

Grammatical Description and Documentation of Bayso

Lemmi Kebebew Gnarie



A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Linguistics in Partial
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture

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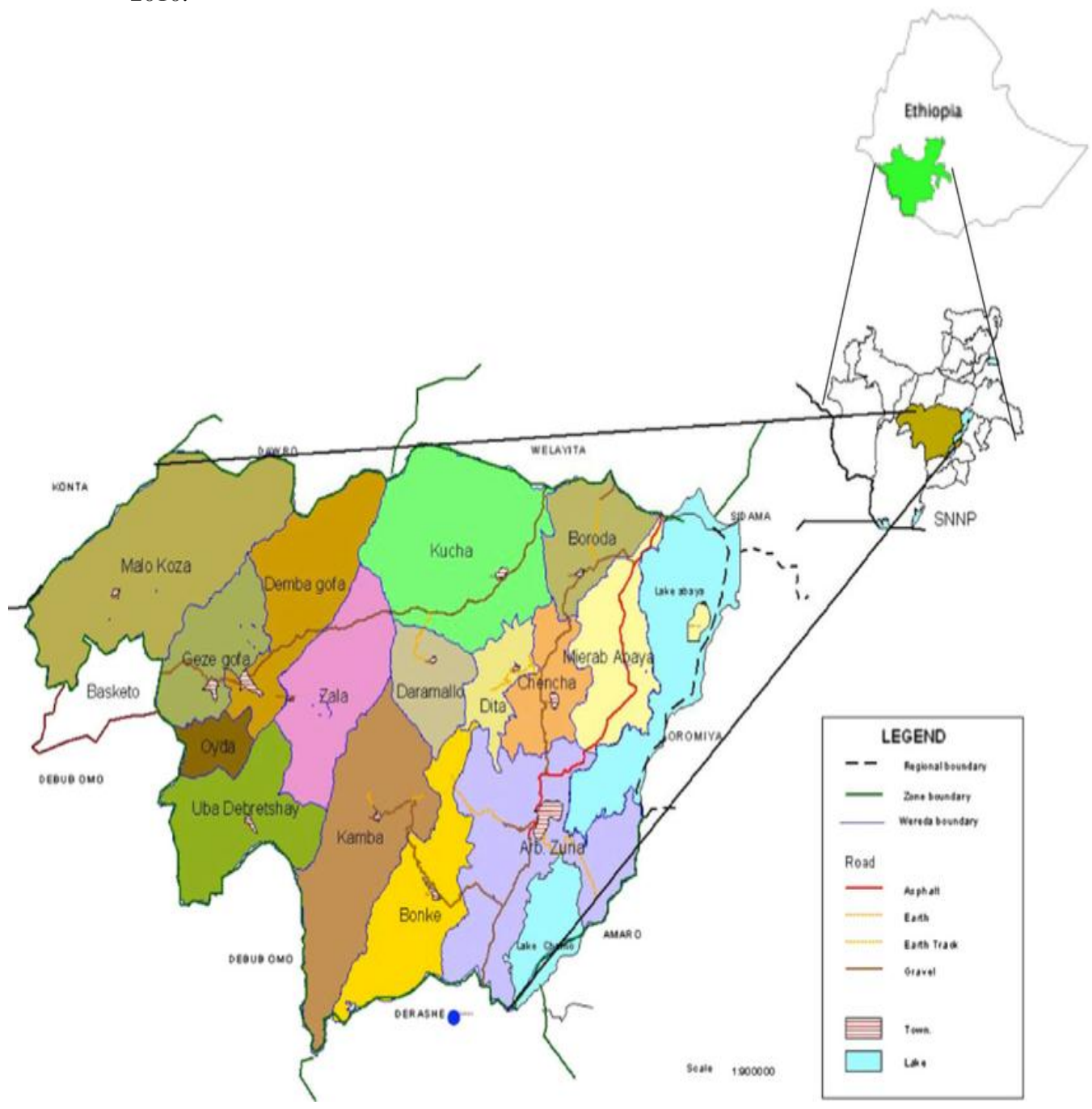
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List of symbols and Abbreviations

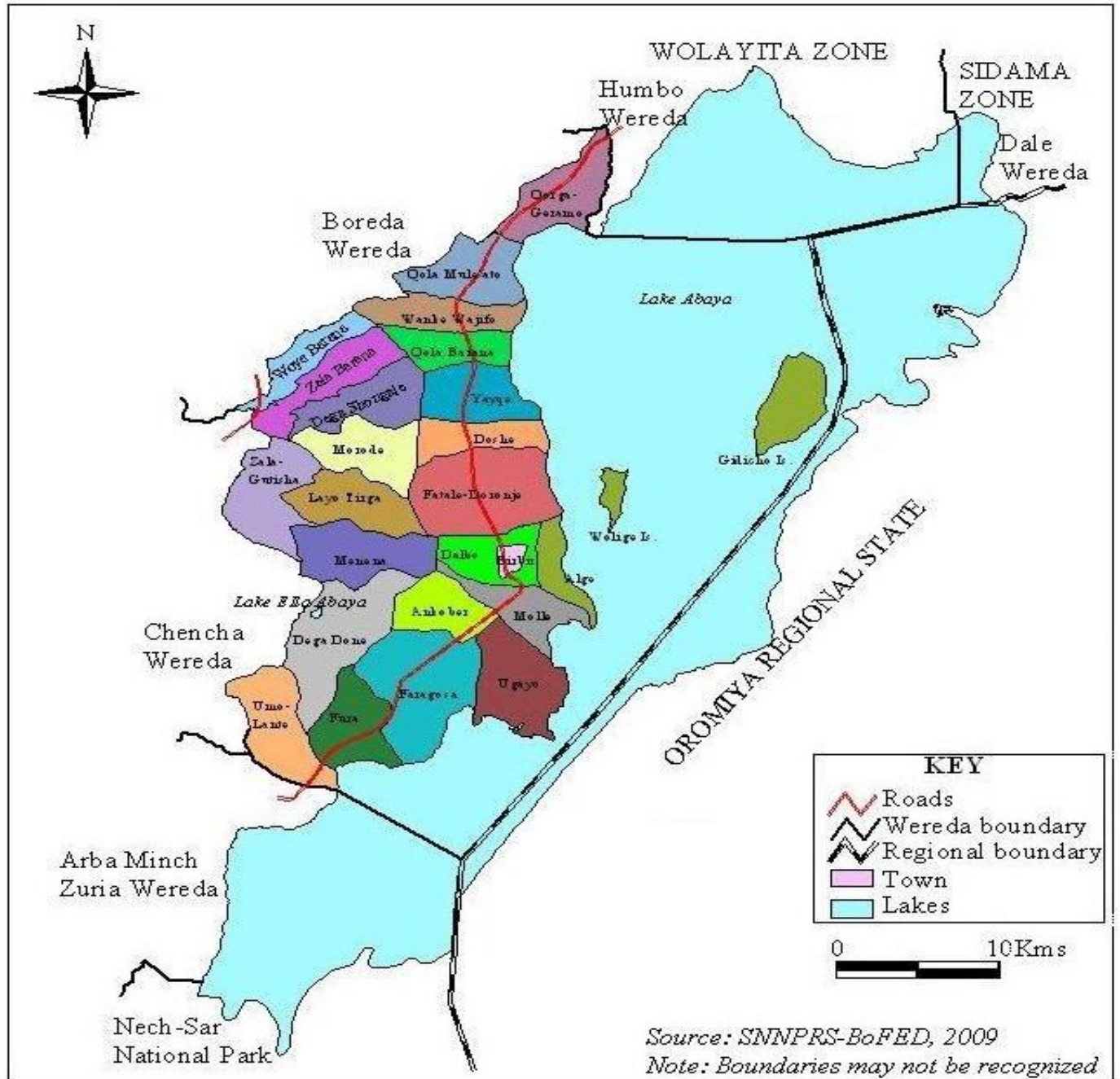
1	first person	IMP	imperative
2	second person	INF	infinitive
3	third person	INS	instrumental
Ø	empty morpheme	INT	interrogative
#___	word initial position	IPFV	imperfective
___#	word final position	IR	irregular
V__V	intervocalic	JUS	jussive
→	Becomes	LOC	locative
ŋ	voiceless	M	masculine
e:	long vowel	N	noun
.	syllable break	NEG	negative, negation
'	stress	NOM	nominative
ABL	ablative	NP	noun phrase
ACC	accusative	NUM	number
ADJ	adjective	OBJ	object
ADVP	adverb phrase	PAC	paucal
AGR	agreement	PASS	passive
AUX	auxiliary	PFV	perfective
ABEN	auto-benefactive	PL	plural
ASC	associative particle	POSS	possessive
C	consonant	PRF	perfect
CAUS	causative	PRS	present
CF	cross reference	PROG	progressive
COM	comitative	PST	past
COP	copula	Q	question particle
CVB	converb	RECP	reciprocal
DAT	dative	REDUP	reduplication
DEF	definiteness	REFL	reflective
DEM	demonstrative	REL	relative
DET	determiner	S	sentence
EPEN	epenthesis	SBJ	Subject
EMPH	emphatic	SG	singular
F	feminine	SNG	singulative
FOC	focus	SOV	subject-object-verb
FUT	future	SUF	suffix
GEN	genitive	V	vowel/verb
GUR	gerund	VP	verb phrase
HAB	habitual		

Map 1: Administrative map of Gamo Gofa Zone and its Woredas, south-western Ethiopia, 2010.



https://www.researchgate.net/figure/258248717_fig2_Figure-1-Administrative-map-of-Gamo-Gofa-Zone-and-its-Woredas-south-western-Ethiopia (accessed 31/03/2016)

ADMINISTRATIVE MAP OF MIRAB ABAYA WEREDA



Abstract

This dissertation deals with the documentation and grammatical description of Bayso/Giddicho, a Lowland East Cushitic language spoken in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia. Bayso is an endangered language due to the strong pressure of the dominant languages spoken in the area, urbanization and population reduction.

The documentation part covers video and audio annotation of texts, bilingual word list (Bayso- English) and the grammatical description. The grammatical description examines Bayso phonology, morphology and syntax based on the primary data that was obtained via series of fieldworks and through elicitation, interviews, observation and discussion methods. Therefore, the qualitative research methodology was employed in this dissertation.

Bayso, which belongs to Lowland East Cushitic, Omo-Tana subgroup, has 28 consonant phonemes and five vowels with contrastive long vowels. Bayso employs diverse system of noun pluralisation which includes suffixation, reduplication and final vowel elision. Bayso also marks paucal and singulative on nouns by using different suffixes. Theoretically, a language that marks paucal should also mark dual. However, Bayso is one of few languages that mark paucal without marking dual. Gender polarity is also one of the marked features of Bayso which was one of the focuses of this dissertation.

In Bayso, gender is not marked on nouns. It is reflected through agreement on other word categories such as verb, adjective and demonstrative. The grammatical cases, nominative and accusative, are not morphologically marked. However, the semantic cases such as genitive, dative and instrumental are marked with various strategies. In Bayso, noun derivation is not as productive as other related languages. Yet, new nouns can be derived from the existing ones by using various suffixes.

In Bayso, both verb inflection and derivation mainly involve suffixation. A verb is inflected for tense, person and number to show concord. Verb stems such as causatives, passives, frequentatives and inchoatives are derived by using different derivational suffixes.

Word order in Bayso is flexible. That is modifiers may precede or follow their head. However, subordinate clause always occurs preceding the matrix clause. Bayso employs various mechanisms of sentence chaining, that is, to form coordination, subordination and converbs.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Socio-Cultural Information*

1.1.1. Origin, Location and Settlement

The Bayso trace their original homeland to Jigjiga (dʒigdʒiga), the town of Ethiopian Somali National Regional State. According to oral history, they originally migrated from Jigjiga to Dire Dawa. Having settled around Dire Dawa for sometime, they migrated for the second time to Gobba in Bale, South Eastern Ethiopia. From Bale Gobba they migrated for the third time to Giddicho (gidditʃfo), their present settlement area. When they first settled around Giddicho, Lake Margherita, presently named Lake Abbaya, was not created. According to Ballamo Worba, the main linguistic consultant for this research project, the exact time of migration and settlement is not known. According to Ballamo Worba and Littu Shabbari, who provided information on Socio-cultural information on Bayso ethnic group, there is striking physical similarity between Bayso and Somali ethnic groups. According to Hayward (1978) there is linguistic similarity between Bayso and Somali language. Hence, both the physical and linguistic similarities seem to shed some light on the origin of Bayso.

Bayso is one of the minority ethnic groups in Ethiopia. They live in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, in Gamo Gofa Zone, Mi'rab Abaya District (Woreda), mainly Alge kebele, which is located some 450 K.M south of Addis Ababa half way between Wolayta Soddo and Arbaminch towns on the western shore of lake Abaya. Some Bayso people also inhabit on the Giddicho Island in two villages (Bayso and Shigima), and Golmaka Island as well as on north-western shore of lake Abaya at Waajjifo (waadʒdʒifo) and Shink'ik'k'o villages (see map).

According to Ballamo Worba, the main linguistic consultant for this research, the Bayso ethnic group is classified into fifteen clans. These include, Achele (atʃele), Achegele (atʃegele), Baallaa, Bayso, Dabboottee, Dakartee, Dhaantuu (daantuu), Fagoo, Gondoo, Golmakaa, Maman kabarraak'as, Maman kat'ee, Mulmalee, Shigima (ʃigima) and Warjii (wardʒii). All the clans have equal status.

* Socio-Cultural information on Bayso Ethnic group was obtained from Ballamo Worba and Littu Shabbari, Native Bayso (2014 G.C.).

On the Giddicho Island, the settlement system is clan based. Each clan has its own separate **agud** ‘village’. Therefore, no one is permitted to live outside his/her clan’s **agud**.

The Bayso clan share boundaries with a number of other ethnic groups. In the east, they share border with Guji Oromo, what the Bayso calls *Gerge*, in the north with Gedeo and in the west with Wolayita and Sidama. Besides, the Harro, Omotic speaking ethnic group, lives on Giddicho Island between Bayso and Shigima villages.

1.1.2. Economic Activities

The livelihood of Bayso is mainly based on agriculture. They cultivate mainly sorghum and maize both for food and market. They also produce cotton and banana. The production of banana, which is the main cash crop in the area and the source of income for the Bayso has been started recently. Livestock breeding is a common traditional practice among the Bayso, and it is the main source of income and livelihood next to grain production. Beekeeping/apiculture, weaving and fishing are also important economic activities. Gaining skill and expertise in boat paddling is mandatory for every male member of Bayso.

1.1.3. Social Interactions

There is a strong social relationship among the Bayso clans. The elders have special place in the community. They are consulted in every matter, for example, in issues related to marriage, conflict resolution, relocation of settlement area, enclosure of grazing land and the like. There is a long tradition of enjoying together during festivals and marriage ceremonies which is still maintained among the Bayso ethnic group. Whenever there is special celebration such as *baala* ‘Cross Day Festival/Meskel’, the dwellers in a village first gather and celebrate the festival at the elder’s house before they celebrate it at their individual houses.

The Bayso ethnic group has strong tradition of helping one another both during the time of happiness and adversity. The mutual assistance is usually practiced during marriage ceremony, house construction, burial ceremony, serious health impairment and loss of property due to natural calamities and fire. Helping the needy people until they stand on their feet is also a common practice. In Bayso tradition, the needy people do not openly ask for help. It is initiated by the elders and the people around them. It is not an accepted norm among Bayso to claim back the money or any property given to support disadvantaged individuals even if those individuals became affluent in their later life. However, these individuals are duty bound to extend similar assistance to other people or to their benefactors if their benefactors encounter hardships.

The Bayso are open society. They usually create strong social relationship with other neighbouring ethnic groups such as Guji Oromo, Wolayita, Gamo, Gedeo and recently with Harro. The relationship with other ethnic groups is usually established at a family level. This relationship is named as *saatii* [sa:ti:] for men friends and *raancho* [ra:ɲtʃfo] for women friends. The *saatii* and the *raancho* have strong duty and responsibility to help one another whenever the need arises. They regularly pay visit to one another to enquire on one another's wellbeing. The failure to discharge one's own duty and responsibility in this relationship (in *saatii* or *raancho* relationship) entails punishment, for example, providing free labour for two or three consecutive days as a compensation for not discharging one's duty. The punishment may also include preparation of special festivity in the name of the offended individual by slaughtering *warab* 'he goat'. This relationship is so strong that it reaches the extent of inheriting the property of one's *saatii/raancho* upon the death of the other in case the latter has no blood relatives.

1.1.4. Traditional Administration System

The traditional administration system of Bayso ethnic group was led by *wono* 'king'. The *wono* was elected yearly turn by turn from each clan. The Bayso village and the Shigima village had their own separate *wono*. The election of *wono* was executed in both villages at similar occasion by the same external and neutral body who was invited from Gedeo.

The major responsibility of *wono* was to maintain peace and stability among members of Bayso ethnic group, to organise defence force against invaders, to lead sacrificial offerings and prayers, to correct and punish wrong doers. Whereas the responsibility of *orii wono* 'king's wife' was limited to observing accurate implementation of accepted norms and practices of Bayso, for example, greeting norms, sitting arrangements, funeral practices and respecting elders. Organizing and leading consolation of the deceased family was also another responsibility of *orii wono*. However, according to linguistic and cultural consultants for this research, the institution of *wono* was collapsed during the Dergue regime, and presently it is dysfunctional.

1.1.5. Marriage and Family Life

Marriage is the most esteemed social institution among the Bayso. It is established between a male and a female who reached the age of eighteen and above. In the past, marriage was purely arranged based on the choice, willingness and agreement of respective parents without the knowledge of the couples. The bride and bridegroom would never meet each other until the wedding day. The fundamental requirement expected from a husband is the capacity to provide

what is needed for their survival including housing. The female partner is expected to possess house management skills and other skills such as spinning, knitting and cooking.

Intra-clan marriage is strictly forbidden among the Bayso. It is only permitted between two different clans or between members of Bayso ethnic group and other ethnic group such as Wolayita, Guji Oromo, Gamo, Gas'ame and Gedeo. Polygamy is still acceptable among Bayso.

In the past, there were four types of traditional marriages in Bayso. These were:

- a. Muti Atano
- b. Siyyami Atano
- c. Eella Atano
- d. Abba Enooti

Both 'muti atano' and 'siyyami atano' were conducted through formal proposal and successive negotiations between two families of future spouses. These types of marriages are purely based on the willingness of the two respective families. The two types of marriage vary in the ways the wedding ceremony is conducted and the payment of bridewealth. *Muti atano* is started at mid-day and it lasts for four consecutive days. In this type of marriage, the bridegroom's family are expected to pay *ererem* and *temeto* (types of dowry). *Ererem* is paid for *Wayicha* [wajtʃa] 'religious father' and *Wono* 'the king' whereas *temeto* is paid for the bride's family. *Siyami atano* is started at night and it only lasts from 1:00 – 3:00 hours local time. In this type of marriage, the bridegroom's family pays only *temeto*, and they are not obliged to pay *ererem*.

Ella atano means inheritance marriage. If one's brother has died, the person whose brother has died is traditionally authorized to marry his deceased brother's wife. In this ceremony, he slaughters a ram and anoint his own forehead with blood and similarly anoint his inherited wife's throat with the same blood. This performance signifies the end of the first marriage and the beginning of the new one.

Abba Enooti is a type of marriage where a husband marries his wife's sister in case his wife has died leaving behind children. The aim of this type of marriage is said to be for the wellbeing of the children whose mother has died.

These days, however, the essence of marriage is completely changed. The marriage arrangement is made directly between the couple even without the knowledge of their respective parents. Marriage can take place directly through formal wedding ceremony or through abduction (with or

without the consent of the girl). Thus, there are two types of marriage today among Bayso – formal proposal and agreement between couples and through abduction. Abduction by force is immediately followed by arbitrations and negotiations. Abduction by consent is followed by formal wedding ceremony sooner or later.

In marriage relationship, both couple have equal responsibility in leading the family. Providing shelter, food and cloth as well as ensuring the wellbeing of family members is a collective responsibility. Children are obliged to obey their parents, and they are expected to contribute their share for the family's livelihood.

Divorce is an abominable practice in Bayso. If it is inevitable, it is executed by experienced elders in accordance with acceptable practice in the community with great care and diligence in a way that satisfies both parts.

1.1.6. Religion

According to Ballamo Worba, the main linguistic and cultural consultant for this project, the Bayso have followed traditional belief system until recently. They used to worship *waa* 'God' for which offerings and prayers were made at time intervals near lakes, mountains, trees and roads. However, since 1974 E.C., the Bayso abandoned their traditional belief system in favour of Christianity. Today, some of them are disciples of Orthodox Christianity and some others are disciples of protestant Christianity. The abandonment of Bayso traditional religion is attributed to the pressure from modern religions, Orthodox Christianity and Protestant.

The Bayso people, particularly the younger generation, are highly dedicated to their religion. The Sunday congregations and prayers are strictly attended to by every member of Bayso ethnic group including children and aged ones. Prayer before food or coffee is served is an inescapable everyday duty. Fasting is an obligatory duty for every Orthodox followers.

1.1.7. Traditional Foods, Drinks and Costumes

Most Bayso traditional foods are made from maize and barely flour. These traditional foods include *shore* [ʃore] 'porridge', *horʒaamo*, *hulluk'a*, *babo* 'bread' and *sin''iiso*. Some of these traditional foods such as *shore* and *sin''iiso* are served only on special occasions such as New Year festival 'Baala', religious festivals, circumcision ceremony and wedding ceremony.

The Bayso traditional drink is called *sakil*. Its ingredients are barely malt, bread made of maize or sorghum flour and powder of the hops' leaves. It is brewed with care, and it has a high alcoholic content.

The Bayso traditional costumes are called *k'olo* and *landi*. *K'olo* is made of cotton thread and yarn. It is spun by hand and woven by traditional means. *K'olo* is white in colour, but it has three stripes purple, red and brown. Each colour has its own meaning. The purple colour represents hope, the red colour represents heroism and the white colour represents 'peace'. *K'o'lo* is made both for male and female in different sizes.

Landi is made of calf's and goat's skin. It was worn by females. Today, the Bayso wear modern dresses produced in the factory. *K'o'lo* and *landi* are worn only during cultural shows/ festivals by few individuals who represent the Bayso in that event.

1.2. The Language

1.2.1. Classifications and Alternative Names

Bayso is one of the little studied languages in Ethiopia. According to Heine (1978:179 as quoted in Haberland & Lamberti 1988:23), it belongs to the Western Omo-Tana sub-group in the Nuclear Southern Lowland East Cushitic group within East Cushitic subfamily. The other languages which belong to Omo-Tana subgroup are Arbore, Boni, Dasenech, Elmolo, Rendille and Somali. According to Fleming (1964), Bayso is closely related to Somali. Haberland and Lamberti (1988:23) also stated that Bayso is closely related to Somali and Rendile.

According to Haberland and Lamberti (1988:23), the term 'Omo-Tana' was coined by Heine to represent the Omo-Tana sub-family. Heine (1978) further divided this subgroup into three branches – eastern branch (Somali, Boni and Rendille), north branch (Bayso) and western Branch (Elmolo, Arbore and Dasenech).

The alternative names for Bayso are Alkali and Giddicho. In fact, Giddicho is the name of the Island located on Lake Abbaya. However, it also refers to the name of the ethnic group that creates controversy among researchers as to whether Giddicho is the name of the island or the name of the ethnic group or the name of the language. Today, the names Giddicho and Bayso are used alternatively to represent both the name of the people and the language. According to Bayso elders, the name 'giddicho' is given to Bayso tribe by Guji Oromo. The Bayso name for 'Giddicho' is 'maman'.

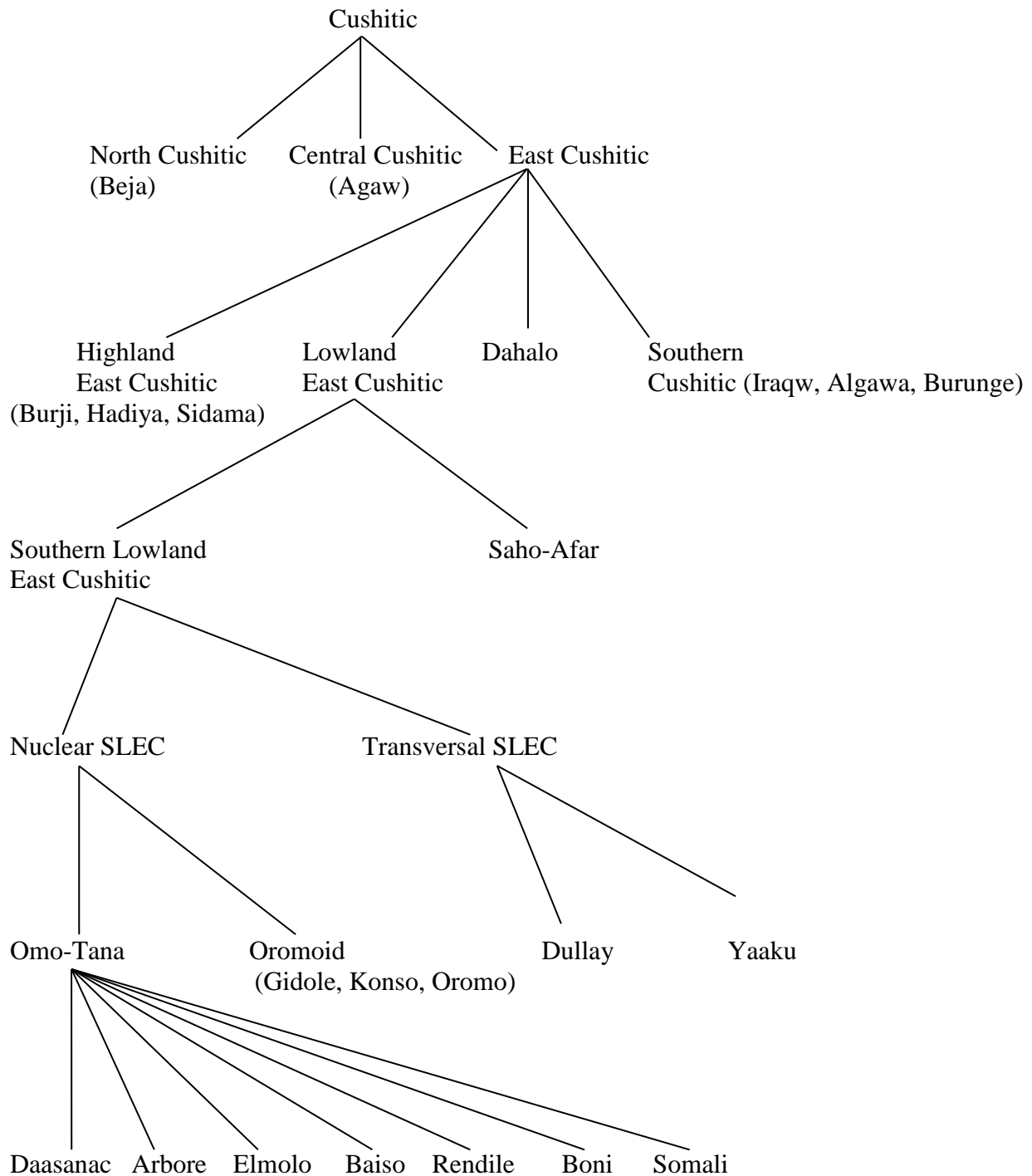


Figure 1. The Classification of the Cushitic Family (Appleyard, 2009:273)

1.2.2. Number of Speakers and their Distributions

The Bayso language is spoken on Giddicho Island in two villages, namely Bayso and Shigima. It is also spoken on the western shore of Lake Abbaya at Alge village and on the south western shore of Lake Abbaya at Waajjifo and Shink'ik'o villages. The Harro, the Omotic speaking ethnic group, who inhabit the Giddicho Island and Alge village, speak Bayso as their second language (Brenzinger 1999:34). Few Wolayta ethnic group who live among the Bayso ethnic group in Alge

village and few Guji-Oromo who have established strong relationship with Bayso ethnic group also speak Bayso language. However, it has to be noted that the Bayso communicate with the other neighbouring ethnic groups either in Amharic or in the respective languages of the other ethnic groups.

The number of Bayso mother tongue speakers (MT) is currently estimated at 5000. According to the sociolinguistic survey conducted by the researcher in 2013, 95% of Bayso MT speakers are multilingual in more than four languages, namely Amharic, Gamo, Wolaita and Afan oromo. Children below ten years of age and very few uneducated elders are monolinguals.

1.2.3. Level of Endangerment

Language endangerment is a wide spread phenomenon across the world in general and in Africa in particular. Ethiopia is also one of the countries in Africa where language endangerment and language death are critical issues. In Ethiopia, most minor languages are threatened by the dominant languages.

According to UNESCO's World Languages Atlas, out of 87 living Ethiopian languages 28 languages are endangered at different levels (Moseley, ed. 2010). Currently, however, the number of endangered languages in Ethiopia could exceed the figure indicated in UNESCO's World Language Atlas.

Bayso is one of the endangered languages in Ethiopia. It has been threatened to extinction mainly due to the pressure from dominant languages spoken in the surrounding areas, urbanization and migration of educated Bayso to different towns to search for jobs. Almost all members of Bayso ethnic group have become bilinguals in more than four different languages –Amharic, Guji-Oromo, Wolayita, Gamo, Gas'ame and Gedeo. Hence, extensive multilingualism is also the main threat to Bayso.

The use of Bayso is also confined to home circle among family members. Currently, the young generation of Bayso ethnic group resort to using Amharic in all their daily communication among themselves and with other ethnic groups instead of their own mother tongue. Despite all these signs of endangerment, Bayso has not been adequately documented and described yet. There are very scanty written documents on the Bayso language.

The writing system has been recently adapted for Bayso from Latin alphabet after series of discussions were conducted at regional level by language experts and teachers. Some velorization programs have also been commenced recently. It has become the language of

education at elementary school first cycle since 2013, and the language of media (Arba Mintch Radio) since 2014. However, these programs could not be a guarantee for the healthy survival of Bayso as a language due to reasons aforementioned.

1.3. Objectives

The principal and the specific objectives of this dissertation were delineated as follows.

1.3.1. Main Objective

The main objective of this dissertation is to create Bayso linguistic corpora and to describe and document the grammar of Bayso.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

The specific objectives include:

- a. To create comprehensive, multipurpose & multimedia linguistic corpus
- b. To organize accessible linguistic corpora for future researchers
- c. To contribute to the revitalization efforts of Bayso
- d. To explore the morphological & syntactic structure of the language

1.4. Significance of the Study

This study is very important in several ways. First of all, it inspires linguistic scholars to further conduct research on Bayso and other endangered languages of Ethiopia. Secondly, it provides easily accessible and usable primary linguistic data for the community and for anyone who wants to pursue further research on the language. Thirdly, the transcribed, translated and annotated data may be utilized for the development of educational and literacy materials to be used in training the members of Bayso ethnic group. Fourthly, it creates strong awareness among the Bayso ethnic group members regarding the importance of preserving and maintaining their language and culture. Finally, it motivates the local administration to pay special attention to endangered languages and cultures in the region.

1.5. Review of Previous Works

Very few scholars attempted to provide the grammatical sketch for Bayso. Fleming (1964) was the first scholar who attempted to provide linguistic description of Bayso. His work is limited to 216 vocabulary list with English translation and a brief description of phonology and morphology. Fleming (1964:39) identified twenty six consonant phonemes and eight short vowel phonemes for the language. He excluded nasal implosives /mʔ/ and /nʔ/ which are identified in the present

study, and he designated /z/ as glottalized phoneme /zʔ/ which is not attested in the present study. He also mentioned that “glottalized phonemes (ejectives) are very rare’. However, a series of ejectives have been attested in Bayso according to the present study.

Another scholar Hayward (1978 & 1979) provided some more descriptive account of Bayso Grammar. He (1978:541) identified twenty nine consonant phonemes and five short vowel phonemes excluding /d/ and including what he designated as glottalized sounds /lʔ/, /rʔ/ and /wʔ/ which are not attested in the present material. Besides, Hayward did not list words in which these phonemes occur. It seems that Hayward considered these phonemes as glottalized when they occur in combination with the glottal stop /ʔ/ as shown below.

- (1) a. /salʔeessa/ ‘placenta’
b. /burʔo/ ‘unripe’
c. /hawʔaay/ ‘disease’

As indicated in the examples above, the phonemes /l, r, w/ occurred as the first member in the consonant cluster where the second member is the glottal stop /ʔ/.

Hayward’s description (1978 & 1979) also includes nominal morphology, verbal morphology and sentence structure all in overview.

Other scholars Haberland and Lamberti (1988) provided some grammatical notes, sentence lists and word list on Bayso. Some Bayso short wordlist is also found in the sociolinguistic survey report by Brenzinger (1999).

All the works on Bayso have one thing in common. That they are a by product of anthropological research. In all cases, the Bayso language has not been adequately documented and described. Moreover, there are a number of transcription errors in both Fleming’s and Hayward’s works that led to wrong analysis. For example, Fleming (1964) transcribed Bayso verb of existence as ‘gr-’, and Hayward (1978:548) transcribed Bayso words for ‘die and ‘village’ as /goe/ and /kae/, respectively. However, most Cushitic languages including Bayso do not allow consonant cluster at word initial and final positions, and unlike vowel sequences in all positions.

Another inconsistency observed in Bayso works is related to the relevance of gemination and vowel length. In his Bayso sketch grammar, Fleming stated that vowel length and consonant doubling are irrelevant. And hence, he listed the following pairs of words as having the same meaning.

- (2) a:m/am ‘to eat’ ani/anni ‘I’ ibado/ibaddo ‘person’
 usu:/usu ‘he’ ga/gaa ‘tree,wood’ lama/lamma ‘two’ (Fleming 1964:39)

However, Hayward confirmed that consonant gemination and vowel length are relevant in Bayso just like in other Cushitic languages. He substantiated his proposition with the following pair of examples.

Consonant Gemination

- (3) ayyo ‘who?’ aayo ‘mother’
 koratewa ‘he climbed’ korattewa ‘she climbed’
 mullee ‘he felt shame’ muulee ‘he immersed’ (Hayward 1978 & 1979)

The meaning difference or the grammatical contrast exhibited in the above examples is due to consonant gemination.

Vowel Length

- (4) gaa ‘forest’ ga ‘tree’
 dimeer ‘donkeys’ dimer ‘she-ass’
 aamera ‘he has eaten.’ amera ‘he has said.’
 iyee ‘he shouted.’ iiye ‘he fell.’ (Hayward 1978:544 - 545)

A pair of examples provided above prove that vowel length is contrastive in Bayso as Hayward (1978) observed.

In another case, Fleming considered the verb forms such as ‘hudurera’ (he slept), ‘dera’ (he saw) and ‘dotera’ (he wanted) as simple past forms whereas Hayward (1978:559) designated them as compound perfect, i.e., simple past/present perfect forms.

Haberland and Lamberti (1988:45) on the other hand, identified twenty five consonant phonemes for Bayso leaving out voiced alveo-palatal /dʒ/ and the nasal implosives /mʔ/ and /nʔ/, and five vowel phonemes /i, e, a, o, u/. However, they recognized the phonological relevance of long vowels as well supporting Hayward’s claim (that short and long vowels are contrastive), and which is also attested in the present study.

Haberland and Lamberti (1988:45) stated that ‘initial vowels are introduced by a glottal stop...’ in Bayso. However, a closer scrutiny proves that Bayso vowels are not preceded by glottal stop at a word initial position. In other words, the glottal stop does not occur at a word initial position. For example, the native speakers are not heard as saying /ʔabba/ ‘sister’, rather they simply say /abba/.

Haberland and Lamberti (1988:45) also claimed that supporting Fleming’s statement, “ejectives occur relatively seldom and were probably introduced into Bayso by loans”. But, in the present Bayso data the ejectives are widely distributed, and they do occur in basic Bayso words such as *t’am-* ‘drink’ and *luk’ak’k’o* ‘legs’.

1.6. Methodology

This section deals with research methodology employed to collect varied, rich and comprehensive primary linguistic data. It introduces data collection instruments and tools applicable in this research. It is also concerned with data processing, analyses, archiving and disseminating strategies.

The qualitative research methodology was applied in this research as ‘it is particularly valuable in providing in-depth, rich data’ (Angouri, 2010:33). Moreover, the qualitative research enables the researcher to extract huge corpus since it allows the researcher to ask the consultants for more explanation during face to face interviews. Hence, the primary linguistic data were collected from five language consultants (native speakers of Bayso) in a natural setting through consecutive fieldworks by using different data collection methods. Hence, the data were mainly obtained through elicitation/interview, text collection and participant observations methods. All the data were recorded by using digital audio and video recorders. The recorded data were transcribed phonetically and phonemically by using IPA and translated into English immediately after each session. Field notes were also digitized and properly documented with other corpus.

As mentioned above, the collection of primary linguistic corpus was conducted through elicitation, text collection and observation methods. Each of these instruments has its own advantages and disadvantages. Yet, they help the researcher to obtain comprehensive and authentic corpus since they complement each other.

1.6.1. Data Collection Tools

1.6.1.1. Elicitation

Although elicitation is a traditional method of data collection, it is particularly very important at the initial stage of the fieldwork to collect and analyse the basic aspects of a language- basic lexical items, basic sentences and phrases. It is also useful to obtain features of a language that may not appear in narrative texts and spontaneous conversations. According to Bower (2008:73), elicitation method is employed to analyse texts.

“... Even if most of your data comes from recorded narratives or (‘texts’) after preliminary work, you will still be working through those texts with a native speaker of the language and asking questions about them. This is also a type of elicitation. Some aspect of a language are only discoverable through elicitation – they will appear in texts so seldom that it will be almost impossible to get enough information about them.”

Thus, elicitation method is applicable at all stages of the research although it is more favourable at the initial stage. Moreover, knowledge of native speakers about their language can only be collected through elicitation method. Himmelmann (2006:9) stated that very often documenting metalinguistic knowledge will involve the use of a broad array of elicitation strategies. On the other hand, ‘it is simply not possible to think up elicitation for every type of construction that might occur in a language, and so the collection of texts often fills in some of the gaps that the linguist would otherwise have left unfiled (Samarin 1967:181). Therefore, elicitation was complemented by text collection and observation methods in this research.

For elicitation sessions, interviews (lexical and morphosyntactic) were designed and administered. The interview questionnaire for collecting lexical items was designed according to semantic fields, and the interview to elicit data for morphosyntactic study begins with simple phrases and sentences and proceeds to the complex structures. Each elicitation session was recorded using digital audio recorder and this data was transcribed, translated and analysed with the help of language consultants. A preliminary analysis of elicited data was made immediately after the end of each fieldwork session. And this information was stored in appropriate and reliable storage media such as hard disk, CD and flash disk accompanied by metadata.

1.6.1.2. Text Collection Via audio/video Recording

As stated earlier, it is not possible to obtain all possible grammatical patterns of a language only through elicitation method. Therefore, it should be backed up by collection of texts to get full-fledged grammatical structure of a language.

The recording of texts is essential for a detailed understanding of the grammar of a language, as well as for understanding how sentences are linked together in discourse. But these same texts will also contain a huge amount of very valuable lexical information (Crowley 2007:109 – 110).

Samarin also listed the significance of text collection method as follows:

1. “It gives the linguist a body of data which is relatively pure and uncorrupted. No matter what subfield you are working in (phonology, syntax, etc.), there is always the danger of obtaining corrupted data through elicitation and grammaticality judgement.
2. Words and constructions which would otherwise go undiscovered often pop up in recorded texts.

3. Text collection sometimes provides investigators with the data that is interesting to humanity at large, as well as to linguists” (Samarin 1967:181 – 182).

In this research, the collection of texts involved various genres such as folktales, oral history, oral poetry, cultural traits, dialogues, conversations, personal experiences and other events. Each text was transcribed and translated at the end of each recording session. These texts provided essential information for the description and analysis of morphological and syntactic structures of the language, and they also helped the researcher to collect lexical items that were not included in the questionnaires.

1.6.1.3. Participant Observations

In addition to elicitation and text collection methods, participant observation is also another important tool used in this research to collect linguistic data. Crowley (2007:15 -16) described the importance of participant observation at length as follows.

“If you were to write a linguistic description on the basis of information from just a single speaker and you do not have the advantage of being able to observe natural interactions between speakers, you run the risk of missing some elements of the language. One problem is that the context of elicitation may not be sufficiently varied pragmatically to produce a full range of constructions or vocabulary. There is also a real danger that your single speaker may end up effectively ‘filtering’ out certain kinds of constructions because he or she is subconsciously evaluating how good a command of the language you have acquired, and judging what kinds of structures you are ready to deal with. This means that it is essential in a good linguistic description for data to come not just from direct elicitation or from what is recorded in narrative texts, but it must come also from observations of casual utterances between people speaking spontaneously around you.”

Crowley emphasized the significance of participant observation in collecting spontaneous conversations and utterances. However, participant observation is time consuming, because it requires living with the native speakers for a long time to learn and understand their language. It is also very difficult to record the information while participating in the act and observing the event. Hence, the data obtained through participant observation is limited to some field notes.

Generally, the investigator employed elicitation, text collection and participant observation methods to obtain comprehensive and full-fledged linguistic primary data during the fieldwork. These data collection instruments generated digital audio recordings, digital video recordings, field notes and texts. These primary linguistic corpuses were transcribed, annotated and translated into English. The researcher used these corpora as a source of evidence to describe the grammatical structures of Bayso.

1.6.2. Data Processing, Analysis, Archiving and Dissemination

The following sections concerned with data processing, analysis, archiving and dissemination strategies.

1.6.2.1. Data Processing

Data processing refers to the transcription, translation and annotation of digital audio, texts and video files by using software. Transcription (phonetic & phonemic transcription) was provided based on IPA convention. The annotation was done morpheme by morpheme in four tiers (phonetic, morpheme break in the phonemic line, gloss) which was followed by free translation.

The most important data processing tools used in this project were ELAN and FLEX (FieldWorks Language Explorer). ELAN was used for time alignment or interlinear morpheme by morpheme annotation, and FLEX was used for alphabetical arrangement of word list and morphological analysis.

1.6.2.2. Data Analysis

In the data analysis the researcher provided an in-depth phonological, morphological and syntactic analysis of the language. A thorough description and analysis of the grammatical structure of the language was given based on examples from primary linguistic data that were transcribed, translated, annotated and stored during the fieldwork sessions. The grammatical structures and patterns of Bayso were critically examined in details and the features of the language were uncovered and discussed at length.

1.6.2.3. Data Archiving

Digital archiving offers opportunities to store data for communities to use, other scholars to access, and for preservation for future generations of community members, the general public, and researchers (Austin 2006:100). Thus, the Bayso digital corpora will be archived at DoBeS and Addis Ababa University. All the linguistic corpora including audio-video recordings, annotated texts, lexical items, grammatical descriptions, images and cultural notes will be archived. The corpus will be accompanied by transcriptions of the data, detailed morphological and syntactic analyses, and translations as well as metadata files with information for each recording. All the text mark-up will be XML (eXtensible Markup Language) format. Computer files of the video recordings will be created and archived with their metadata, transcriptions and translations.

1.6.2.4. Dissemination

The outcomes of this research (digital materials) will be disseminated via different media including World Wide Web, CD and external hard disks so that the speech community, researchers and other interested parties will have the chance to access and use them for different purposes. These disseminated digital materials are believed to contribute to the efforts of the Bayso language revitalization activities by providing resource materials for preparation of literacy and language materials.

1.7. Phonetic Notation/Representation

In this dissertation, the Bayso alphabet and the IPA were used interchangeably to make the material accessible to the native speakers of Bayso who are not familiar with the IPA symbols. The alphabet and the IPA were used interchangeably particularly where the alphabet and the IPA symbol that represents a given sound is completely different. The IPA symbols were used in phonological analysis where phonetic transcription is mandatory. In other cases, the phonetic line was written in IPA, and the phonemic line was written in Bayso alphabet with morpheme break. In cases where phonetic and phonemic lines did not require, the alphabet was used throughout the dissertation. Accordingly, the palatal /j/ was represented with /y/, /dʒ/ was represented with /j/, /tʃ/ was represented with /ch/, /ʃ/ was represented with /sh/ and /tʃ̥/ was represented with /c'/. However, the IPA symbol /d̥/ was consistently used to represent alveolar implosive since different alphabets were proposed to represent it but not yet decided. The bilabial nasal implosive and the alveolar nasal implosive were represented with /m''/ and /n''/, respectively.

Chapter 2

Phonology

In this chapter, the basic Bayso phonemes and their allophonic variants were identified. The co-occurrence restrictions, suprasegmental features, syllable structures, and morphophonological processes were investigated.

2.1. Consonants

The Bayso consonants share a number of features with the other East Cushitic/Lowland East Cushitic languages. For example, Bayso has a series of glottalized consonants which is a common feature of the East Cushitic Languages such as Oromo (Gragg, 1976:166), Sidaama (Kawachi, 2007:28) Dirayatata (Wondwosen, 2006:9) and Ts'amako (Sava, 2005). Bayso consonant inventory lacks voiced labiodental fricative /v/ which is also a common feature across the East Cushitic/Lowland East Cushitic languages. However, some distinct features are observed between Bayso and the other East Cushitic/Lowland East Cushitic languages. For example, Bayso has nasal implosives /nʔ/ and /mʔ/ which are not identified in any other Cushitic languages. Moreover, Bayso lacks uvular and pharyngeal consonants even if it is closely related to Somali which has uvular and pharyngeal consonants but which lacks ejectives (Black, 1974:63). The other Cushitic languages that lack glottalized consonants include Konso (Ongaye, 2013: 7-8) and Afar (Black, 1974), and some other Cushitic languages that lack both glottalized and pharyngeal consonants include Beja (Bender & Fleming, 1976:39) and Dasaanch (Tosco, 2001:7).

According to Hayward (1976:74), the Proto-Eastern Cushitic (PEC) *b, *m*, *f, *d, *n, *t, *s, *l, *r, *g, *k and *h are continued as Bayso /b/, /m/, /f/, /d/, /n/, /t/, /s/, /l/, /r/, /g/, /k/, and /h/ (the last only in morph initial position). This suggests that there are some innovations in the Bayso consonants, for example, in the area of glottalized consonants.

The Bayso consonants are classified into eight categories based on manner of articulation. These are plosive stops, implosive stops, ejectives, fricatives, affricates, nasals, approximants and glides (semi-vowels) which are subsumed under six places of articulation: bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal.

The distributions, combinations and realisations of Bayso consonant phonemes were investigated in the following section. Each consonant phoneme was described based on place of articulation, manner of articulation and voicing. The phonologically conditioned allophonic realisation of

basic phonemes are identified and indicated within the square bracket. A group of lexical items or words are adduced for each phoneme to exemplify their distributions, combinations and occurrences. The following classification is based on the manner of articulation.

2.1.1. Plosive Stops

Bayso has seven plosive stops in its consonant inventory that include bilabial stops (/b, p/), alveolar stops (/d, t/), velar stops (/g, k/) and glottal stop (/ʔ/). All of them frequently occur in words except /p/ which is one of the least frequent consonant phonemes attested in the Bayso phonology.

/b/ voiced bilabial stop

The voiced bilabial stop /b/ commonly occurs in all word positions. In intervocalic medial position it is realized either as a voiced bilabial fricative [β] or as a geminated consonant. It also occurs as plain consonant both in preconsonantal and postconsonantal positions in word medial position. Its occurrence in preconsonantal position or as a first member in a consonant cluster is very rare. The following examples illustrate the occurrences and distributions of the phoneme /b/.

- (1a) /beke/ ‘water’ /nebe/ ‘ear’ /boob/ ‘colour’ /dabbaalo/ ‘heifer’ /galba/ ‘skin’
 /buutto/ ‘hole’ /debe/ ‘tail’ /warab/ ‘ram’ /ebba/ ‘far’ /absi/ ‘fear’
 /babo/ ‘bread’ /suba/ ‘butter’ /malab/ /abbi/ ‘brother’ /dumbo/ ‘cloud’
 /baa/ ‘market’ /abaram/ ‘dew’ /somboob/ ‘lung’ /aabbo/ ‘father’ /ambal/ ‘wind’
 /burus/ ‘dowry’ /abari/ ‘hearth’ /nuub/ ‘lead’ /abba/ ‘sister’ /gamballa/ ‘black’
 /baal/ ‘leaf’ /luban/ ‘lion’ /kun’ub/ ‘fish’ /abbide/ ‘baby boy’

As indicated under (1a), the voiced bilabial stop widely occurs in all environments and contexts. It is attested as one of the most frequent phonemes in the present Bayso corpora.

The voiced bilabial stop /b/ has different phonetic realisations. It is realized as voiceless bilabial stop [p] when it occurs in preconsonantal position more specifically when it occurs before or preceding one of the voiceless alveolar consonants (/s/ and /t/) as illustrated in the following examples.

- (1b) /abbtoo/ → [aptoo] ‘Do you have?’ /abta/ → [apta] ‘you have.’
 /abbsi/ → [apsi] ‘fear’ /k’ok’k’obtu/ → [k’ok’k’optu] ‘frog’

The above phonological process involves *devocing* and it is summarized as follows:

/b/ → [p]/ v__ /s, t/

Moreover, the voiced bilabial stop /b/ is realized either as voiced bilabial fricative [β] or as geminated consonant in intervocalic position. Observe the following examples.

- (1b) /luban/ → [luβan] ‘lion’
 /babo/ → [baβo] ‘bread’
 /boobitta/ → [booβitta] ‘earthenware’
 /ababbo/ → [aβabbo] ‘grandfather’

The above phonological process can be expressed by the following rule.

/b/ → [β]/ v-v

Generally, the bilabial stop /b/ has three different realizations/variants [b], [β] and /p/ where [β] and /p/ occur in predictable positions, and [b] occurs elsewhere.

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop

According to Ferguson (1976:2) the sounds /p/ and /v/ are rare or non-existent in Ethiopian languages. They are also absent in Proto-East Cushitic Languages (Black 1974), Hayward 1976). In Bayso, too, the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ does not exist in the consonant inventory, and /p/ is one of the least frequent phonemes, i.e., it occurs in a limited number of words. It appears in few medial noun stems, and it does not appear in noun final position. In word medial position it appears either as geminated consonant or in postconsonantal position usually as a second member in the consonant cluster following sonorants. Observe the following illustrative examples.

- (2) /ʃ**appoo**/ ‘the most inner part of sth’
 /**p**irim-/ ‘jump’
 /**p**iil-/ ‘to stripe of bark from a tree’
 /dʒ**impo**/ ‘iron counter balance on butt of the spear’
 /**harpa**/ ‘a part of traditional weaving tool’
 /t’**oompe**/ ‘Cross day torch made by tying twigs’

In the present data, the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ appears in word initial position only in two verb stems ‘piil-’ and ‘pir –am~prim-’ (a compound verb, pir ‘jum’ + am ‘say’) as demonstrated above. In basic noun stems it occurs only in word medial position. It is not attested both in word initial and final positions in basic noun stems. It appears at word initial position in the derived

verbal nouns such as *pirimano* ‘the act of jumping’ and *piilano* ‘the act of stripping’ that are derived from the verb stems *prim-* and *piil-*, respectively.

In few cases, the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ appears as a free variant with labiodental fricative /f/ as in (*apar/afar* ‘four’, *pel-/fel-* ‘work/make, *pirim-/firim-* ‘jump’).

/d/ voiced alveolar stop

The voiced alveolar stop /d/ occurs in all word positions. In word medial position it occurs either as plain consonant or as geminated consonant as a second member in a consonant cluster. The following examples demonstrate the occurrences and distributions of the voiced alveolar stop /d/.

- (3) /**daano**/ ‘elephant’/odomuule/ ‘brain’/**daad**/ ‘flood’ /**giddi** ‘animal’ /**keeldo**/ ‘depth’
 /**daruur**/ ‘sky’ /**badala**/ ‘maize’ /**agud**/ ‘village’ /**gidda**/ ‘now’ /**landi**/ ‘cloth’
 /**debe**/ ‘tail’ /**geedala**/ ‘fox’ /**idaad**/ ‘sheep (PL)’/**oddola**/ ‘island’/ **hegeldi**/ ‘downword’
 /**dobos**/ ‘python’ /**c’ariido**/ ‘green’ /**farad**/ ‘horse’ /**ibaaddo**/ ‘person’/**handiraaro**/ ‘lizard’
 /**diida**/ ‘plain’ /**idaado**/ ‘sheep’ /**bebbeed**/ ‘forehead’/**buddanne**/ ‘gazelle’
 /**duulo**/ ‘hippo’ /**abbaade**/ ‘baby girl’ /**hudduro**/ ‘sleep’ /**soddolaalee**/ ‘in laws’

As illustrated in the above examples, the voiced alveolar stop /d/ commonly occurs in all environments and contexts except in preconsonantal position.

/t/ voiceless alveolar stop

The voiceless alveolar stop /t/ occurs in all word positions and in all contexts except in preconsonantal position. In word medial position it occurs either as plain consonant, as geminated consonant as a second member of consonant cluster. Its occurrence in word final position is very rare, that is, it is attested in a few words. Moreover, it is not attested in preconsonantal position, that is, it does not constitute the first member in a consonant cluster. The following examples are provided to demonstrate the occurrences and distributions of the voiceless alveolar stop /t/.

- (4) /**tak’e**/ ‘bed’ /**wota**/ ‘with’ /**oot**/ ‘fence’ /**allaatti**/ ‘vulture’ /**mortaalle**/ ‘bug’
 /**todoba**/ ‘seven’ /**saatii**/ ‘friend’ /**siddeet**/ ‘eight’ /**hittari**/ ‘today’ /**marti**/ ‘guest’
 /**tuntʃe**/ ‘small ant’ /**mete**/ ‘head’ /**fuutto**/ ‘cotton’ /**galtante**/ ‘widow’ /**aanti**/ ‘that’
 /**toto**/ ‘number’ /**kaati**/ ‘urine’ /**buutto**/ ‘hole’ /**enter**/ ‘husband’ /**c’arto**/ ‘dung’
 /**tekente**/ ‘fly’ /**ariiti**/ ‘sun’ /**itattu**/ ‘yogurt’ /**marti**/ ‘guest’ /**deeleltiti**/ ‘the girl’
 /**torʔo**/ ‘liver’ /**heto**/ ‘thief’ /**raatta**/ ‘correct’ /**k’ok’k’obtu**/ ‘frog’/**kalte**/ ‘axe’

The voiceless alveolar stop /t/ is attested in word final position only in two words *oot* ‘fence’ and *siddeet* ‘eight’ in the present Bayso corpora.

/g/ voiced velar stop

The voiced velar stop /g/ occurs in all environments. In word initial position it occurs only as plain consonant. In word medial position, however, it may occur either as plain consonant or as geminated consonant or as a second member of consonant cluster usually following sonorant sounds. Observe the following illustrative examples.

- (5) /gene/ ‘hand’ /wogarsi/ ‘arbitration’ /bog/ ‘belly’ /merge/ ‘right hand’
 /gosa/ ‘clan’ /saagal/ ‘nine’ /mog/ ‘credit’ /sanga/ ‘castrated bull’
 /gidda/ ‘now’ /migira/ ‘rope’ /daggala/ ‘weed’ /margi/ ‘neck’
 /geebbari/ ‘tomorrow’ /ooga/ ‘fringe of dress’ /hagge/ ‘where’ /iggir/ ‘louse’

As illustrated in the above examples and attested in the present Bayso data, the voiced velar stop does not occur in preconsonantal position. Its occurrence in word final position is also very rare compared to its occurrence in other contexts.

/k/ voiceless velar stop

The phoneme /k/ occurs in all positions. It appears in word medial position either as plain consonant or as geminated consonant in intervocalic position or as a second member of consonant cluster, that is, it occurs in postconsonantal position. It rarely occurs in word final position because it is attested only in a word *luk* ‘leg’ in the present study. Observe the occurrences and distributions of the voiceless velar stop /k/ in the following words.

- (6) /kalaallii/ ‘kideny’ /beke/ ‘water’ /luk/ ‘leg’ /laanko/ ‘aunt’
 /kaati/ ‘urine’ /c’EEKALE/ ‘sand’ /aakki/ ‘that’ /hiski/ ‘worm’
 /kalte/ ‘axe’ /hooke/ ‘hoe’ /akko/ grandmother’ /ambalki/ ‘cold’
 /kaami/ ‘grain’ /hamboroke/ ‘testicle’ /lukkale/ ‘hen’ /ilki/ ‘tooth’
 /ker/ ‘dog’ /sakil/local beer’ /hikka/ ‘this’ /horko/ ‘ancient’

As observed in the above examples, the phoneme /k/ widely occurs in all environments and contexts except in word final position and in preconsonantal position.

/ʔ/ voiceless glottal stop

The voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs only in word medial position. It is not attested both in word initial and final positions. In word medial position it occurs in three different ways. It occurs

either as plain consonant between a sequence of two like vowels or in postconsonantal position usually as a second member of consonant cluster or between a sequence of unlike vowels usually as an epenthetic element to break the impermissible vowel sequences (cf. 2.6.4). This phoneme mostly occurs in disyllabic words where it sometimes appears as onset or coda of the second syllable. The following examples demonstrate the occurrences and distributions of the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| (7) /aʔalaa/ ‘tortoise’ | /hawʔayi/ ‘nude’ | /heʔi/ ‘word’ |
| /eʔemo/ ‘stone’ | /salʔeessa/ ‘miscarriage’ | /daaʔer/ ‘monkey’ |
| /hawaʔaami/ ‘disease’ | /horʔaamo/ ‘type of food’ | /haʔur/ ‘barely’ |
| /iʔib/ ‘heel’ | /halʔaa/ ‘long, strong grass’ | /haʔuʔi/ ‘hunger’ |

As illustrated in the above examples and confirmed in the present Bayso corpora, the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/ never appears in word initial position, final position and in preconsonantal position as a first member in a consonant cluster. Moreover, it does not occur as geminated consonant.

2.1.2. Implosives

According to Kawachi (2007:29) “a language with one implosive usually has the bilabial implosive /ɓ/”. But Greenburg (1970:128; as quoted in Kawachi 2007:29) noted that “Eastern Cushitic Languages are unusual in that, although they each have only one implosive, that implosive is /ɗ/, rather than /ɓ/”. This might be true of those Eastern Cushitic languages that have only one implosive as there are other Eastern Cushitic languages that have more than one implosives including Diraytata (Wondowosen, 2006:9), Konso (Ongaye, 2013:7-8), Ts’amakko (Sava, 2005:9) and Dasanech (Tosco, 2001:8). Bayso has alveolar implosive /ɗ/ and two nasal implosives /m̠, n̠/, but it lacks bilabial implosive /ɓ/.

The nasal implosives are among the marked features of Bayso as they are not attested in any other Cushitic languages. Since there is no IPA symbols for nasal implosives, they are represented with double apostrophes (m̠, n̠) in the present study. The descriptions and occurrences of implosives are presented as follows.

/ɗ/ voiced alveolar implosive

The voiced alveolar implosive /ɗ/ is attested at word initial and medial positions in the present study. It is not attested at word final position. In word initial position it occurs as plain consonant, and in word medial position it occurs either as plain consonant or as geminated consonant. The

alveolar implosive / **ɗ** / is not attested either in pre-consonantal position or in post-consonantal position. In the present study, it is confirmed only in few words given below.

- (8) /**ɗ**uunfata/ ‘March’ /med**ɗ**ibe/ ‘alright’ /ma**ɗ**ɗa/ ‘plough handle’
 /**ɗ**oobbu/ ‘calves’ kraal’ /ba**ɗ**eessa/ ‘summer’ /ha**ɗ**ɗeene/ ‘good after noon’

The alveolar implosive /**ɗ**/ is common in the Cushitic languages although it is not universal. In Bayso it is one of the least frequent phonemes as it is attested in a very limited Bayso words that are listed under (8) above. Its phonemic status is also questionable due to the reasons provided below.

First, the occurrence of /**ɗ**/ in the medial position is predictable, that is, it occurs in an intervocalic position. Secondly, it occurs in very few words, and currently it is found in an expression ‘med**ɗ**ibe’ to mean *alright* and the words ‘ma**ɗ**ɗa’, ‘ha**ɗ**ɗeene’, ‘**ɗ**oobbu’, ‘ba**ɗ**eessa’ and ‘**ɗ**uunfata’ all listed under (8). The expression ‘ha**ɗ**ɗeene’ is presently used alternatively with ‘hat’**t**’eene’ in which / **ɗ**/ is replaced by /t’/. The word ‘**ɗ**oobbu’ seems an archaic word as it is not familiar among the new generation of Bayso, and the words ‘ba**ɗ**eessa’ and ‘**ɗ**uunfata’ have been coined recently to represent the summer season and the month of ‘March’, respectively. The expression ‘med**ɗ**ibe’ is not used by Bayso native speakers and it is replaced with Wolayta expression ‘ero’ that has equivalent meaning with ‘med**ɗ**ibe’. Thirdly, the phoneme /**ɗ**/ commonly occurs in word initial position in other Eastern Cushitic languages such as Oromo e.g. (/ɗaltu/ the term used to refer to feminine gender), (/ɗara/ ‘lie’), and Bayso uses /t’/ in word initial position for the same terms with the same meaning as in (/faltu/) and (/t’ara/ ‘lie’). Moreover, Fleming (1964) represented or transcribed the Bayso word for ‘drink’ as *ɗam-*, but in the present data the initial /**ɗ**/ is replaced with /t’/ and the word became (/tam/). Thus, one may reasonably argue that /**ɗ**/ is replaced by /t’/ in word initial position in Bayso. Although both /t’/ and /**ɗ**/ occur in word medial position, /t’/ does not occur as plain consonant in intervocalic position as /**ɗ**/ does may be except in loan words. In word medial position /t’/ occurs as a second member in consonant cluster e.g., (hantirfe) ‘sneezing’, (birfe) ‘top/tip part of sth.’, and /**ɗ**/ never appears in the medial consonant cluster either as first or second member. So, it seems that the alveolar ejective (/t’/) has replaced the alveolar implosive (/ɗ/) in all environments except in intervocalic word medial position. Generally, these two sounds appear in mutually exclusive environments, and the minimal pairs are also not found that prove the distinctiveness of /**ɗ**/ and /t’/. Hence, it is reasonable to conclude that the sound /**ɗ**/ occurs either as a variant of /t’/ in intervocalic position where the independent phoneme /t’/ does not occur or it is being replaced with /t’/.

As mentioned earlier, in Proto-Eastern Cushitic, the implosive /d/ occurs in word initial position which is very rare or absent in Bayso. Regarding this, Hayward (1976) stated that the Proto eastern Cushitic *d has zero reflexes at word initial position in Bayso, and he provided the following examples.

(8.1)	Bayso	PEC (Proto East Cushitic)
	eed ‘graze’	*deed ‘graze’
	iiig ‘blood’	*diig ‘blood’
	ogorroo ‘hair/fur’	*dogor ‘hair/fur’
	iis ‘leave of’	*diis ‘leave of’
	ul ‘land/earth’	*dul ‘land’

As the comparison between PEC and Bayso indicates, the words that begin with alveolar implosive in PEC do not begin with the same in Bayso.

Based on the above analysis, two different conclusions can be suggested concerning the alveolar implosive /d/. That the implosive /d/ is being replaced by alveolar ejective /tʼ/ in all contexts although the process of total replacement has not been completed yet or it is a variant of /tʼ/ since the two sounds occur in mutually exclusive environments.

Hayward (1978:542) regarded /d/ as a variant of dental ejective /tʃ/, the phoneme which is not attested in Bayso in the present study. However, Hayward’s observation gives a hint about the status of /d/.

/mʷ/ voiced bilabial nasal implosive

The nasal implosive /mʷ/ occurs in word medial position. It is not attested at word initial and final positions. Word medially, it occurs in an intervocalic position as shown below.

- (9) /goomʷe/ ‘bitter’ /damʷayd/ ‘coroccodile’s kid’
 /gimʷaaydo/ ‘ladder’ /lumʷo/ ‘rapped bough of false banana’

During the articulation of /mʷ/ the air is trapped both at the two lips and glottis, that is, at the two articulatory places. However, the air trapped at the glottis is released first that allow or force the air into the lungs in the same way as the articulation of /b/ and /d/. At first experience, the words that contain voiced bilabial nasal implosive seem to be articulated with the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/ like, for example, /goomʷe/, /gimʷaayido/, /damʷayd/ and /lumʷo/ which have no meanings at all with the presence of the glottal stop. However, a close scrutiny indicates that these words contain voiced bilabial nasal implosive /mʷ/ rather than voiceless glottal stop.

/n̥/ voiced alveolar nasal implosive

The nasal implosive phoneme /n̥/ appears only in word medial position. It usually occurs in an intervocalic position between the high front vowel /i/ or between the mid, front vowel /e/ or between the back vowel /u/ as shown below.

- (10) /k**un̥**ub/ ‘fish’, /b**an̥**e/ ‘place’
 /m**en̥**eer/ ‘Placenta’, /e**n̥**e/ ‘he butcherd’
 /s**en̥**er/ ‘intestine’ /h**in̥**i/ ‘these’
 /b**in̥**ii/ ‘mosquito’ /k’**an̥**e/ ‘chigger’

The nasal implosives /m̥/ and /n̥/ are produced with ingressive airstream mechanism in the same way as other implosives /b, d, g/. The nasal implosives are not identified in any other Cushitic languages so far, and probably in world languages, because there are no symbols that represent nasal implosives in the International Phonetic Alphabet. This means that they are specific to Bayso.

As mentioned above, the distribution of nasal implosives /m̥/ and /n̥/ is limited to an intervocalic word medial position. Therefore, one may suspect that they are allophones of /m/ and /n/, respectively. However, /m/ and /n/ also appear in an intervocalic position as /m̥/ and /n̥/ occur which indicates that they appear in an overlapping position at least in one environment. Hence, /m̥/ and /n̥/ are distinctive phonemes.

The following examples show the distributions and occurrences of nasal implosives in relation to their corresponding nasal stops.

- | | Nasal Stops (m/n) | nasal implosives (m̥/n̥) |
|------|--------------------------|---|
| (11) | /a n i/ ‘I’ | /s en̥ eer/ ‘intestine’ |
| | /g n e/ ‘hand’ | /e n̥ o/ ‘slaughtering’ |
| | /i m in/ /buy’ | /g im̥ ’aaydo ‘ladder’ |
| | /m e m/ ‘what’ | /t im̥ ’alle/ ‘name of a person’ |

As shown in example (11), both /m/ and /n/ appear in intervocalic positions in the same way as /m̥/ and /n̥/ that proves the distinctiveness of each of them.

The articulation of /n̥/ is closely related to /d/. It requires very close perception to distinguish these two phonemes. During the articulation of /n̥/ the tip of the tongue becomes highly stiff and it is forcefully pushed against the alveolar ridge (very close to the base of dental) whereas during

the articulation of /d/ all things remain the same but the tip of the tongue is slightly pushed against the alveolar ridge (but it is not very close to the base of dental).

2.1.3. Ejectives

Fleming (1964) claimed that “glotalized stops (ejectives) are very rare in Bayso, and the contrast with the neighbouring languages is great”. Bender and Fleming (1976:44) also stated that “... Bayso, a Somali language, has lost its pharyngeals and has not gained glottalized sounds, so that it (along with Beja) has lost some of the characteristic features of general Ethiopian phonology”. But, Bayso has ejectives like most other Eastern Cushitic languages (Hudson 1976) and like other Ethiopian languages (Ferguson 1976: 66). For example, the Cushitic Languages Oromo (Abera 1995), Sidaama (Kawachi 2007), Gawwada (Geberew 2003) each have four ejectives (/p', k', t', tʃ'), and Diraytata (Wondwossen 2006) has three ejective series /t'/, /k'/, /tʃ'/. Hence, Bayso has no less number of ejectives than the languages mentioned above since it has five ejective series /p', /t'/, /s'/, /k'/ and /tʃ'/. The descriptions of Bayso ejectives are given as follows.

/p'/ voiceless bilabial ejective

The phoneme /p'/ appears in word medial position. In the medial position, it appears as plain (single) or geminated consonant or in postconsonantal position usually as a second member in the consonant cluster with sonorants. The phoneme /p'/ appears neither at word initial nor final position. Observe the following examples.

- (12) /k'op'e/ 'reception' /rop'p'itto/ 'snare, small trap'
 /bip'p'iilo/ 'parched grain' /tʃ'irp'aa/ 'part of a house where a husband sits'
 /bap'p'alo/ 'ants'

The voiceless bilabial ejective /p'/ is one of the least frequent phonemes in Bayso. In the present study, it is attested only in the words listed under (12).

/s'/ voiceless alveolar ejective fricative

The voiceless alveolar ejective fricative /s'/ is not so common in East Cushitic Languages. It seems that Bayso is one of few East Cushitic Languages that has the phoneme /s'/ in its consonant inventory. The sound/ phoneme /s'/ is not attested in Proto-Eastern Cushitic (Hayward, 1976; Black, 1974). Therefore, it may be entered into Bayso sound system through loan words from Omotic or Semitic Languages or it could be Bayso's latter sound innovation. The following examples illustrate the occurrence and distribution of the phoneme /s'/ in the present Bayso corpus.

- (13) /mes'i/ 'bark of a tree' /lans'e/ 'pancreas'
 /s'alaye/ 'devil' /s'ii/ 'bone marrow'

The phoneme /s'/ occurs in word initial and medial positions. In the present study, the voiceless alveolar ejective /s'/ is identified as the least frequent phoneme since it occurs in very few words. In medial position, it is geminated as in the verbal noun *hamas's'ano* 'to sit/the act of sitting' which is derived from the verb stem *hamas'*- 'sit'. It is not attested as geminated consonant in basic noun stems.

/t'/ voiceless alveolar ejective

The voiceless alveolar ejective /t'/ occurs in word initial and medial positions. It does not appear in word final position except in verb stems as in *mat't'*- 'create'. The following examples show the occurrences and distributions of the phoneme /t'/.

- (14) /t'eeri/ 'anus' /mat'arri/ 'clearing forest' /t'uut't'uu/ 'armpit'
 /t'altu' 'female' /lunt'ut'i/ 'smooth surface' /toot't'essa/ 'November'
 /t'aamme/ 'flour' /wut'a/ 'seed' /mat't'a/ 'ploughshare handle'
 /t'e?e/ 'mid-day' /fiit'a/ 'lineage' /bat't'eessa/ 'October'
 /t'oompe/ 'torch' /saat'ile/ 'wooden box' /k'ant'o/ 'itch'

In word medial position, the voiceless alveolar ejective /t'/ occurs as geminated consonant, as plain consonant and in postconsonantal position as illustrated above. It is not attested in preconsonantal position. Its occurrence in postconsonantal position is also very rare.

Hayward (1976:77) stated that the alveolar ejective /t'/ is found in loanwords, and it also appears in some words which have /d/ in all their cognates.

(14.1) /t'/ in loan words

Bayso	source Languages
t'aafii 'Ergostis Tef'	Am. t'ef (Am=Amharic)
t'ejji 'mead'	Am. t'ajji (j~ dʒ)
t'ara 'lie (vb)'	Wo. t'ar -sis 'cheat' (Wo=Wolayta)
kit'a 'flood'	Wo. kit'a 'flood' (Hayward 1976)

Although the phoneme /t'/ is found in loan words as Hayward (1976) stated, it is one of the basic phonemes in Bayso as illustrated in example (14), and it is also one of the most frequent phonemes attested in the present data. Comparison with the cognates of related languages shows

that the voiceless alveolar ejective /t'/ is replacing the voiced alveolar implosive /d/ at a word initial position as Hayward (1976) observed as follows.

(14.2) /t'/ in cognate words

Bayso	Related Languages
t'am- 'drink'	PSL *ɗam 'drink'
t'aamme 'flour'	Di. *ɗamma 'flour'
t'altuu/t'ala 'female'	Or. *ɗaltu 'female'
t'ukkuba 'ilness'	Or. *ɗukkub (Hayward 1976)

(PSL=(Proto-Southern-Lowland), (Di=Diraytata), (Or=Oromo))

As the data above shows, the alveolar ejective /t'/ is commonly found in loan words (cf.14.1). It has also consistently replaced the alveolar implosive /d/ in cognate initial word position as the comparison with the PSL and Lowland East Cushitic languages (Oromo, Diraytata) indicates (cf.14.2). Thus, the presence of /t'/ in a number of loan words, and the replacement of /d/ by /t'/ in word initial position prove that /t'/ has entered into the sound system of Bayso through borrowing or may be it strengthens the assertion that ejectives are the latter innovation of Bayso.

/k'/ voiceless velar ejective

The voiceless velar ejective /k'/ appears in word initial and medial positions. It is not attested in word final position except in verb final stem as in *folk'*- 'to split wood'. The following examples are given to show the occurrences and distributions of the voiceless velar ejective /k'/.

- (15) /k'anaac'o/ 'fleas' /tak'e/ 'traditional bed' /bajink'a'/ 'sorghum'
 /k'ant'o/ 'itch' /c'aak'o/ 'oath' /halk'a/ 'lazy'
 /k'araank'ur/ 'nape' /lik'aak'a/ 'spindle' /hark'aama/ 'rye'
 /k'onc'ora/ 'machete' /fark'ak'o/ 'tree's branch' /t'ork'aaye/ 'thunder'

As illustrated in the examples above, the voiceless velar ejective /k'/ occurs in word medial position either as plain consonant or in postconsonantal position as a second member in a consonant cluster. In the present study, it is attested occurring as geminated consonant at the medial position only in a basic noun stem *k'ok'k'obtu* 'frog' and a verbal noun *suk'k'aano* 'the act of spinning' which is derived from the verb stem *suk'k'*- 'spin'. Rather, it is commonly found as geminated consonant in loan words such as *mant'ak'k'o* 'hooked iron/tree', *k'or'k'orro* 'iron sheet' and *nik'k'saat* 'tattoo' the words that Bayso borrowed from Amharic.

/tʃ̣/ ~ /c̣/ voiceless alveo-palatal ejective

The alveo-palatal ejective /tʃ̣/ occurs in word initial and medial positions. It is not attested in word final position. The following examples demonstrate the distribution and occurrence of the phoneme /tʃ̣/.

- (16) /tʃ̣aa/ ‘spleen’ /martʃ̣o/ ‘iron’ /tʃ̣atʃ̣tʃ̣awo/ ‘scorpion’
/tʃ̣irp̣’a/ ‘narrow path’ /ongorootʃ̣e/ ‘jaw’ /girtʃ̣itʃ̣tʃ̣i/ ‘kinky hair’
/tʃ̣ariido/ ‘green’ /faltʃ̣atʃ̣a/ ‘ugly’ /hantʃ̣ufe/ ‘salvia’
/tʃ̣ibaar/ ‘goat’s kids’ /gootʃ̣a/ ‘house entrance’

As designated above, the alveopalatal ejective /tʃ̣/ widely occurs as plain consonant both in word initial and medial positions, but it rarely occurs in postconsonantal position and as geminated consonant. The Bayso word *hanc’ufe* ‘salvia’ in which the phoneme /t/ is attested as a second member in a consonant cluster cognates with the Afan Oromo word *hanc’ufa* ‘salvia’. It seems that Bayso might have borrowed the word ‘*hanc’ufe*’ from Afan Oromo. Hence, the occurrence of /tʃ̣/ in postconsonantal position or as a second member in the consonant cluster is doubtful at least in the present study.

The phoneme /tʃ̣/ also found in many loan words as in *tʃ̣ark’i* ‘cloth’, *tʃ̣aamma* ‘shoe’, *tʃ̣uutʃ̣ute* ‘newly hatched chicks’ and *tʃ̣ok’k’ona* ‘oppression’ (from Amharic) and *tʃ̣affaa* ‘marshyland’, *tʃ̣uf-* ‘close’ (from Oromo).

2.1.4. Fricatives

Bayso has five fricative series in its consonant inventory that include /f, s, ʃ, z, h/. Except the voiced alveolar fricative /z/, which is found only in few Bayso words, the other fricatives occur widely in a number of words. The description, distributions and occurrences of each fricative is given as follows.

/f/ voiceless labiodental fricative

The phoneme /f/ occurs in all positions. It freely alternates with the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ in word medial position in few words as in *apar/afar* ‘four’ and *pel- /fel-* ‘work’.

- (17) /falli/ ‘relative’ /siifa/ ‘sword’ /lef/ ‘bone’
/farad/ ‘horse’ /fufo/ ‘comb’ /duf/ ‘armpit’
/fer/ ‘finger’ /ufufo/ ‘bladder’ /c’affa/ ‘marshyland’
/foggolo/ ‘sweat’ /afar/ ‘four’ /darfolle/ ‘peanut’

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ widely occurs in word initial and medial positions as plain consonant, but it rarely occurs in postconsonantal position and as geminated consonant. As geminated consonant in the medial position, it is attested in very few word such as *c'affaa* 'marshyland' and *ufuuffo* 'umbilicalcord'. In postconsonantal position or as a second member in the consonant cluster it is also attested in few words such as *darfolle* 'peanut' and *ferfera* 'a curved wood used for paddling boat'.

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ appears in all word positions. The following examples demonstrate the occurrences and distributions of the phoneme /s/.

- (18) /sakil/ 'local beer' /gasii/ 'buffalo' /rees/ 'corpse' /hassino/ 'marriage' /gorsa/ 'advice'
 /seera/ 'tradition' /hase/ 'beads' /gees/ 'year' /k'ussa/ 'proverb' /sarsi/ 'cloth'
 /sarsi/ 'cloth' /isal/ 'cabbage' /naas/ 'breast' /essebo/ 'salt' /wogarsi/ 'arbitration'
 /suul/ 'finger nail' /gosa/ 'clan' /ees/ 'grass' /bissile/ 'autumn' /inse/ 'each other'
 /seed/ 'three' /absi/ 'fear' /dureessa/ 'rich' /hiski/ 'worm'

In the medial position /s/ occurs either as plain consonant or as geminated consonant or in a postconsonantal position as a second member of consonant cluster.

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is also attested in preconsonantal position in a word *hiski* 'worm' although its occurrence in this position is very rare. However, it is one of a few obstruents that occur in preconsonantal position or as a first member of consonant cluster.

/ʃ / ~ /sh/ voiceless palatal fricative

The voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/ occurs in word initial and medial positions. It is not attested at word final position in the present study. It is also not attested either in preconsonantal or postconsonantal position as well as as geminated consonant in word medial position. It occurs as plain consonant both in initial and medial positions. The following examples illustrate the occurrence and distribution of the phoneme /ʃ/.

- (19) /ʃirgo/ 'chick pea' /ʃankala/ 'a long puddling wood'
 /ʃifaar/ 'grey hair' /maʃaʃe/ 'bride'
 /ʃotta/ 'snatching' /maʃa/ 'horn'
 /ʃore/ 'porridge' /baʃink'a/ 'sorghum'
 /ʃaʃo/ 'honest' /gaʃe/ 'traditonal blanket'

There are some loan words in Bayso that contain /ʃ/ - *ʃaafii* ‘head wear’, *ʃankoora* ‘sugar cane’, *ʃunkurtaa* ‘onion’ and *ʃaama* ‘candle/type of cloth’, all are borrowed from Amharic.

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative

According to Black (1974), the Lowland East Cushitic languages Arbore, Bayso and Dasenech possess the phoneme /z/. Fleming (1964) and Hayward (1978) identified the sound /z/ in Bayso only in the word *zizaale* ‘bee’. However, the sound /z/ is also identified in few place names and personal names as shown below.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---|
| (20) | /zizaaale/ ‘bee’ | /hazale/ ‘personal name’ |
| | /hazala/ ‘place name’ | /zabiibe/ ‘personal name/name of a drink’ |

In the present study, the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is attested only in very few Bayso noun stems, and in some loan words. Hence, it is identified as one of the least frequent phonemes in Bayso. Moreover, it occurs neither as geminated consonant or in preconsonantal and posconsonantal positions both in Bayso basic noun stems and in loan words.

Hayward (1978:75) stated that the sound /z/ is found in Proto-East Cushitic, and it is preserved in Bayso. But, he said that ‘onomatopoeic may be invoked to account for this preservation’ which refers only to the word *zizaale*. On the one hand, Hayward’s statement seems valid because the phoneme /z/ is maintained only in a Bayso basic noun stem ‘zizaale’ and, on the other hand, the reason for its preservation is invalid since the sound /z/ is also preserved in few place names as indicated above.

A phonemic status of /z/ in Bayso is uncertain due to the following reasons. First, it commonly occurs in loan words such as the words *diza* ‘small snare/trap’ and *gazze* ‘highland’ (Wolayta) and *zeyiti* ‘oil’, *ʃämiz* ‘shirt’ and *muuze* ‘banana’ (Amharic), and the word *zimbirite* (‘a part of traditional weaving tool – traditional loom’) that is presumed to be borrowed from Dorze with the practice of weaving which was not originally known among Bayso. Secondly, the cognate words between Bayso and PEC (Proto-East Cushitic) languages show that the sound /d/ replaces the sound /z/ in Bayso. For example, According to Black (1974:270), in Proto Lowland East Cushitic, the word for *heart* is ‘wizena’, and in Bayso it is ‘wadana’ where the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is replaced with the voiced alveolar stop /d/. Further comparison of PEC – Bayso cognates show that the PEC /z/ is replaced by /d/ in Bayso. Notice the comparison of Bayso and Proto-East Cushitic cognates given below.

Bayso	PEC
(21) bad ‘deep water’	*baz ‘lake/sea’
gaadool ‘trees’	*geez ‘trees’ (Saho)
hidid ‘root/blood vessel’	*hizz ‘root’ (Saho) (Fleming 1964)

All the data given above imply that the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is almost replaced by the voiced alveolar stop /d/ in Bayso or may be the two phonemes are in the process of being merged together in favour of /d/.

Haberland and Lamberti (1988:135) elicited the word for ‘three’ as *seed* or *zed* in Bayso. In the present data, however, it consistently appears as *seed* and the alternative *zed* does not appear at all. Moreover, the native speakers are not heard as saying *zed*. This may also cast some doubt on the status of /z/.

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ occurs only in word initial position. It frequently appears in word initial position and it is not attested in word medial and final positions as exemplified below.

(22)	/hallaatʃe/ ‘crocodile’	/hega/ ‘amount’
	/hant’irʃa/ ‘sneezing’	/hassu/ ‘that’
	/huu/ ‘house furniture’	/helakki/ ‘red’
	/haan/ ‘shoulder’	/hamboroke/ ‘testicles’

In the present study, the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is not attested both in preconsonantal and postconsonantal positions, that is, either as a first member or as a second member in the consonant cluster. It is attested in word medial intervocalic position in a loan word /mihana/ ‘a part of weaving machine’ that Bayso definitely borrowed from Dorze along with the practice of weaving. Moreover, it is noted that the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/ and the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ occur in mutually exclusive environment. The former does not occur in word initial position and the latter does not occur in word medial position. Comparatively, the voiceless glottal stop has a wider distribution as it occurs both in intervocalic position and in postconsonantal position at word medial position. Besides, a minimal pair is not found to prove the distinctiveness of these sounds as they do not appear in a similar environment. Hence, this may suggest that the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is a variant of the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/ as it occurs in a predictable position,

that is, only at word initial position. Otherwise, it seems that the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/ has totally replaced the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ in word medial position.

2.1.5. Affricates

Bayso has two palatal affricates - /dʒ/ and /tʃ/. Their occurrence, distribution and combination with other phonemes is given below.

/dʒ/ ~ /j/ voiced alveo-palatal affricate

The voiced alveo-palatal affricate /dʒ/ occurs in word initial and medial positions as shown below.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| (23) /dʒabana/ ‘kettle’ | /barraadʒa/ ‘star’ | /gelaandʒe/ ‘love’ |
| /dʒeera/ ‘fast’ | /ardʒata/ ‘stool, seat’ | /mundʒe/ ‘lip’ |
| /dʒeren/ ‘spear’ | /aldʒite/ ‘generous’ | /iraardʒe ‘procupine’ |
| /dʒirma/ ‘butt’ | /bekeendʒa/ ‘sperm’ | /kabadʒdʒa/ ‘respect’ |

The voiced alveo-palatal affricate /dʒ/ frequently occurs in postconsonantal position at word medial position as demonstrated in the data given above. It rarely occurs as plain consonant and as geminated consonant in word medial position. Its occurrence as plain consonant in the medial position is attested only in a Bayso noun stem *barraadʒa* ‘star’ in the present data. As geminated consonant it is attested in two noun stems *kabadʒdʒa* ‘respect’ and *nadʒdʒire* Bayso’s name for white people. It seems that Bayso has borrowed the word *kabadʒdʒa* ‘respect’ from Afaan Oromoo word *kabadʒa* with the same meaning ‘respect’. The phoneme /dʒ/ is also found in other loan words such as *dʒaldeessa* ‘baboon’, *goldʒa* ‘warthog’, *dʒaarsa* ‘elderly man’, *dʒaarti* ‘elderly woman’ and *dʒirma* ‘tree’s stalk/stem’ that Bayso borrowed from Afaan Oromoo.

/tʃ/ ~ /ch/ voiceless alveo-palatal affricate

The voiceless alveo-palatal affricate /tʃ/ occurs only in word medial position. It is not attested both in word initial and final positions. The following words are adduced to show the occurrence and distribution of the phoneme //tʃ/.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (24) /atʃaano/ ‘beard’ | /hallaatʃtʃe/ ‘crocodile’ |
| /itʃib/ ‘pubic hair’ | /wayitʃtʃa/ ‘spiritual father’ |
| /tuntʃe/ ‘small, red ant’ | /hubuutʃtʃo/ ‘small pot’ |
| /maganaantʃo/ ‘wife of wayitʃtʃa’ | /gutʃtʃe/ ‘ostrich’ |
| /duumantʃa/ ‘cloud’ | /gotʃtʃora/ ‘smooth hair’ |

As it is attested in the present Bayso linguistic corpus and exemplified in the data given above, the voiceless alveo-palatal /tʃ/ frequently occurs as geminated consonant in word medial position as opposed to its voiced counter part /dʒ/. It also occurs as plain consonant and in postconsonantal position, that is, as a second member of consonant cluster in word medial position although both occurrences are not as frequent as the geminated one.

2.1.6. Nasals

Bayso consonant inventory consists of two nasals (/m/ and /n/). Their occurrence, distribution and combination with other phonemes is presented as follows.

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal

The bilabial nasal /m/ appears in all word positions. Observe the occurrences and distributions of the bilabial nasal in the following words.

- (25) /**m**arti/ ‘guest’ /h**m**een/ ‘night’ /son**d**om/ ‘thirty’ /ged**eem**mi/ ‘womb’
 /**m**aammaa/ ‘tale’ /l**a**ma/ ‘two’ /r**i**im/ ‘grinding stone’ /**a**mbal/ ‘wind’
 /**m**aar/ ‘body’ /d**a**ma/ ‘stick’ /w**a**d**a**m/ ‘mountains’ /d**a**rme/ ‘young, female donkey’
 /**m**ege/ ‘name’ /d**e**mer/ ‘donkey’ /l**eem**ma/ ‘bamboo’ /i**l**mi/ ‘tear’
 /**m**anto/ ‘peins’ /eʔ**e**mo/ ‘stone’ /c’a**a**mmola/ ‘cheese’ /g**u**m**a**ar/ ‘eyelash’
 /**m**ete/ ‘head’ /h**a**mur/ ‘scar’ /d**a**rg**a**mm**a**/ ‘wheat’ /s**o**m**b**oob/ ‘lung’

As illustrated above and attested in the present Bayso corpora, the bilabial nasal /m/ frequently occurs as plain consonant, as geminated consonant, and both in preconsonantal and postconsonantal positions at word medial position. It also commonly occurs as plain consonant in word initial position, but its occurrence is not so frequent in word final position.

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal

The voiced alveolar nasal /n/ appears in all word positions. The following words are adduced to demonstrate the occurrences and distributions of the phoneme /n/.

- (26) /n**e**bebbo/ ‘ears’ /d**a**no/ ‘elephant’ /l**u**ban/ ‘lion’ /h**u**nna/ ‘force’ /h**a**nd**i**raaro/ ‘lizard’
 /n**a**as/ ‘breast’ /k**o**no**o**no/ ‘nose’ /e**l**en/ ‘fire’ /d**i**g**i**n**n**i/ ‘month’ /g**e**la**a**nd**ʒ**e/ ‘love’
 /n**e**be/ ‘ear’ /b**i**na**a**na/ ‘hair’ /h**a**an/ ‘shoulder’ /d**o**n**n**a/ ‘unkind’ /a**a**n**t**i/ ‘that’
 /n**o**/ ‘we’ /f**a**ana/ ‘foot’ /d**ʒ**eren/ ‘spear’ /a**n**na/ ‘aunt’ /g**a**an**ʒ**gal/ ‘duck’
 /n**e**efo/ ‘soul’ /w**o**no/ ‘king’ /h**a**an/ ‘shoulder’ /h**a**g**a**n**n**e/ ‘before’ /d**u**un**f**ata/ ‘March’
 /n**u**ub/ ‘lead’ /iʔ**a**ne/ ‘malt’ /k**e**n/ ‘five’ /h**e**el**i**n**t**ʃo/ ‘roof’ /d**a**ra**a**nd**a**r/ ‘beads’

As illustrated above and attested in the present Bayso corpora, the voiced alveolar nasal is the most frequent phoneme in Bayso. It frequently occurs in all contexts except in postconsonantal position. In word medial position it occurs either as plain consonant or as geminated consonant or in preconsonantal position as a first member of consonant cluster..

The voiced alveolar nasal /n/ has three different phonologically conditioned realizations as demonstrated in the following examples.

- (26.1) /inse/ → [inse] ‘each other’ /muundʒe/ → [muuɲdʒe] ‘lips’
 /mantiti/ → [mantiti] ‘vagina’ /hingirdʒo/ → [hiŋgirdʒo] ‘type of cabbage’
 /heelintʃo/ → [heeliɲtʃo] ‘roof’ /baʃiŋkʼa/ → [baʃiŋkʼa] ‘sorghum’

As illustrated in examples (26.1), the alveolar nasal /n/ is realized as voiced velar nasal [ŋ] when it is followed by velars /k, kʼ/ and /g/, and it is realized as voiced palatal nasal /ɲ/ when it is followed by palatals /dʒ/ and /tʃ/. In all other environments it is realized as [n].

2.1.7. Liquids

Bayso consonant inventory consists of two liquids (/l/ , /r/). Their descriptions, occurrences and distributions are presented as follows.

/l/ alveolar lateral

The voiced liquid lateral /l/ appears in all word positions. The following words are provided to show the occurrences and distributions of the phoneme /l/

- (27) /lukkale/ ‘hen’ /belette/ ‘snow’ /baal/ ‘leaf’ /falli/ ‘relative’ /ilko/ ‘teeth’
 /laga/ ‘river’ /gilib/ ‘knee’ /ambal/ ‘wind’ /dolle/ ‘near’ /galba/ ‘skin’
 /libe ‘pole’ /baala/ ‘holiday’ /hisi/ ‘elbow’ /bulla/ ‘yellow’ /alma/ ‘week’
 /luk/ ‘leg’ /badala/ ‘maize’ /deele/ ‘girl’ /allaattii/ ‘vulture’ /aldʒite/ ‘generous’
 /lef/ ‘bone’ /aalo/ ‘very’ /heleel/ ‘woman’ /gamballa/ ‘black’ /cʼaalto/ ‘fermentation’
 /luban/ ‘lion’ /cʼala/ ‘bile’ /ilaal/ ‘fruits’ /bulullo/ ‘ash’ /awuʔalʔo/ ‘costly’

As illustrated under example (27) and attested in the present Bayso data, the voiced liquid lateral widely occurs in all positions and contexts except in postconsonantal position. In word medial positions it occurs as plain consonant, as geminated consonant and as a first member of consonant cluster, that is, it occurs in preconsonantal position.

/r/ alveolar flap

The phoneme /r/ occurs in all positions and contexts. The following examples are given to show the occurrences and distributions of the phoneme /r/.

- (28) /reera/ ‘thigh’ /waraba/ ‘hyena’ /ker/ ‘dog’ /gorra/ ‘dust’ /horko/ ‘ancient’
/roodde/ ‘sling’ /arardʒa/ ‘ribs’ /aar/ ‘ox’ /erre/ ‘soil’ /daddarte/ ‘spider’
/roop’p’itto/ ‘snare’ /iriirim/ ‘termite’ /fer/ ‘finger’ /dirra/ ‘spinalcord’ /margi/ ‘neck’
/raa/ ‘true’ /ira/ ‘farmland’ /daaʔer/ ‘monkey’ /barraadʒa/ ‘star’ /gorsa/ ‘advice’
/riim/ ‘mill’ /abari/ ‘hearth’ /babbaar/ ‘man’ /erreb/ ‘tongue’ /c’arto/ ‘dung’
/raatto/ ‘together’ /farad/ ‘horse’ /afar/ ‘four’ /orroo/ ‘in’ /burʔaato/ ‘type of food’

As exemplified under (28) and confirmed in the present Bayso corpus, the voiced alveolar medial approximant /r/ frequently occurs in all word positions and in all contexts except in postconsonantal position. In word medial position it occurs either as plain consonant or as geminated consonant or in preconsonantal position as a first member of consonant cluster.

2.1.8. Glides/approximant

Bayso consonant inventory consist of two glides (/w/ and /j/~ /y). The occurrences and distributions of these phonemes are given as follows.

/w/ labio-velar approximant

The labio-velar approximant /w/ occurs in word initial and medial positions. It is not attested in word final position. The following words are given to show the occurrences and distributions the phoneme /w/.

- (29) /wadami/ ‘mountain’ /tʃˀatʃˀtʃˀawo/ ‘scropin’ /kawwe/ ‘unkle’
/walabo/ ‘boat’ /awuʔalao/ ‘disease’ /hawwayi/ ‘pocket’
/waa/ ‘god’ /awud/ ‘village’ /awwiya/ ‘uncle’
/warab/ ‘ram’ /tʃˀawudo/ ‘mud’ /gowwa/ ‘foolish/

As shown in the above examples, the labio-velar approximant occurs in medial position as plain consonant and geminated consonant. It rarely occurs in preconsonantal position or as a first member of consonant cluster which is attested only in a word *hawwaami* ‘disease’ in the present corpus. It is not attested in postconsonantal position.

/j/ ~ /y/ alveo-palatal semi-vowel

The voiced alveo-palatal approximant /y/ occurs in word initial and medial positions. The following examples are given to demonstrate the occurrences and distributions of the phoneme /j/.

- (30) /yiis/ ‘children’ /s’alaye/ ‘devil’ /ayyees/ ‘speech’
 /yaydo/ ‘calf’ /saaye/ ‘cows’ /ayyo/ ‘who’
 /yaalʔa/ ‘caly bowl’ /geegiyo/ ‘chest’ /iyyoote/ ‘fog’
 /yyuula/ ‘weak’ /dibiya/ ‘screw’ /iyyi/ ‘smoke’

The alveo-palatal semi vowel /y/ occurs as plain consonant in word initial position, and it frequently occurs either as plain consonant or as geminated consonant in word medial position. It rarely occurs in word final position and in preconsonantal position as a first member of consonant cluster. In the former context, it is attested in a compound word *fertaʔay* (*fer* + *taʔay*) ‘thumb’, and in the latter context, it is attested in few words such as *yaydo* ‘calf’ and *bayso* ‘Bayso ethnic group’.

2.1.9. Minimal /Near Minimal Pairs

The following (near) minimal pairs are adduced to establish Bayso consonant phonemes. In Bayso, minimal/near minimal pairs were not found for all the phonemes. Hence, in some cases, the phonemic status of phonemes is decided simply based on the distribution and occurrences of sounds. That is, if the sounds occur in unpredictable and overlapping positions they are considered as independent phonemes. The (near) minimal pair is given for some sounds that share certain phonetic features. The following lists indicate some minimal/near minimal pairs.

- (31) /d/, /t/ /**du**ula/ ‘campaign’ /**keld**o/ ‘depth’
 /**tu**ula’ ‘heap/pile’ /**kalte**/ ‘axe’
- /t/, /t’/ /**wota**/ ‘with’
 /**wut**’a/ ‘seed’
- /s/, /s’/ /**salaye**/ ‘December’
 /**s**’alaye/ ‘devil’
- /t’/, /s’/ /**laant**’e/ ‘a type of bird’
 /**laans**’e/ ‘pancreas’
- /g/, /k/ /**gore**/ ‘when’ /**gasii**/ ‘buffalo’
 /**kore**/ ‘He climbed.’ /**kas**o/ ‘know’

/k/, /k'/	/k'olo/ 'traditional dress' /kalo/ 'enclosed grazing land'	
/g/, /k'/	/tage/ 'I/he cut' /tak'e/ 'traditional bed'	gore 'when' k'ore 'wooden plate'
/s/, /ʃ/	/gasii/ 'buffalo' /gafe/ 'traditional blanket'	
/ʃ/, /tʃ'/	/gafe/ 'traditional blanket' /gatʃ'e/ 'residue'	
/l/, /r/	/laa/ 'not' /walabo/ 'boat/raft' /aldzite/ 'generous' /raa/ 'road' /waraba/ 'hayena' /ardzata/ 'seat'	
/n/, /r/	/haan/ 'shoulder' /maar/ 'body'	
/n/, /m/	/wadana/ 'heart' /wadami/ 'mountain'	
/w/, /y/	/walʔa/ 'capacity' /yaalʔa/ 'clay bowl'	

The minimal/near minimal pairs were not found for /p/, /b/; /p/, /p'/; /p'/, /b/; /d/, /d'/; /dʒ/, /tʃ/; /dʒ/, /tʃ'/; /tʃ/, /tʃ'/ and /ʔ/, /h/.

The following table shows Bayso consonant phonemes with their corresponding place of articulation, manner of articulation and voicing. Alveolar and nasal implosives are marked with the symbol (ʔ). The phonemic status of sounds that are placed within bracket is uncertain.

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	voiceless	(p)		t		k	ʔ
	Voiced	b		d		g	
	implosives	m''		d' n''			
	ejectives	p'		t'		k'	
Fricative	voiceless		f	s	ʃ		(h)
	voiced			(z)			

	ejective			s'			
Affricate	voiceless				tʃ		
	voiced				dʒ		
	ejectives				tʃ ^h		
Nasal	voiced	m		n			
Liquid	Lateral			l			
	Flap			r			
Approximant		w			j		

Table 1: Bayso Consonant Phonemes

As mentioned in section (1.3), Haberland and Lamberti (1988:45) identified 25 consonant phonemes for Bayso leaving out the voiced alveo-palatal /dʒ/. Hayward (1978:541) identified 28 consonant phonemes excluding /d/ and including what he has called the glottalized lateral /lʰ/, the glottalized /rʰ/ and the glottalized approximant /wʰ/. In the present study, 28 consonant phonemes are identified in Bayso although the phonemic status of /p/, /h/ and /z/ is uncertain. The distributions and occurrences of Bayso consonant phonemes are summarized in the following table.

Phonemes	Distributions		
	Initial	Medial	Final
b	+	+	+
p	+	+	-
d	+	+	+
t	+	+	+
g	+	+	+
k	+	+	+
ʔ	-	+	-
dʃ	+	+	-

m''	-	+	-
n''	-	+	-
p'	-	+	-
s'	+	+	-
t'	+	+	-
k'	+	+	-
tʃ̣	+	+	-
f	+	+	+
s	+	+	+
ʃ	+	+	-
z	+	+	-
h	+	-	-
dʒ	+	+	-
tʃ	-	+	-
m	+	+	+
n	+	+	+
l	+	+	+
r	+	+	+
w	+	+	-
j	+	+	+

Table 2: Distribution and occurrences of Bayso Consonant Phonemes

As indicated in the above table, all Bayso consonant phonemes occur in word medial position except the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. On the other hand, some consonant phonemes include the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/, the nasal implosives /m'', n'/', the voiceless bilabial ejective /p'/ and the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate /tʃ̣/ do not appear in word initial position. Some other consonant phonemes do not occur in word final position. These include the voiceless bilabial stop /p/, the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/, the voiced velar implosive /d/, the nasal implosives /m'', n'/', all

ejectives /p', s', t', k', tʃ', all fricatives except /f, s/ and all affricates. Generally, all stops except /p/ and all sonorants except /w/ commonly occur in word final position.

2.2. Vowels

Most Cushitic languages have a five-term vowel system (/i, e, a, o, u/) with contrastive length (Black 1974), (Appleyard 2012). Fleming (1964:39) identified eight short vowels for Bayso (a, ʌ, ε, e, i, ɪ, u, o), and Hayward (1978:541) identified five short vowels (/i, e, a, o, u/) along with their allophones ([i, ε, a, ɔ, ʊ]). However, in the present study, five short vowels (/i, e, a, o, u/) and five contrastive long vowels (/i:, e:, a:, o:, u:/) are identified in Bayso which is similar to most Cushitic languages. Lax vowels identified by Fleming are not attested in the present Bayso vowel inventory. The vowel phonemes of Bayso are presented in the table below.

Short Vowels			Long Vowels			
	Front unrounded	Central unrounded	Back rounded	Front unrounded	Central unrounded	Back rounded
high/close	i		u	i:		u:
mid	e		o	e:		o:
low/open		a			a:	

Table 3: Bayso Vowel Phonemes

2.2.1. Contrastive Short Vowels

The following minimal pairs are adduced to establish the phonemic status of Bayso short vowel phonemes.

(32) /a/ : /i/ /abba/ ‘sister’ /gidda/ ‘now’
 /abbi/ ‘brother’ /giddi/ ‘cattle’

/a/ : /e/ /kale/ ‘alone’
 /kele/ ‘yesterday’

/o/ : /u/ /odo/ ‘father’
 /udu/ ‘human waste’

/e/ : /o/ /ker/ ‘dog’
 /kor/ ‘bullox’

2.2.2. Contrastive Short and Long Vowels

In most Cushitic languages, vowel length is phonemic (Appleyard, 2012). It is also attested in Bayso. Vowel length brings meaning differences between lexical items. The following pairs of words illustrate the distinctiveness of short and long vowels.

	Initial	Medial	Final
(33)	<u>aa</u>m - ‘eat’	dem <u>e</u> r ‘donkey’	k’ar <u>o</u> ‘bat, a type of bird’
	<u>a</u>m - ‘say’	deme <u>ee</u> r ‘donkeys’	k’ar <u>oo</u> ‘wise’
	<u>o</u>t - ‘cultivate’	ke <u>n</u> ‘five’	aʔal <u>a</u> ‘strong grass’
	<u>oo</u>t ‘fence’	ke <u>ee</u> n/ ‘leave!’	aʔal <u>aa</u> ‘tortoise’

As seen in the above data, vowel length is contrastive in all environments, that is, at word initial, medial and final positions. Bayso permits a sequence of only two identical vowels in its phonology, and the sequence of two similar vowels are treated as a single unit and as such they are not separated in the syllable division. If three like vowels occur in a sequence, a glottal stop is inserted between the vowels, and when three like vowels occur in sequence at a morpheme boundary, the last vowel of a stem is deleted to conform to the phonology of Bayso. A sequence of two different vowels or diphthong is not attested in this language.

2.3. Supra-segmentals

Length, pitch, and the complex feature *stress* are **prosodic**, or **suprasegmental**, features. They are features *over and above* the segmental values of voicing or place of articulation, thus the “supra” in *suprasegmental* (Fromkin, 2007:257). Suprasegmental features are, therefore, features that are added to or superimposed on segmental phonemes, and they may change the meaning or the class of a word. In what follows, suprasegmental features in Bayso are discussed.

2.3.1. Stress Patterns

According to Lehiste (1977, quoted in Bauman (2009:209) stress refers to the degree of force of an utterance produced by means of respiratory effort. Bauman also defined word stress as “the prominence of a certain syllable in a word”.

As stated above, syllables in a word may not have the same prominence, that is, a certain syllable is more stressed than the other. Bayso word stress pattern is investigated as follows.

With respect to monosyllabic words, it is not difficult to identify where the main stress occurs, that is, it occurs simply on the only existing nucleus in the syllable. The difficulty arises in more

than one syllable words, and derived words. As the current investigation of Bayso data shows, disyllabic words have their main stress on the first syllable if the final syllable does not contain heavy syllable –closed syllable or long vowel. The following are some examples.

- (34.1) a. o'.do 'father' d. bo'.gi 'the belly'
 b. ge'.ne 'hand' e. ga'l.ba 'skin'
 c. be'.ke 'water' f. ki'm.bir 'bird'

As the above data show, all the final syllables except ('f') have no heavy syllables. Hence, the stress directly occurs on the first syllables. In the case of ('f'), both the first and the second syllables contain a heavy syllable (closed syllable), but the stress occurs on the first syllable following the general tendency. However, if the first syllable does not contain a closed syllable (heavy syllable), the stress lays on the second syllable. The following examples show how a heavy syllable attracts primary stress.

- (34.2) he.le'el 'woman' en.te'r 'husband' de'e.lel 'girl'
 am.ba'l 'wind' i.la'al 'fruit' ko.no'o.no 'nose'
 e.le'n 'fire' o'o.ri 'wife' fe.rer.ro'o 'toe nails'

Except for the words (oori 'wife, deelel 'girl') that have a heavy syllable in their first syllable, all the remaining ones receive stress on their second syllable. This illustrates that the heavy syllable attracts high stress than the light one. In case where both the first and the second syllables contain heavy syllable, the first syllable is stressed.

In trisyllable words, the stress occurs normally on the penultimate syllable if the word does not contain heavy syllable. If, however, a trisyllable word has a heavy syllable, the stress lays on a heavy syllable wherever it occurs in the word. The following data exemplifies this fact.

- (34.3) gaa.fi.ma'a.lo 'water wave' duu.ma'ŋ.tʃa 'cloud'
 bu.lu'u.lo 'ash' ba.ga'.di 'back'
 tʃe'e.ka.le 'sand' di.gi'n.ni 'moon'

The derived words also follow the same stress pattern of disyllable and trisyllable words discussed above. For example, the word (/naa-sas-so/ 'breasts') derived from singular stem (/naas/ 'breast') has three syllables, and its primary stress lays on the second syllable (penultimate) even though it contains two heavy syllables. This shows that if a trisyllable word has two heavy syllables in its first and second syllables, the primary stress occurs on the penultimate (second) syllable as in the word *gaa.fi.ma'a.lo* 'water wave'.

2.3.2. Gemination of Consonants

Gemination of consonants is a common feature of most Cushitic languages (Appleyard, 2012). It is also attested in Bayso (see also Hayward 1978). Bayso permits a sequence of two alike consonants only at word medial position like most other Cushitic languages.

Gemination of consonants is phonemic in most Cushitic languages (Appleyard, 2012). Bayso also shares this feature with the other Cushitic languages. In this language, gemination of consonants brings about grammatical distinction as in (35.1) and lexical distinction as in (35.2).

- (35.1) a. emete ‘He came.’ b. iye ‘He fell.’
 emette ‘She came.’ iyye ‘He cried’

- (35.2) a. oroo ‘firewood’ b. ere ‘child’ c. aalisi ‘wash!’
 orroo ‘inside’ erre ‘soil’ aallisi ‘stop!’
 d. hase ‘beads’ e. maddaari ‘building’ f. ufuuffo ‘bladder’
 hasse ‘that’ madaarri ‘playing’ ufuuffo ‘umbilicalcord’

In Bayso, most consonants occur as geminate consonants. However, some other consonants do not appear as geminated consonants, and still some others less frequently occur as geminated consonants. The following examples are adduced to indicate gemination of consonants.

- (36) /b/ -bb- dubba ‘all’, babbaar ‘man’, ababbo ‘father’, abba ‘sister’, abbi ‘brother’
 /p/ -pp- /ʃappoo/ ‘the most inner part of sth’
 /d/ -dd- ibaaaddo ‘person’, gididi ‘animal’, hudderano ‘to sleep’
 /t/ -tt- beleettee ‘lightening’, hittani ‘here’
 /g/ -gg- hagge ‘where’, daggala ‘weed’
 /k/ -kk- hikka ‘this’, tukkul ‘correct, straight’, lukkale ‘hen’, lakko ‘not’
 /d/ -dd- madda ‘plough handle’, haddeene ‘good afternoon?’
 /p/ -p’p’- buupp’p’aa ‘egg’, roop’p’itto ‘small snare’ /bip’p’iilo/ ‘roasted grain’
 /s/ -s’s’- hamas’s’i/ ‘sit’, hamas’s’ano ‘to sit’
 /t/ -t’t’- bat’t’eessa ‘summer’
 /k/ -k’k’- suk’k’aano ‘spin’, luk’ak’k’o ‘legs’
 /tʃ/ -tʃtʃ’- tʃ’atʃ’tʃ’aw ‘scorpion’, girtʃitʃ’i ‘kinky hair’
 /f/ -ff- ufuuffo ‘umbilical cord’
 /s/ -ss- essebo ‘salt’, habeessa ‘snake’
 /dʒ/ -dʒdʒ- kabadʒdʒa ‘respect’
 /tʃ/ -tʃtʃ’- hallaatʃtʃe ‘crocodile’
 /m/ -mm- memme ‘what’,
 /n/ -nn- diginni ‘moon’, kolkolenna ‘warm’
 /l/ -ll- dolle ‘near’, kamellan ‘bad’, allisi ‘wash!’
 /r/ -rr- erreb ‘tongue’, gorro ‘dust’, orroo ‘in, inside’
 /w/ -ww- daawwe ‘bow’
 /j/ -jj- ayyo ‘who’, iyyoote ‘fog’

The consonant phonemes /ʔ/, /mʔ/, /nʔ/, /ʃ/, /z/ and /h/ do not occur as geminated consonants. The consonant phonemes /p, d, s, k, dz/ rarely occur as geminated consonants, and the other consonant phonemes /b, d, t, g, k, tʔ, s, tʃ, m, n, l, r, w, j/ occur most frequently as geminated consonants as shown in the above examples and attested in the present Bayso corpus.

In Bayso, gemination of consonants does not occur immediately following consonant cluster. In other words, gemination is not anticipated when consonant phonemes occur in cluster. For example, the consonant phonemes that occur in postconsonantal position in the following examples are not geminated as illustrated below.

- (37) **gamb**allakki ‘black’ **folk**’o ‘half part of a buttock’
handiraaro ‘lizard’ **harpa** ‘a part of traditional weaving tool’
galba ‘skin’ **gumbi** ‘hole, pit’
sarba ‘calf, part of body’ **hantʃ**’ufe ‘salivia’
korma ‘bull’ **hink**’isano ‘hicup’
kukuysano ‘to tie together’ **arkane** ‘modern’

To make it more clear, the form ‘**arkkane**’ in which case the phoneme /k/ appears as geminated consonant violates the system of Bayso phonology.

Gemination of consonants also occurs across morpheme boundary most of the time through assimilation process as exemplified in the following instances.

- (38) imin - + -n + -e → /iminne/ ‘we bought’
imin- -n - e
buy -1PL -PRFV
lagad- + -t + -e → /lagadte/ → [lagdadde] ‘she killed’
lagad- -t -e
kill -3SG.F -PRFV
kun’’ub - + -li → /kun’’ubli/ → [kun’’ubbeeli] ‘fishes’
kun’’ub -li
fish -PL

2.3.3. Vowel Length

In Bayso, vowel length is permitted in all positions although it is not commonly occurs in word final position. However, only two identical vowels can occur in a sequence. The sequence of unlike vowels or diphthongs are not permitted in the language. Hence, the glottal stop /ʔ/ is usually

inserted between the sequence of unlike vowels as an epenthesis to avoid impermissible sequence of vowels. The occurrence and distribution of vowel length is given under (33) above.

2.4. The Syllable and Phonotactic Constraints

In what follows, the permissible and impermissible combination of phonemes were discussed in the syllables and words.

2.4.1. The syllable structure

The most frequent syllable type in Bayso is the light and open syllable – CV which occurs in all environments. It is widely found in almost all words which indicates that open syllable is the dominant (most common) syllable type in Bayso.

The nucleus is obligatory. The onset and the coda are optional, that is, either onset or coda or both onset and coda could be missed from a syllable. Hence, the basic template of Bayso syllable structure is (C)V(V)(C). The nucleus can be short or long vowel. Both consonant cluster and consonant gemination do not occur at onset and coda positions. Generally, the onset and the coda consist of a simple consonant in Bayso.

Based on the present material, the following syllable types are identified in Bayso.

	Syllable Types	Examples
(39)	V	i.daa.do ‘sheep (SG.)’, i.daa.mo ‘rain’, o.do.rii ‘accasia’ accasia
	VV	aa ‘mothher’, oo.ri ‘wife’, oo.ga ‘fringe of cloth’
	VC	ul ‘earth’, am.bal ‘wind’, ab.si ‘fear’, il.ki ‘tooth’
	VVC	ees ‘grass’, aar ‘ox’, iig ‘blood’
	CV	se ‘cow’, le ‘six’, ge-ne ‘hand’, man-to ‘penis’, ba.bo ‘tree’
	CVV	baa ‘market’, gaa ‘forest’, han.di.raa.ro ‘grasshopper’,
	CVC	min ‘house, ken ‘five’, his.ki ‘worm’, er.reb ‘tongue’, mak.kar ‘discuss’
	CVVC	baal ‘leaf’, suul ‘fingernails, be.keen.dza ‘sperm’, bab.baar ‘man’

As it can be noted from the above data, Bayso has both open (V, CV:, V:, CV) and closed syllable (VC, CVC, VVC, CVVC) as well as light (CV) and heavy syllables (CVV,CVVC, CVC). The syllable types V and VV appear only in word initial position, and the syllable type VVC occurs only in monosyllabic words. Most Bayso words are disyllabic followed by tri-syllabic and monosyllabic. Polysyllabic words are very rare.

Most Bayso words end with short vowels, and some words end with consonant phonemes particularly with sonorants (/l, m, n, r/). Very few words end with obstruents /s, b, f/ and long vowels. However, most of Bayso verb stems end with consonants, and few verb stems end with consonant cluster or consonant gemination. The verb stems are either monosyllabic or disyllabic. Trisyllabic verb stems are not common in Bayso unless the verb stems are extended ones.

2.4.2. Consonant Cluster

As the case with most other Cushitic Languages, consonant cluster is a very common feature in Bayso phonology. In most cases, the sonorant phonemes (nasals, liquids and glides) constitute the first member in the consonant cluster, and the obstruent phonemes constitute the second member. In very rare cases, the obstruents /b, f, s/ appear as the first member of consonant cluster (see examples f_2 , g_2 & h_2) below). However, when obstruents constitute the first member in the consonant cluster, the second member is also another obstruent. The voiced bilabial nasal /m/ is the only sonorant that appears both as a first member and a second member in the consonant cluster (see examples ‘y’ & ‘q’ below). But, when /m/ occurs as a second member in a consonant cluster, other sonorants usually appear as the first member. It should be noted that the other sonorants never appear as a second member in a consonant cluster or in postconsonantal position except may be at a morpheme boundary. Generally, the structure of consonant cluster is *sonorant* + *obstruent*, *obstruent* /b,f,s/ + *obstruent* and *sonorant* + *sonorant* /m/. The former one widely occurs in Bayso, and the last two cases are less frequent.

In Bayso, consonant cluster is permitted only at word medial position in all word categories except in few verb stems such as *gudns*- ‘finish’ and *felk*- ‘float’. In fact, all Bayso verbs are bound stems that cannot stand on their own. Hence, they cannot be used as a prove for the occurrence of consonant cluster at word final position. Moreover, Bayso does not allow more than two consonants in a sequence even in the medial position (see 40 below).

The following consonant clusters are attested in Bayso.

- (40) a. *Sonorant* + *Obstruent*
- | | | |
|-----|-------|---|
| /m/ | -mb- | <i>gumbar</i> ‘eye lash’, <i>ambal</i> ‘wind’, <i>kimbir</i> ‘bird’, <i>gamballakki</i> ‘black’ |
| /n/ | -nb- | <i>gunbii</i> ‘pit’, <i>sonboob</i> ‘lung’ |
| | -nd- | <i>handiraaro</i> ‘lizard’, <i>hosinde</i> ‘human shadow’ |
| | -nt- | <i>enter</i> ‘husband’, <i>manto</i> ‘penis’, <i>kenteferro</i> ‘grasshopper’ |
| | -nt’- | <i>hant’irfe</i> ‘sneezing’ |
| | -ns’- | <i>laans’e</i> ‘pancreas’ |
| | -ntʃ- | <i>heelintʃo</i> ‘roof’, <i>tuntʃe</i> ‘small red ant’ |
| | -ndʒ- | <i>mundʒe</i> ‘mouth’, <i>bekeendʒa</i> ‘sperm’, <i>/gelaandʒe/</i> ‘love’ |

- nk- sankosanko ‘spices’, kadzinki ‘big’, ubanki ‘narrow’, idanki ‘good’
- nk’- k’araank’ur ‘nape’, hink’isano ‘hiccup’
- ng- angorotʃ’e ‘chin’, mangaagaa ‘mouth’, gaangal ‘duke’, gaangee ‘mule’

- /l/ -lb- galba ‘skin’
- ld- dzaldeessa ‘baboon’, keldo ‘depth’
- lt- kalte ‘axe’
- ldʒ- goldʒa ‘worthog’
- lk- ilki ‘tooth’, amalki ‘cold’
- lk’- folk’o ‘half part of buttock’, folk’asano ‘to split’
- lʔ- balʔa ‘blind’

- /r/ -rb- sarba ‘calf’, darbano ‘to throw’
- rs- wagarsi ‘reconciliation’, sarsil ‘dresses’
- rt- mortaalle ‘termite’, daddarte ‘spider’, tʃ’arto ‘cow’s dung’, marti ‘guest’
- rt’- birt’e ‘edge/tip’, fert’aʔaay ‘thumb’
- rtʃ’- girtʃitʃ’i ‘kinky hair’
- rdʒ- ardʒata ‘stool made of leather’, irardʒe ‘porcupine’
- rg- sargo ‘bundle of twigs’, margi ‘neck’
- rk- eerki ‘long’, marka ‘discussion’, kitʃ’ʔarki ‘small’
- rk’- hark’oota ‘yoke’
- rʔ- torʔo ‘liver’, burʔaato ‘a type of traditional food’

- /w/ -wʔ- hawʔaayi ‘disease’
- /j/ -ys- aysano ‘to speak’, kukuysano ‘to collect’, dayso ‘storage for firewood’

- b. *Sonorant* + *Sonorant* (/m/)
- /l/ -lm- ilmi ‘tear’, alma ‘week’
- /r/ -rm- dzirma ‘stump’, korma ‘bull’

- c. *Obstruent* (/b, f, s/) + *Obstruent*
- /b/ -bk- usubki ‘new’
- bs- absi ‘fear’
- /f/ -fs- nefsatano ‘to breathe’
- /s/ -sk- hiski ‘worm’

According to Hayward (1978 :548), “clusters of two plosives occur only at morpheme boundaries, and then only if both are voiceless”. However, cluster of two plosives also occur in words, and the two plosives that form cluster can be voiceless or voiced + voiceless as in ‘c’ above. In Bayso, consonant cluster also occur at a morpheme boundary as in the following instances.

(41) a. min + -dʒool → /mindʒool/ ‘houses’

house PL.

b. heleel + -dʒa → /heleeldʒa/ ‘few women’

woman PAC

c. aam- + -n + -e → /aamne/ ‘We ate’

aam -n -e

eat -1PL -PFV

d. bas- + -t + -e → /baste/ ‘she hit’
 bas- -t -e
hit 3SG.F -PFV

As it was illustrated above, gemination of consonant is one the basic features of Baso phonology.

The permissible consonant cluster in Bayso is summarized in the following table.

	p	p'	b	t	t'	d	d'	k	k'	g	ʔ	f	s	s'	z	ʃ	h	tʃ	tʃ'	dʒ	m	m''	n	n''	l	r	j	w
m	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
n	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
l	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
r	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
j	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
f	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4: A Permissible Consonant clusters

2.5. Phonological Processes

Phonemes may influence each other when they come together in a word which results in different phonological processes. Assimilation is the most common phonological process identified in Bayso as illustrated below.

2.5.1. Assimilation

The phoneme /b/ is realized as voiceless bilabial stop when it is followed by voiceless alveolar phonemes /s/ and /t/ as in (42).

(42) a. /absi/ → [apsi] ‘fear (N)’

b. /abto/ → [apto] ‘Do yo have?’

c. /k'ok'k'obtu/ → [k'ok'k'optu] ‘frog’

/b/ → [p] / __ /s, t/

The phoneme /n/ has two different realizations. It is realized as velar [ŋ] when it is followed by velar phonemes /k/ and /g/, and it is realized as palatal [ɲ] when it is followed by alveopalatals /dʒ/ and /tʃ/ as in (43).

(43) a. /n/ → [ŋ] / ___ /k, g/

/kaʔangage/ → [kaʔaŋɡage] ‘dried’

/kadʒinki/ → [kadʒiŋki] ‘big’

b. /n/ → [ɲ] / ___ /tʃ, dʒ/

/duumantʃa/ → [duumaɲtʃa] ‘cloud’

/mundʒe/ → [muɲdʒe] ‘lips’

2.5.2. Free Variation

In some cases, the consonants /p/ and /f/ occur in free variation as indicated in (44).

(44) a. /afar/ = /apar/ ‘four’ c. /c’affa/ = /c’appa/ ‘marshylaand’

b. /fel-/ = /pel-/ ‘work’ d. /dafur-/ = /dapur-/ ‘toil’

2.6. Morphophonological Processes

Phonemes may assume different shapes or forms when morphemes are combined or when they occur in an adjacent environment. The phonological properties of these morphemes may be changed or it may be totally modified or deleted. This phenomenon is named as morphophonological process (Kroeger, 2005:292). The common morpho-phonological processes in Bayso are discussed as follows.

2.6.1. Assimilation

“Assimilation always results from a sound becoming more like another nearby sound in terms of one or more of its phonetic characteristics” (O’Grady, 2009:47). In Bayso, there are some cases where the combination of two morphemes with less similar phonemes results in more similar phonemes due to the influence of the neighbouring sound. In what follows, different types of assimilation processes are investigated.

Phonemes may share features in point of articulation, manner of articulation and voicing through assimilation process.

2.6.1.1. Assimilation in Point of Articulation

Assimilation in point of articulation occurs when a certain phoneme changes its original point of articulation to the point of articulation of the phoneme that has influenced it. Observe the following illustrative examples.

- (45) a. /aam + -t + -e/ → /aamte/ → [aante] ‘she/you ate.’
- b. /lubaan + -dʒa/ → /lubaandʒa/ → [lubaandʒa] ‘few lions’
- /m/ → [n] / → /t/
 /n/ → [ɲ] / → /dʒ/

In example (45a), the bilabial nasal /m/ has changed its point of articulation from bilabial to alveolar due to the influence of alveolar sound /t/, and in example (45b), the alveolar nasal /n/ changed its point of articulation to alveopalatal due to the influence of its neighbour /dʒ/.

2.6.1.2. Assimilation in Manner of Articulation

Assimilation in manner of articulation occurs when a sound changes its basic manner of articulation to the manner of articulation of its neighbouring sound due to the influence of the latter. The following examples are adduced to illustrate assimilation in manner of articulation.

- (46) a. /gir + n- + -a/ → /girna/ → [ginna] ‘We are present.’
- /r/ → [n] / → /n/
- b. /emet- + -n + e/ → /emetne/ → [emenne] ‘We came.’
- /t/ → [n] / → /n/

In the above process of assimilation (46a), the alveolar flap sound /r/ changed its manner of articulation to alveolar nasal /n/ which is the 1PL marker morpheme ({n}) in Bayso. In example (46b), the alveolar sound /t/ changed its manner of articulation to alveolar nasal due to the influence of alveolar nasal /n/ which is again 1PL marker morpheme.

2.6.1.3. Voicing Assimilation (voicing / devoicing)

In Bayso, phonemes may lose their voicing quality due to the influence of the neighbouring phoneme. As a result voiceless phoneme may assume voiced quality and voiced phoneme becomes voiceless as illustrated in the following examples.

- (47) a. /emet + -n + -e / → /emetne/ → [emenne] ‘we came.’
 /gamat- + -n + -e/ → /gamatne/ → [gamanne] ‘we went home.’
 /t/ → [n] / — /n/
- b. /gir + -t + -e / → /girte/ → [gitte] ‘She was.’
 /r/ → [t] / — /t/

In example (47a), the voiceless /t/ and the voiced /n/ (1PL marker morpheme) share the same point of articulation, hence the assimilation process is voicing assimilation since the voiceless phoneme /t/ is totally assimilated to the voiced phoneme /n/. In example (47b), too, the voiced phoneme /r/ is totally assimilated to the voiceless phoneme /t/ (which is 3SG.F marker morpheme). That is, the trill /r/ becomes voiceless alveolar stop /t/. It also essentially shows manner assimilation since alveolar stop /t/ becomes nasal (47a), and the trill becomes stop (47b).

Assimilation can be categorized as regressive and progressive based on the direction of assimilation (Bauman 2009). There are some instances of regressive and progressive assimilations in Bayso.

2.6.1.4. Regressive vs. Progressive Assimilation

If the influence is moving backward, i.e., if a sound segment modifies a preceding sound, this is termed regressive or anticipatory assimilation, and if the influence is moving forward, i.e., if a sound segment modifies a following sound, this is termed as progressive or perseverative assimilation (Bauman, 2009:204).

In Bayso, regressive assimilation is common. The types of assimilation cited in examples (45), (46), and (47) above are instances of regressive assimilation. There are also some examples of progressive assimilations in this language. Observe the following examples.

- (48) a. /lagad- + -t + -e/ → /lagadte/ → [lagadde] ‘She killed.’

$$dt \longrightarrow dd$$

b. /osol- + -n + -e / \longrightarrow /osolne / \longrightarrow [osolle 'We loved.']
 In \longrightarrow l

As it is shown in 48 'a', the preceding sound /d/ influenced the following sound /t/ and as a result /t/ is assimilated to /d/, and this is an instance of progressive assimilation that occurs when the preceding sound influences the following one; that is, through forward movement. The example cited in 48 'b' also exemplifies progressive assimilation since the preceding sound /l/ influenced the following sound /n/, and the movement/direction of the influence is forward or left to right.

Assimilation can also be categorized as total and partial based on the degree of assimilation (Bauman 2009:204). There are some instances of total and partial assimilation in Bayso.

2.6.1.5. Total Vs. Partial Assimilation

According to Bauman (2009:204) partial assimilation is encountered when the changed segment is closer but not identical to the sound that was the source of the change, and total assimilation is the label given when the changed segment and the source of the change become identical. The following examples illustrate total and partial assimilations.

- (49) a. /imin- + -narna / \longrightarrow /innarna / \longrightarrow [innanna 'We will buy.']
 b. /gir- + -t + -a / \longrightarrow /girta / \longrightarrow [girta] 'She is present.'
 c. /aam- + -t + -e / \longrightarrow /aamte / \longrightarrow [aante] 'She ate.'

In 49 'a' and 'b', the sound /r/ is totally assimilated to the following sound /n/ and /t/, respectively, and in 49 'c', the sound /m/ is partially assimilated to the voiceless alveolar /t/ in its place of articulation and maintaining its voiced feature. Moreover, the assimilation in point of articulation cited in example (45) represent partial assimilation whereas the instances of assimilations cited in examples (46), (47), (48) also represent total assimilation.

2.6.2. Labialization

“Labialization is a type of secondary articulation superimposed on closer simultaneous articulation that results in concurrent lip-rounding” (Catford, 1988:222).

The palatal approximant /j/ is labialized when it is preceded by the back vowel /o/ and followed by the central vowel /a/. This is observed in Bayso when the imperfective suffix *-ara* is added to verb stems that end with the palatal /j~y). Observe the following examples.

- (50.1) /goy- + -ara/ → /goyara/ → [g^waara] ‘I/he die/dies.’
 /soy- + -ara/ → /soyara/ → [s^waara] ‘I/he hang/hangs’
 /oy- + -ara/ → /oyara/ → [o^waara] ‘I/he make/makes.’

Similar process is also observed when the passive suffix *-am* is attached to the verb stems that end with the palatal approximant /j/ as shown below.

- (50.2) /soy- + -am/ → /soyam-/ → [s^waam-]
 /oy- + -am/ → /oyam-/ → [o^waam-]

In example (50.1) , the first vowel of the imperfective marker *-ara* and in example (50.2), the initial segment of the passive marker *-am* are lengthened probably to compensate for the deleted vowel /o/ or to maintain the vowel quantity.

2.6.3. Palatalization

Catford (1988:222) stated that “Palatalization is a type of secondary articulation that results in simultaneous raising of tongue dorsum towards the hard palate”. In Bayso, the palatalization process occurs when the imperfective suffix *-ara* is attached to the verb stems that end with a long front vowel /i:/ where the long front vowel /i:/ is immediately followed by the central vowel /a/ which is the first segment of the suffix *-ara*. In this case, the first segment of the verb stem is palatalized as in (51).

- (51) /bii + -ara/ → /biiara/ → [bⁱaara] ‘I/he go/goes up/out.’
go out/up + IPFV
 /dii + -ara/ → /diiara/ → [dⁱaara] ‘I/he see/sees.’
see + -IPFV
 /kii + -ara/ → /kiiara/ → [kⁱaara] ‘I/he stand/stands.’
stand + -IPFV
 /lii + -ara/ → /liiara/ → [lⁱaara] ‘It becomes/It be.’
BE + -IPFV

As shown in the examples above, the voiced bilabial stop /b/, the voiced alveolar /d/, the voiceless velar stop /k/, lateral /l/ are palatalized and the first segment of the imperfective suffix *-ara* is lengthened and becomes *-aara* may be as a compensation for the lost long vowel /i:/.

2.6.4. Vowel Deletion

According to O’Grady (2009:49), “Deletion is the process that removes a segment from certain phonetic contexts”. In Bayso, the final vowel is removed/elided either when a suffix is attached to a noun stem or to show a certain grammatical contrast. Observe the following illustrative examples.

- (52) a. /kalaalli/ ‘kidney’ → /kalaallidza/ → [kalaaldza] ‘few/some kidneys’
b. /wadami/ ‘a mountain’ → /wadamidzool → [wadamdzool] ‘mountains’

In example (53a and b) the final vowel /i/ is removed from the words ‘kalaalli’ and ‘wadami’ when the paucal marker *-dza* and the plural marker *-dzool* are suffixed on the words, respectively.

2.6.5. Epenthesis

O’Grady (2009:49) “Epenthesis is a process that inserts a syllabic or a non-syllabic segment within an existing string of elements”. In Bayso, the insertion of epenthetic vowel is a common morphophonemic process to avoid impermissible consonant clusters at the morpheme boundaries. The high front vowel /i/ is the most frequent epenthetic vowel, and the non-syllabic glottal stop /ʔ/ is also attested as having the epenthetic role in this language. The following are illustrative examples.

- (53) a. /gudins/ ‘finish’ → /gudins + -t + -e/ → [gudinsite] ‘She finished.’
b. /sided/ ‘eight’ → /sidedd + -y -a/ → [sidediya] ‘it is eight.’
c. /aall-/ ‘stand’ → /aall + -t -e/ → [aallite] ‘she stood.’
d. /farad/ ‘horse’ → /farad + -dza/ → [faradidza] ‘a few horses’

In example ‘a’ above, the epenthetic /i/ is inserted between the verb stem ‘gudins-’ which is already terminated with consonant cluster and the 3SG.F marker suffix *-t* to avoid the occurrence of more than two consonants in a cluster. In example ‘c’, the epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted between the verb stem ‘all-’ which ends with consonant gemination and the 3SG.F marker *-t* for similar purpose. In examples ‘b’ and ‘d’ the insertion of /i/ between /d/ and /j~dʒ/ shows that obstruent /d/ does not constitute the first member in the consonant cluster (cf.2.5.1). In all cases, the epenthetic element *-i* is inserted to avoid impermissible cluster consonants that might be created at a morpheme boundary as a result of combination of morphemes.

Bayso does not permit unlike vowel sequences in its phonology. A sequence of unlike vowels may also occur at a morpheme boundary. Whenever a sequence of unlike vowels occur at a

morpheme boundary, the non-syllabic glottal stop /ʔ/ is inserted between them to avoid impermissible sequences as illustrated below.

- (54) ka- + idan → kaʔidan ‘good’
 o- + idan → oʔidan’i ‘good .PAUC’
 se ‘cow’ + -o → seʔo ‘the cow’
 il ‘fruit’ + -o → ilʔo ‘the fruit’

As can be noted from the above data, the epenthetic /ʔ/ breaks the sequence of two unlike vowels that is occurred when two morphemes are combined. The glottal stop /ʔ/ also occurs between the sequence of two similar vowels as in (/eʔemo/ ‘stone’, /aʔaʔla/ ‘long and strong grass’) though the sequence of two similar vowels is permitted in Bayso phonology. In the later case, the glottal stop /ʔ/ does not function as epenthetic element, rather, it is normally required in that position as an independent phoneme. The epenthetic vowel /i/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/ are identified as the most frequent epenthetic segments in Bayso.

The non-syllabic segment /j/ is also used as epenthetic element in Bayso as shown in (55).

- (55). matʃtʃaaji muuze goose
 machaa -y -i muuze goos -e
knife -EPEN -INS banana cut -PFV
 ‘He cut banana with knife.’

In example (55), the epenthetic -y is inserted between the noun stem ‘machaa’ and the instrumental suffix -i to avoid impermissible cluster of vowels.

2.6.6. Metathesis

Metathesis is the process of rearranging or reordering of consonant segments in words. It is not a common and productive phonological process in Bayso. However, it is observed when the combination of morphemes results in impermissible sequence of consonants as follows.

- (56) a. lagad- + -n + -e → lagadne → lagande ‘We killed.’
kill + IPL + -PFV -dn- → -nd-
 b. ʃigid- + -n + -e → ʃigidne → ʃiginde ‘We painted.’
paint + IPL + PFV -dn- → -nd-
 c. gudis- + -n + -e → gudisne → gudinse ‘We finished.’
finish + IPL + PFV -sn- → -ns-

The metathesis process in (56) is phonologically conditioned since obusturent phonemes do not constitute the first element in the consonant cluster. Hence, the sequence –dn- and –sn- are realized as –nd- and –ns-, respectively, to conform with permissible consonant cluster in Bayso. The metathesis processes in example (56) also exemplify consonant alternation.

2.6.7. Compensatory Vowel Lengthening

Compensatory vowel lengthening occurs when the third person singular feminine is used as a clause subject with certain verbs such as *goy-* ‘die’ and *soy-* ‘hang’ as illustrated in the following examples.

- (57) a. /goy- + -t + -e/ → /goyte/ → /goøte/ → [goote] ‘She died.’
 b. /soy- + -t -e / → /soyte/ → /soøte/ → [soote] ‘She hanged.’
 c. /iy- + -t + e / → /iyte/ → /iøte/ → [iite] ‘she felled.’

In the above examples, the short vowels /o/ and /i/ are lengthened as a result of the deletion of the following palatal approximant /j/. It seems that the influence comes from the 3SG.F marker –*t*. The verb stem final –*y* is maintained when 3SG.M is used as a clause subject as in *usu goye* ‘He died.’

2.6.8. Deletion and Blending

In a rapid speech, certain elements of words are deleted, and the remaining parts will be fused in the process. As a result, two independent morphemes/words appear as a single morpheme/word. This is not a phonologically motivated process, but it seems to occur for ease of pronunciation.

- (58) a. /saaye hin’i/ ‘these cows’ → [saayen’i] ‘these cows’
cow (PL) these
 b. /hiki ul/ ‘this country’ → [hikkul] ‘this country’
this country
 c. /arrii too/ ‘one day’ → [arto] ‘one day’
day one
 d. /ese ade/ ‘and she’ → [esede] ‘and she’
she and
 e. /min orroo/ ‘in the house’ → [mirro] ‘in the house’
house in

In example ‘a’ the first syllable ‘hi’ is removed from proximal demonstrative adjective ‘hin’i’, and the second syllable ‘n’i’ is merged to the word *saaye*. In the example ‘b’, the final vowel of the

word *hikki* ‘this’ is removed, and the two words merged in the process. In example ‘c’ also the long vowel [i:] is deleted from the word *arrii* and then the remaining *ar-* and *to* ‘one’ are merged as *arto* ‘one day’. In example ‘d’, the first syllable of the word *ade* ‘a’ is removed, and the second syllable ‘de’ is combined with the word *ese* and becomes *esede*. In example ‘e’, the last consonant of *min* ‘n’ is deleted and the initial vowel of *orro* ‘o’ is dropped and the two words are merged as *mirro* ‘in the house’

2.7. Summary

Bayso has 28 consonant phonemes, and five vowel systems along with contrastive length. There is no restriction constraint on the distributions and occurrence of vowel phonemes. But some consonant phonemes are restricted to medial position or initial and medial positions while others occur in all positions. For example, all ejectives do not occur in word final position. They are all restricted to word initial and/or medial positions in noun stems and other lexical categories. Moreover, all affricates do not appear in word final position. The sonorants (nasals, liquids and glides except /w/) occur in all positions, and they mostly constitute the first member in the medial cluster. The stops also frequently occur in all positions except /p/. The obstruents most frequently occur as a second member of consonant cluster, and they rarely appear in preconsonantal position. All liquids, glides and nasals do not constitute the second member in a consonant cluster except the nasal /m/ that forms cluster as a second member when the other sonorants /r/ and /l/ occur in preconsonantal position.

In Bayso, consonant cluster is permitted only in word medial position. However, a sequence of more than two consonants is not permitted even in word medial position. All Bayso consonant phonemes occur in consonant cluster either as first member or as a second member except the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, the velar implosive /d/, the nasal implosives /m^ʔ, n^ʔ/, the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ and the voiced alveolar fricative /z/.

In Bayso, both consonant gemination and vowel length are phonemic. Consonant gemination is permitted only in word medial position. All consonants may not be geminated. Geminated consonants comprise /b, p, p^ʔ, m, n, f, d, g, k, k^ʔ, tʃ, tʃ^ʔ, l, m, n, r, s, s^ʔ, t, t^ʔ, j, w/. But, gemination of consonants do not occur following consonant cluster. Non-geminated consonants include /dʒ/, /h/, /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʔ/.

The Bayso consonants do not have equal frequency of occurrence. The consonants /p/, /p^ʔ/ /s^ʔ/, /d/ and /z/ are identified as less frequent phonemes. They are found in a very small number of words.

In Bayso, it seems that some phonemes are being replaced with other phonemes. For example, /d/ is replaced with /t'/ in word initial position, and with glottal stop /ʔ/ in medial cluster. Similarly, the voiced alveolar fricative (/z/) seems to be replaced with /d/ as the comparison with cognates from Proto East Cushitic indicates. The cognate words that contain /z/ in PEC are almost replaced with /d/ in Bayso.

Some Bayso phonemes have one or more allophonic variants. For example, the phoneme /b/ has three variants [β, p, b]. It is realized as [β] in intervocalic position, and it is realized as [p] when it occurs between a vowel and voiceless alveolar consonants /s & t/; [b] occurs elsewhere. Similarly, the phoneme /n/ has three phonologically conditioned realizations. It is realized as [ŋ] when it is followed by velars (/g, k, k'/), and it is realized as [ɲ] when it is followed by palatals /dʒ, tʃ, tʃ'/; /n/ appears elsewhere.

The most frequent syllable type in Bayso is CV followed by CVC, and the least frequent one is VVC. The syllable type VVC occurs only in monosyllabic words. The syllable types V, VV and VC are restricted to word initial position. The basic syllable template is (C)(V)V(C).

In Bayso, both the onset and the coda contain a single consonant, and the peak may contain either short or long vowel. Bayso also possesses closed and open syllables as well as light and heavy syllables. The heavy syllable attracts high stress than the other types of syllables.

The most common morphophonemic processes identified in Bayso are assimilation, dissimilation, deletion and epenthesis. Various types of assimilation were identified which include assimilation in point of articulation, assimilation in manner of articulation and voicing assimilation. Some other types of assimilations such as regressive Vs. progressive and partial Vs. total assimilation are also identified.

In Bayso, the combination of morphemes (in some cases) also results in morphophonemic processes such as labialization, palatalization, epenthesis, metathesis and compensatory vowel lengthening. Palatalization is triggered when the imperfective suffix **-ara** is suffixed on verb stems that end with the front vowel /i/. It is also triggered when a long vowel /i:/ is followed by the central vowel /a/. Moreover, labialization is triggered when the imperfective marker is suffixed on verb stems that terminate with the phoneme /j/ particularly when the clause subject of the verb is 3SG feminine.

The insertion of epenthetic vowels breaks impermissible consonant cluster, and the insertion of glottal stop /ʔ/ avoids impermissible vowel combination. In Bayso two or more unlike vowels cannot occur in a sequence.

The epenthetic vowel /i/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/ are the most common epenthetic elements in Bayso, and the other vowels (/a:/, /o:/ and /u:/) appear as epenthetic segment only when inflectional and derivational suffixes are attached to noun stems.

Chapter 3

Noun Morphology

In this chapter, noun inflections and derivations were explored. Accordingly, number, gender, case and definiteness were investigated. Noun derivation was also treated.

3.1. Noun Inflection

Bayso nouns are inflected for number and definiteness. However, gender is not directly marked on noun stems, rather, it is marked in some kind of concord on verbs, adjectives and demonstratives. A verb agrees with the gender of a noun used as a clause subject, and adjectives and demonstratives agree with the gender of a noun with which they occur. Case in Bayso is expressed either through word order, suffixation or postpositions.

3.1.1. Number

According to Hayward (1979:102) Bayso has four number systems: singulative, singular, plural and paucal which are also attested in the present study. However, the collective nouns and gender polarity are also treated under number in this study since they directly interact with number.

In Bayso, singular is not marked. It is the same as the citation form. The singulative, plural and paucal are marked by using different suffixes.

3.1.1.1. Singulative

Singulative is a subcategory of number which designates a particular entity. In contrast to the singular, the singulative is a marked (specified) form of a collective noun (Bussmann 1996:1081). Bender & Fleming (1976:143) stated that the singulative suffix is used for expressing the particular, specific, but not necessarily definite noun.

Singulative marking is a common feature of East Cushitic languages. It is attested both in Lowland and Highland East Cushitic Languages. According to Hudson (1976:45) all the Highland East Cushitic languages have a singulative suffix *-cco* (*-co* after sonorants) which is infrequent in Burji and a bit common in Darasa. Bender & Fleming (1976:143) also stated that Cushitic languages such as Sidamo and Hadiya have a singulative suffix *-icho* in their noun inflections. The Lowland East Cushitic Language Afan Oromo also marks singulative by using *-cha* and *-tii* for masculine and feminine, respectively (Bender & Fleming, 1976:143; Appleyard, 2012:237).

Another Lowland East Cushitic language Dasenech has the singulative suffixes *-(i)c* and *-(i)tti* for masculine and feminine, respectively (Sasse, 1976:203).

In Bayso, the suffix *-ti* or *-titi* is attached/suffixed on a citation form to refer to individual entity out of a group of entities (see also Hayward 1979). The singulative suffix *-titi* or *-ti* is attached both on masculine and feminine noun stems. The singulative form is usually derived from a collective noun stem.

According to Hayward (1979:105), the singulative suffix “*-titi* occurs with radicals which are consonant-final or monosyllabic and vowel final” whereas “*-ti* occurs in all other cases”. However, the present study attested that the singulative suffix *-ti* occurs with all vowel final noun stems, and some collective noun stems that terminate with consonants. However, if the suffixation of *-ti* results in impermissible cluster of consonants in the latter case, the epenthetic vowel *-i* is inserted between a noun stem and the singulative suffix *-ti* as in, for example, *farad – faraditi* given as in (1) below. On the other hand, the singulative suffix *-titi* occurs in other cases, that is, it occurs with noun stems that end with all sonorant consonants and few obstruents that occur in word final position such as /b, s, f/. The following examples illustrate singulative marker on citation form of nouns.

- (1)
- | | | |
|-----------------|--------|---------------------------------------|
| babbaar + -titi | —————> | babbaartiti ‘a man/ the man’ |
| heleel + -titi | —————> | heleeltiti ‘a woman/ the woman’ |
| deelel + -titi | —————> | deeleltiti ‘a girl/the girl’ |
| min + -titi | —————> | mintiti ‘a house/ the house’ |
| gilib + -titi | —————> | gilibtiti ‘a knee/the knee’ |
| ees + -titi | —————> | eestiti ‘a grass/ the grass’ |
| yiis + -titi | —————> | yiistiti ‘a child/ the child’ |
| lef + -titi | —————> | leftiti ‘a bone/the bone’ |
| ibaaddo + -ti | —————> | ibaaddoti ‘a person/the person’ |
| eʔeʔmo + -ti | —————> | e’e’moti ‘a stone/the stone’ |
| wadalla + -ti | —————> | wadallati ‘a young boy/the young boy’ |
| farad + -ti | —————> | faraditi ‘a horse/ the horse’ |
| oot + -ti | —————> | ootiti ‘a fence/the fence’ |
| luk + -ti | —————> | lukiti ‘a leg/the leg’ |

It has to be noted that there is a relationship between singulative and definiteness. A singulative may indicate either definite or indefinite but particular entity as shown in the above gloss.

Definiteness, on the other hand, indicates absolutely definite/familiar entity. In Bayso, for example, ‘heleeltiti’ may refer to either familiar/definite ‘woman’ or unfamiliar/indefinite but particular ‘woman’. This is particularly clear in casual conversations. For example, if someone asked some other person *heleeltiti emette?* ‘Did the woman come?’ the speaker refers to definite woman and the answer could be ‘yes/no’. On the other hand, if someone asked another person *ayyo kuun babo sise?* ‘Who gave you bread?’, and if the person responds *heleeltiti iin sisse* ‘A/ The woman gave me.’, the respondent refers to either definite or indefinite woman but an individual / a particular woman.

In Bayso, it is possible to make the singulative noun clearly definite or clearly indefinite by using *demonstrative pronoun* or *koo*. Accordingly, in the sentence *heleeltiti hasse emette* ‘That (the) woman came’, *heleeltiti* clearly refers to definite/familiar woman, and in the sentence *heleeltiti koo emette* ‘A woman came’, *heleeltiti* clearly refers to an indefinite but particular woman.

3.1.1.2. Plural

Noun plural formation in Cushitic is very diverse; plural is expressed in many different ways. Suffixation, internal modification of the noun stems, partial or total reduplication, lengthening or shortening of an internal vowel of the stem are some of plural formation devices in Cushitic. Most Cushitic languages employ a variety of suffixes to form noun plurals (Appleyard, 2012:204).

The formation of noun plurals in Highland and Lowland East Cushitic languages is also diverse. For example, Highland East Cushitic languages Hadiya, Kambata and Sidamo use different suffixes and “gemination of a single stem final consonant” (Hudson, 1976:252). According to Hetzron (1990:120), plural marking through repetition of the last consonant is found in Cushitic (for example, Somali *miis/miisas* ‘table/tables’). Black (1974:95) also stated that Proto-Lowland East Cushitic languages surely possessed a plural affix which involved reduplication of the final consonant of a root such affixes are common in Saho_Afar, Somali, Konso and Dasenech, and he adduced the following examples.

Language	singular Noun	Plural
(2) Aussa Afar	lafa –a ‘bone’	laf – oo –ff
	arrab –á ‘tongue’	arrab –oo –bi
Somali	arrab ‘tongue’	arrab –bó
	gees ‘horn’	géés –as

Dasenech	laf –itĩ ‘bone’	láf –fù
	gaas ‘horn’	gaás –sù
Konso	kaas –a ‘horn’	kaas –saa
	áD –a ‘cheek’	áDa –Daa (D ~ d)

In Bayso, noun plurals are formed in many different ways as in most Cushitic languages. These include suffixation, reduplication, internal modification and vowel deletion. In what follows pluralization via suffixation is discussed.

(i) Suffixation

Suffixation is the most common pluralization method in Bayso. In the present study, nine plural suffixes are identified that include *-dʒolaal*, *-laal*, *-dʒool*, *-li*, *-le*, *-aal*, *-eel*, *-ool* and *-l*. The most frequent plural marker is *-dʒolaal* followed by *-dʒool* and *-laal*. The plural suffixes can be categorized into three groups based on the degree of quantities or amount that they indicate. Accordingly, the plural suffixes *-aal*, *-laal*, *-le*, *-eel*, *-ool* and *-l* indicate less quantities, and the plural suffix *-dʒool* indicates more quantities than the former ones. On the other hand, the plural suffix *-dʒolaal* indicates very great quantities or multiple quantities than *-dʒool*. Moreover, the plural suffix *-dʒolaal* can be added on nouns that have been already pluralized with the other plural suffixes *-aal*, *-laal*, *-le*, *-eel*, *-ool*, *-l* and nouns pluralized via reduplication, internal modification, vowel deletion just as it is directly suffixed on singular noun stems. This point is further elaborated at the end of this section.

Most Bayso singular noun stems add almost all of the the plural suffixes listed above in order to form their plural counterpart unless the impermissible cluster of sounds occur at a morpheme boundary. For example, the singular noun *wadami* ‘mountain’ ends with the vowel /i/ and if the plural suffix *-ool* or *-aal* or *-eel* is added on this noun, it results in the impermissible sequence of vowels as in *wadamiool*, *wadamiaal* and *wadamieel*. The same is true if the plural suffix *-laal* is added on a singular noun stem *luban* ‘lion’ that results in *lubanlaal* which is not possible since the two sonorants /n/ and /l/ do not form cluster in Bayso.

Hayward (1979:103-104) categorised those nouns that form their plural by suffixing *-dʒool*, *-dʒolaal* and *-l* as “regular multiple reference forms” and those nouns that form their plurals by suffixing *-eel*, *-ool* and *-aal* as “irregular multiple reference forms”. However, the present study considers all plural nouns that are formed by suffixing the aforementioned suffixes as regular plural nouns since there is no reason to classify them as regular and irregular. This is because all

the plural nouns are formed by attaching plural suffixes on singular noun stems exactly in the same way except that these plural suffixes indicate different degree of quantities as mentioned earlier. But there is irregular plural formation in Bayso which is discussed following suffixation.

The following section provides plural formation by using each plural suffix.

-dzolaal (-jolaal)

The suffix – ***dzolaal*** is the most common plural suffix in Bayso. Most of Bayso singular noun stems add the suffix –***dzolaal*** to form their plural as shown in (3).

	Singular	Plural
(3)	ibaaddo ‘person’	ibaaddo <i>dzolaal</i> ‘persons, people’
	gaa ‘tree’	ga <i>adzolaal</i> ‘trees’
	kimbir ‘bird’	kimbir <i>dzolaal</i> ‘birds’
	daraaraa ‘flower’	daraara <i>adzolaal</i> ‘flowers’
	ul ‘country’	ul <i>dzolaal</i> ‘countries’
	min ‘house’	min <i>dzolaal</i> ‘houses’
	kun”ub ‘fish’	kun”ub <i>dzolaal</i> ‘fishes’
	sarsi ‘cloth’	sarsid <i>dzolaal</i> ‘cloths’
	ker ‘dog’	ker <i>dzolaal</i> ‘dogs’

As indicated above, the plural suffix –***dzolaal*** is attached to both vowel-final and consonant-final singular noun stems. However, it may not be attached to singular noun stems that terminate with consonants that do not occur in preconsonantal position since it creates impermissible consonant cluster at a morpheme boundary as in, for example, luk ‘leg’ – *luk***dzolaal***.

-laal

The following words are some of the singular noun stems that add the plural suffix –***laal***.

	Singular	Plural
(4)	abba ‘sister’	abbalaal ‘sisters’
	abbi ‘brother’	abbilaal ‘brothers’
	odo ‘father’	odolaal ‘fathers’
	saati ‘friend’	saatilaal ‘friends’
	akko ‘grandmother’	akkolaal ‘grandmothers’
	lanko ‘aunt’	lankolaal ‘aunts’
	wono ‘king’	wonolaal ‘kings’

As it can be observed from the above examples, the plural marker suffix *-laal* is suffixed to singular nouns that end with vowels. It has to be noted that the suffix *-laal* is not the only plural marker suffixed to singular nouns given in (4) above. Other plural marker suffixes such as *-dʒool* and *-dʒolaal* can still be suffixed to these singular noun stems. However, singular nouns that end with consonant phoneme do not form their plural counterpart by attaching the suffix *-laal* since it results in impermissible consonant cluster. Hence, *min* ‘house’ – **minlaal* ‘houses’ and *luban* ‘lion’ – **lubanlaal* ‘lions’ are not acceptable plural forms since the combination of singular noun stems and the addition of plural suffix results in impermissible cluster of consonant. Moreover, the plural suffix *-laal* is attached to human entities as illustrated in example (4) above. It is not attested as plural suffix on inanimate and non- human animate entities.

-dʒool (-jool)

The plural suffix *-dʒool* is attached to singular noun stem that end with vowel or consonant as illustrated below.

	Singular	Plural
(5)	ababbo ‘grandfather’	ababbodʒool ‘grandfathers’
	enter ‘husband’	enterdʒool ‘husbands’
	oori ‘wife’	ooridʒool ‘wives’
	demer ‘donkey’	demerdʒool ‘donkeys’
	gumbi ‘pit’	gumbidʒool ‘pits’
	libe ‘pole’	libedʒool ‘poles’
	gosa ‘clan’	gosadʒool ‘clans’
	daraaraa ‘flower’	daraaraadʒool ‘flowers’
	t’abala ‘holy spring’	t’abaladʒool ‘holy springs’

The plural suffix *-dʒolaal* can also be added on all of the singular noun stems given in (5) above. Hence, *ababbodʒolaal* ‘grandfathers’, *enterdʒolaal* ‘husbands’, *libedʒolaal* ‘poles’ and *t’abaladʒolaal* ‘springs’ are also another possible plural forms of the singular nouns *ababbo* ‘grandfather’, *enter* ‘husband’, *libe* ‘pole’ and *t’abala* ‘spring’, respectively. The noun *demer* ‘donkey’ can also be pluralized by lengthening the penultimate vowel as in *demeer* ‘donkeys’. This is the only case where vowel length is attested as a method of pluralization in the present data. As the last three examples given above illustrate, the loan words *gosa* ‘clan’ and *daraaraa* ‘flower’ from Afaan Oromoo and *t’abala* ‘holy spring’ from Amharic are adapted to the pluralization system of Bayso.

-li

The plural suffix ***-li*** is the least frequent of all plural suffixes. In most cases, few singular noun stems that terminate with a short vowel /o/ or a long vowel /o:/ are pluralized by attaching the plural suffix ***-li***. The following are some Bayso singular noun stems that are pluralized by attaching the suffix ***-li***.

(6)	SG.	PL.
	e?emo 'stone'	e?emooli 'stones'
	c'arto 'dung'	c'artooli 'dungs'
	tor?o 'liver'	tor?ooli 'livers'
	dzaarsa 'elder'	dzaarsooli 'elders'
	gaangee 'mule'	gaangeeli 'mules'
	k'o'lo 'traditional dress'	k'ooli 'traditional dresses'
	gaafimaallo 'wave'	gaafimaalooli

As it can be seen from the above examples, the plural suffix ***-li*** is suffixed on the singular noun stems that end with vowel phonemes. In case where a singular noun terminates with a short vowel, the short vowel is lengthened when the plural suffix ***-li*** is attached on it, and a noun stem that ends with a long vowel maintains its vowel length as in *gaangee* 'mule' - *gaangeeli* 'mules'. The words 'gaangee' and 'jaarsa' are loan words that Bayso borrowed from Afaan Oromoo. Hence, the plural suffix ***-li*** may be entered into Bayso morphology along these borrowed words. Moreover, it has to be noted that the plural suffixes ***-dʒool*** or ***-dʒolaal*** can be suffixed on singular noun stems listed under (6) to show multiple quantities.

-eel

All singular noun stems that end with voiced consonant phonemes /b/ and /d/ are pluralized by attaching the plural suffix ***-eel***. In this case, the final consonant of a singular noun stem is geminated as it is indicated in the following examples.

(7a)	Singular	Plural
	kun"ub 'fish'	kun"ubbeel 'fishes'
	farad 'horse'	faraddeel 'horses'
	warab 'ram'	warabbeel 'rams'
	agud 'village'	aguddeel 'villages' mucsile
	garab 'muscle'	garabbeel 'muscles'
	nuub 'lead'	nuubbeel 'leads'

The singular nouns that end with the short vowel /e/ are also pluralized by attaching the plural suffix *-eel*. In this case, the short final vowel /e/ is deleted as it results in the impermissible sequence of vowels. Observe the following examples.

	Singular	Plural
(7b)	zizaale ‘bee’	zizaaleel ‘bees’
	tekente ‘fly’	tekenteel ‘flies’
	mete ‘head’	meteel ‘heads’
	mundze ‘lip’	mundzeel ‘lips’
	tuntʃtʃe ‘red ant’	tuntʃtʃeel ‘red ants’
	tuurre ‘hump’	tuurreel ‘humps’
	litʃtʃe ‘whip’	litʃtʃeel ‘whips’
	abide ‘a baby boy’	abbideel ‘babay boys’
	hangoroc’e ‘chin’	hangoroc’eel ‘chins’
	hallaatʃtʃe ‘crocodile’	hallaatʃtʃeel ‘crocodiles’

It has to be noted that the plural suffixes *-dʒool* or *-dʒolaal* can be added on the singular noun stems given in examples (7a) and (7b) to show multiple plural.

-l

The plural suffix *-l* is one of the frequent plural suffixes. Most singular noun stems that terminate with the vowel /i/, and few singular noun stems that end with the vowel /u/, /e/ and /o/ are pluralized by attaching the plural suffix *-l* as illustrated in (8).

	Singular	Plural
(8)	sarsi ‘cloth’	sarsii <i>l</i> ‘cloths’
	oori ‘wife’	oorii <i>l</i> ‘wives’
	margi ‘neck’	margii <i>l</i> ‘necks’
	gasi ‘buffalo’	gasi <i>l</i> ‘buffaloes’
	gumbaar ‘eyebrow’	gumbaarii <i>l</i> ‘eyebrowes’
	gororrii ‘cartiridge’	gororrii <i>l</i> ‘cartiridges’
	weeyini ‘colobus monkey’	weeyinii <i>l</i> ‘colobus monkeys’
	tallabsi ‘steps’	tallabsi <i>l</i> ‘steps’
	shaashii ‘headbage’	shaashii <i>l</i> ‘headbages’
	maarrabi ‘net’	maarrabii <i>l</i> ‘nets’
	marti ‘guest’	martii <i>l</i> ‘guests’

As shown in the above examples, the final short vowel of a singular noun stem is lengthened when the plural suffix *-l* is attached on it whereas the final long vowel of a singular noun stem remains as it is. The plural suffix *-l* is attached only on singular noun stems that terminate with vowel phonemes since its addition on a singular noun stems that end with consonant phonemes results in impermissible cluster of consonants or impermissible gemination of consonants at a word final position as in, for example, (*deelel* + *-l* : **deelell*).

The human singular noun stems *oori* ‘wife’ and *marti* ‘guest’ listed in (8) can be alternatively pluralized by suffixing *-laal*, and all the singular noun stems listed in the same number are pluralized by suffixing *-dzool* or *-dzolaal* to indicate multiple quantities.

-aal

The plural suffix *-aal* is one of the most frequent plural suffixes. Most singular noun stems that end with a short vowel /a/, and few singular noun stems that terminate with consonant phonemes are pluralized by attaching *-aal* as in (9).

(9)	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
	laga	lagaal ‘rivers’	wayitfa	wayitfaal ‘religious fathers’
	habeessa	habeessaal ‘snakes’	uulla	uullaal ‘pots’
	maalaata	maalaataal ‘signs’	wadalla	wadallaal ‘youngsters’
	wadana	wadanaal ‘hearts’	sarba	sarbaal ‘thieghs’
	ufa	ufaal ‘doors’	gosa	gosaal ‘clans’
	waraba	warabaal ‘hyenas’	galba	galbaal ‘human skins’
	dama	damaal ‘sticks’	lef	lefaal ‘bones’
	gaala	gaalaal ‘camels’	il	ilaal ‘fruits’

All the singular noun stems listed in (9) terminate with the short vowel /a/ except the singular noun stems *lef* ‘bone’ and *il* ‘fruit’. In all cases, the short vowel /a/ is deleted since the suffixation of *-aal* results in impermissible sequence of vowels. Bayso does not allow more than two like sequence vowels as discussed in Chapter Two.

The singular nouns listed in (9) except *lef* and *il* can be alternatively pluralized by suffixing *-le* in which case the short final vowel of each singular noun stem is lengthened (example, lagaale ‘rivers’). Moreover, all the singular noun stems listed in (9) are pluralized by suffixing *-dzool* or *-dzolaal* to show different degrees of quantities.

-ool

Some singular noun stems that terminate with a short vowel /o/ and few singular noun stems that terminate with consonant phonemes are pluralized by suffixing ***-ool*** as shown in the following examples.

(10) Singular	Plural
k'aro 'bat'	k'arool 'bats'
duulo 'hippopotamus'	duulool 'hippopotamuses'
daano 'elephant'	daanool 'elephants'
e?emo 'stone'	e?emool 'stones'
walabo 'boat'	walabool 'boats'
shalo 'the woof'	shalool 'the woof'
ufufo 'bladder'	ufufool 'bladders'
yaydo 'calf'	yaydool 'calves'
hidid 'root'	hididdool 'roots'
gaa 'tree/forest'	gaaddool 'trees/forests'

As illustrated in the above examples, the final short vowel in each singular noun stems is deleted when the plural suffix ***-ool*** is attached on them. This does not mean that the short final vowel is not part of singular noun stems, but it is deleted to conform to the Bayso phonology. If the final vowel is maintained, it results in sequence of three like vowels which is not allowed in the language.

The plural form of *gaa* 'forest' is quite different from the others as a new element ***-dd-*** is appeared in its plural form (*gaa* 'forest' – *gaaddool* 'forests'). The geminated ***-d-*** is inserted to avoid impermissible sequence of vowels. In other words it is inserted as an epenthetic element.

-le

The plural suffix ***-le*** is the least frequent plural suffix. Few singular noun stems that end with a short or long vowel /a/ are pluralized by attaching the suffix ***-le*** as shown below.

Singular	Plural
(11) sangaa 'castrated bull'	sangaale 'castrated bulls'
uulla 'pot'	uullaale 'pots'
laga 'river'	lagaale 'rivers'
wadalla 'youngster'	wadallaale 'youngsters'

All the singular noun stems listed under (11) are also pluralized by attaching the suffix *-aal*. Moreover, the plural suffixes *-dʒool* or *-dʒolaal* is suffixed on all singular noun stems listed under (11) to indicate multitude of entities that exceed the quantity implied by the plural nouns listed under the same number.

Some words such as *sulaale* ‘wild animals’ and *wayyoole* ‘leaders’ that have *-le* in their final position are inherently plural, and they do not have singular counterparts. Some other words such as *waattolle* ‘newly born calf/calves), *zizaale* ‘bee/bees’ and *lukkale* ‘hen/hens) can be either singular or plural based on the context in which they are used. However, it has to be noted that the words *sulaale*, *waattolle*, *zizaale* and *lukkale* are pluralized by suffixing *-dʒool* or *-dʒolaal* whereas the word *wayyoole* does not add the plural suffixes *-dʒool* or *-dʒolaal* since it refers to only few individuals that include *wono* ‘king’, *wayichaa* ‘religious leader’ and *odobaddo* ‘a man in charge of ritual ceremonies’.

Generally, most Bayso singular noun stems can take two or more plural suffixes to form their plural number. For example, the singular noun *odo* ‘father’ can be pluralized as *ododʒolaal*, *odolaal*, *odooli*, *odoole*, *odool* and *ododʒool*. The singular noun *oori* ‘wife’ has *ooridʒool*, *ooridʒolaal*, *oorilaal* and *ooril* as its plural form. The same is true with other singular noun stems such as *uulla* ‘pot’ – *uulladʒool*, *uulladʒolaal*, *uullaal*, *uullaale*, *uullaali* ‘pots’, and *laga* ‘river’ – *lagadʒool*, *lagadʒolaal*, *lagaal*, *lagaali* and *lagaale* ‘rivers’.

In Bayso, it is not important issue to try to establish specific pluralization pattern, that is, to determine which singular noun stem adds which plural suffix since there is a possibility that every singular noun stem can add every plural suffix unless impermissible cluster of consonants or impermissible sequence of vowels occur at the morpheme boundary. Rather, it is worthwhile to recognize that the plural suffixes in Bayso do not only show number, but also they contrast semantically. In other words, Bayso plural suffixes indicate different degree of quantity as stated earlier. Hence, the paucal suffix *-dʒa/-dʒedʒa* shows few number of entities [usually between 1 and 10], and the suffixes *-li*, *-le*, *-laal*, *-ool*, *-aal*, *-l*, and *-eel* show substantial number of entities. On the otherhand, the suffix *-dʒool* shows more quantity than the aforementioned plural suffixes, and the plural suffix *-dʒolaal* [that seems formed from two different suffixes *-dʒool* + *-aal*] shows a greater number of quantity (multiple plural) and varieties than all the other plural suffixes. For example, ‘baal’ is a single leaf of any tree [for example ‘olive’ tree], ‘baalallo’ shows leaves of a single tree, ‘baalallodʒool’ marks leaves of many similar or the same trees [example ‘olive trees’] and ‘baalallodʒolaal’ refers to too many leaves of a great number of

different trees or variety of trees (not just the leaves of of the same type of trees). Thus, the suffix – *dzolaal* is not used with less number of entities of the same type. So, it is not grammatical to say, for example, *ibaaddodzolaal ka Bayso* ‘Bayso people’ since Bayso refers to a single and the same ethnic group, but it is grammatical to say *ibaaddodzolaal ka?Itoop’iyaa* ‘Ethiopian people’ or *ibaaddodzolaal kadabuubee* ‘Peoples of Southern Nation’ since both Ethiopia and Sothern Nation are composed of many peoples of different ethnic groups. Hence, the plural noun ‘ibaaddodzolaal’ shows a number of peoples of different ethnic groups. Bayso also distinguishes *plural*, *double plural* and *multiple plural*. This will be elaborated later after all pluralisation systems are discussed.

As menetioned earlier, a small number of Bayso singular noun stems are pluralized through other systems apart from suffixation. These are *reduplication* and *internal modification*. The reduplication system includes total and partial reduplication, and the most common partial reduplication observed in the Bayso is *repetition of the stem final consonant*. The pluraluization system through reduplication and internal modification of noun stems can be designated as irregular pluralization method. Hayward (1979:104) identified reduplication of some parts of the singular noun stems and loss of a radical-final vowel as strategies of pluralisation in Bayso.

(ii) Reduplication

Pluralization via reduplication assumes different forms. These include total reduplication or partial reduplication or repetition of stem-final consonant. According to Hetzron (1990:119-120), plural formation through repetition of a stem-final consonant is found in Cushitic (for example as in Somali *miis/miisas* ‘table/tables’). Repetition of stem-final consonant as a device for plural formation is also attested in other Cushitic languages such as Draytata (Wondwosen, 2006:68), Afar (Bliese, 1976:152), Hadiya and Sidamo (Hudson, 1976:252).

Repetition of stem-final consonant as pluralization system is also attested in Bayso. Some animate singular noun stems, parts of the human body and plants are pluralized through repetition of stem-final consonant. However, pluralisation via this system assumes two different forms or variants as shown in (12a) and (12b).

	SG	PL
(12a)	yiis ‘child’	yiisaag ‘children’
	ker ‘dog’	keroor ‘dogs’
	il ‘fruit’	ilaaḽ ‘fruits’

SG	PL	SG	PL
(12b) gene ‘hand’	gen <u>enno</u> ‘hands’	fer ‘finger’	fer <u>erro</u> ‘fingers’
han ‘shoulder’	han <u>anno</u> ‘shoulders’	nebe ‘ear’	nebe <u>bbo</u> ‘ears’
naas ‘breast’	naas <u>asso</u> ‘breasts’	baal ‘leaf’	baal <u>allo</u> ‘leaves’
suul ‘finger nail’	sul <u>allo</u> ‘finger nails’		

As it can be observed from the examples in (12a), the pluralization system via repetition of stem-final consonant is denoted as [the stem + VV + C (where ‘C’ is the repeated final-consonant of the stem and ‘VV’ is the inserted element between the stem and the repeated final consonant of the stem)]. In (12b), the pluralisation through repetition of the final consonant can be labelled as [singular noun stem + V + CC + O (where ‘CC’ represents the geminated form of repeated stem-final consonant)]. The final /o/ in the plural form shown in (12b) is required because Bayso does not allow gemination of consonants at the word final position. The V (which is usually /a/) that appears between the singular stem and the geminated final consonant of the stem is required only if the singular noun ends with consonant as in ‘naas - naasasso’ and ‘suul - sulallo’, but if the singular noun ends with a vowel, that same vowel is maintained in the plural form as in ‘gene - genenno’ and ‘nebe - nebebbo’. The requirement of V or the preservation of the existing vowel in the plural form in (12b) seems to avoid the impermissible consonants that can occur in the plural form.

The plural forms of some body parts given in (12a & b) refer to a pair of part of a human’s/ a person’s body, for example, *naasasso* ‘a pair of breasts’, *nebebbo* ‘a pair of ears’, *genenno* ‘a pair of hands’ and *hananno* ‘a pair of shoulders’ that a single person possesses. The other plural forms of body parts such as *fererro* ‘fingers’ and *sulallo* ‘fingernails’ also refers to the number of fingers and fingernails, respectively, that a single person possesses. Moreover, the plural form *baalallo* and *ilaal* refer to the number of *leaves* and *fruits*, respectively, that a single tree possesses. Generally, the quantity indicated by plural noun forms listed under example (12 a & b) shows that those objects belong to a single entity, rather than different entities. In other words, these plural forms of nouns indicate less number of quantities. Therefore, it should be noted that the plural suffix *-dzool* or *-dzolaal* can be added on all these plural nouns to indicate a great number of quantities as in, for example, *yiisaadzool/dzolaal*, *genenno - genennodzool/dzolaal*, *fererro - fererrodzool/jolaal*, *ilaal - ilaaldzool/dzolaal* and *baalallo - baalalodzool/dzolaal*. The suffixation of *-dzool* or *-dzolaal* shows not just a great number of entities but it shows that those entities belong to different persons or different entities.

Some Bayso derived agentive singular nouns also form their plural counterpart through partial reduplication as follows.

(13)	SG	PL
	kaʔotaro ‘farmer’	kaʔotataro ‘farmers’
	kagorsaaro ‘advisor’	kagorsaasaaro ‘advors’
	kalagadaro ‘killer’	kalagagadro ‘killers’

As shown in example (13), the singular agentive nouns ‘kaʔotaro’, ‘kagorsaaro’ and ‘kalagadaro’ are pluralized via reduplication of their third syllable. In the present Bayso data, the only singular noun pluralized via total reduplication is *aar* ‘ox’ – *aaraar* ‘oxen’ (see also Hayward, 1979:104).

(iii) Internal modification

Some singular noun stems are pluralized through internal modification. These include vowel deletion, vowel insertion or vowel change. Few Bayso singular noun stems form their plural counterparts through vowel change, vowel deletion or vowel insertion as follows.

(14)	SG	PL
	oroono ‘goat’	oreen ‘goats’
	ilki ‘tooth’	ilko ‘teeth’
	se ‘cow’	saaye ‘cows’

As it can be observed from the above example, the singular noun ‘oroono’ is pluralized via the combination of internal vowel change and vowel deletion. The word medial long vowel /-oo-/ is changed to the long vowel /-ee-/ and followed by deletion of the final vowel /o/. The singular nouns ‘ilki’ is pluralized by changing its final vowel /i/ to /o/. The singular noun ‘se’ is pluralized through the insertion of long vowel –**aa** which also entails the insertion of the epenthetic element –**y** to avoid imermissible sequence of vowels.

The singular noun stems listed in (14) can also be pluralized through suffixation of *-dzool/-dzolaal* which results in difference in the degree of quantity and variety. For example, *ilko* refers to teeth of a single person, and *ilkodzool* refers to teeth of different people and *ilkodzolaal* refers to a great number of teeth that belong to different types of animates human and non-human. In the same way, *oreen* ‘goats’ refers to some goats that belong to a single person, and it can be pluralized as *oreendzolaal* and *oreendzool* to indicate not only a great number of goats but also to indicate that the goats belong to different individual persons. Hence, it is semantically acceptable to say *oreen ka helattee* ‘Helate’s goats’, *ilko ka helatte* ‘Helate’s teeth’ and *ilkodzool kaʔibaaddo*

‘humans’/persons’ teeth’ and *oreendzool kakaani* ‘our goats’. But it is semantically odd to say *ilkodzool kahealtte* ‘helate’s teeth’ and *oreendzool kahelatte* ‘Helate’s goats’ since a single person could not possess multitude of teeth and goats a quantity that is impossible to guess just by looking at those objects or entities.

The other noun plural formation device in Bayso is final vowel deletion. Though not common, some singular noun stems are pluralized through deletion of the terminal vowel as follows.

(15)	SG		PL
	idaado ‘a sheep’		idaad ‘sheep’
	wadami ‘mountain’		wadam ‘mountains’
	dabbaalo ‘heifer’	˘	dabbaal ‘heifers’

The plural suffix *-dzool* or *-dzolaal* can be added directly either on singular noun stems or on plural nouns listed in (15). Hence, *idaadodzool* /*idaadodzolaal* or *idaadidzool*/*idaadidzolaal* ‘sheep’, *wamidzool*/*wamidzolaal* or *wamdodzool*/*wamdodzolaal* ‘mountains’ and *dabbaalodzool* /*dabbaalodzolaal* or *dabaaldzool*/*dabbaaldzolaal* ‘heiffers’ are also possible plural forms for the singular noun stems *idaado* ‘sheep’, *wadami* ‘mountain’ and *dabbaalo* ‘heifer’, respectively.

3.1.1.3. Paucal

Kroeger (2005: 348) stated that “Paucal is a number category that refers to a group consisting of a few individuals, in contrast to dual and plural”.

One of the remarkable features in Bayso number system is that it has a paucal number which is rarely found in the other Cushitic languages. Paucal number indicates few quantities or some particular entities between one and ten that are permanently located at a particular place or that can be found together at a particular place and time. Sometimes, the paucal number is used to undermine the amount/quantity of entities or things. If the intention of the speaker is to undermine the quantity of entities or things, the things or the entities referred to could be located at different places or they could be located at a specific place. These points are elaborated in the following sections.

Hayward (1979:105) identified three paucal suffixes in Bayso: *-dzaa*, *-dzedzaa*, *-edzaa*. However, only the first two paucal suffixes with short vowel /a/ are confirmed in the present study, but the last one is not identified as a paucal suffix. In the present study, the suffix *-dza* occurs with the noun radicals (gees ‘year’, yiis ‘child’ and ees ‘grass’) that Hayward listed with the suffix *-edzaa*.

Hence, the paucal number is marked by attaching the suffix *-dza* or in some cases *-dzedza* on singular noun stems as shown in (16a & b) below.

(16) a.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Paucal</u>
	heleel ‘woman’	heleeldza ‘few women’
	deelel ‘girl’	deeleldza ‘few girls’
	e?emo ‘stone’	e?emodza ‘few stones’
	ibaaddo ‘a person’	ibaaddodza ‘few persons’
	luban ‘lion’	lubandza ‘few lions’
	kalaali ‘kidney’	kalaaldza ‘few kidneys’
	babbaar ‘man’	babbaardza ‘few men’

In the above examples, all singular noun stems add the paucal suffix *-dza* to form their paucal counterparts. There are also some singular noun stems that add the paucal suffix *-dzedza* or *-dza* or both *-dza* and *dzedza* as shown below.

(16b)	Singular	Paucal	Singular	Paucal
	min ‘house’	mindzedza ‘few houses’	huu ‘utensil’	huudzedza ‘few utensils’
	warab ‘he goat’	warabdzedza ‘few he goats’	margi ‘neck’	margidzedza ‘few necks’
	lef ‘bone’	lefdzedza ‘few bones’	gees ‘year’	geesdzedza/geesdza ‘few years’
	kor ‘bull’	kordzedza ‘few bulls’	moon ‘a jack ass’	moondzedza ‘few jack asses’
	ker ‘dog’	kerdzedza ‘few dogs’	garab ‘mucile’	garabdzedza ‘few muciles’
	fer ‘finger’	ferdzedza ‘few fingers’	c’aa ‘spleen’	caadzdedza/caadza ‘few spleens’

According to Hayward (1979:105), the paucal suffix *-dzedza* occurs ‘only with monosyllabic noun radicals having a final liquid consonant, in which case it is in free variation with *-dzaa*’. However, the paucal suffix *-dzedza* also occurs with a disyllabic noun stems that end with obstruents and vowels as illustrated in (16b) above as in *mergidzedza* ‘few necks’ and *garabdzedza* ‘few muciles’. The fact that the suffix *-dzedza* occurs in free variation with *-dza* is attested in some cases in the present study if not in all cases. That is, noun stems that end with voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ occurs both with *-dza* and *-dzedza* as in *gees* – *geesdza*~*geesdzedza* ‘few years’ and *ees* – *eesdza*~*eesdzedza* ‘few grasses’. Otherwise, it seems very difficult to determine which nouns add the suffix *-dza* and/or *-dzedza*. For example, it is impossible to decide based on noun endings as both nouns that end with consonant or vowel add either *-dza* or *-dzedza* or both as shown in the above examples (16 ‘a’ & ‘b’). Moreover, the noun *min* ‘house’ ends with nasal sound /n/, and it adds the suffix *-dzedza*. Another noun *luban* ‘lion’ also ends with the same sound yet it adds the suffix *-dza*. Hence, it is difficult to account for why the noun

‘min’ requires *-dzedza* instead of *-dza* to form its paucal number. The number of syllables does not decide either whether *-dza* or *-dzedza* is suffixed to a noun stem as Hayward (1979) suggested since two syllable words such as ‘garab’ and ‘margi’ add *-dzedza* instead of *-dza*. Therefore, whether a noun stem requires *-dza* or *-dzedza* or both is determined by individual singular noun stem. But it is possible to conclude that the overwhelming majority of singular noun stems add the paucal suffix *-dza* and few singular nouns add the suffix *-dzedza* or both to form their corresponding paucal reference.

In most cases, as shown in ‘16b’, the paucal number marker *-dza* or *-dzedza* is directly suffixed to singular noun stems. In certain cases, however, the paucal suffix is added only on the plural forms of nouns instead of singular noun stems as indicated below.

(16c)	Singular	Plural	Paucal
	se ‘cow’	saaye ‘cows’	saayedza ‘few cows’
	aar ‘ox’	aaraar ‘oxen’	aaraardza ‘few oxen’
	han ‘shoulder’	hananno ‘shoulders’	hanannodza ‘few shoulders’
	nebe ‘ear’	nebebbo ‘ears’	nebebbodza ‘few ears’
	orono ‘goat’	oreen ‘goats’	oreendza ‘few goats’
	suul ‘nail’	sulallo ‘nails’	sulallodza ‘few nails’
	wadami ‘mountain’	wadam ‘mountains’	wadamdza ‘few mountains’
	ilki ‘tooth’	ilko ‘teeth’	ilkodza ‘few teeth’
	il ‘eye’	il?o ‘eyes’	il?odza ‘few eyes’

As it can be noted from example (16c) above, the paucal number marker *-dza* is suffixed on the plural nouns, that is, it is not directly suffixed on the singular noun stems. However, it is suffixed to the plural nouns that are formed either via reduplication or addition/deletion of vowels. It is not suffixed to plural nouns that have formed their plural via plural suffixes such as *-dzool* and *-dzolaal* since the quantity marked by plural suffixes *-dzool* and *-dzolaal* has already exceeded the quantity indicated by the paucal suffix *-dza*. The quantity designated by plural forms listed in example (16c) under the column ‘Plural’ is more than the quantity designated by the paucal suffix *-dza* listed under the column ‘Paucal’ even if the paucal suffix is attached to already pluralized nouns.

As stated early on, the paucal suffix *-dza* is not directly suffixed on some singular noun stems such as *aar* ‘ox’, *se* ‘cow’, *nebe* ‘ear’, *il* ‘eye’ and *ilki* ‘teeth’. Hence, the forms ‘*aardza*’, ‘*sedza*’,

'*nebedza*', '*ildza*' and '*ilkidza*' are semantically unacceptable. The researcher couldn't come up with clear cut reason why they are unacceptable. This is open to further research.

Still in other few cases, the paucal suffix *-dza* can be suffixed both on singular and plural forms of the same noun as demonstrated in the following examples.

(16d) Singular	Plural	Paucal
naas 'breast'	naasasso 'breasts'	naasassodza/naasdza 'few breasts'
ker 'dog'	keroor 'dogs'	keroordza/kerdzedza 'few dogs'
idaado 'sheep'	idaad 'sheep'	idaadidza/idaadodza 'few sheep'

As illustrated under (17b), the paucal suffix is added both on the plural and singular forms of a noun as shown under the 'Paucal' column. There might be a quantity difference when the paucal suffix is directly added on a singular noun stem and on its plural counterparts, for example, between '*naasdza*' and '*naasassodza*'.

The other issue is that some Bayso singular noun stems such as *barraadza* 'star', *arandza* 'rib' and *goldza* 'warthog' seem normally paucal in form. But they are simple stems without any paucal suffix attached to them. The paucal number marker *-dza* can still be added on these noun stems that gives the paucal forms *barraadzadza* 'few stars', *arandzadza* 'few ribs' and *goldzadza* 'few warthogs'. On the other hand, the noun *mundze* 'lip' becomes *mundzedza* 'few lips' when the paucal suffix *-dza* is added on it. Therefore, it seems that *mun* is a noun stem and *-dzedza* is a paucal suffix which was occurred due to accidental morphological gap.

The other important issue to be noted is that inherently plural nouns that have no singular counterparts such as *beke* 'water' and *eeno* 'milk' do not add paucal suffix unless they are quantified by using containers. That is, if *beke* 'water' or *eeno* 'milk' is filled in different containers, for example, in different pots at a specific place and if the number of pots are between one and ten, it is possible to say *bekedza* 'few waters' and *eenodza* 'few milks'.

As stated above, entities that are not found at one place or that cannot be found at one place do not add paucal suffix. For example, the noun stems *ul* 'country', *hemen* 'night' and *arrii* 'day' do not normally add the suffix *-dza/-dzedza* as two or more *uldzool* 'countries', *hemendzool* 'nights' and *arridzool* 'days' could not be found together at the same time and place. However, if the implication is to undermine or to undersaturate the quantity of entities or things, for example, the number of countries, the speaker may say *usu uldzedza deera*; *ani uldzool deera* which mean 'He

visited few countries; I visited many counties.’ Here, the intension of the speaker is to undermine the number of countries that the other person has visited.

As mentioned earlier, Bayso plural suffixes or pluralisation system distinguishes different degrees of quantities –*paucal*, *plural*, *double plural* and *multiple plural* which have an impact on the acceptability and some grammatical usages of the words. The following examples are provided to demonstrate how Bayso pluralisation system show different degrees of quantities.

(17)	SG	PL	Double PL	Multiple PL	Gloss
	ilki ‘tooth’	ilko	ilkod _{3ool}	ilkod _{3olaal}	‘teeth’
	luk ‘leg’	luk’ak’k’o	luk’ak’k’od _{3ool}	luk’ak’k’od _{3olaal}	‘legs’
	naas ‘breast’	naasasso	naasassod _{3ool}	naasassod _{3olaal}	‘breasts’
	nebe ‘ear’	nebebbo	nebebbod _{3ool}	nebebbod _{3olaal}	‘ears’
	gene ‘hand’	genenno	genennod _{3ool}	genennod _{3olaal}	‘hands’
	fer ‘finger’	fererro	fererrod _{3ool}	fererrod _{3olaal}	‘fingers’
	saati ‘friend’	saatilaal	saatilaald _{3ool}	saatilaald _{3olaal}	‘friends’
	oroono ‘goat’	oreen	oreend _{3ool}	oreend _{3olaal}	‘goats’
	se ‘cow’	saaye	saayed _{3ool}	saayed _{3olaal}	‘cows’
	wadami ‘mountain’	wadam	wadamd _{3ool}	wadamd _{3olaal}	‘mountains’

The plural nouns *ilko*, *luk’akk’o*, *nasasso*, *nebebbo*, *genenno*, *fererro*, *oreen* and *saaye* show that these entities are few in quantity and they belong to a single person whereas the plural nouns *ilkod_{3ool} /ilkod_{3olaal}*, *luk’ak’k’od_{3ool}/luk’ak’k’od_{3olaal}*, *nasassod_{3ool}/ nasassod_{3olaal}*, *nenebbod_{3ool}/ nebebbod_{3olaal}*, *fererrod_{3ool}/ fererrod_{3olaal}*, *oreend_{3ool}/ oreend_{3olaal}* and *saayed_{3ool}/ saayed_{3olaal}* show that these entities are very great in quantity and they also belong to different persons or individuals. Therefore, it is not semantically acceptable to say *saayed_{3ool}/saayed_{3olaal} kaballamo* ‘Ballamo’s cows’ or *saatilaald_{3ool}/saatilaald_{3olaal} kabaallamo* ‘Ballamo’s friends’ since the plural forms *saayed_{3ool}/saayed_{3olaal}* ‘cows’ and *saatilaald_{3ool}/saatilaald_{3olaal}* ‘friends’ imply that the cows belong to different persons and the friends are not just friends of a single person rather they are friends of different persons. Instead, it is acceptable to say *saaye/saayedza kaballamo* and *saatilaal kaballamo*, and conversely *saayed_{3ool}/saayed_{3olaal} okaani* ‘our cows’ and *saatilaald_{3ool}/saatilaald_{3olaal} kakaanii* ‘our friends’.

3.1.1.4. Collective Nouns

Bussmann (1996:200) stated that “Collective noun refers to semantically defined class of nouns that express a group or set of several members in terms of a single unit”.

In Bayso, the collective noun may refer to a single individual or to a group of individual in general based on the context in which it is used. In other words, a collective noun can be used both in a singular and a plural senses without any suffix attached to it. Therefore, the noun ‘heleel’ may refer to an individual woman (singular) or woman in general (plural). The form of the verb used in a clause and a modifier that occurs with a collective noun determines whether the collective noun is used in a singular or a plural sense (cf. 18 below). Moreover, singulative, plural and paucal references can be formed from collective nouns. Singulative markers *-ti/-titi* is attached on collective nouns to indicate a particular entity out of a group of entities, and all types of plural suffixes are attached on collective nouns to indicate different degree of quantity (substantial or multiple quantity and variety). The paucal suffix *-dza/-dzedza* is also attached on collective nouns to indicate few quantity. Note that the collective nouns add singulative, plural and paucal suffixes as shown in (18).

(18)	Collective N.	Singulative	Plural	Paucal
	ibaaddo ‘a person/people’	ibaaddoti	ibaddod ³ ool/d ³ olaal	ibaaddodza
	babbaar ‘a man/men’	babbaartiti	babbaard ³ ool/d ³ olaal	babbaardza
	heleel ‘a woman/women’	heleeltiti	heleeld ³ ool/d ³ olaal	heleeldza
	deelel ‘girl/girls’	deeleltiti	deeleld ³ ool/d ³ olaal	deeleldza
	wadalla ‘boy/boys’	wadallati	wadallad ³ ool/d ³ olaal	wadalladza
	gaa ‘tree/trees’	gaati	gaaddool/gaad ³ olaal	gaadza
	e?emo ‘stone/stones’	e?emoti	e?emod ³ ool/d ³ olaal	e?emodza
	goldza ‘warthog/warthogs’	goldzati	gold ³ ad ³ ool	goljadza

When a collective noun is used in a plural sense, it refers to the same type of entity and quantity in the same way as a plural suffix *-d³ool*. Accordingly, ‘ibaaddo’ in the plural sense and the plural form ‘ibaaddod³ool’ refer to people of the same ethnic group as in *ibaaddo kabayso* or *ibbaaddod³ool kabayso* both mean ‘Bayso People’. When the same collective noun ‘ibaaddo’ is used in a singular sense it refers to a single person or an individual person as in, for example, *ibaddo kabayso koo/too goye/goote* ‘A Bayso person died’ or *ibaddo kabayso hikki saati kakaya* ‘this Bayso person is my friend’.

The following sentential examples illustrate how collective nouns are used in a singular or plural sense.

(19) a. *heleel* kakaanii landi sarsatara

heleel	ka-	kaanii	landi	sarsat	–ara
woman	ASC.M-	our	landi	wear	–IPFV

‘Our women wear ‘landi’.

b. *heleel* hitti bafink’a riitte

heleel	hitti	bashink’a	riit	–t	–e
woman	this	sorghum	grind	-3SG.F	–PFV

‘This woman ground sorghum.’

c. *heleel* hikki bafink’a riitte

heleel	hikki	bashink’a	riit	–e
woman	these	sorghum	grind	–PFV

‘These women ground sorghum.’

d. *ibaaddo* kabayso algi girara

ibaaddo	ka-	bayso	algi	gir	–ara
people	ASC-	Bayso	Alge	be/exist	–IPFV

‘Bayso people live at Alge.’

e. *ibaaddo* noon muuze sise

ibaaddo	noo–n	muuze	sis-	–e	
person	we	–DAT	banana	give	–PFV

‘A person gave us banana.’

As it can be observed in the above examples, the collective noun *heleel* ‘woman’ is used in singular sense as in (b) and in plural sense as in (a & c), and the collective noun *ibaaddo* ‘person’ is used both in plural and singular senses as in (d) and (e), respectively. Although the forms in singular and plural senses are exactly the same, they require different agreement markers on demonstratives, verbs, adjectives and possessive pronouns. In (20a) above, the clause subject ‘heleel’ is used in general sense to mean ‘women’ as the possessive pronoun *kakaani* ‘our’ and the multiple reference agreement verb form *sarsatara* indicates. If the collective noun *heleel* refers to single woman, the verb form would have been *sarsatatta* that shows singular feminine agreement. In the same way, the demonstrative modifier *hitti* ‘this’ in (20b) shows that the collective noun ‘heleel’ refers to a single woman, and *hikki* ‘this’ shows that the noun *heleel* refers to woman in general or plural/multiple reference form that require singular masculine

agreement. Hence, *hikki* ‘this’ but not *hin’i* ‘these’ is used with the collective noun *heleel* when it refers to woman in general in multiple reference sense.

3.1.1.5. Gender Polarity

Gender polarity refers to a situation where change of number results in change of gender (Corbett and Hayward 1987). It is a phenomenon common to many Cushitic languages (Simeone-Senelle & Mohammed Kamil, 2003). For example, it is attested in Highland East Cushitic languages (Hudson, 1976:252), in Lowland East Cushitic languages such as Somali (Appleyard, 2012:250, Lecarme 2002) and Afar (Dubnov, 2003: 27-29).

In Bayso, most singular masculine nouns and all singular feminine nouns become masculine in the plural. However, some singular masculine nouns become feminine in the plural, and as a result they require singular feminine marking suffixes on verbs, demonstratives, adjectives and singular feminine marking prefix *ta-* (genitive/possessive/associative particle).

The following examples are some masculine singular nouns that assume feminine gender when they are pluralized. This is one of the striking features of Bayso number system where number and gender interact.

(20) Singular (Masculine)		Plural (Feminine)
aabbo ‘paternal uncle’	—————>	aabbodzolaal ‘paternal uncles’
ababbo ‘grandfather’	—————>	ababbodzolaal ‘grandfathers’
odo ‘father’	—————>	ododzolaal ‘fathers’
aar ‘ox’	—————>	aaraar ‘oxen’
saati ‘friend’	—————>	saatidzolaal ‘male friends’

Note that there no hint that suggests the gender of plural nouns listed in (20). However, their original gender is inherently shifted to feminine in the plural. Moreover, the plural forms of nouns given in (20) above require singular feminine concord on verbs, demonstratives and adjectives. Observe the following agreement distinction between the singular masculine nouns given in (21) and their corresponding plural counterpart.

(21) a ₁ . aabbo hikki		a ₂ . aabbodzolaal hitti
aabbo	hikki	aabbo -dzolaal hitti
<i>parental uncle</i>	<i>this.SG.M</i>	<i>parental uncle –PL</i> <i>this.SG.F</i>
‘this parental uncle’		‘these parental uncles’

b₁. *odo emete.*

odo emet –e
father come –PFV.SGM.
'Father came.'

c₁. *ababbo kadzinki*

ababbo ka- dzin -ki
grandfather COML.M- big -M
'the big grandfather'

d₁. *aabbo kakaanii*

aabbo ka- kaanii
father ASC.SG.M- our
'our paternal uncle'

b₂. *ododzolaal emette.*

odo –dzolaal emet –t –e
grandfather -PL come -3SG.F –PFV
'Fathers came.'

c₂. *Ababbodzolaal tadzinti*

ababbo –dzolaal ta- dzin -ti
randfather –PL COML.F- big -F
'the big grandfathers'

d₂. *aabbodzolaal tataanii*

aabbo –dzolaal ta- taanii
father –PL ASC.SG.F- our
'our paternal uncles'

As the pairs of examples given above illustrates, the singular form of '**aabbo/ababbo/odo**' require masculine singular markers whereas their plural counterpart **aabbodzolaal, ababbodzolaal, ododzolaal** require feminine singular number markers on demonstratives (a₁ & a₂), verbs (b₁ & b₂), adjectives (c₁ & c₂) and possessive pronouns (d₁ & d₂). Therefore, there is no agreement difference between a singular feminine noun *heleel* 'a woman' and the plural form of noun *aabbodzool* 'parental uncles' as the same agreement markers that are used with 'aabbodzool' on demonstratives, verbs and adjectives are also used with the singular feminine noun 'heleel' as in *heleel hitti* 'this woman', *heleel emette* 'a woman came.', *heleel tadzinti* 'a big woman' and *aa tataanii* 'our mother.'

In Bayso, as stated above, all singular feminine nouns become masculine when they are pluralized, and most of singular masculine nouns maintain their original gender when they are pluralized with exception to such singular masculine noun stems enumerated in (21) above.

In Bayso, the distinction between paucal and plural references is also very important since it results in difference of agreements. Accordingly, the paucal form requires plural agreements, but the plural form or 'multiple reference form' requires singular agreement in the same way as masculine singular noun except the plural forms of nouns listed in (21) above that require singular feminine agreement. Observe the following sentential examples that illustrate the concord difference between paucal and plural forms of nouns.

(22) a. **hin''i** babbaardʒa oʔagaalsataaniyaan

hin''i babbaar –**ja** o- agaalsat –(a)an -i –y –a –an
these man -PAC REL- learn -PL. –EPEN –COP-IPFV -3PL

‘These are few male students.’ (Lit: ‘These are few male students who learn.’)

b. **hikki** babbaardʒool kaʔagaalsatoya

hikki babbaar –jool ka- agaalsat –o –y –a
these man –PL REL- learn –EPEN–COP –IPFV

‘These men are male students.’ (Lit: ‘These are male students who learn.’)

It is possible to notice from the above examples that the meaning of plural and paucal forms of a noun is not the same even if both are plural. Similarly, the agreement markers markers used with them are also different. The relativizer particle/ relative pronoun or genitive marker ‘**o-**’ and the plural form of copula verb ‘**-ya-an**’ are used with paucal number whereas the masculine singular marking relative pronoun/relativizer particle ‘**ka-**’ and the masculine singular form of copula verb ‘**-y-a**’ is used with plural number. Corbett and Hayward (1987) pointed out that the multiple reference form requires third person singular agreement. However, the present study proves that the multiple reference form requires masculine singular agreement. Only the paucal forms require plural agreement or plural marking suffixes.

On the other hand, one of the remarkable features in Bayso number system is that some uncountable nouns such as *beke* ‘water’, *soo* ‘meat’ and *eeno* ‘milk’ are inherently plural nouns. They require plural agreements in the same way as paucal form of nouns. And other nouns such as *udu* ‘faeces’, *ogorroo* ‘hairs’, *moo* ‘hips’ and *felo* ‘works’ are also plural, and they do not have a singular counterparts. Hence, they require plural marking suffixes on verbs, demonstratives and adjectives as well as the associative particle/prefix o-. The following examples illustrate the agreement requirements of the nouns listed above.

(23) a. **beke** uulla orroo **giraan**

beke uulla orroo gir -a –an
water pot in exist -IPFV -3PL

‘There is water in the pot.’ (Literally: ‘There are waters in the pot.’)

b. **eeno** uulla orroo **giraan**

eeno ullaa orroo gir –a –an
milk pot in be/exist –IPFV –3PL

‘There is milk in the pot.’ (Literally: ‘The milks are in the pot’.)

c. hin”i soo o?idaadoyaan

hin”i soo o- idaado -y -a -an
these meat GEN. sheep -COP -IPFV -3PL

‘This is sheep’s meat.’ (Literally: ‘These are sheep’s meat.’)

d. **eeno** hin”i ose?oyaan

eeno hin”i o- se -ʔ -o -y -a -an
milk these GEN cow -EPEN -DEF. -COP -IPFV - 3PL

‘This is cow’s milk.’ (Literally: ‘These are cow’s milks.’)

In examples 23a and b, the third person plural marker *-an* is suffixed on the verb *gir-* to show concord with clause subjects ‘beke’ and ‘eeno’, respectively, and in example 23c and d, the plural demonstrative form ‘hin”i’ is used as modifier and the third person plural marker *-an* is suffixed on the copula verb *-y-a* to show agreement with clause subjects ‘soo’ and ‘eeno’, respectively. As illustrated in the example above, the mass nouns *beke* ‘water’, *eeno* ‘milk’ and *so* ‘meat’ require plural agreements on verbs, adjectives and demonstratives as well as the associative particle *o-* in the same way as paucal reference forms of nouns.

It is not clear to the researcher why some mass nouns such as ‘beke’ and ‘eeno’ are considered as plural and some others such as *kaati* ‘urine’, *iig* ‘blood’, *foggolo* ‘sweat’ and *zayita* ‘oil’ are not.

Generally, the Bayso number system is very complex for different reasons. First, a singular noun stem can be pluralized in different ways such as suffixation, internal modification plus suffixation, repetition of last consonant plus suffixation or total reduplication plus suffixation. Moreover, almost all singular noun stems add more than three plural suffixes to form their plural counterparts. However, the plural suffixes mark different degrees of quantities and different varieties as it was stated earlier. Another source of complexity in the Bayso number system is that few singular noun stems do not directly add the paucal suffix *-dʒa* and/or *-dʒedʒa* unless they are first pluralized via internal modification, repetition of the last consonant or total reduplication. In other few cases, however, the paucal suffix can be added directly to a singular noun stem and its plural counterpart which has been already pluralized by attaching other suffixes or that has been already pluralized via repetition of the last consonant or via vowel deletion. The interference of gender with number (gender polarity) is also another source of complexity in Bayso number system.

3.1.2. Definiteness

In Bayso, indefiniteness is not overtly marked. Sometimes the cardinal number *koo* ‘one’ and *too* ‘one’ are used with masculine singular and feminine singular nouns, respectively, to mark indefiniteness as in **babbaarkoo/heleeltoo** ‘**certain man/certain woman**’ which has the English equivalent meaning ‘someone or somebody’. Otherwise, the citation form of nouns are used as the indefinite form. On the other hand, definiteness is marked morphologically on nouns by attaching the vowel suffixes *-u*, *-e*, *-i* or *-o* on singular and plural noun stems as in *elen* ‘a fire’ – *eleno/elene* ‘the fire’, *ker* ‘a dog’ – *keru* ‘the dog’, *se* ‘a cow’ – *se?o* ‘the cow’. The distribution of definiteness markers is not predictable or it is lexically conditioned. The following sentential examples illustrate definite marking on nouns.

(24) a. ibaaddodza mini dolle giraan

ibaaddo -dza min -i dolle gir -a -an
man -PAC *house* -DEF *near* *BE/exist* -IPFV -3PL
‘Few people are near the house.’

b. gaagura hikki odoori guti sowaamera

gaagura hikki odoor -i guti soy -(a)am -era
beehive *this.SG.M* *accasia* -DEF *on* *hang* -PASS -PFV
‘This beehive is hanged on the accasia tree.’

c. maajaan ta?ootaro nebe goosen ante demero

maashaa -n ta- oot -aro nebe goos -e -en
horn -for *REL-* cry -IPFV *ear* *cut* -PFV -3PL
am -t -e demer -o
say -3SG.F -PRFV *donkey* -DEF
‘The donkey said they cut off my ear while I cry for a horn.’

As illustrated in the above examples, the vowel suffix *-i* is frequently used as definite marker as compared to other vowel suffixes. As stated above, the distribution or occurrence of definite markers is not predictable, and it is determined by each individual lexical items.

3.1.3. Gender

Gender is a grammatical category used for the analysis of word-classes displaying such contrast as masculine, feminine and neuter (Crystal, 2008:208).

Most Afroasiatic languages have two gender systems: masculine and feminine (Childs, 2003:99), and this feature ‘runs throughout Cushitic morphosyntax’ (Appleyard, 2012:203). The Highland East Cushitic languages also have two gender systems: masculine and feminine (Hudson, 1976:251), and the Lowland East Cushitics such as Afar (Simeone-Senelle & Mohammed Hassan, 2013:3), Dasenech (Sasse, 1976:204), Draytata (Wondwosen, 2006:70) and Oromo (Gragg, 1976:180) have two gender system: masculine and feminine.

According to Appleyard (2012:203), gender of nouns is not always predictable from the citation form in most Cushitic languages, and it is reflected through agreement between the verb and its noun subject, or between determiners and head nouns. Hudson (1976:203) also stated that in the Highland East Cushitic languages ‘nouns show gender in their agreement with verbs, in their choice of demonstratives, in some languages, in their construction in the genitive, and to some extent in their choice of the article suffixes and in their choice of copula’. In Some Lowland East Cushitic languages such as Somali (Appleyard, 2012:250), Dasenech (Sasse, 1976:204) and Konso (Ongaye, 2013) gender of nouns is mostly apparent from concord features. However, gender of nouns in some Lowland East Cushitic languages is predictable from the noun endings or through accentual patterns as in Afar (Simeone-Senelle & Mohammed Hassan, 2013:3), Draytata (Wondwosen, 2006).

As in most Cushitic languages, Bayso has two grammatical genders: masculine and feminine, and gender of nouns is not predictable from the shape of noun stems, rather, it is reflected through agreement features, for example, the verb agrees with the gender of its noun subject; adjectives, demonstratives, possessive/genitive prefixes and ‘associative’ or relativizer prefixes agree in gender and number with their noun heads. Nouns’ gender is also reflected in their choice of copula. The copula –t is used with feminine nouns whereas the copula –y is used with masculine singular and plural nouns.

In Bayso, biological/natural gender of some animate entities, particularly kinship terms and some domestic animals, are distinguished by using different lexical items for masculine and feminine (cf.25 below). On the otherhand, a number of animal names distinguish gender by using the word *korma* for masculine and the word *t’altu* for feminine (cf.26). However, all animate and inanimate entities are randomly assigned either feminine or masculine grammatical gender.

3.1.3.1. Natural (biological) Gender

Natural gender refers to the sex of real world entities (Crystal, 2008:206). As mentioned above, natural gender of some animate nouns, particularly that of human, is expressed by using different lexical items for masculine and feminine nouns. Observe the following examples.

(25)	Masculine	Feminine
	babbaar ‘man’	heleel ‘woman’
	adalla ‘boy’	deleel ‘girl’
	enter ‘husband’	oori ‘wife’
	abbi ‘brother’	abba ‘sister’
	aar ‘ox’	se ‘cow’
	aabbo ‘paternal uncle’	aanna ‘paternal aunt’
	awwiya ‘maternal uncle’	lanko ‘maternal aunt’
	odo ‘father’	aa ‘mother’
	abbiide ‘baby boy’	abbaade ‘baby girl’
	ababbo ‘grandfather’	akko ‘grandmother’
	warab ‘he goat’	roodene ‘she goat’
	kor ‘bull’	dabbaalo ‘heifer’

In some cases, as satated above, natural gender of animate nouns, particularly that of animals, is expressed by using the word *korma* for masculine nouns and *t’altu* for feminine nouns as shown in the following examples.

(26)	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
	luban <i>korma</i> ‘lion’	luban <i>t’altu</i> ‘lioness’
	korma ka keroor/ker <i>korma</i> ‘dog’	ker <i>t’altu</i> ‘bitch’
	lukkale <i>korma</i> ‘cock’	lukkale <i>t’altu</i> ‘hen’
	demer <i>korma</i> ‘ass/he donkey’	demer <i>t’altu</i> ‘she donkey’
	farad <i>korma</i> ‘stallion’	farad <i>t’altu</i> ‘mare’

Afaan Oromoo also uses the same lexical items *korma* and *daltuu* to indentify masculine and feminine genders, respectively (Gragg,1976:180) . The only difference is that the lexical item that marks feminine in Afaan Oromoo begins with implosive /ɗ/ as in ‘*daltuu*’ and the final vowel /u/ is lengthened. It seems that Bayso has borrowed this system of gender identification from Oromo. Or may be it shows the genetic affiliation of the two languages.

3.1.3.2. Grammatical Gender

According to Crystal (2008:208), “grammatical gender has nothing to do with sex, but it has an important role in signalling grammatical relationships between words in a sentence”. As mentioned earlier, both animate and inanimate entities are randomly assigned either masculine or feminine grammatical gender. The following list shows some animate and inanimate entities along with their gender assignment.

(27a) **Animate entities**

Masculine

ibaaddo ‘person’
gididi ‘animal’
idaado ‘sheep’
farad ‘horse’
nebero ‘rat’
ker ‘dog’
dobos ‘python, serpent’
gaala ‘camel’
zizaale ‘bee’

Feminine

kimbir ‘bird’
tunche ‘ant’
bulaad ‘bushbuck’
yaydo ‘calf’
demer ‘donkey’
gaangee ‘mule’
oroono ‘goat’
bayso ‘Bayso’
adurree ‘cat’

(27b) **Inanimate entities**

Masculine

boobitta ‘earthenware, pan’
eren ‘spear’
beke ‘water’
ul ‘land’
maragadde ‘money’
babo ‘local bread’
eeno ‘milk’
gaa ‘tree’
iig ‘blood’
e?emo ‘stone’
sarsi ‘cloth’

Feminine

wolabo ‘boat, raft’
uulla ‘pot’
elen ‘fire’
nebe ‘ear’
fuutto ‘cotton’
t’aamme ‘flour’
hor?aamo ‘type of food’
debe ‘tail’
ilki ‘tooth’
elen ‘fire’
erre ‘soil’

As shown in examples (27a and b), there is no clue that suggests the gender of nouns. All nouns in Bayso are randomly assigned masculine or feminine gender. That is, grammatical gender

assignment does not take any criteria into consideration, for example, size, strength or importance of entities.

3.1.4. Case

Crystal (2008:66) defined case as “a grammatical category used in the analysis of word classes (or their associated phrase) to identify the syntactic relationship between words in a sentence, through such contrasts as nominative, accusative, etc.”.

With respect to case system, Cushitic languages are either marked-nominative or marked accusative or some languages completely lack case system at all. According to König (2008:265), “Among the Cushitic languages, East and North Cushitic are predominantly marked-nominative, whereas central Cushitic languages are accusative only; there is no case marking in South Cushitic languages”.

In Some Highland East Cushitic languages such as Alaabaa, Kambataa, K’abeena and Libido both nominative and accusative cases are morphologically marked (König 2008:265), and some other languages Sidamo, Gedeo, Burji and Hadiya only accusative is marked (Hudson, 1976:253, König 2008:265). Almost all Lowland East Cushitic languages such as Draytata (Wodwoson 2006:56), König 2008:265), Oromo (Gragg, 1976:192; König, 2008:265), Saho, Rendille and Somali (König 2008:265), Konso (Ongaye, 2013:113) and Dasasench (Sasse, 1976:205; König, 2008:265) are marked nominative languages except Arbore in which both nominative and accusative cases are marked (König 2008:265).

3.1.4.1. The Nominative and the Accusative

With regard to primary case marking, Bayso is distinct from the other East Cushitic Languages. In this language, both nominative and accusative cases are not morphologically marked on nouns, i.e., the base forms of nouns are not inflected to mark nouns that are used in subject and object positions. In other words, the citation forms (the base forms) of nouns are used as nominative and accusative cases as illustrated in the following examples.

(28) a. baallamoo luban lagade.

baallamoo - Ø luban - Ø lagad –e
Ballamo –NOM. *lion* –ACC. *kill* –PFV
‘Ballamo killed a lion.

b. luban baallamoo lagade

luban -Ø baallamoo -Ø lagade -e
They –NOM. Ballamoo –ACC. kill –PFV
 ‘A lion killed Ballamo.’

As illustrated in the above examples, the same citation forms ‘baallamoo’ and ‘luban’ are used both as nominative and accusative cases. Hayward (1979:106) also stated that “nouns themselves do not exhibit any formal markers correlating with subject or object function”. But he observed that “some r-final noun forms optionally take an –o suffix in subject function”, and he provided the following examples to support his statement.

- (29) kimbiro (~kimbir) buubatte the bird flew
 biro (~bir) boolo baate a hundred dollars were lost
 cf. bir bool baase I lost a hundred dollars

However, the suffix –o that Hayward considered as subject marker is a definiteness marker suffix. It is not only suffixed to r- final nouns but also to nouns that end with other consonants as in *elen* ‘fire’ – *eleno* ‘the fire’. The definite marker –o is also suffixed on nouns that end with vowel, but the glottal stop is inserted between a noun stem and the definite marker –o as an epenthetic element as in , for example, *se* ‘a cow’ – *seʔo* ‘the cow’.

The definite marker suffix –o is not only suffixed to a noun that occurs in subject or object position but also in other constructions, for example, in genitive construction as in *ili kakimbiro* ‘the bird’s eye’, *nebe tademero* ‘the donkey’s ear’ and *debe ta seʔo* ‘the cow’s tail’ (cf. 3.1.4.3.). Therefore, suffix –o is not nominative or subject marker since it also occurs with nouns that are not used in subject or object position.

König (2008:265) categorized Bayso as marked-nominative language. It seems plausible because Bayso cannot be outside marked-nominative language when we consider it both in terms of areal and genetic classification of Lowland East Cushitic languages’ case system. Besides, there are some clues that indicate Bayso is a marked-nominative language. First, Bayso demonstrative pronouns are marked for nominative and the citation form is used in the accusative position (4.3). Secondly, some Bayso pronouns have distinct forms for nominative and accusative cases (4.1).

Apart from nominative and accusative cases, other cases such as dative, genitive, instrumental, ablative, locative and comitative cases are marked by using different devices.

3.1.4.2. Dative

The dative case expresses an indirect object relationship (Crystal, 2008:129). It is a case marker used for secondary objects, especially for goal or recipient objects (Kroeger, 2005: 341).

In most East Cushitic languages dative is marked with suffixes. For example, Highland East Cushitic languages such as Burji, Darasa, Hadiyya, Kambata and Sidamo languages use different suffixes to mark the dative case as shown below (Hudson, 1976:253-254).

(30) Languages	Dative Marking Suffix
Burji	-ha
Darasa	-ʔa
Hadiyya	-n
Kambata	-i / stress on final vowel of a noun
Sidamo	-ra

Some Lowland East Cushitic languages also use various suffixes to mark dative case.

(31) Language	Dative Suffix
Oromo	-daa(f) / -(daa)f (Abera, 1995)
Draytata	-(a)s (Wondwosen, 2006:59)
Konso	-ʔ (Ongaye, 2013:119)

Some other Lowland East Cushitic languages such as Afar and Somali use accentual pattern to mark the dative case (Simeone-Senelle & Mohammed Hassan, 2013:3).

In Bayso, indirect objects, nouns that have the role of recipients, beneficiary of an action are morphologically marked by suffixing **-V:n** on a noun. If a noun ends with a long vowel, the dative marker is directly attached to it, and if a noun ends with a short vowel, the short vowel is lengthened to conform with **-V:n** (Hayward, 1979:107). On the other hand, if a noun ends with consonant phoneme the long vowel /u:/ is inserted as epenthesis between the noun and the dative marker. The following examples illustrate dative marking in Bayso.

- (32) a. abdiisa fufoo baallamoon sise.
 abdiisa fufoo baallamoo -n sis -e
Abdisa comb Ballamo -DAT. give -PFV
 ‘Abdisa gave comb to Ballamo.’

b. baallamo **ereen** sarsil imine.

baallamoo ere -n sarsi -l imin -e
Ballamo son -DAT. dress -PL buy -PFV

‘Ballamo bought dresses for his son.’

c. lum’o yiisaas**uun** babo dubte

lum’o yiisaas -uu -n babo dub -t -e
Lumo children -EPEN -DAT bread cook -3SG.F -PFV

‘Lum’o baked bread for children.’

Hayward (1979:107) stated that the suffix **-un** occurs with consonant final noun forms as dative marker. However, the dative suffix is **-V:n** where **V:** stands for any long vowel (**-i:**, **-a:**, **-o:**, **-e:**, **-u:**).

3.1.4.3. Genitive

The function of the genitive case is to show the relationship between the possessor and possessed entities (Crystal, 2008:210) and (Kroeger, 2005:345). The East Cushitic languages use different strategies to express the genitive case. For example, in the Highland East Cushitic languages, the genitive case is expressed either through suffixation or by apposition of two nouns only (Hudson, 1976:254-255) .

(33) Language	Genitive marking strategy
Burji	-nka (m.)/ -nta (f) in the accusative; -nku/ -cci (< -nti?) in the nominative
Darasa	-ka (m.)/-tt’a (f.) (accusative; -ki /-tt’i nominative
Hadiyya	.by apposition of two nouns only
Kambata	.by apposition of two nouns alone
Sidamo	.proper nouns by apposition only (possessor + possessed), feminine noun possessors have the suffix -te

In the Lowland East Cushitic languages, the genitive case is expressed by using suffix or by apposition of two nouns or by lengthening the final short vowel of a noun.

(34) language	Genitive Marking Strategy
Konso	using the particle ?a for human possessor, ?a...’? for non -human possessor, + high tone (Ongaye, 2013:115)
Gawwada	-vowel lengthening (Geberew, 2003:25)
Oromo	-vowel lengthening (Abebe, 2002:24, Baye1981:160, Gragg, 1976:183)
Draytata	-by apposition of nouns (possessed + possessor) (Wondwosen, 2006:60)
Dasenech	-iet and -aat/-at used with some nouns (Sasse, 1976:205)

In Bayso, the genitive case is expressed by prefixing *ka-*, *ta-* or *o-* on the possessor noun that makes it distinct both from the Highland East Cushitic and the other Lowland East Cushitic languages. The choice of *ka-*, *ta-* or *o-* is based on the number and gender of the possessed entity. If the possessed entity is a singular masculine or plural noun, the genitive marker *ka-* is prefixed to the possessor noun whereas if the possessed entity is singular feminine noun, the genitive marker *ta-* is prefixed to the possessor noun. On the other hand, if the entity possessed is paucal in form, that is, if the entity possessed is marked with *-dza/-dzedza*, the genitive marker *o-* is prefixed to the possessor noun. Observe the following illustrative examples.

- (35) a. debe **taseʔo** ‘the cow’s tail’ e. debedʒool **kasaayedʒool** ‘cows’ tails’
 debe ta- se -o tail-dʒool ka- saaye -dʒool
 tail GEN- cow -DEF *house -PL GEN- cows -PL*
- b. nebe **ta**demer ‘donkey’s ear’ f. mind**zedza** obaallamo ‘Ballamo’s few houses’
 nebe ta- demer min -jaja o- baallamo
 ear GEN- donkey *house -PAC GEN- Ballamo*
- c. farad **kaba**allamoo ‘Ballamo’s horse’ g. deelel**dza** obaallamo ‘Ballamo’s few daughters’
 farad ka- baallamoo *deelel -ja o- baallamo*
 horse GEN- Ballamo *girl -PAC GEN- Ballamo*
- d. min kabaallamo ‘Ballamo’s house’ h. yiisaas kabayso ‘Bayso’s children’
 min ka- baallamo yiisaas ka- bayso
 house GEN- Ballamo *children GEN. Bayso*

In the examples ‘a’ and ‘b’ above, the possessed entities ‘debe’ and ‘nebe’ are singular feminine nouns, and therefore the genitive marker ‘ta-’ is prefixed to the possessor nouns *seʔo* ‘the cow’ and *demer* ‘donkey’. Nevertheless, the possessed entities *farad* ‘horse’ and *min* ‘house’ cited in examples ‘c’ and ‘d’ are singular masculine nouns, and hence the genitive marker ‘ka-’ is prefixed to the possessor noun ‘baallamo’. Moreover, the possessed entity *debedʒool* ‘tails’ mentioned in example ‘e’ is plural in number, thus, the genitive marker ‘ka-’ is prefixed to the possessor noun ‘saayedʒool’. On the contrary, the possessed entities *mindzeja* ‘few houses’ and *deeleldza* ‘few girls’ given in examples ‘f’ and ‘g’ are paucal in form; as a result, the genitive marker ‘o-’ is prefixed to the possessor noun ‘baallamo’. Here, it is important to note that the immediate constituent of genitive prefixes is the possessor noun even though the choice of these prefixes is determined by the gender and number of the entity possessed.

3.1.4.4. Instrumental

The instrumental case refers to the semantic role of an inanimate entity used by an agent to perform some action (Kroeger, 2005:346). In most East Cushitic languages, the instrumental case is expressed by using suffixes. For example, the following suffixes are used to express the instrumental case in the Highland East Cushitic languages (Hudson, 1976:253-254).

(36)	Language	Instrumental case Suffix
	Burji	-cci
	Darasa	-nni
	Hadiyya	-n
	Kambata	-n
	Sidamo	-nni

Some Lowland East Cushitic languages such as Draytata, Konso and Oromo also use various suffixes to express the instrumental case.

(37)	Language	Instrumental Case Suffix
	Draytata	-an (Wondwosen, 2006: 60)
	Konso	-(n)n (Ongaye, 2013:119)
	Oromo	-(dāa)n (Abera, 1995)

Bayso also employs suffixation to express the instrumental case. In this language, the means with which an action is accomplished is marked by suffixing *-i* to noun stems (cf. Hayward, 1979:107). If a noun ends with a short vowel, the final vowel is lengthened and the epenthetic *-y* ~ (j) is inserted between the noun stem and the instrumental suffix *-i* as in (38a - c below). If a noun ends with a long vowel, the long vowel is maintained but the epenthetic *-y(j)* is inserted between the noun stem and the instrumental case suffix. On the other hand, if a noun stem ends with consonant, the instrumental case marker is directly suffixed to the noun stem as in ('d' & 'e' below).

(38)	a.	ese	matʃtʃa	ayi	soo	goosse/ese	so	macha	ayi	goosse
		ese	macha	-y	-i	so	goos	-t	-e	
		she	knife	-EPEN	-INST	meat	cut	-3sg.F	-PFV	
		'She cut the meat with a knife.'								

b. ibaaddoti damaayi farad base/ibaaddoti farad damaayi base.

ibaaddo –ti damaa –y –i farad bas –e
man -SNG. *stick* -EPEN -INST *horse* *hit* –PFV

‘The man hit the horse with stick.’

c. abdiissa e?emooyi habeessa lagade

abdiissa e?emoo –y –i habeessa lagad –e
Abdissa *stone* -EPEN –INS *snake* *kill* –PFV

‘Abdissa killed the snake with stone.’

d. helatte abdisa luki daddare

helatte abdisa luk –i daddar –e
Helatte *Abdisa* *leg* –INST *kick* –PFV

‘Helatte kicked Abdisa with leg.’

e. baallamo booyee jereeni eegge

baallamo booyee jereen –i eegg –e
Ballamo *pig* *spear* –INS *stub* –PFV

‘Ballamo stubbed a pig with spear.’

The instrumental case can be simply indicated by lengthening the final vowel of a noun stem without using the instrumental case marker –i as in (39).

(39) a. yaal?a hikki genee felamera

Yaal?a hikki gene –e fel –am –era
clay bowl *this* *hand* –INST *work* –PASS –PFV

‘This clay bowl has been made by hand.’

b. baallamo ilkoo burc’uk’k’o ebise

baallamo ilko –o burcuk’k’o ebis –e
Ballamo *teeth* –INS *glass* *braek* –PFV

‘Ballamo broke the glass with his teeth.’

Note that the word for *teeth* ‘ilko’ and the word for *hand* ‘gene’ normally end with a short vowel, but the final short vowel in each noun is lengthened to mark the instrumental case as shown in the above examples. However, these noun stems can still add the instrumental suffix –i which gives the forms ‘yaal?a hikki geneeyi (**gene** + **-y** + **-i**) felamera’ and ‘Baallamo ilkooyi (**ilko** + **-y** + **-i**) burc’uk’k’o ebise.’ There is no semantic difference whether the instrumental suffix –i is dropped or not. However, it is more grammatically correct and clear if the instrumental suffix –i is attached to noun stems.

3.1.4.5. Ablative

Ablative case is a semantic case that marks a location from which motion originates (Kroeger, 2005:341). According to Crystal (2008:2), ablative case is “typically used in the expression of a range of locative or instrumental meanings”. According to the latter definition, ablative case encompasses both instrumental and locative cases. Here, ablative case is treated according to the former definition only since the instrumental case is treated under a separate section.

The East Cushitic languages use suffixes or postpositions to express the ablative case. Most Highland East Cushitic languages express the ablative case via suffixation (Hudson, 1976: 253 - 254).

(40)	Language	Ablative Suffix
	Burji	-cci
	Darasa	-ʔni
	Hadiyya	-ns
	Kambata	-c
	Sidamo	-nni

In Bayso, the origin and source of an entity is expressed by postpositional suffix *-ko* that is attached to a noun. Observe the following illustrative examples.

(41) a. wadallati sooddooko emete.

wodalla -ti sooddoo -ko emet -e
boy -SNG soddo -ABL. come -PFV
 ‘The boy came from Soddo.’

b. babo t’aamme tadargamaako felamara.

babo t’aamme ta- dargamaa -ko fel -am -ara
bread flour GEN.F. wheat -ABL. Make -PASS -IPFV.
 ‘Bread is made from wheat’s flour.’

c. iso beke lagako haamuuseen.

iso beke laga -ko haamuus -e -en
they water river -ABL. fetch -PFV -3PL
 ‘They fetched water from the river.’

In example (42a), the ablative case marker *-ko* shows movement from one place to another, and in example (42b) and (c), it shows the origin of *babo* ‘bread’ and *beke* ‘water’, respectively.

3.1.4.6. Locative

According to Crystal (2008:289), “The locative case typically expresses the idea of location or action”. Kroeger (2005:346) also stated that “The locative case is a case marking for NPs that express location. In most Highland East Cushitic languages the locative case is expressed by suffixation (Hudson, 1976: 253-254).

(42)	Language	Locative Suffix
	Burji	-ddi
	Darasa	-ʔni
	Hadiyya	-n
	Kambata	-n
	Sidmo	-nni

In Afan Oromo, a Lowland East Cushitic, locative is expressed by independent postpositions *dzala* ‘under’, *irra* ‘over/above’, *gubbaa* ‘on’, *bira* ‘near’ and postpositional suffix *-tti* ‘at’ (Abera, 1995). Similarly, in Bayso, the locative case is expressed by independent postpositions *oroo* ‘in’, *guti* ‘on’, *guunte* ‘above’, *hegelli* ‘under’ and *dolle* ‘near’. These postpositions occur immediately following the nouns.

(43.1) a. yiis mini **oroo** gira.

yiis min -i oroo gir -a
child house -DEF in be/exist -IPFV.

‘A child is in the house/There is a child in the house.’

b. beke uulla **oroo** giraan.

beke uulla oroo gir -a -an
water pot in be/exist-IPFV -3PL

‘There is water in the pot.’ (Literally: ‘There are waters in the pot.’)

c. matſtſa tak’e **guti** gitta.

macha tak’e guti gir -t -a
knife bed on be/exist -3SG.F. -IPFV

‘The knife is on the bed.’

The postposition ‘oroo’ indicates that an entity is located or found within another entity, and ‘guti’ indicates an entity is placed on another entity. The postposition ‘dolle’ shows an entity is located close to or nearby another entity, and ‘hegelli’ indicates that an entity is located beneath or below another entity. The postposition ‘guunte’ shows an entity is located directly above another

entity, in this case, there is certain space between the two entities. In Bayso, the locative case is also marked by suffixing *-y ~j* on a noun as shown in (43.2).

43.2. a. usu badala gootaraay kibee kaaye

usu badala gootaraa *-y* kib *-ee* kaay *-e*
he maize granary -LOC add -GER reserve -PFV
 ‘He reserved maize by adding it in a granary.’

b. baala miʔirabe abbaya woredaay alge k’abaleey kabadzame

baala mi ʔirabe abbaya woredaa *-y* alge k’abale *-y* kabaj *-am -e*
festival west abbaya district -LOC alge kebele -LOC celebrate -PASS -PF
 ‘The Cross Day festival was celebrated at West Abbaya District, at Alge Kebele.’

In examples 43.2 a and b, the locative case marker *-y* indicates the place where the action of putting ‘badala’ and celebrating ‘baala’ took place.

3.1.4.7. Comitative

The comitative case refers to the semantic role of an entity which accompanies or is associated with the performance of an action (Kroeger, 2005:341).

In Bayso, the action of accompaniment is marked by attaching the suffix *-ne* to nouns. Moreover, the independent postposition *wota* ‘together’ is also used together with the suffix *-ne* in the comitative case construction. Both the bound suffix *-ne* and the independent postposition *wota* are used together to express the comitative case (cf. Hayward, 1979:109). Observe the following examples.

(44) a. baallamoo yiis kakeessane wota baa bee

baallamoo yiis ka- keessa *-ne* wota baa bee
Ballamo children ASC- his -COM with market go.PFV
 ‘Ballamo went to market with his children.’

b. helatte halʔaandzine wota waadʒdzifo seete

helatte halʔaanji *-ne* wota waajjifo seet *-e*
Helatte Halʔaanji -COM with Waajjifo go -PFV
 ‘Helatte went to Waajjifo with Halʔaanji.’

As shown in the above examples, the comitative case marker suffix *-ne* is directly suffixed on a noun which is followed by independent postposition ‘wota’. Normally, the suffix *-ne* and the postposition ‘wota’ occur together to express accompaniment. However, one of them can be

dropped in informal and casual speech as in, for example, *babo eenone amamara* or *babo eeno wota amamara* both sentences mean the same thing ‘Bread is eaten with milk.’

Generally, nominative and accusative cases are not morphologically marked on nouns in Bayso. Some other cases are either morphologically marked or expressed with postpositions or postpositional suffixes. Case markers are summarized in the following table.

Case	Case marker
Nominative	∅
Accusative	∅
Genitive	ka-, ta-, o-
Instrumental	-i
Ablative	-ko
Locative	dolle, guti, hegelli, orroo, guunte
Dative	-n
Comitative	-ne + wota

Table 5: Case Markers

3.2. Noun Derivation

In Bayso, nouns can be derived from different lexical categories mainly from other nouns, verbs and adjectives by attaching different derivational suffixes and/or prefixes. Suffixation is the most important and common process in the derivation of nouns. This process yields abstract nouns, agentive nouns, manner nouns, action nouns and infinitival nouns.

3.2.1. Abstract Nouns

In Bayso, the abstract nouns are derived from noun stems (citation form) by attaching different suffixes. The derivational suffixes *-umma*, *-ma* *-nati* and *-nte* derive abstract nouns from noun stems as illustrated in the following examples.

(45)	Noun	Suffix	Derived Abstract Nominals
	yiis ‘child’	-umma	yiisumma ‘childhood’
	wadalla ‘boy’	-umma	wadallumma ‘boyhood’
	deelel ‘girl’	-umma	deelelummaa ‘girlhood’
	ollaa ‘neighbor’	-ma	ollooma ‘neighborhood’
	abbi ‘brother’	-nati	abbinati ‘brotherhood’

heleel ‘woman’	-nati	heleelnati/heleelumma ‘womanhood’
odo ‘father’	-nati	odonnati ‘fatherhood’
aa ‘mother’	-nati	aannati ‘motherhood’
babbaar ‘man’	-nati	babbaarnati/babbaarumma ‘manhood’
saati ‘friend’	-nte	saatinte ‘friendship’
falli ‘relative’	-nte	fallinte ‘family relationship’

The distribution of the derivational suffixes *-umma*, *-ma*, *-nati* and *-nte* is not predictable. Moreover, two or more of these suffixes can be alternatively added to the same noun stem to derive abstract noun.

Most Bayso derivational suffixes that derive abstract noun from base forms are similar to either Amharic or Afaan Oromoo derivational suffixes. For example, the suffix *-(i)nüt* derives abstract nouns in Amharic as in *lidz –lidzinnüt* (‘child – childhood’), *abbat –abbatinnüt* (‘father – fatherhood’) and the like. This suffix is also used in Bayso to derive abstract nouns with a little modification *-(i)nüt* (Amh.) ~ *-nati* (Bayso). On the otherhand, the suffixes *-ma* and *-umma* derive abstract nouns in Afaan Oromoo as in *olla –ollummaa/ollooma* (‘neighbour – neighbourhood’) and *abba –abbummaa* (‘father – fatherhood’) that are also used to derive abstract nouns in Bayso. It seems that Bayso has borrowed these suffixes *-nati* from Amharic and *-umma*, *-ma* from Afaan Oromoo or these suffixes might cognates that are found in these languages. Another suffix that derives abstract nouns from base form is *-nte* as in *saati /saatinte* (‘friend - friendship’) which seems unique to Bayso. However, the most common suffixes that derive abstract nouns in this language are *-nati* and *-umma*.

3.2.2. Agentive Nouns

The agentive nouns (doer of the action denoted by the verb) are derived from verb stems by prefixing the agentivizer prefixes *ka-* and *ta-* and by suffixing *-aro* and *-atto* to verb stems. and The agentiviser prefix *ka-* is prefixed to a verb stem to drive masculine agentive noun whereas the prefix *ta-* is prefixed to a verb stem to derive feminine agentive noun. The agentivizer suffix *-aro* is suffixed to a verb stem to derive masculine agentive noun, and the agentivizer suffix *-atto* is suffixed to a verb stem to derive feminine agentive noun.

(46)	Verb Root	Derived Agentive Noun		Gloss
		M.	F.	
	agaalsis- ‘teach’	ka?agaalsisaro	ta?agaalsisatto	‘teacher’
	gors- ‘advise’	kagorsaaro	tagorsaatto	‘advisor’

bariis- ‘administer’	kabarisaro	tabariisatto	‘administrator’
ug- ‘hunt’	kaʔugaaro	taʔugaatto	‘hunter’
lagad- ‘kill’	kalagadaro	talagadatto	‘killer’
ingam- ‘fight’	kaʔingamaro	taʔingamatto	‘fighter’

As illustrated in the data given above, the agentive nouns are marked by circumfix morpheme {ka...(a)aro} for masculine agentive nouns and [ta...(a)atto] for feminine agentive nouns. The basic agentiviser morpheme is the form {ka...(a)aro}, and the form [ta...atto] is its allomorph. This decision is reached based on the fact that the form [ta...(a)atto] is a surface structure which is derived from the underlying structure [ta...(a)arto] through voiced assimilation process where the voiced phoneme /r/ is assimilated to voiceless phoneme /t/ which is the 3SG.F marker inserted within the basic form {ka...(a)aro}. The paucal form of agentive nouns are marked with prefix *o-* as in *ogorasaarodza* /o- gors –aro –dza/ ‘few advisors’ and *oʔagaalsasisarodza* /o- agaalsis –aro –dza/ ‘few teachers’.

The agentiviser circumfixes yield agent nouns or nouns that identify the person or other entity performing the action denoted by the verb or that shows the doer of the action. For example, the agentive noun ‘kalagadaro M.’ or ‘talagadatto F.’ refers to someone who undertakes the action of killing.

3.2.3. Manner Nouns

Manner nouns are derived in various ways. One of these is done by attaching suffixes on verb stems. The second way of deriving manner nouns involves reduplicating the first syllable of the verb stem and then by attaching suffixes. Accordingly, some manner nominals are derived by suffixing *-iti* to the verb stems and some others are derived by reduplicating the first syllable of the verb stems, and still some others are derived both by reduplicating the first syllable of the verb stems and by suffixing *-iti* on the reduplicated verb stems as illustrated in the examples below.

(47.1) Verb Stem	Gloss	Manner Noun	Gloss
aam-	‘eat’	aamiti	‘manner of eating’
madarr-	‘play’	madarriti	‘manner of playing’
gabbalam-	‘approach’	gabbalamiti	‘manner of approaching’
am-	‘say’	amiti	‘manner of saying’
ayyes	‘speak’	ayyesiti	‘manner of speaking’

The following manner nouns are derived both by reduplicating the first syllable of the verb stems and by suffixing *-iti* on the reduplicated verb stem.

(47.2) VERb Stem	Gloss	Manner Noun	Gloss
osol-	‘laugh’	oʔosoliti	‘manner of laughing’
mur-	‘pay’	mummuriti	‘manner of paying’

The manner nouns listed in (47.2) are basically the same as those listed under (47.1). Those listed in (47.2) simply show that the manner nouns can be derived from reduplicated verb stems. Manner nominals can also be derived by suffixing the vowel –i on the verb stems as shown in the following examples.

(47.3) Verb stem	Gloss	Manner Noun	Gloss
ayyees-	‘speak’	ayyeesi	‘manner of speaking’
madarr-	‘play, sing’	madarri	‘manner of playing/singing’

The following manner nouns are derived by attaching the suffix –*aam* or –*aano* on the verb stems. Infact, this way of deriving manner nouns is not common. Observe the following few examples.

(47.4) V.Stem	Gloss	Manner Nominal	Gloss
sesseet-	‘walk’	seettam/sesseettaam	‘manner of walking’
tiy-	‘run’	tiitaano	‘manner of running’

In (47.4), the verb stems are slightly modified when the manner suffixes are attached to them. The final /t/ in *sesseet-* is geminated, and the final /y/ in *tiy-* is dropped and the vowel –i is lengthened instead. As shown in the examples above, manner nouns are derived by suffixing different nominalizer suffixes on the verb stems. Yet, the distribution of these nominalizer suffixes is not predictable.

3.2.4. Gerundive Noun

Gerundive nouns are derived from verb stems by suffixing the long vowel –/i:/, and in few cases by suffixing the short vowel –o as demonstrated in (48).

(48) Verb Stem	Gloss	Gerundive Nounh	Gloss
bas-	‘beat/hit’	basii	‘hitting’
tiy-	‘run’	tiyii	‘running’
ot-	‘farm’	otii	‘farming’
giris-	‘swim’	girisii/giriso	‘swimming’
habaar-	‘insult’	habaarii	‘insulting.’

The following sentential examples illustrate the use of gerundive nouns in clause constructions.

- (49) a. **otii** seera kakaanija
 ot –ii seera ka- kaani -y -a
farm –GER tradition POSS- our -COP -IPFV
 ‘Farming is our tradition.’
- b. abdisa **girisii/giriso** gelaatara
 abdisa giris –ii gelaat –ara
Abdisa swim –GER love -IPFV
 ‘Abdisa likes swimming.’

In example (49b), the action nominal *girisii/girisano* is used as object of a clause, and in example (49a) the action nominal is used as the subject of the clause.

3.2.5. Infinitival Noun

Infinitival nouns are derived from verb stems by adding the suffix **–ano**. The infinitive form of verbs and the infinitival nouns are the same in shape, that is, the infinitive forms are used as infinitival nouns in Bayso.

(50) Verb Stem	Gloss	Infinitival Noun	Gloss
goos-	‘cut’	goosano	‘to cut’
ebis-	‘break’	ebisano	‘to break’
gudis-	‘finish’	gudisano	‘to finish’
t’am-	‘drink’	t’amano	‘to drink’
seet-	‘go’	seetano	‘to go’
sob-	‘deceive’	sobano	‘to deceive’
sesseet-	‘walk’	sesseetano	‘to walk’
bas-	‘hit’	basano	‘to hit’
giris-	‘swim’	girisano	‘to swim’

Derived infinitival nouns are used as subject and object complement in sentences just like basic nouns. They are also used as the head of infinitival phrase which is also used as subject of a sentence. The following sentences exemplify the use of infinitival nouns in sentence and phrase constructions.

- (51) a. baallamo walabo **maddaarrano** malabara
 baallamo walabo madaarr –ano malab –ara
ballamo boat make -INF know –IPFV
 ‘Ballamo knows to make boat.’

b. **sobano** kameellaniya

soba –ano ka- meellan –i –y –a
deceive –INF COML. bad –EPEN –COP –IPFV
 ‘To deceive is bad.’

c. yiisaas **basano** lakko ka?idankiyo

yiisaas bas –ano lakko ka- idanki –y –o
children beat –INF not COML- good –COP –IPFV.NEG
 ‘To Beat children is not good.’

The infinitival noun *madarano* in example ‘a’ is used as object complement of ‘walabo’, and the infinitival nominal *sobano* in examples ‘b’ is used as subject of sentence. In example ‘c’, the infinitival nominal *basano* is the head of the infinitival phrase ‘*yiisaass basano*’ which is also used as subject of the sentence.

3.2.6. Nouns Derived from Adjective Stems

Abstract nouns can be derived from adjective stems by adding different suffixes. The suffixes –**umma**, –**nati**, –**aan**, –**ano** and –**e** derive nouns from adjective stems. Some of these suffixes such as –*umma*, –*nati* and –*ano* also derive nominals from noun stems and verb stems as illustrated in examples 45 & 50 above.

The following examples demonstrate derivation of nouns from adjective stems.

(52) Adjective stem	Suffix	Derived Noun
k’aro ‘wise’	-umma	k’arumma ‘wiseness’
kadzinki ‘big’	-nati	kadzinkinnati ‘bigness’
ka?uubaan ‘narrow’	-nati	uubaannati ‘narrowness’
ka?e?eer ‘long’	-aan	eeraan ‘length’
kat?imin ‘thin’	-aan	t?imaan ‘thinness’
ka?u’uur ‘thick’	-aan	u?uuraan ‘thickness’
ka?ati ‘strong’	-aan	ataan ‘strength’
yuula ‘weak’	-ano	yuulano ‘weakness’
kameellan ‘bad’	-e	meellane ‘badness’
ka?idan ‘good’	-e	idane ‘goodness’

Note that all the nouns derived from the adjective stems are semantically abstract nouns. Hence, the nominalizer suffixes mentioned in (52) are all abstracting suffixes.

As shown above, some nominalizer suffixes change the category of words, and some others maintain the category of words. And still some other nominalizer suffixes change and/or maintain the category of words. Nominalizer affixes are summarized in the following table according to their categories.

Category changing Suffixes	Both Category Changing and/or Category Maintaining Suffixes	Category Changing Circumfixes
<i>-nte -iti -ii -aan</i>	<i>-umma -nati -ano</i>	<i>Ka- ... -aro</i> <i>Ta- ... -atto (arto)</i>

Table 6: Categories of Nominalizer Affixes

3.3. Summary

Bayso nouns are inflected for number. The nouns in this language also exhibits four number systems: singular, singulative, plural and Paucal. The singular is not marked, and the singulative is marked by suffixing *-ti/-titi* on collective noun stems. Bayso uses various devices to form plural nouns. These include suffixation, internal modification, reduplication and repetition of the stem final consonant. Suffixation is the most common device in plural formation. Bayso plural suffixes indicate different degrees of quantity, and double pluralisation is a feature attested in this language. The paucal is marked by attaching the suffix **-dza/ -dzedza** to noun stems.

The Bayso number system is very complex. There are different factors that account for its complexity. First, different strategies are used in plural formation. Secondly, Bayso has nine plural suffixes, and a single noun stem adds two or more of these suffixes. Moreover, the distribution of these suffixes is not predictable in most cases. Some mass nouns such as *beke* ‘water’ and *eeno* ‘milk’ are inherently plurals, and therefore, they require plural agreements on verbs, adjectives and demonstratives. The characteristics of collective nouns also pose difficulty since they represent either singular or plural depending on the the context in which they occur.

As in most Cushitic languages, gender polarity is attested in Bayso. In this case, change of number results in change of gender. Some singular masculine nouns become plural feminine nouns, and hence they require singular feminine concord though they are plural in form. Besides, all singular feminine nouns become masculine when they are pluralized, and hence they require singular masculine agreements. Most singular masculine nouns maintain their original gender when they are pluralized, but they require singular masculine agreements. In Bayso, it is only the paucal forms (‘paucal reference forms’) of nouns that require plural agreements.

As in most other Cushitic languages, Bayso has two gender systems, namely masculine and feminine. In Bayso, grammatical gender is not morphologically marked on nouns. Rather, it is reflected through agreement on verbs, adjectives, demonstratives and associative particles. Biological/natural gender of human and some domestic animals is distinguished by using different lexical items for masculine and feminine nouns. The gender of some animate entities is distinguished by using the independent words *korma* and *t'altuu* to indicate masculine and feminine nouns, respectively. However, grammatical gender is randomly assigned to both animate and inanimate entities, that is, both animate and inanimate entities are randomly categorised as either masculine or feminine.

In Bayso, both nominative and accusative cases are not overtly marked morphologically. In other words, nouns are not inflected for nominative and accusative case distinctions. They are recognized by the positions they occupy and by the role they play in sentence. In fact, their position in sentence is flexible (cf. word order). The other cases are marked via dependent and independent postpositions except the genitive case which is marked with prefixes *ka-*, *ta-* and *-o* attached to possessor nouns.

In Bayso, different nouns are derived from different word categories through affixation. For example, abstract nouns are derived from concrete nouns by adding the suffixes *-umma*, *-nte*, *-nati*, and *-ma*. On the other hand, agentive nouns are derived from verb stems by affixing the circumfixes *ka-...-aro* and *ta-...-atto* based on the gender of the derived nouns. The circumfix *ka-...-aro* is used to derive masculine agentive nouns and *ta...atto* is used to derive feminine agentive nouns. The manner nouns are derived either through suffixation of *-iti* on the verb stems or through reduplication of the first syllable of the infinitive form of verbs. Moreover, infinitival nouns are derived from verb stems by adding the suffix *-ano*. Nouns are also derived from adjective stems by adding the suffixes *-umma*, *-nati*, *-aan*, *-ano* and *-e*.

The nominalizer affixes can be categorized as category changing, category maintaining and/or category changing affixes. The nominalizer suffixes *-umma*, *-nati* and *-ano* are both category changing and category maintaining suffixes since *-umma* and *-nati* derive abstract nouns from another base nouns and also they derive new nouns from adjective stems. Similarly, the suffix *-ano* derives infinitive forms of verbs from verb stems although the same infinitive forms of verbs are used as infinitival nouns. The other suffixes *-iti*, *-ii*, *-nte*, *-aan* and the agentiviser circumfixes: *ka ...aro* and *ta... atto* (arto) are all category changing affixes.

Chapter 4

Pronouns

In this chapter, personal pronouns, demonstratives, possessives, interrogative pronouns, relative pronouns, reflexive and reciprocal are discussed. Personal pronouns are discussed in terms of subject, direct object and indirect object. Bayso personal pronouns are closely resemble to other genetically related languages such as Somali and Afaan Oromoo.

According to Bussmann (1996:957), “Pronoun is part of speech named for its function of standing for (‘pro’) the noun. ... Pronouns are divided into several syntacto – semantic subgroups, including personal, reflexive, possessive, demonstrative, indefinite, interrogative, and relative pronouns, as well as pronominal adverbs”.

4.1. Personal Pronouns

Bayso has seven independent personal pronouns that are distinguished according to number. Gender distinction in personal pronouns is observed only in third person singular as in most Cushitic languages. The three forms of personal pronouns are discussed as follows.

4.1.1. Subject Personal Pronouns

The following table shows forms of Bayso subject personal pronouns.

Person/Gender	SG.	PL.
1	ani ‘I’	no ‘we’
2	ati ‘you’	isin ‘you’
3SG.M	usu ‘he’	iso ‘they’
3SG.F	ese ‘she’	

Table 7: Subject Personal Pronouns

Hayward (1978:110) identified the same subject personal pronouns. The following examples illustrate the use of subject personal pronouns in sentential construction.

(1) a. **ani** aame.

ani aam –e

I eat – PFV

‘I ate.’

b. **ati** aante.

ati aam –t –e

you eat – 2SG –PFV

‘You (2SG.) ate.’

c. **ese aante**

ese aam –t -e
she eat -3SG.F. -PFV
 ‘She ate.’

d. **usu aame**

usu aam -e
he eat -PFV
 ‘He ate.’

In all the examples given above, the personal pronouns are used as subject of sentences. They are not morphologically marked for nominative case in the same way as nouns. That is the citation forms are used in nominative position.

In Bayso, it is not possible to drop subject pronouns in certain cases. For example, the second person singular and the third person singular feminine require the same verb form, for example, “**ati/ese aante**”. In the same way, the third person singular masculine and the first person singular require the same verb form “**ani/usu aame**”. In other cases, the subject pronouns can be dropped as the verb form suggests a pronoun used as a subject.

With respect to agreement marking, pronouns are a bit distinct from nouns. That is, plural pronouns require plural agreement on verbs, adjectives and demonstratives in the same way as paucal forms of nouns. Plural nouns, on the other hand, require masculine singular agreement on verbs, adjectives and demonstratives as stated in chapter 3, section 3.1.1.5.

4.1.2. Object Personal Pronouns

Some Bayso object personal pronouns are distinct from subject personal pronouns, but some others are the same as the subject personal pronouns. The first person singular and the second person singular have distinct forms for subject and object personal pronouns, but in others the subject personal pronouns and the object personal pronouns are not distinguished.

The following table shows singular and plural object personal pronouns in Bayso.

Person	SG.	PL.
1	in ‘me’	no ‘us’
2	ku ‘you’	isin ‘you’
3	usu ‘him’	iso ‘them’
3SG.F	ese ‘her’	

Table 8 : Object Personal Pronouns (See also Hayward 1979:110)

The following examples illustrate the use of object personal pronouns in sentence constructions.

(2) a. ese **usu** diyaa gitte
 ese usu diy -aa gir -t -e
she him watch -PROG be/exist -3SG.F -PFV

‘She was watching him.’

b. usu **ese** diyaa gire.

usu ese diy -aa gir -e
he her watch -PROG be/exist -PFV

‘He was watching her.’

c. no **isin** gelaatanna

no isin gelaat -ar(n)a
we you (ACC) love -IPFV

‘We love you (2PL).’

d. isin **in** habaarteen

isin in habaar -t -e -en
you me call -2SG -PFV -PL

‘You insulted me.’

In case where the same forms of personal pronouns are used both in subject and object positions, the subject and object personal pronouns can easily exchange positions, but it entails both meaning and agreement distinctions as in (2a) and (2b).

4.1.3. Indirect Object (Dative) Personal Pronouns

Hayward (1979) identified *iin*, *kuun*, *usuun*, *eseen*, *noon*, *isinuun* and *isoon* as indirect object forms of personal pronouns. However, the present study proves that indirect object personal pronouns are derived from direct object personal pronouns by attaching the dative marker suffix *-n*. In Bayso, the dative case is marked by suffixing *-n* on base nouns and prououns (cf. 3.1.4.2).

The following table shows indirect object personal pronouns in Bayso.

Person	SG.	PL.
1	iin ‘me’	noon ‘us’
2	kuun ‘you’	isinuun ‘you’
3	usuun ‘him’	isoon ‘them’
3f	eseen ‘her’	

Table 9: Indirect Object Personal Pronouns (Hayward 1979:110)

As shown in the table above, the final vowel of each direct object personal pronoun is lengthened when the dative marker *-n* is suffixed on them. In the case of second person plural pronoun ‘isin’, that ends with consonant *-n*, the epenthetic long vowel *-uu* is inserted when the dative marker is attached to it.

The following sentential examples illustrate the use of indirect object personal pronouns in sentence constructions.

(3) a₁. ese **usuun** sarsi iminte
 ese usu -n sarsi imin -t -e
she him -DAT cloth buy -3SG.F -PFV
 ‘She bought him cloth.’

a₂. ese sarsi **usuun** iminte
 ese sarsi usu -n imin -t -e
she cloth him -DAT buy -3SG.F -PFV
 ‘She bought him cloth.’

b₁. baallamo oroono **noon** en’’e
 baallamo oroono no -n en’’ -e
Ballamo goat us -DAT slaughter -PFV
 ‘Ballamo slaughtered goat for us.’

b₂. Baallamo **noon** oroono en’’e
 baallamo no -n oroono en’’ -e
Ballamo us -DAT goat slaughter -PFV
 ‘Ballamo slaughtered goat for us.’

As illustrated in the above examples, the indirect object of personal pronouns may occur either preceding or following the direct object. They may also be placed at the beginning of a sentence as in *noon Baallamo oroono en’’e* and *usuun ese sarsi iminte*.

4.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are used in place of possessive noun phrases and in answer to questions with *whose?* (Yule, 2006:97). In short, possessive pronouns indicate to whom an entity belongs. They are used in place of the entity possessed.

Bayso has distinct forms of possessive pronouns for masculine and feminine nouns. The forms of possessive pronouns are also distinct for singular and plural nouns. There are also possessive prefixes (ka-, ta- and -o) that are attached to the possessor to show the relationships between the

entity possessed and the possessor. The choice of the prefixes *ka-* or *ta-* or *o-* is determined by the gender and number of the entity possessed than the gender and number of the possessor. The choice of masculine or feminine form of possessive pronouns as well as the choice of singular or plural form of possessive pronouns is also determined by the gender and number of the entity possessed. Observe the following examples in which the entities possessed are *se* ‘cow’ and *min* ‘house’, which are, respectively, singular feminine and singular masculine nouns.

(4a)	<i>se ta-</i> te ‘my cow’	<i>min ka-</i> ke ‘my house’
	<i>se ta-</i> ta ‘your cow (2SG)’	<i>min ka-</i> ka ‘your house (2SG)’
	<i>se ta-</i> teessa ‘his cow’	<i>min ka-</i> keessa ‘his house’
	<i>se ta-</i> tise ‘her cow’	<i>min ka-</i> kise ‘her house’
	<i>se ta-</i> taani ‘our cow’	<i>min ka-</i> kaani ‘our house’
	<i>se ta-</i> tisin ‘your cow’	<i>min ka-</i> kisin ‘your house’
	<i>se ta-</i> tiso ‘their cow’	<i>min ka-</i> kiso ‘their house’

As illustrated in the examples above, in the first coloumn the possessive prefix is *ta-* and in the second coloumn the possessive prefix is *ka-* although their distinction lies only in the first segment, *t-* and *k-*, respectively.

When the entity possessed is plural or paucal in form, the possessive pronouns and the possessive prefixes appear as follows.

	Plural	Paucal
(4b)	saayed3ool/mind3ool <i>ka-</i> ke ‘my cows/houses’	saayed3a/mindzed3a <i>o-</i> ke
	saayed3ool/mind3ool <i>ka-</i> ka ‘your cows/houses’	saayed3a/mindzed3a <i>o-</i> ka
	saayed3ool/mind3ool <i>ka-</i> keessa ‘his cows/houses’	saayed3a/mindzed3a <i>o-</i> keessa
	saayed3ool/mind3ool <i>ka-</i> kise ‘her cows/houses’	saayed3a/mindzed3a <i>o-</i> kise
	saayed3ool/mind3ool <i>ka-</i> kaani ‘our cows/houses’	saayed3a/mindzed3a <i>o-</i> kaani
	saayed3ool/mind3ool <i>ka-</i> kisin ‘your cows/houses’	saayed3a/mindzed3a <i>o-</i> kisin
	saayed3ool/mind3ool <i>ka-</i> kiso ‘their cows/houses.’	saayed3a/mindzed3a <i>o-</i> kiso

As shown in (4b), the form of possessive pronouns are not distinct from those indicated in (4a). However, the distinction is observed in the possessive prefixes particularly when the entity possessed is paucal in form. Accordingly, if the possessed entity is a singular masculine and plural in form, the prefix *ka-* is prefixed to the possessor noun; if the entity possessed is singular feminine, the prfix *ta-* is prefixed to the possessor noun. Moreover, the prefix *o-* is attached to the possessor nouns if the entity possessed is paucal in form.

The following table shows Bayso possessive pronouns.

Person/ Gender	Possessive Pronouns			
	SG		PL	
1	M	F	M	F
		ka- ke ‘mine’	ta- te ‘mine’	ka- kaani ‘ours’
2	ka- ka ‘yours’	ta- ta ‘yours’	ka- kisin ‘yours’	ta- tisin ‘yours’
3SG.F	ka- kise ‘hers’	ta- tise ‘hers’	ka- kiso ‘theirs’	ta- tiso ‘theirs’
3SG.M	ka- keessa ‘his’	ta- teessa ‘his’		

Table 10 : Possessive Pronouns

As shown in the above table, the possessive pronouns have masculine and feminine forms as well as singular and plural forms. As mentioned above, it is the number and gender of the possessed entity rather than the possessor that determine the type of possessive pronoun prefixes (ka-, ta- & o-) to be attached to possessor nouns. The following sentential examples illustrate the use of possessive pronouns.

- (5) a. dzirooma **kakeessa** kamellankiya **kakise** ka?idankiya

jirooma ka- keessa ka- mellan –ki –y –a
life POSS- his COML- bad -M -COP – IPFV
 ka- kise ka- idan –ki –y –a
POSS.M hers COML.M good –M -COP- IPFV
 ‘His life is bad; hers is good.’

- b. hitti se **tatise** hitti **tateta**

hitti se ta- tise hitti ta- te –t –a
this.F cow POSS- hers this.F POSS- mine –COP – IPFV
 ‘This cow is hers; this is mine.’

- c. min **kakisin** kic’ar ki **kakaanii** kadzinkiya

min ka- kisin kic’ar –ki ka- kaanii ka- jin –ki –y –a
house POSS- yours small –M POSS.M- ours COML.M big –M – COP -IPFV
 ‘Your house is small; ours is big.’

Possessive pronouns are used as determiners directly preceding or following the possessed noun or they are used anaphorically by referring to the previously mentioned entity or possessive noun phrase. In example (5a), the possessive pronoun *kakise* is used in place of the noun *dzirooma* ‘life’ which is mentioned in the first sentence, and in example (5b) the possessive pronoun *tate* is used in place of its antecedent *se* ‘cow’, and in example (5c) the possessive pronoun *kakaanii* is used in place of *min* ‘house.’ It is important to note that the possessive prefixes can be dropped, and the possessive pronouns can express possession without the prefixes. Hence, the constructions *dzirooma keessa* ‘his life’, *se tise* ‘her cow’ and *min tisin* ‘your house’ are acceptable. However, the possessive prefixes cannot be dropped when they occur preceding the possessed nouns. Thus, the constructions, *‘keessa dzirooma’ , *‘tise se’ and *‘tisin min’ are ungrammatical whereas *kakeessa dzirooma* ‘his life’, *tatise se* ‘her cow’ and *kakisin min*’ are acceptable and grammatical in which case the possessive prefixes are obligatory.

The following table summarizes Bayso personal pronouns.

Per./ Num.	Gender	SUBJ.	D.OBJ.	IND.OBJ.	Possessive Pronouns		
					Masculine	Feminine	Gloss
1 SG	M/F	ani ‘I’	in ‘me’	iin	(ka)ke	(ta)te	mine
2 SG	M/F	ati ‘you’	ku ‘you’	kuun	(ka) ka	(ta)ta	yours
3 SG	M	usu ‘he’	usu ‘him’	usuun	(ka) keessa	(ta) teessa	his
3 SG	F	ese ‘she’	ese ‘her’	eseen	(ka)kise	(ta)tise	hers
1 PL	M/F	no ‘we’	no ‘us’	noon	(ka) kaani	(ta)taani	ours
2 PL	M/F	isin ‘you’	isin ‘you’	isinuun	(ka) kisin	(ta)tisin	yours
3 PL	M/F	iso ‘they’	iso ‘them’	isoon	(ka) kiso	(ta)tiso	theirs

Table 11: Personal Pronouns (Summary)

4.3. Demonstrative Pronouns

In Bayso, the words *hikki*, *hitti*, *aakki*, *aatti*, *hassu*, *hasse*, *hin*’i and *aan*’i are demonstrative pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns distinguish proximal, medial and distal. Moreover, demonstrative pronouns agree with the number and gender of their antecedent or with the gender and number of a noun with which they occur.

The singular demonstrative pronoun has distinct forms for masculine and feminine genders. The suffix *-ki* marks singular masculine and the suffix *-ti* marks singular feminine both in proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns. The medial demonstrative pronouns also distinguish masculine

and feminine. The masculine form is *hassu* and that of feminine is *hasse* both forms differ in their respective final vowels -u and -e, respectively. There is no gender distinction in the plural forms of demonstrative pronouns (cf. Table 12).

The following table shows the classification of demonstrative pronouns based on number, gender, proximal, medial and distal.

Demonstrative Pronouns	SG				PL	
	Masculine		Feminine		Subject	Object
	Subject	Object	Subject	Object		
Proximal	hikki 'this'	hikka	hitti 'this'	hitta 'this'	hin''i	hin''a 'these'
Medial	hassu 'that'		hasse 'that'			
Distal	aakki 'that'		aatti 'that'		aan''i 'those'	

Table 12 : Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns *aakki* (M) and *aatti* (F) point a relatively remote distance from the speaker whereas *hassu* (M) and *hasse* (F) point a relatively close distance from the speaker. Hence, *hassu* and *hasse* can be categorized as medial demonstrative pronouns. On the other hand, the demonstrative pronouns *hikki*, *hitti* and *hin''i* show very close proximity to the speaker. Both medial and distal demonstrative pronouns do not distinguish subject and object forms as shown in the table. The proximal demonstrative has distinct forms for subject and object. The subject form is marked with -i, and the object form is just the citation form.

Observe the following sentential examples that illustrate the use of demonstrative pronouns.

(6) a. ani **hassu** lakko gelaataro

ani hassu lakko gelaat -aro
I that NEG love -IPFV.NEG

'I do not like that.'

b. **hikki** ka?ababboye

hikki ka- ababbo -y -e
this.SG.M POSS- father -COP-PFV

'This was my father's.'

c. ani **hikka** dootara

ani hikka doot -ara
I this want -IPFV
'I want this.'

d. usu **hitta** gelaatara

usu hitta gelaat -ara
he this.F.OB love -IPFV
'He loves this.'

As shown in the examples above, demonstrative pronouns are used in place of certain entity or entities that is/ are pointed at by the speaker or what is/are previously mentioned in the text. The demonstrative pronouns are also used attributively, that is, they are used as modifiers being directly placed before or after a noun as in, for example, *hikki aar/aar hikki* 'this ox' and *hitti se/se hitti* 'this cow'. When the plural demonstrative pronouns *hin''i* and *aan''i* are used to point at entities the associative particle (the possessive/genitive prefix) used with nouns or possessive pronouns is *o-* as shown in (6f) and (6g). Otherwise these plural demonstrative pronouns occur with paucal forms of nouns as, for example, *babbaardza hin''a/hin''i* 'these few men' or *babbaardza aan''i* 'those few men'.

4.4. Interrogative Pronouns

In Bayso, the interrogative pronouns are *ayyo* 'who', *me* (memme) 'what', *ekki* (M.)/*eetti* (F) 'which', *gore* 'when' and *hagge* 'where'. The same forms are used both in subject and object positions. The pronoun *ayyo* 'who' has a plural form '*ayyoos*' and the dative form '*ayyoon*' which is formed by suffixing the dative marker *-n*. The position of interrogative pronouns is not restricted in a sentence, that is, it is flexible. The following examples illustrate the use of interrogative pronouns.

(7) a. saati kaka **ayyoya** /**ayyoya** saati kaka

saati ka- ka ayyo -y -a
friend POSS. your who COP -IPFV
'Who is your friend?'

b. **ayyoye** idaado kuun kadaddale /idaado kuun **ayyoye** kadaddale

ayyo -y -e idaado ku -u -n ka- daddal -e
who -COP -PFV sheep you -EPEN -DAT REL- sell -PFV
'Who sold you a sheep?'

- c. hitti oroono ta *ayyota*
 hitti oroono ta- ayyo –t -a
this goat POSS- whose –COP.F -IPFV
 ‘Whose goat is this?’
- d. yiisaas *me* (memme) gelaatara
 yiisaas me gelaat –ara
children what love -IPFV
 ‘What do children love?’

The interrogative pronouns in Bayso can be used with or without copula verbs, that is, copula verbs can be dropped. Hence, it is possible to say *saati kaka ayyo* ‘who is your friend?’ instead of *saati kaka ayyoya* ‘who is your friend?’ The interrogative pronoun form *ayyos* is used with plural nouns. Whenever a copula verb occurs with interrogative pronoun it is suffixed to the interrogative pronoun.

4.5. Reflexive Pronouns

According to Berk (1999:87) “... if two NPs refer to the same entity (i.e., are co-referential) and are used in the same simple sentence, in the second instance the NP must be a reflexive pronoun and it must reflect that the same gender and number as the first NP. The first co-referential NP is usually the subject”. As Berk states, the reflexive pronoun helps us to identify possible referents in a sentence, and the referents should be in the same number and gender. As implied in the above definition, reflexive pronoun is used as anaphoric elements referring to its antecedent, but a reflexive pronoun must find its antecedent within its immediate clause.

In Bayso, reflexive is expressed by ‘isi’ in combination with the forms derived from feminine possessive pronouns. Hence, the reflexive pronouns include *isi otte* ‘myself’, *isi otta* ‘yourself’, *isi otteessa* ‘himself’, *isi ottise* ‘herself’, *isi ottaani* ‘ourselves’, *isi ottisin* ‘yourselves’ and *isi ottiso* ‘themselves’. These pronouns are used when a person or persons inflicted or caused certain action directly upon himself/herself or themselves. The reflexive pronouns always occur in the object position, and the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun may be a single individual or more than one individuals used as subject or subjects of the clause. The following examples illustrate the use of reflexive pronouns.

- (8.1) a. ani **isi ootte** goosaye
 ani isi ootte goos –ay –e
I self my cut -ABEN –PFV
 ‘I cut myself.’

b. ese **isi ootise** c'uup'iiyi eeggatte

ese isi otise c'uuphii –y -i eeg –at -t -e
she self her dagger –EPEN –INS stub –ABN –3SG –PFV

‘She stubbed herself with dagger.’

c. usu machaayi **isi otteessa** goosate

usu machaa –y -i isi otteessa goos –at -e
he knife –EPEN –INS self him cut –ABEN –PFV

‘He cut himself with a knife.’

In the above refelexive constructions, the verb requires autobenefative suffix –ay/-at although the doers of the action are negatively influenced by their own action instead of gaining benefit from it. When a person or persons directly carry out an action for his/her or their own benefit the morpheme ‘isi’ alone is used to express refelexive action. The following are illustrative examples.

(8.2) a. ani **isi** shore ekkaase

ani isi shore ekkaas –e
I self porridge prepare –PFV

‘I prepared porridge for myself.’

b. no walabo **isi** oyine

no walabo isi oy -i -n –e
we boat self make –EPEN –1PL –PFV

‘We made boat ourselves.’

In the above examples, the doers of the action carried out the activity expressed by the verbs for their own benefit. In this case, the subject of sentences/ the doer of the action did not directly performed an action on themselves. Rather, they act upon another entity for their own benefit.

4.6. Reciprocal Pronouns

Reciprocal refers to a pronoun or a verb form which is used to express a mutual activity or relationship (Kroeger, 2005:349). Berk (1999:90) described reciprocal pronouns as follow:

Like most reflexive pronouns, reciprocal pronoun phrases typically have the same referent as the subject; the difference is that the subject to which a reciprocal pronoun refers must include more than one entity. Thus, the subject NP must be plural or there must be two or more coordinated NPs. The action in such constructions is reciprocal; each individual subject has the same relationship to the other subjects in the construction.

In Bayso, the reciprocal action is expressed by pronouns *isisi* or *iinse* or *iinse isisi*. All the pronouns are used alternatively, but the first syllable/segment of a verb stem is reduplicated when

the pronoun *isisi* or *iinse* alone is used. The pronoun ‘*isisi*’ seems to be derived from the reflexive pronoun ‘*isi*’.

A reciprocal pronoun always appears in the object position, and the antecedent of a reciprocal pronoun must contain at least two individuals that mutually influence each other. The following examples illustrate reciprocal construction.

(9) a. iso *isisi* lallagadateen

iso isisi lallagad –at –e –en
they each other kill. -ABEN –PFV -3PL
 ‘They killed each other.’

b. iso *iinse* aʔaddeessataraan

iso iinse aʔaddeess –at –ara –an
they each other know -ABEN -IPFV -3PL
 ‘They know each other.’

c. yiisaas *isisi* bobboç’ate

yiisaas isisi bobboç’ –(a)at –e
children each other hit -ABEN -PFV
 ‘The children hit each other.’

d. yiisaas *iinse isisi* boc’ate

yiisaas iinse isisi boc’ –(a)at –e
children each other hit –ABEN –PFV
 ‘The children hit each other.’

As illustrated in the above examples, the first syllable/segment of the verb stems *lagad-* ‘kill’, *addees-* ‘know’ and *boc’-* ‘hit’ are reduplicated when the pronoun *isisi* or *iinse* is used to express reciprocal action (cf. 9a, b, c). However, when the two pronouns are combined to express the reciprocity of an action, the verb stem is not reduplicated (cf. 9d). It seems that the reduplication of the verb stem is simply to show repetition of an action.

4.7. Relative Pronoun Particles/Relativizers

A relative pronoun introduces a relative clause in a sentence (Trask, 2007:234). Relative pronouns are subgroups of pronouns which refer to an immediately preceding noun, noun phrase, clause, or sentence and which serve to introduce attributive subordinate (relative) clauses (Bussamann, 1998:1000).

As stated in the above definitions, relative pronouns introduce subordinate clauses that are used as adjectives and describe nouns or noun phrases in the clause. In Bayso, relative clauses are introduced by prefixes used as relative pronouns *ka-*, *ta-* and *o-*. Observe the following examples.

(10) a. ani **kele ka?emete** *ibaaddoti* dee

ani kele ka- emet –e ibaaddo -ti dee
I yesterday REL- come –PFV man –SNG see.PFV
 ‘I saw the man who came yesterday.’

b. ani **waadzifoko o?emteen** *ibaaddodza* dee

ani waajjifo –ko o- emet –e –en ibaaddo –**ja** dee
I waajjifo –ABL REL- come –PFV -3PL man –PAC. see.PFV
 ‘I saw the men who came from Waajjifo.’

c. ani **giddichoko ta?emette** *deleeltiti* dee

ani giddicho –ko ta- emet –t –e deleel –titi dee
I Giddicho –ABL REL- come -3SG.F –PFV girl –SNG see.PFV
 ‘I saw the girl who came from Giddicho.’

d. **sarsil heelaheelakki kasarsate** *deeleldzool* kabaysoya

sarsi –l heelahela -ki ka- sarsat –e deelel –jool ka- bayso -y –a
cloth –PL red.PL -M REL- wear –PFV girl -PL ASC- bayso –COP –PFV
 ‘The girls that wore red dresses are Bayso girls.’

As it is shown in the examples above, the relative pronoun ‘**ka-**’ is used to introduce a relative clause when the subject of a main clause is singular masculine noun (cf. 10a) and plural nouns (cf. 10e), and ‘**ta-**’ is used to introduce a relative clause when the subject of a main clause is singular feminine noun (cf. 10c). The relative pronoun ‘**o-**’ is used to introduce a relative clause when the subject of a main clause is paucal number (cf. 10b). All the italicized items are subject of the main clauses, and the bolded ones are relative clauses that play the role of adjectives.

The relative clause can be placed at the beginning of sentences (cf. 10e) or between the subjects and the predicates of the main clause (cf. 10a, 8, c). The relative pronoun prefixes (ka-, ta- and o-) are prefixed to a verb in the relative clause.

4.8. Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are subgroups of pronouns which serve to represent a person or a thing without specifying gender and/or number (Bussmann, 1998:550).

In Bayso, there are some words or phrases that are used to talk about people and things in a general way. These words or phrases do not refer to any particular entity. Rather, they are used to address entities in general. These words include *maayyona* ‘anyone/no one/ everyone’, *maaggenna* ‘everywhere’ and *kameendubba* ‘everything’. The following examples illustrate the use of indefinite pronouns in sentences construction.

(11) a. *maayyona* heʔii ta bayso agaalsayin daandaara

maayyona heʔii ta bayso agaalsay –i –n daand –(a)ara

anyone language GEN- Bayso learn -EPEN-to can –IPFV

‘Anyone/everyone is able to learn Bayso’s language.’

b. *maaggeenna* ibaaddo ka meellaan giran

maaggeenna ibaaddo ka- meellan gir –an

everywhere man COML- bad BE/exist –3PL

‘Everywhere there are bad people.’

Generally, unspecified entities in general are represented by indefinite pronouns as given in the examples above. These words are used when it is not necessary to mention a particular or specific individual in speech or writing.

4.9. Summary

In Bayso, the 1PL, 2PL and 3PL have the same form for nominative and accusative cases or for subject and object personal pronouns, but the 1SG, 2SG) have distinct forms for subject and object personal pronouns. The personal pronouns are either singular or plural in number, that is, there is no paucal number as in the case of Bayso nouns. Bayso possessive pronouns have distinct forms for singular masculine/plural and for singular feminine nouns. The possessive prefix *ka-* is attached to the base of possessive pronoun when the entity possessed is singular masculine or plural in form, and the prefix *ta-* is attached to the base of possessive pronouns when a thing or an entity possessed is singular feminine. If the the entity possessed is in a paucal reference form the prefix *o-* is attached to the base of possessive pronoun. In this case, the prefixes *ka-*, *ta-* and *–o* are said to be possessive prefixes. These same prefixes are also used in genitive construction to mark possession.

Demonstrative pronouns agree in number and gender with their antecedent. Accordingly, the singular forms of demonstrative pronouns *hikki/hikka* ‘this’, *aakki* and *hassuu* ‘that’ are used in place of singular masculine nouns and plurals, and the singular forms of demonstrative pronouns *hitti/hitta* ‘this’, *aatti* and *hasse* ‘that’ are used in place of feminine singular nouns. The plural

forms *hin'i/hin''a* 'these' and *aan''i* 'that' are used in place of the nouns with paucal reference form.

The final segment of demonstrative pronouns *hikka*, *hitta* and *hin''a* changes to *-i* when these demonstratives occur in the nominative (subject) while the citation forms (*hikka*, *hitta*, *hin''a*) are used in the accusative (object) position. The suffixes *-ki* and *-ti* are attached to singular demonstrative pronouns to mark masculine and feminine forms of demonstrative pronouns, respectively, and the suffix *-n''i* is attached to singular demonstrative pronoun to show paucal reference.

The reflexive action is expressed with the pronoun *isi* in combination with the forms derived from possessive base of the respective pronouns, and the reciprocal action is expressed with pronouns *isisi* or *iinse* or the combination of the two pronouns *iinse isisi*. The first segment or the first syllable of a verb stem is reduplicated when *isisi* or *iinse* is used to express reciprocity of an action. Both reflexive and reciprocal pronouns usually occur in the object position. A reflexive pronoun may require a single individual only as its antecedent that usually occur in the subject position of a clause whereas a reciprocal pronoun requires at least two individuals as its antecedent.

The prefixes *ka-*, *ta-* and *o-* are used as relative pronouns having the meaning *who* or *that*. The relative pronoun '**ka-**' is used to introduce a relative clause when the subject of a clause is a singular masculine noun/plural noun, '**ta-**' is used to introduce a relative clause when the subject of a clause is a singular feminine noun, and the relative pronoun '**o-**' is used to introduce a relative clause when the subject of a clause is in a paucal reference form. It is important to note that the prefixes *ka-*, *ta-* and *o-* are used as possessive prefixes and as relative pronouns.

The indefinite pronouns *maayyona* 'anyone/no one everyone', *maaggenna* 'everywhere' and *kameendubba* 'everything' are used when a general reference is made to unknown or unspecified entity or entities.

Chapter 5

Verb Morphology

In this chapter, verbal inflections and verbal extensions are discussed. Agreement marking suffixes/grammatical categories such as number, gender, person, aspect/tense and mood are examined under verbal inflections. Moreover, verbal negation and interrogative formation with verbs are described under verbal inflection. Derivation of new verb stems from different word categories is treated under verbal extensions.

5.1. The Verb Stems

In Bayso, the most common verb stem structure/shape is CVC, and longer verb stems are rare. The canonical shape of Bayso verb stems is given under (1).

- (1)
- | | |
|--|--|
| VC- | iy- ‘fall’, ab- ‘hold/have’, am- ‘say’, ot- ‘cultivate’ |
| V ₁ V ₁ C- | aam- ‘eat’ |
| VC ₁ C ₁ - | idd- ‘bite’, iyy- ‘cry’ |
| V ₁ V ₁ C ₁ C ₁ - | eegg- ‘stub/bite/dip/pierce’ |
| VCVC - | imin- ‘to buy’ |
| CV ₁ V ₁ - | bii- ‘go out’, dii- ‘see’, kii- ‘stand’, gii- ‘reach’, tii- ‘run’ |
| CVC- | sis- ‘give’, kor- ‘climb’, bas- ‘hit’, gal- ‘go home’, goy- ‘die’, hes- ‘remain’ |
| CV ₁ V ₁ C- | hoos- ‘ask’, gaad- ‘crawl’, seet- ‘go’, goos- ‘cut’, |
| CVCVC- | lagad- ‘kill’, wodat- ‘drive cattle’ |
| CVC ₁ C ₂ - | felk’- ‘float’, gu-dins ‘finish’ |
| CV ₁ V ₁ C ₁ C ₂ - | daand- ‘can’ |
| CVC ₁ C ₁ - | met’t’- ‘create’, siyy- ‘hide’, ha-mas’s’- ‘seat’, |
| CVCV ₁ V ₁ C- | madaar- ‘play’ |
| CVC ₁ C ₁ VC- | sesseg- ‘tell’, makkar- ‘consult’ |
| CVC ₁ C ₁ V ₁ V ₁ CVC- | sommaasat- ‘to thank’ or ‘graduate’ |

As it is observed in the above data, most verb stems end in a consonant (a single consonant, geminated consonant or consonant cluster), and few verb stems end in long vowel *-ii*. The only basic verb stem identified with trisyllabic is *sommaasat-* ‘thank /graduate’. The derived verb stems may consist of three or more syllables. In Bayso, the verb stems that terminate with consonant phonemes and vowel phonemes inflect for tense-aspect and for imperative mood in slightly different ways (cf. 23 & 27 below).

5.2. Inflection

According to Hetzron (1990:119), originally the verbal conjugation system in Semitic, Cushitic and Berber operates with the prefixes: ...The Cushitic languages have all switched to suffix conjugation by means of prefix - conjugated postposed auxiliaries, though a few of them have maintained the original conjugation for a limited number of verbs. Black (1974:91) also stated that ‘prefixing types of verbs are rare in Lowland East Cushitic Languages other than Saho-Afar, Somali and Dasenech have few’. Bayso has suffixing type of verb stems. Verb stems are inflected for grammatical categories such as person, number, gender, aspect, tense and mood. Inflection does not change the meaning and category of verb stems except their shape. In what follows, Bayso verbal inflection is described.

5.2.1. Person

In the Cushitic languages person is marked on verbs with affixes. In Diraytata, for example, the suffix *-h* and the prefix *n-* mark the first person in the perfective and imperfective paradigms, respectively (Wondwosen, 2006 :95). However, in Sidamo, all persons except 3SG.M are marked; the 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.F/3PL, 1PL and 2PL are marked with the suffixes *-mm*, *-tt*, *-t*, *-n* ... *mmo* and *oonni* ... *tin*, respectively (Kawachi, 2007: 398). In Gawwada, too, the prefixes *an-*, *a-* and *i-* are , respectively, prefixed to the verb setm to mark first, second and third persons (PL. & SG.) in perfective and imperfective verb forms (Geberew Tulu,2003:38). In Afaan Oromoo, the same person marker suffix *-t* marks 2SG, 2PL and 3SG.F both in the perfective and imperfective verb conjugations (Abera, 1995:76). The person marker suffixes in Afar are *-n* for 1PL; \emptyset for 1SG; *-y* for 3PL,3M.SG. and 3SG (M. or F.) for irregular verbs; and *-t* for 3F.SG and 2SG. and PL (Bliese, 1976:149).

In Bayso, the verb agrees in person with its subject. The second person (SG. & PL) and first person (PL.) are marked by suffixing *-t* and *-n*, respectively, on the verb stem in the perfective verb paradigm whereas in the imperfective verb paradigm person marker suffixes are implied within the imperfective marker suffixes as in (2 below). The other persons (1SG, 3SG.M, 3SG.F & 3PL) are not overtly marked on the verb stem. The following table shows person markers in the perfective verb conjugations in Bayso.

Number	Person markers
1SG	∅
2 SG	-t
3SG.M	∅
3SG.F	∅
1PL	-n
2PL	-t
3PL	∅

Table 13: Person Markers in the Perfective Verb Paradigms

The following illustrative examples show person marking in the perfective and imperfective verb paradigms with the verb stem *imin-* ‘buy’.

(2)	person	Perfective	Gloss	Imperfective	Gloss
	1SG	<i>imin</i> –∅ –e	‘I bought.’	<i>imin</i> –ara	‘I buy.’
	2SG	<i>imin</i> –t –e	‘You bought.’	<i>imin</i> –atta~ar(t)a	‘You buy.’
	3SG.M	<i>imin</i> –∅ –e	‘He bought.’	<i>imin</i> –ara	‘He buy.’
	3SG.F	<i>imin</i> –∅ –t –e	‘She bought.’	<i>imin</i> –atta~ar(t)a	‘She buy.’
	1PL	<i>imin</i> –n –e	‘We bought.’	<i>imin</i> –anna~ar(n)a	‘We buy.’
	2PL	<i>imin</i> –t –e –en	‘You bought.’	<i>imin</i> –atta~ar(t)a –an	‘You buy.’
	3PL	<i>imin</i> –∅ –e –en	‘They bought.’	<i>imin</i> –ara –an	‘They buy.’

The person marking suffixes occur preceding the tense and number markers in the perfective paradigm as shown in the above paradigm. The person marker suffixes are immediately suffixed to the verb stems wherever they are required as in 2SG, 1PL and 2PL. All that are marked with ∅ are not marked for person. In the imperfective paradigm, however, the person marker suffixes are not directly attached to the verb stem. They are inserted within the imperfective marker suffix –*ara* in 2SG, 3SG.F, 1PL and 2PL, and all that are enclosed within bracket under imperfective column are person/gender markers merged within imperfective marker. The segment /r/ in the imperfective marker –*ara* is assimilated to the respective person marker suffixes –t and –n.

5.2.2. Number

In most Cushitic languages, number is marked on the verb stem by using the suffix. For example, in Afar, the plural suffix of the shape –nV marks 2nd and 3rd person plurals and ∅ marks 1PL (Bliese, 1976:149). According to Geberew (2003:38), in Gawwwada number is marked for 1PL and 2PL and 3PL by suffixing –n and –en, respectively, both in the perfective and imperfective verb paradigms. Wondowosen (2006:95) stated that, in Diraytata, the suffix –n is attached to a

verb to mark first person plural both in the perfective and imperfective verb paradigms whereas the suffix *-an* is suffixed to a verb to mark both second and third person plurals in the imperfective verb paradigm, and the suffix *-en* marks both second and third plurals in the perfective. In Afaan Oromoo the plural suffix *-an* marks both second and third person plural in the perfective verb paradigm, and the plural suffix *-n* marks first person both in the perfective and imperfective verb paradigms (Abera, 1995: 78-79).

In Bayso, the second and third person plurals are marked by suffixing *-an* in the imperfective verb paradigm whereas both the second and third person plurals are marked by suffixing *-en* in the perfective paradigm in the same way as in Diraytata. The following table shows number marking in the perfective and imperfective verb conjugations in Bayso.

Number	Imperfective	Perfective
1SG	∅	∅
2SG	∅	∅
3SG.M/F	∅	∅
1PL	∅	∅
2 PL	-an	-en
3 PL	-an	-en

Table 14: Number markers in the perfective and imperfective verb paradigms

Here, it is important to note that the basic number marker suffix both for 2PL and 3PL is *-an*. However, the first segment of the plural marker *-an* is always assimilated to *-e* (the perfective marker) in the perfective verb conjugations, and hence the 2PL and 3PL plural marker suffix *-an* assumes the shape *-en*. The following verbal paradigms illustrate number marking on the verb stem *aam-* ‘eat’.

(3)	Person	Perfective	Imperfective
	1SG	aam –e ‘He ate.’	aam –ara ‘He eats.’
	2SG	aam –t –e ‘You ate.’	aam –atta ‘You eat.’
	3SG.M	aam –e ‘He ate.’	aam –ara ‘He buys.’
	3SG.F	aam –t –e ‘She ate.’	aam –atta ‘She buys.’

Person	Perfective	Imperfective
1PL	aam –n –e ‘We ate.’	aam –anna ‘We buy.’
2PL	aam –t –e –en ‘You ate.’	aam –atta –an ‘You buy.’
3PL	aam –e –en ‘They ate.’	aam –ara –an ‘They buy.’

As shown in the above examples, the suffix *–an* is suffixed to the verb to mark both 2PL and 3PL in the imperfective verb conjugation and the suffix *–en* is attached to the verb stem to mark both 2PL and 3PL in the perfective verb paradigms. In this respect, Bayso is similar to Diraytata and Gawwada except that the suffix *–en* marks 2PL and 3PL both in the imperfective and perfective paradigms in Gawwada. In Afar, as stated by Bliese (1976:149), the suffix *–n* marks person (1PL). However, Wondowosen (2006 :95), Gebberew (2003:38) and Abera (1995: 78-79) stated that the suffix *–n* marks number in Diraytata, Gawwada and Afan Oromo, respectively. But, if we look at the arrangement of agreement markers, the plural suffix appears at the end whereas the person marker occurs immediately following the verb stem. So, based on the arrangement of agreement markers which are person –gender –tense –number, the suffix *–n* should be person maker rather than number marker.

5.2.3. Gender

In most Cushitic languages, including Bayso, gender is marked only for third person singular feminine by affixing gender marker on the verb stem. For example, in Diraytata, the third person singular feminine is marked by attaching the feminine gender marker *–t* to verb stem both in the perfective and imperfective verb conjugations (Wondwosen, 2006:96). In Gawwada *–t* is suffixed to the verb stem to mark third person singular feminine in the perfective verb conjugation whereas *–i* is suffixed to mark 3SG.F in the imperfective verb paradigm (Geberew, 2003:38). In Afaan Oromoo, the gender marker suffix *–i* is attached to the verb stem to mark 3SG.F in the imperfective verb paradigm, but this suffix does not appear in perfective verb forms (Abera 1995:76). Gender marking in Sidamo is different from other Cushitic languages. According to Kawachi (2007:98), 1SG.M. & F. and 2SG.M. & F. are marked for gender in Sidamo. He indicated that 1SG.M and 2SG.M are marked by suffixing gender marker suffix *–o* whereas 1SG.F and 2SG.F are marked by suffixing gender marker suffix *–a* (Kawachi 2007:98). In what follows, we will look at gender marking in Bayso both in the perfective and imperfective verb conjugations. Consider the following verb paradigms with verbs *seet-* ‘go’, *kii-* ‘stand’ and *sis-* ‘give’.

(4)	Person	Perfective	Imperfective
		seet -t -e → seette	seet -atta → seetatta ~ seetar(t)a
	3SG.F	kee -t -e → keete	kii -(a)atta → ki ^y aatta ~ ki ^y aar(t)a
		sis -t -e → sisse ~ siste	sis -atta → sisatta ~ sisar(t)a
	3SG. M	seet -∅ -e → seete	seet -ara → seetara
		kee -∅ → kee	kii- -ara → ki ^y aara
		sis -∅ -e → sise	sis -ara → sisara

As shown in the above data, 3SG.F marker *-t* is overtly suffixed on the verb stem in the perfective verb paradigm being followed by perfective marker *-e*. In the imperfective verb paradigm, however, it is not appeared on the verb stem, rather, it is implied within the imperfective marker *-ara*. Gender is not marked on the verb stem for 3SG.M, 1SG, 2SG, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL.

The following sentential examples illustrate the relationship between agreement markers (person, gender and number) in Bayso with verb **fel-** ‘work’ both in the perfective and imperfective verb conjugation.

(5)	Perfective	Imperfective
(a)	ani fele	ani felara
	ani fel -e	ani fel -ara
	<i>ani work -PFV</i>	<i>I work -IPFV</i>
	‘I worked.’	‘I work.’
(b)	ati felte	ati fel -atta
	ati fel -t -e	ati fel -atta
	<i>ati work -2SG -PFV</i>	<i>ati work -IPFV</i>
	‘You worked.’	‘You work.’
(c)	ese felte	ese felatta
	ese fel -t -e	ese fel -atta
	<i>ese work -3SG.F -PFV</i>	<i>she work -IPFV</i>
	‘She worked.’	‘She works.’
(d)	no felle	no felanna
	no fel -n -e	no fel -anna
	<i>we work -1PL -PFV</i>	<i>we work -IPFV</i>
	‘We worked.’	‘We works.’

(e)	isin felteen isin fel -t -e -en <i>you work -2PL -PFV -PL</i> ‘You worked.’	isin felattaa isin fel -atta -an <i>you work -IPFV -PL</i> ‘You work.’
(f)	iso feleen iso fel -e -en <i>they work -PFV -PL</i> ‘They worked.’	iso felaraan iso fel -ara -an <i>they work -IPFV -PL</i> ‘They work.’

As illustrated in the perfective verb paradigm above, the person marker suffix **-t** (in 2SG & PL) and the person marker suffix **-n** (in 1PL) are directly suffixed on the verb stem. The gender marker suffix **-t** for 3SG.F is also directly suffixed on the verb stem in the perfective verb conjugation. In the imperfective verb paradigms, however, both person and gender markers are implied within the imperfective marker suffix **-ara**, that is, they are not directly suffixed on the verb stem.

The number markers *-en* in the perfective verb paradigm and *-an* in the imperfective verb paradigm appear at the end following tense or aspect marker suffix **-e**. It seems that basically the 2PL and 3PL marker is *-an* as it is shown in the imperfective verb conjugation. However, it is appeared as *-en* in the perfective verb paradigm due to the influence of imperfective marker *-e*. That is, ‘a’ which is the first segment of *-an* is assimilated to the preceding perfect marker *-e*. The following table summarizes agreement markers.

	Person	Number	Gender
1SG	∅	∅	∅
2SG	-t	∅	∅
3SG.M	∅	∅	∅
3SG.F	∅	∅	-t
1PL	-n	∅	∅
2PL	-t	-an/ -en	∅
3PL	∅	-an/ -en	∅

Table 15: Agreement/Concord Markers in the verb conjugation

In Bayso, 1SG ‘ani’ and 3SG.M ‘usu’ have identical verb forms in the verb conjugation as shown in (7) above. Similarly, 2SG and 3SG.F have the same conjugated verb forms. So, this makes five ways verbal inflections in Bayso. Moreover, 2SG and 2PL are marked with the same person

marker *-t*; 2PL and 3PL are marked with the same number marking suffix *-an* in the imperfective verb paradigms and *-en* in the perfective verb paradigms. The portmanteau morpheme $\{-t\}$ has multiple functions as it marks both person and gender.

5.2.4. Tense-Aspect

Tense refers to the time when some action, event or state take place in relation to the moment of speaking whereas aspect characterises the action or state denoted by a verb as complete or incomplete (Katamba, 1993:330-334). Lyons (1968:305-315) describes the distinction between tense and aspect as follows.

The essential characteristics of the category of tense is that it relates the time of the action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance (the time of utterance being ‘now’). ... Like tense distinction, aspect has to do with time; but with temporal distribution or contour of an action, event or state of affairs, rather than with its ‘location in time’.

As described in the above definitions, tense indicates the time of an event relative to some reference point whereas aspect indicates the duration of the activity without relating it to some reference point.

In Bayso, there is no clear cut distinction between tense and aspect in most cases. In this language, the same suffix marks both tense and aspect. For example the suffix *-e* marks both past tense and perfective aspect, and the suffixes *-a* or *-ara* marks both present tense and imperfective aspect (cf. Hayward 1979). The suffix *-a* is suffixed on the verb of presence/existence, copula and verb of possession (Verbs of state) to mark imperfective or present tense and the suffix *-ara* is suffixed on other verbs (action verbs) to mark present tense/imperfective aspect (10.1 & 10.2). The suffix *-o* marks both present tense and imperfective aspect in the negative verb paradigm and within the subordinate clause.

As stated above, tense and aspect are combined in most cases, and therefore, it is not important to treat these two grammatical categories separately. Thus, tense –aspect is generally discussed under the two headings: imperfective and perfective aspects. The imperfective aspect is further divided into present imperfective/simple present tense, present progressive, past progressive, present habitual and past habitual/past imperfective. The perfective aspect is divided into simple perfect/simple past, present perfect and past perfect. In what follows, perfective and imperfective aspects are discussed consecutively.

5.2.4.1. The Imperfective Aspect

Before directly discussing the imperfective marking in Bayso it is important to see how some East Cushitic languages mark imperfective aspect. Most East Cushitic languages mark imperfective aspect by suffixing. The following are suffixes of the imperfective aspect in the Highland East Cushitic languages (Hudson, 1976:265) .

(6)		Burji	Darasa	Hadiyya	Kambata	Sidamo
	Sing.					
	1 st	-u or -a	-anno	-oommo	-aammi	-eemmo
	2 nd	-da / -ša	-tatto	-tootto	-taanti	-atto
	3 rd m.	-a	-aani	-ookko	-ano	-anno
	f.	-da / -ša -taani	-tamo	-taaʔi	-tanno	
		Burji	Darasa	Hadiyya	Kambata	Sidamo
	PL					
	1 st	-nu or -na	-nanno	-noommo	-naammi	-neemmo
	2 nd	-šingo	-tinaa	-takkamo	-teenanta	-tinanni
	3 rd	-ngo	-naani	-tamo	-taaʔi	-tanno

Hudson (1976:265) stated that the above suffixes basically express the present and the future. Yri (2012:266) and Kawachi:2007:398) have identified slightly different imperfective markers for Sidaama (Sidamo).

(7)	Yri (2012)	Kawachi (2007)
	1SG.M -éémmo	1SG -ee
	1SG.F -éemma	2SG -a
	2SG.M -átto	
	2SG.F -átta	
	3SG.K -annó	3SG.M -anno
	3SG.T -tannó	3SG.F -anno
	1PL -néémmo	1PL -ee
	2PL -tinánni	2PL -anni
	3PL -tannó	3PL -anno

Most Lowland East Cushitic languages also mark the imperfective aspect by suffixing except Afar, Somali and Dasenech that mark the imperfective aspect by prefixing or suffixing. The following are imperfective marker prefixes/suffixes in the Lowland East Cushitic languages

Dasench (Sasse, 1976:209), Diraytata (Wondwosen, 2006:107), Gawwada (Geberew,2003:39), Konso (Ongaye, 2013:157), Oromo (Abera, 1995:80; Appleyard, 2012:240; Gragg, 176:188), Somali (Appleyrad, 2012:255).

(8)	Dasenech	Draytata	Gawwada	Konso	Oromo	Somali
Sing.						
1 st	(h)a-	-in	-na	-ni	-a	i- ... -aa
2 nd	(h)a-	-in	-na	-ni	-ta	ti- ... -aa
3 rd m.	(h)a-i	-in	-na	-ni	-a	yi- ... -aa
f.	(h)a-i	-in	-na	-ni	-ti	ti- ... -aa
P L.						
1 st	*(h)a-ki/ha-	ni -in	-na	-ni	-na	ni- ... -naa
2 nd	(h)a -i	-in	-na	-ni	-tu	ti- ... -aan
3 rd	-	-in	-na	-ni	-u	yi- ... -aan

The imperfetive markers in Somali suffix-inflecting verbs are the following (Appleyard, 2012:254) .

(9)	Imperfective Suffix
1SG	-aa
2SG	-taa
3SG.M	-aa
3SG.F	-taa
1PL	-naa
2PL	-taan
3PL	-aan

In Bayso, non-completed action (imperfective aspect) is expressed in different ways. These include the simple present tense/present imperfective aspect, progressive aspect, habitual aspect and future imperfective. The present imperfective aspect is marked by suffixing —*ara* on action verbs and *-a* on copula, verb of existence/presence and verb of possession as mentioned above. The present imperfective suffix for all persons and numbers appears as follow.

(10.1) person/Number	PRS./ IPFV. Suffixes
1SG	-ara / -a
2SG	-atta / -a
3SG.M	-ara / -a

3SG. F	-atta /-a
1PL	-anna / -a
2PL	-atta –an / -a –an
3PL	-ara –an / -a –an

As illustrated above, the shape of present imperfective marker *-ara* varies whereas the present imperfective marker *-a* is invariably the same for all persons and numbers. The following sentential examples illustrate the present imperfective/present tense marking with the suffix *-ara* or *-a*.

(10.2) a. usu aamo aamara

usu aamo aam –ara
he food eat –IPFV
 ‘He eats food.’

b. ese sarsil aalisatta

ese sarsi –l aalis –atta
she cloth –PL wash –IPFV
 ‘She washes cloths.’

c. no ees goosanna

no ees goos –anna
we grass mow –IPFV
 ‘We mow grass.’

d. helatte min lama aba

helatte min lama ab –a
helatte house two has –IPFV
 ‘Helatte has two houses.’

e. baallamo mini gira

baallamo min –i gir –a
Ballamo house –DEF present –IPFV
 ‘Ballamo presents/is in the house.’

As illustrated in the above examples, the shape of present imperfective marker suffix *-ara* varies according to the number and gender of the clause subject since the person or gender marker is implied within the present imperfective marker *-ara*. The 3SG.M is marked with *-ara*, and the 3SG.F and 1PL are marked with *-atta* and *-anna*, respectively. In the later case, person and gender markers are implicitly included within the present marker suffix *-ara*. The present tense

marker suffix **-a** is suffixed on the verb of possession and verb of presence (cf. 10.2 d & f above). The Bayso imperfective marker suffixes are more closely related to Darasa and Sidamo (Highland East Cushitic languages) and less closely related to Somali imperfective marker suffixes.

The other subtype of imperfective aspect is progressive aspect. Bayso distinguishes present progressive and past progressive aspects. Both present and past progressive aspects are marked by suffixing long vowel **-aa** on the verb stem and by using the auxiliary verb **gir-**. The auxiliary verb **gir-** occurs following the main verb. The verb **gir-** normally means ‘present/Be’ when it stands alone or when it is used as a main verb. But, it has no overt meaning when it is used as an auxiliary verb in progressive aspects. In fact, the main verb occurs preceding the auxiliary verb **gir-**, and it (the main verb) seems to be subordinated when the suffix **-aa** is attached to it. Hence, the clause seems incomplete (subordinated) in the absence of auxiliary **gir-** even though the meaning of the clause is determined by the main verb. Observe the conjugation of the verb stem **goos-** ‘cut’ in the present and past progressive aspects.

(11)	Person		PRS.PROG.		GLOSS
	1SG/3SG.M	goos -aa	gir-a		‘I/He am/is cutting.’
	2SG/3SG.F	goos -aa	gir-t-a	➤ gitta	‘You/she are/is cutting.’
	1PL	goos -aa	gir-n-a	➤ ginna	‘We are cutting.’
	2PL	goos -aa	gir-t-a-an	➤ gittaaan	‘You are cutting.’
	3PL	goos -aa	gir-a-an	➤ giraan	‘They are cutting.’
			PST. PROG.		GLOSS
	1SG/3SG.M	goos -aa	gir-e	➤ gire	‘I/He was cutting.’
	2SG/3SG.F	goos -aa	gir-t-e	➤ gitte	‘You/she were/was cutting.’
	1PL	goos -aa	gir-n-e	➤ ginne	‘We were cutting.’
	2PL	goos -aa	gir-t-e-en	➤ gitteen	‘You were cutting.’
	3PL	goos -aa	gir-e-en	➤ gireen	‘They were cutting.’

As illustrated above, the progressive marker **-aa** is invariably suffixed on the verb stem, and person/gender, tense and number markers are suffixed on the auxiliary verb ‘**gir-**’ both in the present and past progressive aspects. The basic difference between present progressive and past progressive aspects is that the former is marked by suffixing the imperfective marker **-a** on the auxiliary verb **-gir-** whereas the latter is marked by suffixing the perfective marker **-e** on the auxiliary verb **gir-**. The present progressive aspect shows an action that is going on at the moment of speaking whereas the past progressive aspect indicates the action that was in progress in the

past. Both the present and past progressive aspects imply that the action is not completed or it is going on in the present and in the past, respectively.

In genetically related languages, Gawwada, Oromo and Somlai, the present progressive aspect is also expressed by Suffixing. The following suffixes mark present progressive aspect in these languages Gawwada (Geberw, 2003:39), Oromo (Abera,1995:82; Gragg,1976:189), Somali (Appleyard,2012:254).

(12)	Gawwada	Oromo	Somali
Sing.			
1 st	-a	-aan jir-a	-ayaa
2 nd	-a	-aa jir -ta	-eysaa
3m.	-a	-aa jir-a	-ayaa
3f.	-a	-aa jir-ti	-eysaa
PL.			
1 st	-a	-aa jir -na	-eynaa
2 nd	-a	-aa jir -tu	-eysaan
3 rd	-a	-aa jir -u	-ayaan

The present progressive marking in Bayso is closely related to Oromo as shown above. In the two languages, the structure **V + -aa + aux. (Oromo jir-, Bayso gir-) + -a** is used to express the present progressive aspect. Oromo and Bayso are also very closely related in expressing past progressive aspect. Observe the following illustrative examples with the verb *sesseet-* (Bayso), *adeem-* (Oromo) both mean ‘walk’.

(13)	Bayso	Oromo (Abera, 1995, Gragg, 1976)
Sing.		
1 st	sesseet -aa gir -e	adeem-aa-n tur -e ‘I was walking’
2 nd	sesseet -aa gir -t -e	adeem -aa tur -t -e ‘You were walking.’
3 rd m.	sesseet -aa gir -e	adeem -aa tur -e ‘He was walking.’
f.	sesseet -aa gir -t -e	adeem -aa tur -t -e ‘She was walking.’
PL.		
1PL	sesseet -aa gir -n -e	adeem -aa tur -n -e (~turre) ‘We were walking’
2PL	sesseet -aa gir -t -e-en	adeem -aa tur -t -an ‘You were walking.’
3PL	sesseet -aa gir -e -en	adeem -aa tur -an ‘They were walking.’

The two languages express past progressive aspect almost in the same way except that Bayso uses the auxiliary *gir-*, and Oromo uses the auxiliary *tur-*.

Habitual is also another sub-type of imperfective aspect in Bayso. According to Kroeger (2006:345), habitual is ‘a sub-type of imperfective aspect, indicating that a situation is, or was, characteristic of a certain period of time’.

Bayso distinguishes present and past habituals. The present habitual is expressed by suffixing *-ara*, and the past habitual/past imperfective is expressed by suffixing *-are*. The different shapes of the suffix *-ara* is given under (10.1). The shape of the suffix *-are* also varies according to person, gender and number of the clause subject. The following conjugation with the verb stem *duud-* ‘paddle’ illustrates past habitual/past imperfective.

(14) Person/NUM.	PST. HABITUAL	GLOSS
1SG/3SG.M	duud–are	‘I/He used to paddle.’
2SG./3SG.F	duud–atte	‘You/she used to paddle.’
1PL	duud –anne	‘We used to paddle.’
2PL	duud –aatte –en	‘You used to paddle.’
3PL	duud–aare–en	‘They used to paddle.’

The past habitual, as illustrated in the above verb conjugation, shows the action or event that was habitually or repeatedly performed in the past. It is categorized under aspect (in this case imperfective aspect) since the performance of the action does not refer to any particular point in time. For example, the statement from Bayso text *horko ibaaddo kabayso ‘landi’ sarsatare* (sarsat-are) discloses that ‘Bayso people used to wear ‘landi’ in the ancient time or in the past’. In this case, the particular point of time is not known as it simply says in the past. The implication is that nowadays the Bayso people stopped wearing ‘landi’. Therefore, the habitual action marked by suffix *-are* indicates past habit of certain period of time, and the corresponding present habitual action marked by suffix *-ara* shows the habit which still persists.

It is important to note that both present imperfective and present habitual are expressed by the same suffix *-ara*. The present imperfective particularly expresses general truth/facts, and the present habitual expresses human practice/behaviour that are exhibited at the present time. The distinction between present imperfective and present habitual is particularly manifested in context.

Observe the following illustrative examples.

(15) a. **usu gidditftjo galara**

usu giddicho gal –ara
he *Giddicho* *go – IPFV*
 ‘He goes to Giddicho.’

b. zizaaleli gaagura orroo malab dubara

zizaale -li gaagura orroo malab dub -ara
bee -PL beehive in honey make -IPFV

‘Bees make honey in the beehive.’

c. ibaaddo alatara djiinatra gowaara

ibaaddo alat -ara jiinaat -ara goy -(a)ara
man be born -PRS grow -PRS die -IPFV

‘Man is born, grows and dies.’

d. ese alma?alma sarsil aalisatta

ese alma?alma sarsi -l aalis -atta
she everyweek cloth -PL wash -PRS.HAB

‘She washes cloths everyweek.’

e. usu baribari betakiristaani seetara

usu baribari betakiristaani seet -ara
he everymorning church go -PRS.HAB

‘He goes to church every morning.’

It is possible to infer from the above examples whether the suffix *-ara* marks present imperfective or present habitual. Accordingly, in (15a, b, c) the suffix *-ara* marks present imperfective as the sentences express simple present tense (15a) and general truth/fact (15b,c). In (15d & e) the suffix *-ara* expresses present habitual action (the present habit of respective clause subjects).

The expression of future action is another sub-type of imperfective aspect since it expresses non-completed action. Bayso distinguishes immediate/near and distant/far futures. Immediate future is marked by suffixing *-lara* on the verb stem whereas distant future is marked by attaching the suffix *-nara* (for the later see also Hayward, 1978:562). Observe the the following verb paradigms in the immediate future with verb *aam-* ‘eat’.

(16)	Person	Immediate FUT.	Gloss
	1SG/3SG.M	aam-i-laara	‘I/He am/is about to eat.’
	2SG/3SG.F	aam-i-laatta	‘You/she are/is about to eat.’
	1PL	aam-i-laanna	‘We are about to eat.’
	2PL	aam-i-laatta-an	‘You are about to eat.’
	3PL	aam-i-laara-an	‘They are about to eat.’

The immediate future expresses an action that is going to occur in the very near future. In this case, the doer of the action is ready to take the action, and the speaker is very certain that the action is going to take place soon. The above example shows that the food has been already readied and the action of eating is about to take place. However, it is categorized as imperfective aspect since the action is not yet completed. The following verb paradigm indicates distant future.

(17)	Person	Distant FUT.	Gloss
	1SG/3SGM	aam-i-nara	'I/He will eat.'
	2SG/3SG.F	aam-i-natta	'You/She will eat.'
	1PL	aam-i-nanna	'We will eat.'
	2PL	aam-i-naatta-an	'You will eat.'
	3PL	aam-i-naara-an	'They will eat.'

Distant future is used to express prediction, and the action expressed in the clause may occur sometime in the future. Both in the immediate future and distant future marking, person and gender suffixes are implied within the future marker suffixes where person and gender marking suffixes are required (2SG,3SG.F, 1PL, 2PL), that is, they are not suffixed on the verb stem. Moreover, the epenthetic vowel -i is inserted between the verb stem and future suffixes.

Hayward (1978:562) indicated that the suffix *-wa* also marks fututure tense in Bayso. However, this suffix is identified as emphasis/focus marker rather than future tense marker in the current study. It does not mark future tense in particular, but it is suffixed on a verb stem in the present tense, past tense and future tenses to show emphasis/focus or certainty. It shows that the speaker is beyond reasonable doubt for what he or she says /said. For example, if a Bayso speaker is asked, *he?i ka Wolayita kassa?* 'Do you know Wolayita's language?'; his/her answer is either *kasa* or *kasowa* both mean 'I know'; the difference is only emphasis or certainty. Moreover, if someone says to some other person *aami* 'eat!', the other person may respond 'aamara' or 'aamirowwa' while the action of eating is going on. The addition of *-wa* is to give emphasis to his or her eating action.

5.2.4.2. The Perfective Aspect

Most Lowland East Cushitic languages express the perfective aspect by suffixing. The perfective suffixes used in some Lowland East Cushitic languages are provided below Dasenech (Sasse, 1976:210), Draytata (Wondwosen, 2006:98), Gawwada (Geberew, 2003:39), Konso (Ongaye, 2013:156), Oromo (Gragg, 1976:188) and Somali (Appleyard, 2012:254).

(18)	Dasenech	Draytata	Gawwada	Konso	Oromo	Somali
Sing. 1 st	yáá-	-i	-i	-ay	-e	-ay
2 nd	kúó-	-i	-i	-i	-te	-tay
3 rd m.	hé-	-i	-i	-ay	-e	-ay
f.	hé-	-i	-i	-i	-te	-tay
PL 1 st	hé- kí-	-i	-i	-i	-ne	-nay
2 nd	ʔitti-	-i	-i	-i	-tan(i)	-teen
3 rd	-	-i	-i	-i	-an(i)	-een

Dasenech has distinct perfective marker prefix for first person plural exclusive which is *jaani-* and distinct perfective suffix for suffixing types of verbs (Sasse, 1976:210-212). Somali has also distinct perfective prefix for prefix-inflecting verbs (Appleyrad, 2012:254).

In Bayso, the simple past tense and perfect tenses are subsumed under the perfective aspect since they describe the completed action or event at the moment of speaking. The simple past tense is expressed by the suffixing *-e* as in most Cushitic languages. Bayso shares this feature mostly with Oromo and Dasenech (in the case of suffixing verbs) (See Sasse, 1976:2011-2012). Observe the following verb conjugation in the simple perfective/ simple past tense with the verb *osol-* ‘laugh’.

(19)	Person	Simple Past	Gloss
	1SG/3SG.M	osol-e	‘I/he laughed.’
	2SG/3SG.F	osol-t-e	‘You/she laughed.’
	1PL	osol-n-e > osolle	‘We laughed.’
	2PL	osol-t-e-en	‘You laughed.’
	3PL	osol-e-en	‘They laughed.’

The simple past tense or simple perfective (completed action) is invariably marked by suffixing *-e* on the verb stems for all person, number and gender as illustrated above. As illustrated in (19) above, the simple past tense/simple perfective marker *-e* occurs directly following the verb stem in 1SG/3SG.M where person and gender is marked with \emptyset morpheme, and it occurs following *-t* which is person/gender marker in 2SG/3SG.F. In the 2PL, the simple past tense/simple perfective marker *-e* occurs between person marker suffix *-t* and number marker suffix *-en*. Note that the person marker suffix *-n* in the 1PL is assimilated to its preceding segment *-l*. The perfective marking with 2PL and 3PL both in Bayso and Somali are exactly the same except that in Bayso the initial segment *-t* in case of 2PL and the initial segment *-e* in the case of 3PL are analysed as person and perfective markers, respectively.

The present perfect is also categorized as a sub-type of perfective aspect since it expresses completed action without reference to internal time structure. The present perfect is marked by the suffix *-(e)era*. This suffix may have different shapes based on the number, person and gender of the clause subject. The following examples illustrate the present perfect tense/perfect aspect marking in Bayso with the verb stem *imin-* ‘buy’.

(20)	Person	Present Perfect	Gloss
	1SG/3SG.M	<i>imin-era</i>	‘I have/ he has bought.’
	2SG/3SG.F	<i>imin-t-etta ~erta</i>	‘You have/she has bought.’
	1PL	<i>imin -n -enna ~ erna</i>	‘We have bought.’
	2PL	<i>imin-t(e)etta-an ~erta -an</i>	‘You have bought.’
	3PL	<i>imin -(e)era-an</i>	‘They have bought.’

As shown in the above data, the form of present perfect marker varies according to person, gender and number of the clause subject. Moreover, gender and person markers (-t & -n), wherever they are required (that is, in case of 2SG, 3SG.f, 1PL & 2PL), appear twice in the present perfect form. First, they are overtly suffixed on the verb stem, and secondly, they are implicitly merged with present perfect marker suffix *-era*. That is the very reason why the shape of present perfect tense marker *-era* assumes different shapes (-era, -etta, -enna). In the case of 2SG/3SG.F, 1PL and 2PL the underlying present perfect markers are *iminterta*, *iminnerna* and *iminteertaan*, respectively. However, due to the assimilation of the segment -r in *-era* to the gender and person markers suffixes merged within *-era*, the present perfect markers with 2SG/3SG.F, 1PL and 2PL as clause subjects assume the shape *imintetta*, *iminnenna* and *imintettaan*, respectively.

In the other Lowland East Cushitic languages, for example, Afar (Sasse, 176:146) and Oromo (Gragg, 1976:199; Abera, 1995:83), the present perfect is expressed with the perfect form of the main verb plus the auxiliary verb *sug* in case of Afar and *jir-* in case of Oromo. In Bayso, the present perfect is marked by the suffix as illustrated above. Hudson (1976:264) identified the following present perfect suffixes in some Highland East Cushitic languages.

(21)	Hadiyya	Kambata	Sidamo
Sing.			
1 st	-ammo	-eemmi	-oommo
2 nd	-taatto	-tenti	-otto
3 rd m.	-aakko	-eeʔi	-inó
f.	-taʔokko	-teeʔi	-tinó

	Hadiyya	Kambata	Sidamo
PL			
1 st	-naammo	-neemmi	-noommo
2 nd	-takkaʔokko	-teenta	-tinonni
3 rd	- taʔokko	-teeʔi	-tinó

As shown above, Hadiyya, Kambata and Sidamo employ the suffix to mark present perfect, and the present perfect suffixes identified in Kambata are somewhat closer to those identified in Bayso.

In Bayso, past perfect tense (remote past) is marked by attaching the suffix *-(e)ere* on the verb stem (Hayward 1978). The past perfect marker suffix *-(e)ere* may assume different shapes with different clause subjects since gender and person markers (where they are required) are implied within the past perfect marker. The following verb paradigm shows past perfect tense/perfect aspect marking with the verb stem *imin-* ‘buy’.

(22) Person	Past Perfect	Gloss
1SG/3SG.M	<i>imin-ere</i>	‘I/He had bought.’
2SG/3SG.F	<i>imin-t-ette ~erte</i>	‘You/She had bought.’
1PL	<i>imin-n-enne ~erne</i>	‘We had bought.’
2PL	<i>imin-t-eette –en ~eerte –en</i>	‘You had bought.’
3PL	<i>imin-eere–en</i>	‘They had bought.’

As demonstrated above, the past perfect marker is directly suffixed on the verb stem where person and gender markers are not marked on the verb stem as in 1SG/3SG.M and 3PL. However, the past perfect marker *-ere* occurs following person and gender markers where person and gender marking suffixes appear on the verb stem as in 2SG/3SG.F, 1PL and 2PL. In the later case, the person or gender markers appear twice both directly suffixed on the verb stem and being implied within the past perfect marker suffix *-ere* just as in the present perfect form. Hence, the underlying shapes of past perfect markers with subject clauses 2SG/3SG.F, 1PL and 2PL are *iminterte*, *iminnerne* and *iminteerteen*, respectively. However, they appear as *imintette*, *iminnenne* and *iminteetteen* due to the assimilation of *-r* in *-ere* to person and gender markers that are merged within *-ere* as it has happened in the present perfect marker *-era* (cf. 20 above) and in the imperfective aspect (cf. 10 above). In Bayso, the verb stems that terminate with vowel are inflected for perfective aspect via internal modification and suffixation of perfective markers. Observe the perfective marking with the verb stems *bi* ‘go out’ and *di* ‘see’ both terminate with the long vowel /i:/.

(23)	1SG./ 3SG.M	Simple perfect	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
		dee	dee –ra	dee –re
		bee	bee –ra	bee –re
	2SG./ 3SG.F	dee –t –e	dee –t –etta	dee –t –ette
		bee –t –e	bee –t –etta	bee –t –ette
1PL		dee –n –e	dee –n –enna	dee –n –enne
		bee –n –e	bee –n –enna	bee –n –enne
2PL		dee –t –e –en	dee –t –etta –an	dee –t –ette –en
		bee –t –e –en	bee –t –etta –an	bee –t –ette –en
3PL		dee –n	dee –ra –an	dee –re –en
		bee –n	bee –ra –an	bee –re –en

As illustrated above, the verb stems that end with vowel inflect for simple perfect only through internal modification when 1SG./3SG.M is used as clause subject, and in other cases, however, the inflection involves both internal modification and suffixation of perfective markers. The simple perfect or simple past marker is *-e* which also occurs with verbs that end with consonants, but there is slight difference with respect to present perfect and past perfect markers. The present perfect *-ra* and past perfect marker *-re* do not appear with verbs that end with consonants (cf. 20, 22) as they appear with verbs that end with vowels when these verbs have 1SG, 3SG.M and 3PL as their clause subject (cf. 23). The following table summarizes Bayso Tense –Aspect markers.

person	PRS./ PRS.HAB.	PST./ Perfective	PRS. perfet	PST. perfect	FUT.	PRS. PROG	PST. PROG	PST HAB.
1SG/3SG.M	-ara	-e	-era	-ere	-laara/-nara	-aa gira	-aa gire	-are
2SG/3SG.F	-atta	-e	-etta	-ette	-laatta/-natta	-aa gitta	-aa gitte	-aatte
1PL	-anna	-e	-enna	-enne	-laanna/-nanna	-aa ginna	-aa ginne	-anne
2PL	-atta -an	-e	-eetta	-eette	-laatta/-naatta	-aa gitta	-aa gitte	-aatte
3PL	-ara -an	-e	-eera	-eere	-laara/-naara	-aa gira	-aa gire	-aare

Table 16: Tense-Aspect Markers in Bayso

5.2.5. Mood

Mood is a grammatical reflection of the speaker's purpose in speaking. In other words, it is an indication of what the speaker wants to do with the proposition (Kroeger, 2005:163).

In Bayso, both imperative and jussive moods are marked morphologically on the verb stem. In the following section, affirmative imperative, affirmative jussive and their corresponding negative forms are described.

5.2.5.1. Imperative

Most East Cushitic languages employ suffixing to express the imperative mood. Hudson (1976:267) identified the following affirmative imperative and negative imperative suffixes for the Highland East Cushitic languages.

(24)		Burji	Darasa	Hadiyya	Kambata	Sidamo
Affirmative	2SG	-i	-i	-e/-i	-i	-i
	2PL	-é	-e	-ehe	-e	-e
Negative	2SG	-aaš	-tott'e	-tittle	-tooti	-tooti
	2PL	-akke	-tinokk'e	takkotte	-teenocce	-tinoonte

The imperative suffixes/prefixes in some Lowland East Cushitic languages such as Diryatata (Wondwosen, 2006:110-111), Dasenech (Sasse, 1976:211), Gawwada (Geberew, 2003:42/59), Konso (Ongaye, 2013:163/225) and Oromo (Abera, 1995:93) are provided below.

(25)	Diraytata	Dasenech	Gawwada	Konso	Oromo	
Affirmative						
	2SG	-i	-	-	-i	
	2PL	-a	-á	-a	-aa	
Negative						
	2SG	-adiy -i	ha-... -ɲ	olo- ... -i	in- ... -an	hin- ... -iin
	2PL	-adiy -i	ha- i-... -ɲ	olo- ... -e	iʔ- ... -an	hin- ... -inaa

In Bayso, the affirmative imperative is marked for 2SG and 2PL by attaching suffix to the verb stem as in most Cushitic languages. The affirmative imperative is marked by the suffix **-i/-in** and **-a** on the verb stem for 2SG and 2PL, respectively (Hayward 1978). Observe the following examples.

(26)	2SG IMP.	2PL IMP.	GLOSS
	aam-i	aam-a	‘eat!’
	hamas’s’ -i	hamas’s’-a	‘sit down!’
	aalis -i	aalis-a	‘wash!’
	feli-i	fel-a	‘work!’
	madaar-i	madaar-a	‘build!’

The 2SG imperative markers *-i* and *-in* are used alternatively. Hayward (1978), identified only the suffix *-in* as 2SG imperative marker. In the present data, however, the suffix *-i* frequently marks 2SG imperative although the suffix *-in* is also used as an alternative. Therefore, it is grammatical to say *aam-in* ‘eat!’, *hamas’-in* ‘sit!’, *aalis-in* ‘wash!’, *fel-in* ‘work!’ and *madaar-in* ‘build!’. It seems that the imperative suffix *-in* is used to soften commands or it shows polite/respectful expression of commands.

The verb *emet-* ‘come’ has a suppletive imperative which is *koy* ‘come!’ for 2SG and *koya* ‘come!’ for 2PL. The affirmative imperative is also marked for 2SG and PL in slightly different way with the verb stems that end with vowel. Observe the following examples.

(27)	2SG	IMP	2PL	IMP	GLOSS
	bii -n	→ been	bii -aa	→ bi ^y aa	‘go out!’
	dii -n	→ deen	dii -aa	→ di ^y aa	‘see!’
	tii -n	→ tiin	tii -aa	→ ti ^y aa	‘run!’
	kii -n	→ kiin	kii -aa	→ ki ^y aa	‘stand up!’

As illustrated in (27) above, the suffix *-n* and *-aa* are suffixed on the verb stems to mark affirmative imperative for 2SG and 2PL, respectively, when the verb stems ends with vowel. Moreover, the vowel internal change occurs when the imperative marker *-n* is suffixed on verb stems ‘bii-’ and ‘dii-’ in 2SG imperative marking, but it does not occur with the verb stems ‘tii-’ and ‘kii-’ as shown in the above data. The internal vowel change or its absence is not trigred by phonological process, but it is lexically conditioned. In 2PL, the imperative marker with verbs that end with the front long vowel *-ii*, the first segment of the verb stem is platalized (changed to *-y* (j)) when it is followed by central vowel *-a* via the process of palatalization, and this process also avoids impermissible sequence of vowels as indicated in 2PL imperative marking in example (27) above.

The negative imperative in Bayso is denoted by prefixing the negative particle *aroo-* to the verb stem both in the 2SG and 2PL (Hayward, 1978:563). The following examples demonstrate the negative imperative marking.

(28)	2SG	2PL	GLOSS
	a. aroo-seet -t -e <i>NEG-go-2SG-PFV</i>	aroo-seet -t -e -en <i>NEG-go- 2PL-PFV-2PL</i>	‘Do not go!’
	b. aroo-aan-t -e <i>NEG-eat-2SG-PFV</i>	aroo-aan-t -e -en <i>NEG-eat-2PL-PFV-2PL</i>	‘Do not eat!’

As illustrated above, the person, tense and number markers are consecutively suffixed on the verb stem in the negative imperative which are not appeared in the affirmative imperative. The perfective marker *-e* is suffixed on the verb stem even though mood is not tense-aspect sensitive. However, the imperative markers that appear on the verb stem in the affirmative imperative do not appear in the negative imperative which makes Bayso distinct from the other East Cushitic languages. Bayso shares substantial features with East Cushitic languages in marking imperative. It is highly related to the other Lowland East Cushitic languages in this regard as shown above.

5.2.5.2. Jussive

Most East Cushitic languages express jussive (optative) by suffixing. Hudson (1976:268) identified the following affirmative jussive suffixes in Highland East Cushitic languages.

(29)	Burji	Darasa	Hadiya	Kambata	Sidamo
Sing.					
1 st	-u(wá)	-o	-ona	-ó	-o, or -oni
3 rd m.	-ooni	-owaali	-ona	-uni	-ona, or -o
f.	-dooni	-towaali	-tona	-tuni	-tona, or -to
PL					
1 st	-nuwá, or -noone	-no	-nona	-no, or -nuni	-no
3 rd	-ngooni	-nowaali	-tona	-tuni	-tona

The jussive suffixes in some Lowland East Cushitic languages such as Afar (Bliese, 176:146), Dasenech (Sasse, 1976:209-210), Diraytata (Wondwosen, 2006:111), Gawwada (Geberew,2003:42/59-60), Konso (Ongaye, 2013:164-165), Oromo (Abera, 1995:96-97; Gragg, 1976:188) and Somali (Appleyard, 2012:254) are given below.

(30)	Afar	Dasenech	Diraytata	Gawwada	Konso	Oromo	Somali
Sing.							
1 st	-ay	—	-u	-a	-u	haa-...-u	-o
2 nd	—	—	—	—	—	—	-tid
3 rd m.	-ay	hí-...-u	-u	-a	-u	haa-...-u	-o
f.	-ay	hí-...-u	-u	-a	-u	haa-...-u	-to
PL							
1 st	-ay	kí-...-u	-u	-a	-u	haa-...-u	-no
2 nd	—	—	—	—	—	—	-teen
3 rd	-ay	—	-u	—	-i	haa-...(-u)	-een

It is important to note that jussive is not marked for 2SG and 2PL in all Highland and Lowland East Cushitic languages except in the Lowland East Cushitic Somali as indicated above. Dasenech has distinct jussive suffix for first person plural exclusive which is *hí-...-u* (Sasse, 1976:209-210), and Somali has distinct jussive suffixes for prefix-inflecting verbs as shown below (Appleyard, 2012:255).

(31)	Affirmative jussive in prefix-inflecting Verbs (Somali)
1SG	i- ... -o
2SG	ti- ... -o
3SG.M	yi-... -o
3SG.F	ti- ... -o
1PL	ni-... -o
2PL	ti- ... -een
3PL	yi- ... -een

Negative jussive marking in some Lowland Cushitic languages such as Diraytata (Wondwosen, 2006:11), Gawwada (Geberew, 2003:59-60), Konso (Ongaye, 2013:164-165), Oromo (Abera, 1995:96; Gragg, 1976:188) and Somali (Appleyard, 2012) is given as follows.

(32)	Diraytata	Gawwada	Konso	Oromo	Somali
1SG	-adiy-on-u	hur-a	diif-u	hin-...-n	yaànan...-in
2SG	—	—	—	—	yaànad... -in
3SG.M	-adiy -u	hur-a	diif-u/in-...-i	hin-...-n	yaànu...-in
3SG.F	-adit-t-u	hur-t-a	diif-u/in-...-i	hin-...-n	yaàney...-in
1PL	-adiy-on-n-u	hur-r-a	diif-u	hin-...-n-u	yaànan...-in
2PL	—	—	—	—	yaànad...-in
3PL	-adiy-en-u	a-hur-en	diif-u/in-...-i	hin-...-n	yaàney...-in

So far we have a glimpse of affirmative and negative jussive marking in some East Cushitic languages. Now let us look at how Bayso expresses jussive.

In Bayso, jussive expresses request, permission, indirect command and polite order. It is also used to express wishes, to give blessings and cursings.

The affirmative jussive is marked with the circumfix morpheme **ha--o** except when 3PL is used as a clause subject in which case the suffix **-o** does not appear. The prefix **ha-** occurs immediately preceding the verb stem while **-o** occurs immediately following the verb stem. Observe the following affirmative jussive marking with verbs **aam-** ‘eat’ and **imin-** ‘buy’.

(33) **a. ani ha?aamo**

ani ha- aam -o
I JUSS- eat -JUS
 ‘Let me eat!’

b. ese ha?aanto

ese ha- am -t -o
she JUS. eat -3SG.F -JUS.
 ‘Let her eat!’

c. usu ha?aamo

usu ha- aam -o
he JUS. eat -JUS.
 ‘Let him eat.’

d. no ha?aamno

no ha- aam -n -o
we JUS- eat -1PL -JUS.
 ‘Let us eat!’

e. iso ha?aameen

iso ha- aam -e -en
they JUS- eat -PFV -3PL
 ‘Let them eat.’

ani ha?imino

ani ha- imin -o
I JUS- buy -JUS
 ‘Let me buy!’

ese ha? iminto

ese ha- imin -t -o
she JUS- buy -3SG.F -JUS.
 ‘Let her buy!’

usu ha?imino

usu ha- imin -o
he JUS- buy -JUS.
 ‘Let him buy!’

no ha?iminno

no ha- imin -n -o
we JUS- buy -1PL -JUS.
 ‘Let us buy!’

iso ha?imineen

iso ha- imin -e -en
they JUS. buy -PFV. -3PL
 ‘Let them buy!’

In examples ‘b’, ‘d’ and ‘e’, the clause subjects can be dropped since the verb forms can imply the subjects. In examples ‘a’ and ‘c’, the clause subjects cannot be dropped since the verb shows the same agreement form ‘*ha?aamo*’ for both clause subjects ‘ani’ and ‘usu’, respectively. In example, ‘e’ the verb is in its perfective form even though mood is not tense-aspect sensitive. Note that the

epenthetic glottal stop /ʔ/ is inserted between the jussive prefix *ha-* and the verb stem to avoid impermissible sequence of vowels.

With respect to affirmative jussive marking Bayso shares substantial features with most of the other Lowland East Cushitic languages particularly with Somali, Oromo and Dasenech.

As stated earlier, jussive in Bayso is used to express wishes and to give blessings. The following examples illustrate the use of jussive in these senses.

(34) a. *waa hasiso*

waa ha -sis -o
God JUS-give -JUS
 ‘Let God bless you!’

b. *min kaʔayyaanaa haleewo*

min ka-ayyaanaa ha- lee -w -o
house GEN-lucky JUS- BE -EPEN-JUS
 ‘Let the house be lucky!’

c. *min kagidi kafinna haleewo*

min ka- giddi ka-finna ha- lee -w -o
house GEN- animal GEN-children JUS- BE-EPEN-JUS
 ‘Let the house be in which children are born and animal are rearing.’

d. *erreb kabayso kaʔagaalsaro hayelo*

erreb ka- bayso ka- agaalsaro ha- yel -o
tongue GEN-Bayso ASC- education JUS- make-JUS
 ‘Let Bayso’s language be language of education.’

e. *woga kaka aroobaano*

woga ka- ka aroo- baan -o
culture POSS- our NEG- extinct -JUS
 ‘Let not our culture be extinct!’

Examples (34a, b, c) are expressions of blessings whereas examples (34d, e) are expressions of wish.

In Bayso, negative jussive is denoted by affixing the circumfix morpheme *aroo-...-o* to the verb stem invariably. Observe the following negative jussive marking with the verbs *aam* –‘eat’ and *imin* –‘buy’.

(35) a. **ese aroo?aamo**

ese aroo- aam –o
she NEG. eat –JUS
‘Let her not eat!’

b. **usu aroo?aamo**

usu aroo- aam –o
he NEG. eat –JUS
‘Let him not eat!’

c. **no aroo?aamo**

no aroo- aam –o
we NEG. eat –JUS
‘Let us not eat!’

d. **iso aroo?aamo**

iso aroo- aam –o
they NEG. eat –JUS
‘Let them not eat!’

ese aroo?imino

ese aroo- imin –o
she NEG. buy –JUS
‘Let her not buy!’

usu aroo?imino

usu aroo- imin –o
he NEG. buy –JUS
‘Let him not buy!’

no aroo?imino

no aroo- imin –o
we NEG. buy –JUS
‘Let us not buy!’

iso aroo?imino

iso aroo- imin –o
they NEG. buy –JUS
‘Let them not buy!’

As illustrated in the above examples, the form of the verb is the same for all numbers, genders and persons in the negative jussive construction which makes it different from negative imperative construction in which number and person are marked on the verb stem. Both negative imperative and negative jussive are marked by prefixing *aroo-* to the verb stem, but in case of negative jussive the suffix *–o* is attached on the verb stem in addition to the prefix *aroo-* as illustrated in the above examples.

Bayso shares a lot of features in negative jussive marking with most Lowland east Cushitic languages such as Diraytata (Wondwosen, 2006), Gawwada (Geberew, 2003), Konso (Ongaye, 2013), Oromo (Abera, 1995) and Somali (Appleyard, 2012). Both in Bayso and Oromo the jussive marker prefix *ha-* does not appear in the negative jussive.

5.3. Stative Verbs

Stative verbs are verbs that express a state rather than an action. In this study, the copula, verb of presence/existence and verb of possession are categorized as stative verbs for two basic reasons. First, they do not show action as ordinary verbs, and secondly they are inflected only for simple past and simple present tenses. In other words, they are not inflected for progressive aspects, present perfect, past perfect and past habitual like action verbs.

5.3.1. The Copula

In Bayso, the copula verb is denoted by the suffix *-y* that is attached to predicate noun, pronoun or adjective. Its function is to link the subject to its predicate. The copula ‘-y’ may appear in different forms to show concord with clause subjects. The form *-y* is attached on the predicate noun/predicate adjective when the clause subject is 1SG, 3SG.M, 3PL or when the noun with paucal suffix (‘paucal reference’) is used as subject of a clause, and *-t* is attached on the predicate noun/predicate adjective when the clause subject is 2SG, 3SG.F or 2PL. On the other hand, the form *-n* is attached on the predicate noun/predicate adjective when the subject of a clause is 1PL. Moreover, the plural marker *-an* is suffixed on the copula verb *-y* when the subject of a clause is 2PL or 3PL pronoun or a noun with paucal suffix *-dʒa*. The suffix *-an* marks plural in the present tense and *-en* marks plural in the past tense, and the difference is resulted from the assimilation of the segment /a/ in *-an* to the past tense marker *-e* suffixed on the copula verb. The paradigm with the copula in affirmative present and past tenses is summarized as follows.

(36)	PERSON	PRS.	PST.
	1SG/3SG.M.	-y -a	-y -e
	2SG/3SG.F	-t -a	-t -e
	1PL	-n -a	-n -e
	2PL	-t -a-an	-t -e-en
	3PL	-y -a-an	-t -e -en

As indicated above, the suffix *-a* marks affirmative present tense being directly added on the copula verb forms *-y*, *-t* and *-n*. On the otherhand, the suffix *-e* marks affirmative past tense being attached on the copula verb forms. As noted in the examples above, the same copula form *-y* is used with 1SG, 3SG.M and 3PL both in the present and past tenses except that the plural marker *-an/-en* is suffixed on the copula *-y* with 3PL. Similarly, the same copula form *-t* is used with 2SG, 3SG.F and 2PL both in the present and past tenses except that the plural marker *-a/-en* occurs following the copula with 2PL. The copula form *-n* is used with 1PL. Therefore, the copula form assumes three different shapes according to the type of clause subjects with which it occurs. The following sentential examples illustrate conjugation with copula verb both in the present and past tenses.

(37) PRESENT	PAST
a. ani ka?agaalsaataroya ani ka- agaalsaat-aro -y -a <i>I NMN- student -NMN-COP -PRS.</i> 'I am student.'	ani ka?agaalsaataroye ani ka- agaalsaat-aro -y -e <i>I NMN- student -NMN-COP -PST.</i> 'I was student.'
b. ati ka?agaalsaattotta ati ka- agaalsaat-to -t -t -a <i>you NMN-student-NMN-2SG-COP -PRS.</i> 'You (2SG) are student.'	ati ka?agaalsaattotte ati ka- agaalsaat-to -t -t -e <i>you NMN- student-NMN -2SG -COP -PST.</i> 'You were student.'
c. usu ka?agaalsaataroya usu ka- agaalsaat-aro -y -a <i>he NMN-student-NMN-COP -PRS.</i> 'He is student.'	usu ka?agaalsaataroye usu ka- agaalsaat-aro -y -e <i>he NMN- student-NMN-COP -PST.</i> 'He was student.'
d. ese ka?agaalsaattotta ese ta- agaalsaat-to -t -t -a <i>she NMN-student-NMN-3SG.F-COP-PRS.</i> 'She is student.'	ese ka?agaalsattotte ese ta- agaalsaat-to -t -t -e <i>she ASC- student-NMN -3SG.F -COP -PST.</i> 'She was student.'

As illustrated above, the copula is suffixed on predicate nouns being followed by number markers wherever number marking is required. Moreover, it shows concord with different clause subjects both in the present and past tenses. However, the appearance of the copula $-y$ as $-t$ and $-n$ when 3SG.F/2SG/2PL and 1PL are used as clause subjects seems to emanate from the assimilation of $-y$ to person or gender markers $-t$ and $-n$, respectively.

The negative present tense with copula is marked by prefixing the negative marker morpheme *lakko-* or *la-* (the short form) before predicate noun/predicate adjective and by suffixing the negative present tense marker $-o$ on the copula verb. However, the negative present tense marker $-o$ does not appear when 2PL and 3PL are used as clause subjects. Instead, the affirmative present tense marker $-a$ is maintained in the present negative tense as well, and this seems to be due to the influence of the plural suffix $-an$ which occurs following the present tense marker and which has similar segment $/-a/$ at its initial position. The negative past tense with copula is also marked by prefixing the negative marker morpheme *lakko-/la-* before predicate noun/predicate adjective, but the past tense marker $-e$ is consistently appeared with all number, person and gender just as in affirmative past tense with copula. The above points are illustrated in the following examples.

(38) PERSON	PRS. NEG.	PST. NEG.
1SG/3SG.M	lakko ...-y -o	lakko ... -y-e
2SG/3SG.F	lakko ...-t -o	lakko... -t-e
1PL	lakko ...-n -o	lakko... -n-e
2PL	lakko...-t -a-an	lakko... -t-e -en
3PL	lakko...-y-a-an	lakko ... -y-e -en

As illustrated above, the copula exhibits five agreement sets (-yo, -to, -no, -ta, -ya) in the negative present tense and three agreement sets (-ye, -te, -ne) in the negative past tense. The clause subjects 1SG, 3SG.M and 3PL require the same copula form -y in the negative past tense except that 3PL requires plural marker -en that occurs following the past tense marker -e. Similarly, the clause subjects 2SG, 3SG.F and 2PL require the same copula form -t in the negative past tense except that 2PL requires the plural marker -en occurs following the past tense marker -e. The following sentential examples illustrate both *negative present and negative past tenses* with the copula verb forms.

	NEG. PRS.	NEG. PST.
(39) a.	ani lakkoka?imayo	ani lakkoka?imaye
	ani lakko- ka?ima -y -o	ani lakko- ka?ima -y -e
	<i>I NEG- young -COP -PRS.</i>	<i>I NEG- young -COP -PST</i>
	‘I am not young.’	‘I was not young.’
b.	ati lakkoka?imatto	ati lakkoka?imatte
	ati lakko- ka?ima -t -t -o	ati lakko- ka?ima -t -t -e
	<i>you NEG- young -2SG-COP -PRS</i>	<i>you NEG- young -2SG -COP -PST</i>
	‘You are not young.’	‘You were not young.’
c.	usu lakkoka?imayo	usu lakkoka?imaye
	usu lakko- ka?ima -y -o	usu lakko- ka?ima -y -e
	<i>he NEG- young -COP -PRS.</i>	<i>he NEG- young -COP -PST</i>
	‘He is not young.’	‘He was not young.’
d.	ese lakkoka?imatto	ese lakko ka?imatte
	ese lakko- ka?ima -t -t -o	ese lakko- ka?ima -t -t -e
	<i>she NEG- young -3SG.F-COP -PRS.</i>	<i>she NEG- young -3SG.F-COP -PST</i>
	‘She is not young.’	‘She was not young.’

The copula -y appears when 1SG, 3SG.M and 3PL are used as clause subjects where person/gender is not marked, but it is assimilated to person/gender marker (-t/-n) when 2SG, 2PL and 3SG.F are used as clause subjects where person/gender marker is required. In other words, the

copula suffix *-y* is assimilated to person/gender marker and hence it assumes different shapes (*-y*, *-t* and *-n*).

5.3.2. Verb of Existence/Presence

In Bayso, the existence or presence of an entity or entities is/are asserted by using verb of presence/existence *gir-* with the meaning of ‘present/exist’. As mentioned earlier, the verb *gir-* is used as an auxiliary verb to denote progressive aspects being coordinated with the main verb without having overt lexical meaning of its own. However, it has its own lexical meaning when it is used as a main verb and when it stands alone. The verb of presence/existence behaves differently from other verbs (action verbs) in that it does not inflect to show present perfect, past perfect, habitual action and progressive aspects. It is inflected only to show present and past tenses. The present tense is marked by suffixing *-a* and the past tense is marked by suffixing *-e* on the existential verb *gir-*. Observe the following illustrative examples.

(40) PERSON	PRS.	PST.
1SG/3SG.M	<i>gir-a</i> > <i>gira</i>	<i>gir-e</i> > <i>gire</i>
2SG/3SG.F	<i>gir-t-a</i> > <i>girta</i> > <i>gitta</i>	<i>gir-t-e</i> > <i>girt-e</i> > <i>gitte</i>
1PL	<i>gir-n-a</i> > <i>girna</i> > <i>ginna</i>	<i>gir-n-e</i> > <i>girne</i> > <i>ginne</i>
2PL	<i>gir-t-a-an</i> > <i>girtaan</i> > <i>gittaaan</i>	<i>gir-t-e-en</i> > <i>girt-e-en</i> > <i>gitte-en</i>
3PL	<i>gir-a-an</i> > <i>giraan</i>	<i>gir-e-en</i> > <i>gireen</i>

As illustrated above, the verb of presence/existence assumes different shapes to show concord with the clause subjects. The person/gender marker suffix occurs following the verb **gir-** and preceding the tense markers *-a* and *-e*. The final segment of *gir-* is totally assimilated to person/gender marker (*-t* / *-n*) so that it appears as **git-** and **gin-** when 2SG, 3SG.F and 1PL are used as clause subjects. The following sentential examples illustrate the paradigm of *gir-* both in the present and past tenses.

(41) a. <i>ani gira</i>	<i>ani gire</i>
<i>ani gir -a</i>	<i>ani gir -e</i>
<i>I present -PRS.</i>	<i>I present -PST</i>
‘I am present.’	‘I was present.’
b. <i>ati gitta</i>	<i>ati gitte</i>
<i>ati gir -t -a</i>	<i>ati gir -t -e</i>
<i>you present -2SG -PRS.</i>	<i>you present -2SG -PST.</i>
‘You are present.’	‘You were present.’

So far the paradigm of *gir-* both in the present and past affirmative forms has been dealt with, and in what follows the present and past negative markings with *gir-* are explained.

The expression of negative present and negative past tenses with *gir-* follows the same pattern as negative present and negative past tenses with the copula. That is, the negative present tense marker **–o** is suffixed on the verb ***gir-*** in the negative present tense, and the past tense marker **–e** is suffixed on the verb ***gir-*** in the negative past tense. The negative marker morpheme ***lakko-*** occurs preceding the verb ***gir-***. Observe the following illustrative examples.

PERSON	NEG.PRS.	NEG.PST.
(42) 1SG/3SG.M	lakko-gir –o ➤ lakkogiro	lakko-gir–e ➤ lakkogire
2SG/3SG.F	lakko-gir-t-o ➤ lakkogitto	lakko-gir-t-e ➤ lakkogitte
1PL	lakko-gir-n-o ➤ lakkoginno	lakko-gir-n-e ➤ lakkoginne
2PL	lakko-gir-t-a-an ➤ lakkogittaaan	lakko-gir-t-e-en ➤ lakkogitteen
3PL	lakoo-gir-a-an ➤ lakkogiraan	lakko-gir-e-en ➤ lakkogireen

As illustrated above, the negative present tense marker **–o** appears with all persons except with 2PL and 3PL where the affirmative present tense marker or imperfective marker suffix **–a** is also maintained in the negative present tense just as in the copula. The suffix **–o** is directly attached on the verb ***gir-*** where person/gender is marked with empty morpheme, but it occurs following person/gender marker when gender/person is overtly marked with morpheme. The affirmative past tense marker or perfective marker suffix **–e** is consistently maintained in the negative past tense being suffixed on the verb ***gir-*** with all persons, gender and number. The assimilation of the final segment of the verb ***gir-*** to person and gender markers made it to assume different shapes, in fact, where person/ gender marker is overtly marked. The following sentential examples illustrate the full paradigm of the verb ***gir-*** both in the negative present and negative past tenses.

NEG.PRS.	NEG.PST
(43) a. ani lakkogiro	ani lakkogire
ani lakko- gir –o	ani lakko- gir –e
<i>I NEG- present –NEG.PRS.</i>	<i>I NEG- present–PST.</i>
‘I am not present.’	‘I wasn not present.’
b. ese lakkogitto	ese lakkogitte
ese lakko- gir –t –o	ese lakko- gir –t –e
<i>she NEG- present –3SG.F –NEG.PRS.</i>	<i>she NEG- present –3SG –PST.</i>
‘She isn’t.’	‘She wasn’t present.’

c. **isin lakkogittaaan**

isin lakko- gir -t -a -an
you NEG- present -2PL -PRS. -3PL
 ‘You are not present.’

isin lakkogitteen

isin lakko- gir -t -e -en
you NEG- present -2PL -PST -3PL
 ‘You were not present.’

As denoted in the above illustrative sentences, the agreement markers (person/gender, number) are distinctly and consecutively attached on the verb *gir-* both in the negative present and negative past tenses. The suffix **-an** marks 2PL and 3PL plural both in the affirmative present tense and in the negative present tense whereas the suffix **-en** marks 2PL and 3PL plural both in the affirmative past tense and in the negative past tense. The suffix **-o** marks negative present tense except when the 2PL and the 3PL are used as clause subjects just as in the copula verb.

5.3.3. The Verb “to have”

In Bayso, the verb “*ab-*” is used to express possession/ownership. But it has two meanings: “have” and “hold”. The two senses have different conjugation systems. As an ordinary verb with the meaning ‘hold’, it is conjugated just like ordinary verbs (action verbs). As verb of possession, however, it exhibits the same feature as verb of presence/existence (*gir-*). That is, it is inflected only for present and past tenses. In other words, it is not inflected for progressive aspects, present and perfect tenses and future tense. The present tense is marked by suffixing **-a**, and the past tense is marked by attaching an auxiliary like suffix “**-anaay-**” and past tense marker **-e**. Observe the conjugation of verb ***ab-*** “possess/have” both in the affirmative present and affirmative past tenses.

	PERSON	PRS.	PST.
(44)	1SG/3SG.M	ab-a ‘I/He have/has.’	ab-anaay-e ‘I/He had.’
	2SG/3SG.F	ab-t-a ‘You/she have/has.’	ab-anaay-i-t-e ‘You/she had.’
	1PL	ab-n-a ‘We have.’	ab-anaay-i-n-e ‘We had.’
	2PL	ab-t-a-an ‘You have.’	ab-anaay-i-t-e-en ‘You had.’
	3PL	ab-a-an ‘They have.’	ab-anaay-e-en ‘They had.’

As shown above, the conjugation of verb “to have” in the affirmative present tense behaves just like as in the verb “*gir-*” and the copula. However, the conjugation of verb “to have” in the past affirmative is a little bit different from the conjugation of verb “*gir-*” and the copula since the auxiliary like suffix **-anaay** is attached on ***ab-*** preceding the agreement markers. Observe the following illustrative sentences both in the present and past conjugation with verb “to have”.

	PRS.	PST.
(45)		
a.	ese min abta ese min ab -t -a <i>she house has -3SG.F-PRS.</i> 'She has a house.'	ese min abanaayite ese min ab -anaay -i -t -e <i>she house has -AUX.SUF-EPEN-3SG-PST.</i> 'She had a house.'
b.	no min abna no min ab -n -a <i>we house has -1PL-PRS.</i> 'We have a house.'	no min abanaayine no min ab -anaay -i -n -e <i>we house have -AUX.SUF-EPEN-1PL-PST.</i> 'we had a house.'
c.	isin min abtaan isin min ab -t -a -an <i>you house has -2PL-PRS. -2PL</i> 'You have a house.'	isin min abanaayiteen isin min ab -anaay -i -t -e -en <i>you house have -AUX.SUF-EPEN-2PL-PST-2PL</i> 'You had a house.'

As illustrated above under (44) and (45), the affirmative present tense is marked by suffixing *-a* on the verb **ab-** just like in other stative verbs such as the verb “gir-” and the copula. However, it is highly deviated both from ordinary verbs and the verb of presence/existence ‘gir-’ and the copula as it requires additional auxiliary like suffix *-anaay* in the past tense paradigm.

The negative present tense and the negative past tense with verb “to have” is marked in the same way as it is marked with ordinary verbs and other special verbs (the verb “gir-” and the copula). The following examples illustrate negative present and negative past paradigms with verb “to have”.

	Person	NEG. PRS.	NEG. PST.
(46)	1SG/3SG.M	lakko-ab-o 'I/He don't/doesn't have.'	lakko-ab-anaay-e
	2SG/3SG.F	lakko-ab-t-o 'You/She don't/doesn't have.'	lakko-ab-anaay-i-t-e
	1PL	lakko-ab-n-o 'We don't have.'	lakko-ab-anaay-i-n-e
	2PL	lakko-ab-t-a-an 'You don't have.'	lakko-ab-anaay-i-t-e-en
	3PL	lakko-ab-a-an 'They don't have'	lakko-ab-anaay-e-en

As shown above, the negative present tense with verb “to have” is marked by prefixing **lakko-** and by suffixing *-o* on the verb stem **ab-**, but the suffix *-o* does not appear when 2PL and 3PL are used as clause subjects in which case the affirmative present tense marker *-a* is maintained. The negative past tense is also marked by prefixing **lakko-** to verb “to have” while the affirmative past/perfective marker suffix *-e* is invariably maintained in the negative past paradigm as well.

The following sentential examples illustrate the conjugation of verb “to have” in the negative present tense.

(47) a. **ani min lakko?abo**

ani min lakko ab –o
I house NEG. have –NEG.PRS.
 ‘I have not a house.’

b. **ati min lakko?abto**

ati min lakko ab –t –o
you house NEG. have –2SG –NEG.PRS.
 ‘You have not a house.’

c. **usu min lakko?abo**

usu min lakko ab –o
he house NEG. has –NEG.PRS.
 ‘He hasn’t a house.’

As it can be noted from the above examples, the affirmative present tense marker or imperfective marker suffix *–a* does not appear in the negative present conjugation with verb “to have” when 1SG, 2SG, 3SG. M., 3SG.F and 1PL are used as clause subjects as shown in (46). In these cases, its place is taken by the suffix *–o*. This suggests that the suffix *–o* is imperfective marker in the negative present tense rather than negative marking suffix. On the other hand, the negative marker vowel suffix *–o* does not appear in the 2PL and 3PL even though it is anticipated immediately before the plural marker *–an* which is attributed to the influence of the first segment of the plural marker *–an* itself. The negative perfective/past tense is also marked by prefixing **lakko-** to verb “to have”, and the past tense marker *–e* is maintained in the same way as in the affirmative perfective/past tense, that is, negation does not affect the perfective marker (cf. 46 under negative past column).

5.4. Verbal Negation

Negation with ordinary (action) verbs also follows the same pattern as negation with stative verbs described above. Generally, the prefix **lakko-** or its short form **la-** is prefixed to the verb stem to mark negative declarative clause in Bayso. The following examples denote verbal negation in the present tense with the verb **imin-** ‘buy’.

	PERSON	NEG. PRS./IPFV	GLOSS
(48)	1SG/3SG.M	lakko-imin-aro	‘I/He do not/does not buy.’
	2SG/3SG.F	lakko-imin-atto	‘You/She do not/does not buy.’
	1PL	lakko-imin-anno	‘We do not buy.’
	2PL	lakko-imin-atta-an	‘You do not buy.’
	3PL	lakko-imin-ara-an	‘They do not buy.’

As indicated above, the negative marker ‘lakko-’ is invariably prefixed to the verb ‘imin-’ and the final segment of the affirmative present tense marker/present habitual marker *-ara* is changed to *-o* in the negative present tense or in the negative imperfective conjugation. Hence, the suffix *-aro* marks negative present tense/ negative imperfective aspect. Moreover, person/gender marker is not overtly marked on the verb stem in the negative present tense, rather, it is implied within the negative present tense marker *-aro* where 2SG, 3SG.F, 1PL and 2PL are used as clause subjects. Hence, the negative present tense marker suffix (‘-aro’) is directly suffixed on the verb stem, and it assumes different shapes to agree with the clause subjects.

The negative present tense or negative imperfective marker *-aro* does not appear when 2PL and 3PL are used as clause subjects in which case the affirmative imperfective marker *-ara* is maintained. The negative past tense or negative perfective aspect is also marked by prefixing the negative marker *lakko-* to the verb stem while the affirmative past tense marker or affirmative perfective aspect marker *-e* is invariably maintained in the negative past tense or in the negative perfective aspect, too. The following examples illustrate negation in the past tense or perfective aspect.

	PERSON	NEG. PST/PFV	GLOSS
(49)	1SG/3SG.M	lakko-imin-e	‘I/He did not buy.’
	2SG/3SG.F	lakko-imin-t-e	‘You/She did not buy.’
	1PL	lakko-imin-n-e	‘We did not buy.’
	2PL	lakko-imin-t-e-en	‘You did not buy.’
	3PL	lakko-imin-e-en	‘They did not buy.’

As indicated above, negative past tense or negative perfective aspect is simply marked by prefixing the negative marker *lakko-* to the verb stem while the affirmative perfective marker or affirmative past tense marker *-e* is maintained in the negative past tense as well.

In subordinate clause, negation is marked by affixing the circumfix *an- ... -(n)oon* or simply by suffixing *-(n)oon* on the verb stem as illustrated in the following examples.

(50). a. ati bariino go?emennoon no lakkoeselno

ati bariino go- emet –noon no lakko- esel –n –o
you morning if- come –NEG we not- meet -IPL –IPFV.NEG

‘If you do’t come early in the morning, we won’t meet.’

b. aabbo kaki iin maragde gosisoon walabo lakkoiminaynaro

aabbo ka- ki iin maragade go- sis –oon walabo
father ASC- my me money if- give –NEG boat

lakko- imin –ay –naro

not- buy –ABEN –FUT.NEG

‘If my father doesn’t give me money, I won’t buy a boat.’

c. hikka dubba ka?uratero ili ka?ammagamero orroo diyaategure hikka dubba anfeelon
 andaafuroon hamas’s’ii go?aame laleerolla ame

hikka dubba ka- urat –ero ili ka- ammag –am –ero
this all REL- produce –PFV eye REL- bound –PASS –PFV

orroo dii –at –e –gure hikkka dubba an- fel –oon

in see –ABEN –PFV –SUBO this all NEG- work –NEG

an- daafur –oon hamas’s’ –ii go- aam –e la- leero –lla

NEG- toil –NEG sit –GUR if- eat –PFV not- enough –INTRO.

‘Having seen the abundant wealth that he has made, “ is it not enough for me if I eat all the property that I have already produced with out working or with out toiling”, he said.’

As illustrated in examples (51a & b) above, the negative marker suffix *–(n)oon* is used to denote negative imperfective verb in the subordinate clause whereas the prefix *lakko-* denotes negative verb in the main clause. In example (51c), the circumfix *an- ... –(n)oon* denotes negation. The suffix *–ero* marks perfective aspect in the subordinate clause as in indicated in (50c above).

Negation in the subordinate clause may also be expressed by using the negative verb stem *waat-* when the verb in the subordinate clause is in the perfective aspect as shown in (51).

(51) idaamo kele ubay waatewa no giddit[ʃo galinanne

idaamo kele ubay waat –e –wa no giddicho
rain yesterday rain NEG –PFV –FOC we giddicho

gal –i –narne

go home –EPEN –FUT.PFV

‘If the rain hadn’t rained yesterday, we would have gone Giddicho.’

The negative verb ‘*waat-*’ is always used in the perfective aspect, and hence it expresses negative perfective verb in the subordinate clause (cf.7.3.1.2, 24f).

5.5. Interrogative Expressions with Verbs

In Bayso, the interrogative clause is not marked by attaching an affix to the verb stem. Both declarative clause and interrogative clause are structurally the same; they are distinguished only with intonation. Accordingly, the declarative clause is marked with falling intonation whereas the interrogative clause is marked with raising intonation. However, in ‘yes/no’ questions, the suffix *-lla* is suffixed on the verb stem to mark affirmative interrogative clause. Observe the following illustrative examples.

(52) **a. usu kuun bir sisella**

usu kuu –n bir sis –e –lla
he you –DAT birr give –PFV –INTRO.

‘Did he give you birr?’

b. iso haa amella

iso haa am –e –lla
they like this say –PFV –INTRO.

‘Did they say like this?’

As illustrated above, the interrogative marker suffix *-lla* is attached on the verb stem, and it changed the declarative clauses into interrogative clauses. The answer to these questions is either *i’ii sise* ‘yes, he gave’ or *lakko-/lassie* ‘He did not ’; *i’ii ame* ‘yes, they said’ or *lakko-/la?ame* ‘no, they did not say’, respectively. On the other hand, the negative interrogative clause is marked by prefixing *la-* (the short form of *lakko-* which is the general negative marker in the negative declarative clause) to the verb stem in addition to suffixing *-lla* on the verb stem. Both ‘*lakko-*’ and its short form ‘*la-*’ marks negative declarative clause, but only the short form *la-* marks negative interrogative clause in yes/no questions. Observe the following illustrative examples.

(53) **a. ani kuun bir lasisella**

ani kuu –n bir la- sis –e –lla
I you –DAT birr NEG- give –PFV –INTRO.

‘Did not I give you birr?’

b. usu haa laʔamella

usu haa la- am –e –lla
he like this NEG- say –PFV –INTRO.

‘Did not he say like this?’

Just as in the affirmative interrogative clause, the answer to the negative interrogative clause with yes/no question could be either *iʔi sisse* ‘yes, you did’ or *lasisse* ‘no, you did not.’; *iʔi ame* ‘yes he did’ or *laʔame* ‘no, he did not say’ for negative interrogative clauses ‘a, and ‘b’ above. Note that interrogative clauses are also formed by using question words.

5.6. Verbal Derivation

Verbal extensions are derivational suffixes that alter the meaning and often the argument structure of the verb (Childs, 2003). The verb stems are derived by adding suffixes on verb stem just as in most of other Cushitic languages. Three distinct verb stems such as passive, causative and autobenefactive are derived through suffixation, and the frequentative verb stems are derived through partial reduplication of the verb stem. Still more complex verb stems can be derived by combining two or more of derivational suffixes. Accordingly, complex verb stems such as causative passive, frequentative causative, frequentative passive and frequentative causative passive verb stems can be derived. In addition, inchoative verb stems can be derived from other word categories such as nouns and adjectives. There are no reflexive and reciprocal derived verb stems in Bayso, and these are expressed by using independent lexical item *isi* and its reduplicated form *isi isi*, respectively (cf. 4.5).

5.6.1. Passivization

Passivization changes transitive verbs into intransitive . It changes the argument structure of the transitive verb since the object of transitive verb becomes subject of the passive verb, and the subject of the transitive verb is dropped from the sentence structure. The passive verb possesses only a single argument which is the subject of the sentence and receiver of the action at the same time.

The passive verb stem is derived by suffixing *–am* on verb stem just as in other Cushitic languages such as Afar (Bliese, 1976:145) Oromo (Gragg, 1976:186), Highland East Cushitic (Hudson, 1976:271), Sidama (Kawachi, 2007:333), Dirayatata (Wondwosen, 2006:112), Konso (Ongaye, 2013:147), Somali (Appleyard, 2012:253) and Gawwada (Gebberew, 2003:51). The passive suffix *–am* appears as *–an* when it is followed by alveolar /t/ that occurs due to

assimilation process (cf. 52 'b' and 'f' below). The following data shows derived passive verb stems in Bayso.

(54)	Verb Root	PASS.	Verb Root	PASS.
	imin- 'buy'	imin-am 'be bought'	riit- 'grind'	riit-am 'be ground'
	lagad- 'kill'	lagad-am 'be killed'	ot- 'cultivate'	ot-am 'be cultivated'
	het- 'steal'	het-am 'be stolen'	aalis- 'wash'	aalis-am 'be washed'
	madaar- 'build'	madaar-am 'be built'	ƙaƙaar- 'clean'	ƙaƙaar-am 'be cleaned'
	goos- 'cut'	goos –am 'be cut'	het- 'steal'	het –am 'be stolen'
	udul- 'pound'	udul –am 'be pounded'	gub- 'burn'	gub –am 'be burnt'

As it is noted from the above data, all the verbs are transitive, and the passive suffix is attached on the transitive verb stems to derive passive verb stems.

As stated above, the agent is not required in Bayso when the active verb is changed into passive verb. The agentive or the doer of the action is totally dropped and the receiver of the action becomes the subject of the passive verb. The inclusion of agent or doer of the action as an object of passive construction makes the sentence ungrammatical. The following examples illustrate sentence structures with active and passive verb stems.

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(55)	a. ani walabo oye	walabo owaame
	ani walabo oy –e	walabo oy –am –e
	<i>I boat make –PFV</i>	<i>boat make –PASS –PFV</i>
	'I made the boat.'	'The boat was made.'
	b. usu ese base	ese basante
	usu ese bas –e	ese bas –am –t –e
	<i>he her hit –PFV</i>	<i>she hit –PASS –3SG.F –PFV</i>
	'He hit her.'	'She was hit.'
	c. heto se hette	se hetante
	heto se het –t –e	se het –am –t –e
	<i>thief cow steal –3SG.F –PFV</i>	<i>cow steal –PASS –3SG.F –PFV</i>
	'A thief stole a cow.'	'The cow was stolen.'

As illustrated in the above examples, the passive marker morpheme *–am* is directly suffixed on the verb stem consecutively followed by person/gender, tense and number markers. Passive construction with all tenses follows the same pattern. That is the derivation suffix, in this case passive suffix, occurs before agreement markers.

5.6.2. Causativization

Causativized verb stem indicates that someone force or make someone else to perform an action denoted by the clause. Causativization changes intransitive verb into transitive verb, but it does not affect transitive verb as the transitive verb maintains its transitivity when it is changed to causative stem. In most Cushitic languages causative verb is derived by suffix *-s/-siis*. For example, in Highland East Cushitic languages causative verb stem is derived by suffixes *-s/-sii(s)* (Hudson, 1976:271). In some Lowland East Cushitic languages causative verb stem is derived by the following suffixes.

(56)	Language	Causative Suffixes	
	Afar	-s/-siis	(Bliese, 1976:144)
	Dasenech	-s/-is/-sis	(Sasse, 1976:216)
	Diraytata	-i/-osi	(Wondwosen, 2006:121)
	Gawwada	-as/-as-as	(Geberew, 2003:54)
	Konso	-ʃ, -acciiis, -(n)ays/-(n)af	(Ongaye, 2013:139)
	Oromo	-s, -sis ~siis	(Gragg, 1976:186)
	Somali	-i(y)- /-s-, -sii-, -ays/-ee-	(Appleyard, 2012:253)

In Bayso, as in most East Cushitic languages, causative verb stem is derived by suffixing *-s*, *-is*, *-iis*, or *-siis* to the verb stem. Their distribution is phonologically conditioned. The causative suffix *-s* derives causative verbs from verb stems that end with vowel, and the suffix *-is* derives causative verb forms from verb stems that end with voiced consonants. The suffix *-iis*, on the other hand, derives causative verbs from verb stems that end with voiceless consonants. The epenthetic vowel *-i* is inserted between the verb stem and causative suffix when causativization results in unacceptable cluster that may occur at a morpheme boundary. In addition, the suffix *-aas* derives causative verb stems from adjective stems. Observe the five sets of causativization processes given below.

(57)	ROOT VERB	CAUS. Suffix	CAUS V. STEM
Set 1	kee- ‘stand’	-s	kees- ‘cause someone to stand’
	bee- ‘go out’	-s	bees- ‘cause someone to go out’
Set 2	t’am- ‘drink’	-is	t’amis- ‘cause someone to drink’
	aam ‘eat’	-is	aamis- ‘make someone eat’
	lagad- ‘kill’	-is	lagadis- ‘cause someone to kill’
	huudur- ‘sleep’	-is	hudduris- ‘make someone sleep’

	osol- ‘laugh’	-is	osolis- ‘cause someone to laugh’
Set 3	boc’- ‘flog’	-iis	boc’iis- ‘make someone flog’
	felk’- ‘float’	-iis	felk’iis- ‘cause sth. to float.’
	ot- ‘plough’	-iis	otiis- ‘cause to plough’
	of- ‘dig’	-iis	of-iis- ‘make someone dig’
	gudins- ‘finish’	-iis	gudins-iis- ‘make someone finish’
	goos- ‘cut.’	-iis	goos-iis- ‘make someone cut.’
Set 4	fel- ‘work’	-siis	fel-siis- ‘have someone make sb. do sth.’
	iyy- ‘cry’	-siis	iyy –i –siis- ‘have someone make sb. cry’
	kee	-siis	keesiis- ‘have someone make sb. stand’
	t’am-	-siis	t’amsiis- ‘have someone make sb. Drink’
	boc’-	-siis	boc’ –i-siis ‘boc’isiis- ‘have someone beat sb.’
	aam-	-siis	aamsiss ‘have someone make sb. Eat’
Set 5	cimaa- ‘strong’	-aas	cimaas- ‘make/cause sth. becomes strong’
	bal’aa ‘wide’	-aas	bal’aaas ‘make wide’

The causative suffixes *-s*, *-is*, *-iis* and *-aas* show direct causative, that is, when a person directly makes/causes other person/persons to do something. The other causative suffix *-siis* is used when a person had someone else to make other persons to do something, that is, it marks indirect causative or double causative. First, let us consider the direct causative in the following sentences.

(58) a. **abdiisaa deelelja osolise**

abdisaa deelel –ja osol –is –e
Abdisa girl – PAC laugh –CAUS –PRV
 ‘Abdisa made few girls laugh.’

b. **baallamo jiisaas huddurise**

baallamo yiisaas uddur –is –e
Ballamo children sleep –CAUS. –PFV
 ‘Ballamo made the children sleep.’

c. **daraartu walabo beke orroo felk’iiste**

daraaraartu walabo beke orroo felk’ –iis –t –e
Derartu boat water in float –CAUS. –3SG.F –PFV
 ‘Deraratu made the boat float in the water.’

As illustrated in the above examples, there are two participants in each sentence: the subject or agent which instigates or causes the action and the object which is directly affected by the action

of the agent. In this case, the agents have performed the action themselves without having another person to do the action which indicates the direct causative. For example, in sentence ‘b’ above, the agent ‘ballamo’ directly instigated the action of sleeping without having another person to do the action. In the indirect causative, however, there are three participants: the causer or subject, the cause or object or agent and the entity affected. Observe the following sentences that illustrate the indirect causative.

(59) a. **baallamo abdiisa jiisaas huddursiise**

ballamo abdiisa yiisaas huddur –siis –e
Ballamo Abdisa children sleep –CAUS –PFV
 ‘Ballamo had Abdisa made children sleep.’

b. **abdisa daraartuu sarsi aalissiise**

abdisa daraartuu sarsi aalis –siis –e
Abdisa Derartu cloth wash –CAUS –PFV
 ‘Abdisa made Derartu wash cloth.’

c. **helatte hal?aandzii min madaarsiise**

helatte hal?aanjii min madaar-siis –e
Helatte Hala?anji house build-CAUS –PFV
 ‘Helatte had Hal’anji build a house.’

As stated above, the indirect causative or double causative is marked by suffixing –siis on the verb stem. In this case, the causer of the action did not directly perform the action himself or herself. Rather, he/she had some other person to cause someone else to do something. Therefore, three participants are involved in the indirect causative. For example, in sentence ‘a’ above ‘ballamo’ is causer, ‘abdiisa’ is causee or direct agent and ‘yiisaas’ is the entity affected by the action. The following data further distinguishes direct and indirect causative suffixes.

(60) VERB STEM	DIRECT CAUS.	INDIRECT CAUS.
fel- ‘work’	fel- <u>iis</u> -	fel- <u>siis</u> -
goos- ‘cut’	goos- <u>iis</u> -	goos- <u>i-siis</u> -
gudins- ‘finish’	gudins- <u>iis</u> -	gudins- <u>i-siis</u> -
of- ‘dig’	of- <u>iis</u> -	of- <u>i-siis</u> -
ot- ‘plough/till’	ot- <u>iis</u> -	ot- <u>i-siis</u> -
osol- ‘laugh’	osol-is-	osol- <u>siis</u> -
huddur- ‘sleep’	huddur- <u>is</u> -	huddur-siis-
aam- ‘eat’	aam- <u>is</u> -	aam-siis-

In Bayso, both transitive and intransitive verbs are causativized in the same way by attaching one of the causative suffixes listed above based on the verb stem endings as illustrated above. Hence, the causative form of transitive verb *lagad-* ‘kill’ is *lagd-is-* ‘cause to die’, and the causative forms of the intransitive verbs such as *huddur-* ‘sleep’ and *hamas’s’-* ‘sit’ are *huddur-is-* ‘cause to sleep’ and *hamas’s’ -iis-* ‘make to sit’, respectively. The indirect causative stem of the verb stems ‘*lagad-*’, ‘*huddur-*’ and ‘*hamas’s’-*’ are derived as ‘*lagadisiis-*’, *huddursiis-*’ and ‘*hamas’s’iis-*’, respectively. Therefore, there is no distinction between causativization of transitive and intransitive verbs in Bayso.

In Bayso, causativization can be expressed syntactically by using the verb stem *yel-* ‘make’ as shown in the following examples.

(61) a. **baallamo jiisaas isisi gogboboc’aaro jele**

baallamo yiisaas isisi goggo- boboc’ –aaro yel –e
Ballamo children one another to- hit -IPFV make –PFV
 ‘Ballamo made the children hit one another.’

b. **usu iso isisi goggolallagadaaraan jele**

usu iso isisi goggo- lallagad –aara –an yel –e
he they one another to- kill –IPFV -3PL make –PFV
 ‘He made them kill one another.’

The verb stem *yel-* expresses direct causative, and it usually requires two arguments as illustrated in the examples ‘a’ and ‘b’ above.

5.6.3. Frequentative

In many Cushitic languages intensive or frequentative verb stems are formed by partial or total reduplication of the base form (Appleyard, 2012:209). This is attested in Highland East Cushitic language Sidama (Hudson, 1976:272), and in Lowland East Cushitic languages such as Afar (Blisese, 1976:142), Dasenech (Sasse, 1976:215), Gawwada (Geberew, 2003:55) and Oromo (Gragg, 1976:187).

In Bayso, as in many Cushitic languages, the frequentative verb stem that shows intensity of actions or repeated actions is derived by reduplicating part of the monosyllabic verb stem or by repeating part of the first syllable of more than one syllable verb stem. If the onset of the syllable or the onset of the first syllable in more than one syllabic verb stem (which is usually the repeated part) is a vowel, the glottal stop is inserted between the original vowel segment and its

corresponding reduplicated segment as in *ot* - / *oʔot*- ; *iggillis*- / *iʔiggillis*-, and if the first syllable of a verb stem is a short or a long vowel , the whole first syllable is repeated in the reduplicated form which again requires the insertion of glottal stop between the original vowel and the repeated one as in *ebis*- / *eʔebis*- and *aalis*- / *aaʔaalis*- The following examples demonstrate derivation of frequentative verb stems in Bayso.

(62) ROOT VERB	FREQUENTATIVE VERB STEM
boc'- 'whip'	bobboc'- 'whip repeatedly'
gub- 'burn'	guggub- 'burn again and again/repeatedly'
tag- 'mow/uproot'	tattag- 'mow/uproot again and again'
bas- 'beat'	babbas- 'beat repeatedly'
kib- 'add'	kikkib- 'add repeatedly'
ot- 'cultivate'	oʔot- 'cultivate repeatedly'
ebis - 'break'	eʔebis - 'break repeatedly'
daddal- 'sell'	daddaddal 'sell repeatedly'
belʔees- 'split'	bebbelʔees- 'split repeatedly'
imin- 'buy'	iʔimin- 'buy repeatedly'
aalis- 'wash'	aaʔaalis- 'wash repeatedly'
iggillis- 'change'	iʔiggillis- 'change repeatedly'

If the onset of the syllable in case of monosyllabic verb stem or the onset of the first syllable in case of more than one syllabic verb stem is a consonant, it is geminated in the frequentative verb stem as illustrated in the above data. Hence, the form CVC- becomes CVCCVC- as in boc'- –bobboc'- and gub- guggub- and daddal- daddaddal. If the first syllable is V as in *ebis*-, VV as in *aalis*- or VC as in *iggillis*- the glottal stop is inserted between the repeated syllable or the onset of a syllable which is a vowel.

5.6.4. Middle Voice

The auto middle voice shows that the clause subject performs the action denoted by the verb for his or her own benefit. In most Cushitic languages auto-benefactive or middle verb stem is derived by suffix. Hudson (1976:272) identified the the following auto-benefactive or middle suffixes in the Highland East Cushitic languages.

(63)	Language	Auto-benefactive/Middle Suffix
	Burji	-ad/ -dʰ
	Darasa	-at/-dʰ
	Hadiyya	-dʰ
	Kambata	-akkʰ - /-dʰ
	Sidamo	-r (< -dʰ)

Almost similar auto-benefactive/middle suffixes are identified in Lowland East Cushitic languages such as Dasenech, Diraytata, Gawwada, Oromo and Somali.

(64)	Language	Auto-benefactive/Middle Suffix
	Dasenech	-t (Sasse, 1976:216)
	Diraytata	-adʰ/ -at (Wondwosen, 2006:119)
	Gawwada	-adʰ (Geberew, 2003:54)
	Oromo	-addʰ/ -at (Gragg, 176:185)
	Somali	-at; variants -t/-adʰ/-an (Appleyard, 2012:253)

In Bayso, the middle verb stem is derived by attaching the suffix *-at* on the verb stem. It appears as *-ay* when the 1SG is used as subject of a clause (cf. 66‘a’ below) and with all persons when the verb is non-finite or when the verb occurs with infinitive marker *-n* as in *iminayiin* (imin *-ay* *-ii* *-n*) ‘to buy for oneself’ and *aalisayiin* (aalis *-ay* *-ii* *-n*) ‘wash for oneself’. The following examples demonstrate derivation of auto-benefactive verb stems.

(65)	VERB STEM	ABEN.
	imin- ‘buy’	imin-at- ‘buy for oneself’
	ot- ‘farm’	ot-at- ‘cultivate for oneself’
	aalis- ‘wash’	aalis-at- ‘wash for oneself’
	madaar- ‘build’	madaar-at- ‘build for oneself’
	ab- ‘hold’	ab-at- ‘hold for oneself’
	goos- ‘cut’	goos-at- ‘cut for oneself’

Observe the following sentential examples constructed with auto-benefactive verb forms derived from verb stems *imin* – ‘buy’ and *goos*- ‘cut’.

(66)	a. ani min iminaye	b. ati min iminatte
	ani min imin <i>-ay</i> <i>-e</i>	ati min imin <i>-at</i> <i>-t</i> <i>-e</i>
	<i>I house buy</i> <i>-ABEN. -PFV</i>	<i>you house buy</i> <i>-ABEN -2SG -PFV</i>
	‘I bought a house for myself.’	‘You bought for yourself.’

c. usu min iminate

usu min imin –at –e
he house buy –ABEN –PFV
 ‘He bought a house for himself.’

d. ese min iminatte

ese min imin –at –t –e
she house buy –ABEN –3SG.F –PFV
 ‘She bought for herself.’

e. no ees goosanne

no ees goos –at –n –e
we grass cut –ABEN –1PL –PFV
 ‘We cut grass for ourselves.’

f. isin ees goosatteen

isin ees goos –at –t –e –en
you grass cut –ABEN –2PL –PFV –2PL
 ‘You cut grass for yourselves.’

As illustrated in the examples above, the clause subjects perform the action indicated by the verb for his, her or their own benefit. For instance, in (66a), the subject ‘ani’ did the action of buying a house for himself. In the same way, in (66f), the subject ‘isin’ did the action of cutting grass for their own benefit. In example (66a), the auto-benefactive marker *–at* appears as *–ay* to show concord with 1SG, and in (62e), it appears as *–an* since the final segment of *–at* is assimilated to the 1PL marker *–n*.

There are some auto-benefactive verb forms that lack any meaningful simple stem/base. That is, they are not derived from any verb stem, and what seems the stem in each of them does not have clear meaning without the auto-benefactive suffix *–at*. In fact, all Bayso verbs are bound bases/stems, but their meaning is clear even though they do not stand alone. The following middle/ auto-benefactive verb forms are not derived from any meaningful stems.

- (67) at –at ‘take for oneself’
 al –at ‘be born’
 sars –at ‘wear for oneself’
 ur –at- ‘produce for oneself’
 abs –at- ‘fear for oneself’
 kop’p’ –at- ‘make preparation for oneself’

Among the auto-benefactive verb stems listed above, the verb ‘sarsat-’ and ‘absat-’ seem to be derived from noun stems *sarsi* ‘cloth’ and *absi* ‘fear’, respectively. The remaining ones do not have any traceable derivation. The causative and passive verb stems cannot be derived from these type of verbs.

It is possible to derive more complex verb stems by combining one or more of verbal derivational suffixes like causative + passive, frequentative + passive, frequentative + causative, and frequentative + causative + passive. The frequentative verb stem can combine with all the other verb stems as illustrated below.

5.6.5. Passivized Frequentative

The frequentative passive verb stems are derived by suffixing passive marker *-am* on frequentative verb stem as follows.

(68) FREQUENTATIVE	PASSIVIZED FREQUENTATIVE
mammadaar – ‘build repeatedly’	mammadaar –am- ‘be built repeatedly’
goggoos – ‘cut repeatedly’	goggoos –am- ‘be cut repeatedly’
babbas – ‘hit repeatedly’	babbas –am- ‘be hit repeatedly’
o’ot – ‘cultivate repeatedly’	o’ot –am- ‘be cultivated intensively’
guggub- ‘burn repeatedly’	guggub –am ‘be burnt repeatedly’

As illustrated in the above example, the addition of passive suffix on the frequentative verb stem produce a complex verb stem – passivized frequentative verb stem.

5.6.6. Passivized Causative

The causative passive verb stems can be derived by attaching the passive suffix *-am* on the causative verb stem as illustrated below. This process results in more complex verb forms that contain more than one morpheme. Observe the following examples.

(69) CAUS V. STEM	PASSIVIZED CAUS.
shakaar –siis ‘cause/make to clean’	shakaar –siis –am ‘be caused to clean’
goos –iis ‘cause /make to cut’	goos –siis –am ‘be caused to cut’
aallis –iis ‘cause/make wash’	aallis –iis –am ‘be caused/made to cut’
imin –siis ‘cause/make to buy’	imin –siis –am ‘be made to buy.’
lagad –is ‘cause to/make kill’	lagad –is –am ‘be caused to/made to kill’

As noted above, the causative verb stem is passivized by adding the passive suffix *-am* that yields causative passive verb stem. However, it is not possible to derive causative verb stem from passive verb stem as it results in very odd meaning or as it does not conform to the morphological structure of the language.

5.6.7. Causativize Plus Auto-benefactive

The auto-benefactive verb stems can be derived from causative verb stems by suffixing the auto-benefactive morpheme *-at* which results in a complex verb stem. The derived stems bear both the meaning ‘to have or to make someone to do something for one’s own benefit’. Consider the following illustrative examples.

(70) CAUS. VERB STEM	CAUSATIVIZED ABEN.
aaliis –iis ‘cause to wash’	aaliis –iis –at- ‘cause SB to wash for oneself’
imin –siis ‘cause to buy’	imin –siis –at- ‘cause SB to buy for oneself’
madaar –siis ‘cause to make’	madaar –siis –at- ‘cause SB to make for oneself’
dub –siis ‘cause to bake’	dub –siis –at- ‘cause SB to bake for oneself’

The above structure may not be possible with some causative verb stems such as *osol –is / osol –siis –at* ‘cause sb. to laugh for oneself’ and *aam –is / aam –is –at* ‘cause sb. to eat for oneself’ since it results in semantic awkwardness. Moreover, the morphological structure stem/base + auto-benefactive + causative suffix is also not acceptable.

5.6.8. Causativized Frequentative

Frequentative causative verb stems can be derived by suffixing causative suffix *–siis/–iis* on the frequentative verb stem as illustrated below.

(71) FREQUENTATIVE	CAUSATIVIZED FREQUENTATIVE
bobboc’ - ‘whip repeatedly’	bobboc’-iis- ‘cause to whip repeatedly’
mammadaar- ‘build repeatedly’	mammadaar-is- ‘make to build repeatedly’
goggoos- ‘cut repeatedly’	goggoos-iis- ‘cause to to cut repeatedly’
lallagad- ‘kill repeatedly’	lallagad-is- ‘cause to kill repeatedly’

As illustrated above, the causative verb stem is derived from reduplicated verb stem which result in new verb stem with new meaning.

5.6.9. Passivized and Causativized Frequentative

Still more complex verb stems can be derived by attaching passive suffix on frequentative causative verb stem. In this case, the order of verbal derivational suffixes appear as follows: reduplicated stem + causative suffix + passive suffix. Observe the following illustrative examples.

(72) FREQUENTATIVE CAUSATIVE	PASSIVIZED&CAUSATIVIZED FREQUEN.
bobboc’-iis ‘cause to whip repeatedly’	bobboc’-iis-am-‘be caused to whip repeatedly’
mammadaar-is ‘make to build repeatedly’	mammadaar-is-am- ‘be caused to build repeatedly’
goggoos-iis- ‘cause to to cut repeatedly’	goggoos-iis-am- ‘be caused to cut repeatedly’
lallagad-is- ‘cause to kill repeatedly’	lallagad-is-am-‘be caused to kill repeatedly’
o’ot-iis - ‘cause to cultivate’	o’ot–iis–am-‘ be caused to cultivate repeatedly’

In the above complex verb derivation, three different processes of stem derivation are applied – reduplication, causativization and passivization. The passive marker *–am* can be directly suffixed

on reduplicated verb stem as in ‘bobboc’-am’ and ‘goggoos-am’. However, the passive marker does not occur preceding causative marker as in, for example, ‘bobboc’-am-is’.

5.6.10. The Inchoative Verb Stems

The inchoative verb stem denotes ‘a change of state or entering state’ (Kroeger, 2005:345). In Bayso, the inchoative verb stems are derived from adjective and noun stems by using the perfective form of the independent lexical item *lii* ‘become’ which is *lee* in the perfective meaning ‘became’ or the suffix *-at* which also bears the meaning ‘become’ that is totally different from benefactive suffix *-at*. Observe the following examples.

(73)	ADJ	SUFFIX	Derived INCHOATIVE V. STEM
	kadzín ‘big’	-at/lee	dzinaat-/kadzínki lee ‘become big/became big’
	kaʔati ‘strong’	-lee	kaʔatilee ‘become strong’
	hiyyeessa ‘poor’	-at	hiyyummat- ‘become poor’
	dureessa ‘rich’	-at	durummat- ‘become rich’
	kadoʔanki ‘old’	-at/lee	doʔat- /doʔanki lee ‘become old/became old’
	kaʔusubki ‘new’	-at/lee	usubaat-/usubki lee ‘become new/became new’
	kamellan	-lee	kamellan lee/meeli lee ‘became bad’
	undʒenekki ‘wet’	-lee	undʒane lee ‘became wet’
	c’ariido ‘green’	-lee	c’ariido lee ‘became green’
	k’elʔoo ‘young’	-lee	k’elʔoo lee/k’eloom- ‘became young/become young’

As indicated in the above examples, some adjectives add both the suffix *-at* and the independent word *lee* to form inchoative verb stem, and some others add either the suffix *-at* or *lee* but not both. This is purely determined semantically, that is, whether the derived inchoative stem is meaningful or meaningless. Some inchoative verb stems are derived from adjective stems only by removing the final vowel of the adjective as in *laafaa* ‘weak’ ~ *laaf-* ‘become weak’ and *shishaadeki* ‘lazy’ ~ *shishaad-* ‘become lazy’. The following examples demonstrate derivation of inchoative verb stem from noun stems.

(74)	NOUN	lee/leete	INCHOATIVE V. STEM
	wono ‘king’	le	wono lee ‘became king’
	orii ‘wife’	leete	orii leete ‘became wife’
	enter ‘husband’	le	enter lee ‘become husband’
	gaa ‘forest’	le	gaa lee ‘become forest’
	ababbo ‘father’	le	abababbo lee ‘became father.’

aa ‘mother’	leete	aa leete ‘became mother’
jaarsa ‘elder’	le	jaarsa lee ‘become elder’

As it is shown in the above example, the independent lexical item le/leete derives inchoative verb stems from noun base. The lexical ‘lee’ is used when entity referred to is a masculine, and ‘leete’ is used when the entity referred to is a feminine.

5.7. Ideophones

Some ideophones are identified in the present Bayso linguistic corpora. These ideophones are mainly formed in combination with the verb *am-* ‘say’. The ideophones denote a verbal action as well as the manner in which the action is done (Ongaye, 2003:247).

- (75) lichi + am \rightarrow lichi?am- /lichim- ‘to sink instantly/suddenly’
sink + say
- c’al + am- \rightarrow c’ali?am- /c’allim- ‘become quiet’
quiet + say
- pir/fir + am- \rightarrow pir?am- / fir?am-, prim-/firim ‘to jump/leap over sth. quickly’
jump + say
- kukkuyis + am \rightarrow kukkuyisam- ‘to come together, be gather together’
collect + say
- fakki + am- \rightarrow fakki?am- /fakkim- ‘be far’
- hussi + am- \rightarrow hussi?am- /hussim- ‘be bow down, be bend down’

In ideophones, agreement or concord marking suffixes (person, gender, number) and tense marking suffixes as well as derivational suffixes are attached on the main verb ‘am-’. In some cases, the meaning /the semantic of ideophones are completely different from the meaning of the words that form the ideophone.

5.8. Summary

Bayso verbs are inflected for person, gender and number to show concord with the clause subject. Person is marked for 2SG, 2PL and 1PL. Both 2SG and 2PL are marked by affixing *-t* on the verb stem, and 1PL is marked by suffixing *-n* on the verb stem. On the other hand, person is not marked on the verb stem for 1SG, 3SG.M, 3SG.F and 3PL.

In Bayso, number is marked on the verb stem for 2PL and 3PL. Both 2PL and 3PL are marked with the same number marker *-an* in the imperfective aspect/ in the present duration and with *-en* in the perfective aspect/in the past duration. Gender is marked only for 3SG in Bayso.

Accordingly, 3SG.F is marked by suffixing *-t* on the verb stem, and 3SG.M is marked with empty morpheme.

Bayso verbs are also inflected to mark tense/aspect to show time or duration of the action. The past tense/ perfective aspect is marked by suffixing *-e* on the verb stem, and the present duration/ the imperfective aspect is marked by suffixing *-ara* or *-a* on the verb stem. The present perfect and the past perfect (remote past) are marked by suffixing *-era* and *-ere* on the verb stem, respectively. Bayso distinguishes two type of futures – near and long future. The near future is marked by suffixing *-nara* on the verb stem and the long future is marked by suffixing *-lara* on the verb stem. Progressive aspects (present progressive and past progressive aspects) are marked by suffixing long vowel *-aa* on the verb stem followed by auxiliary verb *gir-*. The order of concord marker suffixes in Bayso is person, gender, tense/aspect and number.

There are two morphologically marked moods –imperative and jussive. Imperative is marked on the verb stem for 2SG and 2SPL. The affirmative imperative is marked for 2SG by suffixing *-i/ -in* on the verb stem, and for 2PL it is marked by suffixing *-a* on the verb stem. The affirmative jussive is marked for 1SG, 3SG.M, 3SG.F, 1PL and 3PL with circumfix *ha- ... -o*, where the prefix *ha-* immediately preceding the verb stem and the suffix *-o* is suffixed on the verb stem. In Bayso, the prefix *aroo-* is attached on the verb stem to mark both negative imperative and negative jussive.

In Bayso, distinct verb stems are derived from different word categories. The passive, causative, frequentative and benefactive verb stems are derived by attaching different suffixes on the verb root. Moreover, combination of different verbal derivation suffixes produce more complex verb stems. The inchoative verb stems are derived from adjectives and nouns by attaching the suffixes *-at* or *-lee/-leete* on adjective stems and *-lee/-leete* on noun stems. In Bayso, ideophones are commonly formed in combination with the verb *am-* ‘say’.

Chapter 6

Adjectives

Adjective is a term used in the grammatical classification of words to refer to the main set of items which specify the attributes of nouns (Bussmann, 1998:). Huddleston and Pullum (2002:526) defined adjectives as “expressions that alter, clarify, or adjust the meaning contributions of nouns”. All grammar books designate adjectives, in similar manners, as words that show the quality or property of nouns.

In Bayso there are different categories of basic adjectives that modify the quality or property of nouns (6.1). Some adjectives are also derived from noun stems. In this language, adjectives show concord with gender and number of nouns that they modify. Adjectives in Bayso are used either attributively as noun modifiers or predicatively as a complement of copula. The list of basic adjectives is given under (6.1).

6.1. List of Common Basic Adjectives

eʔeer ‘long/tall	lunt’ut’i ‘soft/smooth’
tʃimin ‘thin’	ati ‘strong’
dʒin ‘big’	isil ‘heavy’
balʔan ‘wide’	undʒane ‘wet’
uban ‘narrow’	ʃakaar ‘dirty’
tʃirki ‘small’	muume ‘round’
hutʃtʃar ‘little’	bibbir ‘sharp’
gabaabban ‘short’	duudan ‘dull’
uʔur ‘thick, plump, fat’	kolkollane ‘hot’
doʔan ‘old’	raatta ‘correct’
usub ‘new’	k’aro ‘wise’
idan ‘good’	otooro ‘proud’
meellane ‘bad’	donna ‘unkind’
on”omoo ‘delicious’	ʃaafo ‘honest’
iidaro ‘handsome’	ardza ‘kind, generous’
iidatto ‘beautiful’	urk’uuk’a ‘arrogant’
gamballa ‘black’	absatte ‘coward’
gumaara ‘white’	gowwa ‘foolish’

bullaa ‘yellow’	goota ‘brave’
heela ‘red’	dzeera ‘fast’
c’ariido ‘green’	laalaan ‘slow’

6.2. Derived Adjectives

Adjectives may be derived from singular noun stems by adding adjectivizing suffixes *-ki/ -ti* and *-messa*. Observe the following illustrative examples.

(1)	Noun Stem	Gloss	Derived Adjectives	Gloss
	diida	‘plain’	diida-ki	‘plainy’
	wadami	‘mountain’	wadam-ki	‘mountainous’
	ariiti	‘sun’	ariiti-ki	‘sunny’
	idaamo	‘rain’	idaamo-ki	‘rainy’
	dumbo	‘cloud’	dumbo-ki	‘cloudy’
	durge	‘crime’	durge-ki	‘criminal’
	wal?a	‘capacity’	wal?a –messa	‘capable’
	fiit’a	‘lineage’	fiit’a-messa	‘nationalist’

The number and gender suffixes are also attached on the derived adjectives as, for example, wal?amessa-n’i (PAC), wal?amessa-ki (M.SG.)/wal?amessa-ti (F.SG.) ‘capable’, fiit’amessa-n’i (PAC), fiit’amessa-ki/fiit’amessa-ti ‘nationalist’ and durge-n’i/ durge-ki /durge-ti ‘criminal’.

6.3. Attributive use of Adjectives

Attributive adjectives directly occur with the noun that they modify. Bayso adjectives agree in number and gender with their head noun when they are used attributively. In what follows we deal with gender and number marking on adjectives.

6.3.1. Gender Marking

Adjectives show concord in gender with their head noun, that is, they are always pairs of forms that are contrastive in gender, namely masculine forms and feminine forms. The masculine forms are either marked by a circumfix *ka ...ki* or only by suffix *-ki*, and the feminine forms are either marked by the circumfix *ta ... ti* or only the suffix *-ti*. Observe the following examples that show feminine and masculine forms of adjectives with the circumfixes.

(2)	<u>AdJ.STEM</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	dzin	(ta-)dzin- ti	(ka-) dzin- ki	‘big’
	tʃar	(ti)-tʃar- ti	(ki-)tʃar- ki	‘small’
	eer	(ta-)ʔeer- ti	(ka-)ʔeer- ki	‘long’
	gabaabban	(ta-)gabaabban- ti	(ka-) gabaabban- ki	‘short’
	u’ur	(ta-)ʔu’ur - ti	ka-ʔuʔur- ki	‘plump’
	gamaballa	(ta-) gamballa- ti	(ka-)gamaballa- ki	‘black’
	gumaara	(ta-) gumaara- ti	(ka-)gumaara- ki	‘white’
	heela	(ta-) heela- ti	(ka-)heela- ki	‘red’

As shown above, the gender marker prefixes ka-/ ta- are optional whereas the the suffixes –ki / -ti are obligatory. The following sentential examples illustrate the agreement of adjectives with their head in gender.

(3) a. baallamo se **gambalati** aba

baallamo	se	gamabala	-ti	ab	-a
<i>Baallamo</i>	<i>cow</i>	<i>black</i>	<i>-F</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>-IPFV</i>

‘Ballamo has a black cow.’

b. baallamo aar **gamballaki** aba.

baallamo	aar	gambala	-ki	ab	-a
<i>Baallamo</i>	<i>ox</i>	<i>black</i>	<i>-M</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>-IPFV</i>

‘Ballamo has a black ox.’

c. helatte idaado **gumaaraki** aba.

helatte	idaado	gumara	-ki	ab	-a
<i>helatte</i>	<i>sheep</i>	<i>white</i>	<i>-M</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>-IPFV</i>

‘Helatte has a white sheep.’

d. baallamo oroono **gumaarati** aba

baallamo	oroono	gumaraa	-ti	ab	-a
<i>baallamo</i>	<i>goat</i>	<i>white</i>	<i>-SG.F</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>-IPFV</i>

‘Ballamo has white goat.’

In the above examples, the modified nouns or the head nouns *se* ‘cow’ in (2a) and *oroono* ‘goat’ in (2d) are feminine nouns, and *aar* ‘ox’ in (2b) and *idaado* ‘sheep’ in (2c) are masculine. Accordingly, the feminine marker suffix –ti is attached on the adjective that modifies feminine nouns and the suffix –ki is attached on the adjective that modifies masculine nouns.

6.3.2. Number Marking

Adjectives agree in number with the nouns that they modify. In this language, adjectives are pluralized either via suffixation or reduplication. In this regard, they share the property of nouns. As discussed in chapter 3 section 3.1 most nouns are pluralized via suffixation and some nouns are pluralized via reduplication. The following section deals with the pluralisation pattern of Bayso adjectives.

6.3.2.1. Suffixation

The plural suffixes *-dʒool*, *-dʒolaal* and *-oli* are attached to singular adjective stems to form their plural counterparts. Observe the following examples.

(4)	SG	PL	Gloss
	laafa	laafadʒool	‘lazy’
	yuula	yuuladʒool	‘weak’
	donna	donnadʒool	‘unkind’
	goota	gootadʒool	‘brave’
	shasho	shashodʒolaal	‘honest’
	k’aro	k’arooli	‘wise’

The plural adjectives require only masculine singular marker prefixes/suffixes (*ka-*) ... *-ki* to show concord with their head and to conform to the general rule that plural nouns/multiple reference forms require masculine singular agreements on verbs, adjectives and demonstratives.

6.3.2.2. Reduplication

Some Bayso adjectives are pluralized through reduplication of the first syllable or first part of adjective stems. Observe the following data.

(5)	SG	PL	Gloss
	usub	uʔusub	‘new’
	doʔan	doddoʔan	‘old’
	eer	eʔeer	‘tall/long’
	kic’ar	kikkic’ar	‘small’
	c’imin	c’ic’c’imin	‘thin’
	uʔuur	uʔuʔuur	‘fat’

In the above examples, the adjective ‘usub’ is pluralized by reduplicating its first syllable which is the vowel ‘u’, and the adjective ‘eer’ is pluralized by reduplicating its first part which is the

vowel ‘e’. The remaining adjectives are pluralized by reduplicating the first part of their syllable or the onset of their first syllable. Some other adjectives are pluralized via total reduplication. All adjectives of colour and few adjectives of size are pluralized in this manner. Observe the following illustrative examples.

(6)	SG.	PL.	Gloss
	dzin	dzindzin	‘big’
	heela	heelaheela	‘red’
	gamballa	gamballagamballa	‘black’
	gumaara	gumaaragumaara	‘white’
	c’ariido	c’ariidoc’ariido	‘green’
	bulla	bullabulla	‘yellow’

The following sentential examples illustrate the agreement of adjectives with their head in number. That is, singular adjective occur with singular noun and plural adjective occurs with plural noun.

(7) a. helatte idaado **gumaraki** aba.

helatte idaado gumara -ki ab -a
helatte sheep (SG) white -SG.M has -IPFV
 ‘Helatte has a white sheep.’

b. helatte idaad **gumaaragumaaraki** aba

helatte idaad gumaaragumaara -ki ab -a
Helatte sheep. PL white white -PL.M has -IPFV.M.
 ‘Helatte has white sheep (PL).’

c. baallamo aaraar **gamballagamballati** aba.

baallamo aaraar gamballagamballa -ti ab -a
Baallamo oxen black black -SG.F has -IPFV
 ‘Ballaamo has black oxen.’

d. baallamo se **gamballati** aba

baallamo se gamabala -ti ab -a
Ballamo cow black -SG.F has -IPFV
 ‘Ballamo has a black cow.’

e. baallamo aar **gamballaki** aba

baallamo aar (M.SG) gamballa –ki ab –a
Baallamo ox black –SG.M has –IPFV
 ‘Ballamo has a black ox.’

f. heleeltiti k’aroti emette

heleel –titi k’aro –ti emet –t –e
woman –SNG wise –F come –F –PFV
 ‘The wise woman came.’

As illustrated in the above examples, the suffix *–ki* is attached on adjectives that modify singular masculine nouns or plural nouns (nouns with multiple reference forms) as in 6 a, b & e except that in 6b the adjective *gumaara* is in its reduplicated form to show concord with plural noun ‘idaad’. On the otherhand, the suffix *–ti* is attached on adjectives that modify singular feminine nouns or plural nouns (multiple reference forms) that require feminine agreements as in 6c, d & f. In 6c, the noun modified ‘aaraar’ is plural yet it requires feminine agreement not only on adjectives but also on verbs and other modifiers. However, when adjectives describe or occur with paucal forms of nouns, either the suffix *–n’i* is attached on the plural adjectives (cf. 7a & b below) or the prefix *o-* is attached to the singular adjective stems (cf. 7c & d below). The following examples illustrate this point.

(8) a. baallamo saayedza **heelaheelan’i** aba

baallamo saaye –ja heelaheela –n’i ab –a
Ballamo cows –PAC red.PL –PAC has –IPFV
 ‘Ballamo has a few red cows.’

b. heleeldza **gamballagamballan’i** hittani giraan

heleel –ja gamballagamballa –n’i hittani gir –a –an
woman –PAC black.PL –PAC here BE –IPFV –3PL
 ‘There are a few black women here.’

c. babbaardza **ogabaabban** k’aroon’iyaan

babbaar –ja o- gabaabban k’aroo –n’i –y –a –an
man –PAC ASC- short wise –PAC –BE –IPFV –3PL
 ‘A few short men are wise.’

As demonstrated in the above examples, the adjectives are reduplicated (pluralized) to show concord with the number of their head, and the suffix *–n’i* or the prefix *o-* is attached on the reduplicated adjective forms again to show agreement with the head nouns.

6.4. Predicative Use of Adjectives

In Bayso, adjectives are used predicatively in combination with copula verb. The copula is directly suffixed on predicate adjective. The copula verb and the predicative adjective agree with the noun/pronoun subject both in number and gender. The following examples illustrate predicative use of adjectives and the concord of copula and adjectives with their subject.

- (9) a. usu kagabaabbankiya
 usu ka- gabaabban –ki –y –a
he COML- short –M –COP.SG.M –IPFV
 ‘He is short.’
- b. ese tagabaabbantita
 ese ta- gabaabban –ti –t –a
she COMPL- short –F –COP.SG.F –IPFV
 ‘She is short.’
- c. iso ogabaabbaniyaan
 iso o- gabaabban –i –y –a –an
they COML- short –EPEN –COP –IPFV –3PL
 ‘They are short.’
- d. babbaartiti ka?eerkiya
 babbbaar –titi ka- eer –ki –y –a
man –SNG COML- tall –M –COP –IPFV
 ‘The man is tall.’
- e. heleeldza ok’aroon”iyaan
 heleel –ja o- k’aroo –n”i –y –a –an
woman –PAC COML- wise –PL –COP –IPFV –3PL
 ‘A few women are wise.’

As illustrated in the above examples, the copula is consistently suffixed on the predicative adjective, and the tense and number markers are consecutively suffixed on the copula. The copula *y-* can appear as *–y*, *–t* or *–n* to show concord with the clause subject. The complement of adjective phrase *o-* is used with paucal forms of nouns and plural pronouns (cf. ‘c’ & ‘f’), *ka-* is used with ‘multiple reference’ forms and singular masculine nouns/pronouns (cf. ‘a’, ‘d’ & ‘e’) and *ta-* is used with feminine singular nouns (cf. ‘b’). Moreover, the singulative marker *–ti*/*–titi* is suffixed on a noun, but it is not suffixed on the adjective that modifies a noun. The *–ti* that is suffixed on adjective (cf. ‘f’ above) is feminine marker

that corresponding to *-ki* which is masculine marker rather than singulative marker *-ti*. The singulative marker *-ti/-titi* is only suffixed on singular nouns.

6.5. Summary

In this chapter some Bayso basic adjectives were identified. We have seen that adjectives can be used either attributively or predicatively. They directly describe a noun when they are used attributively, and they occur in predicate position as complement of copula when they are used predicatively. We have also seen that adjectives agree in number and gender of their head when they are used attributively, and with the number and gender of their clause subject when they are used predicatively in combination with copula. In Bayso, adjectives show concord in number and gender with their head noun. Hence, the suffix *-ti* is attached to adjective stem that modifies singular feminine noun and *-ki* is suffixed to adjective stem that modifies singular masculine or multiple reference noun forms. Similarly, the suffix *-n'i* is suffixed on the adjective stem that modifies a noun with a paucal number form. The prefixes *ka-*, *ta-* and *o-* are used as complement of adjective or adjective phrase when they are prefixed to an adjective.

Adjectives can be pluralized via suffixation and total or partial reduplication in the same way as nouns. The plural adjectives add masculine singular suffixes (*ka-*)...*-ki* when they describe masculine singular noun and multiple reference forms of nouns. The prefix *o-* or the suffix *-n'i* is attached to adjective stems when they describe nouns in paucal forms/ paucal references. Adjective stems can be derived from noun stems by attaching adjectivizer suffixes.

Chapter 7

Basic Syntax

This chapter deals with the basic syntactic structures in Bayso. The word order in noun phrases, postpositional phrases, simple sentences and relative clauses are described. The structure of compound and complex sentences are also presented.

7.1. Word Order

7.1.1. Word Order in Noun Phrase

A noun phrase consists of a noun as a head and different type of complements. In Bayso, the complements may either precede or follow the head noun. A noun phrase may consist of a head noun and adjective as its complement as shown in (1).

- (1) a. **se tagamballati** ‘black cow’ **tagamballati se** ‘a black cow’
se ta- gamaballa –ti ta- gamballa –ti se
cow *COML-* *black* *-F* *COML-* *black* *-F* *cow*
- b. **min kadzindzin** ‘big houses’ **kadzindzin min** ‘big houses’
min ka- jinjin ka- jinjin min
house *COML-* *big* *COML-* *big* *house*
- c. **ibaaddo kadziinki** ‘many people’ **kaziinki ibaaddo** ‘many people’
ibaaddo ka- jiin -ki ka- jiin -ki ibaaddo
people *COML.* *many* *-M* *COML-* *many* *-M* *people*
- d. **aar kagamballaki** **kagamballaki aar** ‘black ox’
aar ka- gamballa –ki ka- gamaballa –ki aar
ox *COML-* *black* *-M* *COML-* *black* *-M* *ox*
- e. **ibaaddoza gamballan”i** **gamballan”i ibaaddoza** ‘A few black people’
ibaaddo –ja gamaballa –n”i gamballa –n”i ibaaddo –ja
people *-PAC* *black* *-PAC* *black* *-PAC* *people* *-PAC*

In (1a), (1b) (1c) and (1d) the head nouns are *se* ‘cow’, *min* ‘house’ *ibaaddo* ‘person’ and *aar* ‘ox’, respectively. All are singular nouns except ‘ibaaddo’ (which is singular in form but used in plural sense) and their corresponding complements, in this case adjectives, occur either preceding or following their heads as indicated above with pairs of phrases. The ‘associative particle’ *ka-* /*ta-* /*o-* is prefixed to adjective based on the gender and number of the head noun. The suffixes *–ti* or *–ki* or *–n”i* is also suffixed on the adjective again based on the number and gender of the head noun. However, plural adjective may not require these suffixes (1b). The ‘associative particles’ *ka-*, *ta-*

and *o-* can be dropped from the constituent when the adjective follows its head which is not possible when the adjective precedes its head. Accordingly, *mindzindzin* is acceptable constituent whereas **dzindzin min* is not acceptable since the associative particle *ka-* could not be dropped in the later constituent. In Bayso, adjectives may precede or follow the noun that they modify as shown above. They are flexible in their order of occurrence.

A noun phrase may consist of a head noun and demonstratives as its complement as indicated below. The order in which demonstratives occur is not restricted. They can either precede or follow a noun that they modify. The following instances demonstrate the structure of noun phrase with demonstratives as a head noun modifiers.

- (2) a. **hitti uulla** ‘this pot’ **uulla hitti** ‘this pot’
 hitti uulla uulla hitti
 this.F pot *pot this.F*
- b. **araardza hin”i** ‘these few oxen’ **hin”i araardza** ‘these few oxen’
 araar -ja hin”i hin”i araar -ja
 ox -PAC these *these ox -PAC*
- c. **hitti aaraar** ‘these oxen’ **aaraar hitti** ‘these oxen’
 hitti aaraar aaraar hitti
 this oxen *oxen this*
- d. **hikki babbaar** ‘this man’ **babbaar hikki** ‘this man’
 hikki baabbaar babbaar hikki
 this man *man this*

As illustrated in the examples above, demonstratives agree in number and gender with their head noun. Hence, *hitti* occurs with feminine singular nouns, *hikki* occurs with masculine singular and multiple reference forms of nouns, and *hin”i* occurs with paucal noun forms. However, *hitti* also occurs with multiple reference forms of nouns as in ‘c’ above where change of number results in change of gender. In Example ‘c’ above, the multiple reference (plural) form ‘aaraar’ requires the singular feminine demonstrative ‘hitti’ although it is a plural noun whereas its corresponding singular form ‘aar’ requires the demonstrative ‘hikki’ that occurs with singular masculine and plural noun forms. In Bayso, plural feminine nouns require singular feminine agreements on verbs, adjectives, demonstratives and so on.

In the above examples, the nominative form of demonstratives are used as a head noun complement. The citation forms of demonstrative pronouns can also be used as complement of a

head noun as in for example, *hikka babbaar* or *babbaar hikka* ‘this man’ and *hitta heleel* or *heleel hitta* ‘this woman’. These noun phrases are normally used in accusative/ object position.

A noun phrase may also consist of a head noun and possessive pronouns as its modifier. In this type of noun phrase structure, too, the word order is not fixed. The possessive pronouns may precede or follow a noun with which they occur. Observe the following examples.

- (3) a. **odolaal tattaanii** ‘our fathers’ **tattaanii odolaal** ‘our fathers’
 oddo –laal ta- taanii ta- taanii odo –laal
 father -PL POSS.F –our *POSS- our father –PL*
- b. **min kakise** ‘her house’ **kakise min** ‘her house’
 min ka- kise ka- kise min
 house POSS- her *POSS- her house*

In this type of noun phrase structure, the type of possessive prefixes (ka-/ ta-/ o-) that may be prefixed to possessive pronoun is determined by the gender and number of the head noun. Accordingly, if the head noun is feminine singular *ta-* is prefixed to possessive pronoun and if the head noun is masculine singular or multiple reference form *ka-* is prefixed to possessive pronoun. On the other hand, the possessive prefix *o-* is prefixed to possessive pronoun if the head noun is paucal reference form. In example (a) above, the head noun is multiple reference form (odo-laal), yet the possessive prefix *ta-* is used instead of *ka-* since the masculine singular noun ‘odo’ assumes feminine multiple reference (plural) form, but it bears singular feminine meaning. The head noun in example (b) ‘min’ is singular masculine noun and hence the possessive prefix *-ka* is attached to the possessive pronoun ‘kise’. If the head noun ‘min’ is in paucal reference form ‘minjedza’, the phrase structure form appears as ‘minjedza okise’, and if it is in multiple reference form ‘mindzool’ just *ka-* is prefixed to the possessive pronoun in the same way as indicated in example ‘b’ above.

When the head noun precede possessive pronoun, the possessive prefixes can be dropped as in, for example, *odolaal taanii* ‘our fathers’ or *min kise* ‘her house’. However, the possessive prefixes are obligatory when possessive pronouns precede head noun. Hence, the form *kise min* or *taanii odolaal* are not acceptable.

A noun phrase may consist of a head noun and a quantifier as shown below. Except numerals all other quantifiers may either precede or follow a head noun.

- (4) a. **ibaaddo kamoggaan** /**ka moggaan ibaaddo** ‘several persons/people’
 ibaaddo ka- moggaan
 Person COML- several

- b. araar tamoggaan / tamoggaan aaraar ‘several oxen’
 aaraar ta- moggaan
oxen COML- several
- c se tamoggaan / tamoggaan se ‘several cows’
 se ta- moggaan
cow COML- several
- d. deeleldza omoggaan /omoggaan deeleldza ‘few girls’
 deelel -ja o- moggaan
girl -PAC COML- several
- e. ibaado dubba / dubba ibaaddo ‘all people/persons’
 ibaaddo dubba
person all
- f. kuuki eeno / eeno kuuki ‘half/some milk’
 kuuki eeno
half milk
- g. orono lama ‘two goats’
 oroono lama
goat two

The associative particle *ta-* occurs with *moggaan* when the latter modifies feminine singular head noun, and the associative particle *ka-* occurs with *moggaan* when the quantifier *moggaan* modifies singular masculine and plural noun (multiple reference form of noun). On the other hand, the associative particle *o-s* appears with *moggaan* when *moggaan* modifies paucal head noun. The associative particle *o-* may also be prefixed to quantifiers or adjectives when quantifiers or adjectives modify plural nouns to show respect/ honorific as in, for example, *saaye omoggaan* ‘several cows. In Bayso, numerals strictly follow the nouns that they modify. Hence, the form *lama se* ‘two cow’ is not acceptable as shown above. Quantifiers in Bayso do not show concord with the nouns that they modify. The same forms are used to modify singular and plural nouns.

A noun phrase may be composed of a head noun and definite suffix as in (5a &b) or a head noun and combination of different complements such as adjectives and demonstratives as in (5c &d) shown below.

- (5) (a) mini ‘the house’
 min -i
house –DEF
- (b) demero ‘the donkey’
 demer –o
donkey –DEF
- (c) hin”i aaraardza odzindzin ‘these big oxen’
 hin”I aaraar –ja o- jinjin
oxen –PAC ASC- big (PL)
- (d) hin”i heleeldza gumaragumaran”i seed ‘these three white women’
 hin”i heleel –ja gumaragumara –n”i seed
these woman –PAC white (PL) –PAC three

A noun phrase may also be formed from two nouns where one of the noun is used as head noun and the other one is used as complement or modifier as shown below.

- (6) a. ilko kahallaatfife ‘crocodile’s teeth’
 ilko ka- hallaache
teeth GEN- crocodile
- b. galba ka?oreen ‘goats’ skin’
 galba ka- oreen
skin GEN- goats
- c. eeno ose ‘cow’s milk’
 eeno o- se
milk GEN- cow
- d. t’aamme tabadala ‘maize’s flour’
 t’aamme ta- badala
maize GEN- maize

This type of noun phrase structure represents genitive constructions. The noun phrase consists of noun head and another noun which is possessed or owned by the noun head (6a), or the source from which something is obtained (6b, c, d). The genitive prefixes (ka-, ta- o-) are prefixed to the entity possessed or the noun used as complement. The choice of these prefixes is based on the gender and number of the possessor or the head noun (cf. 3.1.4.3.). In this type of noun phrase structure, the word order is flexible. The modifying noun or the possessed noun can either precede or follow the noun head. Therefore, the structures *kahallaatfife ilko*, *ka?oreen galab* and *tabadala t’aamme* are also possible.

7.1.2. Word Order in Postpositional Phrases

Bayso is a postpositional language. The postpositions are either suffixes or independent words. The independent postpositions include *oroo* ‘in’, *guti* ‘on’, *gunte* ‘over’ *hegelli* ‘under’, *dolle* ‘near’, *toos* ‘to’ and *wota* ‘with’, and the postpositional suffixes include *-ko* ‘from/over’ and *-ne* ‘with’. These same POPs are used to express locative case.

The postpositional phrase in Bayso consists of postposition as a head and noun or noun phrase as its complement. The following examples demonstrate the postpositional phrases.

- (7)
- | | |
|---|---|
| a. gaa guti ‘on a tree’ | gaati guti ‘on the tree’ |
| ga guti | ga -ti guti |
| <i>tree on</i> | <i>tree -SNG on</i> |
| b. min orroo ‘in a house’ | mintiti orroo ‘in the house’ |
| min orroo | min -titi orroo |
| <i>house in</i> | <i>house -SNG in</i> |
| c. helattene wota ‘with Helatte’ | helattenene wota ‘with Helatte’ |
| helatte -ne wota | helatte -ne wota |
| <i>Helatte -COM with</i> | <i>Helatte -COM with</i> |
| d. wadam dolle ‘near a mountain’ | wadamiti dolle ‘near the mountain’ |
| wadam dolle | wadami -ti dolle |
| <i>mountain near</i> | <i>mountain -SNG near</i> |

In this type of phrase structure, the language is strictly head final/right headed, that is, the complements always occur following the head as shown above.

7.1.3. Word Order in Simple Sentences

As in all Cushitic languages, the basic word order in Bayso is S-O-V. However, there is certain flexibility. A subject may be extraposed to the final position particularly in casual conversation and story telling.

A simple sentence may consist of a subject and verb as shown in (8).

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (8) a. babbaartiti goye | d. baallamo iyye |
| babbaar -titi goy -e | baallamo iyy -e |
| <i>man -SNG die -PFV</i> | <i>Ballamo cry -PFV</i> |
| ‘The man died.’ | ‘Ballamo cried.’ |

b. gaa iye

gaa iy -e
tree fall -PFV
 ‘A tree fell.’

c. helatte emete

helatte emet -e
Helatte come -PFV
 ‘Helatte came.’

e. soliite osolte

soliite osol -t -e
Soliite laugh -3SG.F -PFV
 ‘Soliite laughed.’

f. unnu huddure

unnu huddur -e
baby sleep -PFV
 ‘The baby slept.’

In the above examples, each verb consists of a single argument which is the subject of sentence and predicate. For example (8a) contains the subject NP which consists of [babbaar (N) + -titi (SNG)] and the simple predicate VP which consists of [goy-(verb root) + -e (perfective marker)]. Similarly, (8b) contains the subject [gaa] and the simple predicate VP [iy -e]’. The simple predicates can be further expanded by adding adverbs (9a) or other verb complements or adjuncts as shown in (9b, c, d) given below.

(9) a. babbaartiti kele goye

babbaar -titi kele goy -e
man -SNG yesterday die -PFV
 ‘The man died yesterday.’

b. helatte gidditʃfoko emete

helatte giddicho -ko emet -e
Helatte Giddicho -from come -PFV
 ‘Helatte came from Giddicho.’

c. helatte kele gidditʃfoko emete

helatte kele giddicho -ko emet -e
Helatte yesterday Giddicho -from come -PFV
 ‘Helatte came from Giddicho yesterday.’

d. Helatte gidditʃfoko kele baallamone wota emete

helatte giddicho -ko kele baallamo -ne wota emet -e
Helatte Giddicho -from yesterday Ballamo -COM with come -PFV
 ‘Helatte, with Ballamo, came from Giddicho yesterday.’

Note that all the verbs in the above sentences (8 &9) are intransitive verbs that require only a single argument which is the subject of a sentence. Adverbs and other verb complements or adjuncts occur between subject and a verb.

A simple sentence may also consist of a subject, direct object and a verb as shown in (10) below.

- (10) a. *abdisa oorii aate*
abdiisa oorii aat -e
Abdisa wife marry -PFV
 ‘Abdisa married a wife.’
- b. *baallamo walabo oye*
ballamo walabo oy -e
Ballamo boat make -e
 ‘Ballamo made a boat.’
- c. *baallamo luban lagade*
baallamo luban lagad -e
Ballamo lion kill -PFV
 ‘Ballamo killed a lion.’
- d. *soliite yiis umulte*
soliite yiis umul -t -e
Solite child give birth -3SG.F -PFV
 ‘Solite gave birth to a baby.’
- e. *zizaaleli malab dubara*
zizaale -li malab dub -ara
bee -PL honey make -IPFV
 ‘Bees make honey.’
- f. *iso gaa gooseen*
iso gaa goos -e -en
they tree cut -PFV -3PL
 ‘They cut a tree.’

In all the above sentences, the object occurs between subject and the verb. Adverbs and other verb complements or adjuncts may occur between object and a verb as shown in (11a) or between subject and object as shown in (11b, c).

- (11) a. *abdiissa oori ta?idanti geeskele aate*
abdiissa oori ta- idan -ti geeskele aat -e
Abdisa wife ASC- good -F last year marry -PFV
 ‘Abdiissa married a beautiful wife last year.’
- b. *baallamo borgoonoko walabo madaare*
baallamo borgoono -ko walabo madaar -e
Ballamo mangrove -from boat make -PFV
 ‘Ballamo made a boat from mangrove tree.’
- c. *zizaaleli habosi orroo malab dubara*
zizaale -li habosi orroo malab dub -ara
bees -PL type of tree in honey make -IPFV
 ‘Bees make honey in the ‘habos’ tree.’

As illustrated in sentences (10 & 11), each verb has two arguments: subject and direct object. Hence, all the verbs are mono-transitive verbs. All the italicized elements in (11) are adjuncts that provide additional information about the activity expressed by the respective verbs.

A simple sentence may consist of subject, direct object and indirect object as shown in (12).

(12) a. **baallamo maammaa noon sesseege**

baallamo maammaa no -n sesseg -e
Ballamo tale us -DAT tell -PFV
 ‘Ballamo told us tale.’

b. **baallamo farad abdiisaan sise**

baallamo abdiisa -n farad sis -e
Ballamo Abdisa -DAT horse give -PFV
 ‘Ballamo gave Abdisa a horse.’

c. **ani sarsi hegelliteen imine**

ani sarsi hegelliite -n imin -e
I cloth Hegillite -DAT buy -PFV
 ‘I bought Hegellite a dress.’

d. **ese buna isoon yelte**

ese buna isoo -n yel -t -e
she coffee them -DAT make -3SG.F -PFV
 ‘She made them coffee.’

In all the above sentences, the indirect object occurs between direct object and the verb. The indirect object, which is also a dative case, is marked with the suffix *-V:n*. The nouns and pronouns that end with short vowel are lengthened when the dative suffix is attached on them. The indirect object may also appear between subject and the direct object (13a) or it may be placed at a sentence initial position (13b).

(13) a. **ese olla tiseen badalaa sisse**

ese olla tise -n badala sis -t -e
she neighbour -DAT maize give -3SG.F -PFV
 ‘She gave her neighbour maize.’

b. **olla tiseen ese badalaa sisse**

olla tise -n ese badala sis -t -e
neighbour her -DAT she maize give -3SG.F -PFV
 ‘She gave her neighbour maize./ She gave maize to her neighbour.’

As shown in sentences (12 & 13), the verbs require three arguments: subject, direct object and indirect object. Therefore, they are di-transitive verbs.

A simple sentence may also contain verbless sentences as shown in (14).

(14). a. gaa ribina

gaa ribina
forest pregnant

‘The forest is pregnant. ~ There is something/somboy in the forest.’

b. bassaroon reesiso k’orsa

bassarro –n reesiso k’orsa
lazy -DAT mourning remedy

‘Mourning is a remedy for a lazy woman. ~ she is free of any work during mourning.’

c. ese gambalati

ese gambaalla –ti
she black -F

‘She is black.’

d. usu gambalaki

usu gamballa –ki
he black -M

‘He is black.’

All the above sentences do not contain a verb. They are nominal sentences (14 a&b) and adjectival sentences (14 c & d). In each sentence, the copula verb is left out. Verbless sentences are particularly common in proverbs and sayings.

7.1.4. Word Order in Relative Clauses

Kreoger (2005:219) stated that “Relative clauses are clauses which function as modifiers within a noun phrase”. In Bayso, relative clauses are introduced by the particles used as relative pronouns. These are *ka-*, *ta-* and *o-*. They are usually prefixed to the verb in the relative clause, and their function is to link the modifying clause to the head noun. For detailed description and usage of relative pronoun particles (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.7).

The head noun can be placed at the initial (15a) or at the final position (15a, b, c) within an NP as shown below. In other words, the relative clause [the modifying clause] may precede or follow the

head noun. Note that the NP is enclosed within a bracket; the italicised and bolded part within the NP in each sentence below represents a relative clause.

(15) a. gidda no [zizaale hikka [***kagaagura orroo malab kadubaro***]_{REL}]_{NP} diyaa ginna

gidda no zizaale hikka ka- gaagura orroo malab ka- dub –aro
now we bee this ASC- beehive in honey REL- dub –aro
 dii –aa gir -n –a
see –PROG. BE -1PL -IPFV

‘Now we are looking at the bee that makes honey in the beehive.’

b. ani [***aabbo kaki iin kasise*** farad]_{NP} daddalaye

ai aabbo ka- ki iin ka- sis –e farad daddal –ay –e
I father ASC- my me.DAT REL- give –PFV horse sell –ABEN-PFV

‘I sold the horse that my father gave me.’

c. usu [***aawo tateessa kasisse*** maragade] baase

usu aa -w -o ta- teessa ka- sis –t –e maragade baas –e
he mother –EPEN –DET ASC. his REL- give –3SG.F –PFV money lose –PFV

‘He lost the money which/that his mother gave him.’

d. [***kele ati kadiyaatte*** ibaaddoti] saati kakeya

kele ati ka- diyaat –t –e ibadddd –ti saati ka- ke –ya
yesterday you REL- see- 2SG –PFV person –SNG friend ASC- my –BE

‘The man whom you saw yesterday is my friend.’

e. [***kele odo takoon goye*** deeleliti] ta?agaalsattota

kele odo ta- koon goy -e deelel –titi ta- aagaalsatto –ta
yesterday father ASC- whose die –PFV girl –SNG ASC. student –BE

‘The girl whose father died yesterday is a student.’

The relative clauses in the above sentences consist of three basic parts: the head noun, the modifying clause (the relative clause) and the relative pronouns that link the modifying clause to the head noun. Accordingly, in (15a), the head noun is ‘zizaale’, the modifying clause is ‘***kagaagura orroo malab kadubaro***’ and the relative particle prefixed to the verb in the relative clause is ‘ka-’. In addition to the relative clause the head noun ‘zizaale’ is also modified with demonstrative ***hikka*** ‘this’ whose immediate constituent is the head noun rather than the modifying clause. Similarly, in (15b), the head noun is ‘farad’, the modifying clause is ‘***aabbo kaki iin kasise***’ and the relativizer prefix is ‘ka-’. As indicated in (15a), the imperfective marker in the relative clause is the suffix –aro (which is –ara in independent sentences), and this is also

applicable in all subordinate clauses. However, the same perfective marker suffix *-e* is used both in the relative clause and in an independent clause.

The relative clause may be positioned either between the subject and the predicate of the main clause (cf. ‘a’ & ‘b’ below) or at the beginning of a clause (cf. ‘c’ & ‘d’ below). It could never occur at the end of the clause, however. The following examples demonstrate the position of the relative clause in relation to the matrix clause.

(16) a. sarsil **ani ka aalise** gumara lee

sarsi –l ani ka- aalis –e gumara lee
cloth –PL I REL- wash –PFV white became
 ‘The cloths that I washed became white.’

b. iso **unnu ka idde** habesssa lagadeen

iso unnu ka- idd –e habeessa lagad –e –en
they baby REL- bite –PFV snake kill –PFV -3PL
 ‘They killed the snake that bit the baby.’

c. **unnu ka idde** iso habeessa lagadeen

unnu ka- idd -e iso habeessa lagad –e –en
baby REL- bite –PFV they snake kill –PFV -3PL
 ‘They killed the snake that bit the child.’

d. **ani ka aalise** sarsil gumara lee

ani ka- aalis –e sarsi –l gumara lee
I REL- wash –PFV cloth –PL white became
 ‘The clothes that I washed became white.’

There are also other possibilities where the relative clause may be placed. It may be placed between the object of the main clause and the subject of the main clause (cf. ‘a’ below) or between the object of the main clause and the main verb (cf. ‘b’ below). In this case, the object of the main clause is placed at the beginning of the clause (cf. ‘a’ & ‘b’) and the subject of the main clause is placed either immediately following the relative clause (cf. ‘a’) or at the end of the clause (cf. ‘b’ below). Consider the following examples.

(17) a. habeessa **unnu ka idde** iso lagadeen

habeessa unnu ka- idd –e iso lagad –e –en
snake baby REL- bite –PFV they kill –PFV -3PL
 ‘They killed the snake that bit the baby.’

b. habeessa **unnu ka idde** lagadeen iso

habeessa unnu ka-idd-e lagad-e -en iso
snake baby RP-bite -PFV kill -PFV -3PL they

‘They killed the snake that bit the baby.’

Generally, as illustrated above, the modifying clause or the relative clause can occur either preceding or following the head nouns as in ‘habeessa unnu ka?idde ...’ or ‘unnu ka?idde habeessa...’ where ‘habeessa’ is the head noun and ‘...unnu ka?idde...’ is a modifying clause/relative clause.

Third person pronouns *ese* (3SG.F), *usu* (3SG.M) and *iso* (3PL) are grammaticalized and used as “that” although they are not attested as relativizers or relative pronouns. Observe the following examples.

(18) a. gorata tabaalaa soo aamanna **iso soo** aamne gunne madarri seetarra

gorata ta- baala soo aam-arna iso soo aam-n-e
time ASC-Cross day meat eat -IPFV that meat eat -1PL -PFV
 gur -n -e madarri seet-arna
SUB.CONJ -PL -PFV playing go -IPFV

‘We eat meat on the day of Cross celebration. Having eaten that meat we go to playing/singing.’

b. dzereen gitta **ese dzeren** abatee ira dagara wadalla

jereen gir-t-a ese jereen ab-at -ee ira
spear BE -3SG.F that spear hold -ABEN -GUR farmland
 dag-ara wadalla
go -IPFV young man

‘There is spear. The young man goes to farmland holding *that spear*.’

c. k’olo owaano ibaaddo aagaalsatee **usu k’olo** sarsatare

k’olo oy -(a)ano ibaaddo agaalsat-ee usu k’olo
traditional dress make -INF people learn -GER that traditional dress
 sarsat-are
wear -PST.HAB.

‘Having learned to weave ‘k’o’lo’, people used to wear that ‘k’olo’.

As illustrated above *ese* (3SG.F pronoun) occurs with singular feminine nouns, *usu* (3SG.M pronoun) occurs with singular masculine nouns and *iso* (3PL pronoun) occurs with plural nouns. As relative pronouns, the personal pronouns; *usu*, *ese* and *iso* are used with inanimate objects as illustrated in the above examples.

7.2. Compound Sentences

A compound sentence is composed of two independent sentences conjoined with the coordinating conjunctions. There are different coordinating conjunctions that conjoin contrasting ideas (19a), addition of ideas (20) and alternative ideas (21). The coordinating conjunctions include *dambe*, *-ade* (*adeene*, *dambe?adeene*) conjoin two contrastive ideas, and the coordinating conjunctions *hikkamalee*, *usumalee* and *eserri* show addition of ideas. The coordinating conjunction *woyko* conjoins alternative ideas. The following examples illustrate compound sentences conjoined with coordinating conjunction that shows contrastive ideas.

- (19a) ani min iminayin dootatara (ani) maragade?ade lakko abo
 ani min imin –ay –i –n doot –at –ara
I house buy –ABEN –EPEN –to want –ABEN –IPFV
 ani maragade ade lakko ab –o
I money but not have – NEG.IPFV
 ‘I want to buy a house, but I do not have money.’
- (19b). oori tati min iminayin dootatta ani?ade aar iminayin dootatara
 oori ta- ti min imin –ay –i –n doot –atta ani
wife GEN my house buy –ABEN –EPEN –to want –IPFV I
 ade aar imin –ay –i –n doot –at –ara
but ox buy –ABEN –EPEN –to want –ABEN –IPFV
 ‘My wife want to buy a house, but I want to buy an ox.’
- (19c). ani lukkale urayin gelaatara (ani) soo olukkale?ade lakkogelaataro
 ani lukkale urat –i –n gelaat –ara soo o- lukkale -ade
I poultry raise –EPEN –to like –IPFV meat GEN- hen - but
 lakko- gelaat -aro
not- like NEG.IPFV
 I like to raise polutary, but I do not like poultry’s meat.’

As shown in examples (19a, b, c), the coordinating conjunction *-ade* ‘but’ conjoins two contrasting ideas. It usually occurs following the subject or the verb complement of the second independent sentence. For example, in (19a), the two independent sentences conjoined with the coordinating conjunction *-ade* are *ani min iminayin dootatara* ‘I want to buy a house’ and *ani maragade lakko abo* ‘I do not have money.’ The coordinating conjunction *-ade* ‘but’ occurs following the verb complement ‘maragade’. Since the the two independent sentences have similar subject (*ani*), one of the subjects in the compound sentence can be deleted (see also 19c). In

example (19b), the coordinating conjunction *ade* occurs immediately following the subject of the second independent sentence *ani*. In Bayso, the same coordinating conjunction *-ade* conjoins both contrasting ideas and addition of ideas based on the context in which it is used although it seems contradictory (cf.20c below for conjoining addition of ideas).

The conjunctive adverbs *golenna/go?amenna* ‘however/nevertheless’ also conjoins two contrasting ideas as follows.

(19d). *ani hawaasa orroo gees lama hamass’s’ere golenna (ani) lewwi lakko deere*

ani hawaasa gees lama hamas’s’ -ere golenna lewwi lakko- dee -re
I Hawasa year two sit -PFV however Lewwi not- saw -PFV

‘I had lived in Hawasa for two years; however, I did not visit Lewwi.’

In example (19d), the conjunctive adverb *golenna* ‘however/nevertheless’ occurs between the two independent contrasting sentences.

The suffix *-na* ‘and’ conjoins two independent sentences as in (20a,b).

(20a) *ani muuze daldale aarna iminaye*

ani muuze daldal -e aar -na imin -ay -e
I banana sell -PFV ox -and buy -ABEN -PFV

‘I sold banana, and I bought an ox.’

(20b) *ese baa beete yiisunna kakiseewun sarsil iminte*

ese baa bee -t -e yiis -u -n -na
she market went -3SG.F children -EPEN -DAT -and
ka- kise -w -u -n sarsi -l imin -t -e
ASC- her -EPEN -EPEN -DAT cloth -PL buy -3SG.F -PFV

‘She went to market, and she bought cloths for her children.’

As illustrated in examples (20a, b), the coordinating conjunction *-na* ‘and’ conjoins two independent sentences that contain addition of ideas. It usually appears within the second independent sentence. As stated earlier the coordinating conjunction *-ade* conjoins both contrasting and additional ideas. In the following compound sentence it is used to conjoin addition of ideas.

(20c) *ese baa beete?ade yiis kakiseewun sarsil iminte*

ese baa bee -t -e -ade yiis ka- kisee -w -u -n
she market went -3SG.F -and child ASC- her -EPEN -EPEN -DAT
sarsi -l imin -t -e
cloth -PL buy -3SG.F -PFV

‘She went to market, and she bought cloths for her child.’

In example (20c), the coordinating conjunction ‘-ade’ is suffixed on the verb in the first independent sentence. In this context it conjoins addition of ideas.

The conjunctive adverbs *hikkamalee* and *usumalee* ‘in addition/moreover/also’ also conjoin two independent sentences that contain addition of ideas. The following compound sentences are conjoined with conjunctive adverbs *hikkamalee* and *usumalee* ‘in addition/moreover/also’.

(20d) usu saaye omoggan aba *usumalee* maragade kamoggaan aba
 usu saaye o- moggan ab –a usumalee
he cows ASC- several has –IPFV moreover
 maragade ka- moggan ab –a
money ASC- much has –IPFV
 ‘He has several cows; moreover, he has much money.’

(20e) abdiisa min madaarrate *hikkamalee* se iminate
 abdissa min madaarr –at –e hikkmalee se imin –at –e
Abisaa house build –ABEN-PFV besides/also cow buy –ABEN –PFV
 ‘Abdisa built g house, he also bought a cow.’

(20f) no giddi uratanna *hikkamalee* kaami otanna
 no giddi urat –arna hikkamlee kami ot –arna
we animal raise –IPFV in addition grain cultivate –IPFV
 ‘We raise animal; in addition, we cultivate grain.’

In the above examples, two independent sentences are chained together by using conjunctive adverbs *hikkamalee* and *usumalee*. The conjunctive adverbs occur between the two independent sentences.

The following compound sentences are conjoined with the coordinating conjunction *woykko*.

(21) a. ani algi adallayinara *woyko* gidditftfo galinara
 ani algi adallay –i –nara woiko giddicho gal –i –nara
I alge stay –EPEN –FUT or Giddicho go –EPEN –FUT
 ‘I will stay in Alge, or I will go to Giddicho.’

b. usu iminara *woykko* ani iminara
 usu imin –ara woikkko ani imin –ara
he buy –IPFV or I buy –IPFV
 ‘He will buy, or I will buy.’

c. ese hittarra emeynatta woyko ani eserra seeynara
 ese hittarra emet –narta woyko ani eserra seet –nara
she here come –FUT or I there go –FUT.
 ‘She will come here, or I will go there.’

In the above examples, the compound sentences consist of two independent sentences that express alternative ideas and chained together by coordinating conjunction *woyko* ‘or’. The coordinating conjunction *woyko* occurs between the two independent sentences.

In Bayso, two independent clauses can be conjoined without using any overt coordinating conjunctions as illustrated below.

(22a). ira otateen badala wut’araan
 ira ot –at –e –en badala wut’ –ara –an
farmland cultivate –ABEN –PFV -3PL maize sow –IPFV -3PL
 ‘They cultivated land, and they sow maize.’

In the above compound sentences, ‘ira otateen’ and ‘badala wut’araan’ are two independent clauses. They are not joined in any of the coordinating conjunctions mentioned above. However, they can be conjoined by using one of the coordinating conjunctions *eserri* ‘then/ and then’ as in ‘ira otateen *eserri* badala wut’araan’. The two independent clauses share the same subject ‘they’ as implied by the form of the verb, and they have different objects ‘ira’ and ‘badala’, respectively. The two clauses are different in their tenses even though they are compound sentence which is possible in Bayso. However, the verb in the compound sentence can also be parallel as indicated below.

(22b) ani muuze daddale aar iminaye
 ani muuze daddal –e aar imin –ay –e
ani banana sell –PFV ox buy –ABEN –PFV
 ‘I sold banana; I bought an ox.’

The compound sentence in example (22b) is not conjoined in any coordinating conjunction. The verbs in both independent sentences ‘daddale’ and ‘iminaye’ are in the past tense. Hence, they are parallel. In examples (22a) and (22b), the conjoined independent sentences bear the same subject. However, two independent sentences with distinct subjects can also be conjoined without using any coordinating conjunction as in (22c).

(22c) ani hudduraa gire ese baate
 ani huddur –aa gir –e ese baa –t –e
I sleep –PROG AUX –PFV she run away -3SG.F –PFV
 ‘She escaped when I was sleeping.’

In example (22c), the two independent sentences are *ani hudduraa gire* ‘I was sleeping’ and *ese baate* ‘She escaped’. But they are not connected by any coordinating conjunction.

7.3. Complex Sentences

Complex sentence is a sentence that is composed of a main clause and one or more dependent clauses introduced by a subordinating conjunction. In Bayso, the subordinate clause consistently occurs preceding the main clause. In what follows, complex sentences with different types of subordinate clauses will be examined.

7.3.1. Adverbial Clauses

7.3.1.1. Temporal Clause

The temporal clauses are introduced by subordinating conjunctions such as *arri* ‘day/when’, *go* ‘when’, *gorata* ‘when/time’, *gore/ kako* ‘when’ and *kako ... gorata* ‘when...time’, *gore* ‘when’ and *taa* ‘until’. Consider the following examples. The italicised part represents temporal clauses and the bolded ones represent the main clause.

(23a) *gosa ka giddit/ifo woyko kabayso hikki uli ta?emete tahamas’s’e arri* **uli hikki lakko**

beke ka?abo

<i>gosa</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>giddicho</i>	<i>woyko</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>bayso</i>	<i>hikki</i>
<i>clan</i>	<i>ASC-</i>	<i>Giddicho</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>ASC-</i>	<i>Bayso</i>	<i>this.M</i>
<i>ul -i</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>emet -e</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>hamas’s’ -e</i>	<i>arri</i>	<i>ul -i</i>
<i>land -DET</i>	<i>REL.F</i>	<i>come -PFV</i>	<i>REL.F -sit</i>	<i>-PFV</i>	<i>day</i>	<i>land -DET/DEF</i>
<i>hikki</i>	<i>lakko</i>	<i>beke</i>	<i>ka- ab</i>	<i>-o</i>		
<i>this.M</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>water</i>	<i>REL.M- has</i>	<i>-IPFV.NEG</i>		

‘When the Giddicho [or Bayso] clan came and settled on it, this land had no water.’

In the above complex sentence, the temporal clause is introduced by the word *arri* with the meaning ‘when’. The subordinate clause describes the the action denoted by the verb in the main clause.

(23b). *ani gale gore* **ul hemen lee**

<i>ani</i>	<i>gal -e</i>	<i>gore</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>hemen</i>	<i>lee</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>go -PFV</i>	<i>when</i>	<i>earth</i>	<i>nigt</i>	<i>BE.PFV</i>

‘When I reached home, the darkness had already fallen.’

In example (23b) the subordinate clause or the temporal clause is the italicised one. It is introduced by subordinating conjunction ‘gore’. It describes the situation mentioned in the main

clause *ul hemen le* ‘the earth had become dark/night’. The temporal clause may also be introduced by subordinating conjunction *kako... gorata* as in (23C).

(23c). *ani jiis kakogire gorata* **aabbo kaki iin se sise**

ani yiis kako- gir –e gorata aabbo ka- ki iin se sis –e
I child when- be –PFV time father ASC- my me cow give –PFV
 ‘When I was a child, my father gave me a cow.’

As shown in (23c), the italicised part ‘*ani yiis kakogire gorata...*’ represents the subordinate clause, and the bolded part ‘... **aabbo kaki iin se sise**’ represents the main clause. The subordinate clause is also introduced by subordinating conjunctions *go* ‘when’ and *taa* ‘until’ as in (23d) and (23e).

(23d) *ese go?emetatta* **ani seey –nara**

ese go- emet –arta ani seet –nara
she when- come –IPFV I go –FUT.
 ‘When she comes, I will go.’

(23e) *ani aabbo kaki taa?emetaro* **ani maaggena lakkoseejnaro**

ani aabbo ka- ki taa- emet –aro ani lakko- seet –naro
I father ASC- my until- come –IPFV I not- go –NEG.FUT
 ‘Until my father comes, I will not go anywhere.’

In examples (23d) and (23e), all the italicised parts represent the subordinate clause, and the bolded part represent the main clause. In all cases, the temporal clause expresses the time when the action in the main clause was performed or is performed.

7.3.1.2. Conditional clause

The conditional clause is mainly introduced by subordinating conjunction *go-* ‘if’. The subordinating conjunction *go-* is also used to introduce temporal clause with the meaning ‘when’ (cf. 23d). Observe the following illustrative examples.

(24a). *idaamo ka?ubataro golee* **no badala wut’inanna**

idaamo ka- ubat –aro go- lee no badala wut’ –i –narna
rain REL- rain –IPFV if- be we maize sow –EPEN –FUT
 ‘If the rain rains, we will sow maize.’

(24b). *ati ka?idankijo goleete* **ani gididi kuun sisinara**

ati ka- idan -ki y -o go- lee -t -e ani gididi
you ASC- good -M be -IPFV if- Be -2SG -PFV I animal
 ku -u -n sis -i -nara
you.OBJ - EPEN-DAT give -EPEN -FUT

‘If you are become a good man, I will give you animal.’

(24c). *ani arbamintfi kaseetaro golee* **jiis kakewun sarsi iminnara**

ani arbamichi ka- seet -aro go- lee yiis ka- ke -w -u -n
I Arbaminch REL- go -IPFV if- be child ASC- my -EPEN -EPEN -DAT
 sarsi imin -nara
cloth buy -FUT

‘If I go to Arbaminch, I will buy cloth for my child.’

In the above examples, the italicised part is subordinate or conditional clause, and the bolded part is the main clause. The subordinate clause is mainly introduced by subordinating conjunction **go** ‘if’. However, the subordinating conjunction ‘go’ is supported with ‘lee’ which is the perfective form of the verb *lii* ‘be or become’. The verb in the subordinate clause is marked with the suffix –o (the simple present tense marker in the subordinate clause) whereas the verb in the main clause is future tense in all examples (24a - c). Besides, the subordinate clause consistently occurs at the initial position.

Negative conditional clause does not require ‘lee’ as shown in (24d).

(24d). *ati bariino go?emennoon no lakko?eselno*

ati bariino go- emet -noon no lakko- esel -n -o
you early if- come -NEG we not- -meet -1PL -NEG.IPFV

‘If you do not come early, we do not meet.’

In example (24d), the conditional clause is introduced only with *go* ‘if’ without the verb ‘lee’. The negative marker in the subordinate clause is different from the negative marker in the main clause. In the subordinate clause negative is marked with the suffix –noon, but in the main clause negation is expressed with ‘lakko-’ In the past conditional clause neither ‘go’ nor ‘lee’ is required to introduce subordinate clause as shown in (24e and f).

(24e). ani arbamintji seetere girewa jiis kakewun sarsi iminnarewa
 ani arbamichi seet –ere gir –e –wa yiis ka- ke –w –u –n
I Arbamich go –PFV AUX –RFV –EPHP child ASC- my –EPEN- EPEN -DAT
 imin –nare –wa
buy -FUT.PFV-EPH
 ‘If I had gone to Arbaminch, I would have bought cloth for my child.’

(24f). no ataay felanne waannewa barisano otani lakko iggilsaminareen
 no ataay fel –at –n –e –wa barisano o- tani
we strong work –ABEN -1PL –PFV –EPH life POSS- our
 lakoo iggils –am –i –nare –en
not change –PASS –EPEN -FUT.PFV -3PL
 ‘If we had not worked hard, our life would not have changed.’

In both examples (24e and f), the subordinating conjunction ‘go’ does not appear. In example (24e), the auxiliary verb ‘gir-’ is used with the verb ‘seet-’ and the emphatic marker –*wa* is suffixed on the auxiliary verb ‘gir-’. The emphatic marker –*wa* emphasize the reality that the speaker did not go to Arbaminch. In example (24f), the negation in the subordinate clause/conditional clause is expressed with the verb ‘waat-’. Again, the emphatic marker –*wa* is suffixed on the negative verb ‘waat-’.

7.3.1.3. Purpose Clause

In Bayso, purpose clause is introduced by particle *goggoo-* or the suffix –*n*. The particle *goggoo-* is prefixed to the verb in the subordinate clause, and the suffix –*n* is suffixed on the verb in the subordinate clause. The subordinate clause introduced by the particle *goggoo* or the suffix –*n* describes the aim or purpose of performing the action denoted by the verb in the main clause.

(25a). *hijjumako goggoobijaanno no ataaj felatanna*
 hiyyumma –ko goggoo- bii –arno no ataay fel –at –arna
poverty -from PART- go out –IPFV we hard work –ABEN –IFV
 ‘We work hard in order to come out of poverty.’

(25b). *usu faadiin goggoodaandaro ani arri?arri usuun segaara*
 usu shad –ii –n goggoo- daand –aro ani arri?arri usu –n seg –ara
he remember –EPEN –to PART- can -IPFV I everyday him –to tell –IPFV
 ‘I tel him everyday in order that he can remember.’

In examples (25a and b) above, the italicised part represents the purpose clause whereas the the bolded part represents the main clause. In all cases, the subordinate clause or the purpose clause is introduced by the particle *goggoo*. However, as it is satated earlier, the suffix *-n* may also introduce the purpose clause as shown in (25c), (25d) and (25e).

(25c). ese se iminajin maragade k'usatte

ese se imin –ay –n maragade k'us –at –t –e
 she cow buy –ABEN –to money save –ABEN -3SG.F –PFV
 ‘She saved money in order that she buys a cow.’

(25d). iso hijjummako biin arrina meritina felaraan

iso hiyymma –ko bii –n arri –na meriti –na fel –ara –an
they poverty -from go out –to day –and night –and work –IPFV -3PL
 ‘They work day and night in order that they come out of poverty.’

(25e). no felo dootajn hawaasa seenne

no felo doot –ay –i –n hawaasa seet –n –e
We work want –ABEN –EPEN –to Hawasa go -1PL –PFV
 ‘We went to Hawasa in order to find job.’

As illustrated in the examples above, the purpose clause describes the aim of the action denoted by the verb in the main clause.

7.3.1.4. Adverb Clause of Reason

The adverbial clause of reason is introduced by subordinating conjunctions *mewuun ...maraan* ‘because’ and *manko ...maraantinii/giraantinii* or simply *manko... maraan* which means ‘since’.

(26a) **ibaaddo kabajso kabadzda habosin sisamatta** *mewuun zizaale usu orroo malab kadubaro*

ibaaddo ka- bayso kabajja habos –i –n sis –am –atta
people GEN- Bayso respect habos –EPEN –DAT give –PASS –IPFV
 mewuunzizaale usu orroo malab ka- duba –aro
because bee that in honey ASc- make –IPFV

‘The Bayso people respect “habos” tree because the bees make honey in it.’

The adverbial clause of reason [*mewuun zizaale ussu orroo malab dubara*] describes the reason why the Bayso people respect “Habos” tree. The adverbial clause of reason may also be introduced by subordinating conjunction *manko Marantinii* as shown below.

(26b). *hasse koko malab mankohelataro maraantinii aaloo kabadzda sisamatta habosuun*

hasse koko malab manko helat –aro maraantinii aaloo kabajja
that from honey since obtain –IPFV since very respect
sis –am –atta habos –uu –n
give –PSS –IPFV habos –EPEN –DAT

‘Since honey is obtained from it, high respect is given to “habos” tree.’

(26c) *maammaa hitta sessegii mankohoosame maraantinii sommaasatara*

maammaa hitta sesseg –ii –n manko- hoos –am –e maraantinii
tale this tell –EPEN –to since ask –PASS –PFV since
sommaasat –ara
thank you –IPFV

‘I am grateful since I was asked to tell this story.’

(26d) *ani saaje foofaro mankodiide maraan aabbo kaki iin murrise*

ani saaye foof –aro manko- diid –e maraan aabbo ka- ki iin
I cows keep –IPFV since - refuse –PFV since father ASC- my me
murrise –e
punish –PFV

‘My father punished me since I refused to keep cows.’

In examples (26b), (26c) and (26d), the italicized part represents adverb clause of reason. In each case, the subordinate clause is introduced by the subordinating conjunction *manko ... maraantinii* or *kako ... maraan*. The adverb clause of reason may also be introduced by using *mewuun...maraan* ‘because’ as shown in (26e).

(26e) *arbamintfi mewuun gubaro maraan ani arbamintfi giriin lakkao daandaro*

arbaminchi mewuun gub –aro maraan ani arbaminchi
Arbaminch because burn –IPFV because I Arbaminch
gir –ii –n lakko- daand –aro
live –EPEN –to not- can –NEG.IPFV

‘I could not live in Arbaminch because it is very hot.’

The adverb clause of reason may also be simply introduced by using the subordinating conjunction *mewuun* ‘because’ as shown in (26f).

(26f). **ese se iminajin lakkodaandatto** *mewuun ese maragade lakko?abto*

ese se imin –ay –i –n lakko- daand –arto mewuun
she cow buy –ABEN –EPEN –DAT not- can –IPFV because
 ese maragade lakko- ab –t –o
she money not- has –3SG.F –NEG.IPFV

‘She could not buy a cow because she does not have money.’

As illustrated in example (26f), the subordinating conjunction ***mewuun*** occurs between the main clause (the bolded part) and the subordinate clause (the italicised part). It seems that the main clause occurs at the initial position when the subordinating conjunction *mewuun* is used alone to introduce the subordinate clause.

7.3.1.5. Adverb Clause of Contrast

Adverb clause of contrast is mainly introduced by subordinating conjunction ***mamisi*** ‘although/though/even though’. This subordinating conjunction is also supported by ‘go-’ which is prefixed to the verb in the subordinate clause as shown in the following examples.

(27a). *mamisi arriton gofelena ani lakkohare*

mamisi arri –ton go- fel –e –na ani lakko- har –e
although day –all if- work –PFV –EMPH I not- tire –PFV

‘Although I worked hard all the day, I was not tired.’

(27b). *ani mamisi hiyyeessa goleena gargaarsumma lakkodootaro*

ani mamisi hiyyeessa go- lee –na gargaarsumma lakko- doot –aro
I although poor if- be –EMPH assistance not- want –NEG.IPFV

‘Even though I am poor, I do not need help.’

(27c). *ese mamisi ta?idantita goleetena majjona ese atajin lakkodootaro*

ese mamisi ta- idan –ti –t –a go- lee –t –e –na
she although ASC- good –F –COP IPFV if- be –3SG.F –PFV –EMPH

mayyona ese atay –i –n lakko- doot –aro
no one her marry –EPEN –to not- want –NEG.IPFV

‘Although she is beautiful, no one wants to marry her.’

(27d). *usu mamisi aalo gohiit'atena gaa elo korajin lakkodaandero*

usu mamisi aalo go- hiit'at –e –na gaa elo koray –i –n
he although very if- try –PFV –EMPH tree up climb –EPEN –to
lakko- daand –ero
not- can –NEG.PFV

‘Although he tried a lot, he could not climb up the tree.’

In all the above examples (27a - d), the italicised part represents the adverb clause of contrast or the subordinate clause. Eventhough the main subordinating conjunction is ‘mamisi’, another subordinating conjunction ‘go’ is required in each case and the verb ‘lee’ is required in certain case to make the meaning of the subordinate clause clear. Moreover, the ephatic marker **–na** is suffixed on each of the verb in the subordinate clause not only to emphasise the reality of the action but also to make the meaning of the subordinate clause complete and clear. If the suffix *–na* is dropped out the action or situation expressed in the subordinate clause does not give sense.

In case where the subject of the main clause and the subject of the subordinate clause refer to the same entity, the subject may appear either at the initial position of the main clause as in (27a) or at the initial position of the subordinate clause as in (27b) and (27d).

7.3.1.6. Comparison [Degree] Clause

The comparative clause is introduced by subordinating conjunctions **goggo** ‘as’, **aani** ‘as...as’ and **hore** ‘than’ as shown in the following examples.

(28a). *kaamii goggo gootaraay kibaraan maragaddena gootaraay kibee kaayera*

kaamii goggo gootara –y kib –ara –an maragadde –na
grain like granary –LOC add –IPFV –3PL money –and
gootara –y kib –ee kaay –era
granary –LOC add –GER put –PFV

‘He has stored money in the granary as they store grain in the granary.’

In the above complex sentence, the comparison is made between how ‘grain’ and ‘money’ are kept. The subordinate clause [*kaamii goggo gootaraay kibaraan*] describes how the money is stored. It means that the money is stored in the granary in the same way as the grain is stored. The word that is used as subordinating conjunction is *goggo* with the English equivalent meaning ‘as/like’. The subordinating conjunctions *goggo* and *aani* are used to compare equal entities. Hence, they are used to introduce equative clause. Observe the following additional examples.

(28b). *ani kahelataro margade aani ese (maragade) helatatta*

ani ka- helat –aro maragade aani ese helat –arta
I REL- earn –IPFV money as... as she earn –IPFV

‘She earns money as much as I do.’

(28c). *usu luban aani ka?atija*

usu luban aani ka- ati –y –a
he lion as...as ASC- strong –COP –IPFV

‘He is as strong as a lion.’

(28d). *usu tarri aani samesame katijaroja*

usu tarri aani samesame ka- tiy –aro –y –a
he rabbit as...as fast ASC- run –IPFV –COP –IPFV

‘He runs as fast as a rabbit.’

(28e). *helatte baallamo aani kadurmateja*

helatte baallamo aani ka- durmat –e –y –a
Helatte Ballamo as...as ASC- rich –PFV –COP –IPFV

‘Helatte is as rich as Ballamo.’

As illustrated in the above comparative clauses [28c – d], both the subject of the main clause and the subject of the subordinate clause are placed at the initial position one after the other. These comparative clauses can be constructed respectively as follows: *tarri aani usu samesame katiyaroya* and *baallamo aani helatte kadurmateya*. However, the most normal way of expressing comparison is to put both subjects or the compared entities together at the initial position. For example, the comparative clause in (28b) can be written as: *ese ani kahelataro margade aani helatatta*. In this case, both the subjects of the main clause *ese* and the subject of the subordinate clause *ani* or the compared ones *ese* and *ani* are placed at the initial position.

The conjunction *rore* ‘than’ is used to compare two unequal/imbanced entities as shown below.

(29a). *hallaatfufe lubankorore eerina girara*

hallaache luban –ko –rore eerina gir –ara
crocodile lion –more –than long live –IPFV

‘A crocodile lives longer than a lion does.’

(29b). *luban kebelkorore ka?atija*

luban kebel –ko –rore ka- ati –y –a
lion tiger –more –than ASC- strong –COP –IPFV

‘A lion is stronger than a tiger.’

(29c). *abdissa helattekoroore atay flelara*

abdissa helatte –ko –rore atay fel –ara
Abdissa Helatte –more –than strong work –IPFV
 ‘Abdissa works harder than Helatte.’

As illustrated in examples [29a –c], the comparative clause is mainly introduced by conjunction *rore*. However, the suffix ‘-ko’ is also suffixed to one of the compared entities to make the meaning of the comparative clause complete and clear. The adverb clause of comparison may also be introduced by the suffix *–ko* alone as illustrated below.

(29d). *ira kaki ira kakako dzinatara*

ira ka- ki ira ka- ka –ko jinat –ara
farmland POSS- my POSS- your –more big –IPFV
 ‘My farmland is bigger than your farmland.’

(29e). *min kakaani min kakisinko kabalʔanija*

min ka- kaani min ka- kisin -ko ka- balʔan –i –y –a
house POSS- our house POSS- your –more COML- wide –EPEN –COP –IPFV
 ‘Our house is wider than yours.’

Normally, the suffix *–ko* ‘from’ is used as a postposition. However, it is used to compare two entities in adverb clause of comparison with the sense ‘in comparison to /in comparison with’. It is particularly used when unequal entities are compared.

7.3.2. Complement Clause

According to Kroeger (2005: 219) “Complement clauses are clauses that occur as complements of a verb; in other words, they are required or licensed by the subcategorization features of the verb. They typically function as the subject or object of another clause, which is referred to as the MATRIX clause”.

In Bayso, complement clauses are introduced by complementizer prefixes *ka-*, *ta-* and *o-* which are also used as relativizers or relative pronouns in relative clauses.

(30a). *ese gidditʔifo tagalteto ani maale*

ese bayso ta- gal –t –e –to ani maal –e
she Bayso COMP- go home -3SG.F –PFV -as? I hear –PFV
 ‘I heard that she went to Giddicho.’

(30b). *abdissa geebbari addisabako ka?emejnaro ese kassa*

abdissa geebbari addisaba –ko ka- emet –naro ese

Abdissa tomorrow Addis Abeba –from COMP- come –FUT she

Kas –t –a

know -3SG.F –IPFV

‘She knows that Abdissa will come tomorrow from Addis Abeba.’

(30c). *aabbo kakeessa hawaasa kagiraro usu iin sege*

aabbo ka- keessa hawaasa ka- gir –aro usu iin seg –e

father ASC- his Hawasa COMP- live –IPFV he me tell –PFV

‘He told me that his father lives in Hawasa.’

(30d). *ese sakil goggoo jelamaro takasso ani abdatara*

ese sakil goggoo yel –am –aro ta- kas –t –o

she local beer how brew –PASS –IPFV COMP- know -3SG.F –IPFV

ani abdat –ara

I believe –IPFV

‘I believe that she knows how “sakil” is brewed.’

In the above examples, all the italicised parts represent complement clauses, and the remaining parts represent the main clauses. The complement clause is used as a complement or object of the main clause. In Bayso, Complement clause is not attested in a subject position. It always occurs preceding the main clause in the same ways as other subordinate clauses.

7.3.3. Converbial Construction

In Bayso, a chain or series of actions are expressed in a single complex sentence where all other verbs are subordinated by lengthening the perfective marker suffix *-e* in each of them except on the final verb of the main clause. This type of complex sentence usually consists of as many as subordinate clauses and a main clause that ends the sentence. The following examples illustrate converbs.

(31) a. *borgono hikki alatee jinjinaatee emetee kako angagee iye*

borgono hikki alat –ee jinjinaat –ee emet –ee

mangrove this sprout –CON grow –CON come –CON

kako angag –ee iy –e

when dry –CON fall –PFV

‘This mangrove tree, having sprout, having grown, having dried, and it fell down.’

In these series of actions, there are four converbs (chain of actions that happened one after the other) that are reduced to subordinate positions (alat-, jinjinaat-, emet-, angag-) and a single main verb (iy-). The converbs are denoted by suffixing long vowel –ee which also changes verb stem into gerundive. All the subordinate verbs and the main verb share the same subject ‘borgono hikki’. In some other series of actions, the subordinated verbs may have common subject with the main verb and different objects as illustrated below.

b. beke hamussee min jakartee sarsi aalissee baa beete

beke hamus –t –ee min shakaar –t –ee sarsi aalis –t –ee
water fetch -3SG.F –CON house clean -3SG –CON cloth wash-3SG.F-CON
 baa bee –t –e
market went -3SG.F –PFV

‘Having fetched water, having cleaned the house, and having washed clothes she went to market.

c. fuutto ababeene gunnee fuutto lagadeene fuutto suk’k’eene gafe oyeene k’olo oyeene k’olo sarsatanna hore horko

fuutto abab –ee –n –e gur –n –ee fuutto
cotton collect –CON -1PL -PFV SUBO -1PL –CON cotton
 lagad –ee –n –e fuutto suk’k’ –ee –n –e gashe
crush –CON -1PL –PFV cotton spin –CON -1PL –PFV traditional cloth
 oy –ee –n –e k’olo oy –ee –n –e k’olo
make –CON -1PL –PFV traditional dress make –CON -1PL -PFV tr. dress
 sarsat –arna hore horko
wear –IPFV before in the past

‘Having collected cotton, having crushed cotton, having spun cotton, having woven traditional blanket, having woven ‘gashe’ and having woven ‘k’olo’, we wore ‘k’olo’ in the past.’

In the series of actions illustrated in example, ‘b’ and ‘c’ above, each subordinated verb have their own separate objects. For example, in example ‘27b’, the verbs *hamus-*, *shakaar-* and *aalis-* have ‘beke’, ‘min’ and ‘sarsi’ as their objects, respectively. In example ‘27c’, the verbs *abab-* and *lagad-* have a common object ‘fuutto’ and the verb *oy-* has ‘gashe’ and ‘k’olo’ as its objects. In both examples, the underlined part is the main clause with which the action is terminated. In certain context, the coordinating clitic “dambe” is used as subordinating conjunction as in (31d).

d. *fuutto lagade keeree dambe* **lik'aak'a suk'k'aara**

fuutto lagad –e kee –ere –ee dambe lik'kaak'a suk'k' –(a)ara
cotton compress –PFV complete –PFV CON and again spindle spin –IPFV
 'Having compressed (the cotton), I spin it with spindle.'

In the above complex sentence, the subordinate clause (the italicised part) and the main clause (the bolded part) are conjoined with '*dambe*' which is used as a coordinating enclitic. In fact, the coordinating enclitic '*dambe*' is optional, that is, it can be deleted without changing the meaning of the sentence. This coordinating enclitic also conjoins two subordinating clauses (cf. 'g' below). The underlying form of the verb *keeree* in example 'd' above is 'keereee' where 'kee' is simple past form of the irregular verb 'kii' and '-ere' is the remote past/perfective marker and – the long vowel '-ee' is gerund/converb marker. However, since Bayso does not permit more than two sequences of vowels, the vowel –e is deleted on both sides.

In Bayso, chain of actions can also be expressed by using the subordinating clitic 'gur'-. The clitic 'gur-' has the subordinating function and it can be used instead of the long vowel –ee in expressing series of actions. Hence, the above sentences 'b' and 'd' can be rewritten as follows without change of meaning.

32. a. beke hamusse gudde min fakaarte gudde sarsi aalisse gudde baa beete

beke hamus –t –e gudde min shakaar –t –e gudde sarsi
water fetch -3SG.F –PFV SUBO house clean -3SG –PFV SUBO cloth
 aalis –t –e gudde baa bee –t –e
wash-3SG.F –PFV SUBO market went -3SG.F –PFV
 'Having fetched water, having cleaned house, and having washed cloth she went to market.'

b. *fuutto lagade keegure* dambe lik'aak'a suk'k'aara.

fuutto lagad –e kee **-gure** dambe lik'kaak'a suk'k' –(a)ara
cotton compress –PFV completed -SUBO and spindle spin –IPFV
 'Having compressed (the cotton), I spin it with spindle.'

c. *maarrabii oye keegure* **dambe** *walabo owayegure* kun''ub abayin biyaara

maarrabii oy –e kee –gure dambe walabo
fishing net make –PFV completed -SUBO and again boat
 oy –ay –e –gure kun''ub ab –ay bii –ara
make –ABEN –PFV -SUBO fish catch -ABEN go –IPFV
 'Having made fishing net, and again having made boat, I go to catch fish.'

In examples, (32a – c), the subordinator ‘gure’ is used instead of the long vowel –ee (which is converb/gerundive marker) to express series of actions. In example, 32‘b’ the subordinate clause (the italicised part) and the main clause (the underlined part) are conjoined with ‘dambe’. In example 32 ‘c’, the two subordinate clauses (the italicised ones) ‘*maarrabii oye kee gure*’ and ‘*walabo owaye gure*’ are also conjoined with ‘dambe’ Hence, the coordinating enclitic ‘dambe’ conjoins not only two independent clauses but also subordinating clause and main clause (cf. ‘b’ above) as well as two subordinating clauses as in ‘c’ above. However, the connector ‘dambe’ can be dropped, and therefore, the two subordinate clauses in example 32c and the subordinate clause and the main clause in example 32b may not be conjoined in any conjunction.

The subordinating clitic/ the subordinator (SUBO) ‘gur-’ has no independent lexical meaning. Its role is to reduce main verbs into subordinate ones. Hence, it is used in the construction of complex sentences. Although it is categorised as clitic, it is inflected for number, person and gender just like verbs. That is, it distinguishes number, gender and person. Observe the following examples.

- (33)
- a. ani aame *gure*... ‘I having eaten...’
 - b. ati aamte *gudde* (gurte) ... ‘You (2SG) having eaten...’
 - c. usu aame *gure*... ‘He having eaten...’
 - d. ese aamte *gudde* (gurte)... ‘She having eaten...’
 - e. no aamne *gunne* (gurne)... ‘We having eaten...’
 - f. isin aamteen *guddeen* (gurteen)... ‘You (2PL) having eaten...’
 - g. iso aameen *gureen* ... ‘They having eaten...’

As it observed in the above examples, the subordinator ‘gure’ bears different forms for different number, person and gender. It behaves like a verb.

7.4. Summary

The basic word order in Bayso is SOV although it allows flexibility. Sometimes the subject of a sentence is juxtaposed to the final position. In this language, modifiers may occur preceding or following their head. However, the position of the subordinate clause in a complex sentence is fixed, that is, it always occurs at sentence initial position. In Simple and compound sentences the verb complement normally occurs following the subject and preceding the verb.

Bayso is pospositional language. There are some independent postpositions and some suffixes that function as postpositions in the language.

Bayso employs different mechanisms of coordination and subordination. The compound sentences are conjoined by the coordinating conjunctions *ade*, *dambe?ade*, the suffix *-na* and *woyko*. The subordinating conjunctions include *arri*, *go*, *gorata*, *gore*, *kako*, *taa*, *kako...gorata* which are used to introduce the temporal clause. The other subordinating conjunctions *go* and *goggoo/-n* introduce conditional clause and purpose clauses, respectively. Both relative clause and complement clause are introduced by the same conjunctions *ka-*, *ta-* and *o-*. The conjunction *go* 'if/when' introduces both conditional clause and temporal clause. All these subordinating conjunctions occur preceding a verb in the subordinate clause.

Series of actions (that contain as many as subordinate clauses) are expressed by lengthening the final vowel of the perfective marker *-e*, and/or by using the subordinating particle 'gur-' which is of course inflected for number and gender even if it is categorised as non-lexical item.

Chapter 8

Summary and Conclusion

Bayso is highly threatened language. Eventhough some veloraization programs have began at Kebele and Regional levels, they may not redeem Bayso language and culture from extinction due to rampant bilibgualism, population reduction and expansion of urbanization. Words and everyday expressions are being inflitirated into Bayso from neighbouring and dominant langues which is a sign of language endangerment.

The inventory of Bayso consonant phonemes reveals 28 consonants which include 7 plosives, 3 implosives, 5 ejective series, 5 fricatives, 2 affricates, 2 nasals, 2 liquids and 2 glides or semi vowels. The inventory of vowel phonemes identified 5 short vowels and their longer counterparts which makes the total vowels ten. Voewl length is contrastive in Bayso which is a common feature in Cushitic languages. Eight syllable types are identified: V, VV, VVC, CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC and VC. The most common syllable type is CV. Both consonant cluster and consonant gemination do not occur at onset and coda positions.

Bayso permits a sequence of two like consonants [gemination of consonants] only at word medial position usually in intervocalic position. Most consonants are geminated except /dʒ/, /dʔ/, /h/, /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʔ/. The cluster of consonants, that is, sequence of two distinct consonants is also permitted only at medial position. Generally, sonorants constitute the first member in the consonant cluster, and obstruents constitute the second member. Two distinct sonorants never occur in a sequence whereas two distinct obstruents may occur. In other words, whenever obstruent phoneme appears as the first member in consonant cluster, the second member should also be another obstruent. In Bayso, a sequence of two distinct vowels is not permitted, but a sequence of two like vowels is permitted in all word positions. Both consonant gemination and vowel length are phonemic.

Assimilation is the most phonological process identified in the language. The most common assimilation processes include labialization, palatalization, velarization and nasalization. The assimilations identified include voicing assimilation, place assimilation, manner assimilation, fusional assimilation and phonemic assimilations. The assimilation processes involve either progressive or regressive assimilation. The other phonological processes identified include dissimilation, deletion and epenthesis. The segment /i/ is the most frequent epenthetic vowel, and the long vowels /u:/ and /o:/ and the non-syllabic glottal stop /ʔ/ and the semi vowel /j~y/are also attested as having the epenthetic role in Bayso.

Generally, nouns are inflected for number and case. They are not marked for gender with suffixes. However, both animate and inanimate nouns are arbitrarily classified as masculine and feminine. The language has four number systems: singular, singulative, paucal and plural (multiple references). The singular is not marked with affixes, and they are just the citation forms. Singulative is denoted with *-titi/-ti*. The choice of *-ti* or *-titi* is determined by word endings, that is it is phonologically determined. If a noun ends with vowel the suffix *-ti* is attached, and if a noun ends with consonant the suffix *-titi* is attached to mark the particular entity. The paucal number is marked with the suffix *-ja/-jeja* that show the quantity between two and ten. However, all countable nouns do not add the paucal suffix. Only countable nouns that are permanently located at the same place or that can be found at the same place and time add the paucal suffix. Bayso singular countable nouns are pluralized via suffixation, reduplication and internal modification of singular noun stems. Most nouns are pluralized via suffixation, and the plural suffixes are *-l, -le, -li, -aal, -eel, -ool, -jool, -laal* and *-jolaal*. These plural suffixes mark different degree of quantity. For example, *-l, -le, -aal, -eel, -ool* and *-laal* mark less number of quantity of the same type, and the suffix *-jool* marks a great number of quantity of the same type in comparison with the latter ones. The plural suffix *-jolaal* marks very great number of quantity and variety. Therefore, number in Bayso goes beyond plural marking because they also show variety. Double pluralisation and multiple pluralisation are common. However, this language is losing its marked feature because the bayso young generation do not make distinction between the use of plural suffixes such as *-jool* and *jolaal*.

Some masculine singular nouns become feminine, and all feminine singular nouns become masculine when they are pluralized which is known as gender polarity. Feminine plural nouns require feminine singular agreement markers on verbs, adjectives and demonstratives. On the other hand, masculine plural nouns require masculine singular agreement markers on verbs, adjectives and demonstratives although they are plural in number. In Bayso, only nouns with paucal suffixes require plural agreement or concord.

Indefiniteness is not morphologically marked on nouns, but definiteness is marked on nouns by suffixing either *-i, -u, -e* or *-o*. The choice of *-i, -u, -e* or *-o* seems to be lexically determined. That is, their distribution is not phonologically conditioned.

There are generally two grammatical genders – masculine and feminine. All inanimate entities are assigned either masculine or feminine gender. All animate entities are also reassigned either as masculine or feminine gender regardless of their biological gender. In both cases, the gender

assignment is arbitrary. That is, it is not based on certain criteria such as colour or size. Some animate entities, particularly human beings and in rare cases animal, have separate lexical items for masculine and feminine entities as in *babbaar* ‘male human’ and *heleel* ‘female human’. In some cases biological gender of animate entities (-human) is expressed by using gender marking independent lexical items *korma* ‘male’ and *t’altu* ‘female’. These words usually follow the nouns that they modify as in *ker korma* ‘dog’ and *ker t’altu* ‘bitch’.

In Bayso, both nominative and accusative cases are not morphologically marked on nouns. Yet, Bayso is nominative –accusative language since the same noun form can be the subject of both transitive verb and intransitive verbs. Moreover, some personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns have distinct forms for nominative and accusative cases. Some other cases are marked either morphologically by attaching a suffix or by using postpositions.

Noun derivation is not as productive as other genetically related languages. Yet, nouns are derived from different word categories by attaching different nominalizer affixes. The affixes include –nte, –itti, –ii, –aan, –umma, –ma, –nati, –ano and the circumfixes ka- ... -aro and ta- ... -atto. The suffixes –umma, –nati, –ma and –nte derive abstract nouns from concrete ones. The circumfixes ka- ... -aro and ta- ... -atto derive agentive masculine and agentive feminine nouns from verb stems, respectively. Manner nominals are derived by attaching the suffix –iti on the verb stem or by reduplicating the first syllable of the verb stem or both by reduplicating the first syllable of the verb stem and by attaching the suffix –iti. Action or gerundive nominals are derived by attaching the suffix –ii on the verb stem. Infinitive nominals are derived by attaching the suffix –ano on the verb stem.

Bayso has independent personal pronouns. Some pronouns 1SG and 2PL have distinct subject and object forms whereas 3SG.M, 3SG.F, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL have the same subject and object forms. The indirect object of personal pronouns is formed by suffixing –n, which is a dative marker suffix, on the direct object form of personal pronouns. In Bayso personal pronouns the gender distinction is observed only in 3SG.

Bayso has independent possessive pronouns. The possessive pronouns have distinct forms for masculine and feminine possessed entities as well as for singular and plural possessed entities. The possessive marker prefixes ka-, ta- and o- are prefixed to possessive pronouns based on the number and gender of the entity possessed. However, the possessive marker prefixes can be dropped if the entity possessed precedes the possessor or possessive pronoun. Even though, the

choice of ka-, ta- and o- is based on the number and gender of the entity possessed, the immediate constituent of these prefixes is the possessor one.

Demonstrative pronouns agree with number and gender of the nouns that they occur with. They occur either preceding or following the noun that they modify. They also have distinct forms to show proximal and distal points. Moreover, demonstratives have distinct subject and object forms. The subject forms are *hikki*, *hiitti*, and *hin'i*, and their corresponding object forms are *hikka*, *hitta* and *hin'a*, respectively.

The prefixes ka-, ta- and o- have multiple grammatical functions. They are used as relativizer in relative clause and introduce a subordinate clause. In addition, they mark possession or simply relationship when they are prefixed to nouns as in , for example, *Ballamo ka Worba*, *ibaaddo ka Bayso*, *Hegellite ta Worba* and *oorija o Ballaamo*. They also mark genitive construction as in *debe tase* 'cow's tail', *min ka Ballamo* 'Ballamo's house' and *il ta gaa* 'tree's fruit'. Moreover, these prefixes are attached the verb in subordinate clauses, and they are used to form cardinal numbers *kakoo* '1st', *ka lama* '2^d', *ka seedi* '3rd', *ka afar* '4th'...etc.

Verbs are inflected for person, gender, number, aspect-tense and mood. Person is overtly marked on the verb stem for 2SG, 2PL and 1PL. The second person singular and plural is marked by suffixing –t on the verb stem and the first person plural is marked by suffixing –n on the verb stem. However, person is not overtly marked on the verb stem for 1SG, 3SG.M, 3SG.F and 3PL. In Bayso, number is marked on the verb stem only for 2PL and 3PL by attaching the suffixes –an and –en in the imperfective and perfective, respectively. Gender is marked only for 3SG. Accordingly, 3SG.F is marked by suffixing –t on the verb stem, but 3SG.M is not overtly marked on the verb stem. The suffix –t has multiple functions in Bayso as it marks person in 2SG and PL and gender in 3SG.F.

Perfective aspect/ simple past tense is marked by suffixing –e on the verb stem and imperfective aspect/present tense is marked by suffixing –ara/-a on the verb stem. The present perfect and the past perfect (remote past) are marked by suffixing –era and –ere, respectively. Progressive aspects are expressed with the combination of the main verb and auxiliary verb *gir-*. The progressive marker suffix –aa is attached on the main verb and the tenses markers suffixes –a and –e are attached on the auxiliary verb *gir-*. The arrangement/order of agreement markers in Bayso is person/gender, aspect-tense and number.

Affirmative imperative is marked by suffixing *-i/-in* and *-a* on the verb stem for 2SG and 2PL, respectively. The verb *emet-* ‘come’ has irregular imperative marking. The imperative of the verb *emet-* ‘come’ is expressed with the suppletive form *koy* ‘come!’ and *koya* ‘come!’ for 2SG and PL, respectively. The negative imperative and negative jussive are marked by prefixing the negative particle *aroo-* to the verb stem. The affirmative jussive is denoted with the circumfix *ha-...-o*.

Verbal negation is expressed by prefixing the negative marker *lakko-* or its short form *la-* to the verb stem, and the suffix *-o* is attached on the verb stem to mark imperfective negative verb. The perfective negative verb is marked with the suffix *-e* which also marks the perfective affirmative verb.

Both declarative clause and interrogative clause are structurally the same in Bayso, but declarative clause is marked with falling intonation whereas interrogative clause is marked with raising intonation. However, in ‘yes/no’ questions, the suffix *-lla* is attached on the verb stem to mark affirmative interrogative clause. The negative interrogative clause is marked by prefixing *la-* and by suffixing *-lla* to the verb stem.

New verbal stems are derived via suffixation and reduplication. Accordingly, passive verb stems are derived by attaching the suffix *-am* on the verb root, and causative verb stems are derived by attaching the suffixes *-s*, *-is*, *-iis*, *-siis* and *-aas*. The frequentative verb stems are derived via reduplication of the first syllable of the verb stem. The auto-benefactive or middle verb stems are derived by suffixing *-at* on the verb root. Moreover, complex verb stems are derived by combining two or more different verbal derivational suffixes.

Adjectives are inflected for number and gender to agree with the nouns that they occur with. The singular adjective stems are pluralized through suffixation and total or partial reduplication just like noun stems. Masculine and feminine gender is marked on adjectives by suffixing *-ki* and *-ti*, respectively. But, the prefix *o-* is attached to the adjective stems when they modify paucal noun forms. In Bayso, adjectives appear in two main types of syntactic contexts: as attributive adjective directly modifying a noun and as predicative adjective as complement of copula verb.

Modifiers occur either preceding or following their head. The basic word order is SOV, but the word order is flexible. The subject of a clause can be juxtaposed at the end of the clause, and the direct object may occur either preceding or following the indirect object. However, the subordinate clause has fixed position, that is, it always occurs at initial positions.

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Appendix I: Text Annotation

The appendix consists of two annotated tales and a set of proverbs. It also consists of bilingual word lists (Bayso-English).

Tale 1: The Five Campaigners

/kaʔidanija/

ka- idan -y -a

COML- good -COP -IPFV

‘It is good.’

/ma:ma: hitta: sessegi:n manko:ho:samemarantini: somma:sa:tara:n/

maammaa hittaa sesseg -ii -n mankoo- hoos -am -e -marantinii

tale this tell -EPEN -to since- ask -PASS -PFV -since

sommaasaat -ara -an

thank -IPFV -2PL

‘I am grateful since I was asked to tell this tale.’

/ma:mma:ʔade hitta:ri gi:n sega: kagira ani ba:llamo kaworba:ja:/

maammaa ade hittaari gii -n seg -aa ka- gir -a ani baallamo

tale and today reach -until tell -GER REL- be/exist -IPFV I Ballamo

ka- worbaa -y -a

ASC- Worbaa -COP -IPFV

‘I am Ballamo Worba who lives until today telling this tale.’

/maa:mma:ʔade: tabajsota wajko: tagidditʃo/

maammaa addee ta- bayso -t -a waykoo ta- giddicho

tale but GEN- Bayso -COP-IPFV or GEN- Giddicho

‘But the tale is that of Giddicho or Bayso (this is Giddicho’s or Bayso’s tale).’

/meta ma:mma:/

me –t –a maammaa

what -COP –IPFV tale

“What is the tale all about?”

/horko: iba:ddo: keno: ra:tto: makkarengurene: sa:je hijjuma:ko: bi:n du:la be:nna:/

horkoo ibaaddo keen -o raattoo makkar –e –en -gurenee

once upon a time man five -DEF together discuss –PFV -3PL -SUBO

saaye hiyyummaa -koo bii -n duula bee -n -a

cows poverty -from come out –to campaign go -3PL – IPFV

‘Once upon a time, the five people having discussed together, said, ‘We will go to campaign and take cows to come out of poverty’.’”

/ duula biigunne kahelanne aata?i gamanna ha:ʔameene makkareen /

duula bii –gurne ka- hel -at –n –e aata?i gamat –n -a

campaign go out -SUBO REL- get –ABEN -1PL taking come home -1PL -IPFV

haa- am –ee –n -e makkar –e –en

like this say –GER -1PL –PFV discuss –PFV -3PL

"They discussed saying, ‘Having went out to campaign and taking whatever we obtained, we come back home’."

/du:la bi:n ke:n/

duula bii –n kee –en

campaign go out –to readied -3PL

“They prepared to go to campaign.”

/duulana be:n/

duula -na bee -en

campaign -and went out -3PL

“And they went to campaign.”

/duulana obe:ra:n iba:ddo: kenno: hin”i ajjos ajjosjja:n go?amno /

/duula -na o- bee -ra -an ibaaddo keen -o hin”i ayyo -s

campaign -and REL- go -IPFV -3PL person five -DEF these who -PL

ayyo -s -i -y -a -an go- am -n -o

who -PL -EPEN -COP -IPFV -3PL when- say -1PL -IPFV

“When we say, ‘Who are these five people who go to campaign?’”

/ko: iba:ddo:/

koo ibaaddo

one human being

“The first one is the human being.”

/kalami luba:n/

ka- lama -i lubaan

ordinal- two -ordinal lion

“The second is a lion.”

/kaseedi habe:ssa/

ka- seed -i habeessa

ordinal- three -ordinal snake

“The third is a snake.”

(Note: the circumfix ‘ka- ... -i’ demotes ordinal number)

/kaʔppari: ele:n/

ka- appar -i eleen

ordinal- four -ordinal fire

“The fourth is fire.”

/kakeni beke:/

ka- keen -i bekee

ordinal- five -ordinal water

“The fifth is water.”

halʔe:ngure:n ra:tto: du:la be:n/

halʔeen -gureene rattoo duula bee -n

these -be together campaign went -3PL

“These persons went to the campaign together.”

/du:la gobe:ra:n manko:se:te:ni: sa:je omoggan helate:n/

duula go- bee -ra -an mankoo seet -e -en -ii saaye

campaign when- went out -PFV -3PL where go -PFV -3PL -? cows

o- moggan helat -e -en

COML- many get -PFV -3PL

"When they went out to campaign, they obtained many cows where they went (for campaign)."

/sa:je iso:nʔadee odo da:no le: da:no hikka de:n/

saaye isoo -n -ade odo daano lee daano hikka dee -en

cows those -DAT -but owner elephant been elephant this see -3PL

"But they saw that the owner of those cows was an elephant."

/da: no kaʔatija sa:je hin”a: lakkosisinaro misi liigunne sa:je hin”a: a:nta: amenə

hamas’s’een makkare:n/

daano ka- ati -y -a saaye hin”aa lakko- sis -i -naroo
elephant COML- powerful -COP-IPFV cows these not- give -EPEN -NEG.FUT
misi lii -gurne saaye hin”a aat -n -aa am -e -en
how be -how cows these take -1PL-IPFV say -IPFV -3PL
hamas’s’ -e -en makkar -e -en
sit -PFV -3PL discuss -PFV -3PL

"They sat down and discussed saying, "The elephant is powerful; it will not give us these cows, and how do we take these cows'?" /

/gomakkarra:n luban daano hikkaani da:nderowa: ha:ame/

go- makkar -ra -an luban daano hikka ani daand -e -ro -waa am -e
when- discuss -PFV -3PL lion elephant this I can -EPEN-PFV -EMPH say -PFV

"When they discussed, the lion said I can beat this elephant."

/misi da:ndetta: goʔameen ani da:nderowa: a:me/

misi daand -e -t -aa go- am -e -en ani daand -e -ro -waa am -e
how can -EPEN -COP-IPFV when-say -PFV -3PL I can -EPEN-PFV -EMPH say -PFV

"When they said 'How can you beat an elephant?', 'The lion said, ' I can beat it' ."

/medibedda kaʔidanija da:ndero go ʔante allee ati goggo: daa:ndi:natto deeno: ha: ʔame:n/

medhibedda ka- idan -i -y -a daand -e -ro go- am -t -e allee
alright COML- good -EPEN -COP -IPFV can -EPEN-PFV if- say -2SG -PFV how
ati goggoo daand -i -narto dee -n -o haa- am -e -en
you how can -EPEN -FUT see -1PL -IPFV like this- say -PFV -3PL

"Ok, alright!, 'If you said I can beat, we will see how you beat', they said."

/ha:gome:n sijjama sijjama se:te ga:degure pirame takorate: bagadi ?mase: bagadi: haamas's'e/

haa- go- am -e -en siyy -am -a siyy -am -a seet -e
like this when- say -PFV -3PL hide -PASS -IPFV hide -PASS -IPFV go -PFV
gaad -e -gure piram -e ta- kor -at -ee bagad -i haamas's' -e
crawl -PFV -SUBO jump -PFV REL- climb up -ABEN -PFV back -on sit -PFV

"When they said, 'We will see how you win', the lion walked being hidden, being hidden and crawled, and then jumped and climbed up and sat on the back of an elephant."

/ bagadi: haamas's'e gure: daanoko kara:nkur ka:la:l goggo:? ilko aame aame da:no: hikka lagade/

bagad -ii hamas's'e -gure daano -ko k'araank'ur kaalaal goggoo- ilko
back -on sit -SUBO elephant -from nape alone with- teeth
aam -e aam -e daano hikka lagad -e
eat -PFV eat -PFV elephant this kill -PFV

"Sitting on the back of the elephant, the lion killed it (the elephant) by mutilating its nape only."

/k'ara:nk'ur goggoose lagade/

k'araank'ur goggoos -e lagad -e
nape cut repeatedly -PFV kill -PFV

"The lion killed the elephant by repeatedly gnawing/cutting the elephant's nape."

/da:no hikka kako:lagadiro:goratanu: saaje hin"a wadate:n ke:n/

daano hikka kakoo - lagad -i -ro -goratanuu saaye hin"a
elephant this when- kill -EPEN -PFV -time cows these

wad –at –e –en kee –n

drive –ABEN –PFV -3PL started -3PL

"When the lion killed the elephant, they started the journey driving these cows."

**/sa:je wada:j goke:ra:n hora kenni: kagire:nko: appari: mina too gale:ngurene
iba:ddo:nə: eeleenne: bekene: habe:ssane: mina too gale:n gure:ne hikki: hassu:
da:no: ka?ati: no: ka?abstanne lagadegure sa:je hin”a ka?a:tera no:n ijjami
lakkosisiro misi le:na: ha:?ame:n makkare:n/**

saaye wad –ay go- kee –ra –an hora keen -i

cows drive –ABEN when– started –PFV -3PL first five -DEF

ka- gir –e –en -ko appar –i mina too gal –e –en –guerene

REL- be –PFV -3PL –from four – DEF side one come –PFV -3PL –SUBO

ibaaddo –nee eelen -nee beke –nee habeessa -nee mina too gal –e –en

man -and fire -and water –and snake -and side one come –PFV -3PL

-gureene hikkii hassuu daano ka- atii no ka- absat –arne

-SUBO this that elephant COM- powerful we REL- fear –PFV

lagad -e -gure saaye hin”a ka- aat –era noo -n iyyami

kill –PFV –SUBO cows these REL- take –PFV we -DAT permit/allow

lakkoo- sis -i -ro misi lee -arnaa haa- am –e –en

not- give –EPEN –NEG.IPFV how be –IPFV like this- say –PFV -3PL

makkar –e –en

discuss -PFV -3PL

"When they started the journey driving the cows, among the five campaigners, four of them; the man, the fire, the water and the snake came together, discussed and said, 'this lion who killed the powerful elephant that we are all afraid of and took these cows does not give us these cows, what shall we do?'"

/gomakkarra:n habe:ssa ani da:ndarowwa usu: ha:ʔame/

go- makkar -ra -an habeessa ani daand -aro -wwa usuu haa- am -e
when- discuss -PFV -3PL snake I can -IPFV -EMPH him like this- say -PFV

“When they discussed, the snake said, ‘I can beat him (the lion)’.”

**/ hikka kano: dijaanne kaʔabsatanne daano usu kaʔati kalagade saaje hin"a
kaʔaatero misi ati lagadinaatta goʔame:n ani da:nderowa tusa i:sa isin ha:ʔame/**

hikka ka- noo dii -arne ka- absat -arne daano usu ka- ati
this REL- we see -PFV REL- fear -PFV elephant that COML- powerful
ka- lagad -e saaye hin"a ka- aat -ero misi ati lagad -i -narta
REL- kill -PFV cows these REL- -take -PFV how you kill -EPEN -FUT
go- am -e -en ani daand -ero -wa tus -a iis -a isin
when- say -PFV -3PL I can -PFV -EMPH show -IMP leave -IMP you (PL)
haa- am -e
like this- say -PFV

"When they said, 'How do you kill this powerful lion that we are afraid of and that killed the elephant and took these cows while we saw'?; the snake said, 'I can kill and beat it (the lion) just you show it to me and leave it'."

**/ meddibebedda taʔame:n sa:je hin"a wadatara:n wadatara:n wadatara:n
wadatara: goʔeme:ra:n ul kako e:s gi: e:s kaʔalo: kakoge:ra: kakon:ge:ra:ngorata
habe:ssa orro: mare sijjame tase:t:e habe:ssa luban hikka e:gge: idde: lagade /**

meddibebedda ta- am -e -en saaye hin"a wad -at -ara -an
alright REL- say -PFV -3PL cows these drive -ABEN-IPFV -3PL
wad -at -ara -an wad -at -ara -an wad -at -ara
drive -ABEN -IPFV -3PL drive -ABEN -IPFV -3PL drive -ABEN -IPFV

go- emet –ara –an ul kako ees ees ka- aloo kako- gee –raa
when- come –IPFV –3PL land when grass grass COML- very when- reach –PFV
 kakoon- gee –ra –an –gorata habeessa orroo mar –e siyy –am –e
when- reach –PFV –3PL –when lion in crawl –PFV hide –PASS –PFV
 ta- seet –ee habeessa luban hikka eegg –ee idd –ee lagad –e
REL- go –CON snake lion this stub –CON bite –CON kill –PFV

“They said, ‘alright’, and went on driving the cows, and when they arrived at the land covered with very long grasses the snake being hidden and crawled in the grass killed the lion by biting.’

/iddē: kakolija:rogoratanu lubani hikki goje/

idd –ee kako- lii –aro –goratanu luban-i hikki goy –e
bite –GER when- be –IPFV –when lion –DEF this die –PFV

“When the snake bit it, the lion died.”

**/luban gogoje sa:je hin" a wadatara:n wadatara:n sesse:ta: sesse:ta: se:te:ngure:ne
 giddana:nna: hikki: luba:n luba:n hikka kalagade ka?awwade kalagadera habe:ssa
 hikki sa:je hin" a lakkosisiro: misi leenna: ame:ne: iba:ddone ele:nne: bekene: kale
 be:n makkare:n/**

luban go- goy –e saaye wad –at –ara –an wad –at –ara –an
lion when- die –PFV cows drive –ABEN –IPFV –3PL drive –BEN –IPFV –3PL
 sesseet –aa sesseet –aa seet –e –en –gureene gidda –na –naa hikki luban
walk –GER walk –GER go –PFV –3PL –SUBO now –and –EMPH this lion
 luban hikka ka- lagad –e ka- awwad –e ka- lagad –era habeessa
lion this REL- kill –PFV REL- win –PFV REL- kill –PFV lion

hikki saaye hin" a lakko- sis -i -roo misi lee -arnaa
this cows these not- give -EPEN -NEG.IPFV how be -IPFV
 am -e -en -ee ibaaddo -n -e eleen -n -e beke -n -e kale
say -PFV -3PL man -EPEN-DEF fire -EPEN-DEF water -EPEN-DEF separately
 bee -en makkar -e -en
went out -3PL discuss -PFV -3PL

“When the lion died, they continued driving these cows, and on the way, the man, the fire and the water detached themselves and discussed separately saying, ‘And even now this snake that killed the lion does not give us these cows; what shall we do?’, they asked one another.”

/bi: gomakkarra:n ele:no ani da:nderowa: i:n tusa isin usu: ha:ʔante/

bii go- makkar -ra -an eleen -o ani daand -ero -waa
go out when- discuss -PFV -3PL fire -DEF I can -PFV -EMPH
 iin tus -a isin usuu am -t -e
me show -IMP you (PL) him say -3SG.F -PFV

“When they went out and discussed, the fire said, ‘I can beat it (the snake), just show it to me’.”

**/ha:goʔa:nte medibedda ame:ngure:ne sa:je hin" a wadata: wadata: wadata:
 wadata: seete kakoliya:re:ngorata giddana:nna ulkako e:s kaʔati kakogiro
 gija:regorata ele:n hore:na hare:na tabe:be:te: t'e: hasa:sse: abte: habe:ssa hikka
 lagadde/**

haa- go- am -t -e medibedda am -e -en -gureene saaye hin" a
like this- when say -3SG.F -PFV alright say -PFV -3PL -SUBO cows these
 wad -at -aa wad -at -aa wad -at -aa wad -at -aa seet -e
drive -ABEN -GER drive -ABEN -GER drive -ABEN -GER drive -ABEN go -PFV

kako- lii –are –en -gorata gidda –na -na ul -kakko ees ka- ati
when- be –PFV -3PL –when now –and –EMPH land -when grass COM- strong

kako- gir -o gii –are -gorata eleen horee -na haree –na
when- exist –IPFV reach –PFV –when fire front –and back –and

ta- beebēe –t –ee t’ee hasaass -ee ab –t –ee habeessa
REL- burn -3SG.F –GER middle leave –CON hold -3SG.F -CON lion

hikka lagad –t -e
this kill -3SG.F –PFV

“When the fire said ‘I can beat it, they said 'alright' and went on deriving these cows, and on the way when they arrived at grassland the fire burning out from the back and front of the snake, that is leaving and holding the snake between the fire flame, killed the snake.”

/ kakolagaddegorata: ?iba:ddo:ne: elenne: bekene: se:di hese:n/

kako- lagad –t –e -gorataa ibaaddo –n -e eleen –n -e beke -n -e
when- kill -3SG.F-PFV –when man -EPEN –DEF fire -EPEN-DEF water –EPEN- DEF

seed –i hes –e –en
three –DEF remain –PFV -3PL

“When the fire killed the snake, the three of them; the man, the fire and the water remained.”

**/ se:ddi: gohese:ra:n sa:je hin" a wadata: seete:ngure:ne ele:no: hitti habe:ssa hikka
talagadde:tta no:n ?e:jjami lakko: saaje hin" a sissoo misi leenna ameenee iba:ddo:tina:
bekena wota makkare:n/**

seed –i go- hes -eera –an saaye hin" a wad –at –aa seet –e –en
three -DEF when- remain –PFV -3PL cows these drive –BEN –GER go –PFV -3PL

-gureene eleen -o hitti habeessa hikka ta- lagad –t –eerta noo –n
-SUBO fire –DEF this snake this REL- kill -3SG.F –PFV we –DAT

eeyyami lakko- saaye hin”a sis –t –o misi lee –arna
allow/permit not- cows these give -3SG.F –NEG.IPFV how be –IPFV
 am –e –en –ee ibaaddo –ti –na beke –na wota makkar –e –en
say –PFV -3PL –GER man –SNG –and water –and together discuss –PFV -3PL

“When the three of them remained, they continued driving the cows, and on the way the man and the water discussed together saying, ‘this fire that killed the lion does not give us these cows what shall we do?’ they asked each other.”

/gomakkarra:n beke tʃʼalliʔami saaje wadina ati se:ta: se:ta: gobe:nne ani gatʃfo: da:nde:ra ele:n taba:siro ani da:nde:rowa: ame:n beke hin”i/

go- makkar –ra –an beke c’alliʔam –i saaye wad –i –na ati
when- discuss –PFV -3PL water keep quiet –IMP cows drive –IPM –and you (SG)
 seet –aa seet –aa go- bee –n –e ani gacho daand –eera
go –GER go –GER when- went -1PL –PFV I extinguish can –PFV
 eelen ta- baas –i –ro ani daand -eero -waa am –e –en
fire REL- extinguish –EPEN –PFV I can -PFV –EMPH say –PFV -3PL
 beke hin”i
water these

“When they discussed, the water said, ‘You (man) keep quiet and drive the cows; while we are driving the cows, I can extinguish the fire’.”

/meddfibedda ame:gure: sa:je hin”a wadata: wadata: gose:tare:ngira:ntini se:te: kakoga: ga:ko dage:n kakowadami: wadami: korte: wadami:ko daga:gira:ntini: beke hin”i he:gel taʔabba:bate:n hiit’ate:n tadage:n ele:n hitta baase:n/

meddfibedda am –e –en –guree saaye hin”a wad –at –aa
alright say –PFV -3PL –SUBO cows these drive –ABEN –GER

wad -at -aa go- seet -are -en -giraantini seet -ee kako- gaa
drive -ABEN -GER when- go -PFV -3PL -when go -GER when- tree
gaa -ko dag -e -en kako- wadamii wadamii kor -t -ee
tree -up cimb up -PFV -3PL when- mountain mountain climb -3SG.F -GER
wadami -ko dag -aa -giraantii beke hin"i heegel ta- abbaab -at -e -en
mountain -up climb -GER -while water these downward REL- return -ABEN -PFV -3P
hiit'at -e -en ta- dag -e -en eleen hitta baas -e -en
try -PFV -3PL REL- climb up -PFV -3PL fire this extinguish -PFV -3PL

"The man said 'alright', and they continued driving the cows; then the fire tried to climb up a tree and then a mountain, but the water made an effort to climb up the tree and the mountain and returned down and extinguished the fire before it (the fire) climbed up the tree or the mountain."/

/ʔele:n hitta kako:ba:sira:ngorata bekena iba:ddo:tina lama hese:n/

eleen hitta kakoo- baas -i -ra -an -gorata beke -na ibaado -ti -na
fire this when- extinguish -EPEN -PFV -3PL -when water -and man -SNG -and
lama hes -e -en
two remain -PFV -3PL

"When the water extinguished the fire, the water and the man, the two, remained.

/ko: ko:ne wota makkari:n talli makka:ra: wa:te:n/

koo koo-ne wota makkar -ii -n talli makkar -ra -an waat -e -en
one one-with together discuss -EPEN -to how discuss -IPFV -3PL lack -PFV -3PL

"Now to discuss with each other, they lacked the means to do so."

/bobbogi: abate:ngure:ne sa:je: hin”a: wadatara:n wadatara:n wadatara:n wadatara hal?a: se:te:ngure:ne: se:j kako:k’a?e: gabbalama: kako:se:tara:ngorata iba:ddo:ti hikki kalakale malatek’op’p’ate/

bogbog -ii abat -e -en -gureene saaye hin”a wad -at -ara -an
abdomen -in hold -PFV -3PL -SUBO cows these drive -ABEN -IPFV -3PL
 wad -at -ara -an wad -at -ara -an wad -at -ara hal?aa
drive -ABEN -IPFV -3PL drive -ABEN -IPFV -3PL drive -ABEN -IPFV like this
 seet -e -en -gureene seey kako- k'a?e gabbal -am -aa kako-
go -PFV -3PL -SUBO go when- homestead approach -PASS -GER when-
 seet -ara -an -gorata ibaaddo -ti hikki kalakale k'op'p' aat -e mal -at -e
go -IPFV -3PL -when man -SNG this separately think -PFV plan -ABEN -PFV

"Keeping the issue in their respective mind, they went on driving the cows and then the man worked out a plan separately when they were being approached their homestead."

/malategure misi lee hikki iba:ddoti: sa:je hin”a didati: wadana: tatire wadam ele abba:be: wade/

mal -at -e -gure misi lee ibaaddo -ti hikki saaye hin”a
plan -ABEN -PFV -SUBO what be man -SNG this cows these
 dida -ti wad -an -aa tatir -e wadam -ele abbaab -ee wad -e
plain -to drive -ABEN -GER refuse -PFV mountain -up return -GER drive -PFV

"What did this man plan? He refused to drive the cows to the plain, and instead he drove them up the mountain."

**/wadam ele abbaabeekako: wadirogatanu beke: korata: se:te:n korata: se:te:n
waateen haararti: haararti: he:se:n/**

wadam -ele abbaab -ee kako- wad -i -ro -goratanu beke

mountain -up return -GER when- drive -EPEN -PFV -when water

kor -at -aa seet -e -en kor -at -aa seet -e -en

climb -ABEN -GER go -PFV -3PL climb -ABEN -GER go -PFV -3PL

waat -e -en haar -artii haar -artii hees -e -en

be unable -PFV -3PL behind -to behind -to remain -PFV -3PL

"When the man drove the cows up the mountain, the water remained behind after it had attempted but failed to climb up the mountain."

**/ati hagge ge:sattan lahittarra: ha:ssolla go?amen ha:saro: ama: ama: elewadami
sa:je wadate: be/**

ati hagge gees -arta -an la- hittarra haas -o -la la- hittarra

you (SG) where take -IPFV -3PL not- here bring EPEN-FOC not- here

haas -o -la go- am -e -en haas -aroo am -aa

bring back -EPEN -FOC when- say -PFV -3PL bring back -IPFV say -GER

ele- wadami saaye wad -at -ee be

up- mountain cows drive -ABEN -GER went up

"When the water said, 'Where do you take these cows? Don't you bring them back?'; the man climbed up the mountain driving the cows while he is saying, 'okay, I will bring them back'."

/beke waateen haar heseen/

beke waat -e -en haar hes -e -en

water be unable -PFV -3PL behind remain -PFV -3PL

"The water remained behind since it attempted but failed to climb up the mountain."

/iba:ddo:ti sa:je a:tate gale/

ibaaddo -ti saaye aat -at -e gal -e

man -SNG cows take -ABEN-PFV go home -PFV

"The man went home taking the cows with him."

**/beke: hi'ini: wadami hitta a:min lugunda ama: wa:te wadami hitta lugunda ama:
botf'a: botf'a: hese:n bujje:n/**

beke -e hi'ini wadami hitta aam -i -n lugunda

water these mountain this eat -EPEN cause to fall down

am -aa waat -e wadami hitta lugunda am -aa

say -GER be unable mountain this cause to fall down say -GER

boc' -aa boc' -aa hes -e -en buyyeen

flog -GER flog -GER remain -PFV -3PL still today

"The water, unable to cause it falls down, remained lashing the mountain until today."

/beke: wadami hitta lugudi:n botf'a: botf'a: ga:tfimallo: met't'a:me:n/

bekee wadami lugud -ii -n boc'a -aa boc'a -aa

water mountain cause to fall -EPEN -to lash -GER lash -GER

gaashimallo met't' -aam -e -en

water wave creat -PASS -PFV -3PL

"Since the waters continuously lash against the mountain to cause it falls down, the water waves were created in the process."

/ gaafjimallo met't'aateen/

gaashimallo met't' -aat -e -en

water wave create -ABEN? -PFV -3PL

“The water waves were created.”

/iba:ddoti: hikki saje: hin”a wadate: a:tate: wadam gale: kalee saaje hin”a urate: bujje:/

ibaaddo -ti hikki saaye hin”a wad -at -ee aat -at -ee

man -SNG this cows these drive -ABEN -GER take -ABEN -GER

wadam gal -ee kalee saaye hin”a urat -ee buyyee

mountain go home -GER alone cows these raise -GER until today

“The man alone went to the mountain driving and taking the cows and remained raising the cows until today.”

/haa?amamatta mamma: ul kaka:ni:/

haa- am -arta mammaa ul ka- kaanii

like this- say -IPFV tale country GEN- our

“Our country’s tale says like this.”

Tale 2: The Baboons: Husband and Wife

/ani littuja ka?ajjesara/

ani littu -y -a ka- ayyees -ara

I Littu -COP -IPFV REL- speak -IPFV

“I am Littu who speaks.”

/ma:mma: tadzalde:ssana ta?ori:na ta?enterena/

maammaa ta- jaldeesa -na ta- orii -na ta- enter -e -na

tale ASC- baboon -and GEN- wife -and GEN- husband -EPEN -and

“It is a tale of baboon, a tale of husband and wife.”

/kadzaldeessa: maamma:/

ka- jaldeesaa maammaa

GEN- baboon tale

“It is the tale of baboon.”

/misi leera:ne: ori:na enterra ga:di guti korate:ngure:ne bare:ra/

misi lee –raane orii –na enter –e –na gaa –d –i guti

what be –PFV wife –and husband –EPEN –and tree –EPEN –DEF on

kor –at –e –en –gureene bar –eera

climb –ABEN –PFV –3PL –SUBO stay the night –PFV

“What happened was that the wife and the husband having climbed up a tree, stayed the night on the tree.”

/ga:di guti korate:n bare:ngure:ne uli dage:ngure:ne ori: tati in mu:n abtana wa:tte ga:faje:ne: haa?ame dza:rsa sega:tera enter kadzaldeessa /

gaa –d –i guti kor –at –e –en bar –e –en

tree –EPEN –DEF on climb –ABEN –PFV –3PL stay the night –PFV –3PL

–gureene ul –i dag –e –en –gureene orii ta- ti

–SUBO land –DEF get down –PFV –3PL –SUBO wife ASC- my

in muun ab –t –ana waat –t –e gaaf –ay –e –en –ee

me why hold –3SG.F –GER refuse –3SG.F –PFV ask –ABEN –PFV –3PL –GER

haa- am –e jaarsa seg –at –era enter ka- jaldeessa

like this- say –PFV elder tell –ABEN –PFV husband ASC- baboon

“Having climbed and stayed the night on the tree, and got down to the land, the baboon’s husband told elders to ask his wife why she refused to hug /embrace him on the tree.”

/sega:te gole: dza:rsa ga:fate:ra /

seg –at –e go- lee jaarsa gaaf –at –eera

tell –ABEN –PFV when –be elders ask –ABEN –PFV

“He has presented his complaint to the elders.”

/in di:dde haa?ame usu gosega:te hikki ku:n kagirija: ame: dza:rsa goga:fate i?i: kagiroja/

in diid -t -e haa- am -e usu go- seg -aat -e
me hate -3SG.F -PFV like this- say -PFV he when - tell -ABEN -PFV
 hikki kuun ka- gir -y -aa am -e jaarsa
this this REL- exist/be -COP -IPFV say -PFV elders
 go- gaaf -at -e i?ii ka- gir -o -y -a
when- ask -ABEN -PFV yes REL- exist/be -IPFV -COP -IPFV

“When he complained ‘she hated me’, the elders asked the wife if what her husband said was true. And the wife responded, ‘yes it was true’.”

/kagiroja bari:sano: ote: has’ano: ote: ome:llan bari:sano: ote: tak’ar?an”i otjirp’a bari:sano: oti: tʃirp’a/

ka- gir -o -y -a barisanoo o- te has’anoo o- te
REL- exist/be -IPFV -COP -IPFV life GEN- my life GEN- my
 o- mellan bariisanoo o -te ta- k’ar?an”i o- c’irp’a
COML- bad life GEN- my COML- miserable COML- difficult
 bariisano o- ti c’irp’a
life GEN- my difficult

“The wife said, ‘What he complained was true/it existed. Since my life is miserable and full of difficulties/hardships, I could not hug him’.”

/bari:sano: oti tʃirp’a has’ano: oti meto tamella: haara arri: issi aba:baje a:mara heme:n?ade ga:di tʃirp’a: bara:ra gene to: ji:s gene to: ga: ha:nu:n di:dera:/

bariisanoo o- ti c’irp’a has’anoo o- ti me -t -o
life GEN- my difficult life GEN -my what -COP -IPFV
 ta- mellan haara arrii issi abaab -ay -e aam -ara
COML- bad arduous day myself collect -ABEN -PFV eat -IPFV
 hemeen -ade gaa -d -i c’irp’a bar -aara gene too yiis
night -and tree -EPEN -DEF difficult stay -IPFV hand one child

gene too gaa haa- nuun diid -era

hand one tree like this- because refuse -PFV

“My life is full of misery and hardship; during the day I collect and eat food myself, and during the night I stay on the tree holding my child with one hand and holding the tree with the other because of this I have refused to embrace my husband.”

/haaʔante gole:te: dʒa:rsaʔade ra:jamu: lakkora:joja goʔame /

haa - am -t -e go- lee -t -ee jaarsa -ade raa -y -a -muu

like this- say -3SG.F -PFV when- be -3SG.F -GER elders -and true -COP -IPFV -or

lakko- raa -y -o -y -a go- am -e

not- true -COP -IPFV.NEG -COP -IPFV when- say -PFV

“When she said this, the elders asked one another whether what she told them was true or not true.”

/ ra:ja iʔi:/

raa -y -a iʔii

true -COP -IPFV yes

“They agreed that it was true.”

/gene to:jii ji:s goʔabatto gene to:ji:ʔadi ga: goʔabatto usuʔadi haggene abatta: ha:ʔame dʒa:rsa farade/

gene too -y -ii yiis go- ab -atto gene too -y -ii -adi

hand one -EPEN -INS child if- hold -IPFV hand one -EPEN -INS -and

gaa go- ab -atto usu -adi haggene ab -atta haa- am -e

tree if- hold -IPFV he -and how hold -IPFV like this - say -PFV

jaarsa farad -e

elders decide -PFV

‘The elders decided saying that if she holds her child with one hand, and the tree with the other hand how does she hug/embrace him (her husband). The elders decided in favour of the wife.’

/ha:ja/

haa- -y -a

like this –COP –IPFV

‘It is like this.’

Proverbs (K’ussa)

/keruun t’ibama demero sen”eerre goote/

ker -uu -n t’ibama demer -o sen”eerre goy -t -e

dog –EPEN -DAT refusing donkey –DEF placenta die -3SG.F –PFV

‘Refusing to give for the dog, the donkey died with her placenta.’

/basii kadaandeenoon gaa ka?ati abate /

bas -ii ka- daand -e -noon gaa ka- ati ab -at -e

hit –GER REL- can –EPEN–NEG tree ASC- strong hold –ABEN –PFV

‘One who can’t hit carries a strong stick.’

/dudduro kasso go?meen hamas’iite keete/

duddur -o kas -t -o go- am -e -en hamas’s’ -ii -t -e

dance -GER know -3SG.F –IPFV when- say –PFV -3PL sit -EPEN -3SG.F –PFV

kee -t -e

stood -3SG.F –PFV

‘When they asked her whether she knows dancing, she simply sat down and stood up.’ (This is said of a person who is expected to do good and appropriate thing but who does just the opposite.)

/moko kakee te’eerii sesseetan tire/

moo -ko ka- kee te’eerii sesseet -an tir -e

behind -from REL- started buttock walk -GER obstruct –PFV

‘One who started journey late his/her buttock prevented him/her from walking.’ (This is said of a person who was once poor but who became rich all of a sudden in his/her later life.)

/ani ajjoon goggosa ati ilkoo dijaatta/

ani ayyo -n goggos -a ati ilko -o dish -(a)atta

I who -DAT slice -IPFV you teeth -INS gnaw –IPFV

‘For whom do I slice or mince when you gnaw with your teeth?’ (This is said to show one’s concern for a person who lives under one’s care or assistance.)

/uli kagira daano gaako birt’e aame ulko kakeera hidinde aame/

ul -i ka- gir -a daano gaa -ko birt’e aam -e
country -DEF REL- exist/be -IPFV elephant tree -from tip eat -PFV

ul -ko ka- kee -ra hidid -ne aam -e
country -from REL- leave -PFV root -with eat -PFV

‘An elephant which lives in the country ate from the tip of a tree, and an elephant that left the country ate a tree with its root.’ (Meaning: A person thinks for the future development of a country only if he/she lives permanently in that country otherwise he/she destroys the country.)

/hemeen towun subuli hidid dagisse/

hemeen too -w -u -n subl -i hidid dagis -t -e
night one -EPEN -EPEN -for sycamore -DEF root send -3SG.F -PFV

‘Just for a single night the sycamore tree deeply sent its root into the soil. (This is said of an outsider/alien who became strong in another country or locality.)

/gabbalin hojin ante k’ant’o/

gabbal -in hoy -in am -t -e k’ant’o
come close -IMP scratch -IMP say -3SG.F -PFV itch

‘Scratch me very closely said the itch.’ (It means don’t beat around the bush, say directly what you want to say).’

/k’aroon ul basiraan gowwaan maar basiraan/

k’aroo -n ul bas -i -ra -an gowwaa -n maar bas -i -ra -an
wise -for land hit -EPEN -PFV -3PL foolish -for body hit -EPEN -PFV -3PL

‘For a wise they hit the ground, and for a foolish they hit his/her body. (Meaning: A foolish does not understand even if you tell him/her directly).’

/maafaan ta?ootaro nebe goseen ante demero/

maashaa -n ta- oot -aro nebe goos -e -en am -t -e demer -o
horn -for REL- cry -IPFV ear cut -PFV -3PL say -3SG.F -PFV donkey -DEF

‘When I cry for a horn, they cut off my ear said a donkey.’ (This is said of a person who lost what he/she has at hand when he/she craves for something else.)

/min kabat't'eessa bese gilaal eleen kajeen/

min ka- bat't'eessa bes -e gilaal eleen kay -e -en

house REL- summer survive -PFV winter fire set fire -PFV -3PL

'They set a fire to the house that protected them from rain during rainy season.' (This is said of ungrateful person.)

/gowwaan eeno bur?o/

gowwaa -n eeno bur?o

foolish -to milk raw

'For a foolish person milk is raw (uncooked).'

/gaado ribina/

gaa -d -o ribina

forest -EPEN -DEF pregnant

'The forest is pregnant.' (It means beware; take care when you speak someone may overhear you).

/bululo bulaa osole/

bululo bulaa osol -e

ash flour laugh -PFV

'Ash laughed at flour.' (This is said of a person who is despised for himself/herself but who despises others.)

/anbuubenoon buubena allaattiin goj uli/

an- buub -e -noon buub -e -na allaattii -n goy ul -i

NEG- fly -EPEN -NEG fly -PFV -and vulture -for death land -DEF

'Whether it flies or not, the death for vulture is on the land.' (It means one can't escape from reality.)

/baf'ink'a baf'ink'akko tamujite kimbir ka?aamira/

bashink'a bashink'a -ko ta- muy -i -t -e kimbir ka- aam -i -ra

sorghum sorghum -from REL- exceed -EPEN -3SG.F -PFV bird REL- eat -EPEN -IPFV

'Birds eat a sorghum that is longer than the other sorghums. (Live on equal footing with others).'

/tajuusare ju:sira ame waraba/

ta- yuus –are yuus –i –ra am –e waraba

REL- cry -PST.HAB cry –EPEN –IPFV say –PFV hyena

‘I cry just as I used to cry said a hyena.’ (It means I will solve my own problems in a way that I used to solve my previous problems. It also means doing one’s own duty consistently without feeling of boredom.)

/taʔallite tareebatte keesse/

ta- aall –i –t –e ta- reeb –at –t –e

REL- stand –EPEN -3SG.F –PFV REL- sleep –ABEN -3SG.F –PFV

kee –s –t –e

awake –CAUS -3SG.F -PFV

‘The one who stood awakened the one who slept.’ (This is said of a person who invigorated old grudge that was forgotten).’

/nebe beke kowarre mee didda/

nebe beke kowarre mee did –t –a

ear water otherwise what hate -3SG.F –IPFV

‘What else does the ear hates except water?’ (This means that the ear hears everything both good and bad).’

/hellefajiin eleen iisiin jelo ante seʔo eleen taʔumulte/

hellef –ay –ii –n eleen iis –ii –n yelo am –t –e

lick -ABEN –EPEN –to fire leave –EPEN –to offspring said -3SG.F –PFV

se –ʔ –o eleen ta- umul –t –e

cow -EPEN –DEF fire REL- give birth -3SG.F –PFV

‘To lick it is fire; to leave it is my offspring said the cow that gave birth to fire.’ (This is said to describe a difficult situation that we must endure or tolerate anyhow.)

/bassarroon reesiso k'oorisa/

bassarro -n reesiso k'oorisa

lazy woman -to mourning medicine

'For a lazy woman mourning (time) is her remedy.' (That is she is free from any work during mourning.)

/oroono roodene ekaajjin amaa luk ebte/

oroono roode -ne ekaay -ii -n am -aa luk eb -t -e

she goat young goat -with compete -EPEN -to say -GER leg break -3SG.F -PFV

'A she goat had her leg broken to compete with a young goat (as she tries to jump just like a young one).' (Acting beyond one's ability or capacity has a disastrous consequence.)

/abbajaana odona бага aroogolte/

abbayaa -na odo -na бага aroo- gol -t -e

abbaya and father-and back NEG.IMP show -2SG -PFV

'Do not give your back to Abbaya Lake and your father.' (It means that you have to be watchful when you are near Abaya Lake because there is crocodile in the lake, and do not ignore your father because he is the most important person to you.)

/boobitta e?emo gutii go?ijana boobittan elo e?emo bobitta gutii go?ijana boobittan elo

boobitta e?emo gutii go- iy -a -na boobitta -n elo

earthenware stone on if- fall -IPFV -and earthenware -to harmful

e?emo bobitta gutii go- iy -a -na boobitta -n elo

stone earthenware on if- fall -IPFV -and earthenware -to harmful

'Whether a stone falls on earthenware or earthenware falls on a stone it is harmful to the earthenware.' (This is said when doing things in different ways produce the same consequence or when doing things in different ways results in the same effect.)

/ilki lef ebisina lefo ilki ebisina/

ilki lef eb -is -i -na lef -o ilki eb -is -i -na

tooth bone break -CAUS -EPEN -and bone -DEF tooth break -CAUS -EPEN -and

'We will see whether a tooth breaks the bone or the bone breaks the tooth.' (This is said when the consequence of certain action is not predictable.)

/daano dootaa uullaa gene kajeen/

daano doot –aa uullaa gene kay –e –en

elephant search –GER pot hand put/insert –PFV -3PL

‘They inserted their hand in the pot to search for an elephant.’ (This is said when someone did inappropriate action or when someone failed to do the right thing.)

/oorate eenone d3adzdzare bekene/

oor –at –e eeno –ne jajjar –e beke –ne

wait –ABEN –PFV milk –with be hurry –PFV water –with

‘The one who waited ate with milk; the one who hurried ate with water.’ (This is said to express the virtue of patience or tolerance.)

/kad3adzdzarewun uulla lakkofeejto/

ka- jajjar –e –w –u –n uulla lakko- feey –t –o

REL- be hurry –PFV –EPEN –EPEN –to pot not- boil –3SG.F –NEG.IPFV

‘For a person who rushed, a pot does not boil water.’

/kowuun bari kowuun meeriti/

koo –w –uu –n bari koo –w –uu –n meeriti

one –EPEN –EPEN –to morning one –EPEN –EPEN –to night

‘For one person it is morning; for another one it is night.’ (This is said to express the ups and downs of life. That is all persons do not enjoy life in the same way. When one person lives a happy life the other one suffers.)

Appendix II : Bayso – English Wordlist

- a?ala** *n* reed, long and strong grass
a?alaa *n* tortoise
aa *n* mother
aabbo *n* 1) father, male parent of a child 2) uncle, brother of one's father
aakki (SG.M.) *dem* that
aalis- *v* wash
aalisat- *v* 1) be engaged to someone for marriage 2) to wash one's cloths
aall- *v* stand, to be on one's feet, to be in a vertical position
aalo *adv* very
aam- *v* eat
aamo *n* food
aan''i (PL.) *dem* those, used to point at entities at a distance
aanti *dem* that, used to point sth. at a distance
aar *n* ox
aatano *nom* to take
aatat- *v* 1) take, receive 2) marry
aatti *dem* that, used to point singular feminine entity at a distance
ab-¹ *v* 1) hold, seize, grasp 3) to mix flour with water
ab-² *v* 1) have, possess 2) verb to have
abaab- *v* collect, gather
abaram *n* dew, small drop of water formed on the ground at night
abari *n* hearth, fireplace in the house
abat- *v* bite with teeth
abba *n* sister
abbaab- *v* see 'ayyees'
abbaabbat- *v* come back
abbaade *n* a baby girl
abbar- *v* plant, to plant seedlings
abbi *n* brother
abbide *n* a baby boy
absat- *v* fear, to be frightened of sb or sth.
absatano *nom* the act of fearing, fear
absi *n* fear, cowardice
ac'oo *n* see 'dube, mog'
atjaano *n* beard, hair grown on the chin and cheek of male human being
addees- *v* make known, make to be recognized, disclose, reveal
addifaana *n* a type of marriage in Bayso in which the boy and the girl run away together
adurree *n* cat
afar (apar) *cardnum* four
agaalsat- *v* learn
agaalsatano *nom* to learn, learning
agaalsis- *v* teach
agaalsisano *nom* to teach, teaching
agooro *n* bigger calves
agud *n* pen, cattle shed where cattle stay at night
akko *n* grandmother
alabattii *n* evening time
alat- *v* be born, grow, come into being (tree/human)

aldzite *adj* kind, generous
 allaattii *n* vulture, predator birds
 allaga *n* alien, a person who is not a member of a class
 alma *n* week, seven days
 am- *v* say, to speak or tell sb. sth using words
 amalekoy *adj* equal
 ambal *n* wind, a moving air
 ambalki *adj* cold, low temperature
 ammag- *v* (of local beer) to fill with water, to add water to local beer
 ammato *n* see 'c'aak'o'
 angatano *nom* to kiss
 ani *pro* I , first person singular pronoun
 anna *n* aunt, sister of one's father
 apar see 'afar '
 arandza *n* ribs bone
 ardzata *n* stool or seat made of wood and leather or animal skin
 argeetto *adv* always
 ariiti¹ *n* sun
 arrii² *n* day
 atanti *conj* because, for the reason that
 ataraa *n* pea, edible plant
 atatano *n* marriage , to marry
 atay- *v* maryy, to establish family
 ata?- *v* take, accept or receive
 ati *pro* you (sing) , second person singular pronoun
 awod- *v* to win competition
 awu'al'o *adj* costly, expensive
 awwiya *n* uncle, a brother of one's mother
 ayyees *nom* speech, to speak
 ayyees- *v* speak, talk
 ayyeesano *nom* to speak, to talk
 ayyo *pro* who , interrogative pronoun

b

baa *n* market, a place where people sell and buy goods
 baaburii *n* flour mill
 baak'elaa *n* bean, a seed or pod containing seed
 baal *n* leaf, a flat green part of a plant grown from stem or branch
 baal kalukkale *n* hen's feather , feather that of hen
 baala *n* cross day festival, holiday
 baararre *n* white spots that appear on human skin
 baas- *v* to extinguish fire
 baat'tee *n* Thursday, the fourth day of a week
 babariss *n* dawn, early in the morning before the sun rise
 babbaar *n* man, male human being
 babo *n* bread, traditional bread
 bac'a *n* sisal, bark of a tree
 badala *n* maize, corn
 badeessa *n* summer, rainy season
 bagadi *n* back part of human body

bakeendza *n* sperm, semen
 bal'ee *n* short wood or iron bar erected in the ground to tie sth to it
 bamp'- *v* to sort out rubbish from grain, sieve
 ban'ee *n* place, a particular point or area of land
 bap'p'alo *n* ants
 bar- *v* live, to lead life
 baraar- *v* be satiated/ satisfied (of food)
 barbare *n* red pepper, powder made from dried berries and used to give hot flavor to food
 barc'uma *n* stool, seat made from wood
 barii *n* 1) morning time when the sun rises 2) earlier times, ancient
 bariisano *n* life, existence
 baroodano *nom* to roar (of animal usually bulls)
 barraadza *n* stars, a large ball of burning gas in space that are seen in the sky at night
 barʔaas *v* reward, to give sth to sb for his or her good work or as a symbol of friendship
 barʔaasira *n* reward, a thing given to sb. for his good work or as a token of friendship, a gift
 basano *nom* 1) to beat 2) thresh, separate grain from its straw
 baʃink'a *n* sorghum, a plant with long stalk
 bat't'eessa *n* October
 bataano *n* churning vessel , a container used for churning milk
 battataa *n* flock of animal, herd of animal that live and walk together
 bebbeed *n* front part of a head
 bebees- *v* to lit fire, set on fire
 beebes_ see 'bebees-'
 bees- *v* 1) to curve out wood into some kind of shape 2) to contribute money
 3) to spend money unwisely
 beke *n* water
 beleette *n* spark of light during thunderstorm
 belette *n* snow
 betakiristaani (Amh) *n* church
 bete *n* 1) left 2) left hand
 bibbir *n* sharpened wood used to hoe soil
 bii *v* go out
 biin''i *n* mosquito, an insect that causes malaria
 biita *adv* only
 binaana *n* hair that grows on human head
 bip'iilo *n* roasted/parched grain such as maize, barely, etc
 birata (Amh) *n* iron, metal objects
 birt'e *n* top part of a tree
 bissile *n* autumn, one of the four seasons
 boc'- *v* hit, beat, flog, whip
 bog *n* abdomen, belly, part of a body
 bontʃ- *v* to celebrate festival, holiday, etc.
 bontʃaano *n* celebration, to celebrate
 boobitta *n* earthenware used to cook food like bread
 booyyee *n* buttock, part of a body
 booyyee kaʔudu *n* anus, opening at the bottom part of human body
 borboono *n* mangrove tree used to make traditional boat/raft
 borgoono *n* see 'borboono'
 buddeena *n* Ethiopian traditional food 'injera', pancake like bread
 bugaamo *n* shrubs, bushes

bulla *adj* yellow colour
 bullane *n* early in the morning
 bullatʃʃa (Wolaita) *n* wedding ceremony/festival
 bullatʃʃa (Wolayta) *n* wedding ceremony
 bulullo *n* ash, the grey or black powder that is left after sth. has burnt
 buluullo *n* ash, white substance created after the wood is burned
 buna *n* coffee
 bur'aato *n* a type of traditional food made of barely flour, cooked on fire and mixed with butter
 bur'o *adj* unripe grain/fruits
 burus *n* dowry given to bride family by bridegroom family
 buub- *v* fly, (of birds, airplane) to move in the air
 buubano *nom* (of birds) fly with their wings
 buuddanee *n* gazelle, a small antelope, a deer like animal found in Africa and Asia
 buup'p'a *n* egg (of birds, poultry)
 buutto *n* hole made in the tree

c' (tʃ')

c'aak'o *n* oath of promise
 c'aalto *n* fermentation
 c'aama *n* dry season, winter
 c'aammola *n* cheese, a soft white liquid that is obtained by churning milk after butter or white cream has been taken off
 c'ac'c'awo *n* scorpion, small insect with six legs that can give poisonous stings
 c'affaa *n* area of land that has quagmire, marsh or mire
 c'agudo *n* 1) mud 2) wetland
 c'akkisano *nom* to filter, to filter butter by boiling it on fire
 c'ala *n* bile, the greenish yellow liquid with a bitter taste produced in the liver
 c'allim- (calli am-) *v* be quiet
 c'ariido *adj* green
 c'artoo *n* cow's dung
 c'ee kale *n* sand, fine powder made by rolling rocks found on the river sides, beaches, in deserts, etc
 c'ereer *n* dripping saliva from mouth
 c'ibaar *n* goat's kids
 c'irp'a *n* small place in the house where a husband sits
 c'ok'k'on- *v* to oppress, to treat sb in a cruel and unfair way
 c'ok'k'ona (Amh) *n* oppression
 c'ooma *adj* fat
 c'uc'ute *n* newly hatched/emerged very small hens

d

daad *n* flood
 daafur- *v* toil, work hard
 daand- *v* can, used to say that it is possible for sb/sth to do sth.
 daano *n* elephant
 daawwee *n* bow, a weapon used for shooting arrows
 daaʔer *n* monkey
 dabbaalo *n* heifer, a young female cow
 dabee *n* the Cross festival

daboobessa *n* Monday , the first day of the week
daddal- *v* sell, to give sth. to somebody in exchange of money
daddar- *v* to kick sb/sth with leg
daddarte *n* spider, small creature with eight thin legs that makes web
dag- *v* go, go to the farm places
daggala *n* weed, unwanted plants grown in the grains' field
dama *n* stick, cane, rod
damata *n* see 'damata'
dambe *adv* again
dambeene *adv* later, later on, far ahead
dambe?ade *adv* once again
daraandar *n* beads, beads worn around the neck
daraara *n* flower
darfoolle *n* peanut
dargamma *n* wheat, a plant grown for its grain that is used to produce flour for bread
darne *n* a young female donkey
daruur *n* sky
debe *n* tail of animal
deebaati *n* hip, part of the body below the waist and above the leg's joint
deelel *n* a girl/girls
deeleltiti *n* a girl/the girl
demer *n* donkey, an animal of a horse family, with short legs and long ears
demer korma *n* ass, male donkey, jack ass
demer t'altu *n* she donkey/female donkey
dibiliilte *n* August
dibiya *n* screw, drill used to burrow wood or metal
diddig- *v* vomit, to bring back food from stomach through mouth
diddigo *n* vomit
diginni *n* 1) month, thirty days 2) moon
dii- *v* see, watch
diid- *v* refuse, to say no
diida *n* plain, a large area of flat land covered with grass
diina *n* enemy, foe
diiza (Wolaita) *n* a big snare made of bended tree and rope used to catch wild animals
dirra *n* spinal cord
diyaano *nom* to see
dobos *n* serpent, a large snake
dolle *pop* near, close, near by
donna *adj* ungenerous, unkind, tight-fisted, penny pinching
doob *n* colour
dookkii *n* trade business, trade activity
doollo *n* hooked iron/metal bar used to connect beam with plough/plow, farming tool
doom- *v* start, begin
doot- *v* want, need
dootano *nom* to want
dub- *v* 1) cook, prepare food by cooking 2) (of grain or fruits) ripe
dubba *adj* all
dube *n* credit
duddub *n* swelling on the body
dufurraa *n* farming tool that connect the beam with ploughshare

dumbeessa *n* May, one of the twelve months of a year
 dumbo *n* cloud
 dureessa *adj* rich
 durge *n* crime, misconduct
 durmat- *v* become rich
 duud-- *v* paddle (boat, raft)
 duuf *n* armpit, the part of the body under the arm where it joins the shoulder
 duulo *n* hippopotamus

dʒ (j)

dzaarsa *n/adj* old, elder human being
 dzaarti *n/adj* old, elder female human being
 dzabana *n* kettle, coffee pot
 dzaldeessa *n* baboon, ape like wild animal
 dzandzamo *n* ginger, a type of spice
 dzeera *adv* fast, a person or animal that moves quickly
 dzeren *n* spear, a traditional weapon with long wooden handle and sharp metal
 dzikalle *n* flock of animal, a group of animal, horde of animal
 dzimpo *n* iron counter balance on the butt of the spear
 dzinaat- *v* become big, grow in size
 dzirma *n* stump, butt, part of a tree that support the branch
 dziroomma *n* 1) life, the state of living 2) livelihood
 doobbu *n* small pen, shed for newly born calves that made within cows pen
 duunfata *n* March, one the twelve months of a year

e

ebaano *n* prayer when food is served
 ebbaa *adj* far, remote
 eboo *n* spear, a weapon with a long wooden handle and a sharp metal point
 eeb- *v* break
 eebis- *v* cause to break, cause to separate into two or more pieces
 eed-- *v* graze
 eedano *nom* to graze
 eegano *nom* to stab
 eegg-- *v* stab, push a knife sharp and pointed object into sb.
 eeno *n* milk and milk products (butter, yogurt, cheese, etc.)
 eer- *v* propose for marriage
 ees *n* grass
 ekkaas-- *v* adjust/arrange sth. in an appropriate way to make ready for use
 elen *n* fire
 elene₁ *adj/pop* above, upper position or direction
 elene₂ *n(def)* the fire
 emet-- *v* come, to arrive at or reach a place
 en''-- *v* slaughter
 en''aano *nom* to slaughter
 enter *n* husband
 ere *n* boy/girl, child
 erre *n* soil, the top layer of the earth
 erreb *n* tongue, the soft part in the mouth that used for tasting, speaking, etc.

essebo *n* salt
e?emo *n* stone

f

faana *n* foot, the lower part of the leg, below the ankle
fakfak *adj* far apart from each other (of places, towns, villages, etc)
falc'ac'a *adj* ugly, physically unpleasant
falli *n* relative, people who have blood relationship
fanno *n* handle, knob used to hold or hang utensils
far- *v* send errand
farad *n* horse, a large animal with four legs, used for ridding
farad t'altu *n* mare, female horse
fark'ak'o *n* branch, branch of a tree
faro *n* 1) message, errand 2) luck
fato *n* embryo, foetus,
fel- *v* work, to do sth that involve physical effort
felk'- *v* float, to move slowly on water
felo *n* work, activity
felo'o *n* (*def*) the work
fer *n* toe of a hand
fererro *n* (pl) toes of a hand
ferfera *n* specially curved or shaped wood used for paddling boat
ferta?ay *n* thumb, the biggest finger of a hand
ferta?ereyi *n* small finger of a hand
fiit'a *n* lineage, ancestry
firaanta *n* ring, a ring worn on finger, ringlet
firam- *v* jump, to pass over sth. by jumping
firo *n* hooked, thin and short cane inserted on the top of spindle
foggola *n* sweat, liquid that appears on human body
folk'aasano *nom* the act of splitting wood
folk'is-- *v* split
folk'isano *nom* to split
folk'o *n* a half part of buttock
fon?ooroo *n* extended/protruded shape or structure found over the traditional house entrance
foof-- *v* tend, keep cattle
foot'a (Amh.) *n* towel
fufo *n* comb
fursa *adj* warm (of temperature)
fuutto *n* cotton

g

gaa₁ *n* 1) tree 2) forest
gaa₂ *n* gun, machine gun used for firing bullets
gaabbaru *n/adv* the day after tomorrow
gaafu *n* Bayso traditional food made of barely flour mixed with purified butter and served on special occasion such as on wedding day and on Cross celebration
gaagura *n* beehive
gaala *n* camel
gaangaal *n* duke, a type of bird living in water

gaange *n* mule
 gaara kaʔilo *n* eyebrow
 gaaʃimaalo *n* wave, water wave
 gabayo *n* 1) mucus, liquid oozing from nose 2) influenza, flu
 gabbal- *v* approach, to come closer (of time, celebration, festival, etc.)
 gaf- *v* boil grain such as maize and sorghum
 gafano *nom* to boil, the act of boiling grain
 gaga *n* beeswax
 gal- *v* return home from a journey, go back home
 galba *n* human and animal skin
 galtaante *n* widow, a woman whose husband died and has not married again
 gamakahori *adv* mostly, the greatest portion of sth.
 gamat- *v* to come back home, usually to go back to Giddicho Island
 gamballa *adj* black
 gammoojjii *n* 1) desert, large area of land that has little water and plants 2) lowland
 garraa *n* Bayso's name for Wolayta
 gasii *n* buffalo, a large animal of a cow family
 gafe₁ *n* traditional weaving machine/tool
 gafe₂ *n* a blanket like cloth made of cotton thread
 gedeemmi *n* womb, the organ in woman that carries embryo
 geebbari *n/adv* tomorrow
 geedala *n* fox, a wild animal of the dog family
 geegiyo *n* chest, part of the body
 gees *n* 1) year, a period of twelve months 2) age, the number of years that a person lives
 gelaandze *n* love, feeling of affection
 gelaat- *v* love, to have very strong feelings of affection for sb.
 gene *n* hand, the part of the body at the end of the arm, including the fingers and thumbs
 gerge *n* Bayso's name for Guji Oromo
 gidda *adv* now, at this moment
 gididi *n* animal (cows, horses, goats...)
 gii- *v* reach, to arrive at a place
 giilaal *n* winter, dry season
 gilib *n* knee, the joint between the top and bottom parts of the leg
 gimo *n* newly built wall before it is daubed with mud
 gir- *v* 1) exist, be (verb of presence/existence) 2) auxiliary verb
 girid *n* bedroom, a section in the house
 giris- *v* swim, to move through water horizontally
 girisano *nom* swim, the act of swimming
 giyya (Wolayta) *n* see 'baa'
 go *conj* 1) if 2) when
 goda *n* house wall, woods used for constructing house wall
 goldzaa *n* warthog, wild pig with two large outer teeth
 gooc'a *n* entrance, door of a house
 goom'e *adj* sour, bitter
 goor'o *n* a type of bird
 goos- *v* cut, chop
 goosano *nom* to cut, the act of cutting
 goota *adj* brave, hero, courageous, fearless
 gootara *n* granary, grain storage made of wood
 gore *conj* when

gororrii *n* partridge, a brown bird with a round body and a short tail
gorra *n* dust, a tiny particles
gorsa *n* advice
gortanu *adv* already
gosa *n* clan
gotʃtʃora *n/adj* smooth hair
gowwa *adj* foolish, unwise
goy- *v* die, to stop living
gub- *v* burn
gubano *nom* to burn, the act of burning
gudis- *v* finish, complete an activity or job
gudumaalla *n* special place in a house reserved for a husband
gumaar- *v* to cut animal's throat for slaughtering
gumaara *adj* white
gumbaar *n* eyelash
gumbi *n* hole, pit
guss- *v* complete, finish, see also 'gudis-'
guti *pop* on
gutʃtʃe *n* ostrich

h

haada *n* rope
haafura *n* soul, human sprit
haan *n* shoulder, part of the body between the top of each arm and neck
haano *n* gift, a thing given to someone on special day
haantuu *n* sickle, mowing tool
haar- *v* fill tired, be exhausted
habeessa *n* snake
hagganne *adv* before
hagge *intro* where
halaatti *adj* empty
halakko *n* morringa tree, medicinal plant with small leaves
halk'a *adj* lazy, sluggish
halk'umma *nom* laziness, indolence, sluggishness
hallaatʃtʃe *n* crocodile
halʔaa *n* strong and long grass used to thatch a roof
hamas's'- *v* sit, to take a sit
hamboroke *n* testicles, male human reproductive
hammas- *v* stir
hammus- *v* fetch water from river
hamur *n* scar, wound on the human body
hanc'ufe *n* salvia, secretion from mouth
handaay- *v* order, to order
handiraaro *n* lizard, small reptile with a rough skin, four short legs and long tails
hangorooc'e *n* chin, the part of the face between the mouth and above the neck
hant'irʃe *n* sneeze, the act of sneezing
hard- *v* to make thick powder while grinding grain
hark'- *v* roar (of lion, bull...)
hark'aama *n* rye, a type of cereal crop
hark'ano *nom* to roar, the act of roaring

hark'oota *n* yoke, a long wood that is fastened across the necks of oxen when cultivating the land
 haroo *n* pond, small ponds
 haroorsano *n* harvesting festival
 harpa *n* part of traditional weaving tool
 hase *n* see 'daraandar'
 hassino *n* a Bayso word for 'marriage', see 'bullatftja'
 hassu *dem* that, used to point a singular masculine entity at a distance
 hawa?aami *n* disease
 hawa?aami bog *n* abdomen ache
 hawwayi *n* pocket, small bag sewn on traditional cloth
 haw?- *v* be sick, become sick
 ha?ur *n* barely, a plant grown for its grain that is used for making food
 ha?u?i *n* hunger, starvation
 heded- *v* divide, share in equal parts
 heela *adj* red
 heelintftjo *n* roof, the structure that covers top of a house
 heet- *v* to parch grain slightly
 hegeldi *adj* downward, a lower level
 hegelle *pop* under
 hek'e *n* seeds or fruits of gourd/calabash
 helat- *v* earn or get for oneself, obtain
 heleel *n* a woman/women
 hellefat- *v* taste, taste the flavour of sth. with tongue
 hellefatano *nom* to taste, the act of tasting with tongue
 hemen *n* 1) night, the time between one day and the next 2) date
 herreeg- *v* estimate , guess the value of sth.
 hes- *v* 1) remain, not to go somewhere 2) to lag behind, fail to catch up with others
 het- *v* steal
 heto *n* thief
 he?i *n* language
 hidid₁ *n* vein, blood vein
 hidid₂ *n* root, root of a tree
 hididdool *n* (pl) 1) veins, blood veins 2) roots of a tree
 higo *n* climbing tree or tree bark used to tie or fasten together sth.
 hiig- *v* milk, to take milk from a cow
 hikka *dem* (sg. m. obj. form) this
 hikki *dem* (sg. m. subj. form) this
 himeer *n* hairdo, a type of hairdo where the centre of the head is shaved and the remaining part is remained unshaved
 hin?"a *dem* (pl.obj. form) this
 hindzirre *n* thread tied around the neck as a mark of Christianity
 hink'isano *nom* hiccup, a sharp repeated sound made in the throat
 hisil *n* arm, elbow, part of a hand
 hiski *n* worm, a long thin creature with no bones or legs that lives in soil
 hitta *dem* (sg.f. obj. form) this
 hittaari *n/adv.* today, now a days
 hittani *adv* here, in or at a position
 hitti *dem* (sg.f.subj. form) this
 hiyyeessa *adj* poor
 hok'ook'- *v* scratch, to rub one's skin with one's nails

hok'ook'ano *n* to scratch, the act of scratching with finger nails
 hongor *n* a part of traditional weaving tool
 hooke *n* hoe, a garden tool with a long handle and a blade used for digging the land
 hoolat- *v* to have shaved one's hair
 hoos₁ *n* shadow of a tree
 hoos-₂ *v* ask, to forward question to sb. orally or in writing
 hor?aamo *n* Bayso traditional food made of maize flower mixed with water and cooked on earthenware
 hor?oos- *v* kick with leg, see also 'daddar-'
 horaardze *adv* at first, in the beginning
 hore *adv* see 'hagganne'
 horene *adv* see 'hore'
 horko *adv* in the past, ancient time, lon ago
 hosiinde *n* shadow of human
 hubuutʃfo *n* small pot used for cooking cabbage
 huc'ar *adj* small, very little (of liquids)
 huddur- *v* sleep
 huddurano *nom* to sleep, the act of sleeping
 hudduro *n* sleep
 hunna *n* force
 huu *n* house utensils, house furniture
 huudalo *n* dung (of goat)
 huura *n* rubbish, refuse, unwanted things in grain or water

i

ibaaddo *n* 1) person 2) human being 3) people
 idaad korma *n* ram, male sheep
 idaad t'altu *n* ewe, female sheep
 idaado *n* sheep
 idaamo *n* rain
 idanki *adj* good
 idd- *v* bite, sting (of insect or snake) make small hole in human or animal skin
 ifaatii *n* payment given to bride family
 iggir *n* louse, parasite
 igllis- *v* change, to become different
 ihitʃʃibi *n* pubic hair
 iid *v* beautify, to make beautiful
 iidiro *adj* decorated, ornamented
 iidis- *v* cause to decorate, cause to beautify
 iig *n* blood, the liquid that flow through human and animal
 iilat- *v* to suck one's mother breast, (of child) suck breast or feed breast
 iin *pro* (dat.) for me
 iis- *v* leave out, to abstain from doing sth.
 iit- *v* set (of Sun)
 ilaal *n* fruits of plants and trees
 ilko *n* teeth, the white and sharp substance in the mouth that is used to chew food
 ilmi *n* tear, a drop of liquid that comes out of eyes
 il?o *n* eye, part of the body on two sides of a face that is used to see
 imin- *v* buy, purchase
 in *pro* (obj.) me

ingaam- *v* fight, to struggle physically with sb.
 ingaamano *nom* to fight, the act of fighting
 inki *pro* something
 innagaraan *n* light materials that can float in the water
 inse *pro* one another, each other
 ira *n* farm, farmland, area of land used for cultivating crops
 ira kafuutto *n* cotton field, cotton farm
 irardze *n* porcupine, an animal covered with long stiff parts like needles
 irgadeessa *n* January, one of the twelve month of a year
 irid *n* gum, teeth gum, area of firm flesh in the mouth, hard plate
 iriir- *v* sew, to use needle and thread to make stitches in cloth or leather
 iriirim *n* termite, an insect that lives in groups, cause damage by eating the woods of trees and
 builings
 isal (generic term) *n* cabbage, different types of cabbages
 isii *pro* each other
 isin *pro* you (2PL.SUB.) isin aamteen ‘you ate.’
 iso *pro* they (3PL) iso emeteen ‘they came.’
 itatis- *v* make yogurt, coagulate milk
 itatisano *nom* to make yogurt, make to coagulate, the act of coagulating milk to make yogurt
 itattu *n* yogurt
 iy- *v* fall, fall down
 iyaano *nom* to fall, the act of falling
 iyy- *v* cry, shout
 iyya *n* 1) crying (of human) 2) bark (of dog)
 iyyano *nom* 1) to cry, the act of crying (of human) 2) bark, the act of barking (of dog)
 iyyi *n* 1) smoke, the grey, white or black gas that is produced when sth is burned 2) cry! (IMP.
 V.)
 iyyoos- *v* see 'k'adiid-'
 iyyoote *n* fog
 i?ane *n* malt, an ingredient of local beer
 i?ib *n* heel, part of a leg

k

k'adiid- *v* fumigate, to smoke utensils or beehives with olive tree or leaves so that it will have
 good odour
 k'amalatano *nom* the act of burying human dead body, to bury
 k'an'e *n* white and very small white substances that appear on human hair particularly if a hair is
 ridden with louse
 k'anaac'o *n* fleas, a very small jumping insect without wings, that bites animal and humans and
 sucks their blood
 k'ani *v* train, tame (of animals)
 k'ant'o *n* itch, a feeling of burning on skin
 k'araank'ur *n* nape of the neck
 k'aro₂ *adj* wise, clever
 k'aro₁ *n* bat, a type of bird
 k'aye *n* village
 k'eye *n* village
 k'irc'ic'i *adj* kinky hair
 k'malataro *n* burial, funeral ceremony
 k'ok'k'ob- *v* to sieve, to make grain pass through sieve

k'ok'k'obtu *n* frog
 k'olo *n* traditional dress made by spinning and weaving cotton
 k'ommo *n* see 'gosa'
 k'onc'ora *n* machete, big and broad knife used to clear bushes and shrubs
 k'oof- *v* to hoe grain
 k'op'p'at- *v* to work out a plan or a means, to seek a way out
 k'opp- *v* to think
 k'or- *v* to curve out tree into some kind of shape, mould, shape
 k'ore *n* wooden bowl, wooden plate
 k'umbuub *n* shape, shape or form of an object
 k'ussa *n* proverbs, sayings
 kaʔangage *adj* dried (of trees, tree leaves, grasses, etc.)
 kaʔenennan *adj* sharp (of knives, machete, axes, etc.)
 kaʔisil *adj* heavy (of objects)
 kaʔonʔomoomooyisiro *n* spices
 kaʔonʔoomootaro *adj* sweet, delicious (of food and drink)
 kaʔugaaro *n* hunter, a person who hunts and kills wild animals
 kaʔusub *adj* new
 kaʔuʔuʔuur *adj* fat, plump
 ka- *rel.pro* that, who
 kaʔagaalsisaro *n* teacher
 kaʔarkane *adj* modern
 kaalaal (taalaal) *adv* only
 kaami *n* grains used for making food
 kaati *n* urine, liquid released from the body through the urethkara
 kabaaddo *n* placenta, the material that comes out of woman's womb after the baby is born
 kabadʒdʒa *n* respect, a good feeling toward someone or sth.
 kabalʔan *adj* wide
 kabbaano (lugudano1) *nom* hatch, the act of hatching (of hen, birds)
 kac'imin *adj* thin
 kado *n* beam, rod, a long farming tool that connects plough with yoke
 kadoʔan *adj* old, aged materials
 kaduudan *adj* dull (of knives, sickles, axes, etc.), not sharp
 kadʒinki *adj* big, large
 kafoof *n* herdsman
 kagabbaabban *adj* short
 kakaani *pro* our, ours
 kakati *n* bladder, urethra
 kakeessaa *pro* his
 kakkale *pro* other
 kalaalli *n* kidney
 kalakale *adj* separately
 kale *adv* alone
 kallatʃʃa *n* cultural symbol worn on men's front during cultural festivals
 kalo *n* 1) enclosed area of land for its hay/grass 2) animal fodder
 kalte *n* axe, a tool with a wooden handle and a heavy metal blade, used for cutting down trees
 kamaloon *n* deaf
 kamartisaro *n* 1) waiter 2) host, a person who takes care of guests
 kambaala *n* oxbow, part of a yoke that holds the necks of oxen
 kamellan *adj* bad, mean

kamoggaan *adj* many, several, multitude
 karaba *n* drum, a musical instrument that gives loud sound when beaten
 kasal (Amh.) *n* charcoal
 kaʃ- *v* churn, to churn milk
 kaʃame *adj* rotten (of food and fruits)
 kaʃano *nom* to churn, the act of churning
 kaʃubanki *adj* narrow
 kawwe *n* ankle, part of a leg
 kay- *v* put, to place sth within sth.
 kaya *n* see 'faro', luck
 kaʃati *adj* strong, physical power
 kaʃeer *adj* long
 kaʃiidaro *n* ornaments
 keebel *n* tiger, wild animal of a cat family
 keeldo *n* depth
 keen *v* long and thick twigs used to hold house wall on both side being fastened with climbing plant
 kele *adv* yesterday
 kelellihigaanno *n* the day after yesterday
 ken *cardnum* five
 kentefarro *n* grasshopper
 ker *n* dog
 kib- *v* to add or put sth. in/on sth. (to add butter or salt on porridge, bread etc.)
 kibano *n* to put, add, the act of putting adding sth. in/on sth
 kic'ar *adj* small (of human and solid materials)
 kic'arki (musc.) *adj* small
 kii- *v* to stand up
 kinnisa *n* small swollen substances that appear on human face
 ko *cardnum* one
 kok'ee *n* mushroom
 kokke *n* throat, Adam's Apple
 konoono *n* nose
 kooko *pro* something
 kor *n* bullock, young ox which is not castrated
 kukuʃam- *v* to come together
 kukuyyis- *v* collect, gather
 kukuyyisano *nom* to collect, the act of collecting or gathering
 kunʃub *n* fish
 kuuki *adj* half, some

I

laanko *n* aunt, a sister of one's mother
 laans'ee *n* pancreas
 laat'e *n* small white bird commonly found near the lake
 laga *n* river
 lagad- *v* 1) kill 2) to compress cotton so as to separate its seeds
 lakko- *adj* negative marker, negative particle
 lama *cardnum* two
 landi *n* Bayso/Giddicho traditional woman's wear/cloth made of softened animal skin
 laye *n* a ball curved out of a wood

lee *cardnum* six
 lef *n* bone, the white hard substance that support the body
 lemma *n* bamboo tree
 libe *n* pillar, pole of a house
 lii- *v* become
 lik'aak'a *n* spindle
 litʃʃim- (litʃʃi am-) *v* to sink in water
 loofitto *n* pot's lead or cover made of mangrove tree's bark/sisal
 luban *n* lion
 lugud- *v* lay egg (of hen, poultry)
 lugudano₁ *nom* to hatch, the act of hatching egg
 lugudano₂ see 'kabbaano'
 luk *n* leg
 lukkale *n* chicken, hen
 lukkale korma *n* cock
 lunt'ut'i *adj* smooth, smooth surface, not rough

m

maadd- *v* help, to assist
 maal- *v* hear
 maalano *nom* to hear, the act of hearing
 maaldiyaa *n* bracelet, bracet worn on hand or leg
 maammaa *n* tale, story, fable
 maar *n* body, human body
 maarrabii *n* fishing net
 maaja *n* horn (of animals)
 maat'ar- *v* to clear forest, bushes and shrubs
 maaykona *adv* everywhere
 maayyona *pro* anyone
 madaamudde *n* groin, part of the body where the legs join including genitals
 madaar- *v* build, construct (of house, fence, etc)
 madabii *n* partitioned meat in equal amount
 madarr- *v* 1) sing, to make musical sounds with one's voice 2) to make body movement in song
 3) play, to do things for pleasure
 madarri *nom* playing, singing
 madda *n* plough handle
 maganaantʃfo *n* wife of 'woiytʃja' (spiritual leader)
 maka *n* Bayso's name for Harro or Haruuro ethnic group
 makkar- *v* discuss, to talk about sth. with sb. especially in order to reach on decision or an
 agreement
 malab *n* honey, a white or red liquid that honey bees make in the beehives or in the tree
 malab- *v* know, recognize
 malataalli (pl.) *n* symbols, signs, cultural symbols
 mangaagaa *n* mouth
 mant'ak'k'o (Amh.) *n* hook, hooked tree or iron used to catch fish
 mantiti *n* vagina, woman reproductive organ
 manto *n* penis, male genital organ
 maraamur- *v* 1) move or walk in a circular way 2) visit a person or a place repeatedly
 maraamuris *v* turn, to move sth in a circular way
 maraara *n* strap of leather or rope that joins beam with yoke

maraafaa (Amh.) *n* plough, sharp metal used for tilling soil
 marabii (Amh.) *n* see 'maarrabii'
 maragade *n* money
 margi *n* neck, part of the body
 margubaano *n* body fever
 marti *n* guest, visitor
 martis- *v* host, entertain
 martisano *nom* to host, the act of hosting or entertaining a guest
 maseena *n* (of human) sterile, infertile
 mat'arri *nom* clearing forest
 mat't'a *n* long handle to which ploughshare is inserted and joined to the beam
 mat'afaa *n* knife
 meegi *n* shoulder, part of the body
 meeriti *n* afternoon, after midday
 mege *n* name, a word or words by which person, thing or place is known
 meme *pro* what
 men'er *n* placenta (of animals)
 merge *n* right hand
 mes'i *n* bark of a tree used to tie twigs or trees together
 mete *n* head, part of the body
 mete haw'aano *n* headache
 mi?ii *n* fresh milk
 migi *adj* (of container) full, filled up to the brim
 migira *n* rope
 mihan *n* a part of traditional weaving tool
 miic'- *v* squeeze, to get liquid out of sth by twisting it with hand
 mikita kagene *n* wrist, part of a hand
 min *n* house
 mina *n* direction
 misii *adv* how
 misillee *pro* everything
 missir (Amh.) *n* chickpea, a type of grain
 mog *n* see 'dube'
 molu *n* bold head
 moo *n* waist, part of the body around the stomach
 moogo *n* burial ceremony, funeral ceremony
 moon kademer *n* young ass, young male donkey
 mortaalle *n* bug, small insect that feed on grains
 mowaat- *v* to fasten one's waist with griddle
 mowaatara *n* girdle, leather strap with which women fasten 'landi' around their waist
 mugudi *adj* dark, little or no light, for example, at night
 mugudinnati *nom* darkness, the state being dark
 muume *adj* circular in shape, round
 muun₁ *adv* why
 muun₂ *conj* because
 muundze *n* lips
 muuze *n* banana

n

naas *n* breast (of human)
 nak'- *v* cross, go across from one side to other side of a river

nak'ano *nom* to cross, the act of crossing a river
 natt- *v* pull, to move sth towards oneself by using force
 nebe *n* ear, part of a body found on both sides of a head with which we hear
 nebeerro *n* rat
 neeb- *v* breathe, to take in air into the lungs and take it out through the mouth
 neefo *n* 1) soul, the spiritual part of a person 2) life, the state of living
 nefsaatano *nom* to breath, the act of breathing
 nik'k'isaat (Amh.) *n* tattoo, marks on a person's skin
 no *pro* we
 nogodda *n* peace, expression of greetings
 nub *n* lead, cover of pot or any container

o

o- *rel.pro* that
 oddola *n* island, area of the land surrounded by lake
 odo *n* father, a male parent of a child
 odomuule *n* brain, mind
 odonnati *n* fatherhood
 odori *n* acacia tree
 okafe *n* cardamom, a kind of spice
 okole *n* milking vessel
 ollaa *n* neighbour
 on''omooyis *v* make sweet, make delicious by adding spices
 ongorooc'e *n* see 'hangorooc'e'
 ooga *n* stripe of colours or layer of colours made on cloths/dresses
 oomme *n* calabash, gourd
 oor- *v* wait
 oori *n* wife, a married woman who has a husband
 oot₁ *n* fence, a protective device made with wood around a house or plants or grains
 oot₂ *v* cry, sob, to shed tears
 ootano *nom* to cry, the act shedding tears/crying
 ordi *n* the inside or inner part of sth. for example, skin
 oroo *n* firewood
 oroono *n* a goat or goats, domestic animal with horns and a coat of hair kept for meat
 oroono t'altuu *n* she goat
 oroono korma *n* he goat
 orrokko *n* some or half part of sth.
 orroo *pop* in
 osol- *v* laugh
 of- *v* dig, to make a hole in the ground
 ot- *v* till, farm the soil with plough
 otano *nom* o till, the act of tilling the soil
 owaar- *v* make (pot, earthenware, earthen bowl, kettle etc.) from clay
 oy- *v* make (a boat, a raft, beehive, traditional cloth)

p

piil- *v* stripe, to bark (from a tree)
 pirim- (pir/fir am-) *v* jump

r

raa₁ *n* road, highway or foot path
 raa₂ *n* true
 raatta *adj* true, correct, accurate
 raatto *adv* all together
 reeraa *n* thigh, the top part of the leg between the knee and the hip
 reeragara *n* see 'reeraa'
 riim *n* grinding stone
 riit- *v* grind, grind grain with mill
 riitis- *v* cause to grind
 ro *n* fart, an act of letting air from bowels
 roddee *n* sling, a simple weapon made of rope etc. used to throwing stone to chase birds from grain
 roodditto *n* see 'rooddee'
 roop'p'itto *n* small snare made of bended tree and rope to catch animal
 roor- *v* 1) pass from one stage to the other, usually to the best stage in life 2) to pass through sth.
 roori- *n* to transfer st. from one place to the other or from one container to the other

s

saagaal *cardnum* nine
 saamuna *n* soap
 saar- *v* thatch, cover a roof with grass
 saarano *nom* to thatch, the act of thatching a roof with grass
 saat'ile *n* wooden box, rectangular shaped container made of wood used to store specially cloths
 saatii *n* 1) friend, close friends 2) bond relationship or friendship established between Bayso individual family and a family from other clans
 safo *n* payment for a service
 sakil *n* local beer, Bayso traditional drink made of maize or sorghum flowe, malt and climbing plant
 sal?eessa *n* (of animals) miscarriage
 sanga *n* castrated bull, ox
 sankosanko *n* 1) herbs 2) spices
 sarbaa *n* calf, the back part of the leg between the ankle and the knee
 sargo *n* crossbar that support a roof
 sarsat- *v* wear or dress for oneself
 sarsi *n* cloth, dress
 se *n* cow
 seed *cardnum* three
 seera *n* culture, traditional values
 seet- *v* go
 sesseeg- *v* tell, to give information to sb by speaking
 sesseet- *v* walk
 sid- *v* carry
 siddeet *cardnum* eight
 sis- *v* give, handover sth. to someone

 sisano *nom* to give, the act of giving
 sissib- *v* 1. rub, to press sth firmly with hand to make it smooth

2. (of animal skin) soften, make soft and smooth by immersing it in the water and smashing with feet
 siyy- *v* 1) hide, to put sth. or sb. where it is not seen 2) to go somewhere we hope we will not be seen
 si?ii *n* 1) bone marrow 2) the most inner part of a tree
 si?o kagamballi *n* black pepper corns
 sob- *v* deceive, cheat
 sobano *nom* to deceive, the act of deceiving or cheating
 sobile *n* a half part of 'Gafe' traditional cloth made of woven cotton
 soddolaalee *n* in laws (father-in-law, mother-in-law, etc.)
 sombololtee *n* 1) a type of birds that appear during spring season or during the Cross celebration
 2) name of Bayso traditional song
 somboob *n* lung
 sommaasat- *v* 1) thank, to tell sb that you are grateful for sth. 2) to give blessing, to bless 3) to graduate from college/university
 soo *n* meat
 sorraa *n* saloon, part of a house
 suba *n* butter, a white cream substance skimmed after milk is churned
 suk'k'- *v* spin, spin cotton with spindle, make thread from cotton
 suk'k'aano *nom* to spin, the act of spinning cotton
 sulaale *n* wild beasts, wild animals
 sussaasat- *v* to insert comb in one's head's hairs
 suul *n* finger nail

s'

s'alaye *n* devil, evil spirit

f (sh)

faad *v* think, to use mind to consider sth and to solve the problem
 faaf- *v* to wear beads around a neck
 faafo *adj* honest
 faf- *v* throw, toss, send sth. through the air
 fafano *nom* to through, the act of throwing
 fafe (Wolaita) *n* 1) river 2) flood, rain water that is caused due to a heavy rain
 fakaar₁ *n* garbage, waste materials, refuse
 fakaar-₂ *v* 1) sweep with broom 2) to clean house or one's mouth or lips
 falo *n* the woof, the weft, the threads made by spinning cotton
 famis- *v* cause or make to decay
 fankala *n* a long wood used to paddle a boat or raft at the shallowest part of a lake
 fankora *n* sugar cane
 fene *n* feeling, interest, will
 fifar *n* grey hair
 figid- *v* anoint, daub, smear
 fii- *v* (of flour) loosen, to make very thin powder
 fiifa *n* sword
 file *n* bag, luggage
 fitto *n* perfume
 fiy- *v* tie, fasten with rope, hold two or more things together with rope
 fi?o *n* cumin, a type of spice

fi?o kagumbari *n* white pepper corns
fook'a *n* area of land used for cultivation, farmland
fore *n* porridge, Bayso traditional food
fukkaare *n* sweet potato
funkirita *n* onion

t

ta- *rel.pro* that, relative pronoun or relativizer suffix
taa *conj* until
taalaal *adv* see 'kaalaal'
tab- *v* 1) enter, go into 2) to come in
tabaaye *n* Sunday
tabano *nom* to enter, the act of entering
tabis- *v* cause to enter, cause to be inserted
tadabee *n* September
tag- *v* mow, to cut grass with sickle
tagaagur *n* April
tagollande *n* spring season
tagollandi *n* october
tagunte *pop* over
tahamaam *n* July
tak'e *n* a traditional bed made of woods, used for sleeping on
takataye *n* February
talaye *n* December
talogod *n* June
tawonaago *n* Tuesday
tekente *n* fly, a small flying insect with two wings
tic'arti (fem.) *adj* small
todoba *cardnum* seven
toos *pop* to
toot- *v* count, to say numbers in the correct order
tor?o *n* liver
tuf- *v* spit, to force liquid, food etc. out of one's mouth
tukkul *adj* straight, without curve or bend
tuntʃe *n* small and red ant
tus- *v* show, to let sb see sth.
tusano *nom* to show, the act of showing
tuttufat- *v* to taste food and drink particularly on festival days
tuuk'- *v* 1) suck, to take milk out of one's mother's breast
2) push, to move sth forward or away from oneself by using force

t'

t'aaba *n* honeycomb
t'aamme *n* flour, powder of grains
t'allaal- *v* to clean and daub the house floor with cow's dung mixed with water
t'am- *v* drink
t'amano *nom* to drink, the act of drinking
t'amaro *adj* drunkard
t'amo *n* drink
t'ara *n/adj* lie, falsehood, untrue

t'araamessa *n* liar
 t'ee *n* middle, centre of sth.
 t'eeri *n* buttock, the bottom part of the human body
 t'iba- *v* be difficult
 t'ibaro *adj* that create difficulty, bottleneck, hardship, hindrance or blockage
 t'oompe *n* bundle of twigs tied together used as a torch that is lit on the Cross Day celebration
 t'ork'aaye₁ *n* thunder storm
 t'ork'aaye₂ *n* a long whip used to drive oxen during tilling soil
 t'ot't'eessa *n* November
 t'ukkuba *n* sickness
 t'urumbaa (Amh) *n* trumpet
 t'uut't'uu *n* armpit

u

ubat- *v* 1) rain 2) flow, continuous movement of liquids
 udul- *v* crush grains and seeds with mortar
 ufa *n* door
 ufuuf- *v* blow, to send air from the mouth
 ug- *v* hunt, to chase wild animals to kill for food
 ul *n* 1) land 2) people 3) country 4) earth
 umul- *v* give birth to baby (of human)
 unnu *n* son, daughter
 urat- *v* produce, make wealth
 uro *adj* fragrant, good smell
 urs- *v* smell, to take air through one's nose to discover the smell of sth.
 ursatano *nom* to smell, the act of smelling
 usubki *adj* new
 uulla *n* pot
 uum- *v* call, to ask sb. to come, to invite sb. to come to a certain place
 uwaat- *v* to parch grain

w

waa *n* God
 waaro *n* water canal, ditch
 waat- *v* to lack sth., to lack wealth, money, etc.
 waat'- *v* to yoke, to join two oxen with a yoke
 waatolle *n* newly born small calves
 wad- *v* derive animal
 wadalla *n* youth
 wadami *n* mountain
 wadaro *n* see 'haada'
 wadat- *v* derive animal for oneself
 walabo *n* traditional boat, raft
 wal?a *n* capacity, capability
 warab *n* young male goat
 waraba *n* hyena
 wattaayyuu *adj* beautiful, pretty, handsome, attractive
 weeyini *n* colobus monkey
 wodana *n* heart
 wogarsi *n* arbitration, mediation

wono *n* king, traditional ruler

work'e *n* 1) false banana 2) enset, a tuber plant

work'i *n* gold metal

wota *pop* with