Descriptive Grammar of Saaho

Esayas Tajebe

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Esayas Tajebe, entitled: *Descriptive Grammar of Saaho* submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Linguistics) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Abstract

This study is about the grammatical description of Saaho, a language spoken by the Irob people in the Northern part of Ethiopia. The description includes phonology, morphology and syntax.

In the phonology part inventory of phonemes has been made with respect to segmental and supra segmental phonemes. Thus, the language has 22 consonant and 5 vowels segmental phonemes. Gemination of consonants, vowel length and tone constitute meaning distinction and are suprasegmental phonemes. In addition, cooccurence restriction of segments, syllabic structure and morpho phonological processes have been described based on distribution.

In the morphology part description and classification of words has been made by considering universal and language specific features. In the language nouns, verbs and adjective have been considered as major word classes, and adverbs, pronouns, determiners, demonstratives, postpositions, and conjunctions are minor word classes. Some specific components of nominal morphology include sub classes of nouns - proper, common; count and mass. Number: (Plural marking and singulative marking), Gender: masculine and feminine where feminine is the default gender. Formal and semantic gender assignment systems have been described. Tone plays an important role in the morphology of the language. Tone distinguishes gender in nouns. It also serves in case assignment as in nominative, accusative and genitive cases. In addition, nominal derivation involve different processes like affixation, compounding, stem modification, tone alternation, reduplication etc that are employed in forming different sub classes of nouns.

Verbs are grouped into four sub classes- class I both prefixing and suffixing verbs, class II suffixing verbs, class III reduced-verb form and class IV compound verbs. Class I verbs make use of affixation and ablaut process but other classes involve affixation. In addition description of verbal inflection and derivation has been made. The verbs show inflections for subject agreement, aspect (Perfective, imperfective, and progressive) and

mood subjunctive, jussive, imperative and infinitive. In the verb derivation: causative, middle, passive, intensive, attenuative, frequentative and inchoative have been described.

Word order the syntax of phrases (NP- Modifier Head N), PP – NP Postposition) and simple sentence has (SOV), and describing different types of clause have been made.   In addition, analysis of sentence types as declarative, interrogative, negative has been made.

Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviation

ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ALL	Allative
CAUS	Causative
CFOC	Contrastive focus
CMP	Comparative
CND	Conditional
CNV	Converb
COM	Comitative
COMP	Complement
CONJ	Conjunction
DAT	Dative case
DEP	Dependent
DF	Definite
ELP	Ellipsis
EPN	Epenthetic
FOC	Focus
GEN	Genitive
IPRV	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
INST	Instrumental case
JUS	Jussive
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
MID	Middle
NEG AUX	Negative Auxiliary
NMZ	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
PASS	Passive
PF	Perfective

PL	Plural
PLV	plurative
POL	Polite
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present
PROCL	proclitic
PROG	Progressive
PRON	Pronoun
RECP	Reciprocal
REF	Reflexive
REL	Relativizer
SGV	Singulative
SUJN	Subjunctive
TEMP	Temporal
1P	First person
1PL	First person plural
1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singular
3Ms	Third person masculine singular
3Fs	Third person feminine singular
3PL	Third person plural

Contents

Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis provides a descriptive account of Saaho grammar, a language spoken by the Irob people in the northern part of Ethiopia. The thesis tries to explore in depth the three major components of the grammar, namely, phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. In addition, examples of narrative stories of Saaho have been provided with literal translations to add up our understanding of the language from its discursive presentations.

This chapter gives an overview of the study. It provides information about the people, the language and general approaches and arrangements of the thesis.

1.1 The People

The Saaho speaking people inhabit the Southeastern lowlands of the Eritrea National State and Northeastern part of the Tigray Regional State in Ethiopia. The people are divided into six tribes. They are Asa'orta, Turwaa, Meniferi, Debri-Mela, Hado and Irob.

The total population of Saaho native speakers is about 223,000. Out of this, about 190,000 according to Lewis (2009) cited in Banti (2010:1) constitute the clans in Eritrea and about 33,372 are the Irob clan who live in Ethiopia (CSA 2009:65). The Irob is the second largest tribe speaking Saaho.

The Irob people are the target group for the present study. They are distinct from other tribes who speak Saaho based on their geographical location, cultural practices, religion and economic activities. The majority of the Irob people are found in Ethiopia but most of the other tribes are found in Eritrea[1]. The Irob people share most of their cultural practices with the Tigrinya as well as with Saaho speaking communities particularly Hado. They share some cultural practices such as wedding ceremony, singing and

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[1] Other Saaho speaking clans such as Hado, ʔasaawurta, Turwaa and Debrimeela are also found in Tigray Regional State but their number is very small. (Berhe 2000, Esayas 1998).

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dancing styles, clothing and food types with the 'Agame' who are Tigrigna Speaking (Tesfay 1993, Berhe 2000). However, there are also many traditional practices such as division of clans like belonging to *kíso 'larger clan division'* , *meelá 'clan'* and *ʔáre 'house'*, local administration system *ooná 'local chief'*, conflict resolution system like *meelat-aglé*, information transferring systems *wársim*, traditional dances *tillaatíle*, songs like *dide*, oral poetry *ʔadár*, and hair styles *rifoy* are some which they share with the other Saaho speaking clans. In addition, most of the Irob people are Christians (Catholic and Orthodox) whereas the majority of the other tribes are Muslims. Furthermore, the Irob people base their economy primarily on farming[2] along with animal husbandry and bee keeping unlike the other tribes whose economic activity is primarily animal husbandry.

The Irob people have their own local administrative district called Irob Werda, within the Tigray Regional State. They have three subgroups called *bukanytí ʔáre* 'house of Buknayto', *adgadí ʔáre* 'house of Adgada' and *ħasabalá ʔáre* 'house of Hasabla'. The people live dispersed in the hillsides and mountainous areas. The area is remote and unsuitable for farming. Mostly, in the rural areas, people do not have contact with other people who speak different language particularly those in the western parts of Irob in *werʔātlé* and *áraʔ* villages. Several children and women are still wholly monolinguals in Saaho. But, recently, Tigrinya has become a challenge for the vitality of Saaho. Many activities related to education, administrative duties, and marketing are mediated through Tigrinya or through both Saaho and Tigrinya. In addition, many Tigrinya speaking people have started to live closely in contact with Tigrinya speakers in some places like Allitena, Endalgheda and ɖawhan which is the newly founded town and center of administration for the Irob Wereda.

Within the Irob administrative district, there are seven sub districts namely: *mosi-ʔare, adgadi-ʔare*, *wareʔaatle*, *aráʔ, ʔaliteena*, and *awo* (see fig 1).

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[2] The Irob people were first pastorals like other clans, agriculture is a later phenomenon introduced to the people as a result of contact with the highland people (Berhe 2000, Tesfay 1993).

According to the area (Irob-land) "is estimated to 930 Square KMs (9,300,000ha) and its geographic location is situated between 14_22'N to 14_40' N and 39_28'E to 39_59'E" (see map below)."
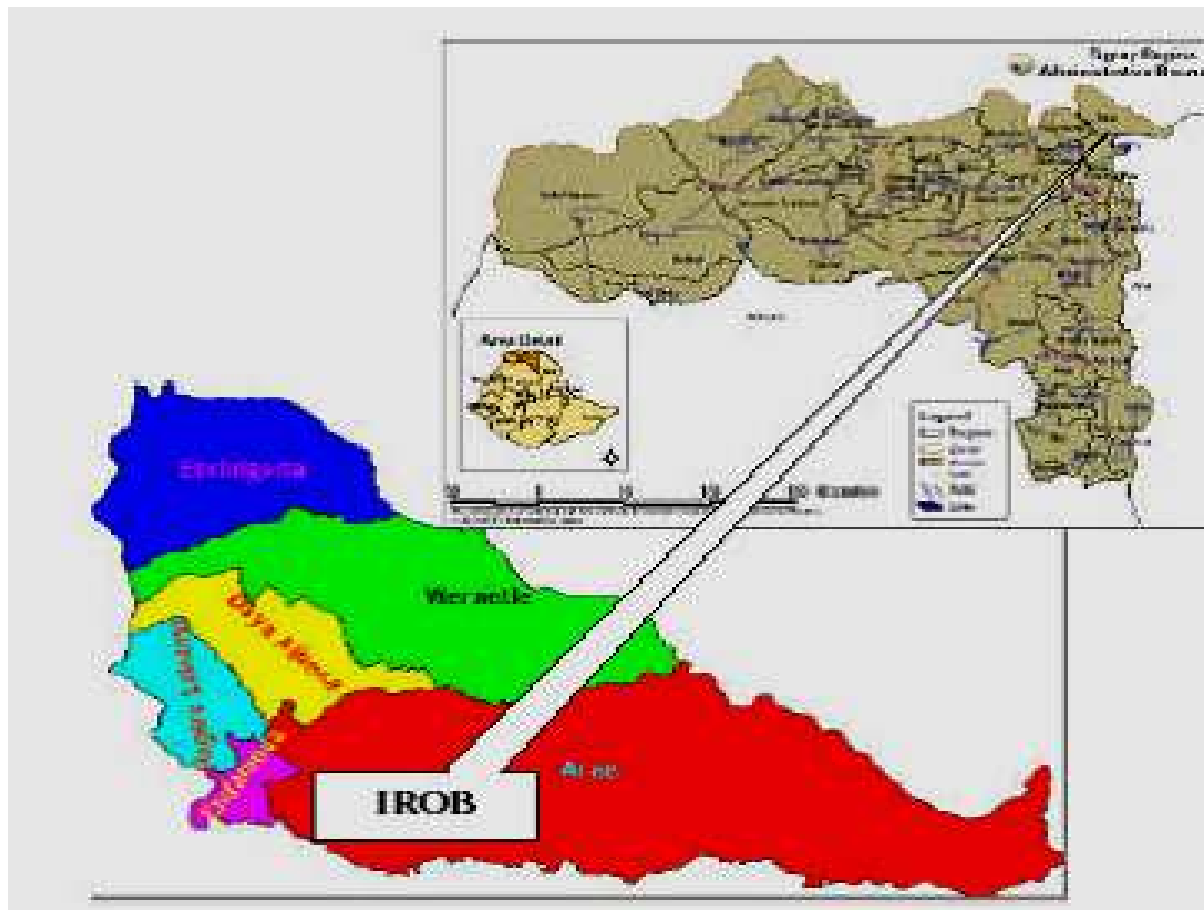
Fig. 1 The location of the study area (Tigray-Irob land)
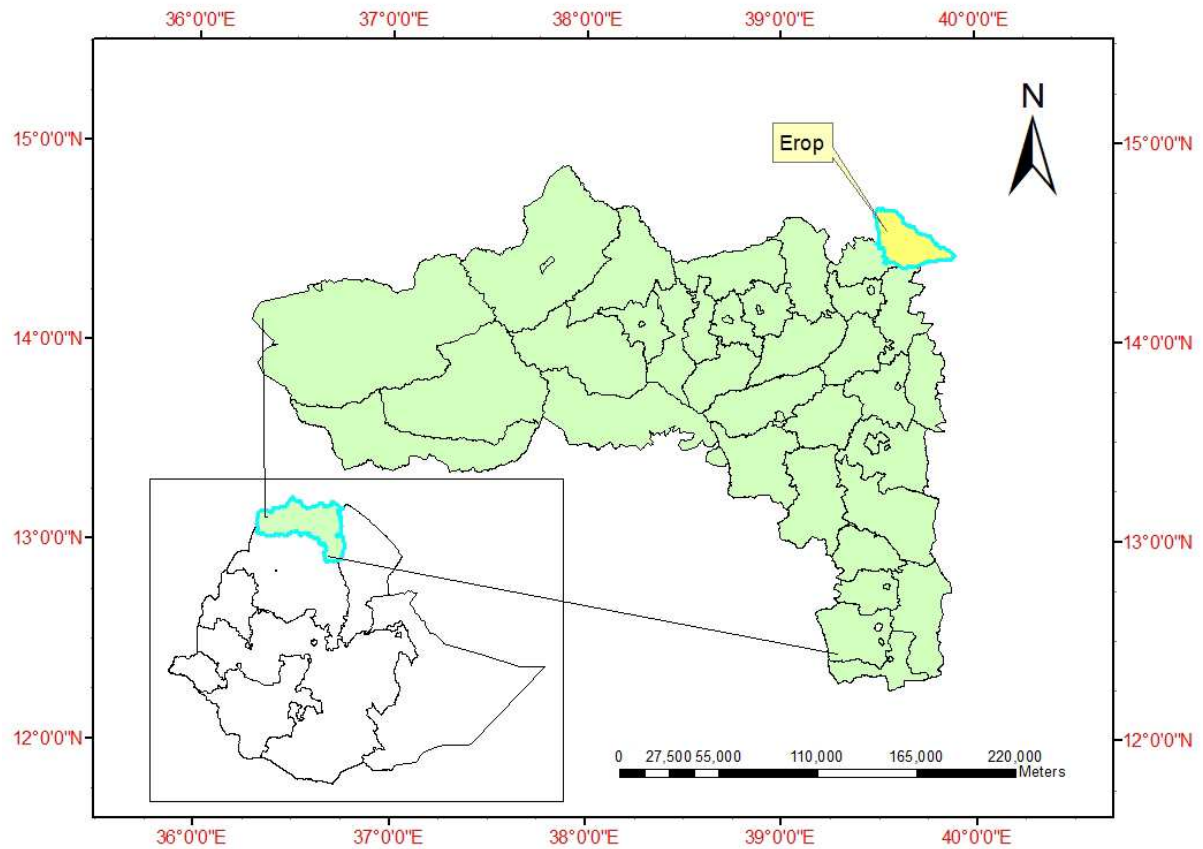
Fig.2 Location of study area Ethiopia –Tigrai Regional State –Irob

People have different views about the origin and meaning of the term Irob. Some like Cont Rosseni (1914 cited in Lewis (1958)) relate the name to Europeans and show the family genealogy of their distant paternal relation with Rome 'Enderias' and . Others say Irob is a Saaho term a descriptive noun derived from the Verb *oroba* meaning 'get in/ enter into a house' which is normally used by the speakers to welcome new comers (Tesfay 1993, Berhe, 2000). However, there is another argument which links Irob with Afar by Merid 1974 cited in Tsegay (1996:358) is stated as "…the Sāho speakers as the vanguard group of Afar migration toward the north and the high land escarpments."

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1.2 The Language

The Irob people call their language Saaho, but other Saaho people use *Saahot luqha* or *Saahot waani* to refer to the 'language of the Saaho' (Banti and Vergari 2010:83). They also state variant names in which the Tigrinya and Tigre neighboring people use like *Sāho*, *Saḥo*, *Šaho*, *Šaḥo*, *Šahu*, *Šoho* and *Shiho*. The Afar people call the language spoken by Irob and Hado as *[ħadaaf] ~ ħadi-af 'the mouth of Hado'*. There are also some differences found on the available literature. Most use Saho (Awash 1987, Daniel 1984, Hayward 1997, Taddese 1974), but few individuals use *Irob- Saho* (Renisch 1878), and *Irob* (Ewnetu 2005).

Most of these differences seem to arise from the individuals' perception of the language's status as an independent language or a dialect of a language. Thus, it seems awkward to use the name *Irob* which is known as the name of people who share the same language with other ethinic groups. Moreover, the Irob do not use *Saahot luqha* to refer to their language. A few individuals use *saahot waani* 'language/speech of Saaho' and *Irob-af* 'mouth/speech of Irob' for the name of their language.

In Irob, there was a debate among the speakers, which has been resolved in a public assembly held in December 2009 in Dawhan. The people and the administrative bodies have agreed to use *Saaho* as the name of their language, and *Irob* as the name of the people. Based on this, the currently developed school materials and documents, use Saaho for the name of language. In the present thesis, therefore, the term Saaho is used in reference to the language.

There are some dialectal variations within Saaho speaking communities. But, in practice variations do not affect communication since there is mutually intelligibility among them. Banti and Vergari (2010:84) mentioned three main dialects of Saaho with respect to the major clans. These are *Tarūʔa* and *ʔasawurta* known as Northern; *minifire* and *dabriméela* as Central; and *Irob* and *ħádo* (*ħazo*) as Southern dialects of Saaho. In addition, they have indicated that the dialects have considerable variations with respect to the phonological, morphological and lexical features.

They use Morin's (1995) figure to show the dialectal map of Saaho speaking areas. The division has four main areal clan distributions such as *Tuurwaʔa*, and *ʔasworta* as two variants of Saaho; *Dasaamo, Gaso* and *Debrimeela* as another variant and *Irob* and *Hado* as another variant (see fig 3).

When we look at the area distribution in figure 3, the majority groups, Tuurwaa, Asawurta , Minifire and Dabrimeela who belong to the Northern and Central varieties are found in Eretria. The Irob and Hado who belong to the Southern variety are found both in Ethiopia and in Eretria.

Saaho genealogically belongs to the Afro-Asiatic family. The language is classified as a member of East Cushitic by sub-family and Northern Lowland East Cushitic by sub-group. In addition to Saaho, the sub-group includes Afar, as the following tree diagram shows.

Proto East- Cushitic

Highland   **Lowland**

Northern

Oromo   Somali

Afar   **Saaho**
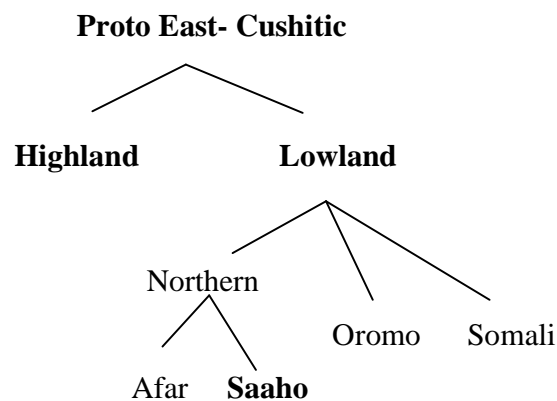
Adopted from Fleming in Bender (1976:43)

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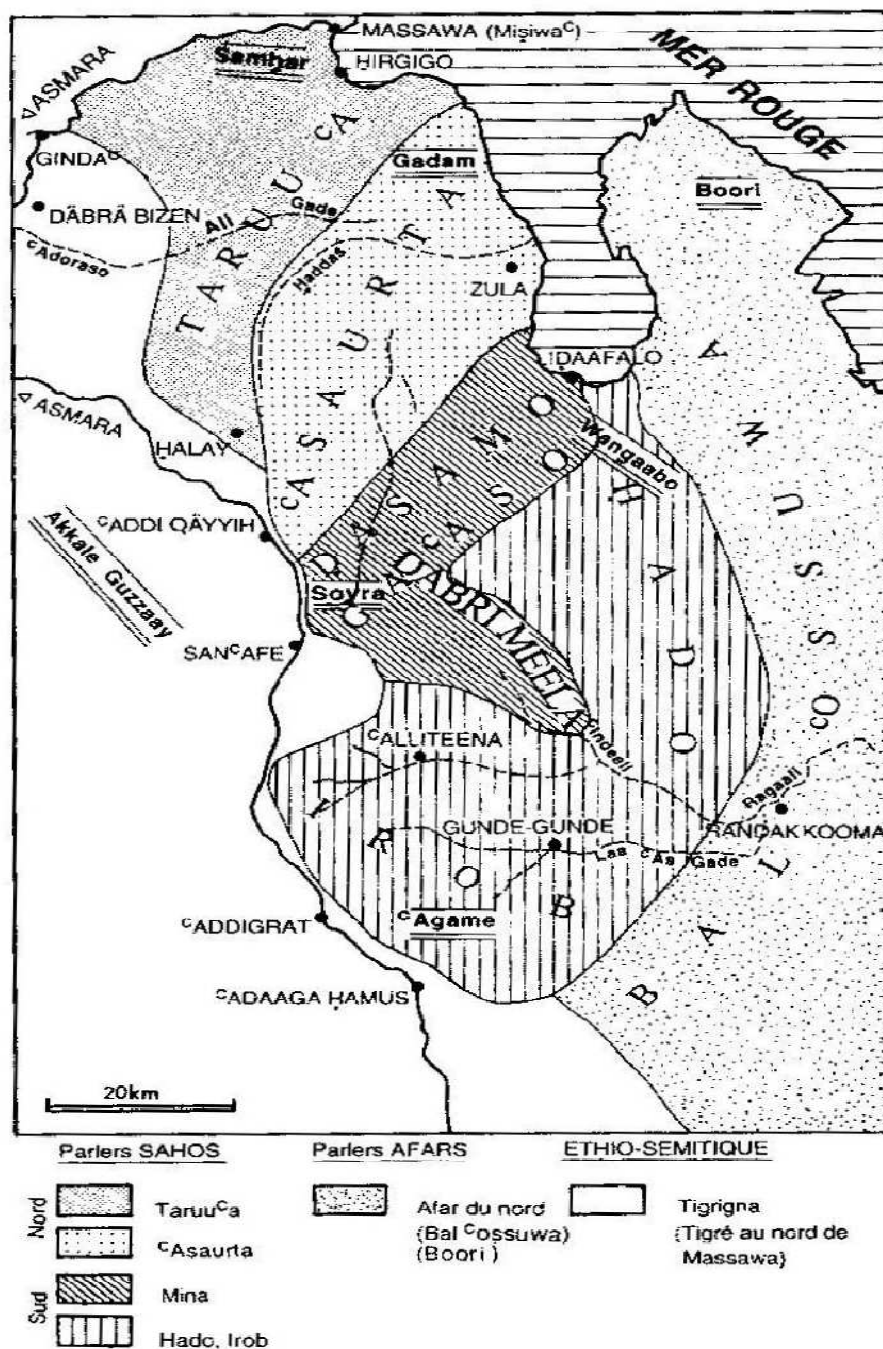
Fig. 3 The Traditional Saaho-speaking areas of Eritrea and Ethiopia (Morin 1995) taken from Banti and Vergari 2010.

1.3 Previous linguistic works

While carrying out this research, it has become clear that there is scarce of linguistic works on southern Saaho. Thus, most previous linguistic works written on the language mainly focused on the northern and central Saaho (Reinisich 1878a,b, Welmers 1952, Banti and Vergari 2005, Vergari 1998). However, there are few B.A. and M.A theses available at AAU such as Tsegaye (1995), Awash (1987), Ewnetu (2005) Selamawit (2008) and Tewodros (2011). These works do not consider tone since it is important feature of the language. They also focus on specific grammatical features. They are not neither comprehensive nor free from influence of the Northern dialects. Below we have discussed first the works on northern and central then these of southern Saaho.

The first work goes to Leo Reinisch, who published a grammar of central Saaho (1878*a*), and a shorter description of Irob Saho (1878*b*). He also provides a collection of different genres of texts (1889), and a dictionary with etymological notes (1890).

Welmers (1952) also carry out research on Saaho entitled "Notes on the structure of Saho" phonology and morphology of the language. In the phonology part, he presents the phonemic inventory of the language which he identifies twenty five consonant and five short vowels with their long counterpart. He also discusses tone on nouns which he calls stress. In addition; he discusses some allophonic distribution and morphophonemic rules of consonants. In the morphology, he provides a brief morphological description of nouns, verbs, and adjectives. He also gives some descriptions on inflectional morphology which are mainly gender, number, mood and aspect.

Tadessa Beyene (1974) describes the phonology of Saaho. Similar to Welmers, Tadesse identifies twenty five consonants and five vowel phonemes. In addition, he describes the supra-segmental features of the language.

Daniel Mahari (1984) in his senior essay entitled "The morphophonemic of nouns and verbs in Saho" tries to describe the morphophonemic processes, such as change of the vowel quality of roots, deletion of vowels, reduplication, assimilation of consonants, metatheses and epenthesis in nouns and verbs of Saho.

Awash H/mariam (1987) in his senior essay entitled "Noun Morphology of Saho" tries to describe the inflection and derivation of nouns including compounding processes. Concerning noun inflection, he pointed out that nouns are inflected for number and case. Other grammatical categories such as gender and determiner are expressed by adding certain modifiers to the noun. With regard to derivation, he stated that most nouns are derived from nouns, adjectives and verbs by affixing the morphemes /–ino/, /-ina/, /-aye/ and /–so/. Finally, he shows how compound nouns are derived. According to him compound nouns are derived by combining nouns with nouns, verbs and adjectives.

Tsegay Muhur (2005) in his senior essay entitled "Noun phrase in Saho" identifies the constituents of NP and their distribution within the NP. According to him, Saaho NPs consists of an obligatory head noun and other optional constituents such as specifiers and modifiers. In addition he describes the function of NP with in a sentence.

Banti, G. and M. Vergari have contributed several articles which focus on Northern Saaho. Among them, Banti, G. and M. Vergari (2005) "A Sketch of Saho Grammar" is the major linguistic work and reviewed here. In this article, the phonology and morphology of the language have been described. In the introduction, they put some remarks about the language and its dialects. They put two main dialects as Northern and Southern Saaho and show some phonological, morphological and lexical features that are used differently in the two dialects. In second section, they describe the sound systems along with the orthography that has been used in Eritrea. In the subsequent sections, they have described the main parts of speech. According to their analysis, they grouped Saaho words into ten classes as verbs, nouns, personal pronouns, possessives, demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinites, numerals, postpositions, and particles (interjections, adverbs and conjunctions). They provide essential morphosyntactic information about each class and sub-classes. For example; they put the verbs into four classes as: class I which are inflected by means of prefixes and suffixes, Class II that only have inflectional suffixes, class III which are stative and class IV compound verbs; and they show their conjugational paradigms. In addition, they describe the verb inflectional with example sentences. In the last section, they describe two word

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formation processes, derivational and compounding, which are used along with nouns and verbs.

Ewnetu Amera (2005) carries out a study for his M.A. entitled "Inflectional Morphology of Irob" tries to describe the inflectional morphology of the language. He claims that Irob is a distinct language from Saaho. This claim does not have any linguistic and sociolinguistic support. In his study he shows the inflection nouns and verbs. According to him, nouns are inflected for number, gender, case and determiner and verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, mood and person.

Selamawit Safisa (2008) an MA thesis at AAU entitled "The structure of Determiner Phrase in Saho". She has described the structure of with Noun phrase in the view of minimalist view. She stated that genitive construction is not only structural and not marked by a visible morpheme.

Tewodros Kidane (2010) MA thesis on Inflectional and derivational morphology of Saaho, according to him, nouns in Saaho are inflected only for number and case. With regard to gender, he states that animate and inanimate nouns are marked for gender differently. Gender on animate nouns is marked by independent words by lab 'male' and say female' but inanimate nouns show gender via their terminal sound in which consonant final nouns are masculine and most vowel final nouns are feminine. He also show two classes of verbs show their inflection and derivation. With regard to verbs, they are inflected for number, person, aspect and mood, but tense is marked by the auxiliary verb –**in**- as **ine** and **ane** which show the past and non-past tenses respectively. He show nominal derivation like abstract, agentive, and infinitive and abstract nouns are derived from nouns, verbs and adjectives by suffixes like **-ina, -ino** and **–aye** . He also treats some verbal derivational morphemes like -**s**- and -**y**- of causative and -**n**- passive markers on the prefix class verbs as infixes. He finally discusses morphological typology of the language.

1.4 Rationale of the Study

The present study deals with the Irob dialect which is one of the least studied and documented dialects in Ethiopia. An attempt was made to use the language in the literacy campaign program in 1979 using the Fidel script, due to political instability and other unknown factors the program was not successful in the area. It is only after 2009 that some textbooks and documents of oral poetry began to be written in Ethiopic script in Saaho. The language also had neither a published grammar nor a dictionary. Due to these factors, most of its speakers are not literate in Saaho and the language is considered as one of the least documented languages. Therefore, such a study will confer partly to documentation of the language.

Saaho could be considered as an endangered language. In the Saaho area, Tigriniya is dominantly used in all governmental and non-governmental offices including in the education sector. In addition, in most domains such as markets, churches, local gatherings, mostly Tigrinya or else both Tigrigna and Saaho are used. They use Tigrigna or Saaho lead to a mix of Tigrigna words though there are words already to express objects and concepts. Tesfay (1993:32) states that "now a day's Tigrigna words in Irob language are frequent". In addition, he pointed out that the present Irob culture cannot be considered as exclusively Irob's nor that of others. But due to contact with neighboring people the present culture of Irob more or less has included cultural practices from both Tigray and Hado, a neighboring Saaho speaking clan. Thus, the language and its tradition are in the process of shifting and mixing. Therefore, the study can contribute to the preservation of the language and the culture of the Irob people. The documentation of the language's grammar does not only provide the grammatical features but also the people's tradition and wisdom embedded in it.

At present, there is a new initiatives to improve the use of Saaho in some domains. The Irob people and the Wereda Council have requested the Tigray Regional State to provide possible support to develop their language and use it as a medium in primary schools, and in non-formal education, and mass media. Following the request, the Late Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi, also announced that urgent measures should be taken

concerning the language's development and its implementation in education sector (Meqalih Tigray, 2009). As a result, the Regional Government with the Education Bureau has begun preparations to introduce the language in the schools of Irob wereda. In addition, beginning from September 2012, there has been one hour radio broadcast in Saaho. Hence, it has been recommended that linguistic works such as reference grammar, lexicography development and dictionaries are essential for the language in order to serve its intended function. However, there are limited resources available since the activities carried out on the language towards such initiatives are very limited. Therefore, the product of this research could provide basic linguistic information that can be used to assist the curriculum experts to develop indigenous educational materials in general and pedagogical grammar in particular.

This study presents both language specific and language universal grammatical features of the language. The findings can be considered additional contribution to the literature in the study of Cushitic languages. The study can also serve as a reference material for other linguists who will conduct research on linguistic typology, theoretical linguistics and dialectal variations Saaho and related languages.

1.5 Statement of the Problem

As mentioned above, Saaho is a vernacular and has a limited function in the community. Though, a new orthography has been designed and is being used to write the language, there is scarcity of basic materials such as supplementary books, reference grammar books and dictionary. These are some of the biggest challenges and research gaps which require linguistic professional interventions in order to develop the language so that it serves as a medium of instruction and as a working language of the locality.

In addition, linguistic researches carried out in the language (Irob dialect) are very limited. They are not only few in number but also focus only on particular aspect of grammar or specific theoretical frameworks. Most of them do not use both elicited and text data in their description of the language features. Elicited data are mainly used to

establish hypotheses about the system of the language but they do not help to describe the language's features in full.

The present study attempts to fill in the research gaps by providing a comprehensive description of the Saaho grammar.

1.6 Objective of the study

The present study focuses on Saaho grammar particularly on the Irob dialect. The study has the following general and specific objectives.

The general objective is to provide an adequate grammatical description of the Irob dialect Saaho.

The study has the following specific objectives:

- To describe the phonology of the language (inventory of phonemes, allophones and their realizations; their distribution and frequency in words and higher structures; determine the syllabic structure and supra-segmental features)

- To describe the morphological structure of the words through identifying the various morphological units and features (identify the morphemes, allomorphs, their distributions and realizations; and derivational and inflectional morphemes; show the morphological processes, derivations, compounding, stem modifications.)

- To identify the lexical categories based on morphological, and syntactic criteria.

- To describe the syntactic structures of phrases and clauses

1.7 Methodology

1.7.1 Data Source and Instruments

The present study is based on data which have been collected from the Irob dialect in a series of fieldworks in the Irob area. During my fieldwork, I have collected data from informants who were mainly from the three sub-clans of Irob namely: Adgadi-ʔáre, ħasabbála, and Buknayti-ʔáre. In this regard, I had frequent contact with my linguistic assistants, Amaha Yohannes (sex: Male; age: 39; place of birth: *dayyá* in *ʔalitéena*), Wassie Sibhat (sex: Male; age: 43; place of birth: *ħallal-ʔasá* in *aráʔ*), Alema Gebray (sex: Male; age:40; place of birth: *ʔadaagá*), Adhanom Gebray (sex: Male; age:39; place of birth: *gamma-dáa*), Nuguse Suba (sex: Male; age: 54; place of birth: *araʔ-kóoma*), Doori Asgedom (sex: Male; age: 40; place of birth: *ɖawhán*), Abraham Hailu (sex: Male; age: 48; place of birth: *darró*), Berhe Zigta (sex: Male; age 65; place of birth: *Waraʔaatlé*), Nigisti Kahsay (sex: Female; age: 33; place of birth: *Adaaga*) and Tiħis Gebru (sex: Female, age: 47; place of birth: *gibid-dáwo*). In addition, I had occasional contact with many native speakers who live in Mekelle, the city of Tigrai Regional State.

The linguistic data collected in the field include both elicited and text data. For the elicited data standard questionnaires for linguistic fieldwork (e.g. Bouquinox and Thomas, 1992) have been used. Texts of different discourse types such as greeting, stories, and tales are collected directly from the speakers.

Both elicited and text data have been recorded with care to assure the quality. The recorded data have been verified, examined and transcribed on notebooks and file cards. Following the transcriptions, the translation of each item were made on a file cards. Finally the files were copied and put in different folders with their indexes for analysis and interpretation.

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1.7.2 Fieldwork activities

I have conducted fieldwork activities on three occasions in a place called ḍawhán, ʔalitéena, and in villages around it. My first fieldwork took place from the beginning of January to the end of April 2010. During this period, I recorded stories and elicited data which includes words and short phrases. I also made my preliminary analyses on phonology and check it with native speakers.

My second fieldwork trip was from July to September, 2011. During this period, I made data elicitation to check my phonological analysis particularly suprasegmentals such as gemination, vowel length and tone-accent. I have also recorded stories and structured data and transcribed some of these. I made my preliminary analyses on morphology and partly on syntax.

I carried out fieldwork on the third trip from September to December 2012. During this time I elicited and recorded more data. I also checked my preliminary analyses on morphology and syntax with several Saaho native speakers in order to developed the chapters on these topics.

1.7.3 Theoretical Framework and data analysis

In the study, the analysis for the data obtained has been primarily made based on descriptive linguistics. This approach is employed by determining meaningful arrangement of the basic word-building units (morpheme) and sentence-building units (constituents) from actual speech forms recorded from native speakers of the language and represented by means of written symbols. In this study the 'word and paradigm' (WP) approach to morphology as indicated in Matthews (1972, 1974), Anderson (1982) and Zwicky (1985) and subsequent works has been used to describe the inflectional and derivational morphology.

Chapter Two

Phonology

In describing the phonology of a language, establishing the phonemes is the first step. The phonemic description and phonological analysis of a language is fundamental to all subsequent description of the grammar. Detail study on the phonology of Saaho should be made as an independent project since it is very complex and interwoven with the morphology, syntax and pragmatics. In the present description of Saaho, therefore, I have limited my focus to identify and describe phonemes and allophonic variations at root and word level.

The chapter has seven sections and sub sections. The first section (2.1) deals with segmental phonology. In the sub-sections (2.1.1) the inventory and descriptions of consonant phones and phonemes have been presented. In sub-section (2.1.2) the inventory of vowels is presented. Section (2.2) deals with the phonemic status and description of supra-segmental units. Thus, in the sub-sections the description of consonant germination, vowel length, tone-accent are presented respectively. In section (2.3) the syllable structure are described and section (2.4) deals with morphophonemic processes.

2.1 Segmental phonemes

2.1.1 Phonetic Inventory of Consonants

The following chart shows the phonetic inventory of consonants. It contains sounds recorded in both indigenous words and loanwords form Tigrinya and Arabic. Thus, Saaho has 30 consonant phones.

Bilabial	Labiodentals	Laminal	Apical	Retroflex	palatal	Velar	Epiglottis /Pharyngeal	Glottal

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Stops	VL			t̪	t			k	ʡ	ʔ
	VD	b		d̪	d	ɖ		g		
	EJ			t’				k’		
Fricatives	VL		F		s			ħ	h	
	VD	β			z					
	EJ				s’					
Nasal		m	ɱ		n	ɳ		ŋ		
Lateral				ʎ	l̥					
Flap					r	ɽ				
Glides		w					Y			

Table 1: **Phonetic Chart of Saaho**

As shown in table 1, Saaho has consonant phones. Unlike in other Saaho varieties, in the alveolar and dental stop and lateral series, I have described [t], [d] and [l] as laminal and Apical. The laminal sounds are formed in contact with upper part of the teeth. In addition, in the guttural series the sound [ʕ] a voiced, pharyngeal, fricative, is described as voiceless, pharyngeal /epiglottis, stop [ʡ].

2.1.1.1 Phonetic Description of Consonants

Below, the description of consonant phones is given. In the first column I put the phonetic symbol. In the middle column, I describe the feature each sound based on the state of the glottis, the place and the manner of articulation. In the last column, I give example and gloss.

Phonetic symbol	Description	Example
[b]	voiced, bilabial stop	[bar] 'night'
[t̪]	Voiceless, laminal, stop.	[t̪áman] 'ten'
[d̪]	Voiced, laminal, stop	[d̪abán] 'year'
[ɖ]	Voiced, retroflex, stop	[ɖáa] 'stone'

[k]	Voiceless, velar, stop	[karɛ́] 'bitch'
[g]	Voiced, velar, stop	[gabá] 'hand'
[ʔ]	Voiceless, glottal, stop	[náʔlə] 'extreme big'
[ʡ][3] -	Voiceless, Epiglottis, stop	[ʡindɛ́] 'sand'
[t']	Ejective, dental, stop .	[t'ut'] 'cotton'.
[k']	Voiceless, velar, ejective	[k'áyse] 'priest'
[β]	Voiced, bilabial, fricative	[díβo] 'loneliness'
[f]	Voiceless, labio-dentals, fricative	[faró] 'message'
[s]	Voiceless, alveolar, fricative	[san] 'nose'
[z]	Voiced, alveolar, fricative	[zabanít] 'coffee pot'
[h]	Voiceless, glottal, fricative	[hɔrrá] 'traditional dance'
[ħ]	Voiceless, pharyngeal, fricative	[ħan] 'milk'
[m]	-Voiced, bilabial, nasal	[maál] 'paper money'
[s']	Ejective, alveolar, fricative	[s'urráʔ] 'nasal mucous'
[ɱ]	Voiced, labio-dental, nasal	[imɱfiʔɛ́] 'to be clever'
[n]	Voiced, alveolar, nasal-	[naħsá] 'ceiling of house'
[ɳ]	Voiced, retroflex, nasal	[aɳɖáħ] 'noise'
[ŋ]	Voiced, velar, nasal	[aŋgú] 'breast'
[l̺]	Voiced , apical, lateral	[l̺iħ] 'six'
[l̻]	Voiced, laminal, lateral	[l̻aħ] ' female goat'
[r]	Voiced, alveolar, flap.	[rugá] 'female calf'
[ɽ]	Voiced, retroflex, flap	[baɽa] 'daughter'
[w]	Voiced, bilabial, glide	[waaní] 'speech'
[y]	Voiced, palatal, glide	[yangúula] 'hyena'

Table 4: **Phonetic description of consonants**

2.1.1.2 Consonant minimal and near minimal pairs

The following lists show some (near) minimal pairs. The words are arranged in a way to demonstrate the phonological opposition between consonants that are phonetically relatively close. The pairs based on their distinctive features of voicing state, manner/and or place of articulation. When possible, the phonemes concerned are compared in initial, medial and final positions. I have arranged according place of articulation which begins from labial to glottis. These of pairs show contrast between words /b / and /f/, /b/ and /m/, /b/ and /d/, /d/ and /ɖ/, /r/ and / ɖ/, /d/, and /z/, /h/ and /

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[3] In previous works this phoneme is described as /ʕ/ voiced, pharyngeal fricative. But I feel that its voicing state, manner of articulation of this phoneme does not seem correct since, it is a plosive one in which it is modified by the eppiglotis an active articulator and the pharyngeal cavity a passive one without any voicing state the same as its fricative counter part /ħ/. Therefore, I describe it as /ʡ/ - a voiceless, pharygeal, plosive.

ħ/. Some of the pairs contrast in voice as in /t/ and /d/ ; /k/ and /g/ etc. other pairs contrast manner of articulation as in /b/ and /m/ as

1. /b/ and /f/
   a.   bire   'night of the previous day'   fire   'seed/fruit'
   b.   ʔabar   'problem/curse'   ʔafar   'people name'
   c.   ab   'do. IPV'   af   'mouth'

2. /b/ and /m/
   a.   bake   'to finish'   make   'to twist'
   b.   oobe   ' to descend'   oome   'became bad'

3. /b/ and /d/
   a.   baye   'bring-PF'   daye   'cut-PF'
   b.   ábo   'uncle'   ádo   'equal'
   c.   ráb   'die.IPV'   rád   'spill.IPV'

4. /m/ and /n/
   a.   make   'to twist'   nake   'to gulp down liquid'
   b.   laama   'blade'   laana   'head'
   c.   ɗám   'buy.IPV'   dán   'capability'

5. /t/ and /d/
   a.   taʔab   'suffering pain'   daʔab   'business/issue'
   b.   takar   'hung on'   dagar   'hair'
   c.   díte   'darkness'   dide   'traditional songs'
   d.   ʔatar   'pie'   ʔádar   'poem'

6. /d/ and /ɖ/
   a.   dáa   'cut.IPV'   ɖáa   'stone'

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b. bada 'die' V-IPF baḍa 'daughter'

c. sibbat 'reason/cause' síbbaḍ 'small bag'

7. /r/ and /ḍ/

   a. rooħe 'life' ḍuuhe 'bone marrow'

   b. Ɂuure 'aloe' Ɂuuḍe 'cheek'

8. /s/ and /ḍ/

   a. sáa '.enter. IPV. 2PL' ḍáa 'stone'

   b. Ɂaasá 'fish' Ɂaaḍá 'back'

9. /l/ and /r/

   a. laɁe 'to get hot/be hurry' raɁe 'to stay/remain'

   b. Ɂéera 'type of tree' Ɂéela 'well'

   c. bakar 'thirsty' bakal 'male goat/ ram'

10. /k/ and /g/

   a. kór 'climb.IPV' gor 'urgent help'

   b. manka 'spoon' manga 'excess'

11. /s/ and /z/

   baso 'forth' bazo 'vase'

12. / ħ/ and / Ɂ/

   a. ħárbe 'existing custom' Ɂárbe 'Friday'

   b. ħadár 'role/function' Ɂádar 'poem'

   c. áraħ 'road/passage' aráɁ 'place name'

13. /h/ and / ħ/

   a. hírra 'consciousness' ħárra ˋnight'

   b. baaho 'beggar' booħo 'firewood'

14. /d/ and /z/

   a. dóoba 'equal age' zooba 'region'

   b. dubba 'pumpkin' zubba 'over coat'

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15. /y/ and /w/ they do not occur intervocalic between identical vowels unless geminated or in consonant cluster preceding another consonant.

   a.   walla   'even'   yálla   'God
   b.   wardi   'breadth'   yardi   'cubit'
   c.   ʔáwwo   'leaves' juice'   ʔáyyo   'day animals go for water'
   d.   ḍaw   'noise'   day   '(you.SG) cut IPV'

16. / ʔ/ and / ʔ/ in the examples below the words seem borrowed.

   a.   yooʔole   'it got damp'   yooʔore   'he be hidden'
   b.   náʔle   'excess bigness'   náʔra   'hip of grass'

17. /k'/ and /t'/

   a.   ħink'o   'neck lace'   ħint'o   'baby'
   b.   k'aal   'word'   ħaal   'behavior'

18. /s'/ and /t'/

   s'ilal   'umbrella'   t'illal   'assured'

2.1.1.3 Allophones and conditioning

Most consonant phonemes have allophonic and free variant forms. The allophonic variants can be described based on the position and environment. Free variants occur due to idiolectal or dialectal differences such as contact with neighboring community. In Saaho six consonant phones **[β], [ɾ], [ɭ], [ɱ],[ɳ] and [ŋ]** have been identified as allophones. Below, I have described these allophones and their conditioning.

   i)   **Bilabial stop [b] and bilabial fricative [β]**

Based on position and environment /b/ undergoes spirantization. The phoneme /b/ is spirantized and is realized as a voiced bilabial fricative [β] when it occur between two vowels as in (21a), preceding a resonant consonant as in (21b). The spirantization of the phoneme does not take place when it occurs word initial, following a resonant consonant or as geminate as in (21c).

21. a. íba   [íβa]   'leg'
    b. óbsa   [óβsa]   'putting'
    c. abbá   [ʔabbá]   'father'

ii) Retroflex stop [ɖ] and retroflex flap [ɽ]

The retroflex /ɖ/ has a spirantized allophonic variant [ɽ] a flap retroflex in medial intervocalic as in 22 (a) and when it follows /b/, /ħ/, /ʔ/, /w/ and /y/ as in 22 (b). But it is realized as [ɖ], in word initial as in 22 (c), medially following /n/ as in 22 (d) and as geminate and in final as 22 (e).

22.   a.   [ħaɽá]   'tree'

     b.   [ɖawɽe]   'to guard'   abɽà]   'half'

     c.   **[** ɖáwhan]   'name of place'

     d.   [anɖaħ]   'noise, saying'

     e.   [anɖɖaɖɖo]   'green/blue'

iii) /l/ as apical [ḻ] and laminal [l̪]

The phoneme /l/ is realized as an apical [ḻ] and a laminal [l̪]. These allophones can be considered as unique to the Irob variety because such realizations have not been attested in the other varieties. The two realizations conditioned based on environment by the feature of the vowels that occur following the phoneme /l/. Thus, it becomes an apical [ḻ] when it is followed by [+High] vowels /i/ and /u/as in 23 (a). Its counterpart laminal [l̪] is realized when it is followed by [-High] vowels /a/, /e/ and /o/ as in 23 (b).

23. a. [ḻih]   'six'

    b. [ḻuye]   'to be hungry'

    c. [l̪aye]   'water'

    d. [l̪elleʔ]   'day time'

    e. [l̪oye]   'to count'

iv) The alveolar nasal /n/ as [n], [m], [ɱ],[ɳ] or [ŋ].

When the alveolar nasal /n/ occurs in cluster as second member, it undergoes homorganic assimilation with respect to the first member consonant. The place and environment that trigger regressive assimilation are bilabial /b/, labiodental /f/, retroflex /ɖ/ and velar /k/ and /g/. Below, in (24), I give the allophones and the environments that trigger the assimilation and illustrative examples follow in (25).

   24. Condition for the allophones of /n/

[m] before /b/

[ɱ] before /f/

[ɳ] before retroflex /ɖ/

 [ŋ] before /k/

25. Examples

a.	kinbiro	[kimbiro]	'birds'
b.	infiʔe	[imɱfiʔe]	'be clever'
c.	andaħ	[aɳdaħ]	'making voice'
d.	angu	[aŋgu]	'breast'

2.1.1.4 Phonemic Inventory of Consonants

In the preceding sections (2.1.12) and (2.1.1.3), I have shown the phonemes based on minimal and near minimal pairs and the conditioning of the allophones. Thus, Saaho has 22 consonant phonemes of which /b, t, k, d, g, ɖ, f, s, h, ħ, ʔ, m, n, l, r, w, and y/ are found in native words. The remaining 5 phonemes /t', k', s', ʔ and z/ are found in loan words which have been introduced into the language through contact with Tigrinya and Arabic. Most Saaho speakers use these sounds due to their close contact with Tigrinya. However, there are few monolingual speakers who have difficulty in pronouncing /z, k', s', t'/. Whenever, they encounter such sounds they replace them by related native sounds.[4]

In the table below, consonant phonemes of Saaho are given. Those which are less frequent sounds are put in parenthesis.

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[4] Example words that non-monolinguals and monolinguals pronounce differently for /z, k', s', t'/

	non-monolingual	**Monolingal**
a.	**z**abanit 'coffee pot	**y**abanit
b.	**s'**uura 'nasal mucus'	**s**uura
c.	**s'**ik'k'a 'mud'	**d**ikka
d.	**k'**afo 'container of grain'	**k**afo
e.	**t'**ut' 'cotton'	**t**ut

		Bilabial	Labiodentals	Dental/Alveolar	Retroflex	palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal/Epiglottis	Glottal
Stops	VL			t			k	ʔ	(ʔ)
	VD	b		d	ɖ		g		
	EJ			(t')			k'		
Fricatives	VL		f	s				ħ	h
	VD			(z)					
	EJ			(s')					
Nasal		m		n					
Lateral				l					
Flap/trill				r					
Glides		w				y			

Table 3: **phonemic chart of Saaho Consonants**

2.1.1.5 Distribution of Phonemes

All consonant phonemes occur in word-initial position. The glottal stop does not occur initially since it is phonetically realized to avoid onset less syllables. All consonant phonemes occur in word medial positions (i.e. inter-vocalically and in cluster with other consonants).

In the following, the distributions of consonant phonemes in word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions are discussed. Examples of geminate consonants are also provided.

19. /b/ ̠ Voiced, bilabial stop. It occurs in initial medial and final position. It has three phonetic variants, [b], [β] and [b̄].

    a.   bar   'night'

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b.	dibo	[d̪íβɔ]	'loneliness'
c.	abba		'father'
d.	debne	[d̪eβne]	'chin'
e.	garba		'youngsters'
f.	gulub	[gulub̚]	'knee'

20. /t/ - Voiceless, dento- alveolar, stop. It is produced when the tip of the tongue is in contact with the inner surface of the upper teeth and a secondary contact between blade and the alveolar ridge. It occurs in all positions and in the medial position it occurs geminated and as a second member in cluster. It has the following phonetic realizations as [t̪] in (a-c), [t] in (d) and [t̚] in (e).

a.	táman	[t̪áman]	'ten'
b.	ħáto	[hát̪o]	'help'
c.	ʔítta	[ʔítt̪a]	'mild milk'
d.	intí	[intí]	'eye'
e.	d̪áyit	[d̪áit̚]	'stones'

26. / d/ - Voiced, dento-alveolar, stop- It is produced when the tip of the tongue is in contact with the inner surface of the upper teeth and a secondary contact between blade and the alveolar ridge. It occurs in all positions and has the following phonetic realizations as [d̪] in (a-c), [d] in (d) and [d̚] in (e).

a.	daban	[d̪aban]	'year'
b.	ħado	[had̪o]	'meat'
c.	maddára	[mad̪d̪ar]	'master'
d,	árda	[arda]	'high place'
e.	rimid	[rímid̚] 'root'	

27.   /ḍ/ - Voiced, retroflex, stop- /ḍ / - has three realizations: [ḍ] as in a, [ɽ] and [ḍ̚] (see section 2.1.1.6).

a.	ḍáa		'stone'
b.	eḍḍeeḍḍóyta	'	'first'

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	c.	ánḍaħ		'noise'
	d.	baaḍo	[baaɽo]	'land/nation'
	e.	ibḍa	[ibɽa]	'mill'
	f.	sibbaḍ	[síbbaḍ̄]	'skin container'

28. /k/ - Voiceless, velar, stop. It occurs in all positions as [k].

	a.	kare	'bitch'
	b.	akat	'rope'
	c.	Ɂakko	'ear wax'
	d.	baska	'honey'
	c.	dik	'village'

29. /g/ - Voiced, velar, stop. It occurs in all positions. In the final position, it is realized as devoiced.

	a.	gaba	'hand'
	b.	ruga	'calf of cow'
	c.	ħugga	'neighbor'
	d.	ħárge	'castrated animal'
	e.	lillig	'sharp'

30. /Ɂ/- Voiceless, Epiglottis/ pharyngeal, stop. It occurs in all positions as [Ɂ].

	a.	Ɂinde	'sand'
	b.	saɁal	'brother'
	c.	báḍɁa	'aborted being'
	d.	ḍị Ɂ	'ability'

31. /f/ - Voiceless, labiodentals, fricative. It is phonetically realized as [f] in all positions.

	a.	faro	'message'
	b.	lafa	'bone'
	c.	méffa	'way/direction'

d.	kóɖfa	'curved/smooth nose'
e.	nef	'face'

32. /s/ - Voiceless, alveolar, fricative. It occur in all positions as [s].

a.	san	'nose'
b.	baso	'front'
c.	ħassa	'grey hair one'
d.	báɖsa	'division'
e.	[aras]	'yeast'

33. /ħ/ - Voiceless, pharyngeal/epiglottis, fricative. It occur phonetically as [ħ] in all positions.

a.	ħan	'milk'
b.	baħar	'eight'
c.	báħra	'sea'
d.	laħ	'goat'

34. /h/ - Voiceless, glottal, fricative. It does not geminated at word level.

a.	horra	'a traditional dance'
b.	sihil	'sediment'
c.	buh	'un cleared milk'

35. /m/ - Voiced, bilabial, nasal. It occurs in all positions as [m].

a.	maal	'paper money'
b.	numa	'wife'
c.	hímma	'name of disease'
d.	gúhme	'depression of land'
e.	fadam	'popular'

36. /n/ - Voiced, alveolar, nasal- it has allophones like [n, m, ɱ, ɳ, ŋ] which are caused by environment (see section 2.1.1.3).

a.	naħsa	'ceiling of house'

b.	waani	'speech'
c.	ganna	'name of season spring'
d.	ħifne	'full hands'
e.	fan	'center/middle'

37. /l/ - Voiced, dental/alveolar, lateral. It occurs in all positions and has apical [ ]]
and laminal [ ]] allophonic variants (see section 2.1.1.3).

a.	laħ	' female goat'
b.	bíilo	'blood'
c.	ʔíllo	'rust'
d.	saʔlá	'sister'
e.	bol	'cliff/sheer'

38. /r/ -Voiced, alveolar, flap. It occurs in all positions.

a.	rugá	'female calf'
b.	ʔáre	'house'
c.	ʔarré	'steaming'
d.	agraʔ	'theft'
e.	bar	'night'

39. /w/ - Voiced, bilabial, glide. It occurs in all positions as [w]. But when it occurs
inter vocalic, it is phonetically realized as glide vowel.

a.	waaní	'speech'
b.	awúr	'ox'
c.	ʔuwwé	'disease of vomiting'
d.	ɖaw	'sound'

40. /y/ - Voiced, palatal, glide- when it occur inter vocalic it becomes a glide vowel.
It does not occur as second member in medial consonant clusters (see section
2.1.1.6).

a.	yangúula	'hyena'

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b.	ħiyaw		'people'
c.	foyya		'zero, emptiness'
d.	ḍaḍay		'leaf'

41. /ʔ/ voiced glottal, stop . It occurs initial and final positions. Phonetically it can occur initially and in the medial position in loan words.

a.	íba	[ʔíba]	'leg'
b.	yooʔolle		'damp PF'
c.	siʔle [5]		'picture/drawing'
d.	másʔe		'fork for winnowing'

42. /z/ - Voiced, alveolar, fricative. It occurs only in loan words.

a.	zadid	'clothe'
b.	azzo	'sewing/basket work'
c.	azgáalab	'rabbit'
d.	hanza	'bread type'
e.	ħagaz	'help'

43. /t'/ - Ejective, dental, stop. It occurs in loan words only.

a.	t'iħlo	'type of food'
b.	saláat'a	'salad'
c.	ħunt'uk't'uk'a	'armpit'
d.	t'ut'	'cotton'.
e.	mes'k'et'	'trap'

44. /s'/ - Ejective, alveolar, fricative. It occurs in loan words.

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[5] In my data the feature of the glottal stop in medial position have the same phonetic realization as long vowel with rising and falling tone. Example:

lâʔ ~ **láa** 'cattle'

sîʔle ~ sîile 'picture/drawing' and,

náʔle ~ nâale 'excessive bigness' can be realized as and respectively.\

giʔiz ~ gĭiz 'name of a language'

a.   s'urraʔ   'nasal mucous'

b.   s'us'uut   'chicken'

c.   mes's'is'   'lemon sour'

d.   ħargas'   'crocodile'

45. /k'/ - Voiceless, velar, ejective. It occurs in loan words.

a.   k'áyse   'priest'

b.   mak'ás   'scissors'

c.   marák'   'soup'

2.1.1.6 Co-occurrence Restrictions of Consonants

This section deals with the distribution of consonant phonemes. It shows the clusters that occur in medial positions of words. In Saaho, only two consonants can occur in sequence in medial position of a word. Consonant clusters never occur in initial and final positions. Similarly, consonant do not occur in clusters in a syllables. Only a single consonant can fill the onset and/or coda of a syllable. Any consonants can occur in a sequence, but there are restrictions for some to occur as first or second member in a cluster.. In this section, we have shown the possible clusters of consonants and cooccurrence constraints in a word. Below, we have listed phonemes according to their place of articulation.

30

C₂ \ C₁	b	f	m	w	t	d	ḍ	s	n	l	r	y	k	g	ʔ	h	ħ	ʕ
b	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
f	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
m	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
w	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+
t	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−		+	+	+
d	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−		+	+	+
ḍ	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	+
s	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+		+	+	+	+
n	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
l	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
y	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
k	+	+	+	−		+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		+	+	+
g	+	−	−	−		+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+		+	+	+
ʔ	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
h	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
ħ	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
ʕ	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Table 4: **Sequence of consonants**

As shown in Table 4, all consonants can occur as a second member of a cluter except /ʔ/ and /y/. The glottal stop /ʔ/ occur with /s/ as a second member in loan words like *másʔe 'wooden fork'*. The glide /y/ does not occur as C2 in native words. The only instance where it occurs as second member is in a loan word with /h/ as in *s'ahyáa 'wild plant'* .

As indicated in table, the place parameter seems the most determining factor in Saaho. Thus, labials can be followed by coronals, velars and laryngeals. but when we look within the set, they do not occur following one another. Most homorganic consonants

do not co-occur in cluster. Therefore, I have grouped the phonemes in five sets to show cooccurrence restrictions.

46. Constraints on co-occurrence of Saaho consonants in cluster

a.   Labials: /b, f, m, w/
b.   Coronal stops: /t, d, ḍ/
c.   Liquids : / l, r/
d.   Velars: /k, g/
e.   gutturals: /h, ħ, ʔ/.

In addition, the liquids do not occur as second member with /n/, but /n/ can occur in C2 with liquids.

In Saaho there is also restrictions for some consonants to co-occur in a word in successive syllables. The restrictions are same as clusters with some specific changes. These are:

In the labial set the restriction is limited to /f/ and /b/. We do not find roots with these two phonemes.

In the coronals, we have found restrictions like /t/, /d/ and /r/ can co-occur in word roots like *díte 'darkness' , dara 'spring water'* and *tire 'strength', rade 'to fall'*. But, none of these phonemes /t/, /d/, and /r/ occurs with the retroflex /ḍ/ in word roots.   The restriction is that the retroflex on one group versus the alveolar stop and trill of another group.

2.2.1.7 Comparison of Saaho Consonants with other Varieties

When we compare the phonemic inventory made in (table 2) with the previous works on Saaho in general and Afar, we can see that the consonant phonemes of Saaho ranges from 25 (Welmer, 1952) to 32 (Banti and Vergari, 2010). But in Afar the consonant phonemes are 17 Bliese (1981), Hayward (1974). Thus, the consonant phonemes identified in the present study have shown more similarity with Afar than with Northern and Central verities of Saaho. The only difference noticed is the glottal stop which is not included in the Afar phonemic inventory but we have included it as a phoneme in Saaho

because it appear to contrastive as illustrated in section (2.2.1.2) examples (12 and 16) . In addition, according to Hayward (1974) and Bliese (1981), in Afar /ɖ/ and /r/ seem neutralized in medial positions but in Saaho they occur as independent phonemes in these positions.

The above inventory of Saaho based on Irob dialect shows significant variation from what is found in the Northern dialect of Saaho. Thus, it has been indicated Southern Saaho has 22 consonant but other Northern Saaho make use of 32 consonant phonemes,(Banti and Vergari, 2010:84). When we consider the difference, we can notice, that there are 10 additional phonemes that are not included on the phonemic inventory of Southern variety[6]. Those are: Voiceless Bilabial Plosive /p/, Voiced Labiodental Fricative /v/, Voiced and Voiceless Post-alveolar Fricatives - /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, Voiced and Voiceless Palatal Affricates /c/ and /ɟ/, Palatal Ejective /ç'/, voiced retroflex flap /ɽ/, Voiced Palatal Nasal /ɲ/ , Velar Fricative /x/, and velar fricative, ejective /x'/. In addition, phonemes like - /ʃ/ , /z/ and /k'/ are found in endogenous words in the Northern and Central dialects but in Southern dialect they are not found in indigenous words. However, /z/ and /k'/ found in loan words.

When we consider Northern Saaho words with such sounds like *zizale* '*honey bee*', and *zara 'seed',* they are pronounced as *dilaalé* and *dára* in the Southern Saaho respectively. similarly, words with /s/ in medial or final syllable are pronounced as /ʃ/ in Northern dialect. From this we can observe that there is a systematic change of the sounds between these varieties. Below, I have listed some examples that show systematic change of sounds in the two varieties.

47. Examples of words of Northern and Southern Saaho

		Northern Saaho	Southern Saaho
a.	/ʃ/ ~ /s/	diʃ	dis 'grantor'
b	/ɟ/ ~ / g/	fiɟjan	figgan 'coffee cup'
c.	/j/ ~ /y/	jabanit	yabanit/zabanit 'coffee pot'
d.	/ɲ/ ~ /n/	tigriɲa	tigrina 'Tigrinya'

---

[6] From the listed Sounds /p/, /v/, /ʒ/, /c/, /ɟ/, /ç'/, and /ɲ/ , are rare and found in loan words, but /ʃ/,/x/ and /q/ can be found with endogenous words in the Northern variety.

e.	/c'/ ~ /ɖ/ or /s'/	c'ik'k'a	ɖikka /s'ik'k'a 'swamp'
f.	/z/ ~ /d/	zazaʔ	dadaʔ 'rainy season'
g.	/x/ ~ /k/	baxar	bakar 'thirsty'
h.	/k'/ ~ /k/	k'abiʔ	kábiʔ 'leopard'
i.	/q'/ ~ /k/	maraq'	marák 'soup'
j.	/t'/~ /t/	t'ufeena	tuféena 'saliva'
k.	/p/ ~ /b/	poliissa	boliissa 'police' (rare)
l.	/v/ ~ /b/	villa	billa 'villa' (rare)

As illustrated in 46 (a- l), all words with the listed sounds are modified and made to adjust to the native phonemes.

2.1.2 Inventory of Vowels

In general Saaho has five basic vowels. The vowels can be more than five if we consider their phonetic status which are given in below. I use height of the tongue as high, mid-high, mid, mid-low, low and position of the tongue as front, central and back in order to describe the vowels.

	Front	Center	Back
High	i		u
Mid-high	e		o
Mid		ə	
Mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

Table 5: **Vowel phonetic chart**

As shown in (Table 5) the high and low vowel series do not have variant vowels but in the mid front and back vowel series there are variants like [e] , [ə] or [ɛ] and [o] and

[ɔ][7]. Thus, in our data, the front mid vowel is realized same as the central vowel [ə] or centralized and lower as the mid open [ɛ], but not as [e] except in some individuals who have contact with northern or central dialect. Similarly, our data revealed that the pronunciation of the back mid vowel [o] as [ɔ] which is centralized and/or lower like the mid open. However, we observe some individuals use both with native words which seems more of free variation. This variation could be an influence of neighboring dialects or languages since in the northern dialects mid vowels are described as /e/ and /o/ only.

2.1.2.1 Distribution of occurrence of vowels

Basically, Saaho vowel system is similar as in most Lowland East Cushitic languages such as Afar, Somali, etc. All vowels can occur at initial, medial and final positions of words. However, in the mid vowel series there are varied phones. In this description, we have considered them as phonetic units because they do not contrast meaning of root. Below, we have put the description Saaho vowels with examples.

48. /i/ high front. It is occurs as [i] in initial , medial and final positions.

a.   [íba]   'foot'
b.   [iná]   'mother
c.   [girá]   'fire'
d.   [akí]   'another'

49. /u/   high back; it occurs as [u] in all positions.

a.   [úli]   'any/some'
b.   [gúra]   'left'
c.   [gul]   'time'
d.   [dummú]   'cats'
e.   [ku]   'you (ABS)'

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[7] For ease of transcrioption, in phonemic transcription we use symbols /e/ and /o/ for the front and back mid vowels respectivelly.

50. /e/   Mid front vowel. Phonetically it is realized as [ə], and [ɛ].

a.   [əd]   'in'
b.   [ɖɛɖ]   'tall/long'
c.   [məʔɛ́]   'good'
d.   [ʔárə]   'house'

/e/ as shown in the examples is realized as [ə] when it occur as unaccented and as [ɛ] or [e] when accented. The latter two realizations seem free variations due to dialect.

51. /o/ Mid back vowel. Phonetically it is realized as [ɔ].

a.   [ɔnná]   'leader/chief'
b.   [bɔ́l]   'cliff'
c.   [alɔ́]   'roased bean'

52. /a/ low central vowel. Phonetically it is realized as [a]

a.   [abba]   'father'
b.   [baɖa]   'daghter'
c.   [fəra]   'finger'

2.1.2.2 Minimal pairs for vowel phonemes

Below minimal pairs and the distribution of the basic vowels of Saaho is given. The vowels can occur contrastive at word initial, medial and final positions.

53. /i/ and /u/
    a.   illa   'salty water'   ulla   'mother in child birth'
    b.   sige   'settle'   suge   'to wait/stay'
    c.   liħ   'six'   luħ   'small plant type'
54. / e/ and / o/
    a.   ger   'bottom'   gor   'urgent help'
    b.   ʔílle   'unfolding'   ʔíllo   'rust'

55. /u/ and / o/

    a.   ure   'to heal'   ore   'to curve/thittle'

    b.   gumma 'bird type'   gomma 'tyre'

56. /i/   and /a/

    a.   írro   'children'   árro   'biting by animal'

    b.   kiré   'chalk'   kare   'bitch of dog'

    c.   addí   'heifer'   ádda   'inside'

57. / e/ and /a/

    a.   édda   'deserve'   ádda   'inside'

    b.   beye   'to take'   baye   'to raid'

    c.   hórre 'a foolish one'   horra   'type of dance'

58. /a/ and /o/

    a.   are   'to bit'   ore   'to curve/thittle'

    b.   tay   'this'   toy   'that'

59. /u/ and /a/

    a.   úla   'direction'   ala   'goats'

    b.   bulé   'germinate'   bale   'to go up ward'

    c.   búllo   'animal colour'   bállo   'father in law'

60. /i/ and /e/

    a.   ise   'to make'   eyse   'be better'

    b.   dis   'guarantee'   des   ' land not grazed'

61. /i/ and /o/

    b. ise   'to make'   ose   'to add'

    c. sile   'to grow new leaf'   sole   'to roast meat'

62. /e/ and /u/

    a. beye   'to take'   buye   '

    b. ger   'low'   gur   'want'

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2.1.2.3 Vowel Phonemes

From the minimal pairs stated in section (2.1.2.2), the mid vowels have different realizations. The front mid /e/ is realized as [ə] and [ɛ] and the back mid vowel /o/ is realized as [ɔ]. Therefore, Saaho has five basic vowel phonemes. These are /i, u, e, o, a/. All the five vowels can have different qualities. They can be long and/or bear tonal accent (see the sections in 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 below).

	Front	Center	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	o	
Low		a	

Table 6: **Vowel chart of Saaho**

2.1.2.4 Co-occurrence of Vowels

Two different vowels do not occur in same syllable in saaho. Most words have similar vowels in their roots. But there are also roots with different vowels. In the table below the co-occurrence of vowels in Saaho words in general is given.

V1 \ V2	i	u	e	o	a
I	rimid 'root'	-	dite 'darkness'	biso	gira 'fire'
U	uli 'some'	ħuluf 'hand part'	duhe	bulo	subaħ 'butter'
E		-	sele 'to	ʔero	Fera
O	korim 'ladder'	-	ose 'to add'	gomod 'stick'	geɖon 'traveler'
A	radid 'beard'	ʔagut 'cadging'	ware 'news'	laʔo	daban year'

Table 7: Vowel cooccurrence in words

From the table, The roots may have similar vowel like /i-i/ /u-u/ etc and different vowels /a-u/ ' as in as in, / o-o/, /a-a/ ', /a-i/ '/u-a/. But it can be seen that there is co-occurrence restriction. Thus, the vowel /u/ does not co-occur as a second segment in words except with /a/. This can be stated as the co occurrence of vowel /u/ like /i-u/, / e-u/, and / o-u/ seems constrained in Saaho words.

2.2 Suprasegmentals

2.2.1 Consonants gemination

According to the data obtained almost all consonants can be geminated lexically except /h, ħ, ʔ, ʕ,/[8]. However, due to morphophonemic processes, they can occur as geminate consonant in medial position as shown in the examples in foot note (8), (see also section 2.4.2.1). Geminate consonants do not occur in the initial and final position of a word in Saaho. They occur only in medial position of a word. Germination in Saaho constitutes distinctiveness in words and can be considered as phonemic feature.

63. Minimal pairs geminated and non-geminated consonants

a.	/ħúgga/	'neighbor'	/ħugá/	'drainage'
b.	/íḍḍe /	'length'	/íḍe/	'tattoo'
c.	/sarrá/	'tail'	/sára/	'cloth'
d.	/karrá/	'knife'	/kará/	'statue'
e.	/hayyé/	'pay attention'	/haye/	'to put on'
f.	/abbá/	'father'	/abá/	'do-IPF'

2.2.2 Vowel Length

In Saaho the length could be phonemic or phonological (distributional). I have identified two surface realizations of long vowels, as underlying long vowels and

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[8] These sounds occur geminated at phonetic level across word boundary where –t a genitive case marker is assimilated to the first consonant of the head noun. as in *moosat-ʔáre ~ moosaʔ-ʔáre 'church'. They also* occur geminated in derivations when nouns like *saħħimá 'shaking milk'* derived from verb *saħ- 'to shake'* and in deriving attenuative stems like *ħaħħabé 'to leave a bit'* and a ʔʔaré *'to bite a bit'* from *ħabe 'to leave'* and *are 'to bite'* respectively. In addition, in some atrributive form of numerals like *baħħara 'eight'* is formed from base *baħar 'eight'*.

sequences of two identical vowels. In order to distinguish this, I use mora rather than syllable as a unit of analysis. Based on mora, I consider long vowels as two segments unlike in the syllable where they are treated as single segment. The same proposal is made by Banti (1998), Hayward (1983), and Fumer (1997).

Hayward (1983) states when contrast in length occur in a language, it is necessary to decide whether the length is an inherent feature or represents a sequence of two identical vowels. Based on the my data, first I have shown the distribution to distinguish short from underlying long vowels. Next, I have tried to show the distinction underlying long vowels from sequences of two identical vowels (see also section 3.4.2.2).

Below, in 65 (a - e), I give examples of short and underlying long vowels in verbs of imperative forms. Here wI have tried to show the two realizations of the medial vowels of the root verbs with respect 2nd person singular and plural imperative forms.

64. words with short and underlying long vowel

a. ħáb   '(You.SG) leave/quit'   ħáb-a   '(You.PL) leave/quit'
b. fár   '(YOU.SG) send'   fár-a   '(YOU.PL) send'
c. ɖám   '(You.SG) buy'   ɖáam-a   '(You.PL) buy'
d. bét '   (you.SG) eat'   béet-a   '(You.PL) eat'
e. sók   '(You.SG) twist'   sóok-a   'You.PL) twist'

As in 65 (a and b) the root vowels in *ħab '(you.SG) leave'* and *far 'You.SG send'* are short. The root vowels in the 2nd singular imperative verbs remain the same when the plural marker –a is suffixed as *ħaba '(You.PL) leave'* and *fera '(You.PL) send'*. But in 65 (c - e) the root vowels are realized as short in the 2nd person singular imperative form as in ɖ*ám '(YOU.SG)buy' bét '(You.SG)eat' sók '(You.SG) twist'*. Unlike the verb form in 65 (a and b), the root vowels alternate in the 2nd plural imperative form with the suffix –a as in ɖ*áama '(You.Pl)buy', béeta '(You.PL)eat' sóoka '(You.PL)twisted'*. The root vowels are realized as long *aa* , *ee* and *oo* respectively.

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From this, we can deduce that there is distinction between short and underlying long vowels. The short root vowels do not alternate but the underlying long vowels have two realizations long and short in the singular and plural imperative forms respectively.

Below, I have put words with sequences of two identical vowels in 66 (a and b). I have tried to show their distinction with the underlying long vowels stated above in 65 (c - e).

65. a. soо̄l   '(You.SG) stand up'   soól-a 'You.PL) stand up'

     b. maād   '(You.SG) reach'   maád-a 'You.PL) reach'

When we compare the root vowels in the words with underlying and sequence of two identical vowels in the 2nd singular imperative, words with underlying long vowels are realized as short but words with sequence of two identical vowels are long as in 66 (a and b) i.e. *soо̄l '(You.SG) stand up.'*and *maād '(You.SG) reach'*. Similarly, the root vowels in the plural imperative forms remain the same when the suffix –a is added as *soóla '(You.PL) stand up'* and *maáda '(You.PL) reach'*. Here, I have noticed that words that have sequence of two identical root vowels do not alternate in their distiribution with respect to inflectional suffix but those with underlying long vowels can be realized as short or long. This difference can be used to distinguish sequence of two identical vowels from the underlying long vowels. We considered the long vowels in 66 (a and b) as sequences of two identical vowels because the do not alternate, but those in 65 (c - e) as underlying long vowels because they show alternation in their root vowel. In addition, verbs with sequence of two identical vowels in their root remain unchanged when inflectional suffixes such as –te added as in *soolte 'she/you stand PF'; maadte 'she/you reach.PF'* but those with underlying long vowel occur as short in *sokte 'she/you twisted'* , *bette 'she/you ate'*. Therefore, unlike the underlying long vowels, sequences of two identical vowels do not get shorten before a single consonant and before sequence of two consonants.

In addition, sequences of identical vowels can be syllabified as two syllabic morae but the underlying long vowels as single syllable. Words like */maāl/ 'money' /buūn/*

'coffee', etc are sequence of two short vowels where the two vowels are associated to two tone bearing units or two morae. Thus, they are syllabified as having two syllables like */ma. al/, /bu.un/* . Similarly the verbs described above have three syllabic morae as */so.ol.e/* and */so.ol.te/* . Furthermore, we have similar consideration with words that have sequence of two short but surface long vowel that occur medially followed by geminated consonant like *me.ér.ra /'old'* and consonant clusters like */ba.án.to/ 'kind of vestal rope /sinew/tendon'*. In general, the occurrence of sequence of two short vowels seems due to morphophonemic process which has undergone deletion of a consonant such as the glides /y/ or /w/ as in *saānam 'that they entre'* and *yaānam 'that they say'*. Therefore, we have taken the above issue as distinguishing criteria to differentiate underlying long vowels from sequence of two short vowels. Thus, short and underlying long vowels can be considered as single syllabic mora. But the sequence of two identical vowel as two syllabic mora.

In Saaho, vowel length is contrastive. This can be described by minimal pairs. The pairs that have different long vowels and same vowel with contrast for feature long and short.

2.2.2.1 Minimal Pairs within Long Vowels

There are few words that are found as minimal or near minimal pairs with long vowels in Saaho. Below, we have tried to list examples 66.

66. a) /ee/ vs /ii/

   meela   'clan'   miila   'decor'

   b) /aa/ vs /uu/

   maado   'reaching'   muudo '

   c) /ee/ vs /aa/

   deesa   'blocking'   daasa   'shelter'

   beeħa   'a day after'   baaħa   'needy'

d) /oo/ vs /ee/

       doore   'to choose'   deere   'to cry'

e) /oo/ vs /aa/

       sool   'stand/errect'   saar   'container'

f) /ii/ vs /uu/

       biile   'to bleed'   buule   'to germinate'

2.2.2.2 Minimal Pairs with Long and Short Contrast

In some words of Saaho, inherent long vowels and their short counterparts lead to meaning difference in a word. Therefore, vowel length in Saaho is phonemic .

    67. Examples of minimal or near minimal pairs

a.   /ii/ vs /i/

      biile   'to bleed'   bile   'to appeared new moon'

b.   /aa/ vs /a/

      ḍaame   'to buy'   ḍame 'to dissolve'

      faro   'milk and blood mixture'   faro   'message'

c.   /oo/ vs /o/

      sooko   'twist'   soko   'rareness'

      soono   'dream'   sono   'direction'

d.   /uu/ vs /u/

      súume   'poison'   summe 'name of a person'

2.2.2.3 Distribution of Long Vowels

As it has been pointed out Saaho permits long vowels to occur in all positions. But as table below shows not all vowels are allowed in the initial position since we do not find Saaho words with initial long /ii-/, and /uu-/ vowels. Thus, [+High] long vowels

do not occur in the initial position. The occurrence of long vowels in different positions of a word.

Vowel Type	Initial	Medial	Final
ii	----	biilo 'blood'	tii 'one that NOM'
uu	-----	buun 'coffee'	---
aa	aabole 'young cow'	ħaal 'behavior'	ɖáa 'stone'
ee	eeɖege 'I knew'	leema 'ram'	edee 'I went'
oo	oobbe 'I heard'	rooħè 'life'	too 'that far away'

Table 8: co-occurrence of Long Vowels

2.2.3 Tone-accent

In describing Saaho, we have stated that the language is tone-accent rather than sress-accent. According to Hyman (2006:237) has proposed criteria for typological classification of languages on the bases of prosodic features. The features of Tone-accent languages are:

i) A system whose underlying prosody is abstractly different from surface realizations.
ii) A system which combines tone and stress.
iii) A system which has restricted or privative tone (e.g. /H/ vs. 0).

Similar claims can be found in Appleyard (1991), Banti (1988a) and Hayward (1991) who states that most Cushitic languages can be considered as tonal accent. They also give few examples from Afar and Saaho. According to Appleyard (1991) in most Cushitic languages, Tonal accent can be described based on the contrast in short vowels as High and Non-high and in long vowels the three term realization of tone accent (Non

- High VV, High (V́V), High-fall V̀V) can be related to two term system on short vowels (Non-High V, High V́) by counting the morae: a double mora High on the first /V́V/ is realized as High falling tone, [V́V]; a double mora High on the second mora /VV́/ is realized as a level (or slightly rising) tone, [V́V].

By taking these into consideration, we have described the facts in Saaho to show that it is tonal-accent language. When we look the placement of tone accent at word level, high tone is restricted to either the ultimate or penultimate mora, not to a syllable position. Here if the high tone is on the penultimate following mora bear low tone. In representing tone accent we have used the standard method by marking the high tone mora if it is accented. Therefore, words that are left unmarked have no accent. In the following we have used a grave diactric mark on part of vowels which bears the tone (TBU). Thus, the vowels with high tone are represented as: /í, ú, é, ó, á/.

2.2.3.1 Distribution of Tone-accent

In describing the distribution of tone accent, we have considered the different word forms and classes which have tonal accent whether inherent, i.e lexical tone or assigned by rule, grammatical tone. When we consider surface realization of short vowels at word level, we can distinguish two level tones, High and none high. But with long vowels there are three underlying tonal patterns High, High-Low, and Low-High which can be realized as falling and rising tones. Similar claims have also been made by Hayward (1983) in his description of Central and Southern Saaho varieties. He states that the high or low tones are associated with short vowels and falling and rising tones on long vowels.

68. Underlying   Surface   Example

   a. H   [H]   ħáb   '(you/ SG) stop/leave.IPV'

   b. L   [L]   gul   'time'

   c.   H – L   [H-L]   ísi   'she'

   d. L – H   [L-H]   isí   'his/her/ own'

   e. HL   [Falling]   láa   'cattle '

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f.	HL - L	[H-L]	káado	'now'
g.	HL-H	[L-H]	d̪áamá	'buying'
h.	LH	[rising]	saá	'He/I enters'
i.	LH - L	[H-L]	maádo	'reaching'
j.	LH - H	[L-H]	maádóy	'reach'

The vowels can be associated with tonal accent, which are lexical or grammatical in function, and are considered as tone bearing units (TBU). Thus, in 68 (a - d) the words with short vowels can be realized as having High or non high tone which are two level tones, High [H] or Low [L] tone .

The words in 68 (e -j) have long vowels. The underlying tone placement on the long vowels show different surface realizations, in 68 (e) HL as [falling tone], in 68 (h) LH as [rising tone] and in 68 (f and i) HL-L and LH-L as level [H-L] and in 68 (g and j) HL-H and LH-H as level [L-H].

In Hayward (1991) mono syllabic words have been considered as un accented or with low tone. But in the language, we have identified the underlying tone with mono syllabic words. Thus, they can bear either High or low tone. To check pitch accent on mono syllabic words, we use demonstrative *tay 'this'* or possessive reflexive *isi 'one's own'* as illustrated in 69 (a) and (b) below.

69.	a) H-L	táy gul	'this time'
		this tme	
		táy dik	'this house'
		this house	
		isí dik	'his own house'
		his own house	
	b) H-H	táy láh́	'this goat'
		This goat	
		isí láħ ´	'her own goat'
		her own goat	

táy ból	'this cliff'
this sheer	

In 69 (a) *gul 'time', dik 'house'* have short vowels with no pitch accent and be considered as Low tone words, but in 69 (b) *láħ 'goat'* and *ból 'cliff'* have high pitch accent and considered as having High tone words.

2.2.3.2 Minimal Pairs High and Low Tone accent

The tone has both lexical and grammatical functions in Saaho. Similarly, the falling and rising tones contrast can be associated with different functions at word level. For example verb forms in the Imperfective *saá 'he enters'* and in the Imperative form *sáa/ 'you(PL) enter'* are distinguished only by the tone in which, it has a rising /LH/ tone in the imperfective verb but falling /HL/ tone in the Imperative verb form.

As mentioned above there are some words and grammatical functions in the language which can show contrast based on tonal accent. The words in (70 - 72) show contrast in tone accent. In (71) the minimal pairs are words of the same category/class that show meaning contrast at lexical level. In (72 and 73) the minimal pars are words of different category.

70. Lexical tone contrast

a.	kálo	'water body'	kaló	'land'
b.	dára	'crop'	ḍará	'spring'
c.	ħáḍo	'name of clan'	ħaḍó	'meat'
d.	ífo	'light'	ifó	'type of rain with wind'?
e.	gíra	'face'	girá	'fire'
f.	gále	'colored animal'	galé	'wing'
g.	álsa	'moon'	alsá	'month'
h.	fúgo	'God/creater'	fugó	'first child'
i.	gáana	'container'	gaaná	'season'

As shown in 70 (a - i), the tone contrast on short vowels has significant role at lexical level. In the minimal pairs the contrast is only on tone placement. For example 70 (h)

fúgo 'God' and *fugó 'first child'* are distinguished based on tone H-L VS L-H respectively.

Similar tonal pattern can also serve grammatical function. For example, in animate nouns which have terminal vowel, the distinction between masculine and feminine gender is only by tone as in *káre 'male dog' vs karé 'female dog'*

71. Minimal pairs of noun vs verb contrast based on tone-accent pattern

	Noun		**Verb**	
a.	ʔáre	'house'	ʔaré	'to grow'
b.	úre	'perfume/smell'	uré	'to heal'
c.	úʔub	'Negative feeling'	uʔúb	'drink.IPV'
d.	hin	'without'	hín	'take.IPV'

The minimal pairs in 72 (a-d) show contrast of meaning and word class based on tone placement. The words on the left column are nouns and those on the right are verbs.

72. Example of minimal pairs with Low and High tone on short vowels

	L		**H**	
a.	dis	'guarantor'	dís	'(You.SG) block. IPV'
b.	ḍin	'sleeping'	ḍín	'(You.SG) get sleep .IPV'
c.	loy	'counting'	lóy	'(You.SG) count.IPV'

In (72) the derived nominals and imperative verb forms have short vowels. When consider the pitch accent on the both forms, we can distinguish the two forms based on pitch accent contrast. Thus, the short vowels on the derived nominal forms have no pitch accent but the imperative verb forms have pitch accent.

2.2.3.3 Tone in Nouns

Most nouns have lexical tone which may or may not be coincided with the grammatical tone. Below we put level tone with short vowel and contour tone with long vowels.

73. Level Tone

a.	H	bol	'cliff'
		liħ	'six'
		laħ	'goat'
b.	L	gul	'time'
		dik	'house'
c.	L - H	gabá	'hand'
		iná	'mother'
d.	H - L	díte	'darkness'
		ábo	'maternal umcle'

74. Falling and Raising tones in nominals

a.	HL	ɖáa	'stone'			
		náa	'bone'			
		ríi	'small hill'			
		bóol	'hundred'			
b.	LH	ħaál	'behavior'			
		koón	'five'			
c.	HL- L	méela	'house'	>>	dabri-méela	'clan name'
d.	HL- H	mêelá	'clan'			

In example 74, when we compare the duration on the falling and rising tones, words with falling tone have shorter duration than the rising ones. Thus, words in 74 (a) for example, *bóol 'hundred'* has /HL/ falling tone where the duration on /oo/ is shorter than that of /aa/ in 74 (b) *ħaál 'behavior'* which has /LH/ rising tone.

2.2.3.4 Tone in Verbs

Verbs in Saaho have inflections for person, aspect and mood. Most verbs have lexical and grammatical tone. The lexical tone of the root can be depressed or retained due to affixes which form a stem. The tone on the stem is sensitive to the type of verbal inflections aspect and mood categories. Thus, verbs such as perfective, imperfective,

jussive and 2nd singular imperative have high pitch on their ultimate vowel segments. However, there are some verb suffixes whose final vowel segments are always unaccented. Such suffixes include: progressive, subjunctive and 2nd Plurals imperatives. Below are examples to show the tonal patterns that alternate with verbal inflections.

Verb Class	Root	Perfective	Subjunctive	Jussive
I	emēt- 'to come'	emeeté	Amáato	amaatóy
	eeḑeg- 'to know'	ēeḑegé	āaḑágo	aaḑegóy
	oōbb- 'to hear'	oōbbé	Oóbbo	oōbbóy
II	ab- 'to do'	abé	Ábo	abóy
	ħat- 'to help'	ħaté	Ħáto	ħatóy
	dē?- 'to call'	dēe?é	dée?o	dēe?óy
	soōl- 'to erect'	soōlé	Soólo	soōlóy

Table 9 Tone accent on verbs

In table (9), we have put examples of class I and II verbs. The roots in class I add both prefix and suffix but the roots in class II add only suffix. Following the roots, we put inflected forms in the   1st Person paradigm and their inflections of perfective and subjunctive and jussive. The stems have different tonal patterns which is associated with the inflections. The tone on the perfective and jussive stems is placed on the ultimate vowel. But the placement of tone on the subjunctive stem is realized on vowels penultimate or pre penultimate mora.

In the language, we observe the subjunctive and jussive forms contrast only by tone. This happens when the final consonant on the subjunctive is deleted. In addition, as shown in (75) the 1st person imperfective form and the 2nd plural imperative mood are distinguished only by tone change.

 75. Imperfective   **Imperative**

a.   saá   'I/he enter IPF'   sáa   '(You.PL) enter IPR'

b.   abá   'I/he do. IPF'   ába   '(You.PL) do.IPR'

c.   beyá   'I/he take IPF'   béya   '(You.PL) take IPR'

2.2.3.5 Tone and affixes

Tone is assigned along with the inflectional and derivational affixes during the stem formation. Due to this fact when an affixes are added to base there is tonal alternation i.e the placement of the accent may be stable or move to another mora. Thus, the placement of tone on noun with number affixes in is not predictable. For example, when a plural base noun add a suffix *-yta 'a singulative',* the tonal pattern of resulting stem will be different based on the gender of the reference. When the sugulative suffix has female referent, it is marked by -ytá, where high tone occurs on the suffix vowel segment and tone depression occur on the base. But when the singulative suffix has masculine referent, it is marked by –yta, low tone on the suffix vowel segment, the stem accent remains on the base or root. Observe the examples in 76 (a) and (b) .

	76. Base	**Singular (M)**	**Singular (F)**
a.	ħiyáw 'people'	ħiyáw-to 'a male person'	ħiyaw-tó 'a female person'
b.	írro 'children'	irró-yta 'a child'	irro-ytá 'child'

in 76 (a) *ħiyáw   'people'* the base form has high tone on the final syllable on the ultimate vowel when a singulative *-yta* is the added to the base. The high tone remains on the stem of the masculine reference. But, when we look at the stem with feminine reference, a high tone is placed on the final syllable and depressing the high tone of the base. If we look 76 (b) *írro 'childern'* which has high tone on the first syllable, but in the singulative stems   high tone occur on the penultimate and final vowel with masculine and feminine reference respectively.

Similar case also occur when the agent nominalizing suffix *-eena* is added to verbs. The tone occurs on the suffix of the derived stem. Thus, the high tone can be placed either on the ultimate vowel for feminine agent nominal or on the pre penultimate mora for masculine agent nominals.

77. base   **Agent Noun**

a.   waat -   'lie'   waat-eená   'a lier female'

                                   waat-éena   'a lier male'

b.   garaʔ-   'steal'   garʔ-eená   'a thief female'

                                   garʔ-éena   'a thief male'

In addition, nominalized nouns derived from verbs with only change of tone. Action nominalization vs place/instrument/ Agent nominalization

78. Base   **Derived Noun**

a.   say 'to enter'   sayimá   'introduction'

                           sayíma/saynan   'entering'

b.   maħ 'get dawn;   maaħá   'place Nominal'

                           máaħa   'morning'

In saaho verbs add prefix *ma 'not'* to form negation. The negation marker *ma- 'not'* always has high tone as shown in 79.

79.   Affirmative stem   **Negative stem**

a.   beetá   'I eat.'   má=beetá   'I don't eat.'

b.   aadigé   'I know.'   má=ādigé   'I don't know.'

2.2.3.6 Tone and Clitics

In Saaho the post positional clitics are single segments such as locative *=l 'at'* and *=d 'in'* instrumental/ directional *=h 'by/to/for'* and ablative *=k 'from/upon'* or *=ko 'from'*. When these enclitics are attached to stem, they do not affect the tone pattern of the stem.

80. a) amó   'head'   amó=l   'on the top'

     b) ħaḍá   'tree'   ħaḍá=d 'in the calf'

     c) áwka   'boy'   áwka=h 'to the boy'

     d) ʔáre   'house'   ʔáre=d 'in the house'

In 80 (a and b) *amó 'head'* and *ħaḍá 'tree'* have level tone L-H. The clitics =l and =d are attached, the high tone still remains on the ultimate vowel of the words. Similarly, 81 (c and d) *áwka 'boy'* and *ʔáre 'house'* have H-L tone pattern. when the enclitics =h

and =d are attached to their final syllable or mora, the high tone remains on the penultimate vowel.

Here the role of tone seems useful feature since it can be used as one criterion to distinguish between cliticisization and affixation. Thus, when words add affixes, the tone accent is also assigned during the lexicalization process. The tonal pattern on the base can be affected when affixes are added (see examples in 76-78 and the verbs in table 9). However, cliticization occurs after the lexicalization process and does not affect the tonal pattern of the stem. As in (80) the tonal pattern of the stem is not affected by addition of the clitics.

2.2.3.7 Tone and compound words

Tone can also be used to distinguish phrase from compound word as in (81).

81. Compound word   Phrase

 a. ħuget-máaħa 'early morning' ħugét maaħá 'east direction'

 b. igid-seerá 'un friendly'   igĭd seerá 'a tail of scorpion'

 c. Ɂado-ōkólo 'wild asses'   Ɂadó okólo 'white donkeys'

In compound word the tone occur on the ultimate or penultimate syllable which has the same placement of tone as words. But in phrase both the words can have tone.

2.2.3.8 Boundary Tone

Sentence types of affirmative and polar interrogative are distinguished by tone (see section 9.2). The tone with affirmative sentence is high on the verb but with the polar interrogative is marked by a floating low tone which is realized as high falling tone on the verb.

82. a) úsuk kúmal y-emeeté

   he yesterday 3Ms-come.PF

   'He came yesterday.'

 b) úsuk kúmal y-emeetê

   he yesterday 3Ms-come.PF.Q

   'Did he come yesterday?

In addition, it shows same and different subjects in two similarly constructed sentences as in (83).

83. a) anu [ab-innán-im]   ◻beet-á

    I   do-what ever –things eat-1SG.IPF

    'I eat every thing that I made.'

  b) [anu ab-innan-ím]   beet-á

    I do-what evey-thing   eat-3Ms.IPF

    'He eats whatever I do.'

  c) úsuk [anu ab-innan-ím]   beet-á

    he   I do-what evey-thing eat-3Ms.IPF

    'id'

In the sentences the complement clause which has an invariable indefinite relative verbal form *–innan 'every/whatever'* and a nominalizer *–im* . In 83 (a), the subject of the complement clause and subject of the main clause are the same there is a floating low tone on the final syllable of the object clause which also suppresses the verb and realized as down step. But as shown in 83 (b) and (c) the complement clauses have different subjects from the main clause and there is no such down step[9].

Similar case has been discussed in section (3.6.2) for distinguishing accusative case marking on V-final female nouns.

2.3 Syllabic Structure

The onset and coda of Saaho syllable are filled with single segments. There is no consonant cluster or gemination of consonants on the syllables of Saaho. But when we consider the nucleus it can be long or short vowel. There are no syllabic consonants. Thus, Saaho has open and close syllables. In Table 10, I have put the types of syllables and their positions with example words. In the list Saaho syllabic structure that have V and VV can be realized as CV and CVV since a glottal stop can be inserted to fill the onset.

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[9] Here the case can also be described along with pause where the pause is different in the two constructions.

Syllable type	Example	Gloss
V	**í**.fo	'light'
	i.na	'mother'
VV	**oo**.lal	'type tree'
	oo.be	'get down-PF'
VC	**af**	'mouth'
	ab	**'do-IPV**
CV	**ba**. ɖà	'son'
	ħ**a**. ɖe	'pour-PF'
CVV	**baa-** ɖo	'land/nation
	bee-te	'eat-PF'
CVC	**bas**-ka	'honey'
	dik	'village'

Table 10: Syllables of Saaho

It is necessary to note that CVVC and VVC as syllabic structure of Saaho are constrained because in the language, I have discussed two types of vowel length, underlying long and sequence of two identical short vowels (see section 2.3.2). When we have words with sequence of two identical vowels, we use syllabic mora, an intermediate level between syllable and a segment. Thus, the two short vowels are TBU, and be analyzed as two syllabic morea. In 84 (a -c), we have described some words based on syllabic mora.

84. Moraic syllabification Examples   Gloss

a.   CV. VC   ko.ōn   'five',
                bó.ol   'hundred'
b.   V.VC.CV   o.ōb.be   'to hear'
c.   CV.V.CV   ħa.ā.ɖé   'to spill'

2.4 Morphophonemic Processes

Saaho has several types of morphophonemic processes. Most morphophonemic processes are discussed in the morphological part of the thesis. Here only only the most prominent processes are presented. In this section, I have treated, Insertion (2.4.1) , Deletion (2.4.2) , Assimilation (2.4.3), and Dissimilation (2.4.4) and shortenening/lengthening (2.4.5). These processes are motivated by the phonotactics of the language and apply to words that have inflectional and derivational affixes, phrases and clauses in fast and connected speech.

2.4.1 Insertion

2.4.1.1 Epenthetic vowel insertion

Vowel epenthesis is required to break sequences of consonant which are not permitted in the syllable structure. Thus, an epenthetic vowel is inserted to –C.C final and medial consonant clusters.

The epenthetic vowel is determined based on the feature of the final syllable vowel. Thus, if the word has high /i, u/ and low /a/ vowels in its final syllable, the epenthetic vowel is a copy of these vowels. But when the word has mid vowels /e/ or /o/ in the final syllable, the epenthetic vowel does not copy the final vowel. Thus, the epenthetic vowel becomes /i/ following a word that has /e/ in final syllable and /u/ following a word /o/ in the final syllable. In (85), there are words with final consonant and post positional are cliticized to them. The epenthetic vowels are put in parenthesis.

85. a) dik   'village'   dik=(i)l   'at the village'
    b) awúr   'ox'   awúr=(u)h   'for/by the ox'
    c)   hiyáw   'people'   hiyáw= (a)h   'for/by people'
    d)   ʔáran   'sky'   ʔáran=(a)l   'at the sky'
    e)   nef   'face'   nef=(i)l   'at the front'
    f)   ból   'sheer'   ból=(u)h   'at the sheer'

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As indicated in 85 (a-c), the words have /i/, /u/ and /a/ in their final syllable. When enclitic post positions are added to the word an epenthesis vowels similar to the final syllable i.e i, u and a respectively occur to break the sequence in final position. But in 85 (d and e) words with mid vowels /e/ and /o/, the epenthetic vowels are *i* and *u* respectively.

2.4.1.2 Glide insertion

This is a process where the articulation of the vowel in a nucleus extends over onto an empty onset to form a glide. In Saaho, such insertion occurs stem of the 1st person perfective and Imperfective of inchoative verbs (see Section 5.2.7). Consider the following examples.

 86. a) nawwa- e   [nawwaye]   'I became high'
          high.INCH-1SG .say.PF

     b) datto - a   [dattowa]   'I become black'
        black.INCH -1SG.say.IPF

As shown in 86 (a) class III verb 1st person singular present tense form /y/ is inserted between the two vowels. Similarly in 86 (b) and (c) the inchoative stem like *nawwa 'high.INCH'* and *datto 'black.INCH'* form perfective and imperfective when -e and –a short form of *edhe 'to say'* is added to the bases. Thus, a glide /y/ or /w/ between the vowels –e/-a and the base.

Similar case also occur when –im 'things' a pronominal enclitic is cliticized to personal pronouns like *kaa 'his'* and *tee 'her'*.

  87. a) ka a – im   [káayim]   'his belongings'
          his – things
     b) tee - im   [téeyim]   'her belongings'
         her –things

In 87 (a and b) shows constraint for three vowel in sequence. The first words have long vowels as in *kaa* and *tee* and *–im* cannot occur in a syllable. The /y/ is inserted to break the vowel sequence and occupy the onset for the second syllable.

Similarly, glide insertion also occur at phrasal level. In 88 (a-d) I put two word phrases which one with open syllable and the other with empty onset.

88. a) ku   ina   [kuyina]   'your mother'
         your mother

    b) ku   abba   [kuwabba]   'your father'
         your father

    c) ku   esser-e   [kuwessere]   'he asked you.'
         you   ask. 3Ms.PF

    d) aa   úla =l   [awúlal]   'where'
         what DIR=at

2.4.2 Lengthening

Lengthening of consonant or vowel occurs, when a vowel and/or V-initial suffix, is added to a root. Here I discuss two types of lengthening, length for vowel and gemination for consonant. Both gemination and lengthening of vowels illustrated in (89), when cardinal numerals are used as attributive modifiers.

89. **Citation form**   **Attributive form**

    a. adóħ   'three'   adoohá
    b. sagál   'nine'   sagaalá
    c. afár   'four'   affará
    d. baħár 'eight'   baħhará

As shown in (89) the basic numerals has undergo lengthening of vowel as in 89 (a and b) but attributive forms in 89 (c and d) geminate the consonants of the penultimate syllable. However, this process does not work with all the numerals as in (90).

90. **Citation form   Attributive form**

    a. inik 'one'   inkí

    b. táman 'ten'   tamaná

    c. liħ   'six'   liħa

2.4.2.1 Gemination

This is a process whereby a simple, (non-geminate) consonant becomes a geminate or lengthened. This process takes place in the derivation of ordinal numerals from cardinal numerals; and verbal extension like the derivation of passive and middle verbs from light roots and on stems with reduplicated syllables[10]. In addition, it occurs when the first syllable of a verb reduplicates.

When ordinal numerals are derived from basic numerals with the prefix ma-, they undergo gemination of consonants of penultimate syllable as the examples in (91) show.

91. Basic numeral   **ordinal numeral**

    a) adoħ 'three'   m-addáħa   'third'

    b) afar 'four'   m-afárra   'fourth'

    c) baħar 'eight'   ma-baħħára   'eighth'

    d) sagal 'nine'   ma-saggála   'nighth'

In addition, in simple CVC- and VC- root of verbs, the final consonant of the root is germinated when the middle –(V)t is suffixed. Similarly, the passive suffix –(V)m, triggers the root final consonant to be germinated and lengthened the vowel of the suffix.

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[10] Such process does not occur when the root has heavy syllables. For example, the middle stems *ɖaam-it-e 'buy-MID-PF.3Ms'* and the passive stem *door-im-e choose-PASS-PF.3Ms'* derived from heavey syllable base *ɖaam-e 'buy-PF. 3Ms'* and *door-e 'choose-PF.3Ms'* respectively. The derived stems do not undergo lengthening.

92. **Root**	**Middle**	**Passive**
a. gom- 'wind'bite'	gomm-it-	gomm-iim-
b. iḍ- 'pierce by blade'	iḍḍ-it-	iḍḍ-iim-
c. ʔul- 'spill'	ʔull-ut-	ʔull-uum-

As in 92 (a-d) the final consonants of the root are geminated before the passive suffix –(V)m is added. Here we can observed that the vowel of the suffix has also undergoes lengthening. Thus the passive suffix –(V)m can be realized with long vowel as –iim or – uum as in *mirriime 'to be diturbed'* and ʔulluume 'to be spilled'(see also affix harmony section 2.5.4.2.1).

93. $(C_1)VC_2 \rightarrow (C_1)VC_2C_2$ # (V)VC $_{Aff.}$

Gemination of consonants also occurs in a reduplicated stems. In the language verbs reduplicate their initial syllable to form attenuative stem.   In (94) below, I have examples reduplicated stems.

94. **Base**   **RED-Stem**

a. gur- 'want/need'	gu -g-gure
b. way- 'lack'	wa-w-waye
c. ʔar- 'grow'	ʔa-ʔ-ʔare
d. ħab- 'leave'	ħa-ħ-ħabe
e. baah- 'bring'	ba-b-baahe
g. saān- 'be sensitve'	sa-s-saāne
h. taān- 'be unable'	ta-t-taāne
i. soōl- 'stand'	so-s-soōle
j. wagiy- 'search'	wa-w-wagiye

As shown in 94 (a-e) the reduplicated element is initial syllable C_1VC_2 . The final C_2 undergoes deletion leaving the coda open. The root initial consonant spread left wards to fill empty coda. In 94 (f-i) the words have sequence of two identical vowels where syllabified as CV.VC (see section 2.5 for syllabic mora). The initial syllable is only CV Thus, the initial syllable reduplicates with an empty coda. The initial root consonant spreads to fill the empty coda. The rule is summarized in (95).

95. $[C_1V(V)C_2]_{RED} \rightarrow C_1VC_1\ C_1V(V)C_2$-

3.4.2.2 Vowel lengthening vs Shortening

There is evidence for a bimoraic syllable constraint in Saaho in that vowels which are long in open syllables are short in closed syllables. Here we have shown the conditions for lengthening and the constraint for shortening of root vowel with respect to open and closed syllables.

Lengthening of root vowel of final syllables occur when vowel initial suffix –V is attached to it.   In 96 (a and b) we give words that form plurative by suffix –a , the root vowels have become long in the plurative stem.

96. a) dik + -a   [diiká]   'villages'

   village-[PL]

   b) sek + [-a]   [seeká]   'sheiks'

   sheik – [PL]

   c) bol + a   [boolal]   'sheers'

   sheer – [PL]

But such process does not apply in cliticization. In 97 (a and b) the root vowel remain short when postpositional enclitics are added to the nouns.

97. a) ból + l   ból =(a)l   [bólal] 'at the cliff'

   sheer = at

   b) dik + l   dik = (i)l   [dikil] 'at village/home'

   village + at

When we look plurative forms in (96), they add a vowel suffix with high tone, where as the forms in (97) have enclitics with a consonant and an epenthetic vowel which does not bear tone accent. Here it seems that lengthening of the root vowel can be associated

with the lexicalization process which is internal to the word since it is constrained with cliticization which occur at phrasal level after the lexicalization processes.

Therefore, in Saaho when an initial vowel suffix is attached to root with CVC the root vowel become long. Here resyllabification occurs within the stem formed as CVC *dik 'village'* and CVV.CV *diika 'villages'*. Here the penultimate syllable of the stem will occur with empty coda which is substituted by long vowel and the single consonant of the root will occupy the onset of the following suffix. But in cliticization the syllable of the root remains unchanged as in CVC *dik 'village'* and CVC.VC *dik.il 'at the village'*, because the epenthetic vowel has no pitch accent and does not trigger resyllabification (see section 2.4.1).

Similar cases occur in verbs, too. As we have stated in section (2.2.2) verbs with underlying long root vowel[11] can be realized as short in closed syllables and long when a vowel intial suffix is added. In (98), we put verbs that add vowel intial and consonant initial suffixes in the 3rd person singular perfective and imperfective paradigm.

98. a. [Root] + [-V]$_{Afix}$ b. [Root] + [-CV]$_{Afix}$

  a.1 [bāh]+[-e]   b.1 [bāh]-[te]
     bring-3Ms.PF   bring-3Fs.PF
     baahe 'he brought.'   [bāhte] 'she brought'

  a.2 [dēʔ]$_+$ [- e]   b.2 [dēʔ]+[te]
     call-3Ms.PF   call-3Fs.PF
     deeʔe 'he called.'   dēʔte 'she called.'

As shown in 98 (a.1 and a.2) the root vowel on the verbs has long vowel when an initial vowel suffix is added. Thus, as *bāh- 'bring'* and *dēʔ- 'bring'* perfective 3rd person masculine singular adds only a suffix *–e* and form *baahe 'he brought'* and *deeʔe 'he called'*. But in 98 (b.1 and b.2) when the suffix 3rd feminine singular marker *-te* is added

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[11] Here we use the term underlyining long vowels in order to distinguish from short vowels and sequence of identical two vowels. But in 95 words like *dik 'village'*, we do not use such distinction because the quality of the vowel whether underlying long or short is not clear.

to the root verb, the root long vowels are realized as short ones as in *[bahte]* *'she brought'* and *deʔte 'she called.'* Similarly, Hayward (1983:225) describes shortening of vowels in closed syllables by using nouns plural formation. He used the term closed syllable vowel shortening rule. Therefore, underlying long vowel can be realized as short when an initial consonant suffix is added.

99. a) (C)V̄C → (C)VC # __CV [Aff]

    b) (C)V̄C→ (C)VVC # __V [Aff]

2.4.3 Elision

2.4.3.1 Elision of /y/

The glide /y/ optionally elided when it occur medial position. In Saaho we put two types of /y/ elision. Root final syllable y elided when it occurs inter vocalic position of two identical vowels. In in the suffix –yta, y is elided when suffixed to a consonant final noun. The following are illustrative examples:

100. a. say - a   [saā]   'I/he enters'
          enter - 1SG.IPF

     b. bey   - e   [beē] 'I/he took'
         take - 1SG.PF

     a. say-aan-am   [saānam] 'that they enters'
         enter -3Pl.IPF-NOMZ

As shown in 100 (a-c) the final consonant of the root /y/ is elided because it occurs between two identical vowels, the root final syllable vowel and an initial vowel suffix.

101.   y→∅/ V₁-V₁

The glide /y/ in singulative suffix –yta, is elided when it follows a consonant final base. In 102 (a-c) plural base nouns have consonant in their final syllable, in their singulative stem they occur with –ta/ -to. Here the /y/ of the suffix -yta is elided because it is constrained as a second member in consonant cluster.

102.   Base   Singular

   a. kábiʔ + yta   kabíʔ-yta   [kabiʔta]   'a leopard'
       leopards +SGV

   b. irob +   yta   irób –yta   [iróbta]   'an Irob person'
       'Irob ' + SGV

103.   yta → ta/C#__

The glide /y/ is optionally replaced [w] when it occurs between two vowels, of which the one following the /y/ is a back vowel /u/ or /o/. we give examples of root and stems with initial vowel suffix.

104. a)   sáy – o   sáyo   [sáwo]   'Let he enter'
            enter- SUJN

      b)   báy- o   báyo   [báwo]   'raid'
            raid –NOMZ

105.   y→[w] / __V [+back]

Similarly, glide /y/ elision also occur at phrasal level. In 106 (a and b) show /y/ is elided from the final syllable of the first word in phrases.

 106. /y/ elision at phrasal level

      a.   tay awki   [taāwki]   'this boy'
           this boy.NOM

      b.   amay agabi   [amaāgabi]   'the women'
           the   women.NOM

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2.4.3.2 Elision of an Auxiliary -inni- /-ini-

The present and past auxiliary –ini- and –inni- are partially elided in Class III verb paradigm and perfective negation paradigm as in the examples of 107 (a and b) (see also section 9.3). Such partial deletion or omission occurs in fast speech and the long –inn- and short –in- are omitted. The stem with .–inni- or -ini and the omitted one convey the same meaning.

107.   a) kiħ -ini- yó   [kiħiyó]   ‘I like/love’

           love - AUX.PRES – 1SG

       b) má - ab -inni -yó   [mâabiyó]   ‘I did not do.’

           NEG – do –AUX.PAST-1SG

2.4.3.3 First vowel Deletion vs second vowel Deletion

There are two types of deletion of vowels occur at phrase level with words of open syllable follows another word with initial vowel. the first is deletion of the vowel of the first word. And the other is shortening of the when they are three vowels.   In the following examples illustrate this process at phrase level.

108. . a) yi abbá   [yabbá]   ‘my father’

           my father

       b) yi anná   [yanná]   ‘myaunt’

           my aunt

       c) uli agábo   [ulagábo]   ‘some women’

           some women

       d)   adooħá iná   [adooħiná]   ‘three mothers’

            three mother

109.   CV →C /_ # X [V-initial word]

The second vowel deletion constraint that does not allow the second vowel to surface in a sequence of three vowels one heavy and others light syllables.

110. a) kaa áwka   [kaáwka]   'his boy'
      his boy

   b) tee áwka   [taáwuka]   'her boy'
      her boy

   c) too úla =l   [tuúlal]   'over there'
      that DIR =at

In Saaho, vowel final nouns which have penultimate high tone delete the vowel of the root followed by vowel with a high tone suffix.

111. a) awka - i   [awuki]
      boy – NOM/GEN

   b) agabo –i   [agabi]
      women-NOM/GEN

   c) labha-íino   [labhíino]
      men-NOMZ

As shown in 111 (a) and (b), the final vowel of the root elides when nominative/genitive suffix -i is added to masculine vowel final nouns (see also sections 3.6.1 and 3.6.2). Similarly, in 111 (c), deletion of final vowel of the root occurs in the derivation of abstract noun from concrete nouns (see section 3.7.1.1.4).

2.4.4 Assimilation

2.4.4.1 Consonant Assimilation

In the language, there are two types of assimilation namly regressive and progressive. The regressive assimilation takes place in Class II verbs (see section 5.1.3 for class of verbs). There are verbs whose final consonants are: /t, ḍ, d, s/ when the 1st person plural with affix /-n-/is attached, it assimilates to the stem/root final coronals.

112. a) ħat - n e   [ħanne]   'We helped.'
          help -1PL.PF

      b) ħaḏ - ne   [ħanne]   'we spilled.'
          spill – 1PL.PF

A progressive assimilation occurs when the affix with /-t-/ comes after the coronals /d, ḏ, s/. The coronals assimilate to the suffix /t/ as in 113 (a and b) examples.

113.   a) haḏ - te   [ħaḏḏe]   'she spilled'
           spill-3Fs.PF

       b) ħus-te   [ħusse]   'she called.'
           call -3Fs. PF

Such assimilation is also common in nouns that are followed by an affix *-ta* as in *ħoḏ-ta [ħoḏḏa] 'branch of a tree'*

2.4.4.2 Vowel Harmony

2.4.4.2.1   Root Harmony

Most Saaho roots show root vowel harmony, i.e most roots occur with identical vowels. When we consider verb roots, they show harmony with high and mid vowels. Thus verb roots with the low vowel /a/ do not necessarily occur in harmony since there are roots with /**a**/ which dissimilate the root vowel /**a**/ to /**i**/ see . In (114), there are examples words

114. **Nouns**   **Verbs**
      ígid   'frog'   ikilib-   'to bend'
      digír   'play'   igriʔ-   'to cut'
      dugugúl   'bird type'   ubul-   'to see'
      debné   'chin'   emeet-   'to come'
       okólo   'donkeys'   orob-   'to enter'
       ħabada   'bread'

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2.4.4.2.2 Affix Harmony

When a negation clitic **má**= added to verbs with root initial vowel, the root initial vowel assimilates to clitic ma=, as shown in the examples below.

115. a) ilaal-á   'I waite.'   má- ilaal-á   [mîilaalá]   'I did not waite.'
       waite -1S.IFV   NEG-waite-IPF

  b) ur-á 'he cures'   má-ur-á   [mûurá] 'He does not feel better.'
     cure -3Ms.IPF   NEG-heal- 3Ms.IPF

  c) esser-tá 'she asks'   má-esser-tá   [mêessertá]   'She does not ask.'
     ask- 3Fs.IPF   NEG-ask- 3Fs.IPF

  d) orob-á 'He enters'   má- orob-á   [móorobá]   'He does not enter'
      enter -3Ms.IPF   NEG- enter -3Ms.IPF

  e) oob-á   má-oob-á   [môoba] 'He does not descend'
    descend-1SG.IPF   NEG-descend-1SG.IP

  f) ab-á   I do'   má-ab-á   [mâabá]   'I don't do.'
    do -1SG..IPF   NEG- do -1S.IPF

  g) aadi̜ge   ma-aadi̜ge   [mâadi̜ge]   'I don't know'
    1SG.know.IPF   NEG-1SG.know.IPF

As shown in 115 (a-e), the vowel /a/ of the negation marker ma- as shown vowel harmony. Thus, the root vowel assimilates to the vowel suffix where the prefix vowel is realized identical to the initial root vowel.

As in 115 (f) and (g) the when negation particle *ma- 'NOT'* in which it occurs in harmony with root vowel has also undergone deletion.

In addition, suffixes also show harmony with the root vowel. This occurs when verbs with back root vowel form causative, middle and passive stems with suffixes is, –it and im, respectively (see sections 5.2). The vowels of the root assimilate to the vowel of

suffixes to show harmony. In the following, there are examples to illustrate assimilation of root vowel to a suffix.

116. a) muɖ - is - e   [muɖuse] 'He pierced.'
         pierce – CAUS - 3Ms.PF

    b) fuuʔ   - it   - e   [fuuʔute] 'He get-drank.'
        drink water-MID -3Ms.PF

    c) gur - im   -e   [gurruume] 'He is wanted.'
        want – PASS-3Ms.PF

As shown in 116 (a-c), all the verbs have high back vowel in their roots. The verb in (a) form causative stem by adding a suffix *-is* as *[muɖuse]'he pierced',*the verb in (b) form middle by adding a suffix *-it* as *[fuuʔute]'he get-drank'* and the verb in (c) add *-im* for passive as *[gurruume] 'he is wanted.'*   In the derived stems, the root vowel assimilates to the suffix vowel where the suffixes ares realized as –us, -ut or –um.

2.4.5 Dissimilation

2.4.5.1 Root vowel dissimilation

This dissimilation can be stated as rising of root vowel. Such alternation is observed on verbal inflections of class I verbs and plurative with suffix –ti and –te (see sections 5.2.2.1 and 3.3.3.1). There is raising of non-high medial root vowel to high. Thus imperfective stem is formed with initial [+LOW] vowel i.e [a(a)] which rises [–High] vowel in medial position to [+HIGH] and form an imperfective stem like a(a)CiC- or a(a)CuC- .

117.   [Medial/Final V $_{[-H]}$] → [V$_{[+H]}$] $_/$ [a(a) C(V)C#-AFF]

Similarly, plurative forms which have initial [+LOW] root vowel rise the final [–High] root vowel to [+HIGH] before the plurative suffix is added. In addition, an epenthetic vowel rising is described above (see section 2.4.1.1).

2.4.5.2 Affix vowel dissimilation

The final vowel of the suffix –*yta*, a singular/particular marker dissimilates to -*yto* when it is suffixed to a noun which has [+Low] vowel in the final syllable (see section 3.3.1 and 3.3.2) .

118.　　　Examples

  a. ħayáw - yta　　　　[ħiyáwto]　　'a person'

    persons – SGV

  b. sáʔa - yta　　　　[saʔaytó]　　　'an individual cattle'

    cattle – SGV

119.　　a → o /V(C) [[+Low]]# ____

2.4.5.3 Ordering of morphophonemic rules

More than one morphophonemic rules can be observed in the inflectional morphology of nouns. For example in plurative formation in (120), the plural stems *aʔooni/áʔon 'frogs'* and *sagoobi/ságob 'young back goats'* have two forms and undergo different processes like the dissimilation of the root vowel /a/ to /o/ and change of tone pattern.

120.　　Singular　　　　　　　　Plurative

a.　　áʔan　'a frog'　　　　　　aʔooni/áʔon　'frogs'

b.　　sagab　'a young buck goat'　sagoobi/ságob 'young back goats'

c.　　ɖegħá (F) 'head'　　　　ɖegoohí/ɖégòħ (F)

In (120) the pluratives have two forms one with a terminal vowel and tone accent whereas the second is without a terminal vowel and tone accent that moves leftward to the penultimate. The first process seems less productive than the second one (see also section 3.3.3). However, both forms are acceptable. It seems reasonable to assume that the two forms are results of morphophonemic processes with ordered phonological rules. The process involves the underlying long vowels shortening in close syllable and with open syllable suffix the terminal vowel of the root to be long. Therefore, I assume the

deletion of the terminal vowel of the base and subsequently shift the tone to the left. In (121) I put the order to show the final output of the process.[12]

121. Base form   bakal

    Plural suffix : -a added   bakal - a

    Lengthening the underlining long vowel   baka**al** - a

    Dissimilation 1 [a] to [o]   bakool- a

    Dissimilation final [a] to [i]   bakool-i

    Tone accent Assignment   bakoolí

But, when the plural are formed with a close syllable, the final vowel is deleted and the vowel of the penultimate syllable of the base become short and unstressed. In the process, we use the output as base and show the order of morphophonemic rules application as:122

122.`Base   bakoolí

    Final -i delition   bakool

    Shortening of long vowel in closed syllable   bakol

    Tone assignment   bákol

Chapter Summary

In this chapter an attempt has been made to describe the phonology of Saaho. In describing the phonology inventory and distribution of segmental and suprasegmental phonemes, syllabic structure and some morphophonemic processes have been discussed. Based on the the description, the following summary are given.

- Saaho particularly Irob dialect has 22 consonant phonemes and from these 17 are basic and five are loan phonemes. Gemination is a distinctive feature too.
- The language is a five Vowel system in which vowel qualities like Tone [High and Low] pitch-accent and length are distinctive features.
- Tone has both grammatical and phonological functions and is marked on penultimate or ultimate syllable of a word.

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[12] The same process can be used with the plurative forms with suffix –te/-ti and short forms –it.

- place of articulation has an effect in the co-occurrence of consonants in cluster in words as well as in different syllables. Most vowels can occur at all positions in Vowel /-u/ is constrained to co-occur following /e-, i-, and o- / in any syllable.

- Syllabic structure is CV, CVV and CVC. And moraic syllables like CV ,VC

Chapter Three

Noun and Noun Morphology

This chapter is devoted to describe the morphology of nominal. Before I deal with the main focus of the chapter, I make some remarks on the word classes of Saaho.

3.1 Word classes in Saaho

The description of word classes begins on this chapter and continuing on through chapter 7. For categorizing words into classes, I use universal and language specific properties such as morphosyntactic and semantic criteria. Words can be categorized into open and closed classes. I use Schachter and Shopen (2006:3) to make the distinction between these categories. According to them open classes are described as words with unlimited members, show variation with respect to time and speakers. Closed classes as those which 'contain a fixed and usually small number of member words, which are essentially the same for all the speakers of the language, or the dialect'.

Therefore, in Saaho the open class includes words such as nouns, verbs and adjectives[13], and closed classes include definite articles, demonstratives, possessives, pronouns; quantifiers, numerals, adverbs, post positional clitics, and negation clitics, conjunctions, interjections and ideophones. I have described each class together with their notional and grammatical characteristics in their respective sections.

Nouns in Saaho can be distinguished from verbs not only on the semantic criteria that they denote persons, places, or things, but also on morphosyntactic criteria which refer to their distribution, ability to inflect for nominal categories such as number, gender, case definiteness and their basic syntactic functions like heads of noun phrases in subject and object positions of clauses, and/or complement/object position in postpositional phrases. The same kinds of prototypical semantic and syntactic criteria can also be appealed to 'verbs'. Morphologically, verbs occur with aspect and mood inflections but

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[13] In saaho, the words that serve the function of adjectives are verb-like. For example, ado sara 'white clothe' sara ado or sara adotiya kinni 'the cloth is white' kafin diga 'a dry stick' vs diga kafina Or diga kafitiya kini 'the sticke is dry.' For details see

nouns do not, verbs can form causative, middle and passive whereas nouns cannot. Syntactically verbs assign thematic roles to nouns like subject, agent, and patient but nouns assign genitive case only.

Nouns have the ability to express gender, number, and case in their inflectional morphology. They show different processes in their inflectional such as affixation, prosodic alternation, stem modification, and reduplication in order to confirm to their functions in their syntactic position.

3.2 Nouns and Categories associated with nouns

This chapter has five main sections. Section (3.2), describes the semantic classifications of nouns as proper, common, count and mass with some morphological and syntactic features which each nominal exhibits. Section (3.3) provides a brief description of the number system. Section (3.4) deals with the grammatical gender system whereas section (3.5) shows the interface between number and gender and section (3.6), considers the core cases. [14] And in section (3.7), nominal derivations and compounding.

3.2.1 Proper and Common nouns

There are two sub classes that can be made of nouns. These are the semantic and morphosyntactic classifications. In this section, I have shown the classification of nouns as common and proper, and within the common nouns, we make sub classification for count and mass which are discussed in succeeding sections.

On semantic criterion nouns that refer to a general concept or to any member of a class of persons and objects are common whereas nouns that refer to names of individual person, place are proper.

Most personal names are adopted from Tigrinya or Arabic due to contact. But there are a few names which are of Saaho origin. On the contrary, most place names are Saaho origin. The following are examples

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[14] The non-core cases are marked by post positional clitics and free postpositions which have been considered separately under clitics with post positions.

1. **Names** **Gloss** **Gender**

a. súba	Suba	'defeating'	Masculine
b. doorí	Doori	'chosen'	Masculine
c. summé	Summe		Masculine
d. buknáyto	Buknayto		Masculine
e. dohrá	Dohra		Feminine
e. adooní	Adooni	'white'	Feminine
f. níya	Niya	'wish'	
f. subagádis	Subagadis	'unconditional defeator'	Masculine
g. subalsí	Subalsi		Masculine

There are morphological properties that distinguish the two sub classes of noun. Common nouns can be marked for number, gender and case as will be shown later. Proper nouns do not show number markers. However, they may show associative markers as in the following.

2. a.   kumanit –á   kumaniitá   'persons who belong to kumanit'
         kumanit -PLV

   b.   irob -ta   iróbta   'one who belongs to Irob'
        Irob -SGV

In (2a) the proper name *kumanit* occur in the plural form as *kumaniita* but the plural morpheme does not make it plural rather make it as a reference for a family who belong to that name. (2b) the place name Irob can also refer to the people who inhabits the place and the form does not change when referring to the people.

Most proper nouns show gender with respect to their reference. However, there are some which do not show gender of their referent. For example, *Lemlem, Medhin*, and *Desta* can be used for both genders without changing their forms.

Proper nouns do not occur with determiners, modifiers such as relative clauses. On the contrary, common nouns can occur with such forms. There are also some pragmatic uses in which proper name occur with modifiers. Such modification, appears when there are

two or more individuals identified with the same proper name. In the language, it is common to use special reference like nick name along with proper names, too. In the following, the proper nouns with appositive modification are used for pragmatic function.

3. a.　　ħagós　　　　ħagós ni-íyya　　　　'Hagos who is ours'
　　　　Hagos　　　　Hagos our- who is

　 b.　　ħagós　　　　ħagós mekelé -t íyya　'Hagos who is that of Mekelle'
　　　　Hagos　　　　Hagos Mekelle-GEN-who is

4. a.　　reedakum　　af-gunede-t-reedákum　'Name for specific person'
　　　　redakum　　　mouth-stem-GEN-Redakum

　 b.　　reedakum　　sirráʔ-meʔé-reedákum 'Name for one specific chief'
　　　　Redakum　　　law-be.good- Redakum

In 3 (a and b) *hagos* occurs with genitive elements to show the class for which it belongs. Similarly, in 4 (a and b) *reedakum* is a proper name of the two individuals and special nick names are used as an appositive modification to make the identity of names specific.

Another feature that distinguishes common from proper nouns is the vocative case marking. The examples in (5) illustrate common nouns make use syntactic means such as independent vocative pronominal *têe* '*you.VOC.*' for feminine and *kôo* '*you.VOC*' for masculine and plural reference. Proper nouns, however, use morphological means. Thus, as in (6) proper nouns use a morpheme –o and/or tonal superafix means for vocative.

	Common nouns	Vocative	
5. a.	numa 'woman'	têe numá	'you woman'
		VOC.F woman	
b.	awka 'girl'	têe awká	'you girl'
		VOC.F girl	
c.	awkà 'boy'	kôo áwka	'you boy'
		VOC.M boy	
d.	irro 'childeren'	kôo írro	'you children'
		VOC.M children	

	Base	Proper Name	Vocative	
6. a.	wooldu	Woldu	wóoldûu	'you woldu'
			Woldu.VOC	
b.	ammaha	Amaha	ammáhâa	'you amaha'
			Amaha.VOC	
c.	wasiiye	Wasiye	wásiyêe	'you wasie'
			Wasiye.VOC	
d)	soloomon	Solomon	solomóonô	'you solomon'
			Solomon.VOC	
e)	kahsaay	Kahsay	kaħsáawô	'you kaħsay'
			Kahasay.VOC	
f)	dahab	Dahab	daháabô	'you dahab'
			Dahab.VOC	
g)	lemlem	Lemlem	lemléemô	'you Lemlem'
			Lemlem.VOC	

3.1.2 Count and Mass nouns

Count nouns refer to objects that are separable and countable whereas mass are semantically perceived as homogeneous indivisible bounded entities.

There are formal criteria, morphological and syntactic means to distinguish mass and count nouns. Count nouns use morphological means for singular and plural references, whereas mass nouns do not mark number values and do not have any marker for number that has a singular or plural reference. The syntactic means include numerals and quantifiers which count nouns use both and shown in section 3.2 below. Mass nouns use measure phrases to show amount of quantity (see section 8.2.3).

3.1.2.1 Mass Nouns

Mass nouns include both substances and abstract entities and are inseparable and uncountable. The nouns listed in (7) are examples of mass nouns.

7.   ífo   'light'
        máʔde   'live coal'
        báhge   'interest'
        ráhde   'moisture'
        dálta   'story'
        sídda   'honey wax'
        ɖawwó   'juice of leaf or fruit'
        layé   'water'
        subáħ   'butter'
        sukát   'hair ointment'
        rúmma   'true/correct'
        arás   'yeast'
        úʔub   'resentment/ill feeling'
        ħaāl   'behavior'
        éray   'fat'

We have indicated that mass nouns do not indicate number distinction. However, there are contexts where these nouns occur with the number morphemes which do not confer to their number reference but donate another function (see Section 3.5).

3.3 Count Nouns: Number

Number as grammatical category encodes quantification over entities or events denoted by nouns. It derives from the ability to perceive something as a token, an instance of a class of referents, and the ability to differentiate between one and more than one (i.e. the 'plurality' of) instances of the referent (Corbett 2000).

Count nouns in Saaho have singular, general and plural number reference. For example, nouns like *ħiyaw 'people/persons', sáʔa 'cattle' ħutùk 'stars'* have collective and plural reference; nouns like *ʔuure 'aloe(s)',* and *kimbiro 'bird(s)'* have general reference, and nouns like *awka 'boy',* and *abba 'father'* have singular reference. In order to identify the number features of the nouns, one is to see if the noun occur with quantifiers like *dago 'some'*, *mango 'many'* and numerals like *inik 'one' lammay 'two'* etc. In the language numerals like *inik 'one' lammay, 'two',* etc occur with singular/ individuated reference. But quantifiers like *mango 'several/many much', dago 'some/a few'* go with plural and collective reference. The general reference is shown with numerals as well as quantifiers. The base form as a general reference is generic.

Welmers (1952: 155) has grouped Saaho nouns into three classes based on the number system: Mass nouns (having only one form), class nouns (having derived unit forms) and unit nouns (having derived plural forms). He added that some nouns have both derived unit and plural forms. But the above classification does not seem sufficient to classify the nouns of Saaho, because nouns with general reference seem neglected.

Corbett (2000) distinguishes four types of number marking on nominals. The number system in languages can be viewed according to the presence or absence of a specialized form for singular reference, plural reference and general reference. According to him singular reference means reference to exactly one item, plural reference means reference to more than one item and general reference means reference to any number of items.

He has indicated that the four systems reflect how languages differ as to how many forms they have for the three kinds of references. The first system is the most complete system which has three different forms for general, plural and singular references. The

most cited example is that of Bayso, which according to Corbett & Hayward (1987), has *lúban 'lion-general', lubán-tit 'lion-Sg'* and *luban-jool 'lion-Pl'*. The second system conflates general reference and singular reference, and it contrasts with a form that is used for plural reference only. This system is called general/singular vs. plural. The third system is the mirror image for the second system. This system contrasts with a form which can be used for general or plural reference and with a form which can be used only for singular reference. This is called general/plural vs. singular system. The fourth system is the most common one found in Indo-European languages like English where number, plural or singular, must obligatorily be expressed on nouns. This system is a singular vs. plural system.

In light of the above classification, Saaho involves the derivation of pluratives and/or singulatives from the base form. The number system of nouns has the three number values.

Class A: Nouns with general plural reference and a marked singulative reference form. These nouns add a singulative marker when the form nouns that has a reference to one entity or a single set of entities[15] (details are in 3.3.1).

Class B: Nouns with a general base form and has singulative and plurative forms. These nouns have three different forms with respect to number values i.e. unmarked general reference form, two marked forms for singulative and pluralative references (see, 3.3.2).

Class C: Nouns with general/singular base and has pluralive form. These are the ones as complement with class A nouns (see 3.3.3). They have unmarked base with general/singular and a pluralative derived form.

In what follows, I use the terms like singular, general and plural. "Singular" refer to semantically individual entities; "plural" nouns refer to semantically plural entities and

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[15] The morphemic alternation for a set and a single unit has some correlation with gender markings (see section) . In addition, they have associative meaning a part from number values, for example: *káʕay* 'flies' has a set reference with *–tà (M) kaʕáyta 'particular set of a house fly'* and with *– tò (M) kaʕáyto 'Single individuated house fly'* . Therefore, we have discuss these and other related issue in detail in section 3.2.3 below.

"general" refers to any number of entities. In addition, I use the terms "singulative" and "plurative" for derived forms.

3.3.1 Class A - Plural Vs Singulative

The plural versus singulative is a number system that has a plural base form and derives a singulative form of singular or particular reference. In some Cushitic languages like Arbore (Hayward 1984) has examples like; *tïise 'maize cob'* or *'maize cobs'*, and a singulative form *tiis-in 'a maize cob'* only for singular reference.

Similarly, nouns under this system have collective and/or plural readings in their base form and a singulative reading when followed by **–yta.** The suffix **-ytá**[16] has allomorphs (See section 2.4.3.1 for /y/ deletion and section 2.4.5.2 for dissimilation of /a/ to /o/). It occurs **-yta** as in (8) **–tá** as in (9),**-ytó** as in (10) **and –tó** as in (11). In some words the **-t-** assimilates to stem final consonant as in the following.

8.	**Base**	**Gloss**	**Singulive**	**Gloss**
	saahó	'Name language/People'	saaho-**ytá**	'a Saaho person'
	ʔiidó	'sheep'	ʔiido-**ytá**	'a sheep'
	ʔéro	'striped color animals'	ʔero-**ytà**	'a striped animal'
	kaakó	'crows'	kaakó-**yta**	'a crow'
	ħeéwo	'orphans'	ħeewó-yt**á**	'an orphan'
	ɖuuɖé	'ants'	ɖuuɖé-**yta**	'an ant'
	tusʔumbé	'rumex, abyssinica'	tusʔumbe-**yta**	'one single'

9.	**Base**	**Gloss**	**Singulive**	**Gloss**
	irób	'Irobs'	irob-**tá**	'an Irob person'
	úħun	'type of beetle'	uħún-**tá**	**'one'**
	kúlʔum	'type of tree	kulʔum-**tá**	**'one type'**
	ħábuk	'type of rubber tree'	ħabuk-**ká**	'one tree'
	kúrud	'tree grown as a parasite '	kurud-**da**	'one'

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[16] For tone marking see section (2.2.3.5).

10.	base	Gloss	Singulive	Gloss
	labhá	'men'	labhá-**yt**o	'man'
	baḍeeḍá	'thiefs'	baḍeeḍá-**yt**o	'a thief'
	guumá	'eagles'	guumá-**yt**o	'an eagle'
	alaakí	'bush trees'	alaaki-**yt**ó	'a type of tree'
	madba	'tree type'	madba-**yt**ó	'a type of tree'
	ʔimboobá	'flowers'	ʔimbooba-**yt**ó	'a flower'

11.	base	Gloss	Singulive	Gloss
	ħiyáw	'persons'	ħiyáw-**t**o	'a person'
	kaʔày	'species of flies'	kaʔáy-**t**o	'a house fly'
	naád	'pests'	naád-**d**o	'a pest'
	saráw	'acacia Abyssinian '	saraw-**t**ó	'an olive tree'
	ʔawún	'type of tomato'	ʔawun-**t**ó	'a tomato tree'

The nouns in examples have plural reference in their base forms and add a suffix for their singulative references. Therefore, such nouns show the contrast between a plural and a singulative reference. When singulative refers to a particular set of entities, it has the same singular reference. For example, *dilaalé 'honey bees'* has a singulative form *dilaale-ytá*[17] *'for a set of bees in a hive'* which refers to a single unit. Therefore, the singulative does not necessarily assign only a singular reference.

The nominal under this class also show a different syntactic behavior when they are pre-modified by a quantifier and numeral. Let us consider the following examples.

12.   a. inkí oolaʔ-**t**ó   'one alive tree'
          one olive trees-SGV
      b. *(inki ooláʔ   'one olive tree'

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[17] There is associative meaning when the morpheme -**yta** is added to inanimate nouns with final low or high tones. Examples and description is given in section 3.5.

13. a.   lamma labhá - **yt**o   'two men'
             two   men – SGV

     b. * lamma labhá   'two men'

14. a. adooħ-a   ʔiidó-**yt**o   'three sheep'
         three- of   children-SGV

     b. *adooħa ʔiidó   'three sheep'
            three sheep.PL

15. a.   mango ħiyáw   'many people'
            many people

  `   b. *mango ħiyáw-to   'many people'
         many   people-SGV

16. a. dago labhá   'some men'
         some men

     b. * dago labhá-yto   'some men'
         some men-SGV

The examples in (12-16) show that numerals do not occur with the plural nouns. As shown in (12-14) a's and b's, the nouns add the morpheme -y**ta** when pre modified by numerals. The morpheme -y**ta** obligatorily occurs with the plural nouns when they are modified by numerals. Here, the morpheme does not make the nouns singular but show specific[18].

As shown in a's of (15) and (16), the unmarked base forms can be modified by quantifiers whereas their derived singulative counterparts cannot. Thus, the plural base form of *ħiyáw 'persons'* and *labhá 'men'* are modified by quantifiers like *mango 'many'* and *dago 'few'* but as the sign indicates on the examples of b's of (15 and 16), the singulative forms *ħiyáwto* and *labháyto* cannot occur with quantifiers like *mango 'many'* and *dago 'few'*. Therefore, plural nouns should have a limited/classified reference with numerals but not with quantifiers.

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[18] Specific is a reference to a limited numerated entities or one with a unique feature of that entity.

3.3.2 Class B - General Nouns

Nouns in this class have singular and plural references. The number system is general versus singular and plural which has a separate form for general, singular and plural.

In Saaho, some nouns occur in three separate forms. The unmarked form with a general reference, a singulative form with a suffix –**yta**, and the plurative form with a plural morphology.

17. General	Gloss	Singulative	Gloss	Pluralative	Gloss
a. lubák	'lion'	lubak-**tó**	'a lioness'	lúbok	'lions'
b. dummú	'cat'	dummú-**yta**	'a cat'	dúmm**um**	'cats'
c. kimbiiró	'bird'	kimbír-**t**o	'a bird'	kímbir	'birds'
d. girgaará	'pigeon'	girgár-**t**o	'a pigeon'	gírgor	'pigeons'
e. surré	'trousers'	surré-**yt**a	'a trousers	súrrer	'trousers'
f. ħuggá a	'neighbor'	ħuggá-**yt**o	'a neighbor'	ħúggit	'neighbors'
g. rimíd	'root'	rimid-**do**	'a root'	rimiida	'roots'
h. ħak	'branch'	ħák-**k**o	'a branch'	ħákok	'branches'
i. ʔuuré	'aloe'	ʔuure- **ytá**	'an aloe'	ʔŭurer	'aloes'
j. riimí	'termite'	riimí-**yta**	'a termite'	rĭimim	'termites'
k. ink'ook'oħó 'egg'		ink'ookoħo-**ytá** 'an egg'		ink'okíħit	'eggs'

These nouns as in example (17) have three forms: general, singular and plural. The base nouns have general reference, the derived singulative forms have a reference for a single but plurative forms refer to plural the same or varied sets of a species as in the following examples.

18. a) kimbiiro dáro bet - t - á

     bird(s)   seed eat-3Fs-IPF

     'Bird(s) eat(s) seed'

   b) basóh ni   baaɖó=l mango kímbir   t- iné

      befor   our land =at several bird.PLV 3Fs-be.PAST

      'Before there were several birds in our land.'

c) toy kimbir-**t**ó   sále =d   ʔása- m   lé

   that bird-SGV   wing=LOC   red -NOMZ   has. 3SG.PRES

  'That bird has red things on its wing'

Thus, in example 18 (a) *kimbir*ó *'bird(s)'* does not have specific number reference and it is the base form with general reference. But it has a singulative form as in (b) *kimbir***t**ó *'a bird'* and plurative form (c) *kímbir 'bird.PLV'* for singular and plural reference respectively.

3.3.3 Class C -Nouns

The nouns in this class have general and singular references and form a pluralative in order to refer to more entities. Corbett (2000) calls this as general/singular vs. plural system. Here the number references are singular and plural only.

The plural has different forms. (Mous 1993: 53) has indicated that most Cushitic languages use various ways to form plural. He mentioned that "Many East Cushitic languages have four to six different plural formations." I have identified four basic morphological processes employed for plural reference which is based on the base forms. These are suffixation, internal modification, reduplication and suppletion. In some of the plurative formations two processes can be used. The rule for such plurative forms have been described in section (2.4.5.3).

3.3.3.1 Plural Suffixes

The plural marking suffixes are *–tí*, -té, -it *–á, –wá* and *–í*. These suffixes have various surface realizations arising from morphophonological processes. Thus, the plurative suffixes of each noun has to be learned lexically. Furthermore, some singuar nouns may occur with more than one pluralative suffixes see examples 20 (a) and 23 (a-g).

3.3.3.1.1 Plurative ablaunt and a suffix -tí

The plural marker *-ti* has three surface allomorphs *-ti*, *-te* or *–it*, where -ti or *–te* occurs due to rising of the root vowel (see also Section 2.4.5.1). But the pluralative marker *–it*

occurs when final suffix vowel i deletes (see similar rule ordering in section 2.4.5.3). There are a few nouns that add –ti or -te for plural reference as in (19), but as shown in (20), the pluralative with –it is more productive.

19.	Singular	Gloss	Pluralative	Gloss
a.	sído	'a skin mat'	sid**aa-tí**	'skin mats'
b.	díga	'a stick'	dig**aa-tí**	'sticks'
c.	gása	'a pan'	gas**ii-t**é	'pans'
d.	ábo	'a maternal uncle'	ab**ii-t**é	'maternal uncles'

In (19) the nouns suffix plurative the suffix –tí. When the morpheme is added, the base final syllable vowel become long **ii** or **aa** first and -ti or -te is added. Here, there is a dissimilation of base final syllable. Thus, in 19 (a) suffix –ti dissimilates the terminal vowel of the base */sidoo-ti/* and becomes *[sidaa-ti]*. But in 19 (c) when –ti suffixed to the base it dissimilates to -te as */gasaa-ti/* and *[gasaa-te]* again the base vowels dissimilates aa to ii and becomes *[gasii-te]*.

20. Plurative form with -it

	Singular	Gloss	Plurative	Gloss
a.	gíle	'a toe/tumb'	gíl-**it/gilaa-ti**	'toes/tumbs'
b.	míya	'a placenta'	míy-**it**	'placentas'
c.	ḓâa	'a stone'	ḓáy-**it**	'stones'
d.	k'áyse	'a priesť	k'ays-**ìt**	'priesťs
e.	síʔle	'drawing'	síʔl-**it**	'drawing'
f.	wáyda	'wooden plate'	wáyd-**it**	'wooden plate'
g.	álsa	'month'	áls-**it**	'month'
h.	áyʔa	'new born baby'	áyʔ-**it**	'new born baby'
i.	ʔêela	'well'	ʔêe-**it**	'well'

The suffixe –*it* is an allomorph of the plural marker -*ti*. These two allomorphs can be related by the morphophonemic process which deletes the final vowel of the suffix - ti

and shortening of long vowels in close syllables followed by shifting tone to the penultimate syllable or mora. Thus, in 21 (a) *gile 'toe'* occur with the to allomorphs in the plurative stem as: *[gilaati]* or *[gilit]'toes'*.

3.3.3.1.2 The Pluralative ablaut and suffix –a

Most nouns form plural by adding the suffix –a. When the nouns form their plural reference by adding suffix –a to the singular base which also undergoes lengthening of the vowel of the final syllable. The plurative form has various surface realizations. Thus, it occurs as: –a, and –wa or due to raising process it can be dissimilated to –i along with internal changes such as lengthening of the root final vowel or shortening and resyllabifications. Below, details of the processes have been described with illustrative examples.

3.3.3.1.2.1 Plurative formed by ablaut + -a

This suffixes added to nouns that are consonant final. The nouns in (21) are consonant final and have [+High] vowel on their final syllable. They form plurative with suffix –a.

21.	Singular	Gloss	Pluralative	Gloss
a.	abúr	'ox'	abuur-**á**	'oxen'
b.	ħulúf	'cubit'	ħuluuf-**á**	'cubits'
c.	gulúb	'knee'	guluub-**á**	'knees'
d.	gúbul	'lung'	gubuul-**á**	'lungs'
e.	ígid	'scorpion'	igiid-á	'scorpions'
f.	k'amís	'dress'	k'amiis-**á**	'dresses'
g.	lifíʔ	'finger nail'	lifiiʔ-**á**	'finger nails'
h.	dik	'village/house'	diik-**á**	'villages/houses'

As shown in 21 (a-h), the singular nouns add a suffix –a to form plurative. These nouns have a [+High] penultimate base vowel *-u-* or *–i-* . When the plurative suffix *-a* is added, the final syllable vowels become long *-ii-* or *–uu-*.

3.3.3.1.2.2 Plurals withy suffix -wa

Some nouns add the suffix –*a* which is realized as –*wa*. the singular forms have terminal vowel and a tone on the penultimate. Thus, the suffix –*a* is added to the base after it has undergone rising of final root vowel to *i* (see section 2.4.5.1) and is realized as –wa. Thus, gale + a → gali-a >> galwa

22.	Singular	Gloss	Plurative	Gloss
a.	ʔáre	'house'	ʔar**wá**	'houses'
b.	káre	'dog'	kar**wá**	'dogs'
c.	gále	'wing'	gal**wá**	'wings'
d.	gáde	'river'	gad**wá**	'rivers'
e.	kálo	'lake'	kal**wá**	'lakes'

3.3.3.1.3 Ablaut and suffix – i

The singular base forms are consonant final and have [-High] vowel in their final syllable. They form pluralative by adding suffix –*a* which dissimilates into –*i*. As indicated in (23), the plurative can be realized in two forms which are resulted from morphophonological process (see section 2.4.5.3).

23.	Singular	Gloss	Plurative	Gloss
a.	bakál	'castrated goat'	bakoolí/bákol	'castrated goats'
b.	danán	'male donkey'	danooní/dánon	'male donkeys'
c.	áʔàn	'frog'	aʔooní/áʔon	'frogs'
d.	sagáb	'young buck goat'	sagoobí/ságob	'young buck goats'
e.	ḍegħá	'head'	ḍegooħí/ḍégoħ	'heads'
f.	ramád	'sinew'	ramoodí /rámod	'sinews'
g.	sakán	'sack'	sakooní/sákon	'sacks'

These nouns in 23 (a-g) have two plurative forms which are long and short forms. Thus, the plurative forms for *danan 'male donkey'* can be either a long form *danooní* or short form *dánon 'male donkeys'*.

3.3.3.2 Ablaunt and resyllabification

This process is the most common in the plurative formative in the language. Unlike the case stated above in section 3.3.3.2.3, many nouns have one pluralative form. The singular base can have two or three syllables and open or close final syllable and form pluralative by changing their syllable structure into CV́CoC pattern. Below are additional examples which have different syllable patterns in singular base.

24.	Singular	Gloss	Plurative	Gloss
a.	dabán	'a year'	dábon	'years'
b.	misár	'a hatchet'	mísor	'hatchets'
c.	darabá	'guest house'	dárob	'guest houses
d.	anadá	'animal skin'	ánod	'animal skins'
e.	debné	'chin'	débon	'chins'
f.	sarbá	'calf's lower leg'	sárob	'calfs' lower legs'
g.	ráysa	'dead body'	ráwos	'dead bodies'

As shown in 24 (a) and (b) the nouns form plurative by changing their vowel into o and shift of tone to the left. In 24 (c) and (d) the nouns form plurative by deleting the final vowel first then substituting the vowel of the remaining stem by o and moving High pitch-accent to the first syllable of the remaining part. Thus the plurative stem is reduced into two syllables structure unlike its singular base. But The nouns in 24 (e) and (f) have two syllables like CVC CV and form their pluralative by deleting the final vowel and inserting an /o/ vowel between the remaining consonant cluster. The plurative resyllabified as CV́C oC pattern.

There are also few nouns with two syllable which form plurative by ablaut and resyllabification. But the pattern is different from the above. The plurative is formed with a pattern of CâaCiC from singular base CáCCa. Consider the following examples.

25.	Singular	Gloss	Plurative	Gloss
a.	báʔla	'husband'	bâaʔil	
b.	fátla	'thread'	fâatil	

As shown in 25 (a) and(b) , the plurative is formed by deletion of the final base vowel and by insertion of /i/ on medial consonant clusters which also lengthens the initial vowel of the base.

3.3.3.4 Reduplication as a Plural marker

A group of nouns form their plurals by reduplicating their final consonant. In some cases, the final vowel may undergo deletion or change in addition to reduplication of the final consonant. There are some nouns which form their plural by dropping the vowel of their final syllable and reduplicate the final consonant. Most of the nouns have high tone on their final syllable of their base and in the plurative it moves to the left.

26.	Singular	Gloss	Plurative	Gloss
a.	kurrú	'a container for milk'	kúrr**ur**	'containers for milk'
b.	daggé '	a compound'	dágg**eg**	'compounds'
c.	ḍagé	'a farmland'	ḍag**èg**	'farmlands'
d.	koomá	'a mountain'	kôom**am**	'mountains'
e.	keená	'a thorn/prickle'	kêen**an**	'thorns/ prickles'
f.	biiro	'a pen'	bîir**or**	'pens'
g.	ikó	'a tooth'	íko**k**	'teeth'
h.	amó	'a head'	ámo**m**	'heads'
i.	gabá	'a hand'	gáb**ob**	'hands'
j.	ferá	'a finger'	fér**or**	'fingers'
k.	lak	'a leg'	lák**ok**	'legs'
l.	san	'a nose'	sán**on**	'noses'

The nouns in 26 (a-h) form pluralative by reduplicating their final consonant and shifting the tone to the initial syllable.

27. $[X\text{-}C_1\acute{V}]_{SG} \rightarrow [XC_1oC_1]_{PL}$.

In some cases there is an internal vowel change or insertion of o. As illustrated in 26 (i) and (j) the nouns undergo dissimilation process. The nouns form their pluralative by changing their base final syllable vowel **a** which is dissimilated to **o.** In 26 (k) and (l)

the base nouns are C-final and their plurative is formed by inserting a vowel **o** before reduplication of the final consonants. The vowel **o** on the plurative can be considered as epenthetic since the language does not permit two consonant at final syllable. Most of the nouns which form plurative by the method described are feminine in their base form and remain the same when pluralized.

In some forms, plurative is formed by reduplicating the final consonant followed by a vowel. Here the final vowel of the base lengthened along with the reduplication process. Interestingly, new vowel that serves as terminal vowel of the pluralative can be considered as suffix –**a** and as in 28 (a) and in (b-d), it has undergone rising into **e**, **u** or **i** respectively.

28.	Singular	Gloss		Plurative	Gloss
a.	addí	'heifer'		addî**ida**	'heifer'
b.	rugá	'calf'		ruga**age**	'calf'
c.	leemá	'lamb'		leema**amú**	'lamb'
d.	íba	'leg'		iba**abí**	'leg'

As shown in 28 (a-d), nouns form their plural reference by duplicating the final consonant along with final suffix vowel. It seems the final suffix vowel is –**a** as in 28 (b) and dissimilates to **e u** or **i** due to the terminal vowel. In addition, it is due to the final suffix vowel which lengthens the terminal base vowel before duplication. Unlike the pluralatives with ablaut and suffix –**i** in the examples of (23), the vowel of the final base do not dissimilate and remained as long **ii, aa**.

2.3.3.5 Suppletive plurals

Some nouns form their plural reference by changing the class. The nouns in (29) have unmarked singular reference and their plural reference is a different form which are the plural discussed in class A nouns.

29.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
a.	laħ	'goat;	alá	'goats'
b.	numá	'wife/woman'	agábo	'women'

c.	báḍa/á	'daughter/son'	ḍaylá	'children'
d.	áwka/á	'boy/girl'	irrò	'children'
e.	ħerá	'female donkey'	okólo	'donkeys'
f.	sagá	'cow'	lâa	'cows'

3.3.3.6 Number with derived nominal

The singular form with no base form but have a marked singular and marked Plural forms. These forms derived nouns from verb base where different formative appear when the derived noun with the singular reference add an agentive nominalizer suffix -*eena* whereas if the reference is plural they occur with agentive nominalizer suffix –*en* or in some cases add –*it* to –*en* as in 30 (c and d).

30. Verb		**Singular**	**Gloss**	**Plural**	**Gloss**
a. duh 'to be conscious'		duhêena/á	'a conscious person'	dúhen 'conscious persons'	
b. fiy- 'to comb'		fiyêena	'a comb'	fíyen/ fiyénit 'combs'	
c. soḍ- ;to forget'		soḍêena	'a forgetful person'	sóḍen 'forgetful persons'	
d. kel- 'to begin'		kelêena	'a beginner'	kélen / kelénit 'beginners'	

As shown in (30) the forms are derived nouns from verbs. It seems difficult to decide their base. However, if we assume deletion of the final vowel of the singular forms, it seems the plural is formed from its singular counterpart through deletion of final segments and vocalic adjustments[19].

3.4 Gender marking in Saaho Nominal

Before trying to analyze the specific cases of gender marking in Saaho, it is useful to consider the classification of the systems of gender assignment in the world's languages. Corbett (1991) draws a fundamental distinction between semantic and formal systems of gender assignment. Accordingly, nouns are assigned gender according to semantic and formal principles whereby most nouns are assigned gender according to morphological

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[19] Here it seems important to note that similar process also occur within the plural number suffix in nouns but both forms have plural reference. However, with the derivational morphemes such adjustment makes a distinction between singular and plural reference.

or phonological principles. Both systems are found in a variety of languages and language families, and semantic and formal criteria can overlap in a particular language.

In Saaho nouns have inherent gender or can be specified by gender morphemes along with the number values. Therefore, all nouns are gender specified and can to some extent be predicted based on their markers with some exceptions.

Based on the above, the nominal gender system of Saaho makes semantic criteria based on the structure of the noun whether it has a terminal vowel or not. Thus, the gender assignment in most V-final nouns depends on formal principles, which is the placement of tone on the nouns. So any V-final noun is designated either masculine (M) or feminine (F) gender based on the placement of tone on the ultimate or penultimate vowel. But consonant final nouns the gender assignment seems to be determined by semantic principle with some exceptions.

Saaho shows gender agreement in the subject inflection on the verb. Gender has the values masculine and feminine. All nouns are assigned either of the two values. Thus, gender is distinguished only by the agreement on the verb. Masculine nouns trigger the third person male subject agreement (marked by y- or ∽), but feminine nouns trigger third person female subject agreement (marked by t- or -t) on the verb.

In the following sections, I have presented the description of gender assignment systems in Saaho. Based on above principles, the nouns are grouped under two major categories as: V-final and C-final nouns. I have presented data and example formal gender assignment system for V-final nouns in section 3.4.1 and semantic criteria for C-final nouns in 3.4.2.

3.4.1 Formal System: V-Final Nouns

In Saaho, phonology plays a role in gender assignment of V-final nouns. Such nouns have High tone on their ultimate or penultimate syllables. The pitch alternation plays a significant role in distinguishing the gender. Most nouns with high tone on their ultimate vowel are feminine and nouns with high tone on their penultimate syllable are

masculine. However, there are some exceptions to this. A few nouns like *abbá 'father'* as in 31 (a) ,and is masculine though it has high tone on their final vowel. Similarly, some nouns as in 31 (c) and (d) *ħêewo* and *abûusa* have both masculine and feminine gender though they have high tone on their penultimate syllable.

31. a. yi   abbá usub sára   ḍaam-é
      my ather new clothe buy -3Ms.PF
       'my father bough a new clothe.'

    b. ħêewo   t- emeeté
        orphans   3Fs-come.PF
       'The orphans came.

    c. ħeew -í   y- emeeté
       orphans-NOM   3Ms-come.PF
       'The orphans came.'

    d. abûusa   t- emeeté
        in-low   3Fs- come.PF
        'The in-lows came.'

    e. abuus-í   y- emeeté
       in-low-NOM   3Ms-come.PF
       'The in-lows came.'

In Afar, *abba 'father'*, is masculine unlike its formal form. As argued in Corbett (2007:265), formal and semantic criteria may conflict and in such cases the semantic criteria may take precedence. Thus *abbá 'father'* is masculine though it has high tone on the ultimate vowel, which is normally a feminine gender marker. However, in Saaho, the gender system V-final nouns cannot be predicted from the semantic references The only means to distinguish the gender of such nouns seems the tone pattern but not semantic or biological gender. An animate noun which denote to a biologically male can be female because of high tone on its final vowel and the opposite also holds true. Such gender feature is indicated via the agreement marker of the verb predicate as in 32 (a) and (b). The semantic precedence rule of Afar does not necessarily work for Saaho like in the examples, *labhá (F)'men' ágabo (M)'women'* which are in conflict with semantic

criteria. It seems that the formal rule takes precedence over the semantic one and the case of *abbá* 'father' and *oonná 'chief'* can be considered exception.

32. a. labhá   **t**- emeeté

        men(F)   3Fs- come.PF.

        'men came'

    b. agab -í   **y**- emeeté   >> agábo

        women-NOM(M) 3Ms-come.PF.

        'women came'

As in (32) *labhá 'men'* take **t-** the 3rd person feminine marker but *agábo 'women'* takes **y-** the 3rd person masculine marker on the verb. From the two examples, we can see that the agreement markers on the verb do not go with the biological gender. In other words, thogh semantically *labhá* is masculine and *agabò* is feminine, the agreement markers show the opposite.

Thus, in Saaho the tone placement on nouns may refer to masculine or feminine gender irrespective of biological gender. Further examples are shown below.

33.	**Feminine**	**Gloss**	**Masculine**	**Gloss**
a.	baḍá	'daughter'	báḍa	'son'
b.	awká	'girl'	áwka	'boy'
c.	karé	'bitch/f dog'	káre	'male dog'
d.	rugá	'female calf'	rúga	'male calf
e.	balló	'father in low'	bállo	'mother in low'
f.	leemá	'female lamb'	lêema	'male lamb'
g.	ħassá	'one with grey hair'	hássa	'gray haired m'
h.	waateená	'one(F) who insults'	waatêena	'one(M) who insults'

Below I have put examples that show the change in gender can affect the meaning of the two clauses in 34 (a and b) and (c and d).

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34. a. tay numá   yi baɖâ   sabaʔ-t-é
         this woman my daughter bit-3Fs-PF
         'This woman bit my daughter.'

     b. yi bad-í toy baɖâ sabaʔ-é
         my son   that girl bit-3Fs-PF
         'My son bit that girl.'

35. a. amáy   awká   orob-t-é
        the   girl   enter -3Fs-PF
        'The girl arrived.'

    b. amáy awk-í   orob-é   >> áwka 'boy'
        the boy-NOM   enter-3Ms.PF
        'The boy arrived.'

The examples (34) and (35) (a) has a singular female subject and the (b) has a singular masculine subject so the verb agrees with both subjects in number and gender.

Similar gender marking also occur with the singulative suffix. Most animate plural/collective nouns form their singular/particular reference by adding the morpheme -y**ta** which can be specified by the tone alternation on the final vowel of the suffix for feminine and masculine references**.**

36. **Base form**   **Singulatve Feminine**   **Singulative Masculine**

a. ħiyáw (F) 'people'   ħiyaw-**ytó** 'a woman'   ħiyáw-**yto** 'a man'

b. okólo (M) 'donkey'   okolo-**ytá** 'a female donkey' okoló-**yta** 'a male donkey'

c. sáʔa (M) 'cattle'   saʔa-**yt**ó   'a caw'   saʔá-**yt**o 'an ox'

As shown in the glosses given 36 (a-c) the tone alternation is the only difference with respect to gender references on the base nouns and singulative forms. In the derived singulative forms the feminine has high tone on the final vowel of the suffix –y**tá** /-**tá/-yt**ó **/-t**ó whereas in the masculine the high tone moves to the penultimate or the base.

All V-final nouns, whether animate or inanimate obey the same rule for gender marking. Thus, with inanimate nouns the feminine gender is shown by High tone on the final vowel and masculine gender is shown by high tone on the penultimate syllable. Observe the following examples.

37. **Masculine**   **Feminine**

   a. wáre   'information'   layé   'water'

   b. káso   'evening'   komá   'stage/ladder'

   c. tílme   'plan'   debné 'chin'

   d. kálse 'sock'   waaní 'speech'

   e. bírta 'iron'   abd̪á   'half'

   f. wáyda 'wooden plate'   sarbá 'leg part'

   g. gónna 'cave'   daggé 'compound'

38.   a) waani   gomo-h   kab-t-e

        speech   edge-DAT   be near-3Fs-PF

       'The speech is coming to an end/near to be winded up'

There are also nouns which are homophonous formally but differ in their gender by tone placement. For example the word *alsá 'moon'* is feminine but *álsa 'month'* is masculine as in *als-i bil-é 'A new month started.'* and *alsá t-ané 'There is a moon.'*

In some nouns gender is determined by the form the final segment of the noun. In the following examples, the feminine has high tone on the final syllable whereas the masculine counterpart has penultimate high tone and undergone metathesis which changes its form into C final from V-final.

39. **Feminine**   **Masculine**

   a. numa 'woman'   num   'man'

   b. saʔlá 'sister'   saʔál 'brother'

   c. baʔlá 'house hold/wife'   baʔál 'house holder'

   d. bakló 'young goat'   bakál 'young goat'

3.4.2 Gender in C-Final Nouns

It has been stated that formal criteria alone may not show clear gender distribution in C-final nouns. For a related language Afar Hayward (1998) proposed that stressed vowel-final nouns are feminine; consonant-final and non-stressed vowel-final nouns are masculine; he also added that other nouns with final *o* and *e* are feminine. But this general statement does not perfectly predict Saaho nominal gender assignment because in Saaho C-final nouns have both stressed and non-stressed final vowel which are assigned either masculine or feminine genders. In one hand, there are nouns like *lubák 'lion(s)'* with stressed final vowel and *káʔay 'house flies'* with non-stressed final vowel which are masculine. On the other hand, there are feminine C-final nouns like *gábbay 'cobra'* and *kábiʔ 'leopards'*, which have final syllable non-stressed and like *hiyáw 'persons'*, and *habúb 'apes'* which have final syllable stressed.

In addition, the vowel on the final syllable **e** and **o** do not give us any account for gender prediction either as *gombod 'ashes'* a masculine. Therefore, the gender assignment system for C-final nouns is not predictable from the word forms based on formal criteria. In this regard, I have proposed semantic criteria for gender assignment of the C-final nouns of Saaho.

The different criterion is needed to distinguish the gender. In this regard native speaker's perception of noun is important especially with C-final nouns which refer to features of divisibility and indivisibility. Many scholars use different means of organizing nouns on a scale of mass and individual/unit references. But among these, I have considered the arrangement of ontological types that can be put in a scale of individuation based on research from various fields as cited in Clausen et al. (2010). In Clausen et al (2010:4), it is claimed that the categorization of entities into mass or count morphosyntactic classes is based on a scale of the type in (40).

40.   *liquids/substances < granular aggregates < collective aggregates < individual objects*

According to the claim, individuation is a cover term for conceptual and perceptual factors which characterize the propensity for an entity to appear as an individual unit. The opposition in turn corresponds to minimally and maximally individuated entities as:

> "the minimal elements of liquid and substances are continuous and not distinguishable: one does not interact with individual elements at all; for individual objects, the inverse holds for all the relevant properties. Granular aggregates have individuation properties similar to liquids, and tend to pattern with them morphosyntactically. Granular aggregates often have minimal elements (a grain of sand), which are small, not easily distinguishable, and one does not canonically interact with them. Collective aggregates represent an intermediate category: the minimal elements are more accessible, typically being larger than for granular aggregates …" (Clausen, D. et al. 2010:4)

In the case of C-final nouns, the middle scales granular aggregates and collective aggregates, are attested to predict gender. The gender feature is determined by the degree of individuation of the entities. Nouns like *hiyaw 'persons/people' kabiʔ 'leopards'* are perceived as collective aggregates, but nouns like *‚kaʔay 'house flies'*, *dagar 'hair',* and *hod 'wood'* are perceived as granular aggregates which are non-separable (as folks and swarms). When we examine the nouns, the first group are feminine, as well as collective aggregates whereas the latter nouns are masculine and belong to granular aggregates. Similarly, plurative forms that are derived from singular bases are collective aggregate and such forms are feminine.

3.4.2.1 C-Final Nouns with granular aggregates vs collective aggregates

Based on the scale stated above I put the nouns in the middle scale as a category with respect to their gender as masculine and feminine. So in (41), there are in two columns (a) and (b) the nouns in column (a) granular aggregates and indivisible are masculine and nouns in column (b) collective aggregates and divisible are feminine.

41. **Granular aggregates**   **Collective aggregates**

a) **Masculine**   **b. Feminine**

ħasár	'straw'	ħiyáw	'people'
káʔay	'house fly'	gabár	'farmers'
ħoḓ	'shrubes'	irób	'people of Irob'
ħaríd	'flour'	kábìʔ	'leopards'
úħun	'bleate'	ʔásben	'employees'
habúb	'baboon'	s'as'uút	'chickens'
saráw	'tree type'		
ħútuk	'stars'		

3.3.2.2 C-final nouns with liquids/Abstracts reference

C-final nouns which inherently refer to liquids and Abstracts objects or concepts are assigned masculine gender. All the nouns listed below have masculine gender in Saaho.

42. a) Liquids (Masculine)

subáħ	'butter'
sukát	'hair ointment'
arás	'yeast'
surráʔ	'nasal mucous'
rob	'rain'
ħan	'milk'

b) Abstracts nouns (Masculine)

ħaál	'behavior'
ʔulul	'famine/hunger'
raħmát	'confort'
ḓin	'sleep'
ʔafiyát	'health'
dírab	'lie/false'
niyát	'happiness'

Example sentences

43. a) rob ḍaḍáy ʔakal-is-á

   rain leaves wash-CAUS-3Ms.IPF

   'The rain washes the leaves.'

   b) oo adgoy-tíh   baró=l askúr   y-ané

   That hut-SGV.GEN near=at refuse 3Ms-AUX.PRES

   'There is refuse near that hut.'

As shown in (43), all the C-final liquids substances and abstract nouns in Saaho are masculine in gender as identified from the agreement marker on the verbs, which is a 3rd person masculine singular.

Most C-final nouns that have singular reference are masculine i.e. these nouns take 3rd person masculine singular agreement marker on the verb when used as subject. However, there are exception for the case as in (45).

44. **Individual/Singular**

    Masculine

a.   sakán   'sack'

b.   áraħ   'road/passage'

c.   arráb   'tongue'

Below, only few individual C-final nouns are identified as feminine, i.e. they take feminine subject agreement marker on their verb. It seems that most of them are borrowed forms but only *laħ 'goat'* seems indigenous word. Even it seems difficult to consider it as an individual or aggregates plural since it does not yield plurative form.

45. **Individual**

     Feminine

a.   laħ   'goat'

b.   maʔadét   'sickle'

c.   gábbay   'cobra'

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d.   dingíl   'unmarried girl'

e.   yabanít   'coffee pot'

f.   zakét   'jacket'

3.5 Number and Gender Interaction

Saaho nouns have plural or singular number as well as masculine or feminine gender in their basic forms. When nouns form plurative from singular base, they form plural plus feminine gender since in the language there is no neutral or plural gender agreement. Therefore, almost all the marked plural nouns derived from unmarked singular nouns are assigned feminine with respect to their gender. Examples are shown in (46) and (47) below.

46. **Singular** (**Masculine**)   **Plurative (Feminine)**

   a. dik   'village'   diiká

   b. íba   'leg'   ibaabí

   c. k'áyse   'priest́   k'áys**it**

47.   **Singular** (**Feminine**)   **Plurative (Feminine)**

   a) gabá   'hand'   gábob

   b) daggé   'compound'   dágg**eg**

   c) ferá   'finger'   féror

   d) saʔál   'brother'   sáʔol

   e) saʔlá   'sister'   sáʔol

Examples (46) and (47) give clear evidence on the relationship between semantics and morphosyntax systems in Saaho. The number has a close relationship with the semantic scale of mass individual stated in (40) above. Based on the semantic scale, therefore, the derived plural nouns can be grouped as the collective aggregates and are feminine gender.

In contrast to the facts above, other linguists who have documented Northern and Central verities of Saaho claim that there is a polar gender in the singular and plural

forms of most nouns. Banti and Vergari (2005:9) have pointed out that "many nouns have a plural form with different gender from the singular." They give examples that show polar gender in Saaho singular and plural forms like **dik** (SGM) *'village'* **diika** (PLF) and ʔokka (SGF) *'ear'* ʔokkak (PLM). They also state that "the change in gender can occur when a singulative is derived from a noun whose basic form has a plural or collective meaning." They cite examples like: **kimbir**ó *(F) 'bird/birds'* has sigulative form **kimbírta** *(M) 'bird'* **kinbirtá** *(F) 'bird'*; **lubak** *(M) 'lion/lions'* a singulative form **lubakt**ó *(M) 'lioness'* and the gender for singulative form is marked by tone as stated in (36).

Moreover; according to Welmers, (1952), most masculine singular nouns form masculine plurals and feminine singular nouns form feminine plural for impersonal nouns. He classifies nouns into four as: (I) masculine vowel-change plurals, masculine suffix plural, (III) feminine suffix plurals and (IV) masculine infix plurals. The masculine plurals in I, II, and IV are C-final which contradicts the present analysis in (66) and (67), but the feminine plurals in III have V-final high tone which conforms with the present analysis. We also find similar descriptions in the dictionary by Vergari and Vergari (2001), where all C-final plurative forms are described as masculine plural.

The analyses of gender of nouns that form the masculine plural from the singular does not go in line with the present description where all plurative form that are derived from the singular base have feminine counterparts. Below there are examples of plurative forms that show the agreement feminine on the verb. In (48) the plural nouns are used as subject and the agreement marker **t-** on the verb shows a feminine gender agreement.

48. a. yi sáʔol   t- emeeté   *y-emeete
         my brother.PLV 3Fs-come. PF
         'My brothers came.'

     b. k'áys-it orob-t-é   *orob-e
          priest-PLV arrive-3Fs-PF
          'The priests arrived.'

c. íkok   t - ané   *y-ane

    tooth.PLV 3Fs-AUX.PRES

    'There is teeth.'

d.   sín doodá =l   Ɂar-wá   má - t - ané

    Our village=at   house-PLV NEG-3Fs-AUX.PRES

    'There are no huts in your village.'

Here it is necessary to note that, the gender assignment with respect to derived/marked Plural forms seem o be different in the two Saaho varieties. Thus, Northern Saaho has masculine pluralatives with C-final forms as indicated above also as mentioned by Welmers (1952), Banti and Vergari (2001), and Vergari and Vergari (2001), but in Southern Saaho, based on the present analysis, all Pluralatives are assigned feminine gender. Therefore, we can say that the difference in gender assignment system on marked plural nouns can be considered as a feature that distinguishes the two Saaho varieties particularly the Irob variety, which belongs to the Southern dialect.

Another important point is the gender feature co-marked by singulative suffix -yta. In most inanimate nouns, we find additional meanings which is derived from the plural/collective nouns when the morpheme **–yta**. Such derived noun with the feminine marker designate a singulative whole entity whereas those with masculine marker designate a part from whole.

49. Base   **Singular Female**   **Singular Male**

ḍaḍáy (M)   'leaf'   ḍaḍay-**tó** 'leaves of a tree' ḍaḍáy-**to** 'a branch leaf of a tree'.

sírrày (M)   'wheat'   sirray-**tó** 'wheat plant/a farm' sirráy-**to** 'a seed of wheat'

balás (M)   'cactus'   balas-**tó** 'a cactus tree'   balás-**to** 'cactus fruit'

Ɂuuré (F)   'aloe'   Ɂuure-**ytá** 'a tree of aloe'   Ɂuuré-**yta** 'a branch of an aloe'

50.   tamaná balás-so inki ħód-da=d   wil-é

    ten   cactus-fruit one trees-SGV=in tie-1Sg.PF

    'I tied ten cactus fruits in one stick'

The examples in (49) and (50), indicate that Saaho gender assignment has a direct correlation with Part-Whole relation. The masculine singulative marker –*yta* is associated with nouns of small size or partitive reference whereas feminine singulative nouns with –*ytá* have whole reference. This goes with Corbett (2007: 251) who states that "…some languages allow nouns to take two genders according to the size and shape of the referent."

Similarly, nouns with singulative suffix **–yta**. occurs with mass reference nouns in some contexts. The marked nouns does not signify a singular reference, but have different functions such as indicating partitive/sort of/ situational reference. In (51), there are some examples of mass nouns with singulative suffix **–yta.**

51. **Mass base**   **Marked**

  a. askúr   'dirt/garbage'   askúr-ta   'a piece of dirt from the fidelity'

  b. gonbód   'ash'   gonbód-ta   'very small piece of ash'(context)

  c. maláħ   'mucous'   maláħ-to   'sort of mucous specific context'

  d. makál   'food for animals'   makál-to   'any trace of fodder'

  e. muluħú   'salt'   muluħú-yta   'pieces of salt'

As shown in 51 (a - e), the mass nouns with the singulative -yta are all masculine because the tone is on the penultimate. Thus, the suffixed on mass nouns, does not show number value, rather have partitive, sortive reading. In (52) –*yta* occurs with mass noun *ħaaħay 'wind'*. We do not consider it as a pure singulative marker rather as a morpheme that designates additional quality to the base. Thus, *ħaaħayta 'wind with some unusual quality (Ms) in a specific situation'* .

  52. ħaaħay - **tí**   ḍágay   y-ané

      wind - PART   blow-Progs.   3Ms-AUX.PRES

      'The wind is blowing.'

Another area of number and gender interaction is where the sense of plural number is neutralized.In the language, plural number seems optional. Both unmarked and marked plural nouns show either masculine (M) or feminine (F) agreement on the verb but not

Plural. Unmarked masculine plural nouns show third person masculine agreement on verbs and all feminine nouns and marked plural nouns show third person feminine marker on the verb. The marked plural subject does not show plural number agreement on the verb. i.e. plural subjects agree only with the third person singular marker which is specified for gender[20]. This seems one of the common feature in Cushitic languages is that the umber value is not an obligatory category (Hayward and corbertt (1988), Mous (2008). Thus, One can use an underived basic form of the noun that is neutral for number and the agreement on the verb is with gender and not with number. Below are some examples.

53. ku   irr- í   mango-m   weeʔ-á >> írro
    your children-NOM   be.many- NOMZ cry-3Ms.IPF.
    'Your children cry a lot.'

54. amay agab- í booħó=h   aɖíiy y-ané >> agábo 'women'
    women-Nom   firewood=for going   3Ms-AUX.PRES
    'The women are going for firewood.'

55. saʔ-í   koomá-t ûul=al árdiy y-ané. >>   sáʔa
    cattle-NOM hill-GEN DIR=by running 3Ms-AUX.PRES
    'The animals are running toward the hill.'

56. kábar   mangó ħútuk   y-ané
    Tonight many   stars   3Ms-AUX.PRES
    'Tonight there are a lot of stars.'

57. tamáy labhá ɖíba=h aʔérriy   t-iné
    the men   war=for going-off 3Fs-be.PAST
    'The men were going-off to war.'

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[20] In some texts like folk tales plural number subject agreement can be used with plural subjects, but even in that case if one substitutes it with a singular feminine subject agreement, it is acceptable and grammatical.

58. tóy ħiyáw   goobiyyé   má -beet-t-á

    that people   tortoise NEG - eat-3Fs-IPF

    'Those people/persons do not eat tortoise.'

59. irób   ħaḍó ḍéh sol-t-á

    Irob   meat   fast roast-3Fs-IPF

    'Irobs roast meat fast.'

In the above example sentences (53 -59), plural subjects **írro** 'children (M.PL)', **agábo** 'women (M.PL)', **sáʔa** 'cattle (MPL)', **ħútuk** 'stars (MPL), **labhá** 'men(F.PL)', **ħiyáw** 'people (F.PL)', and **irób** 'Irob people (F.PL) do not show number agreement on the verbs. The subject markers on the verbs are specified only for the singular number and person but not for plural number. For all the plural subjects, their verb agreements have only the third person, singular number and masculine (M) or feminine (F) gender.

In conjoined noun, the subject agreement is determined by the case of the second conjunct. Saaho has marked nominative case only on V-final masculine nouns. If the second conjunct occur unmarked for nominative case, the conjoined nouns are perceived as aggregate collectives and show feminine agreement on the verb. But if the second conjunct is marked nominative case, the conjoined nouns agree with the gender of the second noun. Below are examples that show agreement of conjunct noun with verbs.

60. gábob   ke   ibaabí ak   duddub-t-á

    arm.PLV   and   leg.PLV   upon(her) swell-3Fs-IPF.

    'Her arms and legs get swollen.' Lit. arms and legs for her gets swollen.)

61. a. agábo   ke   labhá   t-emeeté

     women   and   men   3Fs-come. PF

    'Women and men came.'

    b. labhá ke agábò   t-emeete

      men and   women-ACC 3Fs-come. PF

     'Men and women came.'

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c. labhá   ke   agab-i   y-emeete

   men   and   women-NOM   3Ms-come. PF

   'Men and women came.'

As shown in as in (60) and (61), the case form of the second conjunct plays a role in the gender agreement of the coordinated noun. The sentence examples in (60) and 61 (a) and (b), the second conjuncts are not marked for nominative case and trigger feminine agreement **t-** whereas in 61 (c) the second conjunct has **–i** marked nominative case and triggers **y-** a masculine agreement on the verb. So in conjoined nouns, only marked nominative case on the second conjunct triggers masculine agreement otherwise the unmarked nominative case nouns and accusative forms show feminine gender agreement on the ver. In Afar the case is almost similar with a little bit difference because plural sense nouns and coordinated nouns trigger both plural and/or feminine agreement marker on the verb. Hayward and Corbett (1988: 270) have pointed out that gender resolution with coordinated structures does not always trigger plural agreement. Therefore, both feminine and plural agreements are possible with coordinated structure even for two masculine nouns conjoined.

In Saaho, full person, number and gender agreement is observed when pronouns are used as subject as in the following.

62. a. átin   táy   ḥiyáw-to   t-aaḍigí-n

    you (PL) this   persons-SGV(M.ACC) 2-know. IPF -PL

    'You (PL) Know this person.'

  b. isin   tay   hada   y-igriʔé -n

    they   this   tree   3-cut. PF -PL

    'They cut this tree.'

  c. nanu mango layé   n-   ooʔobé

    we   much   water   1PL-drink. PF

    'We drank a lot of water.'

As in 62 (a) and (b), the verbs show prefix **t-** and **y**- for person, and suffix **–n** for number with 2nd and 3rd plural subject pronouns. In 62 (c) only **n-** the plural agreement occurs as a prefix. The plural number agreement is obligatorily with plural pronouns but not with plural reference nouns.

Generally, the system of gender assignment makes use of formal and semantic criteria for V-final and C-final nouns, respectively. In addition, feminine is considered the default gender because mixed group of people, unidentified entities/things and general concepts are expressed with reference to feminine gender. In the subject noun phrase, with V-final head, the final vowel is changed in to –i with masculine nouns but not in feminine nouns. This is also noted for Afar (Hayward, 1991).

3.6 Case

This section deals with the case system of Saaho . For the purposes of this section Blake's (2004:1) general definition of case has been adopted:

"Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. Traditionally the term refers to inflectional marking, and, typically, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level."

In what follows I will first present typological case system in general and the Cushitic family in particular in relation to Saaho. Then, I will describe the core cases, namely, nominative, accusative and genitive cases. The non-core cases dative, instrumental, locative, ablative, comitative are marked by postpositional clitics as described in chapter 7.

3.6.1 Nominative Accusative Case

In the description of case systems, typologists distinguish at least three different kinds of case marking systems. These systems can be characterized as follows, where the sole argument of an intransitive verb is called subject (S), the subject of a transitive verb is called agent (A), and the object of a transitive verb is called patient (P). The

Nominative-Accusative system treats agent (A) and the subject (S) in the same way but the patient (P) in different way. But in the Ergative system the subject (S) and patient (P) are treated in the same way but agent (A) in different way. The third system treats the three arguments (A), (S) and (P) differently.

The case system in Cushitic languages is considered as marked nominative and absolutive and accusative case is on pronouns (Sasse 1984). According to Sasse (1984) nouns are marked for nominative case when occur as a subject function of an intransitive verb and agent of a transitive verb and the absolutive form of the noun is used when the noun is not a subject, used in isolation, in object position, as well as when it is the predicative noun in a nominal sentence.

Based on the above classification, Saaho is a Nominative-Accusative language typologically. Such system can be clearly observed with pronouns where the forms used for subject of an intransitive verb and agent of a transitive are the same whereas a different forms for patient argument. Here are some examples.

63.   a. úsuk   ʔáre=d   say-é

         he (S)   house =in   enter-3Ms.PF

         'He entered in the house.'

      b. ísi   kúmal   t- emeeté

         she (S)   yesterday   3Fs-come .PF

         'She came yesterday.'

64.   a. úsuk   tée   sabaʔ-é

         he(A)   her(P)   hit-3Ms.PF

              'He hit her'

      b. ísi   káa   sabaʔ-t-é

         she (A)   him(P)   hit-3Fs-PF

           'She hit him.'

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As shown in (63) and (64), the personal pronouns *úsuk 'he'* and *ísi 'she'* occur as subject (S) and as agent (A) of intransitive and transitive verbs respectively. Different forms *káa 'him'* and *tée 'her'* occur as patient (P) arguments of transitive verbs as 64 (a) and (b).

In addition, in nouns the nominative accusative case system can be observed. Saaho like the system indicated for Cushitic languages has marked nominative and accusative case with pronouns and nouns. There is an exception for coordinated nouns. The nominative case marked by morphological and/or tonal means in nouns. The marked case can be easily distinguishable on some class of nouns which have penultimate tone like V-final masculine nouns as in (65) and C-final nouns as in (66).

65. a. awk-í   ħadá =l   kor -é
         boy -NOM(S) tree = on climb-Ms.PF
         'The boy climbed on the tree.'

     b. awk-í   aroorâ   y-igdifé
         boy-.NOM(A) snake (P) 3Ms-kill. PF
         'The boy killed the snake.'

     c. nanú   áwka   ħan–n-é
         we (A)   boy(P)   see- 1PL- PF
         'We helped the boy.'

66. a. aʔán   fidit-e
         frog   jump-3Ms.PF
         ' A/The frog jumped.'

     b. aʔán   yi   mir-e
         forg   me disturb sleep-3Ms.PF
         'A/The frog disturbed me at night.'

     c. ħiyaw-tí   áʔan   y - ibbiḍe
         persons-SGV.NOM(A) frog (P) 3Ms-hold. PF
         'The person held the frog.'

As shown in 65 (a -c), *awka 'boy'* is a V-final masculine noun has a marked nominative case *awk-í 'boy-NOM'*. The nominative case is marked by a vowel **–i** after deleting the terminal unaccented vowel **a,** and it suppresses the lexical tone of the base. It is used for subject of an intransitive verb and agent of transitive verb as in 65 (a) and (b). The unmarked form is used for patient's argument of transitive verbs in 65 (c).

Similarly, C-final nouns with penultimate tone on their base mark nominative case with a high tone on the final syllable which suppresses the tone of the base as in 66 (a) and (b) *aʔán 'Frog. NOM'*. This marked form used as subject and agent of intransitive and transitive verb respectively. The base form *áʔan 'frog'* used in the patient argument as in 66 (c).

67.   a. kabiʔ - tí   ḍeḍ yab-á

leopards-SGV.NOM (S) fast   stand-3Ms.IPF

'A leopard gets angry fast.'

b. . kabiʔ - tí   bákal   beet-e

leopards-SGV.NOM (A) goat(P)   eat-3Ms.PF

'The leopard ate goat.'

c. yi abba   kabiʔ - ta   y-igdife

my father (A) leopards-SGV(P) 3Ms-kill .PF

'My father killed a leopard.'

The examples (67) above show that how tone on the final syllable indicate the case of singulative form nouns. In 65 (a) and (b) *kabiʔ-tí 'leopards-SGV.NOM'* marked with **-i** nominative case when used as subject and Agent of verbs, but the unmarked singulative form *kabíʔ-ta* is used in the patient argument as in 67 (c).

In V-final feminine and C-final with tone on ultimate syllable do not show marked nominative case but accusative case when patient is focused can be marked by floating low tone as described in the examples below.

68.　a.　awká 　ḑeḑ 　ʔar-té

　　　　girl (S)　fast　grow-3Fs.PF

　　　　　'The girl grew fast.'

　　b.　amay awká　　layê　　t-oʔobé

　　　　the　girl (A)　water(P)　3Fs-drink. PF

　　　　　'The girl drank water.'

　　c.　tay ħiyaw - ti　　　　　　awkâ　gur-a

　　　　this persons-SGV.NOM(A)　girl(P) like-3MS.PF

　　　　'This person likes the girl.'

69.　a.　bakál 　　bad- é

　　　　kid goat (S) died-3Ms.PF

　　　　　'A/The kid goat died'

　　b. bakál 　　　ʔaysô　beet-é

　　　　kid goat (A)　grass(P)　eat-3Ms.PF

　　　　'The young goat ate grass'

　　c.　awk-í　　　bákal　　loy-é

　　　　boy-NOM(A) kid goat (P) count- 3Ms.PF

　　　　　'The boy looked after the kid goat.'

The example sentences in (68) and (69) shows that same unmarked forms *awká 'girl'* and *bakál 'kid* goat' are used for subject and agent.　In the patient arguments of transitive verbs　*awkâ 'girl', layê 'water' ʔaysô 'grass'* and *bákal* a floating low tone mark accusative case where high falling tone occurs on the final syllable.　However, the accusative case marking low tone normally influences the next syllable that is the first syllable of the verb. This can be illustrated below where down-step occurred following the object due to a floating tone that mark an accusative case.

70.　a. sagá　　rúga　　ꜜt-ublé

　　　　caw (F)　calf(M) 3Fs-see. PF

　　　　　'The cow saw the male calf.'

　　　b. rúga　　sagá　　t-uble

　　　　calf(M) caw (F) 3Fs-see. PF

　　　　　'The cow saw the male calf.'

　　　c. sagá　　rugâ　　t-ublé

　　　　caw (F) calf(F)　3Fs –see.PF

　　　'The cow saw a female calf.'　Or 'The female calf saw the caw.'

  In example 68 (a) and (b) the subject and object can be distinguished based on the agreement **t- (3Fs)** on the verb. In 70 (a) it has common word order SOV and a low tone on the object make down-step effect on its boundary. But in 70 (b) the order is changed to OSV which is also possible in the language and unlike the case in (a) there is no down step on the foundry.

In 70 (c), it is difficult to distinguish the subject from the object because the subject agreement marker **t- (3Fs)** on the verb can be co-referential to both nouns. It can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, when *sagá 'caw'* is co-referential to the subject agreement t- of the verb as: 'The cow saw a female calf.' On the other hand; when agreement on the verb is co referential to *rugá 'female calf'* as: 'The female calf saw the caw.' According to my informants; however, the language has a means of making clear reference such references clear. They can be disambiguated by means of sentence intonation where the floating tonal falls on the final syllable of the object NPs. Thus, accusative case, is marked by a low tone placed on the final syllable of the NPs. In 71 (a) and (b), the two interpretations are made clear by placing low tone on the final vowel of the direct object.

71.　a. sagá　　　rugâ　　ꜜt-ublé

　　　　cow (F)　　calf(F) 3Fs -see.PF

　　　　　'The cow saw a female calf.'

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b. sagâ   rugá   t-ublé
   cow (F) calf(F) 3Fs-see.PF
   'The female calf saw the cow.'

In conjoined nouns the nominative accusative system does not work because the structure does not show nominative case unless focused (see examples 60 and 61 above and conjoined pronouns in section 4.1.2 examples (11) and (12)).

3.6.2 Genitive Case

Genitive case indicates the relationship between possessor and possessed nouns in a noun phrase. It is marked by tonal and/or morphological means on the final syllable of possessor noun. The selection of genitive case marking can be determined by the gender and final syllable of the possessor noun and/or by the initial syllable of the possessed noun. Generaly the possessor is genitive case marked by high tone on the final syllable and/or morphemes like –í. –t, -tí, -(v́)h, or –hi, -(v)k. The tone on the possessor does not affect the following possessed noun. This feature can help to distinguish genitive case marked nouns from other similarly constructed compound-word. In addition, there is word boundary pouse/juncture between the two nouns unlike compound word which do not have such pouse and occur as one word (see section 2.2.3.7) . Below are examples of genitive marked nouns.

3.6.2.1 Genitive Case Marked by tonal means

Such marking is common when the possessor noun has closed syllable and head noun begin in a consonant. The exmple in (72) a supraffix marks the possessor occur presiding possessed noun. The high tone is less preceptable with some nouns with final high tone as in 72 (a) and (b). But it can be recognized with nouns which have low tone on their final syllable as in 72 (c).

72.   a. ħagos 'name of Person'   ħagós baská   'honey of Hagos'
                                 hagos.GEN honey

      b. bakal 'kid goat'   bakal san   'nose of kid goat'
                                  kidgoat.GEN nose

c. ígid 'scorpion'   igǐḑ seerá   'tail of scorpion'
                                       scorpium.GEN tail

3.6.2.2 Morphological marked genitive case

Genitive case is indicated by the morpheme –i and –t in vowel final masculine and feminine possessor nouns respectively. The possessor nouns in examples (73) are feminine and those in (73) are masculine V-final nouns.

73.   a. numá 'woman'   numá -t   angú
                           woman–GEN breast
                           'breast of a woman'
      b. awká 'girl'   awká -t   lakʔó   [awká-l lakʔó]
                           girl   -GEN earring
                           'ear ring of the girl'
      c) ħerá 'donkey (F)   ħerá   - t   garbá   [ħerá-g garbá]
                           donkey -GEN   belly
                           'belly of female donkey'

As in 73(a-c) the genitive case –t is marked on possessor nouns *rugá 'female calf', awká 'girl'* and *ħerá 'female donkey'* and mostly -t is assimilated to the first consonant of the possessed noun as in (b) and (c).

74.   a. rúga   'calf(M)   rug -í   gaysá
                           calf –GEN horn
                           'horn of the male calf'

      b. agábo 'women'   agab   - í   intí
                           women-GEN eye
                           'women's eye'

      c. dakanò 'elephant' dakan   -í   ʔaaḑá
                             elephant-GEN back
                           'elephant's back'

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In 74 (a-c) the genitive case is marked by –**i** on the possessor V-final masculine nouns *ruga 'male calf', agabo 'women'* and *dakano 'elephant'*. Here the genitive case –**i** is marked after the deletion the final vowel of the base which is like nominative case marker –**i.**

It is also possible to use – **tí** marks genitive case when the possessor nouns have short syllables as in the examples below.

75. a. ala - tí   subaħ
           goats- GEN butter
         'goat's butter'

     b. laa -tí   ḓagume
         cow-GEN breasts
        ' cow's breasts'

     c. laħ -tí   saar
         goat-GEN skin
         'skin of goat'

In 75 (a-c) –tí marks the possessor nouns *alá 'goats', láa 'cattle'* and *láħ 'goat'* which they have short syllables. The nouns have high tone in their basic form but it is suppressed due to the high tone on the suffix – tí.

The enclitic =h which is used as allative/dative case marker in its primary function can also be used for genitive case (chapter 7). This enclitic element indicates genitive relation when there is a modifying element or double genitive nouns occur in the phrase. As in 76 (a) the possessor nouns with the low final vowel, have the element –i that appears before the enclitic =h. With feminine V-final nouns =h is added following the final vowel.

76. a. ni baḓ =íh   surré   << baḓà 'son' >>
          my son-GEN- trousers
          'the trousers of my son'

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b. lamma ib =íh   gíle   <<íba>>

   two   foot-GEN toes

      'toes of two feet'

c. ku   baɖá   =h   lakʔó

   your daughter-GEN earring

      'the ear ring of your daughter'

d. toy numá   =h   migáʔ

   that woman=GEN   name

   'the name of that woman'

In these examples, the genitive case is indicated by =h/=ih which also show allative or dative case. We consider it as a second position possessor marker because they occur with modifying elements like demonstrative, possessive, numerals etc.

In addition, the enclitic =k dative/ablative case marker also functions as a genitive case marker only with inalienable possessed nouns. Alienable and inalienable possessed nouns can be distinguished by =k.

Here I put a few examples that show different readings recorded when genitive is marked by enclitic =k and the regular markers like –i, -t. When =k marked on the possessor it has definite reading whereas the regular markers show indefinite as in (77).

77. **Indefinite**   **Definite**

a) reedan -tí   numá   reedán-to =k numá

    chiefs-SGV.GEN wife   chiefs -SGV=GEN wife

     'a wife of a chief'   'the wife of the chief '

b)   numá -t kabellá   numá=k kabellá

    woman-GEN shoe   woman=GEN shoe

    'shoe of a woman'   'the shoe of the woman'\

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c) reedan-tí abbá   reedán-to=k abbá
    chiefs-SGV.GEN father   chiefs-SGV=GEN wife
    'father of a chief'   'the father of the chief '

d) sagá-t gaysá   sagá=k gaysá
    caw-GEN horn   caw = GEN horn
    'a horn of a cow'   'the horn of the cow'

78. a. reedán – to = k baɗá   gur-n-é
        chiefs –SGV =GEN daughter want-1PL-PF
        'We wanted/needed the daughter of the chief.

    b. reedan - tí   baɗá   gur-n- é
        chiefs –SGV.GEN daughter want-1PL-PF
        'we waned a daughter of a chief.'

The genitive NP in 78 (a's) are marked by regular markers and have indefinite reading whereas those in (b's) are marked by enclitic =**k** and show definite readings. Thus, the ablative marker shows specific reference of the noun to which it is attached. But the regular markers only show possessibilty but do not refer to specific reference of the possessum.

3.6.3 Source, Location and Purpose Genitives

The genitive markers also indicate nominal relations other than possession. These include source, location, purpose, etc. The examples in 79 (a and- b) show the location but (c and d) show source and (e) shows purpose.

79. a) ɗegħá -d   babúd
           head -GEN hair.
           'the hair on the head'

       b) ɗegħá -t   inkaʔá-yto
          head -GEN lice-SGV
          'head's louse'

c) baská -t maláb   [baská-m maláb]

   honey-GEN t'ela

   'a local drink made from honey'

d) baská - t   símʔe   [baská - s símʔe]

   honey -GEN candle

   'a candle made of honey product (wax)'

e) gaa l -í   saró

   camel-GEN rope

   'the rope for the camel'

Nominative		Accusative	Genitive
awk-**í**	'boy'	áwka	awk-**í**
rug-**í**	'calf-M'	Rúga	rug-**í**
awká	'girl'	awkâ	awká-**t**
rugá	'calf-F'	rugâ	rugá-**t**
bakál	'ram'	bákal	bakál
ígid	'scorpium'	Ígid	igíd
lâa	'cattle'	lâa	laa-tí
alá	'gaots'	alâ	ala-tí

 Table 3.1: **Nominal Case**

From table (3.1) we see that Saaho nouns have morphological and tonal means of marking nominative, accusative and genitive cases. The nouns with penultmate tone mark nominative case by placing a high tone on final syllable and/or V-final masculine nouns morphological case –**í**. But nouns with high tone on the altimate syllable like V-final female and C-final nouns mark acrk as cusative case by low tone. Genitive case has same marked form –**i** as nominative with V-final masculine nouns. In feminine V-final genitive case is marked by –**t** and in some short syllable nouns by –**ti** .

3.7 Nominal Derivation and Compounding

In this Section, I show four major morphological processes in the derivation of nouminals in Saaho. Generally speaking, derivation in Saaho involves both concatenative and non-concatenative process. Complex stems are formed by affixation, reduplication, compounding, and/or may involve phonological changes such as vowel quality and tonal changes.

3.7.1 Nominalization

Nominalization is a morphological process that derives nouns from roots or base of verbs. Derived nouns include action/state, and abstract, result/objective, agentive-instrumental-locative, and manner. A variety of morphological process are used depending on the base form. For example, a prefix m- is added to the verb Class I and Class II add suffixes such as –ina, -nan, -in (see section 5.1.1 for class of verbs). In addition, a base can form one or more device and a single process can derive different nouns.

3.7.1.1 Action/state nouns

Most languages of the world make use of one or more devices for creating action nouns from action verbs and state nouns from stative verbs or adjectives which show the act, the quality, or occurrence of verbs or adjectives (Comrie and Thompson 2007).

3.7.1.1.1 Action/state nominal derived from Class I verbs

State/action nouns can be derived from prefixing-verbs which are called class I in contrast to class II verbs which are suffixing. The base for the derivation is the perfective form. Action/state nouns are derived with the prefix **m-** and with initial stem vowels changed into **u** and mid long vowel shortened. Examples of derived nominals with m- are the following.

80. **Verb Root**   **Nominal**

   V(V)CVC   m-uCuC

a. emēt   'to come'   m-ummut   'coming'

b. ubul   'to see'   m-ubul   'seeing/watching'

c. ooʔob   'to drink'   m-uʔub   'drinking'

d. eeḑeg   'to know'   m-uḑug   'knowing'

With some verbs, we can have one or more derived action/state nouns. In such cases, one nominal can be formed via affixation while the other can be formed via stem modification. For example, we can have nouns which are derived from verbs like *-erde* 'to *run'* with the prefix *m-* and form *m-erdo* '*running*' and another with modification that changes the stem vowel to /*a*/ form *arda* '*running*'. Examples of such derivation are shown below.

   81. **Base**   **Action/result/ Noun**

a.   igdif-   'to kill'   gídfo   'murder'

b.   ikihin-   'to love/like'   kaháno   'love'

c.   inʔīb-   'to hate'   naʔâabo   'hatred'

d.   ibbiḑ-   'to catch'   ḑíbḑo   'catching/content'

e.   obook-   'to be born'   ubûuka   'being born'

f.   eeḑege   'to know'   íḑga   'knowledge'

g.   erde   'to to run'   arda   'running'

3.7.1.1.2 Action/State Nouns from Class II Verbs

In Saaho, there are several processes that derive stative or action nominal from class II verbs. These include suffixation, and/or change of vowel quality. The base for the derivation has no lexical tone and is like the imperative form.

 Action/state nominals derived with the suffix *-nan /–(i)na* from verbs are the following. Here the derived nouns reflect state or action based on their root verb.

82. **Base**   **Nominal**

    a. fot-   'to dig'   fot-nán/ fóto   'digging'

    b. ab -   'to do/make'   ab-nán/abína   'making'

    c. ʔar-   'to grow'   ʔar-nán   'growth'

Action/state nominals can be formed from verbs by suffixing –*to* ,-*ti,* and -*ot* where the suffix is vowel initial the base consonant become geminated.

83. **Base**   **Nominal**

    a. way-   'to lack'   way-tó   'lacking'

    b. bey-   'to take '   bey-tó   'taking'/process (tion)

    c. ōb-   'to descend/put'   ob-ti   'putting/descending'

    d. bēt-   'to eat'   bet-tó   'eating'

    e. ħab-   'to leave'   ħabb-ót/   'leaving'

    f. bak-   'to get finish'   bakk-ót/   'finishing'

There are some Action/state nouns which are formed by a nominalizing suffix –*óy*. Some verbs add the suffix -*oy* to their base and form action or state nominal. These nominal have identical form with the 1SG jussive stem of verbal paradigm (See section 5.3.3.2).

84. **Base**   **Noun**

    a. ʔaw-   'to snatch'   ʔaw-óy   'snatching'

    b. lif-   'to comb'   lif-óy   'combing'

    c. lik-   'to horn inject'   lik-óy   'injecting'

    d. kal-   'to clear/wipe up' kal-óy   'clearing'

    e. gom-   'to conclude/wind' gom-óy   'concluding/winding'

There are also action/ state nouns formed from the base verb by suffixing –*á* and –*a.* The two suffixes are distinguished based on the quality where -*á* has high vowel as in 85 (a-e) whereas the nouns in 85 (f-j) are derived with the suffix –*a* in which the tone is on the root vowels not the suffix.

85. **Base**   **Noun**

   a. os-   'to add'   os-á   'addition'

   b. soḓ-   'to not knowing/forget'   soḓ-á   'forgeting'

   c. luy-   'to be hangry '   luy-á   'hunger/famine'

   d. ḓām- 'to buy   ḓaam-á   'buying'

   e. miīl- 'to decorate'   miil-á   'decoration'

   f. kud-   'to escape '   kúd-a   'escaping'

   g. rab-   'to die'   ráb-a   'death'

   h. duh-   'to be aware'   dúh-a   'awareness'

   i. sil-   'to germinate'   síl-a   'germinating'

   j. muḓ- 'to be fat/?'   múḓ-a   'appearance'

The derived nouns with the suffix –*á* have the same form as the imperfective form of the verb whereas the derived nouns with the suffix –*a* have the same form as the 2nd person plural imperative verb forms.   For example, *ḓaamá 'buying'* and *ḓaamá 'I buy or he buys*.' as in (86):

86. a. sar   -í   ḓaam-á

         clothes-GEN buying

         'buying of clothes'

     b. úsuk sára ḓaam-á

         he   clothes buy   -3Ms.IPF

         'He buy clothes.

Nominal derived from verbs with suffix –ó or -o. The two suffixes are different based on their quality. The first suffix –o as in 87 (a-d) has a high tone whereas a low tone –o suffix has a high tone moved on the root vowel as in 87 (e-i). The form of the derived nouns in the second group have similarity with the verbal inflections of subjunctive verbs (see section 5.3.3.3)

87. **Base**   **Noun**

    a. riy   'to burn the torns'   riy-ó   'burning process'/

    b. der-   'to scream'   deer-ó   'screaming'

    c. deʔ-   'to call'   deeʔ-ó   'calling'

    d. far-   'to send'   far-ó   'message/sending'

    e. ħaḍ-   'to pour'   háḍ-o   'pouring'

    f. ħat-   'to help'   ħát-o   'helping'

    g. geḍ-   'to travel'   géḍ-o   'traveling/a trip'

    h. ḍaʔ-   'to tie a load'   ḍáʔ-o   'loading/a load'

    i. sel-   'to be conscious'   sél-o   'consciousness'

Some action/state nominals have the same form as the base form. These noun forms and the imperative verbal forms have same form but difference with tone (see section 2.2.3)

88. **Verb**   **Noun**

    a. ḍes   'to block'   ḍes   'guarantee/process'

    b. ḍīn   'to sleep'   ḍin   'sleeping'

    c. ḍ̄iʔ   'to be able'   ḍiʔ   'ability'

    d. loy   'to count'   loy   'counting'

    e. ħus   'to call/mention'   ħus   'mentioning/calling'

    f. wayis   'to make lose/miss'   wáyis   'refusing/complaining'

    g. sayis   'CAUS. to enter'   sáyis   'entrance/person'

    h. dangaħ   'to reduce'   dangaħ   'reducing/subtraction'

    i. ħadiil   'to divide'   ħadil   'distribution/division'

3.7.1.1.3 Abstract nominal derived from Adjective Roots

Nominals in this category have abstract reference and are derived by changing the vowel patterns of the adjectives to Cí(C)(i)Ce. On the derived nouns tone is placed on the penultimate. Consider the examples in (89).

89. **Adjective Root**   **Nominal**

    a. ʔasa   'be red'   ʔíse   'redness'

    b. ʔado   'be whote'   ʔíde   'whiteness'

    c. data   'be black'   díte   'blackness' dite 'darkness'

    d. anḍaḍ   'greens'   inḍíḍe   'greeness'

Similarly, abstact nouns derived from adjective roots changing their vowel pattern as CVCâaC-e as in (90). The nouns are tone on the pre-penultimate mora.

90. **Adjective/Stative Verb**   **Abstract/state noun**

    a.   lilliig-á   'be sharp'   lilláag-e   'sharpness'

    b.   uḍuud-á   'be short'   uḍáaḍ-e   'shortness'

    c.   fidiin-á   'be wide'   fidáan-e   'wideness/width'

    d.   sulħuun-á   'be smooth'   sulħáan-e   'smoothness'

    e.   ʔilis-á   'heavy'   ʔíls-a   'heaviness'

Nouns derived from adjectival roots by adding a suffix –ne as shown in (91).

91. **Adjective root**   **Nominal**

    a. meʔ-   'be good'   méʔ-ne   'goodness'

    b. um-   'be bad'   úm-ne   'badness'

    c. nab-   'be big'   náb-ne   'bigness'

A similar process can be used to derive nouns from root/base. Here the suffix is –na as shown in (92).

92. **root verb**   **Nominal**

    a. laʔ-   'to heat'   láʔ-na   'warmth/speed'

    b. kaf-   'to dry'   káf-na   'dryness'

3.7.1.1.4 Abstract nouns derived from concrete nouns

In some languages, abstract nouns can be formed from more concrete ones. In Saaho, the suffiix –íino can be added to concrete noun to form abstract meaning with the quality

of being noun'. The base nouns delete their final vowel then the suffix is added. In (93), I have put examples of abstract nouns that are derived from concert by the above process

93.   **Concrete**   **Abstract**
       a.   awka   'boy/girl'   awk-íino   'boyhood'
       b.   áyʔa   'child/baby'   ayʔ-íino   'childhood'
       c.   gortá   'kin'   gort-íino   'kinship'
       d.   gombó   'young'   gomb-íino   'youngster'
       e.   ahlé   'relative'   ahl-íino   'blood relation'
       f.   ʔánge   'brutal/bad'   ʔang-íino   'brutality'

3.7.1.2 Agent/Instument Nominalization

In Saaho prefix **m-** and suffix **–eena** are used to derive agent nominals from class I and II verbs. The agent nominal is indistinguishable from instrumental and locative nominals. Comrie and Thompson (2007: 336) state that the same is true in languages like English where *-er* is used to derive nominals like *singer* and *slicer,* agentive and instrumental respectively.

3.7.1.2.1 Agent/Instrumental nominal from Class I verbs

The most common way of deriving agent/instrumental noun from Class I verbs is through prefixing **m-** to the infinitive stem. In the derivation of agent or instrumental nominals the mid vowel of the verb stem assimilates to the initial vowel and leads to vowel harmony as in (94). The derived nominals in 94 (a) and (b) the high tone on the ultimate syllable shows gender feminine or plural agents whereas the derived masculine nouns are with a high tone on the penultimate syllable and have both instrumental/place and/or and male agentive as in 94 (c) and (d).

94.   **Verb base**   **Noun**
 a.   aad̪ige 'to know'   m-aad̪agá   'one (F) who knows'
                                m-aad̪ágá   'one (M) who knows'

 b.   aabbe   'to listen'   m-aabbá   'one (F)listener'
                                m-aábba   'one (M)listener'

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c. aʔube   'to drink'   m-aʔábá   'one (F/PL) drink(s) /

                                m-aʔába   'one (M)drinks or instrument'

d. aakume 'to eat'   m-akámá   'one (F)/PL eat(s)'

                                m-akáma   'one (M)eats/place/instrument'

3.7.1.2.2 Agent/Instrumental nominal from Class II verbs

Agent nominals are derived with the suffix –*en* for plural or–*eena* for singualr. Gender is indicated by tone on the penultimate or ultimate syllable of the singular agentive suffix. In (95) agent nominals are given

95. **Base Verb**   **Noun Agent**

a. soɖ- 'to forget'   sóɖ-en   'persons who forget'

                                soɖ-eéna   'one (M) who forgets'

                                soɖ-eená   'one (F) who forgets'

b. dēʔ- 'to call')   dêeʔ-en   'callers'

                                deeʔ-eéna   'one (M) who calls'

                                deeʔ-eená   'one (F) who calls'

The agentive suffix can also show instrumental nominal. In (96) show instrumental nouns are derived from verb with the suffix –*eena*. The derived instrumental nominals have a masculine suffix for singular and the plural suffix.

96. **Base Verb**   **Noun Instrument**

a. lūm-   'brush a teeth'   luum-eéna   'teeth brush'

                                        luúm-en   'teeth brushes'

b. sēs-   'swift'   sees-eéna   'flies fun'

                                        seés-en   'flies funs'

c. fiy-   'to clean'   fiy-eéna   'cleaning instrument'

                                        fíy-en   'cleaning instruments'

d. kal-   'to clear'   kal-eéna   'clearing instrument'

                                        kál-en   'clearing instrument(s)'

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e.	lif-	'to comb'	lif-eéna	'a comb'
			líf-en	'combs'
f.	fot-	'to dig'	fot-eéna	'hoe'
			fót-en	'hoes'

97. a. woolaʔ – tó = ko   luumêena   day-é

      olive tree –SGV= from teeth brush cut-1SG.PF

    'I cut a teeth brush from an olive tree.'

   b. ħan   faarêena=h   kel-é-n

    milk container=by divide-3.PF-PL

    'They distributed the milk by a container'

3.7.1.2.3 Patient Nominalization

Some verbs form patient nominal by the same process from the verb stem or middle forms. The suffix –en derive patent nominals as in 98 (a and b). In addition patent nominals are derived by suffix –im from middle marked verbs and the suffix vowel can assimilates to the base vowels as in 98 (c-f).

98.		**Base Verb**		**Petient Nominal**	
	a.	miil-	'be decorated'	míl-en	'ones that are decorated'
	b.	muɖ-	'be fat/big'	múɖ-en	'developed'
	c.	ħusut-	'be call'	ħusúut-um	'one who be called'
	d.	ʔulut-	'pour/spill'	ʔulúut-um	'be spilled'
	e.	mudut-	'inject'	mudut-um	'injected'
	f.	iɖit-	'pierce'	iɖít-im	'

With prefix verbs patient nominals are derived by m-and internal modification as in (99).

99.	**Base Verb**		**Petient Nominal**	
a)	erde	'to run'	m-erdó	'run race'
b)	uble	'to see'	m-abló	'view'
c)	aybulle	'CAUS.to see'	m-aybalá	'example'

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3.7.1.3 Locative Nominalization

In Saaho, locative nominal are formed from a verb that means 'a place where action of verb happens'. Locative nominal is formed by the morpheme *–im* or *–ima* from verbs which have intransitive stem.

100. **Base verb**   **Nominal**

    a.   bal- ' to go up'   bal-imá   'passage for'

    b.   kor- 'climb up'   kor-imá   'stage/ladder for'

    c.   iḍ-   'pierce'   iḍ-imá   'pierced part/a pierce'

    d.   kud-   'escape'   kud-umá   'escaping place'

    e.   ḍīn-   'asleep'   ḍin-ti-má   'sleeping place'

    f.   say-   'enter   say-imá   'gate/introduction'

Example of the sentences of locative nominals are:

101. a. kabiʔ-   ti lâa = k   bal-imá = d   ak   sug-é

        leopards-SGV.NOM cattle-ABL passage=in PROCL stay-3Ms.PF

        'The tiger stayed for the cattle in their passage.'

    b) ból = ud kor-ím - it   ed   ab-n-é

       sheer-in   ladder/stage-PLV PROCL make-1PL-PF

       'We made stages on the sheer.'

3.7.1.4 Manner nominalization

In Saaho, there is derivation pattern for forming nouns from verbs that mean 'way of acting'. The derivation of manner nominal involves reduplication for class II verbs and vowel lengthening for Class I verbs as in (102) and (103) respectively.

102. **Base Verb**   **Manner Nominal**

    a.   kud-   'escape'   kúdkud 'manner of escaping'

    b.   geḍ-   'to go'   géḍaged 'manner of walking'

    c.   rab-   'die'   rábrab 'manner of

The derivation of manner nominals from class I verbs by internal modification. As in (103) the vowel of the root lengthen.

103. **Base Verb**   **Manner Nominal**
   a.   uble 'see'   abaale 'watching manner'
   b.   arde 'run'   araade 'run-manner'

Consider the example of sentences below.

104. a.   abaale   ak   t-é
            look.NMZ for-her 3Fs-say.PF
            'She told her how to see'

   . b.   kál - im   káa t-uy-bulluyé
            clean-NMZ her   3Fs-CUAS-see.PF
            'She showed her how to clear'

As shown in the glosses for the example sentences of 104 (a) and (b), the derived nouns *abaale 'look.NMZ'* and (b) kál - im 'clean-NMZ'   show manner of the verbs.

3.7.2 Compound Nouns

Compound nouns are derived by the combination of at least two free forms, such as nouns, and verbs. Compound nouns show different semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics. In the sub sections below, I have described the types of compounds based on directionality as endocentric, exocentric or coordinative compounds.

3.7.2.1 Endocentric compounds

Endocentric compound denote a subclass of items referred to by one of their elements this element can be treated as the *head* of the compound.

105. a.   [ibi-gile]   'toe'
                ib -i   gíle
                leg -GEN thumb/toe

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b.　　[Ɂas-ból]　　　　　　'name of sheer'

　　Ɂasa ból

　　red sheer

c.　[mandug-aaní]　　　　　'armed'

　　mandug aní

　　fire-arm have.NOMZ

d.　[idɠaɁ-Ɂáre]　　　　　'school'

　　idɠa　　　-t　　Ɂáre

　　knowledge -GEN house

As shown in (106) the glosses of each component signify the concept for the whole compound nouns. Thus, *gile 'thumb/toe', bol 'sheer', Ɂare 'house'* are the heads of the compound nous.

3.7.2.2 Exocentric compounds

Endocentric compounds designate something which is different from either of their components.

106. a.　[kaakoyti-kabellá]　　　　　'place name'

　　kaako –yti　　　kabella

　　egles-SGV.GEN shoe

b.　[k'alamɁáre]　　　　　　'paper'

　　k'alam　Ɂare

　　ink-GEN house

c.　[sayyowagáris]　　　　　　'name of tree'

　　sayyo　-t　　wagaris

　　femals –GEN agreement

d. [ʔadooħa-koōnó]   'fool moon'

  ʔadooħa koono

   three fives

As shown in (107) the gloss for each component and for the whole compound nouns are different. Thus, such compound nouns signify something which is neither of the components.

3.7.2.3 Coordinate compounds

In coordinate compound, both words equally share head-like characteristics. They can be a combination of synonyms, combination of antonyms or a combination of parallel things. The following are examples:

107. a. nef-kee-ʔaādá   'opposite'

   nef ke ʔaadá

   face and back

  b. [ħaalo-ɖéɖ]   'length'

   ħaalo ɖéɖ

   height tall

  c. [koro-saráħa]   'temperate'

   koro sárha

   high land low land

3.7.2.3.1 Noun-Noun Compounding

The noun compounds are separated by the genitive marker which is inserted between the components of a compound. These morphemes formally resemble genitive markers. But, compound nouns are morphosyntactically and semantically different from genitive noun phrases. Thus, unlike the phrases, which consist of two phonological words, they constitute one phonological word. They have a single high tone on the final or penultimate syllable which is assigned by rule according to the gender of a compound.

Below, there are some examples which help to distinction compound from and genitive phrase.

108.   Genitive phrase   **Compound noun**

  a) sek-tí kabellá   sektikabélla

     Sheik-GEN Shoe   sheik-GEN shoe

     'shoe of sheik'   'accessible'

  b) igíd seerá   igidseéra

     scrorpium GEN tail   scorpium.GEN tail

     'tail of scorpium'   'unfriendly'

The examples in (110) are root compound words which have noun-noun compounds and genitive in between.

109.   **Noun + Noun**

  a.   [san-gáde]   'name place'

     san   gáde

     nose.GEN river

  b.   [sayyot-alá]   'hen'

     sayyo -t   alá

     female-GEN goats

  c.   [santi-radíd]   'mustache'

     san - ti   radíd

     nose-GEN beard

  d.   [saaraħ-ħimbó]   'squiller'

     saara-t   ħínbo

     tail -GEN fur

  e.   [meelatágle]   'assembly of clan'

     meela-t   ágle

     clan -GEN assembly

3.7.2.3.2 Adjective -Noun Compounding

There are compound nouns that show modification of the noun with adjectives or numerals. The compound nominal are rarely differentiated from similar constructed phrases. However, they have specific reference which is different from the phrasal construction.

110. **Modifier + Noun**

    a. [ʔado-ħaysú]   'semen'
        ʔado ħaysú
        white urine

    b. [ʔasa-ból]   'name of a steeply mountain'
        ʔasa ból
        red   sheer

    c. [ʔasi-ímba]   'name of mountain'
        ʔasa imbá
        red mountain

    d. [ʔasa-ála]   'lies'
        ʔasa alá
         red cattle

    e. [lammagárba]   'dilemma'
         lamma garbá
         two   belly

    f. [lamma gabta]   'milking with two hand'
        lamma gabta
        two hand

3.7.2.3.3 Synthetic compounds

The synthetic compound can also be called verbal compound. It is characterized by a co-occurrence of particular formal characteristics with particular restrictions on

interpretation. The formal characteristic is that a synthetic compound has as its head a derived word consisting of a verb plus one of a set of affixes like agentive -er, nominal and adjectival -ing, and the passive adjectival -en). Saaho has similar compound nouns. The following are examples of synthetic compounds;

111.   **Noun – Deverbal Nominal**

    a. [ware-beya]   'dissemination of information'
        waré béy-a
        information take-NMZ

    b. [ħaɖa-aben]   'herbs doers/pharmacists'
        ħaɖá ab   - en
        herb   make-NMZ

    c. [baaɖo-ħabén]   'migrants/foreigners'
        baaɖó ħab-én
        village leave-NMZ

    d. [baaɖo-ħínta]   'one feel sickness due to environment'
        baaɖó   ħín -ta
        village lack-SGV

    e. [ɖiba- gúre]   'war seeking'
        ɖíba gúre
        fight find.NMZ

    f. [saʔim- ħína]   'menstruation'
        saʔ-i-m   ħín-a
        cattle-GEN-IND leave-NMZ

    g. [alsibilo]   '1st day of the month'
        als   - i   biilo
        month-GEN appear.NOMZ

As shown in the examples most common constituent in synthetic compounding is a direct object, as in 112 (a-f) and there are a few examples of an intransitive subject which can get compounded, as in 112 (g).

In addition, there are some compound nouns occur with case clitics such as locative =l 'at', =ko/=k elative 'from' or allative =h 'toward'. The compounds form single word where any affix can be added to the last element as in the following examples.

112. a. [ħadal-obtí]   ' reconciliation which is undertaken under a tree'
         ħadá=l   ob-tí
          tree =at sit-NMZ

     b. [ʔuruh-kali]   'eating small amount for life'
          ʔur   =uh   kal   - i
          enduring=DAT resisting-NOMZ

     c. [boluk-ɖiíne]   'type of ape'
          bol =uk   ɖiíne
          sheer = upon asleep

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have described the inflectional and derivational morphology of Saaho nominal. The nouns show morphological processes for number, gender and case. In the language, the general number system has the values general, singular and plural. The general reference co-occur with singular and plural references which offers three possibilities. The first is that the general is combined with the singular, giving a general/singular versus plural system; the second possibility is a mirror image of this, which has system conflates general and singular reference and opposes it to plural reference. Corbett (2000) terms it general/singular vs. plural system. And the third possibility is a system that has different forms for the three number values- general, plural and singular. Therefore, we have described that Saaho has all the three possible systems for number values. In addition, we have add one Class for Mass abstract and single nouns where they don't have morphological marking for number. Based on their

morphological and semantic criteria, we have classified nouns in to three classes for number. General/plural, General and General/Singular nouns as Class A, Class B and Class C, respectively.

Gender: in Saaho there are two gender distinctions, masculine (M) and feminine (F). Plural Agreement can be found with pronoun subjects or with honorific function which is associated only with age. But as we are concerned with nouns, we have only masculine and feminine. Plural nouns agree with feminine or masculine based on phonological or semantic criteria stated below.

1. All V-final low tone nouns are masculine

2. All V-final high tone nouns are feminine

3. Gender in C-final nouns is assigned based on mass-individual scale which gives more accurate result. Therefore, on the scale nouns classed only the collective aggregate reference are feminine but those which have references to liquid/substance, granular aggregates and individual object are masculine. (see the scale in 64)

The different readings or meanings associated with number and gender have been described. Thus, singulative suffix non animate nouns show different reading with respect to gender feminine and masculine. Thus, feminine has whole reading but masculine marked nouns have partitive or sortitive reference.

Case: Saaho we have discussed that case is marked on subject which have only low tone on final vowel. In addition, the object is marked by a floating low tone on the final syllable of the noun. Finally, we have described genitive case which is assigned by tone and/or by position with c-final nouns and by morphemes which is marked on possessor noun like –t on V-final feminine, -i on V-final masculine and –h as a second marker.

Nouns are derivation from verb roots by means of ablaut and or affixes. Nous derived from Class I verb roots have both ablaut and prefixation, where as nouns from class II verbs involve suffixation.

Compound nouns are formed from two stems. The coordinate compounds are noun-noun, adjective/numeral-noun and synthetic compounds are noun-derived forms.

Chapter Four

Pronouns and Determiners

In this chapter, I describe the determiners class according to their functions. The term refers to the closed set of items which includes pronouns, definite and indefinite articles, and demonstratives.

4.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns have different forms for nominative and accusative cases. They are also marked for cases like dative, locative, ablative, etc. The personal pronouns distinguish first, second, and third person singular and plural. Gender is marked only in third person singular.

Pronouns are free and bound. I show the first forms which occur as subject, object, reflexive, reciprocals. I show clitics which occur with verb as subject agreement markers along with other verb inflections. The other bound ones are described in chapter 7 because they occur as pre verbal clitics which are referred to as proclitics or "adpositional clitics", or "applicatives".

4.1.1 Subject Personal Pronouns

The Subject personal pronouns have seven distinct forms, i.e. six forms for first, second, and third persons with singular and plural numbers, and two forms in the third person singular which have gender feminine and masculine. Below in table (4.1), I put personal pronouns singular and plural forms.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	anú	nanú
2nd	átu	átin
3rd M	úsuk	
3rd F	ísi	ísin

Table 4.1 Subject Pronouns

As shown in table (4.1), the 1st person forms have high tone on the ultimate vowel whereas the others a penultimate. Plural number marker is **–n-** which occurs as a prefix for 1st person singular, and a suffix for the others. The plural forms *n-anú 'we', áti-n 'you Pl' and ísi-n 'they'* all show –n- either as a prefix or as a suffix. Thus, 1st person has different features which the others do not.

These pronouns occur in the position of a noun phrase as in the following examples.

1. a) maʔaró ʔsub sára ḍam –t -é

        Maaro new cloth buy-3Fs-PF

        'Maaro bought a new clothe.'

    b) ísi ʔsub sára ḍam –t -é

        she new clothe buy-3Fs-PF

        'She bought a new clothe.'

    a) Súba kimbir-tó bálih goylís-ay y - iné

        Suba bird -SGV like sing -PROG 3Ms-be.PAST

        'Suba was singing like a bird.'

    b) úsuk kimbir-tó bálih goylís-ay y - iné

        He bird - SGV like sing - PROG 3Ms-be.PAST

        'He was singing like a bird.'

Subject pronouns show agreement with verbs and because of this they can be phonetically null. When contrastive reference or emphasis is made subjects can be obligatory. Consider the following examples below.

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2. a. ísi layê   t-oʔobé
      she water 3Fs-drink.PF
    'She drank water.'

   b. átu layê   t - oʔobé
      you water 2SG.-drink.PF
    ' You drank water.'

3. a. anú inqooqoħô loy - é
      I   eggs   count-1SG.PF
    'I counted the eggs'

   b. úsuk inqooqoħô loy - é
      he eggs   count-3Ms.PF
    'He counted the eggs'

4. a) úsuk atú rad- d - é   gul   y - oosolé
      he   you fall-2SG-PF time 3Ms-laugh.PF
    'He laughed when you fell.'

   b) úsuk ísi rad-d - é   gul   y - oosolé
      he   she fall-3Fs-PF time 3Ms-laugh.PF
    'He laughed when she fell.'

4.1.2 The Short and Long Object Pronoun forms

In Saaho, object pronouns have two forms: the short base forms and long which are compounds. They have different distributions. Banti and Vergarri (2001) described them as non-subject pronouns and referred to them as short and long forms. In this study it seems that the long ones are compound forms which correspond to the short forms. Consider the examples below.

	Short forms		Long forms	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	yi	ni	yó-yya	nó-yya
2nd	ku	sin	kó-yya	sín-a
3rd M	kaa	ten	kâa-yya	tén-a
3rd F	tee		têe-yya	

Table 4.2 Object Pronouns

In table (4.2), the short forms are mono syllabic which have CV or CVV for singular and CV-C in the plural reference. Similar to the subject pronouns, the plural marker –n- occur as prefix on the 1st person and as suffix on the 2nd and 3rd persons on object pronouns.

The long forms are formed from their short counterparts. This involves attaching *iyya* *'one who'* to the short forms. Moreover, there is a change of the final vowel of the pronouns with weak syllables. The short vowels i and u [+High] are changed to -o.

It is necessary to note that the short and long pronoun show different properties both formal and syntactically. . Both pronominal forms can occur in preverbal position. The short forms occur as direct object of argument position whereas the long forms occur as free forms as indirect object. Below are examples of structures with such pronominals.

5. a) ísi yóyya gur -t -é

    she me.who want-3Fs-PF

    'She wanted for me.'

   b) ísi yi gur-t-é

    She me want-3Fs-PF

    'she wanted me.'

6. a) úsuk yóyya waagí-iy y-ané

    he me.who look for-PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES

    'He is search ing looking for/to me.'

b) úsuk yi   waagí-iy   y-ané.

   he   me   look for-PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES

   'He is seeking me.' Or 'she is in need of me.'

c) úsuk yoyya   yi waagí-iy   y-ané (Focus)

   he   me.who me look for- PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES

   'He is looking for me'

d) *úsuk yi yoyya waagí-iy   y-ané

   He me me.who look for-PROG 3Ms-be:PRES

   'He is looking for me'

7. a) anú kóyya u-ble

   I   you.who 1SG-see.PF

   'I saw to you'

b) anú   ku u-blé

   I   you 1SG-see.PF

   'I saw you'

c) anú   kóyya   ku   u-blé (Focus)

   I   you.who   you 1SG-see.PF

   'I saw you.'

d) *anú ku kóyya u-blé

   'I saw you.'

As shown in examples 6-8 (a) and (b) both pronouns are used as object references with some pragmatic differences in meaning. In the examples in 8-10 (a's) *yóyya* 'me' occurs as an answer to questions like: *íyya gurtê 'whom did she want?'* or *íyya wâagiy tinê 'whom has she been looking for?'*. The focus is on the object but in 8-10 (b's) *yi* 'me' occurs as an answer to a question *iyyi ku gure 'who wanted you?'* or *iyyi ku waagiy yine 'who has been looking for you?'* where the the focus is on the subject.

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Apart from the phonological reduction, the short pronouns show different morpho-syntactic behaviors compared to the long ones. When both forms occur in a structure, the short one occurs with the verb as an incorporated object or main argument of the verb and the long forms occur distant or free as oblique object or as an adjunct /topic but not vice versa. Thus, in examples 7 and 8 (c) both *yóyya* and *yi* 'me' occur in the same clause. Their order is fixed in that *yi* '*me*' appears syntactically bound and *yóyya* '*me.who*' occurs free and away from the verb. The reverse position for the two forms is not grammatical. This has been illustrated in sentence in 9 and 10 (d) which are unacceptable.

In addition, there are syntactic positions that allow only the long pronouns. In the examples below I show that only the long forms occur as complement of predicate and in converbial like constructions as in the following examples.

8. a) íyya   kinnî
      who.ACC   be.PRES.3SG. Q
      'Who is it?'

   b) yóyya   kinní
       me who ACC be.PRES.3SG
         'It is me.'

9. a) támah   ab-t-é-m   íyya   kinnî̂?
        This. like   do-3Fs-PF-RELV who   be. PRES. 3SG. Q
      'Who is it the one(s) who did like this?'

   b) támah   ab-t-é-m   yóyya   kinní
      This.like   do-3Fs-PF-RELV me-who be.PRES.3SG
       'It is me who did like this.'

10. a)   íyya   gur-é-h   y-emeetê
          who.ACC want-3Ms.PF CONV 3Ms-come.PF -Q
            'why did he come?

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b) úsuk sína   gur-é-h   y-emeete

He   you.PL.who want-3Ms.PF – CONV 3Ms. come.PF

'Having wanted you, he came.'

c) * úsuk sín gur-éh y-emeete

He you.PL.ACC want – CONV 3Ms-come.PF

'Having wanted you, he came.'

As shown in the sentences in (9-11) only the long pronoun forms occur as a complement of predicate clause with the copula verb *kinni 'it be'* as a responses to the stated questions asked with *íyya 'who'* as in the (a's). Similarly, in 12 (b), sína 'you.PL' the long pronoun form occur along with the converbial construction. Here, the short form sin 'you PL' is not acceptable as indicated in 12 (c).

Therefore, it seems that both the short and the long forms can occur in the same clause as objects. However, only the short forms are patient argument for the verb. And the long form has only a non-argument function of either as an adjunct or used for emphasis.

Another interesting point about the short and long pronouns is that only the long ones occur as conjoined subjects with a coordinative conjunctive *kee 'and'* . Neither the subject nor the short object pronouns can be used with coordinative conjunctives. Examples are the following:

11. lemlem ke doori   t-emeete

Lemlem and Dori   3Fs-come.PF

'Lemlem and Dori came.'

12. a) tée ke káyya   t-emeeté

Her and him.who 3Fs-come.PF

'She and he came.'

b) t -emeeté-m   tée ke káyya   kinní

3Fs-come.PF-REL   her and him.who 3SG. be

'It is her and him that came.'

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c) * téyya ke káyya

　　 her.who and him.who

　　 'id'

d) * téyya ke kaa 'id'

e) * ísi　ke úsuk t-emeeté

　　 She and he 3Fs-come.PF

　　 'She and he came.'

f) *ísi ke káyya t-emeeté

　 She and him 3Fs-come.PF

g) t-emeeté-m　　　　　 tée ke káyya　　 kinní

　 3Fs-come.PF -RELV　 her and him.who　 3SG. be

　　 'It is her and him that came.'

In the above examples in differ.ent forms are used with reference to the coordinated proper names as Lemem and Dori who are coordinated subject of the sentence in (11). Only the long forms: *tée ke káyya 'she and he'* as in 12 (a) can be coordinated by *kee 'and'* to be used in reference to the proper names. The form of pronouns are not the same when they occur as in first and second position with the conjunction. Thus, the first constituent occurs without *-iyya 'who'* but the second constituent with *-iyya* as in *kayya 'him.who'*. Similarly, as shown in 12 (b), it is like a cleft construction. in 12 (c) -*iyya* does not occur in both positions. The same is true with the first constituent as in 12 (d). Furthermore, the subject pronouns are not used in coordinative conjunctions as illustrated in 12 (e) and (f). It is necessary to consider that nominative accusative system does not work with coordinated subjects (see section 3.3).

4.1.2.1 Object Pronouns with Case

Object pronouns can be followed by postpositional enclitics. These are =h 'to/for' for dative, =d 'in/on' and =l 'at/on' for locative, =k 'upon/*from*' for ablative/adversative, and =lih 'with/by' for comitative (detail are in chapter 7). Below are some of them.

	Dative	Locative	Locative-	Ablative/adversative	Comitative
	=h	=d	=l	=k	=lih
	Short			**Long**	
1S	yó=h	yó=d	yó=l	yóyya=k	yóyya=lih
2S	kó=h	kó=d	kó=l	kóyya=k	kóyya=lih
3SM	kaá=h	kaá=d	káa=l	káyya=k	káyya=lih
3SF	teé=h	teé=d	teé=l	téyya=k	téyya=lih
1Pl	nó=h	nó=d	nó=l	nóyya=k	nóyya=lih
2Pl	sín=ah	sín=ad	sín=al	sín-a=k	sín-a=lih
3Pl	tén=ih	tén=id	tén=il	tén-a=k	tén-a=lih

Table 4.3 Pronouns with case enclitics

As shown in Table (4.3) There is a change of vowel -i, -u to –o in the 1st and in the 2nd singular short form when the case enclitics are attached to them as in *yo=h 'for me'* where the base form is yi 'me'. There is also an epenthetic vowel in the 2nd and 3rd plural short forms as in *sin=ah 'for you'* from *sin 'you'* because final consonant clusters are constrained in the language. The following example sentences illustrate short form pronouns with case enclitics.

13. a. adî-ik   no=h   sug-é-n
         go-PROG   us=DAT   stay-PF-3PL
         'They stayed for us walking.'

    b. kar-í   no=d   say-é
         dog-NOM   us=LOC   enter-3Ms.PF
         'A/the dog entered into us'

    c. badeda - yti   no=k   kud- é
         thiefs-SGV.NOM us=from   escape-3Ms.PF
         'The thief escaped from us.

    e.   ʔar-í   no=l   rad-é
          house-NOM   us-LOC drop-3Ms.PF
          'The house fall around us' LOCATIVE

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f. anú tê = llih   amiite   li-(y)ó

    I   her-COM come.INF have-1SG .FUT

    'I will come with her.'

The case enclitics can also occur in long object pronouns. When both forms occur the short form is close to the verb. Observe the structures in 14 (b).

14. a) ku migáʔ íyya   kinnî?

    your name who.ACC 3SG.be.Q

    'What is your name?'

  b) yo-yya = k   azeb yo=k   y-á-n

    me-who=for Azeb for-me 3-say.IPF-PL

    'She is called Azeb' Lit. They call for her Azeb.'

4.1.3 Possessives

Here, I show two types of possessive forms. These are possessive modifiers and possessives pronouns. The form of possessive modifiers is like the short object pronouns and they   occur preceding a noun. The possessive pronouns are compound forms that occur as complement. The following table shows the possessive modifiers.

Possessives

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	yi	ni
2nd	ku	sin
3rd M	kaa	ten
3rd F	tee	

Table 4.4 Possessives

These possessives always occur as attributive modifiers in a noun phrase. Below, there are some example sentences that show the function of possessive modifiers.

15. a. yi numá felô ab-t-é

my wife food make-3Fs-PF

'My wife prepared the food.'

b. ni saga   baɖaʕ-t-é

our cow   conceive-3Fs-PF
'Our caw got conceived'

c. ku abbá ʔaroorâ y-igdifé

your father snake 3Ms-kill.PF

'Your father killed a snake.'

d. sin   gaba= d barkat   hay

your.PL hand= in prosperity put. IMP

'Let prosperity come on your hand.' (Blessing)

Possessive pronouns are formed from possessive modifiers with indefinite pronominal clitics like *–im* or *-mára* 'IND.PRN(PL)' or *–íyya* and *-tíya/tiya* 'IND.PRN(SG)'. These forms can occur in NP positions in a clause where *-im* and *-iyya* are mostly used in reference to non-human possessum and *-mára* and *-tíya/tiya* for personal reference.

The forms for non-personal reference are the following:

Person	Pronoun form with -iyya Possessed singular		Pronoun: with –im possessed Plural	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**plural**
1	yi-yya	ni-yya	yi-m	ni-m
2	ku-yya	sin-iyya	ku-m	sín-im
3 M	kaa-yya	tén-iyya	kaa-yim	tén-im
3 F	tee-yya		tee-yim	

Table 4.5: **Possessive pronoun for non-personal possessum**

As shown above (Table: 4.5) the non-personal possessive pronouns undergone phonological processes. There is vowel elision where i of *-iyya* and *-im* are elided as in 1st person and 2nd and 3rd person singular possessive pronouns. In addition, there is a glide /y/ insertion in the 3rd singular pronouns. Consider the following structures of non personal possession reference.

16. a) tay faras   iyy-í-yya   kinnî?
        this horse   who-GEN-one be.3SG.be
         'Whose is this horse?'

     b) yí-yya   kinní
         my-one   be.3SG.be
            'It is mine.' Lit: 'it is mything.'

     c) kú-yya   kinní
        your-one   be.3SG.be
        'It is yours.'

     d) ní-yya   kinní
         our- one   be.3SG.be
         'It is ours.'

17. a) toy nuwáy   iyy-í-m   kinnî?
        That furniture who-GEN one.PL be.3SG.be
       ' Whose are those furniture?'

     b) sín-im   kinní
        your.PL-things   be.3SG.be
        'these are yours.' Lit. those are your things.'

     c) tén-im   kinní
        their-things be.3SG.be
        'those are theirs.'

When the reference of the possessed noun is to human, the indefinite forms -tiyá 'one-F' –tíya 'one-M'. and –mára 'ones' are used. The selection of the indefinite forms is based on the number and/or gender of the possessum. Below, I show all the forms of possessives used with personal reference.

	Possessive with -tiya		Possessives with –mara (for people	
Person	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Singular**	**plural**
1.	yi-tiya	ni-tíya	yi-mára	ni-mára
	yi-tiyá	ni-tiyá		
2.	ku-tíya	sin-tíya	ku-mára	sin-mára
	ku-tiyá	sin-tiyá		
3 M	kaa-tíya	ten-tíya	kaa-mára	ten-mára
	kaa-tiyá	ten-tiyá		
3 F.	tee-tíya	ten-tíya	tee-mára	ten-mára
	tee-tiyá	tee-tiyá		

Table 4.6: **possessive pronouns for personal possessum**

As in shown in (Table 4.6), the singular possessum reference has gender distinction marked on the penultimate or ultimate vowel of the possessive pronouns. The examples of structures with possessive pronouns with personal reference include the following.

18. a) iyy - i   báda   kinnî
         who-GEN son   be.3SG.be.Q
         'Whose son is he?'

   b) yi - tíya   kinní
         my-one.M be.3SG.be
         'He is mine.'

19. a) iyy-i   badá   kinnî
         who-GEN daughter be.3SG.be.Q
          'Whose daughter is she?'

   b)   yi-tiyá   kinní
         my-one.F be.3SG.be
          'She is mine.'

In addition to these, complex forms can be used in a noun phrase which has more than two modifiers. Observe the following examples.

20. a) táham   iyy -í   tiya =h   mára   kinnî
       these   who-GEN-one(F)=GEN people 3SG.be .Q
       'Whose wife's people are these?'

   b) yi numa = h   mára
       my wife =GEN people
       'my wife's people'

   c. yi -tǐ   =íh   mára
       my-one (M)=GEN- children
       'id.'

21. a) tay ħan   iyy – í - ti - íh - im   kinnî
       this milk who-GEN-one(M)-GEN-things be.3SG.be.Q
       'Whose cow's milk is these?'

   b) tee - iyyá = h   ħan kinní
       her –one –GEN milk be.3SG.be
       'these are her caw's milk'

   c) tee – iyyá - h - im   kinní
       her –one(F)-GEN-things be.3SG.be
       'id'

In (21) and (23) the responses in (b) show that genitive constructions with two modifiers and in (c) complex possessive forms are used for these (b).

4.1.4 Object and Possessive

In this sub section, I show how to distinguish short object pronouns from possessive modifiers. Banti and Vergari (2001) use the term non personal pronouns to refer to them.

They occur in different syntactic positions such as in pre-verbal and in pre nominal position. Observe the following how both form occur in different syntactic positions.

22. ísi ku ħabadá   ku   bett-iis-t-é
    she your bread   you(ACC) eat-CAUS-3Fs-PF
    'She fed you your bread.'

23. káa iná   káa   sabaʔ-t-é=h   weéʔ-ay   y-ane
     his mother him   hit-3Fs-PF=CNV cry-PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES
     'He is crying because his mother hit him.'

24. yi   iná   yi ḍal-t-é
    my mother me give birth-3Fs-PF
    'My mother gave birth to me.'

As shown in the examples above, *ku, kaa* and *yi* occur preceding the nouns *ħabadá 'bread'* and *iná 'mother'* . They also occur in pre verbal position as *ku bettiissé 'she fed you' '*, *káa sabaʔté 'she hit'* and *yi dalté 'she gave birth to me.'* in which *ku, kaa* and *yi* function as object.

In some constructions both functions can be unclear. Consider the following example:

25. a) ?? *yi ħáto kinní* 'It is my help.' Or 'He will help me.'

The sentence is ambiguous because it can be an answer for the two questions stated in 27 (a) and 28 (a).

26. a) iyy-í   hátô?
        Who-GEN help .Q
        'Whose help?'

    b) [yi ħáto]_NP [kinní]_CV
        my help   be.3SG.be
        'It is my help.'

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27. a) íyya   háto   kinnî?
       who.ACC help.SUJN.3SG .be.Q
       'Whom will he to help?'

   b) [[yi]_{NP} [ħát-o   kinní]_V] _{VP}
        me   help3Ms.SUJN 3SG. be
       'He will help me.'

Thus, the expression in 27 (b) is 'it is my help.' where ħ*áto 'help'* is a nominal derived from the verb hat- 'to help' so *yi 'my'* is a possessive pronoun which is part of the NP and occurs as complement for the verb *kinni ' be .PRES',* but in 28 (b) 'He will help me.' where ħ*áto kinni 'he will help'* is a compound verb which is a subjunctive form of verb class II with compound auxiliary *kinni 'be. FUT* (See Chapter 5, section 5.3.4.5). and *, yi 'me'* is an object for the whole compound verb.

Therefore, it seems difficult to distinguish possessive and short object without considering their syntactic function. However, unlike the short forms, the long forms seem helpful to distinguish these two functions. We can see some phonological changes with the forms of long object pronouns as they are compared to non personal possessive pronoun. In object pronouns like *yo-iyya 'me'* and *ko-iyya 'you'* the close vowels of *yi 'me'* and *ku 'you'* are changed to *o.* In non personal possessive pronouns like *yi-iyya 'mine'* and *ku-iyya 'yours'* derived from *yi 'my'* and *ku 'your'*, there is no such change of vowel.

4.1.5 Reflexives

The reflexive paradigm has two categories for person. The distinction is between the 1st person in one category and both 2nd and 3rd persons another category. The two categories also have number distinction, singular and plural, but not gender.

Based on syntactic function, the reflexives occur in object or modifier positions with the same reference to the subject of the clause. There are two types of reflexive forms which are distinguished by their final vowel and tone placement. The reflexive object pronouns

have penultimate tone and a terminal vowel –e whereas the possessive reflexives have a terminal vowel –i which has high pitch accent. What follows are discussion of reflexive pronoun and reflexive possessive in the sub sections.

4.1.5.1 Reflexive Pronoun

Reflexive object pronouns have four forms. Unlike, the subject and object personal pronouns, they indicate only two persons distinction along with number as shown in table 4.6.

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ínne 'myself'	n-ínne 'ourselves'
2/3	íse	sín-ne
	your/him/herself	'your/themselves'

Table 4.7: **Reflexive Pronoun pardigm**

As indicated on (Table 4.7), the base form is *inne 'myself'* of the 1st person singular which adds number marker *n-* a prefix and form *n-inne 'ourselves'*. But, the forms of the 2nd and 3rd persons singular and plural references seem independent forms *ise* and *sinne*.

The reflexive pronoun are always coindexed with the subject of the clause and do have the same reference. Below are some examples.

28. a) ísi íse sabaʔ-t-é

    she self hit-3Fs-PF

    'she hit herself.

  b) úsuk karrá = h   íse   biyak-é

     he   knife=COM self   wound-3Ms.PF

     'He wounded himself with a knife.'

  c)   átu   íse   kiħin-á

     you (SG)   self   like -3SG.PRES

     'You like yourself.'

d) sínne áb-a

   selves make-IPV.2.PL

   'Do yourseves.'

e) sínne ab-oon-áy

   selves do-3.JUSF.PL

   'Let them do themselves.'

As shown in 29 (a-c), the sentences has a reflexive pronoun *íse* *'self'* with three different references. The reference of *ise* as *herself, himself* or *yourself* depends on the subject of each sentence *ísi 'she', úsuk 'he'* and *átu ''you(SG)'* for which it is coindexed. In addition, as in 29 (d) and (e), they reflexive pronouns serve as emphatic subjects.

4.1.5.2 Reflexive Possessives

It has been mentioned that reflexive possessive have different form and syntactic function from reflexive pronouns. When we compare the two forms, the object forms have unaccented final vowel –*e* and the possessive is marked by a genitive marker –*í* with a high tone similar to the V-final masculine nouns.

Person	Singular	plural
1	inní 'my own'	n-inní 'our own'
2/3	isí 'your/his/her own'	sinní 'your/their own'

Table 4.8 Reflexive Possessive Paradigm

Similar, to reflexive pronouns, the references of the possessive reflexives are always interpreted by coindexing to the subject. Consider the following examples.

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29. a) úsuk isí   ʔáre agagís-ay   y-ané
         he_i his-own house repair-PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES
         'He is repairing his own house.'

   b. isi is-i   ʔáre agagís-ay   t-ané
         she her own house repair-PROG 3Fs-AUX.PRES
         'She is repairing her own house.'

In 29 (a) and (b) the reference of the possessor i̇́si *'own'* is expressed by coindexing to the subjects úsuk 'he' or isi 'she' . These are his-own, and her-own.

4.1.6 Reciprocal Pronouns

The reciprocal pronoun is *titta 'each other'* which is formed from an indefinite pronoun *tiya 'one that'* through reduplication. Similarly, reciprocal meaning can be obtained from refelexive pronouns through reduplication. The reduplicated forms show distributive or reciprocal reference. The reduplicated distributive form shows a distributive reference to each of the members but a reduplicated reflexive pronoun shows reciprocal reading of 'each other'. Below are the reciprocal and distributive forms.

Base	Distributive	Reciprocal
Ninne	ninneenínne	ninneeninné
	'each of us'	'each other'
Ise	iseeíse 'each one'	iseeisé 'one another'
Inne	sinnesínne 'each of them '	sinnesinné 'each other'
Tíya	titti 'each one'	títta 'one another'

Table 4.9 Distributive and Reciprocal

As shown in table (4.9) the reciprocal and distributive references are closely related to the reflexive base form. the 1st person plural and the 2nd person reflexive forms are the

bases for reciprocal reference. When the indefinite pronoun is used it can has reciprocal reference with each persons. Here are some examples sentences.

30. a) irr-i   iseeíse   kiħin-á

        children-NOM self.REDP love-3SG.PRES

        'The children like one another.'

    b) amáy labhá=h   lammáy iseeisé=h   t-igdifé

        the   men-GEN two   self.REDP 3Fs-kill.PF

        'The two men killed each other.'

31. a) nanú ninneenínne=h   n-engeeʔe

        we   selves.REDP =DAT 1PL-fight.PF

        'We fought each other.'

    b) nanu ninneeninne ben-n-e

        we   selves selves   eat-1PL-PF

        'Each of us have eatten'

32. a) ísin sinneesinné=h   y-engeeʔ-ín

        they selves.REDP=DAT 3-fight.PF-PL

        'They fight to each other.'

    b) sínneesíne=h   gur-e-n

        selves selves=DAT want-3-PF-PL

        'They wanted for each of them.'

33. a) títta   n-agdáf-o   ki-nó

          each other 1PL-kill.SUBJ be-1PL

            'We will kill eachother.'

34.   ísin titta maysiit-e-n

        They eachother be. Fear-3.PF-i

        'The are afraid of each other.'

As shown in the examples, (31 -33) the reciprocal or distributive reading is signaled by the tone alternation on the final syllable. The distributive value is indicated by a high tone on the penultimate syllable, whereas reciprocal value is signaled by a tone on the ultimate syllable. In addition, distributive reflexive can be formed from possessive reflexive by reduplicating. *isiisi 'he/she/you each'* and *ninniinini 'we each'* etc

4.2 Determiners

In Saaho the determiner that show definiteness reference is expressed by forms like the definite article *amay* and *áyih* which occur preceding a noun and is glossed as the English 'the' since their reference is assumed to be commonly known to speaker and addressee. In addition demonstratives show definite reference (see 4.3). Consider the following are examples.

35. a) amay láħ t-uḍuyé
       the   goat 3Fs. tie.PF
       'She tied up the goat.'

   b) amay maʔdô fak-t-é
       the   door open-3Fs-PF
       'She untied the gate.'

   c) áyih hog áy-ik   wans-it-á   ħiyaw-tí
       the laud say-PROG speak-MID-IPF man-SGV.NOM
       'The man who talks loudly.'

4.3 Demonstratives

 In this section I have described the forms and functions of demonstratives of Saaho. In the language, they are used as deictic expressions to focus the attention the hearer on objects or locations in the speech situation. They may also be used as anaphoric expressions to keep track of prior discourse participants and to activate specific shared

knowledge. Thus, I have grouped them under three types. They are nominal, adverbial and verbal demonstratives.

4.3.1 Nominal Demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives are used as attributive modifiers. They occur preceding a noun in a noun phrase. They can be spatial and non spatial. The spatial demonstratives are deictically contrastive referring to an entity near the deictic center or to a referent that is located at some distance to the deictic center. There are also ways of expression far away reference but less common. The non- spatial ones are, however, distance-neutral.

Demonstratives used to point to an entity near to or far from a speaker are *tay 'this'* or *toy 'that'*. They can also be used to point to an entity in a situation. In addition, *oo* or *tooy 'that'* can be used for visible reference very far from both speaker and addressee.

The non-spatial demonstratives include *amay, ay* or *ayyih 'the/that'* which indicate referents that are assumed to be shared by both speaker and addressee. Below I show attributive and pronominal forms.

	Attributive		Independent Pronoun		
	Singular	Plural	Masculine	Feminine	Plural
Near	aa/tay	áham/táham	taytíya/tay tǐi	tay tiyá	tay mára
Distant	oo/toy	oóhom/tóhom	toytíya/toy tǐi	toy tiyá	toy mára
Very Distant	ooy/tooy				

Table 4.10: Demonstrative/Attributive modifiers

4.3.1.1 Demonstrative modifiers

These occur in a noun phrases attributive modifiers. They are the proximal demonstratives *aa, tay 'this'* which show a referent that is near a speaker; and *oo, toy 'that'* for entities or objects that are at far from the speaker. The other are distal demonstrative *tooy 'that far away'* is used less frequently to show distal referent which is far away from both. The demonstrative in the following sentence exemplifies this use.

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36. a) tay sagá

    'this cow.'

  b) tay ʔusub sára

    'these old clothes.'

  c) toy numa

     'that woman'

  d) ooy rii

    'that hill'

Moreover, in the language there is one unique feature where combination of monstrsative *táy 'this'* and the definite articles *amáy 'the'* co-occur together as in (38).

  37. a) tay- amay   [tamáy] 'this-the'

     b) tay ayih   [táyih]   'this the'

These are used when there are two or more referents and make referent to more precise or to a recent shared object as shown in the examples below.

 38. a) tamay   waʔ y-é-h   wansit-é   ɦiyáw-to

     this-the loud 3Ms-say-PF-h sapeak-3Ms.PF REL man -SGV

    'The man who spoke loudly'

   b) tamay kal-í   tay rǐi=h ʔaadá=d kinní

    the   lake-NOM this hill-GEN back

    'The lake is behind this hill.'

4.3.1.2 Pronominal Demonstratives

These occur with nominalizing suffix –m or –iyya or –tiyà 'one-M' /-tiya 'one-F' and –marà 'plural persons' (see in table 4.10). They use in place a noun phrase. Some of them like *táham, tóhom and taymáre* as an independent pronoun for plural references. Below are examples show functions of pronominals with dietict reference.

39.   a) tay tǐ-i   'This'
         this one.-NOM.M

   b) toy tǐ-i   'That'
        that one-NOM.M

   c) toy tiyá   'This'
        'That one.F

   d) tay mar-i   'These'
        this ones-NOM

4.3.2 Adverbial Demonstratives

Adverbial demonstratives are formed from their nominal demonstratives by adding postpositional enclitics like *–l 'LOC' and –h 'DAT'*(see chapter 7). The examples in (40-42) below show spatial location objects with respect to the speaker as 'here' and 'there' respectively.

40. úsuk ta=l ɖiin-á

      He   this=at sleep-3Ms.IPF

      'He sleeps here.'

41. ìsi   ta=l   t-ané

      she this= at 3Fs- be PRES

      'She is here'

42. to=l   sug

      that =at stay IPV

      'Stay there!'

In addition, movement towards or away from a speaker is expressed by the demonstrative *tay 'this'* and *toy 'that'* with the enclitic =h 'to' as *ta=ah 'here'* and *to=oh 'there'*. The examples in (43) and (44) show movement toward and away from speaker respectively .

43. ta = ah áma

     this =to come IPF

   'Come here!'

44. to =oh gáħ

     that=to return IPF

   'Go back!'

In addition, adverbial demonstratives are formed with relational nouns such as *irke 'place'* and *ula 'direction'* as *tay=irke 'this place/here'* and *toy=irke 'that place/there'* and *tay=ula 'this=DIR' and toy=ula 'that=DIR'*.

45. táy=írke   ko   gádah ḍeeḍ-á   [tamarkéeko/ tarkéeko gáda=h ḍeeḍ-á]

     this= place ABL very   long-3.PRES

   'It is very long from here.'

46. tôo =h = ol   ḍeḍ ħaḍá t-ané

     that=DIR=LOC tall tree   3Ms-be-PRES

     'There is a tall tree over there.'

4.3.3 Temporal Demonstratives

Temporal referents such as 'here-now' and 'then' are expressed by demonstratives *tay 'this'* and *toy 'that'* and temporal nouns such as *gul/ mah 'time'*, *ḍaħiine 'moment'* etc. In the following examples, temporal locations are expressed with demonstratives. Thus *tay 'this'* used to show a recent time reference, 'now' and *toy 'that'* is used to indicate the remote time reference, 'then' as in the examples below.

47. a)   kumal   tay gul

          yesterday this time

        'yesterday, this moment'

    b) tay ḍaħiine

         this instant

        'in amoment/imediately'

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c) toy maħ

   that spriling

    'then'

4.3.4 Verbal Demonstratives

Verbal demonstratives express the way/ manner of something being performed. The demonstratives are formed with demonstrative and verb to say *a* and enclitic *=h 'by'* with demonstrative *tay 'the/this'* and serve as manner demonstratives. Thus, *tah* or *tamah 'like-this'* are verbal demonstratives that refer to an activity with respect to here/now and *ama=h 'like=that'* to express anaphoric relation of actions with respect to temporal 'then'.

48. [táh isáanah]

    tay-a=h   is - áa – n =ah

     this-say=by make-IPF-3PL=by

    'By making like this'

49. [tama=h áb]

    tay am –a =h   áb

     this the -say=by   do.IPV

    'Do like this'

50. [amah ab]

    am-a=h   áb

     the –say-=h do IPV

    'Do like that'

Here it seems necessary to note that there is a distinction in the form of the local adverbial demonstrative *ta=ah 'toward this'* and the verbal demonstratives *ta=h 'like this'*[21].

4.3.5 Presentative Demonstratives

In Saaho there is a demonstrative that shows the location of something/someone 'here' and 'there' which attracts the attention of an addressee to location of the referent. These expressions have similar gloss like the English '*here you are',* and show an inflectional paradigm for person, number and gender of referent. The form seems a compound word with two composite roots and inflections. The first root is *hay 'here-put/sit'* or *hoy 'there. Put/ sit'* and the second component is a copula *ki 'to be'*. As shown in (51) and (52), they have the same verbal inflections like the stative verbs and are used to show the present tense.

51. **(a) hayki- 'here be'**

    hayki-yó 'here I am'   haykinó 'here we are'

    haykitó 'here you are'   haykitín 'here you.PL are'

    hayká 'here he/she/it is'   haykinín 'here they are'

52. **(b) hoy ki 'there be'**

    hoykiyó 'there I am'   hoykinó 'there we are'

    hoykitó 'there you are'   hoykitín 'there you.PL are'

    hoyká 'there he/she/it is'   hoykinín 'there they are'

Based on the gloss given, *hayki 'here be'* and *hoyki 'there be'* are the same for the paradigms and the the agreement suffixes *yo no '1st person; to tin '2nd person' a nin '3rd person* show subjects that are situated 'here' and 'there'.

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[21] As shown in (43) *ta=(a)h* has a long vowel which seems =h is encliticized to the demonstrative *tay* and form *tay= (a)h*, where only y deletion. But the form of the verbal demonstrative as in (48) *ta=h* has short vowel which seems that it has undergone deletion and shortening of *a 'verb say'*.

4.4 Interrogatives

Content interrogatives are used to ask for new information. The words in Saaho are formed from the bound roots: *aa 'what'* and *iyya 'who'*. The /y/ of *aa*, that is *ay* can be considered as form with an insertion where *aa* by forms with High initial vowel, in morphophonolgical processes. Below, I show how the content interrogatives are formed.

Interrogative pronouns	Gloss	Inerrogative pronoun	Gloss
iyy-í who-Nom	'who'	áy-m=ih what-NOMZ=DAT	'why'
íyya who.ACC	'whom'	aā-lle what-be.lOC aā-l what- LOC'	'where'
íy-im 'who-GEN-NZ.PL' iyyíyya who-GEN-NZ.SG	'whose'	aa-rke what-place	Where
aa/ ay	'what'	aā-úlla-l what-DIR-at	Which way
áy-im 'what –GEN- NZ.PL'	What/which	andá	When
aa-tíya/ay-tíya what-one.M	which	ay gul/wade/ what time	When
ay -ídda what-Quantiy ay-idóle 'what Quantity	How much How many	íyya = lih who = COMIT	With whom?
ay-ína=h what-manner=by	How	aā-h what DAT/INST	By what? /to

Table 4.11: Interrogative Words

When we compare the combinations in (Table 4.11), it becomes clear that the content interrogative words are formed from the root by morphological or syntactic process. The root **aa** is forming different content interrogatives like *aa-tiya 'what-one(F)'*, *as aatiyá 'what-one(M'*, *aa-im 'what ones'* referring to 'which' and adverbial interrogatives by

using post positional enclitics like =*l* '*LOC*' =*h* '*DAT/INST*' form *aal* '*where*' , *aah* '*by what/to what*' respectively. Moreover, *aa* occur with nominals like *idda* '*Extent for quantity*' and *ʔille* '*way/manner*' as *aa(y)-idda* '*how much*' and *aa-ʔille* '*what manner*'.

The interrogative iyya 'who' has two forms masculine and feminine as in 53 (a) and (b). In addition, it is used in indefinite or relativized (see section4.1.3 possessive pronoun forms) and (Chapter 8 on relative clause.).

53.　　a) iyy-í　　　y-emeetê

　　　　　who-NOM　3Ms-come. PF. Q

　　　　　'Who came?'

　　　b)　iyyá　　　t-emeetê

　　　　　 who (F)　3Fs--come. PF. Q

　　　　　'Who came?'

4.5 Indefinites

The indefinites can occur preceding or following a noun they modify. In this description they are grouped them as attributive modifiers and appositive modifiers.

4.5.1 Attributive Indefinites

These occur as pre-nominal modifiers. They are listed in (54) and form closed class.

　　54.　Indefinites

　　a.　inki 'one' ,

　　b.　aki 'other'

　　c.　uli/wuli 'a certain /any / some'

　　d.　uman 'all/every'

　　e.　garo 'some one'

　　f.　gari 'some one'

　　g.　garin 'some persons-PL'

　　55. inki numa

　　　'a certain woman'

56. a) uli labháyto

  'a certain man'

  b) uli labha

  'some men'

As in (55) *inki [one/a'* only occur with singular nouns. But as in 56 (a) and (b) *uli 'a/any/some'* is indefinite modifier which occur with singular or plural nouns and show different reading depending on the number of the nouns that are attached to. In 56 (a)*uli 'a anyone'* but in (b) some member of the referent'.

4.5.2 Appositive following the head Noun indefinite

The indefinites appositives occur as free or bound like enclitics following noun, adjectives, verbs as in relative clause and modified noun with numerals greater than ten. They are used to form pronouns from possessive, demonstratives and other indefinite modifiers.

57. Indefinite
a. tiya 'one (M)'
b. tiya 'one (F)'
c. mara 'ones'
d. iyya 'One who'
e. im 'ones/things'

4.5.3 Indefinite pronouns

These indefinite pronominal are formed by combining the attributive indefinites and -tiya –im as in the following examples.

f. wili-tiya   'one-Animate-M'
g. inki tiya   'one-Animate-F'
h. inki -m   'one thing'
i. wili-m   'some thing'
j. garin   some one'

The following are example sentences that show indefinite pronouns.

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58. ínki-im   áy-iy   mí-y-ane-y   aħsíbiy   y-ané
    one thing say-PROG NEG-3Ms-AUX.PRES-CONT think-IPF 3Ms-AUX.PRES
    'He is not saying anything but he is thinking.'

59. adda   wíl-im   ábl-iy   t-anê
    inside any/some-thing see-PROG 2-be-PRES.Q
    'Do you see something inside?

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, pronouns, articles and demonstrative have been described. The language has personal pronouns which includes subject , object, possessive, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns. The subject, object and possessive show 1st , 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural forms. The 3rd singular masculine and feminine forms. But the reflexive pronoun forms show only two person distinction which has distinct singular and plural forms for 1st person and another form for both 2nd and 3rd persons.   In addition, different types of demonstratives have been described. These are nominal, adverbial and temporal demonstratives. Basic forms of the articles, demonstratives and indefinites are attributive modifiers and they can form pronominals by addiding –tiya 'one' or –mara or –im.

Chapter Five

Verb and Verb Morphology

The formal definition of a verb refers to an element which can display morphological contrasts of tense, aspect, voice, mood, person, gender and number. Functionally, it is the element which, singly or in combination with other verbs is used as the minimal predicate of a sentence, co-occurring with a subject. This chapter has three main sections. Section 5.1 deals with the types of verbs. Section 5.2 describes verbal extensions. Finally, Section 5.3, presents inflections.

5.1 Saaho verb roots and citation forms

Saaho verbs show various morphological processes of derivational or inflectional morphology. Verb stems are formed by affixation, stem modification, reduplication, gemination, and compounding.

In this description verbs are grouped into four major classes based on the position to which they add affixes in their inflectional conjugations and verbal extension. Therefore, it is necessary to show verbal agreement inflections first before describing each class of verb.

Below I give the agreement inflections of the four classes of verbs with their conjugational paradigm for person. All the verbs are in their perfective form except Class III verbs which is in the present tense form.

5.1.1 Agreement Marking

In Saaho, verbs show subject agreement in person, number and gender. These occur preceding and/or following the stems depending on the class of verbs. In table (5.6) I show verbal paradigm of verbs. The forms in the first three classes are perfective but in class IV present tense conjugations.

Subject Pronoun		Class I PC verb igriʔ- 'to cut'	Class II SC gur- 'to want	Class III niʔib-'to hate'	Class IV tib-'to be quiet'
1st	Sg	igriʔ-é	gur-é	niʔib-yó	tib-é
Person	Pl	n-igriʔ-é	gur-n-é	niʔib-nó	tib-n-é
2nd	Sg	t-igriʔ-é	gur-t-é	niʔib-tó	tib-t-é
Person	Pl	t-igriʔ-ín	gur-t-e-n	niʔib-t-ín	tib-t-é-n
3rd	MSg	y-igriʔ-é	gur-é	niʔib-á	tib-y-é
Person	FSg	t-igriʔ-é	gur-t-é	niʔib-á	tib-t-é
	PL	y-igriʔ-ín	gur-é-n	niʔib-ón	tib-y-é-n

Table 5.1: Verbal Paradigm

Table (5.1) shows agreement in seven exponents. The position of person, number and gender agreements is different in the classes. For class I verbs the person agreement markers occur as prefix and and number marker as suffix but for class II, III and IV verbs, all the subject agreements are suffixes.

Number person	Class: I SG	PL	Class: II SG	PL	Class: III SG	PL	Class: IV SG	PL
1st	∅-é	n-é	-∅-é	-n-é	- y-ó	-n-ó	-∅-é	-n-é
2nd	t-é	t-ín	-t-é	-t-e-n	-t-ó	-t-ín	-t-é	-t -é-n
3rd M	y-é	y-ín	-∅-é	-∅-é-n	-∅-á	∅-ón	-y-é	-y-é-n
3rd F	t-é		-t-é				-t-é	

Table 5.2: Subject Agreement in verbs

As shown above, all verb classes do not have 1st person singular subject agreement except class III. The 2nd person is marked by *-t-* in all the classes; however, the 3rd person singular subject is marked by -∅ or –*y* for masculine and -t- for feminine.

In the plural agreement, there is a change of vowel which is realized as *-in* as shown with the 2nd and 3rd plural of class I verbs and 2nd plural of Class III verbs or –*on* in 3rd plural of class III verbs. But in the other classes plural is marked by -n- ín which occurs

in different positions. It is a prefix in 1st person of class I verbs as in *n-igriʔ-é 'we cut'* but –n is a suffix in 2nd and 3rd persons of all classes. In the 1st person of class II, class III and class IV verbs the plural subject marker *n-* appears preceding the final vowel *–é* unlike in the 2nd and 3rd person plural where –n occur following it (See order in section 5).

The person and number markers occur in different positions with respect to aspect marker in the 2nd and 3rd person conjugations. Thus, the order of suffixes for person and number is –Person-Aspect-Number as in *gur -t- é –n 'You(Pl) wanted.'* and *tib-y-é-n 'they kept silent.'* where –t- and –y- are 2nd and 3rd person subject agreements respectively and the plural marker –n occurs following the aspect marker *–é-*.

In addition, Class I and II verbs have identical 2nd singular and 3rd feminine subject agreement markers – *t-* which occurs as a prefix for class I verbs and a suffix for class II verbs. Another important point is that Saaho Class II verbs have identical null form for 1st and 3rd masculine singular subject markers as in *gur-é 'I/He wanted.'* But in class I and class IV verbs 3rd masculine singular has person marking a prefix y- and a suffix –y respectively. Class III verbs the 3rd masculine and feminine subjects are identical form as in *niʔib-á 'She/ He hates'*.

The verbs are grouped under four classes. These are:

1. Class I: Prefixing verb (PC) which mainly add prefixes in their inflectional paradigms and verbal extensions,

2. Class II: Suffixing verbs (SC), which add suffixes to the base in their inflectional and derivational processes. Such verbs have the same form for 1st SG and 3rd Ms in their conjugation.

3. Class III: Stative verbs which add suffixes in the present tense paradigm. Unlike Class II verbs, the paradigm does not indicate gender distinction for the third person singular subjects. They also show invariable form for past tense.

4. Class IV: are compounds and add suffixes which have different paradigm from the Class II verbs. They show different conjugational paradigm in the 3rd person masculine singular and plural subjects.

Class I and II verbs can be regarded as basic verb classes in Saaho because they have multiple words and they can be bases for most derivations such as nominalizations and verbal extensions. But Class III and IV verbs seem marginal because they are limited in number and do not serve as base for derivational processes.

5.1.2 Class I: Verbs

The base of class I verb has the pattern of -V$_1$(V$_1$)C(V$_1$)C- where the initial vowel of the perfective stem can be any one of the five vowels except *a*. This stem is taken as input for the derivational and inflectional paradigms. Class I verbs unlike other classes involve the application of both ablaut and affixation. Thus, the quality of root vowels of the perfect stem can not be predicted due to the ablaut process which changes their form.

Class I verbs in Saaho show internal modification and suffixation/prefixation to derive different stems. Most common stems for the class I verbs are two or three consonant roots and a vowel in initial and/or in medial position. Verb stems with one consonant or four consonants seem less frequent. Below, I show the basic patterns of verbal inflections for perfective, imperfective, subjunctive and jussive stems derived from the input by ablaut process.

	Pattern	Examples		
Verb base form		-VḏVg- 'eat'	-VdVy- 'go'	VVbb-'hear'
Perfective	-V$_1$(V$_1$)C(V$_1$)C-	eeḏeg-é	ede-é	oobb-é
Imperfective	-a(a) C(V$_{[+H]}$)C-é	aaḏig-é	adiy-é	aabb-é
Prospective	-a(a)CaC-ò	aaḏág-o	adáw-o	aább-o
Jussive	-a(a)CaC-óy	aaḏag-óy	adaw-óy	aabb-óy

Table 5.3: **Class I Verb Pattern**

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Saaho Class I verbs employ affixation, and ablaut in their morphology. They also show vowel harmony with respect to initial and medial stem vowels in the perfective. But this is not the case with the imperfective. Perfective stems have [-LOW] initial vowels such as *[i, u, e(e)* and *o(o)]* which spread to the medial stem vowels. But, the imperfective stem is formed with initial [+LOW] vowel i.e [*a(a)*] which substitutes the initial [-LOW] vowel of the perfective stem. In addition, the [–High] vowel in medial position is raised to [+HIGH]. Thus, any mid vowel [-V(V)CeC- or -V(V)CoC-] in medial position of perfective stem has to raise to [-a(a)CiC- or a(a)CuC-] in the imperfective counterpart.

Similarly, the singular imperative stem is formed by raising the base non high medial stem vowel *(/e(e)/ or /o(o)/)* and the initial vowel if it is –HIGH vowel. If it is high vowel it remains unchanged. In addition, the plural imperative has a suffix –á.

1. $[-V_1(V_1)C(V_1)C-]_{Base} \rightarrow [-a(a) C(V[+H])C-(á)]_{IPRV}$

The final vowel *-e* which is in the perfective and imperfective stem is not considered as stem vowel but as a suffix for mood of evidentiality because it alternates with *-ò* in the subjunctive, *-oy* in the jussive and Ø or *-à* imperative[22].

The prospective aspect or subjunctive stem (Table 5.3) is formed with the suffix vowel -*ò* attached to the stem after it has changed the initial vowel to *a(a)* and it assimilates to the medial vowel. The jussive is formed like the subjunctive by adding the suffix –oy.

2. $[-V_1(V_1)C(V_1)C-]Base \rightarrow [-a(a)CaC-óy]_{JUSS}$

Below, I show the inflectional paradigm of the verb *emeet- 'to come'* as a representative of class I verbs. In table (5.4), the verb has an initial vowel e, in the perfective and /a/ in the imperfective, prospective/subjunctive, and jussive conjugations. The mid vowels can be short or long. In the paradigm the first person singular form has Ø person marker. But second and third person forms show as prefixes and plural marker *-in* as suffixed except in 1st person.

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[22] This pattern does not held true for the 2nd person paradigm, which is the 2nd SG. or 2nd Pl. Imperative stem, since it has irregularity unlike the other patterns for example emeet-e 'come' *am* and *amo* 'you Come!' for Singular and Plural respectively.

In addition, the verb show mood as suffix where the final vowels /–e/ indicative and /-o/ subjunctive and jussive moods.

Person		Perfective	Imperfective	Prospective (Subjunctive)	Jussive
1	SG	emeet-é	amiit-é	amaát-o	amaat-óy
	PL	n-emet-é	n-amiit-é	n-amaát-o	n-amaat-óy
2	SG	t-emeet-é	t-amiit-é	t-amaát-o	Ám
	PL	t-emeet-í-n	t-amiit-í-n	t-amaat-oó-na	Ámo
3	Ms	y-emeet-é	y-amiit-é	y-amaát-o	y-amaat-óy
	Fs	t-emeet-é	t-amiit-é	t-amaát-o	t-amaat-óy
	PL	y-emeet-i-n	y-amiit-í-n	y-amaat-oó-na	y-amaat-oó-n-ay

Table 5.4: **Class I verb paradigm**

In addition, the derivational affixes like causative /-is-,-ys-, -y-/ Middle /–t-/, Passive /-im-/ and nominals /m-/ occur as prefixes. For example; the causative stem is formed with the prefix -(V)*ys*- as in: *oys-oobbe '1SG -CAUS-hear.PF'* from *oobb- 'hear';* the middle with the prefix (V)*tt*- as in: *ott-oosole '1S -MID- laugh.PF'* from *oosol- 'laugh'* and the passive with prefix –(V)*mm*- as in: *imm-iidige '1S -PASS- known.PF'* from *eedeg- 'know'*. Thus, the structure of the verb is like in (5).

3. [(Person/gender) -DER (CAUS/MID/PASS)-[V$_{Base}$-]- Asp /Mood-Number].

5.1.3 Class II: **Root and Suffix verbs**

Most of the class II verbs are consonant initial unlike class I verbs. The citation form of this verb class is considered as the base for 1st person perfective stem i.e. with out the final vowel.

I have grouped the verbs based on their number and the quality of the syllables which are heavy or light. In this regard, verbs are syllabified as mono, disyllabic, and tri-syllabic and heavy or light syllabic.

Mono Syllabic roots have CV(V)C- or V(V)C- pattern where the vowel can be underlying heavy or light. Heavy refers to underlying long vowels which are shortened in closed syllables, but the light syllables have short vowels. Disyllabic verbs have the pattern CV.VC- or CV.CV- or CVC.CVC- where the first is one has two short vowels[23].

Pattern	VC-	CVC-	CV̄C-	CV.VC-
Example	ab- 'do/make'	kud-'escape'	ḍām-'buy'	maad- 'reach'
Perfective	ab-é	kud-é	ḍaam-é	maad-é
Imperfective	ab-á	kud-á	ḍaam-á	maad-á
Prospective	áb-o	kúd-o	ḍáam- o	maád- o
Jussive	ab-óy	kud-óy	ḍaam-óy	maad-óy

Table 5.5: Pattern of Class II verbs

Below, I show the inflectional paradigm for the verb *kud- 'escape'* to illustrate the conjugations of class II verbs. In this class all inflections are suffixes where perfective is marked by –é, imperfective by –á subjunctive by –o(o) and jussive by –óy. The imperative has the same form as the base for 2nd singular, but the plural imperative has a suffix –a.

Person		Perfective	Imperfective	Subjunctive	Jussive
1	SG	kud-é	kud –á	kúd –**ò**	kud –óy
	PL	kud -n-é	kud -n-á	kúd -n-ò	kud -n-óy
2	SG	kud -t-é	kud -t-á	kúd -t-ò	Kúd
	PL	kud -t-é-n	kud -t-á-n	kúd -t-oo-nà	kúd –à
3	Ms	kud –é	kud –á	kúd –ò	kúd –oy
	Fs	kud -t-é	kud -t-á	kúd -t-ò	kud -t-óy
	PL	kud –é-n	kud –á-n	kúd -oo-nà	kud -oo-n-áy

Table 5.6: Class II Verbs Paradigm

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[23] Here it is important to not that CV.VC-e and CV(V)C-e are different because underlying long V(V) in CV(V)C-e can be short or long in the paradigm but the two Short V.V in CV.VC- e verb remain long in the paradigm.

In table (5.6), the first singular form has identical form with the 3rd person masculine. It has no person, gender and number affixes in the perfective, imperfective, subjunctive and jussive paradigms. In the perfective, imperfective and subjunctive paradigms, the second singular and third feminine singular have identical forms where the suffix –t shows person for 2nd and gender for 3rd person singular conjugation. The number marker is –**n** for first, second and third persons. It occurs preceding the aspect or mood marker in the 1st plural, but following the aspect markers in the second and third plural.

Unlike class I verbs, the derivational affixes are attached to the base as suffixes in class II verbs. . The verbs show derived stems like causative with a suffix –is; middle with –t and passive with –im verbs and they are followed by inflectional suffixes.

4.   Base   Derived stem

a) oob-   'descend'   oob-is-e   'descend- CAUS-1S.PF'

b) ḍaam-   'buy-'   ḍaam-it-**t**-e-n 'buy-MID- 2-.PF-PL'

c) ħat-   'help'   ħatt-iim-e   'help-PASS-1S.PF'

The derivational morphemes -is- , it and -im are attached to the base and followed by inflectional suffixes like person, aspect and number as in 6 (b). Therefore, the structure of class II verb is like in (7).

5. [Root - [DER] - [Person/Gender] - [Aspect] - [number]].

5.1.4 Class III: **Verbs with reduced paradigms**

Saaho has a reduced paradigm of stative verbs. Such verbs indicate the present state, quality, or attribute of the subject of a clause in which they appear.

These verbs show only present tense conjugations for 1st , 2nd and 3rd persons singular and plural without gender distinction for the 3rd person singular. The verb has one form for the third person singular masculine and feminine unlike the other verb classes which show gender distinction.

Number	Person	laʔin- 'be hot'	ʔas- 'be red'	'kiħin – 'to love/like'	meʔe- 'be good'
Singular	1st	laʔ-in-yó	ʔas-in-yó	kiħ-in-yó	meʔe-yó
	2nd	laʔ-in-tó	ʔas-in-tó	kiħ-in-tó	meʔe-tó
	3rd	laʔ-in-á	ʔasá	kiħ-in-á	meʔe´
Plural	1st	laʔ-in-nó	ʔas-in-nó	kiħ-in-nó	meʔe-nó
	2nd	laʔ-in-tín	ʔas-in-tín	kiħ-in-t-ín	meʔe-t-ín
	3rd	laʔ-in-ón	ʔas-in-ón	kiħ-in-n-ón	meʔe-n-ón

Table 5.7: Class III Verb paradigm

In table (5.7), I show the conjugations of class III verbs. The citation form for this paradigm is the 3rd person singular without the final vowel, which is either deleted or dissimilated. But in some verbs, the final vowel may not be deleted as in *meʔe 'be good'*. The tesnse and agreement markers are suffixes. Plural is marked with –n following tense marker except for the 1st person. The morpheme ordering is like [Base - person - tense -number].

Class III verbs have invariable form similar to the non progressive stem of other classes. They are used with past auxiliary *ine 'be-Past'* in compound-auxiliary construction to show past tense. Below are the forms.

6. **Base**   **Continuenant state**

   a) laʔin-   'be hot'   laʔín-iy   'being hot'

   b) ʔas-   'red'   ʔás-iy   'being red'

   c) kiħin-   'to love'   kiħín-iy   'being in love'

   d) meʔe   'be good'   méʔ-iy   'being good'.

As in 6 (a-d) the stems used to express past state have an invariable form like *laʔín-iy, kiħín-iy*. from base *laʔin ' be hot', kiħin ;to like/love'* in which the subject person and gender agreements are indicated on the auxiliary verb with *ine 'exist'* in a compound tense construction.(see section 5.3.4 for the construction)..

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In addition, the class III verbs have a derived inchoative stems which belong to either class I or class II verbs. Their derivative forms have the same conjugation for the perfective, imperfective, subjunctive and jussive paradigms.

Hayward (1978b:16) has grouped the stative verbs of Afar into three sub classes: attributive, quasi- transitive, and equative verbs.

Quesi- transitive include verbs like *kiħina 'like', niʔiba 'hate'* because they can have subject (experiencer) and object arguments as in example 7 (a) and (b).

7. a) ísi   baská kiħin-a

      she honey like-3SG.PRES

      'She likes honey.'

   b) ísi   baská kiħín-iy   t-ine

      she honey like-PROG 3Fs.be.PAST

      'She used to like honey.'

The equative and attributive are discussed in section 5.3.3.1 and section 6.2 respectively.

5.1.5 Class IV: **Compound-verbs**

In Saaho there is another class of verbs which is formed by combining stems. The first stem can be a nominal or ideophone and the second stem is a verb a reduced form *-e 'to say'* and *-ise 'to make'* [24] . When the reduced form *-e 'to say'* is compounded, it form an intransitive verb, but when the class II verb *ise 'make'* is compounded it derives transitive verbs. Therefore –e can derive an inchoative verbs from stative or adjectival base like *ʔaddo-ye 'became white'* from *ʔado 'be white'*. Other intransitive verbs derived from idiophones are like *tibba-e or tib-e 'be quiet-1S-PF', dife-e 'be sit-1S.PF'* etc. The process also derives verbs from nouns: like *biil-e 'to bleed'* from *biilo 'blood'*, *gubbaye 'to go down'* from *gubà 'low place'* etc. Class IV transitive verbs are derived by combining nouns or idiophenes and a verb *ise 'to make'* like *tib-ise 'make quiet'*, and *naw-ise 'to raise'* from *tib 'quiet'* and *naw 'high'* respectively. Here, it is important to make a distinction between causative morpheme –is- and verb ise of the class IV verbs.

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[24] Most languages use this formative verb 'to say' in compounding.

When a morpheme it derives one phonological word but in compound verb it does not since negation marker ma- pronouns or proclitics can intervene between the compound. I considered the two are different; one is a stem but the other a morpheme. Observe the following examples.

8. a) tib   t-a

    quite 3Fs-say.IPF

    'She keeps silent.'

   b) tib ma – t-a

    quite NEG-3Fs-say.IPF

    'She does not keep silent.'

With some of the derivation there are some morphophonological adjustment. For example, class IV verbs can have two forms like */tibba-é/ vs /tib-é/ 'be quiet', /diffa-é/ vs /dife-é/ 'be sit', and /naw- é/ vs /nawwa-é/* . Unlike in the second forms, the first forms have geminated consonant on the final syllable and *-e* or *ise* are compounded after the geminated word. The two forms are distinct because the first forms show intensiveness are considered as intensive verbs whereas the later are not.

Subject Pronoun		Perfective 'be silent'	Imperfective	Subjunctive	Jussive
1st Person	Sg	tib-é	tib-á	tib-ówwa	tib-owwáy
	Pl	tib-n-é	tib-n-á	tib-n-ówwa	tib-n-owáy
2nd	Sg	tib-t-é	tib-t-á	tib-t-ówwà	tib-éy
Person	Pl	tib-t-é-n	tib-t-á-n	tib-t-ôo-na	tib-éy-a
3rd Person	MSg	tib-y-é	tib-y-á	tib-y-ówwa	tib-y-owáy
	FSg	tib-t-é	tib-t-á	tib-t-ówwa	tib-t-owáy
	PL	tib-y-é-n	tib-y-á-n	tib-y-ôo-na	tib-y-oo-náy

Table 5.8: **Class IV Verb Paradigm**

Table (5.8) shows the Class IV conjugations in the perfective, imperfective, subjunctive and jussive paradigms. As shown the base form is invariable and the TAM and agreement elements occur on the compound verb *e 'to say'*. As compared to Class II verbs, these have -y- a person marker on 3rd masculine and plural and the subjunctive and jussive forms have a different form. The subjunctive and jussive stems for e 'say' are compounded.

5.2 Verb root extension

In Saaho, one or more derivational affixes can occur following or preceding the verb root when stems such as causative, middle and passive are formed. In addition, stems such as the frequentative/repeated/limitative and intensive can also be derived by means of reduplicating a part the verb root or by making the root vowel long. Inflectional suffixes appear as peripheral elements of verb root. The distributional order of verb root and affixes is described below:

5.2.1 Causative stem

Causative is a verbal element which introduces an extra argument as causer. The causative morpheme attached to an intransitive verb changes the root verb into transitive. When it is attached to a transitive verb, it changes it to a causative stem.

In Saaho, the derivation of causative is productive and applies to transitive as well as intransitive verb roots. Verb roots form morphological causative in two ways; by adding a prefix or a suffix. In the sub sections, I show the causative forms along with the class II and class I verbs.

5.2.1.1 Causative stem from Class II roots

A causative stem is formed by suffixes -**is**- to intransitive verbs[25] and –-**siis**- to transitive roots of class II verbs. The causative [- siis][26] is surface form where its underlying form is a combination of two causative forms of [[–is] + [is]]. The vowel of the suffix can be

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[25] This morpheme can also be used to form causative stem from transitive verb base as shown .
[26] In the description, I use –siis- for the double causative form [is-is].

assimilated to the root vowel if it is a high back vowel *-u-* and become *–us-* and *–suus-* (see also section 2.5.2 of affix harmony). The suffix *–siis* can also be suffixed to intransitive roots and form a causative stem as illustrated below.

9. **Intransitive root**   **Transitive stems**   **Causative stems**

a. say-   'be in'   say-is- 'to enter'   sayi-siis- 'cause one to enter'

b. luy-   'be hungry'   luy-is- 'make hungry'   luy-siis- 'cause one to get hungry'

c. kud-   'get escaped'   kud-is- 'make escape'   kud-siis- 'cause one to escape'

d. ʔakal- 'be washed'   ʔakal- is- 'to wash'   ʔakal-siis- 'make wash'

e. rāʔ-   'remain'   raaʔ-is- 'to make absent' raʔ-siis- 'cause one to reamain'

f. dēʔ- 'scream/shout'   deeʔ-is- to make cry'   deʔ-siis-'cause one to cry'

g. sool- 'stand'   sool-is- 'to erect'   sol-siis- 'to make erect'

h. maad- 'reach'   maad-is- 'make reach'   mad-siis- 'cause one to reach'

The examples in (11) show that intransitive verbs form two causative stems. They derive transitive stems by suffixing *-is* and causative stems by suffixing *–siis* to the roots. The derived transitive stems with -is have two arguments, the direct causative subject either agentive or non agentive and a patient. But with –siis- the argument has three participants and the subject is indirect causative. Sentences in 12 (a-d) are examples that show the arguments with an intransitive, derived transitive and causative stems.

10. a) ummán-gul lak=ad   raaʔ-á

     Every- time leg=LOC remain-3Ms.IPF

     'He always stayed behind.'

 b) yi abba mihroo=ko   yi raaʔ - is   - á

     my fathe school =from me remain-CAUS-3Ms.IPF

     'My father makes me to be absent from school.'

 c) daʔó   úmne=ko   ku raaʔ - is - á

     blessing badness=from you remain-CAUS-3Ms.IPF

      'Blessing delayes you from danger/bad events.'

 d) ku iná   daʔó=h úmne=ko   yi raʔ-s-iis-é

     your mother pray=by badness=from me remain-CAUS-CAUS-3Ms.PF

     'It's your mather by praying cause me to remain from danger.

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In 12 (a) the base *raaʔ-* *'remain/be absent'* is an intransitive verb which has one argument subject 'he'. In 12 (b) and (c) a derived transitive *stem raaʔ-is-é 'make to remain'* has two arguments the causee and patient. The cause can be either agentive or non agentive as in (b) is my father and (c) *daaʔo 'praying'*. In 12 (d) a double causative . –siis- marks verb and the sentence has three arguments where the subject *yi ina 'my mother'* is an indirect causative, an non agentive causee is *daaʔo 'praying'* and an object *yi 'me'*.

The causative suffix *–siis-* form causative stems from transitive verbs and few transitive verbs can form causative by -**is**- and -**siis**- as shown in the examples below.

11. Transitive root   **causative**

a. way-   'to lack/miss'   way-siis- 'cause to lack/miss'

b. gey-   'to find'   gey-siis- 'make fine'

c. ar-   'to bit'   ar-siis- 'cause to bit'

d. al   'to roast-beans'   al-siis- 'cause to roast'

e. ħat-   'to help'   ħat-siis- 'cause to help'

f. gur-   'to need/want'   gur-siis- 'cause to want'

g. dēs-   'to block'   des-siis- 'cause to block/'

Most transitive verbs form causative stem by adding suffix -**siis**- to the root verb. They show a direct or indirect agent with their causative stem.

Example sentences

12. a) ísi   habada   bet-t-é

       she   bread   eat-3Fs-PF

        'She ate bread.'

   b) ísi   isí   géda=h   habada   bett-is-t-é [bettissé]

      she   her guest=DAT   bread   eat-CAUS-3Fs-PF

        'She made her guests eat bread.'

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c) hawkú sáʔa=h   ʔayso   bet-siis-é

  Hawku cattle=DAT grass   eat-CAUS-3Ms.PF

  'Hawku fed the cattle grass.'

d) awk-í   idá   wakarí=h bet-siis-é

  boy-NOM   sheep fox=INS   eat-CAUS-3Ms.PF

  'The boy cause the sheep to be eaten by a fox.'

In 14 (a-d) the verb beet- 'eat' is a transitive root, it adds the causative –is- as in (b) where direct agent who let/provide the guests to eat bread. But in 14 (c) similar to 14 (d) has a double causative is-is where the subject as indirect agent but different number of arguments. That is in (c) there are three arguments Hawku, direct object *ʔayso 'grass'* and indirect object *saʔa=h marked Dative 'for/to' a* beneficiary. But in (d) there are two arguments since wakari=h marked instrumental case 'by'.

5.2.1.2 Causative stems from Class I verbs

In Saaho causative stems are derived from class I verb roots by adding prefixes, (V)s-, –(V)y- and (V)ys- where V is in harmony with the initial root vowel. The selection of these prefixes is determined phonologically with the root-initial sound. In some derivations there could be phonological changes in the causative stem. These are root mid vowels rising and germination of second root consonant. Another important worth mentioning is that unlike class II roots, Class I has no different causative marker for intransitive and transitive roots.

13. Intransitive	Gloss	causative	Gloss
a. -oom-	'to be bad/cruel'	oys-oom-	'cause to be bad'
b. -oosol-	'to laugh'	oys-ool-	'make laugh'
c. eeʔet-	'to be crude'	iys-iʔit-	'to make crude'
d. ikibir-e	'to be expensive'	is-kibir-	'to make expensive'
e. -erd-e	'to run'	ey-red-	'to make run'
f. -eleyy-e	'to disappeared/be lost'	ey-leyy-	'to make lost'
g. -emʔell-e	'to be old'	ey-meʔell-e	'to make old'

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14.

Transtive	Gloss	Causative	Gloss
a. eebeħ-	'to sell'	iys-iibiħ-	'cause to sell'
b. oobb-	'to hear'	oys-oobb-	'cause to hear'
c. eeḓeg-	'to know'	iys-iiḓige /eys-eeḓege	'to make know'
d. igriʔ-	'to cut'	es-girʔ-	'to make cut'
e. iħsib-	'to think'	is-ħisib-	'cause to think'
f. oʔoob-	'to drink'	os-ʔoob-/u-s-uʔuub-	'cause to drink'
g. ibbiḓ-	'hold/put'	iy-ḓibiḓ-	'to keep'
h. ibikil-	'spoil'	iy-bikkil-	'make to spoil'
i. ubl-	'see'	uy-bulluye/ u-s-bulluye	'cause to see'

As shown in 15 (a-c) and 16 (a - c) the causative marker *(V)ys-* is prefixed to verbs with initial long vowels, and in 15 (d) and 16 (c - f) *(V)s-* is prefixed to verbs which have back consonants and in 15 (e-g) and 16 (g-i), *(V)y-* is prefixed to verbs with frontal consonants. we have stated that the morhophonolgical realizations of the prefixes which form causative stem. Thus, V̄-Initial base verbs take –ys- , VC –intial with [+back] C_1-base take –(V)s- and with [–back] C_1 base verbs take –y- to form causative stems. In cusative stem the base verb may undego ablaunt process as shown in 16 (c-i).

15. a) -s- /__ #C[+back]Verb-base

b) -y- /__ #C[-back]Verb-base

c) -ys- /__ # V [vowel] verb-base

In the following we have given example sentences that show the causative stem can occur in different tense-aspect and mood.

16. a) úsuk gádah y-ardé

    he   very   3Ms-run .IPF

  'He runs fast.'

b) kar-í   azgaláb   y-ay-radé

   dog-NOM hare-ACC 3Ms-CAUS-run.IPF

  'The(a) dog makes the(a) hare run.'

17. a) ísi layé t-ooʔobé

She water 3Fs-drink.PF

'She drank water.'

b) Hagos lâa=h layé y-os-ʔoobé

Hagos cattle=DAT water 3Ms-CAUS-drink.PF

'Hagos made the cattle drink water.'

As shown (18) and (19) example sentences in the (b) the verb forms are with causative marker and add one argument the intransitive transitive verbs in 18 and 19 (a).

5.2.2 Middle Verb stem formation

Middle verbs according to Payne (1997) are verbs which involve detranstivization and they are neither passive nor active but in between the two. He also added that they express a semantically transitive situation which patient undergoes. Middle verbs have different functions such as benefactive, reflexive, and passive. Hayward (1975) also distinguishes between middles of agentive verbs that have either reflexive or auto-benefactive meaning and middles of patient-type verbs that are always intransitive and are often derived from nouns or adjectives in Afar. Similarly, in Saaho the most productive meaning of middle derivation is to render the verb auto-benefactive and reflexive. Middles also demonstrate varied semantic functions.

Based on formal properties, there are lexical as well as morphological middles. The morphological middles are derived from transitive and intransitive roots. Middles derived from transitive roots by suffixing or prefixing –t- whereas those derived from intransitive roots are causativized middles which employ combination of morphemes; causative-middle affixes as -is-it. In subsequent two sections, I have described the middle forms and their syntactic and semantic functions (5.2.2.1) and (5.2.2.2) respectively.

5.2.2.1 Lexical middles

In Saaho, some verbs are considered as lexical middles. They are syntactically like intransitive verbs. They express different functions like reflexive, auto-benefactive or state of the being. Examples are like the following:

21. Examples of lexical middle verbs
   a. ʔakal-   'be washed',
   b. bakar-   'be thirsty',
   c. saan-   'be unable',
   d. way   'be lost'

5.2.2.2 Middles from Transtive verbs

The suffix –it derives middle stem from class II transitive verb. The suffix show vowel harmony when the base has high back vowel. In addition, in some stems the final root consonant undergoes gemmination before suffixation. The middle marker derives a detransitive verb with the same subject and patient or it is used to describe the subject goes through. The derived stems are grouped as patient or agent oriented middles as shown in the following examples.

22. Root   **Gloss**   **Patient-oriented middle**

h) ar-   'to bite'   arr-it-   'get bitten'
i) bak-   'to finish'   bakk-it-   'get finish'
j) ħab-   'to quit/leave'   ħabb-it-   'get stopped'
k) muɖ-   'to pierce'   muɖɖ-ut-   'get pierced'
l) mak-   'to twisting/trick'   mak-it-   'get tricked'

23. **Root**   **Gloss**   **Agent=oriented middle**
a. fiy-   'to clean'   fi-it-   'get cleaned'
b. gom-   'to finalize'   gom-it-   'get finalized/winded up'
c. os-   'add'   os-it-   'get increased'
d. ɖag-   'to touch'   ɖag-it-   'to provoke'

e.	fuuʔ-	'drink water'	fuuʔ -ut	'get-drank'
f.	dees-	'block'	dees-it-	'get block/ closed'
g.	diiʔ-	be able/can	diiʔ-it-	'get accomplished'

Class I transitive verbs form middles by a prefix –(V)t-. The middle prefix (V)t- is an underlying representation. It has different surface forms. In some base, it assimilates to the base initial consonant and in others it occurs as geminated form like (V)tt-. In addition, the base undergoes internal modification such as resyllabification of medial consonant cluster and a second base-consonant gemination. These are phonologically conditioned and discussed below.

24.	**Verb stem**	**Gloss**	**Middle**	**Gloss**
a.	ohoy-	'to give'	ott-ohoww-	'to be given'
b.	ehet-	'to chew'	ett-ehett-	'to get chewed'
c.	eeḑeg-	'to know'	ett-eeḑeg-	'get known'
d.	ubl-	'to see'	ut-bul-	'get seen'
e.	uduy-e	'to tie'	ut-duy-	'get tied'
f.	eleede-	'to shave'	el-leede-	'get shaved'

5.2.2.1.3 Causativized Middles

Middle verb stems are derived from intransitive stems as a process of transtivization followed by detransitivization through the affixation of –is and –it. The following are causativized middles from intransitive roots. Similar structure has been stated as anti-causatives. Payne (1997:218) states that " … the opposite of causative constructions. Instead of starting with non-causative verb and adding a morpheme to make it causative, a middle construction starts with a causative verb and results in non-causative verb." Consider the following example sentences.

25. Intransitive			Causative -Middle		
a.	ʔar-	'to grow'	ʔar-is-it-	'cause to get grown'	[ʔar-s-it-]
b.	kud-	'to escape'	kud-is-it-	'cause to get escaped'	[kud-is-it-]
c.	laʔ-	'to become hot'	laʔ-is-it-	'to get bask'	[laʔ-s-it-]
d.	kaf-	'to become dry'	kaf-is-it-	'cause to get dry'	[kaf-s-it-]

e. oob- 'get down' oob-is-it- 'to get /settle' [oob-s-it-
f. datto- 'to become black' dat-to-is-it- 'to get darken' [datto-ys-it-]

26. Transtive   **Causative Middle**

a. kal- 'to clear' kal-is-it- 'make to get cleared ' [kall-is-it-]
b. bey- take' bey-is-it- 'cause to be taken' [bay-s-it-]
c. far- 'send/release' far-r-is-it- 'make to get send' [farr-is-it-]
d. gur- 'need/want' gur-r-us-ut- 'make to be wanted'
e. ħat- 'help' ħat-t-is-it- 'cause to get halp'
f. deeʔ- 'call' deeʔ-is-it- 'make to get called'
                      deeʔ-siis-it- 'cause to get called' [deeʔ-is-is-it-]

27. **Verb root**   **Causative Middle**

a. emeng- 'to became much' et-s-emeng- [es-s-emeng-] 'cause to get much'

b. ewʔ- 'to apear' et-s-yeeʔ- [es-s-yeeʔ-] 'cause to apeare' to

c. eeɖeg- 'to know' et-s-eeɖeg- [e-s-s-eeɖeg-] 'cause to get known'

d. igriʔ- 'to cut' it-s-girriʔ- [is-s-igirriʔ-] 'cause to get cut'

As shown in (26) and (27) the deteransitived stem is formed from base by adding a causativizing affix followed by middle affix which are suffixes for class II verbs and prefixes for class I verbs. The structure of the derived stem is given in (28) and (29) for class II and Class I verbs respectively.

28. [Vbase] [intr] + -[CAUS]$_{SUFX}$- [MID]$_{SUFX}$

29. [CAUS]$_{PRE}$ - [MID]$_{PRE}$ - + [ROOt/BASE]

5.2.2.4 Types of Middles

Middles are of three types viewed from the types of subject they take. These are:

(i)   Middles with agentive

(ii)   Middles with non-agentive subject

(iii)   Middles with experiencer subject

In the following example sentences, the subjects of the middle verbs reflect different arguments like agentive, non-agentive and experiencer.

30.   a) ísi   áyʔa   ʔar-s-it-t-é

       she baby grow-CAUS-MID-3Fs-PF

     'She raised the baby herself.'

    b) ayʔ - í   angú-t ħan   teel –ít -ay   y-ané.

       child-NOM breast-GEN-milk fed-MID-PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES

      'The baby is feeding at the breast.'

    c)   anú inni   ʔusub sára   ʔakal-is-it-é

       I   myown new   clothe wash-CAUS-MID-PF

      'I washed my new clothes.'

    d) úsuk sarêena sukát=ah dat-toy-s-it-é

      he   loin clothe   oil=with blak-INCH-CAUS-MID-PF

      'He made his loincloth black with oil.'

  31. a) weeʔ -i   oss –it -e

      flood-NOM add-MID-3Ms.PF

      'The flood increased.'

    b)   hawku ɖegħa mango-le-h y-al-leede

      Hawku head much-have-h 3Ms-MID-shave.IPF

      Hawku mostly gets his hair shaved.'

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32. a) ku wanná y- emeeté -h araba gil - it - é

Your owner 3Ms-come.PF-h Araba terrorize-MID-3Ms.PF

'When your owner came, the Araba is bolted.'

 b) lubák waʔaag –í dik suuʔ-ut - é

lion monke -GEN house hide-MID-3Ms.PF

'The lion got hiden in the monkey's house.'

c) ísi baʔál =ah ʔado sara hay-si - it - t - a

she holyday =DAT white clothe put -CAUS-MID-3Fs-IPF

'She wears white clothe for holidy.'

In 30 (a) the middle marked verb has only two arguments *áyʔa 'baby'* the subject and *angut ħan 'breast milk'* object. The subject of the middle verb is agentive. But in 31 (a) the middle marked verb has one argument *weéʔa 'flood'* and in (b) hawku possessor subject and object, the subjects are non agentive subject but show existing state of the subject. In 32 (a-c) the middle marked verbs have experience subjects which are neither active agent nor patients.

5.2.2.5 Functions of the Middle verbs

5.2.2.5.1 Autobenefactive Function:

The action usually goes to the benefit of the subject. This autobenefactive function of Middle is highly productive (see the same situation in Somali, Saeed 1993).

 33. a) úsuk wad-it-é

he ransom-MID-3Ms.PF

'He drank for himself.'

b) ʔáli kommisá ḍaam-it-é.

Ali sharp buy-MID-3Ms.PF

'Ali cloth. bought for himself.'

c) úsuk íseh wad-é

   he   self ransom-3Ms.PF

   'He drank for himself.'

d) ʔáli kommisá íseh ḍaam-é.

   Ali sharp   self buy-3Ms.PF

   'Ali cloth. bought for himself.'

In the examples in 33 (a) and (b) the middle marked indicate the subject is doing the action for self advantage and they have same interpretation with the pronominal that indicate as in the examples in 33 (c) and (d).

5.2.2.5.2 Reflexive function:

As shown in the examples (34) the middle verb stem has the same subject and patient. The verb has a reflexive meaning where the action has affected the subject.

34. a) laamá=h iḍḍ-it-é

   balde=by incise-MID-1SG.PF

   'I got myself incised by blade.'

b) íba ħakkok-ít-ay   y-ané

   foot scratch-MID-PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES

   'He is scratching his leg.'

In the examples 34 (a) and (b) the agent has done something for self. Therefore, the agent and the patient of the verb are the same.

5.2.2.5.3 Passive Function

The other use of the middles is that to serve as a passive predicate. There are some verbs which do not form passive with the passive marker (V)m. The following examples illustrate these as:

35. a) fiy-een-í   bak-it-é

   clean-NOMZ-NOM finish-MID-3Ms.PF

   'The broom is worn out.'

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36. a) ħan-nabát baḍ-í   sube   lé

     milk-big-GEN-son defeat.INF have. FUT

    'The son of big milk will defeated'

   b) ħado-nabắt baḍ-í   subb-ute   lé

      meat-big-GEN son-NOM defeat-MID.INF have. FUT

       'The son of big flesh will be defeated.'

37. t'iyyít=ìh muḍḍ-ut-é= h rab-é

     bullet =by pierce-MID-3Ms.PF-h die-3Ms-PF

    'He died as he has been pierced by a gun fire.'

5.2.2.5.4   Assissitve (help)

38. a) sangáde= ko baah-it-e

      sangade-from bring-MID-1SG.PF

      'I got someone bring from Sangade for me.'

   b) yóyya door-it-é

       Me   choose-MID-3Ms.PF

      'He chose me by himself.'

The activities expressed by the verbs show that they are made for the advantage or benefit of the subject.

5.2.2.5.5   Stative Function

The many verbs can show the state of being/situation with the middle stem verbs where the meaning of a verb can become stative through affixation of the Middle suffix.

39.   bak'l-í mil-it-é=h y-ané

      Mule-NOM decorate-MID-3Ms.PF-h 3Ms-be. PRES

       'The mule has got decorated.'

40.   ku wanná y-emeeté=h arabá   gil-it-é

       Your owner 3Ms-PF-come …Araba. terrorize-MID-3Ms.PF

      'When your owner came, the Araba is bolted.'

41. atú   t-emeeté -h moynayí   gil-it-t-é

    you   2SG-come.PF-h Moynoy terrorize-MID-3Ms.PF

    'When you came Moynoy is bolted.'

5.2.2.5.6 Middle expressing Intensity or emphasis of the verb state

Marked Middle verb stems in certain syntactic constructions indicate intensive/focus/ on certain state or completed event. The meaning drown from the examples is not only from the middle verb but also the syntactic structure.

43.   áwka   kaa sabʔ-it-é

       boy (ACC) him   beat-MID-3Ms.PF

       'He bit the boy.' Intensive

44.   isí   geytó   y-eḍ-ḍeeħé

       his own experience 3Ms-MID-say.PF

       'He disclosed/told about his misfortune.'(Emphasis)

45.   géy-o   kin-â-m   y-ett-eeḍege

       find-SUJN   happen-IPF-NOMZ 3Ms-MID-know.PF

        'He knew exactly that /what he will find/will happen to him.'

5.2.3 Passive stems

In Saaho the passive stem is derived with the affix –(V)m- prefixed or suffixed to the base when the affix occur there are following modification on the stem. Such modification includes gemination and/ or vowel lengthening. The suffix also shows vowel harmony with the high back vowels of the root.

5.2.3.1 Prefixing passives

46.   **Verb base**   **Passive Stem**

   a) oobb-   'to hear'   om-oobb-   'to be heard'

   b) eerr-   'to load'   em-eerr-   'to be loaded'

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c) eleed-   'to shave'   em-leed-   'to be shved'

d) uduy-   'to bind'   um-uduy-   'to be bound'

47. $[VC_1C_2VC_3\text{-}]_{base}$ $[Vm\text{-}C_1VC_2C_2VC_3\text{-}]_{PASS}$

    a) ubl-   'to see'   um-bulluy-   'to be seen'

    b) ikħin-   'to love'   im-kiħħin-   'to be liked/loved'

    c) iḓħin-   'to grind'   im-ḓiħħin-   'be ground'

48. $[VVC_1VC_2\text{-}]_{base}$ $[Vm\text{-}VC_1C_1VC_2\text{-}]_{PASS}$

    a) ootok-   'to hit'   um-u**tt**uk-   'to be hit'

    b) eebeh-   'to sell'   im-i**bb**ih-   'to be sold'

    c) eeḓeg-   'to know'   im-i**ḓ ḓ**ig-   'to be known'

Passive stems are derived from class I verb base by the prefix –(V)m-.The examples show different passive stems are derived from prefixing verb class. In 46 (a-c), the passive morpheme –(V)m- is added to the base. But in (47) and (48), there is ablaut process along with the passive marker -Vm-. In 47 (a-c), the examples show that the second base radical is geminated and a resyllabification. And as illustrated in 48 (a-c) the verbs form their passive by changing their stem vowels which raises/changes the base mid vowels **–o-** and **–e-** to **–u-** and **–i-** respectively and gemination of the first base consonant.

5.2.3.2 Passive verb stems from Class II verb class

Class II verbs add the passive morpheme right after the root. In verbs with weak syllable the root-final consonant geminates and the vowel of the suffix become long as shown in (50). This is followed by other assimilatory process as in 50 (g). The examples below show this as:

49. Transitive verb   **Passive**

    a) ḓaam-   'to buy'   ḓaam-im-   'to be bought'

    b) dees-   'to block'   dees-im-   to be blocked'

    c) sook-   'to twist'   sook-im-   'to be twisted'

    d) faak-   'to open'   faak-im-   'to be opend'

    e) esser-   'to ask'   esser-im-   'to be asked'

50.
a) faħaar- 'to scratch ground' faħaar-im- 'to be scratched'

b) fiy- 'to comb' fiyy-iim- 'to be combed'

c) riy- 'to burn' riyy-iim- 'to be burned'

d) mir- 'to disturb at night' mirr-iim- 'to be disturbed'

e) gom- 'to wind' gomm-iim- 'to be finished'

f) iḍ- 'to pierce by blade' iḍḍ-iim- 'to be pierced'

g) ʔul- 'to pour/spill' ull-uum- 'to be spilled'

As the examples show passives require the patient to have subject function and the agent need no longer be expressed.

51.
a) waani gomm-im-t-é
   speech end-PASS-3Fs-PF
   'The speech was completed.'

b) irr - í ʔasa-alá=h mirr-iim-é
   children-NOM redants=by night-disterub-PASS-3Ms.PF
   'The children were disturbed by the red ants.'

c) ħod misá=ah dayy-im-á
   shrubs hatchet=by cut-PASS-3Ms.PF
   'Shrubs are cut with a hatchet.'

d) ni dik=ìl ʔeel-í fott-iim-é
   Our village-at well-NOM dig-PASS-3Ms-PF
   'A well has been dug at our village.'

e) alá mángi=h siláħ=al ḍuyy-iim-t-á
   goats several-of Silah=at shepherd-PASS-3Fs-IPF
   'Sheep and goats are shepherded mostly at Siliha.'

The example sentences in 51 show that the verbs are marked by the passive marker and there is a reduction of argument where the patients of the basic verb becomes subjects of the passive marked verb.

Banti and Vergari (2001) pointed out that a verb with the passive marker -*m*- has the active rather than the predicted passive meaning. They give two examples *deeʔe/deeʔime 'to apeal/to beg'* and *fare/farriime 'to send'*. This claim does not clearly state the feature of passives in the language because such verbs are ditransitive. The marked and the unmarked have some differences with respect to their valence as well as other associated meanings. Below, are examples.

52. a) úsuk ħárge   far-é

    he   castrated animal send-3Ms.PF

       'He sent a castrated animal.'

  b) úsuk ħargè   farr-iim-é

     he   case rated animal send-PASS-3Ms.PF

     'He sent a castrated animal.'

  c) úsuk ħárge   yo=h   far-é

     he   casterated animal 1Sg =DAT send-3Ms.PF

     'He sent a castrated animal for me'

  d) * úsuk   ħárge   yo=h   farr-iim-é

     he   castrated animal 1Sg =DAT send-PASS-3Ms.PF

      'id'

In 52 (a and b) both forms *fare* and *farriime* are used with the direct object and a different subject. The two forms can be used interchangeably without affecting the meaning. However, when the two forms are used with direct and indirect object arguments as in 52 (c) and (d), we can notice differences in the two verbs with respect to their argument structures. Thus, *yoh 'for me'* an indirect object occurs with the unmarked ditranstive verb *fare 'send'* , but not with the passive marked form *farriime 'to be send'* (notice the diactric mark on 52 (d)). In addition, the verb deeʔe 'to call' has several meanings like /to call/ to beg/ thus, it could be these meaning differences contribute to the marked and unmarked passives.

5.2.3.3 Passive — Causative/Double-Causative

The passive suffix and the causative/double-causative suffixes can occur in sequence. This sequence is used for an action performed on the causee's body part, and the verb is usually a clothing verb. The causative version and the double-causative version differ in the directness of the causation: the causative is more direct than the double-causative.

53. a) deeʔ-im-siis-e   'one cause name of another to be called for good/bad'
       call-PASS-CAUS-3Ms.PF

    b) door-im-siis-e   'x cause y to be chosen'
       choose-PASS-CAUS-3Ms.PF

    c) hatt-im-siis-e   'x help y to be supported'
       help-PASS-CAUS-3Ms.PF

    d) waat-im-siis-e   'one cause to be insulted.

The two morphemes are ordered following the base, where passive (V)m and a causativizer –siis-. The passivezed stem add a causative marker and form a new stem with two participants 'causer and causee which involve them as indirect participant and direct participant respectively.

5.2.3.4 Middle-Passive Combination verb stems

In Saaho some verbs make use of sequence of two morphemes. In the examples below, I show derived stems which use both middle and passive morphemes and double passive morpheme. Similar cases seem common in Cushitic languages. Hayward (1984b: 94) stated that K'abeena has two morphemes with *-ta*', and *–am*. They express reciprocality when they are suffixed in a fixed combination of middle and passive, as *-akk'-am*.

54. **Base Verb**   **Base-MID-PASS-**
    a. kal- 'to clear'   kall-it-im-
    b. ar- ' to bite'   arr-it-im-
    c. ħus- 'to nominate'   huss-ut-um-
    d. far- 'to send'   farr-it-im-

e. ʔul- 'to spill'   ʔull-ut-um-

f. gur- 'to want'   gurr-ut-um-

g. soɖ- 'to forget'   soɖɖ-it-im-

In Saaho such suffix combinations are used to express the subject's adversative experience of the event. If the verbs in middle passive as in (54) did not show the middle suffix, the sentences would be simply passive and would not convey any adversative meaning. Consider the following examples.

55. a) isi farr –it -im -t -é -h   t-emeeté

     she send-MID-PASS-3Fs-PF-h   3Fs-come.PF

     'having been sent she came.'

   b) úma-m=ad   ħuss - ut- um -é

     bad-NOMZ-in   call-MID-PASS-3Ms-PF

     'It has been rumored in bad on him.'

   c) atú gurr –ut –um   -t   -é -h t - iné

     you need-MID-PASS-2SG-PF-h 2SG- be.PAST

     'You had been wanted.'

The middle passive stems show that the subjects are indirectly affected by the action. Thus in 55 (a-c) the subjects isi 'she', he and you are not direct participants.

5.2.3.5 Double-Passive verb

In some cases the surfacing of the middle meaning of 'passive' verbs is a result of a verb having agentive role.

56. **Base Verb**   **Base-PASS-PASS**-

a. ħat-   'help'   hatt-iim-im-   to be helped'

b. deeʔ-   'call'   deeʔ-im-im-   'to be called'

c. ar-   'bite'   arr-iimm-im-   'to be bitten'

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5.2.4 Frequentative /attenuative and Intensive stems

Most languages have derivations by reduplications to express plural action such as continuous, repetitive, iterative attenuative action, or intensive and instant actions. In Saaho, class I verbs have both forms of intensive and frequentative. Thus, the intensive is formed by making the vowel of the second syllable long (see examples), but the frequentative verb stem has both lengthening of vowel and reduplicating of consonant of the second syllable. Class II verbs also show such distinctions reduplication and lengthening or gemmination of their consonants for frequentative/attenuative and intensive. Below, I show the forms and functions.

5.2.4.1 Frequentative, attenuative and intensive class II

There are two types of reduplication with the suffixing verb roots. The first type of has, a reduplication that is applied to the initial syllable of the verb stem and can take several forms across and within languages: C1V1C1- forming a geminate as second radical in the derived verb. The second form has the second radical –C2VC2- reduplicating and/or forming a third consonant geminate or forming the preceding/following vowel long or both.

Dixon (2010 :133) has stated that Verbs can be reduplicated in three ways: (i) by initial CV-, indicating 'do a bit'; (ii) by initial CVCV-, indicating 'do with force'; (iii) by final -CV, with a distributive sense. We can also get a combination of (i) with (iii), or (ii) with (iii).

Thus, in Saaho verbs do show similar process. Attenuative and intensive verb are formed in similar way by reduplicating the first CV and frequentative or repetitive stem is with the reduplication of initial two syllables (C)VCV- .

5.2.4.2 Initial CV- reduplicating

57.	**Verb base**		**Attenative stem**	
a.	soole	'to sand'	sos-soole	'to stand a bit'
b.	taane	'to be unable'	tat-taane	'to lack a bit'

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c. raaʔe   'to remain'   rar-raaʔe   'to remain a bit'

d. boode   'to apear/show up'   bob-boode   'to show up a bit'

e. wakaye   'to encircle'   waw-wakaye   'to round a bit'

f. hasaawe 'to chat'   hah-haasawe 'to chat a bit'

g. ʔakale   'to be wash'   ʔaʔ-ʔakale   'to wash a bit'

h. dufuye   'to push'   dud-dufuye   'to sit a bit'

The following are examples of structures with attenuative forms:

58.   ħiyaw - tí   ku   gug-gur-é

       persons-SGV-NOM you.ACC REDP.look.for 3Ms.PF

       'A person is looking for you.'

59.   awk-í   ʔaʔ-ʔár-ay   y-ané

       boy-NOM REDP-grow-PROG 3MS.be PRES

       'The boy is about to grow'

60.   ħaɗá   waw - wagiy -n - e   hay way-n-é

       medicine REDP-search-1PL-PF but lost-1PL

        'We have tried to search medicine but we lost.'

61.   numá   tee ħa-ħ-ħábay y-ané

       woman   her

        'He is somehow leaving the woman.'

62.   kaa ħa-ħ-ħat-née- hay taan-é

       him REDP-help-1PL.PF but lack-3Ms.PF

       'We have helped him somehow but he cannot.'

5.2.4.3 Medial reduplicating

The frequentative stem show reduplicating part of their medial syllables. The pastern is not the same along the derived stems.

63. **Verb base**   **Frequentative**

a. ugut-   'to be awake/stand up'   uguugut-   'to stand. repeatedly'

b.	ħul-	'to pass through'	ħuluul-	'to pass. Repeatedly'
c.	makis-	'to make twist'	makaakis-	'to make circle'
d.	ħadil-	'to devide'	ħadiddiil-	'to distribute'
e.	hiriig-	'to pull'	hirirriig-	'to pull repeatedly'
f.	ḍag-	'to touch/t'	ḍagandag-	'to provoke repeatedly'
g.	baḍis-	'to divide'	baḍisbaḍis-	'to depart'
h.	riime	'to burn a leaf'	riimriim-	'to burn leaves'

As shown in 63 (a-c) the second consonant is reduplicated and make the long vowel as C$_2$VV. But those in 63 (d) and (e) the second consonant is reduplicated as C$_2$VC$_2$ where it forms a geminated medial consonant. Those in 63 (f-h) are base reduplication but in (f) there is an insertion of –n- .

5.2.4.3 Intensive and repetitive/attenuative from Class I verbs

Class I verbs involve ablaut process to show intensive and frequentative forms. When the vowel of the second syllable is long, the verb indicates an intensive acting with force. When the second consonant of the root/base reduplicates it forms frequentative or attenuative stem. Below we have examples of verb forms with both forms derived from the root.

64. **Verb base**   **Intensive**

a.	igdile	'to break'	egeedele/igiddile
b.	igriʔe	'to cut'	egeereʔe/igirriʔe
c.	iklibe	'to fold'	ekeelebe/ikillibe

Some verbs show two different ways of reduplication when used as attenuative and frequentative stems.

In the following are examples like the verb *y-igriʔe 'm3Ms-PF.cut'* can form attenuative stem which reduplicate the second consonant of the verb root and vowel as –CCV- as *y-igrirriʔe 'He cut-bit'* whereas the frequentative make –CVVC- as *y-egereereʔe 'He cut into pieces'*.

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65.	Verb root		attenuative	Frequentative
a)	igriʔe	'to cut'	igri**rri**ʔe	egere**ere**ʔe
b)	igdife	'break'	igdiddife	egedeedefe
c)	osoole	'laugh'	usussuule	osoosole

As shown in the examples, both stems have the same part of the root i.e. the second syllable **–ri-** reduplicates for attenuative and frequentative and intensive but the manner of each reduplication is different. In the first case the medial consonant C which is geminated has –CCV- **-rre-** for attenuative, but for the intensive repetitive the vowel is lengthened as in the intensive and it reduplicates the consonant to indicate the repetitive action as **–reer-**. Similarly, there are two forms in the derivation of class II verbs. below are some examples that show distinction for attenuative and frequentative.

66. **Verb root**		**Attenuative**	**Frequentative**
a.	ʔiffiide '	**ʔiʔ-ʔi**ffiide	ʔiffi**ffii**de
b.	kallaaħe 'to travel'	**kak**-kallaaħe	kalla**llaa**ħe
c.	kurraye 'to get angry/quarrel'	**kuk**-kurraye	kurra**rra**ye?

In the examples two derivational formatives are used for attenuative and repetitive. The first has initial syllable CVC- reduplicates for attenuative but medial -CCV- reduplicates for repetitive stems. Here are some esamples

67.   a) nuwáy-ti   inkí gul   iklibé

material-SGV.ACC one time 1SG.fold,PF

'I fold the material (once, into two)'

   b) sarêena   aklee**le**b-é

clothe-ACC   1SG. fold. REDP.PF

'I folded up the material (several times, into many folds)'

68. a)   úsuk nuwáy-ti   y- ig-gidilé.

he   material(ACC) 3Ms-MID-break.PF

'He tore the material (one tear)'

b) úsuk nuwáyti   y- ag**ee**delé.

   he   material.ACC 3Ms-tear-INT.IPF

   'He tears the material into shards.'

 c) nuwáyti y-age**dee**delé.

   material-ACC 3Ms-tear-INT-FRQ. IPF

   'He tear the material into shards repeatedly.'

As shown in the glosses of sentences in (67) and (68) those in a's show that the action is somewhat intensive but those in b's show plural action which are repeated more than one times.

5.2.5 Combination forms

In Saaho, the intensive, frequentative and atenuative forms can be bases for additional extensions. They add causative, middle and passive markers. Below, some examples are given below.

- **CAUSATIVE – REDUPLICATED STEM**

There are stems that add a causative morpheme to a reduplicated base. Such stems show plural and/or reciprocal action. In 69 (a) and (b) the reduplicated causative stems show plural action and glossed by different verbs in English. Thus, *iyḍiḍige 'to identify/differentiate'* and *eyreredde 'to chase'* are glossed by different from their counterpart roots which are *eeḍege 'to know'* . and *erde 'to run'* . But stems in 69 (c) and (d) show repeated action and reciprocality.

 69. a) iy-ḍiḍige   'to identify/distinguish something from others'

        1SG.CAUS-know.INT. PF'

   b) y-ey-reeredde 'to chase someone/something.'

        3Ms-CAUS-run.RED. PF

   c) es-gereereʔe 'I cause someone to cut off with another' .

        1SG.CAUS-cut.INT.RED. PF

d) oys-otootoke 'I make someone to fight with another'

    1Sg.CAUS-hit.INT.RED.PF

The verbs have reduplicated base and add a causative morpheme which form causativized repeated action. Consider the example in 70 (a) and (b).

70. a. kar-i   azgálab   y-ey-reede

    dog-NOM hare   3Ms-CAUS-run.PF

   'The dag caused the hare to run.'

  b. kar-i   azgálab   y-ey-reredde

  dog-NOM hare   3Ms-CAUS-run.REDP.PF

    'The dag chased the hare.'

As shown in 70 (a) and (b) in both verbs -y- a causative morpheme is added. thus in (a) base form is *-erde 'to run'* but in (b) the base is a reduplected stem *-ereredde 'to chase'*. When we compare the two verbs, the first show only a single action but the reduplicated verb in (b) indicates plural action, the action of the dog of making the hare to run by following after it.

• CAUSATIVED MIDDLE- INTENSIVE STEM

These stems are formed from an autenuative or intensive base and add middle and cusative morphemes which is like cusativized middle marker shown in section (5.2.2.1.3). Consider the following.

71.   a) y- is-t-iḍḍige he knew something morethan enough'

      3Ms- MID-CAUS-know.INT.PF.

  b) la-l-laʔ-s-ít-e   'to bask a bit for oneself.'

    RED-heat- CAUS- MID- PF

The caustivized middle intensive verb stems express some action carried out in a steady situation for self. Consider the example in (72).

72. tkoómam=ak   la-l-laʔ-s-ít-ak   y-ine

     mountain.PLV =upon RED-heat-MID-CAUS-PROG 3SG-AUX.PAST

      'They were basking for themselves on the mountain.'

The example (72) has *laʔ- to be heat'* a root and form first syllable reduplicate form
attenuative stem which also is a base and add morphemes –is and –it to form a
causativized middle stem. This stem is used to express the action to bask a bit for
oneself.

- **PASSIVE- REDUPLICATED STEM**

Those verb stems are derived from a reduplicated base like those in (69) and add a
passive morpheme. Such stems express a repeated action of the participant or
reciprocal action on the participants .

73. **Examples**
   a. um-bubuluye   'to be seen reciprocal'
      PASS-**REDP.see.PF**
   b. in-gereereʔe   'to be cut off /disconnect'
      1SG. PASS- **cut.REDP.PF**
   c. em-nebebbe   'to become big' new concept' to be arrogant'
      PASS-**REDP.big.PF**
   d. em-reredde   'to run here and there/to rush'
      PASS-**RED.run.PF**

The following example sentence has a verb with passive reduplicated form which
express run here and there or rush.

74. úsuk mango-m   y-em-reredde

     he   much-NOMZ 3Ms-PASS-run.REDP.PF

      'He rushed a lot.'

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5.2.6 Denominal Verbs

Verbs can be derived from nouns indicate actions or states or quality. Most are used with the V-say with its inflectional and derivational affixes.

The morphemes are: –e 'say', middle marker –ite and, causative marker -ise. The following are some examples.

75. **Noun**   **Verb**

a.	kobor	'part below knee'	kobor-e	'to squat'
b.	gafan	'open teeth levee'	gafan-e	'to move out teeth'
c.	makal	'food'	makal-e	'to get fed'
d.	ʔulul	'hunger/famine'	ʔulul-e	'to be hungry'
e.	ʔalala	'complain'	ʔalal-e	'to complain'
f.	malaħ	'pus'	malahe	'drain pus'
g.	ufuʔa	'a cough'	ufuʔ-e	'to cough'
h.	niyat	'happiness'	niyat-e	'be happy'
i.	biilo	'blood'	biil-e	'to bleed'

76.
a.	ɖuh	'bone marrow'	ɖuuh-e	'to suck bone morrow'
b.	gamad	'cover'	gamaad-e	'to cover something'
c.	gulub	'knee'	guluub-e	'to kneel down'
d.	ʔadar	'poem'	ʔadaar-e	'to say a poem'
e.	digir	'play'	digiir-e	'to play'
f.	ħádil	'division'	ħadiil-e	'to devide'
g.	dárur	'cloud'	daruur-e	'be cloudy'

77.
a.	máwo	'lunch'	may-it-e	'to have lunch'
b.	soonó	'dream'	soon-it-e	'to dream'
a.	sákke	'yawn'	sakk-it-e	'to yawn
b.	súmme	'poison'	sum-ut-e	'to poison'
c.	weéʔa	'flood'	weeʔ-it-e	'to flood'
d.	sakaye	'food for journey'	sakkay-it-e	'to have food for journey'
e.	sára	'clothe'	sarr-it-e	'get dressed'

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h.	laħúu	'sick'	laħ-uut-e	'to be sick'
i.	ħaal	'behavior'	ħaal-it-e	'to behave'
j.	ḍimo	'tear'	ḍimm-oot-e	'to weep'
k.	dirab	'lie'	dirabb-iit-e	'say a lie'
l.	ʔamal	'power'	ʔamaal-it-e	'became powerful'
m.	rob	'rain'	roob-it-e	'to rain'
n.	dagar	'hair'	dagaar-it-e	'become hairy'
o.	sagab	'castrated animal'	sagaab-it-e	'to castrate'
p.	garab	'forest'	garoob-it-e	'become dense forest'
q.	soóno	'pregnant'	soonoy-it-e	'become pregnant'

78.	a.	dor	''	dor –is-e	
	b.	mes	'tej'	mees-is-e	'to brew tej'
	c.	waaní	'speech'	waan-is-e	'speak'
	d.	káyre	'fortune'	kayr-is-e	'get fortune'
	e.	hílla	'buzz'	hill-is-e	'buzz'
	f.	kíno	'answer'	kin-is-e	'answered'
	g.	giíro	'sweming'	giir-is-e	;to swim'
	h.	kaara	'snore'	kaar-os-e	'to snore'

As shown above, the examples in (75) and (76) are denominal verbs derived by suffix –e. In (77) and (78) are denominal verbs formed by suffix –it and –is respectively. Some nouns may undergo internal change when they add the derivational suffixes. In (76), the final syllable of the noun become long when they add –e. In 77 (a) and (b) there is illusion of vowel followed by gemination in the derived verb and in 77 (d) and 76 (a-c) illusion of the final vowel. In some, there could be gemination or reduplication of the final syllable as in 77 (e) and (f) and assimilation of –i to –u/o as in 77 (d) and 78 (f). The suffixes **–e-, -it and -is** indicate that the subject enters into the state or the condition indicated by the derived lexeme.

With some derived verbs –is- occurs in complementary to the middle verb marker –V-say or middle marker –it- . For example, in (79) base *ugu 'up'* has a derived intransitive

verbs with the middle affixes -t- and transitive with the causative suffix –is- 'cause.to say'.

79. a) amay ħiyaw-tí ugut-é.
       the man get up-3Ms.PF
     'The man got up.'

    b) amay awk-í   amay ħiyáwto ɗín=ko   ugu-s-é
         the boy-NOM   the   person sleep=from wake-3Ms.PF
        'The child woke the man up.'

Here are some nouns which form verbs of class I by adding a vowel which is the same as the medial syllable and geminate the middle consonant of the bas as in (80).

80. **Noun**   **Verb**
   a. misge   'fence'   imissige   'to fence'
   b. ħifne   'two hand full'   iħiffine   'to hold two hand fu[l'
   c. huluf   'cubit'   yihullufe   'to measure by cubit'
   d. sukat   'butter'   usukkute   'to ointment'
   e. dis   'guarantor'   iddiise   'became guarantor'
   f. bolal   'fire blazing'   embeelale   'became blazing'
   g. kamus   'buttock'   yikummuuse   'to squat'

5.2.7 Inchoative stem

In Saaho, adjectival root word that indicate colour, shape, size etc form inchoative verb stems. The inchoative stems are formed by adding –e which form a compound verb paradigm. But, some adjectives form inchoative stems as class I verb roots.

81. **Adjective roots**   **Inchoative**
   a. ʔad-   'white'   ʔad-do-yé   'became white'
   b. dat-   'black'   dat-to-yé   'became black'
   c. ʔas-   'red'   ʔas-so-yé   'became red'
   d. anɗaɗ-   'green/blue'   anɗaɗ-ɗo-yé 'became green'

82.
a.	nab-	'big'	enabé	' became big'
b.	mig-	'full'	emigé	'became full'
c.	mang-	'much/many'	emengé	'became several'
d.	ḍeeḍ-	'tall/long'	eḍeeḍé	'became long'
e.	uḍuuḍ-	'short'	uyuḍḍuḍé	'to become short'
f.	um-	'bad'	oomé	'to become bad'
g.	ʔilis-	'heavy'	iʔiliisé	'to become heavy'
h.	lillig-	'sharp'	ililiigé	'to became sharp

5.3 Verbal inflections

There are different types and processes of verb inflections in Saaho. These are agreement, aspect: perfective, imperfective, progressive and non-progressive, mood: jussive, imperative and subjunctive. The first two can be used freely to show aspectual orientation of completed and habitual actions. The remaining stems are used with auxiliaries as compound forms to express different tense/aspect/mood orientations.

In subsequent sections, we have stated similar verb forms such as perfect and the imperfect –h stems used not only with auxiliary verbs as compound tense but also with other finite verbs that occur as dependent clauses and/or in clause chains to express consecutive and adverbial functions. In the language they expressed by converbs in related languages[27].

In this respect, I first introduce inflectional stems of Saaho verbs of class I with verb erd- 'to run' and class II with beet- 'to eat'.

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[27] Banti (2010) has expressed converbial expressions of saaho and Afar. He has indicated that Vh verb stem can be used to express both compound tense construction and converbial functions.

Inflectional stem	Class-I	Class-II	class III
Infinitive	arde	beete	
Perfective	erd-é	beet-é	
Imperfective	ard-é	beet-á	
Progressive	árd-ik	beét-ak	
Non Progressive	árd-iy/ih	beét-ay/-ah	kiħin-iy/-ik
Subjunctive/Prospective	árd-o	beét-o	
Jussive	ard-óy	beet-óy	
Imperative	eréd/eréd-a	bēt/beéta	
Perfective -h	erd-é-h	beet-é-h	
Imperfective-h	ard-é-h	beet-á-h	

5.3.1 Infinitive stems

The infinitive stem in Saaho has the same form as the first person singular stem of the imperfective paradigm of class I verbs and the perfective paradigm of class II verbs. The infinitive stems have null aspectual and agreement marker. This feature distinguishes the infinitive stem from the regular verb of class I and II, where, the initial vowel *a-* as in *a*ble '*1S.see.IPF* of class I and the terminal vowel *-e* as in.*ab-e 'do-1S.PF'* of class II verbs have aspect and agreement markers. The infinitive stem is used in expressing the future tense with an auxiliary verb *le 'possession'. le* with infinitive verb stem is a functional operator of the future tense marker like English 'will'. It also occurs in sentence complement with the verb stem *way- 'lack'* which make the action of the infinitive negative. Similarly, it can also occur with a clitic -ikah 'be-not' which is a negation particle in consecutive construction. look the following examples

83. a) andá amiite lê?

    when come-INF be.3S .FUT

    'When will he/she come?'

a) anú ak-k-iyye li-ó <<anɖaħe /Verb to say e>>

    I PROCL tell-INF be-1S.FUT

    'I will tell him/her.'

b) meʔé-m   bakité-kkah   umam   m-ín

Good-NOMZ finish-INF NEG CONV bad-NOMZ NEG-Say.IPV

'Don't say these are bad without finishing the goods.'

As shown in 83 (a-d), the infinitive stem is used in expressing feature tense, with possessive auxiliary verb *liyo 'I will'* and negative converbs like V.INF *-ikah* and V.INF way and subject is marked on the main clause and have same subject in infinitival clause.

5.3.2 Aspect

In saaho, verbs show aspectual distinction. These are perfective, imperfective and progressive and non progressive.

5.3.2.1 Perfective

The perfective is an aspectual category which refers to an entire event, without taking individual parts of that event into account (Comrie 1976). Perfective aspect indicates an action or state of affairs that has been completed at any moment in the past. Dhal (1985) further describes the protypical function of perfective aspect as one in which the verb denotes a single event as a well-defined result (or end-state) and has past time reference. The perfective verb refers to past tense, but in Saaho, the perfective marked verb shows mainly aspectual distinction.

The perfective aspect is marked by the suffix **–e** for Class II verbs but for Class I verbs it is marked by ablaut process of any of the five vowels except –a-. In the table below has conjugational paradigm for class I and Class II verbs in the perfective forms.

Person	Class I		Class II	
	VgrVʔ- 'cut'	VVʕVb- 'drink'	gur-'want'	laʔ- 'heat'
1ˢᵗ Sg	igriʔ-é 'cut'	ooʔob-é	gur-é	laʔ-é
1ˢᵗ Pl	n-igriʔ-é	n-ooʔob-é	gur-n-é	laʔ- né
2ⁿᵈ Sg	t-igriʔ-e	t-ooʔob-é	gur-t-é	laʔ- té
2ⁿᵈ Pl	t-igriʔ-in	t-ooʔob-ín	gur-t- é-n	laʔ-tén
3ʳᵈ Ms	y-igriʔ-e	y-ooʔob-é	gur-é	laʔ-é
3ʳᵈ Fs	t-igriʔ-e	t-ooʔob-é	gur-t-é	laʔ-té
3ʳᵈ Pl	y-igriʔ-in	y-ooʔob-ín	gur-é-n	laʔ-én

Table 5.10: Perfective Paradigm Class I and Class II verbs

In the table (5.10), *igriʔ- 'cut'* is a Class I verb and *gur- 'want'* is class II verb. In the two verb classes, aspect is marked differently. Thus, in Class I verbs aspect is marked by any vowel different from *a* on root initial and spreads to the medial root syllable. A Class I verb which has none *a* vowel in the initial and in harmony medial syllable bears the perfective aspect. In class II and IV verbs perfective aspect is marked by suffix- é.

Example Sentences

84. a) ísi amay ilaw=íh   madhín bak-t-é
       she the   grain- DAT grinding finish-3Fs-PF
       'She finished grinding the grain.'

    b) mango saʔ-i   bad-e
         many cattle-NOM die-3Ms.PF
        'Several cattle died.'

    c) dago firé   hada=ko   rad-d-é
        some   fruits tree=from fall-3Fs-PF
         'some 'fruits fell from the tree.'

85. a) bakár ke ʔadabá=h   n-oʔoofé
       thirsty and hunger=by 1PL-be tired.PF
       'We became weak/tired due to thirty and hunger.'

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b) nugûs rába   raadíyo=h **oo**bbé

   king-GEN-death radio=by   1SG.hear. PF

   'I heard the death of the king on radio.'

As the example sentences show the verb form is perfective and at the same time express a simple past activity.

5.3.2.2 Perfective-h stem

In Saaho the perfective stem with enclitic -*h*, is used for in compound verb – auxiliary-tense   VPs, and in conjoined clauses subordinating the preceding verb to the following one.

Subject Pronoun		Class I	Class II	Class III
		igriʔ-e 'to cut'	gur-e 'to want	tib-e 'be silent'
1ˢᵗ	SG	igriʔ-é-h	gur-é-h	tib-é-h
Person	PL	n-igriʔ-é-h	gur-n-é-h	tib-n-é-h
2ⁿᵈ	SG	t-igriʔ-é-h	gur-t-é-h	tib-t-é-h
Person	PL	t-igriʔ-i-n-íh	gur-t-e-n-íh	tib-t-e-n-íh
3ʳᵈ	Ms	y-igriʔ-é-h	gur-é-h	tib-y-é-h
Person	Fs	t-igriʔ-é-h	gur-t-é-h	tib-t-é-h
	PL	y-igriʔ-i-n-íh	gur-ee-n-íh	tib-t-ee-n-íh

Table 5.10: Perfective V-h

The following example show the perfect –h stem in sentences

86.   a) sirah bak-e-h   ane

        work finish-PF-h 1SG.be.PRES

        'I have finished the work'

     b) sirah bak-e-h ine

        work finish-1SG.PF-h 1SG.be.PRES

       'I had finished the work'

87. a)   beet-e-h   y-emeete

        eat-3Ms.PF-h 3Ms-PF-come

        'Having eaten, he came.'

b)   usùk   sab-eh be-e

   he   snached-Vh take-3Ms.PF

   'He stanched-took it '

As shown in the examples (86) and (87) have verb perfective –h form. In the first case, they form compound auxiliary tens since the following verb do not have semantic content but add only tense present and past. But in (87) both verb forms have semantic content and in the (a) show consequetive action but in the (b) show a kind of converbial expression that both the verbs express one complete action.

5.3.2.3 Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation. According to Comrie (1976: 24), imperceptivity can be subdivided into categories like habitual, non progressive and progressive. In Saaho, verbs show different forms for habitual (reoccurring event), progressive, and non progressive aspects.

In Saaho, the imperfective stem is used to indicate a habitual aspect. But the other two are used to indicate continuous actions. Thus, progressive establishes that a process exists – is going on – at the contextual occasion where as the non progressive duratitive aspect presents that the process might not be going on at the contextual occasion.(see sections 5.3.2.4 and 5.3.2.5).

The imperfective stems contrast with the perfective stems in internal modification. The stems have same base or root but aspect is marked differently based on the classes. Class I perfective stem has non –**a-** initial vowel and assimilates to the medial syllable whereas the imperfective stem has –**a-** initial vowel and a high vowel in the medial syllable. In class II verbs perfective is marked by suffix –e whereas in class II verbs by –**a.**

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Person	Class I		Class II	
	VgrVʔ-'cut'	VVʕVb-'drink'	gur-'want'	laʔ- 'heat'
1ˢᵗ SG	agriʔ-é	aaʔub-é	gur-á	laʔ-á
1ˢᵗ PL	n-agriʔ-é	n-aaʔub-é	gur-n-á	laʔ- n-á
2ⁿᵈ SG	t-agriʔ-é	t-aaʔub-é	gur-t-á	laʔ- t-á
2ⁿᵈ PL	t-agriʔ-í-n	t-aaʔub-ín	gur-t-á-n	laʔ-t-á-n
3ʳᵈ Ms	y-agriʔ-é	y-aaʔub-é	gur-á	laʔ-á
3ʳᵈ Fs	t-agriʔ-é	t-aaʔub-é	gur-t-á	laʔ-t-á
3ʳᵈ PL	y-agriʔ-í-n	y-aaʔub-ín	gur-á-n	laʔ-á-n

Table 5.11: Imperfective Verb paradigm PC and SC verbs

88. sóoka =h beʔreró   gay -n –á

    rare =by sauce   find -1PL– IPF

    'We rarely get sauce.'

89. sarħá=l   irr-í   aggalalóy-ta=h   felit-á

    lowland=at   children-NOM   group-REDP-NMZ-by be fed -3Ms.IPF

     'In the low lands children are fed by being in groups.'

90. beer - ít irób   soonó-l   ablé

    tomorrow-GEN Irob dream-at 1SG.see IPF

    'I see the feture of Irob in my dream.'

91. ḍaaʔó   ke abaaró malħiná mud   sug-it- á

     blessing and curse seven   generation stay-3Fs-IPF

     'Blessing and curse stays for seven generations.

All the verbs in the example sentences are in the imperfective stem and they express a habitual action.

5.3.2.4 Progeressive Aspect

The verb that express the progressive aspect is formed from verb base which is an infinitive stem with a suffix –(V)k where V stands for the vowels -**i** and -**a** of the suffixes. In the stem formation, class I add the suffix –ik after deleting the final vowel of the infinitive. For class II verbs a suffix –ak added to the base. In both stems, there is

a shift of tone to the penultimate vowel. In (92) and (93), there are some examples to illustrate the process with class II and I verbs.

92. Example of progressive aspect derived from Infinitive stem of class II verbs:

Infinitive base		**Progressive stem**	
a. ab-	'to do'	áb-ak	'doing'
b. ʔakal-	'to wash'	ʔakál-ak	'washing'
c. baḍis-	'to cut'	baḍís-ak	'cutting'
d. beet-	'to eat'	beét-ak	'eating'
e. al-	'to roast'	alî-ik	'roasting'
f. fiy-	'to comb'	fî-ik	'combing'

93.   Progressive stem form of Class I Verbs

Infinitive base		**Progressive stem**	
a.	abl-	'see'	ábl-ik	'looking'
b.	amīt-	'come'	amiít-ik	'coming'
c.	agriʔ-	'cut'	agríʔ-ik	'cutting'
d.	aʔub-	'drink'	aʔúb-ik	'drinking'
e.	ard-	'run'	árd-ik	'running'

The progressive stem is different from perfective and imperfective stems. Unlike the two, it does not have conjugational paradigm. Progressive stem has invariable form and occurs in compound tense with auxiliary to expresses an action in progress as in (94).

94. a) ísi dik-ih adí-ik   t-ané

        she home=to run-PROG 3Fs-AUX.PRES
      'She is walking home.'

   b) úsuk laye aʔúb-ik y-ané
      he water drink-PROG 3Ms.PRES
       'He is drinking water.'

The progressive marked verbs express activities that are going on in the time of speech.

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5.3.2.5 Non Progressive

The non-progressive stem is formed by the suffixes -(V)y, -(V)h from the infinitive verb. The final vowel is delete and a suffix –iy/-ay or an–ih/ah is added depending on the class of the verb. The accent goes to the penultimate mora. Below, there are examples of stems formed with the continuant non progressive.

95. **Infinitive**   **Non progressive**

a. beet-   'to eat'   beét-ay   'eating'

b. al-   'to roast'   alî-iy   'roasting'

c. ʔakal-   'to wash'   ʔakál-ay   'washing'

d. fiy-   'to comb'   fî-iy   'combing'

e. baɖis-   'to cut'   baɖís-ay   'cutting'

f. ab-   'to do'   áb-ay   'doing'

g. rad-   'to fall'   rád-ay   'falling'

The distinction between the progressive and non progressive seems to be neutralized. The same form expressess both meanings/functions. In addition, in daily conversation, forms either of the two forms can be used for the same function as a progressive marker. Comrie (1976), states that the expression of the progressive and nonprogressive meaning of distinct stem forms is determined by the languages' feature of obligatory or optional use of the two forms. When obligatory, the form has progressive meaning and when optional has a non progressive form does not exclude progressive meaning.

But there exist some slight differences with respect to verb types. The non progressive is mainly used state verbs but progressive form is mainly used with dynamic actions. Thus, the suffix -(V)y/(V)h mostly occurs with state, punctual, and eventive verbs for non progressive meaning. Verbs with suffix –(V)k express progressive meaning. Similar function has been expressed for Afar by Hayward and Parker & Hayward (1985). Banti (2010:53) also make the distinction for the two continuant verb forms. according to him he use same subject and different subject simultaneous converbs for –(V)k and (V)h verb forms respectively.

The examples below show the variation of meaning with the two stems. Thus, in 96 (a) has the form with non progressive form and (b) has the progressive stem. It is for someone whom you meet with some physical change or for someone in front of the food.

Examples sentences

96. a) áyim kinnîi beét-ay   t-inií-n-im

      What be.3.Q eat-CONT 2-exist-Past-PL-REL.

    'What is that you used to eat?

    b) áyim kinnîi   beét-ak   t-inií-n-im

      What be be.3.Q eat –PROG 2-exist-Past-Pl-REL

    'What is that you were eating?

In addition, sometimes it is also possible for verbal nouns with case markers =d serve similar aspect like 'engaged in' an activity. Such expressions are given in (97).

97. a) isi Ɂakalsó=d t-ané

      she wash=in 3Fs-be PRES

    'She is washing'

    b) foló alaysó=d t-ané

      food cook=in 3Fs-AUX.PRES

    'She is cooking / preparing food.'

5.3.2.6 Imperfective -h Stem

The imperfective -h stem in the Saaho is used conjoining chains of clauses and have similar function as the non-progressive stems discussed above. Thus, such verb forms are mostly used in describing past events or narratives and they are used to indicate simultaneous activities which are performed subsequent/immediately.   In the table the paradigm for the imperfective-h is given.

Subject Pronoun		Class I PC verb agriʔ-e 'to cut'	Class II SC gur-a 'to want	Class III tib 'be silent'
1st Person	Sg	agriʔ-é-h	gur-á-h	tib-á-h
	Pl	n-agriʔ-é-h	gur-n-á-h	tib-n-á-h
2nd Person	Sg	t-agriʔ-é-h	gur-t-á-h	tib-t-á-h
	Pl	t-agriʔ-ii-n-íh	gur-t-aa-n-íh	tib-t-aa-n-íh
3rd Person	MSg	y-agriʔ-é-h	gur-á-h	tib-y-á-h
	FSg	t-agriʔ-é-h	gur-t-á-h	tib-t-á-h
	PL	y-agriʔ-ii-n-íh	gur-aa-n-íh	tib-y-aa-n-íh

Table 5.12 : Imperfective-h

5.3.3 Mood

Saaho verbs show expressions for modal notions which include permission, possibility, obligation, hypotheses, optatives and hortative moods. In this section, I focus on the verbal forms imperative, jussive and subjunctive.

5.3.3.1 Imperative Verb stem

Imperative stem is mainly used to express direct command to 2nd person singular or plural addressee. The 2nd person singular imperative stem of class II verb is the shortest in form, same as the base, without any inflection. In class I verbs, there are some irregularities, but most 2nd singular imperative stems have the same base form as their perfective stem counterparts as in 98 (a-h) and in most stems non high root vowels are changed to high as in 98 (h-n). The 2nd plural imperative is formed by adding the suffix –a to the singular stem. Below are examples of Class I imperative stems.

Base		2ⁿᵈ SG. Imperative	2ⁿᵈ PL.Imperative
a) iḍiggil-	'to milk'	iḍiggíl	iḍiggíl-a
b) igriʔ-	'to cut'	igríʔ	igríʔ-a
c) ibbiḍ-	to catch'	ibíḍ	ibíḍ-a
d) iylillig-	'to sharpen'	iylillíg	iylillíg-a
e) ubl-	'to see'	ubúl	ubúl-a
f) uluus-	'to cook'	ulús	uluúsa
g) uħullufe	'to measure in cubits'	uħlúf	uħullúf-a
h) ufuʔ-	'to cough'	ufúʔ	ufúʔ-a
i) eebeħ-	'to sell'	ibíħ	ibíħ-a
j) egʔeed-	'to move'	igiʔíd	igiʔíd-a
k) ootok-	'to hit'	utúk	utúk-a
l) oosol-	'to lough'	usúl	usúl-a
m) ooʔobe-	'to drink'	uʔúb	uʔúb-a
n) ooħoye-	'to bring'	uħúy	uħúy-a
o) erd-	'to run'	eréd	érd-a
p) edey-	'to go'	adúy	adúy-a

There are some class I verbs which form supplettive imperative as shown in (98) below.

98. **Base** 2ⁿᵈ **SG. Imperative** 2ⁿᵈ **PL.Imperative**

a) emeet-	'to come'	ám	ámo
b) eekk-	'to happen/became'	tík	tíkk-a

In (100) and (101) are some examples of imperative stems from class I and Class IV verbs.

99. Base 2ⁿᵈ SG. Imperative 2ⁿᵈ PL.Imperative

a) far-	'to send'	fár	fár-a
b) ḍīn-	'to sleep'	ḍín	ḍíin-a
c) maad-	'to reach'	maád	maád-a
d) ugut-	'to wake/get up'	ugút	ugút-a

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100. a) tib-e   'to be silent'   tib-éy   tib-éy-a

   b) naw-e 'to be high'   naw- éy   naw- éy-a

In (102), there are some illustarive examples of imperatives with singular and plural 2nd Person.

101. a) too = eelle   dif-éy   [tolle diféy]

       far.that =LOC(at) sit- say.IPV.2SG

        'Sit down over there'

   b) ku abba=lih   aduy-a

        your father= COM   go. IPV -2PL

        'You(PL) go with your father.'

   c) isí   dan   áb

      your own busness do-2SG.IPV

      'Mind your business' Lit: do your own business.

   d) táy lafá   ádd =ad   ʔíd-a

      the bone   hole =in   spill.2.IPV.PL

      'You (PL) throw the refuse into the hole.'

   e) táy ḥamḥám   too=h   béy-a

        this gaur   that=DAT take.2IPV-PL

      'You (PL) take this gourd away.'

In the examples, 101 (a-c) are imperative which have second person singular subject but those in 101 (d) and (e) with plural subject. The imperative stem have same form but the plural stem adds –a suffix.

5.3.3.2 Jussive Stem

The jussive stem is formed from base with a vowel mutation and a suffix –**óy** for class I verbs. The base has an initial vowel **a(a)** which assimilates to the midial root vowels and add suffix -**óy.** Class II verbs add only a suffix –**óy** to the base. But the IV vebs

seem like a compound stem where the jussive suffixes is on the V-say -**owway**. The jussive stem shows inflectional pardigme for 1st and 3rd person but not for 2nd person.

Subject		Class I agraʔ- 'to cut'	Class II ħab- 'to leave'	Class III naw-e 'to be high'
1st	SG	agraʔ-óy	ħab-óy	naw-oww-áy
	PL	n-agraʔ-óy	ħab-n-óy	naw-n-oww-áy
3rd	Ms	y-agraʔ-oy	ħab-óy	naw-y-oww-áy
	Fs	t-agriʔ-oy	ħab-t-óy	naw-t-owwá-y
	PL	y-agraʔ-oo-n-ay	hab-oo-n-áy	naw-y-oo-n-áy

Table 5.13: Jussive Pardigm

In Saaho, Jussive verb stem is used in mood expression such as wish, blessings and indirect commands or pemission as illustrated below.

102. a) gure-m= ko   tee=lih   y-adawoy
          want.3Ms-M=CND her =COM 3Ms- go-JUS
          'If he want, let him go with her.'

      b) kaa =lih   t-adaw-oy
          him =COM 3Fs- go-JUS
          'Let her go with him.'

      c) ko =lih   adaw-oy
          you =COM 1SG. go-JUS
          'Let me go with you.'

      d) ko=lih   n-adaw-oy
          you =COM 1PL-go-JUS
          'Let us go with you.'

      e) maaʔíl ko=h   y-aħaw-óy
          long age you =DAT 3Ms-give.JUS
          'Let you live long!' Lit: 'let give long age for you.'

As shown in the example sentences, the jussive stem has agreement inflections for 1st and 3rd persons depending on the subjects of the sentence.

5.3.3.3 Subjunctive stem

The subjunctive stem of class II verb is marked by suffix –**o** and penultimate tone. But for class I verbs, it is ablaunt and a suffix –**o,** the accent moves to penulltmate syllable. The stem shows person, number and gender agreement inflections but not aspect.

Subject		Class I Verb	Class II VERB	Class IV
1st	Sg	aaʔáb-o	bêet-o	tib-ówwa
	Pl	n-aaʔáb-o	bén-n-o	tib-n-ówwa
2nd	Sg	t-aaʔáb-o	bét-t-o	tib –t-ówwa
	Pl	t-aaʔab-ôo-na	bet-t-ôo-na	tib –t-ôo-na
3rd	MSg	y-aaʔáb-o	bêet-o	tib –y-ówwa
	FSg	t-aaʔáb-o	bét-t-o	tib- t-ówwa
	PL	y-aaʔab-ôona	beet-ôona	tib –y-ôo-na

Table 5.14: Subjunctive Verb paradigm

The subjective stem can be complement either to copula verb *kinni ''be'* or possessive verb *le 'has/have' to* express future intentions with some distiniction in mood. Below are examples:

103.   a) ísi   t- aħáw -o   lé

         she   3Fs- give-SUJN have.3SG. PRES

        'She is about to give.'

     b) ísi   t-aħáw-o   kinní

        she 3Fs-give-SUJN be.3SG.PRES

        'She is to give.' she will give'

104.   a) anú   ħayit-o   li-(y)ó

         I   be steate-1SG.SUJN have-1SG.PRES

        'I am about to be steated.'

     b) anú   ħáyt-o   ki-(y)ó

         I   be steat-1SG.SUJN be-1SG.PRES

         'I will be steated.'

As shown in 104 and 105 (a and b), the structure in (a's) have subjunctive stem *tahawo* *'she to give'* and *ħáyto 'I to be steated'* with auxiliary *le 'have'* compound verb construction. But the structure in (b's) has the same subjunctive stems and compounded an axuilary *kinni 'be'*. The construction in the 104 and 105 (a's) *le 'have'* reflects a feature intention for an action or event already started and has greater certainity to be fulfilled in the near feature. But these in (b's) with *kinni 'be'*, it expresses future intention with such notion.

The subjunctive form along with modal auxiliary is used to express dfferent modal notions such as obligation and/or necessity, possibility and permission, volition and ability (see the modal verbs in table 17). Below, I show a few example sentences of expressions of modality.

105. a) [y-amâat-o] _{CP}   ɖiiʔ-á
   3Ms-come-SUJN can-3Ms.IPF
   'He is able to come.'

  b) [geéɖ-o] _{CP}   taan-é
   walk-3Ms.SUJN be unable-3Ms.PF
   'He can't walk'

  c) [t-adaw-ò] _{CP} eeda
   2-go-SUJN   should
   'You should go.'

  d) [rob   rád-ò   ]_{CP}   ɖiiʔ-im-á
   rain fall-3Ms.SUJN   can-PASS-3Ms.IPF
  'It may rain.' Lit: 'it is possible for rain to fall.'

As shown in 114 (a-d), the subjunctive stems occur as complement clause to the modal verbs in the matrix clause to express different modality such as ability, inability, obligation and possibility respectivelly.

Moreover, the subjunctive stem can occur as purpose subordinate clauses with different verbs as in (107).

106. a) [anú áwka   [layé baáh-o]_{CP:PUR} far-é]

          I   boy(ACC)   water bring-3Ms.SUJN send-1SG.PF

          'I sent the child to fetch water.'

      b) kāa y-ábl-o   y-emēeté

          him   3Ms-see-SUJN 3Ms-come.PF

          'He came to see him.'

5.3.4 Combination of Tense Aspect and Mood

In the language tenses past, present and future are expressed by compound verb and auxiliary. I have put two types of auxiliary verbs. These are coupular forms and modal auxiliaries. Below, we have described auxiliary and modal verbs that are used to express tense and other aspectual and modal expressions.

5.3.4.1 Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliaries are sometimes called "helping verbs," are like verbs in that they tend to express the same kind of conceptual categories as main verbs. However, they have a number of properties that distinguish them from prototypical verbs. First of all, the class of auxiliaries has all the properties of grammatical morphemes rather than lexical words. Auxiliaries are usually smaller than verbs in terms of the number of phonemes they have and they express relatively few semantic features. I have considered Saaho auxiliaries as having different distributional properties than verbs do. It makes sense to treat them as a distinc close class from verbs. They include the following.

- Verb be: ki   'to be/to happen'
- Verb Possession: le   'to have'
- Verb existential: ine/ane 'to exist/to be at'

The table below shows the conjugational paradigm for ki 'to be' and le 'to have'. They have encohoative stem which are inflected like class I verbs they are *eekké 'to become. PF'* for *ki and eellé 'to have.PF'* for *le*. They also form continuant stative as

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kí-iy and *lí-iy* the non progressive stem and infinitive stem *akke, alle* and *aniye* for *ki, le* and *ine* respectively.

Person	Number	ki-n 'V-be'	le 'V-have'
Singular	1st	ki-yó[28]	li-yó
	2nd	ki-tó	li-tó
	3rd	ki-nní	lé
Plural	1st	ki-nó	li-nó
	2nd	ki-t-ín	li-t-ín
	3rd	ki-n-ón	li-n-ón/lón

Table 5.15: Auxiliary paradigm

In addition, the existential verb *ine/ane 'exist'* has various functions. It does not have a distinct/shortened form like the above auxiliaries but it serves as an auxiliary when it occurs with main verbs. The verb has the forms like *ine 'AUX. PAST'* or *ane 'AUX.PRES'* which have the same conjugations like class I verbs in the perfective and imperfective paradigms respectively. The perfective form *ine 'exist-PAST'* shows combination of tense and aspect. Thus, it occurs with perfect or imperfect and progressive forms.

Similarly, the imperfective *ane 'exisi.PRES'* indicates present perfect with perfect verbs and with imperfect/progressive forms a present progressive.

In the data both prefix and suffix conjugations have been attested with the existential verb. Unlike similar reduced auxiliary *ki to be'* and *le 'to have'* from prefix conjugation *eeke 'be/happen.PF'* and *eele 'has/have.PF'*. These verb forms occur with inflections of the prefix conjugation but the auxiliaries have present and past statie. The paradigm for the present state is given in table (5.16). Thus, I consider it as unique case of the language.

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[28] There is a reduction process where *kinnni* becomes *ki-*. A similar process occurs in most verbs of this class in their 1st and 2nd person paradigms. For example, *ʔas-i-yo 'I am red'* , *ʔas-i-tin 'you are red.'* and **ku** *kiħ-ini-yo* 'I am in love with you or **ku** *kiħ-i-yo* I love you.' Howevere, there is some difference when used with the negation Particle *ma- ki 'it isn't'* and *ma-kinni 'It hasn't become?'*.(see chapter section)

Number	Person	Class I Perfective	Stative (Past)	Class I Imperfective	Stative (present)
Singular	1	in-é	in-i-yó	an-é	an-i-yó
	2	t-in-é	t-in-i-tó	t-an-é	t-an-i-tó
	3 M	y-in-é	y-in-é	y-an-é	y-an-é
	3 F	t-in-é	t-in-é	t-an-é	t-an-é
Plural	1	n-in-é	n-in-é	n-an-é	n-an-é
	2	t-in-ín	t-in-i-tí-n	t-an-ín	t-an-i-tí-n
	3	y-in-ín	y-in-i-nón	y-an-ín	y-an-i-nón/
			y-in-í-n		y-aní-n

Table 5.16: A paradigm of Existential Verb -in- 'exist'

In Saaho, different modal expressions make use of the the subjunctive form as their complement. I put some list of them in table (5.17). These are used to express notions such as obligation and/or necessity, possibility and permission, volition and ability.

Modal notions	Verb expression
obligation and/or necessity	edaa 'to be proper/ nesessary'
Possibility	ekkel 'to think/supose'
	ɖiiʔim- 'to be possible'
ability/ permission	ɖiiʔ- 'to be able'
	taan- 'to be unable'

Table 5.17 Modal verbs

5.3.4.2 Present perfect tense

The present perfect is used to express a past event which is relevant to the present situation. That is, it signals that some event in the past has produced a state of affairs which continues to be true and significant at the present moment. It is expressed main verb in perfective-h form and a compound tense and aspect auxiliary ane 'AUX.PRES' as PFV-h AUX.PRES shown in the examples below.

107. a) úsuk kāa gur-tí=d   y-emeeté-h   y -   ané
        he you need-Nz=in 3Ms-come.PF-h 3Ms- AUX.PRES
        'He has come to meet you.'

    b) mango rob rad-é-h y-ané
          haevey rain fall-PF-h 3Ms- AUX.PRES
         'Heavey rain has fallen.'

    c) úsuk barka=h y-edeé-h   y-ané.
          he forest=to 3Ms-go-Vh 3Ms- AUX.PRES
          'He has gone to the forest.'

    d) siráħ bak-é-h   ané
        work finish-PF-h 1SG.AUX.PRES
        'I have finished the work'

5.3.4.3 Past perfect tense

Similar to the present perfect the past perfect tense is expressed by main verb in perfective *-h* and compound auxiliary *ine 'be.PAST[Exist]'* or *suge 'stay-PF'*. The following are examples that show past perfect expression.

108. a) ákah   rabēe-kah   yi abāar-é-h   y-iné.
        DEF-him-for die-INF-PURP   me curse-3Ms-PF-h 3Ms-AUX.PAST
        'He had put a curse on me so that I should die,'

    b) úsuk kāa y-áblo   y-emeet-éh   y-iné
        He   him 3Ms-see-SBJN 3Ms-come.PF-h 3Ms- AUX.PAST
        'He had come to see him.'

    c) labha-ytí   kallāaħ-é-h   sug-é.
        men-SGV.Nom travel-3Ms-PF-h stay-3Ms.PF
          'The man had been in trip.'

As shown in (108), the auxiliary verbs *ine 'be.PAST'* and *suge 'stay-PF'* indicate the action expressed by the main verb completed in the past and does not have any relation with the present.

5.3.4.4 Present Progressive

Present progressive expresses a continuous action or event in the present. In order to show the present progressive, the language uses a compound verb auxiliary construction in which the main verb is in progressive aspect and combined with the auxiliary verb ane- 'exist/be-PRES' to mark present tense.

109. a) rob rád-ak   y-ané

   rain fall- PROG 3Ms- AUX.PRES

  'It is raining.' Lit. the rain is falling

 b) úsuk adî-ik   y-ané.

  he   go-PROG   3Ms- AUX.PRES

  'He is going.'

 c) ísi amíit-ik   t-ané.

  she come-PROG 3Fs- AUX.PRES

  'She is coming.'

 d) árd-ik   ané.

  run-PROG 1S.AUX.PRES

  'I am running.'

 e) nanú ħadó béet-ak   n-ané.

  we   meat eat-PROG 1PL-AUX.PRES

  'We are eating meat.'

 f) amáy maʔdó fáak-ak   y-aní-n.

  the   door   open-PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES

  'They are opening the door.'

As shown in the example sentences in 109 (a-f), the auxiliary verb shows only grammatical function such as subject agreement marker and the present tense and the main verb bears both progressive aspect and content. Thus the action is in progress during the time of speech.

5.3.4.5 Past Progressive

Past progressive indicates an ongoing action or event in the past. A verbal construction, which is made up of a main verb and an auxiliary, like the present progressive, is employed. The only difference between present and past progressive constructions is on the suffix that is attached to the auxiliary.

110. a) atú   adí-ìk   t- iné
        you(SG) walk-PROG 2Sg-AUX.PAST
        'You were walking.'

    b) úsuk ʔallīitéena=l dik   áb-ak   y - iné
        he   Alitena =at house buid-PROG 3Ms- AUX.PAST
        'He was building a house at Alitena.'

    c) ísi ħaḍó aláas-ak   t-iné
        she meat cook-PROG 3Fs- AUX.PAST
        'She was cooking meat.'

5.3.4.6 Past habitual

The past habitual in Saaho is used to describe a habitual action in the past or relatively simultaneous and uninterrupted long continues action by short events or activity in the past. In addition, the verb form expresses an action or event that is happening after the moment of speaking. In Saaho the past habitual expresses an action that used to be done repeatedly in the past. The verb form used to describe past habitual is non-progress base-(V)y form of the verb or imperfective with –h followed by past auxiliary *ine* '*be,PAST*' as in the following examples.

111. a) nanú sáʔa   dúw-ay   n-ine
        we   cattle shepherd-CONT. 1PL- AUX.PAST
        'We used to shepherd cattle.'

b) basó-h masqál=ah irób faró   áb-ay   t-iné

before Meskel=at   Irob (Faaro) do- CONT 3Fs- AUX.PAST

'Early during Meskel Irobs used to perform/were perfuming Faaro'

'a tradition activity which involve the spraying of a mixture of milk and blood to animals.'

c)   beet-ē-m   úmbih dehéy-ày   y-iné

eat-3Ms.\PF.-NOMZ all   vomit-CONT 3Ms-AUX.PAST

'He was vomiting everything he had eaten.'

d)   ħago s = koo   abraha ʔagín-iy   y-iné

Hagos =from Abraha thin-CONT 3Ms-AUX.PAST

'Abraha was thiner than Hagos'

The examples sentences the content verb has continuant aspect and the auxiliary express tense and subject agreement markers. Thus, the first three sentences in (111) show repeated actions of past but the stative verb in 111 (d) express the past state.

5.3.4.7 Future Tense

In Saaho, the future tense can be expressed in two ways. These are with an infinitive verb stem and an auxiliary *le 'has'* or subjunctive verb stem and auxiliary verb *kinni 'be.'*.

The use of either of the two forms depends on the degree of certainity. In the language expressions with future tenses also encode epistemic modalities. Thus, the expressions with *le 'has'* co-marks certainty, and indicates that the agent is surely determined to carry out the action, the second form with kinni 'be' expresses the possibility these encode epistemic modalities in addition to futurity. In many languages the future is indeed used as a mood, rather than as tense, but there are languages in which there is more than one future morpheme, and differences between these are attributable to differences in certainty.

112. a) kafin ayyám=ad amiite lé

　　 dry　season=in　come-INF be. 3S.FUT

　　 'He will come in the dry season.'

　　 b) kâa=lih　　amâat-o　　ki-tó

　　　　 him=COM come-SUJN　be 2SG.FUT

　　　　 'You will come with him.'

　　 c)　anu layé　aaʔáb-o ki-yó

　　　　 I　　water drink- SUJN be 1SG,FUT

　　　　 'I will drink water.'

The main verb in 112 (a) has an infinitive stem which is finite without inflections. The auxiliary le 'has' which shows the grammatical function which is present intention. The other two in 112 (b) and (c) have subjunctive verb stem and auxiliary *kinni 'be'* which express an intention which is general. Thus, first sentence indicate greater certainty for fulfillment because the intention is active unlike the later ones.

5.3.4.8 Future Progressive

The future progressive tense is formed by the combination of three stem. The three forms are base-(V)k Progressive stem, an infinitive stem of existential verb *aniye 'exist'* and the future auxiliary *le*.

113. a) bêera　　adî-ìk　　　aniye lé

　　　　 tomorrow go- PROG　exist. INF be.3S. FUT

　　　　 'Tomorrow, he will be going.'

　　 b) bêera　　bêet-ak　　　aniye　　lé

　　　　 tomorrow eat- PROG exist. INF be.3S. FUT

　　　　 'Tomorrow, he will be eating.'

In 114 (a and b) the construction has three verbs in compound construction to express future progressive. Thus, in these sentences the progressive stems *adîik 'going'* and

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beetak 'eating' are followed by the infinitive stem existential verb *aniye 'to exist/to present'* and a future marker with the possessive stative verb *lé ' have'*.

5.3.4.9 Future Perfect

The future perfect tense has similar construction like the future progressive. The difference is only on the main verb. In future continuous the progressive stem is used but in future perfect the main verb becomes perfective-h stem. Thus, the future perfect expression has three stems in compound tense construction. They are the perfective -h followed by Infinitive existential stem *aniye 'exist'* and the future mark *le 'has'*.

114. a) úsuk beet-é-h   aniye   lé
         he   eat-3Ms.PF-h exist.INF has.3Ms.FUT
          'He will have eaten.'

     b) ísi   t-edé-h   aniye   le
         she   3Fs-go.PF-h exist.INF has.3SG.FUT
          'He will have gone.'

In 115 (a) and (b) both sentences have three verbs in compound construction to express future perfect. Thus, in these sentences the main verbs are perfective -h stems as *beeté-h 'having eaten'* and *y-edeé-h 'having gone'* are followed by the infinitive stem existential verb *aniye 'exist'* and a future marker with the possessive stative verb *lé ' have'*. Such construction in the languages is used to express modality of potential mood.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has described the inflectional and derivational morphology of verbs in Saaho. The verbs are grouped under four classes, class I which mainly involve prefixation and ablaut process, class II with suffixation, class II stative verbs and class IV compound verb classes. The verbs show subject agreement inflections occur in as prefix or suffix depending on the class of the verb.

In the derivational section, verbal extension such as causative, middle, passive, intensive, attenuative frequentative etc have been described. Combination of markers causative middle, middle passive or intensive –passive etc can be formed by taking the first marked forms as base for the other extensions.

The verbs show inflections for aspect and mood. Verbal aspect include: perfective, imperfective, progressive and non-progressive stems and mood: jussive, imperative and subjunctive. Combination of main verb with auxiliary can express different tens and mood expressions.

Chapter Six

Nominal Modifiers

In this chapter, we have described attributive modifiers which include numerals, quantifiers and adjectives. Most of them have similar morphological and syntactic features which distinguish them from other categories such as nouns, pronouns, verbs and clitics.

6.1 Numerals and Quantifiers

There are two types of numerals in Saaho. These are cardinal and ordinal. Below I have described.

6.1.1 Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals have a decimal system. The basic counting numbers are one to ten, and hundred and thousand.

1.   Basic counting numeral

     a. iník   'one'
     b. lammáy   'two'
     c. adóħ   'three'
     d. afár   'four'
     e. koōn   'five'
     f. liħ   'six'
     g. malħín   'seven'
     h. baħár   'eight'
     i. sagál   'nine'
     j. táman   'ten'
     k. bôol   'hundred'
     l. sîih   'thousand' Borrowed form

Numerals of multiple of ten such as 20, 30, 40, etc, are lexicalized but etymologically they are related to the single digits 2, 3, 4, etc[29]. Thus, they are formed by adding the form for *taman 'ten'* such as / -tanna/ -tom/ -tam to the single digits[30]. Look at the examples below.

2. Multiple of ten numerals

   a. lamaa-tánna   'twenty'

   b. sod-dóm   'thirty'

   c. moroo-tóm   'forty'

   d. kon-tóm   'fifty'

   e. laħ-tám   'sixty'

   f. malħin-tómon   'seventy'

   g. boħor-tómon   'eighty'

   h. bool-ságla   'ninety'

The numerals between eleven and nineteen are formed by the conjunctive enclitic *–ke 'and'* which is attached to the sigle digits one to nine after they are nominilized with *–m* or -am and the numeral *taman 'ten'*. But numerals with single digits above twenty have different lexical formation. Thus, the enclitic *–ke 'and'* is attached to multiple form and the single digits follow. Below examples in (3) that refer to the numerals between 11-19 as:

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[29] As indicated in the example, the multiple of ten for 30 and 40 does not resemble to the basic numerals adoh and afar 3 and 4 respectively. Thus, soddom 'thirty' etymologically is related to Afar single digit sedoh 'three', but for morootom 'fourty' it seems,

[30] The numeral for 90 'bool sagla' has unique derivation which seem a compound word with the meaning 90 over hundred or 9 more for hundred. This form seem specific feature of this dialect where in other dilects of Saaho, according to Banti and Vergari (2001) sagal taman can be used as alternative but this form is not practically used in the varaiety.

3. Combination of multiple of ten and single digit numerals

   a. inik-am=ke táman   'eleven'

       one-Nz=and ten

   b. lamma-n=ke táman   'tweleeve'

       two –Nz =and ten

   c. adooħ-am= ke táman   'thirteen'

       three –Nz=and ten

   d. affár-am=ke táman   'fourteen'

       four-Nz =and ten

   e. lamaa-tanna=ke iník   'twenty one'

       two- ten = and one

   f. lamaa-tanna=ke lammá   'twent two'

       two ten= and two

   g. moroo-tom=ke sagál   'fourty nine'

       fourty = and nine

Numbers greater than hundred are expressed with the basic term *bool 'hundred'* and the single digits or multiples of ten numerals as in (4).

4. Combination of numerals of hundredth, multiples of ten and single digits

   a. bôol iník   'one hundred one'

   b. bôol táman   'one hundred ten'

   c. bôol ínkamke táman   'one hundred eleven'

   d. bôol lamaatánnake koón 'one hundred twenty five'

   e. bôol ke bool ságla   'one hundred ninety'

   f. bôol bool ságla ke baħár 'one hundred ninety eight'

In Saaho, cardinal numerals can be group either as a subset of nouns or as attributive modifiers. The numerals can either precede the noun as a modifier, or follow the noun with genitive marking which yield a partitive meaning.

6.1.1.1 The form of Numeral Modifier

As we see above, the form of quantifying numerals of lower levels have a closed final syllable but when they are used as attributive modifiers they change their form and become open syllables as in (5). These forms always occur in attributive positions to the head noun with singular or non-plural reference. However, higher level numerals do not change their forms when they occur in attributive positions, but they occur with plural nouns which are in genitive constructions with –*iyya* 'Rel Pronoun'.

5. **Numeral forms**

Counting form			Attributive form
a.	inik	'one'	inki,
b.	lammay	'two'	lamma
c.	adoħ	'three'	adooha,
d.	afar	'four'	affara
e.	koon	'five'	koona
f.	liħ	'six'	liħa
g.	malħin	'seven'	malħina
h.	bahar	'eight'	baħħara
i.	sagal	'nine'	sagala
j.	taman	'ten'	tamana

Example

6. a) tamana agaboy-tá
   'ten women-CL
   'Ten women'

   b) agab-i taman
   Women- GEN ten
   'ten of the women'

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c) adooha sagá

   three caw

   'three caws'

7. a) soddom sagoob -í - t - iyya

        thirty   baby goat-PLV- GEN.which

         'thirty goats'

    b)   kontom okol-i yya

         fifty donkeys GEN.which

          'fifty donkeys' 'generic of any type

    c)   kontom okolo-ytí- iyya

         fifty donkey-SGV -GEN.which

    'Fifty donkeys which are male'

The same expressions of plural forms like *danan 'male donkey'* can be expressed with numerals as in (8) (a) and (b):

  8. a) kontom   danon-ti-yya   or

        fifty   donkey.PLV-GEN.which

     b) kontom danoon-i-t- iyya

           fifty   donkey-PLV-GEN.which

In the examples (6), the numerals of lower level occur as modifiers of nouns, the head noun does not need to be in plural, but in (7) the nouns with the higher numeral, greater than ten, the plural forms can be used but the structure of the noun phrase occur with a relative pronoun *iyya. 'which'*. The relativized pronoun which serves as head to the NP is internally headed by noun modified by numeral.

6.1.1.2 Numerals in Partitive Construction

When numerals higher than one occur following a noun, the numeral occur with the noun which is inherently plural or marked pluralized in genitive construction or linked by enclitic *–ko 'from'*.

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9. a) labhá-t lammáy,

    men-GEN-two

    'two of the men'

    b) labhāa=ko lammáy,

    men-from-two

    'two from the men'

10.   a) lāa-tí sagál

    caws-GEN nine

    'nine of the caws'

    b) danon -tí   kontóm

    donkey.PLV-GEN fifty

    'fifty of male donkeys'

    c) danōon-íi   =ko   kontóm

    donkey.PLV=from-fifty

    'fifty of male donkeys'

As the glosses show in the examples (9) and (10), the noun phrase indicates a partitive reading. Thus, the number is the part from the whole noun in the plural.

In addition, numerals can occur as NP in constructions where the head noun has a clear reference and/or can be inferred from the context or based on pragmatic context.

11.   agab-í   lammá=ah   maláb ákah   uhúw-a

    women-GEN two=DAT   beer PROCL give.IPF-2PL

    'Give them beer for the two women.'

12.   malab lammay-tá uhúw-a

    beer   two-CL   give.IPF-PL

    'Give beer to the two.'

13. lammay-tá niyat-t-é

    two-CL   be.health-3Fs-PF

  'The two/both became healthy.'

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14. lamma=k no=d orob-é-n

two =ABL us=on enter-3.PF-PL

'They entered into us in pair.' Of two direction

The examples show that the numerals can occur with clitics and affixes. In (11) the numeral occur with dative case in genitive constructed noun phrase and in 14 the numeral occur with ablative case that shows direction from which they enter as well as pair. In (13) the numeral add –ta which is like the singulatuve marker and shows specification or restriction only to the two not others.

6.1.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are used to identify a referent in terms of its order with respect to other referents. The ordinal numerals in Saaho are most commonly derived from cardinal numerals by either a prefixation of *ma-* the ordinal marker or a periphrastic construction attached to the numeral. As illustrated in (15), the prefix *ma-* derives ordinal numerals from lower order single digit cardinal numerals of two up to ten .

The ordinal numeral for first is derived differently from the verb root *eḓeeḓ- 'to start'* with some ablaut process and a suffix –ta which is glossed as *tiya 'one-indefinite'*.

15. Ordinal numerals of lower digit

a. eḓḓeḓ-ḓo-yta   'first'

b. ma-lámma   'second'

c. m-addáħa   'third'

d. m-afárra   'fourth'

e. ma-kawwána   'fivth'

f. liħ ya tíya   'sixth' or   ma-laħħána

g. ma-laħħána   'seventh'   or   malħín ya tíya

h. ma-baħħára   'eighth'

i. ma-saggála   'nighth'

j. ma-tammána   'tenth'

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Ordinal numerals greater than five can be formed by periphrastic construction, as *lammán ke táman ya tíya* 'one which is at the twelve place' 'twelve' which is like a relativized construction. The examples (16) indicate that ordinal numerals formed from cardinal numeral base by periphrastic construction with verbalizing clitic *=ya* 'say' and an indefinite pronoun *-tiya* 'one' which is relativized to the whole verbalized constituent[31].

16. Ordinal Numeral higher digit

  a. Inik-ám=ke táman ya tíya   'eleventh'
      one-Nz=and ten 3Ms.sayIPF one

  b. lammánke táman yatíya   'twelfth'

  c. adooħámke táman ya tíya   'thirteenth'

  d. affarámke táman ya tíya   'fourteenth'

  e. lamaatánna ya tíya   'twenteeth'

  f. soddom ya tíya   'thirtieth'

  g. morootom ya tíya   'fortieth'

  h. kontom ya tiya   'fiftieth'

  i. laħtam ya tíya   'sixtieth'

  j. malħintómon ya tíya   'seventieth'

  k. boħortómon ya tíya   'eightieth'

  l. bool ságla ya tíya   'ninetieth'

  m. bôol ya tíya   'hundredth'

  n. bôol inik ya tíya   'hundred one'

  o. bôol táman ya tíya   'hundred tenth'

  p. bôol inkám ke táman ya tíya 'hundred eleventh'

  q. bôol lamaatánna ya tíya   'hundred twentieth'

  r. sîiħ ya tíya   'thousandth'

---

[31] Derivation of ordinal numerals with =yatiya is also possible from sinle digits greater than 5. Thus, the ordinal numeral formed with the prefix ma- malaħħána has the same form for sixth and seventh, but according to my informats, malaħħána is preferable for 7th order and liħ ya tíya for the 6th order.

As shown in 16 (a - r), the ordinal numeral form above ten are expressed in periphrastic expression. Thus, the ordinal form and *ya 'V say'* verbalizer in relative construction with an indefinite pronoun *tiya 'one that'*.

17. ma-lammít ágle=h n-amâato ki-n-ó
    ORD- two-GEN assembly-DAT we come-SUJN be-fut
    'We will come for the second meeting/assembly.'

18. aglé ma-lamm=íh t-ekké
    assembly ORD-two =DAT 3Fs-PF.be
    'The meeting is commenced for the second/ repeated.'

19. aglé kāaf-í ma-lamm=íh ákkiy t-ané
    assembly today-GEN ORD-two=DAT be-PROG 3FsAUX.PRES
    'The assembly of today is going on for the second time.'

20. ingēerá-t ma-farrá ben-n-é
    bread- GEN ORD-four eat-1PL.PF
    'We ate the fourth of the bread.'

21. anú yi sáʔol=ud ma-farrá ki-yó
    I my brother.PL-in ORD- four 1S. be
    'I am the fourth in my brothers.'

In (17 - 21) the ordinal numerals are used to show position in sequential order. In addition, these ordinal numerals can express repetitions or recurrence for an activity when they occur with the postpositional clitic =h a dative case marker.

22. a) kaad-i m- addáħa=h ku dêeʔ-ay y-ané
    now ORD-three=DAT you call-PROG 3MsAUX.PRES
    'Now he is calling you for the fourth.'

    b) ma-ddaħa=h baahêen-im ko sin di ʔ- á
    ORD- three =DAT bring-2PL.PF-Vm CND, you enough- 3Ms IPF
    'It is enough for you, if you bring for the third.'

c) ma-lamm=ih mâ-amaat-ín

 ORD- two=DAT NEG -come-2SG.IPF

 'Don't come again.' Lit: 'for the second don't come.'

In 22 (a - c), the example sentences illustrate the ordinal numerals occur in different construction and has different interpretations. Thus, the ordinal numerals with dative case indicate that repetition of activities expressed by the verb which give an answer for the question for how many times?

6.2 Adjectives

The category of adjective is debatable in most Cushitic languages. However, in Afar and Saaho, there is a claim that verb-like forms mostly of the static-verbs can serve major functions adjectival expressions (Vergari 2008). Similarly, in Northern Saaho, Banti and Vergari (2005) do not consider adjectives as separate class. According to them adjectival function is expressed by verbs.

In most typological studies, there is a tendency to group the adjective category under a closed class for languages with limited number of adjectives. Thus, Schachter and Shopen (2007) have suggested that languages with closed adjectival class express certain specific types of 'adjectival' meanings by verbs and other specific types by nouns. Another similar tendency which could help to identify the category of adjective in a language has been suggested by Dixon (2004: 12). According to him, there is a possible mechanism to identify adjectives in every language. He suggested that some grammatical criteria could be possible for distinguishing the adjective class from other word classes.

In this respect, most adjectives can show inflectional paradigm like stative verbs when they function as predicate (see Section 5.1.4). But there are some morphological features of noun like when they occur as complement of copular and attributive modifier with in NP. Thus, some adjectives can have number inflection such as plurative form same as nouns. The plurative forms are used in compound forms (see section 8.2.3 example 27). Below I show the plurative forms of some as examples.

23. **Adjective**   **Plurative form**

    a) data   'black'   datooti

    b) naba   'big'   naboobi

    c) ʔas   'red'   ʔasoosi

    d) ḍeḍ   'tall'   ḍeḍoodi

In addition, the sigulative marker –yta can occur in some adjectives as shown in example 24 (a-c).

24. a) anḍaḍ –to   anḍaḍḍó/anḍáḍḍo   'a green'

       green-SGV

   b) ʔanḍaḍ- to   ʔanḍaḍḍó/ - ʔanḍaḍḍo   'atractive '

       attractive-SGV

   c) dat-to   dattó/dátto   'black'

       black –SGV

Therefore, the adjectives in Saaho are verb like when occur as predicate slot but noun like when occur as modifying elements within an NP and complement of copular verb.

6.2.1 Properties of adjectives

In this section, I try to describe the adjectival expressions in saaho. I have described their morphological features based on their syntactic positions. Dixon (2004:10) states two roles that adjectives typically fill in the grammar of a language:

a) In a statement that something has a certain property is coded by two syntactic techniques: i) the adjective functions as predicate, ii) the adjective functions as a complement of copular verb.

b) As a specification that helps focus on the referent of the head noun in an NP that relates to a predicate argument. This is shown by the adjective functioning as a modifier within an NP.

6.2.1.1 Adjective functions as intransitive predicate

When adjectival words function in transitive predicate, they take verbal morphology, though they differ from other verbs in some respects, and thus belong to a distinct stative class of verbs. As we would expect since they are verbs, they do not require a copula. Here are examples:

25. a) layé   ḍamħin-á

       water.F be.cold. 3S.PRES

       'The water is cold.'

  b) dig-í   uḍuuḍ-á

      stick-NOM short-be.3S.PRES

     'The stick is short.'

  c) ʔuuk-í ʔilis-á

      package-NOM be heavy.3S.PRES

     'The package is heavy'

  d) loomin-tí   muluħu-yá

     lemon-SGV.NOM salt- be-3Ms.IPF

     'The lemon is sour.'

  e) tay numá win-tá

    this woman attract -3Fs.IPF

    'the woman is beautiful.'

As in 25 (a-c) the Adjectival expressions are expressed by verb-like which are class III verb forms in the present tense and subject agreement marker, 3-person/number singular without gender. But in 25 (d) and (e) the adjectival function is expressed by imperfective class IV verbs which are compound forms with gender specification -ya or -ta for masculine and feminine gender in the 3rd person singular respectively.

6.2.1.2 Adjective functions as copula complement

Similar concept of adjectival function can be expressed with copula complement *kinni be-pres*. But the adjectives cannot directly be used predicatively, but must first be nominalized, and then are used with a copula, like normal nominal predicates. Let us see the examples in 26.

26. a) layé   ḍamħín-am   kinní

     water.F cold-ones   be-PRES

     'The water is cold-one.'

  b) dig-í   uḍuuḍ- tíya   kinní

     stick-NOM short-one   be.PRES

     'The stick is short-one.'

   c) ʔuuk-í   ʔilis-tíya   kinní

     package-NOM heavy-one   be.3SG.PRES

     'The package is heavy.'

  d) loomin-tí   muluħu-ya-tíya   kinní

     lemon-SGV.NOM salt-3Ms.sayIPF-one   be.3SG.PRES

      'The lemon is a sour one .'

  e) tay numá   ʔanḍaḍó   kinní

    this woman   attractive .F   be.3.SG.PRES

    'This woman is an attractive.'

 f) anu gadda muḍa kiyo

   I   very   fatty be.1SG.PRES

  'I am very comfortable.'

As you can see from the glosses in example 26 (a-c), the adjectives have reduced forms with the final vowel which bears the verbal feature is deleted or has become non referential because it has low tone, and this feature can be one means to distinguish adjective class from other verbs types. The same phonological reduction has also been observed when adjectives attributively modify a noun. But in 26 (d) the form is not

reduced and can be considered as internally headed relative clauses. In 26 (e) and (f) the adjectives are noun like.

6.2.1.3 Adjective function as Attributive modifier

Here, we are going to consider noun phrase which has an adjective modifier. In Saaho, there are two types of attributive modification: direct modification and relativization in which the first involves the phonological reduced forms but the later does not. Dixon (2004: 11) put a remark on direct modification of a head noun within an NP can distinguish adjectives from verb. He states that "… only an adjective can directly modify a noun, not a verb."

In Saaho both adjective and verb require a relative marker when in modifying function, but there is phonological reduction of the relative marker only in the case of adjectives.

27. a) [ɖamħin-layé]=h   ʔakal-á

         [cold whater] = with   be.wash-3Ms.IPF

            'He washes with cold water.'

     b) úsuk [ɖeɖ ʔaroorá] y-ublé

         he   [long snake] 3Ms-see .PF

         'He saw a long snake.'

     c) [uɖuɖ díga] naw-is-é

         short stick   up-say.CAUS-1S.PF

         'I picked up a short stick.'

     d) anú inní [ʔusúb sára]   ʔakal-is-it-e

         I   my [new clothes] be-wash-CAUS-MID-1S.PF

         'I washed my new clothes.'

As in (27), when we compare the adjective used in NP, they occur with reduced form, i.e. the final vowel which bears the tense has been deleted or occur with level unaccented unlike the cases with relative clauses in which final vowel always has tone accent as in (28).

In addition, the use of relativazation or direct modification seems to be associated with slite difference in interpretation. Let us see the examples below. In 28 (a), I put adjectives modifying a noun in direct modification but the example below in (b) they are modifying by relativization with definite reference.

28. a) úsuk uḍuḍ ḥaḍá bukkus-e

    he   short tree   pull up-3Ms.PF

  'He pulled up a small tree.'

  b) úsuk uḍuuḍ-a   ḥaḍá bukkus-e

    he   short-be.PRES.REL tree   pull up-3Ms.PF

    'He pulled up the small tree.' Lit: he pulled up a tree which is small.'

As we compare the meaning conveyed in the 28 (a) and (b), the first has general modification but later in 28 (b) has specific reference where *uḍuuda 'be short'* is verb and has similar structure like a relative clause.

6.2.2 Semantic category of adjectives

Here I have tried to list the adjective class in their semantic categories. I have considered the base form that is used as an attributive modifier in the noun phrase. Saaho has few adjectives class. I describe them in the semantic categories as in dimension (four adjective roots), value, colour, physical propensity etc.

29. DIMENSION

  a. nab-a   'big'

  b. Ɂinda   'small'

  c. ḍeḍ- a   'tall'

  d. uḍuuḍ-a   'short'

  e. fidin   'wide'

  f. sissiḥ   'shallow'

  g. ḥeewin   'narrow'

  h. adda-le   'deep'

  i. lat-ta   'be low'

j.   naw ta /-ya   'be high/ place'

k.   adda-male/adda-hìn   'shallow'

26. AGE

a.   ʔinda   'young/small'

b.   ʔusub-   'new'

c.   daaʔayna   'old'

d.   yemʔel-le   'old'

27. VALUE

a.   uma   'bad'

b.   meʔe   'good'

c.   muḍḍa   'nice/comfort'

d.   ʔagiina   'spoiled'

e.   ʔanḍaḍ   'beautiful

f.   win-a   'be attract'

g.   ʔaḍa-meʔe   good appearance/attractive'

h.   ʔaḍa-uma   'bad appearance /be ugly

28. COLOUR

a.   dat-   'black'

b.   ʔasa   'red'

c.   ʔado   ' white'

d.   anḍaḍ-a/anḍaḍò /anḍaḍo /anḍaḍin 'green/blue'

e.   ʔaagu- 'yellow'

29. PHYSICAL PROPERTY—

a.   ʔilis-   'heavy'

b.   sissik-   ' light'

c.   dulus-   ' thick'

d.   sissiħ-   ' thin/slender'

e.   lillìg-   'sharp (edge)'

f.   gibid/siriy   'strong'

g.   rukut   'soft'

h.   gundub   'blunt (edge)

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i. suytun   'smooth/clear'

j. sulhun   'smooth'

k. kafin   'dry'

l. laʔin   'hot'

m. ḍamħin-a   'cold'

n. iskok- li   ' dirty'

o. tirira/ siri   'hard'

p. basak-a   'be sweet'

q. ʔur -a   'be bitter'

r. muluħ -a   'be sour'

s. miliy-a   'be fat'

t. hawaala   'be tired'

u. dalkina   'sick'

30. HUMAN PROPENSITY

a. agriirita   'clever'

b. aysinoolì   'jealous'

c. akaadar   'bad beavior'

d. dirab- li   'lier'

e. adoobali /nahrur le/ hin   'greedy'

f. ħindaten   'generous'

g. ayti mali   'deaf'

h. af mali   'dumb'

i. inti mali   'blind'

6.2.3 Adjectivalization

The following Adjective are derived forms verb roots by adding the suffix –in which seems the verb be *ine 'be'*. These derived forms can be adjectives or stative verbs.

i) Adjective stems/stative verbs derived from Class II verbs by the suffix –ina

Some adjectives can be formed from the base form by adding the suffix –in and their inchoative stem is a Class II verb as in (31)

31. Example of Adjective /stative derived by suffix –ina from V-II verb

Base		Adjective		Class II verb	
a. laʔ	'to heat'	laʔ-in	'hot'	laʔ-e	'become hot'
b. ḍamaħ	'to cool'	ḍamħ-in	'cold'	ḍamaħ-e	'become cool'
c. kaf	'to dry'	kaf-in	'dry'	kaf-e	'become dry'

ii) Compound Stems

32.   Examples of compound stem adjectives N + Adj/state verb

a. ʔaḍa-uma   'ugly'

   appearance-bad

b. ʔaḍa-meʔe   'beautiful, attractive'

   appearance good

c. angu - naba   'big breasted'

   breast-big

d. san- ʔas   'red nosed'

   nose-red

e. inti- ḍeeḍa   'big eyed'

   eye- tall

f. ħallo ḍeeḍa   'tall stature'

g. ħallo uḍuuḍa   'short stature'

As can be seen from the examples, the nouns like *ʔaḍa 'appearance'*, *san 'nose', inti 'eye', ħallo 'height'* etc must first be capable of being conceptualized as representative of an attribute. The resulting modifier, then, is like the original noun only through the attributive feature that is common to both see example.

The following Adjective are derived forms which involve compounding of similative marker which include one of V-say/noun + le 'have' /kin) in . These derived adjectives can be both verb like or noun like.

33. Examples of compound adjectives formed Idophone and V-say 'one that has the quality of the noun or expression of ideophone.'

IDIP/N + V-say

a. win-ta   'attractive'

b. lat-ta   'low'

c. naw-ta   'high'

d. basak-ta   **'sweet'**

e. Ɂur-ta   **'bitter' (quinine)**

f. muluħ-ta   **'sour/ lemon**

34. Examples of compound adjectives are formed from noun and le 'to have' and have similar function as substantives in the language.

Noun + -le 'V-to have'

a. adda-le   'deep'

b. feer-le   'excessive'

c. hida-le   'fat/big'

d. iskok-le   'dirty'

e. emɁel-le   'be old'   emɁel 'aging'

f. dirab- le/li   'liar'

g. adooba-le/li   'greedy'

h. ħindaten-li   'generous'

i. wagabe- li   'leg -twisted'

j. baaha-le/li   'poor'

k. Ɂeeb li   'taboo'

l. ħoola-li   'anxious'

m. ɖámta-li   'testy'

Their antonyms are expressed with the addition of *–hin 'lacking-X'* or sometimes with *male/i 'not have'*. The following are some examples.

35. Examples of compound formed from noun and hin /male privative expression.

a. addá-hin   'shallow'

b. ayti- malí   'deaf M'

c. ayti male   'deaf F'

d. inti- malí   'blind M'

e. inti male   'blind F'

Chapter Summary

This chapter has the description of nominal modifiers which includes numerals, quantifiers and adjectives. The numerals include cardinal and ordinal numerals. Most ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal counterparts. The cardinal numerals have two forms base form and attributive forms. Adjectives are basically stative verbs. The stative occur as predicative and the base form occur as attributive modifier. Thus, based on both syntactic and morphological features, adjectives are grouped as distinct class with numerals and quantifiers.

Chapter Seven

Postpositions, Adverbials and Conjunctions

7.1 Postpositional Clitics

Most of the units presented in this chapter are related to the term clitic. The term clitic as defined by Anderson (2005) is an element which is "syntactically free but phonologically bound." Based on the definition and their position, I have identified two types of clitic in Saaho. These are enclitics which are attached to the end of a host and proclitics which are attached to the beginning of a host.

The enclitics have two forms, free and bound, and reflect different case relations. The bound enclitics have no independent status. Their primary roles are showing different cases such as genitive, dative, instrumental, goal, source, beneficiary etc. They can also be encliticized to nouns to express temporal, directional and locative relations. The free variants occur in preverbal positions. They are proclitics which show different roles depending on the referent noun or noun phrase. They can also occur in dependent clauses which they serve as dependency marker. These are considered as conjunctions, and their function is at clausal level. Below, I show post-positional enclitics and their preverbal counterparts.

Case	post position	proclitics	Function
Locative Inessive	=d 'in/at/on'	ed	inside location
Locative Addessive	=l 'on/at/near'	el	adjacent location
Dative/ Instrumental	=h 'to/for/with/by'	akàh	Indirect object/ instrument /purpose for/ beneficier movement toward
Ablative-1	=ko 'from'	ak	Source/ movement out of/ Partitive/comparison/
Ablative-2	-k 'from/upon	ak	movement out of/adversative/ malfactive
Commutative	lih 'with'		accompanied by
Privative	hin 'lacking'		'without some thing'
Semilative	idda 'like'		similarity to something

 Table 7.1: Postpositions and function

7.1.1 Locative inessive: =d 'in/on'

The inessive is marked by **=d 'in/at/on'** encliticized to an NP . The enclitic =d expresses the location 'in' with respect to something which is bounded and to a position 'at' or 'on' something with respect to a specific point or location. The following are examples.

1. a) úsuk leemun-tà gaba=d y-ibbiḍe

    he   lemon- SGV hand =in 3MS PF.hold

    'He kept the fruit in his hand.'

   b) ayíh kimbir-tó ħaḍá=ḍ t-ané

    the birds- SGV   tree =in 3FsAUX.PRES

    'The bird is in the tree.'

   c) toy kimbirtó salé=d Ɂasá-m lé

    that bird wing =in red-things has

    'There is red on the bird's wing.' Lit. the bird has red spots on the wings.

   d) girgaará baráka=d mar-t-á

    pigeon forest=in live-3F-IPF

    'A pigeon lives in forest.'

   e) wadêena=d layé lé

    container =in water has.3S

   'There is water in the container.'Lit. water is in the container

In example 1 (a-e) the enclitic =d mark the location with respect to the nouns as *gaba=d* 'in the hand', *Ɂáre=d* 'in the house', *salé=d* 'in the wings' *baráka=d* 'in the forest' where all the nouns are considered as bounded.

In Saaho, the same enclitic also shows other relational functions such as a motion directed to some point 'into'. The dependent noun is marked by the enclitic *=d* but the

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feature of the noun with respect to the verb leads to different interpretations. The following examples illustrate these two cases coded in the same way in Saaho.

2. a) úsuk rig-y-é-h   ʔáre=d   say-é

    he   straight 3Ms-say-CNV house =in enter-3Ms.PF

    'He entered right into the house.'

    b) ból=ud   rad-é

    cliff/sheer=in fall-3Ms.PF

    'He fell into the cliff.'

    c) kabellá=d   say-é

    shoe=in   enter-3Ms.PF

    'He put on shoe.' Lit. 'He entered into the shoe.'

In example 2 (a and b) the verb *say-e 'he interred' and rad-e 'he fell'* have the same role that the subject gets into a bounded place or location indicated by the noun and the enclitic =d. In 2(c) *kabella=d 'in shoe'* is not a kind of location/container which one can get into. In the language, =d expresses the action of 'put-on/wear' which show that the shoe covers the part of the body as in *surré=d say-é 'he put on his trousers.'* Similarly, with *kabella=d 'in shoe'* the shoe is the a specific place where the foot is entered into. This enclitic can also express other roles of noun phrase with different verbs as in the following.

3. amó=d   gaħ-é

    head=in turn-3Ms.PF

    'He become popular' 'He appeared on top'

4. ħerá   lāa-tí   daggé=d   bet-t-é

    donkey(F) goats-GEN- field=on eat-3Fs-PF

    'The donkey ate on the goats' place.'

5. yi abbá yi maddára=d y-ede-é

    my father my chief=on 3Ms -go.PF

    'My father went unto my chief.'

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6. kar-í   awká=d ar-é

   dog-NOM girl=on bit-Ms.PF

    'The dog bit upon the girl'

7. ḍáyit=id sabʔ-im-é

    stones =in bit-PASS-1SG.PF

     ʹI collided with stone.ʹ

As in the examples the relation expressed by the enclitic =d seems dependent on the feature of the verb and partly on the feature of the noun with respect to the subject of a clause. For example, in (3) the verb *gaħé 'get back/turned'* shows the direction of reverse motion 'from – to' *amo 'head'*. But, with the verb *edeé 'go'*, the enclitic =d show direction to /at a place or unto a person. Thus, when it is encliticized to animate nouns, it can expresses location at/on or unto as in (4) and (5). In example (6) and (7), the verb *sabʔ-im-é 'bit'* which is semi transitive verb requires an object; it does not select an abject NP. So the semantic object is expressed by a dummy case enclitic =d, as in *awka=d 'the girl'* as an intransitive verb.

The enclitic =d can also be used to show duration of time and space. The example in 8(a) is temporal expressions to which is attached the enclitic =d 'in' to express duration of time. In 8 (b) the enclitic =d shows distance up to a space.

8. a) úsuk kafin ayyám=ad   amiite   lé

       he   dry season=in   come.INF   have.3SG. FUT

      'He will come during the dry season.'

   b) suba   fan=ad deer-e

      Subuha   center=on cry-3Ms.PF

       'He asked for help up to Subaha.'

 The enclitic =d 'in' also occurs with the noun *nagaa 'peace/good in greetings'* as in example (9).

9. nagāa=d maħ-tê

   'fine/peace=in spend the morning -2SG.PF.Q'

   'Good morning?'

In Saaho the post-positional enclitics can also express aspectual distinction. The locative enclitic -d 'in/on' can be associated with aspectual interpretations like continuity of an action or state. The examples, in (10) can illustrate this function.

10. úma-m=ad   sug-é

    bad-NOMZ=in stay-3Ms.PF

    'He was in bad activities.'

The enclitic =d can show a dynamic action which is in progress. This can be seen by comparing the two locative enclitics =d 'in' and =l 'at/near'. As it is shown in (11 and 12) the glosses in (a's) are different from those of in (b's).

11. a) aràħ=ad   y-ane

        road/passage=in 3Ms-AUX.PRES

        'He is traveling.'

    b) árah=al   y-ané

        passage=at 3Ms-AUX.PRES

       'He is at one position of the passage.'

12. a) sideet=id ʔar-é

       migrate =in grow-3Ms.PF

       'He grew up in migration.'

    b) sidēet=il ʔar-é

       migrate =at grow-3Ms.PF

        'He grew migrated.'

13.   araħ =ak y-ane

      passage = upon 3Ms-AUX.PRES

       'He is about to travel.'

In 11(a) the meaning encoded with *áraħ 'passage'* and the enclitic *=d 'in'* has dynamic and is enterpreteted as moving a progressing. In 12 (a) the enclitic *=d 'in'* with *sidēt*

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'migration' is interpreted has an iterative reading where the action of migrating is repeatedly done. But the examples in (b's) with the similar expression has the enclitic *=l 'at'* showing a static interpretation. Thus, in 11 (b) *áraħ= al 'at the passage'* the subject is at rest at one place or by the side of the path while in a trip and 12 (b) can be interpreted as punctual since the subject is in the state of migration and grew up there and does not return home. Furthermore, another interpretation as in (13) can be encoded with the ablative enclitic =k and the noun *áraħ 'passage'* as *áraħ=ak* is interpreted as plan of an action or intention or readiness to start moving.

7.1.2 Adessive =l 'at/near'

The general locative *=l 'at/near/on˙* is used primarily to mark static location at a place which is not bounded. The enclitic =l does not occur with nouns that are perceived as bounded. For example, nouns such as *ʔáre ' house', kabella 'shoe', ʔeeli 'well'* and containers like *girbo 'water conteneir'* do not occur with the enclitic =l. On the contrary, unbounded nouns such as *sido 'mat', ʔáran 'sky'* not occur with the enclitic =d 'in'. Therefore, the enclitic =l is used with unbounded space or surface as shown in the following examples.

14. a)   dik=il   as-é

   home=at spend the day-3Ms.PF

   'People who spent the day at home'

   b) ʔáran=al   t-ane

   sky =at   3FsAUX.PRES

   'it is on the sky.'

   c) ħaḍá =l   oobe

   tree =at desend-3Ms.PF

   'he descended near the tree.'

d) ħaḍá biyák=al   hay-é-n

    herb wound=at put-PF.3PL

  'They put the medicine on/up on the wound'

e) úsuk iláw   sído=l   hay-é

    he   grain   mat=at put-3MS.PF

  'He put the grain onto the mat.'

f) sído=l   ḍín

    skin mat =at sleep.IPF

  'Sleep on the skin mat'

The meaning of =*l* with *dik'house/village'l ħaḍá 'tree'* and *Ɂáran 'sky'l* in 14 (a - c) is not specific location but unbounded space around or near a house, tree and sky respectively. In addition, the examples in 14 (d-f) show that =*l* is used with *sido 'mat'* and *biyak 'wound'* to show a flat surfaces or body part.

Another case relation expressed by the enclitic =l, is theme. With verbs of motion, the enclitic =l indicates a movement of the case marked NP towards some place or person.

15. a) faró yo=l baahé '

     message me=to bring-3Ms.PF

    he brought a message to me.'

  b) amay kaɁatí Ɂará=l radé

     the   fly   surface =on fall-3Ms.PF

      'The fly fell on the surface.'

7.1.3 Dative/Instrumental/Allative =h 'to/for/by/with'

The enclitic –h has several functions with respect to case such as dative, instrumental, goal, and genitive cases. Below, I describe various cases/roles which the enclitic =h indicates.

7.1.3.1 Dative Case =h 'for'

The enclitic =h is attached to nouns or noun phrases that occur in indirect object in sentences. The following are examples that show dative case relation.

16. a) ħiyáw=ah   y-oħoyé

    persons =DAT 3Ms-give.PF

     'He gave something to people'

   b) tay kabellá numá=h uħúy

     this shoes woman=DAT give.IPV

     'Give this shoe to the woman.'

   c) hawkú isí sáʔol=uh   sára   ḍaam-é

     Hawku his brother.PLV=DAT cloth   buy-3Ms.PF

    'Hawku bought clothes for his brothers.'

17. a) géda=h   balássa   day-é

     guest-DAT cactus fruit   cut-3Ms.PF

     'He cut cactus fruit for the guests.'

   b) aló   no=h   al-t-é

      bean 1PL=DAT roast-3Fs-PF

       'She roasted bean for us.'

   c) úsuk dagūu ħan áwka=h   baáho   y - edeé

     He   some milk boy=DAT bring-SUJN 3MS-went.PF

     'He went to fetch some milk for the child.'

In the examples (16) and (17) NPs marked by the enclitic =h a dative case marker show a relational role of the recipient of a thing which is given to or similar roles like beneficiary as one has done something for the benefit of one.

7.1.3.2 Allative case =h 'goal'

Enclitic =h show an allative case relation where some thing is moving toward a particular direction as in the following examples.

    18. a) dik=ìh sáy

          house =to enter.IPV

          'Get into the house'

      b) barák=ah y-edee

          forest=to 3Ms-go.PF

          'He went to the forest.'

      c) tay ʔáre=h aduy

          this house=to go.IPV

          'Go to that house'

      d) úsuk garín dik=ih y-emeeté

          he someone house=to 3Ms-come.PF

          'He came to someone's home.'

As in the examples in above show the enclitic =h show an allative case where it encodes the goal toward which one is moving to.

7.1.3.3 Instrumental Case

The Instrumental case denotes an entity or a tool with which an action is done. The following examples show an instrumental case is marked by enclitic =h.

 19. a) ɖíga=h   yo=l hay-é

       stick=INS me=on put-3Ms.PF

        'He hit me by the stick.'

    b) ħan farêena=h   kel-é-n

       milk Container=INS divide-3.PF-PL

       'They distributed the milk by container.'

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c) laamá=h   iḍḍ-it-é

   blade=INS   pierce-MID-3Ms.PF

    'He is pierced with a blade.'

It can also be used to express something used for accompaniment 'with/by' as in (20).

20.   úsùk ħadó subáħ=ah   alaas-á

    he   meat butter=with cook-3Ms.IPF

   'He cooks the meat with butter.'

7.1.3.4 Adverbial functions of=h

The enclitic =h also shows the adverbial function of purposive when it is attached to nouns as in (21).

21. a) ħiyáw =ah   rab-é

      persons= by die-3Ms.PF

      'He died for the sake of people'

   b) úsuk lák=ah   ħaḍá be-é

      He leg =for medicine take-3Ms.PF

      'He took some medicine for his leg..'

Enclitic =h can express reason like by what cause or reason as in the following examples.

22. a) luwá=h   ráb-ak   n-ané

      hunger=with die-PROG 1PLAUX.PRES

      'we are dying due to hunger.'

   b)   arer-tiy-i bol=ùh   mâ-bad-á

      ape-NOM sheer drop-with NEG-die-3Ms.IPF

      'An ape does not die due to sheer.'

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7.1. 3.5 Enclitic = h as Genitive case

The enclitic =h can be used to express genitive case: it marks genitive case on nouns that occur as second position or genitive NP with modifiers or determiners.

23. a) ni baḓ-ih surre

    our son-GEN trousers

    'the trousers of our son.'

    b) awk-i anna=h saga

       boy-GEN aunt=GEN cow

       'the cow of the boy's aunt'

7.1.4 The Ablative case =k /=ko 'against/from'

The ablative expresses source or the beginning point of a path or trajectory (Blake 2004). In Saaho ablative is marked by the following two enclitics =ko and =k which seem similar in form and function in many constructions but they also show some differences with respect to the location/position of the source. We use ablative-1 and ablative-2 depending on their differences. Before I describe the case of each form, it is necessary to show the similarities and differences of =k 'and =ko.

First, both =k and =ko show source which are slightly difference in location. Thus, the examples (24) and (25), both enclitics are used in similar contexts where in (a's) =k shows locational relationship that has intact contact and visible source, whereas in (b's) =ko shows a general location of source which can be invisible or visible and has not intact relation with the source.

24.   a) kaa sára=k ħaysú t-ané

        your clothe =upon urine 3FsGAUX.PRES

      'There is urine on your clothe'

    b)   kaa sáraa=ko ħaysú t-ané

         his clothe =from urine 3Fs-exist.PRES

          'There is urine on your clothe'

25. a) alemá=k   maāl   ak= teleyyé
        alema =upon money PROCL lost
        'Money has been lost upon Alema.'

     b) alemāa=ko   maāl   ak= teleyyé
         alema =from money PROCL lost
         'Money has been lost from Alema.'

In 24 (a) the enclitic =k is attached to *kaa sara 'your clothe'* in which it indicates a relation to the cloth that one wears at the spot. But in 24 (b) the enclitic =*ko* with *kaa sara* shows a relation to clothe that is one's and may be hanged on the board. Similarly, in 25 (a) =k indicates the relation of the money with respect to the source which is intact and can be interpreted as from one's pocket but in 25 (b) =*ko* shows the source but not show intact relation with the source like the former one.

=k is used to show location relationship that has intact visible contact with the source and can signal position or location external to the whole with respect to source.   =*ko* *'from'* shows movement from a source and out of or part of a location which can be invisible or has not intact relation.

28. a) gaysá= ko   wans'á ak   ab-é
       horne =from cap   PROCL make-3Ms.PF
      'He made a cap out of the horn.' Use the part of the horn.

    b) gaysá=k   wans'á ak   ab-é
       horne- upon cup   PROCL make-3Ms.PF
       'He made a cup with the horn.'

29. a) yi abbá=k   ak   raaʔ-t-é-m   ma-lé
       my father=upon PROCL remain-3Fs-PF.NMZ NEG-has
       'My father is about to die. He has lost his consciousness.'

    b) yi abbá=ko ak raʔ-t-é-m ma-lé
        my father=from PROCL remain-3Fs-PF.NOM NEG-has
        'My father has nothing that he had possessed.'

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In addition, =k is used with inalienable possessed nouns but =ko does not show such relationship. if it occur with alienable, it shows partitive of homogeneous mass nouns and/or a single unit or set out of count nouns.

30. a) ?? awka=k lakʔo ak y-eleyyé

    'The ear ring of the girl has disappeared.'

    b) awka=ko lakʔo ak y-eleyyé

    'An ear ring has disappeared from the girl.'

Therefore, the enclitic =k can be considered as an oblique case marker because it expresses collective grammatical relationships of a noun phrase affected patient, indirect object, location, genitive and source and goal. But =ko has only source relation.

7.1.4.1   Ablative 1 =ko 'from'

The enclitic =ko 'from' in its primary function indicates an ablative case with motion verbs. It has other functions which can be interpreted depending on the context as well as the component it is encliticized to. Below, we have some examples, which illustrate the enclitic =ko .

31. a) usùk amay ħaɗá=ko ɗaɗ̂ay ɗay-é

        he   the   tree=from leaf cut-3Ms-PF

         'He pulled off the leaves from the tree.'

    b) tarkee=ko gádah ɗeeɗ-á

         here= from very distant-3.PRES

         'It is a long way from here.'

    c) layé=ko ʔindé   ayêeʕ-iy   y-ané

         Water= from sand get out- PROG 3Ms- be.PRES

         'He is getting sand out of the water.'

    d)   baɗeeɗá noo=kò má=ɗeeɗ-á

          thieves   us=from NEG =be distant.3SG.PRES

           'Thieves are not far from us.'

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a) =ko marks direct object which is affected

In the sentences in (32) the enclitic =ko is used as a locative marker of the affected element/part of an action.

32.   a) lak=ko biyak-it-e   ki-yó   edḥé-m

        leg=from wound-VZ-PF   be-1S,PRES . say-NMZ

      'I said that my feet is hurting.'

        b) amay maħaad-í   midg-í ħaráy= ko   kāa mud-é

           the arrow-NOM left-GEN-arm=from him pierce-3MS.PF

           'The arrow pierced his right arm'

b) =ko show a near by position

It is also used as to show passing through something or across or nearby place as in (33).

33. a) úsuk amay katamāa=ko tillay-é

       he   the   town=from pass-3MS-PF

       'He passed through the town.'

      b) kāyya=k   maħaaḍ-í   ḍegħá-t   barōo=ko yo-k   tillay-é

       You-who=upon spear-NOM head-GEN near=from you-upon pass-3MS.PF

        'The arrow passed closed to his head.

c) =ko as Partitive with numerals and measure phrases

    34. a) ʔarí   ħaḍ-é =gul   bulkuʔá=ko koōna baariná ak   hay-én

           house fall-3MS. PF =time mad=from   five   shovel on it put-1PL.PF

            'When the house fall down we put five shovels of mad on it.

      b) baská=ko   adōoħa síbbad y-ebeeh-ín

        honey=from three   sack   3- sell-PL.PF

       'They sell three sack out of the honey.'

d) enclitic =ko Comparative marker

In addition to these functions, *ko* serves for comparison. Thus, it marks the base in a comparative clause.

35. a) rugâa=ko   éray=ah   rug-í   bey-t-á
       calf.F=from fat=with calf.-NOM.M exceeds
    'The male calf is fatter than the female calf.'

    b) uma ḍaláy=ko   meʔe   ʔádar y-aysé
        bad child =from   good   poem   3MS- exceed.IPF
       'It is better to have a nice poem than weak child.'

The enclitic =ko along with verbs also express protection or prevention. It marks a noun that refers to an entity from which someone or something is protected, or an action from the performance of which someone is prevented. Here example (36) are used with the verb

36. isí áwka abaaró=ko   isí   medér ḍamħin rób=ko   raaʔís
      your boy curse=from your cattle   cold   rain=from remain-CAUS.IPV
     'Let prevent your boy from curse, your cattle from cold rain'

7.1.4.2   Ablative 2 =k 'against/from/to'

The inclitic =k 'upon' to/from' can be used to indicate location in which something is at or attached to with a visible and specific position.

37.   a) [gabá=k]   biiló   lé
          hand=upon blood 3.has.PRES
        'There is blood on his hand /He has blood on his arm.'

    b) úsuk [ħaráa=k] biyák   lé
       he   hand=upon wound 3.has PRES
       'He has a wound on his arm.'

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c) úsuk [surŕe=k]   iskók lé

   he   trousers=upon dirt   has.PRES

  'He has dirt upon his trousers.'

With motion verbs, it shows something that is being affected with animate object and place something is suppressing upon .

38. a) úsuk yi-tíya=k   kor-e

     he   my-one=upon climb-3MS.PF

    'He got onto mine'

  b) ayya=k   dik   ak   rad-é

    that-=upon house APL fall-3MS.PF

    yi dik=id   y-aggárr-o   y-emeeté

    my house=in 3MS-shelter-SUJN 3MS-come.PF

    'His hut has been destroyed; he has come to find shelter under mine.'

  c) úsuk madder-í   dik=ik   y-emeeté

    He chief-GEN house=upon 3Ms-come.PF

    'He came to the chief's home.'

  d) ísi s'áħla girá=k   hay-t-é

    she pan   fire=upon put-3Fs.PF

    'She put the pan on the fire.'

In addition, =k expresses immediacy in which two subsequent actions have been done. Let's compare the examples in 39 (a) and (b).

39. a) amay awk-í   ten   lák=ak   y-ede-é

    the   boy-NOM their leg=upon 3Ms-go-PF

    'The boy went immediately after them.'

  b) amay awk-í   ten   lák=al   y-ede-é

    the   boy-NOM their leg=at   3Ms-go-PF

    'The boy went after them.'

As we compare the meaning encoded by the two enclitics in 39 (a) and (b), both subsequent action has been performed i.e. *awk-í 'the boy'* went after *'ten' 'them/ people'* has left. But in 39 (a) *lak=(a)k* shows an immediate subsequent action but in (b) *lak=al* shows only subsequent actions have been done.

When =k encliticized to nouns which show routine activity or state of being, it encodes duration of unchanged state of being as in (40).

40. a)   kayasi=k   y-ané

     priest =upon 3Ms- be.PRES

     'He is still a priest' or 'He is a priest' '

   b) inda=k   t-ané

      small =upon 3Fs –be.PRES

      'It is small/it exists as small'

   c)   soól=ik   ɖiin-é

        stand = upon sleep

       'he got asleep as

7.2 Proclitics

Proclitics occur in pre-verbal position and are used as a means of encoding a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core-object argument. The proclitic occurs freely as stranding postposition in which the reference is syntactically or contextually determined. In most constructions, they are controlled by cross referencing with their host. The proclitics show different cases depending on the verb which they are attached to.

7.2.1 ed a Preverbal proclitic

In the language *ed 'in '* occur in pre verbal position as. It is co indexed with its non̠ core argument NP through agreement enclitic =d. Thus, it is interpreted based on its reference in the non argument position.

41. a) ból=ud_i korímit   ed_i   ab-n-é

cliff-on climbing (on it) make-1PL-PF

'We made ladders for the cliff.'

b) rugá=d_i darāabiʔ ed_i   kor-é

calf=in ox-NOM on it climb-3Ms.PF

'The bull mounted-upon the calf.'

c) rúga_i=d awúr ed_i   mud-é

calf=in ox   on it but-3Ms.PF

'The ox butted-on the calf.'

d) rugá-t_i= id   sagá ed_i   beétay   t-ané

calf (F)- GEN= in caw on it eating   3Fs-be.PRES

'In the calf's belonging a caw is eating-on.'

e) úsuk díst-it_i=id   girá ed_i= bolol-is-é

he   pot- PLV=in fire   on it= burn-3Ms.PF

'He lit the fire on the cooking pots.'

d) yim_i=id   úsuk   ed_i   yo=h   wansitóy

My-things=on he   on it   me=for speak.3MS.JUSS

'Let he speak on the issues on my behalf.'

In the above examples, the proclitic occur as complement of the verb and has a referent in the non argument position which is cross referenced with case marked NP. As the gloss show the referent NPs are out side argument position but are the ones which part of the argument position and are assigned case through cross reference with the proclitic.

7.2.2 el Preverbal proclitic

Similarly el 'at it' occur in preverbal position having co referential with a constituent with locative NP =l in non-argument position.

42.   a) rug-i-rke=l   aabolé el   ɖ͡ın-t-é

       calf-GEN Place =at ox   at it sleep-3Fs-PF

       'The ox slept-on the ruga's place.'

7.2.3 ákah Preverbal proclitic

 The proclitic ákah has various interpretations depending on the content with which it is
co referential. It shows benefactive or instrumental cases as in the following.

   43. a) numa   ákah   áb

          woman for.her   do.IPR

        'Do a favor to the woman'

      b)   digà=h   ʔaroora akàh   sabaʔ-é

           stick=INST snake with it   bit-3Ms.PF

           'He bit the snake with the stick.'

In 43 (a) the proclitic *ákah* stands for the indirect object rising to direct object but in (b)
the instrument is rising to argument position.

7.2.4 Proclitic ak

The proclitic *ak* as a pre-verbal clitic that has various interpretation depending on its
reference. It can show possessor, affectedness or malfactive relations.

   44. a)   baarina=k gomo-ytí   ak   y-emʕellé

           bar =upon edge-SGV.NOM   on it   3Ms worn out.

           'The edge of our bar became old / worn out.'

      b) numa=k ħundub   ak   uble

         woman-GEN navel up on her 1SG.see.PF

          'I saw the woman's navel against her will'

In 44 (a and b) the preverbal proclitic stands for the possessor *baarin 'shelf'* and *numa*
'woman' and raised to the direct object position.

It can stand for direct abject which has moved from its postion or which is affected as in example 45 (a - c).

45. a) yangúla=k   ak   y-e wâaga

        hyena=to   up on 3MSG-PF.say monkey

      'The monkey told the hyena'

   b) yi abbá=k   Ɂadōoħa láħ   ak   bad-d-é

      my father=upon three   goats up on him die-3Fs-PF

       'Three goats died upon my father'

   c) rúga=k awúr   bálsa ak   beet-é

      calf =up on ox cactus up on it eat-3Ms.Pf

       'The ox ate the cuctus against the calf.'

7.3 Adverbial expressions

In Saaho, there is no a distinct lexical word that constitute an adverb. However, there are derived forms of other parts of speech that are used as adverbs. Most of the words used as lexical adverbs are nouns and derived forms of other classes. Below I show nouns which indicate reference to time, location, and direction and are used as adverbs.

7.3.1 Time Adverbs

Time adverbs are subset of nouns which show a temporal reference of events. Below, I put the nouns according to their temporal references.

- **Relational time reference with the present day**

46.   a) kâafa   'today'
      b) kúmal   ' yesterday'
      c) bêera   'tomorrow'
      d) bêeħa   'a day after tomorrow'
      e) ambaħîifa   'the day before yesterday'

- **Temporal reference within a day**

47.   a) wagró   '12 hour of the day/night'

   b) lellé?   'day time'

   c) ḍáaħíne   'morning/day time'

   d) ítre   'noon/ late morning'

   e) kasiisíno   'afternoon

   f) káso   'evening'

   g) bar   'night time'

   h) mâaħa   'dawn'

48.   a)   lamma wagró

         '24 hours one day and night'

   a)   úsuk maaħá=l miraad-é

        he   dawn=at set-off-3Ms.PF

        'He set off at dawn.'

- **Seasons**

   The season in Saaho are expressed based on weather condition and activities
   frequently performed along with the season. The general term for season is:

   -   ayyám   'season'
   -   kamâana   'this season/year'

   49. tay ayyám mango rób rad-é

        this season much rain fall-3Ms.PF

        'Much rain has fell this season.'

Below, I put the four main seasons. Within the main seasons there are refereces of
specific durations.

50. A) **gaana 'Autumn' 'October, November, December'**

Within this season there are terms used for specific duration like:

- *baríd* 'a duration of time October and November' a season which the sun is blocked with fogs. It is about.

- *rábʔa* 'time of honey collection' mainly around December and January;

B) ħagaāy 'Winter' January to March

- *ɖaɖaʔ* 'coastal rainy season' the season cattle go to coastal area.

C) sugúm 'Spring' a dry time which include March, April and May '

- kabbalá duration of time around March where the beginning of rain.

D) karmá 'Summer' includes June, July and August

- kuyyáa refers to duration of time June to mid of July where wind blows from South west to North east.

iii) Relational time adverbs

51. a) kâado   'now'
    b) miʔiiɖóh   'already'
    c) kaddík   'yet/still' past - present >> kaadò 'now'
    d) kaad=ík   'to present excluding past'
    e) maħ/gul/waʔde   'time'
    f) basó=h   'early/before'
    g) saara=h   'later/after'
    h) kabár   'to night immediate'
    i) bíre   'last night'

52. a) ten iná   affara iggid-íh basó=d   rab-t-é
       their mother   four year=GEN fore=LOC die-3Fs-PF
       'Their mother died four years ago.'

    b) kaad=íh   má-aball-inni-yó
       now=DAT NEG-see-AUX.PAST-1SG.

'I have never heard to this moment.' This is the first time'

- **Phrasal time adverbs**

53.   a)   tah aníh   'at this moment'

   b)   toy māħ   'that moment'

   c)   toy gul   'that time/then'

   Example sentence

54.   tah áni=h   y-adáwo   kinní

   here exist=to 3Ms-go-SBJN be.3SG

   'He will leave in a moment.'

7.3.2 Frequency Adverbs

55. a)   soókoh   'seldom ̣rarely'

   b)   ḍimál   'ocation' number/counts'

   c)   umán gul   'every time/always'

Example sentences

56. a)   ħaḍá   beet-innánim=ih   ḍimál

      medicine eat-whatever=DAT count

      afiyát   ko=h   ayse   lé

      health you=DAT improve.INF be. 3SG. FUT

   'as you go on taking medicine, your health will be better/emproved.'

   b) soókoh y-amiité

      rearly 3Ms-come.IPF

      'he comes seldom.'

7.3.3 Direction/location nouns

Referential nouns with the enclitic postpositions express direction and/or location.They include the following:

52. i) Vertical Positions

57. a) dab	'low'	dab =al	'below'
b) ger	'low place'	ger =il	'under'
c) lak	'leg'	lak =al	'behind'
d) amó	'head'	amo =l	'over'
e) gúba	'up'	guba =l	'above'
f) búka	'up'	buka =l	'above'
g) agána	'up'	agana =l	'above'

iii) Horizontal Surface Positional

58. a) fan 'mid/center'		fan =al	'among'
b)		fan=ad	'between'
c) báro 'around /side'		baro =l	'besides'

iv) Horizontal Surface relative direction

59. a) úla	'direction/way'	ula =al	'around'
b) irké	'place'	irke =l	'about'
c) basó	'fore'	baso =l	'before'
d) dagá	'shoulder'	daga =l	'on top'
e) ɖában	'face-side'	ɖaban =al	'at side of'
f) ɖáye	'near'	ɖáye=l	'nearby'
g) nef	'face'	nef =il	'front'
h) ʔaada	'back'	ʔada =d	'behind'

v) Circumscribed Position

60. a) ádda	'in'	adda =d	'inside'
b) irro	'out'	irro =k	'out of'

c) gále   'under'   gále=d   'within'

d) bagó   'face'   bago =d   'internal'

Locative expressions such as between, behind can be expressed by using this enclitic with relational nouns such as *fan 'middle'* and *adda 'depth/inside'*, and body parts. In (61) we have provided examples of such expressions.

61. a) úsuk irr-í fán=ad dife-é

     he children-GEN-Middle=in sit-3Ms.PF

    'He sat among (in the middle of) the children.'

    b) amay numá ħadá-t ʔaadá=d tillāay-t-é

     the woman tree-GEN back =in hid-3Fs-PF

     'The woman hid behind the tree.'

    c) amay awk-í iná-t néf=id adîiy y-ané

      the boy-NOM mother-GEN face-LOC go-PROG 3Ms-be PRES

     'The child is walking in front of his mother.'

    d) ta-rke/ta-rko fan y-edeé/

     'He walked up to this one

vi) Location between /among

62. a) úsuk irr   -í   fan =ad dife-é

     he   children-GEN Middle=in sit-3Ms.PF

     'He sat among children.'

    b) úsuk írro   =k   fan =ad dife-é

     he   children=upon Middle=in sit-3Ms.PF

     'He sat between the children.'

vii) **Locative in front of**: there are some differences in the usage k and genitive construction. As indicated by the gloss in example 63 (a) and (b) the enclitic =k shows a direction but the genitive construction shows location at.

63. a) ħiyáw=ak néf=il túf mí-yán

People=ABL face =LOC spat NEG 2 say.IPV

'Don't spat in front of the people.'

 b) ħiyáw néf=il tuf mí-yán

 people GEN face =LOC spat NEG 2 say IPV

'Don't spat at people's face.'

v) **Location behind**

64. a) numá =k ʔaadá =d y-ané tǐ-i

woman=ABL back=LOC 3MS-Pres one- NOM

'The one who is on the back part of the woman'

 b) numá- t ʔaadá =d y-ané tǐ-i

 woman GEN back=LOC 3MS-Pres one- NOM

'The one who is behind the woman.'

 c) kōomá = k eḑeḑá=d y-ané mosó(ʔ)-ʔáre

 hill-GEN edge=on 3Ms-exist.PRES.REL church

 'the church which is in the tip point of the hill.'

7.3.4 Degree/extent and mannerAdverbs

Degree adverbs in Saaho are derived forms of nouns and enclitic post positions like =h.
The following are derived degree or extent adverbs from nominals.

65.   Degree/ Extent adverbs

a.	gada	'extent'	gada=h	'very'
b.	meʔe	'be good'	meʔe=h	'nicely'
c.	busa	'one'	busá=h	'only'
d.	díbo	'alone'	díbo=h	'lonely'
e.	naga	'peace'	naga =d	'peacefuly/ in good condition'
f.	rúmma	'true'	rumma =h	'truly'

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g. ʔád   'white'   ʔad=ik/ih   'certainly'

The following are example sentences

66. a) isi gada=h meʔe-m kinni

        she very good-NOMZ be.PRES

         'she is very good.'

      b) rumma=h laħu-ut-e-h   y-ane
         true =by   sick-VZ-3Ms.PF-h 3MsAUX.PRES
         'He is really sick.'

 Degree adverbs can also derived from adjectives by suffixing –m as shown in the
following examples.

67. a) mango-m y-erdé

         be much-NOMZ 3Ms-run.PF

         'he run too much'

      b) meʔe –m ab-t-é

         goog NOMZ make-3Fs-PF

         'She did nicely.'

The following degree adverbs are Perfective –h forms,.

68. Verb   Adverb
   a) afiite   'be fast'   afiité=h   'quickly'
   b) gaba-laʔe   'be fast'   gaba-laʔe =h 'be fast'
   c) gab -ya/ ta   'be slow'   gab-ya=h   'slowly'
   d) haydāabó   '?'   haydāabó=h   'urgently'
   e) ɖe   '?'   ɖe =h   'quickly'

Manner adverbs are derived from verbs by reduplication

 69. Verb base   Manner adverb
   a) geɖ- 'walk'   geɖángeɖ   'manner of walking'
   b) kit   'to shape/arrage' kítkit   'shipshape/manner /mode of doing'

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Manner of doing something is expressed by *ʔílle 'manner'* and anenclitic *=h* 'by' as in the following example.

70. usùk uma ʔílle=h   y-ekke-h   y-ine   siraħ gaħeh abe

     he   bad   maner=by 3Ms-be.PF-h 3Ms-be.PAST.REL work again do-3Ms. PF
     'He redid the work that was badly done.'

7.4 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses. There are two classes of conjunctions. These are coordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

In Saaho, the conjunctions that serve to connect two or more elements and enclitic attached to the first word in binary elements and to the one before the last a lists of more than two elements. The two forms that serve the conjunctive function are described in the subsequent sections.

71. *Coordinative conjunctives*

   a. *kee*   *'and'*

   b. *le/lel*   *'and/also'*

   c. *akee –ke*   *'or'*

   d. *hay /ikáh*   *'but'*

72. *Subordinative Conjunctions*

   a) *Vm=ko*   *'conditional'*

   b) *V=eddo*   *'conditional'*

   c) *Vm=ih*   *'Countrafactual*

   d) *íkkah*   *'Contrafactual'*

   e) *=h*   *'Consecutive'*

   f) *hánih*   *'simultaneous'*

7.4.1 =kee 'and' a Coordinative conjunctions

The enclitic =ke 'and' is a very common coordinative conjunction that occurs between the first of two elements. The following examples show –kee 'and' as coordinative conjunction.

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73. a) bêeraa=ke kâafa
        tomorrow =and now
        'tomorrow and now'

    b) yi inâa=ke yi abbá
         my mother=and my father
        'my father and my mother'

    c) rǐis=ke bǐil
        first=and
        'first and second'

    d) ħán=ke subáħ
        milk=and butter
        'milk and butter'

    e) úsuk [naba degħáa=ke ḍeḍ fílla] lé
         He   big head= and   long neck has.PRES
        'He has a big head and a long neck.'

As in 73 (a-e) the conjunctions *ke 'and'* is more closely associated structurally with the first conjunct more than with the second element. Thus ke is more closely linked with the first unit and after there is pause is possible.

In some contexts the coordination can be made with post positional clitics where the conjoined words are viewed as a single entity.

74.   a) úsuk kúmal   isí   ʔaddí=lih   y-emeeté
           he   yesterday his-own friend=with 3Ms-come.PF
           'He came with his friend yesterday.'

b) íse isí ʔibiná =h   mili-t-é-h   y-emeeté

  self own bridgrom=with decorate-3Fs-PF-h 3Ms-come.PF

   'He having decorated himself and his bridegroom came.'

c) íse isí booká=h hiyáw maysis-s-á

  self own bare =with person get fear-3Fs-IPF

  'It is himself along with his bare head that makes people scared.'

7.4.2 Disjunctive coordination =akee ---ke

In the language, the choice of one from alternative from two or more elements is expressed in discontinuous forms *akēe –ke* be.INF-*'or'*. The following examples show

75. a) ʔasa tíya akkēé-ke dat tíya akke yoh uħúy

    red one be.INF-CND black one be.INF me =DAT bring.IPV

     'Give me either the red one or the black one.'

  b)   laa-tí ħán akkēé-ke alá-t ħán

    cows-GEN milk be.INF-CND or goast-GEN milk

     'either cows' milk or goats' milk'

  c)   ingeerá ħábo   akkēé-ke   wêeʔa ħábo   tík

     bread   leave.NOMZ be.INF-CND cry leave.NOMZ be.IPV

      'Be one who leaves either food or crying.' 'Stop eating or stop crying.'

7.4.3 hay 'but' an exclussive and contrast Conjunction

This type of coordination used to join dissimilar propositions where only one of the pair hold true. In Saaho, hay 'but/ sit/put' is used as disjunctive conjunction as in (67).

76. kimbiró t-anfiré   hay ʔaasá ma-lé

   birds   3Fs-fly.IPF but fish NEG-have.PRES

   'Birds fly, but fish do not.'

7.4.4 Counter–expectation ikkáh

A statement is marked as contrary to expectation when the speaker has reason to believe that it runs counter to the hearer's assumptions. The speaker's statement is an attempt to correct those assumptions. Counter-expectancy is marked by the particle *ikkáh*, as in:

77. a) úsuk baró=h   gaħ -é- h   y-ane   ikkáh

       he   sideways=by return-3Ms.PF-h 3Ms-be.PRES but

          ḍiin -é- h   mí-   y-ané.

          sleep-3Ms.PF-h NEG-Ms-AUX.PRES

          'He is lying sideways but not asleep.'

     b) úsuk ikkáh ísi   má-bēet-inná

          he   but   she NEG-eat-3SG.AUX.PAST

          'He ate but she didn't eat.'

As shown in 77 (a), *ikkáh* occurs following the finite verb *gaħeh yane*   as polar contrastive conjunction in which the expression is in contrast with a following clause. It also occurs with noun phrase as in   77 (b) *usuk 'he'* which excludes the other NP *isi 'she'*. When it appears in clauses final the subject of the main clause and the subordinate clause may or may not have the same reference.   Thus, the examples in 96 (a) has different subject but 96 (b) has same subject.

     78. a) káa dik   y-   aḍeeḍó-y ikkáh umman lelléʔ el boodá

             his home 3Ms-be far   but   all   day   PROCLT appear-1SG.IPF

              'Although his hut is far away, I visit him everyday.'

     b)   laħuutóy ikkáh y-emeeté

            be sick   but   3Ms-come.PF

          'He came ispite of his illness.'

/=iy/ is also used on contrary expressions as in the following example.

     79. ísin angeéʔ-iy   mí-   y-anií -n   **-iy**

          they fight-PROG NEG- 3-AUX PRES-PL-CONTR

digíray y-anín

play-PROG 3-AUX.PRES-PL

'They are not fighting, but they are playing.'

7.4.5 Provisional conjunction: gul 'time' and hanih 'while'

Some time reference nouns like *gul 'time/when'* and *hanih 'while'* are used as clausal conjunctions. They occur as clause final markers. The first shows sequence of two events but the latter simultaneous events.

80. a) káa dufuy-t -á   gul awk-í   rad-á

    him push-2SG-IPF   time   boy-NOM fall-3Ms.IPF

    'When you push him (the child), he falls.

b) rob   rád-ay   y- ane   hanih irr-i   digrír-ay   y- ané

   rain fall-PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES while children-NOM paly-PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES

   'While it was raining children were playing.'

As shown in the examples *hanih* is used to connect simultaneous activities but the form in Northern Saaho is used as countrafactual marker as indicated in Banti and Vergari (2005).

Sequential and simultaneous can also be shown by verbs marked by enclitic =h. The relation between the second and the first is contingent upon the last and/or the feature whether it constitute semantic or grammatical function like.

81. a) adî-i=h   goylís-ay   y-iné

     walk-PROG=h sing-PROG 3Ms-be.PAST

     'He was singing while he was walking.' >> adiyìh

    b) wúlim sool-t-é=h   wúlim difey-t-é=h   t-ané

       some stand-3Fs-PFV=h some   sit-3Fs-PFV-h 3Fs-AUX.PRES

        'Some are standing, others are sitting.'

7.4.6 =ko as clausal conjunction

=ko has two functions when it is used as a conjunction between two clauses. It can be a Conditional clause marker with hypothetical mood or as a privantative clause marker. The two functions can be distinguished only depending on the verb form that =ko is attached to. Thus, =ko indicates conditional clause marker when it is encliticized to the verb form in the perfective aspect as [V-PF]-m=ko 'a nominalized verb and enclitic =ko. But if the verb form is in the imperfective aspect as *[V-IPF]-m=ko.* Thus, *=ko* indicates preventative clause as in 82 (b) and 83.

82. a) [feló   beete   way-t-ém]   = ko   tamay láħ   bade   lé
          food eat.INF lack-3Fs-PF-m CND this   goat die.INF have.3Fs.FUT
          'The goat will die if it does not eat.'

     b) yi   ʕaddi   ʕaroora=h arr-it-am=kò   yi   goron-e
          my friend-NOM snake=by beat-MID-IPF-m =PRVT me help-3Ms.PF
          'My friend prevented me from being bitten by the snake.'

83. baɖeeɖayt-í   [baɖeeɖáyto ak   t-á-m= ko]
      thief–NOM   thief-ACC   on him 2S-call-m=lest

     y-aakumé-h   baɖeeɖáyto kōok   y-á
     3Ms-advance.PF-h thief (ACC) you.up on 3M-call.IPF
        'A thief in advance calls upon you thief lest you call him thief.'

The enclitic *=ko* is added to the perfective verb form with *V-m* 'relativizer/nominalizer to mark a hypothetical conditional clause. It has also a form like *=k* in some expressions. Thus, both *=ko* and *=k* in Saaho serve as a clause conjunction in hypothetical conditional clause

But as in example (83) = *ko* is added to imperfective verb with *V-m* 'nominalized' and expresses a reservation from doing an action. Thus *=ko* can also encode *'lest/for fear/prevent from'* as preventative marker.

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7.4.7 =edo as non-hypothetical Conditional Clause marker

In addition to the conditional clauses with the enclitic =ko, there is another marker =*edo* for non-hypothetical conditional clause. The non-hypothetical conditional clause, in Saaho, is expressed with the imperfective verb and a conditional marker =*edo 'if'* is enclitisized to it. Consider the following.

84. [káa   t-ablé=edo]   maysiite ḍaaḍé
       him 2SG-see=CND fear-INF would
       'if you saw him, you would be afraid.'

7.4.8 Sentence and discourse conjunctions

The following coordinators function both within and across sentences, and require a context greater than a single sentence:

85. a. yakkoy-ikkak   'however',
       3Ms-be-SUJ --but
    b. akke-way-é-m=ko 'otherwise, if this be-not ' 'rather, instead,'
       be.INF NEG-Ms.PF-m =CND

115.   amá-m bálih 'similarly'
       the-PL like

116.   amá-m-hídda=h 'therefore, that being the case,'
       the -NOMZ t=DAT

117.   tóhom kí-ih 'being those'

118.   those be-PROG'

119.   tóhom kinámih

120.   tóhom takké 'those happens'

121.   tóhom-ih amód 'in addition to those'
       that-PRNZ-GEN –head=on

122.   tóhom lēe 'and those'

123.   kínam-híḍḍah 'having happened

124.   amáygul 'thus,

125.   tamam ko beeh-ih 'exclude from this/out of these'

this-PRNZ=from away-DAT

126.   V-h-ay 'to say -then/

127.   sugháy 'after a while'

128.   meʔe háy 'ok then'

129. a) layé ħiyáw=ah yakkóy   aki   rooħé lé-m   marootó ɖiiʔ-siis-á

water human=for be-JUSS other life have-NOMZ live-SUJN be able-cause 3FsIPF

'water is essential for human being as well as other living things to survive.'

b) yakko-iyyay-ikkah >yakkoy ikkah 'however'

c) yakkekah 'have not been happen'

d) koyya-ikkah 'eventhough'

e)   =kah 'as

f) kôyya=kah báɖa malé!

'there is no boy as/like you.'/'you are the only boy'

7.5 Negative clitics

7.5.1 ma negative proclitic

The standard negation particle in Saaho is the proclitic *ma- 'not' (see chapte 9)* . It is used in declarative and Imperative sentences. The negation particle *ma- 'not'* is added to Imperfective and stative verbs without any change on the verb forms. However, when *ma-* is used to perfective and imperative verb stems the form of the affirmative verb stem has a different pardigm. In (87-89), ma – negates an affirmative clause negative.

130.   a) ísi ħabada bet-t-á

she bread eat-3Fs-IPF

'She eats bread.'

b) ísi   ħabada má- bet-t-a

she bread   NEG-eat-3Fs-IPF

'She does not eat bread.'

131.   a) úsuk kumal   y-emeeté

he   yesterday 3MS-PF.come

'He came yesterday.'

b) úsuk kumal   ma-amaat-inn-a

  he   yesterday NEG –come. AUX.PAST-3SG

'He did not come yesterday.'

132. a) adúw-a

   go.IPR-2.PL

 'You (PL) go/leave!'

b) má- aday-ín-a

  NEG-go-AUX.PRES-2PL

'Don't go/leave!'

When an affirmative sentences expressed with compound verb auxiliary constructions are negated, the proclitic *ma- 'not'* occur with the Auxiliary as not the main verb.

133. a) anu   adî-ik   ané

   I   walk-PROG 1SG.AUX.PRES

  'I am waking.'

b) anu   adî-ik   má - ane   << mane>>

  I   walk-PROG   NEG-1SG. AUX. PRES.

  'I am not walking.'

134. a) ísi   kaa t-ublé-h   t-ane

   she   him 3Fs-see.PF-h 3Fs AUX.PRES

  'She has seen him.'

b) ísi   kaa t-ublé-h   má-t-ané

  she   him 3Fs-see.PF-h NEG-3Fs-AUX.PRES

  'She has seen him.'

135. a) úsuk y-amáato   kinní

he   3Ms-come.SUJN be.3SG.FUT

'He will come.'

b) úsuk y-amáato   má-kí

he   3Ms -come.SUJN NEG-be3SG.FUT

'He will not come.'

7.5.2 –íkkah as a Negation enclitic

This proclitic occur converbial or adverbial construction to negate the dependent clause (see chapter 9). Here the verb has perfective –h form in the affirmative and in the negative the it changes its form to infinitive with *e* and the proclitic *ikkah* negates the dependent clause.

136.   a) beet-é-h   y-emeete

eat-3Ms.PF-h 3Ms-come.PF

'Having eaten, he came.'

b) beeté-kkah   y-emeete

eat.INF-NEG 3Ms-come.PF

'Having not eaten he came.'

137.   a) beet-n-é-h   n-emeete

eat-1Pl-PF-h   1PL-come.PF

'Having eaten, we came.'

b) beeté-kkah   n-emeete

eat.INF-NEG 1PL-come.PF

'Having not eaten we came.'

Notice that the negation -*íkah* in (93) and (94) has similar form with the countrafactual conjunction =*ikáh*. However, they are differentiated based on phonological and syntactic factors. When we see their phonological distinction, the final syllable vowel of the coontrafactual conjunction has tone accent =*ikkáh* but the negation does not have accent -*íkkah*. When we consider syntactic distinction, the countrafactual conjunction occurs with finite verb and NP predicates, but used for negating converb it occurs with non

finite verb i.e with -e infinitive form of the verb and con not be extracted from the verb. but the contra factual *ikáh* can occur as free form. Banti (2010:65) has similar claim as "-*kkah*, -*kkal* etc. are thus not specifically negative converb affixes: it is only their association with the -*é* infinitive that has been grammaticalized into a negative VS converb."

7.6 Question Particle

In Saaho, polar interrogatives or questions can be expressed in two ways (see chapter 9). These are: one the use of intonation which has a high falling tone on the final mora as in (94) and the other is by using an enclitic =hôo at the end of the expression as in (95-97). The enclitic =*hôo* is commonly added at the end of an affirmative or a negative clause to signal confirmation of approval or disapproval which seems like the English 'question tags'. The interrogative particle =hoo is mostly used

138.   a) beet-é   'he ate'   b) beet-ê   'did he eat?'

139.   a) ab-é   'he did.   b) abe hôo   'did he make?

140.   a) kinní   ' it is'   b) kinni hôo   'Is it?'

141.   a) .makinní 'It is not'   b) maki hôo? 'isn't it?'

7.7 Interjections and ideophones

7.7.1 Interjections

Interjections are primarily single word, emotive outbursts that do not enter into syntactic relations with other parts of the grammar. Very often, in fact, they occur in isolation and stand alone as full utterances. Following is a partial listing:

i**. Affirmation**: the following are used as positive response to a claim.

 142. yōo 'yes' , yôoyta , yoohóyta rummà 'right/correct'

 They are use in contexts as in (99), a respons to the expressions in a's.
 143.   Example sentences
A: tay able   ku   sára tah   ís-e-h   ko =h   iklibé

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This look.INF your clothe like this make-3Ms.PF-h you=DAT 1SG.fold.PF

'Look! I arranged your clothes like this.'

B: yôo 'yes' or yoohóyta   'Great!'

A: taytiya kinnî   ayyih ko=k   t-eleyyé kabella?

   this one be.PRES.Q   the   you =upon 3Fs-lost.PF REL shoes

   'Is it this one the shoe that was lost for you?'

B: yôoyta / yoohóyta   'right'

A: íbol marħaddá ɖiiʔá yo= k   áy-ik   kí-to   t-ané-m?

   so   slaughtering can me=upon say-PROG be-2SG.PRES 2SG-be-PRES-NOMZ

   'So, are you telling me that 'I am able to slaughter?'

B: yo ʔilléh   'yes, perfectly/exactly' or   rúmma 'correct/right'

ii. **Rejection**: the following are interjection which are a negative response to a claim

144.   mâalé , 'no' ʔadúr 'never' hôobay 'quite' dírab   'folse'

The following are contexts where such interjection are used.

145.

A: irroy   -tí   angút ħán   way – é -m= ko   ʔafiyát wa-á

   Children-SGV.NOM breast.GEN milk lack-3Ms.PF-m= CND health lack.3Ms.IPF

   'if a child can not get breast milk , he cannot be healthy.'

 B: ʔadúr   'never!'

iii. Attracting attention:

 146. a) ihii   'listen!'

        b) amay koo háy   'attention! So, here you are!!'

            the you.VOC sit.IPV

        c) amay kanná   'behold, harken'

        d) yabá /hin   'here, take it!' used when offering something to'

        e) ɖiʔéh /íbol   'so now'

 147.   Examples

 A: maāl   sínà=h méēda

     money You =DAT NEG shoulg

   'The money should not be for you.'

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B：amáyko háy,'

　　the ABL sit

　'attention! So, here you are!!'

A: ɖɨʔéh y-adáwo ugutéh kinní

　　now 3Ms-go-SUJN getup3Ms.PF-h be.PRES

　'What he has to do is to start to go.' Or 'He is just to leave.'

　　B. kambó yadiyémkee busá kinní

　　　'He is going to leave in any moment.'

iv. **Shock**: kel amáh, ħaylaake ʔamále wáy, ħáyla wáy

Example:

A：wetahadér úmbih rab-t-é　　y-én

　　Army　　all　die-3Fs.PF　3-say.PF.PL

　'They say that all the army are dead'

B: ħáyla ak éy / háyla ak eyà　　or

　'spit it out'

　amále wáy　　　'don't be there'　ifoh　　　'don't say'

v. **Appriciation**: waddiróy 'great!', ubbŭul '?' , agíro/agiró　　'clever/brave'

vi. Surprise: ēe, yāa, yāana, yay ya

92.Example

　A：sagá　bool-it-t-é　yén

　　　cow　sheer-VZ-3Fs-PF they said

　　'They said that the caw falled.'

B: yáa 'oh!' or　ēe 'what!' , yáàʔ 'oh'

7.7.2 Ideophones

In Saaho, there are some words which can be grouped as ideophones. These class of words express an idea either in a distinctive sound or visually action. They exhibit exceptional phonological characteristics, such as final syllable consonant segment gemination and form compound verbs. Below in (105) a f we have listed examples of idophones

148.   Verbal ideophones

	Ideophone		Intensive form
a.	gab	'wait',	gabba
b.	tib	'silent',	tibba
c.	sik	'quiete'	siik
d.	rig	'right/streight'	riig
e.	naw	'high'	nawwa
f.	lat	'low'	latta

149.   Nominal derived from ideophones by suffix -eena

	Ideophone		nominal	
i.	tuf	'salivate',	tuf-eena	'saliva'
ii.	sees	'swiff'	sees-eena	'swift'

Chapter Summary

This chapter has cover minor word class like clitic post positions, adverbs, conjunction, interjections and ideophones. The clitics have two forms, free and bound, and reflect different functions. These are post positional clitics, negation, clitics and conjunctives the post positional clitics show case relations. The post positional enclitics have no independent status. Their primary roles are showing different cases such as genitive, dative, instrumental, goal, source, beneficiary etc. they use to form adverbs as they are encliticized to relational nouns . They express temporal, directional and locative relations. The free variants occur in preverbal positions. Conjunctives are are enclitics as kee 'and' and used to join different constituents. Dependent clauses are subordinated by post positional enclitics like –h –ko   do are considered as conjunctions, and their function is at clausal level.

Chapter Eight

Word order

8.1 Word order in simple sentence

8.1.1Verbal Clauses

The word order of Saaho, is predominantly SV and SOV for intransitive and transitive verbs respectively. The arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs are expressed with independent words, phrases or pronominals or applicative clitics. The examples below show the dominant word order as in (1) SV for intransitive verb and in (2) OSV for transitive verb in simple clauses.

1. a) dik   bay-é

    Village loss-3Ms-PF

   'The village is raid / lost/.'

   b)   lubák   bad-é

        lion   die-3Ms-PF

        'A/the lion died'

   c)   dagħá   laʔ-t-é

          porridge   heat-3Fs-PF

          'The porridge is heated/became hot.'

2.   a) kimbiró dára bet-t-á

          birds   seed eat-3Fs-IPF

          'Birds eat seeds.'

     b) abbá ʔaroorâ y-igdifé

          father snake 3Ms-kill.PF

          'Your father killed a snake.'

The example in (1) and (2) show intransitive and transitive verbs with a subject argument and agent patient argument respectively. In Saaho, the position of the subject is not rigid, there is a possibility for the subject to occur between the object and the verb

as OSV order. But this order is used only when the subject is in focus and marked nominative case by –i as in (3).

3. a) sagá   yangul-í   beet-é
      cow(F) hyena-NOM(M) eat-3Ms-PF
      'The hyena ate the cow.'

   b) áwka   gedlí   ħat -t-é
      Child (ACC)   fighter-(F)   help-3Fs-PF
      'The fighter helped the child.

It is also common with omitted subject or object when it is predictable from agreement as in (4).

4. a) yóyya   esser-t-é-n
      me who   ask-2-PF- PL
     'You asked me.'

   b) ḍaylá   ḍoy-t-é
      calfs   suck-3Fs-PF
      'Calfs sucked on'

In 4 (a) the subject is not stated overtly since it is indicated by the pronominal suffixes on the verb. In 4 (b) the object is omitted because the object "mother's breast" can be easily predicted from the verb *ḍoy-t- e 'suck on'*.

In sentences with direct and indirect objects, the common word order is S-IO- DO-V. In such clauses the indirect object is marked by =h a dative case marker. But based on pragmatic facts such as focused expressions alternative order are possible indirect object can be either reversing the orders with the direct object as S-DO-IO-V or being in situ by establishing coorefference with a pronominal or proclitic that occur encorperated to the verb. Consider the following examples.

5. a) anú iní sáʔol=uh   **sára**   ḍaam-é
      I   my brother-Pl=DAT(IO) cloth (DO) buy-1SG-PF
      'I bought **clothes** to my brothers.'

b) ammaha wasiye=h **ħárge** far-é

   Amaha Wasie-(IO) goat(DO) send-3MS-PF

   'Amaha sent the goat for Wasie.'

c) awká   ħadó   **káre=h**   t-oħoye

   Girl   meat   dog=DAT   3Fs-give.PF

   'The girl gave **the bitch** meat.'

The order of the direct and indirect object is a matter of focus in which the focused object comes closer to the verb. Thus, in 5 (a) and (b) the direct object occurs closer to the verb which is the common order. But in 5(c) the direct object is focused so it occurs between the DO and V. In non-focused construction the common order is preferred.

In addition, pronominal or proclitic element can occurs between the direct object and the verb and the order of S-IO - DO –PRON/PROCL-V as in 6 (a).

6. a) sigará akáh   y- ohoyé

     cigarette for him 3MS-PF-give

     'He gave cigarette for him/her.'

  b) dogúu maál   yo=h   uħúy

     some money   me=DAT give-IPV

      'Give me some money!'

  c) doorí maál=**ak**   kabellá **ak**   ɖaam-é

     Doorí money=by   shoe   upon it buy-3Ms.PF

     'Dori has bought shoe by the money. (malfactive)

  d) doorí maál=**h**   kabellá **ákah**   ɖaam-é

     Doori money=by   shoe   with-it buy-3Ms.PF

     'Dori has bought shoe by the money. (benefactive)

Such constructions are used to focus indirect object which is in situ and expressed by pronominals or proclitics in pre verbal position. They mostly reflecting benefactive or malfactive cases and the beneficiary or affected object is coreferenced with the pronominal or postpostional clitic as in 6(c) and (d).

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In Saaho, the order of manner adverbs is similar to object, in which it occurs preceding the verb, as in 7(a-c).

7. a) úsuk ḍeh y- ardé.

    He   fast 3MS- run.IPF

   'He runs quickly.'

  b) irób ħadô ḍeh sol-t-á

     irobs meat fast roast-3Fs.IPF

   'Irobs roast meat fast.'

  d) isì áyih layê afit-t-é-h   aaʔúb-iy   t-ané

     she the water be quick-3Fs-PF-h dink-PROG 3Fs-AUX.PRES

     'She is drinking the water quickly.'

Similarly, other adverbs such as temporal and place adverbs occur following the noun phrases of the subject but preceding the verb. Consider the following examples.

8. a)   anú bêera   laħ ḍamiite   li-yó

         I   tomorrow goat buy.INF   have. 1SG. FUT

         'I will buy goat tomorrow.'

  b)   ísi kúmal   dagúu iláw ḍaam-t-é

        she yesterday some   grain buy-3Fs- PF

        'She bought som grains yesterday úsuk

    c)   ʔare =d   sára   wagiy-iy   y-ine

        house =in   clothe search-PROG 3MsAUX.PRES

       'He was searching cloth in the house.'

    d)   anú umángulg   buún ḍeh ab-é

        I every day   coffee   fast make-1SG.PF

        'I always make coffee fast.'

As in 8 (a - d) place and temporal adverbs occur preceding the object and still between the subject noun phrase and the verb. When temporal and manner adverbs occur in a clsuse the word order can be stated as: S- ([ADV]$_{TEMPORAL}$ -O – [ADV]$_{DEG/MANNER}$) -V

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8.1.2 Non-Verabal clauses

There are three types of non verbal or nominal predicate clauses which express proper inclusion, equation, attribution, location, existential and possession. These clause types are adjectival/nominal predicates, existential/locative predicates and possessive predicates. In Saaho, there are three verb forms used to express these predicates. These are: copula ki- 'to be, happen' for predicate nominals, verb existential ine/ane 'to exist' for locative predicate and the verb forms le 'has/have' for possessive predicates. In this section we have tried to describe the three types of predicate clauses i.e. nominal/ adjectival predicates, existential predicates and possessive predicates.

Nominal /adjectival predicates clauses

8.1.2.1 Non verbal equative clauses

Non-verbal equative clause are used only in response to question with copula *ki 'be'* and omitted in the response. For example, the question asked 9(a) and the response is in (b).

a) táham iyy-i sará kinni ?

      these who-GEN clothes be.Q

    'Whose clothes are these?'

  b) táham ħagos   sará

     these Hagos.GEN clothes.

    'These are Hagos's clothes'(sure)

  b)   tóhom kâa ʔiyó

    Those his duty

    'Those are his duty'

  c)   ísi irob-tá

    She Irob-SGV

    'She is an Irob'

8.1.2.2 Nominal/adjectival predicates with copula ki 'be'

Nominal predicates are clauses in which the semantic content of the predication is embedded in the noun. In Saaho, predicate nominal clause is described by *kinni*

'be.3SG'. It has the same form in the third person singular and inflections with 1st , 2nd and 3rd .

9. a) ísi   yi numá=h saʔlá   kinní
         she my wife-GEN2-sister be-3SG
         'she is my wife's sister.'

   b)   tay numá   yi anná   kinní
        this woman my aunt be.3SG
         'This woman is my aunt.'

   c)   selama loyna   kinní
        selama shepherd be.3SG
         'Selama is a shepherd.'

   d)   selama loyna   kik   y-iné
        selama shepherd be-PROG 3Ms-be.PAST
          'Selama was a shapard.'

8.1.2.3 Existential /locative predicate clauses

Existential clauses and locative predicates as a type of clause overlap with one another in Saaho. Both are expressed in similar structure and make use of the existential verb *ine/ane 'be exist or be located at'*. The existential construction is used to assert either the existence or the non existence of something with respect to complement as possessor or location.

10. toy áraħ=al ʔindá t-ané
     that path=at sand 3.Fs- exist.IPF
       'There is sand on that path.'
11. tamay áraħ=al ḍáyit t-iné
     the path=at stones 3Fs-exist.PF
     'There were stones on the path.'

8.1.2.4 Possessive Clauses

The possessive clause has a different verb form in Saaho. The subject NP expresses the possessor, while the possessed item appears as part of the predicate complement to the possessive verb *le 'to have'*.

12. ísi   [ʔinda laħ] lé
       She [small gaot] has.3SG
       'She has a small goat.'

13. úsuk [naba dagge] lé
       he   big farm   has.3SG
       'He has a big farm.'

14. ísi [ḍed gaʔsa] lé
       She long hair has.3SG
       'She has long hair.'

15. tay saʔa-ytí   [mango éray] lé
       This cattle-SGV.NOM many fat has. 3SG
       'This animal has a lot of fat.'

16. anú   naba   kare   li-yó
       I   big   bitch has. 1SG
       'I have big bitch.'

In the language the same basic pattern is also used to express possession or location of indefinite or non-specific items.

2. a) gabá=k biilo lé
       arm =upon blood have.3SG
       'He/she has blood on arm.'

8.2.2.5 Comparative clauses

In Saaho the comparative construction is used to express relative quality of two entities. Payne (1997:89) has stated three crucial elements of a grammaticalized comparative constructions: the standard, the marker and the quality. The standard is a noun phrase,

the marker can be a special particle, an adposition, or an affix, and the quality is normally expressed through an adjective. Thus, Saaho, the comparative construction is expressed NP standard followed by marker =ko, a postposition, and the quality which is a verb form. The following examples show the order these three elements in coparative constructions.

3. a) num = ko nuggub feerá

    man (strength)=from chance exceeds

    'Chance/fortune is better than strengh.' Lit: ' From strength fortune exceeds.'

    b) góʔis =ko tesemá nabá

    Goesh=from Tesma be.beg.3SG

    'Tesema is bigger than Goish.'

8.2 Word order in Noun Phrase

Noun phrase, as its name suggests, is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun. NPs in Saaho, like in most other languages, can function as subjects, primary or secondary objects, and as objects of postpositions. The obligatory constituents that occur in the slot of an NP is the head noun. Other optional elements such as demonstratives, possessives, adjectival, numerals can co-occur with a head noun syntactically to form a noun phrase. I have dealt with these optional elements in the preceding sections with their individual classes. Here I focus on how the various elements combine to form phrases of simple and complex NPs. I also try to discuss the kinds of derived units that can function either as full NPs or as parts of NPs.

The basic noun phrase structure has its head noun in final position. All elements co-occur preceding the head. However, there are cases where some constituents can co-occur following the head noun. When we look at such constructions, demonstratives, possessives, indefinites always occur preceding the noun, but others, numerals, quantifiers, adjective, and relative clauses, can occur preceding or following the head. The occurrence of these constituents in pre or post head position has some relational correlation with pragmatic or structural functions like extrapostion.

8.2.1 Definite and indefinite noun phrases

The most common noun phrases in many languages contain a single word which is either a noun or a pronoun. In Saaho, it is very common for noun phrases to consist of only a noun with both definite and indefinite reading. Dryer (2007:152) stated that such possibility in a language hinges considerably on whether the language has articles or not. Harder (2009:16) also stated that whether the information has to be coded in the language or not depends on whether the inferential activity via the utterance is meaningfully grounded in some way or not. He added that "the analysis of languages without a determiner system, absence of obligatory definiteness marking means that the interpretation works by linking the descriptive content with the discourse universe directly, rather than via an encoded linking instruction."

In Saaho, the bare head noun in a noun phrases with definite and/or indefinite reading is signaled not only locally by markers on the head noun but by both contextual and/or structural clues at clausal level. Let's consider the following examples:

4. a) rug-í   iná   ḍoy-é

    calf-(M) NOM mother   feed-3Ms.PF

    'The male-calf sucked on its mother'

   b)   rug -i   iná   ḍoy-á

    calf-(M) NOM mother   feed-3Ms.IPF

    'A calf sucks on its mother.'

5. a) úsuk san   ħakok-**ít-**ay   y-ané

    He   nose scratch-MID-PROG3Ms- be.PRES

    'He is scratching his nose.'

   b) úsuk isí   san   ħakók-ay   y-ané

    he   his   nose   scratch- PROG 3Ms- be.PRES

    'He is scratching his nose.'

6. a) ayró ifés-ay   t-ané

        sun   shine- PROG   3Fs- be.PRES

        'The sun is shining.'

    b) ayró-yta   darúr ʔaadá=d   t-ané

        Sun-SGV cloud,GEN back=LOC 3FsAUX.PRES

        'The sun is behind a big cloud.'

7. a) kabiʔ-tí   ganá=d   ed   say-é /* say-á (definite)

        leopard-SGV.NOM cave-LOC in-it   enter-3Ms-PF/*IPF

        'The leopard entered into the cave'

    b) kabiʔ-tí   goná=d   say-á/ *say-e (indefinite)

        leopard-Sgv hole-LOC enter-3Ms-Imf/*PF

        'A leopard enters into a cave.'

    c) kabiiʔá   goná=d   say-t-á (Subject Focus = definite)

        leopards   hole-LOC enter-3Fs-IPF

        'The leopards/leopards enter into the cave.'

8. a) ʔasa yangul-í // rugá beet-é

        white hyena-NOM calf (F) eat-3Ms-PF

        'The red hyena ate a calf(F)'

    b) ʔasa yangul-i //   rugâa ↓beet-e

        white hyena-NOM calf(F) .FOC eat-3Ms-PF

        'A red hyena ate the CALF (F) '

In the examples, the glosses indicated that the bare nouns have a definiteness feature as in the (4-9) (a's) and indefiniteness in the (b's). Definiteness feature is not indicated on the head noun but can be inferred from the context by aspectual clues like the perfective, progressive aspect marker on the verbs. In Saaho, new, unique, and active completed actions are focused or topicalized, therefore, they are expressed in discourses in the perfective aspect or progressive aspect and are coded as having definite reference. In addition, there is a focus marker which is realized by tone alternation/stress assignment pattern on both the head noun and the verb which serves as a clue for definiteness as in 8

(a and b). In 7 (a), the middle with auto benefactive is marked by –t- on the verb which serves as clue for the possessor. But the indefinite interpretations for the nouns is due to the verbal inflection that show imperfective aspect on the verb since in the language community, indefiniteness is associated with habitual aspect which are not focused and topicalized.

Another important point is that the different feature values of definiteness like familiar, unique reference, referential seem to be indicated by a variety of ways in the language. Thus, the example in 6 (a) *iyró 'sun'* is inherently definite but in (b) *iyró-yta 'sun-SGV'* with the singulative marker has a very specific and particular reference. Therefore, the use of the definite marker with a head noun seems necessary only terms of indicating the different features /level /degree of definiteness which includes uniquely, referential and familiar.

In Saaho, there are inferential accomplishment mechanisms that are associated with the head noun. Those are focus/topic marker, aspect marker, and case marker. In addition, there are other syntactic devices used with the head noun to show definite and indefinite reference. These are the use of determiners such as definite articles, demonstratives and possessives for definite and *uli 'a/ any' inki 'one/a'* with singular nouns and *uliuli 'any/some/* with plural nouns for indefinite reference.

8.2.1.1 Definite markers

In Saaho, the use of determiners in pre-nominal position makes the referent of the head noun definite or indefinite. These are definite article, demonstratives, pronominal possessives, and indefiniteness. The first four indicate definiteness reference but the last indicate indefiniteness.

Here, the definite article is *amay 'the'* and demonstratives *tay 'this' and toy 'that'* can code both distal and temporal references (see section). Both can also indicate shared reference between the speaker and addressee. Consider the examples below.

9. a) *amay* baaḓó
  the village
  'The village'

 b) *áyih* bakooló
  the donkey
  'The donkey'

In the examples 9 (a-b), we can see that the definite marker is used for to relate prior shared information. We called them anaphoric demonstratives because they locate the reference of the head to a previously expressed entity or a shared reference in discourse. In addition, the demonstratives can refer to entities which are near or far reference.

10. a) tay ħiyáw-to
  this persons-SGV
  'this man'

 b) toy numá
  that woman
  'That woman'

In example 10 (a) and (b) the demonstratives *tay 'this'* and *toy 'that'* are used indicate an entitiy with proximal and distal references, respectively. Similarly, the short forms *aa 'this'* and *oo 'that'* can also be used to indicate such references without any change meaning as in examples of 11 (a) and (b) below.

11. a) aa ħiyáw-to
  this person-SGV
  'This man.'

 b) oo numá
  that woman'
  'That woman'

These demonstratives can be used to indicate anaphoric references of previously mentioned entity.

8.2.1.2 Indefinites

The indefinites occur before the head are used to indicate an entity with an indefinite or generic reference (see chapter 4). These are the numeral *inki 'one/a* ,and *uli/wuli 'any/ a /one'*. Let's consider the examples below.

12. a) inki ħiyaw-ti

    one persons-SGV

    'a person'

  b)   wili   lelléʔ

    a/any day

    'a certain day'

    e)   uli ħaɖá

    any any tree

   'certain/some trees.'

As shown in the examples indefiniteness is expressed by the numeral *inki 'one'* and *uli 'a certain'* occur in the always preceding the head noun in noun phrases.

8.2.1.3 Possessive and Reflexive Possessive in NP

There are two possessive pronominal forms used in referentice to the possessor. Both show definiteness and occur preceding the head as in 13 (a-c). However. the possessive reflexive, the possessor is always corefferential with the subject as the examples in 29 (a) and (b). But with the possessives, the possessor can be outside the sentence or can refer to the subject depending on the context.

13.   a) [isí saʔal]_{NP} y-emeeté

    own brother 3Ms-come.PF

   '[His brother] came.'

    b) [isí saʔal]_{NP} t-emeeté

    own brother 3Fs-come.PF

   '[Her brother] came.'

c) kâa ʔáre

   his house

   'His house'

c) tée   ʔáre

   'her house'

Possessive construction, with 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ possessive as in 14(a,b) indicate an anaphoric reference with the subject since the possessor has the same reference with the subject. So the use of reflexive possessive can be used for emphasis when such expression apears.

14. a) úsuk [yi iná]ₙₚ mí-y-aaɖigé

       He   [my mother] NEG-3Ms- know. IPF

       'He doses not know my mother.'

   b) [ku   baɖ-í]ₙₚ   ɖeh ʔar-é

       [Your son-NOM] ₙₚ fast grow-3Ms-PF

        'Your son grew fast.'

8.2.2 Genitive noun phrases

The genitive construction in Saaho shows possessor and possesee relations where the possessor occurs befores the possessed noun (see section 2.6).

15. a)   awká-t sára

         child-GEN cloth

          'child's cloth'

   b)   kar-i lák

        dog-GEN leg'dog's leg'

   c)   damaʔt-í ʔeeɖó

        ape-GEN buttock

        'ape's buttock'

In 15 (a-c) the possessor marked genitive case by –t or –i preedes the possesee in the genitive noun phrase.   There are two types of constructions that allow inherently

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possessed nouns to occur without possessor nouns in the same NPs. The examples in (16) show inherently possessed nouns occur without a possessor.

16. a) kálo=d   deghá ʔakál-ay   t-ané

   river =in head   be wash-PROG 3FsAUX.PRES

   'She is washing her head in the lagoon (lake)'

   b) úsuk abbá gádah maysiit-á

   he   father very afraid-3Ms.IPF

   'He is very afraid of his father.'

   c) ísi angú tumúʔ-ay t-ané

   she breast squeeze-PROG 3FsAUX.PRES

   'She is squeezing her breast.'

   d) ísi lumêenta tumúʔ-ay t-ané

   she lemon squeeze-PROG 3FsAUX.PRES

   'She is squizing a lemon'

In (16) the examples (a - c) show inherently possessed nouns where the possessor can be inferred from the context or the subject of the clause. But in 16 (d) the construction possessee noun *lumeena 'lemon'* does not show an inherent relation with the possessor like that of in 16 (c) *angu 'breast'*.

A genitive phrase can have more than two nouns as modifiers. When the head is modified by two nouns the first noun occurs with the regular genitive markers and the second is marked by enclitic –h/ih as in the following examples.

17. numá-t abó- h farás

   woman-GEN uncle-GEN horse

   'horse of the woman's uncle'

The definite markers, demonstratives and possessives can occur with genitive phrase. They always precede the genitive phrase which is marked by enclitic element –h. Consider the following examples.

18. a.   amay awk-ih surré

       the boy-GEN trousers

      'The trousers of the boy'

b.   tay ʔar-ih maʔdo

       this house-GEN gate

       'The gate of this house'

c.   tamay numá-h   sagá

       the woman–GEN cow

       'The cow of the woman'

d.   kaa saʔal =h   ʔare

      your brother =GEN house

      'The house of your brother'

In these examples, the whole NP has definite reference because they occur with definite elements and demonstratives. The possessor is indicated by –h/-ih when the genitive phrase occur with modifiers (see also chapter 3).

8.2.3 Noun Phrases with Numeral and Quantifiers

In a noun phrase numeral can occur either preceding the noun as attributive modifiers or following it as partitive in genitive constructions. The two constructions have direct relation with the head of the noun phrase. In constructions where the numeral occurs preceding the noun, the numeral modifies the noun which is the head. But when it follows the noun in genitive constructions with a partitive reading, it is better to view the numeral as a syntactic head of the NP. There is a good reason for such an analyses, as the numeral as an attributive modifier to a head noun, the head show agreement with the verb whereas the numerals follow the noun occur in genitive or post-positional clitic and the head is the numeral which show agreement with the verb.

19. a) [afara numá]$_{NP}$ iró=h   t-ewʔé

       [four woman (F)] up-ward to 3Fs-appear

       'Four women appeared up'

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b) [affara labha-ytí] _{NP}   aynáh   ab-é

   [four men-SGV.NOM] what do-3Ms.PF

     'What do the three men do?'

c) [adooħa numá] _{NP} t-iné.

   [three woman] 3Fs-exist. PF

   'There were three women.'

20. a) [agab-í afár] _{NP}   iró=h y-ewʔé

        [women-GEN-four] _{NP} up-ward-to 3Ms-apear. PF

        'Four of the women appeared up.'

   b) [labhá-t afár] aynáh ab-é

      [men-GEN four] _{NP} what do-3Ms.PF

       'What did [three of the men] do?'

   c) [amay númom-ih adóħ] _{NP} alûula y‑ublé.

      [The woman.PLV-GEN three] hyena 3Ms-see PF

       'The three of the women saw hyena.'

As in 19 (a-c) the numeral modifiers precede the noun like other modifiers and the subject noun agrees with the verb. But in 20 (a-c), the numerals follow the noun where the noun is a genitive construction and the verb agrees with the numeral. Therefore, the examples in (19) indicates that the head is the noun but those in (20) the numeral is the head, since the verb agreement is with the numeral and not with the noun.

Similarly, the determiners occur preceding the numeral as modifiers and/or as a head in partitive construction. The examples in (21) and (22) show the definite NP with numeral constructions.

21. Determiners + Numeral+ Noun

   a) amay lamma numá

      the two woman

      'the two women'

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b) amay adooħa labha**-**ytí

   the three men-SGV

   'the three men'

22. Deteminer Noun GEN Numeral

a) amay agab-í lammáy

   the women-GEN two

   'two of the women'

b) amay labhá**-**t adóħ

   the men-GEN three

   'three of the men'

8.2.3.1 Numeral and Measure phrases

Numeral phrases are also used as unit of measurement. They appear as complex modifiers of a head noun referring to a measurable entity. The measurement units are containers for grains like qafo*, girib, dagud etc.*; for liquids *gaana berelle, wans'a 'clay/horn container', saar 'skin bag', curru , sibbad, Ɂokkat, etc* and for length or height they use :*soro, ħuluf, etc*.

The measuring units are not in plural forms and occur following the numeral where the head is in genitive construction. The structure is: HEAD - QUANTITY/NUMERAL-UNIT. Following this examples of noun phrase with unit measurements are given below.

23. a) [zedid   koona huluf]

        cloth.GEN five   cubit

        'Five cubits cloth'

     b) [laye-t   lamma saar]

        water –GEN two   skin bag

        'two skin bags of water'

     c) [ħan-ti   lamma dagud]

         milk- GEN   two vase

         'two vase of milk'

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d) [mes-ti   adooħa berelle]

Honey beer –GEN   three bottle

'three bottle of honey beer tej'

e) [mes=ko   adooħa berelle]

Honey beer =from three bottle

 'three bottle of honey beer'

f) [buun= ko   lamma figgan]

   coffe= from two   cup

    'Two cup coffee'

g) [sirray= ko   baħħara Ɂússe]

wheat= from eight   container

'Eight containers of wheat'

As shown in (23), the structure of measure phrase in Saaho is head-GEN Numeral-unit
or an enclitic ko 'from' can occur in place of the genitive marker as in 23 (e-g). Both
show partitive reference of the head.

8.2.3.2 Quantifiers in noun phrase

The quantifiers in Saaho are not different from other modifiers like adjectives. These
are: *dogo 'few' mango 'several/many'*. They always occur in pre nominal position as
attributive and restrictive modifiers of the head noun with respect to qantitity.   In
example (24) I show some examples. *garo 'some body' aki 'another', dibo 'alone', busa
'only', uman 'all/every', umbuka 'all', inkoh 'all',*

  24. a) dagu mulħú

         some/little salt

        ' a little salt.'

    b) dagu ħadó

        some meat

        'some/part meat.'

    c) mango ħiyaw

        'many people'

8.2.4 Nouns with Adjectives modifiers

Before I deal with noun phrases adjectives have verbal quality show similarity with relative clause. It seems necessary to indicate that such elements occur in NPs either as pre or post modifiers (see chapter 6)

In addition the adjectives have two possibilities, a relativization and an apposition to the head noun where the two possibilities have some relation with referncial interpretation of the head noun. Thus, the relativization has specific referential but the apposition has generic referntial interpretation which is modification.

25. a) [ʔilis ɖâa]

      heave stone

    'A heavy stone.'

  b) [ʔiliisá ɖâa]

     big-ReL stone

    ' the heavy stone'

In the example 25 (a) the adjective root adjoins to the head noun that it modifies in terms of weight and does not give any definite referencial information. But as in the 25 (b) the relation is like non restrictive relative construction where the referential information is not about the stone but with respect to size of stones as the one which is big or bigger etc.

26. a) naba angú sagá

     big breast cow

     'a cow of big breast'

  b) sagá angú-naba

     cow breast -be big

     ' big breasted cow.'

  c) sagâ [naba angú] lé

     cow big breast has

     'The cow has a big breast.'

As in 26 (a) and (c) the adjectives in Saaho do not show agreement in number with the head in restrictive function, but when they are in non-restrictive function they usually indicate number agreement with the head noun as in (27).

27. a) danán   sán- ʔasa

         donkey nose- be red

       'the red nosed donkey'

    b) dónon   sán- ʔasoosí

       donkey.PLV nose- be big.PL

       'the donkeys with red nosed'

In the language, I have treated the ordering of adjectives in NPs as being similar to what we have seen with the other elements such as demonstratives and numerals all of which precede the noun. The order of all elements including the demonstrative or indefinites is as follows:

(3) NP —> (DET) (ADJ) N

Similarly, the head noun can be modified by determiner *amay 'the'* has two referential values one as anaphoric deictic in 28 (a), and defining the whole NP as in (b).

28. a) amay ku ʔusub sára

         the   your new clothe

       'that your new clothe'

    b) amay ʔusub // ku sára

         the new your clothe

       'The new clothe of yours' Lit. the new is your clothe.'

    c) ku ʔusub sára

        'your new clothe'

    d) ʔusub ku sára

       new your clothe

        'a new clothe of yours'

8.2.5 Relative Clauses as Restrictive and Non Restrictive Modifiers

In this sub-section, I have tried to examine and classify Relative Clauses (RC) at least from semantic and syntactic (internal positions of the modified element) dimensions.

A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC Avery (Andrews,2006:205) , as in most other verb-final languages. The head is either a noun or a noun-phrase clitic. In describing we used the following terms:

- **RC** : the relative clause
- **HN** : the common noun (the head noun) in a RC which express the domain of relativization.
- **RN** : the noun which is relativized

In general, the RC can be grouped under two major categories; as restrictive and non restrictive. Depending on semantic and syntactic criteria, we have tried to describe the two categories in Saaho. Thus, the Non Restrictive vs restrictive RCs in Saaho can be distinguished depending on the positional distribution of the HN with respect to the the RC and whether the HN is internally or externally headed.

In the language restrictive relative clause has the HN which occr following the RC and so externally headed. But with non restrictive relative clauses the NH occur with a Relative pronominal. The HN is in side RC and is coindexid with Realtive Pronominal. In order to illustrate this, examples are given below, the RC is in square brackets, its head HN is in italics, and the Relative pronominal is underlined.

29. a) [Ø ħiyáw= ad t-eleyyé] *maāl* gaħ-á

     people=in 3Fs-lost Rel money return-3M.SG. IPF

   'Money invested on people returns.'

   b) [*maāl* ħiyáw=ad t-eleyyé =<u>iyya</u>] gaħ=á

      Mony people=in 3F.SG-PF.lost Rel.PRN return-3M.SG. IPF

       'Money invested on people returns.'

30. a) *inkí* [Ø gaʔás lifet-á] *gómbo* t-ublé

   One hair comb-IPF.3M.SG-Rel youngboy 3F.SG-PF.see

   'She saw a young boy who combs his hair.'

   b) [*inkí gómbo* gaʔás lifet-a=<u>iyya</u>] t-ublé

   One youngboy hair comb-IPF.3Ms-Rel-PRN 3F.SG-PF.see

   'She saw a young boy who combs his hair.'

31. a) [Ø idá beet-é] *yangúla* wagiy-é

   sheep eat-3M.SG.PF-Rel hyena search-1SG.PF

   'I searched a hyena which eats a sheep.'

   b) [*yangúla* idá beet-é=<u>iyyá</u>] wagiy-é

   Hyena sheep eat-3M.SG.PF- Rel.PRN search-1SG.PF

   'I searched a hyena which eats a sheep.'

32. a) [Ø bad-é] *azgaláb* baah-é

   die-3M.SG.PF Rel hare bring-3M.SG.PF

   'He brought a hare that is dead.'

   b) [*azgálab* bad-é=<u>iyya</u>] baaħ-é

   Hare die-3M.SG.PF Rel.PRN bring-3M.SG.PF

   'He brought a hare that is dead.'

 In each of the examples in (29-32) there are pair where the sentences in the (a's) has the HN *maal 'money' inki gombò 'a young boy' yangula 'a hyena' and azgalab 'a hare'* occur externally following the RCs. When the head NP occurs externally out side the relative clause, it is a resirictive RC . But in the (b's) examples these common nouns used as the head occur within the RC which consists a relative pronominal enclitic =iyya 'who' and the whole is considered as NPrel. Internally headed relative clauses are non restrictive RCs.

8.2.5.1 Types Relative Clause

The role of the head noun of relative can be subject, object, indirect object benefiery, instrument, place or time as shown below.

33. [toy [Ø   kúmal   ħiyáw-to=d   ar-é]   kar-í   y-emeeté

That **dog** yesterday persons-SGV=on bite-3Ms.PF-Rel dog-NOM 3Ms.came

'That dog which bit into the man yesterday has come.

34. [toy   [kúmal   kar-í   ed_i=ar-é]_{REL}   [*ħiyaw-tí*]_I   y-emeeté

That yesterday dog-NOM <u>on</u>=bite-3Ms.PF person-NOM 3Ms.came

'That man to whom the dog bit into yesterday has come'

35. [toy ħaḍa akah y-igriʔé] _{REL} misar

that tree by it   3Ms-cut.PF hatchet

Thus, in (33), the head is subject relativized verb, and in (34), the head is object of the is relativized verb. But in 35 an instrument is relative In both the head represented by gap Ø and proclitic. Generally the constituents that occur in noun phrase can be shown as in 36.

36. {DET } +{NUM/Adj /QNT/RelC/N-GEN}) + N (Appositives Adj /RelC/GEN NUM)

8.3 Word order in complex sentences

In this section, I have discussed the word order of complex sentences. Such constructions involve two separate lexical items combine compositionally to produce a more complex type of predication.

8.3.1 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are clauses that serve an "adverbial" function in which they modify a verb phrase or a whole clause. They are not an argument of the clause. Sometimes adverbial clauses are termed adjuncts (as opposed to arguments). The adverbial clause

simply add some information to what is expressed in the other clause. Structurally, adverbial clauses have the same form as complement clauses as in (37).

37. a)   ísi_i [Ø_i awkà   laye baah-ò]   far-t-e
    she   boy   water bring-3Ms.SUJN send-3Fs-PF
     'She sent the child to fetch water.'

  b)   ísi [Ø_i awkà laye baah-ò]   t-u-ybulluye
    she   boy   water bring-3Ms.SUJN 3Fs-send.PF
     'she showed how to fetch water for the boy'

The adverbial clause in example 37 (a) has the same form as the complement clause in (b). The matrix verb far 'send' in the first construction is intransitive and do not constitute complement argument. Below, I describe adverbial clause namely temporal. purpose, reason, respectively.

8.3.1.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses are introduced by gul/waʔde 'time, which occur following the finite verb. The temporal adverbial clause may occur in the perfective or imperfective to show relative tense. Let us consider the following examples.

38.   a) [inti sabʔ-im-e   gul]   ɖimmot-t-a
     eye bit-PASS-3Fs.PF time   weep -3Fs-IPF
    'when eye is bitten, it shed tears'

  b) saʔal [usuk sabʔ-im-a   gul y-emeete
    brother he bit-PASS-3Fs.PF time 3Ms-come.PF
    'His brother came while he is bitten.'

The example in 38 (a) shows sequential since the verb in the temporal clause is perfective and show the action is completed before the action expressed in the main clause.In 38 (b), however, it shows immediatcy since the imperfective verb of the temporal clause implies that the action is not completed with respect the action in the

main verb. Similarly, temporal clause can be introduced with verb PF/IPF=h as in 39 (a -c) both verbs occur in perfective form.

39. *a)* *isí siráb ʔakalis-é-h* sarit-é

    his cloth   wash-3Ms.PF –h wear-3Ms.PF

    'He had his loincloth washed and put on.'

  b) *gey-á-h*   ko=h   aħáw-o   ki-yó

      find-1SG.IPF-h you-DAT give-1SG.SUJN be-1SG.PRES

      'When I find, I will give you.'

  c) *gey-t-á-h*   ko=h   t-aħáw-o   ki-tó

      find-3Fs-IPF-h you-DAT 3Fs-give-SUJN   be-3Fs.PRES

      'When I find, I will give you.

8.3.1.2 Reason Clause

Reason clauses can be introduced by sabatah 'because; or gul 'time' same construction as the 'temporal adverb clause. Mostly, it is difficult to distinquish reason clause from temporal adverbial clause. However, one or the two functions can be distinguished by contextual clues or relation of the verbs in the in both clauses.

  40. a) kaa sabʔ-im-á   gul   weeʔ-á

       him bit-PASS-3Ms.PF time cry-3Ms.IPF

     'The boy cries because/when he is bitten.'

    b) bakar -n-é   gul   gáde ob-n-é

       be.thristy-1PL-PF when/because river descende-1PL-PF

       'we went down the river because/when we were trursit.'

8.3.1.3 Purpose clauses

Saaho purpose clause is expressed by an adverb ʔillóh 'for the purpose' which follows a subjunctive verb as in the following examples.

41. [sagá mango ħán   báh-to   ʔílloh]   tée   ħay-si-n-é
    cow   lot milk   bring-3Fs.SUJN PURP   her   be.steate-CAUS-1PL-PF
    'we made the cow to be satiated in order to get more milk.'

42. [rob rádo   ʔílloh]   n-immihillilé
    rain fall-3Ms.SUJN PURP 1PL-pray.PF
     'we prayed in order to get rain.'

In addition, the purpose clause can be introduced without as in the following examples.

43. a) layé   n-aaʔábo   gadé   ob-n-é
        water 1PL-drink-SUJN river decende-1PL-PF
        'We get down to the river in order to drink water.'

     b) sukát   báhto   ayní saħ-n-é
        butter bringing container shake-1PL-PF
        'We shaked the Contner to get butter.'

8.3.2 Conditional Clause

Conditional clause is a type adverbial clause that expresses conditions under which other situations may or may not hold true in the message world (payne 2006:324). Therefore, in such sense the conditional situation of the contingency (*protasis*), true or not determines the true value of the consequence (*apodosis*).

Based on the structure and markers used in the protasis and apodosis, there are two types of conditional constructions which presume that the condition is in some way real, and hypothetical. However, with in these two types it is also possible to find distinct structures which reflect sort of degree of certainity/epistemic modality.

8.3.2.1 Real conditional

In Saaho the real conditional clause is expressed by Conditional marker enclitic ko attached to the verb in the perfective aspect verb - *m =ko* in the protasis and feature or imperfect verb in apodosis. The imperfective verb in the protasis can be glossed as

present and with a complex verb +Vh ekke 'be', it is past with potential. Consider the following examples.

44. a) [díboh   waanis-é-k]   y-iʔbidé
        lonely speak-3Ms.PF-CND   3Ms- be mad'

     'If he speaks alone, he is mad.'

    b) [támah=ak   t-é-k]   t-eleyyé
         like this= upon   2S-say.PF –CND   2S- desapaer.PF

       'If you told upon him like this, you are in danger.'

    c) [yo=k   t-éen-im =ko]   amiite   li-yó
        me=upon   2-say.PF-im=CND] come.INF have-1SG.FUT

        'If you tell me, I will come.'

    d) [oobbé-m= ko]   amiite   li-yó
        1SG.hear.PF–m=CND   come.INF have-1SG. FUT

       'If I hear I will come.'

    e) [rob   rad-é-m= kò]   y-amáat-o   má-ki
        rain fall-3Ms.PF-m=CND 3Ms-come-SUJN   NEG be.FUT

       'He will not come, if it rains.'

45. a) [tamah=ak   t-e-h   t-ekke-m=ko]
        like.this =upon   2SG-say.PF-h 2SG-become.PF-m= CND

        ku   y-ayláyy-o   kinni
        you 3Ms-vanish-SUJN   be.3SG.FUT

       'If you have told upon him like this, he will vanish you.'

The examples in (58) are general conditions, and they are expressed by perfective verb form with conditional marked by ko /k in the protasis while the apodosis simply uses the indicative in the appropriate tense perfective for past general conditions, present for present general conditions, and future for potential conditions. But in (59) express

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potential conditions where the protasis expresses some degree of uncertainty by means of a less-than-realis mood serial verb with –tekke 'be happen'.

8.3.2.2 Hypothetical Conditional Clause

Counterfactuals use the subjunctive mood in both clauses, and potential conditionals use some sort of future form, either the periphrastic imperfective future or the perfective. Counterfactual conditions would ordinarily seem to be the height of uncertainty is hypothetical; though it can be imagined, it is known not to be real. The counterfactual character of the condition is marked only by the particle *do* following the verb in the apodosis:

46. a) [aabbeé=do]   amiite   ɖeeɖé
        1SG.hear,IPF=CND come.INF would
      'If I hear, I would come'

    b) [rab-aá=do]   meʔè-m   akke`` ɖaaɖé
        die-3Ms.IPF=CND be.good-NMZ be.INF   would
         'If he die, it would have been good.'

    c) [usùk y-amiiteé=dò]   ka   gee   ɖaaɖé
        he   3Ms-come.IPF=CND   him meet.INF would
       'If he   comes, I would see him.'

47. a) [rab-é-h   y-akkeé=do]   meʔè-m   akke   ɖaaɖe
        die-3MS.PF-h   3Ms-be happen.IPF-=CND be,good-NMZ become would
        'if he were died, it would have been good.'

    b) rab-e-h   y-akkeé=do   umà-m   akke ɖaɖɖé
        die-3MS.PF-h   3Ms –be happen.IPF-=CND be bad-NMZ become would
         'If I were dead, it would have been bad.

8.3.3 Complement Clauses

A prototypical complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause (Noonan 2007). A main (or matrix) clause is a clause that has another clause (a complement clause) as one of its core arguments.

The subjunctive (see chapter 5.) can occur in clausal complements with verbs which indicate volitative, such as *ḍiiʔ- 'to be able', gur- 'to want', ħab- 'to let, to leave', esser- 'to ask', edda 'to be essential',* and *akkle 'think'* . Consider the following examples:

48. a) ko=l   haw-o   gur**-**á

       you=at   beat-1SG.SUJN   want-1SG.IPF

        'I want to beat you.'

     b) maddar**-í**   y**-**amaato   má gur**-**á

        chief-NOM   3Ms-come.SUJN   NEG-want-3Ms.IPF

        'The chief does not want to come.'

     c) kaa   gey**-**oó**-**na   ilaál-ay   y**-**an**-**ín

        you   find-SUJN-3PL   wait-PROG   3-AUX.PRES-PL

        'They are waiting to meet you.'

     d) dagūu layé   n**-**aaʔáb-o   gur**-**n**-**á

        some   water   1PL-drink-SUJN   want-1PL-IPF

         'We want some water to drink.'

In addition the subjunctive verb stem can be used as a complement of direct report which is expressed by verb *edhé 'to say'* to indicate what some one has said as in (49)

Examples

49. [amaát-o   ki-yó]   y-edhé

      come-1SG.SUJN   be-1SG.PRES   3Ms-say.PF

       'He said 'I will come.'

In Saaho, nominalized form wihich is verb –(m occur as completement clause with main verb as shown in glosees of the examples below.

50. a) anu beet-am gur-a

    I   eat-m   want

   'I like to eat'

  b) ísin [ħabada bet-aá-n-am] gur-á-n

    they   bread   eat-m   want-3.IPF-PL

    'They like to eat bread.'

  c) nanu adigrat=al   n-adi-im   gur-n-á

     we   Adigrat=to 1PL-go-m want-1PL-IPF

    'We like to go/going to adigrat.'

Similar expression also can be described by both subjunctive stem complemented to verb and gerund stem with slight difference in modality. Consider the following.

51. a) sigaara   ħáb-ò   gur-á

    cigarette   quit-1SG.SUJN want-1SG.IPF

     'I want to quit/leave cigar.'   Temporary

  b) sigaara   ħába-m   gur-á

    cigarette quite-m   want-1SG.IPF

     'I want the quitting of cigar.'   Permanent

The expressions in 51 (a) with subjunctive verb complement show the need or intention of is temporarily for short period whereas in (b) with gerund –m shows the need would be permanently.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter word order of different clauses and phrases have been discussed. The basic word order of simple sentence has subject object and verb (SOV) and between the subject and the verb different constituents clauses adjuncts can occur. The syntax of phrases: noun phrase has modifier head structure. The head noun takes articles, demomstratives and other modifiers occur optionally between the defitite articles and the head. These optional constituents are quantifiers, numerals, adjectives, possessives and relative clause. Post positional phrase has a noun or noun phrase complemented to the Postposition. The structure PP is NP- Postposition. In addition adverbial and complement clauses occur preceding the verb in the following chapter description of sentence types has been made. Declarative, interrogative, negative sentence types are focused.

Chapter Nine

Sentence types

In this chapter, I have tried to describe sentences types. Thus, based on the need to recognize their function, I use the formal classification of sentence types as declarative, interrogative and negative. Therefore, I have section, 9.1 declarative affirmative, section 9.2 introgative and section 9.3 negative of different sentence types. I each sections, there are also sub section with illustrative examples and discussion on the different sentence types.

9.1. The Declarative

9.1.1. The verbal declarative sentence

The verbal declarative sentence in Saaho can be affirmative or negative. The negative will be presented in 9.3. This section is devoted for affirmative declarative sentences. They are distinguished from other sentence types by the morpheme –**é** on the final vowel of the verbs of class I (see in chapter 5).

9.2 Interrogatives

In a question, after all, the speaker concedes lack of complete authority and asks the addressee to act as an authority and correct the deficit. In general, there are several ways of making interrogatives. Here we have focus on polar and non-polar interrogatives. In Saaho both the polar and non-polar (content) interrogatives have the same word order as affirmative but with a falling tone on the final syllable of the verb which distinguishes questions from affirmatives.

9.2.1 Polar Interrogatives

A polar interrogative are made for the addressee to seek a comment on the degree of truth of the question or proposition. With polar interrogatives there are two possibility of presenting the question. These are by changing the tone of the final syllable of the

affirmative sentence or by using additional marker hôo 'Q'. In Saaho three types of polar interrogatives are described below.

9.2.1.1 Informative

Informative polar interrogative is asked in order to have information about something. It is mainly questioning a respondent to get information about remark. The responses are *yoo 'yes'* for a positive response and *maale 'no'* a negative response. The following are examples of informative polar interrogatives.

1. bíre   yi báḍa   t - uble= **hôo**?
    yesterday   my   son(M)   2SG-.see. PF =Q
    'Did you see my son yesterday?'

2. áyih reedán-to=h   siraáħ-ay   t-anê ?
    the   chiefs-SGV=DAT   work-PROG   3FsAUX.PRES.Q
    'Are you working for the chief?

3. ku   báʔla=h   wílim   alás-s-ê ?
    your husband =DAT something cook-3Fs-PF.Q
    'Did you cook something for your husband?

4. to=l   t-ané   makiiná ábl-iy   t-ánê ?
    that=at 3Fs-exist.IPF car   see-PROG 2SG- be.PRES.Q
    'Do you see the car over there?'

As shown in the examples, the With polar interrogatives there can be additional marker hôo 'Q' which signals a confirmation.

9.2.1.2 Permissive

Permissive question is used to have permission for doing something. In Saaho permissive interrogative is expressed similar as of the informative but it has jussive verb form that show the intention of the speaker as in the examples in (5).

5. a) béera   amaat-ôo
        tomorrow   1SG.come-JUS. Q
        'May I come tomorrow?'

b) emeet-é-h   kōo=lih   digr-a=hôo

   1SG.come-PF-h   you=with play-1SG,JUS.=Q

   'May I come and play with you?'

c) t-adaw-óy   ɖíʔ-t-â

  3Fs-go-JUS can-3Fs-IPF.Q

   'Can she go?'

9.2.1.3 Dubitative

Dubitative polar introgative expresses the uncertainity of an action or event. They have same structure as affirmative expression and but eith question particle on the final.

6.   y-amaát-o   lé   akkalê

     3Ms-come-SUJN have.3SG.FUT think.INF.Q

    'He is about to come, realy?'

7.   y-amaát-o   kinní   akkalê

    3Ms-come-SUJN be.3SG.PRES   think.INF.Q

     'Will he really come?

8.   gáħ-to   kínam   akkalê

    return-3Fs-SUJN be-NOMZ think.IPF.Q

    'Will she really return back ?

9.   beetéh   akkalê

    eat-3Ms.PF-h 1SG.think.3PF.Q

    'Has he really eaten?

9.2.2 Non-polar Interrogatives

The non polar interrogatives are made with the content interrogatives words and are used to ask for new information rather than ascertaining the already given information. Most interrogative words are formed from bound root aa/ay 'what/the' and obligatory occur with temporal or locative enclitics or words (see Section 4.4). The form that occur freely is *íyya / iyyí who ACC /who NOM'*. The syntactic structure of interrogatives has the same pattern as their equivalent declarative sentences. The the position of interrogative word is in-situ as the

information /content asked. The only difference is the tone on the final vowel which is falling in the interrogative unlike the declarative counterpart as in (10).

10. a) áyim beét-ak   y-anê

    what eat- PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES.Q

   'What is he eating?'

b) ḥabada beét-ak   y-ané

   bread   eat- PROG 3Ms-**AUX.PRES.Q**

   'He is eating bread.'

Below, we have described the structure of non polar interrogative in Saaho. When we characterize them we adopt the following terminology from Sadock and Zwicky (1985:184 and as indicated in Hirut (2002). They are: personal (who), impersonal (what), pro-adverbial(when, where, how), pronumeral (how many/much) and pro-verbal (to do what) .

9.2.2.1 Personal Interrogative 'who'

The personal interrogatives are *iyyá 'who–F' , íyya 'who.ACC.M'* and *iyyi 'who.NOM'*. The personal interrogatives inflect for case as in personal pronouns or nouns. They mark the nominative with *–í* by substituting the final vowel *a* and suppresses the high tone of the penultimate syllable in the accusative counterpart. The following are examples.

11. a) tay figgan iyy-í   y-igdilê ?

     this cup   who-NOM 3Ms-PF break

     'Who broke this cup? '

   b) tay ʔáre   iyy-í   ab-ê ?

     this house who-NOM build-3Ms.PF.Q

     'Who built this house?'

   c) tâ=ah   iyy-í =h   amiít-iy   y-anê '

     here-to who-NOM=to come.PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES.Q

     'Who is coming here?

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d) reedan-tí   y-ede-é-m   iyy-í   ko=k   y-eê

chief –SGV.NOM 3Ms-go.PF-m who-NOM you=upon 3.Ms-Say.PF.Q

'Who told you that the chief had left?'

9.2.2.2 Impersonal interrogatives 'what/which'

Impersonal interrogatives can be expressed with *áa-im 'what' or 'which'*.

12. a) áyim áb-ak   t-anê

what do-PROG 2SG- be.PRES.Q

'What are you doing?'

b) áyim áb-ak) y-anê

what do-PROG 3MsAUX.PRES.Q

'What is he doing?'

Pro-adverbial interrogatives

9.2.2.3.1 Place adverbial 'where'

Interrogative words like *al or aa elle 'where'* , *aa ulal 'which direction'* and *aa irke 'which place'* are used to ask for location. In 13 (a-e) are some examples of pro adverbial interrogatives for location.

13. a) ku   ḍinti adgoyti al y-anê

your sleeping-GEN hut where 3MsAUX.PRES.Q

'Where is your sleeping-hut.'

b)   al   t-ibbiḍê

where 2SG-catch.PF.Q

'Where did you catch it?'

f)   folo al t-anè ?

food where 3MsAUX.PRES.Q

'Where is the foodt?

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d. âah adî-iy y-anê

    which-to go-PROG 3Ms-PRES.Q

    'Where is he going?'

e) aa-irkêe=ko   amîit-iy   y-anê

    which-place=from come-PROG 3MsAUX.PRES.Q

    'Where is he coming from?'

9.2.2.3.2 Time adverbial interrogative 'when'

In Saaho *anda 'when'* is used as interrogative word for time referece. In addition *aagul 'what time' aa waqde 'which time'* etc can be used. The combination of *anda 'extent'* and *fan ;point/centre'* is used for durational of time *'how long'*. In the following examples are questions of specific and durational time references.

14. a) andá amîit-iy   t-anê

    when come-PROG 2SG-PRES.Q

    'When are you coming?'

b) anda   t-ibbiḍè

    when 2SG-catch.PF.Q

    'When did you catch it?'

15. a) andá fán=ah sug-tê

    when-middle=DAT wait-2SG-PF.Q

    'How long did you stay?'

b) andá fán=ah   síg-ay   t-anê

    when middle=DAT settle-PROG 2SGAUX.PRES.Q

    'Until when are you staying?'

9.2.2.3.3 Reason Adverbial interrogative 'why'

16. a) awk-í   áym=ih dêer-ay   y-anê ?

    boy-NOM what=DAT scream-PROG 3MSAUX.PRES.Q

    'Why is the child screaming?

b) áym=ih   wêeʔ=ay t-anê

    what=DAT cry-PROG 2SGAUX.PRES.Q

    'Why are you crying?' (for what reason)

9.2.2.3.4   Purpose Adverbial interrogative 'why for'

17. a) abúr=uh   áyim   áb –t-o   t-edeê

     village=DAT what   do-2SG-SUJN 2SG-go.PF.Q

     'Why did you go to the village? (for what purpose)

   b) tay ḍa-í áyim=ih y-akké tíya kinnî ?

    this stone-NOM what=INST 3Ms-be.IPF one-(M) be.Q

     'What is the stone for?

   c) tay maʔḍetìh ayìm akàh abày tanè ?

    this sickle =INST what with.it do-PROG 2SG-be PRES.Q

    'What are you using the machete for? (Instrument)

9.2.2.3.5   Manner + circumstantial Interrogative

18. a) ăa   ʔíll=eh   ab-tê

    what way=DAT do-2SG-PF.Q

    'How do you do it?

  b) aa-iná=h   is-s-é=h   t-ibbiḍê

    what-be.=DAT make-2SG-PF-CNV 2SG-catch-PF.Q

    'How did you catch it?'

9.2.2.4 Elliptic/ Alternative interrogative phrases

19. a) ay-t́iya   ak   t-ibbiḍê

    what-one M PROCL 2SG-catch.PF.Q

   'Which one did you catch?'

  b) lammay-tâa=ko   ay tíya   ak   gur-t-â

    two –GEN one=from which one from.them want-2SG-IPF.Q

    'Which of the two do you want?'

9.2.2.4   Pro-numeral interrogatives 'how much/many'

Quantificational question referes to content question word for 'how much or how many'. There are two forms   is formed from the particle aa 'what' and the content word *ídda* or idda ell form a compound *ídda ay* ' how much' and for count nouns *ay idda* and *le* which form *ay iddo le* 'how many'

20. a) ayiddolé   saʔá-yto   li-tô?

How many cattle-SGV have-2 SG.Q

'How many cows do you have?'

b) toy mankiiná ayiddolé   gommáy-to li-tô

that car   how many tire<u>s</u>-SGV   have-3Fs.Q

'How many tires does that car has?'

c) saʔa=ko   aydda   li-tô

cattle-from how mach have-2SG.Q

'How much cattle do you have?' Lit: from cattle how much do you have?'

9.2.2.5 Non-verbal interrogations

21. a) iyy-í   owwâ

who-NOM 1SG.say- JUSV.Q ?

'who are you?' Lit: who may I say?

b) iyyá   oww-â?

Who.F say –JUSV.Q?

'Who are you?'

9.3 Negative clauses

In this Section, I try to describe the way negation is expressed in Saaho. Negation is a means of expressing the contradiction of some or all of a sentence's meaning. Dryer (2007) points out that, all languages make use of an overt marker for negation. And no language has been documented that express negation by changing the word order of constituents or intonation. There are different means in which negation is expressed in different languages. Payne (1997) recognizes four typologically distinct ways of marking negation. These are achieved by using negative verbs (higher negative verbs or auxiliary verbs), negative particles, morphological negation and negative nouns.

In Saaho, negation of an affirmative construction can be expressed in three different ways. These are: by marking the verb by the standard negation particle, a proclitic, *ma-'not'*, which is procliticized to perfective, imperfective and imperative verbs. The other

is using a negative auxiliary or negative verb *way 'lack'* which is attached to verbs like in jussive or infinitive and the third form is kind of suffix or enclitic *=kkah* and *=inniħa* which are used with the main verb in clause chaining and in some kinds of adverbial subordination. Below, I describe the negation costruction of declarative and non declarative main clauses. In addition, I have described how negation is expressed in periphrastic manner using verbs in compound auxiliary construction. Moreover, I have shown other constructions which consist of two or more verbal forms that are used as converbs.

9.3.1 Negative Declaratives

In Saaho, the word order of an affirmative clause and a negative clause are the same. When a declarative clause is negated it is only indicated on the verb by the standard negation particle *ma=* 'NEG' which is encliticized to the verb. The negative particle *ma-* is used to mark negation on perfective, imperfective and imperative clauses. Depending on the verbal category the negative particle, realizes in different forms of orders inflections which indicate TAM and agreement. Thus, when used with imperfective verbs, it does not affect the verbal paradigm but it shows some alternation of *ma* which assimilates to the following vowel as in (see chapter 6)or alternates between *ma-* and *mi-* in class I verbs as in (28 and 29).

22. a) anú tée báʔla   aaḓigé

    I   her husband 1SG.know.IPF

    'I know her husband.'

    b) anú tée báʔla   má-aḓigé (ma aaḓige)

    I   her husband NEG-1SG.know.IPF

    'I don't know her husband.'

23. a) úsuk yi iná-h   migáʔ y-aaḓigé

    he   my mother-GEN name   3Ms-know.IPF

    'He knows my mother's name.'

    b) úsuk yi iná-h   migáʕ mí-y-aaḓigé

    he   my mother-GEN name   NEG-3Ms-know.IPF

'He does not know my mother's name.'

24. a) awk-i   askúr bōod=od ḥaḍ-*á*

    boy-NOM trash hole=in   spill-3Ms.IPF

    'The boy spills the dirt into the hole.'

  b) awk-i   askur boód=od má-ḥaḍ-*á*

    boy-NOM trash   hole=in NEG-spill-3Ms.IPF

   'The boy does not spill the dirt into the hole.'

As in (22) *aaḍigé 'I know'* is a class I verb, when *má-* is cliticized to this verb to make it negative it becomes *mâaḍigé 'I don't know*.' But when the verb has person marker as (23) *y-aaḍigé* 'he knows.', the negation *má-* alternates with *mí-* and become *mí-y-aaḍigé 'He doesn't know.'* Similarly, in 24 (a) the imperfective verb *ḥaḍ-á 'he spills'* is a Class II verb. its negative in 30 (b) has *má-ḥaḍ-á 'he does not spill'*. Thus, when the negation proclitic *má-* is added to negate imperfective verbs, their form remain unchanged. Therefore, the negated verb has a form [*ma/mi-Person-base-TAM*] with Class I verbs and [*má-base- person-TAM-*] with Class II verbs, (see table 9.1).

when *ma-* is used with perfective verb, the verbal paradigm for both the class I and II verbs is neutralized with respect to TAM and become like the stative paradigm and the structure of the verb becomes [*má-Verbal – inni-Person.*].

25. a) úsuk tay   ḥaḍa=l kor-é

     he   this tree=at climb-3Ms.PF

     ' He climbed on this tree.'

  b) úsuk tay ḥaḍa=l má-kor-inná

     he   this tree=at NEG-climb-AUX. 3.SG.PF

    'He did not climb on this tree.'

26. a) ísi ʔaroora t-igdife

     she snake   3Fs- kill.PF

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'She killed a snake.'

b) ísi ʔaroora má-agdaf-inn-á

   she snake   NEG-kill-AUX- PF 3.SG.

'She did not kill a snake.'

As in (25) *kor-é 'he climbed.'* is class II verb in the perfective form when the negation má- is added the form becomes *má-kor-inn-á 'He did not climb.'* Similarly, in (26) t-igdifé 'She killed.' a class I verb form negative by adding má- has become as *mâ-agdaf-inn-á 'She did not kill.' ma* does not occur with the perfective stem of Class I verbs. The verb form has to undergo an ablaunt process as in *-agdaf–* from perfective form *-igdif -. where the initial and medial vowels changed into *a* like the base form for jussive and subjunctive verb forms.

Person	Imperfective Negative Verb		Perfective Negative Verb	
	agriʔe 'cut-IPF'	gur-NEG-want-IPF	Igriʔe 'NEG-cut-inn-AGR'	gur-'NEG-want-inn-AGR'
1st SG	má-agriʔ-e	má-gur-a	mâ-graʔ-inni-yó	mâ-gur-inni-yó
1st PL	má-n-agriʔ-e	má-gur-n-a	mâ-graʔ-inni-nó	mâ-gur-inni-nó
2nd SG	má-t-agriʔ-e	má-gur-t-a	mâ-graʔ-inni-tó	mâ-gur-inni-tó
2nd PL	má-t-agriʔ-i-n	má-gur-t-a-n	mâ-graʔ-inni-t-ín	mâ-gur-inni-t-ín
3rd Ms	mi-y-agriʔ-e	má-gur-a	mâ-graʔ-inn-á	mâ-gur-inn-á
3rd Fs	má-t-agriʔ-e	má-gur-t-a	mâ-graʔ-inn-á	mâ-gur-inn-á
3rd PL	mi-y-agriʔ-i-n	má-gur-a-n	mâ-graʔ-inn-ón	mâ-gur-inn-ón

Table 9.1: Class I and II Verbs Negation Pardigm

The issue of *–in* and *-inn* of the negative formatives is contravercial since different scholars have different claims about its status. According to Reinisch (1878:434), the negative past are formed by an old grammaticalized auxiliary –inna. Following this, different suggestions have been forwarded. Thus, Parker & Hayward (1985:279) and Bliese (1986) have proposed the old auxiliary for Afar could be the reduced form of the verb *hinna 'to lack'*. Similarly, Tosco (2000:96) give *hinna "be not, not equal"* in Afar and *"have not, lack"* for Saaho. But this claim has been questioned by Banti (2010) who claimed that it is the Old Egyptian preteritial perfect *sgm.nf* . He added that *inna* does

not seem to exist in present-day Saho-'Afar. He suggests that the past tense could be seen in the present languages as having a stem extension of –n- to the stative verb paradigm (Banti 2001:10).

In this respect, the data from Southern Saaho, which does not occur in the previous works, seem to support the claims of Reinisch (1878), and would help the others to reconsider the origin of *inn* of the negative perfective. In my field data of Saaho, I have come up with words like *minn- 'NEG-say.PF'* and *min 'NEG-say.IPV'* and *ma-ayyi- 'not say ok/refuse'*. These are formed with the negative particle ma- the shortened verb form of *eɖhe 'to say'* where it negates perfective: *-e 'he say. PF'* and *ayyi 'to say ok'* respectively. From the data the auxiliary forms *inni- with perfective negative verb* and *in* with imperative verb (see 9.3.2) have separate conjugational paradigm. The two forms do not seem as form with an *n* extension for *in*. They can be considered as functional word like other auxiliary forms which have perfective, non perfective and present stative aspect respectively. The forms are used in present day saaho in reporting verbs and compound verb forms with V-say'.

 The paradigm affirmative and negative perfective stems for the verb *e 'to say'* is given below.

Persoon	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative

	e 'say-PF'	ma-inni- 'NEG-say.PF'	tib-e 'queit-say.PF'	tib-ma-inni- 'queit-NEG-say.PF'
1st SG	e	ma-inni-yo/minniyo	tib-e	tib-minniyo
1st PL	n-e	ma-inni-no/minno	tib-ne	tib-minnino
2nd SG	t-e	ma-inni-to/minnito	tib-te	tib-minnto
2nd PL	t-e-n	ma-inni-tin/minnitin	tib-ten	tib-minntin
3rd Ms	y-e	ma-inni-a/minna	tib-ye	tib-minna
3rd Fs	t-e	ma-inni-a/minna	tib-te	tib-minna
3rd PL	y-e-n	ma-inni-on/minnon	tib-yen	tib-minnon

Table 9.2: Negation paradigm of Perfective Verb –e 'to say' ayye 'say yes'

As shown above, the verb *e 'say'* has inflectional paradigm for person. In the negative paradigm has *inn-* has the form NEG- inn-AGR which means it is formed with the negative prefix *ma-* and *–inn-+ Agr* in stative verb conjugation. Thus, it seems that *inni* the stative form with an expression of past state for the the perfective verb *e 'say'* .

Consider the example in 27 (a) and (b) the verb –e 'to say.PF' is used in sentence as reporting verb and show affirmative and negative forms respectively.

1.a) lubák ak   y-é   waága

    lion   upon 3Ms-say.PF monkey

    'The lion told the monkey,'

  b) waága=k   lubák ak   ma-ínni-á >> [minna]

    monkey =upon lion   onto NEG.say-3SG

     'The lion did not tell the monkey.'

In addition, the negation proclitic *má-=* can be used with auxiliary verbs which express the TAM in compound verb auxiliary constructions.

Subject	an-e	Negative	in-e	Negative

Pronoun		'be/exist -IPF'		'be/exist-PF'	
1st	Sg	an-e	má-ane	in-e	má-nay-yó
Person	Pl	n-an-e	má-n-an-e	n-in-e	má-nay-nó
2nd	Sg	t-an-e	má-t-an-e	t-in-e	má-nay-tó
Person	Pl	t-an-in	má-t-an-in	t-in-in	má-nay-t-ín
3rd	Ms	y-an-e	mí-y-an-e	y-in-e	má-nay—á
Person	Fs	t-an-e	má-t-an-e	t-in-e	má-nay-á
	PL	y-an-in	mí-y-an-in	y-in-in	má-nay-in

Table 9.3: Negation paradigm Existential verb

2. a) úsuk   maʔdo faak-àk   y-ané.

   he   door   open-PROG 3Ms-AUX.PRES

   'He is opening the door.'

   b) úsuk   maʔdo faak-àk   mi- y-ané.

   he   door   open-PROG NEG-3Ms-AUX.PRES

    'He is not opening the door.'

3. a) ísi   kaado t-emeete-h   t-ane

   she now   3Fs-come.PF-h 3Fs-AUX.PRES

   'She has come just now.'

   b) ísi   kaddih   t-emeete-h   ma- t-ane

   she now   3Fs-come.PF-h NEG-3Fs-AUX.PRES

   'She has not come yet.'

4.   a) ísi   adi-ìk   t-ine

   she walk-PROG 3Fs- AUX .PAST

   'She was waking.'

   b) ísi adî-ik   ma - ina- a >> [manaa]

   she walk-PROG NEG-be-3SG.AUX.PAST

   'She was not walking.'

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5. a) úsuk booɖifà   y-emeet-e-h   y-ine

       he   last year   3Ms-come.PF-h 3SG- AUX.PAST

       'He had come last year.'

     b) úsuk booɖifà   y-emeet-e-h   ma - ina- a   >> [manaa]/

       he   last year   3Ms-come.PF-h NEG-3SG- AUX.PAST

     'He did not come last year.'?

The examples in (28), and (29) are present progressive and presnt perfect respectively. The affirmative in (a 's) have main verbs in progrsessive and perfect forms with Vk and Vh followed by an auxiliary existential verb. They are negated in 28 and 29 (b's) in the same order where the main verb is invariable and the negation *ma-* is added to the auxiliary existential verb *ane 'exist-/be pres'*. This existential verb is class I and its negation is similar to the paradigm described for the imperfective of class I verb.

 In addition to the examples in (30 and 31)   are past progressive and past perfect respectively. the sentences in (a's) are affirmative, where their negative counterparts are expressed in the same order in the (b's) with the negative proclitic *ma-* attached to the auxiliary existential verb *ine 'exist past'*. The negated form of this auxiliary is the same as the perfective paradigm of Class I verbs.

The auxiliary verbs takes the negative particle má=   the whole proposition becomes negative. This feature distinguishes the main verb auxiliary construction from other similar structures with chain of verbs and converb like constructions in the sub-section (9.3.4).

In addition, the auxiliary verbs ki 'be' and le 'has' can be negated by the proclitic ma= as shown in table 9.4 below. occur as compound auxiliary in future and other modal expressions.

Subject Pronoun		Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	ki-yó	má-ki-yó	li-yo	má-li-yó
	PL	ki-nó	má-ki-nó	li-no	má-li-nó
2nd Person	SG	ki-tó	má-ki-to	li-to	má-li-tó
	PL	ki-tín	má-ki-tín	li-tin	má-li-tín
3rd Person	SG	kinní	má-kí	le	má-lé
	PL	kin-ón	má-kin-ón	lin-on	má-lin-ón

Table 9.4: Negative Auxiliary kinni and le

6. a) bêeħa   y-ábl-o   kinní

     after tomorrow 3Ms-see-SUJN be.FUT

     'He will see it the day after tomorrw.'

    b) bêeħa   y-ábl-o   má-kí

      after tomorrow 3Ms-see-SUJN NEG-be.FUT

      'He will not see it the day after tomorrow.'

7. a) bêera   amīite   lé

     tomorrow come.INF have.3.SG.FUT

     'He will come tomorrow.'

    b) bêera   amīite   má-lé

     tomorrow come.INF NEG-have.3.SG.FUT

     'He will come tomorrow.'

The examples in (32), and (33) are future tenses. The Expression in 32 (a) has the subjunctive form *y-áblo 'he to see'* followed by the future auxiliaries *kinni 'be'* and 33 (a) has an Infinitive verb *amīite 'to come'* followed by the future auxiliaries *le 'has/have'*. Their negative counterparts are given in 32 (b) and 33 (b) in which they occur with the main verbs which remain unchanced and the negation proclitic *ma-* is added to the auxiliaries, as *má-kí 'NEG-be-FUT'* and *má-lé 'NEG –have-FUT'* respectivelly.

9.3.2 Negation in Imperative Construction

In Saaho, the negation marking system for the indicative/ perfective verbs and imperative verbs sentence is the same. The negation proclitic *ma-* occurs with some changes on the verb form in both sentence types,. The difference is only that the verbal extension *–in-* which is not geminated in imperative and geminated *–inn-* occurs in perfective verbs.

		Imperative	Negative Imperative
Class I Verb	2nd S	uħúy 'give'	má-aħay-ín
	2nd PL	uħúw-a	má-aħay-ín-a
Class II Verb	2nd S	bēt 'eat'	má-bēet-ín
	2nd PL	bêet-a	má-bēet-ín-a
Class IV	2nd S	tib-éy ' be quite'	tib- m-ín
	2nd PL	tib-éya	tib- m-ín-a

Table 9.5: **Negative Imperative**

The following are example of affirmative and negative imperative sentences of class I, class II and class IV verbs.

8. a) laye yo=h uħúy

    water me=DAT give.2SG.IPV

    '(you.SG) Give me water!''

   b) laye yo=h   má-aħay-ín

    water me=DAT NEG-give.AUX. 2SG.IPV

    '(You.SG)Don't give me water!'

9. a) toy lafá ɖuh

    that bone suck.2SG.IPV

     '(Ypo.SG) Suck that bone!'

   b) toy   lafá   má-ɖuħ-ín

    that   bone NEG-suck.AUX.2SG.IPV

    '(you SG) Don't suck that bone.'

10. a) goylís

    sing.2SG.IPV

    'sing!'

  b) má-goylis-ín,

    NEG-sing-AUX-2SG.IPV

     'Don't sing!'

11. a) tib-éy

    quite say.2SG.IPV

     'be quite!'

  b) tib   má-ín [tib mín]

    quite NEG-.AUX.IPV.2SG

    'Don't be quite!'

As shown in (34-37), these in (a's) are imperatives with 2nd singular subject and they are negated in the same order in the (b's) by the proclitic *ma-* and the verb form has an auxiliary extension *–in 'PRES-AUX'*. As indicated in 37 (a and b), the imperative form of Class I verbs *uħúy 'give'* has undergone a change on the initial and medial vowel   to *a* and become *-aħay-* as in *má-aħay-ín 'don't give'*.

Similarly, as shown in (38-41) the imperatives with 2nd plural subject is negated the same way, the only difference is the final vowel –a which occurs following the auxiliary *-ín* as in (41) tib *má- ín -a 'you(PL) do't be quite'*.

  12. a) dagú iláw yo=h uħuw-a

     some grain me=DAT give.IPV-2PL

     'give some grain for me.'

   b) dagú iláw yoh ma-aħay-ín-a

    some grain me=DAT NEG-give-AUX.IPV -2PL

     'Don't give some grain for me.'

13. a) toy lafá ɖúh-a

    that bone suck.IPV -2PL

    'Suck that bone!'

   b) toy lafá má-ɖuħ-ín-a

    that bone NEG-suck-AUX.IPV -2PL

    'Don't suck that bone.'

14. a) goylís-a

    sing.IPV -2PL

    'You(PL) sing!"

   b) má - goylis-**ín**-a

    NEG-sing-AUX.IPV -2PL

    'You (PL) Don't sing!'

15. a) tib- éy-a

    quite- say.IPV -2PL

    'You (PL) be quite!'

   b) tib - má-ín-a   [tibmína]

    quite - NEG-say.AUX.IPV -2PL

    'You (PL) Don't be quite!'

9.3.3 The Negative Optative

In Saaho, there is another strategy of negation with expressions that use jussive stem. The stem changes its form into infinitive with *e* and add an inherently negative verbs *way 'lack'*. Below are examples to illustrate the jussive verb in the affirmative and negative forms of class I, and II verbs.

Subject	Class I	Negation	Class II	Negation

1st	SG	adaw-óy	adiye way-óy	ħab-óy	ħabe -way-óy
	PL	n-adaw-óy	adiye way-n-óy	ħab-n-óy	ħabe -way-n-óy
3rd	Ms	y-adaw-óy	adiye way-óy	ħab-óy	ħabe -way-óy
	Fs	t-adaw-óy	adiye way-t-óy	ħab-t-óy	ħabe -way-t-óy
	PL	y-adaw-oo-n-áy	adiye way-oo-n-ay	hab-oo-n-áy	ħabe -way-oo-n-áy

Table 9.6: **Negative Jussive Class I and Class II verb Stems**

As shown in table 9.6, the negated verb changes its form into non finite infinitive stem and the negative verb way bears the mood and agreement inflections of the main verb.

In class IV, when jussive stem is negated the part which has inflections is changed to infinitive stem - *iyye 'to say'* or *ise –to make/cause'* and a negative verb *way 'lack'* is added with mood and agreement inflections. Below in table (9.5) compound verb with tib 'be silent' and jussive form of verb –e 'to say' and is- 'to make or cause' occur in affirmative and negative forms.

Subject		Affirmative jussive	Negative jussive	Affirmative jussive	Negative jussive
1st	SG	tib -oww–áy	tib– iyye– way-óy	tib -is–óy	tib-ise-way-óy
	PL	tib –n–oww–áy	tib– iyye–way-n-óy	tib –is–n-óy	tib–ise–way-n-óy
3rd	Ms	tib –y–oww-áy	tib– iyye– way-óy	tib – is–óy	tib–ise–way-óy
	Fs	tib -t–oww–áy	tib– iyye–way-t-óy	tib - is–t-óy	tib–ise–way-t-óy
	PL	tib -y–oo-n-áy	tib– iyye– way-oo-n-áy	tib -is–oo-n-áy	tib-ise-way-oo-n-áy

Table 9.4: **Negative jussive Class IV**

This negative verb is used to express negate consultative or wishes using the expressed by jussive stem. When an affirmative construction is negated with the auxiliary *way*, the form of the main verb changes its form to an invariable stem of infinitive with *–e* and the negative auxiliary verb *way* follows the inflections, TAM and agreement, of the main verb.

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Thus, the form of the negative auxiliary that occurs in defferent forms depending on the verb in the affirmative construction. For example, the consultative expression in 47 (a) has jussive stem *adawoy 'shall I go'* and its negation is expressed in 47(b) which has the infinitive form *adiye 'to go'* followed by the negative auxiliary *wayoy,* the jussive form of *way 'to lack'*.

47. a) adaw-óy

    1SG. go-JUSS

    'Let me go.'

  b) adiye   way-óy

    go.INF   lack-1SG.JUSS

     'Let me not go.'

48. a) goylis-n-óy

    sing-1PL-JUSS

    'Let us sing! '

  b) goylise way-n-óy

    sing.INF lack-1PL-JUSS

     'Let us not sing!'

9.3.4 Negative relative clause

Similarly, the negative verb *way 'lack'* is used in relative clauses where the main verb in the affirmative changes to an invariable form of the infinitive with *-e* and the TAM and agreement markers occur with the negative verb. The following are examples.

49. a) baráka =d ed   say-é   kabiʔ-tí

    forest =in   in it enter-3Ms.PF REL leopards-SGV.NOM

     'the leopard which eneted into the forest.'

  b) baráka =d ed   saye   way-é   kabiʔtí

    forest =in   in it enter.INF lack-3Ms.PF REL leopards-SGV.NOM

    'the leopard which did not eneter into the forest.'

 50. a) kúmal   t-emeeté   awká

yesterday 3Fs-come.PF REL girl

'the girl who came yesterday.'

b) kúmal   amiite   way-t-é   awká

yesterday come.INF lack-3Fs-PF REL girl

'the girl who did not come yesterday.'

51. a) ayʔ-í   ħan beetá-tíya

kid-NOM milk eat-3Ms.IPF- one.who

'the kid which drinks milk.'

b) ayʔ-í   ħan beete wa-á-tíya

kid-NOM milk eat.INF lack-3Ms.IPF one.who

'The kid which does not drink milk.'

As shown in (49-51) the examples in a's are affirmative relative clauses and these in b's are the negative relative counterparts. In the neative relative clause, the negative verb *way- lack* occr with the TAM and agreement inflections following the main verb after it changes its form into an infinitive with e.

9.3.5 Negative Converb ikkah 'having not/without having'

Two or more verbs can be conjoined with the verb perfective -h and another verb follow as subourdinte or as same as converbilal expressions. Such construction can be negated by the prevative particles or enclitic =*íkkah and =inníħa*. These two forms have similar function in the language. However, =íkkah is more preferred and is widly used in communication than =inniħa in Irob community. These particles are added to verb which changes to an infinitive with e. They occur as finite form without any affix and have the same subject as the main verb.

52. a) ísin beet-ee-n-íh y-emeet-in

they eat-3.PF-PL-h 3-come.PF.PL

'Having eaten they came.'

b) ísin beeté-kkah   y-emeet-in

  he   eat.INF-NEG 3-come.PF.PL

  'Having not eaten they came.' 'they came without eating.'

c) ísin beet-inníhah   y-emeet-in

  they eat.INF-NEG 3-come.PF.PL

  'Having not eaten they came.'

As illustrated in 52 (a), the participial form *beet-ee-n-ih 'having eaten'* occur in the dependent clause with the main verb *y-emeet-in 'they came'*. The dependent clause is negated by the enclitic *ikkah 'not'* as in 52 (b) *beeté –kkah 'having not eaten'*. The form with the negative particle has an infinitive stem and a high pitch accent on the final stem vowel. Thus, the inclitic *-kkah* is used to negate a dependent clause in complex constructions . Similarly, as in 52 (c) *beete- inníħa 'having not eaten/ without eating'* can be used with no meaning difference. In the northern Saaho, these forms are used with relative clause to make negated verb and the particle – *inníħa* can occur with agreement suffix for different persons, (Banti 2010). However in the Southern Saaho, the form is invariable and occurs to negate the dependent clause only when the subject is the same as one for main clause.

Chapter Summary

The focus of the chapter is to describe sentences types, mainly interrogative and negative. Thus, both polar and non-polar interrogatives has been described. In Saaho, informative, permissive and dubitative polar introgatives have been discussed with examples. The non polar interrogatives in Saaho is made with the content introgatives words and are used to ask for new information rather than ascertaining the already given information. Most introgative words are formed from bound root aa/ay 'what/the' and obligatory occur with temporal or locative enclitics or words. The syntactic structure of introgatives has the same pattern as their equivalent declarative sentences.

In Saaho, negation of an affirmative construction can be expressed in three different ways. These are: by marking the verb by the standard negation particle, a proclitic, *ma-*

'not', which is procliticized to perfective, imperfective and imperative verbs. The other is using a negative auxiliary or negative verb *way 'lack'* which is attached to verbs like in jussive, infinitive, relative clause and the third form is kind of suffix or enclitic *=kkah* and a relative native converb *=inniħa* which are used with the main verb in clause chaining and in some kinds of adverbial subordination.

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Apendex

Text 1: lubak kee waʔagà 'lion and monkey'

1. *basó=h   lubák kee waʔága inki=d   már-áy   t-iné   y-á-n.*

   prior=DAT lion and monkey one=in live-IPF 3F-AUX.PF   3-say.IPF-PL

   'In the early times a lion and a monkey use to live together . They say

2. *lelléʔ =ko tíya=h   amay lubák waʔága deeʔé=h   kaa far-é.*

   day =ABL one=DAT   the lion.   monkey call-3Ms.PF=CONJ him send-3Ms.PF

   'one day upon a time the lion called the monkey and he gave him a message'

3. *"adúw-ay   yi ʔiyal-í   ak   y-ané-m*

   Go-IPV.2-CNV my kid-GEN   APL 3-exist.PRES-Rel

   ubúl-ay   gáħ"   ak =y-á

   look-IPV2.CNV return-IPV.2 upon=Ms-say.IPF

   'Go and see the situation of my kids and come back" he says to him'

4. *lubák   gaħħ-a   y-á=h "y-in-îi-n-im yo=k m=ín*

   the lion get-back-IPV but 3Ms-say.IPF=CONJ 3-exist-PAST-Rel me=ABL

NEG-say.IMP

5. *rab-ee-n=íh y-ekk-îi-n-im ko lé yo=k m-ín" ak y-á*

die-Pf-3PL=CONJ3.be.PF-PL-Rel COND me=ABL NEG-say.IMP PROCL

=3Ms.say.IPF

'the lion says that when you get back "don't tel me whether they are alive or dead." '

6. *toy waʔága meʔé y-a=h lubák ʔiyále y-ábl-o y-adiy-é*

that monkey good 3Ms-say.IPF=CONJ the lion GEN kids 3Ms-see-SUJN 3Ms-IPF.go

'the monke by saying ok, he goes to see the lion's kids'

7. *amay waʔág māad-á=h gaħ-á*

the monkey reach-3Ms.IPF=CONJ return-3Ms.IPF

'the monkey has returned having reached there '

8. *gaħ-á=gul ḍegħá=k abḍá ak y-allēede- éh y-amiit-é*

return-3Ms.IPF=CONJ head-ABL half APL 3Ms-IMPV. Shave=CONJ 3Ms-IPF.come

'when he gets back, he arrives with half part of his head shaved.'

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9. *lubák esser-á " wáre yo=h uħuy –ĕe, yi ʔiyal-í áy-m=ik y-anê?" ak y-á*

 lion ask-3Ms.IPF "information me=for give.IMP- -- my kids-GEN what=ABL 3.Ms-exist.PRES

'the lion asks "give me information about my kids"'

10. *waʔág tíb ak y-á*

monkey queite PROCL=3Ms.say.IPF

'the monkey kept quete to him'

11. *amay lubák "yi ʔiayl-í rab-éh kinni=hôo ?" y-á=h esser-á*

the lion "my kids-NOM die-3Ms.PF=CONJ be.PRES=Q" 3Ms.IMPV.say=CONJ ask.3Ms.IPF

'the asks "are my kids dead?" '

12. *"rab-êe=do ḍegħá lifit-ê ?" y-á-h lifit-é bágo kaa y-ay-bulluy-é*

Die-3Ms. PF=CND head comb-MID-1S.PF-Q" 3Ms.say.IPF-h comb-MID-3Ms.PF REL part him 3Ms-IPF-CAUS-see

'By saying "If they had been died, how would I comb my head?" and he shows the side of his head with hair.'

13. *amay lubák "íbol y-an-ii-n-î?" y-á-h esser=á*

the lion "so-what! 3-exist-PRES-PL-Q? 3Ms.say-IPF-h ask-3Ms.IPF

'the lion asks by sayin that "So that, they are alive?"'

14. *amay waʔág "y-an-ii-ní=do elleedey-é-h an-ê?"*

the monkey "3Ms-exis-PRES-PL-CND 1S. shave-PF-h 1S.exist-PRES

15. *y-á=h   leediyó   kaa   y-ay-bulluy-é*

   3Ms-say.IPF-h shaved.NOMZ him 3Ms.-CAUS- see. IPF.

'the monkey by saying that "if they are alive, how would I shave my head?" and he show him the shaved part.'

Text 2: yangúla ke wakkarí 'hyena and fox'

1. *basó=h yangúla ke wakkarí inkí=d már-ay t-iné*

Prior=DAT hyena and fox one=in live-IPF 3F-exist-PAST

'In the early times a hyna and fox were living together.'

16. *wili lelléʔ ko tíya=h   feló wagi-is-it-ôo-na   ifaar-é-n*

a certain day-ABL one=DAT food search-CAUS-MID-SUJN-3PL go away-3.PF-PL

'A certain day they went away to rearch food for themselves.'

17. *yangul-í   ínki=m   ge-é=kah   as-é*

   hyena-NOM one-NOMZ find-INF=NEG.CNV spen-the day-3Ms.PF

      'The hyena spent the day with out eating anything.'

18. *wakkarí idá gey-t-éh   ɖaggé=d   difey-t-é-h   bet-t-é*

   fox   sheep find-3Fs-PF-h compound=in sit-3Fs-PF-h   eat-3Fs-PF

'the fox having found a sheep, she ate it sitting at her compound.'

19. *toy tíya   yangúla=l gaħ-t-é*

   that one-F hyena=at   return-3Fs-PF

    'she returned to the hyena '

20. *yangul-í   "nagáa=d   as-s-ê"   ak   y-é*

   hyena-NOM   " good=in spend day-2S-PF" PROCL 3Ms-say.PF

      'the hyena said "how did you spend the day?" '

21. *" ákah as-é-m   má=yyó"   ak   y-é "   atuu" ak y-é*

"APL spend-1S.PF-NOMZ NEG-I-am" PROCL 3Ms-say.PF "you-Q?" PROCL=

      3Ms.say.PF

'The day I had was not good." He said and "what about you?" he asked her'

22. *amay tiyá "anú le ge-é-m má=yyó" ak t-é*

   the one-F "I and find-1S.PF-Rel NEG-I-am" PROCL=3Fs.say.PF

    'she said that " and I have found nothing,too." '

23. *"áyim búsa áf=ak li-tó biil-í áyim" ak y-é*

"what only mouth=upon have-2S-PRES blood-GEN what Q?" PROCL=3Ms.say.PF

' He said "What ! So, what is the blood on your mouth?" '

24. *amay wakkarí " yi baɖí ussuħut-té t-é-m=ko áf yo=k biil-á" ak t-é*

the fox "my son surprise-MID-3Fs.-PF-Rel=COND mouth me=ABL bleed-3Ms.IPF

PROCL=3Fs.say.PF

'she responded that "my friend, my mouth bleeds if something surprises me" '

Text 3: baaɖom marà 'Beings live in our place'

baaɖom   marà yaanàm   iyyà kinni?
land.GEN live   3.say.IPF.PL.NOMZ   who 3.be
'who are the the beings?' Lit: ' who are the things be called   beings of land.'

1. *basó-h meʔé   fugí akah   ab-é-m-ih   minaadamt-í   kaa   ʔawat-éh*

   Before be-good God for-him do-Ms-Pf-NOMZ human being-Nom him   praise-to

   y-anê-m   kee y-áblo   gur-é   y-án.

   3Ms-IPF-be-Nomz and 3Ms-see-Inf want-3Ms-Pf say.

'Early does human being wanted to praise God for what he did good for him.'

2. *inki lelléʔ ko tíya=h   malāakiyá ed far-é   y-án*

   One day from one-to Angeles   in send-3Ms-Pf say.

  'One upon a time he sent Angeles to --- they say.'

2. *amay malaakiyá lelléʔ ítre ħiyáw   géɖa=h   y-imm-iggid-ii-n-íh*

   The   Angeles   day   late Person-GEN guest-by 3-MID-resemble.PF-PL-NOMZ-by

   inki dík-il   y-emeet-ín   y-án.

    one house-at 3-PF-come-PL say.

'Late morning, the Angeles by resembling like a human guest came to a house   say.

3. *labha-ytí   kallaaħ-éh sug-é.*

Man-Nom trip-comp stay-3Ms-PF

The husband was in trip.

1. *Írro=ko   adóħ inki lab-tíya ke sáy lammáy sáʔà-lih ifaareen-íh   sug-én.*

Children-from three one male-one and female two cattle-with sent-Nz stay-3PL. PF.

'From the three children, one male and two females were sent out with cattle.'

2. *Írrôo-ko   dík-il   ass-é-m   kee iná   ákah sug-én   y-án.*

Children from home-at spend-PF-Nz and mother for ---stay-3PL.PF. say.

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'From the children who spend the day at home and the mother stayed for them say.'

3. *amay malaakiyá írrôo-ko ayíɖɖa   li-tô?   t-éh   tê asser-t-é yán.*

The Angeles children-from how many have-2fs.Q 3Fs-PF-say-Comp her ask-3Fs-PF say

'The Angeles asked her 'How many children do you have?" they say'

4. *amay tiyá   írrôo-ko   sáʔa-lih   ifaar-é   adóħ ak suʔus-s-é-h*

The one-f. children-from cattle-with   went out three ABL hid-3Fs-PF-COMP

5. *táham búsa ki-yó   li-yó-m ak teɖħé y-án.*

these only be-1s have.3- comp ABL 3Fs. PF say say.

The woman by hiding the three who were gone out with cattle, she said I have only these say.

10. *toy irr-íħ adóħ, toy moɖħó=l sēewit-een=íħ,*

That children of three, that word at be invisible-NOMZ= by,

11. *tamay lelléʔ ko sarrá=h barakí mára y-ekkiin-íħ raaʔ-é-n nok y-án.*

the day from back forest Gen live 3 be PL PF. comp remain 3PL. PF us to say 3.PL. IPF.

As the word uttered the three children became invisible being; from that day on ward they remained as a forest livings, they tell us.

12. *támam-ih sabbát=ah lĕe   mináadam baaɖó-m-mára ak t-é no=k y-án.*

This-NOMZ-GEN cause=by and be human beings field of live PROCL say us=upon they say.

Due to this fact, human beings name them field beings they tell us.

13. *toy máħ hiyáw mángiy má-naa, baaɖó ħēewíniy má-naa, labadá má-naa,*

that period, people be increase 3Ms imPF not exist PF. field/land be narrow 3Ms imPF not exist PF. epidemic not exist PF

14. *maħrás má-naa, sáynis má-naa, tíki má-naa, karbón má-naa;*

farming not existed, science not existed smoke not existed carbon not existed,

At the time there was no population, no scarcity of land, no epidemics, no farming, no science, no smoke and no carbon,

14.*mango garáb y-iné, mango rób y-iné, mango ħán y-iné, mango baská t-iné, nok y-án.*

Many forest 3Ms PF exist, much rain existed, much milk existed, much honey existed, us to 3 PL say imPF.

There was a lot of forest, rain, milk, and honey they tell us.

15.*nínne=h n-ablé gul lĕe, nod iggid-á.*

Us for 1PL imPF see as comp. , us in 3Ms imPF seem

As we see that it seems for us.

16.*áyyih baaḍó-m-mar-í, agāagán=al ákah raaʔēenĭi=kah*

(voc) forest beings forest at ABL remaine The as

gínnee ke ginn-í medé= lih ħuḍuumá=d y-isfir-iin-íh,

evil and evil gen property with forest at Iive.PF 3PL

The forest men, as they remain in the forest, they sheltered at forest with evil and evil's properties.

17. *bŏolal=ad as-eenít-ak, kôomam=ak la-l-laʔ-s-ít-ak meʔănn=ah mango múdda sug-én y-án.*

caves at sheltering, mountains at getting heat good by many generation stayed PL say.PL

they stayed many generations by spending the day at the caves and getting heat at the mountains.

18.*toy máħ, mináadam isí dik=il, baaḍó-m-mar-í isí baaḍó=l, tîtt=àd tillay-é=kkah, títta ʔasíb-ak*

that time, human beings their house at, forest lives their fores at, one one to not disturb for, one one respecting,

19.*máray y-inín y-án.*

Linving be PL say.

'then, man at his own house and forest beings in their forest without disturbing one to the other and respecting one another, they were living, say'

wáktee ko lák=al, mináadam kee úmbu=ka rôohe lém, am-méng-ik, baaḍó aħêew-ik, rób
season from leg at, human being and all of life have beings, getting many, land getting narrow, rain

20.*daggówak, adīinnánim=ih ḍimál, feló daggów-ak t-edĕem=ih sabbát=ah mináadam baaḍó=k*

getting small, going as number, food getting small 3Fs.PF go to reason to human beings land from

21.*garáb ak ugus-s-éh, iláw el t-asħāaláfo, baaḍó-m-marí, sefér kín ħuḍûum=ad girá t-ootoké y-án.*

forest ABL cleared COMP, grain on/at to plant, forest beings, shelter in been forest in fire 3Fs.PF reset say

'after a time, as population of human beings and all living things grow and rainfall decreased, and shortage of food appeared due to this human beings put fire on the forest which was the shelter for forest beings, to clear the forest and plant grain on, say

22. *warāarim-éh y-aném kín baaḍó-m-marí, mangîh tôo=h garáb lé baaḍó y-egēeʔedé gul, kúddo*

raid. ones COMP 3Ms been ones be PF forest livers NOM, most of that to forest has land 3Ms PF migrate time/as/ to escape

23. *tan-t-ém, ufuyí-ħēewínta=h ḍáyit=ik kor-t-éh raʔ-t-é y-án.*
un able ones, breath narrow by stones at climb COMP remain Benf 3Ms PF say.

'The forest beings, which had been raid, most of them migrated to land of forests, but the ones un able to escape to save their life climb at stones and remained' say?

24.*ammáa ḍáy-it=ik, mango iggíd-it sugĕenim=ìh lák=al, mināadamtí, gólal kee gadwá y-iktir-éh,*

the stones at, many years stay 3PL.PF COMP leg at, human being, law places? And rives block.3Ms.PF COMp

25. *feló y-ay-mangô ákah t-um-bullu-ém kín ḍaħîine, áyyih t-egēeʔedé-m ko raaʔá baaḍó-m-marí ak*

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food to be increased ABL 3Fs.PF PASS see COMP be PF ? , the migrated ones from remain forest being NOM ABL

26.*y-isfir-éh y-ané-m kín ḍáyit y-egēedé=léh, daláadil ak ab-it-é wáʔde kámbo=h tăham ke rába lém*

sheltered COMP happened ones be stones 3Ms PF break COMP damps ABL make. BENF 3Ms PF   time now on this ones and death same

27.*yéh y-ané baaḍó-m-marí, mináadam ʔaădod=uk fiḍit-éh raaʔ-éh, kaddík ak y-ané nok y-án.*

3Ms PF say COMP forest beings, human being GEN back PL at jump BENF 3Ms.PF stay 3Ms PF COMP, up to now, ABL 3Ms PF exist 1PL at say

'after they stayed many years on the stones, human being blocked the rivers to build dams, and increase production, started to break the stones, which the forest beings sheltered, as a result, the forest beings jumped and sheltered at the back of human beings by saying that this and death is equal to us, say'

28. *amáy gul baaḍó-m-mára y-ăan-am, basóh sêewa=h nok teleyyé kiħin-nó ni sáʔol, káado*

therefore, forest beings be called ones, before hide 3Ms imPF COMP 1PL from 3Fs PF disappear love 3PL our brothers now

29. *y-ekkém koo nínne=h ed bah-n-éh n-ané ʔagáb=ah na-amó=k mar-t-á ni naʔabtôol-it kin-ón áyuh*

3Ms be ones but ourselves in bring 1PL PF COMP mistake our head at live 3Ms imPF our enemies be 3PL PF say.

30. *aabb-ém kee sín nágay.*

to hear 1s.PF and you be good 1sg Gus.

Therefore, the ones which we call forest beings are those had been hijacked and disappeared from us and beloved brothers us but now due to the mistakes we had done to them they live in our heads and become our enemies. I heard this has been said.   I wish you be good.