

**SURVEY OF MAIN LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF
GOJJAM AMHARICAS COMPARED TO
ADDIS ABABA AMHARIC**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS**

**PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS**

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

NOVEMBER 2014

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Abdurahman Ousman entitled, *Survey of Main Linguistic Aspects of Gojjam Amharic* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (MA) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with two varieties of Amharic, namely Gojjam and Addis Ababa, in the form of comparison. Its main objective is to describe the peculiar linguistic features of Gojjam Amharic at phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical level. To accomplish this study, introspection, informant interview and text analysis were used as data collection methods. Regarding the phonological aspect, strengthening of consonants, the change of *h* to *k* or its deletion, insertion of *n*, palatalization of velar obstruents, and metathesis were observed in Gojjam Amharic. With regard to morpho-syntax, converb, formation of relative verbs, nominal plural marking, progressive/continuous constructions, the marker of indirect objects, and the form of certain prepositions and conjunctions display variation between Addis Ababa and Gojjam Amharic. Furthermore, the two dialects vary in their lexicon, especially in the nominal domain.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I gratefully acknowledge my advisor Dr. Ronny Meyer for his valuable advice, comments, suggestions and material support. This study would not have been successful without his assistance.

Next, I express my deep gratitude to my informants who gave me essential information for what I had asked.

Thirdly, I wish to acknowledge Degu Gize, who provided me with information and material about the history of Dejen town.

Lastly, I thank my family and friends who supported me financially, morally and materially. Especially, I thank Mossu Oumer, who went to rural areas with me for collecting data, as well as Hussien Oumer, Momina Ali and Seid Ousman.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Addis Ababa	INST	Instrumental
ABL	Ablative	INTJ	Interjection
ACC	Accusative	IPFV	Imperfective
APL	Associative plural	JUSS	Jussive
AUX	Auxiliary	LOC	Locative
BEN	Beneficiary	M	Masculine
CNV	Converb	MIL	malefactive,
COMP	Complementizer		instrumental, locative
CONT	Continuous	NEG	Negative
COP	Copula	NPST	Non-past
DAT	Dative	OJ	Object
DEF	Definite	PFV	Perfective
DSC	Discourse marker	PL	Plural
DST	Distal	POL	Polite
EPH	Emphasis	POSS	Possessive
F	Feminine	PRX	Proximal
FOC	Focus	PST	Past
GA	Gojjam Amharic	Q	Question
GEN	Genitive	REL	Relative
IDEO	Ideophone	SG	Singular
IMP	Imperative	SJ	Subject
INGR	Ingressive		
VN	Verbal noun		

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Dejen, which is the gate to the area where Gojjam Amharic is spoken, is a small town at the eastern edge of Gojjam. It is situated approximately 229 km to the west of Addis Ababa. Dejen consists of two sub-districts (*kebele*), namely Gulele (01) and Arada (02) which are inhabited by 11,193 people (Regional Communication Affairs Office 2005:3).

Dejen as a town was founded in 1929 E.C. by Ras Hailu Tekle Haymanot (Regional Communication Affairs Office 2005:3). Due to its location at the fringes of the Abbay desert, Dejen became a strategic point on the long distance trade route between Gondar in the north and the capital Addis Ababa. Bandits from different parts of the country frequented its surroundings. The various contacts among local inhabitants, traders, soldiers, bandits, and so on in Dejen and its surroundings probably yielded a specific variety of Amharic, which is known as Gojjam Amharic.

Meyer and Richter (2003:32-33) state that Amharic has served (de facto) as *lissanə nigus* 'the king's language' at the court since the 13th century.

Only in the 20th century Amharic became the (de jure) official language of the Ethiopian empire by decree.

Amharic belongs to the Semitic branch of the Afroasiatic language phylum. Within Semitic, Amharic belongs to the Ethio-Semitic subgroup, and forms together with Argobba, Eastern Gurage and Harari the Transversal sub-branch of South Ethio-Semitic (Meyer 2011:1151; 2006:117).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Amharic is said to have four main regional varieties, namely Gojjam, Gondar, Wello and Shewa, in addition to the standard variety spoken in Addis Ababa (Zealelem 2007:449). However, except for a few surveys done in the 1960s and 1970s, there is not much information about the linguistic features of the specific Amharic dialects (cf. Zealelem 2007 for an overview of the available literature). This is also true for the Gojjam dialect of Amharic. Despite that some of its grammatical features, like the use of bare converbs in main clauses and in negation, are frequently quoted in the linguistic literature, not much is known about other features of this dialect. Thus, this study attempts to disclose the main linguistic peculiarities of the Gojjam Amharic dialect particularly that of Dejen, in form of a contrastive survey between the Gojjam and Addis Ababa varieties of Amharic.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to describe the main linguistic features of Gojjam Amharic. This includes the following specific objectives:

- To describe the characteristic phonological features of Gojjam Amharic,
- To describe the characteristic morpho-syntactic features of Gojjam Amharic, and
- To describe the characteristic lexical features of Gojjam Amharic.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is believed to extend the basic knowledge of Amharic with regard to the Gojjam dialect of Amharic including its phonology, grammar and lexicon. By doing so, it contributes to a more accurate description and documentation of the Amharic language.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This study is concerned with the linguistic description of Gojjam Amharic in the form of a survey, i.e. it does not aspire to deal with each and every aspect of Gojjam Amharic, but only with its most prominent features. Furthermore, this study was carried out in Dejen town and its

surroundings. Hence, it focuses only on features of the Gojjam Amharic dialect spoken in Dejen.

1.6 Methodology of the Study

This study is concerned with the linguistic description of Gojjam Amharic. It is, thus, qualitative in nature. In order to accomplish the objective of this study, the following three data gathering tools were used: (i) introspection, (ii) informant interview, and (iii) text analysis.

Introspection was used as the main method because the researcher is a native speaker of Gojjam Amharic. Structured and unstructured interviews (see Appendix) were used as a second technique to obtain essential information and to verify and extend the findings from introspection.

The researcher interviewed twelve informants of different age and sex, who all were born and grew up in Dejen. Six of the informants, namely Ayalew, Kefle and Ismael (three men) were in their 80s, and Merem, Hawa and Muluye (three women) were 72 years of age. Three of the informants, all men, were between 20 and 64 years of age, namely Mossu (30 years old), Yesuf (60 years old) and Berke (35 years old). The remaining three male informants were teenagers between 13 and 19 years of age, namely Ahmed (14 years old), Habtamu (16 years old) and Abebe (19 years old). The interviews with the informants were audio recorded.

After the collection of the data on Gojjam Amharic, the researcher made formal interviews with speakers of Addis Ababa Amharic in order to get the equivalent data for this variety. Then, the collected data were arranged according to linguistic aspects, i.e. phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon, for comparison.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Controversy between Language and Dialect

There is no clear-cut demarcation that distinguishes between language and dialect. Consequently, there is always ambiguity in describing the exact differences between the two. According to Hudson (1996:32), language differs from dialect in terms of size because a language has a larger population of speakers than a dialect. Related to this is Haugen's (1966:922-923) observation that a language usually consists of various dialects. Hence, a language is a collection of dialects. With this regard, using a language means using one of its dialects. Therefore, every dialect is a kind of language but not every language is a dialect. The language name is the superordinate term while the dialect name is always the subordinate term.

Prestige is another criterion that might determine the difference between language and dialect. While language is usually reserved for more prestigious varieties, usually with a written standard, dialect is linked to various types of informal, lower class or rural speech (Hudson 1996:32; Chambers and Trudgill 1998:3). Therefore, Wardhaugh

(2010:25) considers dialect as an inferior form of communication that is equated to a non-standard or substandard variety.

Edwards (2009:63) states that a dialect is a variety of a language that differs from others along three dimensions: vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation. Usually, dialects are associated with particular geographical regions (McGregor 2009:158). Nevertheless, dialects of the same language are said to be mutually intelligible. If two varieties are linguistically very similar and are mutually intelligible, they are considered dialects of the same language. Conversely, varieties that are linguistically distinct and not mutually intelligible are separate languages (Groves 2008:8; Estes 2006:312-313; Hock and Joseph 1996:324).

A language, then, is the collection of dialects – whether they are standard or non-standard, urban or rural, regional or super-regional. Different languages differ from each other noticeably in phonology, grammar and lexicon.

Although mutual intelligibility is often considered as the main criterion to distinguish between language and dialect, Chambers and Trudgill (1998:3-4) observed that this criterion alone is not always sufficient due to the political and cultural history of a nation. For instance, though Danes, Norwegians and Swedes are able to understand each other, their varieties are today separate languages spoken in different countries. In a similar vein, politics and religion made Hindi and Urdu, and Serbo-

Croatian and Bosnian different languages although they are mutually intelligible(Wardhaugh 2010:26-29).The inefficiency of mutual intelligibility to differentiate language from dialect forces linguists to look for additional criteria. Bell (1976) – as quoted in Groves (2008:15) – states seven such criteria: standardization, vitality, historicity, autonomy, reduction, mixture, and de facto norms: Standardization refers to the process by which a language has been codified in some way. That process usually involves the development of grammars, spelling books, and dictionaries, and possibly a literary tradition.Vitality refers to the existence of a living community of speakers. This criterion distinguishes languages that are alive from those that are dead.Historicity refers to the fact that a particular group of people finds a sense of identity through using a particular language which belongs to them.Autonomy refers to a situation when speakers feel that a language is different from other languages.Reduction refers to the fact that a particular variety may be regarded as a sub-variety rather than as an independent entity.Mixture refers to feelings speakers have about the purity of the variety they speak.Finally, de facto norms refer to the feeling in a speech community that there are good speakers and poor speakers of a language and that the good speakers represent the norms of proper usage.

2.2 Dialectal Variation

Linguistic variation is a feature of all speech communities, as it is a central and inescapable feature of the speech of every community and of every individual (Trask 1996:279-281).

Any speech community is likely to be composed of different social groups that communicate with differing versions of the same language (or even with separate languages). In this sense, speech varies according to the primary group affiliation of the speaker based on social reference points such as social class, region, ethnicity, gender, and age. These reference points heavily shape the speech of individuals so that they inevitably signal their social identity in producing even the most banal utterance (Montgomery 2008:123).

Montgomery(2008:79-80) further states that the extension of a language through time and space allows for quite fundamental differences to emerge and exist side by side because its speakers may move and settle at different places, may shape it to express new experiences, or come in contact with speakers of other languages. Therefore, language is changing continuously, but at differing rates within the sub-communities of a certain speech community. This makes dialectal differences inevitable.

According to Meyerhof (2011:27), the following four factors have an impact on variation in language use:

- i. Speakers have a desire to show that they fit together with a certain group of people but are different from others.
- ii. Speakers are eager to do things that have value in their community and associate themselves with those values, i.e. speakers have a strong ambition to imitate the speech with the greatest value in the society and to reject the speech forms that undermine their status.
- iii. Speakers do not like to do things that are depreciated in the community, i.e. they may feel ashamed if they speak varieties without prestige. To escape this negative outlook, they inevitably tend to learn the standard or prestigious variety.
- iv. Speakers reflect how other speakers are orienting themselves to the concerns in relation to the above three factors and may adjust their speech style accordingly.

McGregor (2009:158) further states that no language with a reasonable number of speakers spread over a relatively wide territory will have a completely homogenous grammar and lexicon. Variation in pronunciation (the levels of phonetics and phonology), grammatical structure (the levels of syntax and morphology), vocabulary, semantics, and discourse-pragmatics are likely to be associated with different regions, which, in turn, may represent different dialects. Consequently, a regional variety or dialect is a form of language which conveys information about a speaker's geographical origin via words,

grammatical constructions or features of pronunciation which are present in some regions and absent in others (cf. Watson 2009:337-338).

Dialect diversity develops when people of a certain speech community are separated geographically and socially. Within a splinter group of speakers which is in contact with speakers of another language, changes will be quickly accelerated and spread and are finally acquired by children.

However, when only physical (oceans or mountains) or social (political, ethnic, social status or religious group membership) communication barriers separate speakers in a speech community linguistic changes do not spread so readily. Trask (1996:177) points out that after a long period of time the regional varieties of a certain language would eventually become so different from each other that they would cease to be mutually intelligible. In this case, they are not dialects anymore but rather different languages. An example for such a development is the Romance languages which all originated in Latin but in the course of time and geographical non-connectedness broke down into different languages like French, Spanish, Italian, Catalan, etc.

2.3 The Role of Amharic as Lingua Franca and Its Spread

It was not an overnight process for Amharic to become a lingua franca, but it took several steps. There are many speculations about when and where Amharic originated. According to Bender (1983:46), Amharic originated due to language contact through the process of pidginization and creolization. It was soldiers who invented the first pidgin of Amharic and transmitted it to their children as a mother tongue. Consequently, Amharic became the common means of communication in court and was called *lissanə nigus* 'language of the king'. Once it functioned as a spoken language, Amharic extended its use to a written language (*lissanə s'ihuf* 'language of literature') in the middle of the 19th century and replaced Ge'ez in this function.

Girma (2009:3-5) states that oral traditions, which are closely related to the pidgin origin hypothesis, can be considered for the creation of Amharic in that some groups of church scholars used Amharic in favor of Tigrinya and Ge'ez since Amharic was considered to be easier for communication. Hence, they created Amharic from Tigrinya and Ge'ez. However, since Amharic belongs to South Ethio-Semitic, but not to North Ethio-Semitic to which Tigrinya and Ge'ez belong, the origin of Amharic through the process of pidginization in which Tigrinya and

Ge'ez were involved is not acceptable. In contrast to the pidgin origin hypothesis, Amharic is believed to be a non-pidgin.

Though Amharic got its name from the place called Amhara, it is difficult to conclude that Pre-Amharic or Proto-Amharic-Argobba originated in the Amhara province in north-central Ethiopia. Besides, the occurrence of Semitic languages and dialects in Harar to the east, in Zay in the south, in Wello to the northeast, and further north to Shawa is no evidence for the claim that Amharic originated in the Amhara province, but rather it may indicate that it originated in the south (Girma 2009:199).

Amharic started to become a symbol of Ethiopian unification at the time of Menelik II, i.e. at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The status of Amharic increased when it was declared the national language of Ethiopia during the reign of Haile Selassie I. Consequently, only Amharic was used as the medium of instruction in primary education after 1956. Being the de facto and de jure single language of instruction, Amharic extended its high prestige during the DERG reign, for it was used in the administration and in printed materials. Hence, Amharic became the most prestigious and dominant language in Ethiopia (Meyer 2011:119-121).

Cooper (1976:290-291) claimed that lingua franca, mother tongue and superposed variety are the major concepts for analyzing the spread of a language. In the first case, lingua franca, a certain language spreads as

a second language outside its original speech community. It then becomes second language for non-mother tongue speakers, who, however, may abandon their actual mother tongue in favor of the new language. In short, there is language shift in this case, in which the lingua franca is the superposed variety. Whenever a language spreads as a superposed variety, a diglossic situation will be inevitable.

Cooper (1976:292-293) mentioned several factors which contributed to the spread of Amharic in Ethiopia. Military conquest of the Amhara people and their political supremacy is the first factor for the spread of Amharic in imperial administration. This was clearly observed during the reign of Menelik II when he expanded his territory to other parts of Ethiopia. Linguistic diversity in Ethiopia is the second factor for the spread of Amharic because it forced speakers to find a common language. Because Amharic is the language of the politically dominant group and has a considerable number of speakers compared to other languages, its spread is growing at a high rate as lingua franca in Ethiopia. Urbanization, public education, industrialization, mass communication and nationalism also have an impact on the spread of Amharic.

2.4 Previous Research on Amharic Dialects

According to Zelealem (2007:449), Amharic was said to be a language that has no distinct dialects for a long time. Abraham Demoz can be

considered as a pioneering scholar as he wrote a brief account on the peculiar linguistic features of Gondar Amharic in the 1950s (cf. Abraham 1955). Subsequent research (Hailu, Getachew and Cowley 1976; Getachew and Seifu 1976; Getahun 1983; Anbessa 1999) reported that Amharic has four regional varieties: Addis Ababa, Gojjam, Shewa and Wello spoken in central and northern Ethiopia. With the exception of Addis Ababa Amharic, these varieties represent a continuous geographical area where Amharic is the native language for most of the inhabitants (Meyer 2011:1154). In addition, Amharic also has minor varieties in regions like Harar, Jimma, Asella, etc. where it is used as a minor language or L2 for official communication (cf. Beniam 2006:31). The Addis Ababa variety is taken as the standard, for it is used in mass media, in educational books, and in governmental offices.

Besides geographical variation, Amharic also displays historical and social variation. Old Amharic, for instance, probably had a number of phonemes which got lost in the course of time, like pharyngeal and velar fricatives, or used distinct morphemes in certain morpho-syntactic constructions, like the relative marker with imperfective verbs, the plural marker, focus marking, etc. (cf. Meyer 2011:1153).

Amharic also possesses sociolects whose linguistic peculiarities strongly correlate with social groups. Takkele (1992:111) mentions that the ejective fricative *s'* is not an original Amharic phoneme but rather borrowed from Ge'ez. Speakers who know Ge'ez use *s'* while other

speakers use *t'* instead, as in *s'əbəl~t'əbəl* 'holy water'. Hence, the pronunciation of *s'* became a marker of social status. Moreover, some occupational or social groups, like merchants or shoe shiners, also create their own varieties of Amharic (Meyer 2011:1155).

Several studies were conducted on the Gojjam and Addis Ababa dialects of Amharic regarding phonological, grammatical and lexical peculiarities. With regard to phonology, the following observations were made. Metathesis of *ks* to *sk*, *t'r* to *rt'*, or *fr* to *rf* occurs in some nouns in Gojjam Amharic, as in *maskəjjo* (Addis Ababa Amharic *maksəjjo*) 'Tuesday', *mərt'əbija* (Addis Ababa Amharic *mət'rəbija*) 'axe', or *sirfa/sifra* (Addis Ababa Amharic *sifra*) 'place' (Anbessa 1999:259, Leslau 1995:27 and Zelealem 2007:457). Furthermore, the voiceless velar obstruents *k'* and *kare* palatalized to *tʃ'* in Gojjam Amharic if they are followed by the front vowels *i* or *e*, as in (Both in Addis Ababa and Gojjam Amharic *k'it'*) 'buttock', and *tʃ'im* (Addis Ababa Amharic *'im*) 'grudge' (Hailu, Getachew and Cowley 1976:93; Leslau 1995:16; Zelealem 2007:455). The subject suffixes with perfective verbs for the 1SG *-ku/-hu* and for the 2SG.M *-ki/-hi* optionally start with strengthened *k* or weakened *h* in Addis Ababa Amharic, whereas in Gojjam (and also in Wello) Amharic these suffixes always start with *h* (cf. Getahun 1983:38 and Zelealem 2007:460), as in (1):

Amharic (Hailu, Getachew and Cowley 1976:95 and Zelealem 2007:460):

(3 a *bəltə-w.* (GA) b. *bəltə-w-all.* (AA)
) .
 eat\CNV-3PL eat\CNV-3PL-AUX.NPST
 'They have eaten.'

(4 a *al-bəltə-m* (GA) b. *al-bəlla-m* (AA)
) .
 NEG-eat\CNV-3SG.M-FOC NEG-eat\PFV.3SG.M-FOC
 'He did not eat/He has not eaten.'

In Addis Ababa Amharic, the converb is followed by an auxiliary verb to form a main clause verb (Getachew and Seifu 1976:115), as in (3). Negated converbs do not exist in Addis Ababa Amharic; instead the negated perfective verb is used, as in (4).

The prefix /ə- serves as an indirect object marker in Addis Ababa Amharic, but Gojjam Amharic uses the prefix *jə-* instead (Hailu, Getachew and Cowley 1976:96 and Getachew and Seifu 1976:117), which also functions as genitive marker in the two Amharic varieties:

(5 *məs'haf-u- jə-liḏ-u* *lä-liḏ-u*(AA) *sätt'ä-hu-t.*
) *n* (GA)/
 book-DEF- DAT-child-DEF DAT-child-DEF give\PFV-1SG-OJ.3SG.M
 ACC
 'I gave the book to the child.'

The nominal plural marker *-ottf* is used with relative verbs in Gojjam Amharic but not in Addis Ababa nor in other varieties of Amharic (Getachew and Seifu 1976:116 and Meyer 2011:1155).

(6	<i>k'iddim jā-mətt'-</i>	<i>jə-mətt'-u-t(AA)</i>	<i>wəndim-ottf-</i>	<i>n-</i>
)	<i>ottf(GA)/</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>attfəw.</i>
	previousl	REL-come\PFV-PL	REL-come\PFV-	brother-PL-
	y	3PL-DEF	POSS.1SG	COP-3PL
	'Those who came a moment ago are my brothers.'			

Lexical variations also occur between Addis Ababa and Gojjam Amharic (cf. Getachew and Seifu 1976:119-120 and Zelealem 2007:464-465).

This study differs from previous works on Amharic in that it focused both on speakers of Gojjam Amharic who settle in urban and rural areas. What is more, some of the informants were not familiar with Addis Ababa Amharic since they lived only in Gojjam areas.

CHAPTER THREE

MAIN LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF GOJJAM AMHARIC COMPARED WITH ADDIS ABABA AMHARIC

The aim of this chapter is to describe the peculiarities of Gojjam Amharic (GA) in comparison to Addis Ababa Amharic (AA). For ease of description, the Addis Ababa dialect is taken as the standard, while the Gojjam dialect represents the object of comparison. The relationship between the two dialects is described synchronically, i.e. it does not represent diachronic development.

3.1 Phonological Variation

Gojjam Amharic has a number of phonological features which are distinct from Addis Ababa Amharic. These include the following:

3.1.1 Strengthening of the Consonants s' , m , t and p

The Gojjam variety of Amharic has the tendency to strengthen certain consonants as compared with Addis Ababa Amharic. The most prominent fortification process involves the alternation between the ejective fricative s' (AA) and the ejective plosive t' (GA). Less frequently strengthening is also observed on m , t and p in Addis Ababa Amharic

which might occur in Gojjam Amharic as *bor t'* and *b*, respectively. For the strengthening of *h* (AA) to *k* (GA), see Section 3.1.2.

Strengthening of the ejective fricative *s'* (AA) to the ejective plosive *t'* (GA) is a very prominent phonological feature of Gojjam Amharic. This process is most frequently observed in nominals, as shown in the following table:

Table 1: Alternation of s' (AA) and t' (GA)

	Addis Ababa	Gojjam	Gloss
	Initial		
(a)	<i>s'əhaj</i>	<i>t'əhaj</i>	'sun'
(b)	<i>s'əhafi</i>	<i>t'əhafi</i>	'writer'
(c)	<i>s'əbaj</i>	<i>t'əbaj</i>	'behavior'
(d)	<i>s'əgur</i>	<i>t'əgur</i>	'hair'
(e)	<i>s'əbəl</i>	<i>t'əbəl</i>	'holy water'
(f)	<i>s'ət't'íta</i>	<i>t'ət't'íta</i>	'silence'
(g)	<i>s'om</i>	<i>t'om</i>	'fasting'
	Medial		
(h)	<i>fis's'um</i>	<i>fitt'um</i>	'never'
(i)	<i>məs'haf</i>	<i>mət'af</i>	'book'
(j)	<i>his'an</i>	<i>it'an</i>	'child'
(k)	<i>anas'i</i>	<i>anat'i</i>	'carpenter'
	Final		
(l)	<i>gils'</i>	<i>gilt'</i>	'clear'
(m)	<i>dims'</i>	<i>dimt'</i>	'voice'

Beside nominals, the fortification of *s'* to *t'* is also found with some verbs, like *s'alləjə*(AA) vs. *t'alləjə*(GA) 'pray', or *gəlləs'ə*(AA) vs. *gəllət'ə*(GA) 'describe'.

Strengthening of *s'* to *t'* most frequently occurs word-initially (cf. examples a–g in Table 1), but also word-medially (cf. examples h–k in Table 1) and word-finally (cf. examples l–m in Table 1) with decreasing frequency. In word-final strengthening (examples l–m in Table 1), the consonants *s'* ~ *t'* occur as second element in the coda of a heavy syllable. The strengthening process in Table 1 only shows a tendency, i.e. speakers of Gojjam Amharic frequently prefer *t'* instead of *s'*. On the other hand, educated and younger speakers of Gojjam Amharic also use *s'*.

However, there is an exceptional case in which *t'* of Addis Ababa Amharic becomes *s'* in Gojjam Amharic: *gəs'ər* (GA) vs. *gət'ər* (AA). This distinction is also manifested within Gojjam itself between East and West Gojjam, i.e. *gəs'ər* is used in East Gojjam, while *gət'ər* occurs in West Gojjam.

The strengthening of *m*, *t* and *p* (AA) to *b*, *t'* and *b* (GA) was only observed in a few words, like *zämän* (AA) vs. *zäbän* (GA) 'year' (see Appendix 3 line 14 and Appendix 4 line 2 and 9), or *posta* (AA) vs. *bost'a* (GA) 'letter' and *polis* (AA) vs. *bolis* (GA) 'policeman'.

3.1.2 Sound Changes Involving the Fricative *h*

In some words, the glottal fricative *h* in Addis Ababa Amharic may be strengthened to *k* (cf. example (a) in Table 2) or deleted (cf. examples (b–d) in Table 2) in Gojjam Amharic:

Table 2: Sound Changes Involving the Glottal Fricative h

	Addis Ababa	Gojjam	Gloss
(a)	<i>haja</i>	<i>kija</i>	'twenty'
(b)	<i>hagər</i>	<i>agər</i>	'country'
(c)	<i>hakim</i>	<i>akim</i>	'doctor'
(d)	<i>məhajjim</i>	<i>majjim</i>	'illiterate'

While literate and youngerspeakers of Gojjam Amharic use the fricative *h* to some extent in their speech, rural as well as illiterate speakers of Gojjam Amharic hardly use it. Hence, the occurrence of *h* is rare in Gojjam Amharic. The loss of *h* may also occur in Addis Ababa Amharic.

3.1.3 Insertion of *n*

The insertion of the nasal *n* was observed in Gojjam Amharic in some words cases, as in:

- (7) a. *agobər*(AA) vs. *angobər*(GA) 'mosquito net'
 b. *baləgara*(AA) vs. *baləngara*(GA) 'opponent'
 c. *tʃ'əg^warra*(AA) vs. *tʃ'əngu^warra* (GA) 'gastric'

3.1.4 Palatalization

According to Katamba (1989:86), velar consonants often have a slightly palatalized pronunciation when followed by front vowels because the tongue is raised towards the hard palate in the production of the vowels. While palatalization before the front vowels *i* and *e* is almost

not audible in Addis Ababa Amharic, it occurs as a prominent phonological feature in Gojjam Amharic (and in Wello)(cf. also Hailu, Getatchew and Cowley 1976:91–93; Getahun 1983; Zelealem 2007:455; and Meyer 2011:1154).

Table 3: Palatalization of Velars

	Addis Ababa	Gojjam	Gloss
(a)	<i>kiraj</i>	<i>kʲiraj</i>	'rent'
(b)	<i>geta</i>	<i>gʲeta</i>	'God'
(c)	<i>məsgid</i>	<i>məsgʲid</i>	'mosque'
(d)	<i>k'im</i>	<i>tʃ'im</i>	'grudge'
(e)	<i>k'itt'a</i>	<i>tʃ'itt'a</i>	'flat bread'
(f)	<i>k'es</i>	<i>tʃ'es</i>	'priest'
(g)	<i>k'era</i>	<i>tʃ'era</i>	'place for slaughtering'
(h)	<i>k'et'əma</i>	<i>tʃ'et'əma</i>	'kind of grass'
(i)	<i>arək'e</i>	<i>arətʃ'e</i>	'traditional alcohol'

The palatalization triggered by the vowels *i* and *e* is realized in two separate ways. First, these vowels trigger the palatalization of the ejective velar *k'* to the ejective alveopalatal *tʃ'*, as shown in Table 3d–f. Second, with the velar plosives *k* and *g*, the vowels *i* and *e* only trigger the palatal co-articulation of these consonants, i.e. *kʲ* and *gʲ* and change their vowel quality to *ɨ* and *ɛ*, respectively, as shown in Table 3a–c.

Palatalization also occurs at the junction of morphemes, as in the following example:

(8) AA *bimot*

GA *bʲim^wet*

b-j-mot

if-3SG.M-die\PVF

'if he dies'

Furthermore, the palatalization of *s* to *š* was observed in a few words, like *sik^war* (AA) vs. *šik^war* (GA) 'sugar', or *mist* (AA) vs. *mift* (GA) 'wife'.

In addition, variation is also found between Gojjam and Addis Ababa Amharic. Regarding *ɜ~dɜ* (*liɜ* (GA) vs. *lidɜ* (AA) 'child', *ɜəɣna* (GA) vs. *dɜəɣna* (AA) 'brave'), *z~ʒ* (*zingurgur*(GA) vs. *ʒingurgur*(AA) 'gray'), and *t'~tʃ* (*t'is*) (GA) vs. *tʃ'is* (AA) 'smoke', *t'əmmək'ə* (GA) vs. *tʃ'əmmək'ə* (AA) 'squeeze').

3.1.5 Metathesis

Metathesis is another prominent feature of Gojjam Amharic when compared with Addis Ababa Amharic. In this process, two consonants exchange their positions to one another (see also Zelealem 2007:457 from which some of the following examples were taken):

Table 4: Metathesis

	Addis Ababa	Gojjam	Gloss
	Metathesis of first and second root consonant		
(a)	<i>dəggəfə</i>	<i>gəddəfə</i>	'support'
(b)	<i>sətt'əmə</i>	<i>səmmət'ə</i>	'sink'
(c)	<i>k'ətt'ələ</i>	<i>lətt'ək'ə</i>	'continue'
	Metathesis of consonants of two adjacent onsets		
(d)	<i>č'ən.k'əllat</i>	<i>k'ən.č'əllat</i>	'skull'

	Addis Ababa	Gojjam	Gloss
	Metathesis of coda and onset consonants of two adjacent syllables		
(e)	<i>sif.ra</i>	<i>sir.fa</i> (also <i>sif.ra</i>)	'place'
(f)	<i>kib.rit</i>	<i>kir.bit</i>	'match'
(g)	<i>ig.ziabher</i>	<i>iz.gabher</i>	'God'

Table 4 shows that metathesis occurs with consonants in verbal roots (a–c) as well as in nominal stems (d–g).

Regarding verbal roots, metathesis occurs with the first and second root consonants (like *d* and *g* in Table 4a), the second and third root consonants (like *t'* and *m* in Table 4b), and also with the first and third root consonants (like *k'* and *l* in Table 4c). Note that the gemination of the second root consonant is a conjugational feature of the perfective aspect but not of the root consonant.

Regarding nominal stems, metathesis frequently occurs in consonant clusters word-medially, in which the coda consonant of the preceding syllable comes in contact with the onset consonant of the following syllable. In Table 4e–g, the coda consonants in Addis Ababa Amharic, i.e. *f*, *b* and *g*, are less sonorous than the following onset consonants, i.e. *r* and *z*. In Gojjam Amharic, the sonority in the clusters is reversed so that the more sonorous consonants precede the less sonorous ones.

In Table 4d, the metathesis affects the onset consonants of two adjacent syllables.

3.1.6 Labialization

Labialization in the form of labial co-articulation in Gojjam Amharic can sometimes be observed in words, in which the vowel *o* is preceded by a labial consonant (cf. Hailu, Getachew and Cowley 1976:92). The labial co-articulation ^w triggers rounding of the preceding labial consonant, whereby the vowel *o* of Addis Ababa Amharic changes to *ɛ* in Gojjam Amharic, as was also observed in the palatalization of velar plosive in Gojjam Amharic triggered by the vowel *e* (see 3.1.4).

Table 5: Labialization

	Addis Ababa	Gojjam	Gloss
(a)	<i>mot</i>	<i>m^wɛt</i>	'death'
(b)	<i>mɔŋŋ</i>	<i>m^wɛŋŋ</i>	'foolish'
(c)	<i>mofər</i>	<i>m^wɛfər</i>	'part of plow'
(d)	<i>bozəne</i>	<i>b^wɛzəne</i>	'jobless, idle'

3.1.7 Vowel variations

Variations between Gojjam and Addis Ababa Amharic also occurred at vowel level, as in the following examples: *hədə* (GA) vs. *hedə* (AA) 'go', *ʃəffonə* (GA) vs. *ʃəffənə* (AA) 'cover', *likiso* (GA) vs. *ləkso* (AA) 'mourning', *dida* (GA) vs. *duda* (AA) 'deaf', *dok'et* (GA) vs. *duk'et* (AA) 'flour'.

3.2 Morpho-Syntax

3.2.1 Use of the Converb

In Addis Ababa Amharic, the converb (cf. Leslau 1995: 295; Meyer 2012:181) is a non-finite verb form which can combine with the present-tense auxiliary *-all* to form a present perfect in main clauses (Getatchew and Seifu 1973:115), as in the following example:

- (9) *t'ətt'itʃe-allə-hu* (AA)
drink\CNV.1SG-AUX.NPST-1SG
'I have drunk.'

The present perfect in (9) contrasts with the perfective in (10) in that it refers to situations which were completed in the past but are still of relevance at the moment of speech:

- (10) *t'ətt'a-hu* (AA)
drink\PFV-1SG
'I drank.'

The perfective in (10) denotes that an activity was completed without emphasizing the relevance of this accomplishment to the moment of speech.

The present perfect only occurs in the affirmative. In negation, it is replaced by the perfective:

- (11) *al-t'ətt'a-hu-m* (AA)
NEG-drink\PFV-1SG-FOC
'I did not drink/I have not drunk.'

- (16) *innəssu zəfnə-w* (GA)
 3PL sing\CNV-3PL
 'They sang/have sung.'

Furthermore, the bare converb can also be negated in main clauses in Gojjam Amharic by using the prefix *al-* plus the suffix *-m* of perfective verbs:

- (17) *issu al-zəfno-m* (GA)
 3SG.M. NEG-sing\CNV.3SG.M-FOC
 'He has not sung.'

- (18) *al-t'ətt'ito-m* (GA)
 NEG-drink\CNV-3SG.M-FOC
 'He has not drunk.'

- (19) *al-mətt'o-m* (GA)
 NEG-come\CNV.3SG.M-FOC
 'He has not come.'

The use of negated converbs in main clauses is a very typical feature of Gojjam Amharic, which does not exist in the Addis Ababa variety (Hailu, Getatchew and Cowley 1976:95; Zelealem 2007:460).

Beside its function as a main-clause verb, the converb in Gojjam Amharic can also be used as a dependent verb form in clause-chaining constructions, as in (20), and for adverbial modification, as in (21):

- (20) a. *bank gəbto bīrr awt'ito ji-mməlləs-all* (GA)
 bank enter\ Money bring_out\ 3SG.M-return\
 CNV.3SG.M CNV.3SG.M IPFV-AUX.NPST
 'Having entered the bank and taken money from it, he will
 return.'
- b. *ibət-u mətt'o mīsa-wi-n* (GA)
 LOC-house-POSS.3SG.M come\CNV.3SG.M lunch-POSS.3SG.M-ACC
bəlto wədə sīra-w hedo
 eat\CNV.3SG.M towards work-POSS.3SG.M go\CNV.3SG.M
 'Having come home and eaten his lunch, he went to his work.'
- c. *dəbdabə s'ifo jəhit-u ji-lik-ill-at-all* (GA)
 letter write\CNV. DAT.sister- 3SG.M-send\IPFV-OJ.3SG.F-
 3SG.M POSS.3SG.M AUX.NPST
 'Having written a letter, he will send it to his sister.'

- (21) *fiit'o təməlləs-ə* (GA)
 sell\CNV.3SG.M return\PFV-3SG.M
 'He came back selling.'

3.2.2 Formation of Relative-Clause Verbs

Relative-clause verbs in Addis Ababa Amharic are formed from perfective verbs by attaching the prefix *jə* and from bare imperfective verbs by attaching the prefix *jəmm* to them:

- (22) *jə-hed-u-t* (AA)
 REL-go\PFV-3PL-DEF
 'they who went'

- (23) *jəmm-i-hed-u-t* (AA)
 REL-3PL-go\IPFV-PL-DEF
 'they who (will) go'

Gojjam Amharic differs in two respects from Addis Ababa Amharic in the formation of relative clause verbs. First, they differ regarding the definite marker with perfective relative verbs, which is the suffix *-tu* in Gojjam Amharic instead of Addis Ababa *-t*:

- (24) a. *jə-tət'all-u-tu* (GA) b. *jə-tət'all-u-t* (AA)
 REL-fight_each_other\PFV-3PL-DEF REL-fight_each_other\PFV-3PL-DEF
 'they who fought with each other'

- (25) a. *jə-təfənnəf-u-tu* (GA) b. *jə-təfənnəf-u-t* (AA)
 REL-be_defeated\PFV-3PL-DEF REL-be_defeated\PFV-3PL-DEF
 'they who were defeated'

Second, instead of the 3PL subject marker *-u* plus definite marker *-tu*, Gojjam Amharic can also use the plural marker *-ottf*(see 28), as in the following example:

- (26) *jə-sərrək'-ottf təjaz-u* (GA)
 REL-steal\PFV-PL be_caught\PFV-3PL
 'Those who stole were caught.'

The use of these two plural markers on relative clause verbs in Gojjam Amharic conveys a pragmatic distinction. Relative clause verbs marked by the 3PL subject suffix *-u* plus the definite marker *-tu* have specific referents known to the speaker, while the use of the plural marker *-ottf* indicates indefinite, unspecific referents. With other subjects, the

A relative verb can be also formed from a converb in Gojjam Amharic, as in the following examples:

(33 *jə-bəlto-t* *issu* *nəw* (GA)
)
 REL-eat\CNV.3SG.M-DEF 3SG.M COP.3SG.M
 'It is he who has eaten.'

(34 *jə-gədlo-t* *polis-u* *nəw* (GA)
)
 REL-kill\CNV.3SG.M-DEF policeman-DEF.M COP.3SG.M
 DEF
 'It is the policeman who has killed.'

(35 *jə-t'ətt'ito-t* *issu* *nəw* (GA)
)
 REL-drink\CNV.3SG.M-DEF 3SG.M COP.3SG.M
 'It is he who has drunk.'

(35 *jə-tətt'alto* *issu* *nəw* (GA)
)
 REL-quarre\CNV.3SG.M 3SG.M COP.3SG.M
 'It is he who has quarreled.'

3.2.3 Use of the Nominal Plural Marker-*ottf*

The productive nominal plural morpheme in Addis Ababa and Gojjam Amharic is the suffix *-ottf*, which can be attached to any countable singular noun to change it into plural, like *bet* 'house' vs. *bet-ottf*'houses' (AA/GA). However, this morpheme has a wider

distribution in Gojjam Amharic, where it is also attached to numerals and 3PL relative clause verbs, which is ungrammatical in Addis Ababa Amharic (Getatchew and Seifu1973:116). When the plural suffix *-ottfis* attached to numerals in Gojjam Amharic, it denotes a partitive ('X of them', whereby X stands for the numeral), as shown in the following examples:

(37) *ammist-ottf tǎjizə-w* (GA)
 five-PL be_caught\CNV-3PL
 'Five of them were caught.'

(38) *sost-ottf t'əftə-w* (GA)
 three-PL disappear\CNV-3PL
 'Three of them disappeared.'

In Addis Ababa Amharic, in contrast, the definite article *-u* is used instead of the plural marker *-ottf* in these constructions:

(39) *ammist-u tǎjaz-u* (AA)
 five-DEF be_caught\PFV-3PL
 i. 'Five of them were caught.'
 ii. 'The five were caught.'

(40) *sost-u t'əff-u* (AA)
 three-DEF disappear\PFV-3PL
 i. 'Three of them disappeared.'
 ii. 'The three disappeared.'

Note that the Addis Ababa Amharic expressions in (39) and (40) are ambiguous between a reading as partitive in (i) or a definite numeral in

(ii).The Gojjam Amharic expressions in (37) and (38), in contrast, only have a partitive reading.

Furthermore, the nominal plural marker *-ottf* can be attached to relative verbs with a 3PL subject in Gojjam Amharic but not in Addis Amharic (cf. Getatchew and Seifu 1973:116; Hailu, Getatchew and Cowley 1976:96):

(41) *jə-təjjə-ottf ingidottf nattfəw (GA)*
 REL-sleep\PFV-PL guest.PL COP.3PL
 'Those who slept are guests.'

(42) *im-i-sər-ottf (GA)*
 REL-3PL-work\IPFV-PL
 'those who are working'

3.2.4 Continuous

Addis Ababa Amharic has a progressive construction consisting of the prefix *ijjə*-attached to a perfective verb which is followed by the invariable 3SG.M present-tense copula *nəw* or the past tense copula *nəbbər*. An identical construction is also found in Gojjam Amharic:

(43) *ijjə-hed-ə nəw (AA/GA)*
 CONT-go\PFV-3SG.M COP.3SG.M
 'He is going.'

However, the Gojjam Amharic construction displays a number of peculiarities not found in Addis Ababa Amharic. First, with 1SG subjects, the copula does not occur in the invariable 3SG.M form but

also agrees with the subject. However, with all other subjects, the invariable 3SG.M copula is used:

(44) *ijj-anəbbəb-ku-ገገ* *nəገገ* (GA)
 CONT-read\PFV-1SG-OJ.1SG COP.1SG
 'I am reading.'

(45) *wəndim-e-n* *ijjə-məssəl-kə-ገገ* *nəw* (GA)
)
 brother-POSS.1SG-ACC CONT-appear\PFV-2SG.M-OJ.1SG COP.3SG.M
 'You are looking like my brother to me.'

The 1SG copula *nəገገ* is not much used in this type of construction in Addis Ababa Amharic while it is very common in the Gojjam dialect.

Furthermore, in Addis Ababa Amharic, the construction *ijjə-* plus perfective verb plus copula denotes a progressive, i.e. it only occurs with action verbs. In Gojjam Amharic, in contrast, it denotes the continuous, i.e. it is also used with stative verbs, as in (45) above and in the following examples:

(46) *ijjə-tərədda-h^u* *nəገገ* (GA)
 CONT-understand\PFV-1SG COP.1SG
 'I am understanding.'

(47) *ijjə-wəddəd-ku-f* *nəገገ* (GA)
 CONT-love\PFV-1SG-OJ.2SG.F COP.1SG
 'I am (starting) loving you.'

The examples (45–47) are commonly used in Gojjam Amharic to describe continuous situations. However, it is ungrammatical to use them in Addis Ababa Amharic in this function.

3.2.5 Marker of the Indirect Object

In the dialect of Gojjam, the dative prefix *jə* is used as a marker of the indirect object while Addis Ababa Amharic uses the prefix *lə* for this function (Getatchew and Seifu 1973:117; Hailu, Getatchew and Cowley 1976:96).

(48 *adəra-wi- jabbat-jäw* [*labbat-jäw* *adərrəs-* (GA)
) *n* (AA)] *ku*
 vow-DEF- DAT.father- DAT.father- bring\PFV-
 ACC SNG.DEF SNG.DEF 1SG
 'I took the vow to the father.'

(49 *birr-u-n jəhit-wa* [*ləhit-wa*(AA)] *sit'-at* (GA)
)
 money-DEF- DAT.sister- DAT.sister- give\IMP.2SG
 ACC POSS.3SG:F POSS.3SG:F .F-OJ.3SF.
 'Give the money to her sister!'

(50 *dəbdabə-wi-n jə-liḫ-u* [*lə-liḫ-* *anəbbəb-ku-ll-* (GA)
) *u*(AA)] *ət*
 letter-DEF-ACC DAT-child- DEF DAT-child-DEF read\PFV-1SG-
 DEF DAT-OJ.3SG.M
 'I read the letter to the boy.'

(51 *dabb jə-liḫ-u* [*lə-liḫ-u* *gəzza-hu-ll-ət* (GA)
) *o* (AA)]

bread DAT-child-DEF DAT-child-DEF buy\PFV-1SG-DAT-
OJ.3SG.M

'I bought bread for the boy.'

(52 *k^was-u-n jə-liɕ-u* [*lə-liɕ-u məlləs-ki-ll-ət?* (GA)
) (AA)]

ball-DEF- DAT-child-DEF DAT-child-DEF return\PFV-2SG.M-
ACC DAT-OJ.3SG.M

'Did you return the ball to the child?'

However, this does not mean that the preposition *lə-* does not occur in Gojjam Amharic at all. Here, the preposition *lə-* is mainly used to mark adjunct noun phrases which modify the purpose or the cause for the situation expressed by the main verb, as in the following examples:

(53 *mobajil-e-n issu lə-mə-srək'- t'iritt'ir jəllə-ɲɲ-im* (GA)
) *u*

cell_phone- 3SG.M for-VN-steal- doubt not_exist.NPST.3
POSS.1SG-ACC POSS.3SG.M SG.M-OJ.1SG-
NEG

'I have no doubt that he stole my cell phone.'

(54 *lə-gitf'it-u mə-ffət'ər issu nəw tət'əjjak'i-w* (GA)
)

for-conflict- VN- 3SG.M COP.3SG.M responsible-
DEF.M be_created DEF.M

'He is responsible for creating the conflict.'

(55 *zəbəɲɲa jə-k'ətt'ər-ku-ll- lə-dəhɲinət-ih bijje nəw* (GA)
) *ih*

guard REL-hire\PFV-1SG- for-security- say\CNV. COP.
for-OJ.2SG.M POSS.2SG.M 1SG 3SG.M

'I hired the guard for your security.'

(56 *iras-ε-n lə-matrəf s-i-l nəw jə-gəddəl-ku-* (GA)

)

self-	for-	while-1SG-	COP.	<i>t</i>
POSS.1SG-	VN.Rescue	say\IPFV	3SG.M	REL-kill\PFV-
ACC				1SG-OJ.3SG.M

'I killed him for rescuing myself.'

3.2.6 Conjunctions- *s-* ~ *t-*'while' and *kə-* ~ *tə-*'if, when'

In Addis Ababa Amharic, the construction consisting of the temporal conjunction *s-* plus an imperfective verb denotes simultaneity, while *kə-* plus a perfective verb expresses a real condition.

(57) *s-i-mət'a* (AA)
 while-3SG.M-come\IPFV
 'while he comes'

(58) *kə-mətt'a* (AA)
 if-come\PFV.3SG.M
 'if he comes'

In Gojjam Amharic, the conjunctions-with imperfective verbs means 'while', and *tə-*with perfective verbs means 'if, when':

(59) *s-i-mət'a* (GA)
 while-3SG.M-come\IPFV
 'while he comes'

(60) *tə-mətt'a* (GA)
 if-come\PFV.3SG.M
 'if he comes'

3.2.7 Preposition *bə- ~ i-* 'in, on' and *kə- ~ tə-* 'from'

Getahun (1983:44-45) observed that the two prepositions *bə-* 'in, on' and *kə-* 'from' are commonly used in Addis Ababa. The preposition *bə-* is used to indicate location and is often followed by the postpositions *lay* 'top' or *wist* 'inside' to differentiate between the meanings 'on' and 'in', respectively.

In Gojjam Amharic, the preposition *bə-* is replaced by *i-*, which, however, might also be used in Addis Ababa Amharic in the same function:

*Table 6: Preposition *bə- ~ i-* 'in, on'*

	Addis Ababa	Gojjam	Gloss
(a)	<i>bə-/i-sat'ínuwist</i>	<i>i-sat'ínuwist</i>	'in the box'
(b)	<i>bə-/i-səmay lay</i>	<i>i-səmay lay</i>	'on the sky'
(c)	<i>bə-/i-kisuwist</i>	<i>i-kisuwist</i>	'in his pocket'
(d)	<i>bə-/i-rasu lay</i>	<i>i-rasu lay</i>	'on his head'
(e)	<i>bə-/i-ǵorow lay</i>	<i>i-ǵorow lay</i>	'on his ear'

Thus, while in Addis Ababa the two preposition *bə-* and *i-* can be used alternatively, in Gojjam Amharic only the preposition *i-* is used. In the Wello dialect of Amharic, the preposition *i-* is also used instead of *bə-* (cf. Getahun 1983:44).

Regarding the preposition *kə-* 'from', it is usually replaced by *tə-* in Gojjam Amharic, whereby the use of *kə-* is also possible here:

(61) *kə-gəbaja mätt'a* (AA)

from-market come\PFV.3SG.M
'He came from the market.'

(62) *kə-bankbet wətt'u* (AA)
from-bank exit\PFV.3PL
'They came out of the bank'

(63) *tə-/kə-gəbəja mət't'a* (GA)
from/from-market come\PFV.3SG.M
'He came from the market.'

(64) *tə-/kə-bank bet wətt'-u* (GA)
from/from-bank exit\PFV-3PL
'They came out of the bank'

The alternation *tə-~kə-* in Gojjam Amharic seems only to occur with locative expressions. In time expressions, only the preposition *tə-* 'from' is used, as in *tə-tənant wədija* (GA) vs. *kə-tənant bəstija* (AA) 'the day before yesterday'.

3.3 Lexical differences between Gojjam and Addis

Ababa Amharic

Lexical variation plays a major role for the distinction between Gojjam Amharic and Addis Ababa Amharic. There are many examples for lexical differences between the two; some of them are given in the following table:

Table 7: Lexical Variation between Addis Ababa and Gojjam Amharic

	Addis Ababa	Gojjam	Gloss
Nouns(objects)			
(1)	<i>akinnbalo</i>	<i>mugəd</i>	'oven cover'
(2)	<i>mäsöb</i>	<i>m^wehädo</i>	'container for storing local bread'
(3)	<i>sini</i>	<i>fiñḡal</i>	'cup'
(4)	<i>bila</i>	<i>Karra</i>	'knife'
(5)	<i>tʃ'ube</i>	<i>sənt'i</i>	'small knife'
(6)	<i>zənəzəna</i>	<i>muk'ətʃ'tʃ'a</i> <i>gɪlgəl</i>	'pestle'
(7)	<i>insira</i>	<i>madinga</i>	'pot'
(8)	<i>mədərdərija</i>	<i>girgij</i>	'traditional shelf'
(9)	<i>rəkəbot</i>	<i>gənda</i>	'small coffee table'
(10)	<i>məwərwərija</i> <i>a</i>	<i>məzzagija</i>	'instrument to close adoor'
(11)	<i>mət'rəbija</i>	<i>missar</i>	'axe'
(12)	<i>tʃ'ilfa</i>	<i>fəlana</i>	'spoon'
Nouns (clothes)			
(13)	<i>nət'əla</i>	<i>kuta</i>	'traditional clothes'
(14)	<i>ssuri</i>	<i>b^welale</i>	'trousers'
(15)	<i>bird lībs</i>	<i>k^webərta</i>	'blanket'
(16)	<i>wist' suri,</i> <i>pant</i>	<i>mutant</i>	'pants'
Nouns (food and drinks)			
(17)	<i>att'mit</i>	<i>muk'</i>	'drink prepared from flour'
(18)	<i>k'arija</i>	<i>k'et'o</i>	'green papper'
(19)	<i>arera</i>	<i>wəgəmit</i>	'whey'
(20)	<i>ʃənkora</i>	<i>agəda</i>	'sugar cane'
(21)	<i>t'əlla k'itt'a</i>	<i>abʃilo</i>	'mash for making local beer'
(22)	<i>tʃ'äw</i>	<i>aʃabo</i>	'salt'
Nouns (money)			
(23)	<i>hamsa</i>	<i>ʃiling</i>	'fifty-cent coin'

	Addis Ababa	Gojjam	Gloss
	<i>santim</i>		
(24)	<i>assirbirr</i>	<i>bawind</i>	'ten birr'
(25)	<i>hajaammists antim</i>	<i>simuni, mezzo</i>	'twenty-five-cent coin'
Nouns (humans and animals)			
(26)	<i>his'an</i>	<i>m^wessa</i>	'baby'
(27)	<i>lid̥</i>	<i>gubil</i>	'child'
(28)	<i>libs səfi</i>	<i>məkina səfi</i>	'tailor'
(29)	<i>ajit'</i>	<i>sərt'it</i>	'rat'
(30)	<i>ink'urarit</i>	<i>gurt'</i>	'frog'
Nouns (others)			
(31)	<i>k'irtf'a</i>	<i>firida</i>	'system of sharing cow's meat'
(32)	<i>məngəd</i>	<i>g^wədana</i>	'street'
(33)	<i>məbrat</i>	<i>korrənti</i>	'light'
(34)	<i>tt'ara</i>	<i>bat'</i>	'roof'
(35)	<i>kufna</i>	<i>madbet</i>	'kitchen'
Verbs and verbal nouns			
(36)	<i>kojjito</i>	<i>sənbito</i>	'staying for a long period of time'
(37)	<i>məmtat</i>	<i>mələggat</i>	'to hit'
(38)	<i>mək'ənnəs</i>	<i>mək'ənəf</i>	'to minimize'
(39)	<i>mədəkkər</i>	<i>mət'rəs</i>	'traditional way of dancing'
(40)	<i>affigəw</i>	<i>ləbbidəw</i>	'cover it!'
(41)	<i>k'əlak'ləw</i>	<i>ammataw</i>	'mix it!'
(42)	<i>zorbəl</i>	<i>təkəl/kila</i>	'go away!'
(43)	<i>giba</i>	<i>zilək'</i>	'enter!'
Adjectives			
(44)	<i>tinn̥ʃ</i>	<i>inbutt'a</i>	'small'
(45)	<i>moŋŋ</i>	<i>zink'ul</i>	'foolish'

As Table 7 indicates, the majority of lexical differences between Addis Ababa and the Gojjam Amharic is found with nouns (cf. examples 1-35), followed by verbs (cf. examples 36-43), and adjectives (cf. examples 44-45). The nouns in Table 7 express various meanings, i.e. objects (cf. 1-12), clothes (cf. 13-16), foods and drink types (cf. 17-22), money items (cf. 23-25), humans and animals (cf. 26-30) and others (cf. 31-35). These semantics differences usually belong to the cultural not to the basic vocabulary.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY

This chapter provides a summary on the major linguistic aspects of Addis Ababa and Gojjam Amharic.

Variation between Addis Ababa and Gojjam Amharic can be observed at phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical levels. At the phonological level, Gojjam Amharic shows variation from Addis Ababa Amharic in terms of consonant strengthening of *s'* to *t'*, and less frequent *m* to *b* and *t* to *t'*. The fricative *h* in some (but not all) lexical items of Addis Ababa is either strengthened to *k* or deleted in Gojjam Amharic. Insertion of the alveolar nasal *n* also occurs in Gojjam Amharic. Beside metathesis of consonants in root and stem morphemes, palatalization of velar consonants preceding the front vowels *e* and *i* is common in Gojjam Amharic.

Regarding the morpho-syntactic variation between Addis Ababa and Gojjam Amharic, the different uses of the converb is most prominent. The bare converbis used as a main clause verb in the affirmative and negative in Gojjam Amharic but not in Addis Ababa Amharic, where it only occurs in the affirmative and must be accompanied by auxiliary verbs in main clauses to form the perfect. Both dialects use converbs as

dependent verb form in clause-chaining constructions and for adverbial modification.

Regarding relative clauses, the two varieties also show variation. In the perfective aspect, Addis Ababa Amharic uses the suffix *-u* as an agreement marker for 3PL subjects, but in Gojjam Amharic either the suffix *-u* or the nominal plural marker *-ottf* is used instead. In the case of verbs based on the imperfective aspect, their relative clause marker is *jəmm-* in Addis Ababa Amharic but *imm-* in Gojjam Amharic; the variant *imm-* that was mentioned as a feature of Gojjam Amharic in previous studies (see Section 2.4) could not be found.

Variation is also observed in the use of the nominal plural marker *-ottf*. While Gojjam Amharic uses it for marking nominal plural number and 3PL subjects with relative clause verbs, in Addis Ababa Amharic, it is only used to mark plural number with countable noun. To express the partitive, Addis Ababa Amharic uses the definite article *-u* attached to numerals, while Gojjam Amharic attaches the plural suffix *-ottf* to them.

Furthermore, Addis Ababa Amharic attaches the prefix *ijjə-* only to active perfective verbs followed by the invariable 3SG.M copula to express the progressive. In Gojjam Amharic, the prefix *ijjə-* can also be attached to stative verbs so that it denotes a continuative, not a progressive. Furthermore, the copula in this construction agrees with 1SG subjects but is the invariable 3SG.M with all other subjects.

The indirect object marker is the dative prefix /ə- in Addis Ababa Amharic but the dative prefix *jä-* in Gojjam Amharic.

Lexical variation – mainly in the nominal domain –also plays a key role for differentiating between Addis Ababa and Gojjam Amharic.

As Gojjam Amharic has plenty of linguistic features, this study only focused on the major ones. There may be additional features that still have to be described.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: GENERAL QUESTIONS TO INFORMANTS

In order to show the linguistic variation which prevails between Addis Ababa and Gojjam Amharic, the researcher asked the following questions to speakers of both dialects in Amharic and translated them into English.

Questions for teenager interviewees

1. ስም -

Name

2. የትውልድ ቦታ -

Where have you been born?

3. የትምህርት ደረጃ -

Educational background

4. ስንት አይነት ቋንቋ ትናገራለህ / ትናገራለህ -

How many languages do you speak?

5. ሌላ ቋንቋ የሚነገርበት አገር ኑረህ ታውቃለህ / ታውቁለህ -

Have you ever lived in a country where other languages are spoken?

6. ትርፍ ጊዜህን / ሽንብ ምን ታሳልፋለህ / ታሳልፋለህ -

How do you spend your free time?

Questions for adult interviewees

1. ስም -

Name

2. የትውልድ ቦታ -

Where have you been born?

3. የትምህርት ደረጃ -

Educational background

4. ስንት አይነት ቋንቋ ትናገራለህ /ትናገሪያለሽ -

How many languages do you speak?

5. ሌላ ቋንቋ የሚነገርበት አገር ኑረህ ታውቃለህ /ታውቁያለሽ -

Have you ever lived in a country where other languages are spoken?

6. አግብተህል /ሻል -

Are you married?

7. ካገባህ /ሽ በትዳርህ /ሽ ላይ የገጠመህ /ሽ ችግር ካለ -

If you are married, are there any problems that you have faced?

8. በህይወትህ /ሽ የገጠመህ /ሽ አስደሳችም ይሁን አሳዛኝ ገጠመኝ

ካለህ /ሽ -

Is there any good or sorrow thing in your life?

9. በምን አይነት የስራ ዘርፍ ትተዳደራለህ /ትተዳደሪያለሽ -

What is your job?

Questions for old interviewees

1.ስ ም -

Name

2.የ ት ውል ድ ቦ ታ -

Where were you born?

3.የ ት ምህ ር ት ደ ረ ጃ -

Educational background?

4.ስ ን ት አ ይ ነ ት ቋ ን ቋ ይ ና ገ ራ ሉ -

How many languages do you speak?

5.በ ስ ን ት አ መት ዎ ት ዳ ር ያ ዙ -

How old were you when you married?

6.ሌ ላ ቋ ን ቋ የ ሚ ነ ገ ር በ ት አ ገ ር ኑ ረ ው ያ ው ቃ ሉ -

Have you ever lived in a country where other languages are spoken?

7.በ ህ ይ ዎ ት ዎ የ ገ ጠመዎ አ ስ ደ ሳ ች ም ይ ሁ ን አ ሳ ዛ ኝ ገ ጠመኝ ካ ለ ዎ -

Is there any good or sorrow thing that you faced in your life?

8.በ ምን አ ይ ነ ት የ ስ ራ ዘ ር ፍ ይ ተ ዳ ደ ሩ ነ በ ር -

What was your job?

APPENDIX 2: GRAMMAR TASKS

1. የ ሰ ር ጉ ዘ ፋ ፕ ዘ ፈ ነ እ ን ዴ (

Has the singer sung in the wedding)?

_____ አ ል ዘ ፍ ኖ ም (ኅ ጃ ም)

_____ አ ል ዘ ፈ ነ ም (አ አ)

2. እ ን ግ ዳ ው ከ ጠ ላ ው ጠ ጣ ወ ይ (Has the guest drunk from traditional beer)?

_____ አ ል ጠ ጥ ቶ ም (ኅ ጃ ም)

_____ አ ል ጠ ጣ ም (አ አ)

3. አ በ በ ከ ሄ ደ በ ት መ ጣ እ ን ዴ (

Has Abebe come from where he had gone)?

_____ አ ል መ ጠ ም (ኅ ጃ ም)

_____ አ ል መ ጣ ም (አ አ)

4. እ ነ ማ ን ና ቸ ው የ ታ ሰ ሩ ት (

Who were arrested)?

_____ የ ተ ጣ ሎ ቹ (ኅ ጃ ም) _____

የ ተ ጣ ሎ ት (አ አ)

5. ለ ግ ጭቱ መን ስ ኤ ማነ ው ተ ጠያ ቂ ው (Who were responsible for the conflict)?

_____ የ ተ ሸ ነ ፎ ቹ (ጎ ጃ ም)

_____ የ ተ ሸ ነ ፉ ት (አ አ)

6. ማን ን እ ያ የ ነ ው (Who is he looking at)?

_____ ሚያ የ ው እ ሱን ነ ው (ጎ ጃ ም)

_____ የ ሚያ የ ው እ ሱን ነ ው (አ አ)

7. ወ ዴት እ የ ሄ ደ ች ነ ው (Where she is going to)?

_____ ምት ሄ ደ ው ወ ደ ባ ን ከ ነ ው (ጎ ጃ ም)

_____ የ ምት ሄ ደ ው ወ ደ ባ ን ከ ነ ው (አ አ)

8. ስ ን ቶ ቹ ተ ያ ዙ (How many of them were caught)?

_____ አ ምስ ቶ ች (ጎ ጃ ም) _____ አ ም

ስ ቱ (አ አ)

9. ስ ን ቶ ቹ ጠፉ (How many of them disappeared)?

_____ ሰ ስ ቶ ች (ጎ ጃ ም)

_____ ሰ ስ ቱ (አ አ)

10. እነ ማን ናቸው የተያዙት (Who have been caught)?

_____ የሰረቆች (ጎጃም)

_____ የሰረቁት (አአ)

11. አደራውን ለማን ነው ያደረሰከው (

For whom you took the vow)?

_____ የአባትየው (ጎጃም)

_____ ለአባትየው (አአ)

12. ብሩን ለማን ነው የሰጠከው (For whom you gave the money)?

_____ የደላላው (ጎጃም)

_____ ለደላላው (አአ)

13. ለማን ነው ደብዳቤውን ያነበብከው (For whom you read the letter)?

_____ የልጁ (ጎጃም)

_____ ለልጁ (አአ)

14. ለማን ነው ዳቦ የገዛችው (For whom she bought bread)?

_____ የእንግዳው (ጎጃም)

_____ ለእንግዳው (አአ)

15. ከትምህርት ቤት ስትመጣ አይተህት ነበር (

Did you see her while she came from school)?

_____ ት ት መጣ አ ላ የ ሁ ት ም (ጎ ጃ ም)

_____ ስ ት መጣ (አ አ)

16. ከ እንግሊዝ ፕሪሚየር ሊግ ቡድኖች የ ማን ደጋፊ ነህ /ሽ (Which team would you support from premier league club)?

_____ የ አር ስ ና ል ገ ዳ ፊ (ጎ ጃ ም)

_____ የ አር ስ ና ል ደ ጋ ፊ (አ አ)

APPENDIX 3: TEXTS

TEXT 1: MARRIAGE OF MY MOTHER

(1)አባትህሲያገባኝአንድባለገመድአስፍቶአባቴደሞየሀበሻቀማሲየህቴቢስራላትእኔነኝየምለብስውብዬአለቀስኩኝ።

(2)«ተምታለቅሽ»ተብዬእስዋእያለቀስችየስዋንቀማሲተሰጠሁ፣ ወዲያውባልመጣ።

(3)እሱያመጣውያችንመሉሽንሽን«ጉድ»ተብላተቀጥራእሱባለገመድቢያመጣ«እንዲህያለአመጣ»ተብሎሰውተደነቀ።

(4)አንድሱሪአንድኩታድርበድርናትያችንለብሼበኮርቻበቅሎተስቅዬመኪናአይገባመጣሁ።

(5)እዚህስመጣየሹፌርማሲትናቸውዝንጉርጉርቀማሲለብስወሲመጠ«እንደዚያያለታልተገዛልኝ»ብዬአለቀስኩ። (6)እሱደሞ«ምንድንነውእንዲህእምታቀብጫት?

ይህንየመጣላትንናየተጣለላትንትልበስእንጅአሁንብርየለኝም፣ አላስፋም»ሲል«ልጄማአታለቅስም»ተብዬእንደነዚያየሹፌርችማሲትእንደለበሱትተስፋልኝ፣ «ጫማጣዙልኝ»አልኩናተገዛልኝ።

(7)ያንንለብሼለሁለተኛመልስስሄድ«ምንእድልነውተመጣላትሽይሄቀረ»ሳይል«እንዲህአርጎያስፋልሽሳይቆሽሽሳያረጅ»ተባልኩ፣ «እአሁንምአስፋለሁባይነትነውልብስእዚያአገርያለ«ምረጭ»ተብዬነውየተስፋልኝ»አልኩ።

(8)ኖርኩኖርኩዝምብዬተዚያይዞልብስይመጣልማስፋትይመጣልማስፋትእሱያመጣልኝንብቻመልበስእንደሰውመርጨአልለብስም።

(9)ስለብስስለብስአንዲትጓደኛዬ«አንቺደሞዘውትርአንድአይነትልብስነውየምትለብሽውለምንድንነውየማትሸሻይ»አለችኝ። (10)

«ሻሽሽአረንገዴቀማሲሽአረንገዴአንድአይነትምንድንነውብቅያሪመልበስነውእንጅ»ስትለኝእኔ«ሱቅሂጄአልመርጥእሱያመጣልኝን«እምቢ»አልልያመጣልኝንያምቢሆንያምቢሆንእለብሳለሁኝ»እያልኩኖርኩ(11)አሁንእንዲህያለውዘበንመጣባይነትባይነት«ያሻሽሽአንድአይነትቀማሲሽአንድአይነት»የተባልኩትቀርቶአንድኪያቀማሲይሆናል

ያለኝ «የትኛውን ልልበስ» እያልኩኝ ጎሳ ላላሁ።

(12) እና ግን እንዲህ በመካከሉ ሰዎች «አሰፊ» ቢሉኝ እኔ ስለ «ወየ ወይችን ለብሼጩ ሻት የዚች እድሜ ግኝቼ» በዩተመኝ ሁኔታ የዚች እድሜ ምልክት ነው።

(1 *abbat-ih s-ij-agəba-ŋŋ and balə-gəməd asəfto*
)
 father- when-SJ.3SG.M- one with-halter¹ sew\CNV.3SG.M
 POSS.2SG.M marry\IPFV-OJ.1SG
jə-habəfa k'əm jəhit-e b-i-səra-ll-at ine nəŋŋ
is
 DAT/GEN- dress DAT/GEN.sister- if-SJ.3SG.M- 1SG COP.1SG
 Habesha POSS.1SG work\IPFV-BEN-
 3SG.F
jəmm-i-ləbs-əw bijje aləkk'əs-ku-ŋ
 REL-SJ.1SG-wear\IPFV-OJ.3SG.M say\CNV.1SG cry\PFV-SJ.1SG-OJ.1SG

'When your father married me, he sewed a Habesha dress with a halter top for my sister. When he did so, I was crying because I thought that I am the one who will wear it.'

(2) «*tə-mmī-t- təbijje iss^wa ij-j-aləkk'əs- jəss^wa-n*
alək'f»
 ABL-REL-2SG.F- be_said\ 3SG.F CONT-cry\PFV- DAT/GEN.3SG.F-ACC
 cry\IPFV.2SG.F CNV.1SG 3SG.F
k'əmi təsətt'ə-hu - wədi jaw bal mətt'a
 s
 dress be_given\PFV-1SG immediately husband come\PFV.3SG.M

'Fearing my vow (lit. "From your crying" I was said), her dress was given to me while she was crying. Then immediately the husband came.'

¹ Women's dress with a halter-top.

(3 *issu j-amətt'a-w ja-ttʃi-n mulu ʃinʃin «gud» təbla*
)

3SG.M REL-bring\PFV. DST-F-ACC full pleat oh_no be_said\
3SG.M-DEF.M CNV.3SG.F

tək'ət'ra issu balə-gəməd b-ij-amət'a «ind-ih j-allə
be_counted\
CNV.3SG.F 3SG.M with_halter if-3SG.M- bring/IPFV like-PRX REL-exist.PFV.
3SG.M

amətt'a» təblo səw-u tədənnək'-ə
bring\PFV.3G.M be_said\CNV.3SG. M people-DEF.M marvel\PFV.3SG.M

'What he brought was that pleated skirt (lit. that one full of pleat) which was considered with amazement, and when he brought that with a halter-top, the people marvelled and said, "He brought something like this!"'

(4) *an suri and kuta – dīr bə-dīr nat –*
d

one trouser one thick_robe woven_fabric INST- COP.3SG.F
r² woven_fabric

ja-ttʃi-n ləbiffə bə- bək'lo təsək'ijje –
korittʃa

DST-F- wear\CNV.1S LOC-saddle mule be_mounted\CNV.1SG
ACC G

məkina a-j-gəba – mətt'a-hu
car NEG-3.SG.M-enter\IPFV come\PFV-1SG.F

'I put on one trousers, one thick robe – which was made from woven fabric – and that [dress with a halter-top], and came (here), mounted in the saddle of a mule – because cars could not enter.'

² A *kuta* is a traditional garment made from string.

(5) *i-zzih s-i-mət'a jə-fufer mis nattfəw zingurgur*
t

LOC- when-1SG-come\IPFV GEN-driver wife COP.3PL multicolored
 PRX

k'əmi ləbsə-w s-i-mət'u «ində- jallə
s zzija
 dress wear\CNV-3PL when-3PL- like-DST REL-
 come\IPFV.PL exist\PFV.3SG.M

t-al-təgəzza-lli-ŋŋ!» bijje aləkk'əs-ku
 iff-NEG-be_bought\PFV.SJ.3SG.m-BEN- say\CNV.1SG cry\PFV.1SG
 OJ.1SG

'When I came here, [there was] the wife of a driver who came wearing a multicolored dress. I thought, "If I only also could get such a thing!" (lit. I saying, "If such a thing is not bought for me").'

(6) *issu dəmmo «mindi nəw ind-ih imi-t-ak'əbbitj'-at?*
n

3SG.M again what COP. like-PRX REL-SJ.3SG.F-
 3SG.M make_be_restive\IPFV-
 OJ.3SG.F

jih-i-n jə-mətt'a-ll-ati-n inna jə-tət'al-ə-ll-ati-n
 PRX- REL- and REL-be-thrown\PFV-SJ.3SG.M-BEN-
 ACC come\PFV.SJ.3SG.M- OJ.3SG.F-ACC
 BEN-OJ.3SG.F-ACC

t-i-lbəs inɕ ahu birr jəllə-ŋŋi-m
i n
 3SG.F-wear/JUSS but now money not_exit\PFV.SJ.3SGM-OJ.1SG-
 FOC

a-l-asəfa-m» s-i-l «liɕ-e-ma
 NEG-1SG-sew\IPFV- when-3SG.M-say\IPFV child-POSS.1SG-FOC
 FOC

a-tt-alək'si- təbijjə ində-nnə-zzija jə-fufer-ottj mist
m»
 NEG-3SG.F- be_said\CNV.1SG like-APL-DST GEN-driver-PL wife
 cry\IPFV-FOC

ində-ləbbəs-u- təsəffa-ll-ijŋŋ «tʃ'ama gizu-ll-ijŋŋ!»

t

like-wear\PFV- be_sewn\PFV.SJ.3SG. shoes buy\JUUS.SJ.2PL-BEN-
SJ.3PL-OJ.3SG.M M-BEN-OJ.1SG OJ.1SG

al-ku-nna təgəzza-ll-ijŋŋ.

say\PFV-1SG-and be_bought\PFV.SJ.3SG.M-BEN-OJ.1SG

'When he then said, "What is it that makes her being so restive? She should just wear this what was bought for her (lit. what came for her) and what was given to her (lit. what was thrown to her), now I don't have money and won't sew (anything)!", [my mother-in-law] said to me (lit. I was said), "As to my child, it doesn't cry!" That (kind of dress) what the driver's wife was wearing was sewn for me, (and) I said, "Buy me shoes!", and they were bought for me.'

(7) *ja-nni-n ləbiŋŋe lə- məls s-i-hed «min
hulətəŋŋa*

DST-ACC- wear\CN DAT-second revisit when-1SG-go\IPFV what
ACC V.1SG

iddil nəw?! tə-məgbat-ij jih-e k'ərrə?!»
chance COP.3SG.M ABL-enter.VN- PRX-EPH remain\PFV.3SG.M
POSS.2SG.F

s-a-ji-l «ind-ih argo j-asəffa-ll-ij
when-NEG- like-PRX make\CNV.3SG.M REL-sew\PFV.SJ.3SG.M-BEN-
3SG.M-say\IPFV OJ.2SG.F

s-a-j-k'ofij s-a-j-arəŋŋ?!» təbal-ku – «i ahun-im
when-NEG- when-NEG- be_said\PFV.1SG eh now-FOC
3SG.M- 3SG.M-
be_dirty\IPFV be_old\IPFV

*assəffa-allə- b-ajŋət nəw libs i-zzija agər j-allə
hu.*
(1SG)let_sew\IP INST- COP. clothes LOC-DST countr REL-exist\PFV.
FV-AUX.NPST- kind 3SG.M y 3SG.M
1SG

«mirətʃ'» təbijje nəw jə-təsəffa-ll- al-ku

ijnj»

choose\IMP.2SG. be_said\CNV.1S COP.3SG.M be_sewn/PFV.SJ. say\PFV-
F G 3SG.M-BEN-OJ.1SG 1SG

‘Wearing that (dress and shoes) I went to the second revisit (of my parents). [There], it was not said, “What [kind of] fortune is this?! This [only] remained from your marriage?!” [Instead] I was told [by my friends], “[How can it be] that what he has sewn for you did not get dirty nor is it worn out?!” I said, “Eh, even now I let sew [clothes]. Every type of clothes is there at that place [lit. country]. I chose [what I liked] and it was sewn for me.”

(8) *nor-ku nor-ku zim bijje tə-zzija jizo libs*

live\ live\ IDEO.si say\CNV. ABL-DST hold\CNV.3SG.M clothes
PFV.1SG PFV.1SG lence 1SG

jī-mət’a-al massəfa jī-mətt’a-al massəfa issu
t t
3SG.M-come\IPFV- let_sew.V 3SG.M-come\IPFV- let_sew.V 3SG.M
AUX.NPST N AUX.NPST N

j-amətt’a-ll-ijnjī-n bittf məlbəs ində-səw mərittʃe
a
REL- only wear.VN like-person choose\CNV.1SG
bring\PFV.SJ.3SG.M-
BEN-OJ.1SG-ACC

a-l-ləbsi-m
NEG-1SG-wear\IPFV-FOC

‘I kept living just so (lit. saying, “silence”). Clothes came from here and there, or were ordered to sew. I only wore what he brought for me, but did not select [my clothes] like [other] people.’

(9) *s-i-ləbs s-i-ləbs and-it g^wadəŋŋa-je «antʃi dəmmo*
 when-1SG- when-1SG- one-F friend-POSS.1SG 2SG.F again
 wear\IPFV wear\IPFV

zəwti an ajnə libs nəw jəmmi-t-ləbf-iw.

r d t

always one kind clothes COP.3SG.M REL-2SG.F-wear\IPFV.F-DEF.M

ləmindi nəw jəmm-a-tti-ʃʃəʃaj?» alə-ttʃ-iŋŋ

n

why COP.3SG.M REL-NEG-2SG.F- say\PFV-SJ.3SG.F-
 be_improved\IPFV.F OJ.1SG

‘When I wore [my clothes] again and again, one of my friends said to me, “As to you, you are always wearing one kind of clothes. Why is it that you don’t improve yourself?”

(10) «*ʃaf-ʃif arəŋg^wad k’əmis-ʃif arəŋg^wad an ajnə mindin*
e e d t
 scarf- green dress- green one kind why
 POSS.2SG POSS.2SG.F

nəw? bə-k’ijari məlbəs nəw indʒi! si-tti-ll-əŋŋ ine

»

COP. INST- wear.VN COP. but when-SJ.3SG.F- 1SG
 3SG.M change 3SG.M say\IPFV-BEN-OJ.1SG

«*suk hidʒe a-l-mərt’. issu j-amətt’a-ll-iŋŋ*

,

shop go\CNV.1S NEG-1SG- 3SG.M REL-bring\PFV.SJ.3SG.M-
 G choose\IPFV BEN-OJ.1SG

«*imbi» a-li-l ja-m b-i-hon ja-m b-i-hon*
 refusal NEG-1SG- DST-FOC if-3SG.M- DST-FOC if-3SG.M-be\IPFV
 say\IPFV be\IPFV

i-ləbs-allə-hu-ŋŋ» ij-j-al-ku nor-ku
 SJ.1SG-wear\IPFV-AUX.NPST-SJ.1SG- CONT-say\PFV- live\PFV.1SG
 OJ.1SG 1SG

‘When she said to me, “Your scarf is green, your dress is green – one kind [of clothes] why? Instead, wearing [clothes] is by changing [them]!”, I said, “I don’t go to the shop and choose

[it]. I do not refuse what he brings for me, whatever it is I wear it." So, I live.'

- (11) *ahun ind-ih j-allə-w zəbən mətt'o b-ajnət b-ajnət*
 now like-PRX REL- exist\PFV. 3SG.M-DEF.M period come\ CNV.3SG.M LOC-kind LOC-kind
- «*ja ʃaf-ɨf and ajinət k'əmis-ɨf and ajinət*
 DST scarf-POSS.2SG.F one kind dress-POSS.2SG.F one kind
 »
- jə-təbal-ku-t k'ərto an k'ija k'əmi ji-hon-al*
 REL-be_said\PFV-1SG-DEF-M remain\CNV.3SG.M one twenty dress 3SG.M-be\IPFV-AUX.NPST
- j-allə-ŋŋ jətɨŋŋaw- li-lbəs ij-j-al- ing^walləl-allə-hu*
 REL-exist\PFV. SJ.3SG.M-OJ.1SG which-ACC 1SG- wear\ JUSS CONT- say\ PFV-1SG (1SG)be_confused/IPFV -AUX.NPST-1SG

'Now a time like this approached, everything [is] according to its kind. [The time] at which I was told that my scarf is the same kind as my dress is over. I have about twenty dresses. I am confused when I think which one I should wear.'

(12) *inna gin ind-ih bə-məkakkəl-u səw-ottf «assəfi»*
 and but like-PRX LOC-middle- person-PL let_sew\JUSS.2SG.
 POSS.3SG.M F

b-i-l-u-ŋŋ ine-s wəjə jɪ-ttf-in ləbɪffe tf'ərrɪff-at
w
 if-SJ.3PL-say\ 1SG-FOC instead PRX-F-ACC wear\ finish\CNV.
 IPFV-PL-OJ.1SG CNV.1SG SJ.1SG-
 OJ.3SG.F

jə-zzi-ttf idme aɣnɪttfe biije təməŋŋə-hu
 GEN-PRX-F age find\CNV.1SG say\CNV.1SG wish\PFV-1SG

jə-zzi-ttf idme-m aɣəŋŋə-hu
 GEN-PRX-F age-FOC find\PFV-1SG

'But in the meantime, when the people said me to let sew clothes, I said, "If I only could wear off this [piece of clothes]!" And I wished. "If I only could get the age for this!" And I got this age.'

TEXT 2: SHORT STORY WITH GEBRE HANNA

- (1) «ድሮየ አጼ ማኒ ሊክ አ ማካ ሪና ቸው» ይባላል። (2) «ጎንደር እርህ ብሆነ» ሲባል «ብቃ፣ ያ ገልግሎት ይሰጠኝ» ብለው ወያወጠን ራብር ተሰጠው ይዘው አ ገራቸው ላይ ያዩ ወሰን ያትን ብርሰት ቸገረው ጠጡ።
- (3) ብዙ ዘንግን ከቆዩ በሁለት ወራት ውስጥ ለሁሉም ሰዎች ልቅ ልጃቸውን ወደ ቤተ መንግስት ይልካሉ።
- (4) ለጁም ቤተ መንግስት በራሱ ላይ ሲደርስ ዘንግን ያ ገኘው «ያለቃ ገብረ ሀናል ጅነኝ እሳቸው ሞተው ተሰካር ማውጫን ሆይ እንዲሰጠኝ ወደ መጣሁት» ይለዋል።
- (5) ዘንግን ወምተዚያ «እረአለቃ ገብረ ሀናል ተሰናብተው ሌሎች ይተዋል እንዴት ሊሆን ይችላል» ሲለው «አስገብት» ብለው ወልጁ ያ ገና ተሰካር ማውጫ በርዕስ ጠና ይዞ ይሄዳል።
- (6) ተዚያ ደምበዚያ ብርቱካ ለመሰባሰብ ሱህ ራሳቸው አለቃ ገብረ ሀናል አዲስ አበባ መጠው ወደ ቤተ መንግስት ይሄዱ ያ ገባሉ።
- (7) ተዚያ ምዘንግን ወላጅ ልባ ለሁሉ ሲላቸው «አለቃ ገብረ ሀናል ነኝ» አሉት።
- (8) እንዲያ ወዲህ «ወጣልኝ ተመለስ አለቃ ገብረ ሀናል ተሞቱን ትዘን ሆኖ አቸው ለምወይ ተሰካሩ ሁሉ ወጠው ብቅቶ ለምወይ እንዴት እንዲህ ትላለህ» አለው ዘንግን ወላጅ።
- (9) «አይሆን ምቀረ እኔ ነኝ ተላይ ድኩስ ትመጣሁ ተላይ ድኩስ ትመጥቻለሁ ነገር ልኝ» አሉ።
- (10) ጃን ሆይ ይህንን ሲሰማ ያ ገረመው «አስገብትን ደውተሞትን ብተዋል ተሰካር ማውጫ ለሁሉ ልክና ልእንዴት ሊሆን ቻለ» ይሉና «አስገብት» ይባላል ያ ገባሉ።
- (11) ተዚያ «አለቃ ተላይ ትመጡ» ተላይ ለምዘን ያ «ብለው ሲጠይቁ ቸው» አዎ» ብለው መለሱ አለቃ።
- (12) «ታዲያ ተላይ ትመጡ» ሲሉ ለሁሉ «ተሰማይ ምን ብለው» ሲሉ ለሁሉ «አክኝ እዝግ አብሄር ተመልሶ እዝግ አብሄር ወደ ዚህ ተመለስ ኩእና መጣሁት ታጋር ተመልሼ መጣሁ» አሉ ለሁሉ ለቃ።
- (13) ተዚያ «እንግዲህ ጆክ እሳቸው ሰዎች አሉ እንዴት ሊሆን ቻለ? ለመሆኑ እነ አጼን ጉስ እንግዲህ ሞቱት ድሮ ባለስልጣናችን እንዴትና ቸው» ተዚያ ሲሉ «አይደለም ዚያ ሀን ምወሰን ጥሰይ ጣን አስረገገ ራሱ ቸው ሁያን ፈርቼን ወደ መጣሁን ጉሱጋ» ብለው አለቃ ይባላል።

- (1) «*diro jə-as'e minili amakari nattfə ji-bbal-all*
k w«
 olden_times GEN- Menile advisor COP 3SG.M-be_said\IPFV-
 emperor k AUX.NPST

'It is said that he was Emperor's Menilek advisor in olden times.'

- (2) «*gondə irhab hon-ə s-i-bbal «bəkk'a! j-agəlgilot-e*
r
 Gondar drought be\PFV. when-3SG.M- be_enough\PF DAT/GEN-
 3SG.M be_said\IPFV V.3SG.M service-POSS.1SG
yī-ssət'-əpp!» *blə-w jaw t'əgəra bīrr təsət'itə-w*
 SJ.3SG.M- say\CNV- DSC silver money be_given\CNV.3PL
 be_given\
 JUSS.OJ.1SG
agər-attfəw hed-u-inna jə-wəssəd-u-t-in bīrr
 country- go\PFV-3PL-and REL-take\PFV-SJ.3PL-OJ.3SG.M- money
 POSS.3PL ACC
lə-tətfəggər-ə-w sətt'u
 DAT-[REL]be_in_trouble\PFV-3SG.M- give\PFV.3PL
 DEF.M

'When it was announced that drought was in Gondar, he (lit. they – polite form) said, "It is enough! My remuneration should be given to my!" Then, after he was given some silver money, he went to his living native place, and gave the money he took to people in trouble.'

- (3) *bizu zəbən kə-kojju bəh^wala jaw hullum*
 many period after-stay\PFV.3PL after DSC all
s-ij-alk liddə- wədə betə_məngist ji-lk-allu
attfəw-in
 when-3SG.M- son-POSS.3PL- towards palace 3PL-send\IPFV-
 be_finished\IPFV ACC AUX.NPST.3PL

'After he stayed for a long period of time, everything was finished, and he sent his son in to the palace.'

- (4) *liddɔ̄-u-im betə_məngis bər_af laj s-i-dərs zəbəɲɲa-w-n*
t-u
 son-DEF.M- palace.DEF.M entrance on when-3SG.M- doorman-DEF.M-
 FOC reach\IPFV ACC
- y-agəɲ-əw-inna «j-alək'a gəbrə_han liddɔ̄ nəɲɲ. issattfe*
na w
 SJ.3SG.M-find/IPFV. GEN-Chief Gebre_Hann son COP.3SG.M 3POL
 OJ.3SG.M-and a
- motə-w jə-təskar mawtf'a ɔ̄əho ind-i-sət'-əɲɲ*
j
 die\CNV-3PL DAT/GEN- expense his_ COMP-3SG.M-give\IPFV-
 commemoration majesty OJ.1SG
 n
- nəw jə-mətt'a-hu-t» ji-l-əw-all*
 COP.3SG.M REL-come\PFV-1SG-DEF.M SJ.3SG.M-say\IPFV-OJ.3SG.M-
 AUX.NPST

'When the son reached at the palace's gate, he met the doorman and said to him, "I am Chief Gebre Hanna's son. As he died, I came to ask his majesty to give me the expenses for his commemoration."'

- (5) *zəbəɲɲa-wi-m tə-zzija «əɾə alək'a gəbrə_hann təsənbətə-w*
a
 doorman-DEF.M- ABL-DST DSC Chief Gebre_Hanna retire\CNV-3PL
 FOC
- tə-hed-u k'ojjitə-w-all. indet l-i-hon*
 ABL-go\PFV-3PL stay\CNV-3PL-AUX.NPST how INGR-3SG.M-be\IPFV
- ji-tfɪl-all?!» s-i-l-əw «asgəbu-t!» təblə-w*
 3SG.M-can\IPFV- when-SJ.3SG.M- let_enter\JUSS.SJ.2PL- be_said\CNV-
 AUX.NPST say\IPFV-OJ.3SG.M OJ.3SG.M 3PL
- liddɔ̄-u ji-gəba-inna jə-təskar mawtf' bɪrr*
a
 son-DEF.M 3SG.M-enter\IPFV- DAT/GEN- expense money
 and commemoration
- ji-ssət'ə-w-inna jizo ji-hed-all*

SJ.3SG.M-be_given\IPFV- hold\CNV.3SG.M 3SG.M-go\IPFV-AUX.NPST
 OJ.3SG.M-and

'Then, the doorman said to him, "Oh, it is quite a long time (lit. he stayed away) that Chief Gebre Hanna retired and left. How could this happen?!", and he was allowed to enter. The son entered and he was given money for the commemoration expenses. He took it and left.'

(6) *tə-zzija dəmmo bə-zzija bīrr tət'ək'mə- s-i-tf'ərris-u*

w

ABL-DST DSC INST-DST money use\CNV- when-3PL-finish\IPFV-PL
 3PL

*iras-attfəw alək'a gəbrə_han addis_aba mət'itə-w wədə
 na*

self-POSS.3PL Chief Gebre_Hanna Addis_Abab come\CNV- towards
 a 3PL

betə_məngist- ji-hed-u-inna ji-gəba-allu

u

palace_DEF.M 3PL-go\IPFV-PL-and 3PL-enter\IPFV-AUX.NPST.3PL

'Then, when they finished that money, Chief Gebre Hanna himself came to Addis Ababa, went to the palace, and entered (it).'

(7) *tə-zzija-m zəbəḥḥa-w «man li-bəl?» s-i-l-attfəw*

ABL-DST- doorman-DEF.M who 1SG- when-SJ.3SG.M-say\IPFV-
 FOC say\JUSS OJ.3PL

«alək'a gəbrə_hanna nəḥḥa al-u-t

Chief Gebre_Hanna COP.1SG say\PFV-SJ.3PL-
 OJ.3SG.M

'When then the doorman asked him who he is, he said to him, "I am Chief Gebre Hanna."'

(8) *indija_wəd «wit'a-ll-ijḥ təməlləs! alək' gəbrə_hanna*

ih

a

DSC go_out\JUSS.SJ.2SG. return\JUSS.2SG. Chief Gebre_Hanna
 M-BEN-OJ.1SG M

tə-mot-u sint zəbən hono^w-attfəw jəllə-m wəj təskarū
!

ABL-die\ how period be\CNV.SJ. not_exist\PF Q commemoration
PFV-3PL 3SG.M-OJ.3PL V.3SG.M-FOC

hullu wətt'o abk'ito jəllə-m wəj! inde
t

all go_out\CNV fulfill\CNV.3SG. not_exist\PFV.3SG.M- Q how
.3SG.M M FOC

ind-ih ti-l-allə-h» al-ə-w zəbəḥḥa-w
like-PRX 2SG.M-say\IPFV- say\PFV-SJ.3SG.M- watchman-DEF.M
AUX.NPST-2SG.M OJ.3SG.M

'Immediately the doorman said to him, "Go out of here, return back! Is it not a long time ago that Chief Gebre Hanna died! Is it not that all give a donation for his commemoration! How can you dare saying this?"'

(9) *aaj hon-ə-m k'ərrə ine nəḥḥ tə-hed-ku-bb-ət*
INTJ be\PFV-3SG.M-FOC remain\P 1SG COP.1SG ABL-[REL]go\PFV-
FV.3SG.M SJ.1SG-MIL-OJ.3SG.M

mətt'a-hu tə-hed-ku-bb-ət mət'ittf-allə-hu-inna
come\PFV-1SG ABL-[REL]go\PFV-SJ.1SG- come\CNV.1SG-AUX.NPST-1SG-
MIL-OJ.3SG.M and

nigər-ill-ijḥḥ al-u-t
tell\JUSS.SJ.2SG.M-BEN-OJ.1SG say\PFV-SJ.3PL-OJ.3SG.M

'He said to him, "No, be that as it may, it is me. I came from where I went, I have come from where I went, so report (it)for me!"'

(10) *ḍəḥḥoj jḥḥi-nn- s-i-səmu jḥḥ-ggərrəm-u-nna «isti indəw*
in

his_ PRX-ACC- when-3PL- 3PL-be_amazed\IPFV-PL- DSC DSC
majesty ACC hear\IPVF.PL and

tə-mot-u sənbitə-w-all təskar mawtf'a hullu likə-n-all
ABL-die\PFV- retire\CNV- comme expense all send\CNV-1PL-
3PL 3PL-AUX.NPST morattio AUX.NPST

n

indet l-i-hon tʃal-ə» ji-l-u-inna «asgabu-t»
 how INGR-3SG.M- can\PFV 3PL-say\IPFV- let_enter\JUSS.SJ.2PL-
 be\IPFV -3SG.M PL-and OJ.3SG.M

ji-bbal-inna ji-gəba-allu
 3SG.M-be_said\IPFV-and 3PL-enter\IPFV-AUX.NPST.3PL

‘When his majesty heard this he was amazed, and said, “Well, it is quite a long time after he died. We have sent all expenses for the commemoration. How can this be?”, ordered him to enter, and he entered.’

(11) *tə-zzija «alək’ tə-jət mətt’u «motə-w- təblo jəllə-m*
a ? all»
 ABL-DST Chief ABL- come\ die\CNV- be_said\CNV. not_exist\PF
 where PFV.3PL 3PL- 3SG.M V. 3SG.M-
 AUX.NPST FOC

wəj inde» blə-w s-i-t’əjjik’o^w-attfəw «awo»
 Q DSC say\CNV-3PL when-SJ.3PL-ask\IPFV.PL-OJ.3PL yes

blə-w məlləs-u alək’a
 say\CNV-3PL answer\PFV-3PL Chief

‘Then, he asked him saying, “Chief from where did you come? It was said that you were dead, wasn’t it!”. Chief [Gebre Hanna] answered him with yes.”

(12) *«tadij tə-jət mətt’u» s-i-lo^w-attfəw «tə-
 a səmaj*
 so ABL-where come\PFV.3PL when-SJ.3PL-say\IPFV.PL- ABL-sky
 OJ.3PL

*mɪn b-i-l-əw» s-i-lo^w-attfəw «lak-ə-ገገ izzgabher təməllis
 o*
 what if-SJ.1SG- when-SJ.3PL- send\PFV-SJ. god return\CN
 say\ IPFV- say\IPFV.PL- 3SG.M-OJ.1SG V.3SG.M
 OJ.3PL OJ.3PL

tə- wədə-zzih təməlləs-ku-inna mətt'a-hu tə-bota
izgabher

ABL-god towards-PRX return\PFV-1SG-and come\PFV-1SG ABL-place

gar təməliḥfe mətt'a-hu al-o^w-attfəw alək'a

with return\CNV.1SG come\PFV-1SG say\PFV-SJ.3PL-OJ.3PL Chief

'When the king asked from where he came, Chief [Gebre Hanna] said to him, "From the sky, what shall I say, God sent me back and I returned towards here. So, I came back, I have returned to my place.'"

(13) *tə-zzija «ingidi ḍok im-i-tf'əmmir-u səw-ottf allu*
h

ABL-DST DSC joke REL-3PL-add\IPFV- person-PL exist\PFV.3PL
 PL

indet l-i-hon tfal-ə lə-məhon-u innə-as'e nigu igəle

how INGR-3SG.M- can\PFV- DAT-be.VN- APL- king so_and_so
 be\IPFV 3SG.M POSS.3SG.M emperor

jə-mot-u-t jə-dro balə-silt'an- indet nattfəw»
ottf

REL-die\PFV-3PL-DEF.M GEN- with-power-PL how COP.3PL
 olden_times

tə-zzija s-i-l-u «i-zzija gəhanə wist' səjt'an asro

ABL-DST when-3PL- LOC-PRX hell insid devil tie\CNV.3SG.M
 say\IPFV- PL e

s-i-gərf-attfəw ajjə-hu ja-n fərittfe nəw

when-SJ.3SG.M-whip\ see\PFV.1SG DST-ACC fear\CNV.1SG COP.3SG.M
 IPFV-OJ.3PL

jə-mətt'a-hu nigus-u ga» blo al-ə ji-bbal-all

REL-come\PFV- king- with say\CNV say\PFV 3SG.M-be_said\IPFV-
 1SG DEF.M .3SG.M -3SG.M AUX.NPST

'Then, [the kind] said to him, "So, there are people who joke even more. How could it be? Be it as it may, how about the emperors,

kind so-and-so, the dead officers from former times?" Then, [Chief Gebre Hanna] replied, "Oh, I saw how the Satan tied and whipped them in hell. Because I was fearing this, I came back to the king."

TEXT 3: SHORT STORY ABOUT A FESTIVE MEAL

- (1) ሸ በ ልበ ረ ን ታነ ወወረ ዳ አ ስ ተ ዳ ዳ ሪ ወሁል ግዜ በ አ መት በ አ መት የ ገ ና ድግ ስ ይደ ግ ሳ ል
 :: (2) ሲ ደ ግ ስ ሸ ማግ ሌ ወን ምይ ጠራ ል ፣ በ ደ ን ብ ጠጅ ይ ጠጣ ል ፣ ጮ ማይ በ ላ ል ።
- (3) አ ሁ ን በ ሁ ዋ ላ የ ዱ ሃ እ ምት ባ ል ከ ተ ማ አ ለ ች ፣ ያ ወዋ በ ረ ን ታ ከ ተ ማ እ ዚ ያ ማዶ ጎ የ አ ለ ፣
 ጎ የ እ ምት ባ ል በ ታ አ ለ ። (4) ይ ሄ መሀ ሉ ጭል ጥ ያ ለ ገ ደ ል ነ ው ፣
 ተ ዞ ሮ ነ ው በ ዚ ያ እ ማሄ ድ እ ን ጅ ቀ ጥ ታ አ ይ ሄ ድ ም ።
- (5) አ ሁ ን እ ኒ ያ ሸ ማግ ሌ ዎ ች ሲ ጠጠ ምን ሲ ሉ ማ ታ ይ ደ ር ስ ና «አ ገ ራ ች ን እ ን ሄ ዳ ለ ን » ይ ላ ሉ ።
- (6) ተ ዛ «በ ዚ ያ ዙ ረ ን ተ ምን ሄ ድ» አ ሉ ና «ድ ግ ድ ግ የ ሆ ነ ት ል ቅ መ ቀ ነ ት አ ለ ፣
 ይ ጎ ን ቀ ጣ ጥ ለ ን እ ዚ ያ አ ድ ር ስ ን በ ዚ ህ ላ ይ እ ን ሂ ድ» ተ ባ ባ ሉ ።
- (7) ከ ዚ ያ በ ሁ ዋ ላ ያ ተ ሰ ምቶ ህ ዝ ቡ «የ ጎ ይ ጉ ድ ፣ የ ጎ ይ ጉ ድ» አ ለ ።
- (8) እ ማይ ሆ ን ነ ገ ር እ ን ዲ ሆ ን ስ ለ ጠጠ በ ማ ሰ ባ ች ወዋ ጎ ይ ጉ ድ ተ ባ ለ ይ ባ ላ ል ።

(1) *jəbəl_bərənt nəw wərəda astədadari-w hulǧize*
a
 Shebel_Berent COP.3SG.M district administrator-DEF.M always
a
bə- bə-amət jə-gəna digǧis jǐ-dəǧǧis-all
amət
 LOC-year LOC-year DAT/GEN-Christmas feast 3SG.M-give_feast\IPFV-
 AUX.NPST

'It is in Shebel Berena, where the district administrator always, every year, gives a feast for Christmas.'

- (5) *ahun innə- jimagile- s-i-t'ətt'u min s-i-l-u*
zzija ottf
 now APL-DST elder-PL when-3PL- what when-3PL-
 drink\ IPFV.PL say\IPFV-PL
- mata ji-dərs- «agər- in-hed-allə- ji-l-allu*
inna attfin n»
 evening 3SG.M- country- 1PL-go\IPFV- 3PL-say\IPFV-
 reach\ IPFV- POSS.1PL AUX.NPST-1PL AUX.NPST.3PL
 and

'Now while those elders were drinking and so on, it became evening and they intended to go home.'

- (6) *tə-zzija «bə-zzija zurə-n tə-mi-n-hed» al-u-nna*
 ABL-DST LOC-DST round\ CNV-1PL ABL-REL-1PL- say\PFV-3PL-
 go/IPFV and
- «dig dig jə-hon-ə tillik' mək'anə allə*
t
 firm firm REL-be\PFV-3SG.M large girdle exist\PFV.3SG.M
- jih-e-n k'ət'at'lə-n i-zzija adirsə-n*
 PRX-EPH-ACC attach\CNV-1PL LOC-DST reach\CNV-1PL
- bə-zzih laj in-hid» təbabal-u*
 LOC-PRX on 1PL-go\JUUS be_said_to_each_other\PFV-3PL

'Then, they said to each other, "Instead of going around, there is a form large girdle. Let's bind it together, extend it to the other side and go on it!"'

- (7) *kə-zzija bə-h^wala ja təsəmtə hizb-u*
 ABL-DST LOC-after DST be_heard\CNV.3SG.M people-DEF.M
- jə-goj gud jə-goj gud al-u*
 GEN-Goy oddity GEN-Goy oddity say\PFV-3PL

'Then, when the people heard this, they called it the oddity of Goy.'

(8) *im-a-j-hon næg ind-i-hon silə-t'ətt'u bə-massəb-
 ər attfəw*
 REL-NEG- thing COMP-3SG.M- becaue- LOC-think.VN-3PL
 3SG.M- be\IPFV drink\PFV.3PL
 be\IPFV

jə-goj gud təbal-ə ji-bbal-all
 GEN-Goy oddity be_said\PFV-3SG.M 3SG.M-be_said\IPFV-AUX.NPST

'Intending an impossible thing because of drinking is called the Goy
 oddity.'

TEXT 4: FABLE ABOUT WILD ANIMALS

- (1) የዱር እንስሳቶችን በሩ፣ ተዚያ ምእንድቀን ተሰባስበው መመካከር ፈለጉ።
- (2) ተዚያ ምላዚህ ሀሳባቸው ማዋገድ የሚሆን ምሳግብዎን ማዘጋጀት ፈለጉና ሁሉም በየፊናቸው ተሰማርተው ለድግሱ የሚሆን ስጋ ይዘው መጡ።
- (3) በዚህ ወቅት ጅብና አንበሳ የሰው ልጅ ስጋ ገድለው ጎርፍ ፍየል እና ቀበሮ ድንችና ሽንኩር ትይዘው መጡ። (4) ተዚያ ምሁራም ተሰባስበው ጥሊስ ሩሲሉ ይትያ መጣ አልነበረም።
- (5) ተዚያ ምሁራም ተሰባስበው ስሙን ማወቅ ለመላክ ፈለጉና «ኤሊሆይ አንችምን ምን ገርስላላ መጣሽና የሰው ልጅ ስለሚወድሽ ከተማሂ ደሽ ይትሰር ቀሽ አምጭ» ይሉታል።
- (6) «አይኔ ፍጥነት ስለሌለኝ ጠጣትላክ» ትላለች።
- (7) ጠጣደሞ «አይሆን ምእንት» «በልጥናት» እያሉ በስራ ስራ ምላሳ ተሰቅቶ አያስደርሱኝም ስለዚህ ኤሊትሻላለች። በላህሳ ብዋን ታቀርባለች።
- (8) በዚያ ጊዜ ምሁራም ተሰማምቶ ኤሊት ድትሄ ድይወሰናል።
- (9) ተዚያ ቢጠብቁ ቢጠብቁ ኤሊት ቀርባለች።
በመሀል አባሽ ማኔ «መጀመሪያ ወን እስከ ዋን ስትልኩኑ ወሰን ብሰባ ወእንደ ማይ ሰካያ ወኩት እስከ ዋንና አንገቶን ወጣገባ እያደረገች አንድ ማትርሳት ራመድ ይመሻል» ሲል ኤሊት እየሄደች ቤቱን በንኣላ ፈችምን በር።
- (10) «እንደ ወምየናን ተሰብሰባ ይቀራል እንጅ አልሄድም» ስትላቸውና ደወእሱን በሎት ይባላል።

(1) *jǣdur* *insisat* *næbbær-u* *tæ-zzija-m* *and* *k'æn*
 GEN-wild animal.PL AUX.PST-3PL ABL-DST-FOC one day

tæsəbassibə-w *məməkakər* *fəllæg-u*
 gather_each_other\CNV- confer.VN want\PFV-3PL
 3PL

'There were wild animals; once up on a time they wanted to gather with each other for conferring.'

(2) *tə-zzija-m lə-zzih hassab-attfəw mawazja jəmm-i-hon*
 ABL-DST-FOC DAT-PRX idea-POSS.3PL means REL-3SG.M-be\IPFV

misa gibzja mazəgaɟət fəlləg-u-inna hullum
 lunch invitatio prepare.VN want\PFV-3PL-and all
 n

bə-jjə-fina-attfəw təsəmartə-w lə-diggis-u jəmm-i-hon
 LOC-each-desire- participate\CNV-3PL DAR-feast- REL-3SG.M-
 POSS.3PL DEF.M be\IPFV

siɡa jizə-w mətt'u
 meat hold\CNV-3PL come\PFV.3PL

'Then, in order to realize this idea, they wanted to prepare a lunch invitation. According to their own desire, all come to the feast with some meat.'

(3) *bə-zzih wək'it ɟib- anbəss jə-səw liɟ*
inna a
 LOC-PRX time hyena- lion GEN-human child
 and

gədlə-w nəbi fijəl-inna k'əbərə dinnitf- jɪnkurt
r inna
 kill\CNV-3PL lynx goat-and fox potato-and onion

jizəw mətt'u
 hold\CNV-3PL come\PFV.3PL

'During this time, the hyena and the lion killed a human being and came, and the lynx, the goat, and the fox came with potato and onion.'

(4) *tə-zzija-m hullum wət' l-i-səru s-i-l-u*
 ABL-DST-FOC all sauce INGR-3PL- when-3PL-say\IPFV-PL
 work\IPFV.PL

zəjt j-amətt'a al-nəbbər-ə-m
 oil REL-bring\PFV.3SG.M NEG-AUX.PST-3SG.M-FOC

'Then, when all were about to prepare sauce, there was nobody who brought oil.'

(5) *tə-zzija-m tə-təsəbassəb-u-t* *məkakk b-abizəŋŋa-w*
əl
 ABL-DST-FOC ABL-be_gathered\PFV-3PL- among LOC-common-DEF.M
 DEF.M

eli-n lə-mələk fəlləg-u-inna «eli hoj
 tortoise-ACC DAT-send.VN want\PFV-3PL-and tortoise DSC

antfi minnim nəgr sil-al-amətt'a-f-inna jə-səw
 2SG.F nothing thing because-NEG-bring\PFV-2SG.F- GEN-human
 and

liđ silə-mm-i-wədd-u-f kətəma hidə-f
 child because-REL-SJ.3PL-love\IPFV-PL-OJ.2SG.F town go\CNV-2SG.F

zəjt sərəkə-f amtʃ'i» ji-l-o^w-at-all
 oil steal\CNV-2SG.F bring\JUSS.2SG.F SJ.3PL-say\IPFV-PL-OJ.3SG.F

'Then, almost all from among the gathered [animals] wanted to send the tortoise and said to her, "You tortoise! Because you did not bring anything and because the humans like you, go to the town, steal some oil and bring it here!"'

(6) *«aj ine fit'nə silə-ləllə-ŋŋ t'ot'a ti-lak» ti-l-allə-ttʃ*
t
 INTJ 1SG speed because-not_exist\
 PFV.SJ.3SG.M- monke 3SG.F- 3SG.F-say\IPFV-
 y send/JUS AUX.NPST-
 OJ.1SG S 3SG.F

'She said, "No, because I don't have speed, may the monkey go!"'

(7) *t'ot'a dəmm «a-j-hon-īm ine-n «bilt' nat» ij-j-al-u*
o
 monke DSC NEG-3SG.M- 1SG.ACC clever COP.3SG.F CONT-say\PFV-
 y be\IPFV-FOC 3PL

bisku silə-m-i-bəla tə-suk' a-j-asdərs-u-ŋŋ-īm silə-zzih
t

biscuit because-REL- ABL-shop NEG-SJ.3PL-let_reach\IPFV- because-PRX
 1SG-eat\IPFV PL-OJ.1SG-FOC

eli ti-ffal-allə-ttʃ» bla hassab-wa-n t-ak'ərb-allə-ttʃ
 tortois 3SG.F- say\CNV idea-POSS.3SG.F- 3SG.F-

e be_better\IPFV- .3SG.F ACC present\IPFV-
 AUX.NPST-3SG.F AUX.NPST-3SG.F

'But the monkey presented the following by saying, "No! They also consider me being too clever. Because I eat biscuit, they won't let me reach a ship. Therefore, the tortoise is better.'"

(8) *bə-zzija- giz hullu tasmamto eli ind-it-hed ji-wwəssən-all*
n e m
 LOC-DST- tim all agree\ tortois COMP-3SG. 3SG.M-
 ACC e CNV.3SG.M e F-go\IPFV bee_decided\ IPFV-
 AUX.NPST

'At that time, all agreed and decided that the tortoise should go.'

(9) *tə-zzija b-i-t'əbbik'- eli ti-k'ər-bb-attfəw-allə- bə-mahal*
u ttj
 ABL-DST if-3PL- tortois SJ.3SG.F-remain\IPFV-MIL- LOC-middle
 wait\IPFV-PL e OJ.3PL-AUX.NPST-SJ.3SG.F

abo_ʃəman «məɟəmmərija-w- iss^wa-n si-t-lik-u nəw
e in
 cheetah beginning-DEF:M-ACC 3SG.D-ACC when-2PL- COP.3SG.M
 send\IPFV-PL

sibsəba-w ində-m-a-j-ssäka j-awwəkku-t iss^wa gəna
 meeting-DEF.M COMP-REL-NEG-3SG.M- REL-know\PFV.1SG- 3SG.F still
 be_successful\IPFV DEF.M

angət-wa-n wət'a_gəba ij-j-adərrəg-əttf and metir
 neck-POSS.3SG.F- exit_enter CONT-make\PFV- one meter
 ACC 3SG.F

s-a-t-tiraməd ji-məf-all s-i-l eli gəna
 when-NEG-3SG.F- 3SG.M- when-3SG.M- tortois still
 walk\IPFV become_evening\ IPFV- say\IPFV e
 AUX.NPST

ijjə-hed-əttf tə-bet-u gubən al-alləf-əttf-im nəbbər
 CONT-go\PFV- ABL-house- doorstep NEG-pass\PFV- AUX.PST
 3SG.F DEF.M 3SG.F-FOC

'Then, they waited a lot, but the tortoise did not come. In the meantime the cheetah said, "From the beginning, I knew that the

meeting will not be successful when she was sent. It becomes evening before she moves her neck up and down without walking one meter. "When he was saying this, the tortoise was still moving but did not pass the doorstep of the house.'

(10) «*indəwɪ jənant sɪbsəba ʃi-k'ər-all inɕi a-l-hed-im*»

m ə

DSC GEN-2PL meeting 3SG.M-remain\
IPFV-AUX.NPST but NEG-1SG-
go\IPFV-FOC

si-t-l-attfəw hullu təsəbisbə- bəlo^w-at ʃi-bbal-all

m w

when-SJ.3SG.F- all be_gathered\
say\IPFV-OJ.3PL CNV-3PL eat\PFV.SJ.3P 3SG.M-be_said\IPFV-
L-OJ.3SG.F AUX.NPST

'When she said to them, "Well, let your meeting not be fulfilled, I won't go!", all gathered together and ate here.'

TEXT 5: FABLE ABOUT TWO HYENAS

- (1) መዝና ጥና መን ሹላ ላ የ ማባ ሉጅቦ ችነ በሩ ።
- (2) አብረ ወሲኖ ሩሲኖ ሩኦ ን ድምሽ ትበ ጣምራባ ቸውና ተያ ይዘ ወቄ ዱ።
- (3) ተዚያ ምየ ማባ ሉአ ህዮ ችአ ገ ኙና መዝና ጥቀ ድሞአ ህያ ዋን ይገ ላ ትና መብላ ትይጀ ምራል
- ። (4) በዚህ ጊዜ መን ሹላ ላ አብሮ ለ መብላ ት መዝና ጥን ይጠይቀዋል፣ መዝና ጥም
- «እኔ አህያ ዋን ለ መግደል ብቻዬን ስለፋ ምን እረ ድተህ ኛል አትበላም»
- ብሎይ ከለከለዋል። (5)
- መን ሹላ ላ ምበ ጣምቢር በ ወምአ ማራጭስ ላልነ በረ ወጉዞ ይጀምራል።
- (6) በዚህ ጊዜ የአህያ ዋባ ለቤት በ መዝና ጥይደር ስበትና ሲደበድበው
- «አረ መን ሹላ ላ ወን ድማና ድረ ስልኝ» እያለ ሲጠራው
- «እኔን እንዳልበላ ስለከለከልክኝ መዝና ጥእን ደበላህ አምልጥ» ይለዋል።
- (7) መዝና ጥምማምለ ጥስ ላልቻለ የአህያ ዋባ ለቤት ይደርስበትና ደብድቦ ገደለው
- ይባላል።
- (8) ስለዚህ ያላችሁን ነገር አካፍሉ።

(1) *məzrut'- inna* *mənšulal a* *jəmm-i-bbal-u* *ǧʷib-ottf* *nəbbər-u*

Mezerut-and Menshulala REL-3PL-be_said\IPFV- hyena-PL AUX.PST-3PL

PL

'There were two hyenas, which were called Mezerut and Menshulala.'

(2) *abrə-w* *s-i-nor-u* *s-i-nor-u* and *miffit bət'a*

m

be_together\CNV-3PL when-3PL-live\IPF- when-3PL- one evenin very

PL PL live\IPF-PL g

rabattfəw-inna *təjajizə-w* *hed-u*

be_hungry\PFV.SJ.3SG.M.OJ.3PL- hold_each_other\CNV-3PL go\PFV-3PL
and

'They were living together for a long time, and they went out together at one evening because they were very hungry.'

- (3) *tə-zzija-m jəmm-i-bəlu ahijottf agənnu-inna məzrut'*
ABL-DST-FOC REL-3PL- donkey.PL find\PFV.3PL-and Mezerut
eat\IPFV.PL

k'ədmo ahija-wa-n ji-gəll-at-inna məblat ji-ɖəmmir-all
prior donkey- SJ.3SG.M- eat.VN 3SG.M-begin\IPFV-
DEF.F-ACC kill\IPFV- AUX.NPST
OJ.3SG.F-and

'Then, they found grazing donkeys, and Mezerut preceded in killing one donkey and started to eat (it).'

- (4) *bə-zzih gize mənfulal abro lə-məblat məzrut'-in*
a
LOC-PRX time Menshulala be_together\CNV DAT-eat.VN Mezerut-ACC
-3SG.M

ji-t'əjjik'-əw-all məzrut'-im «ine ahija-wa-n lə-məgdəl
SJ.3SG.M-ask\IPFV- Mezerut-FOC 1SG donkey-DEF.F- DAT-kill.VN
OJ.3SG.M-AUX.NPST ACC

bittfa-je-n s-i-ləfa min rədtə-h-ijɲ-all
only-POSS.1SG-ACC when-1SG- what help\CNV-SJ.2SG.M-OJ.1SG-
struggle\IPFV AUX.NPST

a-tti-bəla-m» blo ji-kələkkil-əw-all
NEG-2SG.M-eat\IPFV-FOC say\CNV.3SG.M SJ.3SG.M-prohibit\IPFV-OJ.3SG.M-
AUX.NPST

'At that time, Menshulala asked Mezerut to eat together. But Mezerut prohibited it by saying, "When I alone was struggling to kill the donkey, what did you help me! You will not eat!"'

- (5) *mənfulala-m bət'am b-i-riɓ-əw-im amaratf'*
Menshulala-FOC very if-SJ.3SG.M-be_hunry\IPFV-OJ.3SG.M- choice
FOC

sil-al-nəbbər-ə-w guzo ji-ɖəmmir-all

because-NEG-AUX.PST-SJ.3SG.M- journey 3SG.M-
 OJ.3SG.M begin\IPFV.AUX.NPST

‘Even if Menshulala was very hungry, he started the journey because he had no choice.’

- (6) *bə-zzih gize j-ahija-wa baləbet bə-məzrut’ ji-dərsi-bb-ət-inna*
 LOC-PRX time GEN- owner INST- SJ.3SG.M-reach\IPFV-
 donkey- Mezerut MIL-OJ.3SG.M-and
 DEF.F

s-i-dəbəddib-əw «ər mənfulal wəndim na dirəs-ill-ijnj»
 ə a -e
 when-SJ.3SG.M- DSC Menshulala brother- come\IMP reach\JUSS.SJ.2
 beat\ IPFV- POSS.1SG .2SG.m SG.M-BEN-
 OJ.3SG.M OJ.1SG

ijj-al-ə s-i-t’əra-w «ine-n ind-a-l-bəla

CONT-say\PFV- when-SJ.3SG.M- 1SG-ACC COMP-NEG-1SG-eat\IPFV
 3SG.M call\IPFV-OJ.3SG.M

silə-kələkkəl-kə- məzrut ində-bəlla- amilt’» ji-l-əw-all

jn ‘ h

because- Mezerut like-eat\ escape\ SJ.3SG.M-say\IPFV-
 prohibit\PFV- PFV2SG.M JUSS.2SG. OJ.3SG.M-AUX.NPST
 SJ.2SG.M-OJ.1SG M

‘This time the owner of the donkey reaches at Mezerut and when he hit him, Mezerut called Menshulala saying, “Oh Menshulala! My brother come and helps me!” But Menshulala said to him, “Because you prohibited me to eat, escape like you have eaten!”’

- (7) *məzrut’-im mamlət’ sil-al-tfal-ə jə-ahija-wa baləbet*
 Mezerut-FOC escape.VN because-NEG-can\PFV- GEN-donkey-DEF.F owner
 3SG.M

ji-dərsi-bb-ət- dəbdibo gəddəl-ə-w ji-bbal-all
inna
 SJ.3SG.M- beat\CNV.3SG. kill\IPFV-SJ.3SG.M- 3SG.M-be_said\IPFV-
 reach\IPFV- MIL- M OJ.3SG.M AUX.NPST
 OJ.3SG.M-and

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work. This thesis has not been presented for any academic study in any other university, and all sources of material used for this work are clearly acknowledged.

Name: Abdurahman Ousman

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