

**The Grammar of Girra**

(A Lowland East Cushitic Language of Ethiopia)

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## **Abstract**

This study examines the grammatical description and provides a descriptive discussion, analysis of the whole grammar of the Girirra. It attempts to describe the core components of linguistics such as phonology, morphology, and syntax. To carry out this study, the Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2010a and b Vol. I) and I: A guide for Field Linguistics, (Payne 1997) is predominately employed as a theoretical framework. Although the data collection of the study was focused on planned elicited data, attention was also given to text data, which consists of free narratives. In other words, in addition to elicited data i.e. controlled and limited, uncontrolled and open-ended text data like animal tales, tales of men, proverbs, and riddles have been collected and used to carry out the study. Thus, the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the language have been described based on its own terms, rather than trying to impose a particular theoretical model on the target language.

In light of the above background, different components of phonology such as phoneme, phonotactics, syllable, and phonological processes have been identified and discussed. Inflectional and derivational morphology of the noun and verb have been explored. Different inflectional and derivational affixes of nouns have been identified and discussed. Of these, case, number, definiteness, gender, agent noun, verbal noun, action noun, and result noun are the major ones. Seven and twelve distinct categories of subject/object pronoun and possessive pronoun have been identified and examined respectively. Different components of verb morphology such as agreement, aspect, tense and mood have been properly addressed. Negative in verb is also treated. Verb derivations including causative, passive, reciprocal and inchoative have been considered. Likewise, predicate nominal tense-less copula clause, past copula and existential copula clauses been identified and discussed. Major components of adjectives have been addressed. They are semantic types, attributive adjective, predicate adjective, reduplication, inflection, and derivation of adjectives. Similarly, under syntax phrases, clauses interrogatives and word order have been examined. In general, this study may be used as references and as points of departure for further research to enrich the existing knowledge of the Lowland East Cushitic. The study may also help to develop literacy materials for the speech community to use and maintain their language.

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## List of abbreviations and symbols

ABL	ablative marker
ABS	abstract noun
ACC	accusative
ACN	action noun
adj	adjective
ADJR	adjectivizer
adv.	adverb
AGN	agentive noun
ALL	allative
AUX	auxiliary
C	consonant
CA	core argument
CAUS <sub>1</sub>	single causative
CAUS <sub>2</sub>	double causative
cnj	conjunction
CNV	converb
COM	commutative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CSA	Central Statics Agency
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIST	distal
DU	dual
ej	ejective
EPN	epenthesis
ERA	Ethiopian Road Authority
F	feminine

FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GIS	geographical information system
H	high
IMP	imperative
INCH	inchoative
INF	infinitive
INJ	interjection
INST	instrumental (al)
IPFV	imperfective
JUS	jussive
L	low
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MC	main clause
MN	manner noun
MoWIE	Ministry of Water Irrigation and Energy
n.	noun
NEG	negative
NEGC	negative clause
NMLZ	nominalizer
Ø	zero morpheme
OBJ	object
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PASS	passive
PM	potential mood
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	postposition

PRED	predicative
PROG	progressive
pron.	Pronoun
PROX	proximal
PRS	present
PST	past
Q	question mark
RECP	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RN	result noun
S	singular
SF	surface form
SBJ	subject
UF	underlying form
v.	verb
Vd	voiced
Vl	voiceless
VN	verbal noun
VOC	vocative
VP	verbal phrase
-	Morpheme boundary or Syllable breaks
*	ungrammatical
◦	devoiced segment
•	syllable boundary
-	morpheme boundary
//	phonemic transcription
[ ]	phonetic transcription, syntactic constituent
1, 2, 3	first, second and third person

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

#### 1.1. The *Girirra* People

According to elders and clan leaders (ugaas) of the Girirra people, the term Girirra was used for the first time by Maggarre/Miggirre. Maggarre/Miggirre, the ancestor of the current Girirra people, named himself as Girirra to mean ‘not shivering’, ‘brave’ or ‘courageous’ person. An ancestor of Girirra, Maggarre possessed six children. They are *Abdala*, *Umar*, *Guudile*, *Gaalama*, *Wayaan*, and *Hefeey*. Of these children, *Gaalama* left his birthplace and went to Bale and Arsi the current zones of Oromia Regional State while *Wayaan* left his birthplace Elkarre and went to Somalia. Nevertheless, *Hefeey* died at a young age. The rest three children (*Abdala*, *Umar*, and *Guudle*) of Maggarre are the ancestors of the current Girirra who resided in Elkarre.

According to Banti (2005:808) Girirra is “[...] a little-known Somali tribe whose main group lives near Elkäre between the Wabi Jaballe and the Weyb in present-day southern Oromia.” However, my consultants from Girirra do not agree with the claim that considers Girirra as one of the Somali tribes. On the contrary, some of them claim that they came from Yemen through Afar while some of them argue that they came from the present Afar Region. Due to these contradictory statements, the question of origin of Girirra requires further investigation.

Thus, the Girirra people call themselves Girirra/Girirro and their language Afgirirra/Girirro (literally mouth of Girard/Girirro to mean Girirra/Girirro Language). The neighboring people, Somali and Oromo, also refer to the language and the people as Girirra. Due to this, the researcher prefers to use the term Girirra to refer to the language and the people.

The Girirra people live in the Somali Regional State of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, more specifically in the Elkhart district 895 kilometers to the South East of Addis Ababa. Karre is the administrative seat or the capital of the Elkarre district. Elkarre district comprises 13 *kebeles* (villages). These include *Karre*, *Awuragay/Elbar*, *Elwood*, *Dartfoora*, *Adamo*, *Towely*, *Badoo/Masale*, *Uunko*, *Harbukura*, *Kuturi*, *Helmado*, *Guloolo*, and *Šakisa*. The Girirra people reside in ten of these *Kebeles*. Somali reside in two *Kebeles* (*Uunko* and *Maslee*) and Oromo reside in one *Kebele* (*Šakisa*). Moreover, *Dartfoora*, *Harbukura*, and

*Kuturi*(cf. Map 2) are not indicated in the map, due to the fact that these kebeles ‘villages’ are recently formed or included to the Elkarre district for administrative purposes.

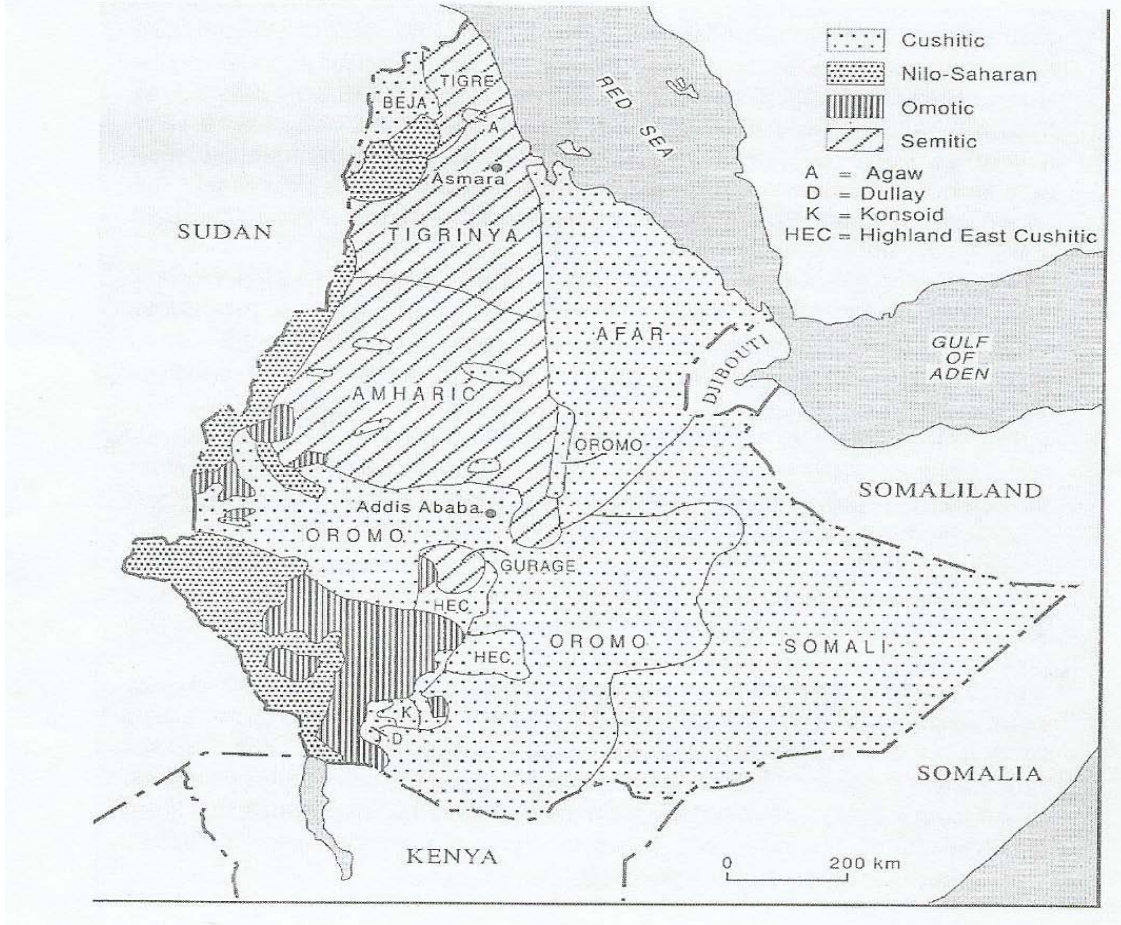
The number of the Girard people is not included under the name Girard in any regular reports of the Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia. It can be assumed that the Girirra people are considered in the census either to be Somali or Oromo. Nevertheless, Abdurahim (1993:1) reports that the population of the Girard people is estimated to be over 100,000. Moreover, based on the summary of UNFPA (The United Nations Population Fund), (2008:73) and Statistical Report of the 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, however, indicates that Elkarre/Serer woreda, the homeland of Girirra people has 57,718 dwellers. Of these dwellers, Somali and Oromo live in two *keels* and one *keeled* of the district respectively. Thus, the number of this people can be estimated not to exceed 57 thousand.

The Elkarre district, the homeland of the Girard people, is located in Somali Regional State and surrounded by the speakers of Somali in the East, North and in the South and by the Oromo in the South and West. Thus, the Girirra speaking peoples reside on the border of Somali and Oromo speaking peoples. It also shares boundary with Aafduube (unclassified) language predominately spoken in West Imi district of Somali Regional State in the North. In other words, Girirra is spoken with the neighboring of Somali, Oromo, and Aafduube. Please refer to map 1 and 2 for major language families in Ethiopia and geographical location of Somali Regional State along with Elkarre district, the homeland of Girirra speakers.

# Maps

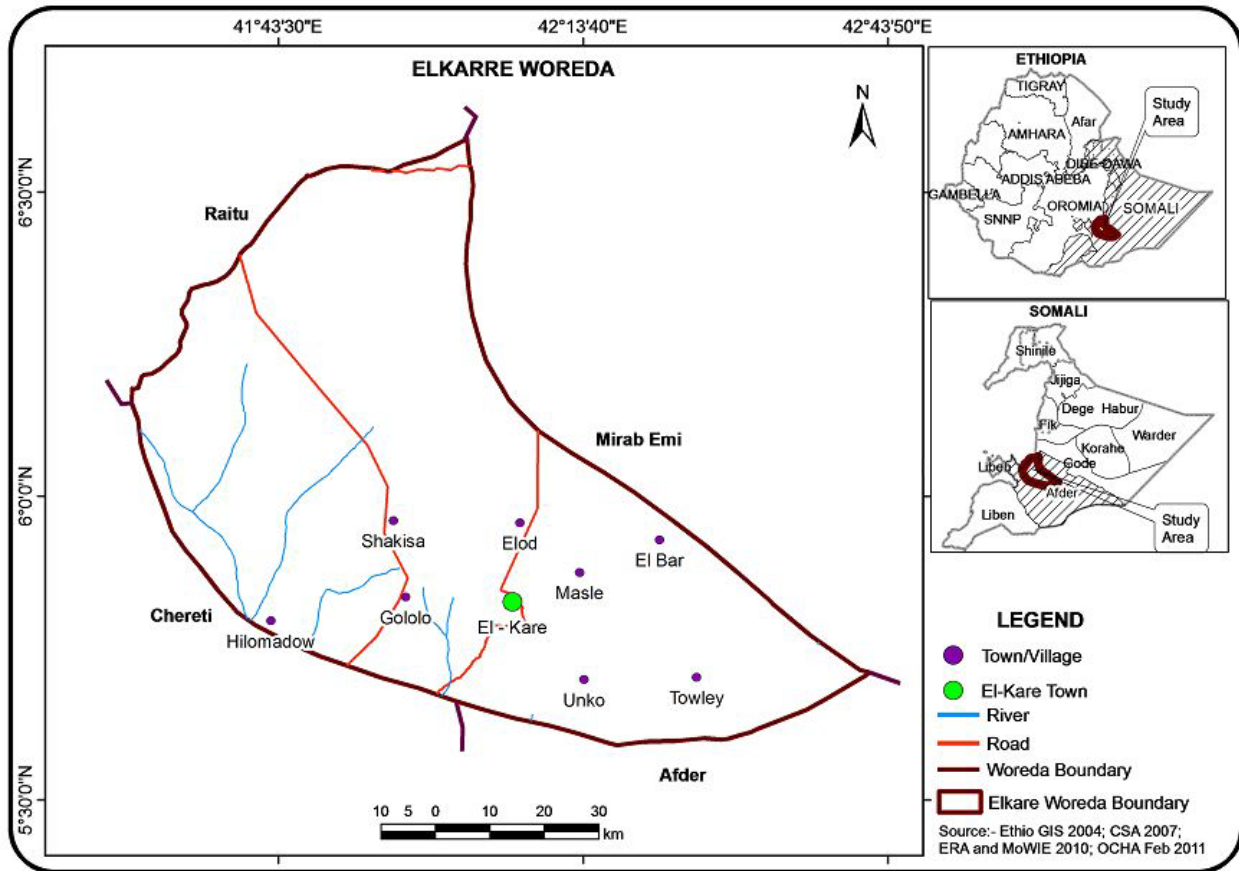
## Major language families in Ethiopia

Source: Hayward (1995:7)



Map 1: Major language families in Ethiopia

Map 2: The Location of the study area El-karre woreda, Somali region, Ethiopia



Sources: Central Statics Agency (CSA), 2007;Ethiopian Road Authority (ERA), 2010

Ministry of Water Irrigation and Energy (MoWIE), 2010

Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (*OCHA*), 2011

As can be seen from the above maps, Elkare the homeland of the Girirra people shares boundaries with speakers of Somali, Oromo, and Aafduube (spoken in Mirab Emi). Although the name of the district and its town is referred as El-karri in map 2, the local administrative body and the Girirra people call the administrative district and its town as El-karre and Karre respectively.

The Girirra are mainly agro-pastoralists. Their main agricultural products are maize, barley, sorghum, teff and different kinds of fruits such as orange and banana. Besides farming, most of the Girirra people rear domestic animals like cattle, camels, goats, mules, and sheep. Their staple food is porridge, made of barley or corn and they regularly drink milk, coffee, and tea.

All Girirra are followers of Islam. According to Abdurahim (1993:2), most of the Girirra people are farmers; however, some of them are tanners, blacksmiths, or potters. The engagement of the Girirra people in such different activities has resulted in stigma attached to being a craftsman. Due to this, the Girirra people are somehow despised and ostracized by the Somali and Oromo people living around them. This situation forced some of the Girirra to avoid the society that despises them and to form their own identity isolated from their surroundings. On the other hand, some of the population ended up in self-denial by identifying themselves as either a Somali or an Oromo hiding their being Girirra. Marriage with a Girirra people was also strictly forbidden for Somali or Oromo and a Girirra boy or a girl has to look for his/her native spouse.

These social and economic factors forced them to submit to the surrounding speech communities Somali or Oromo. As the result of this, they switch their language use and adapt to the Somali or Oromo language when communicating with Oromo and Somali speakers.

The Girirra people have ugaas (clan leader) who has the power over certain issues of the speech community. For example, he has the power to settle issues like tribal conflicts and disputes by using community participation. In the case of crisis, he calls the general assembly to discuss and resolve the problems encountered by them. As stated by Askale (1994:1), The Girirra has two meeting places: Obowu-sanbur (for worship) and Baddana (for other social activities). Presently, however, both of them are practiced only at Baddana. The people conduct ritual ceremony once in a year at Baddana. During this ceremony, a person who is given a Sheriif title is only responsible to give blessing on the occasion. This person does not belong to the Girirra clan but rather belongs to Somali clan. Askale (1994:1), also points out that the Girirra has forecasters who warn the tribal leader of imminent dangers. The tribal leader calls the assembly and informs them about the situation as soon as he gets information from the forecasters.

## **1.2. The Girirra language and the state of its endangerment**

According to Abdurahim (1993:1), “Girirra is assumed to belong to the Cushitic language family. Characteristically, it may be grouped under the Lowland East Cushitic sub-family along with languages like Oromo, Somali Afar, and Saho.”

Blench (2006:4) also carried out a classification of Afro-Asiatic languages. In this classification, he subsumed the language known as *Girirra* under the *Cushitic* family of Afro-Asiatic super-

family. Furthermore, he classified this language under the Lowland East Cushitic group of language. He labels Girirra as an ‘unclassified’ language under Lowland East Cushitic sub-groups along with Afar-Saho, Somali, and Oromoid. However, he did not go further beyond this classification. Although he left further classification, his proposal clearly puts Girard as one of the components of the Lowland East Cushitic sub-family.

Someone, on the other hand, may argue the other way round; that is, he/she may claim that Girirra should be considered as one of the Somali dialects or varieties. However, the present researcher could not find rational explanation given to accept Girirra as a dialect of Somali. Previous works done on Somali in general, and on the dialects of Somali in particular, do not include Girirra (cf. Lamberti, 1984; Paster, 2006; Saeed, 1987) as a dialect of Somali. For instance, Lamberti (1984:164) classifies Somali dialects into five or six dialectal groups that include:

1. The Northern Somali dialects, which apply the official language of the Somali Democratic Republic,
2. The Benaadir dialects, which are spoken along the coast of Southern Somalia,
3. The Asharaaf dialects which are spoken only in Mogadishu’s Shangaani quarter and in the district of Merka,
4. The *Maay* dialects, which are the usual medium of the former *Upper Juba*, of Lower *Shabelle* and partially of *Lower Juba*,
5. The *Digil* dialects are scattered here and there all over the *Maay* speaking territory. In spite of many common features, these dialects are quite heterogeneous. The dialectal group consists of *Af-Tunni*, *Af-Daborre*, *Af-Garre*, and perhaps *Af-Jiddu*, which however could be also classified as the sixth dialectal group of *Somali*.

Likewise, Banti, (2010:693) gives lists of Somali dialects. These are: (1) The Northern Somali, the *Benaadir* and the so-called *Asharaaf* dialects (2) The *Maay* dialects, (3) A group of rather diverse dialects and the *Boni dialects*, (4) *Rendile*, (5) *Bayso* and (6) Girirra (spoken by a small group of farmers and pastoralists near Elkarre).

In the above classification, Lamberti (1983:164-80) does not mention Girirra at all or did not consider Girirra whether it is a dialect or not. Nevertheless, he treats *Maay* as one of the dialects of Somali. Paster (2006:73-5), however, describes the *Maay* as a language of Southern *Somalia*. Although Banti, (2010:693) groups Girirra as one of the dialects of Somali, reasons were not given for this classification. The above proposals indicate that there is no total agreement among the scholars on the classification of the Somali dialects. Moreover, “[t]here exists no comprehensive study on Somali and *Maay* dialects, and in fact the question of whether Somali and *Maay* represent dialects of the same language or different languages entirely has not been resolved [...] (Paster, 2006:73).” Saeed (1987:2) claims that cited in Paster (2006:73)[...]“since what are some times described as Somali dialects (including *Maay* dialects) are in some cases mutually unintelligible”. This reveals that Somali dialects are not yet studied in detail.

Furthermore, native speakers of Girirra claim that the three languages (Girirra, Somali, and Oromo) are not mutually intelligible. The inverse is also true i.e. monolingual Somali or Oromo cannot understand Girirra. In other words, monolingual Girirra, Somali, and Oromo cannot understand each other. Regarding this (Crystal 2003:19) points out that “on purely linguistics grounds, two speech systems are considered to be dialects of the same language if they are (predominately) mutually intelligible.” Conversely, this means on purely linguistics grounds, two speech systems are considered a different languages if they are (predominately) mutually unintelligible. Although further investigation is required, the claim of the Girirra speakers, the observation of the researcher during the data collection, and the absence of the Girirra in the previous studies of Somali dialects, may lead us to conclude that Girirra is a language rather than a dialect of Somali.

Regarding the classification of Girirra, different factors and proposals are considered. Of these, geographical location and researchers proposals can be taken as the major ones. That is to say, Somali, Oromo and Warradube (unclassified) language speakers, surround the Girirra people. Its geographical proximity to these languages and other proposals (Abdurahim, 1993 and Blench, 2006) that have been mentioned in the previous discussion, are somewhat convincing to classify this language under Cushitic language family. Thus, the classification of Girirra, however, is not considered as the objectives of this study; we may propose Girirra as one of the components of the Lowland East Cushitic family.

Regarding, modern education in Girirra up to 2012/13 academic calendar, 42 Alternative Basic Education School (grade 1-4), 14 First Cycle Primary School (grade 5-8), and 1 High School (grade 9-11) have been established. In all the villages of the Girirra, at least one Alternative Basic Education School except in two villages (Uunko and Kutari) has been established. In all these schools more than 19,000 children are attending modern education in 2005 (E.C) academic calendar. Nevertheless, all these children are obliged to attend their education only in Somali language. They have no chance to attend education using their mother tongue, Girirra.

According to (Abdurahim, 1993:1) the dominance of the surrounding languages, influence some native speakers of Girirra to switch their mother tongues to Somali or Oromo. The current influences of the neighboring languages on Girirra gradually lead to its endangerment. In other words, the current prevailing situations help us to deduce that in the coming few years, it may become one of endangered languages of Ethiopia, which in turn calls for linguistic documentation. He also expresses the situation of this language as,

*The writer believes that it is important to record this language, before, it is absorbed by the surrounding dominant languages; a process which has already began to show some signs one among these signs is the fact that the new generation is shifting its language to the dominant ones. Even the elders have started using their mother tongue for very limited purposes in very limited places (Abdurahim 1993:1).*

The above statements clearly indicate that how Girirra is going to be endangered language in the coming few years, which requires urgent and appropriate documentation. Abdurahim also (1993:2) observes that "... all members of the Girirra community are bilingual in Somali and Oromo languages" which implies that only a few children may learn the Girirra language as their mother tongue at home. The chances of the remaining children are becoming multilingual in Girirra, Somali and Oromo languages. In this regard, Payne (1997:16) also makes a similar claim that,

*"If there are no or extremely few children, under the age of ten who are learning the language as their only language, the language will become extinct in the life time of the youngest mother-tongue speakers (i.e. sixty to seventy years)."*

Since the language is not yet alphabetized and used as medium of instruction, the Girirra children have no chance to get modern education using their mother tongue even at the level of elementary school. In other words, the Girirra children have to use Somali to attend modern

education at elementary level. Moreover, the use of their mother tongue language is only limited to home particularly in 10 villages, which dominantly use Girirra as means of communication. The situation is different in two Somali speaking villages including Karre town the capital of Elkarre district. In these areas, children simultaneously acquire both Girirra and Somali at home. Similarly, in one Oromo speaking village, children simultaneously acquire both languages at home. This situation implies that except Somali language both Girirra and Oromo languages are limited at home.

Concerning language endangerment, UNESCO's Ad Hoc expert Group on Endangered Language (2003:4) "[...] distinguishes four levels of endangerment in languages based on intergenerational transfer." These levels of endangerment include vulnerable, definitely endangered, severely endangered, and critically endangered. As shown by the first level of endangered "Vulnerable: Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)."

Wurm (1991), cited in Crystal (2003:21), identifies five levels for endangered languages, namely "potentially endangered, endangered, seriously endangered, moribund [and] extinct languages". As stated by this scholar the first level of endangerment that is potentially endangered languages refers to the languages that "[...] are socially and economically disadvantaged, under heavy pressure from the larger language, and beginning to lose child speakers."

The levels of endangerment that have been proposed by UNESCO's experts and Wurm as the first levels can fit with the language situation of Girirra. That is to say, we can label Girirra as vulnerable or potentially endangered language. Because most of the children of the Girirra children only use, their mother tongues at home. Moreover, there are heavy pressures from the larger language group (Somali) socially and economically which leads to the loss of child speakers in Girirra because, the language is not used in administration, politics and other public functions. In other words, though approximately 57000 people speak Girirra, it is not yet alphabetized and not promoted to use for administrative and educational purposes. Somali language takes all these functions.

Thus, the prevailing conditions of this language, the remarks of Abdurahim (1993:1) regarding Girirra, and the remarks of (Payne, 1997:34; Wurm, 1991; and UNESCO's Expert Group

2003:4) help us to classify as one of the endangered languages spoken in Ethiopia, which requires immediate documentation. This documentation include producing descriptive grammar, collections of texts and dictionaries of the language; it requires the establishment of a secured archive where the material can be stored once it is produced so that it can be retrieved and be accessed by future generations of speakers of the language or researchers.

### **1.3. Previous studies on the language**

The Girirra is not well documented. There are only two previous works, which attempted to describe its phonology and morphology. The first and the main source of linguistic information on Girirra so far are Abdurahim (1993) and Askale (1994). He (1993:21-62) has made the first linguistic contribution on the study of Girirra. Abdurahim describes the sound system of Girirra and different aspects of phonology and phonological processes.

The second linguistic study that attempted to describe the word formation of Girirra is Askale (1994:8-37).She describes how new lexical items are formed by the process of affixation and compounding. She attempts to investigate the structure of her work based on the theoretical framework known as the lexical hypothesis. In light of this hypothesis, she describes the process of nominalization, verbalization, and adjectivization. Moreover, she attempts to describe the roots or stems from which nouns, verbs, and adjectives are derived along with the affixes that derived them, and the rules that govern the processes. Compounding and reduplication are also examined as morphological processes.

### **1.4. The scope of the study**

In the previous studies, aspects of linguistics namely syntax, inflectional morphology of noun and verb have not been described yet. This indicates that the previous linguistics studies made on Girirra are so far inadequate. They are limited not only in number but also in variety. Above all, the parts that have been already done are not described in detail. The phonology part is limited to the description and analysis of syllable and phonological processes. Phonotactics and suprasegmental features were not considered. The morphology part, on the other hand, is limited to the description of the word formation processes. Hence, inflectional morphology was not examined.

Thus, under phonology, different aspects of sound system are discussed in this study by giving special attention to the parts that have not been described by previous studies. These parts include allophones and phonemes, phonotactics and phonological processes.

In the morphology part, word classes such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. are described and exemplified. Inflectional and derivational morphology of noun and verb and their processes will be identified, discussed, and exemplified.

In the syntax section, the structure of different phrases like nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. are investigated. In the same way, different types of clauses, interrogatives, word order, and negation will be examined. Thus; this study will be the first major contribution to the linguistics study made on the language in terms of scale and depth because, it attempts to address linguistic aspects that include phonology, morphology, and syntax of the language in detail. At the end, some word lists and data in a form of texts like tales, proverbs, riddles, etc. are collected and attached to the thesis. As there is no significant language variation concerning Girirra spoken in Elkarre district, the dialect variation of Girirra has not been considered in the study.

### **1.5. Aim and significance of the study**

This study hoped to contribute to an increase in our knowledge of the Girirra, one of the least-studied and little-known languages of Ethiopia. This situation necessitates carrying out profound research works on this language.

The significance of this study is many fold. The primary concern of this study is to provide a linguistic description of the grammar of Girirra. In order to meet that goal, the study presents an investigation of components of linguistics such as phonology, morphology, and syntax. Other related data like text and word list are also given attention in this study. In the present work, the description is a synchronic study that makes use of data collected by the researcher currently. Thus, this study helps to produces descriptive grammars, collection of texts and word lists of the language.

This study is hoped to fill in the gaps of the previous studies that have been done on Girirra and to enrich the existing knowledge of the Lowland East Cushitic and the Cushitic in general. The phonological, tonal, morphological and syntactic descriptions may be used as references; and the residues may serve as points of departure for further research. If the need arises, the study may

also help to develop literacy materials for the speech community to use and maintain their language

Therefore, this work will contribute to identify and preserve finding of this language, cultural values, social and environmental knowledge of the speakers by establishing a secure archive, which can be assessed by future generation of the speakers or scientists. It can also serve as a reference and points of departure in the future development of linguistic researches.

The Girirra language, however, relatively used as means of communication by a large number of people, but not yet alphabetized and used as medium of instruction. Since this language is not promoted, the Girirra children have no opportunity to get modern education using their mother tongue even at the level of elementary school. In other words, the Girirra children are forced to use Somali to attend modern education at elementary level. The modern education that is given in the area is not in a position to develop the Girirra language. This indicates that this language is not in favorable condition to be developed.

Due to this, describing different aspects of this language also help to pave the way in which a writing system may be developed and promoted. This means, this research can provide valuable information, which facilitates the development of this language into writing system. Describing and developing a writing system to promote, the language to be used as medium of instruction may help the revival of this language.

## **1.6. Theoretical and methodological preliminaries**

In studying Girirra, the description of the data was not based on single linguistic model or theory. Rather, many different relevant linguistic books and theory were used as a model or as guiding principle to collect data and describe the grammar of Girirra. For instance, Payne's (1997) linguistics book entitled *Describing morphosyntax* was mainly used in describing the morphology and syntax aspects of the language. In addition, Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) described by Dixon, (2010a, 2010b) was adopted, as a methodological framework to investigate the grammar of Girirra. BLT seems the amalgamation of different approaches of language studies, like traditional grammar structuralism and generative grammar. BLT emerged as the result of including or excluding some features of grammar studies. For instance, in traditional

grammar describing all languages in a model of European languages was rejected whereas describing each language in its own terms was accepted in BLT. BLT “[...] attempts to describe each language in its own terms, rather than trying to force the language into a model based on European languages” (Dryer 2006:236). Similarly, from structuralism point of view, the notion of phoneme and morpheme was taken and included into BLT. With regard to this, Dryer (2001:1) says, “It has taken analytic techniques from structuralist traditions, particularly in the area of phonology and morphology.”

To collect data, interview or consulting of native was carried out using prepared questions based on research experiences. In preparing these questionnaires, linguistic fieldwork questionnaires by Vaux, and Cooper (2003), and Samarin, (1967), Chellia, Shobhana and de Reuse Willem J. (2011) are predominantly used as methodological guide.

### **1.7. Data collection, presentation, fieldworks and transcription**

Regarding the source of data, the works of Abdurahim (1993) and Askale (1994) were used as springboard for this study. The works provided this study with some data and findings, which were considered in the further description of Girirra.

The second and the major sources of corpus data were the native speakers of the language. These data were collected in the language area by selecting and using appropriate consultants. The selection of these informants was carried out by consulting educational expert of district educational office and residence of Karre town. Methods like interview, elicitation of words, sentences, texts, and consultation of the native speakers were employed to collect linguistic data.

Linguistic data were recorded during the fieldwork by using digital voice recorder. The recorded data collected from the fieldwork were processed, transcribed, analyzed, and interpreted. However, in the course of processing, these data were verified repeatedly, with the help of native speakers to keep its validity. Group discussions were made with consultants to know more about some difficult structures and texts (tales, riddles, proverbs, etc.).

Data presentation may vary from grammar to grammar. Grammar writers may adopt either a three line or a four-line system of presenting data. According to Rice (2007:166) “[...] the three line presentation is probably the most common (line1: data in language, line 2: morpheme-by-

morpheme gloss, line3: English translation).” Thus, the three-line presentation is adopted for the presentation of the elicited data.

The data were collected during four field periods in Girirra area. The first fieldwork was carried out for 15 days to check the feasibility of the study in May 2010. The second and third fieldworks were conducted in February 2011 and in April 2012 for 44 and 30 days respectively. The fourth round fieldwork was conducted from April to May 2014 for 31 days.

During these fieldworks, I worked with several native speakers. In the process of data collection, some of these consultants showed their cooperation with great attention and interest. My research consultants include, Ibrahim K/Mussa, 29, Halima seid, 37, Juwaar Sheek Usman, 40, Aliyyi Haaj Adam, 47, Mohammad Rashid, 48, Mohammad Irshad, 26, Halima Seid, 30, Dahaabo Mohammad, 21, Abbas Farah, 18, Hamden Fu?ad, 18, Esma’el Sheek Aliyyi, 23, and Momina Mohammad, 40. All these listed persons born and grow in Elkarre who served as consultants in the study. With majority of these consultants, I worked only during the second fieldwork. However, I worked with Ibrahim K/Muss, Halima Said, Dahaabo Mohammad, Mohammad Rashid, and Aliyyi Adam at different stages of the research and for different spans of time during all fieldworks.

The fieldwork journeys were very challenging, i.e., travelling to the language area, which is 895 kilometers far from Addis Ababa. The Journeys from Addis Ababa to Ginnir (545kms) relatively consists of adequate public transportation and hotel facilities. However, journeys from Ginnir to Elkarre (350kms) were the most challenging ones. From Ginnir to Elkarre there are no public transportation facilities. Thus, one has to travel by large vehicles that are either used to carry goods like catha edulis, food and clothes. These vehicles transport foods and clothes for people who are victims of the drought. The journey always takes place during the night for 10 to 12 hours.

The transcription used is throughout is largely phonemic i.e. when it is necessary phonetic transcription is also provided. Vowel and consonant length are indicated by doubling the letter symbols. Although Girirra seems a tonal language, each Girirra text is not marked for tone, because labeling Girirra as tonal or non-tonal language requires some further investigation.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Phonology

In this chapter, the speech sounds are identified and described. Allophones of consonant and vowel phonemes will be also discussed. Besides basic morphophonemic processes, phonotactics, and syllable structure in the language are treated. The transcription of the speech sound is based on the IPA conventions as updated in 1996.

#### 2.1. Consonant Phonemes

In this section different types of phonemes are identified, discussed, and exemplified. With regard to this, Abdurahim (1993:18) identifies 19 consonant phonemes and 7 allophones.

However, the voiced palatal affricate /dʒ/ and the palatal affricate ejective /tʃ̥/ are identified as additional independent phonemes of the language, in this study.

The alveolar ejective stop /tʰ/ is also attested in four Girirra words. These are *t'uji* 'small', *t'ojo* 'half', *bit'aana* 'cap' and *meet'i* 'palm tree'. This sound occurs at the initial and medial position of the word and its distribution is unpredictable. These words might be borrowed from the neighboring languages such as Somali or Oromo. For example, the word *meet'i* also used to mean palm tree in Oromo. Thus, /tʰ/ is not considered as one of the Girirra phoneme in study.

Therefore, Girirra has 21 consonant phonemes, which have different phonetic realization according to their occurrences. We summarize in table (1) all information given above on the classification of consonant phonemes.

Table 1: Consonant phoneme

Point of articulation →		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Manner of articulation ↓						
Plosives and affricates	Vl		t		k	ʔ
	Vd	b	d	dʒ	g	
	Ej.			tʃ	kʰ	
	Imp.		dʰ			
Fricative	Vl	f	s	ʃ		h
Nasal		m	n	ɲ		
Trill			r			
Lateral approximant			l			
Approximants		w		j		

As Table 1 shows, the manner of articulation consists of the following groups: eight plosives, two affricates, four fricatives, three nasals, one trill, one lateral approximant, and two approximants. According to place of articulation, they fall into the following groups: four labials, seven alveolars, five palatals, three velars, and two glottals.

Moreover, as can be noted from Table 1 the phoneme /z/, the counterpart of the phoneme /s/ is not attested in the phoneme inventory. This indicates that the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is more natural than its counterpart voiced alveolar fricative /z/. With relation to this, Sloat et al (1978:101) point out that “Voiceless obstruents generally are more natural than their voiced counterparts. [...] in general, a language cannot have a voiced series of stops unless it also has a corresponding voiceless series.”

On the other hand, the data in the same table indicate that the voiced palatal affricate /dʒ/ and voiced bilabial stop /b/ do not have their counterpart voiceless palatal affricate /tʃ/ and voiceless bilabial stop /p/ respectively. The absence of /p/ holds true in many Cushitic languages. In relation to this Mous (2012:354) points out that “[...] the absence of voiceless plosive *p* is common in Cushitic and can be observed in Beja, Agaw, Sidama, Gedeo, Somali, Rendille, and elsewhere.”

### 2.1.1. Minimal pairs

Akmajian, et al. (2001:94) define minimal pairs as “[...] words that (1) have the same number of phonemes, (2) differ in a single sound in a corresponding position in the two words, and (3) differ in meaning.” Similarly, Katamba (1989:22) points out that “[w]hen two words are identical in all respects, except for one segment; they are referred to as a MINIMAL PAIR”. Both scholars express minimal pairs almost in a similar ways. The following are some of the minimal pairs that have been identified in Girirra to demonstrate the phonological contrast between consonants that are related phonetically.

#### 2.1.1.1. Word initial position

1. /g/ vs /k’/	<i>/geel/</i>	‘love/like’
	<i>/k’eel/</i>	‘baby donkey’
2. /m/ vs /w/	<i>/meel/</i>	‘place’
	<i>/weel/</i>	‘child’
3. /t/ vs /d/	<i>/tab/</i>	‘go’
	<i>/dab/</i>	‘fire’
4. /s/ vs /dʃ/	<i>/diis/</i>	‘release’
	<i>/siis/</i>	‘give’
5. /dʃ/ vs /d/	<i>/deer /</i>	‘tall/long’
	<i>/deer/</i>	‘miscarriage’
6. /k/ vs /k’/	<i>/kaad/</i>	‘pick’
	<i>/k’aad/</i>	‘marry’
7. /f/ vs /s/	<i>/fanad/</i>	‘horse’
	<i>/sanad/</i>	‘year’
8. 23. /w/ vs /j/	<i>/wadaj/</i>	‘to take’
	<i>/jadaj/</i>	‘think’

#### 2.1.1.2. Word medial position

9. /k/ vs /k’/	<i>/dukaj/</i>	‘bone marrow’
	<i>/duk’aj/</i>	‘kick’
10. /g/ vs /k/	<i>/baanga/</i>	‘cutting tool’
	<i>/baanka/</i>	‘out side’
11. /d/ vs /s/	<i>/dudug/</i>	‘suck’

	<i>/dunsug/</i>	‘dirty’
12. /ʃ/ vs /s/	<i>/kuʃkuʃ/</i>	‘whispering’
	<i>/kuskus/</i>	‘run slowly’
2.1.1.3. Word final position		
13. /k/ vs /g/	<i>/feek/</i>	‘chat’
	<i>/feeg/</i>	‘tell’
14. /s/ vs /h/	<i>/ees/</i>	‘grass’
	<i>/eeh/</i>	‘insult’
15. /f/ vs /s/	<i>/suuf/</i>	‘cotton’
	<i>/suus/</i>	‘recall’
16. /n/ vs /m/	<i>/booram/</i>	‘cliff’
	<i>/booran/</i>	‘den’
17. /n/ vs /l/	<i>/bilaan/</i>	‘women’
	<i>/bilaal/</i>	‘daughter’
18. /n/ vs /r/	<i>/diin/</i>	‘tortoise’
	<i>/diir/</i>	‘worm’
19. /n/ vs /t/	<i>/diin/</i>	‘tortoise’
	<i>/diit/</i>	‘feather’
20. /r/ vs /s/	<i>/beer/</i>	‘farm’
	<i>/bees/</i>	‘to take out’
21. /d/ vs /l/	<i>/geed/</i>	‘tree’
	<i>/geel/</i>	‘love’
22. /ɾ/ vs /l/	<i>/soor/</i>	‘pooriage’
	<i>/sool/</i>	‘thumb’

### 2.1.2. Description and distribution of the consonant phonemes

Each language permits its phoneme to be occurring in certain limited positions. In other words, no language permits its phonemes to occur in every possible sequence. With regard to this Trask, (2004: 236) states that “ [...]each language imposes strict limits on the sequences of [its consonant] phonemes[...]”. Thus, this subsection attempts to demonstrate the various positions of consonant phonemes.

Moreover, phoneme may be realized as allophones i.e. different variants of the same phoneme. According to Ladefoged, (2001:37) allophones are “[t]he variants of the phonemes that occur in detailed phonetic transcriptions[...].” That is to say, a phoneme may be realized by more than one speech sound and the phonetic environment of the phoneme usually conditions the selection of each variant. Thus, this section deals with the discussion of phonemes along with their respective different realization of allophones, which is influenced by phonological factors. These consonant phonemes include /b/, /d/, /t/, /g/, /k/ and /n/. The phonemes /b/ has three allophones whereas the phonemes /d/, /t/, /k/, /g/ and /n/ each have two allophones.

The consonant phonemes and their allophones are presented below with examples that illustrate their occurrence in the initial, medial, and final positions. In the description of these consonants, we shall follow the order determined by the manner of articulation-plosive and affricate, fricative, nasal, lateral approximant, trill, and approximants. When verbs are included in the data, these are in the imperfective form, which is the simplest verbal form in the language.

### 2.1.2.1. Plosives

Plosives are sounds produced when the airflow is completely obstructed during speech. According to Sethi and Dhamija (2006:91), the obstruction of the airflow includes closing, compression and releasing stages.

23. *b* a voiced bilabial stop

The consonant **b** occurs at initial, medial, and final position

initial:		medial:		final	
a. <i>bilaan</i>	‘women’	<i>dabaal</i>	‘swim’	<i>beeb</i>	‘climb’
b. <i>bod</i>	‘jump’	<i>habloo</i>	‘daughter’	<i>dib</i>	‘ox’
c. <i>beerajle</i>	‘farmer’	<i>dabeel</i>	‘wind’	<i>teeb</i>	‘bark(of tree)’

The phoneme /b/ has the allophone [β] and [p].

23.1. The phoneme /b/ is realized as [β]-voiced bilabial fricative, when it occurs at intervocalic position, Examples:

a. /abaar/	[aβaar]	‘desert’
b. /abur/	[aβur]	‘dust’
c. /dabalafo/	[daβalafo]	‘dun’

23.2. The phoneme /b/ is realized as [p̥]-devoiced, bilabial, stop when it occurs at word final position. Consider the following examples.

- a. /kob/                    [k<sup>h</sup>p̥] ‘shoe’  
 b. /dib/                    [d̥ip̥] ‘trouble’

24. *t* a voiceless alveolar stop

The consonant *t* occurs at initial, medial, and final position.

Initial:		medial:		final:
<i>a.tin</i>	‘hair (of head)’	<i>tirtir</i>	‘wipe’	<i>kutkut</i> ‘worm’
<i>b.tiir</i>	‘pole’	<i>baato</i>	‘baby monkey’	<i>diit</i> ‘feather (of hen)’
<i>c.tab</i>	‘go’	<i>waanto</i>	‘angry’	<i>wok’it</i> ‘time’

The phoneme /t/ has the allophone [t<sup>h</sup>].

24.1. [t<sup>h</sup>]-voiceless alveolar aspirated stop is revealed when /t/ occurs at word initial position.

Examples:

- a. /taadʒir/                    [t<sup>h</sup>aadʒir] (a loan from Arabic) ‘rich’  
 b. /toban/                      [t<sup>h</sup>oban]                      ‘seven’  
 c. /tag/                         [t<sup>h</sup>ag]                         ‘open (tr)’

25. *da* voiced alveolar stop

The consonant *d* occurs at initial, medial, and final position.

Initial:		medial:	final:
<i>a.doon</i>	‘back’	<i>adoon</i>	‘slave’ <i>banbad</i> ‘ash’
<i>b.dugaag</i>	‘animal (wild)’	<i>aduun</i>	‘property’ <i>bod</i> ‘jump’
<i>c.dag</i>	‘hide (v)’	<i>aroosda</i>	‘bride’ <i>dad</i> ‘person’

25.1. The phoneme /d/ also has the allophone [d̥]. In other words, /d/ is realized as devoiced, alveolar stop [d̥] when it occurs at word final position. Examples:

- a. /dud/                         [d̥u<sup>h</sup>d̥]                         ‘bark (of dog)’  
 b. /banbad/                    [banba<sup>h</sup>d̥]                    ‘ash’  
 c. /bood/                        [boo<sup>h</sup>d̥]                        ‘jump’

26. *d̥* alveolar implosive stop

The consonant *d̥* occurs at initial and medial position.

Initial:		medial:		final:	
a. <i>deg</i>	‘snake’	<i>dagadaga</i>	‘earring’	-----	-----
b. <i>dadab</i>	‘dream’	<i>dadagagne</i>	‘movement’	-----	-----
c. <i>dagool</i>	‘deaf/mute’	<i>hindir</i>	‘umbilical cord’	-----	-----

### 27. *k* voiceless velar stop

The consonant *k* occurs at initial and medial position.

initial:		medial:		final:	
a. <i>kalaalli</i>	‘kidney’	<i>korka</i>	‘above’	-----	-----
b. <i>koodni</i>	‘to speak’	<i>kitkitin</i>	‘tickle (v)’	-----	-----
c. <i>kaliidees</i>	‘only (M)’	<i>bakajle</i>	‘rabbit’	-----	-----

The /k/ also has another allophone [k<sup>h</sup>].

27.1. [k<sup>h</sup>] voiceless velar aspirated is realized when /k/ occurs at word initial position. Examples:

a. / <i>korka</i> /	[k <sup>h</sup> <i>orka</i> ]	‘above’
b. / <i>kalaalli</i> /	[k <sup>h</sup> <i>alaalli</i> ]	‘kidney’
c. / <i>koodni</i> /	[k <sup>h</sup> <i>oodni</i> ]	‘speak’

### 28. *k*’ ejective velar stop

The consonant *k*’ occurs at word medial and initial position

initial:		medial:		final	
a. <i>k’uboob</i>	‘cold’	<i>k’ulk’ulka</i>	‘valley’	-----	-----
b. <i>k’ofal</i>	‘bark’	<i>tf’ilk’ile</i>	‘elbow’	-----	-----
c. <i>k’aqar</i>	‘thin’	<i>k’ak’aw</i>	‘soot’	-----	-----

### 29.g voiced velar stop

The consonant *g* occurs at initial, medial, and final position.

Initial:		medial:		final:	
a. <i>gilib</i>	‘knee’	<i>digaaga</i>	‘rooster’	<i>doog</i>	‘down’
b. <i>gaari</i>	‘death’	<i>dugaad</i>	‘hunt’	<i>harag</i>	‘not clean’
c. <i>gurbo</i>	‘vomit’	<i>haagab</i>	‘mucus’	<i>heeg</i>	‘sweep’

The phoneme /g/, is also realized as [k̚] at word final position.

29.1. [k̚] devoiced velar stop is realized when the phoneme /g/ occurs at word final position.

Examples:

a. /dɪg/	[dɪk]	‘wash’
b. /dʌg/	[dʌk]	‘ear’

### 30. ʔ glottal stop

The consonant ʔ occurs at medial, and final position. It usually appears at word medial position.

medial:		final:	
a. aʔilo	‘fiber’	deʔ	‘say’
b. daʔaas	‘shoe, sandal’	naʔnaʔ	‘meaning’
c. taʔab	‘farm’	taʔ	‘walk’

### 2.1.2.2. Affricates

Akmajian, et al (2001:77) define an affricate as “[...] a single but complex sound, beginning as a stop but releasing secondarily into a fricative”. In Girirra, affricates are systematically treated along with plosive and found in the position of the palatal whereas at other junction of point of articulation and manner of articulation plosives are found. Dhamija and Sethi (2006:101) points out that “[t]he production of an affricate is similar to that of plosive: there is a closing stage, a compression stage, and a release stage. But in the case of a plosive the release sudden, for an affricate it is gradual.”

### 31. dʒ voiced palatal affricate

The consonant dʒ does not occur at final.

Initial:		medial:		final
a. dʒaap	‘pocket’	taadʒir	‘rich’	-----
b. dʒiir	‘rat’	hudʒee	‘face’	-----
c. dʒirraana	‘illness’	dʒadʒabo	‘a kind of tree’	-----

### 32. tʃʰ ejective palatal affricate

The consonant tʃʰ occurs at initial and medial position.

Initial		medial
a. tʃʰuri	‘small’	tʃʰaatʃʰuu
b. tʃʰoriʔo	‘put a bridle on a camel’	tʃʰintʃʰa
c. tʃʰibsawu	‘chest of a camel’	‘kʰontʃʰoor
		‘wrinkle’

### 2.1.2.3. Fricatives

Akmajian, et al. (2004: 75) state, that “[f]ricatives are sounds produced when the airflow is forced through a narrow opening in the vocal tract so that noise produced by friction is created.” In Girirra, the voiced fricatives are not part of the phoneme inventory i.e. only a voiceless fricative is attested.

#### 33. *f* voiceless labiodentals fricative

The consonant *f* occurs at initial, medial, and final position.

Initial:		medial:		final:	
<i>a. faraato</i>	‘ring’	<i>haafata</i>	‘courtyard’	<i>if</i>	‘light’
<i>b. far</i>	‘finger’	<i>affur</i>	‘lunch’	<i>laf</i>	‘bone’
<i>c. fel</i>	‘weed’	<i>feer</i>	‘ribs’	<i>daaf</i>	‘disappear’

#### 34. *s* voiceless alveolar fricative

The consonant *s* occurs at word initial medial and final position.

Initial:		medial:		final:	
<i>a. sobaag</i>	‘butter’	<i>bassal</i>	‘onion’	<i>daʔaas</i>	‘shoe, sandal’
<i>b. sank’oror</i>	‘bridge (of nose)’	<i>ebsane</i>	‘pity (n)’	<i>dadamis</i>	‘testicle’
<i>c. sagaal</i>	‘nine’	<i>esbo</i>	‘salt’	<i>siis</i>	‘give’

#### 35. *ʃ* voiceless palatal fricative

The consonant *ʃ* occurs at initial, medial and at final position. The occurrence of this speech sound at word final position is not as frequent as word initial and medial positions.

Initial:		medial:		final:	
<i>a. finbir</i>	‘bird’	<i>leefin</i>	‘decide’	<i>adif</i>	‘announce’
<i>b. fan</i>	‘five’	<i>akfine</i>	‘pretend’	<i>gif</i>	‘cut (v)’
<i>c. fiido</i>	‘stone’	<i>fifii</i>	‘tip of an arrow’	<i>hiraf</i>	‘shave (v)’

#### 36. *h* voiceless glottal fricative

The consonant *h* occurs at word initial and medial position.

initial:		medial:		final:	
<i>a. hedako</i>	‘curdled milk’	<i>maskahaa</i>	‘brain’	-----	-----

<i>b. heelu</i>	‘cattle’	<i>karahafine</i>	‘plaster (n)’	-----	-----
<i>d. habadkin</i>	‘breast bone’	<i>farahad</i>	‘happy’	-----	-----

#### 2.1.2.4. Nasals

With regard to nasals, the airflow and the sound energy are channeled into the nasal passages due to the lowering of the velum (Sethi and Dhamija 2006:103). A complete closure is made in the mouth to articulate nasal sounds.

#### 37. *m* voiced bilabial nasal

The consonant *m* occurs at word initially, medially and finally.

Initial:      medial:      final:

<i>a. mallab</i>	‘honey’	<i>marmar</i>	‘sometimes’	<i>daam</i>	‘change’
<i>b. morno</i>	‘cattle pen’	<i>amaago</i>	‘borrow’	<i>deem</i>	‘debt’
<i>c. migi</i>	‘name’	<i>hamer</i>	‘force’	<i>moram</i>	‘argue’

#### 38. *n* voiced alveolar nasal

The consonant *n* occurs at initial, medial, and final position of the word.

initial:

medial:

final:

<i>a. namado</i>	‘greeting’	<i>farnej</i>	‘load(n)’	<i>dagaan</i>	‘settlement’
<i>b. nama</i>	‘two’	<i>ganaj</i>	‘throw’	<i>gan</i>	‘shoot’
<i>c. nan</i>	‘man’	<i>uunreeš</i>	‘mole’	<i>gun</i>	‘buttock’

The phoneme /n/ is realized as the allophone [ŋ] when it occurs at different environments.

In example 39 the [ŋ] velar nasal is realized when the phoneme /n/ precedes the velar stop /g/, /k/ and /k’/. Examples:

39a. /hangafon/	[hangafon]	‘first born’
b. /dangaton/	[dangaton]	‘ant’
c. /hankanan/	[hankanan]	‘again’
d. /hank’are/	[hank’are]	‘shine’

As can be seen in example 57a-b the phoneme /n/ occurs preceding the phoneme /g/ is realized as [ŋ]. Similarly, in 57c and 57d the phoneme /n/ occurs preceding the phoneme /k/ and /k’/ is realized as [ŋ].

#### 40. *ɲ* voiced palatal nasal

The consonant *ɲ* occurs only at word initial and medial position.

initial		medial:		final
a. <i>nayne</i>	‘nagging(adj)’	<i>hijnaak’i</i>	‘child’	-----
b. <i>naynar</i>	‘cat’	<i>k’aynar</i>	‘thin’	-----
c. <i>nayna</i>	‘tomato’	<i>kawuyin</i>	‘snatch’	-----

### 2.1.2.5. Trill and lateral approximant

In this subsection, trill and lateral approximant such as /r/ and /l/ are treated. Akmajian et al (2004: 78) state that “[l]iquids share properties of both consonants and vowels in the articulation of certain consonants, the tongue blade is raised toward the alveolar ridge; as in the articulation of vowels, and air is allowed to pass through the oral cavity without great friction.” Each phoneme will be discussed and exemplified in the following remarks.

#### 41. r voiced alveolar trill

Ladefoged (2001:276) defines trill as “[a]n articulation in which one articulator is held loosely near another so that the flow of air between them sets them in motion, alternatively sucking them together and blowing them apart.” Furthermore, Ladefoged (2001:150) points out that “[i]n a trill, the tip of the tongue is set in motion by the current of air.”

In Girirra, the consonant *r* occurs at initial, medial, and final position of the word. Consider the following examples:

Initial:	medial:	final:
a. <i>ruur</i>	‘truth’	<i>aarawa</i> ‘aunt’ <i>abur</i> ‘dust’
b. <i>rukkow</i>	‘fruit’	<i>ariin</i> ‘goat’ <i>abaar</i> ‘drought’
c. <i>reer</i>	‘family’	<i>bikuroo</i> ‘pool’ <i>affur</i> ‘lunch’

#### 42. l voiced alveolar lateral

The consonant *l* occurs word initially, medially and finally.

initial:	medial:	final:
a. <i>libood</i>	‘male’	<i>alaata</i> ‘nephew’ <i>agaal</i> ‘goods’
b. <i>libaag</i>	‘lion’	<i>balaar</i> ‘shoulder’ <i>baal</i> ‘feather’
c. <i>longofo</i>	‘neck’	<i>bilaan</i> ‘woman’ <i>badal</i> ‘alter, change’

**2.1.2.6. Approximants** In this subsection of the study, we will treat approximants, one of category of phonemes. Approximants consists of voiced bilabial approximants *w* and voiced palatal *j*.

Each will be exemplified below.

#### 43. *w* voiced bilabial approximant

The consonant *w* occurs at initial, medial, and final position.

initial:		medial:		final:
a. <i>waran</i>	'arrow'	<i>walawin</i>	'big'	<i>rukko</i> 'fruit'
b. <i>wafago</i>	'sand'	<i>walawaane</i>	'(be) lost'	<i>mudow</i> 'green'
c. <i>waraaba</i>	'hyena'	<i>dawe</i>	'bless,praise'	<i>sow</i> 'meat'

#### 44. *j* voiced palatal approximant

The consonant *j* occurs at word initial, medial, and final positions.

Initial:	medial:		final:		
a. <i>jireeg</i>	'say'	<i>jejjoo</i>	'wild dog'	<i>feleej</i>	'yesterday'
b. <i>jehaas</i>	'crocodile'	<i>aajej</i>	'addressing mother'	<i>waratoj</i>	'crossroad'
c. <i>jomin</i>	'quarrel'	<i>ajjoo</i>	'who/whom'	<i>kaaj</i>	'this'

### 2.1.3. Co-occurrence restrictions and cluster of phonemes

The sequence of consonant phonemes in a word is not arbitrary. In fact, there are strict conditions on order and type of speech sounds that can appear. In other words, there is co-occurrence restriction of consonant in Girirra as can be seen from the following discussion.

At word medial position, Girirra allows a sequence of two consonants only. In other words, the number of consonant cluster is limited to two. The phonemes /*j*/ and /*ɲ*/ do not appear as a member of cluster. In other words, these sounds do not appear as first or second members of a cluster. Contrastively, the phonemes /*h*/, /*k*'/, /*dʒ*/, /*d*/, and /*w*/ do not appear at the first consonantal position of a cluster. Likewise, words do not end in the phonemes /*d*/, /*dʒ*/, /*ɲ*/, /*k*/, /*tʃ*'/ and /*k*'/. Nevertheless, phonemes /*n*/, /*r*/, and /*l*/ appear frequently as the first member of a cluster. Particularly speech sound /*r*/ is scarcely attested in second consonantal position. This is because; consonant clusters are naturally organized according to its sonority i.e. the more sonorous consonant occurs as the first member of cluster whereas the less sonorous consonant occurs as the second member of the cluster. Regarding the order of sonority, Nathan (2008:48) states that "[the] ranking of first members of initial consonant clusters (glides>liquids>nasals>fricatives>stops) is known as the sonority hierarchy, and recurs in a number of places in principles of grammatical organization." Accordingly, examples of

consonant clusters in Girirra are given depending on their order of sonority and vice versa (sonorant-obstruent, obstruent-sonorant, sonorant-sonorant, and obstruent-obstruent).

### 2.1.3.1. Sonorant-obstruent

Sonorant-obstruent sequence is highly productive. This includes sequences such as trill-stop, trill-fricative, lateral approximant-stop, lateral approximant-fricative, approximants-stop, nasal-stop, and nasal-fricative. Each sequence will be exemplified below.

#### 2.1.3.1.1. Trill stop sequences

- 45a. *rb*      *gurbafɔ*      ‘vomit’
- b. *rk*      *erka*      ‘sky’
- c. *rt*      *martii*      ‘guest’

#### 2.1.3.1.2. trill-fricative sequences

- 46a. *rs*      *ungarsade*      ‘hunter’
- b. *rf*      *furfurne*      ‘unwrap’
- c. *rh*      *korhiisa*      ‘grasshopper’

#### 2.1.3.1.3. lateral approximant-stop sequence

- 47a. *lt*      *miltuun*      ‘place’
- b. *ld*      *bildaj*      ‘mirror’
- c. *lk/lk’*      *k’ulk’ulka*      ‘valley’

#### 2.1.3.1.4. approximants-stop sequence

- 48a. *jt* *oboleejta*      ‘sister of one’s husband’
- b. *jd* *oboleejda*      ‘sister of one’s wife’
- c. *jk* *dzeejka*      ‘road’

#### 2.1.3.1.5. nasal-stop sequence

- 49a. *nb*      *k’onber*      ‘chair’
- b. *nd*      *boondad*      ‘bridge’
- c. *mt*      *nimta*      ‘mat’

#### 2.1.3.1.6. nasal-fricative sequence

50a. <i>ms</i>	<i>laamsad</i>	‘cut/collect’
<i>b.ns</i>	<i>gonfa</i>	‘trouser’
<i>c.ns</i>	<i>siinso</i>	‘clean mucus’

#### 2.1.3.2. Obstruent-sonorant

Obstruent-sonorant sequences are few in number as compared to sonorant-obstruent sequences.

Thus, stop-lateral approximant and approximants sequence, stop-fricative sequence and fricative-nasal sequence will be illustrated below.

#### 2.1.3.2.1. stop/fricative-lateral approximant and stop-approximants sequences

51a. <i>bl</i>	<i>hablo</i>	‘girl’
<i>b.sl</i>	<i>islaan</i>	‘wife’
<i>c.gw</i>	<i>dagwin</i>	‘snail’

#### 2.1.3.2.2. stop/fricative- nasal sequences

52a. <i>sn</i>	<i>isnookala</i>	‘thorn’
<i>c. sm</i>	<i>ismaaj</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>b.gm</i>	<i>higmado</i>	‘forecaster’
<i>c.hn</i>	<i>fashni</i>	‘prmit/allow’

#### 2.1.3.3. Sonorant-sonorant

The sonorant-sonorant sequence also appears rarely as compared to other clusters.

#### 2.1.3.3.1. lateralapproximant-approximant or approximant-lareral approximantsequences

53a. <i>lj</i>	<i>daljaara</i>	‘young’
<i>b.jl</i>	<i>bakaajle</i>	‘rabbit’

#### 2.1.3.3.2. approximant-approximant or trill-nasal sequence

54a. <i>jw</i>	<i>hajwaan</i>	‘animal’
<i>b.rn</i>	<i>hunderneeda</i>	‘bed’

#### 2.1.3.4. Obstruent-obstruent

The obstruent-obstruent more appears than sonorant-sonorant sequences. According to Ladefoged (2001:53) a natural class of sounds refers to fricative and stops is called obstruents.

##### 2.1.3.4.1. Fricative-stop sequence

55a. <i>sb</i>	<i>esbo</i>	‘salt’
b. <i>sd</i>	<i>aroosda</i>	‘bride’
c. <i>sk</i>	<i>arooska</i>	‘bridegroom’
d. <i>ft</i>	<i>naaftata</i>	‘soul’
e. <i>fd</i>	<i>lafɗabar</i>	‘back bone’

##### 2.1.3.4.2. Stop-fricative or stop-stop sequence

d. <i>ks</i>	<i>diksi</i>	‘metal pot’
e. <i>gs</i>	<i>buugsan</i>	‘full’
f. <i>tk</i>	<i>kutkut</i>	‘a kind of insect’
i. <i>bs</i>	<i>gabsaar</i>	‘baby’

As can be noted from the above examples, a sonorant-obstruent sequence is more frequent than an obstruent-sonorant sequence. Similarly, consonant cluster of obstruent-obstruent sequence is more frequent than sonorant-sonorant sequence. The most marginal consonant phonemes in different word position are the nasal consonant phoneme /ɲ/ and the ejective palatal affricate /tʃ̥/. Both occur very rarely and only at word initial and medial position and are not attested as a member of cluster. They are not also contrastive at any environment. Thus, the phonemic status of /ɲ/ and /tʃ̥/ are questionable. Generally, Girirra consists of two clusters: sequence of identical consonants (gemination) and sequence of different consonants. Gemination also will be discussed in the following subsequent paragraphs.

#### 2.1.4. Gemination

The language allows gemination in word-medial position only. That is, it does not permit gemination word initially and word finally. Gemination appears word medially. All speech sounds can be geminated except /dʒ/, /ʔ/, /h/, /d/, /k/, /tʃ̥/ and /ʃ/. Gemination is phonemic, for instance, *adduun* ‘world’ and *aduun* ‘property’ convey different meaning due to gemination.

The pairs of examples in Table 2 show short and long consonant contrasts.

Table 2: Contrasts of short and long consonants

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Gloss</i>		
b vs bb	[sobaag]	‘butter’	[dabbaj]	‘very’
d vs dd	[eedug]	‘curd’	[soddo]	‘father in law’
f vs ff	[siifan]	‘in laws’	[affartan]	‘forty’
g vs gg	[sagal]	‘nine’	[hegga]	‘there’
l vs ll	[elel]	‘chew’	[kallaalli]	‘kideny’
n vs nn	[mandi]	‘knife’	[hennen]	‘testicle’
s vs ss	[ebsis]	‘threaten’	[ussood]	‘they’
t vs tt	[kootu]	‘voice’	[kutte]	‘bed-bug’
k vs kk	[k’ilkiike]	‘elbow’	[ukkun]	‘egg’
j vs jj	[looja]	‘cattle’	[ijjaal]	‘child/children’
r vs rr	[booran]	‘clif’	[irriirro]	‘cough’
w vs ww	[awu]	‘father’	[dawwii]	‘jackal’
m vs mm	[lamsad]	‘collect’	[amma]	‘or’
ɲ vs ɲɲ	[k’ɲaʌar]	‘thin’	[ɲaɲɲa]	‘tomato’

Girirra has a morphologically conditioned gemination. Such gemination applies when two identical consonants occur in sequence across word boundary. For example, consonant final noun ends in one of the alveolar sound *r*, *l*, *d* or voiced velar *g* is geminated when suffixed to *n* initial morpheme in the formation of predicate nominal. Consider the following examples:

- 56a. *ijjaal*                    ‘a child’            /ijjaal-no/ → [ijjaal-lo]            ‘is a child’  
       b. *id*                        ‘a sheep’            /id-no/ → [id-do] ‘is a sheep’  
       c. *lug*                        ‘leg’                 /lug-no/ → [lug-go] ‘is a leg’

The distribution of consonant phonemes, which also exhibits the occurrence of gemination and consonant clusters of the language, is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of consonants, gemination, and consonant clusters

Conso- nants	Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate	-c <sub>1</sub> c <sub>2</sub>	c <sub>1</sub> c <sub>2</sub> -
b	<i>booram</i> 'cliff'	<i>baabise</i> 'avoid'	<i>beeb</i> 'climb'	<i>dibbee</i> n. drum	<i>gabsaar</i> 'baby'	<i>danbee</i> '(be) taboo'
f	<i>fiid</i> 'flower'	<i>k'af</i> 'storage'	<i>if</i> 'light'	<i>k'offol</i> 'beehive'	<i>naaftata</i> 'soul'	<i>kanfarsis</i> 'please'
m	<i>mallab</i> 'honey'	<i>amaago</i> 'borrow'	<i>deem</i> 'debt'	<i>hahammafo</i> 'yawn'	<i>hamrii</i> 'alcohol'	<i>galma</i> 'forest'
w	<i>waran</i> 'arrow'	<i>hawwa</i> n. mountain	<i>sow</i> 'meat'	<i>awwalaa</i> 'family'	---	<i>kanwaawan</i> <i>tofe</i> 'annoy/ disturb'
t	<i>teeb</i> 'bark'	<i>tirtir</i> 'wipe'	<i>herbarte</i> 'needle'	<i>kutten</i> 'bag'	<i>Kutkut</i> 'insect'	<i>dalte</i> 'lay(egg)'
d	<i>dugaad</i> 'animal'	<i>dagdag</i> 'jewelry'	<i>hindid</i> 'root'	<i>idda</i> 'finger nail'	<i>habadkin</i> 'breast bone'	<i>bondadi</i> 'bridge'
ɗ	<i>ɗaɗar</i> 'cloth'	<i>ɗagaɗaga</i> 'earring'	---	---	---	<i>walɗam</i> 'all'
s	<i>sobaag</i> 'butter'	<i>beesne</i> 'payment'	<i>kaas</i> 'that'	<i>bassal</i> 'onion'	<i>esbo</i> 'salt'	<i>aroosda</i> 'bride maid' [
n	<i>namado</i> 'greeting'	<i>ifenne</i> 'bee'	<i>ɗoon</i> 'palm(of hand)'	<i>annaa</i> 'ancestor'	<i>angag</i> 'dry'	<i>hunderneed</i> <i>a</i> 'bedroom'
r	<i>ruur</i> 'truth'	<i>arin</i> 'goat'	<i>abaar</i> 'drought'	<i>barre</i> 'yesterday'	<i>affartana</i> 'forty'	---
l	<i>libaag</i> 'lion'	<i>allo</i> 'god'	<i>baal</i> 'feather'	<i>ille</i> 'eagle'	<i>sagaltom</i> 'ninety'	<i>sisla</i> 'together'
ʃ	<i>finbir</i> 'bird'	<i>inne</i> 'side (of body)'	<i>gef</i> 'cut'	---	<i>ku/kuʃ</i> 'whisper'	<i>abfooka</i> 'fig'
ɗʒ	<i>taadʒir</i> 'rich'	<i>hudʒee</i> 'face'	---	---	---	<i>urɗʒinoo</i> 'star'
ɲ	<i>ɲaɲna</i> 'tomato'	<i>ɲaɲnar</i> 'cat'	---	<i>ɲaɲne</i> 'nagging'	---	---

j	<i>jehaas</i> 'crocodile'	<i>aaj</i> 'my mother'	<i>kaaj</i> 'this'	<i>mijjo</i> 'what'	---	---
k	<i>kootu</i> 'voice'	<i>erka</i> 'sky'	---	<i>ukkun</i> 'egg'	<i>akfin</i> 'pretend'	<i>baanka</i> 'outside'
k'	<i>k'aad</i> 'marry'	<i>k'ilk'ile</i> 'elbow'	---	---	---	<i>k'ulk'ulka</i> 'valley'
g	<i>gilib</i> 'knee'	<i>digaaga</i> 'rooster'	<i>doog</i> 'grassland'	<i>oggo</i> 'which'	<i>magsafo</i> 'blech'	<i>angag</i> 'dry'
ʔ	----	<i>taʔab</i> 'farm'	<i>deʔ</i> 'say'	---	<i>naʔnaʔ</i> 'meaning'	---
h	<i>heelu</i> 'cattle'	<i>maskahaa</i> 'brain'	<i>eeh</i> 'insult'	---	---	<i>halhorre,</i> 'other'
tʃ	<i>tʃirdeesa</i> 'crafts man'	<i>tʃintʃ'a</i> 'roasted meat'	---	---	<i>tʃintʃ'a</i> 'roasted meat'	---

## 2.2. Vowel phonemes

In this subsection, vowel phonemes are identified and described. The production of vowels is different from the production of consonants. As stated by the Sethi and Dhamija, (2006:28) vowels are produced without obstruction and narrowing of speech organs like pharynx and mouth that would cause audible friction. According to the same source (Sethi and Dhamija, 2006:33), vowels “[...] differ from one another in respect of quality or quantity, or both. The difference in quantity [...] [refers to] a difference in respect of the comparative length of vowels.’”

Sethi and Dhamija (2006) goes on to say that the difference in quality is manifested due to the modification of speech organs, such as the soft palate the lips and the tongue. The vowels produced become nasalized when the soft palate lowered. Each different position of the lips (spread, neutral or rounded) resulted in different quality of vowels.

Concerning the role of the tongue, the quality of the vowel depends on the part of the tongue raised and height to which it is raised. Depending on the part of tongue raised, the vowels produced are classified as front, central and back vowels. Depending on its height, the vowels can be classified as high vowels mid vowels and low vowels.

Girirra has five vowel phonemes with long and short counterparts. Consider the following vowel chart presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
high	i/ii		u/uu
mid			
low	e/ee	a/aa	o/oo

### 2.2.1. Description and distribution of vowel phonemes

In Girirra, words begin either with a consonant or with a vowel. The majority of words however, end in a vowel. The occurrence of short vowel is more frequent than its counterpart long vowel at word final position. Short vowels as well as long vowels occur everywhere: word initially, medially and finally. The description and distribution of vowels is presented below.

#### 2.2.1.1. Short vowels

57. /i/ high front unround short vowel

initial		medial:		final:	
<i>a.il</i>	‘eye’	<i>bil</i>	‘sheep’	<i>aabsi</i>	‘fear’
<i>b.issiin</i>	‘you (Pl)’	<i>bijjo</i>	‘water’	<i>imaaji</i>	‘taste (n)’
<i>c.idaal</i>	‘soldier’	<i>kiline</i>	‘messenger’	<i>diiti</i>	‘sweat’

58. /e/ high-mid front unround short vowel

initial		medial:		final:	
<i>a.ellen</i>	‘charcoal’	<i>beg</i>	‘measure’	<i>dogadine</i>	‘bend down’
<i>b.erk</i>	‘sky’	<i>ber</i>	‘grain’	<i>abbaje</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>c.ereeda</i>	‘dawn’	<i>dek n.</i>	‘throat’	<i>ebsane</i>	‘pity(n)’

59. /u/ high back rounded short vowel

initial		medial:		final:	
<i>a.un</i>	‘eat’	<i>kulow</i>	‘skin’	<i>uftu</i>	‘uncle’
<i>b.unnu</i>	‘we’	<i>k’uman</i>	‘right/correct’	<i>ussu</i>	‘he’
<i>c.urin</i>	‘smell (v)’	<i>lug</i>	‘leg’	<i>aru</i>	‘aunt’

60. /o/ high-mid back rounded short vowel

initial		medial:		final:	
a. <i>olloo</i>	‘abdomen’	<i>bor</i>	‘ground’	<i>abbo</i>	‘hello’
b. <i>ogoon</i>	‘orphan’	<i>bod</i>	‘jump’	<i>ollo</i>	‘God’
c. <i>ogoon</i>	‘orphan’	<i>bogool</i>	‘hundred’	<i>aajjo</i>	‘mother’

61. /a/ low back unround short vowel

initial		medial:		final:	
a. <i>arrab</i>	‘tongue’	<i>badan</i>	‘many’	<i>baanka</i>	‘outside’
b. <i>annaa</i>	‘ancestor’	<i>dag</i>	‘ear’	<i>erka</i>	‘sky’
c. <i>adoor</i>	‘harvest’	<i>dal</i>	‘give birth’	<i>digaaga</i>	‘rooster’

### 2.2.1.2. Long vowels

Like short vowels described above, long vowels also occur at all positions.

62. /ii/ high front unrounded long vowel

initial	medial:		final:	
a. <i>iigu</i>	‘stream’	<i>adiif</i>	‘announce’	<i>bidii</i> ‘left’
b. <i>iid</i>	‘wait’	<i>sib</i>	‘castrated’	<i>erii/arii</i> ‘sun’
c. <i>iil</i>	‘spring of water’	<i>asiisij</i>	‘compromise’	<i>diksii</i> ‘metal pot’

63. /ee/ mid-front unrounded long vowel

Initial		medial:		final:	
a. <i>eej</i>	‘dog’	<i>hees</i>	‘game’	<i>indolee</i>	‘blind person’
b. <i>eela</i>	‘tortoise’	<i>heega</i>	‘broom’	<i>ganee</i>	‘hand’
c. <i>ees</i>	‘grass’	<i>gineeda</i>	‘arm’	<i>galmee</i>	‘entrance’

64. /uu/ high back rounded long vowel. This vowel is less occur word finally as compared to word medially.

Initial	Medial:		final:	
a. <i>uun</i>	‘smoke’	<i>guun</i>	‘buttock’	<i>huduu</i> ‘excrement’
b. <i>úúr</i>	‘pregnancy’	<i>buug</i>	‘book’	<i>hunduruu</i> ‘to sleep’
c. <i>uur</i>	‘flat land’	<i>buur</i>	‘grass’	<i>furruu</i> ‘cat’

65. /oo/ mid-back rounded long vowel

Initial		medial:		final:	
a. <i>ooj</i>	‘wipe’	<i>okoora</i>	‘cane’	<i>filawoo</i>	‘comb’
b. <i>oolti</i>	‘placenta’	<i>ogoon</i>	‘orphan’	<i>hebaloo</i>	‘somebody’
c. <i>oolis</i>	‘churn up’	<i>boohoo</i>	‘flute’	<i>bikuroo</i>	‘pool’

66. /aa/ low back unrounded long vowel. This vowel occurs more at word medial position than at word final position.

initial		medial:		final:	
a. <i>aawu</i>	‘father’	<i>abaar</i>	‘drought’	<i>arjaa</i>	‘(be) kind’
b. <i>aada</i>	‘menstrual period’	<i>daar</i>	‘touch’	<i>kuraa</i>	‘breakfast’
c. <i>aarawa</i>	‘aunt’	<i>daam</i>	‘change’	<i>haraa</i>	‘leftover’

As discussed above, in consonants, vowel length is also phonemic in Girirra. Consider the following examples:

67. /u/ vs /uu/     *un*            ‘eat’  
                               *uun*            ‘smoke’
68. /i/ vs /ii/     *diig*            ‘wash’  
                               *diig*            ‘blood’

### 2.2.2. Contrast of the minimal pairs of the vowel segments

In the previous discussion, the minimal pair test is applied to check the phoneme status of consonants. Similarly, we use the same test to identify the phonemic status of vowels. The following are examples of minimal pairs of Girirra vowels.

- **short vowel versus short vowel**

69. /e/ vs /a/            *aboorne*            ‘create/make’  
                                       *aboorina*            ‘seed’
70. /i/ vs /o/            *siddi*                ‘three’  
                                       *siddo*                ‘flower’
71. /e/ vs /i/            *daager*             ‘monkey’  
                                       *daagir*             ‘look after’
72. /a/ vs /i/            *nagan* v.            ‘return, go back’  
                                       *nagin* n.            ‘answer, reply’

73. /o/ vs /a/	<i>namada</i>	‘(be) second’
	<i>namado</i>	‘greeting’
74. /u/ vs /a/	<i>tub</i>	‘dig the ground’
	<i>tab</i>	‘go’

- **short vowel versus long vowel**

75. /a/ vs /aa/	<i>wan</i>	‘milk’
	<i>waan</i>	angry’
76. /e/ vs /ee/	<i>ber</i>	‘grain’
	<i>beer</i>	‘tomorrow’
77. /i/ vs /ii/	<i>rid</i>	‘shoot (plant)’
	<i>riid</i>	‘(she) goat’
78. /o/ vs /oo/	<i>ror</i>	‘load’
	<i>roor</i>	‘run’
79. /u/ vs /uu/	<i>rug</i>	‘massage’
	<i>ruug</i>	‘paint’

- **long vowels versus long vowels**

80. /ee/ vs /aa/	<i>dabeel</i>	‘to blow’
	<i>dabaal</i>	‘swim’
81. /ee/ vs /ii/	<i>goree</i>	‘old man’
	<i>gorii</i>	‘old woman’
82. /ee/ vs /oo/	<i>reer</i>	‘family’
	<i>roor</i>	‘run’
83. /aa/ vs /oo/	<i>miraa</i>	‘kernel (of corn, maize)’
	<i>miroo</i>	‘fruit’
84. /uu/ vs /oo/	<i>ruur</i>	‘truth’
	<i>roor</i>	‘run’
85. /ii/ vs /uu/	<i>riig</i>	‘push’
	<i>ruug</i>	‘paint’

## 2.3. Syllable

In this section, different components of syllable such as types of syllable, structure of syllable and complexity of syllable are identified and discussed. According Crystal, (2008:467) syllable is “[a] unit of pronunciation typically larger than a single sound and smaller than a word”. As stated by Sethi and Dhamija (2006: 50) “[t]he unit at the next higher level than the phoneme is called the syllable.” The same source (2006:50) further says that the number of syllables in a word usually corresponds to the number of vowel sounds it contains. Structurally, the syllable may be divided into three parts: the peak (nucleus), the onset, and the coda. The most prominent part of the syllable is called syllable peak or nucleus. Gussmann, (2002:67) expresses the significance of syllable peak by stating that as “[...] an indispensable element of the syllable [...]”. Similarly, Akmajian et al, (2001:126) point out that “[...] vowels usually form the “center” or “core” of a syllable, called its nucleus; consonants usually form the beginning (the onset) and the end (the coda) of the syllable.” The onset of a syllable consists of “[...] the consonant or sequence of consonants that precedes the nucleus”, whereas the coda of the syllable “[...] consists of the consonant or sequence of consonants that follows the nucleus.”. With regard to this, Girirra permits only one consonant that precedes and follows the nucleus. A syllable that contains a consonant in the coda is referred as a closed syllable, whereas a syllable, which does not contain a consonant in the coda, is called an open syllable. Note that the syllable boundaries are marked with a dot (.)

### 2.3.1 Types of syllable

Girirra has both open and closed syllables. The following are the possible syllable types.

86. TypeI, V: This syllable is formed from only a nucleus. It cannot be found in isolation but as part of disyllabic words. Examples:

- a. *a.fir* (v.cvc) ‘evening meal’
- b. *o.lis* (v.cvc) ‘curdled milk’
- c. *a.fis* (v.cvc) ‘excuse’

87. TypeII, VV: This syllable is formed from a sequence of two vowels and is not found in isolation but observed as the first syllable of disyllabic words. Examples:

- a. *aa.k'il* (vv.cvc) 'wise'
- b. *ee.ri* (vv.cv) 'insult'
- c. *aa.da* (vv.cv) 'menstrual period'

88. Type III, CV: This syllable is formed from one consonant and one vowel. Examples:

- a. *ma* 'not'
- b. *na.ma.do* 'greeting'
- c. *bi.ju* 'water (n)'

The word in (a) has one consonant as the first member and one vowel as the second member of the syllable. Hence, this syllable has one onset and a nucleus. However, the word in (b) is constructed from three syllables, which have one consonant and one-vowel phoneme respectively in each pair. That is the syllables begin with one consonant and ends with one vowel. Similarly, the word in (c) is formed from two syllables, which has one consonant and one vowel phoneme in each pair.

89. Type IV, CVV: This type of syllable is formed from one consonant and from two sequences of vowel. Examples:

- a. *ga.nee*(cv.cvv) 'hand (n)'
- b. *hu.jee*(cv.cvv) 'face'

The words in (a) and (b) are formed from two syllables. The first syllable has one consonant and one vowel whereas the second syllable has one consonant and two vowels. Thus, the second syllable of the above disyllabic word each consists of onset and nucleus of two vowels.

90. Type V: VVC: This syllable is formed from two consecutive vowels at word initial and one consonant at word final positions. This type of syllable has nucleus and coda but exists without onset. Examples:

- a. *oof* 'pant(v)'
- b. *uun* 'smoke'
- c. *uur* 'pregnancy'

109. TypeVI, VC: This syllable is formed by the combination of a vowel and a consonant phoneme. Examples:

- a. *eg*            ‘smooth’
- b. *un*            ‘eat’
- c. *il*            ‘eye’

91. TypeVII, CVVC: This syllable is constructed from one consonant, two sequences of vowels and one consonant at the end. Hence, this syllable consists of onset, a nucleus and a coda. Examples:

- a. *buur*            ‘mountain’
- b. *guun*            ‘buttock
- c. *đuul*            ‘land’

111. TypeVIII, CVC: This syllable is formed from a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant at the initial, medial, and final positions respectively. Each word consists of a single syllable; with onset, a nucleus, and a coda. Examples:

- a. *gan*            ‘shoot(n)
- b. *gid*            ‘pull’
- c. *bur*            ‘dust’

We can generalize from the above data on the syllable, that from the first to the fourth type can be categorized as open syllable whereas from the fifth, to the eighth type can be classified as closed syllable. Similarly, the first and second syllable types are both without onset and coda. Moreover, the above types of syllables help us to posit that the possible syllable structure can be (C) V (V) (C). The v-position and the c- position can be filled by any short or long vowels and by any consonants respectively. Both open and closed syllables can have long vowels or short vowels as a nucleus. The nucleus of syllable can consist of a single vowel or long vowel. As can be seen from the above remarks, onset and coda is optional whereas nucleus is obligatory. In other words, a syllable can begin with a consonant or with a vowel and may end in a consonant or in a vowel.

There are words with consonant clusters in medial position; however, there are no syllables with consonant clusters. Like Maale (Azeb 2001:27) since only a sequence of two consonants in a word medial position is allowed, the first consonant of the cluster is syllabified as a coda of the first syllable and the second consonant of the cluster is syllabified as the onset of the second syllable as in *unnu*→*un.nu* ‘we’, *dungo*→*dun.go* ‘kissing’. In other words, as the result of syllabification, the first consonant of cluster becomes the coda of the preceding syllable, and second consonant becomes the onset of the immediately following syllable.

### 2.3.2. Levels of syllable

Regarding the complexity of syllable, words can be categorized as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadric-syllabic and so forth. Words constructed with a single syllable are considered as simple words while words formed from two or more syllables are complex words. Let us consider the following remarks and examples on different syllabic levels.

92. Monosyllabic words are words, which have only one syllable (cv, cvc and cvc). Examples:

- a. *ha* ‘yes’      *gan* ‘shoots (n)’      *guur* ‘marriage’  
 b. *gi* ‘if’      *giid* ‘pull’      *guun* ‘buttock’

93. Disyllabic words refer to words formed from two syllables (cv.cv<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>, cv.cv<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>c, cv.cvc, cvc<sub>1</sub>.c<sub>2</sub>vc, cvc<sub>1</sub>.c<sub>2</sub>vv, cv.cvc). Examples:

- a. *gu.doo* ‘in’      *gi.daal* ‘infront’      *gi.did* ‘trunk of tree’  
 b. *hin.dir* ‘umbilical cord’      *ham.rii* ‘beer (traditional)’ *gi.lib* ‘knee’

There are also polysyllabic words, which might be further subdivided into (three, four, and five syllable) words.

94. Thri-syllabic words refer to words that formed from three syllables (cvc.cv.cv, cv.cv.cv, cvc.cvc.cv, cvc<sub>1</sub>.c<sub>2</sub>v.cvv, cvc<sub>1</sub>.c<sub>2</sub>v.cv, cvc<sub>1</sub>.c<sub>1</sub>vc.cv). Examples:

- a. *bar.k’a.k’e* ‘thunder’      *na.ma.do* ‘greeting’      *bad.dal.ni* ‘transplant’  
 b. *mas.ka.haa* ‘brain’      *k’il.k’i.le* ‘elbow’      *bal.lar.ro* ‘wide’

95. Quadric-syllabic words refer to words made up of four syllables (cvc.cvc.cv<sub>1</sub>v<sub>1</sub>.cv, cv.cvc<sub>1</sub>.c<sub>2</sub>v.cv, cv.cvc.cv.cv). Examples:

- a. *hun.der.nee.da*                    ‘bed room’
- b. *ha.ham.ma.fo*                    ‘jawn’
- c. *da.bar.sa.te*                    ‘beggar’

96. Penti-syllabic words are formed from five syllables (cv.cv.cv.cv.cv, cvc.cv.cv.cv.cv).

- a. *ha.ma.ra.ta.to*            ‘slither (of snake)’
- b. *han.ba.ba.la.ti*            ‘hurricane, cyclone, tornado, or whirlwind’

Generally disyllabic is the largest in number than the other levels syllable. Tri-syllabic is also larger in number than monosyllabic, quadric-syllabic, and Penti-syllabic words. Only two Words with Penti-syllabic are attested in Girirra.

#### 2.4. Tone

According to Yip (2002:1), “[a] language is a ‘tone language’, if the pitch of the word can change the meaning of the word”. Similarly, Pike, (1948:3) defines a tonal language as “[...] a language having lexically significant, contrastive, but relative pitch on each syllable.” He further says that lexically significant pitch distinguishes the meaning of utterances. “When pitch is lexical, it distinguishes the meaning of words (1948:3).” Welmers (1973:79f.) notes that in some languages, a single tone may cover more than one syllable, or that some syllables may carry more than one tone. That indicates the number of syllable in any specific utterances may not be corresponding to the number of tonemes. Tosco (2000:111) also points out that “[...] Highland East Cushitic languages are apparently stress accent languages, while many Lowland East Cushitic languages are tonal accent languages with a simple two term opposition [ $\pm$  high].

The above scholars’ discussion on tone and data on Girirra may help us to group this language, as one of the tonal languages, with two basic tones: high (H) and low (L). Moreover, in Girirra high (H) and low (L) tone is identified at the lexical level on nouns and verbs. That is, meaning distinction at lexical levels that is based on the tone variation is identified. However, apart from these lexical items and one instance of tone, that marks interrogative clause (cf. 9.5.1.4.), the grammatical function of tone is not identified. It seems that tone in Girirra is only limited to the lexical items. This is probably due to lack of exhaustive study of the Girirra tone. Although exhaustive study on the Girirra tone is required, due to different factors such as time and research

fund constraints it was not discussed in detail in this study. Thus, the gap of this study regarding tone should be fulfilled by exhaustive study on the tonal situation of Girirra that is even supported with a phonetic measuring instrument. Nevertheless, tone that is already identified at lexical level, which may be used for the future detail study, is given below. The high tone is represented by the acute accent ( ´ ), while low tone is left unmarked. Tone is revealed only on vowels, there is no tone-bearing consonant.

#### 2.4.1 Tone and lexical distinctions

Tone has lexical functions. The role of tone in distinguishing lexical meaning is illustrated in the following examples.

97. HH	<i>sóór</i>	‘wasp’
LL	<i>soor</i>	‘porridge’
H	<i>dáw</i>	‘hit, strike’
L	<i>daw</i>	‘foot’
LH	<i>baláár</i>	‘shoulder’
LL	<i>balaar</i>	‘wide’
HH	<i>díín</i>	‘religion’
LL	<i>diin</i>	‘tortoise’
HH	<i>úún</i>	‘smoke’
LL	<i>uun</i>	‘creature’
HH	<i>úúr</i>	‘pregnancy’
LL	<i>uur</i>	‘flat land’
HH	<i>dáár</i>	‘touch’
LL	<i>daar</i>	‘aloe vera’
LL	<i>beeg</i>	‘wound’
HH	<i>béég</i>	‘measure’
HH	<i>éég</i>	‘locust’
LL	<i>eeg</i>	‘well’ n.
HH	<i>héér</i>	‘defecate’
LL	<i>heer</i>	‘norm’
HH	<i>wéér</i>	‘call’
LL	<i>weer</i>	‘roar’

## 2.4.2 Tone pattern in different syllable levels

In this section, tone pattern in different syllable levels will be treated.

### 2.4.2.1 Tone pattern in monosyllabic words

There are many monosyllabic nouns and verbs in Girirra. The following examples illustrate tone pattern in some monosyllabic nouns in (118a) and verbs in (118b).

98a. Nouns

L	<i>ber</i>	‘grain’
L	<i>riid</i>	‘she-goat’
L	<i>bun</i>	‘coffee’
L	<i>dub</i>	‘tail’
H	<i>bál</i>	‘leaf’
H	<i>dág</i>	‘ear’
HH	<i>róob</i>	‘rain’
LL	<i>teeb</i>	‘bark’
LL	<i>deel</i>	‘pot’

99b. Verb

H	<i>táb</i>	‘go’
H	<i>bód</i>	‘jump’
HH	<i>róór</i>	‘run’
HH	<i>rúg</i>	‘push’
HH	<i>dáám</i>	‘drink (of milk)’
HH	<i>féég</i>	‘tell’
HH	<i>béég</i>	‘measure’
LL	<i>daaf</i>	‘leave’
HH	<i>teeg</i>	‘spill’

### 2.4.2.2 Tone pattern in disyllabic words

100.LHL	<i>gudóo</i>	‘in’
LHL	<i>gidáal</i>	‘backward’
LH	<i>hindíd</i>	‘root’
LH	<i>hindír</i>	‘umbilical cord’
LH	<i>kufúb</i>	‘pour’
HLL	<i>kármii</i>	‘alcohol’
HLL	<i>bógeel</i>	‘female sheep’
LHH	<i>dabéél</i>	‘wind’
LLL	<i>giriid</i>	‘trunk of tree’
LL	<i>dagdag</i>	‘quick’
LL	<i>dawar</i>	‘pray’
LL	<i>k’ool</i>	‘class, room’

### 2.4.2.3. Tone pattern in tri-syllabic words

101.LHHH	<i>maskáháá</i>	‘brain’
LHHH	<i>tf’irdéésá</i>	‘craftsman’
LHH	<i>ballárró</i>	‘wide’
LHH	<i>baddální</i>	‘transplant’
LHH	<i>bark’ák’é</i>	‘thunder’
LHH	<i>namáddó</i>	‘greeting’
HHHL	<i>tf’óróóris</i>	‘to pour’
LLLHH	<i>daruurróó</i>	‘cloud’
LLHH	<i>direféét</i>	‘window’
LLL	<i>borboro</i>	‘cockroach’
LLL	<i>hidigin</i>	‘star’
LHL	<i>tf’ibsáwu</i>	‘chest part of camel’

#### 2.4.2.4. Tone pattern in four syllabic words

102.LLHHL	<i>hundernééda</i>	‘bedroom’
LLHHL	<i>gediréédo</i>	‘a kind small animal lives in desert area’
LLHH	<i>dawarsáné</i>	‘beggar’
LLHH	<i>dagdagsáné</i>	‘hurry up’
LLHH	<i>gurguráfó</i>	‘crawl’
LLHH	<i>dawarsánní</i>	‘to pray’
LHHH	<i>hahámmofó</i>	‘yawn’
LHHLH	<i>dijáársiné</i>	‘prepare’
LHHLL	<i>deréérine</i>	‘traveler’
HLHL	<i>dágadága</i>	‘earring’

To sum up, the data presented in this study seems that Girirra is a tonal language. The assignment of tone in different words, however, is not predicted.

### 2.5. Morphophonemic processes

In this section, we discuss morphophonological processes such as assimilation, devoicing, voicing, deletion, epenthesis, and approximant insertion. Crystal (2008:315 states that morphophonemics is “[a] branch of LINGUISTICS referring to the analysis and classification of the PHONOLOGICAL factors which affect the appearance of MORPHEMES, or, correspondingly, the GRAMMATICAL factors which affect the appearance of PHONEMES.”

In what follows, we shall address each of the processes types in turn.

#### 2.5.1. Assimilation

Assimilation is a kind of phonological process in which one of the phonemes shares features other segment in place of articulation, manner of articulation, or in voicing. According to Katamba (1989:80), assimilation “[...] is the modification of a sound in order to make it more similar to some other sound in its neighborhood.” Directionally assimilation can be regressive when the sound that proceeds is assimilated to the sound that follows, i.e. the feature that is assimilated is transferred from a consonant regressively to its preceding consonant. As the result, this sound becomes more similar to the sound that follows it. Conversely, it can be progressive when the sound that follows is assimilated to the sound that proceeds, i.e. the feature that is assimilated is transferred from a consonant progressively to its following consonant. As the

result, the sound becomes more similar to the sound that precedes it. Moreover, in terms of its degree assimilation can be partial or complete. Partial assimilation is realized when some feature values of a segment becomes similar to a neighboring segment whereas complete assimilation is realized when all the feature values are completely changed to become identical with the neighboring segment. Thus, different assimilatory process will discussed below.

### 2.5.1.1. Assimilation of /-ti/

The morpheme /-ti/ is realized as [-di], [-li] and [-ti] depending on different phonological environments. The alternation in the shape of the morpheme is phonologically conditioned. This means that the allomorph of a morpheme that occurs in a given context is determined by root final phoneme. In other words, the morpheme /-ti/ assimilates in voicing with root final segment that precedes it. This assimilation is progressive and partial in its direction and in its degree respectively.

The first realization of /ti/ is [-di] when it follows a vowel or the phoneme /d/. Here are some examples that display when /-ti/ follows vowel:

103a.	<i>mojaa</i>	‘a pestle’	/mojaa-ti/ → [mojaa-di]	‘the pestle’
b.	<i>lukkuu</i>	‘a hen’	/lukkuu-ti/ → [lukkuu-di]	‘the hen’
c.	<i>martii</i>	‘a guest’	/martii-ti/ → [martii-di]	‘the guest’
d.	<i>irii</i>	‘a door’	/irii-ti/ → [irii-di]	‘the door’
e.	<i>daltuu</i>	‘female’	/daltuu-ti/ → [daltuu-di]	‘the female’
f.	<i>gorii</i>	‘gorii (F)’	/gorii-ti/ → [gorii-di]	‘the old (F)’
g.	<i>dawwee</i>	‘jackal’	/dawwee-ti/ → [dawwee-di]	‘the jackal’
h.	<i>mulu</i>	‘salamander’	/muluu-ti/ → [mulu-di]	‘the salamander’
i.	<i>k’uru</i>	‘firewood’	/k’uru-ti/ → [k’uru-di]	‘the firewood’
J.	<i>irrii</i>	‘sun’	/irrii-ti/ → [irrii-di]	‘the sun’

The following examples illustrate the realization of /-ti/ as /di/ when it follows the phoneme /d/.

Examples:

104a.	<i>murood</i>	‘an elephant’	/murood-ti / → [murood-di]	‘the elephant(F)’
b.	<i>rubaad</i>	‘drama’	/rubaad-ti / → [rubaad-di]	‘the drama’
c.	<i>kofjaad</i>	‘cape’	/kofyaad-ti/ → [kofyaad-di]	‘the cape’

The second allomorphe /li/ appears when /-ti/ occurs following lateral liquid /l/ as illustrated below.

105a.	<i>bakaajil</i>	‘a rabbit’	/bakaajil-ti/→[bakaajil-li]	‘the rabbit’
	b. <i>idaal</i>	‘a soldier’	/idaal-ti/→[idaal-li]	‘the soldier’
	c. <i>agaal</i>	‘goods’	/agaal-ti/→[agaal-li]	‘the goods’
	d. <i>iil</i>	‘source/spring’	/iil-ti/→[iil-li]	‘the source/the spring’

As can be observed from the above examples in direction it is progressive while in its degree it is complete.

The third allomorphe is the base /ti/ itself which occurs elsewhere. Examples:

106a.	<i>eej</i>	‘dog’	/eej-ti/→[eej-ti]	‘the dog.F’
	b. <i>anan</i>	‘sibling’	/anan-ti/→[anan-ti]	‘the girl’
	c. <i>habar</i>	‘woman’	/habar-ti/→[habar-ti]	‘the woman’

### 2.5.1.2. Assimilation of /-ki/

The definite masculine marker *-ki* assimilates to the /g/ final root word. In other words, the morpheme /-ki/ has two allomorph [-ki] and [-gi]. The distribution of these morphemes are morphologically motivated. That is, the allomorph [-gi] occurs when it immediately follows a voiced obstruent /g/ or vowel phoneme. Thus, the voiceless morpheme /-ki/ assimilates in voicing with the voiced phoneme /g/ or with vowel that precedes it. The allomorph [-ki] occurs elsewhere. Consider the following examples which indicate the realization of the morpheme /-ki/ as [-gi].

107a.	<i>buug</i>	‘a book’	/buug-ki/→[buug-gi]	‘the book.M’
	b. <i>dæg</i>	‘a snake’	/dæg-ki/→[dæg-gi]	‘the snake.M’
	d. <i>adiig</i>	‘rope/string’	/adiig-ki/→[adiig-gi]	‘the rope/string.M’
	e. <i>goree</i>	‘old (M)’	/goree-ki/→[goree-gi]	‘the old.M’

Consider the following examples which illustrate the occurrence of /-ki/ elsewhere as [-ki].

108a.	<i>nan</i>	‘man’	/nan-ki/→[nan-ki]	‘the man.M’
	<i>eej</i>	‘dog’	/eej-ki/→[eej-ki]	‘the dog.M’
	<i>jehaas</i>	‘corcodile’	/jehaas-ki/→[jehaas-ki]	‘the corcodile.M’

### 2.5.1.3. Assimilation of /n/ to the root final consonant

In Girirra copula is marked by the morpheme *-no*. This morpheme changes its form depending on the environment of its occurrence. The initial consonant of copula marker *-no* assimilates to its preceding root final consonant in cavity i.e. nasal consonant *-n* assimilates to the oral consonant *d/l/r/g*. That is, in the formation of predicate nominal, the copula marker *-no* is realized as *-do, -lo, ro, -go* when it is suffixed to *d/l/r/g* final root.

Consider the following examples for *d, l, r,* and *g* final nouns:

109a. <i>libood</i>	‘male’/libood-no/ → [libood-do]	‘is a male’
b. <i>bil</i>	‘moon’/bil-no/ → [bil-lo]	‘is a moon’
c. <i>mir</i>	‘fruit’/mir-no/ → [mir-ro]	‘is a fruit’
d. <i>laag</i>	‘river’/lag-no/ → [laag-go]	‘is a river’

The above examples indicate that a complete assimilation of *n* to the respective root final consonant. Directionally this assimilation is progressive.

Moreover, word final nasal *-m* completely assimilates to suffix initial nasal *-n*. The direction of this assimilation is regressive. Examples:

110a. <i>maʔaalim</i>	‘teacher’ /maʔaalim-no/ → [maʔaalin-no]	‘is a teacher’
b. <i>Ibraahim</i>	‘Ibraahim’/Ibraahim-no/ → [Ibraahin-no]	‘is Ibraahim’

Moreover, the copula marker *-no* is realized as *-jo* or *-wo*, when it occurs following front and back vowels respectively. Consider the following examples for the vowel final nouns.

111a. <i>beerale</i>	‘a farmer’ /beerale-no/ → [beerale-jo]	‘is a farmer’
b. <i>daga</i>	‘administrator’ /daga-no/ → [daga-wo]	‘is an administrator’
c. <i>dall</i>	‘a bottle’ /dallo-no/ → [dallo-wo]	‘is a bottle’
d. <i>martii</i>	‘a guest’ /martii-no/ → [martii-jo]	‘is a guest’
e. <i>hetu</i>	‘a thief’ /hetu-no/ → [hetu-wo]	‘is a thief’

As can be noted from examples 131a-e the replacement of *n* with approximant *j* or *w* is motivated by the vowel that occurs in its environment. That is, the approximant *j* occurs with the preceding front vowel while the approximant *w* occurs with the preceding back vowel.

#### 2.5.1.4. Assimilation of /b/ to suffix initial morpheme

The word final /b/ is assimilated in voicing to the following suffix initial consonant definite marker *-ti* to form action noun. Consider the following examples.

- 112a. *haab* 'look for' /*haab-tin*/→[*haap-tin*] 'process of finding'  
b. *beeb* 'climb' /*beeb-tin*/→[*beep-tin*] 'process of climbing'

As can be seen from the above examples, the stop obstruent /b/ is assimilated to the onset of the suffix. Moreover, the assimilation is regressive in its direction and partial in its degree of assimilation.

#### 2.5.1.5. Assimilation of /t/ and /k/ to suffix initial morpheme

The word final /t/and/k/ are assimilated in voicing to the following suffix initial consonant /n/. In assimilatory process verbal noun can be formed as exemplified in 113.

- 113a. *het* 'steal' *hed-ni* 'stealing' regressive in its direction and partial in its degree of assimilation as illustrated below.  
b. *beek* 'measure' *beeg-ni* 'measuring'

#### 2.5.1.6. Complete assimilation of /n/ to /r/

Abdurahim (1993:23) discusses assimilation process results in the gemination of the trill as exemplified below.

- 114a. /*hunro*/ → [*hurro*] 'fog'  
b. /*enrab*/ → [*errap*] 'tongue'  
c. /*k'ejernuman*/ → [*k'ejerruman*] 'thinness'

As can be noted from the above examples the gemination process presented below by Abdurahim is proven correct in the present study. That is to say, the phoneme /r/ precedes the phoneme /n/ in its occurrence changed this phoneme to /r/ to make identical with itself. This process resulted in gemination of trill phoneme, which exhibits complete assimilation. Examples:

- 115a. /*morno*/ → [*morro*] 'cattle pen'  
b. /*meerni*/ → [*meerri*] 'strain'  
c. /*beerni*/ → [*beerri*] 'tomorrow'

The above examples indicate that the phoneme /n/ is completely changed to /r/ in order to become identical. This is a kind of progressive assimilation directionally and complete in terms of its degree of assimilation.

### 2.5.1.7. Assimilation of /a/ to /u/

The assimilation of vowels to each other is another very natural process. In examples (136a-b) the vowel *a*, occurs at the initial position of the second components of the compound is changed to *u*, as the result of assimilation to form compound word. Consider the following assimilatory processes in the formation of compound words:

- 116a. *ollu* ‘stomach’ + *afur* ‘below’ → *olluufur* ‘stomachache’  
 b. *ollu* ‘belly’ + *adag* ‘strong’ → *olluudag* ‘unkind’

### 2.5.1.8. Assimilation of -ad to -ow

In Girirra, vowel assimilation is also attested in the formation of inchoative verb. That is, the basic inchoative verb marker *-ad* (cf. 5.4.4) is changed to *-ow*, due to the influence of the preceding vowel *-o*. Subsequently, the preceding vowel *o* influences and changed the morpheme *d* to *w*. This is because; *o* and *w* are vocalic elements, and in the production both segments lip is rounded. Examples:

- 117a. *dogon* ‘lazy’ → */dogon-ad/* → [*dogon-ow*] ‘become lazy’  
 b. *goobo* ‘old (of things)’ → */goobo-ad/* → [*goobo-ow*] ‘become old’  
 c. *boogor* ‘king’ → */boogor-ad/* → [*boogor-ow*] ‘become king’

As can be noted from the above examples, the suffix initial *-ad* is assimilated to the vowel that occurs in the preceding syllables of the word and as the result changed to *-ow*.

### 2.5.1.9. Assimilation of -toj to -s

The morpheme *-toj* is assimilated in place of articulation to word final voiceless alveolar fricative /s/. In other words, *-t* is realized as *-s* when it occurs following the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ (cf. 3.3.2.1.) Consider the following examples in 138.

118a.	<i>tf'orooris</i>	'pour'	/tf'orooris-t- <i>oj</i> / → [tf'orooris-s- <i>oj</i> ]	'someone who pour liquid to/on something.'
b.	<i>daagis</i>	'look after'	/daadis-[-t- <i>oj</i> / → [daadis-s- <i>oj</i> ]	'someone who looks after somebody/something'
c.	<i>dis</i>	'build'	/dis-[-t- <i>oj</i> / → [dis-s- <i>oj</i> ]	'builder'
d.	<i>guuris</i>	'marry'	/guuris-t- <i>oj</i> / → [guuris-s- <i>oj</i> ]	'one who marry somebody'
e.	<i>insubis</i>	'mend'	/insubis-t- <i>oj</i> / → [insubis-s- <i>oj</i> ]	'mender'
f.	<i>siis</i>	'give'	/siis-t- <i>oj</i> / → [siis-s- <i>oj</i> ]	'giver'

### 2.5.2. Word final devoicing

According to Katamba (1989:103) “[i]t is natural for obstruents to be voiceless. He further points out “[...]numerous languages, with voiced obstruents, have a rule which devoices them in syllable final position”. Likewise, in Girirraparticularly, the word that end in voiced stop /b/, /d/ /g/ change to devoiced stop obstruent [p], [t] and [k](cf.2.1.2.1 (41.2, 43.1, 47.1 for illustrations)).

### 2.5.3. Devoicing and subsequent degemination

In this section two processes are exhibited one after another i.e. devoicing and degemination. In formation of future possessive clause, the morpheme final consonant *d* is devoiced and become similar with consonant initial suffix *t*. Subsequently, it becomes degeminate as illustrated below.

119a. /weld-t-i/ → [welt-t-i] assimilation of *d* to *t* ( in voice)

[welt-t-i] → [wel-t-i] degemination *tt* to *t*      ‘you will have’  
will have-2S-IPFV → will have-2S-IPFV

b. /weld-t-i/ → [welt-t-i] assimilation of *d* to *t* ( in voice)

[welt-t-i] → [wel-t-i] degemination *tt* to *t*      ‘she will have’  
will have-2SF-IPFV → will have-2SF-IPFV

c. /weld-t-a-n/ → [welt-t-a-n] assimilation of *d* to *t* (in voice)

[welt-t-a-n] → [wel-t-a-n] degemination of *tt* to *t*      ‘you (PL) will have’  
will have-2-IPFV-PL → will have-2-IPFV-PL

d. /weld-n-i/ → [weln-n-i] assimilation of *n* to *d*

[weln-n-i] → [wel-n-i] degemination of *nn* to *n*      ‘we will have’  
will have-1PL-IPFV → will have-1PL-IPFV

#### 2.5.4. Intervocalic voicing

According to Sloat et al, (1978:114) intervocalic voicing process “[...] assimilates voiceless segments to the voicing of the neighboring sounds, changes [t] to [d] in some English dialects.” Similarly in Girirra *-t-* which marks 2S, 2PL and 3SF in tense-less predicate adjective changes *-t-* to *-d-* intervocalically in the past copula. Compare the morpheme *-t-* with the morpheme *-d-* in column two and three of Table 5.

Table 5: intervocalic voicing of *-t-*

person	Tense-less predicate adjective	Past copula
2S	<i>adi mannan-t-a</i> 2S beautiful-2S-COP 'you are beautiful/handsome'	<i>adi maʔaalin agu-d-ej</i> 2S teacher PST.COP-2S-PFV 'You were a teacher.'
2PL	<i>adi mannan-t-a-n</i> 2PL beautiful-2-COP-PL 'You are beautiful/ handsome.'	<i>adi maʔaalin agu-d-en</i> 2PL teacher PST.COP-PFV 'You were teachers.'
3SF	<i>issi mannan-t-a</i> 3SF beautiful-3SF-COP 'She is beautiful.'	<i>issi maʔaalin agu-d-ej</i> 3SF beautiful PST.COP-PFV 'She was a teacher.'

As indicated in Table (5) the subject marker *-t-* in predicate adjective of column two is changed to *-d-* in past copula construction of column three as the result of intervocalic position that is influenced by the surrounding vowels.

#### 2.5.5. Deletion

The word final vowel is deleted as the result of combining of vowel final word to other words. Consider the process of forming the following compound words:

120a. *heri* 'lip' + *dogaad* 'lower'    *herdogaad* 'lower lip'

b. *biju* 'water' + *kulul* 'hot'    *bijkulul* 'hot water'

Moreover, in the following examples the word final vowel is deleted due to the suffixation of plural marker *-jaali* to the word.

c. *bakaajile* 'a rabbit'    *bakaajiljaali* 'rabbits'

d. *seeʔ* 'a cow'    *seeʔjaali* 'cows'

e. *huriisa* 'a hammer'    *huriisjaali* 'hammers'

### 2.5.6. Epenthesis

Carr (2008:50) defines epenthesis as “[t]he insertion of a segment in a sequence of segments.” Sloat et al. (1978:119) give a similar statement regarding epenthesis that is adding a vowel or a consonant at the medial or final position of a word. In Girirra the vowel *-i* is attested as an epenthetic vowel. That is, in 2PL and 3PL paradigm the vowel *-i* is used as an epenthetic vowel to avoid consonant cluster at word final position in the formation of present progressive. Consider the following example.

- 121a. *issin muus-ki-j-o un ku-t-al-i-n*  
2PL food-DEF-EPN-ACC.DEF eat PRS.AUX-2-exist-EPN-PL  
‘You are eating the banana.’
- b. *ussood muus-ki-j-o un ku-j-al-i-n*  
3PL banana-DEF-EPN-ACC eat PRS.AUX-3-exist-EPN-PL  
‘They are eating the banana.’

Abdurahim (1993:51) identifies vowel *-i* as an epenthetic vowel for the first time, which is used to avoid impermissible cluster of consonants as illustrated below.

- 122a. *deer + jja = UR*  
*deer + i + jja = epenthetic vowel inserted*  
*deeri jja = SR ‘is long’*

(Abdurahim 1993:51)

However, the example given in (122a) is somewhat challenged by the present study. That is, the morpheme *-jja* which is used as predicate copula marker in Abdurahim’s study is realized as *-ja* in the present work. Thus, suffixing the morpheme *-ja* to the root adjective *deer* ‘tall/long’ cannot form impermissible consonant cluster. Therefore, there is no need of inserting epenthetic *-i-* as shown below.

- c. *deer + ja =*  
*deerja ‘is tall/long’*

### 2.5.7. Approximant insertion

In many cases, before the focus marker vowel *-e* is suffixed to the vowel-ended in noun the approximants *-w-or-j-* is inserted to avoid the sequence of two different vowels. Examples (123a-b, 124a-b) illustrate this.

123. a. *ussu-e*

he-FOC

*ussu-w-e*

he-w-FOC ‘HE (the pronoun ‘he’ is focused)’

b. *Kadija-e*

Kadija-FOC

*Kadija-w-e* = insertion of approximant *-w-* to avoid sequence of two different vowels

*Kadija-w-e* ‘KADIJA (the proper noun ‘Kadija’ is focused)’

Similarly, before the accusative marker *-o* is suffixed to the word that ends in definite marker *-ki* the approximant *-w-* is inserted to avoid sequence two different vowels. Consider the following examples.

124 a. *moon-ki*

male.donkey-DEF

‘the male donkey’

*moon-ki-w-o*

male donkey-DEF-EPN-ACC

‘the male donkey.ACC’

Suffixing of *-o* to the definite marker *-ki* results in sequence of two different vowels, which is impermissible. Thus, to form definite accusative the insertion of approximant *-w-* take place before the suffixation of the morpheme *o* to avoid sequence of two different vowels.

b. *ijjaal-i*

child-PL.DEF

‘The children’

*ijjaal-i-w-o*

child-PL-w-o

‘the children (ACC)’

Likewise, the approximant *-j-* is inserted in between the vowel-ended in noun and the vowel morpheme *-o* to avoid the sequence of two different vowels. Examples (125a-g) illustrate this.

125 a. *beerale* ‘farmer’

*beerale-j-o* insertion of approximant *-j-* to avoid sequence two different vowels

farmer-EPN-COP

‘is a farmer’

b. *awu-ke*

father-GEN

‘My father’-

c. *awu-ke-j-o*

father-POSS.3SM-EPN-COP

‘is my father’

d. *walal-te-te*

sibling -F.GEN

‘your sister’

e. *walal-te-te-j-o* insertion of approximant *-j-* to avoid sequence two different vowels

child M.POSS.3SF-EPN-COP

‘is your son’

f. *habar-ta*

woman-F.POSS.2S

‘your wife’

g. *habar-ti-j-o* insertion of approximant *-j-* to avoid sequence of two different vowels

woman-POSS.3SF-EPN -COP

‘is your wife’

Moreover, the approximant *-j-* which marks 1S, 3SM and 3PL in predicate adjective changes to *-w-* when follows back vowel *-u-* in the past copula. Compare the morpheme *-j-* in column two with the morpheme *-w-* in column three of Table 6.

Table 6: Approximant insertion

person	Tense-less predicate adjective	Past copula
1S	<i>ani mannan-j-a</i> 'I am beautiful/handsome'	<i>ani maɗaalim agu-w-ej</i> 'I was a teacher.'
3SM	<i>ussu mannan-j-a</i> 'He is handsome.'	<i>ussu maɗaalim agu-w-ej</i> 'He was a teacher.'
3PL	<i>ussood mannan-j-an</i> 'They are beautiful or handsome.'	<i>ussood maɗaalim agu-w-en</i> 'They were teachers.'

As can be noted from the above table, the subject marker-*j-* in column two is realized as *-w-* in column three as the result of assimilation, due to the fact that it immediately occurs after the back vowel *u-*.

In summary, the present chapter has dealt with the sound system of Girirra. It has been identified that Girirra has 21 consonant and 5 vowels with contrastive length. Minimal pairs have been used to confirm the phonemic status of phonemes. The distributional behavior of the phoneme in word initial medial and final position has been examined. Co-occurrence restrictions and cluster of phonemes have been dealt with in detail. It has been also identified that the syllable structure of the language as (C) V (V) (C). Besides, this chapter has given attention to morphonemic processes such as assimilation, inversion, voicing, devoicing and epenthesis.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Noun

In this chapter we discuss, inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns. Regarding inflection and syntactic function of noun, Crystal (2008:333) claims that “[...] nouns are items which display certain types of inflection (e.g. of case or number), have a specific distribution [...], and perform a specific syntactic function (e.g. as subject or object of a sentence).”

Noun morphology can be classified into two categories: noun inflection and noun derivation. Nouns can display certain types of inflection such as case, number, definiteness, and gender. In the following discussions, each component of inflection and derivation will be treated in turn. Moreover, the major components of word formation processes like nominalization and compounding will be discussed.

However, before we embark the discussion of inflectional and derivational morphology, we will give some remarks on the terminal consonant and terminal phonemes of Girirra.

#### 3.1. Consonant and vowel final nouns

This section attempts to treat the terminal consonant and the terminal vowel of nouns. In their basic form, nouns end in either consonant or vowel. Thus, noun can be categorized into vowel final (V-final) and consonant final (C- final).The following discussions elaborate the terminal consonant and terminal vowel of nouns.

- **Noun with final consonant**

The phoneme *r, n, j, s, d, l b, g, d, s, j, f, t, f, m, w,* and *ʔ* are terminal consonants. In other words, all consonants can occur as terminal consonant of nouns with the exception of *tʃ, dʒ, ɲ, k, k', h* and *d'* sounds. The sonorants *r and n* frequently occur as terminal consonant whereas speech sounds *m, w,* and *ʔ* seldom occur as terminal consonants. Thus, sounds can be ended with labial, labiodentals, alveolar (or post alveolar), palatal, and voiced velar (or glottal) sounds. Consider table (7) as illustration.

Table 7: Terminal consonants of nouns

labial	Labiodentals	Alveolar/post alveolar	Palatal	Velar/glottal
<i>arrab</i> 'tongue'	<i>daaf</i> 'hawk'	<i>wadan</i> 'country'	<i>bildaj</i> 'mirror'	<i>dag</i> 'ear'
<i>booram</i> 'cliff'	<i>suuf</i> 'cotton'	<i>sobaad</i> 'butter'	<i>dabbaj</i> 'very'	<i>see?</i> 'say'
<i>teeb</i> 'bark'	<i>if</i> 'light'	<i>sool</i> 'thumb'	<i>felleej</i> 'yesterday'	<i>se?</i> 'stand up'
<i>koob</i> 'cup'	<i>baaf</i> 'plate( of steel)'	<i>subeer</i> 'sheep(f)'	<i>aaj</i> 'mother'	<i>dagdag</i> 'jewelery'
<i>sow</i> 'meat'	<i>daaf</i> n. hawk	<i>ariin</i> 'goat'	<i>eej</i> 'dog'	<i>doog</i> 'grassland'
<i>daab</i> n. wax		<i>direfet</i> 'window'	<i>akkaj</i> 'that'	
		<i>naas</i> 'breast (of cow)'	<i>f'ik'ilej</i> n. elbow	
		<i>gef</i> 'cut'		

- **Noun with terminal vowel**

Most of the nouns in Girirra end in vowels. These vowels include *i*, *e*, *o*, *a*, and *u*. However, they all vary in their frequency of occurrence. That is, the sounds *a*, *e*, *o*, *i*, and *u* are terminal vowels in their descending order of occurrence. This indicates that the vowel *a*, appears with highest frequency as a terminal vowel whereas the vowel *u* appears with least frequency as a terminal vowel. The following table displays terminal vowels of nouns as illustration.

Table 8: terminal vowels of nouns

i/ii		e/ee		a/aa		o/oo		u/uu	
<i>martii</i>	'guest'	<i>danaane</i>	'axe'	<i>k'orka</i>	'room'	<i>agaro</i>	'antelop'	<i>biwu</i>	'water'
<i>geesi</i>	'horn'	<i>herbarte</i>	'needle'	<i>baha</i>	'flower'	<i>diiro</i>	'worm'	<i>awu</i>	'father'
<i>mandi</i>	'knife'	<i>hujee</i>	'face'	<i>hungura</i>	'food'	<i>faraato</i>	'ring'	<i>giwu</i>	'winter'
<i>erri</i>	'sand'	<i>made</i>	'head'	<i>adaa</i>	'forehead'	<i>gorobo</i>	'window'	<i>hetu</i>	'thief'
<i>hiski</i>	'worm'	<i>dawwee</i>	'jackal'	<i>erka</i>	'sky'	<i>esbo</i>	'salt'	<i>sonuu</i>	'venom'
<i>irri</i>	'door'	<i>bugee</i>	sheep	<i>arfaa</i>	'be kind'	<i>habloo</i>	'girl'	<i>daltuu</i>	female

### 3.2. Inflection of nouns

This section deals with the inflectional morphology of nouns such as number, gender, definiteness, and case. Case can be further classified into nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental, and vocative. There are a number of portmanteau morphemes. For instance, the morphemes *-ki* and *-ti* marks definiteness and gender simultaneously. Each inflection will be discussed below in turn.

#### 3.2.1. Number

Girirra has a four-way number system for noun. These include singular, dual, paucal, and plural number system. Only countable nouns can be dual, paucal, or plural. In other words, singular is morphologically unmarked whereas plural, paucal and dual are morphologically marked. Besides, dual and paucal are found in Girirra as minor and are used for forms that are required with lower numbers. The number marking morphemes are provided in Table 9:

Table 9: Number with their markers

Marker	Categories of number
-∅	singular
<i>jaali, -i</i>	plural
<i>-ata/alla</i>	dual
<i>-ati</i>	paucal

In what follows each category of number marking will be discussed below.

##### 3.2.1.1 Singular

The singular is a simple noun from which the plural, the paucal or dual is formed by suffixation of affixes to the root or to the stem. Singularity with noun is unmarked or expressed by a zero morpheme in Girirra. Examples:

- 1a. *lukkuu*            ‘a hen/hen’
- b. *fibir*             ‘a bird/ bird’
- c. *ariin*            ‘a goat/ goat’
- d. *laag*             ‘a river / river’
- e. *libaag*           ‘a lion / lion’
- f. *fibeel*            ‘a leopard /leopard’

### 3.2.1.2. Dual

Dual is identified in Girirra as one of the number system. Corbett (2004:20) defines dual as “[...] two distinct real world entities.” It may include nouns indicating things found in pair, like breast, ear, foot, and hand, for instance. This number system is not probably attested in any other the Lowland East Cushitic language. In Girirra, the dual number is formed with a few entities that exist particularly as part of a body. These are *naas* ‘breast’, *daw* ‘foot’, *lug* ‘leg’ *ganee* ‘hand’, etc. The dual form of these nouns are formed by suffixing *-ata* and or *-alla* to the root form. The distribution of these morphemes is unpredictable. It seems that they are lexically conditioned rather than phonological factors. For example, with word such as *naas* ‘breast’, both morpheme *-ata* and *-alla* are alternatively used to form dual while with other words such as *daw* ‘a foot’, *lug* ‘leg’ *ganee* ‘hand’ either *-ata* or *-alla* is only used to form dual. Consider the following examples:

Singular		Dual	
2a. <i>naas</i>	‘breast’	<i>naas-ata</i>	‘a pair of breasts’
		<i>naas-alla</i>	‘a pair of breasts’
b. <i>lug</i>	‘a leg’	<i>lug-alla</i>	‘a pair of legs’
		* <i>lug-ata</i>	-----
c. <i>ganee</i>	‘a hand’	<i>ganee-?alla</i>	‘a pair of hands’
		* <i>ganee-?ata</i>	-----
d. <i>daw</i>	‘foot’	<i>daw-ata</i>	‘a pair of feet’
		* <i>daw-alla</i>	-----
e. <i>sandug</i>	‘box’	<i>sandug-ata</i>	‘a pair of boxes’
		* <i>sandug-alla</i>	-----

As can be noted from the above example, in 2a suffixing the morphemes *-ata* or *-alla* to the word *naas* ‘breast’ is possible to form dual. However, in 2b and 2c suffixing the morpheme *-alla* to the word *lug* ‘leg’ and *ganee* ‘a hand’ is possible while suffixing the morpheme *-ata* to these words is impossible or resulted in ungrammatical form. Similarly, in 2d and 2e suffixing morpheme *-ata* to the word *daw* ‘a foot’ and *sandug* ‘a box’ is possible whereas suffixing *-alla* to these words resulted in ungrammatical form. Thus, due to untraced reason the distribution of the morpheme *-ata* or *-alla* is unpredictable or irregular.

### 3.2.1.3. Paucal

Regarding paucal, Corbett (2004:22) writes, “[t]he paucal is used to refer to a small number of distinct real world entities. It is similar to English quantifier ‘a few’ in meaning, particularly in that there is no specific upper bound that put on its use.” Paucal is identified as distinct number system in Girirra. According to Corbett (2004:10), a similar situation exists in Bayso, one of the Cushitic languages spoken in Southern Ethiopia, on Gidicho Island in the Lake Abaya and the western shore of the lake. The same source (2004:22) writes, “[t]he paucal is used in Bayso for reference to a small number of individuals, from two to about six.” In Girirra a small group of entities, ranging from three to five in number may be identified as paucal. Thus, the paucal is formed by suffixing the bound morpheme *-ati* to some singular countable noun. Compare the following paucal and their plural forms as illustration.

Singular		paucal		plural	
3a. <i>libaag</i>	‘a lion’	<i>libaag-ati</i>	‘a few lions’	<i>libaag-jaali</i>	‘lions’
b. <i>min</i>	‘a house’	<i>min-ati</i>	‘a few houses’	<i>min-jaali</i>	‘houses’
c. <i>gaal</i>	‘a camel’	<i>gaal-ati</i>	‘a few camels’	<i>gaal-jaali</i>	‘camels’
d. <i>bug</i>	‘a note book’	<i>buug-ati</i>	‘a few note books’	<i>buug-jaali</i>	‘note books’
e. <i>bilaan</i>	‘a woman’	<i>bilaan-ati</i>	‘a few women’	<i>bilaan-jaali</i>	‘women’
f. <i>finbir</i>	‘a bird’	<i>finbir-ati</i>	‘a few birds’	<i>finbir-jaali</i>	‘birds’
g. <i>deel</i>	‘pot’	<i>deel-ati</i>	‘a few pots’	<i>deel-jaali</i>	‘pots’

### 3.2.1.3 The plural

Apart from a few irregular ones, there are two ways of forming plural nouns in Girirra. These include suffixing *-jaali*, and *-i*.

In the following discussion, each suffix that is used to form plural in Girirra will be treated one-by-one. Thus, remarks, and examples will be provided on plural marking with suffixation of the suffix *-yaali*.

- **Plural marking with suffixation of *-jaali***

In Girirra, a lot of the regular singular noun that end in consonant seems to take a plural marker *-jaali* to form plural nouns. In other words, the suffix *-jaali* is predominantly used to form plural noun in this language. In relation to this, Paster (2006:87) points out that “[...] vowel final-stems taking *-yal* and consonant-final stems taking *-o*.” According to the present study *-jaali* is suffixed

to noun that ends in consonant to form plural whereas in Lower Jubba Maay, one of the dialects of Somalia (Paster 2006) *-yal* is suffixed to noun that ends in vowel to form plural. However, Saeed's (1982:12) proposal somewhat agrees with the present finding. That is, Saeed (1982:12) identifies the suffix *-jaal* and *-o* as markers of plural in Central Somali, and *-jaal* can be suffixed to stems that end in consonant to form plural. However, the distribution of *-jaal* and *-o* in relation to consonant or vowel ending noun is not clearly stated by him. Similarly, in Af- Tunni (Tosco 1997:45) plural is marked by the morphemes *-tó*, *-ó* and *-[y] á*. Saeed (1982:11) points out that many nouns seem to take a plural suffix *jaal*.

As can be noted from the above discussion, many singular nouns that end in consonant seem to take a plural marker *-jaali*. Consider the following examples:

4.Singular		Plural	
<i>min</i>	‘a house’	<i>min-jaali</i>	‘houses’
<i>seeʔ</i>	‘a cow’	<i>seeʔ-jaali</i>	‘cows’
<i>bakaajil</i>	‘a rabbit’	<i>bakaajil-jaali</i>	‘rabbits’
<i>elleen</i>	‘a sheep’	<i>elleen-jaali</i>	‘sheep (pl)’
<i>libaag</i>	‘a lion’	<i>libaag-jaali</i>	‘lions’

plural marking by the the suffix *-i* is formed either by the suffixation of *-i* to some nouns that end in short vowel.

- **Plural marking by deletion and suffixation of *-iin* vowel final nouns**

Some nouns that end with short vowel form their plural counterpart form by deleting the terminal vowel of the singular noun and suffixing *-ito* stop obstruent or sonorantconsonant nouns as illustrated bellow.

5. Singular form		Plural form	
<i>waraaba</i>	‘a hyena’	<i>waraab-i</i>	‘hyenas’
<i>ida</i>	‘a sheep’	<i>id-i</i>	‘sheep.PL’
<i>kora</i>	‘an ape’	<i>kor-i</i>	‘apes’
<i>hablo</i>	‘a girl’	<i>habl-i</i>	‘girls’
<i>areeda</i>	‘school’	<i>areed-i</i>	‘schools’

*digaaga*                      ‘rooster’                      *digaag-i*                      ‘roosters’

• **Plural marking by the suffixation–*i* inliquid final nouns**

The plural noun is formed by suffixing *-i-* to the singular nouns that end in liquids: *l* and *r*. Consider the following examples:

6.Singular form		Plural form	
<i>awuur</i>	‘an ox’	<i>awuur-i</i>	‘oxen’
<i>bil</i>	‘a months’	<i>bil-i</i>	‘months’
<i>buur</i>	‘a mountain’	<i>buur-i</i>	‘mountains’
<i>deel</i>	‘a pot’	<i>deel-i</i>	‘pots’
<i>hugoogil</i>	‘a window’	<i>hugoogil-i</i>	‘widows’

Finally, the following idiosyncratic plural forms appear:

7. <i>dib</i>	‘an ox’	<i>dibas</i>	‘oxen’
<i>jaar</i>	‘shirt’	<i>jaarar</i>	‘shirts’

The plural form of the word *jaar* ‘shirt’ is *jaarar* ‘shirts’ as well as the plural form of the word *dib* ‘ox’ is *dibas* ‘oxen’ do not follow the pattern described above. The word *jaarar* borrowed from Somali language and widely used currently along with the indigenous word *k’oloo* ‘shirt’. For the time being, I could not find some more examples, which follow the plural pattern seen in a word *dibi* ‘ox’. However, these words may be considered as instance of irregular plural in Girirra

### 3.2.2 Gender

In Girirra, two-way gender system is observed: feminine and masculine. Normally, gender difference is characteristic of animate or inanimate nouns. The feminine gender refers to all animate entities whose reference is biologically feminine or inanimate entities considered as feminine. Similarly, masculine gender refers to all animate entities whose reference is biologically masculine or inanimate entities considered as masculine. Moreover, animate entities observed, as small in size are considered as female regardless of their biological gender.

For example, in Girirra animate entities like *bakaajile* ‘rabbit’ and *kolis* ‘rat’ can be considered as an instance of this. In Girirra entities of the solar system such as *erka* ‘sky’, *hiddjin* ‘star’, and *bil* ‘moon’ are referred as masculine whereas *eri* ‘sun’ is referred as feminine.

Like in definite the morpheme *-ki* and *-ti* are also used as gender marker (cf.3.2.3 for details). This claim holds true in Lower Jubba Maay, one of the Somali dialects (Paster, 2006). Similarly, Paster (2006:91) points out “[a]ll nouns in LJM [Lower Jubba Maay] have either masculine or feminine gender.” Paster further says “[...] the masculine form the marker has initial /k/; the feminine form of the marker has initial /t/.” In Girirra, the indefinite masculine/feminine nouns are morphologically unmarked. However, the morphemes *-ki/ka* and *-ti/ta* are also used as gender marker. That is, the masculine and feminine are marked by the morphemes *-ki/ka* and *-ti/ta* respectively. Consider the following examples:

Citation form		DEF: M		DEF:F	
8a. <i>eej</i>	‘a dog’	<i>eej-ki</i>	‘the dog’	<i>eej-ti</i>	‘the dog’
b. <i>dameer</i>	‘a donkey’	<i>dameer-ki</i>	‘the donkey’	<i>dameer-ti</i>	‘the donkey’
c. <i>anan</i>	‘a boy’	<i>anan-ki</i>	‘the boy’	<i>anan-ti</i>	‘the girl’
d. <i>ijjaal</i>	‘a child’	<i>ijjaal-ki</i>	‘the child’	-----	-----
e. <i>habar</i>	‘a woman’	-----	-----	<i>habar-ti</i>	‘the woman’
f. <i>awuur</i>	‘an ox’	<i>awuur-ki</i>	‘the ox’	-----	-----

Normally, inanimate or animatenouns that are considered as masculine, take the suffix *-ki* to mark masculine. Examples:

9a. <i>min</i>	‘a house’	<i>min-ki</i>	‘the house.M’
b. <i>geed</i>	‘a tree’	<i>geed-ki</i>	‘the tree.M’
c. <i>biriis</i>	‘rice’	<i>biriis-ki</i>	‘the rice.M’
d. <i>miis</i>	‘a table’	<i>miis-ki</i>	‘the table.M’

However, inanimate or animate nouns that are considered as feminine or things small in size are considered as feminine therefore, they take the feminine definite marker *-ti*.

10a. <i>wan</i>	‘milk’	<i>wan-ti</i>	‘the milk’
b. <i>ukkun</i>	‘an egg’	<i>ukkun-ti</i>	‘the egg’
c. <i>haan</i>	‘a jar’	<i>haan-ti</i>	‘the jar’

d. <i>adaree</i>	‘maize’	<i>adaree-ti</i>	‘the maize’
e. <i>basal</i>	‘onion’	<i>bassal-ti</i>	‘the onion’
f. <i>bakaajil</i>	‘raabit’	<i>bakaajil-ti</i>	‘the rabbit’

Apart from these markers, different lexical morphemes can also be used for masculine and feminine to indicate the gender of some animate nouns (human and animals). Consider the following independent words that illustrate gender distinction of human being.

Feminine		masculine	
11a. <i>aaaj</i>	‘mother’	<i>awu</i>	‘father’
b. <i>habar</i>	‘woman’	<i>nan</i>	‘man’
c. <i>walalkaj</i>	‘brother’	<i>walaltaj</i>	‘sister’
d. <i>groob</i>	‘widow’	<i>k’awuli</i>	‘divorced/unmarried male’

Similarly, the gender of domestic animals like cattle, horse, donkeys, sheep, and goats are identified by using lexical items. Gender distinction of *ariin* ‘goat’, *id* ‘sheep’, *farad* ‘horse’ and *dameer* ‘donkey’ can be further classified into different levels of maturity as illustrated below.

12a. <i>see?</i>	‘cow’	<i>dib</i>	‘a young bull’
b. <i>subeer</i>	‘a young female sheep, lamb’	<i>wanni</i>	‘a young male sheep’
c. <i>idigi</i>	‘mare’	<i>lab</i>	‘stallion’
d. <i>idige</i>	‘female donkey’	<i>moon</i>	‘male donkey’
e. <i>bugeel</i>	‘ewe’	<i>eleen</i>	‘ram’
f. <i>rii</i>	‘an adult female goat’	<i>essan</i>	‘an adult male goat’
g. <i>riid</i>	‘young female goat’	<i>siipessan</i>	‘castrated male goat’

Moreover, gender can be expressed by different kinship terms. The majority of kinship terms are used to denote male or female distinction in the physical world. The followings are examples:

Feminine		Masculine	
13a. <i>aaaj</i>	‘mother’	<i>awu</i>	‘father’
b. <i>aroode</i>	‘aunt’	<i>awwar</i>	‘uncle (brother of one's father)’
c. <i>haanna</i>	‘aunt (sister of one's father)’	-	-

d. <i>aaaji</i>	‘mother of one's husband’	<i>awuu</i>	‘father of one's husband’
e. <i>siitan</i>	‘mother of one's wife’	<i>soddo</i>	‘father of one's wife’
f. <i>oboleejda</i>	‘sister of one's wife’	<i>jallo</i>	‘brother of one's wife’
g. <i>oboleeta</i>	‘sister of one's husband’	-	-
h. <i>weel</i>	‘daughter-in-law	<i>ilma</i>	‘son-in-law’
i. <i>sodotaj</i>	‘mother-in-law’	<i>sodokaj</i>	‘father-in-law’
j. <i>walaltaj</i>	‘sister’	<i>walalkaj</i>	‘brother’

### 3.2.3. Definiteness

According to Crystal (2008: 133) definite is “[a] term used in GRAMMAR and SEMANTICS to refer to a specific, identifiable entity (or class of entities [...] usually contrasted with indefinite [...].” Similarly, Lyons (1999:282) points out “[...] definiteness is a morphosyntactic category, grammaticalizing pragmatic category identifiability.” With regard to this, in Girirra definiteness is morphologically marked whereas indefiniteness is morphologically unmarked.

The definite masculine *-ki* and *-ka* and the feminine definite marker *-ti* and *-ta* are used as free variation respectively to mark definiteness in Girirra. This situation also holds true in Somali according to Bell (1968:12) however, he transcribes *kii* and *tii* instead of *ki* and *ti* and identifies *-ku* (M) and *-tu* (F) as additional definite marker. Similarly, According to Saeed (1982:14) “[t]here are two forms of definite determiner, *-ka/-ta* and *-ki/-ti*. The latter may be termed the remote definite article and the former the non-remote.”

Of the two varieties of definite masculine/feminine marker used in Girirra, the variety *-ki* and *-ti* are used to mark definiteness. This is because; native speakers frequently use the variety *-ki* and *-ti* to mark definiteness. The morpheme *-ki* marks masculine definite noun whereas the morpheme *-ti* marks feminine definite noun. Moreover, the morpheme *-o* marks definiteness regardless gender. The morpheme *-e* also marks definiteness of the plural noun. Thus, except for a few irregular ones, there are four ways of distinguishing definiteness:

by suffixing *-ki/-ka*

by suffixing *-ti/-ta*

by suffixing *-o*

by suffixing *-e*

In what follows different forms of definite marker will be discussed.

- **Definite marking with the suffixation of *-ki***

Like in gender, the morphemes *-ki* is a portmanteau morpheme, which marks definiteness and gender simultaneously. That is to say, the morpheme *-ki* is used to mark definiteness and masculine. However, this morpheme is realized as *[-gi]* in certain limited environments (cf.2.5.1.2 for the detail).

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the morpheme *-ki*

14a. <i>dad</i>	‘a person’	<i>dad-ki</i>	‘the person.M’
b. <i>libood</i>	‘a male’	<i>libood-ki</i>	‘the male’
c. <i>ijjaal</i>	‘a child’	<i>ijjaal-ki</i>	‘the boy’
d. <i>jehaas</i>	‘a crocodile’	<i>jehaas-ki</i>	‘the crocodile.M’
e. <i>kutuub</i>	‘a book’	<i>kutuub-ki</i>	‘the book.M’
f. <i>buug</i>	‘a book’	<i>buug-ki</i>	‘the book.M’
g. <i>deg</i>	‘a snake’	<i>deg-ki</i>	‘the snake.F’
h. <i>adig</i>	‘rope/string’	<i>adiig-ki</i>	‘the rope/string.M’
i. <i>goree</i>	‘old (M)’	<i>goree-ki</i>	‘the old.M’
j. <i>anan</i>	‘child’	<i>anan-ki</i>	‘the boy.M’
k. <i>min</i>	‘house’	<i>min-ki</i>	‘the house.M’
l. <i>nan</i>	‘man’	<i>nan-ki</i>	‘the man.M’

- **Definite marking with suffixation of *-ti***

The definite markers *-ti* is used to mark definite feminine. However, this morpheme consists of different variants, which morphologically conditioned. The variant of *-ti* includes *[-di]* and *[-li]* i.e. *-ti* is realized as *-di* and *-li* when it is preceded by vowel final base word and consonant *l* final base word respectively (cf.2.5.1.1 for the surface representation of the morpheme *-ti*). The underlying form of the morpheme *-ti* is illustrated in 15a-o below.

15a. <i>lukkuu</i>	‘a hen’	<i>lukkuu-ti</i>	‘the hen.F’
b. <i>martii</i>	‘a guest’	<i>martii-ti</i>	‘the guest.F’
c. <i>irii</i>	‘a door’	<i>irii-ti</i>	‘the door’
d. <i>gorii</i>	‘gorii (F)’	<i>gorii-ti</i>	‘the old.F’
e. <i>dawwee</i>	‘jackal’	<i>dawwee-ti</i>	‘the jackal.F’
f. <i>lug</i>	‘a foot’	<i>luk-ti</i>	‘the leg.F’
g. <i>bakaajil</i>	‘a rabbit’	<i>bakaajil-ti</i>	‘the rabbit.F’
h. <i>idaal</i>	‘soldier’	<i>idaal-ti</i>	‘the soldier.F’
i. <i>agaal</i>	‘goods’	<i>agaal-ti</i>	‘the goods.F’
j. <i>bir</i>	‘iron’	<i>bir-ti</i>	‘the iron.F’
k. <i>islaan</i>	‘a wife’	<i>islaan-ti</i>	‘the wife.F’
l. <i>beg</i>	‘wound’	<i>bek-ti</i>	‘the wound.F’
m. <i>habar</i>	‘woman’	<i>habar-ti</i>	‘the woman.F’
n. <i>anan</i>	‘sibling’	<i>anan-ti</i>	‘the wife.F’
o. <i>eej</i>	‘dog’	<i>eej-ti</i>	‘the dog.F’

- **Definite marking with the suffixation -o**

The suffixation of bound morpheme *-o* to some nouns that ends in approximant /w/, /j/ and liquid /r/ or bilabial /b/ is used to mark definiteness, alternatively regardless of gender. The following examples may illustrate this.

16a. <i>baabur</i>	‘a car’	<i>baabur-o</i>	‘the car’
b. <i>hungur</i>	‘food’	<i>hungur-o</i>	‘the food’
c. <i>sow</i>	‘meat’	<i>sow-o</i>	‘the meat’
d. <i>rukkow</i>	‘fruit’	<i>rukkow-o</i>	‘the fruit’
e. <i>k'onbar</i> n.	chair, stool	<i>k'onbar-o</i>	‘the chair, stool’
f. <i>sank'oror</i>	‘bridge of a nose’	<i>sank'oror-o</i>	‘the bridge of a nose’
g. <i>reer</i>	‘family’	<i>reer-o</i>	‘the family’
h. <i>mindeer</i>	‘intestine’	<i>mindeer-o</i>	‘the intestine’
i. <i>bija</i>	‘water’	<i>bij-o</i>	‘the water’
j. <i>waraaba</i>	‘hyena’	<i>waraab-o</i>	‘the hyena’
k. <i>saab</i>	‘basket’	<i>saab-o</i>	‘the basket’

- **Plural definite marking with suffixation -e**

The plural definiteness is also formed by suffixing the *-e* to the plural noun bases. That is to say, the morpheme *-e* is suffixed to the plural nouns, which is formed by the suffixation of plural marker *-jaali*. In other words, the definite plural noun is formed by suffixing the morpheme *-e* to the noun in the plural form. Compare the following definite singular, non-definite plural and definite plural forms to each other as illustrated in (17a-e) below:

17a <i>miis</i>	‘a table’	<i>miis-ki</i>	‘the table.M’
<i>miis-yaali</i>	‘tables’	<i>miis-jaali-w-e</i>	‘the tables’
table-PL		table-PL-EPN-DEF	
b. <i>geed</i>	‘a tree’	<i>geed-ki</i>	‘the tree.M’
<i>geed-jaali</i>	‘trees’	<i>geed-jaali-w-e</i>	‘the trees’
tree-PL		tree-PL-EPN-DEF	
c. <i>.ukkun</i>	‘an egg’	<i>ukkun-ti</i>	‘the egg.F’
<i>ukkun-jaali</i>	‘eggs’	<i>ukkun-jaali-w-e</i>	‘the eggs’
egg-PL		egg-PL-EPN-DEF	
d. <i>bakaajile</i>	‘a rabbit’	<i>bakkajil-li</i>	‘the rabbit.F’
<i>bakkaajil-jaali</i>	‘rabbits’	<i>bakkaajil-jaali-w-e</i>	‘the rabbits’
raabit-PL		rabbit-PL-EPN-DEF	
e. <i>libaag</i>	‘a lion’	<i>libaag[-gi]</i>	‘the lion.M’
<i>libaag-jaali</i>	‘lions’	<i>libaag[-g]-jaali-w-e</i>	‘the lions’
lion-PL		lion-PL-EPN-DEF	

As can be noted from the above examples, before the suffixation of the morpheme *-e* to the suffixed plural marker *-jaali* the approximants *-w-* is inserted to avoid sequence of different vowels. The insertion of epenthetic phoneme /w/ between the two front vowels is unusual. This is because of the fact that, the phoneme *w* is expected to be occurring before or after back vowels according to the natural processes of sounds. An attempt has been made to check the validity of the data and it was found to be correct. Thus, it requires some further investigation.

### 3.2.4. Case

This section deals with different components of case that are identified in Girirra. According to Blake (2004:1), “[c]ase is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads”. Inflexions of the case [...] “are expressed by affixes, tone, accent shift, or root reduction [and] adpositional systems are included only in so far as they encode core participants such as S, A, and O (Konig (2008:5).” Blake (2004:33) also further classifies case into different types. These types of case are broadly classified into grammatical and semantic cases. The grammatical case is further classified into core (nominative, accusative and ergative) non-core (genitive and dative).The semantic case is also further classified into local (locative, ablative, allative and perlative) and non-local (instrumental, comitative, etc.).

With regard to Girirra, different subcategories of cases have been identified. These include accusative, genitive, dative, locative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, allative, and vocative cases. However, the most common case system, nominative case marking is absent in Girirra. The absence of nominative case marking makes Girirra exceptional language as compared to the other Cushitic languages in which nominative case marking is the most common one. In relation to this, Mous, M. (2012:369) states, “[c]ase in Cushitic is typologically interesting, since the most common Cushitic case system is that of marked nominative [...]” Like in Girirra, as cited in Mous (2012:369) “Diryata is exceptional within Cushitic in that it has a marked accusative case system: synchronically the nominative case form is unmarked form and the absolute form is best treated as derived (Tosco 1996). According to Crass (2005:86) “[k]abeena marks both accusative case but the nominative can be analyzed as more marked and based on the accusative”.

Similarly, Konig (2008:9) identifies two subtypes of accusative languages. These subtypes include “[...] type 1(the most frequent one) with nominative being morphologically unmarked, and type 2 with both the nominative and accusative both being morphologically marked.” Thus, Girirra can be labeled and described under type 1, i.e. with the languages, which are morphologically unmarked nominative.However, apart from nominative case at least nine morphologically different case marking morphemes of Girirra are identified in this study. These cases are introduced by the following morphemes:

Table 10: Types of case with their markers

Morpheme	Types of cases
<i>-o</i>	accusative
<i>-e</i>	genitive
<i>-uun</i>	dative
<i>-ka , saga</i>	ablative
<i>-ku</i>	instrumental
<i>-o, -ku</i>	locative
<i>-la</i>	comitative
<i>-ku/gama</i>	allative
<i>-je, -e, -oj</i>	vocative

As can be noted from Table(4) the portmanteau morphemes like *-o* and *ku-* are exhibited. The morpheme *-o* marks both accusative and locative case. However, the situation in which we employ this morpheme to mark accusative and locative is somewhat different in each case. The morpheme *-o* that is used to mark accusative case is attached to the noun on the object position (cf.3.2.4.1 (18a-e)). On the other hand, the morpheme *-o* that marks the locative case is attached to postpositional words, which express location (cf.3.2.4.6 (31-32)). Likewise, the morpheme *-ku* primarily functions as instrumental (cf.3.2.4.5 (28a-c)), also functions as locative (cf.3.2.4.6 (33a-d) and as allative (cf.3.2.4.8 (36a-b) case marker. Similarly in Somali Bell (1968:21f.) defines the morpheme *ku* -as “[...] with (i.e. the instrument, not in company with),” In what follows, each category of case will be discussed.

### 3.2.4.1 Accusative case

Crystal (2008:6) points out that accusative “[...] refers to the FORM taken by NOUN PHRASE (often a single noun or pronoun) when it is the OBJECT of a VERB”. Moreover the same source (2008:328) defines nominative as “[...] the FORM taken by a NOUN PHRASE (often a single noun or pronoun) when it is the SUBJECT of a VERB.” Girirra has a marked Accusative and unmarked Nominative. König (2008:9) identifies two subtypes of accusative languages. These subtypes include “type 1(the most frequent one) with nominative being morphologically unmarked, and type 2 with both the nominative and accusative both being morphologically

marked.” Thus, Girirra can be labeled and described under type 1, i.e. with the languages, which are morphologically unmarked nominative. As a result, accusative is marked by the morpheme-*o*. This can be evident from the fact that nouns occurring in an object position are morphologically marked for the accusative whereas those in subject position are unmarked. Consider the examples in (18).

18a. *Kadir-e*            *libaag-o*    *j-igiis-Ø -ej*  
 Kadir-FOC        lion-ACC    3SF-kill-3SF-PFV  
 ‘KADIR killed a lion’

b. *islaan-ti-w-e*        *sow-o*        *geel-t-i*  
 woman.F-EPN-FOC    meat-ACC    like-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘THE WOMAN likes meat.’

c. *ani*            *baabur-o*        *agar-Ø-ej*  
 IS                car-ACC        see-1S-PFV  
 ‘I saw a car.’

d. *ussu*        *eej-o*        *j-igiis- Ø-ej*  
 3SM        dog-ACC    3SM- kill-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He killed a dog.’

e. *issi*    *muus-o*        *un-t-ej*  
 3SF    banana-ACC    eat-3SF-PFV  
 ‘She ate banana.’

However, when the noun in the object position ends in vowel, the approximant-*w*- is inserted before the accusative marker-*o*. The insertion of the approximant *w* is used to avoid the sequence of two different vowels, which is not permitted in phonotactics of the language. This is illustrated below.

19a. *eej-ki-w-e*                      *bakaa jile-w-o*      *un-Ø-ej*  
 dog-DEF.M-EPN-FOC    rabbit-EPN-ACC    eat-PFV  
 'THE DOG ate a rabbit.'

b. *nan-ki-w-e*                      *fibeel-li-w-o*                      *j-igiis-Ø-ej*  
 man-DEF.M-EPN-FOC    leopard-DEF.F-EPN-ACC -3SM      kill-3SM-PFV  
 'THE MAN killed a leopard'

c. *nan-ki-w-e*                      *libaag-ki-w-o*    *j-igiis-Ø-ej*  
 man-DEF.M-EPN-FOC    lion-DEF-EPN-ACC    3SM-kill-3SM-PFV  
 'THE MAN killed the lion'

### 3.2.4.2. Genitive

The genitive case can be marked in different ways: by genitive suffixes or by juxtaposition or word order. Both methods of genitive case formation are widely operating in Girirra. In the following discussion, we will elaborate each method one after another.

- **Genitive case marking with the suffix *-e***

Only definite nouns allow overt case marking suffix *-e*. The morpheme *-e* is suffixed to the possessor noun. This is further illustrated in (20a-c).

20a. *lug-ki*                      *libaag-e*      *adag-j-a*  
 leg-DEF      lion-GEN      strong-3SM-COP  
 'The leg of the lion is strong.'

b. *islaan-ti*                      *Kadir-e*      *koj-t-ej*  
 wife-DEF.F    Kadir-GEN      come-3SF-PRV  
 'Kadir's wife came.'

c. *awu-ki*                      *Kadij-e*      *koj-Ø-ej*  
 father-DEF.M    Kadija-GEN    come-3SM-PRV  
 'Kadija's father came.'

- **Genitive case marking by juxtaposition**

Like in Dime, (Mulugeta, 2008: 50) and in Haro (Hirut, 2004:69) Girirra also uses juxtaposition to form a Genitive NP with indefinite nouns. In this situation, there is no genitive marker overtly. The genitive relationship is simply showed by means of word order. The possessed noun occurred preceding the possessor. Consider examples in (21) from Girirra data.

21a. *booran waraaba*

cave heyna

‘heyna’s cave’

b. *nan-ki k’arabadas*

husband-DEF relatives

‘husband’s relatives’

c. *ilig eej*

teeth dog

‘dog’s teeth’

d. *weel heel*

calf cattle

‘cow’s calf’

As can be seen in (21) Girirra indicates that genitive case can be introduced without overt markers. The order of possessed noun and possessor noun is fixed i.e. the possessed noun occurs preceding the possessor noun.

The following sentential examples also illustrate the use of juxtaposition to introduce genitive case.

22a. *wanni gaal ane siis*

milk camel me give

‘Give me camel’s milk.’

b. *awuur nan feen-ø*

ox man bring-IPFV

‘Bring the man’s ox.’

c. *sobaak wanni ariin dawan-no*

butter milk goat medicine-COP

‘Butter produced fromgoat’s milk isa medicine/ the butter of goat isamedicine.’

d. *hike awu-ki Ibraahim-no*

This father-DEF Ibraahim-GEN.COP

‘This is Ibraahim’s father.’

### 3.2.4.3.Dative

According to (Blake 2008:199) dative case refers to “[t]he case that encodes the indirect object.” Inthe constructionof dative case, verbs that require three arguments (subject, direct object and indirect) areemployed. These include *gadad* ‘buy/sell’, *jawaab* ‘answer’, *siis/diib* ‘give’, *feeg* ‘tell’ and *feen* ‘bring’. In Girirra, the dative case is marked by the suffix-*uun* and onlysomeverbs take this morpheme to mark dative case. These are:

23a. *siis/diib* ‘give’

b. *feeg* ‘tell’

e. *feen* ‘bring’

The morpheme *-uun* is attached to the noun root to mark dative case. It is attached to the third argument representing the indirect object along with verbs with three arguments. Consider the following sentential examples.

24a. *ussu-w-e ees-o moon-ki-uun feen-ø-ej*  
3MS-EPN-FOC grass-DEF.ACC donkey-DEF.M-DAT bring-3SM-PFV  
‘HE brought the grass for the male donkey.’

b. *ussu-w-e buug-ki-w-o anan-ki-uun feen-ø-ej*  
3SM-EPN-FOC book-DEF.M-EPN-ACC boy-DEF.M-DAT bring-3SM -PFV  
‘HE brought the book for the boy’

c. *ussu-w-e mamaag-ki-w-o ijjaal-ti-uun feeg-ø-ej*  
 3SM-EPN-FOC story-DEF.M-EPN-ACC children-DEF.F-DAT tell-3SM-PFV  
 ‘HE told the story to the children.’

d. *Kadir-e buug-ki-w-o Muhammad-uun diib-ø-ej*  
 Kadir-FOC book-DEF.M-EPN-ACC Muhammad-DAT give-3SM-PFV  
 ‘KADIR gave the book to Muhammad’

As can be noted from the above examples, the morpheme *-uun* is suffixed to the noun that functions as indirect object. However, with verbs such as *gad* ‘buy’ *gadad* ‘sell’ and *jawaab* ‘answer’ the dative marker *-uun* is not overtly marked. The following examples illustrate this.

25a. *ussu id-odad-ki gadad-Ø-aj*  
 3SM sheep-ACC man-DEF.M sell-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He sold a sheep to the man.’

b. *ussu id-o nan-ki gadad-Ø-aj*  
 3SM sheep-ACC man-DEF.M sell-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He sold a sheep to the man.’

c. *kadir-e id-owalal-kes gadad-Ø-aj*  
 Kadir-FOC sheep-ACC brother-POSS.3SM sell-3SM-PFV  
 ‘KADIR sold a sheep to his brother.’

d. *Kadir jawaab-ki-w-o masʔuul-ki siis-Ø-ej*  
 Kadir answer-DEF.M-EPN-ACC chief-DEF.M give-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Kadir gave the answer to the chief.’

As can be noted from the above examples, noun that functions as an object and takes accusative case marker is a direct object whereas the noun that functions as an object and does not take dative marker is an indirect object. Syntactically the position of direct object and indirect object is free. That is, exchanging their position is also resulted in grammatical construction.

#### 3.2.4.4. Ablative

According to Blake (2004:195) ablative is “[t]he case that expresses the role of source, which is expressed by ‘from’ in English.” In Girirra, it is marked by the morpheme *-ka* or *-saga*. One of these morphemes is suffixed to the noun base to encode ablative. The morpheme *saga* is used to express the location or entities from which something obtained or appeared. The morpheme *-ka-* is used to express the movement ‘from’ some source to other direction. Let us consider the following examples, which indicate the movement from some source to another direction, using the morpheme *-ka*:

26a. *issi-w-e            Elkarre-ka    koj-t-ej*  
3SF-EPN-FOC   Elkarre-ABL   come-3SF-PFV  
‘SHE came from Elkarre.’

b. *ussu      banga   kinood-ka   koj-Ø-ej*  
3SM      bank   our-ABL   come-3SM-PFV  
‘He came from our bank.’

c. *ussu      buur-ki                    korkee-ka    koj-Ø-ej*  
3SM      mountain-DEF.M    top-ABL      come-3SM-PFV  
‘He came from the top of the mountain.’

Similarly, consider the following examples, which are used to express the location, or entities from which something obtained or appeared by using the morpheme *saga* ‘from, or ‘by’’.

27a. *Kadir-e      reer    Huseen-e      saga    bah-Ø-ej*  
Kadar-FOC   house   Hussein-GEN from   come out-3SM-PFV  
‘Kadar came out from Hussein’s house’

b. *any bun manna-o            Elkarre   saga   gad-Ø-an*  
IS   coffee good-ACC      Elkarre   from buy-1S-PFV  
‘I bought a good coffee from Elkarre’

c. *ussu-w-e id-o nan saga gad-Ø-aj*  
 3SM-EPN-FOC sheep-DEF.ACC man from buy-3SM-PFV  
 ‘HE bought the sheep from the man’

d. *dūlee bij-o saga ma-darago*  
 lafa water-DEF by NEG-satisfy  
 ‘The soil need much water to be used for intended purpose’ or  
 Lit: ‘The land does not satisfied by taking in water.’ (Text: 1.6(6b))

As can be noted from examples, 28a-d the morpheme *saga* with the meaning ‘from’, and ‘by’ is a free morpheme functions as postposition.

### 3.2.4.5. Instrumental

Blake (2004:201) defines instrumental as “[a] case expressing the means by which an activity is carried out.” The instrumental case is marked by the morpheme *-ku* and *hugu*. These are used to express postpositional terms such as ‘with’, and ‘by’, as in English. Consider the following usage of the morpheme *ku-* to mean ‘with’ as an illustration:

28a. *ani geed-o dannana-ku gif-Ø-ej*  
 1S tree-ACC axe-INS cut-1S-PFV  
 ‘I cut a tree with an axe’

b. *Kadir-e dūl-ki jambo-ku k’od-Ø-aj*  
 Kadir-FOC land-DEF hoe-INS dig-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Kadir dug the earth with a hoe.’

c. *ussu-w-e k’awee-ti-ku libaag-ki-w-o j-igiis-Ø-ej*  
 3SM-EPN-FOC gun-DEF-INS lion-DEF-EPN-ACC 3SM.kill-3SM-PFV  
 ‘HE killed the lion with the gun.’

Similarly consider the following usage of the morpheme *ku-* ‘on/by’ which is used to express means of transportation to travel from a given place to another one. Examples:

29a. *ani lug-tej-ku Karre tab-Ø-aj.*  
 1S leg-1SM.POSS-INS Karre go-1S-PFV  
 ‘I went to Elkarre on my foot.’

b. *unnu-w-e baabur-ku Karre tab-n-aj*  
 1PL-EPN-FOC car-INS Karre-INS go-PL-PFV  
 ‘WE went to Karre by car.’

The morpheme *-ku* ‘at’ is also used to express the object or target of observation. This case is used to say which thing or person an action is directed towards or intended for. Examples:

30a. *ussu nan-ki ku-k’osalt-aj*  
 he man-DEF.M at lough-PFV  
 ‘He laughed at the man.’

b. *ussood-e nan-ki fak’aa-[des]-ku k’osol-e-n*  
 3PL-FOC man-DEF.M work-POSS.3SF-LOC lough-PFV-PL  
 ‘They laughed at the work of the man.’

The postpositional morpheme *hugu* ‘with’ is also used to mark instrumental case as illustrated below.

*c.nan dab an-agarn-ej dab hugu deel*  
 man fire NEG-see-PFV fire with play  
 ‘A person who did not see fire plays with fire.’ (Text 1.4. Proverb, 10)

### 3.2.4.6. Locative

The locative case is introduced by morpheme *-o*. This morpheme suffixed to either noun or postposition to form locative case.

Consider the following illustrative examples in which the morpheme is suffixed to noun base to form locative case.

31a. *anan-ki-w-e*                      *min-ki-w-o*                      *j-al*  
child-DEF.M-EPN-FOC house-DEF.M-EPN-LOC 3SM-exist  
'THE BOY is in the house.'

b. *nan-ki*    *hool-ki-w-o-j-al*  
man-DEF.M hall-DEF.M-EPN-LOC-3SM-exist  
'The man is in the hall.'

The morpheme *-o* is also suffixed to postpositional words to express location. For instance, words such as *meerid-o* 'on', *guud-o* 'under' *gudkes-o* 'inside', *kabban-o* 'outside', and *kadeer-o* 'far' are used to introduce locative case. The forms of the above words are morphologically complex since they contain a locative base (postpositional) and locative suffix *-o*. Consider the following examples:

32a. *biker-ki*      *miis-ki*      *meerid-o*      *j-al*  
glass-DEF.M table-DEF.M on-LOC 3S-exist  
'The glass is on the table.'

b. *anan-ti-w-e*                      *geed-ki*      *guud-o*      *fadis-t-aj*  
girl-DEF.F-EPN-FOC tree-DEF.M under-LOC sit-3SF-PFV  
'The girl sat under the tree.'

c. *anan-ki*    *min-ki*                      *kabban-o*      *j-al*  
boy-DEF.M house-DEF.M outside-LOC 3SM-exist  
'The boy is outside of the house.'

d. *eej-ki*                      *min-ki*                      *kadeer-o*    *dut-Ø-ej*  
dog-DEF.M house-DEF.M far-LOC bark-3S-PFV  
'The dog is barked far from the house.'

Besides, the morpheme *-ku* that primarily functions as instrumental case marker is also used to introduce locative case by suffixing to some categories, which indicate the direction, or the place where some entities are located. These categories include words *dooj/korke* ‘near’ *gidaal* ‘back/behind’, *horteej* ‘in front’, *dirreda* ‘middle’ and *moroodo* ‘pen’. The following examples are provided below.

33a. *issi min-ki gidaal-[li]-ku t-al*  
 3SF house-DEF.M back-DEF.F-LOC 3SF-exist  
 ‘She is at the back of the house.’

b. *anan-ti min-ki horteej-ku t-al*  
 girl-DEF.F house-DEF.M infront-LOC 3SF-exist  
 ‘The girl is in front of the house.’

c. *fiid-ki laag-o dirneeda-ku jal*  
 stone-DEF.F river-DEF middle-LOC 3S.exist  
 ‘The stone is in the middle of the river.’

d. *k’aarti-w-e hibeen-ki morooda-ku dal-t-aj*  
 heifer-EPN-FOC night-DEF.M pen (corral)-LOC give birth-3SF-PFV  
 ‘The heifer gave a birth to a calf in the pen during the night.’ (Text 1.1.(2))

### 3.2.4.7. Comitative

The suffix *-la* functions as a comitative case marker. It is used to express “the meaning ‘along with’ or ‘accompanied by’” (Crystal, 2008: 87). Similarly, in Somali language Bell (1953:22) gives the meaning of the morpheme *-la* as “[...] with, i.e. in company with, together with.” Some examples are given below.

34a. *Kadir-e hungur-o aaj-kes-la un-Ø-ej*  
 Kadir-FOC food-DEF mother-POSS.3SM-COM eat-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Kadir ate the lunch with his mother.’

b. *ussu-w-e walalte-tes-la reer koj-Ø-ej.*  
 3SM-EPN-FOC sister-POSS.3SF-COM home come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He came home with her sister.’

c. *issi-w-e sahiib-jaal-kes-la uskoola tab-t-ej*  
 3SF-EPN-FOC friend-PL-POSS.3SM-COM school go-3SF-PFV  
 ‘SHE went to school with his friends.’

d. *issi walalte-tes-la reer tab-t-ej*  
 3SF sister-POSS.3SF-COM home go-3SF-PFV  
 ‘She went home with her sister.’

### 3.2.4.8. Allative

Crystal (2008:19) states, that allative is “[a] term used in GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION to refer to a type of INFLECTION which expresses the meaning of motion ‘to’ a place.” This case is introduced by the morpheme *-ku* ‘at’. This case indicates movement to, towards some location or pointing at something. The morpheme *-ku* ‘at’ is also used to express the object or target of focus. This case is used to say which thing or person an action is directed towards or intended. Examples:

35a. *ussu nan-ki-ku k’osalt-aj*  
 he man-DEF.M-ALL lough-PFV  
 ‘He laughed at the man.’

b. *ussoode nan-ki šak’a-[des]-ku k’osol-e-n*  
 3PL man-DEF.M work-POSS.3SF-ALL lough-PFV-PL  
 ‘She laughed at the work of the man.’

### 3.2.4.9. Vocative

The vocative case is somewhat different from other cases particularly in its relation of dependent noun to the head. Regarding this, Blake (2004:8) points out that, “[t]hey are unlike other cases in that they do not mark the relation of dependents to the head.” Further Blake (2004:8) says that “[t]he vocative is used as a form of address [someone].” Thus, the vocative can be

expressed as a term used for addressing or calling individuals. Girirra use the vocative case inflectionally as well as by expressing the notion using an optional noun in certain positions.

The vocative case which is used to address a kinship noun is marked by *-je*, or *-e*, or *-oj* or *-ej* in Girirra. Examples:

- 36a. *ubatu* ‘uncle (the brother of someone’s mother)’  
*ubatu-je* ‘addressing the brother of someone’s mother’
- b. *anna* ‘aunt (the sister of someone’s father)’  
*anna-je* ‘addressing the sister of someone’s father’
- c. *obow* ‘grandfather’  
*obow-je* ‘addressing grandfather’
- d. *awar* ‘uncle (the brother of someone’s father)’  
*awar-e* ‘addressing the brother of someone’s father’
- e. *aaro* ‘aunt (the sister of someone’s mother)’  
*aar-oj* ‘addressing the sister of someone’s mother’
- f. *walal-t-ej* ‘sister:F! (addressing sister)’  
g. *walal-j-aw* ‘brother:M!(addressing brother)’

As can be seen from (37f-g) the suffixes *-aw* and *-ej* can be analyzed as masculine and feminine gender marker respectively.

The following kinship terms illustrate vocative expressed by distinct nouns.

- 37a. *awu* ‘father’  
*aabo* ‘addressing father’
- b. *walaltaj* ‘sister’  
*abbaj-ej* ‘addressing elder sister’
- c. *walalkaj* ‘brother’  
*obbooj-ej* ‘addressing elder brother’

### 3.3. Derivation of nouns

According Trask, (2004:71) derivation is “[c]onstructing new words by adding affixes to existing words. In most languages, derivation is one of the principal ways of obtaining new words from existing words [...]” In Girirra, nouns can be formed from the verbal, adjectives or noun base by the process of nominalization. The derived nouns are classified mainly into two: noun derived from noun or adjective and noun derived from verbs. In what follows, each one will be discussed in turn.

#### 3.3.1. Noun derived from either noun or adjective base

Abstract nouns can be formed by suffixing affixes either to adjectival or nominal base. According to Askale (1994:8) the bound morphemes *-nimaan* and *-us* are attached to adjectival and nominal bases to form abstract nouns respectively. For instance, consider Askale’s (1998 - 10) examples on the formation of abstract nominals.

Abstract nominals formed by suffixing *-us* to adjectival root.

38a. <i>dogon</i>	‘foolish’	<i>dogon-us</i>	‘foolishness’
b. <i>ga:b</i>	‘short’	<i>ga:b-us</i>	‘shortness’
c. <i>la:f</i>	‘weak’	<i>la:f-us</i>	‘weakness’

Abstract nominals formed by suffixing *-nimaan* to noun root.

39a. <i>awu</i>	‘father’	<i>awu-nimaan</i>	‘fatherhood’
b. <i>bilaan</i>	‘woman’	<i>bilaan-nimaan</i>	‘womanhood’

According to the present study, however *-nimo*, the reduced form of *-nimaan* is also used along with *-nimaan* as variant morphemes. Thus, each noun derived from noun base and noun derived from adjective base will be treated and exemplified.

##### 3.3.1.1. Noun derived from noun base

In this section, we treat abstract noun formed from noun base. The abstract noun is formed by suffixing the morpheme *-nimaan/nimo* to the base noun in Girirra. This is shown in Table 11:

Table 11: Abstract nouns derived from noun base

Noun root		Derived nouns	
<i>hijnaag</i>	‘child’	<i>hijnaag-nimaan/-nimo</i>	‘childhood’
<i>Hablo</i>	‘girl’	<i>hablo-nimaan/-nimo</i>	‘virginity’
<i>Aaj</i>	‘mother’	<i>aaj-nimaan/-nimo</i>	‘motherhood’
<i>Awu</i>	‘father’	<i>awu-nimaan/-nimo</i>	‘fatherhood’
<i>Bilaan</i>	‘woman’	<i>bilaan-nimaan/-nimo</i>	‘womanhood’
<i>Sahib</i>	‘friend’	<i>sahiib-nimaan/-nimo</i>	‘friendship’
<i>heerbas</i>	‘slave’	<i>heerbas-nimaan/-nimo</i>	‘slavery’
<i>Walal</i>	‘sibling’	<i>walalke-nimaan/-nimo</i>	‘brotherhood’
<i>Walal</i>	‘sibling’	<i>walalte-nimaan/-nimo</i>	‘sisterhood’
<i>Nan</i>	‘man’	<i>nan-nimaan/-nimo</i>	‘manhood’
<i>Daaris</i>	‘neighbor’	<i>daaris-niman/-nimo</i>	‘neighborhood’

As can be noted from Table 11, the reduced morpheme *-nimo* is alternatively used to mark abstract noun along with the morpheme *-nimaan* without meaning difference.

### 3.3.1.2. Noun derived from adjective base

Abstract noun can also be formed by suffixing the morpheme *-us* to adjective base. See Table 12.

Table 12: Abstract nouns derived from adjective base

Adjective root		Derived nouns	
<i>t’uji</i>	‘small’	<i>t’uj-us</i>	‘smallness’
<i>k’awin</i>	‘fat’	<i>k’awin-us</i>	‘fatness’
<i>Bahan</i>	‘bad’	<i>bahan-us</i>	‘badness’
<i>Mallan</i>	‘good’	<i>mallan-us</i>	‘goodness’
<i>k’aynar</i>	‘thin’	<i>k’aynar-us</i>	‘thinness’
<i>guduud</i>	‘red’	<i>guduud-us</i>	‘redness’
<i>Goob</i>	short	<i>goob-us</i>	‘shortness’
<i>Adag</i>	strong	<i>adag-us</i>	‘strongness’
<i>deer</i>	tall	<i>deer-us</i>	‘tallness’
<i>Taajir</i>	rich	<i>taajir-us</i>	richness

### 3.3.2. Noun derived from verbal base

The process of forming nouns from verbal base is very productive, in which a verb loses its verbal quality, and functions as a noun. Noun derived from verb roots can be further classified into five types. In other words, different types of verbal root nouns are identified with their respective bound morphemes by Askale (1994) and by the present researcher. These include agentive noun (*-soj, -aw/u, -toj/tu, -o*), verbal noun (*-ni*), result (*-tin, -in*) action (*-tin, -sin -afu*) and manner (*-needa*) nouns. As can be seen from the marker of each type of verbal noun the bound morpheme *-tin* is used as portmanteau to mark both result and action nouns (cf. 3.3.2.3.2 and 3.3.2.4.). In what follows, different types of verbal nouns along with their respective examples will be presented.

#### 3.3.2.1. Agentive noun

Agentive has “[t]he semantic role of an NP that is the willful doer of the action (Berk, 1999:291).” In the present study, agentive noun in Girirra is introduced by some more different morphemes as compared to the previous (Askale, 1994) study. These morphemes include *-awu, -toj/tu, -o* and *-soj*. According to Askale (1994:12) the agentive noun markers *-aw* and *-toj* are used to mark masculine and feminine gender respectively. However, according to the present study the morpheme *-aaw* in Askale (1994:11) is realized as *-awu*. In addition to agentive noun markers that have been discussed by Askale’s (1994:11-12), there are some other bound morphemes, which are used to mark agentive noun as to the present study. These morphemes include *-tu*, and *-o*. Thus, the morphemes *-awu, -tu, toj* and *-o* are identified to mark agentive noun.

The morpheme *-awu* can be further classified into *-aw* and *-u* to mark masculine and agentive noun respectively. Similarly, the morpheme *-tu* is further classified into *-t* and *-u* to mark feminine and agentive noun respectively. The morpheme *-toj* also classified into *-t* and *-oj* to mark feminine and agentive noun. However, the morpheme *-toj* is conditioned by phonological factor i.e. the morpheme *-toj* is realized as *-soj* (cf. 2.5.1.9). On the other hand, the morpheme *-o* is used to mark agentive noun regardless gender. Thus, The morpheme *-aw* and *-t* are used to mark masculine and feminine respectively whereas the morpheme *-u* and *-oj* are used to mark agentive noun respectively. In what follows, each morpheme will be treated in turn.

- **Agentive nouns derived with suffixation of -o**

The suffix *-o* is mainly used to mark agentive nouns by suffixing to verbs. It is suffixed to verbs that can be used as the base for the formation of an agent noun. In other words, the morpheme *-o* is used to mark agentive noun along with other morphemes as free variation regardless gender distinction and phonological factors. However, when the morpheme *-o* is suffixed to vowel final verbs, the approximants *-w-* is inserted to prevent diphthong formation. Observe illustrative examples in Table 13.

Table 13: Agentive nouns marking with *-o*

Verbal root		Agentive nouns	
<i>dig</i>	‘wash’	<i>dig-o</i>	‘one who washes’
<i>déel</i>	‘play’	<i>déel-o</i>	‘player’
<i>deel</i>	‘heir’	<i>deel-o</i>	‘one who heir someone’
<i>Magaal</i>	‘hear’	<i>magaal-o</i>	‘hearer’
<i>Gadad</i>	‘buy/sell’	<i>gadad-o</i>	‘buyer/seller’
<i>Aagir</i>	‘read’	<i>aakir-o</i>	‘reader/ one who reads’
<i>Ilaal</i>	‘keep’, ‘look’	<i>ilaal-o</i>	‘one who look after’
<i>Waraab</i>	‘drink’	<i>waraab-o</i>	‘drinker’
<i>Iddi</i>	‘keep’	<i>idd-o</i>	‘keeper’
<i>k’ibis</i>	‘break’	<i>k’ibis-o</i>	‘breaker’
<i>Haam</i>	‘harvest’	<i>haam-o</i>	‘harvester’
<i>Bare</i>	‘teach’	<i>bare-w-o/ maʔaalim</i>	‘teacher’
<i>fak’aa</i>	‘work’	<i>fak’aa-w-o/ fak’alee</i>	‘worker’
<i>Adore</i>	‘harvest’	<i>adore-w-o</i>	‘harvester’
<i>Roor</i>	‘run’	<i>roor-o/ fittan</i>	‘runner’

As can be seen from Table 13, the word *bare-w-o* ‘teacher’ can be expressed by another different independent agentive noun *maʔaalim* ‘teacher’. The word *maʔaalim* seems originally borrowed from Arabic word. Similarly, the word *roor* and *fak’aa-w-o* can be expressed by an independent alternative words *fittan* ‘runner’ and *fakalee* ‘worker’ respectively.

Consider the following examples in (43 and 44):

43a. *min-Kiilia-o*      *issin-uun* *weer- Ø*  
house-DEF.M keep-AGN 3SF.OBJ-DAT call-IPFV  
'Call the house keeper for her.'

b. *dar-ki*      *dig-o*      *fellej*      *koj-Ø-ej*  
cloth-DEF.M wash-AGN yesterday come-3SM-PFV  
'The cloth washer came yesterday.'

c. *waraab-o*      *wan-ti*      *ma-dam-i*  
drink- AGN milk-DEF.F NEG-drink-IPFV  
'The drinker does not drink milk.'

44a. *fak'aa-w-o/fak'alee*      *feelej*      *koj-Ø-e*  
work-EPN-AGN/worker yesterday come-3S-PFV  
'The worker came yesterday.'

b. *bare-w-o*      *fellej*      *koj-Ø-ej*.  
teach-EPN-AGN yesterday come-3S-PFV  
'The teacher came yesterday.'

- **Agentive nouns marking with the suffixes: -aw-u**

In the present study unlike Askale's(1994) findings, the agentive marker suffix *-aaw* is identified as *-aw-u*. The morphemes: *-aw* and *-u* are used mark masculine and agentive noun as shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Agentive nouns marking with *-aw-u*

Verbal root		Agentive nouns	
<i>dīg</i>	‘wash’	<i>dīg-aw-u</i>	‘one who washes.M’
<i>deel</i>	‘play’	<i>deel-aw-u</i>	‘player.M’
<i>magaal</i>	‘hear’	<i>magaal-aw-u</i>	‘hearer.M’
<i>gadad</i>	‘buy/sell’	<i>gadad-aw-u</i>	‘buyer/seller.M’
<i>Aagir</i>	‘read’	<i>aagir-aw-u</i>	‘reader/ one who reads.M’
<i>Sow</i>	‘meat’	<i>sow-u</i>	‘butcher.M’
<i>Maal</i>	‘milk’	<i>maal-aw-u</i>	‘one who milks a cow.M’

Examples:

45a. *maal-aw-u-ki-w-e*                      *see? ma-koj-Ø-ej*  
 milk-M-AGN-DEF-EPN-FOC cow NEG-come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The ONE WHO (M) MILKS the cow did not come.’

b. *deel-aw-u-ki-w-e*                      *Elkarre-ka koj-Ø-ej*  
 play-M-AGN-DEF-EPN-FOC Elkarre-ABL come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The PLAYER (M) came from Elkarre.’

c. *dareer-aw-u-ki*                      *j-amuud-Ø-ej.*  
 travel-AGN.M-DEF 3SM-die-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The traveler (M) died.’

- **Agentive nouns marking the suffixes: *t-u/-t-øj***

The morphemes *-tand -u/-øj* mark feminine and agentive noun respectively. That is, the morpheme *-u* and *-øj* are used in free variation to mark agentive noun along with feminine gender.

Thus, the morpheme *-t* either *-oj* or *-u* is used mark agentive noun and feminine gender as shown in Table 15:

Table 15: Agentive nouns marking with *-toj/tu*

Verbal root		Agentive nouns	
<i>dig</i>	‘wash’	<i>dig-t-oj/t-u</i>	‘one who washes.F’
<i>deel</i>	‘play’	<i>deel-t-oj/-t-u</i>	‘player.F’
<i>magaal</i>	‘hear’	<i>magaal-t-oj/-t-u</i>	‘hearer.F’
<i>Maal</i>	‘milk’	<i>maal-t-oj/-t-u</i>	‘one who milks.F’
<i>Aakir</i>	‘read’	<i>aakir-t-oj/-t-u</i>	‘reader/ one who reads.F’
<i>Darer</i>	‘travel’	<i>dareer-t-oj/-t-u</i>	‘traveller.F’

Examples are given in 45.

46a. *maal-t-u/-t-oj seʔi koj-t-ej.*

milk-F-AGN cow come-3SF-PFV

‘The milker of the cow came.’

b. *dareer-t-u/-t-oj-ti t-amuud-t-ej*

travel-F-AGN-DEF 3SF-die-3SF-PFV

‘The traveler (F) died.’

The morpheme *-t-oj* is also realized as *[-s-oj]* to mark agentive noun under certain phonological condition, i.e. when it is attached to words that end in voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ (cf. 2.5.1.9 for more morphonemic process). Consider the following examples in Table 16.

Table 16: Agentive noun marking with *[-soj]*

Verb roots		Agentive nouns	
<i>Jigiis</i>	‘kill’	<i>jigiis-Ø-t-oj</i> → <i>jigiis-Ø[-s-oj]</i>	‘killer’
<i>k’ibis</i>	‘break’	<i>k’ibis-Ø-t-oj</i> → <i>k’ibis-Ø[-s-oj]</i>	‘breaker’
<i>Hees</i>	‘sing’	<i>hees-Ø-t-oj</i> → <i>hees-Ø[-s-oj]</i>	‘singer’

The following are sentential examples:

47a. *j-igiis-t-oj*     *Karre*     *tab-Ø-aj*  
3SM-kill-F-AGN Karre go-3SM-PFV  
'The assassin went to Karre.'

b. *k'ibis-t-oj*     *ma-koj-Ø-ej*.  
break-F-AGN NEG come-3SM-PFV  
'The breaker did not come.'

c. *ani hees-t-oj*     *geel-j-a*  
1S sing-F-AGN love-1S-COP  
'I love a singer( I love a person who sings).'

### 3.3.2.2. Verbal nouns

Verbal noun is marked by the bound morpheme *-ni* in Girirra. According to Askale, (1994:15) what she calls as gerundive noun is marked either by the bound morpheme *-ni/afu*. However, according to the present study the morpheme *-ni* is used to mark verbal whereas the morpheme *-afu* is used to mark action noun. Consider the following verbal noun marking with suffixation of *-ni* as illustration.

Table 17: Verbal nouns marked with *-ni*

Verb root		verbal nouns	
<i>Un</i>	eat	<i>un-ni</i>	‘eating’
<i>Tab</i>	go	<i>tab-ni</i>	‘going’
<i>Tum</i>	hit	<i>tum-ni</i>	‘hitting’
<i>k’ood</i>	till	<i>k’ood-ni</i>	‘tilling’
<i>Gan</i>	throw	<i>gan-ni</i>	‘throwing’
<i>Het</i>	steal	<i>hed-ni</i>	‘stealing’
<i>Nuug</i>	suck	<i>nuug-ni</i>	‘sucking’
<i>Giid</i>	‘pull’	<i>giid-ni</i>	‘pulling’
<i>Fur</i>	‘divorce’	<i>fur-ni</i>	‘divorcing’
<i>Hir</i>	‘tie’	<i>hir-ni</i>	‘tying’
<i>Bood</i>	‘jump’	<i>bood-ni</i>	‘jumping’
<i>Beek</i>	‘measure’	<i>beeg-ni</i>	‘measuring’
<i>Hees</i>	‘play’	<i>hees-ni</i>	‘playing’

Compare the following example in (47a) with examples in (47b-c) and example in (48a) with examples in (48b):

48a. *ussu hungur-o un-Ø-ej*  
 3SM food-DEF.ACC eat-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He ate the food.’

b. *un-ni mannan-j-a*  
 eat-VN good-3S-COP  
 ‘Eating is good.’

c. *hungur-o un-ni mannan-j-a*  
 food-DEF eat-VN good-3SM-COP  
 ‘Eating the food is good.’

As can be noted from example 47a and 47c the the verbal noun can occur as subject or object in the transitive verb constructions.

49a. *hijaa-ki naas-ki nuug-Ø-ej*  
 baby-DEF.M breast-DEF.M suck-3S-PRV

‘The baby sucked the breast.’

b. *nuug-ni naas-o hijaa-ki-uun mannan-t-a*  
 suck-VN breast-ACC baby-DEF.M-DAT good-3S-COP  
 ‘Sucking breast is good for the baby.’

### 3.3.2.3. Result nouns

We may define the result noun as something that occurs or exists because of particular action. That is to say, result noun is the result of some previous action or set of conditions. As stated by Askale, (1994:13) result noun in Girirrais formed by suffixing bound morphemes: either *tin*, or *-in* to the verb root. However, according to the present study, the distribution of these morphemes is different, i.e. they occur in different environments. The morpheme *-in* is suffixed to the verbs that end in phoneme /g/, /l/, /r/, /d/ and /f/. The morpheme *-tin* occurs elsewhere. Moreover, some result nouns are formed without suffixation of bound morphemes. In what follows, each suffix will be treated in turn along with its example.

#### 3.3.2.3.1. Result nouns derived by suffixation of *-in*

As can be noted from the above discussion,(3.3.2.3) the suffix *-in* is attached to verb root that end in phonemes /g/, /l/, /r/, /d/ and /f/ to introduce result nouns. Consider the following examples in Table 12 that are taken both from Askale (1994) and the present data.

Table 18: Result nouns marked by the suffix *-in*

Verb root		Result noun	
<i>heeg</i>	‘sweep’	<i>heeg-in</i>	‘rubbish’
<i>Teeg</i>	‘spill’	<i>teeg-in</i>	‘sewage’
<i>Giid</i>	‘pull’	<i>giid-in</i>	‘pull(n.)’
<i>Gigal</i>	‘spread’	<i>giigal-in</i>	‘spread(n.)’
<i>Oof</i>	‘pant’	<i>oof-in</i>	‘exhaustion’
<i>Nef</i>	‘breath’	<i>nef-in</i>	‘breath(n.)’
<i>dig</i>	‘wash’	<i>dig-in</i>	‘wash(n.)’
<i>Tig</i>	‘open’	<i>tig-in</i>	‘open(n.)’

Consider the following sentential examples from data of the present study.

50a. *min Huseen-e badan heeg-in k'ab-Ø-ej.*

house Huseen-GEN many sweep-RN has-3S-PRV

‘Huseen’s house has a lot of rubbish in it.’

b. *teeg-in min-ki-ku-uun dad ma-mannan-t-a*

pour-RN house-DEF-LOC-DAT person NEG-good-3S-COP

‘A sewage in the house is not good for human being.’

### 3.3.2.3.2. Result nouns derived with *-tin*

The bound morpheme *-tin* is suffixed to verb roots that end in all except consonants /g/, /l/, /r/, /d/ and /f/ phonemes to form result nouns. Some data from Askale (1994:13) and from the present study are given in Table 19.

Table 19: Result nouns marking with *-tin*

Verb		Result noun	
<i>Eeh</i>	‘insult (v)’	<i>eeh-tin</i>	‘insult (n)’
<i>faaraah</i>	‘happy’	<i>faaraah-tin</i>	‘pleasure’
<i>Ooj</i>	‘cry’	<i>ooj-tin</i>	‘lamentation’
<i>turuk’</i>	‘stab(v)’	<i>turuk-tin</i>	‘sharp pain(n)’
<i>Siis</i>	‘give’	<i>siis-tin</i>	‘gift’
<i>dis</i>	‘construct’	<i>dis-tin</i>	‘construction’
<i>Tuus</i>	‘show(v)’	<i>tuus-tin</i>	‘show(n)’
<i>Darer</i>	‘travel(v)’	<i>dareer-tin</i>	‘travel(n)’

Consider the following sentential examples from data of the present study.

51a. *dad-ki akke eeh-tin Kadir-e ma-mannan-j-a.*

Person-DEF.M that insult-RN Kadir-FOC- NEG-good-3SM-COP

‘The insult of the person is not good for Kadir.’

b. *min-ki hikkaj faaraa-tin ma-t-al*  
 house-DEF here happy-RN NEG-3S-exist  
 ‘There is no pleasure in this house’

c. *ooj-tin ma-mannan-t-a*  
 cry-RN NEG-good-3S-COP  
 ‘Lamentation is not good’

### 3.3.2.3.3. Result nouns expressed by an independent word

The result noun is expressed by an independent word without involving the process of affixation. In this case, the result noun form is completely different from the verb root form. In other words, there is no form or sound relation between verb root form and result noun form. Although there is no similarity between the base verb and the noun forms, however, they only share a semantic relation. The data in Table 20 illustrate this.

Table 20: Result noun expressed by an independent and different word

Verb roots		Result nouns	
<i>uum/weel</i>	‘create/make’	<i>elaahi</i> (loan from Arabic)	creator/God
<i>Heeg</i>	Sweep	<i>wassag/k’afin</i>	rubbish
<i>Garad</i>	Know	<i>akoon</i>	knowledge
<i>Tuf</i>	Spit	<i>huntf’ufoo</i>	saliva

Here are some sentential examples:

52a. *elaahi dad-ki weel-Ø-i*  
 God person-DEF.M create-3S-IPFV  
 ‘God creates human being.’

b. *min-ki Huseen badan k’afin k’ab-Ø-ej*  
 house-DEF.M Hussen many rubbish has-3S-PFV  
 ‘There is a lot of rubbish in Huseen’s house.’

c. *akoon malla-ja*  
 knowledge good-3S.COP  
 ‘Knowledge is good.’

### 3.3.2.4. Action nouns

Action noun in Girirra may be defined as a noun formed from a verb base in order to express the process of doing something especially to attain a particular goal. The base action verbs and the action nouns that are formed as the result of suffixation share the same root morpheme. In relation to this, Hirut (2004:87) points out that “[t]here is a derivational relationship between verbs expressing actions and nouns referring to names of the actions. The two forms share the same root.” As stated by Askale, (1994:17) the action noun is marked by the morpheme *-ni*. She expresses action nouns as the ‘way of doing something’ as provided below.

Verb root		Action/process nominals	
<i>53.fur</i>	‘divorce’	<i>fur-ni</i>	‘way of divorcing’
<i>hir</i>	‘tie’	<i>hir-ni</i>	‘way of tying’
<i>bood</i>	‘jump’	<i>bood-ni</i>	‘way of jumping’
<i>beek</i>	‘measure’	<i>beek-ni</i>	‘way of measuring’
<i>k’aad</i>	‘carry’	<i>k’aad-ni</i>	‘way of carrying’

(Askale 1994:16)

Nevertheless, in the present study action noun is marked by the morpheme *-tin*, *-sin* and *-afu*. These morphemes vary in their distribution i.e. the suffix *-tin* is attached to the verb root that end in bilabial phoneme /w/, /m/, /b/ and lateral /l/ whereas the suffix *-sin* is attached to verb root that end in phoneme /s/ to introduce action nouns. Thus, it seems that the morpheme *-sin* is the allomorph of the morpheme *-tin*, as a result, *-tin* assimilates to *-sin* in place of articulation. However the suffix *-afu* suffixed to verbs root that end in other of the phonemes. Unlike Askale (1994), the ‘process of doing something’ is used to express the action noun as presented in Tables 21 to 23.

Table 21: Action noun marking with *-tin*

Verb root		Action/process nouns	
<i>daaw</i>	‘rob’	<i>daaw-tin</i>	‘process of robbing’
<i>daw</i>	‘hit’	<i>daw-tin</i>	‘process of hitting’
<i>saam</i>	‘plunder’	<i>saam-tin</i>	‘process of plundering’
<i>k'al</i>	‘slaughter’	<i>k'al-tin</i>	‘process of slaughtering’
<i>daam</i>	‘change’	<i>daam-tin</i>	‘process of changing’
<i>haab</i>	‘look for’	<i>haab-tin</i>	‘process of looking for’
<i>beeb</i>	‘climb’	<i>beeb-tin</i>	‘process of climbing’

As mentioned above the morpheme *-tin* assimilated in place of articulation to *-sin* as illustrated in Table 22.

Table 22: Action noun marking with *[-sin]*

Verb root		Action/process nouns	
<i>k'ibis</i>	‘break’	<i>k'ibis-tin</i> → [ <i>k'ibis-sin</i> ]	‘process of breaking’
<i>ururis</i>	‘collect’	<i>ururis-tin</i> → [ <i>ururis-sin</i> ]	‘process of collecting’
<i>baris</i>	‘fly’	<i>baris-tin</i> → [ <i>baris-sin</i> ]	‘process of flying’
<i>dis</i>	‘construct’	<i>dis-tin</i> → [ <i>dis-sin</i> ]	‘process of constructing’
<i>siis</i>	‘give’	<i>siis-tin</i> → [ <i>siis-sin</i> ]	‘process of giving’

Table 23: Action nouns marking with *-afu*

Verb root		Action noun	
<i>gadad</i>	‘sell’	<i>gadad-afu</i>	‘process of selling’
<i>Gan</i>	‘throw’	<i>gan-afu</i>	‘process of throwing’
<i>Roor</i>	‘run’	<i>roor-afu</i>	‘process of running’
<i>daar</i>	‘swear’	<i>daar-afu</i>	‘process of swearing in’
<i>fadis</i>	‘sit’	<i>fadis-afu/sin</i>	‘process of sitting’
<i>baris</i>	‘fly’	<i>baris-afu/sin</i>	‘porcess of flying’
<i>riid</i>	‘shoot’	<i>riid-afu</i>	‘process of shooting’
<i>noloo</i>	‘live’	<i>nola-afu</i>	‘process of living’

### 3.3.2.5. Manner noun

Manner noun denotes the way in which something or a given action performed or happens.

Askale (1994:17) claim that manner nouns are formed by the suffixation of *-nera* to the verbal roots. Some of the examples that Askale (1994:18) gives are provided in 54.

54a. Verbal root		manner nouns	
b. <i>jeeg</i>	‘talk’	<i>jeeg-nera</i>	‘manner of talking’
c. <i>un</i>	‘eat’	<i>un-nera</i>	‘manner of eating’
d. <i>kuf</i>	‘fall’	<i>kuf-nera</i>	‘manner of falling’

(Askale 1994:18)

According to the present study, manner noun, however, is identified as *-needa* as illustrated in Table 24.

Table 24: Manner noun marking by *-needa*

Verbal root		Manner nouns	
<i>koj</i>	‘come’	<i>koj-needa</i>	‘manner of coming’
<i>Fig</i>	‘run’	<i>fig-needa</i>	‘manner of running’
<i>kuf</i>	‘fall’	<i>kuf-needa</i>	‘manner of falling’
<i>dareer</i>	‘walk’	<i>dareer-needa</i>	‘manner of walking’
<i>Un</i>	‘eat’	<i>un-needa</i>	‘manner of eating’
<i>waraab</i>	‘drink’	<i>waraab-needa</i>	‘manner of drinking’

The following are sentential examples of such nouns.

55. *dareer-needa-kes dabba mallan-t-a*  
 walk-MN-3SM.POSS very good-3S-COP  
 ‘His manner walking is very good’

56. *waraab-needa-kes ma-mallan-t-a*  
 drink-MN- POSS.3SM NEG-good-3S-COP  
 ‘His manner of drinking is not good.’

57. *ussu-w-e un-needa-tes geel-j-a*  
 he-EPN-FOC eat-MN- POSS-3SF love-3SM-COP  
 ‘HE likes her manner of eating.’

### 3.4. Compounding

In this section, the process of compounding will be discussed. A compound is a complex word that is formed from two or more lexical items. “In many languages, compounding (also called **composition**) is the most frequently used way of making new lexemes (Booij, 2007).” The process of compounding can be applied recursively and thus we might get long compounds. However, compounds made up of three or above lexemes are not attested in Girirra. Askale

(1994:40-9) classifies compounds into two broad categories: compound nouns and compound adjectives.

### 3.4.1. Compound nouns

Compound nouns in Girirra involve only two components. In data collected, most of the compound nouns are formed with nouns. Askale (1994: 41-48) further classifies Girirra compound nouns into four subtypes:

Noun + Noun

Noun + Adjective

Noun + Verb

Noun + Preposition

Some of the examples from Askale (1994: 44-45) are given in 58.

58a. N+N	kolis	‘mouse’ + durát	‘forest’	kólisdurat	‘rat’
					(Askale 1994:41)
b. N+ADJ	ɗág	‘snake’ + win	‘big’	ɗágwin	‘large snake’
					(Askale 1994:44)
c. N+V	bil	‘moon’ + day	‘look/see	bildaj	‘mirror’
					(Askale 1994:45)
d. N+P	ilík	‘teeth’ + marad	‘upper’	ilíkmarad	‘upper teeth’
					(Askale 1994:46)

Some more examples from the present data are given in 59.

59a. N +N	bir	‘trap’ + kolis	‘rat’	birkolis	‘trap for rat’
b. N +N	min	‘house’ + jinbir	‘bird’	minjinbir	‘nest’
c. N + N	ifiti	‘light’ + iriida	‘sun’	ifitiriida	‘sunlight’
d. N + V	mandi	‘knife’ + seef	‘sharpen’	mandiseef	‘sharp knife’
e. N + V	kum	‘group’ + jinne	‘fly’	kumjinne	‘group of fly’
g. N +ADJ	bassal	‘onion’ + edi	‘white’	bassaad	‘garlic’

The words in 58a-g, which are formed by the process compounding, are compound nouns that take the position and function of a noun.

Some of the sentential examples are provided in (59).

60a. *dad badanno kolis birkolis-ku j-igiis-an*  
 person many rat trap-INS 3-kill-PL.IPFV  
 ‘Many people kill the rat with trap.’

b. *issi bassaadi baddano un-t-ej*  
 She garlic many eat-3SF-PFV  
 ‘She ate much garlic.’

c. *awu-kej ariin-ki mandiseef-ku k'al-ej*  
 father-POSS.1SM goat-DEF.M sharp knife-INS slaughter-PFV  
 ‘My father slaughtered the goat with a sharp knife.’

As can be noted from the examples 59a-c, *birkolis* ‘trap for rat’, *bassaadi* ‘garlic’ and *mandiseef* ‘sharp knife’ are compound nouns that can take the position and function of a noun in a given clause.

### 3.4.2. Compound Adjectives :

Compound adjectives are also further classified into two subcategories:

Noun + Adjective

Noun + Verb

Consider some examples from Askale (1994:47-48) in 60:

61.N+ADJ    *nan*    ‘man’ + *win*    ‘big’    *nanwin* ‘fully grown’  
 (Askale 1994:47)

N + V    *aagaal*    ‘heart’ + *k'ab*    ‘have’    *aagaalk'ab*    ‘intelligent’  
 (Askale 1994:48-9)

The following are some examples from the present data:

62a. N + ADJ    *ollu*    ‘belly’    + *adag*    ‘strong’    *ollu?adag*    ‘unkind’  
 b. N + ADJ    *amal*    ‘conduct’    + *bahan*    ‘bad’    *amalbahan*    ‘bad behavior’  
 c. pron. + ADJ    *issi*    ‘she’    + *wale*    ‘mad’    *issiwale*    ‘mad woman’  
 d. N + ADJ    *fak'ale*    ‘work’    + *badan*    ‘many’    *fak'badan*    ‘many jobs’

Here are some sentential examples:

63a. *ussu dad ollu?adag-j-a*  
 3SM person unkind-3SM-COP  
 ‘He is unkind person.’

b. *aaj ijjaal amal bahan ma-geel-ta.*  
 mother child behavior bad NEG-love-COP  
 ‘A mother does not like a child with bad behavior.’

c. *issiwale-ti awu-kej fiid-ku daw-ej*  
 mad woman-DEF father-3SM.POSS stone-INS beat-PFV  
 ‘The mad woman beat my father with a stone.’

The discussion and classification of Askale (1994:40) concerning compound in Girirra is proved correct in the present study. However, there are some adverbial compounds, which are not treated in Askale’s (1994:40) work. These compounds are formed by combing the component of lexical items that used to express time. Consider the following examples:

### 3.4.3. Adverbial compounds:

- 64a. ADV + ADV *fellej* ‘yesterday’ + *hortee* ‘before’ *fellej-hortee* ‘the day before yesterday’  
 b. N + ADV *affur* ‘lunch’ + *hortee* ‘before’ *affur-hortee* ‘before lunch’  
 c. N + ADV *affur* ‘lunch’ + *reega* ‘after’ *affur-reega* ‘after lunch/afternoon’  
 d. N + V *sanad* ‘year’ + *dareero* ‘travel’ *sanad-dareero* ‘next year’  
 e. V + ADV *marká* ‘begin’ + *hortee* ‘before’ *marká-hortee* ‘at the beginning’

Consider the following sentential examples:

- 65a. *Kadir sanad dareero Elkarre sa-koj-Ø-i*  
 Kadir year travel Elkarre FOC-come-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘Kadir will go to Elkarre next year.’  
 b. *ani Elkarre fellej hortee koj-Ø-ej*  
 1S Elkarre yesterday before come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘I came to Elkarre the day before yesterday.’

c. *ani affur reega sa koj-t-i*

1S four after FOC-come -3SF-IPFV

'I will come after the lunch.'

As can be noted from the above data and examples, the adverbial compounds that have been given take the position of adverb and function as temporal adverb.

To summarize, chapter three has dealt with nouns of Girirra. Incitation form, a noun comprises a root and a terminal vowel or a root without terminal vowel. The present chapter has also dealt with nominal grammatical features like inflection and derivation of nouns. Under inflection of nouns number, gender, definiteness and case have been identified and discussed. Definiteness and gender are marked by the same morpheme *-ki (DEF.M)* and *-ti (DEF.F)*. Case is marked in different ways. Cases such as accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental, locative, comitative, allative and vocative are morphologically marked. Genitive is also encoded by word order whereas nominative is morphologically unmarked. Similarly, under derivation nominal and verb base derivation have been examined in detail. Verbal base derivation has been further classified and examined. These include agentive noun, verbal noun, result noun, action noun and manner noun.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Pronouns

In this chapter, we will discuss the pronoun system of Girirra. Pronoun consists of personal and demonstrative pronouns. According to Dixon (2010b:189) personal pronoun is “[...] a small closed class of grammatical words which vary for person”. Under personal pronoun subject and object pronouns, the ablative and vocative pronouns are elaborated. Similarly, under case in pronoun the dative, genitive and the ablative are treated. The third person pronouns are the source of gender and number marker on demonstrative. According to Payne (1997:43) “[p]ronouns are free forms (as opposed to affixes) that function alone to fill the position of a noun phrase in a clause.” Crystal (2008:391) gives a similar remark, i.e. Pronoun is “[a] term used in the grammatical classification of words, referring to the closed set of items, which can be used to substitute for a noun phrase (or single noun)”. In what follows, the different categories of pronoun will be identified and discussed. These categories include pronouns such as personal, genitive, reflexive, demonstrative, vocative, and case in pronoun.

#### 4.1. Personal pronoun

There are two separate personal pronouns in Girirra. These are subject and object personal pronoun, which make a seven-way person distinction. Two distinct different forms apart from in the 3PL express the subject personal pronoun. My consultants are not consistent in their choice of the two variants i.e. they use them in free variation(cf. Table 25)

##### 4.1.1. Subject and object pronouns

Subject pronoun and object pronouns are morphologically simple and exist independently; however, distinct phoneme occurs at the final position of each. Table 25 indicates seven categories of subject with its variants and object pronouns in Girirra.

Table 25: Subject and object personal pronouns

	Subject		Object	
IS	<i>ani/anniskaj</i>	‘I’	<i>ane</i>	‘me’
2S	<i>adi/iskaa</i>	‘you’	<i>ade</i>	‘you’
3SM	<i>ussu/iskees</i>	‘he’	<i>usson</i>	‘him’
3SF	<i>issi/iskee</i>	‘she’	<i>issin</i>	‘her’
IPL	<i>unnu/unnoskonood</i>	‘we’	<i>nu/unno</i>	‘us’
2PL	<i>issiin/iskisin</i>	‘you (pl)’	<i>issiinno</i>	‘you’
3PL	<i>ussood</i>	‘they’	<i>ussodo</i>	‘them’

As can be seen from Table 25, gender is relevant to only the third person while number is relevant to plurals of the first, second and third persons. Of the two variant forms of the subject pronoun presented in Table 25 the first form, which the simple and economical one is used throughout the study.

The following examples also illustrate the use of subject and object pronouns in a sentence.

1a. *ani-w-e*                      *barad-o*                      *karis-Ø-ej*  
 1S.SUBJ-EPN-FOC              potato-DEF.ACC              cook-IS-PFV  
 ‘I cooked the potato.’

b. *unnu-w-e*                      *usson*              *agar-Ø-ej*  
 IPL.SUBJ-EPN-FOC              3SM.OBJ see-1PL-PFV  
 ‘WE saw him’

c. *unnu-w-e*                      *issin*              *agar-Ø-ej*  
 1PL.SUBJ-EPN-FOC              3SF.OBJ see-1PL-PFV  
 ‘WE saw her’

d. *adi-w-e*                      *dalag-ni*              *k’abt-i*  
 2S.SUB-EPN-FOC work-VN              has-2S-IPFV  
 ‘YOU have to work.’

e. *issi-w-e*              *daabo-w-o*              *nu*              *suubis-t-ej*  
 3SF-EPN-FOC              bread-EPN-ACC              1PL.OBJ cook-3SM-PFV  
 ‘SHE made us bread’

#### 4.2. Possessive pronoun

Girirra the possessive pronoun has three different variant of morphemes. These morphemes can be classified and discussed by categorizing them into type A, B and C. The A, B, and C types of morphemes are used alternatively without meaning change. These morphemes are illustrated in the following table by using the word *min* ‘house’.

Table 26: A possessive pronoun

person	possessive markers			
	A	B	C	
1SM	<i>min-kej</i>	<i>min-halkej</i>	<i>min kakaj</i>	‘my house(M)’
1SF	<i>min-tej</i>	<i>min-haltej</i>	<i>min-tataj</i>	‘my house.F’
2SM	<i>min-ka</i>	<i>min-halka</i>	<i>min-kaka</i>	‘your house.M’
2SF	<i>min-ta</i>	<i>min-halta</i>	<i>min-tata</i>	your house .F
3SM	<i>min-kes</i>	<i>min-halkes</i>	<i>min-kakes</i>	‘his house.M’
3SF	<i>min-tes</i>	<i>min-haltes</i>	<i>min-tates</i>	‘her house.F’
1PL.M	<i>min-ki-nood</i>	<i>min-halkinood</i>	<i>min-tatakinood</i>	‘our(M) house.M’
1PL.F	<i>min-ti-nood</i>	<i>min-haltinood</i>	<i>min-tatatinood</i>	‘our(F) house.F’
2PL.M	<i>min-ki-isan</i>	<i>min-halkiisan</i>	<i>min-tatakiisin</i>	‘your(PL.M) house.M’
2PL.F	<i>min-ti-isan</i>	<i>min-haltiisan</i>	<i>min-tatatiisin</i>	‘your(PL.F) house.F’
3PL.M	<i>min-ki-sood</i>	<i>min-halkisood</i>	<i>min-tatakisood</i>	‘your(PL.M) house.M’
3PL.F	<i>min-ti-sood</i>	<i>min-haltisood</i>	<i>min-tatatisood</i>	‘your(PL.F) house.F’

As can be noted from Table 26, unlike person and object pronouns, possessive pronouns indicate twelve distinct categories of pronoun forms. That is, each person consists of masculine and feminine paradigm. Morpheme type B is simply formed by prefixing the morpheme *hal-* to type

A morpheme in order to be used as alternative form of possessive pronoun. However, apart from 3SM and 3SF paradigm, in all other persons, morpheme type C is formed by reduplication of the 2SM and 2SF marker *-ka* and *-ta* respectively. Subsequently the reduplicated form is prefixed to type A morpheme to form type C suffixes. Although possible to use all these forms alternatively, for the sake of simplicity type A morpheme is preferred to be used in this study. Thus, in the following paragraphs, possessive pronoun marker type A will be further discussed and exemplified.

The possessive marker type A help us to identify gender distinction. That is, the initial consonant *ki-* of the possessive is used to mark the masculine whereas the initial consonant *ti-* of the possessive is used to mark the feminine. Consider Table 27.

Table 27: Type A Possessive pronoun markers

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>kej</i> <i>tej</i> 'my' POSS.1SM,POSS.1SF	<i>ki-nood</i> , <i>ti-nood</i> 'our' M-POSS.1PL, F-POSS.1PL
2	<i>ka</i> , <i>ta</i> 'your' POSS.2SM, POSS.2SF	<i>ki-isanti-isan</i> 'your' M-POSS.2PL, F-POSS.PL
3	<i>-kes/-ke</i> 'his' POSS.3SM	<i>ki-sood</i> 'their' M-POSS.3PL
4	<i>-tes/-te</i> 'her' POSS.3SF	<i>ti-sood</i> 'their' F-POSS.3PL

#### 4.2.1. Possessive pronoun marking with *-kej* or *-tej*

The possessive *-kej* is used to express first person masculine gender and inanimate entities considered as masculine. On the other hand, the possessive *-tej* is used to express first person feminine gender and inanimate entities considered as feminine or diminutives. The following are examples:

Table 28: Possessive pronoun marking by suffix-*kej/tej*

Noun		Possessive pronoun form	
<i>Koob</i>	‘cup’	<i>koop-kej</i> cup-M.POSS.1S	‘my cup.M’
<i>Anan</i>	‘child’	<i>anan-tej</i> child-F.POSS.1S	‘my daughter.F’
<i>Mandi</i>	‘knife’	<i>mand-tej</i> knife-F.POSS.1S	‘my knife.F’
<i>see?</i>	‘cow’	<i>see?-tej</i> cow-F.POSS.1S	‘my cow.F’

#### 4.2.2. Possessive pronoun marking with-*ka* or-*ta*

The suffix *-ka* is used to mark masculine possessive pronoun whereas the suffix *-ta* is used to mark feminine or diminutive for second person singular. This is illustrated in Table 29.

Table 29: Possessive pronoun marking with the suffix *-ka/ta*

Noun		possessive pronoun	
<i>Weel</i>	‘son’	<i>weel-ka</i> son-M.POSS.2S	‘your son.M’
<i>Buug</i>	‘book’	<i>buug-ka</i> book-M.POSS.2S	‘your book.M’
<i>Awu</i>	‘father’	<i>awu-ka</i> father-M.POSS.2S	‘your father.M’
<i>see?</i>	‘cow’	<i>see?a-ta</i> cow-M.POSS.2S	‘your cow.F’
<i>Mandi</i>	‘knife’	<i>mandi-ta</i> knife-M.POSS.2S	‘your knife.F’

#### 4.2.3. Possessive pronoun marking with suffixation of *-kes/ke* and *-tes/te*

The morphemes *-kes/-ke* and *-tes/-te* are suffixed to noun to form third person singular masculine possessive pronoun and third person singular feminine possessive pronouns respectively. That is, *-kes* and *-ke* are in free variation to mark 3SM possessive pronoun whereas *-tes* and *-te* are in free variation to mark 3SF possessive pronoun. The morpheme *-te/-tes* that is suffixed to the word *see?* ‘cow’ is used to introduce animate non-human feminine entity. Similarly, the morpheme -

*te/-tes* that is suffixed to *mandi* ‘knife’ is used to express inanimate entity considered as feminine. Consider Table 30:

Table 30: Possessive pronoun marking *-kes/ke* and *-tes/te*

Noun		Possessive pronoun form	
<i>Walal</i>	‘sibling’	<i>walal-kēs/ke</i> sibling- POSS.3SM	‘his brother.M’
<i>Walal</i>	‘sibling’	<i>walal-tes/te</i> sibling- POSS.3SF	‘her brother’
<i>Anan</i>	‘child’	<i>anan-tes/te</i> child-POSS.3SF	‘her daughter.F’
<i>seeʔ</i>	‘cow’	<i>seeʔ-tes/te</i> cow- POSS.3SF	‘her cow.F’
<i>Mand</i>	‘knife’	<i>mand-tes/te</i> knife-POSS.3SF	‘her knife.F’

#### 4.2.4. Possessive pronoun marking with suffixation of *ki-nood* or *ti-nood*

The first person plural Possessive pronoun is marked by the morpheme *ki-nood* for masculine possessive 1PL and *ti-nood* for feminine possessive 1PL. The morpheme *ki-nood* is also used to express inanimate entities considered as masculine while the morpheme *ti-nood* is used to express inanimate entities considered as feminine or diminutive. Consider the following examples:

Table 31: Possessive pronoun marking with *-ki-nood/-ti-nood*

Noun		Pronoun	
<i>Weel</i>	‘son’	<i>weel-ki-nood</i> son-M-POSS.1PL	‘our son.M’
<i>Walal</i>	‘sibling’	<i>walal-ki-nood</i> sibling-M-POSS.1PL	‘our brother.M’
<i>Anan</i>	‘child’	<i>anan-ti-nood</i> child-F-POSS.1PL	‘our daughter.F’
<i>seeʔ</i>	‘cow’	<i>seeʔ-ti-nood</i> cow-DEF-F-POSS.1PL	‘our cow.F’

#### 4.2.5. Possessive pronoun marked with *-ki-isan* or *-ti-isan*

The second person plural possessive pronoun is marked by the morpheme *ki-isan* and *ti-isan* for masculine and feminine respectively. Some examples are given in Table 32.

Table 32: Possessive marking with *-ki-isan/-ti-isan*

Noun		Possessive pronoun form	
<i>Walal</i>	‘sibling’	<i>walal-ki-isan</i> sibling-M-POSS.2PL	‘your (PL) brother.M’
<i>Weel</i>	‘son’	<i>weel-ki-isan</i> son-M-POSS.2PL	‘your(PL) son.M’
<i>Anan</i>	‘child’	<i>anan-ti-isan</i> child-F-POSS.2PL	‘your(PL) daughter.F’
<i>seeʔ</i>	‘cow’	<i>seeʔ-ti-isan</i> cow-F-POSS.2PL	‘your (PL) cow.F’

#### 4.2.6. Possessive pronoun marking with *ki-sood* or *ti-sood*

The third person plural possessive pronoun is formed by suffixing the morpheme *ki-sood* and *ti-sood* to the base noun to form the possessive masculine and possessive feminine pronoun respectively. The followings are examples:

Table 33: Possessive pronoun marking with *-ki-sood/-ti-sood*

Noun		Possessive pronoun form	
<i>Anan</i>	‘child’	<i>anan-ki-sood</i> child-M-POSS.3PL	‘their son.M’
<i>Awu</i>	‘father’	<i>awu-ki-sood</i> father-M-POSS.3PL	‘their father.M’
<i>Buug</i>	‘book’	<i>buug-ki-sood</i> buug-M-POSS.3PL	‘their book.M’
<i>Anan</i>	‘child’	<i>anan-ti-sood</i> child-F-POSS.3PL	‘their daughter.F’
<i>seeʔ</i>	‘cow’	<i>seeʔ-ti-sood</i> seeʔ-F-POSS.3PL	‘their cow.F’

On the other hand, the function of possessive pronoun can be classified into two categories as possessive modifier or as possessive pronouns. In both cases, the copula is overtly unmarked in the Girirra text line; however, it exists in the English translation line. Consider the following examples that are given under each possessive modifiers and possessive pronoun as illustration.

- **As possessive modifiers**

2a. *hik-kaj buug-kej-∅*  
PROX-MS book- POSS.1SM-COP  
‘This is my book’

b. *hik-kaj k’alin-kej-∅*  
PROX-MSpen- POSS.1SM -COP  
‘This is my pen.’

c. *hat-taj min-ki-ka-Ø*  
DIST-FS house-DEF.M-POSS.2SM-COP  
'That is your house'

d. *hat-taj min-ki-nood-Ø*  
DIST-FS house-M-POSS.1PL -COP  
'That is our house'

As noted from examples (3a-d) the possessive pronoun *-kej,-ka*, and *ki-nood* are used to modify the noun *buug* 'book', *k'alín* 'pen, and *min*'house' respectively.

- **As possessive pronoun**

3a. *hik-kaj-kej-Ø*  
PROX-FS- POSS.1SM-COP  
'This is mine'

b. *hat-taj-ka-Ø*  
DIST-2S-POSS.2SM-COP  
'That is yours'

c. *hat-taj ki-nood-Ø*  
DIST-FSM-POSS.1PL -COP  
'That is ours'

### 4.3. Reflexive pronoun

Reflexive pronouns can be formed by suffixing or prefixing two different types of morphemes to subject pronoun or verb. That is, reflexive pronoun type I is marked by the suffix *-lla* and prefix *is-* whereas reflexive pronoun type II is introduced by the morpheme *madee* 'head', possessive markers and prefix *-is*. On each, more detail will be given below.

#### 4.3.1. Reflexive pronoun type I marking with *-lla* and *is-*

The reflexive pronoun is jointly marked by the bound morpheme *-lla* and *is-*. The morpheme *-lla* is suffixed to subject personal pronouns whereas the morpheme *is-* is prefixed to the main verb to form reflexive pronouns. This is presented in Table 34 based on the verb *gif* ‘cut’:

Table 34: Reflexive pronoun type I marker

Person	Subject pronoun	Reflexive pronoun type I	
1S	<i>ani</i>	<i>-lla is-gif-Ø-ej</i>	‘I cut myself’
2S	<i>adi</i>	<i>-lla is-is-gif-t-ej</i>	‘You cut yourself’
3SM	<i>ussu</i>	<i>-lla is-gif-Ø-ej</i>	‘He cut himself’
3SF	<i>issi</i>	<i>-lla is-gif-t-ej</i>	‘She cut herself’
1PL	<i>unnu</i>	<i>-lla is-gif-n-ej</i>	‘We cut ourselves’
2PL	<i>issiin</i>	<i>-lla is-gif-t-en</i>	‘You (Pl) cut yourself’
3PL	<i>ussood</i>	<i>-lla is-gif-Ø-en</i>	‘They cut themselves.’

Consider the following sentential examples for further clarification.

4a. *ani-lla is-gif-Ø-ej*

1S-REFL self-cut-PFV

‘I cut myself’

b. *adi-lla is-gif-t-ej*

2S-REFL self-cut-2S-PFV

‘You cut yourself’

c. *ussood-lla is-gif-Ø-e-n*

3PL-REFL self-cut-3PL-PFV-PL

‘They cut themselves.’

#### 4.3.2. Reflexive pronoun type II marking with *made* ‘head’

The noun *made* ‘head’ is combined with possessive marker *-kes* ‘his’, *-tes* ‘her’, *-ka* ‘your’, *-kej* ‘my’, *-kinood* ‘our’, *-kiisan* ‘your (PL)’, and *-kisood* ‘them’. Subsequently each possessive marker is followed by the morpheme *is-* which is prefixed to the verb to form reflexive pronoun. The followings are examples:

Table 35: Reflexive pronoun type II marking with *made*

Person	Subject pronoun	Reflexive pronoun II	
1S	<i>ani</i>	<i>mad-kej is-gif-Ø-ej</i>	‘I cut myself’
2S	<i>adi</i>	<i>mad-ka is-gif-t-ej</i>	‘You cut yourself’
3SM	<i>ussu</i>	<i>mad-kes is-gif-Ø-ej</i>	‘He cut himself’
3SF	<i>issi</i>	<i>mad-tes is-gif-t-ej</i>	‘She cut herself’
1PL	<i>unnu</i>	<i>mad-kinood is-gif-n-ej</i>	‘We cut ourselves’
2PL	<i>issiin</i>	<i>mad-kiisan is-gif-t-e-n</i>	‘You (Pl) cut yourself’
3PL	<i>ussood</i>	<i>mad-kisood is-gif-Ø-e-n</i>	‘They cut themselves.’

Consider the following sentential examples.

5a. *ani mad-kej is-gif-Ø-ej*

1S head- POSS.1SM self-cut-1S-PFV

‘I cut myself.’

b. *ussu-w-e mad-kes is-gif-Ø-ej*

3SM-EPN-FOC head- POSS.3SM self-cut-PFV

‘HE cut himself’

c. *issi-w-e mad-tes is-gif-t-ej*

3SF-EPN-FOC head- POSS.3SF self-cut-3SF-PFV

‘She cut herself’

#### 4.4. Case in pronouns

Like nouns, pronouns are marked for case as well. These, cases include comitative, dative and ablative. Each will be considered in the following paragraphs.

##### 4.4.1. Comitative pronoun

Like in noun comitative case in pronoun is invariably marked by the morpheme *-la*. Consider the following examples with person's paradigm:

- 6a. *ani-la* 'with me'
- b. *adi-la* 'with you (PL)
- c. *issi-la* 'with her'
- d. *ussu-la* 'with him'
- e. *unnu-la* 'with us'
- f. *issiin-la* 'with you (PL)
- g. *ussod-la* 'with them'

##### 4.4.2. Dative case

Like in noun, (cf.3.2.4.3.) pronouns can also be also marked by the morpheme *-uun* 'for/to' in all persons except in 1S in which it is marked by *-iga*. That is, the morpheme *-uun* is suffixed to object personal pronoun. Look at the following illustrative examples:

- 7a. *ussood-e*      *daabo-w-o*      *nu-uun*      *gad-Ø-aj*  
3PL.SUBJ-FOC    bread-EPN-ACC    1PL.OBJ-DAT    buy-3PL-PFV  
'THEY bought bread for us.'

- b. *issi-w-e*      *daabo-w-o*      *nu-uun*      *gad-t-aj*  
3SF-EPN-FOC    bread-EPN-ACC    1PL.OBJ-DAT    buy-3SF-PFV  
'SHE bought bread for us.'

- c. *ani-w-e*      *kituub* *issin-uun*      *düib-Ø-ej*  
1S.SUBJ-EPN-FOC    book    3SF.OBJ-DAT    give-1S-PFV  
'I gave a book to her.'

- d. *ussu-w-e*                      *usson-uun*              *düib-Ø-ej*  
 3SM.SUBJ-EPN-FOC 3SM.OBJ-DAT give-3SM-PFV  
 ‘HE gave to him.’

The dative marker *-in/-uun* ‘for’ can also be used to introduce dative in benefactive relationship. In such benefactive construction, the morpheme *-in* is only used in first person singular whereas the morpheme *-uun* is used invariably in all other persons. See the following table.

Table 36: Dative pronoun

1	Singular	Plural
	<i>ani-in</i> ‘for me’	<i>nu/ unnu-uun</i> ‘for us’
2	<i>adi-uun</i> ‘for you’	<i>issiinno-uun</i> ‘for you’
3	<i>usson –uun</i> ‘for him’	<i>ussoodo-uun</i> ‘for them’
	<i>issin-uun</i> ‘for her’	

Consider the following examples based on the paradigm of verb *maris* ‘paint’

- 8a. *ani-in-maris-Ø-ej*                      ‘painted for me’  
 1S-BEN-paint-1S-PFV
- b. *adi-uun maris-t-ej*              ‘painted for you’  
 2S-DAT paint-2S-PFV
- c. *unnu-uun maris-n-ej*              ‘painted for us’  
 1PL-DAT-paint-1PL-PFV
- d. *issin-uun maris-t-ej*              ‘painted for her’  
 3SF-DAT paint-3SF-PFV
- e. *usson-uun maris-Ø-ej*              ‘painted for him’  
 3SM.OBJ-DAT paint-3SM-PFV
- f. *issiinno-uun maris-t-en*              ‘painted for you(PL)’  
 2PL.OBJ-DAT paint-2PL-PFV
- g. *ussoodo-uun maris-Ø-ej*              ‘painted for them’  
 3PL.OBJ-DAT paint-3SM-PFV

#### 4.4.3. Ablative case

The ablative case is marked by the morpheme *-ka*, and *-iga*, ‘from’. Unlike ablative case marker in noun(cf.3.2.4.4), the ablative case in pronoun is suffixed to pronoun. The morpheme *iga-* is used to mark ablative in the 1S while *-ka* is used to mark ablative in all persons. Examples:

9a. *ussu ane-ka/-iga k'aad-ej* .  
 3SM 1S.OBJ-ABL take-PFV  
 ‘He took it from me’

b. *ussu-w-e usson-ka k'aad-Ø-aj*  
 3SM-EPN-FOC 3SM.OBJ-ABL take-3SM-PFV  
 ‘HE took from him.’

c. *ussu-w-e issin-ka k'aad-aj*  
 3SM-EPN-FOC 3SF.OBJ-ABL take-PFV  
 ‘HE took from her.’

d. *ussu-w-e laʔaag-ki unno-ka k'aad-aj*  
 3SM-EPN-FOC money-DEF.M 1PL.OBJ-ABL take-PFV  
 ‘HE took the money from us.’

As can be noted from the above examples the ablative is marked either by *ka/iga*. Nevertheless, different forms of morphemes are used to express possessive and reflexive pronouns across different persons. Consider Table 37.

Table 37: Summary of the personal, reflexive pronouns and case in pronoun

Person	Subject	Object	Dative	Ablative	Reflexive
1S	<i>ani</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-ka/-iga</i>	<i>ani-lla is/mad-kej is</i>
2S	<i>adi</i>	<i>ade</i>	<i>-uun</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>adi-lla is/mad-ka is</i>
3MS	<i>ussu</i>	<i>usson</i>	<i>-uun</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>ussu-lla is/mad-kes is</i>
3SF	<i>issi</i>	<i>issin</i>	<i>-uun</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>issin-lla is/mad-tes is</i>

1PL	<i>unnu</i>	<i>nu/unno</i>	<i>-uun</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>nu-lla is/mad-kinood is</i>
2PL	<i>issiin</i>	<i>issiinno</i>	<i>-uun</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>issiin-lla is/mad-kiisan is</i>
3PL	<i>ussood</i>	<i>ussoodo</i>	<i>-uun</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>ussod-lla is/mad-kisood is</i>

As can be noted from the above table, *-llais-* and *madkej/ka/kes/tes/kinood/kiisan/kisood* are alternatively used to introduce reflexive pronoun in respective person.

#### 4.5. Demonstrative

According to Dixon (2010b:224) "[t]he class shifters with deictic reference to some person (or something) other than speaker or addressee is demonstratives." He also further classifies demonstratives into nominal demonstratives, local adverbial demonstratives and verbal demonstratives. In Girirra nominal demonstratives and local adverbial demonstratives are identified. The following discussions will make these demonstratives apparent.

##### 4.5.1. Nominal demonstratives

Girirra has two nominal demonstratives, which make two distinctions among proximal and distal location with a speaker as a deictic center. Thus, in Girirra nominal demonstratives such as demonstrative adjective and demonstrative pronoun which indicate proximity and distance of an object is discussed in turn. In Girirra, demonstratives are classified into two demonstrative indicating nearness (PROX) and farness (DIST). The following forms represent these:

Table 38: Demonstrative

Proximal(PROX)	Distal(DIST)
<i>hik-kaj</i> 'this(M) PROX-MS	<i>hak-kaj</i> 'that(M) DIST-M.S
<i>hit-taj</i> 'this(F) PROX-FS	<i>hat-taj</i> 'that(F) DIST-F.S
<i>hik-kood</i> 'these' PROX-M.PL	<i>hak-kood</i> 'those' DIST-M.PL

As can be seen in Table 38, gender is expressed by distinct forms in singular demonstrative. Consider the following sentential illustrations:

10a. *anan-kihik-kaj Elkarre-ka koj-Ø-ej*  
 child-DEF.M PROX-M.S Elkarre-ABL come-PFV  
 ‘This boy came from Elkarre.’

b. *anan-tihit-taj Elkarre-ka koj-t-ej*  
 girl-DEF.F PROX-F.S Elkarre-ABL come-3SF-PFV  
 ‘This girl came from Elkarre.’

c. *anan-ki hak-kaj Elkarre-ka koj-Ø-ej*  
 boy-DEF.M DIST-M.S Elkarre-ABL come-PFV  
 ‘That boy came from Elkarre.’

d. *anan-ti hat-taj Elkarre-ka koj-t-ej*  
 girl-DEF.F DIST-F.S Elkarre-ABL come-F-PFV  
 ‘That girl came from Elkarre.’

As can be noted from example 10a-d, in singular demonstratives Girirra has a gender distinction between masculine and feminine. However, in plural demonstrative both masculine and feminine is expressed by the same forms (*hik-kood* (PROX) ‘these.M’ and *hak-kood* (DISL) ‘thoseM.’).

The followings are examples:

11a. *bilaan-ati hak-kood-e Elkarre-ka koj-t-e-n.*  
 woman-Paucal DIST-M.PL-FOC Elkarre-ABL come-3S-PFV-PL  
 ‘THOSE WOMEN(three-five) came from Elkarre.’

b. *dad-jaal hak-kood-e Elkarre-ka koj-Ø-e-n*  
 man-PL DIST-M.PL-FOC Elkarre-ABL come-3-PFV-PL  
 ‘THOSE MEN(three-five) came from Elkarre.’

c. *bilaan-ati hik-kood-e Elkarre-ka koj-t-e-n*  
 woman-Paucal PROX-M.PL-FOC Elkarre-ABL come-3SF-PFV-PL  
 ‘THESE WOMEN came from Elkarre.’

d. *dad-jaal hik-kood-e Elkarre-ka koj-Ø-e-n*  
 man-PL PROX-M.PL-FOC Elkarre-ABL come-3-PFV-PL  
 ‘THESE MEN came from Elkarre’

Moreover, nominal demonstrative generally occurs with a nominal or pronoun in an NP in Girirra. Thus, demonstrative adjective and demonstrative pronoun are discussed below. In demonstrative adjective usage, the modified noun occurs following the demonstrator and the preceding possessive pronoun. Some examples are provided in example 12:

12a. *hat-ti-w-e islaan-ti-kej*  
 DIST.F-EPN-FOC woman.F-POSS.3SM  
 ‘THAT woman is my wife.’

b. *hat-t-ijaal gaal-ijaal-ki-nood-Ø*  
 DIST-F.PL camel-PL-M-POSS.3PL-COP  
 ‘Those camels are ours.’

c. *hik-kaj gaal-kej-Ø*  
 PROX-MS camel-POSS.1SM-COP  
 ‘This camel is mine’

As can be seen from the above examples, although the structures consist of the copula verb it is also not overtly marked.

In demonstrative pronoun usage, the modified noun does not overtly occur between demonstrative and possessive pronoun as is the case of for demonstrative adjective. However, the speaker uses demonstratives to indicate entities that referred. Consider the following illustrative examples.

13a. *hit-ti-w-e Karre dareer-i ku-t-al*  
 PROX-3SF-EPN-FOC Karre go-IPFV PRS.AUX-3SF-exist  
 ‘THIS is going to Karre.’

b. *hattaj-ijaal ki-nood-Ø*  
that-PL M.POSS.3PL-COP  
'Those are ours.'

c. *hik-kaj kej-Ø*  
PROX-MS POSS.1SM -COP  
'This is mine.'

#### 4.5.2. Local adverbial demonstratives

According to Dixon (2010b:228) "[...] local adverbial demonstratives point to a place." Girirra local adverbial demonstrative is introduced by the morpheme *inta* 'here' and *hegga* 'there'. Consider the following examples:

14a. *Kadir feelej inta koj-ej*  
kadir yesterday here come-PFV  
'Kadir came here yesterday.'

b. *Kadija dar gadad-ni hegga tab-ey*  
Kadija cloth buy-VN there go-PFV  
'Kadija went there to buy clothes.'

As can be noted from the above example, the morpheme that used to introduce local adverbial demonstrative occurs following the noun phrase and preceding the verb in the clause.

#### 4.6. Vocative pronoun

Girirra has second person vocative pronouns, which are used when calling someone. The second person vocative pronoun is mainly marked by the bound morpheme *-jaj/jaw* and *-tej/tew* for the masculine and for feminine respectively. The morpheme *-anaw* and *-anej* also used to address second person masculine and feminine respectively. These are exemplified below.

15a. *adi* 'You.M/F'  
*anaw/ ananjaw/ananjaj* 'You.M(addressing second person masculine pronoun)'  
*anej/anantej/anantew* 'You.F(addressing second person feminine pronoun)'

b. *waan* 'mad.M/F'

<i>waalanjaw</i>	‘mad.M (addressing mad person in second person masculine)’
<i>waalantew</i>	‘mad. F (addressing mad person in second person feminine)’
<i>anej koj</i>	‘You.F come’
c. <i>issiin</i>	‘you. PL’

As can be noted from the above examples in (12a-b) the second person singular vocative pronoun is introduced by the morpheme *anaw/ananjaj* ‘you’ for masculine and by *anej/anantej* ‘you’ for feminine. However, in the second person plural pronoun, both second person pronoun and second person vocative pronoun is introduced by the same morpheme *issiin* ‘you. PL’

In summary, the present chapter has dealt with pronouns. These include personal pronoun, possessive pronoun, reflexive pronoun, case in pronoun and demonstratives. Under personal pronoun, subject and object pronoun, which make a seven-way person distinction have been discussed. Each subject and object pronoun make a seven-way person distinction. That is, the subject pronoun are 1S (*ani*) ‘I’, 2S (*adi*) ‘you’, 3SM (*ussu*) ‘he’, 3SF (*issi*) ‘she’, 1PL (*unnu*) ‘we’, 2PL (*issiin*) ‘you’ and 3PL (*ussood*) ‘they’. The object pronouns are IS.OBJ (*ane*) ‘me’, 2S.OBJ (*ade*) ‘you’, 3SM.OBJ (*usson*) ‘him’, 3SF.OBJ (*issin*) ‘her’, 1PL (*unno*) ‘us’, 2PL.OBJ (*issiinno*) ‘you’, and 3PL.OBJ (*ussoodo*) ‘them’

Similarly, twelve distinct categories of possessive pronouns which have three variant (A, B, C) have been identified. The following possessive pronoun in relation to person paradigm is presented for type A variant. These are POSS.1SM (*-kej*) ‘my.M’, POSS.1SF (*-tej*) ‘my.F’, POSS.2SM (*-ka*) ‘your.M’, POSS.2SF (*-ta*) ‘your.F’, POSS.3SM (*-kes*) ‘his.M’, POSS.3SF (*-tes*) ‘her.F’, POSS.1PL.M (*kinood*) ‘our.M’, POSS.1PL.F (*tinood*), ‘our.F’, POSS.2PL.M (*kiisan*), ‘your.M’, POSS.2PL.M (*tiisan*), ‘your.F’, POSS.3PL.M (*kisood*), ‘their.M’ and POSS.3PL.F (*tisood*) ‘their.F’. Moreover, the chapter has also dealt with reflexive pronoun with two different variant forms, case in pronoun, comitative pronoun, dative cases, and ablative case, demonstrative and vocative pronoun.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Verb

This chapter explores components of verbs such as verb structure, verb inflections, negation and verb derivations. It also discusses verbs along with their arguments.

#### 5.1. Structure of verb root

In Girirra, a verb takes inflectional and derivational affixes; however, it does not require inflectional suffixes to form an independent verb form. In other words, a verb root can occur as an independent lexical item without derivational and inflectional affixes. Although there are a few vowel-initial verb roots, there are no vowel-final verb roots in Girirra. That is, all verb roots in Girirra end in a consonant. However, in Lowland East Cushitic like in Af-Tunni (Tosco 1997:67), and Highland East Cushitic like in Alaaba (Schneider-Blum 2007:200) and Hadiyya (Tadesse 2015:104), the status of a verb root is a bound morpheme which requires inflectional affixes to be integrated into discourse.

Girirra verb roots can be classified and treated as monosyllabic, disyllabic, or tri-syllabic. Of the three classifications, the most frequent and the base one is monosyllabic and the second frequent shape is disyllabic. A tri-syllabic verb root is the least frequent structure. Polysyllabic (four and more) verb root is not attested. The shapes of simple verb roots are illustrated with their corresponding structure in Table 39.

Table 39: The CV-Structure of verb roots

(a)	monosyllabic (CVC, CVVC, )		
	CVC-	<i>bod</i>	‘jump’
	CVVC-	<i>boob</i>	‘fly’
(b)	Disyllabic (CVVCVC, CVCVC, CVCCVC, CVCCVC, CVCVVC, CVCCVC, CVCCVVC, CVVCCVC, CVCCVVC)		
	CVVCVC	<i>boogis</i>	‘scatter’
	CVCVC	<i>dagal</i>	‘give’
	CVCCVC	<i>dambal</i>	‘split’
	CVCCVC	<i>k’ossal</i>	‘laugh’

	CVCVVC	<i>dareer</i>	‘travel’
	CVCCVC	<i>dambal</i>	‘split’
	CVCCVVC	<i>gargaar</i>	‘help’
	CVVCCVC	<i>deeksin</i>	‘stop up’
	CVCCVVC	<i>gargaar</i>	‘help’
(c)	Tri-syllabic (CVCVVCVC, CVCCVCVVC, CVCVVCVC, CVCVVCVC, CVCVCVVC, CVCVCVC)		
	CVCVVCVC	<i>hifiisin</i>	‘discuss’
	VCCVCVC	<i>elk’ebis</i>	‘blink’
	CVCVCVC-	<i>kadabin</i>	‘castrate’
	CVCVCVC	<i>kagifin</i>	‘decrease’
	CVCCVCCVC	<i>kanfarsis</i>	‘satisfy’
	CVCCVCVC	<i>k’erk’erin</i>	‘shiver’
	CVCVCVC	<i>kuk’obow</i>	‘set fire’

Regarding affixation, suffix conjugation is the most common in Girirra. However, prefix conjugation is also possible with a few verbs such as the verb *igiis* ‘kill’, *ammud* ‘die’ and verb ‘to be’. That is, prefix conjugation seems only possible with the verbs mentioned in the preceding statements. In 3SF paradigm prefix and suffix, conjugation of verb is overtly marked simultaneously. In other words, double subject marking is identified. Both affixes are used to encode 3SF as illustrated in 1b and 2b below. In 1a and 2a, prefix verb conjugation is overtly marked whereas suffix verb conjugation is overtly unmarked. In other words, morpheme *-t-* is interestingly used as both prefix and suffix to mark person and gender however, in 1a the 3SM is unmarked overtly. Consider the following examples.

- 1a. *libaag-ki-w-e dad-o j-igiis-Ø-ej*  
lion-DEF-EPN-FOC person-DEF.ACC 3SM-ACC-3SM-PFV  
‘THE LION killed the person.
- b. *issi-w-e eej-o t-igiis-t-ej*  
3SF-EPN-FOC dog-ACC 3SF-kill-3SF-PFV  
‘She killed a dog.’

2a. *ussu Karre j-iil-Ø-ej*

3SM Karre 3SM-exist.PST-PFV

He was at Karre.

b. *issi Karre t-iil-t-ej*

3SF Karre 3SF-exist.PST-3SF-PFV

‘She was at Karre.’

As can be noted from the above examples, the morpheme *j-* is prefixed to the verb *igiis* ‘kill’ to mark 3SM whereas the morpheme *t-* is prefixed and suffixed to the verb *igiis* ‘kill’ to mark 3SF. Prefix conjugation holds true in some Cushitic languages. Mous (2012:391) states, “[t]prefix conjugation is the remnant of the pre-Cushitic conjugation type and survives in a number of languages, but typically in a restricted set of frequent verbs. For example, in Somali it is only the verb ‘to be’, ‘to come’, ‘to know’, ‘to lie,’ and ‘to say’ take prefix verb conjugation (Saeed 1999).

## 5.2. Inflection

This section includes discussion on the mood, verb root, and imperative, jussive, potential, and negation. Verb inflection for different grammatical categories such as agreement (i.e. for person, number, and gender) and tense-aspect also will be explored.

### 5.2.1. Mood

According Payne (1997:244) “[t]he terms mode, mood, and modality are often used interchangeably, though some linguists make distinctions among these terms.” He further (1997:245) identifies mood such as “[...] subjunctive, optative (wishes), potential (might, ability to), hypothetical/ imaginary, conditional (if), probability [and] deontic (should, must, have to).”

Dixon (2010a:97) discusses subjunctive mood in relation to Latin. He further points out “[...] subjunctive has two functions, one marking a kind of subordinate clause and the other marking a special type of imperative (often called ‘jussive or hortative’).” Jussive what Dixon calls ‘a special type of imperative’ is identified in Girirra along with other moods. Thus, in Girirra imperative, jussive, potential, and interrogatives moods are morphologically marked. Of these, in this section we only attempt to address imperative, jussive, and potential moods, because

interrogative is discussed in section 9.5. In what follows, we discuss imperative and verb root, jussive and potential mood.

### 5.2.1.1. Verb root and imperative

The verb root contains the lexical meaning of the verb. According to Payne (1997:24), “[a] root is an un-analyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word.” A verb root that ends in vowel is not attested in Girirra. Thus, it seems that all verb roots in Girirra end in consonant.

The affirmative imperative form in the second person singular is the simplest and the basic verb form, which is identical with the root form. The imperative or the root form of the verb can end in all consonants, except /dʒ/, /ɲ/, /k/, /kʰ/, and /tʃ/. The vowel does not occur as terminal vowel in the second person singular imperative form or root form of a verb. That is to say, in second person singular the imperative verb is unmarked or has the same form with verb root form. However, in the second person plural, the imperative form is marked by the morpheme *-a*. In other words, the plural imperative is formed by suffixing the morpheme *-a* to the verb root. This is illustrated in Table 40.

Table 40: The affirmative imperative verb forms

Singular verb root	plural	
<i>roor</i>	<i>roor-a</i>	‘run’
<i>koj</i>	<i>koj-a</i>	‘come’
<i>tab</i>	<i>tab-a</i>	‘go’
<i>katab</i>	<i>katab-a</i>	‘write’
<i>un</i>	<i>un-a</i>	‘eat’
<i>dawaar</i>	<i>dawaar-a</i>	‘carry’
<i>nag</i>	<i>nag-a</i>	‘put’
<i>leef</i>	<i>leef-a</i>	‘finish’
<i>k’aad</i>	<i>k’aad-a</i>	‘take’
<i>dikis</i>	<i>dikis-a</i>	‘stop’
<i>dalag</i>	<i>dalag-a</i>	‘do’
<i>daaf</i>	<i>daaf-a</i>	‘pass’
<i>rig</i>	<i>riig-a</i>	‘push’
<i>koot</i>	<i>koot-a</i>	‘talk’
<i>beej</i>	<i>beej-a</i>	‘go out’

### 5.2.1.2. Jussive

Tadesse (2015:112) points out that “[t]he jussive is understood as an indirect command to a third person via an addressee”. Palmer (1986:24) states, that “since jussive is a command directed to someone other than a second person addressee, it is sometimes referred to as third person imperative” cited in Tadesse (2015:112).

In Girirra, the jussive mood is encoded by the morpheme *-i* in the 1S and 1PL whereas the morpheme *-o* and *-u* is used to mark jussive in 3SM and 3SF respectively. Similarly, the morpheme *-an* marks third person plural. Because there is no jussive, form for second person the imperative and jussive are in complementary distribution with regard to person. Consider the following examples for jussive mood.

3a. 1S	<i>sa-tab-∅-i</i>	‘let me go’
3SM	<i>sa-tab-∅-o</i>	‘let him go’
3SF	<i>sa-tab-t-u</i>	‘let her go’
1PL	<i>sa-tab-n-i</i>	‘let us go’
3PL	<i>sa-tab-∅-a-n</i>	‘let them go’
b. 1S	<i>sa-un-∅-i</i>	‘let me eat’
3SM	<i>sa-un-∅-o</i>	‘let him eat’
3SF	<i>sa-un-t-u</i>	‘let her eat’
1PL	<i>sa-un-n-i</i>	‘let us eat’
3PL	<i>sa-un-∅-a-n</i>	‘let them eat’

As can be seen from the above examples, the morpheme *-n-* is used to designate plural while morpheme *-t-* is used to mark third person singular feminine. However, person is overtly unmarked in 1S, 3SM, and 3PL. The prefix *sa-* is used to mark focus.

### 5.2.1.3. Potential

Girirra has also the construction that indicates an action that may or may not take place in the future. Paster (2006:107) in her study on the Lower Jubba dialect of Maay calls a similar construction ‘potential future’. She further points out that “[p]otential [future] [...] is generally used to denote actions that may be taking place in the present or future.” In Girirra, a similar morpheme is used to introduce potential mood marked by the morpheme *-la*. Semantically, this

morpheme is used to express action that might happen or may be true, but you are not certain at all whether it happen or not. The morpheme *-la* is suffixed to the main verb to introduce potential mood. Thus, the morpheme *-la* invariably marks potential mood in all persons.

Consider the following examples for the paradigm of the verbs *tab* ‘go’ *siis* ‘give’ and *waraab* ‘drink’.

Table 41: Potential mood

1S	<i>tab-∅-la</i> go-1S-PM	<i>siis-∅-la</i> give-1S-PM	<i>waraab-∅-la</i> drink-1S-PM
2S	<i>tab-t-i-la</i> go-2S-EPN-PM	<i>siis-t-i-la</i> give-2S-EPN-PM	<i>waraab-t-i-la</i> drink-2S-EPN-PM
3SM	<i>tab-∅-la</i> go-3SM-PM	<i>siis-∅-la</i> give-∅-PM	<i>waraab-∅-la</i> drink-3SM-PM
3SF	<i>tab-t-i-la</i> go-3SF-EPN-PM	<i>siis-t-i-la</i> give-3SF-EPN-PM	<i>waraab-t-i-la</i> drink-3SF-EPN-PM
1PL	<i>tab-n-i-la</i> go-1PL-EPN-PM	<i>siis-n-i-la</i> give-1PL-EPN-PM	<i>waraab-n-i-la</i> drink-1PL-EPN-PM
2PL	<i>tab-t-an-la</i> go-2-IPFV.PL-PM	<i>siis-t-an-la</i> give-2PL-IPFV.PL-PM	<i>waraab-t-an-la</i> drink-2-IPFV.PL-PM
3PL	<i>tab-∅-an-la</i> go-3-IPFV.PL-PM	<i>siis-∅-an-la</i> give-3PL-IPFV.PL-PM	<i>waraab-∅-an-la</i> drink-3PL-IPFV.PL-PM

To make clear with the representation of each bound morpheme given in Table 41, consider the following sentential examples.

4a. *ani koj-∅-la*  
IS FOC-come-1S -PM  
‘I might come.’

b. *issiin tab-t-an-la*  
2PL FOC-go-2-IPFV.PL-PM  
‘You (Pl) might go.’

c. *issi tab-t-i-la*  
3SF FOC-go-3SF-EPN-PM  
'She might go.'

d. *unnu tab-n-i-la*  
1PL FOC-go-1PL-EPN-PM  
'We might come.'

As can be noted from example 4c-d, the epenthetic vowel *i* is inserted to avoid sequence of three consonants, which is not allowed in the phonotactics of Girirra.

### 5.2.2 Agreement

Agreement refers to a collection of different features. These features include person, number, and gender of subject NP and appear as suffix on a verb. Agreement markers of Girirra are almost similar with agreement markers of Diraytata (Wondwosen, 2006:96). That is, in both languages the first person plural is marked by the morpheme *-n* whereas both the second person plural and the third person plural are marked by the morpheme *-an* and *-en* in the imperfective and perfective verb forms respectively. However, in Girirra the morpheme *-an* can further analyzed into *-a* and *-n* to mark imperfective and plural number respectively.

#### 5.2.2.1. Person, number and gender

Person, number and gender are sometimes difficult to separate apart. For example, separating the morpheme *-t* that marks gender in 3SF into person and gender marker can be difficult and argumentative. Similarly separating the morpheme *-n* as person and number can be also argumentative. Thus, an attempt has been made to treat them with their possible agreement.

The person agreement marker helps to distinguish the first, second and third person categories. The second person and third person singular feminine are marked by the morpheme *-t* in the perfective and imperfective verb forms. In other words, the morpheme *-t* marks the third singular feminine and the second person singular and second person plural. Consider the following examples.

5a. *adi roor-t-ej*

2S run-2S-PFV

‘You ran.’

b. *adi sa-roor-t-i*

2S FOC-run-2S-IPFV

‘You run/ will run.’

c. *issin šeeleyroor-t-ej-n*

2PL yesterday run 2S-PFV-PL

‘You (PL) ran yesterday.’

d. *issi sa-roor-t-i*

3SF FOC-run-3SF-IPFV

‘She run/will run.’

The exchange of the order of number and aspect in 5c seems to avoid systematically the ambiguity that might appear between the 2S and 2PL (cf. 5.2.3.1.2.2.1. for further remarks).

However, persons are morphologically unmarked in the 1S, 3SM, and 3PL paradigms in the perfective and imperfective aspects. Examples:

6a. *ani roor-Ø-ej*

1S run-2S-PFV

‘I ran.’

b. *ussu sa-roor-Ø-i*

3SM FOC-run-3SM-IPFV

‘He runs/ will run.’

c. *ussood feeley roor-Ø-e-n*

3PL yesterday run 3PL-PFV-PL

‘They ran yesterday.’

d. *ussood sa-roor-Ø-a-n*

3PL FOC-run-3SF-IPFV-PL

‘They run /will run.’

On the other hand, in present progressive (cf.5.2.3.1.2.2.1) predicate adjective (cf.6.3, 7.5) and existential copula (cf.6.6) constructions, person is overtly marked by the morpheme *-j* in 1S, 3SM, and 3PL paradigm.

The number agreement also differentiates singular number from plural number. The morphemes that distinguish plural and singular are suffixed to the basic verb form. The first, second and third persons singular (masculine and feminine) are not marked for number. However, in the 1PL, 2PL and 3PL number is morphologically marked by the morpheme *-n*. Consider the following examples:

7a. *unnu roor-n-ej*

1PL run-1PL-PFV

‘We ran.’

b. *unnu sa-roor-n-i*

1PL FOC-run-1PL-IPFV

‘We run/will run.’

c. *ussood roor-e-n*

3PL run-PFV-PL

‘They ran.’

d. *ussood sa-roor-Ø-a-n*

3PL FOC-run-3PL-IPFV-PL

‘They run/will run.’

As can be seen from the above examples, the morphemes *-a* and *-n* mark imperfective and plural whereas *-e* and *-n* mark perfective and plural number respectively.

Gender differentiates feminine from masculine. Gender is marked in a portmanteau morpheme, namely, *t = 3S.F*. That is to say, the feminine gender marker morpheme *-t* is attached to the base verb form both in the perfective and imperfective paradigms to mark gender and person simultaneously. This holds true in many Cushitic languages such as Af-Tunni (Tosco 1997:78), Diraytata (Wondwosen, 2006:96), Somali (Paster 2006:91), and Oromo (Owens 1985:70)

Moreover, the subject agreement affixes interact with aspect in Girirra. Thus, Table 42 illustrates the subject agreement affixes in the perfective and imperfective verb form.

Table 42: Person and number agreement with respective aspect markers

Person	Verb root	Gloss	Person marker	Number	Perfective	imperfective
1S	<i>roor</i>	'run'	<i>-∅</i>	-	<i>-ej/-aj (roor-∅-ej)</i>	<i>-i(roor-∅-i)</i>
2S	<i>roor</i>	'run'	<i>-t-</i>	-	<i>-ej/-aj(roor-t-ej)</i>	<i>-i(roor-t-i)</i>
3SM	<i>roor</i>	'run'	<i>-∅</i>	-	<i>-ej/-aj(roor-∅-ej)</i>	<i>-i(roor-∅-i)</i>
3SF	<i>roor</i>	'run'	<i>-t</i>	-	<i>-ej/-aj(roor-t-ej)</i>	<i>-i(roor-t-i)</i>
1PL	<i>roor</i>	'run'	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-ej/-aj(roor-n-ej)</i>	<i>-i(roor-n-i)</i>
2PL	<i>roor</i>	'run'	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-ej→[-e] (roor-t-e-n)</i>	<i>-a(roor-t-an)</i>
3PL	<i>roor</i>	'run'	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-ej→[-e] (roor-∅-e-n)</i>	<i>-a(roor-∅-an)</i>

As can be noted from the above table, *-t* marks person in 2S, 2PL and 3SF. The use of *-t* as gender marker in 3SF implies that it marks person in addition to 3SF gender marking or gender in addition to person, so that the main function is to mark person. It is simply not possible to separate these two categories and none of these two is primary. Thus, this morpheme is used as portmanteau, which marks person and gender. The same holds true for the *-n* in 1PL i.e. it marks person and number simultaneously. It is a portmanteau morpheme as well. However, in 2PL and 3PL the morpheme *-n* marks only number. Compare the examples in 8a with 8b, 9a with 9b, 10a with 10b and 11a with 11b for further clarification.

8a. *unnu Karre-ka sa-koj-n-i*  
 1PL Karre-ABL FOC-come-1PL-IPFV  
 ‘We come/will come from Karre.’

b. *unnu Karre-ka koj-n-ej*  
 1PL Karre-ABL come-1PL-PFV  
 ‘We came from Karre.’

9a. *issiin Karre-tab-t-a-n*  
 2PL Karre-FOC-go-2PL-IPFV-PL  
 ‘You (Pl) go/will go to Karre.’

b. *issiin Karre-tab-t-e-n*  
 2PL Karre-ABL go-2PL-PFV-PL  
 ‘You (Pl) went to Karre.’

10a. *ussood sow-o un-Ø-a-n*  
 3PL meat-DEF eat-3PL-IPFV-PL  
 ‘They eat/will eat the meat.’

b. *ussood sow-o-un-Ø-e-n*  
 3PL meat-DEF eat-3PL-PFV-PL  
 ‘They ate the meat.’

11a. *issi bij-o sa-waraab-t-i*  
 3SF water-FOC drink-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘She drinks/will drink the water.’

b. *issi bij-o waraab-t-ej*  
 3SF water-DEF drink-3SF-PFV  
 ‘She drank the water.’

As can be noted from Table 42, examples 9b and 10b in 2PL and 3PL the perfective marker *-ej* is realized as *-e* when followed by number marker *-n*. It seems that the consonant *j* is deleted when followed by *n* to avoid word-final consonant cluster. Moreover, imperfective is marked by the morpheme *-i* apart from 2PL and 3PL paradigm in which it is marked by the morpheme *-a*.

### 5.2.3. Aspect and tense

In this subsection, aspect and tense that operate in Girirra will be identified and discussed. According to Payne (1997:233f.) “[t]ense is associated with the sequence of events in real time, aspect with the internal temporal “structure” of a situation [...]”. This indicates that tense deals with the location of an event or action in time while aspect deals with how an event or action is to be seen with respect to time, rather than referring to actual location in time. The same source (1997:234) points out that “[s]ome languages pay more attention to tense (e.g. English) [while] others [pay more attention] to aspect (e.g. Austronesian and African generally)”.

Aspect and tense are morphologically distinguished in Girirra. Although aspect plays a larger role as compared to tense both can occur in combination. That is, a separate present and past tense in combination with progressive aspect is identified. These will be apparent by the following discussions and illustrations.

### 5.2.3.1 Aspect

As stated by Payne (1997:238), “[a]spects describes the internal temporal shape of events or states.” In Girirra, aspect can be broadly classified into perfective and imperfective. That is, the former referring to the completion of an action, the latter expressing duration without specifying completion of an action. In Oromo( Owens 1985:83) simple past is marked by *-e* while the imperfective which has either present or future reference marked by *-a*. However, in Diraytata (Wondwosen 2006:98) perfective is marked by *-i* whereas imperfective is marked by *in*. The morpheme *-i* that is identified as perfective in Diraytata and Lower Jubba Maay is identified as imperfective in Girirra. Similarly, the morpheme *-e* that is identified as imperfective in the Lower Jubba Maay is identified as perfective in Girirra and Oromo. In what follows, we attempt to treat perfective and different components of imperfective aspects in Girirra.

#### 5.2.3.1.1. Perfective aspect

The perfective aspect shares similar notion with past tense. Regarding this, Bybee (1994:83-4) points out: “The semantic content of simple past and perfective is very similar- they can both be used to signal a completed past action and they are both used in the narration more general since it can also be used to signal past time for situations viewed imperfectively.”

Thus, although both perfective and past tense signal a completed past action, past tense like past progressive and past habitual are only operate within the imperfective paradigm. In other words, past progressive and past habitual are categorized and discussed as one of the components of imperfective aspect. In Girirra, the perfective aspect is used to express complete action or event that is not viewed imperfectively. Regarding this, Comrie (1976:18) points out “[a] very frequent characterization of perfectivity is that it indicates a completed action.” In Girirra, this aspect is marked by the morpheme *-ej/aj*. The perfective aspect markers are suffixed either to the verb root or to the subject marker or to the number markers. That is, in the 1S, 3SM and 3PL the perfective marker *-ej/aj* is suffixed to the verb root due to fact that these paradigms, person marker is overtly unmarked. In 2S, 3SF, and 2PL the perfective marker *-ej/aj* is suffixed to the person marker *-t*. Similarly, in 1PL the

perfective marker *-ej/aj* is suffixed to the person and number marker *-n*. However, the morpheme *-ej* is realized as *-en* in the second person and third person plural. The morpheme *-en* can be further analyzed into *-e* and *-n* to mark perfective and number respectively. That is, the perfective marker *-ej* is realized as *-e* when followed by the number marker *-n*. The set of subject markers (person gender and number) and perfective are given below.

12.- $\emptyset$ - <i>ej</i> / $\emptyset$ - <i>aj</i>	1S-PFV
- <i>t-ej</i> / <i>-t-aj</i>	2S-PFV
- $\emptyset$ - <i>ej</i> / $\emptyset$ - <i>aj</i>	3SM-PFV
- <i>t-ej</i> / <i>-t-aj</i>	3SF-PFV
- <i>n-ej</i> / <i>-n-aj</i>	1PL-PFV
- <i>t-e-n</i>	2PL-PFV-PL
- $\emptyset$ - <i>e-n</i>	3PL-PFV-PL

As can be noted from the above set of subject markers the morpheme *-ej/aj* is alternatively used to mark perfective apart from 2PL and 3PL paradigm. The forms of these morphemes may differ depending on the relation they have with agreement markers (person, subject, and number) and the vowels that exist in the preceding syllable. That is, they vary in their distribution i.e. the use of the morpheme *-aj* is motivated by the vowel in the preceding syllable. In other words, the *-ej* is assimilated to the vowel *-a*, which occurs in the preceding syllable and as the result changed to the morpheme *-aj*. However, the morpheme *-ej* widely occurs elsewhere.

Consider the following sentential examples in which the morpheme *-aj* assimilated to the vowels in the preceding syllable.

13a. *geneed -e anan-ki adag-ad- $\emptyset$ -aj*  
 hand-GEN child-DEF.M strong-INCH-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The hand of the child became strong.’

b. *hebad-ki nan-ki-w-e balaar-ad- $\emptyset$ -aj*  
 chest-DEF man-DEF.M-EPN-FOC wide-INCH-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The chest of the man became wide.’

The following examples illustrate the use of the morpheme *-ej* elsewhere.

14a. *ussu gama reer-kes roor-Ø-ej*  
 3SM toward home- POSS.3SM run-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He ran toward his home.’

b. *issi badan dabbaj fak’es-t-ej*  
 3SF many/much very work-3SF-PFV  
 ‘She worked a lot.’

As mentioned in the previous discussion, perfective aspect is encoded by the morpheme *-ej/-aj*. Consider the following illustrative paradigm in Table 43 for the verb *roor* ‘run’, *gadad* ‘sell’, *dunkus* ‘swallow’ and *gif* ‘cut’ for further clarification.

Table 43: Perfective aspect

1SG	<i>roor-Ø-ej</i>	<i>gadad-Ø-aj</i>	<i>dunkus-Ø-ej</i>	<i>gif-Ø-ej</i>
2S	<i>roor-t-ej</i>	<i>gadada[-d]-aj</i>	<i>dunkus-t-ej</i>	<i>gif-t-ej</i>
3SM	<i>roor-Ø-ej</i>	<i>gadad-Ø-aj</i>	<i>dunkus-Ø-ej</i>	<i>gif-Ø-ej</i>
3SF	<i>roor-t-ej</i>	<i>gadada[-d]-aj</i>	<i>dunkus-t-ej</i>	<i>gif-t-ej</i>
1PL	<i>roor-n-ej</i>	<i>gadada-n-aj</i>	<i>dunkus-n-ej</i>	<i>gif-n-ej</i>
2PL	<i>roor-t-e-n</i>	<i>gadada[-d]-en</i>	<i>dunkus-t-e-n</i>	<i>gif-t-e-n</i>
3PL	<i>roor-Ø-e-n</i>	<i>gadad-Ø-en</i>	<i>dunkus-Ø-e-n</i>	<i>gif-Ø-e-n</i>

As indicated in Table 43, the morpheme in the third column *-t* is realized as *-d* when occurs between the vowels. In other words, the underlying *-t* is realized as *-d* in the surface form when appears at intervocalic position.

### 5.2.3.1.2. Imperfective aspect

According to Bybee (1994:125f.) “[...] an imperfective situation may be one viewed as in progress at a particular reference point, either in the past or present, or one viewed as characteristics of a period of time that includes the reference time, that is, a habitual situation.”

This statement indicates that imperfective can be used to express either past, present, or future time. Tadesse (2015:103) points out “[...] the imperfective form of the verb expresses an action or event that is not completed prior to the time of speaking.” According to Comrie (1976:24f.) imperfective is subdivided into a number of distinct categories including habitual and continuous (progressive and non-progressive aspects). Similarly, imperfective which is marked by the

morpheme *-i* in Girirra can be treated by classifying into non-progressive imperfective and progressive imperfective (present and past). Each will be apparent in the subsequent discussions.

### 5.2.3.1.2.1. Non-progressive imperfective

In this section, non-progressive aspect will be discussed. The morphemes *-i/a* is used to encode imperfective in the 1S, 2S, 3SM, 3SF and IPL whereas the morpheme *-a* used to encode imperfective in 2PL and 3PL paradigm. The set of subject and imperfective markers are given in (15).

15. <i>-∅-i</i>	1S-IPFV
<i>-t-i</i>	2S-IPFV
<i>-∅-i</i>	3SM-IPFV
<i>-t-i</i>	3SF-IPFV
<i>-n-i</i>	1PL-IPFV
<i>-t-a-n</i>	2-IPFV-PL
<i>-∅-a-n</i>	3-IPFV-PL

In Table 44 the imperfective aspect is exemplified with the verb *jeen*-‘bring’, *gif* ‘cut’ and *tab*-‘go’.

Table 44: Non-progressive imperfective

1S	<i>jeen-∅-i</i>	<i>gif-∅-i</i>	<i>tab-∅-i</i>
2S	<i>jeen-t-i</i>	<i>gif-t-i</i>	<i>tab-t-i</i>
3SM	<i>jeen-∅-i</i>	<i>gif-∅-i</i>	<i>tab-∅-i</i>
3SF	<i>jeen-t-i</i>	<i>gif-t-i</i>	<i>tab-t-i</i>
1PL	<i>jeen-n-i</i>	<i>gif-n-i</i>	<i>tab-n-i</i>
2PL	<i>jeen-t-a-n</i>	<i>gif-t-a-n</i>	<i>tab-t-a-n</i>
3PL	<i>jeen-∅-a-n</i>	<i>gif-∅-a-n</i>	<i>tab-∅-a-n</i>

The following sentential examples demonstrate the use of the imperfective paradigm.

16a. *ani sa-koj-∅-i*

1S FOC-come-1S-IPFV

‘I come/I will come.’

b. *adi sa-tab-t-i*

2S FOC-go-2S-IPFV

‘You (2S) go/You (2S) will go.’

c. *ussu sa-bood-Ø-i*  
3SM FOC-jump-3SM-IPFV  
'He jumps/He will jump.'

d. *issi sa-roor-t-i*  
3SF FOC-run-3SF-IPFV  
'She runs/She will run.'

e. *unnu sa-koj-n-i*  
1PL FOC-come-PL-IPFV  
'We come/We will come.'

As noted above, sentential examples 16a-e illustrate the use morpheme *-i* as imperfective in the IS, 3SM, 3SF, 2S and 1PL paradigms. However, in 2PL and 3PL the imperfective have different form i.e. *-an* as illustrated below.

f. *issiin geed-ki gif-t-a-n*  
2PL tree-DEF cut-2S-IPFV-PL  
'You (PL) cut the tree /You (PL) will cut the tree.'

g. *ussood sa-dareer-Ø-a-n*  
3PL FOC travel-3-IPFV-PL  
'They travel/they will travel.'

Similarly, examples 16f to 16g illustrate that in 2PL and 3PL paradigm the use of morpheme *-a* and *-n* are used to mark imperfective and plural respectively. Moreover, these examples indicate that the imperfective consists of the basic verb, subject agreement markers (person number and gender) and imperfective.

However, the imperfective marker *-i* has the form *-u* and *-o* in the 3SF and 3SM jussive construction (cf. 5.2.1.2, 5.3.1.3) respectively. Similarly, in the subordinate part of the conditional clause (9.2.3.1) and in the negative statement of the tag question (9.5.1.6) constructions the imperfective marker *-i* has the form *-u*.

A general schematic representation of imperfective can be presented as follows:

VERB ROOT-PERSON MARKER/NUMBER MARKER/and –IPFV

**5.2.3.1.2.2. Progressive aspect**

In this subsection of the thesis, progressive aspect that operates in Girirra will be identified and discussed. The progressive is structurally different from perfective and imperfective in being a complex form consisting of two parts. Bybee et al (1994:126), defines that “[p]rogressive views an action as ongoing at reference time”. In Girirra, the progressive aspect, which refers to an action running over an extended time, is further classified into present and past. The imperfective marker *-i* marks both present and past progressive. Parallel with this imperfective marker *-i*, the morpheme *ku-* and *gir-* are used to mark present and past auxiliary respectively. In the following discussion, each will be treated in turn.

**5.2.3.1.2.2. 1. Present progressive**

The present progressive aspect is formed by the suffixing the imperfective marker *-i* to the main verb followed by the auxiliary verb *ku-* and existential *-al*. Although the morpheme *ku-* does not have independent semantic content, it marks present auxiliary. However, the morpheme *-al* is used to express non-past existential. Unlike in other aspects, in present progressive person is overtly marked 1S, 3SM, and 3PL. The paradigm of the verbs *gis* ‘cut’, *un* ‘eat’ and *dabaalad* ‘swim’ shown in Table 45 illustrate present progressive.

Table 45: Present progressive

1S	<i>gif-i ku-j-al</i>	<i>un-i ku-j-al</i>	<i>dabaalad-i-ku-j-al</i>
2S	<i>gif-i ku-t-al</i>	<i>un-i ku-t-al</i>	<i>dabaalad-i ku-t-al</i>
3SM	<i>gif-i ku-j-al</i>	<i>un-i ku-j-al</i>	<i>dabaalad-i ku-j-al</i>
3SF	<i>gif-i ku-t-al</i>	<i>un-i ku-t-al</i>	<i>dabaalad-i ku-j-al</i>
1PL	<i>gif-i ku-n-al</i>	<i>un-i ku-n-al</i>	<i>dabaalad-i ku-n-al</i>
2PL	<i>gif-i ku-t-al-i-n</i>	<i>un-i ku-t-al-i-n</i>	<i>dabaalad-i ku-t-al-i-n</i>
3PL	<i>gif-i ku-j-al-i-n</i>	<i>un-i ku-j-al-i-n</i>	<i>dabaalad-i ku-j-al-i-n</i>

Consider the following sentential examples of progressive forms of the verb *un* ‘eat’ with different subjects.

- 17a. *ani un-i ku-j-al*  
 1S eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-1S-exist  
 ‘I am eating’

b. *adi un -i ku-t-al*  
 2S eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-2S-exist  
 ‘You are eating.’

c. *issiin un -i ku-t-al-i-n*  
 2PL eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-2PL-exist-EPN -PL  
 ‘You (PL) are eating.’

d. *ussood un-i ku-j-al-i-n*  
 3PL eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-3-exist-EPN -PL  
 ‘They are eating.’

As can be noted from the above examples, the present progressive aspect is marked by the morpheme *-i*, *ku-* and *-al*. These morphemes have their own position and function. That is, the morpheme *-i* that is suffixed to the main verb formally marks imperfective, however, functionally it marks progressive. The morpheme *ku-* is prefixed to person marker while the morpheme *-al* is suffixed to person marker to distinguish present auxiliary and existential respectively. Another interesting point is that, the morpheme *-al* that occurs at word final position in 1S, 2S, 3SM, 3SF, and 1PL paradigm occurs between the subject marker and number markers in 2PL and 3PL paradigm. That is, in 2PL and 3PL paradigm the morpheme *-n*, which occurs at word final position, marks plural number while the morpheme *-i* that occurs between the morpheme *-al* and *-n* is an epenthetic vowel inserted to avoid sequence of consonant cluster at word final position. Moreover, unlike in other construction of aspects, in the present progressive construction subject is morphologically marked by the morpheme *-j* in 1S, 3SM, and 3PL paradigm. The separation of person marker from number or the exchange of the order of number and aspect seems to avoid systematically the ambiguity that might appear between the 2S and 2PL, and between 3SM and 3PL. In other words, the change of the order of number and aspect helps to distinguish 2S from 2PL and 3SM from 3PL.

### 5.2.3.1.2.2. 2.Past progressive

Similar to present progressive, the past progressive aspect is formed by the suffixing *-i* to the main verb followed by the morpheme *gir* and *-ej*. The marker for the past progressive is also used to express the past habitual interpretation or reading in Girirra. That is, both past progressive and past habitual aspect has the same morpheme to be introduced. Although the morpheme *-i* formally marks imperfective, functionally it marks progressive aspect. The morpheme *gir* is used to mark past auxiliary verb while the morpheme *-ej* is used to encode perfective. The subject agreement (person, number, and gender) occurs next to the morpheme *gir*. However, the number marker in 2PL and 3PL occurs at word final position of the clause. The set of agreement markers and past progressive based on the paradigm of the verb *tab* ‘go’, *roor* ‘run’ and *waraab* ‘drink’ aspect are given in Table 46.

Table 46: Past progressive

1S	<i>tab-i gir-Ø-ej</i>	<i>roor-i gir-Ø-ej</i>	<i>waraab-i gir-Ø-ej</i>
2S	<i>tab-i gir-t-ej</i>	<i>roor-i gir-t-ej</i>	<i>waraab-i gir-t-ej</i>
3SM	<i>tab-i gir-Ø-ej</i>	<i>roor-i gir-Ø-ej</i>	<i>waraab-i gir-Ø-ej</i>
3SF	<i>tab-i gir-t-ej</i>	<i>roor-i gir-t-ej</i>	<i>waraab-i gir-t-ej</i>
1PL	<i>tab-i gir-n-ej</i>	<i>roor-i gir-n-ej</i>	<i>waraab-i gir-n-ej</i>
2PL	<i>tab-i gir-t-e-n</i>	<i>roor-i gir-t-e-n</i>	<i>waraab-i gir-t-e-n</i>
3PL	<i>tab-i gir-Ø-e-n</i>	<i>roor-i gir-Ø-e-n</i>	<i>waraab-i gir-Ø-e-n</i>

As can be seen from Table 46, the morphemes *-i*, *gir-* and *-ej* are jointly used to encode past progressive aspect. That is, the morpheme *-i*, *gir-* and *-ej* are used to encode functionally progressive, past auxiliary and perfective respectively. The perfective *-ej* occurs in all persons at the final position of the clause except in 2PL and 3PL in which it is realized as *-e*.

Consider the following sentential examples.

18a. *ani*            *roor-i*            *gir-Ø-ej*  
 IS                run-IPFV        PST.AUX-1S-PFV  
 ‘I was running/I used to run.’

b. *adi*            *roor-i*            *gir-t-ej*  
 2S                run-IPFV        PST.AUX-2S-PFV

‘You were running/you used to run.’

c. *unnu*     *roor -i*     *gir-n-ej*  
3SM     run-IPFV     PST.AUX-1PL-PFV  
‘He was running/He used to run.’

d. *issi*     *roor-i*     *gir-t-ej*  
3SF     run-IPFV     PST.AUX-3SF-PFV  
‘She was running/she used to run.’

e. *ussood* *roor-i*     *gir-Ø-e-n*  
3PLrun-IPFV     PST.AUX -3-PFV-PL  
‘They were running/ they used to run.’

Close observation of the above examples indicates that progressive and perfective occur within the same construction. This is because; this progressive refers to the action that took place in the past progressively. However, the Girirra data indicate that progressive can occur within the perfective aspect. That is, although progressive aspect is one of the components of imperfective rather than perfective, past progressive, which express activities, going on in the past semantically belongs to the perfective paradigm.

#### 5.2.4. Tense

According to Payne (1997:236) “[t]ense is the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered.” Of the common tense systems “past, present, and future” (Payne 1997:236), Girirra has the present, the past in combination with progressive aspect. In relation to this, Baybee (1994:83) says that “[...] typically the tense distinction is only relevant in the imperfective.” Both the present and the past tense is formed as complex constructions made up of the main verb followed by the verb ‘be’ which functions as auxiliary. Baybee (1997:85) further points out that “[...] the simple may interact with notional imperfectivity in two ways, (i) the simple past may be used in combination with an imperfectivity gram (e.g. was sleeping) [...].” Similarly, tense occurs in Girirra in

combination with imperfective aspect particularly with progressive (present and past). The tense is formed as complex constructions made up of the main verb in the progressive form followed by the present auxiliary verb *ku* and past auxiliary *gir* in the present progressive and past progressive aspects respectively (Cf. 5.2.3.1.2.2.1, 5.2.3.1.2.2.2.)

#### 5.2.4. 1. Tense in the progressive aspect

As have been already discussed in present and past progressive section, tense is realized on present and past auxiliaries. That is, the morpheme *ku-* marks auxiliary in the present whereas the morpheme *-gir* marks auxiliary in the past. In other words, the morpheme *ku-* encodes present auxiliary in the present progressive construction while the morpheme *-gir* encodes past auxiliary in the past progressive construction.

The present tense in the progressive expresses the ongoing action at the moment of speaking is formally expressed by the imperfective marker *-i*, the present auxiliary verb *ku-* and existential *-al*. The past tense in the progressive expresses the ongoing action or event that has been accomplished at the moment of speaking is expressed by *-i, gir* and *-ej*. That is, *-i* formally marks imperfective while functionally marks progressive. The morpheme *-gir* and *-ej* mark past auxiliary and perfective respectively. Both *ku...al* and *gir...ej* follow the verb in the imperfective form. Consider the following examples in Table 47 based on paradigm of the verb *roor* 'run'.

Table 47: Progressive, (present and past) paradigm for the verb *roor* 'run'

person	main verb	imperfective marker	PRS.AUX-AGR-exist	PST.AUX-AGR-PFV
1S	<i>roor</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ku-j-al</i>	<i>gir-Ø-ej</i>
2S	<i>roor</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ku-t-al</i>	<i>gir-t-ej</i>
3SM	<i>roor</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ku-j-al</i>	<i>gir-Ø-ej</i>
3SF	<i>roor</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ku-t-al</i>	<i>gir-t-ej</i>
1PL	<i>roor</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ku-n-al</i>	<i>gir-n-ej</i>
2PL	<i>roor</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ku-t-al-i-n</i>	<i>gir-t-e-n</i>
3PL	<i>roor</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ku-j-al-i-n</i>	<i>gir-Ø-e-n</i>

As can be noted from Table (47) the progressive aspect in the present and past are marked by *-i* *ku...-al* and *-i, gir...-ej* respectively. The morpheme *-i* is suffixed to the main verb to denote functionally progressive aspect in all persons. The subject agreement markers occur variably between the morpheme *ku-* and *-al* or *gir-* and *-ej*. On the other hand, three aspects are expressed

in both Af-Tunni and NS (North Somali) dialects i.e. simple, progressive, and habitual (Tosco 1997:68). According to Paster (2006:110) in Lower Jubba Maay “[t]wo aspectual categories are marked: progressive (present and past) and habitual (past only). However, the past progressive and past habitual aspect, which have been reported by Paster (2006:111f.) for Lower Jubba Maay are introduced in Girra by same form (cf.5.2.3.1.2.2.2.).

However, in Af-Tunni, Tosco (1997:68) identifies two tenses of verb form. He then goes on to say that “[o]nly two tenses are morphologically encoded in T, compared with three in NS (past, present, and future- the last periphrastically, T lacks a grammatical encoding of the future [...].” Similarly, Girra lacks a separate future marker. Although, the report of Tosco (1997) indicates that Af-Tunni lacks future marker, the report of Paster (2006), indicates that Lower Jubba Maay (one of the Somali dialects) have separate future marker.

Moreover, according to Paster (2006:101f.) the morpheme *-i* is used to mark simple past tense whereas the morpheme *-e* is used to mark present tense. She also distinguishes six tenses: past, present tenses (simple present A and simple present B), and futures (generic future, immediate future and potential future). However, unlike Lower Jubba Maay, Girra is not marked for immediate future but it is only for potential mood (cf.5.2.1.3).

#### 5.2.4.2. Tense in the past copula

The morpheme *agu-* is used to introduce past copula construction (cf.6.4). Examples:

19a. *ani maʔaalin agu-w-ej*

1S teacher PST.COP-EPN-PFV

‘I was a teacher.’

b. *issi maʔaalin agu-w-ej*

3SF teacher PST.COP-EPN-PFV

‘She was a teacher.’

#### 5.2.4.3. Tense in past existential copula construction

The morpheme *-iil-ej* is used to introduce past existential/locative copula construction (cf.6.7 for detail)

20a. *unnu Karre n-iil-Ø-ej*

1PL Karre 1PL-exist.PST.COP-1PL-PFV

‘We were at Karre.’

b. *dugaag badan duur-ki j-iil-Ø-e-n*

wild animal manyforest-DEF 3-exist.PST.COP-3-PFV-PL

‘There were many animals in the forest.’

### 5.3. Negation

In this subsection, negative markers that operate in Girirra will be identified and described. According to Payne (1997:282) “[a] negative clause is one which asserts that some event, situation, or state of affairs does not hold.” The negative marking morpheme may vary depending on the tense, aspect or mode or other factors. As data indicate negation marker in Girirra are the morphemes *ma-* and *an-*. The negative marker *ma-* is used to introduce negative in different declarative and interrogative clauses except the imperative mood. This claim holds true in Lower Jubba Maay (Paster 2006:113), Somali and Rendille languages except *ma-* occurs as high tone in these languages. In the imperative mood the negative is marked by the bound morpheme *an-* and for negative in copula cf.6.9). In the following discussion, each negative marker i.e. *ma-* and *an-* will be treated and exemplified.

#### 5.3.1. Negation marking by *ma-*

In the imperfective and perfective aspects negation is invariably marked by the morpheme *ma-*. This morpheme is prefixed either to the verb root or to the focus marker. That is, when the verb root is focused *ma-* is prefixed to the focus marker *sa-/ha-*. However, when verb root is not focused, the morpheme *ma-* is prefixed to verb root in the clause. Thus, the morpheme *ma-* is widely used to mark negative. In other words, the morpheme *ma-* is used to mark negative in all declarative and interrogative clauses such as aspects, tense, tense-less copula, past copula, and future copula. Thus, negation in perfective, imperfective, and jussive are considered and exemplified in the following remarks.

### 5.3.1.1. Negation in the perfective aspect

The morpheme *ma-* encodes negation, but unlike in the imperfective paradigm in the perfective aspect the morpheme *-n* marks negative clause. The position of person marker in the imperfective aspect is invariably taken by the morpheme *-nto* to mark negative clause in the perfective aspect in Girirra. However, in the imperfective aspect negative clause marker is overtly unmarked. According to Tosco (200:98), this situation holds true in Lowland East Cushitic languages: Yaaku, Omo-Tana and Oromoid. The following Girirra data illustrate this.

21a. *ussu-w-e fellej ma-koj-n-ej*  
3SM-EPN-FOC yesterday NEG-come-NEGC-PFV  
'HE did not come yesterday.'

b. *issi-w-e gaa ma-roor-n-ej*  
3SF-EPN-FOC today NEG-run-NEGC-PFV  
'SHE did not run today.'

c. *unnu-w-e gama Elkarre ma-tab-n-ej*  
1PL-EPN-FOC towards Elkarre NEG-go-NEGC-PFV  
'We did not go to Elkarre.'

d. *issiin-e hungur-i ma-un-n-ej*  
2PL-FOC food-DEF NEG-eat-NEGC -PFV  
'They did not eat the food.'

The above examples indicate that there are no number and gender agreement in Girirra negative perfective form. The morphemes *ma-* is encoded negative while *-n* and *-ej* are invariably encoded negative clause and perfective respectively.

### 5.3.1.2. Negation in the imperfective

The morpheme *ma-* invariably marks negation in all persons in the imperfective aspect. This morpheme is prefixed to the focus marker *sa-/ha-* and the focus marker itself in turn prefixed to

main verb of the clause. The focus marker *sa-* and *-haare* are in free variation. Unlike in perfective aspect, in the imperfective the person category is variably marked. That is, the category person is not neutralized in the negation of the imperfective, i.e. person is not marked identically. The negative in the imperfective aspects are given below.

22a. *ani ma-sa-tab-Ø-i*

1S NEG-FOC-go-1S-IPFV

‘I do not go/I will not go.’

b. *habar-ti- hungur-o ma-sa-un-t-i*

womman-DEF food-DEF NEG-FOC-eat-3SF-IPFV

‘The woman does not eat the food/ the woman will not eat the food.’

c. *adi ma-sa-roor-t-i*

2S NEG-FOC-run-2S-IPFV

‘You do not run/you will not run.’

d. *ussood Karre-ka ma-sa-koj-Ø-a-n*

3PL Karre-ABL NEG-FOC-come-3-IPFV-PL

‘They do not come from Karre/they will not come from Karre.’

A general schematic representation of negative imperfective can be given as follows:

NEG-FOCUS-VERB ROOT-SUBJECT MARKER-IPFV/NUMBER

### 5.3.1.2.1. Negation in the present progressive

In present progressive, the negation marker *ma-* follows the present auxiliary *ku-* and precedes the agreement markers. Consider the following examples.

23a. *nan-ki hungur-o un-i ku-ma-j-al*

man-DEF food-DEF eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-NEG-3SM-exist

‘The man is not eating the food.’

b. *issi-w-e un-i ku-ma-t-al*

3SF-EPN-FOC eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-NEG-3SF-exist

‘She is not eating.’

c. *unnu hundur-i ku-ma-n-al*  
1PL sleep-IPFV PRS.AUX-NEG-PL-exist  
‘We are not sleeping.’

d. *issiin hungur-o un-i ku-ma-t-al-i-n*  
2PL food-DEF eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-NEG-2-exist-EPN-PL  
‘You (PL) are not eating the food.’

As can be noted from the above examples, unlike in other aspects in negative present progressive the negative marker *ma-* occurs in the middle of present auxiliary *ku-* and subject agreement marker, particularly person marker *-j/-t/-n*. Moreover, in 2PL and 3PL paradigm the subject and number markers are separated by the existential morpheme *-al* and epenthetic vowel *-i*. Since Girirra is a pro-drop language, the exchange in the order of a number marker *-n* and existential marker *-al* seems to avoid systematically the ambiguity that can be appeared between 1S and 1PL, 2S and 2PL.

A general schematic representation of negative present progressive can be given as follows:

MAIN            VERB            ROOT-IPFV-PRS.AUX-NEG-SUBJECT            MARKER-  
EXIST/EPENTHETIC/andNUMBER

### 5.3.1.2.2. Negative in the past progressive

Like in perfective (cf. 5.3.1.1.), in past progressive the negative is marked by the morphemes *ma-*. That is, morpheme *ma-* prefixed to the main verb in the progressive form whereas the morpheme *-n* is suffixed to the past auxiliary *-gir* to mark invariably negative clause. Consider the following examples.

24a. *ani ma-dareer-i gir-n-ej*  
1S NEG<sub>1</sub>-walk-IPFV PST.AUX-NEGC -PFV  
‘I was not walking.’

b. *issi ma-roor-i gir-n-ej*  
1SF NEG<sub>1</sub>-run-IPFV PST.AUX-NEGC-PFV

‘She was not running.’

c. *ussood-e ma-roor-i gir-n-ej*  
3PL-FOC NEG<sub>1</sub>-run-IPFV PST.AUX-NEGC-PFV

‘They were not running.’

A general schematic representation of negative past progressive can be given as follows:

NEG-VERB ROOT-IPFV-PST.AUX-NEGATIVE CLAUSE-PFV

### 5.3.1.3. Negation in jussive

Negation in jussive is invariably marked by the prefix *ma-*. Consider examples in (25a and 25b):

25a. 1S	<i>ma-sa-tab-Ø-i</i>	‘let me not go.’
3SM	<i>ma-sa-tab-Ø-o</i>	‘let him not go.’
3SF	<i>ma-sa-tab-t-u</i>	‘let her not go.’
1PL	<i>ma-sa-tab-n-i</i>	‘let us not go.’
3PL	<i>ma-sa-tab-Ø-an</i>	‘let them not go.’
b. 1S	<i>ma-sa-un-Ø-i</i>	‘let me not eat’
3SM	<i>ma-sa-un-Ø-o</i>	‘let him not eat’
3SF	<i>ma-sa-un-t-u</i>	‘let her not eat’
1PL	<i>ma-sa-un-n-i</i>	‘let us not eat’
3PL	<i>ma-sa-un-Ø-an</i>	‘let them not eat’

As can be noted from the above examples, the negative marker *ma-* is prefixed to the focus marker to introduce negative jussive. Consider the following sentential examples for further clarification.

26a. *ma-sa-tab-Ø-o*  
NEG-FOC-go-3SM-IPFV  
‘Let him not go.’

b. *ma-sa-tab-n-i*  
 NEG-FOC-go-1PL-IPFV  
 ‘Let us not go.’

c. *ma-sa-tab-t-u*  
 NEG-FOC-go-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘Let her not go.’

d. *ma-sa-tab-Ø-e-n*  
 NEG-FOC-go-3-PFV-PL  
 ‘Let them not go.’

### 5.3.2. Negation marking with *an-*

In the negative imperative both singular and plural forms are morphologically marked. That is the negative marker *an-* is invariably prefixed to the singular and plural imperative of the verbs to form the negative imperative form. In the following, each will be treated and exemplified.

#### 5.3.2.1. Negation in singular imperative

As stated above, the negative imperative is marked by prefix *an-* and by the suffix *-tu/ta*. The morpheme *-tu* and *-ta* is free variation i.e. can be used alternatively to mark person and imperative. This morpheme, *-tu* or *-ta* can be further analyzed into *-t* and *-u/ato* to mark 2S and imperative. This is illustrated in Table 48.

Table 48: Affirmative and negative imperative singular

Imperative		Negative imperative	
<i>roor</i>	‘run!’	<i>an-roor-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not run!’
<i>koj</i>	‘come!’	<i>an-koj-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not come!’
<i>fadīs</i>	‘sit down!’	<i>an-fadīs-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not sit down!’
<i>gad</i>	‘buy!’	<i>an-gad-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not buy!’
<i>dareer</i>	‘walk!’	<i>an-dareer-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not walk!’
<i>tab</i>	‘go’	<i>an-tab-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not go’
<i>katab</i>	‘write’	<i>an-katab-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not write!’
<i>un</i>	‘eat’	<i>an-un-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not eat!’

<i>dawaar</i>	‘carry’	<i>an-dawaar-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not carry!’
<i>nag</i>	‘put’	<i>an-nag-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not put!’
<i>leef</i>	‘finish’	<i>an-leef-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not finish!’
<i>k’aad</i>	‘take’	<i>an-k’aad-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not take!’
<i>dikis</i>	‘stop’	<i>an-dikis-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not stop!’
<i>dalag</i>	‘do’	<i>an-dalag-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not do!’
<i>daaf</i>	‘pass’	<i>an-daaf-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not pass!’
<i>riig</i>	‘push’	<i>an-riig-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not push!’
<i>koot</i>	‘talk’	<i>an-koo-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not talk!’
<i>beej</i>	‘go out’	<i>an-beej-t-u/-t-a</i>	‘Do not go out!’

As can be observed from Table 48, unlike affirmative imperative in negative imperative the morpheme *-tu* or *-ta* is alternatively used to mark second person and imperfective without meaning difference. The following sentential examples illustrate the singular negative imperative mood.

27a. *kamri an-waraab-t-u/-t-a*

alcohol NEG-drink-2S-IMP

‘Do not drink alcohol.’

b. *wan-ti an-dam-t-u/-t-a*

milk-DEF.F NEG-drink-2S-IMP

‘Do not drink the milk.’

### 5.3.2.2. Negation in plural imperative

In the plural imperative, the negative is also marked by the morphemes *an-* and *-t-ena*. The morpheme *an-* is prefixed to the plural addressee imperative to form negative imperative while the morpheme *-t* and *-ena* are to mark second person and plural imperative respectively. Consider Table 49.

Table 49: Affirmative and negative imperative-plural

affirmative Plural addressee		Negative plural addressee	
<i>roor-a</i>	‘run’	<i>an-roor-t-ena</i>	‘do not run’
<i>koj-a</i>	‘come’	<i>an-koj-t-ena</i>	‘do not come’
<i>tab-a</i>	‘go’	<i>an-tab-t-ena</i>	‘do not go’
<i>katab-a</i>	‘write’	<i>an-katab-t-ena</i>	‘do not write’
<i>un-a</i>	‘eat’	<i>an-un-t-ena</i>	‘do not eat’
<i>dawaar-a</i>	‘carry’	<i>an-dawaar-t-ena</i>	‘do not carry’
<i>un-a</i>	‘eat’	<i>an-un-t-ena</i>	‘do not eat’
<i>nag-a</i>	‘put’	<i>an-nag-t-ena</i>	‘do not put’
<i>leef-a</i>	‘finish’	<i>an-leef-t-ena</i>	‘do not finish’
<i>k’aad-a</i>	‘take’	<i>an-k’aad-t-ena</i>	‘do not take’
<i>dikis-a</i>	‘stop’	<i>an-dikis-t-ena</i>	‘do not stop’
<i>dalag-a</i>	‘do’	<i>an-dalag-t-ena</i>	‘do not do’
<i>daaf-a</i>	‘pass’	<i>an-daaf-t-ena</i>	‘do not pass’
<i>riig-a</i>	‘push’	<i>an-riig-t-ena</i>	‘do not push’
<i>kood-a</i>	‘talk’	<i>an-koo-t-ena</i>	‘do not talk’
<i>beej-a</i>	‘go out’	<i>an-beej-t-ena</i>	‘do not go out’

Examples given below show, that *an-* and *t-en* marks negative and second person plural imperative respectively.

28a. *issiin an-tab-t-ena*

2PL NEG-go-2-PL.IMP

‘Do not go.’

b. *dabbo an-un-t-ena*

bread NEG-eat-2-PL.IMP

‘Do not eat bread.’

The inflections of the verbal affixes and negative marker are summarized in Table 50.

Table 50: Verbal affixes and negative marker

Affirmative	Subject agreements							Negative
	1S	2S	3SM	3SF	1PL	2PL	3PL	
IPFV	$\emptyset$ -i	-t-i	$\emptyset$ -i	t-i	n-i	t-a-n	$\emptyset$ -a-n	ma-
PFV	$\emptyset$ -ej	-t-ej	$\emptyset$ -ej	-t-ej	-n-ej	-t-e-n	$\emptyset$ -e-n	ma-
Imperative	-	-t-u	-	-	-	t-ena	-	an-
Jussive	$\emptyset$ -i	-	$\emptyset$ -o	-t-u	- $\emptyset$ -a-n	-	- $\emptyset$ -a-n	ma-

## 5.4. Verb derivation

According to Dixon (2010a:147)"[t]here are two kinds of derivational processes: (a) those which change wordclass; and (b) those which don't, but simply add a semantic modification." Girirra employs different strategies of verbs derivation. The causative verbstem is morphologically derived. The passive is not morphologically marked except onpassivized relative verbs. In this section, different forms of derived verbs will be discussed. The verb derivations include causative (*-is/isiis*), passive (*am/-la*), reciprocal (*-isi*), and inchoative (*ad,-ow*) verbs. These verbs are formed by suffixing their respective morphemes to the verb roots.

### 5.4.1. Causative

In Girirra, the causative verb stem may be formed from transitive and intransitive verbs. In both transitive and intransitiveverbs, the causative verb stem is marked by the suffixes *-is-iis* and *-is*. The suffix *-is* marks single causative whereas the suffix *-is-iis* marks double causative. This also holds true in Oromo (Tolemariam, 2009:12). Consider the following table for single and double causative stems of intransitive verb roots.

Table 51: Causative (single and double) stems of intransitive verbs

Intransitive		causative <sub>1</sub>		causative <sub>2</sub>	
<i>suus</i>	'recall'	<i>suus-is</i>	'make recall'	<i>suus-is-iis</i>	'caused to remember'
<i>bood</i>	'jump'	<i>bood-is</i>	'make jump'	<i>bood-is-iis</i>	'caused to jump'
<i>eeg</i>	'know'	<i>eeg-is</i>	'make know'	<i>weel-is-iis</i>	'cause to know'
<i>roor</i>	'run'	<i>roor-is</i>	'make run'	<i>roor-is-iis</i>	'caused to run'
<i>hundur</i>	'sleep'	<i>hundur-is</i>	'make sleep'	<i>hundur-is-iis</i>	'caused to sleep'

The following sentences illustrate the use of the above-extended verbs.

- 29a. *ussu-w-e*                      *anan-ki*              *hundur-is-Ø-ej*.  
 3SM-EPN-FOC              child-DEF.M    sleep-CAUS-3SM-PFV  
 'He made the child sleep.'

b. *ussu anan-ki hundur-is-iis-Ø-ej.*  
 3SM child-DEF.M sleep-CAUS2-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He caused/made somebody to sleep a child.’

30a. *ussu-w-e dad-ki roor-is-Ø-ej.*  
 3SM-EPN-FOC man-DEF.M run-CAUS-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He caused the man to run.’

b. *ussu dad-ki roor-is-iis-Ø-ej*  
 3SM man-DEF.M run-CAUS2-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He caused/made somebody to chase the man.’

Similarly, transitive verb base can also be inflected for single and double causative stems. Consider Table 52 for single and double causative stems of the transitive verbs.

Table 52: Causative (single and double) stems of the transitive verbs

Transitive		CAUS <sub>1</sub>		CAUS <sub>2</sub>	
<i>dîg</i>	‘wash’	<i>dîg-is</i>	‘make wash’	<i>dîg-is-iis</i>	‘made somebody to wash’
<i>gub</i>	‘burn’	<i>gub-is</i>	‘make burn’	<i>gub-is-iis</i>	‘made somebody to burn’
<i>waraab</i>	‘drink’	<i>waraab-is</i>	‘make drink’	<i>waraab-isiis</i>	‘made some body to drink’
<i>fak</i>	‘work’	<i>fak-is</i>	‘make work’	<i>fak-is-iis</i>	‘caused somebody to work’
<i>heeg</i>	‘sweep’	<i>heeg-is</i>	‘make sweep’	<i>heeg-is-iis</i>	‘caused somebody to sweep’
<i>daag</i>	‘look after cattle’	<i>daag-is</i>	‘make look after cattle’	<i>daag-is-iis</i>	‘caused somebody to look after cattle’
<i>dag</i>	‘hide’	<i>dag-is</i>	‘make hide’	<i>dag-is-iis</i>	‘caused somebody to hide’

double causative can be introduced by an independent word *hidi* ‘cause and *weel* ‘make’. The morpheme *hidi-* ‘cause’ and the word *weel* ‘make’ are jointly used to express double causative verb stems. Compare the following sentential examples in 31a to 32a with examples in 31b to 32b.

31a. *Ibrahim fibeel j-igiis-Ø-ej*

Ibrahim leopard 3SM-kill-3SM-PFV

‘Ibrahim killed a lion.’

b. *Ibrahim ane fibeel hidi j-igis weel-Ø-ej*

Ibraahim IS.OBJ leopard cause 3SM-kill make-PFV

Ibraahim caused/made me to kill a lion.

32a. *ussu geed-o gub-Ø-ej*

3SM wood-DEF.ACC burn-3SM-PFV

‘He burnt the wood.’

b. *ussu ane geed-ki hidi gub weel-Ø-ej*

3SM IS.OBJ. wood-DEF.M cause burn make-3SM-PFV

‘He cause/made me to burn the wood.’

33a. *ussu ellen-o ilaal-Ø-ej*

3SM sheep-DEF.ACC keep-3SM-PFV

‘He kept the sheep.’

b. *ussu ane ellen hidi ilaal weel-Ø-ej*

3SM IS.OBJ. sheep cause keep make-3SM-PFV

‘He caused/made me to keep a sheep.’

34a. *ussu dalag-Ø-aj*

3SM work-3SM-PFV

‘He worked.’

b. *ussu ane hidi dalag weel-Ø-ej*

3SM 1S.OBJ cause work make-3SM-PFV

‘He caused me to work.’

According to Askale (1994:20-3) the causative stem is formed by suffixing the affixes *-is* to intransitive and *-siis* to transitive verbal bases. Examples:

Intransitive Verbs:

35a. kar	‘boil’	kar-is	‘make boil’
b.hundur	‘sleep’	hundur-is	‘make sleep’
c. ro:r	‘run’	ro:r-is	‘make run’

(Askale 1994:22)

Transitive Verbs:

36a.ot	‘close’	ot-si:s	‘cause to cloth’
b.tum	‘hit’	tum-si:s	‘cause to hit’
c.het	‘steal’	het-si:s	‘cause to steal’

(Askale 1994:20)

However, in presnt study, in both transitive and intransitiveverbs, the causative verb stem is marked by the suffixes *-is-iis* and *-is*.

The derivational suffixes of these verbs are summarized in Table 51.

Table 53: The verbal derivational suffixes

Derivational morphemes	Verb form
<i>-is/isiis-</i>	single causative, double causative
<i>-am/-la</i>	passive
<i>-isi</i>	reciprocal
<i>-ad,-ow</i>	Inchoative

### 5.4.2. Passive

In this subsection, passive will be identified and discussed with examples. passive can be discussed by classifying into personal pasive and impersonal passive. According toSiewierska (1984: 96) cited inTolemariam(2009:109) "[...]personal passives are typically regarded as being restrictedto transitive verbs, impersonal passives are primarily associated with intransitives." Each will be treated with examples.

#### 5.4.2.1. Personal Passive

In Girirra,many personal passives have an overt subject andthe bound morpheme *-la* and *-am* are identified as passive markers. That is, when the agent noun is omitted in the passive structure the

morpheme *-la* and *-am* are used alternatively as passive marker. Moreover, the morphemes *la-* and *-am* are occurring at different position i.e. the morpheme *la-* occurs as prefix while the morpheme *-am* occurs as suffix of the verb root. Consider the following examples in which the agent noun is omitted in the passive structure.

37a. *ani*      *bij-o*      *sa-waraab-Ø-i*  
 IS      water-DEF      FOC-drink-1S-IPFV  
 ‘I drink the water.’

b. *bij-o-w-e*      *sa-waraab-am-Ø-i*  
 water-DEF-EPN-FOC      FOC-drink-PASS-3S-IPFV  
 ‘The water is drunk.’

c. *bij-o-*      *sa-la-waraab-Ø-i*  
 water-DEF      FOC-PASS-drink-3S-IPFV  
 ‘The water IS DRUNK.’

38a. *ani*      *hungur-o*      *un-Ø-i*  
 IS      food-DEF      eat-1S-IPFV  
 ‘I eat the food.’

b. *hungur-o*      *un-am-Ø-i*  
 food-DEF      eat-PASS-3S-IPFV  
 ‘The food is eaten.’

c. *hungur-o*      *la-un-Ø-i*  
 food-DEF      PASS-eat-3S-IPFV  
 ‘The food is eaten.’

As can be noted from examples in 37b and 37c, and 38b and 38c due to the fact that the agent nouns are omitted in the passive structure the morphemes *la-* and *-am* are used alternatively to

express the same structure. Similarly, the use of the morphemes *la-* and *-am* in the passive structure with overt agent nouns will become apparent in the following examples.

39a. *Ibrahim Huseen daw-Ø-i*  
 Ibrahim Huseen beat-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘Ibrahim beats Huseen.’

b. *Huseen Ibrahim daw-am-Ø-i*  
 Huseen Ibrahim beat-PASS-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘Huseen is beaten by Ibrahim.’

c. \**Huseen Ibrahim la-daw-Ø-i*  
 Huseen Ibrahim PASS-beat-3SM-IPFV

40a. *Kadir laʔaag[-gi] hirgis-Ø-i*  
 Kadir money-DEF.M snatch-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘Kadir snatches the money.’

b. *laʔaag[-gi] Kadir hirgis-am-Ø-i*  
 money-DEF.M Kadir snatch-PASS-3S-IPFV  
 ‘The money is snatched by Kadir.’

c. \**laʔaag[-gi] Kadir la-hirgis-Ø-i*  
 money-DEF.M Kadir PASS-s snatch-3S-IPFV

As can be seen from examples 39b and 40b the morpheme *-am* used to mark passive whereas in examples 39c and 40c using the morpheme *la-* to mark passive resulted in ungrammatical structure. As stated in previous discussion, the morpheme *-am* is used to mark passive in all passive structure whereas the morpheme *-la* is used in limited structure i.e. in overt agent-less passive structure to mark passive voice. In addition to the passive marker, the morpheme *-la* is

also identified as comitative case (cf.3.2.4.7) and potential mood (cf.5.2.1.3) markers in this study.

Askale (1994:28f.) identifies the bound morphemes *-am* and *la-* as passive markers. The use of the morpheme *-am* also exists in Oromo (Baye, 1986:133) and many other Cushitic languages. According to Askale (1994:30) “the affixes *la-* and *-am* are free variants, except in some structures or oblique phrases where only *-am* is used.” Look at examples from Askale (1994:30) for further illustrations.

41a.*idi*            *la-un-ej*  
sheep-df    pass-eat-PFV  
‘The sheep was eaten.’  
( Askale 1994:30)

b.*idi*            *un-am-ej*  
sheep-df    eat-pass-PFV  
‘The sheep was eaten.’  
( Askale 1994:30)

c.*idi*            *waraab-o ku-un-t-am-ej*  
sheep    hyena-part by-eat-f-pass-pf  
‘The sheep was eaten by a hyena.’  
( Askale 1994:30)

d.\* *idi waraab-o    ku-la-un-t-ej*  
sheep-df hyena-part by-pass-eat-pf  
( Askale 1994:30)

As can be observed from Askale (1994) example in 35(d) the using of the affix *la-* makes the structure ungrammatical. In other words, the affix *la-* occurs as passive marker in certain limited situation i.e., when the agent noun is overtly unmarked in the passive construction. As discussed

in the previous paragraphs, this also holds true in the present study. In other words, the finding of the present study agrees with Askale (1994) finding.

#### 5.4.2.2. Impersonal Passive

According to Tolemariam (2009:109) “[i]mpersonal passives are passives of intransitives.” In Girirra motion verbs such as ‘run’, ‘jump’, ‘arrive’, and etc., sound emission verbs such as ‘shout’, ‘cry’ and etc., and bodily function verbs such as ‘weep’, ‘laugh’, etc. are used to construct impersonal passives. Consider the following examples.

42a. *ijjaali meel into roor-en*

child.PL place here run-PFV

‘The children run at this place.’

b. *meel into roor-ni la-roor-en*

place here run-VN PASS-run-PFV.PL

‘Running was had at this place.’

43a. *kori geed-o-ka bod-aj*

ape tree-LOC-ABL jump-PFV

‘An ape jumped over the tree.’

b. *geed-o la-bod-aj*

tree-LOC PASS-JUMP-PFV

‘The tree was jumped over.’

Example in 42a shows an intransitive verb *roor* ‘run’ where *ijjaali* ‘children’ became the subject; the subject is also the agent of the event. The word *into* ‘here’ is an adverb of place while *roor* ‘ran’ is an intransitive verb of motion. Example 42b shows the passive counterpart of 42a where the agent is omitted. Similarly, 43a shows an intransitive event where *kori* ‘an ape’ is the subject of the sentence. 43b is a passive structure in which the agent is omitted. Impersonal passive sentences often include a locative expression.

This is, however not a prerequisite, consider the following examples.

44a. *gabajaa-di hint-ej*

market-DEF.F shout-PFV

‘The market shouted.’

b. *la-hiint-ej*  
PASS-shout-PFV  
‘It was shouted.’

In the above examples, there are intransitive verbs with agentive subjects. However, in impersonal passive construction the subjects of the impersonal passive are absent.

### 5.4.3. Reciprocal

According to Berk(1999:90) in reciprocal pronoun “[...] the subject NP must be plural or there must be two or more coordinated NPs.” In other words, the reciprocal refers to an activity carried out by participants: both an agent and patient of an action. The reciprocal is marked by the bound morpheme *isi-* in Girirra. Consider the following examples.

45 *aisi-duungad* ‘kiss each other’  
RECP-kiss  
b. *isi-habad* ‘look for each other’  
RECP-look for  
c. *isi-daw* ‘beat each other’  
RECP-beat  
d. *isi-jigiis* ‘kill each other’  
RECP-kill  
e. *isi-idad* ‘wait each other’  
RECP-wait

The following sentential examples further illustrate the use of morpheme *isi-*.

46a. *Ibrahim ijo Huseen isi-daw-Ø-e-n*  
Ibrahim and Huseen RECP-beat-3-PFV-PL  
‘Ibrahim and Huseen beat each other.’

b. *dagaal-ki-w-e*                      *isi-j-igiis-Ø-e-n*  
 army-DEF.M-EPN-FOC RECP-3-kill-3-PFV-PL  
 ‘The ARMIES killed each other.’

c. *ussood*    *isi-duug-Ø-a-n*  
 3PL            RECP-kiss-IPFV-PL  
 ‘They kissed each other.’

#### 5.4.4. Inchoative

In this subsection of the study inchoative that operate in Girirra will be identified and exemplified. According to Payne (1997:95) “[a]nother common denominalization process takes a noun, N, and forms a verb that means “become N.” This process are called inchoative (we will distinguish inchoative as a nominal operation from inceptive as a verbal operation, though in the literature the term inchoative sometimes refer to a verbal aspect).”

One of the following two means forms the inchoative in Girirra. First, the morpheme *-ad* is suffixed to the adjective or noun base. Secondly, like in *Af-Tunni*, (Tosco 1997:74) the morpheme *-ow* is attached to the base adjectives or nouns to form inchoative denominal verb. Each way of inchoative verb formation will be treated turn by turn. The following examples illustrate the first possibility i.e., the morpheme *-ad* is attached to the adjective/noun bases.

<b>adjective</b>	<b>inchoative verb stems</b>		
47. <i>balaar</i>	‘wide’	<i>balaar-ad-</i>	‘become wide’
<i>guduud</i>	‘red’	<i>guduud-ad-</i>	‘become red’
<i>engage</i>	‘dry’	<i>engag-ad-</i>	‘become dry’
<i>k’ajjaar</i>	‘thin’	<i>k’ajjaar-ad</i>	‘become thin’
<i>maaj</i>	‘sweet’	<i>maaj-ad</i>	‘become sweet’
<i>k’uluul</i>	‘hot’	<i>k’uluul-ad-</i>	‘become hot’
<i>t’uj</i>	‘small’	<i>t’uj-ad -</i>	‘become small’
<i>deer</i>	‘far/tall	<i>deer-ad-</i>	‘become tall/far
<i>ilis</i>	‘heavy’	<i>ilis-ad-</i>	‘become heavy’
<i>adag</i>	‘strong’	<i>adag-ad-</i>	‘become strong’[

<i>ed</i>	‘white’	<i>ed-ad-</i>	‘become white’
<i>bok’orad</i>	‘queen’	<i>bok’orad-ad-</i>	‘become a queen’

In sentence construction, the inchoative marker occur preceding aspect or tense markers.

Consider the following sentential examples:

- 48a. *geed-ki*            *engag-ad-Ø-aj*  
 wood-DEF.M    dry-INCH-3S-PFV  
 ‘The wood became dry.’
- b. *nan-ki*            *deer-ad-Ø-aj*  
 man-DEF.M    tall-INCH-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The man became tall.’
- c. *hebad-ki*            *nan-ki-w-e*            *balaar-ad-Ø-aj*  
 chest-DEF    man-DEF-EPN-FOC    wide-INCH-3S-PFV  
 ‘The chest of the man became wide.’
- d. *il-ti*            *habar-ti*            *guduud-ad-Ø-aj*  
 eye-DEF.F    woman-DEF.F    red-INCH-3S-PFV  
 ‘The eye of the woman became red.’
- e. *geneed-e*    *anan-ki*            *adag-ad-Ø-aj*  
 hand-GEN    child-DEF.M    strong-INCH-3S-PFV  
 ‘The hand of the boy became strong.’
- f. *habar-ti*            *bok’orad-ad-Ø-aj*  
 woman-DEF.F    queen-INCH-3S-PFV  
 ‘The woman became a queen.’

Regarding the second possibility, the inchoative verb stem can also be introduced by attaching the morpheme *-ow* to some adjectives or nouns base as illustrated in 49.

**adjectives/nouns**

**inchoative verbs**

49. <i>dogon</i>	‘lazy’	<i>dogon-ow</i>	‘become lazy’
<i>daljaar</i>	‘young’	<i>daljaar-ow</i>	‘become young’
<i>goobo</i>	‘old(thing)’	<i>goob-ow</i>	‘become old’
<i>boogor</i>	‘king’	<i>boogor-ow</i>	‘become king’
<i>gorri</i>	‘old (person)’	<i>gorr-ow</i>	‘become old’
<i>mudowu</i>	‘black’	<i>mudow-ow</i>	‘become black’
<i>k’ar</i>	‘wit’	<i>k’ar-ow</i>	‘become witty’

As noted in the above illustrations, the inchoative marker *-ow* is suffixed to the adjective/noun base preceding aspect or tense markers. It seems that *-ad* changed to *-ow* as a result of phonological factors. That is to say, the basic inchoative marker *-ad* is influenced by the preceding back rounded vowel *-o*. The consonant *d* is also changed to *w*, which is semivowel and use lip rounding during its production like vowel *o*. Consider the following sentential examples.

50a. *il-ti nan-ki mudow-ow-Ø-ej*  
 eye-DEF.F man-DEF black-INCH-3S-PFV  
 ‘The eye of the man became black.’

b. *dad-ki boogor-ow-Ø-ej*  
 person-DEF king-INCH-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The person became a king.’

d. *geed-ki goob-ow-Ø-ej*  
 tree-DEF old-INCH-3S-PFV  
 ‘The tree became old.’

However, in words *daljaar* ‘young’ and *k’ar* ‘wit’ the preceding vowel *-a* fail to assimilate with the vowel *-o* due to irregularity or untraced reason. Examples:

51. *daljaar* ‘young’ *daljaar-ow* ‘become young’  
*k’ar* ‘wit’ *k’ar-ow* ‘become witty’

52a. *anan-ki k’aro-ow-Ø-ej*  
 boy-DEF witty-INCH-3SM-PFV

The boy became witty.’

- b. *Ibraahim daljaar-ow-Ø-ej*  
Ibraahim young-INCH-3SM-PFV  
‘Ibraahim became young.’

The forms of a verb that means ‘do something for oneself’ is also marked by the morpheme *-ad*. Wondwosen (2006:119) and Tolemariam (2009:77) refer such kind of construction as middle verb. In Girirra, to form the middle verb the morpheme *-ad* is suffixed to the transitive verbs and shows that something is done for the benefit of the agent subject. Examples:

<b>Verb</b>		<b>middle verb stem</b>	
<i>gaf</i>	‘cut’	<i>gaf-ad</i>	‘cut for oneself’
<i>maris</i>	‘paint’	<i>maris-ad</i>	‘paint for oneself’
<i>gan</i>	‘throw’	<i>gan-ad</i>	‘throw for oneself’

Consider the following sentential examples.

53a. *Kadir geed gaf-ad-ej*

Kadir tree cut-MID-PFV  
‘Kadir cut the tree for himself.’

b. *nan-ki sobaag-ku maris-ad-ej*

man-DEF butter-INS paint-MID-PFV  
‘The man buttered himself.’

As can be seen from the above discussion, the morpheme *-ad*, is attached to the transitive verb base to form middle verb whereas *-ad or -ow* is attached to nominal base to form inchoative construction.

### 5.5. Verbs and their arguments

Argument refers to “[...]the participants and their semantic roles that are normally associated with a given verb (Payne1997:47).” In other words, Cook and Newson (1996) give remarks on the relation between predicate and arguments as follows. “Elements which say something about

entities or their relationships are known as predicates and the entities concerned are known as arguments.”

Verbs can be broadly categorized into two kinds: intransitive and transitive verbs. Transitive verb further classified into semi transitive, mono-transitive and di-transitive. In what follows, different kinds of verb categories along with their arguments will be treated.

### 5.5.1. Intransitive verb

The intransitive verb selects subject function only or it does not take a direct object. In other words, such verb consists of one argument. Verbs such as *bood* ‘jump’, *gudo* ‘under’, *ʔojee* ‘cry’, *tab* ‘go’, and *roor* ‘run’ occur only with one argument(subject). Consider the following examples.

54a. *anan-ki bood-Ø-aj*  
child-DEF.M jump-3SM-PFV  
‘The boy jumped.’

b. *Kadir-e geed-ki gudoo dik-Ø-ej*  
child-FOC tree-DEF.M under stand-3SM-PFV  
‘Kadir stood under the tree.’

c. *awu-ke wadan deero-ka koj-Ø-ej*  
father-POSS.1SM country far-ABL come-3SM-PFV  
‘My father came from far country.’

d. *Kadija gama min-ki tab-Ø-ej*  
Kadija to house-DEF.M go-3SM-PFV  
‘Kadija went to the house.’

e. *ussu walalte k’abe gama min-ki tab-Ø-ej*  
3SM sister.F with to house-DEF.M go-3SM-PFV  
‘He went to the home with his sister.’

f. *iyyal-li gama areeda-uun roor-Ø-en*  
 child.PL-DEF towards school-DAT run-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The children run towards school.’

g. *dad-ki gama reer-kes-uun roor-Ø-ej*  
 person-DEF toward home- POSS.3SM-DAT run-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The ran towards his home.’

As can be noted from the above examples, there is no object or receiver of the action that leads to lack of transfer of action from the doer to the receiver.

### 5.5.2. Transitive verb

Transitive is any verb that can take a direct object. This kind of verb further categorized into mono-transitive and di-transitive verbs. Each subcategory of transitive verbs will be discussed.

#### 5.5.2.1. Mono-transitive verb

A mono-transitive verb “[...] means that the verb requires only a direct object; [...]”. That is to say, such verb consists of only two arguments: a subject and a direct object. For example, *un* ‘eat’, *gadad* ‘sell’, *geel*, ‘love’, *ood*, ‘close’, *bislij* ‘cook’ and *tag* ‘open’ are some of the verbs that are categorized in this sub class. Consider the following sentential examples:

55a. *ussu hunguru-w-o un-Ø-ej*  
 3SM food-EPN-DEF eat-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He ate the food.’

b. *ani dad-ki Meggerri geel-j-a*  
 IS person-DEF.M Girirra love-1S-COP  
 ‘I love the Girirra people.’

c. *Kadir awuur gadad-Ø -aj.*  
 Kadir ox sell-3SM-PFV

‘Kadir sold an ox.’

- d. *Kadija hunguru-w-o bislif-Ø-ej*  
IS food-EPN-DEF cook-1S-PFV  
‘Kadija cooked the food.’

- e. *anan-ki iriid-[di] ood-Ø-aj*  
child-DEF.M door-DEF.F close-1S-PFV  
‘The boy closed the door.’

- f. *ani iriid-[di] tag-Ø-aj*  
IS door-DEF.F open-1S-PFV  
‘I opened the door.’

The examples 55a-f indicate that each verb necessarily requires two arguments: the doer of the action and the receiver of the action.

### 5.5.2.2. Di-transitive

Berk (1999:230) states “[...] di-transitive verbs take both direct and indirect objects.” Thus, a di-transitive verb commonly takes three arguments: subject, direct object, and indirect object. The order of direct object and indirect object is flexible i.e. the indirect object can occur preceding or following the direct object. In Girirra, these verbs include *siis* ‘give’, *jeeg* ‘tell’, *k’il* ‘send’ and *tuus* ‘show’. In examples 56a-b, the direct object occurs preceding the indirect object while in examples 56c-d, the direct object occurs following the indirect object.

- 56a. *nan-ki hungur-o ane siis-Ø-ej*  
man-DEF.M food-DEF.ACC 1S.OBJ give-3SM-PFV  
‘The man gave me the food.’

- b. *Kadir odii Huseen-uun jeeg-Ø-ej*  
Kadir story Huseen-DAT tell-3SM-PFV  
‘Kadir told the story to Huseen.’

- c. *Ibraahim Huseen-uun la?aag-ti k’il-Ø-ej*

Ibraahim      Huseen-DAT money-DEF.F    send-3SM-PFV  
'Ibraahim sent money to Huseen.'

d. *ussu    martii-[di]    wark'a-ti    tuus-Ø-ej*  
3SM    guest-DEFletter-DEF.F    show-3SM-PFV  
'He showed the letter to the guest.'

Some verbs function both as mono-transitive and as di-transitive. For example, the verb *gad* 'buy' is used as mono-transitive and di-transitive verbs. That is to say, when the verb takes only direct object, it functions as mono-transitive verb whereas when it takes direct object and indirect object, it functions as di-transitive verb. Compare example 57a and example 57b:

57a. *ussu    kutub-uun    gadad-Ø-aj*  
3SM    book-DAT    sell-3SM-PFV  
'She sold a book for me.'

b. *ussu    kutub    gadad-Ø-aj*  
3MS    book    sell-3SM-PFV  
'He sold a book.'

As can be seen from example 57a the verb *gadad* 'sell' takes three arguments namely subject, direct object and indirect objects whereas example in (57b) the verb *gadad* 'sell' takes only two arguments subject and direct object. Thus, the verb *gadad* 'sell' in (57a) functions as di-transitive verb while the verb *gadad* 'sell' in (57b) functions as mono-transitive verb.

To summarize, this chapter has dealt with verbs of Girirra. These include structure of verb root, verb inflection, verb derivation, verb agreement, tense, aspect, mood and negation. In Girirra, a root can occur as an independent lexical item without derivational and inflectional affixes. All verb roots in Girirra end in a consonant; however, there are a few vowel-initial verb roots. Verb inflection such as agreement (person, number and gender), tense/aspect/mood have been discussed. Negation in verb has been also examined. Moreover, verb derivations such as causative, passive, reciprocal, inchoative have been treated.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Copula and possessive clauses

In this chapter, we attempt to address copula clauses and possessive clauses that operate in Girirra. Copula and existential copula clauses further classified into different subtypes and discussed. In the first sub-section tense-less copula, copula in the possessive noun phrase, copula in predicate adjective, past copula and future copula clauses will be examined. In the second category, existential/locative copula clause and past existential/locative will be treated. Likewise, possessive clauses further categorized and discussed under subtypes: present, future, and past possessive clauses. At the end, different types of negation of the copula such as tense-less, past, future, existential, and possessive clauses will be explored respectively.

However, it would helpful to provide some remarks on the interaction between copula and nominal clauses before discussing the chapter in details.

As stated by Payne, (1997:114). “[a] copula is any morpheme (affix, particle, or verb) that joins, or ‘couples’, two nominal elements in a predicate nominal construction.” A copula is often used in a predicate nominal structure. The same source (Payne, 1997:114) indicates that a copula “[...] marks the clause as a predicate nominal and often carries the tense/aspect and other information necessary for predication in the language.”

According to Berk (1999:45), a copula does not transfer an action to a direct object in the way a transitive verb does. Berk (1999:44) further points out that “[a] copula [...] is neither transitive nor intransitive; it represents a separate syntactic category.” However, a copula can never stand alone in the predicate; it must be preceded by a subject complement. When the subject complement is an NP, it is a predicate nominal, whereas, when the subject complement is an adjective it is referred as a predicate adjective. This is illustrated in example (1).

1. *ani maʔaalin-no*

1S teacher-PRED/COP

‘I am a teacher.’

In example (1), a copula cannot pass an action to a direct object the way a transitive verb does. Unlike a direct object, a predicate nominal NP refers to the same entity as the subject NP. In sentence (1) *ani maʔaalino*, ‘I am a teacher.’ *ani* ‘I’ and *maʔaalim* ‘teacher’ are noun phrases that refer to the same individual.

Since nominal clause and copula clause are interrelated and interdependent notions, we cannot address one separately from the other. Thus, the discussion on different nominal or copula clauses such as tense/aspect, negation, and interrogative can help us to handle this chapter.

According to Dixon (2010b: 159), [...] “a copula verb, [takes] two core arguments, Copula Subject (CS) and Copula Complement (CC).” A copula construction also shows “[...] a range of relations between CS and CC, depending in large part on the nature of the CC(Dixon, 2010b: 159)”. These relations include A<sub>1</sub>, Identity, and/or A<sub>2</sub> Attribution, A<sub>3</sub>, Possession, A<sub>4</sub>, Benefaction and A<sub>5</sub>, Location. Relations like A<sub>3</sub>, Possession and A<sub>4</sub>, Benefaction merge as a single relation in a number of languages, while relation like A<sub>5</sub>, Location covers only some languages. Dixon(2010:160) then goes on to say that “[...] for a verb to be identified as a copula, it must occur with two core arguments[CA], CS and CC, covering at least A<sub>1</sub>, Identity relation, and/or A<sub>2</sub> Attribution relation.”

In this regard, copula construction in Girirra exhibits four relations namely, identity/equative, attribution, location, and copula in possessive noun phrase which will be examined in the following subsequent discussion. In Table 54, we provide an overview of markers of identity/equative, attributive/equative, and existential/locative copula clauses.

Table 54: Copula and tenses

Copula	Tense-less	Past	IPFV	Negative non-past	Negative-past	Negative IPFV
Identity/equative	<i>-no</i>	<i>agu...ej/en</i>	<i>nagad-i</i>	<i>maʔaag</i>	<i>maʔaag-uni</i>	<i>masa-nagad</i>
Attributive/equative	<i>-a</i>	<i>agu...ej/en</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>maʔaag</i>	<i>maʔaag-uni</i>	<i>masa-nagad-u</i>
Existential/	<i>-al</i>	<i>iil...ej/en</i>	<i>-al</i>	<i>ma...jal</i>	<i>ma-iil</i>	<i>masa-nagad</i>

locative						
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### 6.1. Tense-less copula clauses

Tense-less identity/equative nominal and attributive copula clauses are marked by the morphemes *-no* and *-a* respectively. The morpheme *-no* has different allomorphs. When the copula complement is ended in consonant, these allomorphs have the forms *-lo*, *-do*, *-ro* or *-go* whereas when the copula complement is ended in vowel it has the form *-jo* or *-wo* (cf. 2.5.1.3). In tense-less, identity /equative nominal copula clause, “[...] a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal[...].” (Payne, 1997:114). Likewise, Dixon (2010b:159) expresses the first argument, subject of the clause as copula subject whereas the second argument as copula complement and their relation as identity.

According to Berk (1999:45) “[u]nlike a direct object, a predicate nominative NP refers to the same entity as the subject NP”. That is, the subject NP and predicate nominal at the object position also refers to the same entity. Consider the following examples:

2a. *ani beerale-j-o*

1S farm-EPN-COP

‘I am a farmer.’

b. *adi beerale-j-o*

2S farm-EPN-COP

‘You are a farmer.’

c. *awu-kej maʔaalin-no*

father-POSS.ISM teacher-COP

‘My father is a teacher.’

d. *awu-tes idaal-no* → [*idaal-lo*]

Father-POSS.3SF solider-COP

‘Her father is a solider.’

In examples (2a-d) the subject of the clause *ani* ‘I’, and *adi* ‘you’, *awuke* ‘my father’ and *awuktes* ‘her father’, are identical with each NP in the object position *beerale* ‘farmer,’ and ‘*maʔaalin* ‘teacher’ and *idaal* ‘solider’ respectively.’

The following illustrative paradigm for the noun *maʔaalin* ‘teacher’ and *beerale* ‘farmer’ in Table 55 further clarify this.

Table 55: tense-less predicate nominal copula-*no*

1SG	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>beerale-j-o</i>
2S	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>beerale-j-o</i>
3SM	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>beerale-j-o</i>
3SF	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>beerale-j-o</i>
1PL	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>beerale-j-o</i>
2PL	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>beerale-j-o</i>
3PL	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>beerale-j-o</i>

As can be noted from Table 55 the approximants /j/ is used as epenthetic to separate the sequence of two different vowels, which is not allowed in the phonotactics of Girirra. Unlike in predicate adjective, in the predicate nominal the subject agreement is overtly unmarked. However, the morpheme *-no* is invariably used to encode predicate copula clause in all persons.

Here are some more sentential examples:

3a. *ani maʔaalin-no*  
1S teacher-COP  
‘I am a teacher.’

b. *issi maʔaalin-no*  
3SF teacher-COP  
‘She is a teacher.’

- c. *issiin maʔaalin-no*  
 2PL teacher-COP  
 ‘You (PL) are teachers.’
- d. *ussod maʔaalin-no*  
 3PL teacher-COP  
 ‘They are teachers.’

As can be observed from examples 3a-d, the subject of each clause is identical with its subject complement i.e. both refer to the same identity.

### 6.2. Copula clause in possessive noun phrase

Like nominal copula clause, in possessive noun phrase copula is introduced by the morpheme -*no*. consider the following examples:

- 4a. *hikke min-ki Ibraahin-no*  
 this house-DEF.M Ibraahin-COP  
 ‘This is Ibrahim’s house.’

- b. *hikke awu-ki Ibraahin-no*  
 this father-DEF.M Ibrahim-COP  
 ‘This is Ibrahim’s father.’

- d. *hikke buug awu-key-o*  
 this book father- POSS.1SM-COP  
 ‘This is my father’s book.’

The examples above clarify that the semantic relation between the subject and subject complement is that of possession. Possessive phrase is expressed by the word order i.e. the possessed noun occurs preceding the possessor. For example in 4a *minki* ‘the house’ is the possessed noun whereas *Ibraahim* is the possessor noun.

### 6.3. Copula in predicate adjective

Unlike predicate nominal, in predicate adjective the copula is marked by the morpheme *-a*. A different form of copula and subject agreement is used with a predicate adjective and a predicate nominal (cf.7.5). Moreover, the copula construction in the predicate adjective shows attribution in the relation of subject copula and complement copula. A predicate or copula marker has the same form regardless of the number of subjects. Like in Girirra, in the paradigm of the Bayso copula, the present affirmative is introduced by the morpheme *-a* (cf. Sasse, 2007:51). Consider the following illustrative paradigm for the adjectives *farhad* ‘happy’, *guduud* ‘red’ and *mannan* ‘good/beautiful/handsome’ for further clarification.

Table 56: tense-less predicate adjective copula *-a*

1S	<i>mannan-j-a</i>	<i>farhad-j-a</i>	<i>guduud-j-a</i>
2S	<i>mannan-t-a</i>	<i>farhad-t-a</i>	<i>guduud-t-a</i>
3SM	<i>mannan-j-a</i>	<i>farhad-j-a</i>	<i>guduud-j-a</i>
3SF	<i>mannan-t-a</i>	<i>farhad-t-a</i>	<i>guduud-t-a</i>
1PL	<i>mannan-n-a</i>	<i>farhad-n-a</i>	<i>guduud-n-a</i>
2PL	<i>mannan-t-an</i>	<i>farhad- t-an</i>	<i>guduud-t-an</i>
3PL	<i>mannan-j-an</i>	<i>farhad-j-an</i>	<i>guduud-j-an</i>

As can be seen from the Table 56, the morpheme *-j* marks person 1PS, 3SM and 3PL whereas *a* marks copula or predicate as illustrated below.

5a. *ani farhad-j-a*

1S happy-1S-COP

‘I am happy.’

b. *ussu farhad-j-a*

3SM happy-3SM-COP

‘He is happy.’

c. *ussod farhad-j-a-n*

3PL happy-3-COP-PL

‘They are happy

Similarly, in predicate adjective construction the morpheme *-a* and *-n* mark copula and plural in third person plural. The morpheme *-ta* marks second person singular and third person singular feminine while the morpheme *-tan* marks second person plural as provided below.

6a. *adi farhad-t-a*

2S happy-2S-COP

‘You are happy

b. *issi deer-t-a*

3SF tall-3SF-COP

‘She is tall.’

c. *issiin farhad-t-a-n*

2PL happy -2-COP-PL

‘You (PL) are happy.’

Similarly the morpheme *-n* is used to mark first person plural as illustrated in (7).

7a. *unnu farhad-n-a*

1PL happy -1PL-COP

‘We are happy.’

b. *unnu dad-ki deer-n-a*

1PL person-DEF.M tall-1PL-COP

‘We are the tall people.’

The subject agreements used in predicate adjective are given in (8).

8. *-j-a* 1S-COP

*-j-a* 3SM-COP

*-t-a* 2S-COP

*-t-a* 3SF-COP

*-n-a* 1PL-COP

*-t-a-n* 2PL-COP-PL

*-j-a-n* 3PL-COP-PL

A general schematic representation of predicate adjective can be presented as follows:

ADJECTIVE ROOT-PERSON MARKER OR NUMBER MARKER /AND or COPULA MARKER/NUMBER MARKER

Consider the following more examples for adjective *mannan* ‘beautiful/handsome/good’:

9a. *issi mannan-t-a*

3SF beautiful-3SF-COP

‘She is beautiful.’

b. *ussu mannan-j-a*

3SM beautiful-3SM-COP

‘He is handsome.’

c. *usood dad mannan-j-a*

3PL person good-3PL-COP

‘They are good people.’

**6.4. Past copula clause**

The past copula clause in predicate nominal is expressed by the morpheme *agu-* and *-ej/aj*. This morpheme functions as main verb of the clause. Different forms of subject markers are inserted between the *agu-* and *-ej* to mark persons. The morpheme *-t* and *-n* marks person in 2S and 3SF respectively. The morpheme *-n* marks person in 1PL paradigm. That is, the subject marker *-t* in the 2S, 3SF and 2PL are realized as *-d* while the subject marker *-j* in 1S, 3SM and 3PL are realized *-w*. The set of subject markers and past copula are given below based on the paradigm of the noun *maʔaalin* ‘teacher’.

Table 57: Past copula and subject markers

person	noun	PST.COP-AGR-PFV
1S	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>agu-j-ej</i> → [ <i>agu-w-ej</i> ]
2S	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>agu-t-ej</i> → [ <i>agu-d-ej</i> ]
3SM	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>agu-j-ej</i> → [ <i>agu-w-ej</i> ]
3SF	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>agu-t-ej</i> → [ <i>agu-d-ej</i> ]
1PL	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>agu-n-ej</i> → <i>agu-n-ej</i>
2PL	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>agu-t-e-n</i> → [ <i>agu-d-e-n</i> ]
3PL	<i>maʔaalin-no</i>	<i>agu-j-e-n</i> → [ <i>agu-w-e-n</i> ]

In the following sentential examples the morpheme *agu-w-ej* ‘was’ and *agu-w-ej* ‘were’ function as main verb to introduce past copula clause in 1S and 3PL respectively. Similarly, the morpheme *agu-d-ej* ‘was’ functions as main verb to introduce past copula in 3SF.

10a. *ani maʔalin agu-j-ej* → [*agu-w-ej*]

1S teacher PST.COP-EPN-PFV

‘I was a teacher.’

b. *ussood maʔalin agu-w-e-n* → [*agu-j-e-n*]

3PL teacher PST.COP-EPN-PFV-PL

‘They were teachers.’

c. *issi maʔalin-no agu-t-ej* → [*agu-d-ej*]

3SF teacher-COP PST.COP-3SF-PFV

‘She was a teacher.’

It can be noted from the examples 10a-b the morpheme *-w*, which occurs between *agu-* and *-ej/* is simply the surface form *-j* or *-j* realized as *-w*. Similarly, the following examples illustrate the function of past copula as the main verb in the 1PL and 2PL paradigm.

11a. *unnu-w-e maʔaalin agu-n-ej*

1PL-EPN-FOC teacher PST.COP-1PL-PFV

‘WE were teachers.’

b. *issiin-e maʔaalin agu [-d]-en*

2PL-FOC teacher PST.COP-2-PFV.PL

‘YOU (PL) were teachers.’

As can be noted from the preceding examples, past copula in predicate adjective is also invariably expressed by the morpheme *agu*. Moreover, past copula clause in predicate nominal and predicate adjective are introduced by the same morpheme. Consider the following examples for the predicate adjective:

12a. *adi dad mannant-a agu-[d]-ej*  
 2S person handsome/beautiful-2S-COP PST.COP-2S-PFV  
 ‘You were a handsome/beautiful person.’

b. *Ibraahim dad mannan-j-a agu-w-ej*  
 Ibraahim person handsome-3SM-COP PST.COP-EPN-PFV  
 ‘Ibraahim was a handsome person.’

c. *unnu dad mannan-n-a agu-n-ej*  
 1PL person handsome-1PL-COP PST.COP-1PL-PFV  
 ‘We were handsome persons.’

### 6.5. Future copula clause

The morphemes *nagad* and *-i* express future copula clause. The main verb *nagad* ‘become’ functions as a future copula in this clause. The morpheme *-i* is suffixed to the subject markers (person, number and gender) except in 1PL, 2PL and 3PL to mark imperfective. In the 1S, 3SM and 3PL subject is unmarked while in the 2S, 2PL and 3SF subject is marked by the morpheme *-t*. However, the morpheme *-n* is used to mark plural in the first person, second and third persons paradigm. The morpheme *-a* is also used to express imperfective in 2PL and 3PL future copula clauses.

The set of subject and imperfective marker for the future copula clause based on the person paradigm are given in Table 58.

Table 58: future copula and subject markers

person	COP-AGR-IPFV
1S	<i>nagad-Ø-i</i>
2S	<i>nagad-t-i</i>
3SM	<i>nagad-Ø-i</i>
3SF	<i>nagad-t-i</i>
1PL	<i>nagad-n-i</i>
2PL	<i>nagad-t-a-n</i>
3PL	<i>nagad-Ø-a-n</i>

These are some sentential examples:

- 13a. *ani maʔalin-no sa-nagad-Ø-i*  
 IS teacher-COP FOC-become-IS-IPFV  
 ‘I will become a teacher.’
- b. *issi maʔalin-no sa-nagad-t-i.*  
 3SF teacher-COP FOC-become-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘She will become a teacher.’
- c. *issiin maʔalin-no sa-nagad-t-a-n*  
 2 PL teacher-COP FOC-become-2-IPFV-PL  
 ‘You (PL) will become teachers.’
- d. *ussod maʔalin-no sa-nagad-Ø-a-n*  
 3PL teacher-COP FOC-become-3-IPFV-PL  
 ‘They will become teachers.’

### 6.6. Existential/locative copula clause

According to Payne (1997:123), “[e]xistential constructions typically require a locational or temporal adjunct [...]”. In Girirra existential/locative copula clauses are marked by the morpheme *-al*. This morpheme occurs at final position of the clause in the 1S, 2S, 1PL, 3SM, and 3SF apart from 2PL and 3PL in which it occurs between the person and number markers.

The set of subject and existential copula marker are presented as shown in Table 59.

Table 59: Existential copula markers

person	exist
1S	<i>j-al</i>
2S	<i>t-al</i>
3SM	<i>j-al</i>
3SF	<i>t-al</i>
1PL	<i>n-al</i>
2PL	<i>t-al-i-n</i>
3PL	<i>j-al-i-n</i>

As can be noted from Table 59, in the 1S, 2S, 3SM, 3SF and 1PL the morpheme *-al* invariably occurs to mark existential copula at the final position of the clause. Examples:

14a. *ani Karre j-al*

1S Karre 1S-exist

‘I am at Karre’ (lit: I live at Karre)

b. *Kadir Karre j-al*

Kadir Karre -3SM-exist

‘Kadir is at Karre’ (lit: Kadir lives at Karre.)

However, in second person and third person plurals the morpheme *-al* occurs preceding the number marker *-n* following subject marker *-t/j-* as illustrated in example (15a-b):

15a. *issiin Karre t-al-i-n*

2PL Karre 2PL-exist-EPN-PL

‘You(PL) are at Karre.’ (lit: you(PL) live at Karre)

b. *ussood Karre j-al-i-n*

3PL Karre 3PL-exist-EPN-PL

‘They are at Karre.’ (lit: they live at Karre.)

Example in 15a-b and 16a-d semantically indicate that the location of somebody or something and their existence at that particular location. In other words, the morpheme *-al* express the location and existence of an entity at that particular place or location. This is because, “[e]xistential constructions typically require a locational or temporal adjunct (Payne 1997:123).” However, in the above construction location is represented by ‘at’ in English translation it is not overtly marked in Grrira text line.

### 6.7. Past existential/locative copula clause

Past existential copula is introduced by the morpheme *-iil*. This morpheme occurs between person marker and perfective aspect. This morpheme is suffixed and prefixed to different forms of person marker (cf. Table 60) and aspect marker respectively. That is, perfective marker *-ej* is suffixed to the morpheme *-iil* to mark past existential in all persons except in the 2PL and 3PL in

which *-en* is suffixed to the morpheme *-iil*. The set of subject and the paradigm of past existential copula markers presented in Table 60 can give more clarification.

Table 60: Person and past existential copula markers

person	exist. PST.COP-PFV
1S	<i>j-iil-Ø-ej</i>
2S	<i>t-iil-t -ej</i>
3SM	<i>j-iil-Ø-ej</i>
3SF	<i>t-iil-t-ej</i>
1PL	<i>n-iil-ej</i>
2PL	<i>t-iil-t-e-n</i>
3PL	<i>j-iil-Ø-e-n</i>

As can be seen from Table 60 in 3SF and 2PL both prefix and suffix verb conjugation is identified. To make specific, in 2PL and 3SF a double subject marking is identified i.e. the morpheme *-t-* function as both prefix and suffix verb conjugation. However, in all other persons, suffix verb conjugation is overtly unmarked. Consider the following sentential examples

16a. *ani Karre j-iil-Ø-ej*

1S Karre 1S-exist.PST -1S-PFV

‘I was at Karre.’

b. *ussu Karre j-iil-Ø-ej*

3SM Karre 3SM- exist.PST-3SM-PFV

‘He was at Karre.’

c. *issi Karre t-iil-t-ej*

3SF Karre 3SF- exist.PST-3SF-PFV

‘We were at Karre.’

d. *issiin Karre t-iil-t-e-n*

2PL (PL) Karre 2-exist.PST-2-PFV-PL

‘You (PL) were at Karre’

These examples indicate that as in past progressive (cf.5.2.3.1.2.2.2) in the past existential construction past tense can occur with perfective paradigm.

### 6.8. Possessive clause

Payne (1997:126) states, “[o]ccasionally possessive clauses use a special verb like ‘to have’.” Similarly, in Girirra possessive clauses are expressed by the verb *k’ab* ‘to have’. Girirra belongs to the type of languages that use a special verb like ‘to have’ to express possessive clause. This becomes apparent when the complement, i.e. the possessum is added to the verb.

The set of subject and the verb *k’ab* ‘have’ with their respective markers are given below.

Table 61: Person and inflection of verb *k’ab* ‘have’

person	Inflection of verb <i>k’ab</i> ‘have’
1S	<i>k’ab-Ø-i</i>
2S	<i>k’ab-t-i</i>
3SM	<i>k’ab-Ø-i</i>
3SF	<i>k’ab-t-i</i>
1PL	<i>k’ab-n-i</i>
2PL	<i>k’ab-t-a-n</i>
3PL	<i>k’ab-Ø-a-n</i>

Consider the following possessive clauses.

17a. *ani nama walal-te k’ab-Ø-i*  
 1S two sibling-F has-1S-IPFV  
 ‘I have two sisters’

b. *adi nama walal-te k’ab-t-i*  
 2S two sibling-F has-2S-IPFV  
 ‘You have two sisters.’

c. *Kadir-e ijo Kadija-w-e nama walal-te k’ab-Ø-a-n*  
 Kadir-FOC and Kadija-EPN-FOC two sibling-F has-3PL-IPFV-PL  
 ‘Kadir and Kadija have two sisters.’

As can be seen from the above examples, in second person singular and plural, and third person singular feminine the morpheme *-t* follows the word *k'ab* 'have' to mark person. However, in the 1S, 3SM and 3PL person is overtly unmarked. Nevertheless, in the second person and third person plurals paradigm, the suffixes *-a* and *-nare* used to mark imperfective and plural respectively. The suffix *-n* is also used to mark plural number in the first person plural. The verb *k'ab* 'have' is also used to join the possessor subject, with its possessum; the relation between subject and subject complement is that of possession. Consider the following sentential examples:

18a. *ani habloo mannan k'ab-Ø-i*  
 1S girl good has-1S-IPFV  
 'I have a good girl.'

b. *issi hijnaak'i mannan k'ab-t-i*  
 3SF baby.M good has-3SF-IPFV  
 'She has a good baby.'

c. *kadir ananki bahan k'ab-Ø-i*  
 Kadir boy.M rude has-IPFV  
 'Kadir has a rude boy.'

As can be noted from the above examples in (18a-c) the verb *k'ab* 'have' is used to join the subject (possessor) of the clause *ani* 'I' *issi* 'she' and Kadir to their respective complements *hablo mannan* 'a good girl', *hijnaak'i mannan* 'a good baby' and *ananki bahan* 'a rude boy' respectively. Thus, relation between subject and complement of these clauses are that of possession. This indicates the possessor possessing an entity or something at the moment of speaking for undefined time.

### 6.9. Future possessive clause

The morpheme *weld* 'will have' expresses the future possessive clause. Interestingly, it seems that Girirra has a suppletive verb in the future construction. This morpheme precedes the subject marker and aspect marker and used to introduce a future possessive clause.

Consider the following set of subject and future possessive clause marker for the morpheme *weld* ‘will have’.

Table 62: Person and inflection of the verb *weld* ‘will have’

person	Inflection of verb <i>weld</i> ‘will have’
1S	<i>weld -Ø-i</i>
2S	<i>weld-t-i</i> →[ <i>wel-t-i</i> ]
3SM	<i>weld -Ø-i</i>
3SF	<i>weld-t-i</i> .→[ <i>wel-t-i</i> ]
1PL	<i>weld-n-i</i> → [ <i>wel-n-i</i> ]
2PL	<i>weld-t-an</i> →[ <i>wel-t-a-n</i> ]
3PL	<i>weld- Ø-a-n</i>

In the 2S, 3SF, 1PL, and 2PL paradigm the consonant *d* is deleted in the surface form (cf.2.5.3 for the surface form of the morpheme *weld* ‘to have’). Consider the following sentential examples:

- 19a. *ani baabur sa-weld-i.*  
 1S car FOC- will have-1S-IPFV  
 ‘I will have a car’
- b. *adi baabur sa-weld-t-i.*  
 2S car FOC-will have-2S-IPFV  
 ‘You will have a car.’
- c. *Kadija baabur sa-weld-t-i.*  
 Kadija car FOC-will have-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘Kadija will have a car.’

As can be noted from the above examples, the morpheme *weld* ‘will have’ is used to designate future possessive clause. That is, the possessor will possess an entity or something in the future not at the moment of speaking.

### 6.10. Past possessive clause

The past copula is introduced by the morpheme *kabu*. The subject markers (person, number, and gender) are inserted between the morphemes *kabu* and *-ej*. Thus, the morpheme *-w-* is inserted to avoid sequence of two different vowels. However, the morpheme *-t* is used to mark person in the second person (singular and plural) and third person singular feminine. Similarly, the morpheme *n* marks person in the 1PL, 2PL and 3PL. The set of subject and past possessive clause marker based on the paradigm of the morpheme *kab* ‘have’ is given below.

Table 63: Subject, past possessive and perfective markers

person	Inflection of verb <i>k'abu</i> ‘have.PST’
1S	<i>k'abu-w-ej</i>
2S	<i>k'abu-t-ej</i> → <i>k'abu[-d]-ej</i>
3SM	<i>k'abu-w-ej</i>
3SF	<i>k'abu-t-ej</i> → <i>k'abu[-d]-ej</i>
1PL	<i>k'abu-n-ej</i>
2PL	<i>k'abu-t-e-n</i> → <i>k'abu[-d]-ej</i>
3PL	<i>k'abu-w-e-n</i>

As can be noted from Table 63, the *[-d]* is the result of vowel internal voicing of the voiceless *t* which is used to mark person in the second person (singular and plural) and third person singular feminine (cf. 2.5.4 for the detail).

Consider the following examples:

20a. *ani awu k'abu-w-ej*

1S father have.PST-EPN-PFV

‘I had a father.’

b. *walal-tej ijjaal siddi k'abu[-d]-aj*

sibling-1SF.POSS child three have.PST-3SF-PFV

‘My sister had three children.’

c. *awu-kes ijo aaj-kej gaal todoba k'abu-w-e-n*

father-3SM.POSS and mother-1SM.POSS camel seven has.PST-EPN-PFV-PL

‘His father and his mother had seven camels.’

In sentence 20a-c subject *ani* 'I', *walaltej* 'my sister' and *awu-kej ijo aaj-kej* 'his father and his mother' previously had *awu* 'father', *ijjaal* 'children' and *gaal* 'camel' respectively. Currently, however, I, my sister, and his parent do not have father, children and camel respectively.

The copula markers are summarized in Table 51. In the last row, tense-aspect marking in main verb clause is also given for contrast.

Table 64: Copula verbs and possessive clause markers

		Tense-less	Past	Future
Copula	identity/ equative attributive/	<i>-no/a</i> I am/you are/theyare/he is/she is	<i>agu...ej/-e-n</i> I was/we were/she was/he was/you were/they were	<i>-naga...i/-a-n</i> i/you/she/we/you(PL)/t hej/ will become
	existential/ locative	<i>-al</i> I am at/ I exist/you are at /you exist, etc	<i>-iil...ej/-e-n</i> I was at/you/they were at, he/she was at	<i>-al</i> I/you/he,she/we/you(pl) they will be exist,etc
	Possessive	<i>k'ab...i/-a-n</i> i/you/we/they have, he/she has	<i>k'abu....ej/-e-n</i> I/we/you/he/she/ they had	<i>weld....i/-a-n</i> he/she has I/you/we/you(pl)/they will have
Verbal aspect	verb root	imperfective	Perfective	
	roor 'run'	<i>-i/-a-n</i> I/We run or will run, You/he/she/they run or will run	<i>-ej/-e-n</i> I/We ran, you/he/she/they ran	<i>-i/-a-n</i> i/we run/will run,you/he/she/they run/ will run

## 6.11. Negative copula

Like verbal aspect, different types of negative copula is introduced by the prefix *ma*-apart from negative tense-less copula and negative past copula which are marked by the morpheme *maʔaag* 'not' and *maʔaaguni* 'was/were not' respectively. Thus, in the following paragraphs, we discuss and give examples of some negative copula that operates in Girirra.

### 6.11.1. Negative tense-less copula

The copula marker *-no* and the morpheme *maʔaag* 'not' are used to introduce the negative tense-less copula. Consider the following examples.

- 21a. *ani-maʔaalin-no maʔaag-Ø*  
 1S teacher-COPnot1S.IPFV  
 ‘I am not a teacher.’
- b. *adi beerale-j-o maʔaag -Ø*  
 1S farmer-1S-COP not-1S.IPFV  
 ‘You are not a teacher.’
- c. *issiin maʔalin-no maʔaag-t-a-n*  
 2PL teacher-COP not -2PL.IPFV-PL  
 ‘You are not teachers.’
- d. *ussood maʔalin-no maʔaag-Ø-a-n*  
 3PL teacher-COP not-3.IPFV-PL  
 ‘They are not teachers’

As can be noted from the above example, the negative marker *ma-*prefixed to *-ʔaag* as the result *maʔaag* is formed, an independent word which means 'not'

### 6.11.2. Negative past copula

The negative past copula is invariably introduced by the past copula marker *-uni*, ‘COP.PST’ and the morpheme *maʔaag* ‘not’. That is, the past copula marker *-uni* is suffixed to the word *maʔaag* ‘not’ as exemplified below.

- 22a. *ani maʔalin-no maʔaag-Ø-uni*  
 1S teacher-COP not-1S-COP.PST  
 ‘I was not a teacher.’
- b. *unnu maʔalin-no maʔaag-n-uni*  
 1PL teacher-COPnot-1PL-COP.PST  
 ‘We were not teachers.’
- c. *ussu maʔalin-no maʔaag-Ø-uni*  
 3SM teacher-COP not-3SM-COP.PST  
 ‘He was not a teacher.’

### 6.11.3. Negative future copula

The negative future copula is marked by the morpheme *ma-sa-nagad*, ‘will not’, **which** is occurring at the final position of the clause either before imperfective or subject marker. This morpheme can be further analyzed into *ma-*, *sa-* and *nagad* that designate negative, focus and ‘will’ markers respectively. The suffix *-i* is used to mark imperfective in all persons except in second person and third person plurals in which the imperfective marker is *-an*. Consider the following examples.

23a. *ani maʔalin-no ma-sa-nagad-Ø -i*

IS teacher-COP NEG-FOC-be-1S.IPFV

‘I will not become a teacher.’

b. *unnu maʔalin-no ma-sa-nagad-n-i*

1PL teacher-COP NEG-FOC-be-1PL-IPFV

‘We will not be teachers.’

c. *issi maʔalin-no ma-sa-nagad-t-i*

3SF teacher -COP NEG-FOC-be-3SF-IPFV

‘She will not become a teacher.’

d. *ussod maʔalin-no ma-sa-nagad-Ø-a-n*

3PL teacher -COP NEG-FOC-be-3-IPFV-PL

‘They will not become teachers.’

### 6.11.4. Negative existential/locative copula clause

The morpheme *ma-/mama-* is also used to express negative existential clause together with the morpheme *-al*. That is to say, negative marker *ma-* is reduplicated to introduce negative existential clause as another option. Compare the following examples in (24a with 24b) and (25a with 25b):

24a. *eeji ma-j-al*

dog NEG-EPN-exist.

‘There is no dog.’

b. *eeji ma-ma-j-al*

dog RDP-NEG-EPN -exist.

‘There is no dog.’

25a. *ellen ma-j-al*  
sheep NEG-EPN -exist.  
'There is no sheep.'

b. *ellen ma-ma-j-al*  
sheep RDP-NEG- EPN -exist.  
'There is no sheep'

#### 6.11.5. Negative possessive clause

Negative possessive clause is distinguished by negative marker *ma-/mama-*prefixed to the verb *k'ab* 'has'.

Compare the examples in (26a) with the examples in (26b) and examples in (27a) with the examples in (27b).

26a. *ani eej ma-k'ab-Ø-i*  
1S dog NEG-has-1S-IPFV  
'I do not have a dog.'

b. *unnu eej ma-ma-k'ab-n-i*  
1PL dog RDP-NEG-has-1PL-IPFV  
We don't have a dog.'

27a. *issiine ellen ma-k'ab-t-a-n*  
2PL sheep NEG-has-2-IPFV-PL  
'They have no sheep.'

b. *ussoodellen ma-ma-k'ab-Ø-a-n*  
3PL sheep RDP-NEG-has-3-IPFV-PL  
'They have no sheep'

As can be noted from the above examples the reduplication of negative marker *ma-* also used as an option to designate negative possessive copula. Besides, the copula is not marked by the bound morpheme in these clauses; however, the function of copula is taken by the morpheme *kab* 'have'.

To summarize, the present chapter has dealt with copula clause and possessive clause. In this chapter, components of copula clause such as tense-less copula, copula in possessive clause, in predicate adjective, past and future copula have been discussed. Moreover, existential/locative copula has been examined. Possessive clause further is classified and examined into present, future and past possessive clause.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Adjectives

The status of adjective classes in a language is different from language to language. In some languages, they are similar to nouns, in others, however, similar to verbs, or both. Finally, in some languages they exist as separate word class. Dixon (2010b:62) points out “[c]ross-linguistically, adjective classes differ in (I) their size and productivity, and (II) whether their grammatical properties are similar to those of nouns or verbs, or both, or neither.” On the other hand, Crystal (2008:38) points out four criteria to label a given language as a language with a separate adjective word class. These include (i) the function of adjectives in the attributive position, (ii) the function of adjectives in the predicate position, (iii) the use of an intensifier as pre-modifier and (iv) the use of adjectives in comparative construction. Semantic types can also be used, as additional criteria to label a given language as a language those possess a separate adjective word class. Regarding this (Dixon 2004:3f.) states that “[t]here are [also] four core semantic types which are typically associated with both large and small adjective classes.” These are adjectives of dimension, age, value, and color (cf.7.1). Similarly, Payne (1997:63) writes “[i]f a language has a morphosyntactically distinct class of adjectives, these adjectives will express at least the following properties: AGE [...], DIMENSION [...], VALUE [...] and COLOR [...].”

When we examine the status of adjective in Girirra from the perspective of the above scholar’s proposals, it constitutes a separate word class. This is because; different semantic types are used to express adjectives. Adjectives also functions as modifier/attributive, as predicative, as head of an NP and as intensifier. In addition, they can function in comparative construction and plural in adjective is realized by means of reduplication processes. Thus, we can treat adjectives in this language as separate word class.

Like noun, adjectives can also be inflected for number gender and definiteness. In the following section, we consider the major components of adjectives. These include semantic types, attributive adjectives, predicative adjectives, adjectives function as head of an NP, adjectives function as intensifier, and adjectives function in comparative construction. At the end, inflection and derivation of adjective will be examined. Under inflection of adjective grammatical

categories such as definiteness, gender and number will also be discussed. In what follows we shall take up each.

### 7.1. Semantic types

According to Dixon (2004: 3) “[t]he lexical roots in every language can be arranged in a number of semantic types”. Adjectives in Girirra include seven of the thirteen semantic types identified by Dixon (2004:4-5). These are dimension, age, value, color, physical property, human propensity, and quantification. Let us consider the following illustrative tables and examples for each semantic type.

Table 65: Adjectives of dimension

<i>weel/ʈʈuri</i>	small
<i>gaaban</i>	short
<i>k’anaar</i>	thin
<i>hiriri</i>	narrow
<i>wiin</i>	big
<i>deer</i>	long/tall
<i>sowwan</i>	thick
<i>balaar</i>	wide
<i>mildeer</i>	far

These are some sentential examples:

1a. *ul wiin-tej k’ab-t-aj*  
 stick big-POSS.1SF break-3S-PFV  
 ‘My big stick broke’

b. *nan-ki gaaban koj-Ø-ej.*  
 man-DEF.M short come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The short man came.’

c. *Kadir anan deer-Ø-o.*  
 Kadire boy tall-3SM-COP  
 ‘Kadir is a tall boy.’

Table 66: Modifying nouns of age

<i>duudle</i>	old.F (inanimate)
<i>goob</i>	old.M (animate/inanimate)
<i>ussub</i>	new
<i>uur</i>	fetus
<i>dalaan/hinak'i</i>	baby
<i>daljaar</i>	young
<i>barbaar</i>	middle age
<i>googi/dug</i>	old(things)
<i>goree/wadaadki</i>	old .M (+human)
<i>gorii/wadaadti</i>	old .F (+human)

Consider the following sentential examples:

- 2a. *issi-w-e dad-ki dalyaar guursa-t-ej*  
 3SF-EPN-FOC person-DEF.M young marry-3.SF-PFV  
 ‘She married to the young person.’
- b. *Madina dar duug bija-w-o gudu diki'-t-ej*  
 madina cloth old water-EPN-ACC in wash-3S.F-PFV  
 ‘Madina washed the old cloth in the water.’
- c. *nan wadaad-ki koj-Ø-ej*  
 man old-DEF.M come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The old man came.’
- d. *awu-kej dar ussub gadad-Ø-aj*  
 father-POSS.ISM cloth new buy-3SM-PFV  
 ‘My father bought a new cloth.’
- e. *dalyaar badan Karre-j-al-i-n*  
 young many Karre 3-exist-EPN-PL  
 ‘Many young people live in Karre.’

In the above example (2c), the definite marker *ki-* is suffixed to *wadaad* ‘an old’ and function as the modifier of the noun *nan* ‘man’. That is, the modifier can take definite markers *ki-* or *ti-*. Similarly, in example 2e, the word *daljaar* ‘young’ functions as noun so that it is modified by the adjective *badan* ‘many’.

Table 67: Adjective of color

<i>mudowu</i>	‘black’
<i>irir</i>	‘grey hair’
<i>ed</i>	‘white’
<i>agaar</i>	‘green’
<i>guduud</i>	‘red’
<i>huruud</i>	‘yellow’

Here are some sentential examples:

3a. *ussu-w-e la?akti islaan mudowu-ti -uun diib-ej*  
 3SM-EPN-FOC money woman black-3S.F-DAT give-PFV  
 ‘He gave the money to the black woman.’

b. *issi dar guduud geel-t-a*  
 3SF cloth red love-3SF-COP  
 ‘She loves a red dress.’

c. *ussu dar agaar geel-j-a*  
 3SM cloth green love-3SM-COP  
 ‘He loves a green cloth.’

Table 68: Adjective of value

<i>bahan</i>	‘bad’
<i>mannan</i>	‘good’
<i>taajir</i>	‘rich’
<i>meej</i>	‘sweet’
<i>hereer</i>	‘bitter’

Here are some sentential examples:

4a. *issi-w-e islaan bahan-t-a*  
 3SF-EPN-FOC woman bad-3SF-COP

‘She is a bad woman.’

b. *ussu nan mannan-j-a*  
 3SM man good-3SM-COP

‘He is a good man.’

c. *ani hunguru meej geel-j-a*  
 IS food sweet like-3S-COP

‘I like a sweet food.’

Table 69: Adjective of physical property

<i>ifa</i>	‘light’	<i>duduun</i>	‘rotten’
<i>k’ullil</i>	‘hot’	<i>hereer</i>	‘bitter’
<i>ilis</i>	‘heavy’	<i>meej</i>	‘sweet’
<i>lesi</i>	‘low’	<i>engag</i>	‘dry’
<i>k’een</i>	‘wet’	<i>mugudu</i>	‘soft’
<i>mannan/mallan</i>	‘beautiful/handsome/good’	<i>tik’an</i>	‘fat’
<i>aflee</i>	‘sharp’	<i>k’ubooban</i>	‘cold’
<i>adag</i>	‘strong’		

Consider the following examples:

5a. *issi-w-e hablo mannan-t-a*  
 3SF-FOC girl beautiful-3SF-COP

‘She is a beautiful girl.’

b. *libaag-e dugaag idil adag-j-a*  
 lion-FOC animal all strong-3S-COP

‘The lion is a strong animal of all.’

c. *bija kubooban waraab-ni mannan-j-a*  
 water cold drink-VN good-3S-COP

The cold water is good to drink.

Table 70: Adjectives of human propensity

<i>d̄iibbadan</i>	‘difficult’
<i>suubban</i>	‘agreeable’
<i>fulee</i>	‘fearful’
<i>fubile</i>	‘calm’
<i>isigeer</i>	‘selfish’
<i>warbadan</i>	‘talkative’
<i>d̄alhiis</i>	‘visitor’
<i>martii</i>	‘stranger’

Consider the following sentential examples:

6a. *ussu-w-e nan subban-Ø-no*  
 3SF-FOC man agreeable-3SM-COP  
 ‘He is a good person.’

b. *issi-w-e islaan warbadan-Ø-no*  
 3SF-EPN-FOC woman talkative-3SF-COP  
 ‘She is a talkative woman’.

c. *ussu-e dad isigeer-Ø-no*  
 3SM-FOC person selfish-3SM-COP  
 ‘He is a selfish person.’

d. *walal-ki-kej anan-ki fulee-w-Ø-o*  
 sibling-M-POSS.ISM child-M fearful-EPN-EPN-COP  
 ‘My brother is a fearful boy.’

Table 71: Quantifying adjectives

<i>badan</i>	‘many’/ ‘much’
<i>t’uyi</i>	‘little/small
<i>idil</i>	‘all’
<i>tʃur</i>	few

This is further illustrated in (7a-c):

7a. *ussu ellen badan k'ab-Ø-ej*  
3SM sheep many has-3SM-PFV  
'He had many sheep.'

b. *ussu hungur t'uji un-Ø-ej*  
3SM food little eat-3SM-PFV  
'He ate a little food.'

c. *maʔalin-jaal idil koj-Ø-a-n*  
teacher-PL all come-3PL-IPFV-PL  
'All teachers came.'

## 7.2. Adjective as a modifier of a noun

An adjective occurs as modifier of the head of a noun phrase in Girirra. In a noun phrase, it immediately follows the head noun.

Consider the following illustrations.

8a. *Halima kombar guduud feen-t-ej*  
Halima chair red bring-3SF-PFV  
'Halima brought a red chair.'

b. *ussu dar-i ussub gadad-Ø-aj*  
3SM cloth-PL new buy-3SM-PFV  
'He bought new clothes.'

d. *nan-ki wiin hakkaj dad mannan-no*  
man-DEF.M big that person good-looking-COP  
'That big man is a good-looking person.'

As can be observed from the examples in (8a-c) in the phrase *k'onbar guduud* 'red chair', *dar-i ussub* 'new clothes' and *nanki wiin* 'the big man' the adjective *guduud* 'red', *ussub* 'new', and *wiin* 'big' modify the noun *k'onbar* 'chair', *dari* 'clothes' and *nan* 'man' respectively.

### 7.3. Reduplication of adjectives

Adjective in Girirra is reduplicated to form plural of adjectives. That is, the initial CV is reduplicated to introduce plurals of adjective. Consider the following examples:

Singular form		Plural form	
9a. <i>mudowu</i>	'black'	<i>mu-mudowu</i>	'black (PL)'
b. <i>guduud</i>	'red'	<i>gu-guduud</i>	'red(PL)'
c. <i>k'anaar</i>	'thin'	<i>k'a-k'anaar</i>	'thin(PL)'
d. <i>deer</i>	'tall'	<i>de-deer</i>	'tall(PL)'

Further, the following examples illustrate predicate adjectives display plural number by reduplicating initial CV of adjective stem.

Singular		plural	
10a. <i>deer-ja</i>	'is tall'	<i>de-deer-ja</i>	'are tall'
b. <i>mudowu-ja</i>	'is black'	<i>mu-mudowu-ja</i>	'are black'
c. <i>tik'an-ja</i>	'is fat'	<i>ti-tik'an-ja</i>	'are fat'

Moreover, adjective occurring as the modifier of the head noun also forms its plural by reduplicating the first syllable of the root. Let us consider the following plural formation of adjectives, which take place to the right of the head noun as illustration.

11a. <i>geed win</i>	'big tree'	<i>geed wiwin</i>	'big trees'
c. <i>geed deer</i>	'tall tree'	<i>geed dedeer</i>	'tall trees'
d. <i>farad mudowu</i>	'black horse'	<i>farad mumudowu</i>	'black horses'

Moreover, the independent word *badan* 'many/much' immediately follows both countable and uncountable nouns that modifies and functions to express the quantity of these nouns. In other words, it introduces plural number of countable noun or to express a large quantity of uncountable nouns. Thus, in quantity, the plural noun formed with the word *badan* 'many/much' is much greater than the plural nouns formed by the suffix *-jaali*. Examples:

Singular form		Plural form	
12a. <i>min</i>	‘a house’	<i>min-badan</i>	‘many houses’
b. <i>see?</i>	‘a cow’	<i>see?-badan</i>	‘many cows’
c. <i>bakaajile</i>	‘a rabbit’	<i>bakaajile-badan</i>	‘many rabbits’
d. <i>elleen</i>	‘ a sheep’	<i>ellen-badan</i>	‘many sheep’
e. <i>libaag</i>	‘ a lion’	<i>libaag-badan</i>	‘many lions’
f. <i>irir</i>	---	<i>irir badan</i>	a lot of grey hair
g. <i>bija</i>	---	<i>bijabadan</i>	‘a lot of water’

As can be noted from the above discussions and examples the adjective *badan* ‘many’ is used to express quantity of an entity. Thus, plural formation by reduplication can be applied only to adjectives whereas plural formations by suffixation are used only with nouns.

#### 7.4. Inflection

Adjectives also agree with the head noun that they modify in number, gender, and definiteness. In the following, we explore inflections of number, gender, and definiteness in adjectives. Like noun, adjective is inflected for grammatical categories such as definiteness, gender, and number.

##### 7.4.1. Definiteness

Girirra adjective is also inflected for definiteness. There is an agreement in definiteness between adjective and noun it modifies. That is, the definite markers *-ki/o* or *-ti/e* is used to show the relation between the head noun and the modifying adjective. In relation to this, there are two different possibilities regarding the use of definite marker with noun and its modifier. These are (i) adjectives modifying a definite noun may not take the definite markers *-ti or ki* and (ii) adjectives modifying indefinite noun may take the definite markers *ti-or ki-*. In other words, the definite marker suffixed only either to the noun or to the modifier adjective.

The following example, (13a-c) illustrate noun phrases in which adjectives modify an indefinite head noun.

13a. <i>Kadir</i>	<i>dar-i</i>	<i>ussub</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>sa-gadad-Ø-i</i>
Kadir	cloth-PL	new	today	FOC-buy-3SM-IPFV

‘Kadir will buy new clothes today.’

b. *nan wiin Karre-ka koj-Ø-ej*  
man big Karre-ABL come-3SM-PFV  
‘A big man came from Karre.’

c. *dad mannan feelej j-ammud-Ø-ej*  
person handsome yesterday die-3SM-PFV  
‘A handsome person has died yesterday.’

As can be seen from the above examples, the word *ussub* ‘new’, *wiin* ‘big’ and *mannan* ‘handsome’ modify the word *dar* ‘clothes’, *nan* ‘man’ and *dad* ‘person’ respectively.

The following examples illustrate noun phrase in which adjectives with definite marker modify an indefinite head noun.

14a. *waraab eleen tik’an-ti-w-o hele-Ø-ej*  
heyna sheep fat-DEF.F-EPN-ACC get-3S-PFV  
‘A heyna got the fat sheep (text I).’

b. *libaag agro wiin-ki-w-o un-Ø-aj*  
lion antelope big-DEF-EPN-ACC eat-3S-PFV  
‘A lion ate the big antelope.’

c. *nan mudowu-ki koj-Ø-ej*  
man black-DEF.M come-3SM-PFV  
‘The black man came.’

The examples (15a-c) illustrate a noun phrase in which adjectives without the definite marker modify a definite head noun.

15a. *eej-ki tik’an koj-Ø-ej*  
dog-DEF.M fat come-3SM-PFV  
‘The fat dog (M) came.’

b. *anan-ki mudowu koj-Ø-ej*  
 child-DEF.M black come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The black boy came.’

c. *anan-ti mudowu koj-t-ej.*  
 child-DEF.F black come-3SF-PFV  
 ‘The black girl came.’

The bound morphemes *-ki* and *-e/ti* are used to mark singular masculine definiteness and singular feminine definiteness respectively. However, the set of definite marker *-ki/ti* is more frequently used than the definite marker *-e*. See Table 72.

Table:72. Definite markers of adjectives

S. Masculine base	S.M.DEF	S .F.DEF	Gloss
<i>mudowu</i>	<i>mudow-ki</i>	<i>mudowu-ti/e</i>	black
<i>dēer</i>	<i>dēer-ki</i>	<i>dēer-ti/ e</i>	long
<i>guduud</i>	<i>guduud-ki</i>	<i>guduud-ti/e</i>	red
<i>tik’an</i>	<i>tik’an-ki</i>	<i>t’ik’an-ti/e</i>	fat
<i>taadžir</i>	<i>taajir-ki/-o</i>	<i>taadžir-ti/e</i>	rich
<i>bahan</i>	<i>bahan-ki</i>	<i>bahan-ti/e</i>	bad
<i>gaab</i>	<i>gaab-o</i>	<i>gaab-o</i>	short

As can be noted from Table 72, the definite marker of the adjective *gaab* ‘short’ and *taadžir* ‘rich’ is marked by the morpheme *-o* regardless gender, like in definite marker in noun (cf.3.2.3.(16a-k)).

A large number of adjectives mainly take the morpheme *-ki* and *-ti/-e* to mark definite masculine and definite feminine respectively. Consider the following more examples:

16a. *ussu-w-e boogil mudow-o-ti/e goorig-Ø-ej*  
 3S.M-EPN-FOC female sheep black-ACC-DEF.F slaughter-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He slaughtered the female sheep.’

b. *ussu-w-e*                      *awur*    *mudow-o-ki.*                      *gad-Ø-aj*  
 3S.M-EPN-FOC    ox            black-ACC-DEF.F buy-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He bought the black ox.’

c. *awu-kej*                      *dad*            *tik’an-ki*            *ma-sa-geelad-Ø-i*  
 father-ISM.POSS    person    fat-DEF.M    NEG-FOC-like-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘My father does not like the fat person.’

### 7.4.2. Gender

Like in noun, in adjective, masculine and feminine gender are marked by the morpheme *-ki* and *-ti* respectively. Consider Table 73.

Table 73: Gender marking suffixes of adjectives

Base adjective	Gloss	Masculine	Feminine
<i>mudowu</i>	‘black’	<i>mudowu-ki</i>	<i>mudowu-ti</i>
<i>bahan</i>	‘bad’	<i>bahan-ki</i>	<i>bahan-ti</i>
<i>tik’an</i>	‘fat’	<i>tik’an-ki</i>	<i>t’ik’an-ti</i>
<i>taajir</i>	‘rich’	<i>taajir-ki</i>	<i>taajir-ti</i>
<i>wiin</i>	‘big’	<i>wiin-ki</i>	<i>wiin-ti</i>
<i>k’anjaar</i>	thin	<i>k’anjaar-ki</i>	<i>k’anjaar -ti</i>
<i>adag</i>	strong	<i>adag-ki</i>	<i>adag-ti</i>

The definite adjective masculine or feminine modifies a masculine or a feminine head noun. The following examples illustrate that the definite feminine adjective *deerti/e* ‘the tall.F, *mudowuti* ‘the black.F and *wiinti* ‘the big.F modifies the feminine head noun *issi* ‘she’ *subeer* ‘female sheep, and *see?* ‘cow’ respectively .

17a. *issi-w-e hablo deer-ti/e geela-t-aj*  
 3SF-EPN-FOC girl tall-DEF.F love-3SF-PFV  
 ‘She loved the tall girl.’

b. *subeer mudowu-ti/e ees-o un-t-ej*  
 female sheep    black-DEF.F    grass-DEF.ACC    eat-3SF-PFV  
 ‘The black female sheep ate the grass.’

c. *see?*    *wiin-ti/e*    *weel*    *dal-t-ej*  
 cow    big-DEF.F calf    give birth-3SF-PFV  
 ‘The big cow gave a birth to a calf.’

The following examples illustrate the definite masculine adjective modifying the masculine head noun.

18a. *nan*    *mudowu-ki*    *koj-Ø-ej*  
 man    black-DEF.M come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The black man came.’

b. *eej*    *mudow-ki*    *dawaag-Ø-aj*  
 dog    black-DEF.M bark-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The black dog barked.’

c. *libaag*    *wiin-ki*    *hundur-Ø-ej*  
 lion    big-DEF.M    sleep-3S-PFV  
 ‘The big lion slept.’

Moreover, modifying nouns are either marked with gender or definite suffixes (*-ki/ti*) or expressed by independent words. Words such as *goree/wadaadki* ‘old male man’ and *gorii/wadaadti* ‘old female woman’ can be used as instances of this. Consider the following examples:

19a. *goree*    *j-ammud-Ø-ej*  
 old man    3SM-die-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The old man died.’

b. *wadaad-ki*    *j-ammud-Ø-ej*  
 old person-DEF.M    3SM-die-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The old man died’

c. *gorii*    *t-ammu-t-ej*  
 old woman    3SF-die-3SF-PFV  
 ‘The old woman died’

d. *wadaad-ti*            *t-ammu-t-ej*  
 old person-DEF    3SF-die-3SF-PFV  
 ‘The woman died’

As can be seen from the above examples in 19a and 19c age and gender are expressed by one single form *goree* ‘old man’ and *gorii* ‘old woman’ while in examples 19b and 19d age and gender are introduced by gender or definite markers(-*ki/ti*), *wadaadti* ‘old woman’ and *wadaadki* ‘old man’.

### 7.4.3. Number

In Girirra adjectives are pluralized by either suffixing the morpheme *-yaali* to adjective base or by reduplicating their stem initial CV. The morpheme *-jaali* is used to form plural by suffixing to all adjectives. However, the reduplication of some words such as, *bahan* ‘bad’, *taajir* ‘rich’ and *ɔadeeg* ‘strong’ results in ungrammatical form. Look illustrations in Table 74.

Table 74: Plural adjectives

Base adjective	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
<i>mudowu</i>	black	<i>mu-mudowu/mudowu-jaali</i>	black(PL)
<i>guduud</i>	red	<i>gu-guduud/guduud-jaali</i>	red(PL)
<i>bahan</i>	bad	<i>*ba-bahan/bahan-jaali</i>	bad(PL)
<i>taajir</i>	rich	<i>*ta-taajir/taajir-jaali</i>	rich(PL)
<i>aadeeg</i>	strong	<i>*aa-ɔadeeg/aadeeg-jaali</i>	strong(PL)
<i>deer</i>	long/tall	<i>dē-deer/deer-jaali</i>	long/tall(PL)

The following examples show the plural form of adjectives formed by means of reduplication.

20a. *ul*            *mu-mudowu-ti*            *hadoro-uun feen*  
 stick    RED-black-DEF.F    select-DAT bring  
 ‘Select and bring the black sticks.’

b. *nan*            *ta-taajir-ki-uun*            *weer*  
 man    RED-rich-DEF.F-DAT    call  
 ‘Call the rich men.’

c. *fiiid gu-guduud-ki feen*  
 flower RED-red-DEF.F bring  
 ‘Bring the red (PL) flowers.’

Consider the following sentential examples in which the morpheme *-jaali* is also used to form plural adjective:

21a. *adi ul mudowu-jaali hadoro-uun feen*  
 2S stick black-PL select-DAT bring  
 ‘Select and bring the black sticks.’

b. *nan taajir-yaali-uun weer*  
 man rich-PL-DAT call  
 ‘Call the rich men.’

c. *fiiid guduud-jaali feen*  
 flower red-PL bring  
 ‘Bring the red flowers.’

### 7.5. Adjectives as a head of an NP

Adjectives can also occur independently without the head noun. In other words, “noun can be formed from adjectives (reduplicated or) by simply adding one of the two definite markers or the indefinite marker after the adjectives (Dixon 2004:38).” When the head noun is dropped, the adjective is attached with the gender and definite markers of the noun and function as head noun in noun phrase. Examples:

22a. *mudowu-ki koj-Ø-ej*  
 black-DEF.M come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The black one (M) came.’

b. *mudowu-ti koj-t-ej*  
 black-DEF.F come-3SF-PFV  
 ‘The black one (F) came.’

c. *wiin-ki*            *koj-Ø-ej*  
big-DEF.M        come-3S-PFV  
'The big one (M) came.'

d. *deer-ti*        *koj-t-ej*  
tall-DEF.F    come-3SF-PFV  
The tall one (F) came.

As can be seen from the above examples, when the head noun is dropped the modifying adjective fills the slot of the head noun and function as head by suffixing the morpheme *ki-* or *ti-* to its base.

## 7.6. Predicate adjective

According to Payne (1997:111), "[p]redicate adjectives are clauses in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective." When adjectives function as predicate, they occur in sentence final position. In Girirra predicate adjective is introduced by the copula marker *-a*. This morpheme is attached to the adjective base or subject agreement marker to mark predicate adjective. We shall illustrate by taking paradigms of the adjective *dēer* 'tall' as shown in 23.

23a. *ani deer-j-a*  
IS tall-1S-COP  
'I am tall.'

b. *adi deer-t-a*  
2S tall-2S-COP  
'You are tall.'

c. *ussu deer-j-a*  
3SMtall-3SM-COP  
'He is tall.'

d. *issi deer-t-a*

3SF tall-3SF-COP

‘She is tall.’

e. *unnu deer-n-a*

IPL tall-1PL-COP

‘We are tall’

In second person and third person plural, the predicate/copula marker *-a* exchange its position with number marker *-n*. Examples are provided in ex. 24:

24a. *adi deer-t-a-n*

2PL tall-2PL-COP-PL

‘You (PL) are tall.’

b. *ussood deer-j-a-n*

3PL tall-3PL-COP-PL

‘They are tall.’

The above remarks and examples indicate that predicate adjective functions as a complement of copula. With regard to this, Dixon (2004:228) states that “[c]anonically adjective can occur as the complement of a copula (like nouns)”.

### 7.7. Adverbial modification

Some of the word class of adverbs is used to intensify adjectives. According to Crystal (2008:248) intensifiers “[...] refer to a CLASS of ADVERBS which have a heightening or lowering effect on the MEANING of another ELEMENT in the SENTENCE.” The intensifier word such as *dabbaj* ‘very’ is used as pre-modifier to intensify the meaning of an adjective in Girrira. The following examples illustrate this.

25a. *tin-ka dabbaj deerj-Ø-a*

hair-POSS.2SM very long-2S-COP

‘Your hair is very long.’

b. *nan-ki dabbaj wiin koj-Ø-ej*  
 man-DEF.M very big come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The very big man came.’

Double intensifier can also be used to intensify the meaning of adjective more and more.  
 Compare the following examples in (26a) with that in (26b).

26a. *Kadir dabba deerj-Ø-a.*  
 Kadir very tall-3SM-COP  
 Kadir is very tall.

b. *kadir dabbaj ijo dabbaj deer-j-a*  
 Kadir very and very tall-3SM-COP  
 Kadir is very, very tall.

### 7.8. Adjectives function in comparative construction

Adjectives can also occur in comparative and superlative construction. “In some languages an adjectives has an additional function: (C) serving as the parameter in a comparative construction” (Dixon 2010b:70). In Girirra, only adjectives can be compared, as compared to other word classes like noun, verb, etc. In relation to this, Girirra uses pre-adjective comparison morpheme *ka-* ‘than/more than’ to form comparative construction. Consider the following examples:

27a. *Kadir aawu-kes ka deer-j-a*  
 Kadir father-POSS.3SM than tall-3SM-COP  
 “Kadir is taller than his father.”

b. *Kadija walal-te isse ka mallan-t-a*  
 kadija sibling- POSS.3SF 3SF.OBJ than beautiful-3SF-COP  
 “Kadija is more beautiful than her sister.”

### 7.9. Derived adjectives

In Girirra, adjectives can be derived from nominal and verbal bases by means of affixation (Askale 1994: 37). According to her adjectives are formed by affixing *-lew* or *-lej* to nouns. The morpheme *-lew* is used for masculine whereas *-lej* is used for the feminine. Some examples from Askale (1994:37) are given in 28.

28a. *anan-ki be:n-lew-o*

boy-DEF-M liar-imp

‘The boy is (a) liar.’

(Askale 1994:37)

b. *anan-ti be:n-lej-o*

girl DEF-F liar-imp

‘The girl is (a) liar.’

(Askale 1994:37)

c. *dul -ki fid-lew-o*

land-def-m rocky-imp

‘The land is rocky.’

(Askale 1994:38)

However, in the present study the morpheme *-ale* is also used as adjective marker or adjectivizer regardless gender. Consider the following examples:

29a. *dul-ki fiid-ale beer ma-mannan-j-a*  
land-DEF stone-ADJR farm NEG-good-3SM.COP  
‘The land is not rocky for farming.’

b. *dul roob-ale kunoola-ni mannan-j-a*  
land rain-ADJR live-VN good-3SM-COP  
‘Living in rainy land is good.’

e. *dul buur-ale beer ma-mannan-j-a*  
 land mountain-ADJR farm NEG-good-3SM-COP  
 ‘The mountainous land is not good for farming.’

As already stated by Askale (1994:37) the morpheme *-lew* and *-lej* in 30a and 30b are used to mark masculine and feminine adjective respectively.

30a. *dad been-lew ma-mannan-j-a*  
 person lie-ADJR.M NEG-good-3SM-COP  
 ‘A lair person is not good.’

b. *habar-ti dar dahaab-lej-uun ag hir-t-ej*  
 woman-DEF cloth gold-ADJR.F-DAT being dress-3SF-PFV  
 ‘The woman dressed in golden dress.’

However, as can be noted from example in 30 the morpheme *-lew* and *-lej* are gender motivated whereas in example 29 the morpheme *-ale* is not gender motivated or neutral.

To summarize, this chapter has identified adjective as a separate word class in Girirra. The discussion on adjective covers semantic types, attributive adjective, predicate adjective, adjective function as head of NP and adjective function as adverbial modification. It also covers inflection and derivation of adjectives. Under semantic types, adjective of dimension, modifying nouns of age, adjective of color, adjective of value, adjective of physical property, adjective of human propensity and quantifying adjectives have been treated.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Quantifiers, conjunctions and adverbs

This chapter deals with discussion of quantifiers, conjunctions, and adverbs.

#### 8.1. Quantifiers

Quantifiers consist of all elements, which refer to quantity or amount. This word class is further classified into numeral, and measure and classifier phrases. Each will be considered in turn.

##### 8.1.1. Numerals

Numerals are classified into two categories: cardinal and ordinal numbers.

###### 8.1.1.1. Cardinal numbers

The cardinal number of Girirra shows great affinity to Oromo and Somalical cardinal numbers. The word for two, three, four and nine are expressed by the words *lame*, *sidde*, *afar* and *sagaal* respectively in Somali (Saeed 1982:17). The same cardinal numbers in Oromo are expressed by the *lama*, *sadi*, *afur* and *sagal* respectively. Compare also these with Girirra data given under 1a below. Since these language are genetically belongs to a common origin; it is natural to show similarities in some terms. With regard to this, Yule (1996:215) points out "[w]ithin groups of related languages, we often find close similarities in particular sets of terms."

Girirra has a decimal number system. The numbers: twenty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty and ninety are formed by suffixing the morpheme *-tan* to the lower numbers from two to nine apart from the number thirty which is expressed as *soddon*. The basic numbers are listed as follows:

1a. <i>ko</i>	'one'	<i>nama-tan</i>	'twenty'
b. <i>nama</i>	'two'	<i>soddon/sodona</i>	'thirty'
c. <i>sidii/sadaa</i>	'three'	<i>affar-tan</i>	'forty'
d. <i>affar</i>	'four'	<i>fan-tan</i>	'fifty'
e. <i>fan</i>	'five'	<i>lee-tan</i>	'sixty'
f. <i>lee/ii</i>	'six'	<i>todoba-tan</i>	'seventy'
g. <i>todobo</i>	'seven'	<i>see?-tan</i>	'eighty'
h. <i>seedi</i>	'eight'	<i>sagal-tan</i>	'ninety'
i. <i>sagaal</i>	'nine'	<i>bogool</i>	'hundred'

j. *toban* 'ten'      *kuun* 'thousands'

To count the hundreds, a digit precedes the cardinal number *bogool* 'hundred'. The use of *ko* 'one' is optional here. The number *nama* 'two', *sidii* 'three' etc. are preceding *bogool* 'hundred'. Examples:

- 2a. *ko bogool* '(one) hundred'
- b. *nama bogool* 'two hundred'
- c. *sidii bogool* 'three hundred'
- d. *affar bogool* 'four hundred', etc.

One of the following two ways can form the number from eleven to nineteen. First, the conjunction word *ijo* 'and' is used to conjoin the word *toban* 'ten' with a digit from one to nine. Secondly, the number from eleven to nineteen is simply formed by juxtaposing the word *toban* 'ten' with a digit from one to nine. The following examples illustrate the first possibility:

- 3a. *toban-ijo-ko* 'eleven'  
ten and one
- b. *toban-ijo-nama* 'twelve'  
ten and two
- c. *toban-ijo-sidii* 'thirty'  
ten and three
- d. *toban-ijo-affar* 'fourteen', etc.  
ten and four

The second option is illustrated in 4:

- 4a. *toban-ko//ko-toban* 'eleven'
- b. *toban-nama* 'twelve'
- c. *toban-sidii* 'thirty'
- d. *toban-affar* 'fourteen', etc.

The above two options of number formation from eleven to nineteen can be used alternatively without change of meaning. Numbers from twenty-one to ninety-nine is also formed by

conjoining tens with digits from one to nine by using the conjunction *-ijo* ‘and’. Consider the following examples:

- |                          |                    |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 5. <i>namatan-ijo-ko</i> | ‘twenty-one’       |
| <i>namatan-ijo-nama</i>  | ‘twenty-two’       |
| <i>soddon-ijo-ko</i>     | ‘thirty-one’       |
| <i>soddon-ijo-nama</i>   | ‘thirty-two’       |
| <i>affartan-ijo-ko</i>   | ‘fourty-one’       |
| <i>affartan-ijo-nama</i> | ‘fourty-two’, etc. |

### 8.1.1.2. Ordinal number

Ordinal numbers are common in Girirra. However, ordinal numbers from two to ten is frequently formed by prefixing the morpheme *ki* to the digit from one to nine and suffixing morpheme *-ati* to the corresponding cardinal numbers. However, the ordinal number one is formed by prefixing *hal-* and suffixing *wati* to the corresponding cardinal numbers. Look at the following examples:

- |                        |           |
|------------------------|-----------|
| 6a. <i>hal-ko-wati</i> | ‘first’   |
| b. <i>ki-nama-ati</i>  | ‘second’  |
| c. <i>ki-siida-ati</i> | ‘third’   |
| d. <i>ki-affar-ati</i> | ‘fourth’  |
| e. <i>ki-fana-ati</i>  | ‘fifth’   |
| f. <i>ki-lej-ati</i>   | ‘sixth’   |
| g. <i>ki-todob-ati</i> | ‘seventh’ |
| h. <i>ki-seed-ati</i>  | ‘eighth’  |
| i. <i>ki-sagal-ati</i> | ‘ninth’   |
| j. <i>ki-toban-ati</i> | ‘tenth’   |

As can be noted from the above examples, the ordinal number is encoded by the discontinuous morpheme *ki-* and *-ati*. That is, the morpheme *ki-* and *-ati* are prefixed and suffixed to the corresponding cardinal numbers respectively to form ordinal numbers.

### 8.1.2. Measure and classifier phrases

A measure phrase consists of nominal heads, which express entities that are used as unit of measurement. Mulugeta (2008:115) referring to Matthews (1997) describes a measure phrases “[a]ny noun phrase indicating quantity, size, distance, etc”. In Girirra, measure phrases are used to specify the head noun that is being quantified.

81a. *dulka sidii meetri*

land three meter

‘Three meters of land’

b. *daar fan meetri.*

cloth five meter

‘Five meter of clothes’

c. *geedi nama meetri*

wood two meter

‘Two meters of wood’

In the above examples, measure phrase occur following the head noun. In other words, the word order of noun head and measure phrase is fixed. However, within the measure phrase the word order of the numerals and the unit of measurement noun are flexible. Examples:

82a. *daar meetri ko*

cloth meter one

‘one meter of cloth’

b. *meeteri ko daar*

meter one cloth

‘one meter of cloth’

A similar structures have been identified in other Ethiopian languages such as Amharic, (Baye, 1984), Koorete, (Binyam2002) and Dime, (Mulugeta, 2008:32). The measure noun refers to some kind of container or means of transportation, which can be seen as instrumental case without any marking morphemes. These are examples:

83a. *biwu nama buk’e*

water two calabash

‘two calabash of water’

b. *adaree toban baabur*  
maize ten car  
'ten cars of maize'

c. *adaree fan dameer roor-an*  
maize five donkey load-PL  
'Five donkeys of maize load'

There are also noun classifier phrases, which is not used as measurement or container terms but rather individuating and enumerating nouns. Girma (2015:280) points out that classifiers phrases are "[...] functionally different from measure phrases in the sense that they tend to distributively itemize individual members. Their function is to restrict the collective reference of the noun to individual members." Consider the following Examples from Girirra data:

84a. *bun habbako*  
coffee bean one  
'one bean of coffee '

b. *talaali adaree lii*  
plant maize six  
'six individual plant of maize'

c. *talaalyaal birtukan affar*  
plant-PL orange four  
'Four individual plants of oranges'

The word order of classifier phrases are: the head noun, noun within classifier phrase and enumerating. The enumerating individual noun occurs at the final position of the classifier phrases.

## 8.2. Conjunctions

According to Berk (1999:293) a "Conjunction is [a]small category of function words (and, or, and but) that conjoin like elements within the sentence or conjoin two or more sentences".

Few morphemes are identified as connecting morphemes in Girirra clauses. Table 75 summarizes these morphemes.

Table 75: The conjunctions

<i>ijo</i>	and
<i>amma</i>	or
<i>han/hannгато/laakin</i>	but
<i>gi</i>	if
<i>sabab</i>	because/since
<i>adina</i>	also
<i>inti</i>	while

- **Conjunction with *ijo***

The Conjunction morpheme *ijo* can be used to conjoin different types of structures, from single lexical items to sentences, i.e., independent clauses. It is also widely used to introduce for examples, numbers from eleven to nineteen in Girirra (cf. 8.1.1(3a-d) for the detail). The following examples in (7a-7c) illustrate the use of *ijo* in forming number.

- 7a. *toban*      *ijo*      *ko*      ‘eleven’  
       ten        CNJ      one
- b. *toban*      *ijo*      *sidii*      ‘thirty’  
       ten        CNJ      three
- c. *namatan*      *ijo*      *nama*      ‘twenty-two’  
       twenty      CNJ      two

The following examples illustrate that Girirra uses the conjunction *ijo* for both phrasal and clausal conjunction.

- 8a. *ussu*      *ijo*      *issi*  
       3SM      and      3SF  
       ‘He and she’

b. *ussu nan deer ijo mannan-j-a*  
 3SM person tall CNJ handsome-3SM-COP  
 ‘He is a tall and handsome person.’

c. *Ibrahim amma Kadija-uun weer-Ø*  
 Ibrahim or Kadija-DAT call-2S  
 ‘Call either Ibrahim or Kadija.’

d. *islaanti Ibrahim ijo aaj-kej koj-Ø-e-n*  
 wife Ibrahim and mother-POSS-1SM come-3PL-PFV-PL  
 ‘Ibrahim’s wife and my mother came.’

- **Morpheme *gi* function as conjunction**

The morpheme *gi* functions as conjunction in conjoining morpheme in different clauses. It also marks conditional clause and can occur at the initial or final position of the clause as illustrated in 9.

9a. *gi wok’it mannan koj-t-u sa-agar-i*  
 COND time good come-2S-IPFV FOC-see-IPFV  
 ‘If you come on time you will see me.’

b. *adi dawiida gi waraab-t-u sa-t-ammu-t-i*  
 2S medicine COND drink-2S-IPFV FOC-2S-die-2S-IPFV  
 ‘If you drink this medicine you will die’

c. *gi roob-Ø-u ani ma-sa-koj-Ø-i.*  
 COND rain-3S-IPFV IS NEG-FOC-come-1S-IPFV  
 ‘If it rains I will not come.’

- **Conjunction with *amma***

The morpheme *amma* ‘or’ is used, as a connector between two words or phrases to show that either, one of two things is possible to be used as illustrated in 10.

10a. *Ibrahim amma Kadija-uun weer-Ø.*  
 Ibrahim or Kadija-DAT call-IPFV  
 ‘Call either Ibrahim or Kadija.’

b. *adi Karre amma Ginnir-uun tab-Ø*  
 2S Karre or Ginnir-DAT go-IPFV  
 ‘Go to Karre or Ginnir.’

- **Conjunction with *sabab***

The morpheme *sabab* is also another connector of clause as exemplified in 11.

11a. *kadir dareer ma-karine sababti-w-e lug-kej sa-mariid-Ø-a*  
 Kadir travel NEG-can because-EPN-FOC leg-POSS.3SM FOC-injure-3SM-COP  
 ‘Kadir cannot walk BECAUSE his leg is injured.’

b. *ussu sabab nan wiin-j-a roor ma-sa-kar-i*  
 3SM since man old-3SM-COP run NEG-FOC-can-IPFV  
 ‘Since he is an old man he cannot run.’

- **Conjunction with *hahan/hannagato***

The morpheme *hahan/hannagato* ‘but’ is used to connect two statements or phrases when the second one adds something different.

12a. *ɕaat k’ajiin hahan sigaar an-uumsit-u*  
 Chat chew but cigarette NEG-smoke-IPFV  
 ‘Chew chat but do not smoke cigarette.’

b. *hungur-o un hannagato kamri ma-waraab-Ø-i*  
 food-DEF eat but alcohol NEG-drink-2S-IPFV  
 ‘Eat the food but do not drink alcohol’.

The other coordinating conjunction like *reek* ‘after’ and *hoor* ‘before’ have been treated in section 9.2.3.5.

- **Conjunction with *inti***

The morpheme *inti* ‘while’ is used, as a connector between two phrases to show that the action takes place at the same time. Consider the following examples:

13a. *ussu intii sa-dadab-o sa-hundur-i ku-j-al*  
 3SM while FOC-dream-CNV FOC-sleep-IPFV-PRS.AUX-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘He dreams while sleeping.’

b. *kadir intii sa-roor-o sa-k’osal-i ku-j-al*  
 children while FOC-run-CNV FOC-laugh-IPFV PRS.AUX -3SM -exist  
 ‘Kadir play while running.’

c. *issi inti bod-i ku-t-al roor-i-t-al*  
 3SF while jump-IPFV PRS.AUX-3SF-exist run-IPFV-3SF-exist  
 ‘She is jumping while running.’

### 8.3. Adverbs

Payne (1997: 69) states that an adverb is “any word with semantic content (i.e., other than grammatical particles) that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective.” Adverbs can be classified into many different semantic groups. These semantic groups include manner, degree, time, direction, frequency, place, reason, and quantity. In the following discussion, we consider some semantic groups of adverbs.

#### 8.3.1. Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner denote the manner in which the action is performed. There are a few lexical items, which are used to express manner. These include *dabba* ‘very’, *mirko* ‘slowly’ *daksi* ‘quickly’, *mannan*, ‘well’. These words follow the subject and precede the verb in their occurrence. Consider the following sentential examples:

14a. *issi dabba mannan-t-a*  
 3SF very beautiful-3SF-COP  
 ‘She is very beautiful’.

b. *ussu miirko sa-dareer-Ø-i*  
3SM slowly FOC-travels-3SM -IPFV  
'He goes slowly'

c. *ussu mannan sa-roor-Ø-i*  
3SM well FOC-run-3SM-IPFV  
'He runs well.'

d. *ani daksi fak'es-Ø-ej*  
IS quickly work-1S-PFV  
'I worked quickly.'

### 8.3.2. Adverbs of degree

The adverb *dabbaj* 'very' also occurs next to quantifiers to express degree. Consider the following phrasal examples:

15a. *biwu tf'ur dabbaj*  
water little very  
'Very little water'

b. *biwu badan dabbaj*  
water lot very  
'A lot of water'

c. *mini tf'ur dabbaj*  
house small very  
'A very small house'

d. *mini badan dabbaj*  
house many very  
'Very many houses'

### 8.3.3. Adverb of Time

In Girirra, adverb-indicating time consists of the largest class of adverbs. Time adverbs are expressed either by different independent words or by compounds. Some of the time expressions that are made with an independent word are presented in Table 76.

Table 76: Adverbs of time with a single word

<i>gaa/maj/maajtaj</i>	'today'
<i>beerri/bereej</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>feele/feleej</i>	'yesterday'
<i>sake/maaytut</i>	'the day after tomorrow'
<i>reek/heeger</i>	'after'
<i>hoor/reeg/hortee</i>	'before'
<i>hanka</i>	'now'
<i>saag</i>	'morning'
<i>wok'it</i>	'time'
<i>sanad</i>	'year'
<i>maali</i>	'day'
<i>bil</i>	'month'
<i>hibeen/hiblin</i>	'night'
<i>hibiin</i>	'evening'
<i>haankana</i>	'again'
<i>haankana</i>	'then'
<i>todobat</i>	'a week'
<i>amba/inti</i>	'while'
<i>daraati</i>	'the day before yesterday'
<i>deereda/maalindil</i>	midday
<i>maaliwalba</i>	'daily'
<i>bilwalba</i>	'monthly'

The following are illustrative examples:

16a. *ussu feelej koj-Ø-ej*

3SM yesterday come-3SM-PFV

'He came yesterday'

b. *Kadir beeri sa-koj-Ø-i*

Kadir tomorrow FOC-come-3SM-IPFV

'Kadir will come tomorrow.'

c. *issi saake sa-koj-t-i*  
 3SF after tomorrow FOC-come-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘She will come the day after tomorrow’

d. *nan-ki hanka koj-i ku-j-al*  
 man-DEF now come-IPFV PRS.AUX-3SM.exist  
 ‘The man is coming now.’

Similarly, some of the time expressions are made with compound forms as shown in Table 77.

Table 77: Adverb of time with a compound word

<i>namasanad</i>	'two years'
<i>markahoraat/eegabeeh</i>	'in the beginning'
<i>sanadorati</i>	'last year'
<i>sanadkaj sadareero</i>	'next year'
<i>affurhortee</i>	'time before lunch'
<i>affurreega</i>	'afternoon/after lunch'
<i>hibeendeereda</i>	'midnight'
<i>feleejhortee</i>	'the day before yesterday'

As can be observed from Table 77 adverb of time with a compound is formed by the combination of two independent adverbs of times. The compound *namasanad* 'two years' is formed from two words *nama* 'two' and *sanad* 'year'. Similarly, the compound adverb *affurhortee* 'time before lunch' is formed from two words *affur* 'lunch' and *hortee* 'before'.

The following are some sentential examples:

17a. *Kadija fellejhortee Karre-ka koj-t-ej*  
 Kadija the day before yesterday Karre-ABL come-3SF-PFV  
 ‘Kadija came from Karre the day before yesterday.’

b. *ussu bilwalba gama gabajaa-ki tab-∅ ∅-i*  
 3SM monthly to market-DEF.M go-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘He goes to the market monthly.’

- c. *Kadir sanad horati Elkarre-ka koj-∅ -ej*  
 Kadir last year Elkarre-ABL come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Kadir came from Elkarre last year.’

There are also days of a week which are used as temporal adverb. All days of the weeks seem borrowed from Arabic. Consider the following days of a week.

18a. <i>alsniin</i> (seems borrowed from Arabic <i>isiin</i> )	'monday'
b. <i>talweeza</i> (seems borrowed from Arabic <i>taluuata</i> )	'tuesday'
c. <i>arbaʔaa</i> (seems borrowed from Arabic <i>arbijaa</i> )	'wednesday'
d. <i>kamis</i> (seems borrowed from Arabic <i>kamis</i> )	'thursday'
e. <i>gumaat</i> (seems borrowed from Arabic <i>jumaʔa</i> )	'friday'
f. <i>sabti</i> (seems borrowed from Arabic <i>sabti</i> )	'saturday'
g. <i>aahaad</i> (seems borrowed from Arabic <i>ilaʔaad</i> )	'sunday'

#### 8.3.4. Adverbs of direction

The directional adverb is expressed by an independent word *gamaaj/gamaas* ‘towards’ in Girirra. Examples:

- 18a. *Ibrahim kubba-ti gamaa kej daw-∅-ej*  
 Ibrahim ball-DEF.F towards 1S.OBJ kick-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Ibrahim kicked the ball towards me’

- b. *Ibrahim kubba-ti gamaa kinood daw-∅-ej*  
 Ibrahim ball-DEF.F towards 3PL.OBJ kick-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Ibrahim kicked the ball towards them.’

- c. *Kadir kubba-ti gamaa kej daw-∅-i*  
 Kadir ball-DEF.F towards 1S.OBJ kick-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘Kadir kicks the ball towards me.’

The directional adverb can also be formed by attaching the word *gamaa* ‘towards’ to the base noun or pronoun. Regarding pronoun it is attached to the object form of the pronouns as indicated in the following list.

- 19a. *gamaa-kej* 'towards me.M'  
 b. *gamaa-kinood* 'towards us.M'  
 c. *gamaa-ka* 'towards you.M'  
 d. *gamaa-kisiin* 'towards you(PL.M)  
 c. *gamaa-te* 'towards her.F'  
 d. *gamaa-kisood* 'towardsrds them.M'

### 8.3.5. Adverbs of frequency

Adverb of frequency refers to the number of times that something happens within a particular period time. Table 78 illustrates this.

Table 78: Adverb of frequency

<i>nama</i>	twice
<i>marwalba</i>	often/always
<i>wilges</i>	never
<i>markumarku</i>	occasionally

Here are some sentential examples:

- 20a. *Kadir marwalba into mar-Ø-i*  
 Kadir often here pass-3SM-IPFV  
 'Kadir often pass across here'.

- b. *kadir wilges inta ma-mar-Ø-i*  
 Kadir never here NEG-pass-3SM-IPFV  
 'Kadir never pass across here.'

- c. *Kadir markumarku into sa-koj-Ø-i*  
 Kadir sometimes here FOC-come-IPFV  
 'Kadir comes here sometimes.'

### 8.3.6. Adverb of place

A few adverbs only refer to place or location. The following illustrative examples are given in Table 79.

Table 79: Adverb of place

<i>inta</i>	here
<i>heege</i>	there
<i>meelwalba</i>	everywhere
<i>koor</i>	up,on
<i>gudoo/dook</i>	in
<i>dine</i>	near
<i>dook</i>	down

Here are sentential examples:

21a. *ussu muus gadad-ni hegga tab-Ø-ej*  
 he banana buy-VN there go-3SM-PFV  
 'He went there to buy banana.'

b. *leer meelwalba sa-kar heel-t-i*  
 air everywhere FOC-can find-2S-IPFV  
 'You can find air everywhere.'

c. *issi saake sa-koj-t-i*  
 3SF the day after tomorrow FOC-come-3SF-IPFV  
 'She will come the day after tomorrow.'

To summarize, this chapter has dealt with quantifier, conjunction and adverb. Quantifiers have been classified into numerals and non-numeral. Measure and classifiers are also treated. Numeral is further classified into cardinal and ordinal number. Different morphemes have been also used to introduce conjunction. Some of these conjunctions include *ijo* 'and' *amma* 'or' *adina* 'also' and *inti* 'while'. Similarly, components of adverbs like adverb of manner, adverb of degree, adverb of time, adverb of direction, adverb of frequency and adverb of place have been treated.

## CHAPTER NINE

### The syntax of clause

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to describe different components of syntax that operate in Gririrra. These include simple declarative clause, complex clause, converb, interrogative clauses, word order, noun phrase, quantifier phrases, negation, and focus. Like other many Ethiopian languages, Girirra sentences exhibits SOV word order. Although the word order in this language is rigid, some constituents are flexible.

#### 9.1. Simple declarative clauses

A simple declarative clause has one main clause with only one predicate and no subordinate clause. Simple clause can be a sentence with a copula verb as in (1a-b).

1a. *ussu Ginnir j-al*

3SM Ginnir 3SM-exist

‘He is in Ginnir.’

b. *issi habar-timannan-t-a*

3SF woman-F beautiful-3SF-COP

‘She is a beautiful woman.’

Simple clause can be a sentence with a nominal predicate as in (2a-b)

2a. *ussu maʔaalin-no*

3SM teacher-3SM-COP

‘He is a teacher.’

b. *issi beerale-no → [beerale-j-o]*

3SF farmer-EPN-COP

‘She is a farmer.’

Consider the following Simple clause with adjectival predicate in (3a-b).

3a. *ussu dad deer-j-a*  
3SM person tall-3SM-COP  
'He is a tall person.'

b. *issi islaan mannan-t-a*  
3SF woman beautiful-3SF-COP  
'She is a beautiful woman.'

Simple clause can consist of a noun phrase and verb phrase. Here are more examples:

4a. *dad-ki-w-e ariin-o sa-gad-Ø-i*  
person-DEF.M-EPN-FOC goat-ACC FOC-buy-3SM-IPFV  
'The man buys a goat.'

b. *iyyal-ki-w-e hungur-o un-i ku-j-al*  
child-DEF.M-EPN-FOC food-ACC.DEF eat-IPFV PRS.AUX -3SM-exist  
'The boy is eating the food.'

c. *nan-ki-w-e muus-o un-i ku-j-al*  
man-DEF.M-EPN-FOC banana-ACC.DEF eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-3SM-exist  
'The man is eating the banana.'

In simple declarative sentence, adverbs occur preceding the verb, which is clause final. Consider the following sentence.

5a. *nan-ki felleej koj-Ø-ej*  
man-DEF.M yesterday come-3SM-PFV  
'The man came yesterday.'

b. *nan-ki felleej Karre-ka koj-Ø-ej*  
 man-DEF.M yesterday Karre-ABL come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The man came from Karre yesterday.’

## 9.2. Complex clauses

A complex clause has one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. In the following, we discuss complex clauses such as relative clauses, complement clauses and adverbial clauses.

### 9.2.1. Relative clauses

In this subsection of the study we deal with relative clauses. According to Dixon (2010b:314), a canonical relative clause consists of four characterizations. He further (2010b:314), expresses one of the characterizations as ‘‘the RC [relative clause] functions as a syntactic modifier of the CA [common argument] in the MC [main clause]. At the semantic level, it will normally provide information about the CA, which assists in focusing-or restricting- the reference of the CA.’’ Furthermore, Dixon (2010b:338) identifies a number of ways of marking relative clauses. These include the use of (1) intonation contour, (2) the position of the RC within MC (3) prosodic means (stress, tone, etc.), (4) inflection on the verb of the RC, (5) a relative clause marker and (6) a relative pronoun.

Payne (1997:325-6) states that relative clauses consist of the head, the restricting clause, the relativized noun phrase and the relativizer. In other words, the relative clause comprises the head noun that is modified by the clause, the relative clause itself, the element within the restricting clause that is coreferential with head noun and the morpheme or particle that sets off the restricting clause as a relative clause. Regarding the position of the relative clauses with respect to the head, Payne (1997:326) says that relative clauses can occur before the head (pronominal), after the head (post nominal), within relative clause or they may be headless. In Girirra relative clauses can occur before or after the head.

Of the six ways of marking a relative clause presented by Dixon (2010b:338) those involving the inflection on the verb of RC, and a relative pronoun applies in Girirra. Each situation will be discussed and exemplified.

- **Verbal inflection in the RC**

Dixon (2010b:340) points out that “[m]any languages have an inflectional system associated with the verb [...]. This typically covers tense, aspect, and mood in some languages it includes one or more terms which can mark a relative clause.” In Girirra, the verbal inflection in the relative clause is marked by the bound morphemes attached to the verb of the dependent clause to mark relative clause. That is, the verb in the dependent clause and main clause are usually marked by the same bound morphemes. However, the morpheme that is suffixed to the verb in the dependent clause is used to mark relative clause whereas the morpheme that is suffixed to the verb in the main clause is used to mark aspect or copula.

Consider the following examples in non-progressive imperfective aspect, to introduce relative clauses as illustrations:

6a. *nan-ki [irii-[di] afke sadiki-j-o] awu-kej-o*  
 man-DEF.M door-DEF.F in front stand-EPN-REL father-POSS.1SM-COP  
 ‘The man who stands in front of the door is my father.’

b. *islaan-ti [holood-ki dareer-ti-j-o] anna-[dej]-o*  
 woman-DEF.F road-DEF.M walk-3SF-EPN-REL aunt-POSS.1SF-COP  
 ‘The woman who walks on the road is my aunt.’

c. *nan-ki [laaʔak-ta walal-tes sa-siisi-j-o] Kadir-o*  
 man-DEF.M money-DEF.F sibling-POSS.3SF FOC-give-EPN-REL come-COP  
 ‘The man who gives the money to his sister is Kadir.’

As noted from examples 6a-c, the relative clauses occur after the head (post nominal). That is to say, the relative clauses *irii-[di] afke sadiki-j-o* ‘who stands in front the door’, *holood-ki dareer-ti-j-o* ‘who walks on the road’ and *laaʔak-ta walal-tes sa-siisi-j-o* ‘who gives the money to his sister’ relativize the head noun *nanki* ‘the man’ and *islaanti* ‘the woman’ respectively. Moreover, the relativizer morpheme *-o* that occurs in the dependent clause is used to mark relative clause while the morpheme *-o* that occurs in the main clause is simply functions as copula. In other words, the morpheme that *-o* occurs at relative clause and at main clause are identical in form but

different in their functions. Similarly consider the following examples in the perfective aspector copula to introduce relative clause as illustration.

7a. *wala tireeg-ey haabl-o* [...; *awu-tes wala tireeg-ej*] *annan-ki maraatu maʔaag-Ø*  
 thing say-PFV girl-DEF father-POSS.3SF thing say-REL child-DEF.M mad not-COP  
 ‘The girl said to her father, the boy that you told me is not a mad.’ (Text 3)

In example 7a the relative clauses *awu-tes wala tireegej* ‘that you told me’ occur before the head (pro nominal) *ananki* ‘the boy’. The relativized position which is indicated by ellipses is that of subject. The relativizer element on the relative verb is the suffix *-ej*.

b. [*wraab-o wala heel-ej*] *eleenki tik’an* [*dawee-di wala heel-t-ej*] *laafan-Ø*  
 heyna-DEF thing get-REL sheep-DEF fat jackal-DEF.F thing get-33SF-REL thin-COP  
 ‘The sheep that the heyna got is fat while the sheep that the jackal got is skinny.’ (Text 1)

However, in example 7b there are two relative clauses, which used to relativize the head noun. The relative clause *waraabo wala heelej* ‘that the heyna got’ occur before the head (pronominal) *ananki* ‘the boy’ whereas the relative clause *dawee-[di] wala heel-t-ej* ‘that the jackal got’ occur after the head noun (post nominal) *eleenki* ‘the sheep’. In this case, both relative clauses relativize the common head noun, *eleenki* ‘the sheep’. The morpheme *-ej*, which is suffixed to the verb in the relative clause, functions as relative of the clause.

c. *dameer-ki* [*feleej nan-ki gad-ej*] *j-amuud-Ø-ej*  
 donkey-DEF.M yesterday man-DEF.M buy-REL 3SM-die-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The donkey that the man bought yesterday has died.’

In 7c the relative clause *feleej nan-ki gad-ej* ‘that the man bought yesterday’ occurs after the head noun *dameer-ki* ‘the donkey’ and relativize it. Moreover, in the perfective paradigm the aspect marker and the relative clause marker can be the same in form, however, they are different in their position and function. In examples, 7c the relative clause and perfective aspect are marked by the same morpheme *-ej*. However, the morpheme *-ej* suffixed to the verb in relative clause,

functions as relative clause marker whereas the morpheme *-ej* suffixed to the verb in the main clause function as perfective marker.

- **Relative pronoun**

The relative pronoun is used to relate sentences or clauses together. In Girirra, in the progressive imperfective paradigm, the relative pronoun can be expressed by demonstrative pronoun *hakke/hatte* ‘that/who’. The word *hakke* ‘that/who’ is used for masculine while the word *hatte* ‘that/who’ is used for feminine gender. That is, the relative clause is more clearly introduced by demonstrative pronoun than by the relative clause marker discussed above under verbal inflection. Syntactically, the demonstrative pronoun follows the verb in the dependent clause and precedes the verb in the main clause. Consider the following examples.

8a. *nan-ki [koj-i ku-j-al hakke]walal-kej-o*  
 man-DEF.M come-IPFV PRS.AUX-3SM-exist that brother-POSS.ISM-COP  
 ‘The man who is coming is my brother.’

b. *dameer-ki [ees-o un-i ku-jal hakke] kej-o*  
 donkey-DEF.M grass-DEF eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-3S.exist that- POSS.ISM-COP  
 ‘The donkey that is eating the grass is mine.’

c. *habar-ti [koj-t-i ku-tal hatte] aaj kej-o*  
 woman-DEF come-3SF-IPFV PRS.AUX-3SF.exist that mother- POSS.1SM-COP  
 ‘‘The woman who is coming is my mother.’’

As can be noted from the above examples, in (8a-c) the relative clause (RC) *koji kujal hakke* ‘who is coming’, *ees uni kujal hakke* ‘that is eating the grass’ and *kojti kutal hatte* ‘who (F) is coming’ are used to modify the common arguments (CA) in the main clause (MC) *nanki* ‘the man’, *dameerki* ‘the donkey’ and *habarti* ‘the woman’ respectively.

Moreover, in terms of its function the relativized noun can be classified and discussed as subject, object (direct and indirect), and possessor. In other words, the relativized noun phrases function as the subject, the object, and the possessor of the respective relative clause. In what follows; each will be treated and exemplified.

### 9.2.1.1. Subject relativization

In this case, a relative clause modifies a head noun in a noun phrase that functions as the subject of a sentence. The relative clauses modify the respective head noun restrictively, i.e. they delimit the potential referential scope of the head nouns as illustrated below.

9a. *nan-ki [laʔaag-[gi]-w-o walal-te-uun k'il-ej] Kadir-o*  
man-DEF.M money-DEF.M-EPN-ACC sibling-F DAT send-REL Kadir-COP  
'The man who sent the money to his sister is Kadir.'

As can be noted from examples in 9a the relative clause *laʔaggiwo walalte uunk'iley* 'who sends the money to his sister' modify the head noun *nanki* 'the man'. Thus, the noun in the matrix clause is relativized by the relativizer in the relative clause.

### 9.2.1.2. Object relativization

Object relativization concerns with the relativization of direct and indirect object by the respective relative clause. The relativization of the direct object is illustrated below.

10a. *[wala Kadir walal-tes-uun k'il-ej] laʔaag-o*  
thing Kadir sister-POSS.3SF -DAT send-REL money-COP  
'The thing/object that Kadir sent to his brother is the money.'

As can be noted from above examples in 10a the relative clause *wala Kadir walal-tes-uun k'il-ej* 'the thing that Kadir sent to his brother' is used to relativize the direct object *laʔaago* 'the money'. The morpheme *-ej* which is suffixed to the verb in the relative *k'il* 'send' is used as relativizer. Similarly the relativization of indirect object is exemplified below.

b. *[laʔaag-o Kadir-un k'il-ej] walalte-j-o*  
money-DEF Kadir DAT-send-REL sibling.F-EPN-COP  
'The money that Kadir sent is to his sister.'

Example in 10b the relative clause *laʔaag-o Kadir-un k'il-ej* 'the money that Kadir sent' is used to relativize the indirect object *walaltes* 'his sister'. Syntactically the relative clause occurs preceding the relativized head noun.

### 9.2.1.3. Possessor noun relativization

In Girirra, relativization of the possessor noun also operates in genitive construction. That is, the possessor noun of the genitive noun phrase is used as the head of a relative construction as exemplified below.

11a. *nan-ki [lug-e k'ibis-am-a] beerale adag-j-a*  
 man-DEF.M leg-GEN break-PASS-REL.COP farmer strong-1S-COP  
 'The man whose leg is broken is a strong farmer.'

b. *nan-ki [awu-kes j-ammud-ej] sahiib kej-o*  
 man-DEF father-POSS.3SM 3SM-die-PFV friend POSS.ISM-COP  
 'The man whose father died is my friend.'

As can be observed from examples 11a and b, the possessor noun, *nanki* 'the man' is relativized and as the result becomes the head of the relative clause. The nouns *lug* 'leg' and *awu* 'father', on the other hand, are the possessed noun that bears the genitive suffix *-e* and possessive 3SM *kes* respectively. Thus, the relative construction can indicate a possessor-possessed relationship between the two nouns.

### 9.2.2. Complement clauses

In this section, the study concerned with sentential complementation. As stated by Noonan (2007:52) complementation refers to "[...] the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate.[...], a predication can be viewed as an argument of a predicate if it functions as the subject or object of that predicate." Likewise Berk (1999:44) points out that "Linguistics [...] use the term complement to refer to any structure that is required in a predicate for grammaticality."

Complement clauses can be formally classified and discussed in terms of its extremes as finite complements and non-finite complement Payne (1997:314). Moreover in his discussion on the morphology of complement types, Noonan 2007 :( 67, 70) includes infinitive complements and nominalized complements. Each type of complement clause can be further classified and discussed in terms of its function as subject complement and object complement (cf. Payne 1997:33; Berk 1999:44, 50; Noonan 2007:52-53). In what follows, finite complement and non-finite complement will be treated in turn.

### 9.2.2.1. Finite complement clauses

In this section, finite complement that operates in Girirra and its function as subject and object, complement will be discussed and exemplified. According to Payne (1997:314) “[...] **finite complements** are like independent clauses [consists of two] characteristics: 1 they carry their own tense and aspect. 2 They express their subjects directly; subject reference is not restricted to that of the matrix clause.” This type of complement functionally further classified into finite subject complement and finite object complement.

#### 9.2.2.1.1. Finite complement functions as a subject

In this kind of clause, the complement clause functions as a subject of the matrix clause. That is, a noun complement clause is attached to the subject noun phrase in order to make it complete. Consider the following examples in which the complement clause precedes the matrix clauses and the complementizer is not overtly marked.

12a.[*Abbas min-ki ussu gal-Ø-aj*] *Kadir-o kawantof-Ø-ej*  
 Abbas-house-DEF 3SM enter-3SM-PFV Kadir-ACC angry-3SM-PFV  
 ‘That Abbas entered the house annoyed Kadir.’

In 12a *Abbas minki ussu galaj* ‘that Abbas entered the house’ is sentential subjects and and, therefore, subject complements of the verb *wantof* ‘annoy’. A noun complement clause *Abbas minka ussu galaj* is also attached to the matrix clause *Kadiro kawantofej* ‘Kadir annoyed’.

b.[*Ali-w-e dʒaadʒuus-ka America*] *warka jaaban-j-a*  
 Ali-EPN-FOC spy-DEF.M America rumour amuse-3SM-COP  
 ‘The rumour that Ali is an American spy is amusing.’

In 12b *Aliwe dʒaadʒuuska America* ‘that Ali is an American spy’ is sentential subjects and therefore subject complements of the verb *jaabanja* ‘is amusing’. A noun complement clause *Aliwedʒaadʒuuska America* ‘that Ali is an American spy’ is attached to the matrix clause *warka jaabanja* ‘the rumour is amusing’.

In both 12a and 12b examples the complements clause is morphologically unmarked or no overt complementizer element is used.

#### 9.2.2.1.2. Finite complement functions as an object

In the case of object complement, the complement clause functions as an object of the matrix clause. When subject pronoun is used as optional subject of the matrix clause the morpheme *-ina* is used as complementizer. According to Payne (1997:314) syntactically “[i]n OV languages, object complements tend to precede the matrix verb.” Similarly, in Girirra object complement precedes the verb of the matrix clause. The complement clause occurs between the subject noun and the verb of the matrix clause. That is, matrix clause is splinted into subject and verb of the matrix clause and the object complement occur between the two constituents i.e. subject and verb as illustrated below.

13a. *Abbas [tab-aj Hamid] sa-suusad-Ø-aj*  
 Abbas go-PFV Hamid FOC-remember-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Abbas remembered that Hamid went away.’

As can be noted from the constituents in 13a Hamid is the object of *suusad* ‘remember’. Thus, the constituent *tabaj Hamid* ‘that Hamid went’ is used as object complement of the matrix clause *Abbas sasuusad-aj* ‘Abbas remembered.’

b. *(ani-w-e) [ina walal-te-tes bari sa-koj-ta] garad-ø -i*  
 1S-EPN-FOC COMP sister-F-3SF.POSS tomorrow FOC-come-3SF know-3SM -IPFV  
 ‘I know that my sister will come tomorrow.’

Similarly, in 13b, *walalt-aje* ‘my sister’ is used as the object of the verb *garad* ‘know’. So that the subject complement clause *ina walalt-aje bari* ‘that my sister will come tomorrow’ is used as the subject complement of the matrix clause *aniwe garadi* ‘I know’.

c. (*ani -w -e*) [*ina ananta iskuulaka-uun k'il-aj*] *magal-Ø-aj*  
 1S-w-FOC-COMP girl school-DAT send-PFV hear-1SM-PFV  
 ‘I heard [that the girl sent to the school].’

In 13c *ananta* ‘the girl’ is used as objects of the verbs *magal* ‘hear’. So that the subject complement clause *ina ananta iskuulaka-uun k'il-aj* ‘that the girl sent to the school’ is used as the subject complement of the matrix clause *aniwe magal-aj* ‘I heard’.

### 9.2.2.2. Non-finite complement

Payne (1997:315) compares non-finite complement with finite complement and points out that “[n]on-finite complements are more tightly knit, less independent, less like a separate clause from the matrix clause than are finite complements.” He further states that in Non-finite complements, “1 the identity of the subject is highly constrained. It often must be identical to the subject of the matrix verb. 2 Tense, aspect, and mode are highly constrained or not specified at all. The complement verb is usually non-finite.” Like in finite complement in this kind of complement, a further distinction of non-finite can be made in Girirra between non-finite subject complement and non-finite object complement.

#### 9.2.2.2.1. Non-finite complement functions as a subject

When a non-finite complement functions as a subject, the complement clause tends to occur before the matrix clause. Consider the following examples.

14a. [*hungura hidaasag suubis-ni*] *samir badano-uun bahaan-ja*  
 food like that cook-VN patience a lot-DAT require-3S.COP  
 ‘To cook a meal like that requires a lot of patience.’

- b. [*aafimaad baranlee*]     *ma-fudud*  
 health     learn about     NEG-simple  
 'It is not simple to learn about health.'

As can be noted from the above examples, nonfinite complement that functions as a subject occurs before the verb in the matrix clause. In 14a, the non-finite subject complement *hungura hidaasag suubisni* 'to cook a meal like that' comes before the verb in the matrix clause i.e. *bahaan* 'require'. Likewise, in 14b the non-finite verb subject complement, *ʔaafimaad baranlee* 'to learn about health' comes before the verb in the matrix clause i.e. *fudud* 'simple'. In the above examples complements are not morphologically marked.

#### 9.2.2.2.2. Non-finite complement functions as an object

On other hand, when non-finite complement functions as an object, the position of the complement clause is flexible i.e. it comes before or after the verb in the matrix clause. Consider the following illustrations in which object complement occurs before the verb in the matrix clause.

- 15a. [*(ani) baabur-o-kej*]             *dik'-ni*] *geel-j-a*.  
 1S     car-ACC 1SM.POSS     wash-VN like-1S-COP  
 'I like washing my car.'

- b. [*(issi) luugda agrii-ni*] *geel-t-a*  
 3SF     language learn-VN like-3SF-COP  
 'She like learning language.'

The following examples illustrate situation in, which an object complement occurs after the verb in the matrix clause.

- 16a. *issi-w-e*             *wala*     *geel-t-a*             [*aafimaad*     *agrii-ni*]  
 3SF-EPN-FOC     thing     like-3SF-COP     health             learn-VN  
 'SHE like to learn about health.'

b. *ani-w-e wala sugu [wala dabaala-ni]*  
 1S-EPN-FOC thing enjoy thing swim-VN  
 ‘I enjoy swimming.’

As can be noted from example in 16a, the non-finite object complements i.e. *aafimaad agrii-ni* ‘to learn about health’ occurs after the verb in the matrix clause i.e. *geel* ‘like’. Similarly, in example 16b *wala dabaalni* ‘swimming’ occurs after the verb in the matrix clause i.e. *sugu* ‘enjoy’.

### 9.2.3. Adverbial clauses

In this subsection, we deal with adverbial clauses that operate in Girirra. As stated by (Payne 1997:316f.) adverbial clauses “[...] modify a verb phrase or a whole clause. They are not an argument of the clause. Sometimes adverbial clauses are termed “adjuncts” (as opposed to complements)”. According to the same source (1997:317) “[t]he kinds of information embodied in adverbial clauses are the same kinds of information expressed by adverbs, e.g., time, place, manner, purpose, reason, condition, etc.” Similarly, “[b]ecause of their heterogeneity, it is much easier to group adverbial clauses by semantic types rather than grammatical form (Berk 1999:277).” Thus, in the following paragraphs we will discuss some components of adverbial clauses that operate in Girira. These include conditional, concession, temporal, reason, and purpose.

#### 9.2.3.1. Conditional clause

A conditional clause is used to indicate condition in which something happened. According to Berk (1999:292) a conditional clause “[s]ets up conditions under which the terms of the matrix clause will be met.” In Girirra a conditional clause is subordinated to the main clause and introduced by the morpheme *gi* ‘if’ and the imperfective marker *-u*. The morpheme *gi* ‘if’ either precedes or follows the head noun in subordinate clause, i.e. the orders of head noun and conditional clause marker is flexible. Compare example 17a with 17b and example 18a with 18b.

17a. *gi dunkaan tab-t-u dar-o sa-gadad-Ø-i*  
 If shop go-2S-IPFV cloth-DEF FOC-buy-2S-IPFV  
 ‘If you go to the shop you will buy the clothes.’

b. *dunkaan gi sa-tab-t-u dar-o sa-gadad-Ø-i*  
 shop If FOC-go-2S-IPFV cloth-DEF FOC-buy-2S-IPFV  
 ‘If you go to the shop you will buy the cloth.’

18a. *biwu gi k’iboobad-Ø-u ani sa-waraab-Ø-i*  
 water if cold-IPFV-3S-IPFV 1S FOC-drink-1S-IPFV  
 ‘If the water is cold, I will drink.’

b. *gi biwu k’iboobad-u ani sa-waraab-Ø-i*  
 if water cold-IPFV IS FOC-drink-1S-IPFV  
 ‘If the water is cold, I will drink.’

As can be noted from the above examples 17a-b and 18a-b the position of *gi* ‘if’ in relation to the noun in the subordinate clause is free i.e. it precedes or follows the head noun. Moreover, in conditional clauses, the position of subordinate in relation to main clause is free. In other words, the order of the subordinate clause and matrix clauses are free i.e. subordinate clause can occur preceding the matrix clause or vice versa. Moreover, the imperfective marker *-i* has the form *-u* in subordinate clause. Compare example 19a with example 19b.

19a. *ussu ma-sa-koj-Ø-i gi roob-Ø-u*  
 3SM NEG-FOC-come-3SM-IPFV if rain-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘He will not come if it rains.’

b. *gi roob-Ø-u ussu ma-sa-koj-Ø-i*  
 if rain-3SM-IPFV 3SM NEG-FOC-come-IPFV  
 ‘If it rains, he will not come.’

### 9.2.3.2. Concessive conditional clause

Regarding concessive conditional clause, Payne (1997:319) states that “[m]ost languages use a subordinating morpheme like *if* in concessive conditionals, but some language use a different

morpheme than that which occurs in other types of conditionals.’ Similar to conditional clauses described in section 9.2.3.1 concessive clauses are also introduced by the morpheme *gi* ‘although’. However, in Girirra the morpheme *nagaduna* or *nagatuna* is used along with the morpheme *gi* to differentiate affirmative subordinate in concessive conditional clause. The morpheme *nagaduna* can be further analyzed in to *naga* and *-duna* to mean ‘being’ and to mark masculine copula whereas the morpheme *nagatuna* can be further analyzed in to *naga* to mean ‘being’ and *-tuna* to mark feminine copula respectively. Consider the following examples.

20a. *ussu nan bahan gi nagaduna adi gargaar-Ø-i*  
 3SM man bad although being.COP.M you help-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘Although he is a bad person, help him.’

b. *issi nan bahan gi nagatunaisiinno gargaar-Ø-i*  
 3SF person bad although being.COP.F 3SF.OBJ help-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘Although she is a bad person, help her.’

As can be noted from example 20a-b the morpheme occurs at the final position of the subordinate clause but preceding the morpheme *nagaduna* ‘being.COP.M’/*nagatuna* ‘being.COP.F’.

Similarly, morpheme *gi* as well as the morpheme *waajtu* or *waawuna* are used to differentiate negative subordinate in concessive conditional clause. The morpheme *waajtu* can be further analyzed in to *waa* and *-ytu* to mark negative and feminine gender. Likewise, the morpheme *waawuna* can be further analyzed in to *waa* and *-wuna* to mark negative and masculine gender respectively. The morpheme *gi* ‘if’ immediately follows the head noun of the subordinate in the concessive clause. Examples:

21a. *adi gi issi geel-ti waaytu gargaar k’ab-t-i*  
 2S although she love-2S-IPFV NEG.F help have-2S-IPFV  
 ‘Although (even if) you do not love her, help her.’

b. *ussu gi mannan waawuna anan mannano sa-guurs-Ø-i*  
 3SM although handsome NEG.M girl beautiful FOC-marry-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘Although he is not handsome he will marry a beautiful girl.’

As can be noted from the above examples, the morpheme *gi* ‘if’ along with the morpheme *waajtu* ‘NEG.F’ and *waawuna* ‘NEG.M’ are used to identify negative concessive conditional clause.

### 9.2.3.3. Reason and purpose clause

A reason clause/purpose clause is used to indicate reason or purpose. According to Berk (1999:200) “[a]dverbs of reason/purpose indicate why or to what purpose something occurs.” It usually answers the question why?” Payne (1997:318) points out that “[m]ost languages treat purpose and reason alike [...]” Similarly, Thompson et al. (2007:250) states that “[m]any languages use the same morphology for both purpose and reason clauses.”

This is the case also in Girirra. A reason/purpose clause is introduced by the morpheme *madeema* ‘because/since’. Examples in 22a-c illustrate a reason clause while example in 22d illustrates a purpose clause.

22a. *ussu madeema dabba roor- Ø-a dabba of-Ø-aj*  
 3SM since very run-3SM-CNV very be.tired-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Since he ran very much he got tired.’

b. *ussu madeema dabba roor-a giree of-Ø-aj.*  
 3SM since/because very run-CNV become be.tired-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Since he ran very much he became tired’.

c. *issi madeema dabba dalag-[d]-u-dante maalk’aba-t-i.*  
 3SF because very work-3SF-IPFV -well be.rich-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘She is rich because she works very well.

d. *Kdija wala been-uun feeg-t-ej hakkood idil ina-walal-te daawaasiis-ni*  
 Kadija thing lie-DAT tell-3SF-PFV that.PL all COMP-brother-POSS.3SF hurt-INF  
 ‘Kadija told those all lies to hurt her brother’

Moreover a reason clause can be introduced without any overt morphem. However, the order of the constituents helps to convey reason clause as illustrated below.

23a. *ussu nanwiin-Ø ma-sa-roor kar-i*  
 3SM man old-COP NEG-FOC-run able-IPFV  
 ‘Because he is an old man, he cannot run.’

b. *ussu nandidib-Ø ma-sa-roor kar-i*  
 3SM man sick-COP NEG-FOC-run able-IPFV  
 ‘Because he is sick, he cannot run.’

As can be noted from the above example, the copula or verb of the second clauses is used for both clauses. The first clause is not marked for copula as well as for verb.

#### 9.2.3.4. Result clause

A result clause focuses on the result of certain action. Murthy (2003:216) defines result clause as “[a] clause which is used to indicate result or consequence [...]”. Like in reason or purpose clause the morpheme *madeema* is also used to introduce result clause with the meaning ‘since/so/as a result’ the following examples illustrate the use of the morpheme *madeema* to introduce result clause.

24a. *ussu madeema dabbaj roor-a oof-Ø-aj*  
 3SM since very run-CNV tire-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Since he ran very much he got tired.’

, b. *issi madeema dabbaj hojjat-i durees-t-ow*  
 3SM because very work-IPFV rich-3SF-INCH  
 ‘She works very well as a result she becomes a rich.’

c. *eej-ki wak’ti badan kiliides madeema ani daaf-aj kob-tej-o-un-ø-ej*  
 dog-DEF.M time many alone so 1S leave-PFV shoe- POSS.ISF-ACC eat-3SM-PFV  
 ‘I left the dog alone for long time, so it ate my shoe.’

As can be seen from the above examples, the part of the clause that functions as the cause precedes the part that functions as a result. For example, in 24a the clause which functions as a cause, *ussu madeema dabbaj*, ‘since he ran very much’, precedes the clause which function as result, *oof-aj* ‘he got tired’. That is, the action of the preceding clause is resulted in the action or the events of the following clause.

### 9.2.3.5. Temporal clauses

In this subsection, temporal clauses, which are used to communicate different types of time frame, will be discussed. According to Berk (1999:278) “[...] a number of very different clause types can communicate time frame.” He further (1999:278ff.) classified this time frame into three major semantic types. These include adverbial clause of time (point or boundary), adverb of frequency, and adverb of duration. Similarly, temporal adverbial clauses are quite common in Girirra and five semantic types can be expressed by these clauses. These clauses include sequence, simultaneous, duration, time (point or boundary), and frequency. In the following paragraphs, each type of temporal clauses will be treated.

#### 9.2.3.5.1. Adverbial clause of sequence

Adverbial clause that is formed based on sequence of an action, process, or condition exists or takes place one after another. This clause is introduced by an independent morpheme such as, *hoor* ‘before’, *eedki/reek* ‘after’ and *hiid* ‘as soon as’. The morpheme *hiid* ‘as soon as’ is used to express time of reference in which something is performed immediately after one thing had happened, or another took place. This morpheme also used to mean ‘since’ and seems usually occurs at the initial position of the clause. Consider the following sentential example which illustrate the use of morpheme *hid* to mean ‘as soon as’:

25. *hiid*            *ussu*        *sa-jeeg-i*        *roor*    *koj-Ø*  
       as soon as    3SM        FOC-tell-IPFV    run    come-IPFV

‘As soon as he tells you, run and come.’

Similarly, the morpheme *reek* ‘after’ is used to express later in time or place or situation follows another in a sequence. This morpheme seems to occur at the initial positions of the clause. Consider the following examples.

26. *reek ussu inta adeer-Ø-i iyyala hunguru sa-siis-Ø-i*  
 after 3SM here arrive-3SM-IPFV children food FOC-give-1S-IPFV  
 ‘After he arrives here I will give food to children.’

The morpheme *hoor* ‘before’ indicates that a point in time, event, or situation precedes another in a sequence. This morpheme occurs at the final position of the subordinate clause precedes main clause. Consider the following example.

27. *ussu inta adeer-Ø-i kahoor iyyal-i hungur siis-i*  
 3SM here arrive-3SM-IPFV before child-PL food give-IPFV  
 ‘Before he arrives here, I will give food to children.’

#### 9.2.3.5.2. Adverbial clause of time (point or boundary)

The morphemes such as *wok’iti* ‘when’ and *hiid* ‘since’ are used to introduce an adverb of time clause. The morpheme *wok’iti* is used to ask at what time or at what point something or events happen. Example,

28. *wok’iti ussu inta adeer-Ø-i wala agar-ej-uun feeg-i*  
 when he here arrive-3SM-IPFV everything see-PFV-DAT tell-IPFV  
 ‘when he arrives here, he will tell us everything he saw,’

The morpheme *hiid* can be also used to mean ‘since’ used to express during or the time after something took place as illustrated below.

29. *hiid usso ardeeda kajile ma-agar-Ø-ej*  
 since 3SM school left NEG-see-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Since he left school, I did not see him.’

#### 9.2.3.5.3. Adverbial clause of frequency

Adverbial clause of frequency is introduced by different independent morphemes. Some of these are *eedkasta* ‘frequently/often’, *marmaro* ‘seldom/rarely’ and *sanadkasta* ‘annually’.

Syntactically, these morphemes follow the subject noun and precede the verb in the clause. Consider the following examples.

- 30a. *Abbas-e eedkasta ussu afa sa-un-i wan-o sa-dam-i*  
 Abbas-FOC frequent 3SM dinner FOC-eat-IPFV milk-ACC FOC-drink-IPFV  
 ‘Abbas drinks milk frequently when he eats dinner.’
- b. *Hayilu-w-e marmaro gi sahib-kes sa-køj-Ø-i waraab-Ø-i*  
 hayilu-EPN-FOC frequently if friend-POSS.3SM FOC-come-3SF-IPFV drink-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘Hayilu drinks alcohol rarely when his friend comes.’
- c. *Maarta-w-e sanadkasta-aj-tes si?warsad-i Karre sa-tab-t-i*  
 Martha-EPN-FOC annual mother-POSS.3SF visit-IPFV Karre FOC-go-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘Martha goes to Karre annually to visit her mother.’

#### 9.2.3.5.4. Adverbial clause of simultaneous

Adverbial clause of simultaneous is used to express events that happens or exists at the same time. This clause is introduced by independent morpheme *inti/amba* ‘while’. Syntactically, these morphemes follow the subject noun and precede the verb in the clause. Consider the following examples.

- 31a. *Kadir-e inti bod-i ku-j-al roor-i-j-al*  
 Kadir-FOC while jump-IPFV PRS.AUX-3SM-exist run-IPFV -3SM-exist  
 ‘Kair is jumping while running.’
- b. *Abbas-e inti ussu afa un-a wan-o sa-dam-Ø-i*  
 Abbas-FOC while 3SM dinner eat-CNV milk-ACC FOC-drink-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘Abbas drinks milk while he eats dinner.’

#### 9.2.3.5.5. Adverbial clause of duration

Adverbial clause of duration is used to express the duration in which a given action took place. That is, this time frame is used to express certain extended period of time. Some of the

independent morphemes used to introduce these are: *maalimeed* ‘indefinitely’, *lagabilaaba* ‘since’ and *toddobaad t’uy* ‘a few weeks’. Consider the following examples.

32a. *ani-w-e walal-tej warsadni Karre wokiti maalimeed tab-Ø-aj*  
 1S-EPN-FOC sister.POSS.1SF ask Karre time indefinite go-3SM-PFV  
 ‘I went to Karre for indefinite time to visit my sister.’

b. *lagabilaaba awu-kej j-ammud-Ø-aj ani-w-e inta-ku noolol-a.*  
 since father-POSS-1SM 3SM die-3SM-PFV 1S-EPN-FOC-LOC live-COP  
 ‘I have lived here since my father died.’

### 9.3. Converb

In this section an attempt is made to discuss converbs that operates in Girrira. Ylikoski (2003:195) quoting Haspelmath (1995a:3) defines converb as “[...] a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination. Another way of putting it is that converb are verbal adverbs, just like particles are verbal adjectives.” According to Meyer (2006: 2) “converbs are basically verbs whose function is to modify other verbs or sentences but never occur in arguments position or as attribute to a noun. Converbs are dependent verbs, they do not occur as main verb in independent clauses.” Similarly, it is possible to discuss converb in Girrira by classifying into three categories. These include converb that is used to express (1) sequence of events, (2) frequentative events, and (3) events that is performed simultaneously. There are two converb marker, namely, *-a* and *-o*, which are suffixed to the verb root. These morphemes have the function of conjoining clauses. In the usage of both morphemes, the subject of the converb and that of the main verb are the same. The converb that is used to express a sequence of actions is marked by the morpheme *-a* while both frequentative action and actions that occur at the same time are marked by the morpheme *-o*. The following converb constructions marked by the suffix-*a* illustrate sequence of events.

33a. *.ussu wokit deer bufij-a j-amuud-Ø-aj*  
 3SM time long sick-CNV 3SM-die-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Having been sick for a long time, he died.’

b. *ussu roor-a koj-a of-Ø-aj*  
 3SM run-CNV run-CNV be.tired.3SM-PFV  
 ‘Having run and come he become tired.’

c. *ussu geed gish-a-w-o baabur-ki korkee roor-Ø-ej*  
 3SM tree cut-CNV-EPN-ACC car-DEF.M on load-3SM-PFV  
 ‘Having cut a tree, he loaded it on a car.’

d. *ussu roor-a koj-a hungur-o un-Ø-aj*  
 3SM run-CNV come-CNV food-DEF eat-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He came running and ate the food.’

As can be seen from the above examples, converb clauses indicate a sequence of different verbal events and may consists of one or more than one converb.

The converb is introduced by the bound morpheme *-o* when it is used to express frequentative action. That is, the suffix *-o* is attached to the frequentative verb to introduce converb as given in the following examples.

34a. *ussu bikeri k'i-k'ibs-o Elkarre-uun tab-Ø-aj*  
 3SM glass RED-break-CNV Elkarre-DAT go-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He breaks the glass repeatedly and went to Elkarre.’

b. *ussu summi wa-waraab-o j-amuud-Ø-ej*  
 3SM poison RED- drink-CNV 3S.M-die-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He drank the poison repeatedly and died.’

c. *ussu dabba dabb-o sa-roor-Ø-ej*  
 3SM very very-CNV FOC-run-3SM-PFV  
 ‘He ran very, very much.’

The following examples of converb illustrate events that occur simultaneously.

35a. *ussu intii sa-kood-o sa-un-Ø-i*  
 3SM while FOC-talk-CNV FOC-eat-3SM-IPFV

‘He talks while he eats.’

- b. *iyyal intii sa-roor-o sa-k’osal-Ø-a-n*  
children while FOC-run-CNV FOC-lough-3-IPFV-PL  
‘The children laugh while running.’

- c. *Kadir-e intii sa-dareer-o sa-waraab-Ø-i*  
Kadir-FOC while FOC-walk-CNV FOC-drink-3SM-IPFV  
‘KADIR drinks while he walks.’

As can be noted from example 34a-c converb can occur with verbs in perfective whereas in examples 35a-c converb can occur with verbs in imperfective aspects.

#### 9.4. Serial verb construction

According to Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006:1) “[a] serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort.” In Girirra serial verb construction is possible to be used. Consider the following examples.

- 36a . *ani roor tab un koj-Ø-ej*  
IS go, run eat, come back  
I went, ran, ate, and came back.

- b. *tab roor afa-ka-w-o sa-un*  
go, run lunch-2SM.POSS-EPN -ACC FOC-eat  
‘Go, run, and eat your lunch.’

As can be seen from the examples, all the verbs that occur in sequence preceding the verb in final position of the clause stand on their own without having overt dependency relation or markers with the subject. They simply share the aspect of the verb in the final position of the clause. These verbs do not have their own overt marker of dependency relation with the subject.

Moreover, in singular imperative addressee two sequences of serial verb construction is possible without having any other overt marker of dependency relation like aspect or mood. Example:

37a. *roor tab*

run go

‘Run and go.’

b. *fadis un*

sit down eat

‘Sit down and eat.’

The above construction is possible because in second person paradigm the verb in Girirra can stand on its own without having any affixes.

## 9.5. Interrogative clauses

Like other languages, two ways of forming interrogative clause exist in Girirra. These are polar interrogative or yes/no-questions and non-polar interrogative or wh-questions). Each will be discussed below in turn.

### 9.5.1. Polar interrogatives

In this section, polar interrogatives and tag question will be discussed. Such interrogative questions typically require a yes or no answer or confirmation. Yes/no, questions are formed with interrogative morphemes. These morphemes occur at the final position of the clause. In Girirra, polar interrogative is introduced by different morphemes. These morphemes include *-a*, *-e*, *o*, *éj* and *na*. The distribution of these morphemes will be further apparent by the following subsequent paragraphs and examples.

#### 9.5.1.1. Polar interrogative in the imperfective

Polar interrogative in the imperfective aspect is marked by either the morpheme *-e* or *-a*. The distribution of these morphemes varies depending on the subject of the interrogatives. That is, second person singular and third person singular feminine take the morpheme *-e*. However, the first person (singular and plural), second and third person plural, and third person singular masculine take the marker *-a*.

Examples 38 and 39 below illustrate the use of morpheme *-e* to mark interrogative in the third person singular feminine and second person singular.

38a. *Kadija-w-e dabbo sa-suubis-t-i*

Kadija-EPN-FOC bread FOC-bake-3S.F-IPFV

‘Kadija will bake the bread.’

b. *Kadija-w-e dabbo sa-suubis-t-e*

Kadija -EPN-FOC bread FOC-bake-3SF-Q

‘Will Kadija bake the bread?’

39a. *adi walalte k’ab-t-i.*

2S sister have-2S-IPFV

‘You have a sister.’

b. *adi walalte kab-t-e*

2S sister have-2S-Q

‘Do have a sister?’

As mentioned above in all other persons (1S, 1PL, 2PL, 3PL 3SM), the interrogatives are marked by the morpheme *-a*. Consider the following examples in 40a-40b and 41a-41b.

40a. *ani sa-tab-Ø-i*

1S FOC-go-IPFV

‘I will go.’

b. *ani sa-tab-a*

1S FOC-go-Q

‘Shall I go?’

41a. *ussu gama karre sa-tab-i*

3S.M to karre FOC-go-IPFV

‘He will go to Karre.’

b. *ussu gama Karre sa-tab-a*

3S.M to KarreFOC-go-Q

‘Will he go to Karre?’

The imperfective declarative and imperfective interrogatives are compared in the following table based on the conjugation of the verb *koj* ‘come’

Table 80: The imperfective declarative and interrogative forms for the verb *koj* ‘come’

Imperfective declarative		Imperfective interrogative	
<i>ani sa-koj-Ø-i</i>	‘I will come / I come.’	<i>ani sa-koj-n-a</i>	‘Shall I come?’
<i>adi sa-koj-t-i</i>	‘You (SG) will come.’	<i>adi sa-koj-t-e</i>	‘Will you (SG) come?’
<i>ussu sa-koj-Ø-i</i>	‘He will come/ he comes.’	<i>ussu sa-koj-n-a</i>	‘Will he come?’
<i>issi sa-koj-t-i</i>	‘She will come’	<i>issi sa-koj-t-e</i>	‘Will she come?’
<i>unnu sa-koj-n-i</i>	‘We will come.’	<i>unnu sa-koj-n-a</i>	‘Shall we come?’
<i>issiin sa-koj-t-an</i>	‘You (PL) will come.’	<i>issiin sa-koj-t-an-a</i>	‘Will you (PL) come?’
<i>ussod sa-koj-Ø-an</i>	‘They will come.’	<i>ussod sa-koj-an-a</i>	‘Will they come?’

Similarly, in the progressive aspect the polar interrogative is also introduced by the morpheme *-a*. This morpheme is attached to the subject agreements (person/number/gender) that occur at the final position of the clause. Compare the following imperfective declaratives with imperfective interrogative examples in (42a-42b) with examples in (43a-43b) .

42a. *iyyal-i adare-w-o un-i ku-j-al-i-n*

children-PL maize-EPN-ACC eat-IPFV PRS.AUX -3PL-exist-EPN-PL

‘The children are eating popcorn.’

b. *iyyal-i adare-w-o un-i ku-j-al-n-a*

child-PL maize-EPN-ACC eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-3-exist-PL-Q

‘Are the children eating popcorn?’

- 43a. *Kadir Karre tab-i ku-j-al*  
 Kadir Karre go-IPFV PRS.AUX-3-exist  
 ‘Kadir is going to Karre.’
- b. *Kadir Karre tab-i ku-j-al-a*  
 Kadir Karre go-IPFV-PRS.AUX-3.exist-Q  
 ‘Is Kadir going to Karre?’

### 9.5.1.2. Negation of polar interrogative in the imperfective

The morpheme *-u*, and *-a* are used to mark imperfective aspects and negative interrogative respectively. That is, the morpheme *-u* is used to mark imperfective in 1S, 2S, 3SM, 3SF and 1PL whereas the morpheme *-a* is used to mark imperfective in 2PL and 3PL. Similarly, the morpheme *-a* which occurs at the final position of the clause is used to mark interrogative in all persons. Consider the following table for the use of each morpheme:

Table 81: Imperfective negative declarative and interrogative forms for the verb *koj* ‘come’

Imperfective negative declarative		Imperfective negative interrogative	
<i>ani ma-sa-koj-Ø-u</i>	‘I do not come.’	<i>ani ma-sa-koj-Ø-a</i>	‘Do not I come?’
<i>adi ma-sa-koj-t-u</i>	‘You do not come.’	<i>adi ma-sa-koj-t-a</i>	‘Do not you come?’
<i>ussu ma-sa-koj-Ø-u</i>	‘He does not come.’	<i>ussu ma-sa-koj-Ø-a</i>	‘Does not he come?’
<i>issi ma-sa koj-t-u</i>	‘She does not come.’	<i>issi ma-sa-koj-t-a</i>	‘Does not she come?’
<i>unnu-ma sa-koj-n-u</i>	‘We do not come.’	<i>unnu ma-sa-koj-n-a</i>	‘Do not we come?’
<i>issiin ma-sa koj-t-an</i>	‘You (PL) do not come.’	<i>issiin ma-sa- koj-Ø-t-a-n-a</i>	‘Do not you (PL) come?’
<i>ussod ma-sa- koj-Ø-an</i>	‘They do not come.’	<i>ussod ma-sa-koj-a-n-a</i>	‘Do not they come?’

As can be noted from the above table, the morpheme *-a* is suffixed to the verb root in 2PL and 3PL paradigm, is used to mark imperfective aspect whereas the morpheme *-a* occurs at the final position of the clause is used to mark interrogative.

### 9.5.1.3. Polar interrogative in the perfective

In the perfective verb form the polar interrogative marker *-a* is attached to main verb that occurs in the clause final position. Consider the following perfective declarative and perfective interrogative based on paradigms of the verb *koj* ‘come’.

Table 82: The perfective declarative and interrogative forms for the verb *koj* ‘come’

perfective declarative		perfective interrogative	
<i>ani koj-Ø-ej</i>	‘I came.’	<i>ani koj-Ø-ej-a</i>	‘Did I come?’
<i>adi koj-t-ej</i>	‘You came.’	<i>adi koj-t-ej-a</i>	‘Did you come?’
<i>ussu koj-Ø-ej</i>	‘He came.’	<i>ussu koj-Ø-ej-a</i>	‘Did he come?’
<i>issi koj-t-ej</i>	‘She came.’	<i>issi koj-t-ej-a</i>	‘Did she come?’
<i>unnu koj-n-ej</i>	‘we came.’	<i>unnu koj-n-ej-a</i>	‘Did we come?’
<i>issiin koj-t-en</i>	‘You (PL) came.’	<i>issiin koj-t-e-n-a</i>	‘Did you (PL) come?’
<i>ussood koj-Ø-en</i>	‘They came’	<i>ussod/t koj-Ø-e-n-a</i>	‘Did they come?’

### 9.5.1.4. Negation of polar interrogative in the perfective

In the negative perfective interrogative clause, the hightone on the suffix *-éj* is used to mark interrogative clause for all persons in the perfective verb form. Compare the following perfective negative declarative with perfective negative interrogative, which exemplified in Table 83.

Table 83: The perfective negative declarative and interrogative forms for the verb *koj* ‘come’.

perfective negative declarative		perfective negative interrogative	
<i>ani ma-koj-n-ej</i>	‘I did not come.’	<i>ani ma-koj-n-éj</i>	‘Didn’t I come?’
<i>adi ma-koj-n-ej</i>	‘You did not come.’	<i>adi ma-koj-n-éj</i>	‘Didn’t you come?’
<i>ussu ma-koj-n-ej</i>	‘He did not come.’	<i>ussu ma-koj-n-éj</i>	‘Didn’t he come?’
<i>issi ma-koj-n-ej</i>	‘She did not come.’	<i>issi ma-koj-n-éj</i>	‘Didn’t she come?’
<i>issin ma-koj-n-ej</i>	‘You (PL) did not come.’	<i>issin ma-koj-n-éj</i>	‘Didn’t you (PL) come?’
<i>unnu ma-koj-n-ej</i>	‘We did not come.’	<i>unnu ma-koj-n-éj</i>	‘Didn’t we come?’
<i>ussod ma-koj-n-ej</i>	‘They did not come.’	<i>ussod ma-koj-n-éj</i>	‘Didn’t they come?’

As can be noted from the above table the morpheme *-n* invariably marks negative clause in all person paradigm whereas the morpheme *éj* perfective negative interrogative.

#### 9.5.1.5. Polar interrogative in copula clause

As already discussed in 6.1, the morpheme *-no* is used to mark copula in the predicate nominal construction. Similarly, polar interrogative in copula clause is marked by the morpheme *-na*. This morpheme is suffixed to the copula marker in the predicate nominal to mark interrogative. Compare examples in (44a) with examples in (44b) and examples (45a) with examples in (45b) in the following possessive clause constructions.

44a. *hike min Ibraahin-no*  
 This house Ibrahim- COP  
 This is Ibrahim’s house.’

b. *hike min Ibraahin-no-na*  
 this house Ibrahim-COP-Q  
 ‘Is this Ibrahim’s house?’

45a. *hike awu-ki Ibraahin-no*  
This father-DEF.M Ibrahim- COP  
'This is Ibrahim's father.'

b. *hike awu-ki Ibraahin-no-na*  
this father-DEF.M Ibrahim-COP-Q  
'Is this Ibrahim's father?'

As can be observed from the above examples, possessive is not overtly marker. However the possessive relationship is expressed by means of word order. That is, in 43a-b *min Ibrahim* 'Ibrahim's house' and in 44a-b *awuki Ibrahim* 'Ibrahim's father' reveals the possessed and possessor relationship based on the word order.

In the copula clause construction, the copula interrogative is also marked by *-na* in yes/no question for all persons. Examples:

46a. *adi-w-e maɗalin-no-na*  
2S-EPN-FOC teacher-COP-Q  
'Are YOU a teacher?'

b. *adi-w-e libood-no-na*  
2S-EPN-FOC male-COP-Q  
'Are YOU a male?'

c. *issiin-w-e taajir-no-na*  
2PL-EPN-FOC rich-COP-Q  
'Are YOU (PL) rich?'

d. *ani abuurat -no-na*  
1S farmer-COP-Q  
'Am I a farmer?'

e. *ussood-e abuurat-no-na*

3PL-FOC farmer-COP-Q

‘Are THEY farmers?’

#### 9.5.1.6. Tag questions

So far, we have dealt with different ways in which Girirra form yes/no questions. In remaining part of this section, however, we briefly treat tag questions. Payne (1997:297) points out that “[a]tag questions a yes/no question consisting of a declarative clause plus a “tag” that requests confirmation or disconfirmation of the declarative clause”. That is to say, tag questions follow statements and they seek affirmation of the proposition contained in the statement. According to Berk (1999:156), a positive tag is used when a speaker seeks to confirm a negative proposition whereas a negative tag is used when a speaker wants to confirm a positive proposition. Similar to Berk(1999) remarks, tag question in Girirra is formed by repeating the verb in the negative or positive statement and suffixing interrogative morpheme *-e/a* either to the repeated verb or to the subject agreement. In the examples 47a-b, a positive tag is used to confirm a negative statement in the imperfective aspects.

47a. *ani ussood ma-sa-daw-u, daw-a*

1S 3PL.OBJ NEG-FOC-beat-IPFV beat-Q

I do not beat them, do I?

b. *adi biwu ma-sa-dabaalad-u, sa-dabaala-d-a*

2S water NEG-FOC-swim-IPFV FOC-swim-2S-Q

You do not swim, do you?

Similarly, in examples 47c-d, a positive tag is used to confirm a negative statement in the perfective aspects.

47c. *kadir biwu ma-dabaalad-aj, sa-dabaalad-Ø-áy*

Kadir water NEG-swim-PFV FOC-swim-3SM-Q.PFV

Kadir did not swim the water, did he?

47d. *adi usson ma-sa-agar-aj, sa-agar-t-áy*

2S 3SM.OBJ NEG-FOC-see-PFV FOC-see-2S-PFV

You did not see him, did you?

On the other hand, a negative tag is attached to a positive proposition for confirmation. Consider examples in 48a-d for the imperfective aspect.

48a. *kadija heggo t-al, issi ma-t-al-a*

Kadija there 3SF-exist 3SF NEG-3SF-exist-Q

Kadija is there, does not she?

b. *sa-tab nu, ma-sa-tab-n-a*

FOC-go 1PL.OBJ NEG-FOC-go-1PL-Q

'Let us go, shall not we go?'

c. *kadiji-w-e diib badan k'ab-t-i, ma-k'ab-t-a*

KADIJA-EPN-FOC problem many has-3SF-IPFV NEG-has-3SF-Q

'Kadija has many problems, hasn't she?'

d. *kadija-w-e ma-hees-i kar-t-i, sa-kar-t-a*

Kadija-EPN-FOC NEG-sing-IPFV can-3SF-IPFV FOC-can-3SF-Q

Kadija cannot sing, can she?

However, in perfective aspect the interrogative is marked by high tone as exemplified in 48e-g.

e. *ani labad-aj ma-labad-n-éj*

1S late-PFV NEG-late-1S-PFV.Q

'I was late, was not I late?'

f. *kadiji-w-e kutuub-ka k'aadan-t-aj issi ma-k'aadan-t-áy*

Kadija-EPN-FOC book-2SM.POSS take-3SF-PFV 3SF NEG-take-3SF-Q.PFV

Kadija took your book, did not she took?

g. *Kadija fak'a ma-heel-ej issi heel-t-éj*

Kadija work NEG-get-PFV 3SF get-3SF-Q.PFV

Kadija did not get the job, did she?

### 9.5.2. Non polar interrogative (Wh questions)

According to Payne (1997:299) “[q]uestions that expect a more elaborate response than simply an affirmation or disaffirmation are called question-word questions, content questions, information questions or wh-questions.” Berk (1999:154) gives a similar statement, writing that “information seeking questions, also called wh questions, always contain an information seeking word [...]”. These question words are given in Table 84.

Table 84: Question words

Question word		Meaning
<i>Mee</i>	what	non-human
<i>Meej</i>	why	reason
<i>ajjo/ajji</i>	who/whom	human, subject
<i>Into</i>	where	location
<i>hidoo/holood</i>	how	manner
<i>Meego</i>	how many	quantity
<i>Geermo</i>	when	time
<i>Halajjo</i>	whose	possessive
<i>Uggo</i>	which	generic, specific

Let us consider each question word along with their examples.

The wh question *-ajji/-ajyo* is used to express the English word ‘who/whom’. The examples 49a to 49d illustrate the interrogative *-ajji/o* ‘who’ is used to play the subject role.

49a. *-ajyo raar-tej-ku k’ifin-i ku-j-al*  
 who bed- POSS.1SF-LOC sleep-IPFV PRS.AUX-3S-exist  
 ‘Who is sleeping in my bed?’

b. *dad-ki- akkood ajjo ussood-Ø*  
 man-DEF.M those who they-COP  
 ‘Who are those men?’

c. *ajji agar-t-ej*  
 who see-F-PFV  
 ‘Who (whom) did you see?’

d. *ajji birta-tej k'aad-aj*  
 who gun-POSS-1SF take-PFV  
 'Who took my gun?'

As can be noted from the examples in (49a) present auxiliary and existential are marked by the morphemes *ku-* and *-al* respectively. In (49b), the copula is not overtly marked in Girirra text. On the other hand, in examples 50a to 50c the interrogative *ajji/o* is used to play both the subject role and object role. Examples:

50a. *ajjo issi-uun galbis-t-ej*  
 who (whom) 3SF-DAT pay-3SF-PFV  
 'Who/whom did she pay to?'

b. *ussod ajji ku baram-Ø-an*  
 they who to talk-3-PL  
 'Who (whom) did they speak to?'

c. *ussu ajji ku baram-Ø-ej*  
 whom/who to speak-3SM-PFV  
 'Whom did he speak to?'

In most cases, the non-polar interrogative *halajjo* 'whose' is used to identify the possessor of or owner of certain entities. It usually occurs at the final position of the clause. The question word *halajjo* is formed by prefixing possessive marker *hal-* to the word *ajjo* 'who'. The wh question - *ajjo* 'who' can be also used to identify the possessor of some entities. This is further illustrated in (51a-c) below.

51a. [*kutuub-jaal akkood*] *halajjo*  
 book-PL those whose  
 'Whose books are those?'

b. *baabur kaaj halajjo*

car that who

‘Whose car is that?’

c. *kutuub ajjo eergis-t-aj*

book whose borrow-2S-PFV

‘Whose book did you borrow?’

As can be noted from the above examples in (51a-b) for the imperfective verb form the copula is not overtly marked in the Giriratext. In contrary, in (51c) the perfective verb form is overtly marked in the *Girirra* text.

The interrogative word *mee* ‘why’ occurs at initial position or following subject of the clause. Let us consider the following sentential examples:

52a. *ussu mee been-uun feeg-Ø-i*

3SM why lie-DAT tell-3SM-IPFV

‘Why does he lie?’

b. *mee adi barsis-t-ej*

what 2S delay-2S-PFV

‘What delayed you?’

c. *mee un-an ussood*

what eat-3PL they

‘What did they eat?’

d. *mee un-i ku-t-al*

what eat-IPFV PRS.AUX-2P-exist

‘What are you eating?’

The non-polar interrogative *into* ‘where’ follows the subject noun in the clause. This is illustrated in the following examples below.

53a. *habar-ti into-ka koj-t-ej*  
woman-DEF.F where-ABL come-3S.F-PFV  
'Where the woman came from?'

b. *nan-ki into-ka koj-ej*  
man-DEF.M where-ABL come-PFV  
'Where the man came from?'  
'Where is the man?'

c. *iyyal-li into deel-i ku-j-al-i-n*  
children-DEF.F where play-IPFV PRS.AUX-3-exist-EPN-PL  
'Where are the children playing?'

Examples below, illustrate that the interrogative *into* 'where' occurs at the final position of the clause. In this clause, the copula is also not overtly marked. Examples:

54a. *habar-ti into*  
woman-DEF.F where  
'Where is the woman?'

b. *nan-ki into*  
man-DEF.M where  
'Where is the man?'

Question words such as *geermo* 'when' and *oggo* 'which' are widely used to form non-polar interrogative in Girirra. Questions can also be formed by using the word *meeg* 'how many'. These words occur syntactically following the subject noun in the clause. Consider examples in (55a-d) below.

55a. *issi geermo Elkarre sa-tab-t-i*  
3SF when Elkarre FOC-go-3SF-IPFV  
'When will she go to Elkarre?'

b. *adi geermo sa-koj-t-i*  
2S when FOC-come-2P-IPFV  
'When will you come?'

c. *adi oggo hunguru dabba geel-t-i*  
2S which food very like-2S-IPFV  
'Which food do you like best?'

d. *ussu oggo university tab-Ø-ej*  
3SM which university go-PFV  
'Which university did he go to?'

Regarding question words *meego* 'how many' and *holood/hidoo* 'how' look at the examples in (56a-c).

56a. *ardee meego an-koj-n-ej*  
student how many NEG-come-3PL-PFV  
'How many of the students did not come?'

b. *fak'ad hidoo dareer-i ku-t-al*  
work how go-IPFV-IPFV PRS.AUX-2S-exist  
'How is the project going on?'

c. *hidoo/holood t-al*  
how 2S-COP  
'How are you?'

## 9.6. Word order

According to Dryer(2007:61) "[...] word order refers to 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." In this regard, the basic word order in Girirra is SOV. Thus, Girirra is classified under

head initial and verb-final languages spoken in Ethiopia. That is to say, verb always occurs at the final position of simple sentences in both transitive and intransitive clauses. However, the constituent order of some phrases in this language is flexible. In what follows, we consider constituent order of nominal and verbal clauses. The word order in nominal and adjectival predicates will also be discussed.

### 9.6.1. Word order in nominal clause

In this section, word order in noun phrase, nominal clause, nominal and adjectival predicates will be treated along with their examples. The word order in noun and adjective is flexible. Compare the following examples in (57a) with (57b) and (57c) with (57d) below.

- |                                       |               |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| 57a. <i>geed deer</i><br>tree tall    | ‘tall tree’   |
| b. <i>deer geed</i><br>tall tree      | ‘tall tree’   |
| c. <i>modowu farad</i><br>black horse | ‘black horse’ |
| d. <i>farad mudowu</i><br>horse black | ‘black horse’ |

As can be noted from the above examples, the noun and noun modifier exchange their position without having any meaning difference. However, when a demonstrative pronoun is one of elements of a noun phrase, it immediately follows a noun within the phrase. Consider the following examples:

- |  |
|--|
| 58a. <i>nan kaaj</i><br>man that<br>‘that man’ |
|--|

*kitaab kaaj feen*  
book that bring  
'Bring that book.'

b. \**kaaj nan*  
\* *kaaj kitaab feen*

As can be observed from examples, the noun phrase and the structure in (58a) are grammatical while the noun phrase and the structure in (58b) are ungrammatical.

### 9.6.2. Word order in noun phrase

The basic word order within the noun phrase is head modifier. Thus, adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives follow the noun they modify, as exemplified in (59).

59a. *geed deer* 'a tall tree'  
tree tall

b. *daager t'uyi* 'a little monkey'  
monkey little

c. *dad nama* 'two persons'  
person nama

d. *ananki hikkaj/ananka hakkaj* 'this boy/that boy'  
boy this/ boy

### 9.6.3. Word order in verb phrase

Like in Maale (Azeb 2001:245), in Girirra modifiers precede the verb in the verb phrase. Consider the following examples:

60a. *kunanago siis* 'give repeatedly'  
repeatedly give

b. *kunanago fak'is* 'work repeatedly'  
repeatedly work

c. *wala badan kaadowe koj* 'take much and come'  
thing many take come

d. *wala badan kaadowe tab* 'take much and go'  
thing much take go

#### 9.6.4. Word order in verbal clause

The word order of noun phrase in relation to verb is not flexible. In other words, in simple sentence the basic word order SVO is the only option to be used in Girirra. The following examples may demonstrate this.

61a. *anan-ki-w-e* *roor-Ø-ej*  
child-DEF.M-EPN-FOC run-3SM-PFV  
'The boy runs.'

b. *ussu hungur-o un-Ø-ej*  
3SM food-DEF eat-3SM-PFV  
'He ate the food.'

However, the subject and object can alternate their order without changing the meaning of the structure. The word order SOV as well as OSV is possible to be used. Compare the following examples in (62a) with (62b) and examples in (63a) with (63b) below.

62a. *issi kitaab tf'uur ussoodo-uun diib-t-ej*  
3SF book some 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-3SF-PFV  
She gave some books to them.

b. *kitaab tfuur issi ussoodo-uun diib-t-ej*  
 book some 3SF 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-3SF-PFV  
 ‘She gave some books to them.’

63a. *dameer-ki ees-ki un-Ø-ej*  
 donkey-DEF.M grass-DEF.M eat-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The donkey grazed the grass.’

b. *ees-ki dameer-ki un-Ø-ej*  
 grass-DEF.M donkey-DEF.M eat-PFV  
 ‘The donkey grazed the grass.’

### 9.6.5. Word order in tense-less structure

In tense-less structure, the predicate occurs either at sentence final position or at sentence initial position. Compare examples in (64a) with examples in (64b) and examples in (64c) with examples in (64d) as illustration.

64a. *hat-tajhabar-ti kej-Ø*  
 DIST-S.F wife-DEF.F POSS.3SM-COP  
 ‘That is my wife.’

b. *habar-ti-kej-Ø hat-taj-Ø*  
 wife-3SF-POSSDIST-S.F-COP  
 ‘That is my wife.’

c. *hak-kaj awu-kej-Ø*  
 DIST-SM father-POSS.1SM -COP  
 ‘That is my father’

d. *awu-kejhak-kaj-Ø*  
 father-POSS.1SMDIST-3SM-COP

‘That is my father.’

As can be seen from the above examples the genitive pronoun is suffixed to the possessed noun and the word order in such construction is flexible. Similarly, word order in nominal and adjectival predicates is flexible in Girirra. That is to say, the subject and the predicate can alternate their order without meaning change. Compare the following examples in (65a-b) with examples in (66a-b) below.

65a. *ussu deer-j-a*

3SM tall-3SM-COP

‘He is tall’

b. *deer-j-a ussu*

tall-3SM-COP 3SM

‘He is tall.’

66a. *issi deer-t-a*

3SF tall-3SF-COP

‘She is tall.’

b. *deer-t-a issi*

tall-3SF-COP 3SF

‘She is tall.’

However, when we extend the above structures by adding some constituent to it, the subject and the predicate cannot alternate their order without changing meaning. Compare examples in (67a) with examples in (67b) and examples in (68a) with examples in (68b).

67a. *ussu anan-ki deer-j-a*

3SM child-DEF tall-3SM-COP

‘He is a tall boy.’

b. \**deer-y-a*      *anan-ki*    *ussu*  
tall-3SM-COP boy-DEF3SM

68a. *issi*    *anan-ti*    *deer-t-a*  
3SF child-DEF.F tall-3SF-COP  
'She is tall girl.'

b. \**deer-ta*      *anan-ti*    *issi*  
tall-3SF-COP child-DEF.F 3SF

When more constituent like noun is added to the previous structures in (65-66), as can be seen from the above adjectival predicate in (67b) and in (68b) changing of the order of subject and predicate resulted in an ungrammatical structure. In nominal predicate clauses, the predicate may also come before the subject. In other words, the order of subject and predicate can be occur alternatively without meaning change. Consider the following examples:

69a. *ussu*    *maʔalin-no*  
3SM teacher-COP  
'He is a teacher.'

b. *maʔaalin-no*    *ussu*  
teacher-COP 3SM  
'He is a teacher.'

c. *ani*    *beerale-j-o*  
1S farmer-EPN-COP  
'I am a farmer.'

d. *beeralye-j-o*    *ani*  
farmer-EPN-COP 1S  
'I am a farmer.'

### 9.6.6. Word order in hypothetical conditional clause

In Girirra, the main clause may follow the relative clause. Particularly conditional relative clauses either precede or follow the main clause as illustrated below.

70a. *gi habar-ti*      *koj-t-u*      *nan-ki*      *sa-tab-Ø-i*  
If woman-DEF.F come-3S.F-IPFV man-DEF.M FOC-go-3SM-IPFV  
'If the woman comes, the man will go.'

b. *nan-ki*      *sa-tab-Ø-i*      *gi habar-ti*      *koj-t-u*  
man-DEF.M FOC-go-3SM-IPFV if woman-DEF.F come-3SF-IPFV  
'The man will go if the woman comes.'

Likewise, the order of the subject and the predicate nominal may alternate their position without meaning change of the clause. That is, the predicate constituent can occur at the initial position of the clause without considering, its usual position of occurrence at clause final. Consider the following examples:

71a. *nan-ki*      *koj-i*      *ku-j-al*      *akke walal-kej-o*  
man-DEF.M come-IPFV PRS.AUX-3SM-exist that brother-POSS.1SM-COP  
'The man who is coming is my brother.'

b. *walal-kej-o*      *nan-ki*      *koj-i*      *ku-j-al*      *akke*  
brother-POSS.1SM-COP man-DEF.M come-IPFV PRS.AUX-3SM-exist that  
'The man who is coming is my brother.'

Nevertheless, word order change within the relative clause changes the meaning of the structure. That is to say, the doer of the action, the subject takes the position of the receiver of the action, the object, and vice versa. Look at the following illustrations.

72a. *nan-ki*      *hijaak'i*      *daw-ej*      *heed-Ø-ej*  
man-DEF.M baby beat-REL disappear-3SM-PFV

‘The man who beat a child disappeared.’

b. *hijaak’i nan-ki daw-ej heed-Ø-ej*

baby man-DEF.M beat-REL disappear-3SM-PFV

‘The child who beat the man disappeared.’

### 9.6.7. Word order in noun phrase and quantifier phrases

This section discusses information on noun phrases and measure phrases (quantifier phrases).

#### 9.6.7.1. Noun phrases

A pronoun or a noun plus its modifiers, a noun head and its modifiers, noun phrase does not have a flexible word order: both head modifier and modifier head cannot occur.

##### 9.6.7.1.1. Noun phrase with a noun

Noun can modify a noun. When a noun is used as modifiers, the head noun follows the modifier noun i.e. head final. Therefore, the order of head noun and modifier is not free. Consider the following constituent order.

73a. *weel ariin*

baby goat

‘baby goat’

b. *weel heel*

baby cattle

‘baby cow’

In the above examples, the modifier *weel* ‘baby’ expresses the head noun *ariin* ‘goat’ and *heel* ‘cattle’ and the order of constituents cannot be changed, however, generally word order in noun phrase is flexible.

##### 9.6.7.1.2. Noun phrases with adjectives as modifiers

Akin to Dime (cf. Mulugeta 2008:124) the head *noun* is modified by an adjective, the adjective takes a morphological gender marker in agreement with head noun. That is the morpheme *-ti* is

suffixed to adjective for feminine gender whereas *-ki* is suffixed to adjective for masculine gender (cf. 7.3.2 for details). Consider the following sentential examples for the word order of noun phrase with adjectives:

74a. *eej-ti t'uy-ti t-amuud-Ø*  
 dog-DEF.F small-DEF.F 3S.F-die-PFV  
 'The small (F) dog died.'

b. *eej-ki t'uy-ki-w-e j-amuud-Ø*  
 dog-DEF.M small-DEFM-EPN-FOC 3SM-die-PFV  
 'The small dog (M) died.'

c. *Kadir dar ussub gad-Ø-aj*  
 Kadir cloth new buy-3SM-PFV  
 'Kadir bought a new cloth.'

The word order is not flexible when the modifier is an adjective. In other words, exchanging the position of noun with adjectives resulted in ungrammatical structure. Compare the following examples in (75a) with (75b) and examples in (76a) with (76b):

75a. *nan deer-o sa-koj-Ø-i*  
 man tall-DEF FOC-come-3SM-IPFV  
 'The tall man will come.'

b. *\*deer-o nansa-koj-i*  
 tall-DEF man FOC-come-IPFV

76a. *eej-ki mudow-ki j-amuud-Ø*  
 dog-DEF.M black-M 3S-die-PFV  
 'The black dog (M) died.'

b. *\*mudow-ki eej-ki j-amuud-Ø*

black-DEF dog-DEF.M 3S-die-PFV

As can be seen from the above examples the modifier adjective, *deer* ‘tall’ and *mudowu* ‘black’ cannot precedes the head nouns. When the sequence of adjectives occurs in the same NP, however, the order of adjective is not restricted. That is, the sequence of adjectives can exchange their position without meaning change. These are examples.

77a. *eej-ki mudowu-ki goree-ki j-amuud-Ø*  
dog-DEF.M black-DEF.M old-DEF.M 3SM die-PFV  
‘The old black dog died’

b. *eej-ki goree-ki mudowu-ki j-amuud-Ø*  
dog-DEF.M old-DEF.M black-DEF-3SM.M die-PFV  
‘The old black dog died’

Thus, adjectives cannot occur preceding the head noun i.e. it always follows the noun head.

### 9.6.7.1.3. Noun phrase with numerals and possessive nouns

The numerals occur preceding the noun head and the modifiers in the noun phrase. Examples:

78a. *Hussen nama nan-ki mannan agar-Ø-ej*  
Hussen two man-DEF.M good see-3SM-PFV  
‘Hussen saw two handsome men.’

b. *siidi masɔuul deer-o sa-koj-Ø-ej*  
three chief tall-DEF FOC-come-3PL-PFV  
‘The three tall chiefs came’

A possessive pronoun requires different possessive pronoun affixes. It always follows the head nouns in the noun phrases. For instance, in the following examples the morpheme *-ke* ‘my’ modifies the head noun *masɔuul* ‘chief’ that precedes it.

79a. *ani masʔuul-kej agar-Ø-ej*  
IS chief- POSS.1SM see-3S-PFV  
'I saw my chief'

b. *issi masʔuul-tes agar-t-ej*  
3SF chief-POSS.3SF see-3SF-PFV  
'She saw her chief.'

#### 9.6.7.1.4. Noun phrases with demonstrative as modifiers

Demonstratives always occur following the head noun in Girirra. They are morphemes, which comprises the proximal distal marker and a third person feminine or masculine pronoun. These also agree with head noun in number and gender. Examples:

80a. *nan hik-kaj*  
man PROX.M.S  
'this man'

b. *nan hak-kaj*  
man that.M  
'that man'

c. *islaan hit-taj*  
woman PROX-F.S  
'this woman'

d. *islaan hat-taj*  
woman PROX-F.S  
'that woman'

e. *masʔuul-jaal hak-kood*  
chief-PL DIST-M.PL

‘those chiefs’

f. *nama masʔuul-ijaal hik-kood*

two chief-PL DIST-M.PL

‘These two chief’

#### 9.6.7.1.5. word order in postpositional phrase

In Girirra postpositional words follows the noun in the phrase. The order of noun and postpositional word is fixed i.e. altering the order is resulted in ungrammatical form. Compare example in 81a with 81b and examples in 81c with 81d.

81a. *miis-ki meerd-o*

table-DEF on-LOC

‘on the table’

\*b. *meerd-o miis-ki*

on-LOC table-DEF

c *geed-ki guud-o*

tree-DEF under-LOC

‘under the tree

\*d. *guud-o geed-ki*

under-LOC tree-DEF

### 9.7. Focus

In this section, some remarks are given on the focus. Binyam (2008:164) quotes Jackendoff’s (1972) definition of focus as “that information in an utterance which the speaker believes, assumes or knows that the hearer does not share with him/her.” Different languages have different means of marking focus. According to Givón (2001:234) focus in language can be achieved by means of word order morphology and intonation. For instance, in English and Germanic; Romance languages (Spanish, Italian, etc.); and Cushitic and Omotic languages focus is marked by means of intonation, word order, and morphological marking respectively (Hirut 2004:211f.).

Like in Omotic languages, such as Haro (Hirut, 2004:212) and Koorete (Binyam, 2008:176) and Cushitic languages such as Somali (Saeed, 1984) and Oromo (Dabala & Meyer, 2001) languages, focus is morphologically marked in Girirra, namely by the morphemes *-e/o* and *sa-/ha-*. The morpheme *-e/o* is usually suffixed to a noun whereas the morpheme *sa-/ha-* is prefixed to a verb to mark focus. In the following, we consider each morpheme with examples.

### 9.7.1. Focus marking with *-e/o*

The morpheme *-e* marks focus by suffixing to the noun. When the noun is ended in consonant, the morpheme *-e* is simply suffixed to the noun to mark focus. However, when the noun is ended in vowel the approximant *-w* is inserted to avoid sequence of two different vowels. That is, for example, if the noun is ended in vowel *-i* the approximant *-w-* is inserted between *-i* and *-e*. However, when the noun is ended in vowel *-a* the morpheme *-o* is suffixed to the approximant *-w-* rather than the morpheme *-e* to mark focus. Examples below, in (82a-b) illustrate suffixing of *-e* to consonant final noun.

82a. *dad-e*      *koj-Ø-ej*  
 person-FOC come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘A PERSON came.’

b. *kadir-e*      *feleej*      *koj-Ø-ej*  
 Kadir-FOC yesterday come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘KADIR came yesterday.’

c. *arin-ki reer-e koj-ej*  
 goat-DEF.M home-FOC come-PFV  
 ‘The goat came home.’

Examples in (83a-b) illustrate inserting of the approximants *-w* between noun final vowel and the focus marker *-e*.

83a. *ussu-w-e*      *feleej*      *koj-Ø-ej*  
 3SM-EPN-FOC yesterday come-3SM-PFV  
 ‘HE came yesterday.’

b. *nan-ki-w-e mammag-o iyyal-uun feeg-Ø-ej*  
 man-DEF-EPN-FOC story-DEF.ACC children-DAT tell-3SM-PFV  
 ‘THE MAN told the story to the children.’

c. *libaag-gi-w-e jireeg-aj waraaba dib-kej weel-kej dalt-aj*  
 lion-DEF-EPN-FOC say-PFV hyena bull-POSS.1SM calf-POSS.1SM give birth-PFV  
 ‘The lion said to the hyena that my bull gave a birth to a calf for me (Text I).’

Similarly, in (85a-b) illustrate suffixing of *-o* to noun ended in vowel-*a* to mark focus.

84a. *dawee-[di] hadi-nima-w-o nagad-Ø-aj*  
 jackal-DEF.F jealous-ABS-EPN-FOC become-3SF-PFV  
 ‘The jackal became jealousy.’

b. *ubbu waraaba-w-o wala agartu dabkas mee dawee-[di] yireeg-ø-ej*  
 my brother hyena-EPN-FOC thing see fire that what jackal-DEF.F say-3SM-PFV  
 ‘The hyena said to the jackal what is that fire.’

### 9.7.2. Focus marking with-*sa/ha*

The morpheme *-sa/ha* is prefixed to the verb to mark focus. The speaker uses this morpheme or prefixed to the verb, when he/she wants to focalize the verb. This morpheme is usually prefixed to the verb in the imperfective form rather than the verb in the perfective form. The morpheme *sa-* and *ha-* are used alternatively without meaning difference throughout Girirra speakers. Thus, throughout this study the morphem *sa-* is preferred to be used in marking verbal focus. Consider the following examples.

85a. *ani sa-roor-Ø-i*  
 1S FOC-run-3SM-IPFV  
 ‘I will run/ I run.’

b. *ussood sa-hees-Ø-a-n*  
 3PL FOC-sing-3-PL.IPFV.PL  
 They will be sing/they sing.’

To summarize, the chapter has dealt with the syntax of Girirra. Discussion in this chapter mainly has focused on simple clauses and different components of complex clauses, converb, serial verb construction, interrogatives, word order and focus. Under complex clauses, relative clauses, complement clauses have been discussed. Components of adverbial clauses such as conditional, concession, reason and purpose, result and temporal have been discussed. Regarding word order, word order in noun phrase, nominal clause, nominal and adjectival predicates have been treated along with their examples.

## CHAPTER TEN

### Summary

This thesis attempted to provide the description of the Girirra language, which is organized into ten chapters including this summary. The data for the study were collected from language area by consulting the native speakers of the language through elicitation supplemented by recording of texts. That is to say, elicited data and text data were recorded by digital voice recorder and employed for the analyses of the study. The first chapter deals, with the people, the language area and state of its endangerment, review of related works, the scope of the study, aim, and significance of the study and methodological issues. Regarding its level of endangerment, Girirra can be labeled as one of vulnerable or potentially endangered languages of the world. Because most of the Girirra children use, their mother tongue only at home. Moreover, there is heavy pressure from the larger language group (Somali) socially and economically which leads to the loss of child speakers. This heavy pressure inhibits the use of the language in education, administration, politics and other public functions.

The second chapter focused on the phonetic/phonology of the language. In this chapter, consonant and vowel phonemes are addressed. Contrast of the minimal pairs of the consonant and vowel are considered. To this end, a total of twenty-one consonant and five long and short vowels are attested.

In the description and distribution of the consonant phonemes, co-occurrence restrictions and cluster of consonant phonemes have been identified and discussed. Consonant cluster only occurs at word medial position but not at word initial or final position. Gemination of consonants is only permissible at word medial position.

Regarding the syllable, structure eight syllable types are attested: V, VV, CV, CVV, VVC, VC, and CVVC. Levels of syllable, which express complexity of syllable such as monosyllabic, disyllabic, tri-syllabic, and quadric-syllabic, are identified. Thus, these syllable types help to posit that the permissible syllable structure can be (C) V (V) (C). Although tone is not discussed in detail, high and low tone is identified at lexical level. Finally, different morphophonemic

processes such as assimilation, word final devoicing, and intervocalic voicing, deletion, epenthesis, and approximant insertion are discussed and exemplified. Accordingly, discussion on assimilation include, assimilation of /-ti/, /-ki/, /n/ to the root final consonant, /b/ to suffix initial morpheme, /t/ and /k/ to suffix initial morpheme, /n/ to /r/, /a/ to /u/, -ad to -ow ( (cf. 2.5.1.1-2.5.1.8.)

The third chapter deals with noun inflection and derivation of the language. Under noun morphology, noun inflection and noun derivation have been described and discussed. In noun inflection categories such as number, gender, definiteness, and case are addressed. Four number system including singular, dual, paucal, and plural are attested and explored. Singular is unmarked whereas the other number system are morphologically marked. These include plural (-*jaali*), paucal (-*ati*), and dual (-*ata/-alla*). The paucal number system is not as such common among the Cushitic languages. The Dual number system seems also only identified in Girirra as compared to other Cushitic, however, it highly limits to some nouns naturally occurs in pairs.

Likewise, gender and definiteness are marked by the same morpheme -*ki* and -*ti*. That is, the morpheme -*ki* is marks definite masculine whereas the morpheme -*ti* marks definite feminine. This means, each -*ki* and -*ti* functions as a portmanteau morpheme to mark definiteness and gender. Moreover the morpheme -*o* marks definiteness regardless gender. The morpheme -*e* also marks definiteness of the plural noun. However, in the formation of plural definite the insertion of approximant /w/ between the two front vowels is unusual (cf.3.2.3(17a-e))because the phoneme *w* is expected to be occurring before or after back vowels according to the natural processes of sounds. An attempt has been made to check the validity of the data and it was found to be correct. Thus, it requires some further investigation.

Similarly, nine categories of cases are attested and examined with their respective suffixes. These include accusative (-*o*), genitive (-*e*), dative (-*uun*), ablative (-*ka/-saga*), instrumental (-*ku*), locative (-*o/-ku*), comitative (-*la*) and allative (*gama/-ku*) and vocative (-*je/-oj -ej/-aw*) (cf.3.2.4 for the detail). The nominative case, which is common feature to Cushitic language, is unmarked in Girirra.

Different categories of noun derivation are also identified and discussed. These are treated under two categories namely noun derived from noun or adjective base and noun derived from verbal base. Noun derived from nominal base is marked by the morpheme -*nimaan/-nimo* and -*us*. That

is, the morpheme *-nimaan/-nimo* is used to mark abstract noun formed from noun base while the morpheme *-us* is used to mark abstract noun formed from adjective base. Further categories of noun derived from verbal base like agentive (*-o, -aw/-u, -toj/-tu, -soj*), verbal (*-ni*), result (*-in, tin*), action (*-ni, -tin, -sin, -afu*) and manner (*-needa*) nouns are attested (cf.3.3.2). Similarly, compound nouns, compound adjectives, and adverbial compounds are discussed.

The fourth chapter focused on the description of pronouns. This chapter has dealt with different categories of pronoun. These categories include personal pronoun, possessive, reflexive, demonstrative, and vocative pronouns. The personal pronoun is further classified into subject and object personal pronouns. Possessive pronoun indicates twelve distinct categories of pronoun with three different variant forms, are identified and discussed. Moreover, demonstrative adjective and demonstrative pronoun have been identified and discussed. Demonstratives are classified into two demonstrative indicating nearness (PROX): *hikkaj* ‘this.M’ *hittaj* ‘this.F’, *hikkod* ‘these’ and farness (DIST): *hakkaj* ‘that.M’ *hattaj* ‘that.F’ *hakkood* ‘those’. Similarly, the same forms introduce demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives: *hittaj* ‘this.F’, *hattaj* ‘that.F’, *hikkaj* ‘this.M’, *hakkaj*, and ‘that.M’ (cf.4.5).

In the fifth chapter, structure of the verb root, mood such as imperative, jussive and potential, inflection and derivation, verb and their arguments are described and discussed. Regarding the structure of the verb root, although there are a few vowel initial verb root, there is no vowel final verb root in Girirra. That is, all verb roots in Giriira ended in consonant.

Under verb inflection mood such as, imperative, jussive, and potential are addressed. Agreement, aspect, and tense are identified and discussed. The verb agreement markers person number and gender have been identified and discussed. That is, in 1S, 3SM and 3PL person is overtly unmarked. However, in predicate adjective, non-past existential copula and present progressive construction person is overtly marked by the morpheme *-j*. Similarly, in 2S, 3SF and 2PL person is marked by the morpheme *-t* while in 1PL it is marked by *-n*. Aspect is further classified into perfective (*-ej*) and imperfective *i(-)*. Imperfective further classified into non-progressive and progressive. The progressive one further classified and discussed as present progressive (*-i, ku- and... -al*) and past progressive (*-i, gir and -ej*).

In present progressive the morpheme *-al*, which occurs at word final position in 1S, 2S, 3SM, 3SF, and 1PL paradigm, occurs between the subject marker and number markers in 2PL and

3PL paradigm. As mentioned in the above discussion, like in the present progressive construction (cf. 5.2.3.1.2.2. 1.), subject is morphologically marked by the morpheme *-j* in 1S, 3SM, and 3PL paradigm that is not morphologically marked in other construction of aspects.

In the past progressive paradigm, the progressive and perfective aspect occur within the same construction. This somewhat seems odd or unusual due to the fact that the occurrence of imperfective and perfective in one construction is not supported by literature. However, it happens within the Girirra and this indicates the requirement of further investigation.

Tense occurs in combination with present and past progressive aspects as present auxiliary (*ku-*) and past auxiliary (*gir-*). In past copula, construction tense identified as *agu-w-ej* (cf. 6.4) while in past existential copula construction tense is identified as *iil-ej* (cf. 6.7).

Negations in all verb forms have been explored. The morpheme *ma-* is identified as negative in all forms except in 2S imperative which is marked by the morpheme *an-*. The morpheme *ma-* is used to mark negative in all declarative and interrogative clauses such as aspects, tense, tense-less copula, past copula, and future copula. However, the morpheme *an-* is only used to mark negative in the imperative mood. The negative marker *ma-* is prefixed to the verb in all aspects except in negative present progressive in which it occurs in the middle of present auxiliary *ku-* and subject agreement marker. Moreover, in 2PL and 3PL paradigm the subject and number markers are separated by the existential morpheme *-al* and epenthetic vowel *-i*. Since Girirra is a pro-drop language, the exchange in the order of a number marker *-n* and existential marker *-al* seems to avoid systematically the ambiguity that can be appeared between 3SM and 3PL, 2S and 2PL.

Likewise, under verb derivation the causative (*-is/isiis*), passive (*-am/-la*), reciprocal (*-isi*) and inchoative (*-ad,-ow*) markers are identified and treated. Regarding verb and their arguments transitive verb and intransitive are examined.

In chapter six, predicate nominals and copula clauses are explored. In the first part of this subsection tense-less copula clause, past copula clause and future copula clauses are discussed.

Possessive clauses: present, past and future are identified and treated. Tense-less nominal and attributive copula clauses are marked by the morphemes *-no* and *-a* respectively (cf. 6.1). The past copula is marked by the morpheme *agu-* whereas future copula clause is marked by the morphemes *nagad* 'become' (cf. 6.4-5). Similarly, the morpheme *-al* and *-iil* are identified as markers of non-past copula and past existential/locative copula clauses respectively (cf. 6. 6,

6.7). Likewise, in Girirra possessive clauses are expressed by the verb *k'ab* 'to have' while the future possessive clause is expressed by the morpheme *weld* 'will have'. The morpheme *weld* 'will have' seems that Girirra has a suppletive verb in the future construction. Similarly, past copula is expressed by the morpheme *kabu* 'have.PST' (cf.6.8-10).

Likewise, the negative tense-less, past and future copula clauses are discussed. Negative tense-less copula is introduced by the morpheme *maʔaag* 'not' and the past copula by *uni*, 'COP.PST'. Similarly, The negative future copula, negative existential and negative possessive clause are marked by the morpheme *masanagad*, 'not become', *ma-...-al* 'there is no' and *ma-k'ab* 'don't have/have no' respectively (cf.6.11.1-5)

Chapter seven deals with adjectives and its different components. Under this chapter, semantic type, adjective as modifier, adjective as head of a noun, predicate adjective, inflected and derived adjectives are identified and treated. Under semantic types of adjectives, adjectives of dimension, modifying nouns of age, color, value, physical property, human propensity, and quantity have been identified and exemplified (cf.7.1). Like in noun, the morpheme *-ki/-o* and *-ti/-e* are identified to mark masculine definite and feminine definite respectively. Similarly, the morpheme *-ki* and *-ti* are also used to mark masculine and feminine gender respectively. Reduplication also used to form plural in adjectives. The morpheme *-ley* and *-lew* are used to introduce noun or verb based adjective for masculine and feminine gender respectively. The morpheme *-ale* is also used to mark adjective regardless gender.

In chapter, eight under the title, other word class numerals, conjunction, and adverb are explored. Under numerals, cardinal and ordinal numbers are identified and discussed. Different conjunction words of Girirra are also treated. Regarding to adverb different categories such as adverb of manner, adverb of degree, adverb of time, adverb of direction, adverb of frequency, and adverb of place have been discussed.

Chapter nine, deals with the discussion of syntax. These include categories such as clauses, (relative, complement, etc.) interrogatives, word order, phrases, negations, and focus. Clauses including simple declarative and complex are treated. Under complex clause relative clause, complement clause, converb, adverbial clauses like condition, concession, reason and purpose, result, temporal are explored. Under subsection of interrogative polar and non-polar

interrogatives are discussed. Word order is treated under different subsections. These include word order in noun phrase, verb phrase, and verbal clause, tense-less structure and relative clause. Noun phrase and quantifiers phrase are also treated. Moreover focus marking morpheme *-e/-o*, and *sa-/ha-* have been identified and treated. The morpheme *-e/-o* is used to focalize noun on the subject position while *sa-/ha* is used to focalize the verbs. Likewise, the morpheme *-s* is used to focalize the object noun by suffixing to the accusative marker *-o* of the object.

At the end, appendices i.e. texts and word lists that are collected from the language area and attached to this thesis. The text part includes animal tales, tales of men, non-human and non-animal tale, proverbs, riddles, and special expression with three similar advices or statements. Similarly, the word lists part includes Girirra-English word lists and English-Girirra word lists.

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## APPENDICES

Table 85: Contents of appendices

1.Texts:	1.1. Animal tales
	1.2. Tales of men
	1.3. Non-human and non- animal tale
	1.4. Proverbs
	1.5. Riddles
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2.Word lists:	2.1.Girirra-English word lists
	2.2.English-Girirra word lists

### 1.TEXTS

#### 1.1. Animal tales

##### 1.1.1. Waraaba ijo libaag (The hyena and the lion)

The stories were told by Juwaar and Aliyyi Dabboo, June 2013, Ethiopia.

01.goo wala jiilaj waraaba ijo libaag islageer kunoolen.

goo wala jiil-aj                      waraaba ijo libaag islageer-ku      noolo-w-en  
 once thing PS.COP-PFV hyena and lion together-DAT live-EPN-PFV.3PL  
*libaage dibii waraabo k'aarti rimaanta k'aben.*  
 libaag-e dibi waraab-o k'aarti rimaanta k'ab-en  
 lion-FOC bull hyena-DEF heifer pregnant has-PFV.3PL

‘Once upon a time, a lion and a hyena lived together. The lion owned an ox, while the hyena owned a pregnant heifer, which was about to giving birth.’

02. *k'aartiwe hibeenki moroodaku daltaj.*

k'aarti-w-e hibeen-ki morooda-ku dalt-t-aj

heifer-EPN-FOC night-DEF.M pen (corral)-LOC give birth-3SF-PFV

*libaaggiwe bariiski fehaa waraabo sahuundurawo oolti k'aarti dibi kuruugej.*

libaag-ki-w-e bariis-ki fehaa waraab-o

lion-DEF.M-EPN-FOC dawn-DEF.M wake hyena-DEF

*sahuunduro oolti k'aarti dibiku ruugej*

sa-huundur-o oolti k'aarti dibi-ku ruug-ej

FOC-sleep-CNV placenta heifer ox-INS paint-PFV

*saak eedik salafaaj libaage dibikaj weello indalajo jireeg.*

saak eedik salafaaj libaag-e dibi-kaj weel-o in-dalt-aj-o jireeg

morning after woke up lion-FOC ox-1SM.POSS calf-DEF BEN-give-PFV-CNV birth say

'The heifer gave a birth to a calf in the pen during the night. While the hyena was sleeping, the lion wake up at dawn and painted the anus of an ox with placenta to make the calf his own property. After the hyena wake up, the lion said to him, 'Hey, hyena I am very happy because my ox gave birth to a calf for me.'

03. *waraabawe k'aartiwo daltaj weelkaj angamardabafto(ingarmardabaafu).*

waraaba-w-e k'aarti-w-o dalt-t-aj weel-kaj an-gamardabaft-u

hyena-EPN-FOC heifer-EPN-DEF give birth-3SF-PFV calf- POSS.1SM NEG-cheat-IPFV

THE HYENA said, 'do not cheat me, the heifer that gives a birth to a calf, is mine.'

*libaaggiwe jireegaj waraaba, dibikaj weelkej daltaj.*

libaag-ki-w-e jireeg-aj waraaba dibi-kej weel-kej dalt-aj

lion-DEF.M-EPN-FOC say-PFV hyena ox-POSS.1SM calf-1SM.POSS give birth-PFV

'THE LION continued his argument against the hyena by saying that his bull gave a birth to a calf.'

04. *horrar nagataj, milsogalaj amminti adagataj.*

horrar naga-t-aj, milsogal-aj amminti adaga-t-aj

dispute arise-3SF-PFV disagreement-PFV agreement become bitter-3SF-PFV

‘The dispute that arose over who was to be the owner of the calf become bitter.’

05. *waraabawe k’aartiwo daltaj weelkaj ingarmardabaftu goob keele uunweeraaj*

waraaba-w-e k’aarti-w-o dalt-aj weel-kaj  
hyena-EPN-FOC heifer-EPN-DEF give birth-PFV calf- POSS.1SM  
in-garmardabaft-u goob keele-uun weer-aj  
BEN-cheat-IPFV arbiter other-DAT call-PFV

Thus, the hyena became angry and said, ‘the heifer gave a birth to calf for me, however, you cheat me, the elders may come and judge us,’

06. *goob keele idil lakabadaj hoosko geedki lusoon kunkoje, uunreef lagataj.*

goob keele idil lakabad-aj hoosko geed-ki lusoon kunkoj-ej ?unreef lagat-aj  
arbiter other all additional-PFV shade tree-DEF.M gather come-PFV mole become late-PFV

‘All other additional elders were came and gathered under the shade of the tree on time except a *mole* (a kind of wise rat) to arbitrate the lion and hyena.’

07. *saraagada (salabada) wok’it lakeeli uunreef diiti sahurgufu koj-ej.*

saraagada (salabada) wok’it lakeeli uunreef diiti sahurgufu koj-ej.  
meeting when adjourn uunreef sweat in panting come-PFV  
‘Lately, when the arbitration was about to be finalized mole came in panting.’

08. *libaaggi warsadaj uunreesh sakaaj into kuko suuda?*

libaag-ki warsad-aj uunreesh sakaaj into kuko suud-a  
ion-DEF.M ask-PFV mole today where do you late-Q  
‘The lion asked the mole, ‘where do you late?’’

09. *uunreef duul k’eganaj satola libaag gireej.*

uunreef duul k’egam-aj satola libaag gire-ej  
mole earth split-REL sew libaag say-PFV

‘The mole said that he was sewing the Earth, which had been splitted.’

10. *libaag warsadaj, duulo k’egami giraa jireeg?*

libaag warsad-aj duul-o k’egami gira-a jireeg  
lion ask-PFV earth-DEF split ever-Q say

‘Then the lion got angry and said, ‘has ever been the earth splitted?’

11. *uunreef warsadaj dibiwe weel dale giraa jireeg, libaag ka roora dafaj.*

uunreef warsad-aj dibi-w-e weel dale gira-a jireeg, libaag-ka roor-a daf-aj  
mole ask-PFV ox-EPN-FOC calf give birth ever-Q say lion-ABL run-CNV escape-PFV

‘The mole asked the lion ‘Have you ever seen an ox give birth to a calf?’

’She ran away from the lion and escaped.’

### 1.1.2. Waraaba ijo dawwee (a heynna and a jackal)

01. *dawwee ijo waraaba sahibo aguwen.*

daw ijo waraaba sahibo aguw-en  
jackal and hyena friend PST.COP-PFV-PL

‘A hyena and a jackal were friends.’

02. *maalino duurku taben, wala dareeramba nama ellen agoheelen.*

maalino duur-ku tab-en wala dareer amba nama ellen ago heel-en  
one day forest-LOC go-PVF.PL thing travel while two sheep being find-PFV.PL

‘One day as they were walking in the forest each of them found a sheep.’

03. *waraabi walaheelaj eleen tik’an daweedi walaheel taj subeen laafan siink saga teegamo heeltaj.*

waraabi wala heel-ej eleen tik’an dawee-di wala heel-tej  
hyena thing find-CNV sheep fat jackal-DEF thing find-F.PFV  
subeen laafan siink san teegamo heelt-ej  
sheep thin mucus nose leak find-PFV

‘The sheep that hyena found is a fat one while the sheep that the jackal found is a skinny with lots of mucus leaks through its nose.’

04. *daweedi kabahanataj wala kufikirtaj inheel t’ik’ anki waraabe issi ku daamatu habataj.*

dawee-ti kabahanat-aj wala kufikir-taj in-heel-t’ik’an-ki  
jackal-DEF.F disappoint-PFV thing think-3SF.PFV BEN-get fat-DEF.M  
waraab-e issi ku daamatu habat-aj  
hyena-FOC she to change want-PFV

‘The jackal disappointed by the chance of A HYENA, think a bit and wanted to get the fat sheep by exchanging her sheep with hyena’s sheep.’

05. *daweedi yireejej waraaba subeenti ani heelej subaago sanku kateegamni kujal*

daweedi-ti jireejej waraaba subeenti ani heel-jej  
jackal-DEF.F say-PFV hyena sheep-DEF.F IS get-REL  
subaag-o sanku-ka teegamni-i ku-j-al  
butter-DEF nose -ABL leak-PROG PRS.AUX.3S-exist

*balka waram abbaaj daweej iga nasiib badanta inbadal/indam waraabi uunbadal/damaj.*

balka waram abbaaj daweej iga nasiib badanta in-badal waraaba-uun badal/daam-aj  
please think sister jackal than luck better BEN-change hyena-DAT exchange-PFV

‘The jackal said to hyena, ‘look my sheep is better than your sheep, the sheep that I got is a fat, butter is leaking out her nose.’ Then the hyena accepted what had been told by the jackal and they exchanged their sheep.’

06. *hanka daweedi wala tireeg roobo dawwee min haabsane holoodki bilaawen.*

hanka dawee-ti wala tireeg roobo dawwee  
now jackal-DEF.F thing F.say rain jackal  
min haabsane holood -ki bilaaw-en  
house find road-DEF.M continue-PFV.PL

‘While they were walking on the road, the jackal said that ‘now it is about to rain so we should search a house in which we live’.

07. *wala dareer amba daweedi min boboganiwo heeltaj.*

wala dareer amba dawee-ti min bo-bogani-w-o heel-taj

thing go while jackal-DEF.F house RED-hole-EPN-CNV find-F.PFV

‘While they were going on the road, the jackal got an old house with different holes.’

08. *waraabi walaxujjuun haga dareera min mallan heelaj.*

waraab-ki walat’uji-uun haga dareer-a min mallan heel-ej  
hyena-DEF little-DAT as travel-CNV house beautiful find-PFV  
‘As they were travelling for a short time, the hyena got a good house.’

09. *daweedi hasidnimawo nagataj wala tireeg ubbo warabawa*

dawee-ti hasid-nima-w-o nagat-aj wala tireeg ubbo warabawa  
jackal-DEF.F envy-ABS -EPN-CNV become -PFV thing F.say my brother hyena  
*ani minkake migii ellee minki iriida saaj dikado*  
ani min-ka-kej migii ellee min-ki irii-ti saaj dikado  
1S house-ABL- POSS.1SM for example enemy house-DEF.M door-DEF.F through come  
*into sagabeehi haankana gidaal saaj dikado iriidi sagabeehi.*

into saga beehi haankana gidaal saaj dikado irii-ti saga beehi  
where through go out again back at come door-DEF.F through go out

‘The jackal again felt jealousy by the fortune of the hyena and said to him, ‘look my house is very good, if any enemy comes to me through the front gate I can escape through the back gate, if the enemy come through the back gate I can escape through the front gate.’

10. *waraaba adiwe iriidi gi dikado meel*

waraaba adi-w-e irii-ti gi saaj dikado meel  
hyena you-EPN-FOC door-DEF.F if at stand place  
*saga beedo mak’abta minka kasta saguu jigaasi, tireeg dawee*  
saga beedo ma-k’ab-ti min-ka kasta saguu jigaasi tireeg dawee  
through exit NEG-have-F.IPFV house-POSS.2SM there in kill F.say jackal

‘Since your house do not have different gates, if the enemy come through the gate YOU do not have another exit to escape, he will kill you in your house’, the jackal said to the hyena.’

11. *abbaj daweejej iga nasib minka badanta inbadal (indam) jireeg waraaba.*

abbaj dawee-j-ej            iga    nasib min-ka            badanta in-badal            jireeg waraabo  
 brother jackal-EPN-VOC than luck house- POSS.2SM better BEN-exchange say.M hyena  
*hajje    jireega waraabo undamaj (unbadalaj).*  
 hajje jireega waraabo-uun damaj (unbadalaj)  
 okay M.say hyena-DAT exchange

The hyena said to the jackal, ‘my brother jackal, you have a good fortune, let me exchange my house with your house.’ Then they exchanged their houses.

12.*hiddi      ussood minkauun galeen walat’oj hiin dirsaw aggo hooraj*  
 hiddi      ussood min-ka-uun                      galeen walat’oj hiin dirsaw    aggo    hoor-aj  
 as soon as they    house-POSS.2SM-DAT enter    little    after torrential being rain -PFV  
*eedkas minki      waraaba meelkasta    bijo    kudiisaj/k’uk’ubaj.*  
 eedkas min-ki.M    waraaba    meelkasta    bijo-ku    diis-aj/k’uk’ub-aj  
 after    house-DEF hyena    everywhere water-LOC leak-PFV

‘As soon as, they have entered into their houses there was a torrential rain, as a result the house of hyena leaked water through its different holes.’

13.*waraabawo kukoja daweedi k’erk’erej jireeg.*  
 waraaba-w-o      kukoja-a      dawee-ti      k’erk’er-ej      jireeg  
 hyena-EPN-FOC come-CNV jackal-DEF.F fell cold-PFV say  
*wok’it waraabo minka daweedi koje, daweedi ellen k’altaj,badanta unnaj hundure girej.*  
 wok’it waraab-o    min-ka                      dawee-ti      koj-ej  
 when hyena-DEF house-POSS.2SM. jackal-DEF.F come  
 dawee-ti      ellen k’al-taj                      badanta un-aj    hundure    gir-ej  
 jackal-DEF.F sheep slaughter-F.PFV much eat-PFV sleep    PST.AUX-PFV

‘The rain made the hyena wet. Thus, the hyena went to the jackal’s house and told that he felt cold. During that time, the jackal was sleeping badly, after slaughtering the sheep and eating too much meat.’

14.*laakin    dawweedi tireegaj hiddweenlni    ani hundurne kujal shubdej.*  
 laakin      dawwee-ti      tireeg -aj    hiddo weel  
 however    jackal-DEF.F saj-PFV what do

ani hundurn-i ku-j-al ʃubd-ej  
 IS sleep-PROG PRS.AUX-1S.PRS.AUX keep quiet-PFV  
 ‘However, the jackal said, what shall we do? I am sleeping, keep quiet.’

15. *walat’uji ʃub jireegawo dok’edaj walas agaraj daluuda sadidaj.*

walaxuji ʃub jireega-w-o dok’edaj  
 after a little silence say-EPN-CNV down  
 wala agar-aj daluuda sadid-aj  
 something see-PFV sex organ bulged out-PFV  
*abbaj daweedi wala gudu danka dook’a kajaale mijoo?*  
 abbaj dawee-ti wala gudu danka dook’a kajaale mijoo  
 my sister jackal-DEF.F something red down below seen what  
*ubbu waraabawo wala agartu dabki kuk’obowi ega ʃubdej jireegej*

ubbu waraaba-w-o wala agartu dabki-ku k’obowi ega ʃubdej jireeg-ej  
 my brother hyena-EPN-DEF thing see fire-DEF.M-INS set to keep quiet say-PFV  
*waraabawe dabkiku raruugaj kutamudaj.*

waraabi-w-e dab-ki-ku raruug-aj ku-tammud-aj  
 hyena-EPN-FOC fire-DEF-INST burn-PFV 2S.OBJ-die-PFV

‘Mean while the hyena looked down, saw something in red color, and asked what it was? The jackal said, ‘set the fire to it and leave me alone to sleep.’ Then the hyena set a fire to jackal’s sex organ bulged out in red color. As the result the jackal died.’

16. *waraaba sowdi saharitaj idilba usso unnaj.*

waraab-o sow-ti sa-hari-t-aj idilba usso un-aj  
 hyena-DEF meat-DEF.F FOC-remain-3SF-PFV all him eat-PFV  
*gartiwe dawwee lagodaj*  
 garti-w-e dawwee lagod-aj.  
 plot-EPN-FOC jackal hurt-PFV

Finally, the hyena owned both the house and the left meat. Jackal’s plot against hyena hurt the jackal itself. So it was reported.

### 1.1.3. Libaaggi ijo dawweedi (The lion and the jackal)

01. *maalin hal maalinag ugaaski duurka libaaggi walo didibaj jireega k'ifadaj idili hajajaan*

maalin hal maalinag ugaas-ki duurka libaag-ki walo didibaj jireega k'ifad-aj  
upon once a time clan leader-DEF.M forest lion-DEF.M due to sick say sleep-PFV  
idili hajajaan *wala eeguwe kojan sa?iwarsadan k'iloouun k'ilaj.*

idili hajajaanwala eeguwe koj-an sa-?iwarsad-an k'iloo-uun k'il-aj

all animals thing visit come-PL FOC ask-PL message-DAT send-PFV

'Once upon a time, the king of the wild animals, the lion, became sick and sent a message to all animals in order to visit him.'

02. *eedkas kareeg iida ariin, looja, kojana warsafa gamaa gadka sagalen.*

eedkas kariig iida ariin, looja, koj-an-a warsafa gamaa gadka sagal-en

after that sheep goat, cattle come-PL-CNV visit to cave enter-PFV.PL

'Based on a message of the lion, all animals such as sheep, goat, and cattle came and entered in to the cave to visit a lion.'

03. *dawwee gadka guudo magaliin baank fadistaj.*

dawwee gadka guudo ma-galiin baank fadist-aj

jackal cave in NEG-enter outside sit-PFV

'The jackal also came to visit the lion; however, she did not enter to the cave but sat out side near the gate.'

04. *wat'ujii fadiwo fuutiwo jireegaj. dawweedi eedkas agaraj*

wat'ujii fadija-w-ofuuti-w-o jireeg-aj dawwe-ti eedkas agar-aj

little sit-EPN-CNV appear-EPN-CNV say-PFV jackal-DEF.F after see-PFV

*libaage dabbajo warantodaj idilewe eedkas sagaleen.*

libaage dabbayo warantod-aj idile-w-e eedkas sagale-en

lion very angry-PFV all-EPN-FOC after enter-PL

*inwarsadeen adiwe meej inwarsadi waajtaj? amma*

in-warsade-en adi-w-e meej in-warsadi waajtaj? amma

BEN-visit-PL you-EPN-FOC why BEN-visit leave or

*meej sagali waajtaj? jireegawo warsadaj*

meej sagali waajtaj? jireega-w-o warsad-aj

Why enter leave say-EPN-CNV ask-PFV

‘While the jackal was, sitting near the gate, the lion suddenly appeared out of the cave and asked her why she did not enter to the cave to visit him like other animals.’

05.*daweede saan seefi moog saan beede maagarni*

daweede-e saan seefi moog saan beede ma-agarn-i

jackal-FOC foot print enter except foot print return NEG-see-IPFV

*tireega luktate wala kadataj.*

tireega luk-tate wala kadat-aj

say leg-POSS-3SF thing run-PFV

‘The jackal said, ‘I could not see footprint that came out of the cave rather than entering footprint’, and run away, escaped.’

## 1.2. Tales of men

The story was told by Juwaar, June 2013, Ethiopia.

### 1.2.1. Awuki ijo ijjaalkes (The father and his children)

01.*awu hal todoba ijjaalli qabuwej.*

awu hal todoba ijjaal-ti k’ab-u-w-ej

father one seven child-DEF.F has-PST-EPN -PFV

‘A father had seven children.’

02.*hal maalina ijjaalkes sauruursa aniwe gadiul deeriwosatabej gakoja jireega.*

hal maalina ijjaal-kes sauruuris-a ani-w-e

one upon child- POSS.3SM gather-CNV IS-EPN-FOC

gadiul deeriwosatabej

land far-EPN-CNV FOC-go-PFV

*gakoja jireegaijjaali nam walbooba hal hal ul lakoja jireega amansisaj.*

gakoj-a jireega ijjaal-i nam walbooba hal hal uul lakoja jireeg-a amansis-aj

come-IPFV say child-PL each of you one-one stick bring say-CNV convince -PFV

‘Once upon a time, a father gathered his seven children and told them his plan to go far away leaving his present residence for some time. Then he convinced each of them to bring one stick.’

03. *ijjaalli tabena hal hal ul fiinen*

ijjaal-ti tab-ena hal hal ul fiin-en  
child.DEF.F go-PFV.PL one-one stick bring-PL.PFV

*eedkas k'ibisawo jireeg awu kissood ijjaalli hal hal ul k'ibsen*

eedkas k'ibisa-w-o jireeg awu-kissood ijjaal-ti hal hal ul k'ibis-en

after that break-EPN-CNV say father-POSS.3PL.M child-DEF.F one one stick break-PFV

'As per the order of their father, each child brought one stick. Then their father ordered each of them to breaks one stick. Each child broke one stick without any problem.'

04. *hannkana hal hal idiil kissoodo todoba ul lakojawo jireegej.*

hannkana hal hal idiil kissoodo todoba ul lakoja-w-o jireeg-ej  
again one one all 3PL.OBJ seven stick bring-EPN-CNV say-PFV

*haankana uluulijjaalli isku hiraan todoba kibisa wojireegan. ijjaaliwe kibs-ni*

haankana uluul ijjaal-li isku hira-an todoba k'ibisa-w-o jireeg-an

again stick child-PL togher tie-PL seven break-EPN-CNV say-PL.PFV

ijjaal-i-w-e k'ibs-ni karawaajin.

Child-PL-EPN-FOC break-VN able.NEG

'Again, he asked them to bring other seven sticks, tied together, and ordered them to break it. However, they were unable to break the seven sticks tied together.'

05. *eedkaas hido jireeg halnima wok'it ani ulwen hedaa bilaawuka.*

eedkaas hido jireeg hal-nima wok'it ani uli-w-en hedaa bilaawuka

after that how say one -ABS time 1S stick-EPN-PL.PFV as first

*agudaj uulti kaliide eelee soon k'ibis*

agu-d-aj uul-ti kaliide eelee-w-e issiin k'ibis

PST.COP-2S stick-DEF.F different enemy-EPN-FOC 2PL break

*halnima k'abtan hida todobad ulooti nan issiin karo-majaal*

hal-nima k'abt-an hida todoba uloo-ti nan issiin karo ma-j-al

one-ABS has-PL-IPFV how seven stick-DEF.F man 2PL able NEG-3SM-exist

*halnima k'abaada jireega goorsaj*

hal-nima k'abaada jireega goors-aj  
one-NMLZ have say advice-PFV

'After that, the father told them, 'if you are not united you will be broken by your enemy as the first each stick, if you united nobody can break you as seven sticks that you unable to break.' He told his children to have unity.'

The following stories were told by Esuma'el Sheek Aliyyi June 2014, Ethiopia.

### 1.2.2. 'Ananti bogor ijo siddiidi ka?ima 'The king's daughter and the three young men

*01.geero wala jiilej nan bogor ag anan dabbaj mallan/mannan k'abaj. ananti sok'sa tabtaj.*

*geero wala jiil-ej nan bogor ag anan dabbaj mallan/mannan k'ab-aj*

day thing exist-PFV man king being girl give very beautiful has-PFV

*anan-ti sok'sa tab-t-aj*

girl-DEF.F shop go 3SF-PFV

*wala agarej anan ka?ima ag anankiwe ananti geeladaj lakoodaj*

wala agar-ej anan ka?ima ag anan-ki-w-e anan-ti geelad-aj la-kood-aj  
thing see-PFV boy young being child-DEF.M-EPN-FOC girl-DEF.F love-PFV PASS-talk-PFV  
*wala jireegej walaalej kugeeladaj.*

wala jireeg-ej walal-ej ku-geelad-aj

thing say-PFV sister-VOC 2S.OBJ-love-PFV

*ananti wala tireegej inta suugoni reer inkukoj siddi isaa loomi haltu ag sak'aadi.*

Anan-ti wala tireeg-ej inta suugoni reer in-kukoj

girl-DEF.F thing say-PFV here shop home BEN-come

siddi isaa loomi hal-tu ag sa-k'aad-i

three o'clock lemon one-F with FOC-bring -IPFV

'Once upon time a king had a beautiful girl. The girl went out for shopping and a young boy who saw this beautiful girl express his love and ask her for love affair. The girl replied to his request by saying that this is the place for shopping, come to our home at three o'clock by bringing one lemon with you.'

02. *haankana nan kale agar-ej wala jireeg-ej walalej kugeeladaj.*

haankana nan kale agar-ej wala jireeg-ej walal-ej ku-geelad-aj

again man other see-PFV thing say-PFV sister-VOC 2S.OBJ love-PFV

*isiina wala tirjeeg-ej intawe suugoni reer inkukoj siddi isaa halku burtukaana sak'aadi.*

isiina wala tirjeeg-ej inta-w-e suugo-ni reer in-kukoj

3SF.also thing say-PFV here-EPN-FOC shop-VN home BEN-come

siddi isaa halku burtukaana sa-k'aad-i

three o'clock one orange FOC-bring-IPFV

'Then, after another man saw her and said that my sister I love you. She said that here is the place for shopping come to home at three o'clock by bringing an orange.'

03. *haankana nan kale agarej ananti wala jireegej wallalej kugeeladaj.*

haankana nan kale agar-ej ananti wala jireeg-ej wallaal-ej ku-geelad-aj

again man other see-PFV girl thing say-PFV sister-VOC 2S.OBJ-love-PFV

*isiina wala tireegej intawe suugoni reer inkukoj*

isiina wala tireeg-ej inta-w-e suugoni reer in-kukoj

she thing say-PFV here-EPN-FOC shop home BEN-come

*siiddisaa k'ara halko sak'aado.*

siiddi saa k'ara halko sa-k'aad-i

three o'clock watermelon one FOC-bring-IPFV

'Again, another man saw her and said my sister I love you. She said this is the place for shopping come to home at 3 o'clock with watermelon.'

04. *nanki horaadiwo koj-ej ussu loomiidi k'abu wardii k'obadaj.*

nan-ki horaadi-w-o koj-ej ussu loomii-ti k'abu wardii k'obad-aj

man-DEF.M first-EPN-CNV come-PFV he lemon-DEF.F has guard catch-PFV

'The first young man came to the girl's home holding a lemon. However, he was caught by the guard of the house.'

05. *wala lajireegej loomiidi dūunk'is. Ussu kuraafasan hal kalewo kojeburtukaan k'aabo*

wala la-jireege loomii-ti dūunk'is.

thing PASS-say lemon-DEF.F swallow

ussu kuraafas-an hal kale-w-o koj-ej burtukaan k'aab-o

he trouble-IPFV.PL one other-EPN-DEF come-PFV orange has-REL

'The guard ordered the person to swallow the lemon he brought. Meanwhile the person is troubled to swallow the lemon the second with the orange came.'

06. *wala lajireeg-ej burtukan-ki dūuk'is buurtukanki dejaa oojej gidaales dejaa k'osolaj.*

wala la-jireeg-ej burtukan-ki dūuk'is

thing PASS-say-PFV orange-DEF swallow

buurtukan-ki dejaa oojej gidaales dejaa k'osol-aj

orange-DEF.M see cry back see laugh-PFV

'The guard also caught the second person with orange and ordered him to swallow the orange. However, the person looked at the orange and cried but looking at his back, he saw the third person with watermelon and burst in laugh.'

07. *waardja-ki wala jireegej mee kuk'oosaltej? ussuna wala jireege ani burtukanno*

waardja-ki wala jireeg-ej meej ku k'oosalt-éj?

guard-DEF.M thing say-PFV why at laugh-PFV

ussuna wala jireeg-ej ani burtukan-o

3SM thing say-PFV 1S orange-DEF

*k'abe nanka k'aro k'abo dibi k'aba/igadaran.*

k'abe nan-ki k'aro k'abo dibi k'aba/igadaran

has man-DEF.M watermelon has trouble has more

'The guard asked the person why he laughed. Then the person said that I saw the young boy who brought a watermelon could be more suffer to swallow it than I can suffer to swallow an orange.'

### 1.2.3. Nan gobadijo anan ka?ima 'The old man and the young boy'

01. *nan gobad bak'al saaran holood sa dareero wala sagubehaj anan ka?ima ag ussuna bak'al*

nan gobad bak'al saaran holood sa-dareer-o

man old mule mount road FOC-travel-CNV

wala sagubehaj anan ka?ima ag ussu-na bak'al

thing mount boy young being he also mule

*k'abo feeki sadeen ananki wala jireegej ofinaj ik'aati amma kuk'aado ananjaw marataj*

k'abo feeki sa-deen anan-ki wala jireeg-ej

has chat FOC-talk boy-DEF.M thing say-PFV

ofin-aj in-k'aati amma ku-k'aad-o anan-jaw maraat-aj

tire-PFV BEN-carry or 2S.OBJ carry-REL-boy-VOC mad-PFV

*ani bak'alo k'abi adina bak'alo k'abti hido ink'aati aniina hido ku k'aadi? ananki fuboka jireegej.*

ani bak'alo k'abi adina bak'alo k'ab-i

IS mule has you.also mule has-IPFV

hido in-k'aati anina ku-k'aadi?anan-ki fuboka jireeg-ej

how BEN-carry 1S.also 1S-SBJ carry boy-DEF.M keep quiet say-PFV

'The old man and the young boy met while they were travelling on the road mounting their own mule. The young boy said, 'since we have got tired, carry me or I will carry you.' The old man replied, 'you boy! Are you mad? I have a mule, you have a mule, how you carry me, or how I carry you? What do you mean?' However, the young boy kept quiet.'

02. *gorii wala jireegej walaltaj. wala agareen nan jamuuda sala fidu*

gorii wala jireeg-ej waalant-aj wala agare-en nan jamuuda sa-la-fidu

old man thing saj-PFV mad-PFV thing see-PL man die FOC-PASS-carry

*ananki wala jireegej nankaj sala fidu noolja amma jamuudej?*

anan-ki wala jireeg-ej nan kaj sala fidu noolja amma jamuud-ej?

boy-DEF.M thing say-PFV man that carry alive or dead-PFV

*anajaw marataj nanki jamuudej masaagarta? Ananki fuboka jireegej.*

anaj-aw marataj nan-ki jamuud-ej ma-sa-agar-ta?Anan-ki fuboka jireeg-ej

boy-VOC mad man-DEF.M die -PFV NEG-FOC-see-2Q boy-DEF keep quiet say-PFV

The old man said that you were a mad. Then they saw people who carry a dead body of a person and the young boy asked, 'is that person alive or dead?' In response to this question, the old man said 'cannot you be able to see a dead person's body.' The young boy again kept quiet.

03. *haankana wala agareen beer lagafadaj balki aslaku harej ananki wala hireegej*

haankana wala agare-en ber lagafad-aj bal-ki asla kuharej anan-ki wala hireeg-ej  
again thing see-PL grain harvest-PFV leaf-DEF.M farm remain child-DEF.M thing say-DEF  
*aslaj lagafadaj amma malagafani? ananjaw marataj aslaj lagaf adaj masaagarto ananki  
fubo kajireegaj.*

aslaj la-gafad-aj amma ma-la-gafani? anan-jaw marataj aslaj  
farm PASS- harvest-PFV or NEG-PASS harvest boy-VOC mad farm  
la-gafad-aj ma-sa-agarto anan-ki fubka jireeg-aj  
PASS- harvest-PFV NEG-FOC-see child-DEF.M keep quiet say-PFV

Then they saw a harvested farm left with the reaming stalks. The young boy as usual said to the old man ‘is that farm harvested or not harvested?’ The old man said, ‘you mad boy! Can’t you see the farm has been already harvested?’ the young boy kept quiet as usual.

04. *wala ladaraj gorii reerkes. gorii wala hireegej anan waalanjaw koj*

wala la-daraj gorii reer-kes gorii wala jireeg-ej anan waalan-jaw koj  
thing PASS-arrive old man home-POSS.3SM old man thing say-PFV boy mad-VOC come  
*reerkej ku biramnej wala ka un tabi gorii reekej lagubiramej*

reer-kej kubiram-n-ej wala-ka un tab gorii reer-kej lagubiram-ej  
home-POSS.1SM stop off-PL-PFV thing-ABL eat go old man home-POSS.1SM stop off PFV  
*gorii wala jireegej ananjej maratudas wala uunwad*

gorii wala jireeg-ej anan-jej maratu das wala uunwaad  
old man thing say-PFV child-VOC.F mad that thing give him food  
*anantiwe wanno uunwadaj. Ananki ussu maraatu anagoone agartaj.*

anan-ti-w -e wan-o uunwad-aj  
child-DEF.F-EPN-FOC milk-DEF give/take -PFV  
anan-ki ussu maraatu an-agoon-ej agart-aj  
child-DEF.M S3M mad NEG-being-PFV see-PFV  
*awuke wala tireegej ananki maraatu ma?aag.*

awu-kej wala tireeg-ej anan-ki maraatu ma?aag

father-POSS.1SM thing saj-PFV child-DEF.M mad not

As they continued travelling and approaching to the old man's home, the old man asked the boy to stop off for rest or to have some foods. The boy agreed with the proposal and stopped off at the old man's home. Then the old man said to his daughter, 'give some food for that mad boy.' The girl gave milk to the boy. While she was giving the milk to the boy, she noticed that the boy is not a mad one. Then she said to her father, 'the boy that you consider as a mad is not a mad he is a normal one.'

05. *gorii wala jireegej siddi su?aal warsadaj*

gorii wala jireeg-ej siddi su?aal warsad-aj  
old man thing say-PFV three question ask-PFV

1. *ink'aad amma kuk'aado jireegej*

ink'aad amma ku-k'aado jireeg-ej  
me carry or 2S-OBJ-carry say-PFV

2. *nan kaas jamuudej amma noolija*

nan kaas jamuud-ej amma nooli-j-a  
man that die-PFV or alive-EPN-Q

3. *asla la-ga f adaj amma ma-la-ga fan-aj*

farm PASS-harvest or NEG-PASS harvest-PFV

The old man said to his daughter, 'this mad boy asked me, the following three silly questions.'

1. asking to be carried by me or to carry me while each of has our own mule,
2. asking to know whether a dead person is alive or dead, while looking at dead person's body
3. looking at harvested farm, asking to know whether the farm is harvested or not

06. *ananti wala tireegej ane uun jawaaba ananki kuseetaj. Wala tireegej ane*

ananti wala tireeg-ej ane-uun jawaaba anan-ki kusee-t-aj  
girl thing say-PFV IS.OBJ-DAT answer boy-DEF.M understand-3SF-PFV  
wala tireeg-ej ane  
thing say-PFV IS.OBJ

*su?ul feega wala awukej warsataj ananki wala jireegej in feeg wala tireegej.*

su?ul feega wala awu-kej warsataj ananki wala jireeg-ej in-feeg wala tireeg-ej

question tell thing father-POSS.1SM ask boy thing say-PFV BEN- tell thing say-PFV

1. *tahorad ink'ati amma kuk'ado infeeeki amma kufeeeki*

tahorad in-k'ati amma kuk'ado in-feeek-i amma ku-feeek-i

first BEN- carry or carry you BEN-chat-IPFV or 2S.OBJ-chat-IPFV

'Carry me or I will carry you means let us chat to each other.'

2. *nan kaaj jamuud amma noolija weelo daafaj amma madaafaj.*

nan kaaj jamuud amma noolija weelo daaf-aj amma ma-daaf-aj

man that die or alive child leave-PFV or NEG- leave -PFV

'Is this man alive or died means had the dead person children or not?'

3. *asil lagafadaj amma malagafani, lagadadaj amma malagadanaj mirakajs.*

asil la-gafad-aj amma ma-la-ga-fan-i

farm PASS- harvest-PFV or NEG-PASS-harvest-IPFV

la-gadad-aj amma ma-la-gadan-aj mira kaaj

PASS-sell-PFV or NEG-PASS-sell-PFV cereals that

'Is the farm harvested or not harvested means is the harvested yield sold?'

Then the girl said to her father, 'my father I understand it I can give answers to these three questions. 'Then she continued answering the questions,

1. Carry me or I will carry you means let us chat or talk to each other in order not to be tired.
2. Is the man dead or not dead? That is to say, had the dead person a child or not, i.e. to confirm that whether the person is replaced by his children or not.
3. is the farm harvested or not harvested means, is the harvested yield sold or not to be used for different purposes.

*ananki wala jireegej suubstaj wala haabaada agerej anan ak'il badan haanko heelej.*

anan-ki wala jireeg-ej suubis -t-aj wala haabaada ager-ej

child -DEF M thing say-PFV make-F-PFV thing search see-PFV

anan ak'il badan haanko heel-ej

girl wise much today get-PFV

*gi ani kuguursado ogoalta ananti tireegtej goola inguurso*

gi ani ku-guursado ogoal-t-a ananti tireeg-t-ej ogoal-a in-guurso

if IS 2S.OBJ marry volunteer-2S-Q girl.F `say-3SF-PFV permit-Q BEN- marry

The young boy said, ‘you gave absolutely a correct answer. I am searching for such a wise girl, are you volunteer to marry me?’ and the girl replied, ‘I am volunteer to marry you, so that they married each other.

#### **1.2.4. Nanki ijo namadi ananti ‘The young man and the two girls’**

01. *nanki guur unbahanuuwej nama hablo agaraj. ussu sahibkes kuseedaj wala jireegej.*

nan-kiguur-un bahanuuw-ej nama hablo agar-aj

nama-DEF marriage-DAT want-PFV two girl see-PFV

ussu sahib-kes kuseed-aj wala jireeg-ej

he friend POSS.3SM go near-PFV thing say-PFV

*hale mallanta hale bahanta koj inladaj.*

hale mallanta hale bahanta koj in-ladaj

one beautiful one ugly come BEN- select

*isla gireen habli kuseeden wala warsadaj habli siddi su?aal*

isla gire-en habli kuseed-en wala warsad-aj habli siddi su?aal

together PST-PL.PFV girl go near-PL thing answer-PFV girl three question

The young man saw two girls: a beautiful and an ugly one. He wants to marry one of the two girls. He went to his friend to get help in selecting one of the two girls for him. Then they decided to select for marriage the girl who is able to answer the following three questions.

02. *gaal moorodes meeja?*

gaal mooro-tes meeja?

camel pen- POSS.3SF. what

‘What is the pen of a camel?’

03. *libood gagaltes meeja?*

libood gagal-tes meeja?

male mat-POSS.3SF what

‘What is the mat of a male?’

04. *soor dibiiskes meeja?*

soor dibiis-kes meej-a

porriage dip-POSS.3SM what-Q

‘What is the dip of the porriage?’

05. *annan malanti wala tireegej*

annan malanti wala tireeg-ej

girl beautiful thing saj-PFV

*gaal morrodes oda*

gaal morro-tes oda

camel pen-POSS-3SF fence

*libood gagaltes firaafawo*

libood gagal-tes firaafa-w-o

male mat-POSS.3SF mattress-EPN-COP

*soor dibiiske suugo*

soor dibiis-ke suugo

porriage dip-POSS.3SM stew

beautiful girl said:

‘The pen of a camel is a fence.’

‘The mat of a male is mattresses

‘The dip of the porriage is a stew.’

06. *annan bahanti wala tireegej*

annan bahanti wala tireeg-ej

girl ugly thing say-PFV

*gaal morrodes liboodo*

gaal morro-tes libood -no

camel pen-POSS-3SF male-COP  
*libood gagal-tes namad-no*  
 male mat-POSS-3SF peace-COP  
*soor dibiske baahe*  
 soor dibis-ke baahe  
 Porriage dip-POSS-3SM hunger

The ugly girl said:

‘The pen of the camel is a male.’

‘The mat of the male is peace.’

‘The dip of the porriage is hunger.’

*07.annaki wala jireegej annan bahanta hak’il badani k’abti hal mannanti hak’il mak’abto*

anna -ki wala jireeg-ej annan bahan-t-a hak’il badani k’ab-t-i  
 boy-DEF.M thing say-PFV girl ugly-3SF-COP wise much has-3SF-IPFV  
 hal mannanti hak’il ma-k’abto  
 one beautiful wise NEG-has  
*hal bahanti laguursadaj*  
 hal bahan-ti la-guursad-aj  
 one ugly-3SF-IPFV PASS-marry-PFV

The boy said, ‘the ugly girl is much wiser than the beautiful one, so that I have to marry the ugly girl.’

### 1.3. Non-human and non-animal tale

The story was told by Aliyyi Dabboo, June 2013, Ethiopia.

#### 1.3.1. Bijo ijo fiiddi (The water and the stone)

*01.maalino bijo ijo fiido kooden.*

maalino bijo ijo fiido kood-en  
 one day water and stone talk-PFV.PL

*wala jireegen bijo adi-na dulko saga beede ani-na dulkon kujal*  
 wala jireeg-en bijo adi-na dulko saga beede ani -na dulko-ku-jal  
 thing say-PFV.PL water 2S-also earth ABL go out IS-also earth -LOC-3SM-exist

*meeltunkunoola hi f iisnej siifan nagane hajewo jireeg bijo.*

meel-tun kunoola hi fiisn-ej siifan nagane hajje-w-o jireeg bij-o  
place same live discuss-PFV in-laws be okay-EPN-CNV say water-DEF

‘One-day water and stone talked to each other. While they were talking to each other, the water said to stone, ‘you and I come out from the same place and both of us live in the same place, why we do not be in-laws and become relatives?’

02. *fiido bija annan warsadaj.*

fiido bija annan warsad-aj  
stone water a girl ask-PFV

‘The stone accepted the proposal of the water and quickly asked the water to marry his daughter prior to the water asks to marry his daughter.’

03. *biju wala jireeg annantejsaga ma-siisu*

biju wala jireeg annan-tej-saga ma-siis-i  
the water said child- POSS.1SF -ABL NEG-give-IPFV  
*fiidkiwe mijee inkareebatiwo jireegej.*  
fiid-ki-w-e mijee in-kareeba-ti-w-o jireeg-ej  
stone-DEF-EPN -FOC why BEN-refuse-2S -EPN-CNV say-PFV

*bijiwe wala jireeg fiid*

biji-w-e wala jireeg fiid  
water-EPN-FOC thing say stone

The water replied to the stone, ‘I do not give my daughter to you for marriage.’ The stone asked why the water refuse to give his daughter to him.

04. *wiinkawe masakoodu (masa baaram) t’uj makawiinadaj*

wiin-ka-w-e ma-sa-kood-u t’uj ma-kawiinad-aj  
big -POSS.2SM-EPN-FOC NEG-FOC-talk-IPFV little NEG-adult-PFV  
*hidaas bija jireeg annantikej adi saga masiisini*  
hidaas water jireeg annanti-kej adi-saga ma-siis -i  
because water say girl-1SM.POSS 2S-ABL NEG-FU give-IPFV

‘The water answered, ‘I do not give my daughter to you, because your adult can not speak and your young do not show any growth from time to time.’

05. *fiidki wala jireeg aniboo waalanki adi walakuwaarsadaj.*

fiid-ki wala jireeg ani-boo waalan-ki adi wala ku-waarsad-aj  
stone-DEF.M thing say IS be mad-DEF.M you thing 2S.OBJ-ask-PFV  
*sabatiwe adi dogon ag bareegi ank’abine*  
sabatiwe adi dogon ag bareegi an-k’abin -ej  
because you foolish being destination NEG has-PFV  
*meel ansadikani siskarooru ane hortaba baaƿaj kaanaan kuwarsadaj.*  
meel an-sadikani karooru ane hortaba baaƿ-aj anaan-ka ku-warsad-aj  
place NEG-stand run me at the beginning mistake-PFV girl- POSS.2SM 2S.OBJ ask-PFV  
‘The stone got angry and said ‘at the beginning I am mistaken to ask a daughter of a fool person who always falls from high to low and always makes endless journey.’ Thus, their discussion ends with disagreement.’

#### 1.4. Proverbs

The proverbs were told by Ugaas Usmaan Faara, Yisak Mohammed and Aliyyi Dabboo and by Esma’el Sheek Huseen on June 2013 and June 2014, Ethiopia.

1. *aafka fubar guntuuta tusbar*  
aaf-ka fubar guntuu -ta tusbar  
mouth-POSS-2SM whisper anus-POSS-2SF fart slow  
‘Chat with your mouth slowly, fart with your anus slowly’ (i.e. chat and fart slowly)
2. *nan roor koja riid musulgu kudurtuu*  
nan roor koja riid musulgu kudurtuu  
man run come push do not trip  
Do not trip someone by pushing while he is running.
3. *bija dareero bija fadijo hafeefa*  
bija dareer-o bija fadij-o hafeefa  
water run-REL water sit-REL arise  
‘The running water arise the stagnant water.’

4. *ani feelaj faagaj lukteen kalidadaj*  
 ani feelaj faag-aj luk-te-en kalidad-aj  
 1S yesterday talk-PFV leg-3SM.POSS-PL different-PFV  
 ‘What I talked yesterday (did in the past) makes your legs (opinion) different’

5. *dad geelato laakin anamante*  
 dad geelato laakin an-amante  
 man love but NEG-believe  
 ‘Love a person but do not believe him/her.’

6. *hellidaj hidaa uuntaalo gafidaj uuntaal*  
*hellidaj hidaa uuntaalo gafidaj-uun t-al*  
 success as present failure-DAT-3SF-present/exist  
 ‘As there is success, there is failure.’

7. *hellej taree anboontu*  
 hellej taree an- boontu  
 get fell NEG boast  
 ‘Do not fell boasting about your success.’

8. *bahadaj bahaadaj taree bakti uluun uni*  
 bahadaj bahaadaj taree bakti uluun un-i  
 hungry hungry feel carrion do not eat-IPFV  
 ‘Do not eat carrion no matter how you feel hungry.’

9. *finbir kal laag ag aafkakeen kali*  
 finbir kal laag ag aaf-ka-ke-en kal-i  
 bird different river being mouth -ABL-POSS.3PL different-IPFV

‘The languages of birds from different river are different (i.e. people are different depending on residence area).’

10. *nan dab anagarnej dab hugu deel*  
 nan dab an-agarn-ej dab hugu deel

man fire NEG-see-PFV fire with play

‘A person who did not see fire plays with fire.’

11. *baakajlew mee issiun k’erk’erti warsadaj lajireeg*

baakaj-lew mee issi-uun k’erk’er-t-i warsad-aj la-jireeg

rabbit -VOC why -3SF-DAT shiver-3SF-IPFV ask-PFV PASS-say

*roobka hoorej maʔaag kasadareeru anisuun k’erk’eri*

roob-ki hoor-ej maʔaag kasadareeru ani-suun k’erk’er-Ø-i

rain-DEF.M rain-PFV not come 1S-DAT shiver -1S-IPFV

Someone asked the rabbit why she is shivering. The rabbit answered that ‘I am not shivering for the rain that has been already rained but for the coming rain.’

12. *nan miirko dereere miirko eree ajjo saturugti*

nan miirko dereere miirko eree ajjo sa-turug-t-i

man slowly go slowly thorn who FOC-prick-3SF-IPFV

‘The thorn slowly pricks a man who walks slowly.’

13. *suubida badataj sabji saga welti*

suubida badataj sabji saga wel-t-i

generous much child someone/somebody make-3SF-IPFV

‘Too much generous makes someone/somebody a child.’

14. *libood libood karoorej into saroori*

libood libood-ka roor-ej into sa-roor-i

male male-ABLrun-PFV where FOC-run-IPFV

‘What is the destination of a male who runs away from a male?’ (i.e. the male should be with the male in protecting their land from any external enemy)

15. *annan aroorsku kudibtaj irir kumawedini*

annan aroorsku kudibt-aj irir ku-ma-wedin-i

girl bride trouble-REL grey hair 2S.OBJ-NEG-reach-IPFV

'The girl who creates trouble during her bride never permits you to reach an old age.'

16. *mattan kalgeelis barkata iskaad karwaajite*

mattan kalgeelis barkata iskaad kar-waajite

twins opposite pillow marry can-NEG

'Twins pillowed each other cannot marry each other.'

17. *gale gaal untaj iskees saabate*

gale gaal unt-aj is-kes sa-abaat-i

camel camel eat-PFV self him FOC-cry-IPFV

'A camel that ate a camel cries by himself.'

18. *dawweewe wala tireeg fibeelo ijjaalka murood korkorej*

dawwee-w-e wala tireeg fibeelo ijjaal-ka murood kor-kor-ej

jackal -EPN-FOC say leopard children -2SM.POSS elephant RED-tread-PFV

*fibeelwe murood ma?aag ariino korkorej*

fibeel-w-e murood ma?aag ariin-no kor-kor -ej

leopard-EPN-FOC elephant not goat-COP RED-tread-PFV

A jackal told leopard that an elephant trodden his children repeatedly, the leopard replied that not the elephant who trodden his children but the goat.

19. *libaago lafku dakite haado uunweere eegabeesa*

libaago laf-ku dakite haado-uun weere eega beesa

lion bone-INS block bird-DAT call remove out

*handalajo kabeese wala siis jireegjo libaage*

handalajo-ka beese wala siis jireegj-o libaage

stork-ABL remove thing give say-CNV lion

*walajireeg walaaf kegala kabaheej adi moog majaale darer*

wala jireeg wala ?af kegala kabaheej adi moog ma-jaale dareer

thing say thing mouth enter go out you except NEG-exist go ahead

The throat of a lion is blocked by a bone. Then birds are invited to remove the bone out from lion's throat. Of birds, stork manages to remove the bone from lion's throat. Thus, the lion said, to stork 'apart from you nobody enters into my mouth and goes out of my mouth without any problem, you can go ahead now.'

20. *beerale wok'it beer ade mamarkane maanal uundagale*

beerale wok'it beer ade ma-markane maanal uundagal-e  
farmer time farm mother NEG-bury attention give-PFV

During the farming, the farmer does not give attention even to the burial of his mother.

21. *allaa koj oode mareebne*

allaa koj oode ma-reebne  
God come fence NEG-obstruct

'If God comes, no fence obstructs him/ nothing obstructs God from what he wants to do.'

22. *wala uurka kujalwo errab sabeedej*

walaur-ki-ku j-al-w-o errab sa-beed-ej  
something stomach(mind)-DEF.M-LOC 3SM-exist-EPN-CNV tongue FOC-go out-PFV

'Something exist in the mind go out or displayed by tongue.'

23. *habar muri uun talestaj muurgo uun tal*

habar muri-uun tales-taj muurgo-uun t-al  
woman old-DAT administer-F.PFV demolish-DAT 3SF-exist

'The house administered by an old woman finally demolishes.'

24. *ulfajite kulaataj farrirke adinka an?eebsatu*

ulfajite kulaat-aj farrirke adin-ka an-?eebsatu  
stick finish-PFV broken your-2S.M.POSS NEG-fear

'Do not afraid the stick that has been already broken in to pieces on your body.'

25. *laalu miira maj ane laamsadaj*

laalu miira maj ane laamsad-aj  
a kind of tree fruit sweet 1S.OBJ collect-REL

*Laabo luguun deero ane habsadaj*

Laabo luguun deero ane habsad-aj  
proper name neck tall 1S.OBJ want-REL

The one who collects sweet fruit is I; the one who wants Laabo, a man with tall neck is I.  
(i.e. I am the woman, who collects a sweet fruit and who wants Laabo)

26. *k'alaalk'al badisu balke dodobajajk'albi č'uriiskes didaj lakoodaj*

k'alaalk'al badisu balke dō-dōbaj-aj k'albi č'uriis-kes didaj lakood-aj  
sit on foot coffee tree leaf RED-small-PFV mind small-POSS.3SM near sit-PFV

A weak person (in thinking) sat on his foot near a coffee tree with small leaves.

27. *libaago laagadaka weerereer Kare nimtaku heer*

libaag-o laagada-ka weere reer Kare nimta-ku heere  
lion-DEF river-ABL roar family Kare mat-LOC defecate

'The Kare family defecated on the mat as the result of a lion's roar from the river.'

28. *wala hanti k'abate huruubti k'abtej*

wala hanti k'abat-ej huruubti k'abt-ej  
thing container has-REL lid has-PFV

'One who had a container had a lid.'

29. *nan fanta anka reebni fan dalte masaka reebtu*

nan fanta an-ka reebni fan dalte ma-sa-ka reeb-tu  
man finger NEG-ABL defend five descendants NEG-FOC-ABL defend-F.IPFV

'If a finger cannot defend a man, five descendants can not defend him.'

30. *riid banke uunbeedo waraabo sala beeha*

riid banke uunbeedo waraabo sala beeha  
goat outside go out hyena be treated go out

‘A goat went out of the house will be treated by a hyena.’

31. *asla bahan ijo islaanti bahan muluguun ?ug*  
*asla bahan ijo islaan-ti bahan mulug-uun ?ug*  
farm bad and wife.F bad nobody-DAT know

‘Nobody understands for you, the consequence of bad wife and bad farm.’

32. *nan dabku gubadajo dabsaga reeba*  
*nan dab-ku gubada-j-o dab saga reeba*  
man fire-INST burn-EPN-REL fire from protect

‘A man, who exposed to fire damage, can protect a man from fire.’

33. *libaag nan angaranejwo riisaga difedaj*  
*libaag nan an-garadej-w-o rii-saga difed-aj*  
lion man NEG-know-EPN-REL goat-ABL help to escape-PFV

‘A man who does not know a lion could help a goat to escape from a lion.’

34. *kaade badane daduun gegal badis*  
*kaade badane dad-uun gegal badis*  
urine much person-DAT mat many

‘Many mats are required for a person with much urine.’

35. *been musulgu daarado daweeru wala musulgu gadaro*  
*been musulgu daarado daweeru wala musulgu gadaro*  
lie do not swear begger thing do not add

‘Do not swear by lie; do not increase the number of beggars’

36. *bilaan ijo daggi t’ujis mak’aban*  
*bilaan ijo dag-ki t’ujis ma-k’ab-an*  
woman and snake-DEF.M little NEG-has-PL.IPFV

‘There is no immature female person and snake’ (i.e. a little female person can do what a mature female person do; similarly, a little snake can do what a big snake can do)

37. *nanki hunduri sedes dibi daltaj*

nan-ki hunduri see? dibi dalt-aj

man-DEF.M sleep cow bull give birth-PFV

‘Cow that belongs to a person who sleeps always gave birth to a bull’ (i.e. a lazy person is forced to live in poverty)

38. *islaan bahan ijo ifaaji sala dedegsi*

islaan bahan ijo ifaaji sala de -degisi

wife bad and two o'clock pray treat RED-quick

‘Treat a bad wife and a two o'clock pray quickly’ (i.e. act on time to handle something properly)

### 1.5. Riddles

1. *wala deer naas ariin ma-heleeln-i→holood*

thing tall breast goat NEG-reach-PRS

‘To what extent it becomes long, it cannot be long enough to reach goat’s breast.’ →road

2. *nama madi (nan) kombar-ku sugu fadid-o salaam iniis ladeerni→gas*

two man chair-LOC same sit-REL greet exchange reach

‘Two men who sit on the same chair cannot exchange greeting.’ →horn

3. *wala aadi sugu ilaatu weel-ki sugu jigaas-u→k'awe ijo rasaaso*

thing mother DAT see child-DEF DAT kill-IPFV

‘The mother looks at you the child kills you.’ A gun with its bullet

4. *wala dinaa saga rimuu ?afka saga dalo →k'awe ijo rasaaso*

something side-DAT get pregnant mouth by give birth

‘Something gets pregnant on the side of the body but give birth by its mouth.’ →a gun with its bullets

5. *gunid maj geedi labeebi →naf*

knot sweet tree climb

‘Climb the tree with sweet knot’ →soul

6. *siddi il meelto saga behaan hale majta, hale hereerta, hale danaawuta*

three-source place from goes out one sweet, one bitter, one sour

What is the source of three things: sweet, bitter and sour? The source of the three things is the word *il* ‘source’ represents the word *made* ‘head’.

What represent these three things? These three things are the words *maj* ‘sweet’, *hereerki* ‘bitter’ and *danaawuki* ‘sour’. Thus, the words *maj* ‘sweet’, *hereerki* ‘bitter’ and *danaawuki* ‘sour’ are represented by *anč’ufo* ‘saliva’, *dukajjo* ‘ear wax’ and *ilmo* ‘tear’ respectively.

### 1.6. Special expression with three similar advices or statements

1. *siddi sidde sagaarebti*

siddi sidde sa-gaareb-t-i

three three FOC-control-3SF-IPFV

‘Three things or entities will be controlled.’

a. *libooddi higi sagareebeti*

libood-ki higi sa-gareebe-t-i

male-DEF.M law FOC-control-3SF-IPFV

‘Law controls male.’

b. *bilaan jeeko sagareebeti*

bilaan jeeko sa-gareebe-t-i

woman chat FOC-control-3SF-IPFV

‘Chatting controls woman.’

c. *bahaanus wala mannano sagareebeti*

bahaan-us wala mannano sa-gareebe-t-i

bad-NMLZ thing good FOC-control-3SF-IPFV

‘Goodness controls badness’.

2. *siddi siddi anʔeebsatu*

*siddi siddi an-ʔeebsa-t-u*

three three NEG-compare-3SF-IPFV

‘Do not compare/equate three things.’

a. *Ilaahi ilaahi nan kale anʔeebsatu*

*Ilaahi ilaahi nan kale an-ʔeebsa-t-u*

God God man other NEG-compare-3SF-IPFV

‘Donot compare God with anybody/anything.’

b. *maʔaalin ardeej anʔeebsatu*

*maʔaalin ardeej an-ʔeebsa-t-u*

teacher student NEG-compare-3SF-IPFV

‘Do not compare teacher with student.’

c. *nan mannan dogoon anʔeebsatu*

*nan mannan dogoon an-ʔeebsa-t-u*

man clever foolish NEG-compare-3SF-IPFV

‘Do not compare a fool with a wise person.’

3. *siddi siddi lagooʔu*

three three remember

‘Remember three things.’

a. *iyjaalaka walabarafa lagooʔu*

*iyjaala-ka wala barafa la-gooʔ-u*

children- POSS.2SM thing education PASS-remember-IPFV

‘Be remembering to help children in education.’

b. *naaftata salad lagooʔu*

*naaf-tata salad la-gooʔ-u*

soul- POSS-3SF pray PASS-remember-IPFV

‘Be remembering to pray for your soul.’

*c.waliidkaka samafal lagoo?u*

*waliid-kaka sa-mafal lagoo?u*

parent- POSS.3SM FOC-help remember

‘Do not forget helping your parents.’

4. *siddi siddi anka deerstu*

*siddi siddi an-ka deers-t-u*

three-three NEG-ABL distance-3SF-IPFV

‘Do not distance three things from something.’

a. *ijjaal aadtisoodka andeeristu*

*ijjaal aad-tisood-ka an-deeris-t-u*

children mother- POSS.3PL.F-ABL NEG-distance -3SF-IPFV

‘Do not distance children from their mother.’

b. *faahinaka libood andeerstu*

*faahina-ka libood an-deers-t-u*

tea-ABL male NEG-distance-3SF-IPFV

‘Do not distance a male from tea.’

c. *masaajka salad andeerstu*

*masaaj-ka salad an-deers-t-u*

mosque -ABL pray NEG-distance-IPFV-IPFV

‘Do not distance your pray from mosque’

(i.e. Do not pray to God out of mosque)

5. *siddi masagulgulu*

*siddi ma-sa-gulgulu*

three NEG-FOC-be scared

‘Three things are not scared.’

- a. *geesi masagulguluu*  
*geesi ma-sa-gulguluu*  
 brave NEG-FOC be scared  
 ‘A brave does not afraid anything/ anybody.’
- b. *k’ara masagulgulu*  
*k’ara ma-sa-gulgulu*  
 ‘wise NEG-FOC be scared.’  
 ‘A Wise person does not afraid anything or anybody.’
- c. *libaag masagulgulu*  
*libaag ma-sa-gulgul-u*  
 lion NEG-FOC-be scared  
 ‘A lion does not afraid anything/anybody.’
6. *siddi siddi masaga daragtu*  
*siddi siddi ma-saga darag-t-u*  
 three three NEG-by satisfy-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘Three do not satisfied by three.’
- a. *ilej agarati masaga daragtu*  
*ilej agarati ma-saga darag-t-u*  
 eye see NEG by satisfy-3SF-IPFV  
 ‘Eye does not satisfied by looking at everything.’
- b. *dulee bijo saga madarago*  
*dulee bij-o saga ma-darago*  
 lafa water-DEF by NEG-satisfy  
 ‘The land does not satisfied by taking in water.’
- c. *bilaane libood saga madaragtu*  
*bilaane libood saga ma-daragtu*  
 female male by NEG-satisfy  
 ‘Woman does not satisfied by male.’

## 2. Word list

### 2.1. Girirra-English word list

Items in the Girirra-English glossary are arranged according to the following alphabetic order: a, b, ɸ, d, e, f, g, h, ʔ, i, dʒ, k, k', l, m, n, ɲ, o, r, s, ʃ, t, t', u, w and j

#### a

<i>aada</i> n.	menstrual period	<i>adagafinaj</i> v.	be heavy
<i>aadi</i> n.	mother	<i>adagafine</i> n.	adhesive to
<i>aadiminko</i> n.	wife		catch bird
<i>affur</i> n.	lunch	<i>adagin</i> v.	be hard
<i>aaj</i> n.	mother	<i>adaree</i> n.	corn/maize
<i>aafej</i>	addressing	<i>adawoo</i> n.	enemy
	elder sister	<i>adduun</i> n.	world
<i>aak'il</i> adj.	wise	<i>adi</i> pron.	you
<i>aarawa/aaro</i> n.	aunt	<i>adig</i> n.	string/rope
<i>abaadaj</i> n.	elder sister	<i>adiif</i> v.	announce
<i>abaar</i> n.	drought	<i>adoon</i> n.	slave
<i>abaara</i> n.	desert	<i>adoor</i> v/n.	harvest
<i>abaarti</i> n.	famine	<i>aduun</i> n.	property, wealth
<i>abaaat</i> n.	cry	<i>affar</i> n.	four
<i>abbadaj</i> n.	sister	<i>affartan</i> n.	forty
<i>abbaje</i> n.	elder sister	<i>affiks</i> n.	excuse
<i>abbajej</i> voc.	addressing	<i>affur</i> n.	lunch
	elder sister	<i>afis</i> v.	excuse
<i>abbo</i> n.	hello	<i>afleen</i> sharp	
<i>abeen</i> n.	night	<i>agaal</i> n.	goods
<i>aboor</i> v.	see?, sowing	<i>agaar</i> adj.	green
<i>aboor</i> v.	create, make	<i>agar</i> v.	see
<i>aboor</i> v.	create/make	<i>agaro</i> n.	female antelope
<i>aboorina</i> n.	seed	<i>agaɖiir</i> adj.	poor
<i>aboortin</i> v.	cultivate, farm	<i>aaj</i> n.	mother
<i>abfam</i> v.	tighten	<i>ajjoo</i> n.	who/whom
<i>abfooka</i> n.	fig	<i>hakkaj/akaja</i> dem.	that
<i>abur</i> n.	dust	<i>hakkajja</i> adv.	away
<i>ad</i> n.	sound	<i>akfin</i> v.	pretend
<i>adaa, adada</i> n.	forehead	<i>alaamad</i> n.	spot
<i>adabijife</i> n.	penalty	<i>alaata</i> n.	nephew
<i>adabiwalan</i> n.	penalty	<i>albode</i> n.	vein
		<i>allo</i> n.	God
		<i>amaago</i> n.	borrow
		<i>aman</i> v.	believe
		<i>amansise</i> n.	persuade
		<i>amar</i> n/v.	order
		<i>amba</i> conj.	while

<i>amma</i> conj.	or	<i>baabur</i> n.	car
<i>ammud</i> v.	die	<i>baaf</i> n.	safa(of steel)
<i>anan</i> n.	child	<i>baal</i> n.	feather
<i>angag</i> v.	dry	<i>baala</i> n.	shoot (new
<i>ani</i> pron.	I	<i>baalo</i> n.	leaf
<i>anna</i> n.	aunt(sister of one's of father)	<i>baanga</i> n.	tool used to cut
<i>annaa</i> n.	ancestor	<i>baarin</i> v.	be swell
<i>annaada</i> n.	grand parent	<i>baato</i> n.	a baby monkey
<i>araatin</i> n.	hump (of hunchback)	<i>baatow</i> n.	female monkey
<i>areeda</i> n.	school	<i>babar</i> n.	stripe
<i>arfaa</i> v.	be kind	<i>babisine</i> n.	fan
<i>ari</i> n.	sun	<i>badal</i> v.	alter, change
<i>ariidibedaj</i>	sun rise	<i>badan</i> adj.	many/ abundant
<i>ariidididaj</i>	sun set	<i>baddalaa</i> v.	transplant
<i>ariin</i> n.	goat	<i>badisaj</i> v.	become many
<i>aroode</i> n.	aunt( of mother)	<i>badisu</i> n.	coffee tree
<i>aroosda</i> n.	bride	<i>bahaabis</i> n.	prisoner
<i>arooska</i> n.	bridegroom	<i>bahaad</i> n.	hungry
<i>aruuska</i> n.	the best man	<i>bahaar</i> n.	ocean
<i>afa</i> n.	dinner	<i>bahajii</i> adj.	impotent
<i>asaaba</i> n.	sugarcane	<i>bahan</i> adj.	bad
<i>asalam</i> n.	greet	<i>bakajle</i> n.	rabbit
<i>afafa</i> n.	arise/awake	<i>bakti</i> adj.	carrion
<i>asiisije</i> n/v.	compromise	<i>bal</i> n.	leaf
<i>afit</i> n.	evening meal	<i>baláár</i> adj.	wide
<i>awar</i> n.	uncle(brother of one's father)	<i>balaar</i> n.	shoulder-blade
<i>awood</i> n.	power	<i>balka</i> inter.	please
<i>awu</i> n.	father	<i>bana</i> n.	open place
<i>awur</i> n.	bull	<i>banbad</i> n.	ash
<i>awuu</i> n.	father of one's husband	<i>bandowagaraw</i>	aardvark
<i>awwaal</i> v.	bury	<i>banka</i> adv.	outside
<i>awwal</i> adj.	first	<i>baraankule</i> n.	reason
<i>awwalaa</i> n.	premises	<i>baraf</i> n.	ice
<b>b</b>		<i>baran</i> n.	news
<i>baabis</i> v.	avoid	<i>baranda</i> n.	potato
		<i>barar</i> n.	swell
		<i>barbaar</i> adj.	middle age
		<i>barbar</i> v.	sear,burn
		<i>barbar nagadaj</i> v.	be young
		<i>bariis</i> n.	rice

<i>bariis</i> n.	dawn	<i>bikeer</i> n.	glass
<i>barin</i> v.	teach	<i>bikuroo</i> n.	pool
<i>baris</i> v.	fly	<i>bilaača</i> n.	butterfly
<i>bark'ak'e</i> n.	thunder	<i>bilaali</i> n.	white stone
<i>barkata</i> n.	pillow	<i>bilaan</i> n.	woman
<i>barrada</i> n.	ice	<i>bilaaw</i> v.	continue
<i>barre/beerree</i> n.	yesterday	<i>bilawo</i> n.	beginning
<i>barreej</i> n.	tomorrow	<i>bilbila</i> n.	bell
<i>barsaaga</i> n.	day after	<i>bildaj</i> n.	mirror
<i>baf</i> adj.	extravagant	<i>billo/hignin</i> .	moon
<i>bassaad</i> n.	white onion	<i>bilfinaj</i> v.	roast
<i>bafaj</i> v.	destroy	<i>bir</i> n.	iron
<i>bafinaj/baab</i> v.	disappear	<i>birn</i> .	iron(n)
<i>bafni</i> v.	to ruin	<i>biriis</i> n.	rice
<i>bassal</i> n.	onion	<i>birk'ee</i> n.	afternoon
<i>bastaj</i> v.	fold	<i>bisaad</i> n.	cat
<i>beeb</i> v.	climb	<i>bisilif</i> v.	cook
<i>beed</i> v.	return	<i>bifin</i> n.	safa(of plastic)
<i>beeg</i> n.	wound	<i>bit'aana</i> n.	cape
<i>beejdis</i> v.	hung	<i>bliis</i> v.	be courageous
<i>been</i> v.	lie, telling false	<i>bobagan</i> n.	hole
<i>beej</i> v.	go out	<i>bod</i> v.	jump
<i>beenta</i> n.	false	<i>bogool</i> n.	hundred
<i>beer</i> n.	tomorrow	<i>bok'orad</i> n.	queen
<i>ber</i> v.	farm	<i>boob</i> v.	fly
<i>beerale</i> n.	farmer	<i>booba</i> n.	abduction
<i>beerro/tirawo</i> n.	liver(n)	<i>boobis</i> v.	scatter (tr)
<i>bees</i> v.	to take out	<i>bood</i> v.	dive
<i>bees</i> v.	divide/separate	<i>boogor</i> n.	king
<i>beesin</i> v.	escape	<i>boombe</i> n.	beetle
<i>beesni</i> n.	payment	<i>boondad</i> n.	bridge
<i>beej</i> v.	go out	<i>boonne</i> v.	be proud
<i>beg</i> v.	measure	<i>boonu</i> n.	flute
<i>ber</i> n.	grain	<i>boor</i> n.	pumpkin
<i>bideda</i> adv.	left side	<i>booran</i> n.	cliff,den,ditch
<i>bidi</i> adj.	left	<i>born</i> .	ground
<i>biidar</i> v.	draw water	<i>borborn</i> .	kockroach
<i>biil</i> n.	month	<i>boron</i> adj.	yellow
<i>biirkolis</i> n.	trap of rat	<i>bugee</i> n.	female sheep
<i>bija</i> n.	water	<i>bun</i> n.	coffee

<i>bur</i> n.	dust	<i>daager</i> n.	monkey
<i>burburis</i> v.	demolish	<i>daagir</i> v.	look after
<i>buriisa</i> n.	hammer	<i>daal</i> v.	be dizzy
<i>burri/fiida</i> n.	flour	<i>daalej</i> v.	be forget
<i>burtukan</i> n.	orange	<i>daan</i> v.	be see
<i>burufeen.</i>	tooth stick	<i>daanja</i> n.	judge
<i>buufa</i> n.	bellows	<i>daarn.</i>	aloe vera
<i>buug</i> n.	book	<i>dáár</i> v.	touch
<i>buugis</i> adj.	full	<i>daawe</i> n.	medicine
<i>buugis</i> v.	fill	<i>daaj</i> v.	melt
<i>buurn.</i>	mountain	<i>dab</i> n.	fire
<i>búúrn.</i>	mountain	<i>dabaalad</i> v.	swim
<i>buur</i> n.	dust	<i>dabalafo</i> n.	swim
		<i>dabarsate</i> n.	beggar
<b>ƒ</b>		<i>dabeel</i> v.	to blow
<i>ƒ'aaf'uti</i> n.	chick	<i>dad</i> n.	person
<i>ƒ'aaf'uu</i> n.	wattle(of female goat)	<i>dada</i> n.	self
<i>ƒ'allee</i> n.	bead, bracelet, necklace	<i>dadakv.</i>	hurry up
		<i>dadakisajn.</i>	speed
<i>ƒ'anakamni</i> n.	frustration	<i>dadamis</i> n.	testicle
<i>ƒ'ibsaá</i> n.	name of place in Girirra	<i>dag</i> v.	hide
		<i>dagaal</i> n.	war
<i>ƒ'ibsaawu</i> n.	chest of a camel	<i>dagaan</i> n.	settlement
<i>ƒ'ibsan</i> v.	lean against	<i>dagaaj</i> v.	graze, ate grass
<i>ƒ'ik'ilej</i> n.	elbow	<i>dagal</i> v.	give
<i>ƒ'inƒ'a</i> n.	a piece of roasted meat to avoid bad sprit from the area	<i>dagaloo</i> n.	throat pain
		<i>dagarin</i> v.	be together
<i>ƒ'irdeesa</i> n.	craftsman	<i>dagaj</i> v.	to land
<i>ƒ'ori?</i> v.	to put a bridle on camel	<i>dagdag</i> n.	quick
		<i>dagdagsan</i> v.	hurry up
<i>ƒ'orooris</i> v.	to pour	<i>dagin</i> v.	hide
<i>ƒ'ujuk'/t'ujuk</i> adj.	small	<i>dagwin</i> n.	snails
<i>ƒ'uri</i> adj.	small	<i>dahaab</i> n.	gold
<i>ƒ'uris</i> v.	make small	<i>dal</i> v.	give birth
<i>ƒ'uroo</i> n.	the small one	<i>dalag</i> v.	work
<b>d</b>		<i>dalagaj</i> v.	be used
<i>daab</i> n.	wooden handle	<i>dallo</i> n.	bottle
<i>daadaj</i> v.	feed (animals)	<i>dalhiis</i> v.	visiting
<i>daaf</i> n.	hawk	<i>dalsaj</i> v.	forget
<i>dááf</i> v.	disappear	<i>dameer</i> n.	donkey

<i>dameerdoorata</i> n.	zebra	<i>diit</i> n.	feather
<i>daminno</i> adj.	dull	<i>diiti</i> n.	sweat
<i>danaana</i> n.	axe	<i>dik</i> v.	stand
<i>danbafo</i> v.	be last	<i>diksii</i> n.	metal pot
<i>danbee</i> n.	taboo	<i>direféét</i> n.	window
<i>dangato</i> n.	ant	<i>dirir</i> n.	warm
<i>dannaana</i> n.	axe	<i>dijaar</i> v.	be eager
<i>dareer</i> v.	go, travel	<i>dijaarsine</i> v.	knead
<i>dariishad/fabaakat</i> n.	window	<i>di?</i> v.	come down
<i>daris</i> n.	neighbor	<i>dodni</i> n.	excision ( of female)
<i>daruur</i> n.	cloud	<i>dogadine</i> v.	bend down
<i>dawar</i> v.	appease, pacify	<i>dogon</i> adj.	foolish
<i>dawaar</i> v.	beg	<i>dok'edaj</i> adv.	down
<i>dawarine</i> v.	mediate	<i>dok'obin</i> adj.	wet
<i>daweerna</i> n.	begger	<i>dolk'ata</i> v.	be impatient
<i>dawween.</i>	jackal	<i>don</i> adv.	back
<i>dawwor</i> v.	beg	<i>dooga</i> n.	grassland
<i>da?aaas</i> n.	shoe, sandal	<i>doog</i> adv.	under
<i>debeel</i> n.	air, wind, storm	<i>doon</i> adv.	back
<i>deebise</i> v.	lend	<i>doorin</i> v.	beg (for money)
<i>deegarsaj</i> v.	honor	<i>dooro</i> n.	dust
<i>deegorsin</i> v.	respect	<i>dúb</i> adv.	rear
<i>deem</i> n.	debt	<i>dub</i> n.	tail
<i>deer</i> n.	miscarriage	<i>dud</i> n.	bark
<i>delen</i> n.	charcoal	<i>dudubin</i> v.	wrap up
<i>den</i> n.	credit	<i>dufan</i> n.	lubricant
<i>dereerine</i> n.	traveller	<i>dugaag</i> n.	animal (wild)
<i>de?</i> v.	see	<i>dugaagni</i> n.	hunting
<i>dibbee</i> n.	big drum	<i>dug</i> v.	be fair
<i>dibi</i> n.	bull	<i>dundug</i> v.	suck
<i>digaadago</i> n.	chicken	<i>dungo</i> n.	kiss
<i>digaagan.</i>	rooster	<i>durnijela</i> n.	bed room
<i>digbahv.</i>	bleed	<i>dusug</i> n.	dirty
<i>diginiin</i> n.	warning	<i>duubin</i> v.	bury
<i>diide</i> n.	forbid	<i>duudi</i> n.	frontier (ofethnic area)
<i>dîig</i> n.	blood	<i>duudle</i> adj.	old(F)
<i>díín</i> n.	religion	<i>duugon</i> v.	be old
<i>diin</i> n.	tortoise	<i>duur</i> n.	forest
<i>diin</i> v.	lean		
<i>diir</i> n.	worm		

**d**

<i>daab</i> n.	wax	<i>damaati</i> n.	end/finish
<i>daaf</i> v.	leave (sth./ somewhere)	<i>damaata</i> n.	rag
<i>daabaj</i> adj.	right (correct)	<i>dambal</i> v.	split/cracked
<i>daabine</i> v.	abandon	<i>dambalamine</i> n.	splinter
<i>daaf</i> v.	leave	<i>danoo</i> n.	be naked
<i>daahaale</i> n.	inheritance	<i>dar</i> n.	cloth
<i>daal</i> n.	pot for cooking	<i>darni</i> n.	clothing
<i>dadar</i> n.	trivet	<i>daraab</i> n.	dew
<i>dam</i> v.	drink( of milk)	<i>darag</i> v.	satisfy
<i>daam</i> v.	change	<i>dareera</i> adj.	middle
<i>daar</i> n.	oath	<i>daw</i> adv.	near/not far
<i>daarani</i> n.	oath	<i>daw</i> n.	foot
<i>dabad</i> n.	ashes	<i>daw</i> v.	hit, strike
<i>dabbaj</i> adv.	very	<i>dawaag</i> n.	cry
<i>dab?idil</i> pron.	everybody	<i>dawaag</i> v.	bark(of dog)
<i>dadab</i> n.	ghost	<i>dew</i> v.	bless,praise
<i>dadab</i> n.	dream	<i>dawudaw</i> v.	following foot print
<i>dadagaa</i> n.	earring	<i>dawu</i> n.	foot
<i>dadagine</i> n.	movement	<i>dawuu gudu</i> n.	inner part of foot
<i>dadamis</i> v.	lick	<i>dajdaj</i> n.	a kind of shining stone
<i>dadamisine</i> n.	taste	<i>deeksine</i> v.	stop up
<i>dadamuu</i> n.	taste	<i>deel</i> n.	pot
<i>digafoo</i> v.	bathe, wash oneself	<i>deele</i> n.	heir
<i>digni</i> n.	washing	<i>deen</i> n.	freeze/cold
<i>dallo</i> n.	bottle	<i>deenoo</i> adj./n.	cold
<i>dag</i> n.	ear	<i>deer</i> adj.	long
<i>dagadaga</i> n.	earring	<i>deer</i> adv./adj.	far/long
<i>dagan</i> n.	culture	<i>deer</i> n.	miscarriage
<i>dagawo</i> n.	administrator	<i>deerin</i> v.	suck strongly
<i>dagdaale</i> n.	a poisonous snake	<i>deerifin</i> v.	be long
<i>dagdaga</i> n.	jewelery	<i>deg</i> n.	snake
<i>dagool</i> adj.	deaf	<i>dek</i> n.	throat
<i>dalaan/hinak'i</i> n.	baby	<i>dereeda</i> adv.	between
<i>dalanfo</i> n.	descendant	<i>dereern</i> .	saliva
<i>dalajar</i> n.	young man	<i>dib</i> n.	hardship,trouble
<i>dal</i> v.	lay (egg)	<i>diibbadan</i> adj.	difficult
<i>daltej</i> v.	be born	<i>diinsan</i> v.	lean
<i>daltuu</i> adj/n.	female	<i>dibeej</i> v.	smear
<i>daluuda</i> n.	sex organ	<i>dibone</i> v.	be patient
<i>daljaara</i> adj.	young	<i>didid</i> n.	sweat

<i>difibv.</i>	sick	<i>dunkus v.</i>	swallow
<i>dig v.</i>	wash	<i>dunkus n.</i>	Adams apple
<i>digni n.</i>	washing	<i>dussug n.</i>	rubbish
<i>diib/siis v.</i>	give	<i>duul n.</i>	land
<i>diir adj.</i>	proud	<i>duun n.</i>	throat
<i>diis v.</i>	release	<i>duwwan/dawun v.</i>	to hit
<i>diis v.</i>	leak	<b>e</b>	
<i>dikane v.</i>	stand	<i>ebanwo n.</i>	hole
<i>dikis v.</i>	cease, stop	<i>ebisane n.</i>	shame
<i>dila n.</i>	eagle	<i>ebsadaj n.</i>	fear
<i>dimajon.</i>	mosquito	<i>ebsane n.</i>	pity
<i>dimajjon.</i>	a kind of bitinginsect	<i>ebsisajv.</i>	threaten
<i>dinaj adj.</i>	nearby	<i>ed n/adj.</i>	white
<i>dirsaan n.</i>	heavy rain	<i>edigiree n.</i>	star
<i>dis v.</i>	build/ construct	<i>edil adv.</i>	all
<i>disdaafinv.</i>	be different	<i>eebelej n.</i>	drizzle
<i>difed v.</i>	escape	<i>eedin n.</i>	thigh
<i>dijeel v.</i>	play	<i>eedkas adv.</i>	after
<i>dob/guduudadj.</i>	red	<i>eedugn.</i>	curd
<i>dobanaj v.</i>	be thin	<i>eeg n.</i>	well
<i>dobine v</i>	be thin	<i>éég n.</i>	locust
<i>dok'obinaj v.</i>	be wet	<i>eega v.</i>	remove
<i>domine v.</i>	spank (child)	<i>eeh v.</i>	insult
<i>doobo n.</i>	dung	<i>eehtin n.</i>	insult
<i>dooba n.</i>	mud block	<i>eej n.</i>	dog
<i>doon n.</i>	palm (of hands)	<i>eejarko n.</i>	pup
<i>doojine v.</i>	trample	<i>eela n.</i>	tortoise
<i>daw ad v.</i>	near, not far	<i>eemal n.</i>	wart
<i>dáwv.</i>	slap	<i>eer v.</i>	insult
<i>doja/doha n.</i>	bone marrow	<i>ees n.</i>	grass
<i>duduun adj.</i>	rotten	<i>eg adv/adj</i>	smooth
<i>dubadaj v.</i>	approach	<i>elel n.</i>	chew
<i>duk'aj v.</i>	kick	<i>elik'ebis v.</i>	blink/ wink
<i>duun n.</i>	throat	<i>ellee n.</i>	enemy
<i>duunmariid n.</i>	throat pain	<i>ellen n.</i>	charcoal
<i>dugade n./v.plunder (of a town)</i>		<i>ellen n.</i>	male sheep
<i>dugne v.</i>	suck	<i>endereeda adj/adv.</i>	early
<i>dukaj n.</i>	marrow	<i>engag n.</i>	dry
<i>dumadaj v.</i>	fall, slide	<i>eree n.</i>	thorn
<i>dundugin v.</i>	suck	<i>ereeda n/v.</i>	dawn
		<i>erka n.</i>	sky

<i>errab</i> n.	tongue
<i>erri</i> n.	soil,country
<i>esbo</i> n.	salt
<i>eskadaf</i> v.	leave
<i>essan</i> n.	he-goat

## f

<i>fadis</i> v.	sit
<i>fadisnej/fadistej</i> v.	bow(as in greeting)
<i>fagiir/fak'iir</i> n.	poor
<i>fajan</i> v.	heal/cure
<i>fallan</i> n.	spoon
<i>far</i> n.	finger
<i>faraato</i> v/n .	ring
<i>farad/faraso</i> n.	horse
<i>farahad</i> adj	happy
<i>farasan</i> adj	happy
<i>fariid</i> n.	good person
<i>farin</i> n.	load,burden
<i>farririk</i> v.	broken
<i>fasahat</i> n.	jobless
<i>fasan</i> v.	allow, permit
<i>fedisaj</i> n/v	spread(disease,fire)
<i>feer</i> n.	ribs
<i>fel</i> n.	weed
<i>felfele</i> n.	magician(M)
<i>felfelte</i> n.	magician(F)
<i>fidisni</i> adj.	become
<i>figine/fignaj</i> v.	peel
<i>fiid</i> n.	flower
<i>fiig</i> n/v.	run
<i>fiigaj</i> v.	strip off(bark)
<i>fiigisni</i> n.	whistling
<i>fikkir /fikiir</i> n.	idea
<i>filawoo</i> n.	comb
<i>finnisa</i> n.	pimple
<i>fulee</i> adj.	fearful
<i>fur</i> v.	untie/ open
<i>furfurine</i> adj.	unwrap
<i>fuut</i> v.	appear
<i>fidisaj</i> adj.	stretched

## g

<i>gaa</i> n.	today
<i>gaaba/gaabon.</i>	short
<i>gaaban</i> v.	fence in
<i>gaadin</i> v.	stalk
<i>gaal</i> n.	camel
<i>gaalug</i> v.	quiver
<i>gaareero</i> n.	chameleon
<i>gaariv.</i>	tell to someone
<i>gabajlaw</i> n.	poet
<i>gabay</i> v.	poem
<i>gabayaa</i> n.	market
<i>gabsaar</i> n.	baby
<i>gad</i> n/v.	buy
<i>gadad</i> v.	sell
<i>gafidajn.</i>	failure
<i>gagabine</i> n.	faint
<i>gagal</i> v.	spread out
<i>gagallo</i> n/adj.	mat
<i>gagafine</i> n.	slice
<i>gal</i> v.	enter
<i>galabet</i> n.	afternoon
<i>galaj</i> v.	enter, going
<i>galani</i> n.	entrance
<i>galbeete</i> n.	south
<i>galma</i> n.	forest
<i>gamardabaf</i> n/v.	cheat
<i>gan</i> v.	shoot
<i>ganaj</i> n/v	throw
<i>ganee</i> n.	hand
<i>gange</i> n.	mule
<i>gani</i> n.	hand
<i>garab/laale</i> n.	shoulder
<i>gargar</i> v.	help
<i>gari</i> n.	giraffe
<i>garine</i> v.	grow up
<i>garmoo</i> adv.	when
<i>garo</i> n/v	facts
<i>garad</i> v.	know

<i>gas</i> n.	horn	<i>golado</i> n.	cave
<i>geebeel</i> n.	trap for bird	<i>gonfa</i> n.	trouser
<i>geed</i> n.	tree/wood	<i>goob</i> n.	arbiter/old(M)
<i>geel</i> v.	like/love	<i>gooba</i> n.	hump (usually)
<i>geelafo</i> n.	love	<i>goobef</i> v.	to clear the
<i>geera</i> n.	spider	<i>goodirn.</i>	male antelope
<i>geeri</i> n.	sorrow	<i>googi/duug</i> adj.	old( of things)
<i>geesi</i> n.	brave	<i>goomo</i> n.	trap for lion/
<i>geesika</i> n.	point	<i>goorig</i> n.	slaughter
<i>geraf</i> v.	need	<i>goree</i> n.	old female
<i>gerekadan</i> v.	abstain	<i>gorii</i> n.	old male person
<i>gerereedo</i> n.	bark (of tree)	<i>gorobo</i> n.	window
<i>germoo</i> adv.	when	<i>groob</i> n.	widow
<i>gi</i> n.	if	<i>gub</i> n.	burn
<i>gidaal</i> adj.	at the back	<i>gubal</i> n.	skin
<i>gidid</i> n.	trunk (of tree)	<i>guban</i> v.	burn
<i>gidii</i> n/v.	rape	<i>guchii</i> n.	ostrich
<i>gigil</i> n.	mat(of skin)	<i>guda</i> pp.	inside
<i>giid</i> n/v.	pull	<i>gudarine</i> n.	pour
<i>giidgafine</i> n.	cut down	<i>gudoo</i> pp.	under
<i>giihorate</i> n.	olden times	<i>guduud</i> n.	red
<i>giingej</i> v.	stammer	<i>gufan</i> v.	stumble
<i>giirafo</i> n.	act of delivering	<i>gugubine</i> n.	throb (with pain)
<i>gilaal</i> n.	summer	<i>gulgul</i> v.	scare
<i>gilaaf</i> v.	be expensive	<i>gulu</i> n.	winter
<i>gilarke</i> n.	woman	<i>gumaare</i> n.	hippopotamus
<i>gilib</i> n.	knee	<i>gunid</i> n/v.	knot
<i>gineeda</i> n.	arm	<i>guntuu</i> n.	anus
<i>ginnee</i> adj.	side (of	<i>gurbafon</i>	vomit
<i>giraa</i> adv.	ever	<i>gurbo/gurib</i> v.	vomit
<i>giriree/gireege</i> n.	to say	<i>gurgaraf</i> n.	crawl
<i>gaf</i> v.	cut	<i>guun</i> n.	buttock
<i>gifan</i> v.	take revenge	<i>guur</i> v.	marry
<i>gafinee</i> n.	harvest (male)		hyena
<i>gafitaj</i> n.	harvest (female)		
<i>gliib</i> n/v.	knee	<b>h</b>	
<i>gobkele</i> n.	arbiter	<i>haa</i> adv.	yes
<i>gobood</i> n.	heap	<i>haabad</i> v.	look for
<i>garadin</i> n.	circumcision	<i>haabani</i> v.	look for
<i>godoob</i> n.	shoot	<i>haabafon</i> n.	search
		<i>haad</i> n.	half

<i>haado</i> n.	bird	<i>hank'are</i> n.	lighting/shine
<i>haafata</i> n.	courtyard	<i>hankana</i> adv.	again
<i>haagab</i> n.	mucus	<i>har</i> v.	stay
<i>haam</i> v.	harvest	<i>haraa</i> n.	left over
<i>haan</i> n.	water tank	<i>haraaj</i> v.	remain
<i>haanka</i> adv.	now	<i>haraatin</i> n.	hump (of hunch
<i>haanna</i> n.	sister of one's	<i>harag</i> adj.	not clean
<i>habaar</i> v.	curse	<i>hareranaaj</i> v.	be bitter
<i>habaarni</i> n.	cursing	<i>hargab</i> n.	mucus
<i>habad</i> n.	chest	<i>harqoota</i> n.	yoke
<i>habadkin</i> n.	breast bone	<i>harraw</i> adj.	rotten
<i>habar</i> n.	wife	<i>hasani</i> n.	rest
<i>habar</i> n.	woman	<i>hasidnima</i> n.	jealousy
<i>habenkimarko</i> adv.	once	<i>hawk</i> n.	daaf
<i>hablo</i> n.	girl	<i>hawwa</i> n.	mountain
<i>had</i> n/v.	share	<i>hebad</i> n.	chest
<i>haddo</i> n.	salt	<i>hebaloo</i> n/pron.	somebody
<i>hadig</i> n/v.	knot	<i>hebed</i> n.	chest bone
<i>hadigo</i> n.	rope	<i>hedako</i> adj.	curdled milk
<i>hadoro</i> v.	select	<i>heedo/lafedej</i> n.	engaged male
<i>hafan</i> n.	rest	<i>heeg</i> v. sweep	
<i>hag</i> n.	wipe	<i>heegga</i> adv.	there
<i>hageefa</i> n.	instrument to	<i>heegin</i> n.	broom
<i>hagga</i> pron.	there	<i>heel</i> v.	get/wish
<i>hahammafo</i> n.	yawn	<i>heela</i> n.	cattle
<i>haj</i> v.	rise up (intr)	<i>heeline</i> v.	find
<i>haja</i> v.	be important	<i>heenk'ereer</i> n.	a kind worm
<i>hajajaan</i> n.	animals	<i>heer</i> n.	norm
hajje	okay	<i>héér</i> v.	defecate
<i>hal</i> n/adv.	one	<i>heer</i> v.	defecate
<i>halhorre</i> det.	other	<i>heerbar</i> n.	slave
<i>halkali</i> det.	another	<i>heeri</i> n.	thresh
<i>halko</i> det/pron.	some	<i>heeri</i> n.	lip
<i>hamaratato</i> v.	slither (of snake)	<i>heerni</i> v.	to defecate
<i>hamer</i> n.	command	<i>heero</i> n.	plate
<i>hamrii</i> n.	beer (traditional)	<i>hees</i> v.	sing
<i>hamtu</i> n.	sickle	<i>heesinev.</i>	play (child)
<i>hanbabalati</i> n.	hurricane	<i>hego</i> n.	itch
<i>handalajo</i> n.	stork	<i>hellidaj</i> n.	success
<i>hangafu</i> n.	first born	<i>hen</i> n.	backbiting/gossip

<i>heni</i> n.	slander	<i>hindid</i> n.	root
<i>hennen</i> n.	testicle	<i>hinja</i> n.	boy
<i>herbarte</i> n.	needle	<i>hinsaroo</i> n.	husk
<i>hered</i> n.	chest	<i>hir</i> v.	tie
<i>hereen</i> n.	thorn	<i>hirafo</i> n.	shave
<i>hereer</i> adj.	bitter	<i>hired</i> n.	beard
<i>herewwi</i> adj.	rotten (of log)	<i>hirgis</i> v.	snatch
<i>hergaj</i> v.	melt (intr)	<i>hiriri</i> adj.	narrow
<i>hergeb</i> v.	cough	<i>hirit</i> n.	doorway
<i>heri</i> n.	lip	<i>hirne</i> n.	rust
<i>herijaj</i> v.	bale out	<i>hirni</i> n.	to tie (knot)
<i>herin</i> v.	obstruct	<i>hiro</i> v.	wear
<i>hero</i> n.	plate	<i>hirri</i> v.	to tie
<i>herre</i> n.	knot	<i>hifisne</i> v.	discuss
<i>herregin</i> n.	say	<i>hiskhirin</i> v.	shave
<i>hetu</i> n.	thief	<i>hiski</i> n.	worm
<i>hibeem</i> .	night	<i>hogani</i> n.	itching
<i>hibin</i> n.	hard knote in wood	<i>hogafa</i> n.	itch
<i>hidaaso</i> conj.	because	<i>hogo</i> v.itch	
<i>hidi</i> n.	claw	<i>hogoo</i> adv.	there
<i>hidzin</i> n.	star	<i>holood</i> n.	road usu.used by
<i>hido</i> adv.	how	<i>honbobolati</i> n.	thunder
<i>higgoo</i> det.	this	<i>hoog</i> n.	force
<i>higmado</i> n.	forecaster	<i>hool</i> n.	word
<i>hiidas</i> adv.	thus, because	<i>hoole</i> n.	impetigo
<i>hiinwo</i> pp	after	<i>hoor</i> v.	to rain
<i>hiirni</i> v.	shave	<i>hoos</i> v.	shade
<i>hiiro</i> n.	bold	<i>hoosko</i> n.	shadow
<i>hiiru</i> v.	to become bold	<i>hor</i> adv.	early
<i>hikaaj</i> det.	this	<i>horaj</i> adv.	in front
<i>hille</i> n.	meat	<i>horbat</i> adv.	before
<i>hillenno</i> det.	other	<i>hordaan</i> n.	vanguard
<i>hilow</i> n.	homesick	<i>horoob</i> n.	peak
<i>himaase</i> n.	price	<i>horow</i> adj.	rotten
<i>himajeh</i> v.	deceive	<i>horrar</i> n/adj.	dispute
<i>himer</i> n.	vermin(cloth eating)	<i>hortaa</i> adv.	forward
<i>hijaak'i</i> n.	baby	<i>hortaba</i> n.	in the beginning
<i>hinder</i> n.	umbilical cord	<i>hudjee</i> n.	face
<i>hindid</i> n.	stump( of tree)	<i>huduu</i> n.	excrement
		<i>hugi</i> n.	strength

<i>hugool</i> n.	window	<i>idige</i> n.	female donkey
<i>hulabad</i> adj/adv.	late	<i>idigi</i> n.	horse(female)
<i>hundirin</i> v.	be sleepy	<i>idin</i> n.	stone
<i>hundur</i> n.	sleep	<i>iduu</i> n.	sheep
<i>hungurobahaj</i> adj.	spoiled food	<i>if</i> n.	light
<i>hunf'ufaa</i> n.	saliva	<i>iffaaj</i> v.	be bright
<i>hurguf</i> v.	shake out	<i>iftiinkariida</i> n.	sunlight
<i>hurgufin</i> v.	rub	<i>igaas</i> v.	kill
<i>hurgutu</i> n.	dropping	<i>iigu</i> v.	stream
<i>hurroo</i> n.	fog	<i>iil</i> n.	spring /source
<i>huruk</i> n.	stopper, plug	<i>ijaasine</i> v.	take revenge
<i>huruub</i> n.	grinding stone	<i>ijjaal</i> n.	children
<i>huruub</i> n.	lid	<i>ijjaalo</i> n.	addressing
<i>huruud</i> adj.	yellow	<i>ijo</i>	and
<i>huwaada</i> n.	mountain	<i>il</i> n.	eye
		<i>ilaaj</i> n.	God
<b>?</b>		<i>ilal</i> v.	look
<i>aaj</i> n.	mother	<i>ilaalaj,ilaaltaj</i> v.	crunch
<i>?absi</i> n.	fear	<i>ilaanine</i> n.	vision
<i>?af</i> n.	mouth, language	<i>ilig</i> n.	teeth
<i>?ajajaan</i> n.	insect	<i>ilima</i> n.	tear
<i>?a?ilo</i> n.	fiber	<i>ilis</i> adj.	heavy
<i>?eebsatu</i> v.	compare/equate	<i>ilis</i> adj.	heavy
<i>?elmaa</i> n.	tear	<i>ilka</i> n.	tooth
<i>?idel?edelloo</i> det.	all	<i>illobelle</i> adj.	blind
<i>?ji</i> voc.	addressing	<i>ilma/weel</i> n.	husband of one's daughter
<i>?ug</i> v.	know	<i>ilmaan digaagada</i> n	chick
<i>?unreef</i> n.	mole	<i>ilmak'abo</i> adj.	blind
<b>i</b>		<i>inbadan</i> adj.	high level
<i>ibsane</i> v.	coward	<i>indolee</i> n.	blind person
<i>ibsi/ilaahae</i> n.	God	<i>inkiraj</i> v.	deny
<i>id</i> n/v.	wait	<i>inkiralo</i> n.	traitor
<i>idaal</i> n.	solider	<i>inne</i> n.	side(of body)
<i>idataj</i> v.	keep ,save garden	<i>insal,fadis</i> v.	to sit
<i>idda</i> n.	finger nail	<i>insasmof'</i> v.	to squeeze
<i>iddi</i> n.	toe	<i>insubis</i> v.	mend
<i>iddile-iddilloo</i> det.	all	<i>inta</i> adv.	here
<i>idgir</i> n.	louse	<i>into</i> adv.	where
<i>idgirbood</i> n.	flea	<i>intodaga</i> adv.	how many
<i>idgown</i> .	good smell		

<i>intoobo</i> adv.	where
<i>ir</i> n.	sky
<i>iridiini</i> n.	sunset
<i>irii</i> n.	door
<i>iriiro</i> v.	cough
<i>irir</i> n.	grey hair
<i>irree</i> n.	muscle
<i>irsis</i> v.	mediate
<i>ifdine</i> v.	carry(in arms)
<i>ifenne</i> n.	bee
<i>isigeer</i> adj.	selfish
<i>isilaaf/adoon</i> n.	slave
<i>iskas</i> pron.	he
<i>iskin</i> n.	worm
<i>islaan</i> n.	wife
<i>islagir</i> v.	accompany
<i>ismaaj</i> n.	mosquito
<i>isnookala</i> n.	thorn
<i>issi</i> pron.	she
<i>issiin</i> pron.	you(pl)
<i>istaa</i> n.	shelter
<i>isturug</i> v.	stab

### ɗ

<i>ɗaabo</i> n.	hoe
<i>ɗaanne</i> n.	bad sprit
<i>ɗaap</i> n.	pocket
<i>ɗaarso</i> n.	poisonous spider
<i>ɗaɗɗabo</i> n.	a kind of tree
<i>ɗaɗɗaboo</i> v.	broken repeatedly
<i>ɗallo</i> n.	brother's of one's wife
<i>ɗambbon.</i>	digging tool
<i>ɗandɗamini</i> n.	confusion
<i>ɗarso</i> n.	viper like snake
<i>ɗawaab</i> n.	answer
<i>ɗawwee</i> n.	python
<i>ɗeedɗu</i> n.	a place in Girirra
<i>ɗeeso</i> adj.	disabled person
<i>ɗeejka</i> n.	road(of vechile)
<i>ɗjiir/kolis</i> n.	rat
<i>ɗjiiso</i> n.	cripple

<i>ɗzilbodin</i> v.	kneel
<i>ɗzinni</i> n.	bad sprit
<i>ɗziran</i> v.	be sick
<i>ɗzirra</i> n.	illness

### K

<i>kaad</i> v.	pick
<i>kaadin</i> n.	urine
<i>kaadigaleen</i> n.	gall bladder
<i>kaadini</i> v.	urinate
<i>kaadini</i> v.	hate
<i>kaag</i> n.	crow
<i>kaal/daaf</i> v.	leave
<i>kaalisine</i> v.	shout
<i>kabadisne</i> v.	conquer,defeat
<i>kabahanataj</i> adj.	disappointed
<i>kabarsin</i> v.	be defeated
<i>kadaamatu</i> n/v.	change
<i>kadabin</i> v.	to castrate
<i>kafana</i> n.	article of clothing
<i>kagfin</i> v.	decrease
<i>kahoog</i> v.	snatch
<i>kal</i> adj.	different
<i>kaleef anaj</i> n.	deep plunder
<i>kalgeelis</i> pp.	opposite
<i>kalgeel</i> n.	love
<i>kali</i> n.	natural ditch
<i>kali</i> n.	pestle, pounding
<i>kalkalij</i> v.	host
<i>kallalli</i> n.	kidney
<i>kananibinen.</i>	substract
<i>kaneen</i> v.	be sad
<i>kanfarsisaj</i> v.	please, satisfy
<i>kantaf</i> v.	be angry
<i>kaliidees</i> adv.	only
<i>kanwaantof</i> v.	annoy ,disturb
<i>kawantoofin</i> v.	annoying
<i>karni</i> adj.	able
<i>kar</i> n.	piece of cloth
<i>karahafine</i> n.	plaster
<i>karbun</i> n.	battery

<i>kareeg</i> adv.	after	<i>konfur</i> n.	north west
<i>karis</i> v.	cook	<i>koob</i> n.	cup
<i>kawujin</i> v.	snatch	<i>kood</i> v.	talk
<i>koolu</i> n.	wing	<i>koodin</i> v.	be eloquent
<i>karnej</i> v.	be able	<i>koodni</i> v.	to speak
<i>karsamaj</i> v.	be ripe	<i>kood</i> n.	speech
<i>katab</i> v.	write	<i>kojjaad</i> n.	cape
<i>kahalad</i> n.	mistake	<i>koolu</i> n.	wing
<i>katar</i> adj.	clever	<i>koor</i> adv.	on the top
<i>kawunamin</i> v.	be big	<i>koorocejin</i> v.	be high
<i>kajaale</i> v.	seen	<i>koofine</i> v.	be cold
<i>kaʔal</i> v.	leave	<i>koot</i> n.	speech
<i>kaʔima</i> adj.	young	<i>kootu</i> n.	voice
<i>kebeel</i> n.	bat	<i>kor</i> n.	body
<i>keek'taj</i> v.	tear	<i>koraati</i> n.	skull
<i>keli</i> det.	other	<i>korahasine</i> n.	plaster
<i>kelamin</i> v.	send	<i>kora/koreʔ</i> n.	ape
<i>kenood</i> pron.	ours	<i>korhiisa</i> n.	grasshopper
<i>keris</i> v.	grow(of plants)	<i>korka</i> adv.	above
<i>kerkerin</i> v.	shiver, tremble	<i>korkor</i> v.	tread reapedly
<i>kej</i> pron.	mine	<i>kormaami</i> n.	wart
<i>kibsin</i> v.	break, wind	<i>kormarin</i> v.	float
<i>kilbisin</i> v.	separate	<i>kormaw</i> n.	bull
<i>kilee</i> adv.	only	<i>korroo</i> n.	bump
<i>kiliida</i> v.	be alone	<i>kosalv.</i>	laugh
<i>kiline</i> n.	messenger	<i>koj</i> v.	come
<i>kilk'ile</i> n.	problem	<i>kuber</i> n.	blanket
<i>kilkiles</i> v.	tickle	<i>kudaarn.</i>	fruit
<i>kinnaj</i> v.	bite	<i>kudakit</i> v.	block
<i>kiri</i> n.	string, thread	<i>kudan</i> v.	squat
<i>kissood /iskisood</i> det.	their	<i>kudib</i> n.	trouble
<i>kissi</i> n.	bastard	<i>kudoj</i> v.	beat
<i>koadj.</i>	one	<i>kudurti/gufani</i> v.	stumble
<i>kob</i> n.	shoe	<i>kufaj</i> v.	fell
<i>kobar</i> v.	sip	<i>kufikirtaj</i> v.	think
<i>kodin/kot</i> v.	dig up	<i>kufine</i> v.	fail
<i>kolan</i> n.	meeting	<i>kuk'obowiv.</i>	set fire
<i>kolisduur</i> n.	wild rat	<i>kulaat</i> v.	finish
<i>kolofan</i> v.	be cold	<i>kulane</i> v.	meet
<i>kolofan</i> v.	be hot	<i>kulishine</i> v.	boil(water)

<i>kulow</i> n.	skin	<i>k'al</i> v.	slaughter
<i>kulowu/kurowa</i> n.	hide(of animal)	<i>k'alane</i> v.	accept, receive
<i>kulugadodowata</i> n.	skin(of animal)	<i>k'albi</i> n.	mind
<i>kuma</i> v.	shine	<i>k'amis</i> v.	quench/ extinguish
<i>kudurtuun.</i>	trip/stumble	<i>k'ajjaar</i> adj.	thin
<i>kuraa</i> n.	break fast	<i>k'anninv.</i>	to bite
<i>kuraruugaj</i> v.	burn	<i>k'aram</i> n.	stalk(of maize,millet,etc)
<i>kureb</i> v.	avoid	<i>k'arawon.</i>	pepper
<i>kufkufi</i> n.	whispering	<i>k'aro</i> adj.	wise
<i>kufubin</i> v.	pour	<i>k'aruuro</i> n.	bottle
<i>kutkut</i> n.	a kind of worm	<i>k'af iin</i> n.	dirt, soil
<i>kuttane</i> v.	squat	<i>k'awaliadj.</i>	unmarried male
<i>kuttee</i> n.	bed-bug	<i>k'awe</i> n.	gun
<i>kuul</i> n.	grinding stone(upper part)	<i>k'awrn</i> adj.	fat/big
<i>kuun</i> n.	thousand	<i>k'ibisi</i> v.	crush
<i>kuure</i> adj.	selfish	<i>k'eeg</i> v.	tear
<i>kuwareerin</i> v.	be confused	<i>k'eel</i> n.	child of donkey
<i>kuwareeganiv.</i>	surround	<i>k'egan</i> v.	split
<i>kale</i> det.	other	<i>k'ellan</i> adj.	not straight
<b>k'</b>		<i>k'een</i> adj.	wet
<i>k'al</i> v.	slaughter	<i>k'erk'erti</i> v.	shiver
<i>k'aad</i> v.	marry	<i>k'erkeren</i> v.	shiver, tremble
<i>k'aal</i> adj.	expensive	<i>k'ibis</i> v.	break
<i>k'aales</i> v.	crow(as a rooster)	<i>k'il</i> v.	send
<i>k'aartin</i> n.	heifer	<i>k'ilamin</i> v.	borrow
<i>k'abeena</i> n.	tribe, ethnic	<i>k'ilan</i> v.	be crooked,bend
<i>k'abir</i> n.	funeral	<i>k'ilaj</i> v.	send
<i>k'abisaj</i> v.	scratch	<i>k'ilibis</i> v.	split
<i>k'abis</i> v.	break	<i>k'ilina</i> n.	ring(bell)
<i>k'abin</i> v.	accept, receive	<i>k'ilkike</i> n.	elbow
<i>k'abrii</i> n.	grave	<i>k'iloo</i> n.	message
<i>k'ada</i> n.	lunch	<i>k'innin</i> v.	sting
<i>k'adad</i> n.	spinal cord	<i>k'irmoo</i> n.	small axe
<i>k'adawv.</i>	hold	<i>k'it'ir</i> n.	part of plough
<i>k'adaj</i> v.	raise, lift	<i>k'ob</i> v.	catch
<i>k'adajin</i> v.	take	<i>k'od</i> v.	dig
<i>k'afoo</i> n.	storage for grain	<i>k'ofal</i> n.	bark
<i>k'ak'aw</i> n.	soot	<i>k'offol</i> n.	beehive
<i>k'alaalk'al</i> v.	sit on foot		

*k'olof* n. outer/ cover of egg  
*k'ol* room  
*k'olka hunderneeda* n. bed room  
*k'oloof* n. husk  
*k'onbar* n. chair, stool  
*k'onf'oor* n. wrinkles  
*k'on* v. dig  
*k'ood* v. talk  
*k'oor* n. back side a neck  
*k'or* n. jaw  
*k'orka* n. room  
*k'ofital* v. soak  
*k'ossal* v. laugh  
*k'ot* v. to dig  
*k'uboob* v. cold  
*k'ubooban* adj. cold  
*korkor* v. tread  
*k'ulk'ulka* n. valley  
*k'ulof* n. thick bark  
*k'uluul* adj. hot  
*k'uman* adj. right/correct  
*k'umannagan* v. be good  
*k'umisin* v. straighten  
*k'uraha* n. breakfast  
*k'uroo* v. fetch (firewood)  
*k'uruu* n. firewood  
*k'uk'ub* v. leak

## I

*laago* n. river  
*laakin* conj. but  
*laalamis* v. hang  
*laalu* n. tendril, vine  
*laamsad* v. cut/collect  
*laan* n. branch (of tree)  
*laap* v. fold  
*laat* v. finish  
*lab* n. male horse  
*labadaj* adj. late  
*labani* adv. late  
*laf/lafoo* n. bone

*lafdabar* n. back bone  
*lafede* adj. engaged male  
*lagubiram* stop off  
*lagod* v. hurt  
*lagoo?u* v. remeber  
*lakabad* adj. additional  
*lakeel* v. adjourn  
*lakoje* v. bring  
*lakood* v. sit  
*lallagfan* n. leech (hirudinea)  
*lamasad* v. collect/cut  
*la?aag* n. money  
*lee/lii* n. six  
*leehanfa* v. have/posses  
*leekale* v. to stand  
*leef* v. finish, complete  
*leefin* v. decide  
*leef* v. finish  
*lemantaj* v. sink  
*lesi* adj. low  
*lessi* n. bottom  
*li* n. six  
*libaag* n. lion  
*libod* n. male  
*libodka* n. sperm  
*libodmadale* n. sterile (of man)  
*link'umsine* n. hem  
*loboodika* n. semen, sperm  
*loboodo* n. husband  
*lod* adj. sharp  
*loomii* n. lemon  
*lowuda/looda* n. herd  
*lug* n. leg  
*luguun* n. neck  
*lukkuu* n. hen  
*lusoon* v. gather  
*luundagal* v. give  
**m**  
*maal* n. wealth  
*maalin* n. noon  
*maalinn*. day

<i>maalinon.</i>	one day	<i>mangus</i> v.	strangle
<i>maamulv.</i>	adminster	<i>mannan</i> adj.	good/good looking
<i>maan</i> adj.	unfertile	<i>mannaja</i> adj.	handsome
<i>maanal</i> n.	attention	<i>mantenno</i> n.	twins
<i>maank'ar</i> n.	cloud	<i>mariid</i> n.	illness
<i>maaru</i> n.	a tool used to pierce wood	<i>maris</i> v.	paint
<i>maawis</i> n.	loincloth	<i>margisni</i> v.	choke(strangle)
<i>maaj</i> adj.	sweet	<i>markane</i> v.	bury
<i>maajtoota</i> n.	day before yesterday	<i>markare</i> adj.	again
<i>madamirtj</i> n.	headache	<i>markasita</i> adv.	often,always
<i>maf'iirin</i> v.	squeeze	<i>marmar</i> adv.	sometimes
<i>madaweena</i> n.	king	<i>marsalee</i> v.	apply(ointment)
<i>madaweenti</i> n.	queen	<i>marsii</i> n.	grinding stone
<i>madi</i> n.	head	<i>martii</i> n.	guest
<i>madiid</i> v.	groan	<i>marti</i> v.	be seated
<i>madi?madah</i> n.	head	<i>masaajiti</i> n.	mosque
<i>madoboj</i> v.	be black	<i>masamagalo</i> adj.	un able to hear
<i>mag</i> n.	debt	<i>maserine</i> v.	be jealousy
<i>magaal</i> v.	hear	<i>maskahaa</i> n.	brain
<i>magala</i> n.	town	<i>massar</i> n.	axe
<i>magalin</i> v.	feel	<i>mattan</i> n.	twins
<i>magalfan</i> v.	listen	<i>ma?aag</i> adv.	not
<i>mugdi</i> adj.	dark	<i>ma?oormadale</i> adj.	sterile (ofwoman)
<i>mageenno</i> n.	bone of leg	<i>maj</i> adj.	sweet
<i>magini</i> n.	ankle	<i>mee</i> pron.	what
<i>magsafon.</i>	blech	<i>meel</i> n.	place
<i>mahaan</i> n.	juice	<i>minfibir</i> n.	nest
<i>mahaata</i> n.	praise	<i>meerin</i> v.	strain
<b>mahaata</b> n.	praise	<i>meerod</i> prep.	over
<i>makaloo</i> n.	handle	<i>meet'i</i> n.	bamboo tree
<i>malalaag</i> n.	bone marrow	<i>meej</i> inter.	why
<i>mallab</i> n.	honey	<i>mitf'ir</i> v.	squeeze
<i>mallan/manan</i> adj.	beauty/good	<i>mitf'ini</i> n.	squeezing
<i>mallaj</i> n.	fish	<i>megeere</i> n.	clan
<i>mamaaki</i> n.	proverb	<i>mitf'irtay</i> v.	wing out
<i>manangane</i> v.	be beautiful	<i>middig</i> n.	right side
<i>manannagan</i> v.	be good	<i>migi</i> n.	name
<i>mandi</i> n.	knife	<i>miildeer magaro</i> n.	short sighted
<i>mandiseef</i> n.	sharp knife	<i>miiltun</i> n.	place
<i>mangidaj</i> v.	dry up,evaporate	<i>miis</i> n.	table

<i>mildeer</i> adv.	far	<i>naas</i> n.	breast
<i>milduduku</i> adv.	near	<i>nabahan</i> n.	stupid person
<i>milsogal</i> n.	disagreement	<i>nabar</i> v.	scare
<i>min</i> n.	house	<i>nabahan nagan</i> v.	be ugly
<i>mindeern.</i>	intestine	<i>nabee</i> n.	prophecy
<i>mir</i> n.	filter	<i>nabsan</i> v.	blow
<i>mira</i> n.	grain	<i>nadeer</i> adj.	giant
<i>miraa</i> kernel (of corn, maize)		<i>naf</i> n.	life/soul
<i>miraj</i> n.	salon	<i>nafsada</i> n.	self
<i>mirko</i> adv.	slowly	<i>nag</i> v.	put
<i>mira</i> n.	fruit	<i>nagaabin</i> n.	dwarf
<i>mirrekoon</i> v.	whisper	<i>nagane</i> v.	to be
<i>miroo</i> n.	food	<i>nagan</i> v.	return, go back
<i>misigaa</i> n.	millet	<i>nagin</i> n/v.	answer, reply
<i>mod</i> v.	turn	<i>nago</i> n/v.	turn
<i>moge</i> n.	reputation	<i>nak'iisin</i> v.	be inexpensive
<i>mood</i> v.	pass	<i>nakasitam</i> pron.	nobody
<i>moog</i> conj.	except	<i>nama</i>	two
<i>moolal</i> n.	life	<i>namatan</i> n.	twenty
<i>moon</i> n.	male donkey	<i>namada</i> v.	second
<i>morno</i> n.	cattle pen	<i>namad/nagaw</i> v.	say good by
<i>mora/moru</i> n.	garment	<i>namado</i> n.	greeting
<i>moram</i> v.	argue	<i>namanan nagan</i> v.	be clean
<i>moruu</i> v.	clothe	<i>nan</i> n.	man
<i>mojaa</i> n.	pestle	<i>nanadak</i> v.	be wise
<i>mudaw</i> n.	queen	<i>naned</i> n.	white man
<i>muddeen.</i>	moon	<i>ma?aana</i> n.	meaning
<i>muddi tagalon.</i>	dusk	<i>nanibsan nagane</i> v.	be amusing
<i>mugudu</i> adj.	soft	<i>nasani</i> n.	rest
<i>mulug</i> pron.	nobody	<i>nawalanno</i> adj.	senile person
<i>muluu</i> n.	salamander	<i>nawiin</i> n.	adult
<i>murood</i> n.	elephant	<i>na?na?</i> n.	meaning
<i>mustir</i> n.	merchant	<i>neetin</i> n.	scare
<i>muurig</i> v.	demolish	<i>nef</i> v.	breath
<i>muusk'ul</i> n	latrines	<i>neefsan</i> n.	breathing
<b>n</b>		<i>nigaaris</i> n.	monkey
<i>naadoos</i> n.	loin cloth	<i>nib/gagal</i> n.	mat ( of leather)
<i>naaftata</i> n.	soul	<i>nimta</i> n.	mat ( of palm tree)
<i>naar</i> n.	hell	<i>noheej</i> n.	plough
		<i>nolaf</i> v.	to live

*nolijaa* v. to live  
*noolol* v. dwell  
*noran* v. dwell, inhabit  
*nuguul* n. heart beat  
*nurjad* n. lime  
*nuug* v. suck

**ɲ**

*ɲayna* n. tomato  
*ɲaynar* n. cat  
*ɲayne* n. nagging  
*ɲaynisa* n. the one who nag  
*ɲarise* n. sound of (baby)

**o**

*obaha/obaɗa* n. flower  
*obinin,obsis* v. be thirsty  
*oboleeyda* n. sister of one's wife  
*oboleejta* n. sister of one's husband  
*obsad* n. fear  
*obssan* v. notice  
*ogamis* v. lead, guide  
*ogoon* n. orphan  
*okolan/fasan* v. allow, permit  
*okoora* n. cane, stick  
*ollo* n. belly  
*omaa* v. to give birth  
*onakafin* v. imitate  
*ood* v. close  
*oode* n. fence  
*oof* v. pant  
*oogo* which  
*ooli* n. lamp, torch  
*olis* n. skinned milk  
*oolti* n. placenta  
*oomaj* n. smoke  
*oon* adj. thirsty  
*ooti/dawaag* n. sound  
*ooj* n. wipe  
*oojin* v. cry, ululate  
*oroo* adv. beside  
*oroos* n. wedding

*oroosada* n. bride  
*otoorata* adv. before

**r**

*raagada* adv. lately  
*raare* n. bat  
*raari* n. bed  
*rafot* v. be innocent  
*rag* n. frog  
*ragadaɲ* v. follow  
*ragadinfil* v. run away  
*ragisisin* v. settle (dispute)  
*rakitri* n. a kind biting

insect

*ramin* v. obey  
*reeb* v. protect  
*reefi* n. color  
*reega* adv. after  
*reek* n. compound  
*reer* n. family  
*rid* n. shoot (of plant)  
*riid* n. (she) goat  
*riig* v. push  
*rig* n. water pipe  
*rimaanta* adj. pregnant  
*roob* n/v. rain  
*roobt'uji* n. drizzle  
*roor* v. run  
*ror* n/v. load  
*rubaad* n. drama  
*rug* n. massage  
*rugil* v. rub  
*rumaj* n. toothbrush  
*rurni* v. to load  
*ruug* n/v. paint  
*ruunta* adv. really, truly  
*ruur* n. truth  
*ruurise* v. surround  
*ruurs* v. gather

**s**

<i>saab</i> n.	basket	<i>k'olan/fiirn.</i>	
<i>saabuba</i> n.	spider net	<i>saramtaj</i> v.	shake
<i>saak</i> n.	morning	<i>sarine</i> n.	load, burden
<i>saalabad</i> adv.	late	<i>sawaab</i> v.	to bless
<i>saamn.</i>	foot print	<i>sawuja</i> n.	shelter
<i>saarine</i> v.	unload	<i>sajida</i> n.	weed
<i>saaj</i>	through	<i>seddawu</i> v	clap
<i>sabaramu</i> v.	talk	<i>seebinev.</i>	pluck (feathers)
<i>sabafeene</i> v.	pledge	<i>seedi</i> n.	eight
<i>sabji</i> n.	baby	<i>seef</i> n.	sword
<i>sadidaj</i> v.	bulged out	<i>seedi</i> n.	eight
<i>duul</i> v.	fly	<i>sen</i> n.	tail
<i>safar</i> n.	camp	<i>seesa</i> n.	dance (n)
<i>safarite</i> n.	trader	<i>seesev.</i>	give
<i>sag</i> n.	warning	<i>seesine</i> n.	song, chant
<i>saga</i> pp.	from	<i>see?</i> n.	cow
<i>sagaarebta</i> v.	be controlled	<i>seleej</i> adv.	yesterday
<i>sagabehi</i> v.	go out	<i>se?</i> v.	stand up
<i>saguguluu</i> v.	be scared	<i>sebdawu</i> v.	clap
<i>sagubeh</i> v.	mount	<i>sebdawuni</i> n.	clapping
<i>sahartaj</i> v.	remainant	<i>sib</i> v.	castrate
<i>saheede</i> v.	steal	<i>siddo</i> n.	flower
<i>sahib</i> n.	friend	<i>siifan</i> n.	in-laws
<i>sahu</i> prep.	as	<i>siin</i> n.	mucus
<i>sahurgufu</i>	in panting	<i>siink'e</i> n.	rainbow
<i>sal</i> n.	vagina	<i>siinkareebat</i> v.	refuse
<i>salabada</i> n.	meeting	<i>siinso</i> v.	clean mucus
<i>salad</i> v.	pray	<i>siis</i> v.	give
<i>salafaaj</i> v.	wake up	<i>siisine</i> n.	gift
<i>sale</i> n.	mat	<i>siitan</i> n	mother in law
<i>samafal</i> v.	help	<i>sik'aalese</i> v.	hire
<i>samaj</i> v.	plunder	<i>sinni</i> n.	bee
<i>saan</i> n.	foot print	<i>sisal</i> adv.	together
<i>sagal</i> n.	nine	<i>si?iwarsadan</i> v.	visit
<i>san</i> n.	nose	<i>iskigbir</i> v.	boast, brag
<i>sanad</i> n.	year	<i>skolto</i> n.	latrine
<i>sanbabi</i> n.	lung	<i>sobaag</i> n.	butter
<i>sank'oror</i> n.	bridge (of nose)	<i>soddo</i> n.	father in law
<i>sanoola</i> v.	live	<i>sodok'taj</i> n.	mother in law
<i>saragabada/salabada</i>	meeting	<i>sodokaj</i> n.	father in law

<i>sodon</i> n.	thirty	<i>fantaj</i> v.	join, put together
<i>sonkor</i> n.	sugar	<i>farajine</i> v.	explain
<i>sonona</i> n.	thirty	<i>farmoota</i> n.	adultery
<i>sonuu</i> n.	venom (of snake)	<i>fafaj</i> v.	carve (sharpen pencil)
<i>soobsin</i> v.	arrange	<i>faf</i> v.	rule over, dominate
<i>sool</i> n.	thumb	<i>fafin</i> v.	initiation (male)
<i>soor</i> n.	porridge	<i>feeg</i> v.	tell, recount (story)
<i>sóór</i> n.	wasp	<i>feegale</i> v.	accuse
<i>sosobin</i> v.	comfort	<i>fehwaada</i> n.	sperm
<i>sow/hille</i> n.	meat	<i>feegnej</i> n.	account (report)
<i>sowu</i> n.	butcher	<i>feek</i> adj.	chat
<i>sowwan</i> adj.	thick	<i>feen</i> v.	bring
<i>suʔtin</i> n.	box	<i>fehaa</i> v.	wake
<i>subi</i> n.	morning	<i>seelej</i> adv.	yesterday
<i>subeer</i> n.	sheep(female)	<i>feehawaa</i> n.	semen sperm
<i>sugu</i> adj.	same	<i>fibeel</i> n.	leopard
<i>sun</i> n.	belt	<i>fidaj</i> v.	carry (child) on back
<i>suubban</i> adj.	agreeable	<i>fidine</i> v.	grind
<i>suubida</i> adj.	generous	<i>fiid</i> n.	stone
<i>soubise</i> v.	mend	<i>fiide/burri</i> n.	flour
<i>suud</i> adv.	late	<i>fiir</i> n.	meeting
<i>suuf</i> n.	cotton	<i>finanaale</i> adj.	spoiled food
<i>suul</i> n.	thumb	<i>finbaale</i> n.	butterfly
<i>suun</i> n.	poison	<i>finbir</i> n.	bird
<i>suur</i> v.	hang	<i>finini</i> v.	fly in group
<i>suurin</i> adj.	narrow	<i>fifii</i> adj.	top tip of arrow
<i>suurwane</i> n.	trousers	<i>fifit</i> v.	hatch
<i>suus</i> v.	recall	<i>fubka</i>	keep quiet
<i>suʔtin</i> n.	box	<i>foomin</i> n.	diarrhea
		<i>forbat</i> n.	soup
<b>ʃ</b>		<i>fubar</i> v.	whisper
<i>faag</i> v.	talk	<i>fubɗ</i> v.	keep quiet
<i>faan</i> v.	begin	<i>fubile</i> adj.	calm
<i>faar</i> n.	shirt	<i>fubir</i> v.	be silent
<i>faba</i> n.	net	<i>furuu</i> n.	cat
<i>ʃabageera</i> n.	spider net	<b>t</b>	
<i>ʃak'aa</i> n.	work	<i>taaban</i> v.	touch, feel
<i>ʃakita</i> n.	mould (pottery)	<i>taadʒir</i> adj.	rich
<i>ʃan</i> n.	five	<i>tab</i> v.	go
<i>ʃantan</i> n.	fifty		

<i>tabeesan</i> v.	escape	<i>turug</i> v.	prick
<i>tag</i> v.	open	<i>tusbar</i> adv.	fart slowly
<i>talaali</i> v.	plant	<i>túúr</i> v.	tear( of cloth)
<i>talab</i> v.	step	<i>tuur</i> n.	hump( of hunch back)
<i>tales</i> v.	administer	<i>tuus</i> v.	show
<i>taʔab</i> n.	farm	<i>tuute</i> n.	breast (of cow)
<i>taʔ</i> v.	walk	<i>tuyan</i> v.	be narrow
<i>teeb</i> n.	bark of the tree		
<i>teeg</i> v.	spill(of liquid)	<b>t'</b>	
<i>teegamo</i> n.	leakage	t'uji adj.	small
<i>tegabaj</i> v.	leak	t'ojo n.	half
<i>tegam/k'ulkul</i> v.	to flow		
<i>tiir</i> n.	pole	<b>u</b>	
<i>tiite</i> n.	fly	<i>ubtu</i> n.	uncle(brother of one's mother)
<i>tik'an</i> adj.	fat	<i>uftu</i> n.	uncle
<i>tin</i> n.	hair (of head)	<i>ufuraataj</i> v.	be swell
<i>tingafn.</i>	cut( of hair)	<i>ufurni</i> n.	swell
<i>tijajoo</i> n.	tomato	<i>ugaarsani</i> v.	to hunt
<i>tiraw/beerro</i> n.	liver	<i>ugaarsade</i> n.	hunter
<i>tiris</i> v.	count	<i>ugaas</i> n.	chief
<i>tirtir/tirro/hag</i> n.	wipe	<i>ukkun</i> n.	egg
<i>toban</i> n.	ten	<i>ul</i> n.	stick
<i>todobo</i> n.	seven	<i>ulfajite</i> n.	stick
<i>tol</i> n.	clan	<i>ulmmalsito</i> n.	midwife
<i>tolinaj</i> v.	widen	<i>un</i> v.	eat
<i>tondugal</i> v.	deep	<i>ungura</i> n.	food
<i>tool</i> v.	sew	<i>unnu</i> pron.	we
<i>toosinan</i> v.	be straight	<i>unreef</i> n.	mole
<i>toojisnaj</i> v.	be short	<i>ur</i> adj.	bad smell/odour
<i>torigan</i> v.	throwing stick	<i>urgufachu</i> v.	flap the wings
<i>tol</i> v.	sew	<i>urgufine</i> v.	fan
<i>torogin</i> v.	pierce ( of ears)	<i>uridžinoo</i> n.	star
<i>tub</i> v.	dig the ground	<i>urin</i> v.	bad smell
<i>tubakana</i>	tobacco	<i>urisine</i> n.	heap
<i>tuf</i> v.	spit	<i>urungulaa</i> n.	owl
<i>tufane</i> n.	stumbling block	<i>ururisin</i> v.	assemble
<i>tumaal</i> n.	blacksmith	<i>uruuris</i> v.	pick, pluck
<i>tumni</i> n.	beating	<i>uruur</i> v.	collect
<i>tumin</i> v.	pound	<i>uskoola</i> n.	school
<i>turug</i> v.	stab/pierce	<i>ussood</i> pron.	they
		<i>ussu</i> pron.	he

<i>ussub</i> adj.	new	<i>walgarat</i> v.	be intelligent
<i>usubafin</i> v.	(be) new	<i>waliid</i> n.	parent
<i>uud</i> n.	grass land	<i>walis</i> v.	sing
<i>un</i> v.	eat	<i>walwaan</i> v.	be lost
<i>uun</i> n.	creature	<i>wan</i> n.	milk
<i>úún</i> n.	smoke	<i>wantun</i> v.	sacrifice
<i>úúr</i> n.	pregnancy	<i>war</i> n.	horizontal beam
<i>uur</i> n.	flat land	<i>wara</i> n.	news
<i>uuran</i> n.	male monkey	<i>warabadan</i> adj.	talkative
		<i>waraab</i> v.	drink(water)
<b>w</b>		<i>waraaba</i> n.	hyena
<i>waanlan (kii)</i> adj.	mad	<i>waran</i> n.	arrow/spear
<i>waan</i> adj.	angry	<i>warangadano</i> n.	dry(substance)
<i>wan</i> n.	milk	<i>warantodaj</i> v.	angry
<i>wanni</i> n.	male sheep	<i>waratojo</i> n.	crossroad
<i>wanton</i> v.	snore	<i>wareegaj</i> v.	twist
<i>waantof</i> v.	angry	<i>wareegin</i> v.	go round
<i>waantotaj</i> v.	be hot	<i>warsad</i> v.	ask
<i>waartaj</i> v.	dry out(clothes)	<i>wafaag/wasa</i> n.	sand
<i>waajin</i> v.	lose	<i>weel</i> n.	calf
<i>wabee</i> n.	river	<i>weel curi</i> n.	small boy/calf
<i>wadaad</i> adj.	old( person)	<i>weel</i> n.	son/ daughter
<i>wadan</i> n.	country	<i>wéér</i> v.	call
<i>wadaj</i> v.	take	<i>weer</i> v.	roar
<i>waddana</i> n.	heart	<i>wel</i> v.	do/make
<i>wad</i> v.	ride	<i>wereer</i> n.	confusion
<i>wadina</i> n.	front side of the neck	<i>werro</i> n.	baby goat
<i>walaba</i> pron.	nothing	<i>wiin</i> adj.	big/grow with
<i>walahada</i> n.	belongings	<i>wiindaj</i> v.	become large
<i>walakale</i> pron.	other thing	<i>win</i> adj.	big
<i>walakijii</i> det.	few	<i>wok'iti</i> n.	time
<i>walal</i> n.	sibling	<i>wok'tiguban</i>	spend time
<i>walale</i> adj.	elder/younger brother	<i>wok'tíwalba</i> adv.	every time
<i>walalte</i> adj.	elder/younger sister	<i>wraabin</i> v.	be drink
<i>walauur</i>	stink v.	<b>j</b>	
<i>waldam</i> det.	all	<i>jambo</i> n.	hoe
<i>wala?idil</i> pron.	everything	<i>jammud</i> v.	die
<i>walbadanno</i> adj.	many	<i>jar</i> adj.	smell
<i>waldawuu</i> adj.	narrow	<i>jarad</i> n.	brid price
<i>walgaraf o</i> n.	knowledge		

<i>jatiim</i> n.	poor child	<i>jomin</i> v.	quarrel
<i>jedoo</i> n.	porcupine	<i>joon</i> v.	fig
<i>jehaas</i> n.	corcodile		
<i>jejjoo</i> n.	wolf		
<i>jireeg</i> v.	say		

## 2.2.English-Girirra word list

<b>a</b>			
aardvark	<i>bandowagaraw</i>	aloe vera	<i>daar</i> n.
a baby monkey	<i>baato</i> n.	alter, change	<i>badal</i> v.
a kind stone	<i>dajdaj</i> n.	ancestor	<i>anna</i> n.
a kind of tree	<i>džadžabo</i>	and	<i>ijo</i> conj.
a kind worm	<i>heenk'ereer</i> n.	angry	<i>waantot</i> v.
a poisonous snake	<i>dagdaale</i> n.	animal (wild)	<i>dugaag</i> n.
a tool for piercing	<i>maaru</i> n.	animals	<i>hajwaan</i> n.
aardvark	<i>fandogaro</i> n.	ankle	<i>magini</i> n.
abandon	<i>daabine</i>	announce	<i>agifin</i> v.
abdomen /belly	<i>olla</i> n.	annoy, disturb	<i>kanwaawantooof</i>
abduction	<i>booba</i> n.	another	<i>halkelidet.</i>
able	<i>karin</i> v.	answer, reply	<i>naginne</i> n./v.
above	<i>korka</i> adv.	ant	<i>dangato</i> n.
abstain	<i>gerekadan</i> v.	antelope	<i>agaro</i> n.
accept, receive	<i>k'abin/k'alan</i> v.	anus	<i>guntuu</i> n.
accompany	<i>islagir</i> v.	answer	<i>džawaab</i> n.
account (report)	<i>feegine</i> n.	ape	<i>kora</i> n.
accumulate	<i>ruurs</i> v.	appear	<i>fuutwon</i> v.
accuse	<i>feegal</i> v.	appease, pacify	<i>dawar</i> v.
adams apple	<i>dunkus</i> n.	apply (ointment)	<i>marsal</i> v.
additional	<i>lakabad</i> adj.	approach	<i>dubadaj</i> v.
addressing mother	<i>aajej</i> voc.	arbiter	<i>gobkele</i> n.
addressing sister	<i>abbajej</i> voc.	arbiter	<i>goob</i> v.
adhesive	<i>adagafine</i> n.	argue	<i>moram</i> v.
adjourn	<i>lakeel</i> v.	argument	<i>moromin</i> n.
administer	<i>taales</i> v.	arise/awake	<i>afafa</i> n.
administrator	<i>dagawo</i> n.	arm	<i>gineeda</i> n.
adult	<i>nawiin</i> n.	army	<i>eedan</i> n.
adultery	<i>farmoota</i> n.	arrange	<i>soobsin</i> v.
after	<i>eedkas/ hiinwo</i> adv.	arrow/spear	<i>waran</i> n.
afternoon	<i>duhuur/ birk'ee</i>	article of clothing	<i>kafana</i> n.
again/also	<i>markeli/hankana</i> adv.	ascend	<i>koor</i> v.
agreeable	<i>suubban</i>	ash	<i>banbad</i> n..
air/wind/storm	<i>dabeel</i> n.	ask	<i>warsad</i> v.
all	<i>idil/waladamni</i>	assemble, meet	<i>ururisin</i> v.
allow, permit	<i>fasahni/ogolani</i>	at the back	<i>gidaal</i> adv.
		aunt (mother's sister )	<i>aroode / aarawa</i>

aunt (father's sister) *annaada /anna* n  
 avoid *baabise/ kureb* v.  
 away from *hakkajja*  
 awol *urungulaa* n.  
 axe *massar* n.  
 axe *danaana* n.  
 axe (a kind of axe) *baangan* n.

**b**

baby *gabsaar* n.  
 baby *hinaak'i* n.  
 back *doon* n.  
 back biting *hen/heman* n.  
 back bone *lafdabarn.*  
 back side of a neck *k'oorn.*  
 bad *bahan* adj.  
 bad smell *uradj.*  
 bad sprit *džinni* n  
 bale out *herijajv.*  
 bamboo tree *meet'i* n.  
 bark (of dog) *dawaag* n.  
 bark (of tree) *gereedo/ k'ofal/teeb/dudn.*  
 basket *saab* n.  
 bastard *kissi* n.  
 bat *kabali / raare* n.  
 bathe, wash oneself *digaf* v.  
 battery *karbun* n.  
 be able *karne* v.  
 be abundant *badan* v.  
 be alone *kiliid* v.  
 be amusing *nanibsnagan* v.  
 be angry *waantotaj/ kantaf* v.  
 be beautiful *manangan* v.  
 be better *hareranaaj* v.  
 be big *kawunamin* v.  
 be black *madobaj* v.  
 be born *daltej* v.  
 be clean *namanannagan*  
 be cold *koofin* v.  
 be come stretched *fidisni* n.

be confused *džandžamin*  
 be controlled *sagaarebit* v.  
 be courageous *bliis* v.  
 be crooked,bend *k'ilan* v.  
 be defeated *kabarisne* v.  
 be different *disdaafin* v.  
 be dizzy *dale* v.  
 be drink *wraabin* v.  
 bedroom *k'olka hunderneeda*  
 be eager *dijaar* v.  
 be eloquent *koodin* v.  
 be expensive *gilaaf/k'allo* adj.  
 be fair *dug* v.  
 be fat *tiganaj* v.  
 begging *dawrni* n.  
 be good *manannagan*  
 be hard *adagin* v.  
 be heavy *adagafinaj* v.  
 be high *koorocejaj* v.  
 be hot *kululadajv.*  
 be impatient *dolk'ata* v.  
 be important *haja* v.  
 be inexpensive *nak'iisin* v.  
 be innocent *rafot* v.  
 be intelligent *walgarate* v.  
 be jealous *maserine* v.  
 be kind *arfaa* v.  
 be last *danbaf* v.  
 be lazy *nan bahan* v.  
 be long *deerifinaj* v.  
 be lost *walwaane* v.  
 be naked *danoo* v.  
 be confused *kuwareerin* v.  
 be narrow *tujan* v.  
 be old *duugon* v.  
 be old *guronin* v.  
 be open *furin* v.  
 be patient *dibone* v.  
 be proud *boonne* v.  
 be rich *tajirnagon* v.

be ripe	<i>karsamaj</i> v.	belt	<i>sun</i> n.
be sad	<i>kaneenee</i> v.	bend down	<i>dogadin</i> v.
be scared	<i>neef</i> v.	beside	<i>dinee</i> prep.
be scared	<i>saguguluu</i> v.	between	<i>dereeda</i> adv.
be short	<i>toojisnaj</i> v.	big drum	<i>dibbee</i> n.
be sick	<i>džirana</i> v.	big/grow	<i>wiin</i> adj.
be side	<i>oroo</i> n.	bird	<i>haado</i> n.
be straight	<i>tosinan</i> v.	bird	<i>finbir</i> n.
be swell	<i>baarin</i> v.	bite	<i>kinnaj</i> v.
be thin	<i>dobin</i> v.	bitter	<i>hereer</i> adj.
be thirsty, thirsty	<i>obinin/obsis</i> v	black	<i>mudowu</i> adj.
be together	<i>dagarin</i> v.	blacksmith	<i>tumaal</i> n.
be swell	<i>ufuraataj</i> v.	blanket	<i>kuber</i> n.
be wet	<i>dok'obinaj</i> v.	bleed	<i>digbah</i> v.
be wise	<i>nanadak</i> v.	bless, praise	<i>dew</i> v.
be young	<i>barbar nagadaj</i>	blind	<i>ilmak'abo/indolee</i> adj
bead, bracelet	<i>f'allee</i> n.	blink	<i>elik'bis</i> v.
beard	<i>hired</i> n.	block	<i>kudakit</i> v.
beat	<i>tuman/daw</i> v.	blood	<i>düig</i> n.
beauty	<i>mallan</i> adj.	blow	<i>nabsan</i> v.
because	<i>hidaaso</i> conj.	boast	<i>skigbir</i> v.
bed	<i>raar/hunderneeda</i> n.	body parts/ neck	<i>k'oor</i> n.
bed room	<i>k'olkahunderneeda</i>	boil (water)	<i>kulfin</i> v.
bed-bug	<i>kuttee</i> n.	bold	<i>hiiru</i> adj.
bed-bug	<i>kutten</i> n.	bone	<i>laf</i> n.
bee	<i>isenne</i> n.	bone marrow	<i>dühaag</i> n.
bee hive	<i>k'offol</i> n.	bone( of leg)	<i>mageenno</i> n.
beer (traditional)	<i>hamrii</i> n.	borrow	<i>amaag/k'ilamni</i>
beetle	<i>boombe</i> n.	n.bottle	<i>dallo/k'aruuro</i>
before	<i>horbat/kahoorn.</i>	bottom	<i>lessi</i> n.
beg	<i>dawwaar</i> v..	bow (as in greeting)	<i>fadsin</i> v.
beggar	<i>dawarsate</i> n.	box	<i>su?tin</i> n.
begging	<i>dawerni</i> n.	boy	<i>hinja</i> n.
begin	<i>bilaawn.</i>	brain	<i>maskahaa</i> n.
beginning	<i>bilaawni</i> n.	branch (of tree)	<i>laan</i> n.
belch	<i>magsaf</i> v.	brave	<i>geesi</i> adj.
believe	<i>aman</i> v.	break	<i>k'ibis</i> v.
bell (n)	<i>bilbila</i> n	break repeatedly	<i>k'ik'ibis</i> v.
belongings	<i>walahada</i> n.	breakfast	<i>k'uraha</i> n.
		breast	<i>naas</i> n.

breast (of cow)	<i>tuute</i> n.	carve (sharpen pencil)	<i>fafaj</i> v.
breastbone	<i>habadkinn.</i>	castrated	<i>sib</i> adj.
breath	<i>nef</i> v.	cat	<i>furru/nanarn</i> .
breathing	<i>nefsani</i> n	catch	<i>k'ob</i> v.
bride	<i>aroosda</i> n.	cattle	<i>looja</i> n.
bride wealth	<i>jarad</i>	cattle pen	<i>morno</i> n.
bridegroom	<i>arooska</i> n.	cave	<i>golado</i> n.
bridge	<i>boondad</i> n.	cease, stop	<i>dikis</i> v.
bridge (of nose)	<i>sank'oror</i> n.	chair, stool	<i>k'onbar</i> n.
bring	<i>feen/ lakoj</i> v.	chameleon	<i>gaareero</i> n.
broken	<i>farrirke</i> adj.	change	<i>badal/ daamv.</i>
broken repeatedly	<i>džadžab</i> v.	change	<i>kadaamatu</i> n/v.
broom	<i>heega</i> n.	charcoal	<i>delen</i> n.
brother (elder/younger)	<i>walale</i> n.	chat	<i>seek</i> v.
brothers of one's wife	<i>džallo</i> n.	cheat	<i>gamardabaf</i> v.
build	<i>dis</i> v.	chest	<i>habad/hered</i> n.
bulged out	<i>sadiday</i> v.	chest of a camel	<i>f'ibsaawu</i> n.
bull	<i>dib/kormaw</i> n.	chestbone	<i>hebed</i> n.
bump	<i>korroo</i> n.	chew	<i>elel</i> v.
burn	<i>gub/ kuraruugv.</i>	chick	<i>digaagada/ffaatfuti</i> n.
bury	<i>markan/ duubin</i>	child (young)	<i>ijjaal</i> n.
but, however	<i>laakincnj.</i>	child of a donkey	<i>k'eel</i> n.
butcher	<i>sowu</i> n.	children	<i>ijjaal</i> n.
butter	<i>sobaag</i> n.	choke (strangle)	<i>margisin</i>
butterfly	<i>finbaale</i> n.	chop into	<i>gaf</i> v.
buttock	<i>fagaaraa/ gun</i>	circumcision (male)	<i>godin</i> n.
bellows	<i>buufan.</i>	clan	<i>tol</i> n.
buy	<i>gadad</i> v.	clap	<i>seddawu</i> v.
<b>c</b>		claw	<i>hidi</i> n.
calf	<i>wéél</i> n.	clever	<i>katar</i> adj.
call	<i>weer</i> v.	clear the forest	<i>goobef</i> v.
calm	<i>fubile</i> adj.	cliff	<i>booran</i> n.
camel	<i>koob/gaal</i> n.	climb	<i>beeb</i> v.
camp, encampment	<i>safar</i> n.	clo'ud	<i>maank'ar</i> n.
cane, walking stick	<i>okoora</i> n.	close	<i>ood</i> v.
cape (n)	<i>koffaad/bit'aana</i> n.	cloth	<i>dar</i> n.
carrion	<i>bakti</i> n.	cloth eating vermin	<i>himer</i> n.
carry (child) on bac	<i>fidaj</i> v.	clothe	<i>moruu</i> v.
carry (in arms)	<i>ifidin</i> v.	cloud	<i>daruux</i> n.
		cockroach	<i>borboro</i> n.

coffee	<i>bun/boon</i> n.	cry, weep	<i>oojin/abaat</i> v.
coffee tree	<i>badisu</i> n.	cultivate, farm	<i>aboortin</i> v.
cold	<i>deen</i> n.	cultre	<i>dagan</i> n.
cold	<i>k'uboob</i> v.	cup	<i>koob</i> n.
collect	<i>laamsad/uruursin</i> v.	curd	<i>eedug/hedako</i> n.
color	<i>reef</i> n.	cure/ heal	<i>fajane</i> v.
comb	<i>filawoo</i> n.	curse	<i>habaan</i> v.
come	<i>koj</i> v.	cursing	<i>habaani</i> n.
come down	<i>di?</i> v.	cut	<i>gaf</i> v.
comfort v.	<i>sosobin</i> v.	cut hair	<i>bifan</i> v.
command n.	<i>hamer</i>	cut down	<i>giidgafin</i> v.
compare/equate	<i>?eebsat</i> v.	cut/collect	<i>laamsad</i> v.
compound	<i>reer</i> n.		
compromise	<i>asiisej</i> n/v.	<b>d</b>	
conflict	<i>olaad</i> n.	dance (n)	<i>seesa/bees</i> n.
confusion	<i>wereer/dzandzamani</i>	dark	<i>mugdi</i> adj.
conquer,defeat	<i>kabadisin</i> v	dawn	<i>ereeda/bariis</i>
continue	<i>bilaaw</i> v.	day after tomorrow	<i>barsaaga</i> adv.
cook	<i>karis/bisilif</i> v.	day before yesterday	<i>maajtoota</i> adv.
corn	<i>dareae</i> n.	deaf	<i>dagool</i> adj.
cotton	<i>suuf</i> n.	debt	<i>deen/mag</i> n.
cough	<i>irriirro</i> n.	deceive	<i>himajeh</i> v.
cough	<i>hergeb</i> v.	decide	<i>leefin</i> v.
count	<i>tiris</i> v.	decrease	<i>kagifin</i> v.
country	<i>wadan</i> n.	deep	<i>tondugale</i> adj.
courtyard	<i>haafata</i> n.	deep plunder	<i>kaleefanaj</i> v.
cover of egg	<i>k'olof</i> n.	defecate	<i>héér</i> v.
cow	<i>see?</i> n.	defecating	<i>heerni</i> n.
coward	<i>ibsane</i> v.	demolish	<i>muurug</i> v.
craftsman	<i>f'irdeesa</i> n.	den,pit	<i>booran</i> n.
crawl	<i>gurgaraf</i> n.	deny	<i>inkiraj</i> v.
create, make	<i>aboorni/wel</i> v.	descendant	<i>dalanfo</i> n.
creature	<i>uun</i> n.	desert	<i>abaara</i> n.
credit	<i>den</i> n.	destroy	<i>bafaj</i> v.
cripple(n)	<i>dziiso</i> n.	dew	<i>daraab</i> n.
crocodile	<i>jehaas</i> n.	diarrhea	<i>foomine</i> n.
crossroad	<i>waratojo</i> n.	die	<i>jammud</i> v.
crow	<i>kaag</i> n.	different	<i>kal/kalida</i> adj.
crow(as arooster)	<i>k'aales</i> v.	difficult	<i>diibbadan</i>
crunch	<i>ilaalaj</i> v.	dig	<i>k'od</i> v.

dig the ground	<i>tub</i> v.	eagle	<i>dila/ille</i> n.
dig up	<i>kodin</i> v.	ear	<i>dag</i> n.
digging tool	<i>džambo</i> n.	early	<i>endereeda/ hor</i>
dinner n.	<i>afa</i>	earring	<i>dadagaa</i> n.
dirt,soil	<i>kafiin</i> n.	earth, land	<i>diul</i> n.
disabled	<i>džeeso</i> adj.	egg	<i>ukkun</i> n
disagreement	<i>milsogal</i> n.	elbow <i>f'ik'ilej</i> n.	
disappear	<i>baf inaj/baabi</i> v.	elder sister	<i>abbaje</i> n.
disappointed	<i>kabahanataj</i>	elephant	<i>murood</i> n.
discuss	<i>hifuisin</i> v.	eight	<i>seedi</i> n.
dispute	<i>horrar</i> n.	end	<i>damaag</i> n.
ditch	<i>booran</i> n.	enemy	<i>adawoo/ ellee</i> n.
dive	<i>boodaj</i> v.	engaged (male)	<i>lafede/ heedoadj.</i>
divide/ separate	<i>bees</i> v.	enter	<i>gal</i> v.
dog	<i>eej</i> n.	entrance	<i>galani</i> n.
donkey	<i>dameer</i> n.	escaping	<i>beesani/difed</i> v.
door	<i>irii</i> n.	evening meal	<i>afit</i> n.
doorway	<i>hirit</i> n.	ever	<i>giraa</i> adv.
down	<i>dok'edaj</i> adj.	every time	<i>wok'tiwalba</i>
drama	<i>rubaad</i> n.	everybody	<i>dab?idil</i> pron.
draw water (v)	<i>biidar</i> v.	everything	<i>wala?idil</i> pron
dream	<i>dadab</i> n.	except	<i>moog</i> conj.
drink (of milk)	<i>dam</i> v.	excision (female)	<i>dodini</i> n.
drink (water)	<i>waraab</i> v.	excrement	<i>uda/heer</i> n.
drizzle	<i>eebelej/ roobt'uji</i> n.	excuse	<i>afis</i> v/n.
dropping	<i>hurgutu</i> n.	expensive	<i>k'al</i>
drought	<i>abaar</i> n.	explain	<i>farajin</i> v.
dry	<i>angag</i> adj.	extinguish	<i>damis</i> v.
dry off (clothes)	<i>waartaj</i> v.	eye	<i>il</i> n.
dry up, evaporate	<i>mangidaj</i> v.		
duck	<i>dakije</i> n.		
dull	<i>daminno</i> adj.	<b>f</b>	
dung	<i>doobo</i> n.	face	<i>hudzee</i>
dusk	<i>muddi tagalo</i> n.	fail	<i>kufin</i> v.
dust	<i>buurn</i> .	failure	<i>gafidaj</i> n.
dwarf	<i>nagaabine</i> n.	famine	<i>abaarti</i>
dwel, inhabit	<i>noran</i> v.	faint	<i>gagabin</i> v.
dweller	<i>nolool</i> n.	fall , slide	<i>dimadaj</i> v.
		false	<i>beenta</i> adj.
<b>e</b>		family	<i>reer</i> n.

premises	<i>awwalaa</i> n.	flap the wings	<i>urgufachu</i> v.
fan	<i>babsine</i> n.	flat land	<i>uur</i>
far	<i>mildeer</i> adv.	flea	<i>idigirbood</i> n.
farm	<i>taʔab/ber</i> n.	flee, run away	<i>ragadine</i> n.
farmer	<i>beerale</i> n.	float	<i>kormarin</i> v.
fart slowly	<i>tusbar</i> v.	flour	<i>fiide/burri</i> n.
fat/big	<i>tik'an/ k'awin</i>	flow	<i>waraab</i> v.
father	<i>awu/ dab</i> n.	flower	<i>fiid/siddo</i>
father in law	<i>soddo</i> n.		<i>obaha</i> n.
father in law	<i>sodokay</i> n.	flute	<i>boonu</i> n.
father of one's husband	<i>awuu</i> n.	fly	<i>duul</i>
fear	<i>ebasadaj</i> n.	fly ( of female)	<i>booktaj</i> v.
fear	<i>absi/ obsad</i> v.	fly in group	<i>fin</i> v.
fearful	<i>fulee</i> adj.	fold (v)	<i>laap</i> v.
feather	<i>baal/ diit</i> n.	follow	<i>ragadaj</i> v.
feed ( of animals)	<i>daadaj</i> v.	following foot print	<i>dawudaw</i> v.
feel (passive)	<i>magalin</i> v.	food	<i>mirro/hungura</i>
fell	<i>taree</i> v.	fool	<i>dogon</i> adj.
female	<i>daltuu</i> adj/n.	foot	<i>daw</i> n.
female donkey	<i>idige</i> n.	foot print	<i>saan</i> n.
female sheep	<i>bugee</i> n.	forbid	<i>diide</i> v.
fence	<i>ood</i> n.	force	<i>hoog</i> n.
fetch(fire wood)	<i>k'uroo</i> v.	forecaster	<i>higmado</i> n.
fetus	<i>uur</i> n.	forehead	<i>adaa</i> n.
few	<i>walakijii</i> deter.	forest	<i>duur</i> n.
fiber	<i>?eʔilo</i> n.	forget	<i>dale</i> v.
fig	<i>abfooka</i> n.	forget	<i>dalsaj</i> v.
fight	<i>joom</i> v.	forty	<i>affartan</i> n.
fill	<i>buugsan</i> v.	four	<i>affar</i> n.
filter	<i>mir</i> v.	freeze	<i>deen</i> v.
look for	<i>haaban</i> v.	friend	<i>sahib</i> n.
finger	<i>far</i> n.	frighten	<i>absisine</i> v.
finger nail	<i>idda</i> n.	frog	<i>rag</i> n.
finish	<i>leef/laat/damaat</i> v.	frontier (of ethnic area)	<i>duudi</i> n.
fire	<i>dab</i> n.	fruit	<i>kudaar/ miroo</i>
firewood	<i>k'uruu</i> n.	frustration	<i>f' anakamni</i> n.
first born	<i>hangafu</i> n.	full	<i>bugi</i>
fish	<i>malalaj</i>	funeral	<i>k'abir</i> n.
five	<i>fan</i> n.		
fifty	<i>fantan</i>		

**g**

gall bladder	<i>kaadigaleen</i> n	ground	<i>bor</i> n.
garlic (n)	<i>bassaad</i> n.	grow (of plants)	<i>karasin</i> n.
garment	<i>mora/moru</i> n.	grow up	<i>garine</i> v.
gather	<i>uruurisni/lusoon</i>	guest	<i>martii</i> n.
generous	<i>suubida</i> adj.	gulguluu	<i>be scared</i> v.
get	<i>heel</i> v.	gun	<i>k'awe</i> n.
ghost	<i>dadab</i> n.	<b>h</b>	
giant	<i>nadeer</i> adj.	hair(of head)	<i>tin</i>
gift	<i>siisine</i> n.	half	<i>t'ojo/haad</i>
giraffe	<i>gari</i> n.	half moon (n)	<i>bil</i> n.
giraffe	<i>goodir</i> n.	hammer	<i>huriisa</i> n.
girl	<i>hablo</i> n.	hand	<i>ganee/gani</i> n.
give	<i>diib/siisv.</i>	handle	<i>makaloo</i> n.
give birth	<i>dal</i> n.	handsome	<i>mannana</i> n.
glass (n)	<i>bikeer</i> n.	hang	<i>laalmas</i> v.
go	<i>tab/dareer</i> v.	happy	<i>farahad</i> adj.
go out	<i>saga beedo/ sagabehi</i> v.	hardship, trouble	<i>dib</i> n.
go round, turn round	<i>wareegine</i> v.	harvest	<i>adoor/haam</i> v.
goat	<i>ariin</i> n.	harvest (female)	<i>gafitaj</i> v.
God	<i>ilaahi/ alla</i> n.	harvest (male)	<i>gafin</i> v.
gold	<i>dahaab</i> n.	hatch	<i>fifit</i> v.
good	<i>mallan/manan</i>	hate	<i>kaad</i> v.
good person	<i>fariid</i> adj.	have, possess	<i>leehaf</i> v.
good smell	<i>idgow</i> n.	hawk	<i>daaf</i> n.
goods	<i>agaal</i> n.	he	<i>ussu/ iskas</i> pron.
gossip	<i>heen</i> v.	head	<i>madi</i> n.
grain	<i>mira</i> n.	headache	<i>madamirtj</i> n.
grand child	<i>ijjaalo</i> n.	heap	<i>gobood/ urisine</i>
grass	<i>uudo/ ees</i> n.	hear	<i>magal/magda</i> v.
grasshopper	<i>korhiisa</i> n.	heart	<i>waddana</i> n.
grassland	<i>dooga</i> n.	heart beat	<i>nuguul</i> v.
grave	<i>k'abril</i> n	heavy	<i>ilis</i> adj.
graze,eat grass	<i>dagaaj</i> v.	heavy rain	<i>dirsaa</i> n.
green	<i>agar</i> adj.	he-goat	<i>essan</i> n.
greet	<i>asalam</i> v.	heifer	<i>k'aarti</i> n.
greeting	<i>namado</i> n.	heir	<i>deele</i> n.
grind	<i>fidin</i> v.	help	<i>gargar/ samafal</i>
grinding stone	<i>marsii/ fiid</i> n.	hem	<i>link'umsine</i> n.
grinding stone(upper part)	<i>kuul</i> n.	hen	<i>lukkuu</i> n.
groan	<i>madiid</i> v.	herd (cattle,sheep)	<i>heela</i> n.

here	<i>inta</i> adv.	husband	<i>loboodo</i> n.
herregin	<i>say</i> v.	husband of one's daughter	<i>ilma/weel</i> n.
hetu	<i>thief</i> n.	husk	<i>hinsaroo/k'oolof</i> n.
hibeen	<i>night</i> n.	hyena	<i>waraaba</i> n.
hide	<i>dag/dagin</i> v.	<b>i</b>	
hide (of animal)	<i>kulowu</i> n.	ice	<i>baraf/barrada</i> n.
high level	<i>inbadan</i> n.	idea	<i>fikkir/fikiir</i> n.
hill	<i>guur</i> n.	if	<i>gi</i> conj.
hippopotamus	<i>gumaare</i> n.	illness	<i>jirra/mariid</i> n.
hire	<i>sik'aales</i> v.	imitate	<i>onakfin</i> v.
hit, strike	<i>dawu</i> v.	impetigo	<i>hole</i> n.
hoe	<i>jambo</i>	impotent	<i>bahajii</i> adj.
hold	<i>k'adawu</i> v.	in the beginning	<i>hortaba</i> n.
hole	<i>ebanwo/bobagan</i> n.	in front of	<i>hortaa</i> adv.
homesick	<i>hilow</i> adj.	inheritance	<i>daahaale</i> n.
honey	<i>mallab</i> n.	initiation (male)	<i>fafine</i> n.
honor	<i>deegarsaj</i> v.	in panting	<i>sahurgufu</i>
horizontal beam	<i>war</i> n.	in-laws	<i>siifan</i> n.
horn	<i>geesi</i> n.	inner part of foot	<i>dawu gudu</i> n.
horse	<i>farad/faraso</i> n.	insect	<i>?ajajaan</i> n.
horse (male)	<i>lab</i> n.	insect that sting	<i>sóór</i> n.
horse (female)	<i>idigi</i> n.	insect that bite	<i>rakitri/kutkut</i> n.
host	<i>kalkalije</i> n.	inside	<i>guda</i> adv.
hot	<i>k'uluul</i> adj.	instrument for killing	<i>hageef a</i> n.
house	<i>min</i> n.	insult	<i>eeh</i> v.
how	<i>hido</i> adv.	insult	<i>eehtin</i> n.
how many	<i>intodaga</i> adv.	intercede, mediate	<i>dawarin</i> v.
hump (of hunch back)	<i>tuur</i> n.	iron	<i>bir</i> n.
hump (usually of cattle)	<i>gooba</i> n.	itch	<i>hogo</i> v.
hundred	<i>bogool</i> n.	itch	<i>hogale/hogafa</i> n.
hung	<i>beejdis</i> v.	<b>j</b>	
hungry	<i>bahaad</i> n.	jackal	<i>dawwee</i> n.
hunt	<i>dugaago</i> v.	jaw	<i>k'or</i> n.
hunter	<i>ugaarsad</i> n.	jealousy	<i>hasid-nima</i> n.
hurricane	<i>hanbabalati</i> n.	jewellery	<i>dagdaga</i> n.
hurry up	<i>dadak</i> adv.	join, put together	<i>fantaj</i> v.
hurry up	<i>dagdagsan</i> v.	judge	<i>daanja</i> v.
hurt	<i>kasaara/ugaar/</i> <i>lagod</i> v.	juice	<i>mahaan</i> n.
		jump	<i>bod</i> v.

**K**

kernel (of corn, maize)	<i>miraa</i>
keep quiet	<i>fubka</i> v.
keep, save garden	<i>idataj</i> v
kick	<i>dubaj</i> v.
kidney	<i>kallalli</i> n.
kill	<i>igiis</i> v.
king	<i>boogor/ madaween</i> n.
kiss	<i>duungad</i> v.
knead	<i>dijaarsin</i> v.
knee	<i>gliib</i> n.
kneel	<i>jilbodin</i> v.
knife	<i>mandi</i>
knot	<i>hadig/here/gunid</i> v.
knot in wood	<i>hibin</i> n.
know(facts)	<i>garo/ ?ag</i>
knowledge	<i>walgarafu</i> n.

**L**

lamasad	<i>collect/cut</i> v.
lamp/torch	<i>ooli</i> n.
land	<i>duul</i> n
land	<i>dag</i> v.
language, mouth	<i>?af</i>
late	<i>suud/labani/adj/adv</i>
lately	<i>raagada</i> adv.
latrine	<i>muusk'ul</i> n.
laugh	<i>k'ossal</i> v.
lay (egg)	<i>dal</i> v.
lead, guide	<i>ogamis</i> v.
leaf	<i>bal</i>
leak	<i>tagabaj/k'uk'ub</i> v.
lean	<i>diinsani</i> v.
leave	<i>kaal/daaf</i> v.
leech (hirudinea)	<i>lallagf ta</i> n.
left	<i>bidu</i> adj.
left over	<i>haraa</i> n.
left side	<i>bideda</i> adv.
leg	<i>luggo/lug</i> n.
lend	<i>deebis</i> v.

leopard	<i>fibeel</i> n.
lick	<i>dadamis</i> v.
lid	<i>huruub</i>
lie,telling false	<i>been</i> n.
life	<i>moolal</i> v.
light	<i>if</i> n.
lighting/shine	<i>hank'ar</i> n.
lime	<i>norade</i> n.
lion	<i>libaag</i> n
lip	<i>heerin</i>
listen	<i>magalsan</i> v.
live	<i>naf</i> n.
live	<i>sannola</i> v.
liver	<i>tiraw</i> n.
load	<i>rurni</i> v.
load, burden	<i>sarine/farnie</i> n.
locust	<i>éég</i> n.
loin cloth	<i>naadoos/maawis</i>
long/far	<i>deer</i> adj.
look	<i>ilaal</i> v.
look after	<i>daag</i> v.
lose	<i>waajin</i> v.
louse	<i>idgir</i> n.
love/like	<i>geel</i> n.
low adj.	<i>lesi</i>
lubricant	<i>dufan</i> n.
lunch	<i>k'ada/affur</i> n.
lung	<i>sanbabi</i> n.

**M**

day n.	<i>maalane/maalin</i>
noon adv.	<i>maalin</i>
one dayn	<i>maalinhal</i>
attention n.	<i>maana</i>
mad	<i>waan</i> adj/n.
magician (f)	<i>felfelte(F)</i> adj.
magician (m)	<i>felfele(M)</i> adj.
make/ create	<i>aboorin/wel</i> v.
make small	<i>f'uris</i> v.
male	<i>libod</i> n.

male donkey	<i>moon</i> n.	mortar	<i>mojaa</i> n.
male sheep	<i>ellen</i> n.	mosque	<i>masaajiti</i> n.
many	<i>badan</i>	mosquito	<i>dimajo</i> n.
market	<i>gabajaa</i> n.	mother	<i>aaj</i> n.
marrow	<i>dúkaj</i> n.	mother in law	<i>siitan/sodok'taj</i>
marry	<i>k'aad/guuris</i> v.	mould (pottery)	<i>fakita/suubise</i> n.
massage	<i>rug</i> n.	mount	<i>sagubeh</i> v.
mat (of palm tree)	<i>nimta</i> n.	mountain	<i>huwaada/búúr</i> n.
mat (of skin)	<i>gigil/nib</i> n.	movement	<i>dadagagne</i> n.
meaning	<i>maɗaana</i> n.	mucus	<i>siin/hargab/</i> n.
measure	<i>beg</i> v.	mud block	<i>dooba</i> n.
meat	<i>sow/hille</i>	mule	<i>gange</i> n.
mediate	<i>irsis</i> v.	muscle	<i>irree</i> n.
medicine	<i>daawe</i> n.	<b>n</b>	
meet	<i>kulan</i> v.	nagging	<i>ɲaɲe</i> n.
meeting	<i>saragabada /salabada /kolan/ɸiir</i> n.	name	<i>migi</i> n.
melt	<i>daj/hergaj/v.</i> <i>herkaj</i> v	name of a place	<i>dʒeedʒu/ f'ibsaan.</i>
mend	<i>soubise</i> v.	narrow road	<i>suurin</i> n.
menstrual period	<i>aada</i> n.	narrow <i>adj.</i>	<i>iriiri</i>
merchant	<i>mustir</i> n.	nasal discharge/mucus	<i>siin</i> n.
message	<i>k'illoo</i> n.	nearby	<i>dinaj</i> <i>adj.</i>
messenger	<i>kiline</i> n.	not far	<i>daw/milduduuku</i>
metal pot	<i>diksii</i> n.	neck	<i>luguun</i>
middle	<i>dareera</i> n.	need	<i>geraf</i> v.
midwife	<i>ulmmalsito</i> n.	needle	<i>herbarte</i> n.
un	<i>eat</i> v.	neighbour	<i>daaris</i> n.
milk	<i>wan</i> n.	nephew	<i>alaata</i> n.
millet (rainy season)	<i>misigaa</i> n.	nest	<i>minɸibir</i> n.
mind	<i>k'albi</i> n.	new	<i>ussub</i> <i>adj.</i>
mine	<i>kej</i> pron.	new	<i>ussub</i> <i>adj.</i>
mirror (n)	<i>bildaj</i> n.	news	<i>war/baran</i> n.
miscarriage	<i>deer</i> n.	night	<i>abeen</i> n.
mistake	<i>baaf aj</i> n.	nine	<i>sagal</i>
mole	<i>ɓunreef</i> n.	nobody	<i>nakasitam/mulug</i>
money	<i>laɗaag</i> n.	norm	<i>heer</i> n.
monkey	<i>daager</i> n.	north west	<i>konɸuur</i> n.
month	<i>bil</i> n.	nose	<i>san</i> n.
moon	<i>bil</i> n.	not	<i>maɗaag</i> <i>adv.</i>
morning	<i>subi/saak</i> n.	not clean	<i>harag</i> <i>adj.</i>
		not straight	<i>k'elli</i> <i>adj.</i>

nothing	<i>walaba</i> pron.	pant	<i>neefsan/oof</i> v.
notice	<i>obssan</i> v.	parent	<i>waliid</i> n.
now	<i>haanka</i> conj.	part of plough	<i>k'it'ir</i> n.
<b>o</b>		pass	<i>mood</i>
oath	<i>daar</i> n.	payment	<i>beesni</i> n.
obey	<i>ramin</i> v.	peak	<i>horooob</i> n.
obstruct	<i>herin</i> v.	peel (v)	<i>figin</i> v.
obstruct	<i>reebin</i> v.	penalty	<i>adabfiye/adabwalan</i> n
ocean	<i>bahaar</i> n.	pepper	<i>k'arawo</i> n.
often, always	<i>markasita</i> adv.	person	<i>dad</i> n.
okay	<i>hajje</i>	persuade	<i>amansis</i> v.
old	<i>wadaad/muri</i>	pestle	<i>kal</i> n.
old (female person)	<i>goree</i> adj.	pick	<i>kaad</i> v.
old (male person)	<i>gorii</i> adj.	pick, pluck (fruit)	<i>uruursin</i> v.
olden times	<i>giihorate</i> adv.	piece of cloth	<i>kar</i> n.
on	<i>merad/koor</i>	pierce( of ears)	<i>torogin</i> v.
once	<i>habeenkimarko</i>	pillow	<i>barkata</i> n.
one	<i>ko/ hal</i> pron.	pimple	<i>finnisa</i> n.
onion	<i>basal</i> n.	pity	<i>ebsane</i> n.
only	<i>kaliidee/kilee</i>	place	<i>meel/ miiltun</i> n.
open	<i>tag</i> v.	placenta	<i>oolti</i> n.
open place	<i>banawo</i> n.	plant	<i>talaali</i> n.
opened	<i>fur</i> v.	plaster	<i>korahasine</i> n.
opposite	<i>kalgeelis</i> adj.	plate	<i>hero</i> n.
or	<i>amma</i> conj.	play	<i>dijeel</i> v.
orange	<i>burtukan</i> n.	play ( of child)	<i>heesin</i> v.
order	<i>amar</i> n.	please	<i>balka</i> n.
orphan	<i>ogoon/ogoono</i>	please, satisfy	<i>kanfarsisaj</i> v.
ostrich	<i>guchii</i> n.	pledge	<i>sabafeene</i> n.
other	<i>hillenno/ keli</i>	plough	<i>noheej</i> n.
other thing	<i>walakale</i> n.	pluck (feathers)	<i>seebin</i> v.
ours	<i>kejnood</i> pron.	plunder ( of a town)	<i>dugad</i> v.
outside	<i>banka</i> adv.	pocket	<i>dzaap</i>
over	<i>koor/ meerod</i>	point (n)	<i>geesika</i> n.
ox	<i>awur</i> n.	poison	<i>suun</i> n.
<b>p</b>		pole	<i>tiir</i> n.
pain	<i>jirraa</i> n.	pool (n)	<i>bikuroo</i> n.
paint	<i>rug/ k'alami</i> n.	poor	<i>fak'iir/fagiir</i> adj.
palm (of hands)	<i>doon</i> n.	poor child	<i>jatiim</i> adj.
		poor man	<i>nanfaɗziir/fak'ir</i>

porcupine	<i>jedoo</i> n.	rag	<i>damaata</i> n.
porriage	<i>soor</i> n.	rain	<i>roob</i> n.
pot	<i>deel</i> n.	rainbow	<i>siink'e</i> n.
potato	<i>baranda</i> n.	raise, lift	<i>koor/kadaj</i> v.
pound	<i>tumine</i> v.	rape	<i>gidii</i> n.
pour	<i>gudarin/f'orooris/kufubin</i> v.	rat	<i>jiir/koolis/oli</i> n.
power	<i>awood</i> n.	really, truly	<i>ruunta</i> adv.
praise (n)	<i>mahaata</i> n.	rear	<i>dub</i> n.
pray	<i>dawarine/salad</i>	reason	<i>braankule/sababi</i>
pregnancy	<i>úúr</i> n.	recall	<i>suus</i> n.
pregnant	<i>rimaanta</i> adj.	red	<i>guduud/ dob</i>
premises	<i>awwalaa</i> n	reeb	<i>protect</i> v.
pretend	<i>akfin</i> v.	reebni	<i>obstruct/stop</i> n.
price	<i>himaase</i> n.	refuse	<i>siinkareebat</i> v.
prick	<i>turug</i> v.	diis v.	release
prisoner	<i>hirre/bahaabi</i> n	release	<i>diis</i> v.
problem	<i>kilk'ile</i> n.	religion	<i>díín</i>
property, wealth	<i>aduun/maal</i> n.	remainant	<i>sahartaj/ haraaaj</i> v.
prophecy	<i>nabee</i> n.	remember	<i>lagoo?u</i> v.
protect, defend	<i>reebine</i> v.	remove	<i>eega</i> v.
proud	<i>diir</i> adj.	release	<i>diis</i> v.
proverb	<i>mamaaki</i> n.	reputation	<i>moge</i> n.
pull	<i>giid</i> v.	request	<i>warsanne</i> n.
pumpkin	<i>boor</i> n.	resolve, (dispute)	<i>halif</i> v.
pup	<i>eejarko</i> n.	respect (V)	<i>deegorsin</i> v.
push	<i>riig</i> v.	rest	<i>hafan/nasane</i> n.
put a bridle on a camel	<i>f'ori?</i> v.	restless	<i>fasahat</i> adj.
put	<i>nag</i> v.	return	<i>beed/ naganne</i>
python	<i>dzawwee</i> n.	ribs	<i>feer</i> n.
		rice	<i>biriis</i> n.
<b>Q</b>		rich man	<i>tajiir</i> adj.
quarrel	<i>jomine</i> n.	ride v.	<i>wadi</i>
queen	<i>madaweent/mudaw/</i> <i>bok'orad</i> n.	right /correct	<i>daabaj/ k'uman</i>
quench,extinguish	<i>k'amis</i> v.	right side	<i>middig</i> adv.
quick adv.	<i>dagdag</i>	ring	<i>faraato</i> n.
quiver	<i>gaalug</i> v.	ring(bell)	<i>k'ilin</i> v.
		rise up (intr)	<i>haj</i> v.
<b>r</b>		river	<i>laag/wabee</i> n.
rabbit	<i>bakajle</i> n.	road usu.used by foot	<i>holood</i> n.
		road(of vechile)	<i>dzeejka</i> n.

roar	<i>weer</i> v.	seen	<i>kajaal</i> v.
roasted meat	<i>f'intf'a</i> adj.	self	<i>dada</i> n.
room	<i>k'ol</i> n.	select	<i>hador</i> v.
rooster	<i>digaaga</i> n.	selfish	<i>kuure/isigeer</i>
root	<i>hindid</i> n.	sell	<i>gadanne</i> v.
rope/string	<i>adig</i> n.	semen sperm	<i>feehawaa/ lobooodika</i> n.
rotten	<i>harrow/horow/dudiuun</i> adj.	send	<i>kelamin/ k'il</i> v.
rotten (of log)	<i>herewwi</i> adj.	senile person	<i>nawalanno</i> adj.
rub	<i>hurgufin/ rugil</i> v.	separate	<i>kilbsin</i> v.
rubbish	<i>dussug</i> n.	serve	<i>dalagin</i> v.
ruine	<i>bafin</i> v.	set fire	<i>kuk'obow</i> v.
rule over/dominate	<i>maamulin/gabajfaf</i> v.	settlement	<i>dagaan</i> n.
run	<i>fig</i> n.	seven	<i>todobo</i>
run	<i>roor</i> v.	sew	<i>tool</i> v.
rust	<i>hirne</i> n.	sex organ	<i>daluuda</i> n.
		shade	<i>hoosko</i> n.
<b>s</b>		shadow	<i>hoos</i> n.
baby	<i>sabiji</i> n.	shake	<i>saramtaj</i> v.
sacrifice	<i>wantun</i> v.	shake out	<i>hurguf</i> v.
sad news of death	<i>gaare</i> n.	shame (n)	<i>ebisane</i> n.
safa (of plastic)	<i>bif in</i> n.	share	<i>had</i> v/n.
safa (of steel)	<i>baaf</i> n.	sharp	<i>lod</i> adj.
salamander/lizard	<i>muluu</i> n.	sharp	<i>aflee</i> adj.
saliva	<i>huncufa/dereer</i>	sharp knife	<i>mandiseef</i> n.
salon	<i>miraj</i> n.	shave	<i>hiir</i> n.
salt	<i>esbo/ haddo</i> n.	shaving	<i>hiirni</i>
same	<i>sugu</i> adj.	she	<i>issi</i> pron.
sand	<i>wafago/wasa/erri</i> n.	she goat	<i>riid</i> n.
satisfy	<i>darag</i> v.	sheep	<i>ida</i> n.
say	<i>jireeg</i>	sheep (female)	<i>subeer</i> n.
say good bye	<i>namad</i> v.	sheep (male)	<i>waan</i> n.
scare	<i>gulguluu/nabar</i>	shelter	<i>istaa</i> n.
scatter (tr)	<i>boobistay</i> v.	shine	<i>kuma</i> v.
school	<i>areeda/uskoola</i>	shirt	<i>faarla/f aar</i> n.
scratch(v)	<i>k'abisaj</i> v.	shiver, tremble	<i>kerkeren</i> v.
sear (burn) v	<i>barbar</i> v.	shoe	<i>kob</i> n.
search	<i>haabafo</i> n.	shoe, sandal	<i>da?aaas</i> n.
second	<i>namada</i>	shoot	<i>gan/ fadisin</i> v.
see	<i>agar/de?/ daan</i> v.	shoot	<i>rid</i> n
seed	<i>aboorina</i> n.	shoot (new plant)	<i>baala</i> n.

short	<i>gaabo</i> adj.	small boy	<i>weelfuri</i> n.
short sighted	<i>mildeermasagara</i> adj.	small calf	<i>weelfurii</i> n.
shoulder	<i>garaab/laale</i> n.	small goat	<i>wer</i> n.
shoulder-blade	<i>balaar</i> n.	smear (tr)	<i>dibeej</i> v.
shout(v)	<i>kaalisin</i> v.	smell	<i>urine</i> n.
show	<i>tuus</i> v.	smell	<i>ur</i> adj.
sibling	<i>walal</i> n.	smoke v.	<i>oomaj</i> n.
sick	<i>didibaj</i> v.	smoke	<i>úún</i> n.
sickle	<i>hamtu</i> n.	smooth	<i>eg</i> adj/adv.
side (of something)	<i>ginnee</i> n.	snails	<i>dagiwin</i> n.
side(of body)	<i>inne</i> n.	snake	<i>deg</i> n.
siinso	<i>clean mucus</i> v.	snatch	<i>hirgis/kahaag</i> v.
sing	<i>walis</i> v.	snore	<i>waanton</i> v.
sing/dance	<i>hees</i> n.	soak(fair)	<i>k'ofital</i> v.
sink (v)	<i>lemantaj</i> v.	soft	<i>mugudu</i>
sip	<i>kobar</i> v.	solider	<i>idaal</i> n.
sister	<i>abaadaj</i> n.	some	<i>halako</i> det.
sister (elder/younger)	<i>walalte</i> n.	somebody	<i>hebaloo</i> pron.
sister of one's father	<i>haanna</i> n.	sometimes	<i>marmar</i> adv.
sister of one's husband	<i>oboleejta</i> n.	son/daughter	<i>weel</i> n.
sister of one's wife	<i>oboleejda</i> n.	song/sing	<i>hees</i> n.
sit	<i>fadiisani</i> n.	soot	<i>k'ak'aw</i> n.
sit down	<i>fadis</i> v.	sorrow	<i>geeri</i> n.
sit on foot	<i>k'alaalk'al</i> v.	soul	<i>naf</i> n.
six n.	<i>lee/lii</i>	sound	ad n.
skin	<i>kulow/kulow/ gubal</i> n.	cry v.	<i>ooti/dawaag</i>
skin(of animal)	<i>kulugadodowata</i>	sound of baby	<i>jarise</i> n.
skinned milk	<i>oolis</i> n.	soup	<i>forbaat</i>
skull	<i>koraati</i> n.	south	<i>galbeete</i> n.
sky	<i>ir</i> n.	spank (child)	<i>domin</i> v.
slander	<i>heen</i> v.	speak	<i>kood</i> v.
slap	<i>daw</i> v.	spear	<i>waran</i> n.
slaughter	<i>goorig/k'al</i> v.	speech	<i>kood/ dadakisn.</i>
slave	<i>adoon/ isilaaf</i> n.	spend time	<i>wok'itgubni</i>
sleep	<i>hundur</i> v.	spider net	<i>saabuba/fabageera</i> n.
slice	<i>gagafine</i> n.	spill (of liquid)	<i>teeg</i> n.
slither ( of snake)	<i>hamaaratat</i> v.	spilt	<i>teegam</i> v.
slowly	<i>mirko</i> adv.	spinal cord	<i>k'adad</i> n.
small	<i>t'uj/fur/</i> adj.	spit	<i>tuf</i> v.
small axe	<i>kirmoo</i> n.	splinter	<i>dambalamine</i> n.

split/cracked	<i>k'egan/dambal/k'ilibis v.</i>	stripe	<i>babar n.</i>
spoiled food	<i>finanaale/ hungurbajaj adj.</i>	stumble	<i>kudurtuu/ gufani</i>
spoon	<i>fallan n.</i>	stumbling	<i>tufane n.</i>
spot	<i>alaamadi n.</i>	stump	<i>hindid n.</i>
spread (disease, fire)	<i>fedisaj v.</i>	stupid person	<i>nabahan n.</i>
spread out	<i>gagal v.</i>	substract	<i>kananibine n.</i>
spring source	<i>iil n.</i>	success	<i>hellidaj n.</i>
squat	<i>kudane/ kuttane</i>	suck	<i>dundug v.</i>
stab	<i>isturugaj v.</i>	suck( of breast)	<i>nuug v.</i>
stab/pierce	<i>turug v.</i>	sugar	<i>sonkor n.</i>
stalk	<i>gaadine v.</i>	sugarcane	<i>asaaba n.</i>
stammer	<i>giingej n/v.</i>	summer	<i>gilaal n.</i>
stand	<i>dikane/dikko v.</i>	sun	<i>arii n.</i>
stand up	<i>se? v.</i>	sun set	<i>ariidididaj</i>
star	<i>hiddjin/ edigiree</i>	sun rise	<i>ariidi bedaj n.</i>
stay	<i>har v.</i>	sunlight	<i>iftiinkariida n.</i>
steal	<i>saheed v.</i>	surround	<i>ruurise/kuwareegani v.</i>
stem,	<i>stalk(of maize/millet,etc) n.</i>	swallow	<i>dunkus/adams apple v.</i>
step	<i>talab v.</i>	sweat	<i>diiti/didid n.</i>
sterile (of woman)	<i>ma?oormadale</i>	sweep	<i>heeg v.</i>
sterile(of man)	<i>libod madale</i>	sweet	<i>maj adj.</i>
stick	<i>ul/ ulfajite n.</i>	swell	<i>barar/ufurni v/n.</i>
sting(v)	<i>k'innin v.</i>	swim	<i>dabaalad v.</i>
stink	<i>walauur v.</i>	<b>t</b>	
intestine	<i>mindeer n.</i>	table	<i>miis n.</i>
stomach (mind)	<i>uurka n.</i>	taboo	<i>danbee n.</i>
stone	<i>idin/fiid n.</i>	tail	<i>dub/ sen n.</i>
stop off	<i>lagubiram v.</i>	take	<i>k'adajin/wadaj v.</i>
stop up	<i>deeksine</i>	take care	<i>eegi v.</i>
stopper,plug	<i>huruk n.</i>	take revenge	<i>ijaasin/ gifan v.</i>
storage for grain	<i>k'afoo n.</i>	talk	<i>sabaramu/ k'ood v.</i>
stork	<i>handalajo n.</i>	talkative	<i>warbadan adj.</i>
straighten	<i>k'umisin v.</i>	tallest	<i>adminster/maamul v.</i>
strain	<i>meerin v.</i>	taste	<i>dadamuu v.</i>
stream	<i>iigu v.</i>	taste	<i>imaaji n.</i>
strength	<i>hugi n.</i>	teach	<i>barin v.</i>
stretch	<i>fidisaj v.</i>	tear	<i>ilma/eelmaa n.</i>
string	<i>adigo n.</i>	tear	<i>k'eeg v.</i>
strip off ( of bark)	<i>fiigaj v.</i>	tear ( cloth or paper)	<i>tuur v.</i>

teeth	<i>ilig</i> n.	time	<i>wok'iti</i> adv.
tell, recount (story)	<i>feeg</i>	to become bold	<i>hiiro</i> v.
ten	<i>toban</i>	to bite	<i>k'annin/kannine</i>
tendrils, vine	<i>laalu</i> n.	to bless	<i>sawaab</i> v.
testicle	<i>dadamis</i> n.	to blow	<i>dabeel</i> v.
testicle	<i>hennen</i> n.	to castrate	<i>kadabin</i> v.
that	<i>akaj/kaas</i> dem.	to clear the forest	<i>goobesh</i> v.
the best man	<i>aruuska</i> n.	today	<i>gaa</i>
the one who nag	<i>napisa</i> n.	to die	<i>jamuud</i> v.
the small one	<i>f'uroo</i> n.	to dig	<i>k'ot</i> v.
their	<i>kisood</i> pron.	to look for	<i>haabsan</i> v.
there	<i>hegga</i> pron.	to flow	<i>tegam/k'ulkul</i> v.
there	<i>higla sulugu</i> adv.	to give birth	<i>omaa</i> v.
there	<i>hogoo/heegga</i> adv.	to go out	<i>been</i> v.
strain	<i>ussood</i> pron.	to take out	<i>bees</i> v.
thick bark	<i>k'ulof</i> n.	to hit	<i>duwwan/dawun</i>
thigh	<i>eedin</i> n.	to hunt	<i>dugaad/ugaarsan</i>
thin	<i>k'anaar</i> adj.	to land	<i>dagaj</i>
think	<i>kufikirtaj</i> v.	to laugh	<i>k'ossal</i> v.
thirty	<i>sodon/sonona</i>	to live	<i>nolijaa</i> v.
this	<i>hikaaj/higgoo</i>	to rain	<i>hoor(roob)</i> v.
thorn	<i>ereen/hereen</i>	tortoise	<i>diin</i> n.
thousand	<i>kuun</i>	to say	<i>giriree/gireege</i>
throat	<i>duun</i> n.	to sit	<i>fadis</i> v.
thread,	<i>kiri</i> n.	to speak	<i>kood</i> v.
threaten	<i>ebsisaj</i> v.	to squeeze	<i>insasmof'e/matfirin</i> v.
three	<i>siddi</i>	to stand	<i>leekal</i> v.
thresh	<i>heer</i> v.	to sweep	<i>heegin</i> v.
throat	<i>dek</i> n.	to talk	<i>lakood</i> v.
throat pain	<i>duunmariid/dagaloo</i> n.	to tie	<i>hir</i> v.
throb (with pain)	<i>gugubin</i> v.	to tie/knot	<i>hirrii</i>
throw	<i>ganaj</i> v.	to walk/go	<i>tab</i> v.
throwing stick	<i>torgan</i> v.	tobacco	<i>tubakana</i> n.
through pp.	<i>saaj</i>	toe	<i>iddi</i> n.
thumb	<i>sool</i> n.	together	<i>sisal</i> adv.
thumb	<i>suul</i> n.	tomato	<i>tifaf'oo/jaana</i>
thunder	<i>bark'ak'e</i> n.	tomorrow	<i>barreej</i>
tickle	<i>kilkiles</i> v.	tongue	<i>arrab</i> n.
tie	<i>hir</i> v.	tongue	<i>errab</i> n.
tighten	<i>abfam</i> v.	tooth	<i>iliko/ilka/iilki</i>

tooth brush	<i>rumaj</i> n.	unmarried male	<i>k'awali</i> n.
toothpick	<i>burufee</i> n.	untie	<i>furne</i> v.
top tip of arrow	<i>fifii</i> n.	unwrap	<i>furfurin</i> v.
torn cloth	<i>naadoos</i> n.	urinate	<i>kaad</i> v.
tortoise	<i>diin/eela</i> n.	urine	<i>kaadi</i> n.
touch	<i>dáár/ taabban</i> v.	<b>v</b>	
touch	<i>dáár/taabani</i> v.	vagina	<i>sal</i> n.
towards	<i>hoortaa</i> pp.	valley	<i>k'ulk'ulka</i> n.
town	<i>magala</i> n.	vanguard	<i>hordaan</i> n.
trader	<i>safarite</i> n.	vein	<i>albode</i> n.
traitor	<i>inkiralo</i> n.	venom (of snake)	<i>sonuu</i> n.
trample	<i>doojin</i> v.	very	<i>dabbaj</i> adv.
transplant	<i>baddalaa</i> v.	viper like snake	<i>dzaarso</i> n.
trap for bird	<i>geebeel</i> n.	vision	<i>ilaanine</i> n.
trap for lion, hyena	<i>goomo</i> n.	visit	<i>si?iwarsadan</i> v.
trap of rat (n)	<i>biirkolis</i> n.	visitor	<i>dalhiis</i> n.
traveller	<i>dereerine</i> n.	voice	<i>kootu</i> n.
tread	<i>korkor</i> v.	vomit	<i>gurbafo</i> n.
tribe,ethnic	<i>k'abeena</i> n.	vomit	<i>gurib</i> v.
trip	<i>kudurtuu</i>	<b>w</b>	
trivet	<i>dadar</i> n.	wail, ululate (at funeral)	<i>oojni</i> v.
trouble	<i>kudibt</i> n.	wake up	<i>feeni/ sala?ajaaj</i>
trouser	<i>gonfa/ suurwane</i> n.	walk	<i>dareer/ta?</i>
trunk (of tree)	<i>gididi</i> n.	want	<i>haabsan/haaban</i> v.
truth	<i>run/ ruur</i> n.	war	<i>dagaal</i> n.
turn	<i>mod/ nago</i> n/v.	warm	<i>dirir</i> adj.
twenty	<i>namatan</i>	warning	<i>digniin/ sag</i> n.
twins	<i>mantenno/ mattan</i> n.	wart	<i>kormaami</i> n.
twist	<i>wareegaj</i> v.	warts on the neck of goat	<i>f'aaf'uu</i> n.
two	<i>nama</i>	wash	<i>dig</i> v.
<b>u</b>		wasp	<i>sor</i> n.
umbilical cord	<i>hinder</i> n.	water (n)	<i>bija</i> n.
uncle	<i>uftu</i>	water pipe n.	<i>riig</i>
uncle (brother of one's mother)	<i>ubte</i> n.	water tank	<i>haan</i> n.
uncle( brother of one's father)	<i>awar/ owar</i>	wattle (of female goat)	<i>f'aaf'uu</i> n.
under	<i>gudoo/doog</i> pp.	wax	<i>daab</i> n.
unfertile	<i>maan</i> adj.	we	<i>unnu</i> pron.
unload	<i>saarin</i> v	wear	<i>hir</i> v.
		wedding (ceremony)	<i>oroos</i> n.

weed	<i>fel</i> n.	wise	<i>aak'il/ k'ara</i>
weed	<i>jid</i> v.	wish	<i>heel</i>
well n.	<i>eeg</i>	with	<i>ku/ isla</i>
wet	<i>k'een</i> adj.	woman	<i>bilaan/gilarke</i> n.
what	<i>mee/mijjo</i> pron.	wood/tree	<i>geed</i> n.
when	<i>garmoo</i> pron.	word	<i>hool</i> n.
where	<i>into/intoobo</i>	work	<i>fak'aa/ dalag</i> v.
sunset	<i>iridiini</i> n.	working	<i>dalagni</i> n.
which	<i>oogo</i> pron.	world	<i>adduun</i> n.
while	<i>amba</i> conj.	worm	<i>hiski/diir</i>
whisper	<i>mirrekoone</i> v.	wound (n)	<i>beeg</i> n.
whispering	<i>kufkuf</i> n.	wrap up	<i>dudubine</i> v.
whistle	<i>fik'is</i> v.	wrinkles	<i>k'onf' oor</i> n.
whistling	<i>fik'isni</i> n.	write	<i>katab</i> v.
white	<i>ed</i> adj.		
white man	<i>naned</i> n.	<b>y</b>	
white stone	<i>bilaali</i> n.	yawn	<i>hahammof</i> n.
who/whom	<i>ajjo</i> pron.	year	<i>sanad</i> n.
why	<i>medantee/meej</i>	yellow	<i>boroh/ boron/huruud</i> adj
wide	<i>balaar</i> n.	yes	<i>haa</i> adv.
wide	<i>baláár</i> adj.	yesterday	<i>feleejbarre/beerree</i> n/adv
widen	<i>tolinaj</i> v.	yoke	<i>harwoota</i> n.
wife	<i>islaan/habaraadiminko</i> n.	yolk	<i>uukkunti</i> n.
wild rat	<i>kolisduur</i> n.	you	<i>adi</i> pron.
window	<i>dariif</i> ad n.	young	<i>ka?im</i> adj.
widow.	<i>groob/hugool</i> n.	young man	<i>daljaaro/ ka?im/ barbaar</i> adj.
wing	<i>koolu</i> n.	young bull	<i>dibi</i> n.
wing out	<i>micirtaj</i> v.		
wink ( of eye)	<i>elik'ebis</i> v.	<b>z</b>	
winter	<i>gulu</i> n.	zebra	<i>dameerdoorata</i>
wipe	<i>ooj/hag/tirtir/tirro</i> n.		

## Confirmation

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a thesis advisor.

Advisor's name: Dr. Joachim Crass (Associate Professor)

Signature: Dr. Joachim Crass

Date: 13.8.2015

## DECLARATION

I, the under signed, declare that the dissertation hereby submitted for the degree of Philosophy in Linguistics at Addis Ababa University is my own work and has not been previously submitted at another University for any degree. To the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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