, thank you for offering detailed comments with a lot of encouragement and appreciations which enabled me build confidence in my work. I also thank you for lending me a valuable book from your private collection and giving me a soft copy of materials on ‘Time’. I cannot thank you enough for your inestimable assistance.

I am especially thankful to the Dagnew Mache families who opened up their home for me, for their welcoming behavior, hospitality and for taking care of me. I would not have come in contact with the RAO speaking community in the first place if it had not been for Dagnew Mache. Thank you very much for the invaluable help Dagnew; I shall always remain grateful. Many thanks to Siraj Ahmed, who welcomed me into Kufkufto and who put me in contact with other consultants. Thank you Siraj for pointing out good language consultants including your mother. My sincere gratitude also goes to Haj Habib Yasin of Genda Chirrecha for opening up his home to me for days.

I wish to thank the University of Haramaya for helping me with the research clearance besides sponsoring. On the other hand, I am very grateful to the staff at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, AAU. My extra thanks go to my former advisor Dr. Feda Negesse, who offered

me detailed comments on my proposal besides his encouragement throughout the work. Thanks to Prof. Zelealem Leyew for lending me a valuable book in addition to introducing me to linguistics in the course: Documentation and linguistic analysis. Additional thanks to all my teachers in the Department of Linguistics and Philology for introducing me to some softwares. I am in particular grateful to the following people for their logistic support: Dr. Derib Ado, Dr. Girma Mengistu and Dr. Desalegn Hagos (chairpersons of the department), Dr. Feda Negesse, Dr. Endalew Assefa and Dr. Samuel Handamo (graduate coordinators of the department) and Prof. Zelealem Leyew (dean of CHLSJC). I wish to thank AAU for funding my research.

Sincere thanks to the administration of Rayya Allamata, and Rayya Azebo woredas for their provision of letters of introduction that paved the way for the permission to collect data in the woredas. I also owe my best appreciation to Melkamu Abate who facilitated that during my second trip. I would also like to thank my colleagues: PhD candidate of my batch and others for their support in one way or another. Thanks Dr. Solomon Tadesse of Mettu University for creating areal map of the study. Several others need to be acknowledged for provided me various books, articles, and theses: Abebe Lamessa, Dr. Dejene Geshe, Dr. Dereje Terefe, Dr. Emana Beyena, Dr. Mengistu Tadesse, Tesfaye Tolesa, and Eba Taressa. Thanks Fikadu Belda for you printed me a documentation book. I would like to thank Dagnaw Mache for some Tigrinya translation and transcription, and Leul Mache, and Nigus Weldezgu for translation. Dr. Adugna Berkessa, thank you for your careful reading of my synopsis proposal. Discussion with many peoples, for instance Dr. Bikila Ashenafi, Eba Taressa, Dagnaw Mache, and Dubale Sahile also shaped this dissertation in one way or another.

To all members of my family, who know how much I invested in learning and they were there all along, *ጎሊፋኦፊኦፊ*! Dhangiye Tujuma, Imma, you did everything right. Last but absolutely not least, I thank my fiancée Simbo Wogi for her encouragement and patience over the years; you are the love of my life, Simbo.

Above all, I sincerely thank God, who made all real and unreal possible for me! As J., F., Kennedy said in his thanksgiving proclamation, which was issued prior to his death on November 18, 1963, “[a]s we express our gratitude, we must never forget that the highest appreciation is not to utter words but to live by them”.

Dedication

To my brother, Terecha Kumsa, who was eager to read this dissertation but passed away on 7th January 2019 at his home Teji. I still think of you every day. May you rest in peace. I also dedicate this dissertation to my father, Kumsa Dandena.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

All abbreviations used in the grammar, including those used within ELAN project are listed here beside the meaning of the abbreviations. In addition to known abbreviations listed below, abbreviations, which are given in italicized font style are also coined and used only for the purpose of utilizing limited space in this dissertation.

Abbreviation or Symbol	Meaning	Abbreviation or Symbol	Meaning
1	First person	LAT	Lative
2	Second person	Lit.	Literal translation
3	Third person	LOC	Locative
ABL	Ablative	M/m	Masculine/minute
ABS	Absolutive	MANNR	Manner nominalizer
ABSTNR	Abstract nominalizer	MID	Middle
Adj	Adjective	Ms	Millisecond
AdjP	Adjective phrase	N	Noun
ADJR	Adjectivizer	NCM	Negative clause marker
Ad	Adposition	NEG	Negative
AdP	Adpositional phrase	NOM	Nominative
Adv	Adverb	NP	Noun phrase
AGNR	Agent nominalizer	OBJ	Object
ASS	Associative	ORD	Ordinal number
AUBV	Autobenefactive	PASS	Passive
AUX	Auxiliary	PFV	Perfective
CARD	Cardinal number	PL	Plural
cf.	Compare	PLAC	Pluraction
CNV	Converb	PREC	Precative (for requesting)
COMP	Complementizer	PROG	Progressive
C	Consonant	PRN	Pronoun
COP	Copula	PS	Parts of Speech

CS	Causative	PT	Phonemic Transcription
DAT	Dative	QUES	Question
DEM	Demonstrative	<i>RAO</i>	Rayya Afaan Oromoo
DIM	Diminutive	<i>RAOA</i>	Rayya Afaan Oromoo
DO	Direct object		speaker: Adashe
DPT	Dependent	<i>RAOM 1or 2</i>	Rayya Afaan Oromoo
Ed.	Editor		speaker: Mustefa
edn	Edition	<i>RAOS</i>	Rayya Afaan Oromoo
ELAN	EUDICO Linguistic Annotator		speaker: Sebriya
EMPH	Emphatic	<i>RCR</i>	Rayya Oromo Conflict
ep	Epenthesis/insertion		Resolution text
F	Feminine	RDP	Reduplication
FOC	Focus	RECP	Reciprocal
FT	Free translation to English	Ref	Reference
GEN	Genitive	REFL	Reflexive
GERNR	Gerundive nominalizer	REL	Relative clause marker
Gl	English glosses for morphemes	RESNR	Result nominalizer
HAB	Habitual	<i>RT</i>	Rayya Oromo tale text
i.e	That means	<i>RW</i>	Rayya Oromo wedding text
IDEO	Ideophone	SBJ	Subject
IF:PRB	Highly probable protasis	SG	Singular
IF:PRB:HAB	highly probable protasis in repetitive/habitual expression	SGT	Singulative
ILL	Illative	TAM	Tense-Aspect-Mood
IMG	Interlinear morphemic gloss	TRR	Transitivizer
IMP	Imperative	V	Verb/Vowel
INCH	Inchoative	VNM	Verbal noun marker
INST	Instrumental	VOC	Vocative
INSTNR	Instrument nominalizer	VP	Verb phrase
IPFV	Imperfective	Vs	Versus

JUSS	Jussive	˙	High pitch
Ø	zero morpheme	˘	Low pitch
//	Phonemic or phonological representation	↗	Rising intonation
		↘	Falling intonation
[]	Phonetic representation	§	Section
.	Syllable boundary or double functioning of grammatical morpheme or full stop	_(underscore)	Links more than one orthographic words as one lexical word in IMG
-	Morpheme boundary	()	Optional Element
=	clitic boundary	\	or in IMG but not in text
~	Nasalization (if on top of phonemes) or phonetic variant	x + y	or free translation that is / x and y form a compound or a derivative stem
:	a portmanteau morpheme in IMG	→	Leads to or becomes

Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Preliminaries

In 1992, Krauss Michael surveyed the global situation of the world's languages and reported that only 10% of them seem safe after the end of 21st century. But the global evidence does not seem to be bearing this out as Simons and Lewis (2013: 11) show that 63% of the world's languages are safely maintained in everyday oral use. Nevertheless, 32% of the world's languages are in some stage of being lost or shift and only 5% of those in use in the 1950s are now completely extinct. Undeniably, Krauss's alarm has helped to mobilize many in the fields of linguistic to engage in activities aimed at preserving endangered languages.

However, within language preservation activities, the place given to the preservation of dialects is questionable. This is why Hoenigswald (1989: 348) asked about a lack of academic concern to dialect death; even its absence as a concept. Though documentation of language death has expanded greatly over the past few years, it seems no one has taken up his concern. According to him, linguists should be interested not only in what goes on language but also on dialect's matter. However, scholars may feel that there is little point in rushing into a dying dialect area if the core language as a whole shows no signs of disappearing (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995: 697). Fasold (1984: 217) for instance argued that yet dialects are not accurate forecasters of language death, they are to be associated with language death circumstances.

According to Zelealem (2000: 2), language death includes the death of a language in its standard form and all of its dialects. Therefore, when a dialect of a language disappears, it is possible to talk about a language dying. For example, dying dialects of even a language as alive as English exhibit features not found in the mainstream varieties, and these features need to be documented in order to provide a full portrait of diversity within a language (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995). As indicated by Tulloch (2008), and Simons and Lewis (2013) still dialect studies, most of which have occurred in non-endangered language contexts, show that loss of dialect diversity is occurring. Therefore, it may seem quite reasonable to treat dialect death in health languages.

Furthermore, as the distinction between language and dialect is not always clear, the difference between their endangerment is likewise not straightforward in every case (Picone 1997, and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995). Nevertheless, as described by them, language death and language endangerment for dialects seem to be defined by a bilingual and/or multilingual contact situation. According to Tulloch (2008: 100), an endangerment of dialect occurs in a broader context of change to another language. Therefore, it is a critical issue when there is an enclave dialect that is cut off from contact with the source language and finds itself stressed by the presence of different and dominant languages. So, valuing dialects and their preservation is seen as part of the bigger picture of preserving of a particular language (Hoenigswald 1989: 347ff; Picone 1997: 118ff; Tulloch 2008: 95ff, and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995: 717).

The present study is a documentation and description of the Rayya¹ dialect of Afaan Oromoo, a language, which belongs to the Cushitic branch of the Afroasiatic phylum. In the first chapter, we² will give general information on Afaan Oromoo and its speakers in general and one of its dialects-Raayyaa Afaan Oromoo (RAO, henceforth).

1.1 The Oromo People

Different scholars have indicated the existence of the Oromo people in Northeast Africa for a long period of time as an indigenous people of the area in general and that of Ethiopia in particular (Alemayehu et al. 2006: 40-43; Bates 1979: 7; Gada 1988: 35-39; Negaso 1984: 36-44, and Tesfaye 2009: 3-5). On the other hand, some scholars claim that the Oromo people are not the original settlers of Ethiopia, but they ‘migrated’ from somewhere else (De Slavic 2008: 372-373, and Gragg 1976: 166). Whatever hypotheses are given, this people make up a significant portion of the population occupying the Horn of Africa (Bartels 1989: 13). Similarly, Bender, Mulugeta and Stinson (1976: 130) and Baxter, Hultin and Triulzi (1996: 7) show that the Oromo people are the largest single language group in Ethiopia.

¹ In Afaan Oromoo, the literal meaning of Rayya is ‘the vanguard’.

² Except for inference parts, I use pronoun(s) ‘we’ or ‘us’ to mean the researcher (I) and my advisor in this thesis.

To describe the Rayya Oromo, the target people of this study, it is good to deal with the formation of Oromo moieties between 12th and 13th centuries: Borana and Barentu (Keller 1995: 624). The two moieties were gradually divided into *Sabbo* and *Gona*, *Mecha* and *Tulema*, *Rayya* and *Assabo*, *Sikko* and *Mando* as well as *Itu* and *Humbanna* (Asmarom 2006: 144-149). The first two sets belong to Borana, and the rest are branches of Barentu. Accordingly, the Rayya and Assabo are descendants of Barentu. Whereas the majority descendants of these moieties are in Oromia National Regional State today, a few descendants settled in Tigray and Amhara administrative regions. A case in point is Rayya and Assabo in Southern Tigray and in Northern Wallo (Kebede 2009).

Through different systems of government to the present, the Rayya Oromo have experienced a re-shifting of localities to neighboring administration regions. Due to this, there is no geopolitical map of this area (Fikadu 1990). Yet, based on their cultural patterns and their psychological makeup, it is believed that Rayya covers the area extending from Ala Wuha in North Wallo to Wajjirat in Southern Tigray. As described by Alemu and Sisay (2005 E.C.: 1), Lasta and Wag in the West, Yajju in the South, Endarta in the North and Afar Regional State in the East surround the area. The Rayya themselves call this area Rayya-Rayyumaa (which is literally to mean Rayya is Rayya nothing else). In the area, the Rayya Oromos live with the Tigrean, Amhara, Agaw and Afar ethnic groups (Kebrom 2005 E.C.: 9). This linguistic diversity makes the area the rainbow of the region (Kebrom 2005 E.C.). As described in Haftu (2006 E.C.: 7), the Rayya Oromos are currently found in localities such as Warrabaye, Degaga, Kukufto, Ta'o, Gerjele, and Fachagama. In addition, they are found around Kobo in North Wello zone (Kebede 2009: 2, and Mekonnen 2002: 10). However, according to our consultants and our observation, Ganda Chirrecha, Allamata, Ganda Gara, Ta'a, Baso, Hada, Hijira, and Ganda Goro are also villages where a very small number of Rayya Oromos speakers are found.

The Rayya Oromos have been assimilating with those previously stated neighbors and now speak the predominant languages of the areas-Tigrinya and Amharic (Gebru 1977: 148; Kebede 2009: 183, and Merid 1971: 585). Nevertheless, they have retained some of their ethnic and cultural identities in pocket areas. According to CSA of Ethiopia (2010: 63, 73), the Rayya

Oromos in southern Tigray are estimated to be around 3, 690 and of these only around 612 people speak their language as a native tongue. Like in most part of Ethiopia, the Rayya Oromos practice a mix of livestock and crop farming for subsistence (Abraham 2012: 4; Gebru 1977: 148; Getachew 2014: 26, and PRAR 2014: 2). Accordingly, cultivating and harvesting so many crops and having many cattle are considered as a mark of status and pride. Nowadays however, climate and habitat change have made it difficult for the Rayya Oromos to maintain herds of cattle (cf. their dua in [Video C](#)).

1.2 Afaan Oromoo

The Oromo language, also called Afaan Oromoo³ (literally mouth of Oromo) by the language speakers themselves, belongs to the Lowland East Cushitic branch of the Afroasiatic language phylum (Bender 1976, and Kebede 2009). It is a widely spoken language among several neighboring ethnic groups, like Amhara, Anfillo, Anuak, Bertha, Gedeo, Gumuz, Gurage, Harari, Kaficho, Konso, Shinasha, Sidama and Somali to mention a few. Speakers of Afaan Oromoo today inhabit an area that extends from the highlands of Ethiopia in the north-southern Tigray, to northern Kenya in the south and from Harar in the East to Gidami in the western Wallagga by intersecting Addis Ababa from the two axes (Gragg 1976; Kebede 2009; Owens 1985a, and Tesfaye 2009). It is also claimed to be spoken in Somalia (Feda 2015: 2; Kebede 2009: 1, and Mohammed and Zaborski 1990: 1).

Scholars have different views on the dialectal variations of Afaan Oromoo (Dejene 2010: 1; Feda 2015: 2, and Kebede 2009: 14 among others). Some scholars organize its dialects into clusters, whereas others divide them in detail (Amanuel and Samuel 2012; Appleyard 2012; Baye 1986; Bender, Mulugeta and Stinson 1976; Blazek 2010; Gragg 1976; Kebede 1991, 1999, 2007 and 2009; Mohammed and Zaborski 1990; Stroomer 1987 cited in Tamane (2006); Tamane 2006, and Wako 1981). As explained by Feda (2015: 3), most of the scholars did not provide any empirical evidence of their classification except Kebede's (2009) and Bender,

³ From our experience, the language speakers prefer the term Oromoo and Afaan Oromoo (mouth of Oromo or Oromo language) when referring to themselves and their language, respectively. Hence, in this dissertation we applied both terms accordingly.

Mulugeta and Stinson (1976). Though there are some inconsistencies with the classification of Afaan Oromoo dialects, all scholars except Gragg (1976) and Stroemer (1987 cited in Tamane (2006)) included the Rayya Afaan Oromoo in their classification.

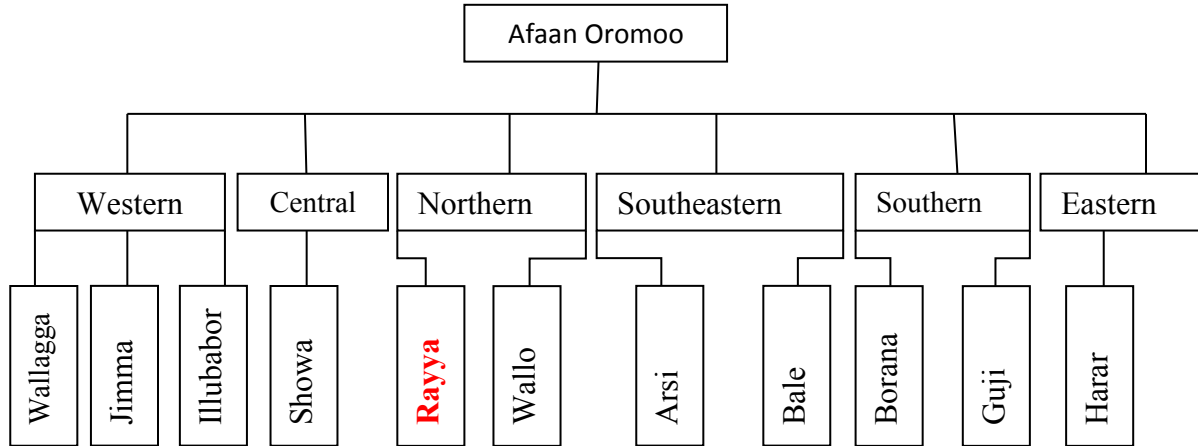


Figure 1. Classification of Afaan Oromoo dialects spoken in Ethiopia based on Feda (2015: 7)

As mentioned above, the RAO is mainly spoken in Rayya-Allamata, Allamata and Rayya-Azebo weredas in Southern Tigray and in Kobo worda⁴ in Northern Wallo. The preceding three weredas are the melting pot of different languages. Accordingly, the RAO is engulfed by the Tigrinya, Amharic, Agaw and Affar languages. Because of this linguistic situation, the dialect seems to be in a danger of extinction (Kebede 2009; and Kebrom 2005 E.C.). For instance, the RAO that was spoken in the localities of Ebo, Mechare, Mekonne, Charchar, Tullu, and Wajja, to mention few, has disappeared in favour of Tigrinya.

In general, the RAO is rapidly disappearing, with local forms replaced by Tigrinya and Amharic among the youngster generation. According to Macri (2010: 39), if the elder generation does not transmit a language to the younger generation, its lineage severed, and the language is at risk for loss. In other words, “a language that is losing, or has lost, children

⁴ It is hard to be definite about the Afaan Oromoo in Kobo worda since the shift is closely complete (Bekale and Alemayehu 2004 E.C. and Kebrom 2005 E.C.).

speakers to another language, is in danger of disappearing” (Wurm 1998: 198) because as speakers die out, the speaker base is not being replenished. Therefore, there can be no doubt that the RAO is currently dying as the older generation who now speak it pass away. This is what is to be expected as shared by Abraham (2012: 157), as the dialect is spoken only by the parental generation and up. So languages that are in urgent need of documentation include those that may not be spoken by future generations.

According to our own field observation (and discussion with Raayyaa Oromoo speakers) and endangerment reports of Bekale and Alemayehu (2004 E.C.), the current situation of RAO is dire. The intergenerational transmission of the language has been interrupted. The narration of a consultant that uttered as *Gugurdaan keenyamoo ?oromooda. ?indzoolledumti nujjirraa halk’ame duudaan Tigreedā* (Lit. ‘though we the elders are Oromos, all our children are Tigrean’ may support the argument. This quotation is from a 75 year old Rayya Oromo consultant and it reveals the generational discrepancy of perceived ethnic identity between the Oromo family (a self-identified Oromo) and their children. In terms of domain of usage, RAO is almost not used in all domains. In the study area, there is clear indication that the dominant language, Tigrinya, is replacing Afaan Oromoo in different domains. For instance, Tigrinya is the working language in all official domains including educational institutions. Even in day to day activities, Tigrinya is used. Likewise, in some local markets, Afaan Oromoo is used as a secret language (for instance, in transaction, if sellers or buyers are non-speaker of Afaan Oromoo and if one group knows the language, they first set a price by discussing with Afaan Oromoo). Although it is very rare, Afaan Oromoo is also used in informal and home context.

To sum up, the reasons why a language becomes endangered may varies. Linguists dealing with measuring the degree of language endangerment and defining criteria for such assessments state that one should, among these, consider the number of speakers of a language, its status (national, regional, etc.), the existence of an ethnic administrative territory, a written form of the language and school education based on it, language transmission to younger generations, language attitudes and preferences of its speakers. And always it is a combination of these factors that make a difference and decide whether a language will survive into the next century

or will be spoken just a few decades as long as its last speakers are alive. These all hold true for RAO.

1.3 The Study Area

The study has been carried out in southern Tigray zone, of Tigray National Regional State. Maychaw, the zonal administrative town, is located 660 km from Addis Ababa and 120 km south of Mekele, the capital city of the region. It is located at coordinates $12^{\circ} 15'$ and $13^{\circ} 41'$ N latitude and $39^{\circ} 54'$ E longitude. Administratively, the zone is divided into eight districts (woredas) and three urban districts. The study sites are located in the following two districts: Rayya Allamata and Rayya Azebo (Figure 2).

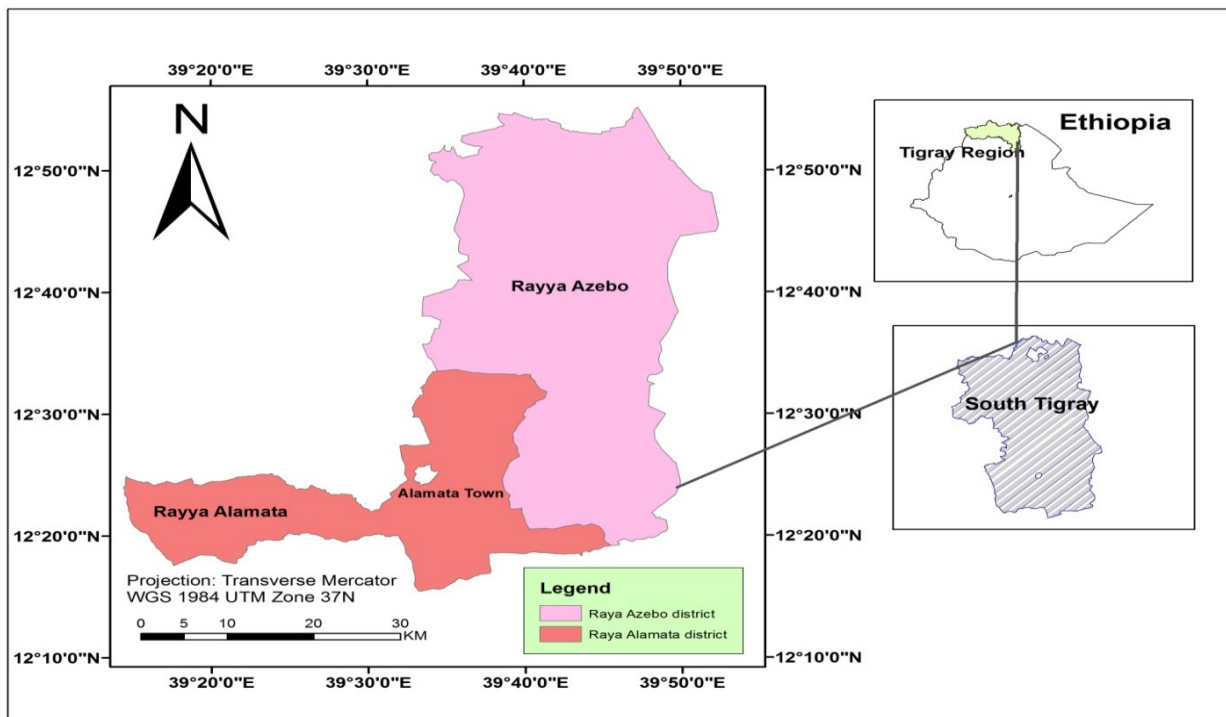
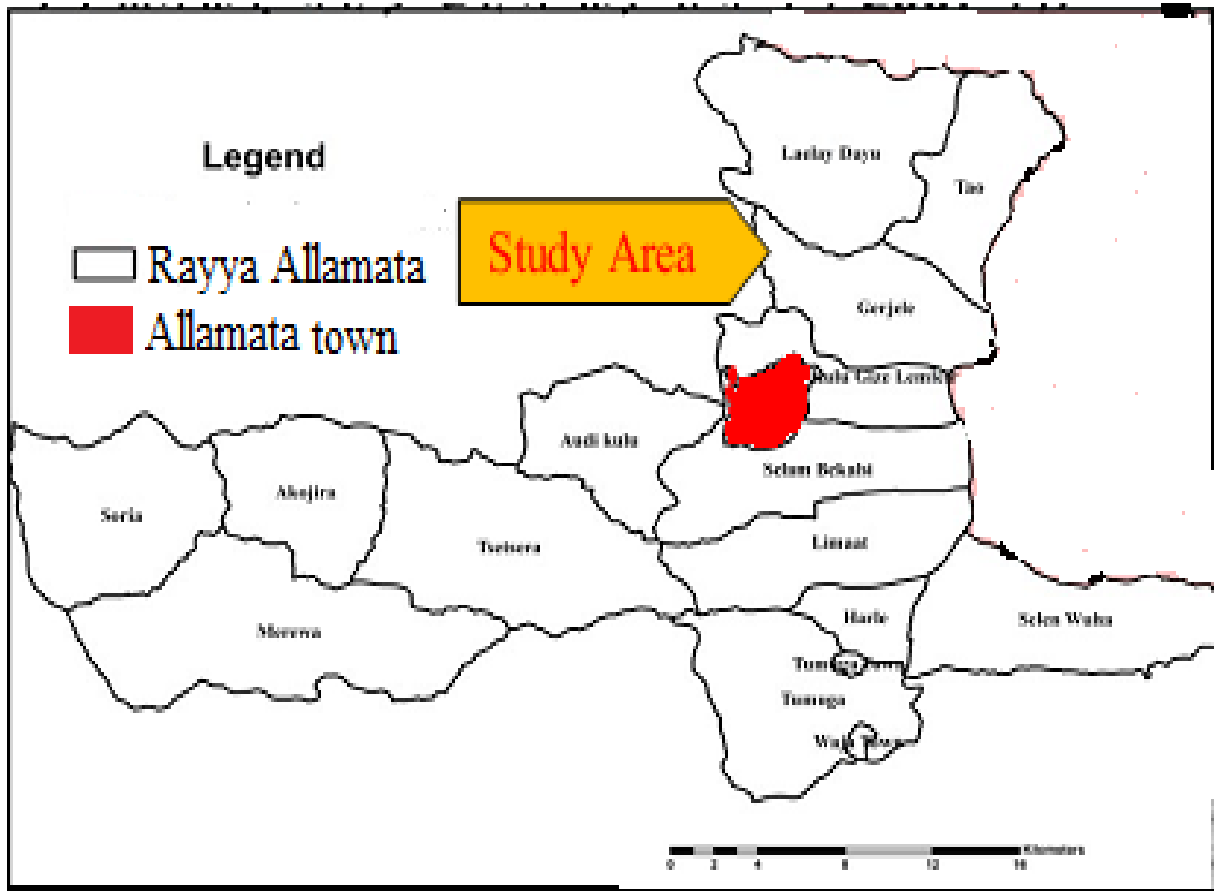


Figure 2. Zonal Map of South Tigray and Study Area

Rayya Allamata is one of the eight woredas of the zone. The administrative center of the woreda is Allamata, which is located 600 km north of Addis Ababa and about 180 km south of Mekelle. The woreda is bordered by Offila woreda in the northwest, Rayya Azebo woreda in the northeast and Amhara regional state in the south and west. There are 14 rural administration units and two urban kebeles within the woreda (Figure 3). The woreda has two agro-climatic

zones namely kolla (lowland) and woynadega (intermediate highland) (Moges 2009: 35). The former climatic zone covers 75% of the woreda. As stated by CSA, the total population of the woreda was 85,403 in 2007 of which 1.36% were Rayya Oromo. The majority of the woreda inhabitants practiced Orthodox Christianity (80.27%), while 19.68% and 0.03% of the population are followers of Islam and Protestant Christianity, respectively (CSA 2010: 74).



Source: Rayya Allamata woreda finance office

Figure 3. Map of Rayya Allamata with its Kebeles/Tabias, and the study area

The Rayya Azebo woreda was the other study area, which is bordered by the Rayya Allamata woreda to the southwest and partially west, Offila and Endamehoni woredas to the west, Alaje woreda to the northwest, Hintalo Wajirat woreda to the north, Afar regional state to the east, and Amhara regional state to the south. The administrative center of the woreda is Mekhoni, which is situated at about 650 km north of Addis Ababa 120 km south of Mekele.

Administratively, the woreda is subdivided into 13 rural kebeles and 3 urban kebeles (Figure 4). Generally, the woreda has kolla climatic condition (Getachew 2014: 25). As stated by CSA, the total population of the woreda was 135,870 in 2007 of which 1.4% were Rayya Oromo (Getachew 2014: 28). The majority of the woreda inhabitants practiced Orthodox Christianity (70.61%), while 29.32% and 0.03% are respectively followers of Islam and Protestant Christianity (CSA 2010: 74).



Source: Rayya Azebo woreda finance office (modified)

Figure 4. Map of Rayya Azebo with its Kebeles/Tabias, and the study areas

Both Rayya Allamata and Rayya Azebo woredas lie in the Raya valley and have considerable arable land with a high level of groundwater (Moges 2009, and PRAR 2014). Thus, mixed farming is practiced in both woredas. The main crops growing are sorghum, teff, barley, wheat, maize, chickpea, and dekokko (Abyssinian pea) whereas the main livestock are cattle, sheep, and goats. On the other hand, a small number of farmers own camels, donkeys, and mules (Moges

2009, and PRAR 2014). In addition, farmers of Rayya Azebo grow chat by collecting rainwater whenever there is rainfall.

1.4 Previous Studies

Though Afaan Oromoo has received some attention from linguists, unfortunately most scholars ignored the RAO. To our knowledge, no documentation and grammar description has been devoted to this dialect, though some linguists, most notably Kebede (2009) has included work on RAO as part of a larger analysis of the Afaan Oromoo dialect continuum. Additionally, Benyam (1988) and Kebede (1997) have offered an analysis of some aspects of the phonology of the dialect. Even though the dissertation is based on RAO dialect, most substantial works on Afaan Oromoo linguistic features that we had access to were consulted, and in some cases are discussed along the entire analyses.

The consulted works are Abera (1982), Amanuel (2006), Amanuel and Samuel (2012), Andrzejewski (1966), Banti (1988a, 1988b, 2004, 2010), Baye (1981, 1986, 1987, 1988), Bender, Mulugeta and Stinson (1976), Blažek (2010), Debela (2011), Debela and Ronny (2003, 2006), Dejene Geshe (2010), Dejene and Julia (2013), Dejene Leta (1980), Dubinsky, Lloret and Newman (1988), Ishetu (1981), Feda (2015), Frajzyngier (2012), Gragg (1976), Griefenow-Mewis (2001), Habte (2003), Hawine (2007), Hayward and Gemetchu (1996), Kebede (1991, 1994, 1999, 2007), Mekonnen (2002), Mohammed and Zaborski (1990), Mous (1992, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2013), Owens (1985a, 1985b), Shimelis (2009, 2014, 2016), Stroomer (1995), Taha (1990), Tamane (2006), Temesgen (1993), Tolemariam (2009), Wako (1981), Wondwosen (2012), and Zelalem (2014) along with some related works on Ethio-Cushitic and Semitic languages. However, for the sake of economy and/or avoiding redundancy, the review is restricted to works on the RAO dialect as presented underneath.

In Kebede (2009), which focuses on the genetic classification of the Afaan Oromoo dialects, a genetic tree of Afaan Oromoo dialects was constructed into ten genetic units based on morphophonemic and phonetic-lexical isoglosses. He reported that four of the ten genetic units do not exist as they gave way to the six dialects. The six genetic units are Western, Central,

Waata, East, Wollo and Rayya. Rayya, the target of our study, is related to Wallo sub-group since both are evolved from the same genetic family: North. In his both isoglossic presentations, morphophonemic and phonetic-lexical, Kebede lists some affixes and words in RAO. Consider the following example (Kebede 2009: 115).

1. a. *beeloine*

‘We became hungry’

b. *beeita*

‘You know’

c. *duida*

‘You drink’

As can be observed from example [1a-c], diphthongs whose second constituent is the vowel *i* are reported for the dialect. Of course this feature is also reported for Wollo variety of the language. According to Kebede (2009: 49), phonemes such as *w*, *g*, *k*, and *k’* delete when they are followed by *t*, *s*, and *n*, and the deletion is followed by the development of vowel *i* resulting into a diphthong. However, this feature is not attested in the present study.

In his closing remarks, Kebede (2009: 193) has expressed an urgency in recording and documenting the Rayya and Wallo dialects. According to him, the speakers of both varieties are shifting to the dominant languages spoken in their areas.

Kebede (1997) analyzed the RAO dialect palatalization. Accordingly, the dialect has two palatalization processes: complete palatalization and secondary palatalization. Here are his examples (1997: 474, 484, 488):

2. a. *gal-s-* → *gaff-*

enter-TRR-

‘make enter’

b. *gaj-n-a* → *geenṇa*

arrive-1PL-IPFV

‘We (will) arrive’

c. *d̪iimatʷuu*

‘to be red’

d. *b̪eeke*

‘I/he/it knew’

As can be observed from examples [2a-b], the sequences of *ls* and *jn* respectively derive *ʃʃ* and *ʃɲ*. In [2c-d], like some other dialects of southern Afaan Oromoo, the secondary palatalization in consonant preceding front vowels (ii, ee) is formed.

Benyam (1988), based on Rayya kobo Afaan Oromoo, treated the major phonological aspects of the dialect including identification of the segmental phonemes, distribution of phonemes, syllable structures, suprasegmental features and phonological processes. Benyam claimed the occurrence of seven-vowel system /i, e, i, ə, a, o, u/ that resulted from Tigrinya and Amharic influence. According to Benyam (1988: 12), based on the intrusion of the two central vowels, a new phonological feature that is vowel harmony has penetrated the RAO. The following is an example given by him (1988: 27):

3. phonemic	phonetic	gloss
a. <i>ʔink'ulal</i>	<i>ʔuŋk'ulal</i>	egg
b. <i>ʃiro</i>	<i>ʃuro</i>	powdered-bean
c. <i>səŋŋo</i>	<i>soŋŋo</i>	Monday

As can be observed from example [3a-c], the central vowels /i, ə/ undergo an assimilatory process in rounding being influenced by the two back vowels. According to him, it is only these nativized vowels that assimilate to back vowels /u, o/.

Finally, Benyam (1988) suggested the need for studying the dialect, since it seems to be in a danger of extinction because of the linguistic dominance based on social dominance.

Even if the previous works on the RAO are concerned with some phonological aspects of the dialect, the present study is different from them in its scope and type. As will be mentioned in § 1.6, the aim of this work is not to bridge the gap of the previous findings; rather it is the first documentation and descriptive work on the Rayya variety of Afaan Oromoo. This work would be different in its full concern of the forgotten variety of Afaan Oromoo in Tigray national region state.

1.5 Justification

Language contact can have a wide range of potential consequences ranging from stable bilingualism or multilingualism to the death of one or more of the languages involved (Garrett 2004: 49). According to Mougeon and Beniak (1989: 295ff), and Simons and Lewis (2013: 48), most of today's languages are disappearing due to shift to another language or languages, not because the speakers are themselves disappearing. As presented in section 1.2, the area of Rayya-Rayyumaa is a multilingual region of five languages, of which the RAO is underway a rapid change and approaching an obsolescence (Bekale and Alemayehu 2004 E.C.: 22; Kebede 2009: 183, and Kebrom 2005 E.C.: 22). That is why Kebede (2009: 183) has expressed urgency in recording and documenting the dialect by saying, documentation of the RAO dialectal material is timely before it vanishes from map of languages.

The endangerment of RAO may also be made worse by the fact that scholars neglect the dialect. For instance, Appleyard (2012: 237) stated that a form of standard Afaan Oromoo has developed in Ethiopia based largely on the western and central varieties. Similarly, Mekonnen (2002: 87-88) indicated that Afaan Oromoo dictionaries published before and/or after 1991 were prepared in all varieties of Afaan Oromoo except the Rayya variety of the language. Moreover, he pointed out that, the dialect is sidestepped from electronic mass media such as television and radio. Therefore, this dialect has no chance to survive as a remnant even in track of its linguistic records for the coming generation unless we document it timely.

The name Rayya-Rayyumaa is an endonym and denotes both the homeland and its people. Today, according to Kebrom (2005 E.C.: 22), despite the apparent prestige of the dominant language, the people of the area prefer to be called Rayya than named to particular ethnic group. Because the Rayya people are phenotypically diverse, many of them confront a related line of thinking that claims they are Rayya. Surprisingly, after their claim of being Rayya, the young generation claim that they are Ethiopians, nothing else (Alemu and Sisay 2005 E.C., and Kebrom 2005 E.C.). Therefore, description and documentation of the incorporating languages need immediate attention- case in point is the RAO.

To sum up, when a language or an enclave dialect appears to be ‘on the way out’ one might hope to find some traits that would be interesting to watch (Hamp 1989: 197). The pieces of evidence cited earlier in the discussion show that the Afaan Oromoo of Rayya is in the condition of endangerment. However, survey of local and international studies shows that no attempt has been made to describe and document the grammar of the dialect. Therefore, it is believed that the present study would be a significant contribution.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The study has two aims. First, it will document the Rayya variety of Afaan Oromoo aspects of communicative events. Second, it intends to describe the grammar of the variety. The specific objectives of the study are:

- a. To record different genres of the dialect (conversations, narratives, stories, song, *dubarte*);
- b. To transcribe and translate some collected linguistic materials for the purposes of grammatical analysis;
- c. To annotate and analyze samples relate to the purpose of the study by using ELAN software;
- d. To produce descriptions of the phonology, morphology and syntax (i.e. the grammar) of the dialect with mini toolbox dictionary.

1.7 Significance

Language or dialect documentation is not ‘museumizing’ them, but preserving them as living systems (Crowley and Thieberger 2007: 188). Accordingly, this study could have the following significances.

- a) The material produced through the dialect documentation and description could be an input to revitalizing the dialect, and in so doing it could contribute to the international efforts to maintain endangered dialects.
- b) The discovery, description and preservation of RAO could serve as a reference for future linguistic study.

- c) Providing a linguistic analysis of texts would be a source for easily accessible data for linguists and other disciplines.
- d) The results would also contribute to the body of knowledge available to linguists about the Afaan Oromoo speech variety in Northern Ethiopia.

1.8 Scope

As noted in § 1.1 and § 1.3, the total number of Rayya Oromo in southern Tigray zone is around 3,690. Out of this, the population in the Rayya Allamata and Rayya Azebo woredas is around 3,063. Bekale and Alemayehu in 2004 E.C. surveyed the Afaan Oromoo speaking areas, and reported that the language is only spoken by adults in Gerjale kebele: Rayya Allamata woreda. On the other hand, as I surveyed, a number of the Rayya Oromo are inhabit in and around Gerjale (Rayya Allamata woreda), Kukufto and Kara Adishaho kebeles of Rayya Azebo. Thus, the linguistic data for this dissertation is limited to these kebeles.

Concerning contents covered, the study is delimited to documentation of linguistic materials and description of phonological, morphological and syntactic analysis of the RAO. Some discourse features appearing in the dialect will also be mentioned, however no section as a whole will be dedicated to them.

1.9 Framework

This section has two sub-sections. They are theoretical framework and conceptual bases of the study. Both sub-sections are presented as follows.

1.9.1 Theoretical Framework

The expected theoretical framework that will be used for this project are theory of language documentation and theory of language description respectively for documentation and description. However, an adequate theory of language documentation is lacking since the field is a recent one (Grenoble 2013: 46). Furbee (2010: 3) also indicated the absence of theoretical framework in language documentation. Therefore, the theoretical framework discussed in this

section concerns language description, hence, the documentation issue will be discussed under conceptual bases.

As describing the grammar of RAO is one of the main objectives of the study, we believe that what is most useful is to limit the description to a presentation of data in a typological framework and to not tie it to a particular theoretical perspective. As a result, Dixon's Basic Linguistic Theory, BLT, is adopted as a theoretical framework for this project. As Dixon (1997: 128) stated, BLT has presently "come into use for the fundamental theoretical concepts that underline all work in a language description and change, and the postulation of general properties of human languages". It also provides a range of linguistic elements and parameters, which are accessible to draw as appropriate in the formulation of the grammar of the language (Dryer 2006: 211-212).

There are some reasons for selecting BLT as a theoretical framework to describe RAO grammar. Firstly, we concur with Dryer (2006: 11) when he stated that BLT attempts to "describe each language in its own terms" rather than trying to "force the language into a model" based on other languages such as European languages. Secondly, BLT is a cumulative result of different theories. Dryer (2006: 211) explained this idea by saying that BLT is described as "traditional grammar, minus its bad features" plus essential concepts absent from "traditional grammar". Therefore, it is an integration theory of earlier traditions and new traditions. Accordingly, BLT is used to describe the grammar of RAO.

1.9.2 Conceptual Bases or Principal Concepts

1.9.2.1 Language versus Dialect

Linguists have long debated over the meaning of the terms language and dialect (Edwards 2009: 80, and Singh 1996: 1). It might seem that people who cannot understand each other speak different languages, whereas those who can understand each other but who show slight different in their speech, speak different dialects of the same language. For instance different varieties of Chinese, which may not be mutually understandable but they are popularly regarded as 'dialects'; and Swedish and Danish that are mutually understandable but are

usually termed different ‘languages’ (Austin and Sallabank 2013: 4). These indicate that the distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ is typically made more on social and political grounds than on purely linguistic one (Austin and Sallabank 2013: 4; Boberg, John and Dominic 2018: 5; Edwards 2009: 5, and Greenberg 2004: 14). This phenomenon gives rise to the saying, commonly attributed to the linguist Weinreich, “a language is a dialect with an army and a navy” (quoted in Edwards, 2009: 5). Thus, the distinction between what is a language and what is a dialect could be a fuzzy one.

A language is made up of all mutually intelligible speech varieties; and varieties that are not mutually intelligible are considered separate languages. On the other hand, linguists often refer to dialects as speech varieties or subdivisions of a language that are characteristic of a particular group of speakers who are depart from others. These are usually mutually intelligible regional or social varieties differing in features like phonology, grammar, and vocabulary (Haugen 1966: 924-931; Edwards 2009: 63ff; and Chambers and Trugill 2004: 5ff). Therefore, language is the superordinate term that can be used without reference to dialects, while dialect is meaningless unless it is inferred to other dialect(s) and to a language that they belong to. Thus, “every dialect is a language”, but not “every language is a dialect” (Haugen 1966: 923).

1.9.2.2 Language Contact

Language contact is a situation in which more than one speech varieties exist in a given area or speech community and that it is about the way in which linguistic systems influence one another (Matras 2005: 225-228; Muysken 2010: 265, and Thomason 2001: 1-2). On the other hand, when we say language contact, it refers to situations where groups of individuals who speak similar varieties are in contact with a group of individuals who speak rather different varieties. As explained by Thomason (2001: 8), there is no evidence that any languages have developed in total isolation from other languages, since language contact happens everywhere and since it is the norm rather than exception. Of course, it may be more intense in some places at some times than elsewhere and at other times. That is why the endangerment of language goes hand in hand with language contacts with one or more dominant language(s) (Hickey 2010: 4).

Drinka (2010: 326) reports that language contact has made some countries densely bilingual or multilingual. Therefore, bilingualism or multilingualism is the immediate consequences of languages contact. As explained by Dada (2005: 34), the advantage and disadvantage of language contact is a matter of ongoing debate among scholars. Among various advantages, the ability to use more than one language for interactive purpose is mentioned by many scholars; whereas, language shift or loss is cited as its disadvantage. Accordingly, a language contact situation has put many languages, especially minority languages, on the endangerment list (Crystal 2003: 69, and Romaine 2010: 331), since language shift is an inevitable consequence of prolonged language contact. However, according to Ricento (2006: 15), language shift is understood not as an incidental and natural outcome of language contact but rather a manifestation of asymmetrical power relations based on social structures and ideologies that position groups and their languages hierarchically within a society. Whatever the case, the ceaseless contact between speakers of different languages has an impact on the minority languages.

Minority is being understood either demographically in terms of number of native speakers or functionally in terms of political, social or cultural subordination to the dominant languages (Dressler 1996: 195). Similarly, Romaine (2010: 321-325) explained minority language as one with a relatively small number of speakers living within the domain of a more widely spoken language. Therefore, a minority language may have a majority status elsewhere with other dialect(s). This is applicable to an enclaved RAO variety, hence the language's other varieties are dominant in Oromia national regional state.

In general, the degree to which languages can influence one another in a contact situation varies depending on multiple factors, especially intensity of contact and the social status or prestige of the languages and their speakers to mention a few. Therefore, the survival of a minority language in language contact between varieties that are unequal in status depends on various factors.

1.9.2.3 Language Endangerment

Definitions of language endangerment abound. For instance, according to UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (2003: 1-2) a language is endangered when its speakers cease to use it, use it in an increasingly reduced number of communicative domains, and cease to pass it on from one generation to the next. For Woodbury (2011: 160), on the other hand, language endangerment is the overall or “radical shift away from unique, local languages and language practices”. According to Tsunoda (2006: 13-14) on the other hand, language endangerment covers the stages from language weakening to language extinction. Language decay, language decline, moribund language, and language obsolescence can usually be used interchangeably with language weakening, whereas language death, and language loss can often be used interchangeably for language extinction (Tsunoda 2006: 13-14). Citing Krauss (1998), Tsunoda (2006) suggested that language endangerment is the best choice for the general subject to cover the stages from language weakening to language extinction.

Historically, language endangerment was highly related with the number of speakers languages have. By tradition, languages with few speakers were considered as ‘endangered’ while languages with millions of speakers were considered as ‘safe’ languages. Currently, however, language endangerment situation is not determined only on such elements. According to Crystal (2003: 13) for instance, there are languages spoken by millions of speakers but at risky situation of their future existence (e.g. Yoruba with 20 million speakers) and languages could quite safe even spoken by few thousand speakers, if not hundreds. Such complication presses us to see on other factors that induce us to determine the situation and status of languages.

The assessment of factors leading to language endangerment are complex since they relate with other disciplines of social sciences and humanities (Himmelman 2008: 338-344). But the reasons of language endangerment may typically involve a process of language shift as communities abandon their heritage languages in favour of more economically, politically and socially powerful languages, most often those spoken by their neighbours and/or supported by administrative and economic system (Austin and Sallabank 2013: 313 and Turin 2012: 848). Ofcourse, it is generally accepted that multilingualism and language shift have led to language

endangerment in many areas of the world (Clifton 2013, Crowley 1997). In general, many of the circumstances that surround the endangerment of dialects are similar to those of languages (Tsunoda 2006: 5).

1.9.2.4 Language Documentation

Language documentation is a relatively new activity within linguistics. According to Himmelmann (2008: 346), it is a multifunctional record of the linguistic practices showed at a given time in a given community sharing a given language/dialect and the knowledge speakers have about such practices for a long time. Lehmann (2001: 1) also describes language documentation as an action or its result that collects, processes and displays a sample of data of the language, which is representative of its linguistic structure and gives a fair impression of how and for what aims the language is used. According to him, those who do not have access to the language itself can be served from what is represented in the documentation of the language.

Himmelmann (2006: 15-16) identified five important features of language documentation that distinguish it from other approaches to human language: 1) a focus on primary data; 2) a concern for accountability; 3) a concern for long-term storage and preservation of primary data; 4) work in interdisciplinary teams; and 5) close cooperation with and direct involvement of the speech community. On the other hand, Lehmann (2001: 1) defines language description as an activity or its result that formulates the patterns underlying the linguistic data. According to him, the purpose of language description is to make the user of the description understand the way the language works.

As indicated by the above definitions, there are some areas where documentation and description show differences and also samenesses. To start with their aims, as stated by Himmelmann (2002: 48), language documentation's aim is to make a record of the linguistic practices and traditions of speech community, whereas a language description aims at the record of a language that being understood as a system of abstract elements, constructions and rules, which constitute the invariant underlying structure of utterances noticeable in a speech

community. From this viewpoint, language documentation is broader than language description in view of the fact that it includes much information.

Concerning data collection and analysis, language documentation and description are complementary. In language documentation, data collection, representation and diffusion is the main purpose and data analysis is secondary, whereas in language description, data collection is secondary to its analysis albeit it is basic. As described by Himmelmann (2002: 50-52) and Woodbury (2003: 39) as well, the direct representation of naturally occurring discourse is prioritized in language documentation data collection and analysis; while description and analysis are contingent and emergent byproducts which grow together with primary documentation but are always changeable and dependent on it. Accordingly, a corpus of primary data is the main concern in language documentation and analytic statements are central concern of language description.

The dividing line between language documentation and language description is not sharp. Both are closely interrelated and partially overlap for various methodological and practical reasons (Himmelmann 2002: 43, and Lehmann 2001: 8). The most important area of overlap pertains to the transcription of primary data. For instance, in doing transcription in language documentation, a minimum level of phonetic and phonological analysis is required. Furthermore, any transcription involves decisions about segmentation of words, clauses and sentences at different levels of analysis. In an interlinear translation again, morphological analysis of words is required. Therefore, documentation contains analysis. It presupposes a description; since this is done in language description (Lemann 2001: 8). For these reasons, according to him, it is neither possible nor advisable to separate language documentation from language description.

As indicated above, this study comprises documentation and description. Therefore, it records a comprehensive and representative sample of data. In addition to representing the linguistic practices of the RAO, the documented data will serve as a source of information for description. Such interdependence of documentation and description could have an impact on

the reliability, naturalness, and representativeness of the data to be used in describing the grammar of the dialect.

1.10 Methodology

The methodology for this research work is qualitative. This has become necessary because of the nature of the research objectives of the study. As stated in § 1.6, the purpose of this research is documenting the Afaan Oromoo of Rayya with its grammar description. Accordingly, this section provides details of from where and how data for this project will be collected and processed to achieve the planned objectives.

1.10.1 Research Field Site and Consultant

To select field site, my first trip was to the Maychew town, the administrative center of southern Tigray zone. Dagnew Mache, my PhD colleague from Maychew, accompanied me to the town where he had arranged me to stay with him and his family. After licensed by the concerned authorities of Rayya Allamata and Rayya Azebo woredas, I surveyed various kebeles with the assistance of Dagnew Mache. After confirmation of the preliminary understanding about the geographical distribution of the Rayya Oromo community, I purposively selected Gerjale, Kukufto, and Kara Adishoho kebeles. Thus, the data served as the basis of this work is from several villages of these kebeles.

Concerning the consultants, many families were interviewed, however eleven⁵ were selected purposefully for grammar description. The reasons for purposive selection are three. Firstly, some of them are selected based on the information from the people themselves. As described by Dimmendaal (2001: 61) and Mosel (2012: 76), the speech community can direct the investigator towards a fluent speaker of a language. Secondly, some consultants have grandparents, parents, and children living together in their home. Since home domain is arguably the most important domain, it is expected that especially grandparents may still speak their languages to their children. During survey, a speaker confirmed this idea as it exists in

⁵ The main contributors to this study were Mustefa Kune and Hashim Siraj (cf. Appendix E for consultants basic information). Especially the former consultant was interested in the project and contributed considerably to elicitation and text recordings.

very few families. Thirdly, two consultants, *Musxafaa Kune* and *Waayyuu Kube*, were selected for bieng *Marawwaa*⁶ and *Bokkicha*⁷ of the community, respectively. As clarified by Dimmendaal (2001: 61), consultant selection may be based on a particular social status in a speech community. Regarding a typology of the speakers, what I observed was that bilingualism or multilingualism is a fact for the Rayya Oromo. They are communities of speakers in a regular contact, who follow more or less established rules of communication dictating which language to speak to whom, when and where. Accordingly, all my consultants are either bilingual or multilingual at least in Afaan Oromoo and Tigrinya (see Appendix E).

1.10.2 Data Collection

In order to achieve our stated objectives, we employed a number of methods and collected a range of data types as identified below.

1.10.2.1 Text Recording

As stated by Dixon (2007: 24), texts are counted as the “lifeblood of linguistic fieldwork”. To analyze the recorded texts in particular language is the best way to understand the grammar of that language. Therefore, communicative events which result from different data collection methods were used to record texts. Communicative events refer to “the whole range of linguistic behaviour, from a single cry of pain or surprise to the most elaborate and lengthy ritual” (Himmelman 2002: 51). There are four basic types of communicative events (Himmelman 2002: 72, and Lüpke 2009: 60). They are natural, observed, staged and elicitation. Except natural communicative event, the rest were used for this study. This event is excluded for the reason that, it is not conformable to documentation since the documentation process itself constitutes an extraordinary factor in the communicative state (Himmelman 2002: 72). Admittedly, it is difficult to access natural communicative events in Rayya Oromo community since Afaan Oromoo is not ingrained in their daily lives.

⁶ As described by Merid (1971: 326), Marawwaa is the Oromo clan of Barentu descendent who begot Ana, Uru and Abati sub-clans. However, the Rayya Oromo deny this. For instance, Mustefa Kune, the only Rayya Oromo who counts his ancestors to 12th generation, said that “Marawwaa is like a landlord or a leader of Rayya Oromo community; and even today I am called Marawwicha”.

⁷ Bokkuu is an illected leader under Marawwaa to rule certain villages. For instance Waayyuu Kube the Bokkuu of Dayyuu.

According to Himmelmann (2002: 72), observed communicative events are events in which external interference is limited to the fact that the ongoing event is being “observed and/or recorded”. Accordingly, I asked the consultants to tell me their history, folk tales, folk songs, about the local costumes, greetings, and daily life. The other communicative event is a staged communicative event, in which communicative event is enacted for the purpose of research. In this communicative event, consultants were asked to describe and/or play some events like coffee preparation procedures, praying (dua), *dubartee*, *hiriiraa* ‘cultural song’, and ceremonial activities related to birthing were recorded. I attended a traditional memorial service, where females chanted to holy place, *Hujub* ‘sanctuary’, in Hijira village, so as to the decedent’s soul would not be get lost along the way. As predictable from the social situation, the language used in such a special occasion was Tigrinya. However, through my research assistant, I asked them whether they know chanting in Afaan Oromoo or not. Since some of the participants know the language, they repeated the chant in Afaan Oromoo for recording purpose (cf. [video A](#)). Only about a minute of all the recordings was simultaneously captured on video per the contributors consent.

1.10.2.2 Recording of Lexical and Grammatical Elicitation

Elicitation is a type of communicative event in which a researcher uses intermediary language in order to ask for transilations of components of grammar in the target language, according to Murno (2001: 132). However, if elicitation implies the use of questionnaires in intermediary language, it excludes data from text (Chelliam and Willem 2011: 361). On the other hand, Mosel (2006, 2012) describes elicitation as it is whatever one does to get the consultants to say something through the target language. Whatsoever its scope, elicitation was used as a complement for the other tools of data collection in this study. Because, as stated by Bower (2008: 73), certain aspect of a language are only ascertainable via elicitation. That is why Dixon (2007: 24) underscored that implementing nothing but texts only is almost as bad as not implementing texts totally. Accordingly, to provide an intensive grammar of particular language, one should base the study on texts and on participant observation, but this must always be augmented by careful elicitation in the language, as a means of filling in gaps and also checking out generalisations.

Some particular lexical domains for elicitation include wordlists, morphological paradigms, acceptability judgments, expressions for numbers and measures, body parts, natural objects and place names, terms for color, folk taxonomies for plants, animals, agriculture, items of material culture, etc. (Himmelmann 2002: 47ff). I elicited a basic list of around 420 words using Tigrinya as an intermediary language. I did not use these elicited words as the base of my analysis and I simply used for validation. Because, as Dixon (2007: 25) describes, elicitation is about the validity of sentences in the target language, and not eliciting translations of sentences in the *lingua franca*. Accordingly, by using the first fieldwork data, I generated clauses, phrases, simple sentences and a few complex sentences in the dialect under study and asked them whether these are correct or not. In elicitation, I also used numerous cultural pictures and videos taken at different moments during the fieldwork besides the collected pictures and videos from different events. In pictures elicitation, consultants were presented with pictures and were then asked a question that would conceivably generate the target expression. In videos elicitation too, consultants were asked to narrate a locally produced elicitation videos. Therefore, I used the community's materials as visual elicitation materials (see Appendix D).

1.10.2.3 Genealogical and Socio-Linguistic Data

During my fieldwork, I conducted informal interviews with around forty-seven speakers of Rayya Oromo. I asked them about the origin of Rayya Oromo, their language use in terms of with whom, when and where, their opinion about the importance of their language, about other speech communities in the area, and their socioeconomic status in relation to the other speech communities in the area. I also asked them about the boundary of the Rayya Oromo in the past, contemporary and historical contact with other neighbouring speech communities. In order to obtain this information, it was necessary to gain the community's trust and I achieved this through my research assistants (i.e. Dagne Machew and Siraj Ahmed) in addition to sharing my personal stories about my own culture to foster their trust and friendship. Note that I did what I could only to extract linguistic data in different ranges of genres but not to expose secrets of the interviewed individuals.

In general, about fifteen hours of audio and video corpora were recorded by all the three data collecting methods mentioned above. Finally, an hours of recording data was edited, and thirty minutes of the edited data annotation accompanied by transcription and translation.

1.10.3 Workflow

A language documentation process begins from study planning and ends at mobilization through different steps (Figure 5). The steps typically include recording, capturing, or copying recordings to a laptop, identifying and cutting sessions, transcoding media files to open and common formats, transcribing, interlinearizing and translating text. The following figure shows the researcher's preference of the way the study was implemented, the workflow of documentation procedure, the software and the archiving formats that were used. The procedures were adopted from Thieberger (2004: 173) and Thieberger and Andrea (2012: 97) (see Figure 5).

The diagram in Figure 5 shows the way the data stored during the research work, which is how audio and video recordings were handled in CD, DVD, and HD. It also shows the demand of efficient segmentation, transcription, annotation, translation, and metadata of audio and video. Lastly, how the materials were stored for long-term preservation is illustrated.

The description of the grammar of the RAO variety was based on the data that I collected (see §1.10.2). Thus, the data analysis and the examples given were drawn from the recorded texts. A three-level approach where the first line is devoted for an italicized typeface data follows IPA transcription along with morph-by-morpheme parsing, the second line for a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (IMG), and the third line for a gloss of the whole gloss (i.e. free translation). Notice that whenever needed literally translation may also be given. In the data presentation line, when necessary, the part under discussion is in bold typeface.

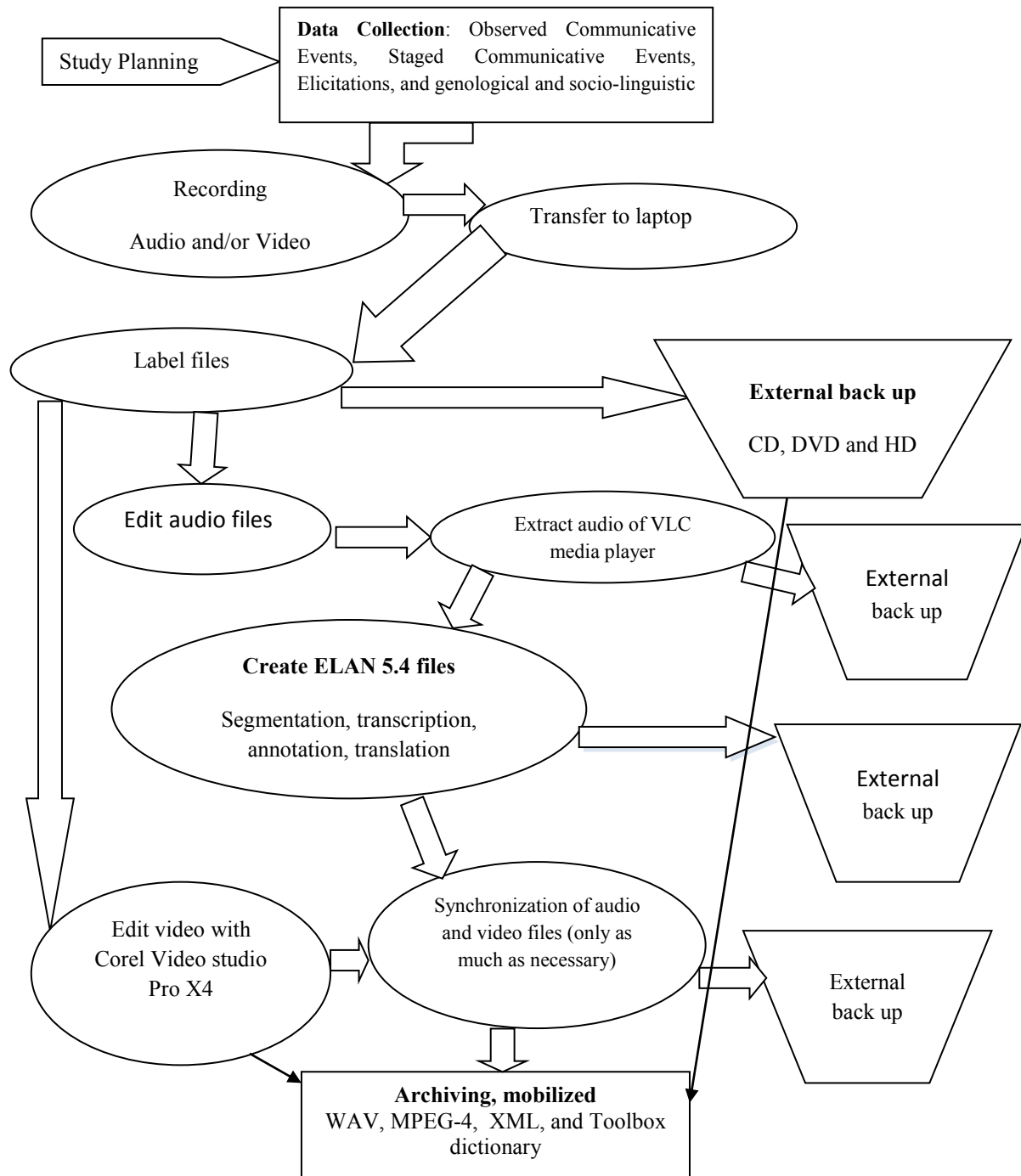


Figure 5 Workflow for Documentation

1.11 Summary

This chapter has served as an introduction to this thesis. It has introduced the Rayya Oromos people, geography, demography, and the variety of Afaan Oromoo they speak. Dialect classification of the language was addressed based on Feda (2015). A review of previous studies pertinent to the RAO variety was given. Justification for the study and its objective was also made. Next, scope of the study was discussed. There is a discussion on how this dissertation contributes to different disciplines. The methodology used to carry out the study was described after the explanation of theoretical perspectives. Information was given about the language resource persons. Finally, workflow was indicated.

Chapter Two

Phonology

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the speech sounds of RAO are identified and described. Consonant phoneme inventory is presented in § 2.1, while (near) minimal pairs are provided in § 2.1.1. Distribution of consonant phonemes are described in § 2.1.2, while gemination and co-occurrence of consonants are respectively presented in § 2.1.3 and 2.1.4. Vowel phonemes are discussed in § 2.2 and their minimal or near minimal pairs are presented in § 2.2.1, while vowel phonemes distribution and length are respectively dealt with in § 2.2.2 and 2.2.3. Sections 2.3 and 2.4 discuss adaptation of loan phonemes through loanwords and syllable structure, respectively. In section 2.5 allophonic variation is described, whereas phonological processes are dealt with in 2.6 and morphophonemic processes in 2.7. Sections 2.8-2.10 deal with tone, pitch accent, and intonation, respectively.

We employed the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) conventions in the transcription. However, instead of using a length mark (:), doubling phoneme is used for both consonant and vowel length marks. Throughout this study, the choice of presenting the data is predominantly in phonemic form, unless phonetic transcription is provided in square brackets for particular purposes.

2.1. Consonant Phonemes

Like the other Afaan Oromoo varieties such as Kamise or Wallo (Baate), Mecha, Tulema, and Harar (cf. Dejene 2010: 7; Habte 2003: 13; Hawine 2007: 2; Kebede 1994: 2; 2009: 26, and Shimelis 2014: 4) there are twenty-four consonant phonemes in RAO. In addition, Rayya Oromo speakers use some phonemes from different languages in loanwords. These phonemes are not included in Table 1 which contains only the native phonemes of RAO variety, but they are treated separately in § 2.3.

Table 1. Consonant phonemes

Sonority	Manner of Articulation	Voicing	Places of Articulation						
			Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Obstruent	Stop	voiced	b		d			g	
		voiceless			t			k	ʔ (‘)
		ejective	p’ (ph)		t’ (x)			k’ (q)	
		implosive			d’ (dh)				
	Fricative	voiceless		f	s	ʃ (sh)			h
	Affricate	voiced				dʒ (j)			
		voiceless				tʃ (ch)			
		ejective				tʃ’ (c)			
Sonorant	Nasal		m		n	ɲ (ny)			
	Lateral approximant				l				
	Trill				r				
	Approximant		w				j (y)		

Note: Those in brackets are used in orthographic writing and those singles are used in both Orthography and IPA.

As presented in Table 1, RAO variety has a contrast between voiced and plain voiceless phonemes for alveolar and velar stops. The same holds true for voiced and voiceless post-alveolar affricatives. In this inventory of consonant phonemes, the distinction between two sounds is sufficient to signal in meaning contrast. Thus, phonemes are units, which stand in contrast with each other in the phonological system of a language (Kreidler 1997: 40). The following are the (near) minimal pairs of suspicious pairs that show evidence of the contractiveness of each of the consonants in Table 1 above.

2.1.1. (Near) Minimal Pairs of Consonants

The presentation of the phoneme contrasts is organized as follows. First, the (near) minimal pairs are given for consonant phonemes sharing the same place of articulation, but differing in the manner of articulation, moving from bilabial to glottal. Second, if our data fails to exemplify the contrasts between two consonants across place of articulation, we will consider

the manner of articulation. Accordingly, consonants of the same manner of articulation are contrasted for place of articulation.

4. Bilabial consonants /b, p', m, and w/

- a. /b/ and /m/ *ɓarba* 'elephant' vs *ɓarma* 'here'
barii 'a day after' vs *marii* 'consultation'
- b. /p'/ and /w/ *dip'p'*⁸*oo* 'narrow' vs *diwoo* 'near'
*hap'p'**ii* 'thin' vs *hawwii* 'desire/wish'
- c. /b/ and /p'/ *habii* 'loan' vs *hap'p'**ii* 'thin'
dibba '100' vs *dip'p'**aa* 'narrow'

5. Alveolar consonants /d, t, d', s, n, l, and r/

- a. /d/ and /t/ *duuluu* 'going to war' vs *tuuluu* 'to heap'
madaa 'wound' vs *mataa* 'head'
- b. /d/ and /d'/ *diige* 'I/he demolished' vs *d'iige* 'I/he bled'
duudaa 'deaf, all' vs *duudaa* 'tradition'
- c. /n/ and /l/ *nama* 'person' vs *lama* 'two'
mana 'home' vs *mala* 'idea, opinion, method'
- d. /s/ and /r/ *sara* 'time, while' vs *rara* 'I/he will pack'
gosa 'clan' vs *gora* 'I/he will rest up'

6. Post-alveolar consonants /dʒ, tʃ, ʃ, and ɲ /

- a. /dʒ/ and /tʃ/ *dʒira* 'available' vs *tʃira* 'I/he will chop'
dʒiisa 'I/he will moisten' vs *tʃiisa* 'I/he will lie down'
- b. /ʃ/ and /ɲ/ *keeffa* 'inside' vs *keɲɲa* 'ours'
teeffa 'you will sit' vs *teeɲɲa* 'we will sit'

7. Velar consonants /g, k, and k'/

- a. /g/ and /k/ *garaa* 'abdomen' vs *karaa* 'road, path, way'

⁸ Orthographically, geminations of digraphs are not allowed in Afaan Oromoo however, they may involve gemination as they pronounced in IPA transcription.

goruu ‘visiting on the way’ vs *k’oruu* ‘challenging’

b. /g/ and /k’/ *gonna* ‘we will go’ vs *k’onna* ‘farming/we will plough’
dungii ‘kissing’ vs *dunk’ii* ‘pair’

8. Glottal consonants /ʔ and h/

/ʔ/ and /h/ *ʔarma* ‘here’ vs *harma* ‘breast’
ʔamma (now) vs *hamma* ‘until’

9. Plain Voiceless stops /t and tʃ/

/t/ and /tʃ/ *maatii* ‘family’ vs *matʃʃii* ‘intoxication’
ʔati ‘you 2-SG’ vs *ʔatʃʃi* ‘there’

10. Ejective stops / t’ and k’/

/t’/ and /k’/ *t’aarsuu* ‘toiling’ vs *k’aarsuu* ‘shifting’
k’at’oo ‘roasted grain’ vs *k’ak’oo* ‘sooty’

11. Fricate /f and s/

/f/ and /s/ *fokkuu* ‘ugly’ vs *sokkuu* ‘to leave’
rafuu ‘to sleep’ vs *raasuu* ‘to churn’

12. Approximants /w and j/

/w/ and /j/ *waaduu* ‘to deter’ vs *jaaduu* ‘to think’
k’awwa ‘hole’ vs *k’ajja* ‘cultural female steam’

These (near) minimal pairs [4-12], support the phonemic inventory proposed in Table 1. The following section is on how the phonemes behave distributionally.

2.1.2. Distribution of Consonant Phonemes (Phonotactics)

In RAO, all consonant phonemes except /p’/ occur in word-initial position. On the other hand, all consonant phonemes occur word medially and intervocalically. Concerning the final position of a word, whereas twelve consonant phonemes occupy the position, two bilabials (/p’/ and /w’/), the alveolar implosive /d/, all post-alveolars¹⁰, the palatal /j/, the velar stop /g/ and

⁹ /w/ occupies word final position only in loanwords like /maatʃʃtʃoo/ ‘Maychew: capital city of southern Tigray’

both glottal stops /ʔ/ and /h/ do not appear at word final position in our database. Table 2 summarizes the possible distribution of consonant phonemes within a structure of RAO words.

Table 2. Distribution of consonant phonemes

consonants	Initial		Medial		Final	
	example	Gloss	example	gloss	example	gloss
b	<i>bilbila</i>	bell	<i>hambaa</i>	remnant	<i>lib</i>	hide
m	<i>mana</i>	house	<i>harma</i>	breast	<i>baram</i>	when
p'	—	—	<i>korp'eeffa</i>	ram	—	—
w	<i>waggaa</i>	year	<i>kuraawa</i>	salty	—	—
d	<i>dikkaa</i>	buffer zone	<i>farda</i>	horse	—	—
t	<i>tutfi fee</i>	small black ant	<i>buutii</i>	viper	<i>saddeet</i>	eight
t'	<i>t'inneeɲna</i>	youth	<i>k'at'oo</i>	roasted grain	<i>lat'</i>	arrogate
d'	<i>dangaa</i>	feast	<i>haada</i>	mother	—	—
f	<i>faadzdzii</i>	wide plain	<i>tajfii</i>	flea	<i>guf</i>	crouch
s	<i>sara</i>	time	<i>hoosa</i>	bad	<i>ʔas</i>	here
n	<i>neetʃ'tʃ'a</i>	lion	<i>majnee</i>	ankle	<i>tʃ'inaan</i>	testicles
l	<i>leentʃ'a</i>	type of tree	<i>dzilba</i>	knee	<i>sagal</i>	nine
r	<i>raajjaa</i>	the Rayya	<i>ʔarba</i>	elephant	<i>afur</i>	four
dʒ	<i>dzabaa</i>	log (or strong)	<i>ʔidza</i>	eye	—	—
tʃ	<i>tʃinfilaalee</i>	cultural medicine	<i>raatʃtʃa</i>	frog	—	—
tʃ'	<i>tʃ'iisuu</i>	to sleep	<i>k'antʃ'ee</i>	sling	—	—
ʃ	<i>fan</i>	five	<i>waafuu</i>	churn	—	—
ɲ	<i>naarroo</i>	eyebrow	<i>beɲnaa</i>	compensation	—	—
j	<i>jaabuu</i>	to ride (or climb)	<i>wajjoo</i>	many	<i>baj</i>	go out
g	<i>gaafa</i>	Appointment/horn	<i>gaangoo</i>	mule	—	—
k	<i>kidziba</i>	false/lie	<i>ilkaan</i>	teeth	<i>saksak</i>	trot
k'	<i>k'oma</i>	chest	<i>k'a k'aa</i>	soot	<i>bak'</i>	down (or melt)
ʔ	<i>ʔaʔaan</i>	mouth	<i>reʔee</i>	goat	—	—
h	<i>habii</i>	loan	<i>waahila</i>	friend	—	—

¹⁰ /tʃ/ and /ʃ/ occur word finally only in certain loanwords like /tegelbatʃ/ 'reversed' and /ʔuf/ 'hush'

2.1.3. Gemination of Consonants

Gemination is a sound change that brings about a lengthening of consonants. It is quite common in Afaan Oromoo and the Afaan Oromoo of Rayya is no exception. Accordingly, all consonant phonemes except /h/ and /ʔ/ can be geminated intervocalically in this dialect. Thus, in syllabification the first phoneme appears as the coda of a preceding syllable and the second phoneme appears as the onset of the following syllable (cf. § 2.4). Underlying geminates contrasts with single consonants in medial positions indicate their phonemic values.

13. a. /d, dd/ *sodaa* ‘fear’ vs *soddaa* ‘father-/mother-in-law’

b. /t, tt/ *hatuu* ‘to steal’ vs *hattuu* ‘a thief’

c. /r, rr/ *haree* ‘has he cleaned?’ vs *harree* ‘donkey’

d. /b, bb/ *gubaa* ‘nettle’ vs *gubbaa* ‘top or summit’

e. /dʃ, ddʃ/ *hoduu* ‘to suckle’ vs *hodduu* ‘to sew’

f. /s, ss/ *hosisa* ‘suckle’ vs *hossisa* ‘itching’

There are two types of gemination in RAO: lexical geminates and grammatical geminates. As described by Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 92-93), both types of geminations are common among most languages of the world. According to these linguists, lexical geminates refer to a lengthening of consonant that contrasts phonemically with its shorter counterpart, whereas the grammatical geminates are not contrastive. Grammatical geminates are formed across morpheme boundaries related to grammatical rules. Thus, they may arise from identical or different consonant sequences that span a morpheme boundary within a word. Some examples of lexical geminates are presented below (Table 3) albeit the gemination applying the grammatical process will be analyzed under § 2.7.1.2 and elsewhere in the dissertation.

Table 3. Gemination of consonant phonemes

Geminate phonemes	Examples	Gloss	Geminate phonemes	Examples	Gloss
<i>bb</i>	<i>dibba</i>	hundred	<i>rr</i>	<i>hurrama</i>	thicket
<i>mm</i>	<i>ɔamma</i>	now	<i>dʒdʒ</i>	<i>ɔallaadʒdʒee</i>	mountain name in Tigray
<i>ll</i>	<i>baallaa</i>	fork	<i>tʃtʃ</i>	<i>datʃtʃee</i>	earth/land
<i>p'p'</i>	<i>hap'p'ii</i>	thin	<i>tʃ'tʃ'</i>	<i>balatʃ'tʃ'uu</i>	black animal with white forehead
<i>ww</i>	<i>gowwaa</i>	foolish	<i>ʃʃ</i>	<i>soneeʃʃuu</i>	to see off/ to escort
<i>dd</i>	<i>saddeet</i>	eight	<i>ɲɲ</i>	<i>beɲɲaa</i>	compensation
<i>tt</i>	<i>k'ottuu</i>	farmer	<i>jj</i>	<i>habajjaa</i>	dormant
<i>t't'</i>	<i>meet't'ii</i>	palm tree	<i>gg</i>	<i>roggee</i>	edge
<i>dd'</i>	<i>naddfoo</i>	woman/lizard	<i>kk</i>	<i>bakka</i>	place
<i>ff</i>	<i>tʃ'affee</i>	swamp	<i>k'k'</i>	<i>k'ok'k'oba</i>	neighbour
<i>ss</i>	<i>soosobuu</i>	to deceive			
<i>nn</i>	<i>k'onna</i>	agriculture			

2.1.4. Co-occurrence of Consonant Phonemes

The RAO allows consonant cluster only intervocalically. The occurrence is also restricted to a maximum of two consonants. Accordingly, there are two types of clusters in this variety. These are identical consonant sequence (lengthening of consonant) (§ 2.1.3) and different consonant sequences. Concerning the cluster of different consonants, all sonorants except /w/ and /ɲ/, and a few obstruents occur as the first member of a cluster. Among the obstruents only /b/, /g/, /k/, /f/, and /k'/ come as the first member of a cluster. For sonorants, there is wider opportunity in selection of a second member. Let us consider some examples of possible clusters of different consonants.

14. a. *hambaa* 'remnant', g. *dumduma* 'forearm'
 b. *hamp'ee* 'resin', h. *k'amk'aammatʃʃuu* 'to be warm by fire'
 c. *dunk'ii* 'pair', i. *fintʃ'aan* 'urine', *k'int'irsuu* 'to cut off'
 d. *ɔallandʒaa* 'cheek', j. *ganda* 'village', *hangafa* 'firstborn/elder'
 e. *ɔintala* 'daughter/girl', k. *deenkaa* 'peach'

f. *handiura* ‘navel’

The clusters in [14a-k] are nasal-stop clusters that contain mb, md, mp, mk, nk, ntʃ, nt, ndʒ, nd, ng, nt, nk, and nd. Examples [15a-c] on the other hand indicate nasal-fricative clusters.

15. a. *goromsa* ‘heifer’
b. *fuunfatʃuu* ‘sniffing’
c. *k’eerransa* ‘leopard’

Nasal-nasal cluster is only mn at lexical level. However, nm and nɲ may occur at morpheme boundaries and then they become mm and ɲɲ, respectively (cf. § 2.7). Let us look at mn cluster in [16].

16. a. *humna* ‘strength’
b. *gamna* ‘clever’

The next examples are lateral approximant/or trill-stop clusters. From lateral and trill, trill is most likely attracting more consonants in the second member position. The clusters are lk, lp, lt, lʔ, rd, rt, rʔ, rtʃ, rk, rp, rb, rg, rt, and rk’.

17. a. *k’ulk’ullu* ‘clean’, f. *salp’oo* ‘simple’ k. *hargiisa* ‘aloe’
b. *faltii* ‘dung’, g. *k’alʔaa* ‘thin’ l. *hirp’a* ‘heel’
c. *farda* ‘horse’, h. *durba* ‘virgin/girl’ m. *mark’aa* ‘porridge’
d. *mart’oo* ‘loincloth’, i. *hartʃ’aʔuu* ‘burst’, n. *wurtoo* ‘shoulder’
e. *hirʔuu* ‘half full’, j. *harka* ‘arm’,

There are also two cluster types with initial cluster member lateral/trill. These clusters are lateral/trill-fricative and lateral/trill-nasal. Both clusters are respectively illustrated in [18] and [19].

18. a. *dagaʃʃaa* ‘rafter’
b. *dʒaarsa* ‘old man’
c. *tankaarfii* ‘step over’
19. a. *ʔilma* ‘son’
b. *harma* ‘breast’

Even if approximants do not appear in a second member position in a cluster, they can be a first member of a consonant cluster. Accordingly, we have clusters of approximant-stop, approximant-fricative, approximant-nasal, and approximant-trill as exemplified in [20-23], respectively.

20. a. *dujda* ‘back’
 b. *goojtaa* ‘lord, God’
21. a. *bajsaa* ‘refined butter’
 b. *tajfii* ‘flea’
22. a. *majnee* ‘ankle’
 b. *dajma* ‘honey’
23. a. *majra* ‘grass’
 b. *ʔoojruu* ‘farmland’

2.2. Vowel Phonemes

The RAO presents a set of five vowel phonemes. These vowel phonemes are the high-front unrounded /i/, the mid-front /e/, the high-back rounded /u/, the mid-back rounded /o/, and the central-low vowel /a/. As presented in Table 4, each of these phonemes has a long contrastive phoneme.

Table 4. Vowel phonemes

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

2.2.1. (Near) Minimal Pairs of Vowel Phonemes

Below, in Table 5, a (near) minimal pair test for vowel is indicated.

Table 5. (Near) minimal pairs for testing vowels

phonemes	Short	Gloss	Long	Gloss
/a/ vs /i/	<i>saree</i>	dog	<i>maaloo</i>	what happened
	<i>siree</i>	bed/hammock	<i>miiloo</i>	friend
/a/ vs /u/	<i>dalluu</i>	hump	<i>jaasuu</i>	to make flow
	<i>dulluu</i>	crooked horns	<i>juusuu</i>	to howl
/a/ vs /e/	<i>k'onna</i>	agriculture	<i>baala</i>	leaf
	<i>k'onne</i>	we ploughed	<i>beela</i>	hunger
/a/ vs /o/	<i>gagaa</i>	wax	<i>wajjaa</i>	cloth
	<i>gogaa</i>	go.IMP.2PL	<i>wajjoo</i>	many
/e/ vs /i/	<i>baate</i>	she/you came out	<i>neetii</i>	plow
	<i>baati</i>	she will come out	<i>niitii</i>	wife
/e/ vs /u/	<i>baate</i>	she/you left/came out	<i>ʔuluu</i>	to fumigate
	<i>baatu</i>	you (2PL) will leave/come out	<i>ʔulee</i>	stick
/e/ vs /o/	<i>ʔedaa</i>	interjection (surprise)	<i>bareeda</i>	beautiful/good
	<i>ʔodaa</i>	sycamore	<i>barooda</i>	bellow
/o/ vs /u/	<i>gorba</i>	young calf	<i>haadoo</i>	blade
	<i>gurbaa</i>	boy/youngster	<i>haaduu</i>	to shave
/o/ vs /i/	<i>k'olee</i>	dress (for female)	<i>waatoo</i>	type of tree
	<i>k'ilee</i>	far	<i>waatii</i>	calf
/u/ vs /i/	<i>butaa</i>	abduction	<i>ʔaduu</i>	sun
	<i>bitaa</i>	left (direction)	<i>ʔadii</i>	white

2.2.2. Distribution of Vowel Phonemes

All vowels of RAO variety can occur word medially and/or finally. They do not occur at word initial position (i.e. the glottal stop occurs word initially in the language, Afaan Oromoo). On the other hand, /o/, /i/, and /e/ only rarely occur in short form in word final position, /e/ also rarely occurs at medial position. Consider the examples in Table 6.

Table 6. Distribution of vowel phonemes

vowel	Initial	Medial position			Final position	
			Example	gloss	Example	gloss
/a/	-	short	<i>harma</i>	breast	<i>hidda</i>	root
		long	<i>raaroo</i>	bat	<i>dʒabaa</i>	log/strong
/i/	-	short	<i>dʒibba</i>	hate	<i>laali</i>	look
		long	<i>diida</i>	plain/outside/far-off place'	<i>badʒdʒii</i>	virgin land
/e/	-	short	<i>ʔeda</i>	last night	<i>ʔarbuse</i>	my elephant
		long	<i>ʔeela</i>	well (of water)	<i>majnee</i>	ankle
/o/	-	short	<i>boraatii</i>	headrest/billow	<i>tokko</i>	one
		long	<i>loohuu</i>	to creep	<i>naddoo</i>	woman/lizard
/u/	-	short	<i>duma</i>	fleshy sheep's tail	<i>ʔarraakku</i>	crow/raven
		long	<i>k'uuk'aa</i>	inner feeling	<i>k'up'p'anuu</i>	squat

2.2.3. Vowel Length

Like consonant gemination, vowel length is also phonemic. It can occur in a contrastive distribution as the (near) minimal pairs (§ 2.2.1). Contrast in word-final position is very rare for some vowels (§ 2.2.2). Though vowel length at medial position is natural as /oo/ in *ʔool(i)* 'spend the day (2SG.IPF)', its occurrence of final position may become natural or grammatical as /uu/ in *loohuu* 'to creep'. The following example set indicates the phonemic status of vowel length by providing (near) minimal pairs with their corresponding short vowels.

24. a. /a/ and /aa/ *ʔeda* 'last night'
 ʔedaa 'interjection (surprise)'
- b. /i/ and /ii/ *hori* 'be affluent (IMP.2SG)'

	<i>horii</i>	‘cattle/wealth’
c. /e/ and /ee/	<i>tʃone</i>	‘I/he milked a cow/goat to the last drop’
	<i>tʃonee</i>	‘barely lactating cow’
d. /o/ and /oo/	<i>ʔol(i)</i>	‘up/on/above’
	<i>ʔool(i)</i>	‘spend the day (2SG.IPF)’
e. /u/ and /uu/	<i>tʃurii</i>	‘dirt/menstruation’
	<i>tʃuurii</i>	‘sin/or breach’

Some languages do not tolerate a lengthening of vowel or different vowel phonemes in their phonology, as for instance in central Cushitic languages such as Kemantney, Khimt’anga, and Awngi (Zealealem 2000: 162-163; Teshome 2015: 50-52, and Worku 1986: 48-54). However, as presented in Table 6, a lengthening of vowel is allowed at medial and final positions in RAO variety in particular and in Afaan Oromoo in general. On the other hand, a sequence of dissimilar vowels is forbidden in the dialect. Thus, if it occurs at a morpheme boundary, the glottal stop /ʔ/ is inserted to break up this sequence (§ 2.7.3).

2.3. Loan Phonemes

The term loan phonemes or loanwords refers to phonemes or words that enter a language through borrowing from another language. In borrowing words, recipient languages have some strategies for dealing with sounds that are loaned (Appel and Pieter 2005: 164). In such a situation recipient languages normally follow one of the obtainable two strategies. These are either replacing a phoneme with one of their own that is phonetically related (for instance /p/ in ‘police’ become /b/ and articulated as *boolisii* in RAO) or adapt it as it is like as /h/ in *naḥaafe* ‘August’ for domestic loan words. Thus, Rayya Oromo speakers are familiar with both strategies.

Accordingly, in addition to phonemes described in Table 1 and Table 4, the dialect possesses loan phonemes from Ethio-Semitic languages especially from Tigrinya. The loan phonemes are both consonants and vowels: Table 7 and 8. They are adapted from Abraham (2012: 71-72).

Table 7. Loan consonant phonemes

Sonority	Manner of Articulation	Voicing	Places of Articulation			
			Dental	Velar	Labio-velar	Pharyngeal
Obstruent	Fricative	voiced	z			ʕ
		voiceless		χ'	χ' ^w	ħ
		voiceless	s'			

Table 8. Loan vowel phonemes

	Centre
High	i
Mid	ə

As observed from Tables 7 and 8, the loaned consonants from Rayya Tigrinya are obstruent fricative whereas the vowels are open high-central and open mid-central. Shimelis (2014: 4) has mentioned /z/ and /s'/ for Amharic and Tigrinya while they are reported marginal in Afaan Oromoo. According to him, both central vowels are common for Amharic and Tigrinya but absent in Afaan Oromoo. Now let us look at some examples of loan phonemes through Tigrinya loanwords.

25. a. /z/ **zabana** 'period', **zibt'oo** 'earring'
b. /s'/ **nas'aa** 'free', **s'ihuufii** 'writing'
c. /χ'/ **χ'adam** 'Saturday', **məχ'ələ** 'Mekele'
d. /ʕ/ **marʕa** 'wedding', **doguʕa** 'highland'
e. /ħ/ **naħaafə** 'August', **taħisaasi** 'December'
f. /χ'^w/ **fəχ'^warit** 'piercer'

As we observed from the example set in [25a-f], phonemes in bold face entered the RAO variety through borrowed loanwords from Tigrinya. In the recipient language, the pronunciation of /fəχ'^warit/ and /χ'adam/ are slightly unlike that of the speakers of the donor language. However, concerning /χ'adam/ the RAO pronunciation is varying as /k'idaamee/ when they are asked to articulate the word again. Accordingly, the consonant phoneme /χ'/ is substituted by phoneme /k'/. Similarly in examples [25 a, b, d, and e], the Rayya Oromo

speakers look for an appropriate substitution and pronunciation for loanwords. They realize the mid-centralized vowel /ə/ as short /a/ and the high-centralized vowel /i/ as short /i/. Nevertheless, /ə/ may be realized as short /e/ in the final position. Still in /dəguʃa/, /ə/ is realized as /o/ (/doguʃa/) by the harmonization process. The phoneme /s/ in the word /naħaase/ is substituted by /ʃ/ and becomes /naħaʃe/. Of all the examples, Amharic may share three words, *zabana* ‘period’, *nas’aa* ‘free’ and /k’idaamee/ but not /χ’adam/ ‘Saturday’ with Tigrinya.

Most Rayya Oromo speakers are generally familiar with the Tigrinya language and therefore are able to pronounce Tigrinya phonemes and/or words without major phonological adaptation. Therefore, it is obvious to find Tigrinya phonemes in RAO words especially in not careful speech. Let us illustrate some examples below in [26].

26. a. /ʃ/ *bi**ʃ**ada* ‘afterward’,
 b. /ħ/ *raar**ħ**e* ‘swamp’,
 c. /i/ *ki**ʃ**ummaa* ‘guest’

All the words in [26a-c] are native Afaan Oromoo words and the loaned entities are those phonemes in bold face. Consequently, these words are pronounced as Tigrinya words by inserting loan phonemes. In fact, the words are revised as follows within the same utterances when speakers pronounced each token word frequently.

27. a. *booda* ‘afterward’,
 b. *raaree* ‘swamp’
 c. *ke**ʃ**ummaa* ‘guest’

Examples [27] show that those in [26] are Oromo words inserting Tigrinya sounds. In [25d] on the other hand, the already existing concept *tʃ’idaa* ‘wedding’ is replaced by Tigrinya *marʃa*. Even though borrowing is a natural process, borrowing what are existing is a clear sign of shifting. According to Woolard (1989: 356), this kind of borrowing is unnecessary borrowing that indicates the influence of donor language. As described by Hock (1991: 380-387) on the one hand, not all borrowings of words or phonemes are need borrowings which introduce completely new concepts into the recipient language. Some are prestige borrowings that

introduce new linguistic forms for already existing linguistic concepts and their corresponding native forms.

Though not too numerous, overseas loanwords are not uncommon in RAO. To mention a few, university, politics, investor, television, post, pasta, and police. These are pronounced in the dialect as *ʔimbarsiitii/ʔumbarsiitii*, *bolotikaa*, *ʔimbastarii*, *telebedziinii*, *boostaa*, *baastaa* and *boolisii*, respectively. RAO lacks /v/ and /p/. According to Ferguson (1976: 65) and Tosco (2000: 341ff) these two consonant phonemes are rarely used in some Ethiopian languages, and in loanwords they are usually replaced by /b/ and /f/ respectively. But, in the case of RAO both phonemes are replaced by /b/. Although the phoneme /z/ is lacking in the dialect, loanwords like *taazijaa* ‘tazia/mourning’ and *ʔaziizaa* ‘Azeeza i.e. name’ from the Arabic language contain /z/ are commonly used. As regards loanword adaptation, further research is necessary due to the complex contact situation and the speed of change in the area.

2.4. Syllable Structure

Though an exact definition of a syllable is difficult to come by as pointed out, for instance by Duanmu (2008: 36). It can be composed of an onset and rhyme (Duanmu 2008: 6; Fox 2000: 60, and Gordon 2006: 3). According to these linguists, onset is the first slot in a syllable, whereas rhyme, the part of rhyming in a syllable, consists of a nucleus, typically a vowel, which may be followed by one or more consonants called coda, the end of the syllable.

A syllable in the RAO is usually composed of onset, nucleus, and coda. The dialect allows neither empty onsets (because the phoneme /ʔ/ is considered as the first member before vowels) nor onsets with consonant clusters. On the other hand, the rhyme of a syllable consists of an obligatory nucleus and an optional coda. The nucleus is always a vowel, which is either short or long. The coda of a syllable can be empty or be filled by a single consonant. Thus, the dialect has both an open and a closed syllable types. An open syllable is a syllable that ends in a vowel and a closed syllable is a syllable that ends in a consonant. These syllable canons of the dialect license four types of syllables: CV, CVV, CVC, and CVVC. Structurally, they can be represented by a tree diagram as follows.

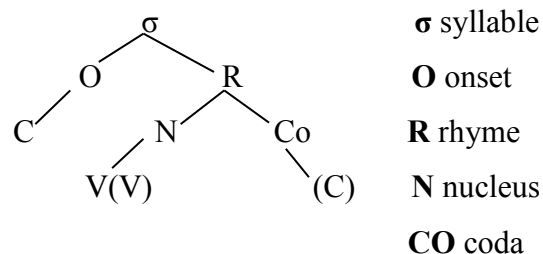


Figure 6. Syllable structure of RAO

The minimal syllable of the dialect is CV and its maximal syllable is CVVC. The following table shows some syllable structures of the dialect. The dot (.) between two syllables represents syllable boundary whereas syllables in boldface are examples of the given syllable type.

Table 9. Examples of RAO syllable types

Syllable type	Example Syllables						
CV	<i>sa.ra</i> 'time'	<i>t'u.rii</i> 'dirt'	<i>dʒaar.sa</i> 'old man'	<i>ʔa.duu</i> 'sun'	<i>ʔil.ma</i> 'son'	<i>k'o.fa</i> 'only'	<i>dʒib.ba</i> 'hate'
	<i>na.ma</i> 'person'	<i>dʒa.baa</i> 'log/strong'	<i>haa.dā</i> 'mother'	<i>ti.roo</i> 'liver'	<i>dii.da</i> 'plain'	<i>k'i.lee</i> 'fat'	<i>hur.ru.ma</i> 'thicket'
CVV	<i>ma.daa</i> 'wound'	<i>raa.roo</i> 'bat'	<i>baa.la</i> 'leaf'	<i>wur.too</i> 'shoulder'	<i>haa.doo</i> 'blade'	<i>ʔu.lee</i> 'stick'	<i>har.ree</i> 'donkey'
	<i>dʒa.baa</i> 'log'	<i>ʔaa.daa</i> 'culture'	<i>ʔee.la</i> 'pool'	<i>bu.taa</i> 'abduction'	<i>nii.tii</i> 'wife'	<i>ri.buu</i> 'sinew'	<i>da.mee</i> 'branch'
CVC	<i>ʔil.ma</i> 'son'	<i>har.ree</i> 'donkey'	<i>wur.too</i> 'shoulder'	<i>war.ra</i> 'family'	<i>har.ma</i> 'breast'	<i>dʒib.ba</i> 'hate'	<i>ʃan</i> 'five'
	<i>hid.da</i> 'root'	<i>hur.ru.ma</i> 'thicket'	<i>ʔil.kaan</i> 'teeth'	<i>maj.nee</i> 'ankle'	<i>hir.p'a</i> 'heel'	<i>ʔar.ma</i> 'here'	<i>daj.ma</i> 'honey'
CVVC	<i>k'o.raan</i> 'firewood'	<i>t'in.neep.ja</i> 'youth'	<i>neetʃ.tʃa</i> 'lion'	<i>k'eer.ran.sa</i> 'leopard'	<i>booj.ja</i> 'crying'	<i>keep.ja</i> 'ours'	<i>ʔil.kaan</i> 'teeth'
	<i>tʃi.naan</i> 'testicles'	<i>kor.p'eef.ʃa</i> 'ram'	<i>k'aar.suu</i> 'shifting'	<i>t'aar.suu</i> 'toiling'	<i>keef.ʃa</i> 'inside'	<i>dʒaar.sa</i> 'oldman'	<i>ʔa.ʃaan</i> 'mouth'

Below are sample tree diagrams of RAO syllable types.

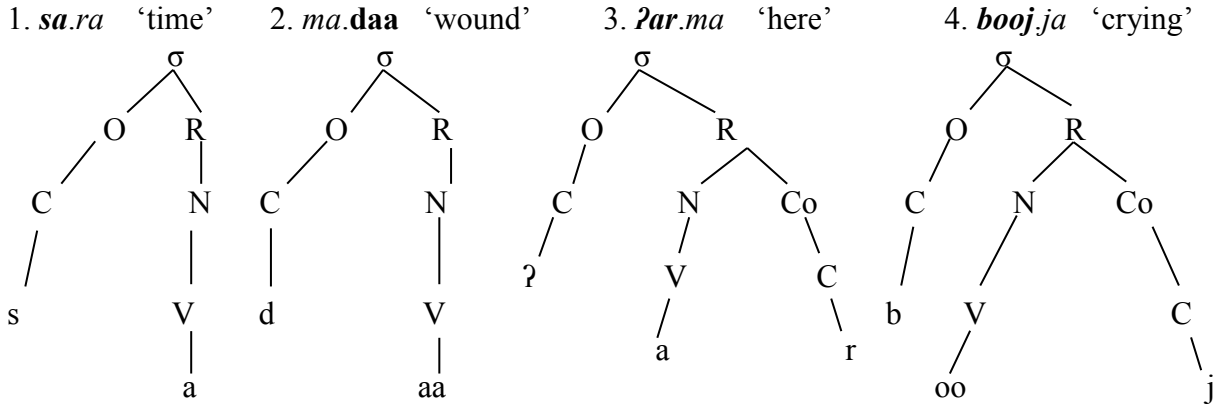


Figure 7. Examples of syllable structure of RAO

As mentioned above (§ 2.1.3 and § 2.1.4), a sequence of identical or different consonants occur only in word medial position. The number of consonants in a sequence is just two. In such cases, the first consonant of a cluster becomes the coda of the preceding syllable, while the second consonant of a cluster occupies the onset position of the succeeding syllable (see *boojja* 'crying' and *majnee* 'ankle' in Table 9).

As has been indicated in § 2.1.2, /p/ does not occur at word initial position but it does occur at syllable initial position where the syllable never comes word initially. For instance, in the word *sal.p'oo* 'simple' the onset of the second syllable is /p/. Thus, the onset of RAO can be filled by any consonants of the dialect. Concerning the coda on the other hand, any consonant can be a coda in a closed syllable except the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/ and the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. For example, consider the codas in the bold face syllables in the following set of constructions.

28. <i>hap.p'ii</i>	(hap .p'ii)	'thin'
<i>saddeet</i>	(sad .deet)	'eight'
<i>datf.tfee</i>	(datf .tfee)	'earth'
<i>beenj.naa</i>	(beenj .naa)	'compensation'
<i>gowwaa</i>	(gow .waa)	'foolish'
<i>bakka</i>	(bak .ka)	'place'

<i>naddoo</i>	(<i>nad.doo</i>)	‘women/lizard’
<i>balatfʹtʃuu</i>	(<i>ba.latfʹ.tʃuu</i>)	‘black animal with white forehead’
<i>soneeffuu</i>	(<i>so.neef.fuu</i>)	‘to see off/ to escort’
<i>ʔallaadʒdʒee</i>	(<i>ʔal.laadʒ.dʒee</i>)	‘the highest mountain’

Duanmu (2008: 7) argues that syllables are arrayed on a weighted scale of light and heavy. Accordingly, a syllable is called light, if it consists a short nucleus without a coda. On the other hand, it is said to be heavy if it consists a long nucleus in the absence of coda or if it consists a short nucleus in the presence of coda. Moreover, some languages distinguish a third type, superheavy syllables, which consist of a long nucleus with coda(s). Note that an onset of a syllable has no effect on weight in majority of languages as argued in Duanmu (2008: 7). RAO variety has light, heavy, and superheavy syllables with a long vowel that is followed by a consonant. Table 10 provides permissible syllable types of the dialect in a summarized form.

Table 10. RAO canonical syllable types.

Onset	Nucleus	Coda	Weight	Open/Closed
C	V		Light	open
C	VV		heavy	open
C	V	C	heavy	closed
C	VV	C	superheavy	closed

2.5. Allophonic Variation

Some phonemic consonants are realized in various forms depending on the context in which they occur. Thus, these situations are governed by what Gussenhoven and Haike (2011: 64) refers to as “allophonic rules” that determine which allophone occurs where. One needs to apply these rules to derive the correct allophones for the appropriate contexts. In [29-34] below, first we give the illustrative examples of phonetic environment and then identify the allophones of RAO. Notice that the sets before and after arrow (i.e. becomes or leads to) are respectively phonological representation and phonetic form.

29. a. /b/ /*bilbila*/ → [b] [*bilbila*] ‘bell’
 b. /b/ /*t’urub t’urub*/ → [ɸ] [*t’uruɸt’uruɸ*] ‘hop about’
 c. /b/ /*rooba*/ → [β] [*rooβa*] ‘rain’
 d. /b/ /*k’uubsuu*/ → [p] [*k’uupsuu*] ‘to satiate oneself’

The sounds [b], [ɸ], [β], and [p] are realizations of phonemic /b/. Allophonic rules for these sounds are outlined as follows.

$$/b/ \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ɸ} \\ \beta \\ \text{p} \\ \text{b} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} \text{/ -at word final} \\ \text{/ -between vowels (intervocalically)} \\ \text{/ -before labio-dental and alveolar fricative} \\ \text{/ -elsewhere} \end{array}$$

30. a. /n/ /*nama*/ → [n] [*nama*] ‘person’
 b. /n/ /*hangafa*/ → [ŋ] [*haŋgafa*] ‘firstborn/elder’
 c. /n/ /*fuunfat/fuu*/ → [m] [*fuumfat/fuu*] ‘sniffing’
 d. /n/ /*finbira*/ → [m] [*fiimbira*] ‘bird’

The sounds [n], [ŋ], [m], and [ɱ], are realizations of phonemic /n/. Allophonic rules for these sounds are represented as follows.

$$/n/ \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ŋ} \\ \text{ɱ} \\ \text{m} \\ \text{n} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} \text{/ -before velar stop} \\ \text{/ -before labio-dental fricative phoneme} \\ \text{/ -before voiced bilabial stop} \\ \text{/ -elsewhere} \end{array}$$

The alveolar nasal /n/ becomes [ɱ] when it occurs before postalveolars /ɖʒ, ʃ, ʃʷ, and ʃ/ in the Kamise dialect of Afaan Oromoo (Dejene and Julia 2013: 342-343). Nevertheless, this does not work for RAO. They illustrated by such examples as /*hindzaamta*/ becomes [*hiɱdzaamta*] ‘you will be blind’, /*hintfaappessu*/ becomes [*hiɱtfaappessu*] ‘he will not stamp it’, /*leentfa*/ becomes [*leeɱtfa*] ‘lion’ and /*hinfaakaltu*/ becomes [*hiɱfaakaltu*] ‘you (SG)/she will not practice.’ However, in RAO no such realization takes place except for the last construction that concerns /f/ (i.e. *bineenfa* becomes *bineeffa* ‘hyena’ by deletion of /n/ and compensatory lengthening of /f/). In fact, /m/ and /ɱ/, as well as /w/, /l/, /r/, and /j/ become geminate at

morpheme boundary when they are preceded by /n/ in RAO as /hin *maamu*¹¹/ becomes [himmaamu] (cf. § 2.7.2.31), that is homorganic nasal assimilation. The following examples show the realization of phonemic /k/ in different environments.

31. a. /k/ /*hark*a/ → [k] [hark] ‘hand’
 b. /k/ /ʔa*ka*akajju/ → [x] [ʔaxaaxajju] ‘grandfather’

The following rules govern the realization of /k/.

$$/k/ \longrightarrow \begin{cases} x \\ k \end{cases} \begin{cases} \text{-between vowels} \\ \text{-elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

In example [32], the realization of phonemic /k’/ in different environment is presented.

32. a. /k’/ /*k’ok’k’oba*/ → [k’] [k’ok’k’oba] ‘neighbour’
 b. /k’/ /*bak’*/ → [k’ʰ] [bak’ʰ] ‘down’

The rules that govern the allophonic variations of /k’/ can be generated as follows.

$$/k’/ \longrightarrow \begin{cases} k’ \\ k’ʰ \end{cases} \begin{cases} \text{-at word final} \\ \text{-elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

There are two types of allophone distribution. These are free variation (cf. § 2.7.2.3), and complementary distribution. Concerning complementary distribution, for instance, the bilabial voiced fricate [β] and the devoiced bilabial stop [ɸ] are in complementary distribution, as [β] is found intervocally, while [ɸ] is only found in word final position. This holds true for all allophones exemplified across [29-32].

2.6. Phonological Processes

In RAO variety, phonological processes predominantly take place contiguously and mainly at word or morpheme boundaries; hence mainly morphophonemic in nature. Accordingly, we treated most of them in (§ 2.7) bellow but we discussed spirantization as an example of independent phonological process here.

¹¹ In RAO variety, *maam*- and *waam*- are optionally used to mean ‘call’

Spirantization also called ‘fricativization’ is the conventional term in phonology for rules that convert some stop phonemes to fricatives. In RAO, /b/ and /k/ are fricativized intervocally as indicated in [33].

33. a. /rooba/ → [rooβa] ‘rain’
 b. /ʔeeba/ → [ʔeeβa] ‘bless’
 c. /ʔakaakajjuu/ → [ʔaxaaxajjuu] ‘grandfather’
 d. /beekaa/ → [beexaa] ‘knowledgeable’

As also seen earlier in § 2.5, the voiced bilabial stop /b/ in [33a and b] is weakened to the voiced bilabial fricative [β] intervocally. In [33c and d] also, the voiceless velar stop /k/ is spirantized to a voiceless velar fricative [x] intervocally. The relationship between the phonemes and their allophones are best characterized as free variation and not complementary distribution, as the process is not obligatory and is not found to be consistent within the speech of even a single speaker among those consulted.

2.7. Morphophonemic Processes

As we mentioned above, consonant clusters are licensed only intervocally in RAO. A cluster does not exceed two consonants. In this section, we treat the morphophonemic processes of RAO: consonant alternation, assimilation, epenthesis, insertion of glottal stop /ʔ/, metathesis, and deletion.

2.7.1. Consonant Alternation

Consonant alternation is the variation that a phoneme or morpheme (cf. § 3.1.1) exhibits in its morphophonemic realization. In RAO, only a few consonants alternate with /j/ when they come before alveolar phonemes. Consider the example in [34].

34. a. /k/ /beekta/ → [j] [beejta] ‘you (SG) know’
 b. /k'/ /dik't'e/ → [j] [dijt'e] ‘you (SG)/she washed’
 c. /g/ /dugda/ → [j] [dujda] ‘back’
 d. /f/ /gooftaa/ → [j] [goojtaa] ‘lord/God’

As can be observed from [34a-d], /j/ substituted for /k, k', g, f/ without change of meaning. This holds true for a few plural marker morphemes in noun morphology of the dialect. Even though, these phonemes are independent phonemes in RAO, they alternate with /j/. They occur in free variation. On the other hand, [dʒ] and [j] also seem to occur in free variation as seen in [dʒabbii] ~ [jabbii] ‘calf’. This could be particular to certain speakers, however.

2.7.2. Assimilation

Assimilation is a contextual variability of speech sounds in which the target sound takes on a feature or set of features of the triggering sound. As defined by Katamba (1989: 80), assimilation is the adjustment of a speech sound in order to make it more similar to some other speech sound in its neighbourhood. Baković (2007: 335) on the other hand, says that assimilation forms when a given segments agree in their value for some phonological feature(s) or feature class(es). There are two types of assimilatom processes, adjacent and distant (Baković 2007: 335). The former obtains between strictly adjacent segments, such as between consonants in a consonant cluster whereas the latter obtains between segments that are not necessarily adjacent. As noted by Katamba (1989: 80), the advantage of assimilation is that it results in smoother, more effortless, and more transitions that are economical across sounds. In the following subsections, we described assimilation processes in RAO.

2.7.2.1 Homorganic Nassal Assimilation

Homorganic nasal assimilation is an assimilation that assimilates nasal phonemes to the next adjacent consonant. In many languages, nasal consonants are homorganic with the following obstruent. In RAO, homorganic nasal assimilation takes place in different environments. It occurs after /n/ within the morpheme boundary when followed by consonants. Consider the following examples in addition to the examples in palatalization [37] and labialization [39].

35. a. *hin beeku*

[*him-b'eeek- Ø-u*]

NEG-know-1SG\3SG.M-NCM.IPFV

‘I do not/he does not know’

b. /*hin maamu*/ → [*him-maam-Ø-u*]
 NEG-summon-1SG\3SG.M-NCM.IPFV
 ‘I do not/he does not summon’

2.7.2.2 Palatalization

Palatalization is any instance where a consonant changes its place features to palatal-like consonant. According to Bateman (2007: 1) and Ladefoged and Keith (2011: 234-235), the term palatalization can be used in two ways. The first sense of this term refers to the palatal feature that manifests as a distinct secondary feature while the primary feature remains as in /t/ becomes [tʲ], for instance. This is called weak palatalization or secondary palatalization. The second sense of the term involves a switch from non-palatal place of articulation to a palatal one as in /t/ shifting to [tʃ]. This can be named as strong/total/complete palatalization. Both primary and secondary palatalization are exemplified in [36] and [37], respectively.

36. a. /diida/	→	[dʲiida]	‘plain/outside/far-off place’
b. /neetii/	→	[nʲeetʲii]	‘plow’
c. /deedii/	→	[dʲeedʲii]	‘raw’
d. /miiloo/	→	[mʲiilʷoo]	‘friend’

The examples in [36a-d] illustrate the formation of weak palatalization. This palatalization is triggered by front high and front mid unrounded long vowels /ii and ee/. As indicated by Haspelmath and Sims (2010: 215), palatalization before front vowels is so common in the world’s languages. In general, in the given examples above, the phonemes /d, n, t, dʃ, and m / remain unchanged, except that the front of the tongue is raised during the pronunciation of the consonants, which become [dʲ, nʲ, tʲ, dʲ, and mʲ] respectively.

Strong/total/complete palatalization is a process whereby non-palatal or non-post-alveolar consonants become palatalized or post-alveolarized. This happens with alveolar stops /d, t, tʰ/, alveolar nasal, and alveolar lateral approximant as exemplified in [37].

37. a. */baat-sis-Ø-e/* → *[baatf-tfis-Ø-e]* → *[baatʃfise]*
 carry-CS-1SG\3SG.M-PFV
 ‘I/he let (someone) carry (something)’
- b. */jaad-sis-a/* → *[jaatf-tfis-a]* → *[jaatʃfisa]*
 think-CS-IPFV
 ‘I/he/it (will) make(s) somebody think/worry’
- c. */gal-s-i/* → *[gaf-f-i]* → *[gaʃfi]*
 enter-TRR-IMP.2SG
 ‘You (SG), make enter somebody/thing’
- d. */fit'-siis-i/* → *[fi tʃ'-tʃ'iis-i]* → *[fiʃʃ'tʃ'iisi]*
 finish-CS-IMP.2SG
 ‘You (SG), make somebody finish!’
- e. */hin-jaad-Ø-u/* → *[hij-jaad-Ø-u]* → *[hijjaadu]*
 NEG-think-1SG\3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘I do not/he does not think’
- f. */hin-naat-t-i/* → *[hijn-naat-t-i]* → *[hijnnaatti]*
 FOC-eat-3SG.F-IPFV
 ‘She will eat or she eats’

As can be observed in [37], strong palatalization can occur within and across word/morpheme boundaries. Strong palatalization occurs as a result of causative, transitive, negative, and focus markers in RAO variety (regarding causative, see § 5.3.2.1.1). Accordingly, /t/ and /d/ are realized as [tʃ], whereas /l/ and /t'/ are realized as [ʃ] and [tʃʰ], respectively. On the other hand, the palatalization of the proclitic final consonant /n/ requires the succeeding of the palatal [j], and post-alveolar [ɲ] as shown in [37e-f]. The same holds true for post-alveolar phoneme [ʃ] as */hin ʃakkuu/* becomes *[hiʃʃakkuu]* ‘I/he don’t/doesn’t doubt’ (cf.2.7.2.1).

2.7.2.3 Labialization

The term labialization refers to the imposition of lip rounding on a primary articulation. It occurs when the state and the activity of the lip(s) is transferred from the assimilator to the assimilated. This secondary articulation is showed in a phonetic transcription by using the raised w after a consonant [C^w] (Katamba 1989: 87, and Ladefoged and Keith 2011: 236). This type of labialization exists in RAO and is triggered by the two round back vowels, /u, o/. The examples in [38a-d] illustrate this.

38. a. /*hoosa*/ → [*h^woosa*] ‘bad’
 b. /*naddfoo*/ → [*nadd^woo*] ‘woman or lizard’
 c. /*boodʒ-uu*/ → [*b^woodʒ^wuu*]
 capture-VNM
 ‘captive’
 d. /*kʷuuf-n-e*/ → [*k^wuufne*]
 satisfy-1PL-PFV
 ‘we are satisfied’

The processes in [38] involve a consonant assimilating with an adjacent vowel trigger. As described by Ladefoged and Keith (2011: 236) and Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 356ff), almost all kinds of consonants including labials themselves are realized as secondary labialization; which is exactly what happens in RAO variety. This process can be captured by the rule /C/ → [C^w] /-round back vowels. In addition to this rule, the labiovelar fricative consonant /X^w/ is a phoneme rather than allophone in borrowed words as the example in /ʃəX^warit/ ‘piercer’.

Labialization may occur even when the primary articulation is made at the lips (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 356). The examples below illustrate this phenomenon.

39. a /*hin wallaaltu*/ → [*hiw-wallaal-t-u*]
 NEG-err-2SG\3SG.F-NCM.IPFV
 ‘you do not/she does not err’

- b. /*hin beeku*/ → [*him-b'eeek- Ø-u*]
 NEG-know-1SG\3SG.M-NCM.IPFV
 'I do not/he does not know'
- c. /*hin maamu*/ → [*him-maam-Ø-u*]
 NEG-summon-1SG\3SG.M-NCM.IPFV
 'I do not/he does not summon'
- d. /*reenfa*/ → [*rieemfa*] 'corpse'

In examples [39a-d], the triggers are the labial consonants. They are /w/, /b/, /m/ and /f/, and the target consonant is /n/. It becomes labialised acquiring the labial feature from the neighbouring consonants and becomes [w], [m], [m] and [m], respectively. Notice that as /f/ is labio-dental, the realized allophone [m] is also labio-dental. As observed in the examples, the feature labial spreads from the trigger consonants to the target consonant (cf. 2.7.2.1). The following rule shows the processes.

$$/ \text{Nasal Alveolar}^{12} / \longrightarrow \left[\text{Nasal Labial or Glide Labial} \right] / \text{---} \left[\text{Labial} \right]$$

2.7.2.4 Nasalization

Nasalization is a process through which an oral segment assimilates to an adjacent segment with respect to the feature nasal (Katamba 1989: 93). Vowels are often nasalized between nasal consonants and sometimes before or after a single nasal in a nasal environment (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 298-299). In Afaan Oromoo, vowels following or preceding nasal consonants are prone to be nasalized (Dejene and Julia 2013: 351). In Kamise Afaan Oromoo, nasalization occurs after nasal consonants; for instance [*summĩĩ*] 'poison' (Dejene 2010: 23). This is the case in RAO too. In addition to nasalization following a nasal segment, we found that vowels preceding a nasal segment within the same syllable are also nasalized. In [40], both short and long vowels are nasalized.

40. a. /*jommuu*/ → [*jõm.m^wũũ*] 'while'
 b. /*jaanne*/ → [*ñãñ.nẽ*] 'we ate'

¹² Nasal alveolar has different allophones at morpheme boundaries. For instance, /*hin laalu*/ [*hillaalu*] 'I don't/he doesn't see', /*hin rafu*/ [*hirrafu*] 'I don't/he doesn't sleep', /*hin jaadu*/ [*hijjaadu*] 'I don't/he doesn't eat' etc.

- c. /t'inneeɲna/ → [t'ĩn.nⁱẽẽɲ.nã] 'youth'
d. /dʒaano/ → [dʒaa.n^wõõ] 'cultural garment made of six layers'
e. /bunuunii/ → [bu.n^wũũ.n'ĩĩ] 'a small cattle tick'

As illustrated in [40a-c], all vowels are nasalized by their neighbouring nasal consonants. Nevertheless, in [40d and e], there are vowels that are not nasalized due to syllabification. Nazalization can be governed by the following rule.

$$/v/ \longrightarrow [\tilde{v}] / \begin{pmatrix} \text{m} \\ \text{n} \\ \text{j} \end{pmatrix} \text{ or } /v/ \longrightarrow [\tilde{v}] / \begin{pmatrix} \text{---m} \\ \text{---n} \\ \text{---j} \end{pmatrix}$$

2.7.2.5 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony refers to assimilations among vowels. Vowel harmony is a process by which vowels in adjacent syllables usually a word, agree with each other in terms of some distinctive feature(s) (Katamba 1989: 211). On the other hand, the definition of vowel harmony includes both adjacent and distant assimilation (Archangeli and Pulleyblank 2007: 356). As given an input in which adjacent vowels of syllables have, the first vowel of the pair may assimilate to either the second or the second to the first. The main instances of harmonization I have observed in RAO are given in [41a-d].

41. a. /gunbət/ → [gumb^wootii] 'May'
b. /muk'atf'tf'aa/ → [muk'otf'tf'aa] 'mortar'
c. /ʔulfaawe/ → [ʔulfoowe] 'I became pregnant'
d. /ʔeeɲnu/ → [ʔ^wooɲnu] 'who'

As shown in [41a], the loan central-low vowel /ə/ is realized as long mid-back rounded in the adopted loanword. In Tigrinya as described by Palmer (1962: 7), the quality of /ə/ is related to the consonants in its environment and in syllables containing labial consonants it is more back. Since, the triggered vowel /ə/ is adjacent to /b/ in the ultimate syllable; it assimilates to the vowel of penultimate syllable. In [41b] on the other hand, the triggered vowel /a/ becomes /o/. Concerning the native words in [41c and d], both the long central-low vowel and the long mid-front unrounded vowel are realized as long mid-back rounded. In [41c], the vowel in

penultimate syllable is harmonized to antepenultimate syllable's vowel, whereas in [41d], the vowel in penultimate syllable is assimilated to the vowel in ultimate syllable.

2.7.3. Epenthesis

Epenthesis is a technical term for inserting a sound between two impermissible other sounds (Stockwell and Donka 2001: 125). Both vowels and consonants can be used as epenthetic segments. RAO variety has both of the types. As we have seen in § 2.1.4, consonant clusters in the dialect are restricted to two at medial position. No consonant cluster is allowed word initially and finally. Therefore, a cluster of more than two consonants and two consonants at intolerable positions are always resolved by insertion of an epenthetic vowel /i/. This is illustrated in [42] below.

42. a. /*hodɖ-i-t-e*/ but /*hodɖ-t-e*/ is ungrammatical
 sew-ep-2SG\3SG.F-PFV
 ‘you/she sewed’
- b. /*dab-s-i-n-e*/ but /*dabs-n-e*/ is ungrammatical
 bend-TRR-ep-1PL-PFV
 ‘we bent something’
- c. /*darb-i-t-an*/ but /*darb-t-an*/ is ungrammatical
 pass-ep-2-PL
 ‘you (PL) passed’

In RAO whenever three consonants are comes together within the utterance word medially, insertion of [i] occurs between the second and third consonant. In [42a], the existence of epenthesis between the verbal stem /*hodɖ-*/ and C-initial suffix helps to avoid an unlicensed cluster of consonants. Moreover, the same argumentation holds true for the verbal stem clusters in [42b and c].

On the other hand, the glottal stop /ʔ/ is inserted at morpheme boundaries in-between vowels that are unlicensed in the dialect. Example [43] illustrates the insertion of glottal stop.

43. a. */waa/* → [*waa-uma-t-i*] → [*waa-ʔ-um-t-i*]
 something something-EMPH-NOM-ep something-ep-EMPH-NOM-ep
 ‘something.NOM’ ([Audio B 34.94-36.33ms](#))
- b. */marii/* → [*marii-at-*] → [*mari-ʔ-at-*]
 consultation consultation-INCH- consultation-ep-INCH-
 ‘discuss’
- c. */datʃiʃaa/* → [*datʃiʃaa-e*] → [*datʃiʃa-ʔ-e*]
 fold-PFV fold-ep-PFV
 ‘folded’

As shown in [43b-c], the insertion of the glottal stop /ʔ/ substitutes a segment from the preceded long vowel. Accordingly, /i/, and /a/ are respectively substituted by /ʔ/. However, the insertion of /ʔ/ in [43a] is simply an attachment rather than substitution.

2.7.4. Metathesis

Metathesis is a morphophonemic process that reverses the order of two segments in a particular phonological context (Kroeger 2005: 311). It refers to re-ordering or re-arranging of segments, mainly of sounds or syllables in a word (Aliero 2015: 5). There are two types of metathesis. These are local and distant metathesis. Local metathesis involves an exchange of contiguous segments, whereas distant metathesis involves an exchange of non-adjacent segments. Let us look at examples of metathesis in RAO variety.

44. a. */ʔaf.ree.nuu/* → [*ʔar.fee.nuu*] ‘all four’
 b. */ʔu.mu.rii/* → [*ʔur.mii*] ~ [*ʔu.ru.mii*] ‘age’
 c. [*ʔar.gi.ta*] → [*ʔa.gar.ta*] ‘you will see’
 d. [*dar.bi.te*] → [*da.bar.te*] ‘you/she passed’

As shown in [44a-d], forms that allow metathesis requires /r/ in one of the cluster’s segments or in one of the adjacent syllables. Because of the relatively small number of occurrences with metathesis in the dialect, it is difficult to explain the reason for this feature. In other Afaan Oromoo varieties, for instance Mecha and Kemise, it may be occurs in the absence of /r/

(Dejene 2010: 28, and Wako 1981: 61-62). Concerning the type of metathesis, [44a] is local/adjacent metathesis, whereas all the rest are both adjacent and distant in terms of segments. In terms of syllables, however all affected syllables are adjacent except in [*ʔa.gar.ta*] and [*da.bar.te*] in [44c and d]. In these two examples, the deletion of /i/ and the insertion of /a/ takes place; while deletion of /u/ is also observed in [44b].

2.7.5. Deletion

The term deletion refers to the loss of a segment (Katamba 1989: 119-120) or a syllable (Haspelmath and Sims 2010: 225) under certain conditions. In RAO, there are different grammatical conditions under which deletion takes place at word or morpheme boundaries. Concerning segment deletion, both consonants and vowels can be deleted. The following examples show deletion processes in the dialect.

45. a. /*hiiraa* + *-ota*/ → [*hiirota*] ‘bestmen’
 b. /*saree* + *-oota*/ → [*saroota*] ‘dogs’
 c. /*nama* + *-oota*/ → [*namoota*] ‘men’
46. a. /*farda* + *ʔirra*/ → [*fardarra*] ‘on horse’
 b. /*gurra* + *ʔitti*/ → [*gurratti*] ‘to or on ear’
 c. /*ʔamma* + *ʔillee*/ → [*ʔammallʔee*] ‘even now’

As shown in [45a-c], all nouns form their plurality by eliding their final vowels and adding suffixes *-ota*, and *-oota* to the remaining forms. Accordingly, the terminal vowels /*aa*/, /*ee*/, and /*a*/ are deleted from the respective nouns. Conversely, the dropping of *ʔi-* from clitics is attested in examples [46a-c]. We will return to the issues of plurality and clitics briefly later in (§ 3.1.1.1) and (§ 7.1). Deletion is seldom expressible in other ways as well. Consider the following examples, which may be also free variation.

47. a. /*ʔirsa*/ → /*ʔirsa*/ ‘husband’
 b. /*hirkisuu*/ → /*ʔirkisuu*/ ‘prop up’

Looking at [47a-b], we can observe the deletion and substitution of consonants. Both words are dropping their initial consonants /*d*/ and /*h*/, respectively. The glottal stop /*ʔ*/ is substituting in

both cases. Except showing the processes of deletion and substitution, generalization needs more investigation. Now let us consider the deletion of syllable in the dialect.

48. a. /dal.dee**fa** + -jjii/ → /daldeejjii/ ‘baboons’
 b. /d3ab.**bii** + -oota/ → /d3iboota/ ‘calves’
 c. /k’o.tee + **d3i**.ra/ → /k’ot’eera/ ‘I have/he has ploughed’

In [48a and b], both ultimate syllables *fa* and *bii* undergo deletion due to the trigger of plural markers. Furthermore, the central-low vowel /a/ is realized as /i/ in the second example. Like ultimate syllable omission, the initial syllable of a given word maybe omitted in contracted speech as in [48c]. Accordingly, *d3i-* is deleted in perfect constructions from the existential verb /*d3ira*/ ‘present’ (cf. 7.1.1 on clitics).

2.8. Tone

Tone refers to an identifiable movement or level of pitch that is used in contrastive ways. This is to mean that words which have identical sequences of consonants and vowels maybe conveyed by tonw. In some languages the function of tone is to differentiate between word meanings or to convey grammatical distinction (Katamba 1989: 53) whereas in other languages tone forms the central part of intonation (Zabine, Laura and Frank 2009: 817). Accordingly, tone is a distinctive pitch level or pitch movement associated with a short stretch of speech, often of syllable length, and a short grammatical unit, such as a word or morpheme (Catford and Esling 2006: 431). Such languages where word meanings or grammatical categories are dependent on pitch level are known as tone languages. Yip (2002: 1) notices that a language is a ‘tone language’ if a tone of a word can change its meaning. This change should be core meaning change rather than just nuance change. In such languages, tone is as important and essential as consonant and vowel phonemes (Gussenhoven 2004: 26 and Hyman 2011: 214; 2013: 18).

Different scholars have varied views whether Afaan Oromoo is a tonal language or non-tonal language. Some scholars such as Andrzejewski (1966) and Habte (2003) claimed that Afaan Oromoo is a tone language. On the other hand, Owens (1985a), Banti (1988a), and Shimelis (2014) argued that Afaan Oromoo is a pitch accent language. Likewise, Hayward and

Gemetchu (1996) and Appleyard (2012) indicate that the language is a tone accent language. But, both pitch accent and tone accent convey the same meaning (Hayward 1990: 348; Hulst 2011: 1020, and Shimelis 2014: 49). In Afaan Oromoo tone is assigned on the lexical representation and bringing about semantic difference in rare words like *kálée* HH ‘kidney’ vs *kàlée* LH ‘yesterday’, *háadáa* HH ‘digger/dig out (2.PL)’ vs *hàadáa* LH ‘of mother’, *mák’áa* HH ‘step aside! (2.PL)’ vs *màk’áa* LH ‘name’.

In fact, the works of some scholars addressed specific Afaan Oromoo dialects. For instance, Owens stated the Borana and Harar Afaan Oromoo dialects as tonal dialects at lexical and syntactic level whereas, Habte studied the Mecha dialect of Afaan Oromoo as tonal language and concluded that tone has both lexical and grammatical importance in the dialect. By discussing the matter at considerable length, Shimelis (2014: 45-57) concluded that Hararghe Afaan Oromoo is definitely a pitch accent dialect, and also the language in general may be considered as a pitch accent language. By the same token, scholars such as Dejene (2010: 52-53), Kebede (1994: 3) and Stroomer (1995: 16-21) explained that Afaan Oromoo is a pitch accent or a stress language. As they have argued, only pronunciation of Afaan Oromoo words with different pitch patterns does not secure whether the language is tonal or not. Because there are possibilities that the difference may be used in pitch accent, intonation, and even in stress as they stated.

It has come to be broadly agreed that, the issue of tone should be further experimentally investigated in Afaan Oromoo to reconcile diverse arguments among scholars (Dejene 2010: 54 and Kebede 2009: 30). Afaan Oromoo seems pitch accent language, since according to Appleyard (2012: 202) majority of Cushitic languages are pitch accent languages in which an accented syllable or mora is realised with high pitch and stress. Now, let us discuss pitch accent as follows.

2.9. Pitch Accent

Hellmuth (2006: 18) suggested that pitch accent could be defined in two senses. In the first sense, she explained it in an intonational language as it is a pitch movement that displays association to a stressed syllable. In the second sense, a language in which tone plays a role in the lexical specification of morphemes in a lexical pitch accent language is what she refers a 'pitch accent'. On the other hand, as stated by Hulst (2011: 1006-1008), pitch accent can be described in terms of two typical properties: obligatoriness and culminativity. The 'obligatoriness' property requires that every word has at least one accented syllable or high tone; and the 'culminativity' property requires that every word has at most one accented syllable. Pitch accent is also defined as a 'middle ground' between stress and tone (Gordon 2014: 84; Hyman 2009: 219, and Salmons 1992: 169).

Pitch accent has to do with pitch features (Rose 2002: 155). For instance in Standard Japanese, a language that is often mentioned as a prime example of a pitch accent system, words can have a single accent, or no accent. If they have an accent, it can be located on any syllable and is indicated by a fall in pitch onto the next syllable. Thus in a disyllabic word /*haʃi*/ with a high pitch on the /a/ and low on the /i/ to mean 'chopsticks', the fall in pitch indicates an accent on the first syllable. In the trisyllabic word /*kokoro*/, low-high-low to mean 'heart', the pitch accent is on the second syllable. On the other hand, if the final syllable carries a high pitch like in the word /*haʃi*/ low-high to mean 'bridge', or /*otoko*/ low-high-high to mean 'man' there is no way to indicate the presence or absence of an accent due to accent location as it is shown by a drop in pitch onto a subsequent syllable. Accordingly, the presence of an accent should be supported by other mechanism to identified pitch accent. For instance, it becomes clear if the case marking particle *ga* follows a noun (McCawley 1978: 113 and Shimelis 2014: 47). Therefore, in the phrase *haʃi ga* low-high-low to mean 'bridge-SBJ', the pitch falls onto the *ga* particle and so /*haʃi*/ does have an accent on the final syllable. Pitch accent is like a stress in that if there is, it is only one per word, and it is like a tone since it has to do with pitch.

The majority of cushitic languages are pitch accent languages in which an accented syllable or mora is realised with high pitch and stress (Appleyard 2012: 202). As mentioned earlier (cf. § 2.8), Afaan Oromoo, like most other cushitic languages, is a pitch accent language. Thus, a L

tone specified penultimate syllable is always followed by H tone, whereas H tone spreads rightward if it is specified at penultimate position (Owens 1985a: 29). On the other hand, Shimelis (2014: 53ff) argued that penultimate L specified nouns may or may not be followed by H tone. The claim is that existence of all-low tonal pattern, which is his finding and nouns with ultimate high tone for instance *namá* ‘man’. In Afaan Oromoo, a per word high-pitched accent, and in some cases a rightward spread of H tone accented appears on the penultimate syllable are analysed by Shimelis (2014: 57). Let us now look at RAO pitch accent system.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----|---------------|
| 49. a. <i>fǎn</i> | H | ‘five’ |
| b. <i>káan</i> | H | ‘other(s)’ |
| c. <i>dùr.bá</i> | L-H | ‘virgin/girl’ |
| d. <i>ṽù.fóon</i> | L-H | ‘meat’ |
| e. <i>sá.ṽá</i> | H-H | ‘cow’ |

As can be observed from [49], the words listed above [49a-b] are monosyllabic, whereas the rest three are disyllabic. Monosyllabic words consisting of heavy and superheavy syllables are H toned. The H toned superheavy syllable is also reported in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo (Shimelis 2014: 53). In [49c and d], the ultimate syllables of disyllabic words are specified H and as a default, L tones are marked on the penultimate syllables. On the other hand, H tone spread from penultimate to the end is observed in [49d]. The next example set in [50] illustrates trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic words.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|-----------------------|
| 50. a. <i>k’à.màt’.t’ée</i> | L-L-H | ‘cultural toothbrush’ |
| b. <i>kùf.kùf.tóo</i> | L-L-H | ‘marshland’ |
| c. <i>dǎ.géet.tíi</i> | L-H-H | ‘story/legend’ |
| d. <i>wàr.ràb.báj.jée</i> | L-L-H-H | ‘multitude’ |
| e. <i>bàk.kàn.níi.sá/</i> | L-L-H-H | tree species |

The trisyllabic words in [50a and b] are H toned on their ultimate syllable. Nevertheless, in [50c] the tone is located at penultimate syllable and spreads to the end. In quadrisyllabic words, [50d and e], on the other hand, H tone is positioned on penultimate syllable and from there spread rightward.

2.10. Intonation

Intonation, like tone, is not an area of language to which much attention was given before the 20th century (Fox 2000: 271). The difficulties and uncertainties surrounding its analysis, its systematic description, and its incorporation into linguistic models are emphasized (Fox 2000: 271, and Taylor 1995: 158ff). For many linguists, intonation covers both linguistic and paralinguistic features (such as cries and exclamations, as well as non-linguistic phenomena as gesture), whereas for others it includes only linguistic aspects (Fox 2000: 271, and Hirst and Cristo 1998: 1). For instance, Goldsmith (1982), as cited in Varga (2002: 4) described intonation as the golden triangle of linguistics that rests at the spot where syntax, phonology, and semantics uneasily come together. Intonation is also defined as the use of suprasegmental phonetic features to convey postlexical or sentence-level pragmatic meanings in a linguistically structured way (Lado 2008: 4). On the other hand, as most linguists defined intonation in the narrowest sense, it is the use of pitch variation with the proviso that the use of pitch is relevant at utterances level but not at word level (Varga 2002: 19-20). Broadly, according to him, intonation comprises all the prosodic devices taken together. The prosodic/suprasegmental devices include pitch patterns (i.e. recurring configurations of consecutive pitch heights), pitch range (i.e. the distance between the highest and lowest pitch heights), pitch register (i.e. the general pitch level of a section of speech), stress (i.e. the prominence of syllables), volume (i.e. how loudly or quietly somebody speak), tempo (i.e the pace of voice), voice quality variation (i.e. an average value of a spectral shape of speech), and pause (i.e. Pauses are periods of silence).

The difficulty in dealing with intonation lies in factors such as what typically characterizes intonation or not and which parts of suprasegmental features are treated within the domain of intonation. The other problem of defining intonation is failing to identify to what extent the interplay of linguistic and paralinguistic factors affect it (Fox 2000). While definitions of intonation vary, any effort at a definition should recognize that the pitch of the voice plays the most important part (Roach 1991: 133). Intonation is found to be multi-functional albeit definition varies. For instance, Katamba (1989: 242-251) listed four functions of intonation, namely: accentuation function, grammatical function, attitudinal function, and discourse

function. However, Varga (2002: 22) identified only two major functions, grammatical and attitudinal. On the other hand, Abe (1998: 365) proposes four major functions: demarcative, grammatical, attitudinal, and focusing which is highlighting the portion the speaker particularly wants to stand out.

Different approaches have been proposed for the description of intonational patterns. However, there is a considerable disagreement among linguists as to which of these is to be preferred. As recognized by Fox (2000: 288), there are three major approaches that are commonly suggested. One approach is analysing intonation in terms of contours of pitch shapes. The second is analysing intonation in terms of tone groups or tone units. And analysing a structured hierarchy of the intonational constituents in conversation is the third approach to intonation analysis. One of the difficulties in analysing intonation is that the features themselves are not completely separate from one another like phonemes, for instance. Though each phoneme may correspond to a range of sounds, the phonemes themselves are assumed to be discrete. However, with intonation there may be a range of different pitch patterns (Fox 2000: 295); for instance a falling pitch may start lower or higher and additionally fall.

There is no consensus over what should be subsumed under the grammatical functions of intonation analysis. As Cruttenden (1997) cited in Chun (2002: 52) discussed, at sentence level, intonation patterns are typically classified into three or four major construction kinds: statement, question, command, and exclamation. In English, statement, wh-question, command, and exclamation are traditionally described as having falling intonational pattern and yes-no questions as having typically rising pattern (Konzorcium 2006: 147ff).

Concerning Afaan Oromoo intonation patterns at sentence level, five major patterns are identified at least in the dialects of Tulema and Kamise (Dejene 2010). These are declarative, interrogative, imperative, polite/request expression, and unfinished utterance (i.e. continuative utterance). In Kamise dialect, as illustrated by Dejene (2010: 67), falling intonation is the feature of declarative, emphasized wh-question, unemphsezed imperative, alternative question, and request. Rising intonation on the other hand is the character of unemphasized wh-question,

tag-question and unfinished utterance, whereas both the yes/no question and imperative of the dialect are pronounced with falling-rising intonation. The following examples from RAO illustrate the sentence level intonation pattern.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 51. a. lagi sun abbaa k'aba | 'That river has an owner' |
| b. sii galaa | 'Do you understand?' |
| c. maal dageeffe | 'What did you hear?' |
| d. k'ofaa keeti moo miiloo k'abdaa | 'Are you alone or do you have a friend?' |
| e. dikkaa dzetjtjaa beejta, mitii | 'You know what buffer zone means, is it not?' |
| f. ?arma ta?ii | 'Be here!' |
| g. tafarii halkoo naa habeeffii mee | 'Please Teferi, lend me money !' |
| h. ?atjtji gogee... | 'He having gone there...' |

As observed in [51] above, the RAO has different intonational patterns. In declarative utterance of assertion, [51a], rising contours are followed by falling contour at the final position. Yes or no question is pronounced with a rising pitch throughout the utterance, [51b], whereas wh-question in [51c] is pronounced with rising pitch initially and falling pitch finally. In [51d], alternative question also start with rising and then ended with the falling contour at final position. Tag questions on the other hand begin with rising and then followed by a slight fall, but ended with the rising tone as illustrated in [51e]. An imperative utterance in [51f] has a rising intonation. As with polite request in [51g], rising contours are followed by falling contour and then fall on the polite word '*mee*' 'please'. Unfinished utterance or continuative in [51h] begins with falling contour and then followed by a slight final rise.

2.11. Summary

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the phonology of RAO variety, based on primary fieldwork data. The dialect has twenty-four consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes, each with a long counterpart. Except /p'/, all consonant phonemes occur in word-initial position, while vowel phonemes occur only in word-medial and word-final positions. We demonstrate the co-occurrence of consonant phonemes in different positions, and the possibilities of gemination of consonants. The phonology of loanwords are also discussed. In RAO variety, the minimal

syllable is CV and the maximum syllable is CVVC. Allophonic variation and different phonological processes in RAO phonology are discussed with illustrative examples. A number of morphophonemic processes such as assimilation, epenthesis, metathesis, and deletion are also discussed. Prosodic features such as pitch accent and intonation are also presented.

Chapter Three

Noun Morphology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the noun morphology of RAO variety. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with inflections and the second section deals with derivation and compounding.

3.1. Noun Inflection

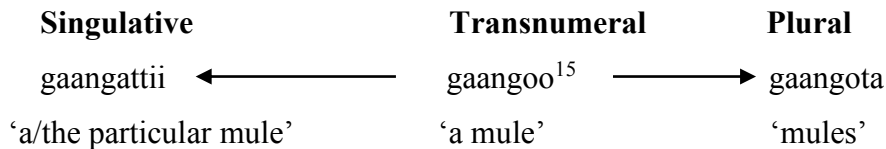
Majority of nouns in Afaan Oromoo form an open class of words that formally end in open syllables (Baye 1981: 23). However, there are exceptional nouns that end with nasal consonants /m/ and /n/, and the lateral consonant /l/. While Baye (1981: 23) claimed as these nouns are phonologically distinct and uninflected, Banti (1988a: 31) argued that all nouns ending in /n/ can be inflected. Generally nouns of Afaan Oromoo are inflected for number, gender, definite (Gragg, 1976: 180-181), and case (Baye, 1981: 23, and Shimelis, 2014: 7, 10, 247ff). Nouns in RAO are not exceptional, this section, therefore, discusses each of these grammatical categories: number, gender, definite and case.

3.1.1. Number

A typological remark, number marking in nouns in most Cushitic languages operates with three terms: basic or neutral (general number Corbett 2004: 9) which is often named ‘the singular’¹³ in the literature, singulative and plural (Appleyard 2012: 204). The transnumeral is morphologically neutral or unmarked. The two marked forms, the singulative and the plural, are derived from this transnumeral form. As a Cushitic language, Afaan Oromoo has a two-way distinction in number is relevant grammatically, viz. between the singular and plural number (Baye 1986: 278ff; Shimelis 2014: 10, and Stroemer 1995: 39). Additionally, there are two less frequent numbers, namely, collective and singulative (Baye 1986, and Shimelis 2014). Similarly this holds true for RAO variety.

¹³ we also use the terms “transnumeral” for basic/general/generic number and “plural” for pluralized nouns in this work.

In collective nouns, some nouns exist only in plural form and we cannot find their base forms out of the inflected nouns. For instance, as reported by Owens (1985a: 94) the collective noun *ʔidzoollee*¹⁴ ‘children’ is the suppletive plural form of *gurbaa* ‘boy’ and *ʔintala* ‘girl’ in Harar Afaan Oromoo variety. Also the same holds true in the present study, since the plural forms of *mutf’aa* ‘boy/girl’, *gurbaa* ‘boy’ and *ʔintala* ‘girl’ are *ʔidzoollee* ‘children’. This state of affairs is also reported for other Oromoid languages for instance, Konso (Ongaye 2013: 86). On the other hand some collective nouns have the same singular and plural forms for example *horii* ‘cattle’, and *kaannisa* ‘bee’. The singulative noun is a noun singled out from singular noun. According to Baye (1986: 278), Afaan Oromoo has both singular and plural marking morphemes. According to him, *-it/it/-* is singular marker. However, RAO has both plural and singulative markers (cf. 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.2). But the singular noun of the dialect is unmarked. Consider the following three patterns of number in RAO noun with an example *gaangoo* ‘mule’.



Now, we will take up each of these components, plural and singulative, in turn.

3.1.1.1. Plural

Afaan Oromoo has different allomorphes to mark plurality. Accordingly, different scholars identified a number of plural forms in the language. To mention a few, by Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 23) seven, Mous (2012: 362) six, Owens (1985a: 94) three, and Stroomer (1995: 44) eleven markers of plurality in nouns are identified. As illustrated by Mous (2012: 363), dialects may show difference in the choice of plural marker. Now we examine plural markers on countable nouns in RAO so as to make a generalization about the dialect in this respect. Note

¹⁴ *ʔidzoollee* ‘children.COLL’ is *dʒoollee* in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo variety.

¹⁵ The noun *gaangoo* ‘mules’ is the pluralized form of *gaangee* ‘mule’ in some Afaan Oromoo varieties (Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 28, and Kebede 2009: 37). However, in RAO, *gaangoo* is singular like that of Kamise Afaan Oromoo also (Dejene 2010: 32) whereas ‘*gaangota*’ is its plural form. Consultants considered ‘*gaangee*’ as ungrammatical and rejected it in elicitation.

that uncountable nouns of the dialect may be identified in terms of their container like *buna findzaala lama* (Lit. coffee cup two), ‘two cups of coffee’ and *mark’aa sibiila ʔafur* (Lit. porridge metal four), ‘four casseroles of porridge’ (cf. § 6.4 for uncountable nouns).

3.1.1.1.1. Plural Marker *-(o)ota*

The majority of RAO plural nouns are formed by attaching the suffix *-(o)ota*. Below are examples of RAO plural formed with suffix *-(o)ota* [52-53].

52. Transnumeral	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
a. <i>saree</i>	dog	<i>saroota</i>	dogs
b. <i>ʔabbaa</i>	father	<i>ʔabboota</i>	fathers
c. <i>farda</i>	horse	<i>fardoota</i>	horses
53. a. <i>hoolaa</i>	sheep	<i>hoolota</i>	sheep (PL.)
b. <i>t’inneenʔa</i>	youth	<i>t’inneenʔota</i>	youths
c. <i>gaangoo</i>	mule	<i>gaangota</i>	mules

In both examples, [52-53], a final stem vowel is substituted by the plural suffixes. The suffix *-oota* follows a syllable with short vowel [52a-c], whereas the suffix *-ota* follows a syllable with long vowel [53a-c]. In other words, *-oota* is used when the syllable that immediately precedes the final syllable has short vowel, and *-ota* is used when the syllable that immediately precedes the final syllable has long vowel. Notice that the geminate consonant or the consonant cluster succeeding the mentioned vowels has no influence on the addition of suffixes [52b-c, and 53b-c]. The *-oota* and *-ota* plurality rule also applies to loan nouns in the dialect.

3.1.1.1.2. Plural Marker *-jjii*

Suffixing *-jjii* to a singular noun is another strategy of marking plural nouns in RAO variety. This suffix attaches to singular nouns in two ways. If the syllable that immediately precedes the final syllable of a singular noun is open, then the plural marker *-jjii* is added to the singular noun by replacing its final syllable [54a]. On the other hand, if the syllable that immediately precedes the final syllable of a singular noun is closed, the final syllable and the code of closed syllable are deleted to append the plural marker *-jjii* [54b-c, 54a:F].

54.	Transnumeral	Gloss	Plurative	Gloss
a.	<i>daldeefa</i>	baboon	<i>daldeejjii</i>	baboons
b.	<i>ʔibbeleeffa</i>	brother/sister	<i>ʔibbeleejjii</i>	brothers/sisters
c.	<i>korp'eeffa</i>	ram/billy	<i>korp'eejjii</i>	rams/billies

3.1.1.1.3. Plural Marker *-wwan*

In rare cases, this plural marker is used in the dialect of RAO. As can be observed from example [55], the plural marker *-wwan* is suffixed without removing the final vowel of a singular noun. Additionally, the length of the final vowel of a singular noun remains unaffected (i.e. if it is short, it remains short, and if it is long, it remains long). Consider the following example.

55.	Transnumeral	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
a.	<i>soddaa</i>	in-law	<i>soddaawwan</i>	in-laws
b.	<i>haada</i>	mother	<i>haadaawwan</i>	mothers(for human being)
c.	<i>miiloo</i>	friend	<i>miiloowwan</i>	friends

3.1.1.1.4. Plural Marker *-an*

The plural marker *-an* is also used in the dialect of RAO noun plurality. It plurized a given noun into two ways. First, if the syllable that immediately precedes the final syllable of a singular noun is closed, then *-an* is simply added to a given noun [56a]. Second, if the syllable that immediately precedes the final syllable of a singular noun is opened, then the suffix *-an* is used by dropping the final vowel of the singular noun base and geminating the final consonant [56b-c].

56.	Transnumeral	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
a.	<i>ʔilma</i>	son	<i>ʔilmaan</i>	children
b.	<i>ʔeeffuma</i>	uncle	<i>ʔeeffumman</i>	uncles
c.	<i>karoora</i> ¹⁶	flame tree	<i>karoorran</i>	flame trees

¹⁶ Karoora is 'plan' in other Afaan Oromoo dialects; but in RAO, it is not known with this meaning.

3.1.1.1.5. Plural Marker *-(o)otii*

The plural marker *-(o)otii* is also rarely used in RAO noun pluralization. The rule of *-(o)ota* applies for *-(o)otii*. Accordingly, *-ootii* is used when the syllable that immediately precedes the final syllable has short vowel [57a-b], and *-otii* is used when the syllable that immediately precedes the final syllable has long vowel [57c].

57. Singular	Gloss	Plurative	Gloss
a. <i>ʔabbaa</i>	father	<i>ʔabbootii</i>	fathers
b. <i>ʔoromoo</i>	Oromo	<i>ʔoromootii</i>	Oromos
c. <i>ʃeekii</i>	sheik	<i>ʃeekotii</i>	sheiks

3.1.1.1.6. Plural Marker *-(o)olee*

Some nouns form their plurality by deleting the final vowel of the noun base and suffixing the morphemes *-(o)olee* [58a-b], whereas *-lee* is suffixed to the singular noun form without causing changes or with minor changes on the final vowel of the singular noun [58c-d]. Notice that like *-(o)ota* and *-(o)otii* rules, the pluralizing rule of *-(o)olee* depends on a syllable that immediately precedes the final syllable of a given singular noun. Though, nouns that are pluralized through *-((o)olee* are very rare, the following are illustrative examples:

58. Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
a. <i>warra</i>	family	<i>warroolee</i>	families
b. <i>haada</i>	mother	<i>haadolee</i> ¹⁷	mothers
c. <i>ʔilmoo</i>	kid/lamb	<i>ʔilmoolee</i>	kids/lambs
d. <i>dʒabbii</i>	calf	<i>dʒabbilee</i>	calves

3.1.1.1.7. Irregularly marked plurality of nouns

In RAO, plural forms of some nouns are apart from the ones indicated above. Some of these plural markers seem irregular whereas some others are commonly functioning in other dialects of the language. The following are illustrative examples.

¹⁷ In elicitation, some consultants rejected pluralized *haadolee* for human beings and accept for animals only. However, our corpus indicates *haadolee* ‘mothers’ as possible plural form of *haada* in both cases.

59. Transnumeral	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
a. <i>raada</i>	heifer	<i>raadden</i>	heifers
b. <i>farda</i>	horse	<i>faradoo</i>	horses
c. <i>nama</i>	person	<i>namoollee</i>	persons
d. <i>naddoo</i>	female	<i>naddittoo</i>	females
e. <i>k'uba</i>	finger	<i>k'ubaallee</i>	fingers
f. <i>goromsa</i>	heifer	<i>gorommii</i>	heifers
g. <i>korma</i>	bull	<i>korommii</i>	bulls

As can be observed from example [59a-g], *-en*, *-oo*, *-oollee*, *-ittoo*, *-allee*, and *-ii* are plural markers, respectively. In [59a], *-en* is added to the noun *raada* ‘heifer’ by replacing the final vowel of a singular noun and geminating the final consonant. In case of *farda* ‘horse’ in [59b], the plural marker *-oo* is suffixed to it by removing the final vowel of the noun. Moreover, phoneme /a/ is inserted with the plural marker in this pluralized noun. As claimed by Owens (1985a: 93), *-oo* is an adjective plural marker in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo variety. On the other hand, this plural marker is claimed as the pluralizing morpheme in Borana noun morphology for instance *hubaaroo* ‘clothes’ from *hubaara* ‘cloth’ (Stroomer 1995: 43). The plural marker *-oollee* in [59c] is also familiar to Borana dialect (Stroomer 1995: 44), which is attached to the singular noun by substituting the final vowel of a given noun, for instance *saroollee* ‘dogs’ from *saree* ‘dog’.

In [59d], *-ittoo* is suffixed to the singular noun ‘*naddoo*’ by replacing the final long vowel. On the contrary, *naddoo* ‘female’, is a suppletive plural form of *niitii* ‘wife’ in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo variety (Owens 1985a: 94). In [59e], the plural marker *-allee* is used in RAO to pluralize the noun *k'uba* ‘finger’. In [59f-g], the long vowel *-ii* is used for the formation of plurality. In [59f], *-ii* is added to the singular noun by removing the ultimate syllable of the noun and geminating the final consonant. In [59g], the plural suffix *-ii* is used after removing the final vowel of a given singular noun and geminating the final consonant. As a result, an impermissible consonants cluster, *rm*, is formed and phoneme /o/ is inserted as an epenthetic vowel to break these clusters. As discussed in chapter 2, (§ 2.7.2), the epenthetic vowel of the

dialect is /i/. Therefore, the status of phonemes /a, o/ in [59b] and [59g] call for further investigation.

In general, the plural¹⁸ marking process of RAO is suffixation. It includes vowel substitution, syllable substitution, vowel insertion, gemination, and rarely suppletion. As mentioned by Appleyard (2012: 237), Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 23) and Mous (2008: 140), for the other Afaan Oromoo varieties, marking plural noun may not be required in the RAO dialect if the number of the noun is distinguished from the context as in *goromsa fantama* (Lit. heifer fifty) ‘fifty heifers’. Associative plural is also rarely used in the RAO like *-faa* in *ree?eefaa* ‘goat and others’ (RAOM1 193).

3.1.1.2. Singulative

Singulative is a notion that designates a single item or entity. It is derived from a collective or a general noun by adding a singulative suffix and typically denotes an item that is singled out of similar items (Corbett 2004: 17). Singulative indicates a singular that has a morphological marker, rather than being a base; where singular is indicated by the absence of a marker (Corbett 2004: 156). According to Mous (2012: 342ff), singulative marking is the feature of most Cushitic languages. Like other Cushitic languages, singulative is morphologically marked in Afaan Oromoo nouns. It is indicated by the suffixes *-itftfa* for masculine and *-ittii* for feminine in absolutive or citation form (Appleyard 2012: 237; Baye 1986: 280; Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 24; Shimelis 2014: 10, and Stroemer 1995: 45). In some studies, these two markers have been considered definiteness markers (Gragg 1976: 181, and Mohammed and Zaborski 1990: 10), which is not surprising since there is a strong interaction between singulative and definiteness in Oromoid sub-group (Mous 2012: 363). We will return to this briefly later in discussing definiteness. Now, we shall demonstrate how the singulative markers apply to RAO variety.

¹⁸ In some cases, different plural markers can be alternatively used for pluralized a noun. For instance, *goromsa* ‘heifers’ can be pluralized as *gorommoota/gorommii* ‘heifers’.

60. Transnumeral	Gloss	Singulative	Gloss
a. <i>muka</i>	a tree/wood	<i>mukattii</i>	a/the particular tree
b. <i>niitii</i>	a wife	<i>niitattii</i>	a/the particular wife
c. <i>mutf'aa</i> ¹⁹	a boy/girl	<i>mutf'attii</i>	a/the particular girl
d. <i>bifaan</i>	water	<i>bifaanattii</i>	a/the particular water
e. <i>ɿilma</i>	a son	<i>ɿilmattii</i>	a/the particular son
f. <i>ɿungullee</i>	bramble	<i>ɿungullattii</i>	a/the particular bramble

As seen above, *-attii* is one form of the singulative marker in RAO. It is attached to the given singular nouns by removing the final vowel of a given basic noun without considering its length. In [60c], an undetermined gender is classified as feminine after the attachment of singulative suffix. Unlike countable nouns of the dialect, the uncountable noun has a singulative form by suffixing *-attii* in [60d]. This suffix can also be used in loan noun from Tigrinya [60f]. To the best of our knowledge, the singulative marker *-attii* was not reported as a singulative marker for other Afaan Oromoo varieties. In [61], on the other hand, the singulative marker *-itftfa* is exemplified in absolutive case.

61. Transnumeral	Gloss	Singulative	Gloss
a. <i>ɿoromoo</i>	an/the Oromo people	<i>ɿoromitftfa</i> ²⁰	a/the particular Oromo man/woman
b. <i>k'aalluu</i>	a priest	<i>k'aallitftfa/iffa</i>	a/the particular priest
c. <i>mutf'aa</i>	a boy/girl	<i>mutfitftfa</i>	a/the particular boy
d. <i>dubbii</i>	a speech	<i>dubbitftfa</i>	a/the particular speech
e. <i>feekii</i>	a sheik	<i>feekitftfa</i>	a/the particular sheik
f. <i>nama</i>	a person	<i>namitftfa</i>	a/the particular person/man

In [61a-f], like the former singulative marker, *-attii*, *-itftfa* is attached to singular nouns by replacing the final short or long vowel of a given noun. It has an allomorph *-iffa* as in [61b]. This is the only noun we came across which alternates the suffix *-iffa* for singulative process.

¹⁹ *mutf'aa* is masculine and *mutf'ajjoo* feminine in other Afaan Oromoo varieties, for instance Tulema. However, in RAO only *mutf'aa* is known as its gender is identified from context.

²⁰ *ɿoromitftfa* is used for both gender in RAO variety though *ɿoromittii* is used for feminine elsewhere.

Unlike the [60c], the undetermined gender in [61c], becomes the masculine gender after the suffixation of singulative marker *-it/t/a*. The same holds true for [61f]. Thus, we can learn that *-it/t/a* is a masculine singulative marker, whereas *-attii* is a feminine singulative marker. Like RAO variety, *-it/t/a* has been reported for other Afaan Oromoo varieties as we mentioned above. However, as pointed out above, in this dialect, the singulative marker *-it/t/a* is not restricted to countable nouns.

In some other cases, additionally, we came across three nouns *ɔromtit/t/a* ('a/the particular Oromo man/woman'), *ɔimaamtit/t/a* ('a/the specific imam'), and *namtit/t/a* ('a/the particular man') in our database. Perhaps a similar issue arises with other Afaan Oromoo varieties such as Mecha, Borana, and Hararghe varieties (Gragg 1976: 182; Shimelis 2014: 8-9, and Stroomer 1995: 45). However, this issue is not reasoned out by Gragg or Stroomer; only Shimelis entertains it and concludes that the insertion of -t- for an optionality is dependent on syllabification (see Shimelis 2014: 8-9 for detail). In the following examples, we have the singulative suffix *-ittii*.

62. Transnumeral	Gloss	Singulative	Gloss
a. <i>gaangoo</i>	a mule	<i>gaangittii</i>	a/the particular mule
b. <i>hadaamaa</i>	an euphorbia	<i>hadaamittii</i>	an/the particular euphorbia
c. <i>dat/t/fee</i>	a ground/land	<i>dat/t/ittii</i>	a/the particular ground/land
d. <i>gaara</i>	a mountain	<i>gaarittii</i>	a/the particular mountain
e. <i>katamaa</i>	a town	<i>katamittii</i>	a/the particular town

Like the above singulative suffixes, *-it/t/a* and *-attii*, the singulative marker *-ittii* is suffixed to singular nouns by substituting the final vowel of a given noun [62a-e]. Like the former singulative suffixes, *-ittii* can also be used for marking singulative in loan nouns as in [62e]. In general, the singulative marker *-ittii* has an individuating function; it singles out a referent like *-it/t/a* and *-attii*.

The process of singulative in RAO variety applies to all noun types except proper nouns. The singulative markers are *-attii*, *-it/t/a*, and *-ittii*. In rare cases, irregularities in the singulative

formation can be happen. Such a feature extends beyond this research and so we leave it to a future investigation.

3.1.2. Gender

Linguistic gender classification goes beyond female and male. It is also used to categorize inanimate entities, where we might find feminine, masculine and neuter (Aikhenvald 2016: 5). Feminine and masculine genders often include inanimate nouns beyond biological sexes. Neuter is a term that is neither feminine nor masculine, and typically denotes entities perceived as object or inanimate. Most Cushitic languages have a plural gender system besides feminine and masculine (Frajzyngier 2012: 523, and Mous 2008: 137, 2012: 364). However, Afaan Oromoo, Somali, Rendille and Dhaasanach are Cushitic languages that consistently show only two values for gender, (Mous 2008: 144) namely feminine and masculine. In Afaan Oromoo linguistic study, this has been treated by Appleyard (2012), Clamons (1993; 1995), Gragg (1976), Griefenow-Mewis (2001), Mohammed and Zaborski (1990), Mous (2008), Owens (1985a), Shimelis (2014), and Stroomer (1995), to name few. The natural gender for feminine and masculine like *haada* ‘mother’ and *abbaa* ‘father’ are also used in the language.

As emphasized by Clamons (1995: 397), Afaan Oromoo dialects differ considerably with respect to the gender system under which they assign genders. In Hararghe (Owens 1985a: 94-95, and Shimelis 2014: 9) and Borana Afaan Oromoo dialects (Stroomer 1995: 54), gender assignment is based on phonological features as well as semantic and pragmatic factors. In Mecha and Tulema Afaan Oromoo dialects, on the other hand, the assignment of gender is associated with only semantic and pragmatic information (Clamons, 1995: 392, 397). With regard to the marking system, Hararghe and Borana Afaan Oromoo have a distinctive t/k paradigm that is also familiar to other Cushitic languages, but neutralized to an all k paradigm in Mecha and Tulema Afaan Oromoo (cf. discussion in Clamons, 1993: 272ff; 1995: 390ff). Now, we will turn to analyze the gender system of RAO nouns with illustrative examples; as gender in kinship nouns [63], gender in non-human animate nouns [64], gender in inanimate nouns [65], and morphological marking of gender [66], respectively.

63. Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
a. <i>ʔabaabajjuu</i>	great grandfather	* ²¹	
b. <i>ʔakaakajjuu</i>	grandfather	<i>ʔakkajjaa</i>	grandmother
c. <i>ʔabbaa</i>	father	<i>haada</i>	mother
d. <i>ʔilma</i>	son	<i>ʔintala</i>	daughter
e. <i>ʔibbeleeffa</i>	brother	<i>ʔibbeleettii</i>	sister
f. <i>ʔeeffuma</i>	maternal uncle	* ²¹	
g. <i>dirsa</i>	husband	<i>niitii</i>	wife
h. <i>gurbaa</i>	boy	<i>durba</i>	girl
i. <i>diira</i>	man	<i>dubartii</i>	woman

As exemplified in [63a-i], gender is expressed by suppletive terms for masculine and feminine nouns to denote the RAO kinship terms/nouns. Except [63e], which is marked by suffixes *-ffa* and *-ttii*, all kinship terms are denoting their respective genders without attaching gender markers. Even though all the above examples are lexically expressed, there are few kinship terms with lexically undetermined gender. To list a few *mutf'aa* ‘boy/girl’, *soddaa* ‘fa/mo/bro/ther-/sister-in-law’, *hangafa* ‘elder male/female’, and *k'ut'usuu* ‘younger male/female’. Thus, both genders are classified together under the blanket terms with respect to the given kinship nouns. In fact, they can be identifiable within a context as in for instance, *mutf'aa ʔisa dʒalk'abaa* ‘the first boy’. Grammatically, the noun *mutf'aa* can be identified ‘masculine’ based on the pronoun *ʔisa* ‘him’. The following examples show gender in non-human animate nouns.

64. a.Masculine: *k'otijoo* ‘ox’, *korma* ‘bull’, *hoolaa* ‘sheep’, *farda* ‘horse’, *hindaak'oo*²² ‘cock/hen’, *ʔedzersa* ‘olive tree’, and *muka* ‘tree’
- b.Feminine: *daltuu* ‘female’, *raada/goromsa* ‘heifer’, *reʔee* ‘goat’, *saree* ‘dog’, *ʔadurree* ‘cat’, *k'amalee* ‘monkey/ape’, and *tutft'ee* ‘small black ant’

²¹ Not all our language consultants remembered kinship names such as great grandmother, uncle, and aunt.

²² In elicitation, one of our consultants confirmed that cock is *hindaak'oo* kormaa; however, the rest rejected.

In RAO, living referents under [64a-b] are distinguished for gender lexically. The semantic category of natural sex determines the gender of *k'otijoo*, and *korma*, in [64a], and *daltuu*, and *raada/goromsa*, in [64b]. However, nouns such as *hoolaa*, *farda*, and *hindaak'oo* in [64a], and *reʔee*, *saree*, *ʔadurree*, and *k'amalee* in [64b] override this gender assignment. Thus, phonological features determine the assignment of their gender except for a noun *hindaak'oo*. We will take a close look at phonological shape at the end of this section. Naturally genderless nouns such as *ʔedzersa*, and *muka* in [64a] and *tutʃtʃee* [64b] are respectively associated masculine and feminine gender based on their phonological shapes. On top of these, small size noun, *tutʃtʃee*, and lower animates such as *reʔee*, *saree*, *ʔadurree* and *k'amalee* are assigned feminine in the dialect. There are, in addition, nouns such as *gaangoo* 'mule' and *harree* 'donkey' that assign their gender depending on a specific context. The next examples are about gender in inanimate nouns.

65. a. Masculine: *lafa* 'land', *laga* 'river', *waak'a* 'God', *dʒiʔa* 'moon', *bijja* 'country',
mana 'house', *ʔurdzee* 'star', *ʔalbee* 'knife', and *ʔufoon* 'meat'

b. Feminine: *ʔaduu* 'sun'

As can be observed from the example in [65], gender assignment in inanimate nouns is almost phonological except in *ʔurdzee* and *ʔalbee*. Since the final vowel is non-low in both examples, our expectation is feminine gender though it is masculine. Besides phonological criterion, nearly all RAO inanimate nouns are assigned masculine as a default gender system. As reported by Clamons (1993: 272) and Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 22), such Afaan Oromoo nouns for 'land', 'country', 'moon', 'star', and 'sun' are usually feminine, though that is not the case in RAO except the noun for 'sun'. The morphological marking of gender in the dialect is also exemplified as follows.

66. a. <i>ʔibbelee-ffa</i>	vs	<i>ʔibbelee-ttii</i>
brother-M		brother-F
'brother'		'sister'
b. <i>duree-ffa</i>	vs	<i>duree-ttii</i>
rich/wealthy-M		rich/wealthy-F
'a rich/wealthy male'		'a rich/wealthy female'

c. <i>hat-aa</i>	vs	<i>hat-tuu</i>
thief-AGNR.M		thief-AGNR.F\M
‘a thief male’		‘a thief female/male’
d. <i>dzaar-sa</i>	vs	<i>dzaar-tii</i>
old-M		old-F
‘old man’		‘old woman’

As presented in example [66], overt gender marks in nouns of RAO are *-ffa*, *-tii*, *-aa*, and *-tii*. The suffix *-tuu* in *hattuu* marks both masculine and feminine in the dialect, since the gender of the noun is recognizable through context as in for instance, Tolaan hattuuḍa (‘Tola is thief’) and ʔijjin hattuuḍa (‘she is thief’).

In general lexical, grammatical, phonological, and socio-cultural criteria are used to categorize the gender assignment of RAO nouns. Majority of kinship nouns are inherently gender specific regardless of their phonological shapes. In some non-human animate nouns, gender is identified to the gender corresponding to the sex of the animate with few exceptions. In this gender assigning, phonological criterion and size of entity are also considered. On the other hand, inanimate nouns are assigned gender based on phonological criterion. With few exceptions, both inanimate and animate Afaan Oromoo nouns that are not explicitly marked with respect to sex, are marked feminine if they end in a non-low vowel and marked masculine if not (Clamons 1993:1995; Owens 1985a, and Shimelis 2014)²³. The same holds true for RAO nouns.

3.1.3. Definiteness

Discussions of definiteness revolve around the role of familiarity, and status as a defining feature for definiteness and its relationship to uniqueness and identifiability. The prominent work on definiteness is Lyons (1999), whose primary concern is examining it from various perspectives. As pointed out by him, definiteness is a grammatical category like gender, mood,

²³ In addition to the quality of the final vowel, nouns ending in a consonant are masculine (Clamons 1993: 274) and Shimelis 2014: 7).

number, tense etc. According to Lyons (1999: 277-278), grammatical definiteness is not present in all languages, but only in those that have overt marker such as definite article. Therefore, article based languages express definiteness through articles, whereas languages lacking articles use a variety of other resources (Chesterman 1991: 3). These resources are demonstratives, personal pronouns, proper nouns, and possessives (Lyons 1999: 17). As described by Mous (2012: 360), definiteness is less generally marked in Cushitic languages. However, even in languages that do not overtly mark it, definiteness plays an important role in the noun morphology.

There is controversy over the status of definiteness in Afaan Oromoo. Some scholars such as Appleyard (2012: 237), Baye (1981: 21ff), Gragg (1976: 181), Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 24), Mohammed and Zaborski (1990: 10-11), and Owens (1985a: 96) argue that there are suffixes that mark definiteness besides demonstratives, possessives, and personal pronouns. Contrary to this view, Baye (1986: 279ff), Shimelis (2014: 12), and Stroomer (1995: 48) claim that Afaan Oromoo nouns are not morphologically marked for definiteness. However, they acknowledge that a member of the larger class of definite determiners, which include demonstrative pronouns or deictics are used to express something resembling definiteness.

Though the former group argues *-it/t/-*, and *-ittii* as definite markers, by discussing the matter at considerable length, Baye (1986: 273-281), conclude that *-it/t/-*, and *-itt-* are quantifying morphemes rather than defining morphemes in Afaan Oromoo. As he claims, the reason for his conclusion is that, had they been definiteness markers, they could have possibly been used with mass nouns and plural nouns. The argument of Baye (1986) can also be strengthened by Lyons (1999: 10) which states a definite article can occur equally well with plural count nouns and mass nouns in addition to singular count nouns. In the present study from one point of view, this holds true including the morpheme, *-attii* that appears with mass nouns but not plural nouns (cf. 3.1.1.2).

The following examples illustrate nominal demonstratives or possessive pronouns that are used to express definiteness in RAO variety.

67. a. *man-n-i* ***kun*** *hin* *dimʔis-Ø-a*
house-NOM-ep this FOC leak-3SG.M-IPFV
‘This house (roof) leaks’
- b. *lag-n-i* ***sun*** *ʔabbaa k’ab-a*
river-NOM-ep that father hold\have-IPFV
‘That/the river has owner’
- c. *mana* ***koo*** *gal-Ø-e*
house my enter-3SG.M\1SG-PFV
‘I/he entered to my home’
- d. *ʔisii* ***kana*** *ʔisii-n*
she this she-NOM
‘She/it is this/the one’(F)
- e. *bijja* ***tana*** *k’adzeel-f- Ø-an* [*k’adzeeffan*] *waggaa*
country this straighten-TRR-3-PL year
‘They established this/the country a year’
- f. *ʔisa* ***sana*** *baallaa dzed-uu-n* [*dʒetʃi²⁴uun*] *mak’-s-an*
him that fork say-VNM-by sawerve-TRR-3PL
‘They swerved that/the one as a fork of a branch’(M)

The (pro)nouns that assigned definite are *mana*, *laga*, *mana*, *ʔisii*, *bijja*, and *ʔisa* in [67a-f]. They are used as subject in [67a-c] and as object in [67d-f]. They are respectively modified by *kun*, *sun*, *koo*, *kana*, *tana*, and *sana*. On the other hand, phrasal nouns are also used to show definiteness in RAO variety as exemplified in [68].

68. a. *k’oraan* *ʔisa* ***haf-Ø-e*** ***san***
wood he\it NEG\remain-3SG.M-PFV that
‘A log of wood that remained’ ([Audio C1 2m29.50-2m30.53ms](#))

²⁴ Like Hararghe Afaan Oromoo variety (Shimelis 2014: 67), in RAO, verbal noun formation for stems resulting in palatalization is irregular in some cases. For instance, when a given stem ends in alveolar *d*, this *d* changes to the palatal *-tʃi* in resulting noun.

b. *butfiṭuna ʔisa hamma wajii gah-u*

gourd him\it until something arrive-DPT

‘A gourd that is very big’ ([Audio C₁ 2m01.45-2m02.47ms](#))

c. *k’eeroo ʔisa ʔamma ʔisaan duukaa deem-u*

bachelor he\it now them together go-DPT

‘A bachelor, who is going with them’ ([Audio C₁ 5m02.23-5m03.82ms](#))

Unlike definiteness, as agreed by some scholars, indefiniteness in Afaan Oromoo is marked by the use of the numeral *tokko/takka* ‘one’, a source of indefinite markers in many Afroasiatic languages (Frajzyngier 2012: 559). This holds true for RAO variety as it is morphologically unmarked. Accordingly, the quantifier *takka/tokko* ‘one’ is used for both masculine and feminine genders simultaneously, and it used with plural number too. The following example illustrate the use of *takka/tokko* ‘one’ in indefiniteness.

69. a. *nama takka*

man one

‘a/one person’

b. *durba takka*

girl one

‘a/one girl’

c. *ʔisii-n tokko ʔammoo ʔazijaa*

her-NOM one but Aziya

‘But one is Aziya’

d. *k’otijjoo-oota [k’otijjoota] takka*

ox-PL one

‘one oxen...’

In the following subsection, 3.1.4, we will discuss ‘cases’ in RAO variety.

3.1.4. Case

The term case is a grammatical category by which the form of a noun phrase varies for grammatical or semantic reasons (Kroeger 2005: 103, and Trask 2007: 35). According to Katamba (1993: 237), on the other hand, case is used in at least two different senses. These are grammatical case and oblique case where grammatical case is used for grammatical functions and oblique case is used for semantic roles. Case can be grouped into core/primary and peripheral/secondary cases (Blake 2004: 32; Mel'čuk 2006: 143, and Van 2008: 110ff) where the former express syntactic relations such as subject, direct object, and indirect object, and the latter express semantic relations such as locative and instrumental.

Various cases have been identified in the world's languages. For instance Sasse (1984: 11) reconstructs case system for proto-Cushitic languages which consists at least three cases: nominative, absolutive and genitive or possessive case. For the reason that the most common Cushitic languages' case system is marked for nominative, case is typologically interesting in Cushitic languages (Mous 2012: 369). In Afaan Oromoo, as described by Shimelis (2014: 247), case is considered as fundamental characteristic of nominals. Commonly used cases in the language includes nominative²⁵, accusative, absolutive, dative, genitive, instrumental, locative, and ablative (Debela 2011: 61). Normally the accusative and absolutive cases, which are not marked, are used as a citation form or base form (Debela 2011: 61; Gragg 1976: 182, and Shimelis 2014: 256, 289). Let us now turn to the discussion of RAO case markers.

3.1.4.1. Nominative

In RAO, nouns that are used as subject of an intransitive clause and the agent of a transitive clause take inflectional morphemes for nominative case. Three different allomorphic forms including zero morph mark the nominative case of the dialect. The following examples show these case markers.

70. a. *ʔeeffum-n-i ʔisaa gog-Ø-e*
uncle-NOM-ep of him go-3SG.M-PFV
'His uncle went'

²⁵ As described by Mous (2012: 369), in Cushitic studies, the nominative case is often called 'subject case'.

- b. *warr-i-n-i=mmoo* *ʔisaa wadʒdʒin duf-e*
 family-ep-NOM-ep=also of him together come-PFV
 ‘The one who also came with him,...’ (RAOM2 133).
- c. *naddoo-n* *hin dʒir-t-i*
 female-NOM FOC exist-3SG.F-IPFV
 ‘The female exists’ (Audio A 5m53.06-5m53.87ms)
- d. *ʔana-uma-t-i-nuu* [*ʔanumtinuu*] *ʔakka sani=tti-n* *darb-e*
 I-EMPH-NOM-ep-FOC like that=to-1SG pass-PFV
 ‘I myself passed through that step’ (RAOM2 188)
- e. *k’oraan-Ø* *goggog-Ø-e*
 firewood-NOM dry-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘The firewood has dried’

As presented in [70a-e], the nominative case marker *-n* has two allomorphic forms *-t*, and *Ø*. The host nouns in the sentences are *ʔeeffuma*, *warra*, *naddoo*, *ʔana*, and *k’oraan*. Noun ends in a short vowel in which this vowel succeeds clustered or geminated consonants, replaces its final short vowel with *-i* as epenthetic and add *-n* to form its nominative [70b]. The rest vowel ending nouns except few nouns (eg. *haada*, *lafa*, and *muka* becomes *haati* mother-NOM-ep, *lafti* land-NOM-ep, and *mukti* tree\wood-NOM-ep, respectively) attach *-n* as the nominative marker by removing their final vowels [70a, c]. A few nouns that end in consonants become nominalize with *Ø* [70e]. All nouns with emphasis *-uma* attach *-t* as nominative marker [70d].

Scholars such as Baye (1981; 1986), Gragg (1976: 182ff), Griefenow-Mawis (2001: 41ff), Kebede (2009: 43), Mous (2012: 371-372), Owens (1985a: 100ff), and Shimelis (2014: 8) claimed Afaan Oromoo nominative case markers as *-ni*, *-i*, *-n*²⁶, *-ti*, and *-ii*. Notice that we considered *-i* as an epenthetic vowel in both *-ni* and *-ti* rather than part of the nominative markers. The marker *-ii* is reported for Hararghe Afaan Oromoo only by Owens (1985a: 101)

²⁶ *-n* is considered as new consonantal subject case marker of Afaan Oromoo that developed from the inherited proto-Lowland East Cushitic languages *-i* (Appleyard 1991: 17, and Mous 2012: 372).

like in the case of *harka* ‘hand’ *hark-ii* hand-NOM. Of these nominative case markers listed above, RAO variety has *-n*, with its allomorphic forms such as *-t*, and $\emptyset$. It seems that the nominative case marker *-t* occurs only with feminine nouns (Gragg 1976: 183; Griefenow-Mawis 2001: 42; Mous 2012: 372, and Owens 1985a: 101). However, in RAO, the marker can be added to both masculine and feminine genders like in *diiirti* ‘male-NOM-ep’ and *haad-t-i* [*haati*] ‘mother-NOM-ep’.

3.1.4.2. Absolute

As with many other cushitic languages, in RAO variety the absolutive case is grammatically the unmarked form of a noun. It is the citation form of a noun as one can be observed from the examples in [71] below.

71. a. *mak'aa-n koo dabalaa-da*
 name-NOM my Debela.ABS-COP
 'My name is Debela' ([Audio A 00.42-01.55ms](#))
- b. *Ɂinni farda jaabb-at-ø-a*
 he.NOM horse.ABS ride-INCH-3SG.M-IPFV
 'He rides/will ride a horse' ([RAOM2 099](#))
- c. *Ɂisii kana k'ak'k'ab-n-e*
 her.ABS this.ABS reach-1PL-PFV
 'We reached this one' ([Audio A 36.07-36.96ms](#))

Except Awngi, Bilin, Dullay and Xamtanga, all major Cushitic languages are unmarked for the absolutive case (Appleyard 1991: 12; Mous 2012: 369-371, and Tosco 1994: 226). In Afaan Oromoo, absolutive case is unmarked in the sense that it lacks morphological marking and used as the citation form, and it also functions as the basis of morphological processes such as genitive marking and coordination marking (Mous 2012: 370, and Owens 1985a: 98-100). As can be seen in [71], the same situation is attested in the RAO hence the absolutive case, which is not marked, is used as a base form.

3.1.4.3. Dative

As described by NÆSS (2008: 572), defining dative in consistent way across languages is difficult. However, we simply define it as a case marking signaling a recipient for this study. The followings are the examples of the RAO dative case.

72. a. *rabbii-f*

god-DAT

‘For/To God’

b. *haadzaa-f*

purpose-DAT

For purpose’

c. *ʔidza kee-tii-f*

eye your-COP.GEN-DAT

‘For your eye’

d. *daddaakaa-n soddaa-daa-f*

k’ofa duf-a

dedaka-NOM son-in-law-COP.EMPH-DAT only come-IPFV

‘Dedaka (food) is given only to a son-in-law’ ([RAOM2 131](#))

As can be seen from [72a-d], the dative case marker in RAO is only *-f*. In [72a], it is added to the noun with a lengthened final short vowel. In [72b] on the other hand, it simply appended to noun ends with long vowel. Like [72a], in [72c], *-f* is affixed to the noun assigned genitive with a lengthened final short vowel of *-ti*. In [72d], the sentence becomes rewritten as *daddaakaan soddaadaa k’ofaa dufa* ‘Dedaka (food) is given only to a son-in-law’ and the dative marker seems *-daa*. However, as *soddaadaa* is the surface form, the dative marker is still *-f* in the underlying form *soddaa-daa-f*. Thus, the copula *-da* is added possibly for emphasis.

Different scholars have treated the dative marking in Afaan Oromoo; among others, Baye (1981: 20), Debela (2011: 45), Gragg (1976: 183), Griefenow-Mawis (2001: 45), Owens (1985a: 105ff), and Shimelis (2014: 55). All the scholars mentioned *-f* as a dative marker of the language in common. But, Debela (2001), and Gragg (1976) additionally used *-daaf*, whereas

Griefenow-Mawis (2001) also listed *-daa*, *-daaf*, *-tii(f)*, and *=tti*, as dative marker. As we have mentioned before, the case of *-daa* is related to surface form of the construction. On the other hand, *-daaf* can be analysed into *-daa* and *-f*. The same hold true for *-tiif* like [72c]. Concerning the marker *=tti*, it seems allomorphic dative as for instance *ʒuffata naa-f bit-i* and *ʒuffata na=tii bit-i* both glossed ‘Buy a dress for me’ even if *=tti* is directional suffix.

3.1.4.4. Ablative

Ablative case is the case that expresses the role of source that is expressed by ‘from’ in English (Blake 2004: 195). In RAO variety, ablative is formed as shown in example [73].

73. a. *kamisee=rraa*

kamise=ABL

‘From Kamise’

b. *bijja=rraa*

country=ABL

‘From country’

c. *lagaa bah-ø-e*.

river.ABL leave out-3SG.M-PFV

‘He came out from a river’

As shown in [73a-b], the ablative case marker in RAO is *irraa (=rraa)*. It is added to nouns and marks those nouns as the departure point. Similarly, for Mecha Afaan Oromoo, Baye (1986: 76 and elsewhere) indirectly acknowledged *=rra(a)*²⁷ as an ablative case marker. On the analysis of passive construction of Hararghe Afaan Oromoo, Shimelis (2014: 129) also identifies the ablative case marker *=rraa* for the dialect. Nouns end in a short vowel may express ablative case by lengthened their final short vowel [73c]. Lengthening of final short vowel can also applied to nouns with other suffixes as exemplified in [74].

²⁷ In Baye (1986: 76) [63a] *mana-saa=rra baʔ-e*, the suffix ‘from’ should be represented by *=rraa* rather than *=rra*.

74. a. *kamisee-daa* *duf-Ø-e*
 kamise-COP.EMPH come-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He came from Kamise’
- b. *kamisee-tii* *duf-Ø-e*
 kamise-COP.EMPH come-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He came from Kamise’

3.1.4.5. Genitive

The genitive case is a case, which marks the dependency of a noun or noun phrase on another noun (Booij 2007: 313). Generally, it indicates that the possessor noun is dependent on the possessum noun; but a suffix or a postposition is also used in Afaan Oromoo (Appleyard 2012: 238; Baye 1986: 91-92; Griefenow-Mawis 2001: 43, and Shimelis 2014: 275). Additionally, the language may form its genitive case by a long or lengthened final vowel on the dependent noun (Appleyard 2012: 238, and Shimelis 2014: 275). According to them, one important aspect of Afaan Oromoo genitive case is that, the final vowel of the possessor has a high tone. As described by Baye (1986: 88ff), the genitive case in the language refers to the form a noun phrase takes when expressing relation of source, possession, location, and purpose. The following examples illustrate the formation and use of genitive case in RAO variety.

75. a. *dadaa sa?aa*
 butter cow.GEN
 ‘Butter of cow or cow’s butter’ ([Audio A 5m36.34-5m37.35ms](#))
- b. *k’orii fardaa*
 bowl horse.GEN
 ‘Bowl of horse or horse’s bowl’
- c. *ganda gaaraa*
 village mountain.GEN
 ‘Village of mountain or mountain’s village’ ([Audio A 3m56.58-3m57.04ms](#))
- d. *ʔabbaa bifaan-ii*
 father water-GEN

‘Owner of water or water’s owner’

As can be observed from [75], the genitive case in RAO is formed by lengthening a final short vowel [75a-c] and by adding the marker *-ii* to noun ending in a consonant [75d]. The possessum and possessor in [75a-d] are respectively related to each other as expressing source, purpose, location, and possessive. On the other hand, the genitive case in the dialect can be formed with high tone if the final vowel of the possessor noun is already long like in *bijja kée* ‘your country’. In addition to this and the genitive indicated in [75], the relative particle *kan* ‘of’ may interfere between the possessum and possessor nouns in RAO as follows.

76. a. *mak’aa kan diiraa*

name of male.GEN

‘Name of male or male’s name’

b. *ʔafaan kan haadaa*

mouth of mother.GEN

‘Language of the mother or mother’s language’

c. *ʔafaan kan ʔabbaa*

mouth of father

‘Language of the father or father’s language’

In RAO variety, relative particle *kan* does not make gender distinction [76a-b], whereas in some other varieties like Hararghe, varying the initial phoneme to /t/ makes gender difference from masculine to feminine (Shimelis 2014: 278).

3.1.4.6. Instrumental

The instrumental case is a case expressing means or agent. ‘Means’ or ‘agent’ denotes the object that is being used as an instrument (Narrog 2008: 593-599). In other words, instrumental case expresses the instrument with which an action is carried out (Blake 2004: 154). The following example from RAO variety shows instrumental case marking such as typical instrument.

77. a. *ʔalbee-n waraan-Ø-e*
 knife-INST pierce-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He pierced with a knife’
- b. *ʔareeraa-n dik’-at-Ø-a*
 skimmed milk-INST wash-MID-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘He washes/will wash himself with skimmed milk’ ([RAOM2 094](#))
- c. *bifaan-i-n dik’-at-Ø-a*
 water-ep-INST wash-MID-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘He washes/will wash himself with water’

In RAO variety, the only instrumental case marker *-n* as given in [77a-c]. It correspondingly attaches to *ʔalbee*, *(h)areera*, and *bifaan* in the examples. In [77a] it is added to noun ends in a long vowel, whereas in [77b] it is attached to noun with lengthening of a short final vowel. When a noun is terminating in a consonant as in [77c], the marker *-n* is suffixed to the noun preceded by an epenthetic vowel. Notice that the instrumental case marker can also be attached to nouns with other grammatical suffixes as in example [78].

78. a. *ʔafaan ʔoromoo-tii-n dubb-at-n-aa [dubbannaa]*
 language\mouth Oromo-COP.GEN-INST speak-INCH-1PL-IPFV.QUES
 ‘Do we speak in Afaan Oromoo?’
- b. *toffitoo-daa-n kut-t-e*
 adze-COP.EMPH-INST cut-2SG\3SG.F-PFV
 ‘You/she cut by adze’ ([Audio C₁ 5m57.87-5m59.03ms](#))

In Hararghe Afaan Oromoo, as analysed by Shimelis (2014: 175), a relative clause headed with the noun *waan* ‘thing’: ‘thing which one verbs with’ can form periphrastic instrument nominalization along with *ʔitti* ‘to, toward, on or at’. Here are his examples (2014: 175).

79. a. *waan ʔittii-n duf-Ø-an*
 thing to-INST come-3-PL
 ‘Something by which one comes’

- b. *waan ?ittii-n jaam-am-Ø-an* [*jaammaman*]
 thing to-INST call-PASS-3-PL
 ‘Something to be called with’

This holds true in RAO variety as exemplified in [80].

80. a. *waan muka ?ittii-n but-t-u*
 thing tree/wood to-INST scuttle-2SG-IPFV
 ‘Something by which you (will) scuttle a tree/wood’
- b. *waan ?aannan ?ittii-n k’ab-at-t-u*
 thing milk to-INST hold\have-MID-2SG-IPFV
 ‘Something by which you (will) hold milk’

3.1.4.7. Locative

As the name already implies, the locative case expresses the role of location (Blake 2004: 202). It primarily encodes the location of an entity or an event. In RAO, locative case is formed by adding the case marker =*tii* to the given noun. The clitic *irra* (=rra) also marks locative case in the dialect. Below are examples of locative nouns marked by the locative case markers =*tii* and =rra.

81. a. *mana keepna=tii dubb-at-n-a* [*dubbanna*]
 house ours-LOC speak-INCH-1PL-IPFV
 ‘We (will) speak at our home’
- b. *muka=rra taa?-Ø-e*
 tree/wood=on sit-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He sat on a tree’
- c. *?itillee=rra=tii bu?-Ø-a*
 cowhide=on=LOC descend-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘He descends /will descend on cultural mattress’

In [81c], both locative case markers are encliticized to the noun *?itillee*. Thus, the clitic *?irra* precedes *?itti*. However, the reverse *?itillee=tii=rra* is ungrammatical. In the other Afaan

Oromoo varieties, Griefenow-Mawis (2001: 50) identifies *ʔitti* as the locative case marker in that expresses a situation at a place or a movement to a place.

3.1.4.8. Vocative

Some languages have the vocative case which marks the noun representing the entity one addresses (Blake 2004: 8). It is a means of calling attention. Since the vocative case is form of direct address, we might expect the host to be a second person (Lyons 1999: 152). Many languages do have special vocative forms. The following are illustrative examples of vocative case in RAO variety.

82. a. *nama-na*

person-VOC

‘You man/woman’

b. *diira-oo* [*diiroo*]

male-VOC

‘You man’

c. *ʔintala-oo* [*ʔintaloo*]

daughter/girl-VOC

‘You daughter/girl’

As shown in [82], the vocative case markers in RAO are *-na* [82a] and *-oo* [82b-c]. The vocative case marker *-na* seems to occur only with unidentifiable gender noun as *nama*. The vocative case marker *-oo* on the other hand, occurs with identifiable gender nouns as *diira* ‘male’ and *ʔintala* ‘daughter/girl’. Both markers do not attach to plural nouns and the vocative particle *jaa* is used in the dialect as in *yaa ʔibbelee-jjii-an* [*ʔibbeleejjan*] *koo* VOC brother/sister-PL-3PL my ‘you my brothers/sisters’. At least in Tulema Afaan Oromoo, *-na* is used with plural nouns such as *dzara-na* they-VOC ‘you people’ and *warra-na* family-VOC ‘you family’.

3.2. Noun Derivation and Compounding

Derivation is the operation by which one form is created or derived from another. The operation is based on rules with phonological, semantical, and syntactical properties (Booij 2005: 110). Phonological property is about the addition of phonological operation, whereas semantic and syntactic properties are respectively about the change of meaning and the syntactic (sub)category of the derived form. Compounding, on the other hand, consists of combination of two or more words, in which one word modifies the meaning of the other, the head (Booij 2007: 75; Katamba 1993: 46, 54, and Matthews 1991: 80). Below, in (§3.2.1) and (§3.2.2), we will deal with noun formation via derivation and compounding respectively.

3.2.1. Noun Derivation

The processes of noun formation and their outputs are termed as nominalization (Shimelis, 2014: 58). The inputs for nominalization may be verbs, adjectives, or other nouns. The derived nouns may be the name of the activity or state designated by the verb (all action nominals, as Shimelis 2014: 58 calls them) or adjective, or may represent one of its arguments (Comrie and Thompson 2007: 334). Accordingly, they categorize forming nouns into action/state nouns, agentive nouns, instrumental nouns, manner nouns, locative nouns, objective nouns, and reason nouns. Different scholars at various degrees have treated nominalization in Afaan Oromoo. For instance, Baye (1986), Gragg (1976), Griefenow-Mawis (2001), Owens (1985a), Shimelis (2014), Stroomer (1995), and Temesgen (1993) to mention a few. The most detailed work on the nominalization of Afaan Oromoo is Shimelis (2014), in which he identified four argument nominalization types (agent, instrumental, result, and manner) and action nominals. He also gave a detailed discussion of eight argument nominalization types of Afaan Oromoo under agent nominalization (see Shimelis 2014: 184-197 for details). Thus, the following sub sections deal with different kinds of derived nouns found in RAO²⁸ variety.

3.2.1.1. Abstract Noun

Abstract nouns are nouns that denote something viewed as a nonmaterial referent (Greenbaum 1996: 80). Derived abstract nouns can be formed from both nonmaterial and concrete ones. The

²⁸ Like Shimelis (2014), focusing on all aspects of nominalization is beyond the scope of the present research.

following are examples of abstract nouns derived from noun, adjective and verb roots/stems by affixing *-ummaa*, *-ina*, and *-eeɲɲa* in RAO variety.

83. Root/stem	Abstract Noun
a. Noun <i>nama</i>	<i>nam-ummaa</i>
man/person	man/person-ABSTNR
	‘humanity’
b. Adj. <i>hoosa</i>	<i>hoos-ummaa</i>
bad	bad-ABSTNR
	‘badness’
<i>dzab-</i>	<i>dzab-eeɲɲa\ -ina</i>
strong/strengthen	strong/strengthen-ABSTNR
	‘strength/strengthen’
c. Verb <i>k’ab-</i>	<i>k’ab-eeɲɲa</i>
hold\have	hold\have-ABSTNR
	‘wealth’

As seen in [83], *-ummaa* can be attached to nouns and adjectives to derive abstract nouns. It is added to nouns both ended in short vowel [83a] and long vowel for instance *ʔidzoolummaa* ‘childhood’ can be derived from *ʔidzoollee* ‘children’. In adjectives, it is appended to adjectives with final short vowel [83b] to derive abstract nouns. The nominalizer *-eeɲɲa* can be suffixed to both adjective and verb roots [83b-c]. Adjectives with long final vowels are nominalized by the addition of *-eeɲɲa* or *-ina* [83b]. In general, *-umma* nominalizes nouns and adjectives, whereas *-eeɲɲa* nominalizes adjectives and verbs in abstract noun formation. However, *-ina* nominalizes only adjective in this derivation.

3.2.1.2. Agentive Noun

The notion agent is defined as the performer of an action on a patient (Shimelis 2014: 161). It designates any process by which an agent noun is formed. Thus, agent noun is ‘one who verbs’ (Booij 2015: 424). In RAO variety, agent nouns are derived via the morpheme *-tuu* and *-aa* as exemplified in [84].

84. Root/stem	Agent Nouns
a. <i>tijis-</i>	<i>tijis-i-tuu</i>
keep	keep-ep-AGNR
	‘herdsman’
b. <i>naata</i>	<i>naat-tuu</i>
eating	eat-AGNR
	‘eater’
c. <i>hat-</i>	<i>hat-aa</i>
steal	steal-AGNR
	‘thief’
d. <i>ɖidɖɖzees-</i>	<i>ɖidɖɖzees-aa</i>
kill	kill-AGNR
	‘killer’

As can be observed from the above examples, the suffix *-tuu* is an indicator of both epicene agent noun and a feminine agent noun [84a-b]. The suffix *-aa* on the other hand, is a masculine agentive nominal maker. In our database, we came across agent noun like *tijisaa* ‘herdsman’ masculine of [84a], and *hattuu* ‘thief’ epicene agent noun of [84c]. The two agent suffixes, *-tuu* and *-aa*, exist in other Afaan Oromoo varieties (Baye 1986: 122; Griefenow-Mawis 2001: 26, and Shimelis 2014: 167).

3.2.1.3. Instrumental Noun

An instrumental noun is an inanimate noun which is used by an agent in carrying out certain action. It is a designation for noun that denotes the corresponding instrument. Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2011: 165) define the role of instrumental noun as the means used to accomplish a given action. This indirect means of action accomplishment is described by Shimelis (2014: 170) as a role player acts on instrument/tool and the instrument/tool affects a patient. Instrumental noun is formed from a verb in which the derived noun denotes an instrument or means used to achieve the act represented by the verb (Payne 1997: 228). In Afaan Oromoo, only some verbs are used for the formation of instrument nouns; otherwise the

language yields periphrastic construction in the nominalisation (Shimelis 2014: 173). The following example sets in [85] denote the productive instrumental noun formation in RAO.

85. Root	Instrumental Nouns
a. <i>haam-</i>	<i>haam-tuu</i>
mow (V)-	mow-INSTNR
	‘sickle’ (N)
b. <i>k’ot-</i>	<i>k’ot-too</i>
plough/dig (V)-	plough/dig-INSTNR
	‘digger’ (N)
c. <i>haad-</i>	<i>haad-oo</i>
shave (V)-	shave-INSTNR
	‘blade’ (N)

In [85a-c], the instrumental nouns are derived from verbal roots by the suffixing *-tuu*, *-too* and *-oo*. As already shown in sections 3.1.2 and 3.2.1.2 the morpheme *-tuu* also occurs as gender marker and agentive nominalizer, whereas *-oo* in (§ 3.1.1.1.7 and § 3.1.4.8) respectively occurs as plural marker and vocative case marker too: it attaches to noun and/or adjective. Similar cases have been reported in some Afaan Oromoo varieties. For instance, as pointed out by Shimelis (2014: 173), both instrumental and agent nominalizations in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo are formed by the addition of morpheme *-tuu* and *-aa*. According to the description of Kroegeer (2005: 256), using the same nominalizer for agent and instrumental nouns is not stranger in derivation. Although it needs further investigation, it is possible to argue that the same morpheme may be used to form different nouns and to inflect nouns and/or adjectives.

3.2.1.4. Result Noun

Result nouns are nouns denoting the object or the state produced by the event expressed by the root/stem verb (Melloni 2015: 1253). This implies that the derivation of result nouns is from verbal forms. According to Melloni (2015: 1263), accomplishment and achievement verbs are the best candidates for deriving result nouns. A language may possess productive morphological means to form its result noun. In Afaan Oromoo, result noun is derived by

suffixation of a variety of morphemes (Shimelis 2014: 177). In addition to identifying three patterns with different suffixes of result nouns in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo, Shimelis (2014: 178) also emphasized the difficulty of providing rules to govern the choice of morphemes. In RAO variety, result nouns are derived by the suffixation of *-oo*, *-umsa*, *-sa*, *-aa*, and *-ii* to verbal roots/stems as instanced in [86].

86. Root/stem	Result Nouns
a. <i>ʔarrabs-</i> insult (V)-	<i>ʔarrabs-oo</i> insult-RESNR 'insult' (N)
b. <i>beek-</i> know (V)-	<i>beek-umsa</i> know-RESNR 'knowledge' (N)
c. <i>ʔabaar-</i> curse (V)-	<i>ʔabaar-sa</i> curse-RESNR 'curse' (N)
d. <i>kenn-</i> give (V)-	<i>kenn-aa</i> give-RESNR 'gift' (N) (RAOM2 028)
e. <i>t'uur-</i> transgress (V)-	<i>t'uur-ii</i> transgress-RESNR 'sin/breach' (N)

As can be seen from [86 a-e], derived nouns depict result of the process of an event described by the base verb. Of the above result nominalizer morpheme *-aa* and *-ii* are mentioned by Shimelis (2014: 178) as used in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo, whereas all result nominalizer morpheme except *-sa* are used in Mecha Afaan Oromoo (Temesgen 1993: 11). As has been already mentioned above, conventions governing the derivation of Afaan Oromoo result noun via suffixes are not easy to establish.

3.2.1.5. Manner Nouns

Manner nouns refer to the act described by the verb or the way in which it is carried out. In Afaan Oromoo, manner nominals are derived from verbs by suffixing different nominalizer morpheme across the dialects. For instance, the Mecha dialect uses *-ii*, *-umsa*, and *-aatii* (Temesgen 1993:13), whereas Hararghe dialect uses *-insa* (Shimelis 2014: 182). In RAO variety, manner nouns are formed by suffixing the nominalizer morpheme *-insa*, *-ii*, and *-naa* as seen in [87]. The morpheme *-ii* attaches to roots/stems with consonant cluster that left after the removal of final vowel. However, generalizing the suffixation rules for *-insa* and *-naa* morphemes are uneasy.

87. Root/stem	Manner Nouns
a. <i>taah-</i> sit (V)-	<i>taah-insa</i> sit-MANNR 'manner of sitting' (N)
b. <i>dung-</i> kiss (V)-	<i>dung-ii</i> kiss-MANNR 'manner of kissing' (N)
c. <i>ʔuffat-</i> wear (clothes) (V)-	<i>ʔuffat-naa</i> [<i>ʔuffannaa</i>] wear-MANNR 'manner of wearing' (N)

3.2.1.6. Gerundive Nouns

Gerundive nouns are formed from verbal roots/stems by suffixation of a morpheme *-uu* in RAO. Thus, the meaning of gerundive noun is compositionally derived from the meaning of the root plus the semantic contribution of an additional functional verbal morphology, present participle, as shown in [88].

88. Root/stem	Gerundive Nouns
a. <i>bit-</i> buy (V)-	<i>bit-uu</i> buy -GERNR 'buying' (N)

b. <i>gog-</i>	<i>gog-uu</i>
go (V)-	go-GERNR
	‘going’ (N)
c. <i>dug-</i>	<i>dug-uu</i>
drink (V)-	drink-GERNR
	‘drinking’ (N) (Audio D 2m17.64-2m17.92ms)

This nominalizer, *-uu*, is also used in Mecha Afaan Oromoo (Baye 1986: 88 and Temesgen 1993: 12) and in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo with the addition of tone (Shimelis 2014: 54). Apart from the affixation strategy for deriving nouns we have seen so far, nouns could be formed by compounding in Afaan Oromoo.

3.2.2. Noun Compounding

Derivation is not the only way of forming new nouns. Many languages also form nouns by a process of noun compounding (Lieber 2009: 43). Noun compounding is a process of stringing words together to form a single noun. It results in the creation of new nouns (Aikhenvald 2007: 24). In Afaan Oromoo, two nouns can be combined to form compound nouns or nouns can be combined with verbs or adjectives or adpositions to form compound nouns (Shimelis 2014: 206). Other scholars, such as Bender, Mulugeta and Stinson (1976: 143), Griefenow-Mawis (2001: 26-27), Mohammed and Zaborski (1990: 73), and Temesgen (1993: 34-38) have also treated the noun compounding of the language. In RAO variety, compound nouns are mainly constituted from two nouns [89a], noun and verb [89b], and noun and adposition [89c]. They are also formed from noun and adjective [89d] as well as from adverb and verb infrequently [89e].

89. Constituents	Compound Nouns
a. N + N ?abbaa + bijja	?abbaa-bijjaa
father country	‘governor of a country/homeland ruler’
<i>haada</i> + <i>mana</i>	<i>haada-manaa</i>
mother home	‘wife’

b. N + V	<i>ganda</i> + <i>ʔilaalaa</i>	<i>ganda-ilaalaa</i>
	village see	name of place in Rayya
	<i>nugusa</i> + <i>galee</i>	<i>nugus-galee</i>
	king enter	name of place in Rayya
c. N + Adp	<i>gaara</i> + <i>dzala</i>	<i>gaardzalee</i>
	mountain under	a kebele in Rayya Allamata woreda
	<i>bira</i> + <i>mataa</i>	<i>birmataa</i>
	beside head	‘rescuer’
d. N with Adj	<i>ʔabbaa</i> + <i>gaarii</i>	<i>ʔabbagaar</i>
	father good	‘ombudsman’
e. Adv with V	<i>waliin</i> + <i>buta</i>	<i>waliinbuta</i>
	together grab	‘nourishment’

As can be observed from [89], combining of the same word class or different word class is involved in the formation of compound nouns. Most nouns formed in these combinations are left-headed endocentric. In the above examples, only *birmataa* and *waliinbuta* are exocentric compound. Thus, in RAO, exocentric compounds are less frequent than endocentric one.

In [89c], the compounding is formed by the combination of noun and adposition in *gaardzalee*. In this process, -a of *gaara* is deleted, and *dzalee* is derived from the adposition *dzala* with the phonological change of the last vowel -a to -ee²⁹. In [89d], noun and adjective are combined to form the compound. In the process, -a of *ʔabbaa* and -ii of *gaarii* are deleted like that of -a of *bira* in [86c]. The loan noun *nugusa* and the dialect’s verb *galee* combine and form the hyphenated compound noun in [89b] with the reduction of -a from the loan noun. According to Katamba (1993: 294), even though it is poor criterion, compounding may differ from phrases through hyphenated writing.

²⁹ As described by Debela (2011: 151), the -ee derives nouns, adjectives and adpositions.

In Hararghe Afaan Oromoo, genitive constructions and ‘compounds’ have no formal differences (Shimelis 2014: 212). This holds true in the dialect under study [89a]. However, compound nouns such as *sardiida* ‘fox’ and *harrediidaa* ‘zebra’ are different from their respective genitive constructions. Several criteria can distinguish compounds from phrases in a given structure (Katamba 1993: 291, and Haspelmath and Sims 2010: 191). For instance in [89a], *bijja* ‘country’ can not refer to particular country rather it refers to a country in general. So, dependent constituent of a compound is not referential but generic, whereas in syntactic phrases, a constituent is more typically referential like *daadii* ‘mead’ in the NP *daadii damma* ‘a honey mead’. Here *daadii* refers to the *daadii* of *dammaa* only. Compounds can show greater phonological, morphological, and syntactic cohesion than phrases (Haspelmath and Sims 2010: 192).

As stated by Haspelmath and Sims (2010: 193), morphological cohesion is some times a good guide to compounding. In [89a] for instance *ʔabbaa bijjaa* can be pluralised as *ʔabbootii bijjaa* ‘rulers’. On the other hand, if we consider *ʔabbaa manneenii* ‘the owner of houses’ and *ʔabbootii manneenii* ‘the oweners of houses’ they become genitive phrases than the compound ‘husbands’, i.e. *ʔabbootii manaa*. So, if the plural marker that attaches to the head word is semantically associated with the entire unit, then the construction is compounding. The same holds true for nominative case marker, for instance *ʔabbaan manaa dufe* ‘the husband came’. However, in a very well established compound, which is written as a word without hyphen like in [89c-e], a grammatical marker attaches to them in similar way as non-compound words (for instance *ʔabbagaar-ota* ‘ombudsmen’).

Syntactically, phrases are often separable as they are syntactic unit while compounds are inseparable as they are lexical item. This may include expansion, where dependent constituent in phrases can be expanded by modifiers, whereas dependents in compounds cannot be expanded. For example in *ʔabbaa manaa deeraa* ‘a tall husband’ and *ʔabbaa mana deeraa* ‘the owner of tall house’, the adjective *deeraa* ‘tall’ modifies the target structures differently. In the first structure, *ʔabbaa manaa* ‘husband’ is modified and in the second structure, *mana* ‘house’ is modified. Thus, *ʔabbaa* and *mana* are detached by the addition of modifier in the

second structure. Accordingly, the first construction is compound noun, whereas the second is genitive phrase.

3.3. Summary

This chapter was dedicated to the analysis of noun morphology of RAO variety. The chapter examined the inflection, derivation and compounding of nouns. Grammatical categories such as number, gender, definiteness, and case were considered within noun inflection. Various plural markers and singulative markers were further analysed within number sub-section. Cases such as nominative, absolutive, dative, ablative, genitive, instrumental, locative, and vocative were addressed by preceding the discussion of gender and definiteness. We then examined noun derivation in the dialect. We thus investigated that nouns such as abstract, agentive, instrumental, result, manner, and gerundive can be formed through derivation. Finally, noun formation via compounding was discussed. The next chapter deals with pronouns.

Chapter Four

Pronouns

4.0 Introduction

Pronoun is a class of words which were traditionally thought of as standing for nouns (hence pro + noun) or noun phrases. The notion ‘pronoun’ is used for referring to different sets of words like personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinites, relatives, correlatives, etc (Bhat 2004: 1). Therefore, pronouns can be defined as words that stand for noun. Afaan Oromoo distinguishes the following types of pronouns: personal, demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive, reciprocal, and indefinite (Gragg 1976: 178-179). Except for the indefinite pronoun, the rest are also identified by Griefenow-Mawis (2001: 34ff). On the one hand, Stoomer (1995: 62ff) categorizes pronouns as Griefenow-Mawis’ classification except that he excludes interrogative pronoun. Both the latter scholars include possessive pronoun in their classification, whereas Gragg (1976) treats it under personal pronoun. Baye (1986: 271-274) says that all pronoun types may be analysed under a subclass of specifiers. In this chapter, we will discuss RAO pronouns as follows.

4.1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are a sub-group of pronouns that refer to persons, either speakers, addressees or other persons/things (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 24). As Lyons (1999: 26) describes, personal pronouns are traditionally named as such since they express grammatical person. Accordingly, they distinguish person, number, gender, and case. Considering the ability to associate with the grammatical categories, personal pronouns generally belong to the nominal category. However, they do not directly attach any markers or affixes that have the function of helping the addressee in identifying their referents (Bhat 2004: 118). Table 11 below shows the RAO variety of personal pronouns and their inflections.

Table 11. RAO Personal Pronouns

Case	First person	Second person	Third person	
Nominative	<i>ʔani/ʔan</i> ‘I’	<i>ʔati</i> ‘you’	<i>ʔinni</i> ‘he/it’ <i>ʔisiin/ʔifiin</i> ‘she’	Singular
Absolutive	<i>ʔana/na</i> ‘me’	<i>si</i> ‘you’	<i>ʔisa</i> ‘him/it’ <i>ʔisii/ʔifii</i> ‘her’	
Dative	<i>ʔanaa-f/naa-f</i> ‘for me’	<i>sii-f</i> ‘for you’	<i>ʔisaa-f</i> ‘for him/it’ <i>ʔisii-tii-f</i> ‘for her’	
Ablative	<i>naa=rraa/ʔanaa=rra</i> <i>a</i> ‘from me’	<i>si=rraa</i> ‘from you’	<i>ʔisa=rraa</i> ‘from him/it’ <i>ʔisii=rraa</i> ‘from her’	
Genitive	<i>koo</i> ‘my/mine’	<i>kee</i> ‘your/yours’	<i>ʔisaa</i> ‘of him/it/his/its’ <i>ʔisii/ifi</i> ‘of her/hers’	
Locative	<i>ʔana=tti/na=tti</i> ‘to me’	<i>si=tti</i> ‘to you’	<i>ʔisa=tti</i> ‘to him/it’ <i>ʔisii=tti</i> ‘to her’	
Nominative	<i>nuti/nu</i> ‘we’	<i>ʔisin</i> ‘you’	<i>ʔisaan</i> ‘they’	Plural
Absolutive	<i>nu</i> ‘us’	<i>ʔisin</i> ‘you’	<i>ʔisaan</i> ‘them’	
Dative	<i>nuu-f</i> ‘for us’	<i>ʔisinii-f</i> ‘for you’	<i>ʔisaanii-f</i> ‘for them’	
Ablative	<i>nu=rraa</i> ‘from us’	<i>ʔisini=rraa</i> ‘from you’	<i>ʔisaani=rraa</i> ‘from them’	
Genitive	<i>keeyna</i> ‘of us/ours’	<i>keeffan</i> ‘of you/yours’	<i>(kan)ʔisaanii</i> ‘of them/theirs’	
Locative	<i>nu=tti</i> ‘to us’	<i>ʔisini=tti</i> ‘to you’	<i>ʔisaani=tti</i> ‘to them’	

In the table above, three persons and two numbers can distinguished via the given grammatical cases. The third person singular is the only personal pronoun form where a gender distinction is made as masculine and feminine. Most of the time, the feminine gender is represented by *ʔisii* rather than *ʔifi*. The genitive indicator *kan* can be added to the genitive case of first, second and third person singular and third person plural personal pronouns. As described for instance by Griefenow-Mawis (2001: 34) for some dialects of Afaan Oromoo, the RAO uses 2nd and 3rd person plural pronouns for honorific usage. Accordingly, *ʔisin* is used in polite address when speaking to someone elderly or in authority for both masculine and feminine. The same holds true for the 3rd person plural pronoun *ʔisaan*.

In dative case, all personal pronouns have surface form for singular and plural as well as masculine and feminine. For instance *ʔanaa* for *ʔanaa-f*, *nuu* for *nuu-f* from the above table. Notice that the dative marker *-f* lengthening the terminal vowel when it is added to the host personal pronoun ends with short vowel.

4.2. Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns show something belongs to someone. In RAO, the possessive pronouns mark the possessor as being singular or plural, and as first, second and third person. They also distinguish masculine and feminine gender within third person singular. Consider Table 12 for the list of the dialect possessive pronouns.

Table 12. RAO Possessive Pronouns

Person	Masculine possessor	Feminine possessor	Number
First	<i>koo/kijja/tijja</i> ‘my/mine’	<i>koo/kijja/tijja</i> ‘my/mine’	Singular
Second	<i>kee/tee</i> ‘your/yours’	<i>kee/tee</i> ‘your/yours’	
Third	<i>kan ʔisaa</i> ‘his/its’	<i>kan ʔisii/ʔifii</i> ‘her/hers’	
First	<i>keenna/teenna</i> ‘our/ours’	<i>keenna/teenna</i> ‘our/ours’	plural
Second	<i>keeffan</i> ‘your/yours’	<i>keeffan</i> ‘your/yours’	
Third	<i>ʔisaanii</i> ‘their/theirs’	<i>ʔisaanii</i> ‘their/theirs’	

The dialect uses similar form of possessive pronouns for both masculine and feminine genders under similar persons except in third person singular. The options under first person singular, *kijja/tijja*, also indicate masculine and feminine, whereas *tee* in second person singular indicates small size or immaterial part of a person like *nabsee tee* ‘your soul’ and may be diminutive. In the third person singular feminine, identifying the status of *ʔisii* as possessive pronoun or not needs contextual expression or genitive indicator *kan* since its absolute form is also *ʔisii*. For instance *akkana kan ʔisii* ‘hers is like this’ ([Audio A 6m12.50-6m13.30ms](#)). *kan* may also attach to *koo*, *kee*, *ʔisaa* and *ʔisaanii*. However, the optional words *kijja/tijja*, and *tee* for first, and second person singular respectively, do not take *kan*. As our database indicates, *ʔisaa* and *ʔisii* mostly stand with *kan* to show possessive pronouns.

4.3. Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are pronouns that are used when the pronouns are coreferential with the subject of a clause or sentence they are used in (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 26). They are used to reflect or refer back to the subject, who or what the sentence is about. In many Cushitic languages, as described by Mous (2012: 405), the reflexive form is sometimes referred to as ‘autobenefactive’ or middle. However, conceptually, reflexive presents the single entity in an event twice, whereas the middle does not make such an action like that of reflexive situation (Shimelis 2014: 136).

Scholars such as Baye (1986: 139) and Gragg (1976: 179) identified *ɖof* ‘self’ as reflexive pronoun pointer for Mecha variety, whereas Shimelis (2014: 139; 2009: 7), and Owens³⁰ (1985a: 187) discovered as it is *ɖif* ‘self’ for Hararghe variety. On the other hand, Stroomer (1995: 69) identifies *ɖufi* ‘self’ as an indicator of Boranaa Afaan Oromoo reflexive pronoun. In some dialects, as analysed by Griefenow-Mawis (2001: 38), the reflexive pronoun particles are the summative³¹ of the three mentioned here: *ɖof*, *ɖuf*, and *ɖif* ‘self’. According to her analysis, the word for ‘head’ *mataa* is also used for reflective pronouns in the language. In RAO, the reflexive elements *ɖuf(ii)* and *ɖof*³² ‘self’ are used as reflexive pronouns as illustrated in [90].

90. a. *ɖuf waam-t-ee*
self call-3SG.F-CNV.PFV
‘By calling herself’

b. *ɖufii kee-tii-f moo*
self your(s)-COP.GEN-DAT or
‘Is it for yourself or?’

³⁰ Owens (1985a:187-189) identified *ɖifi* as reflexive pronouns particle, but he uses *ɖif* in the examples like in *ɖinni ɖif dawe* ‘he hit himself’.

³¹ There is a modification for instance omission of i from *ɖifi* and *ɖufi*.

³² Both *ɖufii* and *ɖof* are used to refer that the antecedent is doing the action by self or to underscore the role of the antecedent subject or agent. They appear frequently in our database with emphasis marker *-uma* that is optionally followed lengthened terminal vowel /a/. However, *ɖof* is not used in the absence of emphatic marker in this dialect.

- c. *si-jji ʔuf-umaa-f hodʒdʒ-at-t-e*
 you-FOC self-EMPH-DAT work-INCH-2SG-PFV
 ‘You did yourself’
- d. *ʔibbelee-ff-i-n koo ʔof-umaa-n*
 brother\sister-M-ep-NOM my self-EMPH-INST
 ‘My brother by himself,...’ ([Audio C1 1m23.21-1m24.01ms](#))

The *ʔuf(ii)* and *ʔof* ‘self’ can be used for all persons in the dialect. As described by Griefenow-Mawis (2001: 38), *ʔofuma(an)* ‘self’ is a stressed form of the reflexive pronoun in Afaan Oromoo. Even though, the reflexive pronouns are infrequently used in the spontaneous language recordings in the corpus of RAO, their stressed forms occur as usual. They are usually placed immediately after the pronoun they refer to as in [90c-d], although there are occasions when they may be placed before the pronoun they refer to as for instance in *ʔof-uma keejja-n* self-EMPH our(s)-INST ‘we ourselves’. The word *mataa* ‘head’ is also used as reflexive pronoun indicator in the dialect as in *mataa kee* ‘your self’, *mataa=saa* ‘himself’, and *mataa ʔisii* ‘herslf’. ([RAOM 1 023](#), [RAOM2 093](#), and [RAOM2 067](#))

4.4. Reciprocal Pronouns

Reciprocal pronouns describe a relationship of mutuality between two or more referred participants. In other words, reciprocal pronouns indicate that the relation expressed by the verb holds in both directions for the arguments given. In English for instance, they take the form ‘each other’ or ‘one another’ and are always used in noun phrases that are plural in form or meaning (Greenbaum 1996: 184). *Wal(i)* ‘each other or one another’ is used as a distinct morpheme to specify the reciprocal pronoun of the Afaan Oromoo varieties (Gragg 1976: 179; Griefenow-Mawis 2001: 39; Mohammed and Zaborski 1990: 42; Mous 2012: 390; Owens 1985a: 190; Shimelis 2009: 9; 2014: 143, and Stroomer³³ 1995: 69). However, nobody noticed the reciprocal pronoun of RAO variety, we analyse it with examples as follows.

³³ In Borana Afaan Oromoo, the form *woli* is used for reciprocal pronoun as reported by Stroomer (1995).

91. a. *wal-ʔabaar-Ø-an-Ø*

RECP-curse-3-PL-PFV

‘They cursed each other’ ([RAOM 1 027](#))

b. *wal-barbaad-Ø-u*

RECP-want-3PL-IPFV

‘They look for each other’

c. *wal-i=tti haraarr-am-Ø-u* [*haraarramu*]

RECP-ep=to reconcile-PASS-3PL-IPFV

‘They (will) reconcile to each other’

In [91a-b], the reciprocal pronoun *wal(i)-* attaches to verbs, whereas in [91c] it attaches the clitic =tti. On the other hand, the markers of reflexive pronouns *ʔofumaa ʔofumaa* or *ʔufuma ʔufuma* are also used as reciprocal pronoun for example, *ʔofumaa ʔofumaatti wal ʔbaaran* ‘they cursed each other by themselves’ ([RAOM 1 026](#)) and *ʔufuma ʔufuma keepna walii galuu dzirra* ‘we are agreeing by ourselves’.

4.5. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstratives are syntactically recognized as demonstrative pronouns (head) and demonstrative adjectives/determiners (modifiers) (Dryer 2007b: 162; Pavey 2010: 189, and Rustipa 2015: 160)³⁴. Demonstrative pronouns refer to specific referents or entities, which replace these referents or entities in a given structure. Demonstrative pronouns are anaphoric in that they refer to an antecedent noun in the same sentence or discourse that provides the referent. They stand alone as referring expressions like ‘that’ in ‘**that** is a small garden’, whereas demonstrative adjectives modify a head noun within a noun phrase like ‘**that** garden is small’.

³⁴ According to Diessel (1999: 57), demonstratives occur in four different syntactic contexts: demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative determiners, demonstrative adverbs, and demonstrative identifiers (cf. chapter 6 of this thesis).

Demonstrative pronouns of Cushitic languages vary in degree of relative distance marked from only one in Konso (i.e. proximity) (Ongaye 2013: 128) to four in southern Cushitic languages such as Iraqw (i.e. near the speaker, near the addressee, near neither of them but still visible, and far away) (Mous 1992: 90; 2012: 386). Afaan Oromoo demonstrative pronouns make a two-way distinction in terms of the speaker referent: proximal and distal. As the examples in [92] and [93] illustrate, the RAO variety has two demonstrative pronouns *kana* ‘this’ that refers to the item near the speaker, and *sana* ‘that’, which refers to the item at a distance and/or beyond the speaker’s domain of vision.

92. a. *ʔani kana beek-Ø-a*

I.NOM this.ABS know-1SG-IPFV

‘I now this’

b. *ʔisii-n kana*

her-NOM this.ABS

‘This is her’

c. *tana=rra=tti ʔafur ʔafur k’ab-Ø-an*

this-on-LOC four four hold\have-3-PL

‘Up on this, they individually owend four’ ([Audio C₁ 9m39.42-9m40.37ms](#))

d. *kanaa-f diif-t-an-ii*

this-DAT come-2-PL-CNV.QUES

‘Do you come for this?’ ([Audio C₁ 10m55.27-10m56.85ms](#))

e. *kun hin jaat-am-a*

this NEG eat-PASS-IPFV

‘This is edible’ ([Audio C₂ 2m01.55-2m12.37ms](#))

f. *kuni-s ʔibbelee-jjii koo-ti*

this.NOM-too brothers\sister-PL my-COP

‘These too are my brothers/sisters’ (Lit. this brothers/sisters too are mine)

g. **tun** *goggog-tuu-da* [*goggogduuda*]
 this.NOM dry-F-COP
 ‘This is drying up’

All examples in [92a-g] show the proximal demonstrative pronouns in absolutive [92a-b], locative [92c], dative [92d], and nominative [92e-g] cases. Accordingly, *kana* and *tana* with their nominative form *kun(i)* and *tun* are proximal demonstratives. There is no gender [92b] and number [92f] distinction in both forms. In addition, for instance in *kun saroota kooti* ‘these are my dogs’ (Lit. this dogs are mine), *kun* is used with plural. However, it becomes *kunniin* ‘these’ in Mecha Afaan Oromoo variety (Debela 2011: 41). *Kana* and *tana* are inflected for various grammatical cases like in [92c, d, e, and f]. *Tana/tun* is frequently used as demonstrative adjective rather than demonstrative pronouns in RAO. Notice that almost all examples listed by Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 35-36) are demonstrative modifiers like *kun* ‘this’ in *dzaarsi kun* ‘this old man’ rather than demonstrative pronouns. However, Gragg (1976: 178) and Owens (1985a: 198) among others, have recognized that the demonstrative pronouns exist in Mecha and Harar Afaan Oromoo varieties, respectively.

93. a. **sunī** *ʔilmaan* *koo-ti*
 this.NOM children.COLL my-COP
 ‘Those are my children’ (Lit. that children are mine)
- b. **sunī-s** *harka ʔisaa-ti*
 that.NOM-too hand of him-COP
 ‘That too is his hand’
- c. **sunī** *haf-Ø-e*
 that.NOM remain-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘That did remain’
- d. **san-i=tti** *fincaaw-Ø-a*
 that-ep=LOC urinate-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘He urinate to that’ ([Audio C₂ 48.28-49.26ms](#))

e. *san-i=rraa haf-t-ee*

that-ep=from AUX:NEG\remain-3SG.F\2-CNV.PFV

‘She/You remained from that and,...’

f. *san hin beek-Ø-u*

that.ABS NEG know-1SG\3SG.M-NCM

‘I/He do(es) not know that’

In RAO, the demonstrative pronoun of remoter deictic³⁵ is *san(a)* ‘that’ [93a-e]. It has a nominative form *sun(i)* [93a-c] and also used as locative [93d-e], and absolutive cases [93f]. Like proximal demonstrative pronoun, the distal one also lacks gender and number distinctions. For instance, in [93a] the subject *sun* ‘that’ is used with plural *Ɂilmaan*. In Borana Afaan Oromoo variety, Stroomer (1995: 62) reports the same phenomenon; whereas Debela (2011: 41) recognizes the plural form *sunniin*³⁶ ‘those’ for Mecha variety. As can be observed from the above example, the distal demonstrative pronoun *san(i)* is inflected for various grammatical cases.

4.6. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to introduce questions. The RAO variety uses different types of pronouns to form interrogative pronouns. These are *Ɂee(oo)ŋŋu* ‘who’, *maal(i)* ‘what’, *kam* ‘which’, *Ɂeeffa* ‘where’, and *Ɂakkam* ‘how’. Table 13 presents these pronouns with their inflected forms.

³⁵ As called by Baye (1986: 74) both *kana* ‘this’ and *sana* ‘that’ are deictics.

³⁶ Even if it is used as demonstrative modifier, *sunneen* ‘those’ is acknowledged as distal plural form of *san(a)/sun(i)* ‘that’ in Afaan Oromoo by Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 35-36).

Table 13. RAO interrogative pronouns with inflections

Pronouns	Inflected form(s)	Gloss	Few Examples
<i>ʔee(oo)ɲɲu</i>	<i>ʔee(oo)ɲɲu</i> who(ABS)	who	<i>ʔeeɲɲu maam-t-e?</i> ‘who you called?’ <i>ʔooɲɲu baat-a ʔisii?</i> ‘who carries her?’
	<i>ʔooɲɲuu-n</i> who-INST	by who	<i>ʔooɲɲuu-n duf-t-e?</i> ‘by whom (lit. who) do you came?’
	<i>ʔooɲɲu=rraa</i> who=ABL	from who	<i>ʔooɲɲu=rraa duf-t-e?</i> ‘who allowed you to come?’ (lit. from who do you came?)
	<i>(kan) ʔeeɲɲuu</i> GEN who.GEN	of whom /whose	<i>ʔintala ʔeeɲɲuu</i> ‘whose daughter?’ <i>kan ʔeeɲɲu-ti kun?</i> ‘whose is this?’
	<i>ʔooɲɲu-tu</i> who-FOC	who	<i>ʔooɲɲu-tu dubb-at-a?</i> ‘who speaks or will speak?’
<i>maal(i)</i>	<i>maal</i> what(ABS)	what	<i>maal diis-n-a?</i> ‘what we (will) leave?’
	<i>maalii-n</i> what-INST	with what	<i>maalii-n k’ot-Ø-an?</i> ‘with what do they plough’
	<i>maali=rraa</i> what=ABL	from what	<i>maali=rraa kalk’-am-t-e?</i> ‘from what did you create?’
	<i>maali=tti</i> what=DAT\LOC	to what	<i>maali=tti seen-Ø-e?</i> ‘in what did it/he enter?’
	<i>kan maali</i> GEN what	of what	<i>ʔati kan maali?</i> ‘whom (lit. of what) do you belong to?’
	<i>maal-tu</i> what-FOC	what	<i>maal-tu dzir-a?</i> ‘what does exist?’
<i>kam</i>	<i>kam</i> which (ABS)	which	<i>sara kam gah-Ø-e?</i> ‘which time he arrived?’
	<i>kam-tu</i> which-FOC	which	<i>ʔisa kam-tu deeraa?</i> ‘which one is tall?’
<i>ʔeeffa</i>	<i>ʔeeffa</i> where (ABS)	where	<i>ʔeeffa tur-t-e?</i> ‘where have you been or lit. where did you stay?’
	<i>ʔeeffaa-n</i> where-INST	through where	<i>ʔeeffaa-n duf-t-e?</i> ‘through where did you come?’
	<i>ʔeeffa-a</i> where=ABL	from where	<i>ʔeeffaa duf-t-e?</i> ‘from where did you come?’
	<i>ʔeeffa=tti</i> where=LOC	where	<i>ʔeeffa=tti k’arb-i-t-a?</i> ‘where do you bury?’
<i>ʔakkam</i>	<i>ʔakkam</i> how(ABS)	how	<i>ʔakkam ʔinni kun?</i> ‘how does this one?’
	<i>ʔakkam-i=tti</i> how-ep-LOC	how	<i>ʔakkam-i=tti bad-Ø-e?</i> ‘how did it/he disappear?’

In addition to the interrogative pronoun in Table 13, we also find *maaliif* performed as ‘why’ in the database of RAO variety, which seems dative form of *maal(i)* like *maaliif* in the sentence *maalii-f kana dʒet-t-e?* ‘why she said this?’ ([RAOM 1 065](#)). Moreover, the shorten form of *maal(i)*, *maa*, is used as English ‘what’ and ‘why’ in rare cases like in *maa dʒetʃʃaa-da?* ‘what it mean?’ and *maa na=n diis-n-ee?* ‘why do not you leave me?’ ([Audio B 3m52.56-3m53.56ms](#)). In RAO variety, the form *baram*³⁷ that translates as English ‘when’ is also used as an introgative pronoun, as seen in the sentence: *baram duf-t-e-ree gama=na?* ‘so, when did you come here?’ ([Audio D 5m 27.23-5m 28.53ms](#)).

4.7. Indefinite pronouns

The phrase indefinite pronoun typically refers to a group of people or objects in general terms, without specifying precisely who or what is meant. Scholars such as Baye (1986: 74), Gragg (1976: 179), Griefenow-Mawis (2001: 33-34), and Owens (1985a: 192-193), discuss the indefiniteness of Afaan Oromoo with and/or without indefinite pronoun. In RAO variety, the forms *waa*, *waan*, *waan ʔabi*, *wanna*, *ʔabalu*, *baajʔee/danuu*, *duudaa*, *homa*, and *kaan* show indefiniteness as exemplified in [94]. In this dialect, *waa* [94a], and *wanna* [94e] correspond to English ‘something’, whereas *ʔabi* [94d] and *kaan* [94i] match to English ‘other’.

94. a. *waa ʔarg-Ø-e*
 something see-1SG\3SG.M-PFV
 ‘I/He saw something’ ([Audio C₁ 2m32.99-2m33.60ms](#))
- b. *waan ʔaat-am-u fid-i*
 thing eat-PASS-IPFV bring-IMP.2SG
 ‘Bring edible thing!’
- c. *ʔintala ʔabaluu*
 daughter somebody\someone.GEN
 ‘Somebody’s daughter’ ([RAOS 056](#))

³⁷ Interestingly, it seems as *joom* ‘when’ is formed by the addition of morpheme -m to *joo* ‘if’, *baram* ‘when’ is also formed by the addition of similar morpheme, -m, to *bara* ‘year’ in this dialect. Since it needs more investigation, we do not have any explanation for this issue.

- d. *waan ?abi hin beek-Ø-u*
 thing other NEG know-1SG\3SG-NCM
 ‘I/he do/does not know other thing’
- e. *wannii kee hiik-i*
 something.GEN your untie-IMP.2SG
 ‘Untie your something!’
- f. *danuu hin beek-t-u*
 much NEG know-3SG.F\2SG-NCM
 ‘She/You does/do not know this much’
- g. *duud-uma wadʒdʒin*
 all-EMPH together
 ‘Together with all, ...’ ([RAOS 016](#))
- h. *homaa gama maajtʃoo hin gog-n-e*
 anything\nobody to maychew NEG go-NCM-PFV
 ‘Nobody has gone to Maychew’
- i. *?isa kaan daw-aa*
 him other hit-IMP.2PL
 ‘Hit the other one’ ([Audio A 2m17.60-2m18.96ms](#))

In RAO variety, we did not come across indefinite pronouns such as *?eennujjuu* ‘whomever’, *?eetʃfajjuu* ‘wherever’, and *namijjuu* ‘nobody’ that commonly used in other Afaan Oromoo varieties, for instance Hararghe (Owens 1985a: 192-193) and Tulema (the researcher dialect).

4.8. Summary

The focus of this chapter has been pronouns of RAO variety. There are a total seven pronouns in the dialect: personal pronoun, possessive pronoun, reflexive pronoun, reciprocal pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, interrogative pronoun, and indefinite pronoun. Personal pronouns are discussed across cases such as nominative, absolutive, dative, ablative, genitive, and locative within persons, genders, and numbers. Possessive pronouns are also analysed via persons,

genders, and numbers. Reflexive pronouns are treated with their grammatical inflections. Proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns are also illustrated with examples by succeeding the discussion of reciprocal pronouns. Interrogative pronouns of the dialect are discussed through cases such as absolutive, genitive, instrumental, locative, and dative in addition to focus inflection. Finally, indefinite pronouns are investigated. Next, we deal with verb morphology.

Chapter Five

Verb Morphology

5.0 Introduction

Verbs are a word class whose prototypical or central members are dynamic and denote events and/or states. In most languages of the world, they are by far the most complex lexical items than any other word classes with respect to morphology (Katamba 1993: 220). As Appleyard (2012: 215) and Mous (2012: 391) indicate, the Cushitic verb is the most complex part of the morphology that inherited from Afro-asiatic. This holds true for Afaan Oromoo verb morphology (Baye 1986: 125, and Shimelis 2014: 32). This chapter deals with the structures (§5.1), types (§5.2), and properties (§5.3) of verbs in RAO. Thus, the chapter begins with a basic look at the structures of verb roots of the dialect.

5.1. Structures of Verb Roots

Roots are the irreducible core of words, with absolutely nothing else attached to them (Arad 2005: 6, and Katamba 1993: 41). This holds true for verb roots. They are the smallest lexical unit from which a word is derived. As described by Erteschik-Shir and Rapoport (2005: 8), verb roots should lead to a “deeper understanding of the ways in which these roots interact with argument expression”. Unlike the noun root, the verb root in many languages is not open ended (i.e. not end with vowels) (Frajzyngier and Erin 2012: 261). In RAO, verb roots are closed ended with monosyllabic or disyllabic patterns. We could not find an underived trisyllabic verb roots. In contrast to free morphemes, which can stand by themselves, the verb root of the dialect, which takes inflectional and/or derivational affixes in the verb conjugation, is a bound root or morpheme³⁸. In Table 14, we provide the canonical structures of verb roots with corresponding examples.

³⁸ In lexeme-based morphology, bound roots do not have a lexical entry of their own, whereas in morpheme-based morphology, they are represented as bound lexical morphemes with their own lexical entry (Booij 2007: 31).

Table 14. Structures of RAO verb roots

Type	Structure	Example
Monosyllabic verb roots	CVC	<i>ban-</i> ‘open’, <i>tf’uf-</i> ‘close’, <i>did-</i> ‘refuse’
	CVVC	<i>beek-</i> ‘know’, <i>ʔeeg-</i> ‘keep/wait’, <i>fiiḡ-</i> ‘run’,
	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂	<i>hodd-</i> ‘sew’, <i>kenn-</i> ‘give’, <i>madd-</i> ‘gush’,
	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	<i>ʔerg-</i> ‘send’, <i>ʔelm-</i> ‘milk’, <i>danf-</i> ‘boil’
	C ₁ VVC ₂ C ₂	<i>dooww-</i> ‘debar’, <i>gaabb-</i> ‘regret’, <i>miitf’tf’-</i> ‘wash’
Disyllabic verb roots	C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂ C ₃	<i>bak’ak’-</i> ‘tear/rip’, <i>ʃalat’-</i> ‘cleave’, <i>lalis-</i> ‘flourish’
	C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂ V ₂ C ₃	<i>duguug-</i> ‘scrape’, <i>ʔijaar-</i> ‘built’, <i>ʔafuuf-</i> ‘blow’,
	C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V ₂ C ₃	<i>daddab-</i> ‘tire’, <i>gammad-</i> ‘rejoice’, <i>soossob-</i> ‘cuddle’
	C ₁ V ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂ C ₃	<i>heerum-</i> ‘marry’, <i>miidag-</i> ‘become attractive’, <i>geerar-</i> ‘chant’
	C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V ₂ V ₂ C ₃	<i>dulloom-</i> ‘become old’, <i>wallaal-</i> ‘err’, <i>lakkaaw-</i> ‘count’
	C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₃ V ₂ V ₂ C ₄	<i>barbaad-</i> ‘want/search’, <i>gargaar-</i> ‘help’, <i>garmaam-</i> ‘frisk’
	C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₃ V ₂ C ₄	<i>ʔurguf-</i> ‘cast off/shake’, <i>furfur-</i> ‘manner of being/becoming full (of river)’, <i>dʒalk’ab-</i> ‘start’
	C ₁ V ₁ V ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V ₂ C ₃	<i>k’eellab-</i> ‘bash’, and <i>hooffal-</i> ‘express a good wish’
	C ₁ V ₁ C ₂ V ₂ V ₂ C ₃ C ₃	<i>guduuff-</i> ‘tie’

As shown in the table, the verb roots are arranged in their frequency of occurrences in the corpus of 32 hours (though it looks syllable structure), from most to least frequent. The structures CVC in monosyllabic and C₁V₁C₂V₂C₃ in disyllabic verb roots are the most common structures in the corpus, attested multiple times in every dialogue. In monosyllabic verb root structure, the CC occurs both as a geminate and a cluster at root final position, whereas in disyllabic verb root structures, CC as a cluster has not been attested at root final position. Even though, all the patterns of the verb roots that are in the table end in consonants, those end in /ʔ/, /h/, /d/, and /j/ ³⁹ behave differently in conjugation. In Table 15, we have provided examples of verb roots end in the aforementioned consonants with sample conjugations.

³⁹ However, the geminate form of /d/ and /j/ at verb root final position behave like other consonants. Concerning the features of some consonants’- such as /ʔ/, /h/ and /d/- phonological change, see Shimelis (2014: 111ff).

Table 15. Conjugational examples of RAO verb roots end in /ʔ/, /h/, /d/, and /j/

number	Verb root	Conjugation of the verb for 1PL			
a	<i>kaʔ-</i> ‘stand’	<i>kaʔ-n-e</i>	<i>kaane</i>	‘we stood’	
b	<i>ʔariʔ-</i> ‘chase’	<i>ʔariʔ-n-e</i>	<i>ʔariine</i>	‘we chased’	
c	<i>gorraʔ-</i> ‘slaughter’	<i>gorraʔ-n-e</i>	<i>gorraane</i>	‘we slaughtered’	
d	<i>hud-</i> ‘strangle’	<i>hud-n-e</i>	<i>huune</i>	‘we strangled’	
e	<i>jaaʔ-</i> ‘flow’	<i>jaaʔ-n-e</i>	<i>jaane</i>	‘we left’	
f	<i>fuud-</i> ‘take/marry’	<i>fuud-n-e</i>	<i>fuune</i>	‘we married’	
g	<i>miid-</i> ‘harm’	<i>miid-n-e</i>	<i>miine</i>	‘we harmed’	
h	<i>deebiʔ-</i> ‘return’	<i>deebiʔ-n-e</i>	<i>deebine</i>	‘we returned’	
i	<i>dah-</i> ‘hit/count’	<i>dah-n-e</i>	<i>doojne</i>	‘we hit/counted’	
j	<i>gaj-</i> ‘arrive/enough’	<i>gaj-n-e</i>	<i>geenjne</i>	‘we arrived’	
k	<i>taaʔ-</i> ‘sit’	<i>taaʔ-n-e</i>	<i>teenjne</i>	‘we sat’	
l	<i>booj-</i> ‘cry’	<i>booj-n-e</i>	<i>boojne</i>	‘we cried’	

In Table 15a-d, the final consonant of the verb roots is deleted with compensatory lengthening of the preceeding vowel when an affix that begins with a consonant follows the verb root. In Table 15e-h on the other hand, though the final consonant of the verb root is dropped when an affix that begins with a consonant attaches to the root, the length of the preceeding vowel is not affected. In both cases, if an affix that begins with a vowel follows verb roots, it just added to a given verb roots as in *hud-Ø-e* strangle-1SG\3SG.M-PFV ‘I/He strangled’. In Table 15i-l, the inflected forms of the verb roots with a given affix happen with their vowel change seem to be irregular verbs. Though they seem irregular, they follow certain patterns. Consider *gaj-* ‘arrive/enough’ and *taaʔ-* ‘sit’ from Table 15j-k. *gaje* ‘I/he arrived’ → *geenjne* ‘we arrived’ → *geeffe* ‘you/she arrived’ → *geeffan* ‘you(PL) arrived’ etc and *taaʔe* ‘I/he sat’ → *teenjne* ‘we sat’ → *teeffe* ‘you/she sat’ → *teeffan* ‘you(PL) sat’ etc. However, this would be an interesting area for further investigation. Shimelis (2014: 112) on the other hand indicates a change of root final *-a(a)w* to *-ooy* in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo dialect by providing a couple of examples.

5.2. Types of Verbs

Verbs can be grouped into different classes. Among widespread classifications, transitive or intransitive verbs, action or stative verbs, and copulative verbs can be stated (Dixon 2010b: 159; Langacker 1987: 79-80, and Schachter and Shopen 2007: 10-11).

5.2.1. Transitive vs Intransitive Verbs

Except copula clauses, whose predicate is one of a small set of copula verbs, most clauses in every language involve either a transitive or an intransitive predicate (Dixon 2010a: 76). Both verb types have referential meaning. This referential meaning may reveal either more than one arguments or a single argument. For instance one can identify the referent of ‘hit’ and ‘go’, where ‘hit’ is a transitive verb taking two core arguments, and ‘go’ is an intransitive verb occurring only as predicate of an intransitive clause taking a single core argument. More examples of RAO transitive and intransitive verbs are shown in [95].

95. a. *tigree-n nu lik'ims-Ø-e*
Tigre-NOM us swallow-3SG.M-PFV
‘Tigrean assimilated us’ (Lit. Tigre swallowed us)
- b. *ʔisii-n buna danf-i-s-at-t-e [danfisatte]*
her-NOM coffee boil-ep-TRR-AUBV-3SG.F-PFV
‘She boiled a coffee for her own benefit’
- c. *bof-n-i looh-Ø-e*
snake-NOM-ep crawl-3SG.M-PFV
‘A snake crawled’
- d. *reʔee-n gorraʔ-am-Ø-e*
goat-NOM slaughter-PASS-3SG.M-PFV
‘A goat was slaughtered’ (RAOM2 164)

In [95a], the verb *lik'ims-* ‘swallow’ has two arguments: Tigre with the grammatical function subject and *nu* ‘us’ with the grammatical function object. On the other hand, *danf-* ‘boil’ in [95b] is an intransitive verb, which is transitivized by the addition of *-s-* and becomes *danfis-*

‘boil something’. However, [95a] is already transitive in its basic form (cf. Baye, 1986 and Shimelis, 2014 for Mecha and Hararghe Afaan Oromoo varieties, respectively) and [95b] is transitivized via transitivity. In [95c], *looh-* ‘crawl’ is an intransitive verb in its basic form. *Gorra?* ‘slaughter’ in [95d] on the other hand is basically transitive verb and becomes *gorra?am-* ‘to be slaughtered’ through intransitivity (cf. § 5.3.2.1.3). In both [95c-d], each verb has single argument, which is the subject of the sentence. In Mecha Afaan Oromoo variety, as stated by Baye (1986: 96), intransitives may include stative verbs as well. Similarly, Shimelis (2014: 99) uses stative verbs for non-agentive intransitive verbs and active intransitive verbs for agentive intransitive in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo.

5.2.2. Action vs Stative Verbs

The concepts of action and stative verbs, which are the aspectual properties of verbs (Langacker, 1987: 80), involves a number of participants who have roles in that action and a participant who experiences that state (Dixon 2005: 9-12, 1994: 7). According to Dixon, action and stative verbs are categorized to express verbs of actions and states that are considered the most fundamental predicate classes in any language. Shimelis (2014: 59) describes the former as “actions that are done and/or things that happen” and the latter as “the state, situation or condition in which things are”. As sketched in figure by Langacker (1987: 81), actions are represented by a wavy line to indicate change through time, while statives are represented by a straight line to indicate constancy through time. Albeit the two verb types contrast with each other, they have a common meaning component and share certain grammatical properties (Dixon 1994: 7). Consider the distinction between action and stative verbs of RAO in the following sentential examples.

96. a. *sak’alaa ?idzaar-t-a*

cabin build-2SG-IPFV

‘You will build a cabin’

b. *dabalaa-n dagaraa-daa-n k’oraan kut-Ø-a*

Debela.NOM axe-COP.EMPH-INST wood cut-3SG.M-IPFV

‘Debela will cut a wood with axe’

c. *dubartee hin beek-n-a*

dubartee FOC know-1PL-IPFV

‘We know *dubarte*’

d. *?idzoollee-n koo ?aannan dzaal-at-u [dzaalatu]*

children.COLL-NOM my milk love-INCH-IPFV

‘My children like milk’

As indicated in [96a-b], both action verbs convey future actions or imperfect forms not started yet. On the other hand, verbs such as *beek-* ‘know’ and *dzaalat-* ‘like/love’ in [96c-d] express the current state of situations in their imperfective forms. In other words, they express a continuous state of art from a time prior to the moment of speaking. There is no change or activity in [96c-d] while the state of change or activity involve in [96a-b]. For instance, [96a] indicates the coming into existence of a cabin or house. When the verb *?ijaar-* ‘build’ is used in its perfective form, it conveys a completed action like *sak’alaa ?idzaarte* ‘you built a cabin/house’. In sentential example *?idzoolleen koo ?aannan dzaalatte* ‘my children liked milk’, the stative verb expresses a state-change event that has already occurred, but understood to be continuing at the time of uttering. The following lists show some of the action verb roots/stems and stative verb roots/stems⁴⁰ in the RAO.

Action verb roots/stems: *ban-* ‘open’, *tj’uf-* ‘close’, *gub-* ‘burn’, *dug-* ‘drink’, *haad-* ‘shave’, *mur-* ‘cut’, *hiik-* ‘detach’, *daak-* ‘grind/break’, *tum-* ‘squash’, *guur-* ‘collect’, *duguug-* ‘scrape’, *guduuff-* ‘tie’, etc.

Stative verb roots/stems: *lit’-* ‘sink’, *duf-* ‘come’, *dum-* ‘finish’, *kuf-* ‘fall’, *sokk-* ‘leave’, *kadzeel-* ‘wish’, *raf-* ‘sleep’, *gammad-* ‘rejoice’, *diig-* ‘bleed’, *beek-* ‘know’, *k’uuf-* ‘sate’, *gaabb-* ‘regret’, etc.

5.2.3. Copula Verb

Copula verb as a predicate has no content but simply indicates the relation between a subject and predicate noun or adjective (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 54). According to Dixon (2010b:

⁴⁰ Action verbs may be used as stative verbs and vice versa (see Shimelis 2014:59 for detail).

160), an important feature for copula verb is that it must be able to occur in a construction with two core arguments: copula subject and copula complement. In Afaan Oromoo, Banti (1988a: 38ff) argues as the language does not have a true copula but a predicate case. However, scholars such as Bender, Mulugeta and Stinson (1976: 145-147); Gragg (1976: 184-185), and Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 90ff) argue as the language has a copula verb. We agree with those who consider the existence of word for copula in Afaan Oromoo.

Coming to the RAO, the copula *-da*, *-ti* and *-i* in imperfective and *ture* in perfective constructions⁴¹ are used as copula verbs. The marker *-da* is suffixed to the predicate noun or adjective phrase, whereas *-ti* is attached only to noun phrases in genitive case. The marker *-i* is used in consonant ending words. (cf. § 9.3 for detail about copula and § 9.2.3 about negating copulas). The following are illustrative examples.

97. a. *ʔabbuwwaa-n beek-am-aa-da* [*beekkamaada*]

Abbuwwa-NOM know-PASS-ADJR.M-COP

‘Abbuwwa is known’

b. *niitii-n=saa kaannisa harree-ti*

wife-NOM=him.GEN bee donkey-COP

‘His wife is a wasp’

c. *ʔinni ʔafur-i*

he\it.NOM four-COP

‘It is four’

d. *ʔisii-n kun niitii ʔisaa tur-t-e*

her-NOM this wife him.GEN stay-3SG.F-PFV

‘This one (or she) was his wife’

⁴¹ Actually, we doubt that ‘Imperfective’ and ‘Perfective’ are the ideal terms to capture this difference, although ‘Present’ and ‘Past’ hardly seem any better. We hope that, a more advanced analysis will become possible following the detail research on copula in particular.

e. *ʔun-at-n-i=sa-a* [*ʔunannisaa*] *ʔaannan-i*
 sip-MID-NOM-ep=him-GEN milk-COP
 ‘His sipping is milk’

5.3. Properties of Verbs

As described by Payne (1997: 47) morphosyntactic properties of verbs are grouped into two categories: structural and distributional. The former property concerns about the internal structure of verbs themselves, whereas the latter property concerns the use of verbs within syntax (cf. chapter 9). In this section, we discuss the structural properties of verbs.

5.3.1. Inflectional Properties

Inflectional properties do not change the lexical category of verbs. According to Payne (1997: 26), they do not normally alter the basic meaning of the concept expressed; rather, they ground the concept expressed by a verb root according to place, time, and participant reference. In short, inflectional properties are concerned about morphosyntactic categories and syntactic linkages. As described by Mous (2012: 391), verbal inflection of the Cushitic languages usually includes the expression of aspect (and tense, mood, and evidentiality), dependent/independent clause, person (subject) marking, and negation. The inflectional means of the Cushitic languages are suffixation, prefixation, and reduplication (Frajzyngier 2012: 540). Thus, Afaan Oromoo has verbs that inflect for agreement, aspect/tense, and mood by means of suffixes only, which is being the common Cushitic innovated type of inflection (Appleyard 2012: 216, 239, and Stroemer 1995: 71 among others). Now, let us look at the inflectional properties of RAO verbs.

5.3.1.1. Agreement

In many languages, the major lexical categories such as verb, noun, and adjective can show agreement. However, verbs are consistently the most productive agreeers, frequently agreeing with their subjects in features like person, number, and gender; and sometimes agreeing with their objects in the mentioned features as well (Baker 2008: 1). In Afaan Oromoo, agreement on the verb is exclusively with the subject (Baye 1988: 383, 1986: 104-105; Debela and Ronny

2003: 162, and Hawine 2007: 23 among others). Accordingly, subject-verb agreement refers to a change in the form of a verb depending on its subject person, number, and gender.

As agreement markers, person forms replicate the person and typically the number and/or gender features. As shown by Siewierska (2004: 75), number and gender are the two most common grammatical distinctions encoded together with person. In the Cushitic languages, person marking on the verb has seven-term system (Appleyard 2012: 207, and Mous 2012: 392). This holds true for Afaan Oromoo (Shimelis 2016: 121). Now, let us consider agreement markers of RAO across person, number, and gender.

Table 16. Subject-Verb Agreement Markers of Person, Number, and Gender.

Person	Agreement markers	
	Singular	Plural
1	-Ø-	-n-
2	-t-	-t- -an
3M	-Ø-	-Ø- -an
3F	-t-	

As can be seen in the table, in the case of second person plural and third person plural, the first morpheme (empty in the third) expresses person and the second one denotes plurality. First person singular and third person singular masculine are also expressed by empty morpheme. On the other hand, the morpheme -n- marks first person plural, and -t- marks second person singular and third person singular feminine. However, the agreement marker for plurality in second and third persons is identical, which is -an⁴². The following set of examples illustrates RAO agreement markers that are given in Table 16.

98. a. *gog-Ø-e*

go-1SG\3SG.M-PFV

‘I/He went’

⁴² Honorification form in RAO uses the same agreement markers for the plural persons.

- b. *gog-t-e* [*gogde*]
 go-2SG\3SG.F-PFV
 ‘You/She went’
- c. *gog-n-e*
 go-1PL-PFV
 ‘We went’
- d. *gog-t-an-Ø* [*gogdan*]
 go-2-PL-PFV
 ‘You went’
- e. *gog-Ø-an-Ø*
 go-3-PL-PFV
 ‘They went’

As indicated in the examples [98a-e], the root/stem of the verb is *gog-* ‘go’ (*gog-* is dry in other Afaan Oromoo varieties). Except for the first person plural, in both the second person singular and plural, and the third person singular feminine, there is no person marking. The only gender marked person in the dialect as well as in Afaan Oromoo in general is the third person feminine, which is marked by *-t-* [98b]. It is not only typical of the third person as opposed to the first and second persons but also of singular rather than the plural form.

Suffixes of agreement in person, number, and gender of RAO are also reported for other varieties of the language (Banti 2004: 22; Baye 1986; Kebede 2009: 43, and Shimelis 2014: 112 and 2016: 121ff among others). However, Kebede (2009: 43) reported the agreement marker for the third person singular feminine *-ti* instead of *-t-* in his example *deemti* ‘she goes’. But it seems that *-i* is the marker of imperfective aspect. In addition to Afaan Oromoo, the use of *-t-* as an agreement marker for 2SG, 2PL and/or 3SG.F is quite common in East Cushitic languages like Konso (Ongaye 2013: 34), Sidaama (Kawachi 2007: 49), Kambaata (Treis 2008: 60), Hadiyya (Tadesse 2015: 100), Somali and Afar (Hayward 1975: 206).

The final issue we will consider here relating to the issue of concord is the special occurrence of the first person singular agreement marker *-n*. This marker typically occurs with auxiliary in the progressive aspect forms. The example sentences in [99a-e] illustrate the issue.

99. a. *hamma ?ulaagaa* *gog-aa-n* *tur-e*
 till Ulaagaa (name of village) go-PROG-1SG AUX:stay-PFV
 ‘I was going till Ulaga’ ([Audio B 1m15.79-1m17.37ms](#))
- b. *k`ab-at-d<sup>43</sup>-ee-n* [*k`abaddeen*] *dzir-a*
 hold-MID-1SG-CNV.PFV-1SG AUX:exist-IPFV
 ‘I have held for myself’
- c. *hidduu-n* *dzir-a*
 middle-1SG exist-IPFV
 ‘I am in between’
- d. *tigree keeffa-n* *dzir-a*
 Tigray in-1SG exist-IPFV
 ‘I am in Tigray’
- e. *?asilii ?oromoo-da kan-i-n* *tur-e*
 original Oromo-COP REL-ep-1SG AUX:stay-PFV
 ‘I was originally an Oromo’ ([RAOS 004](#))

As understood from the suffix *-n* in [99], the subject of all the given examples is the first person singular pronoun, which is in its full form *?ani/?an* ‘I’. This subject agreement marker suffixes to progressive and converbs [99a and b] or to other word types in the predicate [99c-e] rather than suffixing to auxiliary verbs. For the other varieties the language like Hararghe and Mecha, the marker-(a)*n* is reported as first person singular markers by Shimelis (2016: 127,128,133), and Debela and Ronny (2003: 177ff) respectively. Yet, in the dialect under study, the marker seems only *-n* rather than *-an*. As can be observed from examples [99a-e], *-n* is homophonous with the nominative and instrumental case markers discussed in sections 3.1.4.1 and 3.1.4.6. As

⁴³ Concerning *-d⁴³*, consider § 5.3.2.1.2 of this thesis.

indicated by Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 72) on the other hand the first person singular can be distinguished from the third person masculine by means of *-n* affixation to the word preceding the verb. Here is her example of first person singular with third person masculine singular equivalence.

100.a. *gara mana jaalaa-n deem-a*
to house medication-1SG go-IPFV
‘I go to the clinic’

b. *gara mana jaalaa deem-Ø-a*
to house medication go-3SG.M-IPFV
‘He goes to the laboratory’

5.3.1.2. Aspect/Tense

As the notions aspect and tense have to do with time, the confusion of aspect with tense⁴⁴ is commonly encountered (Bybee and Dahl 1989: 54). However, both aspect and tense are concerned with time in very different ways (Binnick 1991: 452; Bybee 1985: 21ff; Comrie 1976: 5; Dahl 1985: 23ff; Rothstein 2008: 1, and Shimelis 2016: 118). One could distinguish them as situation-internal time and situation-external time, respectively (Comrie 1976: 5, and Shimelis 2016: 119). That is to say, aspect is concerned with the internal temporal constituency of one situation, whereas tense is concerned with the time of a situation with respect to a fixed point of view. Aspect, as suggested by Kreidler (1998: 198) and Payne (2006: 321), is a term that has been defined semantically or grammatically. Semantically, it refers to the internal temporal ‘shape’ of a situation or event, whereas grammatically it refers to the verbal inflections that reflect the said semantic domain. Tense on the other hand describes an event or situation with respect to its localization on a linear time scale (Bhat 1999: 43; Bybee 1985: 28, and Comrie 1976: 6). In general, aspect is a representation of event time, the time that is contained in the event, while tense is a representation of universe time, the time that contains the event. Therefore, both aspect as well as tense denote temporal notions.

⁴⁴ The term aspect might be confused not only with tense but also with *aktionsart* (cf. Shimelis 2016), which is used in the sense of ‘inherent aspectual meaning’.

Aspect and tense inflection exist to some extent in languages that have any inflection at all (Haspelmath and Sims 2010: 84). So, languages with inflectional aspect or tense have a grammatical expression for perfective or past or both (Bybee and Dahl 1989: 95). In the Cushitic aspect/tense generally follows the familiar pattern in which the major division is between the perfective and imperfective aspects (Thomason 1983: 212). Banti (2004: 1), in dealing with the Cushitic verbal system, classified as past and non-past tenses for many Cushitic languages, even though some languages are aspect prominent than tense. By the prominence of TAM, languages maybe classified into aspect-prominent, tense-prominent, and mood-prominent (cf. Bhat 1999: 7). Even though it is a common Cushitic tradition to treat aspect and tense ⁴⁵together, most Cushitic languages are aspect-prominent, hence they typically express only aspect and have no morphological tense system (Kießling, Mous and Nurse 2008: 212). In addition to the two most basic aspectual distinctions, perfective and imperfective, many Cushitic languages have a form that is subjunctive or jussive (Appleyard 2012: 209, and Mous 2012: 391,395).

As a member of Cushitic, the expected temporal category of Afaan Oromoo verb is more of aspect/tense. The scholars such as Baye (1986), Bender, Mulugeta and Stinson (1976), Debela and Ronny (2003), and Shimelis (2016; 2014) have treated the temporal categories of the verb accordingly. Except Shimelis (2016), who deals with Afaan Oromoo aspect and tense in detail as an article title, the rest of the scholars touch upon the issues on their way of discussing other categories of the grammar of the language. Some scholars on the other hand treated Afaan Oromoo verbs as tense marked rather than aspect marked language. Notable among them are Banti (2010), Gragg (1976), Griefenow-Mewis (2001), Owens (1985a), Stroomer (1995), and Mohammed and Zaborski (1990). Like Afaan Oromoo, Afar (Bliese 1981), Diraytata (Wondwosen 2006), Gawwada (Geberew 2003), and Konso (Ongaye 2013) are among the Lowland East Cushitic languages that give greater prominence to aspect.

⁴⁵ We want to remain uncommitted on whether it is aspect/tense or aspectual, and we follow aspect/tense tradition as usual.

A language that has chosen aspect as the prominent category denotes the formal distinction between perfective and imperfective (Bhat 1999: 91). Afaan Oromoo is similar in having a major aspectual division among its verbal forms between perfective and imperfective but within these two categories, it makes a further subdivision (cf. Shimelis 2016: 119ff). These distinctions, according to him, are indicated either by means of inflectional affixes or by periphrastic means involving grammaticalized auxiliary morphemes. Accordingly, the perfective aspect that describes an event in its totality with defined margins overlaps with the past tense, whereas the imperfective aspect which, refers to an event as ongoing or unfolding tends to be non-past tense. In the next two sections, we shall discuss the perfective (§ 5.3.1.2.1) and imperfective (§ 5.3.1.2.2) aspects of RAO.

5.3.1.2.1. Perfective Aspect

‘Perfective’ is a verb form expressing an action/event located in undivided moment (time). In RAO, this aspect is expressed via verb suffixes that are morpheme *-e* and $\emptyset$ as presented in Table 17. Notice that the perfective marker becomes only *-e* in a negative construction.

Table 17. RAO perfective aspect markers

Subject ↓	Perfective	
	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>gog-e</i> ‘I went’	<i>hin gog-n-e</i> ‘I did not go’
2SG	<i>gog-t[d]-e</i> ‘you went’	<i>hin gog-n-e</i> ‘you did not go’
3SG.M	<i>gog-$\emptyset$-e</i> ‘he went’	<i>hin gog-n-e</i> ‘he did not go’
3SG.F	<i>gog-t[d]-e</i> ‘she went’	<i>hin gog-n-e</i> ‘she did not go’
1PL	<i>gog-n-e</i> ‘we went’	<i>hin gog-n-e</i> ‘we did not go’
2PL	<i>gog-t[d]-an-$\emptyset$</i> ‘you went’	<i>hin gog-n-e</i> ‘you did not go’
3PL	<i>gog-$\emptyset$-an-$\emptyset$</i> ‘they went’	<i>hin gog-n-e</i> ‘they did not go’

Compared with other grammatical affixes, such as person, number, gender, and passive markers, the perfective marker *-e* is the final/terminal element of a verb. As can be observed from the above table, second person and third person plurals in affirmative construction no overt perfective marker. On the other hand, in same varieties of Afaan Oromoo, for instance

Mecha (Baye 1986: 62), and Tulema (Bender, Mulugeta and Stinson 1976: 137), *-i* is analysed as perfective aspect marker in both second person plural and third person plural affirmative constructions.

In addition to the examples in Table 17, the following are sentential examples of the perfective aspect marker *-e*.

- 101.a. *bijja kee=r-raa duf-Ø-e*
 country your=ABL come-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He/It came from your country’ ([Audio A 1m51.33-1m52.22ms](#))
- b. *ɔromoo-itfɪ-i-n bad-Ø-e ɔas-i=tti*
 Oromo-SGT-ep-NOM disappear-3SG.M-PFV here-ep=LOC
 ‘Here, the Oromo disappeared’

In Afaan Oromoo, the perfective aspect usually conflates with the past tense (Shimelis 2016: 119). This holds true for the dialect under investigation. However, the perfective aspect may refer to non-past actions as exemplified in [102].

- 102.a. *joo fajj⁴⁶-at-Ø-e ɔeeffa=tti gog-ee ɔisaan k’ab-at-Ø-a*
 if cure-INCH-3SG.M-PFV where-LOC go-CNV they hold\have-MID-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘If he is sick, where could he find them?’
- b. *joo gaaf-at-t-e ɔisii-n hin wallaal-t-u*
 if question-INCH-2SG-PFV her-NOM NEG err-3SG.F-NCM-IPFV
 ‘If you asked her, she doesn’t err’ ([Audio A 6m13.44-6m15.28ms](#))

As can be observed from example [102a-b], there are background comments that are relevant to the situation existing at a given point in the narrations. Thus, the considered situations in the examples are more than simple stativity. Such aspect, which deals with more than one situation, is called perfect (Shimelis 2016: 124). Accordingly, the essence of the perfect is relating events/states to a reference time, either to the time of the narrative or to the time of the speech

⁴⁶ *fajj-* is ‘cure’ and *fajjat-* is ‘sick’ in RAO.

act. The following are instances that illustrate perfect constructions. Notice that the converb has perfective reading in the examples.

103.a. *hiikk-am-t-ee* *gal-t-ee* *dzir-t-i*
 release-PASS-3SG.F-CNV enter-3SG.F-CNV AUX:exist-3SG.F-IPFV
 ‘She had been released and gone home’

b. *Ṗinni* *gama* *siṣudii*⁴⁷=*tti k’aar-ee* *tur-Ø-e*
 he.NOM on the other side saudi=LOC cross-CNV AUX: stay-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He had gone to Saudi’

As can be seen in [103], the help of auxiliary verbs form the perfect aspect of the aspectual system of the RAO. The auxiliaries are *dzir-* ‘exist’ and *tur-* ‘stay’. These auxiliary verbs denote a tense in the language, Afaan Oromoo (Baye 1986: 68,125; Debela and Ronny 2003: 163, and Shimelis 2016: 135). In other varieties of the language such as Hararghe, only *dzir-* is used to form the perfect aspect. On the other hand, Gragg (1976: 189-190), and Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 76ff) also touch up on perfect aspect under what they call ‘compound tense’.

5.3.1.2.2. Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect is a category that views the internal temporal structure of an action or an event (Binnick 1991: 200; Bhat 1999: 45; Bybee and Dahl 1989: 55; Comrie 1976: 24; Pavey 2010: 74; Shimelis 2016: 126, and Smith 1997: 130). This aspect indicates a situation or an event from within, as it is in a sense of progression or repetition. As Bybee, Revere and William (1994: 125) state, an imperfective situation or event maybe presented as being in progress at a specific reference point. Accordingly, it can be sub-categorized into progressive/continuous and habitual imperfectives (Binnick 1991: 155; Comrie 1976: 24ff, and Pavey 2010: 73). Before discussing the sub-categories of RAO imperfective aspects, let us look at the imperfective marker conjugation of the dialect in Table 18.

⁴⁷ cf. § 2.3

Table 18. Conjugation of imperfective aspect marker

Subject ↓	Imperfective	
	In main clause	In subordinate clause
1SG	<i>-n gog-a</i> ‘I (will) go’	<i>-n gog-u</i> ‘I go’
2SG	<i>gog-t[d]-a</i> ‘you (will) go’	<i>gog-t[d]-u</i> ‘you go’
3SG.M	<i>gog-Ø-a</i> ‘he (will) go(es)’	<i>gog-Ø-u</i> ‘he goes’
3SG.F	<i>gog-t[d]-i</i> ‘she (will) go(es)’	<i>gog-t[d]-u</i> ‘she goes’
1PL	<i>gog-n-a</i> ‘we (will) go’	<i>gog-n-u</i> ‘we go’
2PL	<i>gog-t[d]-u</i> ‘you (will) go’	<i>gog-t[d]-an-Ø</i> ‘you go’
3PL	<i>gog-Ø-u</i> ‘they (will) go’	<i>gog-Ø-an-Ø</i> ‘they go’

As can be seen in Table 18, the marker of imperfective aspect in the affirmative main clause for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, and 1PL is *-a*, whereas 3SG.F is marked by *-i*, and both 2PL and 3PL are marked with *-u*. In addition to marking 2PL, and 3PL affirmative, the imperfective marker *-u* also attaches to all persons except 2 and 3 plurals to indicate imperfectivity in subordinate clause. Second and third plurals are optionally marked by *-Ø*. On the other hand, the dialect has negative imperfective aspect marker in main clauses, which is identical to marker of affirmative imperfective aspect in subordinate clauses. The examples in [104] illustrate this.

- 104.a. *dangaa hin ʔarg-at-t-an-Ø*
nourishment NEG see-MID-2-PL-IPFV
‘You(PL) will not get nourishment’

- b. *duwwaa hin dʔis-t-u*
empty NEG abandon-2SG\3SG.F-NCM-IPFV
‘You (SG)/She (will) not leave empty’

As is apparent in examples [104], the negated imperfective verbs are marked by *-Ø* in the first, and *-u* in the second. When the affirmative constructions are negated, the negative marker *hin* immediately precedes the verbs. However, *hin* is also used as focus marker in the dialect as in *ʔoromo-itʃifa-i-n hin bad-a* oromo-SGT-ep-NOM FOC disappear-IPFV ‘The Oromo (will) disappear’. In other Afaan Oromoo varieties, for instance in Mecha, *-a* (1SG, and 3SG.M), *-i*

(3SG.F) and *-u* (3PL) is used for marking the imperfective aspect in a main clause, whereas *-u* is used for the imperfective in both negative and subordinate constructions (Baye 1986: 35-37, 172, 206, 209, 229). Here are his examples.

105.a. *tulluu-n ʔaannan hin dʒaal-at-Ø-a*

Tullu-NOM milk FOC love-INCH-3SG.M-IPFV

‘Tullu likes milk’

b. *ʔinni ʔakka=na hin god-u*

he.NOM as=this NEG do-IPFV

‘He will not do like this’

c. *ʔakka na=tti fakkaat-u*

as me=to seem-IPFV

‘As it seems to me,’

d. *tʃʼaaltuu-n kan horii kʼab-t-u [kʼabdu] fakkaat-t-i*

Chaltu-NOM COMP money hold\have-3SG.F-IPFV seem-3SG.F-IPFV

‘Chaltu seems [she] holds money’

In Hararghe variety on the other hand, the imperfective markers in both main clause and subordinate clause are identical to RAO dialect except for 2PL, and 3PL in both main and subordinate clauses (cf. Shimelis 2016: 127-128). Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 76) also reports *-a* as a marker of imperfective in affirmative main clause except 2PL, and 3PL albeit she prefers ‘present tense’ conjugation than imperfect aspect conjugation. In all persons of RAO, the negated imperfective verb in subordinate clause is marked by *-e* as in *joo hin beek-n-e* ‘If I/you/we/they/(s)/he do/does not know,...’. Now, let us look at some sub-categories of imperfective aspect of RAO.

5.3.1.2.2.1. Habitual

Habitual aspect is a form of imperfective that marks events as part of a habit that the subject participant has. It refers to customarily recurrent situations that takes place from time to time by actual events. According to Comrie (1976: 27-28), habitual aspect describes an ongoing state or

recurring event which is a characteristic situation that holds all times. The following examples in [106] illustrate RAO habitual aspects.

106. a. *ʔafaan ʔoromoo-daa-n nu=tti dubb-at-t-i*
 language\mouth Oromo-COP.EMPH-INST us=to speak-INCH-3SG.F-IPFV
 ‘We communicate in Afaan Oromoo’ ([Audio D 58.41-59.98ms](#))
- b. *ʔati hin ʔuffat-t-a*
 you.NOM FOC wear-2SG-IPFV
 ‘You (SG) wear’

In both the examples in [106], there is no special morpheme that indicates habituality rather it is understood semantically. The examples make a reference to the habit of doing some events in continuousness. Accordingly, example [106a] indicates the habit of using Afaan Oromoo is a regular pattern among the speaker of the text and other person that is 3SG.F. The habitual process of wearing, on the other hand, is indicated in [106b].

5.3.1.2.2.2. Progressive

The progressive aspect portrays a dynamic performance in the process of happening at the reference point (Binnick 1991: 282; Bybee, Revere and William 1994: 138ff; Comrie 1976: 35; Dahl 1985: 90ff, and Payne 2011: 291). It applies typically to dynamic predicates and cannot occur with stative verbs. As Binnick (1991: 282) describes, there are certain cases in which stative predicates allow the progressive, for instance, Sue is believing in God more and more, and we can call this continuative aspect. The examples in [107] illustrate the RAO progressive that refers to ongoing action or event.

107. a. *si dagaʔ-uu=tti-n dzir-a*
 you hear-PROG=to-1SG exist-IPFV
 ‘I am listening to you’
- b. *ʔatʔi=tti-n taaʔ-aa tur-e*
 there-LOC-1SG sit-PROG stay-PFV
 ‘I was living there’ ([Audio D 07.75-08.78ms](#))

c. *jaat-aa dug-aa ʔool-Ø-e*

eat-PROG drink-PROG spend_the_day-3SG.M-PFV

‘He spent the day while eating and drinking’

d. *nu-jji diirama ʔafaan kan ʔitti hiik-at-n-e [hiikkanne]*

we.NOM-FOC morning language\mouth REL to acquire-MID-1PL-PFV

san-uma=rra dʒir-n-a [dʒirra]

that-EMPH=on exist-1PL-IPFV

‘We continued speaking in our mother tongue’

As the examples in [107] show, the RAO progressive aspect can express situations in non-past and past period of time. Accordingly, [107a] indicates non-past progressive action, whereas [107b-c] identify situations in past progressive aspect. However, in [107c] the progressive aspect is indicated without the help of the verb *tur-*. The formation of past progressive aspect without auxiliary is also reported for Western Afaan Oromoo variety by Banti (2010: 39). In [107d] on the other hand, the continuative aspect is constructed by the conjugation of emphasizer *-uma* and auxiliary *dʒir-*. Other Afaan Oromoo varieties, for instance, Hararghe and Western use the verbs *ʔoof-* and *fuf-* in this construction, respectively (Shimelis 2016: 133).

5.3.1.2.2.3. Prospective

The prospective aspect indicates a situation as having a real possibility of happening. It differs from future in referring to an eventuality that has in a sense already begun (Klein 1994: 114). According to Comrie (1976: 64), this aspect expresses a relationship between the instant of uttering and a succeeding situation. Therefore, it indicates future situation, or situations that has already prepared, and whose cause continues to the future. This causal relationship is the relation that exists when the cause of a future event is overtly or covertly known to the speaker (Jarad 2014: 108). Generally speaking, prospective aspect shows the period of an event that relates to the preparatory phase of an event (Shimelis 2016: 128). Let us look at the RAO prospective aspect examples.

108.a. *ʔani sargii gog-uu-f-i-da*

I.NOM wedding go-VNM-DAT-ep-COP

‘I am about to go to wedding’

b. *naddittoo-n sii duf-uu-f dzir-t-i*

female.PL-NOM you come-VNM-DAT exist-3SG.F-IPFV

‘The female is going to join you’

c. *saʔa masjiida=tti nak'-uu-f deem-Ø-a*

cow masjid-LOC pour-VNM-DAT go-3SG.M-IPFV

‘He is about to accommodate cow/cattle to Mosque’ ([Audio C₁ 7m27.66-7m29.16ms](#))

As can be observed in [108], the dialect’s prospective expression is indicated in three forms: copula based [108a], auxiliary verb based [108b], and verbal predicate based [108c]. In all the examples, the events did not take place; however, based on indications of the future event at the time of speaking, there is an intention or an expectation for a future event to happen. In other Afaan Oromoo varieties, for instance in Hararghe variety, Shimelis (2016: 129-130) identifies four ways of prospective expressions: copula clause, possessive pronoun with or without copula, verbal predicate and metaphorical based prospective aspect. The expression of the language prospective aspect via the help of copula with or without possessive pronoun is also analysed by Crass and Ronny (2008: 242). In all cases, prospective aspect of the language is not marked morphologically.

5.3.1.3. Mood

The presence of inflectional aspect or tense in a particular language may imply the presence of inflectional mood (Bybee 1985: 33). Accordingly, mood is a verbal inflection reflecting modality, which expresses what the utterer needs to do with the proposition in the context of a speech situation (Bybee 1985: 22). Even though Bybee (1985) and Palmer (2001) classify mood into imperative, jussive, optative, interrogative, declarative, and indicative, Kroeger (2005: 163) lists only declarative, imperative, and interrogative as a major mood categories. In some Afaan Oromoo varieties, for instance in Mecha, indicative and imperative or optative moods are indicated by Baye (1986: 250), whereas Debela and Ronny (2003: 180ff) argued

imperative and jussive moods like that of Hararghe Afaan Oromoo (Mohammed and Zaborski 1990: 29). Now, let us analyse the mood types in RAO.

5.3.1.3.1. Indicative

The indicative mood is an ordinary form of verbs used to make straightforward statements or ask questions. As described by Greenbaum (1996: 80) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 24), the indicative mood applies to most declarative and interrogative verbs (cf. § 9.2.1 and § 9.2.2). In the affirmative declarative form, indicative is used for situations that have already taken place or those that the speaker is certain to take place. In the negative declarative form, on the other hand, indicative refers to actions that have not taken place or that will not take place. Consider the examples of RAO indicative construction in [109].

- 109.a. *ɖoromo-itɕɕ-i-n keɛŋna bad-Ø-e*
 Oromo-SGT-ep-NOM our.GEN disappear-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘Afaan Oromoo, our language disappeared’
- b. *ɖinni ɖatɕɕi ɖool-Ø-a*
 he.NOM there spend the day-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘He (will) spend the day there’ ([RAOM2 186](#))
- c. *ɖoromo-itɕɕa hin ɖarg-at-t-u*
 Oromo-SGT NEG see-MID-2\3SG.F-NCM.IPFV
 ‘You/she (do/es) (will) not find the Oromo’

As can be seen from examples in [109a-c], the dialect has indicative mood in perfective [109a] and imperfective [109b-c] aspects. Both the affirmative [109a-b] and negative [109c] constructions can be shown by indicative mood. Since indicative declarative mood is an ordinary form of a verb used in making statements, it is possible to say this mood is the default mood of the dialect. The idea forwarded by Binnick (1991: 66) as “indicative mood is usual” can be strengthen our assumption. Indicative declarative mood is unmarked both in affirmative and negative forms. As understood from the examples in [109a-d], indicative declarative mood is concerned about giving information. On the other hand, the indicative interrogative mood is

concerned about demanding information (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 97) as illustrated in [110] for RAO.

110.a. *gujjaa torba hin ʔeeg-t-aa* [ʔeegdaa]

day seven FOC keep/wait-2-QUES

‘Do you wait for seven days?’

b. *ʔooŋŋu-tu dubb-at-a*

who-FOC speak-INCH-IPFV

‘Who is the speaker?’

c. *ʔeeffaa diif-t-e*

where.ABL come-2\3SG.F-PFV

‘From where did you/she come?’ ([Audio C₁ 2m35.01-2m35.68ms](#))

In [110a], a yes/no interrogative, which is a question about polarity, is indicated, whereas in [110b-c], a WH-interrogative, which is a search for a missing piece of information, is presented. In this dialect, a yes/no question is similar with declarative mood except the final vowel length on the last word of a question. This feature is also attested in other dialects of the language, for instance in Mecha (Debela and Rooney 2003: 182). In a WH-interrogative on the other hand, it is the Wh-element that carries the nature of the missing information rather than elongating the final vowel of the last word.

5.3.1.3.2. Imperative

The imperative mood expresses what the speaker wants the addressee to do or not to do (Aikhenvald 2010: 1). The imperative mood indicates direct orders, commands, permission or advice (Palmer 2001: 80). As stated by Bybee (1985: 171), the imperative mood is restricted to a second person singular or plural subject. The examples in Table 19 indicates the affirmative imperative mood of RAO.

Table 19. Examples of the affirmative imperative mood

Verb root/stem	Imperative marking		Gloss
	2SG	2PL	
<i>fuud-</i> ‘lift’	<i>fuud-i</i>	<i>fuud-aa</i>	(you (SG/PL)), lift/take!
<i>darb-</i> ‘pass’	<i>darb-i</i>	<i>darb-aa</i>	(you (SG/PL)), pass/throw!
<i>taaʔ-</i> ‘sit’	<i>taaʔ-i</i>	<i>taaʔ-aa</i>	(you (SG/PL)), sit!
<i>dug-</i> ‘drink’	<i>dug-i</i>	<i>dug-aa</i>	(you (SG/PL)), drink!
<i>seen-</i> ‘enter’	<i>seen-i</i>	<i>seen-aa</i>	(you (SG/PL)), enter!
<i>naat-</i> ‘eat’	<i>naat-du</i> [<i>naad-du</i>]	<i>naat-daa</i> [<i>naad-daa</i>]	(you (SG/PL)), eat!
<i>kad-</i> ‘beg’	<i>kad-at-du</i> [<i>kad-ad-du</i>]	<i>kad-at-daa</i> [<i>kad-ad-daa</i>]	(you (SG/PL)), beg/pray!
<i>kaat-</i> ‘run’	<i>kaat-du</i> [<i>kaad-du</i>]	<i>kaat-daa</i> [<i>kaad-daa</i>]	(you (SG/PL)), run!
<i>dʒabaa-</i> ‘strong’	<i>dʒabaa-at-du</i> [<i>dʒabad-du</i>]	<i>dʒabaa-at-daa</i> [<i>dʒabad-daa</i>]	(you (SG/PL)), strengthen!
<i>gaaf-</i> ‘question’	<i>gaaf-at-du</i> [<i>gaaf-ad-du</i>]	<i>gaaf-at-daa</i> [<i>gaaf-ad-daa</i>]	(you (SG/PL)), ask!

As can be seen Table 19, there are four types of the affirmative imperative mood markers in this dialect. The markers are *-i*, *-du*, *-aa*, and *-daa*. The first two markers indicate singular addressee, whereas the latter two markers show plural addressee. Concerning their distributions, if a given verb attaches *-i* to form its affirmative imperative mood in a singular form, it requires *-aa* in its plural form. On the other hand, if a given verb requires *-du* to form its affirmative imperative mood in a singular form, it takes *-daa* in its plural form to do so. Therefore, the markers *-i* and *-du*, and also *-aa* and *-daa* are complementary to each other except in a middle derived verbs⁴⁸. In other words, if a given verb can inflect for benefactive function by middle voice, then the verb can express its imperative mood by *-i/-du* and *-aa/-daa* simultaneously in singular and plural subjects, respectively. Consider the following examples.

⁴⁸ The imperative form of *koott-u/aa* ‘(You (SG/PL)), come!’, which is formed by suppletive from *duf-* is not governed by both rules.

111.a. <i>bit-i</i>	vs	<i>bit-at-du</i> [<i>bit-ad-du</i>]
buy-IMP.2SG		buy-MID-IMP.2SG
‘Buy!’		‘You (SG), buy for yourself!’

b. <i>bit-aa</i>	vs	<i>bit-at-daa</i> [<i>bit-ad-daa</i>]
buy-IMP.2PL		buy-MID-IMP.2PL
‘Buy!’		‘You (PL), buy for yourselves!’

In [111a], *bit-* is inflected for the affirmative imperative mood on the first column, and then for benefactive function and imperative mood in the second column. In both cases, the subject of the verb is singular, you. On the other hand, in plural subject [111b], similar procedure takes place for the formation of the affirmative imperative moods in both columns. As can be observed from the examples in [111], the second person marker *-t* is absent. This holds true for all affirmative and negative imperative moods of the dialect. The negative imperative mood is formed by the markers *-i* and *-aa* as exemplified in [112].

112.a. <i>hin dug-i-n</i>	vs	<i>hin dug-i-n-aa</i>
NEG drink-IMP.2SG-NCM		NEG drink-IMP.2SG-NCM-IMP.2PL
‘Do not drink!’		‘Do not drink!’
b. <i>hin naat-i-n</i>	vs	<i>hin naat-i-n-aa</i>
NEG eat-IMP.2SG-NCM		NEG eat-IMP.2SG-NCM-IMP.2PL
‘Do not eat!’		‘Do not eat!’
c. <i>hin k'al-at-i-n</i>	vs	<i>hin k'al-at-i-n-aa</i>
NEG slaughter-MID-IMP.2SG-NCM		NEG slaughter-MID-IMP.2SG-NCM-IMP.2PL
‘Do not slaughter for yourself!’		‘Do not slaughter for yourselves!’

As can be observed from [112a-c], the singular negative imperative moods in the first columns are marked by *-i*, whereas the second columns that possess plural subjects are marked for negative imperative moods by double markers: *-i* and *-aa*. Therefore, in negative imperative constructions, the marker *-i* can be used not only to refer to singular imperatives but also to plural imperatives simultaneously with the marker *-aa*. Following [113a-d] are a few examples of imperative mood indicating command, permission, advice, and polite request respectively.

113. a. *bifaan fid-i*
 water.NOM bring-IMP.2SG
 ‘Fetch water!’
- b. *seen-aa*
 enter-IMP.2PL
 ‘Come in!’
- c. *morm-at-naa [mormannaa] dzabaa-at-du [dzaba-ad-du]*
 dispute-MID-MANNR strong-INCH-IMP.2SG
 ‘Be strong on self-defence!’
- d. *mee barbaad-aa*
 please search-IMP.2PL
 ‘Search please!’

5.3.1.3.3. Jussive

Jussive is a term used to cover commands to first and third persons (Palmer 2001: 80-82). However, Kroeger (2005: 201) argued that first person imperative is hortative rather than jussive as it is associated with the inclusive person. Note that some scholars such as Binnick (1991), Bybee (1985) and Kroeger (2005) use optative mood for third pronoun. In Afaan Oromoo, imperative and jussive moods have semantic and morphological features in common (cf. Debela and Ronny 2003: 180-182). As stated by them and other scholars such as Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 74); Mohammed and Zaborski (1990: 28), and Zelalem (2014: 36-37), the language forms its jussive mood by the help of the particle *haa* in connection with subordinate conjugation. Let us consider the jussive markers in the following examples [112] from RAO.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>114. a. <i>haa duuf-Ø-u</i>
 JUSS come-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘Let him come!’</p> | <p>b. <i>haa kuf-t-u</i>
 JUSS fall-3SG.F-IPFV
 ‘Let her fall!’ (RAOS 089)</p> |
|---|--|

c. *haa duf-an*

JUSS come-3PL

‘Let them come!’

d. *?inni hin duf-i-n*

he.NOM NEG come-ep-NCM

‘Let him not come!’

As indicated in example [114a-b], if the target person is 3SG, the jussive maker particle in the affirmative is *haa* in connection with the suffix *-u* after the verb root/stem. However, if the addressee is 3PL, *haa* is used without the suffix *-u* [114c]. The prohibitive jussive mood on the other hand is formed by the negative marker *hin* in connection with the negative clause marker *-n* on the verb [114d]. In negative verbs such as *haf-* ‘remain’ and *d̥iis-* ‘abandon’, the function of the jussive marker in the affirmative and negative mood constructions become reversed as shown in [115]

115.a. *?inni haa haf-Ø-u*

he.NOM JUSS remain-3SG.M-IPFV

‘Let him not come’

b. *?inni hin haf-i-n*

he.NOM NEG remain-ep-NCM

‘Let him come’.

In RAO, 1PL also has a jussive/hortative mood marker. Consider the next example.

116.a. *haa deebi?-n-u* [*deebinu*]

JUSS return-1PL-IPFV

‘Let us return!’

b. *warra haa seen-n-u*

family JUSS enter-1PL-IPFV

‘Let us join the family!’

([Audio B 01.69-02.62ms](#))

Unlike [114c], in [116], the jussive marker, *haa* is used with the suffix *-u*. Note that the suffix *-u*, which marks dependence, also indicates imperfectivity (Shimelis 2014: 262 footnote). As stated by Debela and Ronny (2003: 163), the jussive mood in first person is not common in Mecha Afaan Oromoo, whereas it is infrequently used in ‘standardized Afaan Oromoo’.

According to these scholars, jussive forms for first person plural are more frequent than the singular one. This holds true for Hararghe and Tulema varieties (the advisor and the researcher dialects). For instance, *ʔani haa dug-u* ‘let me drink’. This does not work for RAO.

5.3.2. Derivational Properties

In the Cushitic language family, verb derivation is no less complex than verb inflection. As stated by Haspelmath and Sims (2010: 88), verbs are derived from other verbs, nouns, and adjectives. However, the former verbalization is much more wide spread than the latter two types (Haspelmath and Sims 2010: 88). The usual Cushitic verbal derivations as stated in Mous (2012: 403) are causative, middle, passive, inchoative and reduplication. In the following sub-sections of 5.3.2, verb derivations are discussed into two groups: valency changing operation (§ 5.3.2.1), and other ways of verb derivation (§ 5.3.2.2).

5.3.2.1. Valency changing Operation

The valency of a lexical item is its inherent relationality that allows it to govern a particular number of arguments of a particular type. In other words, valency is the set of complements that a given lexical verb requires or permits. Valency changing is derivations that allow the expression of an additional participant or the dropping of a participant. It may increase valency (expand the verb’s valence by one argument: causative) or decrease it (reduce the expressible arguments by one: middle, passive, reflexive, and reciprocal). These productive means of changing the valency and other devices of verbalization such as reduplication are discussed in the following sub-section.

5.3.2.1.1. Causative

A causative is a linguistic expression that increases the valency of the verb by introducing the agent/causer argument to a scene (Kroeger 2005: 277). As described by Payne (2006: 258), the causative morpheme adds a ‘causer’ argument to the verb. Therefore, a grammatical construction with a causative predicate contains an additional argument, the causer. Thus, if the caused event is intransitive, the causative is transitive and takes two arguments. Similarly, if the

caused event is transitive, the causative is ditransitive and takes three arguments. If the caused event is ditransitive, the causative takes four arguments.

Most languages of the world have three different types of causative constructions- lexical, analytic/syntactic/periphrastic, and morphological (Dixon 2012: 242; Katamba 1993: 213, and Payne 2006: 258). According to these scholars, most typically, morphological process applies to the verb, which is predicated head. Even though the concern of this section is describing or analyzing the morphological causative construction, we exemplified both lexical [117a] and analytic [117b] causatives of Afaan Oromoo only for the sake of introducing the causative construction.

117. a. *horii-n gal-Ø-e* vs *horii nak'-Ø-e*
 cattle-NOM entered-3SG.M-PFV cattle pour-1SG\3SG.M-PFV
 'The cattle entered in' 'I/he brought the cattle in'
- b. *ʔisii-n raf-t-e* vs *ʔani ʔakka raf-t-u god-e*
 her-NOM sleep-3SG.F-PFV I.NOM like sleep-3SG.F-DPT make-PFV
 'She slept' 'I made her sleep'

As can be seen in [117a], the inherently causative verb *nak'-* is used in the second column. *nak'-* 'pour' is completely distinct from its non-causative opponent verb *gal-* 'enter' in the first column. However, there is no distinct marker involved, and the notion of the cause is wrapped up in the lexical meaning of the verb *nak'-* 'pour'. In [117b], the verb *god-* 'make' is used to form an analytic causative of the dialect in contrast to the non-causative construction in the first column. In the analytic causative construction, as can be observed from the example, two predicates are used: the predicate of cause *god-* 'make' and the predicate of effect *raf-* 'sleep'. The first predicate introduces a new argument/causer and establishes the new position of the causee, whereas the second predicate fills the slot established by the predicate of cause. The same causative construction is also reported for other Afaan Oromoo varieties (Dubinsky, Lloret and Newman, 1988: 494).

Concerning morphological causative construction, though Afaan Oromoo is rich with this construction, the shapes of the markers⁴⁹ remained controversial which we will not address in any depth here. Some scholars such as Baye (1986: 126ff), Dubinsky, Lloret and Newman (1988: 485ff), Gragg (1976: 187), Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 67), Kebede (2009: 49), Lloret (1987: 145), Owens (1985b: 2ff), Shimelis (2014: 101ff), Temesgen (1993: 19ff), and Tolemariam (2009: 25) list Afaan Oromoo causative markers from a minimum of two to a maximum of eight types. Except for Kebede's study⁵⁰, the rest consider *-siis-* as the language's causative marker in common. Note that the causative marker *-siis-*, which is unlisted in Tolemariam's five types of causative markers is included in his analysis (see Tolemariam, 2009: 14, 19 and elsewhere). These suffixes, *-s-* and *-s(i)is-*, can be termed as single/first /direct and double/second/indirect causatives, respectively. Both markers are typically attested in RAO causativization. Below, we provide the causativization and verbalization processes of the dialect.

5.3.2.1.1.1. Causativization

Causativization in most languages of the world can be formed on the basis of both intransitive and transitive caused events (Haspelmath 1993: 92). For intransitive verbs, it can be considered as transitivization (Katamba 1993: 275). This is why the single causative marker *-s-* is also used as transitivizing affix of Afaan Oromoo intransitive verbs in works of Shimelis (2014: 99) and Dubinsky, Lloret and Newman (1988: 498) among others. Tables 20-22 contain an example set of transitivization, causativization of intransitive and transitive verbs in RAO, respectively.

In Table 20, below, we observe that the morphemes *-s-* adds a transitivity meaning to an intransitive verbs of the dialect. As presented in the table, the transitivising marker *-s-* is used in the given intransitive roots. Note that there are other phonological/morphological processes in transitivized verb stems numbered from 2-5 in Table 20. The processes are insertion of

⁴⁹ As stated by Mous (2012: 404), the causative in the majority of the Cushitic languages is typically marked by a suffix *-s* or *-[j]* and preceded by the vowel *i*, which is sometimes analysed as epenthetic.

⁵⁰ Kebede (2009: 49) lists *-is-* and *-isis-* as the language's causative markers. However, in his analysis (2009: 35-36), he considers *-s-* as the single causative marker different from *-is-*.

epenthetic vowel *-i*, assimilation, and deletion of glottal phoneme *ʔ*. In the dialect, the cluster *ls* develops to *ʃf* without evident segment that triggered the palatalization. Kebede (2009: 35) also reports the same phenomenon for both Mecha and RAO varieties.

Table 20. Transitivity of intransitive verbs

No	Intransitive roots	Gloss	TRR affix	transitivized stem	Gloss
1	<i>dab-</i>	bend	<i>-s-</i>	<i>dab-s-</i>	cause to bend
2	<i>danf-</i>	boil	<i>-s-</i>	<i>danf-i-s-[damfis-]</i>	boil something
3	<i>diig-</i>	bleed	<i>-s-</i>	<i>diig-s-[diis-s-]</i>	cause to bleed
4	<i>gal-</i>	enter	<i>-s-</i>	<i>gal-s- [gaf-f-]</i>	cause to enter
5	<i>jaaʔ-</i>	flow	<i>-s-</i>	<i>jaaʔ-s- [jaas-]</i>	cause to flow/out of

The next table indicates causativization of intransitive verbs.

Table 21. Causativization of Intransitive Verbs

No	Pre-CS intransitive verb root/stem	Gloss	CS affix	Causativized stem	Gloss
1	<i>hor-</i>	prosper	<i>-siis-</i>	<i>hor-siis-</i>	cause to prosper
2	<i>dʒibb-</i>	hate	<i>-siis-</i>	<i>dʒibb-i-siis-</i>	cause to hate
3	<i>diis-</i>	abandon	<i>-sis-</i>	<i>diis-sis- [diis-is-]</i>	cause to abandon
4	<i>laal-</i>	look/see	<i>-sis-</i>	<i>laal-sis-[laaf-fis-]</i>	cause to see
5	<i>daal-</i>	inherit	<i>-sis-</i>	<i>daal-sis-[daaf-fis-]</i>	cause to inherit

In Table 21, the causative marker *-siis-* and *-sis-* are used to causativize the intransitive verbs. The suffix *-siis-* is used when the vowel preceding the root/stem final consonant is short or when there is a gemination in root/stem final. On the other hand *-sis-* is used when the vowel preceding the root/stem final consonant is long. The only exception that we noted is *raf-sis-[raf-fis-]* ‘cause to sleep’. Both the markers are also reported for Hararghe Afaan Oromoo (Shimelis 2014: 101).

In addition to the suffixes *-s-* and *-si(i)s-* that are used in the dialect, pseudo causative markers are also attested as triple or quadruple markers in the language. In fact, the new finding of Shimelis (2014: 102) explicates the uncertainty. As to him, the suffixes *-s-* and *-si(i)s-* may be concatenated in Afaan Oromoo. Hence, occurrences of a causativizer *-s-* in adjacent position is impermissible, the first *-s-* of “each additional causative marker is dropped after the *-s-* of the preceding causative marker” (Shimelis 2014: 102). This is what happens in RAO too. Apart from this, in Table 21 number 3, the causative marker *-sis-* is appended to *d̥iis-* by removing its initial *-s-* as the final consonant of the given root is /s/. Furthermore, if two *-si(i)s-* or *-s-* and two *-si(i)s-* occur in adjoining manner, they all remove their initial *-s-* except the one occurring immediately after the pre-causative root/stem⁵¹. Consider the example in [118].

118. a. *daal-sis-siis-* [*daaf-fis-iis-*]
 inherit-CS-CS-
 ‘Someone caused somebody to make someone else inherit’
- b. *d̥iig-s-sis-siis-* [*d̥iis-s-is-iis-*]
 bleed-TRR-CS-CS-
 ‘Someone caused somebody to make someone else bleed’
- c. *d̥iis-sis-siis-* [*d̥iis-is-iis-*]
 abandon-CS-CS-
 ‘Someone caused somebody to make someone else abandon’

In example [118a], the initial *-s* of *-siis-* is removed, whereas in [118b-c], both *-sis-* and *-siis-* drop their initial *-s*.

Now, let us look at the causativization of transitive verbs as exemplified in Table 22.

⁵¹ As already mentioned, if a given root ends in /s/ then the rule does not work as the causative markers remove their initial *-s-* as in *d̥iis-sis-siis-* [*d̥iis-is-iis-*].

Table 22. Causativization of Transitive Verbs

Pre-CS root/stem	Gloss	CS affix	Causativized Verb stem	Gloss
<i>maam-</i>	call	<i>-sis-</i>	<i>maam-sis-</i>	cause to call
<i>ʔidʒaar-</i>	build	<i>-sis-</i>	<i>ʔidʒaar-sis-</i>	cause to build
<i>waraab-</i>	fetch	<i>-sis-</i>	<i>waraab-sis-</i>	cause to fetch
<i>daak-</i>	grind	<i>-sis-</i>	<i>daak-sis-</i>	cause to grind
<i>fuud-</i>	take	<i>-sis-</i>	<i>fuud-sis-[fuu-sis-]</i>	cause to take/marry
<i>naat-</i>	eat	<i>-sis-</i>	<i>naat-sis-[naatf-tfis-]</i>	cause to eat
<i>tf'uf-</i>	close	<i>-siis-</i>	<i>tf'uf-siis-</i>	cause to close/shut down

As can be observed in Table 22, the dialect's transitive verb roots/stems attach *-si(i)s-* rather than *-s-*. The suffixation of the causative marker to transitive verbs conveys the meaning of 'cause someone to order someone else do something'.

5.3.2.1.1.2. Verbalization of Nouns/Adjectives (Transitivization)

According to Dixon (2012: 242-243), an affix with the same form as the causative derivation used on a verb may also be affixed to a noun or an adjective, and deriving a transitive verb with causative-type meaning in some languages of the world. Therefore, a morphological transitivization may also apply to a noun or an adjective. This is what we have come across in RAO as presented in Table 23 and 24.

Table 23. Verbalization of Nouns (Transitivization)

Noun	Gloss	Transitivized Verb stem	Gloss
<i>haraara</i>	reconciliation	<i>haraar-s-</i>	cause to reconcile
<i>ʔarraba</i>	tongue	<i>ʔarrab-s-</i>	(cause to) insult
<i>jaabbii</i>	riding	<i>jaabb-at-s⁵²iis-[jaabb-atf-tfiis-]</i>	cause to ride
<i>tap'a</i>	game	<i>tap'-at-siis-[tap'-atf-tfiis-]</i>	cause to play

⁵² In RAO, the cluster *ts* develops to *tf* without evident segment that triggered the palatalization. This type of palatalization is also reported for Mecha Afaan Oromoo (Kebede 2009: 35).

As presented in Table 23, the causative-type meaning of the nouns under transitivized verb stems are formed by *-s-* and *-siis-*. However, the nouns with *-siis-* are already verbalize by the middle marker prior to transitivization. In adjective, Table 24, the transitivizar markers are *-s-* and *-(e)eff-*⁵³. Consider the table below that shows the causative-type meaning of the adjectives under these transitivized markers.

Table 24. Verbalization of Adjectives (Transitivization)

Adjective	Gloss	Transitivized Verb stem	Gloss
<i>balʔaa</i>	wide	<i>balʔ-i-s-</i>	cause to be wide
<i>gabaabaa</i>	short	<i>gabaab-s-</i>	cause to shorten
<i>guddaa</i>	big/large	<i>gudd-i-s-</i>	cause to grow
<i>dirribii</i>	coated	<i>dirrib-s-</i>	cause to be coated
<i>diimaa</i>	red	<i>diim-eff-</i>	cause to become red
<i>beela</i>	hungry	<i>beel-eff-</i>	cause to be hungry
<i>k'ullaa</i>	nude	<i>k'ull-eeff-</i>	cause to become nude/clean
<i>dʒabaa</i>	strong	<i>dʒab-eeff-</i>	cause to strengthen

Note that the verbalizer *-eff-* is used if the vowel precedes adjective's final consonant is long and *-eeff-* is used if the said vowel is short.

5.3.2.1.2. Middle Voice

The notion middle voice or middle has been used in a variety of senses: subject-reflexive interpretation and benefactive interpretation are among others (Mous 2012: 405). According to Payne (2006: 246), what all range of middle constructions have in common is that they involve valency decreasing function. He also defines the middle construction in general as it denotes a transitive situation in terms of the property of the patient-subject that contributes to the activity. Lyons (1968: 373) on the other hand describes middle voice as it is used to express events in which the 'action' or 'state' affects the subject of the verb. In the current study, however, the term middle is taken in a sense corresponding to that given in Kemmer (1994: 181) and

⁵³ Tolemariam (2009: 12, 70 and elsewhere) used *-(e)ess-* as a causative marker in Mecha Afaan Oromoo.

Shimelis (2014: 136), which states middle as a semantic category that is intermediate in transitivity between one-participant and two-participant events.

In Cushitic languages, the middle voice is very common derivational morphology (Mous 2004: 84; 2012: 405). It is mostly marked by “t (or related sounds)” in most east Cushitic languages (Mous 2004: 77). As a member of lowland east Cushitic, the middle derivation in Afaan Oromoo is marked by the suffix *-at-* (cf. Appleyard 2012: 242; Banti 2004: 5; Baye 1986: 55; Hayward 1975: 206; Owens 1985a: 170; Shimelis 2014: 137, and Tolemariam 2009: 70 among others). The middle marker *-at-* has a form *-add-* for first person singular (Owens 1985a: 170, and Tolemariam 2009: 80). This does not work for RAO. On the other hand, *-at-* may be realized *-at/itf-* when it occurs with palatalization (Shimelis 2014: 138). As reported by Tolemariam (2009: 80-81), the variety of Mecha also uses *-(a)ah-* and *-(o)om-* as middle markers in addition to vowel length in *-at-*. Here are his examples.

119. a. *ɖurg-aah-*
good smell-MID-
‘To give good smell’
- b. *soor-om-*
rich-MID
‘To become rich’

By briefly highlighting the most important issues of middle voice this much, let us look at RAO middle marker. To begin with, Tables 25, below, highlights the examples of middle voice in RAO variety at verb stem level. A further example that substantiate these verb stems sententially is given in [120]

Table 25. Middle Construction in RAO

Pre-MID Root/stem	Gloss	MID Affix	MID Verb Stem	Gloss
<i>bit-</i>	buy	<i>-at-</i>	<i>bit-at-</i>	buy for oneself
<i>dāl-</i>	give birth	<i>-at-</i>	<i>dāl-at-</i>	to be born
<i>dik'-</i>	wash	<i>-at-</i>	<i>dik'-at-</i>	wash oneself
<i>feʔ-</i>	load	<i>-at-</i>	<i>feʔ-at-</i>	load oneself
<i>gub-</i>	burn	<i>-at-</i>	<i>gub-at-</i>	to be burn(t)
<i>hid-</i>	jail/tie	<i>-at-</i>	<i>hid-at-</i>	tie for oneself
<i>daak-</i>	grind	<i>-at-</i>	<i>daakk-at-</i>	grind for oneself
<i>ʔeeg-</i>	wait	<i>-at-</i>	<i>ʔeegg-at-</i>	wait for oneself
<i>guur-</i>	collect	<i>-at-</i>	<i>guurr-at-</i>	collect for oneself
<i>haad-</i>	shave	<i>-at-</i>	<i>haadd-at-</i>	shave oneself
<i>hook'-</i>	itch	<i>-at-</i>	<i>hook'k'-at-</i>	itch oneself
<i>ʔoof-</i>	drive/mate (animal)	<i>-at-</i>	<i>ʔoof-at-</i>	drive for oneself/to be mate
<i>suuf-</i>	scent	<i>-at-</i>	<i>suuf-at-</i>	smell for oneself
<i>fuud-</i>	take/marry	<i>-at-</i>	<i>fud-at-</i>	take for oneself
<i>hirp'-</i>	subsidize	<i>-at-</i>	<i>hirp'-at-</i>	ask for subsidize
<i>ʔarg-</i>	see	<i>-at-</i>	<i>ʔarg-at-</i>	get for oneself
<i>guduuff-</i>	tie	<i>-at-</i>	<i>guduuff-at-</i>	tie(save) for oneself

As shown in Table 25, the dialect's middle verb stems are derived from the given verb roots/stems by the addition of affix *-at-*. If there is a long root vowel before the final consonants, then the middle verb stems are derived by geminating the final consonant of the given roots (consider *daak-*, *guur-*, *ʔeeg-*, *haad-*, and *hook'-* in Table 25). The same holds true for Hararghe variety (Shimelis 2014: 138). However, the final consonant /f/ remains unchanged for RAO (*ʔoof-* and *suuf-*). Additionally, the rule of geminating the final consonant does not apply to the verb root *fuud-*. Instead, the rule shortened the long vowel of the root like that of Hararghe's variety as reported by Shimelis (2014) is applied in the dialect. Consider the sentential examples of middle voice with middle verbs from the above table.

120. a. *dʒabana hajila sillaasee-n dāl-at-d-e* [*dāl-ad-d-e*]
 period haile silassie-1SG give birth-MID-1SG-PFV

‘I was born during the reign of Haile Silassie’

b. *ʔinni mataa dik’-at-Ø-e*

he.NOM head wash-MID-3SG.M-PFV

‘He washed his head’

c. *ʔoromo-itʃfa hin ʔarg-at-t-u*

Oromo-SGT NEG see-MID-2\3SG.F-NCM.IPFV

‘You/she (do/es) (will) not find the Oromo’

As apparent from example [120a-c], the middle marker, *-at-*, occurs after the verb root. Thus, it immediately succeeds person, number, and gender in the examples. Notice that in [120a] the marker is followed by *-d-* as the first person singular marker. Albeit the marker of first person singular on verb is Ø, it becomes *-d-* in middle verb construction. In some former works of Afaan Oromoo middle construction, as already mentioned, *-at-* in first person singular is replaced by *-add-*. However, *-add-* is a result of assimilation in RAO. Had it been a middle marker, it could have possibly been used with first person plural middle construction as in *dik’-add-n-e* (ungrammatical) but *dik’-at-n-e* [*dik’-an-n-e*] ‘we washed’.

In Afaan Oromoo, the middle form has a wider semantic range of functions (cf. Baye 1986: 136ff; Hayward 1975: 209ff; Mous 2004: 77ff; Shimelis 2014: 138ff and Tolemariam 2009: 77ff among others). Let us consider these functions in the dialect under study.

5.3.2.1.2.1. Autobenefactive Middle

The autobenefactive middle indicates that a subject performs something for a beneficiary of its own. Autobenefactive is a middle action in which the actor performs an action for her/his/their own benefit (Shimelis 2014: 196). It is the most productive sense of middle derivation in Afaan Oromoo. This holds true for the language’s variety under investigation. In example [121], the bolded affix indicates that the action encoded by the verb is beneficial in some way to the subject.

121. a. *ʔisii-n buna danf-i-s-at-t-e*

her-NOM coffee boil-ep-TRR-AUBV-3SG.F-PFV

‘She boiled a coffee for her own benefit’

b. *ʔani datʃtʃee fiud-at-d-e* [*fiud-ad-d-e/fudaddē*]

I.NOM land take\marry-AUBV-1SG-PFV

‘I took a land for my benefit’

Both the verb stems/roots with which the autobenefactive middle affixes occur in example [121a-b] are transitivised/transitive. The first stem *danfis-* is transitivised by *-s-*, whereas the root *fiud* ‘take’ is transitive. Therefore, the autobenefactive middle affix may be used to drive only transitive roots/stems of the dialect. As described by Mous (2012: 405) the notion subject-reflexive can be used instead of autobenefactive middle. Of course, an autobenefactive middle marker may need a reflexive clause to become subject-reflexive in RAO variety. For instance in [121b], the doer of the action is not clear unless the reflexive *ʔufii* ‘self’ is added to it like; *ʔani ʔufii datʃtʃee fudaddē* ‘I my self took a land for my benefit’. If not, the doer may be an other person. In *fudaddē*, the long *-uu* becomes shortened after the addition of autobenefactive marker.

5.3.2.1.2.2. Inchoative (Verbalization Through *-(a)at/w-*)

Inchoative derivation is denominal and/or deadjectival verbalizer(s). The inchoative event view represents the patient as starting point of the event as well, and thus is also interpreted as controller of the action, or at least no subject to any external cause (Croft 1994: 103). Accordingly, inchoative construction represents the middle voice. In Afaan Oromoo, particularly in RAO variety, inchoative verb is derived by suffixation. Thus, the suffixes *-(a)at-* and *-(a)aw-* are used to derive verbs from nouns and/or adjectives giving them the meaning ‘to a change of state or entering a state’ or ‘to become’. The marker *-(a)at-* functions with both nouns and adjectives, whereas *-(a)aw-* is used only with adjectives. In addition to verbalization, *-aat-* can be rarely used in middle voice with verb root like in, *dʒir-aat-t-e* (exist\live-MID-2SG\3SG.F-PFV). Even as an inchoative marker, this marker is rarely used in the dialect. The marker *-aw-* on the other hand used only once in the database. Table 26 and Table 27 present inchoative verbs from nouns and adjectives, respectively.

Table 26. Verbalization of Nouns through -(a)at- (Inchoative Verbs from Nouns)

Noun	Gloss	Inchoative Verb Stem	Gloss
<i>dzaala</i>	accomplice	<i>dzaal-at-</i>	love
<i>hagooga</i>	veil	<i>hagoogg-at-</i>	masked/veil oneself
<i>hamma</i>	range	<i>hamm-aat-</i>	become difficult
<i>dubbii</i>	speech	<i>dubb-at-</i>	speak
<i>dzilbiibbii</i>	kneel	<i>dzilbiibb-at-</i>	kneel oneself
<i>mulʔii</i>	revelation	<i>mulʔ-at-</i>	become seen
<i>raawii</i>	accomplishment	<i>raaww-at-</i>	to be accomplished
<i>dungoo</i>	kissing	<i>dung-at-</i>	to be kissed
<i>rakkoo</i>	trouble	<i>rakk-at-</i>	to be troubled
<i>deebuu</i>	thirst	<i>deeb-at-</i>	to be thirsted for...

As can be seen in Table 26, *-at-* is used in inchoative construction by lengthen its vowel, *hamm-aat-*. This does not happen in middle construction with *-at-*. However, it happens in inchoative derivation from adjective as inferred in Table 27, *dzabaat-*.

Table 27. Verbalization of Adjectives through -(a)at/w- (INCH Verbs from Adjectives)

Adjective	Gloss	Inchoative Verb Stem	Gloss
<i>hap'p'ii</i>	slight	<i>hap'p'-at-</i>	become slight
<i>hoosa</i>	bad	<i>hoos-at-</i>	become pale
<i>salp'aa</i>	light	<i>salp'-at-</i>	become light
<i>dzabaa</i>	strong	<i>dzab-aat-</i>	strengthen
<i>gabaabaa</i>	short	<i>gabaabb-at-</i>	shorten
<i>beela</i>	hungry	<i>beel-aw-</i>	to be hungry
<i>k'abbana</i>	cool	<i>k'abban-aaw-</i>	become cold
<i>k'ullaa</i>	nude	<i>k'ull-aaw-</i>	become nude
<i>ʔulfa</i>	pregnant	<i>ʔulf-aaw-</i>	become pregnant
<i>matʔiʔii</i>	drunk	<i>matʔiʔ-aaw-</i>	to be drunk

5.3.2.1.3. Passive

Passive is a verb mostly applies to transitive verb and derives intransitive with the original object becoming subject (Shimelis 2014: 126). As Dixon (2012: 219) describes, the underlying agent of the transitive verb is demoted to the periphery and may optionally be omitted, since the primary function of passive verb is to focus on a resultant state rather than the action that led up to it. For instance, in *reʔee-n gorraʔ-am-Ø-e* glossed as a goat slaughtered, the focus of the sentence is on the activity of slaughtering, and the emphasis here is to specify what is being slaughtered; that is the patient-goat. There must be some agent, but their identity may be either obvious or unimportant. Thus, passive is a valency decreasing device as it permits the omission of the agent from the set of core arguments.

Based on language typology, passivization may occur by lexical, morphological and/or analytical derivation (Shimelis 2014: 126). In Afaan Oromoo, it is expressed morphologically (Wondwosen 2012: 12) with *-am-* affixation (Baye 1986: 133; Shimelis 2014: 130; Temesgen 1993: 28, and Tolemariam 2009: 99 among others). In Table 28, passivization of RAO are provided.

Table 28. Passivization in RAO

Root/stem	Gloss	Passive Marker	Passivized Verb	Gloss
<i>ban-</i>	open	<i>-am-</i>	<i>ban-am-e</i>	was open
<i>dug-</i>	drink	<i>-am-</i>	<i>dug-am-e</i>	was drunk
<i>fid-</i>	bring	<i>-am-</i>	<i>fid-am-e</i>	was brought
<i>gorraʔ-</i>	slaughter	<i>-am-</i>	<i>gorraʔ-am-e</i>	was slaughtered
<i>kalak'-</i>	create	<i>-am-</i>	<i>kalak'-am-e</i>	was created
<i>kenn-</i>	give	<i>-am-</i>	<i>kenn-am-e</i>	was given
<i>daak-</i>	grind	<i>-am-</i>	<i>daakk-am-e</i>	was ground
<i>ʔijaar-</i>	build	<i>-am-</i>	<i>ʔijaarr-am-e</i>	was built
<i>haad-</i>	shave	<i>-am-</i>	<i>haadd-am-e</i>	was shaven
<i>waam-</i>	call	<i>-am-</i>	<i>waamm-am-e</i>	was called

As analysed in Table 28, the passive marker *-am*⁵⁴ immediately follows a transitive verb root/stem. In this table, the passive marker *-am* is attached to the verb roots/stems from *ban-* to *kenn-* without any modification, whereas in the last four verb roots/stems (*daak-* to *waam-*) it induces the gemination of final consonants for the same reason that we mentioned in the middle voice. On the other hand, there are cases where passives are derived from transitivized or causativized or middle verbs. Consider the examples in [122].

122. a. *tf'ab-s-am-* [*tf'ab-f⁵⁵-am*]
 break-TRR-PASS-
 ‘To be broken’ (RAOM2 130)
- b. *god-am-* vs *god-at-am-*
 make-PASS make-MID-PASS
 ‘To be made’ ‘To be made for one’s own benefit’
- c. *k'ab-am-* vs *k'ab-at-am-*
 hold\have-PASS hold\have-MID-PASS
 ‘To be held/subdued’ ‘To be held/controlled for one’s own benefit’
 (RAOM2 065)

As can be observed from [122a], the root of the first passivized verb stem is intransitive verb before transitivization. On the other hand, in [122b-c], the bases of both verbs are transitive and they form their passives in two ways: with and without middle marker. In general, as already mentioned, unlike causative derivation, passivization in Afaan Oromoo is a valency decreasing device.

⁵⁴ The use of *-am-* as passive marker is quite common for several Cushitic languages of Ethiopia (Hadiyyaa (Tadesse 2015: 123); Konso (Ongaye 2013: 146); Sidaama (Kawachi 2007: 333); Diraytata (Wondowesen 2006: 112), and Gawwada (Geberew 2003: 51) are among others).

⁵⁵ In Afaan Oromoo, the transitivizer/causativizer *-s-* changes to *-f-* when it precedes the passivizer *-am-* (Shimelis 2014: 132).

5.3.2.1.4. Reflexive

The reflexive situation occurs when some one directs an activity or feeling towards him/herself/themself (Dixon 2012: 168). Therefore, reflexive derivation requires one actor as an agent and at the same time as a patient. According to Shimelis (2009: 2), reflexive is a valency decreasing operation in Afaan Oromoo. Reflexive construction is morphologically marked by the prefix *ʔif-* ‘self’ in Hararghe dialect (Shimelis 2009: 6; 2014: 139), whereas the reflexivizer *ʔuf* ‘self’ encodes it in RAO as exemplified in [123].

123. a. *ʔisii-n ʔuf maam-t-e*
her-NOM REFL call-3SG.F-PFV
‘She called herself’
- b. *ʔisii-n lafa=tti ʔuf rig-t-e [rigde]*
her-NOM land=LOC REFL rub-3SG.F-PFV
‘She rubbed herself to the ground’
- c. *ʔinni mataa ʔuf dik'-Ø-e*
he.NOM head REFL wash-3SG.M-PFV
‘He washed his head by himself’

5.3.2.1.5. Reciprocal

Reciprocal is an entailment from the function coding the simultaneous activity of the participants (Frajzyngier 2012: 587). Accordingly, reciprocal derivation needs more than one agent in a manner ‘A’ acts in a certain way towards ‘B’, and ‘B’ acts in the same way towards ‘A’ (Dixon 2012: 168). It is valency decreasing operation in Afaan Oromoo (Shimelis 2009: 2). The language uses *wal-* ‘each other’ in combined with verbs to derive reciprocal construction (Shimelis 2009: 9). For RAO reciprocal construction, consider the examples in [124].

124. a. *wal-ʔarraba-s-i-n-e [walʔarrabsine]*
RECP-tounge-TRR-ep-1PL-PFV
‘We insulted each other’

b. *wal-dzaala-t-u*

RECP-love-2PL-IPFV

‘They love each other’

c. *wal-dzaala-at-n-e* [*dzaalanne*]

RECP-love-INCH-1PL-PFV

‘We love each other’

As can be observed from the above examples, the verbs combined with *wal-* indicate coreferentiality among the subject and object of the construction. On the other hand, if a ‘reciprocal situation’ is stated by a “conjunction of two clauses built up according to general clause-linkage rules of the language”, the construction will not be considered an example of reciprocal (Maslova 2000: 167-168). For instance, the reciprocal sentence in [124c] can be rewrite as *ʔani ʔisii dzaaladde, ʔisiinis na dzaalatte* ‘I love here, and she loves me’ cross-coreferentially. The reading is symmetric with respect to participation rather than reciprocal. Notice that *wal-* can be combined with other word classes rather than verbs in RAO to show reciprocal construction as in *walitti dubbatu* ‘they speak to each other’. In this sentence *wal-* is combined to adposition, *ʔitti*.

5.3.2.2. Other ways of Verb Derivation

There are two additional ways used to derive verbs with new functions in RAO. These are reduplication and derivation from ideophone. The following sections deal with these issues.

5.3.2.2.1. Reduplication

Reduplication is the repetition of part or all of one linguistic constituent to form a new constituent with a different function. It is used to express notions such as frequency, habitual, and pluraction in Cushitic languages (Mous 2013: 95). As described by Mous (2012: 357, and 2013: 96), reduplication occurs lexically and grammatically in this language family. The lexical reduplication is presumptively often the result of grammatical reduplication. In the Cushitic languages, grammatical reduplication is prominent in plural formation of adjective and noun, and frequentative and repetitive formations of verbs (Mous 2012: 358; 2013: 128, and Downing and Mous 2011: 107). Cushitic languages family has a rich variety of reduplication patterns

(Downing and Mous 2011: 82). Typologically, Mous (2013: 97-98) identified three typical reduplication patterns in Cushitic: initial CVC- copying, final -C copying and internal reduplication. The pattern C_1VC_1 (i.e. C_1V_1 - copy with gemination of initial consonant when that is phonologically allowed) reduplication with its variant C_1V_1 - is a common reduplication pattern among a number of Cushitic languages.

In Hararghe variety of the language, Shimelis (2014: 82ff) identifies two types of verbs for reduplication: type I and II. Both types of verbs have two subcategories each. As to him, type I contains verb roots beginning with $C_1V_1C_2$ - (Type Ia) and $C_1V_1V_1C_2$ - (Type Ib), whereas type II includes verb roots begin with $C_1V_1C_2C_{2/3}$ - (Type IIa) and $C_1V_1V_1C_2$ - (Type IIb). He analyzed type I verbs with two alternatives. Copying and prefixing the initial C_1V_1 - of the root followed by a gemination of root initial consonant is the first alternative (e.g. *da.ddarb*- ‘throw repeatedly’ from *darb*- ‘throw’ and *gu.gguut*- ‘fill repeatedly’ from *guut*- ‘fill’), while initial $C_1V_1C_2$ - copying from the target and prefixing it to the target verb with full assimilation of C_2 to C_1 is the second alternative (e.g. *darb*- ‘throw’ to *dar.darb*- [*dad.darb*-] ‘throw repeatedly’ and *guut*- ‘fill’ to *gut-guut*- [*gug.guut*-] ‘fill repeatedly’). Note that shortening long vowels are reported for both alternatives.

Diachronically, Shimelis takes the reduplication of adjectives as an example and claims the second alternative as a workable reduplication for type I verb roots/stems. Without mentioning why, Mous (2013: 122) on the other hand, claims that in few Cushitic languages such as Afaan Oromoo, Dahalo and Konso $C_1V_1C_2$ - reduplication does not occur. In type II verbs of Shimelis (2014: 83) on the other hand, copying the initial CV- from a verb and prefixing it to the verb itself is the only way of reduplication (e.g. *bak’ak*- ‘split’ to *bak’.bak’ak*- [*bab.bak’ak*- ‘split at several places’]).

Relying on these introductory facts, let us consider the following reduplication patterns with examples. Note that for the purpose of our description, we have used synchronic phenomena found in our database.

5.3.2.2.1.1. C₁V₁- Reduplication Pattern

In the Cushitic languages such as Konso, Dhaasanac, Rendille and Somali copying C₁V₁-reduplication is a phonologically conditioned variant of copying C₁V₁C₁- reduplication (Mous 2013: 120). A number of languages from the family on the other hand have C₁V₁- reduplication unconditionally. A case in point is Borana and Waata Afaan Oromoo dialects (Stroemer 1995). However, in other dialects of the language, the same function may be expressed by C₁V₁C₁-reduplication (Mous 2013: 119). A set of examples in [125] show the reduplication pattern C₁V₁- in RAO.

125.	Root/stem	Gloss	Derived Stem	Gloss
a.	<i>ʔur-</i>	bore	<i>ʔu-ʔur-</i>	bore repeatedly (PLAC)
b.	<i>heerum-</i>	marry	<i>he-heerum-</i>	divorce repeatedly(for female) (PLAC)
c.	<i>kaʔ-</i>	stand	<i>ka-kaʔ-</i>	stand (PLAC)/startle/motivate
d.	<i>daabbat-</i>	stop	<i>da-daabbat-</i>	stop (PLAC)
e.	<i>marʔat-</i>	bellow	<i>ma-marʔat-</i>	bellow repeatedly/bellow (PLAC)

In example [125a-b], the copying reduplication prefixes C₁V₁- seem a phonologically conditioned variant of C₁V₁C₁- since the two initial consonants (/ʔ/ and /h/) of the roots are non-geminated. On the other hand, the pattern of copying and prefixing C₁V₁- reduplication to geminate qualified consonants is clearly specified in examples [125c-e]. Therefore, this pattern is well attested in the dialect to express reduplication. In [125], pluractionality, which is a verbal derivation that indicates the plurality of the action and/or of the patient (either object of a transitive verb or subject of an intransitive), is involved. Pluractionality is also reported for the Cushitic language Konso (Ongaye 2013: 153).

5.3.2.2.1.2. C₁V₁C₁- Reduplication Pattern

Some scholars treated the pattern C₁V₁C₁-copying and prefixing reduplication differently. For instance, Tosco (2001) as reported in Mous (2013: 103), it is considered as a subtype of C₁V₁C₂-with deletion of C₂ and compensatory gemination for the Dhaasanac language. For Somali, on the other hand, C₁V₁C₁-copying is analyzed as a variant of C₁V₁-reduplication pattern due to phonological processes (e.g. *dʒaban* ‘broken’ to *dʒadʒaban* ‘broken in pieces,

and *džaran* ‘chopped’ to *džardžaran* ‘chopped up’) (Saeed 1999: 50). Still another approach to C₁V₁C₁-reduplication is that of Shimelis’s (2014: 82ff) analysis of Hararghe Afaan Oromo which deals with the C₁V₁C₁- from a diachronic perspective (cf. § 5.3.2.2.1 introduction).

In the pattern C₁V₁C₁-copying and prefixing reduplication, the first consonant of the root/stem copied twice, whereas the vowel next to the first consonant copied once. Note that the long vowels are shortened as attested in a number of Cushitic languages. The C₁V₁C₁-reduplication pattern is productive in the dialect under study as seen in examples [126].

126.	Root	Gloss	Derived Stem	Gloss
a.	<i>k’ab-</i>	hold\have	<i>k’ak’-k’ab-</i>	hold intensively, arrive
b.	<i>tf’uf-</i>	close	<i>tf’utf’-tf’uf-</i>	close repeatedly, close all
c.	<i>darb-</i>	pass	<i>dad-darb-</i>	throw repeatedly, push aside
d.	<i>miitf’tf’-</i>	wash	<i>mim-miitf’tf’-</i>	wash repeatedly, wash all
e.	<i>guuf-</i>	slant	<i>gug-guuf-</i>	stood
f.	<i>maam-</i>	call	<i>mam-maam-</i>	call repeatedly, call all

As can be observed from [126a-f], the pattern C₁V₁C₁- copying and prefixing reduplication is used to form derived stems in RAO. However, in [126d-f] the copied vowels are shortened. The verb roots in [126a-b] are C₁V₁C₂- pattern that is similar to the verb root of C₁V₁- reduplicants like *kaʔ-* ‘stand’. On the other hand, the verb roots of [126c-d] are C₁V₁C₂C₃- and C₁V₁V₁C₂C₂-, respectively. The verbs in [126e-f] have root patterns C₁V₁V₁C₂-. Though generating a general rule for all such root patterns reduplication needs vast investigation, both shape and meaning of the reduplicant can be accounted equally. Moravcsik (2004: 315) who states that in reduplication reference is always made both to the meaning and to the sound form of the constituent to be reduplicated supports this view.

5.3.2.2.1.3. Double Reduplication

In RAO, we came across little double reduplication. As described by Moravcsik (2004: 321), the occurrences of multiple reduplication in many languages or maybe in all are possible. Below are examples of double reduplication in the study’s focusing dialect.

127. Root	Gloss	Derived Stem	Double Derived Stem	Gloss
a. <i>tuk'</i> -	touch	<i>tut-tuk'</i> -	<i>tu-tut-tuk'</i> -	touch repeatedly
b. <i>tf'it</i> -	sever	<i>tf'itf'-tf'it</i> -	<i>tf'i- tf'i tf'-tf'it</i> -	tear to bits repeatedly
c. <i>tf'uf</i> -	close	<i>tf'utf'- tf'uf</i> -	<i>tf'u-tf'u tf'-tf'uf</i> -	close repeatedly, close all

In [127], the first derived stems are reduplicated by C₁V₁C₁- copying and prefixing patterns, whereas the double derived stems are reduplicated by C₁V₁- copying and prefixing patterns. As can be observed from the examples, the additional reduplications reinforced the degree of emphasis and change of form.

5.3.2.2.2. Derivation from ideophone

Verbs can also be derived from ideophones in Afaan Oromoo (Shimelis 2014: 288). As he states, the two auxiliary verbs used with ideophones in the Hararghe variety of the language are *dʒed*- ‘say’ and *god*- ‘make/do’. This holds true for RAO. This is illustrated in [128] and [129], where the derived verb co-occurs with its ideophonic source.

128. Ideophones	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
a. <i>lib</i>	-	<i>lib dʒed</i> -	being out of sight suddenly
b. <i>bir</i>	-	<i>bir dʒed</i> -	woken up unexpectedly, fly away
c. <i>gib</i>	sound hit	<i>gib dʒed</i> -	fallen
d. <i>t'ab</i>	sound of drip	<i>t'ab dʒed</i> -	demount/get down
e. <i>guf</i>	crouch	<i>guf dʒed</i> -	sit
f. <i>hiʔi</i>	sound of saying no	<i>hiʔi dʒed</i> -	deny
g. <i>tf'am</i>	sound chewing	<i>tf'am dʒed</i> -	became tasty

In all the examples [128a-g], the ideophones precede the auxiliary verb *dʒed*- ‘say’. The same holds true for the auxiliary verb *god*- ‘make’ as in the following examples.

129. Ideophone	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
a. <i>lat'</i>	-	<i>lat' god</i> -	to take abruptly, jolt
b. <i>tf'arir</i>	sound of tearing	<i>tf'arir god</i> -	tear/rip
c. <i>t'ab</i>	sound of drip	<i>t'ab god</i> -	drop

d. <i>kim</i>	sound of beating drum(loan)	<i>kim god-</i>	hit
e. <i>gib</i>	sound of hitting	<i>gib god-</i>	hit, kill
f. <i>ɖududud</i>	sound of liquid flow	<i>ɖududud god-</i>	add (of heavy mass)
g. <i>dirgim</i>	- (loan ideophone)	<i>dirgim god-</i>	destroy, switch off light

As is apparent from the examples in [129], some ideophones are loan ideophones. The derived forms in [128] are used as intransitive verbs, whereas that of [129] are functioned as transitive verbs. It seems that the transitivity or intransitivity depends up on the auxiliary verbs. In both [128] and [129], only the second member of the composite verb undergoes agreement change like *guf dʒede* ‘I/He sat down’, *guf dʒedan* ‘They sat down’ etc.

In addition to ideophone plus auxiliary, composite verbs can be formed from preverb plus verb as in *ɖol(i) + dʒed-Ø-e* gives *ɖoldʒede* ‘he took upright position’ in Hararghe Afaan Oromoo (Shimelis 2014: 215). Similarly, in RAO, though examples like *gad* ‘down’, *diis-* ‘abandon’ forms *gaddiis-* ‘leave’ and *gara* ‘to’, *gal-* ‘enter’ forms *garagal-* ‘return’ are very rare, they exist as a composite verbs.

5.4. Summary

This chapter presents the RAO verb morphology from the viewpoint of structure, type, and properties of verbs. Structurally, CVC in monosyllabic and C₁V₁C₂V₂C₃ in disyllabic verb roots are attested as the most common structures of the dialect. Transitive versus intransitive, action versus stative, and copula verbs are discussed under the verb types. Properties of RAO verbs are discussed in two major sections: inflection and derivation. In inflection, agreement, aspect/tense, and mood are presented. Agreement is treated in terms of person, number, and gender. Concerning aspect/tense markers, perfective and imperfective aspects are identified. In affirmative, all persons except second and third person plurals, which are marked by -Ø, are marked perfective by -e. -e also marks all persons in negative perfective construction. In imperfective construction, -a, -i, and -u in main clause and -u, and -Ø in subordinate clause are used to mark the aspect. Indicative, imperative, and jussive moods are also presented in the verb inflection of the dialect.

In verbalization, valency changing operations such as causative, middle, passive, reflexive, and reciprocal are discussed with illustrative examples. The first device, causative, is a valency reduction operation, whereas the rest are valency increasing devices. Other ways of verb derivations such as reduplication and derivation from idiophone are also discussed.

Chapter Six

Nominal and Verbal Modifiers

6.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with modifiers of nouns and verbs in RAO, namely adjective (§ 6.1), numeral (§ 6.2), demonstrative (§ 6.3), intensifier and quantifier (§ 6.4), and adverb (§ 6.5). Relative clause and converb are subsumed under the syntax in sections 9.4 and 9.7, respectively.

6.1. Adjective

Adjective is a word that either modifies a noun in NP or functions as the complement of a copula verb⁵⁶ (Payne 2011: 228). Languages differ in the way they use adjectival concept (Dryer 2007b: 168). This makes adjective a more difficult class to recognize as distinct category (Dixon 2004: 9). In the Cushitic languages, though the category of adjective is not clear-cut, there is an evidence for an independent category of it in a number of languages (Mous 2012: 377). For instance, Baye (1986: 49) argues for an independent category of adjective in Afaan Oromoo on the bases of the fact that it has different distributions that are distinct from verbals and nominals of the language. Moreover, he states that there are also morphological features that distinguish adjective class from noun category (1986: 51). Thus, one can say that this language undoubtedly has a word class of adjective (cf. Banti 1988b, and Baye 1986).

In Afaan Oromoo, adjective is typically smaller than nouns and verbs in terms of number. This feature is common in some languages, for instance, according to Creissels et al. (2008: 125), a number of African languages have a category adjective that consists a very small number of words even less than ten. In the following subsection of (6.1), inflections, derivations, and semantic properties of RAO adjectives are discussed.

⁵⁶ Our objective in this section is to describe how property concepts or qualities are expressed in RAO and present their grammatical properties, and for complement function see section 3.2.3.

6.1.1. Inflection

Similar to nouns, Afaan Oromoo adjectives also inflect for number, gender, case (Baye 1986: 52, and Shimelis 2014: 7) and definiteness (Baye 1981: 14; Debela 2011: 39, and Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 30)-they use *-itffa* in citation form. According to Mous (2012: 378) and Stroomer (1995: 53, 55), on the other hand, adjectives of the language inflect only for number and gender. Below, we discuss the inflection of adjectives for number (§ 6.1.1.1), gender (§ 6.1.1.2) and case (§ 6.1.1.3). RAO adjectives are not inflected for definiteness.

6.1.1.1. Number

In Cushitic languages, number agreement in adjectives is quite common (Mous 2008: 140). As already stated in noun inflection, Afaan Oromoo has a two-way distinction in number is relevant grammatically, viz. between the singular and plural number (Baye 1986: 278ff; Shimelis 2014: 10, and Stroomer 1995: 39). Additionally, there are two less frequent numbers, namely, collective and singulative (Baye 1986, and Shimelis 2014). Similarly this holds true for RAO. Adjectives of the dialect show plural agreement through affixation and/or reduplication as exemplified in [130].

130. a. *ʔilmaan kee duree-jjii-Ø-an* [*dureejjan*] *haa taʔ-Ø-an*
children your rich-PL-3-PL JUSS become-3-PL
'Let your children become rich'
- b. *ʔabba t'inn-oota koo ʔoromoo-n ʔirraa bad-uu dʒir-a*
father small-PL my Oromo-NOM from disappear-VNM exist-IPFV
'The young generation is on the way to forget Afaan Oromoo'
- c. *k'a-k'all-aa*
RDP-thin-M
'Many thin (masculine) (things)'
- d. *did-diim-aa* or *did-diim-oo*
RDP-red-M RDP-red-PL
'Many red (things) (plural)' ([Audio C₂ 2m33.78-2m34.26ms](#))

As can be seen from examples in [130a-b], *-jjii* and *-oota* ⁵⁷are used to pluralize the adjectives whereas reduplication in [130c-d] show the plurative of the given adjectives. In [130d] the plural marker *-oo* is suffixing along reduplication. The C₁V₁C₁ reduplication in this example results in the gemination of the root initial consonant (cf. § 5.3.2.2.1.2). As described by Banti (1988b: 229), *-oo* “occurs alone or together with reduplication” in other Afaan Oromoo varieties. According to him, the formation of the plural in adjectives has a high degree of difference across Afaan Oromoo varieties. In the dialect under study, most adjectives form their plural forms through reduplication with the suffixation of *-oo* or *-oota*. Pluralization of adjectives by affixation only is very rare. In this dialect, almost all adjectives can form their plural by reduplication processes.

On the other hand, in Mecha Afaan Oromoo, most adjectives form their plural by adding the suffix *-ota*, and reduplication (Baye 1981: 7, 9) as *gurraatftota* ‘black (plural)’ is inflected from *gurraatfta* ‘black’ and plural marker *-ota*. As concluded by Baye, adjectives of the dialect fall into four categories per their inflected and pluralized features. The categories are a) uninflected adjectives (e.g. *haaraa* ‘new’) b) inflected adjectives by suffixing *-ota* only (e.g. *hamoota* from *hamaa* ‘bad/evil’ and *-oota* c) inflected adjectives by reduplication (e.g. *babbak’ak’aa* from *bak’akaa* ‘ragged’ via reduplication), and d) inflected adjectives by both suffixation and reduplication (e.g. *gugurraatftota* from *gurraatfta* ‘black’) (1981: 10). On the other hand, Debela (2011: 40) summarizes some studies of scholars on different Afaan Oromoo varieties including Waata variety in Kenya, and reports as plural is marked by the markers *-ota*, *-jjii*, and *-oo*, and by reduplication of the first syllable. According to Debela, all scholars working on adjectives agree on morphologically marked plural number of the language’s adjectives.

Regarding the less frequent numbers, only singulative is attested in RAO adjective inflection as referred in example [131]. The singulative marker *-attii* is not attested in adjective class.

⁵⁷ The suffix *-oota*, as already mentioned, follows a syllable with short vowel, whereas *-ota* follows a syllable with long vowel.

131. a. <i>gurraa-tftfa</i>	vs	<i>gurraa-tftfa-iftfa</i> [<i>gurraat/iftiftfa</i>]
black-M		black-M-SGT
‘a black (masculine)’		‘the particular black (masculine)’
b. <i>gurraa-ttii</i>	vs	<i>gurraa-ttii-ittii</i> [<i>gurraattittii</i>]
black-F		black-F-SGT
‘a black (feminine)’		‘the particular black (feminine)’

6.1.1.2. Gender

Though gender agreement on adjectives is not very common among the Cushitic languages, where it occurs it takes different formal markers from other agreement on nominal modifiers (Mous 2008: 143). In fact, as already mentioned, Afaan Oromoo adjectives are inflected for gender. Let us consider the RAO gender inflection in adjectives with the following examples.

132. Masculine	Feminine	Gloss
a. <i>dulla-tftfa</i>	<i>dulla-ttii</i> ⁵⁸	old
b. <i>gurraa- tftfa</i>	<i>gurraa-ttii</i>	black
c. <i>duree-ffa</i>	<i>duree-ttii</i>	rich
d. <i>gudd-aa</i>	<i>gudd-oo</i>	big
e. <i>t’inn-aa</i>	<i>t’inn-oo</i>	small
f. <i>diim-aa</i>	<i>diim-tuu</i>	red
g. <i>lalis-aa</i>	<i>lalis-tuu</i>	flourishing

The examples in [132] show gender markers of adjectives in in the dialect. Masculine is marked with *-tftfa*, *-ffa*, and *-aa*, whereas feminine is indicated by *-ttii*, *-oo*, and *-tuu* (cf. Banti 1988b; Baye 1981; Gragg 1976; Griefenow-Mewis 2001, Mohammed and Zaborski 1990, and Stroemer 1995 among others for the other Afaan Oromoo varieties). From a close examination of the set of examples in [132a-g], one cannot easily generalize about the distribution of these markers like for instance, the masculine marker *-tftfa*, attaches to roots end in non-mid-front

⁵⁸ In the other Afaan Oromoo varieties, for instance in Tulema, *dullatftfa/ttii* is used for animals only. However, in RAO it is used for both animals and human beings. For human beings, *dzaar-sa/-tii* ‘old man/woman’ is also used in the dialect. Both gender markers are only attested here in the dialect.

vowels (cf Baye 1981: 11 for Mecha variety of the language). Since, this rule is not compatible with some adjectives such as *dotii* ‘green’, *habajaa* ‘abeyant’, and *ɖadii* ‘white’. It is difficult to formulate a general rule for gender markers of adjectives in this dialect. This seems true for the other dialects of Afaan Oromoo as Debela (2011: 39) states that none of the “scholars made any generalization about the distribution of the gender markers” in adjective.

Adjectives, such as *gadee* ‘rubbish/bad’, *dotii* ‘green’, *abajaa* ‘abeyant’, and *ɖadii* ‘white’, do not make distinction between masculine and feminine as Griefenow-Mewis (2001: 28) states for the other Afaan Oromoo varieties too. As she claims, adjectives that end in long vowel other than *-aa*, *-oo*, and *-uu*, and short vowel *-a* (suffixes *-eessa* and *-aatftfa* are exceptional; e.g. *gurraatftfa* ‘black.M’ vs *gurraattii* ‘black.F’) do not make gender distinction as *tf’ollee* ‘an active horse’ is used for both genders. However, in the case of RAO, there are adjectives ending in a long vowel *-aa* and *-oo*, but without gender distinction as for instance, *habajaa* ‘abeyant’, *k’ullaa* ‘bare’ and *fokkuu* ‘ugly’.

6.1.1.3. Case

In RAO, case marking on adjectives is attested. In Mecha Afaan Oromoo too, as Baye (1981: 12 and 1986: 52) states, accusative is not marked but *-n* on adjectives mark nominative as *gurraattii-n* ‘black.F-NOM’. In Hararghe Afaan Oromoo on the other hand, the nominative case markers on adjectives are *-n*, *-ii*, *-nii* and *-tii* (Owens 1985a: 100-101). In RAO, *-n* marks nominative case in adjectives as illustrated in [133] (regarding the attachment rule cf. §3.1.4.1).

133.a. *ɖoromoo-itftf-i-n* [*ɖoromitftfin*] *k’ulk’ulluu-n* *bad-Ø-e*

Oromo-SGT-ep-NOM pure-NOM disappear-3SG.M-PFV
‘The pure Oromo disappeared’

b. *mutf’-attii* *diim-tuu* *k’all-oo-n* *haf-t-e*

boy/girl-SGT red-F thin-F-NOM AUX:NEG\remain-3SG.F-PFV
‘The slim red girl was absent’

c. *magaala-n-i* [*magaalli*] *godaan-Ø-e*

brown-NOM-ep move-3SG.M-PFV
‘The brown moved away’

As can be observed from [133a], nominative agreement of the structure is marked both on the head noun and on its modifier, adjectives. In [133b], two modifiers are there, which refer to the head noun. The two semantic types are color and size. The nominative marker attaches to the second modifier, whereas the head noun appends only singulative marker. The difference between [133a] and [133b] is the number of adjectives in the noun phrases. Though it needs more investigation, it seems that if there is only one adjective in a given noun phrase, the nominative marker attaches both to the head noun and adjective. In [133c] on the other hand, the position of subject is filled by the adjective *magaala*. Although noun is lacking there, the entity being understood is not the brownness, but ‘something else which is brown’. The adjective inflects for nominative case in the absence of head noun/subject.

In addition to the nominative case, adjectives in RAO rarely inflect for other four cases as referred in [134].

134. a. *mahabbaa-n* *hamaa-dā*
 longing desire-NOM courageous\bad-COP
 ‘The longing desire is bad’
- b. *duree-ffa-f* *kenn-Ø-e*
 rich-ADJR.M-DAT give-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He gave to a wealthy’
- c. *bijja* *fagoo=rraa duf-Ø-e*
 country far=from come-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He came from far country’
- d. *wajjaa ʔadii-daa-n*
 cloth white-COP.EMPH-INST
 ‘With white cloth,...’ ([RAOM2 096](#))
- e. *ʔisa diimaa=rra* [diimarra] *dʒir-Ø-a*
 him red=on exist-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘It is on a red’

The absolutive case in adjective is also a citation form [134a] like that of noun. In [134b] the adjective *dureeffa* is inflected for dative case. Ablative, instrumental, and locative cases are marked in the dialect as exemplified in [134c-e], respectively. In Mecha Afaan Oromoo, dative and instrumental cases are analysed in adjective by Baye (1981: 13-14).

6.1.2. Derivation

There are generally derivational processes that form derived adjectives from various word classes (Dixon 2004: 10). According to Givón (2001: 86), the most adjectives in many languages are derived adjectives. Like noun, adjective in Afaan Oromoo can be derived from root by affixing *-aa* (Baye 1981: 23, and Shimelis 2014: 27). As presented in the following examples, adjectives are formed from verb and noun roots in the RAO.

135. Roots	Gloss	Affixes (M/F)	Derived Adj.(M/F)	Gloss
a. <i>dab-</i>	bend	<i>-aa/-tuu</i>	<i>dab-aa/duu</i>	crooked/bent
b. <i>tf'alalak'-</i>	glitter	<i>-aa/-tuu</i>	<i>tf'alalak'-aa/t'uu</i>	glittery
c. <i>kidzib-</i>	lie	<i>-aa/-tuu</i>	<i>kidzib-aa/duu</i>	mendacious
d. <i>tol-</i>	be nice	<i>-aa/-tuu</i>	<i>tol-aa/tuu</i>	generous
e. <i>k'adzeel-</i>	straighten	<i>-aa/-tuu</i>	<i>k'adzeel-aa/tuu</i>	straight

In all the examples in [135], *-aa* and *-tuu* are affixed to roots of verbs/nouns/adjectives to derive masculine and feminine adjectives, respectively. Notice the progressive assimilation of voice in [123a-c]. Except in [135e], the verb roots/stems, which are used to derive adjectives, overlap with nouns [135a-b] or adjectives [135c-d] (i.e. *daba* 'sin', *tf'alalak'a* 'glisten', *kidziba* 'false' and *tola* 'free'). In addition to derived masculine and feminine adjectives, there are few gender unidentified derived adjectives in RAO.

136. Roots	Gloss	Affixes	Derived Adjectives	Gloss
a. <i>duud-</i>	be deaf	<i>-aa</i>	<i>duud-aa</i>	deaf/('all' in RAO)
b. <i>guut-</i>	fill	<i>-uu</i>	<i>guut-uu</i>	full
c. <i>dal-</i>	give birth	<i>-eeffa</i>	<i>dal-eeffa</i>	fertile
d. <i>sad-</i>	three	<i>-eeffa</i>	<i>sad-eeffa</i>	third

As can be observed from examples [136a-d], the morphemes *-aa*, *-uu* and *-eeffa* are used to derive adjectives from the given roots/stems. Except the first root, which is the verb root *duud-*, the rest roots/stems are whether verb and noun [136b-c] or adjective and noun [136d]. The root *dal-* in [136c] may take *-tuu* and becomes *daltuu* ‘female (mainly for animals)’. In every language as described by Givón (2001: 86-87), if derived adjectives are formed from a noun or a verb, their “meaning thus owes some to the meaning of the original (‘input’) noun or verb, and some to the semantic derivation type”. This holds true in the RAO.

In addition to the use of affixation, the adjectival derivation of RAO may take place through compounding as in [137]. However, they are rarely used in the dialect.

137. The adding Constituents	Compound Adj	Gloss
a. <i>dajla</i> ‘oblique’ + <i>gal-</i> ‘enter’	<i>dajlagal-tuu</i>	crooked/bent
b. <i>fajjaa</i> ‘health’ + <i>dab-</i> ‘miss/lack’	<i>fajjadab-eeffa</i>	ill
c. <i>takka</i> ‘one’ + <i>dal-</i> ‘give birth’	<i>takkadal-eeffa</i>	a cow gives birth once
d. <i>takka</i> ‘one’ + <i>k’ab-</i> ‘hold\have’	<i>takkak’ab-eeffa</i>	something/one having single entity

As can be seen in [137], compound adjectives can be composed of adjective and verb [137a], noun and verb [137b], noun/adjective and verb/noun [137c], and noun/adjective and verb [137d] along with the affixation of *-tuu* and *-eeffa*. In [137b], the long *-aa* of *fajjaa* becomes shorten at boundary. In the other Afaan Oromoo varieties, for instance, compound adjectives are formed from noun-adjective or noun-verb in Hararghe (Shimelis 2014: 214) and from noun-verb or noun-noun in Mecha (Baye 1981: 28).

6.1.3. Semantic Properties

Languages with a distinct adjective class have a minimum of seven semantic properties (Dixon 1982: 16; 2004: 3-4, and Payne 1997: 63-65). They are dimension, age, value, colour, physical property, human propensity, and speed. The first four properties are ‘core’ semantic properties, whereas the left are peripheral semantic properties (Dixon 2004: 3-4). In RAO, all the mentioned types of adjectival semantic are attested as presented in Table 29.

Table 29. RAO Adjectival semantic properties

Semantic Properties	Examples
Dimension	<i>dēeraa</i> ‘tall’, <i>gabaabaa</i> ‘short’, <i>furdaa</i> ‘fat’, <i>guddaa</i> ‘big’, <i>t’innaa</i> ‘small’, <i>balʔaa</i> ‘wide’, <i>dibboo/dip</i> ‘p’oo ‘narrow’, <i>hap</i> ‘p’ii ‘thin’
Age	<i>haaraja</i> ‘new’, <i>hangafa</i> ‘elder’, <i>k’ut’usuu</i> ‘younger’, <i>dullatifta</i> ‘old for both animals and human beings’, <i>dzaarsa</i> ‘old for human being’
Value	<i>hoosa</i> ‘bad’, <i>gaarii</i> ‘good/nice’, <i>balaa</i> ‘dangerous’
Colour	<i>diimaa</i> ‘red’, <i>magaala</i> ‘brown’, <i>ʔadii</i> ‘white’, <i>gurraatifta</i> ‘black’, <i>dukkana</i> ‘dark’
Physical property	<i>ʔulfaataa</i> ‘heavy’, <i>salp’aa</i> ‘light’, <i>dziidaa</i> ‘wet’, <i>goggogaa</i> ‘dry’, <i>moluu</i> ‘bald’, <i>daleeffa</i> ‘fertile’, <i>fokkuu</i> ‘ugly’, <i>k’ulk’ulluu</i> ‘pure’
Human propensity	<i>fajjadabeeffa</i> ‘ill’, <i>gadee</i> ‘rubbish/bad’, <i>gamna/ʔigguu</i> ‘clever’, <i>halbaaneffa</i> ‘edacious/voracious’, <i>hamaa</i> ‘bad/courageous’, <i>tolaa</i> ‘generous’ <i>sodaataa</i> ‘fearful’,
Speed	<i>ʔariifataa</i> ‘hurrying’

As can be observed from Table 29, adjectives of dimension, physical property and human propensity are heaps. Terms denoting age, colour and value are less productive than adjectives of dimension, physical property and human propensity. However, they are more productive than adjectives of speed. Since adjectives denoting speed are not so common. Instead, they tend to be in the adverb place like *ʔariitii* ‘fast’, and *dafi* ‘quickly’.

6.2. Numerals

Numerals are cardinals, which are the ones used for counting, and ordinals that specify the rank of the head noun in some ordered series (Payne 2011: 232). In Afaan Oromoo, numerals are more analyzable as adjectives (Baye 1986: 288). In RAO, they mainly found in modifying function following the head noun. The cardinal numerals and their corresponding ordinal numerals, which are derived from the cardinal numerals by suffixing *-eeffaa* are presented in [138].

138.	Cardinal	Gloss	Ordinal	Gloss
a.	<i>takka/tokko</i>	one	<i>takkeeffaa</i>	first
	<i>lama</i>	two	<i>lammeeffaa</i>	second
	<i>sadii</i>	three	<i>sadeeffaa</i>	third
	<i>ʔafur</i>	four	<i>ʔafreeffaa</i>	fourth
	<i>ʃan</i>	five	<i>ʃaneeffaa</i>	fifth
	<i>dʒaha</i>	six	<i>dʒaheeffaa</i>	sixth
	<i>torba</i>	seven	<i>torbeeffaa</i>	seventh
	<i>saddeet</i>	eight	<i>saddeetteffaa</i>	eighth
	<i>sagal</i>	nine	<i>sagleeffaa</i>	ninth
	<i>kudan</i>	ten	<i>kurneeffaa</i>	tenth
b.	<i>kudanii takka</i>	eleven	<i>kudanii takkeeffaa</i>	eleventh
	<i>kudanii lama</i>	twelve	<i>kudanii lammeeffaa</i>	twelfth
	<i>kudanii sadii</i>	thirteen	<i>kudanii sadeeffaa</i>	thirteenth
	<i>kudanii ʔafur</i>	fourteen	<i>kudanii ʔafreeffaa</i>	fourteenth
	<i>kudanii ʃan</i>	fifteen	<i>kudanii ʃaneeffaa</i>	fifteenth
	<i>kudanii dʒaha</i>	sixteen	<i>kudanii dʒaheeffaa</i>	Sixteenth
c.	<i>dijdama</i>	twenty	<i>dijdammeeffaa</i> ⁵⁹	twentieth
	<i>dijdamii takka</i>	twenty-one	<i>dijdamii takkeeffaa</i>	twenty-first
	<i>dijdamii lama</i>	twenty-two	<i>dijdamii lammeeffaa</i>	twenty-second
	<i>dijdamii sadii</i>	twenty-three	<i>dijdamii sadeeffaa</i>	twenty-third
d.	<i>soddoma</i>	thirty	<i>soddammeeffaa</i>	thirtieth
	<i>soddonii takka</i>	thirty-one	<i>soddonii takkeeffaa</i>	thirty-first
	<i>soddonii lama</i>	thirty-two	<i>soddonii lammeeffaa</i>	thirty-second
	<i>soddonii sadii</i>	thirty-three	<i>soddonii sadeeffaa</i>	thirty-third
e.	<i>ʔafurtama</i>	forty	<i>ʔafurtammeeffaa</i>	fortieth
	<i>ʃantama</i>	fifty	<i>ʃantammeeffaa</i>	fiftieth
	<i>dʒatama</i>	sixty	<i>dʒatammeeffaa</i>	sixtieth
	<i>torbaatama</i>	seventy	<i>torbaatammeeffaa</i>	seventieth

⁵⁹ -eeffaa is rarely used in ordinal numbers greater than 19th, instead ʔirra ‘on’ is used as *dijdamarra takka* 21st.

	<i>saddeettama</i>	eighty	<i>saddeettammeeffaa</i>	eightieth
	<i>sagaltama</i>	ninety	<i>sagaltammeeffaa</i>	ninetieth
f.	<i>dibba</i>	hundred	<i>dibbeeffaa</i>	hundredth
	<i>dibbaafii takka</i>	hundred and one	<i>dibbaafii takkeeffaa</i>	hundred and first
	<i>dibbaafii lama</i>	hundred and two	<i>dibbaafii lammeeffaa</i>	hundred and second
	<i>dibbaafii kudan</i>	hundred and ten	<i>dibbaafii kurneeffaa</i>	hundred and tenth
	<i>dibba fan</i>	five hundred	<i>dibba faneeffaa</i>	five-hundredth
g.	<i>kuma</i>	thousand	<i>kumeeffaa</i>	thousandth
	<i>kumaafii takka</i>	thousand and one	<i>kumaafii takkeeffaa</i>	thousand and first

As can be seen in [138], the cardinal numerals of the dialect systematically follow base 10 system. Numeral combinations between 10 and 20 are formed with *kudan* ‘ten’ plus *-ii* standing as the initial term, and any of the numerals ‘one’ through ‘nine’ standing as the final. From 21-99, on the other hand, *-ii* replaces the last *-a* sound of multiplier cardinal. Numeral combinations above 100 are made by adding *-fii* ‘and’ to multiplier cardinals plus the target units.

In the column of ordinal numerals, *-(e)effaa* is used to derive the ordinals from the cardinals. If long vowel precedes the final consonant, than *-effaa* is used by geminating the given consonant. Similarly, if the consonant precedes *-eeffaa* is /m/, than geminating except in *kuma* ‘1000’. Deletion of vowels from internal structures *ʔafur* and *sagal* are also attested in the dialect. On the other hand, *kudan* becomes *kurneeffaa* with undefined trigger. Kebede also reports the marker *-eeffaa* as an ordinal numeral indicator in RAO. In the other Afaan Oromoo dialects, ordinal numeral markers are *-eessoo*, *-ffaa*, *-eessaa* (M) and *-eessituu* (F) (cf. Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 32; Kebede 2009: 111, and Stroemer 1995: 60).

6.3. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are morphemes that denote demonstrating or pointing. According to Diessel (1999: 2), they are defined in terms of three criteria. First, demonstratives are deictic values serving specific syntactic functions. Second, demonstratives characterize specific semantic features, which they denoting a referent that is located at some distance to the deictic center (at

least proximal and distal). Finally, demonstratives generally serve specific pragmatic functions that they are primarily used to focus the hearer's attention on objects or locations in the speech situation often in combination with a pointing gesture; however, they may also function to organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse. Demonstratives belong to various grammatical categories: demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative determiners, demonstrative adverbs, and demonstrative identifiers (Diessel 1999: 57). Here are his examples, respectively.

139.a. Ponapean (Diessel 1999: 81)

met pahn mengila

this will wither

'This will wither'

b. Ambulas (Diessel 1999: 17)

kéni kudi

this talk

'This talk'

c. Finnish (Diessel 1999: 77)

katotaas sinne

look.PASS DEM.LOC.LAT throat.ILL this just little place

'Let's look at that throat'

d. Ambulas (Diessel 1999: 16)

ʔkurkkuu kéni bakna walkamu taalé

'This is just little place'

Dixon (2010b: 224), on the other hand, grouped demonstratives into three main types: nominal demonstratives, local adverbial demonstratives, and verbal demonstratives. As stated by Dixon, the first two demonstratives are found in every language, whereas the third is relatively rare. Dixon's (2010b: 225) nominal demonstratives combine the two demonstratives (determiner and pronoun) of Diessel (1999). According to Dixon, nominal demonstratives in most languages can make up a complete NP (as in **this** is hot) and occur in an NP with a noun or a personal pronoun (as in **this** stone is hot). Of course, in some languages, identifying the boundaries between the four demonstrative categories seems not clear-cut (Diessel 1999: 78) may be strengthen the grouping of Dixon (2010b). The followings are the demonstrative types identified in the RAO.

6.3.1. Nominal Demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives commonly have two syntactic functions: those that modify a noun are called demonstrative determiners, and those that are used to substitute a noun are called demonstrative pronouns (Dixon 2010b: 225). As already mentioned, both demonstrative types

distinguish between proximal and distal forms. The proximal nominal demonstratives in RAO are *kana*, and *tana* both glossed ‘this’ in absolutive case and *kun(i)*, and *tun(i)* in nominative case, whereas the distal ones *sana* in absolutive case and *sun(i)* in nominative both glossed with ‘that’ (cf. § 4.5). As exemplified in section 4.5, the basic functions of proximal nominal demonstratives are to point to referents that are spatially or contextually close to the vantage point or speaker. The distal one, on the other hand, is used to point to something at a distance from the deictic center. Besides their proximal uses, *kana* and *tana* can be used as temporal deictic in RAO as presented in [140].

140. Examples	Literal meaning	Gloss
a. <i>ʔamma tana/kana</i>	now this	right now
b. <i>harʔa kana</i>	today this	just today

As can be seen in both examples, *kana* and *tana* follow the noun they modify to express time of an event.

6.3.2. Local Adverbial Demonstratives

While nominal demonstratives point to an object, local adverbial demonstratives point to a place (Dixon 2010b: 228). According to Dixon, “no language is known which lacks two adverbial demonstratives, contrasting in terms of spatial function” as for instance ‘here’ and ‘there’ of English, or in terms of visibility. As local adverbial demonstratives convey spatial relations, they are a part of spatial adverbs (cf. § 6.5.2). Accordingly, RAO local adverbial demonstratives exhibit a two-way distinction between proximal and distal by *ʔarma/ʔas* ‘here’ and *ʔatʔiʔi* ‘there’ as illustrated in [141].

141. a. *ʔas daab-at-ø-e* [*daabbate*]
 here stand-MID-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He/It stood here’
- b. *ʔarma=rɾaa ʔatʔiʔi gaʔ-ø-e*
 here=ABL there arrive-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘Starting from here, he arrived there’

c. *ʔatʔiʔi laal-i*

there look\see-IMP.2SG

‘Look there!’

d. *ʔatʔiʔi bul-ø-ee*

there spend night-3SG.M-CNV.PFV

‘By he/it passed the night there, ...’ ([RAOM2 187](#))

The deictic expression *ʔas/ʔarma* is used to express a location proximal to the speaker [141a-b], whereas *ʔatʔiʔi* is used for a location away from the speaker but not necessarily from the addressee [141c-d]. Note that, the referent of *ʔatʔiʔi* may be visible or out of sight. As can be observed from the examples in [141a-d], local adverbial demonstratives are most often the sole locational specification in their clauses. However, they can co-occur with NP bearing local marking as in *ʔinni ʔas raajjaa keeffa dziraata* ‘He lives here in Rayya’, and *ʔatʔiʔi warra dīrsa ʔisiitti hindeeffu* ‘She will not give birth there at her husband’s family home’.

6.3.3. Verbal Demonstratives

Verbal demonstratives are those that occur as a predicate and imply such meanings as ‘do it like this’ or ‘do it like that’ in English (Dixon 2010b: 224). In RAO, the demonstratives occur with a verb as their head. Example [142] shows the demonstratives.

142. a. *ʔakka + kana=tti [ʔakkanatti] seen-n-a*

like this=with enter-1PL-IPFV

‘We (will) enter like this’

b. *ʔakka + kana [ʔakkana] god-n-a [goona]*

like this do-1PL-IPFV

‘We (will) do like this’

c. *ʔakka + san-i=tti-n [ʔakkasittin] darb-e*

like that-ep=to-1SG pass-PFV

‘I passed like that’ ([RAOM2 188](#))

As can be observed in [142a-c], the verbs have demonstrative meaning involving deictic reference to an action. In the first two examples, the narrator mimes the entering and doing actions, respectively. So, utterances may be accompanied by imitating actions showing how the actions described by the verbs should be accomplished.

6.4. Intensifiers and Quantifiers

Intensifiers are modifiers that strengthen or weaken the degree of a property indicated by the expression they modify. According to Bolinger (1972: 15), the expressions of degree and intensity are commonly associated with adjectives and adverbs. Quantifiers are set of items that specify quantity or amount of elements referred to by the expression they specify. In the Mecha Afaan Oromoo, quantifiers “may be extended to include expressions of degree or intensity” (Baye 1986: 75). As stated by Baye, quantifiers and intensifiers use the same forms *baaj?ee* and *t’innoo*. Here are his examples; the first column is quantifier, and the second is intensifier.

- | | | |
|--|-----------|---|
| <p>143. a. <i>hoolaa baaj?ee</i>
 sheep many
 ‘Many sheep’</p> | <p>vs</p> | <p><i>Tulluu-n baaj?ee deeraa-da</i>
 Tulluu-NOM very tall-COP
 ‘Tulluu is very tall’</p> |
| <p>b. <i>hoolaa t’innoo</i>
 sheep few
 ‘(A) few sheep’</p> | <p>vs</p> | <p><i>Tulluu-n t’innoo furdaa-da</i>
 Tulluu-NOM little fat.M-COP
 ‘Tulluu is a little fat’</p> |

In RAO too, the same forms can be used in both intensifiers and quantifiers as presented in [144] and [145], respectively. Note that intensifier includes degree adverbs as *guddaa* does in the sentence *guddaa taa?-Ø-e* (big sit-3SG.M-PFV) ‘he sat a long time or he stayed for a very long time’.

144. a. *guddoo hin beek-Ø-u*
big.F NEG know-1SG\3SG.M-NCM
‘I/He do(es) not know very well’

- b. *nu=rra t'innoo dagaagaa wajja*
 us=on small Degaga preferable\better than
 'Degaga is a little bit better than us'
- c. *ʔabbuwaa-n baajjee beek-am-aa-da [beekkamaada]*
 Abbuwaa-NOM many know-PASS-ADJR.M-COP
 'Abbuwaa is very much known'

145. a. *guddoo gargar bul-n-e [bulle]*
 big.F apart spend night-1PL-PFV
 'We spent many nights separately'
- b. *dʒimaa t'innoo mur-n-e [murre]*
 chat small cut-1PL-PFV
 'We cut few chat'
- c. *waggaa baajjee*
 year many
 'Many years'

As shown in [144] and [145], *guddoo*, *t'innoo*, and *baajjee* are lexical words that function as intensifiers and quantifiers. Except *baajjee*, which is adjective, the rest lexical words are adjectives and also function as adverbs. In [145], they follow the nouns that they quantify. In the last two examples, the quantified nouns are clearly observable, whereas in [145a] though not mentioned, it is quite understandable semantically that the noun is *halkan* 'night'. In addition to the non-numeral quantifiers exemplified above, numeral quantifications are also attested in RAO as appeared in example [146]. While the non-numeral quantifications denote imprecise quantity, the numeral ones denote precise quantity.

146. a. *ʔidzoollee saddeet-i-n k'ab-a*
 children.COLL eight-ep-1SG hold\have-IPFV
 'I have eight children'

b. *hajila sillaasee-n miila lama mooh-ø-e*

haile silassie-NOM leg two win-3SG.M-PFV

‘Haile Silassie won twice’

([Audio B 2m16.28-2m18.02ms](#))

c. *buna findzaala lama*

coffee cup(loan) two

‘Two cups of coffee’

d. *ʔisii-n mark’aa sibiila ʔafur mark’-i-t-e*

her-NOM porridge metal four mix-ep-3SG.F-PFV

‘She prepared four casseroles of porridge’

The numerals *lama*, *saddeet*, and *ʔafur* in example [146] are used as quantifiers in their respective locations. In all examples, the quantifiers follow the nouns. They precisely indicate the amount of the noun they modify in [146a-b], whereas in [146c-d], the quantifiers modify the nouns in measure phrases and these phrases in turn quantify the given uncountable nouns. The numeral quantifiers are also used in Mecha Afaan Oromoo (Baye 1986: 284ff).

6.5. Adverbs

Adverbs describe the way in which an action is performed, and modify a verb in much the same way that an adjective modifies a noun. In RAO, there are few adverbs. In this section, we discuss the various adverb types of the targeted dialect: temporal adverbs (§ 6.5.1), spatial adverbs (§ 6.5.2), and manner adverbs (§ 6.5.3).

6.5.1. Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs refer to time or frequency. They indicate a time frame or some event that occurred over time. The most frequent temporal adverbs are the adverbs that refer to specific and non-specific time as listed in [147] and [148]. Most of them are nouns functioning as temporal adverbs.

147. Temporal adverbs referring to specific time

deengadda ‘the day before yesterday’ *χ’adam* (loan) ‘Saturday’

kaleeffa ‘yesterday’ *sanbata* ‘Sunday’

<i>ʔeda</i>	‘last night’	<i>saɲɲoo</i> (loan)	‘Monday’
<i>ʔamma</i>	‘now’	<i>taaʔoo/haroo</i>	‘Tuesday’
<i>harʔa</i>	‘today’	<i>jaatuu/ʔarbaʔa</i>	‘Wednesday’
<i>ʔedana</i>	‘tonight’	<i>kamisa</i>	‘Thursday’
<i>boru</i>	‘tomorrow’	<i>dzumaʔaa</i>	‘Friday’

The names of the months are all loan words from Amharic and/or Tigrinya.

148. Temporal adverbs referring to non-specific time

<i>gallaba</i>	‘evening’	<i>sara</i>	‘while’
<i>halkan</i>	‘(at) night’	<i>sara takka</i>	‘once’
<i>diirama</i>	‘morning’	<i>ʔal lama</i>	‘twice’
<i>ʔegere</i>	‘in the future’	<i>darbee darbee</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>gujjaa</i>	‘(during the), day’	<i>booda</i>	‘later’
<i>silā</i>	‘a moment or ago’	<i>dura</i>	‘first’

Let us consider an example of both specific and non-specific referring temporal adverbs in clause or sentence construction.

149. a. *ʔantamii sadi naa-n dʒed-Ø-e deengadda*
 fifty three me-1SG say-3SG.M-PFV the day before yesterday
 ‘He told me the day before yesterday, fifty three’
- b. *bara=na ʔarm-uma bah-Ø-e*
 year=this here-EMPH leave out-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He passed this year over here’ ([Audio C2 2m14.67-2m15.79ms](#))
- c. *booda k’ab-at-t-a*
 later hold/have-MID-2SG-IPFV
 ‘You will catch up later’
- d. *ʔisii-n halkan si=tti duf-t-i*
 her-NOM night you=to come-3SG.F-IPFV
 ‘She will come to you at night’

In [149a-b], time adverbs refer to specific periods related to the day [149a] and year [149b] of conversation. The reference is the moment of conversation in both cases. Temporal adverbs are free to move in the clause. Even they can follow verbs as indicated in [149a] yet Afaan Oromoo is SOV language. Accordingly, the structure *fantamii sadi naan dzedē **deengadda*** can be also phrased as ***deengadda** fantamii sadi naan dzedē*. Non-specific time indicator adverbs may immediately [149c] or distantly [149d] precede the verbs. Both specific and non-specific temporal adverbs are analyzed for the other Afaan Oromoo varieties (Baye 1986: 63ff, and Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 97).

6.5.2. Spatial Adverbs

The adverbs in the spatial category express a locative meaning. Thus, they include local adverbial demonstratives that denote the location of an object in space. In some languages, spatial adverbs include the expressions such as right of somebody/something, above, below, left of somebody/something, near, and behind (Dixon 2010b: 243). Spatial adverbs in RAO can often be viewed as being speaker focused. Hence, the choices of expression depend on the semantic meaning of the utterance in relation to the speaker. Some examples of the most common spatial adverbs found in the dialect are presented in [150]. Note that except few ones, most of the spatial adverbs are adpositions.

150.a.	<i>ʔas/ʔarma</i>	‘here’	vs	<i>ʔat/ʔi</i>	‘there’
	<i>dihoo</i>	‘nearby’	vs	<i>fagoo</i>	‘far’
	<i>keeffa</i>	‘in’	vs	<i>ʔala</i>	‘outside’
	<i>dʒala</i>	‘under/below’	vs	<i>gubbaa</i>	‘above’
	<i>gad</i>	‘down’	vs	<i>ʔol</i>	‘up’
	<i>gama</i>	‘on the other side’			
b.	<i>ʔasitti</i>	‘at here’	vs	<i>ʔat/ʔittiti</i>	‘at there’
	<i>keeffatti</i>	‘at inside’	vs	<i>ʔalatti</i>	‘at outside’
	<i>gamana</i>	‘on this side’			

In [150a], the primary spatial/locative adverbs (i.e. underived) are presented, whereas in [150b], the derived spatial adverbs are listed. Both the spatial adverbs in [150] have a two-way

contrast. The only primary locative adverb that contrasts with derived is *gama* ‘on the other side’, which contrasts with *gamana* ‘on this side’. The following are sentential examples.

151. a. *ʔinni fagoo-da*
 he\it.NOM far-COP
 ‘It/He is far away’
- b. *bifaan gad jaaʔ-Ø-e*
 water down leak-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘Water leaked down’
- c. *sodd-itʃiʃ-i-n gama=na duf-Ø-e*
 father_/brother_in_law-SGT-ep-NOM on the other side=this come-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘The father-/brother-in-law came here’
- d. *gama=rraa duf-Ø-e*
 on the other side=ABL come-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘He came from the other side’
- e. *ʔodaa dzala taaʔ-i*
 sycamore under sit-IMP.2SG
 ‘You (SG), sit under sycamore’
- f. *ʔoromoo-itʃiʃ-i-n [ʔoromitʃiʃin] bad-Ø-e ʔas-i=tti*
 Oromo-SGT-ep-NOM disappear-3SG.M-PFV here-ep=LOC
 ‘Here, the Oromo disappeared’ (repeated from [101b])

As can be seen in [151a-f], unlike temporal adverbs, spatial adverbs are not this much free to move in the clause. They commonly precede the verb they modify. In [151f], on the other hand, *ʔasitti* follows the verb *bade*, even though the structure *ʔoromitʃiʃi ʔasitti bade* is also grammatically correct. In addition to the primary and derived spatial adverbs in [151a-c], the adverbial role can also be played by adpositional phrases [151d-f] in RAO. In the Mecha dialect of the language, Baye (1986: 68ff) also examines the spatial adverbs. It should be noted that except *gamana*, all derived spatial adverbs are adpositional phrases.

6.5.3. Manner Adverb

The adverb in this class expresses the manner of activity showed by the verb. In Afaan Oromoo, as stated by Baye (1986: 71), the most common way to encode a manner adverb is by a relative clause with 'how' rather than with 'when' or 'where'. Accordingly, it may give the idea of rapidly/fast, quickly, hurriedly, strongly, hardily, etc. In RAO, it is more common to see reduplication in the verbal root indicating the semantic notions of manner adverbs as *gugguufaa* 'by slanting' does in the sentence *ʔinni gugguufaa duʔe* 'he came by slanting'. The only manner adverbs encountered in the dialect are *suuta* 'slow', *ʔariitii* 'quickly', and *hokkolaa* 'limply'. Aside from these, manner is mainly expressed by *ʔakka* 'like, as' clause (sometimes in combination with converb like [152c]) as shown in example [152].

152. a. *ʔakka hamaa sod-aat-Ø-e*
like\as bad\courageous fear-INCH-PFV
'He feared badly'
- b. *ʔoromoo-it/ft-i-n [ʔoromit/ftin] ʔakka bifaan romadaan deeb-at-am-a*
Oromo-SGT-ep-NOM like\as water Ramadan thirst-INCH-PASS-PFV
'The Oromo is thirsted like the desire of (quenchless) water during Ramadan'
([RAOS 005](#))
- c. *ʔakka ʔabiddaa bobaʔ-t-an-ii [bobaatanii] dum-t-u*
like\as fire burn-2-PL-CNV finish-2-IPFV
'You will be annihilated like on fire'
- d. *ʔakka=na=tti-n darb-e*
like\as=this=to-1SG pass-PFV
'I passed through it like this' ([RAOM2 189](#))
- e. *ʔakka=si=tti ʔirra kuf-t-i*
like\as=that=to on fall-3SG.F-IPFV
'She will ask for excuse like that'

In [152a-e], the *ʔakka* clause is used as manner adverbials. In [152c] it is used in combination with converb. The clues to the interpretation of the clauses are contexts of the utterances and/or

sometimes extra linguistic means such as gestures by the speaker [152d-e]. Although more research is needed to better understanding of manner adverbs of Afaan Oromoo, they are not such a broader in scope like the temporal adverb in RAO.

6.6. Summary

In this chapter, we have examined modifiers of nouns and verbs: adjective, numeral, demonstrative, intensifier and quantifier, and adverb in RAO. Adjectives are inflected for number, gender, and case. Plurals are marked with *-jjii*, *-ota*, and *-oota*, whereas singulatives are marked by *-tftfa* for masculine and *-ittii* for feminine. Additionally, most adjectives form their plural forms through reduplication with the suffixation of *-oo* or *-oota*. Masculine and feminine genders are marked via *-tftfa*, *-aa*, *-ffa*, *-sa*, and *-ttii*, *-oo*, *-tuu*, and *-tii*, respectively. Regarding case, *-n* for nominal, *-f* for dative, *ʔirraa* for ablative, *-n* for instrumental, and *ʔirra* for locative are identified.

Adjectives are derived from verb/noun roots through *-aa* for masculine and *-tuu* for feminine. Gender unidentified adjectives are also derived by the suffixation of *-uu* and *-eeffa* to verb/noun roots. Very few adjective are created through compounding. Seven semantic properties of adjectives are also treated. Cardinal and ordinal numerals are presented, where the later is formed from the former via *-eeffa*. In demonstrative, nominal, local adverbial, and verbal demonstratives are analysed. Quantifiers and intensifiers are also presented. In the dialect, quantifiers include intensifiers as they use the same forms for instance *baajjee* ‘many/much’ and *guddaa* ‘big/very’. Accordingly, numeral and non-numeral quantifiers are discussed. Temporal, spatial, and manner adverbs are presented in the last section of the chapter.

Chapter Seven

Clitics

7.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with clitics. Enclitics and proclitics are presented by succeeding the introductory discussion of clitics in general. Note that endoclititics which attach inside their host, in the manner of an infix, are encountered in RAO variety.

7.1. Clitics

Clitics are grammatical forms that are neither clearly words nor clearly affixes, but enjoy what Klavans (1982) calls ‘dual citizenship’ (Spencer and Luis 2012: 38). According to Kroeger (2005: 317) and Pavey (2010: 37) on the other hand, clitics are grammatical morphemes (or minimorphs as Haspelmath (2015: 294) calls them) that are syntactically free but phonologically bound to their hosts. Syntactically, the rules of syntax treat them as independent words, whereas phonologically they are pronounced along with their hosts (see Haspelmath 2015 for details). Clitics are typically written as one word with the element that they are phonologically bound to. In RAO variety, the clitic forms appear in the same place in the sentence that the full forms of the word would appear in. Thus, enclitics in RAO are a reduced form of words with an existence of a full form⁶⁰ elsewhere in the language. According to our database, most of the clitics in the variety are enclitics (occurring as: host=enclitic), however, there are also very rare proclitics (occurring as: proclitic=host). We discuss both of them distinctly.

7.1.1. Enclitics

Enclitics are clitics that follow their hosts. In RAO, enclitics include pronouns, various postpositions, conjunctions, existential verbs functioning as auxiliaries, demonstratives, and negative marker. The following examples substantiate the occurrences of enclitics with these forms, respectively.

⁶⁰ However, in some languages, “a clitic can sometimes be very different from its full-form counterpart, [...] and it then very difficult to know whether we can really say that a clitic has a full form” (Spencer and Luis 2012: 43).

153. a. *ʔabbaa-n=saa* *k'eesii-dā*
 father-NOM=3SG.M.GEN priest (loan)-COP
 'His father is a priest'
- b. *warra=sii* *gal-t-e*
 family=3SG.F.GEN enter-3SG.F-PFV
 'She joined her family'
- c. *ʔulee-n=saani* *beek-am-aa-dā* [*beekkamaada*]
 stick-NOM=3PL.GEN known-MID-M-COP
 'Their stick is known'

In the above example, third person pronouns: third singular masculine, third singular feminine and third plural are encliticized to the end of their hosts. All the three have independent correlate pronouns namely *ʔisa*, *ʔisii*, and *ʔisaan*, respectively. In the following example, the adposition *ʔitti*, which typically functions as locative case marker, becomes encliticized to its preceding host. The hosts are nouns, verbs, adpositions, and demonstratives as presented in [154a-d], respectively.

154. a. *bun-n-i* *dʒabanaa=tti* *danf-Ø-a*
 coffee-NOM-ep coffeepot=LOC boil-3SG.M-IPFV
 'A coffee (will) boil in coffeepot'
- b. *ʔakka nu ʔeeg-e=tti* *dubb-at-n-a* [*dubbanna*]
 like we wait-PFV=to speak-INCH-1PL-IPFV
 'We (will) narrate as we heard'
- c. *waggaa kana keeffa=tti*
 year this in=LOC
 'In this year' ([RAOM2 222](#))
- d. *battallaa* *kana=tti* *na ʔarg-at-Ø-an*
 Battalla (place name) this=LOC me see-MID-3-PL
 'They found me at this Battalla'

The adposition *ʔirra* and *ʔirraa* are also encliticized to the host stems as exemplified in [155a-b]. Note that *ʔirraa* is usually used as ablative case marker, while *ʔirra* is locative case marker.

- 155.a. *farda=rra god-Ø-an*
horse=LOC put-3-PL
‘They put somebody on horseback’ ([RAOM2 151](#))
- b. *ʔeeboo=rraa*
Ebo=ABL
‘From Ebo’ ([RAOM 1 144](#))

On the other hand, the coordinating conjunction *immoo*, which also functions as focus marker, is also encliticized to verb, noun, and demonstrative as indicated in example [156a-c], respectively.

- 156.a. *deebiʔ-ee gog-Ø-e=mmoo*
return-CNV.PFV go-3SG.M-PFV=also
‘He went back again as well’ ([Audio D 25.90-26.74ms](#))
- b. *ʔuffat-naa=mmoo [ʔuffannaammoo] fibfib*
cloth-MANNR=also sarong (loan)
‘Clothing as well, such as saron...’ ([RAOM2 043](#))
- c. *kuni=mmoo hin haad-am-u [haaddamu]*
this.NOM=also NEG shave-PASS-NCM.IPFV
‘But, this does not shave’

The verb *dʒir-* [157a-b] and the demonstrative *kana* [157c-d] are also encliticized to their hosts. *dʒir-* is an existential verb that mainly functions as auxiliary verb.

- 157.a. *naa-f gal-ee=r-Ø-a*
me-DAT enter-CNV.PFV=AUX:exist-3SG.M-IPFV
‘I have understood’

- b. *hidʒiraa gog-t-ee=r-t-aa* [gogdeertaa]
 Hijira gog-2-CNV.PFV=AUX:exist-2-QUES
 ‘Have you visit Hijira?’
- c. *ʔakka=na ʔinni*
 like=this he\it.NOM
 ‘It is like this’ (RAOM2 175)
- d. *gujjaa ʔakka=naa deebih-aa*
 date like=this.GEN return-IMP.2PL
 ‘Return back this day!’ (RAOM2 011)

The negative marker *hin* is on the other hand encliticized to its hosts in the following examples. In [158a], it is attached to the pronoun *si* ‘you’, whereas in [158b] it is attached to adposition *ʔitti* ‘to’.

- 158.a. *ʔisii-n si=n beek-t-u*
 her-NOM you=NEG know-3SG.F-NCM
 ‘She does not know you’
- b. *ʔinni ʔitti=n dubb-at-n-e* [dubbanne]
 he.NOM to=NEG speak-INCH-NCM-PFV
 ‘He did not talk to him/her/them’

As can be seen in examples [153] to [158], vowel lengthening does not occur as the result of encliticization. Now, let move on to proclitic formation.

7.1.2. Proclitic

Proclitics are clitics that attach to the left edge of their host. The following example shows the occurrence proclitics in RAO variety (cf. example 154).

- 159.a. *kan ʔitt=aan-u ʔedʒersa*
 REL to=close-DPT olive
 ‘The next one is olive tree’

b. *ʔulee ʔitt*=erg-ee=r-Ø-a

stick to=send-CNV.PFV=AUX:exist-3SG.M-IPFV

‘He has sent a stick to somebody’

The adposition *ʔitti* in RAO is used both in enclitic and proclitic formations. This is not the only peculiar feature of RAO adposition, *ʔitti*. Because, some adpositions can be enclitic in one construction type and proclitic in another (Dixon 2010b: 21).

7.2. Summary

In this chapter, cliticization in RAO is discussed in terms of encliticization and procliticization. Enclitics include pronouns, various postpositions, existential verbs which functions as auxiliaries, demonstratives, and negative marker. Thus, in pronouns, *ʔisa* ‘him’, *ʔisii* ‘her’, and *ʔisaan* ‘them’ are identified as encliticized to =sa, =sii, and =saan. On the other hand, the adpositions *ʔitti*, *ʔirra*, *ʔirraa*, coordinating conjunction that functions as focus marker *ʔimmoo* and the demonstrative *kana* are analysed. The existential verb *dʒir-* and the the negative marker *hin* are also examined under the section enclitics. Finally, the only proclitic *ʔitti*, which is also used as enclitic, is presented.

Chapter Eight

Adpositions and Conjunctions

8.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with adpositions and conjunctions of RAO. Accordingly, adpositions are presented in (§ 8.1), whereas conjunctions in (§ 8.2). Finally, the summary of the chapter is presented in (§ 8.3).

8.1. Adposition

Adposition is an umbrella term for prepositions, postpositions, and circumpositions. Adpositional systems of the varieties of Afaan Oromoo are described by a number of linguists (cf. Baye 1986: 59; Debela 2011; Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 50, and Owens 1985a: 120 to mention a few). None of the scholars discussed adpositions of the RAO variety. This variety has preposition, and postposition. There are no circumposition (or paraposition as Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 53 calls it) in RAO. Let us look at lists of adpostions in the dialect.

160. Prepositions or postpositions

<i>ɖakka</i>	‘like, such as, according to’	<i>ɖakkatti</i>	‘the way of’
<i>bira</i>	‘beside, near, at’	<i>ɖala</i>	‘outside’
<i>ɖol(i)</i>	‘up, towards the top’	<i>ɖerga</i>	‘since, from’
<i>dɖ/gidduu</i>	‘between, in the middle of’	<i>ɖirra/=rra</i>	‘on’
<i>dɖala</i>	‘under, beneath’	<i>booda</i>	‘after’
<i>ɖirraa</i>	‘from, out of’	<i>bukkee</i>	‘beside’
<i>fuula dura</i>	‘in front of’	<i>dura</i>	‘before’
<i>gara</i>	‘to, in the direction of’	<i>duuba</i>	‘behind’
<i>gad(i)</i>	‘beneath, below, under’	<i>gubbaa</i>	‘on, over’
<i>gama</i>	‘the other side of’	<i>duukaa</i>	‘with’
<i>karaa</i>	‘the way of, along, through’ (Lit. ‘path, road’)	<i>hamma</i>	‘until, up to’
		<i>gargar</i>	‘apart’
<i>gardɖalaa</i>	‘towards down’	<i>keeffa</i>	‘in’
<i>wadɖɖzin</i>	‘along with, together ,with’	<i>malee</i>	‘without’
<i>walakkaa</i>	‘in the middle of’		

As can be seen in [160], all the prepositions and/or postpositions are independent. The already mentioned scholars reported most of the adpositions for the other Afaan Oromoo varieties. For instance, Debela (2011: 55-56) listed all the above adpositions except *walakkaa*, *ʔakkatti*, *ʔakka...tti*, *gama...tti*, *ʔakka...tiin*, *karaa...tiin*, and *gama...tiin* for Mecha dialect. Let us consider some examples of adpositions in constructions.

161.a. *hadaamaa dura ʔaan-s-i-n-a*

cactus before come after-TRR-ep-1PL-IPFV

‘Let us prioritize the cactus’ ([Audio C2 1m31.66-1m32.56ms](#))

b. *nu bira gah-ee ʔamma tʃʼit-Ø-e ʔoromoo-itʃʼi-i-n*
us beside\near arrive-CNV.PFV now sever-3SG.M-PFV Oromo-SGT-ep-NOM

‘Afaan Oromoo will fall silent as we are the very last speakers’

c. *mana keeffa=tti ʔaafaan ʔoromoo dubb-at-u dzir-n-a [dzirra]*
house in=LOC language Oromo speak-INCH-IPFV AUX:exist-1PL-IPFV

‘We continued speaking Afaan Oromoo at home’

d. *hatʼalaa kana gubbaa god-at-t-i booda dādaa*
single garment(loan) this on do\put-MID-3SG.F-IPFV after butter
dib-at-t-i

paint-MID-3SG.F-IPFV

‘She will wear the single garment and then she anoints butter’

e. *guddoo gargar bul-n-e [bulle]*

big.F apart spend night-1PL-PFV

‘We spent many nights separately’ (repeated from [145a])

f. *karra ʔeeboo-tii kʼab-ee hamma ʔalaa=tti raajjaa*

Karra Ebo-COP.EMPH hold\have-CNV up to Ala=LOC Rayya

‘Starting from Karra Ebo up to Ala is Rayya’

In [161a], the verbal preposition specifies priority. In [161b-c], the prepositions indicate locations. Chronological succession and temporal relation are respectively shown in [161d] and

[161e]. In [161f], on the other hand, the area of Rayya-Rayyuma with reference to two places is reported. Often, adpositions occur as adverbs in RAO.

8.2. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are grammatical factors that join two or more constituents such as words, phrases, and clauses (Payne 2011: 76). There are two types of conjunctions: coordinating and subordinating. The former serves to conjoin two or more units at the same level of structure that are functionally equivalent, whereas the latter is used to conjoin two or more units of unequal ranks. Both classifications hold true for Afaan Oromoo conjunctions as for instance *dugaa jookiin soba dzedi* true or false say-IMP.2SG ‘say true or false!’ and *namni tokko joo dukkubsate maal gotfiuu k’aba* man.NOM one if sick-CS-MID-PFV what make-VNM have-IPFV ‘when a person is ill, what would he do?’ (Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 57) are respectively coordinating and subordinating. Both conjunction types are discussed as follows.

8.2.1. Coordinating Conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions are those that assign equivalent rank to the conjoined elements. The adjoined constituents coordinate syndetically and/or asyndetically (i.e. joining of syntactic units without a conjunction). RAO coordinating conjunctions are syndetically⁶¹. Accordingly, conjunctive, disjunctive, adversative, inclusive, and causal coordinating conjunctions in the dialect are presented as follows.

8.2.1.1. Conjunctive

Conjunctive is a coordinating conjunction that conjoins equal constituents by ‘and’ in English for instance. It satisfies both of the conjuncts. In RAO, conjunctive is achieved by inserting the coordinator *-fi*⁶² ‘and’ between the coordinating constructions as exemplified in [162].

⁶¹ *gujjaa nagajaatiin farda hin bitattuu sara duulaa harree jaabbatti* ‘the one who has not prepared a horse in time of peace mounts a donkey in time of war’ is the only example we found coordinated asyndetically. Therefore, we focus only on syndetic coordinating constructions, as asyndetic deserves further investigations.

⁶² There is no agreement on whether to write *-fi* ‘and’ by attaching or detaching with the preceding word. For instance Baye (1986: 62) attaches it to the first conjunct, whereas Griefenow-Mewis’s (2001: 57) detaches. We prefer attaching in this dissertation as it is phonologically conditioned (in *haadaafi ?abbaa*, the terminal vowel of *haada* is elongated as result of *-fi*).

162.a. *ʔabbaa-fi haada*

father-and mother

‘father and mother’

([RAOM2 006](#))

b. *fard-i sanee-fi gumboot mana-uma=rraa=llee hin bah-u*

horse-ep June-and May house-EMPH=from=even NEG leave out-NCM.IPFV

‘In May and June, the horse is even not allowed to go out’

([Audio C₂ 1m18.54-1m21.12ms](#))

c. *ʔadzdziboo-fi dadaa-n ʔaannan-i=rraa ʔarg-am-Ø-u*

cheese (loan)-and butter-NOM milk-ep=from see-PASS-3PL-IPFV

‘Cheese and butter are obtained from milk’

As can be seen in [162a-c], conjunctive morpheme *-fi* is generally pre-posed, occurring after the first conjuncts (*ʔabbaa*, *sanee* and *ʔadzdziboo*) and before the succeeding conjuncts (*haada*, *gumboot* and *dadaa*). As indicated in [162c], if the conjuncts are used as the subject of the structure, then the nominative marker attaches to the second conjunct, a case in point is *dadaa*.

8.2.1.2. Disjunctive

Disjunctive coordination denotes a relationship of contrast or comparison. It satisfies at least one of the disjuncts. In RAO, disjunctive is expressed by *jooki*, *jookaa*, *moo*, which are roughly translated as ‘or’, and *hoo...hoo* ‘either...or’. Disjunctives are used for both declarative affirmative and interrogative statements in uncertain and/or question mood. Below are examples.

163.a. *fidal jooki hin gabaab-at-a [gabaabbata] jooki hin deer-at-a*

letter (loan) or FOC short-INCH-IPFV or FOC long-INCH-IPFV

‘A letter may become short or long’

b. *jookaa k’otijjoo jookaa saʔa*

or ox or cow

‘Either ox or cow’

c. *ʔati kiristaana moo ʔisilaamaa*

you.NOM christian or islam

‘Are you Christian or Muslim?’

([Audio A 1m54.23-1m55.57ms](#))

d. *waggaa-n koo hoo fantama hoo dʒaatama*

year-NOM my or fifty or sixty

‘My age is either fifty or sixty’

In [163a], *jooki* precedes the two alternatives like that of *jookaa* in [163b], whereas in [163c], the disjunctive *moo* is placed in between the first, and the second alternatives. *Moo* is the only disjunctive marker that functions in interrogative statement.

8.2.1.3. Adversative

Adversative describes a construction that expresses antithetical effect or circumstance. This coordination is always binary, i.e. it consists two coordinands (Haspelmath 2007: 2). Thus, it needs two events. The event denoted by the second conjunct is unexpected in view of the first one (Malchukov 2004: 187). The binary coordinator of English adversative is ‘but’ and its counterparts in other languages (Haspelmath 2007: 28). The RAO has two morphemes for the adversative ‘but’ which are *garuu* and *gin*. The former is the dialect’s word, whereas the latter is borrowed from the Semitic languages, most likely from Tigrinya or Amharic. The following example shows the formation of adversative in RAO.

164.a. *ʔafaan ʔoromoo ʔarma tur-Ø-e ʔamma garuu bad-Ø-e*

language\mouth Oromo here exist-3SG.M-PFV now but disappear-3SG.M-PFV

‘Afaan Oromoo used to be spoken here, but now it has disappeared’

b. *silā niitii farda-n fid-t-a [fidda] ʔamma garuu sun haf-Ø-e*

ago wife horse-INST bring-2-IPFV now but that remain-3SG.M-PFV

‘Previously, we use horse for weeding, but now that is ceased’

c. *deenkaa-n-i-s hin ʔaatt-am-a gin ʔagobedee-da miʔaaw-aa-n*

peach-NOM-ep-too FOC eat-PASS-IPFV but apple-COP sweet-ADJR-NOM

‘Peach too is an edible, but the sweet one is apple’

([Audio C₂ 2m36.76-2m38.93ms](#))

In [164a-c], the adversative markers coordinate the following clause with a previous assertion. For instance, in [164a], the morpheme *garuu* identifies the relatedness of the two phrases regarding the existence and disappearance of Afaan Oromoo in Rayya area. Here, the identified relationship is not a causal, but simply the occurrence of two different situations that are related in the sense of being about contradicting evaluations of the same language across a period. Unlike *garuu*, the borrowed morpheme *gin* ‘but’, which is generally used by Amharic and/or Tigrinya as adversative marker, occurs at the beginning of a second clause [164c]. Adversative, disjunctive, and conjunctive take no agreement suffixes.

8.2.1.4. Inclusive

Inclusive is a conjunction of two set denoting NPs refers to the union/unification of the two sets (Haspelmath 2007: 33). Schematically, if there are sets {X, Y} and {W, Z} they become {X, Y, W, Z}, or if they are {X, Y} and {Y, Z} instead of the first two sets, they will yield {X, Y, Z}. Inclusive conjunction is used to express accompaniment in its referential function or simultaneity of another event in its complementising function. In RAO, *wad3dzin/duukaa* ‘together, or along with’ is used as inclusive conjunction. Some examples are given below.

165.a. *must’afaa wad3dzin ʔarma dzir-n-a [dzirra]*

Mustefa together here exist-1PL-IPFV

‘We are here with Mustefa’

b. *ʔinni hiiraa=saa duukaa seen-Ø-a*

he.NOM bestman=3SG.M.GEN together enter-3SG.M-IPFV

‘He (will) enter(s) with his bestman’

c. *wad3dzin gog-n-a koott-u* (cf. footnote 48)

together go-1PL-IPFV come-IMP.2SG

‘You (SG), come and let us go together’

The morphemes *wad3dzin* and *duukaa* have an additive functions in [165a-c]. They precede the coordinand elements in declarative affirmative statements [165a-b]. However, in imperative construction that includes the speaker, the marker *wad3dzin* comes at the beginning of the given structure [165c]. Yet, it can be in between two verbs like *koottu wad3dzin gognaa*.

According to Haspelmath (2007: 33-35), inclusory conjunction may be expressed by conjunctive or plural pronouns, as the sentence, I went to the market with John, for instance, can be expressed in, I and John went to the market or we went to the market.

8.2.1.5. Causal

Causal conjunction indicates a causal relation between two or more phrases. RAO has the causal coordinating conjunction *kanaaf*, whose meaning may be ‘because, for’. This causal marker is composed of the demonstrative pronoun *kana* ‘this’ with the dative suffix *-f*. The situation labeled by the clause in which *kanaaf* occurs is conceptualized as ensuing from the preceding events. Let us look at the examples.

166. a. *bijja=rraa baʔ-n-e [baane] kanaaf ʔaadaa-n nu=rraa bad-Ø-e*
country=from come out-1PL- PFV because culture-NOM us=from disappear-3SG.M-PFV
‘We were exiled, because of this we forgot cultural values’
- b. *kanaaf-i-n ʔas darb-i sii-n dʒed-e*
because-ep-1SG here pass-IMP.2SG you-DO say-PFV
‘This is why I said you “please pass to here!”’

In [166a], the result in the sense of cause is linked as subsequent or consecutive to its overt preceding clause. In [166b], on the other hand, the causal clause is introduced without superordinate clause. Here the speaker gives the reason why he told me to change my sitting area previously as the sitting place numbed my legs while our discussion.

8.2.2. Subordinating Conjunctions

As already mentioned, subordinating conjunctions are those that assign unequal rank to the conjoined elements by marking one of them as subordinate to the other. There are a number of subordinators in RAO variety: *hammuu/oo* ‘while, when’, *joo* ‘if’, *hoon* ‘if’, *ʔodoo/uu* ‘if’, *sara* ‘while’, *booda* ‘after’, *dura* ‘before’, *malee* ‘if not, except’, *ʔillee* ‘although, even’, and *kanaaf* ‘because’ to mention some as an example (cf. Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 56ff for the other varieties of the language). The following are sentential examples of subordinating conjunctions in the dialect.

167. a. *ʔidʒoollee-n* ***hammuu*** *saʔa duukaa deem-t-u* *tigree dageeffi*⁶³
 children.COLL-NOM while cow together go-3DIM-IPFV Tigre hear(?)
ʔisa-uma *dubb-at-t-i*
 he\it-EMPH speak-INCH-3DIM-IPFV
 ‘While going with cattle, children hear Tigrinya and they speak Tigrinya only’
- b. *ʔamma sara* *duf-t-u* *dubbii=saa* ***sara*** *dzalk’ab-n-u*
 now time\while come-2-DPT speech=3SG.M.GEN time\while start-1PL-IPFV
ʔoojnuu-n *duf-t-e*
 who-INST come-2-PFV
 ‘To start our discussion, with whom do you came here?’
- c. ***joo*** *wal-arg-at-Ø-an* *ʔakka=na=tti* *dubb-at-Ø-an*
 if each other-see-MID-3-PL like\as=this=to speak-INCH-3-PL
 ‘If they see each other, they communicate like this’
- d. *ʔisaan kun* *ʔoromoo ʔeeffaa* *dagaʔ-Ø-an nu-jji=ilee* *nu*
 they this Oromo where.ABL hear-3-PL we-FOC=even us
bad-ee=r-Ø-a
 disappear-CNV.PFV=AUX:exist-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘From where do they hear Afaan Oromoo? Even we have forgotten it’

⁶³ Cf. § 5.1 about irregularity.

8.3. Summary

In this chapter, the two minor word classes, adpositions and conjunctions, in RAO are discussed. Prepositions, postpositions, and circumpositions are examined under adpositions. Of these adpositions, circumpositions are rarely used in the dialect. Coordinating and subordinating are treated in conjunctions. Conjunctive *-fi* ‘and’, disjunctive *jooki*, *jookaa*, *moo* all glossed or, and *hoo...hoo* ‘either...or’, adversative *geruu* and the loan *gin* both glossed but, inclusive *wadzdzin/duukaa* ‘together, along with’, and causal *kanaaf* ‘because, for’ are analysed in coordinating conjunction. In subordinating conjunctions, which assign the unequal rank to the conjoined elements by marking one of them as subordinate to the other, some markers, such as *hammuu/oo* ‘while, when’, *joo* ‘if’, *hoon* ‘if’, *ɔdoo/uu* ‘if’, *sara* ‘while’, *booda* ‘after’, *dura* ‘before’, *malee* ‘if not, except’, *ɔillee* ‘although, even’, and *kanaaf* ‘because’ are identified.

Chapter Nine

Basic Syntax

9.0 Introduction

The expressions of a language involve relationship between constituents and meanings, and this relationship is mediated by grammar, a core component of which is syntax (Van and Lapolla 1997: 1). Syntax attempts to describe at least two aspects of the phenomena. The first is breaking down the sentence into its constituents, and the second is assigning some grammatical label to each constituent stating what type of constituent it is and what grammatical function it has (Wekker and Haegeman 1985: 5).

This chapter addresses the syntax of RAO. We begin by description of phrasal structure in section 9.1. A sentential structure follows the phrasal. In sentential structure, we describe declarative, interrogative, and negative sentences⁶⁴, respectively (see section 5.3.1.3.2 for positive imperative construction of the dialect). Copula or copular-like clause, relative clause, complement clause, conditional clause, and converb are discussed in turn (§ 9.3-9.7). Finally, we offer summary of the chapter.

9.1. Phrasal Structure

Phrase is a group of words into strings that form units both in terms of form and meaning. Of course, a word itself can be a phrase. Describing phrasal constituent⁶⁵ plays a great role in describing an idealized patterns of constituent structure of a language (Payne 2006: 165). Accordingly, we analyze the phrasal structure of RAO in turn (§ 9.1.1-9.1.4) before dealing with its sentential constituent/word order.

⁶⁴ As described by Dik (1997: 237), König and Siemund (2007: 278ff) and Kroeger (2005: 196), all languages have declarative, imperative, and interrogative as a major sentence types.

⁶⁵ Since constituent order represents the order of phrasal constituents in a clause, and word order implies the order of words in a phrase, or clause, or sentence, we use the expression ‘constituent/word order’ in this analysis.

9.1.1. Noun Phrase

Unlike a verb phrase, which is head final, a noun phrase is head initial. In this section, some general remarks are made on the composition and structure of the NP in the dialect with special reference to the order of words within the phrase. NP can consist of a noun alone [168] or a noun with different modifiers like adjectives [169], quantifiers [170], numerals [171], demonstratives [172], possessive NPs [173], and relative clause [174] (cf. Baye 1981: 34-50; 1986 and Shimelis 2014: 198, 227, 276 for Mecha and Hararghe varieties of Afaan Oromoo, respectively).

168. Noun alone

- a. *nama* 'man'
- b. *ʔintala* 'daughter/girl'

169. Noun-Adjective

- a. *nama ʔirgaata*
man clever
'a clever man'
- b. *saʔa ʔadii*
cow white
'a white cow'
- c. *bowwaa deeraa*
cliff long\tall
'a long cliff'

170. Noun-Quantifier

- a. *waggaa baajjee*
year many\much
'Many years'
- b. *bijja duudaa*
country all
'All countries'

- c. *daammoo* *baajjee*
wild\aromatic honey many\much
‘Much wild/aromatic honey’

171. Noun-Numeral

- a. *nama lama*
man two
‘Two people’

- b. *waggaa fan*
year five
‘Five years’

172. Noun-Demonstrative

- a. *gurbaa kana*
boy this
‘This boy’

- b. *gujjaa sana*
day that
‘That day’

173. Noun-Possessive

- a. *mana niitii*
house wife
‘Wife’s house’

- b. *rifeenfa mataa*
hair head
‘Head’s hair or hair of head’

- c. *Ɂilma⁶⁶ koo*
son my

⁶⁶ Of course human beings are not possessed and therefore this shows evaluative relationship.

‘My son’

174. Noun-Relative Clause-(Demonstrative)

- a. *k'oraan ?isa haf-Ø-e san*
wood him\it remain-3SG.M-PFV that
‘Wood, a one that left from load,...’
- b. *butifuna ?isa hamma wajii gah-u*
gourd him\it until something arrive-DPT
‘A gourd that is very big’
- c. *k'eeroo ?isa ?amma ?isaan duukaa deem-u*
bachelor him\it now them together go-DPT
‘A bachelor, who is going with them’

As can be observed from the above examples, except the in the case of [168] with only a noun, those noun phrases involving a modifier are structured as noun plus modifier. Reversing this order leads to an ungrammatical structure. There are a range of elements that can occur within a noun phrase to modify the head noun. The following examples focus on the ordering of different modifiers within a noun phrase when they modify the same head noun.

175.a. *seekoo gudd-aa takka*

narration big-M one
‘A long narration’ ([Audio A 2m38.94-2m40.00ms](#))

b. *nama gudd-aa biff-aat-aa*

man big-ADJR.M cook-INCH-ADJR
‘A big matured person’

c. *?idzoollee baaj?ee k'a-k'all-oo wajjaa ?adaadii raajjaa dzaha kan*

children.COLL many\very\much RED-thin-PL cloth white.PL Rayya six of
dzabana dargii san duudaa,
period Derg that all
‘All that six thin boys of Rayya with white cloths in Derg regime, ...’

In [175a], a numeral preceded by adjective modifies the given head noun. When two adjectives are used as modifiers of a single head noun as in [175b] (also cf. example 133b), it is difficult to make a definitive statement about their order. Because, the adjectives may move freely like *nama biffaataa guddaa* or *nama guddaa biffaataa*. In [175c], a maximum modifiers are used in the formation of NP which is headed by *ʔidʒoollee* ‘children’. As a close examination of these examples reveals, the rightmost position of these NPs are filled by modifiers (i.e. post-modifiers), whereas their leftmost positions are occupied by head noun. We should note that when multiple modifiers occur in a given NP, they can modify a head noun and/or an NP they succeeded.

9.1.2. Verb Phrase

A verb phrase (VP) is a phrase headed by a verb. A VP may or may not contain other elements (Payne 2006: 347). In Afaan Oromoo, a VP consists of a verb, preceded by preverbal markers, and followed by one or more morphemes, which contribute different grammatical nuances such as gender, aspect, and number. In this language, the head verb normally comes at the rightmost position in a VP and all its lexical modifiers on the left. Below are examples of RAO VP. Concerning the position of auxiliary verbs in a VP, see the earlier examples in [99a-b, 103a-b, 107a, 108b, and 130b].

176. a. *looh-Ø-e*

crawl-3SG.M\1SG-PFV

‘He/It/I crawled’

b. *garaa-daa-n*

lafa=rra looh-Ø-e

abdomen- COP.EMPH-INST land=on crawl-3SG.M-PFV

‘He crawled on the ground with his abdomen’

c. *taazijaa*

takka gama

ʔolii

kana hin

gog-n-a

mourn (loan) one towards up.LOC this FOG go-1PL-IPFV

‘We will go to mourning toward upwards’

The above examples show VP formed from intransitive verbs. In [176a], the phrase consists of the lexical word *looh* that acts as the main verb and also as the complete VP on its own. In

[176b-c], different modifiers are used in the VP. The subject in all the examples are indicated morphologically. Transitive verbs on the other hand, are used in VP formation as shown below.

177. a. *tigree-n nu lik'ims-Ø-e*

Tigre-NOM us swallow-3SG.M-PFV

‘Tigrean assimilated us (Lit. Tigre swallowed us)’ (repeated from 95a)

b. *t'ijjiitii-n gurra gurra nu dah-Ø-e*

bullet(loan)-INST ear ear us hit-3SG.M-PFV

‘He frequently smote us with bullets’

c. *ʔidʒoollee baajʔee k'a-k'all-oo wajjaa ʔadaadii raajjaa dzaha kan*

children.COLL many\very\much RED-thin-PL cloth white.PL Rajja six of

dzabana dargii san duudaa ʔidʒdʒees-Ø-an

period Derg that all kill-3-PL

‘They killed all that six thin boys of Rayya with white cloths in Derg regime’

All the VP in [177] take complements as they are constructed from transitive verbs. Modifiers may also accompany the complements. For instance, in [177b], noun inflected for instrumental case that acts as adposition, noun used as adverbial modifiers, patient argument and the verb *dahe* combine to form the complete VP. In ditransitive verbs, the same holds true as exemplified in [178], however their complements are two: direct object and indirect object.

178.a. *niitii koo naa-f kenn-aa*

wife my me-DAT give-PREC.2PL.IPFV

‘Give me my wife’

b. *ʔamma jaada bareed-aa*

baajʔee

biff-aat-aa

now think handsome\beautiful-ADJR.M many\very\much cook-INCH-ADJR.M

tokko-n sii-f kenn-a

one-1SG you-DAT give-IPFV

‘Now, I (will) give you a well matured good idea’

The VP in both examples contain direct and indirect objectives as complement. In [178a] *naa-f* ‘for me’ and *niitii koo* ‘my whife’ are respectively indirect and direct objects. The same holds true for *sii-f* ‘for you’ and *jaada* ‘idea’ in [178b], respectively. As can be concluded from both examples [177-178], direct object precedes indirect object in the dialect. Object modifiers follow the object they modify. In rare cases, verb roots/stems may attach indirect object markers in addition to other grammatical markers. The only example we have of such function in the corpus is *faaji daff-i-s-n-aa-f* [*daffisnaaf*] tea boil-ep-TRR-1PL-PREC-DAT ‘Let us made tea for him’. Interestingly, the indirect object of the text is the researcher of this project. On one occasion, after we concluded our discussion, the mother of our consultant talked with him to invite me while I say good-bye to them. In the following example, VPs formed by existential verbs are given.

179. a. *dʒir-Ø-a*

exist-3SG.M\1SG-IPFV

‘He\It\I exist(s)’

b. *must’afaa wadʒdʒin ʔarma dʒir-n-a* [*dʒirra*]

Mustefa together here exist-1PL-IPFV

‘We are here with Mustefa’ (repeated from 165a)

c. *mana t’innoo k’ork’oorroo gurraa-ttii kaleeffa sana keeffa k’ofaa=saa*

house small tin black-DIM yesterday that in only=3SG.M

dʒir-aat-a

exist-MID-IPFV

‘He lives alone in that small black tin roof house of yesterday’

Unlike (di)transitive verbs, complements and/or modifiers in existential verbs are optional. In [179a], only existential verb without modifier form VP. On the other hand, different modifiers and/or complements accompanied the head verb in [179b-c]. Copular verbs are also used in VP formation as follows.

180. a. mak'aa-n koo **dabalaa-dā**
 name-NOM Debela-COP
 'My name is Debela' (repeated from 71a)
- b. *ʔinni* **fagoo-dā**
 he\it.NOM far-COP
 'It/He is far away'
- c. **baajjee** **beekk-am-aa-dā**
 many\very\much know-PASS-ADJR.M-COP
 'He/it is (I am) a well known'
- d. *ʔisaan* **ʔabb-oota koo-ti**
 they.NOM father-PL my-COP
 'They are my elders/fathers'
- e. **niitii ʔisaa** **tur-t-e**
 wife him.GEN stay-3SG.F-PFV
 'She was his wife'

The copular verbs with their complement [180a-b] or complement with modifiers [180c-e] form a complete VP. Copular verbs can not form VP without complement. Now, let us move on to adjectival phrase.

9.1.3. Adjectival Phrase

Adjective head adjective phrase (AdjP). In RAO, it follow its noun head in the NP. An AdjP minimally consists of a head adjective [181a]. It can also contain intensifiers or modifiers that usually precede adjective [181b-c]. In rare cases, the complement of head adjective may be filled with post-modifier [181d]. Consider the following examples.

- 181.a. *dūiga ʔadii* **k'ab-Ø-a**
 blood white hold\have-3SG.M-IPFV
 'He/It has white blood'

- b. *ʔabbuwwaa-n baajjee beekk-am-aa-da*
 Abbuwwa-NOM many\very\much know-PASS-ADJR-COP
 ‘Abbuwwa is well known’
- c. *ʔisa ʔakka ʔabaluu gamna...*
 him like\as somebody clever
 ‘The clever one as somebody...’ ([Audio B 1m46.89-1m47.89ms](#))
- d. *gabaab-duu ʔakka dzirmaa*
 short-F like\as trunk
 ‘Short (F) like a stick’

The phrase in [181a] is a VP. It consists of a verb and a complement NP, which in turn is composed of a head noun and an AdjP *ʔadii* ‘white’. [181b] is a simple sentence. The VP of this sentence is headed by copula verb. It uses AdjP, *baajjee beekkamaa*, as a complement. In [181c], the adpositional phrase *ʔisa ʔakka ʔabaluu* modifies the adjective *gamna*. In [181d] there is something or somebody feminine that modify the adjective *gabaabduu*. This adjective precedes its modifier that is adpositional phrase. The AdjP in [181d] may modify other AdjP as for instance in *furdoo diimtuu bareedduu gabaabduu ʔakka dzirmaa*, the head *furdoo* and the others are modifiers including *gabaabduu ʔakka dzirmaa*.

9.1.4. Adpositional Phrase

Adpositional phrases in RAO consist of adpositions and noun phrases as their complement (or modifier). Rarely, clausal complements with adpositions can form an AdP. The followings are examples of adpositional.

- 182.a. *tigraj keeffa*
 Tigray in
 ‘In Tigray’
- b. *mana dura*
 house front
 ‘In front of a house’

c. *booda san*

after that

‘After that’ ([Audio A 1m22.00-1m22.76ms](#))

d. *sara ?ati duf-t-u*

time you(SG) come-2SG-IPFV

‘When/While you come,’

183. a. *mana keeffa=tti*

house in=LOC

‘Inside the house’

b. *karra ?eeboo-tii k’ab-ee hamma ?alaa=tti raajjaa*

Karra Ebo-COP.EMPH hold\have-CNV up to Ala=LOC Rayya

‘Starting from Karra Ebo up to Ala is Rayya’ (repeated from [161f])

Adpositions in adpositional phrase can be either stand independently [182] or affixed to their hosts [183] (cf. Baye 1986: 68ff and Debela 2011: 59 for the other dialect of the language). In [182a-b], the AdPs are composed of NP and adpositions *keeffa* ‘in’ and *dura* ‘front’, respectively. In [182c-d] on the other hand, adpositions precede their complements: pronoun and clausal, respectively. In [183a], the AdP consists of the postposition =*tti* ‘LOC’ and its locative AdP *mana keeffa* ‘in house’. The clausal complement and AdP in [183b] also form a main AdP. The complement itself has an AdP that formed from NP and postposition *-tii*. The AdP *hamma ?alaatti* in turn is the combination of Adp and postposition =*tti* ‘LOC’. Thus, the AdP would have a preposition and a postposition that would be competing for headship. On the other hand, AdP can be maximally modified as *manoota k’ork’oorroo kaleeffaa san duudaa keeffa* ‘in all that tin roof houses of yesterday,’ according to our database.

9.2. Sentential Structure

From the point of view of its constituent/word order, Afaan Oromoo, like many languages of Ethiopia at large and Cushitic in particular, is usually classified as an SOV language (Baye 1986: 23ff; Bender, Mulugeta and Stinson 1976: 147; Debela and Ronny 2003: 162; Gragg 1976: 190; Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 98, and Julien 2002: 334-335). The sentence type in which

this order is considered is usually declarative sentence with transitive verbs. If it is intransitive, the order becomes SV. Now, let us examine the sentential structure from the aspect of RAO.

9.2.1. Declarative Sentence

Declarative sentences are sentences whose primary purpose is to give information as opposed to interrogatives or imperatives. They are typically used to perform descriptive speech acts such as assertions, acts of complaining, reports, and acts of predicting (König and Siemund 2007: 285). Declarative sentences can be simple and complex. Simple declarative sentences generally consist of only one clause that is a main clause. On the other hand, complex sentences comprise a dependent and an independent clause. In RAO, declarative sentences are the most commonly occurring sentence type. There are two main types of declaratives: affirmative and negative. Below, the affirmative declarative is presented, whereas the negative declarative will be dealt with in negative sentences (§ 9.2.3).

An affirmative declarative sentence has a positive meaning, which confirms a certain situation or condition. Though an affirmative is morphologically unmarked in the variety of RAO, speakers may use focus marker *hin* [184e] or *ni* [184f] to make a strong statement or indicate confirmation. Affirmative declarative sentences are the most common type of sentences in the RAO database. Consider the examples below.

184. a. *kunee-n ʔabbaa koo-ti*

Kune-NOM father my-COP

‘Kune is my father’

([Audio C₁ 05.31-06.64ms](#))

b. *ʔinni horii mana=tti nak'-Ø-e*

he.NOM cattle house=LOC pour-3SG.M-PFV

‘He entered cattle to a house’

c. *ʔani məX'ələ gog-e*

I.NOM Mekele go-PFV

‘I went to Mekele’

- d. *biddeen-n-i tol-s-am-e* [*toffame*]
 injera-NOM-ep prepare\be nice-TRR-PASS-PFV
 ‘Injera was prepared’
- e. *man-n-i kun hin dīmʔis-Ø-a*
 house-NOM-ep this FOC leak-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘This house (roof) leaks’ (repeated from 67a)
- f. *ʔinni daddaakaa ni jaat-Ø-a*
 he.NOM dedaka (food) FOC eat-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘He (will) eat dedaka’

Example [184a] is an eventive affirmative declarative sentence, whereas [184b] is a stative sentence. Active and passive affirmative declarative sentences are exemplified in [184c] and [184d], respectively. In all the above examples, what the speakers are trying to communicate can provide crucial insights into new information. Therefore, they can be considered as informative affirmative declarative sentence. In the following examples, complex declarative sentences are presented.

185. a. *joo gaaf-at-t-e ʔisii-n hin wallaal-t-u*
 if question-INCH-2SG-PFV her-NOM NEG err-3SG.F-NCM-IPFV
 ‘If you ask her, she does not err’ ([Audio A 6m13.44-6m15.28ms](#))
- b. *waan datʃtʃee hoon taʔ-at-e* [*taate*] *datʃtʃee ʔisa kenn-Ø-a*
 thing land if become-MID-PFV land him give-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘If it is about land, it is he who allocates it’ ([Audio C₁ 12m41.63-12m43.97ms](#))

After we illustrated the sentential structure of a declarative sentence, let us now consider the structure of sentence in an interrogative one.

9.2.2. Interrogative Sentence

Interrogative sentences perform the function of a question. They can occur without or with a question word. Based on their syntactic and semantic features, interrogative sentences are classified into two: polar and constituent (König and Siemund 2007: 290-303). Like declarative

sentences, both types of interrogative sentences are subject to affirmative and negative constructions. In § 9.2.2.1 and § 9.2.2.2, the RAO affirmatives of both the polar and constituent interrogatives are discussed and exemplified. Their negative constructions are treated in § 9.2.3.2.

9.2.2.1. Polar Interrogative

Polar interrogatives are also known by a name ‘yes/no questions’ as they can be so answered. Of course, it is not an appropriate generalization since ‘not really’, ‘not clear’, ‘I/we do not now’ and so on can possibly be the type of answers polar interrogatives receive (Dixon 2012: 377-400). As stated by König and Siemund (2007: 291), polar interrogatives ask about the truth-value or the degree of truth of the proposition expressed. Dixon (2012: 391) and König and Siemund (2007: 292) outline six ways in which polar interrogatives may be expressed in languages around the world. Of these, RAO mainly employs rising intonation or pitches⁶⁷ on the verb with its ultimate vowel elongation [186], addition of tag [187] and polar question particle [188].

186. a. *ʔaʔaan* *ʔoromoo-tii-n* *dubb-at-n-aa* [*dubbannaa*]
 language\mouth Oromo-COP.GEN-INST speak-INCH-1PL-IPFV.QUES
 ‘Do we speak in Afaan Oromoo?’ (repeated from 78a)]
- b. *dakaa-n* *hin* *makak-aa*
 stone-NOM FOC melt (loan)-IPFV.QUES
 ‘Do a stone melt?’
- c. *sii* *gal-ee* *dzir-aa*
 you enter-PFV.CNV AUX:exist-QUES
 ‘Have you (2SG) understood it?’ ([Audio A 1m44.02-1m44.75ms](#))
- d. *gibirii* *ʔasiraatii kan* *dzed-am-u* *hin* *beek-t-aa*
 taxi tithe that say-PASS-DPT FOC know-2-QUES
 ‘Do you know the taxi that called tithe?’ ([Audio A 1m12.98-1m15.20ms](#))

⁶⁷ Note that this is an unfocused analysis since carrying out a detailed analysis of prosody is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

187. a. *ʔegere warra hin seen-t-a mitii*
 next family FOC enter-2SG-IPFV not.QUES
 ‘You will come in next time, Don’t you?’
- b. *ʔisaan kun ʔamma ʔilmaan koo-ti mitii*
 they these know children my.GEN-COP not.QUES
 ‘These are now my children, Aren’t they?’
- c. *gafars-i ʔaat-ee hin k’uuf-u mitii*
 buffalo-ep eat-CNV.PFV NEG satiate-NCM.IPFV not.QUES
 ‘Buffalo is a voracious animal, right?’
188. a. *nuuree dawwaa hin beek-t-aa-ree*
 Nure Dewwa FOC know-2-QUES-QUES
 ‘So, do you know Nure Dewwa?’
- b. *ʔisin hoo*
 you (2PL) QUES
 ‘What about you (2PL)?’
- c. *ʔafaan ʔoromoo moo*
 language\mouth Oromo QUES
 ‘Do you mean Afaan Oromoo?’ ([Audio A 10.62-1151.ms](#))

As can be observed from the above examples, all the polar questions exhibit rising intonation at the end of sentences. Both tag and polar question particles also utilize intonation contour. Polar question particles [186a-c] presuppose some prior discussion of the situation while uttering. Of the three question particles in [186], *-ree*, *hoo*, and *moo*, Baye (1986: 251) and Owens (1985a: 204) dealt with *-ree* of Mecha and Hararge Afaan Oromoo, respectively. However, only Baye’s (1986: 257) work states this particle as optional. In the dialect under investigation, if *-ree* becomes optional like that of Mecha variety, the questions become free of prior discussion as example [188a] becomes *Nuuree Dawwaa hin beek-t-aa* (Nure Dawa FOC know-2-QUES.IPFV) ‘do you know Nure Dawa?’

9.2.2.2. Constituent Interrogative

Constituent interrogatives, which are also called ‘content questions’, ‘wh-questions’ (in English), ‘question-word questions, or ‘information questions’, are questions which may be answered by a kind of information specified by the interrogative word (König and Siemund 2007: 291; Payne 1997: 298, and Givón 2001: 300). The major interrogative words in the variety of RAO are *ʔee(oo)ŋnu* ‘who’, *maal* ‘what’, *ʔeeffa* ‘where’, and *kam* ‘which’. Moreover, the dialect has derived interrogative words that are *ʔakkam*, ‘how’, *hammam* ‘how many/much’, *joom/baram* ‘when’, *ʔee(oo)ŋnuu* ‘whom’, and *maaliif* ‘why’ (cf. Amanuel 2006: 25ff, and Baye 1986: 257 for Mecha and Owens 1985a: 205 for Hararge varieties of the language). The followings are sentential examples of some interrogative words in RAO. Note that *ee(oo)ŋnu*, *maal*, *ʔeeffa*, *kam*, and *ʔakkam* are already exemplified in § 4.6.

189. a. *ʔintal-n-i* [*ʔinatalli*] *ʔintala ʔeeŋnuu*

daughter-NOM-ep daughter who.GEN

‘Whose daughter is she?’ ([RAOM2 007](#))

b. *ʔooŋnuu wadʒdzin dubb-at-t-a*

whom together speak-INCH-2-IPFV

‘With whom do you speak with?’

c. *ʔoromoo-itʃiʃa* [*ʔoromitʃiʃa*] *keeŋna maaliif balleeff-i-t-an*

Oromoo-SGT ours why spoil-ep-2-PL

‘Why do you spoil our language, Afaan Oromoo?’

d. *maaliif kana dʒed-t-e* [*dʒette*]

why this say-2\3SG.F-PFV

‘Why did you/she say this?’ ([RAOM1 065](#))

e. *ʔumurii-n koo hammam ʔinni ʔalijjii*

age-NOM my how many he Aliyi

‘How old am I, Aliyi?’

f. *ʔumurii kee hammam god-at-t-ee=r-t-a*

age your how many do\put-MID-2-CNV.PFV=AUX:exist-2-IPFV

‘How old are you?’ ([Audio D 5m25.02-5m26.51ms](#))

g. *hajila sillaasee-n joom tur-Ø-e*
 Haile silassie-NOM when stay-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘When did Haile Silassie live?’

h. *ʔati ʔarma bara=m duf-t-e*
 you here year=whic come-2-PFV
 ‘When did you come here?’

The above examples show that constituent interrogatives are more open-ended that are intended to elicit more responses that are varied. In verbal clauses of the dialect, the interrogative words occur frequently immediately before the verbs [189c, f-h]. *Hammam* ‘how many’ is placed after the word it quantifies [189e-f]. However, *hammam godatteerta ʔumurii kee* ‘how old are you?’ is also possible in shifting focus. In verbless constructions, on the other hand, interrogative word can be placed at the end of the construction [189a]. Note that *kam* ‘which’ is used as one member for the following derived interrogative words.

hamma ‘upto’ + *kam* ‘which’ derive *hammakam* (shortened *hammam* ‘how many/much’)
joo ‘if’ + *kam* ‘which’ derive *jookam* (shortened form *joom* ‘when’)
bara ‘year’ + *kam* ‘which’ derive *barakam* (shortened form *baram* ‘when’)
ʔakk ‘like’ + *kam* ‘which’ derive *ʔakkakam* (shortened form *ʔakkam* ‘how’)

In all the shortened forms, the first two segments of *kam* are removed. Though the deletion needs more investigation to generalize, *ʔakkakam* (or *ʔakkam* in its shortened form) is reported for Mecha Afaan Oromoo by Amanuel (2006: 29). Concerning the interrogative particles, only *-ree* is used with interrogative words as exemplified in [190].

190. a. *bara=m duf-t-e-ree*
 year=which come-2\3SG.F-PFV-QUES
 ‘So, when did you/she come?’ ([Audio D 5m 27.23-5m 28.53ms](#))
- b. *maal ʔirraa ʔarg-i-t-e-ree*
 what from see-ep-2\3SG.F-PFV-QUES
 ‘So, what did you/she observe/s from somebody (or something)?’

c. *maaliif duf-t-e-ree*

why come-2\3SG.F-PFV-QUES

‘So, why did you/she come/s?’

9.2.3. Negative Sentence

A negative sentence is one which asserts that some situation, event, or state of affairs does not hold (Payne 1997: 282). It tends to evoke contexts in which the corresponding positive concepts are already noticeable. As stated by Dixon (2012: 132-133), the process of negating an utterance can be applied to declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences. Below, negative declaratives, negative interrogatives, and negative imperatives of RAO are presented.

9.2.3.1. Negative declarative Sentence

A negative declarative sentence is a contrary about the fact of affirmative sentence. Thus, it declares what it is not. The process of converting affirmative to a negative is called negation. The negation of declarative sentence in RAO varies based on the aspectual distinctions. In perfective construction, the pre-verbal particle *hin* and post-verbal affix *-n* is used [191], whereas in imperfective construction pre-verbal negator *hin* is employed without post-verbal affix *-n* as exemplified in [193].

191. a. *ʔani waan ʔabii-f hin duf-n-e*

I.NOM thing other-DAT NEG come-NCM-PFV

‘I did not come for another purpose’

b. *mak’aa ʔisaa nuu hin kenn-i-n-e*

name he.GEN us.DAT NEG give-ep-NCM-PFV

‘He did not tell us his name’

c. *tʃʰiitʃʰoo-n hin ʔul-am-n-e*

container-NOM NEG fumigate-PASS-NCM-PFV

‘The container was not fumigated’

As shown in [191a-c], the negative marker *hin* immediately precedes the verb roots/stems, while *-n* precedes aspect marker of the verbs. As can be observed from the examples, the

features of person, gender, and number on the verbs are blocked due to the presence of negation. This holds true for the other Afaan Oromoo varieties (for instance Baye 1986: 225 for Mecha variety). Although Kebede (2009: 42) argues that the negation marker of perfective declarative affirmative sentence is *waan-root/stem-ne*⁶⁸ in RAO, this is not attested in the data collected for this dissertation. Rather *waa* ‘anything/none, or something’ is attested preceding the pre-verbal *hin* in the following examples.

192. a. *tigrinnaa waa hin beek-u tur-Ø-e*
 Tigrinya none\something NEG know-NCM AUX:stay-3SG.M\1SG-PFV
 ‘He/I did not know any Tigrinya’ ([RAOS 003](#))
- b. *waa hin jaad-at-d-u [jaadadɗu]*
 none\something NEG remember-MID-1SG-IPFV
 ‘I do not remember anything’

As can be seen in [192], *waa* may be used in both perfective [192a] and imperfective aspects [192b]. In perfective auxiliary, the negator *hin* precedes the main verb. The followings are examples of pre-verbal negator *hin* in imperfective aspect with the absence of *waa* and *-n-*. We should notice that, except in second and third plural subjects, *-u* is used with *hin* instead of *-n-*.

193. a. *ʔani hin beek-u*
 I.NOM NEG know-NCM
 ‘I do not know’ ([Audio B 2m54.43-2m55.22ms](#))
- b. *ʔisaan hin beek-Ø-an*
 they.NOM NEG know-3-PL
 ‘They do not know’ ([Audio D 32.22-33.10ms](#))
- c. *dʒaar-sa-i-n [dʒaarsin] hin dʒir-u*
 be old-ADJR.M-ep-NOM NEG exist-NCM
 ‘The old man does not exist’

⁶⁸ *waan-matʃʔtʃaaw-ne [waammattʃʔtʃooine]*
 NEG-drink-NEG,PFV
 ‘We were not drunk’

d. *ʔisii-n gaangoʔ hin jaabb-at-t-u*
 her-NOM mule NEG ride-INCH-3SG.F-NCM.IPFV
 ‘She does not ride a mule’ ([RAOM2 152](#))

e. *ʔamma fidəl hin k’ab-n-u*
 now alphabet(loan) NEG hold\have-1PL-NCM
 ‘We have no writing system now’

Unlike the negation of declarative sentence in perfective construction, the negation of imperfective does not block the subject-verb agreement [193a-e]. Regarding copula constructions, on the other hand, RAO employs the particle *miti* ‘not’ to negate them as appeared in [194].

194. a. *kun kan raajjaa miti*
 this GEN Rayya not.COP
 ‘This is not Rayya’s’

b. *gujjaa-n keepnaa miti*
 day-NOM our.GEN not.COP
 ‘It is not our time’ ([Audio D 5m35.87-5m37.86ms](#))

The above copula interrogative sentences are constructed from the declarative copula sentences: *kun kan raajjaati* ‘this is Rayya’s’, and *gujjaan keepnaɖa* ‘it is our time’, respectively. The copulas are replaced by *miti* in both examples. Next, we examine negative sentences in interrogative.

9.2.3.2. Negative interrogative sentence

A negative interrogative sentence, like declarative and imperative negatives, is accompanied by the particle *hin* in RAO. This particle precedes the question verbs. Negative interrogatives mainly occur with a second person addressee who is questioned about his/her action. Consider the following examples.

195. a. *ganda tf'irratfifaa hin gog-n-ee*
 village Chirrecha.GEN NEG go-NCM-QUES.PFV
 'Do you not go to Ganda Chirrecha?' ([Audio A 3m46.87-3m48.32ms](#))
- b. *?ati habii hin beek-t-uu*
 you loan NEG know-2-QUES.IPFV
 'Do you not know loan?'
- c. *?ati maaliif kan hin gal-s-at-n-e [gaʃʃanne]*
 you why that NEG enter-TRR-MID-NCM-PFV
 'Why did you not marry?'

As can be seen in [195], both polar and content interrogatives can be negated. In the first example, polar perfective interrogative is negated, while in the second example polar imperfective interrogative is negated. In the third example, content perfective interrogative sentence is negated. In [195a] the addressee may be beyond second person (i.e. they, she, and he), whereas in [195b-c] it is only second person singular. Now, let us turn to the negative imperative sentence.

9.2.3.3. Negative Imperative Sentence (Prohibitive)

A negative imperative is telling someone not to do something. The negative imperative is also known as 'prohibitive' (Aikhenvald 2010: 1). As already introduced in (§ 5.3.1.3.2), prohibitive in the variety of RAO is marked by *hin* and *-n(-)* (see example 112). Accordingly, the prohibitive marker *hin* precedes the root/stem, whereas *-n(-)* succeeds the root/stem following the imperative marker *-i-* in both singular and plural subjects [196a-c]. In addition, the plural subject takes the imperative marker *-aa* immediately after the negative marker *-n-* [196b]. Note that the imperative marker *-i-* is mandatory in prohibitive construction, whereas in positive imperative construction it is optionally used with *-du* only in a singular addressee (see Table 19).

196. a. *hin maam-i-n*
 NEG call-IMP.2SG.IPFV-NCM
 'Do not call them/us/me/her/him!' ([RAOM 1 021](#))

- b. *ʔaffaar hin lol-i-n-aa*
 Affar NEG quarrel-IMP.IPFV-NCM-IMP.2PL
 ‘Do not fight Affar!(PL)’
- c. *ʔinni hin duf-i-n*
 he.NOM NEG come-JUSS.IPFV-NCM
 ‘Let him not come!’

A close examination of the constructions in [112] and [1946] reveal that, in the negative, the imperative/jussive expresses a prohibition. The prohibition in the second person is typically stronger than in the third person. In addition, as in many languages of the world (Payne 1997: 304), the way of forming prohibitive is with the imperfective form of the verb plus a prohibitive marker. In what follows we shall discuss copular and copula-like clauses.

9.3. Copular and Copula-like Clauses

Copular clauses are a minor sentence type in which predicates are noun phrase, adjective phrase or adpositional phrase rather than verb (Mikkelsen 2011: 1805). In some languages, copular clauses may possess verbal copula joining the subject and the non-verbal element, whereas in others these clauses may totally miss verbal elements (Dryer 2007a: 224-226, and Mikkelsen 2011: 1805). According to Crass et al. (2005: 5), the Cushitic languages use particle copulas as their most basic copula clause constructions. As they added, particle copulas may not share some properties with ordinary verbs in the language family. It seems that this is what is shared by Crass et al. (2004: 26-35) as cited in Tadesse (2015: 194). Of semantic domains, which RAO may encode with copula clauses; equational clause, existential clause and possessive construction are discussed through sections 9.3.1-9.3.3.

9.3.1. Equational Clause

An equational clause equates two arguments in a given sentence (Mikkelsen 2011: 1807). According to Mikelsen, equative clause and identity clause are the terms interchangeably used with equational clause. Equational clause in RAO is usually marked by the copula *-da* or *-ti* in

imperfective and *ture*⁶⁹ in perfective constructions. The marker *-da* is suffixed to the predicate noun or adjective phrase, whereas *-ti* is attached only to noun phrases. On the other hand, both phrases can complement the copula *ture*. Consider the following possibility of having NP and/or AdjP complements [197-204].

197. a. *kuni misingaa-da*
 this.NOM sorghum-COP
 ‘This is sorghum’
- b. *ʔidʒoollee-n keenjʌa tigre-da*
 children.COLL-NOM ours Tigre-COP
 ‘Our children are Tigrean’
- c. *ʔinni kun diimaa-da*
 he.NOM this red-COP
 ‘This one is red’
- d. *ʔabbuwaa-n beek-am-aa-da* [*beekkamaada*]
 Abbuwwa-NOM know-PASS-ADJR-COP
 ‘Abbuwwa is known’ (repeated from [97a])

The copular element *-da* is used in identity [197a-b] and attributive [197c-d] expressions. In the first couples of examples, it is attached to NP, whereas in [197c-d] it is suffixed to AdjP. The particle *-da* is just a linking verb and so it is not carry the main meaning of the sentence in describing the situations/events. In rare cases, this particle may be dropped without any precondition and the clause remains unaffected semantically as exemplified in [198].

198. a. *haad-i koo faat’umaa*
 mother-ep my Fatuma
 ‘My mother is Fatuma’ [\(Audio D 51.93-52.89ms\)](#)

⁶⁹ The verb *tur-* has lexical meaning of ‘wait/stay’. With this meaning, it may be used in both perfective and imperfective aspects (cf. Ishetu 1981: 21).

b. *gaafii-n kee bareeda*

question-NOM your good

‘Your question is good’

([Audio A 3m42.60-3m43.71ms](#))

As can be seen in [198], *-da* is omitted from the NP. However, we cannot analyze it as zero copulas since *-da* may appear with the NP as in [199].

199. a. *haad-i koo faat’umaa-da*

mother-ep my Fatuma-COP

‘My mother is Fatuma’

b. *gaafii-n kee bareedaa-da*

question-NOM your good-COP

‘Your question is good’

In the analysis of some Afaan Oromoo varieties, for instance Mecha (Ishetu 1981: 9), $\emptyset$ is provided as a means of copular construction after short vowels. In RAO however, *-da* is used based on the length of vowel in penultimate syllable. If the said vowel is short, the last short vowel becomes elongated when *-da* is attached [200a-b].

200. a. *nu-jji firaa-da*

we.NOM-FOC relative-COP

‘We are relatives’

b. *ɿnni ɿaliɿɿii wadɿɿzin k’ok’k’obaa-da*

he.NOM Aliyyi together\with neighbor-COP

‘He is neighbor with Aliyyi’

In [200] *fira*, and *k’ok’k’oba* are lexemes, which hosts the particle *-da*. In genitive case on the other hand, the particle *-ti* with the same semantic meaning *-da* (i.e. is/are) is also used in the RAO.

201. a. *niitii-n=saa kaannisa harree-ti*

wife-NOM=him.GEN bee donkey-COP

‘His wife is a wasp’

b. *ʔisii-n kun niitii ʔisaa-ti*
 her-NOM this wife him.GEN-COP
 ‘This one is his wife’

c. *ʔisaan ʔabbaa-oota [ʔabboota] koo-ti*
 they.NOM father-PL my-COP
 ‘They are my elders/fathers’

In [201], predicative genitives precede the copula particle *-ti* to generate clauses of equational copulas. Of course, the position of *-ti* in Afaan Oromoo grammar is the unsettled issues that has been considered in a literature to be either a genitive copula (Baye 1986: 60, 65; Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 109; Isetu 1981: 9ff, and Shimelis 2014: 255) or a genitive/possessive marker (Banti 1988a: 28; Bender, Mulugeta and Stinson 1976: 140, and Gragg 1976: 183). As can be observed in the examples [197-201], both particles are not conjugated for person, gender and number. Additionally, both *-da* and *-ti* implement the same morpheme *tur-* for perfective constructions [202a-c] and *miti* for negative copula clauses in imperfective construction [202d-e]. Therefore, we are with the position held by the former scholars who consider *-ti* as genitive copula.

202. a. *ʔisii-n kun niitii ʔisaa tur-t-e*
 her-NOM this wife him.GEN stay-3SG.F-PFV
 ‘This one (she) was his wife’

b. *bijjoo-n keenna dziid-aa tur-Ø-e*
 soil-NOM ours wet-ADJR.M stay-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘Our land was fertile’

c. *waadzdziraat duudaa-n ʔoromoo tur-Ø-e*
 Wajjirat all-NOM Oromo stay-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘All Wajjirats were Oromos’

d. *kun kofkoftoo-da malee kufkuftoo miti*
 this Kofkofto-COP without Kufkufto not.COP
 ‘This village is Kofkofto not Kufkufto’

- e. *kun kan raajjaa miti*
 this of Rayya not.COP
 ‘This is not Rayya’s’

The perfective marked copula in [202a-c] has the basic function of predicating a past; no longer-existing or non-continuing or some what unsuccessful relation. The perfective copula *tur-*, unlike the imperfective copula particles *-da* and *-ti*, acts as a full verb. This is to mean, it can be, for example, conjugate for gender, person, number and also negated by the particle *hin* ...(*n-*). The dialect also uses *tah-/taʔ-* ‘become’ for change of identity [203].

203. a. *mootii-n keenna tigree tah-Ø-e*
 king-NOM ours Tigrean become-3SG.M-PFV
 ‘Our governor became Tigrean’
 b. *ʔilmaan kee duree-jjii-Ø-an [dureejjan] haa taʔ-an*
 children your rich-PL-3-PL JUSS become-3PL
 ‘Let your children become rich’
 c. *ʔarrab-n-i kee dajma haa taʔ-Ø-u*
 tongue-NOM-ep your honey JUSS become-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘Let your speech become potent’

As can be observed, the morpheme *tah/ʔ-* ‘become’ acts as a full verb. The RAO also uses *-i* as a copula marker in consonant ending words. Example [204] show the issue.

204. a. *kuni misingaa-da kun-i-s midaan-i*
 this.NOM sorghum-COP this.NOM-ep-too grain-COP
 ‘This is sorghum and this too is grain’
 b. *ʔunat-n-i=saa [ʔunannisaa] ʔaannan-i*
 sipping-NOM-ep=him.GEN milk-COP
 ‘What he is sipping is milk’

- c. *ʔinni ʔafur-i*
 he\it.NOM four-COP
 ‘It is four’

Now, let us move on to the second issue of copular and copula-like construction, namely existential clause, and explore its syntax.

9.3.2. Existential Clause

An existential clause is a clause that specify something or somebody situated in a place or introduce referents. In RAO variety, it is constructed by the addition of verb *dzir*⁷⁰ - ‘exist’ to complements or modifiers. Data from the dialect show examples of existential clause, such as the following.

205. a. *hidduu-n dzir-a*
 middle-1SG exist-IPFV
 ‘I am in between’
- b. *Must’afaa wadzdzin ʔarma dzir-n-a [dzirra]*
 Mustefa together here exist-1PL-IPFV
 ‘We are here with Mustefa’ (repeated from [165a])
- c. *ʔakkajjaa-n koo dzir-t-i*
 grandmother-NOM my exist-3SG.F-IPFV
 ‘My grandmother is alive’
- d. *ʔamma ʔisii wadzdzin dzir-Ø-a*
 now she together exist-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘Now, he is with her’

The meaning of such clauses is to declare someone referred to as present in a certain location [205a-b]. The existential constructions in [205c-d] are not to specify the location of a known

⁷⁰ The verb *dzir*- functions as main verb and as imperfective aspect marker besides functioning as an auxiliary.

entity but to assert the existence of some previously unIntroduced entity. Such constructions may require a temporal expression as exemplified in [205d]. We will now turn to possessive clause.

9.3.3. Possessive Clause

A possessive clause comprises a subject as the possessor and a predicate as the possessum. The RAO uses *k'ab*⁷¹-, which refers to an ownership over something and can act as a verb meaning 'to possess, to own, to have' to indicate possessive clause. This verb inflects in the same way as an existential clause inflect for grammatical functions. Note the following examples.

206. a. *ʔani waan lama k'ab-Ø-a*
 I.NOM thing two hold\have-1SG-IPFV
 'I have two things' (RT 13)
- b. *miiloo k'ab-t-aa [k'abdaa]*
 friend hold\have-2SG-QUES
 'Do you have a friend?'
- c. *waan lama k'ab-t-i [k'abdi]*
 thing two hold\have-3SG.F-IPFV
 'She has two things'
- d. *dʒimaa k'ab-n-a*
 khat hold\have-1PL-IPFV
 'We have khat'
- e. *ʔamma fidal hin k'ab-n-u*
 now letter (loan) NEG hold\have-1PL-NCM
 'Now, we have no letters'

As can be observed in [206a-e], the position of possessum is the position of the object in the sentences. Accordingly, *k'ab*- is used as transitive verbs in all examples. It inflects for person and number [206a-e] and gender [206c]. It is also negated in [206e].

⁷¹ This verb was may be derived from *k'ab*- 'hold'.

9.4. Relative Clause

A relative clause (RC) is a type of clause that functions as a modifier within a noun phrases (Kroeger 2005: 89). Thus it is embedded in an NP. We use relative clause to make clear which person or thing we are talking about. In the Cushitic languages, RC appear to follow the head noun (Frajzyngier 2012: 614). In RAO too, relative clause occurs after the noun that modify, as shown below.

207. a. *horii kan bifa ?akka kanaa [?akkanaa] k'ab-u fid-aa*
 cattle that color like this.GEN hold\have-DPT bring-IMP.2PL
 'You (PL), bring the cattle that has this kind of color'
- b. *kan deem-t-u hin tuk'-i-n-aa*
 that go-3SG.F-IPFV NEG touch-IMP-NCM-IMP.2PL
 'You (PL), do not touch one who (F) (will) go(es)' ([Audio A 2m16.28-2m17.39ms](#))
- c. *kunee-n butftifuna ?isa hamma wajii gah-u karaa kaah-Ø-e*
 Kune-NOM gourd him\it until something arrive-DPT road put-3SG.M-PFV
 'Kune put a gourd, which is very big, on a street' ([Audio C₁ 2m01.45-2m03.40ms](#))
- d. *dzaars-ota-n-i [dzaarsonni] ?isaan maam-am-Ø-an [maammaman] sun dubartee*
 old man-PL-NOM-ep they call-PASS-3-PL that dubarte
wad3d3in haraar-s-u
 together reconcile-TRR-IPFV
 'The old men, those that were called, along with dubarte (will) reconcile someone'

The examples presented in [207a-d] demonstrate the common relativization strategy in RAO. In [207a-b], relative clauses are marked by *kan*, whereas in [207c-d] they are represented by third person. However, the marker *kan* is optional if the head noun is present as exemplified in [207a] and it is obligatory if headless RC does occur as in [207b]. The same situations occur in Hararge variety of Afaan Oromoo (Shimelis 2014: 275). The acceptability of RC without an overt head is also analyzed for Mecha variety (Baye 1986: 229; 1987: 61). As can be seen from the examples, the head noun of the RC can be the subject [207d] and/or object [207a, b] of the main clause.

Before proceeding to the next section (i.e. complement clause), we should note that in rare cases, speakers show a preference position for using relative clause with respect to head. For instance if we consider [207a], it can be possibly written as *horii bifa ?akkanaa kan k'abu fidaa* and/or *bifa ?akkanaa kan k'abu horii fidaa* with all glossed same.

9.5. Complement Clause

A complement clause is a clause type that functions as a nominal argument of another clause. According to Dixon (2006: 1), certain verbs such as ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘know’, ‘believe’, ‘like’, ‘tell’ and ‘want’ in many languages take a clause as a core argument instead of an NP, and this is said to be complement clause (Dixon 2006: 1). In other words, the intended logic is that if a given complementation pattern does not combine with these verbs, it cannot be a complement clause, but rather it can be considered as complementation strategy (Dixon 2006: 2ff). However, a complementation pattern combines with verb to be predicate can be considered as complement clause in Mecha Afaan Oromoo (Baye 1986: 158-9,175,183). This holds true for RAO as indicated in [208a-d].

208. a. *?abbajjee tolaa sara takka ?akka kuba dik'-at- Ø-e* *dageenj⁷²-e*

Abaye Tola time one COMP kuba wash-MID-3SG.M-PFV hear-PFV
‘We heard that Abaye Tola once made kuba festivity’

b. *?oonju diira ?akka ta?-Ø-e* *kan hin beek-am-n-e* [*beekkamne*]

who male COMP become-3SG.M-PFV COMP NEG know-PASS-NCM-PFV
‘The situation in which the hero was not identified’ ([RAOM 1 110](#))

c. *t'aalijaani kan lol-Ø-e* *hajila sillaasee tur-Ø-e*

Italy COMP quarrel-3SG.M-PFV Haile silassie stay-3SG.M-PFV
‘The one that fought Italy was Haile Silassie’ ([Audio A 42.70-45.29ms](#))

d. *niitii ?isaa-ti kan biddeena ?itti fid-u*

wife him.GEN-COP COMP injera to bring-DPT.IPFV
‘The one that brings (will bring) injera to him is his wife’ ([RAOM2 198](#))

⁷² Cf. § 5.1 about irregularity.

As can be seen, the above examples nicely show how the two events are integrated into a single argument by complementizers *ʔakka* [208a-b] and *kan* [2068c-d]. In light of such examples, the complement clauses with *ʔakka* precede their main clauses, whereas those with *kan* may be precede or follow their main clauses. Complement clauses service as syntactic argument of their main clauses. For instance in [208a], the bold typeface construction is a complement clause functioning as the object of *dageenjne* ‘we heard’ while in [208b], the bold typeface of the sentence functions as the subject of *hin beekkamne* ‘it did not known’.

In the other varieties of Afaan Oromoo, some scholars (Baye 1986: 102ff, and 1987: 61; Gragg 1976: 193; Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 114; Hawine 2007: 37; Owens 1985a: 144-145, and Shimelis 2014: 261-266) have treated the complement clause. At least in Mecha (Gragg 1976: 193) and Hararge (Shimelis 2014: 260) varieties of the language, in addition to complementizer, a full-fledged clause without complementizer can function as a complement clause if it is integrated with the main clause by means of a demonstrative clitic. However, complement clause without complementizers is not attested in RAO. Before we proceed to conditional clause, we would kindly referred interested readers to Baye’s (1986; 1987) discussion of complement clause in Mecha Afaan Oromoo.

9.6. Conditional Clause

A conditional clause is a type of clause stating the condition under which a given event will happen, and being stated in a main clause (Greenbaum 1996: 340). Thus conditional clause involves two events one of which is the condition in a subordinate clause (protasis) and a main clause as apodosis. The particles *joo*, *ʔodoo/uu*, and *hoo(n)*, glossed as English ‘if’ express conditional clause in RAO. Except *ʔodoo/uu*, which indicates the protasis as highly hypothetical [210], the rest linkers mark the protasis as highly probable⁷³ [209 and 211] (cf. Debela and Ronny 2006: 72ff; Griefenow-Mewis 2001: 113, 116 and Owens 1985a: 149-150

⁷³ Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007: 255) make a basic semantic distinction between ‘reality conditionals’ and ‘unreality conditionals’. However, Debela and Ronny (2006: 71) use the terms ‘highly probable’ and ‘highly hypothetical’ for ‘real condition’ and ‘unreal condition’ respectively in describing Afaan Oromoo. Accordingly, we use the terms ‘highly probable’ to refer to conditions that the speaker considers to be fulfilled with certainty and ‘highly hypothetical’ for to refer to conditions which the speaker considers to be fulfilled with suspicion.

for the other varieties of the dialect). In Rayya, as reported for Mecha by Debela and Ronny (2006: 71), both highly probable and highly hypothetical states of affairs in the protasis are encoded by a verb in the perfective aspects. However, highly probable/hypothetical states of affairs in the apodosis are mainly expressed by a verb in the imperfective aspects. Consider the following examples.

209. a. *joo gaaf-at-t-e* *ʔisii-n* *hin* *wallaal-t-u*
 if question-INCH-2SG-PFV her-NOM NEG err-3SG.F-NCM-IPFV
 ‘If you ask her, she doesn’t err’ ([Audio A 6m13.44-6m15.28ms](#))
- b. *joo hin* *kidʒib-Ø-a* *dʒed-t-e* [*dʒette*] *koott-u* *si-n* *ʔagar-siis-a*
 if FOC lie-3SG.M-IPFV say-2SG-PFV come-IMP.2SG you-1SG see-CS-IPFV
 ‘If you doubt its truth, come and let me show you!’
- c. *nama-it/ɪf-i* *kun joo fajj-at-e* *ʔeelfa=tti* *gog-ee* *ʔisaan*
 man-SGT-ep this if cure-MID-PFV where=LOC go-CNV.PFV them
k’ab-at-a
 hold\have-MID-IPFV
 ‘If he got sick/ill, where could he find them?’

As can be seen from the examples [209a-c], the conditional clause tends to occur at the beginning of the sentences. In other words, the protasis usually precedes the apodosis. This holds true for both the highly hypothetical marker *ʔodoo/uu* and the highly probable marker *hoo(n)* as exemplified in [210] and [211], respectively.

210. a. *ʔodoo na dʒaal-at-t-ee* *sokk-i-t-ee* *naa-f*
 if me love-INCH-3SG.F-CNV.PFV flee-ep-3SG.F-CNV.PFV me-DAT
duf-t-i
 come-3SG.F-IPFV
 ‘If she loved me, she would come to me after she left’
- b. *gadaa ʔodoo-n ʔarg-at-d-ee* [*ʔargadde*] *waan god-u-n* *k’ab-a*
 Gada if-1SG see-MID-1SG-CNV thing do-IPFV-1SG hold\have-IPFV
 ‘If I get Gada, I will do something’

211. a. *waan datfiffee hoon taʔ-at-e [taate] datfiffee ʔisa kenn-Ø-a*
 thing land if become-MID-PFV land him give-3SG.M-IPFV
 ‘If it is about land, it is he who allocates it’ (repeated from 185b)
- b. *horii-n kun hoon kuma san-i=rree takka ʔirʔ-at-e [ʔirrate] hin*
 cattle-NOM this if thousand that-ep=ABL one decrease-INCH-PFV NEG
dikʼ-at-am-u
 wash-MID-PASS-NCM
 ‘Usually, if this cattle decrease from one thousand, Kuba celebration will not take place’ ([Audio C1 10m03.04-10m06.43ms](#))
- c. *ʔisa darb-Ø-e hoo fid-n-e [finne] maal faajidaa kʼab-aa*
 him pass-3SG.M-PFV if bring-1PL-PFV what advantage hold\have-QUES
 ‘If we brought the past, what advantage would it have?’ ([Audio A 24.66-27.20ms](#))

In addition to *joo*, *ʔodoo/uu*, and *hoo(n)*, we also found one example in which *-naan* is used to express conditional clause in RAO (*baksaa-n reʔee ʔidʒa kee-tii-f taʔ-naan [taanaan] waan ʔabi* (refined butter-NOM goat eye your-COP.GEN-DAT AUX:BE-IF:PRB:HAB thing other) ‘Goat’s refined butter is good, if it is for your eye’). However, it is also used in contexts that are more conveniently read in a habitual converbs as presented in § 9.7. Concerning the status of *-naan* in the other Afaan Oromoo varieties, consider the works of Banti (2010: 37), Debela and Ronny (2006: 74-75), Gragg (1976: 187,192), and Owens (1985a: 151) among the others.

9.7. Converb Clause

Scholars define the term ‘converb’ in various ways. According to Haspelmath (1995: 3), converb is a non-finite verb whose main function is to mark adverbial subordinate clause. In contrast, Nedjalkov (1995: 97) defines converb as a finite verb that depends syntactically on another verb form. According to Azeb and Dimmendaal (2006: 427), on the other hand, converb is dependent verb form that is used to conjoin sentences to form complex predicate. Whatever difference we may have observed in converb definitions, the crucial point is that converb is an inflected verb. It functions as a clause chaining device that depict sequences or simultaneous events besides functioning as adverbial subordination, but cannot form a sentence

on its own (Banti 2010: 32-33). A clause which contains the converb does not occur as a main predicate of independent clause (Bisang 1995: 141). Thus, converb is a verb form devoid of the ability to head an independent clause.

In Afaan Oromoo, there are two types of converbs, one based on perfective verb with the final vowel lengthened, and the other formed by the suffix *-naan* attached to the verb stem (Zelalem 2014: 20). The same holds true in RAO. In this dialect, converb cannot be considered finite main clause verb as it cannot form a main clause predication on its own, nor do it occurs in the negative construction. The following examples indicate converb clauses in the target dialect.

212. a. *hiir-ota=saa* *k'ab-at-Ø-ee* *duf-a*
 bestman-PL=him.GEN hold\have-MID-3SG.M-CNV.PFV come-IPFV
 'He (will) come with his bestmen' (Lit. He (will) come holding his bestmen)
 ([RAOM2 216](#))
- b. *waliin* *taʔ-an-ii* *nu* *ʔeeg-u*
 together become-3PL-CNV us wait-IPFV
 'Together, they (will) wait for us' (Lit. Being together, they will wait for us)
- c. *jaat-aa* *dug-aa* *ʔool-Ø-e*
 eat-CNV.PROG drink-CNV.PROG spend the day-3SG.M-PFV
 'He spent the day while eating and drinking'
- d. *kuma* *guut-naan* *kuba* *dik'-at-Ø-a*
 thousand fill-HAB.CNV kuba was-MID-3SG.M-IPFV
 'If he owns one thousand cattle, he celebrates *kuba*'

In examples [212a, b], the converb is respectively indicated by lengthening of final vowel *-e* and *-i*. In [212c], the marker *-aa* is used to indicate progressive converb, which denotes the action of converb takes place simultaneously with the action of the verb in main clause. In [212d], on the other hand, the suffix *-naan* marks habitual converb of the dialect. This converb shows the experienced action or event. As described by Zelalem (2014: 60), the converbs formed with lengthening final vowels are named generalized converbs due to their frequency and various functions. The converbs that are formed by *-aa* and *-naan* are said to be specialized

converbs. Unlike generalized converbs, both the specialized converbs, do not inflected. In all cases, the verbal event or state in the converb clause usually precede the state of affairs expressed in the main verb.

9.8. Simple construction Versus Complex construction

A simple construction contains phrase such as NP, VP, AdjP, AdP, and simple sentence. The nucleus of every simple sentence is necessarily composed of at least one nominal and a verbal. Complex construction on the other hand contains more than one clause or more than one VP. Thus, complex sentence is a sentence consisting of a main clause and at least one subordinate clause. A number of types of simple constructions and complex constructions were presented from sections 9.1 through 9.7. So, to avoid redundancy, we did not deal with these two structures in this sub-section.

9.9. Summary

This chapter gives an overview of basic syntax of RAO, including constituent/word order in phrases (NP, VP, AdjP, and AdP), sentences (declarative, interrogative, and negative), copula or copular-like constructions, and clauses (relative, complement, conditional, and converb). In NP, the leftmost position of the phrase is filled by the head noun. It may consist noun alone, modifiers or relative clause. As modifiers of NP, adjectives, quantifiers, numerals, demonstratives, and possessive/genitive noun phrases are used in the dialect. VP, which is the rightmost position of the phrase, can be formed by verb alone or verb preceded with preverbal markers. It is followed by different particles that have grammatical functions such as gender, aspect, and number. AdjP is formed in two ways: from adjective alone and from adjective with intensifier/modifier. AdP in RAO is formed from the sum of adposition and NP. Very few AdPs are formed from causal complement with adposition, and adposition with adposition in the dialect. The over all word order of the dialect in declarative sentence with transitive verb is SOV. In the sentence types, affirmatives are analysed distinctly, whereas negatives are discussed in negative sentence.

Copular or copular-like clause is also presented. Equational, existential, and possessive clauses are discussed in the clause. Relative clause in the dialect usually stands after the noun that it refers to. The markers are *kan* and third person. In complement clause, *ʔakka* and *kan* are identified as complementizers. Highly probable markers *joo*, and *hoo(n)*, and highly hypothetical marker *ʔodoo/uu* are examined in conditional clause. Lastly, generalized and specialized converb types are discussed in converb clause.

Chapter 10

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter presents a summary of the most important findings of the dissertation. It also re-articulates some of the particular areas that deserve more study, and on which I hope to work.

As stated in chapter one, the main objective of this study was to document and describe the grammar of Rayya Afaan Oromoo, an Afaan Oromoo dialect spoken by around 612 people in southern Tigray zone. In the area, the Rayya Oromos live with the Tigrean, and Amhara ethnic groups. The Rayya Oromos are currently found in localities such as Fachagama, Kufkufto, Gerjele, Degaga, Ganda Chirrecha, Ganda Gara, Hijira, Ganda Goro, Ta'a, Ta'o, Warrabayeye, Baso, Hada, Allamata, and parts of Wajja. They have been assimilating with those previously stated neighbors and now speak the predominant languages of the areas-Tigrinya and Amharic. Nevertheless, they have retained some of their ethnic and cultural identities in pocket areas. Like in most part of Ethiopia, the Rayya Oromos practice a mix of livestock and crop farming for subsistence. Accordingly, cultivating and harvesting so many crops and having many cattle are considered as a mark of status and pride. Nowadays however, climate and habitat change have made it difficult for the Rayya Oromos to maintain herds of cattle.

The data for this study was collected through recording of different communicative events and elicitation (first field data, picture, and video elicitations). The recording includes more than 32 hours of different genres such as conversations, narratives, stories, songs, and *dubarte*. The description and generalizations given in this study were drawn from this corpus. Elicitation was used only for validation, and this made the analysis to be contextualized. For language documentation on the other hand, the employed software applications were audacity, Corel Video Studio Pro x4, ELAN version 5.20, and Toolbox.

As the study showed, this dialect has 24 native and 6 loan /z, s', χ', χ^w, ʕ, ħ/ consonants. Five short vowels with their length and two loan /i, ə/ vowels are also identified. The study has also showed that many consonants can be alternate with /j/. The glottal stop /ʔ/ and the vowel /i/ were identified epenthetic phonemes in the dialect. Vowel harmony, which is peculiar to the

dialect, was also analyzed in the RAO. The study has also revealed that nouns can be inflected for number, gender, and case. Various plural suffixes and singulative suffixes were identified. The addressed cases include nominative, absolutive, dative, ablative, genitive, instrumental, locative, and vocative. Regarding nouns formation, they can be formed from noun, adjective, verb, adposition, and adverb through derivation or compounding. The derived nouns include abstract, agentive, instrumental, result, manner, and gerundive.

The morphological structures, types and properties of the RAO verbs were analyzed. CVC in monosyllabic and CVCVC in disyllabic verb roots are attested as the most common structures in the corpus. Agreement, aspect/tense, and mood are presented in inflectional property of the verb. Valency changing operations such as causative, middle, passive, reflexive, and reciprocal are offered in verbalization. Modifiers of nouns and verbs, such as adjective, numeral, demonstrative, intensifier and quantifier, and adverb were also addressed. Clitics is expressed in two ways in RAO: enclitic and proclitic. Pronouns, existential verb, postpositions, demonstratives, conjunctions, and negative suffix are the encliticized classes, whereas only *ʔitt=* can be procliticized in the dialect.

The native prepositions and/or postpositions were also addressed in the dialect besides *gin* ‘but’ that is borrowed from Amharic. The overview of RAO basic syntax that includes constituent/word order in phrases, and sentences were also offered. Copula/copular-like constructions such as equational, existential, and possessive were addressed. On the other hand, relative clause, complement clause, conditional clause, and converb clause of the dialect were discussed.

To conclude, we have provided a linguistic documentation and description of RAO. At best, what this linguistic documentation and description dealt with was recording, analyzing, annotating, and archiving as many grammatical aspects of the dialect as possible, while speakers of the language still remain. The review of literature, field experience and the research findings indicate that the RAO variety is in a precarious situation. It is showing signs of being replaced by Tigrinya (in rare case, by Amharic). While some older people are recognized as

being able to speak the language, the younger generations have grown up speaking only Tigrinya and/or Amharic.

This thesis, as already mentioned, provides grammar description and documentation of RAO variety. Based on this study, we have drawn some recommendations or concerns for linguistic community and the other concerned bodies. First, we recommend a more comprehensive documentation and description of the variety, and a revitalization activity of some kind that could enhance the vitality of the RAO. Second, this work represents an overview of what could be discovered within a limited period based on limited interaction with the language speakers. Each topic has covered here, and other topics of which we did not become aware, deserve more focused attention; the features that we left for further studies (for instance sections 2.3, 2.7.4, 3.1.1.1.7, 3.1.1.2, 5.1, 5.3.2.2.1.2, and 8.2.1.1). Third, though, the thesis provides a large amount of data that can be compared with other varieties of Afaan Oromoo, we have not examined or discussed here much of the comparative data with those varieties. Therefore, comparative study is a significant area for further research. Comparative research with Amharic and Tigrinya is another fascinating topic, which helps us to identify the degree of contact in the study area. Fourth, the Rayya Oromo and their heritage language need to be recognised by the regional state of Tigray and federal government of Ethiopia to safeguard their language and promote their culture fitting in Federal and Regional constitutions. In general, these are some of the exciting concerns that we hope to begin addressing as we continue working on the Rayya Rayyuma.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Assorted Texts

Seven short recorded texts have been selected for inclusion here as an illustration of some of the natural speech archived in the RAO corpus. We have selected these texts with an aim towards including one from each of the most frequently recorded speakers and towards including a range of different genres. The first four texts are taken from ELAN project. The ELAN software texts can be reached by clicking on active hyperlinks, which takes the reader immediately to a browser view of the annotation. It is our hope that including these texts here will inspire readers interested in seeing and/or listening more RAO language use to visit the archive where more such usages can be found.

..\Rayya Afaan Oromoo Documentation\ELAN Project\Mustefa Kune 1.eaf

..\Rayya Afaan Oromoo Documentation\ELAN Project\Mustefa Kune 2.eaf

[..\Rayya Afaan Oromoo Documentation\ELAN Project\Sebriya Abdulmajid.eaf](#)

[..\Rayya Afaan Oromoo Documentation\ELAN Project\Adashe Abdo.eaf](#)

Appendix B: Toolbox Dictionary

This dictionary was prepared by Toolbox software. Though it contains about 600 entry, the inclusion of this dictionary is intended to benefit the larger linguistic community.

B - b

<i>baaduu</i>	N. buttermilk.	<i>bilbila</i>	N. bell.
<i>baala</i>	N. leaf.	<i>bifaan</i>	N. water.
<i>baan-</i>	V. speak.	<i>bit-</i>	V. buy.
<i>baat'effa</i>	N. adder.	<i>bitaa</i>	Adj. left.
<i>bad-</i>	V. disappear.	<i>boba?</i>	V. burn.
<i>badzdzii</i>	N. virgin land.	<i>bobbah-</i>	V. journey.
<i>bajsaa</i>	N. refined butter.	<i>bofa</i>	N. snake.
<i>bak'ak'-</i>	V. tear, rip.	<i>booda</i>	Adv. later.
<i>bak'at-</i>	V. flee.	<i>boodzuu</i>	N. captive.
<i>bakka</i>	N. place.	<i>bool?a</i>	Adj. well.
<i>balaa</i>	Adj. dangerous.	<i>boora?</i>	V. muddy up.
<i>balatf'f'uu</i>	Adj. black animal with white forehead.	<i>boraatii</i>	N. headreat, billow.
<i>balbala</i>	N. door.	<i>borrof-</i>	V. darn.
<i>bal?aa</i>	Adj. wide.	<i>boru</i>	N. tomorrow.
<i>ban-</i>	V. open.	<i>bowwaa</i>	N. cliff.
<i>baram</i>	Adv. when.	<i>bul-</i>	V. spend night.
<i>barana</i>	N. this year.	<i>buna</i>	N. coffee.
<i>barbaad-</i>	V. want, search.	<i>bunuunii</i>	N. small cattle tick.
<i>barii</i>	N. a day after.	<i>but-</i>	V. scuttle, hijack.
<i>barood-</i>	V. bellow.	<i>butfifuna</i>	N. gourd.
<i>beek-</i>	V. know.	<i>butut-</i>	V. wear out.
<i>beeynaa</i>	N. compensation.	<i>buutii</i>	N. viper.
<i>bifa</i>	N. color.		
<i>bijja</i>	N. country.		

D - d

<i>daab-</i>	V. plant, establish, set.	<i>dah-</i>	V. hit, count.
<i>daabbat-</i>	V. stop.	<i>dajma</i>	N. honey.
<i>daak-</i>	V. grind, break.	<i>dakaa</i>	N. stone.
<i>daak'aa</i>	Adj. blithe, dandy.	<i>dal-</i>	V. give birth.
<i>daal-</i>	V. inherit.	<i>daldeefa</i>	N. baboon.
<i>dab-</i>	V. bend.	<i>dallan-</i>	V. annoy.
<i>dab-</i>	V. miss, lack.	<i>dalluu</i>	N. hump.
<i>dabal-</i>	V. add, increase.	<i>daloota</i>	N. generation.
<i>dadaa</i>	N. butter.	<i>danf-</i>	V. boil.
<i>daddab-</i>	V. tire.	<i>dangaa</i>	N. feast.
<i>dafi</i>	Adv. quickly.	<i>dangaggaa?</i>	V. sour.
<i>dagaraa</i>	N. axe.	<i>darb-</i>	V. pass, throw.
<i>dagaffaa</i>	N. rafter.	<i>darbee darbee</i>	Adv. sometimes.
<i>daga?</i>	V. hear.	<i>datfiffee</i>	N. land.

<i>deebi?</i>	V. return.	<i>dukkana</i>	Adj. dark.
<i>deebuu</i>	N. thirst.	<i>dulluu</i>	Adj. crooked horn.
<i>deedii</i>	Adj. raw.	<i>dum-</i>	V. finish.
<i>deega</i>	N. alms.	<i>duma</i>	Adj. fleshy sheep's tail.
<i>deem-</i>	V. go.	<i>dumduma</i>	N. forearm.
<i>deengadda</i>	N. day before yesterday.	<i>dungoo</i>	N. kissing.
<i>deenkaa</i>	N. peach.	<i>dunk'ii</i>	N. pair.
<i>deeraa</i>	Adj. tall.	<i>dunkul</i>	N. clay.
<i>dib-</i>	V. anoint.	<i>dura</i>	Adv. first, before.
<i>did-</i>	V. refuse.	<i>durba</i>	N. virgin, girl.
<i>dihoo</i>	Adv. nearby.	<i>dureeffa</i>	Adj. rich (masculine).
<i>diig-</i>	V. demolish, collapse.	<i>duuba</i>	Adv. behind.
<i>diiga</i>	N. blood.	<i>duudaa</i>	Adj. all, deaf.
<i>diimaa</i>	Adj. red.	<i>duudaa</i>	N. tradition, norm.
<i>diira</i>	N. male.	<i>duukaa</i>	Ad. with.
<i>diirama</i>	N. morning.	<i>duwwaa</i>	Adj. empty.
<i>diis-</i>	V. abandon, give up.	<i>du?</i>	V. die.
<i>dik'-</i>	V. wash.	<i>du?a</i>	N. death.
<i>dikkaa</i>	N. buffer zone.	<i>dzaala</i>	N. accomplice.
<i>dim?is-</i>	V. leak.	<i>dzaanoo</i>	N. cultural garment made of six layers
<i>din-</i>	V. cure.	<i>dzaartii</i>	Adj. old woman
<i>dirii</i>	N. manacle.	<i>dzabaa</i>	Adj. strong, log.
<i>dirribii</i>	Adj. coated.	<i>dzala</i>	Adv. below, under.
<i>dirsa</i>	N. husband.	<i>dzalk'ab-</i>	V. start.
<i>dooww-</i>	V. debar.	<i>dzed-</i>	V. say.
<i>dorgaaggaa</i>	N. novice, speaking corrupted language.	<i>dzibb-</i>	V. hate.
<i>dotii</i>	Adj. green.	<i>dziidaa</i>	Adj. wet.
<i>dubartee</i>	N. collection of women who partake in reconilation proces.	<i>dzilba</i>	N. knee.
<i>dubartii</i>	N. woman.	<i>dzilbiibbii</i>	N. kneel.
<i>dubbii</i>	N. speech.	<i>dzirma</i>	N. trunk.
<i>duf-</i>	V. come.	<i>dzi?a</i>	N. moon, month.
<i>dug-</i>	V. drink.	<i>dzuma?aa</i>	N. friday.
<i>duguug-</i>	V. scrape.		
<i>dujda</i>	N. back.		

F - f

<i>faaduma</i>	N. one-stringed violin.	<i>falat'-</i>	V. cleave.
<i>faad3dzii</i>	N. wide plain.	<i>faltii</i>	N. dung.
<i>faajidaa</i>	N. advantage.	<i>farda</i>	N. horse.
<i>faana</i>	N. foot.	<i>fe?-</i>	V. load.
<i>fagoo</i>	Adv. far.	<i>fid-</i>	V. bring.
<i>fajj-</i>	V. cure.	<i>fiig-</i>	V. run.
<i>fajjadabeeffa</i>	Adj. ill.	<i>fintf'aa</i>	N. urine.
<i>fajjat-</i>	V. ill, sick.	<i>fira</i>	Adj. relative.
<i>fal-</i>	V. purge.	<i>fokkuu</i>	Adj. ugly.

<i>fuynnaan</i>	N. nose.
<i>furdaa</i>	Adj. fat.
<i>furfur-</i>	V. manner of being/becoming full (of river).
<i>fuud-</i>	V. take, marry.

<i>fuula</i>	N. face.
<i>fuunfat/ifuu</i>	N. sniffing.

G - g

<i>gaabb-</i>	V. regret.
<i>gaadii</i>	N. hobble.
<i>gaafa</i>	N. horn, appointment.
<i>gaafii</i>	N. question.
<i>gaangoo</i>	N. mule.
<i>gaara</i>	N. mountain.
<i>gaardzalee</i>	N. bottom of mountain.
<i>gaarii</i>	Adj. good, nice.
<i>gabaabaa</i>	Adj. short.
<i>gadd-</i>	V. condole.
<i>gadee</i>	Adj. rubbish, bad.
<i>gafarsa</i>	N. buffalo.
<i>gagaa</i>	N. wax.
<i>gal-</i>	V. enter.
<i>galabaa</i>	N. straw.
<i>gallaba</i>	N. evening.
<i>gama</i>	1. Ad. to 2. CONJ. on the other side.
<i>gamana</i>	CONJ. on this side.
<i>gamna</i>	Adj. clever.
<i>ganda</i>	N. village.
<i>gara</i>	Ad. to
<i>garaa</i>	N. abdomen.
<i>gargar</i>	Adv. apart.
<i>garmaam-</i>	V. frisk.
<i>garuu</i>	CONJ. but.
<i>gat-</i>	V. lose.
<i>gawwaa</i>	N. large pitcher (of clay).

<i>gobbijee</i>	Adj. concerted.
<i>god-</i>	V. put, do.
<i>godaan-</i>	V. move, migrate.
<i>gog-</i>	V. go.
<i>gogaa</i>	N. skin.
<i>goggog-</i>	V. dry.
<i>golinaa</i>	Adv. later.
<i>gorba</i>	N. young calf.
<i>goromsa</i>	N. heifer.
<i>gorra?</i>	V. slaughter.
<i>gosa</i>	N. clan.
<i>gowwaa</i>	Adj. foolish.
<i>gub-</i>	V. burn.
<i>gubaa</i>	N. nettle.
<i>gubbaa</i>	Adv. above, on.
<i>guddaa</i>	Adj. big, large.
<i>guduuff-</i>	V. tie.
<i>guftaa</i>	N. cultural headscarf.
<i>gujjaa</i>	N. during the day, day.
<i>gujs-</i>	V. cover.
<i>guluf-</i>	V. gallop.
<i>gurbaa</i>	N. boy.
<i>gurra</i>	N. ear.
<i>gurraat/ifa</i>	Adj. black.
<i>guur-</i>	V. collect.
<i>guut-</i>	V. fill.

H - h

<i>haad-</i>	V. shave.
<i>haada</i>	N. mother.
<i>haadoo</i>	N. blade.
<i>haadzaa</i>	N. purpose.
<i>haam-</i>	V. mow.
<i>haamot/ifa</i>	N. foam.
<i>haamtuu</i>	N. sickle.

<i>habajjaa</i>	Adj. dormant.
<i>habii</i>	N. loan.
<i>hadaamaa</i>	N. euphorbia.
<i>haddooftuu</i>	N. gall bladder.
<i>haf-</i>	V. remain, absent.
<i>hagooga</i>	N. veil.
<i>halaala</i>	Adv. from distance.

halbaaneffa Adj. edacious, voracious.
halkan N. at night.
halkoo N. money.
hamaa Adj. courageous, bad.
hambaa N. remnant.
hamii Adj. accusing.
hamma N. range.
hammuu CONJ. while.
hamp'ee N. resin.
handuura N. navel.
hangaasuu N. thunder.
hangafa Adj. firstborn, elder.
hap'p'pii Adj. slight.
haraara N. reconciliation.
hargiisa N. aloe.
harka N. arm.
harma N. breast.
haroo N. tuesday.
harree N. donkey.
har?a N. today.
hawaasa N. society.
hedduu Adj. many.
hid- V. jail, tie.
hidda N. root.
hidduu Adj. middle.

hiik- V. detach, doff.
hiikmaja N. purger.
hiiraa N. bestman.
hilloo N. rabbit.
him- V. tell.
hindaak'oo N. cock, hen.
hiriira N. song.
hirp'- V. subsidize.
hod- V. suckle.
hodf- V. sew.
hod3dzat- V. work.
hook'- V. itch.
hoolaa N. sheep.
hoosa Adj. bad.
hor- V. prosper.
horii N. cattle, wealth.
hormaat N. fertility.
hud- V. strangle.
hujub N. sanctuary.
hulluuk'- V. pass through.
humna N. strength.
hurrama N. thicket.

J - j

jaabbii N. riding.
jaad- V. long, think.
jaala N. medication.
jaatuu N. wednesday.
jaa?- V. flow.

jakk- V. allege.
juus- V. howl.

K - k

k'aadimaa N. betrothment.
kaan PRN. other.
kaannisa N. bee.
k'aar- V. cross, traverse.
k'aarsuu N. shifting.
kaat- V. run.
k'ab- V. hold, has, catch.
kadaa N. entreaty.
kadzeel- V. wish.
k'adzeel- V. straighten.

k'ajja N. cultural female steam.
k'ak'aa N. soot.
k'ak'oo Adj. sooty.
k'al- V. slaughter.
kalak'- V. create.
kaleeffa N. yesterday.
kaloo N. fence.
k'al?aa Adj. thin.
k'amat't'ee N. cultural toothbrush.
kamisa N. thursday.

<i>k'amk'aammatt'fuu</i>	N. to be warm by fire.	<i>kolf-</i>	V. laugh.
<i>kan</i>	PRN. that.	<i>k'oma</i>	N. chest.
<i>kana</i>	PRN. this.	<i>k'orii</i>	N. bowl.
<i>k'ant'f'ee</i>	N. sling.	<i>korma</i>	N. bull.
<i>karaa</i>	1. N. road, path	<i>korp'eeffa</i>	N. ram.
	2. Ad. the way of, through, along	<i>k'uba</i>	N. finger.
<i>karra</i>	N. door, gate.	<i>kubee</i>	N. ridge.
<i>k'at'oo</i>	N. roasted grain.	<i>k'uboo</i>	N. ring.
<i>k'at't'aamur-</i>	V. traverse.	<i>kuf-</i>	V. fall.
<i>k'at't'is-</i>	V. measure.	<i>kufkuftoo</i>	Adj. marshland.
<i>k'awwa</i>	N. hole.	<i>k'ulk'ulluu</i>	Adj. pure.
<i>kaʔ-</i>	V. stand.	<i>k'ullaa</i>	Adj. nude.
<i>k'eellab-</i>	V. bash.	<i>k'ummuudoo</i>	N. thorn.
<i>k'eeroo</i>	N. bachelor.	<i>k'unk'uraa</i>	N. type of tree.
<i>k'eerransa</i>	N. leopard.	<i>k'up'p'an-</i>	V. squat.
<i>keeffa</i>	Ad. in.	<i>k'up'p'anuu</i>	N. squat.
<i>kenn-</i>	V. give.	<i>kuraawa</i>	Adj. salty.
<i>keffummaa</i>	N. guest.	<i>kut-</i>	V. cut.
<i>kidziba</i>	Adj. false, lie.	<i>kutaa</i>	N. alcove.
<i>k'int'irsuu</i>	N. to cut off.	<i>k'uuf-</i>	V. satiate.
<i>k'obboo</i>	N. ricinu comunis.		
<i>k'obee</i>	N. shoe.		
<i>k'ok'k'oba</i>	N. neighbor.		

L - l

<i>laal-</i>	V. see, look.	<i>leent'f'a</i>	N. tree type.
<i>lafa</i>	N. land, ground.	<i>lik'ims-</i>	V. swallow.
<i>lafee</i>	N. bone.	<i>lilmoo</i>	N. needle.
<i>laga</i>	N. river.	<i>lit'-</i>	V. sink.
<i>lakkaaʔ-</i>	V. count.	<i>lol-</i>	V. quarrel.
<i>lakkoofsa</i>	N. number.	<i>looh-</i>	V. creep.
<i>lalis-</i>	V. flourish.	<i>luka</i>	N. leg.
<i>lama</i>	N. two.		
<i>lat-</i>	V. growth.		
<i>leedoo</i>	N. stick (of dubarte and Merewwa).		

M - m

<i>maalikoo</i>	N. song (of k'alluu).	<i>maggil-</i>	V. howl.
<i>maam-</i>	V. call.	<i>majnee</i>	N. ankle.
<i>maatii</i>	N. family.	<i>majra</i>	N. grass.
<i>madaa</i>	N. wound.	<i>mak-</i>	V. mix.
<i>madd-</i>	V. gush.	<i>mak'aa</i>	N. name.
<i>maddii</i>	N. cheek, side, beside.	<i>mala</i>	N. idea, opinion, method.
<i>magaala</i>	Adj. brown.	<i>mana</i>	N. house, home.

<i>mar-</i>	V. wrap.
<i>marii</i>	N. consultation, discussion.
<i>mariʔat-</i>	V. discuss.
<i>mark'aa</i>	N. porridge.
<i>mars-</i>	V. encircle.
<i>marʔat-</i>	V. bellow.
<i>maseena</i>	N. barren.
<i>mataa</i>	N. head.
<i>matʃʔʃ'abaasa</i>	N. whey.
<i>midaan</i>	N. grain.
<i>miid-</i>	V. harm, hurt.
<i>miidag-</i>	V. become attractive.
<i>miiloo</i>	N. friend.
<i>milʔuu</i>	N. glance.
<i>mirmira</i>	N. week.

<i>missingaa</i>	N. sorghum.
<i>miʔaaw-</i>	V. sweet.
<i>moluu</i>	Adj. bald.
<i>mooh-</i>	V. win.
<i>moonaa</i>	N. fence.
<i>mootii</i>	N. king.
<i>morm-</i>	V. dispute.
<i>morma</i>	N. neck.
<i>muddii</i>	N. waist.
<i>mufii</i>	N. umbrage.
<i>mulʔii</i>	N. revelation.
<i>muɲɲuks-</i>	V. amble.
<i>mutʃ'aa</i>	N. boy or girl.

N - n

<i>jaarroo</i>	N. eyebrow.
<i>jaat-</i>	V. eat.
<i>nagaaja</i>	N. peace.
<i>nak'-</i>	V. pour.
<i>nak'attoo</i>	N. halter.
<i>nama</i>	N. man, person.

<i>neetii</i>	N. plow.
<i>neetʃʔʃ'a</i>	N. lion.
<i>niitii</i>	N. wife.

R - r

<i>raagaa</i>	N. fortune teller.
<i>raajjaa</i>	N. vanguard.
<i>raaree</i>	N. swamp.
<i>raaroo</i>	N. bat.
<i>raawwii</i>	N. accomplishment.
<i>raf-</i>	V. sleep.
<i>rakkoo</i>	N. trouble.
<i>rar-</i>	V. pack.
<i>reenfa</i>	N. corpse.
<i>reʔee</i>	N. goat.

<i>ribuu</i>	N. sinew.
<i>rifeensa</i>	N. hair.
<i>rig-</i>	V. rub.
<i>rirma</i>	N. termite.
<i>roggee</i>	N. edge.
<i>roobit</i>	N, Adj. Wednesday, rainy.
<i>roobsoo</i>	N. rain maker.
<i>ruufa</i>	N. turban.

S - s

<i>saalfat-</i>	V. venerate.
<i>saalfii</i>	N. awe.
<i>sabbata</i>	N. girdle.
<i>sadeeffa</i>	Adj. third.

<i>sak'alaa</i>	N. cabin.
<i>saksak</i>	V. trot.
<i>salp'aa</i>	Adj. light.
<i>san</i>	PRN. that.

<i>sanbata</i>	N. sunday.
<i>sanyoo</i>	N. monday.
<i>sara</i>	1. CONJ. while 2.N. time.
<i>saree</i>	N. dog.
<i>saʔa</i>	N. cow.
<i>seen-</i>	V. enter.
<i>sibiila</i>	N. metal.
<i>sik'-</i>	V. cling.
<i>silā</i>	Adv. a moment, ago.
<i>finbira</i>	N. bird.
<i>siree</i>	N. bed, hammock, dais.

<i>sodaataa</i>	Adj. fearful.
<i>sokk-</i>	V. leave, flee.
<i>sollok'a</i>	N. gorge.
<i>soneeffiuu</i>	N. to see off, to escort.
<i>soollee</i>	N. type of snake.
<i>soossob-</i>	V. cuddle.
<i>subii</i>	N. dawn.
<i>suuf-</i>	V. scent, smell.
<i>suuta suuta</i>	Adv. slowly.

T - t

<i>t'aaffee</i>	N. grove.
<i>t'aar-</i>	V. toil.
<i>t'aarsuu</i>	Adj. toiling.
<i>taaʔ-</i>	V. sit.
<i>taaʔoo</i>	N. tuesday.
<i>tajfii</i>	N. flea.
<i>tankaarfāt-</i>	V. sep over.
<i>tap'a</i>	N. game.
<i>taʔ-</i>	V. become.
<i>t'inneenpa</i>	N. youth.
<i>tiroo</i>	N. liver.
<i>tolaa</i>	Adj. generous, kind.
<i>toffitoo</i>	N. adze.
<i>tf'ab-</i>	V. break.
<i>tf'affee</i>	N. swamp.
<i>tf'alalak'-</i>	V. glitter.
<i>tf'iis-</i>	V. lie down.
<i>tf'iitf'oo</i>	N. container (of milk).
<i>tf'inaan</i>	N. testicles.

<i>tf'infillaalee</i>	N. cultural medicine.
<i>tf'ir-</i>	V. chop.
<i>tf'irrat/ifa</i>	N. pebble.
<i>tf'it-</i>	V. sever.
<i>tf'oftf'ofa</i>	N. cultural food.
<i>tf'on-</i>	V. milking cow or goat to last drop
<i>tf'uf-</i>	V. close.
<i>tuk'-</i>	V. touch.
<i>tum-</i>	V. squash.
<i>tumaameffa</i>	N. ram.
<i>t'urii</i>	N. menstruation, dirt.
<i>tut/ifee</i>	N. small black ant.
<i>tuul-</i>	V. heap.
<i>t'uur-</i>	V. transgress.
<i>t'uurii</i>	N. breach.
<i>t'uut'-</i>	V. absorb.

W - w

<i>waad-</i>	V. deter.
<i>waadzdzaa</i>	N. liberator.
<i>waahila</i>	N. friend.
<i>waajjuu</i>	N. priest.
<i>waak'a</i>	N. God.
<i>waam-</i>	V. call.
<i>waaf̣oo</i>	N. churn.
<i>wadaad3oo</i>	N. prayer ceremony.
<i>wadzdzin</i>	Adv. together.
<i>waggaa</i>	N. year.
<i>wajja</i>	Adj. preferable, better than.

<i>wajjaa</i>	N. cloth.
<i>wajjoo</i>	Adj. many.
<i>waliin</i>	1. Adv. together 2. PRN. each other
<i>wallaal-</i>	V. err.
<i>waraab-</i>	V. fetch.
<i>warra</i>	N. family.
<i>warrabbajjee</i>	N. multitude.
<i>wurtoo</i>	N. shoulder.

<i>ʔaada</i>	V. below.	<i>ʔedzersa</i>	N. olive tree.
<i>ʔaadaa</i>	N. culture.	<i>ʔeeboo</i>	N. spear.
<i>ʔaannan</i>	N. milk.	<i>ʔeeg-</i>	V. keep, wait.
<i>ʔaara</i>	N. smoke.	<i>ʔeeʃjuma</i>	N. uncle.
<i>ʔabaabajjuu</i>	N. great grandfather.	<i>ʔegere</i>	N. in the future.
<i>ʔabaar-</i>	V. curse.	<i>ʔerga</i>	CONJ. since.
<i>ʔabalu</i>	PRN. somebody.	<i>ʔibidda</i>	N. fire.
<i>ʔabbaa</i>	N. father.	<i>ʔidza</i>	N. eye.
<i>ʔabbagaar</i>	N. ombudsman.	<i>ʔidzaar-</i>	V. build.
<i>ʔabi</i>	Adj, PRN. other.	<i>ʔidzdzees-</i>	V. kill.
<i>ʔabidda</i>	N. fire.	<i>ʔidzdzoolllee</i>	N. children.
<i>ʔadii</i>	Adj. white.	<i>ʔigguu</i>	Adj. clever.
<i>ʔadurree</i>	N. cat.	<i>ʔilkaan</i>	N. teeth.
<i>ʔadzdziboo</i>	N. cheese.	<i>ʔilma</i>	N. son.
<i>ʔaf-</i>	V. spread.	<i>ʔilmoo</i>	N. kid, offspring.
<i>ʔafaan</i>	N. mouth, language.	<i>ʔimimmaan</i>	N. tear.
<i>ʔafuuf-</i>	V. blow.	<i>ʔindzifannoo</i>	N. victory.
<i>ʔagobdee</i>	N. apple.	<i>ʔintala</i>	N. daughter, girl.
<i>ʔakaakajjuu</i>	N. grandfather.	<i>ʔiraʔat-</i>	V. decrease.
<i>ʔakka</i>	Adj. like.	<i>ʔirkis-</i>	V. prop up.
<i>ʔakkajjaa</i>	N. grandmother.	<i>ʔirra</i>	Ad. on.
<i>ʔal lama</i>	Adv. twice.	<i>ʔirraanfata-</i>	V. forget.
<i>ʔala</i>	Adv. outside.	<i>ʔitillee</i>	N. cowhide.
<i>ʔalagaa</i>	N. alien.	<i>ʔodaa</i>	N. sycamore.
<i>ʔalbee</i>	N. knife.	<i>ʔolka</i>	N. song of male (war song).
<i>ʔamaa</i>	N. aardvark.	<i>ʔoof-</i>	V. drive, mate (for animal).
<i>ʔamma</i>	N. now.	<i>ʔoojruu</i>	N. farmland.
<i>ʔarba</i>	N. elephant.	<i>ʔool-</i>	V. spend the day.
<i>ʔareeda</i>	N. beard.	<i>ʔorma</i>	N. people.
<i>ʔareeraa</i>	N. skimmed milk.	<i>ʔuffat-</i>	V. wear.
<i>ʔarg-</i>	V. see.	<i>ʔufoon</i>	N. meat.
<i>ʔariitii</i>	Adv. fast.	<i>ʔul-</i>	V. fumigate.
<i>ʔariʔ-</i>	V. chase.	<i>ʔulaagaa</i>	N. criteria.
<i>ʔarma</i>	Adv. here.	<i>ʔulfaataa</i>	Adj. heavy.
<i>ʔarraakkuu</i>	N. crow, raven.	<i>ʔummata</i>	N. people.
<i>ʔarraba</i>	N. tongue.	<i>ʔun-</i>	V. sip.
<i>ʔarrabsoo</i>	N. insult.	<i>ʔungullee</i>	N. bramble.
<i>ʔas</i>	Adv. hither.	<i>ʔur-</i>	V. bore.
<i>ʔasiimoo</i>	N. type of thorn.	<i>ʔurdzee</i>	N. star.
<i>ʔasilii</i>	Adj. original.	<i>ʔurguf-</i>	V. cast off, shake.
<i>ʔatʃʃi</i>	Adv. there.	<i>ʔutubaa</i>	N. pole.
<i>ʔeda</i>	N. last night.		
<i>ʔedana</i>	Adv. tonight.		

Appendix C: Audio and Video Documents

- a. [Audio A](#) (Open the Hyperlink to listen the narration)
- b. [Audio B](#) (Open the Hyperlink to listen the narration)
- c. [Audio C₁](#) (Open the Hyperlink to listen the narration)
- d. [Audio C₂](#) (Open the Hyperlink to listen the narration)
- e. [Audio D](#) (Open the Hyperlink to listen the narration)
- f. [Audio E](#) (Open the Hyperlink to listen conversation)
- g. [Audio F](#) (Open the Hyperlink to listen Hiriira ‘song’)
- h. [Video A](#) (Open the Hyperlink to see and listen to Dua of Dubarte in Hijira)
- i. [Video B](#) (Open the Hyperlink to see and listen to Dua of Dubarte in Fachagama)
- j. [Video C](#) (Open the Hyperlink to see and listen to Dua of Old Men in Fachagama)

Appendix D: [Sample Pictures and Videos used in Data collection](#)

(Open the Hyperlink to see the pictures and muted videos)

Appendix E. Summary of the Consultants' Data

The RAO documentation and grammar description would not have been possible without the participation, generosity, and hard work of the RAO speakers. All utterances in the grammar are attributed to the speaker who provided them here. To see [summary of the consultants' data](#), (Open the Hyperlink Summary of the Consultants' data).