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DOCUMENTATION AND GRAMMATICAL
DESCRIPTION OF ZAYSETE

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Confirmation

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Declaration

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This is to certify that the dissertation written by Yeshimebet Bogale, entitled '**Documentation and Grammatical Description of Zaysete**' submitted to the Department of Linguistics and philology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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*Dedicated to
my father*

ABSTRACT

This study, Documentation and Grammatical Description of Zaysete, deals with the language of Zayse people which is called in Zaysete. Zaysete is a little documented East Omotic language spoken by 21,000 native speakers in the Southern part of Ethiopia. This study has two purposes. The first one is documentation and the second is grammatical description. The documentation is used as the base for the grammatical description.

The methods used to collect the data include elicitation, oral texts of Zaysete, audio and video recordings. The study tried to document different genres of traditional folks and to make the grammatical description of Zaysete. In this thesis the phonology, morphology and syntax have been described. For the purpose of the annotation, all texts are presented in three line interlinear morpheme by morpheme glosses adopted from Leipzig Glossing Rules.

In the phonemic inventory 26 consonant and 7 vowel phonemes, and 4 diphthongs are identified. Both vowel and consonant length is phonemic in Zaysete. Consonant sequences are allowed only in medial and final positions. Both open and closed syllable structures are identified. Two types of phonemic tones- H and L are documented. The tone patterns of nouns, verbs, adjectives and pronouns are described. The tone system of Zaysete has lexical and grammatical functional load. Tonological processes are also discussed. The phonological processes which are identified here are spirantization, vowel nasalization, homorganic nasal assimilation, aspiration, addition of vowels, metathesis on loan words, and labialization. Deletion of segments, gliding, and insertion of /ʔ/ are identified as morphophonemic processes.

Under the morphology part both noun and verb morphologies are treated. The majority of simple nouns in Zaysete are disyllabic. Monosyllabic and polysyllabic nouns are also verified. All nominal (nouns, adjectives and numerals) show terminal vowels in their citation form. Compounding and nominalization are processes used to derive nouns from other word classes or from nouns themselves. Regarding inflections person, number gender and definiteness are

discussed. An in depth investigation of both derivational and inflectional aspects of verbs are done. Passives, causatives, reciprocals, frequentatives and Inchoatives are forms of derived verbs In Zaysete. Grammatical inflections like person, tense, aspect and mood are discussed. Focus marking is only the characteristics of declarative sentences; however interrogatives, negatives and prohibitives are not focused. The focus marker is suffixed before any other grammatical inflections like person, tense; aspect and mood are suffixed to a verb. Moreover, other lexical categories like pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, numerals and postpositions are discussed.

*In the syntax part, the word order is described. The most frequent word order in Zaysete is **SOV**. The word order is not quite rigid. In Zaysete, declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative, and negative are distinguished as sentence types.*

The second part of the study deals with the documentation of Zaysete language. Audio and video data of the language have been documented. The documentation includes tales, legends, Interviews and children games. Annotation, transcription, gloss and translation have been done on ELAN software.

Lists of Abbreviations and Symbols

1PL	First Person Plural
1SG	First Person Singular
2PL	Second Person Plural
2SG	Second Person Singular
3FS	Third Person Feminine Singular
3MS	Third Person Masculine Singular
3PL	Third Person Plural
ABL	Ablative Case
ACC	Accusative Case
AFF	Affirmative
AGR	Agreement
C	Consonant
CAUSA	Causative
COM	Comitative Case
COP	Copula Construction
DAT	Dative Case
DEC	Declarative
DEM	Demonstratives
DEF	Definiteness
EMP	Emphasis
EPEN	Epenthetic Vowel
EXCL	Exclusive
FEM	Feminine (female)
FOC	Focus Marker
FRE	Frequentative Verb
FUT	Future Tense
GEN	Genitive Case
H	High Tone
HL	High Low Tone

IMP	Imperative
IMPERF	Imperfective
IMPOS	Impossible Epistemic Modality
INC	Inceptive
INCHO	Inchoatives
INCL	Inclusive
IPI	Informative polar Interrogative
INF	Infinitive
INST	Instrumental Case
INT	Interrogative
L	Low Tone
LH	Low High Tone
LOC	Locative Case
MAS	Masculine (male)
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
OPT	Optative Mood
PA	Past Tense
PAS	Passive Verb
PERF	Perfective
PERM	Permissive polar Interrogative
PFT	Perfect Tense
PL	Plural
POS	Possible Epistemic Modality
POSS	Possessive Pronouns
POSS-S	Possessive suffix
PRD POSS	Predicative Possession
PRES	Present tense
PROG	Progressive
PROH	Prohibitive

PRON	Pronoun
PROS	Prospective
PTV	Post Thematic Vowel
REC	Reciprocal verb
REF	Reflexive Pronouns
RES	Restrictive
TV	Terminal Vowel
V	Vowel
*	Ungrammatical structure
↗	Rising Intonation
/ /	Phonemes
[]	Allophones
>	Becomes
--	Between
'	High tone
#	Word boundary
-	Morpheme boundary

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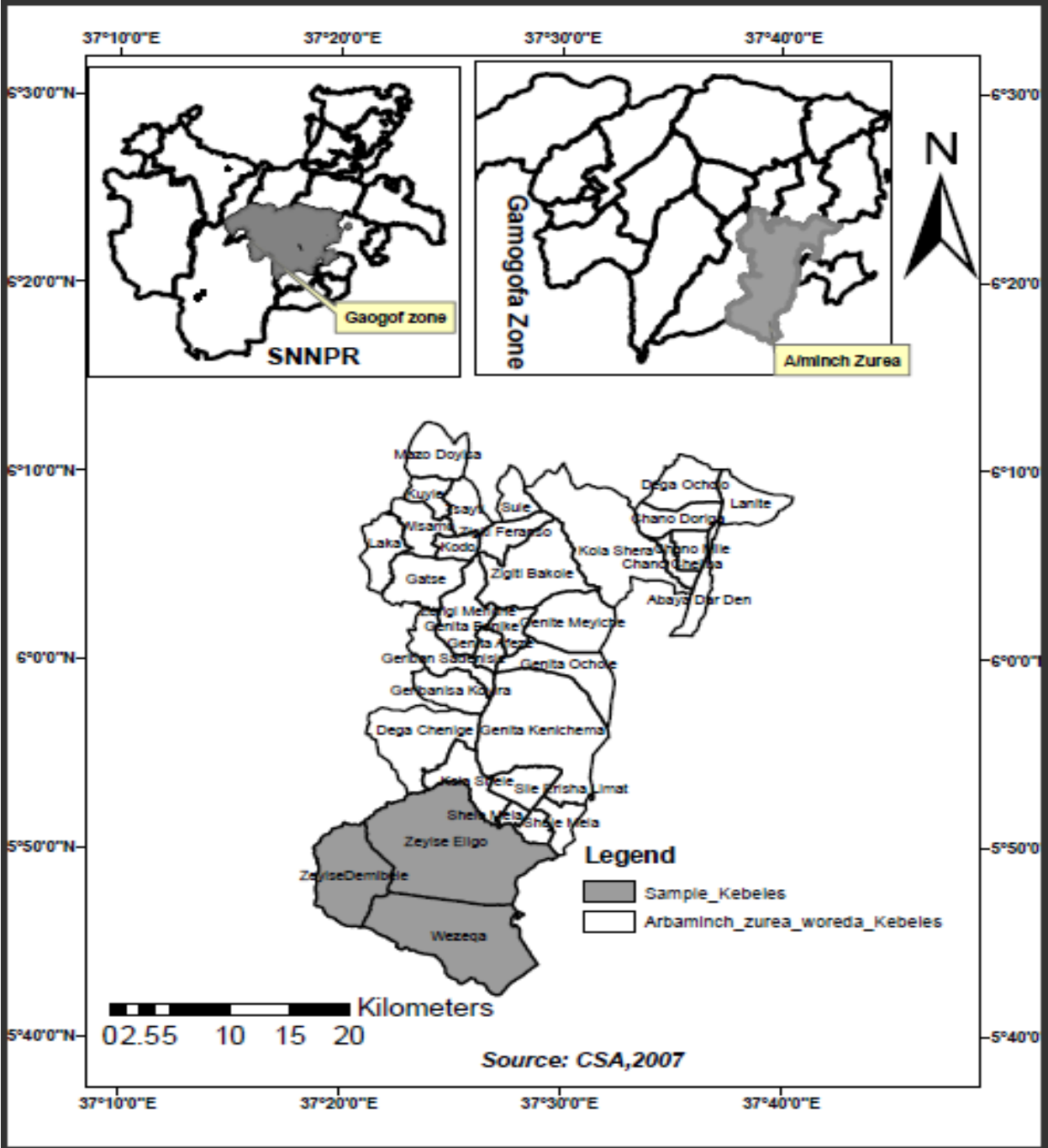


Figure 1. A map that show where Zaysete speakers are found

Chapter One

1. Introduction

Due to the fact that many languages are on the verge of their extinction, currently linguists are very much interested in documenting endangered languages. According to the document of UNESCO (2003: 1), the linguistic situation of the world is described as follows: “Over 50% of the world’s approximately 7000 languages are currently endangered and it has been speculated that up to 90% of existing languages may not survive beyond 2100”. UNESCO (2003) also estimates, “about 90% of the languages may be replaced by the dominant languages by the end of the twenty first century”. In order to preserve these languages, documentation has to be done.

This chapter presents an overall introduction to the people, the language, the culture, the religion, previous studies, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, the significance of the study, the scope of the study, the research methodology, and the fieldwork and data.

1.1 .The Zayse people

The Zayse people live in Southern Nations and Nationalities Regional State of Ethiopia, in Gamo Gofa Zone around the area west of Lake Chamo, in a place called Zayse. According to the National Census of Ethiopia (CSA: 1994), the ethnic population of Zayse is estimated around 21,000. Zayse is the name of the people who are living in this area.

The Zayse people share boundaries with the ‘Bonke Wereda’ and ‘Lake Chamo’ to the West, ‘Ganta’, ‘Shele Chonge’ and ‘Shele Mella’ to the North, ‘Amaro Special Wereda’ to the East, and ‘Derashe Wereda’ to their South. The Zayse area is divided into three ‘Kebeles’: ‘Elgo’, ‘Wezeka’ and ‘Dimble’ (ye Gamo Gofa Hizboch Tarik 2004: 347):

1.2. The culture

The Zayse people base their economy on a balance between farming and animal husbandry. Although they seem somewhat indifferent to farming, crops and livestock are probably of equal importance.

During the dry season, the Zayse also engage in some fishing to supplement their diets. The weather condition is both 'Kola' /low land/ and 'temprate'/highland/. 'Elgo' and 'Wezeka' kebele's are found in the lowland area. Thus, these areas mainly produce maize, teff, cotton, sorghum and fruits like banana, lemon, mango and papaya. On the other hand, the 'Dimble' is found in the highland area which is conducive for animal husbandry. Animals like oxen, cows, goats, and sheep, donkey, mule, and horse are dominantly found in the area and used as a source of income for the society. In addition, maize, teff and sorghum are some of the products of this area. Their staple diet includes durra (a cereal grain), maize, beans, rice, milk, meat, and wild fruits. Coffee, tea and 'modo'/traditional drink/ are popular beverages (ye Gamo Gofa Hizboch Tarik 2004: 350). During my stay in the area, I have observed that the people of Zayse still practice barter system. In the market place, the highlanders bring cabbage, the lowlanders bring cotton, and they exchange them. This makes the culture of Zayse people unique from others.

According to my informant, the Zayse people are also known for bee-keeping. They harvest honey for consumption and for sale. The lowlanders are known for making bee-hives. They build beehive from different materials and tie beehive on big trees. They use 'Alashe'/a beehive made of bamboo/ and sometimes they also use 'sherka'/gourd/. Based on the information I got from my informant, honey can be harvested four times a year. The harvest times are October, December, February and May. The honey harvested in October has a white color, it is very sweet and is used as a medicine to many illness.

As my informants said, the concept of richness and poorness is also understood from the perspective of land and animals possession. Men who have high number of heads of cattle, large tract of field, army of bees, flock of goats and sheep are rich and those who do not have these are poor. Those people who are considered low income do hand crafts like weaving, pottering and tanning. The society has given a name 'mana' for those people who do much things. The 'mana' produce these products in order to get their income.

Regarding marriage, the people have their own way of traditional marriage systems. Based on my informants, besides arranged marriage, 'bonk'a'/abduction/ and 'dalo'/ inherited marriage/ are also practiced in the area. Previously marriages were traditionally arranged by choice of parents and between clans. However, nowadays the situation has changed because of modernity and the influence of different religions such as protestant and orthodox christianity. Consequently, modern marriage takes place by the choice of two interested couples. Marriage with the same clan is also prohibited by the society.

There are some distinctive cultural practices still performed by the people of Zayse. According to my informants, 'kaiste'/theft/, 'k'aze'/begging/, 'kíra káb:e'/working for payment/ are some of the cultural practices which are not allowed to be practiced by the society, and they are considered immoral. If someone is found doing this activity it is said 'gome'/disaster/. Thus, everybody tries to avoid doing this kinds of practices.

1.3. Religion

Regarding religion, most of the Zayse people believe the universe and all creatures are created by 'Bazó'/God/ who exist in the sky. Based on the information from my informants, currently they are followers of the orthodox christian or protestant-evangelical religion. However, there are also other traditional religions like 's'alah'/witch/, 'moyle' /spirits/, 'Bedada'/a belief in thunder/ etc, which are on the way to extinct because of the spread of christianity in recent years (Abayneh 2007: 100).

1.4. The language

Zaysete is a language of Zayse ethnic group which is found in west of Lakes Abaya and Ch'amo. This language is a least studied language in in Ethiopia (Abayneh 2013) and it is the one, which is the concern of the present study. Based on the classification of Fleming (1976: 300), Zaysete belongs to the Ometo cluster.

The Ometo cluster is a group of closely related languages and varieties of languages. Fleming (1976) divides the cluster into four braches; namely South, West, East and North. The language that the present study focuses on, Zaysete, belongs to the Eastern Ometo branch

with languages like Koorete, Zargulla, Haro and Kachama. (compare the following table which is adapted from the family tree of Fleming (1976):

Omoto Cluster			
North	East	West	South
Wolayta Cluster <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wolayta • Gamo • Gofa • Dawro • Dorze • Melo • Oyda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zayse • Zargulla • Koorete • Kachama • Ganjule 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chara • Basketo 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male

Table 1. Omoto language cluster adapted from Fleming (1976)

Bender's (2003) new classification system also includes Zaysete in the Southeast Omoto (SEO) subfamily, more commonly referred to as East Omoto. Eventhough the internal classification of Omoto languages are revised by Hirut (2005) and Wondimu(2006), the classification of Zayse remains under East Omoto branch of Omotic languages.

The following map shows the Zayse-Zargulla and South Gamo language areas.

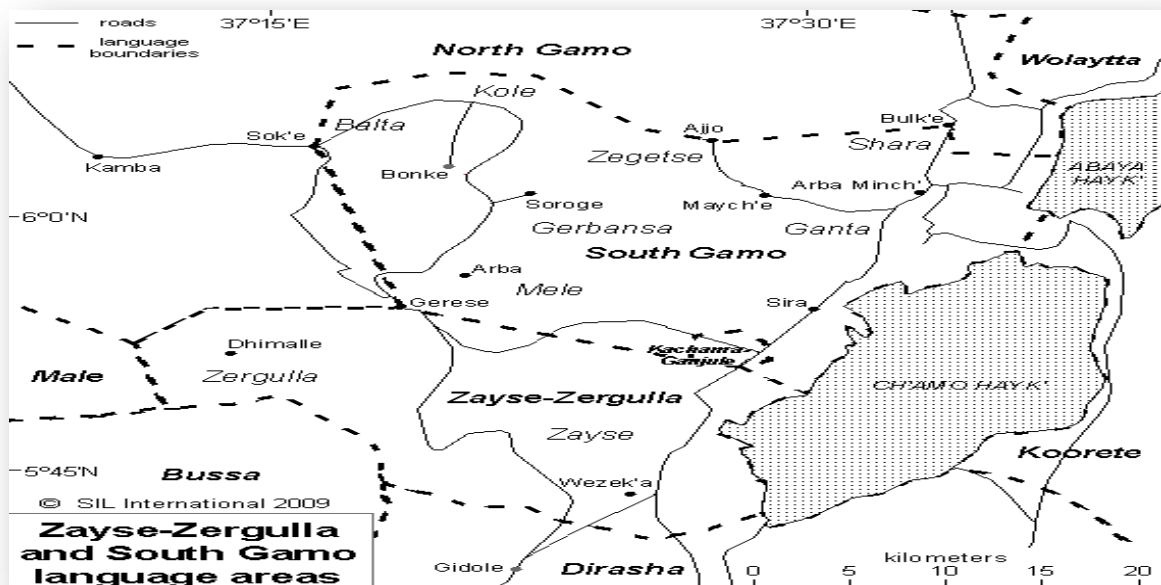


Figure 2: Zayse-Zergulla and South Gamo language areas adapted from Jordan (2009: 13)

1.5. Previous studies on Zaysete and other East Ometo language clusters

In this section, previous research works which dealt with East Ometo language clusters are reviewed. From the East Ometo language clusters, Zargulla, Haro and Koorete are given much emphasis.

Baye (1994) conducted his research on ‘Aspects of Zargulla Syntax’. In this research the lexical and syntactic categories of Zargulla are described and five major lexical categories are identified. These are nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and postpositions. Finally, Zargulla is identified as a head-final language.

Hirut (2003) also conducted the full-fledged linguistic description of the grammar Haro. In her thesis Hirut (2003) describes the phonology, morphology and the syntax of Haro. Moreover there are also comparative notes on the Ometo linguistic groups.

Azeb has written a lot of articles on one of the East Ometo languages- Zargulla. Among her works, ‘Negation and Modality in Zargulla’ (Azeb 2007), is the one that discusses the morphology and syntax of negation in Zargulla. She identified that Zargulla has two negative verbs and a few negative suffixes.

Besides, Azeb (2008) conducted a research on ‘Morphosyntax of negation in Zargulla’. This work addresses negation marking in Zargulla. Zargulla has several (independent and bound) morphemes that mark clausal negation. It is identified that the distribution of negative markers are determined by the predicate type, tense-aspect, mood, and on the status of the clause as a dependent or main clause.

The other study conducted by Azeb (2008) is ‘Gender distinction and affirmative copula clauses in Zargulla’. It is a typological study. It provides an insight into the problem of gender marking in Zargulla.

Binyam (2008) is also conducted his PhD. thesis on the verb morphology of Koorete in depth. In his thesis, Binyam, describes both the inflectional and derivational verb morphology of the language and negation and focus marking are also given due attention.

As it is shown above, much of earlier studies focused on other East Omoto language varieties. However, there are also some studies on Zaysete. These are: Mulugeta (1988) BA thesis on the phonology of Zayse contains a description of Zaysete phonemes and identified Zaysete has 26 consonant and 5 vowel phoneme with vowel length. Daniel Hailu (1988) and Hirut (1988) have written their BA theses on the Verb and Noun morphology of Zayse respectively, Teshome Yimer (1989) has written his Masters on 'The syntax of simple declarative clauses in Zayse' in his study Teshome described the syntactic structure of simple declarative clause. Hayward (1990) has conducted grammatical studies on Zayse in the course of his work on Omotic classification and East Omoto verb paradigms. Baye (1990) has also done a valuable work on 'The structure of Zayse Noun Phrase'. In this research the structure of noun phrase is examined based on the X-bar syntax theory.

A sociolinguistic survey of Zayse-Zergulla by Siebert & Hoefl (2002) was conducted as part of the Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia. The survey was primarily aimed at gaining a clearer understanding of interrelations between several speech varieties spoken around Lake Abaya and on the populated islands of the lake itself. Among the targeted speech varieties Zaysete was one.

The other important grammatical description is done by Bauer and Wiggboldus (2010). Their work focus on 'Zaysite phonology'. In this phonological study, it is found out that in Zaysete there are 25 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes. Both consonant and vowel length is phonemic. Moreover, two types of tones H and L are identified, and they said that tone shows both lexical and grammatical function. However this study never incorporate other grammatical aspects other than the phonology.

Sometimes Zayse and Zargulla are mentioned together and people think that Zaysete and Zargulla are one and the same languages. Even though they are from the same branch of Omotic cluster, according to Azeb(2008: 2), there are a lot of differences between them. In her own words, "Zergulla and Zayse are the closest within the branch and they are claimed to be the dialects of the same language. The two indeed are very similar but there are some lexical as well as morphological differences between them". Thus, if there are lexical and morphological differences, the two languages can be considered independently. Therefore, the focus of this study is only on Zaysete.

As it has been discussed above, there is no full-fledged linguistic description of the grammar of Zaysete. Although there are a few works on the parts of the grammar, they are too shallow in their scale and depth. As far as my knowledge is concerned, there is no comprehensive and detailed study on all grammatical aspects of Zaysete. Moreover, no documentation work has been conducted yet, thus this research is conducted in order to fill these gaps.

1.6. Statement of the problem

In Ethiopia, according to the new constitution (FDRE 1995) every society has the right to use and develop its language and culture. By using this right, some ethnic groups are using their language as a medium of instruction in schools, administration and media. However, the situation in Zayse is different.

In order to conduct a survey about the research area, I went to one of the village called 'Elgo', some 30 Kms from Arbaminch, off the road leading to Konso. I asked elders of Zayse to help me with the survey and conducted an interview with them. Thus, based on the survey, I perceived that the ethnic group has a great dream to see their language and their culture recorded for their children and they want to see their language to be used in various domains particularly in school as a medium of instruction in their locality.

Zaysete is not used as an official language for the administrative purpose, it is not used as a language of religion, according to the sociolinguistic report of Siebert and Hoefl (2002), the majority of the Zayse people speak only Zaysete before school. When they enter school, they start to learn other languages like Amharic and English which are totally different from their language. As a result, they do not have a place to work on the development of their language and through time children will forget their native language if it is not used for different purposes. According to Ye Gamo Gofa Hizboch Tarik (2004: 347), the language has no purpose other than oral communication. Thus, the limitation of its purpose makes the language to be endangered.

When I start to conduct this research in 2005, Zaysete was not taught as a subject in school. However, teaching Zaysete as a subject has recently introduced into the school system in 2007. In the present time it is given up to grade 3. Since it has begun recently, there may be things need to be improved. Firstly, the designing of the orthography is not based on research

and secondly, it is not used as a medium of instruction in the school. Thus, the presence of a research work like the present one is expected to make the teaching learning process in school easy. Therefore, documenting the language may help to review an orthography used by the material developers and promote the language use in various domains.

Nevertheless, zaysete is not used as a medium of instruction, using mother tongue based education in school has its own significance in promoting the language. According to Susan (2007: 3) mother tongue based system allow the society to transmit the language to the new generation. On the contrary if there is no mother tongue based instruction there will be a loss of the language. Hinton (2001: 5) states that “the loss of language is part of the loss of whole cultures and knowledge system”. Therefore, to preserve the language using it in school plays vital role.

According to Abayneh’s (2013: 33) study on ‘Biodiversity on Zayse’, the overall results indicated “zaysete is undergoing vocabulary/words loss and language attrition, which may lead to potential language endangerment, if not protected and documented”. On top of this, Mulugeta(2008) cited Enfield(2004) and emphasize the importance of language documentation by saying that without documentation, the new generation will not have a probability of revitalizing the language once it is dead. Consequently, the primary concern of this research is to document Zaysete in order to contribute to the preservation not only of the language but also of the culture and knowledge of the society. This was also an additional reason that motivated the researcher to conduct this study.

1.7. Objectives of the study

As Zaysete is an endangered language, with its limited domain, the general objective of this study is to document and preserve the language for the coming generation. Moreover, the study has the following specific objectives:

- To describe the sound system of the language
- To document and analyze the morphology of the language.
- To identify the lexical categories of the language.
- To describe the syntax of the language.

- To record various types of texts and give minimal annotation, transcription and explanatory comments on the speech situation of the recordings and its content.

1.8. Significances of the Study

The study will have the following significances:

- It can be used as an important source to preserve and maintain the language.
- It may help to carry out guidelines for the development of dictionaries, grammars and teaching materials.
- To provide support for promoting not only the language but also the culture of the Zayse people by empowering the language to be used in education, local administration and mass media.
- The results will also contribute to the body of knowledge available to linguists about the Ometo speech varieties in southern Ethiopia.
- It can be used as a source for the development of reading texts, such as short stories, newsletters, reports and booklets on their culture.
- It can be used as a source document for other researchers.

1.9. Scope of the study

The study focuses on the documentation of the major representative linguistic practices such as greeting, small talks, narrations, descriptions, songs and the lexicon of Zaysete. This thesis has also been limited to its focus on the grammatical descriptions of the language. The works done so far on Zaysete in relation to grammatical description are limited in number and they are not comprehensive in their content. In this thesis, I have attempted to provide in-depth descriptions of phonology, morphology and syntax.

1.10. Research methodology and procedures

The main aim of this research is documenting linguistic practices of the Zayse people and describing grammatical properties of the language based on a documentary corpus. Linguistic fieldwork practices were employed in collecting data for the project and the data were collected by using a combination of structured elicitation and naturally occurring oral texts in the documentation and grammatical description of Zaysete. Both oral texts and elicited data

are essential to good descriptive linguistics (Payne 1997: 365). Munro (2002: 103) on her part states that elicitation and textual analysis are important complements to each other. One cannot assume every grammatical structure will show up in a text, so it is important to elicit missing structures directly. On the other hand, texts and conversational data similarly may reveal words and structures that never appear in sentence elicitation. In order to do, this several months were spent in the area in which the language is spoken.

A wide range of linguistic events were collected and analyzed to make a comprehensive documentation of Zaysete. Linguistic elicitation was conducted with native speakers individually as well as in groups. By the time of elicitation, some of the questionnaires were designed by the researcher, and a structured linguistic fieldwork questionnaires developed by Bouquiaux & Thomas (1993) have been used while gathering data.

In order to collect the lexical data, the wordlist designed by Snider and Roberts (2006) is adapted. The lexical data include words of certain semantic fields such as body parts, place names, plant names, animal names, and color terms etc. The linguistic data were collected for the purpose of analyzing the phonological, morphological and syntactic structures of Zaysete and consist of inflectional paradigms, derived morphological forms and elicited simple sentences.

Moreover, recordings of various texts of different genres (greeting, brief talks, discussion, narrations, prayers, different speeches, and songs etc.) have been made. These recordings have been carefully transcribed and translated before being used in the analysis.

In addition to that, where unique cultural information is relevant, photographing and video recording was used to make high quality records of objects and actions. All these audio and video recordings and photographs were transferred to a computerized data base. On top of that, audio and video versions of texts were digitalized for the purpose of annotation, transcription and translation. The texts collected in Zaysete were transcribed by using phonetic IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) symbols, they are presented in three line interlinear morpheme by morpheme glosses adopted from Leipzig Glossing Rules. In the first line, the morpheme boundaries are indicated. In the second line, the translation of lexemes

and glossing of grammatical morphemes are given and in the third line, a free translation of a phrase or a word is given.

Different soft wares which can be suitable for this project work were used to annotate the data. These data annotation were processed and explained as follows. Audacity was used for audio editing. Corell was used for video editing. The purpose of editing was to create manageable chunks, file size and exact synchronization of the video and audio file. The formats of the audio and video file were WAV, MPEG2 and XML for archiving. The edited sound files and video files were imported to and synchronized in ELAN for annotation, transcription, linguistic and ethnographic glossing and commentary. Some audio files were also imported to Praat for phonetic analysis. Toolbox was used for documenting lexical items.

1.11. Fieldwork and data

The data employed in this study were collected in four field trips carried out by the researcher in Zayse. The first fieldtrip was conducted during the period between April and June 2013. In the first trip of fieldwork, the first and preliminary linguistic research was carried out in ‘Elgo’ one of the kebeke’s in Zayse.

The second fieldtrip was conducted between February and April 2014. In the second fieldtrip, I collected the linguistic data related with noun morphology, adjectives, numerals and postpositions and then transcribed the data.

The third fieldtrip was conducted between August and October 2015. In this trip, I focused mostly on the verbal and syntactic related linguistic data.

The fourth fieldtrip was conducted between February and April 2016. In this phase, I collected additional data that would give more light on linguistic data which are difficult for descriptive analysis, and checked to fill the gaps. Many linguistic informants have been involved throughout the research period for this thesis.

In the collection of data, both male and female native speakers were involved as informants. Educated and uneducated informants also participated in providing me with the linguistic

data. Younger as well as elderly members of the speech community, ranging from 20 to 75 years of age were also used as informants. According to (Munro 2002: 109), working with more than one informant is helpful to avoid confusion and to get reliable data. All the informants were selected purposely from the three kebele's of Zayse. Secondary sources were also used for languages which have literature such as, Zargulla, Haro, Koorete, Male , Wolayta and Gamo to supplement the primary data.

Chapter Two

2. Phonetics and Phonology

This chapter describes the sound system of Zaysete. Besides the sounds as such, most common phonological processes, tones, syllable structures and phonotactics of the language are treated. The IPA conventions are largely employed for transcription.

In 2.1, phonetic descriptions of vowels and the phoneme inventory are given with illustrative examples. In 2.2, phonetic descriptions of consonants and the phoneme inventory are discussed. In addition, the consonant clusters are also presented in this section. In 2.3, syllable structures of the language are treated, followed by tones in 2.4 and lastly, phonological processes are treated in section 2.5.

2.1. Vowels

2.1.1. Phonetic description of vowels

In Zaysete in most cases vowels appear frequently in word medial and final position. The phonemes are given in phonetic transcription marked by / /. Allophonic descriptions are between square brackets []. The following table shows the vowel phones of Zaysete:

	Front	Central	Back
High	ɪ ɪ: ɨ ɨ:	ɨ ɨ: ɨ̃ ɨ̃:	u u: ɯ ɯ:
Mid	e e: ẽ ẽ: ɛ		o o: ɔ ɔ: ɔ̃
open- mid	ɛ ɛ: ẽ ẽ:		
Low		a a: ã ã: ɶ	

Table 2. Vowel phones of Zaysete

The phonetic description of the vowel phones of Zaysete are given below:

[i] High front vowel. It occurs in word medial position.

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| 1. [díbo] | ‘door’ |
| [diɟá] | ‘to grow’ |

[i:] High front long vowel. The high front long vowel occurs in word medial position.

- | | |
|------------|-----------------------|
| 2. [ʔí:ra] | ‘cut’ |
| [ʔí:k’e] | ‘labour / birth pain’ |

[ĩ] High front nasal vowel. It occurs before a nasal consonant. Consider the following examples

- | | |
|------------|--------|
| 3. [tʃĩma] | ‘old’ |
| [s’ĩngo] | ‘nine’ |

[ĩ:] High front nasal long vowel. It occurs before a nasal consonant.

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| 4. [zĩ:n:a] | ‘long time ago’ |
| [sĩ:nó] | ‘forehead’ |

[e] Mid high front vowel. It occurs word medially and finally.

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| 5. [bóse] | ‘white’ |
| [ʔéres] | ‘to know’ |

[e:] Mid high front long vowel

- | | |
|------------|---------|
| 6. [sé:lo] | ‘see’ |
| [dé:só] | ‘heavy’ |

[ẽ] Mid high front nasal vowel.

7. [mɛ̃ntsɔ]	‘break’
[nɛ́ná]	‘you’

[ɛ̃:] Mid high front nasal long vowel.

8. [mɛ̃:nts]	‘barren women’
[nɛ̃:na]	‘only you’

[ɛ] Mid high front voiceless vowel. It occurs word finally after the voiceless consonants

9. [tu'u:ɸɛ]	‘louse’
[máɸɛ]	‘build up’

[ɛ] Open mid front vowel

10.[mɛk'ɛte]	‘bone’
[mɛ́he]	‘wild animal’

[ɛ:] Open mid front long vowel

11. [gɛ́:ho]	‘lie down’
[dɛ́:ge]	‘heel’

[ɛ̃] Open mid front nasal vowel

12. [kɛ̃ná]	‘dog’
[bɛ̃na]	‘alone’

[ɛ̃:] Open mid front nasal long vowel

13. [bɛ̃:na]	‘mosquito’
[dɛ̃:nge]	‘get’

[ɨ] High close central vowel. It occurs only in word medial position.

14. [ʔins'íre]

[mítʃa]

'tongue'

'malaria'

[i:] High close central long vowel

15. [gí:la]

[gi:rɛ]

'green'

'noise/sound'

[ĩ] High close central nasal vowel. This vowel becomes nasal when it occurs before a nasal consonant.

16. [k'asĩne]

[gĩn:é]

'forearm'

'chisel / curve'

[ĩ̃] High close central nasal long vowel

17. [ʒĩ:ngálo]

[tʃ'ĩ:músɔ]

'be confused'

'mediate'

[a] Low central unrounded vowel. It appears word medially and finally.

18. [hata]

[ʔáts]

'short'

'man'

[a:] Low central unrounded long vowel.

19. [há:ko]

[ma:tʃĩna]

'far'

'girl'

[ã] Low central unrounded nasal vowel.

20. [gãna]

[fãmo]

'nape of neck'

'buy'

[ã:] Low central unrounded nasal long vowel.

20. [ʔã:mo]	‘take away’
[mã:ná]	‘potter’

[ǎ] Low central unrounded vowel. It occurs word finally after a voiceless consonants.

21. [tʃ'ilóǎ]	‘bride price’
[díǎ]	‘seed’
[ʔatǎ]	‘grass’

[u] High back rounded vowel

22. [ʔúp:a]	‘hill’
[ʔúm:a]	‘head’

[u:] High back rounded long vowel

23. [sú:re]	‘straight’
[bú:lo]	‘shake’

[ũ] High back rounded nasal vowel. It occurs before nasal consonant.

24. [ʔũm:a]	‘head’
[gũmúrɔ]	‘be happy’

[ũ:] High back rounded nasal long vowel

25. [ʔufú:me]	‘horn’
[gũ:má]	‘cloud’

[o] Mid back rounded vowel.

26. [ʔatʃó]	‘meat’
[bótɔ]	‘forget’
[bɪf:ó]	‘woman’

[o:] Mid back rounded long vowel

27. [ʔó:llo]	‘horse’
[ʔó:ro]	‘hair style of man’

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

28. [bónʃɔ]	‘honour’
[tʃʰõmó]	‘bitter’

[õ:] Mid back rounded nasal long vowel

29. [ʔõ:mó]	‘under’
[ʔõ:ná]	‘bush’

[ɔ] Mid back rounded voiceless vowel. It occurs word finally after sibilants.

30. [désɔ]	‘bench’
[má:tsɔ]	‘milking a cow’

2.1.2. The allophonic variants of vowels

a. Vowel nasalization

All vowels have nasalized allophones when they precede a nasal consonant. There is no phonemic contrast between an oral and a nasalized vowel in the language. Therefore, the nasal assimilation rule follows the general process of regressive assimilation in the language under study. Consider the following examples:

31.	[tʃ'ĩma]	'old'
	[mẽ:nts]	'barren women'
	[bẽ:na]	'mosquito'
	[gĩn:é]	'chisel / curve'
	[mã:ná]	'potter'
	[ʔũm:a]	'head'

The process of assimilation can be generalized as follows:

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

b. Vowel devoicing

As it is indicated in the examples below, the vowels do show allophonic variations. The vowels have devoiced variants occurring after voiceless sibilant consonants. Consider the following examples:

32.	[bõntʃø]	'honour'
	[máf:ʔ]	'knife'
	[wá:tʃø]	'water'
	[dɛlgúsø]	'loosen'

The process of assimilation can be generalized as follows:

$$V \rightarrow [\text{devoiced}] / [\text{Voiceless consonants}] -$$

2.1.3. Phoneme inventory of vowels

According to Bender (1986: 125) most Omotic languages have five vowels. Nevertheless, in some Omotic languages including Zaysete, more vowels exist. For instance, Bender (1986) mentioned Dizi which has sixth vowel and Lydall (1976) states that, Hammer has an additional set of lax vowels. Hayward (1990), Mulugeta (1988: 26) and Bauer and Wigboldus (2010), identified five short and long vowel system for Zaysete, however, in the present study two additional vowel phonemes /ɛ/ and /i/ are attested. Thus, Zaysete has seven short and seven long vowel phonemes. These are:

	Front		Central		Back	
High	i	i:	ɨ	ɨ:	u	u:
Mid	e	e:			o	o:
open- mid	ɛ	ɛ:				
Low			a	a:		

Table 3. Vowel phonemes of Zaysete

2.1.4. Contrasts of vowel phonemes

The following are examples of minimal pairs of the Zaysete vowels showing:

/o/ /u/

33. /gútʃʰe/ 'ostrich'
 /góʃʰe/ 'pulling'

/u/ /a/

34. /ʔúɗa/ 'push'
 /ʔáɗa/ 'husband'

/e/ /ɛ/

35. /ge:f/ 'light color'
 /ge:f/ 'clean'

/i/ /ɨ/

36. /mítʃa/ 'malaria'
 /mítʃa/ 'roast'

/e/ /i/

37. /ʔési/	‘she’
/ʔisi/	‘he’

Thus, based on the phoneme inventory conducted above Zaysete has seven short and long vowels. When we look at their distribution, short vowels like /a/, /e/ and /o/ are found in word medial and final positions. However, vowels like /i/, /ɨ/, /ɛ/ and /u/ are found in word medial position. in a very rare case /i/ and /ɛ/ are found word finally.

2. 1. 5. Diphthongs of Zaysete

Like some other Ometo languages such as Maale and Wolaita, diphthongs are found in Zaysete (Mullugeta 1988: 40). Diphthongs are formed by the combination of two vowels. Diphthongs can be further classified as rising or falling. With rising diphthongs the end of the glide has a higher tongue position than the beginning. With falling diphthongs the end of the glide has a lower tongue position than the beginning. Thus diphthongs of Zaysete are rising diphthongs because all the first vowels are moving to the vowel i which has a higher position. The following are phones of rising diphthongs in Zaysete:

[ai]

38. [háiga]	‘here’
[táibó]	‘count’
[báins]	‘split’

[ei]

39. [méitʃa]	‘bite’
--------------	--------

[oi]

40. [bóinte]	‘knee’
[lóite]	‘be good’

[kóíro fá:to] ‘first born’

[ui]

41. [gúide] ‘hit’

When two words joined together for different grammatical purposes; a grammatical formative that begins with a vowel is a glide rather than forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Consider the following examples:

42. /ʔíndo – i/ [ʔíndo - j] ‘mother NOM’

43. /ʔátʃo – i/ [ʔatʃo - j] ‘meat NOM’

Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 34) also argue that gliding takes place when vowels meet at potential word boundary. Based on example 42 and 43 given above, diphthongs are not formed in word final position. In this position it is only the glides are formed. The formation of the glides in this position helps to determine the word boundary. Thus, as the above examples (38 - 41) indicate diphthongs are only found in the medial position. However if they occur in the final position, they are glides but not diphthongs.

2.1.6. Contrasts of diphthong phonemes

The following examples show the minimal pairs identified to prove the phones listed above are diphthong phonemes:

[ai] [oi]

44. [maídó] ‘ox’

 [moidó] ‘lip’

[ei] [oi]

45. [kéíma] ‘chance’

 [kóíma] ‘grieve’

[ui] [ai]

46. [gúide]

‘hit’

[gáide]

‘cattle’

Therefore, based on the above examples /ai/, /ei/, /oi/, and /ui/ are diphthong phonemes of Zaysete

2.1.7. Lengthening of Vowels

Vowels can be lengthened in Zaysete. Lengthening of vowels are not interpreted as two different segments but treated as a single unit with long duration of pronunciation. As far as my data is concerned, long vowels can occur in medial positions but not in word initial and final position. However, Mulugeta (1988) believes that long vowels like /a:/ and /e:/ occur in word final position. Since length is phonemic in Zaysete it brings meaning change as follows:

/a/ /a:/

47. /máts/

‘bee’

/má:ts/

‘milk’

/gála/

‘on’

/gá:la/

‘camel’

/i/ /i:/

48. /ʔíra/

‘rain’

/ʔi:ra/

‘cut’

/i/ /i:/

49. /s’ígo/

‘be brave’

/s’i:go/

‘be tight’

/u/ /u:/

50. /súle/ ‘down’
 /sú:le/ ‘cooked food’

/e/ /e:/

51. /néná/ ‘you’
 /né:ná/ ‘only you’

/ɛ/ /ɛ:/

52. /béna/ ‘alone’
 /bé:na/ ‘mosquito’

/o/ /o:/

53. /kolá/ ‘collect it’ (IMP)
 /ko:lá/ ‘repair it’ (IMP)

Besides the lexical function, vowel length in Zaysete also has grammatical function. This function is also attested in the study of Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 5). The grammatical function of vowel length is helping to demonstrate the present continuous tense by lengthening the last vowel of the root verb. For more details see chapter six sections 6.3.2.3.

2.2. Consonants

2.2.1. Phonetic description of consonants

In this section, phonetic descriptions of all consonants are presented in the form of table and followed by the description of consonants with examples. The consonants in Zaysete share various features with that of other Ometo languages such as Maale (Azeb 2001) and Haro (Hirut 2003). Consonants in Zaysete are classified into six based on their manner of articulation. These are stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, laterals and glides.

Manner of Articulation		Places of Articulation							
		Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives /Stops/	Voiceless	p			t			k	ʔ
	Voiced	b			d			g	
	Ejectives	pʰ						kʰ	
	Implosives	ɓ			ɗ				
Fricative	Voiceless	ɸ	f		s		ʃ		h
	Voiced	β			z		ʒ		
	Ejectives				sʰ				
Affricate	Voiceless				ts		tʃ		
	Voiced				dz		dʒ		
	Ejectives						tʃʰ		
Nasal	Voiced	m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
Flap	Voiced				r				
Lateral	Voiced				l				
Glide	Voiced	w					j		

Table 4. The consonant phones of Zaysete

Stops

Zaysete has eleven stop consonant phones (bilabial, alveolar, velar and glottal). Stops in Zaysete can be classified into four categories – voiceless, voiced, ejectives and implosives.

The bilabial stop [p] and the alveolar stop [d] are found in all positions. Word initially, medially and finally. However, the remaining stops like [t], [k], [ʔ], [b], [g], [pʰ], [kʰ] and [ɗ] occur only in initial and medial positions. In the study of Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 6), the implosive [ɓ] is included as a phoneme. However, my data shows that the bilabial ejective [pʰ] is identified as a phoneme. There are also minimal pairs to proof [pʰ] as a phoneme. Descriptions and exemplifications of each stop consonant will be given below.

[p] Voiceless bilabial plosive: this phone occurs in all positions. Word initially, medially and finally.

54. [po:ʔó]	‘light’
[gó:pas]	‘chamelon’
[lá:p]	‘seven’

[b] Voiced bilabial plosive: this phone occurs word initially and word medially. However it is not attested word finally.

55. [bó:ko]	‘dig’
[kírbo]	‘sing’

[ɸ] Bilabial implosive: it occurs in word initial position

56. [ɸupíle]	‘egg’
[ɸ’es’é]	‘planting seed’

[t] Voiceless alveolar plosive: the occurrence of this phone is limited to initial and medial positions of a word.

57.[tolkó]	‘hyena’
[bóinte]	‘knee’

[d] Voiced alveolar plosive: this phone occurs in all positions in initial, medial and final.

58. [de:s’ó]	‘heavy’
[gínda]	‘back’
[ʔóid]	‘four’

[ɖ] Voiced alveolar implosive: the occurrence of this phone in the language is attested only in the initial and medial position. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 26) also identified this phone.

59. [dʒãns]	‘breast’
[pudé]	‘flower’
[moidó]	‘lip’
[ʔad:á]	‘let’s go’
[ʔád:e]	‘correct’

[k] **Voiceless velar plosive**: this phone occurs only in initial and medial positions.

60. [k ^h afó]	‘bird’
[bók ^h e]	‘dig’
[k ^h árts]	‘black’

Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 26) present the word ‘black’ as /kádô/ but in my data this word is identified as /kárts/.

[g] **Voiced velar plosive**: it occurs word initially and medially.

61. [gáwo]	‘belly’
[hagé:lo]	‘new’
[gég:o]	‘tortoise’

[p] **Voiceless bilabial ejective**: this phone occurs in word initial and word medial positions. It is not observed in word final position.

62. [fɛ:po]	‘crocodile’
[ʃop’ó]	‘armpit’
[gip’o]	‘blink’

[k’] **Voiceless velar ejective**

This phone takes place in initial and medial position. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 26) also identified this phone.

63. [kásíne]	‘fore arm’
[tʃʷi:kúnda]	‘few’
[ʔok:áro]	‘frog’

[ʔ] Voiceless glottal plosive

A glottal stop often occurs in word initial position. There are some words that start with a vowel but underlyingly have an initial glottal stop phonetically:

64. [ʔollá]	‘enemy’
[ʔáda]	‘father’
[ʔúm:a]	‘head’

Not only in word initial position, a glottal stop can also occur in word medial and final positions too. Look at the following examples:

65. [zoʔó]	‘red’
[ʔíi:ʔe]	‘strong no’
[báʔe]	‘there is no’

For word final position, I have taken the examples given by Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 25):

66. [námʔ]	‘two’
[záʔ]	‘trader’
[bíʔaʔ]	‘girl’

Thus, the glottal stop in Zaysete is found in all position and it functions as a consonant phone. This conclusion substantiates Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 25) analysis of the glottal stop.

Fricatives

Zaysete has the following fricatives: [f], [s], [z], [sʷ], [ʃ], [ʒ] and [h]. These fricatives occur in five places of articulation: bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, post alveolar and glottal. From these series, only alveolar fricatives are voiced, voiceless and ejective. But the remaining are

only voiced and voiceless. Fricatives like [β] and [ϕ] occurs only in medial position but [f], [z], [ʒ], [s'] and [h] occurs in word initial and medial position. However [s] and [ʃ] occur everywhere.

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

67. [daβó]	'abstain'
[diβó]	'door'

[ϕ] **Voiceless bilabial fricative**. It occurs between two vowels.

68. [sá:ϕo]	'root'
[ʃáϕe ʃardé]	'river bank'

[f] **Voiceless labiodental fricative**. It occurs word initial and medial positions.

69. [fó:ʃó]	'taste'
[gufétin]	'flow'
[sófo]	'hunt'

[s] **Voiceless alveolar fricative**. This phone is attested in all the three environments.

70. [sún̄ts]	'name'
[ʔésá]	'him'
[k'ó:s]	'sun'

[z] **Voiced alveolar fricative**. It occurs word initially and medially.

71. [zoʔó]	'red'
[bazé]	'kidney'
[bízo]	'one'

[ʃ] Voiceless postalveolar fricative. The occurrence of this phonem is initially, medially and finally.

72. [ʃáϕe]	‘river’
[ʔuf:á]	‘drink!’(IMP)
[máf:a]	‘knife’
[ʃó:ʃ]	‘snake’

[ʒ] Voiced postalveolar fricative

This phone is not attested word finally and no example is recorded with a lengthened [ʒ]:

73. [ʒíl:a]	‘wet’
[maʒó]	‘a kind of three used for blessing’
[ʒiʒúnte]	‘rigidity’
[ʒo:mále]	‘blue’

[h] Voiceless glottal fricative. No example is recorded with this phonem in the final position.

74. [háio]	‘die’
[haigá]	‘here’
[wúhe]	‘flowing’

[s] Voiceless alveolar ejective

Zaysete has only one alveolar ejective [s] but not [t̪]. However, Haro (Hirut 2003) has two alveolar ejectives, [t̪] and [s] while other languages of Ometo only have one or the other; for instance, Wolayitta (Adams 1983) has [t̪] but not [s], Gamo (Hirut 1999), Gofa (Moreno 1937), Dawuro (Allan 1976), Koyra (Hayward 1982), Basketo (Haileyesus 1988), and Maale (Azeb 2001) have [s] in the absence of [t̪]. Ford (1990: 413) points out that in Koyra [t̪] occurs in borrowed words and are pronounced only by speakers who are ‘phonologically bilingual’. Thus, from the Ometo clusters Gamo, Gofa, Dawuro, koyra, Basketo, Maale and

Zayse have the same phone [s] but Haro has both [t̥] and [sʰ]. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 26) also agree that Zayse people use the Amharic [t̥] as [sʰ]. The following examples show the occurrence of [s] in initial and medial positions.

75. [s̥é:lo]	‘see’
[ʔasúto]	‘fight’
[ʔinsíre]	‘tongue’

Even in borrowed words with the sound [t̥], it is pronounced as [s]. For example the Amharic word [t̥ərmus] ‘bottle’ is pronounced as [s̥ərmúse], [t̥ena] ‘health’ is pronounced as [s̥ena].

Affricates

There are five affricates in Zaysete which are produced in alveolar and palatal places of articulation. These are [ts̥], [tʃ̥], [tʃ̥ʰ], [dʒ̥], [dʒ̥ʰ]. The alveolar affricate consists of only two phones [ts̥] and [dʒ̥]. However, the palatal series consists of three phones [tʃ̥], [tʃ̥ʰ] and [dʒ̥]. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 26) also identify the existence of these phones in Zaysete but they said that [tʃ̥ʰ] has a defective distribution, because it is not attested in word final position. The examples below describe each of the affricates turn by turn:

[ts̥] Voiceless alveolar affricate

The alveolar affricate [ts̥] differs from the other affricates because it does not occur in word-initial position.

76. [s̥únts̥]	‘name’
[kárts̥]	‘black’
[wá:tse]	‘water’

[tʃ̥] Voiceless palatal affricate. It occurs word initially, medially and finally.

77. [tʃ̥áfe]	‘cutting hair’
[ma:tʃ̥íma]	‘women’
[ʔátʃ̥]	‘teeth’

According to Hayward (1982), the voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ] in Zaysete has a defective distribution. He says that it is absent from a word-initial position and rarely found elsewhere. Moreover, the absence of [tʃ] from the initial position of a word is also attested in other languages of Ometo such as Koyra (Ford 1990), Maale (Azeb 2001), Gamo, Dawuro, Haro (Hirut 2003). However, my data in 69 show that the voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ] is observed in all positions. Besides, as it is indicated in 54, below, the ejective form of it [tʃ̥] also occurs in all positions.

[tʃ̥] Ejective palatal affricate

78. [tʃ̥íma]	‘old’
[ʔatʃ̥ʼá]	‘tie!’(IMP)
[bítʃ̥]	‘urine’

[dʒ] voiced palatal affricate

The occurrence of this phone is rare and it only occurs in medial position. Consider the following examples:

79. [ʔandʒute]	‘blessing’
[tʃ̥ʼadʒó]	‘spring’

[dz] Voiced alveolar affricate.

It occurs word medially. Consider the following examples:

80. [háindzo]	‘today’
[ʔodzodzɔ]	‘chain of mountain’

Nasals

Zaysete has four nasal consonant phones. These are [m], [n], [ɲ] and [ŋ]. They are produced in bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar place of articulation respectively. [m] occurs in all positions and [n] occurs only in initial and medial positions. But [ɲ] and [ŋ] occurs word medially.

[m] Bilabial nasal

81. [mɛ́tá]	‘near’
[k ^h umús]	‘full’
[t ^h am:]	‘ten’

[n] Alveolar nasal

82. [núná]	‘us’
[kɛ́ná]	‘dog’
[ʔagú́n:a]	‘moon’

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

83. [bapɲɛ́]	‘ruminate’
[bóɲɲ]	‘respecting’
[ʔiɲɲfó]	‘conquer/defeat’

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

84. [ʔaŋkó]	‘vulture’
[ʔaŋgó]	‘elder sister’
[s’uŋké]	‘claw’

Liquids

Zaysete has two liquids. One is flap [r] the other is lateral [l]:

[r] Voiced alveolar flap

85. [héra]	‘fever’
[bú:ra]	‘nasal mucus’
[daró]	‘day’

The phone [r] occurs only in word medial and final position but it does not occur in word initial position. Such a defective distribution of [r] is attested in other Ometo varieties as well, such as Haro (Hirut 2003).

[l] Voiced alveolar lateral

The phone [l] occurs only in word initial and medial position but it does not occur at word-final position. Thus, phone [l] also has a defective distribution.

86. [laŋk'é]	‘round’
[galbá]	‘afternoon’
[ʔál:a]	‘earth’
[kal:ó]	‘follow!’(IMP)

Glides

There are two glides in Zaysete. These are the bilabial [w] and the palatal [j]. Both the glides are voiced. [w] frequently occurs in initial, medial, and in rare cases in word final position. [j] occurs in all positions. The following examples show the occurrences of the two glides respectively.

[w] Voiced bilabial glide

87. [wolló]	‘neck’
[gáwo]	‘belly’
[já:w]	‘come’

[j] Voiced palatal glide

88. [já:w]	‘come’
[tója]	‘freez’
[táj]	‘I’

2.2.2. Phoneme inventory of consonants

This section presents minimal pairs showing contrasts establishing phonemes. If two phonetically similar sounds bring change of meaning in a pair of identical words, they are considered to be separate phonemes. In order to show the phonetic contrasts, the following examples are given.

/m/ /w/

89. [móɸo]	‘to think’
[wóɸo]	‘to kill’

/p/ /b/

90. [paró]	‘good luck’
[baró]	‘younger sister’

Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 21), stated that [f], is not considered as a phoneme but it is the phonetic realization of the phoneme [p]. However in my data [f], is considered as a phoneme by its own. The existence of minimal pairs of [p] and [f], made me to conclude that [f] is a phoneme in Zaysete. Look at the following example:

/f/ /p/

91. [faró]
[paró]

‘zebra’
‘good luck’

/p/ /f/

92. [kopá]
[kofá]

‘superimpose’
‘pour’

/t/ /d/

93. [taté]
[daté]

‘trap’
‘back’

/d/ /d/

94. [ʔáda]
[ʔáda]

‘father’
‘husband’

/k/ /g/

95. [ʔaŋkó]
[ʔaŋgó]

‘vulture’
‘elder sister’

/k/ /k’/

96. [ʔúko]
[ʔúk’o]

‘blow (with mouth)’
‘destroy’

/ts/ /r/

97. [katse]
[kare]

‘cook’
‘forest’

/ʔ/ /h/

98. [ʔerá]
[herá]

‘knowledge’
‘hot’

/l/ /r/

99. [ʔuló] ‘cockroach’
[ʔuró] ‘skin of fruit’

/s/ /s’/

100. [sú:le] ‘cooked food’
[s’ú:le] ‘spy on’

/tʃ/ /tʃ’/

101. [bá:tʃe] ‘women’
[bá:tʃe] ‘saddle’

/ʃ/ /ʒ/

102. [ʃiʔo] ‘deficate’
[ʒiʔo] ‘orphan’

/s/ /z/

103. [soʔó] ‘fart’
[zoʔó] ‘red’

/z/ /n/

104. [bíza] ‘one’
[bína] ‘worm’

/j/ /r/

105. [tója] ‘cold’
[tóra] ‘spear’

The following table shows phones that are identified as phonemes. Generally there are 26 consonant phonemes in Zaysete. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 6) identified a total of 25 consonant phonemes. However, there are slight differences with the analysis of this paper.

These are:

- the ejective /pʼ/ is identified as a phoneme in this paper.
- the implosive [ɓ] is identified as the allophone of the phoneme /pʼ/ in initial position but not a phoneme by its own right.
- /f/ is considered as a phoneme.

Manner of Articulation		Places of Articulation							
		Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives /Stops/	Voiceless	p			t			k	ʔ
	Voiced	b			d			g	
	Ejectives	pʼ						kʼ	
	Implosives				ɗ				
Fricative	Voiceless		f		s		ʃ		h
	Voiced				z		ʒ		
	Ejectives				sʼ				
Affricate	Voiceless				ts		tʃ		
	Voiced								
	Ejectives						tʃʼ		
Nasal	Voiced	m			n				
Flap	Voiced				r				
Lateral	Voiced				l				
Glide	Voiced	w					j		

Table 5. The consonant phonemes of Zaysete

2.2.3. Phonology

In this section the allophonic variants of consonant phones are presented with examples:

When phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ occur before a vowel in word initial position, they are realized as an aspirated [p^h], [t^h] and [k^h]. the following are examples:

105. [p ^h udfé]	‘flower’
[p ^h úle]	‘a kind of tree’
[t ^h uk:é]	‘leg’
[t ^h óra]	‘spear’
[k ^h afó]	‘bird’
[k ^h aló]	‘stick’

This is generalized by the following rule:

$$/p/ , /t/ \text{ and } /k/ > [p^h, t^h \text{ and } k^h] / \# _$$

Moreover, if /p/ occurs in intervocalic position it becomes spirantized and is realized as [ɸ]. Like Bauer and Wigboldus (2010), I also identified the phonetic realization of this phoneme as fricativisation. However, the fricative allophone is the bilabial [ɸ] but not the labiodental [f]. Hayward’s (1990: 216) analysis also indicates that [ɸ] as an intervocalic allophone of /p/.

106. [sá:ɸo]	‘root’
[ʃáɸe ʃardé]	‘river bank’

When this rule is written as in the form of formula it looks like:

$$/p/ > [ɸ] / V _ V$$

On the contrary, when /p/ occurs in the word final position, it cannot be realized as [ɸ]. In the following example the word [lá:p] and [ʔizúp] cannot be realized as *[lá:ɸ] and

*[ʔizúϕ]. Thus in this position /p/ cannot be realized as [ϕ] instead it is realized as [p]. This is observed in the examples I presented below:

107. [lá:p]	‘seven’
[ʔizúp]	‘six’

As a result, this can be generalized as follows:

/p/ > [p] / __#

If /b/ occurs between vowels or in intervocalic position, the phoneme is spirantized and realized as [β]. This can be summarized as :

/b/ > [β] / V__V

Consider the following examples:

108. [daβó]	‘abstain’
[diβó]	‘door’

When the phoneme /p/ occurs in the initial position, it is realized as [b]. This is stated as:

/p/ > [b] / #__

Consider the following examples:

109. [bupíle]	‘egg’
[bes’é]	‘planting seed’
[belék’o]	‘mushroom’

However, in the medial position, mostly it occurs inter vocalically and it is realized as [p] itself. The following examples illustrate this point:

110. [ʃé:po]		‘crocodile’
[ʃopó]		‘armpit’
[gipo]		‘blink’
[zapa]		‘boat’

Regarding phone [p], Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 26) write that it is impossible to find [p] in Zaysete. According to their data Zayse [b] instead of [p]. Nevertheless, as my data show that in example 104, [b] is the phonetic realization of /p/ in initial position but it is not a phoneme by itself.

A phoneme /ʒ/ occurs after a nasal consonant it is realized as [dʒ]. this can be generalized and written as a rule as follows:

$$/ʒ/ > [dʒ] / __[+nasal]$$

Consider the following examples:

111. [ʔandʒute]		‘blessing’
[ʒindʒo]		‘very angry’

I couldn’t find any minimal pair to prove that [dʒ] as a phoneme. Therefore [dʒ] is not a phoneme by itself but it is the allophone of the phoneme /ʒ/. Regarding this phone, Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 29), also state that [ʒ] and [dʒ] are the phonetic realization of the phoneme /ʒ/.

A Phoneme /z/ has a phonetic variant of [dz], just like the phone [dʒ], this phone occurs rarely. I couldn’t find any minimal pair to show that [dz] is a phoneme by its own. Based on the data that I have [dz] is free variants of [z]. Moreover there is no phonemic contrast between the two phones. Consider the following example:

112. [ʔodzodzɔ]	[ʔozózo]	‘chain of mountain’
[háindzɔ]	[háinzo]	‘today’
[ʔordzama]	[ʔorzáma]	‘powerful man’

Therefore [dz] is not a phoneme but it is the allophone of the Phoneme /z/.

When the alveolar nasal /n/ in Zaysete is followed by the velar consonants it undergoes a regressive assimilation with the velar consonants that follows it and realized as [ŋ]. As a result [ŋ] is the allophone of the phoneme /n/. This can be expressed by the following rule:

$$/n/ > [ŋ] \text{ ___ } [+velars]$$

Consider the examples below:

113 a. [ʔulúŋgo]	‘fog’
[kuŋké]	‘nose’
[s’uŋké]	‘claw’

When the alveolar nasal /n/ in Zaysete is followed by the palatal consonants it undergoes a regressive assimilation with the palatal consonants that follows it and realized as [ɲ]. As a result [ɲ] is the allophone of the phoneme /n/. This can be expressed by the following rule:

$$/n/ > [ɲ] \text{ ___ } [+palatal]$$

The examples below show this :

114 b. [tʃéɲtʃa]	‘dark’
[bóɲtʃe]	‘respecting’
[ʔiɲtʃó]	‘conquer/defeat’

Moreover, when /n/ is followed by the bilabial consonants it undergoes a regressive assimilation with the bilabial consonant and it is realized as [m]. Therefore, [m] is the phonetic variants of the phoneme /n/. This can be written as :

$$/n/ > [m] \text{ ___ } [+bilabial]$$

The following are illustrative examples:

115 c. [ʔũmbe]	‘fall’
[ʃẽmpó]	‘soul’

When a bilabial stop /b/ occurs in initial position and followed by a high back vowel /u/, it becomes labialized and realized as [b^w]. This can be written as:

/b/ >[b^w] ---[high back vowel]

The following are examples:

116. [b ^w udó]	‘lamp’
[b ^w ú:k’o]	‘thresh/beat’

When a bilabial nasal /m/ occurs in initial position and followed by a high back vowel /u/, it becomes labialized and realized as [m^w]. This can be written as:

/m/ >[m^w] --[high back vowel]

Consider the examples below:

117. [m ^w ús’o]	‘kiss’
[m ^w uk’á]	‘traditional food’

2.2.4. Lengthening of Consonants

Consonants can be lengthened and bring change in meaning. Thus lengthening of consonants is phonemic in Zaysete. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 5) also stated that consonant length is phonemic at a lexical level. Most of the consonants are lengthened in medial position. Some consonants like /ʔ/, /h/, /ʒ/, /w/ and /j/ are not lengthened at all in the language. Azeb (2007: 4) also mentions that in Zargulla, all consonants can be long except the approximants /w/ and /j/. On the other hand, Hayward (1990) said that all consonants except /ʔ /, /h/ and /r/ are

lengthened but my data show that the consonant /r/ can appear in its short and long forms but not /ʔ /and /h/. This is also confirmed by Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 18). The following minimal pairs shows the short and the long form of /r/:

118. /baró/	‘younger sister’
/bar:ó/	‘impracticable’

According to my analysis, consonant length is not observed in word initial and final positions. As a result, no word begins and ends with lengthened consonants. Therefore, consonant length is permissible only in the medial position. The followings are the examples that show contrastive consonant length in Zaysete.

/p/ /p:/

119. [ʔapa]	‘soul’
[ʔap:a]	‘trying to hide yourself’

/b/ /b:/

120. [dabó]	‘abstain’
[dab:ó]	‘relative’

/t/ /t:/

121. [kító]	‘monday’
[kít:o]	‘order’

/d/ /d:/

122. [ʔo:do]	‘heard (of cattle)’
[ʔo:d:o]	‘monkey’

/k/ /k:/

123. [túke]	‘coffe’
[túk:e]	‘leg’

/g/	/g:/		
		124. [wó:ga]	‘traddition’
		[wó:g:a]	‘Sunday’
/k/	/k:/		
		125. [ʔok’áro]	‘mud’
		[ʔok’:áro]	‘frog’
/d/	/d:/		
		126. [ʔáde]	‘male’
		[ʔád:e]	‘correct’
/ʃ/	/ʃ:/		
		127. [biʃá]	‘mark’
		[biʃ:á]	‘woman’
/s/	/s:/		
		128. [jésa]	‘possession’
		[jés:á]	‘live!’
/s’/	/s’:/		
		129. [fis’á]	‘broom’
		[fis’:á]	‘sweep!’
/ts/	/ts:/		
		130. [katsa]	‘cooked food’
		[kats:a]	‘get rest’
/tʃ/	/tʃ:/		
		131. [miʃo]	‘laugh’
		[miʃ:o]	‘roast’
/tʃ’/	/tʃ’:/		
		132. [gótʃ’o]	‘regrained’
		[gótʃ’:o]	‘pull’

/z/	/z:/	133. [bazó]	‘God’
		[biz:ó]	‘one’
/f/	/f:/	134. [kofá]	‘put scar with fire!’
		[kof:á]	‘footstep’
/p’/	/p’:/	135. [kop’á]	‘superimpose’
		[kop’:á]	‘shoes’
/m/	/m:/	136. [dóma]	‘limp’
		[dóm:a]	‘abnormal leged’
/n/	/n:/	137. [ʔagúna]	‘month’
		[ʔagún:a]	‘moon’
/l/	/l:/	138. [kula]	‘swing’
		[kul:a]	‘pure source of spring’

2.2.4. Co-occurrence

In Zaysete, all consonants are found in word-initial position except /r/ and /ts/. These consonants occur only in medial and final positions. Only two consecutive consonants are permissible in the language. A sequence occurs only in word-medial and final position. Therefore, in syllables, the onset cannot be more than one consonant while the coda can be two consonants. However, Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 37) mention that consonant length or consonant clusters are not allowed word initially but the sequence of affricates is possible. This means that sequences of affricates are allowed in word initial position which is contrary to my observation because in my data I have not observed the sequences of affricates in word

initial position. The following example shows the consonant sequences which are permissible.

Sequences of consonants	Examples	Glosses
nd	/gín.da/	‘back’
nts	/dǎnts/	‘breast’
ns	/ʔa.dón.sa/	‘thick’
nk	/sun.ké/	‘claw’
nb	/ʔún.be/	‘fall’
ng	/ʔin.gá/	‘give!’
nk	/lan.ké/	‘side of body’
ntʃ	/tʃén.tʃa/	‘night’
nt	/sol.ʔín.te/	‘star’
mb	/zam.bá.la/	‘long’

Table 6. Sequences of nasals followed by stops, fricatives and affricates

The above table shows how nasals as the first member of the consonant cluster preceding stops, fricatives and affricates.

The following table also presents another sequence of consonants showing liquids followed by stops, nasals, fricatives and affricates.

Sequences of consonants	Examples	Glosses
rd	/wúr.de/	‘rope’
rb	/kír.be /	‘sing’
rk’	/wor.k’é /	‘mixing’
rm	/gár.ma/	‘lion’
rn	/kír.ne/	‘elbow’
rf	/gor.fĩ.na/	‘lung’
rg	/har.ge/	‘sick’
rts	/ kárts/	‘black’
lb	/wɛl.bíʃ	‘same’
ld	/bal.dé/	‘bucket’
lg	/dɛl.gú.so/	‘loosen’
lts	/gel.tso/	‘hire’

Table 7. The consonant sequences of liquides followed by stops, nasals, fricatives and affricates

Based on the above discussion, consonant cluster in word-initial position is not encountered.

2.3. Syllable Structure

This section treats the syllable structure of Zaysete. Syllables are classified into two. These are closed syllables and open. Closed syllables contain consonant in the coda. A syllable that does not contain a consonant in coda position is open syllable. Clements and Keyser (1983: 29), identified that languages of the world may have any one of the following inventories of canonical syllable types:

Type I: CV

Type II: CV, V

Type III: CV, CVC

Type IV: CV, V, CVC, VC

Among the above types, Zaysete can be considered as a type III language. In Zaysete, a syllable can be formed with a combination of vowel and consonants. However, it has some

more syllable types: CVVC and CVCC. Therefore, both open and closed syllable types are found in Zaysete.

According to Goldsmith (1990: 113) syllables are divided into light and heavy syllables based on the type of vowels their nucleus contains. A light syllable is a syllable whose core consists of a short vowel whereas a heavy syllable is a syllable whose core consists of a long vowel. Thus both light and heavy syllable types occur in Zaysete. Example 140 and 142 below are examples for heavy syllables but the rest can be the examples of light syllables.

In Zaysete a cluster of consonants occurs only in word medial and word final position. The number of consonants in a cluster is just two. In syllables, the onset cannot be more than one but the coda can be occupied by two consonants. The nucleus of the syllable can be a short, a long vowel or a diphthong. According to Kuiper and Allan (2004: 191), one has to consider the following point when starting to syllabify words. In their own words, “If a cluster cannot occur at either the beginning or end of a word, then it cannot either begin or end a syllable.” Thus the researcher considers this approach when syllabifying the words. The possible syllable types of Zaysete are:

CV.

139. / <u>b</u> í.zo/	‘one’
/ʔí.k’e /	‘labour /birth pain’
/ <u>l</u> ó.ʔo/	‘good’

CVV

140. /tʃ <u>ú</u> .tʃe/	‘louse’
/ <u>maa</u> .tá/	‘grass’

CVC

141. / <u>dí</u> ʃ.ʔa/	‘seed’
/ʔ <u>ú</u> m.bo/	‘fail’

CVVC

142. /ʃóof/	‘snake’
/k’óos/	‘sun’
/súuts/	‘blood’

CVCC

143. /dánt̩s/	‘breast’
/kárt̩s/	‘black’
/súnts/	‘name’

CVVCC

144. /méents̩/	‘barren woman’
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As it can be seen from the above examples, there is no a CC sequence word initially in the language but it is possible to have these sequences in the word final position. Based on the data that I have, the syllable type V and V: never occur at word initial position. This is because at word initial position, the glottal stop is used always before the vowel. Mulugeta (1988: 25) also states that these syllable types (V and V:) never exist in Zaysete. Moreover I agree with Mulugeta’s statement with the nonexistence of the syllable pattern VCC in Zaysete. This study also supports what has been done by Bauer and Wigboldus (2010) about the syllable types in Zaysete.

Onset

Any consonant, except the consonants, /r/ and /ts/ occurs in word initial position. Even though these consonants are not attested as an onset of a syllable, they can be a coda of a syllable. A word initial syllable must have an onset. Where there are no other consonants, the onset position is filled by the glottal stop because in Zaysete some words that start with a vowel underlying have an initial glottal stop phonetically:

145. /ʔéro/	‘ok’
/ʔád-a/	‘father’

Coda

The coda of a closed syllable in Zaysete can be any consonant. It may have one consonant as in the example (146). The cluster may consist of two different consonants (147) or a lengthened consonant (148) as shown below:

146. /dʒig-ʔó/	CVC - CV	‘small chair’
147. /dʒánt͡s /	CVC₁C₂	‘breast’
148. /ʔóg:-ʔe/	CVC₁C₁- CV	‘eating cereals’

The coda of an open syllable can be zero as in the word /ná/ ‘your’.

Nucleus

According to Clements (2000: 140), the nucleus is “... containing a peak of prominence V (representing a vowel, diphthong or syllabic consonant...)”. Thus, nucleus in Zaysete can be a long or short vowel or a diphthong. The possible nuclei are as follows:

149. /fá-to/	CV-CV	‘child’
150. /góó-ba/	CVV-CV	‘clever’
151. /táí-bo/	CV-CV	‘count’

In the above open syllable examples, the first syllables are taken as an example to show the nucleus is filled by a short vowel [a] (149), the long vowel [oo] as in (150), and the diphthong [ai] as in the example (151).

2.4. Tone marking in Zaysete

The way pitch functions in a language is the bases for identifying tone. Tone is simply a contrastive use of pitch in a language. In fact, the words of all languages must be pronounced with some pitch to be spoken at all. This is irrespective of whether the language is tonal or not. Otherwise languages may be monotonous. What makes difference between tonal and non-tonal language is the way pitch is utilized (Katamba 1989, Pike 1948).

According to Fromkin and etal (2007: 258), Languages that use the pitch of individual vowels or syllables to contrast meanings of words are called tone languages. Thus Zaysete is a tonal language because the use of different pitch brings meaning change. The same situation is attested in other Ometo language varieties such as Wolaitta (Azeb 1996), Gamo (Hayward 1994) and Haro (Hirut 2003).

Very little has been said concerning the tonal system and tone functions in Zaysete. Hayward (1990) mentioned tone in his studies simply by brief statements with some examples. He said that Zaysete (East Ometo) is a tonal-accent language in which tone and accent interact at the phrasal level. Isolated words have the following possible pitch contours: LL, HH, LH, HL and LHL. On the other hand, Mulugeta (1988: 30) tried to explain stress, pitch and intonation in Zaysete. According to Mulugeta, the stress pattern is associated with the pitch pattern i.e. the stronger the stress the higher the pitch, and the lower the stress, the weaker the pitch. Moreover, two pitch levels are identified - high and low. Though, Mulugeta has never mentioned about tone. Bauer and Wegboldus (2010) in their study of phonology of Zaysete, have done a remarkable analysis on the tone marking of the language. They identify the types of tones as H and L by taking the words in isolation. Moreover they identify the function of tone in the language. The study also identified the tonal process of Zaysete. In Zaysete tone has not been well treated in any of the previous studies except Bauer and Wegboldus (2010). In the present study, I only treat the vital roles played by tone without discussing tone fully. Since tone plays a role in the language, the tone system in Zaysete needs deep investigation that focuses only on its tone system.

Like Bauer and Wegboldus (2010), my data also reveals Zaysete has two basic tones, high (H) and low (L). I represent high tone by (´) and leave low tone unmarked. The tone-bearing unit is the vowel; there are no tone-bearing consonants or syllabic nasals in the language.

Within a syllable a long vowel or a diphthong may bear a contour tone. According to Clements (2000: 153) contour tone is one of the typical properties of African tone system. In fact, Zaysete is a contour tone language with two tone bearing units (a long vowel or a diphthong). Even though there are other tone patterns, the most common tonal patterns of Zaysete are HL and LH. The following are examples of minimal pairs with contrasting tone pattern.

152.	ʔólla	(HL)	‘put something on the earth’
	ʔollá	(LH)	‘enemy’
153.	ʔéla	(HL)	‘upward’
	ʔelá	(LH)	‘touch somebody with hands’
154.	ʔátʃ̣a	(HL)	‘newly grown grass’
	ʔatʃ̣á	(LH)	‘tie somebody or something’ (IMP)
155.	kátsa	(HL)	‘prepare food’
	katsá	(LH)	‘get rest’

In Zaysete only vowels can bear tones. A short vowel can bear a single tone as it is indicated in the above examples and a long vowel consists of two tone bearing units. Therefore, there are two tones. These tones are analyzed according to Clements (2000: 153) as sequences of level tones. The examples in 150 below show that the long vowels have a HH tone which is level one.

156.	ʔi:ta	bad
	lá:go	many
	wó:nta	neck
	sú:ts	blood

Bauer and Wegboldus (2010: 13) also write that a long vowel can bear a contour tone which consists of two tones. The following examples are taken from Bauer’s:

157. **gi:gó** **cooking maize** (Long vowel with Low tone)
 gí:go **discussing** (Long vowel with High tone)

As the above examples indicate the tone of the long vowel is treated as a level tone either HH or LL.

2.4.1. Tone patterns in Zaysete

In the following section, a description of the tonal pattern in different word-classes and words of different syllable (mono-syllabic, di-syllabic and poly-syllabic) structures will be provided:

2.4.1.1. Tone pattern in nouns

In this section, the basic tone patterns of Zaysete monosyllabic, disyllabic and tri-syllabic nouns are given. The most common tonal melodies of Zaysete words are HL and LH. Even though they are not common there are also other tonal melodies. All lexical nouns have only one high tone. However, in some this high tone occurs on the ultimate vowel, while with others it occurs on the penultimate vowel. It is not possible to predict, either on the basis of word class or on the basis of meaning, whether the tone will fall on the ultimate or the penultimate vowel of the noun. As a result tone in nouns is not predictable.

Mono-syllabic Nominal

158. Tones	Nouns	Gloss
H	ʔátʃ	‘teeth’
L	ʔiʃʃ	‘bride’
HL	ʃóoʃ	‘snake’
LH	k’oós	‘sun’

Di-syllabic Nominal

Di-syllabic nominal in Zaysete have the following tone patterns:

159 . Tones	Nouns	Gloss
HH	ʔáfó	‘grandmother’
LH	bizó	‘one’
HL	múk’o	‘ash’
LL	harguts	‘wound’
HHL	ʔááfe	‘eye’
LLH	ʔooná	‘bush’

Poly- syllabic Nominal

These types of nouns contain three and more than three syllables which bear a high tone on their penultimate syllable.

160. Tones	Nouns	Gloss
LHL	gorfína	‘lung’
LHL	mək’éte	‘bone’
LHL	tʃ ^h ankúla	‘leg of calf’

2.4.1. 2. Tone patterns in verbs and adjectives

Verbs in Zaysete have different tonal patterns. One possible reason for finding more tonal variations among verbs is Hayward’s (1990) discovery that tonal differences accompany a verb class distinction marked by the vowel immediately following the root in Zayse. As a result verbs in Zaysete have different tonal patterns based on the verb class it falls in to. In Zaysete the vowel at the end of the verb root position indicates membership in one of two verb classes and is realized as either [a] or [o] in the perfect forms (Hayward 1990: 285-6). Azeb (2007: 1) also describes this phenomenon in Zergulla, mentioning that these morphemes are unique to East Ometo.

Moreover, Hayward (1990: 300) found that in Zayse there is a correlation between the form of the post-thematic vowel and the tonal pattern in verbs, at least those with CVC roots. Verbs of the ‘o’ class show a HH tonal pattern in the root and post-thematic vowel of third person long perfect forms, whereas verbs of the ‘a’ class have a LH pattern. However my data shows that the verbs of ‘o’ class show a HL tonal pattern but not HH. There are also some verbs of the PTV ‘e’ which are identified as LH patterns.

As the examples below indicate mono-syllabic verbs bear either H or L tone but di-syllabic Verbs bear a high tone in their first or ultimate syllable.

161. Tones	Verbs	Gloss
L	ʃof	‘to wash’
LH	dem:á!	‘find!’ (IMP)
HL	méntso	‘to break’
HL	ʃámo	‘to buy’

However, poly-syllabic verbs allow a high tone accent in their second or penultimate syllables. The following examples shows this:

162. Tone	Verbs	Gloss
LHL	kasúmo	‘breath’
LHL	ʔofítʃe	‘cough’
LHL	kusúro	‘squat’

Adjectives in Zaysete also have their own tone pattern too. The pattern varies depending on the syllable types. Di-syllabic adjectives bear a high tone on their first or ultimate syllable. Either it falls on the first or final vowel; adjectives have only one high tone. However, with some this high tone occurs on the final vowel, while with others it occurs on the penultimate vowel. Just like the nouns, it is not possible to predict whether the tone will fall on the final

or penultimate vowel of the adjective. The examples below show the tone pattern in adjectives.

163. Tones	Adjectives	Gloss
HH	gééǰ	‘clean’
LH	zoʔó	‘red’
HL	káǰts	‘black’
HL	lóʔo	‘good’

However, poly-syllabic adjectives allow a high tone accent in their second or penultimate syllables. The following examples indicate this:

164. Tones	adjectives	Gloss
LHL	modǎntos	‘senile person’
LHL	zambála	‘long’
LHL	galúnda	‘yellow’

2.4.1.3. Tone patterns of pronouns

Pronouns in Zaysete behave uniquely in their tone patterns, having more than one high tone per word. Both the subject and object pronouns have H tone. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 15) also support this argument by saying that it is possible to have more than one high tone in words containing up to four syllables. However, this situation may be different in other omotic languages. For instance, Azeb (1996 : 135) subject pronouns in wolita carry their own high tone-accent but object pronouns have falling tone accent. Consider the examples in Zaysete:

165. Tones	pronouns	Gloss
HH	núná	‘us’
HH	ʔésá	‘him’
HHH	wútúní	‘you (PL)’
HHH	úsúní	‘they’

In Zaysete it's the nucleus of the syllable which carries tone. The nucleus can be short or long vowel. In this language, a change in the tone patterns of a word may result a change in the words meaning. Thus tone is phonemic in Zaysete.

Based on my data, there are a total of five tonal melodies at word level. The words that I use to analyze the tonal melodies are only simple words without complex structure, or suffixed words are not used. These five tonal melodies are also identified by Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 13). Consider the following examples:

166.	fof (L)	'wash'
	kafo (LL)	'keep'
	ʔátʃ (H)	'teeth'
	gééf (HH)	'clean'
	gorfina (LHL)	'lung'

Regarding their functions tones are categorized into lexical and grammatical tones. Lexical tones are those which cause a difference in meaning of lexical elements. Grammatical tones are those which indicate grammatical features such as person, number, tense, aspect and definiteness and possession (Katamba 1989:199). Clements (2000: 152) also said that tone is used to demonstrate lexical and grammatical distinctions in majority of African languages. In Zaysete, tone carries both lexical and grammatical functional load. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 5) also stated the two function of tone as grammatical and lexical. The lexical function of tones are threated first and followed by the grammatical functions of tone.

2.4.2. The lexical function of Tone

Tone in Zaysete has lexical functions. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010) also believed on that the existence of minimal pairs that show the lexical function of tone in Zaysete even though the numbers are small. The following data illustrate the lexical functions of tone in disyllabic words. In this language, a change in the tone patterns of a word may result a change in the words meaning. Thus tone is phonemic in Zaysete.

167. ʔog:é	‘road’
ʔóg:e	‘eating’
dítʃ:a	‘seed’
dítʃ:á	‘grow it’ (IMP)
ts’ilo	‘vulture’
ts’iló	‘flowering of cabbage’
ʔúnbe	‘fell down’
ʔunbe	‘name of a wood’
kafo	‘keep’
kafó	‘bird’
tsíl:o	‘righteous’
tsil:ó	‘deep’
birtʃá	‘untie’
bírʃa	‘define the meaning’
bo:ra	‘bread / injera’
bo:rá	‘bake injera’ (IMP)
gódã	‘advise’
godã	‘share’
síla	‘a very thin leg’
silá	‘spring’
káse	‘pick something from up’
kasé	‘rips’

géle	‘flower of maize’
gélé	‘debt’
ʔáyle	‘material used for farming’
ʔaylé	‘slave’
búrke	‘clever’
burké	‘braided’
gá:ya	‘market’
ga:yá	‘a material used to put fire’
dóra	‘pile/heap’
dorá	‘play with sitting’

2.4.3. Grammatical Tone

a. Class marker

Grammatically tone has many functions in Zaysete. As Hayward (1990) and Bauer and Wigboldus (2010) already pointed out two different verb classes can be marked with the help of tone. These are infinitives and imperatives. My data also confirm this function of tone. Consider the following examples:

168. a. ʔíng-o ‘to give’ (INF)
 ʔíng-á ‘give!’ (IMP)
- b. ʔátʃ̣-a ‘to tie’ (INF)
 ʔatʃ̣-á ‘tie!’ (IMP)
- c. báis-o ‘to sell’ (INF)
 bais-á ‘sell!’ (IMP)

d. <u>z</u> aik'-é	'to whistle' (INF)
<u>z</u> aik'-o	'whistle!' (IMP)

Most infinitives in Zaysete end with vowels. These vowels are –e and –o. In rare cases there are also verbs ending with the vowel –a, and these vowels are called post thematic vowels (PTV). When these verbs are changed into imperative they change the original vowels together with the tone pattern. As it can be seen in the above examples, When the infinitive's with PTV –e is changed to Imperative verbs with PTV-o (example 162 d) the imperative form take a HL tone pattern. Whereas the infinitive verb with PTV-o is changed to imperative verb form the PTV become –a, (example 162 c) and the tone pattern become LH. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 14) generalize these ideas by writing as:

Verb –e (INF)	becomes	Verb-o	imperative on HL
Verb-o (INF)	becomes	Verb-a	imperative on LH

Thus, from this we can understand that the PTV has played a role in changing the tone pattern of the verb forms. Azeb (2007: 1) states the vowel at the end of Zargula the verb roots as indicates membership in the verb classes and, that such morphemes (PTVs) are unique to East Ometo.

b. Tone is used to identify definiteness from Possessive construction

The other grammatical function of tone is to identify definiteness in possessive constructions. Definiteness is expressed by adding prefixes to the nouns. These prefixes are either e- or i- added to the possessed noun. Look at the following example:

169. ʔí <u>ma</u> ido	'her ox'
ʔé <u>ma</u> ido	'his ox'
ʔí maraɽʃ'e	'her intestine'

In the first example when the prefix i- with H tone is attached to the noun, it shows possession. Nonetheless, when the tone is placed on the noun itself the meaning changed to definiteness.

170.	ʔi maídó	‘the ox that just mentioned’
	ʔe kená	‘the dog that just mentioned’

Therefore, the placement of the tone in the two noun phrases brings grammatical change and without the tone the meaning of the two noun phrase becomes ambiguous. This analysis substantiates what has been done by Bauer and Wigboldus (2010).

c. Tone as nominalizer

Moreover, tone can function as a nominalizer in Zaysete. In this case the infinitive verb forms into noun. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 13) also identify this function of tone. The following examples are taken from Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 13)

171.	máaʔo	Verb	‘to cloth’
	maaʔó	Noun	‘clothes’

In addition to the above examples, my data also indicate that the infinitive verb forms into noun forms because of tone:

172.	ʔígo	‘to pay’
	ʔígó	‘payment’
	ʔíngo	‘to give’
	ʔingó	‘gift’

d. Tone is used to distinguish infinitives from jussives

The last grammatical function of tone is that; it helps to distinguish infinitives and the jussives. When the HL tone is changed to LH, it changes infinitives to the jussives as the following example shows:

173.	zai <u>ké</u>	‘to whistle’
	zai <u>ke</u>	‘let him to whistle’
	dó ke	‘to curse’
	dó ké	‘let him to curse’
	bi r <u>t</u> fe	‘to divorce’
	bi r <u>t</u> fé	‘let him to divorce’

However, this may not work with all types of the verbs because there are also verbs that change their PTV to distinguish the two forms. Consider the following examples:

174.	há mo	‘to go’
	há me	‘let him to go’
	mí ?o	‘to eat’
	mí ?e	‘let him to eat’

Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 14) identified the same grammatical function; they said that this grammatical function of tone is applied to almost 35% of all the verbs in isolation and as they said confusion is minimized to differentiate the infinitives from jussives at sentence level. I also suggest that it is hard to differentiate infinitives from jussives by looking at the tone and the ending vowel. It is easy to differentiate them by using them in sentences.

2.4.4. Tone and affixation in Zaysete

In this section I discuss how tone fluctuates when certain affixes are attached to words. The affix refers to either prefixes or suffixes. In Zaysete, when the plural marker is added to the root word end with a vowel, the terminal vowel that carries the H tone is deleted. As a result, the plural noun ends in L tone which is the tone that marks the plural marker. This type of tone marking in Zaysete is predictable. Look at the following example:

175.	Root	Suffix	Plural Noun	Gloss
	kɛná (LH)	-ir	kɛnir	‘dogs (LL)’
	molé(LH)	-ir	molir	‘fish (LL) (PL)’
	biǰǰá (LH)	-ir	biǰǰir	‘girls (LL)’

If the root word has a long vowel and ends in a consonant (CV:C), it will have a HL contour tone. The H tone on the root word and the L tone on the suffix and this kind of process cannot be observed on short vowels. Look at these examples:

176.	Root	Suffix	Plural Noun	Gloss
	ǰiǰ (HH)	-ir	ǰiǰ-ir	‘arrows’ (HL)
	míis (HH)	-ir	míis-ir	‘cows’ (HL)

Hayward (1990) marks the plural marker –ir with H tone but I couldn’t find any data that shows the plural marker taking H tone but rather L tone. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010) also identified that the plural marker in the language has L tone.

Moreover, when a noun is followed by a focus marker, the terminal vowel of the noun takes H tone. This means that vowels before the focus marker always take H tone. Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 15) stated that this type of tone is predictable because before the focus marker there must always be H tone. Look at the following examples:

177.	gá:la	‘camel’	>	gá:lát:e	‘It is the camel’ (HL > HHL)
	tóra	‘spear’	>	tórá:t:e	‘It is the spear’ (HL > HHL)
	ʔóka	‘worm’	>	ʔókát:e	‘It is the worm’ (HL > HHL)

As it is indicated above, the terminal vowels of the nouns have L tone. But then again, the attachment of the focus marker changed the L tone to H tone. When we change the above examples into negative and observe the tone, the L tone of the noun is never changed to H tone. Consider the examples below:

178.	gá:la	‘camel’	>	gá:la báʔe	‘It is not the camel’
	tóra	‘spear’	>	tóra báʔe	‘It is not the spear’
	gúʔʔe	‘ostrich’	>	gúʔʔe báʔe	‘It is not the ostrich’
	ʔóka	‘worm’	>	ʔóka báʔe	‘It is not the worm’

There may be also other tonal changes with affixation in Zaysete which needs further investigation.

2.4.5. Tone and modifiers in Zaysete

If nouns are preceded by modifiers like **‘ha’/this/** and **‘so’/that/**, which always has a L tone, these nouns never change their tone pattern. In this case the tone pattern is predictable and it is possible to say that modifiers in this language never change the tone pattern of the word which they modify. The following table shows the example:

Noun in isolation	Tone	pre-modified nouns		Tone
botʃʷé ‘mountain’	LH	ha-botʃʷé	‘this mountain’	LH
t ^h ó:ra ‘spear’	HL	ha-t ^h ó:ra	‘this spear’	HL
ké:ts ‘house’	HL	ha-ké:ts	‘this house’	HL
dúpo ‘straw’	HL	ha-dúpo	‘this straw’	HL
wodé ‘season’	LH	ha-wodé	‘this season’	LH
bo:ra ‘bread’	LL	so-bo:ra	‘that bread’	LL
ʔátʃʷa ‘newly grown grass’	HL	so-ʔátʃʷa	‘that newly grown grass’	HL
tolkó ‘hyena’	LH	so-tolkó	‘that hyena’	LH
ʔotá ‘pot’	LH	so-ʔotá	‘that pot’	LH
jí:ʃ ‘arrow’	HL	so-jí:ʃ	‘that arrow’	HL

Table 8. The tone pattern and modifiers

Like Bauer and Wigboldus (2010: 14) my data shows the tone in the possessive pronoun has influence in the tone of the noun that comes next to it. The possessive markers always have the high tone which changes the tone of the noun that follows them. For instance, the noun ‘kená’ / dog/ has LH tone in isolation. However, when it is preceded by the possessive pronouns the tone of the noun is changed to LL. As a result, the noun phrase has HL tone. This situation may not be true in other Ometo languages for instance; the possessive pronominal in Wolita (Azeb 1996) do not carry high tone and never influence the heads that come next to them. I present all the possessive paradigms in Zaysete below with the head noun /kená/ ‘dog’ which has a LH tone:

179. tá- kɛna	‘my dog’
né-kɛna	‘your dog’
é-kɛna	‘his dog’
í-kɛna	‘her dog’
nú-kɛna	‘our dog’(EXCL)
ní-kɛna	‘our dog’(INCL)
wú-kɛna	‘your dog’(PL)
ú-kɛna	‘their dog’

These are the changes that I observed in my data which substantiate the findings of Bauer and Wigboldus (2010). Although I tried to cover the most important aspect of tone with regard to identification of its pattern and function, I do not claim to have exhaustively analyzed it. Thus, I recommend further investigation in this area.

2.4.6. Tonological process of Zaysete

Based on the data that I analyzed, the following tonological processes are identified:

a. Low tone replacement

This kind of tonological process takes place when a word with HL tone is combined with the focus marker that has an underlying high tone, which always changes the preceding vowel to H tone; the tone of the new word becomes HHL tone. Look at the following examples;

180. fáto	‘child’	>	fátóte	‘it is the child’ (HL > HHL)
dóro	‘sheep’	>	dórote	‘it is the sheep’ (HL > HHL)

Thus as we can see from the above examples, the word **fáto ‘child’** and **dóro ‘sheep’** have HL tone but when they are followed by the focus marker -te, the L tone is replaced by the H tone and the phrase has HHL tone.

b. High tone deletion

This kind of tonological process occurs in two conditions. The first one is when a word with LH tone is attached to dissimilar vowel suffixes, and the second is when a possessive adjective which has H tone is attached to the noun which has LH tone to form a noun phrase. The following examples show how the H tone deletion occurs:

a. when plural nouns are formed:

181.	Root	Tone	suffix	Plural Noun	Tone	Gloss
	molé	LH	-ir	molir	LL	‘fish’ (PL)
	biǰǰá	LH	-ir	biǰǰir	LL	‘girls’ (PL)
	dolé	LH	-ir	dolir	LL	‘doves’ (PL)
	haré	LH	-ir	harir	LL	‘donkeys’ (PL)
	maǰ:á	LH	-ir	maǰ:ir	LL	‘knives’ (PL)
	maidó	LH	-ir	majdir	LL	‘oxen’ (PL)
	kená	LH	-ir	kenir	LL	‘dogs’ (PL)

when this is generalized:

final vowel → \emptyset / -ir

b. When possessive adjectives are used:

182. Possesive	Tone	Noun	Tone	Noun Phrase	Tone	Gloss
tá-	H	kená	LH	tá- kēna	HLL	‘my dog’
nú-	H	kená	LH	nú- kēna	HLL	‘our dog (EXCL)’
ní-	H	kená	LH	ní- kēna	HLL	‘our dog (INCL)’
né-	H	kunké	LH	né- kúnke	HLL	‘your nose’
wú-	H	kunké	LH	wú- kúnke	HLL	‘your (PL) nose’
í-	H	maidó	LH	í- maido	HLL	‘her ox’
é-	H	maidó	LH	é- maido	HLL	‘his ox’
ú-	H	maidó	LH	ú- maido	HLL	‘their ox’

The H tone of the nouns **kená**, **kunké**, and **maidó** in the above examples are deleted and replaced by L tone because of the possessive markers which always have H tone. This can be written as:

H → L / Affix-

These two types of tonal process are also identified by Bauer and Wigboldus (2010), however, there are some points that I want to argue with. For instance, the use of the term deletion and replacement: the first tonal process that I identified is ‘Low tone replacement’, but they said that it is a low tone deletion. Here I argue that there is nothing which is deleted, but the L tone is replaced by the H tone. But in the second tonal process again in my data, I try to show that there are deletions. The H tone is deleted together with the terminal vowel and replaced by the tone of the suffix which is L tone. Thus, in the case of replacement it is difficult to say deletion and vice versa.

Generally, tone in Zaysete is very important because it is phonemic, and it has both lexical and grammatical functional load. Since my focus is not only to work out tone in detail, I try to limit myself to these findings however, I strongly recommend further investigation about the tone and tonology of Zaysete because there are other tonological processes in the language like high tone spreading, floating of high tone and pre-pausal lowering of tone which are identified by Bauer and Wigboldus (2010).

2.5. Phonological processes

The following common phonological processes are attested in Zaysete.

2.5.1. Spirantization

Bilabial stops /p/ and /b/ become fricatives when they occur between vowels. This rule is represented as follows:

/p/ > [ɸ] /v-v

/b/ > [β] /v-v

183. /sápó/	→ [s'aɸó]	‘root’
/dúpo/	→ [dúɸo]	‘straw’
/dábé/	→ [daβé]	‘waist’
/dábo/	→ [dáβo]	‘abstain’
/gó:bə/	→ [gó:βə]	‘brave’

As it is indicated in the above examples, [ɸ] and [β] are not phonemes but allophones of the bilabial plosive /p/ and /b/ respectively. The general rule for spirantization is as follows:

[+bilabial stops] → [+fricative] / V - V

2.5.2. Vowel nasalization

If any vowels occur before a nasal consonant, they become nasalized. The kind of assimilation takes place is called regressive assimilation. This can be captured as:

V [-nasal] > V [+nasal] / -NC

177. /tʃimá/	→	[tʃ [̃] imá]	‘old’
/kumús/	→	[kũmús]	‘full’
/kená/	→	[kɛ̃ná]	‘dog’

2.5.3. Homeorganic nasal assimilation

The nasal sound /n/ is assimilated to the following consonants:

a. /n/ > [ɲ] /- c[+ palatal]

185. /tʃ [̃] intʃ [̃] o/	→	[tʃ [̃] ɲptʃ [̃] o]	‘be wise’
/tʃ [̃] éntʃa/	→	[tʃ [̃] ɛ̃ptʃa]	‘dark’

b. /n/ > [ŋ] /- c[+velar plosives]

186. /láŋge/	→	[lãŋge]	‘round’
/kunké/	→	[kũŋké]	‘nose’
/sunké/	→	[sũŋké]	‘claw’

c. / n / > [m] / - c [+bilabial stops]

181. /ʔúnbe/	→ [ʔúmbe]	‘fall’
/ʃénpo /	→ [ʃémpo]	‘soul’

As it is indicated in the above examples, homeorganic nasal assimilation takes place. When the above phonological process can be captured with the general rule as follows:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +alveolar \\ +nasal \end{array} \right] > \left[\begin{array}{l} +palatal \\ +velar \\ +bilabial \end{array} \right] / - \left[\begin{array}{l} +palatal \\ +velar \\ +bilabial \end{array} \right]$$

2.5.4. Aspiration

When the voiceless stops occur at the word-initial position, aspiration takes place. The following example shows the word initial aspiration of the voiceless stop sounds:

188. /kírbe/	→ [k ^h írbe]	‘sing’
/túk:e/	→ [t ^h uk:é]	‘leg’
/puǎé/	→ [p ^h uǎé]	‘flower’

Thus, all voiceless stops in initial position in Zaysete are aspirated. When the above rule is generalized it can be written as:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +stop \\ -voice \\ -asp. \end{array} \right] > \left[\begin{array}{l} +stop \\ -voice \\ +asp. \end{array} \right] / \# _$$

2.5.5. Addition of vowels

Most of the time, Zaysete speakers add vowels when they pronounce loanwords. The addition of vowels may take place in all positions- at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a word. Thus, Prothesis, Epenthesis and Paragoge exist in the language.

- a. **Prothesis:** this is the addition of a vowel in initial position. The speaker of Zaysete simplifies the problem of sounds such as /r/ at word initial position by making use of the vowel /i/ initially. There is no word that begins with the sound /r/ that is the reason why the vowel is inserted:

189. Amharic	Zaysete	Gloss
riport	[iripóрте]	‘report’
radio	[íradio]	‘radio’

b. Epenthesis

Epenthesis is a common phenomenon in Ethiopian languages such as in Amharic (Hudson 2000, Mulugeta 1998, 2001, 2003). An epenthetic vowel / i / is inserted in Zaysete where a cluster of three consonants arises. The nature of the epenthetic vowel in every position of words is based on the cluster rule of the language. In Zaysete the only permissible consonant cluster is two. If three consonants at word initial position, the epenthesis is between the first two consonants because a consonant cluster or geminate consonant is not permitted word initially. Since a sequence of two consonants is permitted at word medial and final position, the epenthesis is either between the first and the second or between the second and the third consonant. This result also ratifies what has been said by Bauer and Wegboldus (2010). They said that the presence of the epenthetic vowel helps us to identify the word boundaries.

190. /námʔ-tam/	→ [námʔ-i- támm]	‘twenty’
/háyts-tam/	→ [háyts -i- támm]	‘thirty’

In addition to this, the speaker of Zaysete to pronounce the Amharic word /Krar/ ‘a musical instrument’, they say /kirare/ because the consonant cluster /kr/is not permissible in Zaysete. Thus an epenthetic vowel -i- is inserted between the two consonants /k/ and /r/.

- c. **Paragoge:** this is the development of word final vowel. Zaysete speakers add the vowel /e/ word finally on borrowed words after consonants. This phenomenon is also identified by Mulugeta (1998: 45) but more examples are given here:

185. Amharic	Zaysete	Gloss
/dewil/	[dewile]	‘bell’
/kis/	[kisé]	‘pocket’
/mismar/	[mismáre]	‘naile’
/ʃemiz/	[ʃemíze]	‘shirt’
/mengist/	[mēngíste]	‘government’
/tarik/	[t ^h aríke]	‘history’
/nibab/	[nibabé]	‘reading’
/speling/	[ʔispelíngɛ]	‘spelling’
/timirt/	[t ^h imírte]	‘learning’
/alphabet/	[alphabeté]	‘alphabet’
/kir/	[k ^h iré]	‘thread’

2.5.6. Metathesis on loan words

In the process of pronouncing borrowed words in Zaysete the inverse use of some sounds which is called metathesis takes place. Bauer and Wegboldus (2010: 34) identified that since stop-fricative clusters are not allowed in the language when they are pronouncing loan words the inverse of it is used. Hayward (1991: 233) also express the possible consonant order as the fricatives comes before the stops. My data also confirm the inverse use of stops and fricatives. The following examples are taken from Mulugeta (1988: 45) that shows how some of the native speakers of Zaysete pronounce loan words with stops and fricatives:

192. Amharic	Zaysete	Gloss
/taksi/	[táske]	‘taxi’
/libs/	[lísbe]	‘cloth’

Thus from the above example one can understand that:

/- ks-/ → [-sk-]
 /-bs- / → [-sb-]

Thus as it can be seen above the stops never precedes the fricatives that is why /k/ and /s/, and /b/ and /s/ are inversed.

2.5.7. Labialization

Labialization of the initial consonant takes place when the high back vowel /u/ preceded by the bilabial consonants and followed by alveolar and velar consonants. Illustrative examples are given below:

193. /mús’o/	→ [m ^w ús’o]	‘kiss’
/budó/	→ [b ^w udó]	‘lamp/torch’
/mú:ǰi/	→ [m ^w ú:ǰi]	‘juice’
/bú:ko/	→ [b ^w ú:ko]	‘thresh/beat’
/muk’á/	→ [m ^w uk’á]	‘traditional food’

The general rule for labilisation can be written as:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +bilabial \\ +voice \\ -labi. \end{array} \right] > \left[\begin{array}{l} + bilabial \\ +voice \\ +labi. \end{array} \right] / _ \text{ [high back vowel]}$$

2.6. Morphophonemic processes

The following morphophonemic processes are attested in Zaysete.

2.6.1. Deletion of segments

Deletion of segments takes place in the process of affixation or compounding in Zaysete. In this process either the last vowel or the glottal stop that begins a word are deleted. Word final vowel deletion occurs when a vowel-initial morpheme is suffixed to a root; the terminal vowels in the root are deleted. In Zaysete, plural formation is conducted through suffixation or by adding the plural suffix */-ir/*. When the noun is added the plural suffix */-ir/*, it means that the number is more than one it can be two, three or four. In this case of plural formation, the vowel is deleted from final position.

194. /dóro/	‘sheep’	→	/dór-ir/	‘two or more sheep’
/kená/	‘dog’	→	/ken-ir/	‘dogs’
/já:to/	‘child’	→	/já:t-ir/	‘children’
/ʔólllo/	‘hourse’	→	/ʔóll-ir/	‘horses’

TV → \emptyset /-V

Moreover, in the formation of compound nouns, if the words that combined together end with a vowel and begin with the glottal stop, both the vowel and the glottal stops are eliminated. Consider the following examples:

195. a. /ʔindo/	‘mother’
/ʔáde/	‘man, male’
/ʔindáde/	‘who has mother’

/ʔindo + ʔade / → /ʔindáde/

196. b. /maidó/	‘ox’
/ʔáde/	‘man, male,/
/maidáde/	‘who has ox’

/ maidó + ʔade / → / maidáde /

As it can be seen in the above examples, the last vowel from the words /ʔíndo/, and /maidó/ is deleted, and the glottal stop from the word /ʔáde/ is also deleted when compounding of the two words are formed.

2.6.2. Gliding /weakening/

Gliding takes place when a word that has a vowel ending is suffixed with a morpheme that begins with a vowel; as a result of this the two vowels meet at the potential word boundary. Thus the two vowels create gliding. Bauer and Wegboldus (2010: 35) also identified the existence of gliding in Zaysete. If one of the words which are ready for suffixation ends with a consonant, it is considered as exceptional. Example 191 and 192 illustrate this point respectively. When the nominative marker /-i/ is added to the subject ends with a vowel gliding takes place as follows:

197. / tá + i /	=	[tá-j]	‘I’ (NOM)
/matʃína + i/	=	[matʃíná-j]	‘women’ (NOM)
/ʔáda + i /	=	[ʔada-j]	‘father’ (NOM)

However, if the nominative marker /-i/ is added to a subject that ends with consonant gliding never takes place /-i/ remains as it is as the following example show:

198. /mi:s + i	=	[mi:s-i]	‘cow NOM’
/ʔatʃ + i	=	[ʔatʃ-i]	‘tooth NOM’

2.6.3. Insertion of /ʔ/

In Zaysete, there is no syllable that begins with a vowel. Even if the word begins with a vowel the onset position is filled by the insertion of the glottal stop /ʔ/. This is done to prevent onset less syllables. Even at word boundaries, if there are vowel sequences the glottal stop has to be inserted. The following examples are taken from Appendix 1 (Text 1) to show the insertion of glottal stop /ʔ/ between words:

193. a. ʔurdó ʔálma ʔu:kátse?
rabbit what:ACC shouting
‘what made a rabbit shouting?’

b. kená -s ʔálma ʔíngo?
dog DAT what:ACC given
‘what is given to a dog?’

To summarise, the main focus of this chapter is the detail discussion of phonetics and phonology of the language. The phonetics seen first. In this part, consonant and vowel phones and phonemes are identified and described. A total of 26 consonant phonemes and 7 short and long vowels are identified. In the phonology part the phonetic variants of the phones, consonant and vowel length are discussed. Both vowel and consonant lengthening is phonemic in the language. Tone is also described. Two tone patterns H and L are identified. The tonal melodies of different word classes are also discussed. The tonological, phonological and morphophonemic processes are also described with examples.

Chapter Three

3. Noun Morphology

This chapter treats the Noun morphology of Zaysete. It has three main sections. The first section focuses on the basic forms of Zaysete nouns. The second section treats the inflectional morphemes of Zaysete, and gives an overview of the categories of definiteness, gender and number in the language. Other inflectional markers like cases are also treated in this section. Furthermore, the third section treats noun derivation and compounding.

3.1. The basic forms of Nouns

Most nouns in Zaysete end in vowels. However; there are also some nouns that end in consonants. Thus, Nouns in Zaysete can be classified into two. These are nouns that end in vowels and nouns that end in consonants. The nouns ending with vowels consist of the root and the terminal vowel. According to Hayward (2001), the existence of a terminal vowel in a language is identified by the following criteria: 1) Only a subset of the vowel qualities appears in this position; 2) There is variation in realization of the terminal vowel; 3) The vowel is deleted in certain conditions; 4) The vowel is linked to functions such as gender marking; 5) It is impossible to reconstruct the terminal vowel. Thus, terminal vowels are attested in Zaysete based on the third criteria. The observed terminal vowels are **a**, **e** and **o**. The following are examples of nouns ending with terminal vowels **a**, **e**, and **o** respectively.

Citation form of ‘a’

1. gínda	‘back’
ʔád:a	‘father’
fára	‘cloud’
ʔúm:a	‘head’
máf:á	‘knife’
s’ínka	‘grass’

Citation form of ‘e’

2. məkéte	‘bone’
bóinte	‘knee’
molé	‘fish’
dé:ge	‘heel’
kútʃe	‘hand’
bú:re	‘garbage’
hotʃʹé	‘granary’
kó:tse	‘beehive’

Citation form of ‘o’

3. musíro	‘heart’
fá:to	‘child’
kafó	‘bird’
gormótʃʹo	‘ant’
dibó	‘door’
na:ró	‘game’
ʒingó	‘gift’
karánko	‘bat’
dí:lo	‘inheritance’
tolkó	‘hyena’
fop’o	‘armpit’
mairó	‘locust’

Here are the nouns ending with the consonants:

4. k’óos	‘sun’
fóof	‘snake’
bítʃʹ	‘urine’
mí:s	‘cow’
ké:ts	‘house’
mitʃʹmítʃ	‘charcoal’

Among those nouns that terminate in vowel in their citation form, it is observed that some drop their final vowel when a suffix is added to them.

5. kɛn-á	‘dog’	kɛn-ir	‘dogs’
ʃá:t-o	‘child’	ʃá:t-ir	‘children’
mɛkét-e	‘bone’	mɛkét-ir	‘bones’

A link between the feminine gender and terminal vowel is verified in Zaysete noun. Such a link is widely proven across other Omoto languages such as Haro (Hirut 2004). As it is illustrated below most feminine nouns of Zaysete terminate in a vowel ‘o’. The following examples point out this point.

6. ʔind-o	‘mother’
ʔang-ó	‘elder sister’
bif:-ó	‘woman’
matʃ-ó	‘wife’
ʔáf-ó	‘grandmother’
ʔáwúst-o	‘aunt’

Not all Omotic languages have nouns with terminal vowels. Bender (2007: 737) also names Oyda, Basketo, Ganjule and Dime as having nouns without terminal vowels. However, Mulugeta (2008: 41) divides nouns in Dime into nouns with and without a terminal vowel. Some Dime nouns allow variation in the terminal vowel without a change of meaning.

The following sections deal with the inflectional morphology of nouns. In these sections definiteness, gender, and number are treated. Moreover the other inflectional marker case is also treated in this section.

3.2. Inflections of Nouns

This section treats inflectional morphemes of Zaysete that attached to Nouns, and give an overview of the categories of definiteness, gender and number in the language.

3.2.1. Definiteness

In Zaysete definiteness is expressed by adding prefixes to the nouns. These prefixal definite markers also co-mark both gender and number. This is one of the reasons that make Zaysete distinctive from other Ometo languages. Definiteness in Koorete and Maale is shown by geminating and alternating the last consonant of a noun (Azeb 2001, Binyam 2008). Chafe (1976: 25-56) sets out three criteria that the referent of the definite noun phrase must meet in order to be recognized as such:

- a) It must have been previously mentioned in the discourse.
- b) It must be a member of a universal set of entities (such as the sun, the moon...etc)
- c) Or the speaker must have good reason that the entity is retrievable by the listener through knowledge shared by the interlocutors.

Thus definiteness in Zaysete exists based on these three criteria's. In the following sections, definiteness of singular nouns and plural nouns will be discussed separately.

3.2.1.1. Definiteness of singular nouns

The definite markers in Zaysete are two types- markers for singular and markers for plural. The definite marker **e-** is used only with masculine singular nouns and **i-** with feminine as well as gender neutral singular nouns. Moreover **yi-** is also used as a prefix that indicates definiteness. The following are the examples of the definite markers:

7. a. ?e-	kɛná
DEF:MAS	dog
‘The male dog’	

b. ?e-	gárma
DEF:MAS	lion
‘The male lion’	

c. ʔe- **mahé**
DEF:MAS tiger
‘The male tiger’

8. a. ʔi- **kená**
DEF:FEM dog
‘The female dog’

b. ʔi- **gárma**
DEF:FEM lion
‘The female lion’

c. ʔi- **mahé**
DEF:FEM tiger
‘The female tiger’

9.a. yi- **ʃá:to**
DEF:that boy
‘The (that) boy’

b. yi- **míiss**
DEF:that cow
‘The (that) cow’

c. yi- **ʔó:lo**
DEF:that horse
‘The (that) horse’

As it is indicated in the above examples, the definite markers **e-** and **i-** and **yi-** are the prefixes that come before the nouns that they define. **e-** and **i-** are prefixes that show not only definiteness but also gender. However the definite marker **yi-** never shows gender.

Theoretically definite articles must also be distinguished from demonstratives. Definite articles refer to a specific noun without positioning it deictically in relation to the speaker while demonstratives normally entail a form of deictic information in relation to the speaker. However, in some languages like Zaysete demonstratives may function as determiners if there is knowledge shared by the interlocutors.

In Zaysete the demonstrative determiner is used as a marker of definiteness. As example 9 (a,b and c) above indicates, definiteness in Zaysete is expressed by means of demonstratives. **yi-** (that) is mainly employed to show definiteness. This morpheme is used to show the item that cannot be pointed out. Its function here is greater than other demonstratives. Thus, Zaysete speakers use this demonstrative to show definiteness, besides **yi-** shows only definiteness but not gender. Still, the other demonstrative adjectives show definiteness as in the examples below:

10. ha	gá:rma	‘this lion’
	ha ʔádure	‘this cat’
	so fá:to	‘that child’
	so séga	‘that goat’

11. so	fá:to- y	lóʔó	– t:e
that:DEF	child –NOM	handsome	is
‘That child is handsome.’			

Here **so ‘that’** refers to the child that the speaker and listener know. Thus, it functions as a definit marker. In order to show gender, the gender marker can be placed before the noun as follows:

ha	ʔi-	gá:rma
this	DEF:FEM	lion
‘This female lion’		

3.2.1.2. Definiteness of plural nouns

The prefix **u-** is used to indicate definiteness in plural nouns. This prefix is used regardless of gender. The following table shows the definiteness in plural nouns.

Nouns	Gloss	def. prefix	Def. Nouns	Gloss
míns'-ir	trees	u-	u -míns'-ir	the trees
bíǃ:-ir	girls	u-	u -bíǃ:-ir	the girls
ség-ir	goats	u-	u -ség-ir	the goats
ǃá:t-ir	children	u-	u -ǃá:t-ir	the children
kén-ir	dogs	u-	u -kén-ir	the dogs
maid-ir	oxen	u-	u -maid-ir	the oxen

Table 9. Definiteness of plural nouns

Like in the other Ometo language Koorete (Binyam 2008), indefiniteness is unmarked in Zaysete. The following examples show indefinite nouns which are not morphologically marked in the sentences:

12. **kén** **-ir** **-í** **yet** **-at:** **-in**
 dog PL NOM come FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'Dogs came.'

13. **bíǃ:a** **-y** **yet** **-at:** **-in**
 girl NOM come FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'A girl came.'

14. **míis** **-í** **yet** **-at:** **-in**
 cow NOM come FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'A cow came'

3.2.2. Gender

Gender distinction in Zaysete can be expressed in three ways. Firstly, as in many other languages natural gender of some animate nouns can be expressed by using different lexical items. Some of these have a distinct generic form as the examples given below:

15.	Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
	ʔáda	‘husband’	ma:ʔfó	‘wife’
	ʔá:to	‘boy’	bí:f:o	‘girl’
	maidó	‘ox’	míis	‘cow’
	bárts	brother	ʔangó	‘sister’
	ʔáda	‘father’	ʔíndo	‘mother’
	ʔórge	‘male goat’	séga	‘female goat’

Secondly, it is also possible to identify gender by using nouns as modifiers such as ʔáde ‘male’ for masculine gender for both human and animal. The other modifier bí:f:o ‘female’ is used for feminine nouns only for humans. Moreover ʔíndo ‘female’ is used for domestic animals, and maʔf:ína ‘female’ is used for cattle. The following examples illustrate this point.

16. a. Modifiers + Noun			Gloss
ʔáde	kená	MAS dog	‘male dog’
ʔáde	ʔó:llo	MAS horse	‘male horse’
ʔáde	hakíme	MAS doctor	‘male doctor’
ʔáde	ʔastamáre	MAS teacher	‘male teacher’

b. Modifiers + Noun			Gloss
bí:f:o	kazats	FEM beggar	‘female beggar’
bí:f:o	astamare	FEM teacher	‘female teacher’
bí:f:o	hakime	FEM doctor	‘female doctor’

c. Modifiers + Noun			Gloss
ʔíndo	ʔádure	FEM cat	‘female cat’
ʔíndo	kená	FEM dog	‘female dog’
ʔíndo	s’ega	FEM goat	‘female goat’
ʔíndo	hare	FEM donkey	‘female donkey’

20. ʔi –	ʔók:a
FEM	young míis or maidó
	‘The young míis or maidó’ (FEM)

As it is indicated in the example above the noun **ʔók:a** is given to the new born míis/ maidó. Because of its size and the age, the feminine gender is given to it. But when we see the reality the **ʔóka** may be male or female.

3.2.3. Number

In the numeral system of Zaysete, there is a clear distinction of singular and plural forms, singularity in Zaysete is expressed by zero morphemes, thus it is unmarked but the plural form is marked morphologically. As shown in the example below suffixing the morpheme **-ir** to basic noun forms form plural nouns. Any nouns except kinship terms pluralized by this morpheme.

21. Singular Noun	Gloss	plural	Gloss
záka	elephant	zák – ir	‘elephants’
séga	goat	ség – ir	‘goats’
kená	dog	ken – ir	‘dogs’
kafó	bird	kaf – ir	‘birds’
tolkó	hayena	tolk – ir	‘hyenas’
ʃá:to	child	ʃá:t – ir	‘children’
puďě	flower	puď– ir	‘flowers’
botʃ̣é	mountain	botʃ̣ – ir	‘mountains’
maidó	ox	maid-ir	‘oxen’
luk:ó	hen	luk:-ir	‘hens’
ʔadúre	cat	ʔadúr-ir	‘cats’
haré	donkey	har-ir	‘donkeys’
gárma	lion	gárm-ir	‘lions’
dolé	dove	dol-ir	‘doves’
ʔétʃ̣ere	rat	ʔétʃ̣er-ir	‘rats’
ʔurdó	rabbit	ʔurd-ir	‘rabbits’

ba:tʃ̣e	sadle	ba:tʃ̣-ir	‘sadles’
ʔetsẹ́re	lizard	ʔetsér-ir	‘lizards’

As it can be seen in the above example, terminal vowels of the singular citation forms are deleted when the plural marker is suffixed to them. this can be written as:

terminal V → ϕ / -V

The example below shows nouns that have consonant ending take the plural marker **-ir** without any change.

22. Singular Noun	Gloss	plural	Gloss
ʔá:fɛs	‘gives fruit’	ʔáfɛs – ir	gives fruit
ʃo:ʃ	‘snake’	ʃó:ʃ - ir	snakes
k’ó:s	‘day’	k’ó:s – ir	days
ké:ts	‘house’	kéts – ir	houses
mí:s	‘cow’	mí:s – ir	cows

Regarding nouns that refers body parts found in pair have dual meanings (singular or plural) naturally. In order to differentiate their singularity from the plurality the noun has to be modified by the numeral **bíz:o** ‘one’. Example 23 shows both the singular or the plural but example 24a, b and c shows the singular nouns.

23. a.	ʔá:fe	‘eye/eyes’
b.	kútʃe	‘hand/hands’
c.	túk:e	‘foot/feet’

24. a.	bíz:	-i	ʔá:fe
	one	EPEN	eye
	‘An eye’		

b.	bíz:	-i	kútʃe
	one	EPEN	hand

	‘A hand’	
c. bíz:	-i	túk:e
one	EPEN	foot
	‘A foot’	

Moreover, in Zaysete the expressions like **ʔadó** ‘big’, **ʔe:ráló** ‘few’ and **ʔé:res** ‘small’ are used for uncountable nouns and expression like **lá:go** ‘many’ is used for countable nouns. The following examples show this point.

24. wá:tse	water	ʔé:ri wá:tse	‘some water’
kátsa	food	ʔe:ráló kátsa	‘few food’
mi:s	cow	lá:go mí:sir	‘many cows’

With kinship terms, plurality is marked by way of a suffix **–ás**. Moreover, apart from its use in Zaysete, the kinship plural marker **–ás** seems to be similar to other Ometo groups like the Maale plural marker **-atsi** (Azeb, 2001: 55), the Koorete plural marker **–atse**, (Binyam 2008: 32) and the Haro plural marker **–áási**. (Hirut, 2003: 61). Since it has cognates in other Omotic languages, the use of the plural suffix **–ás** is added to the kinship terms is not peculiar to Zaysete. Consider the examples below.

25. Singular	Gloss	plural	Gloss
ʔangó	elder sister	ʔang-ás	‘elder sisters’
ʔáda	father	ʔád-ás	‘fathers’
ʔíndo	mother	ʔínd –ás	‘mothers’
bárts	young	bárts- ás	‘youngsters’
ʔawús	uncle	ʔawús –ás	‘uncles’
ʔawústo	aunt	ʔawúst –ás	‘aunts’
ʔangó	elder sister	ʔang-ás	‘elder sisters’
bíj:o	wife	bíj-ás	‘wives’
ʔáfó	grand (FEM)	ʔáf-ás	‘grandmothers’

Usage of the regular plural marker **–ás** only with kinship nouns is acceptable. Sometimes after the morpheme **–ás** is added to the kinship terms, it is possible to add the plural marker **-ir**. But the meaning is not changed. The following examples show this point:

26.	Singular	Gloss	plural	Gloss
	ʔangó	elder sister	ʔang-ás'-ir	'elder sisters'
	ʔáda	father	ʔád-ás'-ir	'fathers'
	ʔíndo	mother	ʔínd-ás'-ir	'mothers'
	bárts	young	bárts-ás'-ir	'youngsters'
	ʔawús	uncle	ʔawús-ás'-ir	'uncles'
	ʔawústo	aunt	ʔawúst-ás'-ir	'aunts'
	ʔangó	elder sister	ʔang-ás'-ir	'elder sisters'
	bíʃ:o	woman	bíʃ-ás'-ir	'women'
	ʔáfó	grand (FEM)	ʔáf-ás'-ir	'grandmothers'

More importantly, the examples show that the plural marker **-ir** is dependent or inseparable from the case markers **-i/y** 'nominative'. When the plural noun serves as a subject it will take the nominative case marker **-i/y**. The examples below show plural nouns used in the nominative case.

27. a. ʔe- bárts -ás' -í mu:t -at -us -in
 DEF young PL NOM eat FOC 3PL PERF:AFF:DEC
 'The young ones ate.'

b. ʔe- ʔawús -ás' -í yeet -at -us -in
 DEF uncle PL NOM come FOC 3PL PERF:AFF:DEC
 'The uncles came'.

In Zaysete, the accusative case is marked by zero morphemes. These two examples are plural nouns in the accusative case.

28. a. tá -y e- ʔád -ás'(ir) ʔéh -ot: -et -en
 I NOM DEF father PL love FOC 1SG IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 'I love the fathers'.

b. ʔúsín -í e- ʔang -ás' s'el -at: -us -in
 they NOM DEF elder sister PL see FOC 3PL PERF:AFF:DEC
 'They saw the elder sisters'.

Case morphemes like the nominative case marker **-i** is added following the plural suffix. Example 29a below shows after the plural marker **-ir** is added to the noun in the nominative case the morpheme **-i** is attached to the noun but if it is accusative case, it is expressed by zero morpheme as in the example 29b below.

29. a. **ʔe-** **kaf** **-ir-** **-í** **wós** **-át:** **-ín**
 DEF:MAS bird- PL NOM fly FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The birds flew’

b. **tá** **-y** **kaf** **-ir** **s’el** **-át:** **-et** **-ín**
 I NOM bird PL see FOC 1SG PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘I saw birds’

Numerals or other quantifier expressions can be used in order to express the quantity of countable nouns. Still the noun has to be pluralized by adding the suffix **-ir**. To express a large number of entities the term **lá:go** ‘many’ is used. On the other hand, the quantifier **ʔé:res** ‘some’ is used to indicate a small amount or number. The plural marker **-ir** can occur with such nouns. Besides my data, Hirut (1988: 18) also points out that the main regular plural noun is accompanied by quantifiers.

30.a. **namʔ** **-i** **ség** **-ir**
 two EPEN goat PL
 ‘Two goats’

b. **lá:go** **ség** **-ir**
 many goat PL
 ‘Many goats’

c. **ʔoyd** **-i** **dor** **-ir**
 four EPEN sheep PL
 ‘Four sheep(PL)’

d. lá:go	zak	-ir
many	elephant	PL
‘Many elephants’		

The quantifier **ʔerálo** ‘few’ indicates a small amount of uncountable nouns as well as small number of countable nouns.

31. ʔerálo mí:s	‘few cows’
ʔerálo ká:tsa	‘few food’
ʔerálo má:tse	‘few milk’

In order to express a very little amount of uncountable nouns in Zaysete, the modifier ‘**sík:i**’ ‘little/very small/’ is used with the noun that is going to be quantified.

32. a. sík:	- i	ʔatfó
very small	EPEN	meat
‘Very small piece of meat’		
b. sík:	- i	má:tse
very little	EPEN	milk
‘Very little milk’		
c. sík:	- i	wa:tse
very little	EPEN	water
‘Very little water’		

3.2.4. Case

Case is a grammatical category of nouns which shows the nature of their affiliation to the verb in sentences. The case of the nouns is shown by the inflectional morphemes attached to it. Different languages may have different types of case markers. Thus, the number of cases varies from one language to the other language. In this regard, Zaysete nouns are inflected for nominative, genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental, comitative and locative cases. As Blake (1995: 33) indicates, case can be categorized into two different levels. The first one is “core

case” which refers to syntactic functions like subject and object i.e. nominative accusative distinction. The second level, peripheral case, refers to instrumental, genitive, locative, comitative, and ablative cases. According to Katamba (1993) the core case are labeled as ‘Grammatical’ and peripheral cases as ‘Oblique’. Thus, Core cases express syntactic relation, while peripheral cases express semantic relations. Hirut (2003) categorizes absolutive, nominative and genitive cases under the ‘core case’. The reason for categorizing genitive case under core case is because genitive case functions as a base for the peripheral case marking. However, the Blake’s (1995: 33) classification of cases is used in this thesis. The core cases will be seen first and followed by the peripheral cases.

3.2.4.1. Core cases

i. Nominative case:

Zaysete has nominative case morpheme **-i**. The nominative case is marked by the suffix **-i** for nouns that have consonant endings and **-y** for nouns with vowel endings. The suffix **-y** is the result of the occurrence of gliding when the nominative suffix **-i** is suffixed directly to the stem with a vowel ending. Thus the main nominative case marker is **-i** but **-y** is its allomorphy. In Zaysete both definite and indefinite nouns are inflected for nominative cases.

33. a. ʔáduré -y ʔéʃʃ^here wod -át: -ís -ín
 cat NOM rat kill FOC 3FS PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘A cat killed a rat.’

b. Alemó -y bíz: - í séga jam -át -és -ín
 Alemu NOM one NOM goat buy FOC 3MS PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Alemu bought a goat.’

c. mí:s - í zaw - at: -ís wos’ -ín
 cow NOM home FOC 3FS run PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘A cow run home.’

d. e - ʔáts – í astamo guyd -át: -és -ín
 DEF man NOM astamo hit FOC 3MS PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The man hit Astamo’

e. tá ʔóid – í ʔó:ll -ir wá:tse uf -ót: -ús -ín
 my four NOM horse PL water drink FOC 3PL PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘My four horses drank water.’

As it is indicated above the head noun of a noun phrase in a subject position appears with the nominative marker. However, in some cases if the noun phrase is modified by more than one modifier, one of the modifiers is marked for the nominative case. Example ‘33e’ above demonstrates this point.

Proper nouns in Zaysete are marked for the appropriate nominative case markers. Consider the following illustrative examples. This situation is also attested in Malo (Mahder 2007).

34. ʔe - k’ó:s -i ʔadó – t:é
 DEF:MAS sun NOM big FOC
 ‘The sun is big’

35. Alemó - y bíz: - i séga jam -át -ín
 Alemu NOM one EPEN goat buy FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Alemu bought a goat’

In Zaysete, the Nominative case marker –i doesn’t involve gender distinction. Regarding this issue Hirut (2003: 68) mentions the following:

The asymmetry shown in gender distinction of the core case markers distinguishes the East Ometo languages such as Zayse (Hayward, 1990), Koyra (Hayward, 1982) and Zergula (Baye, 1994) from the rest Ometo. This gender syncretism in the Nominative case can be considered an isogloss separating East Ometo from the rest of Ometo.

The suffix **-i**, which functions as the only Nominative case marker in Zaysete and other East Ometo languages such as Haro (Hirut 2003) does not involve gender distinction.

ii. Accusative case

The accusative case refers to the inflection of the nouns used as a direct object of a sentence. Lyons (1968: 290) notes “the accusative is used to mark the object of a transitive verb.” In Zaysete the direct object is not marked by any affix but it is identifiable by its position in the sentence. That is it occurs immediately after the noun or pronoun functioning as the subject of the sentence. Thus the accusative case is marked by zero morphemes.

36. a. ʔi- mɨ:s -ir -í mu:t -át: -ín
 DEF cow PL NOM ate FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The cows ate’

b. tá -y ʔe- mɨ:s -ir sɛl -át: -ét -ín
 I NOM DEF cow PL see FOC 1SG PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘I saw the cows’

As it is indicated in the above examples, **36a** shows that the noun **mɨ:s / cow/** is the subject of the sentence and is marked for nominative case. However, in the second example **36b**, the noun **mɨ:s /cow/** is the object of the sentence and is not inflected for the case. As a result, the accusative case is marked by zero morphemes. In general there is no morpheme that marks the accusative cases in Zaysete.

3.2.4.2. Peripheral Case

According to Katamba (1993), unlike the core case the peripheral case marks not a syntactic function but rather a semantic one. The peripheral case refers to dative, instrumental, commitative, locative, ablative and genitive morphological markings.

i. Dative Case

Blake (1994) defines the dative case as it is a kind of case that denotes an indirect object. Thus it refers to forms taken by a noun phrase to express an indirect object association. According to Katamba (1993) since a dative case indicates the person or the thing that benefits out of an action, it should be considered as beneficiary case. In Zaysete, the notion of indirect object is expressed by using the morpheme **-us** or **-s**. These two morphemes are never occurred at the same time. **-s** is used after a noun that ends with vowel, however **-us** is used after a noun that ends with consonants. These are suffixed to the nouns in the indirect object position, as illustrated in the following examples.

37. **ʔés -í Alemu -s i- mas'afa ʔing -át: -ín**
 he NOM Alemu DAT DEF book give FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'He gave the book to Alemu.'

38. **tá -y e- kat -ús má:ts ʔing -át: -ín**
 I NOM DEF king DAT milk give FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'I gave milk to the king.'

39. **ʔís -í ʔe- ʔáts -ús wá:tse ʔing -át: -ín**
 She -NOM DEF man DAT water give FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'She give water to the man.'

40. **Astamó -y e- kená -s kátsa ʔing -át: -ín**
 Astamo NOM DEF dog DAT food gave FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'Astamo gave food to the dog.'

As the above examples show, the dative morpheme **-ús** is added to the indirect object of the above sentences. **-s** is added to the vowel final noun and **-ús** is added to the consonant final nouns. Under normal circumstances, the indirect object in Zaysete occurs preceding the direct

object. Yet, reversing the order does not lead to an ungrammatical structure. Corresponding to the above examples it is possible to change the place of the direct and indirect objects without any meaning change as follows:

41. $\text{ʔés -í} \quad \text{ʔi-} \quad \text{mas'afa} \quad \text{Alemu} \quad \text{-s} \quad \text{ʔing -át:} \quad \text{-ín}$
 he NOM DEF book Alemu DAT give FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'He gave the book to Alemu.'

42. $\text{tá -y} \quad \text{má:ts} \quad \text{e-} \quad \text{kat} \quad \text{-ús} \quad \text{ʔing} \quad \text{-át:} \quad \text{-ín}$
 I NOM milk DEF king DAT give FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'I gave milk to the king.'

43. $\text{Astamo -y} \quad \text{kátsa} \quad \text{e-} \quad \text{kəná -s} \quad \text{ʔng} \quad \text{-át:} \quad \text{-ín}$
 Astamo NOM food DEF dog DAT give FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'Astamo gave food to the dog.'

44. $\text{ʔís - í} \quad \text{wá:tse} \quad \text{ʔe-} \quad \text{ʔáts} \quad \text{-ús} \quad \text{ʔing} \quad \text{-át:} \quad \text{-ín}$
 She NOM water DEF man DAT give FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'She gave water to the man.'

In the above sentence, the direct object comes before the indirect object and the resulting structure is still acceptable.

ii. Instrumental Case

Katamba (1993) and Hirut (2003) define instrumental case, it indicates a thing or object by which or with which an action is done. The instrumental case marker in Zaysete is the suffix **-una**. This morpheme has two forms depending on the noun it is attached to. Instrumental case in Koorete (Binyam 2008) is also shown by the morpheme **-na**.

45. **tá -y samuna ʔe- maf:á -na -t: -ét ʔits' -ín**
 I NOM soap DEF knife INST FOC 1SG cut PERF:AFF:DEC
 'I cut soap with the knife.'

46. **ʔis -í Samuel kaló -na guyd -át: -ín**
 she NOM Samuel stick INST hit FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'She hit Samuel with a stick'.

47. **tá -y mínsá gánde -na t: ʔits' -ín**
 I NOM tree axe INST FOC cut PERF:AFF:DEC
 'I cut a tree with an axe.'

As can be noted from the examples given above, instrumental case in this language is marked by the suffix **-una**. When we look at the nouns that allow the suffix **-na** in the above examples, all of them end with vowel. However this situation is different in consonant final nouns. In consonant final nouns, the morpheme is realized as **-úna**. Look at the example 48 below:

48. **Assaye -y e- bíf:a jó:f -úna netʃʔúf -át: -ín**
 Assaye NOM DEF girl snake INST poison FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 'Assaye poisoned the girl with a snake.'

The noun **jó:f** 'snake' is a C-final noun the instrumental case marker **-úna** is suffixed to it.

In some Omotic languages the instrumental and the comitative cases are marked by the same morpheme. For example, in Maale, suffix **-na** serves to mark both Instrumental as well as Comitative cases (Azeb 2001). Thus Maale shows Instrumental-Comitative syncretism. As Hirut (2003) notes that the syncretism between the instrumental and the commutative cases is

a cross linguistic phenomenon. In Harro (Hirut 2003), the commutative case marker **-ra** functions as the Instrumental case marker, conversely, the Instrumental case marker **-na** is not used as a comitative case marker. On the other hand in Kooretee (Binyam 2008) the two cases have distinct morphemes which functions differently - the comitative is marked by the morpheme **-ara** and the Instrumental is marked by **-na**. Based on my data, the same situation is attested in Zaysete. Zaysete keeps the two apart and use the element **-na** for the Instrumental and **-ra** for comitative. Hirut (1998) also confirm this idea.

iii. Comitative Case

In Zaysete, the morpheme **-urá** functions as a comitative case marker. According to Hirut (2003: 74), ‘The comitative introduces an entity that is present at the same event frame as the primary participant’. Examples are provided below:

49. **ʔés -í tá -ná - rá yet -át: -ín**
 he NOM me ACC COM came FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He came with me.’

50. **ʔe- fá:to kɛná -rá yet -át: -ín**
 DEF child dog COM came FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The child came with the dog.’

51. **Asaye -y é- gande -rá gá:ya -t: -és ham - ín**
 Assaye NOM his axe COM market FOC 3MS go PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Assaye went to the market with his axe.’

In the above examples the Comitative case marker **-rá** is used after the nouns end with vowel. However if the noun ends with a consonant another commutative case marker **-urá** is used. The following examples illustrate this point:

52. ʔúsún -í káts -úrá yet -át: -ín
 they NOM king COM come FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘They came with a king.’

53. ʔíndo -y mǐis - úrá yet -at: -in
 mother NOM cow COM come FOC PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Mother came with a cow.’

Moreover in Zaysete, the suffix – **bálas** ‘without’ is used to indicate the opposite Hirut (1998) also identify this word. Here are some examples:

54. ʔafe wa:tse bálas
 river water without
 ‘A river without water.’

55. kená kátsa bálas
 Dog food without
 ‘A dog without food.’

56. ʔáda tóra bálas
 father spear without
 ‘A father without a spear.’

57. ʔafa s’o:lint -ir bálas
 sky star PL without
 ‘A sky without stars.’

iv. Locative Case

Katamba (1993: 257) states locative case as ‘the case that indicates the location direction or spatial orientation of the event, state, or action identified by the verb.’ In, Zaysete this case indicates the location of a person or a thing by suffixing the case marker **-ka / -ga** to the noun. On the other hand, in Dime **-ka** is attested as a case marker for instrumental, commutative, and coordinative (Mulugeta 2008: 51). The following examples are provided to show the locative case in Zaysete:

58. **ʔe ʔatsó -y e- ké:ts -ká -t: -en**
DEF man NOM DEF house LOC FOC IMPERF:AFF:DEC
‘The man is in the house.’

59. **ʔe- ʔatsó -y e- ké:ts -gidá -t: -en**
DEF man NOM DEF house inside FOC IMPERF:AFF:DEC
‘The man is inside the house.’

60. **ʔe simaló -y e- wá:tse -gidá -t: -en**
DEF sand NOM DEF water inside FOC IMPERF:AFF:DEC
‘The sand is inside the water.’

61. **ʔe- molé -y e- bəgède -ga -t: -en**
DEF fish NOM DEF lake LOC FOC IMPERF:AEE:DEC
‘The fish is in the lake’

62. **gá:rmá -y e- múra -ga -t: -en**
lion NOM DEF forest LOC FOC IMPERF:AFF:DEC
‘A lion is in the forest’

63. **ʔe- buná -y s’arapéza -gá -t: -en**
DEF coffe NOM table on FOC IMPERF:AFF:DEC
‘The coffee is on the table.’

As it is indicated in the above examples the morpheme **-ka / -ga** is used to indicate the location. However **-ka** is used with C- final nouns and **-ga** is used with V-final vowels. The same locative marker **-ka** is also found in other Ometo language such as Maale (Azeb 2001: 65), Haro (Hirut 2003) (in Haro only a dynamic relation, which involves motion, is indicated by **-ga**) and **Koorete** (Binyam 2008). Moreover these suffixes show locations signifying various positions for instance the English prepositions **on** and **at**. Hirut (1998) also states this on her thesis. Consider the following examples:

64. ?e- áfe- ga
 DEF sky – LOC
 ‘On the sky’

65. ?i- ké:ts -gá
 DEF house LOC
 ‘At the house’

66. ?e- kará -ga
 DEF get LOC
 ‘At the gate’

In order to indicate other locations like under, behind, in front of, far, and near, Zaysete uses words like **?o:mo** ‘under’, **dáta** ‘behind’, **bira** ‘infront of’, **ha:ko** ‘far’ and **ʃine** ‘near’ respectively. Examples are provided below:

67. fǎ:tó -y ?i- tús ?o:mó -t:e wo? -ín
 child NOM DEF tree under FOC sit PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The child sat under the tree’.

68. ?e- gá:rmó -y ké:ts -úm ha:kó -t:e ga? -en
 DEF lion NOM house from far FOC roar IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The lion is roaring far from the house.’

69. ʔe- kená -y fápe wolá -t:e ʔeʔ -en

DEF dog NOM river near FOC stand IMPERF:AFF:DEC

‘The dog stands near the river’

70. ʔe- fá:tó -y e- fápe -um ha:k -ót: -en

DEF child NOM DEF river from far FOC IMPERF:AFF:DEC

‘The child is far from the river.’

71. ʔe- sínka dǎta

DEF grass behind

‘Behind the grass’

72. ʔi- bɛgɛde bíra

DEF lake in front of

‘In front of the lake’

The following table represents a summary of the locative case phrases:

Examples of locative phrases	Glosses
- ká / - ga	in, at
- gidá	inside
-gala	on
-o:mó	under
-úm , ha:kó	far from
-wolá	near
- dǎta	behind
- bíra	in front

Table 10. The summary of the locative case phrases

v. Ablative case

According to Katamba (1993) Ablative case is a case that signifies a noun that is used as source of something or place of leaving. The ablative case is marked by the suffix **-fa**. It expresses source, e.g. ‘from something’ or ‘out of something’. The same morpheme **-fa** is attested in Koorete (Binyam 2008). Examples are provided below.

73. **ʔúsún -í zayte dóko ʔá:fe gáfa -át: -ús**
 they NOM oil cabbage seed ABL FOC 3PL

déngé

get IMPERF:AFF:DEC

‘They get oil from cabbage seed’

74. **ʔutailé -y gá:ya -fá at: és yeen**
 utaille NOM market ABL FOC 3MS come PERF:AFF:DEC

‘Utaile came from a market’

75. **tá ʔíndó -y wá:tse jápe -fá -at: ís wóрге**
 my mother NOM water river ABL FOC 3FS fetch IMPERF:AFF:DEC

‘My mother fetches water from a river.’

76. **nú -y má:ts miis- káfá -t: -un déngé**
 we NOM milk cow ABL FOC 1PL get IMPERF:AFF:DEC

‘We get milk from a cow’

77. **utailé -y ʔé- ké:ts káfá at: -es yeen**
 utaille NOM his house ABL FOC 3MS come PERF:AFF:DEC

‘Utaile came from his house’

In the above examples, **-kafá/-gáfá, -fá, ,** are used to show the ablative case marking in Zaysete. In order to indicate a place of leaving **-fá** is used as an ablative case marker (Example 74 and 75 above). Moreover **-ga / -ká** is added to **-fá** to indicate a source of

something. Thus **-ga** is added if the source noun is V-final and **-ká** is added if the source noun is a C-final as example 73, 76 and 77 above illustrates.

vi. Genitive case

A genitive case is a common grammatical case, which is used to indicate possession of something by somebody. Thus, the genitive case is expressed by suffix **-ús**. The genitive case suffixation occurs with both common and proper noun that indicates possession. The genitive marker **-ús** is affixed to the possessor noun as the examples given below illustrate.

78. tolkó -s túk:é -y hatá at: -en
 hyena GEN leg NOM short FOC IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘A hyena’s leg is short.’

79. ?e- katá -s matjǒ ?úm:a
 DEF chief GEN wife head
 ‘The chief’s wife head.’

80. né ?úm:a -s ?itsinké -y zo?ó at: -en
 PRON head GEN hair NOM red FOC IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Your head’s hair is red.’

The above three examples show genitive is expressed by the suffix morpheme of **-s**. The vowel **-u** is deleted because of the vowel of the noun that attached with it. There is also another way of expressing genitives in Zaysete by using **-ús** as a suffix as in the following examples:

81. jó:ʃ -ús k’elemé -i kártšú -t:e
 snake -GEN color -Nom black -FOC
 ‘The color of the snake is black’

82. jáʃ -ús k’elemé -i bo:sú -t:e
 ice -GEN color -NOM white -FOC
 ‘The color of the ice is white.’

As it is indicated in example 83 below, genitives in Zaysete can be expressed by the possessive pronouns *í* / her / without adding the genitive morpheme. The definite prefixes in Zaysete and the possessive prefixes are marked by the same morpheme. However these morphemes are differentiated by their tone. All possessive prefixes have high tone than the definite prefixes. Examples 84,85 and 86 illustrate these points.

- 83. ʔí - dhigó -i hatá -te**
 POSS- chair -NOM short -FOC
 ‘Her chair is short.’
- 84. ʔi - kená** DEF:FEM dog ‘The female dog.’
ʔí- kená POSS:FEM dog ‘Her dog’
- 85. ʔe - kená** DEF: MAS dog ‘The male dog’
ʔé- kená POSS:MAS dog ‘His dog’
- 86. ʔu - ken-ir** DEF dog PL ‘The dogs’
ʔú – ken-ir POSSdog PL ‘Their dogs’

Moreover in Zaysete the combination of the possessor and the possessed nouns is also used to indicate genitives. Even if there is no suffix marker that shows genitives, they are identified by the positions they have within the sentences. Thus, Zaysete uses juxtaposition as a strategy of forming genitives with indefinite and definite nouns. The possessor noun comes first followed by the possessed noun.

- 87. ʔi- mīs kátsa**
 DEF- cow food
 ‘The food of the cow’
- 88. ʔi- kená fá:to**
 DEF- dog child
 ‘The dog’s child’

89. ʔe - fá:to dóro
DEF child sheep
'The sheep's child'

90. ʔi- séga má:ts
DEF:FEM goat milk
'The goat's milk'

Possessive affixes of personal pronouns that occur before the possessed noun are also help to express possession. Further explanation about the function of pronouns as genitives and the case forms of the pronoun will be given in chapter four.

In general Cases in Zaysete are classified into 'core cases' and 'peripheral cases'. Under core cases we have seen nominative and accusative cases. Nominative cases are marked by the morpheme **-i**. It has an allomorph **-y** but the accusative case is not marked by any morphemes. Regarding peripheral cases, Zaysete inflected for dative (**-s /-ús**), instrumental (**-na / -úná**), comitative (**-rá /-úra**), locative (**-ká / -ga** /), ablative (**-fá /-gafá / -káfá** /), and genitive (**-s /-ús**) cases.

The following table represents a summary of case marking morphemes:

Case type	Case marker	Example	Gloss
Core Cases			
a. Nominative case	-í	ʔi-míis –ir –í mu:t -at:-us	The cows ate
b. Accusative	unmarked	-in tá-y míis-ir s’el -at:-et -in	I saw cows.
Peripheral Cases			
i. Dative case	-s /-ús	...e –mas’afa Alem-ús	... the book to Alemu
ii. Instrumental Case	-ná /-úná	...gande –ná isín ... jóof - úná..	...with an axe ...with a snake
iii. Comitative Case	-rá /-úrá	...kená –rá yet-at -en ...kats–úrá yet-at -en	...came with the dog ...came with the king
iv. Locative Case	-ká /-ga	...e- begéde –gae- ké:ts ká...	...in the lake ...in the house
v. Ablative Case	-fá /-gafá/ -káfá	...gá:ya –fá yet –at -en ...má:ts míis-káfá- ..zayté dokó á:fe-gafá-t - ús dénge	..came from a market ...milk from cow ...get oil from cabbage seed
vi. Genitive Case	-s /-ús	tolkó-s túk:e-y seqóte e- jóof -ús qelemé-y ...	A hyena’s leg is ... the color of the snake..

Table 11. Summary of the case marking morphemes

3.3. Derivation

Nouns can be derivated from other word-classes by attaching different derivational affixes to a base, root, or word (Radford 1997: 519). The processes by which these words are formed are called nominalization. Nominalization is a process of noun formation through the process of derivation or compounding. The derivation of a word is the set of morphological operations used to form a new word (Radford 1997: 503). In the same manner, Lyons (1977: 522) defines derivation as the morphological process that results in the formation of new lexemes. New words can be derived by the attachment of different morphological affixes to different bases, roots or words.

There are two types of morphological affixes, derivational and inflectional affixes. According to Aronoff (1976: 2) inflectional affixes are purely grammatical markers, such as tense, aspect, person, number, gender, case etc. which simply produces word-forms of a single morpheme, while, derivational affixes conversely produces new lexemes. In most cases, in natural languages as Bauer (1983: 26) puts it, “where both derivational and inflectional elements are found together, the derivational element is more intimately connected with the root”. As this section focuses on the process of forming new nouns, only the derivational aspect of noun formation will be seen.

As Katamba (1993: 50) summarizes, derivational affixes are used to create new words by either:

First, modifying significantly the meaning of the base to which they are attached, without necessarily changing its grammatical category; second, they bring about a shift in the grammatical class of a base as well as a possible change in meaning; or, third, they may cause a shift in the grammatical sub-classes of a word without moving it into a new word class.

Thus, nouns in Zaysete are formed in any of the three uses of the derivational affixes mentioned by Katamba (1993).

In Zaysete, there are two ways of nominalization. The first one is adding suffixes on nominal, verbal or adjectival bases to form nouns through the process of derivation. The second is deriving nouns through the process of compounding. Thus, this section has two parts. In the

first part different derivational affixes that are used to derive nouns will be described and in the second part noun formation through compounding will be discussed.

3.3.1. Noun derivation through suffixation

Nouns can be derived from different roots by adding suffixes to them. In Zaysete, nouns can be derived from nouns, verbs and adjectives. Abstract, agentive, and infinitive nominal are derived by adding the morphemes to nominal, verbal or adjectival bases.

3.3.1.1. Abstract nouns derived from other nouns

In Zaysete abstract nouns are derived from other nouns by adding the suffix **–únte** or **–éte** to the noun stems. Thus, when these abstract noun formative morphemes are added to nouns, the final vowels of these words are deleted as the following sets of examples illustrate. Hirut (1998) stated that the morpheme that is used to form abstract noun is only **–unte**. On the contrary my data show that it is not only **–únte** but **–éte** is also used to form the abstract nouns from nouns. These suffixes are also attested in Koorete (Beletu 2003).

91. Noun Stem	Gloss	Derived Noun	Gloss
ʔíndo-ná	‘brother’	índonáʔúnte	‘brotherhood’
bíj:a	‘girl’	bíj:únte	‘girlhood’
ʃá:to	‘child’	ʃá:túnte	‘childhood’
lág:o	‘friend’	lág:únte	‘friend hood’
maʃfó	‘woman’	maʃfúnte	‘womanhood’
bíz:o	‘one’	bízúnte	‘unity’
ʔáts	‘man’	ʔátsúnte	‘manhood’
na	‘boy’	naʔúnte	‘boyhood’
ʔáda	‘father’	ʔádéte	‘fatherhood’
ʔíndo	‘mother’	ʔíndéte	‘motherhood’

3.3.1.2. Abstract nouns derived from adjectives

Abstract nouns can also be derived from adjectives by adding the suffix **-íte** to their basic forms. The following examples show the formation of abstract nouns:

92. Adjective Stem	Gloss	Derived Noun	Gloss
malá	‘beautiful’	malíte	‘beauty’
kadě	‘black’	kadíte	‘blackness’
mánk’e	‘poor’	mánk’íte	‘poorness’
ʔérá	‘intelligent’	ʔéríte	‘intelligence’
lá:fa	‘weak’	lá:fite	‘weakness’
fatʃ:á	‘wide’	fatʃíte	‘width’
bosé	‘white’	bosíte	‘whiteness’

As it can be seen from the above examples, the adjectival stems (**malá** ‘beautiful’ lost its last vowel ‘a’ when the suffix **-íte** is added and it will be **mal -íte** ‘beauty’) delete their final vowel before the suffix **-íte** is added.

3.3.1.3. Possessive nouns derived from nouns

In Zaysete, any noun can be attached with the suffix **ʔáde** in order to show someone is the owner of something or to show possession. Consider the following examples:

93. Noun root	Gloss	Derived noun	Gloss
ʔindo	mother	ʔindáde	who has mother
kútʃe	hand	kútʃáde	who has hand
maidó	ox	maidáde	who has an ox
ʔáda	father	ʔádáde	who has a father
makína	car	makínáde	who has a car

As it is shown in the above examples, the vowels of the root noun and the glottal stop ʔ from the suffix have to be deleted before the suffix **-áde** is suffixed to it.

3.3.1.4. Agentive nouns derived from verb roots

Zaysete has a derivational system whereby verbs can be changed into nouns having the meaning ‘doer/experiencer of an action’ expressed by the verb. These nouns that are derived from verbs are called agent nouns. In Zaysete, the agent nouns are derived by adding the suffix **-áts** to the action verb. Thus **-áts** is an agent marker in Zaysete and it means man/person. Cognates of the suffix as well as the noun are attested in other Ometo varieties. For instance, in Haro (Hirut 2003), it is **-ássi** which is used as the agentive nominalizer and it means man/person. In Koorete (Binyam 2008), it is **-atse** used as the agentive nominalizer and it may be the grammaticalized form of the noun man/person. Hirut (1998) also identifies this morpheme. As Hirut (2003) suggested the similarity of the noun and the agentive morphemes indicates the etymological relationship between the affix and the noun in East Ometo. In order to illustrate this formation the following examples are given.

94. Verb Roots	Gloss	Affix	Derived Nouns	Gloss
k'áz-	beg	-áts	k'áz-áts	begger
kit:-	message	-áts	kit:-áts	messenger
Wod-	kill	-áts	wod-áts	killer
Mang-	begin	-áts	mang-áts	beginner
ko:r-	keep	-áts	ko:r-áts	keeper
sof-	hunt	-áts	sof-áts	hunter
ʔing-	give	-áts	ʔing-áts	giver
na:r-	play	-áts	na:r-áts	player
kirb-	sing	-áts	kirb-áts	singer
ham-	walk	-áts	ham-áts	walker
wos'-	run	-áts	wos'-áts	runner
ʔeh-	love	-áts	ʔeh-áts	lover

The examples (95a,b) and (96a, b) below illustrate the base verb and the use of the derived noun.

95. a.	ʔúsún -í	eludí	wos'	-at:	-us	-en
	they NOM	quickly	run	FOC	3PL	IMPERF:AFF:DEC
	‘They run quickly’					

b. ʔúsún -í loʔó wosats t:e
 they NOM good runner FOC
 ‘They are good runners’

96 a. ʔugó -i pianó -t:e ná:re
 ugo NOM piano FOC play IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Ugo plays piano.’

b. ʔugó -i na:rats -t:e
 ugo -NOM player FOC
 ‘Ugo is a player’

3.3.1.5. Gerund derived from verb root

In Zaysete, the gerundive forms of a noun can be derived from verb roots by suffixing the nominalizing morpheme –e. The examples are as follows:

97.	Verb	Gloss	Gerund	Gloss
	wos-	‘run’	wós-e	‘running’
	yew-	‘come’	yéw-e	‘coming’
	ʔuf-	‘drink’	ʔʔúf-e	‘drinking’
	kas’um-	‘breath’	kasúm-e	‘breathing’
	geh-	‘sleep’	géh-e	‘sleeping’
	miy-	‘eat’	míy-e	‘eating’
	siy-	‘listen’	síy-e	‘listening’
	sink’us-	‘smell’	sinqús-e	‘smelling’
	tʃ’of-	‘vomit’	tʃ’óf-e	‘vomiting’
	guid-	‘hit’	gúid-e	‘hitting’
	bontʃ-	‘respect’	bóntʃ-e	‘respecting’

3.3.1.6. Result nouns derived from verbs

Results Nouns are formed from verbs, which refer to the results of an action. In Zaysete, these groups of nominal are formed by adding the derivational morphemes **-e**, **-o** and **-a** to the verb stem. Let us see the following examples.

98.	Verb	Gloss	Affix	Result Noun	Gloss
	kab:-	‘act,do’	-e	káb:e	work
	k’or-	‘choose’	-o	k’óro	choice
	ʃi:q-	‘collect’	-o	ʃi:qo	collection
	med-	‘create’	-o	médò	creation
	ʔoɪtʃ-	‘ask’	-e	ʔóitʃo	question
	poll-	‘jump’	-e	pólle	jumping
	galat-	‘thank’	-a	galáta	praise

3.3.2. Compound noun formation

In the above section, we have seen the process of word formation by means of derivation. In this section, we will see the process of word formation through compounding. Compounding is defined by different scholars in different way. Bauer (1983: 28) defined compounding as a process of forming new words by combining different lexical categories. In a similar way, Matthews (1991: 82) defines compounding as “a process by which a compound lexeme is derived from two or more simple lexemes”. Radford (1997: 499) defines “a compound word as word built up out of two (or more) other words”.

However, it is not the case that every two words combine to form a compound word. Rather, every language follows certain rules by which it forms its compound (Selkirk 1984: 14). In this section, the researcher describes the rules or the combinatorial possibilities of lexical compounds. Different linguists grouped compounds of a language into different classes by using various methods of classification. For instance, as has been cited in Bauer (1983: 201-202) scholars like Marchand (1969) classify compounds by the form classes of the items that make up the compound. Others like Hatcher (1960) and Warren (1978) choose to use

semantic classes. Zepic (1970) subclassifies compounds on the bases of the linking element. On the other hand, Lees (1960) classifies them based on the underlying syntactic functions. Others like Adams (1973) and Jespersen (1942) use a mixture of the above methods. The usual way of classifying compounds is by the function they play in the sentence such as nouns, verbs, adjectives etc. (Bauer 1983: 201). Hence, following Bauer (1983) the researcher uses the usual way of classifying compounds by the function they play in sentences as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.

Compounding is a common characteristic of Zaysete nouns. Compound nouns in this language can be formed by combining noun with noun, combining noun with adjective and combining noun with verb. The description of each compounding will be given below.

3.3.2.1. Compounding of nouns with nouns

In this sub section, we will see nominal compounds containing constituents which belong to the same word-class **Nominal + Nominal**. The Nominal + Nominal pattern has a more frequent occurrence in Zaysete compound nominal formation. In order to produce a compound noun naming the young animal of its kind, the noun **ǰá:to** ‘child’ is combined with a noun indicating some kind of animal. Consider the examples below:

99. Noun + Noun	Gloss
míis ǰá:to	‘young cow’
záka ǰá:to	‘young elephant’
gárma ǰá:to	‘young lion’
háre ǰá:to	‘young donkey’
tolko ǰá:to	‘young hyena’

Moreover in order to express the blood relations the Noun **ǰá:to** ‘child’ is combined with another noun. Thus these nouns are formed through the process of compounding.

100. a. awústo **fá:to**
 aunt child
 ‘Cousin’

b. matfína **fá:to**
 female child
 ‘Daughter’

c. fá:to **fá:to**
 child child
 ‘Grandchild’

In Zaysete, some of the terms used for kinship are also the result of compounding process.

102. a. ?índo **na?**
 mother boy
 ‘Brother’

b. ?índo **bí:f:a**
 mother girl
 ‘Sister’

c. matfó **?índo**
 wife mother
 ‘Mother- in-law’

d. ?áde **?áda**
 husband father
 ‘Father –in – law’

Besides the above way of forming compounds, Zaysete, combines the noun **ke:ts** ‘house’ with other noun, it is possible to produce compounds with the meaning ‘the place where the

d. ʔáda maʔfo

‘step mother’

ʔáda – father

maʔfo – wife

3.3.2.2. Compounding nouns with verbs

This is the second way of forming compound nouns in Zaysete. In this section, we will discuss noun formation through compounding of nouns with infinitive verbs and compounding of nouns with the agent. This combination forms an agentive nominal. Some of my data and Hirut’s (1998) data are the same regarding this issue.

105. a. kátsa katsó

‘cooking’

kátsa – food

katsó – to cook

b. wó:ta wó:to

‘farming’

wo:ta – farm land wó:to – to dig out

c. súnts suntso

‘naming’

súnts - name

suntso – to identify

d. kúʔfe káb:e

‘handicraft’

kúʔfe – hand

káb:e – to work

e. ʔóitʃo ʔoitʃá

‘questioning’

ʔóitʃo - question

ʔoitʃá – to ask

f. wodá wodó

‘killing’

wodá - kill

wodó – to kill

g. ma:ts ma:tso

‘milking a cow’

ma:ts milk

ma:tso -to milk

The above examples show that nouns and the infinitive forms of verbs are combined to form nouns with a new meaning. However, the examples below indicate that the combination of the nouns with the doer/the experiencer to form again another noun.

106. a. wota - áts

wotáts		‘farmer’
wó:ta	farm land	
áts	agent noun marker	

b. kátsa - áts

kátsáts		‘cooker’
kátsa	food	
áts	agent noun marker	

c. bo:kʔa - áts

bo:kʔáts		‘digger’
ʔoge	road	
ʔats	agent noun marker	

d. woitʃʼa - áts

woitʃʼáts		‘weaver’
woitʃʼ	twist	
áts	agent noun Marker	

To summarise the main points, in this chapter the basic forms, inflections and derivation of nouns are discussed. Two basic forms of nouns are identified. Nouns ending in consonant and in vowels are described. In the second part the inflections on nouns for definiteness, gender, number and case are discussed. Nouns in this language are marked for definiteness but unmarked for indefiniteness. Gender for animate nouns are also marked with three different ways – by using the lexical words that distinguish gender, by using the lexical items as a modifier of a noun, by using third person pronoun. The gender of in animate nouns are

described by their size. Large is always associated with male and small is always associated with female. Case in the language is treated by looking at grammatical and semantic relations. Grammatically, nominative and accusative cases are discussed under core cases. Nominative is marked and accusative is unmarked. Semantically, dative, instrumental, comitative, locative, ablative and genitive cases are discussed and all of them are morphologically marked. In the third section, derivation of nouns are described. the noun derivation process in the language is done by using only suffixes. The derived nouns are abstract, possessive, agentive, gerundive and result nouns. Lastly, the way how compound nouns in Zaysete are discussed. In the following chapter, the pronouns system of the language will be discussed.

Chapter Four

4. Pronouns

This chapter mainly focuses on the pronoun of Zaysete. Pronouns function like nouns but vary in having their own pattern for number and person. Pronouns like personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns will be discussed with examples.

4.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are divided in two- the dependent and the independent personal pronouns. These pronouns make distinction in number and person. In this section these two sets of personal pronouns will be discussed.

4.1.1 Independent personal pronouns

These pronouns are words that occur independently. This means they do not attach themselves to other words. Their position is also restricted to the subject position. They are also inflected for gender, number and case. The following table will show this point.

Number and Person	Nominative	Gloss
1SG	tá-i	I
2SG	né-i	you
3MS	ʔés-i	he
3FS	ʔis-í	she
1PL (EXCL)	nú-i	we
1PL (INCL)	ní	we
2PL	wútún-i	you
3PL	ʔúsún-í	they

Table 12: The Independent personal pronouns

As can be seen in the above table, there is a gender distinction between masculine and feminine in the third person singular but this distinction cannot be seen in the second person singular. The other point that can be seen in the table is the use of the first person inclusive (ní ‘we’) and the first person exclusive (núy ‘we’) which makes Zaysete peculiar from other Ometo languages. Hirut (1988) identified the different case forms of personal pronoun paradigms without any explanation about the morphemes. However, in this study description about the morphemes attached to the pronouns will be given.

The nominative pronouns, for example, **táy** ‘I’, **néy** ‘you (SG)’ and **núy** ‘we’ etc. can be analyzed as **tá-i**, **né-i** and **nú-i** which is followed by a nominative case marker **-i**. Moreover, the other pronouns like **ʔis-í**, **ʔes-í**, **n-í**, **wútún-í** and **ʔúsún-í** are also followed by a nominative case marker **-í**. The following examples show the position of the independent subjective pronouns and how they are inflected for nominative case:

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|
| <p>1. a. tá -i
I NOM
‘I ate bread.’</p> | <p>bó:ra
bread</p> | <p>mút –át: -et -in
eat FOC 1SG PERF:AFF:DEC</p> |
| <p>b. ʔis -í
She NOM
‘She ate bread.’</p> | <p>bó:ra
bread</p> | <p>mút –át: -is -in
eat FOC 3FS PERF:AFF:DEC</p> |
| <p>c. wútún –í
You –NOM
‘You ate bread.’</p> | <p>bó:ra
bread</p> | <p>mút –át: -it -in
eat FOC 2PL PERF:AFF:DEC</p> |

Furthermore, these pronouns have another variant that is used as independent object pronouns. Thus it is also possible to use these independent pronouns in the object position. Those pronouns are indicated in the following paradigm.

Number and Person	Accusative	Gloss
1SG	tá-ná	me
2SG	né-ná	you
3MS	ʔés-á	him
3FS	ʔís-á	her
1PL (EXCL)	nú-ná	us
1PL (INCL)	ní-ná	us
2PL	wútú-ná	you
3PL	ʔúsú-ná	them

Table 13: The Independent object pronouns

The above table shows the objective forms of pronouns are constructed in Zaysete by suffixing the morpheme **-ná** and **-á**. The morpheme **-á** is added to the third person singular feminine and masculine pronouns but **-ná** is added to the rest. Thus in Zaysete, the accusative case in pronoun is marked by the morphemes **-ná** and **-á**. On the other hand, accusative case marker in the case of nouns are unmarked. These independent object pronouns occurred only in the object position. The following examples show their occurrences in the sentence:

<p>2. a. nú -i we -NOM 'We saw her.'</p>	<p>ʔís -á her -ACC</p>	<p>sél -ót: -ís -ín see -FOC -3FS -PERF:AFF:DEC</p>
<p>b. Bekele -i bekele -NOM 'Bekele gave me.'</p>	<p>tá -ná me -ACC</p>	<p>ʔing -át: -ét -ín give-FOC-1PL -PERF:AFF:DEC</p>
<p>c. ʔúsún -í they NOM 'They killed us.'</p>	<p>nú -ná us -ACC</p>	<p>wod -ín kill -PERF:AFF:DEC</p>

The independent pronoun can also be inflected for the dative cases as it is indicated in the following table:

Number and Person	Dative case	Gloss
1SG	tá:-ró	to me
2SG	ne·-ró	to you
3MS	ésú-ró	to him
3FS	ísí-ró	to her
1PL (EXCL)	nu:-ró	to us
1PL (INCL)	ní-ró	to us
2PL	wútú-ró	to you
3PL	úsú-ró	to them

Table 14: The independent pronouns inflected for dative case

The following sentences show the inflection of pronouns for dative cases:

3. a. **ʔúsún -í badéla -at: -us nú: -ró ʔeew -en**
they - NOM maize -FOC -3PL us -DAT bring -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
‘They bring maize to us.’

- b. **tá- ʔadá -i bortsá -te ʔísí -ró jam -ín**
POSS father -NOM bag -FOC her -DAT buy -PERF:AFF:DEC
‘My father bought bag for her.’

- c. **tá- ʔadá -i ʔísí -ró bortsá -at: jam -in**
POSS father NOM her -DAT bag - FOC buy -PERF:AFF:DEC
‘My father bought bag for her.’

As it can be seen in example ‘3b’ and ‘3c’ it is possible to change the position of the direct and the indirect objects in Zaysete without any meaning change.

The independent pronouns can also be inflected for other types of case like ablative and comitative cases. The following examples show this:

4. a. ጎሰህን -ጎጃ ህልገላ -ገገጃ፡፡ -ህሰ -ጎጃጃ -ከገጃጃ ገጃጃ -ጎጃጃ
they -NOM maize -FOC -3PL -EPEN -ABL take -PERF:AFF:DEC
‘They took maize from them.’

b. ጎጃጃ -ጎጃጃ ገጃጃ -ገጃጃ፡፡ -ገጃጃጃ፡፡ -ገጃጃጃ፡፡ -ገጃጃጃ፡፡ ገጃጃጃጃጃ
I -NOM him -ACC -COM -FOC -1SG come:PERF:AFF:DEC
‘I came with him.’

4.1.2. Dependent personal pronouns

Contrary to the independent personal pronouns, dependent personal pronouns cannot stand by themselves alone. They lack the autonomy associated with words. They need other free morphemes to depend on. The dependent pronouns in Zaysete are said to be the short variants of the independent subject pronouns. These types of pronouns in other related Ometo languages are referred to as ‘clitic pronouns’ (Azeb 1993, Hirut 2003). Thus the dependent personal pronouns in Zaysete can also be referred to as ‘clitic pronouns’.

Depending on their function, these dependent pronouns can be divided into two categories. The first category of the dependent pronouns occurs with the attributive possessive pronouns the headless possessive pronouns and function as a base for ablative case marking. The second category of the dependent pronouns functions as a base for the formation of the dative case marking.

number and person	Category I attributive possessive, headless possessive, base for ablative case marking	Category II base for dative case marking
1SG	tá	tá:
2SG	né	ne'
3MS	ʔé	ʔési
3FS	ʔí	ʔísí
1PL (EXCL)	nú	nú:
1PL (INCL)	n	ní
2PL	wú	wútú
3PL	ʔú	ʔúsí

Table 15: The dependent pronouns and their category

As the table indicates, the category I pronouns are different from the category II in vowel length except the third person and second person plural pronouns. These pronouns are not also inflected for cases.

4.1.3. Possessive/genitive pronouns

Like other Ometo groups such as Male (Azeb 2001), Haro (Hirut 2003), Zaysete has two types of possessive pronouns. The first possessive pronouns are those that indicate the possessor only which is called attributive, and the second type is the one that indicates both the possessor and the possessed which is called the headless possessive pronoun. Each of them will be discussed below.

4.1.3.1 Attributive possessive pronouns

These pronouns are identified to have the same form as dependent personal pronouns, which have been discussed in 4.1.2 above. These types of possessive pronouns function as modifier. Their position is always before the possessed noun and they are not autonomous. The following paradigm shows the use of the attributive possessive pronouns, the possessed noun is **fá:to** ‘child’:

f. ní- fǎ:to kɛf -át: -és -ín
 we (INCL) POSS child hid -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He hid our child.’

g. wú- fǎ:to kɛf -át: -és -ín
 you(2PL) POSS child hid -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He hid your child.’

h. ʔú- fǎ:to kɛf -át: -és -ín
 they POSS child hid -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He hid their child.’

The above examples can also be expressed in the following way with out any meaning change:

i. ʔes -i ta- fǎ:to kɛf -át: -és -ín
 he -NOM myPOSS child hid -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘he hid my child.’

Regarding the possessive pronouns in third person singular form, the possessive prefixes are the same as the prefixes used for marking gender and definiteness. In order to differentiate them we have to look at the tone. All the possessive affixes have high tone compared to the definite or gender prefixes (for more details see chapter 3, genitive case section vi). In addition to the examples given in chapter three, the following example will illustrate this point:

- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 6. a. | ʔi – ʔadúre | DEF:FEM cat | ‘the female cat.’ |
| b. | ʔí- ʔadúre | POSS:FEM cat | ‘her cat’ |
| 7. a. | ʔe - ʔadúre | DEF: MAS cat | ‘the male cat’ |
| b. | ʔé- ʔadúre | POSS:MAS cat | ‘his cat’ |
| 8. a. | ʔu - ʔadúr -ir | DEF cat PL | ‘the cats’ |
| b. | ʔú – ʔadúr -ir | POSS cat PL | ‘their cats’ |

4.1.3.2. Headless possessive pronouns

These types of pronouns can exist autonomously. They indicate the possessor plus the possessed nouns even if the head noun is omitted. They take all the inflectional properties of the omitted head noun to show the identity of the possessed noun. They are also inflected for number and case as is shown in the following chart. In Zaysete, these types of pronouns are formed by suffixing the word ‘**má:ts**’ which means ‘**self**’ to the attributive possessive pronouns.

Number and Person	Poss.Pro	Gloss
1SG	tá - má:ts	mine
2SG	né - má:ts	yours
3MS	?é - má:ts	his
3FS	?í - má:ts	her
1PL (excl)	nú - má:ts	ours
1PL (incl)	ní - má:ts	ours
2PL	wú - má:ts	your
3PL	?ú - má:ts	theirs

Table 17: Headless possessive pronouns

4.2. Reflexive pronouns

In Zaysete, reflexive pronouns are formed by attaching different suffixes to the independent forms of pronouns. Like other Ometo languages such as Maale (Azeb 2001), Haro (Hirut 2003), the reflexive pronoun has a special form which is restricted only to third person singular and plural pronouns. This pronoun is ‘**bé:ro**’ which is restricted to third person and it shows the correlation between the subject and object in a simple clause. These pronouns are also used to show emphases. The emphasis is on the subject. Such pronouns are listed below:

	Ref.pro	Gloss	Emp. pro	Gloss
1SG	tá:-ró	myself	tá-i-tá:ró	I myself
2SG	né:-ró	yourself	né-i-né:ró	you yourself
3MS	bé-ró	himself	ʔés-í-bé-ró	he himself
3FS	bé-ró	herself	ʔís-í -bé-ró	she herself
1PL	nú:-ró	ourselves	nú-i-nú:-ró	we ourselves (EXCL)
1PL	ni:-ró	ourselves	ní-ni:-ró	we ourselves (INCL)
2PL	wútu-ró	yourselves	wútun-í-wútu-ró	you yourselves
3PL	bé:-ró	themselves	ʔusun-í- bé:-ró	they themselves

Table 18: Reflexive pronouns

As it can be seen in the table, Zaysete has a special form of pronoun, **bé:-ro**, which is restricted to third persons. Unlike other third person singular pronouns, the third person singular reflexive pronoun shows neutralization of gender and number features. Hence, all the masculine, feminine and plural reflexive pronouns have the same form as illustrated in the examples below.

9. a. ʔís -í **bé: -ró** **-at: -ís** **míis** **guid -ín**
she -NOM REF-DAT-FOC-3FS cow hit -PERF:AFF:DEC
‘She herself hit the cow.’

b. ʔés -í **bé: -ro** **-at: -ís** **já:to** **wod -ín**
he -NOM REF-DAT -FOC -3MS child kill -PERF:AFF:DEC
‘He himself killed the child.’

c. ʔúsún- í **bé: -ro** **-at: -ús** **timírte** **wos’ -ín**
they -NOM REF-DAT-FOC -3PL school run -PERF:AFF:DEC
‘They themselves run to school.’

As the above examples indicate, the third person pronouns have the same reflexive form ‘bé:ró’. Moreover, the reflexive pronouns have also another function. This function is

showing emphasis on the doer which means the action is done only by the subject of the sentence without any help from others. In order to construct this meaning the object reflexive pronoun added the suffix **-ná** to restrict the subject. The formation of the restrictive pronoun is working only in third person singular and plural forms. The following examples will show this:

10. a. ʔís -í bé: -ró bé: -ná -at: -ís mi:s guid -ín.
 she NOM REF-DAT REF-RES-FOC-3FS cow hit -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘She hit the cow by herself.’ (It is she who hit the cow without getting help from others)

b. ʔés -í bé:-ro- bé: -ná -at: -és fá:to wod -ín
 he -NOM REF:ABS REF-RES-FOC-3MS child kill -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He killed the child by himself.’ (no one helped him to kill the child)

c. ʔúsún -í bé:-ró bé: -ná -at: -ús timírte wod -ín
 they -NOM REF-DAT REF-RES-FOC-3PL school run -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘They run to school by themselves.’ (They run to school without any help from others)

On the other hand, to show a benefactive relation, it is possible to attach a dative marker **-ró** to the reflexive pronoun. This helps to express that the subject refers to the indirect object or that the reverse is true. The use of reflexive pronouns in this way describes the idea of ‘for one’s own’. The following examples illustrate this point:

11. a. ʔúsún -í bó:ra bé: -ró -at: -ús ʔep -ín
 they -NOM bread REF-DAT-FOC-3PL take -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘They took the bread for themselves.’

b. tá -i tá: -ró -at: -ét ʔi:s' -in
 I -NOM REF-DAT -FOC-1SG cut - PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘I cut myself.’

c. ʔés -í masáfa bé: -ró -at: -és ʔa:ʃ -íde
 he NOM book REF –DAT- FOC-3MS hid -PERF:PFT:PRES:AFF:DEC
 ‘He has hidden the book for himself.’

4.3. Demonstrative pronouns

This section treats the basic and directional demonstrative pronouns. Firstly, the basic demonstrative pronouns which are used to indicate the distinction between nearness and farness of the referred object or person will be seen. Secondly, the directional demonstratives which show different direction will be discussed. Such pronouns are inflected for number, gender and case. Each of these pronouns is presented below.

4.3.1. Basic demonstrative pronouns

4.3.1.1. The proximal demonstrative

There are demonstrative pronouns different in forms depending on the proximity of the distance of the referred object/person from the speaker. However in Zaysete, proximity is expressed by the pronoun ‘**ha**’ which means ‘**this/these**’ depending on the noun it demonstrates. ‘**ha**’ is used when the referent is nearer to the deictic center which is contiguous to the speaker at the time of speaking. Each of these demonstrative pronouns is inflected for gender, number and case. The following are examples of sentences with such forms:

12. a. ha - y né - má:ts -i -wa?
 this NOM you-POSS EPEN INT
 ‘Is this yours?’

b. ha ʔés - í né- fá:to -t.e.
 this 3MS NOM your child FOC
 ‘This is your child’

c. ha- ké:ts -ir - í nú- má:ts -ir -i -t.e.
 this- house- PL -NOM our -POSS -PL - EPEN -FOC
 ‘Those houses are ours.’

d. ha ʔepá
 this take:2PS:IMP
 ‘Take this!’

As it can be seen in the above example 12a-12c ‘ha’ is used to demonstrate both plural and singular objects which are near to the speaker. In Zaysete, the same forms are used both as demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives. Thus demonstratives can be used as modifiers (12c), or they may head a noun phrase as subject in (12b) or object as in (12d).

‘ha’ can be used with plural noun **ha ké:tsirí** ‘those houses’ as example (12c) indicates, but the function of ‘ha’ in this case is not as a demonstrative pronoun but it function as a demonstrative adjective.

Zaysete speakers use the word ‘há-idas’ to show plural near things or objects. The following examples show these:

13. a. há -idas’ -í né- má:ts - ir -i -wa?
 this-PL - NOM you-POSS -PL -EPEN -INT
 ‘Are these yours?’

b. há-idas’ -í ʔo:dén -i -n?
 this-PL -NOM who EPEN -INT
 ‘Who are these?’

c. há-idas' -í **hai-gá -at: -én**
 this-PL- NOM here -LOC -FOC -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 'These are here.'

d. há-idas' dór -ir -í **ta- má:ts -ir -i - t:e**
 this-PL sheep -PL -NOM mine I-POSS -PL - EPEN FOC
 'These sheep are mine.'

e. hai-ga -ne **soi -ga**
 here-LOC -CNJ there-LOC
 'Here and there.'

4.3.1.2. The distal demonstrative

Distal demonstrative pronoun is a pronoun that is used to point out far objects or persons. They have different forms from the demonstrative pronouns that indicate nearness. In Zaysete, the distal demonstrative 'so' is used to refer to a thing or a person located distantly from the speaker. This form has a reading equivalent to the English expression 'that/those'. Like in the case of **ha**, **so** can occur with masculine, feminine and plural nouns as illustrated below:

14. a. so matjíná -i tá- mitjó -t:e
 that woman NOM POSS sister -FOC
 'That woman is my sister'

b. so né- má:ts -i -wa?
 that you-POSS - EPEN -INT
 'Is that yours?'

c. so -i tá- maidó -t:e
 that NOM POSS ox FOC
 'That is my ox'

d. so masáf -ir - í tá má:ts -ir -u -t:e
 this book -PL -NOM my- POSS -PL -3PL FOC
 ‘Those books are mine.’

As example (14 d) indicates **so** ‘those’ comes before a plural noun books. In this sentence, **so** ‘those’ function as a demonstrative adjective but not as demonstrative pronoun. Like the proximal demonstrative, the distal demonstrative also has a word that demonstrate the plural things or objects which are far for the speaker but near to the listener which is ‘só-idas’. The distal nominative is also formed in the same way by the nominative case marker –í. Look at the following examples:

15. a. só -idas’ - í ?óde dó:r -ir -i -n ?
 that -PL -NOM whose sheep -PL -EPEN -NT
 ‘Whose sheep are those?’

b. só -idas’ - í né -má:ts -ir -i - wa?
 that -PL -NOM you-POSS -PL -EPEN -INT
 ‘Are those yours?’

c. só -idas’ - í masáf -ir -i - t:e
 that -PL -NOM book -PL -EPEN -FOC
 ‘Those are books.’

4.3.2. Directional demonstrative pronouns

There are pronouns that indicate direction of an object or person from the speaker point of view in Zaysete. Such pronouns indicate near and far direction. These are:

hái-ga	‘here’
soi-gá	‘there’
ha-ná-nas	‘over here’
so-ná-nas	‘over there’
ye:-ká-s	‘down here’
ye:-ká-na-s	‘down there’
woi-gá-s	‘up there’

sule-gá-s	‘down there’
ha-na-bagá-s	‘towards here’
so-na-bagá-s	‘towards there’

The above directional pronouns are classified in to five for the sake of comparison in describing them with examples as follows:

i. Directional demonstrative pronouns expressing ‘háí-ga’/here/ and ‘soi-gá’/there/

háí-ga ‘here’

This directional demonstrative pronoun indicates the direction of the object or the person that the speaker talking about is near to him/her. This pronoun is formed from the combination of the proximal demonstrative **ha** and the locative case marker **-ga**. This pronoun is also inflected for number and gender. Look at the function of this directional demonstrative pronoun in the following sentences:

16. a. ?e - astémare -í hai-gá -at: -és -en
 DEF teacher -NOM here -LOC -FOC -3MS -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The teacher is here’

b. hai-gá -at: -en -en
 here LOC FOC 2PL IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Here you are.’

c. tá- masáf -ir -í hai-gá -at: -ús -en
 my book PL NOM here -LOC -FOC -3PL -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘My books are here.’

This table shows the inflection of the pronoun **hai-gá** /here/ for gender and number

number and person	Examples	Gloss
1SG	haị -gá -at: -ét -en here-LOC -FOC-1SG-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	here I am
1PL	haị -gá -at: -ún -en here-LOC -FOC-1PL-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	here we are
2SG	haị -gá -at: -én -en here-LOC -FOC-2SG-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	here you are
2PL	haị -gá -at: -ít -en here-LOC -FOC-2PL-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	here you are
3FS	haị -gá -at: -ís -en here-LOC -FOC-3FS-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	here she is
3MS	haị -gá -at: -és -en here-LOC -FOC-3MS -IMPERF:AFF:DEC	here he is
3PL	haị -gá -at: -ús -en here-LOC -FOC-3PL-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	here they are

Table 19: The inflection of the directional pronoun háiga /here/

Soi-gá ‘there’

This type of directional demonstrative pronoun indicates the distance of the speaker and the listener from the object or person that the speaker is talking about. This pronoun is formed from the combination of the proximal demonstrative **so** and the locative case marker **-ga**. This pronoun is also inflected for number and gender. Look at the function of this directional demonstrative pronoun in the following sentences:

- 17. a. tá- mas’a:fá -i soi -gá -at: -en**
my book - NOM there LOC -FOC -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
‘There is my book.’

- b. **ʔúsu -ná** **soi -gá** **gada**
 they -ACC there -LOC put:IMP
 ‘Put them there!’
- c. **né- mas’a:f -ir -í** **soi -gá -at: -en**
 your book -PL -NOM there -LOC -FOC -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Your books are there.’

The following table shows the inflection of **soi-gá** ‘there’ for number and gender

number and person	Examples	Gloss
1SG	soi -gá -at: -ét -en there-LOC-FOC-1SG-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	there I am
1PL	soi -gá -at: -ún -en there-LOC-FOC-1PL-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	there we are
2SG	soi -gá -at: -én -en there-LOC-FOC-2SG-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	there you are
2PL	soi -gá -at: -ít -en there-LOC-FOC-2PL-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	there you are
3FS	soi -gá -at: -ís -en there-LOC-FOC-3FS-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	there she is
3MS	soi -gá -at: -és -en there-LOC-FOC-3MS-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	there he is
3PL	soi -gá -at: -ús -en there-LOC-FOC-3PL-IMPERF:AFF:DEC	there they are

Table 20: The inflection of the directional pronoun *soigá* /there/

ii. Demonstratives expressing ‘over here’ and ‘over there’

This type of directional demonstratives are formed by attaching the reduplicated form of instrumental marker **-na** to the basic demonstrative forms **ha** and **so**.

ha-ná-na-s ‘over here’

It is a directional demonstratives which refer to things or persons nearly located from the speaker but distantly located to the addressee. Consider the following illustrative structure:

18. a. **na:rá** **ha -na -na -s**
 play:2SG here -INST-INST -DAT
 ‘Play over here!’

b. **ʔut:á** **ha -na -na -s**
 sit:2SG here -INST-INST -DAT
 ‘Sit over here!’

so-ná-na-s ‘over there’

It is a directional demonstratives which refer to things or persons distantly located from the speaker but nearly located to the addressee. Consider the following illustrative structure:

19. a. **ʔúsu -ná** **so -ná -na -s** **gadá.**
 they -ACC there -INST-INST -DAT put:IMP
 ‘Put it over there!’

b. **ʔés -i** **so -ná -na -at: -és -en**
 he -NOM there -INST-INST -FOC -3MS -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He is over there.’

iii. Spatial Deixies

a. Demonstratives expressing ‘down here’ and ‘down there’

These distal demonstratives are expressing direction of the thing or the person in which the speaker and the listener are talking about. These are referring to persons or places located at a lower altitude from both the speaker and the listener’s point of view. These are:

ye:-ka-s ‘down here’
ye:-ka-na-s ‘down there’

‘**ye:-ka-s**’/down here/is formed by suffixing the locative marker –ga to the basic forms of the demonstratives, and ‘**ye:-ka-na-s**’/down there/ is formed by adding the instrumental case marker –na to the word ‘**ye:kas**’/down here/. Consider the following examples:

20. a. **ʔátsó -i** **ye: -ka -na -s** **Zaysats -i -t:e**
 man -NOM down there –LOC-INST-DAT Zayseman –EPEN-FOC
 ‘That man down there is a Zayse man.’

b. **ʔí- ʔínd -as’ -i** **ye: -ka -s** **ʔut: at: -ús -en**
 DEF-mother-PL-NOM downhere-LOC-DAT sit-FOC-3PL-IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The mothers sit down here’

b. Demonstratives expressing ‘up-there’ and ‘down-there’

Those referring to downward and upward direction are called elevational demonstratives. Zaysete has two types of elevational demonstratives. These are **wói-ga-s** ‘up there’ and **sulé-na** ‘down there’. The position of these pronouns in the sentence is always preceding the noun. Thus they do not occur following a noun. The following sentences show the function of these types of pronouns:

21. a. **sulé -na** **gadá**
 down there -INST put:IMP
 ‘Put it down there!’

b. **wói -ga -s** **kafó -i** **máloloʔó -t:e**
 up there LOC DAT bird NOM beautiful -FOC
 ‘The bird up there is beautiful.’

c. **Démbile yésis -í** **wói -gá -t:e**
 dembile location -NOM up there -LOC -FOC
 ‘Dembile is located up there.’

vi. Allative

These are demonstratives expressing ‘towards here’ and ‘towards there’. Attaching the instrumental case morpheme **-na**, the word ‘**bagá** /half/ and the dative marker **-s** to the basic demonstrative forms to form direction deictic expressions. These are:

ha -na -bagá -s	‘towards here’
so -na -bagá -s	‘towards there’

Consider the following illustrative structures.

22. a. ?e- gá:rma -i	ha -na -bagá	wos’ -at: -in
DEF lion -NOM	here INST half	run -FOC -PERF:AFF:DEC
‘The lion run towards here.’		

b. ?ham -ín	so -na -bagá
go IMP-OPT	there -INST -half
‘Let us go towards there!’	

4.4. Interrogative pronouns

Zaysete has different kinds of interrogative pronouns. These pronouns are used for asking questions about persons or things. These interrogative pronouns are presented below:

23. ?óde?	‘who’
?álma?	‘what’
?áнас?	‘which’
?ána?	‘where’
?ónde?	‘when’
?ala?úte?	‘why’
wáisi?	‘how’
?ánsí?	‘how many’

Let us see the interrogative pronouns in the following sentences:

24. a. **ʔóde ʔés -á gúide?**
 who 3MS ACC hit
 ‘Who hits him?’
- b. **né -i ʔálma kab-á:n?**
 you -NOM what do -PROG:IMPERF
 ‘What are you doing?’
- c. **ʔánas -i -wá né -ʔádá?**
 which one EPEN -INT your -father
 ‘which one is your father?’
- d. **ʔúsún -í ʔána -fá yédes -wa?**
 they NOM where -ABL come -INT
 ‘Where do they come from?’
- e. **ʔónde ʔis-i yé:de?**
 when she-NOM come:PERF:INT
 ‘When did she come?’
- f. **ʔalaʔúte dó:g -en?**
 why late -PERF:INT
 ‘Why are you late?’
- g. **ʔés -í ʔans’í láits -i -wa?**
 he -NOM how many age -EPEN-INT
 ‘how old is he?’
- h. **ʔans’í ʔá:t -ir -ú -wa né: -ró yesís?**
 how many child PL EPEN INT you DAT have
 ‘how many children do you have?’

As it is indicated in the above examples, interrogative pronouns are inflected for nominative and accusative cases. However, interrogative pronouns can also be inflected for dative,

ablative, and commutative cases. Let us see the inflection of the interrogative pronoun **ʔóde** ‘who’:

25. ʔóde	who	‘who’
ʔóde-s	who- DAT	‘whom’
ʔódes - ús	whom- DAT-	‘to whom’
ʔóde-kófá	who-ABL	‘from who’
ʔóde-rá	who-COM-	‘wth who’
ʔóde-bagas	who-baga-	‘towards whom’

As it is indicated above the morpheme **–s**, **–ú**, **-kófá** and **–rá** are added to make the interrogative word ‘who’ inflected for dative, ablative and comitative cases respectively. Moreover, these morphemes are the same kinds of case markers reported for nouns.

In general this chapter discusses the pronoun system of the language. All the forms of pronouns are enumerated. These are personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. The personal pronouns are treated under the heading independent and dependent pronouns. Independent pronouns are used independently without attaching them with other lexemes. They are inflected for nominative, accusative and dative cases. The dependent pronouns are treated in two categories based on the way how they are used as a base for other pronouns. Under the possessive pronouns attributive and headless possessive pronouns are discussed. In the section of reflexive pronoun, the reflexive and the emphatic pronouns are described. Demonstrative pronouns are also treated in two sections-basic demonstrative and directional demonstratives. These are discussed in detail with examples. Finally, the interrogative pronouns of the language are described and shown how they are inflected for different cases. In the following chapter, the verb morphology is discussed.

Chapter Five

5. Verb Morphology

In the preceding chapter we have seen the various kinds of Zaysete pronouns, such as personal, possessive, reflexive, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. In this chapter the different structure of the verb root and derivation of Zaysete verbs will be discussed. Firstly, the structure of Zaysete verb root will be discussed, secondly, the derivation will be discussed and lastly the verbal inflection will be seen.

5.1 Structure of the verb root

The majority of verbs in Zaysete have been identified to have a single peak, having a monosyllabic CV structure. Furthermore, there are some verb roots that are disyllabic. Nevertheless, in my data, there is no occurrence of a tri-syllabic verb root. The same situation is also attested in other Omoto languages like Maale (Azeb 2001), Haro (Hirut 2003) and Koorete (Binyam 2008). Zaysete verb root has different CV structure. The CV structures of verb roots in Zaysete with examples are given below:

1. CV-

bá- ‘there is no’

2. CV (V) C(C)-

góotʃ̣- ‘pull’
búul- ‘shake’
máats- ‘milking cow’
tʃ̣út- ‘spit’
ʔúʃ- ‘drink’
ʔúk- ‘blow’
lám- ‘change’
wós’- ‘run’

zéér-	‘chat’
pól-	‘jump’

3. CVC1C2-

bóntʃ̣-	‘respect’
wórg-	‘search’
dénd-	‘stand up’
mɛnts-	‘break’
ʔúmb-	‘fail’

4. CVC1C1-

bókk-	‘dig’
kább-	‘work’
ʔúk:-	‘destroy’

5. CVCVC-

ʔagét-	‘blow, for wind’
ʔalál-	‘float’

6. CVC1C2VC(C)-

sinkús-	‘smell’
---------	---------

7. CVCVC1C2-

ʃaʔúnt-	‘yawn’
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Among the above entire verb roots CVC and CVVC are the dominant ones.

5.2 Derivation of Verb Stems

Derivation of verb is the process of forming verbs by attaching derivational affixes to bases. Based on the characteristic of word structures, Kroeger (2002: 23) classified languages into four broad types. These are:

1. Analytic: one morpheme per word;
2. Agglutinating: strings of affixes, each marking a single grammatical feature;
3. Synthetic (Fusional or inflectional): single affixes marking several grammatical categories at once (portmanteau morphemes); or suppletive forms;
4. Polysynthetic: long strings of affixes or incorporated roots in a single word.

Thus, Zaysete is classified as an agglutinating language. In Zaysete, verbs are derived from verb roots by affixing different morphemes. Since the verb root and stem cannot stand by themselves in this language, they should attach with suffixes. The suffixes may be either derivational or inflectional. When we look at the arrangement of the affixes in order, the first is derivational and the second is inflectional affix. Thus, when we add affixes on the verb root, the arrangement of morphemes in this language will have the following form:

VERB ROOT-DERIVATIONAL AFFIX-INFLECTIONAL AFFIX

As it is indicated above in Zaysete the derivational affix is always placed before the inflectional affixes. This type of arrangement is also attested in closely related East Ometo language Koorete (Binyam 2008). In Zaysete no verb is derived using a prefix. Different kinds of verbs such as causatives, passives, reciprocals, frequentatives and inchoatives are formed by suffixing different derivational affixes. Each of these types of derived verbs will be presented below.

5.2.1. Causatives

Causative verb is a verb with an argument that expresses the cause of the action described by the verb. Causatives convey the notion of one event producing another event or one person causes another person to do something. In Zaysete causatives are derived from verbal, adjectival and nominal bases.

According to Comrie (1989: 165) causative construction is defined as a single expression describing two micro situations combined to give one macro situation. The first is the causing event, in which the causer triggers an action, while the second is the caused event, in which the causee is affected by the causing event.

Hirut (2003: 123) mention scholars' like Talmy (1976: 52), Shibatani (1976) Comrie (1976), and Lyons (1977) to classify the definition of causatives semantically and syntactically. Semantically, it is defined by characterizing the causative situation that the construction expresses whereas syntactically, causativization, introduces an extra argument, the causer, and therefore it changes an intransitive verb into a transitive one.

When we change an intransitive verb into a transitive one to form causatives, the causer is an additional element in which the verb needs it as a complement. Baye (1986: 129) also express this idea as "--- the number of complements that a **verb** requires progressively increases as it changes from intransitive to transitive and then to causative---". As a result the causative verbs always needs more than one complement.

In Zaysete causatives are derived from verbal roots by suffixing the morpheme /-ús-/ as illustrated in the table below:

Verb root	Gloss	Causative form	Gloss
ʔing-a	give	ʔing-ús-a	Cause to give
zɛr-a	speak	zɛr-ús-a	Cause to speak
kɛʃ-a	hid	kɛʃ-ús-a	cause to hid
kal-o	follow	kal-ús-a	cause to follow
ʔer-a	know	ʔer-ús-a	cause to know
kes-a	get out	kes-ús-a	cause to get out
ʔatʃ̣-a	tie	ʔatʃ̣-ús-a	cause to tie
ʔep-a	take	ʔep-ús-a	cause to take
worg-	find	worg-ús-o	cause to find
ʔik'ar-o	hate	ik'ar-ús-o	cause to hate
há-i-o	die	há-i-ús-o	cause to die
metʃ̣-a	laugh	metʃ̣-ús-a	cause to laugh
jes-a	live	jes-ús-a	cause to live
naar-a	play	naar-ús-a	cause to play
gel-a	enter	gel-ts-ús-a	cause to enter

Table 21. Causative verb stems

As it can be seen in the above table, the root and the causative verbs have the same category which means both of them are categorized under verbs. However, there is a change in their subcategory because the change shows the difference between non-causatives and causatives. Thus, in Zaysete causativization is a productive word-formation process which adds new semantic properties to both intransitive and transitive verbs.

As Comrie (1981: 168) states, morphologically causative has a valency one higher than the corresponding non-causative, since, in addition to the arguments of that non-causative predicate, there is also the causer. Hence, syntactically, causative verbs and their non-causative bases have different characteristics. Causative verbs have one more argument than that of the corresponding non-causative bases. This additional argument is the causer. Compare causative and non-causative verbs in the following sentences:

8. a. ʔáda - í kírbe na:r -ot: -és -ín
 father -NOM music play -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Father played music.’

b. Aster -í bé- ʔáda kírbe na:r -ús -at: -is -in
 Aster NOM POSS father music play-CAUSA-FOC-3FS-PERF:AFF: DEC
 ‘Aster made her father play music’.

In the above sentences, example (8a), /na:ro/ ‘play’ has two noun phrases- the subject noun phrase and object noun phrase. In example (8b) the same verb /na:ro-/ ‘play’ get an additional argument when it is causativized. Thus the subcategorization frame of /na:r-ús-o / ‘cause to play’ has three noun phrases which are the subject NP, the direct object NP and the indirect object NP. Thus, as it is shown in the examples above, (8b) has different characteristics than (8a); because the causer which is an additional argument is stated.

In some exceptional cases, a separate word is used as a causative counter part of a verb. This kinds of verbs never add the causative suffix –us. For example; the verb /ʔúʃ-/ ‘drink’ is used as a causative stem as it is shown below in the example.

9. Verb root	Gloss	Causative stem	Gloss
ʔúʃ-	‘drink’	ʔúʃa	‘cause to drink’

There are some verbs that take – s as a causative marker in Zaysete. The following examples show this:

10. Verb root	Gloss	Causative stem	Gloss
miy-	‘eat’	mú:-s-	cause to eat
ye:f-	‘cry’	yé:-s-	cause to cry

As it is indicated in the above example /yé:f/ ‘cry’ the terminal consonant /f/ is deleted before the suffix -s is added

Causatives are derived from adjectives in Zaysete. Some of the adjectives take -ts- before the causative marker -ús-. But some other simply takes the causative marker -ús-. Consider the following examples:

11. Adjectives	Gloss	Causative stem	Gloss
méla	‘dry’	mel- <u>ts</u> -ús-a	cause to dry
ʔíkaro	‘hate’	ikar- <u>ts</u> -ús-a	cause to hate
háta	‘short’	hat-ús-a-	cause to be short
pátʃa	‘wide’	patʃ-ús-a	cause to be wide
ʔádo	‘big’	ad-ús-o	cause to be big

As it is indicated in example 11, the first two /méla/ ‘dry’ and /ʔíkaro/ ‘hate’ take the suffix ts before the causative marker -ús. However the remaining examples simply take -ús.

Moreover, causatives are also derived from nouns. Consider the following examples:

12. Nouns	Gloss	Causative stems	Gloss
harg-e	‘pain’	harg-ús-a-	cause to have pain
ʃag-o	‘share’	ʃag-ús-o	cause to share
kirb-o	‘song’	kirb-ús-o	cause to sing

Thus, based on the above examples, it is possible to say that in Zaysete, causative verb stems are derived from verbs, adjectives and nouns.

The following examples show the use of causatives in sentences:

13. a. Almaze -i bé- ?áda tup -ús -at: -ís -ín
 Almaz -NOM POSS- father plant-CAUS-FOC-3FS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Almaz caused her father to plant’

b. matsaafá -i ?ís -á máhan ?er -ús -at: -ís -ín
 book -NOM 3FS DAT report know-CAUS-FOC-3FS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The book caused her to know the report’

In the above examples 13a and b, the two causative verbs **tup-ús-at-ís-ín** and **er-ús-at: -ís-ín**, these verbs are inflected for person, tense and aspect. Therefore it is possible to generalize that the causative verbs take the inflectional morphemes.

5.2.2. Passives

Passive constructions are characterized by a decrease in the number of arguments required by a transitive verb. The verb or verb group in the passive construction is distinct from its active counterpart. In addition, objects are promoted to subject position of the passive construction and subjects are demoted into optional adjuncts. There are mainly two types of passives: morphological passives and periphrastic passives. The morphological passive involves verb modification, while periphrastic passives are formed by adding an auxiliary to mark the main verb as passive as in English. As it is identified by Teshome (1989: 77), passivisation in Zaysete is both morphological and syntactic. Teshome said that a passive form is derived by the morpheme **/-ut:-/**. However this study identified that the morpheme used to make passive form is **/-út-/**. Daniel (1989) also identified that this morpheme is used for passive formation.

Passive verbs in Zaysete are derived from transitive verb roots by suffixing the morpheme **/-út-/**. The table below shows the morphological shape of the active and the passive forms of some words:

Verb root (Active form)	Gloss	Passive form	Gloss
ʔing-a	give	ʔing-út-e	be given
zer-a	speak	zer-út-e	be spoken
mij-a	eat	mij-út-e	be eaten
kal-o	follow	kal-út-a	be followed
ʔer-a	know	ʔer-út-a	be known
ʔuf-a	drink	ʔuf-út-e	be drank
jeef-o	cry	jeef-út-o	be cried
gel-a	get in	gel-út-a	be got in
s'el-o	see	s'ell-út-a	be seen
ʔatʃ̣:-a	tie	ʔatʃ̣:-út-e	be tied
hai-o	die	hai-út-o	be died
metʃ̣-a	laugh	metʃ̣-út-a	be laughed
jes:-a	live	jes:-út-a	be lived
naar-a	play	naar-út-a	be played
kab:-a	work, do	kab:-út-a	be worked

Table 22. Passive form of verbs

Thus from the above table we can understand that the passive forms of verbs are derived from the active verb forms by adding the suffix **/-út-/**.

The following pairs of active and passive examples show how active and passive constructions are used in sentences:

14. a. **ʔés - í** **ʔe- ʔóta** **ʔing -at: -és -ín**
 he NOM DEF- pot give -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He gave the pot.’

b. **ʔe- ʔotá -i** **ʔing -út -ot: -és -ín**
 DEF- pot -NOM give -PAS-FOC-3MS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The pot was given.’

15. a. **ʔís -í** **muze** **mu:t -at: -ís -ín**
 she -NOM banana eat -FOC -3FS-PER:AFF:DEC
 ‘She ate banana.’

b. **muzé -i** **mu:t -út -ót: -ís -ín**
 banaa -NOM eat -PAS-FOC -3FS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Banana was eaten.’

16. a. **ʔúsún -í** **ʔe- míis** **ʔatʃ: -át: -ús -ín**
 they NOM DEF cow tie -FOC -3PL - PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘They tied the cow.’

b. **ʔe- míis -í** **ʔatʃ: -út -at: -ús -ín**
 DEF cow NOM tie -PAS -FOC-3PL-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The cow was tied’

17. a. **ʔés -í** **ʔe- kirbe** **na:r -at: -és -ín**
 he NOM DEF music play -FOC -3MS -PER:AFF:DEC
 ‘He played the music.’

b. **ʔe- kirbe -í** **na:r -út -at: -és -ín**
 DEF music NOM play -PAS -FOC -3MS -PER:AFF:DEC
 ‘The music was played.’

In each of the above pair of sentences, it is tried to indicate the difference between the active sentence and the passive sentence constructions in order to show passivisation in Zaysete is syntactic.

When we look at the above sentences in 14b, 15b, 16b and 17b, the noun phrases in subject position show that they are the surface subjects because these noun phrases are not inflected for case in the object position of sentences 14a, 15a, 16a and 17a. However in the passive construction they are inflected for case and they take the nominative case marker. Moreover, the agreement markers which are attached to the verbs in sentences 14b, 15b, 16b and 17b also indicate the real subjects are different from the subjects mentioned in these sentences. Thus, the subjects that are mentioned in these passive sentences are patients or recipients of an action expressed by the verb. From this we can understand that to indicate the sentence is passive only the movements of the noun phrases occur. As far as my data is concerned I couldn't come across with the use of copula for passivisation. This idea is also confirmed by Teshome (1989). Teshome said that passivisation in Zaysete is a move occasion but not copular one. Thus the use of copula never exists in Zaysete.

The examples given above (14b, 15b, 16b and 17b) illustrate the occurrence of a passive verb stem in a sentence. As can be noted, the inflectional categories: the focus markers, the agreement markers and the past morphemes occur following the passive suffix. Thus, in Zaysete the derivational morphemes are suffixed to the root before any other inflectional suffixes as it is mentioned in section 5.2.

The passive verb stems are function as a base for other derivation process. After the passive morpheme is added, it is possible to add any other morpheme for the derivation of other word classes. The following examples show how the word /**kab:úta** / '**be worked**' is used as a base for other derivation:

18. The passive root	Noun	Adjective	Adverb
Kab-út-	kabút-e	kabút-es	kabút-ena

5.2.3. Reciprocals

By definition, the reciprocal verb expresses an action performed by two or more persons who are both agents and patients at the same time. Kemmer (1993: 96f), argues that a reciprocal context is a simple event frame expressing a two-participant event in which there are two relations; each participant serves in the role initiator in one of those relations and endpoint in the other.

In Zaysete, reciprocal verb stems are formed in two ways. The first types of reciprocals are derived by suffixing a morpheme to the verb roots. The suffix used to derive reciprocals in Zaysete is the morpheme **-útút-** which is the reduplicated form of the passive marker **-út-** and the second types are formed through reduplication. The compounding is expressed by combining the pronoun /**wolá wola**/ ‘each other’ to the passive verb stem. The reduplicated form of the pronoun is used if the statement is imperative. But it is only the single ‘**wola**’ used if the statement is declarative. The following table shows reciprocal verbs formed by using the suffix **-útút-**.

Verb root	Gloss	Reciprocal form	Gloss
ʔek'er-	fight	ʔek'er-út-út-o	fight each other
haik-o	hold	haik -út-út-o	hold each other
wod-o	kill	wod- út-út -a	kill each other
ʔer-a	know	ʔer- út-út -a	know each other
gotʃ':-a	pull	gotʃ':- út-út -a	pull each other
ʔud-a	push	ʔud- út-út -a	push each other
s'el-o	see	s'el- út-út -o	see each other
ʔetʃ-a	throw	etʃ- út-út -a	throw each other
zor-a	advise	zor-út-út-a	advise each other
ʃag-e	wash	ʃag-út-út-e	wash each other

Table 23. The reciprocal verbs stem formation

The second way of forming reciprocals in Zaysete is using the word ‘**wolá wola**’ ‘each other’. The following structures shows the use of ‘**wolá wola**’ to form reciprocals:

19. nú -i fá:túnte -fá mangíte ʔer -út -út -e
 we -NOM childhood -ABL from know-PAS-REC -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘We know each other from childhood.’

20. nú -i fá:túnte -fá mangíte wóla ʔer -út -út -e
 we - NOM childhood -ABL from each other know-PAS-REC-IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘We know each other from childhood.’

As it can be seen from the above examples, when sentences are constructed with reciprocals, it is possible and grammatical to use either the reciprocal verb form alone as in example 19, or the word ‘**wóla**’/each other/ with the reciprocal verb form as in example 20.

In other Ometo languages such as Maale (Azeb 2001), **wóla** is a reciprocal pronoun with the meaning ‘each other’, Haro (Hirut 2003), /**wóla**/ is a reciprocal pronoun with the meaning ‘together’ and Koorete (Binyam 2008), /**wóla**/ is a reciprocal pronoun with the meaning ‘each other’ are used to take part the non-reciprocal construction. As Binyam finds out, the pronoun /**wóla**/ ‘each other’ and the reciprocal morpheme together never used in sentences of Koorete. If both of them are used at the same time the sentence become ungrammatical. However, the reverse is true in Zaysete.

Are these verbs formed from Passive or causative verb classes?

Reciprocal verbs are also formed from the passive and causative verb stems. However, the suffixes used for the formation of reciprocals from passives and causatives are different. Let us see the passives first and the causatives next:

5.2.3.1. Reciprocals from passive stems

Reciprocal passives are formed from the passive stem by adding the suffix morpheme **-út-**. This morpheme is added not to the verb root but to the passive stem. The following table shows some examples of this kind of verb formation:

Passive Verb stem	Gloss	Passive Reciprocal form	Gloss
ʔatʃ:ut-e	be tied	ʔatʃ:út- út- e	be tied each other
zerut-e	be spoken	zerút – út- e	be spoken each other
ʔingut-e	be given	ʔingút – út – e	be given each other
keʃut-e	be told	keʃút – út- e	be told each other
mijut-e	be eaten	muut- út – e	be eaten each other
worgut-e	be found	worgút-út-e	be found each other
sʼelut-o	be seen	selút-út-o	be seen each other
ʔeʃʷut-a	be thrown	ʔeʃʷút-út-a	be thrown each other
zorut-a	be advised	zorút-út-a	be advised each other
ʔudut-a	be pushed	ʔudút-út-a	be pushed each other
ʔekʼerut-o	be fought	ʔekerút-út-o	be fought each other

Table 24. Reciprocals from passive stems

5.2.3.2. Reciprocals from causative stems

Causative reciprocals are formed from causative stems by suffixing the morpheme **-ús-**. Consider the following examples on the table below:

Causative Verb stem	Gloss	Causative Reciprocal form	Gloss
ʔingús-a	Cause to give	ʔingús-ús-a	Cause to give each other
zerús-a	Cause to speak	zerús-ús-a	Cause to speak each other
keʃús-a	cause to hid	keʃús-ús-a	cause to hid each other

kalús-a	cause to follow	kalús-ús-a	cause to follow each other
ʔerús-a	cause to know	ʔerús-ús-a	cause to know each other
kesús-a	cause to get out	kesús-ús-a	cause to get out each other
ʔatʃús-a	cause to tie	ʔatʃús-ús-a	cause to tie each other
ʔepús-a	cause to take	ʔepús-ús-a	cause to take each other
worgús-o	cause to find	worgús-ús-o	cause to find each other
ʔikʔarús-o	cause to hate	ʔikarús-ús-o	cause to hate each other
hajús-o	cause to die	hajús-ús-o	cause to die each other
metʃús-a	cause to laugh	metʃús-ús-a	cause to laugh each other
jesús-a	cause to live	jesús-ús-a	cause to live each other
na:rús-a	cause to play	na:rús-ús-a	cause to play each other

Table 25. Causative reciprocal formation

5.2.4. Frequentative verb stem

Frequentative verb stems are derived from verb roots by affixing **–útot-** to the verb root. The frequentative verb form is used to indicate the frequency as well as the intensity of an action. However the frequentative form does not affect the valence. Consider the following examples:

Verb root	Gloss	Intensive form	Gloss
ments-a	break	ments-út-ot-a	break into pieces
ʔuf-o	drink	ʔuf-út-ot-a	drink many times /intensively
ʔis'-o	cut	ʔis-út-ot-	cut into pieces
bok-o	dig	bok-út-ot-	dig repeatedly
mus'-o	kiss	mus-út-ot-	kiss many times /repeatedly

wos'-a	run	wos'-út-ot-	run repeatedly
worg-o	find	worg-út-ot-	find many times
mij-a	eat	mu:-út-ot-	eat many times /intensively
zer-a	speak	zer-út-ot-	speak many times
ʔoitʃ-a	ask	ʔoitʃ-út-ot-	ask many times
s'af-a	write	saf-út-ot-	write many times

Table 26. The frequentative verb formation

The examples below show how frequentative verb stems are functioning in a sentence:

20. a. ʔés -í ʃ'oke ments -út -ot -at: -és -ín
 he -NOM chalk break -PAS-FRE-FOC-3MS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 'He broke the chalk into pieces.'

b. ʔúsín -í ʔuf ʔuf -út -ót -at: -ús -ín
 they NOM drink drink-PAS-FRE-FOC-3PL -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'They drank alot.'

c. tá -i ʔe- wunsá ʔis' -út-ot -at: -ét -ín
 I -NOM DEF-wood cut-PAS-FRE FOC-1PS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 'I cut the wood into pieces.'

5.2.5. Inchoatives

In Zaysete, inchoatives are derived from adjectives by adding suffixes. Daniel (1988: 36) said that the suffix used to form this types of verbs is **-t**. However, my data in this study shows that inchoatives are derived from adjectives through suffixation of the morpheme **-ít**. Thus I can argue that it is not the morpheme **-t** that changes adjectives into verbs but it is **-ít**.

It has been noted that most adjectives have a verbal counterpart in Zaysete. Inchoatives are constructed as illustrated in the table below:

adjective root	Gloss	Inchoative forms	Gloss
he:g-	thin	he:g-ít	become thin
dur-	rich	dur-ít	become rich
mankʰ-	poor	mankʰ-ít	become poor
zoʔ-	red	zoʔ-ít	become red
ʔad-	big	ʔad-ít	become big
karts	black	karts-ít	become black
ʔe:r-	small	ʔe:r-ít	become small
hat-	short	hat-ít	become short
patʃ-	wide	patʃ-ít	become wide
zambal-	long	zambal-ít	become long

Table 27. Inchoative stem formation

The following examples show the occurrence of the inchoative verbs in sentences:

21. a. tá -i mankʰ -ít -at: -ét -ín
 I NOM poor -INCHO -FOC -1PS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘I became poor.’

b. nú -i karts -ít -at: -ún -ín
 we NOM black -INCHO -FOC-1PL -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘We became black.’

c. né ʔa:f -ir -í zoʔ -ít -at: -én -ín
 your eye -PL -NOM red -INCHO-FOC-2SG -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Your eyes became red.’

According to my data, inchoative verbs are also derived from nouns through the suffixation of the word /ma:k'e/ 'become' to the noun. The following examples show the derivation of verbs from nouns:

22.	Nouns	Gloss	Verbs	Gloss
	ka:ʔó	'queen'	ka:ʔó ma:qe	'becomes queen'
	ká:t	'king'	ká:ti ma:qe	'becomes king'

On the contrary of my finding, Daniel (1988) states that inchoative verbs are derived from nouns by adding the morpheme **-t** to the noun. For instance, inchoative form of the noun /ka:t/ 'king' is /ka:tt/ 'become king' which I disagree with.

5.3. Verb inflections

The previous sections discussed the derivation of various types of verb stems through the process of derivation. This section focuses on the description of inflectional morphology. In order to convey different grammatical functions like person, number, gender, aspect, tense, focus and mood, different inflectional affixes are added to verbs. These inflectional categories are attached directly to the verb root.

This section consists of four sub-sections. The first sub-section provides a detailed account of person, number and gender marking in Zaysete. The second sub-section deals with, focus marking. Aspect and tense will be discussed in the third sub-section. Finally, mood is treated in the fourth sub-section.

5.3.1. Agreement

In Zaysete, agreement (here after AGR) contains the person, number and gender features of subjects and these are realized as suffixes in the verb. It is known that agreement interacts with tense, aspect and mood. However, for the purpose of this section agreement refers to the way verbs indicate person, number and gender of subjects. The following are examples:

23. a. tá -i gá:rma s'el -at: -ét -ín
 I -NOM lion see -FOC -1SG -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'I saw a lion'

b. ní -i gá:rma s'el -at: -ín -ín
 we -NOM lion see -FOC -1PL -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'We saw a lion' (INCL)

c. nú -i gá:rma s'el -at: -ún -ín
 we -NOM lion see -FOC -1PL -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'We saw a lion' (EXCL)

d. né -i gá:rma s'el -at: -én -ín
 we NOM lion see -FOC -2SG -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'You saw a lion'

e. wútún -í gá:rma s'el -at: -ít -ín
 we -NOM lion see -FOC -2PL -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'You saw a lion'

f. ?és -í gá:rma s'el -at: -és -ín
 he NOM lion see -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'He saw a lion'

g. ?ís -í ga:rma s'el -at: -ís -ín
 he -NOM lion see -FOC -3FS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'She saw a lion'

g. ?úsún -í gá:rma s'el -at: -ús -ín
 he -NOM lion see -FOC -3PL -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'They saw a lion'

As it can be seen from the above examples 23a-g, **-ét, -ún, -ín, -én, -ít, -és, -ís, -ús** are the person agreement markers in Zaysete. These agreement markers come after the focus marker

and before the aspect marker. These arrangements of suffixes are also described by Azeb (2007: 1) as Focus –Subject –Agreement – Tense/Aspect markers in order. Therefore the agreement markers are always in between the focus marker and the tense or aspect marker.

5.3.2. Number and Person

A verb should make an agreement with its subject noun phrase. In order to make an agreement in Zaysete, two person marking strategies are used. The first is using sets of pronominal suffixes which are attached to the stem and the second is by using dependent pronouns. In this section the pronominal suffixes are treated. The distribution of the two person marking strategies is determined by the form of the verb. One of the related East Omoto languages Koorete (Binyam 2008) has the same person marking strategies with Zaysete. However, other East Omoto languages like Haro (Hirut 2003) and Zergula (Baye 1994) uses pronominal prefixes attached to the stem. In Zaysete, plural and singular numbers are distinguished by the suffixation of the morpheme */-e/, /-u/ and /-i/* to the verb stem. The person markers are */-t/, /-n/ and /-s/*. From the sentences 23a- g given in the above section the following morphemes are taken as number and person markers attached to the stem as a suffix:

Number and Person	person markers
1SG	-ét -
1PL (inclusive)	-ún -
1PL(exclusive)	-ín -
2SG	-én -
2PL	-ít -
3MS	-és-
3FS	-ís-
3PL	-ús-

Table 28. Number and Person markers

As it can be seen in the table, the number marker /-e-/ is used for first person singular, second person singular, third person male singular subjects. The third person female, first person inclusive and second person plural is expressed by the marker /-i-/. Moreover, /-u-/ is used for first person exclusive, and third person plural subjects. The person markers are- /-t-/ for first person singular and second person plural, /-n-/ for first person plural inclusive and exclusive and /-s-/ for third person singular male and female, and third person plural.

5.3.3. Gender

In Zaysete, only the third person singulars are marked for gender with the suffix /-is/ for feminine and the suffix /-es/ for masculine. However, others are not marked. The following examples will show the inflection of the verb /ʔúʃa/ ‘drink’ for gender:

24. a. ʔúʃ -ot: -ís -ín
 drink -FOC -3FS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘She drank’

b. ʔúʃ -ot: -és -ín
 drink -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He drank’

Thus as it can be seen in the above examples 23a-g, these person , number and gender features of the subjects are indicated as a suffix of the verb. This shows that inflection in Zaysete has a feature of agreement.

Having subject agreement marker is an obligatory component of the verb but the subject noun phrase is optional. This suggests that Zaysete is a pro-drop language, as Tehsome (1989) has also confirmed. Consider the following structure:

25. a. ʔés -í masafe ʔing -at: -és -ín
 he -NOM book give -FOC-3MS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He gave a book’

b. masafe ʔing -at: -és -ín
 book give -FOC -3MS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He gave a book’

***c. masafe ʔing -at: -ín**
 book give -FOC -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He gave a book’

Example '25b' above indicates that even if the subject noun phrase is omitted the agreement markers are still there thus the meaning is clear and the sentence is grammatical. However, example '25c' shows the omission of both the subject noun phrase and the agreement suffix results in an ungrammatical sentence. Therefore, in Zaysete there are two options of using agreements – the first is as a suffix which is obligatory and the second is using the subjective noun phrase. Negative and interrogative verbs are not inflected for agreement as a result the subject noun phrase has to be used to make the sentence grammatical. Consider the following examples:

26. a. ʔís -í s'elo -bá?e
 she -NOM see NEG:PERF
 ‘She didn't see.’

b. ʔálma kab: -ín?
 what do -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘What did you do?’

5.4. Focus marking in Zaysete

Before I start to look at how focus (FOC) is marked and how it functions in a sentence of Zaysete it is better to define it. Various scholars define focus in different ways for instance, Comrie (1981: 56) defines focus as “The essential piece of information that is carried by a sentence--”Dik, quoted in Baye (1988: 2) defines it from a functional point of view as If the ‘pragmatic function which represents the relatively most important or salient information with respect to the pragmatic information of the speaker and the addressee---.” Baye (1988: 2) once more describes it as “--- the part which carries the information which the speaker believes to be new to his addressee---.” Moreover, Hyman & Watters (1984: 237) define focus as “that information in an utterance which the speaker believes, assumes, or knows that the hearer does not share with him/her.” It is this definition that I took as a working definition of focus.

5.4.1. Focus marking system

Focus marking in one language is different from the other because some languages use phonological means to show focus, some other languages may use morphological means to show focus, still some other languages use syntactic means to show focus and some other languages again may use stress devices. For example English uses stress and clefting. According to Hayward (1999) and Baye (1994) cited by Hirut (2003), using morphological device to mark focus is the common case in the Cushitic and Omotic languages of Ethiopia. Thus Zaysete is one of the Omotic languages which uses a morpheme to show focus in a declarative clause. Hayward (1990) also mentioned that a morpheme shows focus in Zaysete. A similar situation is attested in East Omoto languages such as Zergula (Baye 1994), Haro (Hirut 2003), and Koorete (Binyam 2008) in which focus is morphologically expressed by attaching a copula marker to the focused phrase. In Koorrete, an assertive focus is marked with the morpheme **-ko** in declarative sentences and **-a** in negative. In contrast, contrastive focus is marked by the morpheme **-ma**. In Haro (Hirut 2003) focus is marked by the morpheme **-kko**. However, Zaysete uses the morpheme **-at:** to show focus in a declarative clause. This morpheme can be added in different parts of a sentence which needs to be focused as in the following examples:

27. a. **ʔaduré -i** **ʔetʃʔere** **wod -at: -ís -ín**
 cat -NOM rat kill -FOC -3FS -PERF-DEC:AFF
 ‘A cat KILLED a rat’

b. **ʔaduré -i** **ʔetʃʔere -at: -ís** **wod -ín**
 cat -NOM rat -FOC-3FS kill -PERF-DEC:AFF
 ‘A cat killed a RAT’

As it can be seen from the above examples, the focus marker is followed by suffixes that show number, person and gender. Azeb (2008) also points out that the copular focus marker **-atte** in Zargulla is followed by a set of suffixes which co-vary for person, number and gender of the subject. The same is true for Zaysete, the focus marker **-at:** is followed by various suffixes of person number and gender. The focal verb paradigm has a complex structure. Consider the perfective paradigm of the verb **/ham-/** “go” in the affirmative declarative form:

28. 1SG	ham-at: -ét -ín	go-FOC-1SG-PERF	‘I went’
1PL	ham-at: -ún -ín	go-FOC-1PL-PERF(EXCL)	‘We went’
1PL	ham-at-ín-ín	go-FOC-1PL-PERF(INCL)	‘We went’
2SG	ham-at: -én -ín	go-FOC-2SG -PERF	‘You went’
2PL	ham-at: -ít -ín	go-FOC-2PL -PERF	‘You went’
3MS	ham-at: -és -ín	go-FOC-3MS -PERF	‘He went’
3FS	ham-at: -ís -ín	go-FOC-3FS -PERF	‘She went’
3PL	ham-at: -ús -ín	go-FOC-3PL -PERF	‘They went’

The imperfective paradigms of the verb **ham-** “go” in the affirmative declarative has two forms. The first form shows the simple present or future tense and the second form shows the present continuous tense. Examples 29 and 30 show this respectively:

29.1SG	ham-at: -ét -en	go-FOC-1SG-IMPERF	‘I /will/go’
1PL	ham-at: -ún -en	go-FOC-1PL- IMPERF (EXC)	‘We /will/go’
1PL	ham-at:- ín-en	go-FOC-1PL- IMPERF (INC)	‘We /will/go’
2SG	ham-at: -én -en	go-FOC-2SG -IMPERF	‘You /will/go’
2PL	ham-at: -ít -en	go-FOC-2PL -IMPERF	‘You /will/go’

3MS	ham-at: -és -en	go-FOC-3MS –IMPERF	‘He/will/goes/’
3FS	ham-at: -ís -en	go-FOC-3FS –IMPERF	‘She /will/ goes/’
3PL	ham-at: -ús –en	go-FOC-3PL –IMPERF	‘They/will/ go’
30.1SG	ham-a-at: -ét -en	go-CON -FOC-1SG-IMPERF	‘I am going’
1PL	ham-a-at: -ún -en	go-CON -FOC-1PL-IMPERF	‘We are going’
2SG	ham-a-at: -én -en	go-CON -FOC-2SG –IMPERF	‘You are going’
2PL	ham-a-at: -ít -en	go-CON -FOC-2PL –IMPERF	‘You are going’
3MS	ham-a-at: -és -en	go-CON -FOC-3MS –IMPERF	‘He is going’
3FS	ham-a-at: -ís -en	go-CON -FOC-3FS –IMPERF	‘She is going’
3PL	ham-a-at: -ús –en	go-CON -FOC-3PL –IMPERF	‘They are going’

As it can be seen in the above verb paradigms the verb involves different components: Verb root, a focus marker, a pronominal suffix, aspect marker . However, as it can be seen from the paradigm **30**, if the verb is inflected for tenses like continuous tense, the tense marker always comes before the focus marker.

5.4.2. Focus marking and derivational affixes

Moreover if the verb is in its passive form, the passive marker comes always before the focus marker. The following are instances of the verb /ʔing-/ ‘give’ which illustrate this:

31.	1SG	ʔing- út-at: -ét -ín	give-PAS-FOC-1SG-PERF	‘I was given’
	1PL	ʔing- út -at: -ún - ín	give-PAS-FOC-1PL-PERF	‘We were given’
	2SG	ʔing- út -at: -én - ín	give-PAS-FOC-2SG-PERF	‘You were given’
	2PL	ʔing - út -at: -ít - ín	give-PAS-FOC-2PL-PERF	‘You were given’
	3MS	ʔing - út -at: -és – ín	give-PAS-FOC-3MS-PERF	‘He was given’
	3FS	ʔing - út -at: -ís - ín	give-PAS-FOC-3FS-PERF	‘She was given’
	3PL	ʔing - út -at: -ús - ín	give-PAS-FOC-3PL-PERF	‘They were given’

As it can be seen in the above verb paradigm, the focus marker is preceded by the passive derivational affix and followed by the other agreement suffixes. Therefore from this we can

b. ʔúsún -í kalo -ná i- mura -gá kɛná -at: -ús guid -ín
 they -NOM stick -INST DEF- forest -LOC a dog -FOC -3PL hit-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘They hit A DOG with a stick in the forest.’

c. ʔúsún -í kalo -ná -at: -ús i- mura -gá kéna
 they -NOM stick-INST-FOC -3PL DEF-forest-LOC a dog

guid -ín

hit PERF:AFF:DEC

‘They hit a dog WITH A STICK in the forest.’

d. ʔúsún -í kalo -ná i- mura -gá at: - ús kéna
 they -NOM stick -INST DEF forest-LOC -FOC -3PL a dog

gujd -ín

hit- PERF:AFF:DEC

‘They hit a dog with a stick IN THE FOREST.’

e. ʔúsún -í zigin -at: -ús kalo -ná ʔi- mura -gá kéna
 they -NOM yesterday -FOC -3PL stick-INST DEF- forest-LOC a dog

guid -ín

hit- PERF

‘They hit a dog with a stick in the forest, YESTERDAY.’

As it is indicated in the above examples 32a - e, the focus marker in Zaysete can be placed in different syntactic categories. As it is indicated above, example 32a shows how the verb is focalized, 32b shows how the direct object is focalized, 33c shows how the indirect object is focalized, 34d shows how the preposition is focalized and lastly 35e shows how the adverb of time is focalized.

5.4.4. Focus marking in interrogatives

The focus marker in Zaysete is marked only in a declarative clause. However, the interrogative sentences do not have focus marker. If the focus marker –at: is added to these clauses, it results in an ungrammatical structure. The following examples illustrate this.

33. a. ?óde kená guid ín?
who a dog hit -PERF:INT
'Who hit a dog?'

b. ?and és -í yeede?
when he -NOM come:PERF:INT
When did he come?

The replies of the WH-questions are always focused in Zaysete. Since the questioned elements are focused, the responses to such questions are also focused as the following examples shows:

34. a. ?óde kalo -ná kená guid-ín?
who stick-INST a dog hit-PERF:INT
'Who hit a dog with a stick?'

b. ?úsún -i at:e
they -NOM FOC
'They.'

35. a. ?úsún -í ?álma guid -ín?
they NOM what hit PERF:INT
'What did they hit?'

b. kená at:e
dog FOC
'A dog.'

36. a. ʔusún -í ʔána kená guid -ín?
 they -NOM where a dog hit –PERF:INT
 ‘Where did they hit a dog?’

b. ʔi- múra -gá -at:e
 DEF- forest -LOC -FOC
 ‘In the forest.’

37.a. ʔúsún -í ʔalma -ná kená guid -ín?
 they NOM what INST a dog hit PERF
 ‘With what did they hit a dog?’

b. kalo -na -at:e
 stick -INST -FOC
 ‘With the stick.’

38. a. ʔúsún -í ʔónde kená guid -ín?
 they -NOM when a dog hit –PERF:INT
 ‘When did they hit a dog?’

b. zigine -at:e
 yesterday -FOC
 ‘Yesterday.’

As it is indicated in the above examples, focus marking is not used in any of the sentence parts. Thus, focalization is not working for interrogative sentences. However if the verb is focalized the sentence result is ungrammatical as follows:

39. *a. ?óde kená guid -at: -és -ín?
 who a dog hit-FOC-3MS -PERF:INT
 ‘Who hit a dog?’

***b. ?and és -í yeed -at: -és -ín ?**
 when he - NOM come -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘When did he came?’

5.4.5. Focus marking in negative

In Zaysete negative sentences are not marked for focus. If the focus marker –at: is added to these clauses, it results ungrammatical structure. The following examples demonstrate this:

40. a. ?úsún -í kalo -ná i- mura -gá kená guid-bá?e
 they -NOM stick INST DEF forest-LOC a dog hit -NEG :PERF
 ‘They didn’t hit a dog with a stick in the forest.’

b. tá -i muud -i -bá?e
 I -NOM eat -EPEN -NEG:PERF
 ‘I didn’t eat.’

***c. ?úsún -í kalo -ná i- mura -gá kená guid -bá? -at: e**
 they -NOM stick-INST DEF forest-LOC a dog hit-NEG-FOC: PERF
 ‘They didn’t hit a dog with a stick in the forest.’

***d. tá -i muud -i -bá? -at: e**
 I -NOM eat -EPEN -NEG -FOC: PERF
 ‘I didn’t eat.’

As it is indicated in the above example 40 c and d, both are ungrammatical because the focus marker is added to them. Thus if the statement is negative the addition of focus marker is not allowed in the language. When the focus marker is moving from one place to the other, the agreement marker also move together to make the sentence grammatical.

5.4.6. Summary of focus

To sum up, focus marking in Zaysete is morphological. It is demonstrated by the morpheme –at:. When we look at its domain, any constituent in the sentence which are objects, verbs, and adverbs can be focused. Generally as it is explained in all the above examples focus marking in Zaysete has the following properties:

- a. It is obligatory
- b. Focus marker is preceded by any derivational affixes but followed by inflectional affixes.
- c. The focus marker always followed by the agreement markers
- d. It is only the declarative clauses are marked for focus in Zaysete.
- e. In contrast interrogatives, negatives and prohibitive (see section 5.3.4.1.1.3) are not focused.

5.5. Tense and Aspect

This section tries to discuss tense and aspects of Zaysete in detail. The terms tense and aspect refer to the kinds of information that are often determined by verbal morphology. As Kroeger (2005) put the relationship between tense and aspect by saying that: tense marking indicates, to varying degrees of precision, the time when an event occurred or a situation existed. In other words, it specifies the situation's "location" in time. Aspect relates to the distribution of an event over time to answer the following questions: is the action a rapid or slow process, is it completed or ongoing, is it once only or a recurring event? The following subsections will treat aspect and tense independently.

5.5.1. Aspect

According to Bybee (1985:142), the main purpose of aspect is "to allow the temporal dimensions of a situation to be described from different points of view...". As has been mentioned above, there are two types of aspects i.e. Perfective and imperfective. In this section, I have adopted the labels 'perfective' and 'imperfective' to describe the system of aspect in Zaysete. This choice of labels is one of convenience, because the three way labeling chosen by linguists adopting the classical prescriptive approach treats aspect as a category

separate from the three tenses, whereas modern linguists treat perfective and imperfective as two main categories that include all three tenses: the perfective includes past tense and the imperfective includes present and future tenses (Holes 2004, Badawi 2004, Benmamoun 2010). Thus, the choice of terminology aims for a more cohesive modern description of the concept of time in Zaysete.

In addition to the ‘canonical’ perfective and imperfective aspects, Baye (2006) identifies four sub-aspectual categories (prospective, progressive, inceptive and completive) in his analysis of the interaction of tense, aspect and agreement in Amharic syntax. However Baye notes that these sub-categories of aspects are derived from the perfective and imperfective aspects. He said that progressive, prospective and inceptive sub-aspects derived from the canonical imperfective aspect and the completive sub-aspect is derived from the perfective aspect. Therefore, these theoretical assumptions were used in the analysis of tense and aspect in Zaysete. Let us see the perfective and the imperfective aspects of Zaysete together with their sub-categories in the following sections.

5.5.1.1. Perfective aspect

This form is mainly used to describe completed actions; in Zaysete, the perfective aspect is marked morphologically. This perfective verb morphology relies on suffixes. The perfective morpheme **-ín** placed after the agreement markers. Thus the perfective marker comes always at the end of the verb root. As Baye (2006) noted that this types of perfective aspect has one sub-aspect which is called completive. The following table illustrates how the root */ʔing-/* ‘give’ is conjugated in the perfective-completive form in Zaysete:

41. a. ʔing -at: -ét -ín

give -FOC -1SG -PERF:AFF:DEC

‘I gave’

b. ʔing -at: -ún -ín

give -FOC -1PL -PERF:AFF:DEC

‘We gave’(EXCL)

- c. ʔing -at: -ín -ín**
 give -FOC -1PL -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘We gave’ (INCL)
- d. ʔing -at: -én -ín**
 give -FOC -2SG -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘You gave.’
- e. ʔing -at: -ít -ín**
 give -FOC -2PL -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘You gave.’
- f. ʔing -at: -és -ín**
 give -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He gave.’
- g. ʔing -at: -ís -ín**
 give -FOC -3FS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘She gave.’
- h. ʔing -at: -ús -ín**
 give -FOC -3PL -PERF-DEC:AFF
 ‘They gave.’

As it is indicated in the above perfective paradigm the perfective-completive marker is always preceded by the affirmative declarative marker **-at:** and the agreement markers. In all person types the perfective completive morpheme is similar.

The perfective marker **-ín** is omitted in the negative constructions. In Zaysete, the negative construction is formed by adding the past tense marker of the negative **-b** and the negative marker **-aʔe** to the root verb. Daniel (1988) also identified these negative markers. The perfective negative construction will be discussed in the following examples:

- 42. a. tá -i ʔing -b-áʔe**
 I -NOM give -PERF-NEG
 ‘I didn’t give’
- b. ní -i ʔing -b -áʔe**
 he -NOM give -PERF-NEG
 ‘We (INCL) didn’t give.’
- c. nú -i ʔing -b-áʔe**
 I -NOM give -PERF-NEG
 ‘We (EXCL) didn’t give’
- d. né -i ʔing -b -áʔe**
 you (2SG) -NOM give -PERF:NEG
 ‘You didn’t give.’
- e. wútún -í ʔing -b- áʔe**
 you (2PL) -NOM give -PERF-NEG
 ‘You didn’t give’
- f. ʔés -í ʔing -b -áʔe**
 he -NOM give -PERF-NEG
 ‘He didn’t give.’
- g. ʔís -í ʔing -b-áʔe**
 she -NOM give PERF-NEG
 ‘She didn’t give’
- h. ʔúsún -í ʔing -b -áʔe**
 they NOM give -PERF-NEG
 ‘They didn’t give.’

As it is indicated above, when the past negative marker is added all the suffixes attached with the verb are omitted, thus it is obligatory to use the subject noun phrase in the subject place to make the sentence meaningful.

5.5.1.2. Imperfective aspect

The imperfective form is employed to refer to uncompleted or ongoing actions and states. This includes verbs that indicate present, habitual and future tenses or it refers to non-past actions in general. If the non-past actions are included in general here, imperfective in Zaysete represents habitual actions, progressive actions, and actions that show plan and intention. Based on the sub-categorization of Baye (2006), imperfective are divided into three. These are prospective, progressive and inceptives. Each of the imperfective categories in Zaysete will be treated below:

i. Prospective

As Baye (2006: 197) defines the prospective aspect shows the action which is not started at the moment of speaking but it is forthcoming or planned action. Since it is a plan it may or may not be performed.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>43. a. tá -i
I -NOM
'I will eat my food'</p> | <p>kats -át: -ét
food -FOC -1SG</p> | <p>mij -ende
eat PROS-DEC:AFF</p> |
| <p>b. ʔés -í
3MS -NOM
'He will do his work'</p> | <p>káb: -át: -és
do -FOC -3MS</p> | <p>kab: -énde
work -PROS-DEC:AFF</p> |
| <p>c. tá -i
I -NOM
'I will go home.'</p> | <p>zaw -át: -ét
home -FOC -1SG</p> | <p>ham: -énde
go -PROS-DEC:AFF</p> |

As it is indicated in the above examples, the morpheme **–énde** is used to express the prospective imperfective aspect. It is also possible to write the above sentences in other forms by adding the agreement markers to the verb. In this case the morpheme **–én** is added to the verb root before the agreement markers, and the root becomes **hamén** /will go/ as follows:

44. tá -i	zawa	ham:-én -at: -ét	-i	-de
I-NOM	home	go -PROS-FOC-1SG	EPEN	-PROS-DEC:AFF
‘I will go home.’				

ii. Progressive

The other imperfective form is expressed by attaching the suffix **-aan** to the verb. Based on Baye’s (2006) sub-categorization, this is the second type of imperfective aspect which shows the action is in progress at the moment of speaking. The imperfective progressive form is expressed by attaching the suffix **-aan** to the verb. It shows that the action is in progress at the moment of speaking. The following examples illustrate the use of this suffix marker in Zaysete to show the action which is going on at the moment of speaking.

45. a. tá -i	ʔeláydino	zaw-át: -ét	ham -aa-en
I-NOM	hury	home-FOC-1SG	go-PROG- IMPERF: DEC:AFF
‘I am going home in a hurry.’			

b. ʔúsún -í	gumurtin -ot: -ús	kab: -aa-en
they -NOM	happy -FOC -3PL	work-PROG-IMPERF:DEC:AFF
‘They are working with happiness.’		

Present habitual action is also included in this type of imperfective aspect form. The morpheme **–e/en** is used to show the action is a present habitual action. Look at the following examples:

46. a. **ʔudá wode nú -i** **timirte -at:e** **háng -e**
 always 2PL -NOM school -FOC go -IMPERF: DEC:AFF
 ‘We always go to school’ (habitual action)

b. **ʔís -í** **katsá -at:e** **káts -e**
 she -NOM food -FOC cook -IMPERF: DEC:AFF
 ‘She cooks food.’

c. **tá -i** **timirta -at:e** **háng -e**
 1PS -NOM School -FOC go -IMPERF: DEC: AFF
 ‘I go to school ’

iii. Inceptive

As the definition of Baye (2006), this type of imperfective aspect indicates an action which is going to take place in the near future. The morpheme **-énan** is suffixed to the verb root. Example 34 below show how the inceptives are constructed in Zaysete:

47. a. **ʔúsín -í** **zawá -t:e** **ham: -én-aan**
 they -NOM home -FOC go-IMPERF:INC-PROG:DEC:AFF
 ‘They are going to go home.’

b. **tá -i** **gayá -t:e** **ham: -én-aan**
 I -NOM market -FOC go -IMPERF-INC :PROG-DEC:AFF
 ‘I am going to go to the market.’

If there is no subject noun phrase in the above examples, the verb root should take the inceptive marker before the agreement markers. Look at the following verb paradigms in 35:

48. a. **ham: -én** **-at: -ét -aan**
 go -IMPERF:INC- FOC -1SG -PROG-DEC:AFF
 ‘I am going to go.’

- b. ham: -én -at: -ún -aan**
 go –IMPERF:INC-FOC-1PL -PROG-DEC:AFF
 ‘We are going to go.’
- c. ham: -én -at: -én -aan**
 go –IMPERF:INC -FOC -2SG - PROG-DEC:AFF
 ‘You are going to go.’
- d. ham: -én -at: -ít -aan**
 go –IMPERF:INC-FOC -2PL -PROG-DEC:AFF
 ‘You are going to go.’
- e. ham: -én -at: -és -aan**
 go-IMPERF:INC -FOC -3SG -PROG-DEC:AFF
 ‘He is going to go.’
- f. ham: -én -at: -ís -aan**
 go-IMPERF:INC -FOC -3FS -PROG-DEC:AFF
 ‘She is going to go.’
- g. ham: -én -at: -ús -aan**
 go –IMPERF:INC -FOC -3PL -PROG-DEC:AFF
 ‘They are going to go.’

5.5.2. Tense

In order to talk about time, every language uses a variety of expressions that can be used to show when something happened or will happen. These expressions may include adverbs (then, later, quickly, etc.), prepositional phrases (in the afternoon, in the morning), noun phrases (this year, last month, next week), auxiliary verbs (has, did, will, etc.). Moreover, affixes on the verb are also used to show the time when something happened or will happen.

The term tense is used only for time reference which is marked grammatically –that is, by purely grammatical elements such as affixes, auxiliaries, or particles. This distinction is reflected in standard definitions of tense by Comrie (1985) as “**tense** is grammaticalised expression of location in time.” As the definition states tense marking indicates, the varying degrees of precision, the time when an event occurred or a situation existed. In other words, it specifies the situation’s “location” in time. The other scholar Bybee (1985) defines tense as “... the grammatical expression of the time of the situation described in the proposition, relative to some other time.” As noted in Bybee’s definition, tense systems always define the time of a situation with reference to some other time. Normally this reference point is the time of the speech event, Zaysete uses a different morpheme for past progressive, present and past perfect tenses.

5.5.2.1. Past progressive tense

The past progressive tense indicates a continuous action based on the perfective aspect. It is formed by having the same root of the present progressive tense and adding the suffix **-itʃ** at the end of the verb that indicate the past tense. Consider the following examples:

49. a. wo:t -á -at: -ún -í -tʃ
 farm -PROG -FOC -2PL PERF-PA:AFF:DEC
 ‘We were farming.’

b. kab -á -at: -ís -í -tʃ
 work -PROG -FOC -3FS -PERF-PA:AFF:DEC
 ‘She was working.’

c. ham -á -at: -ét -í -tʃ
 go -PROG -FOC -3FS -PERF-PA:AFF:DEC
 ‘I was going’

5.5.2.2. Perfect tense

When a perfect marker is combined with a present or past marker, the resulting tense types are perfect tenses. In Zaysete, perfect tenses are of two types: the present perfect and the past perfect. The following section treats these two perfect tenses independently.

5.5.2.2.1. Present perfect tense

The present perfect is used to express a past event which is relevant to the present situation. That is, it signals that some event in the past has produced a state of affairs which continues to be true and significant at the present moment. Comrie (1976: 53) also defines present perfect as “expresses a relation between present state and past situation”. This type of tense in Zaysete is expressed by adding the morpheme **-íde** to the root verb. The morpheme **-í** indicates the epenthetic vowel, the morpheme **-d** indicates the perfect tense and **-e** indicates the relevance of the present moment to what happened in the past. Look at the following examples:

50. a. kab -ót: -ét -í -d -e
work -FOC -1SG -EPEN -PFT -PRES :DEC:AFF
'I have worked.'

b. mang -ót: -ís -í -d -e
began -FOC -3FS -EPEN -PFT -PRES :DEC:AFF
'She has begun.'

c. ham: -at: -ét -í -d -e
go -FOC -1SG -EPEN -PFT -PRES :DEC:AFF
'I have gone.'

5.5.2.2. Past perfect tense

Comrie (1976: 53) states that the past perfect expresses “a relation between a past state and an even earlier situation”. This type of tense in Zaysete is morphologically marked by the morphem **-ítʃ** which is attached at the end of the verb after the perfective (**-i**) and the perfect (**-d**) morphemes are attached.

51. a. kab -ót: -ét -í -d -í -ítʃ
work -FOC -1SG -PERF PFT EPEN PA:DEC:AFF
‘I had worked.’

b. mang -ót: -ís -í -d -í -ítʃ
began -FOC -3FS -PERF -PFT -EPEN -PA:DEC:AFF
‘She had begun.’

c. ham -át: -ét -í -d -í -ítʃ
go -FOC -1SG -PERF -PFT -EPEN -PA:DEC:AFF
‘I had gone.’

5.6. Mood and Modality

5.6.1. Mood

Mood indicates the degree of authenticity of a given proposition which can be divided into factual and non-factual. When a proposition is factual it is considered by the speaker to be true or actually occurring. On the other hand, if a proposition is non-factual, then it is considered by the speaker as unreal or has not actually occurred. This section covers the definition of mood given by different scholars and the types of mood that are found in Zaysete.

Various scholars define mood. According to Girma and Meyer (2001: 143), mood expresses the attitude of the speakers towards a given proposition. Hirut (2003: 143) cited Halliday (1994) to subcategorizes mood as either indicative or imperative. Succeeding Halliday, Hirut (2003) categorizes mood in Haro into indicative and directive. The indicative mood incorporates the declarative and the interrogatives, while the directive incorporates imperative, optative, prohibitive and exhortative moods (Hirut Ibid). In this chapter I try to discuss the directive mood types that are found in Zaysete. The indicative moods will be discussed in the syntax part of the thesis.

5.6.1.1. Directive mood

According to Hirut (2003) classification of mood, directive mood incorporates imperative, optative, prohibitive, and exhortative moods. Bybee (1994: 1794) terms all such directives and utterances as ‘Speaker-oriented modalities’. Imperative, optative and prohibitive moods in Zaysete will be discussed turn by turn in the following sections.

5.6.1.1.1. Imperative mood

As Hellenthal (2010: 406) points out in her description of the Omotic language Sheko, “with an imperative, one does not evaluate or assert a proposition but one gives a directive for the addressee to follow up.” Thus, in imperative construction the hearer is being told to do something. The hearer in imperative mood is always the second person. This means that an imperative verb will always have a second person subject, which in many languages will be the subject. As a result of this, the subject is not overtly written or is not indicated by the verbal agreement.

In Zaysete imperative mood is indicated by the suffix **-á** in the second person singular and **-jt** is added after the singular imperative marker **-a** in the second person plural. This imperative morpheme is for all persons and gender. Hirut (2003), identified the same singular morpheme **-a** in Haro and a different morpheme **-yto** for plural. Azeb (2012: 457) reports a formally marked imperative for Zargulla, involving a similar suffix **-a**. However, in another member of the East Omoto cluster, Koorete, the imperative takes a suffix **-wa** in the affirmative, as shown by Binyam (2008: 134). The following are examples from Zaysete:

52. Root verb	Imperative 2SG	Imperative 2PL
ʔatʃ	ʔatʃ -á	ʔatʃ -á -jt
	tie 2SG:IMP	tie IMP:2PL
	‘tie!’	‘tie!’
ham	ham -á	ham -á -jt
	go 2SG:IMP	go IMP:2PL
	‘go!’	‘go!’

As these examples illustrate, imperative verbs are often morphologically simpler than a corresponding indicative form. This idea is also confirmed by Mulugeta (2008: 121) in Dime ‘the imperative form of the verb is the simplest verb form’. As the above examples show in Zaysete, the imperative form is marked morphologically but without tense and aspect markers because the tense is always simple present tense. Besides imperative verbs are inflected only for number. Consequently the imperative verbs are simple. The same imperative morpheme is used for second person male as well as female. Thus imperatives in Zaysete never inflected for gender.

5.6.1.1.2. Optative mood (Jussive)

The optative verb paradigm

53. a. Root Verb	OPT:1SG	Gloss
ʔatʃ	ʔatʃ -án	‘let me tie’
ham	ham -án	‘let me go’
wos’	wos’- án	‘let me run’
b. Root Verb	OPT:1PL	Gloss
ʔatʃ	ʔatʃ -ín	‘let us tie’
ham	ham -ín	‘let us go’
wos’	wos’- ín	‘let us run’

c. Root Verb	OPT:3MS	Gloss
ʔatf	ʔatf-é	‘let him tie’
ham	ham-é	‘let him go’
wos’	wos’-é	‘let him run’

d. Root Verb	OPT:3FS	Gloss
ʔatf	ʔatf-át	‘let her tie’
ham	ham-át	‘let her go’
wos’	wos’-át	‘let her run’

e. Root Verb	OPT:3PL	Gloss
ʔatf	ʔatf-áu	‘let them tie’
ham	ham-áu	‘let them go’
wos’	wos’-áu	‘let them run’

Zaysete has a special mood for softened commands often called the optative. As Kroeger (2002) said optative mood is often used with first and third person inclusive reference. Thus it is used to express an indirect command for all first and third person singular as well as plural. The optative mood in Zaysete is indicated by different morphemes for the first and the third persons. The first person singular and plural is expressed by the morpheme **-n**. On the other hand the optative morpheme **-é** indicates third person singular masculine, **-t** for third person singular feminine and **-u** for third person plural. Daniel (1998) in his thesis found out that **-an** functions for both first person singular and plural, **-o** for third person plural and singular. However in this study **1SG** and **1PL(-n)**, **3MS(-é)**, **3FS(-t)** and **3PL(-u)** are identified as the new morphemes for optative moods because my data shows that optative is inflected for number and person and in the third person it is inflected for gender too.

Akin to the imperative mood, the optative mood also makes singular plural distinction. Consider the following optative verb paradigms as an example:

In certain circumstances, because of politeness or lack of interest the speaker may not feel directly referring to the subject. In this case the passive form of the root verb can be used before the optative marker is added. As Hirut (2003) mentioned this situation is very common in Ethiopian languages and some examples are given in her dissertation from Amharic like **yibbäla** ‘let it be eaten’, **yikkéd** ‘let it be gone’, and **yissära** ‘let it be done’. Hirut (Ibid) also found out that this situation is workings in Haro. Akin to Haro, this situation is also working in Zaysete. Consider the following examples:

54.a. ?atʃ -út -ín

tie PAS OPT:3MS

‘let it be tied.’

b. kab: -út -ín

work PAS OPT:3MS

‘let it be worked.’

c. fog: -út -ín

wash PAS OPT:3MS

‘let it be washed.’

5.6.1.1.3. Prohibitive

Prohibitive are the negative form of imperative and optative forms in Zaysete. This means that when the imperative proposes ‘do something’ the prohibitive propose ‘don’t do something’ and when the optative proposes ‘let do something’, the prohibitive proposes ‘let not do something’. Thus it is possible to define it as it is a mood for expressing negative command. Hirut (2003) cites Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 324) and defines prohibitive as it is a mood that express negative command.

In Zaysete prohibitive verb markers are expressed by the morpheme **-doko**. This morpheme has to be added to the verb root to form negative imperative and negative optative. Negative imperatives are marked by **-pp** in Koorete (Binyam 2008: 134). Haro (Hirut 2003) has two different prohibitive markers **-urúpu(na)** and **-irípe(na)**. The first is used for negative imperative and the second is used for negative optative. However the situation in Zaysete is different from Haro because the same morpheme **-doko** is used for imperative as well as for optative. Akin to imperative and optative, prohibitive is inflected for number and person and gender. The second person singular prohibitive is expressed by the morpheme **-dokó** and the plural is by the morpheme **-dokóyt/dokít/**. However the third person singular male is indicated by **-dáke**, female by **-dáka** and the plural is by **-dakáw**. The examples below show prohibitive for singular and plural respectively:

53.a. Prohibitive for 2SG IMP

ham -i -dokó

go-EPEN-PROH:2SG

‘Don’t go!’

ʔatʃ -i -dokó

tie-EPEN-PROH:2SG

‘Don’t tie!’

b. Prohibitive for 1SG OPT

ham -i -dokó

go-EPEN-PROH :1SG

‘Let me not go.’

ʔatʃ -i -dokó

tie-EPEN-PROH:1SG

‘Let me not tie.’

c. Prohibitive for 3SG OPT

ham -i -dá-ke

go -EPEN -PROH-3MS

‘Let him not go.’

Prohibitive for 2PL IMP

ham -i -dokó-yt/dokít

go-EPEN-PROH-2PL

‘Don’t go!’

ʔatʃ -i -dokó-yt/dokít

tie-EPEN-PROH-2PL

‘Don’t tie!’

Prohibitive for 1PL OPT

ham -i -dokó-yt/dokít

go-EPEN-PROH-1PL

‘Let us not go.’

ʔatʃ -i -dokó-yt/dokít

tie-EPEN-PROH-1PL

‘Let us not tie.’

Prohibitive for 3PL OPT

ham -i -da-ká-w

go -EPEN -PROH-3PL

‘Let them not go.’

ham -i -da-ká
go EPEN PROH-3FS
'Let her not go.'

ʔatʃ -i -da-ké
tie EPEN PROH:3MS
'Let him not tie.'

ʔatʃ -i -da-ká-w
tie EPEN PROH-3PL
'Let them not tie.'

ʔatʃ -i -daká
tie EPEN PROH:3FS
'Let her not tie.'

Regarding the prohibitive marker **-doko**, Daniel (1998) said that this morpheme is the same for all number, person and gender which is on the contrary of my finding.

5.6.2. The Epistemic modality

According to Kroeger (2002) epistemic modality involves semantic contrasts which are related to the speaker's state of knowledge or belief. He said that epistemic modality encompasses possibility, probability, certainty, etc. The epistemic modalities that my data reveals in Zaysete are possibility, and impossibility which are marked morphologically. However, both of these constructions are not inflected for person, number and gender.

5.6.2.1. The possible epistemic modality

This type of modality expresses that the speaker is indicating that the condition described in the proposition is possibly true (Kroeger 2002). It is morphologically determined by the element **-úko**, this morpheme is added to the root of the verb. These verbs are not inflected for person, number and gender. Look at the following examples:

5.6.2.2. The impossible epistemic modality

This type of modality shows something in the present which is impossible, because the conditions described in the proposition are not true. Just like the possible one this is also morphologically determined by the element **-dáko**. These verbs are not inflected for person, number and gender. Look at the following examples:

57. a. tá -i I NOM 'If I wanted...'	wórg -i -dáko want EPEN -IMPOS
b. nú -i we(EXCL)-NOM 'If we wanted...'	wórg -i -dáko want EPEN -IMPOS
c. n -i we(INCL)-NOM 'If we wanted...'	wórg -i -dáko want EPEN -IMPOS
d. né -i you:2SG -NOM 'If you wanted...'	wórg -i -dáko want EPEN -IMPOS
e. wutun -i you :2PL-NOM 'If you wanted...'	wórg -i -dáko want EPEN -IMPOS
f. ?es -i he NOM 'If he wanted...'	wórg -i -dáko want EPEN -IMPOS

g. ʔusun -i wórg -i -dáko

I NOM want EPEN -IMPOS

‘If they wanted...’

5.7. Copula construction

Zaysete does not seem to have an overt copula. This type of construction is constructed by using only the subject and predicate. The predicate can be either a noun or an adjective. In this type of copular sentences, there is no verb that carries both tense and aspect. Consider the following examples:

58. a. ʔís -í lá:fa

she -NOM lazy

‘She is lazy’

b. ʔi- dóro -i bidurá

DEF- sheep -NOM fat

‘The sheep is fat.’

However if the focus marker is going to be added, it is attached in the predicate as follows:

59. a. ʔís -í lá:fa -t:e

she -NOM lazy -FOC

‘She is LAZY’

b. ʔi- dóro -i bidurá -t:e

DEF- sheep -NOM fat -FOC

‘The sheep is FAT.’

As it is described in the above examples, the copular sentence types have no verb that carry the tense and aspect. Thus the verb ‘**ma:k’/ become/**’ is used as a verb that carries tense and aspect in Zaysete. Consider the following examples:

60. a. **ʔís -í** **lá:f -at: -ís** **ma:k’ -in**
 she -NOM lazy -FOC -3FS become -PERF:AFF-DEC
 ‘She became lazy.’

b. **ʔís -í** **lá:fa** **ma:k’ -á -at: -ís -en**
 she -NOM lazy become -PROG-FOC-3FS-IMPERF:AFF-DEC
 ‘She is becoming lazy.’

c. **ʔís -í** **lá:fa -at: -ís** **ma:k’ -én-de**
 she -NOM lazy-FOC-3FS become-IMPERF-FUT:AFF-DEC
 ‘She will be /become/ lazy.’

As it can be seen in the above examples the main verb ‘**ma:k’/become/**’ can appear in different aspect and tense categories identified in Zaysete. Moreover, this verb can be followed by the focus marker and any agreement suffixes like any other verb. Thus in Zaysete there is no other form of copulative verb. However the verb ‘**ma:k’ /become/**’ functions as a copulative verb form to express the present and past habits. Data from a closely related language like Koorete (Binyam 2008) and Haro (Hirut 2003) also supports this analysis.

As it is discussed in chapter five, sections 5.2.5., adjectives in Zaysete have inchoative verbal counterparts. Thus with the non-verbal construction adjectival predicate occurs as a verb as in the example (61a) and (61b) below. The inchoative verb occurs in a focal structure if there is no modifier element in the sentence. In this case the verb ‘**ma:k’ /become/**’ is not used because the inchoative is used as a verb.

- 61.a. tá -i** **mánk' -ít -at: -ét -ín**
 I -NOM poor-INCHO-FOC-1SG-PERF:AFF:DEC
 'I became poor.'
- b. nú -i** **karts -ít -at: -ún-ín**
 we-NOM black -INCHO-FOC-1PL-PERF
 'We became black.'

5.7.1. Negative copula construction

The negative form of the copula construction in present is different from the past tense constructions. The negative form of the present tense is constructed by using the negative marker 'bá?e' / 'there is no' which is added to the predicate like example **62a** and **62b** below. However the negative construction of the past tense in Zaysete uses both the past form of the verb 'ma:k' / 'become' and the negative marker 'bá?e' / 'there is no' as in the example **62c** and **62d** as follows (see chapter 8, section 8.2.3.2.1. for detail examples):

- 62. a. ?és -í** **astemare -bá?e**
 he -NOM teacher -NEG:COP
 'He is not a teacher.'
- b. ?úsún -í** **lá:fa -bá?e**
 they -NOM lazy -NEG: COP
 'They are not lazy.'
- c. ?és -í** **astemare** **ma:k' -i- tʃ - b-á?e**
 he -NOM teacher become-PERF-PA :NEG:COP
 'He was not a teacher.'
- d. ?úsún -i** **astemar -ir** **ma:k' -i- tʃ -b-á?e**
 they -NOM teacher -PL become - PERF -PA:NEG:COP
 'They were not teachers.'

5.7.2. Question form of copula construction

Like the negative copula construction, the question forms of copula in Zaysete are formed in two ways –present and past. The present question form is formed by using the interrogative focus marker –**a**. The past question form is constructed by using the word ‘**ma:k’/become**’ as a verb. The following examples will illustrate this point:

63. a. ʔés -í astemare -wa?
he -NOM teacher -FOC:INT
‘Is he a teacher?’

b. ʔés -í astemaré -at: -és ma:k’ -í- ʔ?
he -NOM teacher –FOC-3MS become –PERF-PA
‘Was he a teacher?’

5.8. Predicate possession (Verb to have construction)

The verb ‘To Have’ in Zaysete is based on the verb of existence ‘**jɛs-/ exist**’. The affirmative form of the verb is followed by the focus marker -at: and by the affirmative declarative marker. Consider the following examples:

64. a. ʔís -í -ró kená jɛsá -at:e
her -EPEN -DAT dog exist -FOC:IMPERF:AFF:PRD POSS
‘She has a dog.’ (Lit. There exists a dog for her)

b. ʔús -í -ró s'ég -ir -i jɛsá -at:e
they EPEN -DAT goat -PL -EPEN exist -FOC:IMPERF:AFF:PRD POSS
‘They have goats.’(Lit. There exist goats for them.)

c. **ʔús -í -ró lá:go s'ég -ir -í-at:e**
 they -EPEN -DAT many goat -PL-EPEN-FOC

jɛs -íʃ
 exist -PERF:AFF:PRD POSS
 ‘They had many goats.’ (Lit. There exist many goats for them.)

The negative form of the verb is marked by the morpheme ‘**báʔe**’/ ‘**no**’. Consider the following sentences which are the negative forms of the above affirmative declarative examples (see chapter 8, section 8.2.3.2. 2 for detail):

65. a. **ʔís -í -ró kená jésa -báʔe**
 she -EPEN -DAT dog exist -IMPERF:NEG:PRD POSS
 ‘She has not a dog.’ (Lit. There do not exist a dog for her.)

b. **ʔús -i -ró s'eg -ir -í jésa -báʔe**
 they -EPEN -DAT goat -PL-EPEN exist -IMPERF:NEG:PRD POSS
 ‘They have not goats.’ (Lit. There do not exist a goat for them.)

c. **ʔús -í -ró lá:go s'eg -ir -i jɛs -i -ʃ**
 they -EPEN -DAT many goat -PL-EPEN exist -PERF-PA
-báʔe
 -NEG:PRD POSS
 ‘They had not many goats.’ (Lit. There did not exist many goats for them.)

The interrogative form of the verb ‘to have’ has the form **jés-** followed by the focused interrogative marker **-wa** . This type of interrogatives shows polarity in the imperfective aspect. Examples are provided below:

66. a. **ʔísí -fo kená-i jésá -wa?**
 her -DAT dog -NOM exist - FOC:INT
 ‘Has she a dog?’

b. ʔúsú -ró s'eg -ir -í jésá -wa?
 them -DAT goat-PL-NOM exist -FOC:INT
 'Have they goats?'

Adding the perfective **-i** and '**-tʃ**' next to the affirmative declarative form of the verb **jésa-** forms the perfective form of the verb 'to have'. Look at the following examples:

67. ʔús -í -ró lá:go s'eg -ir -í jés -í
 they -EPENT -DAT many goat -PL-NOM exist -EPEN

-tʃ -wa?
 -PERF-FOC:INT
 'Had they many goats?'

To recapitulate, this chapter dealt with the verb root, the derivational morphology, inflectional morphology in Zaysete. Regarding verb roots, it has been found out that the majority of Zaysete verb roots have a monosyllabic CVC and CVVC structure. Regarding derivation, the derivation of causatives, passives, reciprocals, frequentatives and inchoatives verb forms were discussed with illustrative examples. Causative verbs are mainly derived by using the morpheme **-ús**, passive verbs are derived by the morpheme **-út**. Reciprocal verbs, on the other hand, employ the morpheme **-útút** and frequentatives are derived by the morpheme **-útot-**. Finally, the morpheme **-ít** is used to derive inchoatives from adjective roots and how inchoatives are derived from nouns is also discussed. Regarding inflectional morphology, person, number and gender agreement markers are discussed with examples and the morphemes are also identified. The Focuss marking system is also described. Moreover tense and aspect of the language are identified. Zaysete is inflected for perfective and imperfective aspects. Moreover the sub-aspectual categories prospectives, progressives, inceptives are discussed under the imperfective aspect. Completives are discussed under the perfective aspects. There are also morphemes which are identified as a tense marker for perfect(present and Past) tenses and past progressive tenses. Mood and modality are discussed. Imperatives, optatives and prohibitives are the mood types described. Two types of Epistemic modalities are discussed –Possible Epistemic and Impossible Epistemic modalities are described which are inflected for the morphemes **-uko** and **-dako**. The last section of this chapter deals with the use of copula and predicate possession. Modifiers will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Six

6. Modifiers

A modifier can be an adjective, an adverb, adpositions or a phrase or clause acting as an adjective or adverb in every case, the basic principle is the same: the modifier adds information to another element in the sentence. If it is an adjective it adds something to the noun or if it is an adverb it adds something to the verb. In this chapter, I begin by working with single-word modifiers which are adjectives, adpositions, adverbs and numerals.

This chapter has three sections. The first section of this chapter deals with adjectives and adpositions of Zaysete language. The adpositions typologically subsume both prepositions and post-positions, while in Zaysete only postpositions are attested. The second section discusses the adverbs. In the third section the numerals of Zaysete will be presented.

6.1 Adjectives and postpositions

6.1.1. Adjectives

In many languages there is one lexical category the primary function of which is to modify nouns, this category is generally labeled as adjective. In Zaysete, nouns and adjectives behave similarly. When we look at their endings, both adjectives and nouns have the same endings. These endings are ‘**a, e and o**’. Adjectives are also inflected for grammatical categories like number, definiteness and case. When adjectives are inflected for grammatical categories like number, definiteness and case, the markers that are observed in the adjectives are the same with the markers of nouns.

6.1.1.1. Categorization of adjectives

The place of adjectives is before or after the nouns that they modify by expressing their quality, color, size, etc. Azeb (2001: 133) quoted Dixon (1982) to express the category of adjectives based on their semantic fields. This categorization of adjectives on their semantic fields falls into six types. These are adjectives that show value, age, color, dimension, physical property and human propensity. Thus, adjectives in Zaysete can be categorized into the following six semantic types:

Dimension

1. Adjectives	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
ʔadó	‘big’	s’í:lo	‘deep’
ʔerés	‘small’	lotʃó	‘flat’
ʔadǎso	‘high’	sú:re	‘round’
zambála	‘long’		
háta	‘short’	henfélo	‘light’
modó	‘fat, thick’	ʔáres	‘sharpen knife’
hé:go	‘thin’	líkó	‘smooth’
fatʃó	‘wide’	s’úntso	‘narrow’

Physical property

2. Adjectives	Gloss
ló:ʔo	‘sweet’
ʔirs’á	‘wet’
dó:k’o	‘sour’
tʃ’omó	‘bitter’
méla	‘dry’
s’ígó	‘strong’
lá:fa	‘weak’
ʔítats	‘dirty’
gé:ʃ	‘clean’
des’ó	‘heavy’

Human propensity

3. Adjectives	Gloss
lo’íte	‘kind’
béna ʔého	‘selfish’
s’ílo	‘honest’
ʔító	‘corrupt’
ʔítats	‘jealous’
ʒíʃó	‘shy’

s'ígo	'courageous'
ʒɛʃɛs	'coward'
loló	'healthy'
wergés	'eager'
gó:bo	'intelligent'

Color

4. Adjectives

Gloss

bó:ts	'white'
kárts	'black'
zoʔó	'red'
zo:mále	'blue'
ʒíla:	'green'
galúnda	'yellow'
gɛ:ʃ	'light color'

Value

5. Adjectives

Gloss

Adjectives

Gloss

lóʔo	'good'	má:nk'o	'poor'
ʔítats	'bad'	dúre	'rich'
ʔerbé	'wrong'	ʔála	'expensive'
ʔá:de	'truth'	garé	'cheap'

Age

6. Adjectives

Gloss

naúnte	'young'(used for male)
wudúrte	'young' (for female)
tʃ'ímo	'old'

As can be seen from the list of Zaysete adjectives in the examples above, adjectives have the same formal property as nouns. Akin to nouns, some of them are ending with the terminal vowels **-a**, **-e** and **-o** and some others are ending with consonants. As can be observed from the data the occurrence of **-o** is the most common one when compared with **-e** and **-a**. Furthermore, based on the suggestion given by Dixon's (1982) cited in Azeb (2001: 133), adjectives of value, age and color are very small in number than those expressing dimension, physical property and human propensity. Thus, in Zaysete, adjectives of human propensity and physical property are more productive and large in number than the others.

In Zaysete there are adjectives that represent more than one meaning. These type of adjectives give different meaning according to the context they are used. From these adjectives, **'lóʔo'** could be mentioned as one. **'lóʔo'** can have meanings **good, attractive, gorgeous, clean, fine, well and kind**. The following examples will show the contextual meaning of the word **'lóʔo'**:

7. a. **tá -y lóʔo wá:tse uf -ót: -et -ín**
 I NOM clean water drink FOC 1SG PERF:AFF:DEC
 'I drink clean water.'

b. **ʔé- lóʔo ja:tó hái -ot: -es -ín**
 DEF attractive child die FOC 3MS PERF:AF:DEC
 'The attractive boy died.'

c. **ʔés -í lóʔo -t:e**
 he NOM kind FOC
 'He is kind.'

whereas, its antonym **'ʔítats'** is used for all the negative qualities like **bad, jealous, ugly, unattractive, dirty, cruel**, etc. The following examples show the contextual meaning of **ʔítats**:

8. a. ʔúsún -í ʔítats -i -t:e

they NOM jealous EPEN FOC

‘They are jealous.’

b. ʔé- ʔítats ké:ts -í ʔes’ -ót: -es -ín

DEF dirty house NOM burn FOC 3MS PERF

‘The dirty house burned.’

c. soya ʔáts -í ʔítats -í -t:e

that man NOM bad EPEN FOC

‘That man is bad.’

6.1.1.2. Inflection of adjectives

In the language when an adjective is at a specifier position it attracts the grammatical feature of the head noun such as number, definiteness and case. In other words what is inflected is the whole noun phrase rather than the adjective itself.

6.1.1.2.1. Number

From a noun phrase containing an adjective and a noun, the noun is inflected for number in Zaysete. In this case it is the same morpheme that occurs with nouns in isolation i.e. **-ir**. Consider the following examples 9a,9b and 9c:

9. a. ʔé- bidúra do:r -ir -í hái -ot -et -ín

DEF fat sheep -PL-NOM die -FOC-3MS-PERF:AFF:DEC

‘The fat sheep died.’

b. sójdas’ ʔé:ri ʃa:t -ir -í tá-ʃá:t-ir -í -t:é

those little boy-PL-NOM my-son -PL-EPEN-FOC

‘Those little boys are my sons.’

c. ʔú- namʔ -i' loʔ -ir astemar -ir -at:e
 DEF- two -NOM beautiful -PL teachers –PL -FOC

ham-ín

go -PERF:AFF:DEC

‘The two beautiful teachers run away.’

6.1.1.2.2. Definiteness

A noun phrase containing a head noun and an adjective is also inflected for definiteness interactively with feminine gender by the same morpheme reported for nouns. Consider the following structures:

10. a. ʔí- ʔimá mí:s -í wos' -at: -ís -ín
 DEF- old cow -NOM ran –FOC-3FS-PERF:AFF:DEC

‘The old cow ran’

b. ʔé- ʔadó kená -i ʔut -ót: -es -ín
 DEF big dog -NOM sit-FOC-3MS-PERF:AFF:DEC

‘The big dog sat’

c. ʔés -í ʔú-karts s'eg -ir -í ʔatʃ' -ót: -ín
 he -NOM DEF-black goat-PL-NOM tie -FOC -PERF:AFF:DEC

‘He tied the black goats’

As it can be seen in the above examples definiteness and gender in Zaysete is morphologically marked by the same morphemes. However indefiniteness is not marked morphologically.

6.1.1.2.3. Case

In Zaysete, it is not the adjective that takes the nominative case marker but it is the head noun. A noun phrase that contains an adjective and a noun is inflected for nominative case. The nominative case marking morpheme is **-i**. Look at the following examples:

11.a. ʔí- ʔítats bɪf:á -i wos' -át: -is -ín.
 DEF-ugly girl -NOM ran –FOC-3FS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The ugly girl ran.’

b. ʔé- mank'ó ʔáts -i módo ʔuf-át: -és -ín.
 DEF-poor man -NOM modo drink -FOC -3MS PERF:AFF: DEC
 ‘The poor man drank modo.’

c. ʔé- kárts kená -i botʃ' -ót: -ét-ín
 DEF-black dog -NOM bark –FOC-3MS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The black dog barked.’

d. ʔú- gó:bo táma:r -ir -i kʔúfekwáse
 DEF- intelligent student -PL -NOM handball

nár-at:-ús-ín
 play –FOC-3PL PERF: AFF: DEC
 ‘The intelligent students played handball.’

e. ʔí- ʔadó mí:s -i ʔí- má:ta miy-at:-ís -en
 DEF- big cow -NOM DEF-grass eat-FOC-3FS-IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The big cow eats the grass.’

In some cases, it is possible to use sequences of adjectives in Zaysete. If there are sequences of adjectives in a sentence the adjective that comes last attracts the nominative markers. Examples are provided below:

12. a. ʔú- ʔadó kárts -í ʔoll -ir -í ye:t -át: -ús-ín
 DEF big black –EPENT horse-PL-NOM come-FOC-3PL-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The big black horses came.’

b. tá -i lóʔo he:gó -i bif:á sél-at:-et -ín
 I -NOM beautiful thin -NOM girl see-FOC-1SG-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘I saw a beautiful thin girl.’

In Zaysete, most of the time adjectives occur preceding the nouns they modify however sometimes they can also occur following the nouns that they modify. Thus, akin to nouns, an adjective in Zaysete has both predicative and attributive functions. When they function as the attributive, they precede the head noun. If they function as the predicative, they follow a grammatical subject. We can identify the attributive adjective from a predicative adjective by looking at the order in which they occur in the noun phrase construction. The attributive adjective, always occurs preceding the head noun they modify, while the predicative adjective occurs following the head noun they modify. Moreover, like the case of predicate nouns, predicate adjectives are indicated by a zero morpheme. However in the case of attributive functions the adjectives occur with the focus morpheme –t:e. The following sentences exemplify the two functions of adjectives:

13. a. ʔé- hare -i ʔadó -t:e
 DEF-donkey-NOM big-FOC:AFF:DEC
 ‘The donkey is big.’

b. ʔé- ʔadó haré-i géł-at:-es -ín
 DEF-big donkey-NOM enter-FOC-3MS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The big donkey entered.’

6.1.1.3. Derivation of adjectives

Concerning the derivations of adjectives, most adjectives in Zaysete are derived ones. Most of them are derived from verb roots and some others from nominal bases. In the following section the derived adjectives will be seen:

6.1.1.3.1. Adjectives derived from verb roots

Most adjectives in Zaysete are derived from verbs by suffixing **-a** to the verb roots. The following are some of them:

14. Verb roots	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
mél-	‘become dry’	mél-a	‘dry’
hat-	‘become short’	hat-á	‘short’
lá:f-	‘become weak’	lá:f-a	‘weak’
ʔirs’-	‘become wet’	ʔirs’-á	‘wet’
ʔí:t-	‘become bad’	ʔí:t-a	‘bad’

Suffixing **-o** to the verb root also derives other Adjectives. The following are some of them:

15. Verb roots	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
ʧʰom-	‘become bitter’	ʧʰóm -o	‘bitter’
hé:g-	‘become thin’	hé:g- o	‘thin’
fatʧʰ-	‘become wide’	fatʧʰ- ó	‘wide’
ʔad-	‘become big’	ʔad- ó	‘big’
do:k’-	‘become sour’	dó:k’- o	‘sour’
des’-	‘become heavy’	des’-ó	‘heavy’
si:l-	‘become deep’	sí:l-o	‘deep’

Some other adjectives are also derived from verb roots by suffixing **-e**. These are

16. Verb root	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
gar-	‘become cheap’	gar-é	‘cheap’
dur-	‘become rich’	dúr-e	‘rich’
ʔerb-	‘become wrong’	ʔerb-é	‘wrong’
ʔa:d-	‘become correct’	ʔá:d-e	‘correct’
su:r-	‘become straight’	sú:r -e	‘straight’

6.1.1.3. 2. Adjectives derived from other nouns

In Zaysete possessive adjectives are derived from nouns by suffixing the morpheme **-ade** to the nouns. The following are the examples:

17. Noun	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
maidó	‘ox’	maid-ade	‘who has ox’
ké:ts	‘house’	ké:ts-ade	‘who has house’
ja:tó	‘child’	ja:t-ade	‘who has child’
mí:s	‘cow’	mí:s-ade	‘who has cow’
kená	‘dog’	ken-ade	‘who has dog’

Moreover adjectives in Zaysete are also derived from nouns by attaching a morpheme **-si** to the nouns. The following examples show the formation of these adjectives:

18. Noun	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
káb:e	working	káb:e-si	‘workable’
ʔúʃe	drinking	ʔúʃe-si	‘drinkable’
déʃʔo	growing	déʃʔe-si	‘growable’
wó:ta	farming	wó:te-si	‘farmable’

Just like nouns, in Zaysete, though they are rare, there are adjectives that have consonant endings. Consider the following example in 19.

19. Adjectives	Gloss
bó:ts	‘white’
kumúts	‘full’
kárts	‘black’
gé:f	‘light color’

6.1.2. Postpositions

Zaysete has postpositions. These postpositions always follow the nouns which have meaning such as ‘below’, ‘from’, ‘before’, ‘inside’, etc., In my data I couldn’t find the modifier that comes right before the noun. The following are commonly used postpositions in the language:

20. Postpositions	Gloss
ʔafána	‘top’
ʔalána	‘bottom’
ʔõ:móna	‘under’
yekána	‘below/under’
birána	‘in front of / before’
gindána	‘behind’/back/
ké:tska	‘inside the house’
lánk’a	‘beside’
zanéna	‘outside’
gidá:	‘between’

The following examples show the occurrence of some of the postpositions in sentences (lots of examples are given in chapter three, section 3.2.4.2.):

20. a. ʔé- ʔáts -i	ʔé- ke :ts -ka -at: -en
DEF- man –NOM	DEF- house -inside -FOC -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
‘The man is inside the house.’	

b. ʔé- ja:tó -i ʔé- tús ʔo:mó -na -t:e woʔ -ín
 DEF-child -NOM DEF-tree under -INST-FOC sat PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The child sat under the tree.’

6.2 Adverbs of Zaysete

This section treats the adverbs of Zaysete. Adverbs are words that modify a verb or an entire clause. Based on their meaning, adverbs in Zaysete are classified into different classes. These are adverbs of time, adverbs of manner, and adverbs of frequency. Each of them is described below:

6.2.1. Time adverbs

In this subsection I present time adverbs. I begin with the discussion of parts of a day. A day can be decomposed into various adverbial time frames given in the following examples:

21. Adverbs	Gloss
ziróso	‘dawn (before sunrise)’
k’o:si dɛreska	‘sunrise’
ketá	‘morning’
daró dabɛ	‘noon’
galbéso	‘(very) late afternoon’
k’o:si gɛlaska	‘sunset’
galba	‘evening’

The following time adverbs refer to time frames within the day of conversation. The reference is the moment of conversation **hata** ‘now’.

22. Adverb	Gloss
háta	‘now’
hátabirá	‘a moment ago (before)’
gindá	‘after’
hátawoɔfɛ	‘right now’

By using the time adverb **hanzo** ‘today’ as a reference point, the following time adverbs can be listed in Zaysete:

23. Adverbs	Gloss
hánzo	‘today’
k’ó:si k’o:s	‘always’
zi:gíne /k’amaa/	‘yesterday’
zigínɛba	‘the day before yesterday’
zága /zí:na/	‘in the past, long time ago’
gúta	‘tomorrow’
gúta fifti	‘a day after tomorrow’

Zaysete has also time adverbs that refer to a year. These are given below in the example. The reference is the year of conversation.

23. Adverbs	Gloss
ha láyts	‘this year’
zimbére	‘last year’
zinkóbere	‘the year before last year’
langóde	‘a year after this year (next year)’

In Zaysete the division of the year into months is done based on their own calendar. According to Abayneh (2007: 58) Zayse people have their own calendar. In their calendar, the year is divided into **?aguna** ‘months’. A year consists of 13 months however the thirteenth month consists only 5 days. The first month of the year is **Bizza** ‘June’ and **tants** ‘May’ is the twelfth month, which is followed by **kutfa ?o:mo** ‘Leap year’. The first seven months from June –December have a similarity with the cardinal number from one to seven. The months of the year are the following:

24.	biz:a	‘June’
	lame	‘July’
	haysa	‘August’
	?oyda	‘September’
	?ifetfa	‘October’
	?izupe	‘November’
	la:pe	‘December’
	hoze	‘January’
	?otena	‘February’
	hazane	‘March’
	hi:sa	‘April’
	tants	‘May’
	kuɟfa ?o:mo	‘Leap year’

The year is again divided into four seasons. These are **sila** ‘Autumn’, **gab:a** ‘Spring’, **bone** ‘Summer’ and **bargo** ‘winter’. Moreover, in Zaysete a month is classified into weeks. A week consists only 4 days. The fourth day has been a market day but now the day is called **k’e:ra** ‘Saturday’. The names of the days are presented below:

25.	kíto	‘Monday’
	gá:ya	‘Tuesday’
	gelák’o	‘Saturday’
	bu:sagá:ya	‘Sunday’

However, now a days the names of the week are similar with the seven days of the week from Sunday up to Saturday.

Some illustrative examples showing the different adverbs of Zaysete are presented below:

26. a.	?és -í	hanzó	hám -at: -és -en
	he -NOM	today	go –FOC-3MS -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
	‘He will go today.’		

b. ʔís -í zi:gíne yéw-at: -ís -ín
 she -NOM yesterday come –FOC-3FS-PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘She came yesterday.’

c. ʔé- ʔáts -í háte hám-á-at:-és-en
 DEF-man-NOM now go-PROG –FOC-3MS-IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The man is going now.’

6.2.2 Adverbs of manner

In Zaysete, adverbs of manner are derived ones. They are derived from their noun counterparts by attaching the morpheme **-na**. This morpheme is similar with the instrumental case morpheme. Below some of the examples are given:

27. Noun	Gloss	Adverb	‘Gloss
kabe	‘work’	kabe-na	‘with work’
miye	‘eat’	miye-na	‘with eating’
ʃoge	‘wash’	ʃoge-na	‘with washing’
taybo	‘count’	taybo-na	‘with counting’
worge	‘find’	worge-na	‘with finding’

There are also some other adverbs derived from their adjectival counterparts by adding the morphemes like **-tsi** and **-i**’

28. Adjectives	Gloss	Adverb	Gloss
lóʔo	‘beautiful’	loʔá-tsi	‘beautifully’
ʧʃíne	‘near’	ʧʃíné-tsi	‘nearly’
s’í:lo	‘deep’	s’í:l-i	‘deeply’
lá:fa	‘weak’	lá:f-i	‘weakly’
gó:bo	‘intelligent	gó:b-i	‘intelligently’
s’ígo	‘courageous’	s’íg-i	‘courageously’

The following examples show the function of adverbs of manner in the sentence:

- 29. a.** ʔúsún -í gó:b-í ʔalts -át: -ús -ín
they -NOM intelligent-ADV finish -FOC-3PL-PERF:AFF:DEC
‘They finished intelligently.’
- b.** ʔés -í lá:f-í ʔumb -át: -ét -ín
he-NOM weak-ADV fall -FOC 3MS PERF:AFF:DEC
‘He fell down weakly.’
- c.** tá -i ʒatút -i ham-át:-et -ín
I -NOM quick -ADV go-FOC-1SG-PERF:AFF:DEC
‘I went quickly’
- d.** Nú -i ʔis -á kabé -na ʔíntʃ -at: -ún -ín
we -NOM her -ACC work -INST win -FOC -2PL-PERF:AFF:DEC
‘We won her with work.’

6.2.3 Adverbs of frequency

Adverbs of frequency in Zaysete are derived ones. The way of deriving adverbs of frequency in this language is by using total reduplication of the adverbs of time. Examples are provided below.

30. Adverb of Time	Gloss	Frequency adverb	Gloss
k’ó:s	‘day’	ko:sí kó:s	‘always’
bizína	‘once’	biziná bizina	‘sometimes’
gálba	‘night’	galbá galba	‘every night’
ketá	‘morning’	ketá keta	‘every morning’
wógga	‘sunday’	woggá wogga	‘every Sunday’
k’e:ra	‘saturday’	k’e:rá k’e:ra	‘every Saturday’

However there are also other forms of adverbs of frequency which are not formed in reduplication from. These are :

31. Frequency adverb	Gloss
ʔudá wode	‘usually’
magó	‘never’
bizína	‘once’

The following are example sentences that shows the function of adverbs of frequency:

32. a. ʔudáwode	nú -i	timirt-át:e	háng -e
always	2PL-NOM	school -FOC	go-IMPERF:AFF:DEC
‘We always go to school.’			

b. k’e:rá k’e:ra,	ʔúsun -í	gayá-at:e	háng -e
every Saturday,	they -NOM	market -FOC	go-IMPERF:AFF:DEC
‘They go to market every Saturday.’			

6.3. Numerals

Zaysete has a quinary numeral system. There are two forms of numerals in Zaysete – cardinals and ordinals. Hirut (2005: 133) worked on Ometo numerals to reconstruct the archaic numeral system, numeral base and form. Moreover some etymological interpretations are also provided for numeral expressions of thirteen Ometo languages. In her work, Hirut (Ibid) has identified some of the cardinal numerals of Ometo form one up to ten. Among these languages Zaysete is one. The other cardinal numerals above number ten have not been mentioned in her study. Besides, Hirut (2005) has not mentioned about ordinal numerals. Both the cardinal and the ordinal numerals identified in the present study are given below.

6.3.1. Cardinal numerals

According to Hirut (2005: 132), numerals one to five are the basic numerals in Ometo and as it is mentioned in her study the forms for such numerals are structurally simplex and etymologically opaque. Thus Zaysete has a numeral system which is quinary. Simple lexical items are used for numerals one up to five as shown below:

35. biz:ó	‘one’
nám?	‘two’
háyt̩	‘three’
ʔóid	‘four’
ʔif̩t̩	‘five’

Numerals six and seven have a common element ‘-p’ as a second member. According to Hirut (2005) the word ‘**ʔappuna** means how many. As she has already stated in her study the morpheme –p found in number six and seven is the trace of this word **ʔappuna ‘how many’**. I agree with this analysis because I found out that the trace of –p in number six and seven in Zaysete and it means ‘many’ Thus the situation in Zaysete is also similar with the other East Ometo sub groups such as Koorete and Haro. According to Hirut (2005) and my analysis these numbers literally mean:

36. ʔizú-p	six (one + many)
lāa-p	seven (two + many)

Regarding numerals eight and nine in Zaysete, these are different from number six and seven because they don’t have a trace of the word **ʔappuna ‘how many’**. As Hirut (2005: 143) stated these numbers are innovative and they are interpreted in relation to ten. These numbers are written as follows:

37. lak:út̩fe	‘eight’
s’íngo	‘nine’

Number eight is innovation. **lak:úʈʃe** ‘eight’ formed from two words- **lamʔu** and **kutʃe** ‘two hand’ this means two fingers less than the number of fingers of the two hands. Mathematically this reads as ‘ten minus two’. This situation is also attested in other East Ometo languages Haro and Ganta. Regarding **s’ingo** ‘number nine’ Zaysete is different from the other East Ometo languages because according to (Hirut 2005: 144) number **nine** ‘tansinde’ in Haro and Ganta is similar. and ‘Number ten is **támm** in Zaysete. It is the same with other East Ometo languages.

In Zaysete, numerals from number eleven to nineteen are formed by combining number **támm** ‘ten’ with the numbers form ‘**biz:ó**’ one to ‘**s’ingo**’ nine. The word for ten ‘**támm**’ comes first and followed by the numerals below ten. When **ten** ‘**támm**’ is ready to join the numerals below it, it becomes ten ‘**támma**’. Then, these two groups of words are joined by the morpheme **-ne** which function as a conjunction. Thus the literal meanings of these numbers are ‘ten and one’, ‘ten and two’, ‘ten and three’, ‘ten and four’, etc. Consider the following examples:

38. a. támma ne biz:ó

ten and one

‘Eleven’

b. támma ne námʔ

ten and two

‘Twelve’

c. támma ne háyʃ

ten and three

‘Thirteen’

d. támma ne ʔóid

ten and four

‘Fourteen’

e. támma ne ʔifʃʃ

ten and five

‘Fifteen’

f. támma ne ʔizúp

ten and six

‘Sixteen’

g. támma ne láap

ten and seven

‘Seventeen’

h. támma ne lak:útf̥e

ten and eight

‘Eighteen’

i. támma ne s’íngo

ten and nine

‘Nineteen’

In order to express a multiple of ten in Zaysete, the single numerals from two to nine are combined with ten ‘**támm**’. The single numerals occur preceding the cardinal number ten ‘**támm**’ and between them the epenthetic vowel **-i** and **-u** are inserted. The numerals which are formed from this combination literally mean ‘two ten’, ‘three ten’ etc. Look at the following examples:

39. námʔ - i- támm

two EPEN ten

‘Twenty’

ʔizúp -u- támm

six EPEN ten

‘Sixty’

háyt̥s - i- támm

three EPEN ten

‘Thirty’

láap -u- támm

seven EPEN ten

‘Seventy’

ʔóid - i- támm

four EPEN ten

‘Forty’

lak:útf̥e támm

eight- ten

‘Eighty’

ʔifíʔ - i- támm

five EPEN ten

‘Fifty’

s’íngo támm

nine - ten

‘Ninety’

Moreover, when the cardinal numbers are ordered in a list we simply add the lower single digit such as ‘**biz:ó**’ one and ‘**námʔ**’ two to the multiples of ten ‘**támm**’(which are shown in the above example 39). In the multiple of ten the morpheme **–ne** is added before the single digit number as indicated in the following examples:

40. námʔ -i- támma ne biz:ó

two EPEN ten and one

‘Twenty-one’

námʔ -i- támma ne námʔ

two EPEN ten and two

‘Twenty-two’

námʔ -i- támma ne háyts

two EPEN ten and three

‘Twenty-three’

námʔ -i- támma ne ʔóid

two EPEN ten and four

‘Twenty-four’

námʔ -i- támma ne ʔifíʔ

two EPEN ten and five

‘Twenty-five’

námʔ -i- támma ne ʔizúp

two EPEN ten and six

‘Twenty-six’

nám? -i- támma ne láap

two EPEN ten and seven

‘Twenty-seven’

nám? -i- támma ne lak:útʃe

two EPEN ten and eight

‘Twenty-eight’

nám? -i- támma ne s’íngo

two EPEN ten and nine

‘Twenty-nine’

háytʃ - i- támm

three EPEN ten

‘Thirty’

háytʃ - i- támma ne biz:ó

three EPEN ten and one

‘Thirty-one’

háytʃ - i- támma ne nám?

three EPEN ten and two

‘Thirty-two’

háytʃ - i- támma ne háytʃ

three EPEN ten and three

‘Thirty-three’

háytʃ - i- támma ne ʔóid

three EPEN ten and four

‘Thirty-four’

háytʃ - i- támma ne ʔíʃtʃ

three EPEN ten and five

‘Thirty-five’

háyts - i- támma ne ʔizúp

three EPEN ten and six

‘Thirty-six’

háyts - i- támma ne láap

three EPEN ten and seven

‘Thirty-seven’

háyts - i- támma ne lak:úʔfe

three EPEN ten and eight

‘Thirty-eight’

háyts - i- támma ne s’íngo

three EPEN ten and nine

‘Thirty-nine’

ʔóid - i- támm

four EPEN ten

‘Forty’

ʔóid- i- támma ne biz:ó

four EPEN ten and one

‘Forty-one’

ʔóid- i- támma ne námʔ

four EPEN ten and two

‘Forty-two’

ʔóid- i- támma ne háyts

four EPEN ten and three

‘Forty-three’

ʔóid- i- támma ne ʔóid

four EPEN ten and four

‘Forty-four’

ʔóid- i- támma ne ʔifíʃ

four EPEN ten and five

‘Forty-five’

ʔóid- i- támma ne ʔizúp

four EPEN ten and six

‘Forty-six’

ʔóid- i- támma ne láap

four EPEN ten and seven

‘Forty-seven’

ʔóid- i- támma ne lak:úʃe

four EPEN ten and eight

‘Forty-eight’

ʔóid- i- támma ne s’íngo

four EPEN ten and nine

‘Forty-nine’

ʔifíʃ - i- támm

five EPEN ten

‘Fifty’

ʔifíʃ -i- támma ne biz:ó

five EPEN ten and one

‘Fifty-one’

ʔiʃíʃ -i- támma ne námʔ

five EPEN ten and two

‘Fifty-two’

ʔiʃíʃ -i- támma ne háyts

five EPEN ten and three

‘Fifty-three’

ʔiʃíʃ -i- támma ne ʔóid

five EPEN ten and four

‘Fifty-four’

ʔiʃíʃ -i- támma ne ʔiʃíʃ

five EPEN ten and five

‘Fifty-five’

ʔiʃíʃ -i- támma ne ʔizúp

five EPEN ten and six

‘Fifty-six’

ʔiʃíʃ -i- támma ne láap

five EPEN ten and seven

‘Fifty-seven’

ʔiʃíʃ -i- támma ne lak:úʃe

five EPEN ten and eight

‘Fifty-eight’

ʔiʃíʃ -i- támma ne s’íngo

five EPEN ten and nine

‘Fifty-nine’

ʔizúp -u- támm

six EPEN ten

‘Sixty’

ʔizúp -u- támma ne biz:ó

six EPEN ten and one

‘Sixty-one’

ʔizúp -u- támma ne námʔ

six EPEN ten and two

‘Sixty -two’

ʔizúp -u- támma ne háyts

six EPEN ten and three

‘Sixty -three’

ʔizúp -u- támma ne ʔóid

six EPEN ten and four

‘Sixty -four’

ʔizúp -u- támma ne ʔifítʃ

six EPEN ten and five

‘Sixty -five’

ʔizúp -u- támma ne ʔizúp

six EPEN ten and six

‘Sixty -six’

ʔizúp -u- támma ne láap

six EPEN ten and seven

‘Sixty -seven’

ʔizúp -u- támma ne lak:útʃe

six EPEN ten and eight

‘Sixty -eight’

ʔizúp -u- támma ne s'íngo

six EPEN ten and nine

'Sixty -nine'

láap -u- támm

seven EPEN ten

'Seventy'

láap -u- támma ne biz:ó

seven EPEN ten and one

'Seventy - one'

láap -u- támma ne námʔ

seven EPEN ten and two

'Seventy two'

láap -u- támma ne háyts

seven EPEN ten and three

'Seventy three'

láap -u- támma ne ʔóid

seven EPEN ten and four

'Seventy four'

láap -u- támma ne ʔifitʃ

seven EPEN ten and five

'Seventy five'

láap -u- támma ne ʔizúp

seven EPEN ten and six

'Seventy six'

láap -u- támma ne láap

seven EPEN ten and seven

‘Seventy seven’

láap -u- támma ne lak:útje

seven EPEN ten and eight

‘Seventy eight’

láap -u- támma ne s’íngo

seven EPEN ten and nine

‘Seventy nine’

lak:útje támm

eight- ten

‘Eighty’

lak:útje támm ne biz:ó

eight - ten and one

‘Eighty one’

lak:útje támm ne nám?

eight - ten and two

‘Eighty two

lak:útje támm ne háyts

eight - ten and three

‘Eighty three

lak:útje támm ne ?óid

eight - ten and four

‘Eighty four

lak:útje támm ne ?ifitj

eight - ten and five

‘Eighty five

lak:útje támm ne ʔizúp

eight - ten and six

‘Eighty six

lak:útje támm ne láap

eight - ten and seven

‘Eighty seven

lak:útje támm ne lak:útje

eight - ten and eight

‘Eighty eight

lak:útje támm ne s’íngo

eight - ten and nine

‘Eighty nine

s’íngo támm

nine - ten

‘Ninety’

s’íngo támma ne biz:ó

nine – ten and one

‘Ninety one

s’íngo támma ne námʔ

nine – ten and two

‘Ninety two

s’íngo támma ne háyts

nine – ten and three

‘Ninety three

s'íngo támma ne ʔóid

nine – ten and four

‘Ninety four

s'íngo támma ne ʔifítʃ

nine – ten and five

‘Ninety five

s'íngo támma ne ʔizúp

nine – ten and six

‘Ninety six

s'íngo támma ne láap

nine – ten and seven

‘Ninety seven

s'íngo támma ne lak:úʃfe

nine – ten and eight

‘Ninety eight

s'íngo támma ne s'íngo

nine – ten and nine

‘Ninety nine

The cardinal number hundred in Zaysete is expressed by the word ‘s'é:t’, which means one hundred. ‘s'ééte’ is a cardinal number hundred in Haro identified by Hirut (2003). If we count in hundreds the single numeral bases are added preceding the word that express hundred. Look at the following examples

41. námʔ -i- s'é:t

two EPEN hundred

‘two hundred’

ʔizúp -u- s'é:t

six EPEN hundred

‘six hundred

háyts - i- s'é:t
three EPEN hundred
'three hundred'

láap -u- s'é:t
seven EPEN hundred
'seven hundred'

ʔóid - i- s'é:t
four EPEN hundred
'four hundred'

lak:úʔfe s'é:t
eight - hundred
'eight hundred'

ʔiʃʔ - i- s'é:t
five EPEN hundred
'five hundred'

s'íngo s'é:t
nine - hundred
'nine hundred'

The lexical term given for the cardinal number one thousand in Zaysete is **biz:í biyá**. However, in Haro language 'kuma' is a term given for **thousand** Hirut (2003: 183).

6.3.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals in Zaysete are derived from the cardinal numerals. The formation of the ordinal numbers takes place with the process of suffixing a morpheme **-ántso** to the cardinal numbers. Thus cardinals and ordinals are distinguished morphologically. The same situation is attested in Haro (Hirut 2003) and in Koorete (Beletu 2003) and Zargula (Baye 1994). Hirut identified the morpheme used as a suffix in Haro is **-únso** and on the other hand Beletu found out **-ntso** is the suffix used in Koorete and **-ans** is the suffix used in Zargula identified by Baye to form ordinal numerals. Look at the ordinal numerals given below:

42. biz: -ántso
one -ORD
'First'

ʔizúp-ántso
six -ORD
'sixth'

námʔ-ántso
two- ORD
'Second'

láap -ántso
seven -ORD
'Seventh'

háyz-ántso

three-ORD

‘Third’

lak:útf--ántso

eight-ORD

‘Eighth’

ʔóid-ántso

four – ORD

‘Fourth’

s’ing –ántso

nine - ORD

‘Ninth’

ʔifítf-ántso

five – ORD

‘Fifth’

támm –ántso

ten- ORD

‘Tenth’

Ordinal numbers beyond tenth are also derived by adding the same morpheme to the cardinal numbers. Some of the ordinal numbers are given here as an example:

43. támma ne biz: –ántso

ten and one -ORD

‘Eleventh’

nám? -i- tamm biz: –ántso

two EPEN ten one -ORD

‘Twenty-first’

ʔóid- i- támm nám? –ántso

four EPEN ten two -ORD

‘Forty-second’

ʔifítf -i- támm ʔizúp –ántso

five EPEN ten six -ORD

‘Fifty-sixth’

ʔifítf -i- támm lak:útf –ántso

five EPEN ten eight -ORD

‘Fifty- eighth’

láap -u- támm háyz –ántso

seven EPEN ten three -ORD

‘Seventy third’

lak:útfje támm láap –úntso

eight- ten seven -ORD

‘Eighty seventh’

s’íngo támm s’íng –ántso

nine – ten – nine -ORD

‘Ninety ninth’

s’éet – úntso

hundred -ORD

‘Hundredth’

To summarize this chapter, in the first section of this chapter adjectives are treated. In this section the categorization of adjectives, the formation of adjectives and the inflection of adjectives for number case and definiteness are discussed with illustrative examples in detail. In the second section the adverb are presented. The different kinds of adverbs such as time, frequency, place and manner adverbs are discussed with examples. In the third section the cardinal and the ordinal numeral system of Zaysete is presented with illustrative examples. In the following chapter the conjunctions will be treated.

Chapter Seven

7. Conjunctions

According to Schachter and Shopen (2007: 45), “Conjunctions are words that are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses”. In Zaysete, a wide range of constituents are connected in this way: nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases, adjectives, adverbs, adpositions, clauses, etc. This section deals with the following list of conjunctions that are attested in Zaysete. These are coordinative conjunctions, alternative conjunctions, adversative conjunctions, additive conjunctions and resultative conjunctions. The following table shows the lists of conjunctions familiar with Zaysete.

coordinative conjunctions	alternative conjunctions	adversative conjunctions	additive conjunctions	resultative conjunctions
-ni (-ne) , -ra 'and' maak'o 'neither nor'	wojko 'or'	ma:k'ofe 'but' ma:k'ukon 'though'	yimanguzo 'moreover'	-ute 'because'

Table 29. Lists of Conjunctions

7.1. Coordinative conjunctions

The coordinative conjunction coordinates noun phrases. **-ni** and **-ne** is inserted between the two noun phrases that are conjoined together. **-ni** is used if the coordinates are subjects and **-ne** is used if the coordinates are objects. The following examples illustrate the use of **-ni** and **-ne**:

1. a. **tá-baróy - ni tá- barts -í gode ga:yá -at:-ús**
 my -sister -CNJ my -brother -NOM to market -FOC-3PL
hang -é
 go IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 'My sister and my brother go to the market.'

b. tá -i daptore -ne -ʔiskiribto fá:m-at:-et -ín
 I -NOM -exercise book -CNJ -pen buy FOC 1SG PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘I bought exercise book and pen.’

Thus, as it can be seen from the above example **1a**, the noun phrase is the subject of the sentence. As a result the conjunction **-ni** is used to conjoin the two noun phrases and on the contrary in the example **1b** **-ne** is used to conjoin noun phrases functions as an object of the sentence.

In order to indicate a certain action is not completed by two of the subjects, the negative emphatic coordinator **ma:k’o** ‘neither’ is used. To use this conjunction the inclusive negative emphatic suffix **-n** is attached to the first noun or noun phrase, and then the morpheme **ma:k’o** ‘neither’ is placed in between the first and the second noun or noun phrase that are conjoined together. The examples below show this:

2.a. Abebe -n má:k’o Bek’ele gale
 Abebe INCL:EMPH:NOM CNJ Bek’ele debt

ʃ’íg -i -báʔe
 pay- EPEN- PERF NEG:DEC
 ‘Neither Abebe or Bek’ele paid the debt.’

b. Abebe -n má:k’o Bek’ele -gafa
 Abebe INCL:EMPH:NOM CNJ Bek’ele-ABL

tama:re -i -báʔe
 student -EPEN- PERF NEG:DEC
 ‘Neither Abebe or Bek’ele are students.’

7.2. Alternative conjunctions

The alternative conjunction in Zaysete is expressed by the morpheme **woyko** ‘or’. This conjunction is used to show the alternative between two things. It is possible to use **woyko** ‘or’ in declarative as well as in question forms of sentences. The following examples show the use of alternative conjunctions in declarative and questions forms respectively.

3. a. Alemo -i wóyko Bek’ele -at: -és ye:w -én-de
 Alemu -NOM CNJ Bek’ele -FOC-3MS come IMPERF-FUT:AFF:DEC
 ‘Alemu or bekele will come.’

b. Alemo -i módo wóyko wá:tse -at: -es
 Alemu NOM modo CNJ water -FOC -3MS

ʔuf: -en-de
 drink – IMPERF-FUT:AFF:DEC
 ‘Alemu will drink modo or water.’

c. Tigiste -i ʒi:tʃ’é wóyko bortsá -at: -ís
 tigist -NOM ring CNJ bag-FOC-3FS

ʃam -én-de
 buy-IMPERF-PROS:FUT: :AFF:DEC
 ‘Tigist will buy either a ring or a bag.’

d. ha burʃ’uk’o -i mentsesi ʔe- naʔa -wóyko
 this glass -NOM broken DEF- boy -CNJ

ʔi- biʃ:a -at:e
 DEF- girl -FOC:AFF:DEC
 ‘This glass is broken either by the boy or the girl.’

e.ʔanas -un wóрге? ha -i ʔiskiribto woyko so-ʔisa?
 which -ABS need this-NOM pen CNJ that one:AFF:INT
 ‘Which one do you need?, this pen or that one?’

7.3. Contrastive conjunctions

Adversative coordination can be defined as expressing an opposition between two states of affairs, in contrast to alternative coordination which presents an alternative between two states of affairs or referents. This type of conjunction in Zaysete is used to show contrast. It is expressed by using morphemes like **ma:k’ofe** ‘but’ and **ma:k’ukon** ‘though’. The following examples illustrate this point:

5. a. Ta -i doctore -at:e, ma:k’o-fa -at: -in, ne -i astemare -t:e
 I -NOM doctore-FOC CNJ-ABL-FOC-PERF you-NOM teacher -FOC:AFF:DEC
 ‘I am a doctor but you are a teacher.’

b. Be- sunts ʔis -i kaf -is ma:k’umon,
 POSS name she -NOM tell -3FS CNJ

bota -at: -et -in
 forget-FOC-1SG- PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Though she told me her name, I forgot it.’

c. Henoke -i modo ʔufe-at:e worge, ma:k’ofe -at -en
 henok -NOM modo drink -FOC want CNJ-FOC -IMPERF

Bekele -i ma:ts -ate worg -e.
 Bekele -NOM milk -FOC want -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘Henok wants to drink modo but Bekele wants to drink milk.’

7.4. Additive conjunctions

In Zaysete, the additive conjunction *in* is expressed by the lexical form **yimanguzo** ‘**moreover**’ ‘**besides**’, ‘**in addition**’, etc. Consider the examples below:

6. a. **wa:tsé -i** **kátsa** **lik’usos** **worg –us -es –ate,**
water -NOM food chewing need –DAT-3MS-FOC,

yimanguzo, gála hear **-at:e -es** **su:rus -e**
CNJ, body temperature -FOC -3MS regulate -IMPERF: AFFDEC
‘water is important for digestion, moreover it regulates body temperature.’

b. **Bortsa** **tá- baysese** **fotoasi** **ta- passporte -at:e**
bag my- losing CNJ my- passporte -FOC

báys-in
lose -PERF:AFF:DEC
‘Besides losing my bag, I lost my passport.’

7.5. Resultative conjunctions

Zaysete has a morpheme **-ute**, ‘**because**’, that shows the result of something. The following examples show the use of **-ute** to show cause and effect relationship between two events.

7.a. **ʔira -i** **bukatʃe** **dabe –ute,** **woot-ats** **-i**
rain -NOM raining drop -CNJ, farm-er NOM

mitfo -at: -es -in
disappoint -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
‘Because there was no rain, the farmer disappointed.’

b. woot-ats -i mitfo -at: -es - in,
 farm-er -NOM disappoint -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC,

?ira -i bukatje dabe -ute.
 rain -NOM raining drop -CNJ

‘The farmer disappointed because there was no rain.’

c. ta: -ro kabe -i lagis-ute,
 I -DAT work -NOM lots of -CNJ,

?aykut -at: -et -i-d-e.
 busy -FOC -1SG -PFT-PA-PRES:AFF:DEC

‘Because I have lots of works, I am busy.’

d. ?aykut -at: -et -i -d -e, ta: -ro kabe -i lagis-ute
 busy -FOC -1SG -PFT-PA-PRES:AFF:DEC, I -DAT work -NOM lots of -CNJ

‘I am busy because I have lots of works.’

As it is indicated in the above examples, the result clause can be placed in two positions; at the beginning of the sentence like examples ’7.a’ and ’7.c’ or at the end of the sentence like example ’7.b’ and ’7.d’ without any meaning change.

To summarise, this chapter mainly deals with the conjunctions. The conjunctions of Zaysete like coordinative, alternative, contrastive, additive and resualtative conjunctions are presented with examples. In the following chapter the syntax will be treated.

Chapter Eight

8. Syntax

This chapter has two sections; in the first section of this chapter the word order of noun phrase and the word order of simple sentences in Zaysete are presented. In the second section the basic sentence types will be seen. Under the second section emphasis is given for the simple sentence types in Zaysete.

8.1. Word order in Zaysete

According to Teshome (1989: 86) and to my data Zaysete is found to be a head-final language and it has an SOV word order. Like several languages of Ethiopia at large and Omotic in particular, the word order of Zaysete is mainly SOV. In relation to word order, Dryer (2007a: 61) presents the following typological notes.

When people refer to the word order of a language, they often are referring specifically to the order of subject, object, and verb with respect to each other, but word order refers more generally to the order of any set of elements, either at the clause level or within phrases, such as the order of elements within a noun phrase. When examining the word order of a language, there are two kinds of questions one can ask. The first question is simply that of what the order of elements is in the language. The second question is that of how the word order in the language conforms to cross-linguistic universals and tendencies.

Taking into account Dryer's claim, I try to analyze the word order of Zaysete both in phrasal and clausal level. If the arguments of a transitive verb are expressed overtly, the word order is predominantly SOV. If the arguments of an intransitive verb are expressed with independent words, the word order is predominantly SV. In this section I try to discuss the word order in noun phrase and the word order of the simple sentences turn by turn.

8.1. 1. Word order in noun phrase

A noun phrase in Zaysete, consists of just a noun alone or it may consist of a head noun and a definite prefix. It can also have different adnominal constituents which include attributive adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, possessives, and relative clauses. All adnominal components precede the head noun they modify. In this section the word order of noun phrase will be discussed with illustrative examples.

A noun phrase may consist of a noun only. The following are some of the examples:

1.a. mí:s

cow

‘A cow’

b. bif:á

girl

‘A girl’

c. tʃim -áts

old - man

‘An old man’

A noun phrase may consist of a head noun and a definite prefix as shown in the examples 2.a-c below

2. a. ʔé- kená

DEF:MAS- dog

‘The dog’

b. ʔí- doró

DEF:FEM- sheep

‘The sheep’

c. ʔú- mins' -ir
DEF- tree -PL
'The trees'

A noun phrase can also be formed from a demonstrative prefix and a head noun. For instance, the demonstrative prefix **ha-** 'this' occurs with the noun **ké:ts** 'house' in the example 3.a and the demonstrative prefix **háidas-** 'these' occurs with the noun **kafir** 'birds' in the example 3.b below.

3. a. ha- ké:ts
DEM- house
'This house'

b. háidas' - i kaf -ir
DEM -NOM bird -PL
'These birds'

A noun phrase may contain a possessive prefix with a head noun, as shown in the following example:

4. a. tá- maido
1SG:POSS ox
'My ox'

nú- maido
1PL(EXCL):POSS ox
'Our ox'

ní- maido
1PL(INCL):POSS ox
'Our ox'

b. ʔú- kɛna

3PL:POSS dog

‘Their dog’

ʔí- kɛna

3FS:POSS dog

‘Her dog’

ʔé- kɛna

3MS:POSS- dog

‘His dog’

c. né- dor -ir

2SG:POSS- sheep -PL

‘Your sheep’

wú- dor -ir

2PL:POSS- sheep -PL

‘Your sheep’

Like the other adnominal, cardinal numerals normally precede the head noun that they modify. According to Dryer (2007b: 164) the cardinal numerals semantically indicate the number of referents the noun phrase denotes. In Zaysete if a noun phrase is composed of a head noun and a numeral, the word order is the numeral followed by the head noun. When numerals higher than one are used as quantifiers, plural nouns are used in the noun phrases as the following examples illustrate:

5. a. námʔ -i ké:ts -ir

two -EPEN house -PL

‘Two houses’

b. ʔifitʃ -i fá:t -ir
 five EPEN boy -PL
 ‘Five boys’

c. lak:útʃe dor -ir
 eight sheep-PL
 ‘Eight sheep’

However, in a noun phrase composed of a head noun with a possessive prefix and a numeral, the word order is the possessive prefix precedes the numeral and followed by the head noun. Baye (1994: 491) in his paper explained this point as in a noun phrase if both the quantifiers (cardinal numerals, measure phrases and quantity adjectives) and determiners occur; the word order is that the determiners precede the quantifier. The following examples illustrate this point.

6. a. tá- námʔ -i maid-ir -i
 1SG:POSS- two -EPEN ox -PL -NOM
 ‘My two oxen’

b. ʔú- ʔifitʃ -i ken -ir -i
 3PL:POSS- five -EPEN dog -PL -NOM
 ‘Their five dogs’

c. wú- tám: -i dor -ir -i
 2PL:POSS- ten -EPEN sheep -PL-NOM
 ‘Your ten sheep’

d. so- lagó dor -ir -i
 those- many sheep -PL -NOM
 ‘Those many sheep’

On the contrary if the numeral occurred preceding the possessive prefix, such structure would be ungrammatical. This argument is also supported by Baye (1994: 491). Consider the following ungrammatical examples in 7a and b:

7. *a. **nám?** -i **tá-** **maid -ir -i**
 two -EPEN 1SG:POSS- ox -PL -NOM
 ‘Two my oxen’

*b. **ʔifíʔ** -i -ú **ken -ir -i**
 five -EPEN -3PL:POSS dog -PL -NOM
 ‘Five their dogs’

If a noun phrase is composed of a head noun and an adjective that modifies the noun, the word order is that the adjective precedes the head noun and is inflected for number and gender in agreement with the head noun. However, gender is only the feature of the third person masculine and feminine singular. Gender is marked on modifiers but not on the head nouns. The following are some of the illustrative examples:

8. a. **ʔi- tʃimá** **mí:s -í**
 DEF- old cow -NOM
 ‘The old cow’

b. **ʔé- ʔadó** **kená -i**
 DEF- big dog -NOM
 ‘The big dog’

c. **ʔú- gó:bo** **táma:r -ir -i**
 DEF- intelligent student -PL -NOM
 ‘The intelligent students’

d. **sóidas’ é:ri** **ʃa:t -ir -í**
 those little boy -PL -NOM
 ‘Those little boys’

If the noun phrase is composed of a sequence of adjectives which are not restricted, and a head noun, the word order is the adjectives precede the head noun as the examples in 9a and b below show:

9.a. ʔú- ʔadó kárts -í ʔoll -ir -í
 DEF- big black - NOM horse -PL -NOM
 ‘The big black horses’

b. lóʔo he:gó -i bif:á
 beautiful thin -NOM girl
 ‘A beautiful thin girl.’

When a degree word occurs in the same noun phrase with adjectives, the order of adjectives is preceded by the degree word. The degree word in this language is **mágo** ‘very’. Consider the following example:

10. a. mágo lóʔo he:gó -i bif:á
 very beautiful thin -NOM girl
 ‘A very beautiful thin girl.’

b. ʔú- mágo ʔadó kárts -í ʔoll -ir -í
 DEF- very big black -NOM horse -PL -NOM
 ‘The very big black horses’

8.1. 2. Word order in Verb Phrase

In simple sentences with intransitive verbs and overt subjects, the word order is that the subject precedes the verb as in (11a-b) **SUBJECT—VERB**. In simple sentences with overt subject and overt object, the word order is **SUBJECT—OBJECT—VERB** as in (11c-d).

11. a. **ʔís -í** **zigíne** **yet -at: -ís -ín**
 she -NOM yesterday come-FOC -3FS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘She came yesterday.’

b. **ʔúsún -í** **wos’ -at: -ús -en**
 they -NOM run -FOC -3PL -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘They will run’

c. **ʔés -í** **ʔé- mins’á** **ʔis’ -at: -és -ín**
 he -NOM DEF- tree cut -FOC -3MS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘He cut the tree.’

d. **né -i** **ʔé-mas’afa** **ʔam-at:-én -ín**
 you -NOM DEF-book buy-FOC-2SG -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘You bought the book.’

The above simple sentences may occur without the overt subjects, in which case the subjects are understood from the type of the subject clitic and the gender agreement marker on the verb. The sentences in (11a) and (11c) are repeated below as (12a) and (12b) without the subject noun.

12. a. **zigíne** **yet -at: -ís -ín**
 yesterday come -FOC -3FS -PERF
 ‘She came yesterday.’

b. **ʔé- mins’á** **ʔis’ -at: -és -ín**
 DEF- tree cut -FOC-3MS -PERF
 ‘He cut the tree.’

Below, I show different word orders that are possible, without discussing the meaning differences. For example, the SV word order in 11a, repeated here as 13a, has the VS order in 13b. The examples in 13c-e have the same constituents but differ in the order of those constituents. 13c has SOV word order which is the acceptable word order of the language. Moreover, 13d has SVO word order; 13e has OSV word orders which are also possible even though they are not used commonly. Further research is needed to determine the functional differences of these word order variants.

13. a. **ʔis -i jet -at: -is -in**
 she NOM come FOC 3SG PERF
 ‘She came.’

b. **yet -at: -is -in ʔis -i**
 come -FOC -3SG -PERF she -NOM
 ‘She came’

c. **ʔés -í ʔí- mins’á ʔis’-at: -és -ín**
 he -NOM DEF- tree cut -FOC-3MS -PERF
 ‘He cut the tree.’

d. **ʔes -i ʔis’ -at: -és -ín ʔí- mins’á**
 he -NOM cut -FOC -3MS -PERF DEF- tree
 ‘He cut the tree.’

e. **ʔí - mins’á ʔes -i ʔis’ -at: -és -ín**
 DEF- tree he -NOM cut -FOC -3MS -PERF
 ‘He cut the tree.’

Temporal adverbs such as **zigine** ‘yesterday’ and **gúta** ‘tomorrow’ may occur with simple sentences. Such temporal adverbs are not restricted in their position. They occurs sentence initially as in 14a, between the subject and object as in 14b, between the object and the verb as in 14c or sentence final as in 14d.

- 14. a.** **zigíne** **ʔúsún** **-í** **ʔí- mí:s** **ʔatfʼ: -at: -ús -ín**
yesterday they -NOM DEF-cow tie -FOC -3PL -PERF
‘Yesterday they tied the cow.’
- b.** **ʔúsún** **- í** **zigíne** **ʔí- mí:s** **ʔatfʼ: -at: -ús -ín**
they -NOM yesterday DEF-cow tie –FOC-3PL-PERF
‘Yesterday they tied the cow.’
- c.** **ʔúsún** **-í** **ʔí-mí:s** **zigíne** **ʔatfʼ: -at: -ús -ín**
they -NOM DEF-cow yesterday tie -FOC -3PL- PERF
‘They tied the cow yesterday.’
- d.** **ʔúsún** **-í** **ʔí- mí:s** **ʔatfʼ: -at:-ús -ín** **zigíne**
they -NOM DEF-cow tie –FOC-3PL-PERF yesterday
‘They tied the cow yesterday.’

8. 2. Sentence types in Zaysete

The simplest types of sentences in Zaysete are declaratives, interrogatives, negatives and exclamatory sentences. The other type of simple sentences- imperatives, optative and prohibitive are discussed in chapter six thus in this section only declaratives, interrogatives and negatives will be discussed with illustrative examples.

8.2.1. The declarative sentences

Just like the closely related East Omoto language Haro (Hirut 2003), declarative sentences in Zaysete are of two types verbal declarative and non-verbal declarative sentences. Each of them will be discussed in the following sections with illustrative examples.

8.2.1.1. The verbal declarative sentences

Affirmatives and negatives are the two forms of verbal declarative statements in Zaysete. The affirmative verbal declaratives will be discussed in this section with illustrative examples. However the negative verbal declarative will be presented in the third section of this chapter (see 8.2.3.1).

Affirmative verbal declarative

Affirmative declarative in Zaysete is marked by the morpheme **-n**. It is placed after the agreement, the focus and the tense markers are attached to the verb root. Consider the following sentences with imperfective and perfective paradigms respectively in the affirmative declarative form:

15.	1SG	mitʃ ^o -ot: - et -en	laugh-FOC-1SG-IMPERF	‘I /will/laugh’
	1PL	mitʃ ^o -ot: - un -en	laugh -FOC-1PL- IMPERF (EXC)	‘We / will/laugh’
	1PL	mitʃ ^o -ot - in-en	laugh -FOC-1PL- IMPERF (INC)	‘We / will/laugh’
	2SG	mitʃ ^o -ot: -en -en	laugh -FOC-2SG –IMPERF	‘You / will/laugh’
	2PL	mitʃ ^o -ot: - it -en	laugh -FOC-2PL –IMPERF	‘You / will/laugh’
	3MS	mitʃ ^o -ot: - es -en	laugh -FOC-3MS –IMPERF	‘He / will/laugh’
	3FS	mitʃ ^o -ot: - is -en	laugh -FOC-3FS –IMPERF	‘She / will/laugh’
	3PL	mitʃ ^o -ot: - us –en	laugh -FOC-3PL –IMPERF	‘They/ will/ laugh’

The perfective paradigms of the verb **mitʃ^o**- ‘laugh’ in the affirmative declarative form:

16.	1SG	mitʃ ^o -ót: - et - in	laugh -FOC-1SG-PERF	‘I laughed’
	1PL	mitʃ ^o -ót: - un - in	laugh -FOC-1PL-PERF (EXCL)	‘We laughed’
	1PL	mitʃ ^o -ót: - in- in	laugh -FOC-1PL-PERF (INCL)	‘we laughed’
	2SG	mitʃ ^o -ót: - en –in	laugh -FOC-2SG –PERF	‘You laughed’
	2PL	mitʃ ^o -ót: - it – in	laugh -FOC-2PL –PERF	‘You laughed’
	3MS	mitʃ ^o -ót: - es – in	laugh -FOC-3MS –PERF	‘He laughed’
	3FS	mitʃ ^o -ót: - is - in	laugh -FOC-3FS –PERF	‘She laughed’
	3PL	mitʃ ^o -ót: - us - in	laugh -FOC-3PL –PERF	‘They laughed’

17. a. **ta -i mitʃ'o -át: -et -en**
 I -NOM laugh -FOC -1SG -IMPERF- AFF:DEC
 'I laugh.'

b. **?es -i mitʃ'o -át: -es -ín**
 he -NOM laugh -FOC -3MS -PERF- AFF:DEC
 'He laughed.'

According to Aikhenvald (2008: 11) focus marking is an indicator of the declarative statements in Omotic languages. As it is mentioned by Aikhenvald (Ibid), the absence of the focus marker indicates the statement is interrogative. Since both sentences above are focused, they show that the two sentences are affirmative declarative statements. Moreover, as it can be seen in the above imperfective paradigms (in 15) the sentence ends with the morpheme – **en** and in the perfective paradigms (in 16) the sentence ends with the morpheme –**in**. Thus the morphemes the shows aspects are –**e** and –**i**. However the morpheme –**n** shows affirmative declarative statement.

8.2.1.2. The non-verbal declarative sentence types

As its name indicates, in these types of sentence construction there is no verb. The sentence is constructed with subject and predicate. The predicate can be a noun or an adjective. As it is indicated above, the verbal declarative sentences have verbs that carry tense and aspect markers. However in the non-verbal declarative sentence construction there is no verb that carry tense and aspect marker. Thus, the verb ‘**ma:k'** /**become**/’ is used as a verb that carry tense and aspect marker. But the predicate is marked for focus. Look at the following examples:

18. a. **?és -í he:g -at: -és ma:k' -in**
 he -NOM thin -FOC -3MS become -PERF:AFF-DEC
 'He became thin.'

b. ʔés -í he:go ma:k' -á -at: -és -en
 she -NOM lazy become-PROG- FOC-3MS-IMPERF:AFF-DEC
 'He is becoming thin.'

c. ʔés -í he:g -at: -és ma:k' -én-de
 he -NOM thin -FOC -3MS become-IMPERF-FUT:AFF-DEC
 'He will be /become/ thin.'

Adjectives in Zaysete have inchoative verbal counterparts (Look at Chapter 5 section 5.2.5). Therefore, with the non-verbal construction, the adjectival predicate can occur as a main verb. In this case the verb 'ma:k'/ become/ will not be used and it is the inchoative verb inflected for focus, tense and aspect. The following examples will show this:

19. a. ʔé- timé -i zoʔ -ít -at: -és -en
 I tomato -NOM red -INCHO -FOC -3MS - IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 'The tomato becomes red.'

b. ʔúsún -i dur-ít-at: -ús -ín
 they -NOM rich -INCHO -FOC -3PL -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'They became rich.'

8.2.2. The interrogative sentence type

Zaysete has two basic types of interrogative forms: polar interrogative and content interrogative. Polar interrogative are sometimes referred to as 'closed questions', because the set of possible answers is closed, containing just two members (yes and no). Content interrogative are sometimes referred to as 'open questions', because the set of possible answers is open, with no limit to the number of potential responses (Hirut 2003, Kroeger 2002).

According to Kroeger (2002: 203), polar interrogatives are different from content interrogatives in terms of grammatical structure: content questions contain an interrogative word like whom, what, who, where, etc., whereas polar questions do not. The purpose of polar interrogative is to ascertain the already given information but the content interrogative is to ask for new information. In this section both the polar interrogative and the content interrogatives in Zaysete will be treated.

8.2.2.1. Polar interrogatives

According to Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 179), a polar interrogative is one that seeks a comment on the degree of truth of a questioned proposition. Zaysete verbs are subjected to polarity. They denote polarity in their affirmative and negative forms. In Zaysete the affirmative polar interrogatives have two kinds of function: informative and permissive. The informative interrogative is used to have information about something, while the permissive interrogative is used to have permission to do something.

Languages use different techniques to differentiate simple declarative sentences from polar interrogatives by using various devices. The most commonly used devices for marking polar questions are listed by Kroeger (2002: 203). These are Intonation, clitics or particles, verbal affix and change in word order. Among these devices most languages use rising intonation to differentiate interrogatives from simple declarative sentences. Omotic languages also use one of these strategies to distinguish interrogatives from declaratives. For instance, in Maale (Azeb 2001) change of intonation and a sentence type marker are used to differentiate interrogative from declarative. Dime (Mulugeta 2008) and Sheko (Hellenthal 2010) use interrogative suffixes or intonation next to other distinctive strategies. Subtractive morphology or dropping off of grammatical elements which are obligatorily present in the declarative is also used as the other strategy. The element that is dropped to form the interrogative varies from one language to the other language. In Dime (Mulugeta 2008), the final person agreement marker is dropped; for first and third persons. Absence of person agreement indicates interrogative, while for second persons a dedicated interrogative marker -**aa** is used. Dime uses rising intonation in interrogatives as well. In Sheko (Hellenthal 2010), the modal marker is dropped. In Zaysete also the grammatical focus marker –**t:e** is dropped.

Turning to the details of Zaysete interrogative formation, the interrogative in Zaysete is characterized as follows:

- absence of a focus marker. A focus marker is obligatory in declaratives.
- rising intonation on the last tone bearing unit.

In polar interrogative questions the last lexical tone bearing unit has a low tone followed by a rising intonation. Thus the low tone becomes rising, in these types of questions, the tonal contour is the only indication of the status of the utterance as polar interrogative. The rising intonation is notated by an upward arrow \nearrow . Consider the following examples:

The imperfective paradigms of the verb **míjo-** ‘eat’ in the informative interrogative form:

20. tá -i	míj- en\nearrow	1SG-NOM eat -IMPERF:INF:INT	‘Do I eat?’
nú -i	míj- en\nearrow	1PL-NOM eat -IMPERF:INF:INT	‘Do we eat?’
n -i	míj- en\nearrow	1PL-NOM eat -IMPERF :INF:INT	‘Do we eat?’
né -i	míj- en\nearrow	2SG-NOM eat–IMPERF:INF:INT	‘Do you eat?’
wútún -i	míj- en\nearrow	2PL-NOM eat–IMPERF:INF:INT	‘Do you eat?’
ʔés -i	míj- en\nearrow	3MS-NOM eat–IMPERF:INF:INT	‘Does he eat?’
ʔís -i	míj- en\nearrow	3FS-NOM eat–IMPERF:INF:INT	‘Does she eat?’
ʔúsún -í	míj- en\nearrow	3PL-NOM eat–IMPERF:INF:INT	‘Do they eat?’

The following are examples sentences of how informative interrogative are functioning in sentences:

21. a. nú -ná -rá	ham-én -en?\nearrow	
we -ACC -COM	go -2SG-IMPERF:INF:INT	
‘Do you go with us?’		
b. ʔúsún -í	s’egá	míj -en?\nearrow
they -NOM	goat	eat -IMPERF:INF:INT
‘Do they eat goat?’		

c. mas'a-fa wórg -án -en? ↗
 book –ACC need -2SG -IMPERF: INF:INT
 ‘Do you need book?’

Unlike the informative interrogatives, the permissive interrogative has a similar form as the first person optative (look at chapter six sections 6.4.1.1.2.). The permissive interrogative is different from first person optative, because the former is characterized by a rising intonation (↗) that accompanies the sentence as a whole. The following are examples of permissive interrogative structures.

22. a. tá -i gá:ya ham –án? ↗
 I -NOM market go -PERM:INT
 ‘May I go to market?’

b. nú -i ?é- mí:s ?átʃ -ín? ↗
 we NOM DEF-cow tie -PERM:INT
 ‘May we tie the cow?’

As it is indicated in the above examples, in the first person singular the morpheme –án is added and in the first person plural the morpheme –ín is attached to the main verb with a rising intonation. The negative form will be treated in the third section of this chapter.

The polar interrogatives have two responses, either ‘ho’/yes/ or ‘?i?e /no/ which are positive and negative. The responses can be either these words alone or with thematic sentential response. In the following examples the informative and permissive questions can be seen together with their possible responses.

Polar interrogatives	Positive Responses
23. a. nú -ná -ra ham -én -en? ↗	hó, tá -i ham –át: -en
us-ACC-COM go -2SG -IMPERF:INF:INT	yes, I -NOM go-FOC- IMPERF
‘Do you go with us?’	Yes, I go

<p>b. ʔúsún -í s'egá mǐj -en?↗ they -NOM goat eat-IMPERF:INF:INT 'Do they eat goat?'</p>	<p>hó, ʔúsún -í mǐj -át -en yes,they -NOM eat-FOC-IMPERF 'Yes, they eat.'</p>
<p>c. tá -i gá:ya ham -án?↗ I -NOM market go -PERM:INT 'May I go to market?'</p>	<p>hó, ham -á yes, go -IMP:2SG 'Yes, go!'</p>
<p>d. nú -i ʔé- mí:s ʔáʦ -ín?↗ we -NOM DEF- cow tie -PERM:INT 'May we tie the cow?'</p>	<p>hó, ʔáʦ -áyʦ yes, tie -IMP:2PL 'Yes, tie!'</p>

The negative responses are different from the positive ones. Look at the following examples that show the negative responses:

Polar interrogatives

24. a. nú -ná -ra ham -én -en?↗
us-ACC -COM go -2SG -IMPERF:INF:INT
'Do you go with us?'
- b. ʔúsún -í s'egá mǐj -en?↗
they -NOM goat eat -IMPERF:INF:INT
'Do they eat goat?'
- c. tá -i gá:ya ham -án?↗
I -NOM market go -PERM:INT
'May I go to market?'
- d. nú -i ʔé mí:s ʔáʦ -ín?↗
we -NOM DEF- cow tie -PERM:INT
'May we tie the cow?'

Negative Responses

- ʔíʔe, tá -i ham -áʔe**
no, I -NOM go -NEG
'No, I don't go.'
- ʔíʔe, ʔúsún -í mǐj -áʔe**
no, they -NOM eat -NEG
'No, they don't eat.'
- ʔíʔe, ham -í -dokó**
No, go -EPEN -PROH: 2SG
'No, don't go!'
- ʔíʔe, áʦ -i -dokó**
'no, tie -EPEN-PROH: 1PL
'No, don't tie!'

8.2.2.2. Content interrogatives

Content interrogatives require the use of interrogative pronouns. Content questions differ from yes-no questions in that specific question words are used that ask for information. Content interrogatives are used to ask for new information. In this section, I will treat content question words one by one with illustrative examples.

The question words in Zaysete have always a high tone on their penultimate or final syllable. The following question words are distinguished:

ʔóde?	‘who’
ʔálma?	‘what’
ʔánas?	‘which one’
ʔána?	‘where’
ʔónde?	‘when’
ʔala-ʔúte?	‘why’
wáisi?	‘how’
ʔánsí?	‘how many’

As it can be seen in the above list, the content question words can be classified into three based on their initial sounds. Question words like **ʔálma** ‘what?’, **ʔánas** ‘which one?’, **ʔána** ‘where?’, **ʔónde** ‘when?’, **ʔalaʔúte** ‘why?’, **ʔánsí** ‘how many?’ begins with **a-**. The other question words like **ʔóden** ‘who?’ and **wáisi** ‘how?’ begins with **o-** and **wa-** respectively. Moreover, the content question word **ʔánas** ‘which one?’ is formed from **ʔána** ‘where?’ and the dative suffix **-s**. The word **ʔans’í** ‘how many?’ is a similar with the ordinal numeral suffix **-ans’o**. The following are examples containing content question words:

25. a. ʔóde	kálo-ná	kená	gúid-ín?
who	stick -INST	dog	hit -PERF:INT
‘Who hit a dog with a stick?’			
b. ʔúsún -í	ʔálma	gúid-ín?	
they -NOM	what	hit-PERF:INT	
‘What did they hit?’			

c. né-mékéte -i ?ána guf -én-de
 your- bone -NOM where:ACC put-IMPERF:INT
 ‘Where do they put your bone?’

d. kená -i ?ána dífjo?
 dog -NOM where:ACC raise
 ‘Where did they raise a dog?’

e. ?ónde ?és -í yé:de?
 when he -NOM come
 ‘When did he come?’

f. ?ala?úte dó:g -ín?
 why late -PERF:INT
 ‘Why are you late?’

g. ?ána -s -i- -wá ne- ?áda -i?
 which one-DAT -EPEN -INT your- father -NOM
 ‘Which one is your father?’

h. ?ans’í já:t -ir -i -wa nee -ro yesis?
 how many child -PL –EPEN- INT you-DAT have
 ‘How many children do you have?’

In the examples that we have seen so far, there is only one content question word per sentence. However, as Wachowicz (1975) typological observation indicates, it is possible to have two or more question words in the same sentence when the speaker misses the information provided by other speech participants, specifically when preceding statements are about several parallel events. These different types of content question words within a sentence have different function – one as a subject and the other as an object. For instance, each of the following sentences has two question words.

26. a. ʔóde ʔálma kab: -ín?
 who what :ACC do -PERF:INT
 ‘Who did what?’

b. ʔóde ʔóde-s wod-e ?
 who who-ACC kill-IMPERF:INT
 ‘Who kills whom?’

c. ʔóde ʔána -fa wos’ -ín?
 who where -ABL run -PERF:INT
 ‘Who run from where?’

d. ʔóde ʔóde-ra -na ʔána ʔálma-us kab -ín?
 who whom-COM-CONJ where what -DAT do -PERF:INT
 ‘Who did what with whom and where?’

e. ʔóde ʔodes -ús ʔálma ʔing -ín?
 who who -DAT what give -PERF:INT
 ‘Who gave what to whom?’

f. ʔóde ʔálma ʔána s’él -ín?
 who what:ACC where see -PERF:INT
 ‘Who saw what where?’

Content question words may be marked by the dative, ablative, instrumental or comitative cases. Look at the following examples:

27. a. múđ -í múk’a báđe ʔálm -án gé:f -ín?
 eat NOM food mouth what-INST clean -PERF
 ‘With what you clean your mouth after you eat food?’

b. bazó -s ?álma ?ingó?
 God -DAT what:ACC give: IMPERF:INT
 ‘What is given for God?’

c. Abebe -i ?ána -fá yé:n
 Abebe -NOM where -ABL come:PERF:INT
 ‘From where Abebe came?’

d. ?e- mas’afa ?ódes -ús ?íng -ín?
 DEF-book whom -DAT give -PERF:INT
 ‘To whom the book was given?’

e. ?úsún -i ?ódes -rá wódf -ín
 they -NOM whom -COM kill -PERF:INT
 ‘They killed with whom?’

From the question word **?ána ‘where?’** it is possible to form questions that elicits a person’s place of birth/residence or nationality. Such questions are derived by suffixing the Ablative case morpheme **-fa** and the singulative suffixes **-s** (28a) for masculine, **-ys** for feminine (28b) and **-wus** for plural (28c).

28.a. ?ána -fá -s yé:d -e?
 where -ABL -3MS come -IMPERF:INT
 ‘Where is he from?’

b. ?ána -fá -ys yé:d -e?
 where -ABL -3FS come -IMPERF:INT
 ‘Where is she from?’

c. ?ána -fá -wus yé:d -e?
 where -ABL -3PL come -IMPERF:INT
 ‘Where are they from?’

In the following examples, the subjects are first person singular (29a) and first person plural (29b). In these cases the ablative case morpheme and the suffixes **-t** for first person singular and **-wun** for first person plural are attached to the content question word ‘**ʔána /where?**’

29. a. ʔána -fá -t **yé:d -e?**
 where -ABL -1SG come -IMPERF:INT
 ‘Where am I from?’

b. ʔána -fá -wun **yé:d -e?**
 where ABL -1PL come -IMPERF:INT
 ‘Where are we from?’

In the cases of second person singular male or female (30a) and second person plural (31b), in addition to the ablative case morpheme, the suffix **-n** is added for second person male and female. However, the second person plural has a different suffix **-yt**.

30. a. ʔána -fá -n **yé:d -e?**
 where -ABL -2SG come -IMPERF:INT
 ‘Where are you(Male or female) from?’

b. ʔána -fá -yt **yé:d -e?**
 where -ABL -2PL come- IMPERF:INT
 ‘Where are you from?’

8.2.3. The negative sentence types

8.2.3.1. Negation of verbal declarative sentences

This section discusses the way in which negation is expressed in declarative sentences of Zaysete. Since negatives in imperative and prohibitive were discussed in chapter six, thus they will not be raised again here. In this section of this chapter, I only discuss the ways in which negative assertions are expressed in simple declarative sentences.

Negative markers are different from one language to the other language. According to Miestamo (2005: 5) “the negative marker can be a non-inflecting element, bound or free [...], or it can be an inflecting element”. Of the above types of negative markers Zaysete uses an inflecting element to mark negation. As Payne (1997: 285) stated the negation markers are varied depending on tense, aspect, mood, or other factors. That is the reason why the occurrence of negation varies in Zaysete. **-baʔe** is used for perfective aspects and the suffix **-aʔe** is used for imperfective aspects. These negation markers are used only to form simple declarative sentences, in contrast the negative markers for imperatives and prohibitive are different from these.(see chapter six, section 6.4.1.). In the following sub section the negation of perfective and imperfective forms are discussed.

8.2.3.1. 1. Negation of perfective forms

The negative perfective declarative paradigms express their negative forms by attaching a suffix **-báʔe** to the verb root by eliminating all the person, number, gender and focus markers. In this case, the sentence needs an obligatory noun phrase that represents the subject. The suffix **-baʔe** is the combination of two morphemes **-b** and **-aʔe**. **-b** is the morpheme that represent the perfective aspect and **-aʔe** is the morpheme that represent negation. This negation marker is similar for all person, number and gender. However this situation is different in copula construction because the present negative form uses the past negative form ‘**-báʔe**’ in Zaysete (see section 8.2.3.2. 1). Consider the following perfective paradigms:

31. a. **tá -i ʔing -í -b -áʔe**
I -NOM give -EPEN -PERF- NEG:DEC
'I didn't give.'

b. **ní -i ʔing -í -b -áʔe**
we -NOM give -EPEN – PERF- NEG:DEC
'We didn't give'. (INCL)

c. **nú -i ʔing -í -b-áʔe**
we -NOM give -EPEN -PERF -NEG:DEC
'We didn't give.' (EXCL)

d. **né -i ʔing -í -b-áʔe**
you (2SG) -NOM give -EPEN –PERF- NEG:DEC
'You didn't give.'

e. **wútún -í ʔing -í -b-áʔe**
you (2PL)- NOM give -EPEN -PERF -NEG:DEC
'You didn't give.'

f. **ʔés -i ʔing -í -b- áʔe**
he -NOM give -EPEN -PERF- NEG:DEC
'He didn't give.'

g. **ʔís -i ʔing -í -b-áʔe**
he NOM give EPEN PERF- NEG:DEC
'She didn't give.'

h. **ʔúsún -í ʔing -í -b-áʔe**
they NOM give EPEN PERF NEG:DEC
'They didn't give.'

8.2.3.1. 2. Negation of imperfective forms

Akin to the negative perfective paradigms, the imperfective negatives are formed by suffixing the negative marker **-aʔe** to the verb root by avoiding other suffixes like focus, number, and gender and person markers. Thus instead of the agreement marker the independent pronouns has to be used to indicate person differences. Finally the negative marker **-aʔe** is added to the verb root. Look at the following examples:

32.a. tá -i ʔúʃ -áʔe

I -NOM drink -IMPERF:NEG:DEC

‘I do not drink.’

b. nú -i ʔúʃ -áʔe

we -NOM drink -IMPERF:NEG:DEC

‘We do not drink. (INCL)’

c. ní -i ʔúʃ -áʔe

we -NOM drink IMPERF:NEG:DEC

‘We do not drink.’ (EXCL)

d. né -i ʔúʃ -áʔe

you (2SG) -NOM drink -IMPERF:NEG:DEC

‘You do not drink.’

e. wútún -í ʔúʃ -áʔe

you (2PL) -NOM drink -IMPERF:NEG:DEC

‘You do not drink.’

f. ʔés -í ʔúʃ -áʔe

he -NOM drink -IMPERF:NEG:DEC

‘He does not drink.’

g. ገሰ -i ገታ -áጎe
 he -NOM drink -IMPERF:NEG:DEC
 ‘She does not drink.’

h. ገሰህን -í ገታ -áጎe
 they - NOM drink -IMPERF:NEG:DEC
 ‘They do not drink.’

8.2.3.2. Negation of non-verbal declarative sentences

The negatives of the non- verbal declarative sentences in Zaysete are constructed by using the present negative marker **-aጎe** and the past negative marker **-baጎe**. In this section, the negative forms of copula construction and the negative forms of predicative possession will be discussed by providing the perfective and imperfective paradigms.

8.2.3.2. 1. Negation of copula construction

Since there is no verb in the affirmative copula construction, the focus marker is added to the predicate to indicate the statement is affirmative. However in the negative form, the focus marker is unnecessary and the verb **‘ma:k’/ become/’** is used as a verb that carry tense and aspect. The verb **‘ma:k’/ become/’** is also identified by Hirut (2003) in Haro to form negative for become /becoming/. Moreover the negative markers **-aጎe** or **-baጎe** are suffixed to the verb. These suffixes are attached to the verb depending on the tense type. The perfective and the imperfective paradigms are discussed in detail in the following examples:

a. The imperfective paradigms:.

person	IMPERF: AFF: DEC	IMPERF:NEG: DEC
1SG	tá-i astemare -t:e 'I am a teacher.'	tá-i astemare -ba?e 'I am not a teacher.'
1PL(INCL)	nú -i astemarir -u -t:e 'we are teachers.'	nú -i astemarir -i -ba?e 'We are not teachers.'
1PL(EXCL)	ni-i astemarir -u -t:e 'we are teachers.'	ni-i astemarir -i -ba?e 'We are not teachers.'
2SG	né-i astemare -t:e 'you are a teacher.'	né-i astemare -ba?e 'You are not a teacher.'
2PL	wútún-í astemar -ir -i -t:e 'You are teachers.'	wútún-í astemare -ba?e 'You are not teachers.'
3MS	?és-i astemare -t:e 'He is a teacher.'	?és-i astemare -ba?e 'He is not a teacher.'
3FS	?ís-i astemare -t:e 'She is a teacher.'	?ís-i astemare -ba?e 'She is not a teacher.'
3PL	?úsún-í astemar -ir -at:e 'They are teachers.'	?úsún-í astemar -ir -at:e 'They are not teachers.'

Table 30. The imperfective negative copula construction

b. The perfective paradigms

person	PERF: AFF: DEC	PERF:NEG: DEC
1SG	tá-i astemare -má:k'-i-tʃ 'I was a teacher.'	tá-i astemare má:k'-i-tʃ- b-áʔe 'I was not a teacher.'
1PL(INCL)	nú -i astemar -ir má:k' -i-tʃ 'We were teachers.'	nú-i astemar-ir má:k'-i-tʃ - b-áʔe 'We were not teachers.'
1PL(EXCL)	ní-i astemar-ir -i má:k'-i-tʃ 'We were teachers.'	níy astemar -ir-i má:k' -i- tʃ -b-áʔe 'We were not teachers.'
2SG	né-i astemare má:k'-i-tʃ 'You were a teacher.'	né-y astemare má:k' -i-tʃ - b-áʔe 'You were not a teacher.'
2PL	wútún-í astemar -ir -i má:k' -i-tʃ 'You were teachers.'	wútún-í astemare má:k'-i- tʃ -b-áʔe 'You were not teachers.'
3MS	ʔés-i astemare má:k' -i-tʃ 'He was a teacher.'	ʔés-i astemare má:k' -i-tʃ -b-áʔe 'He was not a teacher.'
3FS	ʔís-i astemare má:k' -i-tʃ 'She was a teacher.'	ʔís-i astemare má:k' -i-tʃ - b-áʔe 'She was not a teacher.'
3PL	ʔúsún-í astemar -ir -i má:k'-i-tʃ 'They were teachers.'	ʔúsún-í astemar -ir-i má:k' -i-tʃ -b-áʔe 'They were not teachers.'

Table 31: The perfective negative copula construction

8.2.3.2. 2. Negation of predicative possession

The negation of the predicative possession (the verb to have) construction is exactly expressed in the same way as copula verb construction. The negative verb to have construction is expressed by adding the suffix **-b-á?e** to the verb **jésa /exist/**. The present form of the verb to have is constructed by adding the suffix **-b-á?e** to the present form of the verb and the past is formed by adding the same suffix to the past form of the root verb. Consider the following perfective and imperfective paradigms:

a. the imperfective paradigms:

person	IMPERF: AFF:PRD POSS	IMPERF:NEG:PRD POSS
1SG	tá:-ró kená jés -at:e 'I have a dog.'	tá:-ró kená jésa -b-á?e 'I have not a dog.'
1PL(INCL)	ní:-ró kená jés -at:e 'We have a dog.'	ní:-ró kená jésa -b-á?e 'We have not a dog.'
1PL(EXCL)	nú:-ró kená jés -at:e 'We have a dog.'	nú:-ró kená jésa -b-á?e 'We have not a dog.'
2SG	né:-ró kená jés -at:e 'You have a dog.'	né:-ró kená jésa -b-á?e 'You have not a dog.'
2PL	wútú -ró kená jés -at:e 'You have a dog.'	wútú -ró kená jésa -b-á?e 'You have not a dog.'
3MS	?ési-ró kená jés -at:e 'He has a dog.'	?ési-ró kená jésa -b-á?e 'He has not a dog.'
3FS	?ísi -ró kená jés -at:e 'She has a dog.'	?ísi -ró kená jésa -b-á?e 'She has not a dog.'
3PL	?úsú-ró kená jés -at:e 'They have a dog.'	?úsú-ró kená jésa -b-á?e 'They have not a dog.'

Table 32: The negation of the imperfective predicative possession

b. The perfective paradigm

person	PERF: AFF:PRD POSS	PERF:NEG:PRD POSS
1SG	tá:-ró lá:go s'ég -ir -at:e jés -í-tǽ 'I had many goats.'	tá:-ró kená jés-i-tǽ -b-á?e 'I had not many goats.'
1PL(INCL)	ní:-ró lá:go s'ég -ir -at:e jés -í-tǽ 'We had many goats.'	ní:-ró kená jés-i-tǽ -b-á?e 'We had not many goats.'
1PL(EXCL)	nú:-ró lá:go s'ég -ir -at:e jés -í-tǽ 'We had many goats.'	nú:-ró kená jés -i-tǽ -b-á?e 'We had not many goats.'
2SG	né:-ró lá:go s'ég -ir -at:e jés -í-tǽ 'You had many goats.'	né:-ró kená jés -i-tǽ -b-á?e 'You had not many goats.'
2PL	wútú -ró lá:go s'ég -ir -at:e jés -í-tǽ 'You had many goats.'	wútú -ró kená jés -i-tǽ -b-á?e 'You had not many goats.'
3MS	?ési -ró lá:go s'ég -ir -at:e jés -í-tǽ 'He had many goats.'	?ési -ró kená jés -i-tǽ -b-á?e 'He had not many goats.'
3FS	?ísi -ró lá:go s'ég -ir -at:e jés -í-tǽ 'She had many goats.'	?ísi -ró kená jés -i-tǽ -b-á?e 'She had not many goats.'
3PL	úsú -ró lá:go s'ég -ir -at:e jés -í-tǽ 'They had many goats.'	úsú -ró lá:go s'egiri jés -i-tǽ -b-á?e 'They had not many goats.'

Table 33: The negation of the perfective predicative possession

To summarise, the chapter has two parts that discuss the word order and the sentence types. In the first section, the word order of a noun phrase and the word order of the verb phrases are discussed. The word order of the language is subject-object-verb. In the second section, the types of sentences in the language are described. These are declaratives, negatives and interrogatives. Under declarative, the verbal and non-verbal declaratives are discussed. The verbal declaratives are also divided in to two- affirmatives and negatives. The negative of verbal and non verbal declaratives are also discussed. Two forms of introgatives are described. The polar interrogative and the content interrogatives. In the section of polar interrogative, the permissive and the informative interrogatives are discussed with examples. In the description of interrogatives, it is identified that the language uses two meanes of forming interrogatives. These are by omitting the focus marker and by using rising intonation for the whole sentences. The following chapter presents the main finding of the phonology, morphology and the syntax of the language.

Chapter Nine

9. Summary

In this thesis, I have described the grammatical structure of Zaysete using both elicited and oral text based data. The elicited sentences and the oral texts are presented in three line interlinear morpheme by morpheme glosses adopted from Leipzig Glossing Rules. In the first line, the morpheme boundaries are indicated. In the second line, the translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes are given. And in the third line, a free translation of the whole sentence is given.

Including this chapter, the thesis is organized into nine chapters. Chapter one provides background information on the Zayse language which is called ‘Zaysete’ and the people, statement of the problem, objective of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study, and brief reviews on previous studies. It also briefly discusses research methodology, the procedures used in the study and field work and data.

Chapter two describes the phonology of Zaysete. 26 consonants, 7 short and long vowel phonemes, and 4 diphthongs are identified respectively in this study. Out of the 26 consonants, two of them (*/r/* and */ts /*) are not permissible in the initial position. All vowels except */ε/* and */u/* occur in word final position. This chapter also provides a detail description of lengthening. Lengthening is phonemic Zaysete. All the consonants in the language can be lengthened except */w/*, */j/*, */h/*, */ʔ/* and */ʒ/*. Long vowels occur only in medial positions. The consonant sequences of the language are also discussed in this chapter. Consonant sequence is permissible in the medial and final position. Some phonotactic constraints are also identified. The syllable structure is also discussed. Both open and closed syllable structures are identified. The tone system of Zaysete is the other topic raised in this chapter. Two types of tone are identified, H and L tones. The tone bearing unit is the vowel. The long vowels or the diphthongs can bear contour tones. Tone has both lexical and grammatical function in Zaysete. Some of the tonological processes like low tone replacement and high tone deletion are also identified. Finally the phonological process like spirantization, vowel nasalization, homeorganic nasal assimilation, aspiration, word final vowel deletion, addition of vowels,

metathesis on loan words and labialization are discussed with examples. Besides, deletion of segments, gliding and insertion of /ʔ/ are identified as morphophonemic processes.

Chapter three describes the noun morphology of Zaysete. The topics discussed in this chapter include: the basic forms of nouns, the inflections of noun and nominalization. In the first section of this chapter the basic forms of nouns are classified into three based on their terminal vowels –nouns ending with ‘a’, nouns ending with ‘e’ and nouns ending with ‘o’. The inflectional morphology focuses on definiteness, gender, number, and case. Indefiniteness is morphologically unmarked in Zaysete. Definiteness is marked morphologically by using different morphemes for singular and plural nouns- the prefix **e-** and **-i**; the former prefix is used for masculine singular nouns, whereas the latter is for feminine singular definite nouns. Besides the prefix **yi-** is also used to mark definiteness without gender distinction. Moreover; in Zaysete the demonstrative determiners like **ha-‘this’** and **so-‘that’** are used as a marker of definiteness. However, definiteness of plural nouns is indicated by the prefix **u-** to the nouns that they defined regardless of gender difference. Gender is expressed in three different ways for animate nouns- using the natural gender of the noun, using masculine or feminine nouns as modifiers and by using third person singular pronouns. However the genders of inanimate nouns are determined by their size- small is for feminine and large is for masculine. Regarding number singularity in Zaysete is morphologically unmarked but plurality is marked morphologically. The plural suffix is **-ir** for all nouns. Moreover, the kinship terms have a different morpheme i.e. **-as’**. The plural marking is attested highly homogeneous. All the cases are categorized into two -core and peripheral cases. Under the core case nominative and accusative cases are discussed. Nominative case is marked morphologically by the suffix **/-i/** but accusative case is morphologically unmarked. Under peripheral cases fall, the dative case, instrumental case, comitative case, locative case, ablative case, genitive cases are discussed and all of them are expressed by suffixes **-s /-ús, -ná /-úná, -rá /-úr, -ká /-ga, -fá /-gáfá/ -káfá, -s /-ús,** respectively. Zaysete is productive in nominalization. Five types of derived nouns are identified. These derived nouns are formed using different suffixes. The five categories of derived nouns include: abstract, possessive, agentive, gerundive and result nouns. Moreover, compound nouns of Zaysete, are also presented in this chapter. Zaysete allows Noun +Noun, Adjective +Noun and Noun+ Verb kinds of compounding that characterize as a single noun.

Chapter 4 discusses the pronoun system, its forms and functions. The pronoun system includes the personal pronouns, the reflexive pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns, and the interrogative pronouns. These pronouns are inflected for different cases.

Chapter 5 deals with the verb morphology. In this chapter various features of verbs are discussed. These include the structure of the verb root and stem, different verbal derivational processes and the inflection of verbs are also discussed. The verb derivation processes presented in this chapter are the causatives, passives, reciprocals, frequentative and inchoatives. Causatives in Zaysete are derived from verbs, adjectives and nouns by adding different suffixes. Verbal causatives are derived from verbal roots by suffixing the morpheme /-ús-/, besides adjectival causatives are derived from adjectives in Zaysete. This has heterogeneous form. Some of the adjectives take **-ts-** before the causative marker **-ús-**, some other simply take the causative marker **-ús-**. Moreover nominal causatives are also formed by suffixing the morpheme **-ús-** to the noun. Passive verbs in Zaysete are derived from transitive verb roots by suffixing the morpheme /-út-/. In Zaysete, reciprocal verb stems are formed in two ways. The first type of reciprocals is derived by suffixing a morpheme **-útút-** which is the reduplicated form of the passive marker **-út-**. The second type is formed through compounding the pronoun **'wolá wola'**/each other/ to the passive verb stem. Reciprocals can also be formed from causatives and passive stems by suffixing the causative reciprocal morpheme **-ús-** to the causative stem and suffixing the passive reciprocal morpheme **-út-** to the passive stems. Frequentatives and inchoatives are formed by suffixing the morphemes **-útot-** to the verb and **-íte** to the adjectives, respectively.

Under inflectional categories of verbs, such as subject (agreement) markers, focus marking system, aspect and tense, mood and modality, copula construction and predicate possession (verb to have) construction are discussed. The agreement markers in Zaysete always are suffixes. They are suffixed to the verb after the focus marker and before the aspect/tense markers. The agreement markers **-ét, -ún, -ín, -én, -ít, -és, -ís, -ús** are used for **1SG, 1PL(INCL), 1PL (EXCL), 2SG, 2PL, 3MS, 3FS, 3PL** respectively to show number and person. However, in Zaysete, only the third person singulars are marked for gender with the suffix **/-i/** for feminine and the suffix **/-e/** for masculine and others are unmarked. Focus marking is the second issue discussed in this chapter. Zaysete, uses the morpheme **-at:** to show focus in a declarative clause. This morpheme can be added in different parts of a

sentence which needs to be focused. When we look at its domain, any constituent in the sentence which is subjects, objects, verbs, and adverbs can be focused. If a focus marker is suffixed to the verb its place is always after any derivational suffixes and before the agreement suffixes. This is generalized as **VERB ROOT- DERIVATIONAL AFFIX - FOC- INFLECTIONAL AFFIX**. The focus marker in Zaysete is marked only in a declarative clause. The interrogatives, negatives, imperatives and prohibitive are not marked for focus. If the focus marker **-at:** is added to these clauses, it results ungrammatical structure. Regarding aspect two types of aspects are identified –perfective and imperfective. The perfective is marked by the suffix **-in** and the imperfective is marked by the suffix **-en**. The morphemes are placed at the end of the sentences and in negative forms this morphemes are omitted. Under the imperfective aspects the prospective, the progressive and the inceptives are discussed. Tenses are also discussed in this chapter; in Zaysete, the past progressive and the perfect (present and past) tenses are inflected for a different morpheme. Mood and modality are presented in this chapter. Mood is grouped into two –indicative and directive. The indicative mood incorporates the declarative and the interrogatives discussed in chapter 8. While the directive incorporates: Imperative, optative and prohibitive moods in Zaysete are discussed in this chapter. Under the section of the epistemic modality, the possible and the impossible epistemic modalities are presented. The last section discusses the copula and the predicate possession construction. These types of verb construction are irregular in Zaysete. They do not follow regular patterns. The copula construction is constructed by using only the subject and predicate. The predicate can be an adjective or a noun but there is no verb that carries tense or aspect markers. As a result the verb ‘**ma:k’/ become/**’ is used to carry tense or aspect markers. In Zaysete, there is no other form of copulative verb. Thus, the verb ‘**ma:k’ /become/**’ functions as a copulative verb form to express the present and past habits. Like the copula construction, the predicative possession construction is also highly heterogeneous and unpredictable in form. The predicative possession is formed by the verb ‘**jés-/ exist**’. The negative form of the verb is marked by the morpheme ‘**bá?e/**’ ‘**there is no**’ The interrogative form of the verb ‘To Have’ has the form **jés-** and the interrogative focus marker **-wa**. This type of interrogatives shows polarity in the imperfective aspect.

Chapter 6, discusses modifiers like adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, and numerals. Adjectives are listed based on their categorization- dimension, physical propensity, human propensity, color, value and age. Akin to nouns, adjectives are inflected for number, definiteness and case. Adjectives in Zaysete are derived from verb roots by adding the suffix **-a, -o and -e**. It also derived from nouns by suffixing **-ade, and -si**. However, there are also adjectives that end with consonants. Zaysete has postpositions. These postpositions are always following right after the nouns. Based on their meaning adverbs in Zaysete are classified into different classes. These are adverbs of time, adverbs of manner, adverbs of frequency, adverbs of degree and adverbs of place. Manner adverbs are derived in two ways. The first is by suffixing the morpheme **-na** to the noun counterparts and the second is by adding morphemes like **-tsi, and -i** to the adjectival counter parts. Besides, the adverbs of frequency are derived by total reduplication of adverbs of time. The numeral system of Zaysete is also discussed. Two types of numerals are identified-cardinal and ordinal numerals. Zaysete has a quinary numeral system.

Chapter 7 discusses the conjunctions of the language. The following conjunctions types - coordinative conjunctions like **'-ni' (-ne)** , **'-ra' /and/ 'maak'o' /neither nor/**, alternative conjunction **'wojko' /or/**, contrastive conjunctions **'ma:k'ofe' /but/ and 'ma:k'ukon' /though/**, additive conjunction **'yimánguzo' 'moreover'** and resultative conjunctions **'-ute' /because/** are identified.

Chapter 8 deals with the word order and the sentence types in Zaysete. Word order in noun phrases and word order in simple sentences are discussed. A noun phrase in Zaysete consists of just a noun alone, a head noun and a definite suffix. It may also comprise different adnominal constituents which include attributive adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, possessives and relative clauses. In simple sentences with intransitive verbs and overt subjects, the word order is that the subject precedes the verb. But with overt subject and overt object, the word order is **subject—object—verb**. If temporal adverbs occur in simple sentences, their position is not restricted. The possible positions are sentence initially, between the subject and object, between the object and the verb or sentence finally. In this section of this chapter, only declaratives, interrogatives and negatives are discussed. Declarative sentences in Zaysete are of two types -verbal declarative and non-verbal

declarative sentences. Affirmatives and negatives are again the two forms of verbal declarative statements. Affirmative declarative in Zaysete is marked by the morpheme **-n**. Negative declarative in Zaysete is formed by suffixing **-baʔe** for perfective aspects and by suffixing **-aʔe** for imperfective aspects. The negative of the non-verbal declarative sentences are also expressed by suffixing **-baʔe** or **-aʔe** for perfective and imperfective aspects, respectively. Moreover, Zaysete has two basic types of interrogative forms: polar and content interrogative. Polar interrogative are sometimes referred to as “closed questions,” because the set of possible answers is closed, containing just two members (yes and no). Content interrogative are sometimes referred to as “open questions,” because the set of possible answers is open, with no limit to the number of potential responses. In Zaysete, uses two things to show interrogatives. The first is omitting the focus marker *at:e* and the second is using rising intonation at end of the sentence. On the other hand content interrogatives require the use of interrogative pronouns in order to ask for new information. Content question words may be inflected for dative, ablative, instrumental or comitative cases.

Finally, the areas in which recommendation of further studies are mentioned here. Regarding the tonological process I don't claim that I exhaustively analyse it. Thus, the tone and the tone system of the language as a whole needs further investigation. Moreover, in the formation of interrogatives, one of the strategies of forming interrogatives in the language is using the rising intonation on the whole sentence, then what will happen when tone and intonation interacts will need again further investigation.

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APPENDICES

Texts and word lists are attached as appendices. The first appendix is the annotation of the texts and the second appendix is word list. In appendix one, eight transcribed and glossed texts are presented. The first text is a song used by children to play, and the second one is a story about an ox and a frog, the third story is about a fool and a wise dog, the fourth story is a rat's father and a rat's mother, the fifth story is an old cow who ran away from hyena's mouth, the sixth story is a story of mother hyena and her child walking at the back of cattle, the seventh story is a hyena, hyena's child and a donkey and the eighth is about figurative speeches. All texts are presented in three line interlinear morpheme by morpheme glosses adopted from Leipzig Glossing Rules. In the first line, the morpheme boundaries are indicated. In the second line, the translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes are given and in the third line, a free translation of the whole sentence is given.

Appendix I. Texts

Text 1. Children's Play

ǰá:t - ír -i -rá	ná:r -ír -i -rá
child -PL -EPEN -COM	play -PL -EPEN -COM
'children's play'	

1. **k'am:á -ǰá:n mú:d -i ʔak' -ín?**
night what eat -EPEN sleep -PERF
'what did you eat for dinner?'

2. **mú:d -i muk'á.**
eat -EPEN muk'a
'a traditional food made from maize and cabbage'

3. **mu:d' -í muk'a báǰe ʔalm -án gé:f -ín?**
eat -NOM food mouth what -INST clean -PERF:AFF:DEC
'With what you clean your mouth after you eat food?'

4. **ʔíra -ná.**

rain -INS

‘with rain’

5. **ʔíra -i ʔána ʔízg -ín?**

rain -NOM where:ACC pelt down –PERF:AFF:DEC

‘where it pelted down (rained)?’

6. **ʔálla**

earth

‘on earth’

7. **ʔálla -fá ʔálma kés’ -e?**

earth -INST what get out -IMPERF:AFF:DEC

‘what does get out from the earth?’

8. **ʔó:ʃ -í**

snake -NOM

‘snake.’

9. **ʔó:ʃ -í ʔána s’ong -át -ín?**

snake -NOM where:ACC run -FOC –PERF

‘where did a snake run?’

10. **gagá.**

gorge:DEF

‘to the gorge’

11. **gáyle ʔálma -ʔán ʔó:tso?**

wood what -INST get rid of

‘With what they get rid of ‘gayle (a kind of wood)?’

12. **kaló -so.**

stick -DAT

‘to a stick.’

13. **kɛná** **ʔána** **dítfo?**
dog where:ACC grow
'where did they grow a dog?'

14. **ʔaymá.**
a place where cattle raise
'in the cowshed'

15. **ʔará** **ʔána** **ká:ro?**
butter where:ACC accumulate:PERF
'where did they accumulate butter?'

16. **ʔa:** **-ká**
calabash -LOC
'in the calabash.'

17. **ʔá:to** **ʔána** **dítfo?**
child where grow PERF:INT
'where did they grow a child?'

17. **ʔá:to** **ʔána** **ʔudúmo?**
child where carry: PERF
'where did they carry a child?'

18. **zuʔá -gá.**
chest -LOC
'in the chest.'

19. **zugé** **ʔána** **tó:ko?**
spear where:ACC carry
'where did they carry a spear?'

20. **hatfá -gá.**

shoulder -LOC

‘on their shoulder.’

21. **hájle ?ána hájlo?**

Working in group where:ACC work

‘where did they work in group?’

22. **mújle - gá.**

name of village in Zayse -LOC

‘in mujle.’

23. **mújle murá ?álma gó:do?**

place forest what:ACC chase

‘What is chasing a mujle’s forest?’

24. **?urdó.**

rabbit:ACC

‘it is a rabbit.’

25. **?urdó ?álma ?u:kátse?**

rabbit what:ACC shouting

‘what made a rabbit to shout?’

26. **kená.**

dog:IND

‘dog.’

27. **kená -s ?álma ?íngo?**

dog -DAT what:ACC given

‘what is given to a dog?’

28. **golitʃé.**

roughage of ‘inset’

‘thread like roughage made from ‘inset’.’

29. **golitʃé** **ʔálma -ná** **gó:de?**
golitʃ what: -INST produce
‘with what they produce ‘golitʃe’?’

30. **májle -ná.**

a material made from wood INST

‘with a curved wood’.

- 31 **májle** **ʔálma -ná** **máse?**
majle:ACC what -INST build up
‘with what the ‘majle’ is build up?’

32. **gandé -ná**

axe -INST

‘with an axe.’

33. **gandé** **ʔóó** **méde?**
axe who:ACC create
‘who create an axe?’

34. **mɛná.**

black smith

‘a black smith.’

35. **mɛná –s** **ʔóó** **méde?**
blacksmith -DAT who create
‘who created black smith?’

36. **bazó.**
God:ACC
'it is God.'

37. **bazó -s ?álma ?íngó?**
God DAT what:ACC give: IMPERF:INT
'What is given for God?'

38. **dóro.**
sheep:IND
'a sheep.'

39. **dóro -s ?álma ?íngó?**
sheep DAT what given
'what is given to a sheep?'

40. **má:ta.**
grass:ACC
'grass.'

41. **mená -s ?álma ?íngó?**
black smith -DAT what given
'what is given to a blacksmith?'

42. **?atfó.**
meat:ACC
'meat.'

Text 2. The story of an ox and a frog

This is a story told by ato Gezahegn utayle. Place in his house in February 2007.

maydó -rá o:k'aró -rá
ox -COM frog -COM
'an ox and a frog'

1. **bíz: -í jaʒá maydó -i gaʒúnts -ús jés -ítʃ.**
 one -NOM place ox NOM shout DAT exist PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘once there was a place in which an ox is shouting.’
2. **ʒud:áwode ʒés -í gáʒa ʒardá híjasum te,**
 always 3MS -NOM shout dwell said FOC
 ‘the ox dwells shouting always’
3. **ʒo:k’aró -i ‘tá -i né- maydó kéte gáʒen’ ʒí- hím,**
 frog -NOM I -NOM your -ox like shout 3FS- say:PERF
 ‘the frog says, ‘I can shout like an ox’
4. **maydó -i ‘ né -i dandá -ʒaʒe ɖab:á!’ ʒé- hím.**
 ox -NOM ‘you -NOM able -NEG don’t 3MS say:PERF
 ‘ an ox said, you are unable to do it. Please, Don’t.’
5. **‘tá -ná ʒíntʃ -áʒe’ hídi gaʒátʃ -ín -ná gawó dúʔ -át -ís háj - ín.**
 I -ACC defeat -NEG said shout -PERF -INST stomach burst -FOC -3MS die -PERF
 ‘ the frog said, you don’t defeat me, and start to shut loudly, then the stomach of the frog burst and the frog died.’
6. **ʒáts -í bé:ró yésis -i -ná yése ʒík’ar -úko, gáf -út -en**
 man -NOM himself exist -EPEN -INST live said -NEG break -PAS -IMPERF
ʒú:d -út -en
 scatter -PAS -IMPERF
 ‘a man should leave as himself. If the man refuses this, he will be broken; be discreted or separated.’
7. **né- ʒá:fe -i tʃ’úmʔ tʃ’um! tá- ʒá:fe -i s’ulúk’.**
 your- face -NOM misery my- face -NOM bright.
 ‘your face becomes miserable but my face is bright.’

Text 3. A wise and a fool dog'

ʔé:ba kená -rá tʃ'íntʃ'a kená -ra
 wise dog -COM fool dog -COM
 'a wise and a fool dog'

1. kená kor:a hisós -í bé- lá:ts dibó -at:e ko:r -í
 dog kor:a supposed -NOM POSS-owner door -FOC keep -NOM -

ʔárd -ítʃ.

live -PERF:AFF:DEC

'there was a dog named 'ko:ra', who has kept his owner house.'

2. bíz: -í wode lá:ts -í dibó ʔibis'-í zalʔó há^m-ín za:né
 one -EPEN day the owner's -NOM door close -NOM market go -PERF outside
 wójʔ -at: -ʔés zú:l -átʃ.
 sleep FOC 3MS bark:PERF:AFF:DEC

'one day, the owner of the dog went to market closing his door, then the dog was sleeping outside and barking.'

3. ʔé- zú:la -s -úm bíle kená bóʔʃ'o -at: -en yé:d -í
 DEF bark GEN other dog bark -FOC -IMPERF come PERF:AFF:DEC
 'hearing the barking of the fool dog, another dog came barking.'

4. 'ʔá:gan zú:la ʔút:o híy ʔá:n?' híy -át -en.
 continuous bark sit say why say -FOC -IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 'why do you sit and bark continuously?, said the dog.'

5. ʔé- kená kor:a -i 'lá:ts -í tá: -ró zalʔó háng -ítʃ -í -ná
 DEF- dog kor:a -NOM the owner -NOM REF -DAT gá:ya go -PERF -EPEN -INST
 yéwe ʔik'arúm -at:e ná:je -i tá- ná wód -a -an'
 come be late -FOC hunger -NOM me -ACC kill -PROG-DEC:AFF'
 híy -át: -és -ín
 say -FOC -3MS -PERF

'kor:a replied that 'my owner went to the market and didn't return back, thus I am starved.'

6. **ʔé- híṃ kená boʔf'ónta -i 'gertsó -ná wós' at: -i da:b-ír -í**
 DEF- said dog bark -NOM other - INST run -FOC -EPEN relative -PL -NOM
yésis ʃaʔá -fá kájst -í miyá!
 exist place -ABL stealing -NOM eat :2SG:IMP
 'the dog who came barking advised that, you should run here and there; steal something to eat'

7. **ʔut: -i né-ná ná:ye -ná wóʔ -i doko!' hídi -t:e**
 sit -NOM you -ACC hunger -INST kill -EPEN PROH:2SG said FOC
zér -ín.
 advice-PERF:AFF:DEC
 'don't sit and kill yourself with hunger'

Text 4. A Rat's Father and A Rat's Mother

1. **bíz:-í -wode ʔeʔf'ére ʔádato -i -né ʔíndato -i -ne wola**
 one -EPEN -day rat father -NOM -CONJ mother -NOM-CONJ eachother

ʔard -aʔf -i -ná kara wola nú - ná nú:num,
 live -PERF -EPEN -INST house each other 3PL -ACC quarrel

'A rat's father and mother were living together in same house; one day they quarrel each other.'

2. **ʔádato -i hú:l -i zá:ne kés'um ʔíndato -i záwa dibá yés -ús um,**
 father -NOM annoy -PERF outside get out mother -NOM house door exist -CAUS
 'the father annoyed and get outside but the mother exists in the door of the house'

father NOM outside sitting place stone on sit PERF COUP sit
 PROG PERF:DEC:AFF

'while the father was sitting outside on the sitting stone called *dó:ra*,

4. **ʔíndato -i dibó nune gá ʔút: -i bé bangá hú:m -a**
 mother -NOM door murmur LOCsit -PERF REF- barely cleaning grain PROG
-átʃ
 PERF:DEC:AFF

‘The mother was sitting on the door of the house by murmuring and cleaning the barely,’

5. **bang - í hú:ma:s um -ate, ʔádato -i zá:ne -fá wós’ -í**
 barely -POSS:FEM cleaning the barly-FOC, father -NOM outside-ABL run PERF
géla a
 enter PROG

átʃ -i -ná -í bangá zigó -gá -fá yéd: i
 -PERF-EPEN -INST -POSS:FEM barly plate -LOC-ABL come -PERF
wodá gús -ín
 ground disperse - PERF:DEC:AFF

‘While she was cleaning her barely, the father ran and entered to the house. Then, her barely was dispersed from the plate to the ground.’

6. **ʔe- gusum ‘ha -i ʔana -fa wos’a -a - tʃ -i -na, ta- bangá**
 3MS- disperse this -NOM where -ABL run -PROG -PERF EPEN INST my barely
yed’ -i gús - in?’ hiy -at: -is -in.
 come PERF disperse -PERF? say -FOC -3FS -PERF:AFF:DEC

‘While he dispersed the barely, she asked that from where he came and dispersed my barely.’

7. **ʔádato -i ‘há -i bif:ó -i ding-ír -í díʒey ʔá:la káb:-a**
 father -NOM this -NOM woman -NOM very -PL -NOM short what work -PROG
ʔá:dí dibá ʔút: -ítʃ-ín ʔays díʒ híy -át en.
 above me door sit -PERF-PA short say -FOC -IMPERF

‘the father said that what this short woman is doing at the get of the door’

8. **ʔafá ʔóla dilále -i tá -ná dírgatsum dírg -átʃ -ín -át -et né- bangá**
 sky on NOM me-ACC run about run -PERF -PA -FOC -1SG your- barley

yéd -i gús -ide' híy -át -és -ín
 come -EPEN disperse -PERF:PFT, say -FOC -3MS -PERF

‘Don’t exaggerate, when he made me to run, I have ran and dispersed your barley, he said’

9. potó ʔís -í ‘ʔáfa ʔóla dilále -i né -ná dírgatse? ʔané tá- ná
 again 3FS -NOM sky on NOM you-ACC made run when me- ACC
 e- dírgatsas?’ híy -át: -és -ín.
 DEF- made me run say -FOC -3MS -PERF

‘she said that why not the one who made you run made me run.’

Text 5. An old Cow who ran away from Hyena’s mouth

mí:s ʔíma -i tolkó ballá -fá -át - ís
 cow old -NOM hyena mouth -ABL -FOC -3FS

‘an old cow ran away from a hyena.

1. gájde: -rá wolá ʔud:á wode mij -a háng -i -de
 cattle -COM together one day eat -DAT go -EPEN PFT:PRES:AFF:DEC

gindá ginda gájde -gá-fá ʔát:e -s mí:s - ú -te yés - íʔ
 back back cattle -LOC-ABL be late -DAT cow -EPEN -FOC exist -PERF:AFF:DEC

‘There was an old cow which went to graze with the cattle, when they went out to graze, the cow always be late and be at the back of them.’

2. biz:í wode belóske gínd - át: - í
 one day as usual be at the back -FOC -NOM

‘one day the cow become at the back of the cattle as usual’

3. ʔí- yéw -a sum tolkó -i ʔís -á ká:l -i yéw -a -átʔ -ín -:ate
 3FS-come-PROGwhile hyena -NOM her-ACC follow-EPEN come-PROG-PERF-PA- FOC

bək'é dáta -át: - ín.
 cowshed behind -FOC -PERF:AFF:DEC

‘while the hyena came following her, the cow was behind the cowshed’

4. **bɛk'é dáta ʔát:ite -s mí:s í ʔájma gél - um, tolkóm**
 cowshed behind be late -DAT cow -NOM cowshed get in -3PL, hyena
'yénde, tarkale' híy -át: -és - ín
 '2SF, name of the cow say -FOC -3MS -PERF
 'After all the cows were got into the cowshed, a cow was behind the cowshed. Then the
 hyena said you *tarkale!*'

5. **mí:s -um 'yee mak:e' híy -át: -ís -ín.**
 cow -DEF 'yes, name of the hyena' say -FOC -3FS -PERF:AFF:DEC
 'the cow said, 'yes *mak:e*'

6. **tolkó -i -ní ʔís- ú:m 'gúta ʔánan hám: -en-de?' hím,**
 hyena -NOM -CONJ 3FS- DAT 'tomorrow where go -IMPERF-FUT?' ask
 'the hyena asked her that 'where will you go tomorrow?'

7. **mí:s -í 'dá:ða ʔó:mo -at: -ét hám: -en-de' híy-át:-ís -ín.**
 cow -NOM 'thunder under -FOC -1SG go -IMPERF-FUT' say -FOC -3FS -PERF
 the cow said that 'I will go under the thunder.'

8. **póto tolkó -i mí:s úm 'né- mɛk'ète -i ʔána gúf -en-de?' hím,**
 again hyena -NOM cow -DAT 'your bone -NOM where put -IMPERF-FUT?' ask
 'the hyena again asked the cow 'where do they put your bone?'

9. **mí:s -i 'bulá' híd -i -at:e káf -ín.**
 cow -NOM 'thorn apple' reply -EPEN -FOC tell -PERF:AFF:DEC
 the cow replied that in thorn apple.

Text 6. A story of mother hyena with her child walking at the back of cattle

gájde gínde hántes tolkó ʔíndo -rá - í ʔá:to - rá
 cattle back walking hyena mother -COM -POSS:FEM hyena child -COM
 'A mother hyena with her child walking at the back of the cattle'

1. **lagó wode gájdé ?á:de ja?á gájde ká:l - í hánte -s tolkó ?índo -i -né**
 many times cattle truth place cattle follow -NOM go -GEN hyena mother -NOM -CONJ
-í fáj:to -i -né -ate yés - íŋ.
 -POSS:FEM hyena child -NOM -CONJ -COPU exist PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘many times, there were a mother hyena and her child following cattle going to truth place.’

2. **bi:z - í wode gájde -i galbá bé- ?ájma háma: sum, zagéske ?índo**
 one -EPENday cattle -NOM afternoon REF-cowshed go -PROG while, as usual mother-
-i birá bira fáj:to -i poto gindá ginda ?ofá wórg- ín
 -NOM front front child -NOM again back back cow’s west search-PERF
háma-a: súm
 go -PROG while

‘one day in the evening time, the cattle went to their shed. As usual, while the mother hyena and her child going at front and back position respectively searching for the cow’s west.’

3. **fáj:to -i ‘je ?índo, tá-i ?ofá poto déngibam’ híy-át -ís -ín.**
 child-NOM ‘my mother. I-NOM cow’s west:ACC again get:PERF’ say-FOC-3FS -PERF
 ‘the child hyena said to her mother ‘my mother I got the cow’s west’

4. **?í- híma, ?índo -i ‘?ané’ híma,**
 3FS- said, mother -NOM ‘where’ said
 ‘while she said this, the mother asked ‘where is it?’

5. **‘bá?e, tá-i ?ó:d -at: -en’ híy-át: -ís -en.**
 ‘no, I -NOM swallow -FOC -IMPERF’ say -FOC-3FS -IMPERF
 the child hyena said that ‘there is no, I swallow it.’

Text 7. A hyena, hyena's child and a donkey.

tolkó -rá tolkó fá:to -rá haré - rá
 hyena -COM hyena child -COM donkey -COM
 ‘A hyena, hyena’s child and a donkey’

1. **biz:ína ná:je -i ʔájk -i -s tolkó -i né- í- fá:to-i**
 once hunger NOM hold - GEN hyena NOM CONJ POSS:FEM hyena child NOM
-né wóla yés –ús-úm béna ʔatfó worga-s hare-i béna
 -CONJ eachother exist -3PL alone meat search-GEN donkey-NOM alone
yés -ítj -na -at:e ʔúsú -na -rá búʔut -ín.
 exist-PERF- INST-FOC 3PL-ACC -INST meet- PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘once, a hyena and her child were starved and start to search for meat, while they are searching, the donkey was alone and met with them.’

2. **wolá búʔut -í wolá wola bá:s’et -ús máng -ín.**
 together meet -PERF each other struggle -3PL begin -PERF
 ‘they met together and began struggle each other.’

3. **ʔú- woláwola bás’uto bá:s’uto hím haré-i ʔollú -ná -ate**
 3PL- each other struggling struggling -3FS donkey –NOM war - INST -FOC
ʔíntj -ín.
 victory-PERF: AFF:DEC
 ‘they were struggling and struggling each other but the donkey was victorious’

4. **ʔí- hím tolkó fá:to -i ‘tá- ʔíndo -i né -ná bóntfo -te ʔúmb –aan.**
 3FS- said hyena child -NOM ‘my- mother NOM you -ACC respect -FOC fall -PROG
né -i -ní ʔís -á bóntfo -s ʔúmbukáy!’ ʔí hím,
 2SG:FEM -NOM -CONJ her -ACC respect -DAT fall down’ she said
 ‘the child of hyena said to the donkey, ‘my mother fall down to show respect for you, why don’t you fall down to show respect to my mother.’

5. **haré -i ʔís -á bɔ́ntʃo -s híd - í ʔúmbúmte tolkó -i gawó**
 donkey -NOM her -ACC respect -DAT said EPEN fall down hyena NOM stomach
dá:g -ín.

tear off -PERF:AFF:DEC

‘The donkey fall down to show respect to the hyena however the hyena tears off the donkeys stomach.’

Text 8. Figurative speeches of Zaysete

1. **ʔatʃ'o ʔik'ar -es kɛná -i ʃa:tʃ'ir -aʔe**

meat hate -3MS dog -NOM live: -PL -NEG:

‘A dog which hates meat will die.’

2. **la:hé -i béna fatsir -aʔe ʔadó -i ʔut: -i bí:tʃ'ir -aʔe**

witch -NOM REF save -NEG:AFF:DEC man -NOM sit -EPEN urinate NEG:

‘A witch craft never know for himself and male never urinate while sitting.’

3. **mi:s -i miʃi mi:tʃ'ir -aʔe kɛna -i be- la:ts -us**

cow -NOM satisfied laugh -NEG: dog -NOM REF- owner -DAT

ye:kir -aʔe

cry NEG

‘A cow never laughs if it is satisfied, and the dog never cries for his owner.’

4. **ba:k'ule tuke -i mume -at:e bí:ʃa káf -i biz:ó -at:e**

mule leg -NOM entire -FOC women matter -NOM one -FOC

‘A mule’s leg is entire; a women idea is only one’.

5. **bée -ró loʔ -i ʔats -i ʃif galla ʔút -i -t:e záik'e**

REF:-ABS good EPEN man -NOM ordur on sit -EPEN -FOC whistle

‘A man who himself is good, whistle while sitting on ordure.’

6. **lá:fa lá:ga -áde -i díʃo -at:e míʃ -e**

weak friend POSS -NOM punch -FOC smash -IMPERF:AFF:DEC

‘One who has weak friend smash with punch.’

7. **k'óde** **ʔirs'** -i -at:e **mú:s** -us **matf'ína** **le:lus** -i at:e **mu:s'o** -s
 porridge cold -EPEN FOC eat -DAT girl fool -EPENT -FOC kiss -DAT
 'To eat porridge, make it cold. To kiss a girl, make her fool.'

8. **goʔ** -ontos **ké:ts** -ʔade -i **só:llo** **bátfe** -i **meʔesk** -át:e **mitf'e**
 use -NEG house -owner -NOM injera baking plate -NOM crashed -FOC laugh- IMPE
 'A husband who is not useful laughs when the baking plate is broken.'

9. **ʔalts** -i **tʃ'intʃ'** -i -at:e -i **ʔit** -i -at:e
 completely -EPENT wise -EPEN -FOC -NOM bad -EPENT -FOC

ʔalts -i **loʔo** -i -at:e -i **bo:z** -i -t:e
 completely -EPENT good -EPEN -FOC -NOM lazy -EPEN -FOC

'Being wise completely makes you bad, and being fool completely makes you lazy.'

10. **má:nk'o** **kutʃé** **marátfe** -at:e **ʔá:de** -s
 poor hand: POSS intestine -FOC bring along -DAT
 'When a poor's hand is opened, it bring along intestine.'

11. **ʔáde** -i -ni **ʔó:llo** -i -ni **do:gátfe** -at:e **bót-e**
 male -NOM -CONJ horse -NOM -CONJ recently -FOC forget-IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 'A man and a horse will forget recently.'

12. **ʔá:fe** -i **ʔí:ta** -s **kátse** -i **gawo** -s **lóʔir** -aʔe
 eye -NOM bad -DAT food -NOM stomach -DAT good -NEG
 'If a food is not good for an eye, it will not be suitable for stomach.'

13. **di:de** -i **p'óll** -e **ʔafa** **ʔeli:r** -aʔe **budó** -i **wá:tse** **mú:dir** -aʔe
 flea- NOM jumping sky touch -NEG fire -NOM water eat -NEG
 'Even if a flea is jumping upward never touch the sky, a fire also never eat water.'

14. **ʔáde ba -at: -es ké:ts -i -ká ʔó:llo -i kó:ra -rá -at:e**
 male no-FOC-3MS house -EPEN -LOC horse -NOM saddle -COM -FOC
gel-é
 enter-IMPERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘If the house is without male, the horse will enter to the house with its saddle.’

15. **la:há -i ʔerbé at:e la:hé -at:e**
 witch -NOM lie -FOC tell fortune -FOC

ʧʔima -i ʔá:de -at:e ʧʔimá -t:e
 old -NOM true -FOC tell truth -FOC
 ‘A witch tell lie fortune but an old man tell the truth.’

16. **túk:e -i ʔál:a haik-ontos ʔats**
 leg -NOM earth hold -NEG man
 ‘A person who never sits is always in hurry.’

17. **bif:á moidó -i hampélo -at:e**
 girl lip -NOM:POS thin -FOC
 ‘The girl has a thin lip.’ (Lit: She never hid secrete)

18. **né- ʔáda durúma -i**
 2SG- father stump -NOM
 ‘You are stump.’

19. **wú:so -s gáide -i ʔáts ʔahir -aʔe**
 your: 2PL -DAT cattle -NOM man spend the night -NEG
 ‘Your cattle never let people to spend the night.’

20. **ʔátso -i hepéte -at:e**
 man -NOM sieve -FOC
 ‘The man never hid a secret.’ (Lit: The man is sieve)

21. **Ha** **bif:ó -i** **ba:k'lo -at:e**
 this girl -NOM mule -FOC
 ‘This girl never gives birth.’ (Lit: This girl is mule)
22. **?e-** **kúʃa -fá** **gúid -umun** **?aka -i** **wodir -a?e**
 DEF:MAS hand -ABL hit -CONJ nothing- NOM droplet -NEG
 ‘The man is ungenerous(stingy).’
 (Lit: There is nothing dropped from the man’s hand even if you hit it.)
23. **?i-** **kúʃa -fá** **gúid -umun** **?aka -i** **wodir -a?e**
 DEF:FEM hand -ABL hit -CONJ nothing- NOM droplet -NEG
 ‘The woman is ungenerous(stingy).’
 (Lit: There is nothing dropped from the man’s hand even if you hit it.)
24. **na -i** **?udúla -at:e** **?udum -in**
 boy: -DEF mortar -FOC catch -PERF:AFF:DEC
 ‘The boy never gets married.’ (Lit: The boy catch a mortar in his hand)
25. **?es -i** **dɛré -i** **?éres molé -at:e**
 he -NOM crowed -NOM know fish -FOC
 ‘He is drunkard’ (Lit: Everyone knows that he is fish.)
26. **?i-** **?ins’ire -y** **kárts -i** **-at:e**
 3FS:POS tongue -NOM black -EPEN -FOC
 ‘She is cursing people.’ (Lit: Her tongue is black.)
27. **?áts** **bifɛs** **tolkó -at:e**
 man looks like hyena -FOC
 ‘The man is glutton.’ (Lit: The man looks like a hyena.)
28. **?i-** **mus’iro kárts -i** **-at:e**
 3FS: POS heart black -EPEN -FOC
 ‘She is brutal.’ (Lit: Her heart is black.)

29. **kana kafó -i jis -i**

2SG bird -NOM excrement -NOM

‘You are barren.’ (Lit: you are bird’s excrement)

30. **bif:a -i pudó -at: -is -i-d-e**

girl -NOM flower -FOC -3FS -PERF-PFT-PRES :DEC:AFF

‘The girl is ready to get married.’ (Lit: The girl is just like a flower.)

31. **gélo ?elá -at: -is -i-d-e**

enter reach -FOC -3FS -PERF-PFT-PRES :DEC:AFF

‘She is ready to get married.’ (Lit: She is reach to enter)

32. **?is -i -ró ?udá -i ?ártsa -at:e**

her -NOM -DAT all -NOM bed -FOC

‘Everything is comfortable for her.’ (Lit: To her all are her bed.)

33. **bif:á -i ?ó:llo ma:k’ -i -at:e dag -i-d-e**

girl -NOM horse become -EPENT -FOC move -PERF-PRES-PFT:DEC:AFF

‘The girl has no any good behavior.’ (Lit: The girl became horse.)

34. **?índo -i dántfo bírtf -i -b-á?e**

mother -NOM girdle untie -EPEN -PERF:NEG

‘The mother never gives birth.’ (Lit: The mother is never untied her girdle.)

35. **wodé -i wód -es ?áts -i -at:e**

time -NOM kill -3MS man -EPEN -FOC

‘The man was rich.’ (Lit: It is time that killed the man.)

36. **síno bá -at: -es ?áts -i -t:e**

forehead no -FOC -3MS man -EPEN -FOC

‘He is unlucky man.’ (Lit: The man who has no forehead.)

37. **ʔí- d̥ere -i ʔál:a haikir -aʔe**

her buttock -NOM earth hold -NEG

‘She is restless’ (Lit: she never sits with her buttock.)

38. **ʔé- káb:e -i tibúre -t:e**

His work -NOM mixing -FOC

‘He is disturbing others.’ (Lit: His work is mixing.)

39. **Ha- fá:to -i s’iló -at:e**

this boy -NOM eagle -FOC

‘The boy is thief.’ (Lit: This boy is an eagle.)

40. **ʔis -i s’ega pitso ʔogis -at:e**

3FS -NOM goat tail munched -FOC

‘She is available everywhere.’ (Lit. She has eaten a goat’s tail)

41. **kená ʔalba:ne bá:ʔe -i**

2SG Alban sickle -NOM

‘You finish everything once.’ (Lit: You are sickle.)

42. **ʔí- dánʔo -i guses -at:e**

3FS:POSS girdle (belt) NOM leak -FOC

‘She never knows how to save things (Lit. Her girdle leak.)

43. **ʔí- maratʔe -i miʔ-ut-es -t:e**

3FS:POSS intestine NOM move -PAS-3MS -FOC

‘She is very compassionate.’ (Lit: Her intestine moves here and there.)

Appendix II Word Lists

In this section, I provide Zaysete word list. The word list is arranged based on the English alphabet. The following abbreviations are used in the list:

Abbreviations:

- adj.* adjective
- adv.* adverb
- conj.* conjunction
- EXCL* exclusive
- impe.* imperative
- inf.* infinitive
- int.pro.* interrogative pronoun
- INCL* inclusive
- n .* noun
- neg.* negative
- opt.* optative
- p.pro* possessive pronoun
- p.pos.* post position
- prep.* preposition
- pron.* pronoun
- ' high tone

A	H
a kind of tree used for blessing maʒó <i>n.</i>	hair ʔum:a ʔitsinke <i>n.</i>
a year after this year langóde <i>adv.</i>	hair (of body) gála itsinke <i>n.</i>
abdomen gawo <i>n.</i>	hair (of head) ʔúm̄ma itsinke <i>n.</i>
	hair style of man ʔó:ro <i>n.</i>
able to dandáʔo <i>v.</i>	half bagá <i>adj.</i>
abnormal legged dóm:a <i>n.</i>	
abandon dábo <i>v.</i>	hammer madofá <i>n.</i>
abscess kis'ó <i>n.</i>	hand kutjé <i>n.</i>
abstain dabó <i>n.</i>	handicraft kútjekáb:e <i>n.</i>
accept ʔéfo <i>v.</i>	handle tú:te <i>n.</i>
accumulate ká:re <i>v.</i>	hardship,distress metó <i>n.</i>
acquaintance lag:úntɛ <i>n.</i>	harvest wéti káso <i>v.</i>
add ʔasé <i>n.</i>	harvest season ʔuns'á wedé <i>n.</i>
admire náf:o <i>v.</i>	hate ʔik':aro <i>v.</i>
adult diŋ'is ats <i>n.</i>	have sexual intercourse wolá wéjo <i>n.</i>
advice zorúso <i>n.</i>	he ʔésí <i>pro.</i>
advise góda <i>v.</i>	head ʔúm:a <i>n.</i>
after gindá <i>adv.</i>	headache ʔum:a ʔóts <i>n.</i>
afternoon galbá <i>n.</i>	hear síyo <i>v.</i>
afternoon galbéso <i>adv.</i>	heard (of cattle) ʔó:do <i>n.</i>
again ʔási <i>adv.</i>	heard, cattle gáide <i>n.</i>
agree gígo <i>v.</i>	heart mus'iro <i>n.</i>
	help ma:ra <i>n.</i>

agreement gigúso <i>n.</i>	heavy dé:s'ó <i>adj</i>
air (breathed) ʔáget̪s <i>n.</i>	heel ḏé:ge <i>n.</i>
alcohol modó <i>n.</i>	heel ḏegé <i>n.</i>
all ʔudá <i>adj.</i>	he-goat, billy ʔorgé <i>n.</i>
alone béna <i>adj.</i>	hem tilé <i>n.</i>
alphabet alphabeté <i>n.</i>	hen luk:ó <i>n.</i>
alter, change lámo <i>v.</i>	her í <i>pro.</i>
always k'o:sí k'o:s <i>adv.</i>	her ímá:ts <i>p.pro.</i>
ancestor ʔadó ʔadá ʔadá <i>n.</i>	her ʔísá <i>pro.</i>
and - rá- <i>conj.</i>	here háiga <i>pro.</i>
animal busúʔa <i>n.</i>	hide ʔánt̪ʃe <i>v.</i>
announce ʔerúso <i>v.</i>	hill ʔúp:a <i>n.</i>
annoy, disturb hulatsúso <i>v.</i>	him ʔésá <i>pro.</i>
answer, reply máhe <i>v.</i>	hip ḡink'ó <i>n.</i>
ant gormót̪ʃ'o <i>n.</i>	hippopotamus harók'e <i>n.</i>
appease, pacify lɛl:úso <i>v.</i>	hire gél̪tso <i>v.</i>
applay (ointment), besmear tí:fo <i>n.</i>	his é <i>pro.</i>
approach t̪ʃ'inótésín <i>v.</i>	his é má:ts <i>p.pro.</i>
argue láló <i>v.</i>	history taríke <i>n.</i>
argument lalé <i>n.</i>	hit gúide <i>v.</i>
arm kuʃe <i>n.</i>	hit, strike ʃí:lo <i>v.</i>
armpit ʃop'o <i>n.</i>	hitting gúido <i>n.</i>
army ʔollátsir <i>n.</i>	hoe (dig out) hódo <i>v.</i>
arrange loʔátsi <i>v.</i>	hole wúla <i>n.</i>

arrive ʔelátésín <i>v.</i>	hollow out (log) bó:ko <i>v.</i>
arrow jí:f <i>n.</i>	home zawá <i>n.</i>
article of clothing, clothes ʔaf:élir <i>n.</i>	honey beer ʃi:da <i>n.</i>
ascend, go up p'adétes hamín <i>v.</i>	honour bóntʃo <i>v.</i>
ash múk'o <i>n.</i>	horn ʔufú:me <i>n.</i>
ask, request ʔóitʃ:o <i>v.</i>	hot weather herá ʔágets <i>n.</i>
avocado ʔabukáto <i>n.</i>	hourse ʔó:llo <i>n.</i>
avoid dábo / ʔó:tso <i>v.</i>	house ké:ts <i>n.</i>
away(from the house) bé:som/ háiko / <i>p.pos.</i>	how wáid <i>int.p.</i>
axe gánde <i>n.</i>	how many? ansí? <i>Int.p.</i>
B	how? wáisi <i>pro.</i>
baby já:to <i>n.</i>	human being, person ʔats <i>n.</i>
back date <i>n.</i>	hundred s'é:t <i>n.</i>
back gínda <i>prep.</i>	hunger nayúto <i>v.</i>
back (of something) gindána <i>p.pos.</i>	hunt só:fo <i>v.</i>
backbone daté mək'éte <i>n.</i>	hunter so:fáts <i>n.</i>
backward gindé <i>prep.</i>	hurt oneself godáʔo <i>n</i>
bad ʔi:ta <i>adj.</i>	husband ʔáda <i>n.</i>
bag sukúlo <i>n.</i>	hyena tolkó <i>n.</i>
bake bó:ro <i>v.</i>	
bake bread/injera/ bo:rá <i>impe.</i>	I
bamboo ʃambók'o <i>n.</i>	I táy <i>pro.</i>
banana mu:ze <i>n.</i>	ice ʃátʃ <i>n.</i>

bark (as dog) bótf'o <i>v.</i>	illness hargé <i>n.</i>
bark of tree ʔuró <i>n.</i>	imitate bifʔúfo <i>v.</i>
barly bangá <i>n.</i>	impracticable bar:ó <i>adv.</i>
barren women me:nts <i>n.</i>	in -ká /gá <i>prep.</i>
barter ʔó:ke <i>n.</i>	increase ʔási <i>v.</i>
basket zambilé <i>n.</i>	incubet, set(on eggs) k'uhó <i>v.</i>
bat karánko <i>n.</i>	inexpensive garé <i>adj.</i>
be first ʔitfáro <i>adj.</i>	infront of bíra <i>prep.</i>
be alive ʔárdo <i>v.</i>	inherit ǀi:látisín <i>v.</i>
be angry hulúto <i>v.</i>	inheritance ǀi:lo <i>n.</i>
be awake/ alert goba <i>v.</i>	inside gidá <i>prep.</i>
be bald bó:ʔo <i>v.</i>	inside -ka <i>p.pos.</i>
be big ʔadúso <i>v.</i>	inside(inside the house) ké:tska <i>p.pos.</i>
be blind k'ok'o <i>v.</i>	insult ganʔó <i>n.</i>
be born jellúto <i>n.</i>	insult gánʔo <i>v.</i>
be bright maléde <i>v.</i>	intelligence érite <i>n.</i>
be confused ʔongálo <i>v.</i>	intelligent gó:bo <i>adj.</i>
be corrupt ʔító <i>adj.</i>	intestinal worm gawó gus'úme <i>n.</i>
be courageous, be brave s'ig:o <i>adj.</i>	intestines marátje <i>n.</i>
be dead wódo <i>v.</i>	iron k'angá <i>n.</i>
be deep s'í:lo <i>v.</i>	island watskás gadé <i>n.</i>
be defeated ʔintfúta <i>v.</i>	
be difficult des'ó <i>adj.</i>	

be dim tojníjε <i>v.</i>	J	
be drunk góʒo <i>v.</i>		
be dry méla <i>v.</i>		
be eager wérgεs <i>adj.</i>		
be empty melá <i>v.</i>		
be fast ʔeluséten <i>v.</i>		K
be fat modéte <i>v.</i>		
be fierce mangáde mák'o <i>adj.</i>		
be flat lótʃo <i>v.</i>		
be good lóite <i>adj.</i>		
be guilty ʔerbáts mak'o <i>v.</i>		
be happy gumúrto <i>v.</i>		
be healthy lolló <i>v.</i>		
be high ʔadó ʔadáso <i>v.</i>		
be honest s'íl:o <i>adj.</i>		
be hot (of person) gallá here <i>n.</i>		
be impotent lá:fa <i>v.</i>		
be innocent s'il:o <i>v.</i>		
be intelligent gó:bo <i>v.</i>		
be jealous ʔitáts <i>adj.</i>		
be kind loʔite <i>adj.</i>		
be last ʔí:lo <i>n.</i>		
	L	
	journey hamó <i>n.</i>	
	juice mú:ǵi <i>n.</i>	
	jump p'ólo <i>v.</i>	
	jumping p'ólle <i>n.</i>	
	keep kafo <i>v.</i>	
	keep, save gádo <i>v.</i>	
	keeper ko:ráts <i>n.</i>	
	kick/hit gúide <i>v.</i>	
	kidney bazé <i>n.</i>	
	kill wóǵo <i>v.</i>	
	killer wodáts <i>n.</i>	
	killing wodá <i>v.</i>	
	kind of believe zíre <i>n.</i>	
	king ká:t <i>n.</i>	
	kiss mús'o <i>v.</i>	
	knee bóinte <i>n.</i>	
	kneel bóinto <i>n.</i>	
	knife maj:á <i>n.</i>	
	to know ʔéres <i>v.</i>	
	know ʔerá <i>imp.</i>	
	knowledge ʔero <i>n.</i>	

be lazy la:fa <i>adj.</i>	labour, birth pain ʔi:k'e <i>n.</i>
be light henféló <i>v.</i>	lack háti <i>v.</i>
be long ʔadó <i>adj.</i>	ladder gandála <i>n.</i>
be loose dəlgé <i>n.</i>	lake bəgége <i>n.</i>
be lying down ʔərbúso <i>vi.</i>	lamp, torch budó <i>n.</i>
be naked gəndésa <i>n.</i>	land (V), alight zagido <i>v.</i>
be narrow s'úntso <i>v.</i>	language zé:re <i>n.</i>
be old ʧ'imo <i>adj.</i>	last year zimbére <i>adv.</i>
	late dó:g <i>adv.</i>
be poor ma:nk'éto <i>v.</i>	laugh mitʧ'o <i>v.</i>
be pregnant gawó <i>n.</i>	law wog:á <i>n.</i>
be restless kas'ántos <i>adj.</i>	lay (eggs) p'úp'ulo <i>v.</i>
be rich duréto <i>v.</i>	leaf míns'a waje <i>n.</i>
be ruined, báje <i>v.</i>	leaf wá:je <i>n.</i>
be seated ʔút:o <i>v.</i>	lean against teʔúto <i>vi.</i>
be seated ʔutúso <i>vi.</i>	learn tamáro <i>v.</i>
be selfish béna ʔého <i>adj.</i>	leave(place) jefótésín <i>v.</i>
be short háto <i>v.</i>	left (direction) hadúrsu sóna <i>adj.</i>
be shy ʔífo <i>adj.</i>	leg túk:e <i>n.</i>
	leg of calf ʧ'anjúla <i>n.</i>
be sick hárgo <i>v.</i>	lemon lomé <i>n.</i>
be sleepy gəho <i>n.</i>	lend talúso <i>v.</i>
be small ʔéres <i>v.</i>	lengthn zanbáltso <i>n.</i>
be smooth lúko <i>v.</i>	let him to curse dok'é <i>opt.</i>

be spoiled ʔá:te <i>v.</i>	let him to divorce birtʃé <i>opt.</i>
be straight sú:re <i>v.</i>	let him to eat míʔe <i>opt.</i>
be stupid lá:fo <i>v.</i>	let him to go háme <i>opt.</i>
be thin hé:go <i>v.</i>	let him to whistle zajk'é <i>opt.</i>
be tight s'í:go <i>n.</i>	let's go ad'á <i>opt.</i>
be tired lábo <i>v.</i>	lick lá:ʔo <i>n.</i>
be wet ʔírs'a <i>v.</i>	lie ʔerbé <i>n.</i>
be wicked ʔitats <i>adj.</i>	lie down gé:ho <i>v.</i>
	live jesó <i>inf.</i>
be wide fátʃo <i>v.</i>	life /living jes:a <i>n.</i>
	live! jes:á (IMP) <i>v.</i>
be wise ʃ'íntʃ'o <i>v.</i>	light po:ʔó <i>adj.</i>
be young (for female) wudúrte <i>n.</i>	light color gé:f <i>adj.</i>
be young(for male) naúnte <i>n.</i>	lightning dadá <i>n.</i>
beach bagéde bále <i>n.</i>	limp dóma <i>adj.</i>
beard bas'á <i>n.</i>	lion gárma <i>n.</i>
beat dúfo <i>v.</i>	lip moidó <i>n.</i>
beauty malíte <i>n.</i>	listen síja <i>v.</i>
because gidóna <i>conj.</i>	lizard ʔetsére <i>n.</i>
bed ʔaliga <i>n.</i>	load ʃ'áno <i>v.</i>
bed room wójo ké:ts <i>n.</i>	load, burden to:kó <i>n.</i>
bedbug ʔéts <i>n.</i>	locust mairó <i>n.</i>
bee máts <i>n.</i>	log wuns'á <i>n.</i>
beehive kó:tse <i>n.</i>	long zambála <i>adj.</i>

beer bí:ra <i>n.</i>	look at, watch s'élo <i>v.</i>
beeswax, bee-bread pe:lá <i>n.</i>	look for wérge <i>v.</i>
before birá <i>adv.</i>	loosen dəlgúso <i>v.</i>
beg k'ázo <i>v.</i>	lose ?áte /dábo/ <i>v.</i>
begger k'azáts <i>n.</i>	louse ʃs'ú:tʃe <i>n.</i>
begin mangóten <i>v.</i>	love ?ého <i>v.</i>
beginner mangáts <i>n.</i>	lover ?eháts <i>n.</i>
beginning mangó <i>v.</i>	lower (tr) hokí / zanáni/ <i>v.</i>
behind ďáta <i>prep.</i>	lump (clay, mud) ?ok'aro <i>n.</i>
belch déso <i>v.</i>	lung gorfina <i>n.</i>
believe ?amáno <i>v.</i>	
bell diwíle <i>n.</i>	M
	mad gó:ʒo <i>adj.</i>
	mad person goʒáts <i>n.</i>
belly gáwo <i>n.</i>	magic díro <i>n.</i>
belongingness mí:ʃe <i>n.</i>	magician lahá <i>n.</i>
below jekána <i>p.pos.</i>	maize badíla <i>n.</i>
bend down holóʒo <i>n.</i>	make smooth likúle <i>n.</i>
bend,crook, curve ku:ná <i>n.</i>	malaria miʃfá <i>n.</i>
beside lánk'a <i>p.pos.</i>	male ?áde <i>n.</i>
beside(beside the house) ké:tslank'á <i>p.pos.</i>	male goat ?óрге <i>n.</i>
between (between the houses) ké:tsgidá <i>p.pos.</i>	man ?áts <i>n.</i>
big ?adó <i>adj.</i>	man (adult) ?adó <i>n.</i>

big hoe kó:s'ε <i>n.</i>	manhood ʔátsúnte <i>n.</i>
bile ʧ'íʒo <i>n.</i>	many lá:go. <i>adj.</i>
	mark bifá <i>n.</i>
bird kafó <i>n.</i>	market ga:yá <i>n.</i>
bite méitʃ'o <i>v.</i>	marriage relations ʔefúte dabté <i>n.</i>
bite méitʃá <i>imp.</i>	marry ʔefó <i>n.</i>
bite (snake) meitʃ'ó / dufó <i>v.</i>	master láts <i>n.</i>
bitter ʧ'omó <i>adj.</i>	mat saléna <i>n.</i>
black kárts <i>adj.</i>	me táná <i>pro.</i>
blackness kadíte <i>n.</i>	meat ʔatʃó <i>n.</i>
bleed su:tsó <i>n.</i>	mediate, intercede ʧ'imúso <i>v.</i>
bless someone galáto <i>v.</i>	medicine p'olá <i>n.</i>
blessing ʔanʒúte <i>v.</i>	meet búʔuti <i>v.</i>
blind person k'ok'ó ats <i>n.</i>	melt háfo <i>v.</i>
blink gip'ó <i>n.</i>	messenger kr:táts <i>n.</i>
blood sú:ts <i>n.</i>	metal pot gangá disté <i>n.</i>
blow (of wind) ʔagéto <i>v.</i>	middle gidá <i>p.pos.</i>
blow (with mouth) ʔúko <i>v.</i>	migrate gada dagi há:m:o <i>v.</i>
blow nose burá ʔehó <i>v.</i>	milk má:ts <i>n.</i>
blue ʒo:mále <i>adj.</i>	milking (cows, goats) má:tso <i>n.</i>
boat zap'á <i>n.</i>	mine támá:ts <i>p.pro.</i>
body galá <i>n.</i>	mixing work'é <i>n.</i>
body Parts gála gágir <i>n.</i>	molar tooth gagúma <i>n.</i>
bone mek'éte <i>n.</i>	money birá <i>n.</i>

bone marrow mək'ète sorgé <i>n.</i>	monkey ʔó:d:o <i>n.</i>
borrow tálʔo <i>v.</i>	month ʔagúna <i>adv.</i>
bottle s'armusé <i>n.</i>	moon light ʔagún:a po:ʔó <i>n.</i>
bottom ʔalána <i>p.pos.</i>	moon ʔagún:a <i>n.</i>
boundary of field ǵa:da méhe <i>n.</i>	morning ketá <i>adv.</i>
bow (as in greeting) sarúso <i>v.</i>	mosquito bé:na <i>n.</i>
bowl s'ú:ba <i>n.</i>	mother ʔíndo <i>n.</i>
box sas'iné <i>n.</i>	mother's brother (uncle) ʔáwut <i>n.</i>
boy ʔáda fá:to <i>n.</i>	mother's sister (aunt) ʔawústo <i>n.</i>
boyhood naúnte <i>n.</i>	motherhood ʔíndéte <i>n.</i>
brain ʔum:á <i>n.</i>	mother-in-law mátʃo ʔáda <i>n.</i>
branch of tree hangé <i>n.</i>	mother-in-law mátʃo ʔíndo <i>n.</i>
bread/injera/ bo:rá <i>n.</i>	mountain botʃ'é <i>n.</i>
break méntso <i>v.</i>	mourning wusé <i>n.</i>
breast dáns <i>n.</i>	mouse k'os'kós'o <i>n.</i>
breast bone zuʔá mək'ète <i>n.</i>	mouth báde <i>n.</i>
breath kas'úmo <i>v.</i>	move ʔédátésín <i>v.</i>
breath kas'úns <i>n.</i>	movement ʔenó <i>n.</i>
breathing kas'úme <i>n.</i>	mud bók':o / ʔok'áro/ <i>n.</i>
bride ʔíʃʃ <i>n.</i>	mud block ʔok'áro kelá <i>n.</i>
bride price ʃ'ilóʃa <i>n.</i>	murmer nún:o <i>n.</i>
bridge k'ardá <i>n.</i>	mushroom p'elék'o <i>n.</i>
bring ʔé:wa <i>v.</i>	my tá <i>pro.</i>
bring up a child ditʃo <i>v.</i>	N

broom fis'á <i>n.</i>	nail mismaré <i>n.</i>
brotherhood ?índoná?únte <i>n.</i>	name súnts <i>n.</i>
bruise kis'ó <i>n.</i>	name of a wood ?umbe <i>n.</i>
bucket baldé <i>n.</i>	naming súnts suntso <i>n.</i>
bud ɖugá <i>n.</i>	nape of neck gán:a <i>n.</i>
buffalo menó <i>n.</i>	nasal mucus burá <i>n.</i>
build ké:s'o <i>v.</i>	navel gili?a <i>n.</i>
build up máse <i>v.</i>	near tʃ'ine <i>adv.</i>
bull sa:bá <i>n.</i>	neck wolló <i>n.</i>
bump, knock k'éwse <i>v.</i>	need wóрге <i>v.</i>
bundle ?átʃ <i>n.</i>	needle marfé <i>n.</i>
burn (intr.) ?éde <i>v.</i>	neighbor dots <i>n.</i>
burn harguts <i>n.</i>	nephew bárts <i>n.</i>
burst ɖu?atéjn <i>v.</i>	nest kafó ké:ts <i>n.</i>
bury mó:go <i>v.</i>	nest ʃidé <i>n.</i>
bush tufá <i>n.</i>	never magó <i>adv.</i>
bush ?o:ná <i>n.</i>	new hagé:lo <i>adj.</i>
buterfly piró <i>n.</i>	new moon dó:ro <i>n.</i>
buttock ɖere <i>n.</i>	news naf:ó <i>n.</i>
buy ʃámo <i>v.</i>	nice bar:o <i>n.</i>
	night gálba <i>adv.</i>
C	nine s'ingo <i>n.</i>
calabash gozé <i>n.</i>	nine hundred s'ingo s'é:t <i>n.</i>
calf galló <i>n.</i>	nineteen támma ne s'ingo <i>n.</i>

calf ʔóka <i>n.</i>	ninety s'ingo támm <i>n.</i>
	ninth s'ingántso <i>n.</i>
call someone s'éjgo <i>n.</i>	no ʔiʔé <i>adv.</i>
camel gá:la <i>n.</i>	nobody ʔadójni <i>adj.</i>
carry (child) on back ʔid:o <i>v.</i>	noise, sound gí:rɛ <i>n.</i>
carry (in arms) tó:ko <i>v.</i>	noon dáro dáβε <i>adv.</i>
carry on head to:ko <i>v.</i>	north ʔofána <i>adv.</i>
cassava bo:jé <i>n.</i>	nose kúnke <i>n.</i>
cat ʔadúre <i>n.</i>	nothing ʔakóyni <i>adj.</i>
catch (object in air) ʔajkóten <i>v.</i>	notice ʔéro <i>v.</i>
cattle gáide <i>n.</i>	
cave bó:ke <i>n.</i>	now háte <i>adv.</i>
cease, stop ʔaltso <i>v.</i>	
cemetery bo:sá <i>n.</i>	O
chair di:go <i>n.</i>	obstruct ʔibís'a <i>v.</i>
chain of mountains ʔozózo <i>n.</i>	
chamelon gó:pas <i>n.</i>	obstruction tútʃ'o <i>n.</i>
chance kéima <i>n.</i>	
charcoal mitʃ'mítʃ <i>n.</i>	ocean bagáde <i>n.</i>
chase gó:do <i>v.</i>	odour, good smell ʃawó <i>n.</i>
chat zé:ro <i>v.</i>	oil zájɛ <i>n.</i>
cheek ʃ'iré <i>n.</i>	ok ʔero <i>n.</i>
chest zúʔa <i>n.</i>	old person ʃíma ʔáts <i>n.</i>
chew ʃ'ómo <i>v.</i>	olden times zága /zí:na/ <i>adv.</i>

chicken ʦʷú:tʃe <i>n.</i>	on gála <i>prep.</i>
child ʃá:to <i>n.</i>	once bi:zína <i>adv.</i>
childhood ʃá:túnte <i>n.</i>	one biz:ó <i>n.</i>
chisel(n) (curve, shape) gin:é <i>n.</i>	one day ʔud:á wode <i>n.</i>
choke mídi wódo <i>v.</i>	onion ʃinkúrte <i>n.</i>
chop into pieces ʦʷódo <i>v.</i>	only kapʃé gilé <i>conj.</i>
circumcision(male) k'arúso <i>n.</i>	only you né:ná <i>pro.</i>
claw s'uŋké <i>n.</i>	orange birtukáne <i>n.</i>
claw (of bird) s'uŋké <i>n.</i>	order kít:o <i>v.</i>
clean gé:f <i>adj.</i>	orphan ʒíʔo <i>n.</i>
clear land for planting bu:gó <i>v.</i>	ostrich gúʦ'e <i>n.</i>
clever gó:ba <i>adj.</i>	our ní (INCL) <i>pro.</i>
cloth má:ʔo <i>v.</i>	our nú <i>pro.</i>
clothes ma:ʔó <i>n.</i>	our nú(EXCL) <i>pro.</i>
cloud ʃa:rá / gu:má <i>n.</i>	ours ní má:ts (INCL) <i>p.pro.</i>
cockroach ʔuló <i>n.</i>	ours nú má:ts (EXCL) <i>p.pro.</i>
coffe túke <i>n.</i>	outside zanéna <i>p.pos.</i>
cold weather ʔirs'á <i>n.</i>	over here hanánas <i>adv.</i>
collect honey from hive ʃí:do <i>v.</i>	over there sonánas <i>adv.</i>
collect it kolá! <i>impe.</i>	over, above wonána <i>prep.</i>
collection ʃík'o <i>n.</i>	owner ʔawá <i>n.</i>
color k'éléme <i>n.</i>	ox maidó <i>n.</i>
comb(of rooster) ʔó:ro <i>n.</i>	
come je:w <i>v.</i>	

come jetátésin v.
command kí:ta n.
complete ʔáltso v.
compromise zé:rúso v.
condole, comfort s'igúso v.
congratulation hájutín gumúrtin n.
conquer, defeat [ʔiɲtʃó] n.
continue mangí n.
cook katse v.
cooked food sú:le n.
cooking kátsa katsó n.
cooking maize gi:gó v.
cooking pot maná disté n.
cooking stone tiniʔo n.
corn husk zegédi n.
corpse ʔahá n.
cotton fú:ta n.
count táibó n.
courtyard k'ɛtʃé n.
cover gó:zo v.
cow mí:s n.
cowshed ʔájma n.
cow's milk míis má:ts n.

P
pain goʃó n.
paint k'alamé n.
palm (of hand) kuʃé gawó n.
papaya papája n.
parrot gutús n.
pay tʃ'igo v.
payment tʃ'igó n.
peace saró n.
peel ʃó:le v.
pepper tʃ'ork'a n.
perhaps ʔo ʔéres conj.
persuade gigúso n.
phlegm tʃ'útʃ n.
pick up dentsáten v.
pick, pluck (fruit) k'ájso/ ʔi:s'o v.
pierce fóte v.
pig gá:f n.
pineapple ʔananáse n.
pile/heap/ dóra n.
pity loʔíte n.
place ʃaʔá n.
plan modó n.
plate fiʃíliʔo n.

	play na:ra <i>v.</i>
cow's west ʔofá <i>n.</i>	player na:ráts <i>n.</i>
coward ʒáfes <i>adj.</i>	play with sitting dorá <i>n.</i>
	please, satisfy gumúrtsúso <i>v.</i>
crawl koʔúnto <i>v.</i>	pocket kisé <i>n.</i>
create,make káb:e / médo/ <i>v.</i>	point with finger béyso <i>v.</i>
cripple domá <i>n.</i>	polish zihó <i>n.</i>
crocodile fé:p:ó <i>n.</i>	pool ʔe:lo <i>n.</i>
crowd deré <i>n.</i>	poor má:nk'o <i>adj.</i>
crunch ʧ'ómo <i>v.</i>	poorness mánqíte <i>n.</i>
cry, weep jófo <i>v.</i>	pot ʔotá <i>n.</i>
crowd deré <i>n.</i>	potato bó:be <i>n.</i>
crunch ʧ'ómo <i>v.</i>	potter mã:ná <i>n.</i>
crush deméso <i>v.</i>	pour kofá <i>v.</i>
cry, weep jófo <i>v.</i>	powerful man ʔorzáma <i>n.</i>
	praise galáta <i>n.</i>
crocodile fé:p:ó <i>n.</i>	pray k'angé <i>n.</i>
crowd deré <i>n.</i>	prepare food kátsa <i>n.</i>
cultivate, farm wó:to <i>v.</i>	price heréga <i>n.</i>
cup siné <i>n.</i>	prisoner ʔatʧáʧʧ <i>n.</i>
cousin ʔáwut fá:to <i>n.</i>	prophecy pa:láts <i>n.</i>
cover gó:zo <i>v.</i>	prophecy, divine pá:lo <i>v.</i>
cow mí:s <i>n.</i>	protect kóro <i>v.</i>
cowshed ʔájma <i>n.</i>	pull gó:ʧfo <i>v.</i>

cow's milk míis má:ts <i>n.</i>	pure source of spring kul:a <i>n.</i>
cow's west ?osjá <i>n.</i>	pus zoné <i>n.</i>
coward ?ájses <i>adj.</i>	push zempíde / ?úda <i>v.</i>
crawl ko?únto <i>v.</i>	put something on the earth ?ólla <i>v.</i>
create,make káb:e / médo/ <i>v.</i>	python dobés <i>n.</i>
curse dó:s <i>n.</i>	
cut down (tree) ?í:s'i ?ólla <i>v.</i>	Q
cut down (tree) ?í:s'i ?ólla <i>v.</i>	quarrel ?os'úto <i>v.</i>
cut ?í:ra <i>v.</i>	queen ka:?ó <i>n.</i>
cutting hair tjáfə <i>n.</i>	questioning ?óitfo ?oitfá <i>n.</i>
	quickly ?elúdi <i>adv.</i>
D	R
dance wudé <i>n.</i>	rabbit ?urdó <i>n.</i>
danger metó <i>n.</i>	radio ?iradio <i>n.</i>
dark tjəntfə <i>adj.</i>	rag(duster) dáguts áfila <i>n.</i>
darkness tjəntfá <i>adj.</i>	rain ?íra <i>n.</i>
daughter matjina fá:to <i>n.</i>	rainbow zu:lá <i>n.</i>
daughter-in-law fá:to mátfə <i>n.</i>	rainy season ?irá wodé <i>n.</i>
daughter matjina fá:to <i>n.</i>	rat ?étf'ere <i>n.</i>
daughter-in-law fá:to mátfə <i>n.</i>	reading nibabé <i>n.</i>
dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	red zo?ó <i>adj.</i>
daughter matjina fá:to <i>n.</i>	red pepper barbáre <i>n.</i>
daughter-in-law fá:to mátfə <i>n.</i>	refuse ?ík'aro <i>v.</i>
	regrained gótfo <i>v.</i>

dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	rejoice gumúrto <i>v.</i>
day daró <i>adv.</i>	relative dab:ó <i>n.</i>
daughter matjina fá:to <i>n.</i>	remember modúso <i>v.</i>
daughter-in-law fá:to mátfjo <i>n.</i>	remian, stay ?atótésín <i>v.</i>
dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	repair sartso <i>v.</i>
day daró <i>adv.</i>	repair it ko:lá! <i>impe.</i>
day after tomorrow gúta fifti <i>adv.</i>	replay mahe <i>v.</i>
daughter matjina fá:to <i>n.</i>	reputation ?erúte <i>adj.</i>
daughter-in-law fá:to mátfjo <i>n.</i>	request ?óitj <i>n.</i>
dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	resolve, settle ?itá birtfúso <i>v.</i>
day daró <i>adv.</i>	respect bóntjo <i>v.</i>
day after tomorrow gúta fifti <i>adv.</i>	respecting bóntje <i>n.</i>
day before yeasterday zi:ginéba <i>adv.</i>	rest káfo <i>n.</i>
	restrictive pronon bé'na <i>pro</i>
daughter matjina fá:to <i>n.</i>	return, go back ma:k'ótésín <i>v.</i>
daughter-in-law fá:to mátfjo <i>n.</i>	revive ?úli loló <i>n.</i>
dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	rice ruzé <i>n.</i>
day daró <i>adv.</i>	rich duré <i>adj.</i>
day after tomorrow gúta fifti <i>adv.</i>	right (direction) ?ofútfu sóna <i>adj.</i>
day before yeasterday zi:ginéba <i>adv.</i>	right liké <i>adj.</i>
daytime daró <i>adv.</i>	righteous s'il:ó <i>n.</i>
daughter matjina fá:to <i>n.</i>	rigidity ?i?únte <i>adv.</i>
	ring ?i:tf'é <i>n.</i>
daughter-in-law fá:to mátfjo <i>n.</i>	ring (bell) dawálo <i>v.</i>

dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	riport ʔiripóрте <i>v.</i>
day daró <i>adv.</i>	rise up déndó <i>v.</i>
day after tomorrow gúta fifti <i>adv.</i>	river jápe <i>n.</i>
day before yeasterday zi:ginéba <i>adv.</i>	river bank jápe jardé <i>n.</i>
daytime daró <i>adv.</i>	riverbed (dry) melá jápe <i>n.</i>
deaf mumé <i>n.</i>	road ʔog:é <i>n.</i>
daughter maṭf̣ina já.to <i>n.</i>	roast míṭfa <i>v.</i>
daughter-in-law já:to maṭfo <i>n.</i>	rock fó:le <i>n.</i>
dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	roof fudé <i>n.</i>
day daró <i>adv.</i>	room kará <i>n.</i>
day after tomorrow gúta fifti <i>adv.</i>	rooster(cook) ʔáde luk:ó <i>n.</i>
day before yeasterday zi:ginéba <i>adv.</i>	root sa:apo <i>n.</i>
daytime daró <i>adv.</i>	root ʔutsá <i>n.</i>
deaf mumé <i>n.</i>	rope wúrde <i>n.</i>
death hajé <i>n.</i>	round lank'é <i>adj.</i>
daughter maṭf̣ina já.to <i>n.</i>	rule wogá <i>n.</i>
daughter-in-law já:to maṭfo <i>n.</i>	ruminate,chew banṭje <i>n.</i>
dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	run wos':á! <i>impe.</i>
day daró <i>adv.</i>	run wós'o <i>v.</i>
day after tomorrow gúta fifti <i>adv.</i>	run away hámo <i>v.</i>
day before yeasterday zi:ginéba <i>adv.</i>	runner wos'áts <i>n.</i>
daytime daró <i>adv.</i>	running wós'e <i>n.</i>
deaf mumé <i>n.</i>	S
death haié <i>n.</i>	sacrifice ʔa:ltsó <i>n.</i>

debt galé <i>n.</i>	saddle bá:ʃe <i>n.</i>
daughter maʃina fá:to <i>n.</i>	saliva ʃúʃ <i>n.</i>
daughter-in-law fá:to máʃo <i>n.</i>	salt sogé <i>n.</i>
dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	same welbíʃ <i>adj.</i>
day daró <i>adv.</i>	sand ʃe:ʃe <i>n.</i>
day after tomorrow gúta fifti <i>adv.</i>	saw magazá <i>n.</i>
day before yeasterday zi:ginéba <i>adv.</i>	saw wood ʃódo <i>v.</i>
daytime daró <i>adv.</i>	say híyo <i>v.</i>
deaf mumé <i>n.</i>	say goodbye loʔó jesáit <i>n.</i>
death hajé <i>n.</i>	scabies haʃé <i>n.</i>
debt galé <i>n.</i>	scar katá <i>n.</i>
deceive ʔebutsúso <i>v.</i>	scatter k'áfe <i>v.</i>
daughter maʃina fá:to <i>n.</i>	scorpion gí:te <i>n.</i>
daughter-in-law fá:to máʃo <i>n.</i>	scratch gó:bo <i>v.</i>
dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	sea begéde <i>n.</i>
day daró <i>adv.</i>	season wodé <i>n.</i>
day after tomorrow gúta fifti <i>adv.</i>	search wórgo <i>v.</i>
day before yeasterday zi:ginéba <i>adv.</i>	second námʔántso <i>n.</i>
daytime daró <i>adv.</i>	see s'é:lo <i>v.</i>
deaf mumé <i>n.</i>	seed díʃa <i>n.</i>
death hajé <i>n.</i>	self béna <i>n.</i>
debt galé <i>n.</i>	sell bájso <i>v.</i>
deceive ʔebutsúso <i>v.</i>	sell bajsá <i>impe.</i>
december lá:fe <i>n.</i>	send kí:to <i>n.</i>

daughter matjína <i>já:to n.</i>	send something to someone dɛfɛ <i>v.</i>
daughter-in-law já:to mátfɔ <i>n.</i>	senile person modántos <i>n.</i>
dawn ziróso <i>adv.</i>	set a trap táto <i>v.</i>
day daró <i>adv.</i>	seven lá:p <i>n.</i>
day after tomorrow gúta fifti <i>adv.</i>	seven hundred lá:p u s'é:t <i>n.</i>
day before yeasterday zi:ginéba <i>adv.</i>	seventeen támma ne láap <i>n.</i>
daytime daró <i>adv.</i>	seventh láapántso <i>n.</i>
deaf mumé <i>n.</i>	seventy láaputámm <i>n.</i>
death hajé <i>n.</i>	sew sífo <i>v.</i>
debt galé <i>n.</i>	shadow tojá <i>adj.</i>
deceive ʔebutsúso <i>v.</i>	shake bú:lo <i>v.</i>
december lá:fe <i>n.</i>	shame ʒóje <i>n.</i>
decorate malúso <i>n.</i>	share godá <i>n.</i>
decrease dági <i>v.</i>	sharpen (knife) ʔáres <i>n.</i>
deep s'il:ó <i>adj.</i>	she ʔisi <i>pro.</i>
deepen s'i:lló <i>n.</i>	sheep dóro <i>n.</i>
deficate ʒiʔo <i>v.</i>	she-goat, nanny goat s'egá <i>n.</i>
define the meaning birtja <i>n.</i>	sheild ʒeré <i>n.</i>
demon, evil spirit gojmó /s'aláh <i>n.</i>	shell (of ground nut) ʔuró <i>n.</i>
descend, go down sulétes wudís <i>v.</i>	shelter ké:ts <i>n.</i>
descendant kalés <i>n.</i>	shin sulé <i>n.</i>
desert fanká <i>n.</i>	shine wátj'ɛ <i>v.</i>
despise lɛk'úso <i>v.</i>	shirt ʒamizé <i>n.</i>
destroy ʔúk'o <i>v.</i>	shiver, tremble kukúrso <i>n.</i>

despise lek'úso <i>v.</i>	shoe, sandal kop'á <i>n.</i>
destroy ʔúk'o <i>v.</i>	shoot (new plant) ʃilʃilʔa <i>n.</i>
diarrhea gusó <i>n.</i>	short hatá <i>adj.</i>
despise lek'úso <i>v.</i>	shorten hatúso <i>v.</i>
destroy ʔúk'o <i>v.</i>	shoulder háʃ'e <i>n.</i>
diarrhea gusó <i>n.</i>	shoulder blade <i>n.</i>
die hájo. <i>v.</i>	show béjso <i>v.</i>
despise lek'úso <i>v.</i>	shy bok'o <i>adj.</i>
destroy ʔúk'o <i>v.</i>	sick harge <i>n.</i>
diarrhea gusó <i>n.</i>	side (of something) ʔlafána <i>p.pos.</i>
die hájo. <i>v.</i>	side (of the body) lanqe <i>n.</i>
die hájótín <i>v.</i>	silent hájzo <i>v.</i>
despise lek'úso <i>v.</i>	silver k'irdé <i>n.</i>
destroy ʔúk'o <i>v.</i>	sing kírbo <i>v.</i>
diarrhea gusó <i>n.</i>	singer kirbáts <i>n.</i>
die hájo. <i>v.</i>	singing kírbe <i>n.</i>
die hájótín <i>v.</i>	sink gélo <i>v.</i>
different bille <i>adj.</i>	sink, go down s'í:mo <i>v.</i>
despise lek'úso <i>v.</i>	sit ʔút:o <i>v.</i>
destroy ʔúk'o <i>v.</i>	six hundred ʔizúp u s'é:t <i>n.</i>
diarrhea gusó <i>n.</i>	six ʔizúp <i>n.</i>
die háio. <i>v.</i>	sixteen támma ne ʔizúp <i>n.</i>
die háiótín <i>v.</i>	sixth ʔizúpántso <i>n.</i>
different bille <i>adj.</i>	sixty ʔizúp u támm <i>n.</i>

dig bó:ko v.	skeleton mæk'ète n.
despise læk'úso v.	skin of fruit ʔuró n.
destroy ʔúk'o v.	skin of man góyɛ n.
diarrhea gusó n.	skull ʔum:á mæk'ète n.
die hájo. v.	sky ʔáfe n.
die hájótín v.	slap bak'o v.
different bílle adj.	slaughter jó:k'o v.
dig bó:ko v.	slave makó n.
dig bóke adj.	sleep gého v.
despise læk'úso v.	sleeping wóje v.
destroy ʔúk'o v.	slowly gotfede adv.
diarrhea gusó n.	small chair digʔó n.
die hájo. v.	smell sɪnk'úso v.
die hájótín v.	smoke ʃ'uʔá n.
different bílle adj.	snail ɖɪnk'aro n.
dig bó:ko v.	snake jó:ʃ n.
dig bóke adj.	sneez hadíʃo v.
digging hole bok'o v.	snore hot:óro n.
despise læk'úso v.	sole túk:e gawó n.
destroy ʔúk'o v.	solving problem by discussion wó:ga v.
diarrhea gusó n.	something that gives fruit ʔá:fes n.
die hájo. v.	sometimes bi:ziná bi:zina adv.
die hájótín v.	son ʔasans' ʃá:to n.

different bille <i>adj.</i>	song kirbe <i>n.</i>
dig bó:ko <i>v.</i>	son-in-law bólla <i>n.</i>
dig bóke <i>adj.</i>	sorghum dɪfkáro <i>n.</i>
digging hole bok'o <i>v.</i>	soul ?apa /ʃenpól/ <i>n.</i>
diminish ?e:rúso <i>v.</i>	sour dó:k'o <i>adj.</i>
despise lek'úso <i>v.</i>	south ʃ'oraso'na <i>adv.</i>
destroy ?úk'o <i>v.</i>	sow, plant tu:fo <i>v.</i>
diarrhea gusó <i>n.</i>	spark weldánts <i>n.</i>
die hájo. <i>v.</i>	speech zero <i>n.</i>
die hájótín <i>v.</i>	spear tóra <i>n.</i>
different bille <i>adj.</i>	spear zugé <i>n.</i>
dig bó:ko <i>v.</i>	speak zere <i>v.</i>
dig bóke <i>adj.</i>	speed ?elúse <i>n.</i>
digging hole bok'o <i>v.</i>	spelling ?ispelíngé <i>n.</i>
diminish ?e:rúso <i>v.</i>	spend time, pass time birá <i>adv.</i>
dining room kátsa ké:ts <i>n.</i>	spider ʃayá <i>n.</i>
despise lek'úso <i>v.</i>	spider's web ʃayá gandé <i>n.</i>
destroy ?úk'o <i>v.</i>	spirit (of dead person) moítíle <i>n.</i>
diarrhea gusó <i>n.</i>	spit ʃ'úto <i>v.</i>
die hájo. <i>v.</i>	split báins <i>v.</i>
die hájótín <i>v.</i>	spoil ?í:so <i>v.</i>
different bille <i>adj.</i>	spoil of food sam:á <i>n.</i>
dig bó:ko <i>v.</i>	spoon wongá <i>n.</i>
dig bóke <i>adj.</i>	spoon (traditional) wo:ngá <i>n.</i>

digging hole bok'o v.	spread(disease, fire) k'afúte v.
diminish ʔe:rúso v.	spring ʧ'aʒó n.
dining room kátsa ké:ts n.	spy gu:ʔúzo n.
dirt, soil bu:ré saká n.	spy on s'ú:le v.
despise lek'úso v.	squat kus'úro v.
destroy ʔúk'o v.	squeak (wheel) zájk'ε v.
diarrhea gusó n.	squeeze gu:míʔa v.
die hájo v.	stab ʧ'ádo v.
die hájótín v.	stamp (with feet) yédo v.
different bílle adj.	stand ʔéso vt.
dig bó:ko v.	star s'o:línte n.
dig bóke adj.	steal kájsto v.
digging hole bok'o v.	stem pó:fo n.
diminish ʔe:rúso v.	step yep'o v.
dining room kátsa ké:ts n.	stepmother ʔáda máʧfo n.
dirt, soil bu:ré saká n.	stick kaló n.
disappear ɖabetéjn v.	stink, bad smell zé:k'o n.
discussing gí:go v.	stir work'úntse v.
ditch haró n.	stir ʔendátso v.
divide ʃágo v.	stomach gawo n.
divorce bírʧe v.	stomachache gawo hargé n.
divorce bírʧe / défe v.	stone grinding wós'a n.
doctor hakíme n.	stone maló n.
dog kená n.	story k'atʧé n.

domestic animals ké:ts méhe <i>n.</i>	straddle túk:e k'ak'i ?é?o <i>v.</i>
domesticate ?erúso <i>v.</i>	straight sú:re <i>n.</i>
donkey haré <i>n.</i>	
door dibó <i>n.</i>	stranger ?erutájes <i>n.</i>
donkey haré <i>n.</i>	straw dúpo <i>n.</i>
door dibó <i>n.</i>	straw,hey dink'á ké:ts <i>n.</i>
	steaming ?úllo <i>v.</i>
dove dolé <i>n.</i>	strength s'i:géte <i>n.</i>
donkey haré <i>n.</i>	strong s'i:gó <i>adj.</i>
door dibó <i>n.</i>	strong no ?i:?e <i>neg.</i>
dove dolé <i>n.</i>	stumble ǀubúto <i>n.</i>
down súle <i>adv.</i>	stupid person ?um:a la:fa <i>adj.</i>
donkey haré <i>n.</i>	stutter ǀod:ǀo <i>v.</i>
door dibó <i>n.</i>	subtract ǀagó <i>n.</i>
dove dolé <i>n.</i>	suck s'uns'o <i>n.</i>
down súle <i>adv.</i>	suckle baby ǀánsus <i>v.</i>
down here ye:kas <i>adv.</i>	suffer metúto <i>adj.</i>
donkey haré <i>n.</i>	sugar cane hawlé <i>n.</i>
door dibó <i>n.</i>	sun k'ó:s <i>n.</i>
dove dolé <i>n.</i>	sun set k'o:sí geláska <i>adv.</i>
down súle <i>adv.</i>	sunday wó:g:a <i>n.</i>
down here ye:kas <i>adv.</i>	sunrise k'o:sí deréska <i>adv.</i>
down there suléigas <i>pro.</i>	sunshine ?áwa po:?ó <i>n.</i>

donkey haré <i>n.</i>	surround go:gi ajke <i>v.</i>
door dibó <i>n.</i>	swallow ʔodf:ó <i>n.</i>
dove dolé <i>n.</i>	sweat tʃʷawá <i>n.</i>
down súle <i>adv.</i>	sweep fis':á <i>v.</i>
down here ye:kas <i>adv.</i>	sweet ló:ʔo <i>adj.</i>
down there suléigas <i>pro.</i>	sweet potato madáda <i>n.</i>
	swing kula <i>v.</i>
down there ye:kanas <i>adv.</i>	swelling kis'ó <i>n.</i>
donkey haré <i>n.</i>	sword gorade <i>n.</i>
door dibó <i>n.</i>	T
dove dolé <i>n.</i>	tail pitso <i>n.</i>
down súle <i>adv.</i>	take ʔefáten <i>v.</i>
down here ye:kas <i>adv.</i>	take away ʔá:mo <i>v.</i>
down there suléigas <i>pro.</i>	take revenge ʔéfo <i>v.</i>
down there ye:kanas <i>adv.</i>	taksi táske <i>n.</i>
draw (picture) ʔé:fo <i>n.</i>	taste fatʃ'ó <i>n.</i>
donkey haré <i>n.</i>	taste fó:tʃó <i>v.</i>
door dibó <i>n.</i>	teach tamartso <i>v.</i>
dove dolé <i>n.</i>	teacher ʔastamáre <i>n.</i>
down súle <i>adv.</i>	tear dá:ge <i>v.</i>
down here ye:kas <i>adv.</i>	tell káfo <i>v.</i>
down there suléigas <i>pro.</i>	ten támm <i>n.</i>
down there ye:kanas <i>adv.</i>	tenth támmántso <i>n.</i>
draw (picture) ʔé:fo <i>n.</i>	termite harádo <i>n.</i>

draw water gó:tfo v.	termite hill dú:na n.
donkey haré n.	thank galáta n.
door dibó n.	that soja / so / pro.
dove dolé n.	the year before last year zinkóbere adv.
down súle adv.	their ú pro.
down here ye:kas adv.	theirs úmá:ts p.pro.
down there suléigas pro.	them ?úsúná pro.
down there ye:kanas adv.	there sójga pro.
draw (picture) ?é:fo n.	there soyga pro.
draw water gó:tfo v.	there is no bá?e neg.
dream ?abúso / ?onálo n.	these háidas' pro.
donkey haré n.	they ?úsúní pro.
door dibó n.	thick ?adóns'a adj.
dove dolé n.	thief kájso n.
down súle adv.	thigh bunk'á n.
down here ye:kas adv.	thin heigó adj.
down there suléigas pro.	thing kafó adv.
down there ye:kanas adv.	think mófo v.
draw (picture) ?é:fo n.	third háyz ántso n.
draw water gó:tfo v.	thirst hatfuto v.
dream ?abúso / ?onálo n.	thirteen támma ne háyts n.
dress máiso n.	thirty háyts i támm n.
donkey haré n.	thirty haj?itam n.

door dibó <i>n.</i>	this ha <i>pro.</i>
dove dolé <i>n.</i>	thorn ʔakula <i>n.</i>
down súle <i>adv.</i>	those sóidas' <i>pro.</i>
down here ye:kas <i>adv.</i>	thousand biz:í biyá <i>n.</i>
down there suléigas <i>pro.</i>	thread kiré <i>n.</i>
down there ye:kanas <i>adv.</i>	threaten ʒofú:fo <i>v.</i>
draw (picture) ʔé:fo <i>n.</i>	three háyts <i>n.</i>
draw water gó:tfo <i>v.</i>	three hundred háyts i s'é:t <i>n.</i>
dream ʔabúso / ʒoqálo <i>n.</i>	thresh, beat (grain) bú:ko <i>v.</i>
dress májso <i>n.</i>	threshing floor balé <i>n.</i>
drink uf:á <i>impe.</i>	throat wolló <i>n.</i>
donkey haré <i>n.</i>	throw ʔitfáten <i>v.</i>
door dibó <i>n.</i>	throwing a stick ʒibítfo <i>n.</i>
dove dolé <i>n.</i>	thunder weldfánt <i>n.</i>
down súle <i>adv.</i>	tie ʔatf'á <i>impe.</i>
down here ye:kas <i>adv.</i>	tiger mahé <i>n.</i>
down there suléigas <i>pro.</i>	tighten s'gúso <i>v.</i>
down there ye:kanas <i>adv.</i>	timber s'awlá <i>n.</i>
draw (picture) ʔé:fo <i>n.</i>	time wodá <i>n.</i>
draw water gó:tfo <i>v.</i>	to cloth ma:ʔo <i>inf.</i>
dream ʔabúso / ʒoqálo <i>n.</i>	to eat míʔo <i>v.</i>
dress májso <i>n.</i>	to give ʔíngo <i>inf.</i>
drink uf:á <i>impe.</i>	to go hámo <i>v.</i>
drink ʔufó <i>n.</i>	to her ísiró <i>pro.</i>

drought, famine s'ór <i>n.</i>	to him ésúró <i>pro.</i>
dry out (clothes) mélatsáten <i>v.</i>	to me táaró <i>pro.</i>
dry season boné <i>n.</i>	to pay ṭ'ígo <i>v.</i>
dry out (clothes) mélatsáten <i>v.</i>	to sell bájso <i>inf.</i>
dry season boné <i>n.</i>	to them úsúró <i>pro.</i>
dry up, evaporate fúrats <i>v.</i>	to think módo <i>inf.</i>
dry out (clothes) mélatsáten <i>v.</i>	to tie ʔátʃ'a <i>inf.</i>
dry season boné <i>n.</i>	to us níro <i>pro.</i>
dry up, evaporate fúrats <i>v.</i>	to us núuró <i>pro.</i>
dust muk'úla <i>n.</i>	to whistle zájk'e <i>inf.</i>
dry out (clothes) mélatsáten <i>v.</i>	to whom o:désún <i>Int.p.</i>
dry season boné <i>n.</i>	to you wútúró <i>pro.</i>
dry up, evaporate fúrats <i>v.</i>	to you néeró <i>pro.</i>
dust muk'úla <i>n.</i>	tobacco tambó <i>n.</i>
dwarf hatá <i>adj.</i>	today hánzo <i>adv.</i>
dry out (clothes) mélatsáten <i>v.</i>	toe túk:e gilíʔa <i>n.</i>
dry season boné <i>n.</i>	together wolá <i>n.</i>
dry up, evaporate fúrats <i>v.</i>	toilet ʃíʃ ké:ts <i>n.</i>
dust muk'úla <i>n.</i>	tomato timé <i>n.</i>
dwarf hatá <i>adj.</i>	tomorrow gúta <i>adv.</i>
dwell ʔárdo <i>v.</i>	tongue ins'íre <i>n.</i>
E	tongue ʔins'íre <i>n.</i>
eagle s'iló <i>n.</i>	tooth ʔátʃ <i>n.</i>
ear wáye <i>n.</i>	top ʔafána <i>p.pos.</i>

ear wax wáye fíj <i>n.</i>	tortoise gég:o <i>n.</i>
earth ?ál:a <i>n.</i>	touch somebody with hands ?elá <i>v.</i>
east yi:resóna <i>adv.</i>	towards here hanabagas <i>adv.</i>
earth ?ál:a <i>n.</i>	towards there sonabagas <i>adv.</i>
east yi:resóna <i>adv.</i>	towards(towards the house) bé:so <i>p.pos.</i>
eat míyo <i>v.</i>	town katama <i>n.</i>
earth ?ál:a <i>n.</i>	traditional healer daláts <i>n.</i>
east yi:resóna <i>adv.</i>	tradition, custom wó:ga <i>n.</i>
eat míyo <i>v.</i>	traitor kádfats <i>n.</i>
eating cereals ?óg:e <i>v.</i>	trap taté <i>n.</i>
edge lafa <i>p.pos.</i>	travel hamátésín <i>v.</i>
education timírte <i>n.</i>	traveler hantáts <i>n.</i>
egg p'up'úle <i>n.</i>	tree míns'á <i>n.</i>
eggshell p'up'úle ?uró <i>n.</i>	tribe dáp'o <i>n.</i>
eight lak:útfje <i>n.</i>	tribute gi:rá <i>n.</i>
eight hundred lak:útfje s'é:t <i>n.</i>	trousers bolál:e <i>n.</i>
eighth lak:útfjántso <i>n.</i>	true ?á:de <i>adj.</i>
eighty lak:útfje tám <i>n.</i>	truth ?á:de <i>adj.</i>
elbow kirne <i>n.</i>	try mángo <i>v.</i>
	trying to hide yourself ?ap:a <i>n.</i>
elder mansa <i>adj.</i>	tumer kis'ó <i>n.</i>
elder brother bárts <i>n.</i>	turn round gínda mák'o <i>v.</i>
elder sister ?angó <i>n.</i>	turnover gangále / kondóro/ <i>v.</i>

elephant záka <i>n.</i>	twelve támma ne nám? <i>n.</i>
elephant's tooth záka ʔátʃ <i>n.</i>	twenty nam? i tam <i>n.</i>
elephant's trunk trompe za:lé <i>n.</i>	twenty nam?itam <i>n.</i>
eleven támma ne biz:ó <i>n.</i>	twenty one nam? i tamma ne biz:ó <i>n.</i>
embrace ʔudúmo <i>v.</i>	twenty two nam? i tamma ne nám? <i>n.</i>
end ʔá:lo <i>n.</i>	two nám? <i>n.</i>
enemy ʔollá <i>n.</i>	twohundred nám? i s'é:t <i>n.</i>
enlarge fatʃúso <i>n.</i>	U
enough ma:kí <i>adj.</i>	ulcer (leg) tuké harguts <i>n.</i>
enter, go in gelátésín <i>v.</i>	umbilical cord bitsa <i>n.</i>
entrance hut dibó <i>n.</i>	uncover gufántso <i>v.</i>
escape ʔáte <i>v.</i>	under (of something) ʔomóna <i>p.pos.</i>
every morning ketá keta <i>adv.</i>	under ʔõ:mó <i>prep.</i>
every Saturday k'e:rá k'e:ra <i>adv.</i>	undress ʔaf:ila káso <i>v.</i>
every sundy wog:á wog:a <i>adv.</i>	unfertile land lá:fa ʔollá <i>n.</i>
everybody ʔúda ʔátsi <i>adj.</i>	unity bízunte <i>n.</i>
everything ʔudámʃaj <i>adj.</i>	unload wútse <i>v.</i>
everywhere ʔudá ʃaʔa <i>adj.</i>	untie birtʃá <i>v.</i>
excrement ʃíʃ <i>n.</i>	unwrap birtʃe <i>v.</i>
expensive ʔalʔó <i>adj.</i>	up ʔafána <i>p.pos.</i>
explain loʔétsi kafó <i>n.</i>	up wójga <i>adv.</i>
eye ʔá:fe <i>n.</i>	

F	up there wóigas <i>pro.</i>
face ʔafé <i>n.</i>	upward ʔéla <i>prep.</i>
fade toliníje <i>v.</i>	upper arm ʔas'a <i>n.</i>
fail ʔúm:bo <i>v.</i>	upper grinding stone madě <i>n.</i>
faint bená botó <i>n.</i>	urinate bíʔe <i>v.</i>
fall ʔunbótésín <i>v.</i>	urine bíʔ <i>n.</i>
family kará géra <i>n.</i>	us núná <i>pro.</i>
far há:ko <i>adj.</i>	useless barró <i>n.</i>
	usually ʔudá wode <i>adv.</i>
farmer wotáts <i>n.</i>	V
farming wó:ta wó:to <i>n.</i>	valley zale <i>n.</i>
fart soʔó <i>v.</i>	
fast ʔéle <i>adv.</i>	very small piece s'ík':i <i>adj.</i>
father ʔáda <i>n.</i>	village zú:ma <i>n.</i>
father-in-law ʔáde ʔáda <i>n.</i>	vision ʔe:ʒó <i>n.</i>
father's brother (uncle) ʔawústo <i>n.</i>	voice ʔúk:o <i>n.</i>
father's sister (aunt) ʔángo <i>n.</i>	vomit ʔʔófo <i>v.</i>
fatherhood ʔádéte <i>n.</i>	vulture ʔaḅkó <i>n.</i>
feach fire wood wúns'a <i>v.</i>	
fear ʒófe <i>n.</i>	W
feather sé:lo <i>n.</i>	waist ɗabe <i>n.</i>
feed animals múuso <i>v.</i>	wait kó:ro <i>v.</i>
feel bíʔó <i>n.</i>	wake up ɗéndo <i>v.</i>
fellow-wife, co-wife má:ʔfo la:go <i>n.</i>	walk hamo <i>v.</i>

female goat s'éga <i>n.</i>	walker hamáts <i>n.</i>
fence k'εtjé <i>n.</i>	wall zala <i>n.</i>
fence in k'εtjo <i>v.</i>	want, desire wérgo <i>v.</i>
fertile soil modó ʔollá <i>n.</i>	war ʔollúta <i>n.</i>
fever gala herá <i>n.</i>	warm bína <i>adj.</i>
few s'ik'únda <i>adj.</i>	wash fof <i>v.</i>
few tʃ'i:kúnda <i>adj.</i>	wash (colthes ,utensils) ʃóge <i>v.</i>
few ʔerálo <i>adj.</i>	wash oneself ʃogúto <i>n.</i>
field gá:da <i>n.</i>	water wá:tse <i>n.</i>
fifteen támma ne ʔiʃitj <i>n.</i>	water hole wa:tsewulá <i>n.</i>
fifth ʔiʃitjántso <i>n.</i>	weak lá:fa <i>adj.</i>
fifty ʔiʃitj i támm <i>n.</i>	weakness lá:fite <i>n.</i>
fig tree dójfa <i>n.</i>	weave ʔóitj:o <i>v.</i>
fight ʔas'úto <i>v.</i>	weaver zálʔi <i>n.</i>
fill kúmo <i>v.</i>	wedding ʔulé <i>n.</i>
find dem:á <i>impe.</i>	weed hó:do <i>v.</i>
find démo <i>v.</i>	weeds ho:dé <i>n.</i>
finger gilʔa <i>n.</i>	weight dé:do <i>n.</i>
finger nail s'uŋké <i>n.</i>	well lóʔa <i>adv.</i>
finish lúdo <i>v.</i>	well mintj'é <i>n.</i>
fire budó <i>n.</i>	west kudosóna <i>adv.</i>
fire place tinó <i>n.</i>	wet ʒil:a <i>adj.</i>
firewood wuns'a <i>n.</i>	what? ʔalimá <i>pro.</i>
first biz:ántso <i>n.</i>	when? ʔónde <i>pro.</i>

first born kóiro fá:to <i>n.</i>	where anná <i>Int.p.</i>
fish molé <i>n.</i>	where? ?an:á <i>pro.</i>
fish bone gájme <i>n.</i>	which anás <i>Int.p.</i>
fish trap mans'ák'o <i>n.</i>	which one? ?ánas <i>pro.</i>
fishing net gité <i>n.</i>	whip k'urs'é <i>n.</i>
five ?ifítʃ <i>n.</i>	whistle zaik'é! <i>impe.</i>
five hundred ?ifítʃ i s'é:t <i>n.</i>	whistle záik'e <i>v.</i>
flatten lotʃé <i>n.</i>	white bós'e <i>adj.</i>
flea ɸidé <i>n.</i>	white man botsáts <i>n.</i>
float ?olálo <i>v.</i>	whiteness bošite <i>n.</i>
flock (of sheep,goats) ?o:de <i>n.</i>	who? ?o:dé <i>pro.</i>
flood diʔó <i>n.</i>	whole kumúts <i>adj.</i>
floor ?ál:a <i>n.</i>	whom o:dés <i>Int.p.</i>
flour dí:la <i>n.</i>	why? aluté <i>Int.p.</i>
flow gufétm <i>v.</i>	why? ?a:luté <i>pro.</i>
flow wúʔo/ díʔo/ <i>v.</i>	widen fatʃúso <i>v.</i>
flower puǰé <i>n.</i>	widow ?adáj bádes matʃína <i>n.</i>
flowering of cabbage s'iló <i>v.</i>	widower matʃój bádes ?ats <i>n.</i>
flowing wúhe <i>v.</i>	width fatʃíte <i>n.</i>
fly parída <i>v.</i>	wife matʃ'ó <i>n.</i>
fly wuzíns'e <i>n.</i>	wild animal mehé <i>n.</i>
fog ?ul:úngo <i>n.</i>	wind ?ágets <i>n.</i>
follow ka:ó! <i>impe.</i>	window dibó <i>n.</i>
follow kál:o <i>v.</i>	wing pangé <i>n.</i>

food kátsa <i>n.</i>	wipe off (excreta) ʔutʃ'ó (fís'ε) <i>n.</i>
foot túk:e <i>n.</i>	wisdom ʃintʃíta <i>n.</i>
footprint (human) kofá <i>n.</i>	witchcraft la:há <i>n.</i>
for who ʔo:dés <i>Int.p.</i>	with (with his friends) bé:lágira <i>p.pos</i>
fore arm k'asiné <i>n.</i>	with who o:dérán <i>Int.p.</i>
forehead sí:nó <i>n.</i>	without -bálas <i>neg.</i>
forest werá /honá/ murá/ karé/ <i>n.</i>	woman bif:ó <i>n.</i>
forge hafú:fo <i>n.</i>	womanhood matʃúnte <i>n.</i>
forget bóto <i>v.</i>	women bá:ʃe <i>n.</i>
forward lank'é <i>prep.</i>	wood mins'á <i>n.</i>
four ʔóid <i>n.</i>	work káb:e <i>n.</i>
four hundred ʔóid i s'é:t <i>n.</i>	work káb:o <i>v.</i>
fourteen támma ne ʔóid <i>n.</i>	world ʔalla/ gadé/ <i>n.</i>
fourth ʔóid ántso <i>n.</i>	worm ʔóka <i>n.</i>
fourty ʔóid i támm <i>n.</i>	wound (animal) hargudo <i>v.</i>
freez tója <i>adj.</i>	wrap up s'ás'e <i>v.</i>
friend lag:ó <i>n.</i>	wrong ʔerbé <i>adj.</i>
friend hood lág:únte <i>n.</i>	
frighten ʒáfo <i>v.</i>	Y
frog ʔok':áro <i>n.</i>	yawn jaʔúnto <i>n.</i>
from káfá <i>prep.</i>	year láits <i>adv.</i>
from who o:dékófán <i>Int.p.</i>	yellow galúnda <i>adj.</i>
front (of something) birána <i>p.pos.</i>	yes hó <i>adv.</i>

fruit mínsa ʔá:fe <i>n.</i>	yesterday zi:gíne <i>adv.</i>
full kumúts <i>adj.</i>	you néná <i>pro.</i>
full moon ʔagún:a gubé <i>n.</i>	you(PL) wútúná <i>obj. pro.</i>
funeral ju:fó <i>n.</i>	you (PL) wútúní <i>obj. pro.</i>
fur pelage ʔitsinke <i>n.</i>	young man naʔúntis <i>n.</i>
G	younger brother ʔangus <i>n.</i>
game na:ró <i>n.</i>	younger sister baró <i>n.</i>
garbage bú:re <i>n.</i>	your ná <i>pro.</i>
garden gú:ra <i>n.</i>	your né <i>pro.</i>
garlic tú:ma <i>n.</i>	your wú <i>pro.</i>
gather ʃi:fo <i>v.</i>	yours wúmá:ts <i>p. pro.</i>
get dě:nge <i>v.</i>	your némá:ts <i>p. pro.</i>
get kará <i>n.</i>	Z
get rest katsá <i>v.</i>	zebra faró <i>n.</i>
get rid of ʔo:tso <i>v.</i>	
get well, recover loló <i>n.</i>	
obtain démo <i>v.</i>	
ghost kas'únts <i>n.</i>	
giant mago zambála <i>adj.</i>	
gift ʔingó <i>n.</i>	
girl matf:ína /bif:á <i>n.</i>	
girlhood bif:únte <i>n.</i>	
give ʔingá <i>impe.</i>	
give ʔingo <i>v.</i>	

green **gíŋa** *adj.*

green mamba **zargé** *n.*

greeting **sáro** *v.*

grieve **kóima** *n.*

grind **gá:ŋ'o** *v.*

grinding stone **wos'á** *n.*

groom **ŋiŋi** *n.*

ground, land **ŋo:lá** *n.*

groundnut **lewzé** *n.*

grow **diŋá** *v.*

grow up **diŋ'ó** *n.*

grunt (from effort) **núno** *v.*

gun **bakáka** *n.*

gust, visitor **ŋimats** *n.*

