A Grammar of Kulazngi

Yaregal Allene Teferra

A Dissertation Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

Addis Ababa University

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation, A Grammar of Kulazngi, is my original work: it has never been presented for any academic study in any other university, and all sources of materials used for this work are acknowledged.

Yaregal Allene Teferra

Signature _____

Date _____

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the dissertation written by Yaregal Allene Teferra, entitled *A Grammar of Kulazngi* and submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics complies with the regulations of the University and meets the standards with respect to originality and quality.

Members of the Examining Committee:

Advisor _____Signature _____Date _____

Examiner _____Signature _____ Date _____

Examiner _____Signature _____Date_____

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Abstract

This dissertation presents an all-embracing grammatical description of Kulazngi, a dialect of Awngi, one of the Central Cushitic languages. It is spoken in the south west of Ethiopia mainly in Jawi woreda in Awi zone in Amhara Regional State and in some kebeles in Dangur Woreda in Benishangul Gumuz Regional State.

Kulazngi has 28 consonant (out of which five are labialized) and 6 vowel phonemes. Common morphophonemic processes attested in the language include assimilation, labialization, palatalization, vowel/glide insertion, and vowel elision. A consolidated syllable structure rule is (C)V(C) (C) from which can be drawn six syllable structures as V CV VC CVC VCC CVCC.

Kulazngi is a tone language: tone has both lexical and grammatical distinction. Three level (high, mid, low) and one contour (falling), tones are identified in the language. While high and low tones have no positional restriction, mid tone never occurs word initially in polysyllabic words; it does not occur sequentially (as M.M) either. A falling (HL) contour tone occurs as a result of diachronic and synchronic processes. Downdrift and contour formation are among the common tonal processes attested in the language.

Nouns appear as masculine or feminine in Kulazngi, or there is no a form representing gender neuter. Thus, there is no a citation form per se. What assumes the citation form is the masculine. All feminine nouns end in a vowel *a*, while masculine nouns end in vowels *i, u*, or rarely in *e*, or in a (labialized) consonant. Whereas the common plural suffix is -ka, Kulazngi shows heterogeneity in plural formation. Derivational and inflectional noun affixes are all suffixes.

This study also describes nominal and verbal modifiers. While adjectives are both lexical and derivational, the majority of adverbs are derived from other word classes, mainly from temporal and locative nouns. Kulazngi adjectives show characteristic features of nouns morphologically. Like nouns, they are intrinsically gender marked and are also pluralized in concord with head nouns or, in NPs where head nouns do not overtly appear, alone. However, they are not inflected for case in NPs where they do not assume the head except the accusative case.

Pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers and conjunctions are also described with ample and pertinent illustrative data.

Kulazngi verbs do not stand as a phonological word at root level. They are realized only in discourse suffixing mood, aspect and agreement markers. While consonant-ending verbs at root level constitute the majority, there also exist a number of u-ending and i-ending verbs. Except five verbs which also attach prefixes, all Kulazngi verbs are suffix taking. The majority of Kulazngi verbs are lexical; there also exist a number of verbs derived from nouns and adjectives with transitive derivational morpheme -*ts* or the intransitive one -t.

Kulazngi verbs show complex conjugational pattern based on which they are classified as prefix group, meaning prefix taking (PG), I-group (IG), and T_group (TG) verbs. IGVs mark 2 and 3F with *i* and TGVs with *t*. IGV, and TGV are further subdivided, thus IGV as IGV1, IGV2, and IGV3 and TGV as TGV1, and TGV2. Conjugational complexity of verbs is more exhibited on relativized transitive verbal forms whose direct object is a shared argument in a matrix clause: these verbs, besides aspect markers, appear laden with both subject and object agreement affixes.

Kulazngi verbs have valence adjusting mechanisms. Thus the causative and the passive are obtained via derivational morphemes -ts and -(ɨ)st respectively. Middle verbs are either lexical or derived by -t, and reciprocal verbs are formed by derivational morpheme -ŋ.

The syntactic description examines the structures and functions of phrasal and clausal constructions. In Kulazngi, phrases are generally head-final. Adjectives in NPs with no overt head nouns assume the head of the NPs.

The word order in the language is subject-object-verb (SOV). As the subject is referenced on the verb, a single verbal word may constitute a sentence in sentential constructions with intransitive verb headed VPs.

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Abbreviations and Numbers

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
ADJ	adjectival
ADM	adverb of manner
ADT	additive
AGR	agreement (agreement affix)
ALT	allative
C	consonant / complement
CC	Central Cushitic
cod	coda
COMP	compound marker
CMPR	comparative
CP	complement phrase/ complex predicate
CNV	converb
CNVP	converb phrase
DEM	demonstrative
DMN	diminutive
DO	direct object
DVN	division
FM	feminine
FOC	focus
FQ	frequency

GEN genetive

HA Highland Awngi

IDP ideophone

IDPV indefinite perfective

INF infinitivalizer/nominalizer/deverbalizer

IPFV imperfective

INST instrumental

JSV jussive

KA Kulazngi Awngi

LE linking element

MOD modifier

MS (third person) masculine

NM near minimal pair

NCAUS noncausative

nc nucleus

NOM nominative/nominalizer

o/t onset

P/PL plural

PFV perfective

POL polite

POS/EE possessee

POS/R possessor

PST past

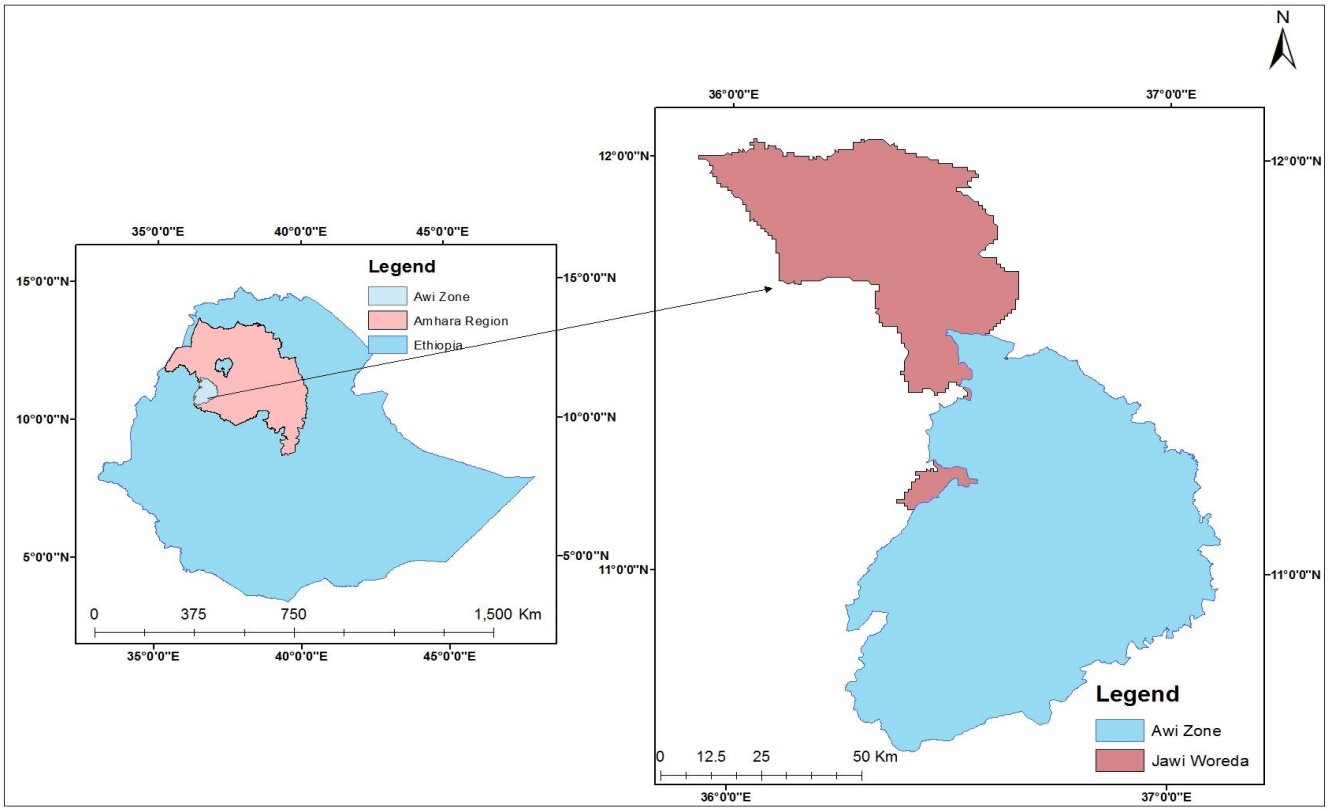
PSV passive

PUR purpose

QV quotative verb

OB	object(ive)
o/t	onset
RP	reciprocal
r/ym	rhyme
S	singular
SIM	simultaneity
SUBR	subordinate/subordinative
SMLV	sumilative
SS	syllable structure
SUB	subject(ive)
TBU	tone bearing unit
TV	tone vowel
TRNS	transformational case
VN	verbal noun/verbal nominalizer

Maps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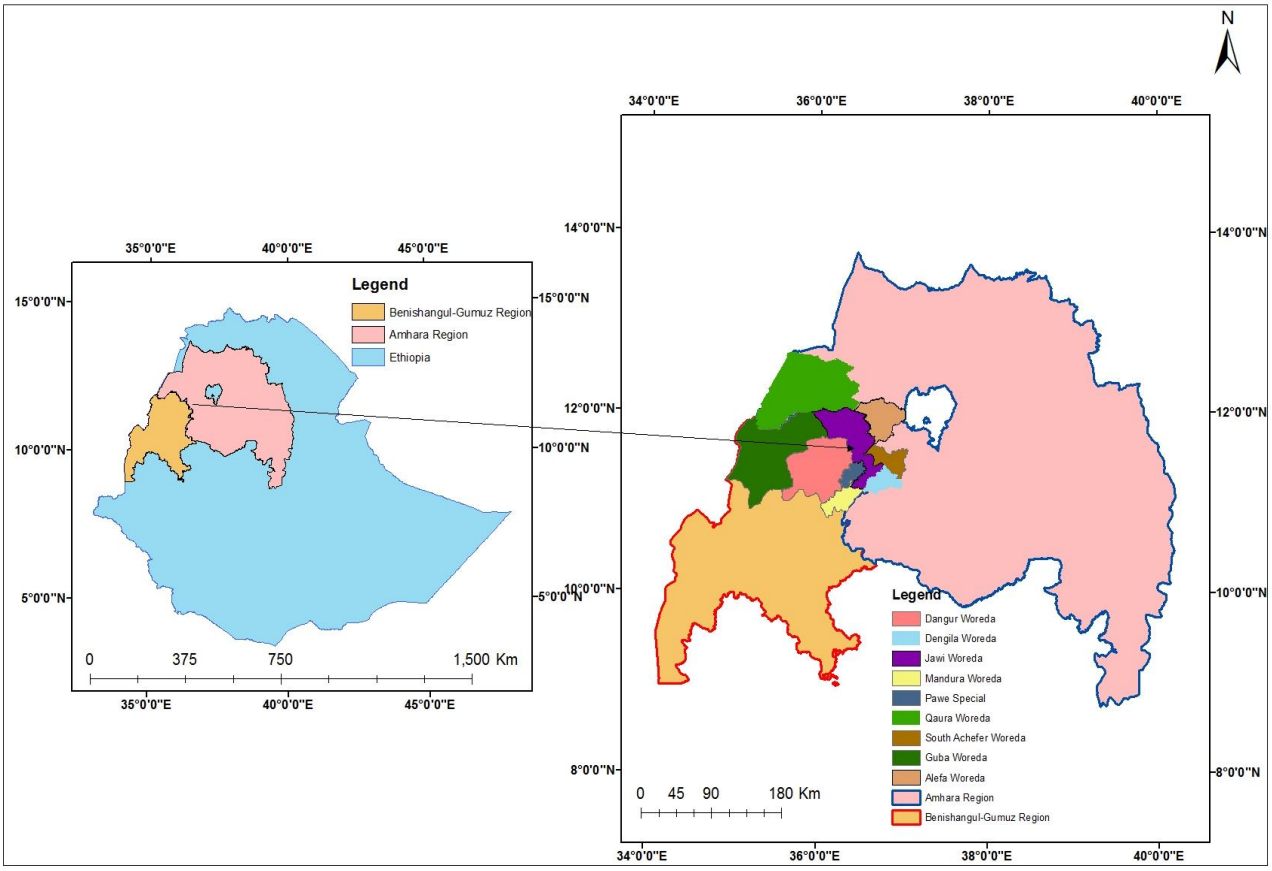
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Jawi Woreda
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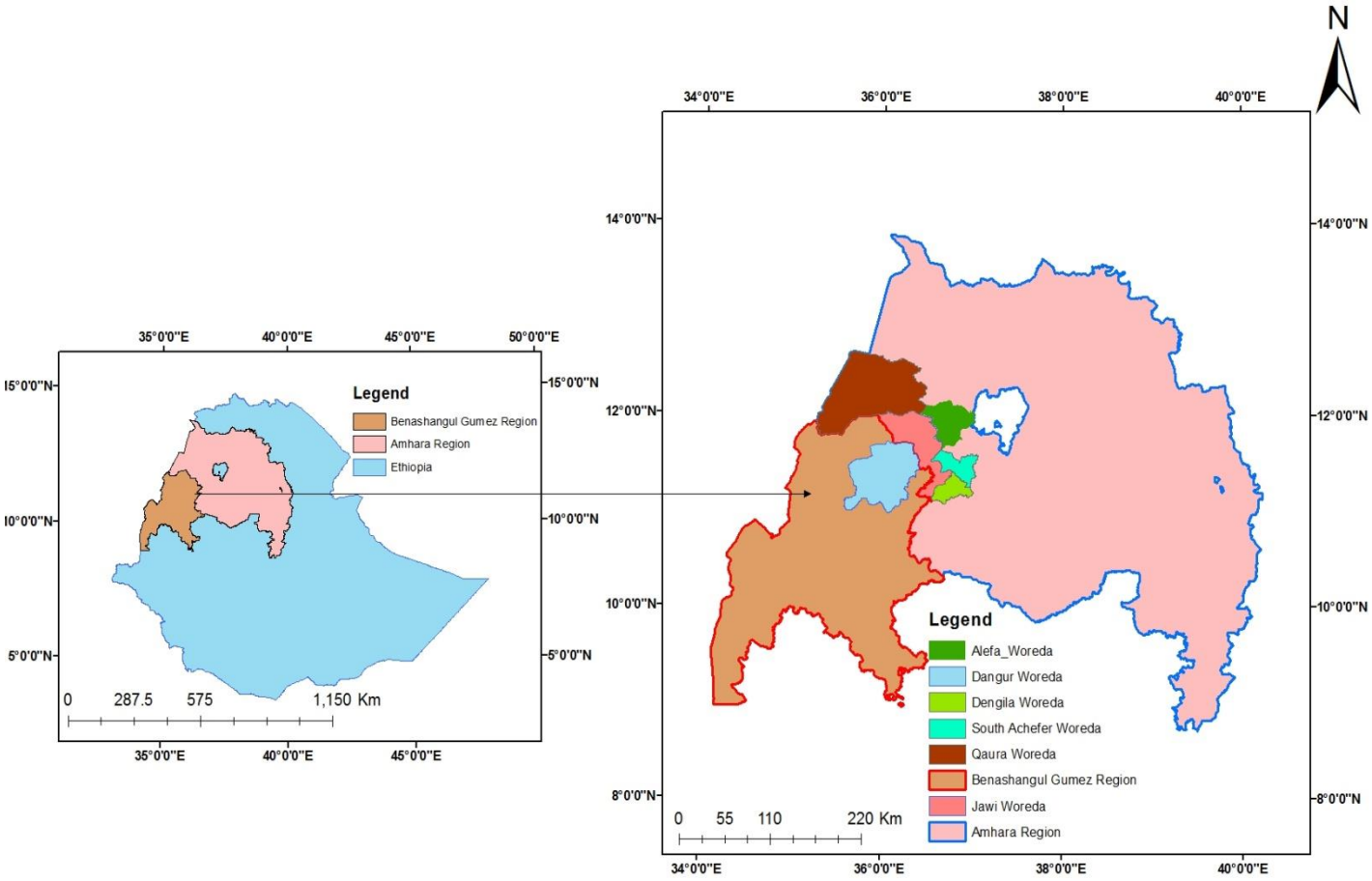
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the Kulaz people and their language. It gives explanatory notes with respect to their names and language so as to clear the confusion underlying Kunfäl, Kumpal, Kulaz, Kolas etc. It also reviews previous works on Kulazngi and highlights the approaches followed in this study revealing the objective, significance, and methodology of the study.

1.1 The Names Kunfäl and Kulaz

The names Kunfäl and Kulaz need to be clear from the outset. Kulaz refers to the people speaking Kulazngi and inhabiting Jawi Woreda in Awi Zone (Amhara Regional State) and some kebeles in Dangur Woreda (Benishangul Gumuz). *kùlāz* means lowlanders in Kulaz*ngi,* and is the plural of *kùlàzá* 'a female native speaker of *kùlàzngī'* and/ or, *kùlìzí* 'a male native speaker of *kùlàzngi*'. *-ngī* (*-ŋi*) is language marker suffix, as in *àmàχàrngī* 'the language of the Amhara people' *ɨnglìzngī* 'English language', *àwngī* 'the langage of *Awi*'. It seems that *kùlāz* was adopted from *K*^{w}*alas* (the name given by the neighboring Awi) meaning *lowlanders.* They are also referred to as *K'olläŋŋoʧʧ* by the neighboring Amharas. The Kulaz also call themselves *Awi.* They are not inconvenient with the indexical names *K*^{w}*alas* and *K'olläŋŋoʧʧ* meaning *lowlanders* as they are with *Kunfäl* (see subsequent discussions). In respect of this, Cowley et.al (1971: 99) stated as, "In their own hearing they are called 'low-land people' (*k'olläŋŋoʧʧ*)". Teferi (2014), however, reports that *K'olläŋŋoʧʧ* is the name by which the Kulaz call themselves: "The [Kumfal] call themselves [Qollonnoch] (Teferi, 2014: 3)".

Kunfäl is an Amharic term referring to these people or their language. The reference also subsumes the Agaw of K'^{w}ara[1] and their language Agawi[2].

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1 "By any definition [Qwarennya] is now a dead language, insofar as it is no longer the normal means of spoken communication between the handful of individuals who retain some knowledge of it (Appleyard, 1998: 144)." This author also compared Kulazngi with Qwarennya as sketched in a bulletin The Case of Qwarennya by Appleyard (1998) and

The term Kunfäl stems from Kumpal (Kumpali/Kumpala (MS/FM). *Kumpal* used to be the name of the Kulaz in their own language, *Kumpalngi*, but they do not want to hear this term, let alone to be referred to by it; they do not want to be referred to by its derivative Amharic Kunfäl either. Thus, the Amharic term Kunfäl is uncomplimentarily used by outsiders and in various ethnographic and linguistic works. The fact that Kunfäl is regarded misnomer by the speakers is also pointed out by Zelealem (forthcoming) as follows:

> The name Kunfäl is perceived as impolite by the people themselves. Whereas the neighboring ethno-linguistic groups call them Kunfäl, they call themselves Agaw. In order to identify themselves from the rest of the Agaw, (mainly from the Awi), they call themselves Kolisi which means 'lowlanders' (Zelealem forthcoming: 1).

According to Joswig et.al (2011: 7), the K^{w}ara Agaws also reject the term Kunfäl. These authors tip off investigators in the future as, "In the future, linguists and anthropologists should not refer to these people as Kunfäl because they reject this name". According to these authors, unlike the Kunfäl in Jawi, the Agawi of K^{w}ara do not like being called *Kollegnoch,* meaning lowlanders in Amharic, and they do not use the names *Awi* and *Awngi* either. Taddese Tamirat (1988: 11) also points out Kunfäl as having pejorative connotation**.**

This researcher, therefore, prefers hereafter the name *Kulaz* for the Kunfäl people of Jawi and vicinity and *Kulazngi* for their language. He also prefers the names *Agaw* for the people in K^{w}ara and Alefa woredas and *Agawi* for the language they speak. The name Kunfäl is used in this thesis only to refer to the Kulaz and the Agawi people together or their language because Kulaz or Àgawi cannot refer to both.

As touched upon earlier, Kunfäl stems from *Kumpal,* the name by which Kunfäl used to be called before they shifted to Kunfäl. Thus, *Kumpalngi* is the language which was in regular use before the Kunfäl shifted to currently used language. There are about 30 to 50 old persons speaking this language, as I was told by my informants, namely, T'ashu Desta (a seventy-five

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verified that Qwaregna is, even though there is a genetic link between the two, a separate language from Kulazngi.

[2]*Agawi* is the same language as Kulazngi natively spoken by the people leaving in Q^{w}ara and Alefa (Joswig, A. and Hussen Mohammed, 2011).

year old from man Alikurand) and his brother Muluneh Desta (a sixty-five year old man from Java (Dangur)), Abejew Kebede (a seventy year old from Bag^{w}sa Marriam), and Atakilt Demeke (a sixty-two year man from K'^{w}ara). These old men also speak Kumpalngi (see appendix 14). They live far away from each other, and the same is true with other persons who speak Kumpalngi. Thus, as these people live sporadically in the Kulaz community, one can assume that the old language has *grown mossy in the mouths* of few old people, for they do not use it in their daily communication: *Kumpalngi* is strictly on the verge of death.

1.2 The People

Kulaz are the same people referred to as *Kolisi* in Zelealem (forthcoming). As pointed out above, Kulazngi is their language. Kulaz mainly inhabit Jawi Woreda between 11 and 12^0 N and 36 and 37^0 E in Amhara National Regional State, specifically in Awi Zone, and some kebeles in Dangur Woreda of Metekel Zone in Benishangul Gumuz National Regional State (see the maps). Even though *their* language is referred to as Agawi, the same people speaking the same language live in some kebeles in K^{w}ara Woreda in North Gonder Zone in Amhara Regional State (Zelealem forthcoming; Joswig et. al. 2011). According to Joswig et. al. (2011: 5), the Agaw speaking communities[3] in North Gonder settle in *Awsäl, Ikahwa, Agamhwa*, and *Bambuha* of K^{w}ara Woreda and in two Kebeles (near the town of Shawra) in Alefa Woreda. These people are referred to as Kulisi in Zelealem (forthcoming): "Kolisi is a little-known small ethnoliguistic group in northwestern Ethiopia […] The Kolisi inhabit the areas of Jawi and Q^{w}ara districts of the Amhara Regional State and Dangur of the Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State in few scattered villages (Zelealem forthcoming)". According to Joswig et. al. (2011: 5) citing the 2007 census, there are 5,185 *Agawi* (a dialect of *Awngi*) speakers in all of North Gonder Zone (see section 1.3 for details with regard to the names). The number of Jawi Kulaz is not known, for they were counted together with Awi. The same is true with those of Dangur: they were counted together with Belaya and other Awngi speakers found in Metekel, Mandura, Bulen, and Guba woredas of Benishangul Gumuz Regional State. Even though these people (Kulazngi as well as

[3] Joswig A. (2011), citing the 1995 publication of 1994 Census, state that there are 3561 and 6830 Agaws in Q^{w}ara and Alefa woredas respectively. This figure by far exceeds the figure reported in Zelealem (forthcomong) as, "… there are unofficial reports that the Kunfäl who live in scattered villages around K^{w}ara (North Gonder) and Dangur (Metekel Zone Administration) all together may exceed 1000."

Agawi speakers) are found in different zones and regions, the kebeles they inhabit are located nearly contiguously (see the maps).

As can be noticed from their pictures below, they are physically closer to Gumuz than to Awi – they are dark- skinned and short- and (in most cases) flat-nosed. (Zelealem, forthcoming) citing Cowley, et. al. (1971) also states as, "[…] their skin color is darker than the Awi but lighter than the Gumuz. According to Taddese (1988: 11), Kulaz are reported to be living and intermarrying with Gumuz.

According to Abdussamad (1984: 4), Kunfäl of Jawi and Dangur once occupied a better portion of the former Mätäkäl: they were pushed to small areas by Oromo expansionists. "In the final analysis, the worst losers were the Gumuz, the Kunfäl and Gonga in the struggle to keep the most fertile and highly watered areas of Mätäkäl."

Kulaz men (*Source*: *Jawi Woreda Culture and Tourism Office*)

Kulaz women in ceremonial costumes (*source: Jawi Wereda Culture and Touris Office*)

The *Kunfäl* are Orthodox Christians. There are also a number of belief systems coexisting with their principal religion, Orthodox Christianity. They worship different spirits and practice celebrating different ceremonial rituals. The hub of their ceremonial ritual is festivity that takes place under a big branching local tree, like *wòmblī, bàmbī*, etc. The trees are revered for two principal reasons: apart from providing shelter from scorching sun or torrential rain during celebration, they are believed to be the abode of the spirits. At such occasions, villagers gather under one of the above mentioned trees and make sumptuous festivity: they kill a bullock, a ram or a goat depending on the type of the celebration. Every household offers honey, *ɨ̀ʃtɨ́tí* 'unfermented local beer' (*gosh tella* in Amharic), and *injera* with stew. They do this in order that the spirits will feast with them and get appeased and go off leaving them unharmed *in all life pursuits* to use Desalegn's (2016) expression. According to their belief, the spirits are known by names as *sàχàsíbí*, *kʷali*, *gabri*, etc. Kulaz believe that these spirits, if ignored or if not duly besought, will bring affliction upon them.

The ceremonial ritual is led by a chosen man from the village. The chosen man is referred to as *tsàxà síbè kɨbtsàntí*, literally meaning *one who pours out tsàχàsíbí*, *to mean one who sees off tsàχàsíbí* or *one who makes tsàχàsíbí go away* and he is believed intercede between the people and the spirits. In worshiping *saχasibi*, for example, every household (with all family members) takes a *wambra*[4] full of honey to the ceremony place. The ritual ceremony takes place under a big tree, usually oak or *wambri* (a big fig like tree which bears edible fruits). *Tsàxà síbè kɨbtsàntí* in a new shawl and with a spear pointing up stands solemnly and implores to the invisible spirit, but as if encountering face to face with the spirit, with beseeching words. While all women carry stones and prostrate facing to the tree, all the men stand behind the women. Every item used and the way it is used in the ritual ceremony is symbolic, though the researcher could not do justice to explain here what they symbolize. After the completion of his solemn beseeches, *tsàxàsíbè kɨbtsàntí* takes a small amount of honey from every *wambra* and makes beverage (they call it búríz). He pours some amount of *búríz* on to the tree before everyone there is served.

Kulaz are noted for their herbal wisdom[5]. They have been treating most of the fatal diseases, such as malaria and typhus. As there was no transport access, no health centers used to be there until the downfall of the majesty rule: they had lived there for ages with no health care centers. They still cure most of the diseases rising in the community traditionally but efficiently. They safely live with deadly wild creatures of desert-like savanna land, especially creepers, such as snakes, scorpions, pythons, etc. The blistering sun and the searing temperature of the desert-like area are not problematic to them.

With regard to the traditional medicine knowledge of these people, Zelealem underlines the need to study Kulaz in detail and maintain its heritages as follows:

> The Kunfäl are also known for their use of traditional herbal medicine on which they heavily rely until now. It is therefore axiomatic that both the linguistic and non-linguistic features of the Kunfäl ethno-linguistic community need the immediate

[4] Wambra is a small gourd container.

[5] I was informed a man called Ayenew, who lives in Fändek'a and is a famous herbalist, can better help me as an informant of Bag^{w}sa variety. But I couldn't find him because he most of the time was preparing herbs, and when he was not preparing herbs, he was engaged in a drink, so not sober. As I was informed, he earns a lot of money by selling herbs which, according to my informants, boost sex feelings to men. As I was further informed, his regular customers were Israeli Betä Israel.

attention of linguists, anthropologists and historians to study them in detail (Zelealem, forthcoming).

The mainstay of their economy is agriculture, and their major crops are sorghum, millet, sesame, corn, and haricot. They also grow yam, pumpkin, pawpaw, mango, etc. They raise cattle, goats, and sheep. They also keep bees.

In the past, they used to support their livelihood with hunting. Wild animals they used to hunt include buffalo, rhino, deer, antelope, leopard, elephant, etc. While animals like buffalo, deer, etc. were killed for their meat, animals like leopard and elephant were killed for income generation (leopard for its skin and elephant for its tusk) and for fame (see Desalegn, 2016 for details). Nevertheless, hunting is only memory for the Kulaz, eidetic memory for the hunters. "Is it because hunting is banned that you quit practicing it?" was a question I asked them. "Of course yes" one of my old informants said, "but, whether banned or not, what shall we hunt? All of Jawi has been full of people, people who came from every part of the country, people who never care for the place they live in, for the trees big and small, old and young. You never see them walk without an axe on their shoulder. If they meet someone walking out of town alone, they never hesitate to kill them. They do this for looting. We used to hunt animals, but they hunt people. What is worse, as you can see for yourself, what used to be interminable area, full of bushes and forests which were abode of our beloved animals, has now been replaced by sugarcane. They say Rhinos, elephants, and buffaloes have eloped to Kenya."

Kulaz live in thatched roofs which are made from bamboo and other indigenous trees. Bamboo trees are highly serviceable in Kulaz. They are used for making beds, doors, chairs, granery, beehives and other household materials.

At the rear of Kulaz women are thatched roofs, granaries, maize with its corncob kept for seed

(Source: Zelealem forthcoming)

Kulaz's traditional songs and dances and musical instruments set them distinct from the rest of the Agaw. Their dance usually involves jumping of males. *Fifi* is their favorite and the commonest traditional song. It is played with long flutelike musical instrument, which is made from bamboo. Making circles, several men blow their instruments in two melodies while performing in the scene. While one melody is low, like that of a base guitar, the other melody is high, like that of a lead guitar. Thus, the flutists make continuous rhythmical melody of high and low, i.e. fi, **fi**, fi, **fi**, fi, **fi**… (bold **fi** represents low and which is not bold represents high). It takes its name from the sound heard when the instrument is blown. It is usually played during holidays or to mark important events in the community. *Fi* means get out (of the house). They say it was this instrument that they used to wake up every household for evacuation. For details, see (Desalegn, 2016)).

The Kulaz have two legend-like tales about themselves. Every Kulaz person can narrate these tales solemnly. They say they are descendants of Adil, grandson of King Dawit of Israel, who came from Israel accompanying Menilik I, the son of Queen Sheba of Ethiopia and King Solomon of Israel. While this is the more legend-like tale, the second less legend-like one is their

run-of story. According to this tale the Kulaz were embittered by the enormity of taxes levied on them during the rule of, according to them, Sadula, the son or grandson of Atse Fasil. They used to pay a good portion from every item of their yield (from what they used to harvest and hunt). The rulers were not satisfied, however. Thus they in the end demanded these people to give their girls (daughters) away. But this they could not take any longer. The aggrieved Kulaz deliberated on the matter seriously and in the end they came to a decision that would end their suffering. They sent their consent for the ruler demanding him to send loyal men so that they could safely take the maidens and hand over to him. When the ruler sent his soldiers, the Kunfäl prepared especial festivity on the pretext of farewell party for their daughters and invited the soldiers a lot of highly alcoholic mead. When the soldiers got utterly smashed with the alcohol, they took one soldier to one household (on the pretext each soldier would have a girl to care for him for the night) to pass the night there. When the soldiers were *dead asleep*, every household killed a sleeping soldier in their house. After killing the soldiers, they vowed that they would flee their villages. Those who would break their vow were to be cursed; something bad would befall on and come to pass to their posterity. Following this, some went to the extreme lowlands where they could live in safety. Others went to Eriterea. There were also some others who crossed a border to Kenya. But some group broke the vow: they hid themselves in *Chigir Washa*, a big cave found beneath mountain Belaya, and escaped the revenge pursuits of the rulers. These were the Kunfäl who now live in Jawi, Jaba and K^{w}ara. These people, therefore, believe that the curse has come to pass to them and are living with the hex of the curse, and as a result of this, they have been living for ages never growing prosperous, never advancing educationally and politically. In order to dispel the spell / hex of this curse, all the Kunfäl members from K^{w}ara, Jawi, and Jaba gathered in Bag^{w}sa Marriam soon after EPRDF came to power and made a special cleansing ceremony. The sources of this information were my informants as well as Jawi Woreda Culture and Tourism Office. According to Desalegn (2016), they had done the same cleansing ceremony but with thwarted results during the reign of Emperor Haile Sellassie. According to the same author, the Kunfäl still think they have not done away with the curse, hence have started preparations to carry out another cleansing ceremony in the future.

1.3 The Language

Kulazngi is the Kunfäl variety spoken in Jawi woreda (Awi Zone (Amhara Regional State)) and in Dangur woreda (Metekel Zone (Beneshangul Gumuz Regional State)) specifically in rural kebeles called Frint, Kaba, Jahimala, Adwanj, Basage, Bag^{w}sa Mariam, Bag^{w}sa Kidane Mihret, and Kebtele, and in Dangur Woreda specifically in Ankesha Gurji, Jaba, and Bagelti. The present study describes the variety spoken in Bag^{w}sa Mariam and Bag^{w}sa Kidane Mihret. As these kebeles are found in the middle of Kulaz speech community, their variety also shows middle position in the dialect geography.

Thanks to *The Grammar Sketch of Kulisi* (Zelealem, forthcoming), the query whether Kulazngi is a distinct Agaw language or a dialect of Awngi has got an answer: it is the dialect of Awngi. The present study also confirms that Kulazngi is the dialect of Awngi, nonetheless, its dialectal situation seems to be closer to borderline. The varieties (phonological, morphological, and syntactic) are the old language (Kumpalngi) origin (see appendix 14).

Kunfäl (Kulazngi as well as Agawi), is one of the scarcely studied languages in Ethiopia. Some of the previous researchers on Awngi did not even mention *Kunfäl* in their reports. Those who mentioned it simply assumed the possibility of its being Awngi's variety but they did not substantiate their assumption with reliable data or evidence. Yaregal (2007), for instance, stated: "Except Belayas and Kunfäl, the speech community of Awngi settles nearly contiguously. Thus, there is considerable dialectal variation among the Awngi of Belaya, Kunfäl, and Awi (p, 3)."[6] Others mentioned Kunfäl for typological reference but using Cowley's et. al. (1971) data.

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[6] I had the chance to visit Kulaz in 2003 when I was working as *Language and Curriculum Development Expert* in Education Department of Awi Administrative Zone. Starting off from Injibara, the capital of Awi Administrative Zone, we reached Jawi, where the Kulaz live, after a half-day drive. Jawi, which is a separate woreda by now, was within Dangila Woreda then. The purpose of our visit was to assess Awngi as a medium of education in primary schools there. We went to Alikurand Primary School and had a short meeting with the teachers. The students did not come to school that day, for, as we were informed by the teachers, they were absent from school to help their parents with harvest (it was harvest season). From our discussions held with the teachers, we learned that there was some gap between Awngi medium texts and the students' language, Kulazngi.
Having been informed thus, we went to a nearby village where *Kulaz (*lowlanders) lived. As we approached a thatched house, which was made mainly from bamboo sticks, we saluted old couples who were sitting in front of their house. They responded to our salutation rather coldly, which we guessed to be appropriate for them when meeting strangers, and brought us chairs made from bamboo trees. Putting the chairs under a shade of a large *bamba* (a kind of fig) tree by the house, they bade us to sit. We asked them several questions about their environment, their lives, their children, and schooling. While speaking, we were cautious of our language use, not to use the name Kunfäl because we were informed of this by the teachers, who were highlanders. First I thought they spoke entirely a different language. But as our discussions went on, some of our conversations were communicated with difficulty. Some usages were not clear to me, and so were mine to them. Begging pardon for

As touched upon earlier, Kunfäl strictly refers to the language that was in a regular use in the past, i.e., before the Kunfäl people shifted to Kulazngi, Awngi variety, which is in regular use today, and by the people. The Agawi of K^{w}ara and Alefa, as reported by Joswig et al. (2011), and Kulazngi of Jawi and Dangur are dialects of the same language. Nevertheless, Agawi and Kulazngi do not show the same relational status to Awngi as the comparative data in Joswig, et. al. (2011) indicates. These authors point out that dialectal situation between Awngi and Agawi is a borderline case. Joswig et al. (2011) also indicate the degree to which Agawi shares its lexical items with Awngi. According to their comparison, the two varieties share 72.8% of their lexical items.

The degree of resemblance between Kunfäl and Awngi is reported to show the highest resemblance in Taddese (1984). According to him, among hundred basic lexical items in the two languages, 78% are judged to show agreement

When judged based on the recent data, Kulazngi is closer to Awngi than Agawi is to Awngi (see appendix 1 and 2). Out of 50 lexical items of Awngi and Agawi, 14 (28%), 16 (32%), and 20 (40%) are judged to be the same, related, and different respectively (see appendix 2). This has to do with proximity_ the difference is continuum the further one goes from Awi. As pointed out earlier, to exactly judge whether the two languages are distinct or dialects of each other, one need to conduct mutual intelligibility test.

The following family tree (figure 1) shows genetic relation of Agaw languages based on the existing literature. Even though Joswig et.al. (2011) assume Kunfäl and Agawi as the dialect of Awngi, the status of Agawi is under inquiry. Whether Agawi is an independent language or a dialect of of Awngi has to be proven by research.

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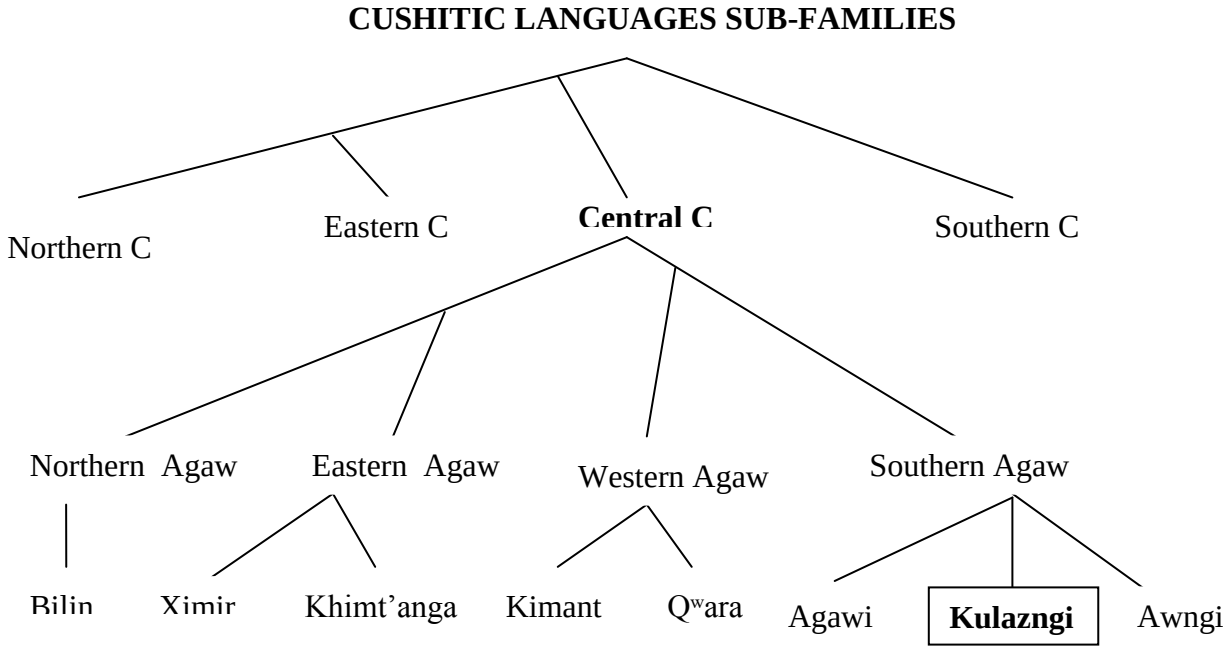
clarification was almost equally reciprocal. In that case, we had to repeat our conversations with different expressions. Even though we managed to communicate in most cases, there were still some parts in our speeches which we could hardly make out. It was, therefore, clear to us that Awngi Medium for *Kulaz*, lowlanders, would be difficult. That moment was the inception in me to study Kulazngi.

Figure 1: Cushitic languages sub families



(Adopted from Zelealem forthcoming)

1.4 Mother Tongue Education

Awngi was promoted to writing in 1995, and the following year, it became a medium of instruction for all Awi Administrative Zone primary schools where Awngi is spoken. Since Kulazngi is Awngi variety, this program is also implemented in Kulaz. Since there is no difference in phonemic inventory between the two varieties, Awngi and Kulazngi, the orthography does not show under differentiation. The problem, however, is in texts: the texts were prepared in the highland variety and were used for Kulazngi speakers too. Kulaz children in learning in the language showing full of lexical, phonological, and morphological differences with theirs are made to learn Awngi variety, which will speed up loss of their own variety.

1.5 The Previous Studies

Kulazgni is one of the least studied languages of Ethiopia. The earliest work on this language was Cowley's (1971) short article, *The Kufäl People and their Language*, which contains brief sociolinguistic information and limited word-list data. As the word-list was first collected in Amaharic script by other researchers, namely, Teqebba Berru and Zena Adal and then transcribed by Cowley in a very broad non-standard phonemic transcription, phonological

accuracy of the words in the list was not reliable. The second work on Kulazngi is A Sociolinguistic Survey Report; Revisiting the Southern Agaw Language Areas of Ethiopia (Joswig, 2011). Like in that of Cowley, this survey report provides sociolinguistic information and a word-list of about two hundred words of Awngi, Belaya, Alefa, and Q^{w}ara. Differences and similarities of the words presented in the four languages are compared. Cowley's word-list is also incorporated in this comparison. The purpose of the comparison is to judge the relational status of the languages. However, Kulazngi (Jawi and Java varieties) has not been included in the list. Cowley's word-list can by no means represent Kulazngi. First and foremost, Kunfäl according to Joswig, et.al (2011) also refers to those of Q^{w}ara and Alefa, because Kunfäl are reported as the people living west of Lake T'ana in that article. Even though Kulaz, Q^{w}ara, and Alefa are found west of Lake T'ana, only Alefa is found immediately next to the lake, as can be checked from the map. So, it is not clear from which variety of Kunfäl Teqebba and Zena collected the data. What is more, the presence of a low-mid central vowel ə in Cowley's data makes us think Cowley's data is not of Jawi Kulazngi. Instead, it could more probably be of Q^{w}ara or Alefa because, according to my informant Atakilt Kebede from Q^{w}ara, Agawi has low-mid central vowel ə. Even if we assume Cowley's data to be collected from Jawi, the data does not hold for comparison for the reason mentioned earlier.

The other work on Kulazngi is *The Grammar Sketch of Kulisi* (Zelealem forthcoming). This work gives by far a better linguistic description than the other two. Though it is sketchy, it presents and describes phonology, morphology, and syntactic structure of the language. It also provides a list of about 250 lexical items and one up to hundred cardinal numbers. As the data on which Zelealem's grammar description is based on was collected from Fändek'a, the capital of Jawi, it is closer to Awngi, and as the present study centers on varieties used in Bag^{w}sa Marriam, and Adwange kebeles, considerable variations are noticed between the two works. And yet Zelealem's *Grammar Sketch of Kulisi* has served as a launching pad for the present study.

Other than the three published works assessed above, the researcher has assessed almost all of the works on Awngi because, even though at the borderline, Kulazgni is a dialect of Awngi. The independent works on Awngi include Palmer (1959), Hetzron (1969 and 1978), Haile Leul (1991), Worku (1986), Samuel (2006), Yaregal (2007), and Zelealem (1989). Except the first two, all the aforementioned works are MA theses at AAU.

Palmer (1959) describes Awngi verbs in terms of number, gender, person and aspect, on the basis of which he classifies Awngi verbs into eight types.

Next to Palmer, Hetzron (1969) describes the various verbal systems of the language in his dissertation entitled "The Verbal System of Southern Agaw", which was published as a book in 1969. In this work he classifies Awngi verbs on the basis of their distribution as *main, subordinate, compound, intention*, and *emphasis*. Even though not as thoroughly as verbs in *The Verb System of Agaw,* Hetzron describes Awngi nominalization in *The Nominal System of Awngi* (1978) and provides a list of Awngi nominal vocabulary.

Haile Leul (1991) classifies Awngi verbs into three classes: copulatives (copula, the raising verb, and the intensive), transitives (semi transitives, mono transitives, and di-transitives) and intransitives (statives and eventives) on the bases of verbal complementation.

Worku (1986) identifies 31 Awngi consonants (among which three are labialized) and five are vowels at the phonemic level. He, however, seems to miss q^w, which has prevalent distribution (as in *piq*^{w} ' squeeze out') in the language. Worku claims that there are 32 phonemes (27 consonants and 5 vowels). He has missed the high central vowel / ɨ /, which shows contrastive distribution with other vowel phonemes in Yaregal (2007, 2010). The inclusion of the glottal stop /ʔ/ in his phonemic chart of consonants makes Worku as the only researcher who identifies this sound as a discrete one in Awngi. He does not, however, provide convincing data for his inclusion of this sound as a phoneme. Yaregal (2007: 6,8) argues against the inclusion of the glottal stop as a phoneme.

Taddese (1984) describes the NP structure of Awngi. He suggests the absence of any articles in Awngi. Samuel (2006), however, argues that there are suffixes such as *-ka*, and *-sa* marking definiteness.

Zelealem (1989) discusses relative clauses in Awngi. In this work, he identifies two kinds of relative clauses, restrictive and non-restrictive and presents them with ample illustrations.
The other researcher in Awngi is Samuel. Samuel (2006) identifies most of the morphological elements which derive nominals from different category words.

Recent works in Awngi are an MA thesis entitled *Case in Awngi* (2007 an article *Awnogi Grammar* (2010), and አውኒው ሳዋሳው (1012) by Yaregal. The latter is a book for teaching Awngi

grammar for college students. In *Case in Awngi*, Yaregal identifies five cases, namely, accusative, dative, comitative, genitive, and local (locative, ablative, directional, and purposive) cases. Even though Yaregal's work does not treat tone as the main part of the thesis, he provides a brief account of Awngi tone.

Most of the works assessed so far concatenate on verbs, and yet none of them clearly and thoroughly show complex distribution of various grammatical elements and morphological processes involved in derivations as well as inflections; nor do they thoroughly discuss Awngi tone, which is a prominent feature in the language. And yet, these works have been of paramount importance to this researcher for cross referencing.

1.6 Statement of the Problem

Kulazngi is one of the least studied languages in Ethiopia. Its dialectal situation with Awngi is borderline case. As its speakers, specially the youth (because of mother tongue education in Awngi and expansion of towns, mechanized farms and resettlements) are fast adopting Awngi, the whole scenario in Jawi is exasperating loss of Kulazngi varieties, and this calls for the description of entire grammar of Kulazngi. Zelealem (forthcoming) explains loss threat of Kulazngi as:

> […] as a result of the expansion of towns, mechanized farms and resettlement areas, the swamping effect of Amharic seems to be inevitable. Kolisi children are sent to Awŋi medium schools and this is challenging the ethno-linguistic identity of the Kolisi people. Their language is used mainly in the home domain (Zelealem, forthcoming).

Zelealem, therefore, calls for immediate attention of linguists, anthropologists and historians to study the Kulazngi in detail before both the linguistic and non-linguistic features of the Kunfäl ethno-linguistic community disappear .

It is clear that some sets of cultural codes, folkloric genres, historic anecdotes and other traditional domains are borne in words or proverbial or other oral expressions. Language loss (without being documented), therefore, entails loss of these cultural values, which are handed down to posterity in oral forms. Thus, language loss would mean loss of societal wisdom accumulated in and reserved for thousands of years. As language disappears, wealth of culture, art, and knowledge disappears (Austin, P.K. 2003).

Research results, even though not always, might create a favorable condition for endangered languages or language parts (varieties) to thrive again, and this is the best remedial solution. If reversing a loss threat is hardly possible, the language already under threat to have no speakers in the future ought to be documented, and this is the second remedial solution, for in documented words are laden folkloric wisdom genres and other invaluable traditional heritages.

1.7 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to provide the overall grammatical description of Kulazgni. Hence, it:

- identifies the phonemes of the language and describes the sound system;
- identifies the tonemes and describes the systems in which the tones work
- provides the entire description of all word-classes in the language
- provides phrase and clause structures of the language

1.8 Significance of the Study

As pointed out in previous sections, Kulazngi as a dialect of Awngi is a borderline case. Due to the fact that Awngi is the medium of instruction in Jawi primary schools as well as other sociolinguistic issues, Kulazngi speakers, especially the youth, are fast adopting Awngi varieties. Thus, this study will make tremendous contribution in preserving all linguistic facts by making a basic description of the language at all levels (phonological, morphological and syntactic levels).

The study, since it is descriptive work, will contribute to the discovery of linguistic facts about Central Cushitic language studies. Besides, it can serve as a valuable source for linguists who work in language typology.

As mentioned earlier, Awngi language is used as a medium of instruction and also given as a subject in primary schools in the zone. Thus, Kulaz children are made to learn in text books prepared in Awngi. Hence, this thesis will have a tremendous contribution to helping vernacular education in Jawi by serving as basic resource for the preparation of pedagogical grammar and (supplementary) reference materials in their own dialect.

1.9 Research Methodology and Theoretical Framework

This study is based on synchronic data gathered during four fieldworks in Jawi Woreda. The methods employed to gather the data include elicitation and group discussion. The first fieldwork was conducted from January to February 2012. During this fieldwork, some preliminary data and lists of basic words were collected mainly using SIL Comparative African Word List. The second fieldwork was conducted from January to March 2013. During this fieldwork, linguistic data mainly helping in (morpho-)phonological, tonological, and morphological analysis were collected. The third and the fourth fieldworks were conducted from March to May 2014 and from April to May 2015 respectively. In the third fieldwork were collected linguistic data helping in phrasal and clausal analysis. During the last fieldwork, gap filling and confirmation activities were carried out.

My principal informants were Nigatu Wassie (a fifty-four year old man from Fandika (the capital of Jawi), Debas Kebebe (a fifty-eight year old man from Bag^{w}sa), Firew Keffal (a sixty-two year old man from Adwange), Tashu Desta and Muluneh Desta, siblings, the former a seventy-year old man (from Alkurand,Jawi) and the latter a sixty-five year old man from Jaba (Dangur (Beneshangul Gumuz)), Abejew Kebede, a seventy-two year old man from Bagusa Marriam (Jawi), and Emebet Zeleke, a sixty year old woman from Fandika (the capital of Jawi), and Atikilt Kebede (a sixty-two year man from K'^{w}ara). Note that, except K'^{w}ara (a woreda in North Gonder Zone) and Fandɨk'a, the capital town of Jawi, the aforementioned places above are all rural kebeles. Atakilt of K'^{w}ara stayed with me for ten (February 16-25, 2012) days as a principal informant of the old Kunfäl. Among these, Abejew Kebede and Firew Kefale are informants for the variety described in this study.

The data used in this thesis are described phonemically. Thus, a three-line data presentation format is used in presenting the data. As syllables in every word in the language appear bearing a tone (high, low, or mid), this is indicated by tone diacritics ` (low), ´ (high) or ¯ (mid) right on a tone bearing vowel.

This study, therefore, employs *Basic Linguistic Theory* (*BLT*) as its guideline. As outlined in Dixon (1997 and 2010), this theory differs from other theoretical frameworks in its basic assumption that each language should be described in its own terms without any imposition or influence of concepts from other languages. According to Dixon (2010) it is difficult to write a

complete grammar of a language in terms of what he called *Formal Theories* because these focus only on limited aspects of language. “Basic Linguistics Theory – the theory of linguistics as a natural science – consists in study and comparison of the grammatical patterns of individual languages (Dixon, 2010: 3).” According to this theory, the main task of any linguist engaging in writing descriptive grammar of little documented languages ought to be striving not to fail to notice any grammatical elements and functions of the language: they should depict all language properties as they exist in the language. Likewise, the fundamental task of this researcher is writing complete description of Kulazngi in line with Basic Linguistic Theory.

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY

This chapter investigates the basic phonemes and their allophonic variants of Kulazngi. It discusses phonological processes, syllabification and phonological constraints in the language. It also gives an overview of tone in the language.

Representation of sounds follows the conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Transcriptions enclosed in slash brackets are phonemic and in square brackets are phonetic. Bare transcriptions (frequently used in this book) can be considered phonemic.

2.1 Consonants

The typical feature of Agaw consonant system is the presence of simple phonemes *ŋ* (velar nasal), *χ* (uvular fricative), and labialized back consonants k^w, g^w, q^w, χ^w, $ŋ^w$, and $ɣ^w$ (Hetzron 1976: 11). Kulazngi shares most of phonological features with other Agaw Languages. Unlike other Cushitic languages (Apleyard, 2011: 202; Fallon, 2009: 19), Kulazngi lacks glottalized articulation (ejectives). According to Hetzron (1976: 11), ejectives in Kimantney and Khimt'anga are found in words of Semitic origin and in genuine Agaw words in Bilin. Glottalization in Bilin is ascribed as the influence of Semitic tongues (Hetzron 1976: 11).

Since Kulazngi has no ejectives, implosives, glottalized, or pharyngealized consonants, Frajzyngier's (2012: 508) generalization that all Afroasiatic languages have one or more of the series comprised of ejectives, implosives, glottalized, or pharyngealized consonants does not hold.

Kulazngi has a bilabial stop *p*, which, according to Appleyard (2011), is absent in most of Cushitic languages. Unlike other Agaw languages, Kulazngi has a uvular stop *q*, which, according to the same author, is not a common feature in other Cushitic languages. "Interestingly, the velar counterpart [instead of glottalized articulation] is realized, for instance in Central Cushitic Awngi and in Northern Somali, as a uvular stop q (Appleyard, 2011)."

Like other Agaw languages (Appleyard, 2011), Kulazngi has a uvular fricative *χ*, which is not a common feature in other Cushitic languages. Kulazngi, like Awngi, has an alveolar affricate *ts*, which is absent in other Central Cushitic languages.

Kulazngi has twenty-eight consonants including five labialized consonants, viz. *kʷ, gʷ, qʷ, χʷ, ŋʷ, ɲ*. According to Zelealem (forthcoming), there are twenty-two plain and four labialized consonants. *ɲ* (not included in Zelealem's work) is part of the phoneme inventory in this work because it is found in several Amharic loanwords, such as *moɲ* 'foolish', *daɲi* 'judge', *maʧaɲɲi* 'leather belt for fastening loads non pack animals, *mɨkaɲi* 'wicked', *ɨmmáɲɲì* 'witness', etc. The fact that these words are the solely used entities in the language implies that they are part of the Kulazngi lexicon as well. This in turn implies that the sounds maintained in them too are part of the Kulazngi phoneme system. The position of *ɲ* is also phonemic in Awngi (Yaregal, 2010).

2.1.1 Consonant Phonemes

Kulazngi consonants are classified into six categories in terms of their manner of articulation: *stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, liquids, semi-vowels,* and *labialized consonants,* shown in Table 1 below. /dz/ (the voiced counterpart of *ts*) is very rare. There is only one instance in the current data: *sedzdza* 'four'.[7] Thus, it is not included in the phoneme inventory. Phonemes which are italicized have allophonic variants, which are put in square brackets in Table 1 below.

[7] There exist two instances in HA: *sedzdza* 'four' and *bùtdzdzí* 'fat'.

Table 1: **Chart of Kulazngi Consonants Phonemes and Allophones**

manner of articulation			place of articulation					
			labial	lab/dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular
plosives	plain	v/ls	p		t		k	q
		v/d	*b*		d		g	
	labialized	v/ls					k^w	q^w
		v/d					g^w	
fricatives	plain	v/ls		f	s	ʃ		χ
		v/d	[β]		z	[ʒ]		[ʁ]
	labialized	v/ls						χ^w
		v/d						[$ʁ^w$]
affricates	plain	v/ls			ts	tʃ		
		v/d				dʒ		
nasals	plain		m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
	labialized						$ŋ^w$	
liquids	lateral				l			
	trill				r			
Approximants			w			j		

As pointed out above, the consonants put in square brackets are allophonic variants. Hence, the bilabial voiced stop /b/ has [b] and [β], the affricate /dʒ/ has [dʒ] and [ʒ], the uvular /χ/ has [χ] and [ʁ], and the labialized uvular /χ^w/ has [χ^w and [$ʁ^w$], which are in complementary distribution (see section 2.1.4). The uvular χ is velar in Zelealem (forthcoming).

2.1.2 Minimal Pair Test

This section provides (near) minimal pair test to determine the phonemic status of each consonant. The minimal pair test is made irrespective of tone. Note that translations are put following the minimal pairs in their respective order.

1. **/p b m/**
   a) /b/ vs. / p/ ↦ *kū**b*** vs. *kû**p*** (IDP) ‘brimless cap’, ‘to collect’
      ***p**ə̂r* (IDP) vs. ***b**ɨr* (IDP) ‘jump’, ‘fly’
   b) /b/ vs. /m/ ↦ kɨ́**m** vs. kɨ***b*** ‘evening’, ‘gourd’
      dʒɨ̀mí vs. *dʒí**bí*** ‘song’, ‘coward’
   c) /p/ vs. / m/ ↦ ***p**áxí* vs. ***m**àχí* ‘splinter’, ‘sore’
   d) /p/ vs. / f/ ↦ *fə́ʃ-* vs. *pɨ́ʃ-* vs. *fɨ́r* vs. pə̂r ‘to take out’, ‘to leak’, ‘pit’ vs. ‘jump’

2. **/s ts t d z /**

a) /s/ vs. /z/ ↦ ***z***àχī vs. ***s***àχ^{w}ī (NM) ‘thread’, ‘animal fat’

zàmpál vs. ***s***àmbár ‘thigh’, ‘scar’

zɨ̄r vs. ***s***ɨ̀r ‘intestines/guts’, ‘baby

b) /s/ vs. /ts/ ↦ ***ts***áŋ vs. ***s***án ‘tongue’, ‘nose’

sàj- vs. ***ts***àj- ‘to wear’, ‘to burn’

mà***s***í vs. mà***ts***í ‘farm field after crops have been collected’, ‘handle of spear’

c) /ts/ vs. /z/ ↦ kà***ts***- vs. kà***z***- ‘to take’, ‘to go’

tsàr- vs. ***z***àr- ‘to make efforts’, ‘ (of crops) to start blooming’

d) /t/ vs. /d/ ↦ wádá vs. wátà ‘where’, ‘what/how’

tânk^{w} vs. dàng^{w} ‘break’, ‘not filled’

3. **/m r n l ŋ/**

a) /r/ vs. /n/ ↦ bèn- vs. bèr- ‘share’, ‘metal’

ɓ̀ànī vs. kàrrì ‘stick/wood’, ‘knife’

b) /r/ vs. /l/ ↦ sɨ́l vs. sɨ́r ‘picture’, ‘root’

fɨ́n vs. fɨ́r ‘front/forehead’, ‘pit’

c) /n/ vs. /l/ ↦ kál vs. kán ‘promise/ speech’, ‘mountain’

bún vs. búl ‘coffee’ ‘hump’

màl- vs. màr- ‘notice’ ‘to have or show pity’

d) /n/ vs. /ŋ/ ↦ íŋːí vs. ɨ̀nnī ant’ ‘elephant’

tsáŋ vs. zân ‘tongue’ ‘brother’

ɨ̀ŋ- vs. ɨ́n ‘to bite’ ‘this’

e) /m/ vs. /n/ ↦ mā̀q vs. náq- ‘shoulder’ ‘to get closer’

màká vs. nákà ‘on’ ‘today’

f) /m/ vs. /ŋ/ ↦ màtsí vs. ŋàtsí ‘stick of spear’ ‘bone’

mɨ́ʃɨ̀ vs. ŋɨ́ʃɨ̀ ‘mead’ ‘now’

4. **/tʃ ʃ dʒ/**

a) /tʃ/ vs. /ʃ/ ↦ tʃáχì vs. ʃàχí ‘urine’, ‘dance’

fɨ̀tʃ- vs. fɨ̀tʃ- ‘to take out’, ‘to hate’

b) /ʃ/ vs. /dʒ/ ↦ *ɨʃːí* vs. *ɨdʒːū* ‘meat’, ‘medicine’

c) /tʃ/ vs. /dʒ/ ↦ *ɨ́tʃːáj* vs. *ɨ̀dʒːū* ‘far’, ‘medicine’

tʃàrí vs. *dʒàri* ‘name of district or a tree’, ‘name an ox’

5. /**k g q**/

a) /**k**/ vs. /**g**/ ↦ *kìlí* vs. *gìnī* ‘turn of duty’, ‘Christmas’

gɨ́n vs. *kán* ‘large earthenware jar’, ‘mountain’

b) /**k**/ vs. /**q**/ ↦ *dɨ̀kí* vs. *dɨ̀qī* ‘wicked’, ‘dreg’

6. /**q**/ vs. /**χ**/ ↦ *àq* vs. *àχ* ‘men’, ‘inside’

dɨ̀qī vs. *dɨ̀χī* ‘dreg’, ‘poor’

7. /**w**/ vs. /**j**/ ↦ *káw-* vs. *káj-* ‘to cut’, ‘to cross over’

8. /**k**^{w}/ vs. /**g**^{w}/ ↦ *k*^{w}*àlí* vs. *g*^{w}*ànī / g*^{w}*áχí* ‘spirit’, ‘flue/large bird/

9. /q^{w}/ vs. /χ^{w}/ ↦ *ɨ̀χ*^{w}*ī* ‘hyena’

2.1.3 Distribution of Consonant Phonemes

As can be noticed from table 1, Kulazngi has *stops*, *fricatives*, *affricates*, *nasals*, *liquids*, *semi-vowels*, and *labialized consonants*. Subsequent subsections will be devoted to examining the distribution of these consonant phonemes.

2.1.3.1 Stops

Kulazngi has seven consonants in the stop series: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /q/.

/p/: The distribution of *p* in Kulaz Awngi is not different from that of highland Awngi; it occurs in all environments - word initially, word medially, and word finally. Nonetheless, its distribution in word final position is low when compared to other environments. Kemanteney does not have this sound at all (Appleyard, 1975; Zelealem, 2003), and according to Fallon (2009: 13), only Awngi has this sound among the Agaw languages. *p* is also non-existent in Proto-Cushitic (Fallon, 2009: 13). *p*, therefore, must be Awngi/Kulazngi innovation as it is non-existent in other Agaw languages and in Proto-Cushitic as well.

The following lexemes show distribution of *p* in all environments.

initial	*medial*	*final*
páχí ‘split stick’	zàmpál ‘thigh’	kúp ‘bear fruit)’
pinʧini ‘fart’	kámpí ‘cheese’	qāp ‘tree bark’
pírʧáxí ‘snare stick’	χìmpɨpt- ‘to snore/ creep’	kémp ‘side’

/b/: The phoneme b occurs in all environments. It has phonetic realizations [b] and [β]. The phoneme *b* in Kemanteney has also the same phonetic realizations [b] and [β] (Zelealem, 2003: 151). The phoneme *b* in Kulazngi is realized as [b] word initially and after *m* and as [β] elsewhere. Hence, [b] and [β] are allophones of the phoneme /b/ (see section 2.1.4). /b/ and /β/ are reported to be separate phonemes in Khimt’anga (Teshome, 2015: 31). The allophones [b] and [β] show the same distribution in Awngi (Yaregal 2010). There is no geminate *b* except in Amharic loan words, like *abba* ‘father’, because gemination in the language is realized after a vowel and *b* after a vowel is realized as β. The following are examples showing distribution of *b* in all environments.

initial	*medial*	*final*
bàkʷàní ‘kind’	qùmbí ‘mouth’	dīb ‘thing’
bɨrī ‘blood’	dɨban ‘God’	kɨb ‘gourd’
bùl ‘hump’	ʤɨbínt ‘fear’	atsāb ‘friend’
bàxʷí ‘bald’	gùbāj ‘byre’	gɨmb ‘stick’

b in Kemanteney shows the same distribution (Appleyard, 1975) as in Kulazngi. However, according to Zelealem (2003: 151), it does not occur word finally in Kemanteney.

/t/: The phoneme *t* occurs in all environments as in the following.

initial	*medial*	*final*
tàb ‘hand’	wáltà ‘six’	kànt- ‘see’
tìr- ‘stand’	kìntrī ‘clitoris’	kùmpát ‘testicle’
tízànī ‘pus’	qùtɨr ‘hole’	ʃɨkʷāt ‘comb’

/d/: The phoneme *d* occurs in all environments.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
dànkí	'hard part of palm or sole'	sɨdùdí	'beard'	sènd	'chest'
dɨχrí	'excreta'	sɨndáj	'weat'	dād	'road'
dàdàχí	'thief'	tàb gùmdá	'thumb'	kīd	'threshing'

/k/: The phoneme *k* occurs in all environments as in the following.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
kíndí	'half'	tsɨ́mɨrkā	'eyelash'	tēk	'partition'
kɨrʧí	'jaw/ chin'	ɨnkān	'love'	gérɨ́k	'day'
kúftsárí	'arm'	kákàs-	'to yawn'	sɨ́nk-	'smear'

/g/: The phoneme *g* occurs in all environments.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
gɨmb	'stick'	kágí	'dry'	χāg	'bed'
gūd	'good'	ɨngɨr	'back/ rear'	āg	'uncle'
gùrgúm	'neck'	ʧɨngúr	'deaf'	gùzɨg	'stomach'
gàjŋí	'nape'	nánáχītà	'snail'	jìng	'nail'

/q/: The phoneme *q* occurs in all environments. Among the Agaw lamguages, Awngi and Khimt'anga have this sound, and it is assumed to be a proto-phoneme (Appleyard, 2006: 6; Fallon, 2009: 13). According to the same authors and Palmer (1959), Awngi and Khimt'anga have *q* while Kemanteney and Bilin lack it. Bilin has replaced this sound by the glottalized velar *k'* due to the influence of Tigre and Tigrinya (Appleyard, 2007: 481).

initial		*medial*		*final*	
qúnzí	'disease'	àqá	'woman'	àq	'men'
qàràz-	'smell'	qùrànqí	'navel'	sâq	'slip (idop)'
qùts	'cheek'	ɨnqàrí	'abscess'	lānq	'bow/ arrow'

qùmbí ‘mouth’ sɨ́sqí ‘sweat’ wēq- ‘vomit (IDP)’

qùlqúl ‘armpit’ dɨqī ‘dreg’ māq ‘shoulder’

2.1.3.2 Fricatives

Kulazngi has bilabial, labio dental, alveolar, palatal, and uvular fricatives. The fricative series consists of β, f, s, z, ʃ, ʒ and χ. [β] and [ʒ] are the variants of [b] and [ʤ] respectively (see 2.1.4).

/f/: The phoneme *f* appears word-initially. Its distribution in word-medial position is rare: only one word in my data. No non-loan word with *f* in a word-final position was found. *ɨ́rɨ́f* ‘plough share’ is a loan-word from Amharic.

initial	*medial*	*final*
fìtízí ‘leftover’	àfúts - ‘to sharpen’	ɨ́rɨ́f ‘plough share’
fùr- ‘rest’		
fɨʧ(t)- ‘hate’		

f word-medially and finally in Awngi swaps with *b* in Kulazngi. Notice the following.

Kulazgni	**Awngi**	**gloss**
tàb	tàf	‘hand’
ʤìbínt	ʤìfɨ́nt	‘fear’
tsìtsìbí	tsìtsìfí	‘hair’
kàtìb-	kètàf-	‘slice’

/s/: The phoneme *s* occurs word-initially and word-medially. Its occurrence word-finally is rare.

initial	*medial*	*final*
sán ‘nose’	sɨ́sqí ‘sweat’	as! ‘take it (them)’[8]
sɨdùdí ‘beard’	bìsɨ́qí ‘sputum’	
sɨr ‘baby’	dàgòsí ‘thick/heavy ’	

[8] Said with a stretched hand to give something (equivalent with the Amharic *ɨnka*).

s following a vowel in most of the words word-medially and nearly in all cases word finally in Awngi is realized as *z* in Kulazngi as shown in the following data. However, it is not the case that *s* does not appear following a vowel in all cases.

Awngi	**Kulazgni**	**gloss**
wɨ́ssí	wɨ́zí	ash
tás-	táz-	to hit/kick
tísìnī	tízànī	pus
χìsánti	χɨzánti	elder
jìssān	jìzān	strong

As touched upon above, there also exist several words having *s* word-medially following a vowel in Kulazngi, as shown below.

Awngi	**Kulazgni**	**gloss**
gɨséŋ	gèsáŋ	dog
àràs-	àràs-	to plow
sàsār	sàsār	light
làslàssí	làslàsí	soft

/z/: The phoneme z occurs word-initially, word-medially and word-finally, and its occurrence in word-final position is limited.

initial	*medial*	*final*
zɨ́nk^{w}í ‘heavy’	ɨnzáŋ- ‘walk’	gìz ‘before evening/early enough’
zàmpál ‘thigh’	tízànī ‘pus’	kùlāz ‘kulazngi speaking people’
zɨ̄r ‘guts’, zɨ̀q- ‘drink’	qúnzí ‘disease’	
zèlàní ‘plow whip’	kɨ́zár (gajni) ‘nape’	,

/ʃ/: ʃ occurs word initially, word finally, and word medially, as shown in the following data.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
ʃàw	‘heart’	ɨʃʃì	‘meat’	gùʃ-	‘pick’
ʃérá	‘pregnant’	mɨndráʃí	‘malaria’	átɨʃ-	‘sneeze’

ʃùmàgílí	‘old man’	ŋɨʃtàrí	‘male’	kíʃ	‘pocket’, ,
ʃàχí	‘dance’	qàmʃĩ	‘a broken clay’	kúʃ	‘cover’

/χ/: *χ* is distributionally restricted to two environments: word-initially and following a vowel. It is free variant with *q* in word initial position.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
χùnā	‘woman’	tsɨngáχi	‘setback’	dúχ-	‘tell’
χàgí	‘bed’	ɨχáχárí	‘curse’	àχ	‘in’
χùr-	‘lie/ sleep’	dɨχrí	‘excreta’	wāχ	‘full’

The phoneme χ has voiced and voiceless variants (see 2.1.4.1), as is the case in HA (Yaregal, 2010)

2.1.3.3 Affricates

The affricate series in Kulazngi comprises alveolar and palatal sounds *ʦ, ʧ,* and *ʤ*.

/ʦ/: The phoneme *ʦ* occurs word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
ʦɨmár	‘tail’	ɨntsní	‘snot, mucus’	qùts	‘cheek’
ʦáŋ	‘tongue’	tsátsí	‘acacia’	bɨlāts	‘shrewd’
tsìtsìbí	‘hair’	tsìtsìbí	‘hair’	ŋāts	‘bone’
tsɨkà	‘ten’	qɨtsí	‘worm’	wìts-	‘win’

Whereas *ʦ* is not available in other Agaw languages (Appleard 1975), it shows complete distribution in Awngi (Hetzron, 1969; Palmer, 1959; Taddese, 1984; Yaregal, 2010) and in Kulazngi. Kulazngi, together with its highland variety, Awngi, has less likely innovated it or the other Agaw languages have lost it. The latter surmise is more likely because *ts* exists in Fallon’s (2009) reconstruction as proto Agaw. Besides, *ts* in Awngi and Kulazngi is either *s* or *ʃ* in other Agaw languages (for example, *fly* is *tsɨntsá* in Awngi and Kulazngi and *ʃinʃa* in Bilin) Hetzron (1976: 11).

/ ʧ/ The phoneme *ʧ* occurs word initially, word finally, and word medially.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
ʧɨχ	'summer'	kɨrʧî	'jaw, chin'	wēntʃ	'horn cup'
ʧîmí	'finger'	bàʧì	'different / lonely'	ànʧ-	'wake up'
ʧáχì	'urine'	qɨtʃqítʃî	'bush'	kɨ́ʧ	'middle'
ʧèb-	'to count'	màtʃî	'Monday'	ɨnʧ	'vagina'

/ʤ/: The phoneme *ʤ* occurs word initially, word finally, and word medially. It has phonetic variants [ʤ] and [ʒ].[9]See section 2.1.4.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
ʤìbíst-	'be frightened'	bɨʤàwʤí	'wild animal'	fíndʒī-	'chase'
ʤìts-	'bake'	ɨʤʤū	'medicine'	ʤèndʒ	'horn'
ʤār	'son'	ábʤálí	'doorway'	gúdʒ	'small hat'
ʤɨgír	'wall'	ɨndʒítí	'a heap of reaped crop'	àsáʤ-	'udder'

2.1.3.4 Nasals

Kulazngi nasal sounds comprise *m, n, ŋ,* and *ɲ*. The first three appear in all positions while *ɲ* is confined to Amharic loanwords (see examples for *ɲ*). As pointed out earlier in this section, *ɲ* in Kulazngi appears in several words all of which are borrowings from Amharic. Since there are no other coexisting words with the borrowed forms to represent the meanings they denote, or since the loanwords with *ɲ* are the only forms to represent the meanings denoted in them, *ɲ* should be incorporated in Kulazngi phoneme inventory.

/m/: The phoneme *m* occurs in all environments as presented below.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
māq	'shoulder'	kémp	'side'	wàrám	'spear'
màl-	'notice'	kùmpát	'testicle'	ʤɨm-	'sing'
mɨrɨkt-	'be hungry'	ʧîmí	'finger'	ʧɨgím-	'be calm, silent'
mɨtsà	'labor'	sàmàt-	'be sated'	jím	'begging'

/n/: The phoneme *n* occurs in all environments as shown below.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
nàxán (tɨ́q^{w}zí)	'wound'	kànī	'tree'	án	'I, that',
náw	'calf'	làngàdì	'guest/ stranger'	gɨ́n	'house'
nàχnàχìtā	'snail'	sènd	'chest'	dɨ̀bán	'God'
nī	'he/she'	ɨ̀nz^{w}àní	'flint'	sán	'nose'

/ŋ/: The phoneme *ŋ* is found in all of the Agaw languages (Zelealem, 2003 (for Kemanteney); Worku, 1986 (for Awng), Tehome, 2015 (for Khimt'anga); and Appelyard, 1996). While it occurs in all environments in Kulazngi, it does not occur in word-initial position in Kemanteney (Zelealem, 2003). The following examples show the distribution of *ŋ* in Kulazngi.

initial	*medial*	*final*
ŋárí 'head'	láŋá 'two'	tsáŋ 'tongue
ŋāts 'bone'	gàjŋí 'back of the neck'	tsúŋ- 'name'
ŋɨ̀r 'open one's eyes wide (IDP)'	àŋū 'thorn'	dàndàŋ 'short'

2.1.3.5 Liquids

Kulazngi has the liquid sounds /l/ and /r/.

/r/ The phoneme *r* in word initial-position is very rare. The four *r*-initial illustrative words given below are the only words attested. *r* followed by a consonant in word-initial position is a syllabic consonant, the feature not shared with its liquid counterpart, *l*.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
ɾ̀q^{w}í	'tooth'	ŋárí	'head'	ɨ̀ngɨ̄r	'back'
ɾ̀kùmdē	'dove'	ʃérá	'pregnant'	zɨ̄r	'guts'
rūb	'breeding'	bɨ̀rī	'blood'	dʒār	'son'
rí/ɨ́rí	'rain'	qùrìnqī	'navel'	kɨ̀zár	'back of the neck'

Some informants were heard pronouncing *rq^{w}i* and *rqumde* with *ɨ* in the beginning.

[9] In Awngi, [ʤ] occurs word initially and after *n* while [ʒ] occurs following a vowel (Yaregal, 2010:59).

r does not occur in word-initial position in Kemanteney (Zelealem, 2003:156); According to Appleyard (1975: 317), it occurs in word initial position only in Amharic borrowings in the Agaw languages. *r* shows relatively higher distribution word initially in Awngi than in Kulazngi.

/l/: The phoneme *l* shows complete distribution in Kulazngi as shown in examples below.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
lánts-	'lick'	ʧʃɨxàlī	'basket'	ɨ́l	'eye'
làgàz-	'grow'	qùllù	'always'	qúlqúl	'armpit'
lɨkʷ	'leg'	wàlàʤí	'old'	tàngāl	'upper arm'

2.1.3.6 Approximants

Approximants *w* and *j* in Kulazngi occur in all environments (word-initially, -medially, and -finally).

/j/: The phoneme *j* appears in all environments.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
jɨm-	'beg'	gàjŋí	'nape'	màkāj	'axe'
jíw	'waist'	mɨqájá	'mosquito'	ɨntsāj	'boy'
jìng	'nail'	wàjŋí	'price'	gùbàj	'conference'

j in word-final position, as also can be noticed from the illustrative words above, is always preceded by the vowel *a*.

/w/: The phoneme *w* occurs word initially, word medially, and word finally.

initial		*medial*		*final*	
wêq (IDP)	'vomit'	àwŋī	'Awngi language'	ʃáw	'heart'
wàlàʤí	'old'	ɨ́wɨrt-	'cough'	náw-	'male calf'
wɨn	'truth'	gàwāj	'a kind of plant disease'	jíw	'waist'
wēntʃ	'horn cup'	àwìlí	'whey'	áw	'come!'

2.1.3.7 Labialized Consonants

Among typical features of the Agaw consonant system is the presence of labialized back consonants *kʷ, gʷ, ŋʷ, qʷ, χʷ* (Hetzron, 1976: 11). Likewise, Kulazngi has the five labialized consonant phonemes g^w, k^w, χ^w, $ŋ^w$ and q^w. There are rare instances of m^w, l^w and f^w. I found only one example for each of them: *ìmmʷī* 'a kind of fig tree', *ɨlʷà* 'cow' and *áfʷí* 'sharp'. To assume them as phonemes needs further investigation. Awngi has the same five labialized consonants (Hetzron 1969; Yaregal, 2010: 60). K'himtanga has one more, viz. kʼʷ (Teshome, 2015: 26). Kemanteney has five labialized back consonants: *kʷ, gʷ, ŋʷ, χʷ, ʁʷ* (Appleyard, 1975: 318; Zelealem, 2003: 152). Hence, the labio-uvular q^w is missing in Kemanteney; instead there occurs ʁʷ, which is the variant of χʷ in Kulazngi (see section 2.1.4). Following are presented data showing distribution of the five labialized consonants of Kulazngi.

/kʷ/: k^w shows complete distribution in Kulazngi.

initial	*medial*	*final*
kʷàràtàm- 'crunch'	tsɨmɨrkʷà 'eyelash'	jíkʷ 'mine (PL)'
kʷàtá 'honey making insects'[10]	dɨkʷlī 'antelope'	lɨkʷ 'leg'
kʷàts- 'to cut'	ɨnkʷàxī 'ear'	ɨtʃɨkʷ 'Sit! (IMPR)'
kʷàrʃī 'earthenware jar'	tɨrkʷí 'feel like having sth'	tīnkʷ 'to shove fire wood'
kʷàllí 'god'	ɨnkʷkíní 'hot'	
kʷízí 'hot'	nɨkʷʧī 'honey badger'	

/gʷ/: g^w has complete distribution in Kulazngi. Awngi also has this sound in all environments (Yaregal, 2010). This sound is also available in Kemanteney occurring in word initial and word medial positions only (Zelealem, 2003).

initial	*medial*	*final*
gʷàrxí 'hoe'	*bàgʷrī* 'a kind of tree'	tánkʷ (IDP) 'break'
gʷáxí 'large bird'	dàgʷtsí 'millet'	àngʷ 'breast'

[10] Honey making insects (smaller than bees) living in swarms in the ground , or honey of these insects

gʷàsás- ‘pull’ àgʷá (qùrá) ‘crow’ sángʷ ‘pestle’

gʷàgáʧĩ ‘partridge’ àgʷàri ‘dust’ dāngʷ ‘not full’,

/ŋʷ/: The distribution of *ŋʷ* is very rare. It occurs in a word-final position in the current data. *tɨŋʷ* ‘buttocks’ and *sɨŋʷ* ‘swallow’ are the only examples available in the current data. This sound occurs in environments other than initial in Kemanteney (Zelealem, 2003: 152). In K’himt’anga, it occurs in word-initial and medial positions; it does not occur word-finally (Tesome, 2015: 25).

/qʷ/: The distribution of *qʷ* is not common in word-final position as it is in word-initial and medial positions.

initial	*medial*	*final*
qʷáj- ‘yell’	ʧànqʷī ‘dew’	*piqʷ* (IDP) ‘slip out’
qʷalaqʷal- ‘tickle’	màtàqʷàl- ‘twist’	*miqʷ* (IDP) ‘slip out’
qʷràqʷàr- ‘make hollow’	qʷràqʷàr- ‘make hollow’	*nàqʷànàqʷ* ‘soak’
qʷar ‘district name’	qʷàlàqʷàl- ‘tickle’	
qùrá (àgʷá) ‘crow’	tɨqʷzí ‘wound’	*zɨq-* ‘drink’

/χʷ/: *χʷ* is common word-medially. Like χ and *q*, *χʷ* in word-initial position is free variant with qʷ. Its word-final position is restricted to verb roots (note that imperative of single syllable verbs (other than TG) are the same forms as verb roots (see section 7.12.2)).

medial	*medial*	*final*
tíχʷì /*tíxʷí* ‘dream/light’	bɨχʷrī ‘pudding’	fìχʷ- ‘breathe’,
bàχʷí ‘bald’	tɨχʷlā ‘wolf’	tsàχʷ- ‘suck’
dɨχʷàrā ‘donkey’	ɨχʷmí ‘cold’	dɨχʷ- ‘tell’
sàχʷī ‘animal fat’		

χʷ occurs in all environments in Kemanteney (Zelealem, 2003: 152).

The following (near) minimal pair examples show phonemic status of the labialized consonants.

tsàx- ‘throw’ vs *tsàxʷ- / màʧqʷ-* ‘suck’

sáxí ‘stitched’ vs *sàxʷī* ‘animal fat’

lɬk^{w} ‘leg’ vs *lɬk* ‘as equal as’

ɬnkìtíní ‘live’ vs *ɬnk*^{w}*ini* ‘hot’

g^{w}*áxí* ‘large bird’ vs. *gáχí* ‘cliff’

2.1.4 Allophonic Variation

A phoneme has contextual variants – allophones – which differ from each other in feature composition, and being contextually predictable, differences between allophones cannot convey meaning and thus are non-contrastive (Steriade, 2007: 139).

Kulazngi has three phonemes each of which has two predictable realizations. These phonologically conditioned consonants are *b* (realized as [b] and [β]), *dʒ* (realized as [dʒ] and [ʒ]), *χ* (realized as [χ] and [ʁ]). The phonological rule for the first two can be referred to as lenition – sounds become softer or weaker (stops change to fricatives as in the Spanish alternation /b, d, g/ become [β, z, γ] (Zsiga, 2006: 46). The phonological phenomenon for the change of *χ* to [ʁ] has to do with phonation, and the phonological rule valid here is /b, dʒ / > [β, ʒ] in the environment V__ and /χ/ > [ʁ] in the environment __V_.

Following are shown distributional complementarities of these allophones.

2.1.4.1 [χ] vs. [ʁ]

/χ/ is realized as [ʁ] when it occurs intervocalically (cf. 1c-d) and as [χ] elsewhere (cf. 1a-b). Thus [χ] and [ʁ] are distributionally complementary. These two variant sounds are reported to constitute separate phonemes in Kemanteney (Zelealem, 2003: 154).

10. a) [χàwí] ‘rough’

    b) [àχ] ‘inside’

    c) [ɬʁ^{w}ī] ‘hyena’

    d) [àʁū] ‘water’.

The distribution of [χ] and [ʁ] in HA slightly differs from that of Kulazngi in that /χ/ following a vowel is realized as [ʁ] and elsewhere as [χ] (Yaregal 2010), even though Joswig (2010: 11) claims that the voiceless [χ] is non-existent in Awngi. According to this author, the opposition

between plosives and fricatives in Awngi is neutralized at the uvular place of articulation, thus, yielding only two obstruents: the voiceless plosive /q/ (and its labialized variant) and the voiced fricative /ʁ/.

2.1.4.2 [b] vs. [β]

Just like [χ] and [ʁ], [b] and [β] are complementary in distribution. Thus /b/ is realized as [β] when it occurs following a vowel and as [b] elsewhere, as shown in (11).

11. a) [bùl] 'hump'
    b) [àmbél] 'a work of removing grass and other unwanted things from farm field before seeds are sown'
    c) [kɨ̄β] 'gourd'
    d) [bàβàrī] 'sorghum'
    e) [gòβé] 'sorghum'[11]

2.1.4.3 [ʤ] vs. [ʒ]

Like [χ] and [ʁ] and [b] and [β], [ʤ] and [ʒ] are distributionally complementary. [ʒ] occurs following a vowel but *ɨ*, and [ʤ] elsewhere, as shown in illustrative examples in (12) below.

12. a) [wùʒí] 'lion'
    b) [gúʒ-] 'fail to do sth'
    c) [àʒí] 'noise'
    d) [ʤènʤ] 'horn'
    e) [ʤār] 'male child/son'
    f) [ʤɨ̀gɨ́r] 'wall'.

2.1.4.4 [z] vs. [dz]

As pointed out earlier, the distribution of [z] and [dz] is not complementary. [dz] is very rare, with only one instance (13b) in the current data. There is no word showing [dz] as non-geminate and neither is there showing [z] as geminate in the current data[12].

[11] There is size difference between *bàbàrī* and *gòbé.*

13. a) *zɨr* ‘gut’, *wɨzí* ‘ash’, *zàgrī* ‘monkey’

b) *sèdzdzà* ‘four’

2.1.5 Free Variation

χ and *q* in Kulazngi are free variants in word initial position, as in *qùmbi/ χùmbi* ‘mouth’, *χàràz-/qàràz-* ‘smell’, *qàbrí / χàbrí* ‘rough’.

In discussions about *z*, I pointed out that *s* in most words of highland Awngi turns out to be z in those of Kulazngi, as in *Kolasngi* and *Kulazngi*, *wɨssi* and *wɨzi* ‘ash’, *sén* and *zân* ‘brother’, *kú-s* and *kú-z* ‘for you’. Nevertheless, *s* and *z* are not free variants because they are not interchangeable within each variety; they show complete distribution in both varieties.

2.1.6 Gemination

Even though not a common occurrence, some consonants have long forms in Kulazngi, and intervocalic position where the vowel that precedes the consonant begins a word (#V_V) is a possible environment for consonants to appear geminate. Notice the data below.

14. *ɨdʒdʒū* ‘medicine’ *dɨkkí* ‘bad’

àssû ‘lie’ *sùrrí* ‘trousers’

ɨnnī ‘elephant’ *kàrrī* ‘knife’

tsɨllí ‘a little’

With the exception of *χ* and *b*, consonants that occur intervocallically following *ɨ* word initially (#*ɨ*_V) are geminate in Kulazngi.

15. *ɨʃʃī* ‘meat’, *ɨllā* ‘no’, *ɨllīw* ‘other’, *ɨtʃtʃáj* ‘far’, *ɨnná/ ɨnní* ‘this (FM/MS)’, *ɨnnī* ‘elephant’

A consonant which is the second segment in verbs of ɨ + C sequence in their root will be geminate upon the suffixation of vowel initial suffixes to the verb as far as the intervocalic position of the consonant is maintained upon the suffixation (cf. 16 b). (16 c) is presented for comparison.

16. a) ɨŋ- ‘to bite!’

[12] In Awngi, the geminate *z* exists in Amharic loan words, as in *àzzū* ‘a kind of vine plant / crocodile’

b) ɨŋŋ-úχ-à (bite-3M-PFV) ‘He bit’

c) ɨŋ-túχ-à (bite-3F-PFV) ‘She bit’

An exception to the rule of the intervocalic position of the consonant (ɨ + C) is observed in imperatives derived with an imperative marker suffix *-á* or other vowel initial suffix (cf. 17).

17. a) *s-* ‘to weep’ + *-it/* (imp) ↦ *sɨt (sɨtà)* (imp) ‘Weep!’

b) zɨq- ‘to drink’ + *-á* (imp) ↦ *zɨqá* ‘Drink!’

As mentioned above, *χ* (*χʷ*) and *b* are never geminate even when they occur intervocallically following *ɨ* in word initial position as in (18).

18. a) *ɨχàχī* ↦ [ɨʁàʁī] ‘snow’

b) *ɨ̀χʷí* ↦ [ɨʁʷí] ‘hyena’

c) *kɨ̀bí* ↦ [kɨβí] ‘gourd’

Consonant geminating in intervocalic environments where the initial vowel is other than *ɨ* is not predictable, as in *kàrrī* ‘knife’, *àssú* ‘lie’, *àsī* ‘fish’, *àjā* ‘elder brother’.

Geminate consonants so far discussed are mostly lexical. It is also common to find a number of morphophonological processes due to which geminate consonants occur. Among the morphological processes entailing consonant lengthening is the merging of the auxiliary verb *n-* ‘say’ with the ideophone. When the auxiliary *n-* ‘say’ in ideophonic phrases merges with the ideophone, the *n-* is deleted. What merge with the ideophone are aspect, gender and number morphemes. The ideophone then will have the form of an ordinary verb and appears fully conjugated (without the auxiliary) and with its last consonant geminated. The following are illustrative examples to this point (see also section 7.10).

19. a) *kêt* *n-ú-χà* ↦ *kêtt-ù-χà*

straight.IDP AUX-3M.PFV ↦ be straight-PFV-3M

‘It (MS) became straight’

b) *pâkʷ* *n-ú-χà* ↦ *pâkkʷ-ù-χà*

break.IDP AUX-PFV-3M ↦ break-PFV-3M

‘It broke.’

In complex words, if the first consonant in the second member is identical with the last consonant in the first member, which is usually the base, the abutting identical consonants appear geminate (cf. 20) below.

20. (a) *dād* 'road' combines with locative morpheme *-dá* 'on' ⇒ *dàddá* 'on the road'

(b) *wâf* 'cave' combines with a locative morpheme *-fì* 'toward' ⇒ *waffì* 'to the cave'

In negative imperatives of u-ending IG verbs (see section 7.1 and 7.3 with regard to u-ending and IG verbs), the suffixation of the negative morpheme *-ija* results in gemination of *j*, as in: *χùjjá* 'do not eat', *kùjjá* 'do not kill'. This is because the *i* of IG type verb occurs following the perfective *u*,and, as the phonotactic rule of the language does not allow an occurrence of two vowels sequentially, the *i* will change to *j*. Then the suffixation of the negative imperative *-ija* to such verb forms will underlyingly have the form Cujija (Cuj-ija), where C stands for any consonant. It has undergone a phonological process that would entail elision of *i* in *-ija*. Identical consonants, *j*'s in this case, merge due to the *i*'s elision between them and appear as geminate.

Clements et. al. (1996), argue that geminates such as in (20) are not true geminates or they are, as termed by these authors, *fake* or *apparent* geminates because identical segments have been adjacent through morphological concatenation.

2.2 VOWELS

Unlike the other Cushitic languages, Agaw languages have adopted Ethio-Semitic central vowels. Awngi has adopted high central vowel *ɨ;* hence, it has developed a six-vowel system (Hetzron 1969, 1997; Palmer 1959; Taddese 1986; Yaregal 2007, 2010). Kemanteney and Bilin have adopted high and mid central vowels, *ɨ* and *ə*, and thus, they have developed a seven-vowel system (Appleyard, 1975; Zelealem, 2003). Like Kemanteney and Bilin, Khimt'anga has seven vowels (Teshome, 2015). Kulazngi and Awngi have adopted the high central vowel ɨ, thus they have developed a six-vowel system. In phonemic inventory, Jawi Kulazngi differs from Jaba Kulazngi and Agawi: Agawi and Kulazngi of Jaba have the mid central vowel *ä*. Hence, Kulazngi of Jaba and Agawi, like Kemanteney, K'himt'anga, and Bilin, have seven vowels. Joswig (2006), however, strongly argues against the phonemic status of *ɨ* in Awngi claiming that its occurrence is predictable, and yet he queries the phonemic status of this vowel, for, according to him, there exist a limited number of words which do not comply with the rules he sets as

showing predictability of its occurrence. The phonemic status of *ɨ* is also reported to be not clear in Agaw languages (Hetzron, 1976: 11). The vowel *o* in Kulazngi is not part of the inventory in Zelealem (forthcoming). "The status of /o/ is also problematic. It was recorded in only one instance: ʃoɣwa 'three' (possibly ʃwaɣwa) (forthcoming: 7)". According to my informants, *three* is *ʃúχà*, not ʃoɣwa. Thus the vowel chart in Zelealem's (forthcoming: 7) shows five vowels, viz. *i, e, ɨ, a, u*. In the present study, *o* is, even though not as common as other vowels, found in several words (see table 2) and attested to show contrastive occurrence with other vowels. Unlike most of other Cushitic languages (Appleyard, 2011: 6), Kulazngi does not have long vowels, and thus, it does not tolerate vowel sequence which might occur when two morphemes with identical vowels at an abutting position combine.

The following vowel chart shows the six vowels of Kulazngi.

Table 2 Vowel Chart

front	central	back
i	ɨ	u
e		o
	a	

2.2.1 Minimal Pair Test

The following are (near) minimal pairs attesting to the phonemic status of the vowels.

22) a) **ɨ** against **i** *bɨ̀rí / bìrí* 'blood' / 'ox'

zɨ̀lànī / zìlání 'plow whip' / 'nomad man'

kɨ̄b / kīd (NM) 'gourd' / 'threshing'

bɨ́lá / bílà 'dust' / 'small insect'

wìglī / dɨ̀k^{w}lī (NM) 'fox' / 'antelope'

tsɨ̀tsk^{w}ɨ́ / tʃìtʃwī 'hair on the groin' / 'monkey'

sɨ̀mkí / símtí (NM) 'barley' / 'bamboo'

b) **ɨ** against **a** *án / ɨ́n* 'that / this'

āg / ɨ́g 'uncle / law'

ɨ́rí / árí 'rain / crop'

zār / zɨ̄r 'spirit / gut'

kɨ̀rí / kàrrí 'dying / knife'

qɨ̀tsī / χátsi (NM) 'worm / lot'

kɨ́mʃì / qàmʃǐ (NM) 'test / a broken clay'

c) **ɨ** against **e** *zɨ̄r* 'intestines' *zér* 'intestines' 'race'

bɨ̀rā 'blood (DMN)' *bèrá* 'oxen'

d) **ɨ** against **u** *kární* 'elbow' (NM) *kúrmí* 'fist'

kɨ̄b 'gourd' *kûb* 'brimless cap'

e) **ɨ** against **o** *dʒɨ̀mi* / *tʃomi* (NM) 'song' / 'animal fat'

23. a) **i** against **e** *ʃàw* / *jīw* (NM) 'heart' / 'waist'

dírī / *dérā* (MS) 'chicken MS/ FM)'

b) **i** against **a** *dírī* / *dàrí* 'male chicken' / 'edge'

tʃǐmí / *tʃàmpí* (MN) 'finger' / 'foot'

bìrí / *kàrrí* (MN) 'ox' / knife'

tsátsí / *tsìtsī* 'acacia' / 'termite'

c) **i** against **u** *kìlí* / *kùlī* 'turn of duty' / 'dryly roasted corn or barley'

dígí / *dúngí* 'near' / 'women's belt'

tʃɨχàlī / *tʃɨràrū* (NM) 'basket' / 'dry thin stick'

d) **i** against **o** *tʃǐmí* / *tʃòmí* 'finger' / 'animal fat'

24. a) **a** against **e** *zār* / *zér* 'bad spirit' / 'race'

b) **a** against **u** *kál* / *kúl* 'lowland' / 'promise'

kābí / kūbì 'stone fence' / 'brimless cap'

bāl / *bùl* 'holiday' / 'hump'

qàmʃì / *kùrmí* (NM) 'broken clay' / 'fist'

kàrrí / *kúri* 'knife' / 'flood'

c) **a** against **o** *kàrrí* / *kòrʃǐ* 'knife' / 'a small pot'

kànī / gonī 'stick / 'flue'

25. a) **u** against **e** *múrí / mìrí* ‘snake / swearword’

b) **u** against **o** *kùpī / kòbí / gòpí* ‘unripe’ **/** ‘pen’ / ‘shallow’

2.2.2 Distribution of Vowels

Front and back vowels never occur word-initially in Kulazngi. They (with the exception of *o,* which does not occur word finally either) occur elsewhere (see Table 3). *i* is a terminal vowel for most of masculine nouns: a masculine marker. *o* is very rare in Kulazngi. *kòrʃí* ‘pot’, *kòrī* ‘long necked pot’, *kòlí* ‘god’, *tʃomi* ‘animal fat’, *kòbí* ‘pen’, *ɨnzoni* ‘flint’, *goni* ‘flue’, *ɨmbossi* ‘calf ’ are all words with *o* in the current data. [13] The high central vowel *ɨ* never ends a word. It occurs word-initially and medially (see Table 3).

e is less frequent when compared to the vowels other than *o*, and its word final-position is very limited[14]. All the nouns with *e* in word final position in the current data are *kùdē / ʧàrkàdē / ɽkùmdē* ‘dove’, *kùbàkùbē* ‘lizard’, *dʒɨgè* ‘bridge’, and *bɨdʒàwdʒē* ‘wild animal’. The ultimate vowel *e* in all of the above e-final nouns bears a mid tone. Except *bɨdʒàwdʒē* (*bɨdʒàwúdʒí* in Awngi) all of these nouns are entirely different word forms in Awngi.[15] The occurrence of *e* at word final position is relatively high in adverbs of place, as in *χɨtè* ‘away’[16], *nátè* ‘the opposite of away’, *χútʃè* ‘yonder’, *nútʃè* ‘the opposite of yonder’[17].

e in most words word-medially is *a* in Highland Awngi. Notice the following pairs where the first are Kulazngi.

26. a) *gàbāl vs gèbēl* or *gèbāl* ‘market’

b) *màkāj vs mɨkāj* ‘axe’

c) *làgàz- vs lègàs-* ‘grow’

d) *gám- vs gém* ‘descend’

e) *gɨsáŋ vs gɨséŋ* ‘dog’

f) *náw* vs *néw* ‘calf’

---

[13] *O* in Khimt’anga occurs in all positions (Teshome, 2015: 47).
[14] A word final position of *e* in Awngi is nonexistent.
[15] *kùdē / ʧàrkàdē / ɽkùmdē* is *bádbàdàj*, *kùbàkùbē* is *ándʒàlàndʒàlà,* and *dʒágè* is *dámb.*
[16] *χátè*, *nátè*, *χótʃè*, *nútʃè* are equivalents of Amharic ወዲያ, ወዲህ, ወዲህ ማዶ, and ወዲህ ማዶ respectively.

a is the only vowel that occurs in all environments among Kulazngi vowels. It is a terminal vowel for all feminine nouns. It also occurs at the end of the names of most celestial bodies, as in *árfá* 'moon', *béwá* 'star'. Except with *láχú* 'one', *lìχ* 'hundred' and *ʃáj* 'thousand', it is a terminal vowel for cardinal numbers. It also occurs at the end of most adverbs of time, such as *ɬa* 'tomorrow', *nákà* 'today', *àjŋá* 'yesterday', *nɨŋʷá* 'this year', *ɨnkʷáŋá* 'last year', *nɨmàɬà* 'before three/ four/ five days', *ɬáʃùχā* 'day before yesterday'.

a also occurs as a derivational suffix with different meanings: it comes at the end of temporal nouns to derive time adverbs (see section 5.4.1 for details), as in the following:

gèrɨk 'day' ↦ *gèrkā* 'in the day time'

χār 'night' ↦ *χàrā* 'at night'

sɨgɨl 'morning' ↦ *sɨg-ā* 'in the morning'

àmát 'year' ↦ *àmátà* 'next year' (see also section *temporal adverbs* under sub chapter 5.4).

a also occurs productively at the end of some compound nouns as a compounding element, as in illustrations (27_30) below.

(27) *gɨsáŋ* 'dog' + *ʃāw* 'heart ⇒ *gɨsáŋ ʃàw-ā* 'not holding a grudge'

(28) *sángʷ* 'mortar' + *ʤār* 'child' ⇒ *sángʷ ʤàr-á* 'pestle'

(29) *gɨ́n* 'house' + *àqqí/ àqqá* 'man/woman' ⇒ *gɨ́n àqq-á* 'family member'

(30) *bìrí* 'ox' + *àkaχí* 'tool' ⇒ *bèrákàχ-á* 'all instruments for plowing'

See also *compounding* under section 3.6.3.

The following table provides the summary of vowel distribution in Kulazngi.

[17] Except adverbs, there is no a non-loan lexeme that ends in *e* in Highland Awngi.

Table 3. Distribution of Kulazngi Vowels

vowels	Environment within a word			Examples words
	initial	**medial**	**final**	
I	-	+	+	***bìrí*** ‘ox’, ***árí*** ‘crop’
E	-	+	+	***dʒɨgè*** ‘bridge’, ***nútʃè*** ‘within the river’
ɨ	+	+	-	***ìntsāj*** ‘boy’, , ***gìsáŋ*** ‘dog’, ɨrí ‘rain’
A	+	+	+	**á**rf**á** ‘moon’, d**à**gg^{w}**à**sí ‘thick’,
O	-	+	-	***ɨnzònī*** ‘flint’, gònī ‘flue’
U	-	+	+	***àχū*** ‘water’, ***bùl*** ‘hump’

2.3 TONE

This subchapter gives an overview of the tone system in Kulazngi. It makes the inventory of tonemes and describes the lexical and grammatical functions of tone in the language. It also examines different tonal processes attested in the language.

2.3.1 Is Kulazngi a tone language?

Welmers (1973: 80) defines a tone language as a language in which both pitch phonemes and segmental phonemes enter into the composition of at least some morphemes. The phrase *some morphemes*, according to Welmers, can be lexical or grammatical, i.e. tone has both lexical and grammatical contrast. According to Goldsmith (1976: 1), languages that use tone in a systematic fashion to express lexical and (or) grammatical forms are tone languages. Most scholars consider the presence of tonal contrasts (minimal pairs) as the basic criterion for a language to be labeled a tone language. For example, Yip (2002: 35) stated as:

> “Pitch differences are of course present in all languages, but if the language is non-tonal they are not contrastive, and not perceived by the speaker/listener. When a language becomes tonal the pitch differences come to the fore, taking on a contrastive role.”

Similarly, Pike (1948:3) considers a tone language as a language having lexically contrastive pitch on each syllable’.

By all definitions above, Kulazngi is a tone language, or it is not a mere pitch-accent language, because every syllable in a word bears low, mid, or high tone having a lexical as well as a grammatical function. A significant number of lexical items of the same word class show meaning variation due to pitch variation only. Pitch also plays a role to express grammatical distinction.

The fact that Awngi and Kulazngi, unlike Kemanteney and Khimt'anga, are tone languages might pose a question: how come these two Agaw languages acquire a tone language feature, a feature which is not a common characteristic in Cushitic languages in general? According to Gussenhoven (2004: 42), tone is more of an areal feature than genetic, for languages may, due to contact, lose or acquire lexical tone.

> "Tone appears to be an areal feature: it frequently occurs in genetically unrelated languages spoken by geographically contiguous speech communities… geographical contiguity is a better predictor of tone than genetic affiliation (Gussenhoven, 2004: 42)."

Thus, it seems that Kulazngi as well as HA must have acquired tone from neighboring tone languages, and most likely from Boro Shinasha and, or from Gumuz both of which are neighbors of these two Agaw languages. It is noteworthy that Gumuth (Unseth, 1989; Ahland, 2012) and Boro Shinasha (Lamberti, 1993) are tone languages. It is also reported in Appleyard (1996: 10) that the present-day geography is accountable to the fact that Awngi also shows a certain amount of vocabulary that is Omotic origin. The fact that there exist several (phonologically similar) Boro Shinasha words in Awngi (also in Kulazngi) (for example, *kaz-* 'to go' is *kef-* in ʃinaʃa (Appleyard, 2006:75)) also strengthens the posit that Kulazngi has had undergone long contact with Boro Shinasha, and this underlies its tone language acquisition from Boro Shinasha.

In Kulazngi, the tone carried in a syllable may be an essential feature in determining the meaning or the grammatical feature of the word. For example, *bēr* (M) *'gun/rifle'* , and *bér* (H) 'gate', *múrí* (H.H) 'snake', and *mùrí* (L.H) 'village'. Hence, Kulazngi is a tone language with the above three tone levels (high, low, mid) plus a falling tone both at a lexical and a morphological level (subsequent discussions presented with ample examples attest to this point).

In most tone languages of the world, only the root is contrastive for tone, and affixes being atonal, get their tonal character from the root (Watters, 2004: 36). Nevertheless, in Kulazngi, most of *vocalic* affixes like roots have their own inherent tones. There are, however, a small

number of exceptional atonal *vocalic* affixes, which get their tone from their host, for example, the present tense copula *-aχ*. They acquire their tone from the root through tone spread or they take the tone of the terminal vowel in the stem (see section 2.3.6.4 for details).

2.3.2 Toneme Inventory

Among the Agaw languages, Bilin and Awngi are reported to be tone languages while Kemanteney has only stress (Hetzron, 1976: 12). Awngi has three level (high, mid, low) and a falling tones (Hetzron, 1969, 1976; Palmer, 1959; Worku, 1986; Yaregal, 2007, 2010). Joswig (2009), however, questions the existence of a low tone in Awngi. According to him, a low tone in Awngi is a phonetic realization of a mid tone.

Kulazngi has two level tones, high and low (Zelealem's forthcomimg: 13). Zelealem provides four pairs of contrastive word forms among which one pair consists of lexemes, viz. mùrí 'village' vs. múrí 'snake'. Zelealem also presumes that the homophones *ɨnni* 'this' vs. *ɨnni* 'elephant', *ani* 'I' vs. *ani* 'that (m)', and *awa* 'sun' vs. *awa* 'Awi woman might have once been distinguished through tonal differences. He, however, suggests further investigation to determine whether Kulazngi is a pitch accent or a tone language. Nevertheless, the present study reveals that every syllable of Kulazngi words carries a relative pitch accent among which some are contrastive, which distinguish between various lexical and grammatical forms, which is a feature that places a language at tonal position. Even what Zelealem reports as homophones above are distinct in tones in the dialect of Bag^{w}sa, hence: *ɨ́nní* (H.H) 'this' vs. *ɨ̀nnī* (L.M) 'elephant', *ánì* (H.L) 'I' vs. *àní* (L.H) 'that (MS)', and *áwá* (H.H) 'sun' vs. *àwá* (L.H) 'Awi woman'.

In this study, Kulazngi has three level (high, low, mid) and one contour (HL) tones. Each level tone can appear with monosyllabic and disyllabic words. While high and low tones have no positional restriction, mid tone never occurs word initially in polysyllabic words; it does not occur sequentially (as M.M) either. Unlike mid, a sequence of low tones is possible, and so is that of high tones. Mid tone is rare in trisyllabic nouns; it does not occur in words more than three syllables. The occurrence of the contour tone (HL) is restricted to monosyllabic and disyllabic nouns – it does not occur in words having three and above syllables.

2.3.3 Distribution

This section shows tone distribution in nouns and verbs.

2.3.3.1 Nouns

The distribution of tone on nouns would also imply that of adjectives because Kulazngi adjectives phonologically behave like nouns except in one instance, i.e. while no adjective was detected with contour tone, some monosyllabic and ultimate syllables of disyllabic nouns may bear HL (contour tone). The data is organized according to syllable number and tone type. Thus, to illustrate tone types and their syllable structure (SS), monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic nouns are presented separately below. Lexically, only one noun which has four syllables has been attested, viz. *kùbàkùbē* 'lizard'. It has, as can be seen from the gloss, L.L.L.M tone melody. There can be four and even above syllable compound nouns.

Monosyllabic nouns have three of the level tones, low, mid and high. Table 4 below shows examples of monosyllabic nouns by their syllable structure.

Table 4: Monosyllabic Nouns by their Syllable Structure and Tones

Tone	**syllable structure**			
	VC	VCC	CVC	CVCC
L	*àχ* 'inside'	*àng^{w}* 'breast'	*dèk* 'well'	*dʒèndʒ* 'horn'
M	*āg* 'uncle'	-----	*sāb* 'be wax'	*wēntʃ* 'horn cup'
H	*ɨ́l* 'eye'	*ɨ́nt* 'you (SG)'	*sɨ̀r* 'baby' *gɨ̀l* 'udder'	*míntʃ* 'much/many'
HL	*ân*	-----	*sâr* 'root'	*gâmb* 'building'

Disyllabic nouns have seven tone sequences, as L.L, L.M, L.H, H.H, H.M, H.L**,** and L.HL as shown in Table 5 below (see appendix 7, 8, 9 for a list of disyllabic noun melodies). Thus, kulazngi allows sequential occurrence of identical tones for low and high, but not for mid. While Mid-Mid sequence is reported to be common, there is hardly any High-Mid sequence in Awngi (Hetzron, 1976: 12).

Table 5: Tone Sequence of Disyllabic Nouns by Syllable Structure

Syllable Structure	Tone sequence						
	L.L	**L.M**	**L.H**	**H.H**	**H.M**	**H.L**	**L.HL**
V.CV	----	*àŋū* 'thorn'	*àdʒí* 'noise'	*áwá* 'sun'	----		
VC_2VC	----	*àχār* 'vine'	*àgár* 'country'		----		
VCC_2V	----	*ànqā* 'maiden'	*ìrk^{w}í* 'teeth' *gìlí* 'udder'	*árfá* 'moon'	----		
$VCCC_2V$	----	----	*ìnkrí* 'game'	*ɨnts.ní* 'mucus'	----		
VCC_2VC	*ànkàr* 'shelf'	*àmbār* 'bracelet'	*ìrbát* 'supper'	----	----		
CVC_2V	*kùtà* 'ball'	*tsìtsī* 'termite' *tʃìχ^{w}ā* 'scorpion'	*kìmá* 'cow'	*mákí* 'top' náwá 'calf'	*tíχ^{w}ī* 'dream' *fífī* [18]	*tʃáχì* 'urine' *dʒɨgè* 'bridge'	
$CVCC_2V$	----	*sàntī* 'garment	*gúkmí* 'stork'	*sízqí* 'sweat'	*jíntsī* 'mous'	*kɨrtì* 'wing'	
CVC_2VC	*tsànàχ* 'leopard'	*bìlāts* *'shrewd'*	*dàrák* 'bread'		----	*dáwùts* 'graveyard'	*tsàwâd'* snare' *gàmâd* 'rope'
$CVCC_2VC$	----	*àmbār* 'bracelet'	*wàntʃɨb* 'sling'	*dɨngɨr* 'relation'	----		*wàntʃə̀b* 'sling'
CVCVCC	----	----	*kìmɨnt* 'birth'	----	----		

As can be noticed in the above table, like with monosyllabic nouns, all of the level tones appear in disyllabic nouns. Nouns having L.L tone melody are not as numerous as nouns with L.M, L.H, and H.H melody. Disyllabic nouns with HL contour and H.M and H.L level tone melodies are rare (see appendix 7, 8, 9).

Disyllabic nouns with L.M, L.H and H.H melody are numerous (see appendix 7, 8, 9). Their list in the appendix represents only a few of them in my data. However, the presence of mid tone in disyllabic nouns ending in a vowel seems to be a tonemic variant of low tone. Several reasons may be provided to underpin this assumption. The most important one is that ultimate realization of low tone on disyllabic nouns that end in a vowel is rare_ disyllabic nouns ending in a vowel

have either mid or high tone at their end. It, however, needs further investigation to make an indubitable statement with regard to this point.

Trisyllabic nouns have five tone sequences, as L.L.M, L.L.H, L.H.H, H.L.M and H.H.H as shown below. Lexically, H.L.M and H.H.H sequences are not as numerous as the rest (see also appendix 10). The contour tone (HL) is missing in trisyllabic nouns.

Table 6: Tone Sequence of Trisyllabic Nouns

L.L.M	L.L.H	L.H.H	H.L.M	H.H.H
àngìtsī 'crocodile'		*lìngúχí* 'sesame'	*ábùgdī* 'frog'	*pálpálí* 'flat'
	àbàrí 'accomplice'	*tɨ̀nkʷání* 'bug'	*íχàχī* 'snow'	*súlsúlí* 'weasel'
àrbàtʃī 'termite hill'	*mùkàná* 'heifer'	*ɨ̀ntsíχí* 'job'	*zírgànā* 'guinea fowl'	*pírʧáxí* 'snare stick'
zɨ̀lànī 'plow whip'	*gùdàlí* 'evil eye'	*bìsíqí* 'sputum'		
àbàχī[19]		*ɨ̀qárí* 'wound'		
wɨ̀tʃɨ̀ldē 'a kind of bird'	*àkìkí* 'grey hair'	*àntʃìwī* 'scar'		*ábdʒálí* 'entrance'
qʷàntʃìtʃī 'dew'		*tìbtíbí* 'drizzle'		

Three syllable nouns, even though not as numerous as single and disyllabic ones, are numerous.

The occurrence of mid tone in three syllable nouns is limited. It occurs only on ultimate syllables. Its tonemic status is also questionable: since no L is realized on ultimate syllable in three syllable nouns following another L, what is perceived as an M in this environment must be underlyingly a low tone.

Tone distribution in Kulazngi nouns can be summarized as follows. Monosyllabic and disyllabic nouns consist of all level tones, L, H, and M and the contour HL tone. Monosyllabic nouns with high and mid tone are numerous when compared to those with mid tone. Whereas disyllabic nouns have seven tone sequences, as L.L, L.M, L.H, H.H, H.M, H.L**,** and L.HL**,** trisyllabic nouns have five tone sequences, as L.L.M, L.L.H, L.H.H, H.L.M and H.H.H. Disyllabic nouns with H.M and H.L tone melodies are rare when compared to the rest (see appendices 7, 8, 9). The occurrence of the

[18] fifī is flute like instrument used for playing melody.

contour (HL) tone is restricted to monosyllabic and disyllabic nouns, and it is more likely that it has resulted from relinking of a floating low tone after elision of an ultimate tone bearing unit (see 2.3.6.3). Mid tone never occurs word initially, and it does not occur sequentially (as M.M) either.

The following table presents summary of the melodies of disyllabic nouns and adjectives.

Table 7:Tone Melody of disyllabic Nouns and Adjectives

Word Class	Melody						
	H.H	H.L	H.M	L.L	L.H	L.M	L.HL
Nouns	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Adjectives	+	+	+	+	+	+	–

2.3.3.2 Verbs

The second major word class worth discussing tone distribution is verbs. Kulazngi verbs are integrated into speech at their finite forms. Thus, we cannot tell their tone right from their root forms because there is no a citation verb form unless we assume a less conjugated form, such as the imperative, to which a vowel *i* or *a* or only a high tone is assigned as an imperative marker (see section 7.13.3). Their tone is realized in their finite forms. Thus, the tones the root parts bear when finite are presumed to be also the tones at the root level.

A great majority of Kulazngi verbs are monosyllabic and disyllabic at their root. There also exist a small number of trisyllabic (see section 7.1). Their syllable number increases in their finite forms. Thus, the verb form for the definite perfective, apart from the syllable(s) of the root, will have two syllables built via AGR and TAM markers in subjects other than 3P while those of the imperfective and the indefinite perfective will have one syllable more than they have at their root (see section 7.4 for details of agreement affixes). Thus, a disyllabic verb at its root will be quadrasyllabic when it is definite perfective and trisyllabic when imperfective or indefinite perfective (see also section 7.4.3.1 for details of perfective / imperfective). However, there exist

[19] *àbàχī* is soft material usually old cloth, rug, sack put under load as protection.

a small number of IGVs (with respect to IGVs, see section 7.3.2) which have three syllables for the definite perfective and two syllables for the imperfective or the indefinite perfective for 1P (cf. row 4 column 3 of Table 8 for the definite perfective).

Single syllable verbs at their root level have either low or high tone (but this is clear at their finite forms). Mid tone occurs on morphological forms attaching to them. See appendix 11 and 12 for the list of monosyllabic verbs at their root.

The following table shows tone system in single syllable verbs (at their root) of the definite perfective aspect.

Table 8: Tone melody of the definite perfective verb form of monosyllabic verbs at their root

root	*Person*				
	1s/3m	1p	2s/3f	2p	3p
sùg- 'pound'	sùg-ú-χà (L.H.L) ---PFV-1s/3m	sùg-n-ú-χà (L.H.L) ---1p-PFV-1p	sùg-t-ú-χà (L.H.L) ---2s/3f-PFV-2s/3f	sùg-túkʷà (L.H.L) ---2p.PFV	sùg-kʷà (L. L) ---3p.PFV
màtʃ- climb'	màtʃĩ-χʷà (L.M.L) ---1s/3m.PFV	màtʃî-n-ú-χà (L.L.M.L) ---1p-PFV-1p	màtʃĩ-χʷà (L.M.L) ---2s/3f.PFV	màtʃĩ-kʷà (L.M.L) ---2p.PFV	màtʃ-kʷà (L.L) ---3p.PFV
táz- 'kick'	táz-ú-χà (H.H.L) ---PFV -1s/3m	táz-n-ú-χà (H.H.L) ---1p-PFV-1p	tás-t-ú-χà (H.H.L) ---2s/3F-PFV-2s/3f	tás-túkʷà (H.H.L) ---2P.PFV	tás-kʷà (H.L) ---1s/3m.PFV

As can be noticed in the above table, except those having CV structure (see section 7.1 for CV structure of verbs), single syllable verbs (at their root) have L.H.L, L.M.L, or H.H.L tone melodies for definite perfective other than 3P_ those having an H at their root will have H.L and those having an L will have L.L melody for 3P, as shown in column 6 of Table 8 (see section 7.4.3.1.1 with respect to the definite perfective). However, the mid tone in IG verbs (see section 7.3 for IG verbs) for the subject 1P in perfective aspect, as additional syllable occurs there, will be replaced by L.H, yielding the tone melody L.L.H.L (cf. 4th row column 3 of the same table). Thus, it could be posited that there has been some lost affix bearing a high tone in single syllable verbs which have low tone at their root, but to pin down what really it is needs further (diachronic) investigation.

Disyllabic verbs have four tone melodies as L.L, L.H, H.H, or H.L at their root (as this is clear at their finite forms). See appendix 13 for their list.

Following are illustrative examples of disyllabic verbs at their definite perfective forms displayed in the table.

Table 9: All melodies of disyllabic verbs at their definite perfective forms

root	*Person*				
	1s/3m	1p	2s/3f	2p	3p
màqàtʃ- 'be angry'	màqàtʃ-úχ-à L.L.H.L	màqàtʃ-núχ-à L.L.H.L	màqàtʃ-túχ-à L.L.H.L	màqàtʃ-túkʷ-à L.L.H.L	màqàtʃ-kʷ-à L.L.L
χímpìrt- 'snore'	χímpìrt-úχ-à L.H.H.L	χímpìrtì-núχ-à L.H.H.H.L	χímpìrt-íχʷ-à L.H.H.L	χímpìrt-íkʷ-à L.H.H.L	χímpìrt-úkʷ-à L.H.H.L
sísíqt- 'sweat'	sísíqt-úχ-à H.H.H.L	sísíqtí-núχ-à H.H.H.H.L	sísíqt-íχʷ-à H.H.H.H.L	sísíqt-íkʷ-à H.H.H.L	sísíqt-úkʷ-à H.H.H.L
kákàst- 'yawn'	kákàst-úχ-à H.L.H.L	kákàstì-núχ-à H.L.L.H.L	kákàst-īχʷ-à H.L.L.H.L	kákàst-īkʷ-à H.L.L.H.L	kákàst-úkʷ-à H.L.L.H.L

As can be noticed in the above table, disyllabic verbs at their root have four tone sequences for the subject other than 1P. If the verbs end in cluster of two consonants, the suffixation of first person plural marker -n will result in cluster of three consonants. Epenthetic *ɨ* will be inserted to break the cluster, and there will be built additional syllable with the *ɨ* as a nucleus. As no syllable appears without tone, the newly built syllable thus appears with a tone of the preceding syllable (see spreading under tone). Thus, such type of disyllabic verbs at their root have five syllables (one more syllable) for the subject 1P in the aspect definite perfective. Thus, disyllabic verbs at their root have seven tone sequences, viz. L.L.H.L, L.H.H.L, H.H.H.L, H.L.H.L, H.L.L.H.L, H.H.H.H.L and L.H.H.H.L when definite perfective (see also section 7.4.3.1 with respect to the definite perfective with 1P).

Three syllable verb roots include *àràzàz-* 'become senile', *nàkànàk-* 'shake / move / wobble', *kʷàràtàm-* 'crunch', *ʏ̀àbàtʏ̀àb-* 'clap one's hands', *àwàlàz-* 'stir something in an open pan in order to fry', *qɨnqɨlɨst-* 'to be hanged or to hang oneself', *qʷàláqʷál-* 'touch someone's armpit in order to make them laugh', *dàgàdàg-* 'become weak', *gàsàgàs-* 'walk hurriedly', gʷàlàgʷàl- 'unravel'. Except *qʷàláqʷál-*, all three syllable verbs bear a low tone at their root level. Thus, their tone

sequence for the definite perfective for subjects other than 3P is L.L.L.H.L and for the subject 3P is L.L.L.L, as shown in Table 10 for the verb dàgàdàg- 'become weak' below.

Table 10: Tone melody of the definite perfective verb form of three syllable verb at its root

Person				
1s/3M	1P	2S/3F	2P	3P
dàgàdàg-úχ-à	dàgàdàg-núχ-à	dàgàdàg-túχ-à	dàgàdàg-tíkʷ-à	dàgàdàg-kʷ-à
L.L.L.H.L	L.L.L.H.L	L.L.L.H.L	L.L.L.H.L	L.L.L.L

Verbs more than three syllables at their root are rare. I have only one verb in my data, i.e. *ìngɨ̀lɨ́bɨ́st-* 'kneel', and it does not show peculiar tone sequence.

Other Kulazngi word groups worth mentioning their tone briefly are ideophones. Kulazngi ideophones exhibit a different tone property in the language in that they lexically contain contour tones. On the contrary, a mid tone never occurs with ideophones, and this property too is unlike other word classes. With regard to tone of ideophones in Kulazngi, what is mentioned here as a highlight will suffice, for it will be of little avail to discuss tone features of ideophones in detail in order to analyze the tone system of the language because ideophones exhibit peculiar suprasegmental features in the language system, as this is also stated, "Ideophones have a particular often special phonology (Voeltz, F. K. Erhard and Kilian-hatz, C., 2001: 2)"

2.3.4 Acoustic Evidence for Contrastive Tones

The following graphs (figures under 2) show the pitch tracks of contrastive tones attested on disyllabic and two trisyllabic nouns as pronounced by one informant who was 62 then.

Figures 2: Pitch Tracks of Contrastive Tones as Attested on Minimal Tone Pairs

***Fig. 2a**: tsàtsì 'large flat stone'(L.L)*

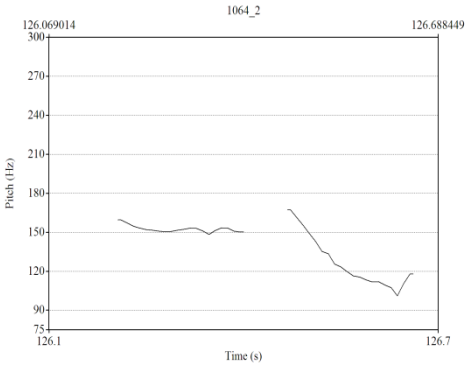


***Fig. 2b**: tsátsí 'acacia'(H.H)*

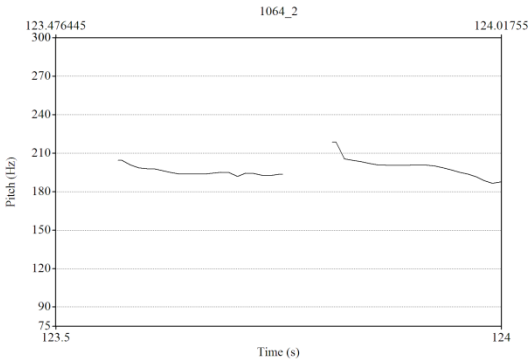


Fig. 2c: ***tsìtsī*** *'termite'* ***(L.M)***

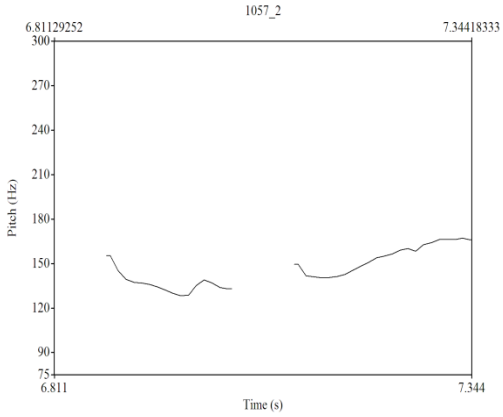
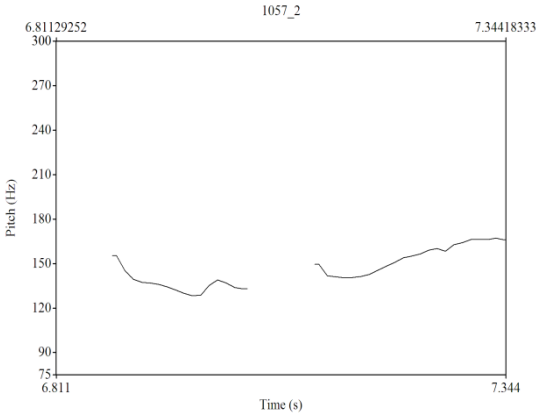


Fig. 2d: ***tʃìtʃwī*** *'monkey'* ***(L.M)***



As can be noticed from the above figures, low tone on the initial syllable of **tsàtsì** (L.L) falls at about 150 HZ and the second low tone on the final syllable descends down to approximately 100 HZ. When we see L.M melodic nouns, the low tone on the initial syllables of both disyllabic L.M melodic word forms **tsìtsī** and **tʃìtʃwī** falls approximately between 150 and 120 the mid tone on the second (final) syllables of these nouns falls approximately between 150 and 170.

Fig 2e: ***tʃáχì*** *'urine'* ***(H.L)***

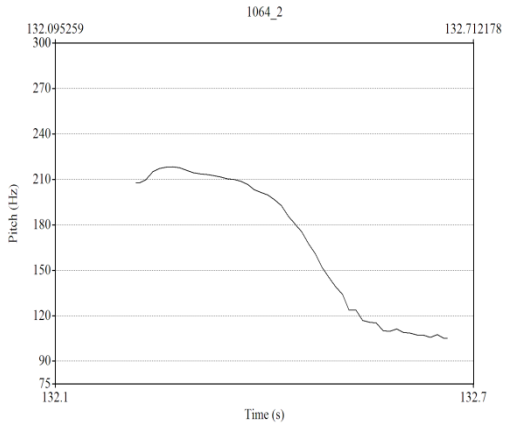
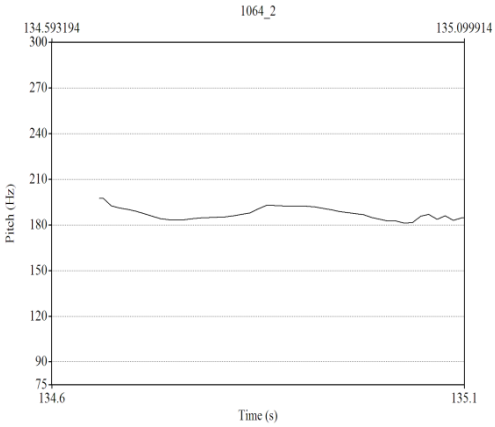


Fig 2f: ***tʃáχí*** *'bird'* ***(H.H)***



As can be noticed from the above figures, high tone on the initial syllable of **H.L** melodic noun **tʃáχì** falls approximately between 210 and 180 HZ and the second low tone on the final syllable descends down to approximately 100 HZ. When we see L.M melodic nouns, the low tone on the initial syllable falls approximately between 150 and 100 HZ. As can be noticed from the above figures, high tone on the initial syllable of **H.H** melodic noun **tʃáχí** falls between 200 and 180 HZ.

Fig. 2g: ***tíχʷì*** *'dream'(**H.L**)*

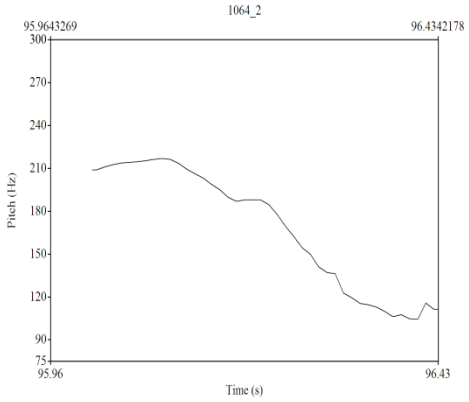
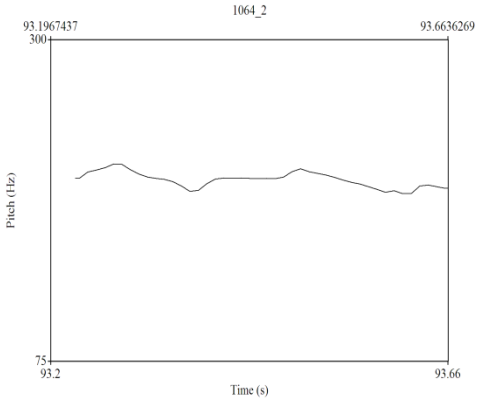


Fig. 2h: ***tíχʷí*** *'cane of sorghum(**H.H**)*



As can be noticed from the above figures, high tone on the initial syllable of **tíχʷì** starts at 210 HZ and the low tone on the final syllable ends approximately at eighty. In the second figure, the high tone on both syllables of **tíχʷí** falls approximately at 210 HZ.

Fig. 2i: ***múrí*** *'snake'(H.H)*

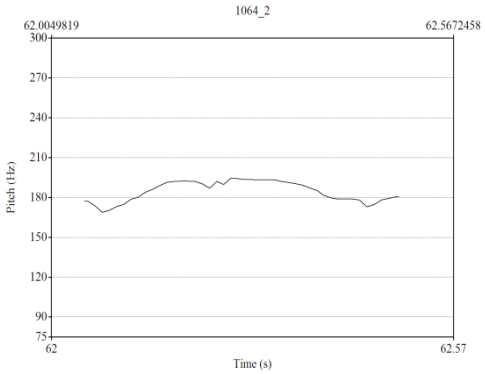
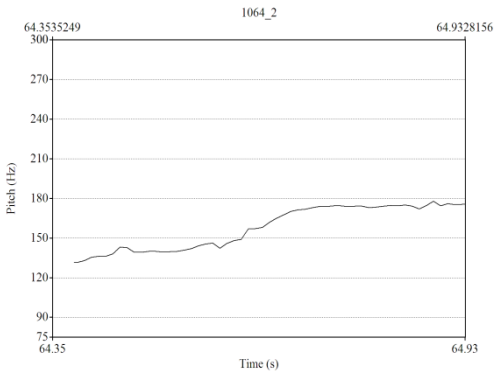


Fig. 2j: ***mùrí*** *'village' (L.H)*



As can be noticed from the above figures, high tone on both syllables of disyllabic **H.H** melodic noun **múrí** falls approximately between 180 and 190 HZ. When we see L.H melodic noun **mùrí**, the low tone on the initial syllable falls approximately between 130 and 160 HZ, and the high tone on the second (final) syllable of this noun falls approximately at 180 HZ.

Fig. 2k: ***súlàlī*** *'root' (H.L.M)*

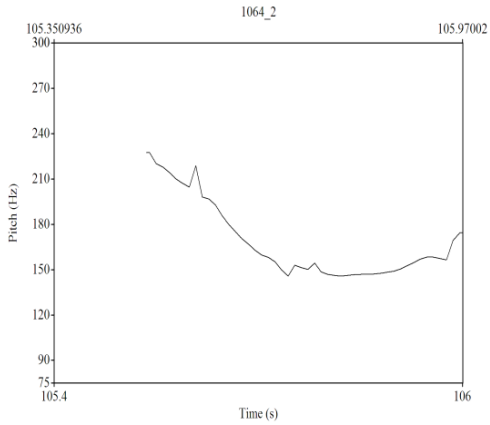
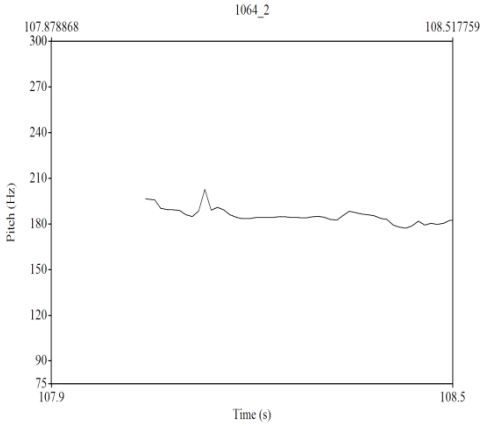


Fig. 2l: ***súlálí*** *'wilted (ADJ)'(H.H.H)*



As can be noticed from the above figures, high tone on the initial syllable of trisyllabic H.L.M melodic noun **súlàlī** falls approximately between 230 and 180 HZ. Low tone (2nd syllable) in this word falls approximately between 150 and 140 and the MID (final syllable) between 160 and 180 HZ. When we see H.H.H melodic noun **súlálí,** the high tone on all of the syllables falls approximately between 190 and 180 HZ. As can be noticed in the figure, the high tone on the final syllable of this word is not as high as the initial syllable.

When we see the frequency range of the tones in all of the nouns shown in the above figures, low tone falls between 100 and 150 HZ (100 is not common), mid between 160 and 180, and high tone between 230 and 180 (230 is uncommon) HZ.

2.3.5 Tone Contrasts

The fact that tone in Kulazngi is not just a "nuance" but meaning distinctive is proven by both lexical and grammatical contrasts. This section provides lexical and grammatical data showing lexical and grammatical tone contrasts.

2.3.5.1 Lexical Contrasts

(31) below presents data of tone triplets.

31. Triplets

a) H.H *kúrí* 'flood'

L.H *kùrí* 'knob like, for example wrest'

M. L *kūrì* 'sterile man'

b) L.M *bìllī* ‘a branching tree or fence’

H.H *bílí* ‘the name of district’/ ***bìrí*** ‘bull/ox’ (near minimal pair)

H.L *bílà/ bílì* ‘small insect, smaller than jigger, that consumes animal skin’

c). H.H *árí* ‘crop’ (near minimal pair)

L.M *àlī* ‘well/stream’

L.H *àlí* ‘name of a person’

d) L.H *màtʃĩ* ‘Monday’ or ‘dowry’

H.H *mátʃĩ* ‘having bad smell’

L.M *màtʃĩ̄* ‘climb IMPR’

(32) Minimal pair nominals

a) H.H *áwí* ‘sun’

L.H *àwí* ‘male Awngi speaker’

b) HL *bêr* ‘gun/rifle’

H *bér* ‘gate’,

c) H.H *múrí* ‘snake’

. L.H *mùrí* ‘village’

d) L.M *kànī* ‘stick’

H.L *kánì* ‘mountain’

e) HL *ân* ‘I’

M *ān* ‘that’

f) H.H *kúrí* ‘flood’

L.H *kùrí* ‘knob’

g) L.H *ʃàχí* ‘dance’

H.H *ʃáχí* ‘concern’

h) H.H *dɨ́mmí* ‘red’

L.H *dɨ̀mí* ‘honey hunting’

i) H.H *tíχʷí* ‘cane of sorghum’
H.L *tíχʷì* ‘dream’

j) L *sɨ̀r* ‘baby’
H *sɨ́r* (súlàlī) ‘root’

k) H.L.M *súlàlī* ‘root’

H.H.H *súlálí* ‘wilted / droopy’

l) L.H *kùʃĩ* ‘ a leper’
H.L *kúʃì* ‘cover’

m) H.H.H *kɨ́zárí* ‘yoke’

L.L.H *kɨ̀sàrí* ‘payment a defendant or a plaintiff pays to the other when they don’t appear at the court.’

n) H.H *tʃáχí* ‘bird’
H.L *tʃáχì* ‘urine’

o) H.H *tsátsí* ‘acacia’
L.L *tsàtsì* ‘flat stone’

p) L.L *kùtà* ‘ball’
L.H *kùtá* ‘shawl’

q) L.H *jìmí* ‘Wednesday’
H.L *jímì* ‘begging/plea/request’

r) L.M *tsìtsī(ā)* ‘termite’
H.H *tsítsá* ‘something not yet finished’

s) H.H *kʷárí* ‘(of a child) bonny’
L.M *kʷàrī* ‘a big jag having a long neck’

t) L.H.H *bɨ̀sɨ́qí* ‘sputum’
L.H.L *bɨ̀zɨ́qì* ‘dirt’

u) H.H *wání* ‘when’
HAHN *wánî* ‘which one’

v) L.H *bàrí* 'epilepsy'
H.H *bárí* 'dull white'

w) H *kúl* 'lowland'
HL *kûl* 'a kind of eye cosmetic'

x) L.M *kànī* 'stick'
H.L *kánì* 'mountain'

y) L.H *kʷàtʃĩ* 'cumin'
H.H *kʷátʃĩ* 'log or something cut in to a piece'

(33) Minimal Pair Verbs

a) *gám-* 'to descend' vs. *gàm-* 'to estimate/reckon'

b) *kàj-* 'to pay' vs. *káj-* 'to cross a river'

c) *màts-* 'to climb' vs. *mátʃ-* '(of dough) to rise or to be ready to bake'

2.3.5.2 Grammatical Contrasts

Tone in Kulazngi, in addition to lexical distinction, may serve as the sole formative of grammatical distinction. Several grammatical distinctions are made by tone only in the language, and subsequent discussions will be devoted to these grammatical roles of tone.[20]

Verb forms marked temporal with -ni distinguish singular and plural 2nd and 3rd persons by tone, as can be noticed from the data below.

34. a) *fàní* 'when he goes out'
b) *fànī* 'when they go out'

35. a) *gìŋtání* 'when you (SG) run'
b) *gìŋtánī* 'when you (PL) run'

[20] In HA, tone distinguishes between definite perfective and relative verb forms for first person singular and 2nd person singular, as in: kàz-úχ-**à** (leave- pfv.1s/3m-pfv) 'I/He left' vs. kàz-úχ-à (leave-1s.pfv.rel.)-'It was me who left. In Chara and Guangwa variety of Highland Awngi, the distinction between the indefinite perfective and imperfective is made by tone only, as in **kàsá** / **kàsà** 'He goes / He has gone'.

Temporal verb forms other than GTV2 for 1s and 3P are distinguished by tone.

36. a) *kàzání* ‘When I leave’
    b) *kàzánī* ‘When they leave’

37. a) *zɨqání* ‘When I drink’
    b) *zɨqánī* ‘When they drink’

Direct object and subject forms for nouns ending in a vowel are distinguished by a tone only – nominative nouns with a high-toned ultimate vowel will have a low or a falling tone when accusative, as shown in (38) below.

38. a) bìr**í** wàj-ɨst-ú-χà
       ox sell-PSV.PFV-3M
       ‘The ox was sold’

    b) bìr**î** wàj-k^{w}à
       ox.ACC sell-3P.PFV
       ‘They sold the ox’

39. a) bàld**í** kìr-ú-χà
       owner die-PFV-3M
       ‘The owner died.’

    b) bàld**î** kú-k^{w}à
       owner.ACC kill-PFV-3P
       ‘They killed the owner.’

Agentive verbs for 3M and plural subjects are distinguished by tone, hence, *-àntí* (3M) and *-àntì* (plural), as shown below.

40. a) *gìŋ-ánt**í*** àqí ‘the runner man’
    b) *gìŋ-ànt**ì*** àq ‘the runner men’

As can be noticed in examples above, what really marks plural on *-àntì* (40b) is the low tone on both ultimate and penultimate syllables, for this is right substitute of the plural *-ka* (note that the plural *-ànt**ì*** is the variant form of -ánt-ká).

Whether -za is focus or accusative marker is distinguished by tone only (cf. 41) .

41. a) àqá-w-**zá** wádàj

Woman-GEN-FOC where

'Where is the woman's?'

b) àqá-w-**zà** kàts-k^{w}à

woman-GEN-ACC take-3M.PFV

'They took the woman's.'

As can be noticed in the above illustrative examples, the focus marker and the accusative marker morphemes both realized as **-za** attach to identical word form *àqá-w* 'the woman's', which appears as the head of the phrase. It is noteworthy that if the head noun of the focused constituent occurs in (41a), the focus marker **-zá** will be moved to the end of the focused constituent, i.e. it will attach to the head noun (cf. 42). However, the accusative marker **-zà** will remain in situ in the presence of the head noun in the phrase, for both the head noun and the modifier are marked accusative (see section 3.3.1 for details).

42) àqá-w bɨ́r-**zá** wádàj

woman-GEN Birr-FOC where

'Where is the woman's Birr?'

2.3.6 Tonal Processes

In Kulazngi, a tone on one morphological element may influence a neighboring tone, and tonal processes resulting due to exertion of tone power of one tonal element over the adjacent tonal element are contour formation, assimilation, spreading and downstep.

2.3.6.1 Contour Formation

There exist two contour tones in Kulazngi, rising and falling. While the falling tone occurs lexically and in tonal process, the occurrence of rising tone, which is rare when compared to the falling tone, is restricted to ideophones, which does not characterize tone existence in a language because ideophones may show peculiar phonological feature not belonging to the language (see section 7.10).

A falling tone is realized more at morpheme boundaries than lexically. As pointed out earlier, most Kulazngi suffixes bear their own tone. A falling tone may be realized when a base with mid or high ultimate tone attaches an affix that has low or mid tone.

Five phonological environments where a falling tone is realized are attested. Two are associated with the accusative marker suffix. Triggering tonological environment for all of them is either TV deletion or reassociation of a tone with a tone-bearing unit on ultimate syllables of the bases upon suffixation. Following, we will briefly see these tonal motives necessitating a falling tone.

The suffixation of an accusative marker *-ù* to consonant ending nouns whose ultimate syllables (closed types in this case) have M tone melody gives way to a tonal process M + L = HL, as can be noticed in (43) below.

43. a) L.M + ù = L.HL a) ɨngɪ̄r + -ù = **ɨngrû** 'back'
b) bɪ̄n + -ù = **bɨnû** 'river'
c) dāng^{w} + -ù = **dàng^{w}û** 'not full'
d) tɪ̄ŋ^{w} + -ù = **tɨŋû** 'buttock'
e) wāχ + -û = **wàχû** 'full'

The contour falling tone realized on the accusative marker in direct objects in (43a) results from the reassociation of the mid tone (on *ɨngɪ̄r* upon the elision of *ɪ̄*) with the low tone on the accusative marker *-ù* (see section 2.5.9 with regard to vowel elision in direct objects). However, no falling tone is realized if the ultimate and penultimate syllables in the consonant ending nominative bear L.L, L.H, or H.H tone melodies. Thus, the accusative noun form of such nouns will have H.L tone melody, as shown in (44-46) below.

44) L.L + ù = L.L a) ànkàr + -ù = **ànkàrù** 'shelf near a roof of thatched house'
b) gùzɨg + -ù = **gùzgù** 'belly'

45) L.H + ù = …H.L a) dɨqír + ù = **dɨqírù** 'blessing'
b) kɨmínt + ù = **kɨmíntù** 'birth'

46) H.H + ù = H.L a) sáχún + ù = ***sáx^{w}nù*** 'marrow'
b) dáwúts + -ù = ***dáwtsù*** 'inconvenience'
c) díngír + -ù = **díngrù** 'blood relation'

The elision of tone bearing segments in (44, 46) does not affect the tone of the accusative marker ù, for there are identical tones for them to retain the melody in the resultant word form.

As can be noticed in (43), the suffixation of *-ù* to nouns whose ultimate nouns bear a mid tone has resulted in an accusative noun form with L.HL. How come an H tone (a third additional tone) which was not in the base (in the nominative word form) appears in the accusative noun form is, most likely because these single syllable nouns have lost their masculine marker vowel *-i*, which used to bear a high tone. This claim is underpinned by the fact that the same words are still optionally used with their masculine marker *-i*, hence, *bɨ̄n /bɨ̀ní, dāngʷ/ dàngʷí, tɨ̄ŋʷ / tɨ̀ŋʷí*, etc. It is not, however, the case that all mid tone single syllable nouns turn to L.HL melody upon the suffixation of *-ù*, i.e. the suffixation of *-ù* to some single syllable nouns bearing a mid tone does not affect the tone of the base as in *gūd + ù = gūdù* 'good' (see section 3.3.1 with regard to accusative case marker -ù).

The second phonological environment where a falling tone is realized upon the suffixation of the accusative *-ù* is in vowel-ending nouns whose ultimate and penultimate syllables bear low and high or mid tones respectively (L.H / L.M sequence) as well as , as can be noticed in (48, 49) below.

48. L.H + L = L.F (L.H.L) a) bìrí + L = **bìrî** 'ox'

b) kɨ̀má + L = **kɨ̀mâ** 'cow'

c) dʒàrí + L = **dʒàrî** 'the name of an ox'

49) L.M + L = L.HL a) kànī + L = **kànî** 'tree/stick/wood'

b) dɨnkʷàlī + L = **dɨnkʷàlî** 'stool'

c) bɨ̀rī + L = **bɨ̀rî** 'blood'

d) bìllī + L = **bìllî** 'a branching fence post'

e) àχū + L = **àχû**

f) dɨ̀χʷàrī + L = **dɨ̀χʷàrî** 'donkey'

As can be noticed in (48-49), the accusative marker low tone merges with the ultimate high tone in the base.

Tonal processes dealt with so far are tonological environments where a falling tone is realized upon the suffixation of the accusative marker *-ù*. There also exist other tonal environments where a falling tone is realized, and these will be briefly discussed as follows.

In the definite perfective verb forms, the ultimate syllable (agreement suffix -χà) may be elided for subjects other than 2P and 3P (see section 7.3.4) but the low tone which was carried on this syllable reassociates with the preceding tone bearing unit (the perfective *-ú* or *-ū*) as shown in (50) below.

50. a) kàz- ú-χà
go-PFV. 3M/1s
'He / I went.'

b) kàz-û
go- 3M/1s.PFV
'He/I went'

See section 7.4.3.1.1 for details with regard to the definite perfective.

The other tone process whereby reassociation of a stranded low tone with a high tone takes place is noticed in single syllable ideophones which are truncated from disyllabic reduplicated ideophnes with H.L melody (with regard to this point, see *Relinking of tone*, section 2.3.6.3).

2.3.6.2 Tone Assimilation

Another tonological process taking place in Kulazngi is assimilation. "Tonemes may affect one another. Some tonemes, for instance, may cause neighboring tonemes to change to be like them (Pike, 1948: 24)." This section deals with tonological processes entailing tone assimilation in Kulazngi. Assimilation direction of tonemes in Kulazngi is right-to-left. Even though such a phonological process is a less usual type (left-to-right is the usual assimilation direction in most of the world's languages (Roca, 1994: 34)). Six `tonological environments where tone assimilaton takes place are attested in Kulazngi. Five occur upon suffixation of derivational morphemes: *-ŋā* (manner adverb marker), ***-àm-*** (-àmí/àmá (MS/FM/PL)) / ***-ìst-*** (ìstí/ìstá) / ***-tí(á)n-*** (-tíní/(-táná (MS/FM)) (adjective markers), *-ŋ* (infinitival marker) and *ànt- (àntí /-àntá* (MS/FM) (ordinal number marker). See section 3.5 for morphological details of these suffixes. The rest two occur in compounds.

The suffixation of *-ŋā* changes the ultimate H and M tones in a base into an L. If the base has low tones, they will be kept intact. Hence, the resultant adverbial form will have L...M tone melody. Below (53) are illustrations to this point.

53. a) *dɨbán* 'God' + *-ŋā* ↦ *dɨbànŋā* 'as it is/naturally'

    b) *gūd* 'good' + *-ŋā* ↦ *gùdŋā* 'well / in a good manner'

    c) *dɨkí* 'bad' + *-ŋā* ↦ *dèkŋā* 'badly'

    c) *ʃàw* 'heart' + *-ŋā* ↦ *ʃàwŋā* 'nicely'

NB *–ŋā* always bears a mid tone.

Except with very few single syllable u-ending verbs, the verbs to which the infinitivalizer/nominalizer *-ŋ* attaches bear low tone(s) regardless of word length and the tone(s) they bear in their finite forms.

54) a) *gám-* ↦ ***gàmɨŋ*** 'to descend/ descending'

    b) *ɨnzáŋ-* ↦ *ɨnzàŋɨŋ* 'to walk/ walking'

As can be noticed from *gàmɨŋ* and *ɨnzàŋɨŋ* (54), there occurs the epenthetic *ɨ* when the infinitivalizer (nominalizer) *-ŋ* attaches to bases ending in a consonant. When this is the case, a low tone in the base spreads to this vowel.

We also notice a similar tone process as above in names of languages. The suffixation of language marker morpheme *-ŋí* to the names of the speakers will turn the syllables in the base to have low tones irrespective of their tones before *-ŋí*'s suffixation (cf. 55). As *-ŋí* attaches to the base, its suffixation to *mɨχʷrí* (55a) will form a cluster of three consonants as ***mɨχʷrŋ****í* in which the labialized *χʷ* changes into *χu* to stand as a syllable and avoid impermissible cluster. The same is true with *gúmzì* ↦ *gùməzŋí* (55c) where an epenthetic ə is inserted (for the details with this point, see section 2.5.10).

55. a) *mɨχʷrí* 'Amhara (Amharic speaker)' + *-ŋí* ↦ *mɨχùrŋí* 'Amharic'

    b) *àwí* 'Awi person or community' + *-ŋí* ↦ *àwɨŋí* 'Awngi language'

    c) *gúmzì* 'Gmuz person or community' + *-ŋí* ↦ *gùməzŋí* 'Gumuz language'

d) *kùlàz* 'Kulazi person or community' + *-ŋí* ↦ *kùlàzngí* 'the language of Kulaz'

e) *ʃɨnàʃĩ* 'ʃinaʃa language speaking person' + *-ŋí* ↦ *ʃɨnàʃŋí* 'the language of ʃinaʃa'

Adjective derivational suffixes *-àmb-, -tàn-, -ìst-* and adjective and noun derivational suffix *-tí(á)n-* have their own tones as shown (see chapter 3 for morphological details of these derivational suffixes). The nouns to which these derivational affixes attach will have low tones in their bases irrespective of their tones before suffixation. Thus, the word forms with *-àm(b)-, -tàŋ-* and *-ìst-* will have L…H (the dots means no limit in the number of syllables with an L tone) (cf. 56) and those with *-tán-* will have L…HH tone melodies (cf. 57) below.

56. a) *tʃɨktí* 'obstinacy' ↦ *tʃɨktà-ŋŋí/ tʃɨktà-ŋŋá / tʃɨktà-ŋ-ká* 'obstinate (MS/FM/PL)''

b) *málkì* 'beauty' ↦ *màlk- àm-í/ màlk-àm-á/ màlk-àm-ká* 'handsome (MS/FM/PL)'

c) *lɨχā* 'obstinacy' ↦ *lɨχà-tàŋŋí/ lɨχà-tàŋŋá / lɨχà-tàŋ-ká* 'obstinate (MS/FM/PL)'

d) *gùzɨg* 'stomach' ↦ *gùzg-àmb-í/ gùzg-àmb-á/ gùzg-àm-ká* ' piggish (MS/FM/PL)'

e) *gɨrbì* 'knee' ↦ *gɨrb-ìstí/gɨrb-ìstá/gɨrb-ìst-ɨ-ká* 'energetic (MS/FM/PL)'

57 a) *ɨngɨr* 'back' ↦ *ɨngɨrtání/ɨngɨrtáná /ɨngɨrtánká* 'back marker (MS/FM/PL)'

b) *fɨn* 'front' ↦ *fə̀ntání /fɨntáná / fɨntánká* 'back markers (MS/FM/PL)'

c) *dīb* 'affair' ↦ *dìb- tání/ dìb- táná / dìb- tánká* 'shrewish (MS/FM/PL)'

Tone assimilation also takes place in ordinal numbers. The ordinalizer affix, *-àntí/-àntá* (MS/FM), has its own inherent tones as indicated by tone marks. When it attaches to cardinals, the tones in the base become L. Hence, except the ultimate syllable, all syllables of ordinal numbers, irrespective of their tones as cardinals, bear low tones, as shown in (58) below.

58. láŋà ↦ làŋàntí 'two/2nd'

ʃúχà ↦ χùχàntí 'three/3rd'

sèzà ↦ sèzàntí 'four/4th'

ánk^{w}à ↦ ànk^{w}àntí 'five/fifth'

tsɨ́kà ↦ tsɨkàntí 'ten/tenth'

Tone sequence of ordinal numbers is thus L…H (the dots means the same tone as the preceding (low) tone). However, this rule does not apply to the first member in compounded ordinals, i.e. the tone of the first member in the compound does not change, as in *súχátská* ↦ *súχátská ànk^{w}àntí* '35th'.

The other tonological process where tone assimilation takes place is in synthetic compound noun forms, agentive compounds which are obtained from N + V (see section 3.6.3.2 with regard to synthetic compounds). In synthetic compounds, the last two syllables in the verb base have H.H tone melody while all syllables before them bear low tones, regardless of the tones the components have as separate words, as shown in (59) below. If the second component (the verb base) consists of only one syllable, this syllable will bear high tone and the rest (in the noun base) will bear low tones (cf. 59d). Hence, the tone melody of a synthetic compound noun can be put as L...(H).H (the three dots after L means other syllables (if any) have the same melody, L). Notice the following.

59. a) *sàntī* 'cloth' + *tásts-* 'hit/beat' ↦ **sàntà-tástsí** 'weaver'

b) *ànkɨ́mí* 'hive' + *ɨ̀nkúr-* ↦ **ànkɨ̀mà-ɨ̀nkúrí** 'bee keeper'

c) *ɨ̀mpíltí* 'flute like musical instrument' + *q^{w}ájts-* 'blow' ↦ **ɨ̀mpìltà q^{w}ájtsí** 'a man who plays *ɨmbilti*'

d) *dérā* 'chicken' *qù* 'to eat' ↦ **dèràq^{w}í (ʃtànq^{w}lī)** 'weasel'

With regard to the change of *i* to *a* at the end of the first member in the compounds (59a-c), see section 3.6.3.

Except the ultimate and the penultimate syllables within the verb part in the compound, which have H.H melody, the tones of the compound word form from **noun + verb** are all L. That is, the tones of the noun part, the first member in the compounded word form, are always L regardless of their tone status in simple word forms, and the tones of the ultimate and the penultimate syllables in the verb part (the second member in the compounded word form) are H. If the verb part in the compound word form consists of one syllable only, it will be the ultimate syllable only that will have an H, the rest being low (see the last row of Table 11 below). If the verb part consists of two or more syllables, the tones before the last two are L. Table 11 below provides illustrations to this point.

Table 11: N + V Compound Nouns

Noun	**Verb**	**The Compounded Noun**
bɬqlí 'mule'	*màtʃ-* 'cimb'	**bìqlàmátʃí** 'one who climbs a mule'
ɬχʷí 'hyena'	*màtʃ-* 'cimb'	**ɬχʷàmátʃí** 'a man with evil spirit'
wàʃàlī 'foreskin'	*káw-* 'cut'	**wàʃàlàkáwí** 'one who circumcises boys'
kɬmí 'cattle'	*mànd-* 'look after'	**kɬmàmándí** 'cowherd'
àgár 'homeland'	*dʒú-* 'leave/move'	**àgàràdʒʷí** 'one who moves from his homeland'
wúdànī 'threshing field'	*tsàràg-* 'sweep'	**wùdànàtsàrígí** 'one who sweeps threshing field'

See sections 3.5.3.2/3.5.1.2 with regard to respective occurrence of a compounding element *a* and the agentive *-i* between the compound members and at the end of the compound form.

The other compounding process entailing tone change in Kulazngi is that of ten multiple numerals. With the exception of *sìdzdzìtsɬká* 'forty' for the first member in the compound form, the compounded forms of ten multiple numerals above twenty and below hundred (*thirty – ninety*) show tone changes from the units. All syllables in the compound form bear H tones regardless of their tones in the digits, as shown in (60) below.

60. a) *ʃúχà* 'three' + *tsɬkà* 'ten' ↦ **ʃúxátská** 'thirty'

b) *ánkʷà* 'five' + *tsɬkà* 'ten' ↦ **ánkʷátská** 'fifty'

c) *wáltà* 'six' + *tsɬkà* 'ten' ↦ **wáltítsɬká** 'sixty'

d) *láŋáttà* 'six' + *tsɬkà* 'ten' ↦ **láŋítítsɬká** 'seventy'

e) *sʷúχáttà* 'eight' + *tsɬkà* 'ten' ↦ **súχítítsɬká** 'eighty'

f) *séstà* 'nine' + *tsɬkà* 'ten' ↦ **sístítsɬká** 'ninety'

As can be noticed in (60) above, the compounded numerals of products of ten from thirty up to ninety (with the exception of *sìdzdzìtsɬká* 'forty') consist of H tones, i.e. all syllables in these word forms are H-toned (see section 5.2.1 for details). As can be noticed in these data, ultimate syllables in the numerals before combining (in their simple word forms) are all L-toned. It is worth noting that, with the exception of *láχú* 'one' and *sèdzà* 'four', which respectively have H.H and L.L melody, all simple word forms of numerals up to ten have (H).H.L – (*láŋáttà* 'seven' and

sʷáχúttà ‘eight’ have H.H.L and the rest H.L) melody. Thus the H.H.(H).H melody of the above compound numerals is obtained from (H).H.L (of three up to nine with the exception of four) + H.L (of ten). A tonological rule that can at best be posited to have taken place is that the H in *tsíkà* ‘ten’ has exerted influence back and forth on the other tones in the compound. See also section 5.2.1 for details with regard to cardinal numbers.

2.3.6.3 Re-linking of Tone

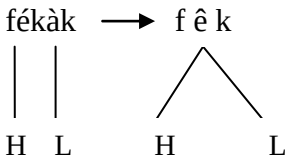
In Kulazngi, several environments where a certain TBU or TV is deleted are detected. Upon the deletion of a TBU or TV, the tone delinked from the deleted element will remain floating. If the delinked tone is low and the tone that the syllable before the deleted TBU or TV bears is high, the delinked low tone will join the high tone (i.e. the adjacent high tone before it) and form a contour falling tone. For example, some disyllabic reduplicated ideophnes with H.L melody can be shortened to monosyllabic (to non-reduplicated forms) (see section 7.10 for details with regard to ideophones). The two forms (the shortened and the non-shortened) are used alternately. While the full forms have H.L melody, those with the second segment elided have a contour falling tone, as shown in (51a-b) below.

52. a) fékàk ↦ fêk ‘the opposite of get closer’

b) sákàk ↦ sâk ‘lose ones mind due to, for example, love’

The falling tone on the second alternate forms is underlyingly H.L. Figure 3 below further shows reassociation process.

Figure 3: **Relinking of the delinked low tone**



As can be noticed from the illustration above, when the second TV in *fékàk* is elided, the low tone which was borne on it remains floating. It then docks on the preceding syllable merging with the high tone, and as a result forms a contour tone HL. It seems more likely that some single syllable ideophones with a falling tone have diachronically lost the second ultimate syllable that used to bear a low tone. This can be checked from some falling-toned single syllable nouns used alternately with their non-truncated forms, example, *ân/ánì* ‘I’, *zân/-zánà* ‘brother’.

2.3.6.4 Spreading

Spreading is the creation of multiple associations and, apart from the association of word melodies in non-derived words, it typically occurs when toneless suffixes are added to stems that have tone (Gussenhoven, 2004: 34). Two environments where tone spreading in Kulazngi takes place are detected. One has to do with toneless vocalic units. Some vocalic affixal forms are toneless. As every syllable in the language is assigned tone, they receive tone from the preceding syllable when suffixed, or through relinking of the floating tone of the terminal vowel if they attach to the root form (see section 2.3.6.3 with regard to the latter). For example, the plural -ka (which is toneless morpheme (see section 3.2.2.1 for discussions)) receives tone from the preceding syllable when it attaches to nouns ending in a consonant, as shown below.

61. gɨ́n + -ka ↦ gɨ́nká

house + PL ↦ houses

With regard to the suffixation of toneless vocalic units, we notice tone spreading in passivized verb forms too. The passive marker *-st* is realized as *-st* or *-ɨst.* The *ɨ* in the latter variant is an epenthetic vowel: it occurs when *-st* attaches to verb bases whose ultimate syllable is a closed type (see also section 7.5.2.2). The passive marker -ɨst then receives the tone of the base verb in the immediate syllable, as can be shown in the verbs *zɨ̀q-* 'to drink' and *táz-* 'to kick' in Table 12 below (see section 2.4.3 for the details with regard to allowed consonant clusters within a word and within a syllable).

Table 12: Syllable and Morpheme boundary

root	morpheme boundary	syllable boundary	Melody
zɨ̀q- 'drink'	zɨ̀q-**ɨ̀**-st-ú-χà drink-ep-PSV-PFV-3M 'It was drunk'	zɨ̀.**qɨ̀s**.tú.χà (CV.CVC.CV.CV)	L.L.H.L
táz- 'kick'	táz-**ɨ́**-st-ú-χà kick-PSV-PFV-3M 'He was kicked.'	tá.z**ɨ́**s.tú.χà (CV.CVC.CV.CV)	L.H.L

In Kulazngi, it is the case that wherever the epenthetic vowel *ɨ* occurs to break the impermissible consonant cluster, the additional syllable built with the epenthetic *ɨ* has to be assigned tone.

Several examples can be provided in this regard. The first has to do with the suffixation of the plural *-ka*. If the singular noun ends in a vowel, as the plural *-ka* is suffixed to the root form, inherently gender marked nouns drop their gender marker ultimate vowel upon the suffixation of *-ka* (see section 3.2.2 for details with regard to plurality in Kulazngi). If the syllable sequence of singular noun is CVC_1C_2V, the elision of the last vowel upon the suffixation of *-ka* will result in impermissible cluster of consonants. When this happens, the tone of the deleted vowel, the terminal vowel of the singular noun, docks on the plural *-ka* and phonological adjustment will take place in the stem – the epenthetic *ɨ* will be inserted between the consonants, so that a CVC syllable structure is built before *-ka*, and the newly built syllable with an epenthetic *ɨ* will be assigned tone from the preceding syllable through spreading, as–illustrated in (62) below. See section 2.4.3 for the details with regard to permissible consonant clusters within a word and within a syllable.

62. a) bɨ́qlá /bɨ́qlí = $CVCC_2V$ ‘mule (FM/MS)’
H.H

bɨ́qlá /bɨ́qlí + -ka ↦ bɨ́qíl-ká = CVC_2VCC_3V ‘mules’
H.H + -ka ↦ H.H.H

b) zàgrī /zàgrā = $CVCC_2V$ ‘ape (FM/MS)’
H.H

zàgrī /zàgrā + -ka ↦ zàgɨ̀rkā = CVC_2VCC_3V
L.M + -ka ↦ L.L.M

As can be noticed in (62) above, the attachment of the plural suffix *-ka* to polysyllabic nouns with open ultimate and closed penultimate syllables results in cluster of three consonants, CC + k (the first two were part of the stem, the coda of the penultimate and the onset of the ultimate syllables before the suffixation of *-ka*). While *-ka*, after suffixation, stands as an open syllable on its own, the CC’s before *-ka* will form a syllable with the epenthetic *ɨ* as CVC.

Some verb roots with consonant clusters (other than plosives followed by nasals) at their end, which is impermissible within a syllable, will undergo phonological adjustment upon suffixation of consonant (initial) morphemes. An example of this is the definite perfective verb form for the subject 1P. In the definite perfective, when first person plural and perfective marker *-nu* attaches to verb roots ending in consonant clusters other than plosives followed by nasals, a cluster of

three consonants (CC + n) will occur. Then, the two consonants before -n will form additional syllable with the epenthetic vowel *ɨ* (cf. 63a), or the second syllable will build its own open syllable with the epenthetic, i.e. the two consonants will spread to their adjacent syllables (cf. 63b). See chapter two for details with regard to spreading of consonant clusters at syllable boundaries). The epenthetic *ɨ* is inserted between the first two (63a) or the second two (63b-d) after suffixation. I can hardly provide any phonological explanation why the epenthetic *ɨ* is not inserted between either the first or the second two in all cases. The newly created syllable with the epenthetic (appearing as **boldprint** in the examples below) takes the tone of the preceding syllable. Note that the dots in the resultant verb form show syllable boundary.

63) a) gɨtz- + -n-ú-χà ↦ gɨ.**tɨ̀z**.nú.χà ↦ L.L.H.L
gnaw + 1P-PFV-1
'We gnawed'

b) àgts- + -n-ú-χà ↦ àg.**tsɨ̀**.nú.χà ↦ L.L.H.L
find/get + 1P-PFV-1
'We found *something*.'

c) bájts- + -n-ú-χà ↦ báj.**tsɨ́**.nú.χà ↦ H.H.H.L
set free + 1P-PFV-1
'We set *something* free'

d) gámts- + -n-ú-χà ↦ gám.**tsɨ́**.nú.χà ↦ H.H.H.L
bring down something + 1P.PFV-1
'We brought *something* down.'

The epenthetic *ɨ* is inserted between morpheme boundaries when a consonant suffixal form attaches to the base that ends in a consonant. When this is the case, the impermissible phonological environment, the CC sound sequence at the boundary, requires the insertion of the epenthetic *ɨ* to build its own syllable. Double causative (-ts + -ts) is among such environments, and the epenthetic *ɨ* receives its tone from the preceding syllable through spreading (cf. 64)

64) a) bùts-ú-χà (CV.C_2V.C_3V)
carry.CAUS-P3M/1s
'He/I made (helped) someone carry something.'

b) bùts-**ì**-ts-ú-χà (CV.**C_2V**.C_3V.C_4V)

carry.CAUS-ep-CAUS-PFV-3M/1S

'He/I made someone make someone carry something'

In (64b), the epenthetic *ɨ* between *-ts*'s in *bùts-**ì**-ts-úχ-à* opens a syllable receiving the low tone of the initial syllable of the word form.

2.4 Syllable Structure

A syllable is a phonological unit consisting of a vowel or other sonorant segment, plus potentially non-sonorant segments (Payne, 2006: 345). Zec (2007: 162) citing Kahn (l1976), Selkirk (1982a) and others defines syllable as an organizing principle for grouping segments into sequences. According to the above authors cited in Zec (2007), a syllable is a representational device that encompasses principles of segment sequencing and has a central role in phonological analysis as a constituent that represents phonologically significant groupings of segments.

A syllable in Kulazngi consists of an onset, a nucleus and a coda. Unlike most Cushitic languages which do not allow an empty onset, for it is minimally filled by a glottal stop (Mous, 2012: 5), a coda or an onset can be optional in Kulazngi. A nucleus alone can form a syllable but not a word, and this is not possible in monosyllabic words. While all consonants can be onset, some consonants do not occur word-finally (see section 2.1.3).

The majority of Kulazngi words are mono- and disyllabic. A consolidated syllable structure rule is (C)**V**(C)(C) from which can be drawn six syllable structures as presented in (65) below.

(65) **V** C**V** **VC** **CVC** **VCC** **CVCC**

The syllable types in Kulazngi are not equally distributed. While CVC is a common syllable shape in monosyllabic words, the preferred syllable pattern of polysyllabic words is CV. VC type is realized as a single syllable word or in word initial position of polysyllabic words. Except with some single syllable verbs in their imperative forms, such as *kú* 'kill', *χū* 'eat', *bā* 'leave/stop it', *ká* 'go', and some words other than verbs, such as *nī* 'he', *ʧā* 'tomorrow', open syllables (CV) are common in polysyllabic words. Notice example words for the six syllable types below.

66) **V** → a) **a**.ki.ki (V.CV.CV) 'gray hair (n)'

b) **à**.χū (V.CV) 'water'

c) **á**.wá (V.CV) 'sun'

d) **á**.rí (V.CV) ‘crop’

e) **ɨ**.χʷī (V.CV) ‘hyena’

f) **á**.tsí (V.CV) ‘lot’

g) **r̀**qʷí (V.CVV) ‘tooth’

67) **CV** → a) tʃá-χì (CV.CV) ‘urine / male bird’

b) *ná-wá* (CV.CV) ‘female calf’

c) *tʃā* (CV) ‘tomorrow’

d) *dʒú* (CV) ‘stand up’

e) *kɨ̀.rà.-rī* (CV.CV.CV) ‘grass’

f) *gɨ̀.rà-tsā* (CV.CV.CV) ‘porcupine’

g) *bɨ̀.rī* (CV.CV) ‘blood’

h) *bɨ̀.là-ní* (CV.CV.CV) ‘wild animal that consumes crops’

68) **VC** ↦ a) *ɨ́n* (CV) ‘this’

b) *àχ* (VC) ‘inside’

c) *àj* (VC) ‘skin’

d) ***àts**.rí* (VC.CV) ‘ a kind of thorny climbing plant’

e) ***ɨ̀n**.dʒ-àskʷà* (VC.CV) ‘It has ripen’

f) ***ɨ̀n**.nī* (VC. CV) ‘elephant’

g) ***àr**.té* (VC. CV) ‘a word used to motivate a person doing something’

69) **CVC** ↦ a) *kán* ‘mountain’

b) ***zàg**.rī* ‘ape’

c) *bɨ̀.**rān*** (CV.CVC) ‘light’

d) *bɨ̀.**lāts*** (CV.CVC) ‘shrewd’

e) **zùr**.zú.rí (CVC.CV.CV) ‘round’

70) **(C)VCC** ↦ a) *kānt* (CVCC) ‘see’

b) *wēntʃ* (CVCC) ‘horn made container for drinking local beer’

c) *χūnt* (CVCC) 'a woman's skill

d) *ɨnt* (VCC) 'you'

e) ***ɨnts-****ní* (VCC.CV) 'mucous'

f) *dʒì.**bínt*** (CV.CVCC) 'fear'

g) *kɨ̀.**mɨ́nt*** (CV.CVCC) 'birth'

Note that *tʃ* (70b) and *ts* (70e) are affricates.

As pointed out earlier, a V syllable type occurs only word initially, and vowels forming it are *a* or *ɨ* as shown in (70) above. In addition to *a* and *ɨ*, a syllabic approximant *r* can form a V syllable type word initially in polysyllabic words. However, the syllable formed from the approximant *r* is always simple, i.e. the nucleus (the approximant *r*) alone forms a syllable and bears a low tone. Its distribution is also restricted to word initial position in polysyllabic words only. As can be noticed in (71) below, the syllabic approximant *r* has a low tone. The dots indicate syllable boundary.

71. a) *r̀.q^{w}í* 'tooth'

b) *r̀.gùm.dē* 'pigeon'

In disyllabic words with a geminate consonant intervocalically, the geminate consonant spreads to either sides resulting in VC_1C_2V word structure, as shown in (68f, 71). The same is true with disyllabic words with consonant clusters (68 d, e, g). As can be seen in (70e), cluster of three consonants can occur within a word. In this case, while the first two are always within constraint rule of the language, third consonant will form an onset within the next syllable.

The following data are further examples of geminate consonants.

72. (a) *ɨ́ts-tsí* 'fence' (b) *às-sú* 'lie'

Following is presented an overview of syllable patterns of major word classes. Adjectives are treated with nouns, for they are not different from nouns morphologically. Hence, subsequent discussions examine syllable structure of nouns (including adjectives) and verbs.

2.4.1 Syllable Structure of Nouns

A majority of Kulazngi nouns are disyllabic. Some have one and a few have three syllables. Nouns of four (for example *ìngùlbájá* 'mushroom') or more syllables are very few or mostly compounds or formed by derivational affixes. Notice single syllable nouns in the following table.

Table 13: Syllable Pattern of Monosyllabic Nouns

syllable pattern	Example Data					
	Kulazngi	*Gloss*	*Kulazngi*	*gloss*	*Kulazngi*	*gloss*
VC	ɨ́l	eye	áb	outside	āg	uncle
VCC	àngʷ	breast	ɨ̀ntʃ	vagina	gɨ̄mb	stick
CVC	kán	mountain	bāj	ditch	gɨ́n	house
CVCC	dʒèndʒ	horn	sènd	chest	jīmb	…utensil..[21]

As can be noticed in Table 13, single syllable nouns have four syllable patterns all of which are closed type; except the pronouns *nī* 'he/she' and *nā* 'they', no single syllable noun with CV structure was detected. On the other hand, nouns with two and above syllables can have open (CV) type syllables. Table 14 below presents data showing syllable patterns of disyllabic nouns.

Table 14: Syllable Pattern of Disyllabic Nouns

syllable pattern	Examples					
	noun	gloss	noun	gloss	noun	gloss
CVCV	kà.nī	stick	bá.gá	ewe	kʷà.tá	bee-like…[22]
CVCVC	gà.wāj	plant…[23]	gɨ́.sáŋ	dog	dá.rák	bread
CVC_1C_2V	zàg.rī	monkey	sɨ́s.qí	sweat	sím.tí	bamboo
CVC_1C_2VC	bɨ̀ʃ.tán	church	zàm.pál	thigh	wàq.zɨ́m	thorn remover
$CVC_1C_1C_2V$	sànk.tī	cloth	tɨ̀nqʷ.lā	wolf	ànkʷ.tí	mat…[24]
VCV	á.rí	crop	à.χū	water	á.wá	sun
$VC_1C_1C_2V$	ɨ́nts.ní	mucus	ɨ̀nk.rí	game		
VCVC	à.χār	creeper	ɨ̀z.zān[25]	wide	à.wāl	yeast
VC_1C_2V	ár.fá	moon	àts.rí	thorny plant	às.sú[14]	lie
VC_1C_2VC	ɨ̀n.gɨ̄r	back	àn.qā	maiden	ɨ̀n.tsū	thin

[21] **jīmb** 'curved instrument made from horn used for sucking out blood from a sick person as treatment'
[22] *kʷàtā* 'bee-like insects, smaller than bees, that live in the ground and make dark brown honey called *kʷàtá ŋárgá* 'honey of kʷata'.
[23] **gà.wāj** 'plant disease which occurs once in a decade or so'
[24] *ànkʷtí* 'palm tree or mat made from palm leaves'
[25] Since geminates in Kulazngi always appear intervocalically, the geminate is divided over the coda of one and the onset of the next syllable.

As can be noticed from the above table, six syllable structures (CV, CVC, CVCC, V, VC, and VCC) are formed in disyllabic nouns. Among these, as also discussed earlier, V and CV are not found in single syllable nouns.

Trisyllabic nouns show no different syllable forms from disyllabic ones. The following table presents trisyllabic nouns.

Table 15 : **Syllable Pattern of Trisyllabic Nouns**

syllable pattern	Examples					
	noun	gloss	noun	Gloss	noun	gloss
CVCVCV	*dù.gì.nī*	an oak tree	*tʃɨ.χà.lī*	Basket	*bɨ.sɨ́.qí*	saliva
VCVCV	*à.kì.kí*	gray hair	*ɨ́.rá.rí*	wild cat	*à.wì.lī*	'whey'
VCVC$_2$C$_3$V	*à.bùg.dī*	frog	----	----	----	----
VC$_1$C$_2$VCV	*ɨ̀n.kò.kū*	palm mat	*ɨ̀ntsàχā*	Girl	----	----
C$_1$VC$_1$C$_2$VCV	*bámbúrí*	okra	*dàgdàgī*	Weak	*dɨ̀rgɨ́ʃǐ*	a period..[26]
VC$_1$C$_1$C$_2$VC$_2$C$_3$V	*ɨ̀nk.ràn.tí*	a jocular person'	----	----	----	----
CVC$_1$C$_1$C$_2$VCV	*zɨ́ng.rà.nī*	a kind of stick	*mɨ̀nd.rá.ʃī*	Malaria	*dɨ̀ngrīní*	relative
CVCVCC$_3$V	*dɨ̀.bàn.ŋī*	natural	*bà.χùs.tī*	a kind of[27]	----	----
CVCC$_2$VC$_2$C$_3$V	*kùk.rìs.tī*	steepy	*gɨ̀r.bìs.tí*	Energetic	*ɨ̀ndàdbí*	coriander

2.4.2 Syllable Structure of Verbs

The majority of Kulazngi verb roots are monosyllabic. Compared to monosyllabic ones, polysyllabic verb roots are fewer. Most of polysyllabic verb roots that begin with a vowel are borrowings (see section 7.2). The syllable structure of the majority of the monosyllabic verb roots, such as *mits-* 'to enter/to marry' and *geʃ-* 'to roast', is CVC. A few monosyllabic verbs consist of CV structure. These include, *bu-* 'to carry ', *tu-* 'to get in' *du-* 'to pour' *ku-* 'to kill', *xu-* 'to eat', *ju-* 'to stand up'. There are also very few monosyllabic verbs with CVCC syllable structure. These include *kànt-* 'to see', *mànd-* 'to look after', and *pìntʃ-* 'to fart'.

[26] *dərgə́ʃǐ* 'a period of fasting in August in commemoration of revelation of Saint Mary.
[27] *bà.χùs.tī* 'a kind of tree bearing dark edible fruits when ripe'

The shape of most of the imperative verbs for monosyllabic verbs is identical with that of the verb root. There are, however, three verbs, namely, *báj-* 'to leave', *χàz-* 'to have for oneself' and *kàz-* 'to go' which drop their coda and remain open syllable (CV) in their imperative forms (cf. 72a). On the other hand, a small number of verbs increase one more syllable when imperative, for they attach an imperative marker suffix *-i* (cf. 72b).

72. a) *báj-* (CVC) 'to leave' ↦ *ba* (CV) 'Leave!'

kàz- (CVC) 'to go' ↦ *ka* (CV) 'Go!'

χaz- (CVC) 'to take for oneself ↦ *χá* (CV) 'Have it!'

b) *gìŋ-* (CVC) 'to run' ↦ *gìŋí* (CV.CV) 'Run!'

*màn*d- (CVC) 'to look after' ↦ *màn.tí* (CVC.CV) 'Look after'

While *bat* 'leave' can be alternatively used with *ba*, *ka* and *χa* are the only imperative forms for *kaz-* 'to go' and *χaz-* 'to have for oneself' respectively.

Kulazngi disyllabic verbs at their root form CV.CVC, V.CVC, VC.CVC, CV.CVCC, CVC.CVCC syllable patterns, and the majority of them show CV.CV and VC.VC sequences. There also exist a considerable number of VC.CVC verb roots. Verbs with CV.CVCC and CV.CVCC patterns are fewer when compared to the rest. Following are listed illustrative data for each of the patterns.

73. (a) **CVC_2VC_2** : *kà.màn-* 'to give birth'

pà.ràz- 'to split wood'

tsà.gàr- 'to resemble'

(b) **VC_1VC_2** : *à.tsád-* 'to reap'

à.gál- 'to own'

à.fár- 'to gain'

à.gàz- 'to help'

(c) **$VC_1C_2VC_2$**: *ìr.dàt-* 'to help'

ɨn.tʃkʷ- 'sit'

ìn.záŋ- 'to to walk'

ɨ́n.kr- 'to play'

(d) **$CVC_1C_2VC_2C_2$** : *qún.dàst-* ‘get sick’

(e) **$CVC_2VC_2C_2$** : *bɨ.kàst-* ‘to belch’

lɨ.tʃɨst- ‘to stretch one’s limbs in order to relax’

The last consonant, *t*, in verb roots *qúndàst-* and *bɨkàst-* (73d, 73e), forms an onset upon the suffixation of vowel initial elements (see also section 2.4.2).

2.4.3 Consonant Clusters within a Syllable and a Word

It was touched upon earlier that no consonant clusters appear in word initial position. Within a word, a cluster of three consonants can occur in positions other than word initial (cf. 74c). Nonetheless, cluster of consonants is not without constraint. First, no consonant clusters occur at the onset level – they occur at a coda level only, and the first must be nasal or liquid followed by any plosive or affricate sound, a consonant that obeys a sonority hierarchy. This can be shown in the following monosyllabic (74a), disyllabic (74b) and trisyllabic (74c) word forms below. The dots in disyllabic and trisyllabic words indicate a syllable boundary.

74. (a) *wē**ntʃ*** ‘horn made container of liquid for drinking local beer’

*wā**lt*** ‘neighborhood’

kā**nt** (imp) ‘See!’

ma**nd** ‘care taking’

gɨ̄**mb** ‘stick’

ɨ**nt** ‘you’

(b) dʒì.bí**nt** ‘fear’

kɨ.mɨ**nt** ‘birth’

bì.lā**nt** ‘bestiality’

gì.rá**nt** ‘guarantee’

(c) mì**nd.**rà.ʃǐ ‘malaria’

The **bold** print consonants in illustrations above are contained within a syllable. In (74c), we notice cluster of three consonants within a word. While the first two form a coda, the third consonant forms an onset (cf. figure 4).

Some verb roots have cluster of two consonants which are not permissible within a syllable, as in *gámts-* 'to let down something', *díbz-*'speak'. The *ts* of *gámts-* or the *z* of *díbz-* (in these verb roots) forms an onset upon the suffixation of vowel initial suffix, as illustrated in sentential examples of (75a-b). Note that the dots within the words indicate syllable boundary.

75. a) *gám.ts-ú-χà* (CVC.CV.CV)

to let down something-PFV-3M

'He let down something.'

b) *díb.z-u.-χà* (CVC.CV.CV)

speak- PFV-3M

'He spoke.'

The suffixation of consonant initial suffix to CC-final verbs triggers the insertion of the epenthetic *ɨ* between the CC's of the root verb. Compare (75b) above with (76) below.

76) *dí**bz***- + -n-ú-χà → *díb**ɨz***- + *-n-ú-χà* (speak-1P-PFV-1) 'We spoke.'

According to Joswig (2006), two consonant clusters occur both at an onset and at a coda level in Awngi. "Extrametrical additions appear word-initially and word finally, like in **/dʒífɨnt/** (CVCVCC), where there is a CC-cluster at the end of the word, or in **/χsántí/** (CCVCCV), 'big', where there is a CC-cluster word-initially (Joswig, 2006: 3)." CC-cluster in all the data Joswig provides as showing CC-cluster at the coda level consist of a nasal *n* or *m* followed by a plosive or an affricate sound. Joswig does not explain CC-cluster is possible with constraint.

2.5 (Morpho)phonological Process

Morphophonemics refers 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 (Crystal, 2008). In this section are discussed the different morphophonemic processes taking place due to segmental co-occurrences at morpheme junctures. Sound changes within simple words due to abutting positions of certain sounds are also treated here.

Major morphophonemic processes in Kulazngi include assimilation, labialization, palatalization, vowel harmony, vowel fronting (raising), vowel elision, vowel insertion, and devoicing.

2.5.1 Assimilation

Assimilation of consonant sounds to adjacent sounds is a common phenomenon in languages. In Kulazngi, *n* is affected by labial, alveopalatal, velar, and uvular sounds occurring immediately following it. It assimilates to be more alike or identical with the segment that exerts the influence, as shown in the following illustrations. Thus, both total and partial assimilation is attested in Kulazngi. Both the assimilating/assimilated and the one exerting power are put in **bold**.

77. a) dʒì**nf**ū/ ↦ [dʒì**ŋf**ū]

'thick iron ring worn around the tip of a cudgel'

b) tì**g^{w}-k^{w}**à ↦ [tì-**kk^{w}**-à]

be absent-2P.PFV

'You were absent.'

c) **ɨn m**úrí kɨr-àsk^{w}à ↦ [**ɨmm**úrí kɨràsk^{w}à]

this snake die-IDPV

'This snake is dead.'

In examples (77a-c), the force of the influence operates backwards, i.e. the *n* assimilates to the segment occurring following it. Thus, the type of the assimilation there is regressive. The assimilation in (77c) is total while in (77a-b) is partial. The assimilation in (77a) takes place within a simple word while in (77b-c) it takes place at the juncture of morphemes. It is worth noting that, in Kulazngi, as is the case in most of the world's languages, the assimilation of the alveolar *n* to homorganic labial sounds is noticed especially in rapid speech.

78. a) tʃù**ntʃ**á ↦ [tʃù**ɲtʃ**á]

'female young of chicken'

b) gɨ**n dʒ**èrá ↦ [gɨ**ɳdʒ**èrá]

house child 'a child who is a member of the family'

In (78a-b), the alveolar *n*, retaining its nasality feature, has changed to be palatal *ɳ* to be homorganic with *tʃ* and *dʒ*. The assimilation in (78a) takes place within a simple word while in (78b) it takes place at the juncture of morphemes. The assimilation of the alveolar *n* to homorganic alveopalatal *ɳ* in Kulazngi is a very common phenomenon in a normal speech. This is unlike its assimilation to labial homorganic where the assimilation is noticed mostly in rapid speeches.

79. a) à**nk**ī ↦ [à**ŋk**ī]

‘large round thin *local* bread’

b) ɨ**ng**àrī ↦ [ɨ**ŋg**àrī]

‘first milk’

c) ká**n ŋ**árá/ ↦ [ká**ŋŋ**árā]

mountain head

‘The top of the mountain’

d) á**n q**^{w}ár-dâz àjŋá à-nt-ú-χà ↦ [á**ŋq**^{w}árádâz àjŋá àntúχà]

I Q^{w}ara-from yesterday 1s-come-PFV.1s

‘I came from Q^{w}ara yesterday.’

The alveolar *n* in (79a-b) partially assimilates to velar homorganic sound *ŋ*, and the assimilation is within simple word forms. The assimilation in (79c) takes place at morpheme junctures, and the assimilation is total. The assimilation in (79d) takes place between word boundaries.

In addition to consonant assimilation, the occurrence of vowels in sequence must undergo some sort of assimilation to obey the phonotactic rule of the language (for vowel sequence in Kulazngi is not within the phonetic constraint). A common phonological environment where vowel assimilation takes place is noticed upon the suffixation of an imperfective marker *-a* to i-ending and IG verbs in 2nd and 3F (i.e, *i* + *a* > *e*) (See data in section 2.5.8).

2.5.2 Palatalization

Palatalization may refer to assimilation in place of articulation of consonants and vowels towards the hard palate. There exist different phonological environments where palatalization takes place in Kulazngi. The major ones include the following. First, palatalization in Kulazngi takes place at morpheme junctures where the first ending in the front vowel *-i* and the second beginning in *a-* combine. Thus the phonological rule for palatalization in Kulazngi is **Ci + a > C^{j}a.** Notice the following.

80. a) *nī-àqá* ↦ *n^{j}àqqá*

he-woman

‘(lit.his woman) his wife’

b) *nì-àrā* ↦ *nʲàrá*

she-husband

‘(lit. she husband) her husband’

When the verb to be *-aχ* attaches to nominals ending in *i*, the *i* gets deleted and the consonant before it will be palatalized upon the deletion of the *i*, as shown in the following data (81).

81. a) *kànī* + *-aχ* ↦ *kànʲāχ*

‘It is the wood.’

b) *bìrí* + *-aχ* ↦ *bìrʲáχ*

‘(It is) the ox.’

c) *gɨsáŋì* + *-aχ* ↦ *gɨsáŋʲàχ*

‘It is the dog.’

It noteworthy that *kànʲāχ*, *bìrʲáχ*, and *gɨsáŋʲàχ* were heard as *kànēχ*, *bìréχ*, and *gɨsáŋèχ* in some speakers (see section 2.5.8 for discussions).

Similar morphophonemic process takes place upon suffixation of *-aχ* to (labialized) consonant final nominlals. The difference between this one and the above discussed process is that while the nominals in the above discussed process are i-final, the nominals in this one are (labialized) consonant final. Thus, the change of the inherent masculine marker vowel *i* to the glide *j* (that shows up in palatalized consonant) is because of phonotactic constraint, i.e. to avoid vowel sequence. As *i* is the terminal vowel for most of masculine nouns in Kulazngi (see section 3.2.1), its insertion between a (labialized) consonant ending nominal and *-aχ* is not of phonotactic constraint but rather grammatical; otherwise the resultant noun will not be distinguished from the feminine (c. 82).

82. a) gɨ́n + -aχ ↦ gɨ́n-i-aχ ⇒ gɨ́nʲàχ ‘(It is) the house.’

b) sángʷ + -aχ ↦ sángʷ-i-aχ ⇒ sángʷʲàχ ‘(It is) the mortar.’

The other phonological process involving palatalization is when the *-i* of IG verbs attaches to u-ending verbs in their 2nd person and 3rd person feminine (cf. 83) and vowel-ending TG verbs in 3rd person (cf. 84). As the language does not allow vowel sequence, the suffixation of *i* to

vowel-final verbs entails the occurrence of the palatal glide *j* (this process can also be referred to as glide formation). Thus, the *j* in such verb forms is underlyingly *i*. See section 7.3 for discussions of u-ending, IG, and TG verbs. Below is presented imperfective paradigm for the verbs *ku-* 'kill' and *fà-* 'want'.

(83)

	1s	*1P*	*2S/3F*	*2P*	*3M*	*3P*
ku-	k^w-ø-á	kú-n-á	kù-**j**-á	kù-**j**-á-nà	k^w-ø-á	k^w-á-nà
fà-	fà-t-á	fà-n-á	fà-t-á	fà -t-á-nà	fà-**j**-á	fà-**j**-á-nà

As can be noticed in the imperfective paradigm of the verbs *ku-* and *fà-*, *-á* marks imperfective aspect, *ø* marks 1S/ 3M in *ku-*, *-n* marks 1P, *-nà* marks 2P /3P, -t marks 1S/ 2/3F in *fà-*, and **-j** marks 2S/3F in *ku-* and 3 in *fà-*. The *-j* as 2S/3F marker in *ku-* is underlyingly the *-i* of IG verbs. The phonological process accountable for the alteration of *i* to *j* can be clearly spotted in (84) below.

84) a) kù- + -i + -á ↦ kù-**j**-á

kill + 2S/3F + IPFV ↦ kù-**j**-á (kill-2S/3F-IPFV) 'She kills / You kill.'

b) f à + **-i** + -á ↦ fà-**j**-á

want + 3M + IPFV ↦ fà-**j**-á (want-3M-IPFV) 'He wants.'

Below is perfective paradigm of the verb *fà-* 'want' for further scrutiny.

1s	*1P*	*2S/3F*	*2P*	*3M*	*3P*
fà-t-ú-χà	fà-n-ú-χà	fà-t-ú-χà	fà-t-k^wà	**fà-j-ú-χà**	**fà-j-k^wà**
'I wanted'	' We wanted'	'You/She wanted'	'You wanted'	'You wanted'	'They wanted'

The suffixation of *-u* (perfective or 3M) to any vowel-ending base triggers the *-u* to undergo glide formation, in which, according to Carr (2008: 63), a nucleus vowel ceases to occupy the nucleus of a syllable and instead occupies the coda position. Notice the following examples.

85. àqí / àqá + **-u** ↦ àqí-**w** / àqá-**w** gànzáb

man /woman + 3M ↦ man-3M /woman-3M money

'The man's / the woman's money'

As can be noticed in (85), 3M marker *-u* changes into *w* to avoid vowel sequence: u > w / V__

2.5.3 Labialization

Labialization refers to a secondary articulation involving any noticeable lip rounding during the articulation of, otherwise, unrounded consonants. As discussed under 2.1, there are five labialized consonants (g^w, k^w, x^w , $ŋ^w$ and q^w) at a phonemic level in Kulazngi. In some labialization processes, however, some plain consonants that are followed by *-u*, as in (86b), may be labialized due to phonological process. Thus, like in the case of palatalization, the suffixation of the verb to be *-aχ* to nominals ending in *u* labializes the consonant before *u*, as in (cf.86).

86. a) *àχū + -aχ ↦ àχ^{w}āχ*

water + is

'It is water'

b) *dɨχr-ū + -aχ ↦ dɨχr^w āχ*

shit-3M + is

'He is shit'

By the same token, the suffixation of *a*-initial forms to any *u*-ending word form labializes the consonant before *u* as shown in (87).

87. a) *bù- + -antí ↦ b^w àntí*

carry-AGT.3M

'he who carries something'

b) *dù + -antí ↦ d^{w}àntí*

pour-AGT.3M

'he who pours'

c) *kù-antí ↦ k^{w}àntí*

kill-AGT.3M ↦

'killer (3M)'

d) *dɨχr-ū + -a ↦ dɨχr^w ā*

shit-ADJ + 3F

'shit (3F)'

In (87d), the root word is *dɨxrí* 'shit (N)', and *dɨχrū* is the derived adjective for 3M with the adjective derivational morpheme *-u* (3M). The masculine *dɨχrū* is also the base for the feminine *dɨχrʷā*, (cf. 87d). The suffixation of the copula *-aχ* to the masculine *dɨχr-ū* and the feminine *dɨχrʷā* will have identical form: *dɨχrʷāχ* 'He / She is shit. '

Labialization in Kulazngi is also formed in compound nominals where the back vowel *u* combines with compounding element *a:* if the second member in compound nominals ends in the back vowel *u*, the *u* will be deleted and the consonant immediately before it will be labialized upon the suffixation of the compounding element *-a*, as in (88) below.

88. a) *ari* 'crop' + *aχu* 'water' ↦ *ariaχʷa* 'food'

b) *dɨχʷārí/á* 'donkey' + *àŋŋū* 'thorn' ↦ *dɨχʷàràŋŋʷā* 'short thorny plant'

In the same manner, derived adverbs with suffixation of case markers *-a* and *-aχa* to nouns ending in *u* will have the *u* deleted and the consonant immediately before *u* labialized, as illustrated in (89) below.

89. a) *sànū* 'winter' + *-a* ↦ *sànʷā* 'in the winter'

b) *àŋū* 'thorn' + *-aχa* ↦ *àŋŋʷàχà / àŋū-aχa* 'in the thorn (a place full of thorn)'

Labialization is also realized in perfective verbs of 3rd person plural and 2nd persons. 2S perfective *-χʷà* and 2P and 3P *-kʷà* are combinations of the perfective *-u* with 2S *-χa* and 2P and 3P *-ka* respectively. Dislocation has taken place here in that the perfective *-ù* bypasses the vowel *a* of *-χa* and *-ka* and appears in labialized consonants (as *χʷ/kʷ*) before *a* (see 7.4.3 for data).

Phonological rule of labialization can be summarized as *Cu + V < CʷV*.

2.5.4 Delabialization

Kulazngi has, conversely to labialization, a phonological context where a labialized consonant turns to be a plain one – delabialization. This happens upon the suffixation of an u-initial morphological form to any base ending in a labialized consonant. The phonological rule is **Cʷ + u > Cu**. There are two phonological contexts in Kulazngi where such phonological environment occurs, and in what follows will be discussed this phonological environments with apposite data.

The suffixation of the accusative marker *ù* to nouns ending in a labialized consonant entails a loss of labialization feature, as illustrated in (90) below. With regard to the contour tone on *u*, (90c), see chapter 3.

90. a) *lɨkʷ + ù* → *lɨkù* '(the) leg (ACC)'

b) *sángʷ + ù* → *sángù* '(the) mortar (ACC)'

c) *tūŋʷ + ù* → *tùŋû* '(the) buttocks (ACC)'

It is noteworthy that velar and uvular consonants that precede *u* at onset position in the second syllable of disyllabic words with H.H tone melodies are labialized [28] upon the suffixation of the accusative marker *ù* (cf. 91). The ultimate *u* in the noun will be elided upon suffixation of *-ù*, and, as a result, the number of syllables in the accusative noun form remains the same with that of the base noun.

91. a) *sáχún + ù* ↦ *sáχʷnù*

fat of hoof + ACC ↦ '(the) hoof (ACC)'

b) *tɨ́nkúl + ù* ↦ *tɨ́nkʷlù*

craft + ACC ↦ 'craft (ACC)'

c) *àbúl + ù* ↦ *àbúlù*

first coffee + ACC ↦ 'first coffee (ACC) '

As can be noticed in (91a-b), the suffixation of low toned *u* to disyllabic bases with H.H melody will entail loss of the *u* and labialization of the consonant before *u*. This is further attested in (92) below where both prosodically differing forms, *àgúl* (L.H) and *ágúl* (H.H), are accepted forms.

(92) *àgúl /ágúl + ù* ↦ *àgúlù / ágʷlù*

inconvenient + ACC ↦ 'inconvenient (ACC)'

[28] Appleyard (1978) points out that nouns ending in *u* or a (labialized) consonant in Agaw languages seem to be innovations after Proto Agaw.

In (92), the forms *àgúlù* and *ágʷlù* are derived from *àgúl* and *ágúl* as these are accepted forms. In the former case, as the tone melody of the base is L.H, the *u* is retained, there for the *g* before *u* is not labialized. In the latter case, as the tone melody of the base is H.H, the *u* is deleted and the *g* immediately before *u* is labialized. Thus, *u* in forms with L.H melody is not deleted.

2.5.5. Metathesis

Metathesis is not a common phonological process in Kulazngi. Two instances are detected: the imperative marker *-it* appears as *-it* or *-ti*, as in *kás-**īt*** / *kás-**tí*** 'ask' (see 7.12.2 for details with this point) and the personal possessive objective interrogative pronoun has the forms *àj**ùk**za /àj**kú**zà.*

2.5.6 Devoicing

There is a certain verbal system where consonantal alteration takes place. Thus, voiced consonants change into voiceless homorganic counterparts – the last voiced consonant in the root verb becomes voiceless for the first person singular and when imperative. The homorganic pairs include *b/p, w/p, d/t, dʒ/ tʃ, g/k, χ/q, gʷ/kʷ,* and *χʷ/qʷ.* This rule also holds for highland variety, where, in addition to the above pairs, *j/t, r/t* and z/*ts* are included (Hetzron 1969: 8, 1976: 13). Table (16) below presents sentential examples with verbs *seb-* 'stab', *tsew-* 'make', *-ag-* 'bring', *wàχ-* 'fill', *wud-* 'finish', *káw-* 'cut', and *dàngʷ-* 'cut a price' in their respective order in the rows. See section 7.4 with regard to aspect / agreement marker analysis.

Table 16: **Sentential data showing alteration of stem-final v/d consonants to v/s counterparts.**

imperative		perfective						
2s	2P	1s	1P	2s	2P	3M	3f	3P
sé**p**!	sè**p**-ân	sè**p**-ú-χà	sè**b**-n-ú-χà	sè**b**-t-ú-χà	sè**b**-t-ú-kʷà	sè**b**-ú-χà	sè**b**-t-ú-χ-à	sè**b**-kʷà
tsá**p**!	tsá**p**-ân!	tsà**p**-ú-χà	tsà**w**-n-ú-à	tsà**w**-t-ú-χà	tsà**w**-t-ú-kʷà	tsà**w**-ú-χà	tsà**w**-t-ú-χà	tsà**w**-kʷà
à**k**-í!	à**k**-ân!	à**k**-ú-χà	à**g**-n-u-χà	t-à**g**-ú-χà	t-à**g**-ú-kʷà	j-à**g**-ú-χà	t-à**g**-ú-χà	j-à**g**-kʷà
wá**q**!	wà**q**-ân	wà**q**-ú-χà	wà**χ**-n-ú-χà	wà**χ**-t-ú-χà	wà**χ**-t-ú-kʷà	wà**χ**-ú-χà	wà**χ**-t-ú-χà	wà**χʷ**-kʷà
wú**t**!	wù**t**-ân!	wù**t**-ú-χà	wù**d**-n-ú-χà	wù**d**-ì-χʷà	wù**d**-ì-kʷà	wù**d**-ú-χà	wù**d**-ì-χʷà	wù**d**-kʷà
ká**p**!	kà**p**-ân!	kà**p**-ú-χà	kà**w**-n-ú-χà	kà**w**-t-ú-χà	kà**w**-t-ú-kʷà	kà**w**-ú-χà	kà**w**-t-ú-χà	kà**w**- kʷà
dàn**k**ʷ-ī	dàn**k**ʷ-ân	dàn**k**-ú-χà	dàn**g**ʷ- ìn-ú-χà	dàn**g**ʷ- ì-χʷà	dàn**g**ʷ- ī-kʷà	dàn**g**-ú-χà	dàn**g**ʷ-ì-χʷà	dàn**g**ʷ- kʷà

See section 7.4 with regard to aspect / agreement marker analysis.

2.5.7 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony is an assimilation between vowels where one vowel takes on the properties of a neighboring vowel (Odden, 2005: 337). Even though vowel harmony in Kulazngi is not a widespread phenomenon, there exist traces in some phonological environments. It is attested between front high and low vowels, viz. *i* and *a* in poly-syllable gender regular nominals whose root forms are (V)CVCVC… (irrespective of the initial vowel if any or no initial vowel and irrespective of the one immediately following the initial consonant), as shown below.

93.

FM	**MS**	
d^{w}ànàzā	dùnìzī	'potato'
d^{w}àgànā	dùgìnī	'oak tree'
m^{w}àsàsáná	mùsìsíní	'pillar'
g^{w}àlàntá	gùlìntī	earthen granary
m^{w}àngáná	mùngíní	earthen oven

As shown in (93), while the masculine *i*, the vowel which is [+high], triggers the vowel(s) before it to be identical, (+ high), the feminine *a*, the vowel which is [+ low], triggers the vowel(s) before it (but not the initial vowel if any or the one following the initial consonant) to be identical (+ low), and, hence, the harmonic influence is regressive. It is noteworthy that both the masculine *i* and the feminine *a* are inherent gender markers, for the root forms are not realized unmarked for gender (see 3.1). The assumption is that the penultimate and the preceding vowels (after the initial vowel if any or the one following the initial consonant) appear to be identical with the inherent gender markers *a* or *i*. Hetzron (1976) and Palmer (1959) discuss the same vocalic process in Awngi, Hetzron as vowel harmony and Palmer as assimilation.

Vowel harmony in Kulazngi also occurs in a plural noun *jítsìrì* 'my brothers' (with the plural marker *-ri*). The assumption is that the vowel *a* in *jɨ́zánà* 'my brother' and *jɨ́tsàná* 'my sister' change into *i* to harmonize with the *i* of *-ri*.

2.5.8 Vowel Raising/ Lowering

The coalescence of the low vowel *a* with the high vowel *i* usually results in a non-high vowel such as *e* (Blevins, 1996:208). In Kulazngi, the suffixation of *a*-initial suffix to *i*-final stem will

result in raising of *a* to the mid vowel *e* (cf. 94). This process can at the same time be described as lowering of *i* in the base to the mid vowel *e*. Since the merging of the two vowels (*a* and *e*) results in a single vowel, viz. *e*, the process can be labeled as *segment truncating*. Such a process in Kulazngi takes place when the imperfective marker *-á* attaches to *i*-ending (cf. 94a) or IG verbs in 2nd and 3rd feminine (cf. 94b). See section 7.3.3 for details of IG verbs. The phonological rule is *i* + *a* > *e*. See also section 2.5.1

94. a) *àntʃǐ-* 'check' + ***-á*** [imperfective] ↦ *àntʃ-**é*** 'He checks.'

b) *zɨ̀q-*ī 'drink' + ***-á*** [imperfective] ↦ *zɨ̀q-**ē*** 'She drinks.

2.5.9 Elision

Elision in Kulazngi applies to both consonants and vowels. Consonant elision is not so common a phenomenon as vowel elision. Two environments have been detected, and the segments are *t* and *b*. The suffixation of the causative suffix *-ts* to verb bases ending in *t* entails elision of *t*, as illustrated in (95) below.

(95) *dúnt-* 'to break (intansitive)' ↦ *dún-ts-ú-χá* (break-CAUS-PFV-3M) 'He broke it.'

The segment *b* in the sequence *mb* at the end of the base is elided if followed by a consonantal or consonant initial morphological form, as in the verb *tàmb-* 'reach' + agentive *-ts* ↦ *tàmts-* 'take to a certain destination/ distribute'. Note that the segments *m* and *ts* in *tàmts-* (impermissible cluster within a syllable) spread to proximate syllables (cf.96). Hence, the bold-faced verb form ***tàmts-à-má*** in (96) has a syllable structure cvc.cv.cv or its syllable boundaries can be shown by dots as *tàm.tsà.má*.

96) dàbdàbî **tàmts-à-má** jì-nt-ú-χà (jìntû)
letter.ACC reach.CAUS-3M-3M.cnv 3M-come-PFV-3M
'Having handed over the letter, he came.'

Phonological reason for the deletion of *t* in the sequence of *ts* and *b* in the sequence of *mb* at a morpheme boundary has to do with *ease* and *economy* of articulatory performance (economy of articulator movements needed in the transition from one sound into the next).

Unlike consonant elision, phonological environments entailing vowel elision are several, and vowel elision occurs at morpheme junctures where (in most cases) the two tones occurring at an abutting position can coalesce.

As the plural morpheme *-ka* has to attach to the root form, its suffixation to nominals that end in a vowel delete the last vowel rendering no syllable addition, as in (97).[29]

97. a) *àwí / àwá* 'male/ female Awngi speaker' ↦ *àwká* 'Awngi speakers'. [30]

b) *kànī /kànā* 'stick /stick (diminutive)' ↦ *kànká* 'sticks'.

Thus, the final vowel in the stem elides upon the suffixation of *-ka*, which becomes the ultimate syllable in the plural word form, and it is more likely that *economy* is the triggering factor of this phonological process.

The other phonological environment of vowel elision is noticed upon suffixation of the indefinite marker auxiliary lexeme *-zɨkʷ-* (see section 7.4.1.1.2 for details). As this auxiliary is always suffixed to verbs following vowel agreement markers (a or e), the initial consonant of *-zɨkʷ-* will form coda and, upon the elision of *ɨ*, the *kʷ* will form onset with agreement marker vowels, a or e as in (98) below.

(98) gìŋ-á + -zɨkʷ-à ↦ gìŋázkʷà

run-3M + AUX. IDPV-3M

'He has run.'

The other phonological environment of vowel elision is noticed upon suffixation of vocalic suffixes to disyllabic nouns with closed ultimate syllable of H.H, L.L or L.M melody where the nucleus is ɨ (such as *ɨ̀ngɨ̄r* 'back', *gùzɨg* 'stomach', *kárɨŋ* 'stone'). The suffixation of the accusative marker *-ù* or focus marker *i*, each of which forms an open syllable with the consonant, which was a coda of the second syllable before its suffixation, entails elision of the vowel *ɨ* in the ultimate syllable (cf. 99). Hence, the word form after the suffixation of this vocalic suffix

[29] The plural marker suffix *-ka* is also toneless in HA. As no syllable in HA occurs toneless, *-ka* is assigned tone from the preceding syllable by spreading. Thus, the final vowel in the stem elides upon the suffixation of the toneless morpheme *-ka* and the tone that the ultimate syllable with the elided vowel was carrying docks with *-ka* which becomes the ultimate syllable in the plural word form.

[30] Awi/awa can be pluralized in two ways as *awka* or *awawa*

remains the same in syllable number. Here again, economy seems the trigger of this phonological process (I will return to this point later).

99. (a) *ɨngɨ̄ r* + *-ù* ↦ *ɨngrû* 'back'

L.M + L ↦ LF

(b) *gùzɨg* + *-ù* ↦ *gùzgù* 'belly'

L.L + L ↦ L.L

(c) *dɨ́ngɨ́r* + *-ù* ↦ *dɨ́ngrù* 'blood relation'

H.H + L ↦ H.L

(d) kárɨ́ŋ + *-i* ↦ kárŋì

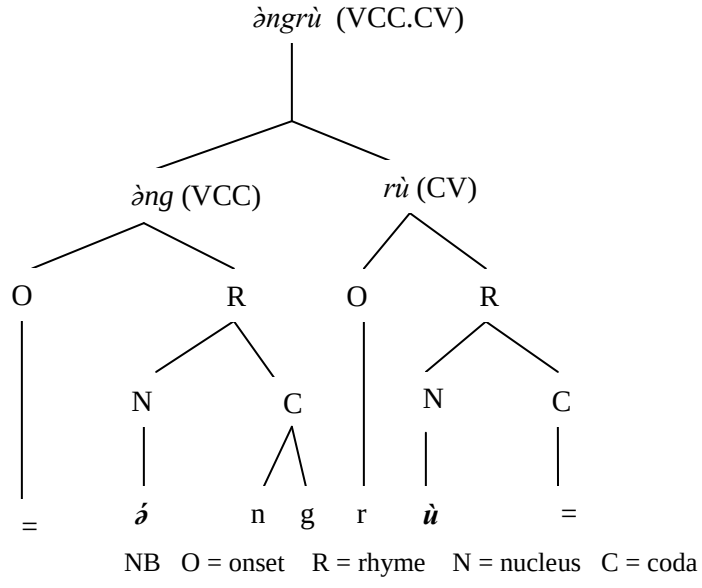
H.H + L ↦ H.L

(e) *dáwúts* /*dáwɨ́ts* + *-i* ↦ *dáwtsì* 'graveyard/ funeral'

H.H + L ↦ H.L

In the above illustrative examples, consonant clusters at morpheme boundaries of word forms after suffixation appear to be against constraint of the language. However, they spread to proximate syllables forming coda and onset as analyzed on a tree structure in (fig. 4) below for the accusative word form *ɨngrù* 'back.ACC'.

Figure 4: Syllable Structure of VCC.CV Word Form



As touched upon above, what accounts to the elision of *ɨ* in word structures such as (99) upon the suffixation of *-ù* has to do with economy, i.e. *ɨ* in (99a-e) carries an H tone, which can merge with the preceding H tone upon the suffixation of L tone, hence, no additional syllable is created. This is further proved in (100) below where the tones cannot merge: unlike illustrations in (99), the *ɨ* in the second closed syllable of disyllabic words with tone melodies other than those in (99) above is retained upon the suffixation of the accusative *ù*, as illustrated in (100).

100. (a) *màtʃɨd* + ù ↦ *màtʃɨdù* 'sickle'

LH + L ↦ LHL

(b) *wàntʃɨb* + -ù ↦ *wàntʃɨbù* 'sling'

L.H + L ↦ L.H.L

Why *ɨ* in word structures such as (100) does not undergo elision upon the suffixation of *-ù* has to do with tone retention, i.e. *ɨ* in (100a-b) carries an H tone, which, unlike in (99), cannot merge with the preceding low tone (see section 2.3.6).

As vowel length does not characterize Kulazngi, a suffixation of *-u* or any u-initial affix to u-final bases results in elision of one *u* – the *u*'s merge and appear as *u* (or, u + u > u) (cf. 101).

101. a) àχū + -ù ↦ àχû

water + ACC ↦ water.ACC

b) dú- + -u-χà ↦ dú-χà

pour + PFV-3M ↦ pour.PFV-3M

'He poured.' '

2.5.10 Vowel Insertion

Tosco (2000: 343), citing Ferguson (1976), states a resolution of consonant clusters through central vowels in Awngi as the only non-Semitic language having such a trait. Likewise, there exist two vowels having the role of epenthesis in Kulazngi. The first is *ɨ*, which is a common epenthetic vowel in the language, though its phonemic status is indubitable. Among the commonest environments that trigger the insertion of *ɨ* to alter the structure into phonotactically a

permissible form is during suffixation of segments that results in impermissible cluster of consonants. The most common phenomenon of such an environment occurs upon suffixation of the plural *-ka* to polysyllabic nouns where the onset of the last and the coda of the preceding syllable consonants appear in an abutting position. As *-ka* always attaches to the root, i.e. as the noun drops gender signaling vowel at its end upon the suffixation of *-ka* (see also section 3.2.2 for details with regard to suffixation of *-ka*), the plural noun after suffixation results in cluster of three consonants, CC + k, as in (102) below.

102. a) *bɨ**ql**á/bɨ**ql**í* = (CVCC_2V 'mule (FM/MS)' **+** *-ka* **↦** ***bɨqlk**a* **↦** *bɨq**ɨ**l-ká* = CVC_2**V**CC_3V

As can be noticed in singular word forms in (102), the CC clusters spread to proximate syllables. Hence, the first is the coda of the penultimate and the second is the onset of the ultimate syllables. As the suffixation of *-ka* entails deletion of the ultimate vowel in the stem (for the plural *-ka* attaches to the root form), there (underlyingly) appear three consonant clusters as shown in asterisked word form (102b). As the plural *-ka* stands as an open ultimate syllable on its own, the epenthetic *ɨ* must be inserted between the two consonants before *k* of the plural *-ka* to break the impermissible environment, so that a CVC syllable structure will be built in the penultimate syllable as illustrated in (102b) and also illustrated in a tree diagram (fig. 5b). As *q* in *bɨq**ɨ**l-ká* is in ambisyllabic position (having legitimate position as coda or onset), it is also possible the penultimate syllable may stand as VC and the initial syllable (which stands as CV when the penultimate syllable is CVC) as CVC, as shown in diagram (fig. 5c).

(102a) and (102b) can be clearly presented in the following diagrams.

Figure 5: **Syllable Structure of CVC.VC**

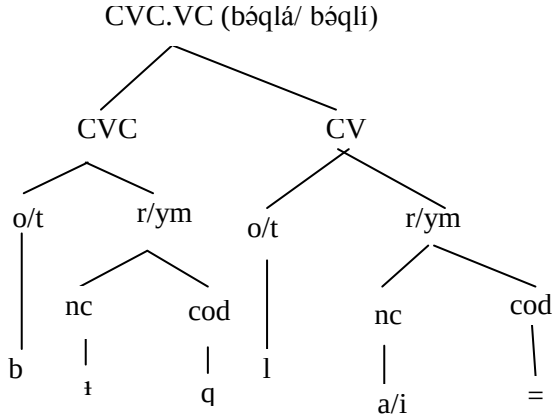
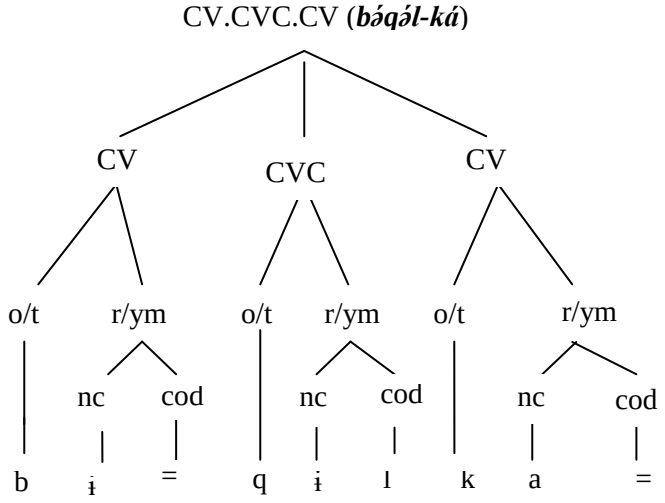
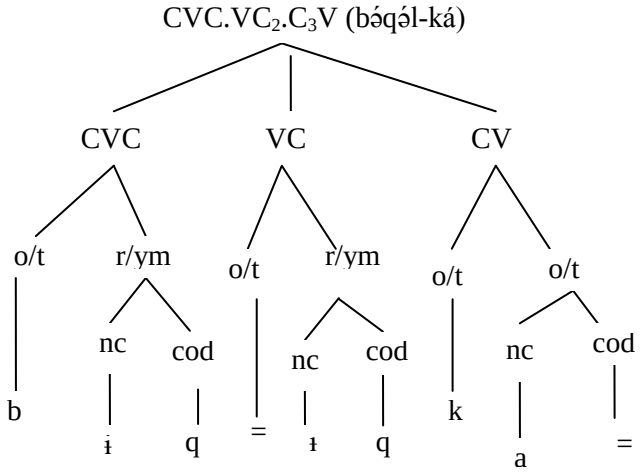


***fig. 5b*: CV.CVC.CV**



OR

***fig. 5c*: CVC.VC$_2$.C$_3$V**



The epenthetic *ɨ* is also inserted between CC segments of suffixal forms added to verbs of closed ultimate syllable, for the phonological environment requires the two consonants to build their own syllable. Hence, the underlyingly CC suffixal form will be realized as CVC or CV.CV. A typical example is that of the reflexive *-tŋ/-tsŋ*. When this morphological form is added to verbs of closed ultimate syllable, *ɨ* is inserted between the segments, as shown in (103a-b) below. The dots in the word forms indicate syllable boundaries.

103. a) gìŋ- + **-tŋ** > gìŋ.tɨ́ŋ- = CVC.C_2VC (reflexive verb stem)

gìŋ-**tɨ́ŋ**-ú-χà > gìŋ.tɨ́.ŋú.χà = CVC.C_2V.C_3V

run-RP-PFV.3M

'Each of them ran.'

b) k^{w}áj- + **-tŋ** > q^{w}áj.tɨ́ŋ- = CVC.C_2VC (reflexive verb stem)

k^{w}áj-**tì.ŋ**ú.χà > k^{w}áj.**tì.ŋ**ú.χà = CVC.C_2V.C_3V

yell-RP-PFV-3M

'Each of them yelled / They yelled at one another..'

Nonetheless, the suffixation of morphological forms with CC segments to verbs of open ultimate syllables does not create a phonological environment that requires insertion of epenthetic *ɨ* because the abutting consonants of the suffixal form can spread to the proximate syllables, as shown in (104) below (see also section 2.5.9).

104. kú- + -tŋ

kú-tŋ-ú-χa > kút.ŋú.χa = CVC.C_2V.C_3V

kill -RP-PFV.3M

'They killed each other.'

The CC segments of *tŋ-* in (104) above spread to the proximate syllables, *t* as a coda and *ŋ* as an onset.

CC-final verbs (for example, *díbz-* 'speak', *kért-*'miss the target', *gìtsz-* 'trade', *tàkz-* 'remember') require the insertion of the epenthetic *ɨ* between the CC's when suffixed to consonant initial morphemes, as in (105a-b) below. Examples (106a-b-) are presented for comparison: the suffixes added to the verbs *díbz-* and *gìtsz-* are vowel initial, hence, as the CC's (i.e. **b** and **z** in *díbz-* and **ts** and **z** in *gìtsz-*) spread to proximate syllables, no impermissible sequence of syllable structure is created.

105. a) kùlàzŋī-z díb**ɨ́**z-n-ú-χà

kulazngi-in speak-1P-PFV-1P

'We spoke in Kulazngi.'

b) ɨnkʷáŋá sàlítû gìtsɨ́z-t-ú-χà

last year sesame-ACC trade -2S/3F-PFV-2S/3F

'You/ She traded sesame last year.'

106. a) kùlàzŋī-z díbz-ú-χà

kulazngi-in speak-1s/3M.PFV-1s/3M

'I/He spoke in Kulazngi.'

b) ɨnkʷáŋá sàlítû gìtsz-u-χà

last year sesame.ACC trade- PFV.1s/3M-1s/3M.

'He/ I traded sesame last year.'

In (106), *-z* at the end of the verb *díb**z***- and *gìts**z***- forms an onset with the perfective *u*. Thus, the verb forms *díb.zú.χà* and *gìts.zu.χà* are syllabically separated as shown by the dots. However, in (105a-b) where the suffixal forms attaching with *díbz*- and *gìtsz*- are consonantal segments (specifically *-n* and *-t* respectively), cluster of three consonants appears in each of them (as *dí**bz-n**-ú-χà* and *gì**tsz-t**-u-χà*). Thus, the epenthetic *ɨ* is inserted between the CC's in the stem so that the verb forms *dí.b**ɨ**z.nú.χà* and *gì.tsɨz.tú.χà* are syllabically isolated as shown by the dots.

The other vowel having a role of epenthesis is *i*. Its epenthesis role is, however, limited, and motivating environments detected are upon suffixation of the feminine *-t* to adnominals with a closed ultimate syllable (cf. 108, 110) and upon prefixation of person / gender markers *j*- and *t*- to consonantal root verb *-nt*- 'come' (cf. 111-112). Since *-t*'s suffixation to nouns ending in a consonant entails cluster of consonants beyond constraint, there will be a phonological adjustment for it to draw a vocalic segment so as to stand as a syllable (or form an open syllable, CV). As *ɨ* (the default epenthetic) does not occur word-finally, *i* will appear as epenthetic in this phonological environment, as shown in (108, 110). (107) and (109) are presented for comparison (see also section 3.3.2).

107) àqí-t / àqá-t kɨmá

man-3F / woman-3F cow

'the man's / the woman's cow'

108) àq-t-**i** (àqɨt) kèmá

men-3F-ep cow

‘the men’s cow’

109) ân dʒàp-ú-t kɨmá

I buy-PFV-3F cow

‘The cow that I bought’

110) nā dʒàw-ú-n-t-i kɨmá

they buy-PFV-3P-3F-ep cow

‘The cow that they bought’

Affixation of prefixes *j-/ t-* to consonantal root *-nt-* ‘come’ needs a vocalic element to break the impressible cluster of consonants (cf. 111-112).

111) j**ì**-nt-ázk^{w}a

3M-come-IDPV.3M

‘He has come.’

112) t-**ì**-nt-ázkì

3F-ep-come-IDPV.3F

‘She has come.’

CHAPTER THREE

NOUNS

This chapter discusses the basic structure of nouns. It describes derivational and inflectional processes involved in various derivations and grammatical relations of nouns. Thus, it examines noun formation processes, viz. derivation and compounding and describes nominal grammatical features such as number, gender, and case.

3.1 General Features

Kulazngi nouns fall into one of the three groups, masculine, feminine, and plural, depending on their morphological property. While the plural nouns are marked with various morphological forms, the singular ones are gender-specified, i.e. singular nouns are either masculine or feminine. There is no gender neuter as a citation form except rare instances of *e*-final nouns which do not normally have masculine/feminine distinction (as this is clear from agreement on verbs, for they agree either ways), and there is no singulative form either. What assumes the citation form is the masculine.

While feminine nouns are all *a*-final, masculine nouns are *i*, (labialized) consonant, or *u*-final. Distributionally, a great majority of masculine nouns are *i*-final, followed by (labialized) consonant final ones. *U*-final nouns are very few when compared to those of (labialized) consonant. There also exist rare instances of *e*-final nouns. Thus, noun terminal vowels in Kulazngi are *a*, *i*, *u*, and *e* (see section 2.2.2, distribution of vowels, for the list of vowel-ending nouns).

Kulazngi nouns are monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic. While monosyllabic and disyllabic nouns constitute a great majority, trisyllabic nouns are small number, and only one quadrasyllabic noun has been attested (see section 3.1). Melodically, monosyllabic and disyllabic nouns consist of all level tones, L, H, and M and the contour HL tone. Monosyllabic nouns with high and mid tones are numerous when compared to those with mid tone. Whereas disyllabic nouns have seven tone sequences, as L.L, L.M, L.H, H.H, H.M, H.L, and L.HL, trisyllabic nouns have five tone sequences, as L.L.M, L.L.H, L.H.H, H.L.M and H.H.H. Disyllabic nouns with H.M and H.L tone melodies are rare when compared to the rest (see appendix 13). The occurrence of the contour (HL) tone is restricted to monosyllabic and disyllabic nouns, and yet it is rare. Mid tone never occurs word initially, and it does not occur sequentially (as M.M) either, (see sections 2.4

and 2.3.3.1 for the details as well as appendices 7–10 for the list of disyllabic Kulazngi nouns by their syllable and tone melody).

3.2 Inflection

Typical of many Cushitic languages, all the Agaw languages are marked by extremely complex morphologies, and inflectional morphology is particularly well developed (Appleyard, 2006: 6). Likewise, the noun in Kulazngi is marked for number, gender (eternally), and case. Definiteness is not marked in the language; "Neither definiteness nor indefiniteness is marked (Zelealem, forthcoming: 17)."

Agaw languages distinguish two genders: masculine and feminine and two numbers: singular and plural, and only the singular exhibits gender-distinction (Hetzron, 1976: 14; Zelealem, forthcoming). Like other Agaw languages, Kulazngi identifies two genders: masculine and feminine and two numbers: singular and plural. Nevertheless, it does not distinguish second singular and third feminine in the subject agreement on the verb. Third masculine and first singular in many of the verbs are not distinguished either. Lack of distinction between third feminine and second singular as well as first singular and third masculine is the characteristic of Cushitic languages (Mous, 2012: 402-403).

3.2.1 Gender

Gender in Cushitic languages is a property of the word and not of the lexeme (Mous 2012: 11). Unlike most Cushitic languages where gender is not always apparent from the citation form of the noun, all masculine nouns of Awngi in their citation form end in *-i* or a consonant, and all feminine nouns end in *-a* (Appleyard, 2011: 10). Like its highland variety, Awngi, Kulazngi feminine nouns consistently end in *a*, as shown in column 5 of Table 17 below. However, masculine nouns do not have a consistent ending. Most of them end in *i* or a (labialized) consonant (e.g., *bìrí* 'ox', *gɨ̀sáŋ* 'dog', *sáng*^{w} 'mortar'), some end in *u* (e.g. *àχū* 'water', *àŋū* 'thorn'). There also exist very few gender neuter nouns that end in *e* (example, *kùdē* 'dove', *dʒɨ́gè* 'bridge') as shown in Table 17 below.

Table 17 : Kulazngi Nouns by gender

Masculine Nouns					FM. Nouns
i-ending	consonantal ending		u-ending	e-ending	all are a-ending
	plain	labialized			
dìχʷàrí 'jenny'	*gìsáŋ* 'dog'	*sángʷ* 'mortar'	*aχū* 'water'	*dʒɨgè* 'bridge'	*gìsáŋá* 'bitch'
dùbī 'pumpkin'	*náw* 'calf'	*àngʷ* 'breast'	*ɨnk'ok'ū* [31]	*ɽkùmdē* 'dove'	*bɨqlá* 'mule'
màtʃǐ 'dowry'	*tàb* 'hand'	*kɨrtí* 'feather'	*aŋū* 'thorn'	*kùbàkùbē* 'lizard'	*bágá* 'ewe'
χàtsī 'leaf'	*fɨláj* 'goat'	*tūŋʷ* 'buttock'	*ássú* 'false'	*ʧàrkàdē* 'dove'	*fɨlájá* 'she-goat'
bìlī 'branching post'	*dʒànāj* 'Thursday'	*lɨkʷ* 'leg'	*ɨdʒū* 'medicine'	*bɨdʒàwdʒē* 'wild animal'	*dìχʷàrá* 'jenny'

Nouns that end in a (labialized) consonant are frequently focused with focus marker *-i* in discourse. The basic gender of most nouns designating objects in Kulazngi is masculine. Hence, the masculine refers to male beings or generic terms while the feminine refers to female beings or things regarded diminutive. There are rare instances of nouns referring to animals or insects where the basic form is the feminine: *kùptsā* 'duiker', *gràt͡sá* 'porcupine', *t͡sɨχàrá* 'bee', and *jàqdʒà* 'a kind of termite' are common examples. While nouns referring to celestial bodies generally end in *a* in Awngi (Hetzron, 1976: 124), *árfá* 'moon' and *béwá* 'star' have an *a* as a terminal vowel in Kulazngi. Nouns referring to games are generally feminine ending. These include *dàbà* 'a hockey ball', *wánkà* 'kicking with feet', *wánkà* 'a game played by kicking with feet', and *búnkʷà* 'wrestling'.

Nevertheless, most compound nouns are *a* ending because *-a* is a compounding element that occurs at the end of most compound nouns, as in *múrí* 'snake' + *bɨn* 'river' ↦ *múrí bɨnā* ' a river where snakes dwell', *àχū* 'water' + *bìn* 'river' ↦ *aχū bìnā* 'a river where people fetch drinking water' (see also Compounding, section 3.6.3).

[31] ənk'ok'ū is a kind of bush tree; its fruits are used as medicine of tapeworm.

Some kinship compounds do not show the default vowel ending. Hence, *jítʃú / kɨtʃú* 'my mother / your mother', *jítàlá/ kɨtàlá* 'my father / your father', *jágà / kágà* 'my uncle / your uncle' are word forms not adhering to the default vowel ending.

In Kulazngi, there is one instance of suppletive gender, namely, *biri* 'ox' vs. *lʷa (kɨmá)* 'cow'. In addition to *bìrí/ɨllʷà, kʷàrmí/ bazra* 'stallion / mare', *dɨkʷlī* 'male antelope' vs. *zíbànā* 'female antelope' are examples of suppletive gender in Awngi.

3.2.2 Number

Number marking of nouns in Cushitic is particularly heterogeneous (Appleyard, 2011: 10). Likewise, Agaw languages have complex number formation (Mous, 2012: 363; Hetzron 1976:15). Teshome (2015: 78) also reports that plurality in K'himtanga is complex and heterogeneous, and he identifies sixteen plural formation strategies. Appleyard (2007: 485) identifies six classes of noun plural formation (each of which can be subdivided further) in Bilin. Unlike Khimt'anga (Teshome, 2015: 73), Bilin (Appleyard, 2007: 484), and like Kemanteney (Zelealem, 2003: 228) and Awngi (Hetzron, 1978), Kulazngi, does not have singulative marker: it has two numbers: singular and plural. Like other Agaw languages, morphological property of plural formation in Kulazngi exhibits heterogeneity (Zelealem, forthcoming: 18). The present study identifies five major characteristics of plural marking in Kulazngi: suffixation, final syllable-reduction, reduplication, singular noun forms used as plural, and using numerals with singular nouns. Some nouns also have unpredictable ways of pluralization.

3.2.2.1 Suffixation

The most productive plural marking process in Kulazngi is suffixation of *-ka* (Zelealem, forthcoming: 18). *-ka* is attached to the last consonant of the stem, i.e. the root form. Thus, nouns ending in a vowel drop their last vowel upon the suffixation of *-ka*. The suffixation of *-ka* to polysyllabic nouns whose first syllable is a closed type entails a predictable modification of syllable structure of the stem , as shown in (1) below.

1. a) tɨχʷlí / tɨχʷl-á 'wolf (MS /FM)' ↦ **tɨχùl-ká**

   b) bɨɬqlí / bɨɬqlá 'mule (MS/FM)' ↦ **bɨɬqílká**

   c) zàgrī / zàgrā 'ape (MS /FM)' ↦ **zàgɨrkā**

-ka does not have its tone inherently. In nouns that end in consonants, it acquires its tone from the immediate syllable it attaches through spreading (see also *spreading*, section 2.3.6.4). In nouns that end in vowels, the tone of the deleted vowel, the terminal vowel, docks on it (cf. 1).

The suffix *-ka*, even though it can occur with nouns referring to things, is common with nouns referring to domestic animals and persons. Other nouns, even though they possibly take *-ka* as their plural marker, preferably show their plural only by the use of numerals, and this is possible only when the noun referred to is known by number and also sex. With nouns referring to persons or animals, as unpluralized nouns are either masculine or feminine gender (see Table 18 below), the plural marker obligatorily appears if the plural form refers to both sexes. Several examples of plural nouns with *-ka* are provided in Table 18 below.

Table 18: Some -ka plural nouns with their masculine/feminine forms

singular		Plural	English
masculine	feminine		
gìtsàní	gètsàná	gètsàn-ká	merchant
gìsáŋ	gìsáŋá	gìsàŋ-kā	dog
mēr	mèrà	mèr-ká	sheep
dírì	dérà	dér-k^{w}à	chicken
kɨ̀mí	kɨ̀má	kɨ̀m-ká	a head of cattle
bɨ́qlí	bɨ́qlá	bɨ́qɨ́l-ká	mule
kànī	kánā	kàn-kā	stick/tree
dùnìzī	dùnìzā	dùnìz-kā	potato

NB that the feminine gender for objects and materials, as in the last two rows, suggests diminutive meaning.

While the change in *bɨ́qɨ́lká* 'mules' (3rd row from the bottom and 3rd column in Table 18), as is the case in (1), has to do with a phonological process (see section 2.5), the change of the plain consonant of the plural *-ka* into labialized in *dérk^{w}à*[32] (column 3, row 5 in Table 18) is not predictable.

[32] In Awngi, cock is *dúrì*, hen *d^{w}árà* and plural *d^{w}árkà*.

The plural of offspring and some kinship terms (compound forms) is shown by the suffix *-ri/-ra* as shown in (2). It is noteworthy that kinship terms are pronoun and bound noun compounds (see section 3.6).

2. (a) *náw / náwá* 'calf (MS/FM)' ↦ *náwàrà* or *nákùtrà* 'calves'

   (b) *ɨntsāj / ɨntsàχā* 'boy/ girl' ↦ *ɨntsàχá-rá* ' boys /girls or both'

   (c) *jɨt͡tsánà/ jɨzánà* 'my sister/my brother' ↦ *jítsìrì* 'my brothers/my sisters or both'

   (d) *jɨrà/ jìdʒà* 'my son/my daughter' ↦ *jírì* 'my sons/my daughters or both'

   (e) *kɨdʒà / kírà* 'your daughter/your son'↦ *kírì* 'your sons/your daughters or your sons and daughters'

The *ɨ* in singular forms of (2d, 2e) has changed to *i* in the plural is due to vowel harmony (see section 2.5.7).

In my data, there is only one i-ending noun that is pluralized by changing the *i* with *-a* hence, *bìrí* 'ox' ↦ *bèrā* 'oxen'.

Some kinship terms ending in *a* (which is a compounding element (see section 3.6.3)) change their final vowel *a* to *i* as illustrated in (3_ 5).

(3) *jítàlà* ' my father ' ↦ *yítalì* ' my fathers (lit.)', that is 'my ancestors /also used when addressing elderly men'

(4) *jágà* ' my uncle' ↦ *jágì* 'my uncles ',

(5) *jízáχ́a* 'my relative ' ↦ *yízàχì* 'my relatives'

A small number of nouns attach the suffix *-ki* as an alternate use for the plural *-ka*, as in *dʒàr/dʒàrá* 'son / daughter' ↦ *dʒàrká/ dʒàrkí* 'one's children'.

3.2.2.2 Final Syllable-Reduction

Quite a lot of nouns in Kulazngi are pluralized by reducing their final vowel (gender suffix). Plural formation by gender suffix reduction is also reported in other Agaw languages: in Bilin (Appeyard, 2007: 485); in Kemanteney (Zelealem, 2003:229). The following table provides several illustrations of nouns pluralized by reducing their gender suffix.

Table 19 : **Example Nouns Pluralized by Gender Suffix Reduction**

singular		plural	Gloss
MS	FM		
àqqí	àqqá	àqq	man/woman/men
dɨχʷàrī	dɨχʷàrā	dɨχʷar	jackass /jenny/ donkeys
------	χùnā	χūn	woman/women
kùlìzí	kùlàzá	kùlāz	lowlander (MS/FM)/ lowlanders [33]
sègtíní	sègténá	sègtán	highlander (MS/FM)/ highlanders
gàgrí	gàgrá	gàgɨr	Gumuz (MS/FM /pl)

Some nouns can be pluralized either by suffixing *-ka* or by reducing their gender suffix in this case. The following are illustrative examples of such nouns.

6) *dɨχʷàrī* / *dɨχʷàrā* 'donkey (MS/FM)' *dɨχʷàr* or *dɨχʷàrká* 'donkeys'

7) *làngàdí* / *làngàdá* 'visitor (MS/ FM)' ↦ *làngàd* or *làngàd-ka* 'visitors'

8) *ŋɨʃtàrí* 'male' ↦ *ŋɨʃtàr* or *ŋɨʃtàrkā* 'males

9) χūná 'woman' ↦ χūn or χùnká 'women'

3.2.2.3 Reduplication

Some nouns in Kùlàzngí show complete reduplication to pluralize, i.e., they double their entire word form. *a* occurs as a connecting element between the word forms to be doubled. If the first member ends in a vowel, the vowel will be deleted upon the occurrence of *a*, and if the terminal vowel of the first member is *a*, only one *a* (between the terminal vowel of the first member and the *a* as connecting element) will be maintained, for the language does not allow vowel length (cf.10-14). The same *a* also occurs at the end of most of the reduplicated noun forms as a connecting element.

(10) *sɨrà* 'child' ↦ *sɨràsɨrá* 'children'

(11) *kìzí* 'priest' ↦ *kèzàkézá* 'priests'

[33] The term also refers to natives of Kulazngi

(12) *χùnā* 'woman' ↦ *χùnàxúná* 'women'

(13) *tsíχà* 'beautiful girl' ↦ *tsìχàtsíχá* 'beautiful girls'

(14) *ʧẽn* 'bull' ↦ *ʧènàtʃéná* 'bulls'

Vowel change in example (11) might be vowel harmony: the replacement of the final *i* by the connecting vowel *a* in *kìzí* might have induced the change.

It is worth noting that reduplication is also a characteristic used to form frequency adverbs from temporal adverbs (see section 5.4.4).

3.2.2.4 Singular Noun Forms Used as Plural

Some nouns which refer to (small flying) insects are normally represented by singular forms but are semantically plural, even though it is possible they can refer to a single member. These nouns include *tsɨχàrá* 'bee(s)', *tsɨntsí* 'fly(ies)', *ɨŋí* 'ant (s)', *fífrì* 'worm(s)', *áʃʃìnì* 'flying worm (s)'. The verb too is singular with such nouns. Such a language use also commonly applies to nouns referring to animals that are found or move in flocks.

15. a) gòbê ʈʃáχì wìd-ú-χà
millet.ACC bird finish-PFV-3M
'Birds finished the millet.'

b) tsɨχàrí ànkámí-dá tú-χà
bee beehive-loc enter.PFV -3M
'Bees entered in to a (the) beehive.'

c) ɨŋŋí tsɨχàr gʷàrû tú-χà
ant bee house enter.PFV -3M
'Ants entered to bee house.'

d) tsìtswā ʃùmbî ɨnkán-t-á
monkey corn.ACC like-3F-IPFV
'Monkeys like corn.'

NPs of reciprocal clause subjects can also optionally take singular forms (while they are actually plural) (see section 7.5.2.4).

3.2.2.5 Numeral + Singular Noun Form

In Kulazngi, the plural of nouns that are definitely known by number (usually not numerous) is shown by numeral + singular noun form, as illustrated in (cf.16) below. If they are not definitely known by number, indefinite quantifiers are used with singular noun forms, as shown in (cf. 17). It is noteworthy that numerals more than one, in addition to the above usage, are used with plural noun forms, as in *láŋà bèrá* 'two oxen'.

(16) *a)* nɨgàtúdá **láŋà kobat** zɨkʷ-à
Nigatu two overcoat-ACC present.PFV-3M
'Nigatu has two overcoats.'

b) nɨgàtú **ánkʷà tsànàχ-ù** kʷ-û
Nigatu five leopard-ACC kill-3M.PFV
'Nigatu has killed five leopards'

(17) a) **màngá zàgrā** gám-t-ú-χà
herd.FM ape.FM go down-3F-PFV
'A herd of apes went down'

b) kàtʃìní-χù-dá **míntʃ dɨkʷlī-w dàbàlī zɨkʷ-à**
hanter-home-loc many antelope-3M skin mat present.PFV-3M
'There are lots of antelope skin mats in the hunter's house'

Even though it is possible to quantify singular nouns of either sex with numerals or quantifiers of plural semantic value plus the singular noun form as shown above, pluralization of *ɨntsāj* 'boy' and *ɨntsàχā* 'girl' obligatorily requires the plural form, *ɨntsàχárá*, and this is an exception.. Hence, (18) below is an unaccepted construction.

18) ∗ *láŋà ɨntsāj/ ɨntsàχā* 'two boys/ two girls'

3.2.2.6 Suppletive Plural

In Kulazngi, as far as the current data are concerned, there are two nouns having suppletive plural, namely, *lʷa* / *kɨmká* 'cow / cows', and *náw* (MS), *náwá* (FM) / *nákùtrá* 'calf' ↦ 'calf (MS, FM) calves'. *lʷa* in Awngi is *ɨllʷà*, and its plural is *nʷàrá*.

3.3 Case

Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads, the relationship of a noun to a verb at a clause level or of a noun to an adposition or another noun at the phrase level (Blake, 1994: 1). All Agaw nouns indicate case, most of them with seven and Awngi with twelve forms (Appleyard, 1976: 6; Hetzron, 1976: 46). "Case in Agaw operates by means of case endings and post positions (Hetzron, 1976: 46)". Kulazngi, like its highland variety, Awngi, which has been said to have replaced the marked nominative-absolutive system with a nominative accusative pattern, introducing a specific accusative case marker and leaving the nominative unmarked (Appleyard, 2011: 205), has a nominative accusative case pattern.

Unlike other Cushitic languages which are marked nominative (König, 2008: 72), Kulazngi is unmarked-nominative language. Except for nominative case, which is not morphologically realized, Kulazngi nouns and pronouns (including demonstrative pronouns) *generally* occur case-marked with postnominal case-particles, and are assigned accusative as well as peripheral cases (dative, adessive, comitative, allative, ablative, comparative, and invocative). Thus, Kulazngi has ten cases (including unmarked nominative), two less than that of Awngi [34]. However, some cases which are given independent labeling in Awngi (Hetzron, 1978: 125-126) have been subsumed under others in this study for the reasons to be provided in their respective sections: hence, instrumental and distributive or coordinative cases are subsumed under dative; transformational (translative in Awngi (Appleyard, 2007: 125)) under allative; and purposive under adessive.

As pointed out earlier, Kulazngi adjectives behave like nouns for number-cum-gender. They are not, however, marked for all case types. They are, in concord with the head noun, marked for accusative case obligatorily and for adessive case optionally. They are not marked for the rest unless they assume the head of an NP where the noun (the head) is missing. In the following subsections are described all case types in Kulazngi.

3.3.1 Accusative

The central and defining function of the accusative case is encoding the affected patient of activity verbs (Blake, 2004: 144). Among Agaw languages, Awngi and Bilin are said to have

[34] Hetzron's observation that Awngi has twelve cases is elaborated according to König (2008: 37).

nominative-accusative pattern, and the rest are said to have marked nominative-absolutive system (Appleyard, 2011: 205). Kulazngi, like its HA, is an accusative language where the nominative is unmarked. Unlike Semitic languages of Ethiopia (König 2008; Tosco 1994) and unlike Kemanteney and Bilin (Hetzron 1976: 47; (for Kimantney) Zelealem, 2003: 239) where the accusative is used with definite objects only, the accusative in Kulazngi is used with both definite and indefinite nouns. Definiteness/indefiniteness in most cases is contextually distinguished (see section 3.5).

[35]The formatives marking the accusative in Kulazngi are both segmental and non-segmental. With regard to segmental marking, there are two suffixes which the noun in accusative case attaches: *-ù* and *-za*. *-ù* is used after nouns ending in (labialized) consonants (cf. 2nd column of 2nd and 3rd rows in Table 20) while *-za* is used after singular demonstratives other than feminine (cf. the last row in the table) and with some of interrogative pronouns (see section 4.3). *-za* is also used after direct object adnominals (relativized verbs and genitives) (cf. b of 21-24). [36]

With respect to non-segmental marking, nouns ending in vowels bear a low tone, which may be realized as a falling tone in certain tonological environments (see section 2.3.6.1 for details of tonological environments for the realization of a falling tone). This is contrary to Konïg's (2008: 37) argument that tone never appears with nouns as a means for distinguishing case in unmarked-nominative languages (2008: 37). Table 20 below provides some Kulazngi nouns in their nominative and accusative.

Table 20: Kulazngi Nominals When Nominative and Accusative

nominative	**accusative**	gloss	**nominative**	**accusative**	gloss
gɨsáŋ	gɨsáŋ-ù	dog	kɨmá	kɨmâ	female member of cattle
sáng^{w}	sáng-ù	mortar	àŋū	àŋ-û	thorn
ʃùmbī	ʃùmbî	maize	wèntʃǎ	wèntʃ-â	horn tumbler/cup *(diminutive use)*
àrí	árì	crop	àχū	àχû	water
ɨ́n	ɨ́nzà	this	ān	ānzà	that *(masculine)*

[35] Accusative case marks in Awngi are *-e/-ê* after final *-i, -o/-ô* after consonants, *-wa* after vowels other than *i*, and *-sa* after the genitive and compound nouns (Hetzron, 1978: 125; Yaregal, 2007: 27).

[36] -za (-sa) in Awngi is also used as allative marking as (Hetzron, 1976: 125)

As can be witnessed from the data in the above table, a low tone must always occur as an accusative marker alone or with the segmental form. Objective nouns in 2nd and 3rd rows are not vowel final when nominative. Thus, they attach ù when they turn to accusative, as Kulazngi nouns that end in a (labialized) consonant will attach ù as an accusative marker suffix. Objective nouns in 5th and 6th rows are vowel final when nominative. When they turn accusative, a low tone must occur on their final syllable, thus merge with the ultimate vowel of the noun in the nominative. Then, if the ultimate and penultimate syllables in the nominative have L.H / L.M sequence, the merging of the accusative low with H or M will result in a contour falling tone (see section 2.3.6.1 for details). It could be posited that the suffixation of *u* to nouns ending in a (labialized) consonant has been triggered as an accusative tone-bearing unit because accusative marker in Kulazngi is a low tone, and those non-vowel final nouns need a vowel that bears the accusative marker tone. Nonetheless, while the suffixation of the back vowel *u* to nouns with labialized final consonant is expected, why nouns with plain consonant at their end select *u* is not clear, thus needs further investigation.

The **boldfaced NPs** (the same nouns given in Table 20) below are direct objects in sentential examples.

19. (a) ***gìsáŋ-ù*** *kàtskʷà* 'They took the dog'
    (b) ***sáng-ù*** *dʒɨ̀wkʷà* 'They bought a mortar'
    (c) ***ʃùmbî*** *gèʃkʷà* 'They roasted (the) maize'
    (d) ***àŋû*** *dāddáz làkàmkʷà* 'They picked the thorns from the road'
    (e) ***àχû*** *zəqúkʷà* 'They drank water.'
    (f) ***árì*** *kûp tsúkʷà (àkánkʷà)* 'They gathered crops'
    (g) ***kìmâ*** *àràdkʷà* 'They killed the cow'

-ù is also used as ablative (20a) and allative (20b-c) marker, as shown below. It is common to find languages expressing direction by other cases. "The *to*-function is frequently expressed by another case such as the accusative (Blake, 2004: 30).

20. (a) àgár-ù dʒû (homeland-ACC leave-3M) 'He left his homeland.'
    (b) àgár-ù kàz-û (homeland-ACC go-PFV.3M) 'He left for his homeland.'
    (c) bɨ̀nû kàz-û (river-ACC go- PFV.3M) 'He went to river.'

The use of the accusative *-u* to indicate direction is not used with nouns ending in sounds other than (labialized) consonant.

Adnominals (genitives and relativized verbs) attach *-za* when used as (modifiers of) direct objects, as shown in sentential examples below.

21. (a) jíw bɨtí sɨkàwí
    my land new 'My land is new.'

    (b) **jíw-zà bɨtê** àràs-kʷà
    my-ACC land.ACC plow-3P.PFV
    'The plowed my land.'

22. (a) àq-ùkʷ(í) fɨlàj-ká kàz-kʷà
    men-PL.poss goat-PL go-3P.PFV
    'The men's goats went away.'

    (b) **àqù-kʷ-zà fɨlàj-kà** kàts-kʷà
    men-PL.poss-ACC goat-PL.ACC take-3P.PFV
    'They took the men's goats.'

23. (a) dʒ-īw màngū dɨmm-éχ
    ripe-PFV.3M.REL mango red-COP
    'Ripe mangoes are red.'

    (b) **dʒ-īw-zâ màngû** làkám-kʷà
    ripe-PFV.3M.REL-ACC mango.ACC collect-3P.PFV
    'They collected the ripened mangoes.'

24. (a) kɨnt-ŋà j-ì-nt-ú dʒàrí gìts-ù dʒàmàr-û
    learn-int 3M-ep-come-3M-PFV.REL boy trade- ACC start-PFV.3M
    'The boy who came to learn started trading.'

    (b) **kɨnt-ŋà jì-nt-ú-zà dʒàrû** gìtsz-á-tà tsàw-kʷà
    learn-PUR 3M -come-3M.PFV.REL-ACC boy.ACC trade-3M-PUR make-3M.PFV
    'They made the boy who came to learn trade.'

In (21b) and (22b), the possessor shows double-case marking: the genitive and the accusative. The genitive occurs closer to the base. Double-case marking is typical of possessive

constructions in which only one element, either the possessee or the possessor bears the case required by the clausal syntax plus that of the possessor (König, 2008: 13).

As pointed out earlier, like for number and gender, noun modifiers occurring independently or with their head noun will be marked for the accusative case, as shown below.

(25)	*nominative*	*accuasative*	*gloss*
	tsárkí gɨsáŋ	tsárk**î** gɨsáŋ-**û**	black dog
	kòlū bìrí	kòl**û** birî	dark red
	fúʧá χùnà	fúʧ**à** χúnâ	white woman
	wàrkē tàj	wàrk**ê** tàjû	red and white striped ram

As can be noticed above, adjectives appear case marked in concord with head nouns in accusative NPs.

3.3.2 Genitive

The genitive is primarily an adnominal case (consisting of marked noun dependents) among whose functions is the encoding of possessor (Blake, 2004: 5). As Kulazngi is a head final language, the genitive precedes the noun. Except with cardinal numbers and relativized NPs where the dative marker -*z* optionally occurs preceding number-cum-gender suffixes, there is no a genitive marker morpheme per se. Possession with cardinal numbers and relativized NPs is marked by the dative marker -z, which occurs preceding gender-number-affixes. What really marks the genitive case in NPs other than mentioned above is a set of agreement affixes of the possessee that attach to the possessor noun. HA also shows the same characteristic in possession marking (Yaregal, 2012: 151).

In (26) and (27) below, we notice the paradigm of the genitive marking system in Kulazngi.

26) a) gɨsáŋ-**ū** ɨnk^{w}àχī
dog-3M ear.MS
'The dog's ear'

b) gɨsáŋ-**kú** ɨnk^{w}àχ-kā
dog-PL ear-PL
'The dog's ears'

c) gɨsáŋá-**w** ɨnkʷàχī

dog.3F-3M ear.MS

'The bitch's ear'

d) gɨsáŋá-**kʷ** ɨnkʷàχ-kā

dog.3F-PL ear-PL

'The bitch's ears'

e) gɨsáŋ-**tí** ɨnkʷàχā

dog-3F ear.FM

'The dog's ear (FM)'

f) gɨsáŋá-**t** ɨnkʷàχā

dog-3F ear.FM

'The bitch's ear (FM)'

27. a) wòrkú-χʷà-**zū** '(lit. Worku's home dog) the dog that belongs to Worku's family'

b) wòrkúdʒì-kú gɨsàŋkā 'Worku and others' dogs'

b) nɨχʷà-**skú** gɨsàŋkā 'our dogs'

c) nɨχʷà-**stí** gɨsá ŋá 'our bitch'

d) láŋà-**zū /-skú / -stí** (two-3M/PL/3F) 'of the two/belonging to the two'

As can be noticed in (27d) above, in possession process with cardinal numbers, as in *láŋà-zū/-stí/-kú* 'of the two (MS/FM/PL)' and nouns compounded with *-χʷa* 'home', such as *nì-χʷà-zū/-stí/-kú* 'of our home (MS/FM/PL)' the dative marker *-z* comes immediately before gender or number affixes. What accounts for its occurrence right here but not with other forms is not clear. Its occurrence in genitive NPs with cardinal numbers is optional, as in *láŋà-w bìrí* or *láŋà-zū bìrí* 'an ox of the two'.

As can be noticed in (26) and (27) above, the affixal forms signaling the genitive case are extremely heterogeneous - there are nine different affixal forms of agreement that signal the possessee: ***-u /-w, -t /-ti, -ku /-kʷ, -zu/-sku/-sti.*** Their difference is both phonological and grammatical. Thus, ***-u /-w*** refer to 3M, and *-u* occurs following a consonant while *-w* occurs

following a vowel. ***-t /-ti*** refer to 3F, and *-t* occurs following a vowel while *-ti* occurs following a consonant. ***-ku /-kʷ*** are plural, and *-ku* occurs following a consonant and *-kʷ* following a vowel. ***-zu* (3M)**, ***-sku*** (PL), and ***-sti*** (3F) appear with cardinal numbers and nouns compounded with bound root *-χʷa* 'home'. Note again that all of the aforementioned agreement affixes refer to the possessee but attach to the possessor noun. Thus, the genitive case in Kulazngi, except for cardinal numbers and nouns compounded with bound root *-χʷa* 'home', is assigned syntactically, or *cross referencing is the sole means of marking possession*. Hence, the genitive case in Kulazngi partially matches up with the case system in Bilin where nouns have different endings for the accusative, dative, and genitive according to gender (Appleyard 2007: 488).

As touched upon above, number and/ or gender affixes of both the possessor and the possessee attach to the possessor (see figure 6 for clarity). Closer to the base occur number / gender suffixes of the possessor and those of the possessee come next to them (cf. 28g which is easily discernible). Following are further illustrative examples.

28. a) *kɨntàntí-w* *fɬláj*
student.3m-3m goat.3m
'The student's he-goat'

b) *kɨntàntí-t* *fɬlájá*
student.3m-3f goat.3m
'The student's she-goat'

c) *kɨntàntì-kʷ* *fɬlàj-kā*
student.3m-pl goat.pl
'The student's goats'

d) *kɨntàntá-w* *fɬlàj*
student.3f-3m goat.3m
'The student's he-goat'

e) *kɨntàntá-t* *fɬlàjá*
student.3f-3f goat.3f
'The student's she-goat'

f) *kɨntàntá-kʷ* *fɬlàj-kā*
student.3f-pl-pl goat.pl
'The student's goats'

g) *kìntànt-ká-kʷ* *fɨlàj-kā*
student -$pl_{pos/r}$-$pl_{pos/ee}$ goat.pl
'The students' goats'

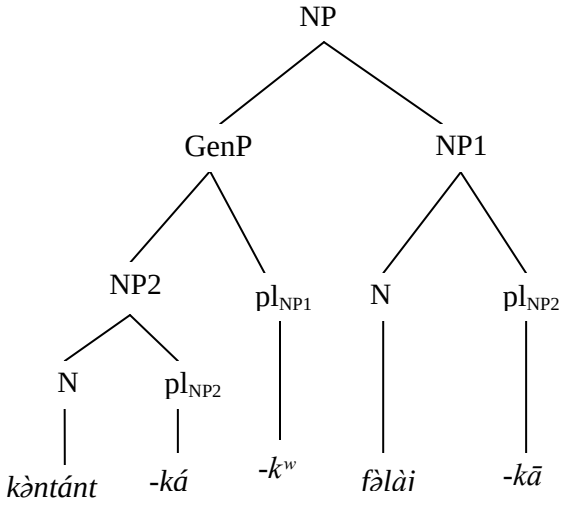
As can be noticed from the illustrative examples, the possessor nouns are laden with number and gender suffixes of both the possessor and the possessum. On the possessor side, in (28a-c), the third person masculine singular *i*, which *is* the terminal vowel for most of Kulazngi masculine nouns, is inherent gender marker in *kɨntanti*. Likewise, in (28d-f), the third person feminine *a*, which is the terminal vowel for Kulazngi feminine nouns, is inherent gender marker in *kɨntanta*. The plural *-ka* in (28g) refers to the possessor.

The following tree structure, (fig. 6), depicts the hierarchical arrangement of elements in the noun phrase of (28g) above.

The genitive markers, agreement affixes marking the possessee and attaching to the possessor, can be focused with the focus element *-i* attaching to them, as in *gɨsáŋù* (non-focused) *gɨsáŋʷ-i* (focused).

Figure 6: Genitive phrase analyzed

kìntánt-ká- kʷ fìlàj-kā 'The students' goats'



Note that NP1 refers to the possessor and NP2 to the possessee. Subscripted NP1 and NP2 indicate as to which NP the plural suffix refers to.

As mentioned earlier, gender / number affixes that mark the possessee but attach to the possessor show phonological conditioning. Thus, the masculine affix *-u* is realized as [u] and [w]: [u] occurs following a consonant or *u* and [w] after a vowel except *u*. (29a-d) below provides illustrative

examples of the variations for further clarity. The plural *-ku* is realized as [ku] and [kʷ]: [ku] occurs following a (labialized) consonant and [kʷ] after a vowel (cf. 29f, h). The feminine morph *-t* is realized as [t] following a vowel and [ti] following a consonant (29e, g)

29 a) *gɨsáŋ* 'dog' ↦ *gɨsáŋ-**ū** χùrtsí* 'the sleeping place of the dog'

b) *gɨsàŋkā* 'dogs' ↦ *gɨsáŋká-**w** χùrtsí* 'the sleeping place of dogs'

c) *dɨxʷàrī / dɨχʷàrā* 'donkey (ms/fem)' ↦ *dɨxʷàrī-**w** / dɨχʷara-**w** míndí* 'shadow of a donkey'

d) *dɨχʷàr* 'donkeys' ↦ *dɨχʷàr-**ū** míndí* 'the shadow of the donkeys'

e) *ʤàrá* 'girl' ↦ *ʤàrá-**t** kəmà* (*lʷà*) 'the girl's cow'

f) *ʤàrá* 'girl' ↦ *ʤàrá-**kʷ** kəmkà* 'the girl's cattle'

g) *àq* 'men' ↦ *àq-**tí** kəmá (lʷà)* 'the men's cow'

h) *àq* 'men' ↦ *àq-**kú** kəmká* 'the men's cattle'

The *t* changes to *ti* is to avoid impermissible cluster of consonants in a syllable, i.e. the *i* of *-tí* splits up *-t* from the coda where it forms unwanted consonant cluster in the first syllable and, as a result, additional syllable with the *t* onset and the *i* rhyme is formed at the end of the word (see section 2.5.10 for details).

It is noteworthy that possession in Kulazngi is also shown by noun compound NPs, as in:

30. a) *zɨlání kɨmá* 'bull or cow of a nomad man' from *zɨlání* 'a nomad man' + *kɨmí/a* 'bull or cow'
b) *gɨsáŋ ɨrkʷá* 'tooth of a dog' from *gɨsáŋ* 'dog' + *ɨrkʷí* 'tooth'

The above genitive compound is formally indistinguishable from other noun compound NPs, i.e. the same compounding process forms it: first, the same compounding element *-a* appears at the end of the compound form. Second, no gender/number elements appear to the end of the first member as possession markers. See section 3.6.3 with regard to compound nouns.

It is noteworthy that compound NPs can be turned into genitive phrases as follows:

31. Genetive Compound NPs	Genitive Phrases	gloss
zɨlání kɨmá	*zɨlání-**w** kɨmmi / zɨlání-**t** kɨmma*	'bull or cow of a nomad'
gɨsáŋ ɨrkʷá	*gɨsáŋ-ū ɨrkʷí / gɨsáŋ-tí ɨrkʷá*	'tooth of the dog'

-a as a possession marker also occurs in locative noun compounds, as in (32) below.

32. a) *kán* 'mountain' + *māk* 'top' ↦ *kán màká*[37] 'the top of the mountain'
    b) *árí* 'crop' + *àχ* 'inside' ↦ *árí àχà* 'the inside of the crops'

3.3.3 Dative / Instrumental

Whereas the dative case prototypically expresses the animate recipient of some action or item, instrumental case expresses the semantic role held by entities that are intermediate causes of events (Payne, 2006: 333, 325). According to Blake (2004: 144), the central function of the dative case is to encode entities that are the target of an activity or emotion, and instrumental case encodes the instrument with which an action is carried out. The dative and instrumental cases in Kulazngi are encoded by the suffix *-z/-ɨz*. The ɨ in the variant *-ɨz* is epenthetic. The dative and instrumental cases in Awngi are marked by -s in HA (Yaregal, 2007: 34; 2012: 93). Different semantic roles assigned by identical marker is also attested in Kimantney: *-z* assigns the dative, locative, instrumental, and benefactive (Zelealem, 2003: 245).

33) gànzáb-ù *nìtàlá-z /tàblí-z* *j-ì-x^{w}à*
money-ACC his father-DAT give.3M-PFV
'He has given the money to his (the) father'

In (33) above, the verb form *j-ì-x^{w}à* 'He gave' is a three-place verb. The dative marker *-z* has attached to the noun *nitala* to encode a target or goal role (33). Other three-place verbs encoded in the dative case include *dìq^{w}-* 'tell', *gùʃɨts-* 'lend', *kàj-* 'pay' as shown in (34). (34c) is a sentential example showing a two-place verb, *- àzàn-* 'have pity on' in the dative case.

34. (a) **dìb-û** **kérà-z** **dìq^{w}á** **(díq^{w})**
thing.ACC your husband tell.IMPR
'Tell your husband about it'.

(b) **gànzáb-ù** **aq-ɔ̀-z** **gùʃɨts-íjá**
money-ACC men-ep-DAT lend-IMPR.NEG
'Don't lend money to people.'

[37] *màká* is *àmpá* in Awngi which is also possible in Kulazngi.

(c) àq-**ɨ̀z** àzàn-ì-ŋ gūdì
men- DAT have pity on-ep-nlr good
'It is good to have pity on others.'

The two-place verb *àzàn-* 'have pity on / show grievance to' can also be encoded by the locative to express grievance (see section 3.3.5).

Some two-place verbs, such as *tàkàm-* 'benefit (tr)', *ɨ̀rdét-* 'help', *àgázts-* 'help', take the indirect object either in the accusative or in the dative case, as shown in sentential examples below.

35. (a) ɨ̀n ɨ̀ndár-**ɨ́z / ɛ̀ndár-ù** takam-a
This what-DAT /…-ACC be useful-IPFV.3M
'What does this benefit (to others)?.'

(b) χɛ̀zànt-kā ɨ̀ntsàntk**â / ɨ̀ntsàntkā-z** àgázts-ɨ́-k^{w}à
elder-PL younger-PL.ACC / …DAT help-ep-3P.PFV
'The elders helped the youngsters.'

As shown in (35a), the verb form *takam-a* 'benefits (tr)' is a two-place verb, and ***ɨ̀ndár-ì-z*** is an interrogative pronoun marked dative and ***ɨ̀ndár-ù*** is the same interrogative pronoun marked accusative. The same construction process applies to a two-place verb form *àgàz-k^{w}à* (35b) where the noun *ɨ̀ntsàntka* occurs marked either accusative or dative.

Most Kulazngi verbs can take the indirect object in the dative case when someone else does something for (the sake of) others, as shown in (36b, 37b, 38b) below.

36. (a) kízí tsàbálù dègàm-û
priest holy water.ACC recite prayer-3M.PFV
'The priest prayered over holy water.'

(b) kízí kàmáná-**z (dá)** tsàbálù dègàm-ú-χà
priest a newly bearing woman.DAT holy water.ACC recite prayer-PFV-3M
'The priest prayed over holy water for the woman gave birth.'

37. (a) àbtàm-ká gànzábù fɨ̀ʃɨ̌ŋts-ɨ́-k^{w}à
rich-PL money contribute-ep-3P.PFV
'The rich contributed money.'

(b) àbtàm-ká dɨχàdɨ́χà-**z** gànzábù fɨʃɨ́ŋts-ɨ́-kʷà
rich-PL the poor-DAT money.ACC contribute-ep-3P.PFV
'The rich contributed money for the poor..'

38. (a) mùrán kàlàχ-kʷà
villagers cry-3P.PFV
'The villagers cried.'

(b) mùrán múrí ɨ́ŋ- ú àqí-**z** kèlàχ-kʷà
villagers snake-DAT bite-ep3M.REL man-DAT cry-3P.PFV
'The villagers cried for the man whom a snake bit.

As pointed out earlier, *-z* also marks the instrumental case. The dative *-z* also marks instrumental is not within its central function of the dative according to Blake's observation: "The dative is a syntactic case that can encode a variety of roles, but I would suggest that its central function is to encode entities that are the target of an activity or emotion (Blake 2004: 144)". Notice the following.

39. a) múr-î gɨmb-ɨ́-**z** jɨ́ntsâ márz-ɨ̀-**z** kú- ná
snake-ACC stick-ep-INSTR mouse-ACC poison-ep-INSTR kill-1P-IPFV
'We kill a snake with a stick and a rat with poison.'

b) làʃàχʷî kúχʃĩ-**z** tʃàlàft-û
stew.ACC laddl-INSTR ladle out.3F-PFV.3F
'She ladded out stew with ladle made from gourd.'

c) ʧîχrí-**z** lèg-ù tànkànts-ù
[38]*ʧîɣri*-INSTR fire.ACC set fire-1P/3M
'I/He produced fire with *ʧîɣri*.'

d) sɨ̀χlî wombrī-**z** zɨ̀q-n-á
local beer.ACC [39]*wombrī*-INSTR drink-1P-IPFV
'We drink beer with drinking gourd.'

[38] ʧîɣri 'scratcher' (Amh. mäʧ'ariya) by which people produce fire through rubbing (Zelealem, forthcomimg).

e) kêt n-ú kànì-dá àχūr-**íz** màtʃî-n-á
straight.IDP say-3P.PFV.REL tree-on beehive rope-INSTR climb-1P-IPFV
'We climb a straight tree with a beehive rope. '

f) ŋárgî tàtɨrí-**z** bù-n-á
honey.ACC protected gourd-INSTR carry -1P-IPFV
'We carry honey in protected gourd. '

The dative *-z* also attaches to temporal nouns to encode duration for a completion of certain activity or event (cf. 40a-b) or simple temporal (cf 40c).

40. (a) tsànàχ ɨmpɨl àrfî-**z** tsɨkkà fɨlàj-kâ χú-χ-à
leopard one month-in ten goat-PL-ACC eat-3M-PFV
'A leopard ate ten goats in one month.'

(b) wùdē qʷàrá-dáz sɨχʷàt-**íz** zùr-t-û
Wude Q'ʷara -from week-after return-3F-PFV
'Wùdē returned from Q'ʷara after one week.'

(c) gérk-ɨ-**z** báj-á-má χàr-**íz** ɨntsáχíst-á
day-ep-at leave-3M-CNV night-at work-3M.PFV
'He works at night instead of in the day time.'

The dative *-z* also attaches to numerals to encode *distribution, share,* or *coordination* (cf. 41), which otherwise can be encoded by reduplicated numeral.

41) a) bìrê sèdʒà-**z** dɨrɨb-ŋ-û gùtʃ-kʷà
ox.ACC four- DAT fell-NOM-ACC be unable-3P.PFV
'They could not fell the ox for four.'

b) gùmmìtî láŋà-**z** bū-kʷà
log.ACC two-DAT carry-3P.PFV
'They carried the log for two.'

[39] wombrī is instrument made from gourd used for drinking usually local beer.

c) fèlájá-w-zà ɨʃʃê láŋà-**z** bèníŋ-kʷà
goat-3M-ACC meat.ACC two- DAT divide.RSP-.3P.PFV
'They shared the goat meat for two.'

The numeral encoded *distribution*, *share*, or *coordination* with the dative *-z*, viz. *láŋà-**z*** and *sèdʒà-**z*** above can be encoded the same role by reduplication as *sèdz sédzá / làŋ láŋá*. The same role is also encoded by attaching *-ʃì* to cardinal numbers (see allative).

Verbs of movement can also take dative *complement* (dative marked locative nouns encoding direction *towards* as in (42) below.

42. a) bɨn-ɨ́z gìŋ-t-û
river-by run-2S/3F-PFV
She ran by the river.

b) ɨngr-ɨ́z fàj-kʷà
back-by pass-3P.PFV
'They have passed by the rear side.'

There are, however, other markers encoding the same direction encoded by the dative *-z* in (42) above, as discussed under the next section, allative case.

3.3.4 Allative

Allative case is a grammatical case that shows "movement to or towards some location" (Matthews 1997:14). It also expresses destination. "An allative case expressing destination is found in a number of languages including Uralic and Australian languages (Blake, 2004: 1152)." Allative case in Kulazngi is shown by the suffixes *-ʃì*, *-gʷlà, -a, -ù,* and *-z* and a low tone. The first two slightly differ in meaning from the rest. *-ʃì* 'toward' shows direction while *-gʷlà* shows direction plus some other purpose, for example one goes to someone to stay with them. Thus, - *gʷlà* [40] is more compatible with humans and domestic animals than with inanimate objects while *-ʃì* is used with everything. *-ʃì* also encodes division or share when it attaches to cardinal numbers (hence, it can replace -z in (41)). The suffixal forms *-a* /*-ù* 'to' (interchangeable with no slightest meaning change) indicate destination. With certain institutions, places or

[40] *-gʷlà* is *-ùlá (-wlá)* in HA

business areas, they convey a message that someone has gone there for the purpose primarily associated with that institution, place or business area (cf. 49b, 49f). *-z* encodes somewhat direction plus destination. The tone *-a* bears does not seem to be predictable but *-ù* bears a low tone. *-a* also encodes purpose with deverbal nominalas, as suffixed to deverbal nominals *zɨqí* 'drink' (49m), *ɨtsɨ́d* 'reaping' (49n), and *qʷàjŋ* 'visit' (490). Following are sentential examples of all suffixes encoding allative case in Kulazngi. Note that the forms *-ʃo* instead of *-ʃì* and *ùlā* instead of *-gʷlà* are used in HA (Yaregal, 2012: 92-93).

(43) *áwí fà-**ʃì*** zur
sun rise-ALT turn.IMPR
'Turn to the east'

(44) *tàblí-**gʷlà*** *kàz-ù*
father- ALT go-3m.PFV
'He went to *his* father'

(45) *sɨr kì-**gʷlà** jɨ-nt-û mà*
Child 2s- ALT 3m-come-3m.PFV QP
'Did the child come to you?'

(46) *nèrá-**gʷlà*** *kà-tə́χʷà*
her husband- ALT go-3f.pst
'She went to her husband'

(47) *nà-gʷlā ká*
they-pl- ALT go. IMPR
'Go to them'

(48) *bɨn-**ɨ́z** / bɨn-**û** / bɨn-**ā** / bɨn-**ʃɨ̄** kà-zkʷà*
well- ALT / well- ALT / well- ALT / well- ALT go-pl-PFV
'They went to the well.'

(49) a) gín 'house' ↦ gɨn-**a(ù**) tʷèskè 'She has entered the house.'

b) bɨʃtán 'church' ↦ bɨʃtán-**ù** kázkʷà 'They have gone to church.'

c) kàwán 'forest' ↦ kàwán-**ù** tukʷà 'They went into the forest.'

d) sùdán 'Sudan' ↦ sùdán-**à(ù)** kájkʷà 'They crossed the border to Sudan.'

e) gòndár ‘Gondar’ ↦ gòndár-**á(ù)** kàzk^{w}à ‘They went to Gondar’

f) gàbāl ‘market’ ↦ gàbàl-**á(ù)** kàzk^{w}à ‘They went to Market.’

g) màrkōs ‘Markos’ ↦ màrkōs-**à(ù)** kázk^{w}à ‘They went to Markos.’

h) *jí-tàlá bìn- ʃĩ kaz-ù*
my-father well- ʃĩ go-3m.PFV
‘My father went towards the well.’

i) ** jí-tàlá bìn-g^{w}là kaz-ù*
my-father well- ùlā go-3m.PFV
‘My father went towards the well.’

j) *jí-tàlá nìdʒá- g^{w}là kaz-ù*
my-father my-mother- ùlā go-3m.PFV
‘My father went towards my mother’

k) *jí-tàlá kɨmká-g^{w}là kaz-ù*
my-father cattle- ùlā go-3m.PFV
‘My father went towards the cattle.’

l) *jítàlá kɨmká-ʃî kaz-ù*
my-father cattle-DIR go-3m.PFV
‘My father went towards the cattle.’

m) *zɨ́qí* + -á = ***zɨ́q-á*** ↦ *zɨ́q*-á *kàs-k^{w}à*
drink-PUR *go-3P*.PFV
‘They have gone for a drink.’

n) *ìtsɨ́d* + -á = ***ìtsɨ́d-á*** ↦ *ìtsɨ́d-á kàs-k^{w}à*
reap-PUR *go-3P*.PFV
‘They went for reaping.’

o) *q^{w}àjŋ* + -á = ***ìtsɨ́d-á*** ↦ *q^{w}àjŋ-á kàs-k^{w}à*
visit-PUR *go-3P*.PFV
‘They went for a visit’

Constructions (49h) and (49l), with the allative case shown by *-fĭ,* tell us only the direction to which the subject, *my father*, went. (49k), with the allative case shown by - *g*^{w}*là*, tells us that *my father* went to the cattle to look after or check or for some other purpose to be accomplished there. Likewise, *my father* in (49j) went to *his daughter* to stay with her or for some other purpose. (49i) is unaccepted construction because *-g*^{w}*là* is incompatible with inanimate objects, *bīn*.

The allative case also marks the transformational case via the suffix *-a*; it encodes a change of state in the nominal to which *-a* is suffixed (transformation from one state into another, which may be construed as destination) when followed by the verb *tsàw*- 'make' or *-aχ*- become, as shown in (50) below. The allative *-a* directional or transformational is determined by the head of the predicate, the verb that comes next to the *allated* (the allative *-a* suffixed) noun. Thus, if it is verb of movement, direction will be encoded. If the verb is *tsáw*- 'make' or *-aχ*- 'become', transformation will be encoded, for these verbs, by virtue of their meaning, may show some change of state.

50. wùtáχí + **-á** ↦ **wùtáχ-á** tsáw-k^{w}à
= field-TRF make-3p.PFV
'They have turned it into a field.'

kàwán + **-á** ↦ **kàwán-á** ø- àχ-á-zk^{w}à
= forest-TRF 3m-become-aux.3m.PFV
'It has turned to be a forest.'

kàtàm + **-á** ↦ kàtàm-**á** ø- àχ-á-zk^{w}à
= town-TRF 3m-become-aux.3m.PFV
'It has become a town.'

dād + **-á** ↦ dàd-**á** tsáw-k^{w}à
= road-TRF make-3p.PFV
'They have turned it into a road.'

dìngúrí + **-á** ↦ dìngúr-**á** ø- àχ-û
= big-TRF 3m-become-3m.PFV
'It /He became big.'

As can be seen in the above examples, allative-marked nouns encode direction when followed by verbs of movement. If the allative-marked nouns with *-a* are deverbal nominals, they encode purpose instead of direction (see section 8.2.2.3.7 for details).

With vowel-ending nouns, as pointed out at the beginning of this section, allative case is also encoded by a low tone. It might be the case that some low-toned segmental form that used to mark allative case has been lost. Consider the following sentential constructions with vowel- ending names of places and *kaz-* 'go' (verb of movement).

51. dàngɨ́lí + L ↦ dàngɨ́l**î**
    àdìs àbàbā + L ↦ àdìs àbàb**â**
    wàllū + L ↦ wàll**û**
    } kàz-kʷà 'They went to Dangila / Addis Ababa/Wollo.'

See section 2.3.6.1 for the details with regard to realization of a contour falling tone from H or L + L.

3.3.5 Adessive

Adessive case refers to nouns inflecting to location *on* or *at* (Bickel, B. et. al., 2007: 211). Adessive case in Kulazngi is marked by *-dá,* which is among the formatives having their own tone. It attaches to nouns indicating location as shown in (52). As it broadly encodes location, such as *in, on, outside, at, etc.* thus, it is glossed as LOC (for location).

52. a) gʷáχí gɨn-**dá** (gɨn-màká-**dá**) ɨnʧk-û
    bird house-loc sit-3M.PFV
    'The bird perched on the house'

    b) làngàd ká áb-**dá**
    guests FOC outside- LOC
    'The guests are outside'

    c) áwí-dáz gɨn-**dá** tú
    sun-from house-LOC get in.IPM
    'Get in from the sun.'

The following, (53), are data of some of adessive marked Kulazngi nouns.

53) *ànkàr-dá* 'on the shelf' *gùmpəlpɨltí-dá* 'on the hill' *sèg-dá* 'outside'

qútʃ-dá 'yonder'	*χɨtà-dá* 'from far away'	*nátà-dá* 'hither'
bīn-dá 'in/by the river'	*wāl-dá* ' in/by the neighbor'	*gàbāl-dá* 'at the market'
àχū-dá 'on the water'	*kànīdá* 'on /in the tree'	*ʤǵgè-dá* 'on the bridge'
ān-dá 'there'	*gɨ́n-dá* 'on/in the house'	*áb-dá* 'outside'
kán-dá 'on the mountain'	*ɨ́n-dá* 'here'	*àχ-dá* 'on the inside'
àkàχí-dá 'in the container'	*tʃàrí-dá* 'in Chari[41]	*kámpí-dá* 'on the cheese'
símtí-dá 'on bamboo tree'	*kàwán-dá* 'in the forest'	*màng*^{w}*-dá* 'on the lap'
bàmbí-dá 'on/in the fig tree'	*màsīdá*' 'in the field'	*fɨ́r-dá* 'in the pit'

Adessive case in Kulazngi is also used to express possession with existential verb *zɨk*^{w}- or lack of possession with non-existential form *ɨllā* (see section 7.7 with regard to existential/non-existential forms), as shown in (54) below.

54. a) nì-**dá** gànzáb zɨk^{w}-à
he-LOC money present-3M.PFV
'(lit. There is money on him) He has money.'

b) àqá-**dá** tsɨnkùt-ká bèrà zɨk^{w}-k^{w}à
woman-LOC nice-PL oxen present-3P.PFV
'The woman has nice oxen.'

c) àqí-**dá** bèrá ɨllí[42]
man-LOC oxen none
'The man does not have oxen.'

d) gɨsáŋ-**dá** tsɨmár ɨllá
dog-LOC tail no
'The dog does not have a tail.'

The adessive marker *-dá* also attaches to nouns referring to humans to express grievance that others have towards them, as in (55) below. This usage is not productive.

[41] Chari is the name of sub district in Awi zone.
[42] While əllí is plural and əllá singular in Bag^{w}sa and Q^{w}ara, only əllá is used in Fändíkà Kulazngi and Awngi.

55) ɨntsàj-**dá** wùllá àzàn-k^{w}à
boy-at all show grievance-3P.PFV
'They all showed grievance to the boy.'

Verbs of movement and related verbs take adessive marked nouns to encode purpose, as shown in (56) below. Recall discussion 3.6.4 that allative case encodes purpose *via* case suffix *-a*.

56. a) àχū-**dá** kàt-û (water-for go.3F-PFV) 'She went to fetch water.'

b) kànī-**dá** kàz-û (wood-for go-PFV.3M) 'He went to fetch wood.'

c) árí-**dá** kàz-û (crop-for go-PFV.3M) 'He went to look after (fetch) crop.'

d) złqí-dá ɨntʃk^{w}-àzk^{w}à (drink-for sit. AUX.IDPV.3M-IDPV) 'He has been sitting for a drink.'

3.3.6 Ablative

The ablative case in Kulazngi is shown by *-dâz* 'from' which is usually followed by verbs of motion or having the meaning *come, take away, pick away,* or *keep away from something or somebody*. The ablative *-dâz* also encodes comparison. However, comparative case is not subsumed under ablative because there are other formatives encoding it (see section 3.3.8 for details with regard to comparative case). As can be seen from the transcription, *-dâz* has a contour falling tone. Consider the following.

57. a) *q^{w}àr-dâz* *jí-nt*-k^{w}à
q^{w}àrá -from 3-come-3P.PFV
'They came from K'^{w}ara'

b) *àχ-û* *bɨ̄n-dàz* *-ø-àg-k^{w}à*
water-ACC well-from 3P-bring-3P.PFV
'They brought water from the well'

c) *kán-dâz* *gám-û*
mountain-from descend-3M.PFV
'He descended the mountain'

d) *kɨmkâ* *árí-dáz* *màntī*
cattle-ACC crop-from keep.IMPR
'Keep the cattle away from the crop'

e) áwí-dâz gən-á tú
sun-from house-into get in.IMPR
'Get into the house from the sun.'

According to Hetzron, the ablative case marker in Kulazngi is *-da*, homonymous with the addessive: "Kunfäl has an ablative *-da*, homonymous with the Awngi locative (1976: 47)". Nonetheless, the data on which the present study is based verifies that the ablative in Kulazngi (Kunfäl in Hetzron) is *-dâz*, segmentally identical form with that of Awngi.

3.3.7 Comitative Case

Comitative case in Kul. is marked by *-dì* 'with', as in *tàblí-dì kàz-kʷà* (father-with go-pfv.3p) 'They went with their father'. Comitative case in Awngi is shown by the suffix *-li* (Hetzron, 1978: 126; Yaregal,2007) in Kemanteney by *-(ɨ)di / ädi*, in K'himtanga by *-dʒik* (Teshome, 2015: 130), and in Bilin by *-di* (Appleyard, 2007: 488).

3.3.7 Invocative

Invocative case in Kulazngi is used only in implorations. Invocative marker *-dʒàz* 'for the sake of' is attached to nouns referring to reverential bodies or beings capable of favoring or/and causing infliction upon humans, usually God, angels, saints, gods. It is used when appealing to somebody to do or not to do something, as in *dɨbán-dʒàs* 'by God', *màrìàm-dʒàs* 'for the sake of Mary', *kʷàlídʑàz* 'for god's sake', *árí-dʒàz* 'for crop's sake'. As *-dʑàz* is used in implorations, apart from heavenly names (God, names of Angeles), it is used with names of saints or worldly beings believed to judge (favor or disfavor in accordance with what the people to be called on imploration have done). It is believed that if the person implored does not heed to the implorer and thus does not avert from what he is doing or going to do, he will be disfavored or punished by whatever is called on for imploration. For instance, if the implored person ignores the imploration that is called upon God, God will punish them; if they pay no heed to the imploration that is called upon crop, crop's god will not favor them.

3.3.8 Comparative

Comparative case is marked by *-ta(ná)* and *-dâz*, which occur suffixed to the noun in comparison. *-ta(ná)* encodes comparison that can be equated with the English *simple degree* (cf. 58). Comparison in HA is marked by *-ta /-stà / -ŋàstà.*

58. a) **mɨχʷrí-tà(ná)**

amhara.MS-COMP

'like an Amhara man'

b) **ín-tà(ná)**

this-COMP

'like this'

c) **nɨgàtú-dʒì-tà(ná)**

negatu-PL-COMP

'like Negatu and others'

d) **kí-tà(ná)**

2S-COMP

'like you'

e) tɨb-χʷà kàz-ù **bìrí lʷà-tà** qʷáj-á[43]

other-home-LOC go-3M.PFV.REL ox cow-COMP moo-IPFV

'Out of homeland, an ox moos like a cow '

f) **gìsáŋ-tà(ná)**

dog-COMP

'like a dog'

g) **nìtàlá- tà(ná)**

his father/her father-COMP

'like his father/like her father'

-dâz encodes comparison that can be equated with the English *comparative degree*, or it has a conjunctive function equivalent to *than* (a kind of conjunction), as shown in (59) below.

59. a) **míʃĭ-dâz** sɨlχī kìʃ-a

mead-COMP local beer be better-3M.IPFV

'Mead is better than local beer'

[43] A Kulazngi proverb, and an ox is a lion in HA, hence *tɨb agarada wɨdʒi lʷà-tà qʷáj-á* 'Out of one's home, a lion moos like a cow.'

b) **wàχàʃì-dâz** ŋárgí kìʃ-á
milk-COMP honey be better-3M.IPFV
'Honey is better than milk'

c) **ɨ̀rʃí-dâz** gìts kìʃ-á
plowing-COMP trade better
'Trade is better than farm'

d) **ɨ̀mʷī-dâz** bàmbí ɨ̀nkán-á
fig-COMP fig-like tree like-3M/1s.IPFV
'I like/He likes *bàmbí* more than *ɨ̀mʷī*[44]'

e) **mìrkí-dâz** sìmítí bàz-á
hunger-COMP feel excess satiety be worse-3M.IPFV
' Arrogance (lit.feel of excess satiety) is worse than hunger.'

3.4 Bound Nouns (Inalienable Possession)

In Kulazngi, some noun forms are bound nouns which always occur in relational terms, i.e. they do not occur without referring to the possessor. These include *-χʷà* 'home', *-ara*[45] 'husband', *-rà* 'son', *-dʒà* 'daughter'. *-χʷà* and *-ara* combine with all nominals that can form meaningful combinations. The vowel *a* at their end is a compounding element (see section 3.6.3).

60. a) jɨ- + -χʷà ↦ **jɨ́χʷà** 'my home'

kɨ́- + -χʷà ↦ **kɨ́χʷà** 'your home'

nī + -χʷà ↦ **nīχʷà** 'his (her) home'

nìgàtú + -χʷà ↦ **nìgàtúχʷà** 'Nigatu's home'

b) kɨ- + -árà ↦ **kárà** 'your husband'

jɨ- + -árà ↦ **járà** 'my husband'

nī + -árà ↦ **nèrá** 'her husband'

sànàjít + -árà ↦ **sànàjít árà** 'Senayit's husband'

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[44] *bàmbá* and *ə̀mʷî* are large fig trees bearing edible fruits named them.

While *jɨ-* 'my' and *kɨ-* 'your' are possessive forms that always occur prefixed to the possessed nouns, *nī* 'he / she' is a subjective pronoun (capable of occurring on its own).

As can be noticed in (60b), *-ara* 'husband'occurs cliticized (which is a clitic) with pronouns but as an independent word with genitivized nouns. Nonetheless, it does not occur as a word out of genitive phrases – it always occurs as possessed.

Like the possessed bound noun root *-χʷà*, 1S and 2S possessive pronouns (*jɨ-* and *kɨ* in their respective order) always occur inalienably linked with the possessed entities, i.e. they do not occur as independent word forms. Their subjective counterparts are *án* 'I' and *ɨnt* 'you'. Their relation is thus that of suppletion. Hence, such genitive NPs can be referred to as two-place nouns, the possessed and the possessor, for the heads are inalienably possessed entities that never occur without prefixing the possessive pronouns.

Other kinship bound noun roots occurring as a head of genitive NPs in Kulazngi are *-dʒà* 'daughter' and *-ra* 'son', as shown in (61) below.

61. a) *kɨ́dʒà / jɨ́dʒà / nìdʒà* 'your/ my /his (her) daughter'

    b) *kírà / jɨ́rà / nìrà/* 'your/my / his (her) son'

It seems that *-dʒà* and *–rà* in the above kinship terms are *-dʒ-* and *-r* – taken from *dʒàr* – 'child'. They combine with possessive pronouns and, with a compounding element *-a* occurring at the end, form kinship terms as shown in (61). The selection (*-dʒ-* as 'daughter' and *-r-* as 'son) can be accounted for the need for semantic identification, and their phonological relation can be referred to as weak stem suppletion as Payne (2006: 13) labels such vague phonological relation.

While *-dʒà-* may combine with plural pronouns, as in *ɨntdʒà* 'your daughter', *-ra-* does not so.

3.5 Definiteness

Among the four major Agaw languages, only K'himtanga has a system of definiteness marking in the inflection on nouns (Appleyard, 1988b: 16). Definiteness in Kulazngi, like in HA, is generally expressed contextually as shown in (21a). *ka* 'FOC' is also placed immediately after the definite noun for emphasis, as shown in (62b).

[45] In Awngi, there is an obsolete independent lexical form *ār* 'husband'. In Kulazngi, it occurs in a kinship combinational term only. The last *a* in *-àrá* is a compounding element.

62. (a) *àqqá tìntúχà*
woman came 'The/A woman came'

(b) *àqqá-ká tìntúχá*
woman-FOC came
'The woman came.'

c) bìrí-ká jìnt-ú-χà
ox-FOC come-PFV-3M
'The ox came.'

In (62a), the definiteness or indefiniteness of *woman* is determined by context. In (62b) *woman* is focused by *ka* and so definite. According to Hetzron (1978: 127), *ka*, with a limited function when compared to that of the definite article in English, is referred to as referential article in HA.

As shown in (62) above and as can be also noticed in (63) below, whether the referent noun is identifiable or not may not be explicit from context free constructions or constructions out of discourse, for example, single sentences presented for metalanguage use. In actual language use, however, definiteness/indefiniteness of a noun is always explicit from the context.

(63) **gìsáŋ** q^{w}áj-û
dog bark-PFV.3M
'A (The) dog barked.'

The definiteness or indefiniteness reading in (63) is determined by the context.

In some constructions, definite/indefiniteness of the noun is clear from the context (cf. 64).

64. (a) **gìsáŋ** kànī-dá màtʃ-ā mà
dog tree-loc climb-IPFV.3M QP
'Does a dog climb a tree?'

(b) **gìsáŋ** jì-nt-ú mà
dog come-PFV.3M QP
'Did the dog come?'

(c) **gìsáŋ** mɨrɨ̀kt-ɨ̀zk^{w}-à
dog hungry-AUX-3M.IPFV
'The dog is hungry.'

As can be noticed, **gìsáŋ** in (64b, c) refers to already identifiable dog while in (64a), it refers to any dog. Apart from the aforementioned usages, nouns with definite determiners – possessive pronominals, and demonstratives – are definite in Kulazngi (see chapter 4 with regard to possessive pronominals and demonstratives).

65. (a) nɨχʷá-zū gɨsáŋ (our home-3M dog) 'our dog'

(b) ɨ́n gɨsáŋ / ān gèsáŋ 'this dog / that dog'

While a noun referent with demonstratives and pronominal possessives is always definite (cf. 65), the context determines definiteness or indefiniteness of the noun referent with adnominal (cf. 66).

66. (a) **kàtʃàní-w sàntī**
hunter-3M clothing
'(the) hunter's clothing'

(b) **sègtán-ù sàntī dàgʷàsí**
highland-3M clothing thick
'Highlanders' clothing is thick.'

As can be noticed in examples above, the head noun in the NP with the adnominal is always definite when it refers to a specific referent and indefinite when it refers to generic referent.

Singular but semantically plural nouns are always indefinite (see section 3.2.4 for discussions).

67) màkìnā dàd-dá wàχ-t-à-zk-è
car road-loc be full-3F-AUX-3F.IDPV
'The road is full of cars. '

3.6 Nominal Derivation

Derivation is the morphological process to form new lexemes by attaching different derivational affixes to different category bases, roots or words (Lyons, 1977: 522). Similarly Beard (2001: 64) defines derivation as the process of creating new lexemes out of other lexemes via morphological operations such as affixation, reduplication, and compounding.

While noun derivation through suffixation is a very productive process in Kulazngi, conversion and compounding are also common strategies in creating new noun lexemes. In what follows

will be discussed all nominal derivations through suffixation, conversion and compounding with apposite data from the language.

In Kulazngi, nouns can be derived from verbs, adjectives, and nouns through suffixation and, in some cases, through conversion from verbs. Derived noun forms from nouns and adjectives usually denote state of being and those obtained from verbs usually indicate action.

3.6.1 Deverbal Nominals

Nouns can be formed from verbs via different derivational suffixes. The process can be labeled as deverbal process or nominalization, for a verb loses its verbal quality and functions as a noun. Kulazngi nouns derived from verbs can be classified into two: nouns obtained via suffixation and conversion. Nouns obtained from verbs through conversion are discussed under a separate section. In this section we focus on nominals obtained from verbs via suffixation, and they include *verbal*, *result*, *instrumental*, *action*, and *agentive* nouns.

3.6.1.1 Verbal Nominals

All Kulazngi verbs can be derived to verbal nominals by suffixing the infinitival suffix *-ŋ*/*-ìŋ* to their root. Except with very few single syllable verbs with the vowel *u*, all syllables in the derived nominals with *-ŋ* /*-ìŋ* bear low tone(s) irrespective of the tone(s) they bear in their finite or root forms (see section 2.4.2 for discussions of tones verbs bear at their root level), as shown in (68) below (see also section 2.3.6 with regard to tonal process). Exceptions to this rule are most of *u*-ending verbs where -ŋ's suffixation does not alter the tone of the base (cf. Table 21 below).

Table 21 : **Verbal Nominals from U ending Verbs**

Verb root	VN	Perfective
tú- 'enter'	**tú-ŋ**	*tù-χà* enter.PFV-1s/3M 'I/He entered.'
χú- 'eat'	**χú-ŋ**	*χú-χà* eat.PFV-1s/3M 'I/He ate.'
kú- 'kill'	**kú-ŋ**	*kú-χà* kill.PFV-1s/3M 'I/He killed.'
dʒù- 'stand up'	**dʒù-ŋ**	*dʒù-χà* stand up.PFV-1s/3M 'I/He stood up.'
bù- 'carry'	**bù-ŋ**	*bù-χà* carry.PFV-1s/3M 'I/He carried.'

As can be noticed from **-ŋ** suffixed forms or verbal nouns (2nd column in table 21), the verbal nouns bear the same tone as the base verbs bear in their perfective. Nonetheless, this is an exception to the rule that all verbal nominals bear a low tone irrespective of the tone the verbs bear before they attach deverbalizer -ŋ.

(68)	gloss	root		3M/1s perfective		deverbalized noun with -ŋ	
	'go'	**kàz-**	(L)	**kàz ú-χà**	(L.H.L)	**kàz-ìŋ**	(L.L)
	'walk'	**ɨnzáŋ-**	(L.H)	**ɨnzáŋ-ú-χà**	(L.L.H.H)	**ɨnzàŋ-ìŋ**	(L.L.L)
	'go down'	**gám-**	(H)	**gám-ú-χà**	(H.H.L)	**gàm-ì-ŋ**	**(**L.L**)**
	'run'	**gíŋ-**	(H)	**gíŋ- ú-χà**	(H.H.L)	**gìŋ- ìŋ**	**(**L.L**)**
	'drink'	**zɨq-**	(L)	**zɨq- ú-χà**	(L.H.L)	**zɨq- ìŋ**	**(**L.L**)**

Verbal nominals, like other simple nouns, can ocuur case marked (see 3.3 with regard to case marking). Thus (for example), just like other consonant-ending nouns, they attach *-ù* to mark the direct object, as in (69) below. They also turn to adnominal cases as shown in (70) below.

(69) *mìgbù* *àmàrts-ìŋ–ù* *ø-áq-à-zk^{w}à*
food.ACC cook- VN-ACC 1s/3M-know-1s/3M-PFV.1s/3M
'He / I know coking (how to cook)'

(70) jɨz-à-má ɨntsàχɨst-ɨŋ-ū tíkím
be strong-3M-CNV work- VN-3M advantage
'The advantage of working hard'

3.6.1.2 Agentive Nouns

The agentive morpheme in Kulazngi is *-ant-*. It occurs attached to root (cf. 71) or causativized (cf. 72) verbs and followed by gender and number affixes. The agentive *-ant-* is, therefore, realized as *-àntí* (MS), *-àntá* (FM), and *-àntì* (PL). Thus, the distinction between the plural and singular masculine is marked by tone only. In HA, however, the distinction between the plural and singular masculine is drawn morphologically, thus, the plural agentive form in HA is –àntká.

71. (a) *dʒɨm-* ' to sing' ↦ *dʒɨm* ***-ànt-í*** (sing- AGV-MS) 'singer (MS)'

(b) *dʒɨm-* 'to sing' ↦ *dʒɨm* ***-ànt-á*** (sing- AGV-FM) 'singer (FM)'

(c) *dʒɨm-* 'to sing' ↦ *dʒɨm* ***-àntì*** (sing- AGV-PL) 'singers'

72. (a) *sìts-* 'to cause someone to weep' ↦ *sìts-* ***ànt-í*** 'a man who sings dirge'

(b) *sìts-* 'to cause someone to weep' ↦ *sìts-* ***ànt-á*** 'a woman who sings dirge'

(c) *sìts-* 'to cause someone to weep' ↦ *sìts-* ***ànt-ì*** 'dirge singers'

As can be noticed from the above illustrative examples, the verb to which the agentive affix attaches turns to agentive nominal.

Table 22 below provides the agentive nouns derived from causative (CAUS) and non-causative (NCAUS) verbs of *ku-* 'to kill', *gìŋ-* 'to run', *ínkɨr-* 'to play', *gəbərt-* 'to make/ to do, and *ənzäŋ-* 'to walk' by gender and number.

Table 22 : Agentive nouns derived from causative and non causative

verb		-ànt-		
		masculine	feminine	plural
NCAUS	kú-	k^w-ànt-í	k^w-ànt-á	k^w-àntì
CAUS	kúts-	kùts-ànt-i	kùts-ànt-á	kùts-àntì
NCAUS	gìŋ-	gìŋ-ànt-í	gìŋ-ànt-á	gìŋ-àntì
CAUS	gíŋts-	gìŋ-ts-ànt-í	gìŋts-ànt-á	gìŋ-ts-àntì
NCAUS	ínkɨr-	ɨnkɨr-ànt-í	ínkɨr-ànt-á	ɨnkɨr-àntì
CAUS	ɨnkɨrts-	ɨnkɨrts-ànt-í	ínkɨrts-ànt-á	ɨnkɨr-ts-àntì
NCAUS	gəbərt-	gəbərt-ànt-í	gəbərt-ànt-á	gəbərt-àntì
CAUS	gəbərts-	gəbərts-ànt-í	gəbərts-ànt-á	gəbərts-ántì
NCAUS	ənzàŋ-	ɨnzàŋ-ànt-í	ɨnzàŋ-ànt-á	ɨnzàŋ-ántì
CAUS	ənzàŋts-	ɨnzàŋts-ánt-í	ɨnzàŋts-ànt-á	ɨnzàŋts-àntì

NB Passivized forms can also attach an agentive morpheme, as in *χù-st-ànt-í* (eat-pass-AGV-MS) 'something that is (can be) eaten', but this use is not very common.

3.6. 1.3 Result Nominals

Result nominals are obtained via suffixation of *-i* and rarely *-ini* to some verbs of action, as in *tsúq-* 'cook by boiling in water' ↦ *tsúqí* 'food, such as meat or corn cooked by boiling it in water', *géʃ-* 'to fry' ↦ *gíʃí* [46] 'something roasted/fried', *qùtʃ-* 'perforate, make a hole' ↦*qútʃíní* something having a hole made in it (and also *dîg ts-* 'perforate, make a hole' ↦ *dígí* something having a hole made in it). Nonetheless, some nouns that are derived from verbs with a nominalizer *-i*, such as *zɨq-* 'to drink' ↦ *zɨqí* 'drink', *ɨbtʃ-* 'to grind' ↦ *ɨbtʃí* 'hand mill', etc. do not show result. They can, however, be subsumed under the rubric *Result Verbal Nominals* for two reasons. First, they take the same nominalizer suffix. Second, unlike action and agentive nouns, they do not have exclusively common characteristic to group them separately.

The same morphological form, *-i*, also derives result adjectives (which can be also labeled *nominals*) from verb bases. Table 23 below provides some of result deverbal nominals.

Table 23: **Result Nominals**

Verb	Derived Noun
tsáχ- 'to urinate'	*tsáχí* 'urine'
dìχír- 'defecate'	*dìχírí* 'feces'
tsùq- 'cook by boiling'	*tsùqí* 'boiled meat, corn, etc.'
ség- 'to spin'	*sígí* 'wound thread around a spindle'
làχ- 'insult'	*làχʷí* 'insult'
gìŋ- 'to run'	*gíŋí* 'run'
ìntʃúk- 'to sit'	*ìntʃkʷíní-* 'sitting'
táz- 'to beat'	*tàzí* 'beating'
káw- 'cut a stick'	*kíwí* 'a cut stick or log'
pàràz- 'splinter a log'	*pírzí* 'a split stick/ a splinter'

[46] Amharic also has result deverbal nominals isomorphic with those of Kulazngi, such as **k'äkk'älä** 'cook by boiling'↦ **k'ikk'il** 'cooked meat, corn, etc by boiling', **t'äbbäsä** 'roast meat, corn, etc'↦ **t'ibis** 'roasted meat, corn, etc'

It is noteworthy that the nominalizer *-i* can be added to all nominalized verbs with *-ŋ* for emphasis, as in *kàlàχ-* 'cry loudly'/ *kàlàxŋí* 'crying loudly'. *-i* is also result adjective morpheme from verb bases.

3.6.1.4 Instrumental Nominals

The suffixation of the nominalizer *-i/a (MS/ FM)* to causativised verbs (see section 7.5.2.1 with respect to causatives), derives deverbal instrumental nouns, as in (73) below.

(73)	gloss	verb stem	Derived Noun	Gloss
	'drink'	**zɨq-**	*zɨ́q-ts-í/-á*	'glass or any container used for drinking'
	'cut'	**káw-**	*káw-ts-í/-á*	'a tool used for cutting something/shortcut'
	'sit'	**ɨntʃúk-**	*ɨntʃúk-ts-í/-á*	'stool or anything for sitting on'
	'sell'	**wày-**	*wàj-ɨ́ts-í/-á*	'grass-made container used for selling crops'
	'kick'	**tàz-**	*táz-ts-í/-á*	'something, such as a stick, used for kicking'

As it can be recalled from discussions under the heading *Gender*, *-a* for gender neuter objects has diminutive meaning. Hence, the above instrumental nouns with *-a* terminal are small size when compared to normal size.

3.6.1.5 Conversion Case Deverbal Nominals

Conversion, also known as functional shift, is a morphological process where an already existing lexeme changes its category or part of speech without adding an affix (Leiber, 2009: 49). Some nouns in Kulazngi have the same segmental form with verb roots; the process can be referred to as conversion. However, there exist prosodic changes in segmentally identical pairs. All nouns that show conversion with verbs end in a consonant. In (74) below are some of verb/noun lexemes.

(74) ***Verb / Noun*** ***gloss***

ɨnkán- / ɨnkān 'to love, to like' / 'love'

àmbál- / àmbâl 'to remove grass roots from farm field to ready it for sowing'/ 'removal of grass …'

àzàn- / àzân 'to mourn, be sorry' / 'mourning, grief'

láχts- / láχɨts ‘to lodge lawsuit’ / ‘lawsuit’
màqàtʃ- / màqátʃ ‘to get angry’ / ‘anger’
kìd- / kīd ‘to chaff’ / kīd ‘the work of chaffing’
zùr- / zúr(í) ‘to round’ / zúr(í) ‘round’

As can be seen in (74), the verb roots and the nouns are formally identical except **láχts-**‘to lodge lawsuit’ and **láχíts** ‘lawsuit’. The *ɨ* in *láχíts* is there to break impermissible consonant cluster. Consonant clusters at the end of the verb root **láχts-** spread as a coda and an onset upon suffixation of vowel initial affixes (see section 2.4 for details with regard to this point).

In the above verb/noun conversion, to determine which is derived from which needs further diachronic investigation of the language. Spencer (2004: 1258) also reports a similar situation in Indo-European languages as it is often difficult to decide which of the pair of conversion lexemes is primary.

Our discussion so far was about derivational process of nominals from verbs. In Kulazngi, nouns are also derived from nouns or adjectives (i. e. nominals).

3.6.2 Derivation of Nouns from Nominals

Kulazngi has nominals derived from nouns or adjectives with different noun derivational suffixes. Two types of nominals have been attested to be derived from other nouns: experiencer nominals and abstract nominals. Following will be given brief account of data in respect of the two nominals obtained from other nouns.

3.6.2.1 Experiencer Nominals

Experiencer nominals are formed from nouns by attaching *-(tí)ní -(tá)ná* (MS/FM) to other nouns.

75. *Exp. Noml.*	*Gloss*		*Noun*	*Gloss*
fìrìstíní	horseman	*from*	fìrìsí	horse
gàbàltíní	a man going to/from or at the market	*from*	gàbāl	market
dùkíní	a man (men) in pursuit of footprint	*from*	dùkí	footprint
ɨdʒùtíní	medicine man	*from*	ɨdʒū	medicine
dàdtíní	traveler	*from*	dād	road
fɨntíní	someone/ something in front of others	*from*	fɨn	front
ɨngɨrtíní	a man or something behind of others	*from*	ɨngɨr	rear
àg^{w}íní	a man or something on the top of others	*from*	àg^{w}í	top

3.6.2.2 Abstract Nouns

Abstract nouns are derived from nouns or adjectives by suffixing *-t(i)* to the root form, as illustrated in (76) below. In most cases, *ɨ* or *i* may come between the stem and the nominalizer morpheme as epenthetic. Semantically, the derived noun has a meaning *a state of being or quality of showing the property* denoted in the base (noun or adjective), and thus, it can be labeled as an abstract noun. Noun derivation from nouns is not as productive as noun derivation from adjectives.

(76)

Abstract Nominal	*Gloss*		*Noun*	*Gloss*
ɨntsàχàrt(í)	'childhood'	*from*	ɨntsàχā/ɨntsāj	'girl/boy'
wàlànt	'neighborhood'	*from*	wàlàní / wàlàná	'neighbor (MS/FM)
dʒìbɨ́nt	'cowardice'	*from*	dʒìbí / dʒìbá	'cowardly (MS/FM)'
dɨ̀kk-ɨ̀t(í)	'iniquity'	*from*	dɨ̀kki/dɨ̀kká	'bad (MS/FM)'
bàk^{w}àn-t(í)	'kindness'	*from*	bàk^{w}àní/ bàk^{w}àná	'kind (MS) / (FM)'
g^{w}àgūn-t(í)	'ugliness'	*from*	g^{w}àg^{w}ní / g^{w}àg^{w}ná	'ugly (MS/FM)'
màlkàm-t(í)	'beauty'	*from*	màlkàmí / màlkàmá	'beautiful (MS/FM)'
dəmmìt(í)	'redness'	*from*	dɨ́mmí / dɨ́mmá	'red (MS / FM)'
fùʧʧ̀ìt(í)	'whiteness'	*from*	fúʧʧ́ í / fúʧʧ́ á	'white (MS / FM)'
dʒàgə̀nt(í)	'bravery'	*from*	dʒàgní / dʒàgná	'brave (MS / FM)'
tsàrɨ́kt(í)	'being black'	*from*	tsárkí / tsárká	'black (MS/FM)'

Note that the *i* at the end of abstract nouns, as shown in brackets at the end of most of derived nouns above (76), has an emphatic role. In the first three, the abstract nominal *-t* attaches to nouns while in the rest, it attaches to adjectives. In **ɨntsàχàrt(í)** 'childish', *-t* attaches to the plural stem form *ɨntsàχār-* 'children'. In HA, it attaches to the root form, hence, *ɨntsàχā /ɨntsāj* ↦ *ɨntsàχ-ī-t*, where *i* is epenthetic.

3.6.3 Compound Nouns

Compounding is a type of derivational morphology where two (or more) bases, roots or stems combine to form a single word (Lieber, 2009). Apart from derivation, compounding in Kulazngi is a productive word formation process for nouns and adjectives, and Kulazngi compounds are usually binary. Very many compound nouns are formed from N + N, N + V, and V + V. Leiber (2009) provides types of compounds: *root* and *synthetic* or *attributive* and *coordinative.* According to Lieber, root (also known as primary) compounds are obtained from two lexemes, which may be nouns, adjectives, or verbs; the second lexeme is typically not derived from a verb. Synthetic (also known as deverbal) compounds are composed of two lexemes, where the head lexeme is derived from a verb, and the non-head is interpreted as an argument of that verb. In an attributive compound, the non-head acts as a modifier of the head while in coordinative compounds, one element of the compound does not modify the other; instead, the two have equal weight. Among the above mentioned compound types, *attributive*, *synthetic* and *coordinative* compounds have been attested in Kulazngi; these are discussed briefly but with sufficient account of data.

3.6.3.1 Attributive Compounds

In Kulazngi, attributive noun compounds are obtained from N + N, as shown in (77) below.

77. a) *sángʷ dʒàrà* 'pestle' from *sángʷ* 'mortar' and *dʒār* 'child'

    b) *gɨ́n àqá* 'member of the family' from *gɨ́n* 'house' and *àqí* 'man'

    c) *dèχʷàr àŋʷà* 'a kind of small thorny bush' from *dèχʷàr* 'asses' and *àŋū* 'thorn'

    d) *sàχár ʧáχà* 'a bird guide that shows where bees live' from *sàχàrá* 'bee' and *ʧáχà* 'bird'

    e) *dírì dɨχɨ́rá* 'chicken excrement' from *dírī*/*dérà* 'chicken' and *dɨχɨ́rí* 'excrement'

As can be noticed from the illustrations above, the syntactic relationship that holds between the two components is modifier-head relationship; the component to the left in each compound modifies the head which is found to the right. For example, *dérà* in *dírì dɨχɨ́rá* (77e) tells the kind of excrement.

Nouns obtained from N + N involve *-a* as a compounding (linking) element: *-a* is suffixed to one of the components, as N + N = NaN or NNa. Thus, there are two types of compound nouns with regard to *-a*'s placement, and the placement is a matter of lexical choice. If the component to

which the compounding *-a* is suffixed has a terminal vowel, it will have it elided upon the suffixation of the *-a*. If the terminal vowel of the component to which the compounding *a* will be suffixed is *a*, only one *a* will appear in the compound word, for no vowel length is allowed in the language (cf. 78i).

(78) a) *kàwán* **'**forest' + *bɨdʒàwdʒí* 'wild animal' = *kàwàn bɨdʒàwdʒá* 'wild animal of a forest'

b) *gɨ́n* 'house' + *àqí* 'man' = *gɨ́nàqá* 'member of the family'

c) *jíntsī* 'mouse' + *àχàrá* 'creeper/vine' = *jíntsì àχàrá* 'vine like plant'

d) *bìrí* 'ox' + *àkàχí* 'tool' = *bìrí àkàχá* 'all instruments for plowing'

e) *kànī* 'tree/wood' + *χàtsī* 'leaf' = *kàn**à** χátsí* 'vegetation'

f) *gànklī* 'penis' + *kùmpát* 'testicle' = *gànkl**à** kùmpítí* 'man's genitals'

g) *àŋū* 'thorn' + *bɨtí* 'land' = *àŋù bɨt**á*** 'thorny place'

h) *səχàr**á*** 'bee' + *ʧáχí* 'bird' = *səχárʧáχ**à*** 'a bird guide that shows where bees live'

i) *sèzd**à*** 'four' + *lɨkʷ* 'leg' = *sèzd**à** lɨ́kʷí* 'sheep or goat'

First component nouns ending in a vowel will either drop or retain their terminal vowel upon the placement of compounding element *-a* at the end of the compound form. Examples (78e–h) are compound noun forms whose first member drops the terminal vowel (in their root form) while the rest are compound forms whose first member remains intact. No phonological reason can be provided for dropping or not dropping of the terminal vowel of the first component.

The suffixation of a compounding vowel *-a* to compound forms whose second member ends in *u* before compounding results in labilization of the consonant before *u*, hence, …Cu + -a = …C^{w}a (cf. 77c; and also recall our phonological discussion in section 2.5.3 that suffixation of a morphological form consisting of (or beginning with) a vowel to words ending in *u* entails labialization of the consonant immediately before *u* and, as a result, elision of *u*).

Finally, no vowel alteration is attested between the members of the compound word obtained from the first member ending in *i* and retaining it and the second member beginning in a vowel.

The semantic relation of the components in some of the N + N compounds can be (at least literally) that of possession (cf. 79) below.

(79) t͡sìt͡swī kùmpát-**à** (monkey testis-COMP) 'monkey scrotum / blue'

3.6.3.2 Synthetic Compounds

According to Aikhenvald (2007: 31), noun compounds obtained from a verbal root with its argument are referred to as synthetic compound. The head lexeme in a synthetic compound is derived from a verb, and the non-head is interpreted as an argument of that verb (Lieber, 2009: 47). Likewise, Kulazngi synthetic compounds are of two types: those formed from N + V and those from V + V. The latter is rare. Table 24 below provides N + V noun compounds and their component bases.

Table 24: Synthetic Compounds

Noun	Verb	The Compounded Noun
gə́n 'house'	*kànt-* 'see'	***gə̀nàkántí***[47]
χùmbí 'mouth'	*bɨ̀sts-* 'open'	***χùmbàbɨ́stsí*** 'present for a bride'
gémbár 'face'	*kànt-ɨ́ts-* 'see-CAUS'	***gìmbàràkátɨ́sí*** 'present for a bride'
sə̀ntī 'cloth'	*táz-* 'beat'	***sàntà tástsí*** 'a weaver'
ʃ̀ùmbī 'maiz'	*ɨ̀ndʒɨ̀ts-* 'cook'	***ʃ̀ùmbà dʒ́ítstsí*** 'an oven for cooking maize'
àχū 'water'	*zəqts-* 'drink (CAUS)'	***àχʷàzə́qtsí*** 'a container for drinking water'
fɨ́fɨ̄[48]	*qwájts-* 'blow'	***fɨ̀fà qwájtsí*** 'a man who plays *fifa*'
əmbɨ̀ltɨ́[49]	*qwájts-* 'blow'	***əmbɨ̀ltà qwájtsí*** 'a man who plays *əmbilta*'
sə̀ntī 'cloth'	*sə̀χts-* 'sew'	***sàntà sáχtsí*** 'sewing machine'
ànkɨ́mí 'beehive'	*ə̀nkúr-* 'put'	***ànkɨ̀mà ə́nkúrí*** ' bee keeper'
ànkɨ́mí 'beehive'	*ə̀nkúrts-* 'put (CAUS)'	***ànkɨ̀ma ə̀nkúrtsí*** 'a tree for hanging a beehive'
kɨ̀dī 'drum'	*qwájts-* 'blow'	***kɨ̀dà qwájtsí*** 'a man who beats a drum'
dírī/dérā 'chick'	*qú-* 'eat'	***dèràqʷ́í*** 'weasel'
ɨ́l 'eye'	*fɨ̀ʃ-* 'take out'	***ɨ̀làfɨ́fɨ̃*** 'thief/cheat'
ɨ́l 'eye'	*tú-* 'enter'	***ə̀là tʷ́í*** 'attractive'

A compounding element *-a* in synthetic compounds obligatorily attaches to the first component and so does a nominalizer *-i/-a* to the second component (the verbal base). However, compounds referring to games do not conform to the above pattern in that their first component remains

[47] *gə̀nàkántí* 'a party for a newly married couples at mother inlaw's home'
[48] *fɨ́fɨ̄* 'flutelike musical instrument of the Kulaz people'
[49] *ə̀mbɨ̀ltɨ́* 'flutelike musical instrument of the Gumuz people'

intact and the second component attaches only *a* (but not i) as a mominalizer. I have two such compound forms in my data, viz. *dàbà ìnkrá* (= *dàbà* 'hockey' + *ìnkr-* 'to play') 'hockey playing' and *àχū bámbá* (= *àχū* 'water' + *bámb-* 'to swim') 'swimming'.

There is also a possibility that Kulazngi compound nouns can be derived from V + V. I have only two instances in my data, as shown in (80) below. The first member usually attaches *-a* as a compounding vowel suffix and the second member attaches a nominalizer *i*.

80. a) *bù-* 'to carry' + *tʃɨ̀χ-*'to pass the rainy season' = *bʷàtʃɨ̀χí*[50] 'land not plowed in the previous year'

b) *sáχ-* _to throw a spear' + *séb-* _ 'to stab' = *sàχàsíbí* 'typhus'[51]

3. 6.3.3 Coordinative Compounds

In coordinative compounds, the first element of the compound does not modify the second; instead, the two have equal weight (Leiber, 2009:47). Coordinative compounding is a productive word formation process in Kulazngi. Some of the noun compounds obtained thus are provided in (81) below.

81. (a) *tʃʷátàbl* 'parents' from *tʃʷá* 'mother' and *tàbli* 'father'

(b) *tʃʷàdʒárá* 'mother and daughter' from *tʃʷá* 'mother' and *dʒèrá* 'daughter'

(c) *kànàxàtsí* 'plant' from *kànī* 'tree' and *χàtsī* 'leave'

(d) *áráxʷà*[52] 'lit. food' from *árí* 'crop' and *àχū* 'water'

(e) *bɨ̀tí àχū* 'protective local spirit (lit. land and rivers or water)' from *bɨ̀tí* 'land' and *àχū* 'water'

(f) *tʃáχàgʷáχà* 'all birds (small and large)' from *tʃáχí* 'small bird' and *gʷáχí* 'big bird'

As can be noticed from the above illustrative examples, both the components in (81e) remain intact. In other compounds, either or both of the components undergo a tone or a vowel change.

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[50] The noun *bʷàtʃə̄χí* bases its meaning to the fact that some plot of land, after being plowed for several years, is left idle for a year or so, and the semantic linkage is that the land is believed to have carried fertile elements for the previous rainy season.

[51] Kulaz believe that there is a spirit that stabs human beings by throwing an invisible spear and and causes typhus, and thus the spirit is named *tsàχàsíbí*.

[52] *áríàxʷā* is *áráxʷā* in Awngi.

Those compound forms with phonological changes in the components are pronounced as a single word while the components remaining phonologically intact are pronounced as a separate word each. Hence, the orthography of coordinative compounds should follow their pronunciation.

3.6.3.4 Semantics

As can be noticed from the data provided and analyzed so far, the meaning of most of the compound nouns is non-compositional (not the sum total of the meanings carried in the components). For example, *dɨχʷàɻràŋʷā* 'small thorny plant'' (77c) has nothing to do with a donkey. Likewise, *jíntsī àχàrá* 'vine like plant' is not related to a mouse (78c). The same is true with *χàtsī mūrá* 'a kind of a snake which is green'. Of course, there exist some ways of linkage to some of these compound forms, such as colour or some other property. For example, *χàtsī múrá* is green, nearly the same colour with *χatsi* 'leaf', the first member in the compound word; *dɨχʷàɻràŋʷā* is a kind of plant which donkeys usually graze. Likewise, ***χùmbàbístsí*** (from *χùmbí* 'mouth' and *bɨsts-* 'to open (CAUS)') is *a* present for a bride. There is no apparent relationship between *mouth* and, or *to open* and a present for a pride. Nevertheless, a present given to a pride is intended to make *her open her mouth* (i.e. speak) meaning socialize in a new family. Even though there must have existed some sort of semantic linkage if traced etymologically, one can hardly or vaguely tell the meaning linkage between every compound noun and the components forming the compound. For example, *àlà fɨ́fǐ* 'thief' from *ɨ́l* 'eye' and *fèf-* 'take out' has nothing to do with *eye* and *take out* or does not mean *taking out one's eye*.

The meaning of some compound nouns is compositional. Such noun compounds include *ànkɨ̀mà ànkúr*i ' bee keeper ' from *ànkɨ́mí* 'beehive' and ɨnkúrí 'put', *aχʷazəqtsi* 'a container for drinking water' from *àχū* 'water' and *zèqtsí* 'a container for drinking liquid'. Such compounds are also referred to as endocentric, for the meaning of the compound is drawn from the components. Some noun compounds, apart from compositional meaning, can have metaphorical meaning. For example, a coordinative compound *árí àxʷā* 'food' from *crop* and *water* also means 'love of couples or some bond spiritually believed to join or keep two persons together'. As the metaphorical meaning is sparsely related to the meaning of the components, such compounds are semantically referred to as exocentric. Such semantic characterization of compounds is common in most languages of the world (Aikhenvald, 2007: 30).

CHAPTER FOUR

PRONOUNS

Pronouns in Kulazgi subsume independent and dependent morphemes that share the property of deictic. The latter has to do with grammatical agreement via agreement markers on the verb where the inflected verb agrees in person, number, and gender while the former, which is the concern of this chapter, is anaphoric agreement extending beyond sentence boundary and indicating cooreference between a pronoun and its antecedent. In this chapter are examined personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and demonstratives in Kulazngi.

4.1 Personal Pronouns

As languages in general, Kulazngi personal pronouns make a three-way person distinction, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd each with singular and plural. Unlike other CC languages which make seven person/number/gender distinctions (Zelealem, 2003: 168 (for Kemanteney); Appleyard, 2007: 491 (for Bilin); Teshome, 2015: 158 (for K'himt'anga)), Kulazngi makes six person/number distinctions via the independent pronouns. No gender distinction is made in independent pronouns per se, i.e. independent pronouns are not inherently gender marked, nor are they inflected for morphological elements signaling gender; gender is distinguished on the verb via the agreement affixal forms. Personal pronouns are free, and, like nouns, they are not inflected when nominative. The following table provides subjective personal pronouns.

Table 25: **Kulazngi Subjective Personal Pronouns**

person	subjective	
	number	
1st	SG	ân
	PL	nū
2nd	SG	ɨ́nt
	PL	ɨ̀ntū
3rd	SG	nī
	PL	ná

Kulazngi personal pronouns are basic[53] subjective and objective, reflexive, reciprocal, and honorific (see Tables 26 and 27 for their complete set). The honorific forms are the same forms used for plural. Unlike in Awngi where *jandʒa* / *jana* (masculine/feminine) are vocatives, no vocative pronouns have been attested in Kulazngi.

Honorific forms are plural in form but singular in meaning, i. e. the plural forms *nū*, *ɨntū*, and *nā* are also used as honorific forms for singular pronouns of 1st person, 2nd person, and 3rd person respectively; the verbs show plural agreement. In Kulazngi, persons usually addressed by honorific forms are parent-in-laws, priests, traditional leaders, and the elderly. Strangers, unless they appear too young, are also addressed by honorific forms. Honorific forms are not used between relatives and friends. The honorific form for 1st person singular is *unusual*, for expressing reverence to oneself is uncommon in other Ethiopian languages[54]. Some elderly members in Kulaz community indeed use it. Payne (1997: 46) describes honorifics as different pronouns or anaphoric clitics used depending on the relative social status of the speech act participants.

Kulazngi (ɨnnū / ɨntū / nā) are restricted to honorific use in HA (3P *nā* is *ŋā* in HA). 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person plural forms in HA are *ɨnnòdʒì*, *ɨntòdʒì*, and *ŋādʒì*, the forms not used in Kulazngi.

Reflexive pronouns of Kulazngi are compounded forms from subjective pronoun and *bàldí* 'owner', for example, *án bàldí* 'myself' or objective pronoun and *qɨ̀má* (a form independently having no meaning, at least diachronically), for example, *jíqɨ̀má* 'myself' (cf. 1).

1. a) ín-zá gínû án bàldí sàrî-w
   This.3M-ACC house-ACC I owner make-1s.PFV
   'I built this house myself.'

   b) ínná-ká jí-qɨ̀má-z nàz-kú-tí
   this.FM-FOC 1s-RFL-DAT say-AUX-3F.REL
   '(lit. This I have said for myself) As for this one, I want to have it for myself.'

Reflexive pronouns obtained from subjective pronouns compounded with *bàldí* or *qɨ̀má* are different from those of HA. While *qəmá* gets cliticized to subjective forms for pronouns other

[53] The adjective basic is used here to point out that honorifics and reflexives are also subjective.
[54] It is commonly heard that Emperor Haileselasie referred to himself with a plural pronoun as *ɨŋŋa* 'we'.

than 1st and 2nd singular and case marked forms for 1st and 2nd singular, *baldi* 'owner' gets cliticized to all pronouns of subjective forms, as shown in column 4 of Table 26 below. However, there is no meaning difference between compounded forms of *qəmá* and *bàldí*. *qəmá* and *bàldí* are not used in HA. What is used in HA is-*ŋárá* / *-ŋàrtíŋá* 'head'.

Table 26 below provides Kulazngi pronouns of subjective, reflexive, honorific, and case marked forms. Kulazngi does not have vocative forms[55].

Reciprocal pronouns are formed from reduplication of pronouns, for example, *nī-z nì* (he-DAT he) 'each other'. They are used with reciprocal verbs (cf. 2).

2. a) nū-z nù táz-ɨŋ-n-u-χà
   we-DAT we hit-RP-1P.PFV-1 'We hit each other.'

   b) ɨntū-z ɨntù táz-ɨŋ-t-íkʷà
   you-DAT you hit- RP-2.2P.PFV You hit each other.''

Table 26: Kulazngi Personal Pronouns

personal pronouns					
person	subjective	base	reflexive	reciprocal	honorific
1SG	an(i)	j-	jí-qəmá / an bàl-dí	------	ɨn(n)u
1P	nū	n-	nə-qəmá / nu-bàl-di	ɨnūz ɨnù	----
2SG	ɨnt	kə-	ki-qəmá; ɨnt bàl-dí (MS) ɨnt bàldá (FM)	ɨnūz ɨnù	ɨntu
2P	ɨntū	ənt-	kí-qəmá / ɨnt-baldì	ɨntūz ɨntù	----
3M	nī (MS/FM)	ni-	nì-qəmá/ nì-bàldí (ms)	nīz nì	na
3F	nī	nì-	nì-qəmá /nì-bàldá (fm)	nīz nì	
3P	nā	nà-	nà-qəmá/nā-bàl-dí	nāz nà	----

[55] HA makes use of vocative pronouns for singular 2nd person masculine and feminine, viz. *jàndʒà* (ms) and *jànà* (fm) (there is no plural vocative.). These two forms, even though both share the same phonological base, are not phonologically related to subjective pronouns. Vocative pronouns are usually used when calling a person not known by name. Couples (especially those who have not stayed long years together) also use vocative pronouns when address each other.

Like other Central Cushitic languages (Kemanteney (Zelealem, 2003: 175), Bilin (Appleard, 2007: 491), Awngi (Hetzron, 1978: 134), and Khimt'anga (Teshome, 2015: 160)), Kulazngi objective pronouns are case marked. 1st and 2nd person singular objective pronouns show suppletion with their nominative counterparts.

Kulazngi pronouns follow the same pattern as nouns when showing case. However, singular first and second person pronouns take a suppletive form when showing case. All case-marked as well as unmarked (nominative) pronouns are provided in Table 27 below.

Table 27: **Nominative and Case marked Personal Pronouns**

Case	Case-marked Personal Pronouns					
	1st		2nd		3rd	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
Nominative	*án*	*nū*	*ɨ́nt*	*ɨ̀ntū*	*nī*	*nā*
Accusative	*ɨ́jà*	*n^{w}à*	*k^{w}â*	*ɨ̀nt^{w}à*	*nè-wà*	*nà-wà*
Dative	*ɨ́jà-z*	*nāz*	*k-ízì*	*ɨ̀ntə̄-z(í)*	*nī-z(í)*	*nā-z(í)*
Genitive	*jí-w(í)*	*nū (wi)*	*k-íwí*	*ɨ̀nt -ū (wí)*	*nī- (wi)*	*na-w (i)*
Adessive	*jí-dá*	*nɨ́-dá*	*kí-dá*	*ɨ̀nt-dá*	*nì-dá*	*nà-dá*
Comitative	*jí-dī*	*nɨ́-dī*	*kí-dī*	*ɨ̀nt-dī*	*nì-dī*	*nà-dī*
Allative	*jí-g^{w}là*	*nəg^{w}la*	*kí-g^{w}là*	*ɨ̀ntú-glà*	*nì-g^{w}la*	*nà-g^{w}la*
Elative	*jí-dâz(i)*	*nədâz(i)*	*kí-dâz*	*ɨ̀ntd-âz(í)*	*nì-dâz*	*nà-dâz*
Instrumental	*jí-wɨ́-z*	*nɨ́-wɨ́-z*	*kí-wɨ̀-z*	*ɨ̀nt-wɨ̀-z*	*nì-wɨ-z*	*nà-wɨ-z*
Comparative	*jí-ŋàstà*	*nɨ́-ŋāstà*	*kí-ŋàstà*	*ɨ̀nt-ŋāstà*	*nì-ŋāstà*	*nà-ŋāstà*

NB Genitive forms can attach other case markers, i.e can be marked for other cases, as in

jí-w-zà àkī/xàtāw (1s-GEN-ACC bring.IMPR) 'Bring mine'

As can be noticed in the table above, the accusative markers of personal pronouns are *-a*/*-wa*, the forms different from accusative markers in other nominals (see section 3.3.1 for the details with respect to accusative case). *-wa* is used as accusative case marker for nouns ending in *a* in HA (Yaregal, 2012: 62). As shown in row 5 of Table 27, this form occurs only with third person pronouns in Kulazngi. Thus, *-wa* in these forms may be presumed remnant.

The genitive case marker *-u/w*, the agreement suffix of the possessum noun, which attaches to the possessor noun, is usually followed by the focus *i*. The difference between *-u* and *-w* is due to phonological conditioning (see section 2.5.1). See also 3.6.2 for other genitive forms.

As pointed out earlier and as can be also noticed from data of sentential examples elsewhere in this thesis, Kulazngi subjects are referenced on verbs by gender/number suffixes (which can be labeled *affixal pronominals*) (c.f. 3). Subjects can occur in such constructions or, as illustrative examples in (3) show, the pronominal agreement suffixes can do without them.

3. a) gìŋ-k^{w}à
   run-3P.PFV 'They ran.'
   b) gìŋ-t-á
   run-3F-IPFV
   'She runs.'

Objects are not referenced in finite verbs. Nonetheless, they are cross-referenced in adnominals (relativized verbs) where they are head (cf. 4).

4. a) mɨzáχ-û àmàrts-īχà
   lunch-ACC cook-2S/3F.PFV
   'You/She cooked lunch.'

   b) mɨzáχ-û àmàrts-īt àqá
   lunch-ACC cook-3F.REL woman
   'The woman who cooked the lunch'

   c) àqá àmàrts-īχ^{w} mɨzáχ
   woman cook-3F(SUB).3M(OB).REL lunch
   'The lunch that the woman cooked'

   d) àqí àmàrts-úχ mɨzáχ
   woman cook-3M(SUB/OB).REL lunch
   'The lunch that the woman cooked'

The object of the transitive verb *àmàrts-* in three of the above sentences is *mɨzáχ*. It is referenced on the verb in (4c-d) only as it is the head of the NP (or RC) with relativized verb *àmàrts-īχ^{w}* and *àmàrts-úχ* respectively. Thus, the subject and object are referenced on the verb by two sets of

pronouns, which may be further analyzable, one for A subject and one for DO when the DO is the head of the NP (RC) with a relativized verb (see section 8.2.2 with respect to the relativized verb paradigm where the DO is the head of the NP).

4.2 Demonstratives

A demonstrative is defined as a grammatical word (or, occasionally, a clitic or affix) which can have pointing (or deictic) reference (Dixon, 2003: 61). According to Dixon (2010b:224), languages have nominal, local adverbial, and verbal demonstratives. Kulazngi has nominal, local adverbial, and existential demonstratives, but the local adverbial and the existential demonstratives are derived from nominal demonstrative bases. No verbal demonstrative was attested. It is noteworthy that Kulazngi demonstratives, like nouns and adjectives, are gender-specified.

4.2.1 Nominal Demonstratives

Kulazngi has two nominal demonstratives: proximal and distal. No middle demonstrative was detected. Among Agaw languages, while only K'himt'anga makes three way distinction, proximal, distal, and meddial (Teshome, 2015: 154), others make two way distinction, distal and proximal: Awngi (Hetzron, 1978: 134), Kemanteney (Zelealem, 2003: 179), and Bilin (Appleyard, 2007: 491). Like in other Agaw languages (Appleyard, 2007: 491), Kulazngi demonstratives distinguish number-cum-gender categories. Thus, there are six number-cum-gender category specific nominal demonstrative forms as provided in Table 28 below.

Table 28: **Kulazngi Demonstratives by Gender cum number**

demonstratives					
Proximal			distal		
MS	*FM*	*plural*	*MS*	*FM*	*plural*
ín	**ínná**	**ínní**	**ân**	**àná**	**àní**

Nominal demonstratives are, like other nominals, case marked as shown in Table 29 below.

Table 29: **Case marked Nominal Demonstratives of Kulazngi by Gender-cum-Number**

CASE	***nominal demonstratives***					
	proximal			*distal*		
	Ms	fm	Plural	**ms**	**fm**	**plural**
NOM	ɨn(ni)	ɨnná	ɨnní	ān	àná	àní
ACC	ɨn-zà	ɨnnâ	ɨnní-zà	ān-zâ	ànâ	àní-zà
DAT	ɨnn-ɨz	ɨnná-z	ɨnnî-z	àn-ɨz	àná-z	ànî-z
GEN	ɨnn-ú	ɨnná-w	ɨnní- w	àn-ú	àná-w	àní-w
ADES	ɨn-dá	ɨnná-dá	ɨnní-dá	àn-dá	àná-dá	àní-dá
COM	ɨn-dì	ɨnná-dì	ɨnní-dì	ān- dì	àná-dì	àní-dì
ALAT	ɨn-g^{w}là	ɨnná-g^{w}là	ɨnní- g^{w}là	ān- g^{w}là	àná-g^{w}lá	àní- g^{w}là
ABL	ɨn-dâz	ɨnná-dâz	ɨnní-dâz	ān-dâz	àná-dâz	àní-dàz
INSTR	ɨnn-ɨz	ɨnná-z	ɨnnî-z	àn-ɨz	àná -z	àní-z
CMPR	ɨnn-ɨstà/ ɨn-tà	ɨnná-tà(ná)	ɨnní-stà	àn-ɨ-stà / àn-tà (ná)	àná -stà/ ànátà (ná)	àní-stà

Note that the case marked demonstratives can be focused with *-ŋa/-ŋi* /*-ŋe* that appear preceding case marker suffixes, as in, the accusative *ɨnní-zà* is focused as *ɨnní-**ŋà**-zà* (these.ACC), the comparative *àní-stà* as *àní-**ŋà**-stà* (like those), or the comitative forms *ɨnná-dì* / *ɨn-dì* (MS/FM) as *ɨnná-**ŋè**-dì* / *ɨn-**ŋī**-dì* (with this). See also section 8.3.1.

Note also that the genitive case is marked by agreement affixes referring to the possessee, and the agreement affix used in table 29 (row 7) is only 3rd person masculine. See section 3.3.2 for details with regard to other agreement suffixes used as possessive marker. Like the feminine nominals in this language, the feminine demonstrative, viz. *àná*, ends in *-a*, and like adjectives, each of the demonstrative pronouns can occur independently (as anaphoric substitutes) or as modifiers (specifiers) of a noun within an NP, as illustrated in (5a) and (5b) below.

5. (a) *ân* *àqí* *àn-dá* *ɨndárà* *zɨkù* *gɨbɨrt-á-w*
that man that-loc what-ACC present.3m do-IPFV-3m
'What is that man over there doing?'

(b) *ân* *àn-dá* *ɨndárâ* *sàr-á-w*
that that-loc what-ACC do-IPFV-3m 'What is that doing over there?'

Like personal pronouns, demonstratives are inflected for case.

The dative and the instrumental case morphemes are realized as *-z* in Kulazngi and *-s* in HA. In the 2nd and the 3rd columns of dative, instrumental and comparative cases, it is realized as *-ɨz* (epenthesized with the epenthetic *ɨ*). The occurrence of this epenthetic vowel has caused gemination of *n* in *ɨ́n* (see 2.2.5 for explanation).

As it is also discussed under section 3.3.2, the agreement *-u*, the genitive marker, assimilates into *-w* when it occurs following a vowel (columns 3, 4, 6, 7 for the genitive case).

4.2.2 Manner Adverbial Demonstratives

Manner adverbial demonstratives are encoded by the suffix *-tà* suffixed to singular nominal demonstratives *ɨ́n* or *ān*, hence, **ɨ́n-tà/ān-tà.** Even though *ɨ́n* and *ān* are proximal and distal, the derived forms **ɨ́n-tà/ān-tà** 'like this/ like that' encode the same meaning (irrespective of *this* and *that*), and they modify action verbs with or without accompaniment of the (mimicking) action.

6. a) **ɨ́n-tà/ān-tà** **tsáw**
   like this-ADM/that- ADM do.IMPR
   'Do it like this.'

   b) **àqí** **ān-tà** **díb-zû**
   man that- ADM speak-3M.PFV
   'The man spoke that way.'

4.2.3 Demonstratives as Non-verbal Predication

Demonstratives in Kulazngi also encode (appear as) existential predication (VP) when they appear inflected for gender-cum-number (see previous discussions with regard to their being inflected for gender/number). The subject in these constructions may be understood (cf. 7a, c, e, f) or it may overtly occur (cf. 7b, d). Overtly occurring subjects in such constructions are usually focused with *-ká*. Notice the following data.

7. a) ɨ́nn-ítì
   this-3F.EXST
   'Here she/it is.'

b) ɨtsàχà-ká ɨ́nn-ítì
girl-FOC ‘this-3F.EXST
‘Here the girl is.’

c) ɨ́nn-íkù
this-3M.EXST
‘Here he/it is.’

d) ɨntsàj-ká ɨ́nn-íkù
boy-FOC this-3M.EXST
‘Here the boy is.’

e) ɨ́nn-íkùnì
this-3P.EXST
‘Here they are.’

f) ànn-íkùnì
those-3P.EXST
‘There they are.’

As can noticed in (7), gender-cum-number suffixes that attach to the nominal demonstratives also encode existential. As suffixes reference subjects, the constructions stand as sentences. As examples (7b) and (7d) indicate, subjects, as is the case in Kulazngi sentences, can appear overtly.

4.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Kulazngi interrogatives fall into two, viz. *yes/no* or *affirmation/disaffirmation* and *content* questions. Affirmation/disaffirmation questions are discussed under sub section 8.2, clausal syntax. Kulazngi content or *question word questions* are of three types: pronominal, adverbial, and quantitative. The last two are discussed in section 5.4.5 and 5.3 respectively. This section examines non-polar interrogative pronouns.

Based on the type of nominals they refer to, Kulazngi non-polar interrogative pronouns are classified into three: personal, impersonal, and general, namely *àj* ‘who’, *dár/dárá* (MS/FM) ‘what’, and *wán/wáná* (MS/FM)’ which’ respectively. The latter is derived by suffixing 3SG *nī* ‘he/she’ to a bound content question proclitic, *wá*-. The same bound base *wá*- also suffixes

adverb particles *-ta, -da,* and *-za* to render interrogative adverbs *wátà* 'how', *wádà* 'where (locative)', and *wázà* 'where (directional)', all of which are deferred to chapter five (section 5.4.5, *Interrogative Adverbs*). *wá-* is also a question bound base that suffixes *-χà* and also combines with *láká* 'equal' to render quantitative non-polar interrogatives *wúχà* 'how many' and *wáláká* 'how much' (see section 5.3). The *u* in *wúχà* is the *a* of *wá-*, and the phonological process underlying the change seems to be assimilation in place of articulation: the placement of low central vowel *a* between the labio-velar *w* and the uvular *χ* seems to have caused a phonological process accountable for the change of *a* to *u.*

Like other nominals, the free forms *àj* and *dár* as well as the derived *wání/wáná* further inflect case suffixes. Hence, the three forms, *àj*, *dár*, and the bound base *wá-* are the basic forms from which all case-marked forms showing non-polar interrogation are obtained. Table 30 below provides core case non-polar interrogative pronouns.

Table 30: **Core Case Non polar Interrogative Pronouns**

Interrogative Pronouns				Gloss
Subject		Object		
MS	FM	MS	FM	
àj	àj	àjwì	àjwà	who
dár	dárá	dárà	dárâ	what
wán(ní)	wáná	wázà	wánâ	which

As can be seen in Table (30) above, gender is not distinguished in human subjective pronoun, *àj* 'who'. Non-human pronouns, *dár(í)/dárá* (MS/FM) 'what' and general *wán(ní)/wáná* (MS/FM) 'which' distinguish gender. As can also be noticed from the same table, non-polar interrogative pronouns involve different suffixes to encode direct object. Hence, human non-polar interrogative *àj* 'who' selects *-wì/-wà* (MS/FM), non-human *dár/dárá* (MS/FM) 'what' selects a low tone. While the masculine general *wán(í)* 'which' selects *-zà*, the feminine general *wáná* 'which' selects a *low tone* (MS/FM) to render *wá-zà* and *wánâ* respectively. The contour falling tone on the terminal vowel in *wánâ* has to do with tone retention (see section 2.3.6.1 for details

with regard to contour formation). No clear-cut motive can be accounted for the elision of *n* in *wán* upon the suffixation of *-zà.*

As shown in Table 30, Kulaznlgi non-polar interrogative pronouns are subjective or objective each of which can be subtyped as possessive and non-possessive. The following subsections are devoted to the description of subjective and objective non-polar interrogative pronoun types.

4.3.1 Non-polar Interrogative Subjective Pronouns

Subjective interrogative pronouns are of two types: possessive and non-possessive. The following subsections are devoted to these two interrogative pronoun types.

4.3.1.1 Non-possessive Subjective Interrogative Pronouns

As mentioned earlier, interrogative pronouns are personal, impersonal, or general, and the same is true for non-possessive subjective interrogative pronouns. The personal pronoun is *àj (nì)* (in Adwange *ājχà*) 'who'. It is (+human) and gender neuter. While it can be used as plural, its has a plural form *àjdʒì*. The use of *nì* 'he/she' with interrogative pronouns *aj* renders focus reading[56].

The non-personal subjective interrogative pronoun is *dár (nì)* 'what' (here again, *nì* is a focus marker). It refers to animals and inanimate objects, thus, it is (-human). General subjective interrogative pronoun is *wán(í)/wáná* 'which (MS/FM)'. It is (±animate). The non-personal and the general interrogative pronouns inflect agreement suffixes. The plural of *wán(í)* is *wánî*. Below are personal subjective interrogative pronouns in sentential examples.

8) a) ***àj (-nì)*** *múrî* *kú (kʷí)*
who(FOC) snake.ACC kill.PFV.3M.REL *(focused)*
'Who killed the/a snake?'

b) ***àj (-nì)*** *múrî* *kù-jít-(í)*
who(FOC) snake.ACC kill-PFV.3F.REL-(FOC)
'Who killed the/a snake.'

c) ***áj-dʒì*** *múrî* *kú-nkʷí*
who-PL snake.ACC kill-PFV.3P.REL 'Who killed the/a snake?'

[56] The use of subjective pronoun with the interrogative as focus is also common in Amharic, as in *man näw* ***ïssu*** *jä-mät'ːw* (who cop.3m **he** rel-come.pfv.3m) 'Who is he that came?'

As can be noticed in (8a-b), ***àj*** does not distinguish gender. Gender, though not in *àj*, is indicated on the verbs. Hence, *who* in *Who killed the/a snake* is gender-specified as 3M for the verb *kú-* and 3F for the verb *kù-jí-t*. The expected answer to *àj(i)* 'who?' is usually a proper noun. As some higher animals (for example, dogs, oxen/cows) are given names[57], *àj(i)* can also refer to animals.

It is noteworthy that such interrogative constructions are usually focused with one of the focus markers *-i,* or *-za-*, which are suffixed to verbs. Thus, *-za* instead of *-i.* can be used in (8), as ***àj (-nì)*** *múrî kú**zà**.* As can be noticed in the data, *ni* 'he/she' can appear following polar interrogatives for emphasis. The other focus marker that occurs instead of or together with *nī* is *-χà*. Thus, *àj nì* (9) can appear as *àj χà* or *àj nì χà*. χá's position is not restricted to immediate next position to interrogative pronoun: it can occur at the end of the interrogative clause (cf. 10c). Below are personal (9), impersonal (10) as well as general (11) subjective interrogative pronouns in sentential examples.

9. a) *àj (nì) ɨ́n àqí*
   who (FOC) this man
   'Who is this man?'

   b) *àj (ni) ɨ́nna àqá*
   who (FOC) this woman
   'Who is this woman?'

10) a) *ɨ̀ndár nì ɨ́nn(í)*
   what.3M he this(FOC)
   'What(MS) is this?'

   b) *ɨ̀ndárá nì ɨ́nná*
   what(FM) FOC this(FM) 'What(FM) is this?'

   c) *ɨ̀ndár-kà ɨ́nnî (χá)*
   what-PL these FOC 'What are these?'

11) a) wání (χá) χɨ̀zántí
   which.3M-FOC elder.3M 'Which one is the elder?'

[57] Cattle members and dogs are given names in the community.

b) *wána (χà) χìzántá*
which.3F-FOC elder 'Which one(FM) is the elder?'

c) wánî (wáníχà) χìzsànt-kā
which.PL (focused) elder-PL 'Which are the elders?'

The gender shown in the gloss is not shown in the translation is because English interrogative pronouns are gender-neuter.

4.3.1.2 Possessive Subjective Non-polar Interrogative Pronouns

Possessive subjective non-polar interrogative pronouns, like other possessive nouns in the language, are formed by suffixing gender/number affixes of the possessee to the possessor, subjective non-polar interrogative pronouns, namely, *àj* (personal), *dár* /*dárá*(MS/FM) (impersonal), and *wán(í)* / *wáná*(MS/FM) (general). Thus, the form of the possessive subjective non-polar interrogative pronouns varies in accordance with gender-cum-number of the possessee, for example, ***àjwî* (*áj-ì-w/ ájù*)** 'whose? (3M)' ***àjtî*** 'whose? (3F)**'** ***àjkʷî*** 'whose? (3P)'.

Table 31: **Paradigm of Genitive Case marked Interrogative Pronouns**

Posse-ssee	**Possessor**							
	Personal		*impersonal*			*general*		
	SG	*PL*	*MS*	*FM*	*PL*	*MS*	*FM*	*PL*
MS	àjwî / àjù	àjdʒìw(î)	dárù	dáráw	dárdʒìw	wánù	wánáw	wáníw
FM	àjtî	àjdʒìtî	dártí	dárát	dárdʒìtí	wántí	wánát	wánítí
PL	àjkʷî	àjdʒìkʷî	dárkʷî	dárákʷî	dárdʒìkʷî	wánkʷí	wánákʷî	wánítʷî

The above table provides types of possessive interrogative pronouns. As can be noticed from the table, except for personal pronouns where gender is not distinguished, gender-cum-number markers of the possessor and the possessee attach to the interrogative bases. The i-final varieties in forms *àjù*/*àjwî* and *àjdʒìw*/ *àjdʒìwî* (row 4 columns 2 and 3 of Table 31) are the focused forms. The contour falling tone on the ultimate vowel of possessive subjective non-polar interrogative pronouns is due to superimposition of intonation on tone – the merging of interrogation intonation with the high tone on the ultimate vowel of the base. One likely evidence is that no falling tone occurs when these pronouns occur in an attributive position (cf. 12c, 13c).

Following are partial paradigm of possessive subjective non-polar interrogative pronouns in sentential examples.

12) a) **àj-wî**

who-3M 'Whose is *he* / *it* /*this*/*that* (MS)*?'*

b) ***àj-wî*** *ɨ́nn-(í)*

who-3M this-(FOC) 'Whose is *this(MS)?'*

c) ***àj-ù / àj-wí)*** *gɨ̀n-ì* *ɨ́nn-(í)*

whose.3M house-FOC this-(FOC) 'Whose house is this?'

13) a) ***àj-tî***

who.3F 'Whose is *she* / *it* (FM)/*this*(FM)/*that*(FM)*?'*

b) ***àj-tî*** ***ɨ́nná***

whose.3F this.FM 'Whose is this*?'*

c) ***àj-tí*** *gɨ̀sáŋá (χá)* *ànà*

whose.3F dog.FM-(FOC) that.FM 'Whose bitch is that(FM)?'

The answers to the above questions will be possessive subjective pronouns as presented in Table 32 below.

Table 32: **Possessive subjective Pronouns**

possessor	possessed		
	MS	*FM*	*PL*
1s	jíw(í)	jít(í)	jík^{w}(í)
1P	nū(wí)	nɨ̀tí/ɨ̀nti	nūk/nɨ̀k^{w}í
2S	kíw(í)	kít(í)	kíwk^{w}í
2P	ɨ̀ntū/ɨ̀ntwí	ɨ̀nttí	ɨ̀ntk^{w}í
3M/3F	nīw(í)	nìt(í)	nìk^{w}(í)
3P	nàw(í)	nàt(í)	nàk^{w}(í)

Below are some of subjective pronouns in adnominal phrases.

14. a) ***jit/kít/nìt*** *fèlájá* ‘**my/your**(SG)/**his(her)** goat’

b) **nìkʷí/ ɨntkʷí/ nàkʷí** flàjkā ‘**our/ your** (PL)/ **their** goats ’

It seems that the subjective interrogative pronoun *aj* is Proto-Cushitic, for there are several Cushitic languages *retaining* it, some of them with no alterations and others with some extensions. Thus, Saho has *aj*, Afar *ijja*, Somali *ajo*, Bayso *ajo*, Konso *aj-no*, Hadiyya *aj*, and Sidamo *aj* or *aje* (Appleyard, 2006 :146).

The past copula *àχ-* is frequently used with subjective interrogative pronouns but like the existential *zɨkʷ-*, the past copula in such constructions expresses imperfective (cf. 15).

15. a) *āj* (nī) *àχ-û*
who (he) COP.pst-PFV.3M ‘Who is he?’

b) *áj* *(nī)* *t-àχ-î*
‘who (she) 3F-COP.pst-3F.PFV’ ‘Who is she?’

c) *áj-wì* *àχû*
‘who-3M COP.pst-PFV.3M’ ‘Whose is it?’

d) *áj-tì* *t-àχ-î*
who-3F 3F-COP.pst-3F.PFV ‘whose (FM) is she/it?’

4.3.2 Non-Polar Objective Interrogative Pronouns

The suffixation of accusative marker to non-possessive subjective interrogative pronouns (see also 3.3.1) forms non-polar objective interrogative pronouns. They are thus obtained from the interrogative pronoun (*àj, dár/dárá*, and *wán(á)*) plus direct object marker (cf. Table 33 below).

Table 33: **Paradaigm of accusative Case marked Interrogative Pronouns**

Intr/pronoun	Reference	Accusative case-marked			Gloss
		MS	FM	PL	
	personal	àj-wì	àj-wà	àj-wî	whom/who
	impersonal	dár-ù	dár**â**	dárkà-wà	what
	general	wá-zà	wáná-zà	wánî/wánì-zà/ wáníŋàzà[58]	which

[58] *wáníŋàzà* is frequented usage in Bagʷsa.

As can be seen in the above table, accusative case marked polar interrogative pronouns are: *àjwì* (MS), *àjwà* (FM), *àjwî* (PL); the impersonal ones are *dár-à* (MS), *dárâ* (FM), and *dár-kâ* (PL); the general ones are *wázà* (MS), *wánâ* (FM), *wánî/wánìzà/wáníŋàzà* (PL). Notice some of them in sentential examples below.

16. a) nìgàtú k^{w}àrá-áz **dár-ù** j-àg-û
Nigatu K^{w}ara-from what-ACC 3M-bring-3M.PFV
'What did Nigatu bring from K^{w}ara?'

b) nā **dár-kâ** fà-j-á-nù
they what-PL want-3-IPFV-3P
'What do they want?'

c) qáz-dá àj-wî q^{w}ájt-ɨk^{w}à
wedding-for who-ACC.PL call-3P.PFV
'Who did they invite for the wedding party?'

4.3.3 Non-Polar Possessive Objective Interrogative Pronouns

The possessive objective interrogative pronouns are formed from the possessive interrogative pronoun plus the direct object marker suffix *-zà*, the accusative case marker suffix with personal possessive pronouns (see section 3.3.1). Data in (17–19) below present the paradigm of personal, impersonal, and general possessive objective interrogative pronouns respectively.

(17) ***Personal***

Simple Possessive		objective possessive
àjìw	↦	àjúzà (MS),
àjtí	↦	àjtɨ́-zà (FM)
àjkú/^{w}í	↦	àjkúzà(àjùkzà) (PL)

(18) ***Impersonal***

Simple Possessive *objective possessive*

dárù ↦ dár-ù-zà (MS),

dártí ↦ dár-tɨ́-zà (FM)

dárkú/^{w}í ↦ dárkú-zà (PL)

(19) ***General***

Simple Possessive *Objective possessive*

wánùw ↦ wánùw-zà (MS)

wántî ↦ wántɨ́-zà (FM)

wánkû ↦ wán-kú-zà (PL)

Note that the possessor in all of the above data is 3rd masculine. Thus, the change in the possessor pronoun will entail formal change in objective possessive interrogative pronouns. For example, in *dár-ù-zà* (what.MS-3M-ACC) 'of what', *-u* (3M) is possessee and the masculine possessor is encoded in the interrogative word *dár*. If the possessor is feminine but with no change in the possessee, the objective possessive interrogative pronoun will be *dárá-w-zà* (what.FM-3M-ACC).

As can be noticed from the above list, the possessive objective interrogative pronoun forms in Kulazngi may be marked for two cases: genitive and accusative. Such case marking is not uncommon in languages of the world, and is referred to as double case marking. For example, it is reported (for genitive and accusative) in Kanuri (Western Saharan language) (König, 20012: 12), in Australian and some South American Languages (Aikhenvald, 2007: 7).

CHAPTER FIVE

NOMINAL AND VERBAL MODIFIERS

This chapter discusses words that function as modifiers of nouns and verbs, viz. adjectives, quantifiers, numerals, adverbs, and conjunctions.

5.1 Adjectives

Agaw adjectives behave like nouns from a morphological point of view (Hetzron, 1976: 19). "Nouns and adjectives must be dealt with together from a morphological point of view. We shall call them nominals (Hetzron, 1978: 128)". There also exist several similar traits in Kulazngi, as shown in (5_ 8) below. While they modify nouns in an NP, they can appear independently in an NP even though they are not modified like nouns, i.e. they can replace the noun they modify and appear as NP head. Like nouns, they are inalienably marked for gender (every adjective is gender specified), and they also inflect plural suffixes in concord with nouns or alone in an NP when the subject noun is understood. "[…] adjectives agree with the subsequent noun and adopt the same number and gender morphemes as the nouns […] (Hetzron, 1978: 127).

Kulazngi adjectives, even though they are similar in several traits, show distinct features from nouns. First, except for the accusative, they do not show concord with nouns for case, and this is, according to (Hetzron, 1976: 37)[59], unlike Awngi qualifiers claimed to agree with head nouns for cases in general. Second, they can be modified by a degree word *ájlû* 'very', which is a typical feature of adjectives (see section 8.1.3 for details). Thirdly, they cannot be modified by possessive or demonstrative pronouns, quantifiers or any other nominal modifiers.

(1) *tsárkí bìrí* ↦ *tsárkɨ́-ká bèrá* (*bèrà bérá*)[60]
black.MS ox ↦ black-PL oxen '(the) black oxen'

(2) *tsárká kɨ̀ma* ↦ *tsárkɨ́-ká kɨ̀mká* [61]
black.FM cow ↦ black-PL cows '(the) black cows'

---

[59] Hetzron gives examples of locative case as, *tsɨnkút + dá ŋə́n + da (nice + loc. house + loc.) 'in the nice house'*

[60] The reduplicated form is the frequented usage in Bag^{w}sa.

[61] *tf^{w}á* is *l^{w}à* around fändeka and in Awngi.

(3) *dágàt àqá* ↦ *dàgà-n-kú àq*

bad.FM woman ↦ bad-PL-PL persons '(the) bad persons'

(4) *dágàw àqí* ↦ *dágà-n-kú àq*

bad.MS man ↦ bad-PL-PL persons '(the) bad persons'

Except for the accusative, adjectives in Kulazngi do not show concord with nouns for case, and this is unlike Awngi qualifiers claimed to agree with head nouns for cases in general (Hetzron, 1976: 37)[62]. Whether the adjective is used as an NP head or as a modifier of NP, an accusative case suffix must attach to the adjective even when there is the accusative case marked noun, which the same marked adjective modifies (cf. 5).

5. a) dɨ́mmí bìrí kɨ̀r-ú-χà

brown ox die-PFV-3M

'The brown ox died.'

b) **dɨ́mmî** bìrî kú-k^{w}à

brown.ACC ox.ACC kill-3M.PFV

'They killed the brown ox.'

Other than morphologically, Kulazngi adjectives are noun-like syntactically – they can function as a head in an NP where the occurrence of the noun is understood, as shown in (6b, 7b).

6. a) dɨ̀ngúrí kànì-dá màtʃ-á

big tree-loc climb-IMPR

'Climb a big tree.'

b) dɨ̀ngúrí-dá màtʃ-á

big-loc climb-IMPR

'Climb a big tree.'

7. a) *ɨ̀ngɨ̀r-táná gìŋántá fàjt-íχ^{w}à*

back-ADJ.FM runner.FM come first-3F.PFV

'She who was running behind came first'

[62] Hetzron gives examples of locative case as, *tsɨnkút + dá ŋɔ́n + da (nice + loc. house + loc.) 'in the nice house'*

b) *ɨngɨr-táná* *fàjt-íχʷà*
back- ADJ.FM first-FM- PFV
'She who was from behind came first.'

As can be noticed from NPs in (6a) and (7a) above, adjectives appear preceding the head nouns they qualify. However, they appear as NP heads in (6b) and (7b), for the head nouns are understood. Thus, in (6b), the adjective *dìngúrí* is bound to be marked locative case – when it functions as an NP head, the case suffix *-dá*, which was attached to the noun *kànī* (6a) will be attached to the adjective, which is by now the head of the NP. Thus, other than the accusative, adjectives appear case-marked only when they appear as NP heads, i.e. in the absence of nouns which the adjectives modify, as can be understood from explanations given following further sentential data in (8) below.

8. a) ***dɨngúrí*** *àkàχí-z* *χàtàw*
big container-INST bring.IMPR
'Bring with large container!'

b) ***dɨngúrí*** *àkàχí-dá* *tsáp*
big container-LOC do.IMPR
'Put in a (the) large container (lit. do on (a) the large container!)'

c) ***dɨngúrí*** *àkàχí-dáz* *χàtàw*
big container-ABL bring.IMPR
'Bring from the large container!'

d) ***dɨngúr-kà*** *àq-dī* *kàz-ú-χà*
big -PL persons-COM go-3M-PFV
'He went with big persons.'

Each NP in all of the above sentential examples consists of a case marked noun and the adjective ***dɨngúrí***, which appears bare except for (8d) where it is marked for number. Thus, adjectives appearing in an NP with a head noun are not marked for case (except for the accusative). However, they are bound to be marked in the absence of the head noun, i.e. when they function as NP heads, the case suffix that should attach to the head noun will be moved to the adjective, which is by now the head of the NP. Hence, *dɨngúrí àkàχí-z χàtàw* (8a) will become *dɨngúrí-z*

χàtàw; *dɨngúrí àkχí-dá tsáp* (8b) will become *dɨngúrí-dá tsáp, dɨngúr-kà àq-dī…* (8d) will become *dɨngúr-kà-dī*.

Kulazngi adjectives are of two types: lexical and derivative. Nearly all color and most size adjectives are derived. The following subsections are devoted to discussions of lexical and derivative adjectives.

5.1.1 Lexical Adjectives

Like nouns, most of Kulazngi lexical adjectives referring to masculine end in a vowel *i* and some of them end in a consonant (cf. Table 34 below). Unlike nouns where there exist a small number of lexical words ending in *u*, no lexical adjective ending in *u* was attested. Like nouns, all feminine adjectives end in a vowel *a*. Nonetheless, *dɨmbrà* 'having no food' and *jìχʷàtʃá* 'lonely' can be taken as exceptions, for they are gender and number neuter. *jìχʷàtʃà* and *dɨmbrà* are also adverbs (see section 5.4). The fact that these two adjectives are also adverbs, which, unlike other adjectives, end in *a* confirms that they are derived from adverbs through conversion. Their being adjective can be checked both syntactically and morphologically. Morphologically, they, like other lexical adjectives, attach the inchoative marker *-t*. It is noteworthy that all lexical adjectives can be the basis for inchoative verbs (see section 7.5.1). Syntactically, they can be used as complements of copula.

Table 34 Some of Kulazngi Lexical Adverbs

ROOT	MS	FM	PL
gūd 'good'	*gūd*	*gūdà*	*gùd-ká*
tsárk- 'black'	*tsárkí*	*tsárká*	*tsárkə́-ká*
dɨm- 'red'	*dɨmmí* 'red',	*dɨmmá*	*dɨm-ká*
fútʃ- 'white'	*fútʃtʃí*	*fútʃtʃá*	*fútʃtʃ-ká*
sàsár 'light'	*sàsár(í)*	*sàsárà*	*sàsár-ká*
zɨnkw- 'heavy'	*zɨnkwí*	*zɨnkʷá*	*zɨnkw-ká*
dìngúr- 'big'	*dìngúrí*	*dɨngúrá*	*dìngúr-ká*
tsɨ́l- 'small'	*tsɨ́llí*	*tsɨ́llá*	*tsɨ́l-ká*
dàgdàg- 'weak'	*dàgdàgí*	*dàgdàgá*	*dàgdàg-ká*
jìzán 'strong'	jìzán(í)	*jìzàná*	*jìzán-ká*

5.1.2 Derived Adjectives

Two types of derived adjectives were detected in Kulazngi: compound and complex. Following will be given their brief account.

5.1.2.1 Compound Adjectives

Compound adjectives are mainly obtained from verbs and rarely from nouns. Thus, V + V is a very common adjective formation process in Kulazngi, and this is unlike a noun formation process where compound nouns obtained from V + V are very rare (see section 3.6.3.2).

9) a) *ɨntʃuk^{w}-* 'to sit' + *tʃáχ-* 'to urinate' = *ɨntʃk^{w}àtʃáχí* 'cowardly'

b) *ɨntʃuk^{w}-* 'to sit' + *kànt-* 'to see' = *ɨntʃk^{w}àkántí* 'slothful'

b) *χùr-* 'to sleep' + *dəχər-* 'to defecate' = *χùrà dəχrí* 'slothful'

c) *χùr-* 'to sleep' + *χu-* 'eat' = *χùrà χ^{w}í* 'indolent'

d) *sáχ-* 'to throw a spear' + *séb-* '-stab' = *sàχàsíbì* 'typhus'[63]

As can be evidenced from the illustrative examples in (9) above, the compounding of V + V = A takes the phonological form of agentive or causative nouns. Phonological processes involved are two types. First, there is always a compounding element *a* as a linking device between the two members of the compound. Second, the ultimate sound of the second member is *i* (*a*) or the consonant already retained.

Apart from V + V, Kulazngi adjectives can possibly be formed from N + N. One instance of compound adjective in my data is *gɨsáŋ* 'dog' + *ʃàw* 'heart' = *gɨsáŋʃàwà* 'not holding a grudge'.

5.1.2.2 Complex Adjectives

As touched upon above, complex adjectives are formed by derivational affixes, and lots of Kulazngi adjectives are formed via derivational affixes from noun and verb bases. Like lexical adjectives, complex adjectives behave like nouns in morphological point of view, i.e. they attach gender/number affixes in concord with the nouns they modify.

[63] Kulaz believe that there is a spirit that stabs human beings by throwing an invisible spear and and causes typhus, and thus the spirit is named *tsaχasibi*.

Adjective derivational affixes in Kulazngi are *-i -u, -am-, -ist-, -tan-, -à(á)n-*. They occur attaching to noun or verb category bases and followed by gender/number affixes. The derived adjectives have the meaning "having or showing the quality denoted in the base". Their base selection is purely lexical. Following are presented data showing the analysis of adjective derivational affixes in Kulazngi.

5.1.2.2.1 *-i*

-i is attached to some verbs to derive result adjectives, as in *lùz-* 'to knead' ↦ *lùzi-* 'dough or mud kneaded well', *qút-* 'to become fine (of flour/ or powder)' ↦ *qúti* 'fine', *sás-* 'to be thin or watery' ↦ *sásí* 'thin/watery'. The same morphological form, *-i*, derives result nominals from verbs (see section 3.6. 1.3 for details). Whether derived forms with *i* are adjectives or nouns can be checked syntactically, for example, with the degree word, *ájlù* 'very'–adjectives can be intensified with *ájlù* (e.g. *ájlù qúti* 'very fine' from *qút-* 'to become fine' is an accepted construction while *ájlù tsúqí* 'very boiled food (maize, meat, etc.)' ↦ from *tsúq-* 'cook by boiling' is an unaccepted phrase.

5.1.2.2.2 *-u*

10)

	gloss				*gloss*
'cowardice'	*ʤìbi*	+ *-u* ↦	*ʤìb-ū/ ʤìb-^{w}á* (MS/FM)		'cowardly'
'feces'	*dɨχírí*	+ *-u* ↦	*d ɨχr- ū/ d ɨχr -^{w}ā* (MS/FM)		'filthy'
'to pass urine'	*ʧáχ-*	+ *-u* ↦	*ʧáχū/ ʧáχū -^{w}ā* (MS/FM)		'urinating too much or everywhere, or dirty'

As can be noticed in (10) above, nouns ending in *i* will drop the *i* upon the suffixation of *-u*. The labialized forms noticed in (10a_c) are due to a phonological process upon the combination of the adjective derivational suffix*-u* and the feminine ending *-a* (see section 2.5.3). The same is true with u-ending adjectives pluralizing with *-ka*, where the occurrence of *-u* labializes the *k* of *-ka*, as in *pɨntʃìni* + *-u* + *-ka* ↦ *pɨntʃìnk^{w}à* (an insolent word) (see section 2.5.3).

5.1.2.2.3 *-àm- (-àmí/àmá)*

Adjective derivational affix *-àm-* occurs between the nominal root and gender or number affix. The adjectival form derived with *-àm-* has a tone structure L..H, i.e. the ultimate syllable bears a

high tone while the rest bear (a) low tone(s) irrespective of the tones they bear before the suffixation of *-àm-*, as shown in (11).

11) *gloss* *gloss*

‘stomach’ *gùzɨg* ↦ *gùzg-àm-í/ gùzg-àm-á/ gùzg-àm-ká* ‘ piggish (MS/FM/PL)’

‘beauty’ *málɨk* ↦ *màlk- àm-í/ màlk-àm-á/ màlk-àm-ká* ‘handsome (MS/FM/PL)’

‘obstinacy’ *lɨχà* ↦ *lɨχà-àm-í/ lɨχà-àm-á / lɨχà-àm-ká* ‘obstinate (MS/FM/PL)’

‘stubbornness’ *ʧîkkɨtí* ↦ *ʧîkt-àm-í/ ʧîkt-àm-á/ ʧîkt-àm-ká* ‘stubborn (MS/FM/PL)’

As can be noticed from the above examples of adjective derivational process, the derived adjectives with adjective derivational suffix *-am-* are obtained from nouns.

5.1.2.2.4 *-ìst- (ìstí/ìstá)*

Like *-àm-*, adjective derivational suffix **-ist-** attaches to the nominal root preceding gender or number affix. The tone structure of the adjectival form derived with *-ìst-* is also the same as that of *-àm-*, as shown in (12).

12) *gloss* *gloss*

‘guts’ *zɨr* ↦ *zɨr-íst-í/ zɨr-íst-á / zɨr-íst-ɨká* (MS/FM/PL) ‘generous’

‘buttocks’ *túŋ* ↦ *tɨŋʷ- ist-í/ tūŋ- íst-á/ tɨŋʷ- íst-ɨká* (MS/FM/PL) ‘having big buttocks’

‘heart’ *ʃàw* ↦ *ʃàw- ist-í/ ʃàw-íst-á/ ʃàw-íst-ɨká* (MS/FM/PL) ‘brainy’

‘knee’ *gɨrɨb* ↦ *gɨrb-ìstí/ gɨrb-ìstá / gɨrb-ìst-ɨ-ká* (MS/FM/PL) ‘energetic’

‘bond/pact/agreement’ *wɨl* ↦ *wɨl-ìst-í / wɨl-ìst-ɨká* (MS/FM/PL) ‘respecting pact’

5.1.2.2.5 *-tán- (-táni/táná)*

Unlike *-àm-* and *-ìst-*, ***-tán-*** bears a high tone, and like these two adjective derivational affixes, ***-tán-*** occurs between the adjectival root and gender number affixes. The structure of the derived adjectival form is L…HH, i.e. the tones of the ultimate and penultimate syllables are H while the rest are low, irrespective of the tone they bear before the suffixation of *-tán-*, as shown below.

13) *gloss* *gloss*

‘leg’ *lɨkʷ* ↦ *lɨkʷ- tán-í/ lɨkʷ- tán-á / lɨkʷ- tán-ká* (MS/FM/PL) ‘a roving person’

‘affair’ *dīb* ↦ *dìb- tán-í/ dìb- tán-á / dìb- tán-ká* (MS/FM/PL ‘shrewish)’

‘back’ *ɨngɨr* ↦ *ɨngɨr-tán-í / ɨngɨr-tán-á / ɨngɨr-tán-ká* (MS/FM/PL) ‘being behind’

‘mouth’ *qùmbí* ↦ *qùmb-tán-í / qùmb-tán-á / qùmb-tán-ká* (MS/FM/PL) ‘talkative’

5.1.2.2.6 *-an-*

-an-, like the previously discussed adjective derivational affixes, occurs between the nominal root (and in some cases to verbal) and gender or number affixes. The tone structure of ***-an-*** derived adjectives is not predictable. Consider (14) below.

14) *gloss* *gloss*

‘kindness’ *bák^{w}* ↦ *bàk^{w}-àn-í/bàk^{w}-àn-á* (MS/FM) ‘kind’

‘lower place’ *sùqí* ↦ *sùq-án-í / sùq-àn-á* (MS/FM) ‘found or living in a lower place’

‘higher place’ *àg^{w}í* ↦ *àg^{w}-án-í / àg^{w}-àn-á* (MS/FM) ‘found or living from a higher place’

‘today’ *nákà* ↦ *náká-ní/ náká-ná/ náká-nká* (MS/FM/PL) ‘of today or these days’

‘(for a rope) to break’ *tànk^{w}-* ↦ *tànk^{w}-ìn-ì/ tànk^{w}-ìn-à* (MS/FM) ‘broken’

‘(for stiff or solid objects) to break’ *dùnt-* ↦ *dúnt-àn-ì/ dúnt-àn-à* (MS/FM) ‘broken’

As shown in (14) above, *-an-* has the meaning *of* or *belonging to* when it attaches to nouns, and the nouns to which this adjective affix attaches are locative or temporal. *-an-* is equivalent of the possessive *-zù* when it attaches to locative or temporal nouns (cf.15). As can be noticed from the last examples in (14), *-an-* can attach to verbs, and the derived adjective will have the quality denoted in the meaning of the base.

15) *náká-ní ri* ↦ *náká-zù ri* ‘today’s rain’

nɨŋ^{w}á-ní/ɨnk^{w}áŋá-ní ŋárgí ↦ *nɨŋ^{w}á-zù/ɨnk^{w}áŋá-zù ŋárgí* ‘last year’s/ this year’s honey’

nàtà-ni /χɨtà-ní gín ↦ *nàtà-zù /χɨtà-zù gín* ‘the house closer to/further from the speaker’

5.2 Numerals

Like many languages of the world, Kulazngi has two types of numerals, cardinal and ordinal. Cardinal numbers have counting (as *one, two three, four*…) and modifying or quantifying (as a *hundred Birr, two cities, ten classes, etc*) function while ordinal numbers are used to indicate the order of things. The number *one* in Kulazngi has two different forms each of which has a

different function. Subsequent subsections thus discuss Cardinal, ordinal, and the number *one* separately.

5.2.1 Cardinal Numbers

Kulazngi numerals are not different from those of highland Awngi, except for *ʃí* (Kulazngi) and *ʃáj* (Awngi) 'thousand'. From one up to five, they show distinct phonological form, as shown in column 2 of Table 35 below. From six up to nine, they have the same form *-ta* at the end of the number word, as shown in column 3 of the same table. Except for *wáltà* 'six', the (first) syllables for the other three seem to have been taken from the numeral forms *one* to *four* with or without modification. Hence, from *láŋà* 'two' *láŋátà* 'seven', from *ʃúχà* 'three' *súχátà* 'eight', from *sèdzdzà* 'four' *séstá* 'nine'. The modification might have evolved through the course of time. Except *láχú* 'one', and *sèdzdzà* 'four', the others, including *tsɨ́kà* 'ten' are high-toned on their first and low-toned on their last syllables, hence H.L or H.H.L melody. *sèdzdzà* 'four' and *lìχ* 'hundred' are the only forms with no high tone in them.

Teen numerals in Kulazngi are formed from the combination of *tsɨ́krà* 'equivalent with *-teen* in English, as in *fourteen*, *fifteen*' and the numerals from one to nine, as shown in column 3 of Table 35. The numerals from 20 up to 90 are decimal-based compound forms consisting of the digits and the *tens* as in *sìdzì-tsɨ́ka* 'forty', *ánk^{w}á tsɨ́ka* 'fifty' and so on. As can be noticed from column 4 of the same table, except *tsɨ́kkà* 'ten' (which is simple word form) and *láŋárìŋ* 'twenty' (which is the compound of *láŋà* 'two' and a bound root *-rŋà*), other products of *ten* below hundred are compound forms of the digits and *tsɨkka* 'ten', hence quantifying the exact number, for example, *séstà* 'nine' + *tsɨ́kka* = *sístítsɨ́ká* 'ninety (lit. nine ten)' or *ʃúχà* and *tsɨ́kà,* hence *ʃúχátskà* 'thirty (lit. three ten)' (see column three in the numeral table). As can be noticed in column 3 of Table 35, there occur slight phonological change in the two forms after combining. With the exception of *sìdzìtsɨ́ká* 'forty', the first member in the compounded forms of ten multiple numerals from *thirty* up to *ninety* show tone changes from the individual numerals.

All syllables in the first member of the compound form bear H tones regardless of their tones in simple numerals, and the syllables of the second member, the penultimate and the ultimate syllables in this case, have H.H melody, which is unlike H.L melody of *tsɨ́kà* 'ten'. To see tone changes in these compound forms, compare the word forms in column one (simple numerals) and in column three (compound forms of digit and ten numerals) of Table 35. See under sub

chapter 2.3 for details of tonological rules. The status of *láŋárŋà* 'twenty', as stated in (Appleyard, 2006), has to do with Proto-Cushitic in that *-rŋà*, according to him, is related to the older tens formative of Cushitic *-rìŋ*. It seems that the use of *tsɨ́kkà* as tens formative in Awngi/Kulazni is innovation because the older tens formative of Cushitic *-rìŋ* is retained (but with slight phonological change) in Kemanteney (Zelealem, 2003: 233), Bilin (Appleyard, 2006: 13) and Khimt'anga (Teshome, 216). Thus, the form *láŋárŋà* in Kulazngi can be labeled as (partial) suppletion at least diachronically) because *-rìŋ* is not phonologically relatable to *tsɨ́kà.*

When *láŋárŋà* combines with the digits as in *láŋárìŋ láχú/ɨ̂mplá*, *láŋárìŋ láŋà, láŋárìŋ ʃúχà*, etc. 'twenty one, twenty two, twenty three', there takes place a pholnological change (but difficult to accurately pin down the phonological motivation for the change) from *láŋárŋà* to *láŋárìŋ.*

Table 35: **Kulazngi Cardinal Numbers**

Kulazngi cardinal numbers				
before ten	**Teens**	**tens above 20**	**thousands**	**Remark**
láχú 'one'	*thɨ́krà-láχú* 'eleven'	---	---	---
láŋà 'two'	*thɨ́krà-láŋà* 'twelve'	---	*láŋá lìχà*	*láŋá ʃĩ*
ʃúχà 'three'	*thɨ́krà-ʃúχà* 'thirteen'	*ʃúχátsɨ́ká* 'thirty'	*ʃúχá lìχà*	*ʃúχá ʃĩ*
sèdzdzà 'four'	*thɨ́krà-sèdzdzà* 'fourteen'	*sìdzdzìtsɨ́ká* 'forty'	*sídzdzí lìχà*	*sídzdzí ʃĩ*
ánk^{w}à 'five'	*thɨ́krà-ánk^{w}à* 'fifteen'	*ánk^{w}átsɨ́ká* 'fifty'	*ánk^{w}á lìχà*	*ánk^{w}á ʃĩ*
wáltà 'six'	*thɨ́krà- wáltà* 'sixteen'	*wáltítsɨ́ká* 'sixty'	*wáltí lìχà*	*wáltí ʃĩ*
láŋátà 'seven'	*thɨ́krà- láŋáttà* 'seventeen'	*láŋítítsɨ́ká* 'seventy'	*láŋítí lìχà*	*láŋítí ʃĩ*
súχátà 'eight'	*thɨ́krà- súχáttà* 'eighteen'	*súχítítsɨ́ká* 'eighty'	*súχítí lìχà*	*súχítí ʃĩ*
séstà 'nine'	*thɨ́krà-séstà* 'nineteen'	*sístítsɨ́ká* 'ninety'	*sístí lìχà*	*Sístí ʃĩ*
tsɨ́kà 'ten'	*láŋárɨ́ŋ* 'twenty'	*lìχ* 'hundred'	*ʃĩ* 'thousand'	----

Like any other nominal modifiers in the language, Kulazngi cardinal numbers occur to the left of the head noun in an NP, as shown in illustrative examples in (16). Like adjectives and demonstratives, they inflect for case when they appear without the noun they modify, i.e. they attach case suffixes only when they occur as a head in an NP (as an anaphoric reference), as shown in (17). For the accusative case, however, they are, like adjectives, bound to be marked whether or not they appear with the noun they modify within an NP.

16) *tsànàχ ìmpɬl árfi-z tsɬkâ fɬlàj-kâ χû*

leopard one month-in ten.ACC goat-PL.ACC eat.3M-PFV

'A leopard ate ten goats in one month.'

(17) *láŋà-zà-ki kàwán-dáz mè-mà χû*

two-ACC-FOC forest-from catch-cnv eat.3m.PFV

'The two he caught from the forest.'

The accusative *-za* occurs with cardinal numbers when the cardinal number is used as a head of the NP, i.e. when the noun specified by the cardinal number is understood. HA does not have this form.

5.2.2 Ordinal Numbers

Kulazngi ordinal numbers are derived from the cardinal numbers by suffixing the form *-ànt-* (*-àntí/-àntá (MS/FM)*) to the cardinal number. The ordinal marker *-ant-* occurs followed by AGR elements, as in *làŋ-ànt-í dʒār* 'the second child', *ʃùχ-ànt-í gín* 'the third house', *tsìkk-ànt-a χùnā* 'the tenth woman'. *ìmpl-ànt-i* 'first' is not usual. Instead, *ʤìmrí* 'first', which is derived from the verb *ʤàmàr-* 'to start', is commonly used. While it is possible to attach *-ant-* to numerals up to 19, it is not usual to ordinalize numerals twenty and above. A copula can occur following *-ant-* as a focus marker, as in (18) below,

(18) *làŋ-ànt^{y}-áχ / làŋ-ànt-áχ*

two-ORD.MS-cop / two-ord.FM-cop

'He is the third / She is the third'

Ordinals can also show frequency as in (19) below.

(19) *làŋ-ànt^{y}-áχ*[64] *néʃĭ tì-nt-ú*

Two-ORD-cop now 3F -come-PFV.REL

'She came for the second time now. '

In (18), *làŋ-ànt^{y}-áχ* and *làŋ-ànt-áχ* are predicate complements of masculine and feminine pronoun *nī* (not overtly stated but understood subject) respectively (see section 8.1.2.3 for details of predication).

[64] See section 7.6, *copula,* for vowel alteration when followed by a copula.

In (19), *làŋ-ànt^{y}-áχ* (which has a masculine reading) is the complement of *néʃĭ tì-nt-ù*, a noun clause which is used as a subject but moved to sentence-final position, for *làŋ-ànt^{y}-áχ* is focused.

The use of ordinal numbers with a copula, as in (19) above, is an alternative for a frequency suffix, *-íní*, which attaches to cardinal numbers, as in *ɨmplàní / láŋání / ʃúχání* 'once / twice / three times'. Hence, (19) above can be put as follows in (20) below.

(20) *laŋà-ni ti-nt-û*

two-FQ 3F- come-PFV

'She came two times'

5.2.3 The Numeral One

The number *one* in Kulazngi has two different forms, v.z. *láχú* and *ɨmpɨ́l / ɨmpɨ́la* (MS/FM). Each of these forms has a different function – *láχú* is used when counting only and *ɨmpɨ́l / ɨmpɨ́la* when quantifying or modifying. *ɨmpɨ́l* is masculine while *ɨmpɨ́lá* is feminine, hence, *ɨmpɨ́l àqí* 'one man', *ɨmpɨ́la àqá* 'one woman'. Since *láχú* is a counting number only, the construction (21a) below is not an accepted NP. The accepted one is (21b). As mentioned above, one uses *láχú* only when counting, hence, *láχú, láŋà, ʃúχà ... thɨ́krà-láχú, thɨ́krà-láŋà...* but not *ɨmpɨ́l / ɨmpɨ́la, láŋà, ʃúχà ...* 'one, two, three …'

21) a) ***** *láχú tʃɨχàlī* 'one basket'

b) *ɨmpɨ́l tʃɛ̀χàlī* 'one basket'

Like other adjectives, the numeral *ɨmpɨ́l* agrees with the noun it specifies in number and gender, hence *ɨmpɨ́l* (masculine), *ɨmpɨ́lá* (feminine) *ɨmpɨ̀lkā* (plural). The plural form has two meanings _ it shows unity, and is used as a complement of a copular construction, as in *nā ká ɨmpɨ̀l-ka* (They FOC one-PL) 'They are one (united)'; and when it is duplicated, it has the meaning *some*, as shown below. [65] In the former sense, *ɨmpɨ́l* can turn to inchoative verb (*ɨmpɨ́lt-* 'to unite').

(22) *ɨmpɨ́l ɨmpɨ́l (àqqí) sèmàt-á-là*

one one (man) satisfy-IPFV-NEG

'Some men are not satisfied.'

[65] There is also analogous usage in Amharic, hence ***andand*** *säw (säwwotʃ)* (**one one** man (men)) 'Some men'; ***andand-u (andand-otʃ:u)*** (one one-DEF (one one-PL-DEF)) 'Some of them'

(23) *ìmpɨ́lá ìmpɨ́lá χùná dérî q^{w}-é-là*
one one woman chicken eat-IPFV-NEG
'Some women do not eat chicken.'

(24) *ìmpɨ̀l-kā ìmpɨ̀l-kā àq wɨ̀nû díbɨ́st-álì-mà*
one-PL one-PL men truth.ACC speak-negl-Q
'Why some of you do not speak the truth?'

5.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are not numerous in Kulazngi. They cover only basic concepts, *all, some, many/much, little/few*. The following list contains all data in my corpus of quantifiers.

25) a) *lɨ́qà* 'some'
b) *wùllá* 'all/everyone/everything'
c) *míntʃ(í/á)* 'many/much)
d) *bànū* 'some'
e) *kíndí /kéndká* 'half'
f) *tsɨ́llí* 'small amount'
g) *māt* 'too much'
h) *wáláká* 'how much'
i) *wúχa* 'how many'

Quantifiers listed above (25a – e) are used with both count and noncount nouns. While the first two, (25a, b), are not pluralized, the next three, (25c-e), have plural forms, and it is these pluralized forms, not the non-pluralized plural forms, that are used with pluralized nouns. Hence, the plural form of *mintʃ* is *mintʃká*, *bànū* is *bànkú* and *kíndí* is *kéndká* (*kéndá* in HA). The quantifiers *tsɨ́llí* 'small amount' and *māt* 'too much' (25f, g) are used with noncount nouns. The interrogative quantifiers *wúχà* 'how many' and *wáláká* 'how much' are used with count and noncount nouns respectively. *wáláká* in Awngi and around Fändika is *wásà láká*, the compound form formed from *wásà* 'which one (ACC)' and *láká* 'equal'. Count nouns quantified by quantifiers may or may not be marked by plural suffixes.

(26) *kí-dá wúχa bèrá zɨ̀k^{w}-k^{w}à*
2P-LOC how many ox present-3P.PFV
'lit. how many oxen are there on you?' 'How many oxen do you have?'

(27) *míntʃ kɨmi jɨg^{w}-û*
*many cattle be absent-3M.*PFV
'Many heads of cattle are absent'

míntʃ(í) is masculine and *míntʃá* is feminine. Hence, the noun quantified by *míntʃ(í)* is always masculine while the noun quantified by *míntʃá* is feminine. Nevertheless, the sex of the members referred to by the noun (which is singular in form but plural in semantics) modified by these quantifiers does not necessarily conform with the gender signaled by the quantifiers, unless the noun is lexically gender distinct, such as, *χùnā* 'woman', *ŋɨʃtàrí* 'male'.

The morphology of the quantifier *míntʃ* 'many' follows the noun it quantifies in pluralization process, i.e. if the noun attaches plural *-ka*, it will also attach the same *-ka*, and if the noun does not attach *-ka*, it will not attach it either. The asterisked constructions under (30) and (31) are ungrammatical because of mismatch between the quantifier *mintʃ* and the noun it quantifies.

(28) nɨŋ^{w}á-zù áwí míntʃ-û kɨmî wùd-û
this year-GEN sun many-ACC cattle.ACC finish-3M.PFV
'This year's sun killed many heads of cattle.'

(29) nɨŋ^{w}á-zù áwí míntʃ-kâ kɨm-kâ wùd-û
this year-GEN sun many-PL.ACC cattle.ACC finish-3M.PFV
'This year's sun killed many heads of cattle.'

(30) * nɨŋ^{w}á-zù áwí míntʃ-û kɨm-kâ wùd-û
this year- GEN sun many-ACC cattle-PL.ACC finish-3M.PFV
'This year's sun killed many heads of cattle.'

(31) * nɨŋ^{w}á-zù áwí míntʃ-kâ kɨmî wùd-û
this year- GEN sun many-PL.ACC cattle.ACC finish-3M.PFV
'This year's sun killed many heads of cattle.'

Like cardinal numbers, quantifiers *míntʃ* 'many' and *wúχà* 'how many' inflect *-íní* and *-ʃi* to show frequency and division. Notice the following.

32) a) *bɨtî zér-dás fɨnû* ***míntʃ-íní*** *àràz-á-nà*
land seed-from before many-FQ plow-PFV-3P
'They plough the land many times before sowing'

b) *kànî* ***míntʃ-ʃi*** *dúnts-û*
stick.ACC many-DVN break-3M.PFV
'He broke the stick into many parts.'

33) a) *bɨ̀tî* *wúχà-**íní*** *àràz-û*
land how many-FQ plow-PFV.3M
'How may times did he plow the land?'

b) *kànî* *wúχá-**ʃi*** *dúnts-û*
stick.ACC how many-DVN break-3M.PFV
'Into how many parts did he break the stick?'

5.4 Adverbs

While the usual functional definition of adverbs identifies them as modifiers of verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs, their definition can also extend to subsume the entire sentence or verb phrases; thus adverbs function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns (Schachter and Shopen, 2007: 19). This chapter discusses 'adverb' classes that modify events or states (i.e. verbs or adjectives), hence, (traditionally) relatable to interrogative words like *when*, *where*, and *how* as adverbs of 'time', 'place', and 'manner' respectively. Most of Kulazngi adverbs are derived from other word classes, especially from nouns. There are also a considerable number of adverb lexemes most of which are adverbs of time and place. Nearly all adverbs of manner are obtained through derivation, most of them from adjectives and a small number of them from nouns. Kulazngi adverbs are of temporal, spatial, manner, frequentative, and interrogative. The following subsections are devoted to discussions of adverb types mentioned above.

5.4.1 Temporal Adverbs

Kulazngi adverbs of time are both derivative and lexical. Lexical time adverbs are not as many as derivatives. The following are all lexical time adverbs in my corpus.

34. *náká* 'today' *qíní* 'earlier from now'
àjŋá 'yesterday' *fàlàngā* 'later'
ɨ̀nkʷáŋá 'next year' *ɨ̀ndʒìná* 'later from now'
tʃā 'tomorrow' *χùllù (tʃîb)* 'always'
nɨ̀ŋʷá, 'this year' *mɨ̀ngì* 'every day'
nìʃʷā 'soon' *bàntʃī* 'some day'

Adverbs of time can be categorized into three sets – *relative*, *deictic*, and *general*. Time adverbs having deictic reference include *àjŋá* 'yesterday', *náká* 'today', *tʃā* 'tomorrow' and *àràbá* 'this evening'. *fàlàngá* 'later' and *fɨnù* 'in the beginning' are relative, and *gùráz/ gùrìná* 'in the morning', *χùlátʃíb* 'always', and *kɨmtsù* 'in the evening' are examples of time adverbs having general reference.

Derived time adverbs of Kulazngi are very many. All of them are derived from nouns referring to time, and most of them by adverb derivational morphemes, *-a* and *(-a)z*, while only one of them (see Table 36, row 3 from the bottom) by *-tsu* (*-áni* replaces *-tsu* in HA). The following table shows most of the derived time adverbs, the nominal bases from which they have been derived, and the derivational affixes.

Table 36: **Derived Temporal Adverbs**

Noun	**Gloss**	**affix**	**adverb**	**gloss**
àmāt	year	-a	àmátà	next year
χār	night	-a	χàrā	at night
gérɨ́k	day	-a	gèrkā	in day time
àrìbí	today late evening	-a	àràbá	late evening of today
sɨgɨ́l	after morning time	-a	sɨglá	after morning
sànū	dry season	-a	sàn^{w}-ā	in the dry season
tʃɪ̃χ	rainy season	-a	tʃɪ̃χ-á	in the rainy season
ànkūr	autumn	-a	ànk^{w}r-á	in the autumn
wàntìkí	spring	-a	wàntàk-á	in the spring
gùrìní	morning	-az	gúr-àz/gùràn-á	in the morning
tʃĩr	early morning	-az	tʃĩr-àz	early in the morning
gìz(áj)	early	-az	gìzáj-àz	early before evening
wɨ́ddék-	late evening	-az	wɨ́ddék-àz	late in the evening
kɨ́m	evening	-tsu	kìm-tsù	in the evening
χār	night	-z	χàr-ɨz	at night
gérɨ́k	day	-z	gérk-ɨz	in the day time

As can be noticed from the table above, the suffixal form *-z* derives adverbs from nouns, especially from temporal or locative nouns, as in *χàrɨ́z* 'during the night', *gérkɨz* 'in the day time', *áwíz* 'in the sun', *dèkkāz* 'in peace', *árfáz* 'in the moon'. With regard to phonological

changes upon suffixation of *-a* to nouns *gérɨ́k* ‘day’ and *wàntìkí* ‘spring’, see sections 2.5.7 and 2.3.5 respectively.

Time adverbs referring to a period of time, viz. *week*, *month*, and *year*, are specified by numerals showing the starting or terminating point of time and *náká* ‘today’ which is placed before the numeral as a point of time to encode the meaning ‘from this day’. No numeral is needed for one week, one month and one year. Hence: *náká sɨ̀χʷàtá* ‘last (next) week*, náká árfá* ‘last (next) month’*, nákà àmàtá* ‘last (next) year’; *náká* ***láŋá*** *sɨ̀χʷàtá* ‘two weeks from now*, náká ʃúχá árfá* ‘three months from now’ and so on’. There exist compound adverbs of time but not productive. These are five in my data, as shown in (35).

35. (a) **tʃàdáz tʃā** (*tʃa-dáz* ‘tomorrow-from’ + tʃà ‘tomorrow’) ‘day after tomorrow’

    (b) **àjŋádáz àjŋá** (‘yesterday-from’ + yesterday ‘yesterday’) ‘day before yesterday’

    (c) **ɨ̀mplàtʃī** (*ɨ̀mpl-* ‘one’ + *tʃī* ‘pass a night’) ‘some day’

    (d) **tʃàʃùχù** (tʃa ‘tomorrow’+ *ʃúχà* ‘three’) ‘three days from tomorrow’

    (e) **nɨ́màtʃ** (from *ɨ́n* ‘this’ and *màtʃì* ‘Monday’) ‘this week’.

5.4.2 Spatial Adverbs

A great majority of Kulazngi spatial adverbs are derivatives. Lexical spatial adverbs constitute only very small number. They are: *nátà* ‘closer to (near) the speaker’, *χɨ̀tà* ‘away (far) from the speaker’, *χ(q)útʃá*[66] (*nutʃa*) ‘the place after a river or some gullied place’, *dʒélà* ‘up’, *kúkrà* ‘down’, *tsùqqî* ‘down’, *àggʷî* ‘up’. The first three are deictic – their meaning is locationally relative to the speaker. Spatial adverb derivational morphemes are *-a*, and *-dà*. While *-a* is associated with some movement or motion towards the signaled place, as in ***àχ-à*** *túχà* ‘He got in’, *-dá* is a locative element, as in *gɨ́n* ***màk-á-dá*** (house upside-on) ‘on the house’. In phrases with the located noun, as in *gɨ́n màk-á-dá*, *-dá* does not directly attach to the locative noun: there is always *-a* placed immediately next to the locative noun as a linking element, and *-dá* occurs following the *-a*. In phrases where the located noun is not indicated, *-dá* directly attaches to the locative noun (cf. 36b, 37a), i.e. *-a* does not appear in between the locative noun and *-da* , as shown in unaccepted sentences of (336c, 37c).

[66] nutʃ is the form used by the speakers in the former Jawi, the area around Fandika, the capital of Jawi.

36) a) *tsìtswī ʃumb-áχ-à-dá zɨkʷà*
ape maize-in-a-LOC present
'The ape is in the maize crops.'

b) *tsìtswī àχ-dá zɨkʷà*
ape in-LOC present
'The ape is in.'

c) ⋆ *tsìtswī áχ-à-dá zɨkʷà*
ape in-a-LOC present
'The ape is in'

37) a) *mákí-dá* 'on (the top)'

b) *kán mák-á-dá* 'on the top of the mountain'

c) ⋆ *mák-á-da* 'on (the top)'

As pointed out earlier, the suffix *-z* is a productive adverb marker. Likewise, *-u* and *-a* are productive adverb markers in Kulazngi, as in *sèg* (N) ↦ *sègù* (ADV) 'outside' , *mákí* (N) ↦ *mák**á*** (ADV) 'up', *àχ* (N) ↦ àχ**à** 'in'. Below (38) are sentential examples.

38. a) kànī mák**á** f-ìχʷà
tree on the top climb-3M.PFb
'.He climbed a tree'

b) sèg***ù*** f-ìχʷà
outside go out-3M.PFV
'He went out.'

5.4.3 Manner Adverbs

So far as my data is concerned, there are only a small number of lexical manner adverbs in Kulazngi, such as *sɨ́ddù* 'with nothing/with no purpose/merely', *àbètū* 'together', *dɨ̀mbrā* 'having no food' and *jìχʷatʃā* 'alone'. The last two are also adjectives (see section 5.1). A great majority of Kulazngi manner adverbs are derivatives. The usual and productive manner derivational morpheme is *-ŋā,* which is added mostly to noun and adjective bases and rarely to verbs (39). *-ŋā* always bears a mid tone. *-a* is also another manner adverb derivational morpheme added to a

small number of adjective bases (40). Its tone is determined by the base. An interrogative word of manner adverb is *wátà* 'how'. Consider the following data.

39) a) *màl-ŋā* (pinpoint(v)-ADM) 'accurately/precisely'

b) *gūd-ŋā* (good- ADM) 'nicely/well'

c) *gʷàgùn-ŋā* (ugly- ADM) 'badly'

d) *ʃàw-ŋā* (heart- ADM) 'heartily'

e) *dɨbàn-ŋā* (God- ADM) 'as it is/naturally'

f) *dèχʷàr-ŋā* (donkey-ADV) 'the way donkeys do'

40) a) *gɨdmi* + *-a* > *gɨdmá* (askew- ADM) 'askew'

b) kɨtʃ + *-a* > *kɨtʃ -ā* (middle- ADM) 'equally'

There are instances of conversion case with regard to adverbs and adjectives: *-bàtʃī* 'lonely/ alone (ADJ/ ADV)', *àbètū* 'together (ADJ/ADV)', *dɨmbrā* 'having no food (ADJ/ADV)' and *jìχʷatʃā* 'alone (ADJ/ADV)'. Which is primary is not clear.

5.4.4 Frequentative Adverbs

Lexical frequency adverbs in Kulazngi are not very many. Nonetheless, many frequency adverbs can be derived from numerals and nouns especially from temporal nouns. Lexical frequency adverbs include:

41. (a) *χùlà(tʃîb)* 'always'

(b) *sárkù* 'everyday'

(c) *nùrû* 'always'

Derived frequency adverbs are drawn from quantifiers, mainly from numerals, by the suffix *-ní* (*-tá*) 'times' and from nouns by a proclitc particle *tʃîb* 'every'. *-tá* is used with numerals two and above and *míntʃ* 'many'. It is a less commonly used formative than *-ní*.

Derivational adverbs of frequency obtained from numerals are *ɨmplàní* 'once', *láŋání (láŋáttá/ láŋáttáwá)* 'twice', *ʃúχání (ʃúχáttá/ ʃúχáttáwá),* 'thrice' *... sístíní (sístíttá/sístíttáwá),* 'nine times' *tsɨkkíní (tsèkkáttá(wá))* 'ten times'. *-ní* (*-tá(wá)*) also attaches with a quantifier *míntʃ* 'many, hence forming *míntʃíní (míntʃtáwá)* 'many times'.

ɨmplàtʃĩ 'some day/once in long days' is a derived frequency adverb (compound adverb) from the numeral *ɨmpɨ́l* 'one' and *tʃã-* 'to pass the night' (but frequency adverb derivation through this way is not productive). Examples of frequency adverbs obtained from nouns via a enclitic particle *tʃìb* 'every' include *sɨχʷát tʃìb* 'every week', *gérɨ́k tʃìb* 'every day', *àmàt tʃìb* 'every year', *gɨ́n tʃìb* 'in every house', *kàtām tʃìb* 'in every town' etc. Temporal adverbs when reduplicated are also used as frequency adverbs, as in *kɨ́mtsù kɨ́mtsù* 'every evening', *χàrā χàrā* 'every night', *gùrìná gùrìná* /*gùràz gùrànáz* 'every /', *àmàtɨ́z àmàtɨ́z* 'every year', *bàntʃĩ bàntʃĩ* 'some times'.

5.4.5 Interrogative Adverbs

Kulazngi adverbial interrogation is encoded by word forms having temporal, spatial and manner meanings. They are *wánì* 'when', *wádà(j)* 'where', *wázà* 'where', *wátà* (*wàtŋā*) 'how'. They can be labeled *w-words*, for all of them begin with a *w* (like the case of English WH-words). As pointed out in section 4.3, these words are formed from *wa-*, the bound base that encodes question, and adverb particles *-nì* (temporal), *-dà* (location), *-zà* (direction), *-tà* (manner).

wánì (H.L) 'when' differs from an interrogative pronoun for third person, namely *wání* (H.H) 'which one' in tone only. *wádà* and *wázà* both mean 'where'. They are, however, different in that the latter occurs preceding verbs of movement only (cf. 43). An interrogative adverb *wátà*, which is also used as an interrogative objective pronoun (cf. 46a) and an interrogative adjective (cf. 46b), expresses manner (cf. 45a-b) and, when used with verbs of movement, place (cf. 45c) respectively. *wàtŋā* 'in what manner' is obtained from *wátà* and manner adverb affix *-ŋā*. Manner adverb *wátà* might have been truncated from *wàtŋā.* Consider the following.

42) a) *tsìràgî wádà kɨ́bts-íkʷà*
garbage.ACC where discharge-2P.PFV
'Where did you discharge the garbage? '

b) *gànzáb wádà (zekʷ-à)*
money where (present-3M.PFV)
'Where is the money?'

43) a) *wázà kàt-á-χá-χ*
where go-IPFV.2S-IPFV-Q
'Where are you going?'

b) *vázà kàt-á-nù*
where go-IPFV-3P
'Where are you going'

44) (a) wàtŋà ɨnzéŋ-áw-í. sàkàr-à-sk-úχ-mà
how walk-IPFV.3M-FOC intoxicate-3M-present-PFV.3M-QP
'How is he walking? Is he intoxicated?'

(b) *ɨ́n-dá kànì-dá wátà ø-àχ-á-má fî-w*
this-LOC tree-LOC how 3M-be-3M-con climb-PFV.3M.REL
'How did he climb this tree.'

45. (a) mɨgbù wátà àmàrts-íw / sàr-ìw
food.ACC how cook-3F.PFV
'How did she cook the food?'

(b) ɨ́n sànktī wátà àmàrà-skú(k^{w}í)
This garment how be fine-looking-AUX.IDPV.3M
'How fine-looking is this garment?'

(c) *wátà kàz-û*
where go-3M.PFV
'Where did he go?'

46. (a) *wátà n-ú (n-ú-χà)*
what say-3M.PFV
'What did he say?'

(b) *wátà k^{w}-áw àqqî*
what kind.3M man 'What kind of man is he?'

CHAPTER SIX

CONJUNCTIONS AND INTERJECTIONS

6.1 Conjunctions

Kulazngi conjunctions include coordinative (additive and disjunctive) and subordintive (adversative, resultative (reason), conditional and temporal). This chapter, however, discusses coordinate conjunctions only. As subordinate conjunctions are treated in detail under clausal syntax, to discuss them here will be superfluous or no more than mere repetition.

Coordinate conjunctions in Kulazngi are *ɨstá* 'and' and *wájkí* 'or'[67]. As can be noticed from their gloss, the former is additive, and is usually cliticized as *-sta* (as is the case of the Amharic *ɨnna/ -na* 'and') and the latter is disjunctive.[68]

Additive and disjunctive conjunctions, occurring between conjuncts (the elements to be conjoined), conjoin NPs with NPs or APs with APs (cf. 1) below. If the elements to be conjoined are more than binary, the conjunctions occur between the last two conjuncts, as shown in (2).

1. a) tsárkí **ìstá** (tsárkí**stá**) futʃtʃî 'black and white'

   b) tʃèn bìrí**stá** mʷàkàná kɨmá (bull ox.and heifer cow) 'bull and heifer'

   c) zàgrī **wájkí** tsìtswī bàbàr-āχ-à tʷ-á-zkʷ-à dʒí-kʷà
   ape or monkey sorghum-in-to enter-3P-AUX-IDPV stay the day-3P.PFV
   'An ape or a monkey has been in the sorghum.'

   d) ɨntsáj dɨmmè **wájkí** tsárkè kàlámù ìnkán-a
   boy red.ACC or black.ACC color like-3M.PFV
   'The boy likes red or black color.'

2. a) ʃùmb̄ dàgʷtsí **ìstá** bàbàrī ànkī sèlχī **ìstà** àràkí ø-áχ-á-nà
   corn millet and sorghum bread beer and liquor 3P-be-PFV-3P

[67] The disjunctive word in Awngi is *áχù(kí).*

[68] "The disjunction *woy-ki* combines *woy*, a discourse element borrowed from Amharic and *-ki*, a focus formative as in the Amharic *woy-imm* (Zelealem, forthcoming: 37)."

‘(lit. Corn, millet and sorghum become bread, beer and liquor.) Bread, beer and liquor can be made from corn, millet and sorghum.’

VPs are not normally conjoined by the additive conjunction. Sequential or parallel events with the same subject are usually expressed by converbal constructions, as in *táz-à-má dɨ̀rb-ú-χà* (kick-3M- CNV.3M throw-PFV-3M) ‘He kicked and felled’ (see section 8.2.2.3.12 for details with regard to converbal constructions). Events of different subjects, even if they are parallel or sequential, are spoken in separate sentences, as in (3a) or can be conjoined by one of subordinate conjunctions depending on the relation of the events, as in (3b) below (see section 8.2.2.3) for details with respect to subordination).

(3) a) dʒàrá(ki) ànkî [69] dʒìts-ɨ̄χʷà tʃʷá(ki) làʃàχʷî gìbìt-ìχʷà.
daughter(-FOC) ànki.ACC bake-3f.PFV mother(-FOC) stew.ACC cook-3F.PFV
‘The daughter baked bread. The mother made stew.’

b) dʒàrá ànkî dʒìts-īz tʃʷá làʃàχʷî gìbìt-ìχʷà.
daughter(-FOC) ànki.ACC bake-3F.TMPR mother(-FOC) stew.ACC cook-3F.PFV
‘The daughter was baking bread while the mother making stew.’

It is noteworthy that the conjoined events above are assumed to be temporally parallel events. Separate sentences having parallel events expressed by the same verb can have their subjects conjoined as shown below. The subject elements conjoined thus are usually focused with *-kí* (cf. 4c) .

4. (a) dʒàrá ànkî dzìts-íχʷà
daughter injera.ACC bake-PFV.3F
‘The daughter baked bread.’

(b) tʃʷá dàrákû dàràkt-ú-χà
mother bread.ACC bake-PFV.3P
‘The mother baked bread.’

(c) dʒàrá(kí) ànkî tʃʷá(kí) dàrákù dìgɨ̀s-kʷà
daughter(FOC) injera.ACC mother(FOC) bread.ACC prepare-3P.PFV
‘The daughter prepared *injera* and the mother prepared bread.’

[69] *ànkī* (injera in Amharic) is large round but thin local bread of *teff.*

The elements to be conjoined with *wájkí* can be NPs with NPs, APs with APs, VPs with VPs or clauses with clauses, as provided in sentential examples below.

5) a) *zàgrī wájkí tsìtswā bàbàr-āχ-à tʷ-á-zkʷ-à dʒí-kʷà*
ape or monkey sorghum-in-to enter-3P-AUX-IDPV stay the day-PL.PFV
'An ape or a monkey has been in the sorghum.'

b) *ɨ́ntsāj dɨ́mmè wájkí tsárkè kàlámû ɨ̀nkán-á*
boy red.ACC or black.ACC color like-.3M.PFV
'The boy likes red or black color'

c) *gɨ́n-á tú wájkí áb-á fí. ábdʒál-dá tìrít-íjá*
house-to enter or outside-to go out gate-on stand.2S.IMPR-NEG
'Get in or go out of the house. Don't stand in the gate.'

In clauses of imperfective and imperative aspects, *āndás χɨ́tè(kí)/āndás jɨ́gʷání* 'or else' can be used as an alternative conjunction to *wájkí* to conjoin phrases with phrases or clauses with clauses, as shown in (6) below.

6. (a) jɨ̀z-tá-tà kɨ̀nt(á) āndás χɨ́tè(kí) ɨrʃè dʒàmīr(à)
be strong-2S-CNV.2S learn.IMPR or else farm.ACC start.IMPR
'Study hard or start farming!'

(b) múrî gɨ̀mb-ɨ́z kʷ-án-à *āndàs χɨ́tè(kí)* bùk-á-nà
snake.ACC stick-INST kill-IPFV.3P-IPFV or else go away-IPFV.3P
'They kill a snake with a stick or go away from it.'

6.2 Interjections

Interjections in Kulazngi are very few. They include *ɨ̀sāj* 'used to express satisfaction or pleasure, nearly equivalent of *yes*!!!)', *àtʃ* 'used to express disagreement or difference but in agreeable manner', *àrà* 'used to express surprise'. They can be used alone or in sentential constructions as shown in (7) below.

(7) ɨ̀sāj ān dàdàχī àgár-û jʷ-à-má kàz-û
INTJ that thief country-ACC stand up-3M-3M.CNV go-3M.PFV
'Yes! That thief left the country for good.'

CHAPTER SEVEN

VERBS

This chapter presents a descriptive analysis of the verb in Kuazngi. It provides all-embracing discussion of the inflectional and derivational morphology of the verbs. Before embarking on the discussion, it is noteworthy to give a brief account of general features of verbal root and morphological system and group the verbs in accordance with their shared morphological pattern.

7.1 Verbal Root

In Kulazngi, a verb cannot stand as a phonological word without attaching AGR/TAM affixes. Except some singular imperative verb forms which are identical (but irrespective of prosody) with the root forms, every verb root has to engage in one of the mood marking or AGR/TAM affixes in order to occur as a phonological word. Thus, Kulazngi verbs at their root level are bound roots that cannot be integrated into discourse without attaching AGR and TAM elements. Other Agaw languages also share such lexical feature: Awngi (Appleyard, 1986; Hetzron, 1969; Palmer, 1959), Kemanteney (Zelealem 2003), Khimt'anga (Teshome, 2015), Bilin (Appleyard, 2007; Palmer, 1957). Such lexical feature is also reported to be the case in Hadiyya, Highland East Cushitic language (Tadesse, 2015).

The verbal roots are monosyllabic, disyllabic or trisyllabic. Among these three, the majority are monosyllabic with a CVC pattern which is a canonical shape. Disyllabic verb roots, even though fewer than monosyllabic ones, are not few in number. Very few verb roots are trisyllabic ones, and loans constitute the greater part among them. Only one four-syllable verb root, viz. *ìngìlíbɨ́st-* 'kneel', has been attested.

A great majority of Kulazngi verb roots end in a consonant. A siginificant number of them end in vowels, *u*, *i*, and *a*. The u-ending verbs include *χu-* 'to eat', *du-* 'to pour', *ku-* 'to kill', *tú-* 'to enter', *lu-* 'to gossip', *dʒu-* 'to stand up', *bu-* 'to carry', and *lu-* 'to rain'. As can be noticed from these verbs, all *u*-ending verbs are monosyllabic with Cu (consonant plus u) structure. Whereas *lu-* is a TG verb (a verb belonging to a group of verbs that mark 3F and 2 with -t), the rest are IG verbs (a verb belonging to a group of verbs that mark 3F and 2 with -i) (see section 7.3 with

respect to verb grouping). The *i* (second person and 3rd person feminine marker morpheme) in these verbs is realized as a glide *j* to avoid vowel sequence (see section 2.5.2).

There are a significant number of verbs whose terminal vowel is *i* in my corpus. They include *àntʃí-* 'to check', *ándí-* 'to make a sound as when compressing air in ones stomach in order to defecate', *sáqí-* 'fall asleep', *bàbī-* 'bark', *tìrí-* 'stand', *χàrī-* 'smell', *màrī-* 'have mercy', *kàtʃī* 'hunt', *gʷàrī-* 'milk', *kɬbí-* 'spill', *sàrī-* 'do/make', *dʒi-* 'stay/remain', *tì-* 'fall', *àtì-* 'not find, lack', *tʃànī* 'load', *tʃī* 'pass the night', *mìntʃī* 'to increase in number or amount', and *mí-* 'hold'. Except the last one, i-ending verbs are all disyllabic. The above disyllabic i-ending verbs, as can be noticed from their transcription, are structured as VC.CV, CV.CV, and CV.

In my corpus, there are only two verbs whose terminal vowel is *a*: *bá* 'leave/quit' and *fà* 'want'. These verbs are TG2 (see section 7.3.3.2).

Except in *tú-* and *dʒù-*, the terminal vowels in all of the above vowel-ending verbs are retained with all sorts of suffixation processes in paradigm, as illustrated in (1a-f) for the verb *χu-* 'eat', and thus, the terminal vowels' being part of the root is indubitable. With regard to AGR/TAM analysis, see sections 7.4.1_3.

1) a) an χū-χà (I eat.PFV -1s) 'I ate'
   b) nu χú-n-ú-χà (we eat-1P-PFV-1P) 'We ate'
   c) ɨnt/ni χù-jχʷà (you/she eat-1s/3F.PFV) 'You/She ate'
   d) ɨntu χù-jkʷà (you(PL) eat-2P.PFV) 'You (PL) ate'
   e) nī χú-χà (he eat.3M-PFV) 'He ate'
   f) na χú-kʷà (they eat-3P.PFV) 'They ate'

dʒu differs from the rest of u-ending verbs in that the terminal vowel, *u*, does not appear with 2 and 3F (note that *dʒu* is IGV) (see data in Table 37 below). Instead, it is replaced by *j* (see section 2.5.2, palatalization, for the discussion). It is not, however, clear why the terminal vowel *u* gets elided in *dʒu* not in other u-ending verbs with 2 and 3F. This might pose a question that the *u* in *dʒu-* is not part of the root (or instead it is TAM or AGR suffix). Nonetheless, various explanations can be provided for its being part of the root. First, while the vowel *u* in the perfective form is elided when it occurs following another vowel *u* in the stem, as in (1a) above, it is retained when it occurs otherwise, as is evidenced in *dʒù-n-ú-χà* (stand up-1P-PFV-2.PFV) 'We stood up'.

Second, it is retained upon suffixation of derivational morphemes, for instance, when an agentive morpheme *-ant-* is added, the *u* will be retained in a labialized form, as in *dʒu- + -ant- = dʒʷàntí/ dʒʷàntá* (3M/3F) 'he/she who stands up'. Third, there are a number of idiosyncratic verbs in the language in various grammatical processes. Thus, no explanation other than idiosyncrasy can be provided for the missing of *u* in the perfective of *dʒu-* for 2 and 3F. Table 37 below provides a paradigm of u-ending verbs, viz. *dʒù-* 'stand up', *tú-* 'enter', *bù-* 'carry', and *ku-* 'kill' in perfective and imperfective aspects. With regard to AGR/TAM analysis and the glosses matching morpheme breaks, see sections 7.4.1_3.

Table 37: The paradigm of U-ending Verbs in Perfective and Imperfective Aspects

verb		person				
		1s/3m	1p	2s/3f	2p	3p
dʒù- 'stand up'	IPFV	dʒʷ-ā	dʒù-n-á	dʒì-j-á	dʒì-j-á-nà	dʒʷ-ā-nà
	PFV	dʒù-χ-à	dʒù-n-ú-χà	dʒì-j-χʷà	dʒì-j-kʷà	dʒū-kʷà
tú- 'enter'	IPFV	tʷ-á	tú-n-á	tʷ-ē	tʷ-é-nà	tʷ-á-nà
	PFV	tú-χ-à	tú-n-ú-χà	tu-j-χʷà	tú-j-kʷ-à	tú-kʷ-à
bù- 'carry'	IPFV	bʷ-ā	bù-n-á	bù-j-á	bù-j-á-nà	bʷ-ā-nà
	PFV	bù-χ-à	bù-n-ú-χà	bù-j-χʷà	bù-j-kʷ-à	bū-kʷà
ku- 'kill'	IPFV	kʷ-á	kú-n-á	kù-j-á	kù-j-á- nà	kʷ-á-nà
	PFV	kú-χà	kú-n-ú-χà	kù-j-χʷà	kù-j-kʷà	kú-kʷà

The glide *j* in columns 5 and 6 of the above table is unerlyingly 2/3F marker *-i* (see section 7.3.2 for details). While *i* following *u* in *bu-* and *ku-* (cf. columns 5, 6, Table 37) turns to *j*, it following *u* in *tu-* merges with the imperfective *-á* and their combination forms *-e*. Upon this morphophonemic process, the back vowel *u* in *tu-* will be deleted and the *t* will turn to *tʷ* (see section 2.5.3 for the discussion)**.** Why the situation with *tu-* in this regard is different from that of *bu-* and *ku-* is not clear.

While *-ts* is a causative marker morpheme that attaches to verb roots of transitive or intransitive verbs to causativize or transitivize them (see discussions in sections 7.5.2 and 7.11.2), there also exist lexically ts-ending verbs at their root. These include *mìts-* 'enter (transitive)', *gàts-* 'bite and cut meat or maize with front teeth, gnaw', *qàqàts-* 'become cold', and *wìts-* 'win'. The

former has its intransitive counterpart *tú-* 'enter'. Thus, with the exception of *qàqàts-*, all ts-final verbs (whether derived or at their root) are transitive. It is noteworthy that the phonological relation of *mìts-* and *tú-* (unlike those of other *-ts* derived transitive and their intransitive counterparts) is that of suppletion.

Three single syllable verbs in their root, viz. *kàz-* 'go', *χàz-* 'have for oneself', and *báj-* 'to quit/leave' have consonantal ending compliant with person / gender. Their root forms are used with 1S and 3rd person. The first two, as they are TG verbs (see verb grouping), drop *z* in persons other than 3rd person and 1S: *t* and *n* replace *z* for 2nd person and 1P respectively (cf. 3). *báj-*, as it is TG2 verb, drop *j* in persons other than 3rd person. Hence, *j* is replaced by *n* in 1P and by *t* in 2 and 1s. The following paradigm presents sentential examples of these verbs.

2)	***χàz-***	***kàz-***	***bàj-***
1s	*χàz-ú-χà*	*kàz-ú-χà*	*bá-t-ú-χà*
1P	*χà-n-ú-χà*	*kà-n-ú-χà*	*bá-n-ú-χà*
2S/3F	*χà-t-ú-χà*	*kà-t-ú-χà*	*bá-t-ú-χà*
2P	*χà-t-k^{w}à*	*kà-t-k^{w}à*	*bá-t-k^{w}à*
3M	*χàz-ú-χà*	*kàz-ú-χà*	*báj-ú-χà*
3P	*χàz-k^{w}à*	*kàz-k^{w}à*	*báj-k^{w}à* -

While z is part of the root, *t* and *n*, the segments replacing it, are AGR elements: *t* second person and *n* 1P. One might assume z and j in these verbs are AGR elements (just like *-t* is 2nd person and 3F marker) since they do not appear in paradigm in the stem. Even though hardly any possible phonological explanation can be provided for their deletion upon the suffixation of 2nd person *-t* and 1P *-n*, there are other possible explanations attesting to their being part of the root. First, unlike *-t* and *-n*, they do not appear in other environments in the language as 1S and 3rd person marker. Second and most importantly, unlike *-t* and *-n*, *z* and *j* in these verbs are retained irrespective of gender/person upon the suffixation of derivational morphemes that attach to the root, such as for example before agentive morpheme *-ànt-* as in (3) below, before the infinitivalizer (nominalizer) *-(ɨ)ŋ*, as in *χàzɨŋ*, *kàzɨŋ*, and *bàjɨŋ.* Consider the following.

3) a) *an / ɨnt* (MS) */ ni kà**z**àntí* ' 'I am /You (SG) are / He is a goer'

b) *ɨ́nt* (FM)/ *ni* (FM) *kà**z**àntá* 'You (FM) are / She is goer.'

c) *nū / ɨntū* / *nā kà**z**àntí* 'goer 'We / You / They are goers'

The above data, therefore, make the assumption that z in the verbs *kàz-* and *χàz-* is an agreement marker but not part of the root baseless.

A great majority of Kulazngi verbs are disyllabic and monosyllabic in their root forms; there are also a few trisyllabic ones. There also exist a small number of mono-consonantal root verbs, such as *f-* 'to get out', *n-* 'to say', *s-* 'weep', *tʃ-* 'to spend the night', and *j-* 'give'. While the first three are verb lexemes, *tʃ-* is the form derived by dropping the ultimate vowel from the lexical adverb *tʃãː* 'tomorrow' (see section 7.5.1). Monosyllabic verbs have CV, CVC(C), and (rarely) VC(C) syllable patterns (see 2.4, syllable structure). It is noteworthy that the number of syllables contained in the root does not determine how the suffixation pattern of a certain verb behaves.

Kulazngi verbs that end in voiced consonants undergo consonantal alteration in the stem-final position in 1S and the imperative, and the change is from voiced to voiceless homorganic counterpart, as in *sèb-* 'stab' appears as *sè**p**-* in *an sè**p**-ú-χà* (I stab-PFV-1s) 'I stabbed', *sep!* 'Stab! (IMPR)' (See section 2.5.6 for details of consonantal alteration between voiced/voiceless homorganic pairs). The same devoicing rule is reported in Awngi (Hetzron, 1969: 7, 1976: 13).

Except a small number of verbs to which AGR elements (person-cum-gender markers) appear prefixed, a great majority of Kulazngi verbs are inflected for suffix. Prefix-inflected verbs (henceforth PGV) are five: *-nt-* 'to come', *-gu-* 'to be absent/remain', *-ag-* 'to bring', *-aq-* 'to know' and *-aχ-* 'to be'. The prefixal forms (with these verbs) are *t-*, *j-*, and *a-*. *t* is a feminine marker in all of the above verbs and *j-* marks third person in all of the above verbs and first person in *-gu-*. *a-* marks first person in *-nt-* (see 7.3.1 for details of PGVs).

7.2 Morphological Features

Hetzron (1976: 21) reports that the Agaw verbal system displays an impressive array of paradigms, and he admits that it is impossible even to list the whole variety of morphological forms hosted in the verb. Zelealem (2003: 183) citing Hetzron (1969 and 1976) also reports that Agaw verbal system has an extremely rich inflectional system. Like those of the Agaw languages, Kulazngi verb morphology is intriguingly complicated. Some verbs distinguish 2nd person and 3rd person feminine by *-t* (labeled T-group (TG) verbs in this thesis) from the rest while others do not. *-t* in some verbs, apart from 2 and 3F, also marks 1st person (sub-grouped as TG2). A small number of verbs distinguish 2M from 2F while most verbs do not. Sometimes, the way they show distinction is varied and intriguing. For instance, the 2P plural morpheme is *-n* in

the definite perfective, *-nà* in the imperfective, and *-ān/-án* in the imperative. What makes their morphology more complicated is that their form and position vary in accordance with their tense/aspect. This complicated pattern and heterogeneity, therefore, makes it obligatory to group or classify the verbs based on some shared features they show when undergoing morphological processes. That is, in order to address morphological complications Kulazngi verbs exhibit, it is necessary to distinguish the verbs by their shared morphological type, pattern, and affixal forms governing the shape of the verbs in conjugational process and group them accordingly so that complicated and scatter patterns of the verbs can well be understood and easily addressed, predicted and analyzed via what appear general rubrics.

7.3 Verb Grouping

In their works on Awngi verbs, Hetzron (1969) and Palmer (1959) classify the verbs based on shared features the verbs show. Hetzron groups them into three main groups. Hetzron's classification is based on the tone pattern of the original stem, a set of person markers attached to the stem, and the influence of the component on the tone of the subsequent syllable. Palmer also classifies Awngi verbs into six main classes based on both phonological and morphological criteria. With respect to Palmer's phonological criteria, distinction is established based on whether the tone of the central syllable and the last syllable is high or mid. Verbs changing their last voiced stops into voiceless in 1S are also made to form their own class. The hub of Palmer's morphological criteria is the type of AGR elements occurring in the verb. Here, a small number of prefix inflecting verbs are also set apart forming their own class. Each of the two authors' verb classes or types is further classified into subclasses in order to address detailed complications each verb pattern exhibits. And yet, Palmer admits that there are many limitations, and therefore, several types not covered by the classifications he made.

It is obvious that Hetzron and Palmer classified Awngi verbs for addressing them via shared rubrics of morphological patterns. Similarly, as also touched upon earlier, Kulazngi verbs need to be grouped by their shared morphological patterns. I have used affixal forms as criteria for grouping the verb type because the verb form (its conjugational pattern) is highly determined by certain person suffixes attached to the verb. Thus, I have grouped them in to three main classes: Prefix Group (PG here after), I-Group (IG here after), T-Group (TG here after) verbs. IG and TG verbs are further divided into IG1 and IG2, and TG1 and TG2. The labeling IG/TG is compliant with

2nd person suffixal element appearing in verb conjugation, and the selection of second person signaling elements instead of those of other persons is that 2nd person and 3rd person feminine are consistently marked by *-i* or *-t*. It should be noted that some single verbs can belong to more than one verb group.

7.3.1 PG VERBS

As touched upon in 7.1, only five verbs take agreement (gender/person) prefixes in Kulazngi. Hence, PGVs refer to prefix taking verbs. These are *-nt-* 'to come', *-àg-* 'to bring', *-áq-* 'to know', *-aχ-* 'to be', and *-gu-* 'to be absent/to remain'. Notice their sentential paradigm below.

(4)	**-nt-**	**-gú**	**-áq-**	**-àg-**
1s	á-nt-á	jí-k^{w}-á	ø-áq-á	ø-àk-á
	1s-come-IPFV	1s-be absent-IPFV	1s-be-IPFV	1s-bring-IPFV
	'I (will) come.'	'I am (will be) absent.'	'I (will) know.'	'I (will) bring.'
1p	á-nt-n-á	jí-g^{w}-n-á	ø-áq-n-á	ø-àg-n-á
	1-come-1p-IPFV	1-be absent-IPFV	1-be-IPFV	1-bring-1p-IPFV
	'We (will) come.'	'We are (will be) absent.'	'We (will) know.'	'We (will) bring.'
2s/3f	tí-nt-á	tí-g^{w}-á	t-áq-á	t-ág-á
	2S/3F-come-IPFV	2S/3F-be absent-IPFV	2S/3F -be-IPFV	2S/3F -bring-IPFV
	'You/She (will) come.'	'You are /She is (will be) absent.'	'You/She (will) know.'	'You/She (will) bring.'
2p	tí-nt-á-nà	tí-g^{w}-á-nà	t-áq-á-nà	t-ág-á-nà
	2-come-IPFV-2P	2-be absent-IPFV-2P	2-be-IPFV-	2-bring-IPFV-2P
	'You (will) come.'	'You are (will be) absent.'	'You (will) know.	'You(will) bring.'
3m	jí-nt-á	jí-g^{w}-á	j-áq-á	ø-ág-á
	3M-come-IPFV	3M-be absent-IPFV	3M-be-IPFV	3M-bring-IPFV
	'He(will) come.'	'He is (will be) absent.'	'He (will) know.'	'He (will) bring.'
3p	jí-nt-á-nà	jí-g^{w}-á-nà	j-áq-á-nà	j-ág-á-nà
	3-come-IPFV-3P	3-be absent-IPFV-3P	3-be-IPFV-3P	3-bring-IPFV-3P
	'They (will) come.	'They are (will) be absent.'	'They (will) know.'	'They (will) bring.'

As can be noticed in sentential examples above, *-t/ti-* is 2nd and 3F marker prefix in five of the verbs (*-ti* appears with consonant initial (viz. *-nt-* and *-gu-*) and *-t* with vowel initial

(viz. *-aq-* and *-ag-*) verbs). First person is not marked consistently in PGVs. Thus first person marker prefix in *-nt-* 'to come' is *a-*, and it is *ji-* in *-gu-* 'to be absent/to remain'. No prefixal form marks first person in the rest of the verbs. In addition to 1st person in the verb *-gu-*, the prefix *j(i)-* marks 3rd person in the rest. Thus, the distinction between first and third in the verb *-gu-* 'remain / be absent' is syncretized.

5. a) ân ɨntsɨ́χî bá-tá-ní bʷàzàná **ø-áq-á**
   I work.ACC stop-1s-when idle 1s-be.1s-IPFV
   'When I stop working, I will be idle.'

   b) nū ɨntsɨ́χî bá-ná-ní bʷàzàná **ø-áχ-n-á**
   we work.ACC stop-1P- when idle 1P-be-1P-IPFV
   'When we stop working, we will be idle.'

   c) ɨ́nt /nī ɨntsɨ́χî bá-tá-ní bʷàzàná **t-áχ-á**
   you/she work.ACC stop-2S/3F-when idle 2S/3F-be-IPFV
   'When you/she stop working, you/she will be idle.'

   d) ɨntū ɨntsɨ́χî bá-tá-nì bʷàzàná **t-áχ-á-nà**
   you work.ACC stop-2P-when idle 2S/3F-be-IPFV-2P
   'When you stop working, you will be idle.'

   e) nī ɨntsɨ́χî báj-á-ní bʷàzàná **j-áχ-á**
   he work.ACC stop-3M-when idle 3M-be-IPFV
   'When he stops working, he will be idle.'

   f) ná ɨntsɨ́χî báj-á-ní bʷàzàná **j-áχ-á-nà**
   they work.ACC stop-3M-when idle 3P-be-IPFV-3P
   'When they stop working, they will be idle.'

6. a) bʷàzàná **ø-àq-ú-χà** (idle 1s-be-PFV-1s) 'I became idle.'

   b) bʷàzàná **ø-àχ-n-ú-χà** (idle 1P-be-1P-PFV-1P) 'We became idle.'

   c) bʷàzàná **t-àχ-t-ú-χá** (idle 2S/3F -be-2S/3F-PFV-2S/3F) 'You/She became idle.'

   d) bʷàzàná **t-àχ-kʷá** (idle 2P-be-2P.PFV) 'You became idle.'

   e) bʷàzàná **ø-àχ-ú-χá** (idle 3M-be-PFV-3M) 'He became idle.'

   f) nā bʷàzàná **ø-àχ-kʷà** (idle 3P-be-3P.PFV) 'They became idle.'

Like with *-áq-* 'to know' (cf. 8), no prefix appears with *-àχ-* 'to be/ to become' for 1st person. However, *-áq-* 'to know' and *-àχ-* 'to be/ to become' do not show the same conjugational pattern for 3rd person– unlike with *-áq-*, 3rd person is not marked at prefixal position with *-àχ-*. As can be noticed in (5, 6), *t-* marks 2nd person and 3rd person feminine. The imperfective form of *-àχ-* for first person singular is identical with that of *-áq-* 'to know' (cf. 5a) while its perfective form is segmentally but not prosodically the same (cf. 6a). The singular imperative form of these two PG verbs is also identical. It is not clear why *-àχ-* bears high tone in first person singular imperfective only. Here, it is worth saying some words with regard to ambiguity that might occur due to identical lexical form, as in *ân áqá* 'I (will) know' or 'I (will) be.' However, *ân áqá* is a truncated construction for contextual reasons. Thus, a full clausal construction is by no means ambiguous: *-áq-* 'to know' takes a direct object as its complement but *-àχ-* 'to become' takes a transformational case marked (see 3.6.11) or caseless NP.

7.3.2 IG VERBS

The definite perfective is taken as the default aspect for IGVs, and these verbs can further be divided into three sub-groups: IG1, IG2, and IG3. IG3 verbs however are what are grouped as TG2 verbs. Thus, to treat IG3 and TG2 verbs separately would be a mere repetition, for the discussion of one of the two would also mean that of the other. I have, thus, chosen the labeling TG2 instead of IG3 (the choice of the heading between the two is a matter of discretion). Following are explanations accounting for the grouping of Kulazngi verbs.

7.3.2.1 IG1 VERBS

IG1 Verbs distinguish 2 and 3F by ***i***, which in verbs ending in *u* turns to *j* to avoid vowel sequence (see section 2.5.2 for discussions on vowel sequence). Some of IGVs include *bù-* 'to carry', *kàts-* 'take', *mìts-* 'to enter', *χùr-* 'to sleep', *kú-* 'kill', *kɨnt-* 'learn', and *n-* 'to say' (see appendix 14 for complete list of IG1 verbs in my corpus). All of *ts* final and most of monoconsonantal and u-ending verbs fall under this group verbs. Following are IG verb forms as sentential examples in perfective aspect.

7) *root* *1s/3M* *1P* *2S/3F* *2P* *3P*

kú- *kú-χà* *kú-n-ú-χà* *kù-jχ^{w}à* *kú-jk^{w}à* *kú-k^{w}à*

'kill' kill.PFV-1s/3M kill-1P-PFV-1P kill-2S/3F.PFV kill-2P.PFV kill-3P.PFV

kàts- *kàts-ú-χà* *kàts-n-ú-χà* *kàts-ītχ^{w}à* *kàts-ītk^{w}à* *kāts-k^{w}à*

'take' take-PFV-1s/3M take-1P-PFV-1P take-2S/3F.PFV take-2P.PFV kill-3P.PFV

kɨnt- *kɨnt-ú-χà* *kɨnt-n-ú-χà* *kɨnt-ītχ^{w}à* *kɨnt-ītk^{w}à* *kɨnt-k^{w}à*

'climb' learn-PFV-1s/3M learn-1P-PFV-1P learn-2S/3F.PFV learn-2P.PFV learn-3P.PFV

dʒū- *dʒū-χà* *dʒū-n-ú-χà* *dʒù-jχ^{w}a* *dʒù-jk^{w}a* *dʒù-k^{w}à*

'get up' get up.PFV-3M get up-1P-PFV-1P get up-2S/FM.PFV get up-2P.PFV get up-3P.PFV

As can be noticed in the illustrative examples above, the distinction between 1S and 3M is syncretized, and so is between 2S and 3F.

The glide *j* appearing in 2nd person and 3F is underlyingly the *i* of IGVs. Its realization as *j* is due to the presence of *u* immediately before it (see sections 7.1 and 2.5.2 for the discussion regarding this point).

The suffixation of the perfective-*u* to i-ending verbs where no consonantal segment appears between the *i* and *u* will entail the elision of *u* upon which the AGR element *χà* will be realized as -*χ^{w}*.

As mentioned earlier in this section, all ts-final verbs are IG type. Hence, TG verbs (to be clear in subsequent discussions) turn to be IGVs when causativized (when turned to be *ts* final) (cf. 8).

8) gìŋ-t-ú-χà ↦ gìŋ-ts-iχ^{w}à

run-2S/3F-PFV-2S/3F ↦ run-CAUS-2S/3F.PFV

'You/She ran.' ↦ 'You/She caused [someone] to run.'

7.3.2.2 IG2 VERBS

-i, apart from 2nd person and 3F, marks 1P in IG2 verbs. Verbs in this group include *màtʃ-* 'climb', *mìntʃ-* 'to increase', *kàl-* 'to endure', and *kàtʃ-* 'to hunt' (see appendix 15 for the list of IG2 verbs). Like in IG1 verbs, the distinction between 1S and 3M and 2S and 3F is syncretized. Following is provided perfective paradigm of IG2 verbs*, kàtʃ-* 'to hunt**',** *mal* - 'to notice', *fùr-* 'to rest', and *kàl-* 'to endure'.

9)	*1S/3M*	**kàtʃ-ū-χà**	**màl-ū-χà**	**fùr-ū-χà**	**kàl-ú-χà**
		bunt-PFV-1S/3M	notice-PFV-1S/3M	notice-PFV-1S/3M	notice-PFV-1S/3M
	1P	**kàtʃ-ìn-ú-χà**	**màl-ìn-ú-χà**	**fùr-ìn-ú-χà**	**kàl-ìn-ú-χà**
		hunt-1P-PFV-1P	notice-1P-PFV-1P	rest-1P-PFV-1P	endure-1P-PFV-1P
	2S/3F	**kàtʃ-īχʷà**	**màl- īχʷà**	**fùr- īχʷà**	**kàl- īχʷ**
		hunt-2S/3F.PFV	notice-2S/3F.PFV	rest-2S/3F.PFV	endure-2S/3F.PFV
	2P	**kàtʃ-īkʷà**	**màl-īkʷà**	**fùr-īkʷà**	**kàl-īkʷà**
		hunt-2P.PFV	notice-2P.PFV	rest-2P.PFV	endure-2P.PFV
	3P	**kàtʃ-kʷà**	**màl-kʷà**	**fùr-kʷà**	**kàl-kʷà**
		hunt-3P.PFV	notice-3P.PFV	rest-3P.PFV	endure-3P.PFV

The vowel *ī* in 1P perfective verb forms *kàtʃ-ìn-ú-χà*, *màl-ìn-ú-χà*, *fùr-ìn-ú-χà*, or *kàl-ìn-ú-χà* might be posited otherwise _ it might have been triggered to break consonant cluster. Their cluster (if they appeared without *i*), however, will not be against the phonotactic rule of the language, for the two consonants (the consonant at the end of the verb root and the plural *n*, (if they happen to appear in cluster) could spread each to the proximate syllables, as is the case in other verbs, such as the *ŋ* and *n* in *gìŋnúχà (gìŋ.nú.χà)* 'We ran' (see chapter 2 for spreading of consonant clusters as a coda of the preceding and an onset of the following syllables).

The verbs having this pattern are all single syllable in their root. They are made two or more syllable with the addition of affixes in their definite perfective aspect (four for 1P, two for 3P, and three for the rest). Three syllable forms will have L.M.L tone melody and four syllable forms L.L.H.L tone melody, as can be checked in illustrative examples above.

7.3. 3 TG VERBS

t is a proto-Cushitic feminine morpheme retained in most of the Agaw languages (Appleyard, 1986). In Kulazngi, occurring with some verbs, it marks (apart from feminine (3F)) 2nd and, in a small number of verbs, 1st person in Kulazngi. The verbs that mark only 2 and 3F by *t* are grouped as T1 and those whose distinction by *t* includes 1st person are grouped as T2 verbs.

7.3.3.1 TG1 VERBS

T1 verbs include *àràs-* 'plow', *dɨxʷ-* 'tell', *fiχʷ-* 'breathe', *kàw-* 'cut', *ʈáχ-* 'urinate', *fɨʃ-* 'take out', *gɨ́ʃ-* 'to dig', *lɨ̀m* 'to shut', *guʃ-* 'pick', *gam-* 'descend', *ɨ̀nzáŋ-* 'walk'. See appendix 16

for the list of TG1 verbs in my corpus. Following is provided perfective paradigm of TG1 verbs, *zùr-* 'to return**',** *gùʃ-* 'to pick', *gés-* 'to dig', and *kàw-* 'to cut'.

10)					
	1s/3M	**zùr-ū-χà**	**gùʃ-ū-χà**	**gés-ū-χà**	**lɨ̀m-ú-χà**
		return-PFV-1s/3M	pick-PFV-1s/3M	dig-PFV-1s/3M	shut-PFV-1s/3M
	1P	**zùr-n-ú-χà**	**gùʃ-n-ú-χà**	**gés-n-ú-χà**	**lɨ̀m-n-ú-χà**
		return-1P-PFV-1P	pick-1P-PFV-1P	dig-1P-PFV-1P	shut-1P-PFV-1P
	2S/3F	**zùr-t-ú-χà**	**gùʃ-t-ú-χà**	**gés-t-ú-χà**	**lɨ̀m-t-ú-χà**
		return-2-PFV-2S/3F	pick-2-PFV-2S/3F	dig-2-PFV-2S/3F	shut-2-PFV-2S/3F
	2P	**zùr-tɨ́kʷ-à**	**gùʃ-tɨ́kʷà**	**gés-tɨ́kʷà**	**lɨ̀m-tɨ́kʷà**
		return-2P-PFV	pick-2P.PFV	dig -2P.PFV	shut-3P.PFV
	3P	**zùr-kʷà**	**gùʃ-kʷà**	**gés-kʷà**	**lɨ̀m-kʷà**
		return-3P.PFV	pick-3P.PFV	dig-3P.PFV	shut-3P.PFV

As can be noticed from illustrative examples above, like in IGVs, the distinction between 1S and 3M as well as between 2S and 3F is syncretized in TG1 verbs.

As touched upon earlier, two verbs (*kàz-* 'go' and *χàz-* 'have for oneself') have in their stem consonantal ending compliant with person / gender /number (see section 7.1). Even though these verbs behave differently in that their stem-final consonants swap in accordance with person/ gender /number (thus show different conjugation pattern (cf. 11)), they are grouped under TG1 because they employ *t* to distinguish 2nd person only. The verb *kàs-* 'go' of HA is also characterized by the absence the stem-final consonant in 3F, 2, and 1P (Palmer, 1958: 280).

11) *1s /3M*	*1P*	*2S/3F*	*2P*	*3P*
kàz-ú-χà	**kà-n-ú-χà**	**kà-t-ú-χà**	**kà-t-kʷà**	**kàz-kʷà**
go-PFV-1s/3M	go-1P-PFV-1P	go-2-PFV-1s/3M	go-2-2P.PFV	go-3P.PFV
χàz-ú-χà	**χà-n-ú-χà**	**χà-t-ú-χà**	**χà-t-kʷà**	**χàz-kʷà**
take- PFV-1s	take-1P-PFV-1P	take-2-PFV-2S/3F	take-2-2P.PFV	take-3P.PFV

Note that *-χà* signals 1, 2S, 3M, and 3F; *-kʷà* signals 2P, 3P, and perfective aspect (see section 7.4 fo details).

7. 3.3.2 TG2 VERBS

As touched upon in the previous section, TG2 verbs, apart from 2 and 3F, distinguish 1S by *t*, which is replaced by *-n* in 1P. Verbs in this group also differ from the rest in that 3rd person is also marked by *-i*, which appears before the perfective *-u (-i* shows *up* in a morphological forms *-iχʷa* (underlyingly *-i-u-χa* (3M-PFV-3M)) and *-ikʷa* (3P.PFV) (see also section 2.5.3 for the discussion)). Thus, unlike in most Kulazngi verbs where the definite perfective aspect is syncretized in 1S and 3M, these are marked differently in this group, 1S by *-t* and 3M by *-i*. As *-i* (which marks 2 and 3F in IG1verbs and 2, 3F and 1P in IG2verbs) also marks 3M in this group (TG2) verbs, what are labeled TG2 verbs can also be labeled IG3. The choice of TG2 from IG3 is a matter of the author's discretion.

TG2 verbs are not very many when compared to others. Some of the verbs in this group are *zɨgʷ-* 'throw', *làχʷ-* 'to insult', *dég-* 'conceal', *náq-* 'to near', *kás-* 'to ask', *káj-* 'across over', *χàrī-* 'to smell (itrv), *kàj-* 'pay', *ʃĭnq-* 'to limp'. See appendix 17 for the list of TGV2 corpus. Table 38 below provides perfective paradigm (truncated or 1, 2S and 3SG marker *-χà* reduced) of TG2 verbs, *zɨgʷ-* 'throw', *làχʷ-* 'to insult', *dég-* 'conceal', *náq-* 'to near', and *kás-* 'to ask'.

Table 38 Perfective paradigm of TG2 verbs mentioned above

person	Verb root				
	zɨgʷ-	**laχʷ-**	**dég-**	**náq-**	**kás-**
1s	zɨgʷ-t-û	laχʷ-t-û	dég-t-û	náq-t-û	kás-t-û
1P	zɨgʷ-ìn-û	laχʷ-ìn-û	dég-ín-û	náq -ín-û	kás-ín-û
2S/3F	zɨgʷ-tî-w	laχʷ- tì-w	dég-tî-w	náq-tî-w	kás-tî-w
2P	zɨgʷ-tī-kʷà	laχʷ-tī-kʷà	dég-tí-kʷà	náq-tí-kʷà	kás-tí-kʷà
3M	zɨgʷ-ì-w	laχʷ-ì-w	dég-î-w	náq-î-w	kás-î-w
3P	zɨgʷ-ī-kʷà	laχʷ-ī-kʷà	dég-íkʷà	náq-í-kʷà	kás-í-kʷà

In TG2 verbs, as can be noticed in the above table, *-t* marks 1s, *-ín* marks 1P, *-ti* marks 2/3F, *-tíkʷà* marks 2P, *-ì* marks 3M, and *-íkʷà* marks 3P. The forms *-íkʷà* and *-tíkʷà* are further analyzable as person/number/aspect morphemes and *-ín* as person and number (see section 7.4 for details in this regard). The perfective marker *-u* is realized as *w* in 2S/3F/3M where it occurs following the vowel *i*. It shows in labialized consonant in 2P and 3P (see section 2.5.2). The labialized

consonantal forms, the singular χ^w and the plural k^w result from the combination of the perfective marker *u* (see section 2.5.3 and 7.4.3.1.1 for the discussion).

There are four vowel-ending TG2 verbs in my corpus, viz. *bá-* 'abandon or quit', *fà-* 'want', *tsà-* 'have/posses', and *fè-* 'bypass'. Notice the perfective paradigm of TG2 verbs *bá-* 'abandon or quit' and *fà-* 'want' in Table 39 below.

Table 39 The perfective paradigm of TG2 verbs bá 'abandon or quit' and fà 'want'

person	Verb root	
	bá- 'quit'	**fà-** 'want'
1s/2S/3F	bá-t-û (quit-1s-PFV)	fà-t-û (want-1s-PFV)
1p	bá-n-û (quit-1P-PFV)	fà-n-û (want-1P-PFV)
2p	bá-tk^{w}à (quit-2P.PFV)	fà-tk^{w}à (want-2P.PFV)
3m	bá-j-û (quit-3M-PFV)	fà-j-û (want-3m-PFV)
3p	bá-jk^{w}à (quit-3P.PFV)	fà-jk^{w}à (want-3P.PFV)

As can be noticed in the above perfective paradigm for 3M and 3P, the glide *j* occurring between the vowel in the root and the *u* in the suffixal form is underlyingly *i* (see section 2.5.3). Note that *-tk^{w}à* and *-jk^{w}à* are further analyzable as person/number/aspect.

The classification of verbs so far made in accordance with their conjugation pattern can by no means be complete. Apart from several idiosyncratic verbal structures, verbs undergoing consonantal ablaut (verbs whose last voiced consonants change to voiceless counterparts for 1S (see section 2.5.6) are not considered to form a separate class, for the change is predictable.

7.4 Verb Inflection

Cushitic languages have systems of verb inflection in which person, aspect, mood, etc. markers are suffixed to the lexical stem (Appleyard 1996: 2). According to Appleyard, Cushitic suffixation pattern derives from an earlier prefix-inflecting auxiliary fixed to "some sort of invariable verbal noun" and the older prefix-inflecting pattern "where the basic markers of the person precede the verbal stem" survives in some languages, including Awngi in the Agaw group (Appleyard 1996: 2). The suffixation pattern of Awngi is complicated (Appleyard, 1996: 3; Hetzron, 1969: 11).

Likewise, Kulazngi verb affixes are far more numerous (with complicated pattern and heterogeneity) than those of the noun are. What underlies the morphological complications is the varying nature of agreement affixes as well as their positional alternation in accordance with tense/aspect as well as the verb-type or class (with regard verb grouping, see section 7.3).

While TAM inflectional category is exclusively suffixal, that of subject agreement is both suffixal and prefixal. Nonetheless, prefixes are small in number when compared to suffixes.

Verbs can be marked by suffixes for three types of temporal aspects: the imperfective, the definite perfective, and the indefinite perfective. Together with aspect suffixes occur person/gender/number affixes of the subject and, in relativized verbs, both the subject and object.

7.4.1 Subject Agreement Marking

Like in other CC languages, viz. Awngi (Hetzron, 1969; Palmer, 1959), Bilin (Palmer, 1957), Khimt'anga (Teshome, 2015), Kimanteny (Zelealem, 2003), first, second and third persons are signaled on verbs in Kulazngi. The verbs also indicate number and gender. Gender distinction is made only for 3F/3M. Nonetheless, the distinction between 1S and 3M is syncretized except in TG2 verbs where 1 and 3M are marked by -t and -i respectively (cf. 7.3.3.2). Similarly, the distinction between 2S and 3F is syncretized. We need to analyze both declarative and relativized perfective/imperfective IG and TG verb paradigms, for these verb forms display complete conjugational pattern of the verbs. Table 40 and 41 provide perfective, imperfective, and relativized forms of *gìŋ-* 'to run' (TG verb) and *zɨ̀q-* 'to drink' (IG verb) respectively.

Table 40 Perfective, Imperfective, and Relativized paradigm of gìŋ 'to run' (TG verb)

Person	IPFV	relative		PFV
		IPFV	PFV	
1s	gìŋ-**ø**-á	gìŋ-á-**χá**	gìŋ-ú-**χá**	gìŋ-ú-**χà** / gìŋ-**ø**-û
1P	gìŋ-**n**-á	gìŋ-**n**-á-**χá**	gìŋ-**n**-ú-**χá**	gìŋ-**n**-ú-**χà** / gìŋ-**n**-û
2S	gìŋ-t-á	gìŋ-**t**-á-**χá**	gìŋ-**t**-ú-**χá**	gìŋ-t-ú-χà / gìŋ-**t**-û
2P	gìŋ-**t**-á-**nà**	gìŋ-**t**-á-**nχá**	gìŋ-**t**-ú-**nχá**	gìŋ-**tí-k^{w}à** / gìŋ-**t**-û
3M	gìŋ-**ø**-á	gìŋ-á-**wí**	gìŋ-**ø** -ú	gìŋ-ú-**χà** / gìŋ-**ø-û**
3F	gìŋ-**t**-á	gìŋ-**t**-á-**tí**	gìŋ-**t**-ú-**tí**	gìŋ-**t**-ú-**χà** / gìŋ-**t**-û
3P	gìŋ-á-**nà**	gìŋ-á-**nkú**	gìŋ-ú-**nkú**	gìŋ-**k^{w}à**

Table 41 Perfective, Imperfective, and Relativized paradigm of zɨq 'to drink' (IG verb)

Person	IPFV	relative		PFV
		IPFV	PFV	
1s	zɨq-**ø**-á	zɨq-á-**χá**	zɨq-**ø**-ú	zɨq-ú-**χà** / zɨq-û
1P	zɨq-**n**-á	zɨq-**n**-á-**χá**	zɨq-**n**-ú	zɨq-**n**-ú-**χà** / zɨq-**n**-û
2S	zɨq-**ē**	zɨq-**è**-**χá**	zɨq-**ī**-w	zɨq-**īχ^{w}à** / zɨq-**ì**-w
2P	zɨq-**ē**-**nà**	zɨq-**è**-**nχá**	zɨq-**ì**-**n**-**χá**	zɨq-**ī**-**k^{w}à**
3M	zɨq-**ø**-á	zɨq-á-wí	zɨq-**ø**-ú	zɨq-ú-**χà** / zɨq-û
3F	zɨq-**ē**	zɨq-**ē**-**tí**	zɨq-**ī**-t	zɨq-**īχ^{w}à** / zɨq-**ì**-w
3P	zɨq-á-**nà**	zɨq-á-**nkú**	zɨq-ú-**nkú**	zɨq-**k^{w}à**

The **boldfaced** suffixes in the above tables are person/gender/number markers while the non-boldfaced ones (vowels) are aspect markers. It is noteworthy that the **bolded** vowels, apart from imperfective aspect, indicate agreement (they are combinations of *-á* (imperfective) and *-i* (IGV).

As can be noticed in the above table, subject agreement markers are not consistent in Kulazngi- they vary in accordance with aspect and verb type. Hence, 1S is indicated by **-χá** in the perfective and relative imperfective and by zero in the imperfective and the relative perfective. 1P in the perfective and relative imperfective is indicated by **-n** and - **χá**, between which occur aspect marker vowels *-ú* in the perfective and *-á* in the relative imperfective ; it is signaled by ***-n*** only in the imperfective and relative perfective. 2 and 3F are marked by *-i* (which is realized as *-e* when it merges with imperfective *-á*) and *-t* in IGVs and TGVs respectively**.** 2nd person relativizer is *-χá* and that of 3F is *-tí.* 2S is marked by *-χà* (-which appears as -χ^{w}à) for perfective finite. 2P is indicated by *-n* in finite verbs of imperfective and relative of both imperfective and perfective, but it is indicated by *-ka* (which occurs as *-k^{w}à*) in finite verbs of perfective. The forms *-χà* and *-ka* appear as -χ^{w}*à* and *-k^{w}à* (with *χ* and *k* labialized) is because they merge with the perfective *-ù* (see section 2.5.3 for details). While 3rd person relativizer is *-u* (which is realized as *-w* after a vowel and usually appears focused as *-wí*), a zero morpheme marks 3M in imperfective aspect of finite verbs. Note that the merging of 3rd person relativizer *-ú* with the perfective *-ù* does not result in vowel length because vowel length is not allowed in Kulazngi. 3P is indicated by *-nà* in imperfective and by *-kà* (which occurs as *-k^{w}à* because it merges with the perfective *-u*) in the perfective finite verbs and *-nku* in relatives. *-nku* may be further parsed

as *-nk-u* (3P-3.REL) because the same *-u* is relativizer of 3M. Nevertheless, it is glossed as *3P*.REL for convenience.

Table 42 below presents the agreement suffixes of IG and TG verbs more clearly. Agreement suffixes, like in the tables above, are boldfaced here also while aspect markers are not. Agreement affixes appearing merging with aspect marker vowels are also bolded.

Table 42 Agreement Suffixes of IG and TG Verbs

person		IPFV	IPFV REL	PFV REL	PFV
1S		**-ø**-á	-á-**χá**	-ú-**χá**	-ú-**χà**/-û
1P		**n**-á	**-n**-á-**χá**	**-n**-ú-**χá**	**-n**-ú-**χà**/**-n**-û
2S	TG	**-t**-á	**-t**-á-**χá**	**-t**-ú-**χá**	**-t**-ú-**χà**/**-t**-û
	IG	**-ē**	**-è**-χá	**-ī**-w	**-ìχ^{w}à**/**-î**-w
2P	TG	**-t**-á-**nà**	**-t**-á-**nχá**	**-t**-ú-**nχá**	**-tí-k^{w}à**
	IG	**-ē-nà**	**-è-nχá**	**-ī-nχá**	**-ìk^{w}à**
3M		**-ø**-á	-á-**wí**	-ú	-ú-**χà**/**-û**
3F		**-t**-á	**-t**-á-**tí**	**-t**-ú-**tí**	**-t**-ú-**χà**/**-t**-û
3P		-á-**nà**	-á-**nkú**	-ú-**nkú**	**-k^{w}à**

As can be noticed in the tables, in addition to labialized forms, some agreement elements (the boldfaced ones) appear twice circumfixing aspect elements.

7.4.2 Subject / Object Agreement Marking

This section is concerned with transitive relativized verbs. Kulazngi transitive relativized verbs where their direct object is a common argument with the matrix clause have a grammatical system of marking both a subject and a direct object. Hence, verb forms appear highly laden with agreement suffixes that signal the subject and the object as well as aspect. Subject-object referencing on the verb is also reported in (Yaregal, 2012: 113-117). In such verb forms, subject markers occur preceding direct object markers. Like in the previous section, I present data of perfective and imperfective relativized verb forms for analysis.

12. a) zàgɨr-kā **íŋ - ú - n -ú** gɨsáŋ kɨr-û
ape-pL.Ms bite-IPFV-3P(SB)-3M(OB) dog die-3M.PFV
'The dog that the apes bit died.'

b) zàgɨr-kā **ɨŋ - ú – n - tí** gɨsáŋá kɨt-û
ape-PL.FM bite-IPFV-3P(SB)-3F(OB) bitch die.3F-PFV
'The bitch that the apes bit died.'

c) zàgɨr-kā **ɨŋ - ú - n - kú** gɨsàŋ-kā kɨr-k^{w}à
ape-PL bite-IPFV-3P(SB)-3F(OB) dog-PL die-3P.PFV
'The dogs that the apes bit died.'

The boldfaced in (12) above are relativized verb forms. As can be seen from the examples, the subject of the three of the relative clauses (relativized verbs) is the same, *zàgɨr-kā*, and so is the aspect. The relativized verbs are formally different, however, as can be noticed from the gloss, for their objects (heads of the NP or subjects of the matrix clauses) differ in gender and number, and subject markers occur preceding object markers. It is noteworthy that subject/object grammatical relation of the nouns is signaled on the verb within the subordinate clause and the main verb agrees with the subject only. Three of the adnominal clauses in (12) above can be presented as follows:

(13)

zàgɨr-kā <
- **ɨŋ - ú - n -ú** gɨsáŋ
- **ɨŋ - ú – n - tí** gɨsáŋá
- **ɨŋ - ú - n - kú** gɨsàŋ-kā

As a subject of a relative clause is also marked on the verb, if we change its number/gender, the form of the relativized verbs will accordingly change as shown below.

14. a) zàgrī **ɨŋ - ú- t** gɨsáŋá kɨt-û
ape.MS bite-PFV.3M-3F(OB) bitch die.3F-PFV
'The bitch that the male ape bit'

b) zàgrā **ɨŋ - t - ú - t** gɨsáŋá kɨt-û
ape.FM bite-3F(SB)-PFV-3F(OB) bitch die.3F-PFV
'The bitch that the female ape bit'

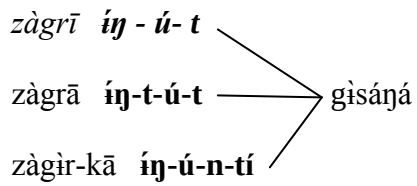
c) zàgɨr-kā **ɨŋ - ú - n - tí** gɨsáŋá kɨt-û
ape-PL bite-PFV-3P(SB)-3F(OB) bitch die.3F-PFV
'The bitch that the apes bit'

The subject and the direct object of the boldfaced verb forms in (14) are *zàgrī* ‘ape’ and *gɨsáŋá* ‘bitch’ respectively. Since *gɨsáŋá* is the head of the NP, it is the subject of the three sentential constructions.

The same feminine noun *gɨsáŋá* is marked by ***-t*** in (14a, b) but by ***-tí*** in (14c) has to do with phonological adjustment (see section 2.5.10 for details).

Like in (13) above, the three adnominal clauses in (14) can be presented as shown in (15) below.

15)



If we change the perfective aspect into imperfective for (12) and (14), agreement markers remain intact as shown (16) below:

(16) íŋ-ú-n-ú ↦ íŋ-**á**-n-ú (12a)
íŋ-ú-n-tí ↦ íŋ-**á**-n-tí (12b)
íŋ -ú-n-kú ↦ íŋ-**á**-n-kú (12c)
íŋ-ú-t ↦ íŋ-**á**-t (14a)
íŋ-t-ú-t ↦ íŋ-t-**á**-t (14b)
íŋ-ú-n-tí ↦ íŋ-**á**-n-tí (14c)

The above relativized forms with **á** are in imperfective aspect (see the upcoming section for details with regard to imperfective aspect). The only change between the imperfective and perfective relativized verb forms is the swapping of **ú** and **á** (**ú** perfective and **á** imperfective). Nonetheless, 3M ***-u*** will be realized as ***w*** in imperfctive aspect with (labialized) consonant-ending verbs, for it occurs following a vowel, imperfective aspect marker *-a* (cf. 17).

17) a) tsìtswī **íŋ - ú**[70] gɨsáŋ
monkey bite-PFV.3M(SB / OB) dog
‘The dog that the apes bit’

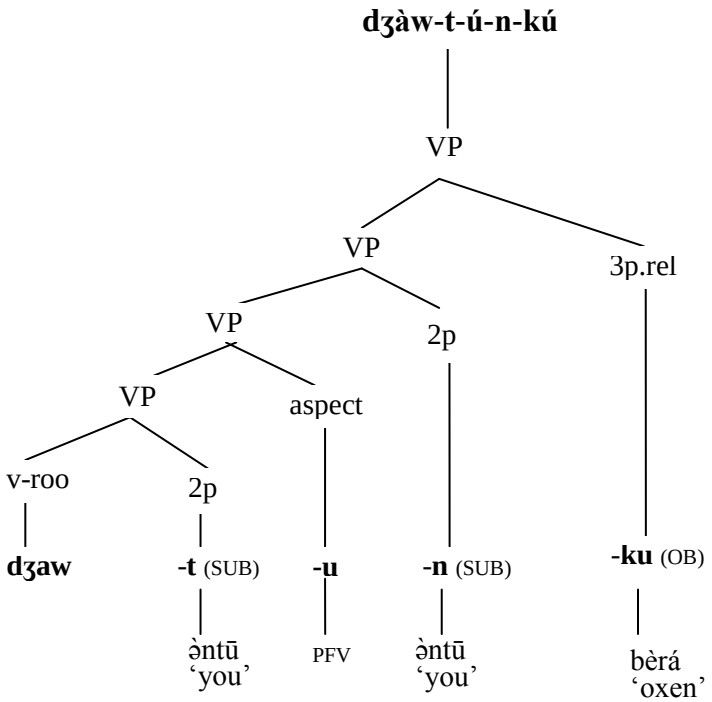
b) tsìtswī **ɨŋ -á-w** gɨsáŋ
monkey bite-IPFV-3M(SB / OB) dog
'The dog that the apes bite'

As can be seen in (17) above, **-ú** signals three grammatical categories: subject, object, and aspect.

The following tree structure shows the morphological structure of the relativized verb form **dʒàw-t-ú-n-kú** 'which (PL) you (PL) bought'.

Figure 7 below presents morphological structure of the relativized verb form for 2P (subject) and 3P (object) from the sentence: *ìntū* ***dʒàw-t-ú-n-kú*** *bèrá dɨz-k^{w}à* (you buy-2-PFV-2P-3P oxen disappear-3P.PFV) 'The oxen you bought disappeared'.

Figure 7: The structure of a transitive relativized verb where its direct object is shared with the matrix clause as a common argument.



As can be noticed from the above tree structure, there are two agreement affixes, *-n* and *-ku*. While both are plural (the former 2nd person and the latter 3rd person), *-ku* (which occurs at the end of the verb form) refers to the object (oxen, which is the head of the NP, or which can be the

[70] 3M relative marker in perfective aspect is -ux in HA

subject of the matrix clause if given a finite verb) and *-n* (which occurs next to the aspect marker *-u*) refers to the subject (you). Before the perfective *-u*, i.e. next to the verb root, is another subject suffix, *-t*. Thus, the subject of the relativized verb is signaled twice. Kulazngi relative verbs are, therefore, of two types: those hosting agreement affixes referring to the subject and those hosting agreement affixes referring to both the subject and the object. See also section 8.2.2.1 for the discussion of relativized verb forms as clauses.

7.4.3 Aspect

According to Comrie (1976: 3), aspect is related to time reference not located to the time of the situation to any other time-point but related to different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. Payne (1997: 238) defines the term aspect as "the internal temporal shape of events or states".

There are generally two aspects (past/perfective and present or non-past/ imperfective) in Cushitic languages, and while the imperfective is generally marked by the vowel *a*, a variety of other vowels marks the perfective (Appleyard, 2012: 208). The imperfective aspect is marked by a low vowel *a* or a mid-centralized *ə* while the perfective aspect is indicated by a high centralized *ɨ* or by a high back vowel *u* (Appleyard 1992: 126).

Kulazngi is predominantly aspect marked language. There exist two aspectual systems, perfective and imperfective. The perfective is further distinguished as the definite perfective (usually referred as perfective in this work) and the indefinite perfective[71], and so is imperfective as habitual and progressive. Except the progressive, which is periphrastically marked, others are morphologically marked. Aspect is not uniformly marked in Kulazngi – the affixes vary in accordance with person, number, and gender. According to Zelealem (forthcoming), the typical Kulazngi verb consists of a V-stem + AGR + ASPECT marker, and the subject of any sentence is cross-referenced on verbs through the portmanteau suffixes. In what follows will be discussed aspectual types in Kulazngi. Their negative forms will be discussed under negation, section 7.13.

[71] Definite/ indefinite perfective is Hetzron's (1969) dichotomy of aspect in Awngi.

7.4.3.1 Perfective.

Like in HA (Hetzron, 1969), there are two types of the perfective aspect in Kulazngi: *definite* and *indefinite*. The definite perfective expresses past actions that may be likened to the English *simple past* and the indefinite perfective expresses actions equated with the present perfect.

7.4.3.1.1 The Definite Perfective

The definite perfective is marked by *ú* that occurs preceding, in between, or in labialized consonantal AGR suffix (depending on person–cum–number as well as the verb group) (cf. 18). Its occurrence as definite perfective marker can be checked against the imperfective counterpart (see section7.4.1.2.1).

18) 1S/3M zɨq-ú-χà.
drink-PFV.3M/1S 'He/I drank.'

1P zɨq-n-ú-χà.
drink-1P-PFV-1P 'We drank.'

2S/3F zɨq-īχʷà.
drink-2S/3F.PFV 'We drank.'

2P zɨq-īkʷà. [72]
drink-2P.PFV 'We drank.'

3P zɨq-kʷà.
drink-3P.PFV 'They drank.'

As can be seen in the above paradigm of perfective verb form *zɨq-*, the perfective aspect marker *-u* appears preceding agreement marker in 1st person singular and 3rd person masculine, in between agreement markers in 2nd person and 1st person plural, and in labialized agreement marker consonantal suffix in 2nd and 3rd person plural (see previous discussions (section 7.4.1/7.4.2) with regard to heterogeneity of agreement suffixes).

[72] In HA, 2p and 3p are differently marked from those of Kulazngi, hence: *zəq-ī-nà* (2p) and *zəq-ú-nà* (3p).

Except for 2P 3P (19e – c), the perfective aspect verb in Kulazngi is usually truncated off agreement suffixes, as shown below. The truncated variant is more frequented variant in the language, especially in Bag^{w}sa and Adwanj varieties.

19) a) an/ni(3M) àχû **zɨq-û**
I/he water.ACC drink-PFV
'I/He drank water'

b) ɨnt/ni(3F) àχû zɨq-î-w
you(SG)/she water.ACC drink-2S.3F-PFV
'You(SG)/She drank water.'

c) ɨntū àχû zɨq-ī-k^{w}à
you water.ACC drink-2-2P.PFV
'You drank water.'

d) nu àxû zɨq-n-û
we water.ACC drink-PL-PFV
'We drank water.'

e) nā àχû zɨq-k^{w}à
they water.ACC drink-3P.PFV 'They drank water.'

See section 2.3.6.1 for details of tone change in respect to the low toned perfective *-ù* appearing as *-û* in (19a, 19d). In (19b), the perfective -ú with IGVs (for it occurs following *i*) will assimilate into *w* (see section 2.5.2), and the delinked tone (the tone which was borne on the perfective *-u*) relinks with the adjacent vowel, as shown in *zɨq-î-w* (19b).

Except tone, Kulazngi definite perfective variant *-û* is the same with Khimt'anga's perfective (see Teshome, 2015: 199).

As mentioned above, the position in which the perfective marker vowel *-ú* occurs varies depending on person–cum–number as well as the verb type as shown in Table 43 below. In this table are presented the paradigms of the definite perfective verbs *ɨnzáŋ-* 'walk', *dʒìts-* 'bake', and *kàz/t-* 'go/leave' with the definite marker *-à*.

Table 43: The Definite Perfective Paradigm

person	Definite perfective forms	
	TG Verb *(ɨnzáŋ-)*	IG Verb *(dʒìts-)*
1s	*ɨnzáŋ-**ú**-χà*	*dʒìts-**ú**-χà*
1P	*ɨnzáŋ-n-**ú**-χà*	*dʒìts-n-**ú**-χà*
2S	*ɨnzáŋ-t-**ú**-χà*	*dʒìts-ī-χʷà*
2P	*ɨnzáŋ-tɨ́-kʷà*	*dʒìts-ī-kʷà*
3M	*ɨnzáŋ-**ú**-χà*	*dʒìts-**ú**-χà*
3F	*ɨnzáŋ-t-**ú**-χà*	*dʒìts-ī-χʷà*
3P	*ɨnzáŋ-kʷà*	*dʒìts-kʷà*

As shown in Table 43, the definite perfective ***-u*** appears boldfaced. It is noteworthy that other affixes are agreement markers. The labialized forms -kʷ and -χʷ are combinations of the perfective *-u* and agreement affixes (*χ* of *-χa* (2S/3F) and *k* of 2P *-ka* (2P)) (cf. column 3 row 5, 6, 8). As mentioned earlier, it is due to phonological constraint (i.e. phonotactic rule of the language does not allow vowel sequence) that the perfective -ú occurs in labialized form (see section 2.5.3 with regard to details of phonological process). Thus, the forms *-īχʷà* and *-īkʷà* (rows 5 and 6) are underlyingly *-īuχà* and *-īukà*.

The occurrence of *-i* before agreement affixes is a matter of lexical choice (see verb grouping under section 7.3). The data below are further sentential examples of the definite perfective.

20) a) ân/nī bɨn-ʃì gìŋ-ú-χà
I /He well-ALT run- PFV-1S/3M
'I/He ran to the well.'

b) ɨnū bɨn-ʃì gìŋ-n-ú-χà
we well-ALT run-1P-PFV-1P
'We ran to the well.'

c) ɨnt/nī bɨn-ʃì gìŋ-t-ú-χà
you(SG) well-ALT run-2S/3F -PFV -2S/3F
'You(SG)/She ran to the well.'

d) ɨntu bɨn-ʃì gìŋ-tɨ́kʷà
you(PL) well-ALT run- 2P.PFV
'You(PL) ran (have run) to the well.'

e) nā bɨn-ʃì gìŋ-kʷà
they well-ALT run-3P.PFV
'They ran (have run) to the well.'

21) a) ân/nī kàn-î bú-χà
I /He stick-ACC carry. PFV-1s/3M
'I/He carried a stick.'

b) nū kàn-î bù-n-ú-χà
we stick-ACC carry -1P-PFV-1P
'We carried a stick.'

c) ɨnt/nī kàn-î bù-jχʷà
you(SG)she stick-ACC carry -2S/3F .PFV
'You/She carried a stick.'

d) ɨntu kàn-î bù-jkʷà
you (PL) stick-ACC carry -2P.PFV
'You (have) carried a stick.'

e) na kàn-î bù-kʷà
they stick-ACC carry -3P -PFV
'They (have) carried a stick.

The perfective marker *-ú* for third person masculine and first person singular does not appear in (21a) is because there is identical vowel *u* before it in the stem (see section 2.5.9). The palatal glide *j* in (21c, d) is underlyingly 2nd person or third person feminine marker *-i* of IG verbs (see section 2.5.2 for the phonological process accounting for the change).

It is noteworthy that the perfective marker *-u* may optionally show in labialized consonant in front of it instead. Hence, the verb forms in (20a/b) can also be used as *gìŋ-ɨ́χʷà/ gìŋ-nɨ́χʷà.* The *ɨ́* in each verb form has an epenthesis role. The younger generation usually prefers the non-labialized form, which is also the author's preference in this book.

Some perfective inchoative verbs, such as *mìrk-* 'become hungry', *sàmat-* 'become satiated', *dìngúrt-* 'become big' are semantically present, as in *mìrìk-tɨ́ʷkà* (become hungry-3P.PFV) 'They are hungry.'

The perfective verb is negated with the negative affix *-jà,* which attaches to the end of the perfective verb form (see discussions under negation, section 7.13).

7.4.1.1.2 The Indefinite Perfective

Comrie (1976: 56) describes perfect as a distinctive aspect denoting 'the continuing relevance of a previous situation'. [73]In Kulazngi, indefinite perfective (which can be equated with the English present perfect) is encoded in two ways. The first, which will be discussed later in this section, has to do with experiential clauses predicated with the verb *-áq-* 'know', which appears following a converb. The second is encoded by a clitic auxiliary -zkʷ-, which conjugates for person, number, gender, and aspect. This auxiliary is suffixed to the main verb following agreement affix. It is not only the auxiliary that encodes indefinite perfective but also the perfective -u, which attaches to this auxiliary. Hence, the verb form for the indefinite perfective is much more unwieldy than that of the definite perfective. Like with the definite perfective, person, gender, and number affixes occur preceding as well as following the clitic auxiliary *-zkʷ-* as shown in examples below.

22) a) *ân/nī* *mìzáχ-û* *χʷ-á-zkʷà*
I/He lunch-ACC eat-3M/1s -AUX.3M/1s. PFV
'I have/He has eaten lunch.'

b) *ɨ̀nu mìzáχ-û* *χú-nà-zkù-n-ù*
We lunch-ACC eat-1P-AUX-1P-PFV
'We have eaten lunch.'

c) *ɨ̀nt/ni* *mìzáχ-û* *χù-já-zk-ì(w)*
you(SG)/she lunch-ACC eat-2/3F-AUX-2S/3F.PFV
'You(SG) have/She has eaten lunch.'

[73] In Awngi, the simplest or less complex verb form is the indefinite perfective, for the aspect marker is only *-à*, and it occurs at the end of the verb form for all subjects.

d) *ɨntu* *mɨzáχ-û* *χù-jɨ́-zkʷ-ìkʷà*
you(PL) lunch-ACC eat-2P -AUX-2P.PFV
'You(PL) have eaten lunch.'

e) *na* *mɨzáχ-û* *χú-ø-zkú-kʷà*
they lunch-ACC eat-3P-AUX-3P. PFV
'They have eaten lunch.'

-zkʷ- appears as *-zku-* for subjects 1P and 3P is because the *kʷ* of *-zkʷ-* has to stand as a syllable to avoid impermissible cluster.

The fact that AGR and TAM markers occur following this clitic suggests that *-zkʷ-* used to be a periphrastic auxiliary. Taken this posit as true, we can suggest that the form -zkʷ- is underlyingly zɨkʷ- 'exist, present or be at a certain place', which is also the progressive auxiliary verb (see section 7.4.1.2.2). The elision of *ɨ* in zɨkʷ- has to do with phonological motive, which in turn has to do with economy, i.e. the elision of *ɨ* has resulted in no addition of a syllable, for each of the two consonants in -zkʷ spreads to the proximate syllables, *z* as a coda and *kʷ* as an onset. The following table presents the indefinite perfective paradigm of *zɨq-* 'to drink' and *gìŋ-* 'to run'.

Table 44: **The Indefinite Perfective Paradigm of zɨq 'to drink' and gìŋ 'to run'**

person	**verb**	
	zɨq- 'to drink'	**gìŋ- 'to run'**
1s/3M	*gìŋ-**á-zkʷà*** run-3m/1s-AUX.3M/1s. PFV	*zɨq-**à-zkʷà*** drink-1s/3M-AUX-1s/3M.PFV
1P	*gìŋ-n**á-zkù-n-ù*** run-1P-aux-1p-PFV	*zɨq-n**á-zkù-n-ù*** drink-1P-AUX-1P-PFV
2S/3F	*gìŋ-t**á-zk-ì-w*** run-2s/3f-aux-2s/3f-PFV	*zɨq-**è-zk-í-w*** drink-2S/3F-AUX-2S/3F-PFV
2P	*gìŋ-t**í-zkʷ-ìkʷà*** run-2p-aux. 2P.PFV	*zɨq-**è-zkʷ-ikʷà*** drink-2P-AUX-2P.PFV
3P	*gìŋ-**í-zkù-kʷà*** run-ep-aux-3p.PFV	*zɨq-**í-zkù-kʷà*** drink-ep-AUX-3P.PFV

The distinction between definite and indefinite perfective aspects is neutralized in the negative. Hence, the negative marker for perfective aspect is *-jà*, which attaches to the end of the definite perfective verb form, i.e. following agreement and aspect markers (see section 3.2).

As touched upon earlier in this section, experiential clauses (clauses referring to a semantic base that expresses whether something has ever been experienced are referred to as experiential clauses) are encoded by indefinite perfective verb form of *-áq-* 'know', which appears following a converb together which it forms a complex predication, as shown in (23) below. [74]Experiential in Kulazngi is normally used in negatives and interrogatives.

23. a) gìrmí-w-zà ɨʃʃî χù-já t-áq-ú mà
pig-3M-ACC meat.ACC eat-2S/3F 2S/3F-know-IDPV QP
'Have you/ Has she ever eaten pig meat?'

b) wískî zɨq-à ø-áq-á-jà
whisky.ACC drink-1s 1s-know-IDPV-NEG
'I have never drunk whisky.'

c) sɨχàrà-w-zà qɨtsî kàmàs-tà t-áq-ú mà
bee-3M-ACC larva.ACC taste-2S/3F 2S/3F-know- IDPV QP
'Have you/ Has she ever tasted larva of be?'[75]

7.4.1.2. Imperfective

Imperfective aspect views a situation from within, as having explicit reference to its internal structure (Comrie, 1976: 155). Kulazngi, like HA, has two types of imperfective aspect: *habitual* and *progressive*.

7.4.1.2.1 Habitual

Habitual imperfective aspect markers in Kulazngi are *-á, -é,* or *-ē*. *-é* and *-ē* occur with 2nd person and 3rd person feminine in IG or i-ending verbs, *-ē* with those having L.M and *-é* with those having L.H or H.H melody in the base. *-é* also occurs with third person plural in i-ending verbs. *-á* occurs with the rest, and it occurs in a paradigm in TGVs. The realizations *-é* and *-ē* result from the merging of the imperfective *-á* with *i* in the base (i.e. **i + á ↦ é**/*ē*). Thus, the habitual morpheme is *-á* (*-é* and *-ē* are phonologically conditioned variants) (see also 2.5.1, assimilation). The imperfective aspect in HA is marked by *-á* for 2P and 3P and *-é/ē* for the rest (Hetzron, 1969).

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[74] Experiential construction in Kulazngi patterns with that of Amharic, as in *färäs galbäh tawk'alläh* 'Have you ever galloped a horse?'

[75] Larva of bee is preferred food to honey for Kulaz bee keepers.

Table 45: **The paradigm of imperfective aspect with the verbs màtʃ 'climb' and gìŋ 'run'**

person	**Verb**	
	zìq- 'to drink'	**gìŋ- 'to run'**
1S/3M	màtʃ-ø-á climb-1S/3M-IPFV	gìŋ-ø-á run-1S/3M-IPFV
1P	màtʃ-n-á climb -1P-IPFV	gìŋ-n-á run-1P-IPFV
2S/3F	màtʃ-ē climb-2S/3F.IPFV	gìŋ-t-á run-2S/3F-IPFV
2P	màtʃ-ē-nà climb-2P.IPFV-2P	gìŋ-t-á-nà run-2S/3F-IPFV-2P/3F
3P	màtʃ-á-nà climb-IPFV-3P	gìŋ-á-nà run-IPFV-3P

As shown in the above table, the imperfective aspect in the verb *gìŋ-* 'run' is marked by *-á* in the paradigm. Nonetheless, it is realized as *-ē* in *màtʃ-* 'climb' in 2nd person and 3rd person feminine, (see section 2.5.8 for details.); and as *é* with all but 1P in *i*-ending verbs where the final *i* bears high tone, as shown in the following table for the verbs *sáqí-* 'to sleep' and *tìrí-* 'stand'.

Table 46: **Realizations of the Imperfective /-á/**

person	**verb**	
	sáqí- 'to sleep'	**tìrí- 'to stand'**
1S/3M	sáqí-ø + **-á** ↦ sáq**é** sleep-3m-IPFV	tìrí-ø +**á** ↦ tìr**é** stand-3M-IPFV
1P	sáqí-n-**á** sleep-1P-IPFV	tìrí-n-á stand-1P-IPFV
2S/3F	sáqí-tí + á ↦ sáqít**é** sleep-2S/3F-IPFV	tìrí-tí-**á** ↦ tìrít**é** stand-2S/3F-IPFV
2P	sáqí- + tí + **á**-nà ↦ sáqít**é**nà sleep-2P-IPFV-2P	tìrí-tí-**á**-nà ↦ tìrít**é**nà stand-2P-IPFV-2P
3P	sáqí- + **á**-nà ↦ sáq**é**nà sleep-IPFV-3P	tìrí + á-nà ↦ tìr**é**nà stand-IPFV-3P

As can be noticed from the above table, the imperfective *-á* appears next to the verb root in the third person masculine and third person plural and after agreement morphemes in the rest.

7.4.1.2.2 Progressive

The progressive aspect in Kulazngi is marked by periphrastic auxiliaries *zɨ̀kʷ-* 'to be in a certain place or be present at the time of speaking' and *dʒi-* 'stay'. The former appears preceding the main verb and inflecting AGR suffixes (cf. 24) and the latter appears as auxiliary fully inflected and following the lexical verb [76] (cf. 25). Aspect is signaled in the main verb in the present progressive but in the auxiliary in the past progressive. In expressing past progressive, one notices analogous use in K'himtanga – like in Kulazngi the verb "to stay" is used as an auxiliary in expressing past progressive in K'himtanga (Teshome, 2015: 206). The form *zɨ̀kʷ-* is also an existential verb (see section 7.7). Below are sentential examples of present progressive with the auxiliary *zɨ̀kʷ-*.

24) a) *ân/ nī zɨ̀kʷ- à χʷ-ø-á*
I/ He present-1s/3M eat-1S/3M-IPFV
'I am /He is eating.'

b) *ɨ́nt/ nī zɨk-ì χù-j-á*
you(s)/ she present-2S/3F eat-2S/3F-IPFV
'You are eating / She is eating.'

c) *nū zɨ̀kʷ-nà χú-n-á*
we present-1P eat-1P-IPFV
'We are eating.'

d) *ɨ̀ntū zɨ̀k-ī χù-j-á-nà*
you(p) present-2P eat-2- IPFV-2P
'You are eating.'

e) *ná zɨ̀k-ù χʷ-á-nà*
they pesent-3P eat- IPFV-3P
'They are eating.'

[76] Progressive aspect in Awngi is marked by suffixes *-wʃ́* and *-gì* (§Yaregal, 2010).

As touched upon above, the past progressive in Kulazngi is shown by the past auxiliary verb *dʒì-* 'stay' placed immediately after the main verb. Note that the same form is used as the past copula (see section 7.6.2). Apart from the past auxiliary *dʒì-*, the main verb attaches imperfective aspect marker *-á.* Thus, the past progressive is compositely encoded: while the imperfective signals the action's progressive aspect, the perfective signals that the progressive aspect was in the past. Following (25) are sentential examples (in number/gender paradigm) to this point.

25) a) *ni zɨ̀q-á dʒí-χʷà*
he drink-3M.IPFV stay-3M.PFV
'He was drinking.'

b) *ân zɨ̀q-á dʒí-t-ú-χà*
I drink-1s.IPFV stay-1s-PFV-1s
'I was drinking.'

c) *nu zɨ̀q-n-á dʒí-n-ú-χà*
we drink-1P-IPFV stay-1P-PFV-1P
'We were drinking.'

d) *ɨ̀nt/ ni zɨ̀q-ē dʒí-t-ú-χà*
you(SG)/She drink-2/3F.IPFV stay-2S/3F -PFV-2S/3F
'You (SG) were/ She was drinking.'

e) *ɨ̀ntu zɨ̀q-ē dʒí-t-ú-kʷà*
you(PL) drink-2.IPFV stay-2P-PFV-2P
'You (PL) were drinking.'

f) *na zɨ̀q-á(-nà) dʒí- kʷà*
they drink-IPFV-3P stay- 3P.PFV
'They were drinking.'

As can be noticed in the illustrative examples above, *dʒí-* (in addition to agreement) is marked for perfective aspect and the main verb before *dʒí-* for imperfective, and their totality turns the clause past progressive. Second person and third person feminine in TG verbs of such constructions are marked by *-t,* as shown in the verb *táz-* 'to hit or to kick' (26).

26. a) *táz-ø-á(z)* *dʒí-t-ú-χà* *(dʒítù)*
hit-1s-IPFV stay-1s-PFV-1s
'I was hitting'

b) *táz-ø-á(z)* *dʒí- χʷà* (*dʒíw*)
hit-3M-IPFV stay-3M.PFV
'He was hitting.'

c) *táz-n-á* *dʒí-n-ú-χà* (*dʒínù*)
hit-1P-IPFV stay-1P-PFV-1P
'We were hitting'

d) *tás-t-á(z)* *dʒí-tɨχʷà* (*dʒítì*)
hit-2/3F-IPFV stay-2S/3F .PFV
'You were/She was hitting.'

e) *tás-t-á(-nà)* *dʒí-tɨkʷà*
hit- IPFV-2P stay-2P.PFV
'You (PL) were hitting'

f) *táz-á(-nà)* *dʒí-kʷà*
hit-IPFV stay-3P.PFV
'They were hitting'

The reduplicated form of auxiliary dʒí- (cf. 27) expresses an action that had been going on continuously before a certain past time (past perfect progressive).

27. a) ân tʷ-áz *nā* *sɨ̀lχî* *zɨ̀q-á-(nà)* *dʒí- dʒí- kʷà*
I enter-when they local beer.ACC drink-IPFV-(3P) stay-stay 3P-PFV
'When I entered, they had been drinking local beer.'

b) án tʷ-áz *nā* *sɨ̀lχî* *zɨ̀q-á* *dʒí-kʷà*
I enter-when they local beer.ACC drink-IPFV stay 3P-PFV
'When I entered, they were drinking local beer.'

The *italicized* clauses in the above illustrative sentences express a progressive aspect – (27a) is equivalent with the English past perfect continuous and (27b) with past continuous.

7.4.4 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." Kulazngi has only one aspect: the present. It is formed from the main verb preceded by the existential auxiliary zek^{w}- 'be present/now' both of which appear conjugated for person, gender, and number of the subject. The main verb is also marked for imperfective aspect. The auxiliary is *now-aspect* (as Dahl (1985) labels it) that encodes point of time at present moment in relation to the event expressed by the main verb: it is the same as time adverb now. Consider the following dialogue between a husband and a wife. The husband in his bedroom, hearing someone extending greetings from the outside, asks his wife (who was already opening) to open the door.

28. Husband: gɨ́nù bɨ̀z-á
house.ACC open-IMPR
'Open the door.'

Wife: ân ká zɨk^{w}a bɨ̀z-a
I FOC present.1s open-IPFV
'I am just opening.'

'Now-aspects' (marked by the prefix/auxiliary *se*, used for events that take place unexpectedly as a translation of English *already*) is reported in Sotho and Zulu languages**,** (Dahl, 1985: 176)**.** Data (29) below presents the paradigm of the present tense *zeq*- 'to drink'.

29) 1s/3M zɨk^{w}a zɨ̀q-á
present.1s drink-1s.IPFV 'I am/He is drinking.'

1P zɨk^{w}-na zɨ̀q-ná
present-2P drink-1s.IPFV 'We are drinking.'

2S/3F zɨki zɨ̀q-e
present.2S/3F drink-2S/3F.IPFV 'You are/She is drinking.'

2P zɨkiku zɨ̀q-ē-nà
present.2P drink-2P.IPFV-2P 'You are drinking.'

3P zɨk^{w}-k^{w}a zɨ̀q-á-nà
present-3P drink-IPFV-3P 'They are drinking.'

We have already seen in the previous section that the indefinite perfective is encoded by perfective marked existential clitic -zɨkʷ- that appears suffixed to the main verb. We in this section saw that the same existential zekʷ- occurs periphrastically preceding the main verb, and it expresses the present tense since it exactly means now. However, the selection of the present tense is restricted to non-durative verbs. Presently ongoing actions of durative verbs (such as *ɨntʃkʷ*- 'sit', *χùr*- 'sleep', *zɨkʷ*- 'live, to be present') are expressed in indefinite perfective. Consider the following. See also section 6.4.1.1.2.

30. a) ɨntʃ-kʷà-zkʷ-à
    sit-1s/3M-AUX-PFV.3M
    'I am sitting / He is sitting.'

    b) χùr-è-zk-ì-w
    sleep-2S/3F-AUX-2S/3F-PFV
    'You are sleeping /She is sleeping.'

    c) gɨ́n-dá zɨkʷ-à
    house-LOC present-1s/3M.PFV
    'I am in the house / He is in the house.'

7.5 Verbal Derivation

This section discusses derivation of verbs and the processes involved. Verbal derivations in Kulazngi can be viewed in two ways: derivation of verbs from other word classes and derivation of verbs through stem extension. While the former relates to inchoative, the latter relates to valence changing mechanism.

7.5.1 Derivation of Verbs from Other Word Classes

As discussed in section 7.1, a great majority of Kulazngi verbs are lexical. There also exist a considerable number of derived verbs from noun or adjective bases with verb derivational affixes **-t** (intransitive) and -z or **-ts** (transitive) from adjective and noun bases (cf. 31, 32, 33, 35). Those derived with *-t* are inchoative verbs, which express change of state or the state of becoming something. Verbs derived with -z or **-ts** have the meaning to cause to become something or to cause to turn into a certain state. While adjectives are generally converted to verbs with the derivational affixes mentioned above, only a small number of nouns are converted to verbs (34, 36). There is only one instance where a verb is derived from an adverb *-tʃā*

'tomorrow' by dropping the ultimate vowel, since no verb in Kulazngi ends in *a*. Hence, *-tʃā* > *tʃ-* 'to spend the night' (cf. 37).

31. a) *dɨ́mmí* + *-t* > *dɨ́mmít-*
red + -t > 'to become red'

b) *dɨ́mmí* + *-z* > *dɨ́mmíz-*
red + -z > 'to make *something* red'

32. a) *tsárkí* + *-t* > *tsárkɨ́t-*
black + -t > 'to become black'

b) *tsárkí* + *-z* > *tsárkɨ́z-*
black + -z > 'to make *something* black'

33 a) *sɨxʷān* + *-t* > *sɨxʷánt-*
wet + -t > to become wet

b) *sɨxʷān* + *-ts* > *sɨxʷánts-*
wet + -ts > 'to make something wet'

34. a) *kàwán* + *-t* > *kàwánt-*
forest + -t > 'to become forest'

b) *kàwán* + *-z* > *kàwánz-*
forest + -z > 'to afforest *some place* '

35. a) *dɨχī* + *-t* > *dɨχìt-*
poor + -t > 'to become poor

b) *dɨχī* + *-z* > *dɨχìz-*
poor + -z > 'to cause to be poor'

36. a) *gɨsáŋ* + *-t* > *gɨsáŋt-*
dog + -t > 'to become a dog (lit) 'to be filthy/ugly'

b) *gɨsáŋ* + *-z* > *gɨsáŋz-*
dog + *-z* > 'to make someone a dog (lit) 'to slander someone'

37. a) *tʃā* *χáz-dá* *kàt-á-χá-mà*
tomorrow wedding-for go-IPFV-2S-intr
'Are you going to the wedding tomorrow?'

(b) *dàngɬlí-da* *tʃ-à-má* *jì-nt-û*
Dangila-LOC spend the night-3M-cnv.3M 3M- come-PFV
'Having spent the night in Dangila, he came.'

As can be noticed in the examples above, inchoative derivational morpheme *-t* is suffixed to noun bases (34a, 36a) and adjective bases (31a, 32a, 33a, 35a) to derive a verb encoding becoming 'into a certain state'. Thus, the verb forms in 34a, 36a are denominal and those in 31a, 32a, 33a, and 35a are deadjectival. The numeral *ɨmpɬl* 'one' can also add *-t*, hence *ɨmpɬlt-* 'to unite, to become one'. It is noteworthy the same inchoative verbs are middle verbs (see sections 7.5.2.3 and 3.5.1.3) and those derived into transitive are causatives.

7.5.2 Verbal Extension

Verbal extension (radical extension in Appleyard (1986)) refers to suffixes which occur immediately after the verb root, introducing an extension or change of lexical meaning into the verb. According to Appleyard (1986), the Central Cushitic languages have productive system of verb derivation.

> …the Agaw languages have a productive system of verb derivation by means of affixes placed between the root, i.e. the lexical component of the verb structure, and further layers of morphs denoting such inflectional categories as person, aspect, mood, etc (Appleyard, 1986: 1).

Like in other Agaw languages (Appleyrd, 1986), verbal extensions in Kulazngi only occur as suffixes. The extended or derived verbs include causative, passive, middle, reciprocal, and. autobenefactive. While causatives are valence increasing, the rest are valence decreasing. The following subsections will be devoted to these verb types.

7.5.2.1 Causative

According to Payne (1997: 175), causativity can be expressed in three ways: lexically, morphologically, and periphrastically. Likewise, causativity in Kulazngi is expressed in the above-mentioned three ways. While morphological cauastives are productive, there also exist in pairs a small number of phonologically unrelated lexical causative/noncausative verbs that have the same core meaning but differ in argument number. If the one (noncausative) among the pairs is monovalent, the other expressing a causative situation will be divalent; if the one

(noncausative) is divalent, the other expressing a causative situation will be trivalent (agentive and non-agentive), as in (38) below.

38) (a) tú- 'enter (intr)' mìts- 'enter (transitive)'

(b) mìts- 'marry (divalent)' xɨ̀jts- 'marry (trivalent)'[77]

(c) -nt- 'come' -àg- 'bring'

(d) kɨ̀r- 'die' kú- 'kill'

As can be noticed from the gloss, the transitive /intransitive situation of some verbs is clear from the gloss, hence no parenthesized information is given. For the verbs whose the transitive /intransitive situation is not clear from the gloss, this is pointed out there. It is noteworthy that while *tú-* and *mìts-* (the first two in the list) can be causativized with the causative suffix *-ts*, the second two (*-nt-* and *kɨ̀r-*) cannot be causativized.

The second verbs in the pairs are causative counterparts of the first. For example, in *-àg-* 'bring', the notion of causation is embodied in its meaning – the causative situation contains the causer and the causee. Thus, causative in Kulazngi can also be expressed lexically. Following are sentential examples of lexical causatives.

39) *ɨ̀nkʷáŋá χùnâ* ***mìts-ú-χà*** *nɨ́ŋʷá nìzànà-zà* ***xɨ̀jts-ú-χà***
last year woman.ACC marry-PFV-3M this year his brother-ACC marry-PFV-3M
'He married last year; this year he had his brother marry.'

40) a) *gɨ́n-á* ***tʷ-ān***
house-into enter-2P.IMPR
'Get in'

b) *làngàdû gɨ́n-á* ***mìts-án***
guests.ACC house-into enter-2P.IMPR
'Help the guests to get in'

[77] There exists analogous language use in Amharic, as in *alläk'ä* 'It got finished' vs. *tʃ'ärräsä* 'He finished'. Appleyard (1986: 3) also reports such analogous language use between the Agaw and Ethiopian Semitic as: "The system of causatives and double causatives that occurs in Agaw has a very close parallel not only in many other Cushitic languages, but also in Ethiopian Semitic, even down to particular semantic developments of the derived forms."

As can be noticed from the above illustrations, lexical causatives have one more argument than their non-causative counter parts. For example, while ***mìts-ú-χà*** (39) involves two arguments, the subject and the object, ***xìjts-ú-χà*** (39) involves one more argument, that is the causer. See subsequent discussions with regard to valence increasing.

Causativity in Kulazngi is also expressed periphrastically with the causative verb *tsáw*- more commonly in statements where a cause for the causative event is given and in imperatives, as shown in (41) below, otherwise there is no difference in meaning and causation between morphological and periphrastic causatives.

41. a) kɨ́tàbà-z kárà-zà kètàm-dá tʃ-ā-tà **tsàw-t-ú-χà**
your hand-intr your husband town-LOC pass the night-3M-PUR make-2S.PFV-2S
'(lit. By your own hand) You yourself made your husband pass the night in the town.'

b) kɨmkâ mintʃû tʃǐwî χú-ts-ɨ́-kà-má tsànqúnt-án-tà **tsàw-kʷà**
cattle.ACC much.ACC salt.ACC eat-CAUS-ep-3P-cnv thirst-3P-PUR make-PFV-3P
'Having given a lot of salt, they made the cattle become thirsty.'

c) fɨ̀làj-kâ gùrà-z f-án-tà **tsàp-án**
goat-PL morning-in go out-3P-PUR make.IMP-2P
'Take the goats go out (of their fold) in the morning!'

The root of the boldfaced verb forms in (41) is the causativeverb **tsàw**- 'make'. This causative verb is immediately preceded by a causative event in each of the sentences. The causative event in (59a) is *your husband passed the night in the town*, which is in turn preceded by *kɨ́tàbà-z* as its cause. The causative event in (41b) is *the cattle became thirsty*, which is again preceded by a converbial clause as the cause of the causative event. The causative event in (41c), which is an imperative sentence, is *the going out of goats*.

As mentioned earlier, causativity in Kulazngi is productively expressed morphologically, and a causative marker morpheme is *-ts*, which is placed immediately next to the verb root (cf. 42b, 43 b).

42. (a) gìŋ-u-χà
run-PFV-3M
'He ran.'

(b) gìŋ-**ts**-u-χà
run-CAUS-PFV -3M
He made him run.

43. (a) dʒàw-u-χà
buy-PFV-3M
'He bought.'

(b) dʒàw-**ts**-u-χà
buy-CAUS-PFV-3M
'He helped him/her/them buy.'

Kulazngi verbs with *-ts* suffixed are transitive or causative. While *-ts* causativizes all transitive verbs (cf. 43b), its suffixation to intransitive or middle verbs transitivizes or causativizes (for example, 41b is trasitivized). Transitivized verbs with -ts are further causativized with the other -ts suffixed to the already -ts-suffixed verb stem, hence **-tsɨts** (the ɨ between the transitive and the causative -ts's is epenthetic vowel) (cf. 44c). It is noteworthy that all *-ts* suffixed verbs are at least divalent.

44. a) kànī dúnt-ú-χà
stick break-PFV-3M
'The stick broke.'

b) kànî dún-ts-ú-χà
stick.ACC break-CAUS-PFV-3M
'He broke the stick.'

c) ɨntsāj ɨntsàχā-z kànî dún-tsɨts-ú-χà
boy girl-DAT stickacc break-CAUS-PFV-3M-PFV
'The boy helped the girl in breaking the stick.'

Almost all verbs can be causativized via suffixation of *-ts*. In my data (as also pointed out earlier), there are two verbs, viz. *kɨr-* 'to die', and *-nt-* 'to come', which do not take the causative *-ts*. What is causativized in relation to the meaning of *kɨr-* is the suppletive transitive *ku-* 'to kill'. Likewise, *-àg-* 'to bring' is suppletive causative of *-nt-* 'to come'.

-ts is also a productive causative morpheme in Awngi (Appleyard, 1986: 7). It is more likely that the causative *-ts* is derived from *tsàw-* 'do'. This is also reported to be the case in Awngi (Appleyard, 1986; Hetzron, 1976). Appleyard doubtfully suggests it to be an innovation peculiar to Awngi, for it is formally different from those of the other Agaw languages: "The productive causative extension in Awngi, c [ts], looks like an innovation peculiar to this language [Awngi] (Appleyard, 1986: 7)." As for other Agaw languages, K'himt'anga employs -(ɨ)s (Teshome, 2015: 228), Kemanteney -(ɨ)ʃ (Zelealem, 2003: 199), Bilin -(ɨ)s or -d (Appleyard, 2007: 493). Table 47 below provides some causativized vs. non-causativized verb forms.

Table 47: Causativized vs. non-causativized verb forms

verb	Kul.	Gloss	Eng.
gìŋ- 'run'	*gìŋ-ú-χà*	run-PFV-3M	He ran.
	gìŋ-ts-ú-χà	run-CAUS-PFV-3M	He made [sb] run.
gàfàr- 'boil'	*gàfàr-ú-χà*	boil-PFV-3M	It boiled.
	gàfàr-ts-ītχʷà	boil-CAUS-PFV.3f	She boiled [sth].
gám- 'go down'	*gám-ú-χà*	go down-PFV-3M	He came down.
	gám-ts-ú-χà	go down-CAUS-PFV-3M	He let it/them fall.
	gám-tsɨts-ú-χà	go down-CAUS-PFV-3M	He helped [sth/sb] come down.
dúnt- 'break'	*dúnt-ú-χà*	break-PFV-3M	It broke/ He broke.
	dún-ts-ú-χà	break-CAUS-PFV-3M	He broke [sth]
	dún-tsɨts-ú-χà	break-CAUS-PFV-3M	He helped [sb] break [sth]
χú- 'eat'	*χú-n-ú-χà*	eat-1P-PFV-1P	We ate.
	χú-ts-ín-ú-χà	eat-CAUS-1P-PFV	We had them eat.
bū- 'carry'	*bū-kʷà*	carry-3P-PFV	They carried [sth].
	bū-tsː-ú-kʷà	carry-CAUS-PFV-3P	They made/helped [sb] carry [sth].

.

In the above table, *dúnt-* 'break' (column 1 row 5 in table 47 above) is middle verb, and it has turned transitive by *-ts* (column 2 row 10), and further addition of *-ts* has introduced the second causer (column 2 row 11) (see section 2.5.9 for the deletion of *t* in the root verb *dúnt-*, upon the addition of *-ts*, hence, *dún-ts-ú-χà* (row 5 from the last)). Similarly, *gám-ú-χà* (column 2 row 6) and *gàfàr-ú-χà* (column 2 row 4) are intransitive, and upon the suffixation of *-ts*, they have turned transitive, and further addition of *-ts* will introduce them the second causer (cf. column 2 row 8). *gìŋ-ú-χà* (column 2 row 2) is intransitive, and it has been causativized upon the suffixation of *-ts* (column 2 row 3). *χú-n-ú-χà* and *bū-kʷà* (row 4 and 2 from the last) are transitive (divalent), and when causativized, they have turned trivalent. Hence, the first verbs in pair rows of Table 47 are one valency less than their counterparts with *-ts* added. Thus, the suffixation of -ts always brings to the host verb one more argument. For example, *j-* 'to give' in a construction: *ɨntsáj gànzábû nì-tʃú-z* ***jí-χʷà*** (boy money.ACC his-mother-to give-3M.PFV 'The boy gave the money to his mother' is ditransitive, so trivalent, and if the process of giving involves someone as a causer, the causative *-ts* will be added next to the root, hence *jí-ts-ú-χà*

(give-CAUS-3M-PFV), which is quadrivalent (involving four arguments) (see section 7.11.2 for details with regard to valence increasing upon the addition of *-ts*).

A causativized or transitivized Kulazngi verb agrees with a subject only, i.e. it does not agree with an object, and nor does it agree with a causee agent, i.e. all agreement suffixes refer to the causer, as can be checked from the verb *bu-* 'to carry' in the following partial paradigm.[78]

45. a) *ɨntsáj ɨntsàχâ árè* ***bú-ts-ú-xà***
boy girl.ACC crop.ACC carry-CAUS-PFV-3M
'The boy made the girl carry the crop'

b) ɨn *ɨntsáj àn-zà ɨntsàj-û árè* ***bú-ts-ú-xà***
this boy that-ACC boy-ACC crop.ACC carry-CAUS-PFV-3M
'This boy made that boy carry the crop'

c) *ɨntsáj ɨntsàxárî árè* ***bú-ts-ú-xà***
boy boys/girls/boys and girls.ACC crop.ACC carry-CAUS-PFV-3M
'This boy made that boy carry the crop'

d) *ɨntsàxā ɨntsàj-û árè* ***bú-ts-ɨ̄xʷà***
girl boy-ACC crop.ACC carry-CAUS-PFV.3F
'The girl made the boy carry the crop.'

As can be noticed in (45a_c), the verb ***bú-ts-ú-xà*** agrees with its subject *ɨntsáj*, which is third person masculine. The causee agents in three of the sentences are different in number and gender. However, the verb form remains the same, for it does not agree with the causee agent. The subject of the verb ***bú-ts-ɨ̄xʷà*** in (45d) is *ɨntsàxā*, which is third person feminine – the verb thus agrees with this subject.

The causee agent in all of the sentences is in accusative case. It is also possible the causee agent can be in dative case, having benefactive meaning. When the causee agent is in the dative case, the causative predicate can have an equivocal meaning. For example, (45a) in dative case is:

[78] This is unlike the Amharic causative verb form where there appear agreement suffixes of both causer and causee agent, as in *asmät':anäw/asmät':anatʃ:w/asmät':ut/asmätʷ':atʃ:w* 'We made him come or we made others bring him/We made them come or we made others bring them /They made him come or they made others bring him/They made them come or they made others bring them'.

*ɨntsáj ɨntsàχà-**z** árè **bú-ts-ú-xà,*** and it can mean the boy helped the girl with the job, i.e by carrying the crop with her or he lifted up and put the crop load on the girl's back or shoulder.

Double causative is also common in Kulazngi. As mentioned earlier, the suffixation of **-ts** to the already -ts suffixed verbs introduces the second causer (cf. 46c).

46. a) nìgàtú gàbāl-dâz gèrkā **zùr-ú-χà**
nigatu market-from day.ADV return-PFV-3M
'Nigatu returned from market in the day time.'

b) nìgàtú gàbāl-á kàts-ú-k-zà fɨlàj-kâ wàj-à-gī **zùr-ts-ú-χà**
nigatu market-to take-PFV.3M-3P(OB)-ACC goat-PL sell-3M-NEG turn-CAUS-PFV-3M
'Nigatu returned the goats that he took to market without selling.'

c) nìgàtú nìrā gàbāl-á kàts-úk-zà fɨlàj-kâ **zùr-tsèts-ú-χà**
nigatu his son market-to take-PFV.3M-ACC goat-PL return-CAUS-PFV-3M
'Nigatu made his son return the goats that he (his son) took to market.'

The boldfaced verb in (46a) is intransitive. With the suffixation of -ts, it is tansitivized (causativized) in (46b), involving the causee agent Nigatu (which is also the subject) as a causer and the object *fɨlàj-kâ* as a causee. In (46c), another internal (or direct) causer, his son, is introduced. Thus, Nigatu is indirect participant in the causative situation.

Double causative is also reported in Awngi (Appleyard, 1986: 7), Khimt'anga (Teshome, 2015: 230), and (but doubtfully) Bilin (Appleyard, 2007, 493).

7.5.2.2 Passive

The passive is semantically transitive (two-participant) clause where the agent is either omitted or demoted to an oblique; the patient possesses all properties of the subject relevant for the language as a whole, and the verb possesses all language-specific formal properties of intransitive verbs (Payne, 1997: 204). The morpheme **-st** (realized as *-(ɨ/i)st)* marks the passive in Kulazngi. *-ist* occurs with IG verbs, *-ɨst* following a consonant (but with non-IG verbs), and *-st* occurs following a vowel. *-(ɨ)st* is the passive marker in Awngi (Appleyard, 1986: 17; Hetzron, 1969: 64); other Agaw languages use varied forms, hence, K'himt'anga *-ʃɨt(-ʃ), -jit* or *-it* (Tesome, 2015: 232), Bilin -ist or-s (Appleyard, 2007: 494), Kemanteney -(ɨ)s or -(ɨ)t (Zelealem, 2003: 197).

Kulazngi passive marker *-(ɨ/i)st* appears next to the verb root. The following table provides a list of active and passive verb forms in perfective aspect for third person masculine.

Table 48: **A list of active and passive verb forms in perfective aspect for 1S/3M**

Verb root	Active	Passive
táz- 'hit/kick'	*táz-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*táz-**ɨ́st**-ú-χa* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
atsad- 'reap'	*atsad-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*àtsád-**ɨ́st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
wáj- 'sell'	*wáj-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*wáj-**ɨ̀st**-u-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
dʒàw- 'buy'	*dʒàw-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*dʒàw-**ɨ̀st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
kàts- 'take'	*kàts-u-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*kàts-**ɨ̀st**-u-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
bèdàl- 'hurt'	*bèdàl-ú-xà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*bèdàl-* ***ɨ̀st**-ú-xà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
gɨ́ʃ- 'dig'	*gɨ́ʃ-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*gɨ́ʃ-* ***ɨ̀st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
wìts- 'win'	*wìts-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*wìts-**ɨ̀st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
kú- 'kill'	*kú-χà* (.PFV-1S/3M)	*kú-**st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
bù- 'carry'	*bù-χà* (.PFV-1S/3M)	*bù-**st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
mí- 'hold'	*mí-χ^{w}à* (-PFV.3M)	*mí-**st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
kàtʃ- 'hunt'	*kàtʃ-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*kàtʃ-**ɨ̀st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
kàs- 'recompense'	*kàs-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*kàs-**ɨ̀st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
fɨndʒ- 'drive off'	*fɨndʒ-ū-χà* (-PFV-3M)	*fɨndʒ-**ɨ̀st**-ū-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
dàl- 'be enough'	*dàl-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*dàl-**ɨ̀st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
dàr- 'put in row'	*dàr-ú-xà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*dàr-**ɨ̄st**-u-xà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
zɨg^{w}ī- 'throw'	*zɨg^{w}ī-χ^{w}à* (-PFV.3M)	*zɨg^{w}-**ɨ̄st**-u-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
matʃ- 'climb'	*matʃ-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*màtʃ-**ɨ̀st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)
mál- 'hit the target'	*mál-ú-χà* (-PFV-1S/3M)	*mál-**ɨ́st**-ú-χà* (-PSV-PFV-1S/3M)

The clustering consonants in the passive *-st* cling to proximate syllables, *s* becomes the coda of the preceding and *t* becomes the onset of the following syllables (see 2.3.8 for details of consonant spreading due to phonological constraint. The *ɨ* in *-ɨst* appears for the role of epenthesis – it occurs when *-st* attaches to verb bases ending in a consonant, as can be noticed in

the first seven rows in Table 48 above. The passive verb bases of IG verbs that end in sounds other than (semi) vowels have *i* immediately before the passive marker *-st*, as can be noticed in the last eight rows. AGR suffixes in passivized verb form appear next to the passive marker in the same way as they attach in the active verb.

As is the general case in languages, the object of the active verb is the subject of the passive. "The effect of passivization is to promote the less active participant (the logical object), as it were, to the front of the stage by making it the syntactic subject, and to background the logical subject (to such an extent that it becomes an optional adjunct) (Cruse, 2000: 280). In terms of discourse function, Payne (1997: 204) defines the passive construction as it is used in contexts where the A (the subject of the active sentence) is relatively low in topicality with respect to the P (patient). In Kulazngi, even though there is a possibility, it is not usual to use the agent in passive constructions unless it is worth mentioning, as in (48b). If the agent is to be mentioned, it, attaching the suffix **–z,** occurs as oblique object (marked by dative case) immediately following the patient (the subject of the passive), as in *ni-z* 'by him/her', *nu-z* 'by us', *nigatu-z* 'by Nigatu'. Instruments (instrumentalized nouns) can be used frequently in passive constructions (cf. 47a-b). The following are sentential examples of the passive construction in Kulazngi.

47. a) bàldí ɨʃʃî dàdáχ-t-ú-t-zà ànkùtʃã ɨnkʷàχî kàrːí-z kàw-ú-xà
owner meat.ACC steal-3F-PFV-3F.REL-ACC cat-ACC ear.ACC knife-INSTR cut-PFV-3M
'The owner cut the ear of the cat that stole the meat.'

b) ɨʃʃî dàdáχ-t-ú-t ànkùtʃã ɨnkʷàχî kàrí-z kàw-ɨst-īxʷà
meat.ACC steal-3F-PFV-3F.REL cat ear.ACC knife-INSTR cut- PSV-3F.PFV
'The cat that stole the meat was cut its ear with a knife.'

48) a) ɨ́n-zà ʤàrû ʧʷátàbl dàqār-kʷà
this-ACC boy.ACC parents bless-3P.PFV
'His parents have blessed this boy'

b) ɨ́n ʤàr ʧʷátàbl-ɨ-z dàqār-ɨst-à-zkʷà
this boy parents-ep-INSTR bless-PSV-3M-AUX.PFV
'This boy was blessed by his parents'

There is one active passive suppletive case, viz. *n-* ‘to say (active)’ and *ɨst-* ‘to be said / called / alleged (passive)’.

7.5.2.3 Middle

Middle voice refers to the verbs that express a semantically transitive situation in terms of a process undergone by the patient (Payne 1997: 216). Similarly, Saeed (2003: 171) defines middle voice as: “The central feature of the middle voice is that middle forms emphasize that the subject of the verb is affected by the action described by the verb.” The typical uses of middle voice according to Saeed include events where the subject undergoes non-volitional process or change of state, the activity described by the verb involves the body or emotions of the subject, and the subject’s action affects (or benefits) the subject himself, or a possession or body part of the subject.

Some Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages have a separate marking for the middle and passive while the passive marker is also the middle voice marker in others (Tolemariam, 2009: 77). Likewise, the passive marker *-st* marks some of Kulazngi middle verbs while a separate morpheme *-t* marks most of denominals (cf. 49b) and deadjectivals (cf. 49a). Some verbs are used in middle sense without any overt marking (among these type are conversion case denominals and deadjectivals, i.e. some nouns and adjectives can be used as verbs with no verbalizer morpheme added to them (cf. 49 c). A small number of deadjectival middle verbs undergo ablaut (cf. 49d)). Thus, middle in Kulazngi is expressed in four ways mentioned above.

49. a)

Adjectives	*Derived Verbal Stems with -t*
tsárkí ‘black’	tsárɨkt- ‘become black’
dém:í ‘red’	dém:ít- ‘become red’
futʃ:í ‘white’	fútʃ:ít- ‘become white’
sèχʷān ‘wet’	sèχʷánt- ‘become wet’
ɨzān ‘wide’	ɨzánt- ‘become wide’
tsɨbāb ‘narrow’	tsɨbábt- ‘become narrow’
dɨ̀ngúrí ‘big’	dɨ̀ngúrt- ‘become big’
ɨ̀nkʷìní ‘hot’	ɨ̀nkʷínt- ‘to become hot’
ʃìnqàní ‘limp’	ʃínqànt- ‘to limp’

b)	*Nouns*	*Derived Verbal Stems with -t*
	kàwán ‘forest’	kàwánt- ‘become forest’
	wàlɨ̄χ ‘meadow’	wàlɨ̄χt- ‘ become meadow’
	dād ‘path’	dàdt- ‘become path’
	gàbāl ‘market’	gàbàlt- ‘become market’
	tsànqúna ‘thirst’	tsànqúnt- ‘become thirsty’
	mɨ̀rká ‘hunger’	mɨ̀rɨ̀kt- ‘become hungry’
	ɨ́χʷmí ‘cold’	ɨ́χúmt- ‘become cold’
	kákásà ‘yawn ’	kákàst- ‘to yawn’
	kūrà ‘barn’	kùrt- ‘become barn’
	ɨ́wrà ‘cough’	ɨ́wùrt- ‘to cough’
	gámpɨ̀rā ‘moving on knees’	*gàmpɨ̀rt*- ‘move on one’s knees’
	sɨ́sqí ‘sweat’	sɨ́sɨ́qt- ‘to emit sweat’
	sànqúnà ‘thirst’	sànqúnt- ‘get thirsty’
	χɨ́mpɨ́rá ‘snore’	xɨ́mpɨ́rt- ‘to snore’
	Nouns / Adjectives	*Derived Verbal Stems as Conversion case*
c)	wàχ ‘full’	wàχ- ‘become full’
	dàngʷ ‘not full’	dàngʷ- ‘become less or half empty’
	màqátʃ- ‘anger’	màqàtʃ- ‘to get angry’
	ɨ̀nkān ‘love’	ɨ̀nkán- ‘to love/like’
	Nouns / Adjectives	*Derived Verbal Stems with Vowel Ablaut*
d)	tsìwíntí ‘sweet’	tsèwánt- ‘have or taste sweet taste’
	sìmítí ‘satiety’	sèmàt- ‘become satiated’
	mɨ̀ràrí ‘bitter’	mérár- ‘have or taste bitter’

The above denominals and deadjectivals are intransitive, and all of them show that the subject undergoes non-volitional process or change of state. The middle marker *-t* for cases (49a-b)

contrasts with the corresponding transitive *-z*,[79] which is added to the same noun or adjective to turn it into a transitive verb, for example, *kàwán-z-* 'to afforest' from *kàwán* 'forest'. *-t* and *-z* are verbalizers or denominalizers (see section 7.5.1 for discussions). The denominative function of *-t* is also reported in Awngi as *essive* by Hetzron (1969: 61).

A small number of middle verbs are inherently *t*-final (not derived from other word class), they all have their *-ts*-final transitive counterparts. Notice the following sentential examples. Those in (a's) are middle intransitive and in (b's) are their counterpart transitives.

50. a) kànî **dúnt-ú-χà**
stick.ACC break- PFV-3M
'A (The) stick broke.'

b) kànî **dúnts-ú-χà**
Stick.ACC break-PFV -3M/1s
'He/I broke a (the) stick.'

51. a) àqá gɨ́ndá **bèft-īχʷà**
woman house-LOC hide-3F.PFV
'The woman hid in the house.'

b) àqá bɨ́rrû gɨ́n-dá **bèfts-īχʷà**
woman birr.ACC house-LOC hide-3F.PFV
'The woman hid the money in the house.'

52. a) án bírrû màbírí-dáz **gùʃt-ú-χà**
I birr.ACC union-from borrow-PFV -1s
'I borrowed money fom the union.'

b) án bírrû nī-z **gùʃts-ú-χà**
I birr.ACC he/she-to lend-PFV -1s
'I lent money to him/her.'

[79] "Sometimes morphological middle constructions are called **anticausatives.** This is because they are the logical opposite of causative constructions (Payne, 2007: 218).

53. a) gònī j-áχ-á-w nɨ́ʃ̀ī nɨ́ʃ̀ī **átìʃt-ú-χà**
flue 3M-be.FUT-3M now now sneeze-PFV -1s/3M
'It may be flue I/he sneezed repeatedly.'

b) gònī j-áχ-á-w **átìʃts-ú-χà**
flue 3M-be-FUT-3M sneeze-PFV-3M
'It may be flue that made me/him/… sneeze.'

As touched upon earlier, some Kulazngi middles are *-st* final, which is the same morphological suffix that marks the passive. Like *-t* in (50_53) above, *-st* in these middle verbs contrasts with the transitive *-ts* (cf. 54) below.

54)

Middle	**Active**
dʒɨ̀bíst- 'fear'	*dʒɨ̀bíts-* 'frighten'
qúndàst- 'be ill'	*qúndáts-* 'cause to be ill'
ɨ̀ngúst- 'feel like having something'	*ɨ̀ngúts-* 'cause to feel like having something'
kákàst 'yawn'	*kákàsts* 'yawn'
bɨ̀kàst- 'belch'	'*bɨ̀kàsts-* 'belch'
qús- 'wash'	*qúts-* 'wash'

As can be observed, the middle verbs in the above list end in *-st* while the active ones in *-ts*. Frajzyngier (2012: 584) also reports a similar process in Somali middle verbs where the 'middle voice' derives intransitive verbs from inherently causative verbs or from verbs with one of the causative suffixes. Nonetheless, which derives from which is not clear in Kulazngi. There is one *-st* final non-derived middle verb, viz. *ɨ̀ngɨ̀lɨ́bɨ́st-* 'kneel down'.

Even though *-st* final verbs end in *-st*, which is the same form as the passive, they do not show the passive reading. The passive in some of these verbs is derived by transitivizing them with the causative *-ts* and suffixing *-st* to the active, as in **qúndáts-ɨ̀st-** 'to be caused to be ill'.

Some middle verbs are not marked at all. These include *sàj-* 'to wear', *qús-* 'wash', *wàχ-* 'become full', *bɨ̀br-* 'burn', *tsàj-* 'to burn', *ɨ̀ndʒ-* 'ripen', *gàfàr-* 'boil (intr)', *zènàg-* 'forget', *tàks-* 'recall', *dang^{w}-* 'become less empty', *ɨ̀t-* 'fall', *ɨ̀ʃ̀-* 'become cool', and *qáqáts-* 'become cold'. With the exception of *dàng^{w}-* and *ɨ̀t-*, others attach *-ts* to turn into transitive (cf. 55). While *dàng^{w}-* is transitivized with *-z*, *ɨ̀t-* has a suppletive transitive, viz. *dɨ̀rb-* 'fell' (cf. 56).

55. a) gɨ́n-dá lèg **bɨ̀br -á**
house-LOC fire burn-IPFV.3M
'A fire is burning in the house.'

b) sɨχʷān kànī ɨ́mbìt n-à-má **tsàj-á-là**
moist wood qick.IDP say.3M-CNV burn-3M.IPFV-NEG
'Moist wood does not burn quickly.'

c) bèχʷrī lánbù **ɨʃː-à-jà**
porridge till now become cool-PFV-NEG
'The porridge has not cooled yet.'

d) dèràχ tʃɨ̌χá **qáqáts-á**
highland rainy season become cold-3M.IPFV
'It is cold in highland in the rainy season.'

56. a) kànī ɨ̀t-ú-χà
tree fell-PFV -3M
'The tree felled.'

b) nìgàtú kànî mákāj-z dèrb-û
Nigatu tree.ACC axe-INSTR fell-3M.PFV
'Nigatu felled a (the) tree with an axe.'

See section 8.1.4 with regard to stranded position of ADVP from the head verb in (55a).

The boldfaced in (55) are unmarked middle verbs. No agent is used with them. Middle verbs used with no agent like these ones can be referred to as non-agentive (Talmy, 2007: 73)

qús- 'wash' is middle verb and the action of washing refers to one's body parts (cf. 56a). As it is TG2 verb, it is *qús-t-* in 2nd person and 1st person singular. The transitive counterpart *qúts-* 'wash' is used with all persons (cf. 57b), and has its passive counterpart, which is different in form from that of middle *qús-t-* (cf. 57b). Notice the following.

57. a) tàbû / lɨ̀kû / ŋárê / àkàlátû **qús-t-ú-χà**
hand.ACC / leg.ACC / hair.ACC / body.ACC wash-1s-PFV-1s
'I washed my hand/leg/hair/body', and *qús-* is used with the rest.'

b) tʃárkû qúts-ú-χà
cloth.ACC wash-PFV -3M/1s
'He/I washed clothes'

c) *tʃárk qúts-ə̀st-ú-χà*
cloth wash- pass-PFV -3M
'Clothes were washed.'

It was mentioned earlier that the central feature of middle construction is that a subject of the verb is affected by the action described by the verb. The *affectedness* (the term Saeed (2003: 171), citing Claiman, used) can be of several types. Thus, there are four types of middle verbs in Kulazngi with respect to the affectedness of the subject. The first type refers to the middle where the subject undergoes a non-volitional process or change of state, the second type refers to those where the activity involves the body or emotions of the subject, the third type refers to reflexives, and the fourth type refers to autobenefactives. The following brief discussions are devoted to these semantic types of middle voice in Kulazngi.

Middle verbs where the subject undergoes a non-volitional process or change of state include verbs like, *làgàz-* 'grow / grow up', *dúnt-* **'**break**'**, *bàzàq-* 'rot', *qàlàt-* 'melt', *qàqàts-* 'become cool', *gàfàr-* 'boil', *mɨ̀rkt-* 'be hungry', *tsàj-* 'burn'. This type verbs are labeled as *neuter intransitives* in Saeed (2003: 171). Notice sentential examples below.

58. a) án gàtsár-dá **làgàz-u-χà**
I countryside grow-PFV -1s
'I grew up in countryside.'

b) àní ɨ̀nkʷlàl-ká **bàzàq-kʷà**
those egg-PL rot-3P.PFV
'Those eggs have been rotten.'

c) àχū zɨ̀kʷ-à **gàfàr-á**
water present.AUX-3M boil-IPFV.3M '(The) Water is boiling.'

d) kànī **dunt-ú-χà**
stick break-PFV -3M
'A (The) stick broke.'

The boldfaced above are middle verbs showing a non-volitional process or change of state. While those in (58a-c) show change of state, (58d) shows non-volitional process.

Kulazngi middle verbs where the activity involves the body or emotions of the subject include *ìs*- 'weep', *gìdɨmt*- 'lie', *sáqi*- 'sleep', *ʃínqànt*- 'limp', *ɨntʃkʷ*- 'sit down', *tìr*- 'stand up', *àzàn*- 'mourn', *náq*- 'get closer /cling', *kàlax*- 'wail'. Notice sentential examples below.

59. a) ɨt-ū-χà
fall-PFV- 3M
'He fell.'

b) àqí lɨtʃɨst-u-χà
man stretch-PFV- 3M
'The man stretched.'

The reflexives include: *qús*- 'wash', *ɦʃ*- 'take off one's colthes', *saj/set* 'put on one's clothes', *ʃòkàt*- 'comb one's hair'. Consider sentential examples for *ʃokat* and *qus*- in (60) below.

60) a) ɨntsàχā ŋárî ʃòkàt-īχʷà
girl hair.ACC comb-3F.PFV
'The girl combed her hair.'

b) qúst-u-χà
wash.1s-PFV-1s
'I washed (myself/ my hands/ my legs.)'

When viewed syntactically, Kulazngi middle verbs are two types: intransitive and transitive like. Transitive like middle verbs, such as *qús*- 'wash', *dúnt* 'break', *guʃt*- 'borrow', *dʒɨbíst*- 'fear', take direct object. However, they are not transitive proper because the action is a kind of reflexive or benefactive. For example, the **boldfaced** nouns in (61, 62) have the grammatical function of the accusative case and semantic role of the reflexive or benefactive. Thus, despite the presence of a direct object in the structure and the system passivization in the language, they cannot be passivized (cf. 61c, 62c).

61. a) **ŋárè** qúst-ú-χà
hair.ACC wash.1s-PFV-1S
'I washed my hair.'

b) **gänzábû** gúʃt-ú-χà
money.ACC borrow-PFV -3M.1S
'He/ I borrowed money.'

c) ∗ gänzáb guʃt-ɨst-ú-χà
money borrow- pass-PFV -3M
'(the intended meaning) The money was borrowed.'

62. a) **tsànàχù** dʒɨbíst-k^{w}à
leopard.ACC fear-3P.PFV
'They feared (the/a) leopard.'

b) tsànàχ dʒɨbíts-ú-χà
leopard frighten-PFV-3P
'The/A) leopard frightened.'

c) ∗tsànàχ dʒɨbíts-ɨst-ú-χà
leopard frighten-PSV-PFV- 3M
'(the intended meaning) The leopard was feared.'

(61c) is an unaccepted construction because it cannot be turned into passive. As long as a direct object is there, why (61c) is not accepted appears dubious. The reason is that *guʃt*- 'borrow' is more of reflexive (the action is done for oneself or involving or incurring oneself in debt) than transitive. Thus, the meaning in (61b) is somewhat similar to *He/ I entered into a loan* or *He/ I incurred costs*. The direct object *ŋárè* 'hair' in (61a) is perceived as *myself*. Verbs used with active syntax but have passive forms (inflect like passive) are referred to as deponent verbs (Bicke et. al. 2007: 208). Middle verbs in Kulazngi need further burrowing into the language system.

Intransitive middle verbs, such as *ɨt*- 'fall' and *tsàj*- 'burn' have an affected agent subject, as shown in (63) below.

63. a) gìŋ- ú-z ɨt-ù-χà
run-3M/1s-while fall-PFV -3M/1s
'He/ I fell while he/ I was running.'

b) kànī tsàj-ú-χà
wood burn-PFV -3M
'The wood burnt.'

The subjects in (63a) and (63b) are patients.

It is worth mentioning that most of the middle verbs have their active counterparts that can turn into passive, which are morphologically different from middle verbs. Thus, while middle verbs end in *t, st* or are unmarked, their active counterparts end in *ts* or *z* which replace the mentioned final segments of or contrast with middle verbs (cf. Table 49). For example, the active counterpart of the middle verb *qúndàst-* 'be ill' is *qúndàts-*, which has its passive counterpart, *qúndàts-ɨ́st*, which is different in form from middle verb, *qúndàst-*.

It is also noteworthy that the same part of body in the same construction can be used either with middle or non-middle voice as shown in (64a_b) below.

64. a) ân lɨkû **dúnt-û**
I leg.ACC break-PFV.1s
'I broke my leg.'

b) ân lɨkû **dúnts-û**
I leg.ACC break-PFV.1s
'I broke a (the) leg.'

Illustrative examples (64a) and (64b) differ only in verbs (voice): the former is middle and the latter non-middle. The middle verb dúnt- is used when the action of breaking is non-volitional and refers to oneself or one's body parts, as in tàbû (arm. ACC) or lɨkû (leg.ACC). The non-middle dúnts- in (64b) expresses that the speaker broke somebody else's leg or it can be possibly his leg but volitionally. Table 49 below provides some verbs in active, causative, passive, and middle veebs.

Table 49 SomeVerbs in their Active, Causative, Passive, and Middle

active	causative	Passive	middle	gloss
qúts-	qúts-íts	qúts-ést	qús -	wash
qúndáts-	qúndáts-ìts[80]	qúndàts-ìst	qúndàst-	be ill
wàʃ-	wàʃ-ts	wàʃ-ìst-	waʃt-	bask
dúnts-	dúnts-íts	dúnts-íst-	dúnt-	break
tàlàm-	tàlàm-ts	tàlàm-ìst-	tàlàm-ìst-	sink
ɨnkʷánz-	ɨnkʷán-ts	ɨnkʷánz-íst	ɨnkʷánt-	be warm
dʒɨbíts-	dʒɨbíts-íts	----	dʒɨbíst-	fear
----	átèʃts-	----	átèʃt-	sneeze
----	ʃĩnqz-	----	ʃĩnqt-	limp

As can be noticed in the above table, middle verbs with no active counterparts also lack passive forms. ʃĩnqz- (last row in the above table) is shortened form of *ʃĩnqànz-*, and the last segment, z, is underlyingly the causative *-ts*, and the cause of its change is assimilation (the influence of the alveolar *n* before it).

Following are further sentential examples of some of the verbs in the above table.

65. a) tsànàχû dʒɨbíst-kʷà
leopard.ACC fear-3P.PFV
'They feared (the/a) leopard.'

b) tsànàχ dʒɨbíts-ú-χà
leopard frighten-PFV -3P
'The/A) leopard frightened.'

66. a) áwâ wàʃt-ân
sun.ACC bask-2P.IMPR 'Bask in the sun'

b) *ʃarkû* *áwí-dá* *wàʃ-ân*

cloth.ACC sun-on expose-2P.IMPR

'Put the clothes in the sun.'

c) *áwí-dá* *wàʃ-ɨ̀st-ø-ɨ́z*

sun-on expose-pass-3M-DAT

'Let it be spread in the sun.'

7.5.2. 4 Reciprocals

A reciprocal is used to describe a relationship between two or more people which is viewed as being mutual and symmetric (X does something to Y and Y does that same thing to X) (Kroger, 1997: 275). A reciprocal is also defined in (Payne, 1997: 200) as: "A prototypical reciprocal clause is one in which two participants equally act upon each other, i.e. both are equally agent and patient". It is reported that the Agaw languages mark reciprocity in different ways: Awngi and Bilin with the suffixal form -(ɨ)ŋ (Awngi attaching -ŋ directly to the stem and Bilin attaching -ɨŋ to the passive maked verb form) and Kemanteney and K'himt'anga by reduplicating the stem and attaching the passive (Appleyard, 1986: 17-19). Reciprocity in monosyllabic verb stems of Kemanteney is marked by total reduplication of the stem, insertion of the linking vowel ä and suffixation of the passive -s with both reduplicated stems (Zelealem, 2003: 204). Similarly, the linking vowel-*ɨ*, the total reduplication of the verbal stem, and the passive markers are equally important in reciprocal forms of K'himt'anga (Teshome, 2015: 239).

Reciprocity is expressed via verbal suffixation in Kulazngi with the morphological form **(-t(i))ŋ**. Like its highland variety Awngi (but unlike other Agaw languages where the passive marker must appear (see discussions above), no passive affix appears in the reciprocal verb of Kulazngi– reciprocal markers are suffixed directly to the verb root. Nevertheless, Awngi and Kulazngi differ in that reciprocal suffix in Awngi is reported to be only one form, -ŋ (Appleyard, 1986: 19) while in Kulazngi, the form **(-t(ɨ́))ŋ** has allomorphic variations *-ŋ*, *-tŋ*, and *-tɨŋ*. The allomorph *-t(ɨ)ŋ* is used with IG verbs, *-tŋ* after a vowel and *-tɨŋ* after a consonant. *-ŋ* (also *-ɨŋ* when it occurs following consonant clusters, as in (67d)) occurs with non-IG verbs (cf. 68a-c).

[80] The causative *kúndàtsts-* normally appears as *qúndàts*: (with *ts* geminate), which is nopt a characteristic of other short word forms.

67. Verb root Reciprocal

(a)	χu-	χú-tŋ-	'to eat'
(b)	tu-	tú-tŋ-	'to get in; to marry each other'
(c)	ʤu-	ʤu-tŋ-	'to get up'
(d)	mìntʃ-	mìntʃì-tŋ-	'to become many'
(e)	ɨnzáŋ-	ɨnzáŋ-tɨ́ŋ-	'to walk'
(f)	qʷáj-	qʷáj-tɨ́ŋ-	'to make loud voice'
(g)	gìŋ-	gìŋ-tɨ́ŋ-	'to run'
(h)	ɨ́ŋ-	ɨ́ŋ-tɨ̀ŋ-	'to bite'
(i)	kàl-	kàlì-tŋ-	'to bear/endure'
(j)	bu-	bù-tŋ-	'to carry'
(k)	báj-	báj-tɨ́ŋ-	'to release each other'
(l)	dìg-	dìg-tɨ́ŋ-	'to come closer'
(m)	náq-	náq-tɨ́ŋ-	'to get closer'
(m)	kàst-	kàs-tɨ́ŋ-	'to ask'

68.

(a)	taz-	taz-ŋ-	'to hit'
(b)	dàgʷàl-	dàgʷàl-ŋ-	'to caress/hug'
(c)	kàmàn-	kàmàn-ŋ-	'to give birth'
(d)	bàjts-	bàjts-ɨ́ŋ-	'to release/unfasten'

See (69) below for some reciprocal verbs (inflected forms) in sentential examples. As can be noticed from the above illustrative examples, as the phonotactic rule of Kulazngi does not allow consonant clustering within a syllable, epenthetic *ɨ* is inserted between *t* and *ŋ* to break up the consonant cluster of *-tŋ*. However, if *t* and *ŋ* spread to proximate syllables, no vowel will be inserted between them (67a_d, 67i, 67j). See section 2.5.10 for phonological details regarding insertion of the epenthetic *ɨ* to break up consonant cluster.

The reciprocity may involve more than two participants, and when this is the case, the reciprocal marker is usually reduplicated as illustrated in (69c) below.

69) a) *mí-χʷà*
catch-3M.PFV
'He caught.'

b) *mí-t**ŋ**-ú-χà*

catch-RP -PFV -3M

'They (two persons) caught each other.'

c) *mí-t**íŋ**-ú-χà*

catch-RP-PFV -3M

'They (more than two, usually many people) caught each other.'

The same reciprocal **(-t(ɨ))ŋ** with intransitive verb bases does not show reciprocity. Instead, it shows the involvement of many participants in the activity denoted by the verb (cf. 70b).

70) a) *ábùgdā màzàgídá q^{w}áj-tíχ^{w}à*

frog marsh croak-3F.PFV

'The frog croaked in the marsh.'

b) *ábùgdā màzàgídá q^{w}áj-**tíŋ**-t-ú-χà*

frog marsh croak-RP-3F-PFV-3F

'The frogs croaked in the marsh.'

It is noteworthy that a reciprocalized verb is semantically plural: a reciprocalized verb refers to at least two agents. Hence, the singular verb forms in (69b, 70b) are semantically plural, for they refer to semantically plural subjects. It is possible they can appear plural but the subject must also be plural. Hence, (70b) can be alternatively presented as *ábùgdìkā màzàgídá q^{w}áj-**tìŋ**-k^{w}à.*

The verb forms with **(-t(ɨ))ŋ** suffixed are intransitive, i.e. if the bases are intransitive, they remain intransitive upon the suffixation of **(-t(ɨ))ŋ** and if the bases are transitive, they will be detransitivized, as can be noticed in (71a) and (71b) below. In addition to reciprocalized verbs (verbs marked reciprocal by reciprocal suffix), reflexive pronouns can also be used within the same reciprocal clause (cf. 71b).

71. a) ɨmpɨ́l ɨmpɨ́lû kú-χà

one one-ACC kill.PFV- 3M

'One killed the other.'

b) nì-s-nî kɨ́r-ŋ-û (kú-tŋ-û)

he-INSTR-he.ACC die-RP-3M.PFV (kill-RP-3M.PFV)

'(lit. he by him died (killed)) They killed each other.'

Even though reflexive pronouns appear accusative marked, they are subjects of reciprocal constructions, and the verbs in these constructions are detransitivized. Detransitivization of sentences with reciprocal verbs can be checked against unaccepted constructions with an object as in (72) below.

72. ⋆a) ɨ̀mpíl ɨ̀mpɨ́lû kú-tŋ-û
one one-ACC kill-RP-PFV.3M

⋆b) nì-s-nì kú-χà
he-INSTR-he kill.PFV-3M

The above constructions are unaccepted structures: in (72a), the reciprocalized verb, *kú-tŋ-û,* cannot take an object (even though it may take accusative marked reflexive pronoun subject (cf. 71b)), and in (72b), the transitive verb, *kú-χà*, needs an object as its complement, but does not take a reflexive pronoun, which optionally occurs with reciprocal verbs.

There are, as far as my data is concerned, two reciprocal verbs, viz. *gèwázŋ-* 'quarrel' and *kùsɨ́ŋ-* 'advise', which do not have lexically non-reciprocalized counter parts, i.e., unlike other reciprocals, there are no (at least *currently*) non-reciprocal counter forms (as *gèwáz-* and *kùs-*) from which *gèwázŋ-* and *kùsɨ́ŋ-* are derived. The *ŋ* at their end is part of the root (at least synchronically) is that (it is more likely) these verbs are reciprocal by nature: at least two persons involve in the activity denoted in each verb. It could also be the case that the forms from which these reciprocal verbs were extended have been lost. These verbs, like other verbs, can be causativized with the addition of the causative *-ts*, as *gèwázíŋts-* and *kùsɨ́ŋts-*.

In Highland Awngi, even though *kùsɨ́ŋ-* shows reciprocity as it is, the reciprocal marker *-ŋ* can be reduplicated, as in *ɨ̀ntūs ɨ̀ntò kùsé**ŋŋ**ân* 'advise each other', *nís nè kùsɨ́ŋŋúχà* 'They advised each other'. However, there is no meaning difference between the forms with reciprocal -ŋ reduplicated and not reduplicated.

When the action involves more than two participants, the reciprocal marker *-ŋ* may be doubled (reduplicated) (cf. 69c) (it is also possible non-reduplicated form can refer to participants more than two).

Reciprocal verbs can be causativized as shown in (73) below.

73.	*root*	*reciprocal*	*causative*	*reciprocal causative*
	táz- 'hit'	táz-ŋ-	táz-ts-	táz-ɨ́ŋ-ts-
	χú- 'eat'	χú-tŋ-	χú-ts-	χú-tɨ́ŋ-ts-
	gùʃt- 'borrow'	gùʃt -tɨ́ŋ-	gùʃt-ts-	
	tsàf- 'write'	tsàfì-tŋ-	tsàfì-ts-	tsàfì-tɨ́ŋ-ts-
	làχ^{w}- 'insult'	làχ^{w}ì-tŋ-	làχ^{w}ì-ts-	làχ^{w}ì-tɨ́ŋ-ts-
	zɨg^{w}- 'throw'	zɨg^{w}ì-tŋ-	zɨg^{w}ì-ts-	zɨg^{w}ì-tɨ́ŋ-ts-

As can be noticed in the reciprocal causative forms above, reciprocal morpheme attaches to the root and the causative occurs following it. The last three verbs attach the vowel *i* as their part of stem (i.e. before the reciprocal and the causative suffixes or between the root and the suffixal forms) is because these verbs belong to I-G verbs (see section 7.3 for discussions).

7.5.2.5 Autobenefactive

Autobenefactives are expressed periphrastically in Kulazngi. Even though given a separate section (for, unlike other middle verbs which are expressed morphologically, they employ a separate word as auxiliary), autobenefactives refer to Middle verbs which are productively constructed with an auxiliary *χàz-* 'take have for oneself', which occurs following the main verb that is inflected for AGR but not for TAM suffixes (cf. 74). Autobenefactives express benefactive actions to the subject. [81]The auxiliary *χàz-* occurs fully infected, i.e. it hosts both AGR and TAM suffixes (cf. 74). Hence, agreement in benefactive construction is shown both on the auxiliary and main verb. It is noteworthy that *χàz-* 'have for oneself' is also a main verb (see also 7.1).

74. (a) nìgàtú nìzàná-sù-zà gɨ́nû dʒàw-á χàz-ú-χà
Nigatu his brother-3M.GEN-ACC house.ACC buy-3M AUX-PFV -3M
'Nigatu bought his brother's house for himself.'

b) ʃàw-zà díbɨ́z-tá χà-t-ú-χà
heart-of speak-2S/3F AUX-2S/3F-PFV-2S/3F
'You / She spoke heartily.'

[81] Autobenefactive function of middle verbs is very common in Cushitic languages (Mous, 2012: 405).

Since autobenefactive sense of middle meaning is borne in the auxiliary *χàz-* 'have for oneself', autobenefactive middle applies to a wide range of verbs in the language, and hence, it is productive in the language. This is also the case in Cushitic languages in general : "This sense [autobenefactive] of the middle meaning is applicable to a wide range of verbs, and once the autobenefactive sense of the middle develops in a language, it becomes productive (Mous, 2012: 405)."

As touched upon above and as can also be noticed from sentential examples in (74), the main verb in autobenefactive constructions occurs infected for agreement while the auxiliary *χàz-* occurs fully infected (see section 7.1 with respect to the deletion of z in the root χàz- in 1S and 3M). Table 50 below provides the paradigm of the verbs *kìm-* 'snatch'(IG verb), *kàts-* 'take'(IG verb), and *gùʃ-* 'pick' (TG verb) in autobenefactive construction.

Table 50 Autobenefactive construction paradigm of the verbs kìm-, kàts-, and gùʃ-

person	*kìm-* 'snatch'	*kàts-* 'take'	*gùʃ-* 'pick'
1s/3M	kìmà χàzû	kàts-à χàzû	gùʃ-à χàzû
1P	kìmnà χàznû	kàts-nà χànû	gùʃ-nà χànû
2S/3F	kìmè χàtû	kàthè χàtúχà	gùʃtà χàtû
2P	kìmi χàtkʷà	kàtsí χàtkʷà	gùʃtɨ́ χàtkʷà
3P	kìmí χàzkʷà	kàtsɨ́ χàzkʷà	guʃɨ̌ χàzkʷà

7. 6 Copula

A copula is a linking verb with hardly any semantic content but joining the subject NP with a predicate complement expressing equative, attributive, or locative (NP, AP, or PP) (Kroeger, 2005: 176). A copula can be an affix, particle, or verb that joins two nominal elements in a predicate nominal construction (Payne, 1997: 114). Equative, attributive, or locative constructions in Kulazngi can be formed in two ways: with or without a copular element, and the option without a copula is possible in the present copular construction only. A copular element is again realized in two different ways: as a lexical form and as an affix. While the present copula of affirmative copular clauses is a suffix that attaches to nominals to turn them into copular clauses, the past and the future copulae are lexical forms that occur conjugating in a full-fledged manner (like other *normal* verbs). Except past and negated clauses of the present, the present affirmative copular

constructions in Kulazngi are the same with that of Awngi. In this section are described the present, the past, the future, and the negative copular constructions.

7.6.1 The Present Copula

The present copular suffix in Kulazngi is *-aχ*. It attaches to nominals (nouns or adjectives) following other elements, such as gender, number or case suffixes (if any). Its tone is unpredictable. As touched upon above, copular clauses in the present tense are realized in two different ways: with a copula element suffixed to the head of the predicate (a noun, an adjective, or a locative adverbial) (see 1a-c below) or it can be optionally expressed by predicate complement with no copular element, as in (76). Even though this is against the traits of Cushitic languages reported to have an obligatory copula (Childs, 2003: 194), it is, according to (Payne, 1997: 114; Mathew, 225), the case in many languages of the world that the "Present tense" (i.e., the unmarked, neutral tense/aspect) predicate nominals are likely to consist simply of two juxtaposed noun phrases.

75. a) ín tʃáχí rgùnd^{y}-āχ
this bird dove- COP
'This bird is dove'

b) wàrkú ɨdʒːután^{y}-áχ
worku medicine man-COP
'Worku is a witch doctor'

c) ín gɨ̀sáŋ^{y}-áχ
this dog - COP
'This is a dog.'

d) ɨnná χùnā ɨdʒùtáná-χ
this.FM woman medicine.FM-COP
'This woman is a witch.'

e) wàrkú-dʒì ɨ̀dʒːùtán-ká-χ
Worku-PL medicine person-PL-COP
'Worku and others are witch doctors'

76. a) wàrku ɨdʒːùtáni
Worku medicine man
'Worku is a witch doctor'

b) ɨntsàχā màlkàmá
girl beautiful
'The girl is beautiful.'

c) kəmká kàwán-dá
cattle forest-LOC
'The cattle are in the forest.'

d) zàrìhún kəntsántí
Zarihun teacher
'Zerihun is a teacher.'

e) ʧàrí-w ŋárgí gūd
ʧarí-3M honey good
'Honey of ʧari[82] is good.'

As can be seen in (75) above, phonological alterations occur upon the suffixation of *-aχ*. Thus, when it is suffixed to nominals ending in *a*, only one of the two *a*'s will be retained since no vowel lengthening is allowed in the language (cf. 75d – e). When it is suffixed to forms ending in vowels *i*, *e*, or a consonant, ultimate consonant in the stem will be palatalized upon its suffixation (c.f. 75a – c). In case of vowel ending nominals, the vowels will be elided giving rise to palatalization of the consonant before them (cf. 75a – b) (see section 2.5.2 for phonological process). Some of my informants were, however, heard pronouncing *rgùnd^{y}āx* and *ɨdʒután^{y}āx,* (75a,c) as *rgùndéx* and *ɨdʒutánéx*. What triggers the change of ultimate consonant (in consonant ending nominals, such as 75c) to be palatalized upon the suffixation of *-aχ* is not straightforwardly clear. What could be best posited here as a triggering factor is that the masculine marker *-i*, also a focus marker, appears preceding the copula upon the suffixation, otherwise copularized masculine would be identical with that of feminine. For example, *gɨ̀śŋ*(MS) +- *áχ* = **gɨ̀śŋáχ* (75c) and *gɨ̀śŋá*(FM) +- *áχ* = *gɨ̀śŋáχ* for, in the latter case (in the feminine case), the language does not allow vowel lengthening).

Constructions in (76) are formed via juxtaposition of the subject and predicate (in that order), i.e. equative (76a, d), attributive (76b, e), and locative (76c) predicates simply juxtapose with their subject NPs. The present tense non-verbal constructions with no copula is a feature of many Cushitic languages (Mous, 2012: 397-398).

Copulae also attach to case marked nominals following case markers, as shown in (77a, 77b).

[82] *ʧarí* is a kind of lowland growing tree whose flowers yield nectar for bees.

77. a) *warku dɨbaj-dá-χ*
Worku stable-at- COP
'Worku is at the cowshed.'

b) warku nìrā-d^{y}-àχ
Worku his son-with-COP
'Worku is with his son.'

The construction *warku ŋìrā-d^{y}-aχ* (3) consists of NP VP where the VP consists of locative predicate and copula. (78) below presents further examples of non-verbal predicates with and without a copula.

78. a) warku χìzánt-éχ (NP AP COP) 'Worku is the elder.'

b) warku χìzánti (NP AP) 'Worku is the elder.'

c) warku dìngúr-éχ (NP AP COP) 'Worku is big.'

d) warku dìngúrí (NP AP) 'Worku is big.'

e) *warku bàrát-da-χ* (NP N-LOC-COP) 'Worku is at the cowshed.'

f) *warku bàrát-da* (NP N-LOC) 'Worku is at the cowshed.'

7.6.2 The past Copula

Unlike the present copula which is a suffixal form, the past copula forms are roots *ʤí-* and *ɨʃ-*. Like other verbs in the language, they do not occur without conjugating for gender/number/aspect. Hence, the difference between the present and the past copular predicates underlies in the fact that whereas the present copula occurs suffixed to gender-cum-number marked nominal, adjectival, or locative predicates, the past copula forms, just like other *normal* verbs, occur on their own inflecting gender-cum-number affixes. This is also the case in a number of languages in the world, for example, according to Payne (1997: 118) past and future tenses are common environments in which to find copular verbs or morphemes; for example, in Yagua, the copula takes verbal aspect, tense, and mode. Similarly, in Modern Hebrew, attributive, equative, and locative clauses in the present tense do not contain any copula while in past or future tenses, an inflected copular verb is obligatory (Kroger 2005: 182).

In Kulanzgi, even though the copula roots *ʤí-* and *ɨʃ-*are never used in present, they are not past per se, for they always occur attaching perfective aspect markers. As can be noticed from the examples in (79) below, *ʤí- / ɨʃ-* are direct past forms of the present copular affix, *-aχ,* hence their predicate complements are attributive, equative, and locative.

As *ʤí-* and *ɨʃ-* are TG2 verbs (see section 7.3.3), the copula forms for 1SG, 2SG and 3F take *-t* as person marker. (79) below provides person/number/gender paradigm of past copular clauses.

79. 1S *án* *gìtsàní* *ʤí-t-ú-χà / ɨʃ-t-ú-χà*
I/you(SG) merchant COP-1s/2S-PFV-1s/2S
'I was a merchant.

1P *nū* *gìtsàn-ká* *ʤí-n-ú-χà*
we merchant-PL COP-1P-PFV- 1P
'We were merchants.'

2S/3F *ínt* *gìtsàní (MS) / gìtsàná (FM)* *ʤí-tíx^{w}à / ɨʃ-tíx^{w}à*
you merchant COP-3F.PFV
'She was/ You were a merchant.'

2P *ɨntū* *gìtsàn-ká* *ʤí-tk^{w}-à / ɨʃ-tɨk^{w}-*
you (SG) merchant COP-2P-PFV
'You were merchants'

3M nī *gìtsàní* *ʤí-χ^{w}à* merchant
he merchant COP-3M.PFV
'He was a merchant.'

3P **nā** *gìtsàn-ká* *ʤí- k^{w}à*
They merchants-PL COP-3P.PFV
'They were merchants.'

As can be noticed from the above paradigm, except for 3M, 3P and 1P where only *ʤí-* is used, both *ʤí-* and *ɨʃ-* are used with the rest. Hardly any reason can be provided why *ɨʃ-* is not used with 1P, 3M , and 3P.

According to Zelealem (2003: 23), *ɨʃ-* is used with 1S, 2S, and 2P, and *ʤ-* with the rest, but the present study does not prove this, hence *ʤí-* is the form used with all persons whereas *ɨʃ-* occurs with all but 1P, 3M and 3P. Speakers in Bagusa and Jaba frequent *ʤí-* while speakers around Fändika frequent *ɨʃ-* (see chapter one, *introductio*n, for details of the places). This must be due to areal influence: Fändika is found next to Awi, i.e. between Bagusa /Jaba and Awi where *ɨʃ-* not *ʤí-* is the past copula.

ʤí- and *ɨʃ-* are also auxiliary verbs for past progressive aspect (see section 7.4.1.2.2). They are also verb forms other than copula both in HA and Kulazngi. When they are verbs other than copula, ʤí- means to stay and ɨʃ- means stay the day or someone or something was at the place mentioned.

7.6.3 The Future Copula

The copular stem in the future is *-áχ-* 'will be'. It is different from the present copula prosodically and morphologically. Morphologically, whereas the present copula occurs suffixed to gender-cum-number marked nominals, the future copula occurs lexically inflecting gender-cum-number affixes; by prosodically, as can be noticed from the diacritic, the future copula is high-toned while that of the present copula is determined by the ultimate tone of the base. The future copula is a PG verb, for it attaches gender/person prefixes. Note that *-áχ* > áq in 1S (see section 2.5.6 for the change of χ into q). As mentioned above, it is like simple verbs, for it occurs with the same range of grammatical categories, as shown in (81-83) below.

(81) a) *án gìtsàní* *Ø-áq-á-χá*
I merchant.3M 1-COP- IPFV-1S
'I will be a merchant.'

b) *ɨnnū gìtsànt-ká* *Ø- áχ-n-á-χá*
we merchant-PL 1-COP-1P.IPFV-1P
'We will be merchants'

(82) a) *ɨnt* *gìtsàní* *t-áχ-á-χá*
you(SG) merchant.MS 2-COP-IPFV-2S
'You(SG.MS) will be a merchant'

b) *ɨnt* *gìtsàná* *t-áχ-á-χá*
you(SG) merchant.3F 2- COP-IPFV-2f
'You (SG.FM) will be a merchant'

c) *ɨntū* *gìtsàn-ká* *t-áχ-á-nχá*
you(PL) merchant-PL 2-COP-IPFV-2P
'You will be merchants'

(83) a) *nī gìtsàní ø-áχ-á-w(í)*[83]
he merchant.3M 3M-COP-IPFV-3M (FOC)
'He will be a merchant'

b) *nī gìtsàná t-áχ-á-t(í)*
she merchant.3F 3F-COP-IPFV-3F (FOC)
'She will be a merchant'

c) *nā gìtsàn-ká ø-áχ-á-nku(k^{w}í)*
they merchant-PL 3P-COP-IPFV-3P (FOC)
'They will be merchants'

When the subject focus *i* attaches to *ø-áχ-á-nku* (83c), the *u* before it will be deleted giving rise to labialization of the consonant before it.

7.6.4 The Negative Copula

The copular clauses are marked negative by *-ja,* which attaches copular roots irrespective of aspect, which is unlike with other verbs where the negative particles vary in accordance with aspect (see section 7.13). Negation in present copula clauses in Kulazngi is somewhat intriguing in that the copular stem is *-aχ,* the present copular affix in affirmative clauses, and the negative marker affix is *-jà,* which is the past negative marker with other verbs. Thus, unlike in the affirmative where it is an affix, the negative marked copula in present tense occurs as a lexical form attaching both agreement prefixes and suffixes and the negative particle. Notice the following.

(84) a) *wàrku ɨdʒːùtáni ø-àχ-á-jà*
Worku man of medicine 3M-COP-3M -NEG
'Worku is not a witch doctor.'

b) *nū ɨdʒːùtán-ká ø-àχ-ná-jà*
Worku man of medicine-PL 1P-COP-1P -NEG
'We are not witch doctors.'

c) *ɨntū ɨdʒːùtán-ká t-àχ-ká-jà*
Worku man of medicine-PL 1P-COP-1P -NEG
'You are not witch doctors.'

[83] Prefix *j-* occurs in the future copula of HA in 3rd person masculine.

The negative present copula in HA is a stem form *gà-*, which is not phonologically related to its affirmative counterpart *-aχ* and which occurs attaching gender/number suffixes (Yaregal, 2012: 146). Hence, the sentence in (84) is *wàrkú ìdʒùtíní gà-w* 'Worku is not a witch doctor' in HA.

As mentioned above, negation in a past copula clause is formed by suffixing the past negative marker affix *-jà* to *the past* copula root *ʤí-/ ɨʃ-* as is the case in other past verbs of Kulazngi. Table (51) below provides person/number/gender paradigm of past copula in affirmative and negative. Note that the dots in the translation show predicate complement slots in which NP/AP, can be filled.

Table 51 Affirmative and Negative Past Copula

	person/number/gender paradigm of past copula		
person	Affirmative	negative	
1s	*ʤí- t-û /ɨʃ-t-û* cop -1s-PFV-1s	*ʤí-tá-**jà**/ ɨʃ-tá-**jà*** cop-1s- NEG	I was… I was not…
1P	*ʤí-n-û* cop-1P-1P.PFV	*ʤí-ná-**jà**/* cop -1P- NEG	We were… We were not…
2S/3F	*ʤí-t-û / ɨʃ-t-û* cop -2s/3f-PFV. 2s/3f	*ʤí-tá-**jà** / ɨʃ-tá-**jà*** cop -2s/2f- NEG	You were/She was… you were not/She was not..
2P	*ʤí-tk^{w}à / ɨʃ-tɨk^{w}à* cop -2P.PFV	*ʤí-tkà-**jà** / ɨʃ-tɨkà-**jà*** cop -2P- NEG	You were… You were not…
3M	*ʤí-χ^{w}à* cop -3M.PFV	*ʤí-ø- **jà*** cop- 3M- NEG	He was… He was not…
3P	*ʤí- k^{w}à* cop -3P.PFV	*ʤí-kà- **jà*** cop -3P-NEG	They were… They were not…

As can be noticed in the above table, the past negative *-jà* attches to the past copula forms (*ʤí-* or *ɨʃ-*) following AGR affixes.

7.7 Existential

Existential constructions predicate the existence of some entity, usually in some specified location; they typically require a locational or temporal adjunct (Payne, 1997: 112, 123.)" Kulazngi employs existential verb **zɨk^{w}-** 'live, exist, present' usually together with locative adjuncts to express existentials. **zɨk^{w}-** is an intransitive verb, which asserts the presence of

somebody or something somewhere. It is different from other verbs in conjugational pattern. Notice from the following sentential examples.

85. a) *gɨ́n-dá* ***zɨ̀k-ì***
house-LOC EXIST -2S/3F.PFV
'She is/You are in the house.'

b) *ɨ́n-dá* ***zɨ̀kʷ-à***
this-LOC EXIST -1s/3M.PFV
'I am / He is here.'

c) wádá (-χá) **zɨk-ú-nū**
where EXIST-PFV-3P
'Where are they?'

Existential predicates in 85 (a - c) above involve existential word and locational adjuncts. The change of a labialized k^w to a plain one in (85a) is that *zɨkʷ-* is an IG verb (see section 7.3.2 for the discussion). As this is not the case with the other IG verbs whose final sounds are labialized consonants, (for example, *ɨ̀ntʃɨkʷ-* 'to sit'), *zɨkʷ-* is an exceptional IG verb that loses labialization of its last consonant upon the addition of 2/3F marker *i*.

Existential *zɨkʷ-* can also be used with the possessor as a kind of locative, as shown below.

86. a) àqá-dá láŋà bèrá zɨkʷ-kà
woman-on two oxen EXIST.PFV-PL
'The woman has two oxen.'

b) jɨ-dá tsɨ́llí gànzáb zɨkʷ-à
1s-on a little money EXIST.PFV-3M
'I have a little money.'

While the possessed elements in the above existential constructions, viz. *bèrá* and *gànzáb* are subjects, the possessor nouns are marked as locative case.

Negative existential predicates in Kulazngi are expressed by a separate negative word, **ɨllā**[84] 'not present, absent direct the opposite of the existential verb **zɨkʷ-. ɨllā** (PL. **ɨllī**) asserts the absence of somebody or something. It is used with or without locational adjuncts, such as *ɨ́ndà* 'here', *kɨ́dá/ jɨ́dá* etc 'on you, on me'. Like verbs in the language, it occurs at the end of a clause, and it, unlike verbs (including **zɨkʷ-**), does not conjugate for aspect and agreement. It is usually focused with **-kí,** which occurs attached to **ɨllā** (87b)**.** The fact that **e**xistentials often have special negation strategies is also reported in Payne (1997: 124).

87. a) ɨntsàχárí *gɨ́n-dá* *ɨllī*
children house-LOC EXIST.NEG
'There are no children in the house.'

b) gɨsáŋ-ká ɨllā-kí
dog-FOC EXIST.NEG-FOC
'The dog is not *here*'

ɨllā is interrogated with the interrogative suffx -χà or the interrogative particle *mà.* While -χà occurs suffixed to the negative copula, mà occurs following the negative copula. They show complementary distribution within a clause, as shown in an unacceptable construction of (88c).

88. a) gànzáb tàb-dá ɨllā-χà
money hand-LOC EXIST.NEG-Q
'No money at hand?'

b) gànzáb ɨllā mà kɨ́-dá
money EXIST.NEG QP you-LOC
'Is there no money with you?'

c) ∗gànzáb ɨllà-χá mà tàb-dá
money EXIST.NEG-Q QP hand-LOC

The past existential form is *ɨ́f-*, which is the same form as the past copula form discussed above. Thus, its phonological relation to the present existential *zɨ́kʷ-* is suppletive. *ɨ́f-* as the past

[84] There exists parallel use in Amharic with a negative word jälläm (3m) jällätʃɨm (3f) jällum (3p). While that of the Amharic distinguishes number / gender, *ə̀llā/ ə̀llī* distinguishes only number.

existential, occurring following location adjuncts as in *án gɨ́n-dá ɨ́ʃ-tû* 'I was in the house', links the subject with the predicate locative. Like the past copula, it occurs fully conjugated and is negated in the same way as other perfective verbs (see under subsection section 7.13). *ɨ́ʃ-*, like in the past copula, is not used with 3rd person.

7.8 Engagement

In Kulazngi, action verbs can occur with *tú-* 'enter' to express the starting off or entering into usually unexpected or not planned action. *tú-* is used as auxiliary and occurs following a verbal noun denoting an action. The verbal noun appears attaching purpose suffix *-a*. The auxiliary *tu-* encodes the notion of engagement as well as all grammatical features of verbs in the language (cf. 89) below.[85]

89) a) gɨ́n-dá ɨntʃkʷ-à-má *sɨ̀lχî* n zɨqŋ-á tú-χà
house-LOC sit-3M-cnv local beer.ACC drinking- PUR enter.PFV-3M
'Sitting in the house, he started drinking local beer.'

b) sàfàrá-w àqí kàwán-ù-zà kànî qàwŋ-á tú-χà
settlement-3M man forest-3m-ACC tree.ACC cutting- PUR enter.PFV -3M
'The settlers got felling forest trees.'

c) flàj-kâ wàjŋ-á t-ìjá árè wák
goat-PL.ACC selling-PUR enter-NEG.IMPR crop.ACC sell.IMPR
'Do not engage on selling goats. Sell crop.'

Is noteworthy that engagement language use in Kualzngi is used to express usually unwelcoming and interminable activities. Hence, (89a) comments that the person is wasting his time drinking beer when they should engage in work; the natives in (89b) express their inconvenience about the settlers' involving in felling trees; and one is worried that the other (might be his friend) might start selling his goats.

[85] In Awngi, the auxiliary *-wʃ-* signals the notion of engagement when it occurs suffixed to the perfective verb form, as in *zəq-á-wʃ- ú-nà* (they drink-IPFV-prog-pfv.3p-**pfv**) 'They started drinking'

7.9 Compound Verbs

Kulazngi has verbs that occur in pairs and as conjuncts but without conjunctions. The meaning each verb in separation carries is parallel or opposite to the other, but the meaning of the compound, as they form a single predicate, is single. No word (except number/gender affixes) can occur between the components. These verbs include *guʃ-* 'pick' and *ɨnkur-* 'put', *mits-* (tr) 'enter' and *fɨʃ-* (tr) 'get out', *tu-* (intr) 'get in' and *f-* (intr) 'get out', *ku-* 'kill' and *kɨr* die', *χu-* 'eat' and *zɨq-* 'drink'. Despite their meaning difference as separate verbs, they, as a compound, express a single incident or event. The first component, like a converb, is marked for subject agreement; it is not marked for tense/aspect /mood. The second component appears fully inflected (for agreement and aspect/ mood). Notice the following.

90) **dèràk-tá** **biχùr-t-ú-χà**
bake-3F.2S make porridge-3F/2S.PFV-3F/2S
lit. 'She / You bake and make porridge.'

91) tʷ-a f-u-χa
enter.3M/1s be out-prv.3sm/1s
'He /I got in and out. '

As can be noticed from the examples above, the first component is marked for person/gender/number while the second component is fully marked. When such compound verbs are negated, the negative particle is associated with the second component only. Nevertheless, the first component is also semantically negative via the negative particle in the second component (cf. 92). Even though not much common, it is also possible the negative particle can attach to the two components of the compound (cf.93). Such types of predicates usually have extended meaning. Hence, (90) above suggests that *a woman was a bad coo*k and (91) suggests that *he did nothing* useful. The following are negated examples of such compound verbs.

92) tɨb-χʷà-dá χʷ-à zɨq-á-là
other person-home-from eat-3/1s drink-3/1s-NEG.IPFV
'He/she does not or they/I do not eat and drink from houses other than their/our own.'

93) ni tɨb-χʷà-dá χʷ-à-là zɨq-á-là
he other person-home-from eat -3S-NEG drink-s-NEG.IPFV
'He/she does not feed (lit. eat-drink) in other persons' homes.'

It should be noted that there is no meaning difference between (92) and (93).

7.10 Ideophones

Ideophones (also expressive in various works of literature) are defined as having a special dramatic function that differs from other word classes, such as in their tendency to show iconicity and sound symbolism (Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz 2001:3; Dingemanse 2011: 159). With respect to sound symbolism, Newman (1968: 108) characterizes them as phono-semantic representations and (Welmers, 1973: 460) as words that occur accompanied by a special paralinguistic vocal effects.

African languages have an extensive use of ideophones (Tosco, 2000a: 381; Childs, 2003: 118). Thus, Cushitic languages are no exception to other African languages in this respect: "Cushitic languages are no exception to other African languages in that they have an extensive word category of ideophones (Tosco, 2000a: 381)." This section investigates ideophones in Kulazngi. Kulazngi, like the rest of Agaw Languages (and other African languages at large), makes an extensive use of ideophones.

Kulazngi ideophones are semantically verb-like word groups that occur uninflected and followed by a quotative verb, *n-* 'say or become' or its active counterpart *ts-* 'do or make'. It is also a common feature of Cushitic languages that ideophones are introduced by a verb 'to say' (Mous, 2012: 397).

Kulazngi ideophones are two types in semantic status: co-existing and independent semantic bearers, both of which will be made clear in subsequent discussions.

Kulazngi ideophones occur as uninflected lexical base or with no AGR/TAM affixes attached to them. They are integrated into a sentence with the help of the above mentioned verb *n-* or *ts-*,[86] which occur following the ideophone and carry all grammatical information such as aspect, aspect, mood and verbal agreement markers. *n-* is used when the ideophonic clause (*ideophone + n-)* is intransitive whereas *ts-* is used when the ideophonic clause (*ideophone + ts-* (causative)) is transitive as in:

[86]There are corresponding ideophonic formations in other Ethiopian languages. In Amharic, *al*ä 'say' is the corresponding intransitive and *adärräg-*'make sb/sth do something' the corresponding transitive light verb accompanying ideophones. Wolaitta uses *g-* 'say' (intransitive) and *?oott-* 'do' (transitive) (Amha, 2010:278). In Hamar, the ideophone is combined with the verb *ama* 'say, intend, declare, express' (Lydall 2000 :3).

94. a) *màbrāt* *bôg* *n-ú-χà*
light flash.IDEO say-PFV-3M
'The light flashed'

b) *mabrat-û* *bôg* *ʦ-u-χa*
light-ACC flash.IDEO make-PFV-3M
'He flashed the light'

When viewed phonologically, Kulazngi ideophones, like most of ordinary verb roots of the language, are restricted to (labialized) consonantal ending (or there are no vowel ending ideophones). They are monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic. Monosyllabic and disyllabic idiophones constitute the majority. No monosyllabic ideophone with a high tone was detected. Most of monosyllabic ideophones have of CVC syllable structure but with varying tone patterns: most frequent falling, less frequent low, rarely rising, and exceptions with optional tones. In words other than ideophones, a falling tone in Kulazngi occurs as a result of morphophonemic process only. A rising tone in Kulazngi is realized with very few monosyllabic ideophones only.

The fact that there are languages in which ideophones may bear suprasegmental features which are not characteristics of the rest of the lexicon in the language, tone being one of suprasegmental features that often exhibits special characteristic in ideophonic vocabulary, is also reported in (Smoll, 2012: 6). The data in (95) below provides monosyllabic ideophones; ideophones in (95a) have a falling tone, in (95b) have a low tone, in (95c) have a rising tone, and in (95d) have optional tones as indicated by markers.

95. a) **bôg** 'produce light' **kûp** 'gather'

dâχʷ 'break' **lâf** 'pick/stand'

dîl 'fill to the brim' **lêb** 'lukewarm'

fêk 'the opposite of be closer' **mîqʷ** 'squeeze out /for solid sticky objects/'

fês 'fill (and spill)' **pâχ** 'split'

fîrr 'bend /for a person/' **pə̂r** 'jump'

kêf 'go up' **sâkʷ** 'get enclosed

tînkʷ 'push' **tə̂k** 'tighten'

kînk 'get startled' **tôʃ** 'break'

tôk 'break' **tsîq** 'crash (for eggs or worms)'

tûʃ 'spill' **wâj** 'wail, mourn'

wâk ‘strew/scatter’ **zə̂k** ‘bend’

χâp ‘take a sip (of a hot drink like coffee, tea, or a soup) with a loud sucking noise’

b) **dàp** ‘beat hard with a stick’ **dìz** ‘move suddenly (of a crowd or cattle)’

kòʃ ‘break (a dry item)’ **mìq** ‘grin’

tìp‘ drip’ **tʃɨ̀k** ‘fall’

tʃùq ‘drip’

c) **tŭr** ‘fart loudly’ **wăq** ‘vomit’

zŭt ‘fart loudly’ **χʷàs/χʷăs** ‘make a sound like the one heard when

d) **dăp/dàp/dâp** ‘beat’ leaves move’

As can be seen in the list above, monosyllabic ideophones with a falling tone are numerous when compared to ideophones with other tones. Though not as numerous as those having a falling tone, there is a considerable number of low toned ideophones. Ideophones with rising and with optional tones constitute a small number. Optional toned ideophones are so toned usually following the tone perceived during production. Even though there do not exist long vowels in the language, it is possible to lengthen the vowels in single syllable ideophones to match the action referred to by the ideophone, as in *dɨ̀χʷàrí zuŭt/zuuŭt ts-úχ-à* (ass IDP make-3M -PFV) ‘The ass farted’.

Kulangi disyllabic ideophones are of two types: reduplicated and non-reduplicated. They have fixed tone patterns but variable syllable structures. Hence, the reduplicated ones have an L.L tone melody, while non-reduplicated ideophones have an H.L tone melody. The data in (96) below provides non-reduplicated ideophones having syllable structure CV.CVC (96a) and (C)VC.CVC (2b).

96. a) *bɨ́dɨ̀g* ‘stand, pick’ *pɨ́tʃɨ́q* ‘be abundant/full’

qɨ́lèm ‘swallow (with loud noise)’ *sálàl* ‘move smoothly like snakes’

tʃɨ́fɨ́q ‘daub grossly’ *tʃɨ́gɨ̀m* ‘be silent’

wúrɨ̀k ‘be seen briefly’ *mɨ́tʃɨ́qʷ* ‘finish to the last’

b) *ɨ́nkɨ̀t* ‘break’ *ɨ́rkɨ̀z* ‘calm down’

gɨ́lbɨ̀t ‘turn up’ *kénkàl* ‘lie flat’

kɨ́ltsɨ̀m ‘break in two’ *kɨ́lbɨ̀tʃ* ‘get finished’

tʃɨ́mbɨ̀qq ‘pour/spill’ *lɨ́gdɨ̀f* ‘break in two’

tɨ́nkùt ‘sit’ *qántsɨ̀l* ‘break’

dɨ́rgɨ̀m ‘blow out/enter suddenly’ *fɨ́ngɨ̀l* ‘fall from the bottom’

fɨ́rkɨ̀t ‘split stick’ *bɨ́llɨ̀f* ‘flash suddenly’

mɨ́ʃʃɨ̀k ‘pinch sharply with nails’ *ɨ́rrɨ̀d* ‘pinch sharply with nails’

mɨ́nnɨ̀k ‘be cheerful’ *mɨ́ssɨ̀q*ʷ ‘smile’

Disyllabic reduplicated ideophones in Kulazngi show complete reduplication. They all are closed type. They have CVC.CVC and rarely CVCC.CVCC syllable structures. Below (97) is a list of Kulazngi reduplicated disyllabic ideophones.

97. **dɨ̀fdɨ̀f** ‘move or search something nervously’ **dèbdɨ̀b** ‘confuse’

dɨ̀pdɨ̀p ‘suffocate’ **lɨ̀qlɨ̀q** ‘move’

mèlmèl ‘look about foolishly’ **mèrmèr** ‘look about foolishly’

mɨ̀kmɨ̀k ‘frighten’ **mɨ̀χmɨ̀χ** ‘suffer until unable to bear it any longer’

mùtmùt ‘stick out’ **nèknèk** ‘touch’,

nɨ̀χʷnɨ̀χʷ ‘move out and draw back’ **pètʃpètʃ** ‘look about in confusion’

ʃàχʃàχ ‘worry’ **tɨ̀gtɨ̀g** ‘totter’

tsɨ̀wtsɨ̀w ‘toil miserably’ **χàtʃχàtʃ** ‘grind teeth’

wàtswàts ‘be selfish’ **tɨ̀tɨ̀g** ‘stagger’

wìlwìl ‘have a swollen body’ **lùmplùmp** ‘have a swollen body’

fɨ̀rfɨ̀r ‘fall and turn around quickly and repeatedly as a chicken does when cut its throat (before dying)’,

As can be noticed from the above list, all of the reduplicated disyllabic ideophones have an L.L tone melody.

Trisyllabic ideophones seem to be fewer in number than monosyllabic and disyllabic ideophones. They all involve rightward reduplication, i.e. the final syllable is the reduplicated form of the penultimate one. They consist of H.H.L tone sequence. Unlike in disyllabic ideophones where the reduplicated syllables bear the same tone, the tone of a reduplicated

syllable in trisyllabic ideophones is different from that of the base. That is, the tone of the last syllable (which is a result of rightward reduplication) is consistently low whereas that in the immediately preceding base form is high. Trisyllabic ideophones have CV(C).CVC.CVC syllable structures. While CVC.CVC.CVC syllable structure is rare, CV.CVC.CVC is very common. Following, (98), is a list of Kulazngi trisyllabic ideophones.

(98) **bɨtíntìn** 'scatter, put or throw many things apart'

díχírχìr 'get confused'

gifílfìl 'have the appearance of a short thick leafy bush'

gítímtìm 'suit well'

múlɨtʃlìtʃ 'be slippery'

tímílmìl 'coil up'

tʃíríqrìq to make a sound as heard when there is a vowel discomfort (movement)'

zíwílwìl 'feel (sick) as when one is about to fall'

tímblíqlìq 'feel (sick) as when one is about to vomit'

díngírgìr 'confuse'

As can be noticed from the above list, three syllable ideophones are all reduplicated forms, and the reduplicating syllables are the ultimate and the penultimate. Hence, the ultimate and the penultimate syllables in three syllable ideophones of Kulazngi consist of identical segments (CVC.CVC syllable structure) but variable tone (H and L).

The reduplication of ideophones so far discussed refers to lexically inherent type (part of the ideophone). There also exists a reduplicative process in which the ideophone or part of the ideophone, usually a syllable, becomes reduplicated to express duration, frequency, etc. as in *ɨrrìd / míʃʃɨk* > *ɨrídrìd*.../ *míʃɨkʃɨk*...'to pinch someone with nails', *tánk*^{w} > *tánk*^{w} *tánk*^{w} 'to break a rope, cord or other similar things into pieces'.

Lexically or inherently reduplicated ideophones can also be reduplicated further to express further duration or frequency of activity, as in *χàtʃχàtʃ* > *χàtʃχàtʃχàtʃ*...'to grind ones teeth', *díχírχír* > *díχírχìrxìr*... ' be confused (to confuse)', *múlɨtʃlìtʃ* > *múlɨtʃlìtʃɨtʃ*...'be slippery'. Thus it is possible to keep on reduplicating the syllables to match the action expressed in the ideophone,

as in **tɨgtɨgtɨg…** 'stagger', **mɨχmɨχmɨχ…** 'suffer a lot until unable to bear any longer'. Note that lexically geminate consonants will turn to non-geminate when reduplicated, as can be noticed in *ɨrrɨd / mɨʃʃɨk > ɨrɨdrɨd.../ mɨʃɨkʃɨk,* above. An increase or duration in activity of ideophones can also be expressed by consonant or, and vowel lengthening (even though Kulazngi does not have long vowels), as in *mɨʃʃʃ...ɨk* 'to pinch someone with nails', *ɨrrr..iiɨ..'* to make long wailing sound'.

Some reduplicated ideophones do not have fixed syllable number. The number of their syllable depends on the frequency and duration of the event and the speaker, of course. *ʧab ʧàb ʧàb…* 'clap hands continuously', *dìk dìk dìk* '(for bulls) hoofing about before mounting a heifer for mating', *dɨqdɨqdɨq…* 'to make a sound like that of a motor car', *jòràràrr…* '(for rain) to fall in torrents', *fílfíl/fùlfùl…* '(for a stream) flow up usually out of the ground continuously' are typical examples of these type ideophones. Such ideophones can be referred to as phonosymbolic. Iconic use of reduplication in conveying continuation is also reported in Kisi ideophones (Childs, 1988:176).

Reduplicative process is also displayed in single syllable ideophones _ single syllable ideophones occur repeated. The repetition may go on to correlate with the meaning or the action the ideophone represents. Notice the following narration.[87]

99) *dèdáχ-kà bɨʃtán-dâz dàdáχ-ú-nù-zà tàbūtû bù-kà-má χàr-ɨ́z*
thieve-PL church-from steal-PFV-3P.REL-ACC arc.ACC carry-3P.cnv night.TMPR
ɨ̀nzáŋ-ánì-z àq tàmb-ànì bù-nù-zà tàbūtû dègàláχàdá
walk-3P-tmp people reach-3P.tmp carry-3P.PFV.REL-ACC arc.ACC weeds.LOC
zègʷíkàmá gìŋ-kʷà. dàdàχ zɨ̀gʷīnùzà tàbūtû àq kàntánì
throw.3P.cnv run-3P.PFV thieves throw.3P.PFV.REL.ACC arc.ACC people see.3P.TMPR
bòg bòg bòg … *ná dʒíχʷà*
flicker….IDP say COP.PFV

[87] The story was recorded while my informants were talking with other Kulaz people in local beer house, drinking beer.

‘While the thieves were walking carrying the arc they stole from some church and when some people came in the opposite direction towards them, they threw the arc in the weeds and ran away. When the people saw the arc the thieves threw, it was sparkling now and then.’

The dots after the ideophone ***bòg*** above indicate that the speaker may keep on repeating depending on how they perceive and want to relate the duration and frequency of the event to others. The time interval between the repeated ideophones corresponds with the time interval (duration and frequency) between the actions of the actual event, for example, slower or faster than or roughly equal to the ticking of a clock.

Kulazngi ideophones denote actions that appeal directly to the senses, usually sight or sound and in some cases a combination of these two. The actions they depict often involve noise or sudden or unexpected movements made or shapes formed during the event. Thus, they can broadly fall into two: sound symbolic (onomatopoeic) and image symbolic. Following will be discussed these two with pertinent data from the language.

7.10.1 Sound Symbolism

Kulazngi has a considerable stock of onomatopoeic ideophones, ranging from direct imitations, rather identical, (because it is the same organs, usually (part of) our mouth, that are involved in performing the actions denoted and producing the words representing these actions) to those showing noise linkage in some perceived way by the speakers. Direct imitations include **ɨ̀f** ‘to blow out fire/candle’, **ɨ̀ntɨ̀f** ‘spit’, **ɨ̀wwî / ɨ̀wwâj** ‘to cry loudly for help from danger’, **sîp** ‘to drink very small amount of (usually hot, such as tea or coffee) drink’, **χâp** ‘to drink a considerable amount of (usually hot) drink, such as tea, coffee, soup with a loud sucking noise’. **ɨ̀f** ‘to blow out fire/candle’ and **ɨ̀ntɨ̀f** ‘spit’ are each exactly the same with the noise heard when performing their respective actions except that one does not eject out sputum and blow out candle when uttering the words. The ideophone **χâp** refers not to drinking in general (which is expressed by the verb **zɨ̀q** ‘drink’) but to the type of drinking accompanied by a course sucking or slurping noise (as in production of long χ).

Other onomatopoetic ideophones imitate the actions of animals, humans or objects. For example, **dâp** ‘to whack someone or something hard with a thick heavy stick, such as a club’, **pâχ** ‘to strike a log with an axe in order to split it or produce small split sticks’, **daχ^{w}** ‘to break something big in two ’, **zŭt** ‘fart loudly’ are intended to convey the loud noise of their respective actions.

kòʃ ‘break something dry, such as briskly stick, **tùs** ‘fart softly as when we produce the sound s’, **χàtʃχàtʃ** ‘grind one’s teeth’, **tʃɪ́rɪ́qrɪ̀q** ‘to make a sound like as when there is rapid bowel movement or disturbance’, **dɪ́ndɪ̀q** ‘to punch someone hard’ **dìz** ‘(of a crowd) move suddenly apart with a chaotic din’, **ɪ̀zz** ‘(of bees, flies or other similar insects) to make a long resonating sound/ to buzz/ to buzz’ are also meant to convey actions vividly with the sound heard.

As can be deduced from the examples above, the sounds which play a frequent role in achieving sound symbolism in Kulazngi are *χ, q, z, d, b, g, tʃ, k, p* and their cluster. For example, the sound *k* in the ideophones **kòʃ** ‘break something dry’ has resemblance to the sound heard when breaking a dry stick; in **dàp/dâp** ‘to whack someone or something hard with a thick heavy stick’, the sounds *d* and *b* are associated to the sound like when someone or something is whacked. The sound heard when we say **gúrɪ̀q** ‘swallow’ corresponds to the sound heard when we swallow, for example saliva. Such phenomenon with respect to onomatopoeic ideophones is also common in other African languages. For example, Samarin (1965: 119) reports the correlation between certain meanings and certain vowel phonemes and tones in some African languages. Wetter (2003: 261) also reports analogical association of certain phonemes and clusters with certain meanings in Amharic. The problem, however, lies in the extent of the sound association between the meanings and the ideophones. This is because while the association in some ideophones, such as **ɪ̀zz** ‘(of bees…) to make a long resonating sound’ is vividly understood, for it is direct imitation of an acoustic phenomenon, the association of some others is not so. For example, **dɪ́ndɪ̀q** ‘to punch someone hard’ and **dìz** ‘(of a crowd) move suddenly apart with a chaotic din’ are not direct imitations. Yet (even though they are not direct imitations) the *d*’s in **dɪ́ndɪ̀q** and the *d* and *z* in **dìz** make the association of their acoustic phenomenon with their respective meanings beyond impressionistic. Dingemanse (2009: 84) also reports such varying form-meaning linkage in Siwu language. According to Dingemanse, the form-meaning linkage is shown in gradation as direct iconicity, gestalt iconicity, and relative iconicity

While ideophones with *d, b, z, p, k, χ,* are, as discussed above, associated with loud or noisy sounds, *l*, usually appearing in reduplicated forms, has attenuative effect – it is associated with absence of noise, a smooth movement with no audible friction. For example, **sálàl** ‘move smoothly and straight usually with no noise (like snakes)’, **kólàl** ‘(of liquid drops, such as tears) flow down on cheeks’ are typical examples of such ideophones.

7.10.2 Image Symbolism (Visual)

Image symbolism refers to those ideophones where there is an association between the shape of our mouth when producing the ideophones and the meaning denoted in them, i.e. the shape of our mouth corresponds to the meaning the ideophones represent. There exists a considerable number of ideophones having such features in Kulazngi. For example, ideophones produced with our lips wide open include **àŋ** 'to open one's mouth', **wǎq** 'vomit', **mìq** 'straddle', **wâk** '(for grains) to strew in a large quantity' all show corresponding meanings. The ideophones **aŋ**, for example, shows direct image association between the shape of our mouth while producing it (the ideophone **aŋ**) and the meaning (opening a mouth) it presents. It is also clear that we vomit with our mouth and straddle with our legs open apart. For example, when we say **wǎq** 'vomit', our lips spread as when we are vomiting.[88] Image association in the above ideophones is attained through the vowels *a* and *i*. The velar consonants coming after them do not affect the position of our lips.

On the other hand, ideophones produced with our lips pull together have their corresponding meaning. For example, **kûp** 'collect/gather', **tʃgɨ́m** 'to be silent', **kùm** '(of a swelling) begin to decrease or contract' are some of the ideophones having such a feature. For example, when we say **kûp**, our lips come closer to show a similar situation of the event referred to or the meaning denoted in **kûp**. The same is true for **tʃgɨ́m** and **kùm** in which our lips shut at the end.

In these three ideophones, the vowels, *u* and *ɨ*, might have their own role or contribution to the image symbolism the ideophones convey, but the association bases itself on the bilabial consonants *p* and *m* is indubitable. The sound *f* in the ideophones **qùf** '(of dough) to rise/ (of the face) to swell, for example, due to some ailment' and **gɨ́fɨlfɨl** '(of a tree, usually short) to be or appear thick foliage' can also be argued to show image symbolism associated with volume increase in something. This, however, may pose two doubtful situations. First, *f* with such features is not productive. Second, it also occurs in ideophones having meanings not associated with volume increase, such as **fífrī** 'worm'.

Kulazngi ideophones can be divided in to two based on whether a certain ideophone is the only linguistic form to represent the referent or there exists another parallel linguistic form for the same referent. On the one hand, there are ideophones along which exist ordinary verb forms with the same core meaning contained in the ideophones. On the other hand, there are ideophones with no corresponding ordinary verb forms with the same core meaning contained in them. The latter types can be labeled *independent semantic bearers* while the former ones can be labeled as

[88] *wǎq* is also a sound symbolic ideophone.

coexisting semantic bearers. Examples of independent semantic bearers include the ideophones **tánk^{w}** 'break (for ropes and similar things)', **tìp** 'drip', **ìntɨf** 'discharge or eject sputum', **sálàl** '(for snakes) move smoothly on a surface'.

In respect of coexisting semantic bearers, there are two options for expressing the same event or action, i.e. there exist two forms for the same core meaning: the ideophone and the regular or ordinary verb form. The ideophone conveys the meaning more vividly or image or sound symbolically while the ordinary verb conveys the core meaning only, as can be noticed from (100a) and (100b) below with **dăp** and **táz-** 'beat', the former an ideophone and the latter an ordinary verb.

100. a) gìtsìní fìrísè dùlí-s **tás-uχ́-à**
merch horse.ACC stick-INSTR hit-3M.PFV-PFV
'The merchant beat the horse with a stick

b) gìtsìní fìrísè dùlí-s **dăp** ts-úχ́-à
merch horse.ACC stick-INSTR beat do-3M.PFV-PFV
'The merchant beat the horse with a stick'

táz- 'beat' (100a), denotes the beating of the horse, while dăp 'beat' (100b) not only expresses the beating but also conveys the sound created when the horse was beaten. Thus, dap refers to the accompanying acoustic impression.

Coexisting semantic bearers include pairs like **dâχ^{w}**/dunts- 'break (for sticks and similar objects)', **lâf** /*gu∫-* 'pick', **wâk**/*kɨbɨts-* 'strew', **qɨlɨm**/*sɨŋ^{w}-* 'swallow', **bog**/*ʦaj-* 'set fire'. The first members of the pairs (bold print) are ideophones and the second members are ordinary verb roots. As the ordinary verbs do not provide a dramatic impression as the ideophones do, the ideophonic forms are chosen when the speaker wishes to evoke vivid images of the action. For example, while the ideophone bog 'set fire' expresses a sudden flash of light, the ordinary verb form tsaj- 'set fire' does not show this dramatic event.[89]

Lastly, I will conclude this section providing evidences attesting to the fact that Kulazngi ideophones, as touched upon from the outset, are verb like word groups, and thus should be assumed as subgroups of verbs.

Semantically, Kulazngi ideophones are all action or state bearers, or they carry the semantic content or the core meaning of the entire verbal phrase, that is action or state. Light verbs that

[89] This situation corresponds to the Amharic usage bogg alä and bärra 'The light went on.'

occur following them carry grammatical information only. Since the semantic content (which is an action or state) of the verb phrase is carried by the ideophone, as can be deduced from *láf tsúχa* 'He picked up suddenly ', they are more like verbs than nouns, adjectives or adverbs. In addition to this evidential explanation with regard to semantic evidence, the way the ideophones exist as coexisting and independent semantic bearers implies that Kulazngi ideophones are closer to verbs than to any other word class. Those labeled as coexisting semantic bearers are alternately used with ordinary verbs which have the same core meaning with them. Likewise, those labeled as independent semantic bearers are the only word forms carrying the core meaning (action or state) in the verb phrase. It is also the case that ideophones in Amharic are verbs or type of verbs because they are reported to form compound verbs with light verb in the verb phrase (Baye, 2009: 110).

The fact that Kulazngi ideophones are closer to verbs than to other word classes can also be detected in their morphological structure. There are a number of morphological factors among which four are adduced briefly in subsequent discussions.

Like some ordinary verbs which are derived into nouns with noun derivational morpheme *-i* (as in *kìz-* 'to buy' and *kízí* 'something obtained through exchange'), some ideophones are derived into nouns with *-ti*, as shown in (102) below. Ideophones being derived in to nouns via nominalizer morpheme is also reported in Amharic (Amberber, 2010: 303; Baye, 1999).

102. a) *ìntsàχárí* ***kūp*** *núkʷà* (boys gather.IDP lv.3P.PFV) 'The boys gathered.'
     b) *ɨntsàχáríw* ***kùptí*** *tàkàmámà* (chidren.GEN meeting useful.INTR) 'Does children's gathering avail anything?'

103. a) *àχû* ***lêb*** *tsán* (water.ACC luke warm.IDP make.2P.IMPR) 'Warm some water.'
     b) ***lèbtí*** *lɨkʷsàχù-z* *gù* *zɨqí-z* *áχálà*
        tepidness leg water for but drink-for be.NEG
        '(lit. tepidness) tepid water is not for drinking but for washing legs'

Likewise, some ideophones can be turned to adjectives with the same adjective suffixes, *-i* and *-ìnī* which are added to ordinary verbs to turn them into adjectives, as shown in (104, 105) below. This too implies that Kulazngi ideophones can by no means be grouped under adjectives.

104. a) ***tsêk*** *ts-úkʷà*
        get clean(for liquid).IDP make-PL.PFV
        'They made *it* clean.'

     b) ***tsêk*** + *-i* > ***tsíkí*** '(of liquid) clean'

105. a) *dúnt-* 'to break' + *-ìnī* > *duntìní* 'broken'

b) ***búq*** 'to form a hole' + *-ìnī* > ***búqìnī*** 'having a hole'

In (105a) above, adjective derivational morpheme *-ìnī*, which is added to verb bases, is suffixed to the ordinary verb, *dúnt-* 'to break' to form an adjective *duntìní* 'broken'. In (105b), the same derivational morpheme is added to the ideophone ***búq*** to form an adjective ***búqìnī*** 'having a hole'. Two points can be suggested here with regard to morphological evidence for Kulazngi ideophones being grouped as verb subgroups. The first is that they attach the same morphological affix ***-ìnī*** as ordinary verbs to be derived to adjectives. Second, unlike other African languages where ideophones are grouped as adjectives, Kulazngi ideophones, since they turn to adjectives with a derivational morpheme as shown above, are by no means adjectives or subgroups of adjectives.

Finally, with regard to phonological and syntactic evidence, the light verb *-n* 'say' (but not *-ts* 'do/make') may assimilate to the rightmost consonant of most ideophones, and the ideophone ends up being an ordinary verb ⚊ it hosts all grammatical affixes that the auxiliary *n-* carried before its assimilation, i.e. the ideophone, losing the ideophonic property, takes up the form of an ordinary verb and appears with all grammatical suffixes that were carried by the light verb. Childs (1994: 187) also reports such a syntactic feature in Kanury where the dummy verb *-ŋin* 'say, think' has diachronically combined with the ideophone to form the large class of verbs in the language.

106. a) **tə̂k** n-úχ-à (tighten.IDP lv-3M.PFV-PFV) 'It tightened up.'

b) **tɨ́kk-ùχ-à** (tighten-3M.PFV-PFV) 'It tightened up.'

107) a) **pə̂r** n-úχ-à (jump.IDP lv-3M.PFV-PFV) 'He jumped.'

b) **pə̂rr-úχ-à** (jump-3M.PFV-PFV) 'He jumped.'

As shown in (106b) and (107b), the ideophones **tə̂k** and **pə̂r** have been raised to ordinary verbs upon the assimilation of the auxiliary verb *n-*, which has resulted in lengthening of *k* and *r* (see section 2.1.6 for details of the assimilation of the light verb *n-*).

Kulazngi ideopones can be summarized as follows. They occur followed by finite verb forms *n-/ts-* (*n-*'say / become / do / intend', *ts-*'do/make') which appear fully inflected for all grammatical information. *n-* is intransitive and *ts-* is causative transitive. Thus, the same ideophone may occur with either of them, as in *daχ^{w} nɨχ^{w}a* '*something* broke down' and *daχ^{w} tsɨχ^{w}a* 'he broke *something*'.

Kulazngi ideophones denote actions that appeal directly to the senses, usually sight or sound, or in some cases a combination of these two. Thus, they can be viewed in two respects: as sound symbolic or image symbolic. When viewed prosodically, while single syllable Kulazngi ideophones bear high, low or contour tones, disyllabic iedophones bear either L.L or H.L tone melody. Disyllabic iedophones with L.L melody are all reduplicated and those with H.L melody are non-reduplicative. Trisyllabic ideophones are H.H.L tone sequence only. They all involve rightward reduplication.

Semantically, Kulazngi ideophones can be viewed as *independent* or *coexisting* semantic bearers. The former ones are the only forms used to convey the meaning carried by them, or, there are no corresponding ordinary verbs carrying the same core meaning contained in them. In the latter case, there exist two forms for the same core meaning: the ideophone and the regular or ordinary verb form. The ideophone conveys the meaning more vividly or image or sound symbolically while the ordinary verb conveys the core meaning only.

Negation in ideophones is realized on the second component, *n-* or *ts-*, but not on the ideophone. The negation with the coexisting ideophones may not point to the general absence of the action. Rather, it points to the absence of the dramatic event the ideophone expresses.

7.11 Valence Changing Mechanisms

Valence has to do with the number of arguments a particular verb subcategorizes or takes. "Grammatical valence (or syntactic valence) refers to the number of arguments present in a given clause (Payne, 1997: 170)". Likewise, Dixon (2012: 477) defines valence as the number of core arguments a verb requires. Payne further illustrates his definition of valence with the English verb *to eat*, as:

> "For example, a scene typically described by the verb *eat* in English has to have two participants - an "eater" and an "eaten" thing. Therefore the verb *eat* is said to have two arguments, at least conceptually (semantically) (Payne 1997: 47)".

However, argument structure of verbs is affected by verb derivational operations they undergo. This section distinguishes various verb derivational operations that affect the grammatical valence of a clause in Kulazngi. Verb derivational operations may decrease or increase the valence of verbs. The relevant operations affecting the valence of a verb in Kulazngi are

passivization, middle, reciprocalization, and causativization. While the first three reduce, causativization increases the valence of a verb.

7.11.1 Valence Reduction

As touched upon above, the relevant grammatical operations that reduce the valence of the verb in Kulazngi are the passive, middle, and reciprocal constructions. In sections 7.5.2.2 – 7.5.2.4, we saw the morphological and semantic distinctions among passive, middle, and reciprocal verbs. In this section, we focus on grammatical operations that require argument adjustments.

Passive

In contrast to active clauses which take as their starting point the participant who carries out an action, passive clauses take as their starting point the participant on whom an action is carried out, that is, who suffers the action (Miller, 2002: 26). The active construction in Kulazngi is in accord with the canonical passive construction commonly found in other languages, where the underlying object becomes the subject of the passive and the underlying agent (usually omitted) assumes a peripheral function, marked by a non-core case (Dixon 2012:206). Thus, syntactic difference between active and passive constructions in Kulazngi is that the object of the active verb becomes the subject of the passive and the underlying agent (semantic subject), demoted to an oblique object (marked by a non-core case marker *-z*, instrumental case marker in non-passive constructions), goes into a peripheral function and may occur immediately following the patient (the subject of the passive). However, it is not usual to use the oblique object in normal conversation unless required for some discourse purpose. Notice the following examples.

108. (a) ɨnní mùrân àjŋá dʒɨ́gè **gɨ̀bī-kʷà**
These villagers yesterday bridge.ACC build-3P.PFV
'The villagers built a bridge yesterday.'

(b) dʒɨ́gè àjŋá **gɨ̀bì-st-û**
bridge yesterday build-pass-3M.PFV
'A bridge was built yesterday.'

109. (a) kízí màfkáltû **bàrùk-kʷà**
priest holy bread-ACC bless and break -HON[3p].PFV
'The priest has blessed and cut the bread.'

(b) màfkált **bèràk-ìst-û**

holy bread bless and cut-ep-pass-AUX-IDPV

'The holy bread was blessed and cut.'

110. (a) nìgàtú-z nìzàná dàgʷtsî **àtsád-û**

nigatu-GEN his brother millet.ACC reap-3M.PFV

'Nigatu's brother reaped (the) millet.'

(b) dàgʷtsí **àtsád-í-st-û**

millet reap-ep-pass-3M.PFV

'(The) millet was reaped.'

The sentences in (*b*'s of 108-110) above are passive. In each case, the elements which are direct objects in active sentences, in *a*'s are topicalized (raised to subjects) in *b*'s. According to Keenan and Dryer, passives are similar to what we call topic, for they present a patient as topical (Keenan and Dryer, 2007: 325). On the other hand, the agent (the subject of the active sentences in each of the sentences in (*a*'s of 108-110)) ceases to remain core argument in the passive counterparts (*b*'s). Thus, the passives in the above examples are one valence less than their active counterparts. "Passive is a lexical process of verbal derivation that affects the linking between the levels of argument structure and grammatical functions (Foley, 2007: 418)."

As touched upon above, unless it is worth mentioning, it is not usual to use agent phrases in passive constructions of Kulazngi, which is also a common trait in most of the languages of the world. "…agent phrases are not in general an integral part of the passive construction itself…(Keenan and Dryer, 2007: 342) ". However, it may appear worth mentioning an agent phrase in certain passive constructions, such as (111) below.

111) dɨχʷàrá **ɨχʷí-z** íŋ-í-st-î

donkey hyena-by bite-ep-pass-3F.IDPV

'The donkey has been bitten by a hyena.'

The agent phrase, *ɨχʷí-z*, in (111) above communicates the degree of injury by the bite.

Reciprocal

Reciprocal constructions refer to activities where the participants are not all distinct from one another (Dixon, 2012: 138). As discussed in section 6.4.4, Kulazni has verbs marked reciprocal, and, in addition to reciprocal marked verbs, reciprocal pronouns can optionally appear as an

adjunct (cf. 112b), see sub chapter 4.1 with respect to reciprocal pronouns. In this section, we will see how the verbal derivation of the reciprocal affects the linking between the levels of argument structure and grammatical functions.

As discussed in section 7.4.4, the suffixation of a reciprocal marker *(-t)ŋ-* to transitive verbs detranstivizes the verbs, i.e. the transitive verbs will be detransitivized upon the suffixation of reciprocal -ŋ, as can be noticed in (112b) and (113c) below. (112a) and (113a-b) are non-reciprocal transitive clauses presented for comparison).

112. a) ìmpɨ́lû **táz-ú-χà**
one-ACC kick-PFV-3M
'He kicked one'

b) ná-s-nà **táz-ŋ-ú-χá / táz-ìŋ-kʷà**
he-INSTR-he [ADV] kick-RCP-PFV-3M / kick-RCP-3P.PFV
'(lit. they by them kicked) They kicked each other.'

113. a) àqí àqâ **kùts-ɨ́ŋ-ú-χà**
man woman.ACC kiss-RCP-PFV -3M
'The man kissed the woman.'

b) àqá àqî **kùts-ɨ́ŋ-t-ú-χà**
woman man.ACC kiss-RCP-3M-PFV-3M
'The woman kissed the man.'

c) àqí-stá àqá **kùtsɨ́ŋ-ìŋ-kʷà**
man-and woman kiss-RCP-3P.PFV
'The man and the woman kissed each other.'

(112a) and (113a, b) in the above sentential examples are transitive clauses. They are detransitivized in (112b) and (113c) because of the reciprocal suffix *-ŋ*, or, as the role of the direct objects in (112a) and (113a, b) is changed into reciprocal in (112b) and (112c), the valence of the clauses has been reduced. Thus, the verb forms *táz-ú-χà* (113a) and *kùtsɨ́ŋ-ú-χà/ kùts-ɨ́ŋ-t-ú-χà* (113a/b) are divalent and the verb forms *táz-ŋ-ú-χá* (113b) and *kùtsɨ́ŋ-ìŋ-kʷà* (113c) are monovalent.

While a subject of a reciprocalized verb is plural, (it is noteworthy that a subject of a reciprocal clause is semantically plural across languages, consisting of at least two participants), a reciprocalized verb is either plural (cf. 114b) or singular (114a) in Kulazngi. Similarly, the subject of a reciprocalized verb (even though semantically always plural), appears as either singular (cf. 114a) or plural (114b). Hence, (114a) and (117b) are semantically identical. The reciprocalized verb thus has to agree in number with its subject. Following are illustrative examples for further scrutiny. The ungrammaticality of (114c) is due to number mismatch between the subject and the reciprocalized verb.

114. a) àqí táz-ŋ-ú-χà
man kick-RCP-PFV -3M
‘‘(The) Men kicked each other.’

b) àq táz-ɨŋ-kʷà
men kick-RCP-3P.PFV
‘(The) Men kicked each other.’

c) ⋆ àqí táz-ɨŋ-kʷ-à
man kick-RCP-3P-PFV
‘Men kicked each other.’

In Kulazngi, if a coordinated compound subject of a reciprocalized verb consists of singular components, the verb can appear either as singular or plural (cf. 115a). If the components are plural, however, the verb is always plural.

115. a) àqí ɨstā àqí táz-ŋ-ú-χà / táz-ɨŋ-kʷà
man and man kick-RCP-PFV -3M / kick-RCP-3P.PFV

b) àq ɨstā àq táz-ɨŋ-kʷà
men and men kick-RCP-3P.PFV

However, if the subject NP is a coordinated compound with gender different components, the verb always encodes plural subject, for reciprocalized verb when singular encodes either feminine or masculine depending on its subject. Ungrammaticality of (116) is that while the recprocalized verb agrees with 3rd person masculine, its subject phrase consists of coordinated masculine and feminine NP.

116. ⋆ àqí ɨstā àqá **kùtsɨŋ-ŋ-ú-χà**
man and woman kiss-RCP-PFV-3M
‘(The) man and (the) woman kissed each other.’

Detransitivization of sentences with reciprocal verbs can be checked against constructions in (117) below.

(117) ⋆a) àqí nì-s-nî **kú-χà**
Man he-INSTR-he.ACC kill.PFV-3M
‘(lit. Man he by him killed.’
‘(the intended meaning) They killed each other.’

⋆b) ɨmpɨl àqí ɨmpɨlû àqî **kú-tŋ-ú-χá**
one man one-ACC man.ACC kill-RCP-PFV-3M
‘lit. One man killed one man each other’

Ungrammaticality of the above sentences is due to mismatch between the verb forms and their intended complements. While the verb in (117a) (kú-χ-à) is transitive, which needs an argument in O function, *nì-s-nì* (even though it also occupies the direct object slot) is not a direct object. Rather it has adverbial function for a reciprocal clause (signals that two participants equally act upon each other). “A prototypical reciprocal clause is one in which two participants equally act upon each other, i.e., both are equally agent and patient (Payne, 1997: 200).” Likewise, the sentence in (117b) is ungrammatical because the direct object, *ɨmpɨlû àqî* appears with the reciprocal verb *kú-tŋ-ú-χá,* thus the two do not align.

Middle Verbs

Morphological and semantic analysis of middle verbs is discussed in detail in section 7.5.2.3. In this section, we focus on how derived middle verb construction affects the predicate-argument link.

Middle verbs express a semantically transitive situation in terms of a process undergone by the patient rather than as an action carried out by an agent (Payne 1997: 216). Kulazngi middle verbs are two types when viewed syntactically, transitive-like and intransitive. Transitive-like middle verbs are those that take direct object, such as *qús-* ‘wash’, *dúnt* ‘break’, *guʃt-* ‘borrow’, *dʒɨbíst-* ‘fear’. However, they are not transitive proper because the action is a kind of reflexive.

Thus, despite the presence of a direct object and the system passivization in the language, they cannot be passivized (cf. 118).

118. a) **ŋárî** / **lɨkʷ-aû** / **tàb-û** qús-t-ú-χà
hair.ACC leg.ACC / hand.ACC wash-1P-PFV-1P
'I washed my hair / leg / hand.'

b) **gànzábù** gúʃt-ú-χà
money.ACC borrow-PFV - 3M/1s
'He/ I borrowed money.'

The subjects of the above sentential examples are understood but referenced in the verb. They are, as made clear in the translation, *I* (118a) and *he* or *I* (118b). The boldfaced NPs are used as direct objects. Nevertheless, the verbs cannot be turned passive per se. What are turned passive are their active counterparts, hence, *qúts-* 'wash' and *gùʃts-* 'lend' (cf. 119).

119. a) ân tàbû qúts-û
I and.ACC wash-1s.PFV
'I washed a (the) hand.'

b) ân tàbû qúst-û
I and.ACC wash-1s.PFV 'I washed my hand.'

c) tàb qúts-ɨ́st-û
hand wash-pass-1s.PFV
'A (The) hand was washed.'

d) *tàb qús-ɨ́st-ú-χà
hand wash-pass-PFV-3M
'Hand was washed.'

120. a) aɲ̂ gànzábû gùʃt-ú-χà
I money.ACC borrow-PFV-1s
'I borrowed money.'

b) ân gànzábû gùʃts-ú-χà
I money.ACC lend-PFV-1S
'I lent (the) money.'

c) *gànzáb guʃt-ɨst-ú-χà
money borrow-pass-PFV-1S
'Money was lent.'

119c is the passive of 119a. Hence, *tàbû* in (119a) is direct object of the causative transitive verb *qúts-* 'wash'. It can refer to *the hand* of the washer's (I) or somebody else's hand. Though it refers to the washer's hand, the relation between the washer and the action of washing is a kind reflexive, as if saying *I washed myself*. In (119d), we notice unaccepted passivization, because the passive marker affix *-ɨst* has attached to the middle verb when it should attach to the causative.

Just like in (119d), we notice unaccepted passivization in (120c) for the same reason as explained for (119d). As long as a direct object is there, why (120c) is not accepted might be difficult to perceive at least for those who do not speak the language. The reason is that *guʃt-* 'borrow' is more of reflexive (the action is done for oneself or involving or incurring oneself in debt) than transitive. Thus, the meaning in (120c) is somewhat similar with *He/ I entered into a loan* or *He/ I incurred costs*.

When the direct object is part of the body as affected part, it is semantically perceived as *oneself*. For example, the direct object *ŋárî* 'hair' in (115a) and *tàbû* 'hand' in (116b) is rather perceived as *myself*.

We recall our discussion in section 7.5.2.3 that middle verbs have their transitive counterparts. The passive construction is thus drawn from these transitive verbs. Nonetheless, it is not usual, even though possible, for some transitive verbs to turn to passive. Consider the following middle, active, and passive counterparts in perfective aspect in 1S singular and 3M. As *qús-* (the first in the list) is TG2 verb, its perfective form in 3M is *qús-îw* (see section 7.3.2.3).

	Middle	*Active*	*Passive*	*gloss of the verb root*
1s	qús-t-û	qúts- û	qústs-ɨst- û	'wash'
1s/3M	gûʃt-û	gûʃts- û	*gûʃts-ɨst- û*	'borrow/lend (middle/active)'
1s/3M	wàʃt-û	wàʃ - û	wàʃ -ɨst- û	'bask/spread in the sun'
1s/3M	dúnt-û	dúnts- û	*dúnts-ɨst- û*	'break'
1s/3M	dʒɨbíst-û	dʒɨbíts-û	*dʒɨbíts-ɨst-û*	'be frightened/frighten'

Note that the passive forms put in *italic* in the above list are not commonly used.

Intransitive middle verbs, such as *tī-* 'fall', *bèft-* 'hide oneself', and *tsàj-* / *bɨbr-* 'burn' have an affected agent subject, which, unlike intransitive-like middle, cannot appear as direct object.

121. a) gìŋ-á-z tì-χʷà
run-3M/1s-while fall-3M/1s.PFV
'He/ I fell while he/ I was running.'

b) kànī bɨbr-ú-χà
wood burn-PFV -3M
'The wood burnt.'

c) dàdàχ gɨ́n-dâ bèft-ɨ́kʷà
thieves house-LOC hide-3P-PFV
'The thieves hid in the house.'

The subjects in (121a) and (121b) are patients and in (121c) agent.
Middle verbs in Kulazngi need further burrowing into the language system.

7.11.2 Valence Increasing

When valency-changing category establishes a syntactic relation that introduces a new agent/subject, this has to do with causativization (Haspelmath, 2004). In this section, we deal with causativization as valence increasing derivation in Kulazngi. We recall in our discussion in section 7.5.2.1 that *-ts* is a productive causative morpheme in Kulazngi. It is added to both transitive and intransitive verbs to causativize them. Thus, the suffixation of ***-ts*** increases the valency of the verb by one participant. According to Payne (1997: 176), predicates of causative constructions, which can be formed on the basis of intransitive or transitive caused events, always involve one more argument than the caused predicate, and thus if the caused event is intransitive, the causative is transitive and if the caused event is transitive, the causative is ditransitive, etc. Following are sentential illustrations of causativized verb forms of intransitive (122) and transitive (123) verb bases in Kulazngi.

122. (a) sɨr **ɨ́nkɨr-ú-χà**
male child play- PFV- 3M
'The child boy played.'

(b) tàblí sɨrù **ɨ́nkɨ̀r-ts-ú-χà**
father malechild.ACC play-CAUS-PFV-3M
'The father entertained the child boy.'

123. (a) gìtsàní dɨχʷàrù **ʃtàn-ɨ̄χʷà**
merchan donkeys load-3M.PFV
'The merchant loaded the donkeys.'

(b) gìtsàní dɨχʷàrù dʒàr-ká-z **tʃànɨ̄- ts-ú-χà**
merchant donkeys.ACC son-PL-INSTR load-CAUS-PFV-3M
'The merchant made his children load the donkeys.'

The intransitive verb form *ɨ́nkɨ̀r-ú-χà* in (122a) is causativized, and thus transitivized in (122b). Hence, its valence has increased from monovalent (consisting of argument in S function) to divalent (consisting of arguments in A function and O function, *sɨ̀rù*). On the other hand, the transitive verb form **ʃtàn-ū-χà** in (123a) is divalent (consists of two arguments, *the merchant* and *the donkeys*.) As it is causativized in (123b), it has turned to trivalent (consists of three arguments, the *merchant* (causer), *his children* (agent) and *the donkeys* (patient)). Thus, Kulazngi verbs with causativizer suffixal *-ts* added to them are one valence more than their counter parts before *-ts*'s suffixation. There are a small number of three place verbs, such as *j-* 'give'. If the process of giving involves someone as a causer, the suffixal causative *-ts* will be added next to the root, turning the verb into quadrivalent (involving four arguments) (cf. 124).

124. a) ɨ̀ntsāj bɨ́rrù nìtʃú-z **jí-χʷà**
boy birr.ACC his mother-for give-PFV.3M
'The boy gave the money to his mother.'

b) ɨ̀ntsāj bɨ́rrù nìtʃú-z **jí-tsts-ú-χà**
boy birr.ACC his mother-for give-CAUS-ep-CAUS-PFV.3M-PFV
'The boy had someone give his mother the money.'

Causativized verbs like discussed above are derived with *-ts* from non-causativized verbs. There also exist lexically *-ts* terminal transitive verbs. These verbs have the same form (except the terminal *ts* with the transitive ones) with their intransitive that refer to the same or slightly different core meaning.. This type verbs include *qʷáj- / qʷájts-* 'blow', *dég- / dégts-* 'conceal', *náqí- / náqts-* 'put near something', *zúr- / zúrts-* 'return', *gám- / gámts-* descend / drop

something down from a tree or from something like that, *kàz(t)- / kàts-* ‘go / take’. When causativized, the *-ts* terminal transitive verbs will have the causative *-ts* occur following the terminal *-ts.* Such causative verbs are not, however, double causatives (cf. 125) below.

125. a) fífī **qʷáj-u-χà**
big flute like musical pipe blow-PFV.3M
‘A *fifi* blew.’

b) nìgàtú fífī **qʷájts-u-χà**
Nigatu *fifi*.ACC blow- PFV.3M
‘Nigatu blew *fifi*.’

c) nìgàtú nìrā-zà fífī **qʷájts-ɨ́ts-u-χà**
nigatu his son-ACC *fifi*.ACC blow- CAUS-PFV- 3M
‘Nigatu made his son blew *fifi*.’[90]

qʷájts-u-χà in (125b) is transitive, and the *ts* in it derives transitive from *qʷáj*. *qʷájts-ɨ́-ts-u-χà* (125c) is a causative. Hence, any verb (with the exception of *qáqáts-* ‘become cool’, as far as my data is concerned) with *-ts* as a causative marker or part of the lexical root at the end is transitive. *qáqáts-* ‘become cool’ is an inchoative middle verb derived from the noun *qàqàtsí* [91]‘cold’. It is more likely that the causative *-ts* is derived from the verb ‘do’ viz. *tsew-*.

This is also reported to be the case in Awngi (Appleyard, 1986; Hetzron, 1976).

Double causatives are reported in Awngi (Appleyard, 1986: 7). Even though the causative marker may occur doubly in some verbs in Kulazngi (this does not apply to ts-final transitive verbs, such as 125), this does not entail meaning difference from the (simple) causatives (causatives with a single causative marker) though the morphological forms are there, as in *χúχà* ‘He ate’ ↦ *χú**ts**úχà* / *χú**tsɨ́ts***:*úχà* ‘He made (forced) someone eat something.’

[90] Fifi is a flute like musical instrument of the Kulaz people.

[91] This is more likely a borrowing from Amharic: qáqátsí … k’äzk’az:a ‘cold’ and qàqàts- …k’äzäk’äz- ‘become cold’.

[92]The causative verb in Kulazngi does not agree with a causee agent, and nor does with an object. All agreement suffixes refer to the causer, as can be checked from the verb *bu-* 'to carry' in the following paradigm.

(126) a) *ɨntsáj ɨntsàχā-z árè* ***bú-tsɨ̀-ts-ú-xà***
boy girl.DAT crop.ACC carry-CAUS-CAUS-PFV-3M
'The boy made the girl carry the crop'

b) ɨ́n *ɨntsáj àn ɨntsàj-z árè* ***bú-tsɨ̀-ts-ú-xà***
this boy that boy-DAT crop.ACC carry-CAUS-CAUS-PFV-3M
'This boy made that boy carry the crop'

c) ɨntsáj ɨntsàxárí-z wànbár-kâ **bù-tsɨ̀-ts-ú-*x*à**
boy boys/girls/boys and girls.DAT crop-PL.ACC carry-CAUS-CAUS-PFV-3M
'This boy made that boy carry (the) chairs'

d) *ɨntsáj ɨntsàxárí-z árè* ***bú-tsɨ̀-ts-ú-xà***
boy boys/girls/boys and girls-DAT crop.ACC carry-CAUS-CAUS-PFV-3M
'This boy made that boy carry the crop'

BUT

In (126a-d), the objects are in dative case. Hence, the causative there renders a benefactive meaning to dative marked objects. Their meanings are equivocal because of the semantics of the causativized verb *buts-* 'to help/make somebody carry'. (126a), for example, can mean *the boy helped the girl with the job*, i.e *by carrying the crop with her or by lifting up and putting the crop load on the girl's back or shoulders*.

The dative marked objects in (126a-d) can be marked accusative. When this happens, they will have, apart from a benefactive meaning, a causative meaning (cf. 126).

127) ɨntsàxā *ɨntsàj-û árè* ***bú-tsè-ts-ɨ̄x^{w}à***
girl boy-ACC crop.ACC carry-CAUS-CAUS-3F.PFV
'The girl made the boy carry the crop'

[92] This is unlike the Amharic causative verb form where there appear agreement suffixes of both the causer and the cause agent, as in *asmätt'anäw/asmätt'anatʃtʃäw/asmätt'ut/asmätt'ʷatʃtʃäw* 'We made him come or we made others bring him/We made them come or we made others bring them /They made him come or they made others bring him/They made them come or they made others brinhg them'

As can be noticed in (127), *ɨntsàj-û* is in accusative case[93]– it has, apart from a causative meaning, a benefactive meaning. This depends on the semantics of the verb, i.e. some verbs, when causativized, will give the meaning *X made Y do something* or *X helped Y do something*.

Similarly, unless accusative or dative marked objects appear, causativized verbs can have benefactive or patient or malfactive reading (cf.128).

128)[94] χú-ts-u-χà
eat-CAUS-PFV-3M
'He helped someone eat' or, 'He caused something / someone be eaten.'

7.12 Mood

According to Bybee (1985) cited in Kroeger (2005:163), mood is an indication of "what the speaker wants to do with the proposition" in a particular discourse context. Under this subchapter are discussed, imperatives, interrogatives, jussives, optatives, quotatives, and inchoatives.

7.12.1 Imperatives

Kulazngi imperatives are of two types: simple and polite. The difference between the two forms is both semantic and morphological. The latter is expressed in three ways: lexically, morphologically, and structurally. The former is either bare or marked by *-a*, *-í, -īt (-ti)*, or *-ɨ́t* for singular and always marked by *-ân* for plural. The form *-ɨ́t* is rare; as far as my data is concerned, there is only one verb which marks imperative with *-ɨ́t*. Whether bare or morphologically marked, high or mid tone is also there as an imperative marker. With the verbs of multisyllable, the tone falls on the ultimate syllable. The choice among the markers depends on the type of the verb group and / or the tone the verb bears at its root. Hence:

TG2 verbs add *ī* immediately before the *t* (of T-group verbs, hence *-īt*) for 2S imperative and optionally add *-á* at the end, as illustrated in (130) below. Verbs ending in a vowel add only *-t* (cf. 130h). The imperative marker *-á* added to the already imperative marked verb form with *-īt* has a role of focus.

[93] There is a similar language use in Amharic in this regard, as in *lɨdʒun fällämut* 'They rewarded the boy' where *Lɨdʒun* 'the boy', which has a benefactive meaning, is in the accusative case instead of the dative. In Amharic, however, if the direct object (what is rewarded in this case) is mentioned, the indirect object *lɨdʒun* will drop the accusative marker *-n* and add a prefix *lä-* as indirect object marker.
[94] Amharic also has analogous use, as in: *äsbälut* 'Caused someone to be eaten' or 'Helped someone eat.'

		2S (IMPR)	2P (IMPR)
130. a)	*làχʷ-* 'to insult'	*làχʷ-īt(á) / làχʷtí*	*làχʷ-tân*
b)	*kást-* 'to ask'	*kásít/ kás-tí / kásítà*	*kást-ân*
c)	*dágt-* 'to conceal'	*dágít/ dágtí / dágítá*	*dág-tân*
e)	*ɨʃt-* 'drive'	*ɨʃīt/ ɨʃtī / ɨʃītà*	*ɨʃ-tân*
f)	*bàj-* 'leave'	*bà-t(à)*	*bà-tân*
g)	*náq-* 'be close'	*náqít(á)/ náqtí*	*náq-tân*
h)	*àntʃī-* 'to check'	*àntʃít(á)*	*àntʃī-tân*

The imperative forms with *-īt* attached to their end can commonly change their form by swapping the position of the imperative marker *-i* and 2S *-t* (which is metathesis, see also secton 2.5.5), hence the forms in (130) will be as follows: *làχʷ-īt > làχʷ-tí, kás-īt > kás-tí, ɨʃ-īt > ɨʃ-tí,* etc.

As mentioned earlier, there is one monoconsonantal TG2 verb, viz. *s-* 'weep', to which *-ít* (instead of -īt) attaches. The form *-ít* is not realized with other verbs, and to posit that it might be the case it occurs with monocosonantal TG verbs is problematic, for there is no monoconsonantal TG verb other than *s-* (as far as my data is concerned). *-s* in HA is *ɨst-* and its imperative is *ɨstí/ ɨstán* (SG/PL) (Hetzron, 1969: 57.)

The imperative of single syllable verbs (other than TG) are either bare or marked by the vowel *í*: while those marked by the imperative *-í* are IG3 verbs, bare imperatives are neither TG nor IG3. With the exception of three verbs (see 8a_c below), bare imperatives bear high tone (cf. 131). Bare imperatives can be focused by *-á*, which, however, does not attach to non TG vowel-ending verbs (cf. 131f-h) because of phonological constraint.

(131) a) *zɨ̀q-* 'to drink' > *zɨ́q(à)* [IMPR] > *zɨq-ī-χʷà* [PFV]

b) *mìts-* 'to enter /marry' > *míts(à)* [IMPR] > *mìts-ī-xʷà* [PFV]

c) *zɨ̀kʷ-* 'to live' > *zɨ́kʷ(á)* [IMPR] > *zɨ̀k-ī-xʷà* [PFV]

d) *mí-* 'hold' > *m-ít(à)*

e) *gɨ̀ʃ-* > *gɨ́ʃ(à)* 'dig'

f) *dʒù-* > *dʒú* 'stand up'

g) *tú-* > *tú* 'enter'

h) *χú-* > *χū* ‘eat’

i) *kànt-* > *kānt (kàntà)* ‘see’

As can be noticed from the above list, monosyllabic verbs other than TG and IG3 are bare imperatives. Nonetheless, one might argue that they are not bare proper, for tone is there as imperative marker. Thus, they, with the exception of two verbs listed under (7h-i)), are marked imperative by a high tone only (irrespective of the tone the verbs bear at their root). However, the two verbs (7h-i) bear mid tone as the imperative marker. Since these are the only detected ones in my data (while those marked with high tone are numerous), it is safer to take them as exceptions to the rule that single syllable verbs of neither TG nor IG3 are marked imperative by high tone.

We have seen that several verbs in Kulazngi form their 2S imperative by bare verbal stems. However, among bare imperatives, those ending in voiced alveolar in their root change their final consonants into their voiceless counterparts, as shown below. This rule also holds for the verbs marking imperative with *-i* (see section 2.5.6 for more details).

Verbal stem		Imperative (2S)	Imperative (2P)
wùd-	‘to finish’	wút(à)	wít-án
kàw-	‘to cut’	cáp(à)	cáp-án
sèg-	‘to spin’	sèk(à)	sèk-án
sèb-	‘to stab	sép(à)	sép-an

The imperative form of some single syllable IG3 verbs that bear a low tone as a root and add a suffix *-i* as an imperative marker will have L.M tone melody, as shown in the following list. The exception to this rule is *mál-* ‘hit a target’, which bears a high tone at its root and H.H tone melody as an imperative marker, as shown on the last verb in the following list.

Verbal stem		**Imperative (2SG)**	**Imperative (2SG)**
mànd-	‘look for’	mànt-ī	mànt-ân
màʧ-	‘climb’	màʧ-ī	màʧ-ân
sàr-	‘do’	sàr-ī	sàr-ân
dàng^{w}-	‘lower the price’	dànk^{w}-ī	dànk^{w}-ân
màl-	‘notice’	màl-ī	màl-ân
màr-	‘have mercy’	màr-ī	màr-ân
kàl-	‘bear/endure’	kàl-ī	kàl-ân
fùr-	‘stop it’	fùr-ī	fùr-ân

Single syllable stem forms to which the imperative *-i* is added, as shown above, are IG3 verbs; they have *-i* as their 1P, 2S and 3F in their perfective aspect. Hence, the perfective forms in the above list will be *mànd-īχʷà,* 'You/She looked for'*, màʧ-īχʷa* 'You/She climbed', *mànd-ìn-u-χà* 'we looked for', *màtʃ-ìn-ú-χà* 'we climbed' etc (see section 7.3.2 for details of IG verbs).

There is one verb, viz. *kaz-* 'to go/to leave', which drops its final segment when imperative. Thus, the imperative of *kaz-* is *ká* 'Go!'. As 'to go' is *kas-* in Awngi and *fär-*, *fir-*, and *fäy-* in Bilin, Khimt'anga, and Kimantney respectively (Appleyard, 2006:75), it is (also Kulazngi *kàz-*) is either an innovation or a borrowing. Since 'to go' is *keʃ-* in ʃinaʃa, it is most likely a borrowing from *ʃinaʃa*.

There are two instances of suppletion as far as my data is concerned, viz. *-ag-* 'to bring' and *-nt-* 'to come' in declarative mood, and these become [95]*χàtàw* / *χàtàw-án* (2S/2P) 'bring (give me/us)!' and *áw / áw-án* (2S/2P) in the imperative mood respectively. Nevertheless, *-ag-* 'to bring', in addition to the above-mentioned suppletive form *χàtàw*, has a non-suppletive form *àkī,* a form in which *g* has been devoiced to *k* (see section 2.5.6).

There is one imperative verb, viz. *ás* 'take (uttered while one is stretching their hand to give something to someone)' that does not have its declarative counterpart. One might suggest *káts-* 'to take' as suppletive with *ás,* but the meanings of the two verb forms do not exactly correspond _ *káts-* is hyponym or *ás* has semantically a subordinate relation with *káts-*.[96] Moreover, the imperative of *káts-* 'to take' is *káts(à)* 'take!'.

As discussed in sections 7.1 and 7.3.2, mono-consonantal root verbs are all IG1 verbs. These verbs always add *-i* as their imperative marker, as in *f-* 'to get out' > *fī* [IMPR] > *f-ī-xʷ-à* [PFV], *ʧ-* 'pass the night' > *ʧī* [IMPR] > *ʧ-ì-xʷ-à* [PFV], *n-* 'say' > *nī* [IMPR] .

Plural marker in Kulazngi is *-(t)ân.* The form *-tán* appears with vowel-ending TG verbs (which are rare, of course, only two in my data). The plural imperative always bears a falling tone (cf. column 3 of table 52).

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[95] HA, apart from the suppletive *χàtàw* / *χàtàw-án* (2S/2PL), has the imperative *jīts* 'give!', the form which KA lacks, from *j-* ' to give').

[96] Amharic has exactly analogous (direct translation) suppletive imperative, viz. *ɨnka* 'take (uttered while accompanied with ones hand stretching to give someone something.)'

Table 52 Singular and Plural Imperatives of Some Verbs

Verb Root	2S IMPR	2P IMPR
kú- 'to kill'	*kú*	k^{w}ân
χu- 'to eat'	χū	$χ^{w}$ân
ʤɨm- 'to sing'	dʒɨm/ dʒɨmí(à)	dʒɨmân
ɨntʃɨk^{w}- 'to sit'	ɨntʃik^{w}/ ɨntʃík^{w}à	ɨntʃk^{w}ân
gìŋ- 'to run'	gíŋ/ gìŋ-í/ gíŋà	*gìŋ-ân*
mí- 'hold'	mí-t(à)	*mì-tân*
kànt- 'see'	kānt(à)	*kànt-ân*

As can be noticed in the table, when the plural imperative *-an* is added to verbs ending in *u*, the last consonant before *u* will be labialized with the elision of the *u*. Thus, the addition of the plural imperative to verb stems ending in *u* will not entail additional syllable. See also section 2.5.3 for details with regard to labialization.

The polite imperative is expressed in two ways: by using the polite request word, *àdâr* 'please' with the simple imperative form before or after the imperative verb phrase, by the suffixes *-álàj* (SG) and *-alìn* (PL) (with or without the polite word, *àdàr*) which attach to the verb root. The plural polite, *-álin*, is used instead of the simple imperative plural *-an* (but following 2nd person morpheme *t* (of TG verbs)). Following are illustrations to the above points.

132. a) ***bɨz-álàj***
open-pol.IMPR.2S
'Please open.'

b) ***bɨz -álìn***
open-pol.IMPR. 2P
'Please open.'

133. a) ***àdàr bɨz(bɨz -álàj)***
please open(open-IMPR.2S)
'Please open.'

b) ***àdàr bɨz-án (bɨz -álìn)***
please open-IMPR.2P
'Please open.'

Upon the suffixation of the polite suffix, *-álàj*, like with simple plural imperatives, the imperative verb stem retains the tone the root assumes (cf. 132_133) above.

The vowel in ultimate syllable of polysyllabic singular imperative forms in HA is always *i* (irrespective of what they are in declarative mood). In KA, however the vowels in the verb roots

will not change in imperatives. Notice the imperative verb forms of Kulazngi and Awngi in the following table.

Table 53 Some Imperative Verb Forms in Awngi and Kulazngi

Verb root	2S IMPR	
	KA	HA
kàmàn- 'to give birth'	*kàmān*	*kàmīn*
màqàtʃ- 'tell off'	*màqàtʃ*	*màqítʃ*
ìnkūr- 'to put'	*ìnkūr*	*ìnkʷīr*
ìntsáw- 'to tie'	*ìntséw*	*ìntsíp*

7.12.2 Jussive

The jussive in Kulazngi has an indirect command function having the meaning "Let X do something." The jussive verb is marked by -z, which occurs suffixed to the verb root, and is realized as *-z*, *-íz* , *-īz*, or *-ìz*. Jussive constructions, unless in jussive interrogatives, are not used in 2nd person (there is possibility). Notice the following paradigms with the verbs *-nt-* 'to come', *zɨq* 'to drink', and *gìŋ-* 'to run'.

Table 54: **Jussive Paradigm of the Verbs zɨq 'to drink', and gìŋ 'to run'**

person	Verb			
	-nt- 'to come'	zɨq- 'to drink'	gìŋ- 'to run'	ɨntʃkʷ- 'to sit'
1s	à-nt- íz	zɨq-íz	gìŋ-íz	ɨntʃku-z
1P	à-nt-n-ɨz	zɨq-n-íz	gìŋ-n-íz	ɨntʃɨkʷ-n-íz
2S/3F	tì-nt- íz	zɨq-ī-z	gìŋ-t-íz	ɨntʃkʷ-ī-z
2P	tì-nt-ín-ɨz	zɨq-īn-íz	gìŋ-tín-ɨz	ɨntʃɨkʷ- tín-ɨz
3M	jì-nt-íz	zɨq-íz	gìŋ-íz	ɨntʃkʷì-z
3P	jì-nt-ín-ɨz	zɨq-ín-íz	gìŋ-ín-ɨz	ɨntʃkʷí-n-ɨz

The occurrence of the default epenthetic *ɨ* before z is triggered to split impermissible environment of consonant cluster. Hence, all but 2P and 3P are shown by a zero-morpheme after the base in *zɨq-*. Other persons, however, are marked by vowel segments *-i* or *-ɨ* and their tones that differ in accordance with the type of the verb stem. Compare the above examples of *IG* verb, zɨq- 'drink' with examples of TG verb, *gìŋ-* 'run' (134a_e) below.

134. (a) gìŋ-ø-ɨ́-z (run-1S/3M-ep-JS) 'Let him/me run'

(b) gìŋ-n-ɨ́-z (run-1P-ep-JS) 'Let us run'

(c) gìŋ-t-ɨ́-z (run-2S/3F-ep-JS) 'Let you (SG) / her run'

(d) gìŋ–t-ɨ́-n-ɨ̀-z (run-2-ep-PL-ep-JS) 'Let you (PL) run'

(e) gìŋ-ɨ́-n-ɨ̀-z (run- ep-3P- ep-JS) 'Let them run'

Jussives are negated both morphologically and lexically_the verb which was in the jussive mood in the affirmative attaches a negative affix *-gi* when negated and takes converbal role (see also converbs, chapter 8), and the verb *jɨ́g^{w}-* 'be absent' or *báj-*'leave/abandon' occur inflected with the jussive marker *-z*, as illustrated in (135) below. [97] Thus, the negative jussive is a composite feature because *jɨ́g^{w}-* and *báj-* also play a role in forming the negative jussive clause.

(135) j-ì-nt-á-gì jì-gú-z / jì-nt-á-gì bá-j-ɨ́-z
3M-ep-come-SG-NEG 3M-remain-JS /3M-come-SG-NEG leave-3M-ep- JS
'Let him not come.'

7.12.3 Optative

The optative mood marks something the speaker hopes for, or wishes would be true (Kroeger, 2005: 163). The optative mood in Kulazngi is marked in all persons. It is used to encode both blessings and curses in transitive verbs, for the wish involves a giver and a receiver. The markers are *-mbá* and *-m-*, which, however, do not per se distinguish between good and bad wishes –the optative marked verb forms express bad or good wishes is determined by the *virtue* of the host

[97] Negative of the jussive in HA is marked by *-ites* (SG) / *-itin* (PL), as in *jì-nt-ítìn* (3-come-neg.3p) 'Let them not come', *-u(w)làs + jəg^{w}-* 'remain' or *báj-* 'leave / abandon' which occur with jussive marker -s, as in *ji-nt-á-wlàs jì-gú-s* / *báj-ə́-s* (3m-come-neg 3m-remain-DAT / leave.3m- DAT) 'Let him not come', and by *-títà* (SG)*/-tíntà* (PL), as in *ji-nt-átítà* (3m-come-neg.3m) 'Let him not come.'

verbs. Thus, (136a) below is a curse while (136b) is a blessing. It is noteworthy that blessings might be used ironically.

136 a) dɨ̀bán kànt-ɨ́-m-ɨ́-χ
God see-3M-opt-ep-2S `
‘ (lit. Let God see you) Let god punish you!.’[98]

b) dɨ̀bán séŋ- ts-ɨ́-mbá
God live long-CAUS-ep-opt
‘May God let you live long.’

The optative markers *-mbá* and *-m-* are semantically identical, hence, interchangeable. They are also alike with regard to their position in reference to the host verb: both occur following AGR suffixes referring to the subject. They are, however, different in two respects. First, while *-mbá* possibly occurs with any person/gender/number of the object (even though not commonly probable with first person), *-m* does not occur with 3rd person plural and 1st person (cf. 54). Second, while *-mbá* is a final suffix in the optative marked verb form, *-m* is not so – it conjugates for AGR suffixes referring to the object, as shown in Table 55 below in the verbs **lègàsts-** ‘cause to grow’, **-àg-** ‘bring’, and **gàw-** ‘deny’. First person is not included in the paradigm, for, though possible, it is not much common to bless or curse oneself.

[98] While *dəbán kànt-ə́-χʷà* ‘God saw’ can be translated in blessings or curse depending on the context (for appropriate judgment), *dəbán kànt-ə́-m-χ* is used as a curse on a person who did bad.

Table 55: Subject Object Paradigm of the Optative Verb

subject	Object			verbal root
	2m	2f	2P	
3M	làgàsts-í-m-íχ	làgàsts-í-m-íʃ	làgàsts-í-m-χànà	**làgàsts-**
	(kíz) àg-í-m-íχ	àg-í-m-íʃ	àg-í-m-χànà	**-àg-**
	gàw-í-m-íχ	gàw-í-m-íʃ	gàw-í-m-χànà	**gàw-**
3P	làgàsts-ín-m-íχ	làgàsts-ín-m-íʃ	làgàsts-í-m-χànà	**làgàsts-**
	àg-ín-m-íχ	àg-ín-m-íʃ	àg-í-m-χànà	-ag-
	gàw-ín-m-íχ	gàw- ín-m-íʃ	gàw-í-m-χànà	**gàw-**
3F	làgàsts-ì-m-íχ	làgàsts-ì-m-íʃ	làgàsts-ì-m-χànà	**làgàsts-**
	t-àg-í-m-íχ	t-àg-ì-m-íχ	t-àg-í-m-χànà	-àg-
	gàw-tí-m-íχ	gàw-tí-m-íʃ	gàw-tí-m-χànà	**gàw-**

As can be seen in the above table, the subject of the optative verb is no other than 3rd person (3M, 3F, and 3P). The optative marked verb by *-m* hosts number/gender affixes of both subject and object (a recipient object). *-íχ* and *-íʃ* must be borrowings from Amharic, *-íχ* is *-h* and *-íʃ* is -ʃ, each of which refers to the grammatical meaning, for you (2M) and (2F) respectively. For example, Kulazngi *àgímíχ* (2M) and *àgímíʃ* (2F) are in Amharic *jɨst'ɨh* (2M) and *jɨst'ɨʃ* **(2F)** 'May God give you'

Notice the object paradigm of *-m* and *-mba* suffixed (optative) verb form *j-* 'to give' in Table 56 below.

Table 56: Object Paradigm of both -mba and -m suffixed Optative Verb form j 'to give'

verb	Opt marker	object					
		2m	2f	2P	3M	3F	3P
-àg-	-m	àg-í-m-í-χ	àg-í-m-í-ʃ	àg-í-m-χànà	àg-í-m-χà	àg-í-m-dʒà	-----
'to give'	-mbá	àg-í-mbá	àg-í-mbá	àg-í-mbá	àg-í-mbá	àg-í-mbá	àg-í-mbá

7.12.4 Quotative

Quotative mood in Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics is defined as "Sentence mood which characterizes sentence content as 'known through hearsay' and which therefore relieves the speaker of any responsibility for the accuracy of what was said". Kulazngi makes use of a quotative utterance via the light verb *-n* 'say', which occurs fully conjugated (cf. sec. 7.10) and the main verb directly presented as uttered by the original speaker. The light verb is perfective while the main verb is as it was uttered by the original speaker. Thus the aspect of the main verb is as was uttered by the original speaker (cf. 137).

137) a) *màkìnâ dʒàp-áχá n-ú-χà*
car.ACC buy.1s.FUT say-PFV-3M
'lit. I will buy a car he said.'
'He said he would buy a car.'

b) *màkìnâ dʒàp-ú-χà n-ú-χà*
car.ACC buy.1s-1s .PFV say-PFV-3M
'lit. I bought a car he said.'
'He said he bought a car'

137) a) zaritu *màkìnâ dʒàw-tát n-ɨkʷà*
zaritu car.ACC buy-FUT.3F say- 3P.PFV
'They said zaritu would buy a car'

b) zaritu *màkìnâ dʒàw-t-ú-χà n-ɨkʷà*
zaritu car.ACC buy-2/3F.PFV-2/3F say-3P.PFV
'They said zaritu bought a car'

7.13 Negative

This section discusses negation in Kulazngi. According to Payne (1997: 282), "[a] negative clause is one which asserts that some event, situation, or state of affairs does not hold." Agaw languages show heterogeneity as common morphological characteristic in marking negatives (Appleyard, 1984; Hetezron, 1975 check). According to Appleyard (1984a: 202-203) there is a three way contrast between main verb forms, subordinate verb forms and imperatives in each of the Agaw languages." This typological remark is more than true to Kulazngi. There is no

common negative marker morphological form to all verb forms. Thus, the negative morpheme affixes vary in accordance with the mood, aspect, and function of the verb in the syntax.

Kulazngi employs both morphological and lexical formatives to express negation. Following will be discussed negation in declaratives (perfective and imperfective) and imperatives.

7.13.1 Declarative Perfective

The negative marking morpheme of finite perfective verb is *-jà* while that of the subordinate relative clause is *-gi* (cf. 7.20). It is noteworthy that the verb forms with these two negative morphemes are not identical in form throughout the paradigm because of gender and number morphemes, as can be noticed in the verb *zɨ̀q-* 'drink' in 2nd and 3rd columns in Table 57 below.

Table 57: **Affirmative/ negative perfective paradigm of zɨ̀q 'to drink' in main/relative clauses.**

Person	Main Verb		Relative Verb	
	affirmative	negative	affirmative	Negative
1s	zɨ́q-ú-χà	zɨ̀q-à-jà	zɨq-à-skú-χá	zɨ̀q-à-gì-z-χá
1P	zɨ̀q-n-ú-χà	zɨ̀q-nà-jà	zɨq-nà-sk-ɨ̀n-ú-χá	zɨ̀q-nà-gì-z-χá
2S	zɨ̀q-ɨ̀χʷà	zɨ̀q-ì-jà	zɨq-ì-skɨ̀χʷ-á	zɨ̀q-é-gì-z-χá
2P	zɨ̀q-ikʷà	zɨ̀q-ì-kà-jà	zɨq-ì-skì-nχʷ-á	zɨ̀q-í-kà-gì-z-χá
3M	zɨ̀q-ú-χà	zɨ̀q-à-jà	zɨq-à-skʷ-í	zɨ̀q-à-gì-z-ù
3F	zɨ̀q-ɨ̀χʷà	zɨ̀q-ì-jà	zɨq-è-skì-tí	zɨ̀q-è-gì-s-tí
3P	zɨ̀q-kʷà	zɨ̀q-kà-jà	zɨq-ɨ́-skún-kʷí	zɨ̀q-kà-gì-s-ku

As shown in Table 57, the negative morpheme of the perfective aspect in relative verb is *-gi*,[99] as in *kàz-à-gí-zù* 'he who did not go'. *gì* is also the negative affix of subordinate verbs of temporal adverbials, jussives as well as converbs (see respective sections for details). It is suffixed to the end of the converb whose form changes to agree with number, person and gender as shown in

[99] The negative -*gì*'s equivalent in HA in perfective relative verb is *-jà-*, thus *kàz-à-**gí**-zù* is *kàs-à-**jà**-sù-* in HA

(138a-g) below. *-gì* when used with adverbial subordinates has the meaning *without*.[100] With jussive verbs, it attaches to the end of the jussive verb and independent verbs *baj-* 'leave/quit' or *jɨkʷ-* 'be absent/remain' occur following the negative jussive.

138. a) *àgárû* *ʤʷ-à-má* *kàz-ú-χà*
place.ACC leave-3M-cnv.3M go-PFV-3M '
He leaving a country moved away'

b) *agarû* *ʤʷ-à -gì* *ji-g-u-χa*
Place.ACC leave.3M-NEG 3M-stay/defer-PFV-3M
'He did not leave a country'

139. a) *àqí kàz-á-ni* *(kàz-ú-dáz χɨtè)* *àqá* *tì-nt-ú-χà*
man go.3M.PFV-when (go-3M-from after) woman 3F-come-PFV-3F
'The woman came after the man left'

b) *àqí kàz-á-gì* *àqá* *tì-nt-ú-χà*
man go-3M.PFV-NEG woman 3F-come-PFV-3F
'The woman came before the man left/The man did not leave when the woman came.'

140. a) *án kɨnt-á-gì* *jì-kú-χa*
I learn-1s-NEG 3M-remain.PFV-1s
'I remained without learning'

b) nu *kɨnt-ná-gì* *jì-gʷ-n-ú-χa*
we learn-1P-NEG 3M-remain-1P-PFV-1P
'We remained without learning.'

c) *ɨnt/ni* *kɨnt-ē-gì* *tì-g-ú-χa*
you(SG) learn-2S/3F-NEG 2S/3F-remain-PFV-2S/3F
'You/She remained without learning'

d) *ɨntū* *kɨnt-ɨ̂kà-gì* *tì-gʷ-kʷa*[101]

---

[100] The negative *-gì*'s equivalent in HA when used with adverbial subordinates is *-ulà(s).* Hence, *ʤʷà-gì* (1b below) is *ʤʷà-wlà(s)* in HA.

[101] *gʷ* and *kʷ* in *tì-gʷ-kʷa* usually assimilates to *kkʷ-a* (see section 2.5.1).

You(PL) learn-2P-NEG 2P-remain-2P.PFV

'You remained without learning'

e) *nī kɨnt-á-gì jì-g-ú-χà*

3M learn-3M-NEG 3-remain-PFV-3M

'He remained without learning'

f) *nā kɨnt-ká-gì jì-g^{w}-k^{w}à*

they learn-3P-NEG 3-remain-3P.PFV

'They remained without learning.'

Note that *-ē* in *kɨnt-ē-gì* (140c) results from the combination of *i* (of IG verb) and the vowel *-à*, the vowel that occurs at the end of the perfective verb form.

7.13.2 Declarative Imperfective

*ɨnkɨràntì dɨbán ɨnkúrá**là***

*nɨ́fí gènákí ɨ́nkɨrá**là***

The above is a proverb (with the negative imperfective morpheme **-la**) and can be translated as,

God does not let live the one who plays, and I will not play here after.' [102]

The negative affixes of the imperfective main verb in Kulazngi are *-la* and *-li*. Both forms occur at the end of the verb form, i.e. following agreement formatives. *-li* occurs with 2P and 3P and *-la* occurs with the rest. *-li* is also the past negative in Bilin (Appleyard, 1996: 5). The distinction between KA and HA is that the same form *-la* occurs in HA throughout the paradigm of the imperfective verb (i.e. there is no *li* as a negative marker affix in HA).

The negative affix in the imperfective relative subordinate verb is *-ti*. Unlike -la/-li, which occur at the end of the verb form, *-ti* is infixed between person (only 1P) and aspect markers that precede it and AGR and aspect markers that follow it, as shown in column 6 of Table 58 below.

[102] A proverb that tells that the one who outsmarts in the community, especially clever at songs, dances, games etc. will not live long. There exists a similar proverb in HA that goes as: *ànts*à*rè ànkàràntê gùdàlí bàr kànté* 'The boys who play, let no evil see them.'

Table 58: **Affirmative/ negative imperfective paradigm of main and relative verb form of zìq- 'to drink'.**

number/ gender	Main Verb		Relative verb		gloss
	affirmative	negative	affirmative	Negative	
1s	zɨq-á	zɨq-á-là	zɨq-á-χá	zɨq-á- tí-χá	Drink
1P	zɨq-n-á	zɨq-n-á-là	zɨq-ná-χá	zɨq-ná- tí-χá	
2S	zɨq- ē	zɨq-ē-là	zɨq-ē-χá	zɨq-è- tí-χá	
2P	zɨq-è-n-à	zɨq-è-lì	zɨq-è-n-χá	zɨq-è- tí-n-χá	
3M	zɨq-á	zɨq-á-là	zɨq-a-w(í)	zɨq-á- tí-w(í)	
3F	zɨq-ē	zɨq-é-là	zɨq-è-t(í)	zɨq-á-tí-t(í)	
3P	zɨq-á-n-à	zɨq- á-lì	zɨq-á-n-k^{w}-í	zɨq-á-tí-n-kú	

2P and 3F in imperfective negative of IG verbs are distinguished by tone only as shown in (141).

141. a) nī zɨq-ē-là (she drink-PFV.3f-NEG) 'She does not drink.'

b) ɨntū zɨq-ē-lì (you drink-PFV.2P-NEG) 'You do not drink.'

7.13.3 Imperative

Unlike the affirmative imperative, which directly says 'do!' The negative imperative has a prohibitive meaning 'don't do'. In Kulazngi, imperatives are unanimously negated with an imperative negative morphs *-ijá* (singular) and *-ijân* (plural). While the tone that the vowel *á* in *-ijá* and in *-ijân* bears is always high and falling, the tone that the vowel *i* in these morphs bears is determined by the verb type to which it is suffixed, thus is low in IG verbs and high in the rest.

(142) a) *χ^{w}-ìjá /-ìjân*
eat-NEG.SG / PL
'Don't eat.'

b) *ʤɨmíjá /-ìjân*
sing- NEG.SG / PL
'Don't sing.'

c) *ɨnt/k^{w}-íjá /-ìjân*
sit- NEG.SG / PL
'Don't sit.'

d) *χùr-ìjá /-ìjân*
sleep-NEG.SG / PL
'Don't sleep.'

Table 59 below presents affirmative/negative imperative paradigms of zɨ́q- ‘to drink’, kaz- ‘to go’, and ɨ̀nʧkʷ- ‘to sit’ for further comparison of affirmative and negative imperative forms

Table 59 Affirmative/Negative imperative paradigms of zɨ́q- ‘to drink’, kaz- ‘to go’, and ɨ̀nʧkʷ- ‘to sit’

verbs	number	affirmative	negative
zɨ̀q- ‘drink’	sg	zɨ́q	zɨ̀q-íjá
	pl	zɨ̀q-an	zɨ̀q-íjn
kàz- ‘go’	sg	ká	kàz-íjá
	pl	kàz-án	kaz- íjân
ɨ̀ntʃkʷ- ‘sit’	sg	ɨ̀nʧɨ́kʷ	ɨ̀nʧkʷ- íjá
	pl	ɨ̀nʧkʷ-án	ɨ̀nʧkʷ- íjân
màtʃ- ‘climb’	sg	màtʃ-ī	màtʃ-ìjá
	pl	màtʃ-ān	màtʃ-ìjân

With regard to final segment reduction of *kaz-* ‘to go’ when imperative, see section 7.12.2.

It is noteworthy that negative imperatives turn polite with the polite word *àdār* ‘please’, as in *àdār kàz-íjá* ‘please, don’t go’. However, polite imperatives with *-álàj* / *-alìn* are not negated.

Summary of the section

As adduced by the data in the previous sections as well as in negative subsections of copula, jussive etc., negation in Kulazngi is extremely heterogeneous. The morphological forms are eight in number, v.z. *-jà, -já, -la/-li, -gi, -ti,* and *ɨlla*. Except *ɨlla,* existential negative, and *gata* ‘with no/without (negative existential adverb)’, others are all suffixal. Their variation is grammatical. It is thus, worthwhile to list them all by the grammatical property they show. Hence:

-jà ------- main verb in perfect aspect, both perfective, and imperfective copula

-ijá ------- Imperative

-la/-li (SG/PL) ------- Main verb imperfective

-gi -------- Relative perfective, temporal, jussive, converb

-ti -------- Relative imperfective, subjunctive

ɨlla -------- Existential (none)

-tèz -------- conditional

gàtà ----- without[103]

Among these, negatives of conditional and the jussive are discussed in their respective sections.

[103] *gàtà* 'without' syntactically shows cross-inguistic equivalence with *zäɨnβälä* (Ge'ez) and *jalä* (Amharic), as in *zäɨnβälä nɨwaj*, *jalä gänzäb*, and *gànzábà gàtà* 'with out money'.

CHAPTER EIGHT

BASIC SYNTAX

This chapter investigates two major syntactic categories, phrasal categories and clause structures in that order. Phrasal categories examined in this chapter include noun phrases, verb phrases, adjectival phrases, and adverb phrases of Kulazngi. Following phrasal categories are discussed clause structures and sentence types.

8.1 Phrase Structures

A phrase is a constituent constructed around a head word that determines the grammatical profile of the whole phrase (Dixon 2010a:336).

8.1.1 Noun Phrase

A noun or a pronoun may represent the simplest structure of an NP in Kulazngi, as in *χùnā dʒɨ̀mtúχà* 'The woman sang' or *nī dʒɨ̀mtúχà* 'She sang'. As pointed out in chapter 5, the head noun may be dropped and the nominalized noun adjuncts (adjectives, quantifiers, demonstratives, relativized verbs) appearing with complete noun suffixes can fulfill the function of an NP.

As is the case in most SOV languages, Kulazngi is a head final language. Hence, an NP in Kulazngi constitutes a modifier or a complement plus a noun (NP = (MOD) + N) where a modifier can be a qualifying modifier (an adjective), quantifying modifier (a quantifier or a numeral (cardinal or ordinal)), demonstrative, a possessive form, or a clause (a relative clause). A MOD in an NP is optional while an N is obligatory (cf. 1a). Hence, a template for a Kulazngi NP looks like **(MOD) N**. Below (1) are illustrative examples to this point.

1. a) **bìrí** *jì-nt-ú-χà*
   ox 3M -come-PFV–3M
   '(An) The ox came.'

   b) dɨ́mmí **bìrí**
   red ox
   '(a) the brow ox'

c) wàlàdʒá **kɨmá**
old cow
‘(an) the old cow’

2. a) láŋà **bèrá**
two ox.PL
‘two oxen’

c) míntʃ-kà **bèrá**
many-PL ox.PL
‘many oxen’

3. a) láŋà dím-ká **bèrá**
two red-PL ox.PL
‘(the) two brown oxen’

b) bànùkʷí dím-ká **bèrá**
some red-PL ox.PL
‘some brown oxen’

4) ān **bìrí**
that ox
‘that ox’

5) àqá-w **bìri**
woman -3M ox
‘The woman’s ox’

Bold print words in example NPs (1-5) are nouns or heads of the phrases. Others are dependents or modifiers. Like other Agaw languages (Appelyard, 2011; Hetzron, 1969; Mous, 2012), Kulazngi is a head-final language. Thus, a numeral or a quantifier occurring with an adjective as a modifier in an NP must precede an adjective (cf.2c, 3). The same is true with demonstratives, as in *ān làgàzmí àqí* (that tall man) ‘that tall man’.

Except with cardinal numbers, relativized NPs, and compounds in which the second member is *-χʷà* ‘home’, there is no exclusive morphological form marking possession per se in Kulazngi: the suffixation of gender number suffixes of the possessed noun to the possessor noun signals

possession (see also section 3.3.2). Thus, possession in Kulazngi is both morphological and syntactic. See section 3.3.2 for further details with regard to heterogeneity in agreement affixes of the possessed entity.

When an NP consists of adjectives more than one, qualifactive adjectives usually (but not restrictedly) occur closer to the noun they modify and color or size adjectives appear preceding them. There is no positional restriction or preference in the occurrence of size and color adjectives (cf. 6).

6. a) tsárki ɨŋtɨŋàntí **gìsáŋ**
black biting dog
'the black biting dog'

b) dɨngúri fɨtān **gìsáŋ**
big quick dog
'a (the) big dog'

c) dɨngúri tsárkí (tsárkí dɨngúri) **gìsáŋ**
big black / black big dog
'a (the) big black ox'

A modifier in an NP can be a relative clause (cf. 7). See section 8.2.2.1 for details of the relative clause in Kulazngi.

7. a) fɨ́n-ù ɨnzáŋt-á-t **ɨntsàχà-dá** *bɨtí* *zɨkʷ-à*
front-LOC walk-IPFV-3F girl.LOC land present-3M
'lit. Land is present on the girl walking in the front.'
'The girl who walks in the front has land.'

b) mɨgbù àmàrts-ī-t **χùnā** *fért-ázk-ì*
food.ACC cook- PFV-3F woman be pregnant-AUX.present-3F
'The woman who cooked the food is pregnant.'

c) nɨgàtú dʒàw-ɨ́kʷ **bág-ká** *dɨ̀z-kʷà*
Nigatu buy-PFV.3P sheep-PL be lost-3P.PFV
'The sheep that Nigatu bought were lost.'

Italicized parts in the above sentence level examples are predicates. What we examine here are nonitalicized ones, or NPs. The boldfaced word forms are head nouns of the NPs and what precede them are relative clauses (RCs). As can be noticed in the illustrations, the RCs appear preceding the head nouns, as it is typical of head final languages. In each case, the subject of an RC is referenced by an agreement suffix (also a relativizer) that occurs attached to the verb in an RC (see also 7.4.2. and figure 7 for details with regard to morphological forms in a relativized verb form).

An NP can appear as a complement of certain verbs at a phrasal or clausal level. As is the case in most languages of the world, certain verbs in Kulazngi take complements (objects) for their meaning completion. Such verbs include *áq-* 'to know', *màl-* 'to notice', *ìnkʷíq-* 'to hear', *ɨnkán-* 'like', *àmɨ́n-* 'believe', *fàj(t)-* 'want', *tàkz-* remember', *zànàg-* 'forget'. Notice illustrative examples below. Their complements are either at a phrasal (cf. 8a) or clausal (cf. 8b) level, and at a clausal level, unlike relative clauses, they usually occur contained within the main clause (cf.8b). It is also possible that they occur preceding the main clause (cf. 8c)..

8. a) án **wàxàʃî** ɨnkán-á
   I milk.ACC like-PFV.1s
   'I like milk.'

   b) àqá **ŋèrá** **làŋàntâ** **mìts-ŋ-û** ɨnkán-tà-jà
   woman her husband second.wife.ACC marry-NOM-ACC like-3f.PFV-NEG.PFV
   'The woman did not like her husband marrying the second wife.'

   c) **ŋèrá** **làŋàntâ** **mìts-ŋ-û** àqá ɨnkán-tà-jà
   her husband second.FM.ACC marry-NOM-ACC woman like-3f.PFV-NEG.PFV
   'The woman did not like her husband marrying the second wife.'

The boldfaced parts in sentences (8) are complements. In (8a), the NP **wàxàʃî** is the direct object of the verb *ɨnkán-á*. In (8b-c), the clause **ŋèrá làŋàntà mìts-ŋ-û** 'her husband marrying a second wife' fills an argument slot in object function for the transitive verb *ìnkán-tà-jà* in the main clause.

8.1.2 Verb Phrase

Like other Agaw languages, Kulazngi is a verb-final language. While a verb is an obligatory constituent in a verb phrase, there can occur complements or modifiers of the verb head as

dependents, together which the head verb forms the predicate, one of the two major constituents of a sentence, the other being the subject. Except ADVP with locative marker *-dá*, other dependents within the VP remain in situ, i. e. in their canonical position, immediately before their head verb. Nonetheless, locational ADVP with locative marker *-dá* usually occurs stranded from VP, i.e. before the subject, which is not an accepted position with other constructions (except in interrogatives), as shown below.

9. a) *áb-dá* bágá qʷáj-té
outtside-LOC sheep bleat-3F.IPFV
'A (The) sheep is bleating outside.'

b) *ɨntsàχà-dá* gànzáb ɨllá.
girl-LOC money none
'lit. On the girl money none.'
'The girl does not have money.'

It is noteworthy that locational ADVPs with locative marker *-dá* also occur within the VP, immediately before their head verb.

Kulazngi verbs can be categorized into four domains: transitive, intransitive, middle, and copular. In the upcoming sections, I will be dealing with verb phrases with regard to transitive, intransitive, and copular. Middle verbs are not discussed in this section, for they are either transitive like or intransitive when viewed syntactically. Transitive like middle verbs take direct object. Their VP structure is thus not different from that of the transitive verbs. However, they are not transitive proper because the action is a kind of reflexive. Thus, despite the presence of a direct object and the system passivization in the language, they are not passivized. Like that of transitive verbs, the VP structure of intransitive middle verbs is not different from that of intransitive verbs. Thus, to analyze their VP structure here will be superfluous for two reasons: first, their structure can be subsumed under transitive and intransitive discussions and second, they are at length discussed under argument structure of verbs.

8.1.2.1 Intransitive Verb Headed VPs

Intransitive verb headed clauses lack a direct object, either expressed or implied (Payne, 2006: 333). Intransitive verbs are further classified into stative, eventive and motion verbs. Even

though intransitive verbs do not have object nouns as constituents, they may have complements. While eventive and stative verbs form their VP projections without verb complements, motion verbs have adpositional phrases (locative NPs) as complements. However, VPs headed by stative and eventive verbs can have adpositional phrases as optional constituents. The following are sentential examples of eventive and stative verbs.

10. a) sɨ̀r sī-χʷà
baby weep-3M.PFV
'The baby boy wept.'

b) sɨ̀r làgàz-û
baby grow-3M.PFV
'The baby boy grew.'

The verbal head in (10a) is eventive verb. Eventive predicates express an action that affects the subject. The verbal head in (25b) is stative. Stative predicates describe a state of affairs which can be true permanently or at a particular time. The verbal heads alone constitute the VPs in both sentential examples. However, the same VPs can be expanded as:

11. a) sɨ̀r *ájlù* sī-w
baby force. ADV weep-3M.prv
'The baby boy wept bitterly.'

b) sɨ̀r *nìfʲʷā* làgàz-û
baby soon grow-3M.PFV
'The baby boy grew soon.'

The italicized words in (11a-b) are adverbs – they modify the verbs in front of them. Thus, VPs headed by stative and eventive verbs can have adpositional phrases as optional constituents.

Motion verbs, like eventive verbs, express actions. However, the actions denoted in them, unlike those of the eventive verbs, do not affect their subject, but are related to movement. Intransitive motion verbs require adpositional phrase complements as shown in (12) below.

12) a) nìgàtú dàngɨ́lì kàz-û
Nigatu Dangila.to go-3M.PFV
'Nigatu went to Dangila.'

b) nìgàtú dàngɨ́lí-dáz jìnt-û
Nigatu Dangila-from come-3M.PFV
'Nigatu came from Dangila.'

The notion of location in (12) above is encoded by the suffix *-dáz* (12b), which indicates source or starting place, and a low tone (27a), which indicates goal or direction of movement. Thus, *dàngɨ́lì* and *dàngɨ́lí-dáz* are adpositional complements of the verbs *kàz-û* and *jìnt-û* in their respective order.

Apart from adpositional complements, there can appear adverbial modifiers as dependents in an intransitive motion verb headed VPs as shown in (13b-d) below.

13. a) wàrkú *gíŋ-û*
Worku ran-PFV
'Worku ran.'

b) wòrkú ***ájlû*** *gíŋ-û*
Worku very ran-PFV
'Worku ran very fast.'

c) wàrkú ***làlàχ-íz*** *gíŋ-û*
Worku dark- in ran-PFV
'Worku ran in the dark.'

d) wàrkú ***làlàχ- z*** ***iχʷê*** ***fə̀ndʒ-ŋá*** *gíŋ-û*
Worku dark- in hyena.ACC chase-PUR ran-PFV
'Worku ran in the dark to chase the hyena.'

Italicized constructions in (13) are VPs. The VP slot in (13a) is filled by the verb only. The VP in (13b-d) is constituted from the verb and its dependents. Hence, the bolded parts are adverbials that modify the verb *gíŋ-û*. Single adverbial words, ***ájlù*** and ***lìlàχ-z,*** constitute ADVPs in (13b) and (13c) respectively. Each of them tells how and when Worku ran respectively. The VP in (13d) has two adverbial phrases, ***lìlàχ-íz*** and ***iχʷê fə̀ndʒ-ŋá***. The former is temporal or tells when Worku ran. Its constituent is a single adverbialized word, ***lìlàχíz***. The latter is ADVP of purpose or tells what for Worku ran. Since the adverbialized word in it is a transitive verb, ***fə̀ndʒŋá***, there is an object noun

ɨχʷê, which is a complement to it. Hence, there are two ADVPs (having sister relation) modifying the verb in (13d). It is noteworthy that there is no limit in the number of ADPs in a VP.

It is also possible adpositional complements and modifiers can appear within (embedded in) an intransitive motion verb headed VPs (cf. 14).

14) nìgàtú *dàngɨ́lí-dáz* *àjŋá* jìnt-û
Nigatu Dangila-from yesterday come-3M.PFV
'Nigatu came yesterday from Dangila.

The italicized phrases in (14) are dependents within the VP. *dàngɨ́lí-dáz* (locative) and *àjŋá* (temporal) are modifiers of the verb *jìnt-û.*

Verb phrases headed by intransitive motion verbs may be constituted from a verb only, as in (13a), a verb and ADVP as its modifier, or a verb and a locative phrase as its complement, as in (12a-b), a verb with both locative and temporal phrases as its complement, as in (14). Hence, an intransitive motion verb headed VP template can be consolidated as (ADVP(S) (CP) V.

ADVP of purpose where adverbialized verb is transitive may (apart from its object noun) further contain clausal modifier, a relative clause, as in (15) below.

15) wòrkú ***làlàχ-íz*** ***gìsáŋù*** ***kú-zà*** ***ɨχʷî*** ***fə̀ndʒ-ŋá*** *gíŋ-û*
Woku dark-in dog.ACC kill.PFV-ACC hyena.ACC chase-PUR ran-PFV
'Worku ran in the dark to chase the hyena which killed the dog.'

The bolded part in (15), ***gìsáŋù kú-zà ɨχʷî fə̀ndʒ-ŋá***, is ADVP within a VP. It is constituted from adnominal clause, *gìsáŋù kú-zà ɨχʷî,* and adverbial (adverbialized verb), *fə̀ndʒ-ŋá*.

8.1.2.2 Transitive Verb Headed VPs

As in languages of the world in general, Kulazngi transitive verbs are either mono-transitive or ditransitive. A mono-transitive verb requires a direct object while a ditransitive verb requires a direct and indirect objects. Hence, elements that a transitive verb requires are termed as verb complements. The following section presents discussions of verb complementation or complements as constituents within a transitive verb headed VP. Consider the following data.

16. a) bàláj **kànî** **kàw-ú-χà**
Belai tree.ACC cut-PFV -3M
'Belai cut a (the) tree.'

b) bàláj **ŋèqá-z** **tɨbkû** **dʒàw-ú-χà**
Belai his wife-DAT dress.ACC buy-PFV -3M
'Belai bought a dress for his wife.'

The bold faced parts in sentences (16) are VPs. They are headed by transitive verbs. The head verb of the VP in (31a) is mono-transitive, and thus has a single object *kànî* as its complement. The head verb of the VP in (16b) is di-transitive. Thus, it has two objects as its complements: *ŋèqá-z* (indirect object) and *tɨbkû* (direct object).

Some mono-transitive verbs may be used with their complements missing but without affecting the meaning of the VP, as shown in (17) below.

17. a) sɨr χàg-dá tʃáχ-û
baby boy bed-LOC urinate-PFV.3M
'The baby boy wet the bed.'

b) pɨntʃ-ū-χà
fart-PFV -3M
'He farted.'

c) dʒɨm-k^{w}à
sing-3P.PFV
'They sang.'

Verb complements in the three of the above sentences are missing. However, even though they are not explicitly stated, they are inferred from the semantics (inherent meaning) of the verbs. Thus, the object nouns of the verbs *tʃáχû* (17a), *pɨntʃ-ū-χà* (17b), and *dʒɨm-k^{w}à* are *tʃáχì* 'urine', *pɨntʃɨnî* 'fart', and *dʒɨmî* 'song' in their respective order.

Some mono-transitive verbs, such as *dɨχ-* 'tell', *-aq-* 'know', *màl-* 'notice', *kànt-* 'see', *ɨnk^{w}áχ-* 'hear', *ɨnkán-* 'like/love', *kàl-* 'be able to' etc. can also select infinitival clauses as their complements as indicated in example sentences below.

18. a) tàblí dʒār χùnâ tàmàt-ŋ-û ɨnk^{w}áχ-à-jà
father so woman.ACC propose-IFN-ACC hear-3M.PFV-NEG.PFV
'The father did not hear his son proposing woman.'

b) àqá ŋèrá kètàm-dá kɨmts-ɨŋ-û ɨnkán-tá-là
woman her husband town-LOC stay the evening-IFN-ACC like-3F-IPVV-NEG.IPFV
'The woman does not like her husband staying the evening in the town.'

Note that infinitival *-ŋ* is the same deverbalizer (nominalzer) morpheme discussed in section 3.6.1. 1.

8.1.2.3 Predication

Kulazngi has two types of predicates: verbal and non-verbal. Subsequent discussions will be devoted to verbal and non-verbal predicates.

8.1.2.3.1 Verbal Predicates

As it holds for languages in general, a simple sentence in Kulazngi is constituted form an NP (subject) and a VP (predicate), (the order being in accordance with word order of the language). As Cushitic languages in general (Mous, 2012: 411), the verb in Kulazngi takes a final position in a sentence. As Kulazngi is a pro-drop language where the verb is obligatorily marked for subject agreement (languages with, optionally, an empty subject position but the subject referenced on the verb are said to be pro-drop languages), a clause can be built out of a VP only, since a verb appears marked for aspect-cum-agreement. If the VP is an intransitive verb headed, it can be obtained from a single verbal word only (i.e. as adjuncts are peripheral, a single verbal word in S argument may constitute a sentence, as shown in (19)). See section 8.1.2.1.

19. a) kàz-ú-χà
go.PFV- 3M/1s
'I/He went.'

b) kàt-ú-χà
go-PFV-2S/3F
'You/She went.'

c) kát-k^{w}à
go-2P.PFV
'You went.'

d) káz-k^{w}à
go-3P.PFV 'They went.'

The subject slot in each of the above sentences is empty. The subject is referenced by pronominal affix in the verb. It is also possible the subject, in addition to being referenced, appears in its canonical position (SOV). (19c), for example, will be as ***ìntū*** *kát-k^{w}à* (you(PL) go-PFV.2P).

8.1.2.3.2 Non-verbal Predicates.

Non-verbal predicates refer to copular, locative and existential constructions. They are so labeled because the copula in them does not carry the semantic content of the predicate. These clauses are said to lack *semantically rich lexical verb*, a verb that itself expresses the major semantic content of the predicate (Payne, 1997: 122). As discussed in section 7.6, Kulazngi copular elements are either affixal or lexical. The former is the present copula *-aχ* and the latter consists of *ɨʃ-/ dʒí-/ (-)àχ-* (past) and *(-)áχ-* (future) (see section 7.6 for discussions with regard to morphological forms). The present copula *-aχ* gets suffixed to nominal bases (nouns or adjectives) following gender/number suffixes while the past and future copulas appear as bases inflecting gender-cum-number affixes. The occurrence of copular elements in past and future copular clauses is obligatory but the occurrence of the present copular *-aχ* is optional. Below (20) are sentential examples of the present copula clauses.

20. a) ɨntsàχá *tsíχà-(χ)*
girl beautiful-(COP)
'The girl is beautiful.'

b) ɨ́nná àqá *dàŋŋá-(χ)*
this woman judge-(COP)
'This woman is a judge.'

The *italicized* forms in the above illustrative sentences are nonverbal predicates. As can be noticed in the illustrative examples, the present nonverbal predicates can appear with or without a copular element. Hence, the NP and AP (20a) and the NP and NP (20b) juxtapose without a copula or combine with a copula -aχ, which is realized as -χ in both of the copular constructions, for it attaches to the stem that ends in a vowel *a* (see section 2.5.9).

Copular proverbial constructions go without a copula (cf. 21).

21) àqí *kɨ̀r-àntí* kànī *gàgàn-ànti*
man die-AGNT.3M wood dry-AGNT.3M
'Man dies and wood decays.'

The above proverb (told to inform the importance having a promise made between two persons signed as a pact in the presence of other people as witnesses) consists of two copular predicates without a copula element. Even though the proverb goes without a copula (as it appears in the example), it is not impossible to add the present copula *-aχ* to the agentivized nominals (hence (21) will be ***àqí kɨr-ànt-éχ*** *kànī* ***kàg-ànt-ēχ***).

Like the present copula predicates, the present locative and existential predicates can appear without an existential verb or a copula, as shown in (22) below.

22. a) làngàd-ká *gɨ́n-dá* *(zɨ̀kʷ-kʷà)*
guest-PL house-LOC (present.EXIST-3P.PFV)
'The guests are in the house.'

b) kízí *bɨ̀ʃtán-dá (-χ)*
priest church-LOC(-COP)
'The priest is at church.'

The *italicized* forms in (22) are nonverbal predicates. The existential verb form (22a) and the copula (22b) are optional. Hence, the NP and locative predicate in each case juxtapose (can appear without verbal elements).

Nonverbal predication in Kulazngi is also formed from demonstratives, which occur inflected for number/gender, as shown below. The NP in such constructions is usually focused with the definite marker *-ká* (cf. 23a), and the occurrence of the copula element gives the sentence emphasis.

23. a) kɨ́ntíŋɨ́ná ká **àní-kù** / **àní-kʷ-àχ**
school DEF that-SG.MS / that- SG.MS -COP
'The school is that.'

b) zàgɨ̀r-kâ kʷ-á-w gɨ̀sáŋ **ɨ́nní-kù** / **ɨ́nní -kʷ-àχ**
ape-PL.ACC kill-IPFV-3M dog this- SG.MS / this- SG.MS -COP
'The dog that kills apes is this.'

c) zàgɨ̀r-kâ ku-j-á-t gɨ̀sáŋá **ɨ́nní-tì** / **ɨ́nní-t-èχ**
ape-PL.ACC kill-3F-IPFV-3F bitch this-3F / this-3F-COP
'The bitch that kills apes is this.'

b) zàgɨr-kâ kʷ-á-nkú gɨsàŋ-kā **ɨnní-kʷìnì / ɨnní-kʷìn-èχ**
ape-PL.ACC kill-IPFV-3P.REL dog-PL these-PL / these-PL-COP
'The dogs that kill the apes are these.'

c) zàgɨrkā kʷ-á-n-kú gɨsàŋ-kā **àní-kʷìnì / àní- kʷìn-éχ**
ape-PL kill-IPFV-3P(SB).REL-3p(OB).REL dog-PL those-PL / those-PL-COP
'The dogs that the apes kill are those.'

As can be noticed from the above data, agreement markers that are suffixed to demonstratives that occur in non-verbal predicates are different from the rest: *-kù* is masculine, *-tì* is feminine, and - *kʷìnì* is plural.

8.1.3 Adjectival Phrase

Kulazngi adjectives, while they are noun modifiers, are like nouns in most of grammatical aspects. Apart from morphological resemblance, they also behave like nouns syntactically_ they can function as a head in an NP where the occurrence of the noun is understood, as shown in (24_25). Nevertheless, they cannot be modified by possessive or demonstrative pronouns, numerals or any other nominal modifiers. Like in HA (Hetzron, 1978: 127), qualifiers in Kulazngi always precede the noun they qualify (cf. 24_25).

24. a) nā tsárkî bìrî kàts-kʷà
they black.ACC ox.ACC take-3p.PFV
'They took the black ox.'

b) tsárkê kàts-kʷà
black.ACC take-3p.PFV
'They took the black ox.'

25. a) *ɨngɨr-táná gìŋántá kàdàm-t-ú-χà*
back- fm runner.fm first-3f.PFV-3f
'She who was running behind came first.'

b) *ɨngɨr-táná kàdàm-t-ú-χà*
back- fm first-3f-PFV-3f
'She was behind but came first.'

An adjectival phrase in Kulazngi is constituted from an adjective, which is the head of the phrase, and one or two dependents, which are optional constituents in the adjectival phrase. The most

commonly used modifier of an adjectival phrase is a degree word *ájlû* 'very', which is also intensifying modifier of verbs usually with the meaning *very much.* The *italicized* parts in the following sentential examples are adjectival phrases. See section 2.5.8 for the realization of the copula *-aχ* as *-eχ*.

26. a) wàmbàlī *dɨ̀ngúr-éχ*
a kind of tree big-cop
'*Wàmbàlī* is big.'

b) wàmbalī *ájlû* *dɨ̀ngúr-éχ*
a kind of tree very big-cop
'*Wàmbàlī* is very big.'

c) wàmbàlī *ájlû* *dɨ̀ngúrí* kàn-ɛ̄χ
a kind of tree very big tree-cop
'*Wàmbàlī* is a very big tree.'

d) dʒàrí *nìtàlá-stà* *ájlû* *fɨtʃɨstí*
son his father-comp very ugly
'The son is as ugly as his father.'

The *italicized* parts in (26) are adjectival phrases. As can be noticed in (26a), an adjective alone can form an adjectival phrase. In (26b), the degree word *ájlû* appears preceding the adjective. Adjectival phrases in (26a) and (26b) are copular predicates. An adjectival phrase in (26c) is a modifier within an NP, which is a nominal predicate. In (26d) occurs adverbial phrase (which modifies the adjectival head *fɨtʃɨstí*) preceding the degree word, and this is the usual position of these two constituents (AdP and DEG) within an adjectival phrase. In all cases, an adjective phrase is head final, as Kulazngi is a head final language. Hence, our phrase structure rule for Kulazngi adjectival phrase will be: AdjP ↦ (AdP) (DEG) ADJ.

8.1.4 Adverb Phrase

Unlike other phrasal types in the language, adverb phrases consist of a head only – they do not consist of dependents. They usually occur preceding the constituent they modify (cf. 27).

27. a) àq *χɨ́tà* ɨnzáŋ-kʷà
men away go-3P.PFV
'The men went away.'

b) kɨtàlá *wánî* gàbàl -dáz jì-nt-û
your father when market-from 3M-come-3M.PFV
'When did your father come from market?'

c) *tʃā* ɨrí ɨlʷ-àwi
tomorrow rain rain-3M.IPFV
'It will rain tomorrow.'

d) *nákà* gàbāl *ájlû* wàχí
today market very full
'The market is very full today.'

e) àq *ájlû* mɨrɨkt-ɨkʷà
men very be hungry-3P.PFV
'The men are very hungry.'

f) kízí dàwítû *sárkû* dàgàm-á
priest Psalter everyday recite-IPFV
'The priest recites Psalter every day.'

Those appearing *italicized* (27) are adverb phrases. While some of them appear immediately before the verb, others appear followed by other elements before the verb. Temporal adverbs are flexible in this regard. Hence, *wánî* (27b) can appear in sentence-initial position or before the verb and *tʃā* (27c) and *nákà* (27d) can occur immediately before the VP. Spatial as well as frequency adverbs are not as flexible as temporal adverbs: they do not normally occur sentence initial position. While their usual position is immediately before the verb (cf. 27a, f), it is also possible they occur followed by other verb dependents (i.e. VP initial position). For example, (27f) can appear as *kízí* ***sárkû*** *dàwítû dàgàm-á.*

Unlike with other adverb types, the position of manner adverbs is restricted to immediate position before the constituent they modify.

Adverbs may occur in converbal constructions i.e. as modifiers of converbs. In this case, the constituents of a converbal phrase are a head (a converb) and dependents (an adverb that modifies the converb) (cf. 28).

28) nɨgàtú-jà *gùd-ŋā* *tsìnìz-à-má* fɨtànî àgts-ú-χà
nigatu-son good-ADV study-3M-cnv exam.ACC get-PFV-3M
'Nigatu's son studied hard and passed the exam.'

The italicized phrase in (28) above is a converbal phrase; it consists of a derived manner adverb, *gùdŋā*, and a converbalized verb *tsìnìzàmá.* The adverb, *gùdŋā*, modifies the converb *tsìnìzàmá* (see section 8.2.2.3.12 with regard to details of converbal constructions).

8.2 Clausal Description

Like other Agaw languages (Appleyard 1984, 1986, 1988b, 1996; Hetzron 1969, 1978; Palmer 1959), Kulazngi has an SOV word order. The object can take the position of the subject for pragmatic reasons, and the verb can also precede the subject if the speaker wants to focus on the verb (Zelealem, forthcoming: 38). The present study proves that predicates may come prior to a subject in interrogatives and cleft constructions only (see section 8.3.2 with regard to cleft constructions). While the indirect object precedes the direct object in basic constituents, it is also possible their order can be reversed.

This section investigates clause and sentence types in Kulazngi. It also investigates argument structures. There are at least two senses in which we can talk about sentence types in a language: speech acts (the distinction between declarative, interrogative, and imperative), and clausal structures (the distinction between simple and complex sentences).

8.2.1 Simple Sentences

A sentence consisting of a single clause (a main clause) is labeled a simple sentence. This subsection investigates simple declarative (affirmative/ negative) and interrogative clauses. The imperative/ jussive is discussed under chapter 5.

8.2.1.1 Declaratives

Declarative sentences are conventionally and typically used to perform speech acts such as assertions, reports, acts of complaining, predicting and promising all of which convey the belief of the speaker that the proposition expressed is true or will turn out to be true (König et. al, 2007:284). Unlike interrogatives and imperatives, declaratives in Kulazngi are not marked, and this is typical of declarative sentences in languages of the world. **"**Declarative is often (although by no means always) formally unmarked, and can typically be regarded as the default– that is,

functionally unmarked-mood choice (Dixon, 2010: 240)". Likewise, a declarative sentence in Kulazngi is not marked, and a simple declarative clause is obtained from one main clause which has only one predicate. Hence, a simple declarative clause consists of an NP and a VP. The verb in a VP can be an ordinary finite verb (29a) or a copula (29b). A copular clause without a copular element can also form a VP (29c) (see section 7.6). Notice the following.

29. a) àqá wànbár-dá ɨntʃùk-t-ú-χà
woman chair-on sit-3F-PFV-3F
'The woman sat on the chair.'

b) ɨ́nná àqá kɨntsàntá-χ
this woman teacher-COP
'This woman is a teacher.'

c) ɨ́nná àqá kɨntsàntá
this woman teacher
'This woman is a teacher.'

Simple declarative clauses of perfective aspect are negated by *-jà* while those of imperfective aspect are negated by *-là/-lì*, both of which attach to the rightmost periphery of the verb (see section 7.13 for details). Note that copular clauses of imperfective and perfective aspects employ *-àχ-* and *dʒí-* (lexical copular elements which inflect AGR elements) respectively. Thus, the same negative markers (*-jà* and *-là*) attach to the rightmost periphery of these copular verbs to negate copular clauses (see section 7.6.4 for details of negative copula constructions).

30. a) jídʒà χútʃì kájt-è-zk-ì
my daughter overseas cross-3F-AUX-3F
'My daughter has gone overseas.'

b) jídʒà χútʃì kájt-è-jà
my daughter overseas cross-3F-NEG.PFV
'My daughter has not gone overseas.'

8.2.1.2 Interrogative Clauses

As languages in general (Payne, 1997: 295), Kulazngi distinguishes two types of interrogatives: affirmation/disaffirmation and content questions. The former employs a question particle *ma*

while the latter employs interrogative pronouns/adjectives, quantifying interrogatives, or interrogative adverbs. In Kulazngi, no question can be formed via intonation only, i.e. without the above lexical forms except when one repeats what the other has said as expression of surprise or to confirm if that was the same.

8.2.1.2.1 Affirmation / Disaffirmation Questions

Affirmation or disaffirmation questions, also referred to as yes/no or polar questions, in Kulazngi are formed via a question particle (QP) *mà,* which is, according to Hetzron (1976), attached to the scope of the question in all Agaw languages. In Kulazngi, it usually occurs at the end of a clause. Question formation with an interrogative particle is the most common strategy of OV languages (Payne 1997: 296). Notice the following illustrations.

31. (a) ɨ́n àχū tsɨ̀nkút mà
this water clean QP
'Is this water clean?'

(b) nèrá pòlís mà
her husband police officer QP
'Is her husband a police officer?'

(c) kɨ́tʃú tʃàrí-dâz tì-nt-ú-χà mà
your mother Chari-from 2s-come-PFV.2s QP
'Did your mother come from Chari?'

mà's placement is restricted to occur next to the entity interrogated for affirmation. For example, the questions asked for affirmation in the above illustrations are: whether the water is clean or not (31a), whether her husband is a policeman or not (31b), and whether she came or not from Chara (31c), and the interrogated entities are *tsɨ̀nkút* 'clean', *pòlís* 'police officer' and *tì-nt-u-χà* 'She came'. If the interrogated entity, for example in (31c) is changed from *tì-nt-u-χà* to *kɨ́tʃú*, as shown in (32a) or to *tʃàrí-dáz*, as shown in (32b), the QP will be placed next to them.

31. a) tʃàrí-dáz tì-nt-ut **kɨ́tʃú** **mà**
Chara-from 3f-come-3f.REL your mother QP
'Is it your mother who came from Chari?'

(b) kɨtʃú tì-nt-u **tʃàrí-dáz mà**
your mother 3f-come-PFV Chara-from QP
'Is it from Chari that your mother came?'

As can be noticed in the illustrative examples above, the QP *ma* is placed at the end of the sentences, i.e. the *subject predicate* position is in accordance with the word order of the language (NP VP). However, VP NP order in confirmation questions is also a frequented position as information in the predicate is usually focused thus fronted (cf.31). Hence, as the QP *ma* is always placed right next to the interrogated entities, its sentence final position may not be maintained. Sentential examples in (32) below are focused versions of those in (31) above.

32. a) **tʃàrí-dáz mà** kɨtʃú tì-nt-ù (tìnt^{w}í)
Chara-from QP your mother 2S-come-3F.COMP
'Is it from Chara that your mother came?'

b) **kɨtʃú mà** tʃàrí-dàz tì-nt-ù-t(í)
your mother QP Chara-from 2S-come-PFV-3F.REL
'Is it your mother who came from Chara?'

(33) below provides further data of focused confirmation questions.

33. a) kɨtàlá dàngɨ́lî kàz-ú mà
your father Dangila.to go-3m.PFV QP
'Did your father go to Dangila?'

b) dàngɨ́lî kàz-ú mà kɨtàlá
danila.ACC go-3m.PFV QP your father
'Did your father go to Dangila?'

As can be noticed from the glossing, *kɨtàlá* is a subject while *dàngɨ́lî kàz-ú mà* is a predicate. Their positional relation in (33a) is NP VP (the word order of the language maintained) while this is reversed in (33b).

Questions asked for confirmation of what the other has said is whether the same as what a person who is asking says (repeats) can be reduced to intonation level questions as shown in (34 b) below.

34. a) nɨgàtú dàngɨ́lî kàz-ù mà n-īw
nɨgatu Dangɨla.al go-PFV QP say-2s.PFV
'Did you say Nigatu went to Dangila?'

b) nɨgàtú dàngɨ́lî kàz-ú
nɨgatu Dangɨla.ALT go-PFV
'Nigatu went to Dangila?'

The question particle *ma* is missing in (34b). The question is maintained by intonation (which is used as substitution of *ma*) on *kàz-ú*, which is *kàz-û* in declarative,

The following dialogue between A and B is presented as further data in respect of affirmation/disaffirmation interrogation.

35. **A** ↦ kídʒà-zà nɨ́ŋʷá sìb-á-tíχá **mà**
your daughter-ACC this year see off-IPFV-2S QP
'Aren't you having your daughter marry this year?'

B ↦ jédʒà-ká kɨntàntá kɨtsì
My daughter-FOC student but
'But my daughter is a student.'

Mà's status as an independent word form is further attested in affirmation interrogative vocative forms *mànà* (masculine) and *màndʒà* (feminine) in HA. These two interrogative vocatives are derived from vocative pronouns *jana* (masculine)/ *jandʒa* (feminine), which are still existent in Awngi but missing in Kulazngi.[104]

The QP, *ma* and the present copula *-aχ* are in complementary distribution, i.e. the occurrence of *ma* in interrogative copular clauses precludes the copula *-aχ*. As can be recalled from the discussions on copular clauses, the present copular clauses can occur without a copula affix, *-aχ*. However, the present interrogative copular clauses never employ a copula affix, aχ (cf. 36).

36. a) bàláj gìtsàní-áχ
Balai merchant-cop
'Balai is a merchant.'

b) bàláj gìtsàní
Balai merchant
'Balai is a merchant.'

c) bàláj gìtsàní má
Balai merchant QP 'Is Balai a merchant?'

∗ d) bàláj gìtsàní-aχ ma
Balai merchant-cop QP
'(the intended meaning) Is Balai a merchant?' *(intended meaning*)

Ungrammaticality of (36d) is due to the presence of the copula *-aχ* together with the QP *ma*. A possible reason to be suggested for *-aχ*'s not appearing with *ma* is that *-aχ*, which is also a focus marker an assertive element.

Nonetheless, the past and future copular elements, independent word forms discussed earlier, must occur together with the *QP* ma in affirmative interrogative copula clauses as shown in (37a_b).

37. a) *ínt gìtsàní ʤí-t-ú-χá má*
you merchant COP -2S -PFV-2S QP
'Were you a merchant?'

b) *ínt gìtsàní t-áχ-á-χá má*
you merchant.MS 2-COP-IPFV-2S QP
'Will you(MS) be a merchant?'

In the past and future copula clauses, the interrogative *má* may precede the copula. When the copula and *má* swap their position, person affix (the last affix on the copula) will be deleted, as shown in (38) below (see 37 above for their glosses).

38) a) *ínt gìtsàní má ʤí-t-û* (you merchant QP COP-2-PFV) 'Were you a merchant?'

b) *nī gìtsàní má ʤî-w* (he merchant QP COP-3M.PFV) 'Was he a merchant?'

[104] In HA, *ma* in *mànà* / *màndʒà* (2m/2f) appears as a base attaching clipped (their first syllable reduced) vocative forms of *jana* / *jandʒa* as in *kə́tàlá gìtsìní* ***màndʒà*** (your father merchant QP.2f) 'Is your father a merchant?'

c) *nī gìtsànáˊ máˊ ʤí-t-îˊ* (she merchant QP COP-3F-PFV) ‘Was she a merchant?’

d) *nī gìtsànáˊ máˊ t-àχ-îˊ* (she merchant QP 3F-become-PFV) ‘Did she become a merchant?’

8.2.1.2.2 Content Interrogatives

“Questions that expect a more elaborate response than simply an affirmation or disaffirmation are called *question-word questions, content questions, information questions, or wh-questions* (Payne, 1997:299)”. Kulazngi content questions are of three types: pronominal, adverbial, and quantitative. Following will be examined content interrogative clauses and subject predicate relationship in sentences with content interrogative clauses.

8.2.1.2.2.1 Pronominal

As is the case with polar questions, subject predicate order in Kulazngi pronominal interrogative sentences is either the normal order of sentences NP VP or reversed order VP NP, as shown in (39) below (see section 4.3 for details of pronominal interrogatives). Note that *χá* is frequently used focus marker in questions (see section 8.3.1). It is put in parenthesis in example data of (39, 40) below.

39) a) *ɨ́n àqí àj-ni (χà)*
this man who-3S (FOC)
‘Who is this man?’

b) *àj-nì (χà) ɨ́n àqí*
who-3S (FOC) this man
‘Who is this man?’

The VPs in sentential examples in (38) above are non-verbal predicates. In both examples, the NP is *ɨ́n àqí* and the VP is *àj-nì* (*content interrogative word* and *3rd person singular pronoun*). Their position or order in (39a) is NP VP, i.e. they maintain the word order of the language. This order is reversed in (39b). However, there is no noticeable meaning difference between the two interrogative sentences.

The noun *àqí* in the NP *ɨ́n àqí* may not be overtly stated. Thus, when this is the case, the demonstrative *ɨ́n* will head the NP, as shown in (40) below.

40. àj-ni (χà) ɨnn(i)
who-3S (FOC) this
'Who is this?'

The NPs in sentential examples of (39) are complements of the interrogative copular predicates. It is also possible a complement of an interrogative copular predicate can be a RC (cf. 41).

41. àj-nì múrî kʷ-ít(í)
who-3S snake.ACC kill.PFV-3F.REL
'Who (3S) is she that killed a snake?'

The NPs in content interrogatives of (39-41) involve non-possessive subjective interrogative pronouns (see 4.3.1.1 for details with regard to non-possessive subjective interrogative pronouns).

The syntactic relation of NPs of other pronominal interrogatives (such as, general as well as those of non-personal subjective interrogative pronouns) with their predicates is not different from those of non-possessive personal subjective interrogative pronouns (see section 4.3 for morphological details of pronominal interrogatives).

8.2.1.2.2.2 Adverbial

Kulazngi adverbial interrogation encoding words are *wánì* 'when', *wádà* 'where', *wúʃà* 'where', and *wàtŋā* (*wátà*) 'how' (see section 5.4.5 for details). While *wádà* can occur in nonverbal and existential predications (cf. 42), others occur in verbal predication only (cf. 42c).

42) a) àjŋ-íní bɨrr wádà-j
yesterday-GEN birr where-COP
'Where is yesterday's money?'

b) kírà wádà zɨk-ù
your son where live-3M.PFV.REL
'Where does your son live?'

c) kírà wání kàz-*ù*
your son when go-3M.PFV
'When did your son go?'

The VP in sentential examples in (42a) is *wádà-j*, which is a non-verbal predicate that consists of interrogative adverb and a copula *-i* (realized as *-j*, for it appears following a vowel). The VP in

(42b) is *wádà zɨ̀k-ù*. It consists of interrogative adverb and existential verb. *Subject predicate* word order in both of the examples is maintained. As is the case with interrogative clauses dealt with so far, their order can be reversed as VP NP, as in (43a) below. The same is true with adverbial interrogative clauses with verbal predicates. Hence, the subject predicate word order of (42c) can be reversed as *predicate subject*, as shown in (43b) below.

43. a) wádà-j àjŋ-íní bɨ́rr
where-COP yesterday-GEN birr
'Where is yesterday's money?'

b) wánî kàz-*ù* kírà
when go-3M.PFV your son
'When did your son go?'

In (42c), the NP is *kírà* and the VP is *wánî kàz-ù*. Their order is NP VP, i.e. they maintain the word order of the language. This order is reversed in (43b). Nonetheless, no obvious meaning difference exists between the two interrogative sentences. Even though VP NP order is possible in sentences with adverbial interrogatives, the usual *subject predicate* position is NP VP, and the reversed order is not as frequent as those of pronominal interrogatives.

Interrogative adverbs in sentential examples of (43) above occur immediately preceding the verb they modify. As adverbs in Kulazngi show positional freedom (see section 5.4 with regard to this point), they can be moved to sentence initial position allowing the subject to occur between them and the verb they modify. For example, *wánî* in a sentential example of (43) can occur preceding the subject *kírà*, as *wánî kírà kàz-ù*.

8.2.1.2.2.3 Quantitative

Quantitative interrogatives in Kulazngi are encoded by *wúχà* 'how many' and *wásà láká* 'how much', which are used with count and noncount nouns respectively (see section 5.3 for details). Unlike interrogative adverbs, interrogative quantifiers do not show freedom of position – they always occur immediately preceding the noun they modify (cf. 44).

44. a) kàsátʃ(-dá) wúχà bɨ́rr zɨ̀kʷà
Kasach(-loc) how much birr present.PFV.3M
lit. 'How much birr is there on Kàsátʃ́
'How much birr does Kàsátʃ have? '

b) ∗ wúχà kàsátʃ(-dá) bɨ́rr zɨ̀kʷà
how much Kasach(-LOC) bɨrr present.PFV.3M
'How much birr does Kasach have? '

(44b) is an unaccepted construction because another element, a noun or a prepositional phrase *kàsátʃ(-dá)* in this case, has occurred in between the interrogative quantifier *wúχà* and the noun it modifies, i.e. *bɨ́rr*.

Unlike the case with other interrogative clauses, word order of the language (i.e. *subject predicate* word order) in sentences with quantitative interrogatives cannot be reversed as can be noticed from ungrammatical construction in (45) below.

45) ∗ zɨ̀kʷ-à kàsátʃ(-dá) wúχà bɨ́rr
present.3M-3M.PFV Kasach(-loc) how much bɨrr
'How much birr does Kasach have? '

The VP in (45) is *zɨ̀kʷ-à kàsátʃ(-dá*) and the NP (the subject) is *wúχà bɨ́rr*. Thus, the construction is ungrammatical because VP NP word order is not possible in a sentence with quantitative interrogative.

8.2.2 Complex sentence

Complex sentences consist of a main clause and one or more other clauses subordinate to it (Miller, 2002: 63). Subordination according to Cristofaro (203: 2) is functionally defined as a relation between two events, such that one of them (which is called the dependent event) lacks an autonomous profile, and is construed in the perspective of the other event (which is called the main event).

Kulazngi has some sentence connecting words (see chapter 6) but they are used together with subordinating suffixes that occur attached to verbs. It is also the case that Agaw languages do not have sentence connecting particles; "Agaw has no sentence connecting particles, so that conjoining and subordination is handled by verbal morphology (Hetzron, 1976: 28)." In the upcoming sections are examined relative clauses, adverbial clauses (including converbs), and complement clauses in the language.

8.2.2.1 Relative Clauses

A relative clause (henceforth RC) functions as a modifier of a head NP within a main clause, and it shares an argument (which may be stated in both clauses, or in just one, or in neither) with a main clause (Dixon, 2010: 314). The argument that an RC shares with the main clause (hereafter MC) can be in A, S, or O function. RCs in Kulazngi are marked by agreement affixes which attach to the verb and relativize it (see section 7.4.1 for details with respect to relativizers). It is noteworthy that RCs in Kulazngi are *normally* restrictive.

RCs normally occur preceding the head nouns and main clauses (MCs) occur in independent positions, i.e. one is not imbedded within the other. Nevertheless, MC's subject may be moved to sentence initial position in sentences with an MC having a transitive verb (cf. 46c), giving a way to a modifier (a relative clause) to be imbedded within the main clause (between the subject and predicate of the main clause).

46. a) *àjŋá* *jì-nt-ú* àqí nákà kàz-ú-χà
yesterday 3M -come-3M.PFV.REL man today leave-PFV-3M
'The man who came yesterday left today.'

b) *gɨ́n-û* *kɨ̀rájt-**ú*** àqí nákà jì-nt-ú-χà
house-ACC rent-PFV-3M.PFV.REL man today 3M-ep-come-PFV -3M
'The man who rented the house came today.'

c) *gɨ́n-û* *kɨ̀rájt-**ú*** àqí bìrî dʒàw-ú-χà
house-ACC rent-PFV.PFV.3M.REL man ox.ACC buy-PFV -3M
'The man who rented the house bought an ox.'

Each of the sentences in (46) consists of RCs and MCs. The *italicized* clauses are RCs. They modify *àqí*, which is the subject of the MC and RC in each sentence – explicitly stated in the MCs and referenced in the verb by AGR markers in RCs (a kind of cataphoric reference), as this can be checked from the gloss. Thus, the main clause and the relative clause in three of the example sentences share a common argument, *àqí* (the subject in this case). Nonetheless, the three sentences above are not structurally the same. *àqí*, which is, as mentioned above, a common argument of both the clauses, is in S function in both clauses of the sentence in (46a); it is in A function in relative and in S function in main clauses of the sentence in (46b). In (46c), both the clauses share a subject argument in an A function.

Even though an RC may share a common argument with an MC, the subjects of the two clauses vary when the common argument is in O function in the relative clause (cf. 47).

(47) a) *ân dʒàp-ú* bìrí dɨz-ú-χà
I buy- 1s(SB).3M(OB).PFV.REL ox lose-PFV-3M
'The ox I bought was lost.'

b) *ân dʒàp-ú-zà* bìrî nìgàtú kɨrájt-ú-χà
I buy-1s(SB).3M (OB).PFV.REL-ACC ox.ACC Nigatu rent-PFV-3M
'Nigatu rented the ox I bought.'

c) nìgàtú *an dʒàp-ú-zà* bìrî kɨrájt-ú-χà
Nigatu I buy.PFV.1s(SB). REL-3m (OB).REL-ACC ox.ACC rent-PFV-3M
'Nigatu rented the ox I bought.'

Italicized clauses in all of the above illustrative sentences are RCs. All of them modify the noun *bìrí*, which is the subject of the MC in (47a) and the direct object in (47b–c). Thus, *bìrí* in the MC of (47a) is in S function since it is the subject of an intransitive verb, *dɨz-ú-χà*, and it is in O function in that of (47b–c) since it is the direct object of the verb in the RC. The subject of the RC is *ân* in (47a–b). The RC in (47c) is placed within the MC: it occurs between the subject and the predicate of the MC, *ân* and *bìrî kɨrájt-ú-χà*. As touched upon earlier, such placement is possible in sentences with a predicate of a main clause with a transitive verb.

The following data of relative clauses are presented for further scrutiny.

48. a) *zàgɨr-kâ* *kʷ-á-nkú* gɨsàŋ-kā ká ɨnní-kʷìnì
Ape-PL.ACC kill-IPFV-3P.REL dog-PL FOC these-3P
'Here are the dogs that kill the apes.'

b) *zàgɨrkā* *kʷ-á-n-kú* gɨsàŋ-kā ká àní- kʷìnì
ape-PL kill-IPFV-3P(SB).REL-3P(OB).REL dog-PL FOC those-3P
'There are the dogs that the apes kill.'

Agreement markers in verbs of the relative clauses in (48) above reference the subject of the main clauses, *gɨsáŋ-kā*. Hence, the relative clause shares a common argument with the main clause in both (48a-b) sentences. However, the referenced noun, *gɨsáŋ-kā*, in the two relative

clauses is functionally different: it is in A function in (48a) and in O function in (48b). The subject of both the RC and MC in (48a) is *gìsáŋ-kā*, which is in A function in the relative clause and in S function in the main clause. *zàgìr-kâ* is the direct object of the relative clause in (48a). In (48b), the subject of the relative clause is *zàgìrkā* and that of the main clause is *gìsáŋ-kā.*

8.2.2.2. Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a type of clause that functions as core argument of another clause and describes a proposition, which can be a fact, an activity, or a state (Dixon, 2010b: 370). In Kulazngi, complement clauses are made by nominalizing the verb of the clause with the infinitivalizer/nominalizer suffix *-ŋ* (productive morphological nominalizer, which occurs with no lexical restriction). Notice the following illustrative example.

49. **dàstá** **kéntígíná** **tú-ŋ-û** nìtʃú-z àrá ɨnkán-à-jà
    Desta school enter-INF-ACC his mother-poss husband like-3M-NEG.PFV
    'His stepfather did not like Desta's enrolling.'

Complement clauses in Kulazngi occur as a subject or as an object. Consider the following.

50. a) **ɨntsāj** **náwû** **wàj-ɨŋ** nû màqàts-û
    boy calf.ACC sell- INF we.ACC anger.CUAS-ACC
    'The boy's selling the calf angered us.'

    b) **ɨntsāj** **náwû** **wàj-ŋ-û** nū ɨnkán-nà-jà
    boy calf sell- INF-ACC we like-1P-NEG
    'We did not like the boy's selling his calf. '

The boldfaced parts in (50) above are complement clauses ⎯ (50a) is the subject and (50b) is the direct object of their respective verbs in the MC. The base of the nominal verb in both of the complement clauses is **wàj-** 'to sell'. A complement clause is an alternative to an NP as exponent of a core slot in clause structure (Dixon, 2010, 375).

A complement clause in Kulazngi may consist of a relative clause within itself (cf.51).

51. a) nìgátú **nìtʃú** **t-àg-ú-zà** **bírrù** kàts-ú-χà
    Nigatu his mother 3F-bring-PFV-ACC Birr.ACC take- PFV -3M
    'Nigatu took the money that his mother brought.'

The verb in a complement clause (51), *t-àg-ú-zà*, (which is the predicate of the complement clause) is a modifier of the NP (bɨ́rrû), which is in turn the argument of the main clause whose predicate is a verb in the main clause.

In sentences with complement constructions, the subject of the CC and MC can be the same or different, i.e. the two predicates can share the same argument or have different arguments (cf.52).

52. b) nìgátú **àgts-ú-zà** **bírrû** χú-χà

Nigatu find-3M.REL.PFV- ACC Birr.ACC eat.PFV-3M

'Nigatu used the money he found.'

c) nìgátú **àgts-ú-zà** **bɨ́rrù** nìtàlá χú-χà

Nigatu find-3M.REL.PFV-ACC Birr.ACC his father eat.PFV-3M

'Nigatu's father used the money that Nigatu found.'

In (52a), the subject argument of predicates in complement and main clauses is Nigatu. In (52b), on the other hand, each predicate has its own argument: the argument of MC is *nìtàlá* and that of CC is Nigatu. The head of the complement clauses in both cases is *bɨ́rrû*, object argument of predicates in the CC.

8.2.2.3 Adverbial Clauses

This section investigates adverbial clauses in Kulazngi. Even though clausal aspect is focused, affixes that attach to verbs as clausal subordinators are also given brief account in this section, for, otherwise, to discuss them separately under morphology would end up in mere repetition of identical matters.

There are, including converbal clauses, ten adverbial clauses in Kulazgi, namely conditional, temporal, cause / result, reason, purposive, concessive, terminative, simultaneous, and manner. Converbal clauses are also treated in this section, for they, like other adverbial clauses mentioned above, modify main clauses (fulfilling the work of adverbs). Kulazngi verbs in adverbial clauses, like in other Agaw languages (Appleyard, 1992: 136), are laden with verbal subordinators joining adverbial subordinate forms.

> "The verbal systems of the Agaw languages are notable for a large number of adverbial subordinate forms joined with verbal subordinators, which gives the impression of an

extraordinary complexity, especially when one takes into a consideration separating negative forms, as well (Appleyard, 1992: 136)".

Even though the above quotation primarily centers on the four well investigated Central Cushitic languages, viz. Awngi, Khimt'anga, Bilin, and Kemantenry, the situation with Kulazngi, a less investigated language (rather remote) dialect of Awngi, is not much different.

8.2.2.3.1 Conditional Clauses

Two types of conditional clauses have been attested in Kulazngi: reality and unreality (or hypothetical) conditional clauses. Both are marked by the subordinator suffixal form *-nì*, which is formally identical with that of temporal clause of *when*. It is suffixed to the verb in the if-clause following agreement suffixes. Conditional clauses, like other dependent clauses in complex sentences, occur preceding main clauses. In what follows will be examined these two conditional clauses.

8.2.2.3.1.1 Reality Conditionals

Reality conditionals express likelihood conditions or possibilities, as shown in (53) below. Both aspect and agreement are shown on the verbs of both the main clause and the-if (dependent) clause. Even though the if-clause is expressed in perfective aspect, it refers to the event of non-past (53a-d). The verb in the if-clause can also attach the auxiliary *zɨkʷ-* 'present' to express the definite perfective (53e). Even though the if-clause in (53f) is expressed in perfective aspect, the fact that the main clause is imperative has made the sentence reality conditional.

53. a) *kɨ́tʃú* *tì-nt-ú-**nì*** gànzáb-û gɨ̀n-da ɨ̀nkúr-t-á-tà dɨ̀qʷ-í
your mother 3F-come-PFV-SUBR money-ACC house-loc put-3F-IPFV-PUR tell-IMPR
'If your mother comes, tell her to put the money in the house.'

b) *gànzáb-û* *kàjt-í-**nì*** màdàbárî ágts-é
money-ACC pay-1s/2S/3F.PFV - SUBR fertilize.ACC get-1s/2S/3F.IPFV
'If I/you /she pay money, I/you /she will get the fertilizer'

c) *ɨ́nt* *tʃā* *gàbàlá* *kàt-ú-nì* míntʃ-ù bɨ́rr-ù ágts-é
you tomorrow market go-2S- SUBR much-ACC money-ACC profite.2S-IPFV
'If you go to market tomorrow, you will make a lot of money.'

d) *báhár-ù-zà* *àχû* *zɨq-n-ú-**nì*** ɨndárâ n-á
ocean-3M-ACC water.ACC drink-1P- PFV-SUBR what.ACC say-3M.IPFV
'What if we drink ocean water?

e) *rí* *bɨz-à-zkú-nì* *fɬlàj-kâ* *fɨʃ-ân*
rain stop- 3M-AUX.PFV-SUBR goat-PL take out-2P.IMPR
'If the rain has stopped, take out the goats.'

The *italicized* clauses (53) are *if clauses* and the non-italicized parts are main clauses. As can be noticed in the illustrative examples, the if-clauses are placed preceding main clauses, which is, according to Dryer (2007: 96), a universal tendency of languages that if-clauses precede main clauses, for, according to Cristofaro (2003: 7), language function motivates language structure as can be noticed in conditional sentences where the order protasis–apodosis is almost universal: the event coded by the protasis is the condition for the event coded by the apodosis.

Reality conditionals turn to be less probable by turning the if-clause into a doubtful expression by relativizing the verb in the if-clause and using the auxiliary *-aχ-* 'become' (which appears attaching person/ gender suffixes and the subordinator -nì) to encode conditionality. Thus, the verb before the auxiliary *-aχ-* will form a relative clause within the subordinate clause (the if-clause) as shown in (54) below.

54. a) *làngàd* *jí-nt-á-nkú* *ø-àχ-**ú-nì*** sɨlχî wɨt-íjá-n
guests 3-come-IPFV-3P.REL 3P-BE-PFV.3P- SUBR beer.ACC finish-NEG.IMPR-2P
'Don't finish the beer in case the guests come.'

b) *kà-n-á-χá* *ø-àχ-n-ú-nì* làmê àmàrts-án
go-1P-IPFV-1P.REL 1P-be-1P-PFV- SUBR provisions.ACC prepare-2P.IMPR
'If we are to go, prepare provisions.

8.2.2.3.1.2 Unreality Conditionals

While the conditional *-nì* appears in both reality and unreality conditionals, unreality conditionals involve additional forms both in dependent and in main clauses. Thus, the verb in the dependent clause of unreality conditionals attaches the auxiliary suffix *-zɨkʷ-*, the same indefinite perfective auxiliary, which occurs preceding the subordinator *-nì* and encodes indefinite perfective, and the past copula *ɨʃ-/dʒí-*, which (occurring at predicate final position of

the main clause) encodes counterfactual (a situation which did not happen) in the main clause. Consider the following.

55. a) *án kɨnt-à-zkú-nì nákà dóctár-à ø-áq-á-χá dʒít-ú-χà*
I learn-1P-AUX.1s-if today doctor-TRFM 1s-be-IPFV-1s.REL be-PFV.1s
'If I had learnt, I would have been a doctor.'

b) *nā kɨnt-ɨ́-zkú-nì nákà dóctár-à áχ-á-nkú dʒí-k^{w}à*
they learn-3P -AUX-SUBR today doctor-TRM 1s-be-IPFV-1s.REL be-1s.PFV
'If they had learnt, they would have been doctors.'

The if-clauses in (55) are expressed in past. The main clauses consist of past copula and a lexical verb which is non-past. What encode unreality conditional in these sentences are the occurrence of the relativized *-àχ-* 'become' in the non-past and the past copula in the main clause.

Conditional interrogative is encoded by the suffix, ***-zá*** 'what if/what about', which occurs suffixed to the verb already encoded conditional. Both reality and unreality conditionals can be interrogated (cf.56).

56. a) *gìŋ-t-ú-ní-zá*
run- 3F/2S-PFV-SUBR-Q
'What if she runs/you run?'

b) *gìŋ-á-zkú-nì-zá*
run-3M/1s-AUX.PFV.3M/1s-SUBR-Q
'What if I / he had run?'

Kulazngi conditional clauses are negated by the negative morpheme **-gi,** which attaches to the verb following agreement affix. Notice the following.

57) *sɨ̀rà* wàχàʃ̀ î zɨq-è-**gī** ɨ́mbìtà dɨ̀ngúrt-á-là
she-baby milk.ACC drink-3F.IPFV-NEG quickly be big-3F.IPFV-NEG
'If the baby(FM) does not drink milk, she will not get bigger quickly.'

As can be noticed in (57) above, the verb in the if clause is negated with **-gi,** which occurs substituting the conditional marker *-ni*. As can be recalled in discussions in section 7.13, the perfective negative *-ja* and the converbal negative *-gi* are portmanteau morphemes because each of them indicates, apart from negation, grammatical category indicated in the affirmative by

grammatical forms missing in the negative constructions. Likewise, the negative **-gi** in the conditional clauses**,** like *-ja* and the converbal -g*i*, is a portmanteau morpheme, for it encodes both negation and conditionality.

8.2.2.3.2 Temporal Clauses

Four temporal relations, which can be translated as *when, before*, *after,* and *as soon as* are encoded in Kulazngi. Cristofaro (2003: 156) labels the first three as temporal overlap (*when* relations), temporal anteriority (*before* relations), and temporal posteriority (*after* relations). The same labeling is adopted in this book for the first three and *immediacy* for the temporal relation encoding *as soon as*. The following subsections are devoted to the four temporal relations mentioned above.

8.2.2.3.2.1 Temporal Overlap

Suffixes encoding time relations equivalent with *when* or *while* are *-ni,* or *-z*. The temporal *-ni* is segmentally (but not prosodically) homophone with conditional *-nì*. While conditional *-nì* always bears low tone, the tone of the temporal *-ni* is determined by the subject of the clause. Like the conditional *-nì*, the temporal *-ni* is suffixed to a verb following agreement suffixes. The subordinate clause in temporal overlap is expressed in imperfective aspect, as can be noticed (58) below. Thus, a clause with a subordinator *-ni* will have conditional reading if the clause is expressed in past and temporal if expressed in non-past. While *-ni* and *-z* are interchangeable, *-z* is opted for *while relations*.

58. (a) *rí* *bɨz-á-**ní*** / *bɨz-á-**z*** áw
rain open-3M-SUBR / open-3M -when come.IMPR
'Come when the rain stops.'

(b) *gànzáb-û* *kàjt-ē-**nì*** / *kàjt-ēná-**z*** màdàbàrê ák-á
money-ACC pay-2P-SUBR / pay- 2P-when fertilizer.ACC give.1s.IPFV
'I will give you (the) fertilizer when you pay the money'

(c) *kɨntsànti* *f-à-**ní*** / *f-á-**z*** kɨntántká àdʒì-tɨŋ-k^{w}à
teacher leave-3M-SUBR / leave-3M -when students disturb-RSP -3P.PFV
'Students disturbed when the teacher left.'

(d) *kɨmá* *χùr-è-**ní*** / *χùr-è-**z*** ɨmbòssá tsàχʷ-ŋ-û bá-t-ú-χà
cow lie-3F -when / lie-3F-SUBR calf suck-GRD-ACC leave-3F-PFV-3F
'The calf stopped sucking when the cow lay down.'

Italicized parts in (58) are temporal clauses of overlap (when relations). As can be noticed in illustrative examples, aspect in temporal clauses is encoded in matrix clauses only, and the main clause can be in any mood and aspect.

In sentences of temporal clauses, main and subordinate clauses do not share the same argument. When they do share, the sentence ceases to be temporal, and, instead, shows cause/ result relations (see section 8.2.2.3.3).

8.2.2.3.2.2 Temporal Anteriority

Temporal anteriority (*before* relations) in Kulazngi is encoded in two different ways: by the negative morphological form *-gi*, which occurs attaching to the verb that occurs preceding the main verb (cf. 59a) or by suffixing the case particle *-dáz*, which encodes temporal location, to nominalized verb with *-ŋ* and using the temporal adverb *fɨnû* 'before' after the nominalized verb (cf. 59b). The former is a more frequently used expression between the two. Aspect is shown in the matrix clause.

59. a) ân à-nt-à-gī nī tì-nt-û
I 1s-come-1s -NEG she 3F-come-PFV.3F
She came before I came.

b) ân à-nt-ɨŋ-dáz fɨnù nī tì-nt-û
I 1s-come-NM-from before she 3F-come-3F.PFV
'She came before I came.'

8.2.2.3.2.3 Temporal Posteriority

[105] Temporal Posteriority is expressed by the same morphological form encoding temporal location, *-dáz*. The verb in temporal posterity is in perfective aspect. The fact that the verb to which this temporal location marker suffixed to is perfective renders the clause *temporal*

[105] *-dáz + fàlánga* is equivalent with the Amharic verb prefix *kä-* and the adverb *bäh*ʷ*ala* respectively, as in kä-bälla bähʷala 'after he ate'

posteriority or *after relations*. In most cases, the conjunction *fàlángà* 'after' appears following the subordinating verb (i.e. the verb to which *-daz* is suffixed). Notice the following illustrative examples.

60. (a) *rí* *bìz-ú-dáz* áw
rain open-3M.PFV-from come
'Come after the rain stops.'

(b) *àqá* *sáqát-íw-dáz* *fàlángà* àqí jì-nt-û
woman sleep-3F.PFV-from after man 3M-come-PFV.3M
'The man came after the woman slept.'

8.2.2.3.2.4 Immediacy

Immediacy in Kulazngi verbs is shown by the morpheme *-tà* that occurs following AGR/TAM affixes which come next to the root verb as shown in (61) below. As will be made clear in the upcoming sections, the same morphological form *-tà* marks purpose and simultaneity.

61) a) zɨq-ú-tà sàkàr-á
drink- PFV.1S/3M- IMD get drunk-IPFV.1S/3M
'He/I get drunk as soon as he/I drink'

b) aq kàz-ú-n-tà màkìnā tì-nt-u-χà
men go-PFV-3P -IMD car 3F-come-PFV-3F
'The car came as soon as the men left.'

c) zɨq-ī-tà sàkàr-t-á
drink-2S/3F.PFV-IMD get drunk-2S/3F -IPFV
'She / You get drunk as soon as she/you drink.'

In temporal clauses of immediacy, the subject of a subordinate clause can be co-referential with that of the main clause (cf. 61a, c). It is also possible the two clauses can have different subjects, as shown in (61b).

As can be seen in (61), aspect of subordinate and main clauses in sentences of immediacy relation may or may not correspond: the subordinate clause in such adverbial constructions is always expressed in perfective while the main clause can be perfective (cf. 61 b), imperfective (cf. 61 a, c), or imperative or jussive (cf. 62).

62. a) gɨbrî wùd-ú-n-tà kàz-ín-ɨz
work.ACC finish-PFV-3P- IMD go-3P.JSV
'Let them go as soon as they finish the work.'

b) gɨbrì wùd-īn-tà kàz-án
work.ACC finish-PFV.2P-IMD go-2P.IMPR
'Go as soon as you finish the work.'

8.2.2.3.3 Cause / Result

Identical suffixal form with that of temporal clause encodes cause/result clauses. Distinction between them is drawn syntactically and semantically. Syntactically, main and subordinate clauses in a sentence with cause/ result relation may share the same subject (cf. 63), which is unlike temporal clauses.

63. a) áwídá dʒ-é-ní tsárkɨt-ú-χà
house-loc pass a day-3M-when be black-PFV -3M
'When he stayed in the sun, he became black.'

b) bèrbér-ɨz χ^{w}-á-ní tsànqúnt-ú-χà
pepper-with eat-3M-when be thirsty-PFV -3M
'When he ate with pepper, he became thirsty.'

c) míntʃ-ù zɨq-á-ní sàkàr-ú-χà
much-ACC drink-1s/3M-when intoxicate-PFV -1s/3M
'He /I was intoxicated, for he/I drank too much.'

As can be noticed from the above data, the subject of a main clause in sentences with cause/result relation is in most cases in S function, for its verb is middle voice most of the time.

The two clauses in sentences with cause/result relation may not share the same subject, and whether the relation is temporal or cause /result is determined by the virtue of the main verb's meaning (cf. 64).

64. a) wùdʒí q^{w}áj-á-ní kɨm-ká bàrgàg-k^{w}à
lion roar-3M-when cattle-PL ran terrified-3P.PFV
'When a lion roared, the cattle ran terrified.'

b) àjlìní nɨfás nàbàz-á-ní màbràt dɨz-û
strong wind blow-3M-when light go off-PFV.3M
'When strong wind blew, the light went off.'

8.2.2.3.4 Simultaneity

Simultaneity is shown by the morphological form *-z* and, with certain durative verbs, *-tà* 'while', which are suffixed to the verb following agreement suffixes as shown in (65) below.

65) a) ɨnt-ká kɨnt-ē-z wàlàdʒ-t-ú-χà
you-FOC learn-2S-while be old-2S -PFV -2S
'You grew old while learning'[106]

b) dàbà ɨnkɨr-á-z tabû dúnt-ú-χà
hockey play-1S/3M-while hand.ACC break-PFV -1S/3M
'He broke his hand/I broke my hand while playing hockey.'

8.2.2.3.5 Terminative

Adverbial clauses expressing time reference until the accomplishment of something are expressed by the suffix *-mbà* 'until', which attaches to verbs following agreement suffixes. It can be optionally followed by an independent adverbial word *χistà* 'until'. Segmentally but not prosodically, the same form *-mbá* expresses optative (see 4.9.7).

66) a) [107]*kɨr-ɨ́-mbà* *χīstà* *tʃòm-î* *χú-χà*
die-3M-until unti fatty meat eat.PFV-3M
'lit. He ate fatty meat until he died.'
'He was rich until his end.'

b) *kɨr-ɨ́nɨ̀-mbà* *zɨkú* *màkàrí* [108]
die-3P -until EXIST.3M.PFV misery
'The anguish humans sustain until their end.'

[106] This was a comment from one of my informants about my PhD work
[107] Fatty meat is not easily affordable in the community, thus, to eat fatty meat, one needs to be rich.

c) *bɨ̀tí* *tʃ-ɨ́-mbà* *dʒí t-án*
earth pass the night-3M-until stay-IMPR.2P
'Stay until daybreak'

As can be noticed from the examples above, aspect is signaled only in main clauses.

8.2.2.3.6 Reason Clauses

The morphological form encoding reason clauses in Kulazngi is *-wúz*. It attaches to a relativized verb following tense/aspect and agreement affixes. Thus, tense/aspect in sentences with adverbial clause of reason is shown in both the main verb and the subordinate verb, as shown in (67) below.

67. a) *an kàjt-ú-* ***wúz*** *jɨ́zànà* *kɨ̀nt-ú-χà*
I pay.1s-PFV-RSN my brother learn-PFV-3M
'For what I paid my brother learnt.'

b) *tʃʷàtàbl* *χú-nù-****wúz*** *dʒàr-kí* *kàj-kʷà*
parents eat.PFV-3P-RSN child-PL pay-3P.PFV
'For what parents consumed (used) their children paid'

c) *dʒàrkí* *χʷ-á-nù-****wúz*** *tàblí* *kàj-ú-χà*
children eat-IPFV-3P-RSN father pay-PFV.3M-PFV
'For what the children (will) use, the father paid.'

As can be noticed in examples above, the subordinating verb of reason clauses with *-wúz* hosts tense/aspect, agreement, and subordinating suffixes. Table 60 below presents the paradigm of four reason-encoded verbs in perfective and imperfective aspect.

[108] It is a proverb.

Table 60 The paradigm of reason marked verbs in perfective and imperfective aspect

Verb		*person*				
		1S/3M	1P	2S/3F	2P	3P
sàr-	PFV	sàr-ù-wúz	sàr-ìn-ú-wúz	sàr-ì-wúz	sàr-ī-nù-wúz	sàr-ū-nù-wúz
'make'	PFV	sàr-á-wúz	sàr-ìn-á-wúz	sàr-è-wúz	sàr-ē-nù-wúz	sàr-ā-nù-wúz
zìq-	PFV	zìq-ú-wúz	zìq-n-ú-wúz	zìq-ì-wúz	zìq-ī-nù-wúz	zìq-ú-nù-wúz
'drink'	PFV	zìq-á-wúz	zìq-n-á-wúz	zìq-è-wúz	zìq-ē-nù-wúz	zìq-á-nù-wúz
màtʃ-	PFV	màtʃ-ù-wúz	màtʃ-ìn-ú-wúz	màtʃ-ì-wúz	màtʃ-ī-nù-wúz	màtʃ-ū-nù-wúz
'climb'	PFV	màtʃ-à-wúz	màtʃ-ìn-á-wúz	màtʃ-è-wúz	màtʃ-ē-nù-wúz	màtʃ-ā-nù-wúz
táz-	PFV	táz-ú-wúz	táz-n-ú-wúz	táz-t-ú-wúz	táz-t-ú-nù-wúz	táz-ú-nù-wúz
'hit'	PFV	táz-á-wúz	táz-n-á-wúz	táz-t-á-wúz	táz-t-á-nù-wúz	táz-á-nù-wúz

As touched upon in section 8.2.2.3.2, the morphological form *-ni* (identical form with the one that signals *when relations*) is also used to encode adverbial clause of reason. Temporal or reason interpretation is determined by the semantics of the main verb, as shown in (68) below.

68) a) ŋárî kàw-ɨst-á-ní àmàr-û
head cut- PSV-3M/1s-when look good-PFV.3M/1s
'He/I looked good, for he/I had his/my hair cut.'

b) dʒár qúndàst-á-ní tàbli jì-nt-û
child be ill-3M-when father 3M-come-PFV.3M
'The father came, for the child was sick.'

c) dʒár χùr-à-ní tàbli jì-nt-û
child sleep-3M-when father 3M-come-PFV.3M
'The father came when the child slept.'

-ní in (68a-b) encode result: *he looked good because he had his hair cut*, and *the father came because the child was sick*. *-ní* in (68c) is temporal: *the father came after the child slept*.

8.2.2.3.7 Purpose

Purpose is expressed by verb suffixes *-tà*, *-(ɨ)z(ì)*, and *-a*. Whereas the first two are used in complex sentences, *-a* is used in simple sentences; it is the same formative used in allative case

to encode purpose (see section 3.3.4). While *-tà* is suffixed to verbs (cf. 69a-b), the rest are suffixed to verbal nominals. Thus, purpose marked verb with *-tà* also hosts agreement suffixes.

The purpose suffixes *-tà* and *-(ɨ)z(ì)* are semantically identical but they differ syntactically: *-tà* is usual in sentences where a main and subordinate clauses do not share the same subject and *-(ɨ)z(ì)* is used in sentences where a main and subordinate clauses share the same subject..

69) a) *sɨr sáq-**é-tà** ɨʃʃàrùrù n-īχʷà*
baby sleep-3M-PUR lullaby song say-2S/3F.PFV
'She / You(SG) made a lullaby song in order that the child would sleep'

b) *bìrí dèngúrt-**á-tà** ɨrʃɨ-dáz fùr-ìs-kʷà*
ox be fat-3M -PUR plowing-from rest-CAUS-3P.PFV
'They made the ox rest from plowing in order that the ox would get fat.'

c) *màlŋá sàmàtŋ-ɨz(ì) mìntʃû àχû zɨq-ú-χà*
very getting satiated-PUR much.ACC water.ACC drink-PFV -1P/3M
'He/I drank too much water for better satiety/ replete.'

d) sɨχlî zɨqŋ-á kàz-û
beer.ACC drinking -PUR go-3M.PFV
'He went to drink beer.'

e) dʒàrká kɨntŋ-á kàs-kʷà
children learning-PUR go-3P.PFV
'The children have gone to learn.'

f) tsúm-ù mìŋ-à kàs-kʷà
fast-ac holding-PUR go-3P.PFV
'lit. They went to hold fast.'
'They went to feast (usually on meat) before fasting.'

As can be noticed in sentential examples above, purpose *-a* is used in simple sentences (cf. 69d-f) while the rest are used in complex sentences (cf. 69a-c).

The root verb of the verb form *sáq-é-tà* (69a) is *sáqí-* and verbal nominal base forms of *sàmàtŋ-ɨz(ì)*, *zɨqŋ-á, kɨntŋ-á*, *mìŋ-à* are *sàmàtɨŋ*, *zɨqɨŋ*, *kɨntɨŋ*, and *mìŋ* (see section 2.5.9 for

details with respect to elision of *ɨ* in ultimate syllable of the base forms upon the suffixation of *-ɨ̀z(ì)/-á,*).

8.2.2.3.8 Intention

Intention clauses in Kulazngi are encoded via complex predication: subordinate clauses of intention comprise a lexical verb and the quotative verb *n-* 'say' (see section 7.10, ideophones, for details with regard to the quotative auxiliary *n-*). The lexical verb, which occurs preceding the quotative auxiliary within the subordinate clause, appears attaching 1st person relative pronominal suffix *-χá* and the quotative auxiliary *n-* appears attaching a converb suffix. The quotative verb *-n* also suffixes agreement affixes that occur preceding converb markers, which also show agreement (see section 8.2.2.3.12 for details with regard to converb markers). Like the quotative verb, the lexical verb hosts (in addition to 1st person relative *-χá*) agreement suffixes, and unlike the quotative *n-*, it signals aspect, as shown in (70) below.

70. a) gìtsz-á-χá n-à-má gɨ́n-ù wàj-ú-χà
trade-IPFV-1 say-3M -CNV.3 house-ACC sell-PFV-3M
'*lit.* I am to trade he saying he sold a house.'
'He sold a house in order to trade.'

b) sàlítù zér-n-á-χá n-ɨ́-kà-má ŋ̀ʃtàr dɨ̀χʷàr-ù dʒàw-kʷà
sesame-ACC sow-3p-IPFV-1 say-ep-3p- CNV.3P male.PL donkeys-ACC buy-3p.PFV
'*lit.* We are to sow sesame they saying they bought male donkeys.'
'They bought male donkeys in order to sow sesame.'[109]

c) kànì-dá màtʃ-à-χá n-ē-tà lɨ̀kù dúnt-iχʷà
tree-on climb-1s.IPFV-1 say-3F/2S -CNV.3F/2S leg.ACC break-3F/2S.PFV
'(lit.) I am to climb she/you saying she/you broke her/your leg.'
'She/ You(SG) broke her/your leg while trying to climb a tree.'

As can be noticed from sentential examples above, the lexical verb before the light verb (*V-χá*) is always first person, 1S or 1P, for it is direct quotation of the original speaker.

[109] Famers in Jawi use male donkeys for extensive plowing.

The fact that aspect in sentences with intention clauses is also shown in the lexical verb within the subordinate clause can be checked against a cleft construction below where the same lexical verb appears in **perfective** aspect.

71) sàlítù zér-n-**ú**-χá nʷ-āχ
sesame-ACC sow-3p-PFV-1p we- cop
'It is we who sowed sesame.'

Semantic difference between purpose and intention clauses is rather subtle. There are, however, in addition to affixal difference, clear structural differences between them. First, subordinate clauses of intention consist of a complex predicate while those of purpose consist of a simple predicate. Hence, a subordinate clause of intention is structured from *V-χá QV-CNV* (intention marked verb plus converbalized quotative verb) while that of purpose is structured from *V-tà* (purpose marked verb.) The second major difference between the two clause types has to do with the relation that the subordinate and the main clauses have between them. The subordinate and main clauses in sentences with intention clause always share a common subject while this is not usual in sentences with purpose clause. In (69a), for example, *sìr* 'child' is a subject of the subordinate clause while the subject of the main clause is *she* (not explicitly stated but referenced on the verb *n-īχʷà* 'she said'). In (70c), on the other hand, *she* (not explicitly stated in both clauses but referenced on verbs) is the subject of both the subordinate and main clauses.

The other noteworthy to mention here in respect of intention clauses is that the lexical verb and the quotative auxiliary form a tightly bound syntactic unit: they allow no object nouns or other elements to intervene between.

8.2.2.3.9 Concessive Clauses

A concessive clause refers to a situation that contrasts with the proposition expressed by the main clause. Concessive clauses in Kulazngi may be expressed by *-ní*, which is attached to the perfective verb in the subordinate clause, plus usually a negated main clause (72a). As can be noticed from the transcription, the concessive *-ní* is segmentally homophone with the conditional *-nì*. Thus, the same syntactic structure can be a conditional clause instead of concession depending on the semantic content of the negated verb in the main clause. Compare (72a) and (72b) below.

72. a) gìtsz-ú-ní kàbárá-á-là
trade-3M.PFV-SUBR be rich-IPFV-NEG
'Though I/He trades, I/he will not be rich'

b) gìt͡sz -ú-nì dɨχìt-á-là
trade-3M.PFV-SUBR be poor-IPFV-NEG
'If I/He trades, I/he will not be poor'

It is also common to use independent verb forms *tʃɨ̀χ-* 'stay the rainy season' or *tʃ-* 'to pass the night' as auxiliary. These auxiliaries occur attaching agreement affixes and subordinator *-ní* (73a). They occur following lexical verbs and render intensifying effect to adversative meaning of the subordinate clauses.

Kulazngi concessive clauses, besides *tʃɨ̀χ-* and *tʃ-*, also employ certain numerals (usually [110]*ten, fifteen,* or *five*) as intensifiers. These numerals occur preceding the main verb and suffixing *-ni* as shown in (73b). The commonly used quantifying intensifier is *tsɨ́kkíní* 'lit. ten times'.

73. a) *lìf-ā* *tʃɨ̀χ-ú-ní* *mɨ́rtû* *sàmàt-á-là*
toil-3M stay the rainy season-3M.PFV-SUBR yield.ACC be satisfied-IPFV-NEG
'Even if he toils much, he does not get enough yield'

b) *tsɨ́kà* *(tsɨ́kíní)* *χù-jí-ní* *dɨ̀gúrt-á-là*
ten (ten times) eat-2/3F-SUBR be fat-IPFV-NEG
'Even if you eat hoggishly, you will not get fat'

As can be seen in (73a) above, agreement, aspect, and concession are encoded in the subordinate clause. The perfective *-u* in (73b) is missing is not clear.

The intensifier *tʃɨ̀χ-* is homophone with the noun for *rainy season* (which is also a conversion case). Thus, its meaning might have been polysemically extended from the verb-*tʃɨ̀χ-* 'to stay the rainy season' so as to express the toiling of someone for a prolonged and inconvenient period of time (as far as rural setting is concerned).[111] That is, the compound verb form with *tʃɛ̀χúnì* or

[110] There is also analogous use in Amharic, as in አስር (አስራ)ቢነግድ አያድግም 'He will not be rich even if he trades (*lit.* umpteen times) hard', and numerals usually employed for such a usage are nine and ten.

[111] There also exists cross-linguistic expression (analogous language use) in Amharic to express the toiling of someone with no result, as in ትከርማታለህ (እንጂ….). In rainy seasons of Ethiopia, the majority is engaged in hardwork in heavy rains in fields full of mire.

ʧũnì literally means "even if someone *works* the whole summer or the whole night*"* respectively. As *ʧéχ* is rainy and cold season when people engage in hard toil, the meaning connoted in the clause joined by *ʧéχúnì* is toiling of someone on the one hand and thwarted results on the other hand. In the same token, night is not only dark but also the time when scary and ravenous predators rove in search of food. Thus, the compounded verb with *ʧũnì* emphatically conveys intensity of the thwarted results after hard toil during inconvenient period of time.

As mentioned above, the verbs *ʧéχ-* 'stay the rainy season' and *ʧ-* 'stay/pass the night' show agreement when combining with *-ni*.

8.2.2.3.10 Manner Adverbial Clauses

Manner Adverbial Clauses in Kulazngi are formed with the morphological forms – *-ústà*(*-wɨstà)/ -tà(ná),* which are attached to a verb which has already attached AGR/ TAM suffixes (cf. 74). In (74a), the *w* in *mí-w-ustà* is the perfective *-u* (for what accounts for the change, see discussions under subchapter 2.5).

74. a) gonì mí-w-ústà dibz-á
cold catch-3M.PFV-SMLV speak-3M.IPFV
'He speaks like he has a cold.'

b) ɨnt tsàw-t-u-wɨsta tsàp-ù
you do-2S-PFV-SMLV do.1s-PFV
'I did it like you did it.'

c) wùdʒî kú- wɨstà fàkàr-û[112]
lion.ACC kill.PFV-3M-SMLV boast of one's bravery-3M.PFV
'He boasted of his manliness and bravery as if he had killed a lion.'

d) *wɨdʒ-ì ku-tà(ná) fàkàr-û*
lion-ACC kill.P-3M-SMLV boast of one's bravery ceremoniously-3M.PFV
'He *bragged* as if he had killed a lion.'

[112] *fàkàrúχà* is an Amharic loan word, fokkärä, and is defined in Amharic-English-Dictionary (Kane, 1990) as *to boast of one's martial prowess and exploits (only done in a stylized manner, speaking loudly and in staccato fashion at banquets or certain social gatherings).*

e) sèg-t-á-wɨstà tɨtî dʒàw-t-ú-χà
spin-3F/2S-IPFV-SMLV cotton.ACC buy-3F/2S-PFV-3F
'She/You bought cotton as if she/you would spin.' [113]

d) kɨr-u-wɨtsà aχ-ú-χà
die-PFV.3M-SMLV be-PFV-3M
'He became like dead.'

The form *-wɨstà* is underlyingly *-ústà*. As *-ústà* attaches following one of aspect marker vowels, the *u* of *-ústà* changes to the glide *w* (see under subchapter 2.5 for details). The vowel ɨ in *-wɨstá* is there to break impermissible consonant sequence.

As can be noticed from example sentences in (74) above, aspect in complex sentences with manner adverb clauses is marked in both a subordinate and a main clause. There can appear adjuncts in each of the clauses as shown in (75) below.

75) *ájlû* mɨrɨkt-ú-wɨstà *nɨʃĭ-kí* *nɨʃĭ-kí* kákàst-ú-χà
force.ADV hungry-3M.PFV- SMLV now-FOC now-FOC yawn-3M.PFV-PFV
'He yawned now and then as if he was hungry.'

The *italic* forms in (75) are adjuncts: *ájlû* modifies the manner marked verb in the subordinate clause while *nɨʃĭ-kí nɨʃĭ-kí* modifies the finite (main) verb (in the main clause).

8.2.2.3.11 Substitutive Clauses

Kulazngi uses a subordinating marker *-dáz* for signaling the replacing of an expected or intended event by an unexpected one as shown in (76) below.

76. a) wàrkú àràsɨŋ-dáz kítʃà gìts-û dʒàmàr-û
Worku plow-from instead trade.ACC begin-3M.PFV
'Worku started trading instead of plowing.'

[113] The sentence conveys inconvenient criticism for a woman who buys cotton but who does not or cannot spin, for cotton spinning in Kulaz community is regarded as a quality of a good wife. The same is true of

b) tsìtswâ màndìŋ-dáz kɨ́ntíŋɨ́ná túŋ kìʃa
monkey keep-from school entering better
'It is better one goes to school than watch monkeys *from eating crops*.'

8.2.2.3.12 Converbal Clauses

Kulazngi makes extensive use of converbs. Appearing before a main clause, Kulazngi converbs, have adverbial function, which is the general property of converbs. "[…] converbs are verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives (Haspelmath, 1995:3)". Similarly, a converb is defined as a verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination (Bisang, 1995: 141; Haspelmath, 1995:3). Kulazngi converbs correspond to the above definition. They appear subordinated by the markers *-má,-tà* and *-nà*. The variation of consonantal segments in the markers is grammatical. Consider the following:

77) *-má* with 2P 3 (3M/3P)
-tà with 1s 2S 3F
-nà with 1P

Kulazngi converbs have the pattern: V-stem + AGR + SUBR (converb marker). Aspect in Kulazngi converbal constructions is specified in the main verb as shown in sentential paradigm below. Note that the use of converb markers in converbal constructions is optional in Kulazngi, which is not the case in Awngi.

78) 1s ↦ gìŋ-á(-tà) à-nt-û 'I came running.'
1P ↦ gìŋ-ná(-nà) à-nt-n-û 'We came running.'
2S/3F ↦ gìŋ-tá(-tà) tì-nt-û 'You/She came running.'
2P ↦ gìŋ-tɨ́kà(-má) tì-nt-ɨ́k^{w}à 'You came running.'
3M ↦ gìŋ-á(-má) jì-nt-û 'He came running.'
3P ↦ gìŋ-kà(-má) jì-nt-k^{w}à 'You came running.'

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the sentence in (74c), for killing a lion in this community is a sign of manliness and bravery. Hence, boasting of ones manliness without killing some frightful wild animal is unacceptable in the community.

As can be noticed in the above paradigm of converbal constructions, the converb markers are given in parentheses, for their use is optional. The following sentential converbal constructions are presented for further scrutiny.

79. a) nā dàwit-û ɨnʧʃɨkʷ-kà-má ànbàb-kʷà
they Psalter.ACC sit-3P-cnv read-3P.PFV
'They read Psalter sitting.'

b) èntsáj mɨzáχû χʷ-á-má gàbàl-á kàz-û
boy lunch.ACC eat-3M-cnv market-to go-3M.PFV
'Having eaten lunch, the boy went to market.'

Kulazngi converbs can be classified into three: *manner*, *cause*, and *intention*. The first two have identical structure: V-stem + AGR + SUBR (converb marker). Their being cause or manner is determined by the finite verb in the main clause (the main verb).

80. a) gìŋ-tá-tà tì-nt-ɨ́χʷá
run- 3F/2S-cnv 3F/2-come-3F/2S.PFV
'She/You came running.'

b) χàg-dáz ɨt-ē-tà tàbû dúnt- ɨ́χʷá
bed-from fall-3F/2S-cnv hand.ACC break-3F/2S.PFV
'Falling from the bed, she /you broke her/your arm.'

The sentences in (79a) and (79b) above express manner and cause respectively. In (79b), there appears the direct object (of the finite verb) between the converbalized and the finite verb forms. Like direct objects, adjuncts can also appear between converbs and finite verbs in sentences with converbal constructions as shown in (81b) below.

81. a) ân dàwit-û tìrí-tà-tà kìzí-tà ànbàp-ú-χà
I Psalter.ACC sit-1s-cnv priest-like read-PFV-1s
'I standing read Songs of Dawit like a priest.'

b) kìzí dàwit-û ɨntʃkʷ-à-má lɨbū-z ànbàb- ú-χà
priest Psalter.ACC sit.3M-cnv slow-ADV read-PFV-3M
'The priest sitting read Songs of Dawit slowly.'

In (81a-b) above, ADVPs *kìzí-tà* and *lɨbū-z* modify the main verb *ànbàp-ú-χà* (not the VP as a whole) as they are placed immediately before it. In both cases, the adverbs tell us how the subjects read. It is also possible only converbs can be modified in constructions such as these. For example, the ADVP *kìzí-tà* can be placed immediately before the converb to modify it as shown below.

82) ân dàwit-û *kìzí-tà* tìrí-tà-tà ànbàp-ú-χà
I Psalter.ACC priest-like sit-1s-cnv read-PFV-1s
'I read Songs of Dawit standing like a priest.'

As can be understood from the translation, what the reader did like a priest in (82) is *standing* (converbalized) but what *he* did like a priest in (81a) is *reading* (main verb which the converb modifies).

As discussed in section 8.2.2.3.8, converbal clauses can express intention when the converb markers are attached to the quotative verb *n-* 'say', which occurs following the lexical verb that appears with agreement suffixes, as shown in (83) below.

83) χú-ná-χá n-í-kà-má χu-st-úkʷà
eat-3P-int say-ep-3P-cnv eat-PSV-PFV.3P
'They wanted to eat and were eaten.'

See section 8.2.2.3.8 for further details of the morphology of intention converbs.

Sentences with converbal clauses are negated in two ways: negation of the converbs (the subordinate clause) and negation of the finite verb (the main clause). The subordinate clause is negated with a negative converb affix *-gi*, which is also negative marker of *relative perfective, conditional* and *jussive* (see section 7.4.1). It is attached to the converb next to the agreement affix, as shown in (84 a) below, while the main clause (the main verb) is negated with the same negative affixes of perfective or imperfective, namely, *-jà* or *-là* (cf. 84 a-b). The negative converb affix *-gi* is also negative marker of *relative perfective, conditional* and *jussive* (see section 7.13).

84. a) zɨq-à-má sàkàr-ú-χà
drink-3M.cnv intoxicate-PFV -3M
'Having drunk, he was intoxicated.'

b) zɨq-à-gī sèkàr-ú-xà
drink-3M-NEG intoxicate-PFV -3M
'He was intoxicated without having drunk.'

85. a) zɨq-à-má sàkàr-à-jā
drink-3M.cnv intoxicate-3M -NEG.PFV
'Having drunk, he was not intoxicated.'

b) zɨq-à-má sàkàr-á-là
drink-3M -cnv intoxicate-3M -NEG.IPFV'
'He does not get intoxicated after having drunk.'

As can be noticed in (85b), the converb marker element will not occur with the negative marker *-gì*. Hence, the negative marker *-gi* can be assumed as marking both negative and converb.

Both the converb and the clauses can be negated as shown in (86) below.

86) gùd-ì-st-à-gī màqàtʃ-à-jā
hurt-ep-PSV-3M-NEG get angry- 3M-NEG.PFV
'lit. He was not angry he was not hurt.'
'It was not without being hurt that he was angry.'

The data in (86) appears intriguing. The negation of the two clauses has turned the whole sentence meaning positive: the sentence taken as a whole is not semantically negative, and it means *he was angry because he was hurt*.

(87) below are further illustrative examples.

87. a) zɨq-è-gī sàkàr-t-ú-χà
drink-3F/you-NEG be high-3F/you-PFV-3F/you
'(lit. Not having) Without having drunk, she was/you were high.'

b) zɨq-è-tà sàkàr-tà-já
drink-3F-cnv.2S/3F be high-2S/3F-NEG.PFV
'Having drunk, she was/you were not high.'

c) zɨq-è-gì sàkàr-tà-já

drink-3F- NEG be high-2S/3F-NEG.PFV

‘(lit.Not having drunk, she was not high) It was not without having drunk that she was /you were high, or, She was /you were high because she /you had drunk.’

As can be noticed, what is negated in (87a) above is the converb, in (87b) the main verb, and in (87c), both the converb and main. As pointed out above, negation of both the subordinate and main clauses in sentences with converbal constructions ends up in an affirmative meaning of the sentence.

Affirmative converb markers discussed above do not appear in negated converbal clauses. Thus, it could be argued that *-gi*, like the past negative *-ja* (which is both negative and perfective), is a portmanteau affix: it marks both negative and converb. Unlike affirmative converb markers, the negative converb *-gi* is not gender-cum-number specific. (87) below presents affirmative/negative paradigm of the converbalized form of the verb *dʒàw-* ‘to drink’.

88. Affirmative/negative paradigm of the converbalized form of the verb *dʒàw-* ‘to drink’.

	Affirmative	Negative		
1s	**dʒàp-á-tà**	**dʒàp-á-gì**	‘I having bought’	‘I not having bought’
1P	**dʒàw-ná-nà**	**dʒàw-ná- gì**	‘we having bought’	‘I not having bought’
2S/3F	**dʒàw-tá-tà**	**ʒàw- tá-gì**	‘you/she having bought’	**‘**I not having bought’
2P	**dʒàw-tɨkà-má**	**dʒàw-tɨkà-gì**	‘you having bought’	‘I not having bought’
3M	**dʒàw-á-má**	**dʒàw-á-gì**	‘he having bought’	‘I not having bought’
3P	**dʒàw-kà-má**	**dʒàw-kà-gì**	‘they having bought’	‘I not having bought’

See section 2.5.6 with regard to the change of *w* to *p* in 1SG of *dʒàw-*

8. 3 Topicalization and Focus Marking

Kulazngi makes use of particles and cleft construction for focus marking. Cleft construction can be equated with topicalization since it involves dislocation or movement of a certain constituent to initial or final position in a sentence. In the following subsections are examined focus marking and cleft construction in the language.

8.3.1 Focus Marking

Commonly used focus marking particles in Kulazngi are, *tʃĭ*, *-ka* (*ki*), *-zá*, *-aχ* (a copular element), *kɨtsì*, *-zá*, *gū*, *-χá*, - and *-ŋa/-ŋi/-ŋe.* All but *tʃĭ* are also focus markers in HA. [114]*tʃĭ* is frequently used focus marker that occurs next to the constituent to be focused in Kulazngi. Its meaning can be related to assertion or confirmation. Notice the following.

89. a) *ɨ́n-zá* *àbàbá* *tʃĭ*
this-FOC Abebe FOC
'This is Abebe.'

b) án *sàrī-χʷà* *tʃĭ*
I do-3M.PFV FOC 'I did.'

c) *gūd* *tʃĭ*
good FOC
'It is good.'

In (89a), the demonstrative pronoun (*ɨ́n*) and the proper noun (*Abebe*) are focused.

-ká is attached to nouns or clauses as assertive focus. It is also definiteness marker when it occurs attached to common nouns (cf. section 3.5).

90. a) án-ká gìtsàní
I-FOC merchant
'I am a merchant.'

b) jɨ-nt-ú-ká bìrí
3-ep-come-3M.PFV.REL-FOC ox
'That came is the ox.'

In both of above illustrative sentences, the attachment of *-ka* signals assertion on the side of the speaker. In (90a), the speaker focused his being a merchant is (it can be inferred) because others had regarded him the other way. It is nearly equivalent to saying *as for me*. *-ka* in (90b) appears next to the verb, and the sentence means *it is nothing else but the ox that came*.

[114] *tʃĭ* is a calque of *gàmà* in HA.

The constructions in (90) can be focused with *tʃì* instead of or together with *-ka*, as: *án(-ká) gìtsàní* ***tʃī*** (90a) and *jɨ-nt-ú(-ká) bìrí* ***tʃì*** (90b). It is noteworthy that there is no meaning difference between *-ka* and *tʃì* focused constituents.

The particle *gū* is a contrastive focus marker that occurs as a phrase or clause linker in constructions with contrastive constituents, which are focused constituents (cf. 91).

91. a) zàgrī gū tʃìtʃwā ɨ́n-zà-gī χʷ-á-là
ape CNJ.FOC monkey this-ACC-all eat-IPFV-NEG.IPFV
'The monkey will not eat all this but the ape will.'

b) tsúŋ-ù χàz-ú-χà gū tsúmù ʃàr-à-jā
name-ACC have-PFV-1s CNJ.FOC fast.ACC break-1s-NEG
'lit. I had the name but did not break fast.'
'I did not do anything though I was blamed.'

In (91a), the speaker has presumption that they ascribe the amount of crop consumed to the ravenous nature of an ape rather than to a monkey. In (91b), clauses of contrasting propositions are focused.

The particle *χá*, added at the end of sentences, renders the sentence a focus reading. It is usually used with nonverbal constructions, especially in non-polar questions, as shown in the following data (see under subchapter 4.3).

92. kʷàrá-dáz jì-nt-ù àj-nì **χá**
Kʷàrá-from 3M-come-3M.PFV who-he FOC
'Who is that came from Kʷàrá?'

A copula *-aχ* is a frequently used focus marker in Kulazngi. It is often used in cleft constructions (cf. 93).

93. dàbās-èχ tsànàχ-û kû
Debas-COP leopard-ACC kill.3M.REL
'It was Debas who killed a leopard.'

The realization of the copula *-aχ* as *-eχ* is due to phonological process (see section 2.5 for details).

-zá and *kɨtsì* nearly mean *as for*. *kɨtsì* assertively emphasizes any constituent that comes preceding it (cf. 93). *-zá* assertively emphasizes a noun to which it is suffixed (cf. 94b).

94. a) ɨ́nt **kɨtsì** bɨ́rrû kàj-t-ú-χá
You FOC money.ACC pay-2S-PFV-REL
'Is it you who paid the money?'

b) jɨdʒà-**zá** kɨntàntá **kɨtsì**
my daughter-FOC student.FM FOC
'As for my daughter, she is a student.'

The focus markers *-ŋa/-ŋi/-ŋe* are not productive. They attach (preceding the case markers) only to case marked demonstrative pronouns in focus, as in the following. See also section 4.2.1.

95. ɨ́nná-z ↦ ɨ́nná-**ŋè**-z (this.fm-FOC-DAT)
àn-ɨ́z ↦ àn-ɨ́-**ŋì**-z (that.ms-ep-FOC-DAT)
ɨ́n-dì ↦ ɨ́n-**ŋī**-dì (this.ms-FOC-with)
ɨ́nní-zá ↦ ɨ́nní-**ŋá**-zá (these-FOC-ACC)

8.3.2 Cleft Construction

A cleft construction is a type of predicate nominal consisting of a noun phrase (NP_j) and a relative clause whose relativized NP is coreferential with NP_j , whose the relativized NP, which is commonly referred to as the "clefted constituent," is normally found to the left of the rest of the clause though it may appear in other positions (Payne, 1997: 278).

A cleft construction in Kulazngi is marked by the present copular form, *-aχ*, which is attached to the head of an NP to be clefted. When the argument clause is clefted, the VP is relativized, or clefting of an argument entails relativization of the verb, for the clefted constituent takes over predication of a finite verb. The position of the VP and the NP is usually reversed (cf. 96c). While the NP in its logical position may be focused with a copula, it can also be moved to the right periphery, which is, according to Payne (1997: 273), termed as right dislocation, sometimes thought as afterthought topicalization (cf. 96). Notice the following illustrative examples.

96. a) bàldí gɨsáŋû kû
owner dog.ACC kill.3M.PFV
'The owner killed the dog.'

b) bàldé-χ gɨsáŋù kú(-wí)
owner-COP dog.ACC kill.3M.PFV.REL(-FOC)
'It is the owner who killed the dog.'

c) gɨsáŋù kú(-wí) bàldé-χ
dog.ACC kill.3M.PFV.REL(-FOC) owner-COP
'The owner killed the dog.'

(96a) is a non-clefted sentence while the rest are clefted constructions. (96b) is clefted by the copula *-aχ*, which is suffixed to the argument. The suffixation of the focus *-í* to the relativized verb, as it is put in brackets in *kú (-wí)* (96b,c), is optional, and is intended to add further focus. The glide *w* appearing preceding the focus *-i (*as *-wí)*, occurs there to break up vowel sequence, which is impermissible in the language. The reason why the *k* is not labialized (as *k*^{w}*í* instead of appearing as *kú(-wí*) while it is labialized in similar environments of other constructions (for example see 2.5.2) has to do with prominence of the focused constituent. In (96c), in addition to copular suffixation, the clefted NP, which is canonically a leftward nominal in the language, occupies rightward position, i.e. it occurs after a VP. Thus, even though (96b) and (96c) are both focused constructions, (96c) is more focused than (96b) is.

A copula obligatorily attaches to the clefted leftward nominals, nominals which are in the canonical position of the language. However, its occurrence with clefted rightmost nominals is optional, for a predicate nominal in Kulazngi is quite a possible construction (see also section 7.6.1). "[...] the presence of COP is a clear indication that one is dealing with a cleft construction. If COP is absent, the construction may still be cleft if the language allows predicate nominal constructions with no copular element (Payne, 1997: 179)."

97. a) án kɨntsántî q^{w}áj-t-û
I teacher.ACC call-1s-PFV
'I called the teacher.'

b) án kɨntsántè-χ q^{w}áj-t-ú-(wí)
I teacher.ACC-COP call-1s.REL-PFV-(FOC)
'It is the teacher that I called.'

c) án q^{w}áj-t-ú-(wí) kɨntsántè-χ
I call-1s.REL-PFV-(FOC) teacher.ACC-COP
'I called is the teacher.'

d) án qʷáj-t-ú-(wí) kɨntsántî
I call-1s.REL-PFV -(FOC) teacher.ACC
'That I called is the teacher.'

(97a) is a non-cleft sentence while the rest are clefted. In (97b), the clefted nominal is in the canonical position of the language, i.e. leftward position while in (97c-d), the same clefted nominal is moved to rightward position. While a copula has attached to the clefted nominal in (97b-c), it is missing in (97d). Yet, the nominal is assumed to be clefted for three reasons. First and most importantly, it is right dislocated (moved to rightmost position, a position which is not canonical position of the language.) Second, the VP before it is relativized. Third, as stated above, the language allows predicate nominals without a copular element.

Hence, the above cleft constructions (CCs) can be schematized as:

(98) CC = {NP + COP + VP + REL (+ FOC)} or {…VP (+ FOC) + REL + NP + (COP)}, where the NP is copularized and the VP is relativized.

In Kulazngi, copula in cleft constructions is cliticized to the element in focus, and any independent element in the VP or NP can be focused. For example, the direct object, *gɨsáŋù* (cf. 98) can be focused as shown in (99) below. In (99b), the adverbial modifier, *àjŋá* is focused as it has attached the copula. Andrews (2007: 156) reports the same clefting operation in Malayalam language where four clefted variants are shown in the same sentence which is in canonical order of the language because of a flexible placement of a focus marker in the same sentence. Notice the following.

99. a) *gɨsáŋʷ-àχ* *bàldí* *kú-(wí)*
dog-COP owner kill.3M.REL-(FOC)
'It is the dog that the owner killed.'

b) *bàldí* *kú-(wí)* *gɨsáŋʷ-àχ*
owner kill.3M.REL-(FOC) dog-COP
'What the owner killed is the dog.'

100. a) nìgàtú dàngɨ́lí-dáz **àjŋá** jì-nt-û
Nigatu Dangila-from yesterday 3M-come-PFV.3M
'Nigatu came from Dangila yesterday.'

b) **àjŋá-χ** nìgàtú dàngɨ́lí-dáz jì-nt-ú-(wí)
yesterday Nigatu Dangila-from 3M-come-PFV.3M.REL(FOC)
'It is yesterday that Nigatu came from Dangila'

c) nìgàtú dàngɨ́lí-dáz jì-nt-ú **àjŋá-χ**
Nigatu Dangila-from 3M-come-PFV.REL yesterday
'That Nigatu came from Dangila is yesterday.'

(100a) is a non-clefted sentence, and the adverb **àjŋá** is placed immediately before the verb it modifies. As Kulazngi adverbs show relative positional freedom, it is also possible that it can come in VP initial, as *nìgàtú **àjŋá** dàngɨ́lí-dáz jì-nt-û* or sentence initial, as ***àjŋá*** *nìgàtú dàngɨ́lí-dáz jì-nt-û*. *àjŋá***,** when focused with the copula affix attached to it, can have a reversed position with the verb it modifies (cf. 100c), the position not normally allowed in a normal construction – an adverb is never placed following the verb it modifies in non-clefted constructions.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY

This chapter brings together conclusive points and findings discussed in the thesis. The thesis, in general, describes the grammatical structure of Kulazngi, which is a near dialect of Awngi, a member of the Central Cushitic family within Afro-Asiatic phylum. The first chapter provides background information about the Kulaz people and their language. It also provides nomenclature information and clears the confusion underlying Kunfäl, a misnomer adopted from the former Kumpal (which used to refer to Kulaz in the past) by neighboring Amahara. Kumpal (referred to as Kulaz now) used to speak Kumpalngi, which is strictly on the verge of death.

The second chapter describes the phonology of Kulazngi. Kulazngi has twenty-eight consonants including five labialized ones, viz. k^w, g^w, q^w, χ^w, $ŋ^w$, and $ɲ$ and six vowels. While Kulazngi has velar nasal (ŋ), velar fricative (χ) and labialized consonants which are labeled as typical features of Agaw languages, it lacks ejectives which most of the Agaw languages have. The absence of ejectives, implosives, glottalized, or pharyngealized consonants refutes Frajzyngier's (2012: 505) generalization that " all Afroasiatic languages contain one or more of the series comprised of ejectives, implosives, glottalized, or pharyngealized consonants ". In phonemic inventory, Jawi Kulazngi differs from Jaba Kulazngi and Agawi: Agawi and Kulazngi of Jaba have the mid central vowel, ə. Kulazngi and Awngi do not vary in phonemic inventory. However, they vary in phonology. For example, χ and q are free variants word initially in Kulazngi.

The chapter also discusses syllable structure. As a nucleus alone can form a syllable (but not a word), a coda or an onset can be optional. A consolidated syllable structure rule is (C)**V**(C) (C) from which can be drawn six syllable structures, and no cluster of consonants appears in word initial position. Within a word, a cluster of three consonants (which spread over two syllables, the first two as a coda and the last one as an onset) can occur in positions other than word initial. Nonetheless, only cluster of two consonants is allowed within a syllable, and this is not without constraint. The first must be nasal or liquid followed by any plosive or affricate.

This chapter also describes tone. Kulazngi is a tonal language having three level (high, mid, low) and one contour (falling) tones.

Chapter three describes nouns. It describes derivational and inflectional processes nouns undergo in various derivations and grammatical relations. Kulazngi nouns are gender distinct. There is no singulative form, and there is no gender neuter as a citation form either. What assumes the citation form is the masculine. While feminine nouns are all *a*-final, masculine nouns are *i*, (labialized) consonant, or *u*-final.

Chapter five of the thesis describes pronouns. Under the rubric *pronouns* are discussed personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. Personal pronouns include subjective/objective, reflexive, reciprocal and honorific. Unlike nouns, personal pronouns are not inherently gender marked. Gender is distinguished on the verb via agreement affixal forms which also serve as subject in sentences where the subject is not explicitly stated. Like nouns, Kulazngi pronouns are inflected for case. However, nominative and objective singular first and second person pronoun forms are suppletive.

Chapter five of the thesis describes nominal and verbal modifiers, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, and adverbs. Kulazngi adjectives are both lexical and derivational, and most of the derivationals are obtained from noun and verb bases. Grammatically, Kulazngi adjectives behave like nouns. They can replace the noun they modify and appear as NP head. They show concord in number and gender (but not in case) with the noun they modify. However, except for the accusative, they do not agree with head nouns for cases in general, and this is against Hetzron's (1976: 37) claim that Awngi qualifiers agree with head nouns for cases in general. Like adjectives, Kulazngi numerals inflect for case only when they appear NP heads. For the accusative case, however, they are bound to be marked whether or not they appear with the noun they modify within an NP.

The last part of this chapter discusses adverbs. While the majority of Kulazngi adverbs are derivatives, mainly derived from nouns, there also exist a considerable number of lexical adverbs. Adverbs in Kulazngi include of time, space, manner, frequency, and interrogation. Among these adverb types, interrogative adverbs, four in number, are morphologically composite: they are obtained from *wa-*, the bound base that encodes question, and the adverb particles *-nì* (temporal), *-dà* (location), *-zà* (direction), *-tà* (manner).

Chapter six of the thesis discusses conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections. Conjunctions discussed in this chapter are coordinate (additive and disjunctive) conjunctions, and they are *ístá*

'and' and *wájkí* 'or'. The additive does not normally conjoin VPs or sentential constructions, and the conjoined elements, conjuncts, include NPs, (NPs with NPs), APs (APs with APs).

Chapter 7 provides discussions on verbs. Kulazngi verbs are bound roots that attach agreement and tense/aspect markers to appear as a phonological word. While a great majority of them are *lexical*, some of them are derived from nouns and adjectives with verb derivational suffixes *-t* (intransitive) and with *-z/-ts* (transitive). Except five verbs which also attach prefixes, all attach suffixes. Kulazngi verbs are grouped as PG, IG, and TG types. The verbs grouped as PGVs are the five prefix taking ones and IG and TG verbs are those that mark 2 and 3F by *i* and *t* respectively. These two verb types are further sub typed as IG2 and TG2, for (apart from 2 and 3F) they also mark 1S in these verbs.

Kulazngi transitive relativized verb forms where the direct object of the relative clause is also an argument in a matrix clause appear bulky with different morphemes. The relativized verb in these structures attaches aspect as well as its subject/object agreement morphemes.

Kulazngi marks both aspect and aspect. Aspect is, however, used only in present tense, and is formed from the main verb and the existential auxiliary *zɨ̀k^{w}-* 'be present', which appears preceding the main verb and encodes point of time at present moment in relation to the event expressed by the main verb, hence it means or is used as time adverb *now*. Both the main verb and the auxiliary verbs appear fully conjugated.

Negation is also discussed in this chapter. Negation in Kulazngi is extremely heterogeneous. The morphological forms are eight in number, v.z. *-jà, -já, -la/-li, -gi, -ti, -tèz*, *ɨ̀llā/ɨ̂llī* (SG/PL) 'none', and *-gàtà* 'with no/without'. Except *ɨ̀llā/ɨ̂llī,* existential negative, and *-gàtà* 'with no/without', others are all suffixal forms that attach to verbs. Their variation is grammatical-they vary in accordance with the mood, aspect, and function of the verb in the syntax.

Chapter 8, the last chapter of the thesis before the summary, provides discussions on basic syntax. It analyzes phrases of all word categories. VPs headed by transitive/intransitive, copula, and existential verbs as well as verbal and non-verbal predication are discussed in detail. As the verb in Kulazngi is obligatorily marked for subject agreement, a VP alone can form a clause. In intransitive verb headed-VPs where adjuncts are peripheral, a single verbal word may constitute a sentence. This chapter also discusses all clausal types and functions in the language.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: **Kulazngi-Awngi word-list to judge similarity status (Kulazngi data from Zelealem (forthcoming))**

No.	gloss	Kulazngi	Awngi	Sim. status	No.	gloss	Kulazngi	Awngi	Sim. status
1	acacia	satsi	tsatsi	sim	29	break	duns-	dunts	sim
2	ash	wizi	wissi	sim	30	blow	nefes-	nefes-	sm
3	air	nifasi	ajjir	sim	31	big	dunguri	dinguri	sim
4	amber	kulini	kulani	sim	32	beautiful	seɣa	ligd-	d/t
5	aunt	akista	akista	sm	33	cabbage	amli	amli	sm
6	antelope	dikuli	dikuli	sm	34	cartilage	ding	**?**	**?**
7	ant	gandi	iŋŋi	d/t	35	clever	gobäz	gobaz	sim
8	ask	kast	kasiŋ	sim	36	cat	ankuʧi	anguʧ-	sim
9	banana	muz	muz	sim	37	cut	kew-	kew-	sm
10	bed	kagi	cag	d/t	38	cattle	kimi	kimi	same
11	belly	guzagi	guzig	sim	39	chair	wombäri	wombar	sim
12	black	sarki	tsarki	sim	40	change	lewot-	kis-	d/t
13	blade	besa	besa	sm	41	chase	findʒu	findʒ-	sim
14	blood vein	biri sira	birisira	sm	42	cheek	kutsi	quts	sim
15	blood	biri	biri	sm	43	cheese	kampi	kampi	sim
16	blue	saɣiy segera	diba tsigiri	sim	44	chickpeas	ʃimbri	ʃimbri	sm
17	bottle	tarmusi	tarmus	d/t	45	child	dʒer	dʒer	sm
18	bottom	tuŋi	tiŋ^{w}	sim	46	curse	iɣaɣar-	iɣaɣiri	sim
19	brother	zän	-tse	d/t	47	choose	meret-	wogeniŋ	d/t
20	brother in law	amati	amaʧe	sim	48	church	biʃtan	biʃtan	sm
21	brown	bunni	girmu	d/t	49	climb	fu-	maʧiŋ	d/t
22	beat	yint-	tas-	d/t	50	cloth	sankiti	sij	d/t
23	bullet	tiyit	tijit	sm	51	cordia africana	bugitsi	bugitsi	sm
24	bean	bakela	bakili	sim	52	count	ʃeb	ʧef	d/t
25	breast	ang^{w}i	ang^{w}	sim	53	cow	k^{w}a	ìll^{w}à	d/t
26	back	ingiri	ingir	sim	54	crocodile	angitsi	azu	d/t
27	bedbug	tink^{w}ani	tikk^{w}ana	sim	55	cry	wuwn	kilix	d/t
28	benediction	däkar	diqqir	d/t					

Total		
	sm = same	14 (25.5)
	sim = similar	24 (44)
	d/t = different	16 (29.2)
	not clear	1 (1.8)

Appendix 2: **Kunfäl-Awngi word-list to judge similarity status (Kunfäl data from Cowley et. al. (1971)**

No.	**Agawi**	**Awnngi**	**Gloss**	**Sim. status**	No.	**gloss**	**Kulazngi**	**Awngi**	**Sim. status**
1	wela	wulla	all	sm	26	jetala	tabli	father	rel.
2	wezi	wussi	ash	rel.	27	leg	leg	fire	sm
3	gämäd	qap	bark	d/t	28	zinzi	tsɨntsa	fly	rel.
4	wezgi	guzɨg	belly	rel.	29	lugʷi	ʧam	foot	d/t
5	dunguri	dinguri	big	sm	30	jew	ij	give	d/t
6	ʧaŋi	ʧaxa	bird	d/t	31	gazew	ka	go	d/t
7	eŋid	iŋiŋ	bite	Rel.	32	mälkame	gud	good	d/t
8	sarki	tsarki	back	sm	33	keräre	krari	grass	rel.
9	burile	bri	blood	d/t	34	zargi	tsitsifi	hair	d/t
10	nadi	ŋats	bone	d/t	35	tav	taf	hand	sm
11	angukʷ	angʷ	breast	Rel.	36	ŋkʷuri ?	ŋari	head	d/t
12	kanasäls	bɨbirtsiŋ	burn	d/t	37	egʷaw	ɨnkʷaxiŋ	hear	d/t
13	jeng	jing	claw	sm	38	ew	ew	heart	sm
14	wel	wɨl	cloud	rel.	39	ʤändʒi	ʤendʒ	horn	sm
15	ome	ɨxʷmi	cold	d/t	40	ane	ann	I	rel.
16	jegätu	aw	come	d/t	41	ku	ku	kill	sm
17	kärew	kiriŋ	die	rel.	42	ahu	aqqiŋ	know	d/t
18	kassaŋ	gɨseŋ	dog	rel.	43	gerv	gɨrb	knee	sm
19	aw	zɨq	drink	d/t	44	kasi	xatsi	Leaf	d/t
20	kagi	kagi	dry	sm	45	gutät	dolat	liver	d/t
21	gʷahi	ɨn kʷaxi	ear	rel.	46	lagani	ligisimi	long	d/t
22	ku	xu	eat	rel.	47	jenti	jinti	louse	sm
23	kulal	ɨnkʷlal	egg	sm	48	aki	aqqi	man	rel.
24	el	ɨll	eye	rel.	49	mentʃi	mintʃ	many	sm
25	säwi	budʑdʑi	fat	d/t	50	eʃ	ɨʃʃi	meat	rel.

TOTAL	**same**	**14 (28%)**
	related	**16 (32%)**
	different	**20 (40%)**

APPENDIX 3: **Awngi-Kulazngi word-list to judge their similarity status (Kulazngi data from the researcher's corpus)**

No.	**Agawi**	**Awnngi**	**Gloss**	**Sim. status**	No.	**gloss**	**Kulazngi**	**Awngi**	**Sim. status**
1	head	ŋari	ŋari	sm	26	throat	gurgɨm	gurar	d/t
2	forehead	ɨllaf	gɨmbari	d/t	27	thigh	mungi	zampel	d/t
3	jaw	mɨngagi	mɨngagi	sm	28	knee	gɨrbi	gɨrɨb	sim.
4	mouth	xɨmbi	qumbi	sim.	29	ankle	kurʧɨmʧɨma	kurʧɨʧɨmiti	sim.
5	tooth	ɨrkʷi	ɨrkʷi	sm	30	navel	gurinqi	gurinqi	sm
6	hair	tsitsifi	tsitsifi	sm	31	naive	gaɲi	ʤad	d/t
7	ear	ɨnkʷaxi	ɨnkʷaxi	sm	32	kidney	kulaliti	ɨnkʷlaliti	sim.
8	eye	ɨll	ɨlli	sim.	33	lungs	sambi	xupxuptsi	d/t
9	lip	ginti	kanfar	d/t	34	heart	ʃew	ʃew	sm
10	nose	san	sani	sim.	35	intestines	zɨri	zɨr	sim.
11	eyebrow	kɨndɨb	tsimɨrkʷa	d/t	36	nail	jɨngi	jɨng	sim.
12	eyelash	tsimɨrkʷa	ɨllʃuba	d/t	37	cheek	qutsi	quts	sim.
13	neck	qɨmi	gurgɨm	d/t	38	liver	gubat	dolat	d/t
14	chest	sendi	send	sim.	39	calf	tunʧi	samb	d/t
15	stomach	guzgi	guzɨg	sim.	40	chin	mɨngagi	Kʷaʧkʷaʧ	d/t
16	waist	jiwi	jiw	sim.	41	shin	lɨkʷ -zenga	ɨrar	d/t
17	back	ɨngri	ɨngɨr	sim.	42	market	gabala	gebel	sim.
18	hand	taf	taf	sm	43	husband	ŋɨʃtari	ar	d/t
19	elbow	tafkura	kɨrŋi	d/t	44	long	lagazmi	ligisimi	sim.
20	buttocks	tɨŋʷ	tɨŋʷ	d/t	45	good	mälkami	gud	d/t
21	palm	taf-madaba	taf-ʃewa	d/t	46	rain	ɨri	ɨri	sm
22	finger	ʧimi	laŋet	d/t	47	burn	mamɨŋ	bɨŋbɨrtsɨŋ	d/t
23	leg	lɨkʷ	lɨkʷ	sm	48	now	nɨʃi	ŋɨʃi	sim.
24	sole	lɨkʷ -manda	lɨkʷ -ʃewa	d/t	49	dog	gɨsaŋ	gɨseŋ	sim.
25	tongue	tsaŋi	tsaŋ	sim.	50	house	gɨn	ŋin	sim.

TOTAL	**same**	**12 (24%)**
	related	**18 (36%)**
	different	**20 (40%)**

Appendix 4: **List of high tone single syllable nouns**

1. *zân* ‘brotherr’ CVC
2. *kân* ‘mountain’ CVC
3. *tʃɨ́x* ‘rainy season’ CVC
4. *ɨ́nt* ‘you (sg)’ VCC
5. *ʃɨ̂* ‘thousand’ CV
6. *kúl* ‘lowland’ CVC
7. *fɨ́r* ‘hole’ CVC
8. *tsâŋ* ‘tongue’ CVC
9. *gûl* ‘xxx’ CVC
10. *gɨ́n* ‘house’ CVC
11. *ɨ́l* ‘eye’ VC
12. *tsûŋ* ‘name’ CVC
13. *án* ‘I’ VC
14. *sán* ‘nose’ CVC
15. *áb* ‘outside’ VC
16. *gád* ‘good omen’ CVC
17. *míntʃ* ‘much/many’ CVCC
18. *qáz* ‘wedding’ CVC
19. *zér* ‘seed’ CVC
20. *bér* ‘gate’ CVC
21. *fɨ́r* ‘hole’ CVC

Appendix 5: **List of low tone single syllable nouns**

1. *bùl* ‘hump’ CVC
2. *dèk* ‘well’ CVC

3. *sèg* ‘outside’ CVC
4. *gèn* ‘large earthenware’ CVC
5. *sìn* ‘tale/story/fable’ CVC
6. *àχ* ‘inside’ VC
7. *lɨkʷ* ‘leg’ CVC
8. *sɨr* ‘baby’ CVC
9. *sènd* ‘chest’ CVCC
10. *dʒèndʒ* ‘horn’ CVCC
11. *jìng* *‘nail’* CVCC
12. *tàb* ‘hand’ CVC
13. *àngʷ* ‘breast’ VCC
14. *ɨnch* ‘vagina’ VC
15. *gìz* ‘time/ not late CVC

Appendix 6: **List of mid tone single syllable nouns**

1. *zɨ̄r* ‘guts’ CVC
2. *gēl* ‘broken clay’ CVC
3. *χār* ‘night’ CVC
4. *χāg* ‘bed’ CVC
5. *wūb* ‘xxxx’ CVC
6. *qīm* ‘throat’ CVC
7. *dād* ‘road’ CVC
8. *ān* ‘that’ VC
9. *mēr* ‘swearword’ CVC
10. *dʒār* ‘child’ CVC
11. *zār* ‘bad spirit’ CVC
12. *māq* ‘shoulder’ CVC
13. *tīŋʷ* ‘buttocks’ CVC
14. *īd* ‘money owed’ VC

15. *lāt* ‘tail of sheep’ CVC
16. *sāmb* ‘lungs’ CVCC
17. *sāb* ‘be wax’ CVC
18. *gīts* ‘trade’ CVC
19. *tʃēn (ɲɨlbí)* ‘bull’ CVC
20. *dīb* ‘thing’ CVC
21. *āg* ‘uncle’ CVC
22. *kūr* ‘sterile man’ CVC
23. *ʃàw* ‘heart’ CVC
24. *kīb* ‘gourd’ CVC
25. *jīmb* ‘a curved horn made instrument to suck out blood from a sick person as treatment’ CVCC
26. *bīn* ‘stream’ CVC
27. *wēntʃ* ‘horn cup’ CVCC
28. *gʷâr* ‘rear of a house’ CVC
29. *wɨ̄n* ‘truth’ CVC
30. *tʃīr* ‘dawn’ CVC

Appendix 7: **Disyllabic L.H Melody Nouns**

noun	SS	**Noun**	SS	**Noun**	SS		
zèmpál ‘thigh’	cvc.cvc	*mɨkkád* ‘belt’	cvc.cvc	*jìmí* ‘Wednesday’	cv.cv	*ɗɨqír* ‘blessing’	cv.cvc
dʒàbí ‘roof’	cv.cv	*sɨmkí* ‘barley’	cvc.cv	*gɨfír* ‘hot liquid’	cv.cvc	*ɨrkʷí* ‘tooth’	vc.cv
mɨlχít ‘sign’	cvc.cvc	*bìʃtán* ‘church’	cvc.cvc	*dʒàndí* ‘skin mat’	cvc.cv	*àsù* ‘lie’	cvc.cv
nàχán ‘wound’	cv.cvc	*qàbrí* ‘not smooth’	vc.cv	*gàmád* ‘rope’	cv.cvc	*kɨmá* ‘cow’	cv.cv
kìlí ‘turn of duty’	cv.cv	*màldʒá* ‘nursing mother’	cvc.cv	*wàqzɨm* ‘thorn remover’	vc.cv	*kʷàtá* ‘a kind of insect’	cvc.cv
màtʃì ‘dowry’	cv.cv	*ɨnkí* ‘soul’	cvc.cv	*tàblí* ‘father’	cv.cvc	*gùrgɨm* ‘neck’	cvc.cvc
L.H = 24							

Appendix 8: **Disyllabic H.H Melody Nouns**

noun	SS	**Noun**	SS	**Noun**	SS		
gʷáχí 'large bird'	cv.cv	*dɨ́ngɨ́r* 'blood relation'	cvc.cvc	*átsrí* 'a kind ofthorny plant'	vc.cv	*dúngí* 'a woman's belt'	cvc.cv
tsɨ́már 'tail'	cv.cvc	*fís* 'mole'	cv.cv	*dígí* 'near'	cv.cv	*tsɨ́már* 'tail'	cv.cvc
sɨ́sqí 'sweat'	cvc.cv	*áwá* 'sun'	v.cv	*mɨ́fĩ* 'mead'	cv.cv	*jíntí* 'louse'	cvc.cv
kátsí 'odour'	cv.cv	*átsí* 'lot'	v.cv	*wúzí* 'ash'	cv.cv	*árfá* 'moon'	vc.cv
kíndí 'half'	cvc.cv	*íŋí* 'ant'	vc.cv	*ŋárí* 'head'	cv.cv	*tílbí* 'flax'	
níŋʷá 'this year'	cv.cv	*bɨ́qlá* 'mule'	cvc.cv	*lámtí* 'the first'	cvc.cv	*dúmmí* 'tip'	cv.cv
míndí 'shadow'	cvc.cv	*ɨ́ntsní* 'mucus'	vcc.cv	*tsátsí* 'a kind of tree'	cvc.cv	*pɨ́rzí* 'split wood'	cvc.cv
H.H = 28							

Appendix 9: **Disyllabic H.M melody nouns**

H.M	*syllable structure*	H.M	*syllable structure*	H.M	*syllable structure*
jíntsī 'mouse'	cvc.cv	*dírī* 'cock'	cv.cv	*tsíχā* 'bride/beautiful'	cv.cv
fífrī 'worm'	cvc.cv	*kírī* 'your children'	cv.cv	*tíχʷī* 'dream'	cv.cv
wúrā 'cough'	cv.cv		cv.cv		cv.cv
cvc/cv = **2**	**cv/cv = 7**				

Appendix 10: **List of trisyllabic nouns of H.L.M and H.H.H melody**

H.L.M	SS	SS	**H.H.H**	SS	**H.H.H**	
tíbànī 'ring'	cv.cv .cv	cvcc.cv.cv	*mɨ́láχí* 'thunder'	cv.cv.cv	*tsɨ́ngáχí* 'setback'	cvc.cv.cv
ábùgdī 'frog'	v.cvc.cv	cvc.cv.cv	*títík^{w}í .táták^{w}í* 'a kind of fruit'	cv.cv.cv	*pál páli* 'flat'	cvc.cv.cv
tízanī 'pus'	cv.cv .cv	v.cv.cv	*ábdʒálí* 'entrance'	vc.cv.cv		cvc.cv.cv
zɨ́rgànā ' decorated stick (dimv)	cvc.cv.cv	cvc.cv.cv	*tʃɨqtʃɨqí* 'decoration on cotton cloth'	cvc.cv.cv		cvc.cv.cv
H.L.M = 9	**H.H.H = 8**					

Appendix 11: **List of low toned monosyllabic verbs at their root**

1) *sùg-* 'pound'
2) *bùqz-* 'pluck'
3) *lùz-* 'knead'
4) *màl-* 'notice'
5) *dàr-* 'put in a row'
6) *kàts-* 'take'
7) *làx^{w}-* 'insult'
8) *màtʃ-* 'climb'
9) *kànt-* 'see'
10) *ɨ̀ntɬk^{w}-* 'sit'
11) *àt-* 'lack'
12) *gìŋ-* 'run'
13) *kàz-* 'leave'
14) *kàl-* 'bear'
15) *fùr-* 'rest'
16) *gèʃ-* 'roast/fry'
17) *gùʃ-* 'pick'
18) *fɨ̀ʃ-* 'take out'
19) *bàmb-* 'swim'
20) *tàkz-* 'recall'
21) *gɨ̀tz-* 'gnaw'

Appendix 12: **List of high-toned monosyllabic verbs at their root monosyllabic**

22) *dúnt-* 'break (intr)'
23) *gɨʧl-* 'chew'
24) *tʃáχ-* 'urinate'
25) *ɨŋ-* 'bite'
26) *kért-* 'fail to hit the target'
27) *m-* 'hold'
28) *pɨʃ-* 'leak'
29) *kú-* 'kill'
30) *táz-* 'kick'
31) *gɨʃ-* 'dig'
32) *áq-* 'know'
33) *táz-* 'kick'
34) *mál-* 'hit the target'
35) *tíχʷt-* 'dream'
36) *kást-* 'ask'

Appendix 13: **Disyllabic verbs at their root with miscellaneous tone sequence**

1) *tɨràχʷ-* 'tremble'
2) *qàràz-* 'smell'
3) *dèsàs-* 'feel by hand'
4) *gàqàz-* 'gasp'
5) *kàlàχ-* 'cry/bewail'
6) *tʃànìst-* 'be loaded'
7) *kàmàz-* 'taste'
8) *sèmàt-* 'get satiated'
9) *mìrɨkt-* 'be hungry'
10) *àràs-* 'plow'
11) *màqàtʃ-* 'get angry'
12) *ʦàgàr-* 'be sim.'
13) *lè(à)gàz-* 'grow'
14) *àwàk-* 'disturb'
15) *gàfàr-* 'boil'
16) *àmàrts-* 'cook'
17) *tsàràg* 'wipe'
18. *gàmpìrt-* 'move on one's knees'
19) *qàqàtʃ-* 'smash'
20) *ɨnqáz-* 'trample'
21) *ɨnzáŋ-* 'walk'
22) *xɨmpɨrt-* 'snore'
23) *sànqúnt-* 'get thirsty'
24) *dɨxɨr-* 'defecate'
25) *ɨnkʷáx-* 'hear'
26) *ɨnkʷáx-* 'hear'
27) *dàkát-* 'be well/ recover'
28) *sísɨqt-* 'sweat'
29) *tʃúnít-* 'listen'
30) *bɨkàst-* 'belch'
31) *kákàst-* 'yawn'
32) *átɨʃt-* 'sneez'
33) *ɨwɨrt-* 'cough'
34) *qúndàst-* 'be ill'
36) *gàmpìrt-* 'move on knees'
37) *ándí-* 'compress air in the stomach in order to discharge excrement'

Appendix 14: **Grammar Sketch of Kùmpàlngī**

Several linguists have carried out a linguistic survey on the language the Kunal people in Jawi and K^{w}ara woredas of Awi and North Gondar Zones currently speak. They declare that the language they have surveyed is what is referred to as Kunfal, which is Awngi variety. They were not, however, aware that there is a language called Kunfal, which used to be in a regular use for the Kunfal people, but now spoken by a handful of the elderly Kunfal. The first documented report on what was believed to be Kunfal language is that of Cowely Roger's. In his article *The Kunfal People and their language* (1971), he reported study results by Teqebba Birru and Zena Adal. The data are by no means Kunfal, however. Their list contains Awngi variety spoken by the people who used to speak Kunfal before they shifted to Awngi. Since the current language of Kunfal is Awngi, only a handful of elderly individuals speak Kunfal these days.
The recent report on Kunfal is *a Sociolinguistic Survey Report* by Joswig, et. al. (2011). Their article clearly shows the areas where the Kunfal people live and examines the language they currently speak, and comes up with results that Kunfal is Awngi variety, but nowhere in their article do Joswig et.al (2011) point out whether there might exist (or might have existed) a distinct language called Kunfal. However, several elderly people living in areas where Awngi of Kwara, Jawi or Dangur is spoken speak Kumpalngi, which is referred to as Kunfal in Amharic.

Even though there is no literature that can clearly attests to the existence of a distinct language called Kumpalngi (Kunfal), I came across the *real Kunfal* (*Kumpalngi* by natives and in Awngi, thus the my preferred name hereafter) during my field trip to Jawi Woreda in Awi Administrative Zone in January 2012. I was eliciting Awngi data from my informants, namely, Nigatu Wasie (fifty-year old man) from Fendika (capital town of Jawi), Abejjew Kebede (seventy-two-year-old man) from Bagusa Marriam, Jawi, Worku Teferi (fifty years old) from Ankasha Gurji Kebele of Dangur Woreda in Beneshangul Gumuz, Tiku Mellesse (forty eight-year old man) from K^{w}awra Woreda in North Gondar Zone, Tashu Desta (seventy-eight year old man) from Alikurand near Fendika, and Muluneh Desta (sixty-six year old) from Jaba Kebele of Dangur Woreda in Beneshangul Gumuz.

During my fieldwork stay in Jawi, I was able establish close relationship with the consultants. On the last day of my stay in Jawi, I was recording a run off story of the Kunfal people from their villages most likely during the reign of King Sousnios.[115] To the researcher's surprise,

[115] There is a story among the Kunfal that this ethnic group was inflicted by the enormity of taxes levied on them during the local rule of, according to them, Sadula, the son or grandson of Atse Fasil. After killing the

Abejjew Kebede, who was telling the story on the voice recorder, shifted his speech from Awngi to Kumpalngi. As I could not make out what Abejjew was saying, asked him if he was speaking the same language, Awngi. *ɨnka kumpalŋex* 'This is Kumpalngi' was Abejjew and some other informants' answer in unison. As pointed out above, *Kumpalgni* is an Awngi word for Kunfal. Then I asked if the other informants knew Kumpalngi and learnt that Tashu Desta and Muluneh Desta knew it while the other two did not. They also told me that the number of Kunfal who can speak Kumpalngi is very small. Abejjew said that there were only two men, other than him, Azage Bishu and Ayana Belai by name, who spoke this language in Bagusa Marriam. I then asked if Kumpalngi could be Kemanteney. Tashu Desta and Tiku Mellese said they knew the language called Kemant and spoken in Gondar, but Kumpalngi is different from Kemant; others replied that they did not know even the word Kemant.

Since I was doubful that this language might be Kemanteney, I decided to immediately go back on fieldwork with appropriate Kemanteney data and check its status. Thus, I made the second field trip in February 12 and met Atakilt Demeke from K^{w}ara. I could not this time meet the other Kumpalngi speakers. I was told that Tashu Desta was sick and Muluneh Desta and Abijjew Kebede had left their villages for reasons not clear to him.

The objective of the second field trip was to collect Kunfal data, which would enable me to judge its status –whether it is a distinct language or a dialect of Kemanteney or Awngi.

Atakilt Demeke whom I met during my second field trip, came from Yitho Kebele in K^{w}ara Woreda on special pact made with Desalegn Amsalu, a lecturer and a PhD student in Adiss Ababa University. [116]

Atakilt reached Fandika after three days' trek from K^{w}ara. He was a knowledgeable man, knowing not only *Kumpalngi* but also the history and culture of the Kumpal people in a fair depth. Thus, I collected 652 lexical items (some of them provided below) and various syntactic and morphological elements showing grammar sketch of Kumpalngi from Atakilt Demeke of K^{w}ara.

Among the 652 lexical data (see Table 1 below), 330 (50.6%) are found to be sim. while the rest 322 (49.4%) are different when compared to Kemanteney lexical data taken from Appleard's Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages (2006). Among 330 words judged sim., 220 are identical while 110 are closely related. The Kumpalngi lexical data also show strong genetic relation with Awngi. Hence, among 638 words compared to Awngi, 317 (49.7%) are sim. while the rest 321 (50.3%) are different. Out of 317 words judged sim., 121 are identical and the rest 196 are closely related. The sim.ity extent of Kumpalngi words to Awngi and Kemanteney is

soldiers who came to collect the taxes, they fled their villages and went to the extreme lowlands where they could inhabit safely.

[116] **Desalegn Amsalu was writing anthropological dissertation on the Kunfal people**

nearly the same. However, Kumpalngi shares more identical words with Kemanteney than with Awngi. This situation is of great interest to further burrow into this language.

The following table shows the aggregate data of the appendix.

TABLE 1: Aggregate Data

Relational status of words		Relational status of Kumpalngi with:	
		Kemanteney	Awngi
Degree of sim.ity or difference	**different**	**322** (49.4%)	**321** (50.3%)
	id + related	**330** (50.6%)	**317** (49.7%)
	identical	**220**	**121**
	related	**110**	**196**

Words labeled different are either different from those of both languages (Kemanteney and Awngi) or from those of either language. Those labeled different from the forms of both languages are low in number when compared to the forms resembling those of either language.

The following data, randomly taken from all the data elicited, substantiate what is stated above: *nän* 'hand' is *nän* in Kemanteney and *tàf* in Awngi (identical with that of Kemanteney but different from that of Awngi); *nan* 'now' is *nan* in Kemanteney and *ŋɨfĭ* in Awngi (identical with that of Kemanteney but different from that of Awngi); *nan* 'they' is *najdiw* in Kemanteney and *ŋodʒi* in Awngi (different from the two); *nɨka* 'today' is *nɨŋ* in Kemanteney and *nákà* in Awngi (different from that of Kemanteney but sim. with that Awngi); *ɨnt* 'you' is *naj* in Kemanteney and *ɨ́nt* in Awngi (identical with that of Awngi but different from that of Kemanteney) [117].

The forms different from those of the two languages are either innovatives or borrowings from languages spoken in the vicinity, mainly from Amharic.

The following sample list of Kumpalngi lexical data shows comparison of Kumpalngi words with those of Kemanteney and Awngi (see complete list from the appendix). In the table, *id* stands for identical, REL for related and *d* for different.

Below is a table providing some of Kumpalngi lexical items compared to Awngi and Kemanteney.

[117] Kemanteney data were from *A Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages* (Appleyard, 2006) and Awngi data from the researcher since he his native Awngi speaker.

Table 2: Kumpalngi lexical items compared to Awngi and Kimantey.

Kumpalngi	**Kemanteney**	**Awngi**	**genetic tatus of Kun-with**		**gloss**
			Kemantney	**Awngi**	
lafa	tilija	tsila	d	rel	hawk
bera	timta	biri	d	rel	bullock
at^{w}	tir	-akɨsta	d	d	aunt
tina	t'ena	tin	rel	d	health
wä, wɨ /wɨra	wä, wɨ /wɨra	ɨndar	id	d	what (pron)
wäba	wäba	mɨndɨraʃi	id	d	malaria
kuŋa	wäfär	buzzi	d	d	fat adj
ɨmbt-	wäla j-	embit n-	d	id	be quick
walta	wälta	walta	rel	id	six
waltan ʧika	wältiŋ	walti tsika	d	id	sixty
wänbär	wänbär	wanbar	id	rel	chair
gɨrmi, gɨrma	wängija	gɨrmi, gɨrma	d	id	pig
päntäb	wäntäb	wizari	rel	d	sieve
wäntär-	wäntär-	zur-	id	d	return vi
wäntärʃ-	wäntärʃ-	zurts-	id	d	answer, return
wäräs-	wäräs-	waras-	id	rel	inherit
wäräwär-	wäräwär-	zɨg^{w}-	id	d	throw, hurl
ware	ware	abɨn	id	d	news, gossip, sotry
gotät	wätär-	gus-	d	d	pull
wätra	wätra	serko(a)/ xullu ʧif	id	d	always adv
wäz-	wäz-		id		spread out vt
le	wäziŋ	leg	d	rel	fire
wɨʧɨ	wɨʧˇɨ	afda/afs	id	d	outside adv
wɨtaxa	wɨlaxa	walx/ wittaxi	id	rel	meadow, open country
assu	wɨriŋa	assu	d	id	lie
wɨjm	weri	axu(ki)	d	d	or
däbäla	wɨʃaxa	ag^{w}azi	d	d	rug, hide for sleeping
wiqa	wɨxa/wɨx	wuxa	rel	rel	how many, how much
wɨja, wäja	wɨja, wäja	ɨx^{w}i	id	d	hyena
wäz	wɨza	wɨssi	id	rel	ashes
wij	waj	watŋa	rel	d	how
kal	waxär	kal	d	id	word
waxar-	waxärt-, wart-	ɨnkɨr-	rel	d	play, converse, chat
wanqär	wanxär	kas-	id	d	ask
bamb-	war-	bamb-	d	id	swim
was-	was-	ɨnk^{w}ax-	id	d	hear
waga	waj	wajmi	d	d	price
wud	wayna	wudani	d	rel	threshing floor
wag-	wajt-	ʤew-	rel	d	buy
wiz	wimäna	ɨndarmaj/ɨndarmaj	d	d	why
xäxa	xɨm	qum, gurar	d	d	throat
ɨngar-	xäʃ-	quts-	d	d	wash
xäʃäʃax	qäqäʃa	qaqitsi	rel	rel	cool
säx^{w}ä	sätära	ʧark	d	d	cloth , rug
page total	**d**		**20**	**26**	
	id + rel		**24**	**17**	
	id		**16**	**7**	
	~~rel~~		**8**	**10**	

2. PHONOLOGY

This section identifies the basic phonemes and their allophonic variants. Transcriptions enclosed in slash brackets are phonemic and in square brackets are phonetic. Bare transcriptions can be considered phonemic.

2.1. Consonants

Kumpalngi has twenty seven consonants out of which five are labialized. ɲ is not included in the phoneme inventory, for it is found only in *godäɲa* 'friend' and *moɲ* 'foolish', which are loan words from Amharic. Kumpalngi consonants share many features with those of other Agaw Languages, especially with Awngi and Kemantney. They can be classified into six categories: *stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, liquids, semi-vowels,* and *labialized consonants*. Unlike other three Agaw languages, Kumpalngi and Awngi do not have ejectives. The ejective sounds in Amharic loan words are swapped by their non-ejective counter parts in Kunfal, as in, käʧʾin/ käʧin 'thin'. Even though Kemantney has ejective sounds, they are confined to Amharic borrowings (Appleard 1975: 317).

Identification and description of Kumpalngi consonants will be presented as follows.

2.1.1. Stops

Kumpalngi has bilabial, alveolar, and velar sounds in stop series. They are *p, b, t, d, k, g*, and *q*.

/p/

The phoneme /p/ occurs word initially, word finally, and intervocalically. It has very low occurrence when compared to other sounds in the stop series.

The following are the only examples from the current data of Kunfal lexemes.

word initially: *pax* 'add' and *piq* 'be full'

word finally: *qap* 'tree bark' and *ɨmp-* 'dwell, stay, remain'

word medially: *ɨmpɨla* 'not have' and *kupakupi* 'grain, cereals'

/p/ shows contrasting occurrence with /b/ and /f / as in, *kab-* 'cross, go across' and *fax-* 'marry or get married'.

/b/

The phoneme /b/ occurs word initially, as in *bɨx^{w}e* 'injera', word finally, as in *ʃab* 'curd, cheese' and word medially, as in, *jɨba* 'leopard'. /b/ is realized as [b] word initially and after *m* and as [β] elsewhere. Hence, [b] and [β] are allophones of the phoneme /b/. *b* occurs as a geminate form in Amharic loan words. The following examples show phonemic distribution of *b*.

/bɨx^{w}e/ 'injera'

/biwa/ 'star'

/däbäla/ ‘hide for sleeping’

/bamb-/ ‘swim’

/jɨba/ ‘leopard’

The following phonetic description shows allophonic distribution of the phoneme *b*.

Word initially: [bana] ‘share’, [baz] ‘sing’, [bɨr] ‘fly’
word finally: [kaβ] ‘stone wall’, ʃab ‘curd, cheese’
word medially: [gɨrβɨ] ‘knee’, [naβil] ‘near’, [nɨβaxa] ‘alone’
after m: [gɨmb] ‘stick’, g^{w}ɨmbɨra ‘navel’ **,** ɨmbɨl, tamb- ‘hit, strike

/t/

The phoneme /t / occurs in all environments.

word initially: tɨra ‘cotton’ täjt- ‘approach, get closer’, tamb- ‘hit, strike’
word finally: xaʃänt- ‘steal’, ʃukat ‘comb’, ɨmbt- ‘be quick’
word medially: walta ‘six’, päntäb ‘sieve’, wäntär- ‘return

/d/

Even though the phoneme /d / occurs in all environments, its distribution in word medial position is not very common in non-loan words.

word initially: dus ‘fart’, diwa ‘chicken’ daw ‘go’
word finally: gämäd ‘rope’, kid- ‘thresh’, wud ‘threshing floor’
word medially: kenda ‘half’, adäga ‘outsider, foreigner ’, abädɨng^{w}a ‘thumb’

/k/

The phoneme /k/ occurs in all environments.

word initially: kalax- ‘shout, cry’, kibi ‘people’, k^{w}aʃʃ- ‘blow’
word finally: däräk ‘bread’, dalak^{w}- ‘be enough’, gaʃek ‘old woman, widow’
word medially: ank^{w}iŋ ‘fifty’, ganka ‘empty’, kakas- ‘yawn’, geka ‘day’

/g/

The phoneme /g/ occurs in all environments.

word initially: gɨmb ‘stick’, g^{w}arx^{w}- ‘dig’, gɨrwa ‘man, male’, gɨsaŋa ‘dog’
word finally: wag ‘sell’, ag ‘uncle’, dag ‘upper part, top’, g^{w}äg ‘stomach’
word medially: kaga ‘dry’, ɨngɨr ‘back, rear’, ʧangaxa ‘left’

/q/

/q/ occurs word initially, word finally, and word medially.

word initially: qindʒa ‘disease’, qirantu ‘dirty’, qutsa ‘cheek’, qaza ‘wedding’
word finally: piq- ‘be full’, aq- ‘know’
word medially: alaqat- ‘mix’, sɨsqa ‘sweat’, bunqi ‘unripe grain’, wiqa ‘how much, how many’

/q/ is not reported to be available in Kemantney, and neither is it in K^{w}aregna. In Awngi, it is even commoner than it is in Kunfal.

2.1.2. Fricatives

Kumpalngi has bilabial, labio dental, alveolar, palatal, and uvular fricatives. These fricative series consists of β, f, s, z, ʃ, ʒ and x. [β] is the variant of [b] (see the previous discussion under stops).

/f/

The phoneme /f/ occurs word initially, word finally, and word medially. Its distribution in word final position is rare. The only example available in the current data is *ɨrf* 'plough share', which might be a loan word from Amharic.

word initially: /fax/ 'get married', /fix^{w}/ 'breathe',
word finally: /ɨrf/ 'plough share'
word medially /lafa/ 'hawk', /afa/ 'outside', /ʧafl/ 'branch', afɨn 'guest, stranger'

/s/

The phoneme /s/ occurs word-initially, word-finally, and word-medially.

word initially: säb- 'stab', sädʒa 'four', säbära 'place' sɨsqa 'sweat'
word finally: bäräxs- 'speak', dus- 'fart', waxs 'anger'
word medially: ax^{w}si 'where', , gɨsaŋa 'dog', kɨsiŋa/kɨsɨja 'dawn, daybreak'

/z/

The phoneme /z/ occurs word-initially, word-finally, and word-medially.

word initially: zɨbata 'nakid', zɨnk^{w}- 'be happy', zɨr 'intestine'
word finally: bɨz-, 'open' baz- 'sing', ʧemäz 'curse' , lägz- 'grow'
word medially: qaza 'wedding', texza 'smoke', kɨzax 'good'

The occurrence of *z* in word final position is confined to verbs only. This, however, needs verification with more data from more informants.

/ʃ/

The phoneme /ʃ/ occurs word initially, word finally, and word medially.

word initially: ʃɨʃba 'fish', ʃab 'curd, cheese', ʃɨnbra 'chickpeas'
word finally: gaʃ- 'old, old man' , gafarʃ-, 'boil', maʃ 'Monday'
word medially: xaʃa, ʃɨʃba, aʃad-, doʃa 'finger millet', ɨnʃax- 'send', xaʃa 'leaf'

/ʒ/

The distributional status of *ʒ* with *ʤ* is not clear. ʒɨgra 'guini fowl' is an example word with the sound *ʒ*. If *ʒ* and *ʤ* are found to be in contrastive distribution, the number of plain consonant phonemes in Kunfal will be 23.

/x/

/x/ shows distributionally free variation with /q/. This, however, needs verification by more data from a number of informants.

word initially: xɨŋiʃ- 'undo, untie', xag 'bed', xaʃa 'leaf'
word finally: malax- 'finish', ɨnʃax- 'sen', xäʃäʃax 'cool', kɨzax 'good'

word medially: dɨx^{w}ara ‘donkey’, axla ‘no’, ax^{w}är ‘head’ , axuna ‘when’

*2.1.3. Affricate*s

The affricate series in Kunfal comprises alveolar and palatal sounds, viz., ʦ, ʧ, ʤ.

/ʦ /

/ʦ/ occurs word initially, word finally, and word medially.

word initially: ʦɨmar ‘tail’, ʦɨŋ^{w} ‘name’, ʦaŋ ‘tongue’
word finally: wiʦ- ‘win’, kuʦ- ‘kiss’, kiʦ- ‘punish’
word medially: quʦa ‘cheek’, ɨʦa ‘fence’, ɨnʦna ‘snot, mucus’

/ ʧ/

/ʧ/ occurs word initially, word finally, and word medially.

word initially: ʧɨka ‘ten’, ʧɨngur ‘deaf person’, ʧemäz ‘curse’, ʧafl ‘branch’, ʧeb- ‘count’
word finally: kɨʧ ‘middle’, ʧɨnʧi ‘tape worm’ qanʧ ‘sicnesss, disease’
word medially: maʧɨd ‘sickle’, manʧa ‘many’, maʧɨq^{w} ‘suck’

/ʤ/

/ʤ/ occurs word initially, word finally, and word medially.[118]

word initially: ʤäla ‘bird’, ʤägɨra ‘baboon’, ʤana ‘elephant’, ʤaqa- ‘insult’
word finally: gändʒ- ‘lie down, sleep’, azagadʒ- ‘prepare’
word medially: ɨndʒŋɨna ‘yesterday’, sädʒa ‘four’, ɨndʒuk^{w}- ‘sit’

2.1.4. Nasals

Kumpalngi sounds in nasal series comprise *m, n,* and *ŋ.* Three of them appear in all positions (word initially, word medially, and word finally). ɲ is observed in moɲ, and godäɲa, which are loan words from Amharic. Thus, ɲ is not included in the inventory.

The distribution of nasal consonants is presented below..

/m/

/m/ occurs in all environments as presented below.

word initially: manʧa ‘many’, mɨna ‘truth’ malax- ‘finish’, mir- ‘want, seek’
word finally: gäm- ‘go down’ säm ‘wax’ wäram ‘spear’ tɨm- ‘become dark’
word medially: bɨq^{w}ma ‘maize’, ame ‘tomorrow’, ɨmpɨla ‘not have’

/n/

/n/ occurs in all environments as shown below.

word initially: *nia* ‘that’, *nɨŋ* ‘house’, *ni* ‘he/she/this’, *nɨbaxa* ‘alone’, nän ‘hand’

[118] Distributional status of *ʤ* needs further checking with data from other informants.

word finally: *ɨnkan* ‘’love’, *dɨban* ‘God’ *ʧan-* ‘load’, *afɨn* ‘guest, stranger’
word medially: *kana* ‘tree’, *sɨnk-* ‘smear’, *xaʃänt-* ‘steal’, *ɨntsna* ‘snot. mucus’

/ŋ/

The distribution of /ŋ/ in word initial position is rare.

word initially: *ŋisa* ‘debt’, *ŋ-* ‘bite’
word finally: *tsaŋ* ‘tongue ’*kuzäŋ-* ‘advise’, *gaŋ-* ‘run’, *ank*^{w}*iŋ* ‘fifty’
word medially: *liŋa* ‘two’, *kuŋa* ‘fat’, *kɨrŋa* ‘stone’ *aŋu* ‘thorn’

/ŋ/ does not occur in word initial position in Kemantney (Zelealem, 2003). It occurs in all environments in Awngi. In some cognate words, one observes swapping of *ŋ* with *n*. *ŋ* in Awngi is most of the time *n* in Kunfal, as in, *ŋats* and *naʃ* ‘bone’, *ŋɨʃi* and *nan* ‘now’, *ŋadʒi* and *nan* ‘they’, *ŋi* and *ni* ‘he or she’, etc.

2.1.5. Liquids

Kumpalngi has liquid sounds /l/ and /r/. The two of them show complete distribution (word initial (rare), word medial, and word final). The following are examples showing their distribution.

/r/

/r/ in word initial position is very rare. The examples below are the only words showing its initial position. Yet, *rajɨs* and *resa* are loan words from Semitic languages. The status of *ruŋa* is not clear. Similar situation is observed in Kemantney: /r/ occurs in word initial position only in Amharic borrwings (Appleard, 1975: 317). Unlike in the two languages, /r/ shows complete distribution in Awngi (*rub* ‘breeding, *ri* ‘rain’, *reda* ‘maid servant’ *rar* ‘chin’).

word initially: *rajɨs* ‘dream’, *ruŋa* ‘tears’, *resa* ‘body, corpse’
word finally: *jɨr* ‘with me’, *ax*^{w}*är* ‘head’, *bɨr* ‘earth, ground, land’
word medially: *jirku* ‘tooth’ , *bɨra* ‘blood’, *g*^{w}*arɨx* ‘hoe’

/l/

word initially: *laf* ‘face’, lägz- ‘grow’, läb- ‘fall’
word finally: *nabil* ‘’near, next’ *ʧafl* ‘branch’, jɨl ‘eye’ *sɨjɨl* ‘there’
word medially: *ʧɨxäla* ‘basket’, *xullu* ‘always’, *tɨla* ‘medicine’, *walta* ‘six’

2.1.6. Semi vowels

Kumpalngi has the two semi-vowels, /w and /j/. Both of them show complete distribution (word initial, word medial, and word final). The following are examples showing their distribution.

/j/

word initially: jirku ‘tooth’, *jɨr* ‘with me’, *jɨnta* ‘louse’, *ji* ‘man’
word finally: *mäkäj* ‘mouth’ *mɨj-, mɨjs* ‘forget’ *x*^{w}*äräj* ‘crow, raven’, *wij* ‘how’
word medially: *rajɨs* ‘dream’, *wɨja / wäja* ‘hyena’, *sɨjɨl* ‘there’

/w/

The occurrence of /w/ in word final position is rare except in verbs.

word initially: *wiz* 'why', *waxar-* 'chat, converse', *wud* 'threshing floor', *wäz-* 'spread out''

word finally: *gɨrɨw* 'man, person', *nɨw-* 'give' *tɨw-* 'enter', *daw-* 'go, walk'

word medially: *jɨwna* 'female', *-, ɨwra-* 'cough', *sɨwa* 'rain' *diwa* 'chicken'

2.1.7. Labialized Consonants

Kumpalngi, has five labialized consonants, namely, g^w, k^w, x^w , $ŋ^w$, q^w. Awngi has the same five labialized consonants (Yaregal 2010; 2012: 15) while Kemantney has the first four (Appleard 1975, Zelealem 2003).

/g^w/

g^w is rare in word final position. *ʤag^w* 'pregnant' is the only available word containing g^w in the current data. This sound is also available in Kemantney occurring in word initial and word medial positions only (Zelealem, 2003).

word initially: *g^{w}arɨx* 'hoe', g^wad- 'harm, injure', *g^w-* 'stand up', *g^{w}axina* 'cowardly'

word finally: *ʤag^w* 'pregnant'

word medially: ang^{w}ɨ 'breast', *abädɨng^{w}a* 'thumb', *g^{w}ɨg^{w}ɨ* 'wake up' *g^{w}äläj-* 'separate'

/k^w/

k^w is rare in word final position. *ank^{w}a* is the only available word containing k^w in the current data. This sound shows complete distribution in Awngi and in Kemantney (ibid)

word initially: *k^{w}a* 'village', *k^{w}e* 'partridge', *k^{w}ɨra* 'river', *k^{w}ara* 'sun'

word finally: *zɨnk^w-* 'be heavy' *ɨnʤuk^w-* 'sit' *lɨk^w* 'leg'

word medially: ank^{w}a 'five'

/$ŋ^w$/

The distribution of $ŋ^w$ is very rare. *tsɨŋ^w* 'name', *sɨŋ^w-* are the only examples available in the current data. This sound occurs in environments other than initial in Kemantney (ibid).

/q^w/

The distribution of q^w is common in word medial position but rare in word initial and word final positions. Kemant does not have this sound while Awngi has in all environments.[119]

word initially: *q^{w}ila* 'anus', *q^w-* 'eat'

word finally: *maʧɨq^w* 'suck'

word medially: bɨq^{w}ma 'maize', *jɨq^{w}ar-* 'laugh', *säq^{w}a* 'clothes'

[119] Zelealem's (2003) labio-velar series does not include /q^w/ and nor does Appleards' (1975) .

/x^{w}/

x^{w} shows complete distribution in the language. This sound also occurs in all environments in Kemantney (Zelealem, 2003: 152) and in Awngi, as in *dɨx*^{w}- 'tell', *bɨx^{w}ri* 'porridge', and *x^{w}aʧe* 'yonder'.

word initially: *x^{w}äʧäx^{w}äʧ-* 'churn', *x^{w}ajʃa* 'food', *x^{w}ɨmba* 'nose', *x^{w}ɨra* 'child, son/daughter'

word finally: fix^{w}- 'breathe', *g^{w}arx^{w}-* 'dig', *ʧax^{w}-* 'cook'

word medially: *ax^{w}är* 'head', *bɨx^{w}e* 'bread', *ax^{w}si* 'where', *dɨx^{w}ara* 'ass'

The following (near) minimal pairs (with their plain counter parts) show phonemic status of labialized consonants in the language.

gaxa 'cliff' vs *g^{w}axina* 'cowardly'
dag 'upper part, top', *ag* 'uncle' vs *ʤag^{w}* 'pregnant'
ang^{w}ɨ 'breast' vs *ɨnga* 'refuse'
kalɨx^{w}- 'accuse' *käläx-* 'cry'
x^{w}ɨra 'child' vs *xera* 'smell'
ɨxaxa 'ice, hail' vs *ʧɨxäla* 'basket'
säq^{w}a 'clothes' vs *bɨsɨqa* 'sputum, saliva'
jɨq^{w}ar- 'laugh' vs *ʤaqa-* 'drink', *alaqat-* 'mix'
k^{w}ara 'sun' vs *kana* 'tree'
ank^{w}a 'five' vs *ɨnka* 'soul', *ʧɨka* 'ten', *ganka* 'empty'
kɨrta 'wing' vs *k^{w}ɨrna* 'elbow'

The following table shows all consonant phonemes of Kumpalngi

Table 2

manner of articulation			place of articulation						
			bilabial	labio-dental	labio-velar	alveo-lar	palatal	velar	uvular
stops	plain	v/ls	p			t		k	
		voiced	b			d		g	
	labialized	v/ls						k^w	
		voiced						g^w	
fricatives	plain	v/ls		f		s	ʃ		x
		voiced				z			
	labialized	v/ls							x^w
		voiced							
affricates	plain	v/ls				ts	ʧ		q
		voiced					ʤ		
	labialized	v/ls							q^w
		voiced							
nasals	plain		m			n		ŋ	
	labialized							$ŋ^w$	
liquids	lateral					l			
	trill					r			
semi-vowels			w				j		

2.2. VOWELS

Like Kemantney and Bilen, Kumpalngi has two central vowels, viz, *ï* and *ä*; hence, it has developed seven-vowel system.

The following vowel chart shows the seven vowels of Kunfal.

Table 3

front	central	back
i	ï	u
e	ä	o
	a	

Front vowels, *e* and *i,* never occur word initially. Both of them occur elsewhere; *e,* however, has the least occurrence rate among the vowels of Kunfal.
The vowel having less occurrence rate next to *e* is *u.* This, however, needs further checking.
ä never occurs word initially and word finally while *ï* and *a* occur in all environments. Unlike in Kumpalngi, *ä* occurs word finally in Kemantney (ibid).
Back vowels, *u* and *o,* never occur word initially, and *u* occurs word finally while *o* does not.
The following are minimal and near minimal pairs attesting to the phonemic status of Kumpalngi vowels.

nan 'they' *nɨn* 'we' *nän* 'hand, arm'
bɨra 'blood' *bira* 'ox'

kɨbi 'spill' *kib*i 'people'

märr 'road' *mɨrr* 'penis'

baxla 'mule' *bɨgla* 'goat'

k^{w}*ɨra* 'river' *k*^{w}*ara* 'sun'

wäz 'ash' *wiz* 'why'

qɨŋɨʃ 'divorce' *qinʤa* 'disease, sickness

biwa 'star' *diwa* 'chicken' *mɨʃa* 'mead' , *.sɨna* 'butter' *mɨna* 'truth'
tsɨgara 'door' *gäbäla* 'market'
qira 'smell/ odor' *geka* 'shore, bank, '

laf 'face' *läb-* 'fall'

tänkära 'strong' *ʧangaxa* 'left'

3. MORPHO-SYNTAX

3.1. Plural Marking

Plural marking in Kumpalngi is mainly heterogeneous; there is no uniform pluralization method. *-gi* and *-ka* are common plural marking suffixes added to nouns, as can be observed from the following examples.

bɨgl---bɨgla-gi 'goat---goats'
baga---bagagi 'sheep----sheep'
jɨwna---jɨwna-gi 'woman---women'
gir^{w}ä---gir^{w}ä-gi 'man---men'
jɨl--- jɨl-ka 'eye---eyes'
niŋ--- niŋ-ka 'house---houses'

The suffixation of *-gi* and *-ka* is very similar with that of Kemantney in which *-ki* is among other plural suffixes. *käw* 'village', *käwki* 'villages'; *niŋ* 'house', *niŋki* 'houses' are examples in Kemantney (Zelealem, p:229). *-ka* is also the usual plural suffix in Awngi. *-ilti,* which seems a common *plural* marking suffix in Kemantney, as with, *bira/ bilti* 'ox/ oxen', *nan/nanti* 'hand/hands', *gär/gälti* 'calf/calves', etc (Appleard, 1975: 322), is missing in both Awngi and Kumpalngi.

3.2. POST POSITIONS

Kumpalngi postpositions are in most cases related to those of Kemant and nearly entirely different from those of Awngi. The researcher believes further burrowing into the language may reveal more relation of Kumpalngi with Kemant. The following postpositions were elicited from Atakilt Demeke.

kim 'to'

ni niŋ kim dawiti 'she went to her house'

kura kim dawitiy 'She went to well'

ji kim teti 'Approach the man'.)

dagl 'on'

ʧank dagl inʧkʷta 'Don't sit on the grass')

bir dagl 'on the earth'

täräpäza dagl 'on the table'

kana dagl 'on the tree'

dagl is also *on* in Kemantney (Zelealem 2003:245).

-l 'from'

ʧankl dagil inʧkʷi 'Sit on rhe grass'

The same form, *-l*, is used for the meaning 'from' in Kemantney (ibid)

angil 'in'

niŋ angil 'in the house'

"In" in Kemantney is *–il* used as post position, as in, *niŋ- il* 'in the house' (ibid).

nabil 'near'

(*ji-l nabil inʧkʷi* 'Sit from near me *' /literal*/ 'Sit near me').

nabil in Kemantney has wider distribution as it can mean *in, below, between, into* (ibid).
None of the above postpositions are related to those of Awngi.

-ʃ 'for'

gänzäb si jiwnaʃ niwi 'give the money to the woman'

ni maltanta-z bixʷes niwitiy 'She gave injera to the shepherd'.

Identical form is used in Kemant for the meaning *for* while in Awngi it is *-s*.

-r 'with'

ni niŋir dawitiy 'She went with her husband'

war dawɨx^{w} 'Who did he go with? '

nɨxur dawɨx^{w} 'He went with his wife'

3.3. VERB TO BE

Except that of postpositions, morphological and syntactic relation of Kumpalngi with Kemantney and Awngi is very low when compared to their lexical relation.

Present

The same form, *gɨn,* is used with all persons in Kumpalngi as the verb to be in the present tense. The following are examples showing this.

an gäbäre **gɨn** ---------- I am a farmer
ni gäbäre **gɨn** ---------- He is a farmer
nan gäbäre **gɨn** ---------- They are farmers
ni gäbäre **gɨn** ---------- She is a farmer

The present copula in Kemantney is *gajɨl* or *gaxɨjl* for 1s, *gajla* or *gaxɨjla* for 2S, *gaxɨl(l)a, gaxɨl(l)a, gaxɨl* or *gala* for 1P, *gaxɨjɨl(l)a, gaxɨl(l)* , *gajɨla* for 2P, *gal* or *gaxla* for 3M, *gajla* or *gaxɨjla* for 3Fs, and *gaxɨl(l)a, gaxɨjla, gxla or gajl* for 3P (ibid) . In Awngi, *-ax* is suffixed to the nominals in the present (Yaregal 2010; 2012).

Past

The past copula in Kunfal is *gɨgɨx*^{w}, and it is the same form for all persons. The following are examples showing this.

an gäbäre **gɨgɨx**^{w} ---------- I was a farmer
ni gäbäre **gɨgɨx**^{w} ---------- He was a farmer
nan gäbäre **gɨgɨx**^{w} ---------- They were farmers
ni gäbäre **gɨgɨx**^{w} ---------- She was a farmer

In Kemantney the past copula is *sɨmb-* (Zelealem, 2003), and in Awngi it is *ɨff-* (Yaregal, 2010; 2012). Both of the forms are entirely different from that of Kunfal, *gɨg-*.

Future ↦ *axak*^{w}-

The future copula forms are sim. with that of Kemantney, except for 3Fs where *axak*^{w}*i* is Kumpalngi and *axati* is Kemantney ((Zelealem, 2003)).

an gäbäre **axak**^{w} ---------- I will be a farmer
ni gäbäre **axak**^{w} ---------- He will be a farmer
nan gäbäre **axak**^{w}**än** ---------- They will be farmers
ni gäbäre **axak**^{w}**i** ---------- She will be a farmer

3.4. IMPERATIVES

Imperatives are formed with *-i* or *-a* suffixed to the end of the verb root. The former is singular while the latter is plural. The following examples show the use of imperatives in Kunfal..

gaŋ- ' to run' ------ *gaŋi* 'run' (singular imperative)

guʃt- 'to borrow'----- *guʃti* 'borrow' (singular imperative)

ʧek- 'to hold' ------- *ʧeki* 'hold' (singular imperative), e.g. *bɨr ʧeki* '(*lit*. hold money) save money'; gär *ʧeki* '(*lit*. hold work) have some work to do/ don't be idle.'

ʃab- 'to do' ------ *ʃabi* 'Do' (singular imperative); *ʃaba* 'Do' (plural imperative)

lax^{w}- 'to come' ----- *lax^{w}a* 'come' (plural imperative), *lax^{w}i* 'come' (singular imperative)

laʃ- 'to bring' ---- *nɨn sama däbtärsi* ***laʃi*** 'Bring our exercise book'

------*nɨn samas* ***laʃi*** 'Bring ours'

Kemantney also uses the suffix *-a* (among other ways which are different from that of Kunfal) (ibid). Plural imperative in Awngi is shown by *-an* suffixed to the verbs. Even though most singular imperatives are marked with Ø, there are also many irregularities.

3.5. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT

3.5.1. The Present/ Future

Verbs expressing simple present and future are gender and number marked. Hence, they add – *aku* for 3M, *-ati* for 3Mf, *-ak^{w}* for 1s, *-eku* for 2S, *-ak^{w}än* for 3P and *-nakwan* for 1P. [120]

1. *ni ʃab-aku*
   he do NP.3M 'He does'
2. *ni ʃab-ati*
   he do-NP.3Mf 'She does'
3. *an ʃab-ak^{w}*
   I do-NP.1s 'I do'
4. *ɨntɨ ʃab-eku*
   you (SG) do NP.2S 'You (SG) do'
5. *nɨn ʃab-nak^{w}än*[121]

[120] My informant was not sure about second person plural.
[121] *nɨna* and *anan* are also possible forms for *we*.

we do-PL.NP.1P ‘we do’

6. *nan ʃab-ak^{w}än*

they do-3P ‘they do’

In Awngi, the present and future aspects are shown by *-e/a* attached to the end of the verb following gender and number suffixes whereas in Kemantney (Zelealem 2003), the forms *-ak^{w}* and *-ä* (the latter in the 3Fs and the former elsewhere) mark the aspects mentioned above.

3.5. 2. Progressive

Progressive aspect in Kumpalngi is shown with the prefix *ɨmp-* for present and a separate word form *gɨg-* coming next to the main verb for past.

ni bɨx^{w}e-s ɨmp-x^{w}äku
he injera- ac prog- eat.3sm ‘He is eating injera’

ni bɨx^{w}e-s x^{w}äz gɨgɨx^{w}
he injera-ac eat past prog ‘He was eating injera’

The paradigm of progressive aspect is not complete, for my informant could not recall examples for persons other than 3M.

In Kemantney, the prefix *–sab* marks both present and past progressive (Ibid, 203). In Awngi, the prefix *-gi* attaches to the verb forms inflected for gender and number, as in, *x^{w}atagi* ‘I am eating’, *x^{w}amagi* ‘he is eating’. In present progressive, *-x* optionally attaches at the end, and in the past progressive, a separate verb, *ɨʃʃ-* (with gender, person and number markers suffixed to it) comes next to the verb form with *-gi* (expressing progressive aspect).

3.6. PERFECTIVE ASPECT

3.6.1. Simple Past

Like imperfectives, simple past verbs are gender and number marked. Hence, *-ɨx^{w}* is 3M, *-ity* is 3Fs, and *-una* is 3P.

1. qura bɨgla dawɨx^{w}
boy well-to go-3M.past ‘They boy went to the well.’
2. ni nɨŋ-a daw-ity
she house-to go-3F ‘She went to house’

3.6.2. Present Perfect

Present perfect verbs suffix -ɨmpɨx^{w}.

ni bɨxwes xu-ɨmpɨx^{w} ‘He has eaten injera’

Compare the above with simple past form: *ni bɨxwes xu-x^{w}* ‘He ate injera’

3.7. NEGATION

Imperfective verbs are marked negative by *–al* or *–el* suffixed to them. *–el* is singular in simple present verbs. This, however, needs further checking.

ɨntɨ ʃab-el 'You do not do'

ni ʃab-el 'He/She does not do'

an ʃab-el 'I do not do'

nɨn ʃab-al 'We do not do'

nan ʃab-el 'They do not do'

an ɨntak^{w} I will come ------ *an ɨntal* 'I will not come'

ni ɨntati 'She will come' ------ *ni ɨntal* 'She will not come'

ni ɨntaku ' He will come' ------*ni ɨntal* 'He will not come'

nɨn ɨntaku 'we will come' ------ *n ɨn ɨntnal* ' We will not come'

nan ɨntak^{w}än 'They will come' ------ *nan ɨntnal* 'They will not come'

Past verbs are negated with *–la* suffixed to them.

ni ɨntɨx^{w} 'He came' ------ *ni ɨntɨla* 'He did not come'

ni ɨntɨti 'She came' ------ *ni ɨntila* 'She did not come'

nan ɨntuna 'They came' ------*nan entla* 'They did not come'

Negative copula showing presence is also negated with *–la.*

a) ni nɨŋ angl *ɨmpɨx^{w}* 'He *is* in the house'
   ni nɨŋ angl *ɨmpɨla* 'He/She *is not* in the house'

b) ni nɨŋ angl g*ɨgɨx^{w}* 'He was in the house'
   ni nɨŋ angl gɨgɨla 'He was not in the house'

c) ni nɨŋ angl *ɨmpitiy* ' She *is* in the house'
   ni nɨŋ angl *ɨmpila* 'She is not in the house'

d) ni nɨŋ angl *gɨgitiy* 'She was in the house'
   ni nɨŋ angl *gɨgɨla* 'She *was not* in the house'

The following are more examples showing negation in possession.

jɨʃˈber ɨmpɨla 'I have no money'

kiʃˈber ɨmpɨla 'You have no money'

niʃˈber ɨmpɨla 'He has no money'

nanʃ̍ ber ɨmpɨla 'They have no money'

ɨntanʃ̍ ber ɨmpɨla 'You have no money'

nɨnʃ̍ ber ɨmpɨla 'We have no money'

niʃi ber ɨmpɨla 'She has no money'

From the current data, it seems negative verbs uniformly suffix *-la.* Kemantney also uses *-la* for negative verbs (Zelealem 2003).

3.8. INTERROGATIVE

In Kumpalngi, *-ma* is the commonest interrogative suffix attached to verbs. See the following examples.

kumpalŋa-si baraxsɨŋa aqïmpix^{w}*-ma*
kunfal-ACC speak you.know-intr 'Do you speak Kunfal?'

ʧankasi bera-z nɨwempit-ma
grass oxen ACC she.gave-intr 'Did she give grass to the oxen?'

wa in Kumpalngi is an interrogative pronoun.

wa-r dawɨxw
who-with he.went 'With whom did he go?'

In Kemantney, *-ʃi* is a special interrogative form occurring with the second person(Appleard, 1975: 341).

3.9. POSSESSION

Possession in Kumpalngi is shown with an independent word form, *sama*, and it is entirely different from Awngi and Kemantney. In Kemantney, it is marked by the forms *-i, -äj, -dɨ*, and *–z* (Appleard 1975).

jɨ sama däbtär------my exercise book

kɨ sama däbtär------your (SG) exercise book

ki sama däbtär------your (PL) exercise book

ni sama däbtär------her exercise book

na(n) sama däbtär------their exercise book

ɨnt sama däbtär------your (PL) exercise book

nɨ(n) sama däbtär------our (PL) exercise book.

käbädä sama kama 'Kebede's cow'

abäbäʧ sama biri 'Abebech's ox'

käbäbä sama kamagi ‘Kebede’s cows’

Possession in Kumpalngi is also shown by a compound form formed with an enclitic *dara*, as in, *nɨŋ dara* ‘the owner of the house’; *ŋisa dara* ‘having debt’. Compare these with the following below:
ni *nɨŋ ɨmpɨx*^{w} ‘He has a house’*;* ni *ŋisa ɨmpɨx*^{w} ‘He has debt’.

The Amharic equivalents to the above compounds are *balä bet* ‘the owner of the house’ and *balä ɨda* ‘having debt’.

3.10. INFINITIVAL NOMINAL

An infinitival nominal in Kunfal is obtained by suffixing *-ŋa* to the root verb, as in *ʃab-ŋa* ‘doing’, *q*^{w}*i-ŋa* ‘eating’, *tsarag-ŋa* ‘ to sweep’, *gar-ŋa* ‘to work’, *ʧank-ŋa* ‘to sit’ *ɨnt-ŋa* ‘to come’ etc. In Kemantney, sim. form, *-(ɨ)na,* is suffixed to the verb stem to derive infinitival nominal (Zelealem,203).

3.11. ACCUSATIVE CASE

Accusative case in Kunfal is shown by *-s* or *-si* suffixed to the objects. What accounts for their difference is not clear from the current data.

gänzäb-si jɨwna-l laʃi
money-ACC woman-from bring.IPR
‘Bring the money from the woman’

gänzäb-si jɨwna-ʃ newi
money-ACC woman-to give.IPR
‘Give the money to the woman’

ni bɨx^{w}e-s xux^{w}
he injera-ACC ate
‘He ate injera’

finŋa-si brarxsɨŋa aqɨmpix^{w}-ma
Kunfal-ACC speaking you know-Q
‘Can you speak Kunfal?’

nɨ sama däbtär-s laʃi
we pos exercise book-ACC bring.IPR
‘Bring our exercise book’

nɨn sama-s laʃi
we pos-ACC bring
‘Bring ours’

As can be seen in the examples above, the accusative marker *-s* is suffixed to the direct object. When possessive pronouns functioning as adjectives are NPs without a noun, the accusative marker -s attaches to them (see the last two examples).

When my informant was asked to translate 'The ox that Abejjew bought died', he said: *abɨʤʤäw wagax bira kɨrɨw*

He was again asked to translate 'Abejjew bought an ox', and said: *abɨʤʤäw bira wagɨx*^{w}.

The reason why the accusative marker *-s* is missing in the above data is not clear.

Accusative case in Kemantney is shown by *-(ɨ)s* or *-(ɨ)t* (Appleard, 1975; Zelealem, 2003). Awngi has four different forms, namely, *-o, -e, -wa,* and *-sa*, marking accusative case; the difference in the first three is phonologically motivated and that of *-sa* is due to grammatical reason (Hetzron, 1978; Yaregal, 2007; 2010).

3.12. DATIVE CASE

Dative case in Kunfal is shown by -ʃ or -z(i) suffixed to the indirect object. The following are examples showing dative case.

- jɨwna-ʃ
  woman- to 'to the woman' (gänzäb-si jɨwna-ʃ newi money-ACC woman-to give 'Give the money to the woman')
- kama-ʃ
  cattle-to 'to the cattle' (kama-ʃ ʧanka-si nɨwitix^{w}-ma 'Did you give grass to the cattle?')
- bir-zi ox-to (bir-zi ʧanka-si nɨwitix^{w}-ma 'Did you give grass to the ox?')

Dative is marked by *(-ɨ)z* in Kulazngi (as this study shows), by *-s* in Awngi (Yaregal, 2007; 2012: 78), and by *-ʃ* or *-z* in Kemantney marked by suffixes (Appleard, 1975; Zelealem, 2003: 245). It has been reported in Appleard (1994) that either *-z* or *–li* mark the objective case in K'^{w}regna.

3.13. Comitative Case

Comitative case in Kunfal is shown by the suffix *-r*. See the following examples.

ni-ŋ-ɨr
her-man-with
'with her husband'
nɨ-xu-r
he-woman-with 'with his wife'

Comitative case marker in Kulazngi is *-di* and in Awni *-li* (Yaregal, 2007 and 2012 respectively).

3.14. Allative Case

Whereas Kemantney has the suffix, *-ɨwa* (Appleard, 1975: 328; Zelealem, 2003), Kumpalngi has a separate word form, *kɨm*, marking the allative case. See the following examples.

1. *kura kɨm dawitiy*
   well to she.went 'She went to the well.'

2. *jɨ kɨm teti*
   man to get closer (imperative)
   'Go nearer the man.'

The allative case in Awngi is marked by noun suffixes *-ʃo* or *–a,* of course with slight meaning difference between them– the latter purposive and the former directional only.

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600 Kumpalngi Lexical Items Compared with Awngi and Kimantney counterparts

Kumpalngi	***Kimantney***	***Awngi***	***gloss***
kʷajʃ-	ɨf j	ɨf	blow
jɨll	ɨlli/ɨllɨ		
jɨr		jɨli	with me
ɨnga	ɨmbɨj	ɨnga	refuse
ni	ɨn/ɨndän	ɨn	this
xɨŋjʃ-	ɨnʧ-/ɨnʧ-	xɨj-	Undo. untie
axla	ɨnga	axala	no
angʷɨ	ɨngʷɨ	angʷ	breast
alɨkɨt	ɨnka	gɨntsɨqi	leech
ɨnsɨsa	ɨnsɨsa	nɨsesi	animal
piqɨʃ-	ɨnsax-	wax-	fill
ɨnʃäw-	ɨnʧaw-	ɨntsew-	tie, bind
ɨnʃax-	ɨnʃax-	ɨntsax-	send
ɨntɨ	ɨntɨ	ɨnt	You (sg)
ɨnʧʷa	ɨnʃwa	jɨntsi/jɨntsa	Rat/mouse
ɨntan	ɨntändiw/ɨntänniw	ɨntoʤi	You (pl)
anxu	ɨnxʷɨ	ɨnkʷaxi	ear
bɨqʷma	ɨrfa	ʃumbi	maize
ɨrf	ɨrfäna	ɨrɨf	Plough handle
ɨrgɨb	ɨrgubde	badaj	Dove, pigeon
jirku	ɨrkʷɨ	ɨrkʷi	Tooth/teeth
ɨntɨpew	ɨntɨf j	ɨntɨf n-	spit
kalax-	ɨw j	Kelax-	Shout, cry
kubat	ɨxʷär	kubat	dried dung
kibi	ɨjjɨn	zɨb	people
jaxɨs	ɨjja/ji/jäjja	j(a)xas	yes
abibi	abäba	abibi	flower
abädɨngʷa	gumda	gɨmdi	thumb
maʧɨd	abäla	maʧɨd	sickle
rajɨs	abär	tixʷa	dream
alaqat-	abär/abbär	alaqat-	Mix
afɨn	abɨn	lingidi	Guest, stranger
ba	aba	tabli	father
abwära	abwära	agʷari	dust
ad	ad	adgʷi	Sunday
adän-	adän-	kaʧ-	hunt
guʃt-	adäjʃ-	guʃt-	borrow

guʃts-	adäjt	guʃts-	lend
ag	ag	-aga	uncle
agär	agär	agar	country
ax-	dala-	dala-	be enough
ax^{w}är	ax^{w}äj	ŋari	head
nɨfas	axmäza	nɨfas	wind
manʧa	adʒu	minʧ	many
akalat	akal	akalat	body
aläm	aläm	alam	world
amän	amän	amɨn-	believe
ame	amär	ʧa	tomorrow
hamɨs	amɨz	ʤanaj	Thursday
ambäta	ambɨja	ambiti	locust
amla	ambära	amli	cabbage
qulqul	ambɨ	qulaquli	armpit
tɨmb amora	amora/amura	timajmora	vulture
aŋu	amu	aŋŋu	thorn
nɨbbas nɨbba	an	-talas tala	grandfather
an	an	an	I
nɨn	andiw/anniw	ɨnnoʤi	we
ɨndʒŋɨna	anʤɨn	ajŋa	yesterday
ankäs-	ankäs-	ʃinqant-	limp, be lame
ank^{w}a	ank^{w}a	ank^{w}a	five
ank^{w}iŋ	ank^{w}an ʧɨka	ank^{w}a tsɨka	fifty
kupakupi	ar	kupatari	grain, cereals
bɨx^{w}e	ar	anki	bread (ɨndʒɨra)
alaqonʤi	arägʷina	xatsa tsigiri	green
gugra	arämo	arimi	weeds
arɨb	arbɨ	arɨb	Friday
sazan ʧɨka	arba	sizzi tsɨka	forty
arad-	ard j-	arad-	slaughter
arfa	arfa	arfa	month
xag	arga	xag	bed
gaʃ-	aroge	wiliʤi	old, old man
ʃɨʃba	asa	asa	fish
asäb-	asäb-	asab-/aseb-	think
azagaʤ-	assägäʤ-	ters-	prepare
xaʃa	aʃa	xatsi	leaf
aʃad-	aʃɨŋ-	atsad-	reap, mow
wɨri	aw	aj	who
axuna	awɨn	wani	when
ax^{w}si	awɨt/awt	wada(j)	where

däräk		tuʃi/ɨnguaʧi	bread
bɨdʒawɨdʒi	awre	kawanabɨdʒi	wild animal
aq-	ax-	aq-	know
ax^{w}	axu	axu	water
ʃab	ajb	kampi	curd, cheese
gäbäla	ajja	gebal	market
ʃɨnbra	azär	ʃɨnbri	chickpeas
adis	azi	sɨkawi	new
angaʃa	azo	az^{w}a/azu	crocodile
ɨmpɨla	b-	ɨlla	not have
bäga	bäga	taj/taja	sheep
kɨbi-	bäxwt-	kɨbi-	spill, flow
manʧa-	bädʒ-	minʧ-	be many/much
dalak^{w}-	bäk'-	dal-	be enough
bakela	bäk'la	muli atiri	beans
tsɨgara	bäla	tsɨgari	door
balaʃ-	bäläʃ-	fit-	be more
ŋisa	bän	ŋd/di	debt
ʃentela	bäntära	ʃentela	hare, rabbit
mälata	bära	bax^{w}i	bald, bald pate
bɨr-	bäbär-	berar-/ bɨr n-	fly (v)
tankara	bärät	jɨs-	be hard
kɨbna	bäräxa	birixi	desert
lab	bäw	gɨnbar	forehead
daw-	bäj-	baj-	leave
baxla	bäjla	bɨqla	mule
mɨx^{w}ra/i	bɨlaxa	amixiri/amaxara	Amhara
gobaz	bɨlhi	gobaz	clever
gafarʃ-	bɨlu j-	gefar-	boil
bɨra	bɨr	bɨri	blood
zalal-	bɨrt-	pɨr n-	jump, leap
mäbrat/ bɨran	bɨrxan	mabrat	light
zɨbata	bɨʃäj	zɨbati/a	naked
jɨnta	bɨta	jɨnti	louse
bɨr	bɨja	bɨti	earth/ground/ land
bɨsɨqa	bɨsɨx^{w}	bɨssɨqi	saliva
bɨz-	bɨz-	bɨs-	open
adäga	bada	adigi	outsider, foreigner
ganka	bado	nahisi	empty
gaʃek	balti	waladʒa	*old woman*, widow
bar	bar	bar	lake, sea
bara	bara	gagɨri	slave

nɨbaxa	baxäj	jɨbaʧi/ jɨx^{w}aʧi	alone
dɨxor xorapata	baxsa	ɨmm^{w}i	fig tree
baz-	baz-	ʤɨm-	sing
tɨtra	bi	xɨbtsi/tɨtri	soil, earth, dust
	bix^{w}a	kɨb	gourd
bira	bira	biri	ox
bun	buna	bun	coffee
malax-	ʧ’äräs-	wid-/wit-	finish
ʧamp	ʧ’amma	ʧam	shoe
ʧoma	ʧ’oma	ʧumi/sax^{w}i	fat
daw-	däb-	dew-	bury
däbäla	däbäla	dabali/ɨnʤɨl	skin cape
dämäna	dämäna	damani/wɨl	cloud
ʧɨngur	dänkuro	ʧɨngur	a deaf person
des-	däs-	des n-	be happy
doʃa	däwʃa	dag^{w}tsi	finger millet
abugda	däwʃa	(an)gura	frog
kan	dɨba	kan	mountain, hill
dɨd	dɨd	dɨd	gum (dental)
dɨx^{w}ara	dɨx^{w}ara	dɨx^{w}ar-	ass
dɨgɨr	dɨkɨr	mɨrki	hunger, famine
dɨgɨrt-	dɨkɨrt-	mɨrkt-	be hungry
dɨʃ-	dɨm-	dɨts-	destroy
	dɨndix^{w}a	kunakuni	ploughshare
dɨnga/gɨnga	dɨnga	dɨnga	vein, sinew
dɨnʃa	dɨnniʧ	dunizi	potato
malax-	dɨŋx^{w}-	dɨŋx^{w}-	finish
dɨrɨk	dɨrɨk’	dɨrɨk	drought
dɨʃ-	dɨʃ-	dɨts-	lose/get lost
bäräxs-	dɨw-/dɨx^{w}-	dibs-/dɨx^{w}	speak, tell
ʧemäz	dɨwan	ɨxaxiri	curse
qinʤa	dɨwi	qunzi	disease, sickness
ʧemäz-	dɨwʃ-	ɨxaxar-	curse (v)
dɨxa	dɨxa	dɨxi-	poor
dɨʃɨx^{w}-	dɨz-	widɨst-	be destroyed/.finished
sax^{w}na	dadɨŋ	saxun/jɨng	hoof
daga/dag	daga/dag	amp	upper part, top
daxɨr j-	daxɨr-	dɨxɨr-	defecate
daxe	daxra	dɨxɨri	excrement
anguʃa	damɨja	anguʧ-	cat
dakaʃ-	dan-	dekat-/keʃ-	cure, save
dakata	danga	dikiti/deketa	well, healthy

mɨna	dara	wɨn	truth
qɨŋɨʃ	daxär	tɨf-/xɨŋʃ[122]	divorce
geka	day		shore, bank, side
gandʒ-	damät-	gɨdɨmt-	lie down
fɨʧ-	dir-	fɨʧ-	hate
diwa	dirwa	d^{w}ara/duri	chicken
dus-	diʃ-	pɨnʧ-	fart
g^{w}arɨx	doma	g^{w}arxi	hoe
mir-	fäläg-	faj-	want, seek
kunɨʧʧa	fäläj	tsaxintsi	flea
kuŋax	färax/fɨrax	dinguri	big, large
fäʃ-	fäʃ-	fɨʃ-	take away
daw-	fäj-	ka-	go
mal-	fäz-	zer-	sow
zar	fäzän	xer	seed
bɨgla	fɨntära	fɨjal/la	goat
kupakupa	fɨr/fɨri	kupakupi	fruit
fɨw-	fɨw-	ɨssi-	cry, weep
fax-	fax-	xuna mits-	marry a woman
diʃ-	fax-	ɨndʒits-	beak bread
färäza (m), firiza (f)	färäza/ färza	firisi/feresa	horse
qira	xera/ fera	xɨri	smell
fix^{w}-	fiw-	fix^{w}-	breathe (v)
ɨnka	fiwa	ɨnka	breath, soul
gäbɨs	gäbära	sɨmki	barley
gäbäre	gäbäre	gabare	farmer, peasant
g^{w}ad-	gäd y	gud-	harm, injure
gäm-	gäm-	gem-	go down, descend
gumäna	gämäna	wudʒi	lion
bäräxɨs-	gämär-	dibs-	
	gämärmärs-	dibsɨŋɨŋ-	converse, speak together
gäna	gäna	ʧ^{w}a	mother
gaʃìti	gänita	waladʒa aqqa	old woman
gändʒ-	gändʒ-	saqi-	sleep (v)
gänzäb/ näwarka	gänzäb	genzab	money
newxur	gär	new (m), newa (f)	calf
gäräʃ-	gäräʃ-	deret-	tire, exhaust
gär-	gäräj-	deret-	be tired
gäräz-	gäräz-	waʃale kew-	circumcise

[122] xɨŋʃ is Awngi of Jawi and K^{w}ara variety

geka	gärka/ gɨrka	gerk	day
kal-	gärʃ-	kal-	be able
sɨrga	gässa	agsisi/ tsɨrragi	rubbish
laf	gäʃ	ɨlaf	face
däqär-	gäwt-	deqar-	bless (v)
särg-	gäz-	tserag-	sweep, wipe
ʃults-	gɨb-	afuts-	sharpen
kenda	gɨbära	kindi	half
ɨngɨr	gɨbra	ɨngɨr	back
ʧafl	gɨbwa	ʧafi	branch
gɨdgɨda	gɨdgɨda	ʤɨgɨr	wall
tänkära	gɨlbɨjam	gɨrbisti	strong
gäläba	gɨlbäna	gilibi	dry straw
qirantu	gɨm	bɨssɨq	dirty, rotten
gɨrbɨ	gɨrbɨ	gɨrb	knee
gɨrb dara	gɨrbɨjam	gɨrbisti	strong
gɨkas fajʃux-	gɨrk-	ɨʃʃi-	spend the day
ʧangaxa	gɨri	tsengaxa	left
gɨrwa	gɨrwa	ŋɨʃtari	*man*, male
ɨngɨr	gɨt	ɨngɨr	rear, backside
gɨsaŋa	gɨziŋ	gɨseŋ	dog
nabil	gabɨl	naqɨt	near, next
kal	gaba	dib, kal	thing, word
gaxa	gaxa	gaxi	cliff, precipice
gan	gan	gan	large storage jar
läaz-	gaʃ-	legas-	grow
kuŋa	gaʃa	buzzi	fat
gaʃʃa	gaʃa	gaʃʃi	shield
märr	gaz	dad	road
gi	gi (gimp)?	ʤendʒ	horn
gaŋ-	giŋ-	giŋ-	run
giʃ-	giʃ-	geʃ-	cook (v)
golämsa	golämsa	golmasi	young man, youth
goräbet	goräbet	walana/--ini	neighbor
g^{w}-	g^{w}-	ʤu-	stand up, get up
gɨrafɨʃa	g^{w}äb	gurriŋa	morning
gubälä-	g^{w}äbätʃ-	gubalts-	bend (v tr)
g^{w}äläj-	g^{w}äläj-	agulal-/ golal-	separate
g^{w}än	g^{w}än	gw	side
märr	g^{w}ärwa	dad	road
g^{w}äʃ	g^{w}äʃ	goʃ	buffalo
tärara	g^{w}äta	kan	mountain

ɨbɨd	gʷäxäj	ɨbɨd	mad person
gʷännaʃ	gʷäjŋ	gon	side (of the body)
aras-	gʷäz-	aras-	plough (v)
kinka	gʷäza	masi/ ɨrʃì bɨta	farmland
gäbäre	gʷäzanta	araʃ/ gabare	farmer
gʷäg	gʷäzgʷɨ	guzɨg	stomach, belly
ʤagʷ	gʷäzgʷɨtäj	ʃera	pregnant
gʷɨgʷɨ	gʷɨgʷɨ	tsɨngo aq-	wake up
gʷɨmbɨra	gʷɨmbɨra	gurinqi	navel
ɨre	gʷɨja	ar	husband
waʃ	gʷax	waʃ	cave
gʷaxɨnt-	gʷaxɨnt-	ʤɨfist-	be afraid
gʷaxina	gʷaxina	ʤɨfi	cowardly
mɨlaxa	gʷangʷɨ	bebrak/ mɨlaxi	thunder
gʷarxʷ-	gʷarxʷ-	gʷarx-	dig
kakas-	gʷaxas-	kakast-	yawn (vi)
ji	ir/jir	aqqi	man, person
ʤägɨra	ʤägɨra	zagri	baboon
ʤäla	ʤäla	ʧaxa	Small bird
amora		gʷaxi	Large bird
ʤämär-	ʤämär-	ʤemar-	begin
ʤämärijax	ʤämärijax	abalamti/ʤimiri	first
daw-	ʤäŋ	ɨnzeŋ-	walk, go
miri	ʤäräb	faj-	want, wish for
sɨnde	ʤärgʷa	sɨndaj	wheat
zɨnkʷ-	ʤɨkaw j-	zuku-	be heavy
ɨmbɨl wantär-	ʤɨlw-	zur-	go round
ʒɨgra	ʤɨräna	ʧɨppa	guinea fowl
tsɨmar	ʤɨrä j	tsɨmar	tail
aflafɨl	ʤap	fɨn	front
ʤaxɨs-	ʤaxɨs-	laxʷ-	insult
ʤana	ʤana	ɨnni/a	elephant
ʤaqa-	ʤax-	ziq-	drink
zɨr	ʤir	zɨr	intestines
k-	k-	ʧ-	spend the night
qaqats-	käbäkäb-	qaqats-	be cool
kämän-	käbän-	kaman-	have children, bear, beget
käbäns-	kämäns-	kamanst-	be born
gämäd	käbära	gemad	rope
käbɨna	käbɨna	kawan	forest
ben	käfäl	ben	divide, pay
käkär	käkär	kikirts-/sankts-	hang (vt)

dunʃ-	käl-	dunts-	break
käläbt	käläbt	ʧebal-	accept, receive
känfär	känfär	ginti/kenper	lip
kämi	käsäl	tsilix^{w}ini	charcoal
kɨnä	känä	-ta	like (post position)
dɨst	kärtäma	dik^{w}i	cooking pot
käläx-	käsäs-	kesas-	accuse
ʃäfän-	kätäm-	ʃofan-	cover (v)
kalɨx^{w}	käw j	kelax-	cry, shout
k^{w}a	käw	muri	village
k^{w}e	käwɨja	g^{w}agaʧa	partridge
bana	kɨbɨl	bani/tamm	share
gɨmb	kɨmbɨ	gɨmb	stick, staff
kɨr	kɨr	kɨrri	thread
kɨrŋa	kɨrŋa	karɨŋ	stone
qutsa	kɨrʃa	quts	cheek
kɨrʧi	kɨrtäkɨrta	k^{w}aʧk^{w}aʧ	chin
kɨsɨŋa/kɨsɨja	kɨsɨŋa/kɨsɨja	ʧir	dawn, daybreak
kɨs-/ bɨr-	kɨs-	bɨti ʧ-	dawn-
qaza	kɨjän	xas	wedding
fax-	kɨjɨnt-	xɨjɨst-	get married
wag-	kɨz-	waj-	sell
kab	kab	kabi	stone wall
kab-	kab-	kew-	cut
ɨrdat-	kab-	ɨrdat-/agaz-	help
kaga	kaga	kagi	dry
kɨrta	kambɨ	badbadtsi	wing
kana	kana	kani	tree
waxs	karɨŋ	maqaʧ	anger
waxs-	karɨŋs-	maqaʧ-	be angry
sule	kara	kari	knife
kalax-	kaʃɨŋ	ɨqq^{w}i-	call
guz-	kaw-	gus-	lead, guide
ɨŋŋi	kawa	ɨŋŋi	black ant
kab-	kaj-	kaj-	cross, go across
kɨr-	ki-/kidz-	kɨr-	die
gɨrwa	kin	ŋɨʃtari	male
kint-	kint-	kɨnt-	learn
kiz-/kɨz-	kiz-/kɨz-	keʃ-	be better
koräʧa	koräʧa	kur	saddle
kulalit	kulalit	ɨnkulaliti	kidney
ku-	ku-/kumal-	ku-	kill

däbäla	kʷärbäj	agʷazi/makɨr	skin, hide, leather
pax-	kʷaʃʃ	demak-	add
kɨmtsɨz	kʷɨlŋa/kʷɨna	kɨmtsi	evening
kʷɨra	kʷɨra	bɨn	river
kʷɨrna	kʷɨrna	kɨrŋi	elbow
kʷanka	kʷankʷa	kʷanki	language
kʷara	kʷara	awa	sun
kälal-	k'älal j-	sasar-	be light
kits-	k'ät'-	kits-	punish
kɨndɨb	k'ɨndɨb	ɨl ʃuba	eyebrow
läb-	läb-	ɨt-	fall (vi)
läbäläb-	läbäläb-	gab-/diŋʷ-/ xu-	burn (vi)
läbu	läbu	jimi	Wednesday
maltanta	läd	liʃanti/a	shepherd, cowherd
lägäzma-	lägäz-	legesemt-	be long (tall) vi
läkäm-	läkäm-	lekem-	gather, pick up vt
läläma	läläma	sɨr	baby, infant
lämäd-	lämäd-	des-	get used to vi
lämäjt-	lämäjt-		be fertile (land) vi
lämad	lämad	des/bajl	custom
lämda	lämda	mindi	shade, shadow
läŋäta/liŋäta	läŋäta	laŋatta	seven
läŋätan ʧìka	läŋätiŋ	laŋiti tsɨka	seventy
liŋän ʧìka	läŋäjŋ	laŋarŋa	twenty
läʃ-	läʃ-	jag-/tag-	bring
wits-	latex-	wits	win
läwa	läw	lewa	right side
läwät-	läwät-	kis-	change
lɨbäka	lɨbäka	ʃew	heart
lɨkʷ	lɨkʷ	lɨkʷ	leg, foot
lɨm-	lɨm-	lɨm-	close, shut
kutsa	lɨmsa	ʤabi	roof
laba	laba	mɨkʷ	feather
laxʷ	lax	aw	come (imperative)
tina	l ax	ɨttini	flour, meal
naxna	laxla	tsɨxara	bee
laxʷa/laxa/la	laxu	laxu	one
labka	lank'a	leg (bɨbri)	flame
tsanŋ	lanxɨ	tsanŋ	tongue
laniʃ-	laʃ-	lants-	lick
lat-	lat-	ʃɨnkuʃ-	peel
lix	lix	lix	hundred

liŋa	liŋa	laŋa	two
liʃ-	liʃ-	lɨnts-	shave
kɨʧɨn	litax	ɨntsu	thin
säränta	lole	saratan-	serevant
anq	ludɨ	axda	inside
mädädʒa	mädädʒa	tsɨngil	hearth
mäx^{w}t- , mɨx^{w}t-	mäx^{w}t- , mɨx^{w}t-	bu-	carry
tanatan-	mäk-	tar-	spin (thread)
kuzäŋ-	mäkär-	kusɨŋts-	advise
mäkäj	af	xɨmbi	mouth
daw	mäk’abɨr	mekabɨr	grave
mält-	mält-	mand-	look after (cattle)
k^{w}a	mändär	muri	village
mängaga	mängaga	mɨngagi	jaw
qɨmba		san	nose
mänta	mänta	mentka	twin
märät-	märät-	wagan-	choose
märäwa	märäwa	muri	snake
aqʃa	märara	mɨrari, ɨnqɨqi	bitter
dɨrk	mäʃi	dɨrk	dry season
lik-	mäwr-	lik	measure
afa	mäja	af	outside (n)
male	mäjla	babari	millet
mɨnʧɨ	mɨnʧʾɨ	ali-	spring water
mɨngɨlsax^{w}ät	säx^{w}ät	sɨx^{w}at	week
mɨrfa	mɨrfa	merfi	needle
mɨrk	mɨrqi	mɨrqi	lightening
mɨsgana	mɨsgana	mɨsgen	thanks
mɨj-, mɨjs-	mɨj-, mɨjs-	zeneg-	forget
mukana	mɨjän	mokana	heifer
ʧaraka	mɨzbära	arfa	moon
mal-	mal-	zɨg^{w}-, dɨrb-	throw down
maräʃa	maräʃa	kunakuni	plough
godäŋa	maxäla	atsa(e)b	friend
ʃukat	mido	ʃukat	comb
mɨʃa	miz	mɨʃi	mead, honey wine
mokär-	mokär-	mokar-	try
moɲ	moŋ	moɲ	fool
maʧɨq^{w}	näb	tsax^{w}-, ʧɨn ʧq^{w}-	suck
näfäs	näfäs-	nefas-	blow
ŋ-	näkäs-	ɨŋ-	bite
zɨk^{w}i	näns	jiwot	life

nätäk-	nät’äk’-	neta(e)k-	snatch
ɨtɨʃ	nät’äʃ-	atɨʃ-	sneeze
bɨr	nɨdad		fever
lɨng^{w}a	nɨng^{w}a	lɨnguxi	a kind of oil seed
nɨŋ	nɨŋ	ŋɨn	house
nɨka	nɨŋ	naka	today
kwe		gerk	day
	nɨŋsi	fɨtsums	never
kɨʧ	nabäj	kɨʧ	middle
naxän	naxän	laxan	wound
q^{w}ila		kufti	anus
laqlaqa		tsaŋadʒa	uvula
nän	nän	taf	hand, arm
nan	nan	ŋɨjʃi	now
angol	nara	angol	brain
naʃ	naʃ	ŋats	bone
ɨnt	naj	ɨnt	you
nan	najdiw	ŋadʒi	they
ni	ni	ŋi	he
nɨn		ɨnnodʒi	we
nanki	niki	wɨlla	all
ni	ni	ŋi	she
resa	resa	resi	body (corpse)
ʧeb-	säb-	ʧef-	count
säb-	säb-	seb-	stab, pierce
säbära	säbära	sifri	place
adaxbe-	säx^{w}-		forgive
säx^{w}äta	säx^{w}äta	soxata	eight
säxätan ʧika	säx^{w}ätiŋ	suxiti tsɨka	eighty
sixän ʧika	säx^{w}äjŋ	ʃuxatska	thirty
sädʒa	sädʒa	sezza	four
daxe	säk	dɨxɨri	excrement
ʧinʧi	säka	ʃinʧi, ɨnkoku	tapeworm
dɨsax	säkax	dɨkki	bad
säl-	säl-	sal-	sharpen
saluz	sälzi	safiti, wɨfʧi	Tuesday
säm	säm	sem	wax
sämaj	sämaj	dɨban	sky
maʃ	sän	maʧi	Monday
	sänabtɨ	kidami	Saturday
xullu, geka	sänki	xullu ʧif, serko	always
tamtɨŋ-	säränt-	tamtɨŋ-	meet

särax	särax		red, beautiful
gär	särax	ɨntsɨxi	work (n)
sar-	säraxs-	ɨntsaxɨst-	build, work, toil
sässa	sässa	sesta	nine
sässan ʧɨka	sässɨŋ	sisti tsɨka	ninety
ʧɨw-	säj-	saj-, set-	dress, put on clothes
säq^{w}a	säjɨŋ	sij	clothes
säxat	säxat	sat	hour
mädab	sɨbra	madab	copper
dora	sɨlax	sɨlxi	beer
sɨlʧa	sɨlʃa	sɨlɨʧɨ	leather bag, satchel
wäram	sɨmära	waram	spear
ɨmp-	sɨmb-	zɨkw-, ʤɨ-	dwell, stay, remain
sɨna	sɨna	sɨni	butter
qap	sɨnk^{w}a	qap	tree bark
sɨr	sɨr	sɨr	root
märäwa	sɨrg^{w}ɨ	tsixa	bride
märäwa	sɨrg^{w}a	tsixara	bridegroom
tɨx^{w} tɨx^{w}	sɨsäx^{w}t	tɨx^{w} tɨxw	whisper
sɨsqa	sɨsxa	sɨsqi	sweat
sɨwa	sɨwa	ri	rain
bunqi	sɨwi	kupi	unripe grain
ʃɨkurt	sɨwrta	gubari	onion
sɨja, sija	sɨja, sija	ɨʃʃɨ	meat
-an	sab	-ni	when (post p, conj)
saxra	saxɨja	ŋargi	honey
	sax-	sax-	sew
tekäm-	sax-	tekam-	be useful
kuŋt	sax^{w}a	sax^{w}i	fat (n)
sɨx^{w}ez	sax^{w}äläz		below
sama	sama		property, money
samba	samba	samb	lungs
gubbät	sanxi	dolat	liver
sat-	sat-	sat-	be mistaken
sax^{w}ɨn	sax^{w}ɨn	tsanquna	thirst
sax^{w}ɨnt-	sax^{w}ɨnt-	tsanqunt-	be thirsty
mar-	sax^{w}äy-	mar-	be merciful
six^{w}a	six^{w}a	ʃuxa	three
	suz		grand parent
ʃäb	ʃäb	xoʃɨ	milk
ʃäb-	ʃäb-	tsew-	do, make
täbäb-	ʃäbäb j-	tsebab-	be narrow

ʧ ägärs-	ʃägärs-	ʧegarts-	be difficult
habt, nɨbrät	ʃäxa	abt	wealth, property
ʃän	ʃän	-ʧiʤa	sister
ʃängäxa	ʃängäb	tsengaxa	left (side)
mal-	ʃär-	mero tsew-	swear an oath
mahalgadi	ʃära	mer	oath
täräbi-	ʃäräb-	kew-	chop, carve wood
täräbänta	ʃäräbänta	mɨkaj	axe
ʃärärit	ʃärärit	ʃärärit	spider
kɨzax	ʃärax	gud	good
ʃäʃäba	ʃäʃäba	tsutsa	termite
sätsäla	ʃäwa		plain, open, flat
ʧɨk-	ʃäj-	tsaj-	hold, have, take
mäbrat	ʃäjʃ-	tsajts-	light (a fire)
ʃɨbaʃɨbt	ʃɨbaʃɨbt	tsimɨrkʷa	eye lash
ʃɨbka	ʃɨbka	tsitsifi	hair
qantʧ-	ʃɨxʷs-	qundast-	be sick, ill
qanʧ	ʃɨxʷza	qunzi	sickness, disease
ʧɨgʷax	ʃɨgʷax	tsɨlli	small, young
ʧɨka	ʃɨka	tsɨkka	ten
ʃɨmagɨle	ʃɨmagɨle	ʃumagili	elder, old man
biwa	ʃɨngɨrwa	bewa	star
dɨʃ-	ʃɨnt-	ʃɨnt-, dɨts-	extinguish
tsɨŋʷ	ʃɨŋʷ	sɨm	name
sɨŋʷ-	ʃɨŋʷ- ʃɨxʷ-,	sɨŋʷ-	swallow
ankar	ʃɨŋʷa	ankar	loft, shelf
ʃäʃäba	ʃɨʃäwa		vervet monkey
ʧìw-	ʃɨw-	jɨm-	ask for, beg, pray
ʧäwa	ʃäwa	ʧìwi, aʃabu	salt
ʧax	ʃax	ʧaxi	urine
ʧax-	ʃax-	ʧax-	urinate
ber	ʃaxa	ber	iron
ʧaxi	ʃaxi	ʧɨx	rainy season
ʧaxʷ-	ʃaxʷ-		cook
ʧanga	ʃäxʷa	ʧɨxʷri	fresh, wet dung
dank	ʃanba	lɨkʷ danka	sole of the foot
ʧan-	ʃan-	ʧan-	to load
ʧanka	ʃanka	kɨj, kɨrari	grass
ʧaʧuna	ʃaʃuna	ʧunʧa	chick, fledgling
ame	ʃaxʷ	laʃaxʷi	stew
ʧara	ʃajax	fuʧ-	white
ʧaxra	ʃexa	ɨntsaxa	girl

ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	thousand
ʧinʧa	ʃinʃa	tsɨntsa	fly
sum-	ʃum-	tsum-	fast vi
ʧäbäx-	täbax-	g^{w}ar-	milk vt
täxätä-	täkätä-	sif-	follow v
tax^{w}ana	tax^{w}ana	tɨk^{w}ana	bedbug
ʃägär-	täk-, täk j	tsegar-	resemble
azan-	täkäz j-	azan-	be sad
ɨnʤuk^{w}-	täk^{w}äsäm-	ɨnʤuk^{w}-	sit down
täk^{w}äz-	täk^{w}äz-	ɨnk^{w}in-	be hot, warm
täk^{w}la	täk^{w}la	tix^{w}ra	jackal
wax-	täk'ajäm j-	gewsiŋ-	quarrel
tsɨla	tälat	tsɨlat	enemy
-gangana, -basgana	tän	-ʧus ʧu, -talas ʧu	grandmother
x^{w}äʧäx^{w}äʧ-	tänkäb-	anats-	churn butter
täräkäz	täräkäz	mundi	heel
tälba	tärba, tɨrba	tilbi	flux , linseed
täwɨrs-	täwɨrs-	ɨllo sɨnt-, ---dɨs-	be blind
täjt-	täjt-	dig-	approach, be near
kakas-	täzag-	kakas-	yawn
tɨfʃ, tɨʃ	tɨfʃ, tɨʃ	befts-	hide vt
tɨkäʃa	tɨkäʃa	maq	shoulder
tɨla	tɨla	ɨʤʤu	medicine
tɨm-	tɨm-	kɨm-, lɨlax-	become dark
tɨma	tɨma	lɨlax	darkness
tɨmbr-	tɨmb j-	tiri-	stand still, stop
tɨnɨŋ	tɨnɨŋ	meqaja	mosquito
tɨw-	tɨw-	tu-	enter
texza	texza	tɨʃɨ	smoke
ɨnt-	tɨj- / tɨ	-nt-	come
tɨra	tɨja	tɨti	cotton
ɨtsa	taba	ɨtstsi	fence
tab, tab	tab, tab	tafi	teff
piq-	tax-	wax-	be full
tam-	tam j-	tsewant-	taste good, sweet
kid-	tamb-	kid-	thresh vt
anʃɨn	tanʃɨn	antsɨn	mother-in-law
tɨgän-	taxän-	fɨʧ-	grind (flour)
tamb-	taj-	tas-/taj-	hit, strike
xonʧɨʧa	teza	ʧanq^{w}i	dew
lafa	tilɨja	tsila	hawk
bera	timta	biri	bullock

at^{w}	tir	-akɨsta	aunt
tina	t'ena	tin	health
wä, wɨ /wɨra	wä, wɨ /wɨra	ɨndar	what (pron)
wäba	wäba	mɨndɨraʃɨ	malaria
kuŋa	wäfär	buzzi	fat adj
ɨmbt-	wäla j-	embit n-	be quick
walta	wälta	walta	six
waltan ʧɨka	wältiŋ	walti tsɨka	sixty
wänbär	wänbär	wanbar	chair
gɨrmi, gɨrma	wängija	gɨrmi, gɨrma	pig
päntäb	wäntäb	wizari	sieve
wäntär-	wäntär-	zur-	return vi
wäntärʃ-	wäntärʃ-	zurts-	answer, return
wäräs-	wäräs-	waras-	inherit
wäräwär-	wäräwär-	zɨg^{w}-	throw, hurl
ware	ware	abɨn	news, gossip, story
gotät	wätär-	gus-	pull
wätra	wätra	serko(a)/ xullu ʧɨf	always adv
wäz-	wäz-		spread out vt
le	wäzɨŋ	leg	fire
wɨʧɨ	wɨʧʾɨ	afda/afs	outside adv
wɨtaxa	wɨlaxa	walx/ wɨttaxi	meadow, open country
assu	wɨrɨŋa	assu	lie
wɨjm	weri	axu(ki)	or
däbäla	wɨʃaxa	ag^{w}azi	rug, hide for sleeping
wiqa	wɨxa/wɨx	wuxa	how many, how much
wɨja, wäja	wɨja, wäja	ɨx^{w}i	hyena
wɨza	wɨza	wɨssi	ashes
wiy	waj	watŋa	how
kal	waxär	kal	word
waxar-	waxärt-, wart-	ɨnkɨr-	play, converse, chat
wanqär	wanxär	kas-	ask
bamb-	war-	bamb-	swim
was-	was-	ɨnk^{w}ax-	hear
waga	waj	wajmi	price
wud	wayna	wudani	threshing floor
wag-	wajt-	ʤew-	buy
wiz	wimäna	ɨndarmaj/ɨndarmaj	why
xäxa	xɨm	qum, gurar	throat
ɨngar-	xäʃ-	quts-	wash
xäʃäʃax	qäqäʃa	qaqitsi	cool
ʧaxa		ber	gun
säx^{w}ä	sätära	ʧark	cloth , rug
ɨntsna	xɨrfa	ɨntsni	snot, mucus

xeʃa	xeʃa	ɨtstsi	worm
xal-	xal-	kant-	see
xaʃäna/xaʃänta	xaʃäna/xaʃänta	didixi/dedexa	thief
xaʃänt-	xaʃänt-	dedax-	steal
xer-	xer-	xaris-	smell vi
xera, fera	xera, fera	xɨri	smell n
xir/xer	xir/xer	xar	night
q^{w}-	x^{w}-	x^{w}-	eat
mɨrr	x^{w}äla	kankli	penis
kulal	x^{w}äräx^{w}ina	ɨnkulal	egg
x^{w}äräj	x^{w}äräj	qura	crow, raven
sɨxon	x^{w}ätäni	sɨxon	wet
angɨt	x^{w}ɨm	gurgɨm	neck
x^{w}ajʃa	x^{w}ajʃa	mɨgɨb, xutstsi	food
x^{w}ɨmba	x^{w}ɨmba	san	nose
x^{w}ɨra	x^{w}ɨra	ʤer/ʤera	child, son, daughter
sɨnk-	x^{w}aʃ-	sɨnk-	anoint, smear
n-	j-	n-	say
dɨban/ ʤar	jädära	dɨban	God
gugur	jäw		lower back, hips
kuxkux-, ɨwra-	jäx^{w}-	ɨwɨt-	cough vi
ɨjja	jäjja, ji , ɨjja	jɨga	yes
jɨba	jɨba	tsanɨx	leopard
ɨxaxa	jɨxaxa	ɨxaxi	ice, hail
ɨnkan	jɨkäl	ɨnkan	love, like n
godäŋa	jɨkälänta	atsab	friend
xonk-	jɨk^{w}ɨʃ-	xuk-, fokat-	itch
jɨl	jɨl	ɨll	eye
kuts-	jɨmax-	kutsɨŋ-	kiss
hek	jɨnkɨʃ-	ɨkka	hiccup
r^{w}ɨŋa	jɨrɨŋ	sinnti	tears
nɨw-	jɨw-	j-	give
-qu	jɨwina/jiwɨna	-qa	wife
jɨq^{w}ar-	jɨx^{w}j-	ɨx^{w}ax-	laugh
safi-	jɨzän j-	ɨssan-	be wide
dɨkka	jɨzɨŋ	dekk-	bad, wicked
nia	jin, jindän	an	that (pron)
sɨjɨl	jinnät	aniŋda	there
gɨrɨw	jir/ir	aqqi	man, person
jɨwna	jusäj	xuna	female
gudb-	zäläl-	ʃax-	dance
ʧɨxäla	zämbil	ʧɨxali	basket
ʧɨgɨm -	zäm j-	ʧɨgɨm -	be quiet, silent
kana	zaf	kani	tree

Days of the Week in Kumpalngi

ad---------- Sunday
maʃ------ ---Monday
salus--------Tuesday
labu------ --Wednesday
hamäz------Thursday
arb----------Friday
sänbat------Saturday

Color Terms in Kumpalngi

sara---------- red
ʧaräk---------white
ʧamana------black
sämajawi-----blue
biʧa----- -------yellow
alaqondʒi-----green