



**DOCUMENTATION AND GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF  
GOFA**

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Doctor of Philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture**

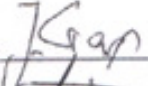


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## DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation hereby submitted for the degree of Philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture at Addis Ababa University is my own work and has not been previously submitted to any other University for any degree. To the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A	agent/ transitive subject
ABL	ablative case (-ra via/path direction to a destination), Ablaut
ABES	Absesive ( nearby. at, in front of) spatial orientation
ABS	abstract ,absolutive case (the TV or citation form of the nominals)
ACC	accusative case -o (FS), -a(MS/F.PL)
AD(E)S	adessive (-n ) ‘nearby, at, in front of ’ / -n time (in/at)
ADJ	adjective/adjectival
ADN	adnominal (a word class/a relative clause used to modify a noun )
ADV	adverb(ial)
AFF	affix (inflectional, derivational)
AFFR	affricate
A.DCL	affirmative declarative
AGEN	Agent(ive)
AGR	agreement
ALL	allative -n (on a place)
AUGM	augmentative (-i, -a)
AUX	auxiliary verb
C	consonant/coda
CAUS	Causative (-iss/-its)
CIT	citation form (in a dictionary or an absolutive case)
CLP	clipping, a process of word formation
CLIT	clitic pronominals/ pronouns (=nn.F),(=b.F/M),(= (i)ss.M),(= g.M)
CNV <sub>1, 2, 3</sub>	converbs: -ada , -idi , -eennan
COM	comitative case (-ra ‘together /with’)
COND <sub>1, 2, 3</sub>	condition clause marker(s): ikko ‘if’, iakko ‘if’, dhaykko ‘if not’
COOR/CNJ	coordinative case (-nn- )
COP	copula
CORN	coronal
DAT	dative case (-s(si)/-u)
DEADJ	deajactival (an adjective used either as a verb or a noun )

DEADV	deadverbal (an adverb used either as a verb ,a noun or an adjective)
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DEN (OM)	denominal (a noun used either as a verb or an adjective )
DEV	deverbal (a verb used as an adjective or a noun)
DIM	diminutive (-a , -o)
DIRC	directive (-kko ‘towards inside a place’)
DIST	distal/invisible
DO, IO	(direct) object (transitive) , indirect object
ELA	relative case ( -ppe ‘direction from inside to outside’ )
EP(E)N	epenthesis
ERG	ergative
ESS	essive case ( -dan ) Equative /simulative
EXCL	exclamatory morpheme/exclamation
F	feminine
FREQ	frequentative /frequency
FRI	fricative
FUT	future tense     -(a)ana
ge	gloss English
GEN	genitive (case) (-a, -e, -u, -Ø) /gender
GERUN	gerundive (-ussi , -aa , tone assignment)
H(F/M)GM	historical (feminine)/(masculine) gender marker
HON	honorific
HOR(T)	hortative ‘Let’s...’
ILL	illative case
IMP	imperative (-a, -ite)
IMPF	imperfective (present/future tense)
INDEF	indefinite
INF	Infinitive (-u)
INS(T)	instrumental case (-n, -ra )
INV	invisible
INTER/Q	interrogative
JUS(S)/OPT	jussive / optative
Lit	literally

LOC	locative case (-n 'at/in/on/near'), -kko 'to(wards)', -ppe 'from', -ra 'via/path'
M	masculine
MANN	manner /process (dan 'like/ as')
mb	morpheme boundary
MED	medial
N	nominal/ noun (stem)/ nucleus/number
NEG	negative (declarative) -kk- (1S/PL)/(2/3S.HON/PL), -nn- (3MS)
NM(L)Z	nominalizer / nominalization
NOM	nominative case -a (FS) , -i(MS,M/FPL)
O	onset
OBL	oblique case
PART	partitive case
PAST	Past tense
PASS	passive
PL	plural -(nt)t
POSS	Possessive pronoun
POST	postposition
PRED	( a nominal , verbal ) predicate
PRES	present tense (habitual actions )
PROC	process
PROH	Prohibitive ( negative imperative) -oppa (2S), -oppite (2PL)
PRO(N)	pronoun/pronominal inflection
PROG <sub>1,2</sub>	-afe (1S/2S/3FS) , -ife ((1/2/3PL)/(2/3S/HON)/(3MS))
PROX	proximal
ps	part of speech
PURP	purposive clause
R	rhyme
REAS	reason clause
REC	reciprocal
RDP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive pronoun or verb
REL	relative clause , a relative verb affix /relativizer

S	singular /singulative / sentence /
SUBJ	(in)transitive subject
SUBT	subtractive morphology of word formation
SUF	suffix
SYL	syllable
TBU	tone bearing unit
TEMP	temporal clause
TVs	terminal vowels
tx	text
V	verb/vowel
Vd	voiced
Vls	voiceless
VOC	vocative case
VR	verb root
W	word
Symbols	
1, 2, 3	first person, second person , third person
+	addition of segments/ segment co-occurrence /elements of <b>a</b> compound
→/ >, <	becomes
( )	optional /additional information
(´) / Ǻ	acute / high tonal accent
(˘)	grave/low tonal accent (is often unassigned)
(ˇ) / ǻ	chevron symbolizing a rising tone
(ˆ) / ǽ	circumflex symbolizing a falling tone
*	ill-formed
~	nasalization/ optional
◊	orthographic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
/ /	phonemic representtion
#	word boundary
# —	word initial
— #	word final
σ	a syllable node

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis gives a descriptive account of The Grammar of Gofa, one of a little described Omotic language spoken in South-west Ethiopia. It is mainly discussed within the framework of Basic Language Theory (BLT) which was introduced by Dixon (1997) and Dryer (2006). The segmental phonology of the language shows that the language has about 30 consonants and 5 vowel phonemes.

The tone in the language has both grammatical and morphological or lexical functions. The morphological tone is used to derive a few nominals from the major word classes: nouns, adjectives, verbs as well as adverbs. Besides, we derive as much new class maintaining and class changing nominals by means of derivational bound morphemes and compounding in addition to lexical tone. Different morphological rules such as segment insertion, dropping /deletion, suppletion and conversion among others interact with the inflectional as well as the derivational morphology of the language.

As the inflectional morphology of the language shows, Gofa is a nominative -accusative language for the subject of the intransitive verb and the agent of the transitive verb assign the nominative case whereas the direct object assigns the accusative case that expresses the argument position the noun occupies in a sentence. In rare cases, indefinite nouns that are vowel final -e and -o observed do not assign the accusative case for the language partially employs differential case system. The case system of the language co-marks definiteness and gender when the terminal vowels of the different classes of nominals interact.

Masculine is observed the default gender of many animate and inanimate nouns. Very limited animate nouns are expressed in biological gender distinguishing lexicons and morphemes. Gofa allows a flexible word order between the indirect and direct object arguments. The head nouns occupy the right side of the noun phrase where they are modified /defined by the specifiers, the complements as well as the relative clauses.

We attested that Gofa employs three relative clauses forming strategies: a gapping with the invariant -a that define the head noun, place maintaining enclitic pronominal suffixed to the invariant relative suffix and gender and number expressing morphemes attached onto the enclitic pronominals.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. The Gofa People and the Language

### 1.1.1. The Gofa People

According to the oral tradition and legends of the people, the people have migrated from South of Showa before the time immemorial and settled along the Omo River. The name of the people was coined/derived from one of the kings called ‘Kawo Gooba<sup>1</sup>’ meaning ‘the brave king’. Through time, Gooba, the name of the king was slightly modified to ‘Goofa’ and became the name of the people.

Gofa had a monarchy rule starting from the 14<sup>th</sup> century up to the expansion of the central government of Menelik II that changed the system of administration. In addition to that, the local administrators were appointed by the central government until the fall of the Derg Regime,(ጋሞ ጎፋ ዙን ማስታወቂያና ባህል ዋና መምሪያ 2004 ፤ 136,177-191).

The then Gofa traditional administration had its own structure: Kawo (King), and under it comes the house of representatives (balimoonata) who assigns the minister of defense and the minister of foreign relation. The third rank was held by ‘Kawo Woraaba’ which was equivalent to the council of jury. The next rank was the office of defense called ‘Iraasha’ which gave training and instruction to a group of people called ‘Guraachchata’ or soldiers/ peace keeping body (የጋሞ ጎፋ ዙን ታሪክ የዙን ማስታወቂያና ባህል ዋና መምሪያ 2004 ፤ 105-115).

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<sup>1</sup> The name of the King that the people attach to their name, their language and the geographical boundary of the language community (ጋሞ ጎፋ ዙን ማስታወቂያና ባህል ዋና መምሪያ, 2004 ፤ 108).

The Gofa language speaking people had 5 local lords: Gofa Kawo, Zala Kawo, Bayo Kawo, Malo Kawo and Uba Kawo . The kingdoms had family ties and exercised peace and harmonious relations. On the other hand, there were rare cases of conflict if one had power abuse, controlled the territory of the other kingdoms, and exercised probably inequality in resource management and allocation (**የጋሞ ጎፋ ህዝቦች ታሪክ የዞን ማስታወቂያና ባህል ዋና መዋዕሪያ**, 2004:105).

Gofa is in the Gamo Gofa administration and bordered with Dawuro, Konta and Basketo in the west, Male, Oyda and Ari in the south, Gamo in the east and Dawuro and Gamo in the north.

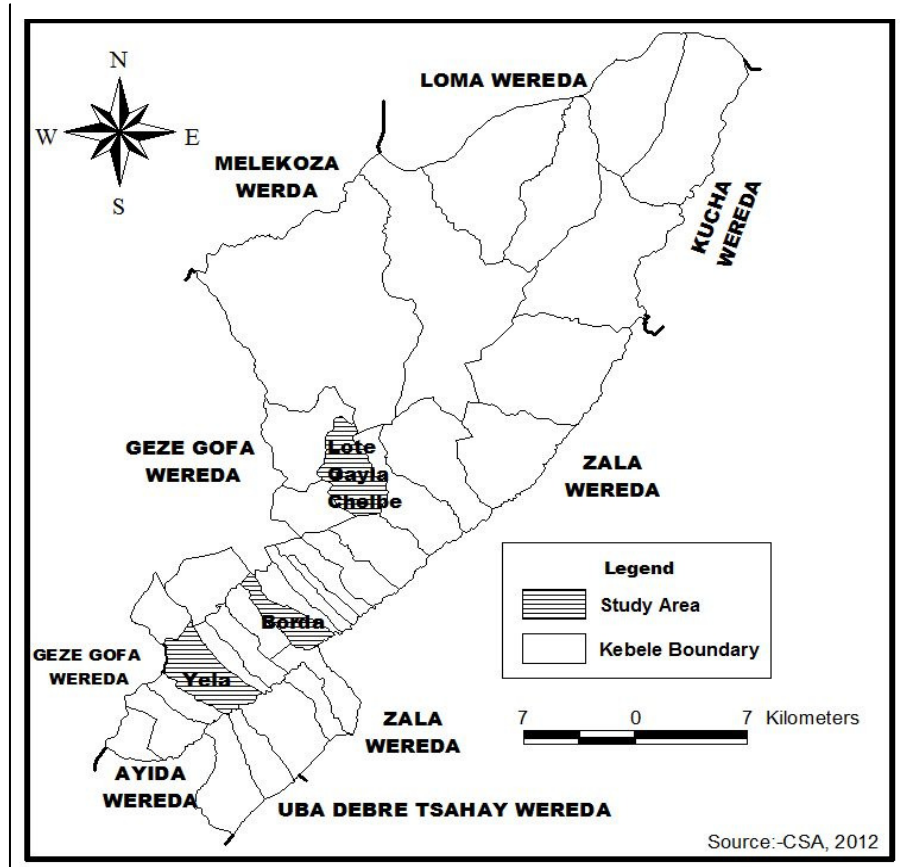
Gofa is located at 6<sup>0</sup> 45” 50” North and 36<sup>0</sup> 52”50”East. Its area is estimated to be 4,849.0 square km. According to the 1995 census, the number of population was about 400,118. The study site of this thesis is Demba Gofa Woreda which was under the former Gofa Zuria Woreda. According to the 2007 sensus, the number of population of Demba Gofa is estimated 81,158. It is bounded by the speakers of Dawro in Loma Woreda in the north, Malo and Gofa in Malokoza Woreda in the northwest, Gamo in Kucha Woreda in the northeast, Gofa in Gezze Gofa Woreda in the west and southwest, Oyda in Oyda Woreda in the south, Gofa in Zala Woreda in the east and Gofa and Gezo in Uba Debre Tsahay in the southeast.

Sawla Town administration is the centre of administration and commerce. It is about 525km to the southwest of Addis Ababa, 305km to southwest of Awassa, the capital of SNNPR, and 250km away to the west of Arba Minch, the capital of the Gamo Gofa Zone and 133km southwest of Wolaitta Soddo,the capital of Wolaitta Zone

Gofa grows varieties of crops and cereals. It has four seasons of three months each. The hills, plateaus and low lands are all suitable to grow different plants in different seasons. Thus, agriculture is the main source of livelihood of the people. The wild animals are preserved in the Maze National Park (One of the tourist attracting parks existing in Gamo Gofa Zone in SNNPR State) that is surrounded by a perennial Maze river. Demba Gofa has one preparatory school, one vocational school and one private college that awards diploma on both face-to-face and distance mode of delivery. The marriage culture of the people is one of the very interesting oral tradition that is seriously endangered. Some of the practises

of the marriage culture documented in this thesis are peculiar to Gofa and may make the Gofa people different from other neighboring communities?

**Map1: The Study sites in Demba Gofa Wereda**



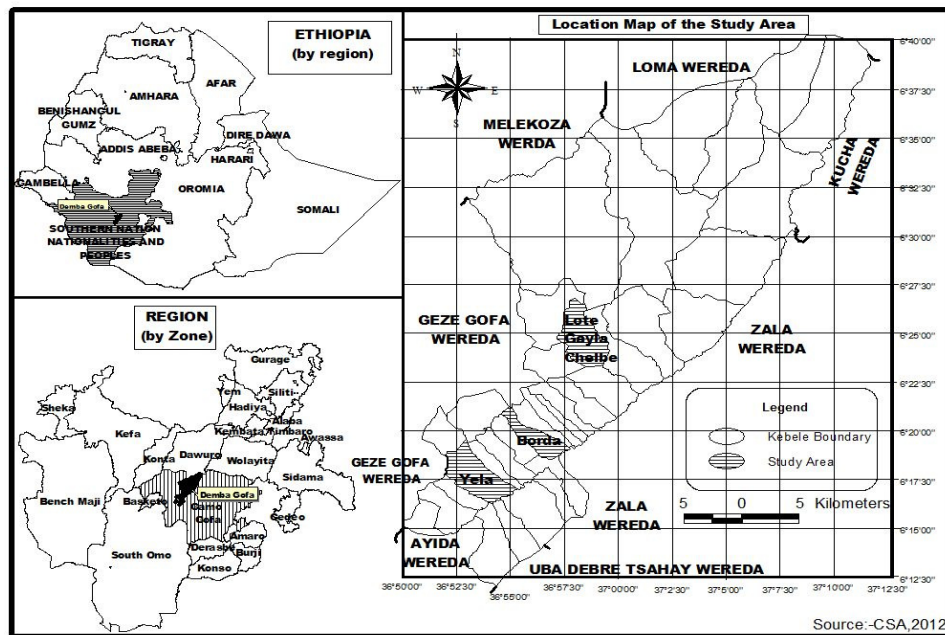
### 1.1.2. The Gofa Language

Gofa is a member of the Omotic language family under the North Omoto Cluster, which is spoken by the people of Gofa as well as the different communities living in the geographical location of Gofa Awraja of the past regime. The people have strong cultural and religious ties with the neighboring people. Some of the languages in contact with Gofa include Oyda, Aari, Dawro, Kontta, Wolaitta, and Kucha one of the different varieties of Gamo. These languages have strong influence on the socio-cultural and linguistic identity of the people as well as the development of the language of Gofa in one way or another.

The present study would contribute in laying the base for preserving the linguistic behavior that add value to Gofa culture for the next generation in spite of the pressure that comes from the dominant languages in contact and globalization.

The section discusses both the external and internal classifications. There are two different internal classifications of Omoto languages and dialects. These are the classification proposed by Fleming (1976) and Bender (1988) as cited in Hayward (1990: ix-xii). Both Fleming and Bender classify or present Gofa under the North Omoto subgroups.

**Map2: The Map of Ethiopia**



Omotic is a family name for 25–30 languages spoken in the Southwestern Ethiopia. The number of languages grouped under Omotic family is not yet clearly identified up to now. Some researchers estimate the presence of languages even more than 30. It was first classified as a member or sub branch of West Cushitic by Greenberg (1963). Fleming, in his two publications (1969, 1976), refutes Greenberg’s classification, and proposes the consideration of Omotic as a sixth branch of the Afroasiatic. Bender (1988) shares the idea of Fleming as cited in Hayward (1990a: ix-xii). Nevertheless, some scholars like Zaborski (1986) and Lamberti (1991) strongly argue for the re-inclusion of Omotic back to Cushitic.

According to Hayward (2003), the Omotic language family is internally classified into three main branches: South Omotic, North Omotic, and Mao. Table 1 presents his classification.

Table 1: The internal classification of Omotic Languages (Hayward 2003:242)

1. South Omotic: Hamar, Aari, Dime
2. North Omotic
  - 2.1. Dizoid : Dizi, Sheko, Nayi
  - 2.2. Ta-Ne languages
    - 2.2.1. *Gonga*: Kafa, Shakicho (Mocha), Shinasha, Anfillo
    - 2.2.2. Gimojan:
      - 2.2.2.1. Gimira: Bench, She
      - 2.2.2.2. Ometo-C'ara C'ara
        - 2.2.2.2.1 North Ometo: Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa, Dawro, Malo, Basketo, Oyda
        - 2.2.2.2.2 East Ometo: Zayse, Zargulla, Haro and other lacustrine varieties, Koorete
        - 2.2.2.2.3 South Ometo: Maale
      - 2.2.2.3. Yem (earlier known as 'Janjero')
3. Mao :Mao of Begi, Mao of Bambeshi, Diddesa

There is still the third assumption of Theil. Theil wishes to argue against the present genetic classification of Omotic for the evidences used to show the internal relation among the three branches are not yet convincing. So, Theil (2011:307) (cited in Binyam 2010 :6) strongly suggests Omotic to be considered as an independent language phylum, as an independent language family.

Furthermore, little is done on Omotic languages when compared to works done on the other Afroasiatic languages. Based on this fact, Hayward (2003) views the Omotic family as the 'empty quarter' of the Afroasiatic linguistics.

## 1.2. The Review of the Previous Studies

In the linguistic survey of Moreno (1937), Gofa was taken as the representative of Ometo. He claims that Gofa has neither definite nor indefinite marking morphemes at all, supporting the claims of other researchers. Moreover, he realizes that the indefiniteness is indicated by using the numeral lexicon *issi* [ʔissi] 'one/a' as a modifier as in *issi asi yis* [ʔissi ʔasi jis] 'one / a man came'. This is also attested in this work.

Likewise, he suggests the use of the demonstratives like *hessi* [hessi] 'that' before nouns to show definiteness as in *hessi asi yis* [hessi ʔasi jis] which could mean 'That man came.' or 'The man came'. Furthermore, he also realized that the affixes /-i/ and /-a/ are the nominative and the accusative marking morphemes respectively onto nouns in the masculine gen-

der. The morpheme /-i/ is replaced by /-j/ if the base words end in the vocalic sounds in /-a/, /-e/ and /-o/. In the present work, we argue in support of the finding of the scholar only when the case morpheme is affixed to the vocalic sounds to obtain definiteness relation. This does not hold true when the vocalic sound /-a/ is dropped and the case morpheme /-i/ is not suffixed onto the stems of the indefinite nominals with the vocalic sounds -e and -o. This is discussed under the case morphology given a section in chapter five.

On the other hand, Zaborski (1982) does not agree with the works of Moreno for the data Moreno used lack consistency and completeness. In his part, he observed the presence of both internal similarities and differences in his comparative study on Omoto languages taking the data from different researchers. In this regard, the present study reveals both the similarities that Gofa shares with and some differences Gofa shows by taking at least some representative data on the formation of relative clauses from the works of the East and the North Omoto Cluster languages for comparison.

Hailemariam Mesfin (2000) identified 25 consonants and 5 vowel phonemes. Though his finding shows that Gofa suffixes the morphemes /-y/, /-a/, and /-i/ to nouns to indicate the nominative singular masculine, feminine and plural nouns respectively, but the present study claims that Gofa suffixes the same nominative morpheme /-i/ to both the singular masculine and plural nouns, be it masculine or feminine. His claim may be based on the orthographic writing that replaces -y instead of /-i/ after the stem of certain singular nouns. For his work is very shallow, his finding does not show the class of nouns to which these affixes are suffixed. In the present study, we claim that the language under study derives as many new compound nouns as possible by using nouns and different word classes.

Besides, we realized that Gofa has some more consonant sound segments and the present study gives supportive evidence by revisiting the phonology of the language. Furthermore, the study deals with some more word formation rules and gives some more facts about the case morphology of Gofa that Hailemariam did not cover in his work.

Berhanu Mohamed (2001) says a few points about noun phrases in Gofa while describing the structural constituents of NPs in Gofa. He claims that the structural constituent has the pattern of NP → (DEM) + (NUM) + (ADJ) + (POSS) + N. In his work, the NP acts either as a subject, an object (direct / indirect) or a complement. The present study accepts his claims

and deals with some aspects of NPs like the direction of the head noun and its modifiers in complex phrases that are not treated in his work.

Hiwot Tefera (2001) deals with the VP of Gofa. She says that the verb inflections of the language are so complex to differentiate the suffixes of person from number as it is difficult to differentiate the gender suffixes from the definiteness and indefiniteness expressing suffixes. We found the issue very important and discussed in depth under the gender and case sub sections of the nominal morphology. We tried to show how definiteness and indefinites are interwoven with gender and case in the language.

In this connection, this study tried to show how NPs are used in equative predicates without copula verb. In this regard we tried to show that the VPs of Gofa are different from the VPs of English using the copula complement clauses. The finding in the present study also shows a few complex portmanteau verb agreement morphemes that express number, gender, and person in the VPs of different sentences in Gofa.

Yisma (2001) supports the idea of Moreneo (1937) and Hailemariam (2000) and argues that Gofa has no definite and indefinite indicating morphemes. No one of them tried to give linguistic evidence or further explanation on the issue. We also admit that there is no single definiteness marking morpheme. But in the present work, we realized and detected that definiteness grammatical relation is so interwoven with the very complex morphophonemic processes that occur at word final nominals, especially between the terminal vowels and the various grammatical relations expressing gender, case and number. The present study attests this claim giving some linguistic evidences under the morphophonemic processes in chapter three.

Sellassie (2004) gives a descriptive account about the morphology of Gofa employing the Word and Paradigm Model. He points out that Gofa uses compounding and reduplication in order to derive new nominal stems. He realized that these processes are found interacting with the tonal accents. Besides he admits that he could not detect complex regularities of the tonal accents in compounding, reduplication and other processes of word formation in Gofa.

In connection to the points raised above, the present study made an in-depth analysis and tried to uncover the linguistic patterns and phenomena. In this regard, we tried to show some of the complex regularities of the tonal accents that occur in compounding, reduplica-

tion and other processes of word formation in Gofa. Besides, we believe that the finding of this study tried to fill the gap regarding the phonological, the complex morphological as well as the syntactic functions of the tonal accents in the language. The present work treats the issue in chapter four.

Tariku Alemu (2006) gives an account of the analysis of noun phrases in Gofa. The function of the head and its distribution are discussed in his work to some extent. His work does not mention the functions of relative clauses and he does not examine the possible order of elements of the noun phrases. These are discussed in some detail in the present study.

We had the chance of visiting people translating the New Testament to Gofa. The Office works with the SIL International that collaborates in translating the New Testament to Gofa, a little known language, using the Latin scripts. We got some copies of the quarterly magazines of the Sawla Town Administration and the Information Bureau of the Demba Gofa, Gezze Gofa and Zala Weredas. Three of the magazines were prepared in Amharic for Amharic is the working language of the SNNPR.

Latin Script is adopted and introduced as the orthography of the language since 2003/04. The recently coined orthography of Gofa replaced the orthographies of the composite language of primary school education of both the WoGaGoDa<sup>2</sup> and the DaGaGo<sup>3</sup>(Hirut 1998). The newly devised orthography has slight modifications to fit into the mother

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<sup>2</sup>WoGaGoDa was the first language program that was coined from four North Omoto Cluster languages: Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawro.

<sup>3</sup> DaGaGo was the second language program which was coined from three North Omoto Cluster languages: Dawro, Gamo and Gofa. Kontta Dialect was not included in the coinage.

tongue classes launched in a few Weredas that the Gofa language speaking communities reside. We also observed and attended the training provided for the mother tongue class teachers of grade 1 up to 8 in 2012. Even though language experts did not involve in the workshop, we were impressed that the challenges against the development of the culture of writing were recorded to discuss with the concerned professionals.

### **1.3. The Present Study**

#### **1.3.1. The Objectives of the Study**

##### **1.3.1.1. General Objectives**

The general objectives of this study are to document a set of communicative cultural events for maintaining and preserving the language and the cultural heritage of the people and to write the descriptive grammar of Gofa.

##### **1.3.1.2. Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives of this study are to

- record and document some of the communicative events in their actual settings in order to create comprehensive and multipurpose ethno-linguistic data of the people
- revisit the segmental phonology of the language
- make the inventory of the tonemes and identify their functions in the grammar of Gofa
- provide the descriptive account of the morphology of the language
- provide the syntactic structure of the language by using the appropriate theoretical frameworks
- annotate and transcribe the documented cultural data by involving the knowledgeable members of the speech community

- present the study using the multimedia technology like CDs, VCDs, Audio and video cassettes, texts and still pictures.

### **1.3.2. The Significance of the Study**

The documentation of the Gofa language and cultural heritage has a multipurpose significance. It is a means of creating a rich, multipurpose and comprehensive primary cultural and linguistic data. This will be accessed by the language community for designing different instructional materials. Different researchers interested in conducting a comparative, historical, and pedagogical grammar (research) can easily access the ethnolinguistic data: the segmental, tonal, morphological and syntactic description of the speech events of different cultural settings of the speech community.

Archivists can also archive to help the future generation access, and appreciate the documented multipurpose primary ethnolinguistic data of the heritage of the past generation. Lastly, the documentation will be used as a reference for those who are working on language development and the revitalization of the language and culture of the people.

The present study on Gofa might contribute its best to provide some data that could shed some light on the linguistic facts about Gofa, the North Ometo clusters. We hope the findings of the present study would contribute to the knowledge of Omotic in particular and the Afroasiatic linguistics in general.

## **1.4. Methodological and Theoretical Framework**

### **1.4.1. Basic Linguistic Theory**

We mainly used the Basic Linguistic Theory as the theoretical framework of this study that was introduced first by Dixon (1997:23) and later highly recommended by Dryer (2006:209-229) in the language study of a little documented language like Gofa. In this regard the theory suggests us to rely on the use of the primary and natural data in order to minimize the extent of the influence of contact and dominant languages. We revisited the sound system and described the nominal morphology of the language giving high emphasis to the natural data documented on the wedding, funerary and related tales of the past generation of the people. The comparative method is also employed to some extent in order to

examine the extent that the gender and case system of Gofa shares with some languages of South Omotic (Dime) and North Omotic (Haro, Koorete, Sheko, Wolaitta and Yem).

Descriptive linguistics is used in dealing with the derivation of new lexicons, revisiting and describing the structure of the phonology of the language, and analyzing the circumstances of nominal compounds obtained from the corpus of the primary and representative ethno-linguistic data collected and elicited from the native speakers of the language.

We realized that a single morpheme co-marks case, number, gender and definiteness grammatical relations at a time in Gofa. This shows that Gofa also behaves as a fusional language to some extent since some grammatical features of morphemes do not show one-to-one correspondence with their linear sequences in words and phrases. We also observe that the same lexeme/morpheme may sometimes be used as two forms in the case system of Gofa due to the presence of syncretism between these two forms. So, we found the Word and Paradigm Morphology useful to be applied as additional method of treating the complex morphophonemic, and morphosyntactic irregularities of the language under study.

We also make use of the notion of ‘differential case marking’ which was introduced by Aissen (2003). We found this important in order to explain the differential system that the language assigns some case affixes onto definite noun roots or stems while some indefinite nouns remain unmarked simply for they are exempted from marking some cases in Gofa. This is also observed true in Haro (Hirut 2003: 64).

## **1.4.2. Language Documentation**

### **1.4.2.1. Data Collection**

During data collection, the knowledgeable Gofa speaking community members were selected by employing purposive sampling technique (Samarin 1967) . The interview questions were set for the selected informants. The elicitation was done both in Gofa and Amharic. We visited the sites where Gofa speakers live like Arba Minch (the centre for Gamo Gofa Zone), Sawla (the town of Demba Gofa), Laha (Malo Koza), Bulki (Gezze Gofa), Bato (Uba Debrestehay), Shaffite (Oyda), and Shafe (Zala). We finally selected the Demba Gofa woreda, where the speakers of the Sawla dialect reside, since we found the woreda officials actively involved in selecting elderly people who know well about the marriage culture of the past generation.

The wedding cultural practice was documented when it was performed by participants who were instructed and guided by the knowledgeable old people from Loxe, Borda and Yela. The data of the oral tradition we obtained from the other woredas, Gezze Gofa and Zala , are used when the need arises to show slight dialectal variations observed as a result of long cultural influence of the neighboring Ometo Cluster language speakers.

The documentation of the seriously endangered wedding and funerary cultural practices was done in three trips to the study site in the academic year 2010/11, 2011/12 and 2012/13. The concerned officials and resourceful people organized a committee that selected people who were involved in the process of performing the wedding practice and narrating the funerary oral tradition of the past generation. We captured the data of the endangered wedding and funerary cultural practices and related oral literature of the past generation by using the language documentation tools: video, audio and note taking.

The rich, primary and comprehensive data were obtained with the help of informants or language consultants. We will use the term (language) consultants instead of informants hereafter. The language consultants involved in the documentation of the endangered oral tradition were Ato Tadele Dossa ,age 48, Ato Alemu Zewdie , age 40, AtoYosef Musie, age 45 , Ato Zewdie Kora, 65 (one of the members of Irasha<sup>4</sup>) and Ato Samuel Dosa, in his mid twenties.

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<sup>4</sup> Iraasha is one of the ruling class members of the Gofa Local Administration of the Gofa Kingdom prior to the reign of Haile Sellassie Regime. It was a rank held by the office of the defense force of the territory of the then Gofa language speakers.

The analysis of the grammatical and cultural data were done after the primary Sawla dialect ethnolinguistic data were selected from Demba Gofa (especially Looote, Borda and Yela Kebeles), Gezze Gofa and Zala with the collaboration of these consultants. The wedding cultural practice was documented when it was performed by the trained participants who were instructed and guided by the knowledgeable old people from Loxe, Borda and Yela kebeles. The captured ethno-linguistic data could be used as a resource for those who have the intention of revitalization of the cultural heritage of the endangered wedding practice.

We used the audio and the written notes selected from the interviews and tales about the funerary and wedding cultural practices of the past generation. We also had the opportunity to take part in the first workshop organized for the primary school teachers teaching the mother tongue classes. This was intended to refresh the writing skills of the Latin script in the mother tongue classes. The challenges of the writing norms raised in the workshop reminded us to revisit the phonology and morphology of the language under study. One of the issues raised by the majority of the participants of the workshop was about the need for writing the Grammar of Gofa. All the fieldworks done were sponsored by the Addis Ababa University.

#### **1.4.2.2. Data Analysis**

##### **1.4.2.2.1. Software Used for the Transcription**

According to Nathan ( 2006: 366-367), data obtained through a single recording formats “ ... does not contain all the information one needs to answer all the questions of current interest. Because each kind of recording equipment has its strength and weaknesses of usability, convenience, accuracy, expense, power requirement and recording media and format.” Based on the suggestion of Nathan, we employ multimedia techniques in this reaserch.

The Audacity, is one of the different software, that converts the analogue sound/audio recording into digital data in order to transfer the audio to the digital computer work. We used ELAN to show full annotation as well as to synchronize audio with the video data in this thesis. The ELAN data of the audio is converted to WAV and the video into MPEG2 formats for archiving. The toolbox is also used in order to convert the corpora of the documented audio-video data to a Gofa-English Word List/ dictionary .

The present work gives emphasis to the extended format that embraces the other two formats: the grammar- dictionary formats that gives emphasis to the linguistic regularities of the language and the basic format that embodies the corpus of annotated primary data and its metadata (Nathan 2006).

#### **1.4.2.2.2. Interpretation of Data**

The primary natural data collected in the natural setting as well as the elicited words and sentences are presented in the orthography of the language for its phonemic transcription. This is again presented in IPA for its phonetic transcription. Morpheme-by -morpheme glossing is used since Gofa is an inflectional language. By means of morpheme-by-morpheme glossing we tried to isolate the roots/stems from the successive inflectional affixes. Based on these strings of morphemes, we identified the free and bound morphemes that are the basis of our interpretation of the morphology of the language.

The analysis and interpretation of the data collected so far is based on the rules of Leipzig Glossing conventions. Rules are hypothesized for the surface forms are derived from the underlying regularities or forms (Payne 2006:316) and these are discussed under morpho-phonemic rules, inflectional and derivational morphology in this study. Our free translation is based on the whole phrase, clause or sentence. The types of data collected so far include basic words of different word classes, simple and complex noun phrases and sentences.

#### **1.4.2.2.3. Transcription and Glosses**

The present work optionally makes use of the conventional orthography when transcribing the annotated data phonemically. This is followed by the phonetic transcription that makes use of the IPA scripts. This is then followed by the English glossing and free translation. [Lit] eral translation is also used next when there is a slight difference between literal and free translation.

The English glossing of the present work makes use of the interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glossing which follows the glossing convention adopted by ‘The Leipzig Glossing Rules’. The rules are believed to provide the intended meaning as well as the parts of speech of the root/stem and its affixes in a phrase or a clause in the text.

The phonemic transcription is written in conventional alphabet whereas the phonetic transcription is written in IPA in this study.<sup>5</sup> The sound segment is repeated whenever a consonant segment is geminated and a vowel is long. The high tonal accent diacritic symbol ( ˘ ) is assigned on top of the prominent vowel whereas the low tonal accent is not marked overtly. We found the glottal segment /ʔ/ [ʔ] is very essential at all positions of a word though it is intentionally ignored at word initial as a written convention in the orthography of the mother tongue. The ejective diacritic symbol ( ʼ ) is placed on the last segment of the geminated consonants.

Table 1: Orthography and Representation

Latin Alphabet	IPA symbols	Latin Alphabet	IPA symbols
<b>p</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>h</b>	<b>h</b>
<b>t</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>ʔ</b>	<b>ʔ</b>
<b>k</b>	<b>k</b>	<b>dh</b>	<b>ɖ</b>
<b>s</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>dz</b>	<b>ɗz / ( ɗz̄ )</b>
<b>n</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>th</b>	<b>ts / ( t̄s )</b>
<b>m</b>	<b>m</b>	<b>sh</b>	<b>ʃ</b>
<b>b</b>	<b>b</b>	<b>ch</b>	<b>tʃ</b>
<b>d</b>	<b>d</b>	<b>zh</b>	<b>ʒ</b>
<b>z</b>	<b>z</b>	<b>j</b>	<b>ɗʒ</b>
<b>r</b>	<b>r</b>	<b>ny</b>	<b>ɲ</b>
<b>l</b>	<b>l</b>	<b>nh</b>	<b>nh / ( n̄h )</b>
<b>f</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>ph</b>	<b>Pʼ</b>

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<sup>5</sup> Either the digraphs or the other symbols adopted in this study are carefully selected for they are easy to write them with less precision

w	w	x	ts' / (ɬs')
y	j	c	ʃ'
g	g	q	k'

## 1.5. The Scope and Organization of the Study

### 1.5.1. The Organization of the Study

The first chapter introduces the study. The chapter gives information on the history of the people, the geographical location where the language is spoken, the theoretical framework of the study, the review of a few works done on Gofa. It also states the objectives and the significance of the study.

Chapter 2 deals on the segmental phonology of the language. The segmental phonology of the language is revisited to uncover certain sounds that are independent phonemes but often replaced by or resemble the adjacent sound segments as a result of the morphophonemic processes of the language. The chapter reveals that the consonant gemination and vowel lengthening are phonemic. The onset and coda restrictions are treated in relation to the syllable structure of the language.

Chapter 3 deals with the morphophonemic processes that uncover the different phonological, morphological and grammatical processes that take place in the language, especially in the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns. This chapter gives some accounts of certain segments that behave one way in a given linguistic environment and change their linguistic behavior at a completely different environment. Some of the processes treated in this chapter include fortition/devoicing, assimilation, deletion, segment dropping, segment alteration, segment insertion, affix suppletion, subtractive rule and resyllabification. We admit that some of the morphophonemic processes are not treated for they are complex and beyond the scope of the present study.

Chapter 4 focuses on the tonology of the language. The chapter discusses on the auto-segmental functions of the tonal accents. In this regard, the discussion reveals how the tonal accents behave both as a lexical and a grammatical element and sharpen the discourse among the members of the linguistic community. Each of the subtopics raised in the chapter are discussed at length since the discussion in this chapter is believed to lay a good

base for further works in the language under study and the related Ometo languages. The chapter also raises some complex issues that are beyond the scope of this dissertation and invites linguists for further investigation.

Chapter 5 deals on the noun morphology of Gofa. The descriptive account of gender, number, definiteness, case grammatical relation features of nominals is provided to some detail. Special emphasis is given to show how the tonal accent system of the language contributes to nominalization. The chapter also gives some accounts of the processes of nominalization and how compounding varies based on the nature of the nominal head and the different word classes used as attributives.

Chapter 6 treats pronouns and gives special emphasis to the four sub topics: the Personal, Possessive, Reflexive and Interrogative pronouns. Chapter 7 treats tense, aspect and mood under inflectional morphology of verbs. The chapter also treats both class changing and class maintaining derivational morphology of verbs. Chapter 8 treats how adjectives and adverbs are used as nominal and verbal modifiers. The sub sections of the chapter show the attributive and predicative uses of adjectives and adverbs.

Chapter 9 deals on the structure of phrases and clauses under syntax. The sub sections show the modifiers and the direction of the head of phrases, the functions of modifiers, and their distributions in the structure of noun phrases and sentences. The formation and functions of the relative clauses, converb clauses and adverb clauses are treated to some details. The summary and conclusion provides the highlights of the findings observed in the study and winds up by giving concluding remarks of the whole work.

Furthermore, the last part of the study presents the documentation of the cultural heritage practiced in the past and shows the seriously endangered cultural practices of the wedding and the funerary tradition of the people of Gofa. They are used as the main resources for the description of the language in this study. Different methods /tools and approaches as well as software are used to capture and reconstruct the missing events of the cultural practices of the past.

### **1.5.2. The Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The wedding and the funerary tradition of Gofa seem endangered since they are not practiced by the members of the young generation. The cultural data in the study is limited

to the performance staged by the selected few kebele members of Loxe, Borda and Yela Sawla who are familiar with the Demba Gofa dialect.

## 2. The Segmental Phonology of Gofa

This chapter investigates the segmental phonology of Gofa. The basic phonemes, the structure of the syllables and the phonotactics (co-occurrences and restrictions of co-occurrence of segments) of the language are identified and treated in this study. The inventory of consonant phonemes is treated first.

### 2.1. Consonant Phoneme Inventory

Hailemariam (2000) reported 27 consonant segments but the phonemic inventory of this study shows the presence of 30 consonant phonemes. The additional segmental phonemes /f/, /ts'/ and /ɸ/ are identified in this study.

Table 2: Consonant Phonemes of Gofa

sonority		Manner of articulation		labial	coronal		dorsal		glottal
					alveolar	post alveolar	palatal	velar	
					non-sibilants	sibilants			
obstruents	Pulmonic	Vls	stops	p	t			k	ʔ
			fricatives	f		s	ʃ		h
			affricates			ts	tʃ		
		Vd	stops	b	d			g	
			fricatives			z	ʒ		
			affricates			dz	dʒ		
	Glottalic	Vls	ejectives			ts'	tʃ'		
			stops	p'				k'	
Vd	implosive		ɗ						
sonorants	Pulmonic	nasals	stops	m	n	ɲ			
			fricative					nh	
		liquids	lateral		l				
			flap		r				
		glides		w			j		

The consonant segments are treated under obstruent and sonorant phonemes. The obstruent phonemes are dealt first.

#### 2.1.1. Obstruent Consonant Phonemes

The obstruent consonant segments are plosives, fricatives and affricates (Roach 2002: 52). The obstruents are classified into pulmonic and glottalic. The pulmonic consonant segments are treated first.

### 2.1.1.1. Pulmonic Consonant Segments

We observe that the compressed air comes from our lung while we produce the pulmonic consonant sound segments (Roach 2002: 63). The pulmonic consonant segments under voiceless and the voiced consonant phonemes. The pulmonic voiceless consonant phonemes are further classified into three: stops /p, t, k/, fricatives /f, s, ʃ, h/, and affricates /ts, tʃ/. The stop consonant segments are treated first.

#### A. Pulmonic voiceless consonant phonemes

##### i. Stops

/p/: voiceless bilabial stop; /t/: voiceless alveo-dental stop; /k/: voiceless velar stop

Three of the pulmonic voiceless plosives can appear at initial and medial positions of words. When they come at word initial position, they can be followed either by short or long vowels ( Table 3).

Table 3: Pulmonic voiceless consonant phonemes at word initial

	data		gloss		data		gloss		
/p/	pola	p <sup>h</sup> olá	Finish!	peera	p <sup>h</sup> eéra	Tear it!	paydo	p <sup>h</sup> aído	number
/t/	tana	t <sup>h</sup> aná	me	taw	t <sup>h</sup> áú	for me	teera	t <sup>h</sup> eéra	ripped
/k/	kana	k <sup>h</sup> aná	a dog	koora	k <sup>h</sup> oóra	a saddle	keethi	k <sup>h</sup> eetsí	a house

At word medial position, the pulmonic voiceless plosives come between vocalic sounds. This means that they may be preceded or followed by either short or long vowels (Table 4).

Table 4: Pulmonic voiceless consonant phonemes at word medial

	data		gloss		data		gloss	
/p/	aappune	ʔaápp <sup>h</sup> une	How much/many?	hosppuna	hóspp <sup>h</sup> una	eight		
/t/	iitaa	ʔiít <sup>h</sup> aa	the bad	kiitay	kiít <sup>h</sup> ai	the message		
/k/	akeeka	ʔak <sup>h</sup> eek <sup>h</sup> á	Watch out!	bulluko	bullúk <sup>h</sup> o	local cloth		

In the data (Table 4), /p/ geminates at word medial but never appear in singleton. This is true in Shekkicho, one of the clusters of Kafa (Leslau 1958:137). We realized /p/ does not replace the fricative consonant segment /f/ at word medial, for /p/ is not a free variant of /f/ (cf. ii. Fricatives under 2.1.1.1 and 2.6 Phonotactics).

Three of the pulmonic voiceless plosive consonants come as the second member of a cluster of consonants or geminate at word medial as in Table 5.

Table 5: Pulmonic voiceless consonant phonemes at stem final

	data		gloss	
/p/	sanppa	sámp.p <sup>h</sup> a	a local bowl/plate	made of straw
/t/	gistte	gist.t <sup>h</sup> é	wheat	
/k/	ashkke	ʔáʃk.k <sup>h</sup> e	generous/innocent	

As we can observe from the data ( Table 3, Table 4 and Table 5), the pulmonic voiceless plosive consonants are aspirated when they occur before short and long vowels. These consonants are not aspirated when they occur as the first member of non-identical cluster of consonants ( cf. Cluster of consonants ).

ii. Fricatives

/f/: voiceless labial fricative

/s/: voiceless alveolar/sibilant fricative

/ʃ/: voiceless post-alveolar/sibilant fricative

/h/: voiceless glottal fricative

Among the pulmonic voiceless fricatives, /f/ does not occur at word initial position but it can be preceded and followed by either short or long vowels like the others as in Table 6. Aspiration is not phonemic in Gofa.

Table 6: Fricative consonant segments

	data		gloss		data		gloss	
/f/	-	-	-	-	goofa	goóf <sup>h</sup> a	Gofa	
/h/	haaho	haahó	far		aaho	ʔaáho	wide	
/s/	saro	sáro	peace		tayssi	taissí	mine	
/ʃ/	shaafe	ʃ <sup>h</sup> aáf <sup>h</sup> e	a river		deeshshi	deeʃʃ <sup>h</sup> í	(a) goat	

The pulmonic voiceless fricatives /s, ʃ/ are geminated at word medial or root/stem final and sometimes appear as either the first or the second member of a cluster of consonants. On the other hand, /f, h/ are neither geminated nor occur as a member of a cluster of consonants. Consider the examples in Table 7.

Table 7: The occurrence of pulmonic fricative voiceless consonants

	data		gloss		data		gloss	
/f/	aifite	ʔaíf <sup>h</sup> ite	Be fruitful!		aifiya	ʔaíf <sup>h</sup> ia	the eye	
/h/	haaho	haahó	far		aaho	ʔaáho	wide	
/s/	gistte	gistt <sup>h</sup> é	wheat		omarssi	ʔomárssi	evening	
/ʃ/	birsha	bírʃʃ <sup>h</sup> a	unfasten a knot!		ashkke	ʔáʃkk <sup>h</sup> e	generous	

We realized from the data in Table 6 and Table 7, all the fricative voiceless consonant phonemes are aspirated for they occur at syllable initial like that of the plosive voiceless consonants as in Table 3, Table 4 and Table 5. The segment /ʃ/ that occurs before a stop /k/ at root/stem final is not observed aspirated in Table 8. This could probably be that the segment /k/ behaves as a voiceless depressor consonant that blocks aspiration. This needs further investigation.

### iii. Affricates

/ts/: voiceless alveolar/sibilant affricate

/tʃ/: voiceless post-alveolar/sibilant affricate

The pulmonic voiceless affricates /tʃ/ and /ts/ have some similarities and differences. Both of them are sibilants and they come as the second member of the consonant clusters at word medial position. They often occur between vocalic sounds. On the other hand, they are different in that /ts/ is not observed at word initial position at all and geminated optionally though it appears as the second member of the consonant cluster like /tʃ/ in the data obtained so far as in 1.

#### 1.

/tʃ/ chi(i) [tʃ<sup>h</sup>íi] ‘No!/(an expression of not accepting invitation)’

oychchite [ʔoiʃtʃ<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>é] ‘Ask her/him (HON) / them!’

/ts/ kathi [k<sup>h</sup>áts<sup>h</sup>i] ‘food’

haythe [hait<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>é] ‘an ear’

As shown in example (1), the two segments have some more similarities and differences. They are similar in that both of the segments occur between monophthongs and diphthongs. As to Odden (2005: 27), both of the segments have delayed release of air since they are affricates that have both stop and fricative components. This allows them to be aspirated.

The segmental phoneme /ts/ occurs in the phonology of Dawro and some Gamo varieties like Dorze (Haile Eyesus 1981, Hirut 1999, Abel 2010), Oyda (Haile Eyesus 2003), and Koorete, one of the Eastern Ometo sub branch under the North Ometo main branch (Beletu

2003:10, Binyam 2010: 25). Nevertheless, the segment is not found in the phonology of Wolaitta (Adams 1983, Azeb 1996, Hirut 1999, Wakasa 2008).

## B. Pulmonic voiced consonant phonemes

Like the pulmonic voiceless consonants, the pulmonic voiced consonants are also further classified into the stops /b, d, g/, the fricatives /z, ʒ/, and the affricates /dz, dʒ/. Each of them is discussed under (i, ii, iii) in this section.

### i. Stops

/b/ : voiced labial /bilabial/ stop

/d/ : voiced alveo-dental stop

/g/ : voiced velar stop

All the three pulmonic voiced stop/plosive consonant segments of Gofa /b, d, g/ can appear at initial and medial positions of words. When they come at word initial, they can be followed by monophthongs or diphthongs /long vowels (2).

#### 2.

/b/	boora	[boóra]	‘a bull, a domestic male cattle’
	beni	[bení]	‘a long time ago’
/d/	doona	[dooná]	‘mouth’
	diithi	[díitsi]	‘musical instrument’
/g/	geeshsha	[geéʃʃa]	‘clean’
	gede	[géde]	‘there’

At word medial position, they come between vocalic sounds (short or diphthongs/ long vowels) as in 3.

#### 3.

/b/	darbbey	[darbbeí]	‘the local long drum’
	aybee	[ʔaíbee]	‘What is it?’
/d/	ordde	[ʔórdde]	‘fat’
/g/	gedaa	[gedaá]	‘the leg’
/g/	orggey	[ʔorggeí]	‘the ram’

In the above data, we observe that each of the segments appear either in singleton or geminate at word medial or stem final in the language.

ii. Fricatives

/z/ : voiced alveolar /sibilant fricative

/ʒ/ : voiced post-alveolar /sibilant fricative

Consider the pulmonic voiced fricative consonant segments occurring initially and medially /finally (either preceding or following short or long vowels) as in 4.

4.

/z/	Zaala	[zaála]	‘a place where the Gofa language speaking communities live’
	azina	[ʔaziná]	‘(a) husband’
	zanzzaa	[zanzzá]	‘the local towel made of enset fiber’
/ʒ/	zhiidhdha	[ʒííǰǰá]	‘Stab with a sharp object!’
	arzhzhata	[ʔarʒʒáta]	‘a local seat made of hide’

As the examples (4) show, both of the segments occur at word initial and medial/final but we could not observe /ʒ/ occurring as a stem final of a word. In addition, both of them occur as the second member of a cluster of consonants at word medial.

iii. Affricates

/dz/ : voiced alveolar/sibilant affricate

/dʒ/ : voiced post-alveolar/sibilant affricate

The pulmonic voiced affricates /dz/ and /dʒ/ are sibilants that occur at word root final preceding or following the vocalic sounds as in Table 8.

Table 8: Occurrence of affricates at stem final			
	data		gloss
/dz/	heedzda	[heedzdzá]	‘three’
	miidzdzenti	[miídzdzenti]	‘the cows’
/dʒ/	jaala	[dʒaála]	‘(a) colleague’
	anjjoy	[ʔájɲdʒdʒoi]	‘the blessing’

As we can observe from the data ( **Table 8**), /dz/ occurs neither at word initial nor as the first member of non-identical cluster of consonants whereas /dʒ / occurs both at word initial and the first member of a non-identical cluster of consonants at a word root medial /final.

### 2.1.1.2. Glottalic Consonant Phonemes

The glottalic voiceless segments are sub grouped into glottalic stops /p', k', ʔ /, glottalic affricates / ts', tʃ'/ and glottalic implosive /d/. The glottalic stops are treated first.

#### A. Glottalic voiceless stops

##### i. Ejective voiceless stops

/p'/: labial voiceless ejective

/k'/: velar voiceless ejective

They occur at word initial preceding the vocalic sounds (short or long vowels) as in 5.

5.

/p'/: phuuphphalle /phuuphphulle [p'uup'p'álle] / [p'uup'p'úlle] ‘(an) egg’

/k'/: qoodhe [k'oóde] ‘throat’

The glottalic voiceless stops /plosives geminate even when they come as the second member of the consonant cluster in the word medial. The diphthongs / the long vowels could be affixed to either the singleton or the geminate segments at verb roots or noun stems to show certain grammatical relations as in **Table 9**.

Table 9: Occurrence of ejectives at word initial, medial and stem final.

	data		gloss
/p'/:	xaphoy	[ ts'ap'oi]	‘the root’
/k'/:	mooqey	[ mōók'ei]	‘the long locally made spoon’
	phalqqanaw	[ p'álk'k'anãũ]	‘to splint a wood’
	baqqii	[ bakk'íi]	‘Does he slap/clap?’

As the data in Table 4 and **Table 9** show, /k'/: differs from /p'/: in that /k'/: occurs as the second member of a non-identical cluster of consonants at word medial.

ii. /ʔ/: glottal voiceless stop

The glottal voiceless stop occurs at word initial and medial (preceding or following the vocalic sounds) as in Table 10.

Table 10: Occurrence of a glottalic stop at word initial and medial

initial			media		
Data		gloss	data		gloss
lee7o	[leéʔo]	‘thin’	lo77o	[lóʔʔo]	‘good’
i	[ʔi]	‘her / he’	som77oy	[sómʔʔoi]	‘the face ‘
Iya	[ʔía]	‘she/his ‘	zal77anchcho	[zalʔʔáɲtʃʃo]	‘a merchant’

As the examples in Table 10 show, the segment occurs as the second member of the cluster of non-identical consonants.

B. Glottalic voiceless affricates

/ts’/ : alveolar ejective voiceless affricate

/tʃ’/ : post-alveolar ejective voiceless affricate

These two consonant segments differ only at the place of articulation. They occur at word initial and medial either in singleton and geminate (Table 11).

Table 11: Occurrence of glottalic affricates at word initial and medial

	data		gloss
/ts’/	qanxxa	[k’antsts’á ]	‘Cut something into pieces!’
	deexxo	[deetsts’ó ]	‘heavy’
/tʃ’/	ciishshe	[tʃ’iiʃʃé ]	‘a flower’
	kace	[katʃ’e ]	‘a horn’
	ancco	[ʔántʃʃ’o ]	‘Let him make a slice.’

As we can observe from the data (Table 11), the glottal affricate phonemes are observed preceding as well as following the vocalic sounds.

C. Glottalic voiced consonant phoneme

/d/ : voiced, alveolar, non-ejective, implosive

The glottalic voiced consonant phoneme /d/ is the only implosive segment in the language. It occurs as singleton and it is also geminated. It is geminated when it comes at word medial between vocalic sounds (6).

6.

	data	gloss	data	gloss		
a.	dhapho	[dʰap'ó]	'a root'	medheta	[mēd'éta]	'(a) creature'
b.	goodhe	[k'oóde]	'a throat'	aadhho	[ʔaád'ho]	'Let him/ it pass!'

The data (6) shows that the segment occurs as a singleton and also geminates between vocalic sounds but we do not observe it occurring as a member of a cluster of consonants.

## 2.1.2. Sonorant Consonant Phonemes

The sonorants are non-obstruent consonant phonemes. They are all pulmonic. The sonorant pulmonic sound segments are classified into three: nasals, liquids and glides. We treat the nasals first.

### 2.1.2.1. Nasals

Gofa has four nasal segments. They are sub grouped into the nasal stops /m, n, ŋ/ and the nasal fricative /nh/ in this study.

#### A. Nasal stops

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal;

/n/: voiced alveolar nasal;

/ŋ/: voiced post-alveolar nasal

The occurrence of the nasal stops: /m, n, ŋ/ is shown in 7.

7.

	data		gloss
/m/	mokka !	[mōkká]	'Welcome a guest!'
	hamma !	[hámmã]	'Give me!'
/n/	nená	[nēnã]	'you (object of a verb)'

/ɲ/ harbbanynyo [harbbãɲɲó] ‘a rabbit’

[háɲɲĩ ʔoots-ís] (< hanynyi oothis )

bite.IDEO work-PAST.3MS.A.DCL

‘He bit something.’

As the data (7) show, all nasals can occur both word medial before and after vocalic sounds (short as well as long vowels). They can either be in singleton or geminated at medial or stem final position. However, /ɲ/ shows a different linguistic behavior in that it does not occur at word initial.

## B. Nasal Fricative

/nh/: nasalized glottal fricative

The presence of the segment /nh/ in Wolaitta phonology was introduced first by Adams (1983: 36). We realized that the occurrence of the nasalized glottal fricative phoneme is not only in Gofa but also in Malo data collected in our field trip to Laha, the town of Malo Wereda Administration. The examples (8) attest the occurrence of the nasalized glottal fricative phoneme in Gofa.

8.

data		gloss
a. nhoo77ota	[nhõóʔʔot <sup>h</sup> a]	‘germs/minute living organisms’
b. anha	[ʔánhã]	‘(a) corpse’
c. anhai	[ʔánhãĩ]	‘the corpse’

We can observe that the phoneme occurs both as word initial and medial and it is followed by a monophthong, a diphthong/ long vowel. In addition, /nh/ behaves different from /ɲ/ that rarely occurs at word medial in Gofa.

### 2.1.2.2. Liquids

Gofa has two liquid consonant phonemes. They are /l/ voiced alveolar lateral and /r/ voiced alveolar flap. They occur as the second member of a non-identical cluster of consonants at word medial in our data. Consider the data in 9.

9.

	data		gloss
/l/	laa	[laá ]	‘Oh, you (young person) ! ’
	gal77a	[gálʔʔa]	‘old’
/r/	gorppa	[górppa]	‘Rub something on a surface!’
	tooray	[tooraí ]	‘the spear’

As we learn from the data (9), the segment /l/ occurs at all positions whereas the segment /r/ never occurs at word initial and it does not geminate. This is also true in Wolaitta (Adams 1983).

### 2.1.2.3. Glides

The two glides are /w/ voiced labial glide/semivowel and /j/ voiced palatal glide/ semi-vowel. These consonant segments are named either as glides, semivowels or approximants in this study. Like nasals and liquids, the glides are also sonorant phonemes. Unlike the nasals and liquids, the glides behave as consonants at certain linguistic environment and as vowels elsewhere. That is why they are sometimes named as semivowels. Consider the occurrences of the glides (10).

10.

	data		gloss
/j/	ya	[já ]	‘Come!’
	aayiw	[ʔaa.jiu ] > [ʔaa.jiu ]	‘the mother
	na7ay	[naʔai]	‘the boy/son’
	yayyoppa	[jájjoppa] > [jáj.jop.pa]	‘Do not fear!’
	Fear-2S.IMP.PROH		

/w/ wolla	[wólla ]		‘together’
aawaw	[ʔaawau]	>	[ʔaa.waú ] ‘Oh, father!’
kawushshe	[kawuʃʃé ]	>	[ka.wuʃ.ʃé ] ‘light’* <sup>6</sup>

The dot is used to show the syllable boundary in the examples (10) in the square brackets. As we observe the data above, the glides that occur on the onset slot behave as consonant phonemes. Eventhough these glides are phonologically consonants, they also behave phonetically as vowels at certain linguistic environment (Roach 2002:17). Unlike /j/, /w/ occurs in singleton as in the examples (10). This is also true in Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008).

We also realized that the two glide segments occur at word initial/medial or syllable final next to the basic vowels that follow consonant phonemes (10). In such a linguistic environment, the segments /j, w/ behave like the basic high vowels /i, u/ respectively and become the second member of diphthongs (cf. 2.2.2 Diphthongs).

## 2.2. Vowel Phoneme Inventory

Gofa has five short and five long basic vowels. The five short basic vowels are grouped into two: front and back. Among the basic vowels, we have two high or close vowels: /i/ and /u/. The mid vowels are also two: /e/ and /o/. Our mouth becomes half open and the tongue remains at the mid position. The basic short vowel /a/ is attested back for the ma-

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<sup>6</sup> \*There is a possibility of writing kawushshe either as /kauf.ʃ-é/ or /ka.wuʃ.ʃ-é/ ‘light (not heavy object)’. Either way could be right. We usually drop the epenthetic semi vowels /w/ followed by /u/ and /-j-/ followed by /-i-/ in a syllable (cf. 3. Morphophonemics)

jority of the speakers produced the segment as back. Thus, it is an open low back vowel. Each of the short vowels has its longer counterpart. Consider the vowel phonemes in .

**Table 12.**

Table 12: Vowel phonemes

	Front		Central	Back	
	short	long		short	long
High	i	ii		u	uu
Mid	e	ee		o	oo
Low				a	aa

Some researchers reported the occurrence of [ɛ] (Ohman and Hailu 1976:155) and [ʌ] (Adams 1983:44) in Wolaitta. In this study, we tried to check for their occurrence using Praat on the recordings of different speakers but we did not attest the phonetic realization of these vowel sounds in Gofa unlike Wolaitta.

In addition, we used the software Speech Analyzer and Phonology Assistant but we only observed little deviation of both the short front vowels and a back low vowel towards the centre. Except that, we realized the overwhelming occurrence of the short front and back vowels is to the left and to the right border of the centre. Besides, the finding shows that the front and back vowels [i] and [e] occur as the epenthetic vowels at word initial and word/stem final (cf. Epenthetic vowels and loan words). We still admit that the issue needs further investigation.

### **2.2.1. Short Vowel Phonemes**

The short vowels are sometimes called monophthongs in this study. The short vowels are always preceded by either a glottal stop /ʔ-/ or the non- geminate /singleton consonant segments at word initial syllables. They may either precede or follow the geminate as well as the non-geminate /singleton consonant segments at word medial syllables. Consider the occurrence of the short vowel phonemes at word initial and stem final as in 11.

11.

	data		gloss
/u/	ehu	[ʔehú]	'Let her bring.'
/i/	ehii	[ʔehií]	'Does he bring?'
/o/	eho	[ʔehó]	'Let him bring!'
/e/	eha	[ʔehá]	'Bring!'
/a/	eha	[ʔehá]	'Bring!'

At word medial syllables, monophthongs occur preceding or following the geminate consonants (12).

12.

	data		gloss
a.	uttu	[ʔúttu]	'Let her sit (down)!'
b.	zokko	[zókko]	'back (body part)'
c.	deexxes	[deetsts'és]	'It is heavy.'
d.	mallasi	[mallás <sup>(i)</sup> ]	'(for) example'

At word final/stem final syllables, we can observe the monophthongs occurring both before and after a cluster of consonants as in 13.

13.

	data		gloss
a.	pengge	[penggé]	'a door'
b.	indda	[ʔíndda]	'a bed'
c.	urqqa	[ʔurkk'á]	'mud'
d.	gorddo	[gorddó]	'Let him close the door.'

Two identical monophthongs can occur at word initial, medial or stem final syllables. In such linguistic environments, we may observe two identical monophthongs between or following consonants as in 14.

14.

data	gloss
a. meddaawaa [meddaawaá]	‘the groom’
b. meddaayee [meddaajeé]	‘Oh you, the bride!’
c. miidzdzii [miídzdzii]	‘Is it a cow?’
d. alleeqota [ʔalleék’ota]	‘jewelleries /precious stones’
e. buutee [buútee]	‘Will you go?’

As we can observe the data above, both the short as well as the long vowels (cf. Vowel lengthening) occur before and after a singleton and a cluster of consonants.

### 2.2.2. Diphthongs

Gofa has a couple of diphthongs like Wolaitta (Adams 1983:49-50 cited in Wakasa 2008: 73-75,78). They are observed at word initial and word medial/final syllables. Some of the diphthongs observed in the data include /**ia, ai , oi , iu, ui, ei, au, eu, ua/** .The vowels **ea, eo** and **oa** are examples of the impermissible vowel sequences in the Sawla dialect of Gofa and they are replaced by -ia , -iu and -ua respectively for they undergo phonological processes at word final syllables (cf. Morphophonemic processes). The common diphthongs that are observed in our data are given in **Table 13**.

Table 13: Diphthongs

	Front	Central	Back
High	iu, ia		ua, ui
Mid	ei, eu		oi
Low			ai, au

The diphthongs at medial position of words are no more affixes. Some of the diphthongs that occur as part of the free morphemes within the verb roots, the stems of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives are shown in 15.

15.

data	gloss
a. miyaba [míãβa]	‘something to eat’
b. iyassa [ʔíassa]	‘his property’

- c. awudee [ʔaudeé] ‘when (is it)?’
- d. ays(si) [ʔaís(si)] ‘for what purpose/ reason’ or ‘why?’
- e. boyna [boíná] ‘a plant root cooked and eaten like yam/ taro’

As far as the data collected from different language consultants reveal, **ea** and **eo** are diphthongs in Kuca and Wolaitta but not in Gofa. In addition , a few data of Sawla (Dembba Gofa Wereda) and Shafite (Zala Gofa Wereda) also show dialectal <sup>7</sup> variation.

Based on certain data, we realized that the high vowels in the gliding of the diphthongs receive the high tonal accent first. Before arriving at such a generalization, we had the assumption to consider the beginning of the glide is responsible to attract the high tonal accent<sup>8</sup> .

After a thorough checking, the group found out that the high vowel attracts the high tonal accent first for the sound belt reaches at its peak at the high vowel and lowers /falls /

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<sup>7</sup> Differences existing between Zala and Sawla, the dialects of Gofa, can be observed in the example (data).

Zala( + )	Sawla (++)
( <sup>+</sup> )hísttini wosttane [hísttin <sup>1</sup> wósttane]	~ ( <sup>++</sup> )yaatini waatane [ yaátin <sup>1</sup> waátane ] ‘If so, what shall we do?’

<sup>8</sup> This led us to test the hypothesis under question. With the collaboration of Dr Derib Ado and Dr Fedha Negese (Experimental Linguists at Addis Ababa University), we realized the interaction existing between the diphthongs and the high tonal accents in the language under study.

gradually. When the two high vowels form a diphthong, the lab test clearly indicates that the high back vowel attracts the high tonal accent first for its pick is higher than its counterpart front vowel. In case of the long accented syllable vowels, the data tested using the software, mainly the Praat and Speech Analyzer, show a very interesting result.

We finally realized that it is the last mora that shows the peak of the sound when the two identical vowels in the syllabic long vowel compete to catch the peak of the voice. As a result, the last mora in an accented long syllable assigns the high tonal accent in a simple word. For the sake of convenience, the complex words are treated under 4.Tonology and 5.2.2. Compounding.

The diphthongs at word boundary appear as the inflectional morphemes for they are attached to the verb roots and nominal stems / roots as in 16.

16.

data		gloss
a. dorssiya	[dorssía]	‘the ewe’
b. bay	[baí]	‘Are you going?’
c. siyu	[siú] ~ [si.ʔú]	‘Let her listen.’
d. harey	[hareí]	‘the donkey’

The diphthongs in (16) are the results of the interaction between the terminal vowels and the morphemes that express certain grammatical relations in the language. A few occurrences of diphthongs attached to the stems of nouns are given in Table 14.

Table 14: Occurrence of diphthongs affixed to word final

data	gloss	SUF	data	Gloss	
boora	an ox	-i(NOM.M)	booray	[boórai]	the bull
bitane	a man	-i(NOM.M)	bitaney	[bitáneí]	the man
deeshe	a goat	-o(ACC.F)	deeshiw	[deefiú]	the (she) goat
deeshe	a goat	-a(NOM.F)	deeshiya	[deefíia]	the (she) goat

The diphthongs obtained in the above data are used to show definiteness and the gender of the common name nouns in the nominative or the accusative case. The issue related to the formation and function of diphthongs is treated under the formation of diphthongs and also under Inflectional morphology of nouns (5. Nouns).

### 2.3. Consonant Gemination

Gofa has two types of gemination: simple gemination and complex gemination. Both of them occur at word medial and word final. Simple gemination is treated first.

#### 2.3.1. Simple Consonant Gemination

Simple consonant gemination is phonemic in Gofa. Almost all consonants except /w, r, f, h, nh/ undergo a simple gemination. The mono radical or the monosyllabic words have no gemination since they occur in the onset slot. Since Gofa has a simple syllable onset, the onset allows only one consonant segment to occur at a syllable initial. In the other words, the language does not allow two or more than two consonant segments to occur in the onset of word initial and word medial/stem final syllables. But we realized that the coda of word initial and word medial syllables allow even two none identical consonant segments (cf. 2.3.2. Complex consonant germination). We obtain minimal and near minimal pairs of a few simple consonant gemination in a two syllabic words that are phonemic (Table 15).

Table 15: Examples of simple gemination

	data		gloss
/l/	ola	[ʔolá ]	‘Throw away!’
/ll/	olla	[ʔollá]	‘pit’
/t/	pito	[pító ]	‘the dirt/ an instrument we use to sweep’
/t t/	pitto	[pítto ]	‘Let him sweep.’
/d/	shodhe	[ʃódɛ*]	__ * ( has no meaning )
/dd/	shodhdhe	[ʃóddɛ]	‘a frog’

We used a near minimal pair for we could not find exact minimal pairs that result in meaning difference between the singleton and its simple germination of /d/ in Table 15.

The data in (17) show that the geminate consonants occur either between short, long vowels or diphthongs.

17.

- |           |                         |                                     |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. baqqa  | [ bakk'á ] <sup>9</sup> | 'Slap someone!'/ 'Clap your hands!' |
| b. baqa   | [ bak'á ]               | 'Go out of sight!'                  |
| c. deexxo | [ deetsts'ó ]           | 'Let it be heavy.'                  |
| d. deexo  | [ deets'ó ]             | 'heavy.'                            |
| e. bayzzo | [ baizzó ]              | 'Let him sell.'                     |
| f. bayzo  | [ baízo ]               | 'selling'                           |

As the data (17) shows, the language derives some verbal nouns from their imperative forms.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.3.2. Complex Consonant Gemination

The complex consonant gemination is used to obtain complex cluster of consonants. This section deals with the phonotactics or the sequential occurrence of consonant phonemes in the form of C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> C<sub>2</sub> at word medial in the language. A few examples are given in 18.

18.

data		gloss
a. ashkke	[ʔáʃkke]	'calm/ generous'
b. wolqqaama	[wolkk'aámã]	'powerful'
c. parggulssi	[parggúlssi]	'the funeral song'
d. am77o	[ʔámʔʔo]	'a widow'

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<sup>9</sup> Some items in the examples in (17) show that both the original and the derived words assign the high tonal accents on the same syllable.

<sup>10</sup> The language derives some verbal nouns from their imperative counterparts.

e. henttanchchota [henttʰntʃtʃota] ‘the herdsmen’

In the data (18), the heterogeneous consonants are represented by C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> C<sub>2</sub>. In this language, the C<sub>1</sub> represents one of the sonorants: /m, n, l, r/ and pulmonic sibilants: /z, s, ʃ/ in this study.

On the other hand, some of the second possible members of the homogeneous consonant segments of C<sub>2</sub> C<sub>2</sub> in the cluster of consonants include both the voiceless and voiced plosives, the glottalics, and the affricates. Nevertheless, the germination of C<sub>2</sub> is not phonemic.

-m- : is followed by a glottal stop consonant /ʔ/ (19).

19.

	data		gloss
a.	am77o	[ʔámʔʔo]	‘a widow’
b.	gum77a	[gũmʔʔá]	‘Squeeze!’

-n-: is often followed by voiceless and voiced plosives /p, t, k, b, d, g/, sibilants /s, ʃ, dz, ʒ, l/, and glottalic segments /tsʰ, tʃʰ, kʰ, ʔ/. Consider the examples (20).

20.

cluster	data		gloss
-nbb-	janbbarshshe	[dʒãmbbarʃʃé]	‘a sling’
-ndd-	gonddalle	[gõnddále]	‘a shield’
-ntt-	wontto	[wõnttó]	‘tomorrow’
-ngg-	danggarssi	[dãnggássi]	‘an elephant’
-nkk-	shankkanchcho	[ʃãŋkkáŋtʃʃo]	‘a hunter’
-nkkʰ-	bonqq -	[baŋkkʰ -]	‘to robe’
-nʒʒ-	ganjje	[gãŋʒʒé]	‘intestine’
-ndzdz-	dondzdza	[dõndzdza]	‘clever/wise’
-ntstsʰ-	hinxxarssi	[hintstsʰássi]	‘tongue’

-nʃʃ-	shaaqanchcho	[ʃaakʰáʃʃo]	‘a chameleon’
-nʃʃ’-	cuncalle	[ʃ’ũnʃʃ’áʎle]	‘flea’

We found a minimal pair when -n- is followed by -ts- as in santhe [sántse] ‘a coin’ and sanththe [santstsé] ‘cabbage’.

-l- : is mainly followed by the voiced and voiceless plosives / b, d, g, t, k/, two sibilants /s, ʃ /, and glottalic segments /ts’, ʃ’, k’, ʔ/. Consider the data (21).

21.

cluster	data		gloss
-lbb-	gulbbata	[gulbbáta]	‘knee, body part’
-l-dd-	malddo	[máʎddó]	‘sorghum /millet’
-l-gg-	balggó	[balggó]	‘summer’
-l-tt-	kaltta	[káʎtta]	‘an ax’
-lʃʃ-	halchch-	[halʃʃ’á]	‘Make a plan.’
-iʃʃ’-	mulcce	[mũʎʃʃ’é]	‘very young’
-lkk’-	phalqqa	[p’áʎkk’a]	‘Splint the wood!’
-lʔʔ-	gil77a	[gilʔʔ’á]	‘the last finger’

-r- : is mainly followed by voiced and voiceless plosives/ p, t, k, b , d, g /, sibilants two sibilants /s, ʃ /, and three glottalic segments /ts’, ʃ’, k’/as in the examples in 22.

22.

cluster	data		gloss
-rpp-	hrppaa	[háʎppaa]	‘the local cotton cloth making tool’
-rtt-	bortto	[borttó]	‘a type of local tree used for fence’
-rkk-	markkaa	[máʎkkaa]	‘the witness’
-rdd-	ordde	[ʔóʎdde]	‘fat’
-rgg-	parggulssi	[parggúlssi]	‘a funeral song’
-rss-	haddirssi	[haddírssi]	‘left’
-rʃʃ-	barchche	[barʃʃ’é]	‘a problem’
-rtsts’-	hirtstse	[hirtsts’é]	‘an acrobat/( a physical exercise)’

-rkk'-	curqqa	[tʃ'úrkk'aa]	'the ragged cloth (MS.ACC.DEF)'
-rbb-	worbbaa	[wórbbaa]	'the hyena' <sup>11</sup>

-s- : is mainly followed by two voiceless plosives /t, k/ as in 23.

23.

	data		gloss
-skk-	dhiskk-	[d'ískk-]	'to sleep'
-stt-	gistte	[gistté]	'wheat'
-ʃk-	ashkke	[ʃáʃkke]	'inocent /generous'

-ʃ- : is followed only by a voiceless plosive /k/ .

-z- : is followed only by a voiced plosive /d/ .

-zdd-	gozdda	[gozddá]	'a bead'
-------	--------	----------	----------

The three consonant segments /ts, dz, nh/ are affricates and represented by two symbols. Especially, /ts, dz/ begin with the stops and end with fricatives. Whether these segments behave like the double articulated consonant phonemes or not needs further study. The segments /ts, dz/ occur as the second member of consonant clusters at word medial whereas /nh/ occurs at word initial and syllable initial at word medial. We did not observe /nh/ geminate or occur as a member of cluster of consonants (24).

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<sup>11</sup> Check whether it is a borrowed word or not. /-j- / : is mainly followed by four sibilants /ts, s, ʃ, z / , and a dorsal /k' / . (NB. If /-j- / is a free variant of -i- , as in -ai- and -oi- , it is no more a consonant segment. As a result, /-j- / could be considered as a part of a diphthong and treated differently from the examples given above.)

24.

data		gloss
a. anha	[ʔánhã ]	‘(a) corpse’
b. nhoo77ota	[nhooʔʔotá]	‘the minute particles/germs’

The segments /ts/ and /ts’/ are two independent phonemes for one can not replace the other though they appear as the second member of the cluster of consonants after the phonemes / n, l, r / in 25.

25.

data		gloss
a. nam77antho	[namʔʔántso]	‘the second’
b. nam77antho	[namʔʔantstsó]	‘Let someone do something for the second time.’
c. qanxxo	[k’antsts’o]	‘Let him pay the debt/cut something.’
d. qolxxo	[k’oltsts’ó]	‘a local tree with a bitter taste’
e. hirxxe	[hirtsts’é ]	‘a cultural acrobat ‘
f. hirththe	[hirtstsé ]*	_____ (It has no meaning.)

When Gofa allows the glides to come after short vowels /a, o, e /, we often obtain diphthongs /ai, au,oi,ou,ei,eu / at word initial. But we sometimes observe gemination after these glides in the orthography of the language. Consider the examples in 26.

26.

-ai-	hayssa	[haissá]	‘that (one)(M)’
	ayssi	[ʔaíssi]	‘why?’
-au-	awssee	[ʔausseé ]	‘which one(M)?’
	awnii	[ʔaunnií ]	‘which one(F)?’

In general, in our observation, the consonants /h, f, r, nh, w / do not geminate in the data collected so far. Some scholars like Cerulli (1929:12) and Adams (1983:50), reported that two non-identical consonants come in a sequence after a short vowel and form a cluster of consonants. Nevertheless,they did not say anything about the sonority of these non-identical cluster of consonants. Such linguistic phenomenon is observed in Gofa in the present study. We claim that it could be the effect of the high tonal accent placed on the vocalic sounds at

the beginning or at the end of the intervocalic consonant cluster. In addition to that, the C<sub>1</sub> consonants are found more sonorous than the C<sub>2</sub> consonants in our observation. This is discussed under 2.6.1. Onset constraint.

## 2.4. Vowel Lengthening

Vowel lengthening is phonemic in Gofa. It is a common linguistic phenomena to the neighboring North Omoto cluster languages like Dorze and other Gamo varieties (Haileyesus 1981 and Abel 2010, Hirut 1999), Gofa (Sellassie 2004), Oyda (Haileyesus 2003 and Abraham 2003), Malo (Mahder 2003), and Wolaitta (Azeb 1996, Hirut 1999, Adams 1983, Lamberti and Sottle 1997, Wakasa 2008). However, Moreno (1937:21) and Allan (1976: 235) did not discuss on the status of long vowels probably for they did not find enough minimal pairs in Gofa and Dawro respectively.

Vowel lengthening is expressed by repeating the monophthong vowels instead of using the diacritic sign “:” after the vowel to be lengthened. Some examples of the occurrences of vowel lengthening in the language under study are given in Table 16.

Table 16: Occurrence of long vowels

data		gloss	data		gloss
awa	[ʔawá]	‘sun’	aawa	[ʔaawá]	‘a father’
utta	[ʔúтта]	‘Sit down!’	uuthi	[ʔuútsi]	‘enset’ <sup>12</sup>
musa	[músa]	‘decayed’	muussa	[muússa]	‘way of eating’
essa	[ʔessá]	‘Put in upright!’	eessa	[ʔeéssa]	‘honey’
ola	[ʔolá]	‘Throw away!’	oola	[ʔoolá]	‘scream!’

<sup>11</sup> ‘Enset’ is the most common staple food in the southern Ethiopia.

The short and long vowels that come at word boundary show contrast or give additional meaning or change the context of a phrase / a sentence as in 27.

27.

a. aawa [ʔaawá ] ‘a father’ and aawaa [ʔaawaá] ‘the father’

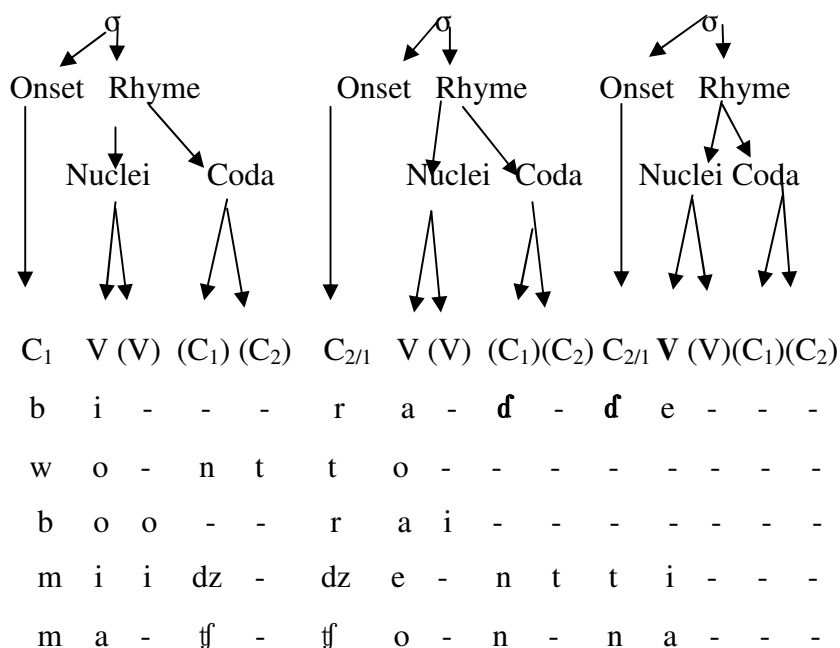
b. biis(i) [biʔs<sup>(i)</sup> ] ‘He went.’ and biisii [biʔsiʔ] ‘Do you mean he went already?’

The long vowels that come at word final express the grammatical relations of words. They are attached to the root words as in the examples given. The /-aa/ shows definiteness whereas the rest are used to construct the ‘yes-no’ or tag questions (cf. 9.2.1.4. Interrogative clauses) and vocative (cf. 5.1.4. Case ) in the language.

## 2.5. Syllable Structure

The maximum syllable template of Gofa may have the following structure as in figure 3.

Figure 3: Syllable tree



### 2.5.1. Types of Canonical Syllable Pattern

A small word could be either monoradical, in case of a few verbs, or monosyllabic. Most of the words in their citation form in Gofa, like that of Wolaitta (Azeb 1996), are observed disyllabic. These words become polysyllabic when we add a series of suffixes.

The centre of the syllable is occupied by the nucleus and the nucleus slot may obtain a short vowel, a long vowel or a diphthong. As a phonological unit, the syllable structure is organized in such a way that the syllabic nucleus may either be preceded or followed by consonants. This may vary from language to language (O’Grady and Dobrovolsky 1987: 71, Carr 2008: 171). In case of Gofa, the vocalic sounds are the sonorous part of a syllable. This does mean that the sonority of the speech sound reaches its highest peak on the vocalic sound segments. In the other words, the sonority increases when we go from onset to the nucleus and it decreases when we go from the nucleus to the coda of a syllable in Gofa .

Clements and Keyser(1983:29) identified as languages of the world obtain one of the four types of syllable structure: I:CV;II:CV,V; III: CV,CVC; and IV: CV,V,CVC,VC. Based on the data at our reach, we realized that Gofa is a type III language. Besides, it also adds some extra segments of a vowel in a nucleus and a consonant at coda slot. Such addition of extra segments is also accepted and supported by the latest works of Goldsmith (1990:113). In view of the above assumption, Gofa has its own CV structure pattern that results in a few types of syllables. These syllable types are treated below in 28 -34.

28. CV <sub>1</sub>	ageena	[ʔa.geé.na]	‘moon’
	i	[ʔí]	‘he’ / ‘her’
29. CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub>	aawai	[ʔaa.waí]	‘the father’
	binnaana	[ bin.naá.na]	‘hair’
30. CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub>	aifey	[ʔaí.fei]	‘the eye’
31. CVC <sub>1</sub>	biradhdhe	[bi.ráð. de]	‘a finger’
32. CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	xuguunthi	[ts’u.guún.tsi]	‘a finger nail/ toenail’
	miidzdzenti	[miíd.z.dzent.ti]	‘the cows’
33. CVC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	anj-	[ʔandʒ -]	‘to bless’
	wontto	[wont. tó]	‘tomorrow’
	hirxxe	[hirts’. ts’é]	‘a cultural acrobat’
34. CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	kawushshe	[kauʃ.ʃé]/[ka.wuʃ.ʃé]	‘light’ / ‘not heavy’
	machchonayssi	[matʃ.ʃón.nais.si]	‘unmarried man’

Based on the examples (34), we realized that the onset, the syllable initial, is always filled with a consonant segment or a non-vocalic segment but the coda obtains a consonant or two optionally. The coda /the syllable final of Gofa may obtain either a consonant, two homogeneous /geminate consonants, when the verbs occur in their infinitive forms, or two heterogeneous consonants.

### 2.5.2. Types of Syllable Structure

Based on the structure patterns shown above, the syllable could either be open or closed. A closed syllable may end either in a consonant or a cluster of two identical consonants when the verb is in its infinitive form and non-identical consonants in some words. An open syllable may end in a monophthong, a diphthong or long vowels. The examples of each of them are illustrated in 35 and 36.

#### 35. open syllable structure

Open syllable	data		gloss
CV	ageena	[ʔa.geé.na]	‘moon’
C V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub>	binnaana	[bin.naá.na]	‘hair’
CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub>	awai	[ʔa.waí ]	‘the sun ’

#### 36. Closed syllable structure

Closed syllable	data		gloss
CVC <sub>1</sub>	binnaana	[ <b>bin</b> .naá.na]	‘hair’
CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	xuguunthi	[ts’u. <b>guún</b> .tsi ]	‘a fingernail’/ ‘a toenail’
CVC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	ganjje	[gaŋɕ.ɕé]	‘intestine’

### 2.5.3. Syllable Weight

The language has both light and heavy syllables.

#### 2.5.3.1. Light Syllable

We have a light syllable of an onset consonant segment and a short vowel / monomora at a nucleus slot. Such a light syllable is sometimes considered as a weak syllable since the

weak syllable obtains a monomora nucleus alone or optionally a coda (Goldsmith 1990). Consider the examples in 37.

37.

CV	ageena	[ʔa.geé.na]	‘moon’
	i	[ʔí]	‘he’
	kushe	[kú. fe]	‘a hand’

### 2.5.3.2. Heavy Syllable

Gofa is a language that forms a syllable by adding extra segments both at a nucleus and at a coda slots. Such a syllable structure is also observed in some languages in the works of Goldsmith (1990: 113). According to Hall (2006 : 114), “First, a heavy syllable may have a short vowel, but one or more coda consonants ...Second, ... nucleus consisting of a long vowel or diphthong; such a syllable will be heavy whether it also has a filled coda.”

Thus, heavy syllables of Gofa are formed when:

- a. an onset consonant segment , a short vowel or monomora at a nucleus slot plus a consonant segment at a coda position ( simplex coda)
- b. a consonant segment at an onset slot plus bimoraic nucleus of either two identical short vowels or two non- identical vowels (simple syllable coda)
- c. an onset consonant segment , a vowel (monomoraic nucleus) plus two non-identical consonant segments at a coda position (complex coda).

A few examples of heavy syllables are given in 38 .

38.

CVC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	hinxxarssay	[ <b>h</b> ints.ts’árs. sai ]	‘the tongue’
CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub>	laazanthi	[ <b>l</b> aa.zán.tsi ]	‘the marriage broker ’
CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	xuguunthi	[ts’u. <b>g</b> uún.tsi]	‘a finger nails/ toenails’
	eessaa	[ʔees. <b>s</b> aa ]	‘the honey’

CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub>	meddaawai	[med.daa. <b>wáí</b> ]	‘the groom’
CV <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	oyssay	[ <b>ʔoís</b> .sai]	‘the butter’

The maximum load of a nucleus is two: bimoraic / a long vowel or a diphthong and the maximum load of the coda is not more than two non-identical consonants whereas an onset consonant segment is obligatory since Gofa is a syllable onset language like Gamo varieties, Dawuro, Kontta and Wolaitta. The examples in the data above show that the relative duration of time span taken/spent to pronounce the heavy syllable is longer than that of its opposite light syllable. Nevertheless, the issue needs further investigation.

Besides, we can attest that the onset, according to the moraic phonology, does not contribute in determining the weight of the syllable in the language. The issue of onset constraint and a heavy syllable in connection to gemination of consonants are treated under 2.6.1 Onset Constraint and 4.Tonology.

## 2.6. Phonotactics

Phonotactics of Gofa refers to the possible co-occurrence and restrictions of co-occurrence of consonant and vowel phonemes of the language. Gofa employs different strategies to avoid, allow or alternate the occurrence of some sound segments in words, in the boundaries of phrases and some sentences. Each of them is discussed in this section.

### 2.6.1. Onset Constraint

The onset constraint refers to the occurrence as well as the restriction of consonant co-occurrence at an onset slot in Gofa syllable structure. The onset slot allows only the singleton consonant segment at a time. In this regard, we realized that almost all consonant segments except /f, ts, dz, ɲ, r/ occur at onset slot of word initial syllable. But these segments restricted to occur at word initial onset, all except /ɲ/ are allowed to occur at word medial/final syllable onset. Specially, / r/ and /ts, dz/ occur as C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> member of intervocalic - cluster of consonants respectively.

The onset constraint restricts the occurrence of the complex cluster or the simple geminate consonant segments of any kind at a word initial. Due to this, Gofa is considered as an

example of a simple syllabic onset language that never allows a complex onset (a cluster of homogeneous/heterogeneous consonant segments) to occur at word initial, and medial / final syllable. None of the previous works on Gofa treated this issue.

This is also attested in the works on the North Omoto Cluster languages such as Gamo varieties (Hirut 1999:39-41, Wondimu 2010:94,106), Wolaitta (Lamberti & Sottle, 1997:93,100,101). Consider the examples that show the onset consonant segment restriction in Gofa (39).

39.

Data		gloss
a. i	[ʔí]	‘he’/ ‘her’
b. iya	[ʔía]	‘she’/‘his’
c. entta	[ʔent.tá]	‘her/him.HON’ / ‘them’
d. lagge	[lag. ge]	‘a friend’
e. baana	[ baá.na]	‘dust’
f. anha	[ʔa.nha]	‘a corpse’

As the examples in (39) show, the onset constraint rule disallows the occurrence of complex consonant segments at the onset slot. Furthermore, we realized that the principle of maximal onset of Gofa asserts that a consonant segment that occurs or does not occur at an onset slot of a word initial syllable is observed a possible candidate to occur at the onset slot of a word medial/final syllable because of the onset constraint rule. In the other words, the onset constraint rule shows the grammar of the language. However, in this thesis, the annotation in the orthography of the language drops the onset segment /ʔ/ in order to follow the writing norm of Gofa that is introduced recently.

Scholars like Hockett (1955:52 cited in Fox 2000:52) recognizes syllabification of intervocalic cluster of consonants as *ambisyllabic*. Like wise, the homogeneous consonants in Gofa observed in (39 c, d) belong to both syllables.

### 2.6.2. Restrictions of Coda Co-occurrences

As we can observe from the data we obtained so far, the phonological units of the language show the accepted or well-formed pattern of sequences of segments arranged in a word or a phrase. In this regard, the language restricts the pattern not common for its phonology and also indicates the pattern of co-occurrence of coda consonants. Hereunder, we will observe the patterns of co-occurrences of consonants at the coda slot or at syllable boundary.

Coda constraint at syllable boundary or at word medial/final

Gofa allows all consonant segments to occur at a coda slot except /f , p'/, be it a syllable of a word initial or word medial/stem final. On the other hand, we observed that Gofa shows some patterns for certain consonant segments that occur at syllable coda: cluster initial  $C_1$  followed by a cluster final  $C_2$ . A cluster final is rarely in singleton but often observed

geminate consonant segments. The section states some issues related with the co-occurrences or restrictions of the cluster of consonant segments:  $C_1 C_2 C_2$ <sup>13</sup>.

The  $C_1$  is a consonant segment that comes immediately after the syllabic nucleus and  $C_2$ , one of the geminate consonant segments, co-occurs with  $C_1$ . Then  $C_2$ , the remaining geminate consonant segment, occurs on the onset slot of the next syllable. As the data in this study reveals, the grammar of the language has its own coda constraint that either licenses (allows) or restricts the co-occurrence of  $C_1 C_2$  in coda position.

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<sup>13</sup>  $C_1 C_2 C_2$  may mean nothing but any two consonant segments that compete to occur as a cluster of consonants in a natural language like Gofa. As the symbols given show, the last two elements are identical whereas the first element is a non-identical consonant segment to the other two.

According to the coda constraints of the language, the segments that compete to occur as C<sub>1</sub> include the fricatives /s, ʃ /, the affricate /z/, the liquids /l, r/, and the nasals /m, n /. On the other hand, the segments that compete to occur as the member of the C<sub>2</sub> C<sub>2</sub> consonant segments include the voiced and voiceless plosives /b, d, g, p, t, k /, the pulmonic sibilants /s, ʃ, ts, tʃ, ʒ /, and the glottalic consonants / tsʼ, tʃʼ, kʼ, ʔ /.

As we can remember the discussion on a syllable template of the language, C<sub>1</sub> and one of the C<sub>2</sub> occur at a coda slot whereas the remaining C<sub>2</sub> occurs at the onset slot of the following syllable in disyllabic and polysyllabic words. Based on the possible occurrences of sequences of cluster of consonants, we can group the pattern of co-occurrence of the cluster of consonant segments into three. Consider the data below in

Table 17.

Table 17: Co-occurrences of cluster of consonants

Group	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub>
I	sibilants /s, ʃ, z /	obstruents: plosives / b, d, g, p, t, k /
II,III	nasals /m, n/	obstruents: pulmonic, glottalic
IV,V	liquids /l, r/	obstruents: pulmonic, glottalic

The summarized samples of the cluster of consonants or co-occurrence of consonants are presented in the other way as follows in 40 a, b.

40.

(a) G<sup>I</sup> : -sp.p-, -st.t-, -sk.k-, -ʃ k. k-, -zd . d-,

G<sup>II</sup> : -mʔ.ʔ-

G<sup>III</sup> : -np.p-, -nt.t-, -nk.k-, -nb.b-, -nd.d-, -ng.g-,

: -ndz.dz-, -nʃ.ʃ-, -nʒ.ʒ-, -nʃ.tʃʼ-, -nk.kʼ-, -nʔ.ʔ-,

(b) G<sup>IV</sup> : -rp.p-, -rt.t-, -rk.k-, -rb.b-, -rd.d-, -rg.g-, -rs.s-,

: -rʃ.ʃ-, -rʃ.tʃʼ-, -rʒ.ʒ-, -rʒ.ʒ-, -rʃ.tʃʼ-, -rk.kʼ-,

G<sup>V</sup> : -lt.t-, -lk.k-, -lb.b-, -ld.d-, -lg.g-, -ls.s-, -lʃ.tʃʼ-,

: -lʒ.ʒ-, -lts.tsʼ-, -lʃ.tʃʼ-, -lk.kʼ-, -lʔ.ʔ-,

As it is discussed above,  $C_1$  represents the sonorants /**m, n, l, r**/, sibilants / **s, ʃ, z** /, and the velar / **k**/. On the other hand,  $C_2$  represents the possible second members of the cluster of consonants that co-occur with  $C_1$  at syllable boundary in the language. Though the  $C_2$  members vary according to the nature of the first members of the cluster of consonants, the frequently observed members are shown in 41.1.

- 41.1. - p, t, k (voiceless plosives)
- b, d, g (voiced plosives)
- s, ʃ, z, ʒ, ts, dz, tʃ, tʃʃ, ( sibilants:voiced and voiceless fricatives & affricates)
- ts', tʃ', k', ʔ ( voiceless glottalic consonants)

The chart shows  $C_1$  (the first member of a cluster of consonants) in the vertical column and  $C_2$  ( $C_2$ ) the second and its adjacent identical segment) in horizontal column ( Table 18).

Table 18: Members of  $C_1 C_2$  consonants

$C_1$	Members of the $C_2$ consonant cluster /gemination (high to low sonority)																								
	J	w	r	l	n	m	ʔ	k'	tʃ'	ts'	ʒ	z	ʃ	s	tʃʃ	dz	tʃ	ts	g	d	b	k	t	p	
Glide	j	+												+			+			+					
	w		+											+	+						+				
Liquid	r							+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	l				+			+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nasals	n				+			+	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	m					+	+																		
Glottalic	ʔ						+																		
	k'							+																	
	tʃ'								+																
	ts'									+															
Fricatives	ʒ										+														
	z											+								+					
	ʃ												+									+			
	s													+									+	+	+
Affricates	tʃʃ														+										
	dz															+									
	tʃ																	+							
	tʃʃ																								



Triphthongs occur rarely as a syllable peak at word final when the vocative case morpheme is suffixed to the root/stem of some nouns (cf. Vocative case). If two impermissible vowel segments occur consecutively due to the morphological or syntactic reasons, either at a local or borrowed word boundary, we insert the epenthetic approximants /w, j / to break the impermissible vowel segment sequences (cf. Morphophonetic processes). Consider the insertion of the epenthetic approximants /w, j /as in the illustration (41.3).

41.3.

miidzdziya \*<sup>14</sup> [miidzdze-j-a ] > [miidzdz-i-j-a ] > [ miidzdzia] ‘the cow’

cow-EPEN-NOM.FS.DEF

In general, as we can observe from the data obtained so far, the maximum number of consonant segments allowed to come in the **onset slot** is one. On the other hand, the consonants which compete for the onset position but have less or no probability of occurring at the onset position of word initial syllable include /f,ts, dz, ɲ , r /. The well formed sonority principle/rule is observed even in the co-occurrence of cluster of consonants.

The word final coda could be empty due to the phonotactics of the word final syllable coda constraint of the language. This means that (almost) all words end in vowel segments or open syllables. The word medial syllables of polysyllabic words allow the medial coda to accommodate up to two non-identical consonants (C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub>) if the word obtains a cluster of

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<sup>14</sup> The symbol \* refers to a construction that contains the impermissible segment sequences. The language shows that the phonological rule taken as a phonotactic inserts the appropriate epenthetic segment in the underlying representation in the mind of the speaker.

C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> C<sub>2</sub>. In this regard, the possible members of C<sub>1</sub> could either be sibilants /s, z, ʃ/ or sonorants /m, n, l, r/.

On the other hand, the consonant segments that compete to occupy the position of the C<sub>2</sub> and form a cluster of consonants include the voiceless plosives /p, t, k/, the voiced plosives /b, d, g/, the voiced and voiceless stops, fricatives & affricates include /s, ʃ, ts, tʃ, z, ʒ/, and the voiceless glottalic consonants /ts', tʃ', k', ʔ/. The segments /f, h, m, n, r, nh, p', ɲ/ do never appear as the member of the C<sub>2</sub> at all. The second member of the geminate consonant C<sub>2</sub> comes at the new syllable initial; that is, the onset of the next syllable.

Such phonotactic restrictions take place either on the disyllabic or polysyllabic words. The polysyllabic words of verbs in Gofa are very rare as it is also true in other related Ometo languages such as Maale (2001b), Haro and Koorete, the members of Eastern Ometo languages (Hirut 2003, Binyam 2010) and Wollaitta (Wakasa 2008). As the data shows, some mono-radical verbs obtain only the onset whereas the disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs obtain C<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2</sub> (C<sub>2</sub>) at the coda slot in their infinitive form or before they suffix the verb agreement affixes.

We use the epenthetic glides to break the impermissible vowel sequences when some morphemes expressing different grammatical relations are affixed to the terminal vowels of noun phrases. In such a process we obtain a few diphthongs. The findings in this study would give the reasons for lengthening, dropping, insertion or addition of segmental phonemes. These and other reasons contributing for changes on segmental phonemes are treated under morphophonemic processes and tonology under chapter three and chapter four. As to our observation, we believe that the findings of this study would contribute in bridging the gap observed in the traditional writing system.

### **3. Morphophonemic Processes and Rules**

A morphophonemic process is a type of linguistic process that could cause a change of a particular sound segment alone or may influence its immediate adjacent segment(s). The same or a different morphophonemic process, in some cases, may affect (a) sound segment(s) at (a) non- adjacent position(s),too. Some of these processes may become more complex as time goes on and as a result, we might even fail to recognize the differences between mental/ underlying and surface representations.

Besides, the issue was given either very little or no attention even in the previous works on Gofa. In this regard literature suggests the use of documented ethnographic data in order to find out some facts about sound changes as it is true in other languages (Franchetto 2006: 381, Gussmann 2002: 225). Thus, we found the issue very important and timely since we obtained some, in our documentation, of the Gofa ethnographic data that may be interwoven with historical sound changes, too.

Some segments at certain morpheme boundaries may undergo some kind of morphophonemic changes that have language specific patterns or regularities. Such changes are handled using either morphological, phonological or both ,i.e., the morphophonemic rules of the language. Some of the irregularities we observed in our findings are reported for further studies. We discussed on some of the linguistic processes in this chapter and the phonological rules that account for phonological processes are treated first.

#### **3.1. Phonological Processes and Rules**

The phonological processes are the results of our mental setting and the way our mind adjusts the underlying (abstract phonemic) representation to be either the same or different from the surface (phonetic) representation. The surface representation is the total sum effect of the interaction of the neighboring adjacent sound segments. We may observe the predictable variants or the phonological features of certain (basic) sound segments in connection to the phonological rules of alternating, assimilating, dropping, or inserting segments at a given linguistic environment in the language.

We believe that giving special emphasis and posing points for discussion on the phonological rules of a little known language like Gofa may help us uncover the phonological features that account for the phonological processes in the language. We will first treat phonological rules of the language that allow free variations of segments at a certain linguistic environment.

### 3.1.1. Free variation

When two or more segments occur at a particular linguistic environment and bring no difference in meaning, such a phonological process is called a free variation of segments. As to Odden (2005: 334), free variation may be observed in ‘A pair of pronunciation, either of which can be used: the choice is not governed by grammatical factors.’ In this connection, we identified a few data that account for the occurrence of such type of phonological process. The examples below show the very common ones in the language (42).

42.

data			gloss
a.be7u	[beʔ-ú]	~ beyu	[bejú] ‘Let her look.’
b.me77	[méʔʔ-]	~ meqq-	[mekk’-] ‘to break’
c.sa77	[sáʔʔ-]	~ saxx-	[sátsts’-] ‘to bite’
d.aaho	[ʔaáho] ‘wide’	~ haaho	[haahó] ‘far’
e.aakime	[ʔaakíme]	~ haakime	[haakíme] ‘a physician’

As we can learn from the data above, the voiceless glottal stop / ʔ / can optionally be replaced by /j/, /k’ / and , / ts’/ at word medial or root final position and also /h/ at word initial in example (42 e). In example (d), we obtain a difference in meaning when / ʔ / is replaced by the segment / h/. In this regard, we can conclude that the free variation rule is accompanied by ‘...apparently unconditional fluctuation in pronunciation...’ (Odden, 2005:60). Thus, we can consider this rule as neither predictable nor productive.

The phonological process is treated in this study as an optional rule. The optional rule shows that /ʔ/ is optionally replaced by the four consonant segments: palatal (glide) / j /,

palato alveolar, affricate ejective /tsʼ/ , velar stop ejective /kʼ/ and /h/ (42 d, e). This can be generalized as follows :

$$/ʔ/ \rightarrow / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} j \\ k' \\ ts' \\ h \end{array} \right\} / V - (V) \# \text{ optional}$$

The above optional rule explains that the speakers of the language have their own choice of a segment in the place of the other as s/he prefers. As Odden (2005: 60-61) says,

Phonology does not try to explain why people make the choice they do: that lies in the domain of sociolinguistics... It would also be mistaken to think that there is one grammar for all speakers of English ( or German, or Kimatuumbi<sup>15</sup>) and that dialect variation is expressed via a number of optional rules. From the perspective of individuals, an optional rule is countenanced only if the speaker can actually pronounce words in multiple ways.

The segments **q** /kʼ / and **k** /k/ alternate optionally in some instance as in 43.

43.

a. oyqqa [ʔoikkʼ-a ] ‘hold/catch-2S.IMP’ ~ oykka [ʔoikka ] ‘Hold/catch it!’

b. eqqa [ʔekkʼ-á ] ‘Stand up/Stop!’ but ekka [ʔekk-á ] ‘Take something (it) !’

stand up/stop-2S.IMP

take something/ (it)-2S.IMP

<sup>15</sup> One of the Bantu languages in Tanzania (Odden2005:x,xii, 345)

This rule is generalized as :

$/k'/ \rightarrow [k] - V \#$  optionally

We run short of enough data in this particular point. As to our assumption, such an optional rule might be introduced by kids most probably since we understand them whenever they replace the velar voiceless non-ejective instead of its counterpart ejective. In this regard, Nathan (2008:118) says about the variability and the result of children learning the same languages as follows:

On the one hand, there is uniformity across languages in which processes individual children will choose to apply. What is known, however, children systematically distort their speech in ways that often seem to correspond to otherwise attested historical changes and allophonic and morphophonemic processes elsewhere in the word. As children's speech improves they gradually eliminate these processes, and the target pronunciations systematically reappear.

In general, we argue that these free variants need to be well treated by the sociolinguistic studies since the occurrences of different phonetic realizations of a phoneme may have some sociological reasons. In that case, the findings would help us explain when and why the speakers choose one at a formal and the other at informal situation (Nathan 2008:118, Crystal 2008:198).

### 3.1.2. Spirantization of labial segments

Spirantization of bilabial voiceless stop /p/, labiodental voiceless fricative /f/ and bilabial voiced stop /b/ is observed in the Gofa data. A few examples given in 43.1 and 43.2 may help us capture some of the linguistic features of phonological processes that occur in the language under study.

43.1 /p/ → [Φ] / \_\_\_ V (followed by a vowel)  
[spirantized] / [vowel]

- a. paraa [paraá] ~ [Φaraá] 'the horse'
- b. pola [polá ] ~ [Φolá] 'Finish it!'

- 43.2 /f/ → [Φ] / (V) \_\_\_ V (intervocally)  
 [spirantized] / [vowel] [vowel]
- a. shafe [ʃafé] ~ [ʃaΦé] ‘sand’
  - b. kafo [kafó] ~ [kaΦó] ‘a bird’
  - c. guufe [guufé] ~ [guuΦé] ‘cane’ but [guuppé] and [guupé] are not meaningful
  - d. gufaa [gúfaa] ~ [gúΦaa] ‘style of/ jumping’ whereas both [gúpaa] and [gúppaa] are ungrammatical
  - e. goofa [goófa] ~ [goóΦa] ‘Gofa’ whereas [goópa] and [goopá] are ungrammatical.

However, the words gufaa [gúfaa] ‘jumping’ is a near minimal pair of guppa [guppá] ‘Jump!’. Besides, ‘Gofa’ refers to both the people and the place where the Gofa language speaking community lives. We realize [goóppa] ‘Do not say so!’ and [guppá] ‘Jump!’ are minimal pairs but the geminate segments do not undergo spirantization whereas [goópa] is not accepted for it is ungrammatical. Besides, as the data at our reach so far reveals, we couldn’t observe the singleton /p/ at word medial and /f/ at word initial (cf. 2. Segmental Phonology of Gofa). As a result of this, we reached to a conclusion to say that the two sound segments /p/ and /f/ are in contrastive distribution.

The segment /b/ undergoes spirantization in the language under study. Consider the data as in 44.

44.

- b → [β] / V \_\_\_ V (intervocally)  
 [spirantized] / [vowel] [vowel]
- a. iaba [ʔía=bá] ~ [ʔía=βá] ‘It is his.’ but [ʔiappá] (is not accepted.)  
 his=CLIT.property
  - b. gooba [goóba] ~ [goóβ-a] ‘brave’ but [goópp-a] ‘Don’t say (it)!’  
 be.brave ‘say- 2S.PROH (The two are minimal pairs.)’

c. gaabiya [gaabía ]~[ gaaβía] ‘ (the) locally made cotton cloth’

cotton cloth-ACC.3MS.DEF

As we can observe from the data given in (a, b, c), the segment occurs in singleton at word boundary and undergoes spirantization. Such a phenomenon is observed true also in Tigrinya (Blevins 1995: 229). In general, the bilabial stop consonant becomes a frictionless continuant. Such a rule is used to derive a bilabial fricative from both bilabial voiced and voiceless stop consonant at word initial. Spirantization of ejectives /tʃ’ ,ts’/ to non- ejectives [tʃ,ts] and the velar /k/ to [h] are not observed in this study.

### 3.1.3. Allomorphic variations of plural marking morphemes.

i. The plural marker /-t-/ has two allomorphs (45).

45.1. / -t-/ → [-tt-] / n \_\_ V ( n- is the feminine gender marking morpheme )

/ -t-/ → [-t-] / V \_\_ V elsewhere (and V is any vowel that comes before/after the plural marking morpheme [-t-] )

45.2.

a. [deeʃé -ntt-a ] > [ deeʃéntta] ‘the female goats’

goat.F -PL.F-ACC

b. [deeʃa -t-á ] > [deeʃatá] ‘the goats (M+F)’

goat -PL-ACC

c. [miídzdze -ntt-a ] > [miídzdzentta] ‘the cows’

cow -PL.F-ACC

d. [boóra -t-a ] > [boórata] ‘the oxen’

ox -PL-ACC

e. [gaammo -t-á ] > [gaammotá] ‘the lions (M+F)’

lion -PL-ACC

f . [gaammé -ntt-i ] > [gaamméntti] ‘the lioness’  
 lion.F -PL.F-NOM

As we observed in the examples above, the language assigns the appropriate allomorph of the gender (feminine/masculine) marker affix to the common name nouns. In such a process, the affix \-e\ occurs before the feminine plural marker affix \-ntt-\ and \-a\ with masculine plural marker affix \-t-\ by making use of affix suppletion (cf.3.2.2).

In addition to that, we also add -ntt- to show respect to the senior member of the society: father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother and sister -in-law of adult family members of one’s husband or wife. If this is true, the grammar of the language is open to express the cultural value system of the people. Based on the data above, the rule for the allomorphic variation of plural can be generalized as in 46:

46.

∅ → [-e/a- ] / \_ (nt) t \_ before Case affix  
 [ insertion of gender affix] [ plural]

The data above shows that the masculine gender is marked by the zero morpheme, feminine gender and respect for the senior members like mother or father-in-law as well as a proper name of a person representing her/his group is optionally marked by [-n-] not only in Gofa but also in some of the Gamo varieties (Wondumu 2010: 75) and Wolaitta. Eventhough some more examples are also given in Noun Phrases (cf. 9. Syntax) could the features of the plural allomorphs in Gofa, the irregularities we observe in this process may demand indepth study in the future.

### 3.1.4. Fortition or devoicing rules.

Fortition is an example of a phonological process that changes a fricative to a stop or a voiced to a voiceless sound as in the case of devoicing of final obstruents in German (Carr 2008:58, Nathan 2008:75). We also observed that some Gofa speakers strengthen their force and devoice the voiced obstruent /b/ as in 47.

47.

/b/ → [p] / # \_ V. The obstruent /b/ becomes the voiceless obstruent [p] often at word initial as in the examples.

- a. bana [bána] ‘3S.self’ → [pána] ‘herself/himself’
- b. baaro [baa = r-ó] ‘3S = CLIT.3FS’ → [paa = ró] ‘her/his own’

We realized that, fortition in Gofa takes place at word initial as well as at word boundary before and between vowels respectively. Such a linguistic phenomenon needs further study to realize whether the change of sound is the result of a diachronic or a synchronic change.

### 3.1.5. Assimilation Rules

Assimilation is one of the common linguistic rules that provides the possible justification for a morpheme shares the linguistic behavior of its neighbor (Payne, 2006: 79, Gussmann, 2002:81). Gofa allows both partial and complete assimilation of certain phonemes, especially, the alveolar sibilant affricate /ts / and the alveolar nasal /n/. In addition, both the partial as well as the complete assimilations are observed in our data. With regard to direction, the very common one is a progressive assimilation. Each of them is treated in the subsequent subsections.

#### 3.1.5.1. Progressive (dis)continuous assimilation rule .

The progressive discontinuous assimilation is an example of a partial assimilation. Gofa has very limited examples of partial and progressive assimilation. The typical example of the discontinuous assimilation is the nasal /n/ and the progressive assimilation is the assimilation of the alveolar sibilant affricate /ts /. Consider the examples in 48.

48.

- i. /n/ → [ɲ] / C V \_\_\_\_\_
- |   |          |   |   |                   |   |   |                  |   |                   |
|---|----------|---|---|-------------------|---|---|------------------|---|-------------------|
| { | alveolar | } | { | palato - alveolar | } | { | palato- alveolar | } | [low back vowel ] |
| { | nasal    | } | } | nasal             | } | } | fricative        | } |                   |

- ii. /ts/ → [tʃ] / C \_\_\_\_\_ V #
- |                                 |  |                                     |                             |              |
|---------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| {<br>alveolar<br>affricate<br>} | {<br>palato-alveolar<br>affricate<br>} | {<br>palato-<br>alveolar nasal<br>} | {<br>mid back<br>vowel<br>} | [word final] |
|---------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
- ichchashshsa -ntho → ichchashshanchcho ‘fifth’
- / ʔiʃʃaʃʃá -ntso/ → [ʔiʃʃaʃʃáɲʃʃó]
- five -AFFIX

This is an example of a discontinuous and progressive assimilation because the low back vowel exists between the trigger and the targeted consonant segment. The sound used as a trigger is a preceding fricative consonant /ʃ/ that influenced the alveolar nasal /n/, that comes after a vowel, to a palato- alveolar nasal /ɲ / first. Next, a palato- alveolar nasal /ɲ / becomes a trigger to change its immediate adjacent alveolar sibilant affricate /ts / to a palato- alveolar sibilant affricate /tʃ/ finally. Both the processes are the example of left-to-right feature spreading type or a progressive assimilation influenced by the preceding sound segments.

The first process is an example of non-contiguous or distance assimilation since the trigger and the triggered sound segments are not in the immediate adjacent position. This takes place when the derivational suffix / -antso/ is affixed to the cardinal numbers to generate the ordinal numbers in Gofa. Wolaitta does not share with Gofa for Wolaitta affixes the derivational suffix -antto [-ánttó] to derive ordinal numbers from the cardinal numbers. But Gofa takes one additional or important step of place assimilation of /-antso/ to [-áɲʃʃó] unlike Wolaitta.

In the first step, the alveolar nasal /n/ becomes palato-alveolar nasal /ɲ / because the non-immediate preceding /ʃ / segment shares its place of articulation feature and the following immediate adjacent segment / ts / becomes / tʃ /, a palato-alveolar affricate. In these two processes of assimilation, the features spreading from the target neighboring segments (the triggers) replaced the alveolar, the original place of articulation by palato alveolar, the new (place of articulation). As a result of this, Gofa can be taken as a good example of North Omoto Cluster languages that show feature copying of Generative Phonology

(Crystal,2008:40, Carr 2008:17). This shows that, feature copying could sometimes be language specific.

### 3.1.5.2. Regressive contiguous assimilation rule.

A. The notation of the regressive contiguous nasal assimilation could be shown as in 49.

49.

$n \rightarrow [ɲ] / \_ / tʃ, tʃ', dʒ /$  (place of articulation assimilation rule)

An example of a regressive or an anticipatory place of assimilation is given in 50.

50

a. ancca / ʔánʃʃ'a /  $\rightarrow$  [ʔáɲʃʃ' a ] ‘Chop it!’

chop. IMP. 2S

b. kanchche / kánʃʃe /  $\rightarrow$  [káɲʃʃe ] ‘only’

only

c. boncco / bónʃʃo /  $\rightarrow$  [bóɲʃʃo ] ‘(a) respect’

respect

d. anjjo / ʔándʒdʒo/  $\rightarrow$  [ʔáɲdʒdʒo] ‘(a) blessing’

bless

The data given above is an example of a contiguous and regressive assimilation. The sound used as a trigger are the affricate consonant /tʃ, tʃ', dʒ / that follow the alveolar consonant segment / n /. As the result of the influence of sharing a place of articulation feature, / n / undergoes a place assimilation. Due to this, / n / becomes a palato- alveolar nasal consonant segment [ɲ].

B. The regressive partial nasal assimilation of the phoneme / n/ takes place in the language as in (51).

51.

$n / \rightarrow [m] / \_ / b, p /$  (place of articulation assimilation rule)

a. sanppa /sánppa/  $\rightarrow$  [sámppa ] ‘a local bowl made of straw’

local bowl made of straw

- b. kanbba /kanbbá/ → [kambbá ] ‘ a typical local drum’  
local drum
- c. denbba /dénbba/ → [démmba] ‘(a) field’  
field

C. We also realized that the alveolar nasal / n / is pronounced as [ ŋ ] when it is followed by the velar consonant segments as in 52.

52.

/ n / → [ ŋ ] / \_ / g , k , k' / ( an example of place assimilation rule)

- a. hanqqa /hankk'o / → [ háŋkk'o ] ‘(an) anger’  
angery with
- b. ankka /ʔankka / → [ ʔáŋkka ] ‘a type of local tree’  
a type local tree
- c. manqqa /mankk'o/ → [ máŋkk'o] ‘poor’  
poor
- d. sanggaa [sanggaa ] → [ sáŋgaa ] ‘the bull’  
male adult cow.ACC.3MS.DEF

### 3.1.5.3. Complete assimilation rule.

The regressive complete assimilation of the segment /n/ is shown in 53.

53.

/ n / → [ m ] # / \_ # [ m ] as in

- a. /soo-n<sup>i</sup> maaʔ-enna/ → [soón maaʔénna] → [soóm maáʔénna]  
home-in/at/on wear-PRES.3MS.NEG.DCL ‘He doesn’t wear at home.’
- b. / hannii-n<sup>i</sup> m-a / → [ hanníin má] → [hanniím má]  
here.3FS -at/in/on eat-2S.IMP ‘Be here and eat your meal!’

The complete assimilation is attested to occur only between two words or phrases in a connected speech when /-i/ is deleted after /n/ as in (53) as the first step and this allows the two nasal segments to occur one after the other. Finally we obtain contiguous and complete assimilation. The data in (48 i.ii), and (5.1.1, 5.1.2) show progressive and regressive partial assimilation respectively. In the discussion above, we obtained examples of both contiguous /contact and non-contiguous or distance assimilation in this section. The non-complete

assimilation could be single-feature assimilation, that is, the example of partial assimilation.

Among the data we observed under (3.1.5), we have good examples of partial assimilation of place of articulation and complete assimilation. In this study, we didn't observe coalescent or mutual assimilation. According to Carr (2008: 17), progressive assimilation is sometimes named as preservative assimilation. We did not observe vowel harmony feature assimilation but the occurrence of autosegmental feature spreading is attested in this study and treated under chapter 4 (cf. Tonology).

## **3.2. Morphological processes and rules**

Lamberti and Sottle (1997:41-43) first recognized some morphological processes that occur at word boundary in Wolaitta. We also realized the occurrence of morphological processes both at word initial and word boundary in this study are discussed in this section.

### **3.2.1. Epenthetic segment insertion**

#### **3.2.1.1. Semivowel insertion rule**

The insertion of semi vowels /j/ and /w/ is one of the morphophonemic processes that Gofa makes use of to generate a nominal portmanteau morph(eme)<sup>16</sup> that expresses case, person, gender, number, and definiteness at the same time. The examples (54) reveal this truth.

---

<sup>16</sup> Portmanteau morph is a single affix that is used to express multiple grammatical relations (Crystal, 2008: 375).

54.

- $\emptyset \rightarrow$  [ j / w ] / V \_ V  
(insertion) ( front/back glide) (TV e/o) ( case affix o/a)
- a. [gaammo -a ]  $\rightarrow$ [ gaammo-j-a  $\rightarrow$  [ gaamme-j-a ]  
lion -NOM.F lion-EPN-NOM.F lion-HFGM-EPN-NOM.F  
 $\rightarrow$ [gaammija ]  $\rightarrow$  [gaammia ] ‘the lioness’
- b. [ hare-o ]  $\rightarrow$  hare-j-o  $\rightarrow$  [ hare-j-o]  
donkey-ACC.F donkey.ABS-EPN-ACC.F donkey.HFGM-EPEN-ACC..F  
 $\rightarrow$  [hari-w-o ]  $\rightarrow$ [hariwu]  $\rightarrow$  [hariu] ‘the donkey’

We insert the front/back semi vowel to break the impermissible sequences of two heterogeneous vowels as in the examples (a, b) and this can be generalized as (55.1):

55.1  $\emptyset \rightarrow$  [j]/[w]/ V \_ V

This rule shows that the language does not allow the back vowels / **o**, **a**/ to come immediately after the front mid vowel /**e**/. If it happens, we obtain the impermissible vowel sequences /eu, eo, ea/ in diphthongization (cf. 3.2.5). Since the language does not tolerate such vowel sequences, it inserts the epenthetic glides to generate new diphthongs that incorporate definiteness in addition to case, person, gender and number. This is conditioned by the grammar rule of the Gofa dialect to attain dialectal variation. This is one of the linguistic phenomena that the Gofa dialect contributed for the North Omoto cluster languages. As we can observe the data above, the morphophonemic rule of the language supplies the

morpheme /e/, probably, the Historical Feminine Gender Marker<sup>17</sup> to interact with the case morpheme instead of the terminal vowel (cf. 3.2.6).

### 3.2.1.2. Basic vowel insertion rule

The epenthetic vowels /i/ and /e/ are inserted in the borrowed words when they obtain the impermissible sequences of segments at word boundary. The epenthetic /i-/ is inserted at word initial and between the impermissible cluster of consonants at word or syllable initial. We also insert the epenthetic vowel /-e/ at word final to break the impermissible consonants at word ending in the words borrowed from English and Amharic as in 55.2.

55.2

a. sport /sport/ → /i-/+/sport/+-e/ → [ispportte] → [ʔisp.pórt.te]

b. physics /fiziks/ → /fiziks/+-e/ → [fizikse] → [fiziksse] → [fi.zíks.se]

c. transport/transport/ → /-i-/+/transport/+-e/ → [tiranisporte] → [ti.ra.nisp.pórt.te]

∅ → -i / (C)\_\_\_C(C)

d. ፖሊስ 'police' /polis/ → /polis/+-e/ → [políse] → [po.lí.se]

<sup>17</sup> The morpheme /-e/ probably, the Historical Feminine Gender Marking morpheme is supplied by the language and supposed to interact with case marking morpheme instead of the TVs of some common nouns.

e. **ሃ ከ ም** ‘physician’ / hakim / → / ʔaakim / + /-e/ → [ʔaakíme] → [ʔaa.kí.me]

f. **ወታደር** ‘soldier’ / wəttaddər / → /wottaaddar/ + /-e/ → [wottaaddáre] → [wot.taad.dá. re]

The dropping /deletion and addition of the segments observed in (55.2) can be handled as in the rules in 56.

56.

$\emptyset \rightarrow -i / (C)\_C(C)$  (The epenthetic vowel /-i/ is inserted between impermissible word initial cluster of consonant in the borrowed words. )

$\emptyset \rightarrow -e / C_1 (C_2 (C_2)) \_ \#$  (The epenthetic vowel /-e/ is inserted at the borrowed nominal root/ stem final after a consonant or a cluster of consonants, since a cluster of identical or non-identical consonants in some nominal roots/ stems in the language obtain -e as the TV in their citation forms.)

$C_2 \rightarrow [C_2 C_2] / C_1 \_ V$  (if a non-identical consonant  $C_1$  is one of the sonorant or one of a sibilant and voiceless fricative segment,  $C_2$  that comes after  $C_1$  becomes geminated. This is attested true in 57 a, b, c.

57.

a.  $h \rightarrow [ʔ] / \# \_$  (A glottal consonant segment /ʔ/ replaces /h/ at the borrowed word initial for one is the free variant of the other at word initial.)

b.  $\emptyset \rightarrow [ʔ] / \# \_ V$  (/ʔ/ is inserted at word initial for words in Gofa are onset initial.)

c.  $[\ə] \rightarrow [a] / C \_ \_$  (The short back vowel [a] (always) replaces [ə] at word initial, medial or final syllables.

d.  $\emptyset \rightarrow [i] / \# \_ C_1 C_2 . C_2 V$  (This demands a glottal insertion in the following step.)

$\rightarrow [ʔ] / \# \_ i C_1 C_2 . C_2 V$  ([ʔ] is inserted at word initial since Gofa words are onset initial.)

$\rightarrow [i] / \# C_1 \_ C_2 V$  (No word begins with a cluster of consonants. So, the epenthetic vowel [-i-] is inserted to break the impermissible consonant clusters occurring at borrowed word initial or else in a word medial following the consonant segment on

the onset position as in the case of 55.2c. This shows that the language allows only one consonant at an onset slot (cf Onset co-occurrence ).

In general, the language uses possible linguistic mechanisms like inserting the epenthetic vowels either at word initial, medial or final to avoid the impermissible sequences of cluster of consonant segments. Besides, the language inserts the glottal consonant segment when the borrowed words begin with vowel initial. The language also geminates  $C_2$  when  $C_1C_2$  occur at coda slot and if  $C_1$  is a sonorant, a sibilant or a voiceless fricative segment. Such an insertion of epenthetic segment rule is also observed in English with the intention “... to preserve normal English structure.” Unless and otherwise, ‘... sequences of consonants that never appear ...’ in a certain linguistic environment that would be “‘... hard to pronounce’ (though they may be totally natural in other languages)’” (Payne 2006:73).

### **3.2.2. Affix suppletion .**

An affix suppletion is a type of morphological process in this study. The language generates portmanteau morphemes that favor expressing feminine gender by supplying a suppletive allomorph, probably, tracing back to one of the historical gender expressing morphemes of the Ometo Cluster languages.

In this connection, Gofa groups the common nouns into two Classes depending on the nature of the terminal vowels. The nouns that end in the TVs /-a,-e,-i,-o/ show the masculine biological gender whereas the nouns that end in the TVs /-e,-i,-o/ show feminine biological gender respectively. We understand that these endings are all the results of certain morphophonemic processes of the grammatical rules that may include terminal vowel deletion, gender morpheme suppletion or both at a time.

The output of such a linguistic process is to provide us with the gender expressing affix or morphological unit. The morphological unit may sometimes show the surface realization of portmanteau morphemes affixed to the TVs of the common nouns. As a result, these common nouns will be licensed to be the argument of a proposition that means, such nouns could function as subjects and objects of finite verbs (Payne 2006).

The data (58) show the male and female noun endings we obtain as the output.

58.

gender	case	NOM		ACC	
		TVs	INDEF	DEF	INDEF
M	-a	-i	-ai	-a	-aa
	-e	-e	-ei	-e	-ia (<-e-j-a)
	-i	-i	-ai/-ei	-i	-aa/ia (<-e-j-a)
	-o	-o	-oi	-o	-ua (<-o-w-a)
F	-e/-i/-o	-e	-ia	-e	-iu (<-e-w-o)

The data (58) show the surface realization of portmanteau morphemes affixed to different noun classes which express number, gender, case and definiteness.

The language supplies the affix -e for the feminine common nouns before the nominative case marker is added. The examples in the table above reveal that the TVs {-e,-i,-o} are dropped and immediately supplied with {e} by the suppletive alternative rule of the grammar. Consider the rule in 59 .

59.

{ input }		→	output of suppletion rule
{ -a \ -i \ -o }	→	∅	→ [ e ]
[TVs]		[dropped]	[affix suppletion]

As to Payne (2006: 80), such a process is a logical alternative suppletive rule of affix allomorphy. Such a pattern may probably arise “...because of complex historical processes that descriptive linguists may have no direct access to when analyzing a language for the first time” (Payne 2008:79, 80). Thus, we leave such issue open for further investigation.

### 3.2.3. Vowel raising rule .

The linguistic notation below presents the underlying vowel raising from the mid /e/ and /o/ to high /i/ and /u/ respectively in 60a, 60 b, 60c.

60a.

[ affix supplied to the ]	[epenthesis]	[case affix] →	output
[ feminine nouns ]	+ [ insertion]		

(60b) { -e }	→ [ i ]	/	___ { j/w }	[ -a ]/[ -o ]	- ia/io step1
[ affix ]	[ V raising ]		[ front/back glide ]	[ NOM./ACC.3FS ]	
{ -o }	→ [ u ]	/	___ { w }	[ i- ]	- iu step 2
[ TV ]	[ V raising ]		[ back glide ]	[ NOM ]	
[ { -o }	→ [ u ]	/	___ { w }	[ -a ]	- ua step1
[ TV ]	[ V raising ]		[ back glide ]	[ ACC ]	

The process of deletion rule of the epenthetic semi vowels is given in (60c)

(60c) { w }	→ ∅	/	V ___ V	#
[ back glide ]	[ deleted ]		[ i- ]	[ -u ]
{ j }	→ ∅	/	V ___ V	#
[ front glide ]	[ deleted ]		[ i- ]	[ -a ]

When the feminine nominative case marker morpheme /-a/ is affixed to one of the TVs { -e \ -i \ -o }, the grammar of the language often selects { -e }, the underlying feminine gender marking morpheme for any class of common noun. For the { -e } undergoes vowel rising due to the epenthetic glide /-j-/ insertion between { -e } and case marker morphemes. Then the language optionally drops the epenthetic glide and we finally obtain the portmanteau morph, diphthong [-ia] as an output ( 60b ) .

In ( 60b), the morpheme [-ia] is attached to the surface of the common noun and expresses the case, gender, number and definiteness at the same time when affixed to the female common nouns. Likewise, the male common nouns with the TV /-e/ affix obtain the portmanteau morpheme [-ia] to the surface to express the case, gender, number and definiteness at the same time.

First, the grammar changes the TV -o- to the mid front vowel -e that marks feminine gender. We obtain [-ia] due to the influence of the epenthetic glide [j]. The underlying feminine absolutive case marker morpheme { -o } and the glide /-w-/ undergo vowel backing and rising at the same time automatically and then the back glide vowel drops immediately after { -o } is changed to [u] . We then insert the front glide vowel /-j-/. In the next step, due to the influence of the front glide vowel, the TV undergoes vowel raising and fronting to

obtain [-i-]. As a result of all these processes, we finally obtain the affix [-iu] at the surface that expresses the case, gender, number and definiteness of the common noun at a time.

In the discussion above, the data show that the common nouns that do not drop their TVs enter into both grammatical and morphophonemic processes. We honestly admit that we could not cover a few linguistic secrets that are connected with the common nouns that drop their TVs. We feel that there is a missing link that needs further investigation.

### 3.2.4. Vowel dropping rules

The TVs of the proper nouns of person are deleted for it is grammatically conditioned. In the other words, the deletion of the TVs is predictable since the grammar allows the case marker express the gender of the person used as a subject or an object of the verb. The language employs the morphophonemic rule to see how the surface representation expresses definiteness grammatical relation. This condition is better expressed in the morphophonemic rule (62) than (61).

$$(61) \quad \text{TV} \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \_ \quad \text{V}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{can't co-occur with case} \\ \text{marker vowel} \end{array} \right\} \quad \left[ \text{deleted} \right] \quad \left[ \text{before} \right] \quad \left\{ \text{NOM/ACC suffix} \right\}$$

This can be handled by the following notation of the truncation rule:

TRUNCATION RULE [[X] person name noun + -a\ -o ] +CASE] drops the TVs

The notation given in 62 can be taken as an alternative to the truncation rule (61).

$$(62) \quad \{-a \ -o\} \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \_ \quad \#$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the underlying TVs of the male} \\ \text{and female person name noun} \end{array} \right\} \quad \left[ \text{deleted} \right] \quad \left[ \text{word final} \right]$$

As the rule (62) explains, the underlying TV of the male person name noun {-a} and the female person name noun {-o} are deleted before the case marking morphemes are affixed to the surface form of the male and female person names in the language.

In this regard, Gofa shared similar linguistic feature with the other North Ometo Cluster languages like Wolaitta and Kucha. As far as the researcher's fluency of Wolaitta is concerned, either Wolaitta or Gofa might have innovated since the surface form of the objective case of the third person masculine and feminine singular are /a/ and /o/ in Wolaitta whereas /ia/ and /iu/ respectively in Gofa. Such a variation could either be the result of the long contact with non-North Ometo speech communities or internal innovation. Furthermore, in this study we realized that the proper names of male persons in Gofa do not drop their TVs -e\-\o, rather they undergo diphthongization when they interact with case morphemes. This calls for conducting further study in view of both comparative and historical linguistics.

### 3.2.5. Diphthongization rules

When we affix both nominative and accusative marking suffix vowel morphemes to the TV of the feminine gender of the common nouns, we often obtain diphthongs as in 63.

63.

- a. haré -i → [ hareí ] → harey 'the donkey'  
 donkey -NOM.3FS donkey.NOM.3MS.DEF
- b. gaammó -i → [ gaammoí ] → gaammoy 'the lion'  
 lion -NOM.3MS lion .NOM.3MS.DEF
- c. gaammó-a → [gaamme-j-a] → [ gaamm-ija] → [ gaammía]→gaammiya  
 lion-NOM.3FS lion.F-EPN-NOM.F lion.NOM.3FS.DEF 'the lioness'

The possible reason for not deleting the TVs of person and inanimate common nouns as well as place nouns could probably be to allow the TVs and the case marker suffix vowels to enter into a morphophonemic process so that we obtain the diphthongs that synchronically express both the gender and the definiteness of the noun at a time. When we delete the underlying/surface TV, we sometimes obtain the indefinite noun and the indefinite noun entity that the speaker speaks about may not be familiar to the listener.

On the other hand, the proper names have either gender lexicons or gender expressing suffixes unlike most common nouns. This makes the common nouns slightly show a different

linguistic behavior when compared to the proper name nouns. This is true in Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008, Hirut 1999, Azeb 1996). The issue is discussed in 5.1.1. Gender and 5.1.4. Case in this study.

In general, the discussion in the chapter reveals that the language employs rules of assimilation, deletion, insertion, as well as the affix suppletion or suppletive allomorphs. We observe both progressive and regressive assimilations in case of direction. In addition, partial assimilation is more common than that of the complete assimilation.

Deletion rules are very common when compared to the insertion rules (of epenthetic vowels). We observed that the language deletes the word final vowels, the TVs, and a vowel and a consonant segment, a syllable at word medial, whereas a segment, a syllable at the word initial in a compound word and a connected fast speech. The deletion rules take place first and followed by the insertion whenever the two rules are employed in the underlying forms of words and phrases.

The affix suppletion of the abstract segment or the suppletive allomorph particularly {e} takes place to express the feminine gender in the accepted rule order. As soon as the feminine gender expressing case marker is affixed to the common nouns, the rules of deletion of the TVs, the affix suppletion, and the insertion of glides as epenthetic vowels take place one after the other automatically in the underlying form. These are motivated by the phonotactics, the morphophonemic and the grammatical rules of the language. Such phenomena may either be language specific or common to some related languages (Payne 2006: 63). Stem suppletion, back formation or subtractive morphological processes are not treated in relation to noun derivation in this study. We rather suggest the issues for future study.

To sum up, the very variations between the morphemes and their allomorphs, the conditions directly connected to the adjacent phonetic environment or other factors discussed so far in the chapter attest the function of morphophonemic rules in the language under study. We believe that we treated a few of the morphophonemic processes and rules that are closely knit with nominal morphology of the language.

We feel that points we discussed may provide some morphophonemic accounts for the morphophonemic alterations that occur in the language and the accounts provided for the morphophonemic alterations may throw some light on the historical and internal reconstruction of a language in particular (Trask 2005:228) and the finding may be used as a resource for those who are interested to hypothesize the internal reconstruction of North Omoto Cluster language in particular and the Omotic phylum in general.

## 4. Tonology

### 4.1. Overview

Tonal accent has a morphological and lexical significance in Gofa and the language employs tonal accent of high and low pitch in order to define the meanings of some lexical items that are not yet defined by the use of segments. Besides, the language derives a few nominals from different word classes such as verbs and adjectives by shifting the position of a tonal accent from one place/syllable to another. The other word classes also undergo some kind of the process of derivation to obtain derived nominals when we move, add, or spread the tonal accent to the left or to the right of the place of its origin in the citation form of the word. This is also true in Haro (Hirut 2003) and Wolaitta (Azeb 1996, Wakasa 2008) and Kafi Noonoo (Taddese 2001:25).

As it is stated in the works of Azeb (1996: 114), in Wolaitta, each lexical item in its simple/citation form receives only one high tonal accent though the assignment of the tonal accent is unpredictable. This is true in Gofa, too, for the simple nouns, adjectives, and adverbs in their citation forms receive only one high tonal accent either on the terminal vowels or on the penultimate vowels. Some of the derived compound nouns and phrases assign either one or multiple tonal accents on one of the constituent elements but this is discussed under compounding (cf.5.2.2. Compounding ).

Unlike the other word classes, the class of verbs assign tonal accents in a slightly different way for the nature of morphological units affixed to the verbs influence the assignment of the high tonal accents on the verbs. As the findings of this study show, Gofa too, is a tonal accent language, since the tonal accent in Gofa plays a similar role as it does in the tonal accent Ometo languages like Zayse (Hayward 1990), and Wolaitta as it is cited in (Azeb 1996:113), and in Gamo ( Hompó 1990: 366 , Hayward 1994: 481).

As the data obtained so far indicates, we realized the presence of high and low pitch in the language under study. As a tonal accent language, the high and the low pitch indicate the presence of rising and falling tones. According to Crystal (2008:111), ‘‘Rising and falling tones are sometimes referred to as contour tones. A contour tone system is used in some tone languages (e.g. Thai) where the critical feature is the direction of tonal movement ra-

ther than the relative level of the tone ...” This differentiates the contour tone languages from the register ones.

The high tonal accent is assigned on the second mora of the accented long syllable in Gofa as it is true in Somali (cf. Banti 1988 and Hyman 1981:169). This strengthens the claim that the domain of tonal accent is a mora in a syllable. Based on this fact, we can claim that Gofa is not a stress language since the domain of a stress is the syllable as a whole. Besides that, mora is not the domain of a stress, rather it is the domain of the tonal accent languages like Gofa and Kafi Noonoo (Taddese 2001: 25).

Naturally, it is the vowels that bear the pitch of the speakers. The speakers of Gofa vary their pitch to vary the meanings of lexicons and phrases like that of the tonal accented languages of many African countries like Somali (cf. Banti 1988 and Hyman 1981:169).

Though the acute and the grave accents are good to refer to the prominent and the non-prominent tonal accents respectively, we assign only the acute accent on the vowels /moras that bear the tonal accent prominently pronounced and heard by the native speakers. For easy of communication, the grave accent is intentionally not assigned on the low tonal accent vowels / moras.

This section provides the citation forms of the major lexical categories such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs as well as a few phrases. The citation or the absolute forms of lexicons do not bear number, gender, case and definiteness indicating affixes. The nasalized vowels do not have phonemic status in this thesis. But in case a nasalized vowel receives the high tonal accent like others, the acute accent symbol will be assigned on top of the nasalization diacritic.

The chapter also treats the linguistic features of copying, supplying or adding in connection to derivational tone, grammatical tone and tonal accent spreading. Each of them are treated in the successive subsections in this study. The study does not treat the formation of contour, downdrift and downstep tonal processes that need to be treated in the future work. In addition, the study focuses on the interaction of tonal accent assignment as per the process of affixation of the inflectional and derivational morphemes to simple words.

## 4.2. Lexical Tone and Tonal Melodies

In this section, we will discuss how the language assigns its high tonal accent on the word class and thereby reveal the melody of the major word classes. The section presents the function of high tonal accent first.

### 4.2.1. Lexical tone assignment

Gofa has no monosyllabic nouns, and adjectives, but rare in adverbs. The data obtained so far shows a handful of verbs, demonstratives and personal pronouns. Many of the words obtained so far are disyllabic and trisyllabic. Words of more than trisyllabic are very rare and the researcher may try to include a few of them whenever necessary. A few simple words of two and three syllables from the class of nouns are treated first.

#### 4.2.1.1. Simple words of class of nouns

Disyllabic simple nouns that assign the high tonal accents on the ultimate syllable mora are selected first. The nouns are put into different classes based on the nature of TVs of their citation form as in 64.

64.

- |                              |                             |    |  |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----|--|
| -a                           |                             | -e |  |
| a. aawa [ʔaawá] ‘father’     | b. hare [haré] ‘a donkey’   |    |  |
| -i                           |                             | -o |  |
| c. keethi [keetsí] ‘a house’ | d. gaammo [gaammó] ‘a lion’ |    |  |

Disyllabic simple nouns assign the high tonal accent on the penultimate syllable mora as in 65.1.

65.1.

- |  |                         |                                   |  |    |
|--|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|----|
| -a   |                         | -e                                |  | -o |
| a. boora [boóra] ‘an ox’                         | b. mehe [méhe] ‘a herd’ | c. bollo [bóllo] ‘brother-in-law’ |  |    |
| -i   |                         |                                   |  |    |
| d. panthi [pantisi] ‘youth /adolescent/teenager’ |                         |                                   |  |    |



#### 4.2.1.3. Simple words of a class of adjectives and adverbs.

A few disyllabic simple adjectives may assign their high tonal accent on the penultimate syllable mora as in the examples in 69.

69.

-a

-e

-o

- a. keha[kéha] ‘generous’    b. dure [dúre] ‘rich’    c. modhdho[móǾǾo] ‘fat’

Some trisyllabic simple adjectives assign their high tonal accent either on ultimate or penultimate mora as in 70.

70.

-a

-i

- a. adussa [Ǿadussá] ‘tall/long’    b. kareetsi [kareétsi] ‘black’

Some disyllabic adverbs may assign the high tonal accent on either ultimate or penultimate syllable as in the example (71).

71.

-a

-e

- a. guura [guúra] ‘in the morning’    b. zine [zíne] ‘yesterday’

-i

-o

- c. ha7i [haʔí] ‘now’    d. wontto [wonttó] ‘tomorrow’

The polysyllabic and trisyllabic adverbs may assign either on ultimate or penultimate syllable in the language. Consider the data in 72.

72.

-i

-o

- a. omarssi [Ǿomarssi] ‘evening’    c. maallado [maalládo] ‘morning’

- b. wonttimaatti [wonttimaatí] ‘dawn’

#### 4.2.1.4. Personal pronouns.

The reduced and the monosyllabic genitive personal pronouns assign their high tonal accent as in 73.

73.

-a

-e

-i

a. ta [tá] 'I'      b. ne [né] 'you'      c. i [í] 'he/her'

-u

-iu

-ia

d. nú 'we'      e. iyu[íú] 'her'      f. iya [ía] 'she/him/his'

The full disyllabic and trisyllabic personal pronouns, too, assign a high tonal accent on one of their syllables as in 74.

74.

-i

a. taani [taáni] 'I'      c. nuuni [nuúni] 'we'

b. neeni [neéni] 'you'      d. hintteni [híntteni] 'you (2S.HON /PL)

e. enttanti [énttantí] 's/he (HON), they'

#### 4.2.1.5. Demonstrative pronouns .

Gofa obtains both mono syllabic and disyllabic demonstrative pronouns. The disyllabic demonstrative pronouns assign the high tonal accent either on the ultimate or penultimate syllable as in the examples (75).

75.

a. ha [há] 'this'      c. hini [híni] 'that (visible)'

b. hayssi [haissí] 'this (male) entity'      d. hanna [hanná] 'this (female) entity'

In general, a mora is an immediate layer in the phonological hierarchy which exists as a counting unit within a syllable. A short syllable has mono mora whereas a heavy syllable has two moras. In a heavy syllable that has two moras, though both of the moras compete to assign the high tonal accent, only the ultimate mora receives the high tonal accent. The

discussion in the next sections gives possible tonological justification taking a few words, phrases and simple sentences.

The other important issue needs discussion is whether Gofa drops the high tonal accents when the vowel or the moraic drops at certain process of nominalization. The assignment of the high tonal accent on diphthongs is not treated in the previous works of the related languages. This issue is also treated under the grammatical tone.

As the data collected in the field shows, either the front high or the back high vowel of a diphthong receives the high tonal accent since the pick of the voice of the speaker reaches the high vowels first when compared to the mid and the low vowels. This issue is not treated in the previous works done on the related North Ometo languages. We also suggest this issue for future investigation.

#### 4.2.2. Tonal melodies

As literature on the North Ometo cluster languages shows, the majority of words are disyllabic whether they are nouns, adjectives, verbs, or adverbs. Among the handful of monosyllabic words, some are verbs, short personal pronouns, demonstratives and a few adverbs. The polysyllabic words are rare. Thus, it is good to take examples based on the number of syllables and check for the number of melodies of a class of nouns in this section.

We can observe the tonal accent melodies of some simple words of class of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns and demonstratives shown in the examples above. The tonal accent melodies of word classes is shown in the order of syllables the words constitute. In addition, each mora of a syllable in a word is represented either by the H or 2 and L or 1 to mean that the syllable possesses a high tonal accented mora and a low tonal accented mora respectively. Furthermore, the H or 2 and L or 1 again refer to the high and the low melody respectively observed in each of the ultimate syllable. The words of monosyllable and polysyllable are treated in 76.

76.

a. iya [ʔia] / [ʔia<sup>21</sup>]

‘she/his’

b. iyu [ʔiú] / [ʔiu<sup>12</sup>]

‘her’

c. he [há] / [ha<sup>2</sup>]

‘this’

- d. haa [haá] / [haa<sup>12</sup>] ‘here’    e. binnaana [binnaána] / [binnaána<sup>1121</sup>] ‘hair’  
 f. taani [ taáni ] / [ taani<sup>121</sup> ] ‘I’

As the examples above show, the melodies of mono-moraic syllable (c) varies from that of the bi-moraic syllables of long accented vowels (d, e, f ) and diphthongs ( a, b ).

Based on the above facts, the tonal melodies of the word classes of Gofa may fall into one of the following patterns (77).

77.

H<sup>18</sup>, HL, LH, HLL, LHL, LLH, HLLL, LHLL, LLHL, LLLH

2, 21, 12, 211, 121, 112, 2111, 1211, 1121, 1112

### 4.3. Morphological Tone

#### 4.3.1. The inflectional tone

Tone has a morphological significance in Gofa and the language adds tone to grammatical relations of case and verb agreement morphemes at a phrase boundary. The interaction between the inflectional tonal accent and vocative case is treated under (4.3.1.1. ) Vocative case.

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<sup>18</sup> The HH tonal melody may occur when the language employs the plateauing tonal accent spreading process in compound words and some phrases (cf.Compounding ).

### 4.3.1.1. Vocative tonal affix

We address proper nouns by adding different vocative inflectional tonal affixes in Gofa. The language supplies with different tonal affixes when the addressee is close and far away from the person addressing as in 78.

78.

Proper names		near		far		gender
dosa	[dosá ]	>	[dósaa]	>	[dósaá]	male
zawde	[záwde ]	>	[záwdee]	>	[záwdeé]	male
foo7a	[Φóο?a ]	>	[Φóο?oo]	>	[Φóο?oó]	male
alama	[?alamú]	>	[?alámuu]	>	[?alámuú]	male
foo7o	[Φóο?o ]	>	[Φóο?ee]	>	[Φóο?eé]	female
dosito	[dosító ]	>	[dosítee]	>	[dosíteé]	female

The male and female person name nouns assign different allomorphs of inflectional tone. The language assigns the morpheme -ee for female names irrespective of the TVs. In case of male names, we have -aa,-ee,-oo,-uu. This works for all person name nouns including the borrowed male names.

The animate and inanimate common nouns assign the vocative inflectional tonal affixes in Gofa and this is treated under case subsection (cf. 5.1.4. Case ).

To address the honorable people, the person name addressed affixes the inflectional morpheme -ntt- followed by -oo and the high tonal accent is assigned both on penultimate and ultimate syllables as far as the data we obtain so far show. In general, the vocative inflectional affix suffixed onto the female proper and common nouns is the morpheme-ee irrespective of the TVs of the name nouns. The male proper nouns have various allomorphs such as -aa,-ee,-au, and -oo which are influenced often by the TVs but rarely not. The finding concerning some personal common nouns represented by compound nouns need further investigation. But, the issue related to the proper nouns and pronouns are discussed under case system and pronouns in the chapters to come (Cf. 5.1.4. Case and 6. Pronouns).

### 4.3.2. Tonal accent spreading

Tonal accent spreading is common in Gofa grammatical tone. The tonal accent spreading rule causes a tonal accent move and then occur at the immediate adjacent syllables of the same words as well as the immediate adjacent syllables of the neighboring words. This is discussed under plateauing and boundary tones in the successive sections.

#### 4.3.2.1. Plateauing.

Plateauing is one of the rules of autosegmental phonology that gives shape to the tonal accents coming in a sequence in a form of feature copying in syllables of a word or words in a phrase, a compound and a sentence. According to Crystal (2008: 371), it is “...a type of RULE in which a sequence of high - low - high TONES type is changed to high -high - high. The rule applies regardless of whether the sequence appears in the same WORD or in separate words.”

The phonological features like tonal polarity and some depressor voiced consonants (that are non-glottal, non-implosive obstruents) are against the rule of plateauing since they affect or block the spread or shift of H tone in some tonal languages of Africa (Yip, 2002: 157-159). But, so far in the data collected, and to our knowledge, we did not encounter these features that block the rule of plateauing. Due to this, we will emphasize on dealing with rules pertaining to plateauing in a noun phrase and a simple sentence.

The example below may show the occurrence of plateauing in a sentence (79).

79.

bullukkuwa soon maaʔenna baizzi ekkana ‘He sells the blanket for he doesn’t wear at home.’

bullúkkuwa<sup>1211</sup> (< bullukko-w-a) soó-n<sup>12</sup> maaʔ-énna<sup>11-21</sup>  
local blanket.ACC.3MS.DEF home-LOC(at/in) wear-IMPF.3MS.NEG

baizz-i<sup>11-2</sup> ʔekk-aná<sup>1-12</sup> →bullúkkuá<sup>1221</sup> soón<sup>21</sup> maáʔénna<sup>1221</sup> baizzi<sup>112</sup> ʔekkaná<sup>112</sup>

sell -CNV<sub>2</sub> take-FUT..NEG becomes

The example above shows that the grammar of the language employs the tonal rule of plateauing that allows either the leftward or the rightward high tonal accent spreading. As a result of this rule, we observe that the H(igh tonal accents) replace the L(ow tonal accents) on the first and the third words in the sentence. One can detect this by comparing the H assigned before and after the language employed the tonal spreading rule of plateauing in 79.

#### 4.3.2.2. Boundary tone .

In Gofa, each of the type of sentences: declarative, command, exclamatory, and interrogative assign the high tonal accent on the appropriate mora of the prominent syllable of the finite verb. The grammatical tone plays a great role in assigning the high tonal accent in each of the sentences. The declarative and interrogative sentences will be treated first.

##### a. The declarative and interrogative construction

A declarative sentence normally ends in a finite verb. The language assigns a high tonal accent on one of the syllables of either the simple verb root/stem or the verb agreement inflectional affix in a declarative sentence. However, the language assigns additional high tonal accent on verb agreement suffix when the declarative sentence is changed to an interrogative sentence. Compare the examples (80).

80.

Declarative	>	Interrogative
a. nuuni baana ‘We shall go.’		nuuni baanee? ‘Shall we go?’
nuúni      b-aaná		nuúni      b-aaneé
1PL.NOM go-FUT.A.DCL		1PL.NOM go-FUT.INTER
b. nuuni bookko ‘We’ll not go.’		nuuni bookkoo? ‘Shall we not go?’
nuúni      b-oókkó		nuúni      b-oókkóó
1PL.NOM go-2PL.FUT.NEG.DCL		1PL.NOM go-2PL.FUT.NEG.INTER

The verb in the direct question assigns one additional high tonal accent in interrogative sentences (80 b) whereas the direct question (80 a) assigns a new long accented vowel and

assigns the H on the ultimate syllable of the verb inflection.

b. The imperative and optative construction

An imperative or a sentence of command and an optative or a sentence of good wish make use of the same subject-agreement inflectional affix and both of them use the subject optionally since Gofa is a pro-drop language. This is also reported in Koorete (Binyam 2010:127). The negative of the imperative construction or the denial of permission may sometimes provide us the prohibitive construction. This means that the prohibitive construction is different in form from the imperative and optative sentences in the language under study. We can see the discussion on prohibitive under chapter seven (cf. 7.2.2.2. Imperative and prohibitive). We observe that the language assigns the high tonal accents the same way in the imperative and optative sentences. Consider the illustration in 81.

81.

- a. (híntteí)                      tukké              pentt- iss -ité ‘(Let you) boil/brew some coffee!’  
(2S.HON/PL.NOM) coffee.ACC    boil -CAUS -IMP/OPT.2S.HON/PL
- b. sáró              b-ííte (< sáro bííte) ‘Farewell ! / Goodbye!’  
peace              go- IMP/OPT. 2S.HON/PL

The high tonal accent in (81) is assigned on the verb agreement inflection -e and -i (2S.HON/2PL) in both the imperative and the optative mood in 81 a and 81 b respectively. However, we admit that we did not yet discuss on those verbs that assign their high tonal accents on the roots/stems though they might behave slightly different from the verbs that assign their high tonal accents on the verb agreement affixes. Moreover, they are treated fairly under the verb morphology (cf. 7. Verbs).

### 4.3.3. Derivational tone

This section shows that the language derives a handful of new words only by using derivational tone.

We obtain a difference in meaning when a few words in Gofa shift their high tonal accents from a syllable to another. Consider the examples (82).

82.

- a. maata [maáata] ‘right’ → [maatá ] ‘grass’
- b. zare [záre ] ‘kinship’ → [ zará ] ‘leazard’
- c. arssa [ʔárssi] ‘local bed’ → [ʔarssá ] ‘chocolate/brown (human)’
- d. baana [baána] ‘dust’ → [ baaná ] ‘will go’

In the data above, we realize that words we generate could either be class changing or class maintaing, when the place of origin of the high tonal accent moves from a syllable of origin to another. Genrating compound words is also discussed under (cf 5. Nouns ).

In general, the mobility of the high tonal accents show that tone is an autonomous linguistic entity that moves from its origin to another place to fulfill either morphological, grammatical or syntactic reasons in Gofa as it is true in other tonal languages (Odden, 2005: 319). Due to this linguistic feature, words of the same segmental units could give us quite different meanings.

We realized that the last/ultimate mora assigns the high tonal accent on the prominent accented long syllable in a word in the language. Furthermore, we also realized that Gofa allows bidirectional spread of the high tonal accent which is triggered by both the lexical and morphological tonal rules, especially when we employ plateauing rule.

The finding shows that the high tonal accent has a heavy functional load on the grammar than on the lexicons. The tonal melody has a semantic role to play in the language under study since it allows the speakers meet the expectation of the hearers in the discourse. Nevertheless, we believe that we touched little on the issue .Thus we suggest some of the functions of tonal accents such as downstep, upstep and downdrift for futuer study.

## 5. Nouns

The chapter deals with both the inflectional and derivational categories of nouns in Gofa. The inflectional categories are treated first.

### 5.1. Inflectional Noun Morphology

Inflectional morphology “... specifies the grammatical functions of words in phrases without altering their meaning...” (Beard 2001: 35). Nouns are inflected for gender, number, definiteness and case in Gofa and they are treated in the subsequent sections in this study.

#### 5.1.1. Gender

Gender is a grammatical feature that shows the sub classification of nouns or noun phrases into feminine, masculine and neuter in some European languages like French, German and Spanish. Such a gender system does not work for Gofa, a North Omoto Cluster language under the Omotic language family. The gender system of Gofa classifies animate nouns into feminine and masculine as it is true in related languages like Haro (Hirut 2003:48).

The animate nouns marked for gender refer to the biological or natural gender. The masculine gender is used as the unmarked or the default gender for nominal referents whose biological gender is not overtly marked on the lexicons of nominal entities. This is true in Haro (Hirut 2003:48) and Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008: 247), too. The language provides grammatical gender as a means of expressing the gender distinction for nominal entities whose biological gender is not overtly marked. In this study, we discuss on the use of gender expressing suffixes, genitive nominal lexicons, and pronominal enclitics that the language uses to show the sex of nominal entities. The biological gender is treated first.

##### 5.1.1.1. Biological gender

The biological gender expresses the natural/default gender or the biological sex of the nouns treated in this section. As the data we collected show, the language uses biological sex differentiating lexicons for some common and proper name nouns of persons and domestic animals. Each of them is further grouped into four classes based on the word endings or terminal vowels (TVs).

### 5.1.1.1.1. Gender expressing lexicons of some proper nouns

The deity and place name nouns are all in masculine. Thus ,the discussion in this study gives emphasis to default or the biological gender of some animate proper nouns since the proper noun that indicates the bearer ‘... reflects its traditional semantic definition: the name of an individual person, place, etc’ (Crystal, 2008:392,Payne 2006:101). In Gofa, some animate and inanimate entities are given proper names like human beings. But unlike the inanimate proper names, the proper names of some animates refer to the gender of the entity. We also observed that when some proper nouns are shared in common by both the female and the male persons , the language employs grammatical gender expressing nominal suffixes to differentiate the female from the male person bearing the name ( cf. 5.1.1.2. Morphological gender). We will first present the proper names that show the gender of the person bearing the name. The examples given below attest this truth.

#### a. The proper nouns of persons

Some lexicons that bear the gender of the person names are given in Table 19.

Table 19: Gender expressing proper names of persons

M	F
dolá , guḁḁá , ts’ooná	
ʔuuté	
morggaámo	baalóto , laamóto, kawóno

The data in Table 19 shows the feminine proper names end only in -o whereas the male proper names end in either -a, -e or -o.

#### b). The proper names of domestic animals

In Gofa, the proper names of some domestic animals express the default gender or the biological sex of the animals (Table 20).

Table 20: Gender expressing proper names of domestic animals

M	F
gaáʃa , woíʃa	
	dúlkko , ʃ’atʃ’áro

The data in Table 20 shows that the proper names of male domestic animals end in -a whereas the female domestic animals end in -o.

### 5.1.1.1.2. Gender expressing lexicons of some common nouns

Gofa makes use of different lexicons to express the female and male common nouns of some animates.

#### a). Gender expressing common nouns of persons

Some female kinship term lexicons of the common nouns are differentiated from the lexicons of the male common names in the examples (Table 21).

Table 21: Biological sex expressing kinship lexicons

M		F	
ʔaawá	‘ father’	ʔaajó	‘ mother’
bitáne	‘ a man’	miʔiré	‘ a woman’
pántsi	‘ a teenage boy’	wodáro / geeláʔo	‘a teenage girl’
ʔiʔa	‘ brother’	miʔfjó	‘ sister’

The data (Table 21) shows that some female and male kinship terms are different lexically.

#### b). Biological sex expressing lexicons of common nouns of domestic animals

We also observe that the lexicons of the female domestic animals are quite different from that of the male counterparts. Consider the examples of biological sex expressing lexicons of domestic animals are in Table 22 .

Table 22: Biological sex expressing lexicons of domestic animals

M		F	
sángga	‘a bull’	miídzdze	‘a cow’
pará	‘a stallion’	mats’aána	‘a mare’
ʔurggé	‘a billy’	ʔuzzé	‘a nanny’
kóle	‘a ram’	dorssé	‘an ewe’
wofaáno / mírggo	‘a young ox’	ʔússi	‘a heifer’

As we can observe the data (Table 22), some of the common name lexicons show the difference between female and male domestic animals.

### 5.1.1.2. Morphological gender

The morphological gender system of Gofa attaches male or female gender expressing morphemes onto a few lexicons of animate nouns when the lexicons of animate nouns refer to a common gender in their citation forms. The nominal entities could either be animate or

inanimate nouns. In such a time, the grammatical system of a language interacts with the semantic rules of the language in order to assign gender for certain nouns. According to Corbett (2003:34), “Morphological systems are connected to the semantic systems ... they always have a semantic core ... the morphological rules assign the nouns in the semantic residue to genders, that is, they are required where semantic rules fail.”

Based on the above fact, we attested that the morphological gender systems of Gofa employs various strategies that provide morphological gender for some of the animate nouns as it is reported in some Ometo languages like Haro (Hirut 2003:48), Sheko (Hellenthal 2010:157) and Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008:247-250) . These strategies are presented in the subsequent sections.

**i. Using gender distinguishing terminal vowels**

When the same proper name is shared by both female and male persons, the language assigns the terminal vowel -a for masculine and -o for the feminine proper person names. We also observe that the feminine gender marking morphemes -at-, -et- , -it- occur before the terminal vowel -o. As the person names in their citation forms in Table 23 show, even some feminine proper names borrowed from Amharic obtain the feminine gender marking morphemes -ash- [-aʃ-] and -achch- [-aʃʃ-] occur before the terminal vowel -o in (g, h).

Table 23: The terminal vowels expressing gender distinction of some proper names

Class	M	F
A	bairát-a, ʔufaíss-a,	bairát-o, ʔufaíss-o, zurúnts-o
B	dombb-á	dombb-át-o
C	kum-á	kum-ét-o
D	dos-á	dos-ít-o

We also attested that the language shows gender distinction of the proper names of a few domestic animals by using the masculine and feminine gender marking terminal vowels -a and -o respectively. The examples (Table 24) show this truth.

Table 24: Names of domestic animals bearing gender expressing TVs

M		F	
boótsa	‘the white’	boótso	‘the white’
bootsallá	‘the whitish’	bootsalló	‘the whitish’

## ii. Using nominative and accusative case morphemes

The language suffixes the portemanteau morphemes -i and -a to refer to some male and female proper names respectively when they are used in the nominative case. The accusative case markers -a and -o are suffixed to the masculine and feminine proper names respectively when these male and female proper names are used as the objects of the verbs. Consider the examples in Table 25.

Table 25: Gender differentiating nominative and accusative case morphemes

Proper name in nominative case		Proper name in accusative case		Remark
Male name	Female name	Male name	Female name	
bairát	-i	bairát	-a	bairát -a    bairát -o
baraát	-i	baraát	-a	baraát -a    baraát -o
darót	-i	darót	-a	darót -a    darót -o
dozggán	-i	dozggán	-a	dozggán -a    dozggán -o
ʔufaíss	-i	ʔufaíss	-a	ʔufaíss -a    ʔufaíss -o

As can be seen from the data (Table 25), the root of the proper names is the same but the language shows gender and case distinction by assigning the portemanteau morphemes -i and -a in nominative case and -a and -o in accusative case. We realized that the proper names used in the data above are all three syllabic words and they assign their high tonal accents on the second syllables.

## iii. Attaching gender expressing suffixes onto ethnic/place names

The grammar of the language derives the male and the female common names of persons (who speak the language, reside and used to live as the member of the ethnic group) when the morphemes -aa and -iu are suffixed to ethnic/place names that end in -a respectively. Consider the examples in Table 26.

Table 26: Gender expressing suffixes attached onto ethnic name nouns

Ethnic/place name	M	F
goófa	goófaa ‘the man from Gofa’	goófiu ‘the lady from Gofa’
zaála	zaálaa ‘the man from Zala’	zaáliu ‘the lady from Zala’

#### iv. Using gender expressing genitive case morphemes

A few male and female proper names suffix the genitive case marker morphemes -a and -i respectively when these proper names are used as the possessor/owner and occur before the head (of the compound) nouns. Consider the data in Table 27.

Table 27: Male and female gender expressing genitive case affixes

Male proper name + head noun	gloss	Female proper name + head noun	Gloss
darót-á naʔaa	‘the son of Darota’	darót-í naʔaa	‘the son of Darote’
bairát-á naʔaa	‘the son of Bairata’	bairát-í naʔaa	‘the son of Bairate’
dozggán-á naʔaa	‘the son of Dozgana’	dozggán-í naʔaa	‘the son of Dozgane’

As can be seen from the data (Table 27), the possessor nouns assign two high tonal accents when the original high tonal accents are assigned other than on the ultimate syllables. This issue is discussed at length in chapter four. Besides, masculine proper names that end -e and -o have different genitive morphemes and they are discussed under genitive case.

In addition, some common nouns used as possessors/owners of the head nouns of the compound suffix -a and -e to show male and female gender respectively. In this case, the grammar of the language drops the TVs of the common nouns and then lengthens the male and the female gender expressing genitive case markers to -aa and -ee. The masculine common nouns that have -e and -o TVs obtain different genitive case morphemes and such issues are discussed under the case morphology. Consider the examples in 83.

83.

- a. meddaajeé (< medaaje + -e)      ʔaawa      ‘the bride’s father’  
       bride.GEN.3FS.DEF                      father
- b. meddaawaá (< meddaawa + -a)      ʔaawa      ‘the groom’s father’  
       groom.GEN.3MS.DEF                      father
- c. laazaántseé (< laazaántse + -e)      ʔaawa      ‘the female marriage broker’s father’  
       marriage broker.GEN.3FS.DEF              father
- d. laazaántsaá (< laazantsa + -a)      ʔaawa      ‘the male marriage broker’s father’  
       marriage broker.GEN.3MS.DEF              father



In addition to that, some masculine proper nouns with the TVs -a and -o assign the vocative case morphemes -oo and its alternant -aa whereas a few of the masculine proper nouns with the TV -e suffix the vocative case morpheme -ee are discussed in the other section (cf. 5.1.4 Case). As can be seen from the above examples (85), the vocative case morphemes -iau and -uau obtain a falling -rising contour tone and this is discussed under chapter four (4. Tonology). The vocative pronouns make use of free morphemes that are also used to show male and female distinction in the second person personal pronouns (cf. 6. Pronouns).

#### vi. Gender expressing lexicons as modifiers

One of the frequently used strategies of addressing the biological sex of the real world referents is using gender expressing lexical items as modifiers. The gender expressing modifiers are of two kinds: postmodifiers and premodifiers expressing grammatical gender. This strategy allows the language to employ the morphological process of obtaining noun phrases as well as compound nouns (Payne 2006:45). We will treat the premodifiers first.

Gofa makes use of the premodifiers macca [máʃʃ'a] 'female' and adde [ʔaddé] 'male' to distinguish the biological sex of some common nouns used as the head of the compound nouns. Gofa including Haro (Hirut 2003:51), Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008) and Sheko (Hellenthal 2010:157) employ similar strategy of gender sensitive attributives. Consider the examples of Gofa data in Table 28.

Table 28: Gender expressing lexicons as modifiers

common nouns	Male	Female
naʔá 'a child'	ʔaddé naʔa 'a boy'	máʃʃ'á naʔa 'a daughter'
haré 'a donkey'	ʔaddé hare 'a male donkey'	máʃʃ'á hare 'a female donkey'
gudúntsi 'a pig'	ʔaddé guduntsa 'a boar'	máʃʃ'á guduntsa 'a sow'
gaammó 'a lion'	ʔaddé gaammo 'a (male) lion'	máʃʃ'á gaammo 'a lioness'

The data in (Table 28) show that the lexical items adde [ʔaddé] 'male' and macca [máʃʃ'a] 'female' are productive in deriving a few new nominal compounds that are gender sensitive common nouns in the language (cf. 5.2. Nominal derivation and compounding).



ment in the verbless sentence. The nominative marker morphemes *-i* and *-a* are suffixed next to the enclitic pronominals used as subjects and refer to the masculine and feminine gender respectively. In addition, the accusative case marker morphemes *-a* and *-o* are suffixed onto the enclitic pronominals used as the complements of verbless sentences to refer to the masculine and feminine gender entities respectively. The enclitic pronominal *=nn-* is not affixed to personal pronouns and *=r-* is not attached to the demonstrative pronouns. This is discussed in the other chapter (cf. 6. Pronouns ).

Some interrogative pronouns host the gender expressing enclitic pronominals /pronouns *=r-* (3FS), *=nn-* (3FS) and *=ss-* (3MS) as in the examples (88) to show the gender of the noun that the interrogative pronoun stands for.

88.

- a. *nee=r-á*                                      *?au=nn-í* ( < *neera awunnii?* )  
 2S=3FS- NOM.3FS                      which=3FS- INTER.3FS.NOM.  
 ‘Which one is yours?’ [Lit Which female entity is yours?]
- b. *ne=iss-í*                                      *?au=ss-eé* ( < *neyssi awussee?* )  
 2S=3MS- NOM.3MS                      which=3MS- INTER.3MS.NOM .INTER  
 ‘Which one is yours?’ [Lit Which male entity is yours? ]

As can be observe in the data ( 88), *=r-* and *=nn-* are hosted by personal pronouns whereas *aw* [*?au*] ‘which/where’ attaches the enclitic pronouns *=nn-* and *=(i)ss-* to show feminine and masculine gender entities respectively when used to construct the interrogative sentences in Gofa. This is true in Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008), too.

#### viii. Using some personal pronouns

The third person singular personal pronouns and the second person singular vocative pronouns *naáte* and *laá* are used to indicate the biological sex of the animate common nouns. Consider the data in Table 29.



like the Italian **-ino** and Portuguese **-zinho** used to mean ‘little’ and **-one** in Italian and **-ón** in Spanish to mean ‘big’ when affixed to the noun phrases (Crystal 2008:44,145 ,Sellassie 2004: 29). Consider some examples in Table 30.

Table 30: Augmentative and diminutive expressing affixes

	citation	Gloss	Diminutive (DIM)		Augumentative (AUG)	
			NOM	Gloss	NOM	Gloss
a.	toorá	a spear	tooria	the short/small spear	toorai	the (long) spear
b.	keetsé	a house	heetsía	the small house	keetseí	the (big) house
c.	kátsi	food	kátsia	the little food	kátsai	much food
d.	ʔóto	a pot	ʔótia	the small/little pot	ʔótoi	the (big) pot

As we can observe the above data (Table 29), the language affixes grammatical gender suffixes to express the metaphorical meaning attached to the noun phrase used in the discourse of the language speech community. The language treats both the mass and the countable inanimate entities in a similar way. In general, we realize that the semantic function of diminutive is expressed in **-ia** and **-iu** and augmentative in **-aa,-ai,-au, -ei** and **-oi** depending on the class of the noun phrases.

In both the augmentative and diminutive, the suffixes are encapsulated with the definiteness as it is observed in the related languages such as Maale (Azeb 2001b), Malo (Mahder 2003:27), Haro (Hirut 2003:48, 56), Koorete (Binyam 2010), and Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008:256,376,487). The process of encapsulating the TV with the case morphemes is discussed in detail in different sections (cf. 3.Morphophonemic processes and 5.1.4.Case ).

### 5.1.2. Number

Number is another grammatical feature of nominals that is used to show the difference between the singular and the plural form of the noun phrases in Gofa. We have realized that both the singular and the plural grammatical features highly interact with case, gender and definiteness but we will give emphasis to singular in this section.

#### 5.1.2.1. Singular

The singular grammatical feature of nominals is unmarked or marked by a zero morpheme because it has no independent morpheme that is used to express the singular entity. As our data show, singular nominal entities obtain their TVs in their citation forms before they in-

interact with case morphemes. When the singular nominal entities interact with case, the TVs could undergo some kind of morphophonemic processes such as vowel dropping, diphthongization and vowel raising then replaced by a morpheme depending on the interaction that takes place between the terminal vowels and the case morphemes (cf. Morphophonemic processes).

The singular grammatical feature of countable nouns can be expressed syntactically in five different ways in the language.

**i. The citation form of the noun**

We often observe that the nouns end in TVs in their citation forms (89.2).

89.2.

- |                  |                   |                    |                     |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| a. boóra ‘an ox’ | b. bitáne ‘a man’ | c. wodáro ‘a girl’ | d. pántsi ‘a youth’ |
| ox               | man               | girl               | youth               |

**ii. Using the numeral issi [ʔissi] ‘one’ as a modifier**

The language also uses the numeral issi [ʔissi] ‘one’ as a modifier to indicate that the head noun modifies a single entity as in 90.1.

90.1.

- |          |        |                |                                      |
|----------|--------|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. ʔissí | boora  | (<ʔissí boóra) | ‘an /one ox’                         |
| one      | ox     |                |                                      |
| b. ʔissí | ʔussi  | (<ʔissí ʔússi) | ‘a/ one heifer’                      |
| one      | heifer |                |                                      |
| c. ʔissí | ʔótó   | ʔeess-i        | d-és ‘There is a/ one pot of honey.’ |
| one      | pot    | honey-NOM.3MS  | exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL                 |

The language also makes use of singular measure phrase with the mass noun to agree in number with the singular verb (90.1 c).

### iii. Verb agreement markers

The language under study also makes use of the pronominal verb agreement markers syntactically to indicate that the subject of (in)transitive verb is a single entity as in 90.2.

90.2.

a. meddaawa-í                      soó-n                      d-és  
groom-NOM.MS                      home-LOC                      exist- PRES.3MS. A.DCL

‘The groom is at home.’

b. meddaajia (< meddaaje-j-a)                      soo-n                      d-aúsu  
bride.NOM.FS    home.LOC                      exist- PRES.3FS. A.DCL

‘The bride is at home.’

### iv. Using the singular personal pronouns

The language makes use of the singular subject personal pronouns such as [tá ] ‘I/my’ , [né] ‘you ’ , i [ʔí] ‘he/ her’ , iya [ʔía] ‘she/his’ , and iyu [ʔíu] ‘her’ as subjects of the verbs. In addition to that the object personal pronouns such as [tana] ‘me’, [nena] ‘you’, [ʔíu] ‘her’ , [ʔía] ‘him’ are used as the objects of the verbs. Each of these personal pronouns indicate that the noun it refers to is a singular nominal entity. Consider the examples (90.3).

90.3.

a. tá                      soó-n                      d-aís  
1S.NOM                      home-LOC                      exist-PRES.1S.A.DCL

‘I’m at home.’

b. ha=iss-i    tána/néna/ʔíu/ʔía  
DEM.PROX=entity-NOM.3MS                      me/ you/ her /him.

‘This is me/you/her/him.’



92.

citation form	gloss	plural	gloss	plural	Gloss
boóra	‘an ox’	boórata	‘oxen’	-	-
mírɡgo	‘a young ox’	mírɡgota	‘the young oxen’	-	-
ʔússi	‘a heifer’	ʔússati	‘the heifers’	ʔússentta	‘the heifers’
gaammó	‘a lion’	gaammotá	‘the lions’	gaamméntta	‘the lioness’
miʃiré	‘a lady’	miʃiretá	‘the ladies’	miʃiréntta	‘the ladies’
naʔá	‘a child/kid’	naita	‘the children’	naʔénta	‘the daughters’

ii. Kinship terms suffix *-(nt)t-* and *-dowa* ‘X and others’ or ‘X and her/his associates’ as in 93.

93.

citation form	gloss	plural ( X-(nt) t-)/( X-dowa)	gloss
ʔiʃá	‘brother’	ʔiʃa(nt)tá	‘(the) brothers’
		ʔiʃaádowa	‘(the) brother and others’
miʃʃó	‘sister’	miʃʃe(nt)tá	‘(the) sisters’
		miʃʃeédowa	‘(the) sister and others’
naʔá	‘a child/kid’	naitá	‘(the) boys/children/kids’
		naʔenttá/ naʔanttá so	‘the family of the bride’
		naʔaádowa / naʔeédowa	‘(the) boy/girl and others’
ʔaawá	‘a father’	ʔaawatá	‘(the) fathers’
		ʔaawaádowa	‘(the) father and others’
		ʔaawanttá	not accepted
ʔaajó	‘a mother’	ʔaajetá	‘(the) mothers’
		ʔaajeédowa	‘(the) mother and others’
		ʔaajenttá	‘mother- in-law’

In the above examples, the language lengthens the vowel that occurs before the morpheme *-dowa* but this is not true in the case of *-(nt)t-*. In addition to that, if the high tonal accent of the words *ʔiʃanttá* ‘the brothers’ and *miʃʃenttá* ‘the sisters’ moves to the penultimate syllable, we will obtain *ʔiʃántta* ‘the brother-in-law’ and *miʃʃéntta* ‘the sister-in-law’.

On the contrary, shifting the high tonal accent of the words *[naʔéntta]* ‘the daughter-in-law’

and [naʔántta] ‘the boy-in-law’ to the ultimate syllable will result in naʔenttá (ungrammatical) and [naʔántta] (ungrammatical). Such an irregularity calls for further study.

iii. Proper names suffix the associative plural morpheme -dowa to mean ‘X and others’ or ‘X and her/his associates’. Consider the examples (94).

94.

citation form	gloss	plural [ X-dowa]	gloss
dosá	‘male person’s name’	dosádowa	‘Dosa and others’
dosító	‘female person’s name’	dosítidowa	‘Dosite and others’
ʔuuté	‘male person’s name’	ʔuutédowa	‘Uute and others’
morggaámo	‘male person’s name’	morggaámodowa	‘Morgamo and others’

As the illustrations above show, the language does not lengthen the vowels before the morpheme -dowa unlike in the examples given in (ii).

In some constructions, the suffix -ntt- is affixed to the singular kinship terms to show honour to the senior members of the -in-laws. This is illustrated in the examples in 95.

95.

- a. ʔi            ʔazíná        ʔaawa-ntt- i ( < ʔí ʔazíná ʔaawántti )  
 3FS.GEN husband    father-3S.HON/PL-NOM.3MS  
 ‘her spouse’s father’    [ Lit her father-in-law ]
- b. ʔia            máʔʔeé        ʔaajee-ntt- i ( < ʔía máʔʔee ʔaajeéntti )  
 3MS.GEN wife        mother-3S.HON/PL-NOM.MS  
 ‘his spouse’s mother’    [ Lit his mother-in-law ]

As the examples above show, the suffix -ntt- denotes the plural entities on one hand and the singular kinship terms of -in-laws to show honour to the senior members of the -in-laws on the other. This shows that the meaning of the morpheme is determined by the context it is used.

## B. Using quantity expressing adjectives

The language also makes use of numerals two and more than two as well as some indefinite quantity expressing adjectives like *daró* ‘much/many’ and *ʔamára/ ʔuúga* ‘some’/(a) little/few’. These quantity expressing attributives occur before the head noun and express the amount or the quantity of nouns used as the head of the noun phrase.

i. The quantity of a countable noun is expressed when the quantitative adjectives and quantity expressing attributive adjectives like *daró* ‘many/much’ and *ʔamara* ‘some/a few’ are used before the head noun. Consider the examples (96).

96.

singular	gloss	[numeral + countable nouns ]	gloss
a. [boóra ]	‘an ox’	[ namʔú boorata]	‘ two oxen’
b. [haré ]	‘a donkey’	[ʔamárá hareta ]	‘a few donkeys’
c. [danggárssi]	‘an elephant’	[dáro dangarssata]	‘many elephants’
d. [wude]	‘herd’	[ tammu wude mehe]	‘ten herds of cattle’

ii. Gofa does not inflect the uncountable nouns for plural. Nevertheless, the quantity of the uncountable nominal entities are expressed when *daró* ‘many/much’ or *ʔamara* ‘some/little’ and measure phrases are used as the attributive of the uncountable nouns as in the examples (97).

97.

Citation form	gloss	measure phrase +	gloss
uncountable noun		uncountable nouns	
a. [hatsé ]	‘water’	[ namʔʔú ʔótó hatse]	‘ two pots of water’
b. [ʔoíssa]	‘butter’	[namʔʔú k’ájó ʔoissa]	‘two bundles of butter’

In examples (97), some uncountable nouns are measured and counted when they are put in containers and in bundles.

The amount of countable and uncountable nouns take different verb agreement when used as the subject of the sentence as in the illustration in 98.

98.

- a. *dáró beʃe-t-i soó-n d-oósona*  
 many oven.ABS-PL-NOM.M home-at/in exist-IMPF.3PL.A.DCL  
 ‘Many ovens are at home.’
- b. *dáró ʔeessi ʔótua-n (< ʔoto-w-a-n) d-és*  
 much.GEN honey.NOM.MS pot-LOC exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ‘Much honey is in the pot.’

When we use the quantity expressing adjective as attributive of the head nouns, the countable nouns suffix the plural markers taking plural verb agreement markers whereas the mass noun entities agree with the singular subject expressing verb inflectional affixes. Besides, the language assigns both of the high tonal accents on the attributive adjective.

### 5.1.3. Definiteness

Definiteness is one of the grammatical relations often observed in the normal communication. Definite referents are specific/particular, familiar for both the speaker and the hearer. These entities are often expressed by using demonstratives, proper names, possessive and personal pronouns among others (Lyons 1999:2,3,17,21, 22, 26). Gofa makes use of some of these strategies to express definite referents.

Gofa has no overt marking morpheme expressing definiteness. As we learn from data, definiteness is co-marked with case, gender and number often after the case marking morphemes interact with the TVs of the Class of nominal entities. When we talk of definite entities, the issue of case and gender are mentioned together in this study since we claim that they form the portmanteau morphemes that are suffixed onto lexicons of definite referents in the language.

The indefiniteness grammatical relation, on the other hand, is used to express an entity that is not familiar to the hearer. It is marked by the zero morpheme [Ø] in the language. Indefiniteness is sometimes conveyed when the nominal entities retain their TVs and show the

absolute case alone or the TVs are dropped and replaced by the nominative and the accusative case morphemes. As the previous works of Sellassie (2004:36) and other scholars show, the issue is underanalysed or not treated adequately.

### 5.1.3.1. Definiteness and case interaction

In the present work, we realized that definite referents express that the shared knowledge between the speaker and the listener is particular/specific or unique. This is indicated when the case affixes interact with the absolute case morphemes or the terminal vowels of the citation form nominal entities in the language. The case markers co-mark gender, number and definiteness grammatical relations at a time. We sometimes observe the terminal vowels and case morphemes interact as a result of the morphophonemic processes that occur at the word boundary/word final position. The illustration below gives some account of the portmanteau morphemes in Gofa (99).

99.

Nominal entities: indefinite		definite	
Citation form	gloss	nominative	gloss
a. boóra	‘an ox’	boórai	‘the ox’
b. haré	‘a donkey’	hareí	‘the donkey (M)’
c. gaammó	‘a lion’	gaammoí	‘the lion (M)’

In the above data, the masculine and feminine nominal entities suffix -i and -a respectively to show nominative case. On the other hand, the direct objects of the finite verbs suffix the accusative case morphemes -a and -o to the masculine and feminine nominal entities respectively. We realized that the impermissible vowel sequences such as -ea,-eo,-oa undergo some kind of morphophonemic processes and become -ia, -iu,-ua. The language moves the high tonal accent on the TV and assigns on either high vowel or the right most high vowel of the contour if the diphthong obtains two high vowels. Such processes are discussed in chapter three given its own section (cf. 3. Morphophonemic processes).

### 5.1.3.2. Using premodifying genitives

We realized that Gofa head noun referents become definite when they are preceded by the proper nouns, adjectives, and genitive pronouns (either demonstratives or personal

pronouns). Furthermore, we identified that the relative clauses also define the subjects of the matrix clauses. Let us observe each of the points discussed hereunder.

i. The head noun of the noun phrase of the discourse becomes obviously definite when the head noun is modified by the demonstrative pronouns ( ha ‘this’, hini ‘that visible’, and he ‘that invisible’) and genitive pronouns. Consider the illustration in 100 .

100.

a. ta                      mítʃtʃ-eé                      haá                      j-á (< tá mítʃtʃeé haá já)

GEN.PRON sister- VOC.2FS..DEF LOC.ADV come-2S. IMP

‘Hey/ (You) my sister, come here.’

b. hi=nn-á                      ʔentta                      mítʃtʃ-iú

DEM.DIST= NOM.3FS.DEF 3S HON/PL.GEN sister- ACC.3FS.DEF.DEN.PRES.A.DCL

‘That (female person ) is her/his /their sister.’

In the example (100 a), in addition to the demonstrative pronouns, the language also attaches diphthongs onto nominals to make them definite. The language inserts the glides **j** and **w** in order to raise the TVs of the nominals and the case marking vowel morphemes to front and back high respectively and form diphthongs. These diphthongs co-mark case, gender, number and also show that the entity in the discourse is definite (cf. Morphophonemic processes ).

ii. The referent used as the subject/agent and the object becomes specific or definite when it is modified by adjectives and genitive NPs of possession as in 101.

101.

a. jalágá                      naʔai                      soó-n                      d-és

adolescent.GEN child.NOM.3MS.DEF home-LOC(at) exist-PRES..3MS.A.DCL

‘The teenager/adolescent boy is at home.’

b. heedzdzú                      ʔasttamaare-t-i                      meddaawaá-ra                      haasaj-oósona

three.GEN teacher-PL-NOM.DEF groom.ACC-COM talk- PRES.A.DCL

‘Three teachers talk with the groom.’

c. meddaajeé      mitʃʃ-ia                      maláɲʃʃa  
 bride.GEN.F    sister- NOM. 3FS.DEF    beautiful. DEN.PRES.A.DCL  
 ‘The bride’s sister is beautiful.’

The examples (101 a, b, c) show that the adjective phrases and genitive nominal NPs are used to specify the head nouns they describe in the discourse.

iii. The referent becomes specific when the speaker uses the proper names of the referents in the examples (102).

102.

a. meddaajeé      ʔiʃ-ai                      dol-á  
 bride.GEN.F      brother-NOM.3MS.DEF    Name-ACC.MS. DEN.PRES.A.DCL  
 ‘The brother of the bride is Dola.’

b. dosít-a              ʔia                      míʃʃ-iú (<mitʃʃe-j/w-o)  
 Name.F-NOM.F    3FS.NOM      sister.ACC.FS.DEF. DEN.PRES.A.DCL  
 ‘Dosite is his sister.’

The examples above are some of the strategies that the language uses in order to show that the head noun is definite. Some Ometo languages like Haro (Hirut 2003), Yem (Derib 2004), some of the Gamo varieties (Wondimmu 2010), and Sheko (Hellenthal 2010) have independent definiteness marking morphemes that are suffixed onto the head nouns and make the nouns they are suffixed to definite. Gofa has no independent morpheme that marks definiteness grammatical relation. This is true in Wolaitta (Adams 1990, Lamberti and Sottile 1997, Wakasa 2008). In defining the head noun, the language may make use of some more specifiers as discussed.

iv. The language uses place names as locative genitives that occur juxtaposed to the head noun and specify the location of the head noun as in example (103).

103.

maazé              wor-i                      goófa-n      deʔ-eś  
 place.name    forest-NOM.MS.INDEF      Gofa-LOC    exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ‘The Maaze park is found in Gofa.’

In example (103), the *maazé* ‘place name’ defines *wóri* ‘a forest’ and becomes *maazé wori* ‘the Maze Park’. Like wise, the relative verb affix *-a* defines the head noun of the matrix clause in section 9.2.2. Relative clause.

However, the indefinite nouns differ from the definite in two ways. On one hand, some of the indefinite head nouns remain with their citation forms when they are exempted from marking the case overtly like that of Haro (Hirut 2003: 65). The nouns like [haré] ‘a donkey’ and [gaammó] ‘a lion’ are class **-e** and **-o** nouns and they are exempted from assigning the accusative case overtly in Gofa. On the other hand, the class **-a** and **-i** nominal entities like [boóra] ‘an ox’ and [dorssí ] ‘a sheep’ assign the nominative case overtly by dropping their citation forms to show that they are indefinite.

#### **5.1.4. Case**

##### **5.1.4.1. Overview**

Case is a grammatical relation that shows the relationship a noun phrase has to another noun phrase; a noun phrase has to a postposition or a verb in a clause (Blake 2001:1). The case morphemes are often attached to the postposition of a noun phrase in a clause in Gofa. Various examples are used to show how the different case morphology of the language plays its role in facilitating the communication among people of various age groups. Assigning case morphemes in the language under study is reasonable to show the subject and object distinction for the order of words is observed free and flexible as it is true in (some) case languages (Blake 2001 and Payne 2006). In connection to this aim, a few types of case morphology are treated in this study.

As the works of Payne (2006: 282) show, the case languages are either ergative/ absolutive or nominative/accusative. In this regard, Gofa behaves like the nominative/accusative languages. This is because in the ergative /absolutive languages, an ergative case (ERG) encodes the noun phrase used as the agent of the transitive verb whereas the noun phrase used as the Patient of the transitive verb and the Subject of the intransitive verb are encoded by the same absolutive case (Payne 2006: 328). In contrary to this, both the Agent and

the Subject are encoded by the nominative case in Gofa whether the noun phrase is definite or indefinite as in the examples (104).

104.

- a. taání      ገíssí      boor-a      fámam -ás  
 1S.NOM   a/one.GEN   ox-ACC.MS.INDEF   buy- PAST.1S.A.DCL  
 ‘I bought an ox.’
- b. taání      boóra-a      baizz - iss-ás  
 1S.NOM   ox-ACC.MS.DEF   sell- CAUS-PAST.1S.A.DCL  
 ‘I made someone sell the ox.’

We observe that the subject of (104 a) and the agent of (104 b) bear the nominative case. In addition to that, the patient of (104 a, b) are encoded by the accusative case.

We will take some more data of noun phrases with the TV -e and -o to check whether, Gofa makes use of a ‘differential case marking’ phenomenon like Haro (Hirut 2003:64). This is a case marking phenomenon that denies case marking when some noun phrases are found indefinite at the direct object argument position as in Hebrew and Amharic ( cf. Aissen 2003 , Givón 1978: 669, Baye 1994 cited in Hirut 2003: 65). Although Gofa and Dime are the nominative/accusative languages, Gofa differs from Dime in that the nominative case is morphologically unmarked in Dime (Mulugeta 2008: 46). In addition, the nominative and accusative cases of Gofa are either affixed to the TVs of the noun phrases to show that the noun phrases are definite entities or to the root of the noun phrases to show that the noun phrases are indefinite . Consider the examples (105).

105.

- a. haría (< hare-j-a)      j-ásu  
 donkey.NOM.FS.DEF   come - PAST.3FS.A.DCL  
 ‘The (female) donkey came.’
- b. miḥiría (< miḥiré-j-a)      háre      fámam-ásu  
 lady-EPN-.NOM. FS.DEF   donkey.INDEF   buy-PAST.3FS.A.DCL  
 ‘ The lady bought a donkey .’

- c. miʃiría                    háriú                    ʃámm-ásu (< miʃiré-j-a haré-j-a ʃammásu )  
 3FS.NOM.FS.DEF donkey-EPN-ACC.FS.DEF buy-PAST.3FS.A.DCL  
 ‘The lady bought the (female) donkey.’
- d. ʔi                    háre-í                    jálága (< ʔí hareí jalága.)  
 3FS.GEN donkey- NOM .MS.DEF be.young  
 ‘Her donkey is young.’

In the examples (105), we observe that [haré] ‘a donkey’(105 a, d) and miʃiré ‘a lady’ (105 b, d) are subjects and they are marked by a nominative case. On the other hand, [haré] ‘a donkey’ (105 b) is a patient but indefinite noun. Thus, the accusative is unmarked morphologically. In case of (105 c), [hariú] ‘the female donkey’ is marked by the accusative case. The case marker also tells us that the patient is a definite noun. Taking the mentioned facts/data, examples and the literature cited above into account, we hereafter consider Gofa as a nominative/accusative language like Koorete (Binyam 2010:36), an East Ometo. This makes the case system of Gofa behave slightly different from Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008: 151, 455) and Haro (Hirut 2003: 66).

Based on the classification of the case system by Blake (2001:32-33), and König (2008:123-124), we classify the case system of Gofa into core cases (that express the syntactic relations) and peripheral cases (that express the semantic relations). Such a classification is also observed in the works of Zayse (Hayward 1990), Maale (Azeb 2001b), Haro (Hirut 2003: 63) and Dime (Mulugeta 2008:46).

The core cases that express the syntactic relations include accusative, nominative, and dative cases. We also classified the genitive case as core case since we found that the genitive case is used as the base for the dative case and some peripheral cases like instrumental/comitative and abessive cases as it is true in Haro (Hirut 2003: 63). Some of the cases that come under the peripheral cases (expressing semantic relations) include abessive, equative, instrumental/ comitative, locative, partitive, and vocative cases. We treat the core cases first.

### 5.1.4.2. Core case

The core cases that show the syntactic relations of noun phrases to noun phrases as well as the noun phrases to the verbs are given in Table 31.

Table 31: Core case markers

case	Gender markers		function
	F	M	
Nominative	-a	-i	subject/agent of a finite verb
Accusative	-o	-a	direct object of a finite verb
Dative	-s, -u, -jjo		Indirect object of a finite verb
Genitive	-ee, -i	-aa, -ia, -ua	possessor

#### 5.1.4.2.1. Nominative case

The nominative case is one of the core cases in Gofa. The nominative case markers are -i and -a that co-mark masculine and feminine gender respectively. These case affixes are suffixed to both the A (gent) or the actor of the transitive verbs and the S(subject) ,the experiencer, of the intransitive verbs in Gofa. This is common for the nominative/accusative languages (Payne 2006: 218, Matthews 1991: 26, 50). Due to this, we can categorize Gofa as a nominative marked Ometo language like Haro (Hirut 2003), Benchnon (Rapold 2006), Koorete (Binyam 2010), Wolaitta (Lamberti and Sottile 1997, Wakasa 2008). This makes Gofa different from Sheko in that nominative is not overtly marked in Sheko (Hellenthal 2010: 257).

The tonal accent is assigned on the nominative case affix if the noun originally assigns the high tonal accent on the TV of the citation form of the word. If the TV and case affix form a diphthong, we obtain the rising contour tone at the nominal word final.

Sellassie (2004) realized that Gofa , too, overtly assigns nominative case affixes to show masculine -i and feminine -a noun phrases like Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008). In that case, Gofa is different from Haro, that does not assign the nominative case overtly to the indefinite noun phrases (Hirut 2003: 65) and Koorete that assigns the invariant nominative case affix -i to both masculine and feminine noun phrases (Binyam 2010: 29).

Gofa partly shares the nominative case system of Maale (Azeb 2001b), and Zayse, an East Ometo language, since they assign the nominative case affixes to both definite and indefinite noun phrases. This is not discussed in the works of Sellassie (2004). In addition to that,

Gofa assigns the invariant case morpheme -i to show the plural feminine and masculine noun phrases like that of the singular masculine nouns.

The nominative case morphemes interact with the common nouns slightly different from that of the proper names. This is illustration in (i-v).

(i).The nominative case encodes the singular indefinite nominal entity when the common nouns drop their TVs as in 106 b.

106.

a. haré-i -nné                      mírggo-i    ( < hareinne mirggoy )  
     donkey -NOM.M-CNJ   young.ox   -NOM.M  
     ‘the male donkey and the young ox ’

b. ḡíssí           boor-i           j-íjé              d-és    (< issi boori yishe des )  
     a/one.GEN ox -NOM.M   come-PROGR<sub>2</sub>   exist-PRES.3M.A.DCL  
     ‘An ox is coming.’

In the example (106 b), the language drops the terminal vowel and the nominative marker is suffixed to the root of the noun. On the other hand, the example (106 a) shows that the language does not drop the affix -e and -o and form diphthongs when -i is suffixed (to the masculine gender nouns in the nominative case). In that case, the intention of the speaker decides whether to accept the entity under discussion as indefinite or definite. This means that the discourse may refer to the indefinite entity only if the entity is mentioned for the first time.

We realized that the language forms diphthongs when the nominative case morphemes are affixed onto the citation forms -e and -o. This is discussed under (ii) and (iii).

(ii).The nominative case encodes the singular definite nominal entities when the case marker and the TVs of the citation form nouns are fused together (107) and form diphthongs.

107.

a. meddaawa-í-nné                      meddaají-a                      soófě                      b-ídosona  
     groom-NOM.M.DEF-COOR   bride.F-NOM.F.DEF   wedding party   go- PAST. 3PL.A.DCL  
     ‘The groom and the bride went to the wedding party.’

b. ta hare-í zíne baiz-étt-ís  
 my donkey -NOM.M.DEF yesterday sell-PASS-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
 ‘My male donkey was sold yesterday.’

We can observe that the subjects of both the active sentence (107 a) and the passive sentence (107 b) suffix the nominative markers after the TVs .

(iii).The nominative case affix -i co-marks the definite entity when it is suffixed to the TVs of the citation form as in the examples in 108.

108.

boóra- i -nné mírggo-i  
 ox-NOM.M.DEF -CNJ young .ox -NOM.M.DEF  
 ‘the ox and the young ox.’

(iv).The nominative case encodes the subject personal pronouns

The full personal pronouns used as the A(gent) of the transitive and S(ubject) of the intransitive verbs obtain the nominative marker morphemes -a and -i. Consider the subject personal pronouns (109).

109.

Person	Singular	HON.S	Plural
1	[taání]		[nuúní]
2	[neení]	[híntteí]	[híntteí]
3M	[ʔí]	[ʔenttí]	[ʔenttanttí]
3F	[ʔía]	[ʔenttí]	[ʔenttanttí]

The above data shows that -a expresses the third person feminine singular whereas the invariant -i expresses the third person masculine singular and all the other persons in singular and plural in Gofa. The subject personal pronouns are optionally dropped if they are expressed by the verb agreement suffixes and this is discussed in the other section (cf. Personal pronouns).

(v). The feminine and masculine proper names affix -a and -i respectively

We obtain diphthongs when the nominative case morphemes -a and -i are affixed to the TVs of the Class -e and Class -o masculine person names. This calls for another discussion about the difference between the V-final and C-final proper names. In this regard, we assume the proper names that drop their citation form as the C-final and the rest, the nouns that do not drop their citation form vowels -e and -o as the V-final nouns in this study. We also observe that the consonant final and the vowel final nouns behave differently in Koorete (Binyam 2010:40), too. The data illustrates that all feminine proper name nouns behave as the V (owel) final nouns (110).

110.

Citation form of proper nouns of male persons	Nominative	Accusative
[dosá]	[dosi]	[dosa]
[ʔuuté]	[ʔuutei]	[ʔuute]
[morggaámo]	[morggaámmoi]	[morggaámmo]
Citation form of proper nouns of female persons	Nominative	Accusative
[dosító]	[dosíta]	[dosító]
[kuméto]	[kuméta]	[kuméto]
[φoóʔo ]	[φoóʔa ]	[φoóʔo ]

The noun phrase endings below could be taken as the result of this interaction between the citation form and the nominative case affixes. The

Table 32 presents a few noun phrase endings that are the results of the interaction that takes place between core case affixes and the respective terminal vowels of noun phrases of proper and common nouns.

Table 32: Core case endings of some nouns

(a). Person names		Core case		
G	TVs	NOM	ACC	DAT
M.	a	i	a	-s
	e	ei	e	
	o	oi	o	
F	e/o	a	o	-s

(b). Common nouns		Core case				
G	TVs	NOM		ACC		DAT
		INDEF	DEF	INDEF	DEF	
M.	a	i	ai	a	aa	-s
	e	e	ei	e	ia	
	i	i	ai/ ei	i	aa	
	o	o	oi	o	ua	
F.	e	e	ia	e	iu	-s
	o	o	ia	e	iu	

(c). Place names		Core case		
	TVs	NOM	ACC	DAT
	a	(a)i	a	-s
	e	ei	e	
	i	i	i	
	o	oi	o	

As the data (Table 32) shows, we obtain different noun phrase endings for some of the noun phrases interact differently from the others when the citation forms of nouns interact with the nominative case morphemes in Gofa.

#### 5.1.4.2.2. Accusative case

The accusative case encodes the common nouns and proper names used as direct objects in different ways.

(i).The accusative case encodes the definite common names used as direct objects

The accusative case encodes only the object (direct object of the verb) but not subject or agent in Gofa. The noun phrases in the direct object argument bear the accusative case morphemes -a and -o when the noun phrases refer to the masculine and the feminine respectively. It expresses definiteness grammatical relation when attached onto the TVs of the common nouns in their citation form. In this study, we consider the accusative case affixes -o is the homonymy of the citation form -o which is suffixed to the female proper names. Though they are the same in form, we found them that they are semantically different. This similarity could be either accidental or historical coincidence which needs further study. Such a fact is also reported in Haro (Hirut 2003: 64) and Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008:290). Consider the examples of Gofa in 111.

111.

- a. meddaawa-í kúf'é migiddua (<migiddo-w-a) ʃamm-ís  
groom -.NOM.3MS hand.GEN ring -EPN-ACC.3MS.DEF buy-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
'The groom bought the bracelet.'
- b. meddaajía <(meddaajo-j-a) maátsiu <(maátsi-j-o) ʔúj-asu  
bride-EPN-NOM.3FS.DEF milk-EPN-ACC.3FS.DEF drink-PAST.3FS. A.DCL  
'The bride drank the little milk.'

We obtain diphthongs when the terminal vowels and the accusative case that co-marks the gender are suffixed onto the stem of the direct object after the TV of citation form nouns. In such a process, the two monophthongs suffixed in (a, b) undergo diphthongization. We attested a few diphthongs in the language and the process of diphthongization is treated under Morphophonemic processes.

- (ii). The accusative case encodes the (in)definite objects with issi 'a/one'

The modifier issi 'a/one' can be used to construct either the indefinite entity stated for the first time or the definite entity that is familiar to both the speaker and the listener in the discourse. In such a construction, the lexicon issi 'a/one' may be observed before or after the head noun as in the examples (112).

112.

- a. ʔíssí boor-a zíne ʃamm-ás  
one/a.GEN ox-ACC.3MS.INDEF yesterday buy-PASS.1S.A.DCL  
'I bought an ox yesterday.' [ Lit 'I bought one ox yesterday.' ]
- b. miʃiré ʔissi=nn-ó maadd-aís  
lady a/one= CLIT.F-ACC.INDEF help-PRES.1S.A.DCL  
'I help a lady.'

The example (a) shows that the TV -a is dropped before the accsative case -a that marks the indefinite direct object. In (b), the accsative case marking morpheme -o encodes the direct object and co-marks the feminine indefinite object when it is affixed onto the enclitic

nominal feminine entity =nn-. The finding in this section attests that the language drops the TV vowel in order that the accusative case co-marks indefiniteness and the gender of the entity under discussion.

(iii).The accusative case suffixes the masculine marker -a onto the plural objects

We can observe that the language suffixes the masculine marker -a onto the stem of both the feminine and masculine plural common name noun entities following the plural marker -t-. In such a construction, the plural common name noun entities are used as definite objects as in 113 a, b.

113.

a. mífzdze-(nt)t-a- nné                      sánga-t-a                      heémm-a  
 cow.F-PL - ACC.M-DEF-COOR    bull-PL-ACC.M.DEF    look after- IMP. 2S  
 ‘Look after the cows and the bulls!’

b. wodáro-t-a                                      maadd-ité (< wodarota maaddite)  
 teenage.girl-PL-ACC.M.DEF    help- 2S.HON/2PL.IMP  
 ‘Help the teenage girls.’

We realized that the accusative case assigns the invariable case affix that does not show gender polarity with plural direct objects unlike the singular direct objects of the finite verbs.

(iv).The accusative case encodes proper nouns of humans as direct objects

The feminine and masculine proper name nouns of the humans suffix the accusative case markers -o and -a respectively by dropping the terminal vowels as in 114.

114.

a. foóʔ-a,                      baazz-á-nné                      dos-á                      muz-ité  
 Name-ACC.M, Name-ACC.M-CNJ    Name-ACC.M    eat.CAUS-2S.HON/2PL.IMP  
 ‘Invite Fooʔo, baazza and Dosa to eat food.’

b. foóʔ-o,                      baazzít-o-nné                      dosít-o                      muz-ité

Name-ACC.F, Name.F-ACC.F-CNJ Name.F-ACC.F eat.CAUS-2S.HON/2PL.IMP  
 ‘Invite Foo7e, Baazzite and Dosite to eat food.’

(v).The accusative case encodes the objective pronouns used as direct objects

The objective pronouns suffix the accusative case marker -a with the exception of the third person masculine and feminine singular (Table 33).

Table 33: Object pronouns

person	singular	honorific	plural
1	tána		núna
2	néna	hínttena	hínttena
3M	ʔí	ʔenttá	ʔenttantá
3F	ʔía		

(vi).The accusative case suffixes -a , -e and -o onto the place names as direct objects

In Gofa, unlike the European languages, the place name nouns bear the accusative case morphemes like that of the animate name nouns when the place name nouns stand for the noun phrase used as an object (Blake, 2001: 29). The inflectional accusative case encodes the place name nouns like that the proper name nouns of human beings. Consider the examples in 115.

115.

- a. túngg-í                                      goóf-a-ppe                      haakk-és  
 Addis Ababa-NOM.M    Gofa-GEN-from    be.far-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ‘Addis Ababa is far from Gofa.’
- b. goóf-i                                      sooddó-s                      keéhí    máta  
 Gofa-NOM.3MS.DEF    Soddo-DAT    very    be.near-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ‘Gofa is near to Soddo.’

We observed that the place names and the person names drop their TV-a but retain the TVs -e and -o when they are used as the direct object of the finite verbs in Gofa. The justification we give is that Gofa employs the differential case marking like that of genetically related Omotic language like Haro (Hirut 2003: 64). As to our observation, the differential case marking has two roles to play in this study.

One of the roles of the differential case marking is to discriminate the nouns with the TVs -e and -o from the nouns with the TV -a. In this case, the TV -a drops and then the language suffixes the accusative case onto the direct object of the finite verbs. The other role of differential case marking is to retain the TVs -e and -o and mark the direct object of the finite verbs by a zero morpheme. In both ways the language expresses the indefiniteness relation that the direct objects show. In both cases, the differential case marking may show either the specific behaviour that differentiates Gofa from the genetically (un)related languages or the specific behaviour that Gofa shows in common with closely related languages of Omoto like Haro. In this regard, we suggest further study in order to find out whether the closely related North Omoto Cluster languages behave like Gofa or not.

(vii). We obtain a declarative sentence when the accusative case encodes the nominal predicates in verbless clauses as in the examples (116).

116.

- a. meddaaw-aá suntsa-i dos-á  
groom-GEN name-NOM be.Name.M-ACC.M.DEN.PRES.A.DCL  
‘The name of the groom is Dosa.’
- b. meddaaj-eé suntsa-i dosít-o  
bride-GEN name-NOM be.Name.F -ACC.F.DEN.PRES.A.DCL  
‘The name of the bride is Dosite.’
- c. ha=iss-í laazántsa-a  
DEM.PROX=CLIT.M-NOM.3MS.DEF be.marriage broker-ACC.M.DEN.PRES.A.DCL  
‘This is the marriage broker.’

In general, we realized that the gender and the accusative case are co-marked by a morpheme. We obtain diphthongs when it is fused together with the TVs of the direct object common name nouns. These direct objects become definite in Gofa. We noticed that the language assigns the morpheme -e as a feminine gender marker by dropping any of the TVs -a, -e, -i, -o (cf. Gender morphology). Based on this fact, we may assume that the allomorph -e could have some relation to the feminine gender marker of one of the Omotic languages sometime in the past. Thus, we suggest this issue as the topic of future study.

### 5.1.4.2.3. Dative case

A dative/benefactive case denotes animate or inanimate entities that are used as the indirect object of the finite verbs in a clause that has multiple arguments (Blake 2001:199). It is a type of peripheral case. The dative case is overtly marked by the morpheme -s (*s<sup>i</sup>*) and its alternatives or allomorphs -jjo and -u . The case morpheme is suffixed to the stem of the noun after the genitive marker suffixes. It denotes an animate entity that the action is done for the benefit of the entity or indicate/point out the ‘intended recipient’ bearing the case morpheme as in English (Payne 2006: 269). It is suffixed onto a single object or compound objects in Gofa as it is true in Wolaita (Wakasa 2008). We can easily distinguish the indirect object from the direct object in the language since the indirect object always bears the dative/benefactive case marker following the genitive case suffix in the sentence.

As literature shows, the indirect objects suffix -m to encode both the benefactive and dative cases in some South Omotic languages whereas -s marks the dative/ benefactive case in Gofa as it is also true in some North Omoto Cluster languages in the works of Hayward & Tsuge (1998) and Hayward (2003) .

(i). The dative / benefactive case morpheme is suffixed onto the singular indirect objects after the genitive case suffix as in (117) .

117.

bení            goófã        woga-n        meddaawa-í

previous time Gofa.GEN culture-LOC groom-NOM.3MS.DEF

meeddaaj-eé            ?aawaa-s            dooná    pogo ?imm-és

bridegroom-GEN.F person.GEN-DAT dowry    open    give-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

‘In the past culture of Gofa, the groom is expected to give a dowry to the bride’s family.’

(ii). The dative/benefactive case is affixed onto the plural indirect object (118).

118.

naitu-s            ?imm-a

child.PL-DAT give-2S.IMP

‘Give (something) to/for the children.’

(iii). The dative/benefactive case encodes the personal pronouns used as the indirect objects

The indirect object personal pronouns lengthen their vowels when the dative/benefactive case is suffixed as in the data (119).

119.

a. taá-s	b. neé-s	c. nuú-s
1S-DAT	2S-DAT	1PL-DAT
‘to/for me’	‘to/for you’	‘to/for us’

#### 5.1.4.2.4. Genitive case

The genitive case encodes multiple arguments that we obtain in the grammar of Gofa. The case is observed encoding the noun phrases used as possession, function /purposive, source and location genitives that define or modify the head noun of the noun phrase or the compound noun. Eventhough the language may or may not show the case markers overtly, the word order shows the genitive relation for the possessor precedes the possessed head noun. This is also reported in Koorete (Binyam 2010:40) and in Dime (Mulugeta 2008:50). A few manifestations of the case will be presented in this section.

(i). The genitive case suffixes the morphemes -a and -e onto masculine and feminine common nouns respectively that form inalienable possession

The genitive case is affixed onto the genitive common nouns that form inalienable possession or permanent/ necessary relationship to its possessor. The morphemes -e and -a are suffixed to the feminine and masculine gender nouns respectively as in 120.

120.

a. meddaawa-á	kuʃe-i (< meddaawaá kúʃei )
groom-GEN.M	hand-NOM.M.DEF
	‘the groom’s hand’
b. meddaaje-é	tohua (< meddaaje-é tóho-w-a )
bride-GEN.F	foot-EPN-ACC.M.DEF
	‘the bride’s foot’

(ii). A genitive case is unmarked when the possessed noun expressing the source of the head noun occurs juxtaposition to the head noun. The word order of Gofa shows that the source nominal occurs before the head noun. Consider the examples (121).

121.

a. k'útf'á ʔoissa-a                      ʃamm-ás    (< k'útf'á ʔoissa-a ʃamm-as )

Kucha    butter-ACC.M.DEF    buy-PAST.1S.A.DCL

'I bought the butter from Kucha.'

b.    zaála    bullukkua (< zaála bullúkko-w-a )

Zala    local. blanket-EPN-ACC.MS.DEF

'the local blanket from Zala'

(iii). Gofa suffixes gender expressing affixes -a and -e onto the masculine and feminine kinship terms respectively to show genitive relations as in the examples (122).

122.

a. naʔe-é    ʔazina-a (< naʔeé ʔazinaá )

girl.GEN.F    husband-ACC.MS.DEF

'the girl's spouse'

b. ta                      ʔazinaá                      mitʃʃiu (< ta ʔazina-á mitʃʃe-w-ó)

1S.GEN    husband.M.ACC.MS.DEF    sister -EPN-ACC.FS.DEF

'the sister of my spouse/husband'

The genitive case is unmarked when it encodes the genitive personal pronouns (cf. 6. Pronouns).

(iv). The genitive case suffixes -i onto the feminine proper names but it is unmarked with the masculine attributive proper names expressing kinship or (in)alienable relation to the head nouns. This makes the masculine proper nouns behave differently from the attributive common and feminine proper nouns in Gofa. Consider the illustrations in 123.

123.

a. dosá    ʔaawa-i    (< dosá ʔaawa-í )

Dosa    father-NOM.3MS.DEF

‘the father of Dosa’

b. dosít-í            ʔaawai    (< dosíti ʔaawaí )

dosite-GEN.F    father.NOM.3MS.DEF

‘the father of Dosite’

(v). The alienable possessor possessed relation expressing nominals occur to the left of the head noun possessed. The genitive case affixes -e and -a are suffixed onto the female and male possessors respectively. Consider the examples (124).

124.

a. meddaaje-é    bullukkua    (<meddaaje-é bullúkko-w-a )

bride-GEN.F    local .blanket-EPN-.ACC.3MS.DEF

‘the bride’s local blanket’

b. meddaawa-á    ʔussiu    (<meddaawaá ʔusse-w-o )

groom-GEN.M    heifer-EPN-ACC.3FS.DEF

‘the groom’s heifer’

(vi). The genitive case is unmarked when it encodes expressions indicating indefinite proportion of entities as in 125.

125.

bággá ʔimatsa-t-i    (< bággá ʔimatsatí)

half    guest-PL-NOM

‘half of the guests’

(vii). The genitive case is unmarked when the function/purposive genitive nouns are used before the head nouns as in the examples (126).

126.

a. goʃʃá    mehe    ( < goʃʃá méhe )

farm    animal

‘a farm animal’

- b. ʃ'aána mehe (< ʃ'aána méhe )  
 pack animal  
 'a pack animal'

We observed that the language overtly marks genitive case onto the definite common nouns and feminine proper names when used to form (in)alienable possessor possessed relations (124). On the other hand, the examples above show that the masculine proper names, the source genitives, indefinite proportion (125), and purposive genitives (126) are unmarked morphologically rather they occur at juxtapositions to the possessed head nouns.

### 5.1.4.3. Peripheral case

The language has a few peripheral cases and each of them shows some kind of grammatical relations. The case morphemes of peripheral cases are affixed to the core case morphemes of either the accusative or the genitive cases already suffixed to the stem or the bare noun phrases. This is attested in some Ometo languages like Zayse (Hayward 1990a:255) and Haro (Hirut 2003, section 4.3) as cited in König (2008 :174). Some of the case markers are given in Table 34.

Table 34: Peripheral case marking suffixes

Peripheral case	gloss	markers	function
Abessive	ABES	-rkka	alone/without
Equative	EQUA	-dan	as (...as), like 'Do as X do(es).'
Instrumental	INST	-ra	by X /on X, with X,(together) with
Locative	LOC	-n, -kko, -ppe	spatial relation of location,destination
Vocative	-VOC.F -VOC.M	-ee -aa,-au,-ee,-iau, -oo, -uau	addressing an entity

#### 5.1.4.3.1. Abessive case

An abessive case expresses the grammatical relation whereby 'X<sub>1</sub>' is available in the absence of 'X<sub>2</sub>' and 'X<sub>3</sub>' where 'X' is a noun phrase used as a subject or an object of the finite verb in a sentence. The noun phrase could either be a noun, a pronoun or a noun derived from the other word class. In this section, we observe that the case morphemes -rkka 'alone' or 'without someone' is suffixed to a genitive pronoun. It is phonologically dependent upon a genitive pronoun used as a host as in the example in (127).

127.

meeddaajjá                      soó-n                      pá-rkká                      d-aúsu  
bride.F.NOM.FS.DEF home-LOC 3S.GEN-ABES exist- PRES.3PL. A.DCL  
'The bride is alone at home.'

We realized that the abessive case morpheme used in the example above shows both the syntactic relations of the noun phrases to the verbs and the relationship that takes place between the noun phrases in a phrase/clause in the language under study.

#### 5.1.4.3.2. Equative case

An equative case functions like a simulative or an essive case and the equative case is used as a cover term for the three in this study. The equative case is marked morphologically by the inflectional affix -dan and affixed to the O(bject) of the verb to express that an entity is equal or the same as another entity to obtain the relational meaning 'as...as/like' when the equative verb is used in the sentence. In contrast to Gofa, some languages may express comparison syntactically, lexical or morphologically (Payne 2006: 26, 29).

When we compare between the entities used as an S(ubject) and an O(bject), we normally compare using the qualitative or quantitative adjectives to express equative relationship of forms in comparative construction as in the examples given in (128). We use EQU in glossing the case.

- (i). Unlike the proper name nouns and pronouns, the last vowel of some common nouns is lengthened when the equative morpheme is suffixed as in (128).

128.

a. ?i                      ?azína-í                      meddaawa-á-dan                      ?adussá  
3FS.GEN    husban-NOM.3MS.DEF    groom-GEN.M-EQU    be.tall..DEADJ.PRES.A.DCL  
'Her husband is as tall as the groom.'

b. ?ia                      mátfíía                      ?ía-dan                      ?adussá < (iya machchia iaydan adussa )  
3MS.GEN    wife-NOM.3MS.DEF    3MS.OBJ-EQU    be.tall.DEADJ.PRES.A.DCL  
'His wife is as tall as he (is).' [ Lit. His wife is as tall as him.]

c. meddaajía                      pa                      miɸɸe-é-dan                      loʔʔ-aúsu  
 bride.NOM .3FS.DEF 3S.GEN sister-GEN.F-EQU good-PRES.3FS.A.DCL  
 (<meddaajía pá miɸɸeédan loʔaúsu) ‘The bride is as beautiful as her sister.’

As we learn from the examples above, the morpheme -dan may be used either as ‘as’ or ‘like’. When the morpheme is attached to the right of the noun root, we obtain the grammatical notion ‘Y behaves/ (does) like/as X (does)’.

(ii). The last vowel of the kinship terms suffix the genitive/possessive case morpheme before the equative case morpheme is suffixed. Consider the examples (129).

129.

a. pa	ʔaáwaá-dan	b. pa	ʔaájeé-dan
3S.GEN	father.GEN.M-EQU	her/his	mother.GEN.F- EQU
	‘like/as his father’		‘like/as her mother’

#### 5.1.4.3.3. Instrumental/comitative case

The English language expresses the instrumental case semantically by using ‘with X’ whereby ‘X’ is an instrument that is intended to accomplish a task. The instrumental case is marked by **-na** in Maale ( Azeb 2001b: 62), **-(i)na** in Koorete (cf. Hayward 1982, Binyam 2010: 43), **-na/-ra** in Haro (Hirut 2003:74) and **-ra** in Gofa (Sellassie 2004). The morpheme **-ra** is also used to express Comitative case in Gofa when it is suffixed to the proper name and common name after the genitive case that is affixed to the noun root. This is also observed that the same instrumental case morpheme expresses the comitative case in Maale (Azeb 2001b: 62 ).

i). The case morpheme **-ra** is suffixed to the stem of the object nouns in (130).

130.

a. náʔ-oó ,	maáta-á	baáɸʔ’aa-ra	buúɸɸ’-a
child.-VOC.M ,	grass-ACC .3MS.DEF	sickle.GEN -INST	cut- 2S.IMP
	‘ Oh you boy/son, cut grass with a sickle!’		

b. dol-í                      soóllua                                      maʃʃaá-ra                      k'antsts'-ís  
 name-NOM.M    loaf.of.bread.ACC.MS.DEF    knife.GEN-INST    break- PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
 'Dola cut the loaf of bread with a knife.'

ii). The instrumental case morpheme **-ra** could also be used as a comitative case. When it is used as a comitative case, it is suffixed to the direct object noun phrase to express the notion '(together) with', or 'accompanied by'. Though the noun phrase bearing the comitative case indicates the semantic role of an entity accompanied by another noun, the finite verb agrees with its subject in the sentence (Payne 2006: 310, 324). Consider the examples in 131.

131.

a. ta                      náʔa-í                                      pa                                      lágg-eé-ra                                      kaaʔ-íí  
 1S.GEN    child-NOM.3MS.DEF    her/his.GEN    friend-GEN.F-INST    play-3MS.INTER  
 'Does my son play with his girl friend?'

b. baazz-í                      baazzít-ii-ra                                      haʔʔí    kaaʔ-íʃé                                      d-és  
 name.M-NOM.MS    name.F-GEN.F-INST    now    play-PROG<sub>2</sub>    exist- PRES.3MS. A.DCL  
 'Bazza is playing with Bazzite now.'

As we can observe from the data above, the comitative case morpheme **-ra** is affixed to the O(bject) noun phrase to express that the Object noun phrase accompanies the A(gent of the action) when the Agent does the activity stated in each sentence. Even if the Agent does the activity '(together) with' the Object, the verb necessarily agrees with the Agent in the language under study.

#### 5.1.4.3.4. Locative /Directive case

A locative case is the same as an ablative case and a directive case. Thus, a locative case is used as a cover term in this section. A locative case expresses the spatial location of destination with **-kko** 'to', **-n** 'at/in/on', **-ppe** 'from' (that expresses the place used as a source for an entity or the place where an action begins. Consider the illustrations in 132.

132.

a. meddaawa-í                                      soó-ppé                                      j-és  
 groom-NOM.M.DEF    home-DIRC    come-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 'The groom comes from home.'

- b. meddaawa-í                      soó-n                      d-és  
groom-NOM.M.DEF home-LOC      exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
‘The groom is at home.’
- c. meddaawa-í                      karé-n                      ?ékk’-ís  
groom-NOM.M.DEF gate-LOC      stand-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
‘The groom stood at/ in front of the gate.’
- d. meddaawaí                      ?allaará-n      ?útt-is  
groom-NOM.M.DEF stool-LOC      sit-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
‘The groom sat on a stool.’
- e. meddaawa-í                      meddaajeé-kkó              j-és  
groom-NOM.M.DEF bride.GEN-DIRC come-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
‘The groom comes to(wards) the bride.’

As can be seen above, -kko and -ppe are suffixed onto the genitive morpheme attached to the root of the kinship term noun whereas -n is suffixed after the TV of the noun.

#### 5.1.4.3.5. Vocative case

Vocative case is used to address someone at her/his reach. The vocative case of Gofa shows gender distinction even if the vocative morphemes suffixed to the singular and plural male common nouns differ from the male proper name nouns in Gofa. We can observe each of them treated below. The language assigns either a rising, or falling and rising contour tone on the vocative case affixes.

i). The male common nouns suffix -au/-oo, -iau and -uau deleting the TVs -a , -e, and -o. Consider the examples (133).

133.				
Data	gloss	VOC	gloss	
?aawá	a father	?aáwaú / ?aáwoó	‘Oh, you, father!’	
na?á	a child	ná?aú / ná?oó	‘Oh, you, son!’	

bitáne	a gentleman	bitáníáú (< bitániaú)	‘Oh, you, gentleman!’
dábbo	a relative	ta dábbúáú	‘Oh, you, my (male) relative!’

ii). The vocative case lengthens the TV -a, -e, -o, -u of the male proper names to -aa, -ee, -oo, -uu . Consider the examples in (134).

134.

male person names	VOC	gloss
baazzá	baázzaá	‘Oh, you, Bazza!’
ʔuuté	ʔuúteé	‘Oh, you, Uutee!’
morggaámo	morggaámoó	‘Oh, you, Morgamo!’
ʔalámu	ʔalámuú	‘Oh, you, Alemu!’

iii). The vocative case morpheme -ee is suffixed to the root of the female common nouns and proper names when the TVs are deleted. Consider the examples in (135).

135.

data	gloss	VOC	gloss
naʔá	a child	náʔeé	‘Oh, you, daughter!’
miʃiré	a lady	miʃíreé	‘Oh, you, lady!’
ʔaajó	mother	ʔaájeé	‘Oh, you, mother!’
dábbo	a relative	ta dábbeé	‘Oh, you, my (female) relative!’
baazzító		baazzíteé	‘Oh, you, Bazzite!’
ʔufaíisso		ʔufaísseeé	‘Oh, you, Ufayssee!’

iv). The place names with the TV -a suffix the case morpheme -oo whereas the language lengthens TVs -e and -o to -ee and -oo respectively as in the examples in (136).

136.

place names	VOC	Gloss
goófa	goófoó	‘Oh you the people of Gofa!’
loóts’e	loóts’eé	‘Oh you the people of Looxe!’
dawuró	dawúroó	‘Oh you the people of Dawuro!’

As can be seen in the above examples, a proper name assigns a vocative case expressing high tonal accent either on the ultimate syllable if the first high tonal accent is already assigned on its penultimate syllable or on the antepenultimate syllable if the name noun obtains the first high tonal accent on its ultimate syllable originally.

v). We also observed that both the plural masculine and feminine common nouns attach a vocative morpheme **-oo** , one of the case suffixes of the singular male common nouns, to the plural marker morpheme . Consider the illustration (137).

137.

Data	gloss	VOC	gloss
ʔaawá	‘father’	ʔaawátoó	‘Oh fathers!’
naʔá	‘a child’	naítoó	‘Oh, you, children!’
bitáne	‘a man’	bitánétoó (< bitánétoó)	‘Oh, you, gentlemen!’
miʃiré	‘a lady’	miʃirétoó	‘Oh, you, ladies!’
ʔaajó	‘mother’	ʔaajétoó	‘Oh, you, mothers!’

As can be seen above, the singular and the plural common nouns as well as proper nouns suffixing the vocative case morphemes assign two high tonal accents. In addition, a third high tonal accent could also be assigned on the penultimate syllable as a result of the high tonal accent assimilation spreading either from the high tonal accent on the ultimate or the penultimate syllable. Some issues related to tonal assignment on vocative case affix and tonal assimilation are also discussed under tonology (cf. 4.Tonology ).

## 5.2. Nominal derivation and compounding

Nominalization refers to different kinds of word formation of nominal stems. It involves different processes. Among them, the language derives new nominal stems by suffixing derivational affixes onto the roots of certain word classes, conversion, using derivational tone, and compounding. Deriving new nominal stems by using derivational affixes is treated first.

### 5.2.1. Derivation of nominals

We can obtain abstract, agentive, locative, and manner/process nominal stems when we add the derivational nominal suffixes onto a few word classes in the language. The process of deriving abstract nominal stems is discussed first.

#### 5.2.1.1. Abstract nominals

We can derive both word-class maintaining (138) and word-class changing abstract (ABS) nominal stems (139) by affixing the same derivational morpheme onto the common noun base words and the qualitative adjective roots or stems. Each of them will be treated below.

i). The abstract nominal stems are derived when the derivational morpheme **-tétsi-** is affixed onto the common noun roots or stems as in the examples (138).

138.

a. [kawó -tétsi ] > [ kawótétsi ]

(a) king -ABS 'kingdom'

b. [lágge -tétsi ] > [ lággetétsi ] > [ laggététsi ]

(a) friend -ABS 'friendship'

c. [ʔiʃá -tétsi ] > [ ʔiʃátétsi ]

(a) brother -ABS 'brotherhood'

We can observe that we generate as many new nominal stems as possible since the derivational affix is productive. The data above show that the high tonal accent assigned on both penultimate and ante-penultimate syllables. This means the process of nominalization assigns the second high tonal accent on the ante-penultimate syllable by moving from other syllables of their origin as in the example (138 b) .

ii). We can also obtain abstract nominal stems when the derivational morpheme **-tétsi** is affixed onto the adjectival roots or stems. We observe that similar rule of tonal accent movement indicated in (138) applies to the word formation we obtain in (139).

139.

[ts'illo -tétsi ] > [ ts'íllotétsi ] > [ ts'illótétsi ] -  
pure -ABS 'purity'

[kéha -tétsi ] > [ kéhatétsi ] > [ kéhátétsi ]  
generous -ABS 'generosity'/'kindness'

[túma -tétsi ] > [ túmatétsi ] > [ tumátétsi ]  
true -ABS 'truthfulness'

In the example (144), all the newly derived nominal stems in (a, b, c) employ the same rule as shown above. That means the language moves the H-tonal accent on the syllable other than the ante-penultimate and assigns on the ante-penultimate syllable. Thus, the newly derived abstract nominal obtains two/three high tonal accents. By chance all the base words selected in our data assign their high tonal accents on their penultimate syllables.

### 5.2.1.2. Agentive nominals

We can obtain agentive nominal stems that also show a person experiencing a state of affair when the derivational morpheme **-anchcho** [-áɲtʃʃo] (M/F) in 140 a, b is affixed onto the abstract name nouns. We can also attach the pronominal affixes **-ía=ro**, that expresses feminine gender, as in (c) and **-eí=ssa**, that expresses masculine gender, as in 140d onto the abstract noun base words to indicate the gender of the person experiencing the state of action/affair .

140.

a. [ʔoóso - áɲtʃʃo ] > [ʔoósoáɲtʃʃo ] > [ʔoósáɲtʃʃo ]  
(a) work - AGEN.F/M 'a worker'

b. [ʔódo - áɲtʃʃo ] > [ʔódoáɲtʃʃo ] > [ʔódáɲtʃʃo ]  
news - AGEN.F/M 'a male reporter'

c. [ʔódo - ía=ro ] > [ʔódoíaro ] > [ʔodíaro ]  
news - AGEN=entity.F 'a female reporter'

- d. [ʔódo - eí=ssa] > [ʔódoeíssa] > [ʔódeíssa]  
 news - AGEN=entity.M 'a male reporter'

In all the examples (140 a, b, c, d), the terminal vowel of the root/base word is deleted and the new derived words obtain two high tonal accents (for they occur on penultimate and ante penultimate syllables).

### 5.2.1.3. Locative nominals

We can obtain locative nominal stems when the derivational morpheme -iyaso [-íaso] is affixed onto a few verb roots as in 141 a, b, c.

141.

- a. [wooss- -íaso] > [woossíaso]  
 to pray -NMZ 'a church'/ 'a prayer house'
- b. [ʔúj- -íaso] > [ʔújíaso]  
 to drink -NMZ 'a pub'
- c. [kaaʔ- -íaso] > [kaaʔíaso]  
 to play -NMZ 'a play ground'

We can understand that the newly formed nominal stems (141 a, c) assign one high tonal accent since the root verbs lack the high tonal accent unlike the new word (141 b) that both the root verb and the derivational morpheme obtain one high tonal accent each. The process of locative nominal stem formation is not so productive.

### 5.2.1.4. Manner/ Process nominals

We can obtain manner /process nominal stems when the derivational morpheme -uussi [-uússi] 'the manner of doing something' is affixed to the monoradical infinite verb roots as in 142.

142.

- a. [m - ússi] > [muússi]  
 to eat - MANN 'the manner/style of eating'

- b. [ b - ússi ] > [buússi ]  
to go - MANN 'the manner /style of going'

The manner/process nominal stem is used as a verbal subject as in the example (143).  
143.

- [ d-uússi lóʔo ] > [ duússí lóʔo ]  
exist -MANN.NOM good .DEADJ.IMPF.A.DCL  
'Life is good.' / [Lit Living is good.]

The derivation of new nominals may also take place without adding any derivational morpheme in the processes observed in the next discussion.

### 5.2.1.5. Conversion

Conversion rule is a kind of morphological process that generates a new word in the language under study. It is a process of assigning a new meaning either by transposing or preserving the category of the word. Such a process is also common in some languages of the world (Booij 2007: 5, Beard 2001: 60, Fabb 2001: 66 and Stump 2003:104, 206). We observe no alternation on the position of the high tonal accent in both the input and the output lexemes. Consider the example (144) .

144.  
a. sheeshsha [ʃeéʃʃa] > [ ʃeéʃʃa ]  
'a clan/tribe' 'urine'  
b. gulluntha [gúlluntsa] > [gúlluntsa]  
'a piece of cloth used to cover one's face' 'a process of covering one's face '

We observe that the pair of words are different in meaning eventhough the input and the out put are witten and pronounced the same way. The meaning difference is based on the context of the discourse. We realized tht the process of conversion is not so productive.

### 5.2.1.6. Derivational tone

Derivational tone is another word class-changing morphological process in Gofa that generates new words due to autosegmental variation. This means that the language moves the high tonal accent from its place of origin of a word to another syllable of the new class

changed word. As English generates some new nominal stems (Payne 2006: 43), so does Gofa by changing the place of tonal accent from a syllable to another as in 145.

145.

a. [lággeta] ‘friends’ > [laggéta] ‘friendship’ > [laggetá] ‘be a friend of someone’

b. [dábbota] ‘relatives’ > [dabbóta] ‘relationship’ > [dabbotá] ‘be a relative of someone’

The pair of words are changed from common nouns to abstract nouns and then to verbs in 145 a, b, and they are the examples of class maintaining derivations.

### 5.2.2. Compounding

Compounding is a morphological process that is used to generate compound words in Gofa as it is true in other languages like English (Booij 2007: 5,75-80, 325; Payne 2006:45). The high tonal accent assignment varies according to the number of constituents we obtain as an input in compounding in Gofa (Sellassie 2004). We have both endocentric and exocentric compounding.

An endocentric compounding is the process of compounding in which the principles of compounding assigns the head word of the compound determine the grammatical property of the whole constituents in the compound. Unlike an endocentric compounding, an exocentric compounding is the process of compounding in which neither of the constituents of the compound determines the meaning of the newly derived compound (Booij 2007: 176). Gofa does not suffix the inflectional affixes to the attributive constituents of nominal compounds. This makes nominal compounds different from nominal phrases in Gofa.

In nominal phrases, the attributive constituent suffixes the gender or genitive/possessive expressing morphemes or both. On the other hand, the head constituent of both the nominal phrases and nominal compounds suffix inflectional affixes that show the gender, number and case of the entity when used as subjects and objects of the verbs.

We can derive/draw a schema that applies to the compound noun as follows;

[WZ]<sub>Z</sub>, Z=N ,that means Z is a head noun and W represents a word used as an attributive to the head noun. Then the attributive could either be a noun, an adjective, or a possessive pronoun used to modify/describe the head N(oun) in a compound (noun).

As the data at our reach shows, a two -word compound varies from a three-word compound in the procedure of tonal accent assignment. Due to this, we group compounds into two: a two-word and a three-word compound. We will treat the two-word compounds first.

### 5.2.2.1. The two-word compounds

We derive as many new compound nominal stems as possible from two nominal constituents , noun + noun , as in 146.

146.

data	gloss	&	data	gloss	data	gloss
a. teéra	‘ripe’	&	loomé	‘lemon’	> teérá loome	‘a ripe lemon’
b. jaagáno	‘wedding’	&	gallássa	‘day’	> jaagánó gallassa	‘a wedding day’
c. miídzdza	‘cow’	&	naʔá	‘child’	> miídzdzá naʔa	‘a cow boy’
d. dooná	‘mouth’	&	φógo	‘opening’	> dooná φogo	‘dowry’
e. d’ántsa	‘breast’	&	duúto	‘break’	> d’ántsá duuto	‘the last child’

As the examples (146) show, the attributive constituents bear two high tonal accents except (d) whereas the head nouns drop their high tonal accents. The attributive noun in (d) assigns one tonal accent since it assigned the high tonal accent on its ultimate syllable originally and the tonal accent spreading rule allows to float but does not allow to spread over a syllable already occupied by its high accent as it is true in Wolaitta (Azeb 1996). Besides, we assume (146 b, d, e) are the examples of exocentric compounds since ‘dowry’ , ‘ a cow boy’ and ‘the last child’ do not share any meaning from the constituents of the compounds. Furthermore, the attributive constituents attach a zero morpheme as a linking element in the examples (146).

### 5.2.2.2. The three and four- word compounds

The language generates some new kinship terms by using complete or whole –word reduplication. According to Fabb ( 2001: 53), ‘Whole-word reduplication is sometimes

described as a compounding process, because each part of the resulting word corresponds to an independently attested word.’ It also derives some new compound nouns by using marriage culture related constituents. The right most constituent is used as the head of the compound. Consider the data (147) .

147.					
	Noun	+ Noun	+ Noun	+ Noun	> Compound noun
a.	ʔaawá	& ʔaawá	& ʔaawá		> ʔaawá ʔaáwá ʔaawa
	father	father	father		‘great grandfather’
b.	médá	& k’úma	& k’ómmo		> méddá k’úmá k’ommo
	bride/groom	food	kind/type		‘type of meals’
c.	gélo	& ʔéko	& wóga		> géló ʔékó woga
	marry a husband	marry a wife	culture		‘a marriage culture’
d.	ʔekkída	& naʔá	& keetsá	& ʔasá	> ʔekkída naʔá keetsá ʔasa
	married man	child	house	person	‘family of the groom’

As the examples in (147) show, the two high tonal accents are assigned on the non-head constituent (147 b, c ), that is, the immediate left of the head of the compound. Though the head constituents lose their high tonal accents, the high tonal accent spread rule of the language allows them to remain floating for the ultimate syllable of the second or the immediate left constituents is already occupied by the high tonal accent in 147a, c (cf. 4. Tonology ). Some constituents of kinship terms possess the linking elements -aa and -ee that express the gender of the attributive nominal constituents in nominal phrases. The linker elements could perhaps undergo morphologically conditioned syllable lengthening in Gofa (cf. nominal phrases).

The language moves away the high tonal accents of the possessive pronoun or non-major word class and assigns on one of the syllables of the adjacent right constituent in (a) for the (ante-)penultimate syllable is not occupied by the high tonal accent originally unlike (b) for the penultimate syllable of the second constituent is occupied by the high tonal accent originally (cf. Tonology and Personal pronouns). Consider the examples (148).

148.

- a. ʔí & ʔaziná & ʔaajó > ʔi ʔazíná ʔaajo ‘her mother-in-law’  
her husband mother
- b. ʔía & lágge & naʔá > ʔia lággé naʔa ‘his friend (fe/male)’  
his friend child/son

In general, the singular is not marked whereas the plural grammatical relation is marked by -(nt)t- and the lexicon *dowa* (the asociative plural marker) based on the context. We realized that indefiniteness is unmarked whereas the definiteness is expressed when the morphemes that co-mark case and gender interact with the TVs of the Class of nouns and then changed to diphthongs. The noun inflection of Gofa assigns the newly obtained diphthongs to co-mark case, gender and definiteness at a time. In addition, we also realized that definiteness is expressed syntactically when specifiers, complements and relative clauses are used to modify the head noun phrases. These are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

On the other hand, the nominals with TVs -e and -o assign zero accusative morpheme unlike the nominals with TVs -a and -i. The case grammatical relations are grouped into core and peripheral. The core case markers precede the peripheral markers when they occur at noun ending at a time.

Furthermore, the language generates new nominal stems by making use of various derivational affixes and compounding. Compounds are right headed and the non-heads assign the tonal accents and at the same time they are used as modifiers in this study as it is true in some languages (Lieber 2009: 48). The process of conversion and derivational tone generate a few new nominals and they are found not productive in this study.

## 6. Pronouns

A pronoun stands for a noun phrase. According to Bhat (2007: 5), a pronoun has two parts: a personal pronoun and a pro-form. The function of the pro-form is expressed by using demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinite, and reflexives. As to Bhat (2007: 6-7), the proform, in general, specifies such function as

...(i) identifying the participants of an event by locating them with reference to the spatio-temporal location of the speech act participants (or indicating the location, time, manner, etc. of the event itself in a similar fashion), (ii) referring back (or forward) to other expressions that occur in the utterance, or (iii) indicating the scope of a question, negation, or exclamation ...

The data at hand shows that the demonstratives, interrogatives and reflexives are made of two elements and their functions are discussed in subsequent sections in this study.

Based on the speech role of the pronoun system, a language is categorized either as a free-pronoun or a bound-pronoun language (Bhat 2007: 4, 5). The subject pronouns are obligatory and expressed phonologically both in speech and in writing to show the speech role in the free-pronoun languages such as English, French and German. On the other hand, a language could be categorized under a bound-pronoun when the use of the subject pronouns are not obligatory for the role of the personal pronouns are expressed in the verb agreement.

The speakers of bound-pronoun languages like Latin and Spanish often drop the subject pronouns except when they want to show special emphasis in the speech role (Bhat 2007:24, 83, 274). Gender distinction takes place in the third person singular and this is mainly the characteristics of most bound-pronoun languages (Bhat 2007: 279). In this connection, we found Gofa behaves like Latin and Spanish to some extent since the use of personal pronouns is not obligatory in many discourses. This is because the verb agreement in the past and present tense affixes and usually expresses the speech role of the subject. On the other hand, Gofa behaves partially like a free-pronoun language. This is because the future tense verbs and the infinitive paradigms do not express subject agreement in discours-

es. Thus, the use of the personal pronouns is obligatory with the future tense verbs and the infinitive paradigms.

According to the data we obtained so far, the types of the pronoun system of Gofa discussed in this study are the independent pronouns and the dependent/clitic pronouns. The independent pronouns include the personal pronouns (subject, direct object, genitive attributive, indirect object/dative, and possessive/adjective), demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive /intensive, reciprocal, and indefinite pronouns. The language under study has also some bound or dependent pronouns that include clitic, and vocative. These pronouns are attached onto the base pronouns as it is true in some languages of the world (Payne 2006: 120). We will treat the personal pronouns first.

### **6.1. Personal pronouns**

The personal pronouns are among the independent pronouns. They are used as the category of pronominals that replace noun phrases that function as agents, beneficiaries/ recipients, experiencers (when used with state verbs), or patients (that are affected by the actions of the finite verbs) in sentences as it is true in some languages (Payne 2006: 120).

The culture of Gofa encourages the use of personal pronouns than proper names of in-laws, elderly people, distinguished individuals and chiefs of the vicinity in their formal interaction. According to the wedding/marriage tradition of the speech community, either of the ordinary people and young couples never calls the names of her/his in-laws for it is culturally taboo. It is common for young couples to use the appropriate personal pronouns when the relatives of the in-laws are within the earshot as it is true in the avoidance languages of the Australian Aboriginal languages (Crystal 2008 : 46).

We have both the full and the reduced counterpart personal pronouns. The personal pronoun system of Gofa marks gender distinction only in the third person singular. We observe differences among the paradigms of the personal pronouns: subject, object, and genitive pronouns. Consider the data in Table 35.

Table 35: Personal pronouns

person	NOM		ACC	GEN
	full	reduced		
1S	taáni	tá	tána	tá
2S	neéni	né	néná	né
3FS	ʔía	-	ʔiú	ʔí
3MS	ʔí	-	ʔía	ʔía
1PL	nuúni	nú	núná	nú
2S.HON /PL	híntteni	hínttei	hínttena	híntte
3S.HON /PL	ʔenttantí	ʔenttí	ʔentt(antt)á	ʔenttá

### 6.1.1. Subject and direct object pronouns

The Gofa data of Bender (2000:11) and Moreno(1937: 33) show that the pronoun that represents both (3FS.SUBJ ) and (3MS.POSS) is **i** but it is attested **ʔia** > **iya** in the present work. Moreover their data does not show the gender difference we observe in the third person singular in both the subject and direct object pronouns in the (Table 35) in this study. We use the full and the reduced subject pronouns alternatively. The full forms of the subject pronouns suffix **-a** with the third person feminine singular and **-i** with the third person masculine singular and the other persons (1S/PL, 2S/PL, 3PL) to mark a nominative case. Some of the reduced personal pronouns like **ta** ‘I’, **ne** ‘you’ and **nu** ‘we’ drop the last syllable together with the nominative case marking morpheme **-i** whereas we obtain the reduced [hínttei] (2S.HON/PL.NOM) and [ʔenttí] (3S.HON/PL.NOM) after they dropped [-n-] and [-antt-] respectively.

Both the full and the reduced direct object personal pronouns used as the patients of the verbs affix the accusative case marking morphemes **-o** with the third person feminine singular and **-a** with the other persons. The morpheme **-o** is raised to [**u**] in iw [ʔiú] ‘her’, in Gofa. Gofa has one reduced form for the third person singular honorific/plural object ʔenttá (3S.HON /PL.ACC) by reducing [-antt-] unlike that of Oyda (Haile Eyesusu 2003:18). The examples below show that the full and its reduced forms are used alternatively (149).

149.

a. tá /taáni    néna    sabb-aná    (< tá/taáni    néna sabbaná )

1S.NOM    2S.ACC    sing the praise song- FUT.A.DCL

‘I will praise you singing the praise song.’

- b. nú/nuúni    ʔenttá                    sabb-aná  
 1PL.NOM    3S.HON/PL.ACC    praise.song- FUT.A.DCL  
 ‘We will praise her/him/them singing the praise song.’

The examples in (a, b) above show that the subject and the direct object pronouns are encoded by the nominative and accusative cases respectively. They are both free/independent for one is not inflected from the other.

As we can observe from (Table 35), among the personal pronouns, only the third person singular pronouns do not have reduced forms in the language. On the other hand, we have the same form for both the second person singular honorific and plural. We also use the same form for both the third person singular honorific and plural. As a result of this, when we indicate the part of speech of the text in our annotation or transcription, we write [híntte(n)i] (2S.HON/PL.NOM) and [ʔentt(antt)í] (3S.HON/PL.NOM) to give the option for our readers to read either as the singular honorific form or as their plural counterparts. However, we believe that our readers could easily pick the intended meaning from the contexts. Let’s consider the examples in (150).

150.

- a. ʔenttí                    soó-n                    déʔ-oóna (< ʔenttí soón deʔoóna)  
 3S.HON/PL.NOM    home-LOC    COP/exist-3S.HON/PL.INTER  
 ‘Is s/he at home?’ / ‘Are they at home?’

- b. híntte(n)i                    ʔenttá ʔimats- ídetíí  
 2S.HON /PL.NOM    3S.HON/PL    invite (guest)-PAST.3S.HON/PL.INTER  
 ‘Did you invite her/him (HON) /them food and drink?’

In the examples (150 a, b), the subject and the object personal pronouns could refer to either singular honorific or plural noun phrases. However, the speech act in case of the examples in (151) show that the antecedent of the personal pronoun used as the subject of the finite verb is only the singular honorific noun phrase in 156 a and the plural noun phrase in 156 b.

156.

a. ?entt(antt)í            né            ?aájé-ntt-eé  
2S.HON/PL.NOM 2S.GEN    mother.F-HON/PL-INTER  
'Is she your mother?'

b. ?entt(ant)í            né            mítʃʃ-eé            naít-eé  
3S.HON /3PL-NOM 2S.GEN    sister.3F-GEN.F children-INTER  
'Are they the children of your sister?'

In the examples so far we observed above, we realized that it is the speech act that gives the freedom to the speaker and the listener to think of either one or multiple persons. Literature shows that such personal pronouns like [?entt(antt)í] (3S.HON/PL.NOM) and [hintte(n)i] (2S.HON/PL.NOM) function as *split antecedents* since these anaphors refer back either to one, two or multiple of persons (Bhat 2007: 108).

### 6.1.2. Dative pronouns

The dative /indirect object pronouns are formed to show the goal or to refer to the receiver or beneficiary of the action by suffixing the dative/benefactive case marking morpheme -u/-s(si) 'to/for' alternatively onto the genitive pronouns (Table 36). They replace the indirect object noun phrases. We observe that the position of the indirect object pronoun is flexible and does not affect the meaning. Consider the examples in 157.

157.

a. taání      ?í-s            woítua                            ?imm-ás (< taání ?ís woítua ?immás)  
1S.NOM    3FS-DAT    gift.ACC.3MS.DEF    give-PAST.1S.A.DCL  
'I gave her the gift.' / 'I gave it/(the gift) to/for her.'

b. ?í/(meddaájeé            ?aawai )                            ?i-ssi-nne/(meddajeessinne)  
3S.NOM/(bride.GEN.F father.NOM.3MS.DEF)    3FS-DAT-and/(bride.GEN-DAT.3FS.and  
?ía-s / (meddaawaás)            ?imm-ís  
3MS.ACC-DAT / (groom.DAT)    give-PAST.1S.A.DCL  
'He gave her and him.'/'The father of the bride gave it to the bride and the groom.'

As it can be observed from the data above, the pronoun iw [ʔiu] is a portemanteau word that mean ‘her’ the direct object pronoun and ‘to/for her’. We realized that we differentiate one from the other only in their contexts.

The data in Table 36 shows the indirect object/dative pronoun markers -s (si) and -u alternatively suffixed onto the stem of the genitive pronouns.

Table 36: Dative pronouns

Dative pronouns	Gloss
taás(si) / taú	to/for me
nees(si) / neú	to/for you
hínttes(si) / híntteu	to/for you (HON.S)
ʔías(si) / ʔíaú	to/for him
ʔís(si) / ʔiú	to/for her
ʔenttás(si) / ʔenttaú	to/for her/him(HON)
nuús(si) / nuú	to/for us
hínttes(si) / híntteu	to/for you (PL)
ʔenttás(si) / ʔenttaú	to/for them

Based on the data above, we realized that the indirect/dative pronouns are formed from the reduced subject personal pronouns in Gofa. We also observed that the dative marker lengthens the vowels of the monosyllabic genitive pronouns as in [taás] ‘to/for me’, [neés] ‘to/for you’ and [nuús] ‘to/for us’. Besides, the morpheme -s(si) becomes either -s at word final or -ssi when followed by another suffix like -nne ‘and’ a coordinative case marker.

### 6.1.3. Genitive pronouns and possessive predicates

Gofa has two different paradigms of personal pronouns that express possession. The genitive pronouns precede the free or full form head nouns whereas the latter ( possessive predicates) cliticized to the clitics =iss- (=POSS.M) and =r- (=POSS.F) that express masculine and feminine entity respectively (see Table 36 ).

Both of the pronouns make use of the reduced forms of the subject personal pronouns. Especially, the genitive pronouns express the possessor and possessed relationship and also modify or describe the head or possessed nouns as in English (Payne 2006: 98). Consider the examples in 158.

158.

- a. hintte                      náʔaí                      ʔentta                      náʔiú  
2S.HON/PL.GEN child.NOM.MS.DEF    3S.HON/PL.GEN child: ACC.FS.DEF  
ʔekk-ís  
marry . a lady- PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
'Your son married her/his/ their daughter.'
- b. ʔí<sub>1</sub>                      ʔi<sub>2</sub>                      mítʃʃeé                      ʔazinaá  
3MS . NOM    3FS. GEN    sister. F. GEN    be.husband  
'He is her sister's husband.'
- c. ʔi<sub>2</sub>                      ʔíʃaí    máʃʃo                      ʔekk-ís  
3FS.GEN    brother:NOM.MS.DEF    wife.ACC    marry a woman-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
'Her brother is married.'

In 158, the genitive pronouns fulfill the attributive function in the language. We observe that the language moves the high tonal accent of the genitive pronouns and assigns one more high tonal accent on the head nouns if the (ante) penultimate syllable of a three/two syllabic head noun assigns the original high tonal accent either on penultimate or on the ultimate syllable (cf. Tonology).

We observe that the genitive pronoun lexeme [híntte] 'you' has three forms: second person feminine singular honorific 'you', second person masculine singular honorific 'you' and second person plural 'you' in (a), and entta [ʔenttá] has also three forms: 'her', 'his' or 'them' in (a). This shows that i[ʔí] is a portmanteau word that has two meanings in Gofa.

On the other hand, i [ʔí<sub>1</sub>] stands for 'he' in (b) and [ʔi<sub>2</sub>] for the possessive pronoun 'her' in (b, c). Based on the above facts, we assume that the lexeme i[ʔí] functions as a homonymy for it refers back to more than one noun phrases in a discourse in Gofa. This is also true in other languages (Crystal 2008: 231).

The possessive predicates, on the other hand, are also derived from the reduced pronouns, used as the host or the base, that attach the clitic pronominals =iss- 'entity/property/belonging.M' and =r- 'entity/property/belonging.F' and suffix the nominative



As we can learn from the data (

Table 37) of the genitive pronouns, the case markers assign the high tonal accents (cf. Tonology). This differentiates the genitive pronouns from the dative counter parts in Gofa.

Based on the examples given above in (159), we realized that both pronouns are used to express possession or property ownership of nominal entities though they are different in form and the position they occur in sentences. We argue that the linguistic elements attached to the stem of the reduced subject pronouns are the enclitics =r- and =iss- though they look like the elided or reduced nominal entities as a result of some kind of a morpho-phonemic processes. Nevertheless, we could not exactly trace the original words they are historically derived from. Thus, we believe that this issue needs further investigation.

#### **6.1.4. Instrumental/Comitative pronouns**

The instrumental/comitative pronouns are formed when the instrumental/comitative case morpheme -ra is attached to the genitive pronouns I. (cf. Table 35). Unlike Gofa, Gamo derives its instrumental/comitative pronouns by suffixing the instrumental /comitative case marker -ra onto the direct object pronouns (Hayward and Tsuge 1998: 25 and Hompó 1990: 371) cited in Wakasa 2008: 429) and Wolaitta derives its comitative pronouns by suffixing the instrumental/comitative case marker -ra to the oblique pronouns (Wakasa 2008: 399,402,413).

The comitative pronouns and the genitive pronouns II with -ra are homographs for they obtain identical orthography. The language resolves such clash by assigning a lexical tone as an additional high tonal accent on the instrumental/comitative pronouns ( Table 38). As a result of this, the instrumental/comitative is pronounced differently from the possessive predicate pronouns. In addition to that, the morphosyntax of the language does not assign case and neither gender nor number on -ra of the instrument/comitative pronouns unlike the possessive predicate (

Table 37). Consider the examples (160).

160.

a. nu            dórssía                            nuúrá                            soó- n

2S.GEN sheep.NOM.3FS.DEF 2S.GEN.INST/COM home-LOC

déʔ-aúsu

exist- PRES.3FS. A.DCL

‘Our (female) sheep is with us at home.’

b. nuu = r-á                      nuúrá                      soó-n                      déʔ-aúsu

2P =property.F-NOM.F 2S.GEN.INST/COM home.LOC COP- PAST.3FS. A.DCL

‘Ours/(our property) is with us at home.’

c. ʔii = r-á                      ʔiírá                      déʔ-aúsu ( < ʔiírá ʔiírá deʔaúsu )

3FS=property.F-NOM.F 3FS.COM COP- PRES.3FS. A.DCL

‘Her property is with her.’

We realized from the examples above that the language assigns the high tonal accents on both the ultimate and penultimate syllables on the comitative pronouns ( Table 38). The role of assigning lexical tonal accent is discussed in Chapter 4.Tonology.

We can also observe another difference between the two homographic pronouns in that unlike the genitive pronouns II, the instrumental /comitative pronouns show gender difference only in the third person singular like that of the subject and object personal pronouns. Consider the instrumental /comitative pronouns listed in Table 38.

Table 38: Instrumental/Comitative pronouns

person	1S	2S	3MS	3FS	1PL	2S.HON/PL	3S.HON/PL
COM	taára	neéra	ʔíará	ʔiírá	nuúrá	híntteéra	ʔenttaára

## 6.2. Reflexive pronouns

A reflexive pronoun (REFL) is sometimes named as an intensive/emphatic pronoun since we may make use of action verbs, especially the intensive verbs, which express the actions done, affect no one else except the performer or the experiencer herself/himself (Payne 2006: 244). The reflexive pronoun has the anaphoric meaning for it is used to co-refer to

the definite noun phrase and the pronominal affix that traces a noun phrase. Bhat (2007:79) also expresses this idea as follows,

There are different ways in which an action can affect its performer. It may make him function as its patient, experiencer, or beneficiary in addition to being its performer. It is also possible for the reflexive predicate to merely indicate that an action has been carried out (or a process has taken place) without the intervention of any individual other than the performer.

We observe that the reflexive pronoun is used as a device in expressing the reflexive meaning like that of Dutch, one of the Germanic languages (Bhat 2007: 82). Consider the examples of Gofa in (a, b) and Dutch in 161c.

161.

- a. naʔia (< naʔe-j-a )      páná      bákk’-ásu  
 child.F- EPN-NOM.FS 3S.REFL slap-PRES.3FS.A.DCL  
 ‘The girl slapped herself.’
- b. ʔentí      pánttáná      bákk’-ídosona  
 2S.NOM 3S.HON/PL.REFL slap- PAST.3S.HON/3PL.A.DCL  
 ‘S/he (honorific) slapped herelf/himself.’ / ‘They slapped themselves.’
- c. hij      voelde zich/\*hem      wegglijden (Dutch (39c), Bhat 2007:82)  
 he      felt      himself/\*him      slide.away  
 ‘He felt himself slide away.’

The common reflexive pronouns of Gofa are listed in Table 39.

Table 39: Reflexive pronouns

person	1S	2S	3S	2PL	2S.HON/	3S.HON/PL
data	táná	néná	Páná	núná	hínttena	Pánttana
gloss	myself	yourself	her/ himself	ourselves	yourself/ yourseves	her/himself / themselves

As we observe the data listed in

Table 39 , we realized that the reflexive pronouns are derived from the genitive pronouns by suffixing -na at word final. The justification is that [pá ] ‘her / his’ becomes [páná] ‘herself/himself’ whereas we neither use the third person singular direct object pronouns [ʔiu] ‘her’ and [ʔia] ‘him’ as they are; nor we suffix -na onto them since [ʔiana] and [ʔiuna] are both ungrammatical. This shows that the reflexive pronouns are not derived from the direct object pronouns though all except the third person singular are identical in form. This homographic clash is resolved for the language assigns two lexical tones on the reflexive pronouns and differentiates the reflexive pronouns from the direct object pronouns which assign one high tonal accent.

### 6.3. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are used to point out to nominal entities that are nearer to the speaker as well as the listener, visible and far away from the speaker but could either be near or far away from the listener and out of sight of the speaker or both the speaker and the listener (see Tables 40-42). This shows that demonstrative pronouns of Gofa obtain distance-oriented deictic system.

Basically, Gofa has both the short and the long demonstratives. The short forms are three: ha ‘this’, hini ‘that’ and he ‘that’. They are the genitive demonstratives for they function as demonstrative adjectives when they modify the head nouns in the noun phrases. They are unmarked for gender and number and they modify the head nouns irrespective of their gender and number. The genitive case is also unmarked overtly. This makes the genitive demonstratives different from the genitive personal pronouns or the longer counterpart demonstrative pronouns.

We obtain the long forms when both the pronominal enclitics and case morphemes are affixed onto the root of the genitive demonstratives one after the other. The long forms are used as the A (gents) or S (subjects) and P (atients) of the verbs. We realized that we obtain the subject, direct object, and dative demonstrative pronouns within the proximal, distal and out of sight demonstrative pronouns using the genitive demonstrative pronouns as the base. The proximal demonstratives listed in Table 40 refer to the entities near and visible for both the speaker and the listener.

Table 40: Proximal demonstratives

Gloss	Subject	object	dativ
this =entity.M.S-	ha=iss-í	ha=iss-á	ha=iss-aá-s
this =entity.F.S-	ha=nn-á	ha=nn-ó	ha=nn-í -s
this =entity.M-PL.F/M-	ha=issat-í	ha=iss-at-á	ha=iss-atá-s
this =entity.F-PL.F-	ha=nnintt-í	ha=nn-intt-á	ha=nn-inttá-s

As the data above show, the plural feminine nominal entities, too, affix the masculine nominative and accusative case markers -i and -a respectively like that of the plural masculine common nouns. In addition to that, the language treats inanimate nominal entities since it (the language) assigns both the enclitic pronominals and case affixes, that express masculine gender, one after the other as shown below. This is observed true in Koorete (Binyam 2010: 48), too. Consider the examples of the proximal demonstrative pronouns used with the singular and plural head nouns as genitive in 162.

162.

- a. ha                                      bítáne-i      ‘this man’  
      DEM.PROX.GEN    man-NOM.3MS.DEF
- b. ha                                      bítáne-t-i    ‘these men’  
      DEM.PROX.GEN    man-PL-NOM-PL

The proximal demonstrative pronouns are used both as subjects/agents and patients/ objects of the verbs in the discourse of the wedding /marriage culture (163).

163.

ha=issi                                      ta              náʔeé=ssa              ha=issí  
      DEM.PROX=entity.NOM.M    1S.GEN    child.GEN.F-POSS    DEM.PROX=entity.NOM.M

ta              náʔaá=ssá                                      g-ídi              ʔimm-és  
      1S.GEN    child.GEN.M=POSS    say-CNV<sub>2</sub>    give-PAST.3MS .A.DCL

“ He gives ‘ ... having said this is for my daughter and this is for my son ...’ ”

‘... hayssi ta na7eessa hayssi ta na7aassa’ gidi immes ...’ ( Pa2 92 of the wedding /marriage culture)

The list of distal demonstratives in Table 41 refer to the distal entities that are visible to the speaker. The singular feminine entities assign -a and -o to show nominative and accusative

case respectively whereas the plural feminine entities assign -i and -a to show nominative and accusative respectively like that of the demonstratives that refer to the masculine distal entities. This shows that gender distinction is syncretized or neutralized both in nominative and accusative case when the demonstrative refers to the plural entities.

Table 41: Distal demonstratives

Gloss	Subject	object	dative
that (.one/entity.M.S) -	hiniiss-í	hiniiss-á	hiniiss-á-s
those (.ones/entities.M.PL) -	hiniissa-t-í	hiniissa-t-á	hiniissa-t-á-s
that (.one/entity.F.S) -	hiniír-a	hiniír-o	hiniír-i-s
those(.ones/entities.F.PL) -	hiniíri-ntt-i	hiniíri-ntt-a	hiniíri-ntt-a-s

We can also observe the examples regarding the demonstratives that refer to entities far away from the speaker but visible to the speaker as well as the listener (164).

164.

- a. híní                      meddaajia                      nu                      míǰǰíú  
DIST.GEN bride.NOM.FS.DEF 1PL.GEN be.sister.ACC.3FS.DEF  
‘That bride is our sister.’
- b. hinií=r-a    nu                      míǰǰíú (< míǰǰíe-j-ó)  
DEM.DIST=entity.F -NOM.3FS 1PL.GEN sister.F.ACC.3FS.DEF  
‘That (lady over there) is our sister.’

The data in Table 42 shows the list of demonstratives that refer to the distal entities that are out of sight of the speaker or both the speaker and the listener.

Table 42: The out of sight demonstratives and their enclitics

Gloss	Subject	object	Dative
that (one/entity.M) -	he=ss-í	he=ss-á	he=ss-á-s
those (ones/entities.M/F.PL) -	he=ssa-t-í	he=ssa-t-á	he=ssa-t-á-s
that (one/entity.F) -	hi=nn-a	hi=nn-ó	hi=nní-s
those (ones/entities.F.PL) -	hi=nni-ntt-í	hi=nni-ntt-á	hi=nni-ntt-á-s

We can also observe an example regarding the demonstrative that refers to entities that are out of sight of the speaker or both the speaker and the listener (165).

165.

- he=ssa-tí    pántsa-t-a  
DEM.DIST=entity.M-PL.NOM.M be.teenager boy-PL-ACC.M

‘Those(ones) are teenager boys.’

In the above example (165) , the long demonstrative shows distinction in gender and number by using the pronominal affixes like that of the head noun of the noun phrase or the compound. We observe that both the short and long forms of the demonstrative pronouns express definiteness in Gofa (cf. Definiteness) for the speaker and the listener talk about the entity they point at (near /far away) or the speaker reminds the listener about the entity they know in common.

The ablative pronouns are also formed when the morpheme –ppe ‘from’ is suffixed onto the genitive pronouns (cf. Table 42) used to show where the motion begins. Unfortunately, they are not treated in this thesis.

#### 6.4. Indefinite pronouns

Gofa has a few indefinite pronouns which are used to refer to non-definite nominal entities. The indefinite pronouns in the language may refer to unspecific nominal entities. These pronouns may be used to refer to the entities that are particular but the identity or proper name of some persons is not disclosed owing to respecting the long-established culture of Gofa.

According to the tradition of respecting senior members of the society and the elderly people who are close relatives of someone’s in-laws, the junior members of the society and the young couples are appreciated to use such pronouns as a form of respect. Consider the examples extracted from wedding/ marriage culture in 166.

166.

a. ʔíssí                    ʔas-i                    wulá-n                    ʔékk’-ís.

IND/ one.GEN    person-NOM.M    door-LOC            stand- PAST.3MS.A.DCL

‘A/ One person is at the door.’ / ‘Someone is at the door.’

b. ta                    náʔeé,                    ʔoíʃa                    jedd-íd-a                    = issa-t-a

1S.GEN    child.VOC, question    send-PAST-REL = person. M-PL-ACC

ʔissua-ppé (<ʔisso-w-a-ppé)

laázántsa-í

IND/ (one-EPEN-ACC.3MS.DEF-LOC (from) marriage broker-NOM.3MS.DEF

kúf'é migiddó-Ø ne-ú zíne ?eh-ís

hand.GEN bracelet-ACC.INDEF 2S-DAT yesterday bring-PAST.3MS.A.DCL

‘My daughter, the marriage broker brought an engagement ring from one of the persons who asked for your hand.’

We may also observe the use of the indefinite unspecific pronouns in some other situation. We understand that these pronouns are used to refer to the referents that are not familiar either to the speaker, the listener or both. Thus, the speaker does not reveal the identity of the persons or entities most probably for she/he doesn't know who the performer, the agent or the experiencer is. The use of the pronouns show that the speaker lacks sufficient information about the referents s/he is talking about as in the examples in 167.

167.

a. hará ?as -a bess-á

IND.GEN person - ACC.INDEF) show-2S.IMP

‘Show another person!’ / ‘Show someone!’

b. ?oón-i-kka j-oóppo

who-NOM.M-even come-3MS.PROH

‘Let nobody come.’ / ‘No one is allowed to come.’

In the examples (167), we can observe that a few indefinite pronouns in Gofa appear in affirmative, imperative, prohibitive, negative or interrogative sentences. The example (167b) presents the interrogative-based indefinite pronoun which is common in many languages of the world (Haspelmath 2004: 241 cited in Bhat 2007:182) and also observed in Sheko (Hellenthal 2010: 413). We can observe a list of indefinite pronouns in Table 43.

Table 43 : The indefinite pronouns

Gloss	Tx	
	NOM	ACC
Nothing	?aíbi-nne / ?aíbi-kka	?aíba-nne / ?aíba-kka
anyone/ whoever	?oóni-kka	?oóna-kka
Another	hankkoi	hankkua
Everything	?ubbabai	?ubbabaa
Everybody	?asa ?ubbai	?asa ?ubbaa



how much / many	ʔaappunee	ʔaappunaa	ʔaappun	ʔappunas	ʔ	aappunaara ʔ
when	-	-	ʔai ʔ	-	-	-

We observe that some of the interrogative pronouns of Gofa have overtly marked case. A similar situation is also attested in Haro (Hirut 2003: 65).

i. The interrogative pronouns less often obtain honor or number expressing morpheme. This makes Gofa behave a bit different from Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008). Consider the examples in 169.

169.

a. ʔía            ʔoónee ʔ

3FS.NOM    who.NOM.3S

‘Who is she?’

b. ʔenttí                    ʔoóná-ntt-eé ʔ (< ʔenttí ʔoónantteé?)

3S.HON/PL.NOM    who.ACC.3S-HON/3PL-INTER/Q

‘Who is s/he(.HON)?’ / ‘Who are they?’

c. ʔoóní            ʔoóná            dos- íí (< ʔoóni ʔoóna dosíí)

who.NOM.3S    who.ACC.3S    love/like-PRES.3MS.INTER

‘Who loves/likes whom?’ (Extracted from the wedding/marriage culture.)

The subject interrogative pronoun [ʔoonee] or [ʔooni] ‘who’ refers to a singular person and does not show distinction in gender. However, ‘who’ becomes [ʔoonee] when it follows a verb and it becomes either [ʔooni] or [ʔoonee] when it occurs before a verb in the verbless clauses or far away from the verb whereas [ʔooni] occurs adjacent to the verb. Both the subject and its object interrogative pronouns form ʔoona ‘whom’ refer to the indefinite/unspecific person.

ii. Gofa shows the indirect object/dative and ablative interrogative pronouns as in 170.

170.

a. neéní    ʔoó-s            ʔeéh- ádíí (< neéni ʔoós ʔeehádíí)

2S.NOM    who-DAT    bring-PRES.1S.INTER

‘For whom did you bring?’

b. híntteí                      ʔóónantta-ppée                      ʔéh-ídétíí  
 2S.HON/2PL.NOM    who.ACC.3PL-ABL    bring-PAST.2S.HON/2PL.INTER  
 ‘From whom did you bring?’

iii. A genitive interrogative pronouns modify the head nouns they precede (171) with zero genitive marker.

171.

a. he=ssa-tí                      ʔó                      ságaájo-teé  
 DEM,DIST=entity.M-PL.NOM    whose    bracelet-PL. NOM .INTER  
 ‘Whose bracelets are they/those?’

b. ha=nn-á                      ʔáú                      déreé -ppé                      j-aádeé  
 DEM.PROX=entity.F-.NOM.F    where    land/place-from    come-PAST.3FS.INTER  
 ‘From where did she come?’

c. ʔaáppún                      biraa                      ʔeh-aádií ‘ How much money did you bring ?’  
 how many/much    birr.ACC    bring-PAST.2S.INTER

iv A comitative interrogative pronoun suffixes the morpheme -ra like nouns (172).  
 172.

ne sagaayuwa oonaara shammadii?  
 ne                      ságaájuwa (< ságaájo-w-a)    ʔóónaa-ra                      ʃamm-ádií  
 2S.NOM    bracelet.ACC.3MS.DEF                      whom-INST/COM                      buy- PRES.2S.INTER  
 ‘With whom did you buy the bracelet?’

The comitative interrogative seems a bit different in structure from the comitative pronoun in that the comitative pronoun does not add -na but the comitative interrogative adds -na before the comitative case marker -ra shown in above table .

v. The possessive interrogative pronouns may sometimes suffix the gender and number sensitive clitic pronominals as in the examples (173).

173.

a. há                      miidzdze-ntt-i                      ʔóó=rí-ntt-eé ?  
 DEM.PROX.GEN    cow.F-PL.-NOM                      who=entity.F-PL- NOM. INTER  
 ‘Whose are these cows?’

b. ha                      sáγγá-tí                      ʔoó=ss-eé ? ( < ha sáγγatí ʔoósseé ? )  
 DEM.PROX.GEN ox-.PL. NOM. DEF who=entity.M.S- NOM. INTER  
 ‘Whose are these oxen?’

vi. The dative form of the interrogative pronoun aybis [ʔibis] expresses both ‘for what reason’ and ‘why (for)’ in examples (174).

174.

a. ha = issa-tá                      ʔoó-s                      ʔéh-ádií?  
 DEM.PROX.GEN=entity.M-PL.ACC what-DAT bring-PAST.2S.INTER  
 ‘To/For whom did you bring?’

b. híntte-i                      ta                      soó ʔaí(bi)-s                      j-ídetíí ?  
 2S.HON/PL-NOM 1S.GEN home what/why-DAT come -PAST.2S.HON/2PL.INTER  
 ‘Why did you come to my home?’ or ‘For what reason did you come to my home?’

vii. The genitive form of aw [ʔau] ‘where’ could also be used as ‘which’ in Gofa when it the base word [ʔau] modifies the noun as in the examples (175).

175.

a. ʔáú-ppé                      j-aí  
 where-from come-PRES.2S. INTER  
 ‘Where do you come from?’ / ‘Where are you coming from?’

b. ʔáú                      déré -ppé                      j-aádií (< ʔau dereppe jaadii ? )  
 which/ where place/land-from come-PAST.2S.INTER  
 ‘From where did you come?/ From which place did you come?’

Unlike the personal pronouns, only some of the interrogative pronouns overtly mark nominative, accusative, dative, ablative and comitative. Though the interrogative pronouns do not suffix the case marking inflectional affixes, the genitive case is expressed when the genitive interrogative pronouns occur before the noun entities they modify. The status of the interrogative pronoun [ʔaide] ‘when’ when [ʔai] ‘what’ modifies and combined with the

noun [wode] ‘time’. Rather than this, we could not clearly identify the status of [ʔaide] ‘when’ in this study. Thus, we suggest the issue for further study.

In general, the gender sensitive clitic pronominals =(i)ss ‘entity.M’ and =r ‘entity.F’ are affixed to interrogative pronouns to show gender distinction. We attested that the [o] is lengthened before both the gender marking clitics =r- (F) and =ss- (M) as in 173 a, b. The segment or element [n] occurs in subject and direct object interrogative pronouns occasionally in Gofa as it is reported in Wolaitta and other Ometo languages (Hayward and Tsuge 1998, Adams 1983 cited in Wakasa 2008: 427).

## 6.6. Reciprocal pronouns

A reciprocal pronoun could either be an affix attached to the predicate or an independent personal pronoun optionally used as an argument in Gofa. Gofa is like some languages that derive the reciprocal pronoun by relating one ‘...indefinite individual ... with another indefinite individual through the relation of ‘reciprocity’.’ English could be one of these languages that refers to the ‘... indefinite individual from the group that the subject identifies ...’ (Bhat 2007: 87).

Gofa employs both analytic reciprocity, that uses pronouns *issoy issuwa* to mean ‘one another’ and morphological reciprocity, that uses the reciprocal (causative) affix *-ett (-iss)* ‘(cause) each other/one another (to)’ is suffixed to the stem of the reciprocal verbs like *haas-* ‘to discuss’, *sug-* ‘to push’ and *[dos-/siik-]* ‘to like/love’ in Gofa. We treated reciprocal pronouns in this section. This is also reported in Gamo (Hompó 1990: 393). The reciprocal pronouns show that the A(gent) and the P(atient) act upon each other/one another equally. This is also expressed when *wollí* is used to mean ‘each other/one another’ as in Maale and Haro (Azeb 2001b cited in Hirut 2003: 139). Consider the examples (176).

176.

- a. *nayti issoy issuwara siiqettoosona* < *nayti issoy issuwa siiqoosona*  
*naití ʔisso-í ʔissúa-rá siík’(-étt)-oósona*  
 kids.NOM one-NOM one .ACC-INST/COM love(-REC)-PRES.3S.HON/3PL.A.DCL

‘The kids love each other/one another.’

- b. *hinttenoo, ʔissoi ʔissuwara sugettoppíte!* < *hinttenoo, issoy issuwa sugoppíte!*

híntte-noó      ḡisso-í      ḡissúa-rá      súg-étt-ópp-ite  
 2S.HON/PL-VOC    one-NOM    one.ACC    push-REC-PROH-2S.HON/2PL  
 ‘You guys, do not push each other/one another!’

c. nuúní      wóllí                                      haasaj-oós  
 1PL.NOM    each other/one another    discuss-PRES.2PL.A.DCL  
 ‘We discuss with each other/one another.’

As we learn from the examples above in 176, the reciprocal pronouns indicate that the arguments involved in the action done mutually affect each other/one other as a result of the presence of ‘reciprocity’ (Bhat 2007: 87, Payne 2006: 244). This shows that reciprocal pronoun ‘...requires a plurality of participants, and...used for denoting collective meaning’ (Bhat 2007:86). These two notions and the use of indefinite pronouns make the reciprocal different from the reflexive pronouns in that the reflexive pronoun makes use of definite pronouns in Gofa. Nevertheless, both the reciprocal and reflexive pronouns have something in common for both of them allow the A(gent) used as the P(atient).

### 6.7. Vocative pronouns

The vocative pronouns are different from the vocative case (5.1.4.3.8). The vocative pronouns of the second person singular show gender as well as number distinction and also specify a person among the group (Bhat 2007:59). This is true in Gofa and we have three vocative pronouns: laá (2MS.VOC) , naáteé (2FS.VOC) and hínténoó (2S.HON/2PL.VOC). Haro uses dóó ‘you: MAS’, déé ‘you: FEM’, ḡíníno ‘you: PL’ (Hirut 2003: 116). Koorete, another East Ometo language, has four vocative pronouns : do ‘You:M’, duwa-ite ‘You (:M):PL’, busshe: ‘ and bunaish’e ‘You:F:PL’ (Binyam 2010:49). As the data show, Haro and Koorete have similar form in ‘you: M’. This shows that vocative pronouns vary from language to language.

Consider the gender and number distinction indicated in the examples (177) .

177.

a. laá                      tá                      náʔ-aú,                      haá                      j-á  
 2MS.VOC    2S.GEN    child-VOC.M    PROX.ADV    come-2S. IMP

‘Oh you, my son, come here!’

b. naátee, tá náʔ-ee háá j-á (< naatee, ta naʔee, haa ya)  
2FS.VOC.F 1S.GEN child-VOC.F, PROX.ADV come-2S.IMP

‘Oh you, my daughter, come here!’

As we learn from the examples above in 177 , we understand that the language allows the speakers to call someone near or far in order to invite, beg or request their listeners do something in a certain speech act. According to Bhat (2007:128), such vocative pronouns could be used as the appositional constituents defining the whole phrase or clause besides conveying gender distinction.

## 7. Verbs

This chapter treats the verb roots, the inflectional grammatical features of the verbs such as subject agreement, tense, aspect, and mood and also the derivation of some verbs. The verb roots is treated first.

### 7.1. The verb roots

The roots of verbs are either monoradical, monosyllabic , disyllabic or trisyllabic and all of them occur as bound morphemes. The verb roots end in either a singleton, geminate or cluster of consonants.

Among the monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic verb roots Gofa obtains copula/modal auxiliaries and state/stative verbs. The list of verb roots below shows the CV-structure and the tonal melodies of copula verbs such as deʔ- ‘to be/exist/live’ , bess- ‘to have/must’ and danddaʔ- ‘to be able’ and state/stative verbs such as er- [ʔer-] ‘to know’ and qopp- [k’opp-] ‘to think’ in examples 178.

178.

Root	gloss	Root	gloss	tonal melody	CV- structure
b-	to go	deʔ-	to exist/live/ be	L	CVC-
g-	to say	gid-	to become	L	CVC-
m-	to eat	kójj-	need/ to want	H	CVCC-
j-	to come	han-	to be ready	L	CVC-
		bess-	to have /must	L	CVCC-
		danddaʔ-	to be able	L.L	CVCC.CVC-
		ʔer-	to know	L	CVC-
		k’opp-	to think	L	CVCC-
		gonddoréts-	to roll	L.L.H	CVCC.CV.CVC-

Among the verb roots, the great majority of them are dysyllabic. The monoradical and the trisyllabic are very few when compared to monosyllabic roots. In Gofa , the H-tonal melody is assigned most often on the inflectional affixes of the phonological

words than on the root of the verbs. This seems true in Gamo ( Hompó 1990) and Wolaitta (Azeb 1996, and Wakasa 2008).

## 7.2. Verb inflections

The verb inflects to show verbal grammatical features such as subject agreement, tense , aspect, and mood. The section treats verb inflections that show subject agreement first.

### 7.2.1. Subject agreement

The copula/modal auxiliary verb roots are used in the existential construction in the language when the auxiliary verbs are inflected like the main verbs in 179.

179.

a. laazántsiá (<laazántse-j-a)                      soó-n              déʔ-aúsu  
 marriage broker.F-EPN-NOM.3FS.DEF      home-LOC      exist- PRES.3FS. A.DCL  
 ‘The female marriage broker is at home.’

b. meddaawa-í                      párá              togg-ana-ú              déʔ- és  
 groom-NOM.3MS.DEF      horse              ride-FUT-INF              exist- PRES.3MS. A.DCL  
 ‘The groom is ready to ride a horse.’ / [Lit The groom exists to ride a horse.]

In example (179a), the auxiliary verb expresses the grammatical subject since it is used as a main verb. In (179b), for the future tense and the infinitive marking morphemes -ana-u are overtly used one after the other and affixed to the main verb root, they do not express the grammatical subject of the verb. In such a sentence, it is an obligatory to use the copula/ modal auxiliary verb roots to suffix the verbal grammatical features to express the potential mood and indicate the grammatical subject at a time. The sentences in (180) show that the modal auxiliary verbs could also be used in different ways as in (a and b).

180.

a. ʔía                      ʔaákímé                      soo              b-aaná              kóʃʃ-eés  
 3FS.NOM      physician.GEN      house      go-FUT      have to/must-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ‘She has to/must go to a clinic/ hospital.’

- b. ( ?ía )            ?aakímeé            soo    b-aana-ú            kójj-ausu  
 (3FS.NOM)    physician.GEN.F    house    go-FUT-INF    need- PRES.3FS.A.DCL  
 ‘She wants/needs to visit the (female) doctor’s house.’

In (180 a), an overt pronoun is necessary since the pronominal affixes -aana and -ees do not express person, gender, and number of the subject of the verb. In (b), the subject pronoun is optional because the agreement/ pronominal affix attached to the modal auxiliary verb root expresses the grammatical subject of the verb.

The state/stative verb roots such as er- [ ?er-] ‘to know’ and qopp- [ k’opp-] ‘to think’ behave like the main verbs for they suffix subject marking affixes in 181.

181.

- a. tá                    néna            keehí            ?ér-aís (< ta nena keehi erays.)  
 1S.NOM    2S.ACC    very.well    know- PRES .1S. A.DCL  
 ‘I know you very well.’
- b. tá                    né-bá                    keéhi            k’ópp-aís (< ta neba keehi qoppays.)  
 1S.NOM    2S.ACC-about    very.well    think- PRES .1S. A.DCL  
 ‘I think about you very well.’

The main verb roots affix the verb agreement: pronominal markers, aspect/ tense and mood. The overtly observed order of the finite verb root /stem and its pronominal markers is: verb root/stem - subject agreement - aspect/tense - subject agreement- mood- subject agreement. The subject agreement is missing when the verb root suffixes the infinitive markers. Unlike Gofa, Haro makes use of two alternative patterns: subject agreement-verb root-aspect and tense-mood (of the non-complex verbs) and verb root-infinitive-focal-subject agreement-aspect and tense-mood (of the complex focal verb) (Hirut 2003: 141).

### 7.2.2. Tense

Tense is one of the verbal grammatical features that gives emphasis to the duration of the action instead of its completion. According to Booij (2007:134), ‘‘The tense of a verb locates the situation denoted by the relevant clause on a time axis with, in most

cases, the moment of speaking as the point of reference.’’ It expresses the action planned to happen sometime in the future, that takes place at the present and also the action that took place in the past. The future tense is treated first.

### 7.2.2.1. Future tense

The future tense is a verbal grammatical feature that lacks subject agreement marker. It is marked by the invariable morpheme *-(a)ana* in Gofa like Wolaitta (Lamberti and Sottile 1997:183 cited in Wakasa 2008: 780-6). The verb inflectional affix indicates that the event will take place sometime after the time of speaking or the time indicated by using the adverb of time. The subjects, agents, or experiencers are obligatory and they are lexically stated since the verb agreement inflectional morphemes affixed to the verb roots do not express person, number, and gender of the state of speaker or doer of the action. Consider the examples (182).

182.

a. tá            wónttó        jaágáno      b-aaná  
 1S.NOM tomorrow wedding go-FUT.A.DCL  
 ‘I will go to the wedding tomorrow.’

b. tá            wónttó        jaágánó      b-íkke  
 1S.NOM tomorrow wedding go-FUT/PRES.1S.NEG.DCL  
 ‘I will not go to the wedding tomorrow.’

c. nuúni        wonttó        soólló        ʔuúkk-íʃé    péʔ-ana  
 1PL.NOM tomorrow bread bake-PROG<sub>2</sub> stay-FUT.A.DCL  
 ‘We will be baking bread the whole day tomorrow.’

d. nuúni        wonttó        soólló        ʔuúkk-íʃé    péʔ-okko  
 1PL.NOM tomorrow bread bake-PROG<sub>2</sub> stay-FUT/PRES.2PL.NEG.DCL  
 ‘We will not be baking bread the whole day tomorrow.’

As the examples in (180) show, the morpheme *-(a)ana* represents the affirmative declarative mood in the future tense since the negative declarative mood markers vary from

person to person in the future tense in Gofa. The discourse is in the negative mood ( b, d) shows the person /number marking discontinuous morphemes in the first and second person whereas gender distinction is indicated in the third person singular as it is true in the present and in the past. This allows Gofa to behave like Wolaitta (Lamberti and Sottile 1997:157). In contrary to the affirmative mood, the negative mood paradigm inflections express the subject agreement such as -ikke(1S), -akka(2S), -ukku(3FS), -enna(3MS), -okko(1PL), -ekketa(2S.HON/2PL), -okkona(3F/MS.HON/3PL) .

### 7.2.2.2. Present tense

Unlike the future tense, the present tense verb agreement/pronominal suffixes vary according to the subject/ agent of the finite verbs. The verb agreement suffixes express such grammatical relations as person, gender, number in addition to tense and mood. These morphemes include -ais(1S), -aasa(2S), -ausu(3FS), -ees(3MS), -oos(1PL), -eeta(2S.HON/PL), and -oosons(3S.HON/3PL). The language optionally drops the subject/agent/experiencer of the finite verbs since the subject is expressed by the verb agreement morphemes suffixed onto the root/stem of the finite verbs. The examples (183) below verify this truth.

183.

- a. (nuúní)            haʔí        soólló    ʔuúkk-oos  
 (2PL.NOM)    now        bread    bake-PRES.2PL.A.DCL  
 ‘We bake bread now.’

- b. (ʔí)                ʔimatsa-á-s                túkké    pentt-iss-eés  
 3MS.NOM    guest-ACC.MS-DAT    coffee    boil-CAUS-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ‘He boils coffee for the male guests.’ [ Lit. He makes coffee boil for the guest.]

The gender difference is indicated in the third person singular in the present tense and the present tense is expressed by a zero morpheme. We can construct as many correct sentences as possible using the other subject-agreement affixes given above.

### 7.2.2.3. Past tense

The morphemes **-d-** and **-b-** mark the affirmative and the negative past tense respectively. The past tense signals or indicates the completion of the action that takes place sometime in the past (Booij 2007: 135, Payne 2006: 227). Consider the examples of inflectional affixes in Table 45.

Table 45: The position of past tense markers in a declarative mood

person	A(FFR)	NEG	person	A	NEG
1S	-(a)a(di)s(i)	-abekke	1PL	-(i)ida	-ibokko
2S	-(a)adasa	-abakka	2S.HON/PL	-(i)ideta	-ibekketa
3FS	-(a)a(du)su	-abukku	3S.HON/PL	-(i)idosona	-ibokkona
3MS	-(i)i(de)s(i)	-ibenna			
V - person - PAST- person - MOOD - person ← Pattern					

As the data in the indicative mood (that involve both affirmative and the negative paradigms) above show, the gender distinction is observed clearly only in the third person singular. The distinction of person is marked with all persons except that the second and third person honorific share the same inflectional affixes with their counterpart plurals. The affixes **-t-** and **-n-** seem the additional number markers with the second and the third person honorific and plural persons.

The affirmative is marked by **-Ø-** with the first person plural and second person honorific and plural and **-s-** with all the other persons whereas the negative mood is expressed by **-nn-** with the third person masculine singular and **-kk-** with all the other persons.

The speakers optionally drop the past marking morpheme and the vowels that follow (**-da-**, **-di-**) in the affirmative sentence with the first and the third person singular. Besides that, some speakers optionally lengthen the vowel segments before **-d-** and after **-b-** when these pronominal affixes are attached to the very common monoradical verb roots **b-** ‘to go’, **g-** ‘to say’, **m-** ‘to eat’, and **y-** [j-] ‘to come’. This is also true in Welaitta.

By and large, we also share the idea of Hirut (2003:140) that the agreement pronominal affixes are realized as “... the phonologically reduced independent pronouns”. We have show the function of the verb agreement inflectional affixes taking the verb root **pentt-** ‘to boil’ in example 184.

184.

a. meddaajía (<meddaaje-j-a) zíne tukké pentt-iss-aásu  
bride-EPEN.NOM.3FS.DEF yesterday coffee boil-CAUS-3FS.PAST.A.DCL  
'The bride boiled coffee yesterday.'

b. (ʔía) zíne tukké pentt-iss-aásu  
(3FS.NOM) yesterday coffee boil-CAUS-PAST. 3FS.A.DCL  
'She boiled coffee yesterday.'

The personal pronoun indicated in the bracket in the data (184) is optionally dropped since the pronominal inflectional affix fully represents the subject or the agent of the finite verb.

### 7.2.3. Aspect

Aspect expresses '... the internal temporal shape of events or states' (Payne 2006: 256). The aspect is indicated clearly in progressive and prospective constructions.

#### 7.2.3.1. Progressive

The progressive aspect is used to show that the action is ongoing in a given frame of time reference (Palmer 1987: 54, Bybee et al 1994:126). The ongoing action that took place in the past, the ongoing action in the present and continues to the future can be expressed in the progressive aspect in Gofa.

The progressive aspect makes use of two verbs at a time. This is also reported in Malo (Mahder 2003: 74). The first verb affixes either of the progressive aspect markers -aʃe (1S/2S/3FS) and -iʃe (1PL/2SHON/ 2PL/ 3SHON/ 3PL) and the second verb is a copular that affixes the subject-verb agreement affixes. This is to allow the progressive aspect to show the ongoing actions /events in the past, the present, or the future in

Table 46.

Table 46: Progressive marking affixes

Person	PROG <sub>1</sub>	V-	person	PROG <sub>2</sub>	V -
1S	-aʃe	-adis(i) -abekke -ais(i) -ikke -ana	1PL	-iʃe	-ida -ibokko -osi -okko -ana

Some examples of [-iʃe] and [-aʃe] are given in 185.

185.

- a. zíné taání soólló ʔuúkk-áʃé péʔ-adis  
 yesterday 1S.NOM bread bake-PROG<sub>1</sub> stay.whole day-PAST.1S.A.DCL  
 ‘I was baking bread the whole day yesterday.’

- b. haʔí taání soólló ʔuúkk-áʃé d-aís  
 now 1S.NOM bread bake-PROG<sub>1</sub> exist- PRES .1S.A.DCL  
 ‘I’m baking bread now.’

- c. nuúni wonttó jétsts’-íʃe ʔak’-aná (< nuuni wontto yexxishe aqana)  
 1PL.NOM tomorrow sing-PROG<sub>2</sub> pass .night-FUT.A.DCL  
 ‘We will be singing the whole night tomorrow.’

The progressive affixes -aʃe and -iʃe are used with the second person singular and honorific/plural subjects/agents respectively in Table 47.

Table 47: Progressive marking affixes.

person	PROG <sub>1</sub>	main verb affixes	person	PROG <sub>2</sub>	main verb affixes
2S	-aʃe	-adasa -abakka -aasa -akka -ana	2PL	-iʃe	-ideta -ibekketa -eta -ekketa -ana

Consider the progressive affixes in example (186).

186.

- a. zíné neení soólló ʔuúkk- áʃé péʔ-abaakka  
 yesterday 2S.NOM bread bake-PROG<sub>1</sub> stay-PAST.2S.NEG.DCL  
 ‘You were not baking bread the whole day yesterday.’

b. hín̄ttei                    haʔí    m-íʃé                    d-eékketa  
 2S.HON/PL.NOM    now    eat-PROG<sub>2</sub>    exist-PRES.2S.HON/2PL.NEG.DCL  
 ‘You are not eating now.’

The progressive affixes used with the third person singular and honorific/plural are shown in Table 48.

Table 48: Progressive marking affixes .

person	PROG <sub>2</sub>	agreement suffixes	person	PROG <sub>2</sub>	Agreement suffixes
3MS	-iʃe	-i(de)s(i) -ibenna -es(i) -enna -(a)ana	3S.HON/PL	-iʃe	-idosona -ibokkona -osona -okkona -(a)ana
3FS	-aʃe	-a(a)(du)su -abu(u)kku -ausu -(u)ukku -(a)ana			

The agreement pronominal affixes are used in the future tense in 187 .

187.

a. meddaajía                    wónttó                    túkké    pentt-iss-áʃé                    péʔ- ana  
 bride.NOM.3FS.DEF    tomorrow    coffee    boil-CAUS-3FS.PROG<sub>1</sub>    stay- FUT.A.DCL  
 ‘The bride will be boiling coffee for the whole day tomorrow.’  
 [Lit The bride will cause the coffee boil the whole day tomorrow. ]

b. ʔí                    háʔí    ʔimatsa-t-aá-ra                    kaʔ -íʃé                    d-eés  
 3S.NOM    now    guest-PL-ACC.DEF-INST/COM    play-PROG<sub>2</sub>    exist -PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ‘He is now playing with the guests.’

In general, we realized that the progressive aspect does not show the completion of the action reported in the main verb. Rather it is intended to show that the action stated will be /is on progress.

### 7.2.3.2. Prospective

The prospective aspect is used to give information about an event that ‘... is going to happen in the future on the basis of what information the speaker has now’ (Dik 1997:239). Both affirmative and negative predictions can be expressed in the language whereby the first verb is in the future tense with the prospective marking morpheme -u whereas the second verb suffixes the verb-agreement either in affirmative or negative paradigms onto the copular verb han- ‘to be ready to happen soon’. Exemplary sentences extracted from the marriage culture texts show the position of prospective aspect marker morphemes (188).

188.

- a. na7ay machcho ekkanau hanes

naʔa-í                      máʔʔfo ʔekk-ana-ú                      hán-és  
child-NOM.MS.DEF wife      marry.M-FUT-PROS      COP-3MS.A.DCL

‘The boy is ready to marry a wife.’

- b. ta na7iya azina gelanau hanausu

ta              náʔía (<naʔe-j-a)              ʔaziná              gel-ana-ú                      hán-aúsu  
1S.GEN child.NOM.3FS.DEF husband      marry.F-FUT-PROS      COP-3FS.A.DCL

‘My daughter is ready to marry a husband.’

### 7.2.4. Mood

Mood may involve the various verbal grammatical relations that may result in the verb paradigms. The verbal paradigms discussed in this section include declarative, interrogative, imperative, jussive, optative and hortative.

#### 7.2.4.1. Declarative

The declarative mood is used to assert the information about the specific event that took place in the past, that takes place in the time of speaking or sometime after the time of speaking. The affirmative declarative is marked by the morpheme -s- (with all persons singular or plural) and the negative declarative is marked by -nn-(3MS) and -kk- with all the other persons. Consider the sentential examples in 189.

189.

- a. naʔa-í                      náʔiú (<naʔe-j-o)                      dós-és  
child-NOM.3MS.DEF    child.F.ACC.3FS.DEF    love-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
'The boy loves the daughter.'
- b. miʔiría (<miʔire-j-a)    náʔiú (<naʔe-j-o)                      doós-úkku  
lady.NOM.3FS.DEF    child.ACC.3FS.DEF    love- FUT/PRES 3MS.NEG.DCL  
'The lady does not like/love the girl.'
- c. naʔa-í                      miʔiriú (<miʔire-j-o)    dós-énna (<naʔai miʔiriw dosenna)  
child-NOM.MS.DEF    lady.ACC.FS.DEF                      love- FUT/PRES .3MS.NEG.DCL  
'The boy does not like the lady.'

The examples in (189) show that the declarative sentences are statements that give assertion or denial about the information .

#### 7.2.4.2. Interrogative

Interrogative sentences are intended to ask questions for information. The interrogative sentences are constructed and addressed seeking for either 'yes' or 'no' reply. The yes/no questions are usually accompanied by the high / rising tonal accent at sentence boundary in the language under study. This is illustrated in the examples (190).

190.

- a. ʔoóní                      ʔoóna                      dos-íí (< ooni oona dosii ?)  
who.NOM.S    who.ACC.S                      like/love-PRES.3MS.INTER  
'Who loves whom?'
- b. naʔa-í                      náʔiú (naʔe-j-o)                      dós-énn-eé? (< naʔay naʔiw dosennee?)  
child-NOM.MS.DEF    child.ACC.FS.DEF    love-FUT/ PRES.3MS.NEG-3F/M.INTER  
'Doesn't the boy love the girl ?'
- c. meddaajía (<meddaaje-j-a)    soó-n                      déʔ-aí (< meddaayiya soon deʔay?)  
bride.NOM.FS                      home-LOC                      exist-PRES.3FS.INTER  
'Is the bride at home?'

d. meddaajía (<meddaaje-j-a) soó-n déʔ-ékk-eé (< meddaayiya soon de7ekkee?)  
 bride.NOM.FS.DEF home-LOC exist-FUT/PRES.3FS.NEG-3F/MS. INTER.  
 ‘Isn’t the bride at home?’

e. ha =iss- í né lágg-eé (< hayssi ne laggee ?)  
 DEM.PROX = CLIT.M-NOM.MS 2S.GEN friend-3MS.INTER  
 ‘Is this(M) your friend(M)?’

f. ha =nn-á né lágg-íí (< hanna ne laggii ?)  
 DEM.PROX = CLIT.F-NOM.FS 2S.GEN friend-3FS.INTER  
 ‘Is this(F) your friend(F)?’

In addition to the rising tonal melody, Gofa makes use of the interrogative particles of interrogative pronouns such as ʔoonee (who.F/MS), ʔoona (whom.F/MS), ʔoonanttee (who.F/M.PL), ʔoonantta (whom.F/M.PL), that may indicate distinction in person, number but not gender (cf. Interrogative pronouns ). Furthermore, the gender distinction is marked in the negative interrogative in (190 f) - ii (3FS.INTER) and (190 e) - ee (3MS.INTER) when suffixed to proper names and common nouns used as nominal complements (cf. Interrogative clauses and Morphological gender).

### 7.2.4.3. Imperative and prohibitive

The imperative mood expresses requests, commands, orders that the second person singular and plural subjects are to perform a certain activity (Payne 1997:303). Its construction is often marked by the morphemes -a (2S) and -ite (2S.HON/2PL). The morphemes assign the high tonal accent when suffixed onto the finite verb roots/stems. The same morphemes are suffixed onto the verbs to address invitation and give a piece of advice. The imperative paradigm is addressed in present tense unlike the declarative and interrogative mood. Consider the sentential examples given in 191.

191.

- a. imathaw , qumaa ma !  
 ʔimats-aú , k’úma-á m-á  
 guest-VOC.2S, food-ACC.M.DEF eat- 2S. IMP  
 ‘You guest, help yourself !’ [Lit You guest, eat the food!]

b. wodarotoo, haathe ehite !

wodarót-oó, haátsé ʔéh-ité!  
girls-VOC.2PL , water bring-2PL .IMP  
'You girls, bring/fetch water!'

c. teera loomiya ne siiqes yedda!

teérá loomia(<loome-j-a) ne sík'e-s jedd-á  
ripe lemon.NOM.MS.DEF 2S.GEN lover-DAT send- 2S. IMP  
'Send ripe lemon for your lover!'

The prohibitive mood is a denial /refusal of permission that makes use of two morphemes (negative and verb agreement of second person singular honorific or plural ) as in -opp-a (-NEG-2S.IMP) and -opp-ite (-NEG-2S.HON/2PL.IMP) at a time to mark the mood. The language assigns the high tonal accents on both as in (192).

192.

ta maaʔuwa wooroora bayzoppa hayyana  
ta maáʔúa (< maáʔo-w-a) woóroó-rá baízz-ópp-á hájjána  
1S.GEN cloth.ACC.MS.DEF liquid.dung-INST/COM sell-PROH-2S.IMP please  
'Please, do not spoil my cloth with the liquid dung (when the liquid dung is splashed onto the friends of the groom)!' (extracted from the marriage culture).

We realized that the negative marker morpheme is attached to the root of the verb and the imperative marker is suffixed to the negative marker in the prohibitive sentence.

#### 7.2.4.4. Jussive

The jussive construction is used to express either permission, advice or mild command with the third person addressee. The jussive mood markers -ú (3FS), -ó(3MS), -óna (3S.HON/PL) are suffixed onto the verb roots as in the examples extracted from the marriage culture texts in 193.

193.

a. ʔazinaá ʔaawaa-nné ʔaájiú bóɲfɲf-ú  
husband.GEN.M father.ACC-CNJ mother.ACC.FS.DEF respect-JUSS.3FS.  
'Let her respect the father and the mother of her husband/spouse.'

b. máʃʃeé      ʔaawaa-nné      ʔaájiú (< ʔaajie-j-o)      bóʃʃ-ó  
 wife.GEN.F    father-CNJ      mother.ACC.FS.DEF    respect-JUSS.3MS  
 ‘Let him/the groom respect the father and the mother of his wife/spouse.’

c. doona pogo immona  
 dooná pogo    ʔimm-óna  
 mouth    open    give-JUSS.3S.HON/3PL  
 ‘Let them bring dowry.’

A jussive construction is also used to bless or curse someone as in the examples extracted from the funerary and marriage tradition of Gofa as in 194.

194.

a. ʔattúma    naʔa    máʃʃ’á    naʔa    jel-ité (< ʔattúma naʔá máʃʃ’a naʔá jelité!)  
 male    child    female    child    give.birth-3S.HON/3PL  
 ‘May you be blessed by male and female children.’

b. ts’oossí      ʔáʃʃ-ó (< ts’oossí ʔáʃʃ-ó )  
 God.NOM    bless-JUSS.3MS  
 ‘May God bless you!’

c. sáro      ʔak’-ité  
 peace    pass.the.night-JUSS.2S.HON/PL  
 ‘Good night!’

#### 7.2.4.5. Hortative

The hortative mood is used to express that the speaker invites the second person to accompany her/him in accomplishing an action designed / planned either by the addressee or together with the people invited to accompany (195).

195.

a. ʔáne      síʔí      g-oós  
 let      be.silent    say-HORT.1PL.  
 ‘Let’s keep silent!’ [Lit Let’s be silent!]

b. ʔáne ts'oossaá            woóss-oós  
 let God.ACC.DEF    beg-HORT.1PL  
 'Let's pray!' [ Lit 'Let's beg God! ]

In general, the examples we observed so far show that the agreement pronominal affixes in the progressive paradigm in affirmative varies from that of the negative indicative mood.

When we make a thorough look at the data in Table 46, Table 47, Table 48, we learn that the progressive markers -aʃe (with the first and second person singular and the third person feminine singular) and -iʃe (with the other persons) are affixed to the first verb roots in the verb phrase. The morphemes -d- and -b- mark the affirmative and the negative past tense respectively and they are the members of the inflectional affixes attached to the verb roots/stems next to the person marker morpheme in the verb phrase of Gofa.

We realized that the present tense is morphologically unmarked. The fusional or the invariant morpheme -ana marks both the future tense and the affirmative declarative mood but never the person, number and gender. In case of the negative declarative mood, the future involves the agreement markers as in the present and past. However, one can not differentiate the negative declarative mood of the present from the future tense. In connection to this, one needs to stick to the context in the discourse in order to be sure whether it is used as a present or future. This issue needs further study.

Based on the pattern shown above, the agreement pronominal affixes are the discontinuous morphemes. In that case the grammar of Gofa affixes both the aspect/tense and indicative mood suffixes in the appropriate slots according to the paradigms. The structure of phrases and clauses are treated under syntax in this study.

### **7.3. Derivation of verbs**

The language derives a few new verb stems from some verb roots and the roots of other word classes like nouns and adjectives. The final consonants of the derived verb stems are either singleton, geminate or cluster of consonants like that of the verb roots. The

process of deriving new verbal stems include causativization, frequentative formation, passivization, reciprocity and the middle voice verb formation.

### 7.3.1. Causativization

Causativization is a process of word formation by which we suffix -iss- to the verb root/stem to derive new causative verb stems in Gofa with the meaning of ‘cause someone to do something’. We can also say that, it is a ‘‘Construction in which the subject causes an event. The causative may be formed by means of ‘... an auxiliary or an inflectional morpheme that attaches to a verb...’’(Aronoff and Fudeman 2011:210). The causative morphemes vary depending on the root verbs for we have regular and irregular verbs. The regular verbs bear the morpheme -iss- whereas its allomorphs or variants are -ss-, -ʃʃ-, -izz-, -uz-, -(en)tt-. In addition to that, some verb stems could be degeminated. Consider the illustration of the regular verbs in 196.

196.

V-stem	Gloss	V- CAUS	Gloss
a. jétsts’-	‘to sing’	jéts’-iss-	‘Cause someone to sing’
b. sikk-	‘to sew’	sik-iss-	‘Cause someone to sew’
c. maadd-	‘to help’	maad-iss	‘Cause someone to help another person’

We observe that some of the verb roots undergo degemination as a result of the process of causativization. We can also observe how the irregular verbs behave when we suffix the causative marker -iss- to some verb roots in 197.

197.

V-stem	Gloss	V-CAUS	derived stem	Gloss
ʔekk’-	to stand up	ʔek’-ss-	ʔess-	‘Cause someone to stand up’
ʔúj-	to drink	ʔúj-ss-	ʔuʃʃ-	‘Cause someone to drink’
kum-	to fill	kum-ts	kunts-	‘Cause someone to fill in’
dendd-	to be awake	dendd-ts	dents-	‘Cause someone to be awake’
m-	to eat	m-iz	muz-	‘Cause someone to eat’
beʔ-	to look	beʔ-ss-	bess-	‘Cause someone to see’

We realized that we obtain alternative realizations of the causative morpheme *-iss-* as *-ss-*, *-ts-*, *-iz-* / *-uz-* as a result of the deletion (of a geminate consonant segment at a stem final) , palatalization (of stem final consonant segment) and voicing the voiceless segment of derivational morpheme due the voice assimilation caused by a voiced consonant at the verb root final. These are some of the phonological and morphological processes observed in the causativization of some verb stems (cf. Morphophonemic processes). We also understood that unlike Malo and Oyda, Gofa makes use of different allophones of the causative morpheme *-iss* (Abrham 2003:43-46, Mahder 2003: 94-95). Consider the examples of Oyda and Malo (neighboring languages to Gofa) in 198.

198.

V-stem	gloss	V-CAUS	Gloss	Contact language
muʔ-	to eat	muʔ-iz	‘Cause to eat’	Oyda
ʔekk-	to take	ʔek-iz-	‘Cause to take’	Oyda
ʔekk-	to gain	ʔek-is-	‘Cause to gain’	Malo
tookk-	to carry	took-is-	‘Cause to carry’	Malo

As the data in (195) show, Gofa seems to have other variants in addition to the causative *-is-* in Malo and *-iz-* in Oyda that are observed more productive than the *-iss-* in Gofa. Since Gofa and Malo drop one of the geminate consonants at verb root/stem final, they share similar morphological rule than Oyda. Consider the sentences in 199.

199.

- (a). meddaajiú (<meddaaje-j-o)      dénst-á ( < dendd-iss-á )  
 bride.ACC.FS.DEF                      wake.up-CAUS-2S. IMP  
 ‘Make/Help the bride to wake up!’
- (b). meddaajiú (<meddaaje-j-o)      ʔut-iss-á  
 groom.ACC.MS.DEF                      sit-CAUS-2S. IMP  
 ‘Help the bride to sit down/to take a seat.’

We can realize that causativization sometimes changes the valence of the verbs since the language allows a predicate to obtain one more argument as a result of the newly derived verb stems. In addition to that, such a process of derivation can also be taken as transitivization (Aikhenvald 2007:41-42) since we observe the language changes the

intransitive verbs to transitive as in (199). In addition to that , the causative *-iss-* is changed to its allomorph *-ts-* by replacing the alveolar *-dd-* in (196a) due to place assimilation and consonant final substitution. This is also discussed in chapter three (cf. Morphophonemic processes ).

### 7.3.2. Frequentative verb stems.

The frequentative verb stem may also be named as frequentative, intensive or iterative verb stem. The frequentative verb stems express the actions/events that take place several times/ repeatedly/ now and then or here and there. Such a process of new verb stem formation suffixes the morphemes *-ereth-* [*-erets-*] and a complete reduplication (Aikhenvald 2007: 43) of frequency adverb before the roots/stems of verbs is “ ... a kind of affixation (or compounding, in a case of full reduplication), ...” (Booij (2007 :36 ). The process degeminates the roots of some verbs and it seems productive for we can derive as many new verbs as possible in the language as in examples in 200.

200.

V-stem	Gloss	V-FREQ	Gloss
<i>pítt-</i>	‘to clean’	<i>pít-erets-</i>	‘to clean now and then’
<i>mentsts-</i>	‘to break/smash’	<i>ments-erets-</i>	‘to break into pieces’
<i>k’antsts-</i>	‘to cut’	<i>k’ants’-erets-</i>	‘to cut into pieces’
<i>wotsts’-</i>	‘to run’	<i>wots’-erets-</i>	‘to run here and there’
<i>pentt-</i>	‘to boil’	<i>zaaretsa zaaretsa pents-iss-</i>	‘to boil again and again’

As the data above show, we can derive new verb stems of frequentative/ intensive/ iterative to mean that ‘an action takes place here and there’, or ‘an object is put into pieces at the end’. Moreover, the verbs remain intransitive in the above examples. In addition to that, verbs like *pents-* ‘to boil’ show a different pattern : reduplication of a frequency adverb + verb root/stem- + - derivational suffix. Consider the example in 201.

201.

a. *tukke imathas zaretha zaretha pentsissa.*

<i>tukké</i>	<i>ʔimatsa-t-á-s</i>	<i>zaarétsá</i>	<i>zaaretsa</i>	<i>pents-iss-á</i>
coffee	guest-PL-ACC.DEF-DAT	again	again	boil-CAUS -2S. IMP
‘Boil coffee for the guests again and again.’				

b. oduwa nuus zaara zaara oda

ʔódúa (< ʔódo-j-a) nuú-s zaára zaara ʔod-á  
 news.ACC.MS.DEF 2PL-DAT again again tell -2S. IMP  
 ‘Tell us the news again and again.’

c. keetsaa maalládo maalládo pítissá

keetsa-á maalládó maallado pít-íss-á  
 house-ACC.MS.DEF morning morning clean-CAUS-2S. IMP  
 ‘Cause someone to clean the house every morning!’

We observed that the language under study uses the process of reduplication of the frequency adverb *zaara(tsa) zaara(tsa)* ‘again and again’ or time adverb *maallado maallado* ‘every morning’ before the selected verb roots/stems to show the frequency of the events or the actions as it is attested in Malo (Mahder 2003:97). Unlike Gofa, Malo and Oyda, Basketo reduplicates the root of some verbs (Azeb1994). Consider the examples taken from the three languages ( Abraham 2003: 50) in 202 .

202.

V-stem	Gloss	derived V-stem	Gloss	language
k’as’-	‘to cut’	k’as’ik’as’i-	‘to cut into pieces’	Basketo
meys-	‘to break’	meysimeys-	‘to break into pieces’	Basketo
meys-	‘to cut’	meys-its-	‘to cut into pieces’	Oyda
gac-	‘to cut’	gac-its-	‘to cut into pieces’	Malo
k’antsts’-	‘to cut’	k’ants’-erets-	‘to cut into pieces’	Gofa
mentsts-	‘to break’	ments -erets-	‘to break into pieces’	Gofa

The data above show that Basketo seems slightly different from the other three since it reduplicates the root verb to derive the intensive-iterative verb stems whereas as the other two languages behave like Gofa for they suffix the derivational affixes to the verb roots.

### 7.3.3. Passivization of verb stems.

Passivization is one of the processes of deriving new passive verbal stems by suffixing the derivational morpheme *-étt-* to a few verb roots in the language. The verbs in the ac-

tive voice are changed to passive emphasizing on the completion of the action and dropping the agent when a clause lacks an agent, or the identity of the agent is not disclosed as a form of politeness in the day to day discourse. According to Booij (2007: 194), a passive construction is a construction by which ‘...the A(gent) of the predicate is demoted to the status of an adjunct...’ Passive constructions give more importance for the action/event accomplished rather than to the agent of the action/event. Consider the examples in 203.

203.

Vroot-	Gloss	PASS	Vstem-	Gloss
ʔuúkk-	‘to bake’	étt-	ʔuúkétt-	‘to be baked’
pítt-	‘to clean’	étt-	pítétt-	‘to be cleaned’
baizz-	‘to sell’	étt-	baizétt-	‘to be sold’

The passivization is more productive with transitive verbs. In Gofa, a passive clause is different from an active construction in that “...the patient bears the subject relations and the agent appears in an oblique role...” but the agent could be dropped when the speaker finds the event/action is more important than the agent of the action in the adversative passive (Payne 2006: 237, 253). In other words, “... a grammatical subject of the verb is subjected to or affected by the action of the verb...” (Aronoff and Fudeman 2011: 210). Consider the illustration in 204.

204.

soóllo-í		zíné	ʔuúk-étt-i(de)s (>ʔuúh-étt-is )
loaf.of. bread -NOM.MS.DEF	yesterday	bake-PASS-PAST.3MS.A.DCL	
‘The loaf of bread was baked yesterday.’			

As can be seen above, the patient is the grammatical subject and the agent is dropped in the passive construction since the grammar of the language gives less emphasis to an implicit argument (is the grammatical term used to refer to an agent that is not expressed overtly in the passive construction). We can consider passivization as a valency decreasing mechanism since the agent is demoted. Thus, we understand that the language does not give emphasis to an agent in a by phrase. One important point worth mentioning is that we observe the verb root/ stem final segment subtraction. We did not discuss the

issue in this study for we did not identify the real grammatical reason. Thus, we suggest the issue for further study.

### 7.3.4. Reciprocal verb stems.

Gofa derives the reciprocity in two different ways. First, the language suffixes the derivational morpheme *-étt-* to the active verb stems. Second, it can also form a new compound verb stem when the lexicon *woli* ‘each other’ or ‘one another’ (a reciprocal pronoun) is used before the head verb like in Malo (Mahder 2003:98). The valency of the verb changes as the number of argument changes. Consider the very common examples of reciprocal verb stems in 205.

205.

Vroot-	Gloss	Vstem-	Gloss
ʔer-	‘to introduce’	ʔerétt-	‘to introduce to one another/ each other’
zor-	‘to discuss’	zorétt-	‘to discuss with one another/ each other’
súg-	‘to push’	súgétt-	‘to push one another/ each other’
dos-	‘to love’	(wóli)dosétt-	‘to love one another/ each other’
jer -	‘to kiss’	(wóli)jerétt-	‘to kiss one another/ each other’

The last two examples represent the optional reciprocal compound verb stems. These examples show that the language optionally uses double reciprocal morphemes: the lexicon *woli* before the head verb and the reciprocal morpheme *-étt-* that is suffixed onto the root/stem of the head verb at a time.

In the example (a) , the valency of the Vroot-/stem - reciprocal is two whereas it is one and three in (b) and (c) respectively in 206.

206.

a. meddaawaí-nné	meddaajía	jér-étt-idosona
groom.NOM.MS.DEF-COOR	bride.NOM.FS.DEF	Kiss-REC/PASS- PAST.3PL. A. DCL
‘The groom and the bride kissed each other.’		

b. meddaajía                      jér-étt-adusu  
 bride.NOM.FS.DEF    kiss-REC/PASS -PAST.3FS. A. DCL  
 ‘The bride was kissed.’

c. ?ía meddaawaáanné meddaajiú jeréttissásu  
 ?ía            meddaawa-á-nné                      meddaajiú  
 3FS.NOM   groom-ACC.MS.DEF-CNJ        bride.ACC.FS.DEF  
  
 jér-étt-íss-ásu  
 kiss-REC/PASS-CAUS- PAST.3FS.A.DCL  
 ‘She caused the groom and the bride to kiss each other.’

As can be seen above, both of the arguments are agents of the verb in (a) and we obtain the patient subject in (b) since the verb is in the reciprocal passive. The reciprocal passive in (b) shows that the passive overlaps with the reciprocal since the language expresses them by using a portmanteau morpheme -ett-. In example (c), we obtain the reciprocal causative verb stem. As a result of this, the agent is the subject and caused the two objects/ patients (the groom and the bride) kiss each other .

### 7.3.5. The middle voice verb formation

The middle voice verbs obtain the reflexive meaning when the middle verb derivational morpheme -ett- is suffixed to active/pssive verbs in Gofa. The middle voice verb formation is not productive in Gofa as it is true in some Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages like Shakkinoono, Kafinoonoo and Oromo (Tolemariam 2009: 146-148,163). The derived middle voice verbs are good examples of verbs used to express body grooming and spontaneous middle ( reflects the existential or physio-chemical changes that we observe on animate entities). Consider the examples in 207 .

207.

a. meddaayiya bollaa mecettasu  
 meddaajía                      bólla-á                      méjʃ’-étt-asu (<mejʃ’-étt-aasu)  
 bride.NOM.FS.DEF    body-ACC.MS.DEF    wash-MID/REC/PASS-PRES.3FS.A.DCL  
 ‘The bride takes a bath herself.’ / [ Lit ‘The bride washes her body herself.’

b. ʔimatsa-í                      nafis-étt-is (< imathay nafisettis )  
guest.-NOM.MS.DEF    hungry-MID/REC/PASS-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
‘The male guest was hungry.’

c. laazántsa- í                      sáh-étt-is (< laazaantsay sahettes)  
marriage.broker-NOM.MS.DEF    sick-MID/REC/PASS-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
‘The male marriage broker was sick.’ [Lit ‘The male marriage broker got sick.’ ]

d. naʔa-í                      saám-étt-is (< naʔay saamettis)  
child/kid- NOM.MS.DEF    thirsty-MID/REC/PASS-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
‘The boy was thirsty.’

As can be seen above, the middle passive verbs are used to express the spontaneous existential happenings in Gofa. This seems an example of a valency decrease since the patient is given emphasis while the agent is intentionally dropped in the discourse.

## **8. Nominal and verbal modifiers**

The adjectives and adverbs are used to modify nominals and verbs respectively in Gofa. The chapter treats adjectives that are used as nominal modifiers first.

### **8.1. Adjectives**

Adjectives in Gofa could either be basic or derived. Either of them may behave like nominals and verbs to some extent as it is true in some languages (Payne 2006:63). But we argue that adjectives of Gofa differ from the other two in that the adjectives alone fulfill in constructing comparison between or among entities. In addition, adjectives are different from nouns in that nouns are never modified by the intensifiers *daró* ‘many/much’ and *keehi* ‘very’ in Gofa. These issues are also observed in Wolaitta (Adams 1983:266-267 cited in Wakasa 2008:219). Examples are given in (214 c, d) under section 8.1.3.1 Attributive adjectives. This allows adjectives to be considered among the class of words in Gofa. Having said this, the section treats citation forms of the basic adjectives and discuss on the derived adjectives. We will also show attributive and predicative functions of adjectives in relation to the syntactic position they occur in phrases and finally the degree of adjectives. We will treat the basic adjectives first.

#### **8.1.1. Citation forms of basic adjectives**

By basic adjectives we mean the simple adjectives in their citation form. Like nominals, the basic adjectives are grouped under four classes based on the terminal vowels attached to the basic adjective roots in the language under study. This works for both qualitative and quantitative adjectives.

Gofa has both monosyllabic and disyllabic adjectival roots. Polysyllabic adjective root are very rare in our data. The structure and tonal melodies of the adjectival roots are shown in 208.

208.

root	TV	gloss	tonal melody	syllable structure
heedzdz-	-á	ten	LL.H	CVVC.CV
ʔuddúfun-	-a	nine	L.H.L.L	CV.CV.CV.CV
bits’-	-é	equal	L.H	CV.CV
ʔadilʔʔ-	-é	yellow	L.L.H	CV.CVCC.CV
pánts-	-i	youth	H.L	CV.CV
guúts-	-i	small	LH.L	CVV.CV
ʔálʔʔ-	-o	expensive	H.L	CVCC.CV
hiraís-	-o	cheap	L.LH.L	CV.CVV.CV

As the above data show, assigning the high tonal accent is unpredictable. Some of the adjectives assign their high tonal accents on their roots where as the others assign on their terminal vowels. The roots of the adjectives above show that the adjectives are in bound forms and the roots attach the terminal vowels to stand in free forms. Only the free forms occur in sentences.

### 8.1.2. Semantic types of basic adjectives

The section treats some of the attributes of qualitative adjectives that we observed in our data. Some of the attributes attested include adjectives expressing the physical property, dimension, color, age, and value of entities that express “... the main semantic content of the VP” (Payne 2006: 117).

i. Adjectives expressing physical property may include the following (209).

209.

physical property	TV	gloss
ʔórdd-	-e	fat
kawuʃʃ-	-é	light
maláŋtʃtʃ-	-o	beautiful, handsome

leéʔ-	-o	thin
deetstsʔ-	-ó	heavy

ii. Adjectives expressing dimension of an item may include the following (210).

210.

dimension	TV	gloss
suulaám	-a	tall
git-/wogg-	-á	big/large
guúts	-i	small
kʔánts	-i	short
zair	-ó	short

iii. Adjectives expressing the color of an entity (211).

211.

color	TV	gloss
ʔadilʔʔ-	-é	yellow
boóts-i	-i	white
kareéts-	-i	black
zoʔ-	-ó	red
wolol-	-ó	green

iv. Adjectives expressing the age of entities (212).

212.

age	TV	gloss
joóg	-a	childish
bitsʔ	-é	equal
pánts	-i	adolescent
kaal	-ó	younger

v. Adjectives expressing the value of items (213).

213.

value	TV	gloss
ʔiít-	-a	bad
lóʔ-	-o	good

lóʔó naʔaa < lóʔo naʔá ‘a good child’

Though the size of adjectives expressing physical property, dimension, color, age, and value all seem almost similar in the language under study but the size of the first two reported more than the rest in some languages (Dixon 1982:46).

### 8.1.3. Attributive and predicative uses of adjectives

#### 8.1.3.1. Attributive adjectives

The attributive adjectives occur in a prenominal position in a noun phrase. The attributive adjectives modify the nouns they precede. When we use a multiple of attributive adjectives, we observe that the language partially follows the cross-linguistic pattern /order physical property > dimension > age > color > though not strict enough ( Svenonius 2008 :34-35). When two and more semantic type of adjectives occur one after the other, one of them comes next to the head noun as in 214.

214.

a. ʔimatsa-í                      námʔʔú wáɲʔʔʔ'a tsemaáté maatsi    ʔúj-is  
 guest-NOM.3MS.DEF two.GEN cup.GEN fresh.GEN milk.ACC drink-3MS.PAST.A.DCL  
 ‘The guest drank two cups of fresh milk.’

b. ʔissí      suúlaáma wotará      boótsá      para      beʔ-ádií  
 one.GEN tall.GEN young.GEN white.GEN horse.ACC see-2S.INTER  
 ‘Did you see a tall, young white horse?’

c. meddaawa-á      para- í                      suúlaáma  
 groom-GEN.M horse- NOM.M.DEF tall  
 ‘The groom’s horse is tall.’

- d. meddaawa-á      para- í                      keéhí    suúlaáma  
groom-GEN.M    horse- NOM.M.DEF    very    tall  
‘The groom’s horse is very tall.’
- e. meddaawa-á      para- í                      dáró                      suúlaáma  
groom-GEN.M    horse- NOM.M.DEF    more/extremely tall  
‘The groom’s horse is extremely tall.’
- f. meddaawa-á                      (keehí ) / ( dáró)                      ?aákime  
groom- NOM.M.DEF    very    /    ( more/extremely) physician  
‘The groom is (very) / (extremely) physician.’ ( not correct)

We obtain correct sentences in 214 c, d, e , but the example in 214 f is not accepted. This shows that the intensifiers (keehí ‘very’ and dáró ‘extremely’) modify adjectives but not the head noun phrases in Gofa. Based on this fact, we can generalize that adjectives are different from nouns and consider them as independent word class like nouns. This issue is also observed in Wolaitta and given emphasis in the discussion of Adams (1983: 266-267). In fact, we observe nouns that modify their head nouns (cf. 8.1.3.2 ) in examples (216) like attributive adjectives (cf. examples 215 a, b ). One can also see (5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.2) for further discussion. Adjectives may inflect (cf. 8.1.4 ) for case, number, and gender when they behave like nouns in some contexts where the head nouns are intentionally omitted. These two facts are used only to show that these two word classes share in common in certain contexts in Gofa.

We believe that the data (214 a, b) comply with the cross-linguistic order of attributive adjectives. In addition to that, (215 b) verifies that Gofa also has its own order of attributive adjectives that allows some attributive adjectives to occur closer to the noun than the other attributive ones in the endocentric phrases like the examples in 215.

215.

- a. nám??ú      waɲtʃʃ’a  
two.GEN    cup.GEN  
‘two cups’

b. námʔʔú wɑɲʃʃ'a tsemaáaté maatse  
 two.GEN cup.GEN fresh.GEN milk  
 'two cups of fresh milk'

We realize that *namʔʔu wancca* [námʔʔú wɑɲʃʃ'a] 'two cups' is far away from *thamate maathe* [tsemaáaté maatsi] 'fresh milk' because *thamate* [tsamaáate] 'fresh' modifies *maatse* [maátse] 'milk' coming closer than the noun phrase *namʔʔu wancca* [námʔʔú wɑɲʃʃ'a] 'two cups'.

Since Gofa is one of languages that has morphologically '... rich case marking on arguments or polysynthetic marking on predicates exhibit a relatively free order of constituents ...' or not so '...rigid ...'(Bouchard 2002: 382-384). In other words, English permits multiple of attributive adjectives and allows the following order: ordinal > cardinal > size > length > height > age > shape > color > nationality / origin > material. Such order of adjectives is also common to some prenominal attributive languages ( Svenonius 2008 : 34-35). In this regard , we argue that Gofa behaves like some prenominal attributive languages on one hand for it allows size to come before color when they occur before the head noun.

On the other hand, the order of adjectives seems free since Gofa allows one of the attributive adjectives to occur after the head noun. Thus, we suggest this issue needs further investigation.

### 8.1.3.2. Predicative adjectives

According to Dixon (2004: 9-10), the class of adjectives is smaller than the class of nouns. Among the class of adjectives, some are used as the predicative adjectives that may function either as an '...intransitive predicate...' or a '...copula complement ...' On the other hand, when some of them are used as the prenominal adjectives, they modify the head nouns. In addition, these adjectives can be used as subjects or the objects of finite verbs and behave like NPs. In such a time, the adjectives are inflected like nouns to show number, case and gender.

The predicative adjectives occur at the syntactic position of the verb phrases in the verbless clause in Gofa. In such a syntactic position, the predicative adjectives do the functions of either the main verb or the copula where the copula is marked by the zero morpheme. We observe that the predicative adjectives function like the intransitive verbs. They suffix inflections that mark some grammatical relations: subject-agreement, aspect /tense and mood (cf. Aspect/tense and mood) (Dixon 2004: 11). Consider the examples (216).

216.

a. meddaajeé    ʔaajia (< ʔaaje-j-a)            dúre    (< meddaayee aayia dure )  
 bride.GEN    mother.NOM.3FS.DEF    rich.be/COP  
 ‘The mother of the bride is rich.’

b. meddaajeé    ʔaajia (< ʔaaje-j-a)            dúrét-aásu (< meddaayee aayia keehi duretaasu).  
 bride.GEN    mother.NOM.3FS.DEF    rich.be.DEADJ-PAST.3FS.A.DCL  
 ‘The mother of the bride became rich.’

As the data above show, the terminal vowel of the predicative adjective is not dropped probably to show the presence of the zero copula in (216 a). But in (216 b) we observe that the verbal adjective affixes both the derivational morpheme **-t-** followed by the verb inflectional affix which allows the adjective to function like an intransitive/ inchoative verb. As a result of this, we observe that the inflectional affix marks agreement pronominals interacting with the tense and mood (cf. tense and mood) (Dixon 2004:11).

### 8.1.3.3. Degree of adjectives

We can show simple, comparative and superlative forms of comparison either by using inflectional affixes or by using periphrastically (the use of separate adjective words without inflection) or both periphrastically and inflectionally together (Dixon 2004). We will treat the simple degree adjectives first.

#### Simple degree adjectives

We can make use of either the qualitative, quantitative or both to show equality by suffixing the morpheme or the marker of comparison (M) **-dan** ‘like/as’ onto the root of the standard of comparison (St), the object of the verb, and followed by a predicative adject-

tive in a simple degree formation. In such a construction, the predicative adjective is accompanied by the copula like that of a predicative noun (Matthew 1996: 98 ). Consider the examples (217).

217.

a. meddaawa-í                      suúlaáma  
groom-NOM.MS.DEF    be.tall  
'The groom is tall.'

b. meddaajía (< meddaaje-j-a)    meddaawa-á-dán              suúlaáma  
bride.NOM.3FS.DEF              groom-GEN.MS.DEF-like    be.tall  
'The bride is as tall as the groom.' [Lit. The bride is tall like the groom.]

### Comparative degree of the predicative adjectives

The comparative construction is used to express inequality either in quality or quantity by comparing two entities. The language suffixes the morpheme -ppe 'from' onto the object of the predicative adjective, standard of comparison, used as a means of measurement in the comparative sentence constructions. This is followed by the predicative adjective or a compound predicative adjective that involves a bare adjective and dar- 'more than' with its conjugation in (218 a). The compound predicative adjective with dar- 'more than' behaves as a compound verb in the language in 218.

218.

a. meddaaway meddaajeeppe suulaama dares 'The groom is taller than the bride.'  
meddaawa-í              meddaajeé-ppé              suúlaáma    dar-és  
groom-NOM.MS.DEF    bride.GEN.FS.DEF-from    be.tall      more than-PRES.MS. A.DCL

b. meddaaway meddaayeeppe suulaames 'The groom is taller than the bride.'  
meddaawa-í              meddaajeé-ppé              suúlaám-és  
groom-NOM.3FS.DEF    bride.GEN.3FS.DEF -from    tall    - PRES. 3MS. A. DCL  
S(ubject)                      St(andard)                      ADJ - M(arker)

In the example (218), the M (the marker of comparison) is affixed onto dar-'more than' in (a) whereas it is affixed onto the predicative adjective in (b).

## Superlative degree of the predicative adjectives

The superlative construction is used to express inequality either in quality or quantity where by the subject precedes and compared with the standard of comparison (**St**). This is followed by the marker of comparison (**M**) and the predicative adjective in the SOV languages like Gofa. The examples (219) attest this truth.

219.1

meddaawa-í	pá	ʔiʃa- t-á	ʔúbbaa-ppé	suúlaám-és
groom-NOM.3MS.DEF	3S.GEN	brother-PL-ACC	all.GEN-from	tall-PRES.3MS.A.DCL
S			St	ADJ- M

‘The groom is the tallest of all his brothers.’

In the case of 219.1, the affix -ppe ‘from’ is a marker morpheme attached onto the standard of comparison(St) ʔubb- ‘all of’. Here, the marker morpheme is used to express that the S(ubject)/(the groom) is compared with the standard (all his brothers). In such a way we can obtain as many superlative constructions as possible in Gofa. This is also true in Welaitta (Wakasa 2008: 221).

### 8.1.4. Basic adjectives that behave like noun phrases

The adjectives may inflect for case, number, and also for gender like a head noun when the head noun phrase is intentionally dropped as in 219.2.

219.2

a. ʔentta	ʔiʃa- i	suúlaáma-i	meddaawaa
3S.HON/3PLGEN	brother- NOM.3MS.DEF	tall- NOM.3FS.DEF	groom.ACC

‘The groom is the tallest of all his brothers.’

b. ʔentta	suúlaámá	ʔiʃa- i	meddaawaá
3S.HON/3PLGEN	tall. GEN	brother- NOM.3MS.DEF	be.groom

‘Her/his/their tall brother is the groom.’

c. suulaáma-i	, ʔentta	ʔiʃa- í	, meddaawaá
tall- NOM.3MS.DEF	, 3S.HON/3PLGEN	brother- NOM.3MS.DEF	, be.groom

‘Her/his/their brother , the tall (one), is the groom.’

d. suulaámati                      haʔʔí    gupp- í ʃe            deʔ-oósosna  
 groom.PL. NOM..DEF    now    jump-PROG<sub>2</sub>    COP/exist-PRES.3PL.A.DCL  
 ‘The tall (ones) are dancing now.’

e. suulaámata            haʔʔí            guf-is-íté            ( < guppissite )  
 tall .PL.ACC    now            jump-CAUS- 2S.HON/2PL .IMP  
 ‘Please, allow the tall (people/ones) to dance now !’

f. suulaámatu-s            haʔʔí            k’uma    ʔimm-ite  
 tall .PL-DAT    now            food    give- 2S.HON/2PL .IMP  
 ‘Please, give food to the tall (people/ ones) now !’

The adjective suullama [suulaáma] ‘tall’ is used as an attributive adjective in 219.2 a whereas we observe that the adjective is used as an agent, a direct object and an indirect object in 219.2 b, c, d, e, f.

## 8.2. Adverbs

Among the different types of adverbs, only adverbs that describe time, place, and direction of the completion of the actions / events are treated in this section.

### 8.2.1. Temporal adverbs

The temporal / time adverbs are used to express the temporal spatial relations of the completion of an action or state verbs. Gofa makes use of a few time expressing lexicons as in the illustration (220) .

220.

Data	TV	Gloss	Data	TV	Gloss
wogg	-á	Sunday	k’eer	-á	Saturday
zín	-e	yesterday	kas	-é	before
háʃʃ	-i	today	haʔ < ha7i	-í	now
wontt	-ó	tomorrow	maallád	-o	morning

The names of days and months of the year are also included under temporal adverbs.

Gofa reduplicates names of the days and months to show the frequency of the action. Consider the illustration (221).

221.

Data	Gloss	frequency	Gloss
woggá	‘Sunday’	woggá wogga	‘every Sunday’
laamé	‘Saturday’	laamé laame	‘every Saturday’
gusttáma	‘September’	gusttámá gusttama	‘every September’
galunddá	‘August’	galunddá galundda	‘every August’

The head word loses its high tonal accent but this tonal accent is assigned on one of the syllables of the preceding word if and only if its ultimate syllable is low tonal accent. Because of this only one among the examples of the new frequency adverbs assigns the second high tonal accent on the ultimate syllable of the modifier.

### 8.2.2. Direction adverbs

The direction adverbs are morphologically expressed by suffing the locative/ablative case marker -ppe ‘from’ and -kko ‘towards’ onto spatial location names. Gofa also uses a few direction expressing lexical adverbs. Consider the data in 222 .

222.

direction adverbs/ data	TV	Gloss	Data	TV	Gloss
boll	-á	top	garss	-á	under
ʔúd	-e	up	dúg	-e	down
hín	-i	there	kill	-í	up there
haah	-ó	far	k’omm	-ó	there

Both the lexical frequency adverbs and bound morphemes -ppe ‘from’ and -kko ‘towards’ express a movement of an entity towards the deictic center (223).

223.

- a. jaá b-á dúgé wóǵǵ-a ʔúdé kéʔ-a  
there g-2S.IMP down descend-2S.IMP up climb-2S.IMP  
'Go there!' 'Descend down!' 'Climb up!'
- b. loótse-ppé j-és  
Loxe-from come-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
'He comes from Looxe.'
- c. zaála-kkó b-aúsu  
Zaala- DIRC go-PRES.3FS.A.DCL  
'She goes to(wards) Zaala.'

### 8.2.3. Place adverbs

Gofa has some locative deictic proximal and distal lexicons. They are haá 'here' and jaa 'there'. These demonstrative adverbs differ from demonstrative pronouns in that the demonstrative adverbs are limited to the spatial location that the speaker points at. The language also makes use of locative/ablative case expressing morphemes-n 'at/in/on' when the morpheme is suffixed onto locative spatial indicating nouns or adverbs expressing where the action/event is performed. Consider the examples of inflectional affixes expressing the locational adverbs in 224.

224.

- a. meddaawa-í soó-n d-és  
groom-NOM.MS.DEF home-LOC(at/in) exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
'The groom is at home.'
- b. meddaaj-ía káreé-n d-aúsu  
bride-NOM.FS.DEF outside-LOC exist-PRES.3FS.A.DCL  
'The bride is out side.'

#### 8.2.4. Attributive and predicative uses of adverbials

Adverbials show attributive and predicative functions when used as nominal modifiers of head nouns and finite verbs of clauses.

##### Attributive functions of adverbial nominals

Attributive adverbs occur in a prenominal position in a compound noun used as a noun phrase. The attributive adverbs modify the nouns they precede whether they are basic or derived adverb stems (Svenonius, 2008:34-35). Consider the examples (225).

225.

- a. maalládó            ʔodo (< maalládo ʔódo )  
morning            speech/news  
'(the) morning news'
- b. ʔomárssá            tukke (< ʔomárssa tukké )  
evening            coffee  
'(the) evening coffee'

##### Predicative functions of adverbials

The predicative adverbs occur at the syntactic position of a verb phrase in the verbless clause in Gofa like that of a predicative noun and adjective. In such a syntactic position, the predicative adverb functions either as a main verb or as a state verb with the zero copula. We obtain declarative sentences as in the examples (226).

226.

- a. haʔí            sáʔa-í            k'ámma  
now:NOM    time-NOM.MS.DEF    be.dark  
'The time now is dark.' /It is now dark.'
- b. háʔfi            woggá  
today.NOM    be.Sunday  
'Today is Sunday.'

c. hájffi                    woggá    gíd-énna  
today.NOM    be.Sunday.ACC.DEADV.A.DCL    be-NEG.DCL  
'Today is not Sunday.'

As the data and the discussion in this chapter show, the adjectivals and adverbials fulfil the attributive and predicative functions in the language. When they are used as modifiers of nominals, they precede the head noun of the nominal phrase or compound. When they are used as predicates, they become adjectival and adverbial verbs and do the function of intransitive verbs.

Their syntactic pattern shows that they are either with the zero copulas or conjugate as a main verb in the predicative position. Besides, the predicate adverb is used to express facts about the events and the state of the agent of a sentence. Furthermore, in such a syntactic position, the inflectional affixes attached to them express the subject- agreement, the tense and mood grammatical relations in Gofa as it is true in some languages of the world (Dixon 2004: 11).

## 9. Syntax

The syntax of Gofa treats the structure of both phrases and clauses.

### 9.1. Phrase structure

In Gofa, a phrase constitutes a head element of a clause that involves either a nominal, an adjective, a verb or an adverb. Each basic word class forms its own phrase structure. Thus we treat the category of noun phrase, adjective phrase, verb phrase and adverb phrase one after the other in this section.

#### 9.1.1. Noun phrases

A noun phrase is a linguistic constituent that could either be a noun or a pronoun alone. 'In syntax, phrases consist of minimally a head, and it is the syntactic category of the head that determines the category of the phrase. ... a phrase with a noun as a head is a Noun Phrase (NP)' (Booij 2007: 53). Little is said about the structural components of a noun phrase in the previous works of Berhanu (2001), Sellassie (2004) and Tariku (2006). All three agree that the head noun always precedes its modifiers but this is challenged in the present work.

A noun phrase may be composed of the optional elements, specifiers and complements, besides the obligatory head noun. The specifiers that precede the head nominals treated in this section are determiners that include demonstratives, the genitive pronouns and genitive NPs that express possession and quantifiers. Besides, the complements on the other hand include phrasal complements<sub>1</sub> that include adjectives, temporal and locative genitives, and phrasal complements<sub>2</sub> which may consist of source, purposive and instrumental genitive nominals and clausal complements. The obligatory head nominals in a noun phrase are treated first.

##### 9.1.1.1. The head nominals in a noun phrase

A noun phrase has an obligatory head nominal and this nominal could either be a proper noun, a derived and underived common noun or a pronoun. Be it a proper noun, (un)derived common noun or a pronoun, a nominal fulfils the semantic role of a



occur uninflected/in their citation forms in the direct object position. This is also reported in the works of Haro (Hirut 2003: 64). This linguistic phenomenon is not identified and reported in any one of the works done on Gofa.

When two nominals are used as compound subjects (c, e) or direct object (b), the coordinative case marker -nne is suffixed onto the nominals following the core case morphemes (cf 5.4.Case and 6. Pronouns). All the nouns and pronouns we observed in the above sentences are the examples of the constituents that constitute the obligatory head noun of a simple nominal phrase in the language under study. Next, we will treat the optional elements that accompany the head noun in the noun phrase in Gofa.

### 9.1.1.2. Specifiers and the direction of head nouns

A noun phrase can either be simple or complex. A simple noun phrase may assign one, two or more specifiers in a noun phrase. The specifiers are the optional grammatical elements that define or specify the nominal head in the noun phrase in the language. The specifiers treated in this study are genitive nominals of possession that include genitive demonstratives, genitive pronouns, genitive nouns and genitive adjectives of (in)definite quantity. Such specifiers are also reported in works of Yem (Derib 2004). Consider the illustrations extracted from the wedding tradition Ref 17 P2 (228).

228.

a. ha                      ʔáde-í                      meddaawaá                      ʔiʃa- a  
 DEM.PROX.GEN man- NOM.3MS.DEF groom.GEN.M brother- ACC.3MS.DEF  
 ‘This /The man is the brother of the groom.’

b. he                      miʃíría (< miʃíre-j-a )                      meddaajeé  
 DEM.DIST.GEN lady.NOM.3FS.DEF groom.GEN.F  
 ʔaajjiu (< ʔaajje-j-o)                      ʔer-aúsu  
 mother.ACC.3FS.DEF know-PRES.3FS.A.DCL  
 ‘That /The lady knows the bride’s mother.’

c ... hintte                      ʔimátsa-á                      haissán  
 ... 2S.HON/PL.GEN guest-ACC.3MS DEM.PROX.LOC

moiz-ité  
feed and see off-2S.HON/ PL.IMP

‘...feed your guests with this and see them off...!’

d.... ʔaawa-í                      ...ʔíʃʃáʃú    saŋga-t-a    ʃukk-és  
... father- NOM.3MS.DEF    ...five.GEN    ox-PL-ACCslaughter-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
‘...father ... slaughters ... five oxen.’

We realized that the genitive demonstratives in ( a, b) and the genitive pronoun in (c), the genitive adjective of definite quantity in (d), and genitive nominal of possession in (a, b) are used to define their respective head nouns in (228) on their right. If we transpose the position of the genitive nominals of possession and the head nouns, we will end up at ungrammatical constructions.

The genitive adjective of definite quantity (d) demands the number agreement marker morpheme **-t** to be suffixed onto the head noun preceding the accusative case and following the TV of the citation form of the noun. The definite number phrase is used to modify a head nominal that is countable but not proper noun nor uncountable noun in a nominal phrase.

The genitive case is unmarked overtly with the genitive demonstratives and genitive pronouns, whereas some genitive nouns of masculine and feminine kinship lengthen the overtly suffixed genitive case markers **-a** and **-e** respectively and genitive adjectives of definite quantity suffix the morpheme **-u** onto the root of the definite numerals two and above as in (d).The morpheme **-i** is suffixed onto the numeral *isso* ‘one’ and the TV **-o** is dropped as in 228 a .

Gofa is one of the languages that do not mark definiteness independently. When the TV of both countable and uncountable common head nouns and the core case morphemes interact, they form either long vowels or diphthongs at word endings. These word ending suffixes of the definite nominals co-mark definiteness at the same time in 228.

Two or more specifiers may optionally come before the head nouns as in 229 .

229.

a. ha           ʔíssí    meddaajeé    mifǵǵia                    meddajeé -rá            ...  
DEM.PROX   one.GEN   bride.GEN.F   sister.NOM.3FS.DEF   bride.OBL-INST/COM ...

ʔaíssí    b-aí

why.for   go-PRES.3FS.INTER

‘Why does one of the sister’s of the bride ... go with the bride?’

b. meddaajeé                    mifǵǵe-t-a-ppé                    ʔiss=inná  
bride. OBL/GEN.F   sister.F-PL-GEN-from   one = CLIT.F.ACC.F

meddaajeé-rá                    ... b-aí

bride.GEN-INST/COM ... go-PRES.3FS.INTER

‘Does one of the sister’s of the bride ... go with the bride?’

In the examples (a), the determiner precedes number and this is followed by genitive noun before the head noun that suffixes case morpheme after the TV. When the numeral comes after the head noun optionally, the number suffixes gender expressing clitic and indefinite specific expressing morpheme come one after the other. Transposing the position of specifiers in the other order will be ungrammatical in the language under study.

Some of the genitive NPs of possession show inalienable and alienable possessor possession as in 230 .

230.

a. ta	huúʔe	b. ʔi	tóho	c. pa	tóho
1S.GEN	head	3FS.GEN	foot	3S.GEN	foot.M
‘my head’		‘her foot’		‘her own / his own foot’	

We also construct possessor possessed noun phrase that expresses the alienable relation as in the examples (231).

231.

a. maddaawaá                    sajǵǵa (< maddaawaá   sajǵǵa )

groom.GEN.M   o x

‘the groom’s ox’

- b. maddaajeé    ʔafla  
 bride.GEN.F    cloth  
 ‘the cloth of the bride’

The genitive marker -a and -e are suffixed onto the human possessor masculine and feminine noun respectively as in 231 whereas the language does not mark genitive case with entities that are not definite. The genitive NPs of possession of definite entities are illustrated in 232 .

232.

- a. pareé                    mariu (< máre-j-o)  
 horse.GEN.F    young.ACC.3FS.DEF  
 ‘the filly’
- b. keetsa-á                wula-a    (< keetsaá wulaá )  
 house-GEN.M    door-ACC.3MS.DEF  
 ‘the door of the house (M)’

On the examples (232), the language assigns masculine gender expressing genitive case morpheme for the inanimate entity used as modifier. The plural possessor assigns the genitive case morpheme -u be it animate or inanimate entity. Consider the examples in 233 .

233.

- a. wodárótu                    ʔíndda-t-a    (< wodárotu ʔínddata )  
 teenage.girls.GEN.PL    bed-PL-ACC.M.DEF  
 ‘‘the teenager girls’ beds’’
- b. ʔínddátu                    geda-t-a                (< ʔínddaatu gedatá)  
 beds.GEN.PL                leg-PL-ACC.M.DEF  
 ‘the legs of the beds’

The examples (233 a, b) show that the possessor nouns assign two high tonal accents while the possessed ones lose their high tonal accents.

### 9.1.1.3. Complements and the direction of head nouns

The complements in Gofa are treated as phrasal and clausal complements. The clausal complement treated in this study is a relative clause and it is treated in its own section. The phrasal complements on the other hand observed in our data regularly precede the head noun and they include the adjective phrases and the genitive noun phrases that express source, instrumental and purposive genitives. Each of the complement phrases are treated in this section.

Attributive adjectives usually precede the head noun they modify but sometimes the language allows one attributive adjective to follow its head noun. A few phrasal complements of adjectives are illustrated (234).

234.

- a. móǰǰó      sangga-a (< móǰǰó sáγγaa)  
fat            ox-ACC.3MS.DEF  
'the fat ox'
- b. kareétsa      móǰǰó      sangga-a (< kareétsa móǰǰó sáγγaa)  
black        fat            ox-ACC.3MS.DEF  
'the black fat ox'
- c. ... sáγγaá                      móǰǰua                      ʔimatha-á-s      ʔimm-és  
... ox.ACC.3MS.DEF fat.ACC.3MS.DEF gues-GEN-DAT give-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
'... gives the fat ox for the guests.' (extracted from the marriage culture data)
- d. kareétsá      sangga-i                      móǰǰó  
black        ox-NOM.3MS.DEF      be.fat  
'The black ox is fat.'
- e. sáγγa-i                      kareétsa-í                      móǰǰó  
ox-NOM.3MS.DEF      black- NOM.3MS.DEF      be.fat  
'The black ox is fat.'

In the examples above, the predicative adjective is used as a complement in the verbless clause following the head noun (232 d, e) for the adjective inherently possesses the

copula and functions as an intransitive verb. The attributive adjectives precede the head noun in the noun phrases (a, b, d, and e). This is also true in Yem (Derib 2004: 38), one of the Western Omotic languages (Fleming 1976).

When the language under study optionally allows an adjective to follow the head noun it modifies, the adjective agrees in case and number with the head noun (c, e). This is also reported in Koorete (Binyam 2010:52). Though Creissels (2000 :247) says that the adjective that agrees in case and number with its head noun is not reported as the phenomena of African languages, the finding on Koorete and Gofa could be taken as examples of languages that exhibit such a linguistic phenomenon in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, the phrase will be ungrammatical if multiple of adjectives follow the head noun they modify. The other point worth mentioning is that the high tonal accent remains on its place of origin since we assume that in the reverse word order , words behave as separate words.

Some of the genitive noun phrases that are observed precede the head noun may include the source, instrumental and purposive genitive. They are considered as group one complement phrases in this study. The grouping is based on whether we obtain meaning if the complement phrase and the head noun are transposed.

The source genitive noun expresses the material used as the source of the head noun whereas the instrumental genitive indicates the material noun used to measure or to fill in the head noun entity. The purposive genitive on the other hand indicates the material noun that expresses the purpose of the head noun. The genitive case morpheme is not overtly marked and the modifiers occur at the juxtaposition of the head nouns in the examples (235) .

235.

- a. badallá      ʃenddera ( < badallá ʃenddéra )  
           maize        porridge  
           ‘ porridge (made from maize flour)
- b. ʃenddéra      badalla ( < ʃenddéra badallá )  
           porridge     maize  
           ‘maize used for making porridge’

- c. ʔeéssá ʔoto (< ʔeéssa ʔóto )  
honey pot  
‘a pot used to store honey’
- d. ʔótó ʔeessa (< ʔóto ʔeéssa)  
pot honey  
‘a pot of honey ’
- e. moógó ʔafila (< moógo ʔafíla )  
burial cloth  
‘a kind of cloth used to rap the dead body’(purpose)

We obtain differences in meaning when we reverse the position of the genitive phrases and the head noun. We obtain a surprising result in (235) (a, b) because the source genitive (a) becomes the purpose genitive in (b). The instrumental genitive (c) is different from its reversed construction in (d) and the reverse of the purpose genitive (e) will be less common.

The group of two phrasal complements that modify the noun head are the temporal and locative genitives. The temporal and locative genitives do not assign the genitive case rather they always occur preceding the head noun they modify (236).

236.

- a. bení woga (< bení wóga )  
past culture  
‘the past culture’
- b. loóts’é ʔasa (< loóts’e ʔasá)  
Lotse person  
‘ a person who lives at Looxe kebele in Gofa ’

The genitive phrases (Extracted from Funerary Culture) in (236) (a), and (b) above are the examples of temporal and locative genitives respectively. Reversing will be ungrammatical. Based on the above examples, we can generalize that the locative and temporal genitives are found different in their morphosyntactic behavior from group

one. Unlike group two, we obtain completely different meaning when the order of the complement phrase and its head noun is reversed in group one.

### 9.1.2. Adjective phrases

An adjective is one of the four word classes in Gofa. Either a single or a multiple of adjectives constitute an adjective phrase. An adjective is used “... to specify some property of the head noun of the phrase, for example its color, size, shape, temperament ...” (Thompson 1988 cited in Payne 2006:116). The adjective phrases do the attributive function when they occur as the constituent element of the noun phrase as in 237 .

237.

- a. zambbó      naʔa-a (< zambbó naʔaá)  
 clever      child-ACC.3MS.DEF  
 ‘the clever boy’
- b. mastík’á      pants-i (< mastík’á pántsi)  
 teenage.M      boy-NOM.3MS.DEF  
 ‘the teenage boy’
- c. kállída      geelaʔiu (< kállída geelaʔiú)  
 teenage.F      girl-ACC.3FS.DEF  
 ‘the teenage girl’

When two and more than two adjectives form an adjective phrase, the degree and quantity expressing adjectives precede the qualitative adjective which behaves as the head in (238 a). In such a sentence, the language uses the adjective phrase to complete the sentence without copular. On the other hand, the adjective phrase syntactically occurs closer and precedes the noun used as the subject of the verb in sentences as in 238 b, c.

238.

- a. nai-t-í                              keéhí dáró      zambbo Ø (< naití keehí dáro zambbó)  
 child-PL.NOM.MS.DEF      very    many/more    clever    COP  
 ‘The children are extremely clever.’ / ‘The children are very very clever.’

- b. namʔʔú      zámbbó    nai-t-a                                      beʔ-á  
two.GEN    clever    child-PL-ACC.MS.DEF    look-2S.IMP  
‘Look at the two clever children!’
- c. keehí    dáró    dóndzdzá    ʔasa-t-i                                      j-ídosona  
very    many    adult    person-PL-NOM.PL    come-PST.3PL.A.DCL  
‘Very many adult people have come.’

The language moves the high tonal accent of the head adjective and assigns on the adjective closer to the head for we have a series of adjectives in (238 a). The language also moves the high tonal accent of the head of the noun phrase and assigns on the modifier adjective closer to the head noun as in 238 b , c. The word keehi ‘very’ in (a) and daro ‘many/more’ in (c) obtain two high tonal accents due to plateauing, a type of autosegmental phonology rule in Gofa (cf. Tonology).

### 9.1.3. Verb phrases

A verb phrase may obtain either a single verb or other constituents that do not include the subject of the finite verb. The transitive verb phrase may optionally be preceded by a noun phrase or two unlike the intransitive verb in (239 c) .

239.

- a. ʔissí                      boora-a                      woit-aná  
a/one.GEN    ox-ACC.MS.DEF    give-FUT  
‘ will offer a/one ox ’
- b. namʔʔú    boora-t-a-nné                      heédzdzú    ʔussa-t-a                      woit-ádá    ...  
two GEN    ox-PL-ACC.M/F-COOR    three.GEN    heifer-PL-ACC.M/F    offer a gift- CNV<sub>1</sub>  
‘having offered two oxen and three heifers ...’
- c. meddaawa-í                      ʔufaítt-is  
groom-NOM.MS.DEF    be.happy-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
‘The groom became happy.’

We can realize that the intransitive verb obtains a verb phrase alone unlike the transitive verb that optionally obtains a direct object alone or both a direct and indirect noun

phrases at a time as in 239 a , b. The verb phrase in (a) is in the future tense whose verb-agreement suffix does not express the person, number and gender of the doer of the action stated. Eventhough the verb suffixes the inflectional affix -ada (1S/2S/3FS), the verb remains subjectless verb phrase since the morpheme requires the obligatory subject. Due to the absence of an obligatory grammatical subject, the example (b) obtains simply the verb and its constituent. In general, the constituents that the verb phrase may involve could be : V+ (a noun phrase used as a direct object) + (a noun phrase used as an indirect object ) + ( an adjective phrase)/ (an adverb phrase). The constituents in the bracket are optional elements of a verb phrase in the language. We have also realized that one, two or more than two converbs may function as a verb phrase in Gofa as in 240.

240.

- a. wonttó           woit-aná  
tomorrow   give-FUT.A.DCL  
' (I/We/He/She/They ) will give the gift tomorrow.'
- b. nú           jaágano   b-íkkko,       m-(a)aná   ʔúj-ana  
2PL.NOM   wedding   go-if.(2PL)   eat-FUT   drink-FUT.A.DCL  
' If we go to the wedding , we will eat and drink.'
- c. ʔentti           jétsts'-ana-nné           gupp-aná ( < entti yexxananne guppana )  
3S.HON/PL sing a song-FUT-CONJ   dance -FUT.A.DCL  
'She/He (HON) / They will sing the wedding song(s) and (also) dance'

#### 9.1.4. Adverb phrases.

The adverb phrase can be a single word adverb (239) (a ,d) or compound adverbs (b, c, d) that include temporal, locative and manner adverbs. These adverbs are used to describe the time, place and the manner of the action/event accomplished or performed. The adverb phrase also modifies an adjective when it occurs before an adjective it modifies (c) and other adverbs when two or more adverbs occur in an adverb phrase as in (b). Consider the adverb phrases and the position they occur in simple phrases or sentences as in 241 .

241.

- a. meddaajía (< meddaaje-j-a) keehí gupp-aúsu  
bride.NOM.3FS.DEF very dance-PRES.3FS.A.DCL  
'The bride dances well.'
- b. meddaawa-í zíné mallado j-ís  
groom-NOM.3MS.DEF yesterday morning come-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
'The groom came yesterday morning.'
- c. meddaawa-í keehí ?adussá  
groom-NOM.3MS.DEF very be.tall  
'The groom is very tall.'
- d. meddaayiya Looxen diccasu  
meddaajía (< meddaaje-j-a) loóts'e-n diffj' -ásu  
groom-NOM.3MS.DEF Looxe-LOC (at/in) grow. up -PAST.3FS.A.DCL  
'The bride grew up at Looxe (kebele in Gofa).'

The examples (241) show that the adverb phrase comes before the verb phrase (d) and an adjective phrase (b). In addition, the locative case morpheme -n 'in/at' is suffixed to the adverb of place in (d). Gofa is a head -last language since the head adverb comes after its modifiers when two adverbs are used in the adverb phrase (b). Nevertheless, the order of adverbs that occur in a complex adverb phrase is not treated in this study and we suggest this issue for future study.

In general, based on the examples we obtained so far, we argue that Gofa is a head -last language. This is also reported in Wolaitta and Gamo (Wakasa 2008, Wondimu 2010).

## 9.2. Structure of clauses

The structure of both simple and complex clauses are discussed in this section.

### 9.2.1. Simple clauses

The declarative and interrogative clauses are treated as simple clauses .

### 9.2.1.1. Declarative clauses

The declarative clauses are one type of indicative clauses. The declarative clauses are of two types: the affirmative and the negative. The declarative clauses differ in structure from the interrogative or imperative clauses. We treat the affirmative declarative clauses first.

#### 9.2.1.1.1. Affirmative declarative clauses

The affirmative declarative clauses are used to express assertion of events or facts about activities in positive statements unlike the negative statements. The common order of constituents in such a simple clause could be: (Subject) \_ (Direct Object) \_ (Indirect Object) \_ Verb. The verb is obligatory whereas the other constituents are optional in Gofa. The affirmative declarative is marked by the morphemes -s- and -Ø- ( in the present and past tense) , -n- ( in the future tense) whereas -j- (in the progressive aspect). The inflectional affixes of aspect, tense and mood are shown below. Consider the verb-agreement data of the past, the present and the future tense and also the aspect with main verbs in 242.

242.

PAST.A.DCL : - a(di)si(1S),      - adasa (2S),                      - a(du)su (3FS) ,  
                  : - idosi(1PL),      - idØeta (2S.HON /2PL),  
                  : - i(de)si(3MS),      - i(do)sona(3S.HON/3PL

PRES.A.DCL : - aisi (1S),      - asa (2S),                      - ausu (3FS),  
                  : - oosi (1PL),      - eØeta(2S.HON /2PL) ,      - eesi (3MS),  
                  : - oosona(3S.HON/3PL) ,

FUT.A.DCL : - (a)ana (with all persons) ;

PROG<sub>1</sub>           : - aʃe (1S/2S/3FS),

PROG<sub>2</sub>           : - iʃe (1PL/2S.HON/2PL/3MS/3S.HON/3PL)

Consider the verb agreement morphemes used in the examples (243) of sentences ( extracted from the marriage culture data ).

243.

a. ʔaawa-í                      boóra-a                      meddaawaá-s                      woít-í(de)s  
father-NOM.3MS.DEF    bull-ACC.3MS.DEF    groom.GEN.DEF-DAT    give- PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
'The father offered the bull for the groom as a gift.'

b. (ʔía)                      soó-n                      d-aúsu  
(3FS.NOM)    house/home-LOC    COP/exist- PRES.3FS. A.DCL  
'She is at home.'

c. ʔía                      meddaajiú  
3FS.NOM    be.bride.ACC.3FS.A.DCL  
'She is a bride.'

The stative verb in 243 c has no verb agreement markers at all unlike the main and the existential verbs. The same is true in active affirmative declarative construction as shown in the sentential examples (244 d, e ). The morpheme -s is realized as dative case marker when it is suffixed to noun phrase (243a) and as affirmative declarative marker when it occurs within the verb agreement suffix (244 a, b).

244.

a. sánga- í                      zíne                      ʃam-étt-is  
ox-NOM.MS.DEF    yesterday    buy-PASS-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
'The ox was bought yesterday.'

b. meddaawa-í,                      meddaajía-nné                      ʔentta  
groom-NOM.MS.DEF,    bride.NOM.FS.DEF-COOR    3S.HON/3PL.GEN  
lággé-ti                      haʔí j-íʃé                      d-oósona  
friend-PL.NOM    now    come-PROG<sub>2</sub>    COP/exist- PRES.3S.HON/3PL. A.DCL  
'The groom,the bride and their friends are coming now.'

c. nu                      náʔía                      geélaʔo                      gid-aásu  
2PL.GEN    child.NOM.FS.DEF    be.teenage.girl    become-PAST.3FS.A.DCL  
'Our daughter became a teenage girl.'

- d. nu            náʔía                            geélaʔo  
 2PL.GEN    child. NOM. FS.DEF    be.teenage.girl.A.DCL  
 ‘Our daughter is a teenage girl.’
- e. nu            náʔía                            ʔadussá  
 2PL.GEN    child.NOM.FS.DEF    be.tall.A.DCL  
 ‘Our daughter is tall.’
- f. nu            náʔía                            ʔadukk’-aáSu  
 2PL.GEN    child.NOM.FS.DEF    become.tall-PAST.3FS.A.DCL  
 ‘Our daughter became tall.’ ? ( expresses change of state)

We realized that the stative verb *gid-* ‘to become’ also obtains similar marker like that of the affirmative declarative main verb. The inchoative *adukk’-* ‘to become tall’ expressing change of state also suffixes affirmative declarative markers in 244 f like the main verbs.

#### 9.2.1.1.2. Negative declarative clauses

The negative declarative clauses on the other hand is marked by the negative morphemes **-b-** (PAST), **-nn-** (3MS), **-kk-** (with all other persons) affixed onto the verb roots/stems together with the other verb- agreement inflectional affixes. Consider the data given (245).

245.

PAST.NEG.DCL

- : - **ab(i)ikke** (1S),    - **ab(a)akka** (2S),                            - **ab(u)ukku** (3FS) ,
- : - **ib(o)okko** (1PL),    - **ib(e)ekketa** (2S.HON/2PL) - **ib(e)enna** (3MS),
- : - **ib(o)okkona** (3S.HON/3PL)

PRES/FUT.NEG.DCL

- : - **(i)ikke**(1S),                            - **(a)akka** (2S),                            - **(u)ukku** (3FS),
- : - **(o)okko**(1PL),                            - **(e)ekketa** (2S.HON/2PL), - **(e)enna** (3MS),
- : - **(o)okkona** (3S.HON/3PL)

PROG<sub>1</sub> : - aʃe (1S/2S/3FS),

PROG<sub>2</sub> : - iʃe (1PL/2S.HON/2PL/3MS/3S.HON/3PL)

Consider the possible examples of the negative declarative sentences (246).

246.

a. haʔí meddaawa-í-nné meddaajía (< meddaaje-j-a) (-nné)  
now groom-NOM.3MS.DEF-COOR bride-EPN-NOM.3MS.DEF (-COOR )

j-íʃé d-oókona  
come-PROG<sub>2</sub> COP/exist-PRES.3PL.NEG.DCL  
'The groom and the bride are not coming now.'

b. ʔaddé kutto-t-i ʃam-étt-i**bookk**ona  
male hen-PL-NOM.MS.DEF buy-PASS-PAST.NEG.3S.HON/3PL.NEG.DCL  
'The cocks were not bought.'

c. meddaajía j-uúkku  
bride.NOM.3FS.DEF come-FUT.3FS.NEG.DCL  
'The bride does/will not come.'

d. (ʔía) soó-n d(éʔ)-uúkku  
(3FS.NOM) house/home-LOC COP/exist-PRES.3FS.NEG.DCL  
'She is not at home.'

e. ʔía meddaajó gíd-ú**kk**u  
3FS.NOM be.bride beome- PRES.3FS. NEG.DCL  
'She is not a bride.'

f. nu náʔía ʔadussá gíd-ú**kk**u  
2PL.GEN child.NOM.FS.DEF be.tall.A.DCL beome- PRES.3FS. NEG.DCL  
'Our daughter is not tall.'

We realized that the stative verb gid- 'to become' with its negative declarative verb agreement affixes is used after stative verbs in the negative declarative clauses (246 e, f).

The same verb agreement marking inflectional affixes are suffixed onto the main (246 b, c), existential (a ,d) and the stative (e) verb roots as we observe in (246). The same marker is also used both in the active and the passive negative declarative constructions in the language. In general, we realized that nominal clause unlike the inchoative verb does not obtain affirmative/negative declarative marking morphemes in the present tense.

### 9.2.1.2. Interrogative clauses

Gofa constructs interrogative sentences by making use of the yes-no agreement marking morphemes and the WH-question words or content words (cf. 6.5. Interrogative pronouns).

The yes-no question agreement morphemes have marked rising of intonation. The verb roots/stems in Gofa suffix the yes-no question agreement marking morphemes in the present/ future (247 a) and in the past tense (247 b).

247.

- a. -ianaá(1S) ,                      -aí (2S/3FS),                      -íí (3MS)  
       -ío (1PL),                      -eetií (2S.HON/2PL),                      -oonaá (3S.HON/3PL)
- b. -idanaá(PAST.1S) , -adií (PAST.2S) , -ideé (PAST.3MS), -adeé(PAST.3FS),  
       -idoníí (PAST.1PL), -idetíí (PAST.2S.HON/2PL), -idonaá (PAST.3S.HON/3PL) .

Consider the examples of interrogative sentences (248) expressing the events in the present/future and in the past.

248.

- a. (ʔía)                      ʔaziná                      gél-ádeé  
       (3FS.NOM) husband                      marry a husband- PAST. 3FS. INTER  
       ‘Did she marry?’ [Lit Is she married to a husband?]
- c. ʔí a                      dosít-íí  
       3MS.NOM                      name of a female person -INTER/Q  
       ‘ Is she Dosite?’/ ‘Is her name Dosite?’

c. ?i            ?azíná    suntsa-i            ?oón-eé  
 3FS.GEN    husband    name-NOM.MS.DEF    who-NOM.S.INTER/Q  
 ‘What is the name of her husband?’

d. ?ía            ?oón-a            gel-ádeé  
 3FS.NOM    who-ACC .3S    marry.M -PASS.3FS.INTER/Q  
 ‘Whom did she marry(M)?’

e. ?enttí            ?oón- ánttéé  
 3S.HON/3PL    who-3S.HON/3PL.INTER/Q  
 ‘Who is s/he (HON)? / Who are they?’

f. hintteí            ?áu- ppé            j-eétií  
 2S.HON/2PL    where-LOC    come -2S.HON/2PL.INTER/Q  
 ‘From where do you come ? / Who are they?’

In the examples of the interrogative sentences, the yes-no questions end in a rising tonal accent (248) in (a, b) whereas the WH- question word root assigns the high tonal accent in the interrogative sentences (c, d). The WH-question word ?áu-ppé ‘from where?’ in (f) bears two high tonal accents as a result of plateauing, the process that changes a sequence of H-L-H tonal accents to H-H-H, in Gofa (cf. Tonology) (Yip 2002:157-159). We realized that the word order of Gofa allows the WH-question word immediately before the verb whereas the subject may optionally occur after the verb as in 249 b.

249.

a. ?oón-a            dosa-í            ?ía  
 who-ACC .3S    love-PRES.3FS.INTER    3FS.NOM  
 ‘Whom does she love?’

b. ?ía            ?oón-a            dosa-í  
 3FS.NOM    who-ACC .3S    love-PRES.3FS.INTER  
 ‘Whom does she love?’

### 9.2.1.3. Word order in simple clauses

The common word order of simple clauses in both declarative clauses and interrogative clause discussed in (9.2.1.1 and 9.2.1.2 ) is SOV. The very common order of words is S + DO + IO + V as in 250 .

250.

- a. meddaawa- í                      míggído    meddaajeé-s                      ?ímm-ídes  
 groom-NOM.MS.DEF bracelet    bride.GEN.F-DAT    give-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
 ‘The groom gave/offered a bracelet to the bride.’
- b. meddaawa- í                      míggído    meddaajeé-s                      ?ímm-ídeé  
 groom-NOM.MS.DEF bracelet bride.GEN.F-DAT    give-PAST.3MS.A.INTER  
 ‘Did the groom give/offer a bracelet to the bride?’
- c. meddaawa- í                      míggído    meddaajeé-s                      ?ímm-íbeénneé  
 groom-NOM.MS.DEF bracelet bride.GEN.F-DAT    give-PAST.3MS.NEG.INTER  
 ‘Didn’t the groom give/offer a bracelet to the bride?’

In Gofa, the order of S(subject), DO (direct object) and IO (indirect object) may be flexible. The example (250 b) could also be accepted if some one speaks less often as in 251.

251.

- a. meddaawa- í                      meddaajeé-s                      míggído    ?ímm-ídeé  
 groom-NOM.MS.DEF bride.GEN.F-DAT bracelet    give-PAST.3MS.A.INTER  
 ‘Did the groom give/offer a bracelet to the bride?’
- b. meddaajeé-s                      míggído    meddaawa- í                      ?ímm-ídeé  
 bride.GEN.F-DAT bracelet groom-NOM.MS.DEF    give-PAST.3MS.A.INTER  
 ‘Did the groom give/offer a bracelet to the bride?’
- c. míggído    meddaajeé-s                      meddaawa- í                      ?ímm-ídeé  
 bracelet    bride.GEN.F-DAT groom-NOM.MS.DEF    give-PAST.3MS.A.INTER  
 ‘Did the groom give/offer a bracelet to the bride?’

The word order of a nominal complement and a noun phrase is not flexible as the common word order in Gofa. Except 252 a, the rest (252 b, c) are not accepted .

252.

- a. meddaajeé      suntsai                      dosító  
bride.GEN.F name-NOM.M.DEF    Dosite(name)  
'The name of the bride is Dosite.'
- b. suntsai                      , meddaajeé      dosító  
name-NOM.M.DEF, bride.GEN.F, Dosite(name)  
(not accepted for the nominal phrase is disordered )
- c. dosító                      meddaajeé      suntsai  
Dosite(name) bride.GEN.F name-NOM.M.DEF  
(not accepted for the nominal complement precedes the noun phrase )
- d. naʔaá                      mitʃʃia                      woítua                      ʔeh-ádusu  
child.GEN.M    sister.NOM.    gift.FS.DEF    bring-PAST.3FS.A.DCL  
'The sister of the daughter brought the gift.'
- e. mitʃʃeé                      naʔia                      woítua                      ʔeh-ides  
sister.NOM    child.GEN.M    gift.FS.DEF    bring-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
'The nephew brought the gift.'

We obtain a different meaning in 252 c, d since the reverse order of the subject of the noun phrase changed and also the change in the subject caused the change of the verb that agrees to the subject in the language. This is true not only in Wolitta ( Wakasa 2008) but also in Dime (Mulugeta 2008: 175). The dependent clauses always precede the main clauses in Gofa and this is discussed under ( 9.2.2 complex clauses). The intensifier daro 'very' always precedes in the noun phrase and adjectives in the language (cf. Noun phrase and Adjective phrases).

### 9.2.2. Complex clauses

A complex clause is made up of two or more simple clauses. If a complex clause is made up of two clauses, one of them is necessarily a main (matrix) clause and the other one is a subordinate (dependent) clause. The subordinate clause is syntactically embed-

ded in the matrix clause to obtain its meaning. Among the different dependent clauses the relative clauses, converbs and adverb clauses are treated in this study.

### 9.2.2.1. Relative clauses

The section discusses on the formation, features and function of the relative clauses in the grammar of Gofa. None of the works done on Gofa treated this issue.

As the study on the linear sequence of the head noun and the relative clause construction shows, languages exhibit “... the typology of prenominal, postnominal, circumnominal embedded relative clauses, and preposed, postposed adjoined relative clauses” (Kuteva and Comrie 2005: 209). Hence, we made a thorough look at the data and stated how the head noun and the relative clause construction sequence in this section.

The three relative clause formation strategies observed in African languages include the correlative strategy, the pronoun retention strategy and the gapping strategy. The other three relativization strategies of some languages of the world include the relative pronoun strategy (of some European languages like English and Bulgarian), the paratactic strategy and the head-internal strategy (Kuteva and Comrie 2005: 222, 226).

As this study on the relative clause formation strategy shows, African languages reveal “... clear cases of three out of the six relative strategies we have been able to identify in the languages of the world... Some languages employ absolutely no relativization markers, e.g. Maale (Omotic, Afroasiatic, spoken in Ethiopia)” (Kuteva and Comrie 2005: 222). As literature shows, Maale is an example of languages that employ the gapping strategy of relativization with zero relative marking morpheme. Consider the Maale example (253).

253. Maale (Azeb 2001b:160)

ʔííni	[[ziginó	mukk -é]	ʔatsi]	zag-é -ne
3MS.NOM	yesterday	come -PF.REL	person: M: ABS	see-PF-A.DCL
'He saw the man who came yesterday.'				

In the example (253), we understand that Maale makes use of the gap relativization strategy without any relativizer morpheme that is used as the overt reference of the head

noun phrase. The relative clause formation/the relativization strategy of Gofa seems to be a bit different from that of Maale. Both the strategy and the typology that Gofa exhibit are observed in 254 .

254.

a. [ [ ...<sub>a</sub> zíné j-íd-á ] bitánia<sub>a</sub> ] taání béʔ-ás

... yesterday come -PAST-REL man.ACC.MS.DEF 1S.NOM see- PAST.1S. A.DCL

‘I saw the man who came yesterday.’

b. [ bitánia<sub>a</sub> [ ...<sub>a</sub> zíné j-íd-á ] = iss<sub>a</sub> - á ]

man.ACC.MS.DEF ... yesterday come-PAST-REL = CLIT.M- ACC.MS

taání béʔ-ás

1S.NOM see- PAST.1S. A.DCL

‘I saw someone(M) who came yesterday.’

c. [ [taání ...<sub>a</sub> zíne béʔ-íd-á ] bitane- í<sub>a</sub> ] sánga ʃamm-ís

1S.NOM ... yesterday see-PAST-REL man-NOM.MS.DEF ox buy- PAST.3MS. A.DCL

‘The man whom I saw yesterday bought an ox.’

c. [ [ taání ...<sub>a</sub> zíne béʔ-íd-á ] miʃiría<sub>a</sub> ]

1S.NOM ... yesterday see-PAST-REL lady.NOM.FS

sánga ʃamm-ásu

ox buy- PAST.FS. A.DCL

‘The lady whom I saw yesterday bought an ox.’

d. [ miʃiría<sub>a</sub> [taání ...<sub>a</sub> zíne béʔ-íd-á ] =r<sub>a</sub> -a ]

lady.NOM.FS 1S.NOM ... yesterday see-PAST-REL = CLIT.F- NOM.FS

sánga ʃamm-ásu

ox buy- PAST.FS. A.DCL

‘The lady whom I saw yesterday bought an ox.’

Unlike Maale, Gofa suffixes an overt relativizer -a to the relative verb of the relative clause after the past tense marker in 254. The invariant morpheme -a does not show the

gender and number of the subject of the head nouns in 254 a, b and the (in)direct object arguments in 254 c, d in the matrix clauses. Nevertheless, it relates the relative clauses with the matrix clauses in compound sentences (Kuteva and Comrie 2005: 222, 226).

We observed that the relative clauses precede the matrix clauses in 254 a, c whereas the relative clauses are embedded between the free head noun and the clitic pronominal element / the trace of the head noun in 254 b, d. The free head noun of the matrix clauses occur in the outer square brackets before the relative clauses. These missing subject and object arguments are replaced and represented by place maintaining clitics or ellipses after the relative clauses in the inner brackets. Then these free head nouns and the ellipses are co-referenced by using the subscribed [<sub>a</sub>] after them. Based on the facts observed above, we can consider Gofa as one of the languages that exhibits the typology of both pronominal and circumnominal embedded relative clauses in Africa.

Furthermore, we realized that Gofa makes use of a gapping strategy with overt relativization marker morpheme -a attached to the relative verb in the relative clause. This makes Gofa different from some languages of Africa that make use of the other two relative clause formation strategies : correlative strategy and pronoun retention strategy.

We believe that the modified head noun of the matrix clause may move away when it is co-indexed/ coreferenced with its trace (Payne 2006: 312, 339). The case and the number of the missing argument can be inferred from the morphemes attached to the traces /the enclitic pronominal elements =iss- (someone.M) and =r- (someone. F) . We found that the free head noun and its trace in the matrix clause are in a complementary distribution to each other since one is used in the absence of the other to fulfill the same grammatical purpose in the relative clause construction.

The free head noun of the matrix clause in circumnominal relative clause construction is optional in Gofa as in the illustration (255).



b. ta ʔuʃ - ee - dd - a maatsa - y loʔo  
 I drink-PER - PAS - REL milk -NOM be. good  
 ‘The milk which I drank was good.’

To sum up, Gofa is an SOV language and its typology /the word order shows the prenominal and circumnominal relative clauses. In circumnominal relative clause, the free head noun occurs before the relative clause and the relative verb attaches the clitic pronominal elements =r- (feminine entity) and =iss- (masculine entity) after the relativizer morpheme. These clitic pronominal elements occur when the grammar of the language moves the free head noun before the relative clause or drops probably for semantic reasons. This takes place when the language uses an alternative means to specify/definitize the head noun entity in a discourse while relating the relative clause to the matrix clause in a compound sentence. We believe this issue needs further investigation.

Gofa shows three salient features that are observed in Akan. The features common to both are the relative clause defines/ modifies the head noun of the matrix clause, an obligatory relativizer marking morpheme, and a relativizer marking used as a relative clause -final determiner, that behaves as a sentential definitizer. Though Akan (Saah 2010: 92) uses a distinct marking morpheme to indicate the clause-final determiner, the obligatory relativizer morpheme in Gofa fulfills the function of the clause-final determiner.

We realized that the clitic pronominal elements suffix the case and number of the missing arguments. This is also reported in Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008 : 841). Unlike Gofa, the Wolaitta gapping strategy makes use of the variant relativizer morphemes -a and -o that express the subject and the object head nouns respectively (Bekale 1989, Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 158 , Wakasa 2008: 840-843) .

#### **9.2.2.2. Converb clauses**

A converb construction occurs in a form of clause chaining that has a coordinative function (van der Auwera 1998: 281). The converbs in Gofa are marked by the morphemes -ada (1S/2S/3FS) and -idi (1PL/2S.HON/2PL/3MS/3PL) and suffixed onto the main verbs. Thus they have the non-finite verb status in Gofa since the other grammatical

features of the verbs such as tense and mood are not expressed. As a result of this the tense and mood of the chain of converbs are inferred from the tense and mood of the main clause. Consider the examples extracted from the texts of the wedding culture in 258 .

258.

- a. meddaawaá lagge-t-i meddaajé-nttá soo b-ídí jétsts'-idi  
 groom.GEN friend-PL-NOM bride-PL.GEN home go-CNV<sub>2</sub> sing-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
 daafur-ídí pa-ntta soó símm-oósona  
 get tired-CNV<sub>2</sub> her/his-PL.GEN home return-FUT.3S.HON/3PL.A.DCL  
 ‘After having sung and danced in front of the home of the bride’s family, the friends of the groom return to their home.’

- b. meddaawaá lagge-t-i m-ídí ?új-ídí  
 groom.GEN friend-PL-NOM eat-CNV<sub>2</sub> drink-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
 meddaajé-ntt-á soó ?asaa-ppé woítua ?ekk-ídí ná?áá  
 bride-PL-GEN home person-ABL gift.MS.DEF take-CNV<sub>2</sub> child.GEN  
 soó símm-ídosona  
 home return-PAST.3S.HON/3PL.A.DCL  
 ‘After having eaten, drunk, and received the gift from the bride’s family, the friends of the groom came to the groom’s home.’

In general, either the phrases or the dependent clauses do not give us full meaning intended. The structure of the phrases attests that every type of phrase is head final. The dependent clauses either become embedded in the main /matrix clause or precede the main clause. The relative clause used as noun phrase when it is used to modify the head noun. The language uses the same invariant relativizer morpheme -a when relativizing a subject or an object noun phrase in a complex clause. The converbs are found non-finite verbs and show clause chaining function in the language under study.

When the subject, direct or indirect object argument of the matrix clause does not occur on the immediate right of the relative clause, the language attaches the place maintaining clitic pronominal element either =iss for masculine or =r for feminine entity onto the relativizer morpheme instead of the missing argument at the nominal head position. The clitic pronominal elements suffix the case and number of the missing argument. This is also reported in Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008: 15, 670).

### 9.2.2.3. Adverb clauses

An adverbial clause is a dependent clause that modifies a verb phrase and a clause as a whole like an adverb. Though an adverbial clause does not express a complete thought, it adds some information to the main clause it attaches (Payne 2006 :298). Some of the adverbial clauses we observed in our data include temporal clauses, reason/ purpose clauses, manner clauses, and conditional clauses.

#### 9.2.2.3.1. Temporal clause

The time expressing adverbials like kase ‘before’, simmin ‘after’ and sohaara or its short form saara ‘as soon as’ occur after the verb of the temporal dependent clause. The temporal clause usually precedes the main clause in Gofa. Consider the examples (259) taken from the marriage culture text.

259.

- a. ʔimats-í j-(a)ána-ppé kásé nú túkké pentt-iss-aná  
 guest-NOM come-FUT-DIRC TEMP 1PL.NOM coffee boil-CAUS-FUT.DCL  
 ‘We will/shall boil coffee before a guest comes.’ [ Lit We will/shall boil coffee  
 before a guest will/shall comes. ]
- b. ʔane ʔimats-í j-(a)ána-ppé kásé nú túkké  
 let guest-NOM come-FUT-DIRC TEMP 1PL.NOM coffee  
 pentt-iss-oó s  
 boil-CAUS-PRES. 1PL.A.DCL  
 ‘Let us boil coffee before a guest comes.’ /  
 [ Lit Let we boil coffee before a guest will come.]

c. ʔimats-í      gakk- ín < (ídi      simmín)      nú      túkké  
 guest-NOM    arrive -    PAST.REL    TEMP      1PL.NOM    coffee

péntt-í ss- ída

boil-CAUS-PAST.1PL.A.DCL

‘We boiled coffee after a guest came.’

d. ʔimats-í      gákk-idá      saára      nú      túkké  
 guest-NOM    arrive-PAST.REL    TEMP      1PL.NOM    coffee

pentt-iss-ída

boil-CAUS-PAST.1PL.A.DCL

‘We boiled coffee as soon as a guest arrived.’

In 259 a, b, the verb in the subordinating clause is understood in simple present tense though the literal translation gives it in the future tense in Gofa. In 259 b, in the ‘let...’ sentence construction, the subject pronoun is understood as object pronoun. In 259 c, we realized that both the relativizer marker and the adverbial drop certain segments and obtain the short form morpheme -in. Such morphophonemic processes are common in the language but not given emphasis in this thesis. Thus, we suggest the issue to be treated in future study.

#### 9.2.2.3.2. Reason clause

The reason clause indicating adverbial *gishshas* ‘for the reason (that)’ occurs after the verb of the dependent clause that precedes the main clause in Gofa. The adverbial *gishsha-s* [giʃʃá-s] is analyzed as ‘because/ reason-DAT’. This is also true in Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008: 881-882). Consider the examples in Gofa data (260).

260.

a. bóllotia      gakk-ída      giʃʃá-s      nú  
 mother-in-law-NOM    arrive-PAST.REL    REAS -DAT    1PL.NOM

túkké      pentt-iss-ída

coffee      boil-CAUS-PAST.1PL.A.DCL

‘We boiled coffee for the reason that the mother-in-law came.’

- b. hínntei                      nuú-s              sánga-a                      woit-ída  
 2S. HON/2PL.NOM 1PL-DAT ox-ACC.MS.DEF      offer a gift-PAST.REL
- giʃʃá-s              nú              hínntena                      gelat-ós  
 REAS-DAT 2PL.NOM 2S.HON/2PL.ACC thank/praise-PRES.1PL.A.DCL
- ‘ We praise/thank you for you offered us the ox.’

#### 9.2.2.3.3. Manner clause

A manner clause is marked by the adverbial *dan* ‘like/ as’ that occurs before the main verb. It expresses the manner of the event stated in the main clause as in 261.

261.

- a. meddaajeé              ʔaawa-i                      meddaawa-á              pa  
 bride.GEN.F      father-NOM.MS.DEF      groom-ACC.MS.DEF      3S.GEN
- náʔa-á                      dán              wóit-és  
 child-ACC.MS.DEF      MANN      give.gift-PRES.3MS.A.DCL
- ‘The father of the bride offers a gift to the groom as he does to his son.’

- b. meddaajeé              mitʃʃia                      meddaajeé              dán  
 bride.GEN.F      sister.NOM.FS.DEF      bride.GEN.F      MANN
- gúpp-aúsu  
 jump/dance-PRES.3FS.A.DCL
- ‘The sister of the bride dances like the bride.’

#### 9.2.2.3.4. Purposive clause

A purposive clause is marked by the prospective aspect marker *-u* ‘in order to’ that is suffixed to the main verb after the future tense. A purposive clause differs from a reason clause in that a reason clause expresses an action/event that may be realized at the moment of the main action/event whereas a purposive clause expresses a motivating action/event which is unrealized at a moment of the main action/event stated in the main clause (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007: 250). Consider the examples (262).

262.

laazántsiu                      ʔufaiss-ana-ú                      meddaajía  
marriage broker.ACC.FS.DEF    please-FUT-PURP    bride.NOM.FS.DEF  
  
tukké    pents-iss-aúsu  
coffee    boil-CAUS-PRES.3FS.A.DCL

‘In order to please the marriage broker, the bride boiled coffee.’

The purposive aspect marker can also be used as the infinitival clause marker -u ‘to’ in 263 as it is true in Maale (Azeb 2001b :186).

263.

meddaajía                      laázántsiu                      moka-ana-ú  
bride.NOM.FS.DEF    marriage broker.ACC.FS.DEF    welcome-FUT-INF  
  
káré                                      kéj-asu  
in front of the house    get out -PRES.3FS.A.DCL

‘She went out of the house to welcome the marriage broker.’

#### 9.2.2.3.5. Conditional clause

A conditional clause is marked by the adverbial bound morpheme -(i)ikko ‘if’ to express the action/event that may likely to happen and -iakko ‘if’ is used to express the action that unlikely to happen.

The adverbial bound morpheme -(i)ikko ‘if’ can be suffixed to the main verb in the affirmative mood as it is true in Wolaitta (Wakasa 2008: 889-892). In addition, Gofa attaches main verb to the clitic =ba ‘(property?)’ and suffixes the adverbial morpheme -ikko ‘if’ to the copular verb gid- ‘be’ in the conditional clause. Like the temporal and reason clauses, the conditional clauses also precede the main clauses in 264 a, b.

264.

a. bóllotia                                      j-ía=ba                                      gid -íkkó  
mother-in-law-NOM.F    come -PRES.REL=property    COP - COND<sub>1</sub>  
  
nú                      túkké    pentt-iss-aná  
1PL.NOM    coffee    boil-CAUS-FUT.A.DCL

‘We will boil coffee if the mother-in-law comes.’

- b. bóllotia                                      j-(i)íkko                      nú                      túkké  
 mother-in-law-NOM.F    come-COND<sub>1</sub>    1PL.NOM    coffee  
  
 pentt-iss-aná  
 boil-CAUS-FUT.A.DCL  
 ‘We will boil coffee if the mother-in-law comes.’

We obtain the same meaning in examples (264 a, b). These sentences are good examples of affirmative conditional expressing adverbial clauses that express events/actions that are likely to happen sometime after speaking. Gofa also constructs the negative conditionals by using adverbial *dhayikko* ‘if not’, that suffixes *-ikko* ‘if’ to the negative expressing copular *dhay-* [daj-] ‘disappear’ as it is observed in Wolaitta in the works of Wakasa (2008 :891).

We may use one of the alternantive negative copulars *att-* [ʔátt-] ‘remain’ , *ʔágg-* ‘stop/leave’ , and *dhay-* [daj-] ‘disappear’ if the negative future agreement marker *-eennan* is suffixed to the main verb root in apodosis, the main clause, as in 265.

265.

- a. nu                      goófá woga-n                      naʔeé                      ʔaawa-i  
 2PL.GEN    Gofa    culture-LOC    child.GEN.F    father-NOM.MS.DEF  
  
 naʔaá-sí -nné                      náʔeé -s                      woító                      ʔimm-aná  
 child.GEN.M-DAT-CNJ    child.GEN.F-DAT    a gift                      give-FUT  
  
 dáj-íkkó                      bórss-o  
 disappear-COND<sub>1</sub>                      shame-NMZ

‘It is shame if the father-in-law does not offer a gift to the bride and the groom.’

- b. nu                      goófá woga-n                      naʔeé                      ʔaawa-i  
 2PL.GEN    Gofa    culture-LOC    child.GEN.F    father-NOM.MS.DEF  
  
 naʔaá-sí -nné                      naáʔeé -s                      woító  
 child.GEN.M-DAT-CNJ    child.GEN.F-DAT    a gift  
  
 ʔimm-énna-n                      ʔagg-íkkó                      bórss-o  
 give-FUT.NEG-?    leave/stop-COND<sub>1</sub>                      shame-NMZ

‘It is shame if the father-in-law does not offer a gift to the bride and the groom.’

c. nu            goófá woga-n        naʔeé            ʔaawa-i  
 2PL.GEN    Gofa    culture-LOC    child.GEN.F    father-NOM.MS.DEF  
 naʔaa-sí -nné                    naáʔeé -s            woító  
 child.GEN.M-DAT-CNJ    child.GEN.F-DAT    a gift  
 ʔimm-énná-n            ʔátt-íkkó            bórss-o  
 give-FUT.NEG-?    remain-COND<sub>1</sub>    shame-NMZ

‘It is shame if the father-in-law does not offer a gift to the bride and the groom.’

We use another adverbial morpheme -iakko ‘if’ (COND<sub>2</sub>) and suffix either to the main verb root or the copular gid- ‘be’ to express the action/event that is unlikely to happen in hypothetical conditional clauses in 266.

266.

a. meddaajía            zine            j-ida=ba  
 bride.NOM.FS.DEF    yesterday    come-PAST.REL=property  
 gid-iakkó,            nu            haʔʔji        mökk-ana  
 be/COP-COND<sub>2</sub>    2S.NOM    today        welcome-FUT  
 ʃiin        ʔatt-is  
 but        remain-PAST.3MS.A.DCL

‘We would have welcomed her today if the bride came yesterday.’ /

‘We did not welcome her today for the bride did not come yesterday.’

b. meddaajía            zine            j- idakkó,            nu  
 bride.NOM.FS.DEF    yesterday    come-PAST.REL .COND<sub>2</sub>    2S.NOM  
 haʔʔji        mökk-ana        ʃiin        ʔatt-is  
 today        welcome-FUT    but        remain-PAST.3MS.A.DCL

‘We would have welcomed her today if the bride came yesterday.’ /

‘We did not welcome her today for the bride did not come yesterday.’

In general, the protasis, subordinating / adverbial clauses, always come before apodosis, the main clauses, as it is true in relative clauses. We realized that Gofa makes use of two adverbial morphemes -ikko (COND<sub>1</sub>) and -iakko (COND<sub>2</sub>). The former expresses an action that is likely to happen whereas the latter expresses an action that is unlikely to happen in hypothetical conditionals. Nevertheless Wakasa (2008: 952) presents these morphemes as alternative adverbials in likely to happen conditionals. We suggest such a different approach needs further investigation.

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## Summary and Conclusion

Chapter one gives a brief introduction about the history and the geographical location of the people speaking the language, the language, the languages spoken around and its classification. The sub sections of the chapter deal with the objectives, and significances of the study, the organization of the thesis, the theoretical frameworks and the methods employed to collect and analyze the corpus of primary and secondary data.

Chapter two presents the segmental phonology of the language. The present work attests that the language has 30 consonant and 5 vowel segments. Out of the consonant segments, three consonants identified in this work have the status of phonemes. The consonant gemination and vowel lengthening are phonemic in the language as it is true in the related languages.

Chapter three treats some of the morphophonemic processes that are connected with the phonological and morphological changes of nominals. The finding shows that the language inserts the epenthetic glide vowels /j, w/ between the impermissible sequences of terminal vowels of the nominals and the case marking morphemes to obtain vowel raising of **-e** and **-o** to **-i** and **-u** respectively and a few portmanteau morphemes **-ia**, **-iu**, **-ua** that co-mark gender, case, definiteness, and singular number. Besides, the portmanteau morpheme **-ia** expresses (NOM.3FS.DEF) / (ACC.3MS.DEF) when **-a** (NOM.3FS)/ (ACC.3MS) is suffixed onto the TV **-e** nominal entities. We also attested that the epenthetic vowels **-i** and **-e** are inserted to break the impermissible consonant sequences in the borrowed words.

The very variations between the morphemes and their allomorphs of vowels and consonants are conditioned directly or indirectly by the phonetic environment of the adjacent sound segments. The other factors that contributed for certain segments to occur in different forms in different environment are handled by a few morphophonemic processes and rules. Among the morphophonemic processes attested and treated so far in this chapter include segment fortition/devoicing, assimilation, deletion, segment dropping, segment alteration, insertion, affix suppletion, subtractive rule and resyllabification.

We feel that points we discussed may provide some morphophonemic accounts for the morphophonemic alterations that occur in the language and the accounts provided for the morphophonemic alterations may throw some light on the historical and internal reconstruction of a language in particular (Trask, 2005:228). Besides, the finding may also be used as a resource for those who are interested to hypothesize the internal reconstruction of North Omoto Cluster language in particular and the Omotic phylum in general. We invite researchers to investigate some of the processes that are not treated for they are beyond the scope of present study.

Every lexeme assigns one high tonal accent in its citation form. But some simple verbs assign only one high tonal accent on one of their syllables. Unlike the simple verbs, the verbs with complex affixes assign one and more than one high tonal accents either on their pronominal affixes or both on the root/stem and the pronominal affixes.

The mono syllabic demonstrative pronouns used as specifiers lose their high tonal accents for the language assigns on the head noun of the noun phrase. This makes these mono syllabic demonstratives behave like the genitive pronouns used as specifiers. On the contrary, the disyllabic demonstrative pronoun used as a specifier retains its high tonal accent and assigns the high tonal accent that spreads from the head noun in Gofa. This makes the disyllabic demonstrative behave like some specifiers such as the genitive nominals, attributive adjectives, temporal and locative genitives.

When one observes multiple H-tonal accents on certain phrases, one of the reasons contributing to this is plateauing. According to the autosegmental rule of the language, the low tonal accent between two high tonal accented syllables, be it in the same word or adjacent syllables at word boundaries, becomes high tonal accent like that of segmental assimilation. The high tonal accent unassigned floats until it replaces the low tonal accent when the autosegmental lexical and grammatical rules are used to derive new lexicons.

We derive many new nominal stems by employing derivational morphology of the language. Some of the new nominals that we obtain include abstract, agentive, locative, gerundive, and process nominal stems from other nominal, verb, adjective and adverb roots. In addition to that, the language also derives a few new nominal stems by using

derivational tone. In this regard, the language shifts the high tonal accent from its origin and assigns on another syllable.

We also observe that the language derives a few new nominal stems by employing conversion or functional shift (as in sheeshsha [ʃeéʃʃa] ‘a clan’ and ‘urine’) and by means of compounding. Some new compounds are the results of complete reduplication of the root/stem of the head noun as in aawa [ʔaawá] ‘father’ and aawaa aawa [ʔaawaaʔaawaa] ‘grand father’.

The pronouns of Gofa are nominals like nouns since the primary function is to denote speech roles (speech act participants). Like nouns, the pronouns are used in the subject/agent, the direct and the indirect argument positions in phrases, clauses and sentences. Gender distinction is expressed in the third person singular and this is mainly the characteristics of most bound-pronoun languages.

Gofa is a three person language by which the first person plays the role of the speaker and the second person plays the role of the addressee by the speaker for s/he participates in the discourse being an active listener. The third person, on the other hand, is neither the speaker nor the addressee in the discourse. Moreover, the speech roles of each person will be changed from time to time as each person replaces the other in the discourse.

The main points treated in chapter 6 include the independent pronouns and the dependent pronouns. The independent pronouns treated in depth in this study include the personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, reciprocal and indefinite pronouns whereas the dependent pronouns include the reflexive, the relative and the vocative pronouns that are attached either onto the base of other pronouns or the verb roots/ stems.

Most nouns in Gofa are disyllabic and some are polysyllabic. Some proper names and common nouns express gender distinction inherently/lexically whereas some are not. The latter assign male and female differentiating lexicons and morphemes by morphological means. As the finding of this study shows, the grammar of the language makes use of different strategies of the nominal morphology such as gender co-marking case system, gender expressing attributive adjectives, third person singular personal pro-

nouns, and place maintaining enclitic pronominal morphemes to express gender together with case, number and definiteness grammatical relations.

The nominative and accusative cases are overtly marked and they co-mark gender at a time. The very few nominal entities express gender in their citation forms. Be it definite or indefinite, plural or singular, masculine or feminine, a nominal in Gofa assigns a high tonal accent on one of its syllables: ultimate, penultimate or antepenultimate syllable.

According to the case system of the language, the nominal entity becomes definite singular when the TVs interact with both the accusative and nominative case markers and often form diphthongs. We also attested that the singular indefinite vowel final nominals with the TVs -e and -o form diphthongs with the nominative and accusative case markers. This is because the vowel final head nominals do not drop their TVs in Gofa. This is also reported in Koorete (Hayawrd 1982 and Binyam 2010).

Genitive case is overtly marked on some nouns expressing inalienable possession and definite genitive/possessive nouns in genitive constructions. Some other genitive constructions are formed by juxtaposition of two nouns whereby the genitive/possessive nouns suffix no morphological linker. The dative case marker is -s(si) and its alternant is -jjo or -u. They are often suffixed onto the gender expressing genitive morphemes that are attached to the stem of entities used as the recipients, goals or experiences. The coordinate case (-nne) and comitative case (-ra) suffix onto the stem of the nominal entities used to form compound subjects/agents or objects of the verbs.

The equative and essive cases suffix -dan ‘as ... as’/ ‘like’ to show comparison between the agent and its object using a two predicate verbs. We use the suffix -ra to mark the instrumental/comitative case. Partitive case is expressed by quantity expressing lexicons and the morpheme -iu when suffixed onto nominal entities of the definite or indefinite quantities. The vocative case suffixes -ee onto feminine proper names and common nouns whereas -aa, -au, -ee, -oo, -uu, iau, and -uau are suffixed to masculine proper and common nouns.

The noun phrase of Gofa may include the obligatory noun or pronoun, the optional specifiers and complements. The specifiers treated in this thesis include determiners,

quantifiers and the genitive NPs of possession. The complements on the other hand are grouped into phrasal and clausal complements. The relative clauses are treated as clausal complements.

The language employs three strategies to construct a relative clause. One of them is the use of a gap strategy with the invariant morpheme -a that does not express the gender, number and case of the head noun argument. The second strategy allows the language to assign the free head noun before the relative clause and to attach the space maintaining or the nominalizer clitic pronominal elements =r- (refers to the feminine entity) and =iss- (refers to the masculine entity) onto the relativizer morpheme. The third strategy is to suffix the number and case expressing morphemes of the missing head noun onto the enclitic pronominals.

We found converbs show clausal chaining function for they bear chain of information in a complex clause. The converbs do not affix the tense and mood although the converb marking morphemes obtain the pronominal subject clitics. The adverb clauses are dependent clauses that may express time, reason, manner, purpose, and condition of the verbs in the main clauses. The adverbials such as kase ‘before’, simmin ‘after’ and s(oh)aan ‘as soon as’ expresses temporal clause, gishshsa ‘for the reason’ expresses the reason clause, -u ‘to’ expresses purposive clause, and dan ‘like/as’ expresses manner clause, and -ikko and -iakko ‘if’ express conditional clause in Gofa.

The adverbial morphemes -ikko ‘if’ is COND<sub>1</sub> and -iakko ‘if’ COND<sub>2</sub>. These morphemes are different in that the former is used to express the condition of the event/action stated in the main clause is likely to happen whereas the latter is used to express the condition of the event/action stated in the main clause is unlikely to happen. In addition to that, we also obtain the negative conditional dhayikko [dajikko] ‘if not’ when -ikko is suffixed to the negative meaning bearing word dhay- [daj-] ‘disappear’.

We believe that the present work may shed some lights on the study of the North Omoto cluster of languages but we still believe that some issues like the status of -n- in the plural marking morpheme -ntt- that occur in some personal pronouns and kinship nouns, the occurrence of the terminal vowel -i with some nominals, the assignment of tonal accents

on the object personal pronouns and a noun phrase that obtains three or more than three constituents, the occurrence of the subject of the main clause before the relative clause and the omission of some constituents in affirmative conditional clauses need further study in the language.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Funerary Tradition 01 (Gofa 001)

Ref Pa1-01

tx dabbo haaho haaho dabbo asay eh afilaa bullukkuwa gaabiya ehiyo wogaa  
woygiyo hegaa?

w dabbo haaho haaho dabbo ?asa-i  
ge relative far far relative person -NOM.3MS.DEF  
ps N ADJ ADJ N N -SUF

w eh ?afila-a  
ge pose cloth -ACC.M.DEF  
ps --- N -SUF

w bullukkua gaabia  
ge bullukko.ACC.3MS.DEF gaabi.ACC.M.DEF  
ps N .SUF N .SUF

w ?ehio woga-a woi g-io he = g-aa  
ge bringing culture- ACC what say- PRES.1PL DEM. INV = entity.M- ACC.3MS.EF  
ps ADJ N -SUF PRON V -SUF PRON = CLIT -SUF

ft ‘What do we call if relatives from far places bring cultural clothes like bullukko  
(a big cotton cloth) and gaabi (a medium size cotton cloth) for the deceased  
family?’

Ref Pa 2- 01

tx moogo afila ekkidi yiyaasi mooguwa ekki yiikko ishaa gidikko eeh maccaasiw bessidi

w moogo ?afila-a ?ekk-idi j-ia ?as-i  
ge burial.GEN cloth-ACC.M bring - CNV2 come -PRES.REL person-NOM.3MS  
ps ADJ N -SUF V -SUF V -SUF N -SUF

w moogua ?ekk-i j-iikko  
ge burial.NMZ take-CNV<sub>2</sub> come- if  
ps N .SUF V- SUF V -SUF

w     ʔiʃa-a                                 gid-ikko     ʔeeh  
ge     brother- ACC.3MS.DEF     be - if     pose  
ps     N - SUF                                 V -SUF     pose

w     matʃtʃ'a -asiu                                 bess-idi  
ge     female.GEN -person .ACC.3FS.DEF     show- CNV2  
ps     ADJ -N .SUF                                 V     -SUF

ft     ‘If a person brings the cultural clothes to use as a shroud (to wrap the dead body) as a gift at the burial ceremony,the brother of the deceased , pose , shows the lady who lost her husband.’

Ref   Pa 2 -02

tx     aaway diikko, na7aa bessidi

w     ʔaawa-i                                 d-iikko     naʔa-a                                 bess-idi  
ge     father-NOM.3MS.DEF     exist/be- if     child - ACC.3MS.DEF     show - CNV2  
ps     N - SUF                                 V - SUF     N -SUF                                 V -SUF

ft     ‘If the father of the deceased is alive, he shows the son who lost one of members of his family.’

Ref   Pa 2 -03

tx     zareti ubbay shiiqidi

w     zare-t-i                                 ʔubb-ai     ʃiik'-idi  
ge     relative- PL -NOM.3MS     all- NOM     come. together-CNV2  
ps     N     SUF     SUF                                 ADJ - SUF     V                                 -SUF

ft     ‘Bring all the relatives together (and show the materials brought to the children)’

Ref   Pa 2 -04

tx     nayti wontto bantta wulata ciggana gishshas

w     nai-t-i                                 wontto     bantta                                 wulata-a  
ge     child- PL - NOM tomorrow     3PL                                 payable . gift- ACC.3MS.DEF  
ps     N -SUF -SUF     ADV                                 GEN. PRON     N - SUF

w     tʃ'igg-ana                                 giʃʃa-s  
ge     pay the debt- FUT     reason - DAT/(for)  
ps     V - SUF                                 N - SUF

ft ‘Lest the children pay the debt some day ( when someone who brought the burial gift dies).

Ref Pa 2 -05

tx dabbota shiishshidi na7ikka de7ikko, nayta ubbaa shiishshidi

w dabbo-t-a                      ʃiiff-idi                      naʔ-ikko

ge relative-PL- ACC.3PL    bring. together -CNV<sub>2</sub>    child -if

ps N -SUF -SUF                      V -SUF                      N -SUF

w nai-t-a                      ʔubb-aa                      ʃiiff-idi

ge child- PL - ACC.PL    all - ACC    bring together - CNV<sub>2</sub>

ps N -SUF -SUF                      ADJ - SUF    V - SUF

ft ‘If the deceased has children , the relatives bring all the children together.’

Ref Pa 2 -06

tx maccaa ʔattumaa shiishshiidi hagan hinttaawaa moogite giidi bullukkuwakka immes eeh

w matʃʃʔa- a                      ʔattuma-a                      ʃiiff-idi

ge female - ACC.3FS.DEF    male-ACC.3MS.DEF    bring. together -CNV<sub>2</sub>

ps ADJ - SUF                      ADJ- SUF                      V- SUF

w ha = ga-n    hintte                      ʔaawa-a

ge DEM.PROX = entity. M - INST(with)    2S.HON/2PL                      father- ACC.3MS.DEF

ps PRON                      = CLIT                      - SUF                      GEN .PRON    N - SUF

w moog-ite    g-iidi                      bullukkua -kka    ʔimm-es

ge bury - 2S.HON/2PL. IMP    say -CNV<sub>2</sub>    bullukko.ACC.3MS.DEF - even give-PRES.  
3MS.A.DCL

ps V -SUF    V - SUF                      N -SUF -SUF    V -SUF

ft ‘Bring male and female (children /relatives) together , and say ‘ With this (bullukko), bury your father. ’ and then the relatives give the bullukko. pose’

Ref Pa 2 - 07

tx eeh sangga ehida gidikko hagan hintte imathaa moyzite yaagidi immidi bes

w ʔeeh sangga-a                      ʔeh-ida                      gid-ikko                      ha = ga-n

ge pose ox - ACC.3MS.DEF    bring- CNV<sub>2</sub>    be/COP- if    DEM.PROX = entity. M -INST  
(with)

ps pose N - SUF    V - SUF                      V- SUF                      PRON = CLIT-SUF

w hintte                    ?imatsa-a                    moiz-ite  
ge 2S.HON/PL.GEN guest- ACC.3MS.DEF feed and see off - 2S.HON/2PL. IMP  
ps GEN.PRON                N - SUF    V- SUF  
ft pose ‘ If someone brings a bull, he says , ‘With this /(bull), feed your guests and see them off ! ’

w jaag-idi    ?imm-idi                b-es  
ge say. like. that- CNV<sub>2</sub>                give - CNV2                go- PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps V - SUF    V -SUF                        V -SUF  
ft Pose “‘ If someone brings a bull, he says , ‘With this /(bull), feed your guests and see them off ! After having given the gift ,the relative goes back home.’”

Ref Pa 1 -02

tx heгаа боллан  
w he = g-aa    бolla-n  
ge DEM.INV = entity -ACC.3MS on top of - LOC(.on)  
ps PRON = CLIT- SUF    ADV - SUF  
ft ‘On top of that,’

Ref Pa 1 -03

tx ha ehiida lo77o deexo booraa giin bullukkuwa giin yiidaaga bullukkuwa waataneе ?  
w ha    ?eh-iida                lo??o                deets'o  
mb ha    ?eh - iid-a                lo??o                deets'o  
ge DEM.PROX bring-PF-REL good/fine heavy  
ps PRON                V -SUF                ADJ                ADJ

w boor-aa    g- iin  
ge ox -ACC.3MS.DEF say - if/let/after  
ps N - SUF    V - SUF

w bullukk-ua    g-iin  
ge bullukko- ACC.3MS.DEF say- if/let/after  
ps N - SUF    V - SUF

w j-iidaa = g-a    bullukkua    waatan-ee  
ge come -PAST.3MS = entity.M- ACC.M                bullukko.ACC.3MS.DEF wha. to .do -INTER  
ps V-SUF = CLIT - SUF    N.SUF    RON-SUF

ft 'Let's say both the fat ox and the heavy bullukko are brought to the deceased family. By the way, what do we do with the heavy/big bullukko?'

Ref Pa 2 -08

tx bullukkuwa mooguan gakkiko mooges  
w bullukkua moogua-n gakk-iko moog- es  
ge bullukko. ACC.3MS.DEF burial. ACC.M- AD(E)S arrive -if bury- es  
ps N - SUF N.SUF- SUF V-SUF V-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ft 'If the bullukko is brought at the burial ceremony, it will be buried. '

Ref Pa 2 -09

tx mooguan gakkana dhaykko , bayzzi ekkana somma7enna.  
w moogua-n gakk-ana daj-ikko ,  
ge burial .ACC.3MS.DEF-AD(E)S arrive- FUT disappear- if  
ps N .SUF-SUF V -SUF V- SUF  
w baizz-i ?ekk-ana soo-n maa?-enna  
ge sell- CNV<sub>2</sub> take- FUT home -LOC(at) wear -PRES/FUT. 3MS. NEG. DCL  
ps V - SUF V -SUF N -SUF V - SUF  
ft 'If the bullukko is not brought at the burial ceremony , it is sold but never worn at home.'

Ref Pa 2 -10

tx eeh booraa gidikko kare utethan shukkes.  
w ?eeh boora-a gid-ikko kare ?ut-etstsa-n  
ge pose ox- ACC.3MS.DEF COP- if outside sit -NMZ- AD(E)S  
ps --- N- SUF V- SUF ADV V - SUF- SUF  
w fukk-es  
ge slaughter- PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps V - SUF  
ft Pose. 'In case of the ox , it is slaughtered in front of the guests outside.'

Ref Pa 2 -11

tx eeh he galla ho77uwan gakkikko , caddeettes .

w    ʔeeh   he               galla   hoʔʔua-n                               gakk-ikko  
ge   pose... DEM.INV   day   hot .ACC.3MS.DEF- AD(E)S   arrive .on. time- if  
ps   ---    GEN. PRON   N       ADJ .SUF - SUF                               V - SUF

w    tʃʰadd-eett-es  
ge   stab -PASS .PRES.3MS .A.DCL  
ps   V -SUF -SUF  
ft   Pose. ‘If the ox is brought on the funeral day, it is stabbed in front of the guests.’

Ref   Pa 2 -12

tx   he galla shukkidi  
w    he               galla   ʃukk-idi  
ge   DEM.INV   day   slaughter - CNV<sub>2</sub>  
ps   GEN. PRON   N       V - SUF  
ft   ‘slaughters on that day (at the ceremony)’

Ref   Pa 2 -13

tx   hay lamissaale  
w    hai lamissaale  
ge   for   example  
ps   DAT   N  
ft   ‘for example,’

Ref   Pa 2 -14

tx   ha kare ne yaaba gidikko booraa ehi shukkidinne taani (taara yida) imathatas bagga ekkays.

w    ha               kare    ne               jaa-ba               gidi-kko  
ge   DEM.PROX   outside   2S.NOM   come.if =entity   be/COP- if  
ps   GEN.PRON   N       PRON       V.SUF = CLIT   V-SUF

w    boora-a               ʔeh-i(di)       ʃukk-idi-nne  
ge   ox-ACC.3MS.DEF   bring- CNV<sub>2</sub>   slaughter- CNV<sub>2</sub> - CNJ  
ps   N -SUF               V -SUF       V- SUF - SUF

w    taani           ʔimatsa-t-a-s               bagga               ʔekk-ais  
ge   1S.NOM   guest- PL - ACC -DAT   portion -CNV<sub>1</sub>   take- PRES.1S.A.DCL  
ps   PRON   N - SUF - SUF- SUF   ADJ -SUF       V -SUF  
ft   ‘If you come to this place with your guests (and) see someone brings the ox and slaughters, you will see me take some meat to feed the guests who came with me.’

Ref	Pa 2 -15				
tx	neeni neera yida asatas bagga ekkaasa				
w	neeni	nee-ra	j-iida	ʔasa-t-a-s	
ge	2S.NOM	2S - COM	come - PAST-REL	person - PL -ACC- DAT	
ps	PRON	PRON -SUF	V- SUF	N - SUF - SUF- SUF	
w	bagg-a(da)		ʔekk-aasa		
ge	portion -CNV <sub>1</sub>		take- PRES.2S.A.DCL		
ps	V -SUF		V- SUF		
ft	'You also take some meat for the guests who come with you.'				
Ref	Pa 2 -16				
tx	hinttew safaray dumma imettes				
w	hintte-u	safara-i	dumma	ʔim-ett-es	
ge	2S.HON/2PL-DAT	place- NOM.M	alone	give-PASS-PRES.3MS.A.DCL	
ps	PRON - SUF	N - SUF	ADJ	V -SUF - SUF	
ft	'You are given a suitable place (to sit and pass the night).'				
Ref	Pa 2 -17				
tx	kathay imettes mashshay imettes				
w	katsa-i	ʔim-ett-es		maʃʃa-i	
ge	food- NOM.3MS.DEF	give- PASS -PRES.3MS.A.DCL		knife -NOM.3MS.DEF	
ps	N - SUF	V - SUF - SUF		N - SUF	
w	ʔim-ett-es				
ge	give- PASS-PRES.3MS.A.DCL				
ps	V - SUF - SUF				
ft	'You are given food and knife (to cut the meat).'				
Ref	Pa 2 -18				
tx	hay baara yida imathata muzidi imathata ekkes .				
w	hai	baa-ra	j-ida	ʔimatsa-t-aa-ra	m-uz-idi
ge	...	3S -COM	come- PAST-REL	guest -PL-ACC-COM	eat-CAUS-CNV <sub>2</sub>
ps	---	PRON-SUF	V - SUF	N - SUF-SUF-SUF	V-SUF-SUF
w	ʔimatsa-t-a-s		ʔekk-es		
ge	guest- PL- ACC.PL-DAT(for)		take - PRES .3MS.A.DCL		
ps	N - SUF-SUF-SUF		V -SUF		
ft	'Now everyone takes care and feeds the guests who came with her/him.'				
Ref	Pa 1 -04				
tx	yeeho cachchaa giyoge woygiyogee ?				
w	jeeho	tʃ 'atʃʃa-a		g-io=ge	
ge	funeral.GEN	stabbing- ACC.3MS		say- NMZ =entity.NOM.M	
ps	N	N - SUF		V - SUF=CLIT. SUF	

w woi g-io=gee  
ge what say-NMZ=entity.M.INTER  
ps PRON V- SUF=CLIT.SUF  
ft ‘‘What do we mean by ‘yeeho cachcha’ ?’’

Ref Pa 2 -19  
tx yeeho cachchaa  
w jeeho tʃ 'atʃʃa-a  
ge funeral.GEN stabbing - ACC.3MS.DEF  
ps N N -SUF  
ft "Yeeho cachchaa" [is a cultural practice.]

Ref Pa 2 -20  
tx hay amaarappe guyye shukkos , yeeho cachcha guussi dumma  
w hai ʔamaara-ppe gujje kunddissidi  
ge ... Amharic .speaking .people- from after kundd-iss-idi  
ps ... N -SUF ADV V-CAUS.CNV<sub>2</sub>

w fukk-os jeeho tʃ 'atʃʃa-a g-uuss-i dumma  
ge slaughter- PRES.2PL funeral stabbing-ACC.3MS say- NMZ- NOM.M different  
ps V- SUF V- SUF N-SUF V - SUF- SUF ADJ.A.DCL  
ft ‘After the exposure to the culture of the Amharic speaking people, we slaughter the bull after it is made to fall down. But "yeeho cachcha" is quite different from this.’

Ref Pa 2 -21  
tx heгаа wozanaa demmiya bessi eriyasi des  
w he=g-a wozana-a demm-ia bessi  
ge DEM.INV =entity.M -ACC.M heart-ACC.M find - PRES .REL place  
ps PRON = CLIT- SUF N - SUF V -SUF N  
ft ‘The place where one finds (the heart of the bull) .’

w ʔer-ia as-i d-es  
ge know -NMZ person-NOM exist- PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps V- SUF N -SUF V - SUF  
ft ‘There are skilled people who identify the place where one finds (the heart of the bull) .’

Ref Pa 2 - 22  
tx miya lanqeera tooran caddidi  
w mija laŋkk’ - eera spear -LOC(with) tʃ 'add-idi  
ge chest near/closer- ABES (nearby) N - SUF stab - CNV<sub>2</sub>  
ps N ADV- SUF N - SUF V - SUF  
ft ‘The skilled people ,specially, stab the ox with the spear near its chest.’

Ref Pa 2 - 23

tx wozanaa hoddidi booray eqon de7ishin  
w wozana-a hodd-idi boora-i  
ge heart- ACC.3MS.DEF stab. repeatedly- CNV<sub>2</sub> bull- NOM.MS.DEF  
ps N - SUF V - SUF N -SUF

w ?ek'o-n de?-i?in  
ge alive- LOC/ABL exist -while.LOC  
ps ADJ - SUF V -SUF  
ft 'Stab the ox several times when the ox is standing.'

Ref Pa 2 -23

tx wozanaa aadhi7aadhi caddin booray kunddikko yeeho cachcha geettes/ guussi  
w wozana-a ?aad-i ?aad-i(di) tʃ 'add-in  
ge heart-3MS.DEF pass -CNV<sub>2</sub> pass -CNV<sub>2</sub> stab - after  
ps N - SUF V -SUF V -SUF V - SUF

w boora-i kundd-ikko  
ge ox - NOM.3MS.DEF fall down- if  
ps N - SUF V -SUF

w jeeho tʃ 'atʃfa g-eett-es g-uussi  
ge funeral.GEN stabbing say/call-PASS- PRES.3MS.A.DCL say/call -NMZ  
ps N N V-SUF - SUF V -SUF  
ft 'If the ox falls down after its heart is stabbed several times, we call such a cultural practice that takes place at the funeral ceremony as 'yeeho cachcha.'

Ref Pa 2 -24

tx qassi issoykka des  
w k 'assi ?isso-ikka d-es  
ge also one-also exist- PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps ADV ADJ- SUF V -SUF  
ft 'There is also another way of killing cattle in the funerary culture of the people in the past.'

Ref Pa 2 -25

tx issoy gadaalo ges  
w ?isso-i gadaalo g-es  
ge one- NOM.M gadallo call - PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps ADJ - SUF N V -SUF  
ft 'This one is known as 'gadaalo.'

Ref Pa 2 -26

tx daro mehe diyaasa gidikko, imathaas shukkaanaaga shukkidi gade asaas oyddu  
ichchashu sanjgata tooran caddidi yeddiyagges

w	daro	mehe	d-ia	ʔasa	gid-ikko
ge	many	cattle	own - PRES.REL	person	COP/be -if
ps	ADJ	N	V - SUF	N	V-SUF
w	ʔimatsaa-s		fukk-anaa-ga		fukk-idi
ge	guest.GEN /ACC.M-	DAT	slaughter- FUT=entity.ACC		slaughter- CNV <sub>2</sub>
ps	N -SUF - SUF		V - SUF= NMZ.SUF		V - SUF
w	gade	ʔasaa-s	ʔoiddu	ʔitʃtʃaffu	sangga(-t)-a
ge	land	person.GEN - DAT	four.GEN	five.GEN	bull (-PL) - ACC.3PL
ps	N	N.SUF -SUF	ADJ	ADJ	N (-SUF) -SUF
w	toora-n		tʃ 'add-idi	jedd-i	ʔagg-es
ge	spear- INSTR (with)	stab- CNV <sub>2</sub>		leave .free - CNV <sub>2</sub>	stop-PRES.3MS.A.DCL
ps	N- SUF	V- SUF		V -SUF	V -SUF
ft	'If someone is rich, he slaughters as many oxen/ bulls as possible for his guests. He also stabs four or five oxen/bulls with spear for his neighbors and lets the bulls free. (After that, his neighbors share the meet as they wish.)'				

Ref Pa 2 -27

tx booray tooran cadettidi barggaages

w	boora-i	toora-n	tʃ 'ad-ett-idi
ge	ox - NOM.3M.DEF	spear- INSTR( with)	stab - PASS- CNV <sub>2</sub>
ps	N - SUF	N - SUF	V - SUF - SUF

w	barggaag -es
ge	run. here .and .there -PRES.3MS.A.DCL
ps	V -SUF
ft	'Having been stabbed, the oxen run here and there.'

Ref Pa 2 -28

tx nɔʔatetha xalala asay gakkidi, gedaa eeh gaadiya , gaadiya woykko quwanjja amaari quwanjja (ges) quwanjja qanxxidi booraa kunddissidi ashuwa bessan gisheettes.

w	nɔʔa-tetsa	ts'alala	ʔasa-i	gakk-idi
ge	child-NMZ	fearless/brave	person-NOM.3MS.DEF	reach -CNV <sub>2</sub>
ps	N - SUF	ADJ	N - SUF	V - SUF

w	geda-a	ʔeeh	gaadia
ge	leg-ACC.3MS.DEF	(pose)	thigh .ACC.3MS.DEF
ps	N - .SUF	pose	N .SUF

w	gaadia	woikko	k 'uandʒdʒa-a	ʔamaari	k 'uandʒdʒa-a
ge	thigh.ACC.3M S	or	thigh.-ACC.3MS	(in) Amharic	high -ACC.3MS
ps	N .SUF	CONJ	N - SUF	N	N -SUF

w k 'uandʒdʒa-a k 'antsts'-idi  
ge thigh-ACC cut - CNV<sub>2</sub>  
ps N -SUF V -SUF

w boora-a kundd-iss-idi ?afua  
ge ox-ACC.3MS.DEF fall.down - CAUS - CNV<sub>2</sub> meat . ACC.M  
ps N -SUF V -SUF -SUF N .SUF

w bessa-n giʃ-eett-es  
ge spot -INES(/on the spot) share -PASS- PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps N -SUF V -SUF -SUF

ft ‘The brave youngsters and strong men will reach and catch the leg, oh no, the thigh of the oxen. Thigh is quanjja in Amharic. Having cut the thigh and make the oxen fall down, the meat is distributed to the guests on the spot.’

Ref Pa 2 - 29

tx neekka ne wolqiya danddayida keniyu qanxxaasa  
w nee-kka ne wolkk'ia danddaj-ida keeniu k'antsts'-aasa  
ge 2S - too 2S.GEN force .NOM.3FS be.able - PAST. REL equal.ACC.F cut - PRES.2S.  
A. DCL  
ps PRON- SUF PRON N . SUF V - SUF N .SUF V - SUF  
ft ‘You, too, cut and take the meat that could satisfy you.’

Ref Pa 2- 30

tx taakka ta wolqqiya danddayida keeniyu qanxxays  
w taa-kka ta wolkk'ia danddaj-ida keeniu k'antsts'-ais  
ge 1S - too 1S.GEN force. NOM.F COP -PAST.REL equal.ACC.3FS cut-PRES.1S. A. DCL  
ps PRON-SUF PRON N . SUF V -SUF N .SUF V - SUF  
ft ‘I ,too, cut and take the piece of meat as much as I could eat.’

Ref Pa 2 -31

tx hegee gadaalo g(eett)es  
w he=g-ee gadaalo g (-eett)-es  
ge DEM.INV =entity-NOM.M gadaalo call (-PASS) -PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps PRON =CLIT-SUF N V (-SUF) -SUF  
ft ‘‘Such a funerary cultural practice in Gofa is known as ' gadaalo' .’’

Ref Pa 1- 05

tx he7 he7 ....  
w he? he? ...  
ft ‘laughter’

## Appendix B: Marriage Tradition 01

RefPa1	Pa1-01
txPa1	pantta soo ekki buussas hanishin yexxiya yethi aykkoy dii?
wpa1	pantta soo ?ekk-i b-uussa-s hanifin jeetsts'ia
gePa1	their home take-CNV <sub>2</sub> go-NMZ-DAT while.ready sing.NMZ
psPa1	GEN.PRON N V-SUF N-SUF-SUF CONJ V.SUF
wpa1	jetsi ?aikko-i d-ii?
gePa1	song anything-NOM.M exist-PRES.3MS.INTER
psPa1	N PRON -SUF V -SUF
ftPa1	'Is there any song they sing when they are ready to take the bride to their home?'
RefPa2	Pa2-01
txPa2	ee yexxiya yethay
WPa2	?ee jetsts'ia jetsa-i
gePa2	yes sing.NMZ song- NOM.M
ps Pa2	ADV V.SUF N-SUF
ftPa2	'Yes, there are songs.'
RefPa2	Pa2-02
txPa2	karya gelisokko giyabaykka des
wPa2	karia gel-iss-okko gia=bai-kka
gePa2	door.NOM.M enter-CAUS-PRES.2PL.NEG.DCL say.NMZ=entity-too
ps Pa2	N.SUF V-SUF -SUF N.SUF=CLIT-SUF
wPa2	d-es
gePa2	exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL
ps Pa2	V -SUF
ftPa2	'There is a song that says 'We do not allow you to enter.'
RefPa2	Pa2-03
txPa2	qas nu na7iu immokko yaages he keethan, keethaasay
wPa2	k'as nu na?iu ?imm-okko
gePa2	in addition our daughter.ACC.F give-PRES.2PL.NEG.DCL
ps Pa2	CONJ GEN.PRON N-SUF V-SUF

wPa2 jaag-es he keetsa-n keetsaasa-i  
gePa2 say.like.that-PRES.3MS.A.DCL that house-LOC family-NOM.M  
psPa2 V-SUF GEN.PRON N-SUF N.SUF-SUF  
ftPa2 'In addition, the family of the daughter say ' We will not  
give you our daughter.'

RefPa2 Pa2-04

txPa2 aggidi bookko ges kare asay

wPa2 ?agg -idi b-ookko g-es kare ?asa-i  
gePa2 leave-CNV<sub>2</sub> go-FUT.2PL.NEG.DCL say-PRES.3MS.DCL outside people-NOM.M  
ps Pa2 V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF ADV N-SUF  
ftPa2 ''People outside sing saying , ' We will not go without the  
bride.'''

RefPa1 Pa1-02

txPa1 hinippe yiidaasi na7aa baggatii

wpa1 hini-ppe j-iida-ss-i na7aa bagga-t-i  
gePa1 there-LOC come-PAST-REL.person-NOM.M boy.GEN group-PL-NOM.M  
psPa1 ADV-SUF V-SUF-SUF-SUF N.SUF N-SUF-SUF  
ftPa1 'who came from there, boy's/groom's group?'

RefPa2 Pa2-05

txPa2 na7aa baggay aggidi bookko ges

wPa2 na?aa bagga-i ?agg -idi b-ookko  
gePa2 child/groom.GEN group-NOM.M leave-CNV<sub>2</sub> go-PRES.2PL.NEG.DCL  
ps Pa2 N.SUF N -SUF V- SUF V-SUF

WPa2 g-es

gePa2 say-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

ps Pa2 V-SUF

ftPa2 ''The boy's group say We will not go without the bride.'''

RefPa2 Pa2-06

txPa2 yaagi yexxishe yexxishe gam77es

wPa2 jaa g-i jetsts'-ife jetsts'-ife gam??-es  
gePa2 say like.that-CNV<sub>2</sub> sing-PROG<sub>2</sub> sing-PROG<sub>2</sub> stay- PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
psPa2 V V-SUF V- SUF V- SUF V - SUF

ftPa2 'They sing the song for a long time.'

RefPa2 Pa2-07

txPa2 shoobbe shoobbe giyaba woosi des

wPa2 foobbe foobbe giaba woos-i d-es

gePa2 please please saying beg-NOM.M exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

ps Pa2 INTJ V.SUF V- SUF V-SUF

ftPa2 'Beg the bride's family in their songs.'

RefPa2 Pa2-08

txPa2 na7aa baggaasay woosaa woossidi

wPa2 na7aa bagga ?asa-i woosaa wooss-idi

gePa2 boy.GEN group.GEN people-NOM.M beging.NMZ beg- CNV<sub>2</sub>

ps Pa2 N.SUF N N-SUF N.SUF V- SUF

ftPa2 'The groom's group beg now and then in their songs.'

RefPa2 Pa2-09

txPa2 hay shoobbe shoobbe toylle toylle yaagi woosidi

wPa2 hai foobbe foobbe toille toille jaag-i woos-idi

gePa2 - please please accept.us accept.us say-CNV<sub>2</sub> beg-CNV<sub>2</sub>

ps Pa2 - INTJ INTJ V V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF

ftPa2 'Beg saying, 'Please accept/allow us.'

RefPa2 Pa2-10

txPa2 woosay enttaw siyettiyage yexxidi kaa7idi dafuriya wode

WPa2 woosa-i ?entta-u sij-ettia=ge jetsts'-idi ka?-idi

gePa2 beging-NOM.M them-for hear-PASS=entity sing-CNV<sub>2</sub> play-CNV<sub>2</sub>

ps Pa2 N -SUF PRON-SUF V-SUF=CLIT V-SUF V-SUF

wPa2 dafuria wode

gePa2 tire.NMZ time

ps Pa2 V.SUF N

ftPa2 'They will be given reponse when they sing until they feel tired.'

RefPa2 Pa2-11

txPa2 pa na7iw na7aas immes

wPa2 pa na?iu na?aa -s ?imm-es  
gePa2 his daughter.ACC.F boy.GEN-DAT give-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 GEN.PRON N.SUF N.SUF V -SUF  
ftPa2 'Finally, the father gives his daughter to the groom.'

RefPa1 Pa1-03  
txPa1 hessi aybee enttana wossey kaa?ana malasseye ayibissee  
wpa1 he=ss-i ?aib-ee ?enttana wossei kaa?-ana  
gePa1 DEM.INV=entity-NOM.M what-NOM them beg play-FUT  
psPa1 PRON SUF PRON SUF PRON N V-SUF

wpa1 malass-ee - je ?aibiss -ee  
gePa1 like.DAT-INTER-or why.DAT-INTER  
psPa1 ADV. SUF-SUF-SUF PRON -SUF  
ftPa1 'what is that they beg? Is the intention to make them  
play?'

RefPa1 Pa1-04  
txPa1 goobatetha beso  
wpa1 gooba.tetsa beso  
gePa1 streng.NMZ showing  
psPa1 N N  
ftPa1 'It is to show pride.'

RefPa2 Pa2-12  
txPa2 goobatetha gitatetha beso  
wPa2 gooba-tetsa gita-tetsa bes-o  
gePa2 strong-NMZ big-NMZ show-NMZ  
ps Pa2 ADJ -SUF ADJ-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'Showing their strength and pride'

RefPa1 Pa1-05  
txPa1 goobatetha beso  
wpa1 gooba-tetsa bes-o  
gePa1 strong-NMZ show-NMZ  
psPa1 ADJ-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa1 'It is to show pride.'

RefPa2 Pa2-13  
txPa2 goobatetha beso

wPa2 gooba-tetsa bes-o  
gePa2 strong-NMZ show-NMZ  
ps Pa2 ADJ-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'Showing pride.'

RefPa2 Pa2-14  
txPa2 goobatetha beso  
wPa2 gooba-tetsa bes-o  
gePa2 strong- NMZ show-NMZ  
ps Pa2 ADJ-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'Showing pride.'

RefPa1 Pa1-06  
txPa1 ee woossiyo ?  
wpal ?ee woos-io ?  
gePa1 pose beg -PRES.1/2PL.INTER  
psPa1 - V -SUF  
ftPa1 ' pose do they beg?'

RefPa2 Pa2-15  
txPa2 woossiyo  
wPa2 woos-io  
gePa2 beg-PRES.1/2PL..INTER  
ps Pa2 V-SUF  
ftPa2 ' ... allow them beg ...'

RefPa2 Pa2-16  
txPa2 shoobbe shoobbe toylle toylle giishin  
wPa2 foobbe foobbe toille toille gii-fin  
gePa2 please please accept.request accept.request say-while  
ps Pa2 INTJ INTJ V V-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'Would you please accept our request?'

RefPa1 Pa1-07  
txPa1 iza paqqadikko ekkidi

wpa1 iza pakk'ad-ikko ?ekk-idi  
 gePa1 that permit- if/when take-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
 psPa1 PRON V - SUF V- SUF  
 ftPa1 'If the family allows,he takes (and go.) '

RefPa2 Pa2-17  
 txPa2 iza paqqadikko  
 wPa2 ?iza pakk'ad-ikko  
 gePa2 that permit- if/when  
 ps Pa2 PRON V - SUF  
 ftPa2 'If the family permits,'

RefPa1 Pa1-08  
 txPa1 na7iw ekkidi bidi na7anttaso gakkiiyade waani koyro?  
 wpa1 na?iu ?ekk-idi b-idi na?antta soo  
 gePa1 child.ACC.F take-CNV<sub>2</sub> go-CNV<sub>2</sub> child.PL/HON.GEN home  
 psPa1 N.SUF V-SUF V-SUF N.SUF N

wpa1 gakk-ia wode waani koiro?  
 gePa1 arrive-PRES.REL time what.happens first ?  
 psPa1 V -SUF N PRON ADJ  
 ftPa1 'What happens when they reach to the family of the boy/  
 groom ?'

RefPa2 Pa2-18  
 txPa2 na7anttaso gakkiiya wode aqidi biya bessi enttaw dumma  
 keethay imettes  
 wPa2 na?antta soo gakk-ia wode ?ak' -idi  
 gePa2 child.PL/HON home arrive-PRES.REL time pass.night-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
 ps Pa2 N.SUF N V -SUF N V -SUF

wPa2 b-ia bessi ?entta-u dumma keetsa-i  
 gePa2 go-PRES.REL place.NOM.M them -DAT special house-NOM.3MS  
 ps Pa2 go-SUF N.SUF PRON -SUF N N -SUF

wPa2       ʔim-ett-es  
gePa2       give-PASS-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2       V -SUF-SUF  
ftPa2       ‘When they arrive at the famliy of the groom, they are  
given a place to pass the night.’

RefPa2      Pa2-19  
txPa2       ba imathaara kaa7ishe eeh mishe uyishe aqidi wonttan pa  
machchiw ekkidi aawaara bes

wPa2       ba           imatsaa-ra kaaʔ-ife       ʔeeh m-ife       ʔuj-ife  
gePa2       his           guest-COM   play-PROG<sub>2</sub> pose   eat-PROG<sub>2</sub> drink-PROG<sub>2</sub>  
ps Pa2       GEN.PRON   N -SUF       V-SUF       -       V- SUF       V-SUF

wPa2       ʔak'-idi           wontta-n       pa matʃtʃ-iu  
gePa2       pass.night-CNV<sub>2</sub> morning-LOC his wife -ACC.F.DEF  
ps Pa2       V -SUF           ADV-SUF       Gen.PRON N-SUF

wPa2       ʔekk-idi       ʔaawaa-ra   b-es  
gePa2       take-CNV<sub>2</sub>   father-COM go-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2       V-SUF       N - SUF       V -Suf  
ftPa2       ‘The groom will pass the night playing with his guests  
and he will take his wife/the bride and go to his  
residence together with his father.’

RefPa1      Pa1-09  
txPa1       ekkididi  
wpa1       ʔekk-idi  
gePa1       take-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
psPa1       V -SUF  
ftPa1       ‘take and’

RefPa2      Pa2-20  
txPa2       aaway iya toggana baquluwa na7iw yelida aaway  
baquluwappe baquluwa (doores ), hankkoode baazira, macca  
baazira, togissidi yeddes

wPa2       ʔaawa-i            ʔia       tog-ana       bak'ul-ua   naʔ-iu  
gePa2       father-NOM.M 3FS.NOM   ride-FUT   mule-ACC.M child-ACC.F.DEF  
psPa2       N-SUF               PRON       V- SUF       N-SUF       N-SUF

wPa2       jel-ida               ʔaawa-i               bak'ulua-ppe   bak'ulo  
gePa2       give.birth-PAST.REL father-NOM.MS.DEF   mule.ACC.3MS-LOC mule.ACC  
psPa2       V- SUF               N- SUF               N.SUF-SUF       N-SUF

wPa2       (door-es            )   hankko woode baazira, matʃtʃ'a baazira,  
gePa2       select-PAST.3MS.DCL other   time   mare ,   femle   mare,  
ps Pa2       V - SUF               PRON       N       N       ,   ADJ       N

wPa2       tog -iss -idi   jedd-es  
gePa2       ride-CAUS-CNV2 send-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2       V- SUF-SUF       V -SUF  
ftPa2       'The father of the bride sends   the bride on the selected  
             male mule .If not, he sends the bride on the female mule.'

RefPa1      Pa1-10  
txPa1       hini hay baqulo ekki boonnan ixkiko na7ee asati na7iw  
             emoko ganas dandda7oona ayko toggiyabi dhayko diggennee  
             diggokonaa?

wpa1       hini   hai bak'ulo ʔekki       b-oonnan               ʔitsts'-iko  
gePa1       there ??   mule       take-CNV<sub>2</sub> go-PRES.3PL.NEG refuse-if/when  
psPa1       ADV       N       V-SUF       V- SUF               V- SUF

wpa1       naʔee       ʔasa-t-i               naʔiu               ʔimm-okko  
gePa1       daughter.GEN family-PL-NOM.MS   child.ACC.FS give-PRES.1PL.NEG  
psPa1       N.SUF       N - SUF-SUF       N. SUF       V- SUF

wpa1       g-aana-s       danddaʔ-oonaa               ʔaikko  
gePa1       say-FUT-DAT   can-PRES.3S/3PL.INTER   what.if  
psPa1       V -SUF-SUF   V- SUF               PRON

wpa1       tog.ia=b-i               ɗaikko               digg -enn-ee  
gePa1       ride.NMZ=entity.NOM.M disappear.if refuse-PRES.MS.NEG-INTER  
psPa1       N -SUF =CLIT-SUF       V.SUF               V-SUF-SUF

wpa1 digg -okkonaa  
 gePa1 refuse-PRES.3PL.NEG.INTER  
 psPa1 V- SUF  
  
 ftPa1 'If the groom does not bring a mule, does the family of  
 the bride refuse to give the bride to the groom?'  
  
 RefPa2 Pa2-21  
 txPa2 toggiyabay dhayo attin, toggiya baquloy, iqay iitikkoka  
 immenna  
 wPa2 toggiaba-i daj-o ?att-i(n),  
 gePa2 pack.animal-NOM.MS disappear-let.MS remain/leave.alone-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
 ps Pa2 N- SUF V-SUF V-SUF  
  
 wPa2 togg-ia bak'ulo-i, ?ik'a-i ?iit-ikkoka  
 gePa2 pack.animal-PRES.REL mule-NOM.MS object-NOM.MS bad-even.if  
 ps Pa2 N -SUF N-SUF N-SUF ADJ-SUF  
  
 wPa2 ?imm-enna  
 gePa2 give-PRES.3MS.NEG  
 ps Pa2 V-SUF  
 ftPa2 'Leave alone coming without a mule/horse to ride on, the  
 father does not give his daughter if the saddle of the  
 mule/ horse is bad.'  
  
 RefPa2 Pa2-22  
 txPa2 'ta na?iya curqqan togga baanee?' ges  
 wPa2 ta na?-ia tʃ'urkk'a-n tog- a b-aan-ee?'  
 gePa2 my daughter-NOM.FS ragged-LOC ride-CNV<sub>1</sub> go-FUT-INTER  
 ps Pa2 PRON N-SUF N-SUF V-SUF V-SUF-SUF  
  
 wPa2 g-es  
 gePa2 say-PRES.MS.DCL  
 ps Pa2 V- SUF  
 ftPa2 'The father says 'Does my daughter ride on a ragged cloth?'  
  
 RefPa1 Pa1-11  
 txPa1 'curqqan togga baanee?' gidi iqay iitikkoka immenna  
 wpa1 'tʃ'urk'a-n tog- a(da) b-aanee?' g-idi

gePa1 ragged.cloth-LOC ride-CNV<sub>1</sub> go-FUT.INTER say-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
 psPa1 N -SUF V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF

wpa1 ʔik'a-i ʔiit-ikkoka ʔimm-enna  
 gePa1 object-NOM.3MS bad- even give-PRES.3MS.NEG  
 psPa1 N-suF ADJ- SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa1 'The father of the daughter does not give if the cloth  
 of the horse/mule is bad or not attractive.'

RefPa2 Pa2-23  
 txPa2 iqay iitikkoka immenna  
 wPa2 ʔik'a -i ʔiit-ikkokka ʔimm-enna  
 gePa2 object-NOM.M bad-even.if give-PRES.MS.NEG.DCL  
 ps Pa2 N -SUF ADJ-SUF V -SUF  
 ftPa2 'The father does not give even if the cloth of the horse  
 is bad.'

RefPa1 Pa1-12  
 txPa1 ishshi baquloy loʔo baquloy, macca baaziriya yiidaba  
 gidiko togissidi naʔanttaso gathidi waanii ?  
 wpa1 ʔiʃʃi bak'ulo-i loʔo bak'ulo-i, maʃʃ'a  
 gePa1 okay mule-NOM.MS.DEF good mule-NOM.MS.DEF female  
 psPa1 ADJ N- SUF ADJ N-SUF ADJ

wpa1 baaziria j-iida=ba gid-ikko tog-iss-idi  
 gePa1 horse.NOM.FS come-CNV<sub>2</sub>= CLIT.F/MS be-if ride-CAUS-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
 psPa1 N.SUF V-SUF= CLIT V-SUF V-SUF-SUF

wpa1 naʔa-nttaso gats-idi waan -ii ?  
 gePa1 groom-family arrive-CNV<sub>2</sub> what.happen-PRES.3MS.INTER  
 psPa1 N-SUF V-SUF PRON-SUF  
 ftPa1 'Okay.Let's say the bride rides on the good mule/(famble)  
 horse and arrives to groom's home. What will be the  
 next step?'

RefPa1 Pa1-13  
 txPa1 ane ekettanaappe sinthe waani sakakkan odite

wpa1           ane ʔek-ett-anaa -ppe sintse waan - ii           sakakka-n  
gePa1           let take-PASS-FUT -LOC before what.happens-INTER brief-LOC  
psPa1           V    V   -SUF-SUF-   SUF        ADV       PRON -SUF        V-SUF

wpa1           ʔod-ite  
gePa1           tell-2HON/2PL.IMP  
psPa1           V-   SUF

ftPa1           ‘Let you tell us what comes next after the couples are  
married.’

RefPa2        Pa2-24

txPa2           ee gakkidinne he baquluwan iyu togissidi iin ikka pa  
baggaara paran toggidinne iyu baquluwa woy duggulla  
paraa togissidi soo gattes

wPa2           ʔee gakk-idi-nne        he bak'ulua-n        ʔiu tog-iss-idi  
gePa2           yes arrive-CNV2-CNJ DEM mule.ACC.M-LOC her ride-CAUS-CNV2  
psPa2           yes V-SUF-SUF           PRON N.SUF.SUF-SUF PRON V-SUF-SUF

wPa2           ʔiin ʔi-kka pa        baggaa-ra para-n        tog -idi- nne  
gePa2           pose he-too        3S.GEN half-INST horse-LOC ride-CNV2-CNJ  
ps Pa2           -    PRON-SUF PRON    ADJ-SUF        N -   SUF    V -SUF -SUF

wPa2           ʔiu bak'ulua            woi dunggulla para-a tog-iss-idi  
gePa2           her mule.SUF.M.DEF or young horse-ACC.M ride-CAUS-CNV2  
ps Pa2           PRON N.SUF            CONJ ADJ N-SUF            V-SUF-SUF

wPa2           soo gats-es  
gePa2           home make.arrive-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2           N    V -SUF

ftPa2           ‘Yes, after he having rode on the horse and after she  
having rode on the mule or the young horse, he brings  
the bride home.’

RefPa2        Pa2-25

txPa2           soo gathiyaba gidikko na7ay koyro keethaa keexxida  
kariyan aaway eqqes

wPa2 soo gats-ia=ba gid-ikko na?a-i koiro keetsa-a  
gePa2 home make.arrive-PAST.REL=entity be-if child-NOM.M first house-ACC.M  
ps Pa2 N V-SUF =CLIT V-SUF N-SUF ADJ N-SUF

wPa2 keets-ida karia-n ?aawa-i ?ek'-es  
gePa2 house-PAST.REL front-LOC father-NOM.M stand-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 N -SUF ADV-SUF N-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'The father of the boy/groom stands in front of the  
house the boy/groom built.'

RefPa2 Pa2-26

txPa2 aaway eqqidi na7ee ushachcha kushiyanne  
wPa2 ?aawa-i ?ek'-idi na?ee ?uʃatʃtʃa kuʃia-nne  
gePa2 father-NOM.M stand-CNV<sub>2</sub> daughter.GEN right hand-CNJ  
psPa2 N- SUF V-SUF N ADJ N-SUF  
ftPa2 'The father holds the right hand of the daughter/bride  
and ...'

RefPa1 Pa1-14

txPa1 hessa entti sa7an coo si7i gidi eqqii yee sa7an  
hixxettiyabay de7ii  
wpa1 he=ssa ?entti sa?a-n tʃ'oo si?-i g-idi  
gePa1 that=entity 3S.HON/3PL floor-LOC else be.silent-CNV<sub>2</sub> say-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
psPa1 PRON =CLIT PRON.NOM N-SUF ADV V-SUF V-SUF

wpa1 ?ekk'-ii jee sa?a-n  
gePa1 stand-PRES.3MS.INTER or floor-LOC  
psPa1 V-SUF CONJ N-SUF

wpa1 hitsts'-ett-ia=ba-i de?- ii  
gePa1 spread.on.floor-PASS-PRES.REL=entity-NOM.M exist-PRES.3MS.INTER  
psPa1 V -SUF-SUF =CLIT-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa1 'Is there something that is spread on the floor where  
the father is waiting to bless the groom and the bride  
or not?'

RefPa1 Pa1-15  
 txPa1 yeechche sa7an qanxxidi ...  
 wpa1 jeetʃtʃe saʔa-n k'antsts'-idi  
 gePa1 enset.leaf floor-LOC cut-CNV2  
 psPa1 N N -SUF V -SUF  
 ftPa1 'Cut the leaf of enset and lay on the floor ...'

RefPa2 Pa2-27  
 txPa2 yeechche hiixxes  
  
 wPa2 jeetʃtʃe hiitsts' -es  
 gePa2 enset.leaf lay-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 psPa2 N V -SUF  
 ftPa2 'Lay the leaf of enset.'

RefPa1 Pa1-16  
 txPa1 na7aa karen  
 wpa1 naʔaa kare-n  
 gePa2 child.GEN.3MS front.of.a house-LOC  
 psPa2 N N-SUF  
 ftPa2 'in front of the groom's house'

RefPa2 Pa2-28 Pa2-29 Pa2-30  
 txPa2 ee yeechche sa7an qanxxidi ee  
 wPa2 ʔee jeetʃtʃe saʔa-n k'antsts'-idi ʔee  
 gePa2 yes leaf floor-LOC cut- CNV2 pose  
 ps Pa2 - N N - SUF V - SUF -  
 ftPa2 'yes, cut the leaf of enset , pose'

RefPa2 Pa2-31  
 txPa2 yeechche hiixxes keethaa bollikka yeechche wottes  
 wPa2 jeetʃtʃe hiits'-es keetsa-a boll-ikka  
 gePa2 leaf lay-PRES.3MS.A.DCL house-ACC.M on.top.of-too  
 psPa2 N V - SUF N- SUF ADV - SUF  
  
 wPa2 jeetʃtʃe wott-es  
 gePa2 leaf put-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ps Pa2 N V -SUF

ftPa2 'Put the leaf of enset on top of the house, too.'

RefPa2 Pa2-32

txPa2 yeechche wottidi, aaway na7aa ushshachcha kushshiyanne  
na7ee ushshachcha kushshiyanne oyqqidi anjes

wPa2 jeetftje wott-idi, ?aawa-i na?aa ?ufatftja kujia-nne  
gePa2 leaf lay- CNV<sub>2</sub> father-NOM.M groom.GEN right hand.GEN-CNJ  
ps Pa2 N V - SUF N - SUF N.SUF ADJ N-SUF

WPa2 na?ee ?ufatftja kujia-nne ?oik'-idi ?andʒ-es  
gePa2 bride.GEN right hand-COOR catch-CNV<sub>2</sub> bless-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 N.SUF ADV N-SUF V-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'Having laid the leaves of enset, and having caught the  
right hands of both the groom and the bride, the father  
blesses.'

RefPa2 Pa2-33

txPa2 pa kushiya bollara, haddirssa kushiya, wottidi

WPa2 pa kujia bolla-ra, haddirssa kujia, wott-idi  
gePa2 his hand.ACC.M on.top-INST, left hand.ACC.M put-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
ps Pa2 GEN.PRON N-SUF ADV-SUF, ADV N.SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'He then puts his left hand on their hands.'

refPa1 Pa1- 17

txPa1 gedayshin ? kushe oyqqii ?  
Wpa1 gedai-fin ? kushe ?oikk'-ii ?  
gePa1 legg.DEF- but ? hand catch-PRES.3MS.A.INTER  
psPa1 N .SUF - CONJ N V-SUF  
ftPa1 'What about the leg? Does the father hold their hands?'

RefPa2 Pa2-34

txPa2 tohaa yedhes ee heedzdaa tohaa ee nam7aa tohaa yedhdhi ages

wPa2 tohua jed-es ?ee heedzdaa toha ?ee  
gePa2 foot.ACC.M step.on-PRES.3MS.A.DCL pose three.GEN foot pose  
ps Pa2 N- SUF V- SUF - ADJ N -

wPa2 nam??aa tohaa jedh-i ?agg -es  
gePa2 two.GEN feet.ACC step-CNV<sub>2</sub> leave-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 ADJ N V-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'He steps on the feet of the two (the bride and the groom).'

RefPa1 Pa1- 18  
txPa1 ushachcha toha yedhdhi hadirssa toha yedhdhii?  
wpa1 ?ufatftfa toha jedd'-ii hadirssa toha jedd'- ii?  
gePa1 right foot step.on-INTER left foot step.on-INTER  
psPa1 ADV N V-SUF ADV N V -SUF  
ftPa1 'Does the father step on the right or the left foot?'

RefPa2 Pa2- 35  
txPa2 ushachcha toho  
wPa2 ?ufatffa toho  
gePa2 right foot  
ps Pa2 ADV N  
ftPa2 ' the right feet'

RefPa1 Pa1-19  
txPa1 ushachcha toho, nam7aa tohay ubbay ushachchee?  
wpa1 ?uatffa toho, nam??aa tohai ?ubbai ?ufatftf-ee?  
gePa1 right foot two.GEN foot all.DEF right-INTER  
psPa1 ADJ N ADJ N ADJ.SUF ADJ-SUF  
ftPa1 'Are all the feet of the two right?'

RefPa2 Pa2-36  
txPa2 i pa kushe ushachchan oyqqidi maathaa yaatidi xamaate  
maathaa hanikko ussa maathaa yaati bollan tiges

wPa2      ʔi    pa            kushe ʔufatʃtʃa-n ʔoikk'-idi maatsa-a  
gePa2      he   his            hand  right -LOC  catch-CNV<sub>2</sub> milk-ACC.M  
ps Pa2      PRON GEN.PRON N       N-SUF            V-SUF            N-SUF

wPa2      jaat-idi                ts'amaate maatsa-a  
gePa2      does.like.this-CNV<sub>2</sub> fresh            milk-ACC.M  
ps Pa2      V-SUF                    ADJ                N-SUF

wPa2      hanikko       ʔussa maatsa-a        jaat-i  
gePa2      if.possible heifer milk-ACC.M  does.like.this-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
ps Pa2      COND.ADJ       N        N-SUF            V-SUF

WPa2      bolla-n        tig-es  
gePa2      on.top-LOC  pour-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2      ADV-SUF        V-SUF  
ftPa2      'He pours the fresh milk like this on the hands and feet  
            of the three. The fresh milk could be from the heifer.'

RefPa2      Pa2-37

txPa2      tigiade ee entta kushiya bollan maathay gukkidi  
wPa2      tigiade        ʔee ʔentta kufia            bolla-n  
gePa2      while.pouring pose  their        hand.ACC.MS  on.top-LOC  
psPa2      V                -        GEN.PRON N.SUF            ADV-SUF

wPa2      maatsa-i        gukk-idi  
gePa2      milk-NOM.M  flow-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
ps Pa2      N-SUF            V- SUF  
ftPa2      'While pouring , having the milk flown over their hands'

RefPa2      Pa2-38

txPa2      bidi hirkki sa7an de7iageta ,aaway yedhdhida tohaa,  
            bollan gukkes  
wPa2      b-idi hirkki saʔa-n deʔia=ge-t-a        , ʔaawa-i  
gePa2      go-CNV2 down  ground-LOC exist=one-PL-ACC.M, father-NOM.3MS  
ps Pa2      V-SUF  ADV  N-SUF        V=CLIT-SUF-SUF        N-SUF

wPa2 jed-ida toha-a, bolla-n gukk-es  
gePa2 step.on-PAST.REL foot-ACC.3MS on.top-LOC flow-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 V-SUF N-SUF ADV-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'It flows and reaches also over the feet of the three on the ground.'

RefPa2 Pa2-39

txPa2 yeechcha bollan tohaa bollan gukkiyaba gidikko

wPa2 jeetʃtʃa-a bolla-n toha-a bolla-n  
gePa2 leaf-ACC.M on.top-LOC foot-ACC.M on.top-LOC  
ps Pa2 N-SUF ADV-SUF N-SUF ADV-SUF

wPa2 gukk-ia=ba gid-ikko  
gePa2 flow-PRES.REL=one be -if  
ps Pa2 V-SUF=CLIT V-SUF  
ftPa2 'if (the milk)/it flows on the enset leaves ,on the feet and hands of the three,'

RefPa2 Pa2-40

txPa2 naʔiyunne naʔaanne enttaw keexxettida keethaa sugi yeddes  
wPa2 naʔiu-nne naʔa-a-nne ʔentta-u  
gePa2 child.ACC.3FS-CNJ child-ACC.3MS-CNJ them-DAT  
ps Pa2 N-SUF-SUF N-SUF-SUF PRON-SUF

wPa2 keetsts'-ida keetsa-a sug-i jedd-es  
gePa2 build-PAST.REL house-ACC.MS push-CNV<sub>2</sub> send-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 V-SUF N-SUF V-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 ' the father of the groom pushes the bride and the groom into the house built for them.'

RefPa1 Pa1-20

txPa1 sugi yeddishe sugi yedethaa woygishe sugi yeddii?  
wPa1 sug-i jedd-ife sug-i jed-etsaa woig-ife  
gePa1 push-CNV<sub>2</sub> send-PROG<sub>2</sub> push-CNV<sub>2</sub> send-NMZ what-PROG<sub>2</sub>  
psPa1 V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF PRON-SUF

Wpa1 sug-i jedd-ii ?  
 gePa1 push-CNV<sub>2</sub> send-PRES.3MS.INTER  
 psPa1 V-SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa1 'What does the father say when he pushes them into the house built for them?'

RefPa2 Pa2-41  
 txPa2 yelite aacite yelite ayfite maaxxite suuxxite yaagi suges  
 WPa2 jel-ite ?aatʃ'-ite jel-ite  
 gePa2 give.birth-OPT.2PL sprout-OPT.2PL give.birth-OPT.2PL  
 ps Pa2 V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF

WPa2 ?aif-ite maatsts'-ite  
 gePa2 give.fruit-OPT.2PL give.milk-OPT.2PL  
 ps Pa2 V-SUF V-SUF

WPa2 suutsts'-ite jaag-i sug-es  
 gePa2 bleed-PRES.2PL say.like.this-CNV<sub>2</sub> push-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ps Pa2 V -SUF V-SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa2 'The father blesses the young couples expressing his wish to sprout, breed, give milk, and bleed.'

RefPa1 Pa1-21  
 txPa1 maaxxite suuxxite yelite ayfite yaagidi sugi yeddes  
 wpa1 maatsts'-ite suutsts'-ite  
 gePa1 milk-OPT.2PL bleed-OPT.2PL  
 psPa1 V- SUF V-SUF

Wpa1 jel-ite ?aif-ite  
 gePa1 give.birth-OPT.2PL give.fruit-OPT.2PL  
 psPa1 V-SUF V- SUF

Wpa1 jaag-idi sug-i jedd-es  
 gePa1 say.like.this-CNV2 push-CNV2 send-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 psPa1 V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa1 'The father pushes the couples to a room after blessing  
 the couples to give milk, bleed ,breed and give fruit.'

RefPa1 Pa1-22  
 txPa1 iza yaatikko soo ekki geles  
 wpa1 ?iza jaat-ikko soo ?ekk-i gel-es  
 gePa1 that do.like.this-if home take-CNV2 enter-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 psPa1 that V-SUF N V-SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa1 'Then the groom gets into the house taking the bride  
 with him.'

RefPa2 Pa2-42  
 txPa2 jaagi anjjidi yeddes  
 wPa2 jaag-i ?and3d3-idi jedd-es  
 gePa2 say.like.that-CNV2 bless-CNV2 send-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ps Pa2 V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa2 'the father sends the bride and the groom having blessed  
 like this.'

RefPa1 Pa1-23  
 txPa1 na7eenttasoope haa yishe na7iw coo hinippe moyzziya  
 na7antti aykko na7eenttaso asay immiyabay dii ?  
 wpa1 na?eenttasoo-ppe haa j-ife na?iu  
 gePa1 home.of.the.bride-from here come-PROG2 child.ACC.3FS  
 psPa1 N-SUF ADV V-SUF N.SUF  
 Wpa1 tʃ'oo hini-ppe moizzia  
 gePa1 in.vain there-from accompany-PRES.REL  
 psPa1 ? ADV-SUF V-SUF

Wpa1 na?antt-i ?aikko na7eenttaso  
 gePa1 youngsters-NOM.M for.what home.of.the.bride  
 psPa1 N-SUF PRON V-SUF

wpa1       ʔasa-i                   ʔimm-ia=ba-i           d-ii ?  
 gePa1       person-NOM.3MS give-NMZ=CLIT-NOM exist- INTER.3MS  
 psPa1       N-SUF                   V- SUF                   V-SUF  
 ftPa1       ‘While coming here from the bride's home, there are  
             youngsters who accompany the bride ?’

RefPa1      Pa1- 24  
 txPa1       ee aykko odidi iqaa ba7issi yeddiya na7ay de7ii deennee?  
 wpa1       ʔee ʔaikko ʔod-idi   ʔik'a-a       baʔ-iss-i  
 gePa1       pose what.if tell-CNV2 object-ACC.M carry.on.back-CUAS-CNV2  
 psPa1       -     PRON       V-SUF       N-SUF           V-SUF-SUF

wpa1       jedd-ia       naʔa-i       deʔ- ii                   dee-nnee ?  
 gePa1       send-PRES.REL child-NOM.M exist-PRES.3MS.INTER exist-NEG.INTER  
 psPa1       V-SUF           N-SUF       V-SUF                   V-SUF  
 ftPa1       ‘There is a boy/a girl who carries the goods of the bride  
             when she goes to her home. Isn't it?’

RefPa2      Pa2- 43  
 txPa2       ee des ,na7iya pa maa7ida afilaara dawsu  
 wPa2       ʔee d-es                   , naʔia                   pa           maaʔ-ida  
 gePa2       yes exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL, child.ACC.3MS her/his wear-PAST.REL  
 ps Pa2      ADV V-SUF                   , N-SUF                   GEN.PRON N-SUF

wPa2       ʔafilaa -ra   d-ausu  
 gePa2       cloth-COM       exist-PRES.3FS.A.DCL  
 ps Pa2      N -SUF           V- SUF  
 ftPa2       ‘Yes, there is. The bride is with her cloth she wears.’

RefPa2      Pa2-44  
 txPa2       na7ee iqay,na7ee qamma afili gido gallassa afili gido,  
             nam77u wodaron ba7isses  
 wPa2       naʔee       ʔik'a-i       , naʔee       k'amma ʔafil-i       gido ,  
 gePa2       bride.GEN goods-NOM.M, bride.GEN night cloth-NOM.3MS be.it  
 ps Pa2      N           N-SUF       ,     N           N           N-SUF       V

wPa2 gallassa ?afil-i gido, nam??u wodaro-n  
gePa2 day cloth-NOM.M be.it, two.GEN girl-LOC  
ps Pa2 N N -SUF V , ADJ N- SUF

wPa2 ba?-iss-es  
gePa2 carry.on.back-CAUS-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 V - SUF -SUF  
ftPa2 'The father makes two girls to carry both the night and the  
day clothes of the bride.'

RefPa2 Pa2-45  
txPa2 he wodareentti ba77idaageti guyye simmiyageta  
wPa2 he wodaree-ntt-i ba??-idaa=ge-t-i gujje  
gePa2 DEM.PRON girl-PL-NOM.M carry-PAST.REL=entity-PL-NOM back  
psPa2 PRON N - SUF-SUF V - SUF=CLIT- SUF ADV

wPa2 simm-ia =ge-t-a  
gePa2 turn-PRES.REL =entiy-PL -ACC.M  
ps Pa2 N -SUF =CLIT -SUF-SUF  
ftPa2 'The girls who carry the goods on their back come  
back home.'

RefPa1 Pa1-25  
txPa1 wodaroti guussay geela7ota guussee?  
wpa1 wodaro-t-i guussa-i geela?o-t-a guusse-ee?  
gePa1 girl- PL-NOM.M/F mean-NOM.3MS girl-PL-ACC.3FS mean-INTER  
psPa1 N- SUF- SUF N- SUF N- SUF- SUF N-SUF  
ftPa1 ''Does 'wodarota' mean the same as 'geela7ota 'girls' ''?

RefPa2 Pa2-46  
txPa2 geela7o nayta guyye simmiyageta  
wPa2 geela?o nai-t-a gujje simm-ia=ge-t-a  
gePa2 girl child-PL-NOM.M back return-PRES.REL=entity-PL-ACC.F  
ps Pa2 N SUF-SuF-SUF-SUF ADV V-SUF=CLIT-SUF-SUF  
ftPa2 'The girls are to return back home.'

RefPa2 Pa2-47

txPa2 hankko na7iw, hini pa azinaa soon oothana mela pa na7iw  
maaddana mela na7ees issi na7a immidi yeddes

wPa2 hankko na?iu , hini pa ?azinaa soo-n

gePa2 other child.ACC.F, there her husband.GEN home-LOC

ps Pa2 PRON N-SUF ADV GEN.PRON N N-SUF

wPa2 ?oots-ana mela pa na?iu maadd-ana mela

gePa2 work-FUT like his child.ACC.F.DEF help-FUT reason

ps Pa2 V-SUF ADJ GEN.PRON N-SUF V- SUF N

wPa2 na?ee-s ?issi na?a ?imm-idi jedd-es

gePa2 child.GEN-DAT one child give-CNV<sub>2</sub> send-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

ps Pa2 N-SUF ADJ N V -SUF V-SUF

ftPa2 'The father of the bride sends the other girl to work  
and help the bride in her husband's home.'

RefPa1 Pa1- 26

txPa1 oothada maaddana melakka na7a immes

wpa1 ?oots-ada maadd-ana mela-kka na?a ?imm-es

gePa1 work-CNV<sub>1</sub> help-FUT like-too child give-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

psPa1 N- SUF V-SUF ADV-SUF N V-SUF

ftPa1 'The father gives a child in order to work and help the  
bride.'

refPa1 P1-27

txPa1 hessa ubbay immiyye coo wolqaara de7iya asi ayko  
haniyasi wolqqaara de7iya asi immii?

Wpa1 hessa ?ubba-i ?immi-jje tʃ'oo wolkk'aa -ra

gePa1 that.one all-NOM.M give- or in.vain power.GEN-INST

psPa1 PRON ADJ- SUF V- CONJ ADV N-SUF

wpa1 de?ia ?as-i ?aikko hancias-i

gePa1 exist.PRES.REL person-NOM.3MS what.if rich.person-NOM.M

psPa1 V.SUF N-SUF PRON N -SUF

wpa1 wolkk'aa-ra de?ia ?as-i ?imm -ii ?  
gePa1 power.GEN-INST exist.NOM.M person-NOM.M give-3MS.INTER  
psPa1 N -SUF V-SUF N-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa1 'Do all people give that or only the wealthy people?'

RefPa2 Pa2-48  
txPa2 wolqqaara de?iya asi immes dandda?enna asi immenna  
wPa2 wolkk'aa-ra de?ia ?as-i ?imm-es  
gePa2 power-INST exist-PRES.REL people-NOM.M give-RES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 N-SUF V-SUF N-SUF V-SUF

WPa2 dandda?-enna ?as-i ?imm-enna  
gePa2 can-3MS.NEG person-NOM.M give-PRES.3MS.NEG.DCL  
psPa2 V-SUF N-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'People who are able could do that. The others do not do if they are not able.'

RefPa2 Pa2-49  
txPa2 dandda?enna asi shooroppekka na?ee laggee bes guussa ;  
bidi,  
wPa2 dandda?-enna ?as-i ?ooro-ppe.kka na?ee  
gePa2 can-NEG person-NOM.M neighbor-LOC.too bride.GEN  
psPa2 V -SUF N -SUF N -SUF N

wPa2 laggee b-es g-uussa; b-idi  
gePa2 friend.GEN go-PRES.3MS.DCL say-NMZ; go-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
ps Pa2 V-SUF V-SUF V- SUF ; V-SUF  
ftPa2 'Some one may send the bride's friend from his/her neighbor when her/his friend goes.'

RefPa2 Pa2-50  
txPa2 afilaa iqaa gattidinne paw woyto ekkidi guye simmes  
wPa2 ?afila-a ?ik'a-a gatt-idi- nne pa-u  
gePa2 cloth-ACC.M goods-ACC.M make.reach-CNV<sub>2</sub>-CNJ her/his-DAT  
ps Pa2 N-SUF V- SUF V.CUAS- SUF-SUF PRON-SUF

wPa2 woito ʔekk-idi gujje simm-es  
gePa2 gift receive-CNV<sub>2</sub> back return-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 N V -SUF ADV V-SUF  
ftPa2 'S/he takes cloth or the other goods and returns home after receiving a gift.'

RefPa1 Pa1- 28  
txPa1 haa na7ee iqaa ehida na7akka woytiyabay de7ii?  
wpa1 haa naʔee ʔik'a-a ʔeh-ida naʔa-kka  
gePa1 here daughter.GEN goods-ACC.M bring-PRES.REL.SUBJ child-too  
psPa1 ADV N N-SUF V-SUF N-SUF  
wpa1 woi-t-ia=bai deʔ- ii ?  
gePa1 gift-PRES.REL=entity exist-PRES.3MS.INTER ?  
psPa1 N-SUF =CLIT V -SUF  
ftPa1 'Does the family of the groom offer a gift to a person who brought the goods of the bride ?'

RefPa2 P2- 51  
txPa2 nam77u naytas dambbera woytidi yeddes  
wPa2 namʔʔu nai-t-a-s dambbee-ra woi-t-idi  
gePa2 two.GEN child-PL-ACC-DAT tradition-COM offer.gift-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
ps Pa2 ADJ N -SUF-SUF-SUF N - SUF V-SUF  
wPa2 jedd-es  
gePa2 send -PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 V-SUF  
ftPa2 'Offering gifts for two youngsters/children and send them home is culturally accepted.'

RefPa1 Pa1- 29  
txPa1 ahaa oone woitey?  
wpa1 ʔahaa ʔoonee woite-i ?  
gePa1 alright who give.gift-NOM.3MS.INTER  
psPa1 - PRON V- SUF  
ftPa1 'Alright, who gives the gift ?'

RefPa2 Pa2-52  
 txPa2 addiya keethi, ekkida na7aa keethaa asay  
 wPa2 ʔadd-ia keets-i ʔekk-ida naʔaa keetsa  
 gePa2 groom-PRES.REL home-NOM.M marry-PAST.REL boy.GEN house  
 ps Pa2 N -SUF N-SUF V-SUF N N  
  
 wPa2 ʔasa-i  
 gePa2 person-NOM.M.DEF  
 ps Pa2 N- SUF  
 ftPa2 'the family of the groom'

RefPa1 Pa1-30  
 txPa1 addiya keetha asay , ekkida na7aa keethaa asay  
 wpa1 ʔaddia keetsa ʔasa-i , ʔekk-ida naʔaa  
 gePa1 groom.GEN home person-NOM.M.DEF, marry-PAST.REL boy.GEN  
 psPa1 N N N- SUF , V-SUF N  
  
 wpa1 keetsa ʔasa -i  
 gePa1 home person-NOM.M.DEF  
 psPa1 N N-SUF  
 ftPa1 'the male person's family , the groom's family'

RefPa1 Pa1-31  
 txPa1 woytonna aggikkoshin waanii ?  
 wpa1 woi-tonna ʔagg -ikko-ʃin waan - ii ?  
 gePa1 give.gift-NEG refuse-if-but what.happens-3MS.INTER  
 psPa1 V -SUF V-SUF PRON -SUF  
 ftPa1 'What if the family does not offer gift ?'

RefPa2 Pa2-53  
 txPa2 woytonnan aggikko borsso  
 WPa2 woi-tonna-n ʔagg -ikko borsso  
 pePa1 give.gift-NEG-? refuse-if be.shame(.PRES.A.DCL)  
 psPa1 V-SUF V-SUF N/ADJ  
 ftPa2 'It is shame if the family of the bride does not offer gift.'

RefPa1	Pa1-32	Pa1-33
txPa1	borsso ahaa	borsso gisho gidi
wpa1	borsso ʔahaa	borsso giʃo g-idi
gePa1	shame okay	shame reason say-CNV <sub>2</sub>
psPa1	ADJ ADJ	N N V-SUF
ftPa1	'It is shame for the family. Yes, it is shame.'	
refPa1	Pa1-34	
txPa1	na7aaso asay iqaa ba77i bida naytakka	
Wpa1	naʔaa soo ʔasa-i ʔik'a-a baʔʔ-i	
gePa1	boy.GEN home person-NOM.M goods-ACC.M carry.on.back-CNV <sub>2</sub>	
psPa1	N N N-SUF	N-SUF V-SUF
wpa1	b-ida naita-kka	
gePa1	go-PAST.REL children.ACC.M-too/even	
psPa1	V -N N -SUF	
ftPa1	'Does the family of the groom give gift for youngsters who carry goods ... ?'	
RefPa1	Pa1-35	
txPa1	entti iqaa ba77i bida asaw wontta taybidi immiiyye waati ?	
wpa1	ʔennt-i ʔik'a-a baʔʔ-i b-ida	
gePa1	3S.HON/PL-NOM goos-ACC.M carry.On.back-CNV <sub>2</sub> go-PAST.REL	
psPa1	PRON -SUF N- SUF	V -SUF V -SUF.SUF
wpa1	ʔasa-u wontta taib-idi ʔimmii=jje waat- ii ?	
gePa1	person-DAT morning count-CNV <sub>2</sub> give =or what-3MS.INTER	
psPa1	N -SUF N V -SUF	V-or PRON- SUF
ftPa1	'Do they give the gift for the person(s) who brought the goods home or not ?'	
RefPa2	Pa2- 54	
txPa2	taybidi taybidi. saaxineekka haray attin saaxineentta oyttidi afila de7iya afili paydidi saaxineen yeggidi i geexageexe (alleqota) iya baappe shiishshidaba gido ,	
WPa2	taib-idi taib-idi saats'inee-kka harai ʔattin	
gePa2	count-CNV <sub>2</sub> count-CNV <sub>2</sub> box-too another remain	
psPa2	V -SUF V -SUF	N-SUF PRON V

wPa2 sats'inee-ntta ?oitt-idi ?afila de?-ia  
gePa2 box -PL.ACC make.catch-CNV<sub>2</sub> cloth exist-PRES.REL  
ps Pa2 N -SUF V -SUF N V -SUS

wPa2 ?afil-i paid-idi sats'inee-n jegg -idi  
gePa2 cloth-NOM.M count-CNV<sub>2</sub> box -LOC put-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
ps Pa2 N - SUF V - SUF N -SUF V-SUF

wPa2 ?i geets'aageets'ia/(?alleek'o-t-a) ?ia baa-ppe  
gePa2 GEN.PRON ornament.PL.ACC.3MS she her-from  
ps Pa2 PRON N.ACC.M PRON PRON-SUF

WPa2 ?ii?j-ida=ba gido ,  
gePa2 gather-PAST.REL=entity be-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 V -SUF = CLIT V -SUF  
ftPa2 'Having counted the clothes , even the jewelry of the  
bride that she collected could also be put in to  
the box and take them with her.'

RefPa2 Pa2-55  
txPa2 mehiya yiidaba gido bayzzi simmidinne woytes

WPa2 mehia j- ida=ba g-ido baizz-i  
gePa2 cow.ACC.DEF come-PAST.REL=entity be-PRES.3MS.A.DCL sell-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
ps Pa2 N.SUF V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF

WPa2 simm-idi-nne woiit-es  
gePa2 return-CNV<sub>2</sub>-CNJ offer.a gift-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 V-SUF-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'The family offer the gift even after selling the cows  
brought as a gift.'

RefPa1 Pa1-36  
txPa1 ero enttika woytuwa ekkidi simmikko, na7aykka ekkidi  
aqikko, qassi na7aa asaaso simmidi aykkoba hini na7aa  
laggekka iin dondzdzikka aykko yaa guppidi deennee?

wpa1       ?ero ?enttikka woiua     ?ekk-idi   simm-kko na?ai-kka  
gePa1       okay they.too   gift.ACC.M take-CNV2   return-if   boy.DEF-too  
psPa1       ADV   PRON.SUF   N.SUF       V-SUF       V-SUF       N-SUF

wpa1       ?ekk- idi ?ak'-ikko k'assi       na?aa   ?asaaso simm-idi  
gePa1       take-CNV<sub>2</sub> stay-if   in.addition groom's family return-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
psPa1       V-SUF       V-SUF       CONJ       N       N       V- SUF

wpa1       ?aikkoba hini       na?a-a               lagge-kka ?iin  
gePa1       nothing DEM.DIST boy-ACC.3MS.DEF friend-too pose  
psPa1       PRON       ADV       N -SUF               N-SUF       \_

wpa1       dondzdzi-kka ?aikko   jaa   gupp-idi   dee-   neee?  
gePa1       adult-too   what.if   there jump-CNV<sub>2</sub> exist-INTER.FUT  
psPa1       N -SUF       PRON.SUF ADV   V- SUF       V- SUF

ftPa1       'Alright. If they return home after receiving gift;if the  
groom,the bride and the people with them arrive the  
groom's home safely, if the groom passes the night with  
the bride; the friends of the groom and adults will  
continue dancing. Isn't it?'

RefPa2     Pa2-56

txPa2       na7aaga na7aa laggeti yes donzzi aawakko bes  
wPa2       na?aa= ga   na?aa   lagge-t-i               j-es  
gePa2       boy:GEN=one boy.GEN friend-PL-NOM.M come-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2       N               N               N-SUF-SUF               V-SUF

wPa2       dondzdz-i   ?aawa-kko   b-es  
gePa2       adult-NOM.M father-LOC go-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2       ADJ-SUF       N-SUF               V-SUF

ftPa2       'The friends of the groom come to the groom whereas the  
adults come to the father.'

RefPa2     Pa2-57

txPa2       na7aayyo hiniin ...

wPa2 naʔaa- jjo hinii-n  
gePa2 boy- DAT there-LOC  
psPa2 N-SUF ADV-SUF  
ftPa2 ' there to/for the groom ... , '

RefPa1 Pa1-37  
txPa1 naʔeenttasoy naʔeenttasoy hay wontta githe githe giyabay  
wpa1 naʔeenttasoy-i naʔeenttasoy-i hai  
gePa1 bride's.family-NOM.M bride's family-NOM.M pose  
psPa1 N-SUF N-SUF -

wpa1 wontta gitse gia=ba-i  
gePa1 morning scarf.with.blood-NOM.M say.NMZ=entity-NOM.M  
psPa1 ADV N-SUF N-SUF  
ftPa1 'How does the family of the bride treat if the group of people come holding 'the scarf!',

RefPa2 Pa2-58  
txPa2 githey wontta, hachchi iyu ekkidi aqida mela wontta  
woxxatey ,naatethay, yes  
wPa2 gitse-i wontta, hatʃtʃi ʔiu  
gePa2 scarf.With.blood-NOM.M morning, today her.ACC  
ps Pa2 N-SUF ADV , ADV PRON

wPa2 ʔekk-idi ʔak'-ida mela wontta wotsts'ate-i  
gePa2 marry-CNV<sub>2</sub> stay-PAST.REL like morning youngster-NOM.3MS.DEF  
ps Pa2 V-SUF -SUF ADJ ADV N-SUF

wPa2 naatetsa-i, j-es  
gePa2 youngster-NOM.M come-IMP:3MS.DCL  
ps Pa2 N-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'The youngsters, the groom's friends, sing 'githey' song, early morning after the groom passes the first night with the bride.'

RefPa1 Pa1- 38  
 txPa1 naatethay yes yidi woygii?  
 wpa1 naatetsa-i j-es  
 gePa1 yongster-NOM.M come-IMPF.3MS.A.DCL  
 psPa1 N-SUF V-SUF  
 wpa1 j-idi woig-ii ?  
 gePa1 come-CNV<sub>2</sub> what.say-3MS.INTER  
 psPa1 V-SUF PRON-INTER  
 ftPa1 'What do the youngsters say when they come (to the  
 bride's family compound)?'

RefPa2 Pa2- 59  
 txPa2 bal bal bal bal bal bal  
 wPa2 bal bal bal bal bal bal  
 gePa2 excuse excuse excuse excuse excuse excuse  
 ps Pa2 V V V V V V  
 ftPa2 ''The youngsters beg the bride's family to accept their  
 request by saying 'Excuse us!'' ''

RefPa1 Pa1-39  
 txPa1 bal bal bal  
 wpa1 bal bal bal  
 gePa1 excuse excuse excuse  
 psPa1 V V V  
 ftPa1 ''They beg the family saying 'excuse excuse excuse!'' ''

RefPa2 Pa2-60  
 txPa2 ee na7i na7aa dosis  
 WPa2 ʔee naʔi naʔa-a dos -is  
 gePa2 pose child:F/M boy-ACC.MS love-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
 ps Pa2 - N N-SUF V -SUF  
 ftPa2 'They also say " the girl loved the boy".'

RefPa2 Pa2-61  
 txPa2 oonii oona dosidee ?

WPa2       ?oonii                   ?oona       dos-idee ?  
 gePa2       who.NOM.MS.INTER   who.ACC   love-PAST.MS.INTER  
 psPa2       PRON       `                   PRON       V-SUF  
 ftPa2       'Who loved whom?'

RefPa2     Pa2-62  
 txPa2       ebeltta ebela dosasu yaages  
 wPa2       ?ebeltt-a       ?ebel-a       dos-aasu  
 gePa2       Miss Y-NOM.F   Mr X-ACC.M   love-Past.3FS.A.DCL  
 ps Pa2     N                   N                   V-SUF

wPa2       jaag-es  
 gePa2       say.like.that-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 psPa2       V - SUF  
 ftPa2       'Miss Y loved Mr X.' say the other group of the  
             youngsters.'

RefPa2     Pa2-63  
 txPa2       enttikka yaagidi kaa7ishen

wPa2       ?entt-ikka jaag-idi                   kaa?-i?e-n  
 gePa2       they-too   say.like.that-CNV<sub>2</sub> play-PROG<sub>2-?</sub>  
 ps Pa2     PRON-SUF   V-SUF                   V-SUF  
 ftPa2       'They repeat like a song now and then until they are  
             accepted.'

RefPa1     Pa1-40  
 txPa1       yaatin soo asay githaa ekkis guussi ekkis yaagi odettey  
             entti bal bal yaagidi wossoosona  
 wpa1       jaatin   ,   soo ?asa-i                   gitsa-a       ?ekk-is  
 gePa1       in.that.case,home person-NOM.M scarf-ACC.M receive-PAST.3MS  
 psPa1       CONJ           N   N- SUF                   N-SUF       V-SUF

wpa1 g-uussi ?ekk-is jaag-i ?odette-i  
gePa1 say-NMZ accept-PAST.3MS say.like.that-CNV<sub>2</sub> tell.FUT-NOM.M  
psPa1 N-SUF V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF

wpa1 ?entti bal bal jaag-idi woss-osona  
gePa1 3S.HON/PL.NOM excuse say.like.that-CNV<sub>2</sub> beg-PRES.3PL.A.DCL  
psPa1 PRON V V-SUF V-SUF

ftPa1 'In that case, the youngsters beg now and then by saying  
'please accet us!' 'We beg you to accet us!' They will be  
in the compound and beg until they are accepted by the  
bride's family.'

RefPa1 Pa1-41

txPa1 haa asay ekkas gaanas waati enttana  
wpa1 haa ?asa-i ?ekk-a-s gaa-na-s waatii ?enttana  
gePa1 pose person-NOM.M accept-Past-DAT say-FUT-DAT how them  
psPa1 - N-SUF V-SUF V-SUF-SUF PRON PRON  
ftPa1 'How can the family show that they accepted the youngsters  
begging to be accepted?'

RefPa2 Pa2-64

txPa2 ekkas gaanasi wooroora gooddes.  
wPa2 ?ekk-as g-aana-s wooroo-ra goodd-es.  
gePa1 accept-PAST.1S say-FUT-DAT liquid.dung-INST chase-RES.3MS.A.DCL  
psPa1 V-SUF V-SUF N-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'To show that the family accepted the request, they chase  
friends of the groom using the liquid of the dung.'

RefPa2 Pa2-65

txPa2 gooddikko ekkis guussa  
WPa2 goodd-ikko ?ekk-is g-uussa  
gePa1 chase-if take-PAST.3MS.A.DCL say-NMZ.A.DCL  
psPa1 V-SUF V-SUF.SUF V-NMZ.SUF  
ftPa2 'If they chase the people/the friends of the groom, it is  
to mean that the request is accepted.'

RefPa1 Pa1-42  
txPa1 aha hara odiyabi baawee ? wooro ekkidi gooddiko,  
wpa1 ?aha hara ?odiab-i baaw-ee ?  
gePa1 okay other means.of.telling-NOM.M not.present-INTER  
psPa1 ADJ PRON V-SUF V-SUF  
wpa1 wooro ?ekk-idi goodd-iko,  
gePa1 liquid.dung take-CNV<sub>2</sub> chase-if  
psPa1 N V-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa1 'Okay. Is there no other means of informing their message  
other than using the liquid of the dung?'

RefPa2 Pa2-66  
txPa2 wooro ekkidi gooddiko ekkides iza  
wPa2 wooro ?ekk-idi goodd-ikko ?ekk-ides ?iza  
gePa2 liquid.dung take-CNV<sub>2</sub> chase-if accept-PRES.3MS.DCL that  
ps Pa2 N V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF PRON  
ftPa2 'Chasing the youngsters using the liquid dung is  
understood as accepting the request.'

RefPa1 Pa1-43  
txPa1 woorara waati gooddii  
wpa1 woorara waatii good- ii ?  
gePa1 liquid.dung-INST how.does.3MS.INTER chase-3MS.INTER  
psPa1 N-SUF PRON V-SUF  
ftPa1 'How does the family of the bride chase the friends of the  
groom?'

RefPa2 Pa2-67  
txPa2 wooraraa so garssaa so qomoo eqqi naagishin hini bidi  
keethaa wuyge haaho adussa gidikko, barattafe shiiqidi  
eqida asatas.  
wPa2 wooraa -ra soo garssaa soo k'ommoo ?ek'-i naag-ifin  
gePa2 liquid.dung-COM house below house up stand-CNV<sub>2</sub> wait-while  
psPa2 N-SUF N ADV N ADV V-SUF V-SUF

wPa2 hini b-idi keetsaa wuige haaho ?adussa gid-ikko,  
gePa2 there go-CNV2 house saloon far long be-if  
psPa2 ADV V- SUF N N ADV ADJ V-SUF

WPa2 barattafe Jiik'-idi ?ek'-ida  
gePa2 veranda.LOC come.closer-CNV2 stand-PAST.REL  
ps Pa2 N V - SUF V-SUF

WPa2 ?asa-t-a-s  
gePa2 person-PL-ACC.M- DAT  
ps Pa2 N-SUF -SUF-SUF-SUF  
ftPa2 'A person holding a pot of liquid dung hides himself either in the house or up the house to splash on the groom's friends who are standing in the saloon and in the veranda of the bride's family.'

RefPa2 Pa2-68

txPa2 aawu aaya kare keydi 'wodhekketi ? dhayssekketi hayssi awuppe yiidakko? ' giikko

WPa2 ?aawu ?aaja kare kej-idi 'wod'-ekketi?  
gePa2 father mother out.side go.out-CNV2 kill-PRES.2PL.NEG.INTER  
ps Pa2 N N ADV V- SUF V -SUF

wPa2 daiss-ekketi ? ha=iss-i ?au-ppe  
gePa2 disappear-CAUS.PERS.2PL.NEG.INTER this=one-NOM.M where-LOC  
ps Pa2 V - SUF PRON=CLIT-SUF PRON-SUF

wPa2 j-iida-kko ? g-iikko  
gePa2 come-PAST.REL-if.INTER say- if  
ps Pa2 V -SUF -SUF V- SUF  
ftPa2 'Who are they? Why not you make them go away?' say when the father and the mother of the bride see the people from the groom's friends outside.'

RefPa1 Pa1-43

txPa1 wooraa entti entta bolla laalliya wode wooray afila bayzzikoshin ?

wpa1       woora-a                   ʔentti     ʔentta bolla laall-ia     wode  
 gePa1       liquid.dung-ACC.M   they.NOM   them     on     scatter-NMZ   time  
 psPa1       N-   SUF                   PRON       PRON     ADV     V-SUF         N

wpa1       woora-i                   ʔafila-a       baizz-ikkofin  
 gePa1       liquid .dung-NOM.M   cloth- ACC.M   spoil- if  
 psPa1       N-SUF                   N -SUF         V-SUF  
 ftPa1       '(When) they splash/pour the liquid dung on the groom's  
               friends, won't it spoil their clothes? '

RefPa2     Pa2-69  
 txPa2       afilaa bayzzana mela koyettes  
 wPa2       ʔafila-a       baizz-ana mela koj-ett-es  
 gePa2       cloth-ACC.M   sell-FUT   like need-PASS-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 ps Pa2     N-   SUF         V-SUF       ADJ   V-SUF -SUF  
 ftPa2       'The intention is to spoil somone's cloth.'

RefPa1     Pa1-44  
 txPa1       koyetteikka bayzzana mela koyettii?  
 wpa1       koj-ettei-kka baizz-ana   mela   koj-ettii?  
 gePa1       need-PASS-too spoil-FUT   like   want-PASS-INTER  
 psPa1       V-SUF-SUF     V-SUF       ADJ     V-SUF-SUF  
 ftPa1       'Does the family of the bride intentionally spoil the  
               cloth 'Is spoiling the clothes of the groom's friends in-  
               tentional? / Is it part of the cultural practise?'

RefPa2     Pa2-70  
 txPa2       ee  
 wPa2       ʔee  
 gePa2       yes  
 psPa2       ADV  
 ftPa2       yes

RefPa1     Pa1-45  
 txPa1       entti hankko asati panttana gakkofu gidi waa laasaneeyee ?

wpa1       ?entti hankko ?asa-t-i       pantt-ana   gakko-fo    g-idi  
 gePa1       they  other  person-PL-NOM.M  them-selves  let.reach-NEG  say-CNV<sub>2</sub>  
 psPa1       PRON  PRON  N-SUF-SUF       PRON-SUF  V-SUF        V-SUF

wpa1       waa     laas-aneejee     ?  
 gePa1       pose    run-FUT.INTER  
 psPa1       -       V-SUF.SUF  
 ftPa1       'Would they run lest the man who splashes the liquid dung  
           come closer and spoil their cloth?'

RefPa2     Pa2-71

txPa2       gakoko gidi enttika woxxishe  
 wPa2       gakko-fo       g-idi     ?entt-ikka wotsts'-ife  
 gePa2       let.reach-NEG say-CNV<sub>2</sub> they- even run-PROG<sub>2</sub>  
 ps Pa2     V-SUF           V-SUF     PRON- SUF   V- SUF  
 ftPa2       'All the guests run away lest the liquid of the dung spoil  
           their clothes.'

RefPa1     Pa1-46

txPa1       aha   laasidi xooniko  attes  
 wpa1       ?aha laas-idi ts'oon-ikko ?att-es  
 gePa1       okay run-CNV<sub>2</sub> win-if        save-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 psPa1       ADJ  V-SUF     V-SUF        V-SUF  
 ftPa1       'One can be safe if he runs away (lest the liquid of the  
           dung spoil his clothes).'

RefPa2     Pa2-72

txPa2       xoonikko attikko nashettes  
 wPa2       ts'oon-ikko ?att-ikko naʃ-ett-es  
 gePa2       win-if        save-if     appreciate-PASS-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 psPa2       V- SUF        V -SUF     V -SUF-SUF  
 ftPa2       'Someone is appreciated if he runs away before his cloth  
           is spoiled.'

RefPa2     Pa2-73

txPa2       hankkoode 'ebeloo tana iissofa' gidi wol wossees pa  
           guwaadayna /laggiya

wPa2 hankkoode 'ʔebeloo tana ʔiiss-ofa' g-idi  
gePa2 other.time Mr X me spoil-2S.NEG.IMP say-CNV2  
ps Pa2 PRON N PRON V-SUF V-SUF

wPa2 wol woss-ees pa guadaɲɲaa /laggia  
gePa2 each.other beg-PRES.3MS.DCL his/her friend.ACC.M  
ps Pa2 PRON V- SUF GEN.PRON N.SUF  
ftPa2 'If not, he begs his friend and says, ' please Mr X,do not  
spoil me!'

RefPa1 Pa1-47  
txPa1 ' hay tana ...' gidi woossidi attes  
Wpa1 'hai tana ...' g-idi wooss-idi ʔatt-es  
gePa1 please me say-CNV<sub>2</sub> beg-CNV2 save-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
psPa1 interjection PRON V -SUF V-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa1 'Please,I beg you not to pour/splash the liquid dung and  
spoil my clothes!'

RefPa1 Pa1-48  
txPa1 entti waanna koshshaa alaamayka bal bal gidi yidaasa  
wooruwara goodidinne laalles kariyappe eqqidayssa

wpa1 ʔentti waanna kofʃaa ʔalaamai-kka bal bal  
gePa1 they main want.NMZ objective-too excuse excuse  
psPa1 PRON ADJ N N V V

wpa1 g-idi j-ida ʔasa wooruwa-ra goodd-idi-nne  
gePa1 say-CNV<sub>2</sub> come-PAST.REL person liquid.dung-INST chase-CNV2-INST  
psPa1 V -SUF V -SUF N N-SUF V-SUF-SUF

wpa1 laall-es karia-ppe  
gePa1 disperse-PRES.3MS.DCL infront.of.the house-LOC  
psPa1 V-SUF ADV -SUF

wpa1       ʔekk'-ida-issa  
gePa1       stand-PAST.REL-person  
psPa1       V- SUF -SUF  
ftPa1       ' The main objective of pouring the liquid dung on  
              youngsters is to chase them and make them go away from the  
              veranda of the bride's family.'

RefPa1     Pa1-49

txPa1       eqqidayssay erissey woorora laallikko ekkettis guussee?  
wpa1       ʔekk'-ida=issa-i                   ʔer-isse-i       woora-ra  
gePa1       stand-PAST.REL=entity.M-NOM.M know-CAUS-NOM.M liquid.dung-INST  
psPa1       N-SUF=CLIT-SUF                   V-SUF-SUF       N-SUF

wpa1       laall-ikko ʔekk-ett-is                   g-uuss-ee?  
gePa1       disperse-if accept-PASS-3MS.A.DCL say-NMZ-INTER  
psPa1       V-SUF           V-SUF-SUF                   V-SUF-SUF  
ftPa1       'People/ friends of the groom outside are made to know  
              that they are accepted if the family of the bride chases  
              and splashes/pours the liquid dung on the friends of the  
              groom.'

RefPa1     Pa1-50

txPa1       ekettis guussee baqqa iyappe simmidishin?  
wpa1       ʔek-ett-is                           g-uuss-ee?       baakk'a  
gePa1       accept-PASS-PAST.3MS.DCL mean-NMZ-INTER enough  
psPa1       V-SUF-SUF                           say-SUF-SUF     ADV

Wpa1       ʔia-ppe simm-idi-fin?  
gePa1       him-from return-CNV2-but/after  
psPa1       PRON-SUF V-SUR-SUF  
ftPa1       '(It is the sign of) accepting the guests. What happens/  
              comes finally ?'

RefPa2     Pa2-74

txPa2       iyappe simmidi iza hachchi koyroy salettenna.

WPa2       ?ia-ppe   simm-idi       ?iza hatftji koiroi salett-enna  
gePa2       him-LOC   return-CNV<sub>2</sub> that today   first   lose.hope-FUT.NEG  
ps Pa2       PRON-SUF V -SUF           PRON   ADV   ADJ       V-SUF  
ftPa2       'The youngsters do not lose hope as soon as they face  
              challenge the first day (today).'

RefPa2     Pa2-75

txPa2       wonttetta wode   imathaasaa mukkana ges

WPa2       wonttetta       wode ?imatsa ?asa-a           mukk-ana

gePa2       next.morning time   guest   person-ACC.M welcome-FUT

ps Pa2       ADV               N       N           N-SUF           V-SUF

WPa2       g-es

gePa2       say-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

ps Pa2       V-SUF

ftPa2       'The bride's family welcome like honourable guests when  
              the youngsters come the next morning.'

RefPa2     Pa2-76

txPa2       mukkidi   kathidi   essidi   agidi muzi ushshidi yeddes

WPa2       mukk-idi       kats-idi   ?ess-idi           ?ag-idi

gePa2       welcome-CNV<sub>2</sub> cook-CNV<sub>2</sub>   boil.coffee-CNV<sub>2</sub> brew-CNV<sub>2</sub>

ps Pa2       V - SUF           V - SUF   V-SUF                   V- SUF

WPa2       muz-i               ?uʃʃ-idi           jedd-es

gePa2       eat.CAUS-CNV<sub>2</sub>   drink.CAUS-CNV<sub>2</sub>   send-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

ps Pa2       V-SUF               V- SUF               V- SUF

ftPa2       'The bride's family send their guests after they invited  
              food, drinks and coffee.'

RefPa1     Pa1-51

txPa1       aha koyro qamman gooddin bidi iza nuna ekkis gishe yaa  
              bidi gas wontteta gallas nam<sup>77</sup>antho yaade

wpa1       ?aha   koyiro k'aman   goodd-in   b-idi   iza   nuna

gePa1       okay   first   day.LOC   chase-when go-CNV<sub>2</sub> that us

psPa1       interj ADJ       N           V-SUF           V-SUF   PRON PRON

wpa1       ʔekk-is                   gife    jaa    b-idi   k'as wontteta    gallas  
gePa1       welcome-PAST.3MS reason there go-CNV<sub>2</sub> also next.morning day  
psPa1       V-SUF                        N        ADV    V -SUF ADV    ADV                N

wpa1       namʔʔantso   jaa                wode  
gePa1       second.time come.NMZ time  
psPa1       ADJ                V.SUF        N  
ftPa1       'Though they are chased the first day,they also come the  
              next morning expecting that they are/will be accepted by  
              the bride's family.'

RefPa2     Pa2-77  
txPa2       wozantto walakkidi yes  
WPa2       wozantto        walakk-idi j-es  
gePa2       adult.people mix-CNV<sub>2</sub>    come-PRRES.3MS.DCL  
ps Pa2     N                        V- SUF        V- SUF  
ftPa2       'The youngsters come together with the adults.'

refPa1     Pa1-52  
txPa1       wozanttaa walakkidi yes, hayssa muussas ushshas  
              giigettidi yes.  
wpa1       wozantta-a walakk-idi j-es.                    ha=iss-a    muussa-s  
gePa1       adults-ACC.M mix-CNV<sub>2</sub>    come-IMPF.3MS.DCL this=one-ACC   eat:NMZ-DAT  
psPa1       N- SUF                V- SUF    V- SUF                        PRON=entity-SUF V-SUF

wpa1       ʔuffa-s                    giig-ett-idi        j-es  
gePa1       drink:NMZ-DAT prepare-PASS-CNV<sub>2</sub> come-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
psPa1       V                        V -SUF                        V- SUF  
ftPa1       'The youngsters come together with the adults.They know  
              that they come to eat food and to drink.'

RefPa2     Pa2-78  
txPa2       muussas ushshas giigettidi yes  
WPa2       muussa-s    ʔuffa-s                giig-ett-idi    j-es  
gePa2       eat.NMZ-DAT drink.NMZ-DAT ready-PASS-CNV<sub>2</sub> come-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2     N- SUF                N-SUF                V-SUF-SUF        V-SUF

ftPa2 'They get ready and come to eat and to drink.'

RefPa2 Pa2-79

txPa2 hegan

WPa2 he=ga-n

gePa2 DEM.DIST=entity -LOC

ps Pa2 PRON=CLIT- SUF

ftPa2 there

refPa1 Pa1-53

txPa1 wogaara de7ada higgeera de7iya na7a gidikkoshin aykko  
haniyabay dummabay de7ii ?

Wpa1 wogaa-ra de?-ada higgee-ra de?-ia na?a

gePa1 virgin-INST exist-CNV<sub>1</sub> virgin-INST exist-PRES.REL child

psPa1 N- SUF V-SUF N-SUF V- SUF N

Wpa1 gid-ikko-fin han-ia=ba-i dumma=ba-i de?-ii ?

gePa1 be-if-but be-PRES.REL=one-NOM.M special=one-NOM.M exist-INTER

psPa1 V-SUF-SUF V-SUF=CLIT- SUF ADJ=CLIT-SUF V-SUF

ftPa1 'If the bride is vergin, will the occassion be special ?'

RefPa2 Pa2-80

txPa2 daro nashetethi des

WPa2 daro na7etets-i d-es

gePa2 many/much appreciation-NOM.M exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

ps Pa2 ADJ N - SUF V-SUF

ftPa2 'High appreciation will be given to the bride.' / 'The  
virgin bride will be appreciated very much.'

RefPa2 Pa2-81

txPa2 na7iya pana naagada bonchchora bonchchetetaara de7iyaba  
gidikko daro daro

WPa2 na?ia pana naag.ada bontftfo-ra

gePa2 child.NOM.F her/himself keep.CNV<sub>1</sub> respect-INST

ps Pa2 N- SUF PRON V-SUF V- SUF

WPa2 bontftf-etetaa-ra de?iaba gid-ikko daro daro

gePa2 respect-PASS-INST exist.NMZ.one be-if many/much many

ps Pa2 V - SUF-SUF V.SUF V-suf ADJ ADJ

ftPa2 'If the bride is found virgin, she is highly respected.'

RefPa2 Pa2-82

txPa2 keetha asaykka kare asaykka nashshes

WPa2 keetsaa ʔasa-ikka kare ʔasa-ikka naʃʃ-es

gePa2 home person-too out.side person-too respect-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

psPa2 N N-SUF ADV N -SUF V-SUF

ftPa2 'The two families as well as the other people respect /appreciate the bride.'

RefPa2 Pa2-83

txPa2 naʔiya coo he mela gidikko, wogay attonna mela gakkidinne, hixxaa hixxida , gidi agiigosona

WPa2 naʔia tʃ'oo he mela gid-ikko,

gePa2 child.NOM.3FS.DEF careless DEM.DIST like be-if

psPa2 N.SUF ADJ PRON ADJ V-SUF

WPa2 woga-i ʔatt-onna mela gakk-idi-nne

gePa2 culture-NOM.3MS.DEF leave-NEG like reach-CNV<sub>2</sub>-CNJ

psPa2 N -SUF V-SUF ADJ V-SUF

WPa2 hixxa-a hixx-ida g-idi

gePa2 bed-ACC.MS make.bed-PAST.2PL.A.DCL say-CNV<sub>2</sub>

psPa2 N -SUF V-SUF V-SUF

WPa2 ʔag-(iig)osona

gePa2 leave-PRES.3S.HON/3PL.A.DCL

psPa2 V-SUF

ftPa2 'If the bride loses her pride, the friends of the groom only witness that the bride and the groom were together on the bed prepared for them. They say nothing about the other issue.'

RefPa2 Pa2-84

txPa2 yaates

wPa2 jaat-es

gePa2 does.like .that-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

psPa2 V-SUF

ftPa2 'Does like that.'

RefPa1 Pa1-54  
 txPa1 hinna hayssa aazeesaa  
 wpa1 hi = nna ha=issa ?aazeesaa  
 gePa2 DEM.DIST=entity.F DEM.PROX=entity.M like.this-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 psPa2 PRON=CLIT PRON=CLIT V-SUF  
 ftPa1 'That looks like this ./The issue stated so far is treated like this.'

RefPa1 Pa1-55  
 txPa1 gulluntha qaaro giyabay hay guyeera bonqqi ekkidaba gidikko  
 wpa1 gulluntsa k'aaro giaba-i hai gujee-ra  
 gePa1 face.cover take.off say.NMZ-NOM.M \_\_\_ behind-COM  
 psPa1 N V.SUF N -SUF \_\_\_ ADV- SUF  
 wpa1 bonkk'i ?ekk-ida=ba gid-ikko  
 gePa1 abduct.CNV<sub>2</sub> marry-PAST.REL=one be-if  
 psPa1 V.SUF V-SUF=CLIT V-SUF  
 ftPa1 'Taking the cover of the face is another occassion that takes place if the groom marries the bride without the cosent of the bride's family.'

RefPa1 Pa1-56  
 txPa1 gulluntha qaaro gin aawaara aayeera walahettanas haniyabay des  
 wpa1 gulluntsa k'aaro gin ?aawaa -ra ?aayee-ra  
 gePa1 face.cover taking.away mean father.GEN-INST mother.GEN-INST  
 psPa1 N N V N-SUF N-SUF  
 wpa1 walah-ett-ana-s hania=ba-i d-es  
 gePa1 mix-PASS-FUT-DAT happen=one-NOM.MS exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
 psPa1 V -SUF-SUF-SUF V=CLIT-SUF V- SUF  
 ftPa1 'Taking the face cover away/off is an occasion whereby the groom is legally/publicly accepted and mixed with the family of the bride.'

RefPa1 Pa1-57  
txPa1 sarggera ekkidabas gulluntha qaaroy dii deennee?  
Wpa1 sargge-ra ?ekk-ida=ba-s guluntsa k'aaro-i  
gePa1 wedding-INST marry-PF.REL=one-DAT face.cover taking.away/off-NOM.M  
psPa1 N-SUF V-SUF-SUF N N -SUF

Wpa1 d-ii d-eennee ?  
gePa1 exist-PRES.MS.INTER exist-PRES.3MS.NEG.INTER  
psPa1 V-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa1 'Someone who is married by the wedding ceremony is not expected to perform the process of taking away the cover of the face. Isn't it ?'

RefPa2 Pa2-85  
txPa2 gulluntha qaaro (sargge) wode imatha ehoppe attinshin nam77antho sargge baa  
WPa2 gulluntsa k'aaro sargge wode ?imatsa ?eho-ppe  
gePa2 face.cover taking.away/off wedding time guest receive-LOC  
ps Pa2 N N N N N V-SUF

WPa2 ?attin-ʃin nam??antso sargge baa  
gePa2 except-but second wedding exist.NEG.DCL  
ps Pa2 CONJ-SUF ADJ N V  
ftPa2 'Arranging the wedding ceremony is not necessary if some one participates in the ceremony of taking away/off the cover of the face.'

RefPa1 Pa1-58  
txPa1 yaaganuwara ekki efana ... nam77antho sarggei baa  
wPa1 jaagonua-ra ?ekk-i ?ef-ana ... nam??antso  
gePa1 wedding.DEF-INST take-CNV<sub>2</sub> take.and.go-FUT ... second  
psPa1 N -SUF V-SUF V-SUF ADJ

wpa1 sargge-i baa  
gePa1 wedding-NOM.MS exist.NEG.DCL  
psPa1 N-SUF V

ftPa1 'Once the groom takes the bride home, there is no second wedding ceremony.'

RefPa1 Pa1-59

txPa1 gullunthaa wodekka naʔiyu ekkidi gullunthes ... ee

wpa1 gulluntsa-a wodekka naʔiu ʔekk-idi

gePa1 face.cover-ACC.M time.too child.ACC.F take-CNV<sub>2</sub>

psPa1 N-SUF N N.SUF V-SUF

wpa1 gullunts-es ... ʔee

gePa1 face.cover-PRES.3MS.A.DCL pose

psPa1 V -SUF —

ftPa1 'In the ceremony of taking away/off the cover of the face, someone covers the face of the bride, too ?'

RefPa2 Pa2-86

txPa2 gulluntha qaaro wode aaway (woytanabay)eeh boori  
maathi woiytana

wPa2 gulluntsa k'aaro wode , ʔaawa-i ʔeeh

gePa2 face.cover taking.away/off time, father-NOM.M pose

ps Pa2 N N N N- SUF —

wPa2 boor-i maats-i woiit-ana

gePa2 ox-NOM.M milk-NOM.M offer.gift-FUT.DCL

ps Pa2 N-SUF N-SUF V-SUF

ftPa2 'During the ceremony of taking away/off the cover of the face/head, the father of the bride offers an ox and a cow as a gift to the married couples.'

RefPa2 Pa2 -87

txPa2 eeh para baqulo woytana

wPa2 ʔeeh para bak'ulo woiit-ana

gePa2 pose horse mule offer.gift-FUT

psPa2 - N N V-SUF

ftPa2 'Pose. The bride's family could also offer a mule or a horse as a gift.'

RefPa2 Pa2-88

txPa2 ha de7iya woyto immanay githaa nam77antho githaa  
giidinne wozanthuwaranne na7atethaara yiyaba gidikko  
gullunthi qaaridi , hayssi ta na7eessa hayssi ta na7aassa

wPa2 ha de7ia woito ?imm-ana-i gitsaa

gePa2 DEM existing gift give-FUT-CNV<sub>2</sub> gift.seeking.ceremony

ps Pa2 PRON N N V-SUF-SUF N

wPa2 nam??antso gitsa-a g-iidi-nne

gePa2 second gift.seeking.ceremony-ACC.M say-CNV<sub>2</sub>-CNJ

ps Pa2 ADJ N-SUF V-SUF

wPa2 wozantsua-ra-nne na7a-tetsaa-ra j-ia=ba gid-ikko

gePa2 adults-INST-CNJ child- NMZ-INST come-FUT=entity be-if

ps Pa2 V -SUF-SUF N -SUF-SUF V-SUF=CLIT V-SUF

WPa2 gullunts-i k'aar-idi ha=iss-i

gePa2 face.cover-NOM.M uncover-CNV<sub>2</sub> this=entity.M-NOM.M

ps Pa2 N - SUF V-SUF PRON = CLIT -SUF

WPa2 ta na7ee=ss-a ha=iss-i

gePa2 my daughter.GEN=entity-ACC.M this=entity-NOM.M

ps Pa2 GEN.PRON = CLIT-SUF PRON =CLIT-SUF

WPa2 ta na7aa= ssa

gePa2 my son.GEN=entity.ACC.M

ps Pa2 GEN.PRON N =CLIT-SUF

ftPa2 'The bride's father offers a gift when the bride and the  
groom come to the second gift seeking ceremony with the  
adults and youngsters who hold or wear the red  
banner. The father offers the gift saying 'this is to my  
daughter and this is to my son.'

RefPa1 Pa1-60

txPa1 he wode hay nam77antho githaa ekkidinne muussas ushshas  
asay yia wode naytikka yaanee aawaa soo weyto ekkanaw?

wpa1 he wode hai namʔantso gitsa-a ʔekk-idi-nne  
 gePa1 that time pose second red.banner-ACC.M take-CNV<sub>2</sub>-CNJ  
 psPa1 PRON N - ADJ N-SUF V-SUF-SUF

wpa1 muussa-s ʔuaʃʃa-s ʔasa-i j-ia wode  
 gePa1 eat.NMZ-DAT drink.NMZ-DAT person-NOM.M come-PAST.REL time  
 psPa1 N-SUF N-SUF N-SUF V-SUF N

wpa1 nait-ikka j-aanee ʔaawaa soo  
 gePa1 youngsters-too come-FUT.INTER father.GEN house  
 psPa1 N-SUF V-SUF N N

wpa1 weito ʔekk-ana-u ?  
 gePa1 gift take-FUT-DAT  
 psPa1 N V-SUF-SUF  
 ftPa1 'By this time, some people come taking the second githa  
 'the red banner' with the intention to eat and drink. Do  
 youngsters too come in this day to take gifts from the  
 bride's family ?'

RefPa1 Pa1-61  
 txPa1 woytuwa entti baʔennan baanee [ ? ]  
 wpa1 woiua ʔentti baʔennan b-aanee  
 gePa1 gift.ACC.3MS.DEF they carry-PRES.3MS.NEG go-FUT.INTER  
 psPa1 N.SUF PRON.NOM V-SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa1 'Will they go without carrying the gifts?'

RefPa2 Pa2-89  
 txPa2 weytuwa ekkanas cimati yoosona  
 wPa2 woiua ʔekk-ana-s tʃ'ima-t-i  
 gePa2 gift.ACC.M take-FUT-DAT old(.people)-PL-NOM.M  
 ps Pa2 N-SUF V-SUF-SUF N-SUF-SUF

wPa2 j-oosona  
 gePa2 come-IMPF/FUT.3PL.DCL  
 ps Pa2 V-SUF

ftPa2 'The old people come to take the gifts.'

RefPa1 Pa1-62

txPa1 cimaa sithan oychchii?

wpa1 tʃ'ima-a sintsa-n ʔoitʃtʃ- ii ?

gePa1 old.person-ACC.DEF in.front-LOC ask-PRES.3MS.INTER

psPa1 ADJ-SUF ADV-SUF V-SUF

ftPa1 'Does he ask in front of the old people/adults?'

RefPa1 Pa1-63

txPa1 ta naʔees hayssa immas ta naʔaas hayssa immas ges elageti  
deʔiya bessan

wpa1 ta naʔee-s ha=iss-a ʔimm-as ta naʔaa-s

gePa1 my daughter.GEN-DAT this=one-ACC.M give-PAST.S.DCL my son.GEN-DAT

psPa1 GEN.PRON N-SUF PRON=CLIT V-SUF GEN.PRON N-SUF

wpa1 ha=iss-a ʔimm-as g-es

gePa1 this=one-ACC.M give-PF.1S.DCL say-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

psPa1 PRON=CLIT-SUF V-SUF V-SUF

wpa1 ʔelage-t-i deʔia bessan

gePa1 stranger-PL-NOM.F/M exist.PRES.REL place-LOC

psPa1 N-SUF-SUF V-SUF N-SUF

ftPa1 ''The father says , 'I gave this to my daughter and that  
to my son' in the presesnce of the strangers/guests.''

RefPa2 Pa2-90

txPa2 hizan iyakka pa naʔaa ges

wPa2 hiza-n ʔia-kka pa naʔa-a g-es

gePa2 that-LOC 3MS-too 3S.GEN child-ACC.M say-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

ps Pa2 PRON-SUF PRON-SUF GEN.PRON N-SUF V-SUF

ftPa2 'The father considers him /(the groom) as his son.'

RefPa2 Pa2-91

txPa2 hayssi ta naʔeessa hayssi ta naʔaassa yaages

wPa2 ha=iss-i ta naʔee-ssa ha=issi

gePa2 this=one-NOM.M my daughter-DAT this=one-NOM.M

ps Pa2 PRON=CLIT-SUF GEN.PRON N-SUF PRON=CLIT-SUF

wPa2 ta naʔaa-ssa jaag-es  
gePa2 my son.GEN-DAT say.like.this-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 GEN.PRON N-SUF V -SUF  
ftPa2 '' 'This is to my daughter and this is to my son' says the  
father. ''

RefPa2 Pa2-92  
txPa2 hayssi ne7ee azinaassa ges sunthi xeegenna  
wPa2 ha=iss-i naʔee ʔazinaa=ss-a  
gePa2 this=one-NOM.M daughter.GEN husband.GEN =entity-ACC.M  
ps Pa2 PRON=CLIT-SUF N N =CLIT -SUF

wPa2 g-es suntsi ts'eeg-enna  
gePa2 say-IMPF.3MS.DCL name call-PRES.3MS.NEG.DCL  
ps Pa2 V -SUF N V -SUF  
ftPa2 ''The father does not mention the name of his son-in-law  
but says ' this is to the husband of my daughter'.''

RefPa1 Pa2-64  
txPa1 sunthi xeegenna ta na7aa ges pa na7aa udis baqqa  
wpa1 suntsi ts'eege-nna ta naʔa-a g-es  
gePa1 name call-PRES.3MS.NEG my son-ACC.M say-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
psPa1 N V-SUF GEN.PRON N-SUF V-SUF

wpa1 pa naʔa-a ʔud-es baqqa  
gePa1 his son-ACC.M consider-PRES.3MS.DCL enough  
psPa1 GEN.PRON N-SUF V-SUF ADJ  
ftPa1 ' He does not call the groom by his name. He rather  
considers his son-in-law as his son.'

RefPa2 Pa2- 93  
txPa2 ee pa na7a udes hayssi ta na7eessa hayssi ta na7aasa  
yaa gidi immes  
wPa2 ʔee pa naʔa-a ʔud-es ha=iss-i  
gePa2 yes his son-ACC.M consider-PRES.3MS.A.DCL this=one-NOM.M  
ps Pa2 ADV 3S.GEN N-SUF V-SUF PRON=CLIT-SUF

wPa2 ta naʔee-ssa ha=iss-i ta naʔaa-ssa  
gePa2 my daughter.GEN-DAT this=one-NOM.M my son.GEN-DAT  
ps Pa2 GEN.PRON N-SUF PRON=CLIT-SUF GEN.PRON N-SUF

wPa2 jaa g-idi ʔimm-es  
gePa2 say.like.this say-CNV<sub>2</sub> give-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 V V -SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'Yes. He considers his son-in-law as his son. He gives the gifts saying 'this is to my daughter and this is to my son.'

RefPa1 Pa1-65  
txPa1 mehe aykko taybora immiyabay deʔii?  
wpa1 mehe ʔaikko taibo-ra ʔimmiaba-i deʔ-ii ?  
gePa1 cows what.if count-INST give.NMZ.entity-NOM.M exist-3MS.INTER  
psPa1 N PRON V-SUF V-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa1 ' Does the father offer some cows as gift?'

RefPa1 Pa1-66  
txPa1 hayssa mela miidzdzi ta woytas hayssa mela  
wpa1 ha=issa mela miidzdzi ta woytas  
gePa1 this=one like cow 2S.NOM offer.gift-PAST  
psPa1 PRON=CLIT ADJ N PRON V-SUF

wpa1 ha=issa mela  
gePa1 this=one like  
psPa1 PRON=CLIT ADJ  
ftPa1 'Does he offer a gift like cow(s)?'

RefPa2 Pa2-94  
txPa2 hessa mela daro immenna

wPa2 he=ssa mela daro ʔimm-enna  
gePa2 that=one like many give-PRES/FUT.3MS.NEG.DCL  
psPa2 PRON=CLIT ADJ ADJ V-SUF

ftPa2 'He does not offer (too) many cows.'

RefPa2 Pa2-95

txPa2 tammu, ichchashu ussuppuna immes

wPa2 tammu, ?itʃtʃafu ?ussuppuna ?imm-es

gePa2 ten.GEN five.GEN six give-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

psPa2 ADJ ADJ ADJ V-SUF

ftPa2 'He offers some five, six or ten.'

RefPa1 Pa1-67

txPa1 tammu gatho, ichchashu usuppun miidzdzenttakka immes

wpa1 tammu gatso(boorata) ?itʃtʃafu ?usuppun

gePa1 ten pairs(.of.oxen) five.GEN six

psPa1 N ADJ ADJ ADJ

wpa1 miidzdzentta-kka ?imm-es

gePa1 cows-too give-PRES.3MS.A.DCL

psPa1 N-SUF V-SUF

ftPa1 'He may offer ten pairs of oxen, five or six cows.'

RefPa2 Pa2-96

txPa2 daro ee daro mehe

wPa2 daro ?ee daro mehe

gePa2 many pose many cattle

ps Pa2 ADJ \_\_ ADJ N

ftPa2 ' many pose many cattle'

RefPa2 Pa2-97

txPa2 daro mehe de7iyasi nam77u heedzdzdu waatha booraara,  
eeh heedzdzdu oyddu maatha miidzdzara lo7o usseera  
walakkidi immes

wPa2 daro mehe de?ias-i nam??u heedzdu

gePa2 many cattle well.to.do.person-NOM.M two.GEN three.GEN

psPa2 ADJ N N -SUF ADJ ADJ

wPa2 waatsa booraa-ra ?eeh heedzdzdu ?oiddu maatsa miidzdzaa-ra

gePa2 yoke.of ox.GEN-INST pose three.GEN four.GEN milk cows-INST

psPa2 N -SUF N -SUF - ADJ ADJ N N-SUF

wPa2 loʔo ʔussaa -ra walakk-idi ʔimm-es  
gePa2 good heifer-INST mix-CNV<sub>2</sub> give-PRES.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa2 ADJ N-SUF V-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'If the father has many cattle, he could offer two or three yokes of oxen. pose. He could also offer a cow that gives milk and also a good heifer.'

RefPa1 Pa1-69  
txPa1 ishshi izaā hintte  
wpa1 ʔiffi ʔizaa hintte  
gePa1 okay that 2S.HON/2PL  
psPa1 ADJ PRON PRON  
ftPa1 'Okay, pose, you too.'

RefPa2 Pa3-01  
txPa2 hintte sunthaa odekketi  
wPa2 hintte suntsa-a ʔod-ekketi  
gePa2 2S.HON/2PL name-ACC.M tell-IMP.2S.HON/2PL  
psPa2 GEN.PRON N-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'Please tell us your name.'

RefPa1 Pa1-70  
txPa1 taani gujja deedila geetettays , hintteka hintte sunthaa odite  
Wpa1 taani, gud<sup>3d3a</sup> deedila g-eetetais hintteka  
gePa1 I ,Gujja Dedla call-PASS.PRES.1S.DCL 2S.HON/2PL.too  
psPa1 PRON N N V-SUF PRON  
wpa1 hintte suntsaa ʔod-ite  
gePa1 2S.HON/2PL name tell-IMP.2S.HON/2PL  
psPa1 GEN.PRON N V-SUF  
ftPa1 'My name is Gujja Dedla. You also tell your name.'

RefPa2 Pa2-98  
txPa2 taani, ta sunthay, zawude kora g-eetetais  
WPa2 taani, ta suntsa-i zaude kora g-eetetsais  
gePa2 1S.NOM 1S.GEN name-NOM.M Zawde Kora say-PASS.1S.A.DCL  
psPa2 PRON GEN.PRON N-SUF N N V-SUF

ftPa2 'I am Zewde Kora. [Lit My name is Zewde Kora.]'

RefPa1 Pa1-71

txPa1 maaregiyara odekketi

Wpa1 maaregia-ra ?od-ekketi

gePa1 rank-INST tell-PRES.2HON/2PL.INTER

psPa1 N-SUF V- SUF

ftPa1 'You can also tell us including your rank.'

RefPa1 Pa1-72

txPa1 hinttew maarege des gidennee ?

wpa1 hintte-u maarege d-es gid-ennee ?

gePa1 2S.HON/2PL-DAT rank exist-PRES.3MS.A.DCL be-PRES.3MS.NEG.INTER

psPa1 PRON-SUF N V -SUF V -SUF

ftPa1 'You have rank/title. Isn't it?'

RefPa1 P1- 73

txPa1 ishshi

wpa1 ishshi

gePa1 okay

psPa1 interjection

ftPa1 'Okay'

RefPa2 Pa2-99

txPa2 iraasha , yam77a iraasha zawude kora geetethays

wPa2 ?iraaʃa , jam??a ?iraaʃa zaude kora g-eetets-ais

gePa2 Iraasha , Yam7e Iraasha Zawude Kora call-PASS-1S.A.DCL

pspa2 N N N N N V-SUF

ftPa2 'Irasha. I'm called Yam7a Irasha\* Zewde Kora.'

(\* a higher rank in the office of defense in the past Gofa)

RefPa1 P1-74

txPa1 taanika gujja deedila geetethays

wPa1 taani-kka gud3d3a deedila g-eetetsais

gePa1 1S.NOM-too Gujja Dedla call-PASS.1S.A.DCL

psPa1 PRON-SUF N N V-SUF

ftPa1 'I'm (also) called Gujja Dedla.'/'My name is Gujja Dedla.'

RefPa1 Pa1-75

txPa1 goofa akababiya kafitanya firdda keethaa danynya

wpa1 goofa ?akababia kafitaɲɲa firdda keetsaa daɲɲa

gePa1 Gofa surrounding higher court house.GEN be.lawyer.A.DCL

psPa1 N ADJ ADJ N N.GEN DEN  
 ftPa1 'I'm a chief lawyer of Gofa and its surrounding higher court.'

RefPa3 Pa3-02  
 txPa3 mabrariya silesexachihuny bexam ameseginallehu  
 wPa3 mabraria sile-sets'atʃtʃihujɒ bets'am ʔameseginallehu  
 gePa3 explanation for-give-PAST.1S.DCL very thank.PRES.1S.A.DCL  
 ps Pa3 N SUF-V-SUF-SUF ADJ V.SUF  
 ftPa3 'I thank you very much for you replied to the interview questions.'

RefPa3 Pa3-03  
 txPa3 xoossi immo  
 wPa3 ts'ooss-i ʔimm-o  
 gePa3 God-NOM.M give-JUS(S).3MS  
 psPa3 N -SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa3 'Let God give you his blessing!'May God bless you!'

RefPa3 Pa3-04  
 txPa3 goofay goobo  
 wPa3 goofa-i goob-o  
 gePa3 Gofa-NOM.M brave/prosperous-JUS(S).3MS  
 psPa3 N -SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa3 'Let Gofa be brave/prosperous!'

RefPa1 Pa1-76  
 txPa1 amin77i amin77i aawayka hiza yaagidi iyakka anjjidi  
 aggite  
 wpa1 ʔaminʔʔi ʔaawai-kka hiza jaa g-idi ʔia-kka  
 gePa1 amen father-too that say.like.that say-CNV<sub>2</sub> him-too  
 psPa1 interjection N-SUF PRON V V-SUF PRON-SUF  
 wpa1 ʔandʒɔɔ-idi ʔagg -ite  
 gePa1 bless-CNV<sub>2</sub> stop/let-2S.HON/PL.IMP  
 psPa1 V- SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa1 'Amen! Father, let you bless him like that.'

RefPa1 Pa1-77  
 txPa1 neesikka sinthe immo new timirttekka iza  
 wPa1 neesi-kka sintse ?imm-o niu timirtte-kka ?iza  
 gePa1 2S.for-too before give-JUS(S).3MS 2S.DAT study-too that  
 psPa1 PRON-SUF ADV V-SUF PRON N-SUF PRON  
 ftPa1 'Let you be succesful in your study!'

RefPa2 Pa2-100  
 txPa2 nuuka anjjana  
 wPa2 nuu-kka ?and3d3-ana  
 gePa2 we -too bless- FUT.A.DCL  
 ps Pa2 PRON-SUF V- SUF  
 ftPa2 'We bless you, too.'

RefPa2 Pa2-101  
 txPa2 nuw kawuappe kiitethada  
 wPa2 nu-u kawuappe kiitets-ada  
 gePa2 we-DAT king/official-from send.CAUS-CNV<sub>1</sub>  
 ps Pa2 PRON-SUF N- SUF V-SUF  
 ftPa2 'We realize that you are sent to us by the government.'

RefPa2 Pa2-102  
 txPa2 nuw zariya wogay aawaa mayzzaa wogay bayi attenaadan  
 wPa2 nu-u zaria woga-i  
 gePa2 our-DAT past.generation culture-NOM.M  
 ps Pa2 N -SUF N N- SUF  
 wPa2 ?aawaa maizzaa woga-i  
 gePa2 father.GEN great.father culture-NOM.M  
 ps Pa2 N N N -SUF  
 wPa2 baji ?att-enna-dan  
 gePa2 lose/miss remain/ foget-IMPF.3MS.NEG-like  
 psPa2 V V- SUF-SUF  
 ftPa2 'This study helps us not to forget the culture of the past generation, our great great fathers.'

RefPa2 Pa2-103  
txPa2 nuuppenne si7ada kauwaanne sissada  
wPa2 nuu-ppe-nne siʔ-ada kawua-nne siss-ada  
gePa2 us-from-COOR listen-CNV<sub>1</sub> king.DEF.M-CNJ listen.CUAS-CNV<sub>1</sub>  
psPa2 PRON-SUF-SUF V-SUF N-SUF V-SUF  
ftPa2 'We appreciate you for you listened to us and make the officials and interested intellectuals learn about us.'

RefPa2 Pa2-104  
txPa2 hara dereekka erana mela (wogaara de7iya dere)  
wPa2 hara deree-kka ʔer-ana mela  
gePa2 other country.GEN-too know-FUT like  
psPa2 ADJ N-SUF V -SUF ADJ  
wPa2 woga-ra deʔia dere  
gePa2 culture-COM exist.PAST.REL people/land  
ps Pa2 N -SUF V-SUF N  
ftPa2 'Please, make the interested people learn about our culture.'

RefPa2 Pa2-105  
txPa2 wogaara de7iya derey pa gaden sirrataara de7iya dere yaagetteyssa erissanaw  
wPa2 wogaa-ra deʔia dere-i pa gade-n  
gePa2 culture.GEN-INST exist-PAST.REL people-NOM.M 3F/MS place-LOC  
ps Pa2 N- SUF N -SUF N -SUF GEN.PRON N-SUF  
wPa2 siraataa-ra deʔia dere  
gePa2 culture-INST exist-PAST.REL people  
ps Pa2 N -SUF V-SUF N  
wPa2 jaagette=iss-a ʔer-iss-ana-u  
gePa2 called-PASS=one-ACC.M know-CAUS-FUT-DAT  
ps Pa2 N -SUF =CLIT-SUF V -SUF-SUF-SUF  
ftPa2 'Your work may allow some people to know us and the culture we have.'

RefPa2 Pa2-106  
 txPa2 nuuka erettana mela nu kawoykka koydayssa masaratiyan/  
 melan  
 wPa2 nuu-kka       ?er-ett-ana mela nu kawo-i-kka  
 gePa2 1PL.GEN-too know-PASS-FUT like GEN.1PL official-NOM.M-too  
 ps Pa2 PRON-SUF V-SUF ADJ PRON N-SUF-SUF

wPa2 koy-ida=issa                   masaratia-n /mela-n  
 gePa2 want-PAST.REL =entity intention-LOC  
 ps Pa2 V- SUF= CLIT N-SUF  
 ftPa2 'We hope our officials have the intention to make other  
 people to know us and our culture.'

RefPa2 Pa2-107  
 txPa2 neeka nuna wodhdha oychhada, nu kawuanne gathada  
 wPa2 nee-kka nuna wodda   ?oitʃtʃ-ada nu  
 gePa2 2S- too 1PL.ACC descend ask-CNV<sub>1</sub> 2PL  
 psPa2 PRON-SUF PRON V-CNV<sub>1</sub> V-SUF GEN.PRON

wPa2 kawua-nne                   gats-ada  
 gePa2 king.ACC.M-CNJ reach-CNV<sub>1</sub>  
 psPa2 N-SUF V -SUF  
 ftPa2 'You also interrogated us and you will inform our replies  
 to our officials.'

RefPa2 Pa2-108  
 txPa2 geeshsha gadiyaskka erissana mela yida nenakka galatos  
 wPa2 geeffa gadia-si-kka           ?er-iss-ana mela j-ida  
 gePa2 clean land.ACC.M-DAT-too know-CAUS-FUT like come-PAST.REL  
 ps Pa2 N N- SUF-SUF V-SUF-SUF ADJ V-SUF

wPa2 nena-kka j-ida                   nena-kka   ?ajndʒdʒ-os  
 gePa2 you.ACC-too come-PAST.REL 2S.ACC-too bless-PRES.1PL.JUSS  
 ps Pa2 PRON-SUF V-SUF PRON-SUF V-SUF

ftPa2 'We also bless you for your work may catch the attention  
of people abroad.'

RefPa3 Pa3-05

txPa3 hinttes xoossi immo

wPa3 hintte-s ts'ooss-i ?imm-o

gePa3 2S.HON/2PL-DAT God-NOM.M give-OPT.2MS

psPa3 V -SUF N-SUF V- SUF

ftPa3 'Let God give his blessing to you!'

## Appendix C: Marriage Tradition 02 (Gofa003)

Meta data

Pa1 acts as a groom, Xona / Akalu (actual name)  
 Pa2 acts as a bride, Kawone  
 Pa3 acts as a marriage broker  
 Pa4 acts as a best man, Bokola  
 Pa5 acts as the father of the groom  
 Pa6 act as the groom's family and friends  
 Pa7 act as the bride's family and friends  
 Pa8 people in the market  
 Place Orchestrated, rehearsed and staged at Loxe and Zanga Kebeles  
 Date April and May 2013/2014  
 Conductor the Keble official  
 Dialect Sawla or Demba Gofa

RefPa8 Pa8-01  
 tx Pa8 giya boos  
 w Pa8 gia b-oos  
 ge Pa8 market go-1PL.A.DCL  
 ps Pa8 N V-SUF  
 ft Pa8 'We go to the market.'

RefPa4 Pa4-01  
 tx Pa4 xoonaa waanay ?  
 w Pa4 ts'oon-aa waan-ai ?  
 ge Pa4 name.M-VOC.M how-2S/3FS.INTER  
 ps Pa4 N -SUF PRON-SUF  
 ft Pa4 Xona, what do you do?/ How are you ?'

RefPa1 Pa1-01  
 tx Pa1 saro day Bokolaa ?  
 w Pa1 saro d-ai bokol-aa  
 ge Pa1 peace exist-2S.INTER Name-VOC.M  
 ps Pa1 N V-SUF N-SUF  
 ft Pa1 'How are you Bokola ?'

RefPa4 Pa4-02  
 tx Pa4 ay mele ? lo77o day ?  
 w Pa4 ʔai mele? loʔʔo d-ai?  
 ge Pa4 how like good exist-PRES.2S/3FS.INTER  
 ps Pa4 PRON ADJ ADJ V-SUF  
 ft Pa4 'How are you?' Are you fine/ alright?'

RefPa1 Pa1-02  
 tx Pa1 lo77o day ? waanii ?  
 w Pa1 loʔʔo d-ai waan-ii?  
 ge Pa1 good exist-2S.INTER how-PRES.3MS.INTER  
 ps Pa1 ADJ V-SUF PRON-SUF  
 ft Pa1 'Are you fine/ alright? How is life?'

RefPa4 Pa4-03  
 tx Pa4 lo77o bay  
 w Pa4 loʔʔo bai  
 ge Pa4 good be.A.DCL  
 ps Pa4 ADJ V  
 ft Pa4 'It is alright/ fine.'

RefPa8 Pa8.1-02  
 tx Pa8 nu zal77anaw yida  
 w Pa8 nu zalʔʔ-ana-u j-ida  
 ge Pa8 1PL.NOM shop-FUT -DAT come-PAST.1PL.A.DCL  
 ps Pa8 PRON V-FUT-SUF-SUF V-SUF  
 ft Pa8 'We came for shopping.'

RefPa8 Pa8.1-03  
 tx Pa8 ay melee ? ay melee ?  
 w Pa8 ʔai mel-ee ? ʔai mel-ee ?  
 ge Pa8 what like-INTER what like-INTER  
 ps Pa8 PRON ADJ-SUF PRON ADJ-SUF  
 ft Pa8 'How are you? How are you?'

RefPa8.2 Pa8.2-04

tx Pa8 ay melee ? ay melee ?

w Pa8 ʔai mel-ee ? ʔai mel-ee ?

ge Pa8 what like-INTER what like-INTER

ps Pa8 PRON ADJ-SUF PRON ADJ-SUF

w Pa8 loʔʔo d-ai ? loʔʔo

ge Pa8 good exist-2S.INTER be. good

ps Pa8 PRON V-SUF ADJ

w Pa8 loʔʔ-oo ? loʔʔo! (...)

ge Pa8 good-INTER be.good

ps Pa8 ADJ-SUF ADJ

ft Pa8 'How are you? Are you fine? It is alright !'

RefPa8 Pa8-05

tx Pa8 beniba oychchanaw ... yas

w Pa8 beni=ba ʔoiʃtʃt-ana-u ... j-as

ge Pa8 past =entity.M ask-FUT-INF ... come-PAST.1S.A.DCL

ps Pa8 V =CLIT V-SUF-SUF ... V -SUF

ft Pa8 'I came to ask you about the past thing.'

RefPa2 Pa2-01

tx Pa2 ero

w Pa2 ʔero

ge Pa2 okay

ps Pa2 ADJ

ft Pa2 'Okay'

RefPa3 Pa3-01

tx Pa3 loʔʔo day ?

w Pa3 loʔʔo d-ai

ge Pa3 good exist-PRES.2S/3FS.INTER

ps Pa3 ADJ V-SUF

ft Pa3 'Are you fine?'

RefPa4 Pa4-04  
tx Pa4 lo77o day ? lo77o  
w Pa4 lo??o d-ai ? lo??o  
ge Pa4 good exist-PRES.2S/3FS.INTER be.good  
ps Pa4 ADJ V-SUF ADJ  
ft Pa4 'Are you fine? It is alright.'

RefPa3 Pa3-02  
tx Pa3 lo77o day? lo77o day ?  
w Pa3 lo??o d-ai ? lo??o d-ai ?  
ge Pa3 good exist-PRES.2S/3FS.INTER good exist-PRES.2S/3FS.INTER  
ps Pa3 ADJ V -SUF ADJ V-SUF  
ft Pa3 'Are you fine? Are you fine?'

RefPa1 Pa1-03  
tx Pa1 lo77o day ? lo77o  
w Pa1 lo??o d-ai ? lo??o  
ge Pa1 good exist-PRES.2S/3FS.INTER be.good  
ps Pa1 ADJ V-SUF ADJ  
ft Pa1 'Are you fine? It is alright.'

RefPa1 Pa1-04  
tx Pa1 waanii ? nu hachchi hintte heera yida  
w Pa1 waan-ii ? nu haftfti hintte heera j-ida  
ge Pa1 what-3S 1PL.NOM today 2S.HON/2PL vicinity come-PAST.1PL  
ps Pa1 PRON-SUF PRON ADV PRON N V-SUF  
ft Pa1 'How are you? Today we came to your place.'

RefPa3 Pa3-03  
tx Pa3 lo77o bay hachchi giya yiidetii ?  
w Pa3 lo??o bai haftfti gija j-iidetii ?  
ge Pa3 good be.A.DCL today market come-2S.HON/2PL.INTER  
ps Pa3 ADJ AUX ADV ADV/N V-SUF  
ft Pa3 'I am fine. Today, you came to the market?'

RefPa1 Pa4-05  
 tx Pa1 ee  
 w Pa1 ʔee  
 ge Pa1 yes  
 ps Pa1 ADV  
 ft Pa1 'Yes'

RefPa3 Pa3-04  
 tx Pa3 nu zal77os hachchi  
 w Pa3 nu zalʔʔ-os haftʃti  
 ge Pa3 we shop-1PL.PRES.A.DCL today  
 ps Pa3 PRON.NOM V-SUF ADV  
 ft Pa3 'Today, we are shopping.'

RefPa1 Pa1-05  
 tx Pa1 Kawona giya gidon day ?  
 w Pa1 Kawon-a gija gido-n d-ai ?  
 ge Pa1 Name.F-NOM.F market inside-LOC exist-PRES.2S/3FS.INTER  
 ps Pa1 N-SUF N ADV-SUF V-SUF  
 ft Pa1 'Is Kawone in the market?'

RefPa3 Pa3-05  
 tx Pa3 Kawona taara giyan dawsu ha7i duuxxasu  
 w Pa3 Kawon-a taar-a gija-n d-ausu  
 ge Pa3 name-NOM.F 1S-COM market-LOC exist-PRES.3FS.A.DCL  
 ps Pa3 N-SUF PRON-SUF N-SUF V-SUF  
 w Pa3 haʔi duutsts'-asu  
 ge Pa3 now separate-PAST.3FS.A.DCL  
 ps Pa3 ADV V-SUF  
 ft Pa3 'Kawone was with me but we separated from each other now.'

RefPa1 Pa1-06  
 tx Pa1 kiita iyu yeddana

w Pa1 kiita ?iju jedd-ana  
ge Pa1 message 3FS.OBJ.DAT send-FUT.A.DCL  
ps Pa1 N PRON-SUF V -SUF  
ft Pa1 'I want to send message to her/(Kawone).'

RefPa3 Pa3-06  
tx Pa3 ero ay metoy dii ?  
w Pa3 ?ero ?ai meto-i d-ii ?  
ge Pa3 okay what problem-NOM.M exist-3MS.INTER  
ps Pa3 ADJ PRON N-SUF V-SUF  
ft Pa3 'Okay. ...no problem [Lit There is no problem.]'

RefPa1 Pa1-07  
tx Pa1 kiitiyo guye zaarada ekkada yaasa ero ?  
w Pa1 kiitiu guje zaar-ada ?ekk-ada  
ge Pa1 message.ACC.F back return-CNV<sub>1</sub> take-CNV<sub>1</sub>  
ps Pa1 N -SUF ADV V-SUF V -SUF

w Pa1 j-aasa ?ero ?  
ge Pa1 come-2S.IMP okay?  
ps Pa1 V-SUF ADJ  
ft Pa1 'I hope you will bring the reply. Okay?'

RefPa3 Pa3-07  
tx Pa3 ehana metoy baa  
w Pa3 ?eh-ana meto-i baa  
ge Pa3 bring-FUT problem-NOM.3MS not.exist  
ps Pa3 V- SUF N -SUF V  
ft Pa3 'I will bring her reply, no problem.'

RefPa1 Pa1-08  
tx Pa1 hanno taas efadanne iis imma  
w Pa1 ha=nn-o taa-s ?ef-ada-nne ?ii-s ?imm-a  
ge Pa1 DEM=entity.F 1S-DAT take-CNV<sub>1</sub>-CNJ 3FS-DAT give-2S.IMP  
ps Pa1 PRON =CLIT PRON-SUF V-SUF-SUF PRON-SUF V-SUF  
ft Pa1 'Take this one and give it to her.'

RefPa3 Pa3-08  
 tx Pa3 ero  
 w Pa3 ?ero  
 ge Pa3 okay  
 ps Pa3 ADJ  
 ft Pa3 'Okay !'

RefPa3 Pa3-09  
 tx Pa3 xoona giya na7ay kiita niu yeddis hanno niu  
 xooni yeddis  
 w Pa3 ts'oona g-ia na?a-i kiita niu  
 ge Pa3 Name call-NMZ child-NOM message 2S.DAT  
 ps Pa3 N V-SUF N-SUF N PRON.SUF

w Pa3 jedd-is ha=nn-o niu  
 ge Pa3 send-PAST.3MS.A.DCL DEM=entity-ACC.3FS 2S.DAT  
 ps Pa3 V-SUF PRON=CLIT-SUF PRON.SUF

w Pa3 ts'oon-i jedd-is  
 ge Pa3 Name-NOM.M send-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
 ps Pa3 N-SUF V-SUF  
 ft Pa3 'A boy called Xona sent you this message. Xona  
 sent you this(one/message).'

RefPa2 Pa2-02  
 tx Pa2 ero ta michchia  
 w Pa2 ?ero ta miftjti-a  
 ge Pa2 Okay, 1S.GEN be.sister-ACC.F.  
 ps Pa2 ADV, GEN.PRON N-SUF  
 ft Pa2 'Okay, my dear / sister.'

RefPa2 Pa2-03  
tx Pa2 siya haa ya yaakko xoonas hanno efa imma

w Pa2 sij-a haa j-a jaakko ts'oona-s  
ge Pa2 listen-2S.IMP here come-2S.IMP then Name-DAT  
ps Pa2 V-SUF ADV V-SUF CONJ N-SUF

w Pa2 ha=nn-o ?ef-a ?imm-a  
ge Pa2 DEM=entity.F-ACC.F take-CNV<sub>1</sub> give-2S.IMP  
ps Pa2 PRON =CLIT-SUF V- SUF V-SUF  
ft Pa2 'Listen, come here. Then you take this one and  
give him.'

RefPa3 Pa3-10  
tx Pa3 hanno iyau immoo ?  
w Pa3 ha=nn-o ?ia-u ?imm-oo ?  
ge Pa3 DEM= entity.F-ACC.F 3MS.OBJ-DAT give-1S.INTER  
ps Pa3 PRON= CLIT-SUF PRON-SUF V-SUF  
ft Pa3 Shall I give him this one(message)?

RefPa2 Pa2-04  
tx Pa2 ee  
w Pa2 ?ee  
ge Pa2 yes  
ps Pa2 ADV  
ft Pa2 Yes.

RefPa3 Pa3-11  
tx Pa3 ikka tana nanggana gis  
w Pa3 ?i-kka tana najgg-ana g-is  
ge Pa3 3MS.SUJ-too 1S.OBJ wait-FUT say-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa3 PRON -SUF PRON V-SUF V- SUF  
ft Pa3 'He also told me that he waits for me.'

RefPa2 Pa2-05  
 tx Pa2 ero yaakko efada ya  
  
 w Pa2 ?ero jaakko ?ef-ada j-a  
 ge Pa2 okay if.so/then, take.go-CNV<sub>1</sub> come-2S.IMP  
 ps Pa2 ADV CONJ V-SUF V-SUF  
 ft Pa2 'Okay, if then take (the message), give him and come.'

RefPa3 Pa3-12  
 tx Pa3 ekkada bays ta  
 w Pa3 ?ekk-ada b-ais ta  
 ge Pa3 take-CNV<sub>1</sub> go-PRES.1S.A.DCL 1S.NOM  
 ps Pa3 PRON -SUF V -SUF PRON  
 ft Pa3 'I take it and go.'

RefPa3 Pa3-13  
 tx Pa3 xoonaa  
 w Pa3 ts'oon-aa  
 ge Pa3 Name-VOC.2S  
 ps Pa3 N -SUF  
 ft Pa3 'You Xona !'

RefPa1 Pa1-09  
 tx Pa1 yee  
 w Pa1 jee  
 ge Pa1 Yes  
 ps Pa1 ADV  
 ft Pa1 'Yes!'

RefPa3 Pa3-14  
 tx Pa3 ne awun day ?  
 w Pa3 ne ?awun d-ai  
 ge Pa3 PRON.NOM where exist-PRES.2S/3FS.INTER  
 ps Pa3 PRON PRON/ADV V -SUF  
 ft Pa3 'where are you?'

RefPa1	Pa1-10			
tx Pa1	waani	lo77oo	?	
w Pa1	waan-ii	lo??-oo		
ge Pa1	how-3MS.INTER	lo??-3MS.INTER		
ps Pa1	PRON-SUF	ADJ-SUF		
ft Pa1	'How is it ?	Is it okay/ alright?	'	
RefPa3	Pa3-15			
tx Pa3	lo77o aykko baa			
w Pa3	lo??o	?ai-kko	baa	
ge Pa3	good	what -if	exist.NEG.DCL	
ps Pa3	ADJ	PRON -CONJ	V	
ft Pa3	'It is okay. There is no problem.'			
RefPa3	Pa3-16			
tx Pa3	kawona niw hanno yeddaasu			
w Pa3	kawon-a niu hann-o		jedd-aasu	
ge Pa3	Name-ACC.F 2S.DAT	this.one.F-ACC.F	send-PAST.3FS.A.DCL	
ps Pa3	N-SUF	PRON.SUF PRON-SUF	V-SUF	
ft Pa3	'Kawone sent you this one/message.'			
RefPa1	Pa1-11			
tx Pa1	tumma ?	ero /	ishshi	
w Pa1	tumma ?	?ero /	?iffi	
ge Pa1	really	okay		
ps Pa1	ADV	ADV		
ft Pa1	'Really ?	Okay'		
RefPa3	Pa3-17			
tx Pa3	ee			
w Pa3	?ee			
ge Pa3	yes			
ps Pa3	ADV			
ft Pa3	'Yes !'			

RefPa7 Pa7-01  
tx Pa7 eh he he he

w Pa7 ---  
ge Pa7 ---  
ps Pa7 ---  
ft Pa7 laughter

RefPa1 Pa1-12  
tx Pa1 bokolaa !  
w Pa1 bokol-aa !  
ge Pa1 Name -VOC.3MS  
ps Pa1 N -SUF  
ft Pa1 'Oh, you Bokola !'

RefPa4 Pa4-06  
tx Pa4 ash xoonaa  
w Pa4 ʔaʃ ts'oon-aa  
ge Pa4 hellow Name-VOC.3MS  
ps Pa4 INTERJ N-SUF  
ft Pa4 'Hello Xona !'

RefPa1 Pa1-13  
tx Pa1 waani  
w Pa1 waan-ii  
ge Pa1 how-MS.INTER  
ps Pa1 PRON-SUF  
ft Pa1 'How are you?'

RefPa4 Pa4-07  
tx Pa4 waani  
w Pa4 waan-ii  
ge Pa4 how-3MS.INTER  
ps Pa4 PRON-SUF  
ft Pa4 'How are you?'

RefPa1 Pa1-14  
tx Pa1 laa bokola kiitay yis bay

w Pa1 laa bokol-aa kiita-i j-is bai  
ge Pa1 you Name-VOC.3MS message-NOM.M come-PAST.3MS.A.DCL be.A.DCL  
ps Pa1 PRON N-SUF N-SUF V-SUF V  
ft Pa1 'You Bokola, the message/ reply has come.'

RefPa4 Pa4-08  
tx Pa4 hadaa ?  
w Pa4 hadaa ?  
ge Pa4 really  
ps Pa4 V  
ft Pa4 'Really?'

RefPa4 Pa4-09  
w Pa4 heede ne jeddd-aa=ge  
ge Pa4 that.time 1S.NOM send-NMZ= entity.M  
ps Pa4 ADV PRON V-SUF = CLIT  
ft Pa4 '(Is it a response for the message) you sent last time?'

RefPa1 Pa1-15  
w Pa1 ?ee  
ge Pa1 yes  
ps Pa1 ADV  
ft Pa1 'Yes!'

RefPa4 Pa4-10  
tx Pa4 laa hayssa ta ay gaanee ?  
w Pa4 laa ha=issa ta ?ai g-aan-ee  
ge Pa4 1S-VOC this=entity.M 1S.NOM what say-FUT-INTER  
ps Pa4 PRON-SUF DEM =CLIT PRON PRON V-SUF  
ft Pa4 'What shall I say this?'

RefPa1 Pa1-16  
tx Pa1 teera loome  
w Pa1 teera loome  
ge Pa1 ripe lemon  
ps Pa1 ADJ N

ft Pa1 'a ripe/yellow lemon'

RefPa4 Pa4-11

tx Pa4 hayssi ufayssiyaba hayssi ufayssiyaba

w Pa4 ha=issi ?ufass-ia=ba

ge Pa4 this =one/entity make.happy-NMZ=entity/thing

ps Pa4 DEM =CLIT V- SUF = CLIT

w Pa4 ha=issi ?ufaiss-ia=ba

ge Pa4 this =one/entity make.happy-NMZ =entity/thing

ps Pa4 DEM =CLIT V -SUF =CLIT

ft Pa4 'This makes us happy. This makes us happy.'

RefPa1 Pa1-17

tx Pa1 ane uttoos

w Pa1 ?ane ?utt-oos

ge Pa1 let sit-PRES.2PL

ps Pa1 V V-SUF

ft Pa1 'Let us sit down(and get rest).'

RefPa4 Pa4-12

tx Pa4 ane bidi kaa7ana

w Pa4 ?ane b-idi kaa?-ana

ge Pa4 let go-CNV<sub>2</sub> play-FUT

ps Pa4 V V-SUF V-SUF

ft Pa4 'Let's go and play ( enjoy with other friends).'

RefPa1 Pa1-18

tx Pa1 wololo mele wololoy cililo mele gedede oychchite

w Pa1 wololo mele wololo-i ft'ilililo mele gedede ?oiɬtɬt-ite

ge Pa1 young like young-NOM.M green like there ask-2S.HON/2PL

ps Pa1 ADJ ADJ ADJ-SUF ADJ ADJ ADV V-SUF

ft Pa1 'Ask if the boy is young and delicate as green as leaves.'

RefPa6 Pa6-01

tx Pa6 wololo mele wololoy cililo meLe gedede oychchite ( group)

w Pa6 wololo mele wololo-i ft'ilililo mele gedede ?oiɬtɬt-ite

ge Pa6 young like young-NOM.M green like there ask-2S.HON/2PL

ps Pa6 ADJ ADJ ADJ-SUF ADJ ADJ ADV V-SUF

ft Pa6 'Ask if the boy is young and delicate as green as leaves.'

RefPa3 Pa3-18

tx Pa3 hanana mele ayssidi peeshshana mele ane be7ite

w Pa3 han-ana mele ʔaiss-idi peeʃʃ-ana mele

ge Pa3 be-FUT like make.pass.night-CNV<sub>2</sub> make.stay.day-FUT like

gs Pa3 AUX-SUF V V-SUF V-SUF V

w Pa3 ʔane beʔ-ite.

ge Pa3 let see-JUSS.2S.HON/2PL

gs Pa3 V V-SUF

ft Pa3 'Let's check if he is able to give care for his new family (day and night)/(everyday) or not.'

RefPa6 Pa6-02

tx Pa6 wololo mele wololoy cililo mele gede oychchite

w Pa6 wololo mele wololo-i ʃt'ililo mele gede ʔoiʃtʃt-ite

ge Pa6 young like young-NOM.M green like there ask-2S.HON/2PL.IMP

ps Pa6 ADJ ADJ ADJ-SUF ADJ ADJ ADV V-SUF

ft Pa6 'Ask if the boy is young and delicate as green as leaves.'

RefPa1 Pa1-19

tx Pa1 moyzzana mele mokka maizzada erana mele gede oychchite

w Pa1 moi-zz-ana mele mokk-a moi-zz-ada

ge Pa1 accompany-CAUS-FUT like well.come-CNV<sub>1</sub> accompany-CAUS-CNV<sub>1</sub>

ps Pa1 V -SUF-SUF V V -SUF V-SUF-SUF

w Pa1 ʔer-ana mele gede ʔoiʃtʃt-ite

ge Pa1 know-FUT like there ask-2S.HON/2PL

ps Pa1 V -SUF V ADV V -SUF

ft Pa1 'Ask if the bride knows how to welcome and see off guests.'

RefPa6 Pa6-03

tx Pa6 wololo mele wololoy cililo mele gede oychchitl

w Pa6 wololo mele wololo-i ʃt'ilililo mele gede ʔoiʃtʃt-ite  
ge Pa6 young like young-NOM green like there ask-2S.HON/2PL.IMP  
ps Pa6 ADJ ADJ ADJ -SUF ADJ ADJ ADV V-SUF  
ft Pa6 'Ask if the boy is young and delicate as green as  
leaves.'

RefPa3 Pa3-19

tx Pa3 hanana mele dabwura giigan mele ane beʔite  
w Pa3 han-ana mele dabwua-ra giig-ana mele  
ge Pa3 be-FUT like relative-COM agree-FUT like  
ps Pa3 AUX-SUF ADJ N-SUF V-SUF ADJ

w Pa3 ʔane beʔ-ite  
ge Pa3 let look/see-Juss.2S.HON/2PL  
ps Pa3 V V-SUF  
ft Pa3 'Ask her if she could agree /( be sociable )with  
relatives of her husband or not.'

RefPa6 Pa6-04

tx Pa6 wololo mele wololoy cililo mele gede oychchite  
w Pa6 wololo mele wololo-i ʃt'ilililo mele gede ʔoiʃtʃt-ite  
ge Pa6 young like young-NOM.M green like there ask-2PL.IMP  
ps Pa6 ADJ ADJ ADJ -SUF ADJ ADJ ADV V-SUF  
ft Pa6 'Ask if the boy is young and delicate as green as leaves.'

RefPa1 Pa1-20

tx Pa1 erana mele yeehwuan eqqada kanthana mele gede oychchite  
w Pa1 ʔer-ana mele jeehwua-n ʔekk'-ada kants-ana mele  
ge Pa1 know-FUT like funeral-LOC stand-CNV<sub>1</sub> pass-FUT like  
ps Pa1 V-SUF ADJ N - SUF V- SUF V- SUF ADJ

w Pa1 gede ʔoiʃtʃt-ite  
ge Pa1 there ask- 2S.HON/2PL  
ps Pa1 ADV V -SUF

ft Pa1 'Ask if she successfully completes the steps in  
the funeral events.'

RefPa6 Pa6-05  
tx Pa6 wololo mele wololoy cililoy mele gede oychchite  
w Pa6 wololo mele wololo-i ʃt'ilililo mele gede ʔoiʃtʃt-ite  
ge Pa6 young like young-NOM.M green like there ask-2S.HON/2PL  
ps Pa6 ADJ ADJ ADJ-SUF ADJ ADJ ADV V-SUF  
ft Pa6 'Ask if the boy is young and delicate as green as  
leaves.'

RefPa6 Pa6-06  
tx Pa6 hay shoobbe shoobbe  
w Pa6 hai ʃoobbe ʃoobbe  
ge Pa6 let beg beg  
ps Pa6 V V V  
ft Pa6 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa3 Pa3-20  
tx Pa3 hay iya shoobbe  
w Pa3 hai ʔia ʃoobbe  
ge Pa3 let 3MS.GEN beg  
ps Pa3 V PRON V  
ft Pa3 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa6 Pa6-07  
tx Pa6 hay shoobbe shoonne  
w Pa6 hai ʃoobbe ʃoobbe  
ge Pa6 let beg beg  
ps Pa6 V V V  
ft Pa6 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa3 Pa3-21  
tx Pa3 hay shoobbe shoobbe  
w Pa3 hai ʃoobbe ʃoobbe  
ge Pa3 let invite beg  
ps Pa3 V V V  
ft Pa3 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa6 Pa6-08  
tx Pa6 hay shoobbe shoobbe  
w Pa6 hai foobbe foobbe  
ge Pa6 let beg beg  
ps Pa6 V V V  
ft Pa6 'Let you accept us.'

RefPa3 Pa3-22  
tx Pa3 hay daaro shoobbe  
w Pa3 hai daaro foobbe  
ge Pa3 let very beg  
ps Pa3 V ADJ V  
ft Pa3 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa6 Pa6-09  
tx Pa6 hay shoobbe shoobbe  
w Pa6 hai foobbe foobbe  
ge Pa6 let beg beg  
ps Pa6 V V V  
ft Pa6 'Let you accept us.'

RefPa3 Pa3-23  
tx Pa3 hay daaro shoobbe  
w Pa3 hai daaro foobbe  
ge Pa3 let very beg  
ps Pa3 V ADJ V  
ft Pa3 'We beg you so much.'

RefPa6 Pa6-10  
tx Pa6 hay shoobbe shoobbe  
w Pa6 hai foobbe foobbe  
ge Pa6 let beg beg  
ps Pa6 V V V  
ft Pa6 'Let you accept us.'

RefPa3 Pa3-24  
tx Pa3 hay shoobbe sgoobbe

w Pa3 hai ʃoobbe ʃoobbe  
ge Pa3 let beg beg  
ps Pa3 V V V  
ft Pa3 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa6 Pa6-11  
tx Pa6 hay shoobbee  
w Pa6 hai ʃoobbee  
ge Pa6 let beg  
ps Pa6 V V  
ft Pa6 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa3 Pa3-25  
tx Pa3 hay shoobbe shoobbe  
w Pa3 hai ʃoobbe ʃoobbe  
ge Pa3 let beg beg  
ps Pa3 V V V  
ft Pa3 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa6 Pa6-12  
tx Pa6 hay shoobbe shoobbe  
w Pa6 hai ʃoobbe ʃoobbe  
ge Pa6 let beg beg  
ps Pa6 V V V  
ft Pa6 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa3 Pa3-26  
tx Pa3 hay iia shoobbe  
w Pa3 hai ʔiia ʃoobbe  
ge Pa3 let 3MS.GEN beg  
ps Pa3 V PRON V  
ft Pa3 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa6 Pa6-13  
tx Pa6 shoobbe shoonne

w Pa6      ʃoobbe ʃoonne  
ge Pa6      beg      beg  
ps Pa6      V        V  
ft Pa6      'Ve beg you to accept us.'

RefPa3     Pa3-27  
tx Pa3     hay shoobbe shoobbe  
w Pa3     hai ʃoobbe ʃoobbe  
ge Pa3     let beg     beg  
ps Pa3     V    V        V  
ft Pa3     'Ve beg you to accept us'.

RefPa6     Pa6-14  
tx Pa6     hay shoobbee  
w Pa6     hay ʃoobbee  
ge Pa6     let beg  
ps Pa6     V    V  
ft Pa6     'Ve beg you to accept us.'

RefPa3     Pa3-28  
tx Pa3     hay shoobbe shoobbe  
w Pa3     hai ʃoobbe ʃoobbe  
ge Pa3     let beg     beg  
ps Pa3     V    V        V  
ft Pa3     'Ve beg you to accept us.'

RefPa3     Pa6-15  
tx Pa6     hay shoobbee  
w Pa6     hai ʃoobbee  
ge Pa6     let beg  
ps Pa6     V    V  
ft Pa6     'Ve beg you to accept us.'

RefPa3     Pa3-29  
tx Pa3     hay daaro shoobbe

w Pa3 hay daaro ʃoobbe  
ge Pa3 let many beg  
ps Pa3 V ADJ V  
ft Pa3 'We beg you so much.'  
  
RefPa6 Pa6-16  
tx Pa6 hay shoobbee  
w Pa6 hai ʃoobbee  
ge Pa6 let beg  
ps Pa6 V V  
ft Pa6 'We beg you to accept us.'  
  
RefPa3 Pa3-30  
tx Pa3 hay iya shoobbe  
w Pa3 hai ?ia ʃoobbe  
ge Pa3 let 3MS.GEN beg  
ps Pa3 V PRON V  
ft Pa3 'We beg him to accept us.'  
  
RefPa6 Pa6-17  
tx Pa6 hay shoobbee  
w Pa6 hai ʃoobbee  
ge Pa6 let beg  
ps Pa6 V V  
ft Pa6 'We beg you to accept us.'  
  
RefPa3 Pa3-31  
tx Pa3 daaro shoobbe  
w Pa3 daaro ʃoobbe  
ge Pa3 many beg  
ps Pa3 ADJ V  
ft Pa3 'We beg you to accept us.'  
  
RefPa6 Pa6-18  
tx Pa6 hay shoobbee

w Pa6 hai ʃoobbee  
 ge Pa6 let beg  
 ps Pa6 V V  
 ft Pa6 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa3 Pa3-32  
 tx Pa3 hay shoobbe shoobbe

w Pa3 hai ʃoobbe ʃoobbe  
 ge Pa3 let beg beg  
 ps Pa3 V V V  
 ft Pa3 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa6 Pa6-19  
 tx Pa6 hay shoobbee  
 w Pa6 hai ʃoobbee  
 ge Pa6 let beg  
 ps Pa6 V V  
 ft Pa6 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa3 Pa3-33  
 tx Pa3 hay shoobbe shoobbe  
 w Pa3 hai ʃoobbe ʃoobbe  
 ge Pa3 let beg beg  
 ps Pa3 V V V  
 ft Pa3 'We beg you to accept us.'

RefPa6	Pa6-20	Pa6-21
tx Pa6	hay shoobbee	ekkididi baanaa
w Pa6	hai ʃoobbee	ʔekk-idi b-aanaa
ge Pa6	let beg	take-CNV <sub>2</sub> go-FUT
ps Pa6	V V	V -SUF V- SUF
ft Pa6	'We beg you to accept us.	We'll take and go home.'

RefPa6 Pa 6-22  
 tx Pa6 ahooyyaa

w Pa6       ʔahoojjaa  
ge Pa6       --  
ps Pa6       ---  
ft Pa6       ---

RefPa6	Pa6-23	Pa6-24
tx Pa6	ekkididi baanaa	ahooyya
w Pa6	ʔekk-idi b-aanaa	ʔahoojja
ge Pa6	take-CNV go FUT	---
ps Pa6	V- SUF     V- SUF	----
ft Pa6	'We'll take and go home.	--- .'

RefPa6	Pa6-25	Pa6-26
tx Pa6	ekkididi baanaa	ahooyya
w Pa6	ʔekk-idi b-aanaa	ʔahoojja
ge Pa6	take-CNV <sub>2</sub> go-FUT	---
ps Pa6	V - SUF     V- SUF	---
ft Pa6	'We'll take and go home.	--- .'

RefPa6	Pa6-27	Pa6-28
tx Pa6	ekkididi baana	ahooyya
w Pa6	ʔekk-idi b-aana	ʔahoojja
ge Pa6	take-CNV <sub>2</sub> go-FUT	---
ps Pa6	V- SUF     V- SUF	---
ft Pa6	'We'll take and go home.	--- .'

RefPa6	Pa6-29
tx Pa6	ekkididi baana
w Pa6	ʔekk-idi b-aana
ge Pa6	take-CNV <sub>2</sub> go-FUT
ps Pa6	V -SUF       V-SUF
ft Pa6	'We'll take (her)and go home.'

RefPa6	Pa6-30	Pa6-31	Pa6-32
tx Pa6	away boonnasa ?	ekkididi baana	hoooyooya

w Pa6	ʔaway boonasa ??	ʔekk-idi b-aana	hoohoojja
ge Pa6	---- ---	take CNV go-FUT	---
ps Pa6	--- ----	V SUF V- SUF	---
ft Pa6	'---- ---	We'll take and go home.	---.'

RefPa6	Pa6-33	Pa6-34
tx Pa6	ekkidi baana	?
w Pa6	ʔekk-idi b-aana	?
ge Pa6	take-CNV <sub>2</sub> go-FUT	?
ps Pa6	V- SUF V-SUF	?
ft Pa6	'We'll take and go home.	' ?'

RefPa6	Pa6- 35	Pa6-36
tx Pa6	oho ehahoo	ekkidi baana
w Pa6	ʔoho ʔehahoo	ʔekk-idi b-aana
ge Pa6	-- ---	take-CNV <sub>2</sub> go-FUT
ps Pa6	-- ---	V -SUF V-SUF
ft Pa6	'--- ---	We'll take and go home.'

RefPa6	Pa6-37
tx Pa6	loʔʔuwan wodhiyaroo
w Pa6	loʔʔuwa-n wodia=roo
ge Pa6	good.SUF-LOC kill.NMZ-F.ACC
ps Pa6	ADJ-SUF-SUF V.SUF-SUF
ft Pa6	'who is very pretty.'

RefPa6	Pa6-38	Pa6-39
tx Pa6	ekkidi baana	loʔʔuwan wodhiyaro
w Pa6	ʔekk-idi b-aana	loʔʔuwa-n wodia=ro
ge Pa6	take-CNV <sub>2</sub> go-FUT	good.NMZ-LOC kill.NMZ=entity.F
ps Pa6	V-SUF V- SUF	ADJ.SUF-SUF V.SUF=CLIT
ft Pa6	'We'll take the daughter who is very pretty and go)home.'	

RefPa6	Pa6-40
tx Pa6	ekkidi baana

w Pa6       ʔekk-idi b-aana  
ge Pa6       take-CNV<sub>2</sub> go-FUT  
ps Pa6       V -SUF       V-SUF  
ft Pa6       'We'll take and go (home).'

RefPa6       Pa6-41                   Pa6-42  
tx Pa6       aahohaho               ekkididi baana  
w Pa6       ʔaahohaho               ʔekk-idi b-aana  
ge Pa6       ----                   take-CNV go-FUT  
ps Pa6       ----                   V -SUF       V -SUF  
ft Pa6       '----                   We'll take and go home.'

RefPa6       Pa6-43  
tx Pa6       ekkididi baana  
w Pa6       ʔekk-idi b-aana  
ge Pa6       take-CNV<sub>2</sub> go-FUT  
ps Pa6       V -SUF       V-SUF  
ft Pa6       'We'll take and go home.'

RefPa7       Pa7-02                   Pa7-03  
tx Pa7       immokko               ubba mata  
w Pa7       ʔimm-okko               ʔubba mata  
ge Pa7       give-PROH.1PL.NEG.DCL all near  
ps Pa7       V- SUF               ADJ    ADV  
ft Pa7       'We won't give you ... very near. '

RefPa7       Pa7-04                   Pa7-05  
tx Pa7       immokko               lo77iyaro  
w Pa7       ʔimm-okko               loʔʔia=ro  
ge Pa7       give-1PL.NEG.DCL       good.NMZ=entity.F  
ps Pa7       V -SUF               ADJ.SUF =CLIT  
ft Pa7       'We won't give you ... who is pretty.'

RefPa7       Pa7-06                   Pa7-07               Pa7-08  
tx Pa7       immokko               immo goddiyu ]   immokko

w Pa7       ʔimm-okko                               ʔimmo godiu ]       ʔimm-okko  
ge Pa7       give-1PL.NEG.DCL                   generous.ACC.F       give-1PL.NEG.DCL  
ps Pa7       V -SUF                                    ADJ-SUF               V -SUF  
ft Pa7       ‘We won't give (her to you) who is generous. We  
              won't give you.’

RefPa7      Pa7-09                                   Pa7-10  
tx Pa7      nu naʔiyu                               immo godiyu  
w Pa7      nu           naʔiu                       ʔimmo god-iu  
ge Pa7      1PL.GEN child.ACC.F                   generous -ACC.F  
ps Pa7      GEN.PRON N                             ADJ-SUF  
ft Pa7      ‘our daughter . . . (who) is generous.’

RefPa7      Pa7-11                                   Pa7-12  
tx Pa7      immokko                                 gaashshe godiyu  
w Pa7      ʔimm-okko                               gaaffe godiu  
ge Pa7      give-PROH.1PL.NEG.DCL elder.male.person countess-ACC.F  
ps Pa7      V - SUF                                 ADJ                   N-SUF  
ft Pa7      ‘We won't give you ...elder man’s lover.’

RefPa7      Pa7-13                                   Pa7-14  
tx Pa7      immokko                                 nu naʔiyu  
w Pa7      ʔimm-okko                               nu           naʔiu  
ge Pa7      give-PROH.1PL.NEG.DCL 1PL.GEN child.ACC.F  
ps Pa7      V- SUF                                 GEN.PRON N.SUF  
ft Pa7      ‘We won't give you ... our daughter.’

RefPa7      Pa7-15                                   Pa7-16  
tx Pa7      immokko                                 iitiyyo  
w Pa7      ʔimm-okko                               ʔiitijjo  
ge Pa7      give-PROH.1PL.NEG.DCL elder.female person  
ps Pa7      V- SUF                                 ADJ  
ft Pa7      ‘We won't give you . . . the elder female person.’

RefPa6      Pa7-17                                   Pa7-18               Pa7-19  
tx Pa7      immokko                               taapille             taapille

w Pa7	ʔimm-okko	taapille	taapille
ge Pa7	give -PROH.1PL.NEG	---	---
ps Pa7	V -SUF	---	---
ft Pa7	'We won't give you	---	--- .'

RefPa6	Pa6-44
tx Pa6	immiite
w Pa6	ʔimm-iite
ge Pa6	give -JUSS.2S.HON/2PL
ps Pa6	V -SUF
ft Pa6	'Please give us (the bride).'

RefPa6	Pa6-45
tx Pa6	loo77iyaro
w Pa6	looʔʔia=ro
ge Pa6	good =entity.F
ps Pa6	ADJ = CLIT
ft Pa6	'(Give us our daughter) who is pretty.'

RefPa6	Pa6-46
tx Pa6	immiite
w Pa6	ʔimm-iite
ge Pa6	give-JUSS.2S.HON/2PL
ps Pa6	V -SUF
ft Pa6	'Please give us the bride.'

RefPa6	Pa6-47
tx Pa6	nu na7iyu
w Pa6	nu naʔiu
ge Pa6	1PL.GEN child.ACC.F
ps Pa6	GEN.PRON N-SUF
ft Pa6	'our daughter'

RefPa6	Pa6-48
tx Pa6	immiite

w Pa6       ʔimm -iite  
ge Pa6       give -2S.HON/2PL  
ps Pa6       V -SUF  
ft Pa6       'Please give us the bride.'  
  
RefPa6      Pa6-49  
tx Pa6      efana           / ekkidi       baana  
  
w Pa6      ʔef -ana       / ekk-idi     b-aana  
ge Pa6      take.go -FUT/ take-CNV<sub>2</sub> go-FUT  
ps Pa6      V -SUF        / V-SUF        V-SUF  
ft Pa6      'We'll take and go.'  
  
RefP6      Pa6-50  
tx Pa6      immiite  
w Pa6      ʔimm -iite  
ge Pa6      give-JUSS.2S.HON/2PL  
ps Pa6      V -SUF  
ft Pa6      'Please give us the bride.'  
  
RefPa6      Pa6-51  
tx Pa6      nu na7iyu immiite  
w Pa6      nu        naʔiu               ʔimm-iite  
ge Pa6      1PL.GEN daughter.ACC.F give-JUSS.2S.HON/2PL  
ps Pa6      PRON     N -SUF               V - SUF  
ft Pa6      'Give us our daughter.'  
  
RefPa6      Pa6-52  
tx Pa6      imma godiyu  
w Pa6      ʔimma godiu  
ge Pa6      generous.ACC.F  
ps Pa6      ADJ -SUF  
ft Pa6      'who is generous . . . ,'  
  
RefPa6      Pa6-53  
tx Pa6      immiite

w Pa6       ʔimm-iite  
ge Pa6       give-JUSS.2S.HON/2PL  
ps Pa6       V - SUF  
ft Pa6       'Please give us the bride.'

RefPa6      Pa6-54  
tx Pa6      imma godiyu  
w Pa6      ʔimma goiu  
ge Pa6      generous.ACC.F  
ps Pa6      ADJ - SUF  
ft Pa6      'who is generous ...'

RefPa6      Pa6-55  
tx Pa6      immiite  
w Pa6      ʔimm-iite  
ge Pa6      give-JUSS.2S.HON/PL  
ps Pa6      V - SUF  
ft Pa6      'Please give us the bride.'

RefPa6      Pa6-56  
tx Pa6      nu shooriyu  
w Pa6      nu           ʃooriu  
ge Pa6      2PL.GEN   neighbor.ACC.F  
ps Pa6      GEN.PRON  N-SUF  
ft Pa6      'She is our neighbor.'

RefPa7	Pa7-20	Pa7-21	Pa7-22
tx Pa7	immooko	dabbo godiyu	immooko
w Pa7	ʔimm-ooko	dabbo godiu	ʔimm-ooko
ge Pa7	give-1PL.NEG.DCL	supporter.ACC.3FS	give-1PL.NEG.DCL
ps Pa7	V - SUF	N -SUF	V-SUF
ft Pa7	'We'll not give.'	'supporter of relatives'	'We'll not give.'

RefPa7	Pa7-23	Pa7-24	Pa7-25
tx Pa7	loʔʔiyaro	nuna dosiyaro	immooko
w Pa7	loʔʔia=ro	nuna dosia=ro	ʔimm-ooko

ge Pa7 good.NMZ=entity.F 1PL.OBJ love.NMZ=entity.F give-1PL.GEN.DCL  
 ps Pa7 ADJ = CLIT PRON V = CLIT V-SUF  
 ft Pa7 'who is pretty, who loves us , We'll not give.'

RefPa7 Pa7-26  
 tx Pa7 immooko  
 w Pa7 ?imm-ooko  
 ge Pa7 give-1PL.NEG.DCL  
 ps Pa7 V -SUF  
 ft Pa7 'We'll not give.'

RefPa6 Pa6-57  
 tx Pa6 immiite  
 w Pa6 ?imm-iite  
 ge Pa6 give-2S.HON/PL  
 ps Pa6 V -SUF  
 ft Pa6 'Please give us the bride.'

RefPa6 Pa6-58  
 tx Pa6 immo godiyu  
 w Pa6 ?immo godiu  
 ge Pa6 generous.ACC.F bride/countess.ACC.3F  
 ps Pa6 ADJ.SUF N-SUF  
 ft Pa6 ' the generous bride '

RefPa6 Pa6-59  
 tx Pa6 immiite dabbo godiyu  
 w Pa6 ?imm-iite dabbo godiu  
 ge Pa6 give-2S.HON/PL relative countess/supporter.ACC.3FS  
 ps Pa6 V -SUF N N.SUF  
 ft Pa6 'Please give us the bride who is the supporter of her relatives.'

RefPa5 Pa5-01  
 tx Pa5 wodha machcho gaara machacho gida  
 w Pa5 woda maʃtʃto gaara maʃtʃto gida  
 ge Pa5 wise wife careful wife be.JUSS.2S

ps Pa5 ADJ N ADJ N V  
 ft Pa5 'Be a wise and careful wife.'  
  
 RefPa5 Pa5-02  
 tx Pa5 wodha machcho gaara machacho gida  
 w Pa5 woda maʃtʃto gaara maʃtʃto gida  
 ge Pa5 wise wife careful wife be.JUSS.2S  
 ps Pa5 ADJ N ADJ N V.SUF  
 ft Pa5 'Be a wise and careful wife.'  
  
 RefPa5 Pa5-03  
 tx Pa5 wodha machcho gaara machacho gida aaah  
 w Pa5 woda maʃtʃto gaara maʃtʃto gida aaah  
 ge Pa5 wise wife careful wife be.JUSS.2S pose  
 ps Pa5 ADJ N ADJ N V pose  
 ft Pa5 'Be a wise and careful wife.' pose  
  
 RefPa5 Pa5-04  
 tx Pa5 ta nayti anjettite aacite yelite  
 w Pa5 ta nai-t-i ʔaɲdʒɔɔ-ett -ite  
 ge Pa5 1S.GEN child-PL-NOM bless -PASS-JUSS.2S.HON/PL  
 ps Pa5 PRON N -SUF-SUF V -SUF -SUF  
  
 w Pa5 ʔaaʃt'-ite jel -ite  
 ge Pa5 sprout-JUSS.2S.HON/PL give.birth-JUSS.2S.HON/PL  
 ps Pa5 V -SUF V-SUF  
 ft Pa5 'My children, be blessed. Have male and female children!'  
  
 RefPa6 Pa6-60  
 tx Pa6 naʔaw guppa  
 w Pa6 naʔ -au gupp -a  
 ge Pa6 child -VOC.M jump -IMP.2S  
 ps Pa6 N -SUF V -SUF  
 ft Pa6 'Oh, you the groom, jump!'  
  
 RefPa6 Pa6-61  
 tx Pa6 sadan wodhdha ! sadan wodhdha !

w Pa6 sadan wodf -a ! sadan wodf -a !  
ge Pa6 be.respected-JUSS.2S be.respected -JUSS.2S  
ps Pa6 V -SUF V -SUF  
w Pa6 sadan wodf -a !  
ge Pa6 be.respected-JUSS.2S  
ps Pa6 V -SUF  
ft Pa6 'Be blessed! Be blessed! Be blessed!'  
  
RefPa5 Pa5-05  
tx Pa5 guye gela (eh he he he )  
w Pa5 guje gel-a (- - - - )  
ge Pa5 back enter-2S.IMP (- - - - )  
ps Pa5 ADV V - SUF (- - - - )  
ft Pa5 'Enter back home!' ( laughter )  
  
RefPa6 Pa6-62  
tx Pa6 na7ay guppibeenna bay  
w Pa6 na?a-i gupp-ibeenna bai  
ge Pa6 child -NOM.M jump-PAST.3MS.NEG be/AUX  
ps Pa6 N -SUF V -SUF V  
ft Pa6 'The groom did not jump(as expected) .'  
  
RefPa1 Pa1-21  
tx Pa1 xoossi immo  
w Pa1 ts'ooss -i ?imm -o  
ge Pa1 God -NOM.M give-JUSS.3MS  
ps Pa1 N -SUF V -SUF  
ft Pa1 'God bless you!'/ [Lit. Let God give you His blessing!]  
  
RefPa1 Pa1-22  
tx Pa1 ne tanaara daro daafuradasa saakka7is  
w Pa1 ne tanaa-ra daro daafur -adasa  
ge Pa1 2S.NOM 1S.OBJ-COM many/much tire-PAST.2S.1S.A.DCL  
ps Pa1 PRON PRON-SUF ADJ V-SUF  
  
w Pa1 saakka? -is  
ge Pa1 accomplish -PAST.3S.A.DCL  
ps Pa1 V-SUF

ft Pa1 'You faced problems together with me. I'm successful.'

RefPa1 Pa1-23

tx Pa1 taw new lo77o kushe zaariso. xoossi taw machch7ides

w Pa1 tau neu lo?o kuʃe zaar-is-o. ts'ooss-i

ge Pa1 1S.DAT 2S.DAT good hand return-CAUS-JUSS.1S God-SUF

ps Pa1 PRON PRON ADJ N V-SUF N-SUF

w Pa1 tau maʃtʃtaʔ-ides

ge Pa1 1S.DAT succeed.CAUS-PAST.1S.A.DCL

ps Pa1 PRON V-SUF

ft Pa1 'I wish I support you when you need someone's help.'

RefPa4 Pa4-13

tx Pa4 ane newkka hiza saro immo ... adde ... yelite

w Pa4 ?ane neu-kka hiza saro ?imm-o ...

ge Pa4 let 2S.DAT-too DEM.PROX peace give-JUSS.2S ...

ps Pa4 V PRON-SUF PRON N V-SUF ...

w Pa4 ?adde ... jel -ite

ge Pa4 male ... give.birth-JUSS.2S.HON/PL

ps Pa4 ADJ V-SUF

ft Pa4 'Let God give you peace. Let God give you a male child.'

RefPa2 Pa2-06

tx Pa2 ne qoppidyssi taw daro mchcha7is

w Pa2 ne k'opp-ida=ssi tau daro

ge Pa2 2S.GEN think-PAST.REL=entity.M 1S.DAT many/much

ps Pa2 PRON V-SUF= CLIT PRON ADJ

w Pa2 maʃtʃtaʔ-is

ge Pa2 feel. comfort -3MS.A.DCL

ps Pa2 ADJ.V -SUF

ft Pa2 'Your plan gave me comfort.'

RefPa3 Pa3-34

tx Pa3 hayssi lo7o ba kawonee lo77o

w Pa3 ha=iss-i lo??o=ba kawon-ee lo??o  
ge Pa3 DEM- NOM.M good= entity Name -VOC.F good  
ps Pa3 PRON- SUF ADJ = CLIT N - SUF be.ADJ  
ft Pa3 'This is a good thing you Kawone.'

RefPa3 Pa3-35

tx Pa3 ta erys bay na7ay lo7anaaga erada nena zoras  
w Pa3 ta ?er-ais bai na?ai lo??-anaa=ga  
ge Pa3 1S.NOM know-PRES.1S.A.DCL AUX child good- FUT=entity.M  
ps Pa3 PRON V-SUF V N ADJ- SUF=CLIT

w Pa3 ?er-ada nena zor-as  
ge Pa3 know-CNV<sub>1</sub> 1S.OBJ advise-PAST.1S.A.DCL  
ps Pa3 V-SUF PRON V-SUF  
ft Pa3 'I know that the groom is a good person. That is why I  
advised/ insisted you to accept my advice.'

RefPa2 Pa2-07

tx Pa2 ne taw qoppida qofaykeehi lo77o  
w Pa2 ne ta-u k'opp-ida k'ofa-i keehi lo??o  
ge Pa2 2S.NOM 1S-DAT think-CNV<sub>1</sub> thought-NOM.M very good  
ps Pa2 PRON PRON-SUF V-SUF N-SUF ADJ be.ADJ  
ft Pa2 'Your plan for me is very good.'

RefPa3 Pa3-36

tx Pa3 lo77o na7a gidiyaga erada new heede odabikkina? hashshu  
hashshu

w Pa3 lo??o na?a gid-ia=ga ?er-ada neu heede  
ge Pa3 good child be-PAST.REL=entity know-CNV<sub>1</sub> 2S.DAT that.time  
ps Pa3 ADJ N AUX-SUF V-SUF PRON ADV

w Pa3 ?od-abikkinaa? ha?fu ha?fu  
ge Pa3 tell-PAST.1S.NEG.INTER Congratulations! Congratulations!  
ps Pa3 V -SUF N N  
ft Pa3 'Didn't I tell you that the groom is a good person?  
Congratulations!'

RefPa2 Pa2-08  
tx Pa2 ta michchee hashshu giyaba ekka  
w Pa2 ta miftftee, haifu g-ia=ba ?ekk-a  
ge Pa2 1S.GEN sister.VOC.F congratulations say-NMZ=entity take-S.IMP  
ps Pa2 PRON N N V-SUF=CLIT take-SUF  
ft Pa2 'My sister, let you obtain something that pleases you.'

Ref Pa3-37  
tx Pa3 attuma na7a macca na7a yelite!  
w Pa3 ?attuma na?a maftft'a na?a jel-ite !  
ge Pa3 male child female child give.birth-JUSS.2PL  
ps Pa3 ADJ N ADJ N V -SUF  
ft Pa3 'Let you give birth to male and female children.'

RefPa2 Pa2-09  
tx Pa2 ?ero ta miftfti-a lo77o wulata zar-is-o  
w Pa2 ?ero ta miftfti-a lo??o wulata zar-iso  
ge Pa2 okay 1S.GEN sister-NOM.F good favor return-CAUS.JUSS.3MS  
ps Pa2 ADJ PRON N -SUF ADJ N V -SUF.SUF  
ft Pa2 'My sister, thank you for the help.I will consider your help.'

RefPa4 Pa4-14  
tx Pa4 neekka taakka laazantha gidokkoo  
w Pa4 nee-kka taa-kka laazantsa-t-a gid-okkoo  
ge Pa4 2S-too 1S.NOM-too marriage.broker-PL-ACC.M be -INTER.1PL  
ps Pa4 PRON-SUF PRON-SUF N-SUF V-SUF  
ft Pa4 'Are we not marriage brokers ?'

RefPa5 Pa3-38  
tx Pa3 ne laazanttheyye tanadan  
w Pa3 ne laazantsee-jjee tana-dan  
ge Pa3 2S.NOM marriage.broker.GEN -2S.INTER 1S.OBJ-like  
ps Pa3 PRON N -SUF PRON-SUF  
ft Pa3 'Are you a marriage broker like me?'

RefPa3 Pa3-39  
tx Pa3 ee tuma .... i qofay  
w Pa3 ʔee tuma .... ʔi k'ofa-i  
ge Pa3 yes really 3MS.GEN thought-NOM.M  
ps Pa3 ADV ADV PRON V-SUF  
ft Pa3 'Really/Of course, yes.'

RefPa3 Pa3-40  
tx Pa3 oykkiskka?  
w Pa3 ʔokk-is-kka?  
ge Pa3 catch-PAST.3MS.A.DCL-too  
ps Pa3 V-SUF-SUF  
ft Pa3 'I hope you were obsessed.'

RefPa4 Pa4-15  
tx Pa4 ee naʔay ... naʔa gidennee  
w Pa4 ʔee naʔa-i ... naʔa gid-innee  
ge Pa4 yes child-NOM.M child be -3MS.NEG.INTER  
ps Pa4 ADV N -SUF N V -SUF  
ft Pa4 'Isn't the groom young ?'

RefPa3 Pa3-41  
tx Pa3 ne hashshu zorada ogiya oyttadasa bay?  
w Pa3 ne hajfu zor-ada ʔogia  
ge Pa3 2S.NOM really advise-CNV<sub>1</sub> path  
ps Pa3 PRON ADV V -SUF N  
w Pa3 ʔoi-tt-adasa bai?  
ge Pa3 make.catch-CAUS-PAST.2S.A.DCL AUX  
ps Pa3 V-SUF-SUF V  
ft Pa3 'You did advise him and succeeded.'

RefPa4 Pa4-16  
tx Pa4 ee aʔay woigii ? ...

w Pa4     ʔee    naʔa-i            woig-ii ? ...  
ge Pa4     yes    child-NOM.M    what.say-3MS.INTER  
ps Pa4     ADV    V-SUF            PRON-SUF  
ft Pa4     ‘What does he say?’

RefPa3    Pa3-42  
tx Pa3     aha lo77o yaakko   sa7ay machcha7o  
w Pa3     ʔaha loʔʔo   jaakko   saʔa-i            maʔtʔtaʔ-  
ge Pa3     aha   good   if.so   time-NON.M   succeed-JUSS.2S  
ps Pa3     pose ADJ    ADV            N-SUF            V-SUF  
ft Pa3     ‘The time is alright. Let it be comfortable.’

RefPa4    Pa4-17  
tx Pa4     ee sa7ay machcha7is  
w Pa4     ʔee saʔa-i            maʔtʔtaʔ-is  
ge Pa4     yes time-NOM.M   comfortable-PAST.3MS.A.DCL  
ps Pa4     ADV ADV/N-SUF    ADV -SUF  
ft Pa4     ‘It is comfortable for the groom and bride.’

RefPa1    Pa1-24  
tx Pa1     nu hinttena galatoos nuna    lo77uwawn gattideta  
w Pa1     nu            hinttena    galat-oos    nuna  
ge Pa1     1PL.SUBJ 2S.HON/PL   praise-1PL 1PL.OBJ  
ps Pa1     PRON        PRON            V-SUF            PRON  
w Pa1     loʔʔuwa-n   ga-tt-ideta  
ge Pa1     good-LOC    reach-CAUS-PL  
ps Pa1     ADJ-SUF    V-SUF-SUF  
ft Pa1     ‘We praise you for you(r) contributed in our  
marriage.’

RefPa1    Pa1-25  
tx Pa1     wololo mele wololoy cililo mele   gede oychchite

w Pa1 wololo mele wololo-i ʃt'ilililo mele  
 ge Pa1 young like young-NOM.M green like  
 ps Pa1 ADJ ADJ ADJ-SUF ADJ ADJ  
  
 w Pa1 gede ʔoiʃtʃt-ite  
 ge Pa1 there ask-.2S.HON/2PL.IMP  
 ps Pa1 ADV V-SUF  
 ft Pa1 'Ask if the boy is young and delicate as green  
 as leaves.'

RefPa6 Pa6-64  
 tx Pa6 wololo mele wololoy cililo mele gede oychchite  
  
 w Pa6 wololo mele wololo-i ʃt'ilililo mele  
 ge Pa6 young like young-NOM.M green like  
 ps Pa6 ADJ ADJ ADJ-SUF ADJ ADJ  
  
 w Pa6 gede ʔoiʃtʃt-ite  
 ge Pa6 there ask-2S.HON/2PL.IMP  
 ps Pa6 ADJ ADV V-SUF  
 ft Pa6 'Ask if the boy is young and delicate as  
 green as leaves.'

## Appendix D: Gofa-English Word List

The order of the mother tongue alphabet and we can find its equivalent IPA on Orthography and Representation (cf. Table 1: Orthography and Representation).

a b c ch d dh dz e f g h 7 i j k l m n nh ny o p ph q r s sh t th x u w  
y z zh

## A - a

- aadh-** *V.* to pass.
- aakíme** *N.* a physician, a doctor
- aakime keethi** *COMP N.* a clinic or a hospital.
- aappunee** *INTER.PRON.* how many/much?
- aath-** *V.* to pass /something to someone.
- aawa** *N.* father ( kinship).
- aawa isha** *N COMP.* uncle.(kinship)
- aayo** *N.* mother (kinship).
- aaye isha** *N COMP.* uncle.(kinship)
- abba** *N.* Lake Abbaya , sea.
- acere** *N.* a rat.
- achch-** *V.* to ask someone to pay his/her debt.
- achche** *N.* tooth.
- achche qoxo/saho** *N.* toothache (disease).
- aco** *N.* debt.
- adde** *N.* male.
- adde kana** *NP.* a male dog.
- adde kutho** *COMP N.* a cock.
- adde na7a** *COMP N.* a boy or a male child
- adunxxe/udunxxe** *N.* a fly.
- adussa** *ADJ.* tall.
- adussa** *ADJ.* long, tall, synonym of **suulaama**
- adussa/suulama na7a** *COMP N.* a tall child.
- afila** *N.* a piece of cloth.
- afuthi** *N.* a drop of tear.
- afuxx-** *V.* to allow drops of tears to come out of one's eyes.
- ageeni** *N.* (1) a moon , (2) a month.
- agg-** *V.* to stop doing .
- aggunthi** *N.* a thorn.
- akeek-** *V.* to take care ,to notice and become conscious /aware.
- akkay g- [ʔakkaí g- ]** *COMP.V/VP.* to say no,
- alangga** *N.* a tool used to hit a pack animal in order to increase speed; made up of leather of hippopotamus skin.
- all-** *V.* to join a crowd of mourners in the funeral ceremony by expressing lamentation.
- allaga** *N.* a stranger, a person from another village, region, or country.
- alame** *N.* the world.
- amaara** *N.* Amharic speaking people.
- amaara dere** *NP.* a place where Amharic speaking people live.
- am77o** *N.* a woman who lost her husband.
- amoth-** *V.* to wish.
- ane** *ADV.* let
- anj-** *V.* to bless.
- anjjo** *N.* a blessing.
- ankka xapho** *N.* root of one of a local tree (used as local medicine).
- ankko** *N.* vulture (type of bird).
- aq-** *V.* to pass the night.
- aqo keethe giigiso** *NP.* arranging a room for guests to pass their night.
- aqo/ shalo** *N.* wealth.
- aradda** *N.* fertile land.
- araqé** *N.* alcoholic drink locally prepared (with very high alcoholic content).
- arss-** *V.* to make/build a bed.
- arssa** *ADJ.* a dark brown color of a person.
- arssa ootheyssa** *COMP N/NP.* a person who makes bed.
- ase** *N.* a person.
- asa ayfe** *COMP.N/NP.* evil eye.
- asa azina** *COMP N/ NP.* someone's husband.
- asa dos-** *VP.* to show love to people.
- asa maadd-** *VP.* to assist people in times of need.
- asa machcho** *COMP N/ NP.* someone's wife.
- asatethi** *N.* personality.
- asho** *N.* meat (food item) .
- asho mehe** *COMP N.* a tamed animal given care to get fat and to obtain much meat.
- ashsh-** *V.* to save/reserve part of an entity for another time/person.
- atara** *N.* bean (grain and foodstuff).
- attuma** *N.* male.
- attum asa** *COMP.N/NP.* male person.
- atto g-** *COMP V.* to forgive.
- attuma** *ADJ.* Male.
- awa** *N.* the sun.
- aw [ʔáú]** *INTER. PRON/INTER.ADV.* where.
- awaa wancca** *COMP N.* a container of a local drink of a father.

**awan/awun** *INTER.* where ?  
**ayfe** [ʔaife] *N.* an eye (body part).  
**ayfe bulo** [ʔaife bulo] *N.* pupil of an eye (body part).  
**ayfe saho** [ʔaife saho] *N.* eye (disease).  
**aylle** *N.* (1) a slave ; (2) a hoe

**aymo** *N.* a dream.  
**aymott-** *V.* to dream.  
**ayss- / ayzz-** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone to pass a night.  
**aysse** [ʔaisse] *INTER.PRON.* why.  
**azina gelidaaro** *N.* a married woman.

## B - b

**b-** *V.* to go.  
**ba** *PRON.CLIT.* his.  
**=ba** = *CLIT. PRON .M.* expresses a grammatical gender of an entity when affixed onto a nominal entity.  
**ba77-(1)** *V.* to carry on back.  
**ba7a(3)** *N.* a carriage.  
**ba7aa** *N.* way of carrying an infant baby or an object.  
**baacá** *N.* scythe, a tool used to cut grass and crop when ripe and dry.  
**baace** *N.* scythe.  
**baachche** *N.* a house for weaving local cotton closes.  
**baana** *CLAUS.* Someone will/shall go .  
**baana(2)** *N.* dust.  
**baaqeela** *N.* pea(food item).  
**baár-(1)** *V.* to put food in to own mouth.  
**baathe** *N.* big clay pot used as a container for solid and liquid.  
**baawa** *CLAUS.* no, There is nothing.  
**baawe** *CLAUS.* Isn't there anything?  
**baaxe** *N.* a struggle or challenge.  
**babbanthe** *N.* a bear (lives in caves and attacks people occasionally).  
**badalla** *N.* maize or corn(food item).  
**bade** *ADJ.* out -of- sight  
**bagathi** *N.* semi colon marked by (, )  
**bagga** *ADJ.* half.  
**baggara** *ADV.* point of view.  
**bal-** *V.* to commit a mistake.  
**bala** *N.* a mistake.  
**balakko (Kontta)** *N.* a step child.  
**bale** *N.* the place where the funeral ceremony is conducted, the people attending the ceremony  
**bale galla** *NP.* the day of funeral ceremony.  
**baalla** *N.* a branch of a tree.  
**bambbaré** *N.* pepper(powder) commonly used to add flavor of food (food item).  
**bambbare shaate** *COMP N.* a small bowl used to serve the mixture of butter and the powder of red peppercorns (vegetable).

**bana** *PRON.* self.  
**bangga** *N.* burly (food item).  
**banttarkka** *PRON.* s/he(RESP)/they alone.  
**baq-** *V.* to hide oneself to be out of sight of -in-laws, in order not to meet someone.  
**baqa** *N.* clapping , a clap ( to express anger or joy).  
**baqa(2)** *N.* a slap.  
**baqeela / ba7eela** *N.* pea(grain and foodstuff).  
**baqereth-(4)** *V(REDUP).* to slap repeatedly.  
**baqeth- (3)** *V(RECIP.* to slap each other.  
**baqq-(1)** *V (in/tran).* to clap , to slap something (using hands or other flat objects prepared for the purpose).  
**baqulo** *N.* mule (a pack animal).  
**barggaag-(1)** *V.* to run here and there without plan due to fear.  
**barggaag-eyssa** *CLAUS.* It runs here and there .  
**barkka /parkka** *ADJ/PRON.* (s/he ) alone.  
**barss-** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone to put food into her/his mouth.  
**bash-** *CAUS.V.* to cause to lose something.  
**baxxeth-** *V(RECIPROCAL).* to struggle to each other to make someone fall and win the game.  
**bayra** *N.* elder.  
**bayrati** *N.PL.NOM.* elders.  
**bazo** *N.* desert.  
**be7-** *V.* to see , look.  
**be7eth-** *V(Reciprocal).* to see each other.  
**beexe** *N.* an axe like tool used to cut/splint wood ,locally made with a heavy iron/steel blade at tip of a wooden handle.  
**belala** *N.* hair on the chest (body part).  
**beni** *ADV.* in the past.  
**bese** *N,PRON.* plenty in number (of people, amount of money or things).  
**beshe** *N.* oven.  
**bess-** *V.* to show.  
**bessa** *N;ADV LOC.* place.  
**bete** *N.* a man fled from his community for he lost all his family (family member).  
**betidaaro** *N.* a woman fled from her residential area

for she committed a mistake(family member).

**bidintha** *N.* ash.

**biitha zaaro** *VP.* act of turning the soil in the burial ceremony.

**biithe** *N.* earth ,soil.

**bill-** *V.* to untie, to let loose.

**binnaana** *N.* hair (body part).

**biradh-** *V.* to point at something using a finger.

**biradhe** *N.* a finger (body part).

**birshsh-** *V.* to untie , to let loose, to translate from one language to another.

**birzze** *N.* alcohol free local drink (prepared from honey).

**bixe** *ADJ.* equal.

**bo77a** *ADJ.* bald, little or no hair on the head.

**bo77ath-** *V.* to become bald

**bochch-** *V.* to touch.

**boh-** *V.* to outcast a girl/woman during the menstrual cycle

**bohethida asa** *COMP N.* an out casted person.

**bolla** *N.* (1) body. (2) *PREPO.* on (top of)

**bollo** *N.* male-in-law, a father and brother of a wife

**bollot-** *Nominal V* (1) to become a son/daughter- in-law of someone (2) to become a mother, sister father/mother-in-law.

**boncca bonccota** *NP.* different leaves used for medicine.

**bonqq-** *V.* to snatch something suddenly forcefully; to robe.

**bonqqiss-** *CAUS V.* to cause someone to rob.

**bonqqo** *N.* a log with a red fire.

**booho** *N.* (1) a ditch dug to make the advance of the enemy difficult. (2) way of digging

**bookk-** *V.* to dig a hole (in order to take out the stored item, to plant a plant ).

**boori** *N.* a bull (a castrated ox).

**boothi** *ADJ.* white.

**booyy-** *V.* to be nervous and cry due to the death of the dearest person.

**booz-** *V.* to behave in a silly way.

**booza** (1) *ADJ.* foolish.(2) *N.* a fool person .

**bor-** *V.* to criticize negatively in order to discourage someone's life style.

**bordde** *N.* alcoholic drink (served for mourners after the funeral ceremony).

**borkkotha** *N.* a pillow(a small bag filled with soft material used to give comfort while sleeping in bed).

**borkkoth-** *V (tran).* to put the head on something when sleeping on bed.

**boyye** *N.* a root plant with a long and irregular shape cooked and served alone or usually with milk (food item).

**bubbux-** *V.* to kick someone using one's fist.

**bubbuxo** *N.* a fist.

**buddeena** *N.* a loaf of bread or injera (prepared from flour of teff or other grains.

**bul77-** *V.* to hoe.

**bullukko** *N.* a locally made blanket ( cotton cloth).

**bulo** *N.* a type tree whose root is used for local medicine.

**bulo xapho** *N.* a root of an X tree, used for local medicine.

**buucc-** *V.* to cut grass, ripen crop in the field using scythe.

**buuchche** *N.* jaw, beard.

**buuqa** *ADJ.* rotten.

**buuqaa** *N.* a rotten material.

**buuqq-** *V.* to become rotten.

**buur-** *V.* to collect the dried long grass spread over the floor of a tent or in a guest room.

**buura** *N.* a dirt (of straw of long grass on the floor ).

## C - c

**caan- (1)** *V.* to load on the back of pack animal.

**caana mehe** *COMP N.* a pack animal.

**caanaa** *N.* a load.

**caaneth-** *PASS V.* to be loaded.

**caaqa** [tʃ'aak'o] *N.* an oath.

**caaqq-** [tʃ'aakk'-] *V.* to make an oath.

**cachcha malaata(1)** *COMP N.* full stop, a period marked by ( . )

**cachcha** [tʃatʃtʃá] *N.* (1) way of stabbing (a bull in the funerary culture of the speech society). (2) a full stop, a point ,a period ( used in

writing at the end of a declarative sentence).

**cachcha woga** *COMP N.* mechanism of stabbing a bull during a funeral ceremony.

**cachcha wogata** *NP.* the punctuation marks used in writing phrases and sentences.

**cadd-** *V.* (1) to stab the area of the body with sharpen material. (2) to write a dot at the end of a declarative sentence. (3) to pound, crush or hit (like peppercorns) to obtain powder using a mortar and pestle(to give food a spicy hot taste).

**cadda**[tʃ'áda ] *N.* (1) stabbing with sharpen

materials. (2) a pain that may cause hard to breath (even may be a cause for death).

**callá** [tʃʰallá] *N.* a hide or skin of goat, sheep and some wild animals worn during funeral ceremony and other special occasion.

**cash-** *V.* to decide not to do something any more .

**cashsha** [tʃʰaʃʃá] *N.* an insult.

**cawa** *N.* sweat (a salty liquid of a person).

**cay-** *V.* to insult.

**ceeqq-** [tʃʰeekk'-] *V.* to feel pride and express the pride of someone in a form of a song especially during the funeral ceremony.

**cigg** [tʃʰigg-] *V.* (1) to cut finger/toe nails. (2) to pay (a gift or debt).

**cima** *ADJ.* old.

**cimm-** *V.* to cheat.

**ciimma** *ADJ.* deep.

**ciishshe** *N.* flower.

**ciyy-** *V.* to grow / produce flowers (of plants).

**ciyye** *N.* bile duct/gall bladder(internal part) and

product).

**cincc-(2)** *V.* to become clever.

**cincca (1)** *ADJ.* a clever.

**cinccaa(3)** *N.* a clever person.

**coo** *ADJ.* in vain , quite, or else.

**coomettiya dhale** *N.* local medicine we grind between our teeth.

**coomm-** *V.* to grind (roast and dry grain) between teeth.

**cooshi** *N.* vomit.

**cooy-** *V.* to vomit.

**cora** *ADJ.* a great deal (amount).

**co77u g-** *COMP V.* to be silent ,to keep quiet.

**cuga** *N.* a group, a team.

**cugan cugan** *COMP N.* in different groups / teams.

**cuyettiya dhale** *N.* local medicine used to inhale the smoke of roots, leaves and barks of some plants.

## D - d

**daabulidi xafettya pitaleti** *COMP.N/NP.*  
geminate segments ( that are written twice as in bb,dd, chch, and so on).

**daafur-** *V.* to feel tired.

**daafura** *N.* tiredness.

**daafurss-** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone feel tired.

**daafurssa** *N.* the state of being /feeling tired.

**daagg-** *V.* to drink a calabash of drink for two persons at a time as a sign of closeness.

**daakk-** *V.* to tear.

**daami dondzda** *ADJ.* adult (family member).

**daanynya** *N.* a judge or a locally appointed person (by the opponent group in the presence of witness).

**daase** *N.* a temporary shelter built for the guests during the wedding ceremony and mourners to use as a shelter until the end of the mourning day.

**dabala dancco** *N.* a long narrow strip of cotton cloth used as a belt(clothing).

**dabbo** *N.* a relative.

**dabbo asa** *COMP N.* a relative (person).

**dada /daydanthi** *N.* a thunder (storm).

**dadd-** *V.*(1) to interlock women's and female children hair as part of beauty. (2) to weave cotton cloth locally.

**daf-** *V.* to pull with force and move from place without the willingness of someone or animal.

**dafo** *N.* abduction.

**dagama** *N.* a feeling of fear.

**dagamm-** *V.* to feel fear.

**dago** *N.* a group/team of people working in a farm.

**dago kess-** *COMP V.* to invite a group of people to work in one's plot of land.

**dago wancca** *COMP N.* a container of local drink during a small group farm.

**dalgg-** *ADJ.V.* more than (used in a comparative construction).

**dalgga** *ADJ.* great, more.

**dance-** *V.* to wear (a narrow long strip of cotton cloth ) as a belt.

**danco** *N.* a long narrow strip of cotton cloth used like a belt.

**dandda7-** *V.* to be able.

**dangarssa zaale** *COMP.N.* the teeth of elephants.

**darbbe** *N.* a long local drum (musical instrument) especially used during the funeral ceremony.

**daro** *ADJ.* many, much.

**daro asi** *COMP.N/NP.* many people.

**daro mehe** *COMP N/NP.* many cattle.

**datha** *N.* way of weaving and interlocking the hair female persons for beauty.

**deebbo** *N.* a small green plant whose leaves are used as spice (as well as local medicine).

**deemo** *N.* eye brow (body part).

**deeshe** *N.* a goat (domestic animal).

**deesha orgge** *N.* a billy goat or a male goat.

**deexo boora** *COMP V.* a fat ox.

**deexo** *ADJ.* heavy.

**de7-** *AUX. V.* (1) to exist ; ( 2) . to own, to have

**de7o** *N.* life

**dembba** *N.* a plateau land.

**demmm-** *V.* to get, to find something lost.

**dere** *N* (1) . people. (2) mountain, hill.

**dhale** *N.* medicine.

**dere woga dhale** *COMP.N/NP.* cultural medicine.

**dhanthi [dántsi ]** *N.* breast (body part).

**dhay-** *V.* to disappear.

**dheeg-** *V.* to call.

**dheessa** *N.* (1) waist (body part); (2) way of calling

**dhiskk-** *V.* to sleep.

**dhonthi [dóntsi ]** *N.* a woman whose husband and children are died (kinship).

**dhoossi** *N.* God ,the creator of the universe and all creature existing on earth,.

**dhoqa** *ADV.* up.

**dhossa** *N.* rheumatic fever (that causes a heart attack).

**dicc-** *V.* to grow well.

**dichch-** *CAUS.V.* to feed a kid or an animal to grow.

**dichcha** *N.* way of growing physically, mentally and spiritually.

**digg-** *V.* (1) to put something away that blocks the advancing in work/movement.

(2) to refuse to give back to the owner.

**digo** *N.* (1) a refusal or a way of refusing to give something to the owner back.

(2) way of taking something away.

**di77-** *V.* to cover the land with the flood.

**di7o** *N.* water flood.

**diichch-** *V.* to touch the ground partially in front of a male/female mourner and express her/his grief as the second step of a funeral ceremony

**diisho** *N.* the second step of attending the funeral ceremony (by partially touching the ground in front of a male/female mourner by and express her/his grief in words ).

**diitha** *N.* a cultural musical instrument used like guitar with five strings.

**dinkke** *N.* a very long flute like musical instrument blown to direct the mourners follow the steps in

the funeral ceremony.

**dir-** *V.* to build a fence.

**dirssa(1)** *N.* a fence.

**dog-** *V.* to forget.

**dom77-** *V.* to blow someone with forehead.

**dom77ethi** *N.* (1) a process of kicking each other with forehead. (2) a form of conflict.

**dono** *N.* potato (a round root plant and vegetable) served alone or with other cooked food.

**donzza** *N.* (1) an adult.(2) a clever person

**doona** *N.* mouth (body part).

**dooqq-** *V.* to twist fibers with a certain studied pattern in order to make a rope too strong.

**door-** *V.* to select, elect, nominate.

**door-** *V.* to pile.

**doore** *N.* a pile of grain in front of or near a house of a farm.

**dooss-** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone to make a rope.

**doossa** *N.* a pattern of twisting fiber to make the rope too strong.

**dooya** *ADJ.* open.

**dorssa orgge** *N.* a ram (domestic animal).

**dos-** *V.* to like, love someone or something.

**Dosa [dósa]** *N.* a name of a male person.

**dotha** *N.* neighbor.

**doy-** *V.* to open.

**dotha asa** *COMP N.* a neighbor

**dubbush-** *V.* to take part in the meeting.

**dubbusha** *N.* a place of meeting, usually an open-air.

**dugeha** *ADV.* (1) downward (direction).(2) south

**dukk-** *V.* to sting, the body of a person swells when an insect stings,.

**dulle** *N.* buttock (body part).

**dumma** *ADJ.* other, unique, special.

**dumma dumma** *ADJ.* different.

**dur-** *V.* to dance.

**dure** *ADJ.* a rich person.

**durssa** *N.* a style of dance.

**duude na7a** *COMP. N* a kid.

**duufo /duuho** *N.* a burial ground, a tomb.

**duuth-** *V.* to break ( a string or thread).

**duuxa** *N.* the broken.

## E - e

**eeno g - / ero g-** *COMP V.* to say ok ,accept invitation.

**eeqqa** *N.* warship, worshipping the evil spirit.

**eessa** *N.* honey.

**eeth-** *V (tran).* to make fire or set /kindle fire.

**eexx-** *V(intra).* to burn and give light (when the waste material is kindled ).

**eeyy-** *V.* to become fool.  
**eeyya** *ADJ.* foolish.  
**eh-** *V.* to bring.  
**ehana mela** *VP.* in order to bring.  
**ekk-** *V.* to take.  
**ekkidayssa [ʔekkidaissa]** *N.* a married man.  
**elle** *ADJ/N/.* fast , in a hurry.  
**ellell-** *V.* to be hurry or to be quick.  
**elles-** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone do in a hurry.  
**entti** *3S.HON/PL.PRON.NOM.* (1) she, (2) he , (3) they.  
**entta** *3S.HON/PL .PRON.ACC.* (1) her, (2) him , (3) them.

**enttaara** *3S.HON/PL .PRON.ACC.* (1) with her, (2) with him , (3) with them.  
**enttappe** *3S.HON/PL.PRON.ABL* (1) from her, (2) from him, (3) from them.  
**enttas/enttaw** *3S.HON/PL .PRON.DAT.* (1) for/to her, (2) to/for him , (3) to/for them.  
**eqq-** *V.* to stand (up).  
**er-** *V.* to know.  
**era** *N.* knowledge.  
**ess-** *V.* to stop or quit , to pick up an object in a flat position and put it in an upright position.

## F - f

**faac-** *V.* to tempt or challenge someone.  
**faace** *N.* temptation.  
**faase** *N.* an axe like tool with a wider and sharp pointed tip to cut and splint wood(utensil).  
**falam-** *V.* to make a dispute with someone.  
**falama** *N.* a dispute.  
**farsso** *N.* alcoholic local drink  
**fila** *N.* cheese (food item).  
**firdd-(1)** *V.* to give a legal statement on an issue of

dispute held officially.  
**firdda** *N.* a legal statement on an issue of dispute held officially.  
**firiiss-** *CAUS V.* to cause the horse run fast.  
**firiix-** *V.* to ride a horse fast.  
**fix-** *V.* to comb hair.  
**fuuse** *N.* a shower or a light rain.

## G - g

**=g** *CLIT.PRON.M.* he(used to express the grammatical gender of something possessed).  
**g-** *V.* to say , to call.  
**gaabe** *N.* a cotton cloth about 3 meters long and worn around the shoulder and the hips.  
**gaammo** *N.* a loin (wild animal).  
**gaashe** *N.* teff (food item) whose flour is used to prepare injera , bread or in the other form(grain).  
**gaccon oiqettiya dhale** *N.* local medicine held in the mouth.  
**gaco** *N.* cheek(body part).  
**gadaalo** *N.* a system/culture of taking a piece of meat of a bull until he is satisfied .  
**gade** *N.* (1) (a plot of ) land inherited from his family or bought. (2) a farm.  
**gade asa** *COMP N.* a neighbor not foreigner.  
**gaade** *N.* a thigh (body part).  
**gadha** *N/ADJ.* lowland, suitable for agriculture like highlands.  
**gakk-** *V.* to reach at a destination.

**gakkanaw/gakkanas** *ADV.* until.  
**galbba** *N.* a hide/skin of an animal .  
**gal77a** *ADJ.* old.  
**galat-** *V.* to praise (God or a person).  
**galata** *N.* a praise.  
**galbba** *N.* hide or skin of cattle.  
**gallassa seet** *ADV.* at noon.  
**ganjje** *N.* large intestine (body part).  
**gara** *N.* (1) an tree whose stems and leaves are used to brew alcoholic drinks (2) used as medicine plant.  
**garbbille gido** *N.* a dining room.  
**gartha** *N.* quotation mark indicated by ‘ ‘  
**gaaso** *N.* reason , cause.  
**gatha** *N.* a long special grass and a straw used to cover the outer body of the locally built house.  
**gaware** *N.* a cat (a domestic animal).  
**gede** *ADV.* there/somewhere.  
**geela7o** *N.* a virgin and unmarried girl.  
**geela7otetha** *N.ABS.* virginity.  
**geela7otetha imm-** *COMP V.* [Lit ] to give one's

virginity to her husband/groom.  
**geela7otetha ekk-** *COMP V.*[Lit ] to marry a virgin bride.  
**geeshsh-** *V.* to cause something to be clean/neat.  
**geeshsha** *ADJ.* clean.  
**geleeshó** *N.* monkey.  
**gelídaaro** *N.* married woman.  
**gelónnaisa** *N.* unmarried person(female).  
**géló eko** *COMP N.* marriage.  
**genessa** *N.* a small wild goat ( wild animal).  
**gerggeéda** *N.* rheumatic fever(causes heart damage).  
**gid-** *V.* be/ happen.  
**gid-(2)** *AUX V.* to be.  
**gid-(1)** *V.* enough.  
**giddo** *ADV.* inside, in the middle.  
**gidikkó** *clause.* if so , if it is.  
**giig-** *V.* to be ready, prepare.  
**giigid shochcha** *N.* the food to be served to the mourners at the end of the funeral ceremony.  
**giigisiss** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone arrange/prepare something.  
**giigiss-** *V(intrv).* to arrange, to prepare.  
**giigo /giigisso** *N.* preparation,readiness.  
**gíl77a biradhe** *N.* the last finger(body part).  
**gíndda (Kontta)** *N.* plough share (farm tool).  
**giqq-(1)** *V.* to declare that something is taboo and shall not be used until it is officially allowed.  
**giqqa** *N.* something which is taboo and shall not be used until it is officially allowed.  
**gishshas** *CONJ .DAT.* for the reason.  
**gistte** *N.* wheat grown commonly in the highland (grain ,foodstuff).  
**gita(1)** *ADJ.* grown up ,not kid.  
**gitat-** *V.* to grow to become rich.  
**gixeto** *N.* a cotton cloth either from the waist or shoulder up to the ankle of a woman.  
**gakk-(1)** *V.* to arrive, reach.  
**go77a** *N.* the use, purpose  
**godaa** *N.* a big splint wood for the wall of a house.  
**goda** *N.* (1) God  
(2) owner , master.  
**godare** *N.* hyena (wild animal).  
**goga** *N.* skin (of man).  
**go77-** *V.* to serve, to fulfill a purpose.  
**goina** *N.* tail (of animals).  
**goinn-** *V.* to bow down (when worshiping God for-giveness ).  
**gola** *N.* the fiber (made of the bark of the enset plant used as thread to tie different things together).  
**gome** *ADJ.* taboo.  
**gom77ore** *N.* a small plant with sharp thorn used to scratch one's face during the funeral ceremony.  
**gomppa** *N.* palm (body part).

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**gonddale** *N.* a shield .  
**gonddoreth-** *V.* to roll once, twice or more as a physical exercise or to express grief.  
**gonddorss-** *V.* to cause someone roll once, twice or more over dust and even over a as a punishment.  
**gonddorssa** *N.* way of rolling over dust.  
**goochch-** *V(tran).* to pull.  
**goofa** *N.* the name of the people and the place where the people who speak the Gofa language reside.  
**goofatho doona** *COMP N/NP.* Gofa language.  
**goofa yeeho woga** *N.* funeral ceremony in Gofa.  
**goofine** *N.* lung ( body part).  
**goofine hargge** *N.* a lung disease.  
**goosha** *N.* pulling.  
**gooz-** *V.* to cover (in order to prevent unwanted particles from entering in to a pot or a jar).  
**gordd-** *V.* to close; to stop and prevent from happening.  
**gordda** *ADJ.* closed.  
**gorddoma** *N.* smallpox (a killer disease).  
**gose** *N.* a calabash used as a container.  
**goshsha** *N.* a farm.  
**goshsha boora** *COMP N/NP.* an ox for farming.  
**goshsha miishshe** *N COMP/NP.* all the materials we load on the oxen when we need to plough the land.  
**goyle** *N.* one of procedures in the funeral ceremony (that includes shouting, touching one's head , running here and there in front of the relatives).  
**gisho** *CONJ.* for it is / for a reason.  
**guchche** *N.* a feather of ostrich.  
**gufa** *N.* (1) way of jumping (physical exercise).  
(2) a dance.  
**gufana** *N.* a helpless person or animal.  
**gufann-** *V.* to lie face down.  
**gufantho** *N.* way of making something to lie face down.  
**gufantt-** *V.CAUS.* to cause someone to lie face down.  
**gukk-** *V.* to flow, spill liquid from its container.  
**gulbbat-** *DEN.V.* to kneel down.  
**gulbbata** *N.* knee (body part)/power, or force.  
**gupp-** *V.* to jump.  
**guss-** *V CAUS.* to spill liquid out of its container.  
**guufe** *N.* cane, that helps someone walk.  
**guugge** *N.* a skull(body part).  
**guussa** *N.* way of saying.  
**guuthi** *ADJ.* small.  
**guye simm-** *VP.* to go back or turn back .  
**guyye achcha** *N.* back teeth (body part).  
**gaxa** *ADV.* (out) side .

## H - h

- ha** *DEM/GEN.PRON.PROX* this (an entity)
- haa** *ADV.* this ( place).
- haaho** *ADV.* far.
- haaho dabbo** *ADJ (ADV+N).* a relative living far away; a relative not so close.
- haakk-** *V.* to go far away.
- haakko** *Interjection* Let it go away/ out of sight!
- haasay-** *V.* to speak.
- haasaya** *N.* speech, speaking.
- haatha asa** *COMP N/NP.* a person who does not take any alcohol.
- haatha kixxo** *COMP N/NP.* water flood.
- haathe** *N.* water.
- hachchi** *ADV.* today.
- hachchi galla** *ADV.* last week (this day).
- hachchi gakkanaw** *COMP ADV.* until today
- hadirssa** *ADV.* left.
- hadirssa kushe** *NP.* left hand.
- ha7i** *ADV.* now
- han-** *V.* to be (ready) ,to become, to happen.
- hanqq-** *ADJ.V.* to be angry with someone.
- hanqqett-** *V.* to be angry with someone.
- hanqqo** *ADJ.* angry.
- hara** *PRON.* another.
- hara wode/harode** *ADV* another time
- hare** *N.* donkey (a domestic animal).
- hargg-** *V.* to feel ill.
- hargge** *N.* disease, illness.
- hargge qomota** *NP.* types of diseases.
- hargganchcho oysha** *N* visiting a patient.
- harppa** *N.* a local cloth making tool (that a weaver weaves bullukko, gaabi, naxala and the like).
- hashe** *N.* shoulder (body part).
- hay** *EXCL / DISC(ourse).* please (polite discourse).
- hayqo [haík'o]** *N.* death.
- hayqos gaasobati** *NP.* causes or reasons for death.
- hayqq-** *V.* to die.
- hayqqida asi** *NP* .a dead person.
- hayse** *N.* a story, the past history;.
- hayssa/haga** *DEM.PRON.PROX 3MS.ACC.DEF.* this.
- hayssi / hage** *DEM.PRON.PROX.3MS.NOM.DEF* this.
- haythe** *N.* ear ( body part).
- haythe saho** *N COMP/NP.* earache (disease).
- he** *DEM/GEN.PRON* far visible or invisible
- heedzda** *ADJ.* three.
- heedzdantho** *ADJ.* the third.
- heedzdantho galla** *N.* the third day /the hot mourning day (that all the relatives and the neighbors take part).
- heedzdu cachcha** *N.* three dots marked by ( . . . ) (a type of punctuation mark)
- heemm-** *V.* to look after a cattle or a herd.
- hentt-** *V.CAUS.* to cause someone to look after a cattle or a herd.
- hessi /hege** *DEM.PRON. NOM. 3MS.* that
- hessa / hega** *DEM.PRON. ACC. 3MS.* that
- hessan** *ADV.* there (at/in a place).
- hidoota** *N.* a hope.
- hiilla** *N.* (1) a local physician who treats the patient learning from her/his parents. (2) a blacksmith and a potter.
- hiitha ma7o** *NP.* a night clothing (worn in bed )
- hini** (1) *DEM./GEN.PRON* that (2) *ADV.* there.
- hinna** *DEM.PRON.3FS. NOM. DEF* that .
- hinno** *DEM.PRON.3FS. ACC. DEF* that .
- hintte** *PRON.NOM/ GEN.PRON.* you(r).
- hinttena** *2S.HON/PL.PRON.ACC.* you.
- hintte(n)i** *2S.HON/PL. PRON NOM.* you.
- hintterkka** *2S HON/PL PRON.* you alone.
- hinttes/hinttew** *2S.HON/PL.PRON .DAT.* to/for you.
- hinxxarssi** *N.* tongue (body part).
- hirgg-** *V.* to worry.
- hirgga** *N.* a worry.
- hirtxxe** *N.* an acrobat, the fifth step of jumping and falling onto the ground skillfully to show the degree of grief.
- hirxxe** *N.* a traditional acrobat ,performed during the funeral ceremony. synonym ; **pire**
- hiileth-** *V.* to outcast or ostracize someone aside to get rid of for s/he commits deadly mistakes or does crimes. synonym ; **boh-**
- hiilethi** *N.* out casting, ostracizing somebody from a group
- hintte** (1) *2S.HON/PL. PRON. NOM* you , (2) *2S.HON/PL.GEN.PRON* your.
- ho77-** *ADJ.V.* to feel hot.
- ho77o(2)** *ADJ.* hot, warm.
- hombbe** *ADJ.* heat/warm (due to a very hot weather).
- huuphe /huu7e** *N.* head ( body part).
- huu7e dadd-** *COMP V.* to lock or twist hair to obtain locks of hair.
- huu7e daddiyaro** *COMP N.* a hairdresser (F).
- huu7e datha** *CONP N/NP.* hair dressing.
- huuphe'qoxo** *N.* headache (disease).

## I - i

**i [ ʔi ]** (1) *3MS.PRON.NOM* he.

(2) *3FS.GEN.PRON* her..

**ichchchasha** *ADJ.* five.

**ichchashanchcho** *DADJ=CLAUS.JUSS/IMPV.*

Let him do it for the fifth time (2) *ADJ.* the fifth.

**ichchashu kushe** *COMP N.* five times.

**idimm-** *V.* to hug or to hold or carry an infant / a sick person on the chest to give a better care.

**ifithe** *N.* door and its synonym is **wula**

**iim** *pose.* pose.

**iis** *3FS.PRON.DAT.* to/ for her.

**iita** *ADJ.* bad.

**iita ayyaana** *COMP N.* evil spirit.

**ilill-** *V.* to say a sound of hullabaloo.

**ililli g-** *COMP V.* to say hullabaloo (when people feel very happy and used to accompany the funeral dance at a particular mourning ceremony).

**imathi** *N.* a guest.

**imath-** *V.* to invite a guest.

**imatho** *N.* invitation.

**imm-** *V.* to give.

**indda** *N.* a bed (made of wood).

**ira** *N.* rain.

**irxx-** *ADJ.V.* to become cold.

**irxxa** *ADJ.* cold.

**isha** *N.* a brother.

**isha machcho** *N COMP/NP.* the wife of someone's brother.

**issi issi** *PRON.* someone , a person.

**issiba** *ADJ.* one thing.

**issife /issippe** *POSTPOS.* together.

**isso** *ADJ.* one.

**istta** *ADJ.* one.

**itima** *N.* flour of enset plant root used to make a loaf of bread or porridge (food item).

**ixx-** *V.* to hate.

**iya [ʔía ]** (1) *3FS.PRON.NOM* she.

(2) *3MS.GEN.PRON.* his.

**iyas [ʔías]** *3MS.PRON.DAT.* to/for him

**iyassi** *3MS. POSS.PRON.NOM* . his (is this).

**iyassa** *3MS.POSS.PRON.ACC.* (It/this is) his.

**iyu[ʔiú ]** *3FS. PRON.ACC* her.

## J - j

**jaala** *N.* a person of a bosom friend (acts as a brother).

## K - k

**kaa7-** *V.* to play.

**kaall-** *V.* to follow.

**kaara** *N.* a ceiling of a house.

**Kaash(1)** *V.* to let the soil out when digging a grave.

**kaashi g-** *COMP V.* to say no ,to deny.

**kaashsha** *N.* a cave.

**kaass-** *V.CAUS.* to make a person in a bad mood (sick, angry or grief ) forget the situation by telling a tale that leads to a laughter.

**kaassa** *N.* a game or a play.

**kace** *N.* horn (body part of n animal).

**kado** *N.* a local tool with a wooden handle that has an

iron ploughshare at its end.

**kaho** *N.* dinner (type of meal).

**kaho tukke** *NP.* dinner coffee (a type of meal).

**kalchche** *N.* a ploughshare with a sharp pointed iron /steel.

**kalchche wodoro(Kontta)** *N.* a rope connecting kalchche with mofa`r.

**kall-** *V.* to eat until one is satisfied.

**kallo** *ADJ.* naked, not covered by cloth.

**kaltta** *N.* an axe.

**kare** *ADV.* outside., out of doors ,in front of a door.

**kare utethi** *COMP N.* sitting in front of the house

of the dead person.

**kareethi** *ADJ.* black.

**kass-** *CAUS V.* to cause something out of its original place.

**kasttolle** *N.* a flea.

**kath-** *Nominal V.* to prepare, cook food.

**kathe** *N.* grain, food item (uncooked).

**katisse** *N.* rib (body part).

**kawo** *N.* a king.

**kawo biyyo** *N.* a queen.

**kawo kaabba(Kontta)** *COMP N.* the highness cloth.

**kawo na7a** *N.* a prince/princess.

**kaayo** *ADJ.* the feeling of sadness/ an unhappy feeling for s/he lost her/his dear friend.

**keeh-** *V.* to be kind, to show generosity.

**keethe** *N.* a house.

**keethe giigiso** *COMP.N.* arranging a room or a house before or after the death of someone.

**keetha kamm-** *COMP V.* to cover a newly built thatched local house with a long straw and leaves.

**keetha keexxeysa** *COMP N.* a carpenter , a person who builds a local house.

**keethaa oshite** *CLAUS.* Clean and decorate the floor with the dung of cattle.

**keethaadde** *N.* head of the family (male).

**keethayo** *N.* head of the family (female).

**keexx-** *Nominal V.* to build a house.

**keeza** *N.* message.

**keeza asata** *N.* messengers (usually two) sent to tell the death of someone to her/his relative.

**keha** *ADJ.* generous/ kind.

**keha soo** *NP.* place of rest as in Xoossi keha soo aatto 'Let the soul of someone rest in peace '.

**kehatethi** *N.* generosity.

**kere** *N.* a dish (made of clay).

**kess-** *CAUS .V* to cause someone to take something out of a place

**kessa** *N.* way of coming /going out of a place .

**kethaadé** *N.* a husband, a male head of the family.

**kethaayo** *N.* a wife, a female head of the family.

**kilaho** *N.* kidney(body part).

**kilaho hargge** *N.* a kidney failure.

**kinooto** *N.* a soft drink brewed from chopped sugar cane and barley (grain).

**kixa** *N.* swelling of a body due to infection and injury.

**kixx-** *V.* (1) to swell or become bigger because of injury. (2) to overflow (of river).

**kokka** *N.* (1) boundary. (2) *N.* boiled grain (wheat ,corn and red bean served as food after the burial ceremony.

**kokkor-** *V.* to shiver.

**kokkorss-** *V.CAUS.* to cause to shiver.

**kookke** *N.* throat (body part).

**koor-** *V.* to cloth a horse or a mule in order to go on animal back.

**koora** *N.* the cloth of a horse or a mule that is put on the back of a horse or a mule for transportation.

**kootha** *N.* a container of agricultural products used to protect the seed from rats and birds.

**korjente** *N.* voice box, larynx, Adam's apple(body part).

**kosha** *N.* draught, famine.

**koshsha** *N.* way of searching something lost.

**koyro [koíro]** *ADJ.* (the) first.

**koyy-** *V.* to look /search for.

**kushe saho** *COMP.N/NP.* hand injury.

**kum-** *ADJ.V.* to become full.

**Kuma** *N.* a name of a male person.

**kumetha** *ADJ.* full.

**kundd-** *V(intr).* to fall.

**kunddiss-** *CAUS V.* to cause someone fall down.

**kuushe xuggunthi** *N.* finger nails of a hand.

**kushe kixa** *COMP N/NP.* hand swelling ,as a result of termite or snakebite,.

**kushe zaaro** *COMP N.* a compensation , repayment.

**kutto quma** *COMP N.* food prepared from hen.

**kuwa** *N.* shade (of big trees).

**kayo ess-** *CLAUS.* to stop the feeling of sadness

## L - 1

**laafa** *ADJ.* weak.

**laagg-(1)** *V.* to take an animal to a place it should go by hitting the animal when it moves to unwanted direction.

**laago(2)** *N.* way of taking an animal to a wanted destination.

**laameth-(1)** *V* *RECIP(procal).* to exchange

something between each other.

**laamm-(2)** *.* to change an idea, object or place of living.

**laamota(2)** *N.* love.

**laamoth-(1)** *V.* to like, to be fond of ,to show eager.

**laatan dom77ethon** *COMP.N/NP.* a clash occurring while sharing heritage.

**laaxa** *N.* lunch (a type of meal).  
**laáxá tukke** *COMP.N/NP.* lunch coffee (used as a type of meal).  
**laggata** *ADJ.* friendly.  
**lagge** *N.* a friend.  
**lagget-** *V.* to be /have a friend.  
**lakkayto [lakkaíto]** *N.* a youth.  
**lánqqe** *ADV.* near.  
**laxána** *N.* a 2 meters long piece of cotton cloth that is worn around and covers between the shoulder and the hips.  
**leel-(1)** *V.* 1 to become dark 2 to become confused.

**leela(2)** *N.* 1 darkness 2 confusion.  
**lellehe** *N.* pumpkin (vegetable) served as food after it is cooked and eaten with bread ,injera or other food staffs.  
**lemissaal/leemisuwa** *N.* for example.  
**lee7o** *ADJ.* thin.  
**línddo** *N.* a pair of shorts like clothing (locally made clothing).  
**lo77-** *ADJ.* good.  
**luuux-** *V.* to shake a spear in a funeral ceremony as part of cultural practice.

## M - m

**m-** *V.* to eat.  
**maa77-** *V.* to wear.  
**maadd-** *V.* to help.  
**maahe** *N.* leopard(wild animal).  
**maahe calla** *N. a* hide of a leopard.  
**maa7o** *N.* cloth.  
**maallado** *ADV.* morning.  
**maar-** *V.* to forgive.  
**maara** *ADJ.* order.  
**maaxaana** *N.* a mare (a domestic animal).  
**macca** *N.* female.  
**macca asiw** *COMP N.* a wife.  
**macca kutho** *COMP. N.* a hen.  
**macca na7a** *N.* a daughter, a female child  
**maccaame** *N.* a spear with a very long iron head.  
**maccaame toora (Gofa,Kontta,Welatta)**  
*COMP N.* spear (a tool /weapon of defense).  
**machcho** *N.* a wife .  
**machchidaysa** *N.* a married man(family member).  
**machchonnyssa** *N.* unmarried man (family member).  
**makk-** *V.* to measure..  
**malaata** *N.* (1) a sign, signature; (2) a tag or a scar on a person ,an animal or an object.  
**malat-** *V.* to point at.  
**malddo** *N.* sorghum (food item).  
**mal77-** *v.* to give flavor,  
**manqq-** *V.* to get poor.  
**manqqo** *ADJ.* poor.  
**manxxa** *N.* spleen(body part).  
**maqilan** *N.* a local shaver like a razor blade.  
**mara hinxxarse** *N.* tensile (body part).  
**maracce xeelo** *N.* reading the intestine of a ram or a billy goat(by sorcerers to foretell or talk to the evil spirit).  
**maracce** *N.* intestine.

**mari donzza** *ADJ.* youth (family member).  
**mashsh** *N.* a knife,.  
**masqqála** *ADV,N.* during the Meskel celebration.  
**mata** *ADV.* near.  
**mata dabb** *N.* immediate relative.  
**maatha miiddze** *COMP N.* a cow that gives milk.  
**matha kawo** *COMP N.* queen of the bee.  
**matto(2)** *ADJ.* tipsy.  
**mattóth(1)** *V.* to become tipsy.  
**mayne [maíne]** *ADJ/N.* a baren person ,animal or plant.  
**medh-** *V.* to create.  
**medheta** *N.* creature.  
**meecc-** *V.* to wash.  
**meechchaá** *N.* way/system of washing.  
**meed-** *V.* to shave.  
**meesh-** *V.* to smear a room or a local door with mud or dung.  
**meeshi meqqetha** *COMP N.* spinal cord/backbone (internal part and product).  
**mel -** *V.* to become dry.  
**mela** *ADJ.* (1) dry (2) PREPO without.  
**mela kushe** *COMP N (ADJ +N).* bare handed.  
**melith-** *CAUS.V.* to make something dry.  
**mentershsha** *N.* lip. synonym. **pentershsha**  
**me77o** *ADJ.* broken.  
**meqqetha** *N.* bone (body part).  
**meqq-\_** *V.* to be broken. synonym. **me77-**  
**met-** *V.* to experience /face a problem.  
**meto** *N.* a problem.  
**metoy-** *CAUS. V.* to cause someone to be worried.  
**mehe** *N.* cattle.  
**michcho** *N.* a sister (kinship).  
**michch-** *V.* to become hot.  
**miiddze** *N.* a cow  
**migiddo biradhe** *NP.* a ring finger ( body part).

**miicc-** *V.* to laugh.  
**miichch-** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone laugh.  
**miichchaa** *N.* way of laughing (verbal noun).  
**miidzdze na7a** *COMP.N* a cowboy (who looks after cows).  
**milat-** *V.* to look alike or similar.  
**minn-** *V.* to become strong.  
**mino** *ADJ.* strong, not soft.  
**mirggo** *N.* a young ox (domestic animal).  
**mitha samppa(Kontta)** *N.* wooden plate.  
**mithi** *N.* tree.  
**mitt-** *V.* to swallow.  
**miyye** *N.* side (body part).  
**miyy-** *V.* to carry something from a place to the other.  
**moizz-** *V.* to accompany.  
**mokk-** *V(intra).* (1) to germinate, to begin to grow.  
 (2) to welcome/receive a guest to give food and shelter.  
**moog-** *V.* to bury.  
**moogiss-** *CUAS.V.* to cause some to attend the burial ceremony.

**moogo** *N.* a burial ceremony.  
**moogo afila** *COMP N.* a funeral cloth (used to put on or over the dead body before burying).  
**moogo miishe** *COMP N.* materials used for the burial ceremony.  
**mooqe** *N.* a spoon made of cattle horn.  
**moor-** *V.* to make an offensive mistake.  
**mooro** *N.* an offensive mistake.  
**moot-** *V.* to accuse someone.  
**mooto** *N.* accusation or the act of accusing someone.  
**morgge** *N.* shoulder (body part).  
**morgge** *N.* nape of neck.  
**mara** *N.* calf.  
**mass-** *V.* to sharpen in order to prepare a local chair, burial box and like from a tree.  
**mukula** *ADJ.* thousand.  
**mukulappe bolla** *ADJ.* more than one thousand.  
**muunha** *N.* a type of u-shaped cloth making tool that carries thread and allowed to pass between yarns of the weaver.

## N - n

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**ne** *PRON .NOM /GEN.PRON.2S.* you.  
**na7a** *N.* a child (M/F).  
**naag-** *V.* (1) to wait. (2). to take care of something/ to look after.  
**naagett-** *V.* to take care of yourself.  
**nam77a** *ADJ.* two.  
**nam77antho** (1) *CLAUS JUSS/IMPV.* Let someone take /do something twice (2) *ADJ.* the second time.  
**na7atetha** *N.ABS.* childhood.  
**ne** *2S.PRON.POSS.* your.  
**neeni** *2S.PRON.NOM.* you.  
**nees** *2S.PRON.DAT.* to/for you.

**neessa** *2S.POSS.PRON.* (1) (It is ) to/for you / (2) (It is ) yours .  
**neena** *2S.PRON.ACC.* you.  
**neeni** *2S.PRON.NOM.* you.  
**anhaha tooshsho** *N.* mishandling of corpse.  
**un77o** *ADJ.* narrow.  
**nu** (1) *PRON.NOM* we/; (2) *GEN.PRON IPL.* our.  
**nuna** *IPL.PRON.ACC.* us.  
**nuuni** *IPL.PRON.NOM.* we.  
**nuus** *IPL.PRON.DAT.* to/for us.  
**nuussa** *IPL.POSS.PRON.* (1) (Something is) ours / (2) (It is ) for us.

## O - o

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**ochcha** *N.* a dark brown fruit.  
**od-** *V.* to tell news.  
**odanchcho** *N.* a talkative person.  
**odo** *N.* news.  
**oge ma7o** *N.* a type of cloth worn when someone goes out of her/ his village (cultural cloth).  
**oisha** *N.* a question.  
**ol-** *V.* to throw.

**ola** *N.* war, fight between antagonistic countries.  
**oliza** *N.* a funeral dance (the third step) that takes place when personal history of the dead person is addressed by a lady singer in a form of funeral song.  
**deera oliza** *N.* acrobat /performance during the funeral ceremony after step three.  
**omarasi(1)** *ADV.* in the evening.

**omarss-** *Verbal ADV.* to stay until evening.  
**ona** *ADJ.* an empty house.  
**oorathe** *ADJ.* new.  
**ooshsh-(2)** *V CAUS.* to cause people to fight each other.  
**ooshsha** *N.* a dispute.  
**ooso ma7o** *N.* a type of cloth worn at work  
**ooyy-** *V.* to quarrel, to create a dispute (leads to fierce fighting).  
**ordd-(2)** *ADJ.V.* to be/get fat.  
**ordde** *ADJ.* fat.  
**orgge** *N.* a male (sheep/goat).  
**osha** *N.* cattle dung (used to decorate floor and to add the fertility of land).

**osh-** *V.* to decorate floor with fresh cattle dung.  
**oshaa** *N.* the dung of animals.  
**oto** *N.* a pot.  
**oychch-** *V.(1)* to ask a question.. (2) to ask for the hands of a wife.  
**oydda** *ADJ.* four.  
**oyde / dhupula(Kontta)** *N.* a type of seat (locally made) with three legs.  
**oyqq- [ʔoikk'-]** *V.* to catch.  
**oyshe [ʔoifje]** *N.* a question.  
**oysho malaata** *COMP N.* a question mark (?).  
**oyssi [ ʔoïssi ]** *N.* butter.

## P - p

**pa** *3S.F/M. GEN.PRON.* (1) her / (2) his.  
**paax-** *V.* to ask forgiveness by expressing and regretting one's mistake.  
**pana** *3S.REF.PRON.(1)* herself / (2) himself.  
**pandda** *N.* the dung of a horse, a mule and a donkey.  
**panthi** *N.* a young (family member).  
**panttana** *3PL.REL.PRON.* themselves.  
**panttana tooran suuthiyagetas gondalle cadanaáde shiishshós** *CIAUS.* We arrange a situation that people stab the shield in order not to hurt and bleed themselves.  
**para** *N.* a horse (pack animal).  
**parggull-(1)** *V.* to perform a funeral ceremony dance following the steps/ bits of the musical instruments.  
**parggulss-(2)** *V CAUS.* to cause someone do/ act or perform the funeral dance following the bits of the musical instruments.  
**parggulssa(3)** *N.* a funeral dance.  
**parss** *N.* a fermented alcoholic drink brewed from roast burly and the chopped green leaves as well as the stem of a special plant, served for guests after the burial ceremony and other occasion.  
**path- [pats-](2)** *V.* to cause , treat or provide medicine to someone to cure the injury.  
**pax- [pats'-](1)** *V.* to heal or recover after illness ,a cut or injury.  
**paxa [páts'a]** (2) *N.* alive.  
**peer-(1)** *V.* to tear sthg into pieces.  
 (2) *V.* to contribute or pay some kind of fee.  
**peeretha** *N.* the torn pieces.  
**pengge / wula** *N.* door.

**penth-(1)** *V.* to boil (coffee ,water or milk).  
**pir- / fir- /** *V.* to make an acrobat during the funeral ceremony. synonym. **hirth** **wodh-**  
**pire / fire** *N.* the act of making cultural acrobat.  
**pito** *N.* (1) an act of sweeping/ cleaning a room.  
 (2) a local brush or broom with a short handle (used to sweep dirt on the floor).  
 (3) dirt, any substance that makes a room unclean,  
**pitt-** *V.* to sweep / clean a room or a compound as a whole.  
**pix-(1) [pits'-]** *V.* to comb hair.  
**pixe [pits'é]** *N.* a comb of any kind.  
**pol-** *V.* to finish.  
**pooto** *N.* a woman who lost her husband and children and live in her house(family member) alone.  
**puge (1)** *N.* a bladder ( a bag-like body part).  
**pugg- (2)** *V.* to inflate(fill in ) the bladder with air like balloon in order to increase its size.  
**pulltto/ fultto** *N.* a spring water.  
**puuz-***V.* to scratch one's own or someone's face with sharp things to cause bleeding during the funeral ceremony show to show respect for the dead person. synonym **qaac-**  
**puuzeretha** *V.REDUP.* to cause an injury on one's face by sharp things(fingernails, spear and the like ) again and again.  
**puuzeth-** *V.RECIP.* to scratch with one another or each other.  
**puuzetha** *N.* an injury on one's face by sharp things (fingernails, spear and the like ).

## Q - q

- qaac-** [k'aatʃ '-] *V.* to scratch one's own or someone's face until it bleeds.
- qaada** *N.* a chance.
- qaar-** *V.* to take out cloth above the waist so that one can easily harm her/his chest and back during the funeral ceremony.
- qaar- ol** - *COMP V.* to undress or take out cloth and throw away (usually male).
- qaare** *N.* ape(wild animal).
- qachch-** *V.* to tie, to conclude.
- qakk-** *V.* to hit with leg (a person as a game or attack intentionally) or a hoof (of a pack animal to defend itself from the attack of a wild animal).
- qalqqissa (3)** *N.* an unsafe joke, that may lead into misunderstanding.
- qambbara** *N.* a farming instrument that is tied to the necks of the two oxen.
- qan77e** [k'anʔʔé] *N.* breakfast, a morning meal.
- qangg-** *V.* to curse using magic words wishing the death of the cursed person.
- qanggethi** *N.* a curse ( used with words of magic).
- qanth-** *Verbal ADJ.* to make something short.
- qantha** *ADJ.* short.
- qanxx-** [k'antsts'-] (2) *V.* to pay a debt in a form of cash.
- qanxx-** [k'antsts'-] (1) *V.* to slice, chop, cut into pieces.
- qanxxereth-** *V (Reduplication).* to chop now and then or do the action again and again.
- qara** *ADJ.* sharp.
- qareebo** *N.* soft drink (prepared from sugar cane chopped and ground together with roast barley and mixed honey).
- qashereth-(4)** *V(REDUP).* to tie repeatedly.
- qashett-** *V,PASS.* to be tied by oneself or by someone.
- qashettiya dhale** *N.* local medicine tied to the body of a patient.
- qasho** *N.* an object tied , a bundle of object.
- qas(i)** *ADV.* again ,also.
- qaxxar-** *V.* to cut thin protecting loose skin of a penis (of a boy) or a clitoris (of a girl) for cultural reason.
- qaxxara** *N.* circumcision.
- qayc-** [k'aitʃ '-] *V.* to attack other animal and a person with the two horns of a bull or a cow.
- qayye asho** [k'ájjé ʔafo ] *N.* (a piece of) raw meat.
- qayye** [k'ájje] *ADJ.* raw or uncooked (meat or other food item).
- qer-** *V.* to splint wood.
- qeriyo miishe** [k'érió miife] *COMP N.* a tool , like an axe , used to splint or cut wood.
- qeriyoba** *N.* something like a piece of wood that would be splint or cut into pieces.
- qillico** *N.* a punctuation marked by ( ; ) that indicates the opposite of the expression (CW).
- qol77o** *N.* kitchen (part of a room).
- qoodhe** *N.* throat (body part).
- qofa** *N.* thought.
- qofett-** *V.PASS.* to remember each other/discuss together.
- qoh-** *V.* to hurt someone of something.
- qol-** *V.* to demolish a house or a fence after the head of the family is dead.
- qole** *N.* a T shirt(cultural cloth).
- qomo(1)** *ADV.* up. (2) *N.* clan/family.(3) a type / kind.
- qomo** (4) share (5) gift given from somebody.
- qoncc-** *V.* to come out of the place of hiding ,to make the idea/something clear.
- qoo7-** *V.* to damage making a cut or hole on the head or forehead of someone.
- qoociqoooco** *N.* chopped fresh meat boiled with fresh butter and spice prepared for occasion or for patients as medicine (food item).
- qoodhe** *N.* neck (body part).
- qoomm-** *V.* to hug by putting one's arms on the body of a friend/lover to show his /her affectionate.
- qoomm-** *V.* to hug in order to comfort someone who lost his/her relative by death.
- qooq-** *V.* to become blind.
- qooqe** *ADJ.* blind.
- qooraaase** *N.* crow (type of bird).
- qopp-** *V.* to think.
- qor-** *V.* to fetch fire wood.
- qoxo** *N.* headache.
- qoxx-** *V.* to kick or hummer.
- qucc-** *V.* to wipe out (a drop of tear) or any drop of liquid on a table.
- quf-(1)** *V.* to cough.
- qufe(1)** *N.* a cough.
- quúle** *N.* a container made of clay that is used soup for feeding the bride and the groom.
- quma** *N.* cooked food.
- qun77a** *N.* a tool made of clay or bamboo (used to measure foodstuffs).
- quncuute** *N.* thread.

**quuro** *N.* a bird in black (and white) wild.  
**quruxxo** *N.* a curtain material made up of bamboo used to make partition that separates bedroom from dining room and kitchen.

**quxar(ss)a** *N.* porcupine(wild animal).  
**quxxarssa baalle** *N.* a long sharp quills that grow on the back of a porcupine.

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## R - r

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## S - s

**saasso** *N.* saliva .  
**safar** *N,ADV.* place that is given for guests to take rest after the funeral ceremony is over.  
**saho** *N.* illness.  
**sakk-** *V.* to feel sick.  
**sangga** *N.* an ox  
**sanggis -(2)** *CAUS V.* to castrate a bull in order to fatten.  
**santhé** *N.* cabbage(vegetable)with a long green leaves served as food with bread and injera after it is boiled together with meat.  
**saro** *N.* peace, no conflict ,fight or war  
**sarot-** *V.* to greet someone.  
**sayo** *N.* a divorced woman (kinship).  
**seer-(1)** *V.* to warn someone to follow the rule and regulation.  
**seera** *N.* law, rule and regulation.  
**selle pitale** *COMP N/NP.* an alphabet that does not germinate  
**shaafe** *N.* a river or a small stream.  
**shaaho** *ADJ.* the half.  
**shaakk-** *V.* to divide the whole thing into two halves.  
**shaakk-** *V.* (1) to identify or differentiate among the items given.  
 (2) to divide into equal parts.  
**shaako** *N.* a comma ( punctuation mark)..  
**shaaqanchcho** *N.* a chameleon.  
**shaara** *N.* cloud.  
**shaashsha** *N.* a roast grain (burley ,wheat, pea , ,maize and other cereals ) served with coffee as breakfast or anytime after meal.  
**shaate** *N.* a plate of clay used to serve soup for the bride and groom during the first one or two months.  
**shachcha** *N.* snow that falls from the sky.  
**shahaar-** *V.* to become pregnant.  
**shahaara** *ADJ.* a pregnant (human being).  
**shalo** *N.* (1) a yarn (used to make local clothes ).

(2) property, wealth.  
**shankká** *N.* hunting.  
**shankkaá yethi** *NP.* hunter's song.  
**shankkanchcho** *N.* a hunter  
**shankkan hayqqida asi** *CLAUS.* a person died during hunting.  
**shareechch-** *V.* to practice magic activities to deceive innocent and uneducated people.  
**shareéechcho** *N.* a witchcraft,a person using words to curse people.  
**share (step six)(2)** *N.* funeral acrobat.  
**share (step six)(1)** *N.* telling the pride (of the dead person ,wife ,husband ,children ,his/her relatives ,and friends ) until the mourners make a loud cry.  
**sheedh-** *V.* submit, hand in.  
**sheedha** *N.* a seat of different size made up of the dried leaves and barks of enset plant.  
**sheeno** *N.* a type of killing disease, lung cancer.  
**sheeshsh- (3)** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone to discharge urine.  
**sheeshshi** *N.* (1) clan  
**sheeshshi** (1) urine.  
**shekkere** *N.* a yellow fever ( killer disease).  
**shempp-(1)** *V.* to get rest.  
**shemppo** *N.* (1) soul; (2) a reproductive male person organ (body part); (3) a rest.  
**shemppo kess-** *VP.* to cause someone to die.  
**shene** *ADJ.* willing to perform an activity.  
**si77-** *V.* to listen ,to give attention , to hear.  
**si77i g-** *V.* to be quite, to say no words.  
**siidhe** *N.* nose (body part).  
**siiq-** *V.* to love.  
**siiqeth-** *V RECIP.* to love each other.  
**simm-** *V.* to turn back.  
**simm-** *V(intrv).* to return.  
**singgetiya dhale** *N.* to inhale the smell of local medicine into our lungs.

sinthe

**sinthe** (1) *ADV.* front. (2) *N.* face (body part).  
synonym. **som77o**  
**sinthe achcha** *NP.* front teeth (body part).  
**siphphinta** *N.* eyelash.  
**siy-** *V.* to listen ,to give attention , to hear.  
**shiiq-** *V.* to meet ,to come closer.  
**shoc-** *V.* to kick or hit someone violently.  
**shocc-** *V.* to bring food for people attending the funeral ceremony.  
**shochcha** *N.* (1) way of kicking or hitting someone or something violently. (2) the food brought to feed people attending the funeral ceremony.  
**shodd-** *V.* to pull out and remove a plant (especially ,it is commonly done after the death of a head of a family).  
**sho7-** *V.* to hit or kick someone violently.  
**sho7eth-** *V.RECIP.* to kick or hit each other.  
**shonkkoora** *N.* sugar cane, rich in sugar used to brew a soft local drink(beverage).  
**shooqa** *N.* uncultivated plot of land.  
**shooshsa** *N.* a snake.  
**shophpha** *N.* arm pit..  
**soo** *N.* home.  
**soo xade** *N/ADV.* lower side of the house.  
**som77o** *N.* (1) forehead . synonym **sinthe**  
**soo qommo** *ADV.* upper side of the house.  
**soollo** *N.* a piece of bread.

**soor-** *V.* to bleed through nose.  
**soore** *N.* bleeding through nose.  
**soqanchcho** *N.* someone who tells the negative of his friend to someone.  
**sro** *N.* peace.  
**issa** *3FS.POSS.PRON.ACC.* (It belongs ) to her / It is hers .  
**sug-** *V.* to push.  
**sugereth-** *V.REDU.* to push something repeatedly.  
**sugeth-** *V(Reciprocal0.* to push each other.  
**sukkaare** *N.* (sweet ) potato(with an irregular shape of a root plant that is rich in starch, served alone or other (food stuff).  
**sulsso** *N.* a very soft and delicious cooked food(food item) prepared occasionally.  
**suqq-** *V.* to make a local yarn.  
and then.  
**sussa** *N.* a long soft dried part of the bark of an enset used as a rope to tie different size of wood in building a cultural house.  
**suutha dirqgo** *N.* blood pleasure.  
**suuui gukk-** *N.* blood flow.  
**suule** *N.* leg (body part).  
**suuthi** *N.* blood.  
**suuxx-(1)** *V.* to bleed when blood vessel is cut.

## T - t

**ta** *1S.PRON.NOM/GEN.PRON.* I/my.  
**ta wolqqa** *NP.* my power.  
**tá wólqqay danddayda keena** *DP CLAUS.* as long as I could.  
**taani** *1S.PRON.NOM.* I.  
**taara** *1S.POSS.PRON.* The object(F) is mine .  
**taará** *1S.POSS.PRON.3FS.NOM.* my property (F) POSS.  
**taarike** *N.* history (the Amharic word).  
**taassa** *1S.POSS.PRON.* ( It is ) for me / (It is ) mine .  
**taássá gido** *COMP V.* Let me suffer on behalf of you(an expression of sympathy).  
**tal77-(1)** *V.* to borrow.  
**tal77e** *N.* (1) a debt, the money/item borrowed.  
(2) a process of borrowing.  
**tama** *N.* fire.  
**tama keetha** *COMP.N.* a kitchen.  
**tana** *1S.PRON.ACC.* me.  
**taani** *1S.PRON.NOM.* I.

**taas** *1S.PRON.DAT.* to / for me.  
**taássa** *1S.POSS.PRON.* (It is ) mine .  
**teqq-** *V.* to prevent.  
**tintilasho** *N.* a type of plant whose leaves cause itching or burn when one rubs on her/his body  
**ti7-** *V.* put ointment, butter, or hair food oil on one's own hair/head.  
**ti7etiya dhale** *N.* a local medicine used as ointment.  
**tira** *N.* chest (body part ).  
**tira shochcha** *COMP N.* kicking / hitting chest that takes place as part of performing funeral procedure.  
**tire** *N.* a liver (body part).  
**tire hargge** *NP.* a liver disease.  
**tobb-** *V.* to discuss with people.  
**toga** *N.* riding a horse or a mule.  
**tógá mehe/gámmá mehe** *COMP N.* pack animal.  
**togg-** *V.* to ride on a horse or mule back.  
**togiss-** *CAUS V.* to cause someone to be on the back a

pack animal.  
**toho** *N.* leg (body part).  
**toho biradhe** *N COMP.* foot finger (human body part).  
**toho kixa** *COMP N.* foot swelling(disease).  
**toho me7o** *N.* broken leg.  
**toho saho** *N.* leg injury(disease).  
**tokk-** *V.* to plant.  
**tooho(2)** *Verbal N.* a load or goods carried by a person or animal's back.  
**tookk-(1)** *V.* to carry on the shoulder.  
**toora qaraa** *N.* a spear with a very sharp pointed iron head.  
**tooss-** *V.CAUS.* to cause/help someone to carry.  
**tosse** *N.* a riddle.  
**utt-** *V.* to sit.  
**tucc-** *V.* to cover in order that something should not

come out or flow.  
**tukke** *N.* coffee.  
**tuma** *ADJ.* true.  
**tumaleéssa** *N.* a fat sheep/goat.  
**tun-** *V.* to become untouchable.  
**tuna** *ADJ (1) . blunt. (2) . untouchable.*  
**tunidaaga** *ADJ.* an out casted man due to committing a certain mistake or for touching or doing culturally accepted as taboo.  
**tunidaaro** *ADJ.* an out casted woman due to committing a certain mistake or for touching or doing culturally accepted as taboo.  
**tuumo** *N.* white onion (vegetable).  
**tuussa** *N.* a pillar(stands at the centre of a house and support).

## U - u

**ubba** *ADJ/PRON.* all things.  
**ubba wode** *ADV.* always ,every day, every time,.  
**ubbaba** *PRON.* everything.  
**ubbas** *PRON.DAT.* for everybody.  
**ude** *ADV.* up (direction).  
**udula** *N.* a mortar , a type of local utensil that spices are crushed when pounded by a long pestle.  
**udula mithi** *COMP N.* pestle (utensil) prepared from a thick heavy wood used to crush some food items in a mortar.  
**ufayss- [ʔufaíss-]** *CAUS.V* to make someone happy  
**ufayssa [ʔufaíssa]** *N.* happiness, Christmas.  
**ufayth- [ʔufaíts- ]** *V.* to be happy.  
**uldduuda(Kontta)** *N.* a local musical instrument.  
**ulo** *N.* stomach (body part).

**ulu misho** *COMP.N.* gastric/gastritis (disease).  
**uma** *N.* Omo river.  
**urqqa** *N.* mud.  
**ushachcha kushe** *COMP N.* right hand.  
**ushsh -** *CAUS.V.* to make someone drink.  
**ushshe** *N.* a drink.  
**ussi** *N.* heifer female young cow (domestic animal).  
**uuthi** *N.* enset plant ,a staple food obtained after the bark of the plant is scratched culturally.  
**utt-** *V.* to take a seat.  
**uunno** *N.* yellow fever(disease).  
**uuz** *ADJ.* greedy, who does not share her/his property with poor people at their reach.  
**uzze** *N.* a female sheep/goat that did not give birth to its young.

## W - w

**waan(\_aneé)** *INTER.* What shall (one be)?  
**waan(\_ideé)** *INTER.* What (happened to him)?  
**waan(\_idii)** *INTER.* What (happened to you)?  
**waan(\_idonaá)** *INTER.* What (happened to them)?  
**waá(nó)** *INTER (verbal agreement).* What shall (I be)?  
**waan(\_uute)** *INTER.* What shall you be?  
**waan(\_uuteti)** *INTER.* What shall you( S RESP/PL) be?  
**waase** *N.* guarantee.

**waasó** *N.* mourning (of a loud cry accompanied by hurting themselves with sharp things until the blood flows from their bodies).  
**waass-** *V.* to shout.  
**waat** *INTER. PRON* what.  
**waa(tanee)** *INTER (Verb agreement).* What (shall one do)?  
**waa(tay) [ waá(taí)]** *INTER ( Verb agreement).* What (are you doing)?/ What (is she doing)?  
**waatha pitaleti** *COMP N.* digraph (two symbols)

/letters given a single sound)(ch,dh,nh,,ny ,ph,sh, th ,zh).

**waa(to)** *INTER ( Verb agreement)*. What shall (I do)?

**waay-(1)** *V.* to face a problem.

**wadh-** *V.* to kick or hit someone with stick as a form of punishment.

**waretaa** *N.* a fight that takes place between or among a group of individuals that might cause death.

**wareth(3)** *V.RECIP.* to fight each other or one another.

**waye** *N.* a problem.

**wayss-(2)** *CAUS. V* to put someone in trouble.

**wiige** *N.* dining room.

**wode** *ADV.* time.

**wodh-** *V.* to kill.

**wodhathe** *N.* a famous hunter.

**wodhiya hargge** *COMP N/NP.* a killer disease.

**wodhónná hargge** *N.* a disease that does not cause death.

**wodira** *N.* a lap or thigh ( body part).

**wodra aadhdh-** *COMP V.* to pass over a girl's or a woman's lap consciously or not (is culturally taboo).

**woga** *N.* (1) culture or a cultural practice. (2) system, pattern, procedure.

**woga bonchcho** *NP.* a respect for a culture.

**wogaace** *N.* a craftsman.

**wogga** (1) *ADJ.* big ,the opposite of small. (2) *N.* Sunday.

**wogga biradhe** *N.* a thumb (body part).

**woy** *PRON.INTER.* what.

**wolqqa** *N.* power, force.

**wolqqanthi** *N.* lightning , flash of light , that occurs after thunder.

**wolqqantho** *N.* marked by (!) at the end of the imperative sentence.

**wonggire** *N.* a locally prepared box to put a corpse before a burial ceremony.

**wonno** *N.* gureeza (wild animal).

**wontto** *ADV.* tomorrow.

**wonttife** *ADV.* after tomorrow.

**wooc-** *V.* to make box from a big tree locally.

**wooss-** *V.* to pray, to beg.

**woossa keetha** *COMP N.* a church.

**woossa** *N.* a prayer.

**wora** *N.* a forest or a park as in Maze National Park in Gofa.

**wora kana** *N.* a fox (a wild animal)/(forest dog)

**worbba** *N.* a cheetah (a wild animal).

**worddo** *N/ADJ.*(1) false, untrue idea (2) *N.* a liar

**worddot-** *V.* to lie/say untrue.

**woy g- [woí g - ]** *COMP V.* 'what to say' as in woy g-ai 'What do you say?' or 'What does she say?'

**woyko** *CONJ.* or.

**woyko / haratho** *CONJ.* or, parenthesis marked by ( ) that gives additional information.

**woysse [woísse ]** *INTER.* how much /many?

**woz-** *V.* to ransom (to pay in kind or in cash to set something or someone free).

**wozana** *N.* heart (body part).

**wozana hargge** *NP.* heart failure (disease).

**wozana laamm-** *VP.* to lose her/his attention / concentration on the issue under discussion for s/he lost her/his dear friend/relative.

**wozanama** *ADJ.* courageous, brave (person).

**wora do7ata** *NP.* wild animals.

**wulata** *N.* a (payable) gift.

**wulawushshe** *N.* a liver disease (a killer disease).

**wur-** *V(intra).* to end.

**wurss-(2)** *CAUS.V(tra).* to make an end to something or to finish.

**wurssetha** *N / ADJ.* the last (person, object, time),final/end.

**wuuq-/ kaysot-** *V.* (1) to steal a property of someone (2) to have affair with someone's wife or a girl before marriage

**wuu(q)iss-** *CAUS V.* to cause someone to steal.

**wuurssetha galla** *COMP N.* the last day.

**wuussaaa** *N.* theft, the act of taking the property of someone illegally, without permission and the knowledge of the owner.

## X - x

**xaaro** *N.* a small clay jar.

**xade** *ADV.* down.

**xal-** *V.* to feel brave.

**xalahe hargge** *N.* a disease caused by evil spirits.

**xalahe** *N.* an evil spirit.

**xalala** *ADJ.* (1) only.(2) brave.

**xaloote** *N.* a plant with small leaves that grows around the house when given care by members of a household, used as herbal medicine.

**xammaate maathi** *NP.* fresh milk, a synonym of yeeso

**xapho** *N.* root.

**xaax-** *V.* to rap the dead body (with gabi or bullukko).  
**xeeg-** *V.* to call (by name ).  
**xiille** *N.* flour of maize, teff, wheat and other grains used to back bread or injera.  
**xiixa** *N.* the roast meat ,maize ,sorghem or milate and the like served occasionally (as food item).  
**xiixx-** *V.* to roast meat, maize, sorghem, milate and the like served occasionally (as food item).  
**xill-** *V.* to be honest.  
**xillo** *ADJ.* pure.  
**xillo ayyaana** *COMP N.* the Holy Spirit.  
**xinggille** *N.* an eagle.  
**xinqqa toora** *COMP N.* a spear (a tool of a hunter).  
**xoono** *N.* a victory  
**xoo7e** *N.* a hole ( an outlet for thread/yarn).  
**xoon-** *V.* to win, to obtain victory.  
**xoona (1)** *N.* a name of a male person.  
**xoossa** *N.* God  
**xoossa asa** *COMP N.* a woman/man of God.  
**xoossa bonchcho** *VP.* Let someone respect God .

the glory of God  
**xoossa imota** *NP.* the gift of God.  
**xoossa qaala** *COMP N.* the Words of God.  
**xoossa shene** *COMP N.* the will of God.  
**xoossi maaddo** *CLAUS JUSS.* May God help you!  
**xoossi maaró!** *CLAUS JUSS.* May God heal you!  
**xoosí minttéthó** *CLAUS.JUSS.* an expression of symathy for the relatives of the dead person.  
**xugunthi** *N.* a finger /toe nail.  
**xurqqayye** *N.* a long twisted rope made of fibers and other objects used to hit the oxen walk as fast as the farmer needs.  
**xurumbba** *N.* trumpet(musical instrument blown to remind the time for a pubic mourning ), also used as a musical instrument.  
**xuugg-** *V(tran).* to set fire/burn dried leaves or litter  
**xuuqq-** *V(intran).* to explode  
**xuussa-** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone to fire a gun or set fire on an object.  
**xuussaa** *N.* way of burning something/explosion.

## Y - y

**y-** *V.* to come.  
**uy-(1)** *V.* to drink.  
**yaa** *ADV.* there.  
**iya** *3FS.PRON.NOM /3MS.GEN.PRON.* she , his.  
**yaa7-** *V.* to take part in the meeting.  
**yaa7a** *N.* a meeting.  
**yaagano** *N.* a wedding ceremony.  
**yalaga** *N.* young, youth.  
**yambbarshshe** *N.* a sling with a net like material made of twisted fibers (used to throw a piece of stone to chase birds and other animals away).  
**yarshsh-** *V.* to offer something for the evil spirit.  
**yarshsho** *N.* offering something to communicate with the evil spirit.  
**yashiss** *CAUS. V* to make a person feel fear something.  
**yashsha** *N.* a fear of something to happen.  
**yashshanchcha** *ADJ.* fearful, a person who is fearful.  
**yayy-** *V.* to feel fear.  
**yéda (4)** *N.* somethig that is not fasten.  
**yedd-(1)** *V.* to leave.  
**yedd-(2)** *V.* to send something to someone.  
**yéddá agg- (1)** *COMP V /CLAUS.* to let a tied up person or animal go around freely.  
**yedeta** *N.* way of chasing.  
**yedeth-** *V.* to chase.

**yedhdh-(1)** *V.* to walk on foot.  
**(2)** *V.* to put someone's foot on another person's foot or object.  
**yee g-** *COMP V.* to say 'Yes' when called.  
**ye77e g-** *COMP V.* to warn someone to keep his/her dignity.  
**yeechche** *N.* a leaf of an enset plant.  
**yeeho** *N.* mourning.  
**yeeho gakk-** *VP/COMP.V.* to attend the funeral ceremony of someone.  
**yeeho gelo** *NP.* way of entering /coming to join the funeral ceremony, performing the first step in the funeral ceremony.  
**yeeho kare** *NP.* the place in front of the house of the dead person (where the mourners come together).Its synonym is **bale**  
**yeeho keetha** *NP.* the house of the dead person.  
**yeehó wode** *ADV.* the time of mourning.  
**yeehó woga** *COMP N/NP.* rules and regulations in the funeral ceremony.  
**yeeho zarbbetta** *NP.* a ceremony to show the culmination of mourning.  
**yeekk-** *V.* to cry.  
**yeeletha** *N.* milk mixed with water(food item).  
**yeell-** *V.* to mix some water with milk.  
**yeella** *N.* the feeling of shame for bad behavior ,  
**yeellat-** *V.* to feel shame, to feel hopeless.

**yeellay-** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone not to have or own something promised by breaking the promise.  
**yeeso** *N.* fresh milk, a synonym of **xammaate maathi**  
**yeess-(1)** *V.* to milk a cow.  
**(2)** *CAUS V.* to cause somebody cry.  
**yel-** *V.* to give birth to a young.  
**yenjjeelo** *N.* ginger (a type of spice).  
**yer-** *V.* to kiss.  
**yethi** *N.* a song and hymn (a Church song of praise to God).  
**yexx-** *Nominal V.* to sing a cultural song or a song of praise to God.

**yillot-** *V.* to become sad or feel uncomfortable.  
**yilloy-** *CAUS.V.* to cause someone feel discomfort.  
**yimpp-** *V.* to knock at someone's' face.  
**yimppo** *N.* a knock /blow at someone's' face.  
**yi7o gid-** *COMP V.* to become orphan (when parents die).  
**yiya as** *COMP N (V+N).* the coming person.  
**yoho** *N.* a dispute (on a certain issue).  
**yoóga** *ADJ.* kid, young (human).  
**yoot-** *V.* to tell or explain an issue in words in brief.  
**yoteth-** *V.* to take an issue of dispute to officially assigned elders or to the court.

## Z - z

**za77-** *V.* to crack.  
**za7o** *N.* a crack.  
**zaakko waanca(Kontta)** *COMP N.* a container of local bear in a pub.  
**zaala bambbare** *COMP N.* peppercorns(pounded using mortar and pestle to prepare spice for food).  
**zaalla** *N.* a huge piece of stone.  
**zaar-** *V.* to reply to a question, to return a material back to the owner.  
**zaaro** (1) *N.* change of money in pieces  
**(2)** *N.* a small and long piece of wood (for building a fence ,tent and a house).  
**zago** *N.* a place in front of a house for meeting and other purpose.  
**zal77e** *N.* trade, the activity of buying and selling goods.  
**zal77-** *V.* to sell and buy goods and serve people to exchange goods.  
**zal77e wodh-** *COMP V.* to earn profit from trade.  
**zamba samppa (Kontta)** *COMP N.* cultural plate.  
**zambbo** *ADJ.* a clever (person)  
**zanddiida** *N.* a bundle of sticks tied together and used to tie with the big wood and finally make a wall and a roof on top of a house.  
**zanzza** *N.* a towel like material prepared from the inner and soft part of *the enset bark*.  
**zare** (1) *N.* a relative.; (2) a lizard (a harmless insect often found around a house).

**zareth-** *V.* to revise ,to summarize.  
**zawa dom77etha** *COMP.N/NP.* a boundary clash.  
**zawa** *N,ADV.* a boundary.  
**zawa gakk-** *COMP V.* to grow to a highest limit of life.  
**zawa gakk- !** *CLAUS JUSS.* a wish for someone to attain prosperity/ success!  
**zemp-** *V (1).* to lean to an armchair to get support.  
**(2)** to get support from people.  
**zine** *ADV.* yesterday  
**ziqqi** *ADV.* down  
**ziqqi g-VP** to bow down  
**zhiidhdh-** *V. to stab with* spear (a wild animal).  
**zhiidha** *ADJ.* a child with malnutrition.  
**zhima** *N.* chat ( the leaf of a chat plant that energizes when chewed ).  
**zilaalssa** *N.* a song of mourning heard from the top of hills sang by relatives coming from afar.  
**zimethi** *N.* hump (a round shape body part of an ox).  
**zkko** *N.* back body part).  
**zomppo** *N.* a person or an object used to help people get support.  
**zo77-** *Verbal ADJ.* to become red.  
**zo7o** *ADJ.* red.  
**zo7o abba** *COMP N.* red sea.  
**zor-** *V.* to advise.  
**zore** *N.* a piece of advice.  
**zoreth** *V(RECIP).* to discuss with someone.

Total number of entries: 1416

