



Documentation and Grammatical Description of Tapo

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School of Graduate Studies

College of Humanities, Language Study, Journalism and Communication

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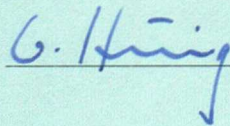


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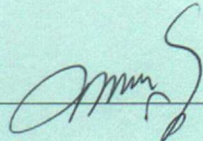
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Abstract

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Mellese Gelaneh Alemu

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This thesis concerns the documentation and description of the grammar of Tapo. The speakers call their language t'apo (Tapo). Tapo is spoken in Ethiopia and South Sudan and is widely known in the literature as Upuuo. The sub-family it belongs to is Koman (Coman).

The textual data used for documentation has been collected with the aim of building a corpus of the language. Different tasks of the community from daily activities to folktales and personal and community history narrations are recorded and archived.

The description of Tapo focuses on phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. The phonology part has primarily focused on the segmental phonology. Tapo has a total of 27 consonant phonemes articulated at bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal places of articulations. All consonants occur in word initial position. Only word-medial consonant clusters are allowed in Tapo. These clusters consist of a nasal or a lateral consonant that always assimilated in place of articulation to the following consonant, except to dentals. Tapo has a seven-vowel system with ATR distinctions on the high vowels [+ATR] /i,u/ and [-ATR] /ɪ, ʊ/.

Tapo's nominal system has scant noun nominal categorization. The language differentiates between masculine, feminine and neutral singulatives and plurals in nouns.

Tapo has an agglutinative type of verbal system. It is described based on pre and post-stem affixation. Tapo's pre-stem contains bound subject pronouns, conditional, and tense markers. On the other hand, post-stem suffixation incorporates benefactive, mood, directionals and bound object pronouns.

The basic word order of Tapo is Agent-Verb-Object in transitive and Subject-Verb in intransitive verbs. Constituents are marked based on hierarchy. Object marking is based on syntactical hierarchy of entities belonging to human, animal and inanimate. The most dominant hierarchy being human entities, as a beneficiary mostly placed following the

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verb, followed by animates and lastly inanimate entities that would take secondary object position.

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Abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary
#	word boundary
*	reconstructed or proto form/ ungrammatical
/.../	underlying or phonemic form
[...]	phonetic form or phrase marker
~	reduplication, variation
>	becomes, became
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
ATR	Advanced Tongue Root
C	consonant
CAU	causative
CL	classifier
COJ	conjunction
COM	commutative
COND	conditional
DEM	demonstrative
DO	direct object
DT	distal
EX	exclusive
EXIST	existential verbs
F	feminine
FUT	future tense
IMP	imperative
IN	inclusive
INSR	insertion
IO	indirect object

IPFV	imperfective aspect
ITV	itive
LINK	linking vowel
LOC	locative
Lil.	literal meaning
M	masculine
N	neutral
NOM	nominalizer
NUM	numeral
OB	object
OD	ordinal
P	person
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive
PST	past tense
PX	proximal
Q	question
RDP	reduplication
SG	singular
SB	subject
V	vowel
VEN	ventive

Introduction

1.1. The People

The Upou are one of the five ethnic groups of the people of the Gambella National Regional State. A minor group of the Upou also lives in Mao Komo Special Woreda in Benishangul Gumuz Regional State as reported by Küspert (2015:49). Adiw (2001:1) asserts that before their current settlement "... [The Opou] had been somewhere to the south or south east of the Sudan in the direction of [Kenya]. Along with other [Nilo-Saharan] Nationalities moved to North West". Outside Ethiopia, they also live around the border areas of the Republic of South Sudan, in the vicinity of Kigile and Mayut. The elderly people of Upou claim that before they settled in Wanke and Merra localities, they had been around the area south of Gambella city and that moved to their current settlement because of the ethnic conflict in the area. These claims may suggest that the Opuuo have moved to the northern direction. The Upou are called by different names, some of which are mentioned in Bender (1976) including Shita, Ciita, Chita, and Ansita. These terms seem to be equivalent to the Merra dialect, *usita* 'person'.

The Upou currently settled in Wanke and Merra Kebeles (the smallest administration unit in Ethiopia) under Itang Special Wereda found in northern Gambella. They settled along the course of the River Phil, which flows from north Gambella to Southwest, located approximately around 8.3202 latitude and 33.8873 longitude.

The Upou call themselves *upɔ* 'people' and their language *T'apɔ*.¹ Their neighbors called them in different names. The Nuer call them *Caj*. The Anwak used to call them *Lajo*. According to my informants both names are derogatory. The Upou are also known as Komo among the neighboring Oromo. But this term refers a different Koman language spoken in Gambella and Benishangul regions.

According to the CSA (2007a:74), there are 1586 Upou in the country, whereas the CSA (2007b:36) reports 990 speakers of the language in Gambella region. Since the Upou rarely live outside Gambella, there seems to be a discrepancy in these reports.

¹ The word *t'apɔ* is a compound noun, from *t'a* 'mouth' and *upɔ* 'person'. This study will also use the self name *upɔ* 'Upou' to refer to the people and *t'apɔ* 'Tapo' to refer the language of the Upou.

survey carried in 2013 by Agricultural office of Itang Wareda reports there are 1,108 households in Wanke and Merra Kebeles².

The Upou's economy is mainly based on agriculture, fishing, and poultry. Though it is very limited currently, hunting has been used to be a common economic practice. The Upou who settled in the Merra Kebele also practice bee keeping as an additional economic activity. The main staple crops are maize and sorghum. The Upou do not raise rare animals.

The Upou have one government high school at Wanke and two primary schools at Atuch and Merra Kebeles. Most of their children go to the school in Wanke area while a limited number still have access to formal education in Merra area. Until 2013 most children had to quit school after grade eight because of the unavailability of secondary schools and their families could not afford to send their children to a nearby town, i.e. Itang. The Upou have one government clinic at Merra and the nearest hospital is in Gambella, the region's capital.

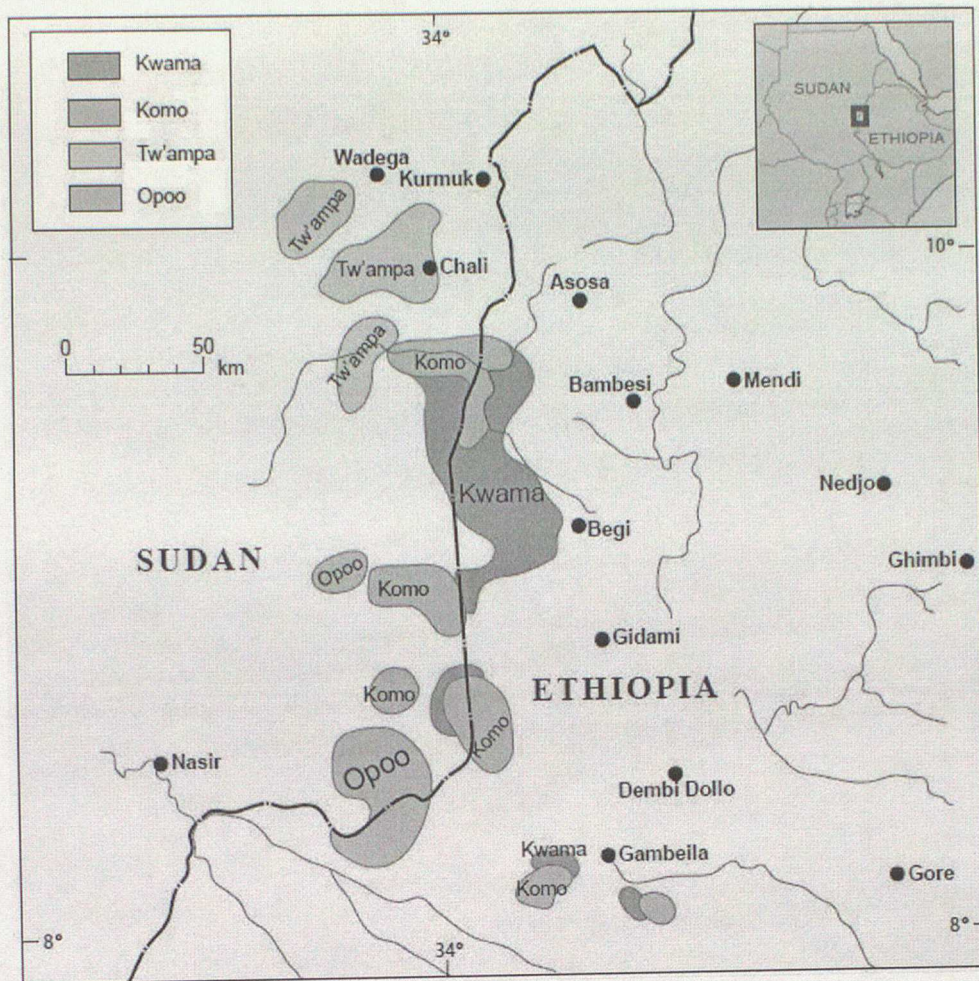
1.2. The Language

Tapo is spoken in boarder areas of Ethiopia and South Sudan (see the map below). The exact number of speakers of this language is not known. According to the CSA (2007a:92) there are 1,751 Tapo speakers in the country. Whereas the CSA (2007b:43) reports 999 speakers of the language in Gambella region. There is a discrepancy in the two reports regarding the number of speakers of this language..

The number of dialects of Tapo mentioned in the literature varies from three to seven. According to Cornfield (1938), quoted in Bender (1976:476), Tapo has three dialects. These are: closely related Kigille and Kusgilo and the more distant Buldit. Incontrast Lemi (2010:1), quoting a mother tongue speaker of the language, reported that Tapo has seven closely related and mutually intelligible dialects which has also been confirmed by speakers of the language in Wanke. According to the speakers of Tapo in Wanke, the language has seven different varieties. The names of the language varieties are also used to refer the defferent clans of the language. The varities are *t'a dana*, *t'a bikol*, and *t'a kigile*, spoken in Republic of South Sudan; *t'a pilakoj* and *t'a*

² Personal communication, Ato Ukach Malut, March 2013.

mudin spoken in Merra Kebele in Ethiopia, *t'a bilugu* spoken in Wanke kebele of Ethiopia and *t'a pame* spoken both in Merra and South Sudan. The main focus of this study is the *t'a bilugue* variety spoken in different villages of Wanke Kebele. The villages in which this variety is being spoken include: Akula Lankue, Kella, Taijiba, Abebo, Bonga, Botiang, Jijian and Abol. The speakers in these villages claim that the Tapo spoken in these areas is different from the Tapo spoken in Merra and Atuch. According to the speakers of the *t'a bilugue* variety in Wanke, the variety of Tapo spoken in in South Sudan is quite distinct from the Tapo spoken in their villages. Tapo Speakers in Merra (*t'a pilakoj*, *t'a mudin*) considered the Katin (*t'a kigile*) variety in South Sudan more similar with their variety than the Wanke variety. Speakers of both Wanke and Merra underlined that the Tapo spoken in Dajo (spoken among the Dana in South Sudan) is the most distinct dialect of Tapo. However, these claims of intelligibility vs. unintelligibility among the different varieties need further investigation, for the fact that these different language names seems also names of the different clans of the Opuo.



Map : Koman Languages³

1.2.1. Genetic Classification

Tapo belongs to the Koman sub-family; to which phylum it belongs is still not settled. There are three different views concerning the classification of Koman languages. These are the isolative views of Greenberg (1950), and Tucker and Bryan (1956); the Nilo-Saharan thesis (Greenberg 1966, Bender (1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1997, 2000, 2005) and Ehret (2001), the recent exclusion of Koman from Nilo-Saharan by Dimmendaal (2008, 2010).

Though the earliest studies (Greenberg (1950) and Tucker and Bryan (1956) considered Koman languages as an isolate, most later works classified Koman, under the Nilo-Saharan family (Greenberg (1966), Bender (1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1997, 2000,

³ Roger Blench, Personal communication. 23/1/12.

2005) and Ehert (2001)). Nilo-Saharan language family is a phylum that is the least developed in its classification and some sub-families did not get sufficient attention of linguists (Bender 1997:57). One of these sub-families is Koman which consist of Komo, Twampa (Uduk), Kuama, Upou and the extinct Gule (Bender 1983, 1997). The term Koma, according to Bender (2005:417) was first used by “the Italian scholar [Grottanelli (1947)?] (Spelled “Coman”) derived from the name of one of the languages (Komo?) and was later modified by Greenberg (1950) to Koman as an isolated family of African languages”.

As given in Bender (1983b:3) the Koman Nilo-Saharan language family was previously called Komuz, incorporating Gumuz. According to Bender’s classification, Koman is a member of a sub-division under Nilo-Saharan, Komuz, consisting of Koman and Gumuz. Bender’s (1983a:259) classification draws on the classification of Greenberg (1976) which classified Gumuz as a Koman language in his African genetic classification. Previously, Greenberg (1950:390) noted that “A number of related languages are found in the area east of the upper Nile. These include the various Koma ethnic groups, the Uduk, the inhabitants of Gule Mountain, and the Gumuz”. Bender (1997:63, 2000:56) later observed that Koman and Gumuz are grammatically and lexically independent except for lexical borrowings. Bender (2005:417) concluded that all the previous misclassifications of Gumuz with Koman resulted from geographical proximity.

Chart 1: Koman Classification as given by Bender, (1983b:3).

Komuz

1. Bega (Gumuz)
2. Koman
 - Twampa (Uduk)
 - Komo
 - Upo-Shita
 - Kwama
 - Anej

The other work that considered Koman as a Nilo-Saharan family is Ehret (2001). This work followed a different classification of sub-families within Nilo-Saharan. In this classification, Koman appears to be a major branch within the family and a coordinate of Sudanic as can be seen in the Chart 2 below (Ehret, 2001:88),

Chart 2: Koman Classification as given by Ehret (2001:88)

- I. Koman
 - A. Gumuz
 - B. Western Koman
 - 1. Southern Koman
 - a. South west Koman
 - i. Uduk; Komo
 - ii. Upo
 - b. Kwama (North Kwama, South Kwama)
 - 2. Gule
- II. Sudanic
 - A. Central Sudanic
 - B. Northern Sudanic

Ehret (2001) classified Koman as one of the main subfamilies of Nilo-Saharan arguing that the Koman language family has a large number of consonants. However, Bender (2005:417) criticized Ehret (2001) for ignoring morphological and lexical evidence which links Koman to many other Nilo-Saharan languages.

Though Greenberg (1966), Bender (1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1997, 2000, 2005) and Ehret (2001) considered Koman languages as a Nilo-Saharan language family, recent literatures is skeptical of these classifications. As shown in chart 3 below, Dimmendaal (2010) omits Koman from Nilo-Saharan family for it lacks Differential Object Marking (DOM), which is commonly observed in most Nilo-Saharan languages. Previously Dimmendaal (2008:843) also excluded Koman languages from Nilo-Saharan phylum arguing that “[Very] few of the more widespread nominal and verbal morphological markers of Nilo-Saharan are attested in the Coman languages plus Gumuz, which are spoken in the border area between Ethiopia and Sudan.”

Chart 3: Nilo-Saharan Classification as given by Dimmendaal (2010:18)

- I Central Sudanic
- II Northeastern Nilo-Saharan
 - Saharan Group
 - Maban Group
 - Berta
 - Fur (plus Amdang)
 - Kunama cluster
 - Eastern Sudanic
 - Northern
 - Central
 - Southern
 - Kuliak

1.2.2 Multilingualism

The geographical area of the Upou can be considered as multilingual and multiethnic. The languages spoken in the area include Nuer to the south of the Upou, Anwak to the south eastern part of the Tapo, Afan Oromo to the north east, Komo to the northern bordering area of Benishangual Gumuz Region, and Amharic as a regional official language and as a lingua franca in urban areas. As a result, most of the Upou people who settled in Merra and Wanke kebeles are multilingual, speaking two or more languages.

The majority of the Upou speak more than one language. Almost all adults from Wanke area speak Nuer as a second language and understand Anwak too. Those from Merra area speak Anwak as a second language and understand Afan Oromo as well. Though most of the Upou are multilingual, still there are some monolingual speakers of the language. One among such villages is a natural forest area called Attuch that located in between the northern Merra and the Southern Wanke localities. The women in this village are monolinguals mainly because their village does not have contact from the Nuer in the south, the Anwak in the north and North east Gambella and from other languages in the border area of South Sudan. The other reason for the monolinguality of the women seems to be limited mobility to the adjacent places where other languages are spoken. Compared to the woman, the men have more chances for movement to other places due to economic activities like fishing and hunting.

Currently Tapo is used in some newer domains. The most notable domains of use include primary education and religious services. In the educational domain, it is used at the primary school level. Books of different subjects are published and distributed to primary schools. However the preparation of the books is based on a mere translation of Nuer text books and does not involve original contribution from the textbook writers that are members of the Upou. With regard to the usage of Tapo in the church, the language is used for communication between the priests and the faithful on Sunday services and in holiday gatherings especially at Wanke area. A simple prayer book has also been prepared by the Anglican Church in Gambella,

though often they use a bilingual Amharic and Nuer bible. The language is not being used for any electronic or print media domain.

1.2.2. Previous Studies on the Language

Though it has been around forty years since Bender (1976:13) identified Tapo as “One of the least-known Ethiopian languages”, Tapo is still one of the least studied languages of Ethiopia. In addition, though the language is labelled as critically endangered (see (Moseley 2010, Hudson 2003)), the research conducted on the language is very little. The research works that exist on Tapo are Bender (1983a), Lemi (2010) and Van Van Silfhout (2013).

Bender (1983a) came up with an internal classification of the Koman languages that involve comparison of Tapo and four other Koman Languages, and classified the Koman languages based on phonological and lexical comparison. The work identified proto Komo-Twampa-Tapo as a major branch that kept 80% of the proto lexicon as reconstructable and showing more than 50% basic lexicon commonality. Thus, Twampa (Uduk), Komo, and Tapo are considered as being close enough to be classified under the same branch. Within Komo-Twampa-Tapo, Twampa (Uduk) and Komo are highly related and considered as a dialectal variation since they have 77% commonly shared basic vocabulary and Tapo is relatively divergent with only 65% basic vocabulary. The internal reconstruction of Koman by Bender (1983a) revealed that Anej is most divergent one, Kwama a close second, Tapo as the more distant, while Komo and Twampa according to Bender (1983a:286) are most closely related one.

The study by Lemi (2010) is the first descriptive study on the Tapo language. It documented and prepared grammatical sketch of the language. The study describes phonology, morphology and syntax of the language in a sketch form and documents the language through different monologues. The collected data contains word lists of 333 words, 145 phrases, 580 sentences, 3 tales, 49 proverbs, 49 riddles, 10 songs, blessings and prayers; and the author compiled an Opu-Amharic-English world list.

Van Van Silfhout (2013) has presented a segmental phonology of the languages. The study mainly identified the consonant and vowels of the language. She has identified

26 consonants and 7 vowel phonemes. The findings and discussions of this study are dealt in the subsequent sections of phonology chapter.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

This study has two general objectives. The first is documentation of Tapo and the second is a grammatical description of Tapo. Based on these general objectives, the following specific objectives are identified and implemented.

- Collect primary data of the language that consists of audio, video and texts,
- Prepare metadata for documentation.
- Annotate audio and video data of Tapo,
- Describe the sound system of the language,
- Describe the noun categories and internal structures of the language, and
- Describe the phrase, clause, and sentence structure of the language.

1.4. Significance of the Study

The study is believed to be significant in many ways and at different levels. Documentation and grammar description of Tapo is a useful resource for documenting the language and culture of Tapo and Koman sub family. The study is based on original empirical data archived at Endangered Language Archive (ELAR), <http://elar.soas.ac.uk>. The documentation led to a creation of a rich and comprehensive primary data corpus that helps the preservation, revitalization and detailed description of the language. The archive is also open for anyone interested in the language and community, with the exception of few instances that may compromise the safety of the Upou community.

The archived primary data serves as a valuable source to linguists working on typological, historical, and comparative sub-fields. Koman is the least-known language family (Bender 1983). Therefore, this documentation and grammatical description contribute to filling the gaps seen in the genetic classification of the Koman sub-family and exclusion/inclusion debate in Nilo-Saharan phylum.

Beyond theoretical and descriptive linguistics, this research also benefits other related humanity disciplines including sociolinguistics, anthropology, discourse analysis,

folklore, musicology, applied linguistics etc. The data documented includes different natural communicative events observed in the Upou community which include narratives, songs, procedural texts, historical narratives, tales and elicitations. Thus, the documentation and metadata are great resource for research in the aforementioned disciplines.

1.5. Methodological Considerations

Tapo has no published grammatical work, which is solely devoted to the language, though there are two unpublished sources. Hence, the current grammatical description, based on the primary documentation data and previous studies is contributes to the understanding of grammar of Tapo. The description focuses on the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. The data used for the description is collected through fieldwork documentation i.e. based on observed and staged communicative events of documentation, and elicitation conducted for around 12 months from 2012 - 2015. The documentation data used for the description is transcribed, translated, and glossed properly as a textual corpus.

1.6. Ethical Aspects of the Documentation

The success of any language documentation is dependent upon the cooperation of the speech community at large. To achieve this, selection of the informants is done with care. Informants in this project are mainly selected based on their nativity in the target language and culture. All informants who participated in the documentation are well informed about the purpose of the project and their informed consent has been obtained in a video archived with the main documentation at ELAR. During the implementation of the project, ethical issues such as voluntary participation, risk of harm, confidentiality, and the principle of anonymity are implemented based on the consent of the the individual participants Access has been restricted with respect to aspects of the documentation considered to be sensitive with respect to dissemination. Members of the language community receive full access to the results of the project contingent on the specific access regularities of the digital archive.

Chapter Two

Documentation of Tapo

2.1. Endangerment of Tapo

UNESCO (2003:2) considers a language 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. That is, there are no new speakers, adults or children". Based on this definition and assessment of factors such as intergenerational language transmission, absolute number of speakers, proportion of speakers within the total population, trends in existing language domains, response to new domains and media, materials for language education and literacy (Moseley 2010:PP) Tapo has been labeled as 'critically endangered language' owing to the fact that the youngest speakers use the language partially and infrequently. Similarly, Tapo has been considered as one of the least studied, as well as critically endangered languages in Ethiopia by Hudson (2003). Nevertheless, currently Tapo is beginning to revive its use by adding new domains in the area of education and religious practices. The orthography has been developed by the Education Bureau of Gambella Region and the language is being used in primary education and as a result of this intervention, children started to speak the language.

Although the threat of language of endangerment, has been minimized, the number of speakers has been dwindling due to cultural practices related to marriage. The interethnic marriage relation leaves the Upou at a disadvantage because an Upou man rarely marries a speaker of a major ethnic group in the area due to the unaffordable dowry to be paid, so that the marriage goes only one way: taking the girls of the Upou to other ethnic groups. Such inter-ethnic marriage relations resulted in the assimilation of Tapo to other major groups in the region, due to the fact that women and children also shift their language as well as their ethnic identity.

In the past, Tapo was spoken in an isolated geographical area and access to the area through transportation was difficult. Currently, Gambella is a preferred location for large scale agricultural investments by the Federal Government and one of the

localities where such huge investments are taking place is the area inhabited by the Upou. The Upou, following such investments in Wanke area, increased contact with different language speakers for economic and social reasons. Such social and economic activities seem to facilitate the language shift since the languages that are mainly spoken in new settlement areas such as Akula are major languages.

Though utilization of Tapo in new domains like education and religion contributes to the revitalization of the language, the implementation has faced difficulties because of lack of proper language descriptions and poor preparation of textbooks. Consequently, the new domains do not reach to the necessary level for revitalizing the language. Besides having a small number of speakers, the aforementioned social and economical factors are believed to aggravate the endangerment of the language. The preparation of this documentation and description on the language is believed to assist the activities being carried out towards the revitalization of the language, since the type and quality of documentation such as comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, abundant annotated corpus, and high quality audio and video documentations are among the factors that assist revitalization of endangered languages.

2.2. Documentation

Documentary linguistics consists of two activities: documentation and description. Documentation of linguistic and cultural corpora involves series of stages. These are recording, capturing, analysing, archiving, and mobilization (Austin, 2006:89). Himmelmann (1995:2) described the documentation activity as a vital task performed based on activities that incorporate the collection, transcription, and translation of primary data.

One of the main objectives of this project is documentation of Tapo. To achieve this objective the researcher recorded a representative and comprehensive audio-video corpus collected using methods of observed and staged communicative events, and elicitation.

An observed communicative event mainly refers to monologues and interactive discourses (Lüpke 2010). In the documentation of Tapo, observed communicative events are captured, analysed and archived. Among these events mainly

conversations, historical narratives, stories, tales, descriptions, conversations are documented. The interactive discourses recorded have information on turn taking and signalling, pause and gestures. Some topics recorded through observed communicative events which includes: color terms, construction, current issues, farming, folktales, woman's social role, hunting, measurement, mourning, naming strategies, personal history, pottery and war time narrations (see appendix 1 and 2).

The other data collection method used is staged communicative events. This method employed in order to get linguistic corpus on different social and cultural activities within the community including religion, conflict resolution and marriage which served as topics of documentation. In the recording of the corpus on conflict resolution, for instance, the speakers are recorded while arguing with one another. The particular sample recording involves a story of a man raped a woman where the village elders hear the appeal of the raped girl , the words of her mother as well as the words of the man who committed the rape in which the elders finally disclose their verdict that involves announcing a punishment on the guilty.

Elicitation is another method used in the documentation of the corpus as well as in the a description of the structure of the language. It is used to grasp linguistic units that may not be manifested in the natural communicative events. Some of those linguistic units elicited include expressions of number, measurement, different taxonomies of plant and animal names as well as kinship terms. In the current Tapo documentation birds, child games, fishing, directional terms, measurement words, hunting, names of trees and utensils are collected through particular elicitation sessions devoted to each specific topic of elicitations (see appendix 2 for description).

After the required data are collected using the above methods, transcription, translation and glossing has been carried out. The entire corpus has a length of 10 hours and 39 minutes collected from 96 participants. The data mainly incorporates audio and/or video format and a metadata (a data about data) that has been organized through Arbil. Part of these data is transcribed, translated glossed and archived (see part of the texts in appendix 3 (text A – E)). The main tool used for the transcribing and glossing is ELAN, which uses synchronized (audio-video) data for the transcription and glossing. All the metadata, video-audio recordings, toolbox wordlist

(see appendix 4) and ELAN glossing sent for archiving with the appropriate consent of data usage gained from the concerned individuals or groups on data usage. Finally the documentation is archived for users at Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR)⁴. The archived data has four different levels of access: **U** - all registered Users can access, **R** - Researchers and Community members are allowed access, **C** - only Community members are allowed access, **S** - only Subscribers are allowed access. Of these four access types, most of the access to the archive falls in the U type of access.

⁴<https://wurin.lis.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI636676>

Chapter Three

Phonology

In this chapter consonants and vowel phonemes of Tapo are identified and described. Phonological processes are also treated. Transcription of data is carried in IPA.

3.1. Consonant

Table 3.1 shows consonant phonemes of Tapo. The rows of the chart show place of articulation, whereas the column show manner of articulation of consonants in Tapo.

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	Vl	p	t̪	t	c	k	
	Vd	b	d̪	d	ɟ	g	
Ejective		pʰ	t̪ʰ	tʰ	cʰ	kʰ	
Implosive		ɓ		ɗ			
Fricative				s			h
Nasal		m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
Trill				r			
Lateral				l			
Approximant		w			j		

Table 3.1 Consonant Phonemes of Tapo

Tapo has dental, alveolar, palatal, and velar places for consonant articulation and these places of articulation are also mentioned by Ehert (2001) as potential places of articulation for phonemes in Koman languages. The phonemes articulated in these places include: the labials /p, b, p', ɓ, m, w/, dentals /t, d, t', d, s, n, r, l/, palatals /c, ɟ, c', ɲ, j/, velars /k, g, k', ŋ / and the glottal /h/ as shown in Table 3.1 above. In relation to manner of articulation, Tapo has stops, ejectives, affricates, fricatives and implosives which could be grouped as obstruents based on relatively strong air obstruction. On the contrary, sonorant consonants such as nasals, trills, and laterals have less air obstruction as compared to obstruents.

Tapo uses both egressive and ingressive air stream mechanisms in consonant production. Among the phonemes created with the egressive (the glottalic and pulmonic air streams) are stops, fricatives, nasals, trills, laterals and approximants. The ejectives are articulated with the glottalic air stream mechanism. The ingressive air stream is attested with the implosive consonant phonemes of Tapo

3.1.1. Consonant Contrasts

Different scholars have proposed different number of phonemes for Tapo. Among these, Bender (1983), Abebe (2008), Lemi (2010), and Van Silfhout (2013) have suggested 21, 26, 24 and 25 consonant phonemes respectively. Some of the consonant phonemes like alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/ that are recorded as phonemes in previous studies have not been identified as distinct phonemes in the current study. The alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ] occurs as an allophone of the alveolar fricative /s/. The glottal stop /ʔ/ has been claimed to occur in words such as [ʔaɓigin] 'all' or [ʔadijə] 'mother' (Lemi 2010:5-8). Whereas Van Van Silfhout (2013:58) transcribed the same words with the low vowel /a/ as abigin [aɓigīn] 'all' and adije [ādijē] 'mother', and according to the same author, the distribution of the glottal stop within a word is restricted to medial position as in waʔaɗe 'dwell, inhabit' (Van Silfhout 2013:15).

In this study, 27 consonant phonemes are identified. Among these phonemes there is a controversy over the occurrence of palatal stops or affricates in Tapo. Both Lemi (2010) and Abebe (2010) described the occurrence of affricates in Tapo, contrary to

Bender (1983) and Van Van Silfhout (2013) who claimed Tapo has palatals instead of affricates (see section 2.1.1.2). In the current study these phonemes are found to be stops in agreement with Bender (1983) and Van Van Silfhout (2013). Besides, a series of dental stops namely /ɖ/, /ʈ/ and /ʈʰ/ are identified as phonemes in Tapo.

The following minimal and near minimal pairs illustrate the distinctiveness of the consonants listed in Table 3.1. The contrasting examples are given in terms of phonation (p-b, ɖ-ʈ, c-ɟ, k-g), manner of articulation (p-bʰ, pʰ-m, t-d, ʈ-t, t-tʰ, p-pʰ, l-r, n-l, k-kʰ, c-cʰ, cʰ-ɟ, cʰ-kʰ, w-p) and place of articulation (ɓ-d, pʰ, pʰ-kʰ, s-tʰ, ɲ-n, s-h). Among the phonemes in Tapo, the approximants and glottal fricative do not have minimal pairs.

3.1	p-b	/pacʰ/	‘laugh’
		/bacʰ/	‘buffalo’
3.2	b-pʰ	/ber-a/	‘arrive-ITV’
		/pʰera/	‘creeping plant’
3.3	pʰ-m	/supʰa/	‘warm’
		/suma/	‘meat’
3.4	b-ɓ	/ba/	‘lie’
		/ɓa/	‘she’
3.5	ɖ-d	/ɖal/	‘migration’
		/dal/	‘thing’
3.6	ʈ-ɖ	/ʈam/	‘bee’
		/ɖam/	‘thing’
3.7	ʈ-t	/ʈɔ/	‘exist’
		/tu/	‘to give birth’
3.8	ʈ-t	/ʈai/	‘sun’
		/tai/	‘lake’
3.9	ʈʰ-t	/kitʰ/	‘right’

		/kət/	‘insult’
3.10	p’-k’	/sup’a/	‘warm’
		/sək’a /	‘two’
3.11	p-p’	/sɔpa /	‘fetch.2sg.IMP’
		/sɔp’a/	‘warm’
3.12	l-r	/pala/	‘ceremony of cutting sorghum’
		/para/	‘to prepare cloth’
3.13	n-l	/k’anɔ/	‘to remember’
		/k’alɔ/	‘Nile lizard like animal’
3.14	c-ɟ	/caw/	‘winnow’
		/ɟaw/	‘stone’
3.15	k-k’	/ka/	‘hen’
		/k’a/	‘sharp’
3.16	c- c’	/bac’/	‘buffalo’
		/bac/	‘hip’
3.17	c’- k’	/c’ac’/	‘chest’
		/k’ac’/	‘cut grass’
3.18	c’-ɲ	/c’i/	night
		/ɲi/	yes!
3.19	w-p	/wa/	‘exist’
		/pa/	‘place’
3.20	ɲ-n	/dɔɲ/	‘bite.IMP’
		/dɔn/	‘pieces’
3.21	k-g	/kil/	‘root’
		/gil/	‘see’
3.22	s-t’	/sira/	‘knife’

		/t'ira/	'thread'
3.23	s-h	/hɛ/	'say'
		/sɛ/	'tooth'

3.1.1.1. Dental Phonemes

Among the phonemes discussed above the dental series need some clarification due to the fact that none of the previous studies on Tapo (Van Van Silfhout 2013, Abebe 2008, Lemi 2010, Bender 1983) reported them as phonemes of Tapo⁵.

The existence of phonemic contrast between dental and alveolar stops is contentious in Nilotic-languages. Dimmendaal (1988:7), emphasizing this doubt, presents phonemically contrastive examples for dental and alveolar voiceless stops in Nilotic reconstructions. Bender (1997:68) questioned the existence of alveolar dentals in proto Nilo-Saharan. The aim to reconstruct voiced and voiceless dental stops in Nilo-Saharan also attained only in Koman languages by Ehert (2001) which may imply the scarcity of dental stops in Nilo-Saharan languages. Though there are such controversies in the existence of dentals in the reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan languages these phonemes still reported to exist, probably as an aerial feature in Ethio-Sudan Boarder area. Among these languages the West Nilotic Anywa (Reh 1996:23), Nuer (Frank 1999), the Surmic language of Murle (Moges 2005) and the Koman languages, have contrastive dental and alveolar phonemes. Within Koman languages full dental series consisting of voiced and voiceless, ejective and aspirated dentals are described in Uduk by Killian and Hammarström (2012) and Killan (2015).

Even if none of the dental consonants were identified as a phoneme in previous studies made on Tapo, Lemi (2010:13) describes the voiceless dental stop [t̪] as an allophone of voiceless alveolar stop /t/ when followed by the low vowel /a/ and the glottal fricative /h/ as in [t̪anna:] 'what', [t̪ha:] 'prepare'. However the voiceless dental /t̪/, as the current corpus (3.24 - 3.26) shows, can also be followed by front as well as

⁵ This distinction also could be the result of dialectal difference since the previous works of Silfhout (2013) and Lemi (2010) mainly carried out their field work at Merra area contrary to the current one that is based on the Wanke dialect.

back vowels. The voiced dental also occur with both front and back vowels (3.27 and 3.28). The ejective on the contrary is restricted only to front vowels. Furthermore the environment of [h] does not seem to be plausible because consonant sequences at word initial position are not allowed in the language and the description of a dental stop followed by /h/ must be mistaken for an aspirated dental stop [tʰ].

3.24 tɿne 'dog'
 pɿɿ 'flour/ashes'
 tɿl 'heat'

3.25 tɿl 'short'
 tɿ 'exist'

3.26 tɿa 'work'
 dɿal 'migration'

3.27 dɿɿnca 'skin'
 haɿɿi 'to pull'

3.28 tuɿɿu 'suck'
 dɿɿɿɿɿɿɿ 'queue'
 dɿɿɿ 'bite'

3.29 tɿ'ima 'narrow'
 kiɿɿ' 'right'
 ciɿiɿɿ' 'scorpion'

Dental and alveolar stops in Tapo produced in a proximate pace of articulation. As a result, differentiating the two phonemes is difficult for non-native speakers. However, with careful perception it is possible to notice that the dental stops are produced with the constriction on the teeth whereas in the case of alveolar stops, air closure takes longer and stronger burst in comparison to the dentals that have relatively less time and burst of air release. However, still the dental vs. alveolar stops in Tapo needs further investigation with the help of experimental phonetics.

3.1.1.2. Palatal Stops

The affricates seem to be typical feature of Nilo-Saharan languages as shown in Western Nilotic (Reh 1996:23), and Surmic (Moges 2005). In the case of the geographically related Koman languages, there is controversy over the occurrence of palatal or affricate consonants. Among the Koman languages, as Killian and Hammarström (2012) and Killan (2015) reported, Uduk has palatal stops. The other closely related Koman language Gumuz has reported to have a contrast of palatal stops and alveo-palatal affricates (Ahland 2012). In the case of Tapo, Lemi (2010) and Abebe (2008) stated, Tapo has an affricate. On the contrary, both Van Van Silfhout (2013) and Bender (1983) reported that Tapo has a palatal stop not an affricate.

As careful examination of these phonemes in Tapo shows that the phonemes identified in the variety of Tapo under study are palatal stops rather than affricates. In trying to identify these phonemes, the main difficulty seems to emerge in connection to the language of elicitation, i.e. Amharic. Since most informants are speakers of Amharic and native like speakers of Nuer as their second and third languages, they seem to shift towards affricates. However, the topic is still delicate topic that needs further investigation through instrument based thorough study.

3.1.2. Consonant Phonemes and Their allophones

Consonant phonemes in Tapo have different realizations in different environments. The most commonly observed allophonic varieties in consonant phonemes are labialization and phonation in stops. In this section, these and other different allophonic variants of consonantal phonemes listed in Table 3.1 above will be discussed.

The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ is phonetically the most varied phoneme in the language. It has four different allophones in different environments. The phoneme could be realized in word initial positions as a labialized voiceless bilabial stop [p^w], when followed by back vowels and occurs as aspirated voiceless bilabial stop [p^h] at word initial positions when followed by open and front vowels. Whereas, at word final and inter-vocalic positions, the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ becomes unreleased

bilabial stop [p̣], and voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] respectively, as shown in the following examples in 3.30 below.

3.30 p [p^h] aspirated voiceless bilabial stop, word initially when followed by an open-mid and front vowel

pa	[p ^h a]	‘place/village’
pale	[p ^h alɛ]	‘date’
pili	[p ^h ili]	‘bruise’
piṭi	[p ^h ṭi]	‘ashe’

[p^w] voiceless labialized bilabial stop, in initial position of a word when followed by back vowels,

pua	[p ^w ua]	‘bud’
pusa	[p ^w usa]	‘cover’
puk	[p ^w uk]	‘gun’

[p̣] unrealised voiceless bilabial stop in word final positions

kap	[k ^h ap̣]	‘air’
pip	[p ^h ip̣]	‘cattle’
ḡap	[ḡ ^h ap̣]	‘gold’

[ɸ] voiceless bilabial fricative in intervocalic positions

gipaj	[giɸai]	‘dew’
ɓapa	[ɓaɸa]	‘women’

[p] Voiceless bilabial stop, occurs elsewhere

The voiced bilabial stop /b/ has two allophones. The first being voiced bilabial fricative [β] which occurs in inter-vocalic positions within a word as in kibu [kiβu] ‘leopard’ and gabusa [gaβusa] ‘foam’. The second variety is the labialized voiced stop [b^w]. This allophone occurs at word initial positions when followed by back vowels as in burk’us [b^wʊrk’ʊs] ‘dust’.

3.31 /b/ [β] voiced bilabial fricative in inter-vocalic positions

gabusa	[gaβusa]	'foam'
kibu	[kiβu]	'leopard'

[b^w] labialized voiced bilabial stop when followed by back vowels
in word initial positions

burk'us	[b ^w urkus]	'dust'
bóbà	[b ^w uba]	'kind endemic animal'

[b] Voiced bilabial stop, occurs elsewhere

As a stop, all dental stop series also go through labialization in word initial positions whenever followed by back vowels. Among the dentals the voiceless dental stop /t̪/ has aspirated allophonic variety [t̪^h], when it occurs at word initial positions followed by an open-mid vowel.

3.32 /d̪/ /d̪^w/ Labialized voiced dental stop, word initially, when followed by back vowels

d̪us	[d̪ ^w us]	'penis'
d̪uar	[d̪ ^w uar]	'hunter'

/d̪/ Voiced dental stop, elsewhere

3.33 /t̪/ [t̪^w] Labialized voiceless dental stop, word initially, when followed by back vowels

t̪ɔ	[t̪ ^w ɔ]	'exist'
t̪ɔga	[t̪ ^w ga]	'antelope'

[t̪^h] Aspirated dental stop, word initially when followed by open vowels.

t̪a	[t̪ ^h a]	'to work.IMP'
t̪aj	[t̪ ^h aj]	'sun'

[t̪] Labialized voiceless dental stop, elsewhere

3.34 /t̥/ [t̥ʷ] Labialized dental ejective, word initially when followed by back vowels

t̥'uma [t̥ʷuma] 'feast'

[t̥] Labialized dental ejective, elsewhere

The velar ejective /k/ has two allophonic varieties in word initial positions. Labialized velar ejective [kʷ] occurs in word initial positions whenever followed by back vowels. The other allophonic variety of the velar ejective is the aspirated velar ejective [kʰ], occurs at word initial position in the environment of front vowels as in e.g. 3.35 below.

3.35 /k/ [kʷ] labialized velar ejective before back vowels, in word initial position

k'usɔ [kʷɔsɔ] 'to kill'

k'uat' [kʷuwa't] 'bedbug'

[kʰ] k'ama [kʰama] 'chew'

k'imic' [kʰimic'] 'charcoal'

[k] velar ejective, else where

The voiced and voiceless velar stops /g, k/ have labialized and aspirated allophones at word initial positions like the other stops in the language. These labialized allophones [gʷ] and [kʷ] occur before back vowels. The aspirated [kʰ] and [gʰ] occur at word initial positions when followed by the low open or front vowels. Lemi (2010) considered the aspirated [kʰ] as co-articulation, kh- in [khãŋga] 'smell'. In the current study, it is found to be [kʰ] an aspirated allophone in the word kanga [kʰaŋga] 'smell'.

3.36 k/ [kʷ] voiceless labialized velar stop, word initially when followed by back vowels

kumu [kʷũmũ] 'naval'

kɔtɔlɔk [kʷɔtɔlɔk] 'stove'

[kʰ] voiceless aspirated velar stop, word initially when followed by open-front

vowel		
kare	[k ^h are]	'door'
kanga	[k ^h aŋga]	'smell'
kil	[k ^h il]	'root'
kit	[k ^h it]	'bladder'

[k] Voiceless velar stop elsewhere

3.37 /g/ [g^w] voiced labialized velar stop, when followed by back vowels word initially

gur	[g ^w ur]	'type of fish'
gugu	[g ^w ugu]	'pumpkin'
gɔbo	[g ^w ɔ]	'type of fish'

[g^h] voiced aspirated velar stop, when followed by open and front vowels word initially

ga	[g ^h a]	'snail like insect'
gangara	[g ^h aŋgara]	'side'
gil	[g ^h l]	'see'

[g] voiced velar stop elsewhere

Among the stops that do have an allophonic variant are the voiced palatal stops /j/, voiceless palatal stops /c/, and the palatal ejective /c'/. Both the palatal stops /j/ and /c/ and the palatal ejective /c'/ become labialized stop in word initial positions when followed by back vowels. The voiceless palatal stops /c/ and palatal ejective /c'/ could also occur as unreleased palatal stop [c̚] and palatal ejective [c̚'] as in words [bač] 'hip' bač 'men'.

3.38 /j/ [j^w] labialized voiced palatal stop in word initial position when followed by back vowels

Juwa	[j ^w uwa]	'lion'
Juga	[j ^w uga]	'name'

[ʃ] voiced palatal stop, elsewhere

3.39 /c/ [c^w] labialized voiceless palatal stop in initial position of a word when followed by back vowels

c ^w ɔpɔ	[c ^w ɔpɔ]	'little'
cuwi	[c ^w uwi]	'excrement'

[c'] unrealised palatal ejective in word final positions

ɔkac	[ɔkac']	'man'
bac	[bac']	'men'

[c] voiceless palatal stop elsewhere

3.40 /c'/ [c^w] labialized palatal stop in initial position of a word when followed by back vowels

c'ɔbɔ	[c ^w ɔbɔ]	'snail'
c ^w ɔkɔm	[c ^w ɔkɔm]	'intestine'

[c'] unrealised palatal stop, word finally

cac	[c'ac"]	'heart'
bac	[bac"]	'hip'

[c'] palatal ejective, elsewhere

The alveolar fricative /s/ has palatal [ʃ] and labialized fricative [s^w] allophonic varieties. It becomes palatal fricative [ʃ] in word initial or medial positions and when followed by front high vowel /i/. In case of basɪɪɪɪ [baʃɪɪɪɪ] 'lizard' it occurred in the middle of a word as a consequence of reduplication, a commonly occurring phonological process in Tapo. The alveolar fricative /s/ could be attested as labialized alveolar fricative [s^w] when followed by the round back vowels as in sui [s^wwi] 'bone' and su [s^wu] 'buy'.

3.41 /s/ [ʃ] voiced palatal fricative, in initial and medial positions of a word, when followed by high front vowels.

sipɔ	[ʃipɔ]	'local beer'
sira	[ʃira]	'knife'
basilsil	[baʃilʃil]	'lizard'

[s^w] labialized alveolar fricative in word initial position when followed by back vowels

sɔ	[s ^w ɔ]	'buy'
suj	[s ^w wj]	'bone'

[s] voiceless alveolar fricative elsewhere

3.1.3. Distribution of Consonants and Their Realizations

In this section, the distribution of each consonant phoneme will be discussed. The occurrence of phonemes at beginning of a word, intervocalic and at final position of words are presented in the first, second and third columns respectively. In the fourth column, post-consonantal (CC) positions of phonemes is shown. Pre-consonantal occurrence of phonemes is also discussed whenever there are cases. Gemination is mainly observed in an intervocalic position and it is not phonologically distinctive in Tapo as Lemi (2010:10) has also shown. Most stops (excluding bilabials), nasals and ejectives that occur in intervocalic position are phonetically geminated. Thus gemination is not included in the discussion of the distribution of phonemes. For the purpose of this discussion consonants are grouped based on their manner of articulation.

3.1.3.1. Stops

All stops /p, t, ṭ, c, k, b, d, ḍ, ʃ, g / occur at word initial and medial positions. The voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /ṭ/, /c/ and /k/ occur in final and post-consonantal positions. Whereas all voiced stops do not occur at word final position. In post-nasa position all stops, except the voiceless velar stop /k/, occur as shown in the fifth column in **Table 3.2** below. The absence of voiced stops in final position seems to be a systematic gap in comparison to all voiceless stops that occur in final position.

	Initial	Medial	Final	CC
/p/	pi 'to drink'	gipai 'fog'	tap 'kick'	ampir 'escape'
/t/	ti 'pot'	kita 'shirt'	kɪt 'bladder'	sinta 'to hate'
/t̪/	t̪ɛl 'heat'	uʈan 'to tell'	huʈ 'ostrich'	nent̪ɔ 'ant'
/c/	cir 'wet'	maca 'cut.IMP'	ɖɛc 'soldier'	kɪncɔ 'house fly'
/k/	kala 'small'	tikus 'sun set'	puk 'turtles'	---
/b/	bibi 'wond'	kibu 'tiger'	---	tamba 'granary'
/d/	diga 'type of fish'	kindi 'type of grass'	---	tɔndɔr 'bat'
/ɖ/	ɖal 'migration'	haɖi 'to pull'	---	ɖɔndɔl 'queue'
/ʒ/	ʒi 'water'	uʒa 'kind of rat'	---	maɲɟula 'cheek'
/g/	gew 'fence'	c'igi 'rat'	---	kaɲga 'drug'

Table 3.2 Stops and their distribution

3.1.3.1. Ejectives

All ejectives occur in initial, intervocalic and final positions except the bilabial ejective /p'/, which is missing from final and post-consonantal positions within a word. The velar /k'/ is the most widely distributed ejective which occurs in all positions including the post-consonantal position. In this position, the bilabial /p'/ and the dental /t̪'/ are missing. The bilabial ejective /p'/ seems to be a marginal consonant for it does not occur in final and post-consonantal positions. In addition, this phoneme has not been reported by Bender (1983:282).

	Initial	Medial	Final	CC
/p'/	p'at'a 'white'	sop'a 'warm'	---	---
/t'/	t'ik'a 'heavy'	lit'a 'tongue'	sit' far/deep'	kalt'a 'palate'
/t̥'/	t̥'uja 'cut fruit'	mit̥'i 'type of food'	kit̥' 'right'	---
/c'/	c'i 'dark'	c'ic'a 'urine'	pac' 'laugh'	dinc'a 'skin'
/k'/	k'ac' 'cut- grass'	t'ik'a heaviness'	sek' 'long'	tark'a 'warthog'

Table 3.3 Ejectives and their distribution

3.1.3.2. Implosives

Implosives are restricted only to word initial position. As shown in Table 3.5 below implosives occur only in initial positions and are missing from final and post-consonantal positions. The implosives in Tapo could be considered as marginal consonants in the language because of their limited distribution and frequency in the current stage of language. The implosives were not also reported by Bender (1983); thus they could probably be recent developments through borrowing from neighboring Cushitic languages.

	Initial	Medial	Final	CC
/b/	bia 'neck'	---	---	---
/d/	dagi 'scorpion'	---	---	---

Table 3.4 Implosives and their distribution

3.1.3.3. Fricatives

The alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in all positions. In the current analysis, the alveo-palatal [ʃ] is attested as an allophone of /s/ occurring word initially as discussed in section 1 above. The glottal fricative /h/ occurs only at word initial position. In relation to its distribution, Bender (2013) has also observed that it is restricted to word initial position. On the contrary, both Lemi (2008) and Van Van Silfhout (2013) described the glottal fricative as occurring at word initial, medial and final positions. In our data, the glottal fricative /h/ occurs only at word initial position.

	Initial	Medial	Final	CC
/s/	sop 'stab'	pusa 'gravel'	kos 'sew'	---
/h/	hə tɪnɛ 'rain'	---	---	---

Table 3.5 Fricatives and their distribution

3.1.3.4. Nasals

All nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ occur in initial, medial, final and pre-consonantal positions within a word except the palatal nasal /ɲ/ which is missing from the final position. Whereas none of the nasals occur in post-consonantal position except, the bilabial /m/ as in *lilmə* 'needle'.

	Initial	Medial	Final	CC	CC
/m/	mɛ 'goat'	dɪmɛ 'child'	ʈam 'bee'	tamba 'granary'	lɪlmə 'needle'
/n/	nakɔ 'dirty'	tɪnɛ 'land'	sɛn 'head of an arrow'	landɔ 'type of grass'	---
/ɲ/	ɲɛt 'evil doing'	aɲarɔ 'leopard'	---	ɖɲɛ'a 'skin'	---
/ŋ/	ŋasɔ 'arrow'	dɪŋa 'type of fish'	dɔŋ 'bite'	kaŋga 'smell'	---

Table 3.6 Nasals and their distribution

3.1.3.5. Trill, Lateral and Approximants

The trill /r/ and the lateral /l/, like most consonantal phonemes of Tapo, occur in word initial, medial and final positions. The lateral /l/ in addition occurs in a pre-consonantal position. The alveolar trill /r/ seems to occur in pre-consonantal position of compound nouns such as tar-k'a 'warthog'. Approximants /j,w/, also occur in word initial, medial and final positions as could be referred in table 3.8 below.

	Initial	Medial	Final	<u>CC</u>	<u>CC</u>
/r/	rɔɔ 'to tell'	pira 'scar'	nɔr 'push'	---	---
/l/	lil 'jump'	pale 'friend'	kil 'root'	kalt'a 'palate'	lilmo
j	jal 'return back'	ɓija 'neck'	paj 'fly'	---	---
w	wa 'sit.SG'	juwa 'lion'	jaw 'stone'		---

Table 3.7 Trill, Liquids and Approximants, and their distribution

3.1.4. Phonotactics

3.1.4.1. Consonant Occurrence Restrictions

All consonants occur in word-initial and medial-position except the implosives /ɓ, ɗ/, approximant /w, j/ and glottal /h/ that are restricted only to word-initial position. In the case of word final positions the bilabial ejective /p'/, implosives /ɓ, ɗ/, glottal /h/, approximant /w, j/, voiced stops /b, d, ɗ, ʒ, g/ and the palatal nasal /ɲ/ do not occur at word final-position.

3.1.4.2. Restrictions on Consonant-Vowel Sequence

All consonants except the palatal nasal /ɲ/, velar nasal /ŋ/ alveolar trill /r/ and approximants /w, j/, occur with front and back vowels at word initial position. Both approximants occur within the environment of unrounded vowels. The alveolar trill /r/ does not occur with the high front \pm ATR /i, ɪ/. Other consonant-vowel sequence restriction includes /ɲ/ occurring with /a/ and the only known case with back vowels is ɲɔl ‘to sharpen’. The velar nasal /ŋ/ also occurs only with the open vowel /a/ as in ɲasɔ ‘arrow’ in word initial positions. The restriction on nasal /ɲ, ŋ, / phonemes emerges from the fact that they have low frequency of usage in the language. In an intervocalic position all consonants, except those restricted to word initial positions /b, d, h, w, j/, occur.

3.1.4.3. Consonant-Consonant Sequence

Tapo entertains only word-medial consonant sequences in monomorphemic words and the sequencing consists of a maximum of two consonants. Previously reported consonant sequences in word initial position like /-gw-/ in Van Van Silfhout (2013:34) and /-kh-/ in Lemi (2010:37) are a result of phonological processes such as vowel deletion and phonation as in words such as cuwi [cwi] ‘stool’, gu-ar (COM-3MSG) [gwar] ‘with him’ and kanga [k^hanga] ‘smell’ respectively.

In the current description, consonant co-occurrence sequences are mainly attested in noun stems, and verb stems have rarely consonant sequences. The consonant cluster (C₁C₂) are constructed from obstruent (C₂) preceded by sonorant (C₁). C₁ could be nasal or lateral whereas, C₂ could be voiced or voiceless stop as shown in table 3.8 below. The table arranged sonorant (C₁) vertically and obstruent (C₂) horizontally. Both are arranged based on their place of articulation from front to back. There are also homorganic sequences that appear as coda and onset of two neighboring syllables in a word as discussed in section 3.3 below.

		Obstruent (C ₂)													
		Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar					Palatal			Velar	
		p	b	t̪	ɖ	t	d	t'	s	r	c'	c	ɟ	g	k'
Sonorant (C ₁)	m	X	X												
	n			X	X	X	X								
	l							X	X	X					
	ɲ										X	X	X		
	ŋ													X	X

Table 3.8 Possible consonant clusters in Tapo

As could be inferred from table 3.8 above, possible consonant clusters in Tapo consists of clusters containing a nasal or lateral that always be followed by their corresponding stops in terms of place of articulation, except dentals⁶. In this rule of assimilation, the nasals are followed by stops. The lateral /l/ is followed by non-nasal consonants such as /t', s, r/. The only place of articulation that is shared by the nasals and the lateral in the consonant co-occurrence is the alveolar area.

In the clustering, there are two rarely occurring exceptions. The first is a lateral followed by a bilabial /lm/ in the only word *lilmo* 'needle' (probably a borrowed word). The second sequencing that mainly attested in borrowed words from Oromo, consist of a trill followed by a fricative /rs/ in *par.sa* 'horse' (*farada*), a bilabial nasal followed by an alveolar /mt/ in *hamto* 'sickle'. The trill could also occur in sequences such as /rk'/ in *burk'us* 'dust' probably a compound word like *tar.k'a* 'warthog'.

⁶Homorganic nasals are common among the Koman languages as also discussed in Ahland (2010), Kievit & Robertson (2010) and Kilan (2015).

3.2. Vowels

3.2.1. Introduction

The vowel system of Koman languages does not seem to have an agreed classification though most of the languages have 5 to 7 vowels, the most divergent being 9 vowels in Komo (Tesfaye 2015), in contrary to a seven vowel language with ATR distinctions (Otero 2015). Bender (1983) analyzed Proto-Koman and Tapo as five vowel languages /i, e, a, o, u/. Unlike Bender (1983), Hellenthal and Kutsch Lojenga (2011), underlined Gwama has seven basic vowel phonemes, five [-ATR] and two [+ATR].

In the case of Tapo, Abebe (2008:1) mentioned that “Upou has five long and tense vowels each with short and lax counterparts”. Hence Abebe (2008) designed the orthography of the language considering Tapo as a five-vowel language. Lemi (2010) described Tapo as a nine- vowel system. These are the two front vowels / i, e/, three central vowels / i, ə, a/ and four back vowels / u, o, ʊ, ɔ/. Among those listed, the unrounded-central-high /i/ and the mid-central /ə/ are uncommon among the Koman languages. Van Van Silfhout (2013:23) analyzed Tapo as a seven vowel system with ATR distinction having three +ATR /i, e u/ and four -ATR /ɪ, ε, ɔ, a/ vowels. Van Van Silfhout’s (2013) claim seems to be difficult to accept due to lack ATR symmetry. As Casali (2008:502-503) summed up based on Niger-Congo and Nilo-Sharan languages, seven vowel ATR languages have three pair of vowels each sharing the same height, frontness - backness and rounding in two different groupings. Type 1 consists of +ATR /i, u/ and -ATR /ɪ, ʊ/, /ε, ɔ/ and /a/; and type 2 consists of +ATR /i.u/, /e,o/ and -ATR /ε, ɔ/ and /a/ (Ibid:502-503). In Van Van Silfhout (2013) inventory of vowels the +ATR /e/ and the -ATR /ɪ/ lack the respective counterparts /o/ and /ʊ/ to be considered as a proper ATR system.

3.2.2. Vowel Contrasts

Phonemically, Tapo has three front, three back and one mid contrastive vowels. These are the contrastive [+High, +ATR] /i, u/, [+High, -ATR] /ɪ, ʊ/, the [+Mid, -ATR] /ε, ɔ/ and the open [-ATR] /a/. Phonetically, the language has nine vowels with [+Mid,

+ATR] [e, o] and [+Low, +ATR] [ə] that occur as a result of +ATR spreading to the /ε, ɔ, a/.

		+ATR					-ATR		
		Front	central	Back			Front	central	Back
High		i		u	High		ɪ		ʊ
Mid		[e]		[o]	Mid		ε		ɔ
Low			[ə]		Low			a	

Table 3.9 Vowel Phonemes of Tapo

The 7 vowels shown without brackets in the above chart have phonemic status as the following comparison in 3.42-3.44 below shows, with minimal and near minimal pairs. The comparison is based on back vs. front, closeness vs. openness and +ATR vs. -ATR of the vowels.

3.42 Minimal pairs for /i, ε, a, ɔ, u/

jí	‘water’
jē	‘eye’
já	‘to go.PST’
jɔ̄	‘snake’
jū	‘to come .PST’

3.43 Minimal pairs for /i, ɪ, ε, a, ɔ, ʊ, u/

pí	‘to drink.PST’
pī	‘cattle’
pε	‘year’
pā	‘village’
pɔ̄	‘catch.PST’
pō	‘blow fire.PST’
pú	‘to smell.PST’

3.44 Minimal pairs for /i, ɪ, ε, a, ɔ, u, ʊ/

sí	‘throw.PST’
sī	‘local beer’
sē	‘tooth’
sà	‘to eat.PST’
sō	‘grass’
sū	‘buy.PST’

3.2.3. Vowel Length

Vowel length is not distinctive and does not occur within a word stem. Lemi (2010) and Van Van Silfhout (2013) reported vowel length as phonemic in Tapo. However, vowel length in Tapo only happens as a result of vowel sequences occurring at a morpheme boundary. Claims of vowel length in words such as [ca-an] (dig-3N) ‘dig’ by Van Silfhout (2013:37) are cases of vowel sequences occurring at a morpheme boundary.

3.2.4. Distribution of Vowel Phonemes

At the current stage of the language, initial vowels occur at initial position of a word stem. The vowels that occur at word initial are /i, ε, u, ʊ/. The -ATR open-mid /ε/ occurs word initially only in the word εs ‘body’. The mid [-ATR] /ɪ/ and /ɔ/ do not occur at the beginning of a word. All vowels occur in word-medial and final positions. A vowel sequence is not allowed in the language. The only sequence observed in the language is a sequence created at a morpheme boundary as a in the case of the verb final vowel that occurs in VEN and ITV morphemes in pi-a [pija] ‘rise’ and i-a [ija] (go-ITV) ‘to go’.

3.2.5. Vowels and Their Allophones

Tapo has three allophonic vowels. These are the [+ATR] mid [e, o, ə] vowels which do not occur in stems of nouns and verbs. These vowels occur only as an allophonic variety of /ε/, /ɔ/ and /a/ respectively as a result of [+ATR] harmony spreading. The -ATR /ε/, /ɔ/, /a/ in gε-u ‘fence’, upo-u ‘people’ and ka-nu ‘hen’ become [+ATR]

following the spreading of +ATR distal marker -nu/-u in the following examples given in 3.45-3.7 below.

- 3.45 gε-u [gɛw] ‘fence’
- 3.46 upɔ-u [upou~upow] ‘people’
- 3.47 ka-nu [kənu] ‘hen’

3.2.6. Vowel Harmonization

Vowel harmonization is a common phonological feature in African languages in particular in Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan families (Casali 2003 and 2008). In Koman languages, Otero (2015) has shown that vowel harmonization occurs as a result of Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) distinctions in Komo. Another Koman language, Uduk, even if it has lost ATR distinction at a phoneme level, as Killian (2015b:33) pointed out, ‘certain grammatical morphemes’ in the language seem to have retained their original ATR qualities.

In the case of Tapo, there is no previous discussion on vowel harmonization. Tapo is a language with seven contrastive vowels of [+ATR] /i,u/ and [-ATR] /ɪ, ʊ, ε, ɔ, a/. The language has an ATR distinction in the [+high] vowels of /i, ɪ, u, ʊ/ ([+ATR] /iu/, [-ATR] /ɪ, ʊ/). Seven vowel languages with [+high] vowel ATR contrasts are the more common than those with mid vowel contrasts in Niger-Congo and Nilotic languages in general, and East Africa in particular (see Casili 2008:503). Among the Koman languages, Gwama (Kievit and Robertson 2012) and Komo (Otero 2015) have seven contrastive phonemes similar to Tapo. Below, vowel harmonization in word stem, dominance and spreading of ATR in Tapo is discussed.

3.2.6.1. Vowel Harmonization in Noun Stem

Vowel harmony is a phonological process in which vowels in a word must “share the same value of some vocalic feature” (Casili 2008:496). Vowel harmony in Tapo in particular it occurs in nominals. Vowel harmony, though rarely occurs in verb stem for the fact that verbs are restricted only to monosyllabic CV- or CVC- stems, it spreads over in morphemes such as ventive. In noun stems, vowels must have either -

ATR or +ATR feature. The exception is that the -ATR /-a/ co-occur with both -ATR and +ATR vowels. Noun stems are formed from the combination of harmonic vowels in roots such as: C₁υC₂υ, C₁uC₂u, C₁iC₂i, C₁IC₂I, C₁εC₂ε, C₁ɔC₂ɔ, C₁aC₂a. Both the first and second vowels have the same ATR feature. In table 3.11 below kʊpʊ ‘wing’ both the first and second vowels have [+High, -ATR] vowels, whereas, kumu ‘mother’ has rounded [+High, +ATR] vowels.

+ATR		-ATR			
i-i	niri ‘razor’	I-I	kɪɪ ‘flower’	ε-ε	bɛɛ ‘tobacco’
	bibi ‘wound’		pɪpɪ ‘chaff’		wɛɛ ‘leg’
	tisi ‘fence’		pɪɪ ‘ashes’		c’ɛc’ɛ ‘termite’
u-u	kumu ‘mother’	υ-υ	tʊsʊ ‘three’	ɔ-ɔ	bɔnk’ɔ ‘frog’
	bubu ‘water whole’		k’ʊrʊ ‘calabash’		tɔndɔr ‘rat’
	ɖusu ‘worm’		sʊmʊ ‘kind of snake’		ɖɔɔ ‘type of fish’
		a-a	kala ‘small’		
			tamba ‘granary’		

Table 3.10 Vowel harmonization in noun stems

Occurrence of vowel harmony with front and back vowels also occurs in disyllabic noun stems. Such distribution of vowels consists of the same pair of -ATR features in noun stems, including /ɔ-I/, /I-ε/, /υ-ε/, /I-ε/, /ɔ-ε/, /I-υ/ and [+ATR] /u-i/ as shown in words in table 3.12 below.

[-ATR] /I, υ, ε, ɔ/		[+ATR] /i,u/	
mɔɪ ‘venom of snake’	kɔrɛ ‘hoe’	wuri ‘mat’	
ɔɪ ‘grinder’	kʊrɛ ‘sorghum’	wut’i ‘fire’	
dɪmɛ ‘child’	ɪɪmɔ ‘needle’	kibu ‘tiger’	
wʊt’ɛ ‘fire’	ɔɪ ‘grinder’	kusi ‘front’	
tɪmɛ ‘dog’		sut’i ‘big snake’	

Table 3.11 Vowel harmonization in noun stems

Among the -ATR vowels the open /a/ is the most widely distributed in roots of nouns. This phenomenon seems related to the widely discussed neutrality to ATR harmony

with respect to /a/ (Casili 2008:532). [-ATR] open /a/ occurs with all front and back -ATR /ʊ, ɪ, ɛ, ɔ/ in word stems such as *soma* ‘animal’, and *jame* ‘machete’ (see e.g. 3.48) and likewise with [+ATR] /i, u/ in words such as *pusa* ‘cover’ and *kita* ‘shirt’ in e.g. 3.48.

3.48	u-a	<i>pusa</i>	‘cover’
		<i>uʒa</i>	‘bush rat’
	i-a	<i>dagi</i>	‘scorpion’
		<i>kita</i>	‘shirt’
3.49	ʊ-a	<i>soma</i>	‘animal’
		<i>pusa</i>	‘cover’
	ɪ-a	<i>pɪra</i>	‘scar’
		<i>dɪŋa</i>	‘type of fish’
	a-ɛ	<i>jame</i>	‘machete’
		<i>care</i>	‘monkey’

3.2.6.2. ATR Dominance

The ATR harmonization in Tapo goes beyond stem based harmonization and also affects affixes. In relation to affixation, in most cases, Tapo seems to have [+ATR] dominant affixes. The suffixes distant marker -i/-ni and proximal marker -u/-nu are [+ATR] and they alter the -ATR of vowels within a word stem. These affixes change the [-ATR] roots to [+ATR]. In the noun [bə-ni] ‘3FSG-DT’, [bə-nu] ‘3FSG-PX’ and [utə-ni] ‘3MSG-DT’, [utə-nu] ‘3MSG-PX’ the [-ATR] /a/ in *ba-* has become [ə] in [bə-nu] as shown in table 3.13. The [-ATR] /a/ *pa* ‘place’ also changed to [+ATR] [ə] with the affixation of proximal -nu [apənu] ‘this place’. If compared with possessed nominal /apa mun/ ‘their place’ the -ATR /a/ remains as it is.

Though it needs more focused instrument based investigation, when +ATR’s spreading from suffix to disyllabic word stems, the spreading mainly seems to

assimilates only the second vowel in the case of the open -ATR /a/. In Ca₁Ca₂ strings the first syllable remains [+Low, -ATR], whereas the second becomes [+Low, +ATR]. In the nouns wac'a 'fish', and ɓapa 'woman' the first -ATR vowel remains -ATR /a/ contrary to the second one that has become [+ATR] as a result of leftward spreading of [+ATR] from the proximal morpheme /-nu/. The [-ATR] /a/ in the second syllable goes through regressive assimilation process and becomes [+Mid, +ATR] in [wac'ənu] 'this fish' and [ɓapənu] 'this woman'. However, in words with high vowels it appears possible that the assimilation spreads over more than one syllable (see e.g. kɔpɔ 'feather' kɔpu-nu 'this feather'. Further research may find the exact extent of ATR harmony.

Stem vowel	Stem	Proximal		Gloss
i	nir	nir-i-nu	[nirinu]	'razor'
ɪ	kɪl	kɪl-i-nu	[kilinu]	'root'
u	ku	ku-nu	[kunu]	'house'
ʊ	dʊsʊ	dʊsʊ-nu	[dusunu]	'larva'
ɔ	tɔj-	tɔj-nu	[tɔjnu]	'cup'
ɛ	sɛ	sɛ-nu	[sənu]	'tooth'
a	ɓa	ɓa-nu	[ɓənu]	'3FSG'
	ka	ka-nu	[kə-nu]	'hen'
ʊ-ʊ	kɔpɔ	kɔpɔ-nu	[kɔpunu]	'feather'
u-u	ɖusu	ɖusu-nu	[ɖusun]	'worm'
ʊ-a	ʊta	ʊta-nu	[ʊtənu]	'3MSG'
a-a	wac'a	wac'a-nu	[wac'ənu]	'fish'
	ɓapa	ɓapa-nu	[ɓapənu]	'woman'
ʊ-ɛ	kʊrɛ	kʊrɛ-nu	[kurenu]	'sorghum'
ʊ-ɔ	ʊpɔ	ʊpɔ-u	[ʊpɔw]	'woman'
ɪ-ɛ	ɬɪnɛ	ɬɪnɛ-nu	[tinenu]	'dog'

Table 3.12 Vowel Harmonization in nominals

Similarly, verbs that conjugate with directionals also receive ATR feature from affixes. In the following examples (3.50 - 3.53) the [-ATR] itive /-a/ can not change

the ATR feature. In contrast, the [+ATR] ventive /-u/ causes the verb stem to become [+ATR].

	Stem	IVT	VEN	Gloss
3.50	bər-	[bər-a]	[ber-u]	'reach/arrive'
3.51	gɪl	[gil-a]	[gil-u]	'see'
3.52	nər-	[nər-a]	[nor-u]	'move out/in'
3.53	kit-	[kit-a]	[kit-u]	'get out/in'

3.3. Syllable Structure

Word stem in Tapo could be formed from (C)V(C) template. Both open syllable types like V and CV and close syllable types such as VC and CVC do exist in the language. Most noun stem are disyllabic and widely use a CV.CV pattern whereas verbs have a CVC- pattern. Nouns that begin in V are rare. A fair amount of words in Tapo are disyllabic CV.CV. Verbs have V, CV, and CVC types as shown in Table 3.13 below.

Syllable types	Nouns	
V	ε	'yes'
VC	εs	'body'
V.CV	u.pə	'person'
V.CVC	u.kac	'man'
V.CV.CV	a.na.rə	'wild cat'
CV	mε	'goat'
CVC	kup	'head'
CV.CV	ki.bu	'tiger'
CVC.CV.CV	pi.sa.k'ə	'star'
CV.CVC	ka.bus	'thief'
CVC.CV	kal.t'a	'palate'
CVC.CVC	bur.k'us	'dust'
CVC.CV	siŋ.k'i	'kind of insect'
CVC.CVC	dam.ber	'skin diseases'
CVC.VC.CV	maŋ.ju.la	'cheek'

Table 3.13 Syllable Structure of a noun stem in Tapo

All consonants could appear as an onset of a syllable at word initial position. In disyllabic words, the implosives /b, d/ cannot occur as an onset in word medial positions. Except implosives, palatal nasal, glottal and approximants all consonants occur in a coda of word medial position. The bilabial ejective /p'/, implosives /b, d/, voiced stops /b, d, ɗ, ʒ, g/ and the palatal nasal /ɲ/ do not occur in coda of a syllable in word final position.

Tapo does not have consonant clusters in word initial and final positions. Consonant cluster are allowed only in word medial position. Complex syllable structures do not exist in Tapo. Consequently, both onset and coda cannot hold more than one consonantal segment in the language. In such word medial consonant sequences, C₁ occurs as coda of the previous syllable and C₂ an onset of the following syllable. In table 3.15 below, consonant sequences like /ɲk'/ and /nd/ are onset and coda of different syllables in nouns, siŋ.k'i 'kind of insect' and kin.di 'type of grass'. The consonant could be nasal, or lateral and the onset of the next syllable a stop.

	Syllable	C ₁ C ₂	Examples	Gloss
Bilabial	CVN.VC	mp	—	—
	CVN.CV	mb	tam.ba	'granary'
	CVN.CV	mt	num.ta	'greedy'
Alveolar	CVN.CV	nɗ	nɛn.ɗɔ	'ant'
	CVN.CV	nd	cɔn.ɗa	'paddle (of boat)'
	CVC.CVC	nd	kin.di	'type of grass'
	CVC.CV	lm	lil.mɔ	'needle'
	CVC.CV	lt'	kal.t'a	'palate'
	V.CVC.CV	lk	a.k'il.ku	'kind of bird'
	CV.CVC ~CVC	ls	ba.sil~sil	'lizard'
Palatal	VN.CV	ɲc'	ɲɔ.c'i	'rust'
	CVN.CV	ɲc	bɲɔ.cu	'part of tree/ gut'
	CVN.VC.CV	ɲʃ	maɲʃu.la	'cheek'
Velar	CVN.CV	ŋk'	dɔŋk'a	'mud'
	CVN.CV.CV	ŋg	gaŋ.gara RED	'side of something'

Table 3.14 Medial consonant sequences within a syllable

3.4. Tone

Tapo is a tonal language with three contrasting tones. Lemi (2010) and Abebe (2008) labeled the language as a High and Low contrastive tonal language. Van Silfhout (2013) adding the mid tone has identified three contrastive tone levels in Tapo. This study also agrees with the latter and analyzed the language as having three tone levels i.e. High (H), Mid (M) and Low (L) as the following minimal pairs given in 3.54 - 3.63 show. The tone bearing units in Tapo are vowels. Tone is marked using \acute{V} for high, \bar{V} for mid and \grave{V} for the low tone.

3.54	HH	kóbá	‘boat’
	HM	kóbā	‘corn’
	HL	kóbà	‘old person’
3.55	HH	púmá	‘pregnant’
	LL	pùmà	‘stomach’
	MH	pūmá	‘collection’
3.56	H	kój	‘breast’
	M	kōj	‘cry’
	L	kòj	‘water drinking utensil’
3.57	L	ká	‘hen’
	M	kā	‘obey’
3.58	H	tí	‘tie’
	M	tī	‘clay’
3.59	H	cá	‘tree’
	M	cā	‘dig’
3.60	H	pút	‘to have enough’
	M	pōt	‘to tire’

3.61	L	tàj	'lake'
	H	táj	'hunger'
3.62	HH	kák'á	'sharp'
	MH	kāk'á	'bitter'
3.63	HH	k'ósó	'pharyngeal cavity'
	HL	k'ósò	'turtle'

Three syllable verb patterns in a root form are rare in Tapo because verbs are constructed mainly from monosyllabic CVC- followed by final vowels. Nouns have three syllable patterns as shown in 3.13 and 3.65 below.

3.64	HHL	písák'ò	'star'
	HHH	tótóló	'flute'
	HLL	ágègèc'	'type of fish'
	LLL	tùtùlù	'horn flute'
	HLH	málùlá	'type of food made from fish'
	LHL	kùkùlùn	'wood'

Though tone needs a thorough investigation in Tapo, the current preliminary investigation shows that tone has grammatical function in the language. Lemi (2010) mentioned that Tapo marks plurality in the verb through tone. However, in our data, Tapo mainly marks number through pronominal prefixation and adjective reduplication. One instance that shows the distinct grammatical function of tone in the language is verb final vowels that mark itive directional (ITV), and imparative (IMP). These forms are marked through tone as in ITV -á, and IMP in -ā in example 3.65 below.

	Gloss	'hear'	'see'	'smell'	'spit'
3.65	Root	kar-	gil	kag-	tū
		kār-à	gil-à	kag-à	---
	IMP	kār-ā	gil-ā	kag-ā	tu-ā
	ITV	kār-á	gil-á	kag-á	tu-á

3.5. Morphophonemic Processes

Tapo has basic morphophonemic processes such as nasal assimilation, consonantal insertions, vowel insertion and deletion, free variation and reduplications. Below are the different morphophonemic processes observed in Tapo.

3.5.1. Homorganic Nasal Assimilation

Homorganic nasal assimilation occurs when word medial consonant sequences appear. The consonant co-occurrences in a word must agree in their place of articulation. As discussed in section 3.1.4.3 above, the nasals and lateral consistently agree with their corresponding stops in terms of place of articulation. This process manifests in both word stem and morpheme boundary. In example **Error! Reference source not found.**, 3.67, and 3.68 below, the 3N bound subject pronoun's final consonant /n/, assimilates to the bilabial /p/, palatal /j/ and velar /k'/ and become [m], [ŋ] and [ŋk']. Similarly, nasal assimilation also takes place in borrowed nouns such as [maŋga] 'mango' (3.70).

3.66	an-ø-pir 3N-PST-escape	[mp]	[ampir]	'it escaped'
3.67	an-ø-j-u 3N-PST-come-VEN	[ŋj]	[aŋju]	'it came.'
3.68	an-ø-k'aj 3N-PST-break	[ŋk']	[aŋk'aj]	'it broke'
3.69	an-saj 3N-many	[ns]	[an-saj]	'many'
3.70	manga	[ŋg]	[maŋga]	'mango'

3.5.4 Vowel insertion

Epenthesis takes place for "preventing clusters of consonants that violate syllable structure constraints in the language" (Nathan (2008)). As discussed in section 3.3

above, the consonant clusters (C₁C₂) in Tapo are formed from obstruent (C₂) preceded by sonorant (C₁), and in cases where C₁ appears to be nasal C₂ is expected to agree in place of articulation to the preceding nasal. In situation where consonant clusters do not fulfill such a homorganic assimilation rules, insertion of /i/ takes place. This vowel insertion mainly takes place when a suffix is attached or when Noun-Noun compound nouns are formed.

Consonant sequence of /cm/ in *ɔkac-i-ma* 'my husband' is treated with the insertion of epenthetic [i]. Similarly, in consonant sequences of /rn/ in *nir-i-nu* 'this razor' and /rn/ in *nir-nu* 'this razor' both are treated with the insertion of /i/ so as to get rid of impermissible consonant sequences.

3.71	<i>ɔkac-ma</i> man- 1SG.POSS	[ukacima]	'my husband'
3.72	<i>nir-nu</i> razor-PX	[nirinu]	'this razor'
3.73	<i>kuj-ma</i> hand-1SG.POSS	[kujima]	'my hand'

3.5.5 Free Variation

One of the most common consonant alternations in Tapo is, the alternation of implosive /ɓ, ɗ/ with bilabial stops /b, d/ in word initial positions following the restriction of implosives in word initial positions as in *ɓisa* [ɓisa ~ bisa] 'crocodile', *ɓia* [ɓia ~ bia] 'neck' and *ɓac* [ɓac~bac] 'she'. Similarly, the alveolar stop [d] and implosive [ɗ] also alternate as in *dusu* [dusu~dusu] 'larva' and *ɗean* [ɗean~dijan], in word initial positions. This fact implies that the implosives in Tapo may not be independent phonemes anymore and they are in the process of merging to the voiced stops.

The second commonly observed free variation in Tapo is /t/ and /r/ alternation. This variation is mainly observed in word medial and final positions as in examples 3.77 and 3.95 below respectively.

3.74	ɓisa	[ɓisa~bisa]	‘crocodile’
	ɓia	[ɓija~bija]	‘neck’
	ɓac	[ɓac~ɓac]	‘she’
3.75	dusu	[dusu~dusu]	‘larva’
	dian	[dejan~dian]	‘one’
3.76	kət	[kət~kər]	‘to have’
	bət	[bət~bər]	‘sing’
3.77	uta	[uta~ura]	‘he’

The velar stop /k/ and ejective /k'/ alternate in words such as in [kup~k'up] ‘head’ or [k'uru~kuru] ‘calabash’. Bender (1983:270) after comparing the k'up ~ kup ‘head’ in five Koman languages finally concludes *kup ‘head’ rather than *k'up ‘head’ is a Proto Koman form.

3.1	kup	[k'up~kup]	‘head’
3.2	k'uru	[k'uru~kuru]	‘calabash’
3.3	sak'a	[sak'a saka]	‘carry’

Similarly, the marginal ejective /p'/ that occurs in word initial positions only is free variant to the bilabial /p/. This phoneme was also not reported in Tapo by Bender (1983:282). Hence, the phoneme developed in the latter stages of the language through shifting of the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ due to the influence of the neighbouring languages as in the case of adjective [p'at'a ~ pat'a] ‘white’,.

3.4	p'at'a	[p'at'a pat'a]	‘white’
3.5	up'at'a	[up'at'a ~ upat'a]	‘white people’

3.5.6 Reduplication

Reduplication is a common morpho-phonological process in Tapo. It mainly occurs in verbs and adjectives. Reduplication in verbs mainly takes place to mark plural action (see section 6.4) and in adjectives to mark plurality of nominals as discussed in section 7.1.2. In the process of reduplication full or partial reduplication of a word or

a syllable could take place. In **Error! Reference source not found.**, verbs in number I and adjectives in II are reduplicated fully in the words *sɔ* ‘marry’ and ‘*kusu* ‘dirty’. In number III reduplication was carried out partially as in *tɔn* > *bitɔn* ‘elders’. In both *tɔn* ‘big’ and *tɔ.lu* ‘straw’ the onset and nucleus CV- (*tɔ-*) in the monosyllabic *tɔn* ‘big’ and the initial syllable CV (*tɔ*) in the disyllabic word *tɔlu* ‘straw’ is reduplicated. This implies that reduplication carries out from right to left in Tapo. However, still there rarely reduplication from left to right as in *p’at’a* ‘white’, the second CV reduplicated in, number IV table 3.15 below.

	Word Stem			RED CV	Reduplicated word	
I	<i>sɔ</i>	CV	‘marry’	CV	<i>sɔ ~ sɔ</i>	‘marry wives’
	<i>ti</i>	CV	‘tie’	CV	<i>ti ~ ti</i>	‘tie repeatedly’
II	<i>kusu</i>	CV.CV	‘dirty’	CVCV	<i>kusu ~ kusu</i>	‘very dirty’
	<i>kala</i>	CV.CV	‘small’	CVCV	<i>kala ~ kalɔni</i>	‘very small’
III	<i>tɔn</i>	CVC	‘big’	CV-	<i>bi-t ɔ ~ tɔn</i>	‘elders’
	<i>c’ɛm</i>	CVC	‘sweat’	CV-	<i>c’ɛ ~ c’ɛm</i>	‘very sweat’
IV	<i>p’at’a</i>	CV.CV	‘white’	-CV	<i>p’at’a ~ t’a</i>	‘white.PL

Table 3.15 Reduplication in Tapo

Chapter Four

Noun Morphology

4. Introduction

Crosslinguistically there are two types of nominal categorization. These are numeral-classifiers and noun classes which most African languages are incorporated in (Dimmendaal 2000:214). In addition, the noun class categorization divided into agreeing classification and nonagreeing classification systems. The first one involves the agreement of nominal modifiers and verbs, whereas in the latter one, noun-class markers tend to be restricted to nouns, as also is the case in most of the Nilo-Saharan languages nonagreeing classification systems that bases singulative, plural and replicative of nouns (Ibid 2000:214). However, as Dimmendaal (2000:216) stated, the Koman languages lack this 'tripartite division' with respect to number marking that considered as a 'prototypical' of Nilo-Saharan languages.

In most studies on the Koman languages, nouns are considered to be an isolative (Bender (1983), Zelealem (2005), Lemi (2010) Otero (2015a: 213). One of the evidences that show the deviance of the Koman languages from Nilo-Saharan noun categorization is the fact that for decades Koman languages have been considered as bizarre in their number marking system as the discussions from the classical Koman work (Burns, 1947) has shown. Burns (1947) states that "with nouns in class I it is often impossible to know whether singular or plural is meant unless the context is clear" whereas among one of the highly related languages which suspected to be Koman languages, Unseth (1985:99), in his Gumuz dialect survey, reported that Gumuz rarely marks plural on nouns. In addition, Ahland (2012) discussed number marking on nouns is not widely attested except on kin terms and singulative that observed only in a few grammatical uses of class morphemes in Gumuz. In Gwama too, Kievit & Robertson (2012 :55) discussed the complexity of nominal marking stating that, "nouns may be unaffixed or have one prefix and/or one suffix". Nouns in Komo too claimed to have both a singular or plural meaning and do not inherently express number (Otero 2015b:3).

With such discrepancies in Koman number marking, still there are morphemes labeled as marking plurality or singularity. Zelalem (2005:15) stated that Gwama nouns are marked singulative and plural forms with the morpheme /u-/ and /ma-/ respectively. Kievit & Robertson (2012:55), similar to Zelalem (2005), suggested that /u-/ marks singulative for masculine and /ma-/ as a plural marker. Though only in kin terms, as to Ahland (2012:73), Gumuz marks plurality with /ma-/. In the case of Tapo, Lemi (2010:14) has suggested the prefixes /u-, o-/ as singular and /bi-, buwaa-, bumaa-, uh-, uw-/ as plural marking morphemes. Below the scanty number marking system of Tapo is presented followed by pronoun and demonstratives of the language.

4.1. Nominal Number

Opuuo differentiates between masculine, feminine and neutral singulatives and plurals in nouns. These number markers in Tapo in addition mark pronouns and demonstratives. All these pronominal prefixes of the language are discussed in the following sections.

4.1.1. Masculine Singular Marker

Tapo uses the pronominal prefix /u-/ mainly to mark human masculine singular nouns as u-pɔ 'person', u-kac 'man' that marked with /u-/. Below u- marks masculinity /u-/ in u-kaj 'first male twin' and u-tɔk 'second male twin' and so many other nominals that can contrast with feminine and plural nominals (see table 4.3 below). This also applies for personal nouns like u-kac 'Ukac', u-can 'Uchan', u-cugi 'Ucugi' which prefixed with u- as a male personal names.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------|
| 4.1 | u-kaj
MSG-infant | 'first male twin' |
| 4.2 | u-tɔk
MSG-twin | 'second male twin' |

4.1.2. feminine Singular Markers

Singular feminine in nouns in Tapo marked with /ɓa-/. As could be illustrated in examples from 4.3 to 4.5 the words, ɓa-pa 'woman', ɓa-de 'a woman' and ɓə-ni 'that

woman' including third person feminine pronoun 6a'she' pronoun, all marked with 6a- feminine. This 3FSG marker also prefixed with in feminine personal names like 6a-mita 'Bamita', 6a-kaj 'Bakaj' etc .

4.3 6a
3FSG.she
'she'

4.4 6a-pa
FSG-pa
'woman'

4.5 6a-ku-an
FSG-mother-2SG.POSS
'your mother'

The 3FSG prefix not only, restricted to assigning feminine number to human related nouns as in the case in masculine singulative marker /ɔ/, but also to many non-human nouns among this animal and insects could be mentioned. Such large portion of different animals and entities shows in examples bellow suggests the feminine /6a-/ also marks a naturally inherent feminine animates.

4.6 6a-jrək
3FSG-bird
'type of bird'

4.7 6a-kaga
3FSG- jungle cat
'jungle cat'

4.8 6a-paja
3FSG- hawk
'hawk'

4.1.3. Neutral Singular Marker

The other number marking prefix in Tapo is neutral singular? marker /a-/. Nouns that marked with this marker are not differentiating either as plural or singular. Among the nouns that belong to this group are animals including mammals, insects and birds. /a-/ as a neutral nominal marker could occur in many other non-animate nominals like different equipments, variety of animals, reptiles, birds and so forth including a-dime 'child', as shown in the following table 1 below.

Equipments	a-mələŋ	'stick'	a-bəl	'fish dam'
	a-sapɔ	'salt'	ɔbɪ	'cloth'
Fruit	a-pɔpɔja	'papaya'	a-ɟwala	'sweet potato'
Birds	a-kal-ɛ	'ewe'	a-kuguma	'owl'
	a-gak	'k'ura'	a-bikɔle	'type of bird'
Insect	a-gɔnda-ɛ	'type of insect'	a-wala bes	'spider'
	a-k'ɔmak	'centipidi'	a-kikiju	'locust'
	a-nentɔ	'ant'	a-p'erk'nɛs	'ant like insect'
Reptiles	a-bɔnk'ɔ	'toad'	a-kɔɔ	'lizard'
Animals	a-bɔr	'Kind of black bird'	a-gegeɛ'	'type of fish'
	a-kamdani	'catlike like animal'	a-ɟarɔ	'tiger'
	a-dime	'child'	a-kɔlɔlɔ	'type of snake'
	a-ɟamal ⁷	'camel'	a-dime	'child'
	a-tapa-i	'hyena'	a-watala	'fox'
	a-bur-i	'kind of bushbuck '	a-kara wali	'cat like animal'

Table 4.1 Neutral marked nouns

4.1.4. Plural Nominals /bɪ-/

The prefix /bɪ-/ marks plurality in a variety of nouns. It marks plurality in kinship terms, tribal names and other nouns related animals and different entities. Among these bɪ-lɔgɔ 'tribal name', bɪ-kuc'a 'clinic', bɪ-t'ɪ 'toes', bɪ-saj 'crowd of people', bɪ-saw 'people in a morning', bɪ-apa 'family/neighbor' are prefixed with bɪ- so as to mark plurality.

⁷ a-ɟamal 'camel' a loan word from Arabic gāmāl, as also in Gwama (Kievit and Robertson 2011 :64)..

bi-sija	'dance/play'	bi-saj	'crowd/ many people'
bi-tak	'head'	bi-saw	'people in a morning sorrow'
bi-tamba	'granary'	bi-jni	'they'
bi-kuc'a	'clinic'	bi-t'i	'children'
bi-ija pa	'neighbour'	bi-c'εε	'old persons'
bi-lugu	'clan of Wanke'	bi-c'i giri	'night bird'
bi-bi	'wound/sore'	bi-mit'a	'pepper (green)'
bi-məs	'clan name'	bi-ja	'3PL'
bi-pa-t'a	'white people'	bi-kole	'type of bird'

Table 4. 2 Plural Nominals bi-

This plural marker serves to make plurality in adjectives that modify these nouns as the following example in the table 4.3 below shows. Thus, the term u-k'aj the 'handsome' and ɓa-k'aj 'the beautiful' pluralized by bi-. The same prefixes also serve in noun phrases such as, u-mal wac'a 'fisherman', and b=a-kəs abi 'seamstress' which formed by combining mal 'trap' and watʃ'a 'fish'; kəs 'to sew' and abi 'cloth' respectively are marked with the prefixes.

Stem	Masculine /u-/	Feminine /ɓa-/	Plural /bi-/	Gloss
Pal	u-pal	ɓa-pal	bi-pal	'friend'
pat'a	u-pat'a	ɓa-pat'a	bi-pat'a	'white person'
tək	u-tək	ɓa-tək	-	'second born twin'
Kaaj	u-kaj	ɓa-kaj	-	'first born twin'
ɟijaɟɔ	u-ɟijaɟɔ	ɓa-ɟijaɟɔ	bi-ɟijaɟɔ	'Anwak person'
dɛ	u-dɛ	ɓa-dɛ	-	'one'
koba	u-kɔba	ɓa-kɔbba	bi-kɔbba	'old'
tɔn	u-tɔn	ɓa-tʃeɟe	bi-tʃeɟe	'big'
kɔtɔsɔ	u-kɔtɔsɔ	ɓa-kɔtɔsɔ	bi-kɔtɔsɔ	'farmer'
mal watʃ'a food fish	u-mal-wac'a	ɓa-mal wac'a	bi-mal wac'a	'fisher'
kəs abi sew cloth	u-kəs abi	ɓa-kəs abi	bi-kəs abi	'sewing cloth'

Table 4.3 Summary of Numeral markers in Tapo

4.2. Pronouns

Tapo has subject/object free pronouns, subject/object bound pronouns, possessive, reflexive and interrogative pronouns. The demonstrative locatives besides nouns also affixed with pronouns. All different kinds of pronouns and demonstrative locatives that are highly productive with pronouns besides nouns are discussed in this section.

4.2.1. Free Pronouns

Tapo has both singular and plural free pronouns in first, second and third persons. First person plural has exclusive and inclusive distinctions. All the 3PL free pronouns affix with PX and DT demonstrative locatives as discussed in section 4.2.1.

Singular		Plural	
1SG	aga	1PL.EX	mana
		1PL.IN	mina
2SG	aj	2PL	uma
3MSG	ute	3PL	muna
3FSG	ba		
3N	na		

Table 4.4 Free pronouns

Tapo free pronouns serve both as a subject and object pronouns. As shown in examples 4.6 **Error! Reference source not found.** and 4.7 **Error! Reference source not found.** 1SG aga 'I' and utani 'he' both served as a subject and object.

4.9 a-ga a-ø-tər-a u-ta-ni
 1SG 1SG-PST-hit-ITV MSG-he-DT
 'I hit him.'

4.10 u-tə-ni ar-ø-tət-a aga
 MSG-he-DT 3MSG-PST-hit-ITV 1SG
 'He hit me.'

Free pronouns in Tapo are optional. They can be dropped and replaced by the bound subject/object pronouns. In the e.g. 4.12 and 4.14 the free pronouns are dropped, whereas the bound pronouns are attached to the verb in examples 4.11- 4.15 below.

- 4.11 bə-ni aʔ-a-sa ma
 FSG-she-DT 3FSG -FUT-eat food
 ‘She will eat food.’
- 4.12 aʔ-a-sa ma
 3FSG-FUT-eat food
 ‘She eats food.’
- 4.13 ʊ-tə-ni ar-a-sa ma
 3MSG-he-DT MSG-FUT-eat food
 ‘He will eat food.’
- 4.14 mun-i ø-høj
 3PL-DT PST-die
 ‘They died.’
- 4.15 uni-ø-høj
 3PL-PST-die
 ‘They died.’

4.2.2. Bound Subject Pronouns

Subject pronominal pronouns prefixed to the verb root or just before the tense marking slot. The bound pronouns in Tapo, except the 2PL, are derived from the free pronouns as shown in table 5.3. The 3MSG bound pronoun ar- may well have been diachronically? *at- and becomes ar- in connection to [t] ~ [r] free variance in Tapo (see section 3.5.5).

Singular		Plural	
1SG	ga [a]-	1PL.EX	mi-
		1PL.IN	ma-
2SG	i-	2PL	un-
3MSG	ar-	3PL	u/ʊ nɪ-
3FSG	ab-		
3N	an-		

Table 4.5 Bound subject Pronouns

4.2.3. Bound Object Pronouns

Tapo has bound object pronouns that are affixed to the verb following the ITV, or VEN markers.

Singular		Plural	
1SG	-ga	1PL.IN	- ma
		1PL.EX	-mi
2SG	-i	2PL	-an
3MSG	-ar	3PL	-un
3FSG	-ab		
3N	-an		

Table 4.6 Bound object pronouns

In number 4.16 and 4.17 3FSG and 3MSG are marked with -ab and -ar respectively. In the case of incorporated directionals (VEN/ITV) or benefactive (BEN) the object pronouns will be placed after directional and benefactive. In e.g. 4.18 and 4.19 the 3FSG -ab is affixed after VEN/ITV respectively and before BEN in e.g. 4.20.

4.16 ar-ø-kar-u-ab [arkarwab]

3MSG-PST-hear-VEN-3FSG

'He heard her somewhere and came.'

4.17 ar-ø-kar-a-r [arkarar]

3MSG-PST-hear-ITV-3MSG.OBJ

'He heard him.'

4.18 ar-ø-kar-u-ab [arkarwab]
 3MSG-ø-hear-VEN-3FSG-3N
 ‘He heard heard her there and came here.’

4.19 u-ta a-k’up-ab k’as
 MSG-be FUT-HEAD.carry-3FSG.OB not
 ‘No one to carry her.’

4.20 dime puma ø-hε-ab-ga
 child belly PST-say-3FSG-BEN
 ‘The child inside her stomach talked to her.’

4.2.4. Possessive Pronouns

In Tapo possession is expressed either through possessive or free pronouns, or possessive clauses (see chapter 7, section 7.1). The language has possessive pronouns in all persons. These pronouns are affixed to a noun to mark possession. Tapo possessive pronouns are used in the formation of different roles that expressed through grammatical case in case languages. Among these genitive, ablative and allative roles are expressed through these pronouns and pre-positions. In addition, possessive pronouns could be used in the formation of reflexive pronouns with body part nouns as in εs ‘body’ (see section 5.5). Below in examples 4.21 to 4.24 the context in which these pronouns are used is presented extracted from the documentation corpus.

4.21 ucum ta pa mana
 uchum COP place1PL.POSS
 ‘Uchum is our country.’

4.22 jεε ham-i-ma
 yes brother-INSR-1SG.POSS
 ‘yes! my brother.’

4.23 εs mun jεcuc
 body3PL.POSS tired

'They became tired.'

4.24 ar-ø-jal pa tɛ a-k'ɔrɔ
 3MSG-PST-back place COP 3N-back

a-pa mun ø-j-a pə-n
 3N-village 3PL.POSSPST-come-ITV place-3N.POSS

'He went back to the previous place, to their village.'

Nouns ending in consonants during affixation of the possessive pronoun insertion of [-i] takes place. Below, in Table 5.5, in examples ku 'house' and tɛ 'pot' both forms ending in vowels attached the possessive pronouns to express possession. In nouns such as ham 'brother' or ɓam 'sister' that end in consonants, insertion [i] takes place in the formation of the possessive pronouns.

	Pronoun	ku 'house'	tɛ 'pot'	ham 'brother'
4.25	1SG	ku-ma	tɛ-ma	ham-i-ma
	2SG	ku-na	tɛ-na	ham-i-na
	3MSG	ku-r	tɛ-r	ham-i-r
	3FSG	ku-b	tɛ-b	ham-i-ɓ
	3N	ku-n	tɛ-n	ham-i-n
	1PL.EX	ku mana	tɛ mana	ham-i mana
	1PL.IN	ku mina	tɛ mina	ham-i mina
	2PL	ku mini	tɛ mini	ham-i mini
	3PL	ku-un	tə-un	ham-i-un

Possessive forms are also formed with free pronouns in Tapo. In the following paradigm the word 'ham' possessed with all free pronouns and the insertion of [i] has taken place similar to the possessive pronouns.

4.26	1SG	ham-i aga	'my brother'
	2SG	ham-i ai	'your brother'
	3MSG	ham-i utəni	'his brother'
	3FSG	ham-i ɓəni	'her brother'

3N	ham-i nəni	'it's brother'
1PL.EX	ham-i mana	'our brother'
1PL.IN	ham-i mina	'our brother'
2PL	ham-i mini	'your brother'
3PL	ham-i mun	'their brother'

4.2.5. Demonstrative Locatives

Tapo hastwodemonstrative locatives. These are the proximal (PX) /-nu/ and distal (DT) /-ni/ that mark location. These locatives are used in both singular and plural nouns and pronouns. Nouns such as pa 'place/village', ku 'house' etc are marked in proximal and distal locatives. Demonstratives locatives are also affixed to personal pronouns. Personal pronouns such as ʊ-ta-ni 'that man' and ʃa-ni 'that woman' are marked with demonstrative locatives, as shown below in Similar to nouns and pronouns, demonstrative pronouns are also marked with proximal and distal locatives as discussed in the following section.

Stem	Distal		Proximal		Gloss
ʊ-ta	ʊ-tə-ni	[utəni]	ʊ-tə-nu	[utənu]	'3MSG'
ʃa	ʃa-ni	[bəni]	ʃa-nu	[bənu]	'3FSG'
na	na-ni	[nəni]	na-nu	[nənu]	'3N'
pa	pa-ni	[pəni]	pa-nu	[pənu]	'place'
ku	ku-ni	[kuni]	ku-u-nu	[k ^w unu]	'house'
ku-i	kuj-ni	[kujni]	ku-i-nu	[kujnu]	'hand'

Table 4. 7 Demonstrative locatives

4.2.6. Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns formed by prefixing the classifier body part word ɛs 'body' to the possessive markers as identified by Lemi (2010:20)⁸. The source of these noun body is ɛs is PL class noun. As we can see in number 4.27 and 4.28 extracted from the corpus ɛs 'PL-body' still the full form of the noun ɛs 'body' in use, though in most contexts it is attested as ɛs 'body' in relation to initial consonant loss. The body part noun ɛs 'body' also serves as incorporated reflexive marker (see section 4.2.6).

⁸The word tsa 'body' also used as reflexive and classifier in Gumuz (Ahland 2015).

4.27 ij-a ta na-sa a-pa mini ta-ga-n bɛs
 PL.go-ITV COPNOM-eat 3N-home 2PL.POSS work-BEN-3N body
 ‘Go to your home and prepare food/work in your body.’

4.28 bɛs mun jɛcuc
 body 3PL.POSS tire
 ‘They become tired (Lit. Their body tired)’

Reflexive in Tapo is formed by bɛs ‘body’ and free subject/object pronouns. In the following examples 4.29 - 4.34 reflexivization is formed from bɛs ‘body’ and the free pronouns with the linking vowel /-ɪ/.

4.29 adis aba un-ø-gil bɛs-i aga
 adis aba PASS- PST-know body-LINK 1SG
 ‘Addis Ababa is known by me myself.’

4.30 adis aba un- ø-gil bɛs-i ɔ-tə-ni
 adis aba PASS- PST-know body-LINKMSG-he-DT
 ‘Addis Ababa is known by him himself.’

4.31 adis aba un-g ø-il bɛs-i bə-ni
 adis aba PASS PST-PST-know body-LINK3FSG-DT
 ‘Addis Ababa is known by herself.’

4.32 adis aba un- ø-gil bɛs-imun
 adis aba PASS-PST-know body-LINK3PL
 ‘Addis Ababa is known by them.’

4.33 adis aba un- ø-gil bɛs-i mana
 adis aba PASS-PST-know body-LINK1PL.EX
 ‘Addis Ababa is known by us.’

4.34 adis aba un-ø-gil bɛs-i mun

adis aba PASS-PST-know body-LINK 3PL.POSS

'Addis Ababa is known by them.'

4.2.7. Relative Pronoun

Tapo has one relative pronoun marker. The postposition pronoun mu 'REL' follows the noun it refers back. It can be used with singular and plural persons, animals and could also refer a location. In the examples bellow 4.36 the plural nouns like [biti pal] 'friend', u-ta 'person' in 4.38 , care 'monkey' in example 4.39 and the locative pa 'place' in 4.40 and 4.41 Error! Reference source not found.all refereed with the relative pronoun mu.

4.35 bijə-nu mu a-u=sa ma un-ø-həj

they-DT RELFUT-PL=eat food 3PL-PST-die

'The men who will eat died.'

4.36 biti pa-l mu kagaw un-ij-a a-sak'-a

child friend REL strong 3PL-PL.go-ITV FUT-carry-ITV

'The strong children will go and carry.'

4.37 bi-ni bi-t'i mu a-so gu nabəj

they-DT child RELFUT-give.birth COM nabəj

'Those are the children that I gave birth with Gnabang.'

4.38 u-ta mu wij-u ar-j-u pə-ar

3MSG-person REL run-VEN 3MSG-came-VEN cache-3MSG.OB

'The person who ran came. Catch him'

4.39 care mu ø-sa mina kəre an-ø-həj

monkey RELPST-eat 1PL.IN sorghum 3N-PST-die

'The monkey who ate our sorghum died.'

4.40 pa mu mana k'up-ε-n an-k'aj

village RELPL sit-?-3N3N-good

‘The place we live in is good.’

4.41 pa mu aga ɟ-u tən-i
 place REL1SG come-VEN big-LINK
 ‘My village I grow in...’

4.2.8. Interrogative Pronouns

There are three interrogative pronouns in Tapo. These are interrogatives that formed with the prefixation of pronominal PL bɪ-, 3N na-. The PL bɪ- affixed as a plural demonstrative used with both human and animate entities and affixed with both proximal bi-nu ‘these’ and distal bi-ni ‘those’. Whereas the 3N na- used only with animate entities, including a human child.

	Human - Animate	Animate	Human	Location
Stem	bɪ- ‘PL’	na-na ‘what’	wa ‘EXIST’	-
PX	bijə-nu ‘these’	nə-nu ‘this’	wanu ‘this’	ga ‘LOC.ITV’
DT	bijə -ni ‘those’	nə-ni ‘that’	wani ‘that’	gi ‘LOC.VEN’

Table 4. 8 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns in Table 4. 8 also used as interrogative pronouns in Tapo. Except interrogative adverbial of time muj ‘When?’ all interrogations of subject or object of an action and location are referred through the above demonstratives.

na- ‘what?’

The interrogative pronouns marked with na-na ,‘what’. Both position of subject (4.42) and object (4.43) are interrogated with this pronoun. It is used as both a subject and object interrogative marker as could be inferred from e.g. 4.42 and as a subject and 4.43 object interrogation. This demonstrative pronoun used only in non human entities like animals and objects.

4.42 nana wa a-sa
 What EXIST FUT-eat.SG
 ‘What are you eating?’

4.43 uma usa nə-ni
 2PL PL.eat 3N.What-DT
 ‘What did you eat?’

4.44 uma usa nə-nu
 2PL PL.eat 3N.What-PX
 ‘Did you eat this one?’

‘gi/ga’ ‘where?’

The interrogative pronouns ‘where?’ have two distinct forms based on the dectic center towards the speaker and away from the speaker. The interrogative *gi* ‘where?’ marks actions carried away from the speaker and ‘*ga*’ marks actions carried towards the speaker. The interrogative *gi* ‘where.ITV’ and *ga* ‘where.VEN’ also agree with the verbal directional suffixes /-u/ ‘VEN’ and /-a/ ‘ITV’ respectively. In e.g. 4.45, *ga* ‘where.VEN’ and -u both marked Ventive. In contrast, 4.47 and 4.48 ITV, an actions carried away from the speaker, marked with Itive marker /-a/ on the verb and *gi* ‘ITV’ as question marker.

4.45 ij-u **ga**
 PL.go-VEN LOC.VEN
 ‘Where did you come from?’

4.46 aga j-u ga a-wanke
 1SG come-VEN LOC.VEN 3N-wank
 ‘I came from Wanke.’

4.47 ij-a **gi**
 PL.go-ITV LOC.ITV
 ‘Where are you going?’

4.48 uma ij-a **gi**
 2PL PL.go-ITV LOC.ITV
 ‘Where are you going?’

4.49 uma ij-a a-u=sa ga
 2PL PL.go-ITV.IPFVFUT-PL.eat LOC.VEN
 'Where will you eat?'

wa 'who?'

Copula ta 'COP' and the existential verb wa 'sit/EXIST' used to interrogate all constituents of a sentence in singular subject and objects. The copula construction with and the locative nominal wa 'exist' that marked in demonstrative locative itive wani 'that' and ventive 'this' used sentential interrogations, as the examples from 4.50 - 4.53 below shows. The plural subject object on the other hand constructed from copula and proximal bi-nu 'these' and distal 'those' shown in the comparison of singular and plural interrogative locative sentences in e.g. 4.53 and 4.54, 4.55 and 4.56, below.

4.50 ta wa-ni ø-pi ji
 COP EXIST.who-DTPST-drink water
 'Who drank that?'

4.51 ta wa-nu ø-kam jɛpɔr
 COPEXIST.who-PXPST-meet road
 'Whom did you meet on the road?'

4.52 a-nə-gi ta a-dɪmɛ wa a-nə-gi
 3N-that-LOC.ITVCOP3N-child EXIST.who 3N-that-LOC.ITV
 'That child overthere, who is that child?'

4.53 ta wa-ni J-u
 COPEXIST.who-DT go-VEN
 'Who came here?'

- 4.54 ta bijə-nu i-ø-j-u
COPPL-PXPL-PST-go-VEN
'Who are those who came?'
- 4.55 ta wa-ni tər-un
COPEXIST.SG-DT hit-3PL
'Who is that hit them?'
- 4.56 ta bijə-ni tər-ar
COPPL.PL.who-3PL-DT hit-3MSG
'Who are those that hit him?'

məj 'When?'

The other interrogative that marks time of an action that takes place is muj 'When?' This interrogative syntactically follows the verb like any adverb of time, as in the e.g. below the adverb a-numo 'yesterday' in e.g. 4.58 and the interrogative mui 'when' placed after the verb in e.g. 4.57. The interrogative mui 'when' serves as place and timereference marker.

- 4.57 ab-ø-j-u gu muj
3FSG-PST-come-VENCOM when
'When did she come?'
- 4.58 ʃə-ni aʃ-ø-j-u a-numo
3FSG-DT3FSG-PST-came-VEN3N-yesterday
'The woman came yesterday.'
- 4.59 an-ø-pim-a gu muj
3N-PST-break-ITVCOM when
'When did it break?'

4.3. Noun Derivation

Tapo besides using noun prefix and free nouns based nominal system, it has noun derivation from other part of speech mainly verbs and adjectives. In addition, the

language uses compounding as a means of nominal derivation. Both forms of nominal derivation are discussed in the following sections.

4.3.1. Nominalization

Nouns in Tapo can be derived from verbs and adjectives. Nouns are derived from adjectives and verbs with the prefixation of /na-/. In Table 4.21 all the nouns in the right column of the table are derived from the verbs of the left by prefixing na-.

Verb		Noun	
sa	'eat'	na-sa	'edible thing'
pi	'drink'	na-pi	'drink'
gil	'know'	na-gilan	'knowledge'
hε	'say'	na-he	'explanation/proverb'
jal	'back'	na-jal	'answer'
ta	'do'	na-ta	'preparation'
pɔ	'catch'	na-po	'fish trap'
kundil	'count'	na-kundil	'number'

Table 4. 9 Nominalized verbs

Similarly non-human entities could be derived from adjectives with the prefix /na-/. In Table 4.22 below na-tɔn 'enlarged' and na-kɔ 'dirty' are nominals derived from adjectives.

Adjectives		Nouns	
tɔn	'big'	na-tɔn	'enlarged thing'
kɔ	'bad'	na-kɔ	'something dirty'
kapa	'red'	na-kapa	'something rotten'
pat'a	'white'	na-pat'a	'something white'

Table 4. 10 Nominalized Adjectives

Though NOM na- is widely used to derive non-animate entities other kin words related nominals as shown in possessive phrases in example 4.60, it combines with other nominal prefixes like MSG, FSG and PL number markers. In the following

examples (4.61 - 4.66) the noun 'elder' derived from the adjective tɔn 'big', with the pronominal number markers MSG /ɔ-/, 3FSG /ɓa/ and PL /bɪ-/.

4.60 na-sa mana an-ø-isa
 NOM-eat 1PL.EX3N-PST-cook
 "Our food is cooked."

4.61 a-dɛ 'something'
 3N-one

4.62 ɔ-dɛ 'a man'
 3MSG-one

4.63 ɓa-dɛ 'a woman'
 3FSG-one

4.64 ɔ-tɔn 'elder man'
 3MSG-big

4.65 ɓa-tɔn 'elder woman'
 3FSG-big

4.66 bɪ-tɔ-tɔn 'elders'
 PL-RED-big

The part of speech of derived nominal could also be observed in syntactic contexts that partly also related to the concord of the language. The noun ɔ-kac 'man' is used as a subject in 4.67 and also modified with the numeral in e.g. 4.68. Similarly, in 4.69 the derived nominal ɔ-dɛ 'one person' could substitute the nominal ɔ-kac. Both the subject and the object positions with the prefix bɪ- in e.g. 4.70 and 4.71 are used as a noun. Whereas in examples 4.73, ɓa- and ɔ- have derived ɓa-tɔn 'the old woman' and ɔ-tɔn 'the old man' marked with bɪ-.

4.67 ɔ-kac ar-ø-sɔ upɔ

MSG-man 3MSG-PST-marry woman.PL

‘A man married wives.’

4.68 υ-kac-i dian ar-ø-sə upə
MSG-man-LINK one 3MSG-PST-marr woman
‘A man married wives.’

4.69 υ-dε sə-sə upə
MSG-one marry-RED woman
‘A man married two wives.’

4.70 bɪ-tə-tən uni-j-a bɪ-waca
PL-RED-bij 3PL-go-ITV PL-fishing
‘The big men went to collect fish.’

4.71 6a-tən gu υ-tən un-ij-a bɪ-uti
3FSG-old COM 3MSG-go-ITV 3PL-go-ITV 3PL-firewood
‘The wife and husband went to collect fire wood.’

4.72 υ-tən ar-ø-tər 6a-pa
MSG-big 3MSG-PST-hit 3FSG-woman
‘The elder man hit the woman

In example 4.73 6a-təl ‘short woman’ is a noun where as təl ‘3FSG-short’ in 4.74 is an adjective modifying the noun 6apa ‘woman’ linked with relative pronoun. Similarly the masculine also marked with the prefix υ- ‘MSG’ in the derived noun υ-sək ‘long man’ from the adjective sək ‘long’ in example 4.75.

4.73 6ε-ni ta 6a-təl
3FSG-she-DTCOP3FSG-short
‘She is short woman.’

4.74 6a-pa mυ təl a6-ø-huj

3FSG-woman REL short 3FSG-PST-die

'The woman who is short died.'

4.75 ʊ -tə-ni ta ʊ-sək'

3MSG-he-DTCOP 3MSG.M-long

'He is long man.'

4.76 ʊ -kac-i mu sək' ar-ø-huj

3MSG-man-LINKREL long 3MSG-PST-die

'The long man died.'

Nouns derived from adjectives like any nominal in the language are inflected for demonstratives too. In the following examples adjective derived nominal ʊ-tən 'the elder man' has affixed with proximal demonstrative locative ʊ-tən-u 'this elder man'.

4.77 ʊ-tən-u wa gɛ ar-a-jal-u-an

3MSG-old-PX EXIST LOC.ITV 3MSG-FUT-answer-VEN-3N

'The elder man who is here will answer it.'

4.3.2. Compounding

Compounding is a word formation process. This word-formation process needs "the combination of at least two potentially free forms, most frequently members of open lexical classes such as nouns or verbs" (Aikhenvald, 2007:24).

Compounding in Tapo is used extensively as a noun formation process. In the compounding process the nominal stem used have CV and CVC syllabic form. Body part nouns are productive in forming compound nouns. Below body part nouns such as t'a 'mouth', jɛ 'eye' and se 'tooth' and other nominals such as ku-u 'house' and pa 'place' are used in the formation of compound nouns as shown in examples 4.78 to 4.87 below.

	Lexemes		Compound	Gloss
4.78	kusi	sɔ	kusi-sɔ	'forest'
	inside	grass		

4.79	t'a 'tongue'	ɸut' 'smooth'	t'a-ɸut'	'lie'
4.80	ji 'water'	t'a 'mouth'	ji-t'a	'saliva'
4.81	je 'eye'	se 'tooth'	je-se	'seed'
4.82	je 'eye'	c'ɪ 'dark'	je-c'ɪ	'night'
4.83	ji 'water'	je 'eye'	jin-je	'tear'
4.84	ku house	c'a leaf	bi-kuc'a	'clinic'
4.85	pa 'place'	c'a 'tree'	pa-c'a	'stove'
4.86	ma 'food'	t̪am 'bee'	ma-tam	'honey'
4.87	ma 'food'	t̪ikus 'sun set'	ma-t̪ikus	'dinner'

Chapter Five

Verb Morphology

The verbal system of Tapo is agglutinative. The verb incorporates different morphological markers both pre-stem and post-stem positions as summed up in table 5.1 below. In the Pre-stem position: conditional, a subject (subject agreement marker with person, sex and number), passive (PASS), tense and clitics occur. On the other side, the post-stem position affixes benefactive (BEN), itive (ITV) and ventive (VEN) directional, final vowels of moods and bound object pronouns occur.

Conditional	Passive	Subject	Tense	Stem	Extensions		Mood	Object
					BEN	ITV/VEN		

Table 5.1 Verbal System

5. Verb Root

Tapo has mainly consonant initial syllabic roots verbs. Vowel initials roots are rare, except plural verbs such as *usa* 'to eat.PL' and *ipi* 'drink.PL' (see section 6.2 below). The root of Tapo verbs composed of C-, CV(-), and CVC(-). Among these CV- and CVC(-) are the most dominant root templates as shown in Table 5.2 below. The only known verb with C- verb root is *j-* 'go/come' as in *j-a* 'go-ITV' and *j-u* 'come-VEN'.

The stem (SM) of verbs formed with the addition of a final mood marking vowels, or directionals. Verbs of motion such as *sin-* 'to throw/move', could be inflected with directionals as in *sin-a* (SM-ITV) 'throw away' and ventive *sin-u* (SM-VEN) 'to throw towards'; *kit-* 'get in/out', *kit-a* (SM-ITV) 'get out' and *kit-u* (SM-VEN) 'get in' that inflected for both for itive and ventive directionals (see section 5.2.5). Other non-motion verbs also could be inflected for motion verbs as a reference to where the action happened (see section 6.3.6.3 for discussion). Verb roots in Tapo have past tense in citation form with extensions like ITV/VEN vowel in CVC- forms in *ø-gil-u* (PST-see-VEN) 'see' and *ø-kar-a* (PST-hear-ITV) 'hear'.

CV-				CVC-			
cɔ	'fight'	hɛ	'say'	gil	'to see'	bar-a	'sweep'
tu	'give birth'	Ki	'give'	kɔs	'sew'	had-	'pull'
tɔ	'exist'	k'ɔ	'sit.PL'	kɔt	'have/marry'	kar-	'hear'
tɛ	'swim'	pɪ	'drink'	sik'	'breath'	gɛl	know
tɪ	'tie'	pɔ	'hold'	pac'	'laugh'	kit	'enter/exit'
c'a	'dig'	pu'	'blow'	tat	'plant'	sin	'throw'
sɔ	'buy/sell'	Sa	'eat'	tɔr	'hit'	sɔs	'push'
ʈa	'make/do'	c'a	'dig'	lil-	jump	tɔt-	'ask'
cɔ	'fight'	Tu	'give birth'	sin-	'fall'	kag-	'smell'
ki-u	'bark'	sa'	'burn'	k'ut-	'cough'	hɔc'	'bite'
tu	'spit'	hɔ	'die/ hunt'	pɔg-ɔ	'dance'		
wi-	'run'	k'a	'break'	kɔt-	'remember'		
ba	'put'	sa-u	'sick'	lus	'hide'		

Table 5.2 Verb roots in Tapo

Tapo have distinct verb roots for a few verbs as Lemi (2010:22) also assumed. Verbs have distinct singular vs. plural forms as shown in the table 5.3 bellow. The verbs seems to have fossilized clitics [i-] and [u-] in some of the verbs like isa (PL.cook) 'cook' and usa ((PL.eat) 'eat'. However, it seems a detailed historical comparison on Koman languages is needed to grasp such verbs of Tapo.

PL	SG	Gloss
ku	wa	'sit'
usa	sa	'eat'
upa	pa	'wash'
isa	sa ut'i	'cook'
ipi	pi	'drink'
ija	ja	'go-ITV'
ipe	pɛ	'fall'
cu	ba	'sleep'
sɔ	wia	'run'

Table 5. 3 Plural verbs in Tapo

5.1. Tense and Mood

Tense and mood are marked morphologically in Tapo unlike aspect that represented only through auxiliary verbs. These grammatical features presented in the following subsequent sections below.

5.1.1. Tense

Tapo marks past (PST) and future (FUT) tenses. It marks future with a- and past tense with null / \emptyset -. Both PST and FUT tense markers are prefixed before verb stem and following the subject markers (SB) as summarized the tense-aspect distribution in table 6.3 below and discussed in the subsequent sections.

Tense/Aspect		Affirmative	Interrogative
Tense	PST	ar- \emptyset -sa-an 3MSG-PST-eat--3N.OB	ar-du \emptyset -sa-an 3MSG-NEG PST-eat- OB
	FUT	ar-a-sa-an 3MSG-FUT-eat-3N.OB	ar-du-an a-sa 3MSG-NEG-3N.OB FUT-eat
Aspect	PAST PROG	ar- t^{h} \emptyset -sa-an 3MSG-AUX.PROG PST-eat-3N.OB	ar-du t^{h} \emptyset -sa-an 3MSG-NEG AUX PST-SM-3N.OB
	PRS PROG	ar- t^{h} a-sa-an 3MSG-AUX.PROG FUT-eat-3N.OB	ar-du-an t^{h} a-sa-an 3MSG-NEG-OB AUX PST-eat-3N.OB
COND	PAST COND	ma-r- \emptyset -sa-an COND-3MSG-PS -eat-3N.OB	ma-r-du \emptyset -sa-an COND-3MSG-NEG PST-eat-3N.OB
	FUT COND	ma-r-a-sa-an COND-3MSG-FUT-eat-3N.OB	ma-r-du-an a-sa COND-3MSG-NEG-3N FUT-eat

Table 5.4 Tense/Aspect in Tapo with the verb sa 'eat'

5.1.1.1. Past Tense /Perfective

Past Tense (PST) is morphologically unmarked in Tapo. This tense indicated with null symbol / \emptyset /. As we can compare below number 5.1 with 5.2, and 5.3 with 5.4 the FUT marked with a- and contrastively past tense is morphologically unmarked.

- 5.1 ar- \emptyset -su-an 'He bought it.'
3MSG-PST-buy-3N

- 5.2 ar-a-su-an 'He will buy it.'
3MSG-FUT-buy-3N
- 5.3 uni- \emptyset -kar-a-an 'They heard it.'
3PL-PST-hear-ITV-3N
- 5.4 uni-a-kar-a-an 'They will hear it.'
3PL-FUT-hear-ITV-3N

In Tapo there is only one past tense unlike Koman languages like Gumuz which reported to have remote past (Ahland 2012:233). In the examples below both events that happened yesterday (5.5) or before a year (5.6), or just a moment ago (5.7), as in the cases someone asked for repetition and if the speakers thought the addressee heard his speech, the answer would be i- \emptyset -kar-a-an 'You heard it!' (5.7).

- 5.5 uni- \emptyset -k'a ma k ɔ ba gu mu num ɔ
3PL-PST-find food maize COMREL yesterday
'They ate maize on yesterday.'
- 5.6 uni- \emptyset -k'a ma [pɪ t ɔ t ɔ]
3PL-PST-chew food [year past.time]
'They ate maize last year.'
- 5.7 i- \emptyset -kar-an
2SG-PST-hear-3N
'You heard it'

5.1.1.2. Future Tense

The other tense that marked in Tapo is future tense. This tense expresses actions that are momentary talking place or will take place in the future. Like past tense there is only one future tense. The future tense marker prefixes before verb stem following bund subject pronouns. The morpheme that used to mark future tense in Tapo is a-

As the contrast in e.g. 5.8 and 5.9; 5.10 and 5.11 shows the morpheme *a-* marks future tense and in contrary, its absence implies past tense.

5.8 *an-a-pi* *ji* *a-puma* *tɔj*
 3N-FUT-drink water 3N-belly pot
 ‘It will drink water from the pot.’

5.9 *a-ø-pi* *ji* *a-puma* *tɔj*
 1SG-PST-drink water 3N-belly pot
 ‘I drunk water from the pot.’

5.10 *aβ-ø-kɔs-an*
 3FSG-PST-sew-3N.OB
 ‘She sewed it.’

5.11 *aβ-a-kɔs-an*
 3FSG-FUT-sew-3N.OB
 ‘She will sew’

5.12 *mana* *a-kɔs-an*
 1PL.EX FUT-sew-3N
 ‘We will sew’

5.13 *ma-ø-kɔs-an*
 1PL.EX-PST-sew-3N
 ‘We will sew’

Pronouns prefixed with future tense marker are clearly evident as in *ar-a-* ‘3MSG-FUT’, *aβ-a-* ‘3FSG-FUT’, or *uni-a* ‘3PL-FUT’. Thus at first observation the FUT marker seems a post-clitic to subject markers. It seems for this reason Lemi (2010:25) merged the future tense marker as part of the subject bound pronoun. However, when it is used in the negative sentences or serial verb constructions the FUT marker will remain being prefixed to the stem as also works in aspect marking auxiliaries (see section 5.6.1.2). In e.g. 5.11 above it is affixed following the pronouns and preceding

the stem. Similarly, in interrogative sentences the FUTmarker moves with the stem, as shown in e.g. 5.14, 5.15, 5.17 and 5.18 in serial verb construction including negation respectively. Thus, bound subject pronouns like ar- '3MSG' do not alternate with tense.

5.14 a-ju a-su-an
 1SG -go. IPFVFUT-buy-OB
 'I will buy.'

5.15 aḅ-du-k'u-an a-kos
 3FSG-NEG-EXIST-3N FUT-sew
 'She will not sew'

5.16 a-r-a-sa ma
 3MSG-FUT-eat food
 'He will eat.'

5.17 ar-du-k'u ma ø-sa
 3MSG-NEG-EXIST food PST-eat
 'He will not eat.'

5.18 ar-du-k'u ma a-sa
 3MSG-NEG-EXIST food FUT-eat
 'He will not eat.'

Lastly, the future tense like past tense does not have any varieties. The actions that are talking place momentarily in e.g 5.19 or going to talk place tomorrow in 5.20 or the coming year in e.g. 5.21 below all have the same FUT marker a-.

5.19 ute-ni a-sa ma apɪnɔ
 he-DT FUT-eat food now
 'He is eating now.'

5.20 uni-a-k'a ma-kɔba aɾɪkɛn
 3PL-FUT-eat food-maize tomorrow

‘They will eat tomorrow.’

- 5.21 uni-a-k’a ma-kɔba [apɪ mu ja-ga]
 3PL-FUT-eat food-maize [year REL come-ITV-?]
 ‘They will eat the coming year.’

5.2.1. Mood

Tapo has three kinds of grammatical moods. These are, as summed up in Table 5.5, imperative, question and uncertainty. All of them marked after the stem except the uncertainty that attested in pre-stem position of the verb. All are discussed individually in the subsections below.

MOOD	Example	Gloss
Imperative	a-kar-a FUT-hear-IMP	‘hear!’
Question	i-ø-gil-an-i 2SG-PST-see-3N-Q	‘Did you see?’
Uncertainty	ma-ar-ø-he-ga COND-3MSG-PST-say-BEN	‘If he said...’

Table 5.5 Types of Moods in Tapo

5.2.1.1. Interrogative

Tapo has two kinds of interrogation formation, the first is wh-questions marked through interrogative pronouns (discussed in section 4.2.8) and yes/no question. The latter one is marked through morpheme -i, affixed at the end of the verb stem following bound object pronouns.

- 5.22 a-kam-a ‘Find!’
 FUT-find-IMP
- 5.23 i-ø-kam-ar-i ‘Did you find him?’
 2SG-PST-find-3MSG-Q

5.24 i-ø-kar-an 'You heard it.'
2SG-PST -hear-3MSG

5.25 i-ø-kar-an-i 'Did you hear it?'
3PL-PST -hear-OB-Q

5.2.1.2. Imperative

Imperative Tapo is marked with -a. This mood mainly used in addressing second persons implicitly and do not attach any tense marker or pronouns.

kar-a	'hear'	pɔj-a	'catch'
rɔs-a	'hide'	sus-a	'push'
ʃ-a	'go'	nɔr-a	'move'
gil-a	'look'	jal-a	'back'
ʃu-a	'come'	u=s-a	'PL.eat'

Table 5.6 Imperative verbs

5.2.1.3. Uncertainty

Uncertainty or conditional (COND) is expressed with the prefix ma- 'If/when' in Tapo. It mainly tells uncertainty and prefixed before bound subject pronouns. In all singular pronouns it appears as ma- whereas in the case of 3PL it is mu- because of the deletion of the front vowel /a/ when it is followed by back vowel /u/ within un- '3PL'. The uncertainty in the following clauses is marked through ma- in all the examples (5.26-5.29). Whereas in the 5.30, and 5.32 uncertainty is marked with mu-

5.26 ma-ga-sɔt-an u-tɔn-i wa-ge ar-a-jal-u-an
COND-1SG-ø-mistake-3N 3MSG-old-DT sit-LOC M.SG-IPF-answer-VEN-3N.OB
'If I am mistaken this old person who is here will answer it.'

5.27 mu-un- ø-cim-an ma-an-ø-muta umi-pi-a wɔs
COND-3PL-cover-3N COND-3N-PST-finish 1PL.IN-get.up-ITV sky
'After they covered it and if it is finished, we will get up leave.' A9:031

In connection to the mood marking slot, the final vowel [-ε]~[ə], though needs further investigation, it seems to alter in connection to ATR distinction. In example 5.33, extracted from a documentation corpus, both the main verb of the If clause and the then clause are both ended with final [-ε]. Similarly in number e.g. 5.34 and 5.35 both final /-a/ of ITV and [-ε] are used in the verb despite tense distinctions.

5.33 m-i-j-a hɛ bit'i ga un-a-t'ɔr-a ca εs
 COND-2SG.go-ITV saychild BEN 3PL-FUT-cut-ITV trunk body

un-ø-us-ε ma tɛ kaga
 3PL-PFT-eat. -? food sun hot

'If you went there tell the children to cut the tree and eat lunch.'

5.34 ma-ar-a-j-a ar-a-j-a ibɛ
 COND-3MSG-FUT-go-ITV 3MSG-FUT-go-ITV fall

'If he tries to go, he will fail.'

5.1 ma-ar-ø-j-ε ar-ø-j-a ibɛ
 COND-3MSG-PST-go-?3MSG-PST-go-ITVfall

'If he went, he would have been failed.'

5.2. Extensions

Koman literature labels different grammatical functions occurring after the stem with different linguistic terminologies. Ahland (2012) considered these mainly as nominal incorporations where as Otero (2015b) considered as a bound pronominal suffixes. These different forms that appear after the stem of the verb also named extensions (Nurse 2008). The morphemes that appear in this position, in Tapo, include benefactive (BEN), reflexive/reciprocal (REF/REC), and verbal objects (direct (DO) and indirect objects (IO), incorporated locatives and directionals. Among the extensions some of them are valency increasing where others like passive and object demotion or omission are valency decreasing. Others like benefactive, reflexive, and incorporated object markings have valency increasing function. Some other extensions function as a locative or directional.

5.2.1. Benefactive

Tapo has a benefactive marker. Benefactive is marked with /ga-/ and has allomorph [gu-] in the environment of back vowel beginning bound pronouns like -un '3PL'. The BEN is positions following directionals. Lemi (2008) considered /ga-/ as a dative marker. But since there is not morphologically marked core case system in Tapo (see also section 8.6) in the this study the the morpheme /-ga/ analyzed as an verbally incorporated benefactive marker for it mainly served to mark the indirect object which is beneficiary of the action carried out by the subject. In the following examples the BEN, is used with the verb uta 'tell' as also used in he-ga 'said-for' ju-ga 'call-for'. In the case of -3PL bound objects the BEN is [gu-] instead of /ga-/ a result of deletion of /a/ when followed by another back vowel /u/ of the 3PL object marker -un as in 5.37.

5.35 ar-ø-uta-ga-r-an
1SG-PST-tell-BEN-3MSG-3N
'He told him about it.'

5.36 ar-ø-uta-ga-6-an
1SG-PST-tell-BEN-3FSG-OB
'He told her about it.'

5.37 ar-ø-uta-gu-un-an
1SG-PST-tell-BEN-3MSG-3N
'He told for them about it.'

Verbs that take benefactive in Tapo are intransitive verbs which imply the BEN refers the indirect object. Some of these verbs ju-ga 'name/call for', he-ga 'say for', totɔ-ga 'question for' ki-ga 'give for' as the examples (5.38-5.42) below shows.

5.38 bə-ni a6-ø-tɔtɔ-ga bit'i-6
3FSG-DT3FSG-PST-ask-BENchild.PL-3F.POSS
'She asked for her children.'

5.39 a6-ka-u-ga [abkajuga] ca
3MSG-break-VEN-BENwood

‘She broken firewood.’

5.40 utəni ar-a-ki-a-ga-ḅ
He 3MSG-FUT-give-ITV-BEN-3FSG.OB
‘He will give her.’

5.41 ʃani aḅ-a-ki-a-gu-n-an
She 3FSG-FUT-give-ITV-BEN-3PL.OB
‘She will give it, to them’

5.42 a-ki-a-aḅ-an
FUT-give-ITV-3MSG-3N
‘I will give it, to her.’

The BEN in verbs such as *ju-ga* ‘call for’ and *he-ga* ‘say for’ mainly attested as an affix. On the other hand, the BEN post-positioned following the primary object, when the object is a free nominal rather than a bound pronoun. In e.g. 5.43 the BEN positioned just before the indirect object *bi-t’i-ḅ* ‘her children’ and 5.45 following the benefactive *kumu* ‘mother, whereas in 5.44 the BEN affixed after the verb.

5.43 ʃə-nɪ aḅ-ə-ta ma ga bi-t’i-ḅ
3FSG-DT3FSG-PST-make food BEN child.PL-3F.POSS
‘She prepared food for her children.’

5.44 ʃə-nɪ aḅ-ə-tətə-ga bi-ti-ḅ
F-DT3FSG-asked-BEN child.PL-3F.POSS
‘She asked for her children.’

5.45 an-ə-he ku-mu ga [j-u a-k’əp-aj]
3N-PST-say mother BENcome-VENLOC-head-2SG
‘He said to his mother come and let me carry you.’

Besides animate and inanimate entities the BEN could refer to locations or word class. In e.g. 5.46, 5.47 and 5.48 33 below, the BEN refers the locatives a-pɛ-nu ‘here’, [pa sɔ ɖam] ‘market place’ and agugu ‘agugu/a place name’ all are objects of location marked BEN. in the other e.g. 5.49 the benefactive marked an adverb jiken ‘tomorrow’.

5.46 un-ij-a-ga apə-nu
 PL-go.PL-ITV-BEN LOC-place-PX
 ‘They went from here.’

5.47 utə-ni uni-ø-j-a-ga pa sɔ ɖam gu ɓam
 3MSG-DT3PL-ø-PL.go-ITV-BEN place buy thing COM sister
 ‘They went to market with his sister.’

5.48 mana ij-a-ga agugu
 1PL.EX PL.go-ITV-BENplace
 ‘We went to Agugu’

5.49 aga a-j-u-ga jiken
 I FUT-come-VEN-BEN tomorrow
 ‘I will come tomorrow.’

5.2.2. Reflexive

Reflective (REF) is one of the grammatical incorporations in Tapo. It is marked with /-ɛs/ and affixed after the verb stem. The source of this marker is the body part noun bes ‘body’ which also used as a nominal reflexive marker with free subject/object pronouns (see section 5.2.5). But in the case of incorporation the initial consonant /b/ is deleted and thus -ɛs served as an incorporated REF marker. Verb stem modifications carried is additional evidences for the incorporation of this nominal in the stem, besides the consonantal deletion of the incorporated noun. The vowel deletion in verb upa ‘wash’ carried following the incorporation of the REF in e.g. 5.51. The morphem -ɛs besides being reflexive also could function as ar rciprocal as in examples 5.53, 5.54 and 5.55.

- 5.50 \emptyset -upa kuj
 PST-wash hand
 ‘to wash hands’
- 5.51 \emptyset -up- ϵ s k’uj
 \emptyset -wash-REF hand
 ‘Wash your hands.’
- 5.52 a-gil- ϵ s-ma
 1SG-know-REF-1SG.POSS
 ‘I know myself.’
- 5.53 mana \emptyset -gil- ϵ s mana
 1PL.EXPST-know-REF1PL.IN
 ‘We knew each other.’
- 5.54 un- \emptyset -gil- ϵ s muun
 3PL-PRF-know-REF3PL.POSS
 ‘They know each other.’
- 5.55 d ϵ c un-k’ υ s- ϵ s mun
 soldiers 3PL-PST-kill-REC3PL.POSS
 ‘The warriors killed each other.’

Reflexive in tapo besides the REF marker - ϵ s ‘body’ needs bound possessive pronouns. In these process all the singular forms, except 2SG, also go through insertion of the [-i]. The vowel [i] inserted in connection to the terminal vowel lost as in ϵ s-i-r ‘himself’ and ϵ s-i-r ‘herself’. it is also possible to hear alveolar fricative /s/ placed by glottal fricative [h] as in, [es]~[eh] are as in [es-i-r]~[eh-i-r] ‘himself’ or [es-i- β]~[eh-i- β] ‘herself’.

1SG	aga tər-ɛs-i-ma [ehima]	'I hit myself.'
2SG	ai tər-ɛs-i	'You hit yourself.'
3MS.G	ʊtə-ni tər-ɛs-i-r [ehir]	'He hit himself.'
3FSG	ḡə-ni tər-ɛs-i-ḡ [ehiḡ]	'She hit herself.'
3N	nə-ni tər-ɛs-i-n [ehin]	'It it itself.'
1PL.EX	mana tər-ɛs mana	'We hit ourselves.'
1PL.IN	mina tər-ɛs mina	'We hit ourselves.'
2PL	uma tər-ɛs uma	'You hit yourselves.'
3PL	bi-j-ni tər-ɛs mun	'They hit themselves.'

Table 5. 7 Reflexive Pronouns

5.2.3. Verbal Object Marking

Grammatical valence or syntactic valence is the number of arguments present in any given clause Payne (2006:237). Argument refers to 'participants and their semantic roles that normally associated with a given verb' (Ibid 1997:47). Tapo has three kinds of verbs in connection to the number of arguments a verb could carry. These are monovalent, bivalent and trivalent verbs. All these three kinds of verbs in Tapo are discussed in the following sections.

5.2.3.1. Monovalent Verbs

Verbs in this group are intransitive verbs with a single subject. Such verbs includes wi-a 'run-ITV', həj 'die', si 'rain', lil 'jump', sina 'lost', wa 'sit.SG', k'ɔ 'sit' and ɬə 'exist'. Such verbs do not mark object in the verb. In examples 5.56 to 5.58 the object is not marked in any object pronouns. In the case of 5.59 though object is marked still the verb is in the passive form.

- 5.56 an-a-si 'It will rain.'
3N-FUT-rain
- 5.57 ar-ə-həj 'He died.'
3MSG- PST-die
- 5.58 ar-ə-lil-u 'He jumped.'

- 5.59 malga un-ø-sin-an 'Spoon lost.'
 spon PASS-PST-lost-3N.OB

Some intransitive verb like pi-a 'rise', wa 'sit.SG' and k'ə 'sit.PL' as could be inferred from examples from 5.60 - 5.63 have locative nominals. Though these locative nominal like wəs 'sky' and tɪɛ 'ground' serve as locatives/directionals, they never incorporated into to verb through the bound object pronouns too. Therefore, constructions such as number 5.64 are ungrammatical for nouns such as tɪɛ 'land' could not be replaced with bound object pronouns implying they are simple locatives rather than any kind of object⁹.

- 5.60 ar-ø-pi-a wəs
 3MSG-PST-sit-ITV sky
 'He stood up.'

- 5.61 ar-ø-wa tɪɛ
 3MSG-PST-sit.SG ground
 'He sat down.'

- 5.62 ar-ø-wa ca
 3MSG-PST-sit.SG chair
 'He sat down on chair.'

- 5.63 un-ø-k'u tɪɛ
 3PL-PST-sit ground
 'They sat.'

⁹As a nominal also mark locative or directional in NPs such as [t'a tɪɛ] 'lower lip (Lit. lowe mouth)', t'a wəs 'upper lip' (Lit. upper lip) (see section 7.2.3)

5.69 un-ø-gil-u-an

PASS-see-VEN-3N

'It has been seen, Lit. They saw it.'

Lastly, Verbs in Tapo have objects that seem to be incorporated in the verb at first look. But such nouns when checked though negation or object pronouns, they are simple nominal object. Among such nouns ma 'food', c'a 'wood and εs 'body' are nouns that used widely is the noun. The word εs 'body' is used like any of the free nouns as an objects besides being served as a reflexive and reciprocal. The word me 'goat' in 5.70 and 5.71 is used as an object and it could also be substituted through the 3N object pronoun as in number 5.72. Similarly, the word εs 'body' as the contrastive examples from 5.73- 5.78 shows. In all the cases the word [bes~εs] 'body' functions as an object similar to other verbs like either maca 'cut' or ba 'put' that also have two arguments.

5.70 aβ-ø-sə mε

3FSG-PST-buy goat

'She bought a goat.'

5.71 aβ-du-k'u mε ø-sə

3FSG-NEG-EXIST goat PST-buy

'She did not buy goat.'

5.72 aβ-ø-sə-an

3FSG-PST-buy goat

'She bought it.'

5.73 mina a-mac εs

1PL.IN FUT-cut body

'You chopped [body].'

5.74 mina du-k'u εs a-matsa
IPL.IN NEG-EXIST body FUT-cut
'We will not chop.'

5.75 mina ø-mac-an
IPL.EXPST-cut-3N.OB
'We chopped it.'

5.76 bə-ni ab-a-ba-n εs
3FSG-DT3FSG-FUT-put-3N body
'She arranged.'

5.77 bə-ni ab-du-k'u εs a-ba
3FSG-DT3FSG-EXIST body FUT-put
'She will not arrange.'

5.78 bə-ni ab-du-k'u-an a-ba
3FSG-DT3FSG-NEG-EXIST-3NFUT-put
'She will not arrange it.'

5.2.3.3. Trivalent Verbs

Trivalent verbs hold subject (A), Direct object (DO) and indirect Object (IO). Both these constituents do not mark in any core case system either as an accusative-nominative as Lemi (2010) reported or as an eragative-absolutive case systems¹⁰. The only case markings are instrumental or commitative used as a preposition or also serve as a conjugation.

¹⁰ Among the Koman languages Otero (2015b:5) also argued "argument structure in Komo is determined primarily by word order and verbal indexation of core arguments" Similarly even if Ahland (2010) argued Gumuz marks NOM in the case of the OVA/VS word order "Core arguments in Gumuz remain unmarked for case" (Ahland 2010:163).

In e.g. 5.79 ʔɛni 'her' is an indirect object (IO) or recipient where as naka 'spear' is the direct object (DO) or theme. Both DO and IO also could be marked in the verb through bound object pronouns. Thus the recipient/beneficiary in e.g. 5.79 bani 'her' marked through 3MSG and theme naka 'spear' is marked with -an '3N' in e.g. 5.81 and 5.82. All the constituents A, IO and DO are incorporated in the verb with ar- '3MSG', aʔ- '3FSG', and an- '3N' respectively.

5.79	A	V	IO	DO
	utə-ni	ar-ø-ki-a	ʔə-ni	naka
	3MSG-he-DT	3MSG-PST-give-ITV	FSGF-DT	spear
	'He gave the spear to her.'			

5.80	ar-ø-ki-a-aʔ	naka
	3MSG-PST-give-ITV-3FSG	spear
	'He gave her a spear.'	

5.81	ar-ø-ki-a-an	ʔə-ni
	3MSG-PST-give-ITV-3N	3FSG-spear
	'He gave it to her and went.'	

5.82	ar-ø-ki-a-ga-aʔ-an
	3MSG-give-ITV-BEN-3FSG-3N
	'He gave it to her.'

5.2.4. Object Omission

The other grammatical valency decreasing strategy is object omission. Though passivization marked morphologically, in contrary object omission left morphologically unmarked in Tapo. In the examples 5.83 the agent personal noun utok and the patient juwa 'lion' which identified syntactically only marked through bound subject and object pronouns ar- '3MSG' and -n '3N' in e.g. 5.84, and e.g. 5.85 the object is left omitted.

5.83 ʊ-tʊk kəs juwa
 3MSG-tʊk kill lion
 ‘Utuk killed lion.’

5.84 ar-kəs-an
 3MSG- ʊ-kill-3N.OB
 ‘He killed it.’

5.85 ar-ʊ-kəs-a
 3MSG-ʊ-kill-ITV
 ‘He killed.’

5.2.5. Directional on Verbs

Ahland (2012) referring to (Creissels et al. 2007:148) states directionals in Nilo-Saharan languages “exist in polar pairs, one referring to motion away from the deictic center, and the other referring to motion towards deictic center.” Dimmendaal (2003) also states Nilo-Saharan languages with SVO word order, it is common to see a motion of direction towards or away from the deictic center on the verb which it referred as ‘ventive’ and ‘itive’ markers, and one among those Nilo-Saharan languages that possesses directionals in connection to their word order is the Koman language group.

Tapo marks both movements towards and away from deictic center on the verb. In the following section both movement towards and away from the speaker with in motion and non-motion verbs are presented.

5.2.5.1. *Itive on Motion Verbs*

Tapomotion and non-motion verbs marked in both motion towards and away from a dectic center or the speaker in the communication. Motion towards or ventive (VEN) refers the action of movement towards the speaker, incontrarst motion away from the speaker or itive (ITV) refers to actions that take place in opposite direction from the speaker¹¹. ITV is marked by the suffix -a at the end of the root of the verb as can be

¹¹Terminology Ventive (VEN) and Itive (ITV) used mailny in these work following Dimmendaal (2003) and its wide acceptance.

seen from wi-a 'run.SG', sɔ-a [soha] 'run.PL', nɔr-a 'move', sus-a 'push', bɛr-a 'arrive'.

5.86 tɛnɛ an-ɔ-wij-u pɛ-ma
 dog 3N-PST-run-VENplace-1SG
 'The dog ran to me.'

5.87 tɛnɛ an-ɔ-wi-a pa mini
 dog 3N-run-VEN place2SG.POSS
 'The dog ran to you.'

5.88 mana ɔ-j-a-ga gʊgʊ
 1PL.EX PST-come-ITV-BEN gʊgʊ
 'We went to Agʊgʊ'

5.89 mana t'ak'-a nimule-ge mana j-a tʊn aʝi
 1PL.EX crosse-ITV nimule-where.ITV 1PL.EX go-ITV big river
 'We went leaving Nimule aside and came crossing the river.'

Directionals also mark the basic motion verb j- 'go/come' with the same morpheme like any other a- ITV and u- VEN markings as shown in e.g. 5.90 - 5.92

5.90 j-a 'go'
 go-ITV

5.91 j-u 'come'
 come-VEN

5.92 un-ɔ-j-a 'They went'
 3PL-PST-go-ITV

5.2.5.2. *Ventive on Motion Verbs*

Like motion away from the speaker, motion carried towards the speaker or ventive (VEN) is marked in Tapo. The motion verbs sɔ-u 'run.PL', wi-u 'run.SG' nɔr-u

'move', sus-u 'push', ber-ɔ 'arrive' toward' are marked VEN with -u. As the comparison between e.g. 5.1 and 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4; and all the contexts in 5.5 and 5.6 show ventive incorporated to imply movement is taking place towards the direction of the speaker

5.1 wi-a ateri
run-ITV there
'Run over there.'

5.2 wi-u pɛ-ma [wiju pɛmã]
run-VEN place-1SG.POSS
'Run to me.'

5.3 kit-u ku
get in-VEN house
'Get in to the house.'

5.4 kit-a ku
get.in-ITV house
'Get out of the house.'

5.5 pa mu mana ʃ-ɛ mana ʃ-u
village REL 1PL.EX come-SUBIPL.EX come-VEN

tɔn-i ʃi tɔn mu sambiu
big-LINK river big REL sambijo

'The place where we came, we came crossing the big river Sambijo'

5.6 ar-ø-ʃ-u apa mini
3MSG-PST-come-VEN village 2SG.POSS
'He came to you.'

5.2.5.3. Directional on Non-Motion Verbs

In Tapo non-motion verbs are marked ITV and VEN as seen in the above two sections. ITV/VEN morphemes also serve to mark an action that takes place either near the speaker or an action that takes place a different location. Similar use of motion also observed in both South and North Gumuz “to indicate an action (or predication) takes place at a different location from that of the speaker” (Ahland, 2012:203). In the case of Gumuz it works with only towards morpheme. Similarly in Tapo only the VEN morpheme is used, so as to mark actions that take place before the current location.

In ‘non-motion’ verbs the VEN morpheme has a different meaning than motion verbs. In the non-motion verbs the meaning of the VEN refers a fixed location where the action takes place. The -a in the non-motion verbs do not mark ITV as in motion verbs rather it functions as a neutral final vowel or imperative. In verbs such as *tor-a* ‘hit’, *gil-a* ‘see’, *rus-a* ‘hide’, *mac’-a* ‘cut’, *tər-a* ‘hit’, *kar-a* ‘hear’, *k’os-a* ‘kill’ the final -a occurs is an imperative or final vowel as in e.g. 5.7 below -a marks IMP. On the other side -u marks an action that already took place before the subject/agent of the action came to the current location as in non-motion verbs *klike tər-u* ‘hit’, *gil-u* ‘know’, *rus-u* ‘hide’, *mac’-u* ‘separated’, *tər-u* ‘hit’, *kar-u* ‘hear’, *k’os-u* ‘kill’. The VEN in *tər-u* ‘heat-VEN’ (see e.g. 5.8) the VEN and *sa-u* ‘eat-VEN’ (see e.g. 5.9) refer an events that took place in another place prior to the current one.

5.7 *tər-a*
 hit-IMP
 ‘hit!’

5.8 *tər-u*
 hit-VEN
 ‘hit!’

5.9 *ar-sa-u ma akimi-ni təri ar-ɟ-u a-pə-nu*
 3MG-eat-VEN food there-DT far 3MSG-come-VEN LOC-place-PX
 ‘He ate and come here.’

In e.g. 5.10 below ar-ki-a-ab ‘He gave her.’ the action is carried somewhere whereas in 5.11 ar-ki-u-ab-an ‘He gave her.’ the action took place prior to speaker’s current location. Similarly, in e.g. 5.13 and 5.15 the action took place away from the current location of the speaker. In the case of action carried away from the speaker the subject is moved towards the speaker after the action is finished or will move to the speaker later thus in all these examples the VEN shows the person who carries the action in near the speaker or will move later. In contrary 5.12 and 5.14 the action took place near the speaker.

- | | | |
|------|--|-------------|
| 5.10 | ar-a-ki-a-ab-an
3MSG.SUB-FUT-give-ITV-3FSG.OBJ-3N
‘He will give her (here).’ | [arakijab] |
| 5.11 | ar-a-ki-u-ab-an
3MSG.SUB-FUT-give-VEN-3FSG.OBJ-3N
‘He will give her (somewhere) it and come here.’ | [arkiwab] |
| 5.12 | ar-a-sə-a-an
3MSG.SUB-FUT-buy-ITV-3N
‘He will buy (here) it.’ | [arasowan] |
| 5.13 | ar-a-sə-u-an
3MSG-FUT-buy-VEN-3N
‘He will buy (there) it and come (here.)’ | [araswan] |
| 5.14 | uni-ø-ki-a-ag-an
3PL-PST-give-ITV-1SG-3N
‘They gave me it, here.’ | [unkijagan] |
| 5.15 | uni-ø-ki-u-ag-an
3PL-PST-give-VEN-1SG-3N
‘They gave me somewhere and I came.’ | [unkiwagan] |

The VEN in particular with non-motion verbs seems to imply marking of perfective aspect. Though directional VEN and ITV analyzed as tense-aspect markers in Koman languages like komo (see Otero 2015), this does not happened to be the case in Tapo. In the following e.g. (see 5.16) though the VEN has a reference that happed in the past is reference is only location and do not relate to time reference since both the progressive aspect reference of $\text{t}\text{ɔ}$ ‘EXIST’ and the FUT markers are both referring the present/future reference of the fire as also could also refer back e.g. 5.13 above arasuan ‘He will buy’.

5.16 wu-t'i $\text{t}\text{ɔ}$ a-sa-u sa-u sa-u
 fire EXIST.PROGFUT-eat-VEN eat-VEN eat-VEN
 ‘The burning fire approaches.’

 an-J-u ø -sa ʃisa
 3N-come-VEN PST-eat crocodile
 ‘It burnt the crocodiles.’

5.3. Passive

The passive is formed with the morpheme un- as in un- ø -t ɔ r-an ‘the drum was hit’. The contrasts in between 5.17 and 5.18; 5.19 and 5.20 ; 5.21 and 5.22 shows the context of the passive.

5.17 bi-ni uni- ø -t ɔ r-a bul
 3PL-they-DT3PL-PST-hit-ITV drum
 ‘They played drum.’

5.18 un- ø -t ɔ r-an
 PASS- ø -hit-3N.OB
 ‘It [The drum] hit.’

5.19 adurɛ an- ø -sa waca
 cat 3N-PST-eat fish
 ‘The cat ate fish.’

- 5.20 waca un-ø-usa-an
 fish PAS-PST-eat-3N
 ‘The fish was eaten.’
- 5.21 aga ø-pər kuba
 I PST-cooked maize
 ‘I cooked corn.’
- 5.22 kuba un-ø-pər-a-an
 maize PASS -PST-cook-3N
 ‘The corn cooked.’

The passive also conjugates with the benefactive. In the e.g. 5.23 and 5.24 omitting the subject by the prefixation of the passive, benefactive occurred with direct and indirect objects.

- 5.23 kuba un-pər-a-ga-ga-an
 maize PASS-cook-ITV-BEN-1SG-3N
 ‘The corn cooked for me.’
- 5.24 un-ki-a-ga-ḡ-an
 PASS-give-ITV-BEN-3FSG-3N
 ‘It has been given to her.’

5.4.Plural Action

Reduplication is a common process in Tapo. It occurs mainly in verbs and adjectives. It functions to mark reduplication of action in verbs and plurality of entities in adjectives as shown in section 6.1.2. Reduplication carried with the semantics of adding the sense of repetition or iteration of the action carried. It carried mainly through full or partial reduplication of the stem. Among the examples below in number 5.32 only part of stems are reduplicated whereas in e.g. 5.27-5.29

reduplication of full stem is carried as in *kʊ-an* ‘take-3N.OB’ (see 5.27), *ləl-a* ‘take off-ITV’. During reduplication none of bound pronouns reduplicate. Notice in e.g. 5.26 the 2SG subject pronoun and in 5.27, though reduplication takes place in the verb, none of the object pronouns duplicated with the verb stem.

5.25 *ʊ-dɛ* *ø-sə-sə* *upə*
 3MSG-someone PST-marry-RED woman
 ‘Someone married wives.’

5.26 *nə-ni* *i-ø-gil-gil*
 NOM-DT2SG-PST-see~RED

an-a-tɔ *a-pa* *mana* *a-pɛ-nu*
 3N-FUT-exist 3N-place PL.EX 3N-place-PX
 ‘That as you know, It will exist in our country here.’

5.27 *mun ø-kʊ-an* *kʊ-kʊj*
 3PLPST-HAND.take-OBRED~HAND.take

kʊj-an *ma-na* *muta*
 HAND.take-3N1PL.EX finish

‘If they finish taking out the soil, we finish.’

5.28 *wuka pume* *ge* *wuka-wuka ge*
 wash BELLY.inside LOC.VEN wash-RED LOC.VEN
 ‘Wash the inside [calabash] like this.’ UTE 01

5.29 *a-ləla* *ɗam a-pən* *ləl-a* *ləl-a*
 1SG-take.off t hink 3N-place -3N take.off-ITV take.off-ITV

lɔl-a a-uta-n
 take.of -ITVFUT-grind-3N

'I will take of the thing here and take off and will crush it.'

5.5. Copula construction

Copula in Tapo is marked with *ta* 'COP' as also suggested by Van Silfhout (2013). It relates either nominal, NP, or AV/SV clauses. Among the examples below *nəni* '3N', *ʊ-kac-nɪ* 'that man', and *ʊpɔnɪ* 'the person' are linked each other through the copula from 5.30-5.33. In number 5.34 the copula related the NP that formed from noun and proximal demonstratives. The SV clause also could be linked to another noun in number 5.35 and 5.36 SV [aɓ-ø-ba] 'she slept' is linked with *Ku* 'house' and [un-ø-ɟa] 'they went' correlated with the noun 'SPLM'. In the process of linking with a COP, if a constituent possesses AV/SV, then it is only either the predicate or the subject that contains a cloth. In number 5.37 the SV precedes the COP and in contrary in e.g. 5.38 the AV follows the COP. A copula verb in Tapo could be used in even if the subject is dropt as in 5.31.

5.30 *nə-ni ta ku*
 3N-DT COP hut
 'It is a house.'

5.31 *ta ku*
 COP house
 '[That] is a house.'

5.32 *ʊ-kac-i-ni ta ʊ-tamarai a-kali-nu*
 3MSG-man-INSR-DT COP 3MSG-teacher 3n- here-DT
 'The man is a teacher here.'

5.33 *ʊ-pɔ-ni ta kab-ni sak'-a-r*
 3MSG-person-DT COP.be wind-DT eat-ITV-3MSG

‘The man taken by the wind’

5.34 ti nɛ-nɔ ta kɛs-an

pot 3N-PX COP beak-3N

‘This pot is baking pot.’

5.35 aɓ-ø-ba ta ku

3F-PST-sleep COP house

‘She slept at home.’

5.36 uni-ø-ij-a ta spla

3PL-PST-PL.go-ITV COP splm

‘Those who came are the SPLM.’

5.37 mana k’u ta pa pa

1PL sit.PL COP placeplace

‘We sit on the Ethiopian side.’

5.38 nə-ni ta pa tu mana

3N-DT COP place give.birth 1PL.EX

‘That is our birth place compound.’

5.6. Serial Verbs

Tapo verbal system evolves serialization. Aikhenvald (2007:32) defined serial verbs as an independent grammatical and phonological words characterized serial verbs as “(i) refer to a single event; (ii) function in the same way as other clauses – whose predicate consists of just one verb – in discourse; (iii) have a single subject; (iv) may share other arguments; and (v) cannot have independent tense/aspect, modality and polarity values”. All these features are common characteristics in Tapo too. In the following examples (5.39-5.42) the verbs that preceded the main verb have a bound subject pronoun that referring both verbs and a single event. Othe otherside, the second verb takes tense markers as could be observed in a-ban ‘put’ ø-ki ‘give’ besides being free of bound subject pronominal.

5.39 ar-j-a wa a-pi-r
 3MSG-go-ITV sit.SGFUT-reach-3MSG
 'He will sit there.'

5.40 ma-j-a k'u pε-n
 PL-go-ITV sit.PL there
 'We will live there.'

5.41 upo a-j-a ja a-ba-n ta ku
 Women FUT-go-ITV go.REDFUT-sleep-3NCOP home
 'The women will go (directly) and will sleep at home.'

5.42 pa mu ar-ø-jal-ε ku-ra j-a ø-ki
 place REL3MSG-back-? home-3MSG.POSS go-ITVPST-give

c'a ut'i
 wood fire

'When he turned back, he started burning the grass.'

The number of verbs in the serial constructions could reach up to three verbs. IN the following e.g. (5.43) extracted from the documentation corpus the number of verbs is three.

5.43 ar-ø-tit-a j-a ø-pɔj
 3MSG-PST-precede-ITV go-ITVPST-hide
 'He proceeded, went and hidden.'

Serial verbs are the most commonly used verb patterns in Tapo though there use restricted to a few existential (EXIST) verbs listed from 5.44-5.50. These existential verbs as part of a serial verb have grammatical uses mainly related to aspect. The

usage of existential verbs as a serial and auxiliary mark aspect grammatical aspect as the discussion in the following subsequent sections (see section 5.6.10) shows.

5.44	wa	'sit.SG'
5.45	ku	'sit.PL'
5.46	ʔ	'exist'
5.47	ja	'go'
5.48	ju	'come'
5.49	ba	'sleep.SG'
5.50	cu	'sleep.PL'

5.6.1. Aspect

Tapo does not mark any of the grammatical aspects morphologically. The only devoted means to mark aspect in Tapo is through the serial/auxiliary verb constructions. The aspects that marked in Tapo are imperfective and progressive.

5.6.1.1. Imperfective

The imperfective (IPFV) aspect in Tapo is marked with the verb *ju/ja* 'come/go'. In the following examples from 5.51 to 5.53, the verbs *ju* 'to come' and *ja* 'to go' mark the IPFV aspect.

5.51 aga su-an [swan]
 I buy-3N
 'I bought it.'

5.52 a-j-u a-su-an
 1SG-come-ITV FUT-buy-OB
 'I will buy/I am coming to buy.'

5.53 uni-j-a a-gil
 3PL-PL.go-ITVFUT-see
 'They will see.'

Moreover, it could be inferred from the following extracts from the corpus the verb 'to go' being used as a simple verb and an IPFV aspect marker. In e.g. 5.54 and 5.55

being used as a IPFV aspect marker, followed by verbs kɔ 'sit,PL' and wa 'sit.SG' in 5.55 and 5.56 respectively.

5.54 ma-ja k'ɔ pə-n
 1PL.EX-go.IPFV sit.PL place-DT
 'We will live there.'

5.55 ar-ja wa pi-r
 3MSG-go.IPFV sit.SG reache-3MSG
 'He will sit there.'

5.56 mina ij-a bi-ji-ni du a-kuc-a
 1PL.IN go-ITV3PL-water-DT NEG FUT-dry-ITV
 'We will go to the water that will not dry.'

5.57 ar-ø-he-ga mina mina ja
 3M-PST-say-BEN1PL.IN1PL.IN go
 'He said to us, let us go.'

5.6.1.2. *Progressive Aspect*

The other aspect besides the imperfective that marked in Tapo is the progressive which combines existential (EXIST) auxiliaries tɔ 'be/EXIST.SG', wa 'sit/EXIST.SG' and k'u 'sit/EXIST.PL'. These auxiliaries mark both past and present progressives. In the case of the singular subjects either tɔ 'EXIST.PROG.SG' or wa 'sit.PROG.SG' could be used alternatively.

5.58 ar-tɔ a-ba tine
 3MSG-EXIST.PROG.SGFUT-sleep.SG ground
 'He is still sleeping.'

5.59 un-kɔ a-cu tine
 3MSG-EXIST.PROG.PLFUT-sleep.PL ground
 'They are still in sleep.'

- 5.60 ar-wa a-kar-an
3MSG-EXIST.PROG.SGFUT-hear-3N.OB
'He is hearing.'
- 5.61 ar-tɔ̃ a-sa ma
3MSG-EXIST.PROG.SGFUT-eat food
'He is eating.'
- 5.62 un-k'u a-kar-an
3PL-EXIST.PROG.PL FUT-hear-3N.OB
'They are eating.'
- 5.63 un-k'u ø-kar-an
3PL-EXIST.PROG.PL PST-hear-3N.OB
'They were eating.'

5.7. Negation

Negation in Tapo is marked with the auxiliary *du* 'not'. It occurs preceding main verbs. Like any auxiliaries in Tapo *du* 'NEG' is used with the subject that move from the main verb to the auxiliary. In e.g. 5.65 and 5.67 following marking of negation both subject and object pronouns dislocated to the auxiliary. Contrary to bound pronouns, all the tense markers remain prefixed to the main verb as in e.g. 5.65, 5.67, 5.80, and 5.81.

- 5.64 ar-ø-sʊ-an
3MSG-PST-buy-OB
'He bought.'
- 5.65 ar-du-an ø-sʊ
3MSG-NEG-OB PST-buy-OB
'He did not buy.'
- 5.66 ar-a-sʊ-an
3MSG-FUT-buy-OB

'He will buy.'

5.67 ar-du-an a-sɔ
3MSG-NEG-OBFUT-buy
'He will not buy.'

5.68 ar-tɔ ø-su-an
3MSG-PROGPST-buy-OB
'He used to buy.'

5.69 ar-tɔ a-su-an
3MSG-PROGFUT-buy-OB
'He is buying.'

Negation in the case of progressive also uses the existential auxiliary verb *ku* 'EXIST'. Thus, an interrogative sentence has 'NEG-EXIST-(DO)'. In the following examples the NEG followed by the existential verb *Ku* then followed by either a bound object pronouns as in 5.70 and 5.75 or a lexical object in nominals such as *pa* 'home' in e.g. 5.71 or *kita* 'shirt' in 5.74. In all cases the NEG-EXIST directly negate the object rather than the action.

5.70 un-du-k'u-ar kɔsɔ gu na-ka
PASS-NEG-EXIST-3MSG kill COM3N-spear
'He did not die with spear.'

5.71 bij-ni un-k'u pa
they-DT3PL-sit home
'They are at home.'

5.72 bij-ni un-du-k'u pa
they-DT3PL-NEG-EXIST home

'They are not at home.'

5.73 ab-wa ø-kəs kɪta
3FSG-EXISTPST-sew shirt
'She was not sewing a shirt.'

5.74 ab-du-k'u kɪta ø-kəs
3FSG-NEG-EXIST shirt PST-sew
'She was not sewing shirt.'

5.75 ab-du-k'u-an ø-kəs
3FSG-EXIST shirt PST-sew
'She was not sewing it.'

5.8.Causative

Causative (CAU) refers an agent that is external to the main situation. Causative (CAU) in Tapo is expressed through a separate verb *ta* 'to cause/do' in (e.g. 5.76)¹². This verb is not an auxiliary for it does take both subject and object pronouns. The stem of the CAU is directly related to the verb *ta-* 'to do/make'. In the e.g. below the *ta* 'to do' is a main verb accompanied by the existential verb *k'u* 'sit/EXIST'. In the other e.g. this main verb acts as a cause carrier *ar-ta-b* 'He made/caused her...' (see e.g. 5.77).

5.76 mana un-k'u ta-n gu kuj
1PL.EXPL-PROG do-3N COM hand-DT
'We make in hand.'

5.77 ar-ta-ɓ aɓ-ø-sa ma
3MSG-do-3FSG3FSG-PST-eat food
'He made her eat.'

¹²As to Payne (2006:264) such causative referred as an analytic causative.

Analytic causatives, such as current one in Tapo, are not considered to be valence-increasing constructions, for they do not increase the grammatical valence of a single clause (Payne 2006:264). In the case of Tapo the same applies for the fact that the causative and the main verb are independent clauses and there is not any increase in argument of either of the verbs, except addition of a new agent. Below the sentence in 5.78 has two arguments, the agent a- '1SG' and the patient 'my wife'. In e.g. 5.79 though the number of agents has increased with the addition of the CAU verb which added a new agent (3MSG), still there is not any new argument introduced in the main action k'os-u 'kill', as also the same in 5.80, 5.81 and 5.82 all introduced one additional agent ar- '3MSG' with the CAU verb.

5.78 a-ø-kosɔ masi-ma
 1SG-PST-kill wife-1SG.POSS
 'I killed my wife.'

5.79 u-tuk ar-ta-ga ø-k'os-u masi-ma
 3MSG- tuk 3MSG-do-1SGPST-kill-VEN wife-1SG.POSS
 'Utuk made me kill my wife.'

5.80 ar-ta-6 aβ-ø-kɔj
 3MSG-do-3FSG3FSG-PST-cry
 'He made/caused her cry.'

5.81 ar-ta-n un-ø-ki-aβ-an
 3MSG-do-3N 3PL-PST-give-3FSG-3N
 'He caused something to be given to her by them.'

5.82 ar-ta-n ar-ø-ki-ab naka
 3MSG-do-3N3MSG-give-3FSG spear
 'He caused the spear to be given to her, by him.'

5.9. Verbalized Nominals

Body part nouns have different grammatical functions in Koman languages. In Gumuz as a Ahland 2012 and 2010 discussed extensively used as a verbal incorporation. But in the case of Tapo such grammatical incorporations of body part nouns witnessed rarely. Ahland (2010 :162) coating (Hutchison 2003) in relation to nominal incorporations discussed "...there is a set of reconstructed verbs in Proto-Bantu which have incorporated nominal roots – more precisely locative nominals – meaning ‘on the head’ or ‘in the earth’, for example (Meeussen 1967: 88).”. Nominals in Tapo, in particular body parts serve in formation of locative phrases as discussed in section 8.3. Besides location, body part nominals, also extensively used in formation of verbalized locatives. The body part nominals in Tapo too, rather than incorporation, function as verbalized locatives in Tapo. The most widely used verbalized locative nominals are body part nominals *kup* ‘head’, *kuj* ‘hand’, *je* ‘eye’, *puma* ‘belly’, *ce* ‘ear’ and *t'a* ‘mouth’ as listed in table 6.83 below.

	Noun	Verb
<i>kup</i>	‘head’	‘carry’
<i>kuj</i>	‘hand’	‘hold’
<i>je</i>	‘eye	‘alive’
<i>puma</i>	‘belly’	‘pregnant’
<i>t'a</i>	‘mouth’	‘speak’

Table 5. 8 Verbalized Locative Body Part Nominals

In the examples below *kup* ‘head’ (5.83 - 5.86), *kuj* ‘hand’ (5.87 and 5.88), *puma* ‘belly’ (5.89 - 5.92), *je* ‘eye’ (5.92 - 5.96) and *t'a* ‘mouth’ 5.97 are verbalized body part nominals in T'apo. During such verbalized nominals the linking final epenthetic vowel /-i/ that also used in noun-noun phrases (see section 8.2) also used in the verbalization, as in e.g. 5.85 and 5.86.

kup 'Head'

A011¹³

- 5.83 tɛ ut'i ʊ-ta a-kup-ab k'as
then firewood 3MSG-he FUT-HEAD.carry-3FSG not
'There is no one to carry her, the firewood.'

A027

- 5.84 ar-ø-he-ga m-i-ka kɔp-a
3MSG-PST-say-BEN COND-2SG-obey HEAD.carry-ITV
'The child said, if you reject carrying ...'

A031

- 5.85 pa-u ar-ø-kup-i kumu
place-PX 3MSG-PST-HEAD.carry-LINK mother
'There he carried his mother.'

- 5.86 nakə-ma an-a-kup'-i ca
spear-1SG.POSS 3N-FUT-HEAD-LINK table
'My spear is on the table.'

k'ʊi 'Hand'

A035

- 5.87 a-dimɛ j-a pa cir-i-ni
3N-child go-ITV home wood-INSR-DT

a-k'ʊj j-a
3N-HAND.hold go-ITV

¹³ Thus numbers in some of the examples, represent data from appendix, the letter represents the letter of the appendix, and the number represents the row in the text.

'The child went home holding the wood with hand.'

A042

- 5.88 ja wa ø-k'ɔi piŋi ut'i
go sit PST-HAND.take.out ashe fire
'Went, sit and take out the ash from the fire'

puma 'Belly'

B003

- 5.89 un-ø-puma sək'a mun
3PL-PST-BELLY.pregnant two 3PL.POSS
'They [two of them] became pregnant.'

A005

- 5.90 aɓ-ø-puma ta bit'i bac
3PL-PST-BELLY.pregnant COP child male
'All the children she gave birth were male.'

- 5.91 pisak'o an-a-puma wɔs
star 3N-FUT-BELLY sky
'There is a star in the sky.'

je 'eye'

- 5.92 col wa je pat'ik'a wa je
col EXIST EYE.alive pat'ik'a EXIST EYE.alive
'Chol is alive. Patika is alive.'

- 5.93 itaŋ wa je
itang EXIST EYE.alive
'Itang is alive.'

- 5.94 εs-mun jε cuc
 body-3PL.POSS EYE tire
 ‘They become tired.’
- 5.95 a-kot an-a-ka a-jε pi-nu
 1SG-have 3N-FUT-spear FUT?-EYE now-DT
 ‘I have a spear now.’
- 5.96 ar-ø-piji a-jε c’i
 M.SG-PST-drink water LOC-EYE dark
 ‘He drunk water in the dark.’

t’a ‘tongue’

- 5.97 aβ-to a-t’ε-t’ε
 3FSG-EXIST.PROG FUT-TONGUE-RED
 ‘She talks to herself.’

Similarly other body part nouns such as sit’in ‘back’, gangara ‘flank’, and k’oro ‘back’ also could serve as verbalized locatives in Tapo as shown in the following examples from 5.98 to 5.102.

- 5.98 a-dɪ-mε an-a-sit’ini hare
 3N-child 3N-FUT-BACK.BONE donkey
 ‘the child at the back of the donkey’
- 5.99 a-dime an-a-k’oro-εβ
 3N-child.SG 3N-FUT-BACK-3FSG.POSS
 ‘The child at her back.’
- 5.100 a-dime an-a-gangar-εβ
 child-child.SG 3N-LOC-FUT-FLANK-3FSG.POSS

'The child is at her side'

5.101 ar-ø-jal pa-t εs a-k'ərə a-pa mun
3MSG-PST-back place BODY 3N-BACK LOC-place 3PL.POSS
'He is returned to their place.'

5.102 a-dime an-a-usi wene pi
3N-child.SG 3N-FUT-inside leg cattle
'The child is under the leg of cattle.'

Chapter Six

Other Word Classes

In this chapter, the word class of adjectives, numerals and adverbs are discussed.

6.1. Adjectives

Even if adjectives in Tapo have such common prefix with nouns, it seems an independent word class. The independence of an adjective from nouns in Tapo could be explained through, first the syntactic position of adjectives in noun phrase and secondly grammatical initiated reduplication to mark plurality of nouns (see section 7.1.2). Adjectives could label size, quantity, color and condition as shown in table 7.1 some of the adjectives in the language.

Size	pai	'wide'	t'ik'a	'heavy'
	tɔn	'big'	t'ima	'narrow'
	kala	'small'	t'ik'-es	'thin'
	tɔl	'short'	sɛk'	'long'
colour	pat'a	'white'	cɪr	'green (leaf)'
	kapa	'red'	cɛ	'black (dark)'
quantity	sai	'many'	cɔpɔ	'few'
	buma	'many'	bɪ-gɪn	'all'
	dɪan	'one'	sɔk'a	'two'
	tɔsɔ	'three'	huan	'four'
condition	cɛm	'cold'	kaga	'hot'
	kaw	'hard'	pɔt'ɔ	'soft/light'
	tai	'empty'	tota	'full'
	k'ai	'good'	kɔ	'bad'

Table 6.1 Types of Adjectives

Most adjectives follow the nouns they modify. The exceptional are adjective puma 'large surface' and buma 'many' that precede the nouns they modify. The following examples (6.1-6.3) nouns are modified by the preceding adjectives buma 'many' and

similarly puma 'large surface' modifies the broadness of the noun it modifies in examples from 6.4 to 6.8.

6.1	buma abo-nk'ɔ many 3N-frog	'many toad'
6.2	buma a-bikule many 3N-bird	'many bird'
6.3	buma a-jamal many 3N-camel	'many camel'
6.4	puma pitr large ashe	'agricultural field'
6.5	puma ji large water	'large river'
6.6	puma k'uj large hand	'large palm'
6.7	puma ku large house	'large floor'
6.8	puma tai belly sun	'lake'

6.1.1. Agreement of Adjectives

Adjectives in Tapo have two basic characteristics. These are concordiality with nominal number markers like noun and reduplication like verbs, to mark plurality. In the following examples all the adjectives concord with the noun they modify. All the numeral, age and size adjective are marked with the perspective nominal prefixes 3PL /bɪ-/ , 3FSG /ba-/ and 3MSG /u-/ that agreed with the main head noun in examples from 6.9 to 6.11.

6.9 bi-tri bi-tuʂ
 PL-children PL-three
 'Three children'

6.10 ʂa-pa ʂa-tɔn
 3FSG-woman 3FSG-big
 'Old woman'

6.11 u-kac-i u-tɔn
 3MSG-man-LINK3MSG-big
 'The elder man'

Though such agreements like the above one commonly occur in adjectives, it do not appear in all adjectives in particular those that have CV pattern in e.g. 6.3 and 6.4 ci 'black' did not marked in any prefix. Such adjectives are prepositioned with relative pronoun mu. In the example 6.15, and 6.16 bellow the nouns dɪmɛ 'child', [ʂa-pa tɪnɛ] 'bitch', baɣ 'men' linked with the adjectives by REL mu. Nouns and adjectives can also be linked with REL. Even if Adjectival agreement with the noun mainly used in the language, REL also optinally used to link noun and adjectives. As the comparison on e.g. 6.17 the adjective tɔn 'big' marked with 3MSG u- and 3FSG ʂa- and 6.18 that only linked with the relative marking mu.

6.12 u-kac ci ar-ø-hɔj
 3MSG-man black 3MSG-PST-die
 'The black man died.'

6.13 ʂa-pa ci ab-ø-hɔj
 3FSG-woman black 3MSG-PST-die
 'The black woman died.'

6.14 dɪmɛ mu kala
 child REL small
 'The child who is small'

- 6.15 ɓa-pa tɪnɛ mu kala
 3FSG-woman dog REL small
 'The bitch which is small'
- 6.16 ɓaj mu ci-ci un-ø-hɔj
 men REL RED.PL-black 3PL-PST-die
 'The men, who are black, died.'
- 6.17 ɯ-tɔn ar-ø-tɔr ɓa-tɔn
 3MSG-big 3MSG-PST-hit 3FSG-big
 'The elder man hit the elder woman.'
- 6.18 ɯta mutɔn ar-ø-tɔr ɓa-pa mutɔn
 3MSG-he REL big 3MSG-PST-hit 3FSG-woman REL big
 'He, who is elder, hit the elder woman.'
- 6.19 a-dɪnɛ mu kala ø-sak'-a ma kɔba
 3N-child REL small PST-eat-ITV food maize
 'The children, who are small, ate maize.'
- 6.20 biti mu kalla ø-sa-k'a ma kɔba
 child.PL REL small PST-eat-ITV food maize
 'The small children ate maize.'

6.1.2. Adjective's Reduplication

Adjectives in Tapo mark plurality through reduplication. In the following examples though the nominal *se* 'tooth', and *ca* 'tree' are pluralized through the adjective reduplication as singular vs. plural comparison between 6.21 and 6.22, 6.23 and 6.24, 6.25 and 6.26, etc shows.

- 6.21 *se pat'a* 'white tooth'
 tooth white

- 6.22 sɛ pat'a-t'a 'white teeth'
teeth white-RED
- 6.23 ca t'it'-ɛs 'thick tree'
tree thick-body
- 6.24 ca t'it'it'-ɛs 'thick trees'
trees thick-body
- 6.25 ca sɛk' 'tall tree'
tree tall'
- 6.26 ca sɛ-sɛk' 'tall trees'
trees RED-tall
- 6.27 ku k'aj 'beautiful house'
house beautiful
- 6.28 ku k'a-k'aj 'beautiful houses'
houses RED-beautiful
- 6.29 ʒɛpʊr sɛk 'long road'
road long
- 6.30 ʒɛpʊr sɛ-sɛk' 'long road'
'road RED-long'

In addition adjective reduplication to mark plurality in nominals could be shown in contexts in examples from 6.30 to 6.34. The pattern of reduplication in Tapo adjectives mainly seems to be partial and from right to left as k'ai to k'a-k'ai 'beautiful', tʊn to tʊ-tʊn 'short' and sɛk to sɛ-sɛk' 'tall' reduplicated towards the left direction.

- 6.31 biɟ-ni ta bi-k'a-k'a-i
they-DTCOP PL-RED-beautiful-LINK
'They are beautiful.'

6.32 ʃə-ni ta ʃa-k'a-i
3FSG-DTCOP 3FSG-beautiful-LINK
'She is very beautiful.'

6.33 ʊ-tə-ni ta muton
3MSG-he-DTCOP REL big
'He is short.'

6.34 bi-ni ta bi-tə-tən
3PL-they-DTCOP PL-short
'They are small.'

Adjectives in Tapo like verbs also have rarely occurring distinct lexical form for singular and plural. In the following examples though the adjective kala 'small' has same form for plural and singular nouns the other adjective tən 'big' has a different lexeme for plural marking as shown in e.g. 6.38.

6.35 a-dmɛ kala
3N-child small
'small/thin girl'

6.36 bit'i kala
child.PL small
'small girls'

6.37 a-dmɛ mu tən
3N-child REL big
'a big child'

6.38 bit'i mu ɕeɕe
child.PL REL big.PL
'big children'

6.1.3. Numerals

6.1.3.1. Cardinal/Numeral

Tapo uses base five numeral system, that mainly bases numerals from one up to five. Numerals from six to ten uses addition of base five as in six ‘add one’, seven ‘add two’, eight ‘add three’ and nine ‘add four’. Tapo numerals emerged from body parts as the numerals direct relationship with body parts shows. The body part nouns used for most of the numerals as in five, which literally could be translated as, kuj ‘five (Lit. one hand)’, [mu ta k’u suk’-en] ‘ten (Lit. the second hand)’, [pa-u wene di-an] ‘eleven (Lit. a person’s one toe)’, [εs u-dε] ‘twenty (Lit. one person’s body)’ (see table 7.4 for detail). Tapo also uses numerals borrowed from other neighboring languages particularly number hundred and thousand in combination with its original base five systems as in kur dean ‘one hundred’ from Nuer and kisi dε-an ‘one thousand’ from Amharic.

bi-tine kai PL-grund nothing	0	pa-u wene kane suk’a place-PX leg find two	17
dian one	1	pa-u wene kane tusu place-PX leg leg find three	18
suk’a Two	2	pa-u wene kane hwan place-PX leg find four	19
tusu Three	3	εs-i u-dε body-LINK 3MSG-one	20
Huan four	4	εs-i u-dε k’ot-k’o dian body-LINK 3MSG-one have-RED one	21
mu ta k’uj REL COP hand	5	εs-i u-dε mu ta kuj sok’-en body-LINK 3MSG-one REL COP hand two-OD	30
kane dε find one	6	εs-i bi-suka body-LINK PL- two	40
kane suk’a find two	7	εs-i suka mu ta k’uj sok’-en body-LINK two REL COP hand two-OD	50
kane tusu find three	8	εs-i bi-tusu body-LINK PL-three	60
kane huan find four	9	εs-i bi-tusu mu ta k’uj sok’-en body-LINK PL-three REL COP hand two-OD	70

mu ta k'uj suk'-en REL COP hand two-3N	10	es-i bi-hwan body-LINK PL-four	80
pa u-wene dran place 3MSG-leg one	11	es-i bi-hwan mu ta k'uj suk'-en body PL-four REL COP hand hand two-OB	90
pa u-wene suk'a place 3MSG-leg two	12	es-i bi mu ta k'uj (kur ¹⁴ dran) body-LINKPLRELCOP hand	100
pa u-wene tusu place 3MSG-leg three	13	kor suk'a hudred two	200
pa u-wene huan place 3MSG-leg four	14	kisi ¹⁵ dran thousand one	100 0
pa u-wene mu ta k'uj place 3MSG-leg RELCOPhand	15	kisi suk'a thousand two	200 0
pa u-wene kanε dran place 3MSG-leg find one	16		

Table 6. 2 Numerals in Tapo

6.1.3.2. Ordinal (OD)

Tapo marks to differentiate ordinal numerals from cardinal numerals. The ordinal numerals are marked with ordinal marker -en.

	Cardinal	Ordinal
6.39	dran	dran -en
6.40	suk'a	suk'-en
6.41	tusu	tusu-en

The ordinal could also be used with the numeral system. If we compare numeral two and ten, suk'a 'two' in 6.42 is a simple numeral whereas ten with [muta k'uj suk'-en] 'ten, literally, the second hand finished' formed from the ordinal form of two suk'-en 'second' in 6.43.

6.42	suk'a	'two'
6.43	muta k'uj suk'-en	'ten'

¹⁴Borrowed from Nuer number hundred

¹⁵Seems from Amharic 'shi'

6.2. Adverbials

6.2.1. Manner Adverbials

The most widely use adverb in Tapo is *kɔ* 'well/good' and *siman* 'very'. Both show the degree of the action carried and in some contexts both used one following the other *kɔ siman* 'very well'.

- 6.44 *ʊ-ta-ni ar-a-wi-a kɔ*
3MSG-he-DT3MSG-FUT-run-ITV well/good
'He runs well.'
- 6.45 *ʊ-ta-ni ar-a-t'et'ε t'a-pɔ kɔ*
3MSG-he-DT3MSG-FUT-speak mouth-person well
'He speaks Tapo very well.'
- 6.46 *ʊ-ta-ni ar-a-wi-a kɔ siman*
3MSG-he-DT3MSG-FUT-run-ITV well/good very
'He runs very well.'
- 6.47 *ʃa-ni aʃ-k'a-i kɔ*
3FSG-she-DT3FSG-beautiful-LINK well
'She is very beautiful.'
- 6.48 *ʃa-ni aʃ-k'a-i kɔ siman*
3FSG-she-DT3FSG-beautiful-Link well very
'She is very beautiful.'
- 6.49 *ab- ɔ-sa ma siman*
3FSG-PST-eat C5.food quickly
'She ate very quickly.'
- 6.50 *ʊ-ta-ni ma-ar-a-ja mumali*
3MSG-he-DTCOND-3MSG-FUT-go slowly
'He goes slowly.'

6.2.2. Time Adverbials

Tapo's most time adverbials are formed from nouns and modifiers. The basic adverbs that are used to form such adverbs are tai 'day', tɔtɔ 'past reference', pɪ 'year/time' a-dɔi 'moon and numɔ 'yesterday'.

6.51	taj	'sun/day'
6.52	ɔ̃isi	'day'
6.53	tɔtɔ	'past reference'
6.54	gumu	'last time'
6.55	numɔ	'yesterday'
6.56	ɟiken	'tomorrow'
6.57	pɪ	'year/time'
6.58	a-dɔ-i (LOC-moon-DT)	'moon'

Other time adverbials include those listed in table 7.5 below. These compounded adverbs formed from the basic adverbs listed above and other adjectives like numerals. Among these for instance days of the week and months are formed in such a way [ta-i mu ta k'ɔj] 'five o'clock', [taj disi dijan] 'Monday' and [a-dɔj dijan] 'September'.

taj huwar a-tɔtɔ	'before a week'
adɔj tɔtɔ	'last month'
pɪ tɔtɔ	'last year'
ɟɛ sai	'often'
ɟiken	'tomorrow'
ɟi-ɟi-ken	'after tomorrow'
ɟi-ken ɔ̃ɛ	'the day after tomorrow'
ɟɛ-c'i eye-drak	'night'
pa mu-numɔ	'before yesterday'
ba mu-numu ɔ̃ɛ terri	'the day before yesterday'
gumu numu	'on yesterday'
gumu tɔtɔ	'last time'

pi	'year/time'
pi-nu (time-PX)	'now'
pi-nu	'this year'
pi-toto	'last year'
pi na-ju-ge time NOM-where.ITV	'The coming year'
a-koro pi toto LOC-back time in.the.past	'next of next year'
taj	'day/time'
te	'then'
te-kus sun-inside	'night'
ten	'today'
taj mu ta k'oj sun-DT RELCOP hand	five o'clock
te kaga sun hot	'afternoon'
taj hu-war sun	'week'
taj disi dran sun day one	'Monday'
puma taj tol surface sun short	'mid night'
a-doj	'month/moon'
a-doj dran	September
di-si C5-soon	'soon'

Table 6. 3 Adverbs of Tapo

Adverbs follow the verb in VP (see e.g. 6.59, 6.60 and 6.61). When a verb is transitive and the object(s) mentioned in a sentence, then the adverb could also be placed as an oblique of a sentence. In e.g. 6.62, 6.63 and 6.64 the time adverbial [gumu numo]

'yesterday', [gumu tətə] 'in the past' and [gumu ta-i] 'before an hour' preceded the sentence.

6.59 ʊ-ta-ni ar-a-mal a-jiken
 3MSG-he-DT3MSG-FUT-fish LOC-tomorrow
 'He will fish tomorrow.'

6.60 uni-ij-a a-su-an a-pi-nʊ
 3PL-go.PL-ITV.PROGFUT-buy-3N 3N-now-PX
 'They are buying.'

6.61 bij-ni uni-ø-sə ka gumu numo
 they 3PL-PST-buy hen last.time yesterday
 'They bought hen yesterday.'

6.62 gumu numə ar-ø-su naka
 last.time yesterday 3MSG-PST-buy spear
 'Yesterday, he bought spear.'

6.63 gumu tətən mana du a-kuam ø-gil
 last.time in.the.old.days 1PLEXNEG 3N-government PST-know
 'In the old days we did know a government.'

6.64 ʊ-ta-ni ar-so a-dime ʃa-pɛ-ni gumu taj
 3MSG-he-DT3MSG-ø-PST-buy 3N-child 3FSG-woman-DT last.time sun-DT
 'He married the girl before an hour.'

Adverbs in Tapo also could be marked in locative prefix a-. The 3N /a-/ seems to be is used to specify a time in a-numə 'yesterday', and a-disinu 'soon' in the examples 6.65 and 6.66 respectively.

6.65 ba-ni ab-ø-j-u a-numo
 3MSGF-DT3FSG-PST-came-VEV 3N-yesterday
 'The woman came on yesterday.'

6.66 ar-a-høj a-ḡisi-nu
 3MSG-FUT-die 3N-day-PX
 'He will die soon.'

6.2.3. Directional/Locative Adverbials

Tapo has locative or direction attributive nouns that follow the verb. These nouns follow the main verb so as to express direction or location. Among such nouns the wos 'sky/up', tne 'land/ground/down', kit 'right' and dɔk'ɔ 'left' are the most frequently used locatives (see e.g. 6.67-6.75).

6.67 wa tne
 sit.SG land
 'Sit down.'

6.68 pi-a wos
 get-ITV sky
 'get up.'

6.69 ɔ-tɛ-ni ar-ø-ja tne
 3MSG-he-DT3MSG-PST-go ground
 'He went down.'

6.70 a-tapaje an-j-u tɪ-nɛ
 3N-hyena 3N-come-VEN land
 'The hyena came from down there.'

6.71 ɔ-tɛ-ni ar-ø-j-a wos
 3MSG-he-DT3MSG-PST-go-ITV sky
 'He went up.'

6.72 a-tap-ε an-ø-ʝ-u a-gangari-ma
 3N-hyena-? 3N-PST-come-VEN 3N-flunk-INSR-1SG.POSS
 ‘The hyena came from my side.’

6.73 a-tapajε an-ø-ʝu tiri
 3N-hayna 3N-PST-come there
 ‘The hyena came from there.’

6.74 ʊ-tε-ni wa kuj kitʰ
 3MSG-he-DT sit hand right
 ‘He sits in the right.’

6.75 ʊ-tε-ni wa kuj dukʰom
 3MSG-he-DT sit hand left
 ‘He sits on the left.’

6.3. Prepositional Conjunction

gu (-) used as a pre-position and conjunction in Tapo. The main meaning of gu is ‘with or together with or and, as in e.g. 6.76. This preposition serves as commutative when appeared before free pronouns and bound object pronouns as 6.77 and 6.78 where the ‘-3PL’ is affixed on the preposition gu. Below in the examples 6.79, 6.80, 6.81 and 6.82 the free pronouns ʊ-tε-ni ‘he’, and the kin terms ɓam ‘sister’, ʊ-pɔ-ni ‘woman’, ɔmo ‘husband’ all prepositioned by gu for comutative function of case marking languages with the intended meaning of ‘being together’.

6.76 hare gu parasa un-ɗu-kʰu a-sɔ ij-a
 donkey COM horse 3PL-NEG-EXIST FUT-marry go-ITV
 ‘A donkey and a horse don’t marry or
 A donkey do not marry with a horse.’

6.77 un-k'o gu-n
 3PL-sit COM-3PL
 'They sit together.'

6.78 un-cu gu-n
 3PL-sleep COM-3PL
 'They sleep together.'

6.79 aβ-ø-ja gu ɔ-tɛ-ni
 3FSG-PST-come COM3MSG-DT
 'She came together with him.'

6.80 uni-j-a pa gu βa-m
 3PL-PL.go-ITV home COM3FSG-sister
 'They went home with his sister.'

6.81 kɛlɛl~kɛlɛl gu ɔpɔ-ni
 enough-REDCOM woman-DT
 'Enough with women! Lit. I had enough with woman.'

6.82 biɟ-ni ta bɪt'i mun mana tu gu ɲabaŋ
 They-DTCOP child.PL 3PL.POSS1PL.EX give.birth COM ɲabaŋ
 'Those are Our children that we gave birth with Gnabang.'

gu 'COM' also functions to mark Instrumental NPs . In the examples below the instrumental VP is marked with gu as in the examples shown from 6.83 to 6.87 [gu ca] 'with stick', [gu k'ɔj] 'with hand', [gu wej] 'with axe', [gu sira] 'with knife', [gu kɔrɛ] 'with hoe'.

6.83 mana tɔr-ar ɔ-tɛ-ni gu ca
 3PL.EX hit-3PL 3MSG-he-DTCOM stick
 'We hit him with a stick.'

6.84 ta k'oco mana a-tan-an gu k'uj
 COP soil PL.EX FUT-do-LOCCOM hand
 'We make it [pot at hand].'

6.85 a-mac-a waca gu sira
 1SG-cut-ITV fish COM knife
 'I cut a fish with the knife.'

6.86 ar-a-ca tɪnɛ gu kure sɛw koba
 3MSG-FUT-dig land COM hoe seed maize
 'He will dig the land with hoe and saw corn.'

6.87 pi-ar gu naka naka sɔt
 Pierce-3MSGCOMspear spear skip
 'Pierced him with spear but [he] skipped the spear.'

In contexts such as the following one in e.g. 6.89 the /gu/ functions as a conjunction. In Oromo borrowed hare 'donkey' and parsa 'horse' and ba-k'aj 'the beautiful girl' and u-ham 'her brother' and linked in with COM gu in the following two examples.

6.88 hare gu parsa un-du-k'u a-sɔ ij-a
 donky COM horse 3N-NEG-EXISTFUT-marry go-ITV
 'A sheep and a goat don't marry.'

6.89 ba-k'aj gu u-ham un- ø-usa ma-arage kure
 3FSG-beautiful COM 3MSG-brother 3PL-PST-PL.-eat food-porridge sorgum
 'The beautiful girl and her brother ate sorghum porridge.'

Chapter Seven

Syntax of Clauses

Tapo has mainly productive noun phrases. The language has Noun-Noun (NN) phrases, Noun-Noun possessive phrases, Noun-Noun locative phrases. These different kind of phrases, sentence word ordering and distinct object markings observed in the language are discussed in the following sub-sequent sections of this chapter.

7.1. NN Possessive Clauses

In Tapo Noun-Noun phrases (NNP) with a modifier verses modified nouns are productive as a possessive clause. Such phrases use a linking vowel [i-] when the possessed noun ends in a consonant. In all the examples (7.1 - 7.15) the possessed nouns wul 'tail', sujen 'hair', sek 'length', ham 'brother' and cikir 'nail' that end in consonants used the final vowel i- as a linker. In contrast the NN phrases from 7.6-7.10) kumu 'egg', wene 'leg', marage 'porrage', bi-ti 'toes' and and nominalized phrase [na-u=sa ma] 'edible' that ended in vowels do not use a linking vowel i-.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 7.1 | wul-i | kibu | 'The tiger's tail' |
| | tail-LINK | tiger | |
| 7.2 | sek-i | ba-pa | 'her length' |
| | long-LINK | 3FSG-women | |
| 7.3 | sujen-i | kuɔp | 'hair of head' |
| | hair- LINK | head | |
| 7.4 | ham-i | ɔmɔ-ma | 'my father's brother' |
| | brother- LINK | father-1SG.POSS | |
| 7.5 | cikir-i | wene | 'nail of leg' |
| | nail- LINK | leg | |

- 7.6 kumʊ ka 'egg of hen'
egg hen
- 7.7 wɛnɛ kibu 'tiger's leg'
leg tiger
- 7.8 ma-ragẽ korẽ 'porridge of sorghum'
porrage sorghum
- 7.9 bitɪ wɛnɛ 'toes'
child leg
- 7.10 na-usama 'eating equipment'
NOM-PL.eat food

The NN possessive clauses used in contexts as follow. Noun in the position of indirect object, that braced in the following examples from 7.11 - 817, are possessive phrases from two nouns that linked with the vowel i- when they are consonant final nominals.

- 7.11 ʊ-tə-ni ar-ø-upa [a-bɪ ʃə-ni]
3MSG-he-DT3MSG-PST-wash LOC-clothe 3FSG-DT
'He washed her clothes.'
- 7.12 ʊ-tɔn ar-ø-pɔ [wul-i kibu]
3MSG-big 3MSG-PST-catch tail-LINKtiger
'The old man caught the tail of the tiger.'
- 7.13 ʊ-tɔn ar-ø-pɔ [kibu wɛnɛ]
3MSG-big 3MSG-PST-catch tiger leg
'The old guy cached the tiger's leg.'
- 7.14 ʊ-tɔn ø-tɔr kibu [wɛnɛ a-wut'i]

3MSG-big PST-hit tiger leg 3N-gun
'The old man hit the leg of the tiger with a gun.'

7.15 ʊ-tən ar-ø-pɔ [wɛnɛ kibu]
3MSG-big 3MSG-PST-catch tiger leg
'The old guy cached the tiger's leg.'

7.16 [pa ʊpɔ] splm ø-pu-an
village person SPLFPST-catch-3N
'Upou's village occupied by SPLM.'

NN possessive clauses also widely used in the formation of kin terms as the examples from 7.17 - 7.20 below shows.

7.17 masi ham-i cɔmɔ-ma
wife brother-LINK father-1SG.POSS
'My father's brother's wife.'

7.18 ʊpɔ ham-i cɔmɔ-ma
wife brother-LINK father-1SG.POSS
'My father's brothers' wives.'

7.19 a-dime ʃam-i cɔmɔ-ma
3N-child sister-Link father-1SG.POSS
'My father's sister's child.'

7.20 bit'i ʃam-i cɔmɔ-ma
child brother-LINK father-1SG.POSS
'my father's sister's children'

7.2. Noun-Noun clauses

Tapo besides the NN possessive phrases discussed in the above section (8.1), NN phrases could also be formed from two independent nouns through association. Similar to possessive clauses if a nouns ends in a consonant then a linking vowel /-i/

would be affixed in the first nominal. In e.g. 7.21 and 7.22 the NN clause is formed with the linking vowel /-i/. Whereas in all other cases from 7.23-7.27 the the clauses are formed with the constituency of the nouns and the linking vowel [i] in such cases is not functional for all words end in vowels.

7.21	ʊ-kac-i	ka	'roster'
	3MSG-man-LINK hen		
7.22	ʃac-i	pip	'oxen'
	man-LINK cattle-RED.PL		
7.23	ʃapa	ka	'hen'
	woman hen		
7.24	ʃa-pa	ti-nɛ	'bitch'
	3FSG-woman dog		
7.25	a-dime	ka	'chicken'
	3N-child hen		
7.26	ʊpɔ	pip	'cows'
	person cattle-RED.PL		
7.27	bit'i	pip	'calves'
	child cattle		

The NN clauses could used both as a noun phrase (NP) in subject and object positions. The clauses in e.g. 7.28below [ʃaci pip] 'oxen' and 7.29 [adime ʊkac] 'boy' used as a subject and an object, respectively.

7.28	[ʃac-i	pip]	un-ø-pi	ji
	man-LINK cattle 3PL-PST-drink water			
	'The oxen drunk water.'			

- 7.29 ɔ-tɛ-ni ar-ø-tɔr-a [a-dimɛ ɔ-kac]
 3MSG-he-DT3MSG-PST-hit-ITV 3N-child boy
 ‘He hit the small boy.’

7.3. Noun Phrase Word Order

Modifiers in Tapo mainly follow the noun they modify. In the examples below all size color quantity, number, demonstrative and possessive modifiers follow the noun modified.

- 7.30 ʒi kala
 water small
 ‘little water’

- 7.31 *kala ø-ʒi
 some water
 ‘little water’

- 7.32 ʒac abɪgm
 man all
 ‘all the men’

- 7.33 ukach ar-ø-gil dɛc sɔk'a
 Ukach 3MSG-PST-see solder two
 ‘Ukach saw the two soldiers.’

- 7.34 ʒac abɪgm muta kɔj
 man all finish hand
 ‘all the five men’

- 7.35 ʒac ci-ci mu ta kɔj a-bɪ-gm
 man RED-black RED COP hand all
 ‘all the five black men’

- 7.36 ku tɔn nɛ-ni ci dɛ
 house big 3N-DT black one
 'That one big black house.'

The most common way for order of modifiers modifying noun is (quantifier)-N-size-possessive-LOC-numeral-(quantifier). The quantifier or modifiers could either precede or follow the noun they modify. Among the nominal modifiers a-bɪ-gin 'all' could precede the nominal it modifies as in e.g. 7.38 besides being followed a noun as in e.g. 7.35. In contrary buma 'many' quantifies only preceding the noun it modifies (see e.g. 5.103 and 5.104).

- 7.37 ku tɔn-i-ma nɛ-ni ci dɛ
 house big-LINK-1SG.POSS 3N-DT black one
 'That big black house of mine'

- 7.38 a-bɪgin ɓac ci-ci mu ta kuj
 3N-all man RED-black REL COP hand
 'All the five black men'

- 5.103 buma bit'i un-ø-hɔj
 many child 3N-PST-die
 'Many children died.'

- 5.104 buma tɪnɛ uni-ø-ʒa
 many dog 3PL-PST-go
 'Many dogs went.'

All other modifiers that precede the nouns form ungrammatical noun phrase. In the following examples from 7.40-7.44 the color cici 'black', the numeral [muta kuj] 'five' and the demonstrative nɛ-ni 'that' all formed ungrammatical NP word order.

- 7.39 bac c'i-c'i mu ta kuj a-bɪgin
 man black-RED REL COP hand 3N-all
 'All the five black men'

7.40 *c'i-c' i a-bɪ-gin bac muta kui

7.41 *c'ic'i bac muta kui

7.42 *mut'a koj bac ci-c i

7.43 *c'ic i muta kuj bac

7.44 * neni bac cici muta kui

7.4. Locative Noun Phrases

Locative is productive grammatical function in Tapo. Locative used in formation of locative nominals phrases of the language. In particular nominal body part nouns and terrestrial bodies in Tapo serve as locative nouns, being used as a verbalized locatives in the language.

Among these body part nouns puma 'belly', kui 'head' sit'in 'back', se 'tooth', and je 'eye' are the most widely used nouns to form locative NPs. In addition it is possible to find territorial nominals like wɔs 'sky' and tme 'land' also serve as locative noun phrases.

7.45 a-kup-i jaw
3N-head- LINK stone
'on the tip of the mountain'

7.46 mun cim-ar k'up
3PL cover-3MSG head
'They cover the grave on the top.'

7.47 aga a-sa ma a-puma tit'as
I FUT-eat food 3N-belly plate
'I am eating food from/on a plate.'

- 7.48 aga ø-sa ma a-puma køsør-un
 I PST-eat food 3N-BELLY casserole-PX
 ‘I ate food from the casserole.’
- 7.49 ðisa pa-εs a-puma ji a-bigin
 Crocodile disperse-REF.BODY 3N-belly water 3N-all
 ‘The crocodiles dispersed inside the water.’
- 7.50 ar-ø-k’i c’a cəmō mun a-ut’ε a-puma ji
 3MSG-PST-give wood father 3PL.POSS 3N-fire 3N-belly river
 ‘He burned all your relatives in the grass and water.’
- 7.51 bakəkō ar-a-wu-a a-puma wəs
 bakoko 3MSG-FUT-run-ITV 3N-belly sky
 ‘Bakoko came down from the sky.’
- 7.52 acok ø-ja a-puma pi-ti a-sε ji
 achok PST-came 3N-belly field 3N-tooth water
 ‘Achok went to the field near the edge of the river.’
- 7.53 ar-piji a-ji ci
 3MSG-drink water 3N-water dark
 ‘He drunk water in the dark.’

In the above examples (7.47-7.52) the noun puma ‘belly’ locates the existence of different entities. The locatives ‘tip of the mountain’ and ‘the food eaten from the plate’ are located with the body part noun a-kop ‘head’. Whereas, Bakoko (a character in a folktale), located ‘on the sky’ and Achok (a character in a folktale) that located ‘on the field’ are located within the noun phrases via the prefix a- in the noun puma ‘belly’ in e.g. 7.51 and 7.52.

7.5. Sentence Word Order

7.5.1. Affirmative Word Order

Tapo has relatively flexible word order in both the transitive and intransitive clauses. The basic word order is Agent-Verb-Object (AVO) in transitive and, Subject-Verb (SV) in intransitive verbs.

S V
7.54 ho an-si
rain 3N-rain
'The rain rained.'

A V O
7.55 u-tɛ-ni ar-ø-sa ma
3M-he-DT 3MSG-PST-eat food
'He ate food.'

7.56 A V O
u-tɛ-ni ar-ø-so wark't'a
3MSG-he-DT 3MSG-PST-buy paper
'He bought a paper.'

The other word order varieties in Tapo's are VOA and OAV in transitive verbs and SV and VS word order in intransitive verbs.

V O A
6.90 ar-ø-so wark'at'a u-tɛ-ni
3MSG-PST-buy paper 3MSG-he-DT
'He bought paper.'

In OAV order the insertion of DO in the verb is obligatory needed as in e.g. 7.58 and constructions such as 7.57 are ungrammatical for the fact that following the dislocation of the object there should also be bound object pronoun as in e.g. 7.59 that incorporated 3N object.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------------------------------|--------------|--|
| | O | A | V | |
| 7.57 | *wark'at'au-tɛ-ni | | ar-ø-sɔ | |
| | paper | 3MSG-he-DT X | 3MSG-PST-buy | |
| | 'He bought [Paper].' | | | |
| | | | | |
| 7.58 | wark'at'au-tɛ-ni | | ar-ø-sɔ-an | |
| | paper | 3MSG-he-DT3MSG-PST-buy-3N.OB | | |
| | 'He bought [Paper].' | | | |

7.5.2. Negative Word Order

In negative sentences, object dislocation is obligatory. Negative sentences have an AOV order. The affirmative sentence with an AOV in e.g. 7.59 becomes AOV in the negative constructions as in e.g. 7.61.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------------|----------|
| | A | V | O | |
| 7.59 | ju-wa | ø-k'ɔsɔ | baj | |
| | lion-EXIST | PST-kill | elephant | |
| | 'A lion kill an elephant.' | | | |
| | | | | |
| 7.60 | A | O | V | |
| | jua | ba | ø-k'ɔsɔ-an | |
| | lion | elephant | PST-kill -3N | |
| | 'A lion killed an elephant.' | | | |
| | | | | |
| 7.61 | A | NEG | O | V |
| | jua | du-k'u -an | baj | k'ɔsɔ |
| | lion | NEG-EXIST | elephant | kill.PRF |
| | 'A lion did not killed an elephant' | | | |
| | | | | |
| | A | V | O | |
| 7.62 | u-tɛ-ni | ar-ø-sa | maragɛ | |
| | 3MSG-he -DT3MSG-PST-eat | | bread | |
| | 'He ate bread.' | | | |

	A	NEG	O	V
7.63	ʊ-te-ni	ar-du-k'u	marage	ø-sa
	3MSG-he	-DT3MSG-NEG	bread	PST-eat
	'He did not eat bread.'			

During negation in Tapo direct object dislocation takes place. Affirmative transitive verbs in Tapo have A-V-DO. The interrogative sentences of transitive verbs on the other side have a word order of A-NEG-DO-V. In both negated sentences of 7.65 and 7.67 the direct objects (DO) *ma* 'food' and *a-kuam* 'government' moved following the negation. In consequence the word order shifts to A-NEG-DO-V from A-V-DO order.

7.64	ʊ-te-ni	ø-sa	ma
	3MSG-he-DTPST-eat	food	
	'He ate food.'		

7.65	ar-du	ma	ø-sa
	3MSG-NEG	food.DOPST-eat	
	'He did not eat.'		

7.66	gu	mu	tətən	manaø-gil	a-kuam
	COMREL	in.the.past	1PL.EXPST-know	LOC-government	
	'In the old days we did know a government.'				

7.67	gu	mu	tətən	mana	du	a-kuam	ø-gil
	COMREL	old.days	1PL.EX	NEG	3N-government	PST-know	
	'In the old days we did not know a government.'						

7.5.3. Interrogatives Word Order

Interrogative word order have same word order with affirmative sentences. The interrogative marking [ta wa] 'who/whom' that marks both subject and object interrogation places in part of the sentence that would be interrogated. Thus in the following examples agent, direct object, indirect object are marked in e.g. 7.68, 7.69 and 7.71 respectively.

7.68 A V O
 [ta wa-ni] ø-sa-n marage-ma
 COPLOC-PX PST-eat-OBbread-1SG.POSS
 'Who ate my bread.'

7.69 A V DO
 bak'ai ab-ø-gil [ta wa]
 bakai 3FSG-PST-see COPEXIST
 'Whom did Bak'ai saw?'

7.70 A V IO DO
 ukac ø-ki bak'ai[ta wa-ni]
 ukac PST-give bakai COP LOC-PX
 'What did Ukach gave to Baki?'

7.71 A V IO DO
 ukac ø-ki [ta wa-ni] k'a-i
 ukac PST-give COPEXIST-DT spear-?
 'To whom did Ukach give the spear?'

7.6. Syntactic Object Ordering

Tapo marks S, A, and O through position. As a result, the language does not have a morphological case system, except the comitative that marks mainly oblique, the language marks object based on semantic hierarchy of entities belonging to human, animal and inanimate. The most dominant hierarchy being human entities as a beneficiary mostly placed following the verb, then animates and lastly inanimate entities that would take secondary object position whenever the object constituents are composed of animate and inanimate entities as the labeling in number 7.72 below sums up¹⁶.

¹⁶Such animacy based nominal referent hierarchies are commonly observed in Bantu languages (Hyman 1982, Bearth 2003:162).

7.72 Human > Animate > Inanimate

The predicate has two nouns in e.g. 7.73. These are the indirect object (IO) and direct object (DO) constituencies, the first being a beneficiary or indirect object *utani* 'he' and the second *nakotso* 'hoe' a direct object DO. This could be summed up in human followed by in animate as in human > inanimate. If this order changes to inanimate > human, it would become a possessive clause as in [*na-kotso utani*] 'The man's hoe' in e.g. 7.74 below. The human nominals *mana* '1PL' in e.g. 7.75 and *ba-pa* 'woman' in e.g. 7.76 followed the verb as a beneficiary. Whereas the DO [*kumu ka*] 'hen egg' and *suma* 'meat' followed the indirect object *mana* '1PL.EX' and *ɓapa* 'women', respectively. Similarly in e.g. 7.77 and 7.78 animals like *a-dɪ-mɛ* 'child' and *mɛ* 'goat' follow the verb as a beneficiary and in animate entities like *suma* 'meat' and *nasa* 'food' follows the beneficiary as a DO. In e.g. 7.79, a case in which both OBs are inanimate, the consumer (*wut'i* 'fire') as a beneficiary preceded the consumed *c'a* 'wood/tree'. If the indirect object and direct object in e.g. 7.79 reversed, it would become [*ca ut'i*] 'fire wood', i.e. an NN phrase as in e.g. 7.80. All the above of syntactic objects hierarchies also could be incorporated in the verb through benefactive (BEN) marker as discussed in section 6.3.1.

	A		IO	DO		IO > DO
7.73	<i>ɓa-ni</i>	<i>aɓ-ø-ki</i>		[<i>ɔ-tɛ-ni na-kotso</i>]		human > inanimate
	3FSG-DT	3FSG-give	3MSG-he-DT	NOM-dig		
	'She gave the hoe to the man.'					

	A			DO		DO
7.74	<i>ɓa-ni</i>	<i>aɓ-ø-ki</i>		[<i>na-kotso ɔ-tɛ-ni</i>]		inanimate- human
	3FG-DT	3FSG-PST-give	NOM-dig	M-he-DT		
	'She gave the man his hoe.'					

	A		IO	DO		IO > DO
7.75	<i>ɓa-ni</i>	<i>aɓ-ø-ki</i>	<i>mana</i>	[<i>kumu ka</i>]		human > inanimate
	3F-DT	3F-PST-give	1PL	egg hen		

'She gave us an egg.'

	A		IO	DO	IO > DO
7.76	u-kaj	ar-ø-ki	ba-pa	suma	human > inanimate
	3MSG-man	3MSG-PST-give	3FSG-woman	meat	
	'The man gave meat to the woman.'				

	A		IO	DO	IO > DO
7.77	u-kaj	ar-ø-ki	a-dimε	suma	animal > inanimate
	3MSG-man	3MSG-PST-give	3N-child	meat	
	'The man gave the child meat.'				

	A		IO	DO	IO > DO
7.78	6a-ni	a6-ø-ki	mε	na-sa	animal > inanimate
	3FSG-DT	3FSG-PST-give	goat	3N-eat	
	'She gave the goat food.'				

	A		IO	DO	IO > DO
7.79	6a-ni	a6-ø-ki	ut'i	ca	inanimate > inanimate
	3FSG-DT	3FSG-PST-give	fire	wood	
	'She burned the wood.'				

	A			DO [NN]	
7.80	6a-ni	a6-ø-ki	[ca	ut'i]	inanimate - inanimate
	3FSG-DT	3FSG-PST-give	wood	fire	
	'She burned the fire wood.'				

All the above hierarchies of objects are syntactical in the case of trivalent verbs. However these constructions also could be carried in the verb through BEN and bound subject/object pronouns except in negation (see e.g. 7.83). In affirmative and passive sentences the BEN marks the beneficiary in affirmative and passive sentences as shown in e.g. 7.81 and 7.82, the BEN marks the beneficiary '3FSG'.

- 7.81 ar-ø-ki-**aga**-6-an [abkijagaran]
3MSG-PST-give-**BEN**-3MSG-3N
'He gave it to her.'
- 7.82 un-ø-ki-**a-ga**-6-an [unkijagaban]
PASS-PST-give-ITV-**BEN**-3MSG-3N
'It is given to her.'
- 7.83 un-du-k'u-a6-an ø-ki
PASS-NEG-EXIST-3FSG-3N PST-give
'It has not given to her.'

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Appendix 1 - Metadata of Tapo Documentation

Corpus	No. Sessions	Format	duration	No Participants		
				M	F	Total
birds	1	WAV/MTS	00:5:25	3	-	3
child game	5	WAV/MTS	00:12:17	2	-	2
colour terms	1	WAV/MTS	00:11:23	2	-	2
conflict resolution	3	WAV/MTS	00:36:36	3	2	5
construction	3	WAV/MTS	00:32:07	4	-	4
current issues	1	WAV/MTS	00:11:13	1	-	1
dating	1	WAV/MTS	00:04:43	1	-	1
farming	1	WAV/MTS	00:05:11	2	-	2
fishing	4	WAV/MTS	00:17:31	1	-	1
folktale	13	WAV/MTS	03:18:50	2	-	2
food and drinks	4	WAV/MTS	00:28:26	-	4	4
giving birth	2	WAV/MTS	00:06:21	-	3	3
direction	1	WAV/MTS	00:01:10	1	-	1
hunting	2	WAV/MTS	00:28:37	2	-	2
language game	2	WAV/MTS	00:23:27	3	-	3
marriage	4	WAV/MTS	00:28:39	2	1	3
measurement	1	WAV/MTS	00:06:25	2	-	2
mourning/death	1	WAV/MTS	00:11:35	2	-	2
musical instruments	1	WAV/MTS	00:08:25	2	-	2
naming strategies	2	WAV/MTS	00:03:41	2	-	2
neighbouring ethnicities	1	WAV/MTS	00:04:09	2	-	2
performance	11	WAV/MTS	00:25:35	5	3	8
personal history	4	WAV/MTS	00:26:11	3	2	5
pottery	3	WAV/MTS	00:04:40		4	4
religion	9	MTS	01:08:26	6	12	18
the Upo clans	1	WAV/MTS	00:14:30	2	-	2
women's social role	2	WAV/MTS	00:03:47	2	-	2
trees	1	WAV/MTS	00:14:07	3	-	3
utensils	3	WAV/MTS	00:05:37	-	3	3
war times	1	WAV/MTS	00:15:36	2	-	2
Total	78		10:39:05	62	34	96

Appendix 2 - Archived Data

Corpus	Sessions	Description	Duration	Format Archived
Birds	Elicitation of Birds	The actors discuss and elicit the different birds existed at Wanke area. The speakers besides listing tried to describe the birds.	00:5:25	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Child Game	Akengel	The speaker describes the procedures of a child game called Akengel. Akengel is a boys' play. As described by the speaker, A ball like thing called Aakengel which made from tree seed will be thrown through a stick in the process of the game.	00:00:48	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Didok	The speaker describes the procedures of a child game called Didok. The seed of a tree will be used. There will be two groups. One will take half about 100 and the other will take half. 10 of them will be on the other side and 10 of them will be on the other end.	00:2:08	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Gogngogn	The speaker describes the procedures of a child game called Gogngogn, which prepared from broken clay.	00:1:06	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Stop	The speaker describes the procedures of a child game called Stop with ten participants.	00:1:28	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Tek'en	The speaker describes the procedures of a child game called Tek'en.	00:1:22	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 text TXT
	Colour Terms	Colour Term Association	The speakers name and compare different colour terms based on the observed colours in their area	00:11:23
Conflict Resolution	How conflicted resolution carried	The speakers argue one another and describe the steps and procedures of conflict resolution among the Upo. Performance of solving conflict at a drinking place.	00:4:10	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Description and demonstration performance of conflict resolution	The speakers tell the song of conflict resolution, perform and sing songs. "When we mark our boundary in the field or the trap mixed the river the fight might	00:13:23	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4

		raise. The women might fight because of children's conflict. But the children will return back and the women may not understand this. They may not know the rule and regulations of our society. Now when it gets dark she may not be there. Then when you ask why she is late and did not make the home. If You came late you should knock the door and check if she is fine. When you are in the field she may not sew. Sewing is the task of the women. Once I came up with a fish but she could not prepare. So I spent the night without having a dinner."		
	Description and demonstration performance of conflict resolution	The speakers discussed how customary law is performed. The five speakers' perform staged communicative event. The speakers in the video represent one raped girl, her husband, mother, two elderly men and a person convicted of raping.	00:19:03	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Constructi on	House Making Procedures	The speaker narrates and demonstrates with real materials that needed to construct a house.	00:7:08	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Making of fence 1	The speaker narrates and demonstrates with real materials that needed to construct a fence.	00:12:26	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Making of fence 2	The speaker narrates and demonstrates with real materials that needed to construct a fence.	00:12:33	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Current Issues	Summarizing agenda of a meeting	The speaker Summarizes agenda of a meeting that carried a day before with government officials. The speaker tells the meeting was about agriculture, security, women empowerment, health issues and other community related issues.	00:11:13	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Dating	Dating among the Upo	The speaker tells the steps and procedures to date an Upo girl.	00:4:43	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Direction	Giving Direction	The speakers describes how to go from Wanke to Merra and then to Gambella	00:1:10	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Farming	The Sorghum Cultivation	The speakers discuss about the cultivation of sorghum and what things should be carried to a	00:5:11	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4

		good harvest		
Fishing	Fishing and fish types	The speaker elicit and describes different types of fishing and fish types	00:7:06	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Kinds of Fishing Traps	The speaker describes different types of fish traps and how they made	00:2:18	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Foods preparation from Fish	The speaker describes different types of Foods and their preparation from Fish	00:1:31	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Fish trapping equipments	The speaker describes different types of Fish trapping equipments	00:6:36	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Folktale	A Girl and her nine brothers- part A	The speaker narrates a story about a girl and her nine brothers	00:23:22	video MT4 Audio WAV Video MP4
	A man with two wives	The speaker narrates a story about A man with two wives	00:15:46	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 Text TXT
	Achok	The speaker narrates a story about a famous Upo folktale character called Achok	00:8:37	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 Text TXT
	Achok and His mother in law	The speaker narrates a story character called Achok and his mother in law	00:4:20	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Mariyal and the cannibal	The speaker narrates a story about a character called Mariyal and a cannibal	00:15:14	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	The Mosquito	The speaker narrates a story about mosquito	00:4:20	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Okaja: The friends	The speaker narrates a story about Okaja: The friends	00:14:10	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	The beautiful and the handsome-part A	The speaker narrates a story about a beautiful and a handsome persons	00:15:23	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	The beautiful and the handsome-part B	The speaker narrates a story about a beautiful and a handsome persons	00:2:19	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	The beautiful and the handsome-part C	The speaker narrates a story about a beautiful and a handsome persons	00:6:20	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	The Brothers: Tiang and Wiwal-part A	The speaker narrates a story about two brothers: Tiang and Wiwal	00:23:30	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	The Brothers: Tiang and Wiwal-part B	The speaker narrates a story about two brothers: Tiang and Wiwal	00:5:37	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	The cannibal and the beautiful Girl	The speaker narrates a story about a cannibal and The	00:10:50	video MTS Audio WAV

		Beautiful Girl		Video MP4
	The cock and the elephant	The speaker narrates a story about a Cock and an Elephant	00:3:00	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	The lion and the people-part A	The speaker narrates a story about a character called Diling and his nine brothers	00:12:15	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	The lion and the people-part B	The speaker narrates a story about a character called Diling and his nine brothers	00:3:34	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	The younger boy and his nine Sisters-part A	The speaker narrates a story about a younger boy and his nine Sisters.	00:30:13	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Food and Drinks	Preparation of Mappo (porridge)	The speakers narrate s how to prepare porridge.	00:1:37	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Cutting into pieces: the meat of a pig	The participants demonstrate how to make pork (pig meat) ready by cutting into pieces for boiling.	00:20:27	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Traditional Beer Preparation 1	The lady in the speech narrates how to prepare and serve traditional beer among the Upo .	00:3:05	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Traditional Beer Preparation2	The lady in the speech narrates how to prepare and serve traditional beer among the Upo .	00:3:17	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Giving Birth	Giving Birth among the Upo women	The speakers discussed how the Upo mother give birth and argued about the behaviour of Upo husband in there speech. In the discussion they mentioned "Our husbands after our ministration has gone will come and make love. They also most of the time suspects we went to another person. One of the lady complained "he [her husband] goes to another place and ignores me. We dig the field if we do not have husband. The nuer, Anuak, Habesh does not do like us. If I want to go to somewhere you should go and return back.] This lady harshly criticizes the Upo husbands in her speech."	00:4:42	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Preparation for new born baby	The speakers talk and discusses about preparation to give birth and get ready to have a new born baby. They tell, if there is a sister she will come to assist or	00:1:39	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4

		brother or husband will come and bring some cloths. My husband or brother will also buy and bring coffee to home during the birth.		
Hunting	Hunting as an activity	Hunting as an economic activity; how it is carried, which kinds of animals hunted, the traditional and modern kinds of instruments used were discussed among the two speakers.	00:13:36	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Methods of Hunting	The different methods of hunting and which method used for which animal were discussed among the speakers.	00:15:01	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Language Game	Language Game: Puzzles	Among three speakers lexicons and their definitions were listed in a form of questions which incorporated with short description of lexicon and answers. In the game there are many lists of words as an answer among the players.	00:23:27	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Marriage	Performance of Wedding	The participants sing and dance the performance related to wedding among the Upo .	00:1:01	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Steps and Procedures of wedding	The three participants discussed about steps and procedures of wedding. The speakers during their discussions debate among themselves and also demonstrate some moves of wedding dance.	00:6:35	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 Text TXT
	Marriage among the Upo	The participants described and demonstrated the dance and poem with the procedures of wedding. They also elaborated "In the early days when we talk to get a marriage you will ask for her families. If they are willing you will pay something. Now it is changing and you will go and ask the lady and give the money to her family if she is willing. During the weeding a day all family members will collect together and will got o the lady's family and the animal will be saluted. In the early change it was exchanging. Now marriage is through money. The equipment from the husband will be given to her family. Then there will be prayers. Her	00:19:04	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4

		husband will be expected to harvest my field if not I may take back my kid." The woman in the speech who joined late tells, "I will call my kid and talk about her marriage with my husband. If her husband is not agreed and married she may not give birth. I need a ceremony if there is not marriage ceremony I may not marry."		
	Marriage among the different clans	The old person narrates about the where about of the Upo people and the marriage among different Upo clans. The speaker tells exchange of kids for marriage with the Sudan Upo was common in the early days. When there is a fight among the couple the man will be punished so that she will return back to him.	00:1:59	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Measurement	Fluid Measurement	The speakers describe different types of fluid Measurements in Upo based on demonstration of equipments. The aim of the speech was to elicit the different lexicons used to refer volumes through demonstration. They discuss how could someone know the depth of the river? Then the other person replied different equipments to describe the size of the water, as Half, full, quarter, bottles. The depth of the river through body parts in the leg, neck etc	00:6:25	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Mourning	mourning ceremony	The participants in the speech told "Mourning carried only by the male. We dig and burry. The male will go to the burial place female stay at home. Relatives mainly uncles will stay at home. After the funeral ceremony to carry some discussions. Our grand fathers taught us when a man dies ... But now we ... ¹⁷ and already stopped. Now the corpus will not be taken away as used to be. When a man dies, we prepare bed from tree branch	00:11:35	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 Text TXT

¹⁷ A text has deliberately omitted for the sake of confidentiality.

		<p>then cover it with old cloth, take it and burry in a whole. Then will inform his family and relatives. All people who heard the death will come home. Then either a husband or a wife will be told that death has always been there and will continue. Thus will be advised I to continue her casual life. So, will start preparing the necessary food and drink. Then will enjoy the food and drink and disperse. If it is my child who died will tell her to go to her job and I also will move to my fishing. The relatives of my wife will help her in preparing food. The men will go to fishing and back with fish. Then there will be a big feast with a prepared drink. If the drink is not finished, people will be back in the next morning. In the next morning his equipments of the dead person will be distributed to relatives through witness of old persons. It is the uncle who takes out the materials from the home of dead person. Then the old men will distribute the equipments for all relatives.”</p>		
Musical Instruments	The musical instruments	Elicitation and description of different kinds of musical instruments	00:8:55	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Naming	Naming strategies A	The speakers discuss how naming is given to a new born baby among the Upo.	00:3:41	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 Text TXT
	Naming strategies B	The speakers discuss how naming is given to a new born baby among the Upo.	00:3:06	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Neighboring Ethnicities	Neighboring Ethnicities	The speakers list and describe neighbouring ethnicities of Upo.	00:4:09	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Personal History	Personal History of Luk put	The speaker tells his personal history which includes place of birth, family work, education etc.	00:4:47	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 Text TXT
	Personal History of Pok Ulok	The speakers tells his personal history which includes place of birth, family work, education etc	00:5:38	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Personal History of	The speakers tells his personal	00:5:07	video MTS

	Jikaw Chol	history which includes place of birth, family work, education etc		Audio WAV Video MP4
	Personal History of galuk Achinkore	The speakers tells her personal history which includes place of birth, family work, education etc	00:6:21	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Personal History of Ngakuach Puul	The speakers tells her personal history which includes place of birth, family work, education etc	00:4:18	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Pottery	The making of Pot	The speakers narrates how to make a pot	00:1:10	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	pottery making and use	The three speakers' discuss and describe poetry making and use among themselves.	00:1:33	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	pottery types	The speakers narrates pottery types and use	00:1:57	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 Text TXT
Religion	Prayer	Introduction prayer thanking God "Our Father in Heaven"	00:6:36	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Preaching Matthew	In the video an Angelical Church pastor addressing the Sunday attendees, a preaching about one of the Gospels in the New Testament Matthew, Chapter 1 and Psalms Chapter 80.	00:5:57	video MTS Video MP4
	Joseph, his wife and Emanuel	The preaching that evolves about Joseph, his wife and Emanuel and judgment day	00:9:32	video MTS Video MP4
	The rising of Jesus and Day of Judgment	In the video an Angelical Church pastor addressing the Sunday attendees, a preaching about the rising of Jesus and Day of Judgment.	00:13:44	video MTS Video MP4
	A prayer for the sick and the poor	In the video an Angelical Church pastor reads verse and perching the Sunday church attendees to prayer for the sick and the poor.	00:11:49	video MTS Video MP4
	Hymn :The kids of God let's kneel and pray	In the video an Angelical Church young group singers sing a song of praise. In the hymen the verse goes "The kids of God let's kneel and pray".	00:4:51	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Hymn :Lets pray together	In the video an Angelical Church young group singers sing a song of praise. The singers in the song demand for "Lets pray together".	00:7:28	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Hymn : let's get rid of the devil without	In the video an Angelical Church women group singers	00:4:42	video MTS Video MP4

	fighting	sing a song of praise. The verses in the song also quest "Let us get rid of the devil without fighting"		
	Hymn : Jesus Christ come and help us	In the video an Angelical Church women group singers sing a song of praise. The verses in the song also demand Jesus Christ to come and help us.	00:3:47	video MTS Video MP4
The Upo	History of different clans	The old person in the video narrates about the where about of the Upo people as follow. "We came crossing the river. Then turned back and came again with the old. We entered to a place called Kucha Ayira. Then following Baro River (the biggest river in Gambella) we stayed around Gambella. Then we turned back to our current place during the Italian war and then back again to Sudan. In we stayed at Pame. Ktter Oler, Kalkiss was our place. At these places we used to fish. But the Nuer came and we fight and moved to Pagak. In Pagak many people stayed at Kalkis. Others turned back to Wanke. Then again in Wanke the Nuer killed our relatives around Wada under a tree called Ruk'a. The women left the area when they hear the gun shot. Then Kumedan's mother when she run and saw her child's blood and started drinking her child blood we moved again to Gutu. While we were in Gutu again Achenkore killed and people dispersed again, So people in Gutu decided to come to Wanke. People were not willing first but through time people started to migrate to Wanke. That is how we come to Wanke. "	00:14:30	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 Text TXT
The Upo Women	Upo women in the community	The participant tells the role of Upo women in the community. They describe the role of a woman in a weeding, morning, home and field area of the community.	00:2:32	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Social role of	The participant tells the role of	00:1:15	video MTS

	women	Upo women in the community. They describe the role of a woman in a wedding, morning, home and field area of the community.		Audio WAV Video MP4
Trees	Elicitation of trees	The speakers elicited different kinds of trees in Upo villages	00:14:07	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
Utensils	Different utensils and their use	In the video the speaker elicits and describes different kinds of homemade utensils.	00:2:34	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 Text TXT
	Grinding Stick	The speakers tells how to prepare and use a grinding stick	00:0:53	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
	Grinding Stone	The speaker tells how to prepare and use a grinding stone.	00:2:10	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4
War Times	War time narration	The participants in the video narrate their past time war with the different neighbouring ethnicities.	00:15:36	video MTS Audio WAV Video MP4 Text TXT

Appendix - 3 : Glossed Texts

Text A - A younger boy and his nine Brothers- part A

A001

ʊ-dɛ ar-ø-kət bit'ɪ
3MSG-one 3MSG-PST-has child
'A man had nine children.'

A002

mu ta k'ʊ-i kana huan bit'ɪ
REL COP hand find four C8child
'Nine children'

A003

mu ta kana huan k'ʊj sʊk'-ən-in
REL COP find four hand two-OD-DT
'The tenth one'

A004

kum-an ø-puma-n an-ø-tu
mother-2SG.POSS PST-BELLY.pregnant-3N3 3N-give.birth
'His mother becomes pregnant and gave birth.'

A005

aɓ-ø-puma ta bit'ɪ ba-c
3F.SG-PST- BELLY.pregnant COP child C2-male

'All the children she gave birth were male.'

A006

a-bigin pa-u un-k'uj cəmɔ muni
3N-all place 3PL-sit father 3PL.POSS
'They sit at their father's home.'

A007

kumu muni puma gri
mother 3PL.POSS BELLY.pregnant LOC
'Because their mother is pregnant.'

A008

aβ-ø-j-a bi-ufi
3FSG-PST-ITV PL-firewood
'She went to collect firewood.'

A009

gi a-dime tɔn a -pumə-β
where.VEN LOC-child big FUT-belly-3F.SG
'The child at her stomach becomes big.'

A010

βa-u aβ-ø-j-ε bi-ufi aβ-ø-j-ə
3FSG-PX 3FSG-PST-go-IND PL-firewood 3FSG-PST-go-ITV
'The women went and collected the wood and tied.'

A011

te ut'i u-ta a-kup-aδ k'as
then firewood 3MSG-he FUT-HEAD.carry-3F not
'There is no one to carry her.'

A012

aδ-tə a-t'et'ε a-t'ε-n
3F.SG-EXIST.PROG FUT-TONGUE.talk FUT-talk-3N
'She talks to herself.'

A013

age-nu a-pinu wa-ni-ga a-kup-a ga
1SG-PX LOC-now EXIST-3N-BEN LOC-HEAD.carry-ITV
LOC.ITV
'Now, who will carry me?'

A014

a-dime wa puma hε-aδ-ga
3N-child sit BELLY.stomach say-3F.SG-BEN
'The child inside her stomach talked her.'

A015

a-dije i-jita jit'a
3N-mother 2SG-SALIVA.spit saliva
'Mother, you spit saliva'

A016

i-tan-a bɪ-k'omɔ ga aga ɟ-u tɪnɛ ga
2SG-put-ITV PL-naval LOC.VEN 1SG come-VEN land LOC.VEN

a-k'op
3N-HEAD.carry

'You put saliva on navel and I will come down and carry her.'

A017

ɓa kumɔ nap
3FSG mother offended
'His mother offended.'

A018

kumɔ hɛ-ga gi ta mu tu
mother said-BEN LOC.ITV work REL give.birth
'The mother said what kind of birth is this'

A019

aj-nu aga tɔ-i
2SG-PX 1SG give.birth-?
'I will get birth.'

A020

ar-ø-hɛ-ga a-dije ta-ta nara
1SG-PST-say-BEN 3N-mother work-RED ?
'He said, mother do this thing well.'

A021

a-sim-an aḅ-ø-ta
FUT-well-3N 3FSG-PST-spit
'She put her saliva.'

A022

jit'a ab-ta-n k'omɔ
saliva 3FSG-do-3N navel
'She put on her naval.'

A023

a-dime pal-u
LOC-child PLACE.go-VEN
'The child came out.'

A024

mu a-dime pal-u
REL 3N-child PLACE.go-VEN
'When the child came out /born.'

A025

an-ihe kumu ga j-u a-kɔp aj
3N-say mother LOC.VEN come-VEN FUT-HEAD.carry 2SG
'He said to his mother come and let me carry you.'

A026

kumu ø-gil-a a-dime gil
mother PST-see-ITV 3N-child see
'The mother and child saw each other.'

A027

ar-ø-he-ga m-i-ka kɔp-a
3MSG-PST-say-BEN COND-2SG-obey carry-ITV
'The child said, if you reject caring.'

i-J-a k'a-u ga ca
1SG-go-ITV break-VEN LOC.VEN tree
'go and collect firewood.'

A028

mu ca mu mina puṭ sɛ mu mina ju-ga ga
kattel
REL wood REL 1PL.IN scratch teeth REL 1PL.IN call-BEN LOC.VEN
katel

'The wood in which we scratch our teeth here which we call Katel'

A029

un-J-u ʔa-ga-r-an sɛ ta kak'a sɛ
PASS-came-VEN do-BEN-3MSG-3N teeth COP sharp teeth
'He came and made his teeth sharpened.'

A030

ar-ø-hɛ-ga J-u a-kɔp
3MSG-PST-say-BEN come-VEN FUT-head
'He said come and help me to carry.'

A031

pa-u ar-ø-kup-i ku-mu
place-PX 3MSG-PST-HEAD.carry-LINK mother
'There he carried his mother.'

A032

ar-ø-h-ε dɪ-jε a-a-tʃɪ-a pa
3MSG-say-IND C5-mother 1SG-FUT-precede-ITV village

'He said, mom i will go first.'

A033

kumu hε-ga aj du pa ʃ-a lɛda
mother say-BEN 2SG NEG home go-ITV know

'His mother said you don't know the home.'

A034

ar-ø-hε-ga i-wa a-ʃa-ga lɛd-an
3MSG-PST-say-BEN ?-exclamation 1SG-go-BEN know-3N

'He said I know it I have gone.'

A035

a-dɪ-mε ʃ-a pa ciri-ni a-k'ʊj ʃ-a
LOC-C5-child go-ITV home wood-DT 3N-hand go-ITV

'The child went holding the wood with hand.'

A036

pa cɔmɔ-nu kɔtɔ ham gi
home father-PX has brother LOC.ITV

'His brothers at his father's home'

A037 A038

kɔt bɪrɔ sɛk' un-ø-cum-an a-pa mun

has stick long 3PL-PST-planted-3N 3N-village 3PL.POSS
'It has long planted wood and at their village cattle are tied.'

A039

te pi-p bitala pi-p
tie cattle-RED center cattle-RED
'At the center of the cattle...'

A040

ar-ø-j-u j-a
3MSG-PST-come-VEN go-ITV
'He came and went.'

A041

j-a wa usi br-in
go-ITV sit under stick-DT
'Went and sit under the flag like stick.'

A042

ja wa k'oi piṭi ut'i
go sit HAND.take.out ashe fire
'Go sit and take out the ash from the fire'

A043

paw ar-ø-k'oj piṭi ut'i
place 3MSG-PST-HAND.hold-ITV ashe fire
'There he carried the fire ashe.'

A044

u-ham k'u ku gil-u-ar
3MSG-brother sit home see-VEN-3MSG
'His brothers are watching him sitting at home.'

A045

uni-ø-kanap
3PL-PST-offend
'They offended.'

A046

un-ø-he-ga an-gi ta a-dime wa-ni gi
3PL-PST-said-BEN 3N-LOC.ITV COP 3N-child sit-DT LOC.ITV
'Whose child is that?'

A047

gi ɟ-u ta k'u εs
LOC.ITV come-VEN COP sit REF
'Where did he come, the boy who sits here?'

A048

u-tə-nu gε uni-kit-u upi mit'i
3MSG-he-PX LOC.ITV 3PL-Send-VEN out.side send
'They send the boy out.'

A049

A050

'Did not a child come here?.'

J-u a-pə-nu mu kala
came-VEN 3N-place-PX REL small
'did a little boy come here?'

A056 A057

ta mu a-dime na-j-u to a-k'uj
COP REL3N-child NOM-come-VEN EXIST FUT-HAND.take.out

use ut'i pɪ-p a-pə-nu
near fire cattle-RED 3N-place-PX

'Is that the child who came and cleared the cattle's waste in the fire place?'

A058

a-dime mana mi-ti-an an-i-wa ta so t̥iri
3N-C5-child 2PL.EX 1PL.IN-send-3N. 3N-INSR-sit COP grass there
'We sent the child; he is there, near the grass.'

A059

a6-ø-he-ga bɪr'r-ma tu-n
3F.SG-PST-say-BEN child-1SG.POSS give birth-3PL

a-du-k'u ma-a-kaj tu
FUT-NEG-EXIST COND-3N-good-? give.birth

'She said the children I gave birth, are not good [like this]'

A060

a-dime-ni a-dime mu to a-puma-nu
3N-SG-children-DT 3N-children REL be 3N-belly-PX
'That child that was inside my stomach.'

A061

un-ø-he-ga he
3PL-PST-say-BEN say
'They said ok.'

A062

ab-ø-he-ga he
3F.SG-PST-say-BEN ok
'She said'

A063

uni-ø-pa-u pi-p
3PL-PST-bring-VEN cattle-RED
'They bring cattle.'

A064

un-k'u-n pi-p a-t'a-sø
PASS-sit-3PL cattle-RED 3N-forest

A065

pa wa-n a-pa
home sit-3N 3N-home

'They bring and slaughter the cattle from the forest to home.'

A066

pa mun pa
home 3PL.POSS home

'After they bring their home, they sit at home.'

A067

pa un-k'u ar-ø-hε cɔmɔ ga
home PASS-sit 3MSG-PST-say father LOC.VEN
'He said to his father, Dad.'

A068

baba ai aga-nu ki mε
father 2SG 1SG-PX give goat
'Father, You should give me the goat.'

A069

bɪj-nu un-a-j-a bɪ-pɪ-p a-bɪgɪn
3PL-PX PASS-FUT-go-ITV PL-cattle-RED 3N-all

un-ka mε aga a-ka-i-an
PASS-keep goat 1SG FUT-keep-3N

'Those [his brothers] all will go to keep the cattle and I will stay to keep the goat.'

A070

ʊ-tɛ-nu kala-kal i-du-an mε ka-ε
3MSG-he-PX small-RED 2SG-NEG-3N goat keep-IND
'You small boy your are very small. You Can not you keep it [goats]?'
173

A071

ma-na-j-a usa ɖam

COND-3N-FUT-go-ITV eat something

'What if they went and eat people's crop.'

A072

ar-ø-he-ga an-k'as

3MSG-PST-say-BEN 3N-not

'He said no.'

A073

a-a-ka-i mɛ

1SG-FUT-keep-3PL goat

'I will keep goats.'

A074

un-ø-ki-ar mɛ ar-a-ka-an

PASS-PST-give-3MSG goat 3MSG-FUT-give-3N

'Given to him and he started keeping.'

Text B - A man with two wives

B001

u-dɛ	ø-sə-sə	upɔ	upɔ	sək'a
3MSG-one	marry~RED	woman	woman	two
'Someone married wives.'		'two women		

B002

B003

te	un-ø-puma	sək'a	mun
then	3PL-PST-pregnant	two	3PL.POSS
'They [two of them] became pregnant.'			

B004

mun	puma	i-j-a	sək'a	mun
3PL	BELLY.pregnant	3PL-go-ITV	two	3PL.POSS
'They [two of them] become pregnant..'				

B005

pi-a	wəs	a-pa	i-ø-j-a
get.up-ITV	sky	3N-home	3PL-PST-go-ITV
'They get up and went to firewood.'			

B006

bɪ-ut'i	mun	i-j-ə	bɪ-ut'ɛ
PL-firewood	3PL	3PL-go-ITV	PL-firewood
'When went to their firewood.'			

B007

uni-j-a ø-k'ai-k'-a ut'ε ø-k'aj-a
3PL-go-ITV PST-break-RED firewood PST-break-ITV

ø-k'aj-a ji sɔ-n
PST-break-ITV water thirsty-3PL

'When they were breaking the fire wood, they become thirsty of water.'

B008

un-ø-ti dε ut'ε ti dε
3PL-PST-tie one firewood tie one

'They tie the fire wood.'

B009

un-ø-j-a bɪ-ji num-a
3PL-PST-go-ITV PL-water search-ITV

'They went to look for water.'

B010 B011

uni-ø-j-a kam bɪ-pulε gε
3PL-PST-go-ITV find PL-pond LOC.ITV

mu ta gi ji
REL COP LOC.VEN water

'While they walk they find one pond that holds a little water'

B012

pi wene suma
cattle leg animal
'in the foot print of an animal.'

B013

6a-dε j-a ø-pi wene juwa
3FSG-one go-ITV PST-drink leg lion
'[One] drank the water of lion's foot print.'

B014

6a-dε pi bi-wene baj
3FSG-one drink PL-leg elephant
'[One] drank the water in the elephant's foot print.'

uni-j-a jal-u
3PL-go-ITV back-VEN
'They return back home.'

B015

un-ko pa ut'ε mun
3PL-sit home fire.wood 3PL.POSS
'They turned back home caring their firewood.'

B016

uni-ø-j-a pa mu i-j-ə pa
 3PL-PST-go-ITV home REL 3PL-ITV home
 'They went to home.' 'When they were going home..'

B017

pa mu tu mu-un a-j-u gu na-təj
 Home REL give.birth 3PL FUT-come-VEN COM NOM-give.birth
 'There gave birth. When their labor approached, they gave birth.'

B018

ba-dε ø-tu u-kaj ba-dε ø-tu ba-pa
 C2.F-one PST-give.birth 3MSG-boy 3FSG-one PST-give.birth 3FSG-female
 'One gave birth to boy and the other gave birth to female.'

B019

be-nu pi wεnε juga ga ta pi tu u-kac
 3fSG-PX drink leg lion LOC.VEN COP drink give.birth 3MSG-man
 'She drunk the water from the footsteps of the lion gave birth to a boy.'

B020

ba mu ø-tu ba-pa
 3FSG REL PST-give.birth FSG-female

ab-i-ø-pi wεnε suma mu wεnε
 3FSG-INSR-PST-drink leg animal REL leg
 'She who drunk from the footsteps of an elephant gave birth to a girl.'

baj un-ij-a tu
elephant 3PL-PL.go-ITV give.birth
'They gave birth.'

B021

pa mu un-k'u mu bit'i a-εεε
lace REL 3PL-sit REL small FUT-grow.PL
'There the children are grown.'

B022

a-j-a εεε εεε pa mu un-a-j-a gi
FUT-go-ITV grow.PL grow.PL home 3PL REL 3PL-FUT-go-ITV

LOC.ITV

'They start to grow and grow. When they grow.'

B023

un-a-usa ma pa dijan
3PL-FUT-PL.eat food place one
'They will eat together.'

B024

un-a-usa ma pa dian
3PL-FUT-PL.eat C6.food place one
'When they are eating together and the food is going to be finished.'

mu ma a-j-u muta

REL food FUT-come-VEN finish

B025

u-tə-nu ta u-kac kumu pi wɛnɛ juwa gɛ
3MSG-man-PX COP 3MSG-man mother drink leg lion LOC.ITV
'The male whose mother drunk the lion's foot print...'

B026

ar-a-sak-a ma a-c'a-c-i ɓa-m
3MSG-FUT-take-ITV food LOC-wood-RED-LINK 3FSG-sister
'He will take food from her table [her front].'

B028

uni-a-gil-an pa un-ij-a
3PL-FUT-see-3N place 3PL-PL.go-ITV
'They will see it at home.'

B029

nɔrɛ gɛgɛ mun a-kaj mɛ
grow LOC.ITV 3PL FUT-Keep goat
'When they keep goat..'

B030

uni-j-a cun-a a-bimɛ gu ɓam
3PL-go-ITV.IPFV sleep.PL-ITV 3N-goat COM sister
'They will go to the goats sleeping [place] and keep together with [his] sister.'

B031

un-a-kaj mε mun i-j-a bime
3PL-FUT-keep goat 3PL 3PL-go-ITV goat
'When they go to the goats place..'

B032

ar-j-a wali a-kuj-so
3MSG-go-ITV exist 3N-hand-grass
'The boy changed his body in the forest.'

B033

aguade 6a mu gu cik'ir
? 3FSG REL COM nail
'He scratched the girl with his nail.'

B034

a-cu ma t'a pen a-pi c'am-εn
FUT-put food tongue ? FUT-drink flooding.blood-3N
'Then will drink the flooding blood.'

B035

un-j-u a-toto 6a-m a-pa
3PL-go-VEN FUT-ask 3FSG-sister 3N-place
'They will back home, and will be asked at home, [what happened to her],

6a-a a-he-ga ta gogel
181

3FSG-sister FUT-say-BEN COP type.of.tree

'She replay, it is the stick that scratched.'

B036

uni-j-a gil-an mit'e gu disi saj-ni
3PL-go-ITV see-3N ? COM day many-DT
'We were looking you the whole week.'

B037

ɓau ab-a-hɛ-ga ta gɔgɛl
she 3F.SG-FUT-say-BEN COP type.of.tree
'She will say, it is Gugel (type of tree).'

B038

ɔmɔ i-j-a diu dɔm
father PL.go one-? thing
'Her father suspected something'

B039

ɔmɔ hɛ a
father say.PRF oh!
'Her father said, oh!'

B040 B041

kusi gu gɛɛ-nu a-guadi j-a a-dime-ma
forest COM type.of.tree 3N-tree go-ITV 3N-child-1SG.POSS
'Is the tree in the forest' scratches only my child?'

B042

te an-a-du bɪ-saj a-guade a-j-a-ɛn
then 3N-FUT-NEG PL-many 3N-tree FUT-go-PL
'This is not possible /how many times does the tree scratches the child?'

B043

ta 6a ʃ-a gu mɛ a-t'et'ɛ
COP 3F go-ITV COM goat FUT-speak
'Is that only she keeps goat alone?'

B044

pa mu du mɛ kur cu-ga
place REL NEG goat kur sleep-BEN
'Then, before releasing the goats.'

B045

ar-tit-a ʃ-a pɔj
3MSG-precede-ITV go-ITV hide
'He went first and hidden.'

B046

a-pa mun i-a a-kaj mɛ
LOC-place 3PL.POSS go-ITV FUT-keep goat
'on the place they go and keep the goat.'

B047

pa-u c'ʊ gɛ mɛ a-pa
place-DT sleep.PL LOC.ITV goat 3N-place
'There the goats sleep.'

B048

uni-cu-ga mε a-usa
3PL-sleep-BEN goat FUT-PL.eat
'They sit where the goats will eat.'

B049

ar-tə sin-a ʃa-m-εs
3MSG-EXIST jump-ITV 3FSG-sister-body
'He jumped and catches the girl's body.'

B050

a-kir-ab a-tɪε
FUT-jump-3FSG 3N-ground
'[He] Will jumped and land near at her.'

B051

tu a-gudi-ab
EXIST FUT-scrach-3F.SG
'Will Scratched her.'

B052

pa c'ama
place blood
'There her body bleeds.'

B053

a-sə-εb bεsi-bε ar-ə-ba t'a
FUT-bleed-3F.SG body-RED 3MSG-PST-Rput mouth
'He put it in his mouth.'

B054

pε-n ta a-pi-an ar-tu a-gil-an

there-3N COP FUT-drink-3N 3MSG-EXIST FUT-look-3N
'When he drinks, he will look.'

B055

tanε ø-lud-u upi cɔmɔ
then PST-came.out-VEN outside father
then his father came out from where he was hidden

B056

B057

pi-ar gʊ nak'a naka sɔt
Pierce-3MSG COM spear spear skip
'Pierced him with spear.' '[He] skipped the spear.'

B058

B059

tɔ tan ar-wi-ε sɪn-a kʊj-sɔ
EXIST do-3N 3MSG-run-IND enter-ITV hand-grass
'Then he run.' 'Escaped into the forest.'

B060

B061

ar-ø-j-u upi ø-pag-a ɓak
1M.SG-PST-came-VEN out.side PST-take-ITV 3FSG-girl
'He came out.' 'Took the girl home.'

B062

B063

pa pa ar-pa-ε ɓa-pa jiken
home home 3MSG-take-IND 3FSG-girl tomorrow
'When he took his child to home.'

B064

ba j-ε c'u gu mε kar-a
girl came-IND sit.PI COM goat hear-ITV

'The while she took and sit with the goats, she heard [him] coming.'

B065

j-u ar-j-u j-u upi
came-VEN 3MSG-came-VEN came-VEN out side

'He came out from inside the forest.'

B066

a-kuj-sɔ ar-a-u-t'et'ε-ga ʃa-m
3N-hand-forest 3MSG-tel-BEN 3FSG-sister

'He will tell to his sister.'

B067

ar-ø-hε-ga
3MSG-PST-say-BEN

'He said to his sister.'

B068

ʃa-m-ma aga du nama ta mi-ta du-an ø-gil
3FSG-1PL.POSS 1SG NEG want Cop 1PL.IN-do NEG-3N PST-know

'My sister, I do not know what I will do. I do not know what we do.'

Text C - Mourning ceremony

C001

na-sa-u a-pa mana a-pε-nu
NOM-sorrow-VEN 3N-place 1PL.EX 3N-now-PX
'Sorrow if it came to us now...'

C002

mu mana tε-an
REL 1PL.EX work-OB
'We solve ourselves.'

C003

ga j-a-εn ga mana
LOC.ITV come-IND-3PL LOC.ITV 1PL.EX
'If it comes/happens to us..'

C004

sa-u mana tɔ pa u-pɔ ma-j-a
sorrow-VEN 1PL.EX EXIST place 3MSG-person 1PL.EX-go-ITV
'If we have a sorrow in a person.'

C005

'We will go '

C006

mu ma-i-a βεr-a a-pε-ni
REL 1PL.EX-go-ITV reach-ITV 3N-there-DT
'We will reach at the burial place.'

C007

ga uni-a-caj a-kusi
LOC.VEN 3PL-FUT-dig 3N-whole
'They will dig the burial whole.'

C008

ma-a-j-a pε-n
1PL.EX-FUT-go-ITV place-3PL.POSS
'We will go there.'

C009

C010

υ-ma	bi-j-a	mu	ta	ba-c	ma-a-j-a
MSG-1PL.EX	3PL-go-ITV	REL	be	3FSG-man	3PL-FUT-go-ITV
'Those of us who are men will go.'				'We will go.'	

C011

gimɔ ta υ-ta
other COP MSG-he
'Other persons'

C012

mu ta upɔ mana bi-j-a u-pɔ
REL COP women 1PL.EX PL-go-ITV -women
'Those who are women will go.'

C013

upɔ a-j-a j-a a-ban ta ku
 Women FUT-go-ITV go-ITV LOC-directly COP home
 'The women will go directly to home.'

C014

C015

u-pɔ a-j-a ij-a ku mana baj
 Women FUT-come-ITV PL.go-ITV house 1PL man
 'The women will go....Will go to home.' 'We men.'

C016

mu upɔ a-j-u
 REL woman FUT-come-VEN
 'When the men come.'

C017

ij-u a-j-a
 3PL.come-VEN FUT-go-ITV
 'When the woman came we will go. After they came, we will go.'

C018

j-u a-j-a
 come-VEN FUT-go-ITV
 "when they return back (after they return back), we will go."

C019

i-a j-a ta pa bi-k'ɔj k'ɔj
 PST-go-ITV go-ITV COP place PL-HAND take.soil-?

'The people go to the burial place and we will take out the soil.'

C020

m-un-kʊ-an kʊ-kʊj kʊj mana muta
CON-3PL-take-OB hand-RED take 1PL.EX finish
'If they finish taking out the soil'

uni-ij-a sak'-u ʊ-pɔ a-cagɛ bit'i tu
3PL-PL.go-ITV carry-VEN 3MSG-person 3N-strong child EXIST
'Then relative children will be sent to carry the person and prepare the corpus.'

C021

bit'i tu a-j-a
child EXIST FUT-go-ITV
'The children will go.'

C022

C023

ij-a ij-a un-ij-a sak'-u
3PL.go-ITV 3PL.go-ITV 3PL-go-ITV carry-VEN

ʊ-pɔ-ni gu bit'i pal mu kagaw
3MSG-person-DIST COM child young REL strong
'Children who are strong will go and bring caring the corpus.'

C024

bit'i pal mu kaga uni-j-a

child young REL strong 3PL-go-ITV
'Children who are strong will go.'

C025

uni-j-a pə-ni a-sak'-u ʊ-pə-ni
3PL-PL.go-ITV place-PX FUT-carry-VEN 3MSG-person-DT
'They will go and bring, carrying, the corpus.'

C026

i-a-sak'-a-r ij-a a-ba-r
3PL-FUT-carry-ITV-3MSG PL.go-ITV 3N-put-3MSG
'They will go carrying the corpus to his burial place.'

C027

mu un-cima-r k'ʊp-i
REL 3PL-cover-3MSG head-?
'They cover the soil on the top.'

C028

mun cim-an ma-an-muta
3PL cover-3N COND-3N-finish
'After they covered it and if finished.'

C029

C030

mi-pi-a wɔs a-j-a a-pə-ni
1PL.EX-get.up-ITV sky FUT-go-ITV 3N-place-DT
'We will get up/leave.' went from there.'

C031

i-j-a k'ɔ tɪɛ
PL-go-ITV sit land
'We will go and sit.'

C032

ma-k'ɔ tɪɛ bɪt'ɪ tu ta t'aku
1PL.EX-sit ground child EXIST COP serve?
'The children will serve the people who sit there.'

C033

mu a-pə-ni mi-t'it'-a bɪ-cage
REL 3N-place-PX PL.IN-tell-ITV PL-old.PL
'We the old tell...'

C034

t'et'ɛ bɪj-ni k'ɔ tɪɛ ɣɛ
speak they-DT sit ground LOC.ITV?
'Tell to them to those who sit.'

C035

bɪ-cɛɣɛ k'ɔ tɪɛ a-t'et-u-n
PL-old sit.PL ground FUT-tell-VEN-3PL
'They will sit and talk with them.'

3N-home 1PL.EX LOC.VEN Place-PX

'...in our country here.'

C045

ga J-ε-n
LOC.VEN go-ITV-3PL

'because...'

C046

ga
LOC.VEN

C047

υ-po-ni ta kab-ni sak'-a-r
3MSG-person-PX be wind-DT carry-ITV-3MSG

'The man taken by the wind.'

C048

υn-dū-k'u ar-ø-kɔsɔ gu naka
PASS-NEG-EXIST 3M-PST-kill COM spear

'He did not died with spear.'

C049

J-u na-hε-ga 6a-nak gu 6a-nak
go-VEN NOM-say-BEN 3FSG-lady COM 3FSG-ladies

'Will tell to the widow.' ' and to the women.'

C050

C051

puma k'ɔ a-pə-ni puma upɔ saj-nu gε
belly sit 3N-place-PX belly women many-PX LOC.VEN

'Those of you [women] who sit there ...'

C052

C053

mu ma-kar-u ma-ø-gil-gi ta sa-u
REL 1PL.IN-hear-VEN 1PL.IN-know-RED COP sorrow-VEN
'When we heard it is a sorrow...'

C054

ma-pi-a wos ma ij-a pa
PL.EX-get.up-ITV sky 1PL.EX PL.go-ITV home
'We get up and went to your home.'

C055

mu dec pa gε nə-ni
REL solder PLACE.take LOC.VEN 3N-DT
'I will take him myself.'

C056

i-j-a gu-an u-de pa-ga-6
2SG-go-ITV hold-? 3MSG-one PLACE.take-BEN-3F.SG
'Go, hold and take her.'

C057

6a-nak pa-ga a-dime mini j-a
3FSG-lady PLACE.take-BEN 3N-child 1PL.IN-PX go-ITV
'Ladies Take your child and go to your home.'

C058

6a-nak pa-ga a-dime mini J-a
 3FSG-lady PLACE.take-BEN 3N-child 1PL.IN go-ITV
 'Ladies take your child.'

C059

6a-nak pa-ga a-dime mini J-a
 3FSG-lady PLACE.take-BEN 3N-child 1PL.IN go-ITV
 'Ladies take your child.'

C060

6a mu k'as a-dime i-he-gi J-a
 she REL not 3N-child 2SG-say-BEN go-ITV
 'Ladies who do not have a child.. go.'

C061

ij-a ta-n a-sa a-pa mini
 PL.go-ITV do-3N FUT-eat 3N-home 1PL.IN
 'Go to our home and prepare food.'

C062

ta-n ga-n tu br-es
 CAU-2PL LOC.VEN-2PL EXIST PL-body
 'You should work.'

C063

C064

C065

an-a-to a-pa ma-na a-pə-nu ma-ga-sot-an
 3N-IPFV-be 3N-home 1PL.EX 3N-place-PX COND-SG-mistake-3N

'Here where we are, if I am mistaken.'

C066

u-tɔn-i wa-ge
3MS-big-LINK sit-LOC

'This old person who is here.'

C067

ar-a-jal-u-an
3MSG-FUT-answer-VEN-3N.OB

'He will correct it.'

C068

ga care t'it'a aga
LOC.VEN chare precede 1SG

'Chare is younger than me (chare precedes me).'

C069

na-mun ta kup k'ai
3N-something COP. remember ?

'Those who made it, first...'

C070

a-du-an dan-daj ga
1SG-NEG-3N can-RED LOC.VEN

'I don't know and can not...'

C071

a-j-u pa-i mut-an
FUT-come-VEN PLACE.-? finish-3N

'Will returned back and finished..'

C072

ar-a-jal-u

ar-a-pi-a

3MSG-FUT-back-VEN

3MSG-FUT-get.up-ITV

'He will return back and make corrections for errors.'

Text D - Achok and The crocodiles

D001

acək-i ar-ø-wa acə wa ar-ø-ki c'a wut'ε
 acək-LINK 3MSG-PST-Exist Acok EXIST 3M-PST-give tree

firewood

'There was Achoke.' 'He burned the fire wood.'

D003

ar-ø-ki c'a ut'ε
 3MSG-PST-give wood fire

'He burned the firewood'

ar-ø-he bɪsa ga an-ø-cəɾə
 3MSG-PST-say crocodile LOC.VEN 3N-PST-has

ɟɪ dɪmʊ ba ɟɪ du-an kuca
 water ? sleep water NEG-3N dry

'He said to the crocodiles, there is water and is not dried up.'

D004

bɪsa hε-ga an-k'ai ɟikε-ni mina a-j-a
 crocodile said-BEN 3N-good tomorrow-DT 1PL.IN FUT-go-

ITV

'The crocodiles said ok, tomorrow we will go.'

D005

mina a-j-a bɪ-ji-ni a-k'uc-a
1PL.IN FUT-go-ITV PL-water-DT FUT-dry-ITV

mi-na a-j-a a-pə-n
1PL.EX FUT-go-ITV 3N-place-DT

'if the water is not dried , we will go there.'

D006 D007
un-ø-k'ɔ pa mu ʃɛtare aɔk ø-ʃ-u
3PL-PST-sit Place REL morning achok PST-come-VEN
'They sit.' 'In the next morning' 'Acoke came.'

D008
ar-hɛ-ga mina mina a-j-a
3MSG-PST-say-BEN 1PL.IN 1PL.IN FUT-go-ITV
'After he came he said let us go.'

pə-nu mu ma-ø-hɛ-ga ji du-an kɔca
place-DT REL 1PL.EX-PST-say-BEN water NEG-3N dry
'To yesterday's place that the water does not dry'

D009
an-a-kam wɔu-pɔl an-a-kam wɔu-si
3N-FUT-find season-hot 3N-FUT-find season-rainy
'It is available in the summer.'

D010

ji-ni cɛm-sɛ-cɛ mu
water-DT cold-body-RED REL
'It is very cold and good for you.'

ji-nɛ ta-n lut gu ʊma
eater-DT be-3PL comfortable COM 2PL
'The water is good for [with] us.'

D011

ta-nu ma-a-j-a k'ɔ pə-n
be-PX 1PL.IN-FUT-go-ITV sit place -there
'We will live there.'

D012

pa mu taj ludu
place REL sun evening
'When the sun sets...'

D013

bisa tul kuwak
crocodile collect things
'The crocodiles collected materials.'

D014

bisa tul kuwak gara jɛpɔɾ ij-a

crocodile collect things go? road 3PL.go-ITV
'After collecting the materials and they went.'

D015

pa mun uni-ø-j-a ber-a
place 3PL 3PL-PST-go-ITV reach-ITV
There they went... they reached to the forest.'

kuj-sø un-kam-ε sø dε mu k'oc'o
hand-grass 3PL-find-? grass one REL dry
'They find a dry grass land.'

D016

D017

təl ba guma bεbε tən-i ba gu-ma bεbε
put put [Kind of tree] big-LINK put [Kind of tree]
'after sun sets, they found very old grass.'

D018

ta-r war-an wur-an wur-an-i
do-3MSG circle-3N circle-3N circul-3N-LINK
'It is he who prepared (circled) it (the old grass).'

D019

ta acək acək-ni ø-wur-a
COP acək Achok-DL PST-circle-ITV
'Achok circled it.'

D020

numa-r-i ca mu ar-a-k'osɔ
want-3MSG-Q way REL 3MSG-FUT-kill
'He looked anyway to kill us.'

D021

pa mu ø-ij-a
place REL PST-PL.go-ITV

pa mun ø-ij-a bɛr-a
place REL 3PL-PST-go-ITV reach-ITV

'They went and reach on the middle of the grass filed.'

D022

bi-ta-la so ɛs mu-n jɛcuc
C8-middle grass body 3PL.POSS tire
'They became tired.'

D023

un-k'ɔ tɪnɛ un-ø-ij-a sɪk'
3PL-sit land 3PL-PST-go-ITV far
'They set to take rest after there long journey.'

D024

acɔk hɛ-ga jɛ-ni ba ca kɔj jɛ dɛ
Achok said-BEN eye-DT put tree forest water one

'Achok said the water is just in frontare approaching.'

D025

c'a-ni a-cir tiri ta kuma-ni ji
tree-DT 3N-green there COP ?-DIST water
'Do you see that green tree at the river there?'

D026

mu ta-n mi-na-j-a pə-n
REL COP-3N 1PL-FUT-g-ITV place-there
'That is where we go, we will go there.'

D027

D028

i-wa pɛ-n aga a-k'al [ha-k'al]
2SG-sit place-3N 1SG FUT-go
'You will sit there.' 'I will go to toilet for a while.'

D029

k'ollɔ kala a-cwi a-pə-ni an-k'a-i
toilet small 3N-stool 3N-place-DT 3N-good
'Then they said ok/good.'

D030

usa ma
PL.eat food
'[They] ate food.'

pa mu use u-ma usa ma
place REL PL.eat ?-C6.food PL.eat food

usa usa ma ma muta
PL.eat PL.eat food food finish

'After they eat and finished the food.'

D031

un-to wi-a
3PL-PRG.EXIST run.PL-ITV

'They started going.'

D032

bija mun to k'op tit'-a
those 3PL EXIST HEAD.precede ?-ITV

'Half of them went ahead.'

D033

bij-ni ta bi-sa de na-to k'op tit'-a
they-DT COP crocodile one LOC-EXIST HEAD.precede ?-ITV

'The crocodiles [Those] left ahead.'

D034

acok ga-i
Achok whre-Q

'Where is Achok?'

acək ø-ʝ-a bɪ-k'ɔləkal bɪ-ciui
Achok PST-go-ITV PL-toilet PL-stool
'Where is Achok? Achok went to toilet.'

D035

ar-ø-jal pa tɛ
3MSG-PST-back place time
'He returned back to the previous place (to them).'

D036

a-k'ɔr-u a-pa mun ʝ-a a-pə-n
3N-back-VEN 3N-place 3PL.POSS go-VEN 3N-place-3N
'They will be back to their village.'

D037

pa mu ar-ø-jal-ɛ k'ɔra
place REL 3MSG-PST-back-IND back
'When he turned back, he started burning the grass.'

ø-ij-a ki c'u ut'i
PST-PL.go-ITV give wood fire

D038

ar-a-wi-a duar
MSG-FUT-run-ITV grass.land

'He started running here and there and dispersed the fire.'

D039

ar-ø-wi-a duar i-wi-a wi-a
3MSG-PST-run-ITV grass.land PRG-run-ITV run-ITV

ar-j-a kam sɔ ku jɛ
3MSG-go-ITV find grass EXIST water

'He run here and there all over grass land and find a grass land that holds water.'

D040

pa ma-ar-ø-kam su ku jɛ a-bɪŋn
place COND-3MSG-PST-find grass EXIST water 3N-all

'After, he burned all of the grass and water land...'

D041

ar-ga-i cɔk ø-pi-r pa
3MSG-where-Q Achok PST-reached- 3MSG home

'Achok went (reached) to his home.'

D042

ar-ø-j-a wa ø-pi-r
3MSG-PST-go-ITV sit PST-reached-3MSG

'He went and reached'

D043

ar-ø-hε-ga ji bɪ-suma ka ma gu ut'ε
3MSG-PST-say-BEN water PL-animals find food COM fire

'He said to the animals [crocodiles] in the river you will be burned with fire.'

D044

pa mu ʔisa
place REL crocodile

ø-ij-a ø-ij-a mu
PST-PL.go-ITV PST-go-ITV REL

gil-an ga ji ø-ij-a sit'
know-3N LOC.IVEN water PST- PL.go-ITV far

un-ø-hε-ga ɔh bɪ-ø-j-a
3PL-PST-say-BEN EXCL! PL-PST-go-ITV

'When the crocodiles were going and going they could not reach to river.'

D045

ut'ε wa sa-u-gε
fire EXIST burn-VEN-BEN

'The fire is burning '

D046

nə-ni na-ta acək an-ø-ki ca

3N-DT NOM-do acək 3N-PST-give wood
'That is Achok, who burned the fire.'

D047

mi-kɛlɛl a-ij-a
1PL.IN-stop FUT-PL.go-ITV
'Let us stop going/we better stay here.'

D048

un-ø-k'u tɪnɛ
3PL-PST-sit land
'They sat.'

D049

ɛɛ an-k'aj
ok 3N-good
'Ok good.'

D050

uni-ø-cu-a ku-ak a-tɪnɛ
3PL-PST-put-ITV material 3N-land
'They put materials on the ground.'

D051

k'o tɪnɛ
sit.PL ground
'They sit.'

D052

ut'i tu a-sa
fire EXIST FUT-burn
'The fire is burning.'

D053

bisa a-gil-a utɛ ij-a ø-gil-a
crocodile FUT-see-ITV fire go-ITV ø-see-ITV
'The crocodiles looked the fire and smoke.'

D054

k'urɪ-n an-a-sa-k'ur a-pu ij-a
smoke-DT 3N-FUT-burn-LOC 3N-ash PL.go-ITV
'It will bring the distribute the ash here and there.'

D055

mu tɔn an-j-a sin-a-r
REL big 3N-go-ITV throw -ITV-3MSG
the fire started to jump and disseminate to the dry grass

bɪ-sʊ-kʊ kɔcɔ
PL-grass-RED dry

D056

an-a-sa-k'-u pua mu tɔn
3N-FUT-bring-ITV ash REL big
'It will bring all the big ash.'

D057

an-j-a ø-sin-a-n

3N-go-ITV PST-thrown-ITV-3N
'It take and thrown it to the forest (Muddin).'

a-gε pa mudin
3N-LOC.ITV place mudin

D058

an-a-sak'-u pua mu tɔn
3N-FUT-bring-VEN ash REL big
'The wind brought all big fire.'

D059

an-ø-j-a sin-a-n a-gε pa kigille
3N-PST-go-ITV thrown-ITV-3N 3N-LOC.ITV village Kigille
'It came, and thrown towards Kigille's.'

a-ki-ar bisu ku-ni kucu de
FUT-give-3MS grass house-DT dry one
'He will give the dry grass over there to the fire/ He burned the grass.'

D060

ta-r acɔk ni-wur-an mu k'u
CAU-3MSG acɔk 1PL.-circle-3MSG-3N REL sit
'Achoke caused the fire to circle the crocodiles sit there'

D061

bisa un-hɛ-ga ho an-k'aj na-ta acok
crocodile PASS-say-BEN ho! 3N-good NOM-do achok
'Ok! is that Achok who has done all this.'

D062

ni-ta miṭ'i mina k'as pa mina
3PL-do those 1PL NEG place 1PL.EXCL
'We will not run.'

D063

sɔ pə-n un-ɔ-uma saŋgara
run place-DT PASS-want cracked land
' [they] Want for a cracked land.'

D064

mun ta-nu sin-a kit-a pə-n
3PL ? move-ITV enterd-ITV place-PX
'They could not find a cracked land to be hidden.'

D065

saŋgarra k'as un-ø-num-a kus
cracked land not 3PL-PST-search-ITV whole
'They search for a hole.'

D066

un-ø-sin-a ki-a kus
PASS-PST-move-ITV enter-ITV whole

'To enter in a whole.'

D067

ku-s k'as

CL6-whole not

'There is no whole.'

D068

un-numa ji un-sin-a ki-a puma ji so cir
3PL-want water 3PL-move-ITV enter-ITV belly water grass tree

'They looked for water but could not find, they looked for a leaf but could not find.'

D069

k'as ji k'as

no water not

'no wet grass and no water'

D070

ta-r na-u-tar ij-a

CAU-3MSG NOM-?-be-3MS PL.go-ITV

'He made it difficult.'

D071

ut'i to a-sa-u sa-u sa-u

fire EXIST FUT-eat-VEN eat-VEN eat-VEN

'The fire approaches and approaches.'

an-j-u sa ɓisa
3N-come-VEN eat crocodile
'It came and consumed the crocodiles.'

D072

bakoko ar-ø-wu-a a-puma wɔs
Bakoko 3MSG-PSt-run-ITV 3N-belly sky
'Bakoko came from the sky.'

D073

pa wɔs bakoko a-wi-a a-puma wɔs
place sky Bakoko FUT-run-ITV 3N-belly sky
while Bakoko is coming from sky

D074

ar-ø-j-u pa mu ut'i j-u
3MSG-PST-come-VEN place REL fire come-VEN

sa a-pə-nu un-k'ɔ pə-ni
eat 3N-place-PX 3PL-sit place-DT

'While the fire came and burn them...'

D075

bakoko j-u~ju pɔ ta kumu dian
Bakoko came-VEN~RED cach COP egg one
'Bakoko came and took one egg.'

D076

ar-ø-he t'a na-c'am ar-ø-jal
3MSG-PST-say be 3N-? 3MSG-PST-back
'He said, picked.'

ar-ø-jal puma wos
3MSG-PST-back belly sky
'He returned back to the sky.'

D077

bakoko sak'-a sak'-a sak'-a-n jε sin-a-an
Bakoko carry-ITV carry-ITV Carry-ITV-3N water throw-ITV-OB

a-ku-mane ji a-se ji
LOC-bank river LOC-edge water
'Bakoko took it and put it in the river side.'

D078

a-ne ar-ø-j-a sin-a-an a-pə-n
3N-3N 3MSG-PST-go throw-ITV-3N 3N-place-DT
'Then, he thrown it there'

D079

an-ø-ba a-pə-ni bɪ-sa ij-a ciat
3N-PST-put 3N-place-DT crocodile 3PL-ITV die
'It put it there.'

D080

'All crocodiles died.'

D081

kumɔ su kumɔ na-sak'-a
egg near egg FUT-take-ITV

a-sɛ-n ji dɛ an-ø-pɛbɛ-n
3N-edge-3N river one 3N-PST-hatche-3PL

'The eggs taken to the river and hatched.'

D082

an-ø-pɛbɛ-n bɪ-t'i sək'a
3N-PST-hatche-PL child two

'There hatched two crocodiles.'

D083

bakoko a-wi ja uta gu ma
Bakoko FUT-run go-ITV speak COM 2PL.POSS

bɪk'ɔ ta k'ɔsɔ-ma a-tɔtɔ-ni ta acɔk
PL-CL1 be neck-1PL.EX FUT-tell-DT be acɔk

'Bakkoko came and told, "your relatives were killed by Achok."'

D084

ar-ø-ki ca cɔmɔ mun
3MSG-PFV-give wood father 3PL.POSS

a-wut'ε a-puma ji
3N-fire 3N-belly water

'He gave all your relatives inside the river on fire.'

D085

nə-ni gil tan mu tɔ
3N-DT see work REL EXIST
'This is what exists (this is the reality).'

D086

bisa ij-a-n kumu tu-a tɔn
PL-crocodile PL.go-ITV-3N egg grow-ITV big

ti tɔn ti tɔn kama pɛb-ε-n br'i
? big ? big find hached-?-3PL child

'These eggs grow and hatched.'

D087

sɔk'a dɛ ta ɓapa dɛ ta ɯ-kac
two one COP female one COP 3MSG-man
'One become female and the other become boy.'

D088

a-pə ni-ø-tɔ-tɔ cɛɛɛ

3N-place 3PL-PST-grow~RED.PL big.PL

'There, the two grown.'

Appendix 4 – Wordlist

Below wordlist of Tapo, that transcribed phonemically is attached. The lists of Abbreviations used are the following.

adj	Adjective
Adv.	Adverb
int.	Interrogative
loc.	Locative
n.	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
pro.	Pronoun
v.	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase

a

- aba** *n. father.*
aban εs *v. arrange.*
abar *n. type of bird that likes snakes.*
abasir *n. hawk.*
abi *n. animal.*
abi *n. cloth.*
abigin *Adv. All.*
abikɔ *n. rag.*
abikuli *n. type of bird.*
abɔl *n. pond.*
abɔl *n. pool.*
abɔŋk'ɔ *n. toad.*
abɔr *n. black bird that lives around river.*
abuaja *n. bride.*
abujai *n. engagement.*
abul *n. fish dam.*
aburi *n. bushbuck like animal.*
adɔn *v. tighten.*
adɔi *n. month.*
adɔi *n. moon.*
adɔrɛ *n. cat.*
aduwa jɛ *n. stupid.*
aga *pro. I.*
agak *n. type of bird.*
agegɛc' *n. type of fish.*
agɔndare *n. dragonfly.*
ai *pro. 2SG.*
ajamal *n. camel.*
ajuwala *n. sweat potatoes.*
akale *n. ewe.*
akamdani *n. catlike like jungle animal (small).*
akara wali *NP. cat like animal.*
akikiu *n. locust.*
akil *n. white bird that eats fish.*
akil *n. type of bird.*
akɔlɔlɔ *n. type of snak (green).*
akɔrɔ *loc. behind.*
aku gu uma *vp. owl.*
akuɔ *n. type of lizard.*
akur *n. groundnut.*
ak'il ku *n. type of bird.*
ak'ɔp kai *n. before.*
ak'uac'i *n. Type of fish.*
ak'umak *n. type of insect.*
ak'undir *n. clitoris.*
alagal cui *NP. type of fly.*
amɔlɔŋ *n. cane/walking stick.*
anisa *n. rotten/eatable.*
aparɔ *n. 'leopard'.*
aparɔ *n. wild cat.*
apɛr *n. tora hartɛbest, cork.*
apɛgɛr *n. type of endemic animal.*
apɛr *n. zebra.*
apani *loc. there.*
apanu *loc. here.*
apar bac' *n. small bird.*
apura dɔndɔn *NP. type of fish.*
ap'erk'ɛs *n. ant like insect.*
ari *n. blind.*
asan *v. milk.*
asapɔ *n. salt.*
asɛ *n. type of fish.*
asisi *n. ant like insect.*
ataka *n. pupil of eye.*
atak'a *n. yolk (of egg).*
atapai *n. hyena.*
ate *n. after.*
atirɛ *loc. that.*
atiri *loc. there.*
at'in *adj. only.*
at'ɔrɔs *n. type of ant.*
auma *n. younger brother.*
awa tala *NP. fox.*
awac' *n. Type of food.*
awuɔ *n. rabbit.*

b

- ba tɪnɛ** *v. sleep.*
bac *n. hip.*
bac *n. buffalo.*
bacar jau *n. small bird that eats fish.*
bagarap *n. type of snake.*
bahuar *n. rainbow.*

bairək' *n. type of bird/the bird in one birr.*
baj *n. Elephant, elephant.*
bajin *n. beam.*
bakəba *n. young women.*
baku *v. dwell/inhabit.*
bak'ula k'ələ *n. type of ant.*
bala *n. banana.*
bami numu *Adv. day before yesterday.*
ban ji *VP. soak.*
bapa k'um *v. lie down.*
bapa mə *n. she goat/nanny goat.*
bapilə *n. yam.*
bapuan *n. midwife.*
baraj *n. Type of food.*
baran *v. sweep.*
barat'a *n. salt.*
basa *n. bamboo.*
basal *n. onion.*
basilsil *n. lizard.*
bəbə *n. wound/sore.*
bəc' *adj. reflective.*
bələ *n. tobacco.*
bəra *v. arrive.*
bərə *n. type of tree.*
bəs *n. dream.*
bəs *n. magician/magician.*
bitala *loc. between.*
biuku *n. part of house that stands.*
biani *pro. those.*
bianu *pro. these.*
biapa *n. family.*
bibi *v. wound.*
bicəgə *n. elders.*

bicigiri *n. type of bird that comes out in the night.*
bikuc'a *n. clinic.*
bik'ıp *n. noon (sun on head).*
bilogə *n. clan name.*
bimit'a *n. green pepper.*
bını *n. tribe.*
bısai *n. crowd.*
bısau *n. sorrow.*
bısel *v. slide.*
bısta *v. playing music/dance.*
bitak *n. head center.*
bit'i *n. children.*
bit'i ka *n. brood.*
bit'i pal *n. friends.*
bit'i wənə *n. small foot thumb.*
böi *n. net.*
bön k'əra *n. throat.*
bəjk'ə *n. frog.*
bəp *v. stalk.*
bər *v. peel.*
bər pə *n. dance.*
bəri *v. blow (horn).*
bət *n. vocal instrument.*
bəu *n. pus.*
burk'us *n. dust.*
but' *adj. smooth/soft.*
buba *n. greater kudu.*
bubul *n. water whole.*
bul *n. drum (borrowed from Nuer).*
bulsia *n. burial ceremony.*
bupcu *n. part of tree.*
but' *n. bud.*

6

ba *pro. she.*
ba hədələ *n. type of bird that eats fish.*
babıməs *n. earthworm like small insect.*
bacirmun *n. lizard like reptile.*
bac'agal *n. prostitute.*
bakaga *n. jungle cat.*
bakai *n. female first twin girl.*
bakubac' *n. ape like animal.*
bam *n. sister.*
banapa *n. virgin.*

ɓapa *n. women.*
ɓapa aja *n. hawk.*
ɓasəwə *n. co-wife.*
ɓatuk *n. female second twin girl.*
ɓic' *n. hook.*
ɓia *n. neck.*
ɓisa *n. crocodile.*
ɓót' *n. spongy thing.*
ɓut'əs *adj. weak.*

c

cal v. burn (body).
can v. be poor.
can v. dig.
can n. poor.
can n. problem/hardship.
cangi v. send someone.
capum n. waist.
care n. monkey.
care n. baboon.
cat n. type of bird.
ce n. bedbug.
ce n. bug.
ceŋ n. curse.
ci n. trap.
ci' a n. urin.
cimit n. scorpion.
cir adj. green.
cir adj. wet.
ciu n. greater kudu like animal.

cim n. funeral.
cə c' i v. pierce (ears).
cəcəmət n. type of jungle cats (generic name).
cəgə n. guinea hen.
cək' a adj. muddy.
cənda n. paddle.
cəpə adj. some.
cəpə adj. little.
cəwə adj. rich.
cu v. share.
cuan v. pour water for body.
cuan v. store.
cudat' a v. kiss.
cui n. excrement.
cui n. stool.
cui v. whistle.
cur n. growl.

c'

c' a n. medicine.
c' a n. tree.
c' a bul n. drum stick.
c' ac' n. chest.
c' ai n. kind.
c' aku n. grandparents.
c' ak' u n. chair.
c' ak' um v. grind.
c' ama n. blood.
c' atat n. shelter.
c' atə n. ladder.
c' ɛ v. ear.
c' ɛ wəs n. buttock.
c' ɛc' ɛ n. termite.
c' ɛgɛ n. adult.
c' ɛm adj. sweat.
c' ɛm sɛ n. cold.
c' ɛma v. recover.
c' ɛn n. leaf.
c' ɛpɛma adj. dull.
c' i adj. black.

c' ian v. shave.
c' igi n. rat.
c' ik adj. better.
c' ik' ir n. claw.
c' ima n. silent.
c' imar v. bury.
c' imat' n. something difficult for the teeth when eaten.
c' ipin n. drizzle.
c' ir adj. blue.
c' ɔ v. leak (water or flood droplets).
c' ɔ n. ray.
c' ɔ v. reflect.
c' ɔbɔ n. snail.
c' ɔc' ɔ v. scabies.
c' ɔka v. undress.
c' ɔkəm n. intestines.
c' ɔk' ɔ v. stab.
c' ɔp v. set with back of the leg.
c' ua n. semen.
c' uba adj. narrow.

c'ura *n. kiss.*

d

dagat̄ar *v. lie down (back).*

dak'a ase *v. stretching/like plastic.*

damber *n. Skin disease.*

dandara *n. big bird that eats fish.*

dæc *n. soldier.*

dian *adj. one.*

diga *n. greeting/peace.*

dikuda *n. kidney.*

dija *n. type of fish.*

disi *n. horn.*

dij *n. mother.*

dime *n. child.*

dɔɔ *n. type of fish.*

dɔn *n. piece.*

dɔŋ *v. kick in beak.*

dɔŋk'a *n. mud.*

dusu *n. larva/caterpillar.*

du ja *n. stupid person.*

du k'aj *v. not good.*

du nakara *v. mumble.*

du tan *VP. impossible.*

duan gil *v. unknown.*

duda *v. capsize.*

dugudugu *n. toad.*

duku *VP. not exist.*

dul *n. stump.*

duman *v. thresh (beat grain).*

duman ɔŋɔ *v. castrate.*

dura *n. Type of fish.*

dus *n. penis.*

dusu *n. worm, intestinal worm.*

d̄

d̄al *n. migration.*

d̄am *n. thing.*

d̄inc'a *n. skin.*

d̄isi *n. day.*

d̄ɔŋd̄ɔɔ *n. queue.*

d̄ɔŋai *v. bite.*

d'

d'aba *adj. sticky.*

d'agi *n. scorpion.*

d'am *n. day.*

d'em *v. boiled.*

d'ic'a *v. to forget.*

d'iu *n. bird.*

d'ɔk'ɔm *n. left.*

d'u c'an *v. inherit.*

d'usu *n. caterpillar.*

d'uwak' *n. earwax.*

ɛ

ɛbe *v. fall.*

ɛs *n. body.*

ɛs at'ai *v. be naked.*

ɛs puma *NP. collecting.*

ɛs tɪnɛ *NP. under/below/bottom.*

ɛs t'ik'a *NP. fat.*

gabusa *n. foam.*
gabusa *v. ferement (alcohol).*
gac *n. belt.*
gaga *n. left over of honey.*
gai *int. where.*
gajai *Conj. because.*
gajan *v. pour.*
gaji *v. flow.*
gajiji *n. labor.*
gala *n. type of fish.*
galugum *n. intestine (fish).*
gangara *loc. side.*
gangara ku *n. wall.*
gap *v. sew.*
garj *n. partridge.*
gəl *v. know.*
gəw *n. fence.*
gil *v. see.*
gila *v. see.*
gipaj *n. dew/fog.*
gis *n. how.*

gəgə *v. kibir ????*
gələ *n. fish trap.*
gəgə *n. pumpkin.*
gək'əl *n. pigeon.*
gələ kəc'ə *n. snail (lives in water).*
gu *Conj. and/with.*
guala *v. nagging.*
gualakur *n. ground nut.*
guara *n. Nile lizard.*
gubal *n. type of bird that inter and stays in a water.*
gucan *v. knock down.*
gukau *Adv. forcefully/forbid.*
gukimi *perhaps.*
gul *n. part of tree/ gut'.*
gungəra *n. cover of sorghum.*
gur *n. type of fish.*
gura *n. go round.*
guris *v. twist.*
gusu ku *n. hut.*

h

haban ɛs *n. speed.*
hada *v. stretch a rope.*
haduan *v. slither (snake).*
hađi *v. to pull.*
haga *v. copulate.*
hagadai *n. type of bird.*
haikan *v. shake.*
haik'ɛs *v. dancing.*
halawək' *n. type of bird that eats fish.*
ham *n. brother.*
hamtə *v. sickle.*
hare *n. donkey.*
hat'is *n. sneeze.*
hɛ *v. say.*
hək'ru *n. mad person.*
hepa *n. cloud shadow.*
hian *v. cover.*

hian *v. important.*
hipa *adj. cloudy.*
hit'it' *n. spark.*
hə *n. rain.*
hə ɰine *n. hail/storm (snowy rain).*
həc'ə *v. bite.*
həj *n. hunting.*
həj *v. death.*
hər ɰɛ *Adv. hasten/harry.*
hərək' *n. oil.*
hoi *v. die.*
huan *adj. four.*
huar *n. God.*
hunan *v. exchange of goods.*
hundili *v. swing (go back and forth).*
hut *n. ostrich.*

i

ibəban *n. track animal.*
ican *v. shut/close.*
ic' ilan *v. track animal.*
ikura *adv. early.*
ikurin *adj. other.*
impətes *v. separate.*
isa *v. cook.*

isamis *towards.*
isi tuwa jε *NP. recover/get well.*
isima *v. touch/feel.*
isin *n. trunk.*
isis *v. resemble.*
isu *adj. near.*

j

jaga *v. to stay.*
jal *v. return back.*
jal *v. to return back.*
jalu t̄inε *v. go down.*

jε *yes.*
jigu *n. type of fish.*

J

ja kui *NP. forward.*
ja wəs *n. ascend/go up.*
jaji *n. enemy.*
jaji *n. war.*
jakis *adj. new.*
jak'a *v. vomit.*
jame *n. utensils.*
japa *v. get in.*
japur *n. road.*
jau *n. stone.*
jaw tən *n. mountain.*
jawə *n. traditional disc meal.*
jε *n. seed.*
jε *n. eye.*
jε bət *n. music.*
jε c'a *n. fruit tree.*
jε c'i *n. night.*
jε c'i *adj. darkness/night.*
jε dijan *n. sometimes.*
jε disi *n. sleep.*
jε hərə *n. lightning.*
jε saje *Adv. often.*
jε se *n. seed.*
jəbəl *n. Type of food.*
jəku *n. country.*
jən *n. fruit.*

jεnε *n. oil.*
jεpə *n. pure seed.*
jεrε *Adv. never.*
jεrə *n. type of bird.*
jεrə *n. type of bird that eat fish.*
jεsi *n. tattoo.*
jεsuma *n. muscle.*
jεt *n. cooking oil.*
jεwur *v. stand.*
ji *n. water.*
ji kara *n. cross river.*
ji t'a *n. saliva.*
ji-gai *v. go out.*
jigian *v. prevent.*
jigian *v. surround.*
jikin *Adv. tomorrow.*
jikin dε *Adv. day after tomorrow.*
jik'ai *n. sweet.*
jin jε *n. tears.*
jine *n. body oil.*
jibai *n. cloud.*
juken *n. dawn (before sunrise).*
jine *n. sesame.*
jine *n. ointment.*
jire *n. corpse.*
jə *n. snake.*

jo c' i NP. big black snake.
jom v. witch/god.
jom n. metal pot.
joŋgo n. musical instrument.
ju v. come.
juga v. call.
juga n. name/call.

juga sək' a n. namesake.
jugan huwar v. pray.
jukan v. pound.
jupər n. path/road.
juwa n. lion, lion and tiger (group name).

k

ka n. chicken.
kabus v. thief.
kaga adj. hot.
kagat n. type of bird that has red leg and and mouth.
kaguma n. jaw.
kai n. termite hill.
kaja v. break.
kaja k' əp v. resolve (settle dispute).
kajan adj. many.
kajan ɛs v. bite.
kajan tunan v. herd.
kajum n. husband.
kak' a n. sharp.
kak' a adj. better/sour.
kal n. carry in back.
kala n. small.
kale n. sheep.
kali n. ram.
kalian v. mix.
kalt' a n. palate.
kama v. find.
kan v. complain.
kana sa v. having enough.
kaŋga v. smell.
kap n. air/wind.
kap v. blow.
kapa n. crest.
kapa adj. brown/red.
kapa adj. rotten.
kapa adj. red.
kapa v. rotten.
kara v. to listen.
kara n. cross road/meeting place.
kare n. type of Dum to catch for fish.
kare n. window.
karen v. agree.
karibi n. greater kudu.

kasak' n. porcupine.
katan ɛs v. evade.
katu v. incubate eggs.
kat' a v. stutter.
kaŋa v. open.
kaŋan n. be open.
kau adj. hard.
kau kə NP. very strong.
kean n. spill (liquid).
kebe n. vagina.
kec' an v. get rid of.
kelel v. calm (oneself).
kelel v. enough.
keluwa n. type of bird that eats fish.
keluwa n. type of bird.
kem v. hoe.
kesan v. bake (in ashes).
ket v. insult.
ketar n. insult.
ket' n. right (side).
ki v. to give.
ki v. give.
kiagan v. give me.
kian v. send (something to someone).
kibu n. tiger.
kibu n. leopard.
kic' a v. burn.
kidam v. invite.
kijan v. swear.
kil n. root.
kil n. flower.
kil c' a NP. root of tree.
kila n. bridge.
kilin n. flower.
kimi n. side.
kindi n. type of grass.
kijc' a n. housefly.
kira n. slave.

- kira** *n. hole of cloth.*
kira *v. be torn.*
kira *to tear.*
kiran *v. tear/strip off.*
kiri *n. line/plan.*
kis *n. rabbit like Animal.*
kita *n. shirt.*
kitu *v. go in/enter.*
kien *n. cackle.*
kir *n. chisel.*
kis *n. magician.*
kit *n. bladder.*
kru *n. horn.*
kə *adj. bad.*
kó bà *n. maize.*
kəba *n. old person.*
kəba *n. boat.*
kəba wəs *n. airplane.*
kəc'ə *adj. dry.*
kəc'ə ti *n. lump.*
kəgə *n. fear.*
kəgə *n. bark of a tree.*
kəgə *n. rejoice.*
kəgəs *v. frighten.*
kəgəwaj *v. respect.*
kəgən *n. shell (of turtle), shell.*
kəi *v. scream /cry /weep/.*
kəj *v. bark.*
kəj *n. breast.*
kəlan *v. paddling.*
kələk *n. eagle like bird/ big.*
kələs *n. ant like insect.*
kənən *n. snor.*
kəpan *V. carry (child in back).*
kəpan *v. carry on head.*
kəpi *n. plug.*
kəpi jaw *n. summit (highest point).*
kərə *v. imitate.*
kərə *n. mekoferiya.*
kərə *n. hoe.*
kərə *v. back.*
kəs *n. cup.*
kəs *n. sew (weaving).*
kəs *n. weave.*
kəsə *n. turtle.*
kəsəkəsə *n. lung.*
kəsərən *n. pot cover.*
kəta *v. to have.*
kətaf *v. marry (for male).*
kətaj *v. marry (for female).*
kətin *n. head pad.*
kəta *v. to dig.*
kəta sə *v. sow*
kətələk *n. stove.*
kətan *v. weed.*
kətərə *n. shoulder.*
kətəsə *v. cultivate.*
kóbe *n. hat.*
kəen *n. udder.*
kəgət *n. snail like insect.*
kəin *n. branch.*
kəj *v. cry.*
kəm *n. type of hook.*
kəmu *n. egg.*
kəpu *n. feather.*
kər *adj. proud.*
kərə *n. sorghum.*
kəs *v. sew.*
kəsəkəsə *n. rubbish.*
kət *v. take food with fingers (like porage).*
ku *n. house.*
ku c' uwi *n. toilet.*
kuanan *n. peck.*
kuc' a *n. dry river/riverbed.*
kuc' ə *n. rustle (of leaves).*
kuduma *n. pig.*
kui *n. handle.*
kui kɪt' *NP. right hand.*
kuiut' ɛ *n. fire wood.*
kuj *n. arm (from shulder to tip of hand).*
kuj *n. tendril 'hareg'.*
kuj *n. firewood.*
kuj dək' əm *NP. left hand.*
kula *n. swell.*
kumagan *v. look after.*
kuman *v. hunting.*
kuman *v. follow.*
kumanə k' ui *n. thumb.*
kumani jaw *n. lower grinding stone.*
kumani ji *n. river.*
kun *n. spider's web, spider web.*
kunanə bli *n. pounding pot.*
kundil *v. to count.*
kungula *n. hump.*
kura *n. tobacco pipe.*
kura *n. smoke.*
kuri *n. stem.*
kuru *n. chief/headman/judge.*

kus *n. burrow/hole.*
kus *n. hole/ditch.*
kus ji *n. face.*
kusi jε *n. front (of something).*
kusin *n. pocket.*
kusin *Art. in side.*
kusɔ *n. forest.*
kusu *n. 'yetekorarete inchet meret laj*

yale (segatura)'
kut *v. lean (to the front).*
kut *v. reach.*
kutuan *v. clearing place.*
kuṭa *v. build.*
kuwi *n. 'yezaf fire'.*

k'

k'a *n. shoot of a seed.*
k'a c'ɔc'ɔ *n. lamp.*
k'ama *v. chew.*
k'ac' *v. cut grass.*
k'ai *adj. good.*
k'aj ji *n. spring.*
k'akan *v. split.*
k'ak'a *n. poison.*
k'ak'a kɔ *very sharp.*
k'alo *n. nile lizard like animal.*
k'ama *v. chew.*
k'ano *v. to think.*
k'ano *v. remember.*
k'anu *v. think.*
k'arum *n. roof.*
k'as *not.*
k'as nɛdɛ *v. compromise.*
k'at'a *n. water animal that sucks blood.*
k'aw *n. fasten/bind.*
k'ɛk'ɛr *adj. rough.*
k'ɛrɛm *v. belched.*
k'ik'up' *v. take revenge.*
k'iliku *n. type of bird back black.*
k'imic' *n. charcoal.*
k'iw *n. voice.*
k'iw *n. noise.*
k'ɔ *n. sit/exist.*
k'ɔ tɪnɛ *v. land (from flying (dird)).*
k'ɔat' *n. crab lice, tick.*
k'ɔc'ɔ *n. soil/land.*

k'ɔi *n. water pot.*
k'ɔk'ɔc'ɔ wɛnɛ *n. knee.*
k'ɔnk'ɔnɔ *n. 'kind of small insect'.*
k'ɔpi ja *n. type of ant.*
k'ɔpi k'ɔc'ɔ *n. world.*
k'ɔrɔ *n. utensils.*
k'ɔsɔ *n. neck.*
k'ɔsɔ *n. kill.*
k'ɔc'ɔ *n. drought/famine.*
k'ɔj *n. hand.*
k'ɔj tɔr *n. clap hands*
k'ɔjɛn *n. knee.*
k'ɔp *n. head.*
k'ɔrɔ *n. calabash.*
k'ɔsɔ *v. to kill.*
k'u *n. nest.*
k'u *v. alive.*
k'uanan *v. pick fruits.*
k'ucan *v. swallow.*
k'um *n. wave.*
k'um *v. inter (into water).*
k'umu *n. umbilical cord.*
k'umu *n. naval.*
k'una *v. turnover.*
k'usujii *n. road.*
k'utu *v. cough.*
k'uwa kan *n. saw.*
k'uwi *n. wood.*

l

lala *n. crawl.*
lale *v. apply (ointment).*

lalijan *v. polish/smear.*
lam *n. hunter.*

lama v. loosen.
lan v. wash for meat, fish, onion.
lando v. type of tree.
laton n. cotton.
lauan receive/accept.
lel v. dry up/evaporate.
lelem v. test honey/salt.
lelo n. sunrise.
lic' iaba n. type of bird.
lik' ija v. tickle.
lil v. jump.
lilaj v. cross a river in a brige or wood.
lili v. sink.
liliman n. test.
lit' a n. tongue.
lilimo n. needle.
lise v. grow teeth.

lit' en n. flame.
lit' en v. boil (water).
loj n. bushbuck.
lok' o lok' o n. Adams apple.
lori n. pistle/grinder.
los n. type of bird.
lologaj n. bell.
lom n. crow.
lom n. type of bird/vulture.
loga n. centipeda.
logo n. testicles.
loj n. bushbuck.
lukat n. nile lizard like reptile.
lula v. walk and cross a river.
luluk' u n. waterfall.
lusan v. hide.

m

ma n. food.
ma tikus n. dinner.
ma tam n. honey.
mac a v. cut.
mai n. locust.
mal v. fish.
malan n. fisherman.
malula n. Type of food.
mana pro. 1PL EX.
mapyula n. cheek.
mapga n. mango.
mapo n. porridge.
mapusa n. Type of food.
marage n. Type of food.
masema n. sister-in-law.
masi aba n. mother-in-law.
masi kuma n. mother-in-law.
masima n. wife.
mat' mo n. Type of food /thick bread/.
me n. goat.
memma n. friend.

mena n. rope made from grass.
menan n. coil/rope.
mic' ian v. wring out.
milili n. type of bird lives around rivers.
mina pro. 1PL IN.
miti n. yam.
moj int. when?
molog n. cudgel.
mono n. hello.
mora atine n. termite like insect.
mot n. poison on arrow.
mun pro. they.
muna v. melt.
muncut v. comb hair.
munu n. type of tree.
musa n. yogurt.
musa n. butter.
muta v. finish.
muti jo n. venom (of snake).

n

na int. what.
nabebe n. tradition.

nabebe n. old.
nabogo n. duck.

nacagi *n. messenger.*
nagabsɔ *n. machete.*
nahɛ *v. speech/explanation.*
nahɛ *n. proverb.*
najal *n. response.*
naka *n. spear.*
naka *n. lance.*
nakai *n. good person.*
nakala *n. diminish/small.*
nakara *n. news.*
nakɛn *n. arrow.*
naki c'a *v. decorate.*
nakɔ *n. bad/dirty.*
nakɔ *adj. bad.*
nakɔkɔ *adj. very dirty.*
nakum *v. to catch.*
nakundil *n. numeral.*
nak' *n. gift.*
nan *v. spread.*
nana *int. what.*
nanan t'a *v. advise.*
nap *v. angry.*
napaja *n. iron.*
napi *n. drink.*
nare *n. type of bird.*
nasa *v. edible.*
nasae *n. inheritance.*
nasɔ *n. quiver/to sell.*
nasu *n. generous.*
natama *n. begging.*
nate *n. to tie.*
natil dam *n. nail.*
natɔn *adj. enlarge.*
natɔtɔn *n. story/tale.*
natulɛ *adj. round.*

naɬa *v. work.*
naɬa *n. work.*
naɬa ban *v. set trap.*
nauɔl *v. grind.*
nauta *v. to play/game.*
neɣɛ *n. forest cat.*
neɣa *v. have/possess.*
neɣa *v. to add.*
neɣɔ *n. ant.*
ninap *n. be hot (of person).*
nir *n. blade.*
niuan *v. decide.*
nir *n. razor.*
nəni *pro. that.*
nəni *loc. that (inanimate).*
nənu *pro. that.*
nənu *loc. this.*
nɔga *n. near.*
nɔkan *v. lost.*
nɔkan *v. destroy.*
nɔk'a *v. heal/cure.*
nɔr *v. push forcefully.*
nɔran *v. push.*
nɔrɔ *adj. narrow.*
nɔru *n. approach.*
nukan *v. disappear.*
nuk' *v. jungle with a grass.*
num *v. want.*
numa *v. avoid.*
numan *v. need.*
numan *v. look for.*
numan *v. need.*
numu *Adv. yesterday.*

ɲ

ɲaŋ *v. rub.*
ɲɛŋ *v. rub.*
ɲɛra *v. side.*

ɲɛt *n. ?*
ɲɔl *v. to sharpen (from nuer?)*

ŋ

ŋasɔ *n. arrow.*

U

- ubegi** *n. monkey.*
ukai *n. older male twin.*
ut *n. civetcat.*
uta *pro. he.*
uta *someone.*
uta dam *n. trader (for one day).*
- utani** *pro. he.*
utan *n. old person.*
utok *n. younger male twin.*
ut'i *v. fire.*

P

- pa** *n. place/village.*
pac' *v. laugh.*
pac'a *n. fireplace.*
paga *v. take.*
pagi hini *v. choose.*
paj *adj. broad.*
paj *adj. broad.*
paj *v. fly, wide.*
paja *adj. wise.*
paja *n. iron.*
pakan *v. scratch.*
pak'a *n. shoe.*
pak'ac' *v. to crush.*
pak'pak' *v. hesitate.*
palakap *n. rope.*
palen *v. crow (as a rooster).*
pals *v. drop.*
papoi *n. shield.*
para *n. settle/temporary house.*
para ku *n. kitchen.*
parɔɔ *n. cat like animal.*
parsa *n. horse (Oromo borrowed).*
patan *v. to divide.*
pat'a *n. light.*
pat'ar ʒɛ *n. desert.*
pat'ɛs *n. separate.*
paʒa *v. go (go this way and let us meet latter).*
paʒa *v. split/cracking.*
paʒan ɛs *v. spread out.*
pau *v. to bring.*
pawan pi *v. uncover.*
pɛ *n. year.*
pɛma *v. to break.*
pi *v. to drink.*
- pi kɔj** *v. breast feeding.*
pia *v. rise up.*
pian *v. to drink.*
pija wɔs *v. get up.*
pima *n. blind.*
piman *v. crush.*
pipjirək' *n. earth worm like animal.*
pip sai *n. herd of cattle.*
pir *n. escape.*
pira *n. scar.*
pisa *v. add.*
pisako *n. star.*
pisan *v. increase.*
pitān *Adv. Be fast.*
piti *n. agricultural field.*
pitima *n. flour.*
pit'ɔn *n. Type of food.*
pi *n. cattle.*
pinɔ *n. now.*
pip *n. cattles.*
pipin *n. chaff.*
pir *v. go away.*
pir *n. be straight/go.*
piʒi *n. ashes/flour.*
piʒin *n. flour.*
pɔ *v. catch/hold.*
pɔdɔ *n. short pant '(kumt'a)'.
pɔgɔ *v. playing.*
pɔj *n. to hide.*
pɔja *n. sand.*
pɔk'a *n. expired Fruit.*
pɔl *v. to float.*
pɔnɛ *n. inhabitant.*
pɔpɔ *v. mix.*
pɔpɔja *n. papaya.**

pər v. take skin of animal/fruit.
pəra v. fade pp43.
pəran v. roast.
pəran v. potter's furnace.
pət adj. flat/smooth.
pəto n. weight.
pəto t'a adj. thin.
pətoṃa v. defeat.
pətoṃ v. beat.
pət'ə adj. light.
pək n. gun.
pət v. tired.
pu n. to smell.
pugan v. hoe.
puj adj. slippery.
puk n. small turtle like animal.

pule n. marsh.
puluṃ n. type of bird.
puma n. belly.
puma adj. pregnant.
puma taj n. pool.
puman v. put.
puman εs v. collect.
pumεs v. assemble.
puməṃ v. lead/guide.
pun n. prisoner/captive.
puru n. type of fish.
pusa v. cover.
put v. having enough (food).
puwa n. bud.
puwa n. sand.

p'

p'at'a adj. white.
p'era n. creeping plant.
p'ət'a v. cut (leaf).

p'ət'a n. fruits.
p'unan v. pluck (feathers).

r

rage v. mix.
rak'aw v. brave.
rara bεs v. caress/touch /worm up.
rεge n. lost thing (on search).
rəgo v. tell.

rərom n. reed/long grass/.
rukun n. room.
ruwa n. caring something in head.

s

sa v. 'eat/burn'.
saj adj. many.
saj Adv. many.
sak'an v. raise/lift.
samə n. 'gureza'.
sau kə NP. difficult/very bad.
saw n. illness/decease.
saw n. pain.
sε n. teeth.
sε dian n. rhinoceros.
sε kεw n. boundary (of field).
sək' adj. long.

sεman n. eloquent.
sεn n. head of arrow.
sət' adj. far.
si n. traditional drink.
si tam n. honey beer.
sija n. song.
sijaga v. palpitate (of heart)/shiver.
sijan v. harvest.
sik' v. belch.
sik' v. breath/life/air.
sik'a v. rest/rest time.
sik'aw v. argue.

simak'ɔ *n. grasshopper.*
siman *v. telling.*
sina *v. wait.*
sinan *v. throw.*
sinta *v. to hate.*
sintan *v. throw.*
sinj'ɪ *n. kind of insect.*
sira *n. knife.*
siran *v. hung up.*
sisi *v. Disappear.*
sit' *'be stronger because of weather'.*
sit' *n. deep.*
sit'a *adj. move a bet.*
sit'in *n. back body.*
sigen *adj. sharpen/rub.*
sipɔ *n. local beer.*
sire *n. bed.*
sit'ɛs *adj. far. -*
sit'ɛs *v. scatter.*
sɔ *n. grass.*
sɔja *n. wedding ceremony.*
sɔk'a *v. taking thread from tree.*
sɔmɔ *n. Type of snake.*
sɔpa *v. fetch.*
sɔp'a *adj. warm/hot.*
sɔp'a *v. stab.*
sɔsa *n. pusher.*
sɔsɔ *n. nose.*
sɔt *v. be guilty.*

sɔtuan *v. unload.*
sɔt'ɪ ma *NP. admit (to a wrong).*
sɔtɔ *v. fail.*
sɔjɛ *n. hair.*
suk'ɛn *n. louse.*
sɔp *n. type of food (potato like eaten during hunger time).*
sɔsɔ *n. polygamy.*
suan *v. buy.*
suan *n. buy.*
subɔ *n. seed of oil.*
subɔ *n. oil.*
suge *n. bottle.*
suku *v. type of grass f(or house).*
suk' *n. vain.*
suk'a *adj. two.*
suma *n. meat.*
suman *v. hatch.*
sumu *n. large snake.*
supan ʝi *v. draw water.*
sus *adj. blue.*
susa *v. push.*
susu *n. nasal mucus/snot.*
sut'a *adj. narrow.*
sut'a *n. to stew.*
sut'i *n. big snake.*
suwi *n. bone.*

t

ta *if.*
ta *v. to work.*
ta tɪnɛ *that direction.*
ta uʔam *v. collect honey.*
ta wa *int. who?*
taɛs *v. dance.*
tagaj *n. Giraffe.*
taj *n. lake.*
taj *n. to cut.*
taj *n. hunger.*
taj pala *n. dusk.*
taj wuʔɛs *n. afternoon.*
taja *v. to crack.*
tal *n. north.*
talis *n. fertile soil.*
taman *v. to beg.*

taman *n. lend.*
tamba *n. granary.*
tana *n. why?, turtle like animal.*
tanan *vp. what is.*
tanan bɔt' *soften.*
tanan k'aj *v. mend/repair.*
tanan pɔtɛ *make smooth.*
tap *v. kick withfoot.*
tap *v. be able to.*
tar *n. he 2nd masculine.*
tar ʝi *v. clear (land for planting).*
tar k'a *n. warthog.*
tarum *n. stream (of water).*
tas *n. mosquito/insect.*
tɛ *v. to swim.*
tɛ *v. tie.*

tɛ *n. pot.*
tɛ kaga *n. afternoon.*
tɛ t'as *n. Utensils.*
tɛ wət'ɛ *n. utensils.*
tɛɛ bija *n. goiter.*
tɛɛ'ɛ *v. swell.*
tɛdɛmdán *n. kettle.*
tɛnɛ *n. ice.*
tɛsan *v. pick up.*
tiar *v. punish.*
tigin *n. straight.*
tigis *n. price.*
tigis *how many.*
tijan *v. wrap up.*
tijanɛs *n. heap.*
tik'a *n. fat.*
tima *v. to try.*
timaj *int. which?*
timis *n. filter (for traditional beer).*
timitimi *n. tomato.*
tina *n. cheek.*
tijɛnɛ *n. today.*
tiris *n. broom'.*
tɔdɔ *v. to pull.*
tɔi *n. plate.*
tɔi ji *n. cup.*
tɔj *n. winnow.*
tɔj *n. liver.*
tɔk'an *v. persuade/ start speaking.*
tɔk'ɔ *n. paint/splash of body made from soil.*
tɔl *Adv. shorten.*
tɔlɔ *n. straw.*
tɔma *n. equal.*
tɔma *v. be equal.*
tɔn dɔr *n. rat.*
tɔnkɔr *n. sugar cane.*
tɔr *v. hit.*
tɔr *n. shoot.*
tɔr tai *n. bell.*
tɔra *v. quarrel.*
tɔsa *n. burst.*
tɔsɔ *n. twin.*
tɔsɔ *n. to give birth to twin children.*

tɔtɔ *n. question.*
tɔtɔ *v. ask/request.*
tɔtɔlu *n. flute.*
tɔtɔn *n. fill.*
tɔtɔ *n. lion.*
tɔi *n. utensils.*
tɔl *adj. short.*
tɔlaga *v. confused.*
tɔlale *n. bushbuck like animal.*
tɔlɛn *n. shadow.*
tɔlɛs *adj. half.*
tɔlɛs *n. round.*
tɔn *adj. many.*
tɔn *adj. big.*
tɔn kɔi *n. by steps of hand.*
tɔn ku *adj. old.*
tɔn ku *n. old (person).*
tɔndɔr *n. bat.*
tɔsɔ *adj. three.*
tɔta *adj. full /for river/.*
tɔtɔ *Adv. olden times.*
tɔtɔlɔ *n. vocal instrument made from cattle horn.*
tu *v. spit.*
tu *v. give birth.*
tu wa k'ujɛn *n. knell.*
tuba *v. showing something hidden.*
tuban *v. learn.*
tuban *n. guide.*
tubar *v. teach.*
tuɖu *v. suck.*
tugan *v. unwrap.*
tuia *n. to spit.*
tukan *v. begin.*
tulɛs *n. decreased/small.*
tulɛs *v. round.*
tulɛs *n. steam (for setting).*
tum *n. cultural medicine man.*
tunan *v. domesticate.*
ture *v. draw (picture).*
tusan *v. extinguish fire.*
tutulu *n. horn (musical instrument).*

t'

t'a *n. mouth.*

t'a *n. language.*

t'a but' NP. lie (falsehood).
t'a karɛ n. door.
t'a karɛ n. gate.
t'a tɪnɛ n. lip (of lower).
t'a wɔs n. lip (of upper).
t'abut' v. slander/lie.
t'aham v. yawn.
t'ak'a v. pretend/open mouth.
t'ak'an v. abandon.
t'ak'an v. leave/ let it say.
t'ak'apɛ n. snail (without cover).
t'arum n. flood.
t'at'ai adj. blunt/dull.
t'at'aj n. small ant like insect.

t'ɛt'ɛ v. talk/speak/tell.
t'ika n. load/burden/be heavy.
t'ik'a adj. heavy.
t'ik'ɛt'a adj. thick.
t'inan adj. flatten.
t'ira n. thread.
t'ira n. rope.
t'ira kum n. cattle pen.
t'it'i adj. thin.
t'ira n. rope/trap of animal.
t'ɔkɔc'a v. mixing.
t'uma v. fold.
t'uman kɔj VP. fist.

t

ta stand.
ta dam v. serve.
ta wu n. mosquito.
tai n. sun.
tai kaga n. day time.
tal n. direction.
tam n. bee.
tan n. beginning.
tan n. work.
tanan kala v. keep/save.
tanan pir v. continue.
tanan sik' adj. lengthen.
tanan wurɛ v. stop.
tel v. heat.

tɛnɛ n. dog.
tɛs v. awake/alert/.
tikus n. sunset.
tima v. diminish.
timis n. Utensils.
tina n. cheek.
tinɛ n. land.
tis n. milk.
tɔ v. exist.
tɔga n. antelope.
tɔm n. guitar like instrument.
tunan n. adoption of a child who lost his mother.

t'

t'ima adj. narrow.
t'ujan n. cut fruit.

t'uma n. feast/ round mud.

u

ucaima n. in-law.
uc'angi n. messenger.
udija n. elbow.
ugɔt n. type of fish.
ugumas n. geust.
uham uma n. relative.

uja n. mouse/bush rat.
uja v. run.
uja n. Edible food.
ujajɛ n. groom.
ukabus n. thief.
ukac n. man.

ukac *n. husband.*
ukuba *n. young man.*
ukuc'u *n. blacksmith.*
ul *n. tail.*
uma *pro. 2PL.*
uman *v. knead.*
umetian *v. chase.*
umumali *Adv. be slow.*
unakaj *v. accuse.*
unan *v. change.*
unsaj *n. beehive.*
untan *n. promise.*
untigin *stop up.*
untōma *v. be fair.*
untula *adj. late.*
upa *v. wash.*
upawō *n. Ethiopian highlander people.*
upin *outside.*
upis *v. bathe.*
upinō *n. ocean/sea.*
upō *n. many females.*
upō *n. human being/person.*
upō sai *NP. polygamy.*

up'at'a *n. white man.*
urji *v. stop, do not move.*
urij *n. window.*
urkuma *n. baby sling.*
us *n. anus.*
usi wene *heel.*
usin *adj. correct.*
usin *adj. correct.*
usin *n. meaning.*
usin *loc. middle.*
usita *n. person/human (Merra variety).*
usm *adj. truth.*
usu *n. spoon/ladle.*
ut *v. leave something.*
ut *v. turn something.*
uta huwar *n. sorcerer (male).*
utan *v. announce.*
utan *v. grind.*
uto *v. grinding.*
ut'ε *n. fire.*
ut'ε *n. light/fire pp44.*
ut'ε *n. log.*

W


wa *v. sit/remain/stay.*
wa guan *v. put.*
wa tne *v. sit.*
wac'a *n. fish.*
wac'a ku *NP. ancestor.*
wac'a mal *NP. fishing.*
waje *n. big duck.*
wala *v. bump/knock against.*
wala bes *NP. spider.*
wale *adj. greedy.*
wali *adj. greedy.*
wani *int. who.*
wanu *pro. who.*
wat'en *n. shy/alone.*
wau *n. season.*
wau gul *NP. hot weather.*
wau ji *NP. harvest season/winter.*
wau ji *NP. rainy season.*
wau pōl *NP. cold weather.*
wau si *NP. dry season.*
waua *v. melting (oil, butter).*

wēja *adj. rule over/dominate.*
wi *n. Utensils.*
widu *v. thirsty.*
wiri *n. Utensils.*
wisi *v. drunk.*
wōa *v. believe.*
wōa *n. marriage.*
wōa *v. love.*
wōa *n. agreement.*
wōan *n. praise.*
wōan *v. allow.*
wōes *v. contradict.*
wōgō *v. rub.*
wōi *v. die.*
wōi *n. axe.*
wōium *n. hippopotamus.*
wōne *n. leg.*
wōs *n. sky.*
wōsi jaw *n. cliff.*
wuri *n. mat.*

Declaration

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

Name: Mellese Gelaneh Alemu

Signature: 

Date: 19/09/2017