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A grammar of Hamar : a South Omotic language of Ethiopia

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a South Omotic language of Ethiopia

A grammar of Hamar
a South Omotic language of Ethiopia

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List of morphemes

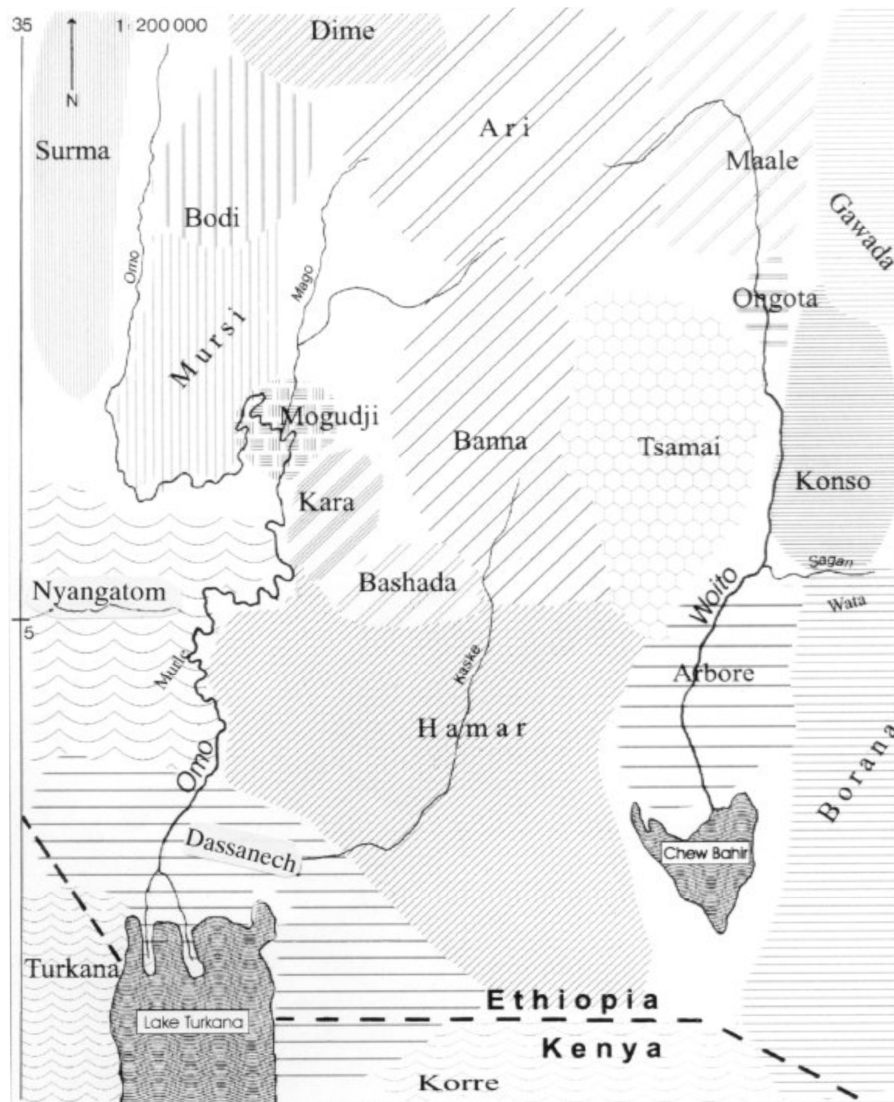
-â, -tâ	M	masculine singular
-á	IMP.2SG	imperative, second person singular
-b̥	NARR	narrative
-ad̥-, -d̥-, -b̥-	PASS	passive
agá	DEM2.M	masculine demonstrative, distal deixis
-ánna	OPT	optative marker
-bar	AD	adessive case
-be, -bet	COM	comitative case
bóde	IMP.NEG	negative imperative
-da	IPFV	imperfective marker
-de	PFV	perfective marker
-dar	ALL1	allative case
-dan	ACC	accusative case
-daqábe	IRR	irrealis
-é	IMP.2PL	imperative, second addressee
-énka	CNV2	different subject converb
ha-, -a-	2SG	2nd person singular
-hattáxa	REAS	reason clause marker
i-	1SG	1st person singular
-idí-	PF	perfect
igirá	DEM2.PL	plural demonstrative, distal deixis
-ika	PF.CONT	past perfect continuous
-íma	NEG.SUB1	negative gerundive marker
-ína	COND	veridical conditional
ínta	1SG	1st person singular
-ise	CNV1	general converb
-isaxa, -isoxa	PAST.PF	past perfect
káa	DEM1.M	masculine demonstrative, proximal deixis
-ka, -xa	INS	instrumental case
-kal, -xal	AFF	affective case
ki-	3	3rd person masculine, 3rd person plural
kidí	3	3rd person masculine, 3rd person plural
-kir	REL.LOC	relative locative clause
kirá	DEM1.PL	plural demonstrative, proximal deixis
ko-	3F	3rd person feminine
kodí	3F	3rd person feminine
koró	DEM1.F	feminine demonstrative, proximal deixis
-l, -il	INCL	inclusive marker
-mal	INTF	intensifier
-mo	DISJ	disjunctive
-mónna	NEG.SUB2	negative subordinative marker
-n-, -in	F.OBL	oblique feminine case
-n	R	relational marker
-na	PL	paucal/plural marker
-na	DAT	dative case

nánte	DAT	analytic dative case
-ne	COP	copula
-no, -tóno	F.S	feminine subject
-o	PURP	purposive marker
ogoró	DEM2.F	feminine demonstrative, distal deixis
qánte	DAT	analytic dative case
-r	IN	inessive case
róxa	PER	perlative
-rra	ABL	ablative case
-sa	GEN	genitive case
-sh	PRS	presentational marker
-shet	ALL2	allative case
-s-, -is-, -sh-	CAUS	causative
-tá	EMPH	emphatic marker
-te	LOC	locative case
-te/-tte	SE	same event converb
tê	NEG.COP	negative copula
-u	INT.COP	interrogative copula
wo-	1PL	1st person plural
wodí	1PL	1st person plural
-xa	PAST.CONT	past continuous
yáa	2SG	2nd person singular
ye-	2PL	2nd person plural
yedí	2PL	2nd person plural
yi-	REFL	reflexive pronoun

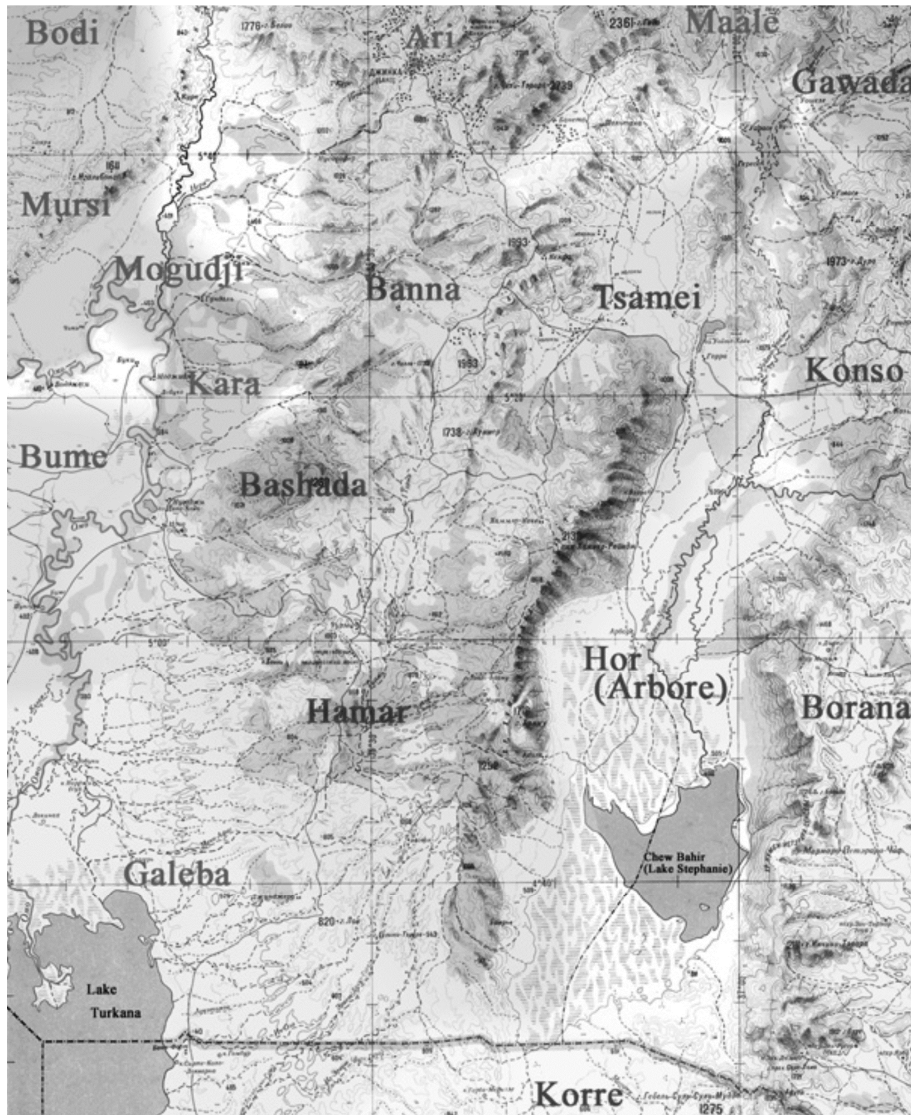
List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
AD	adessive case
AFF	affective case
ALL1	specific allative case
ALL2	general allative case
CAUS	causative
CNV1	general converb
CNV2	different subject converb
COM	comitative case and coordinative case
COND	veridical conditional
CONT	continuous aspect
COP	copula
DAT	dative case
DEM1	demonstrative with proximal deixis
DEM2	demonstrative with distal deixis
DISJ	disjunctive marker
DST	distal deixis
EMPH	emphatic marker
F	feminine
GEN	genitive case
HI	hither
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive marker
IN	inessive case
INS	instrumental case
INT	interrogative
INTF	intensifier marker
IPFV	imperfective marker
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative case
M	masculine
NP	noun phrase
NSP	non-specific locational deixis
NARR	narrative
NEG	negative
OBL	oblique case (F)
OPT	optative marker
PASS	passive
PAST	past
PER	perlative case

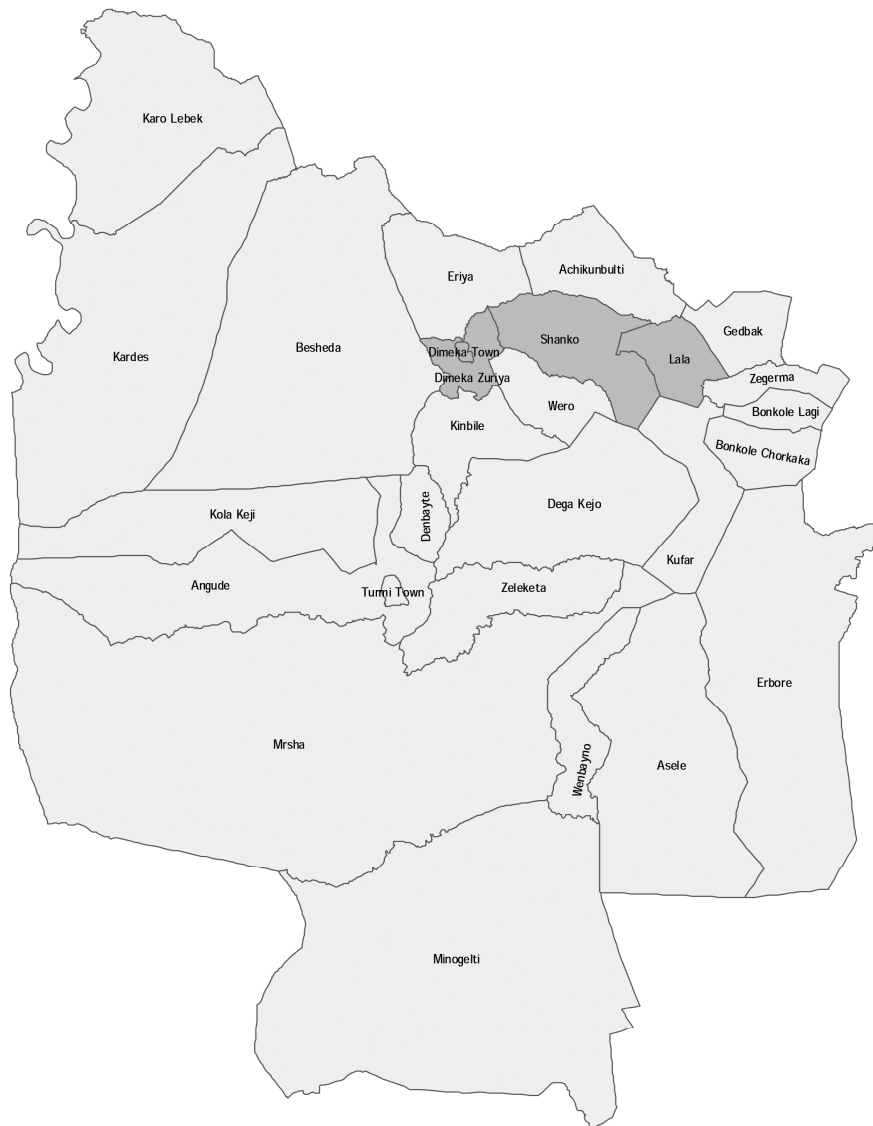
PF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PL	paucal/plural marker
PRES	present
PRS	presentational marker
PRX	proximal deixis
PURP	purposive marker
R	nominal dependency marker
REAS	reason clause marker
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
S	subject
SE	same event converb
SG	singular
SLEV	same-level deixis
SP	specific locational deixis
SUB	subordinate
THI	thither
VL	vowel length
VOC	vocative



Map 1: Ethnographic map of South Omo (source: South Omo Research Centre)



Map 2: Geographic map of South Omo (source: South Omo Research Centre)



Map 3: The wards (*k'ebele*) in the Hamar administrative district. Dark grey indicates the area where the fieldwork was mainly carried out.

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1 Introduction

This study focuses on the description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Hamar, a language spoken by the agro-pastoralist people who are known by the same name, and live in the lower Omo valley of South West Ethiopia. The study is based on 9 months of fieldwork carried out between 2013 and 2014 in Hamar territories. Language data was gathered from 14 native speakers in Hamar villages, and it amounts to 50 texts of varying lengths and genres. While the exact classification of Hamar remains controversial, this work points out, without any claim of completeness, various putative links to language families and groups.

1.1 The language

The Hamar language is spoken by approximately 46.500 people (Lewis 2009). The Hamar refer to their own language as *hámar aapó* [ámar aaḶó] and they form a cultural (Lydall 1976:393) and linguistic unit together with the Banna and the BashadḶa: their languages are intelligible, but show minor variations in the lexicon and in the phonology. The commonly accepted classification sees Hamar as a South Omotic language within the Omotic family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. Whereas there is general consensus on the genetic relationship between Hamar (including its dialects Banna and BashadḶa), Aari, Dime and Kara (that is, the South Omotic branch of the Omotic family), the controversy concerns the external relationships that this group of languages holds with Cushitic and/or Omotic, and at a higher level, with the Afro-Asiatic or the Nilo-Saharan phylum. See chapter 13 for further details.

1.1.1 Geographical location

The Hamar live in the South Omo Zone (*debub Omo*), one of the administrative zones of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' region (SNNPR) in South West Ethiopia. Their territory (including Banna and BashadḶa) is contained in between the Lower Omo River to the west, and the Chew Bahir lake (lake Stephanie) to the East (map 1 and 2). In the north their country ends at K'ey Afar and the highlands of Jinka, to the south it is delimited by the Kenyan border and the land inhabited by the Dhaasanec people. This area roughly corresponds to the administrative district called Hamar *woreda* (map 3). The neighbours of the Hamar are the Aari to the north (which border with the Banna), the Arbore (Marlé) to the east, the Dhaasanac (Gélabá) to the south, and the Nyangatom (Búme) and the Kara to the west (map 1 and 2). This study is based on the Hamar variety spoken around Dimeka Town (5°10'24.8"North 36°32'54.6"East) and in the wards (*k'ebele*) of the Hamar *woreda* called Dimeka Zuriya, Shanko, and Lala (map 3), see 1.2.1 for further geographical details.

1.1.2 Language variation and patterns of language use

Hamar is a thriving language and it is spoken by all generations in daily interactions, in the home and outside the home. Most of the Hamar speakers are monolingual. The degree of bilingualism in Amharic depends on the level of education¹ and it is proportional to the proximity to the main towns, Dimeka and Turmi, where the exposure to Amharic is greater. Hamar speakers are aware of the dialectal differences with Banna and Bashadfa as they can mock their way of speaking and point out phonological and lexical divergences with Banna or Bashadfa. A few lexical and phonological differences between Hamar and Bashadfa are listed in table 1.1:

Table 1.1: Some differences between Hamar and Bashadfa

	Hamar	Bashadfa
together	kínka	pailá
<i>parsí</i> beer mixed with honey	állá	ants'í
corn cob with no kernels	úpuri	kórmof ²
corn	boqólo	quló
let's go!	wo = yi?é	wo = idé
we are eating	kummáto dáade	kummító dáade

I have noticed some small phonological variation within Hamar as well: this is not surprising given that Hamar homesteads are scattered and separated over a wide territory (see 1.2.1 for more precise information about the variety described in this book). Moving southwards from Dimeka to Turmi, the alveolar consonants /t/ and /z/ are realized as /d/:

/támpo/ 'tobacco'	[támpo] > [dámpo]
/tíngisha/ 'potato' (Amh.)	[tíngiʃa] > [díngiʃa]
/zeelí/ 'boma, kraal'	[zeelí] > [deelí]

During my stay in Hamar I also observed the simplified variety of Hamar referred to as 'pidgin Hamar' by Jean Lydall (1976:397). This variety is spoken between non-Hamar speakers such as traders, police officers, social workers, government authorities, tourist operators, school teachers, pastors, doctors and nurses, and Hamar native speakers, who use it as a 'foreign talk'. It can be heard especially in Dimeka and Turmi, or whenever non-native Hamar speakers try to interact with

¹ Alphabetization in the area started in the 80's (Lydall 2010). Hamar is not taught in school. Attending school for most of young Hamar means to leave their far away villages and settle in the towns of Dimeka or Turmi, see Niebling 2011.

² It is interesting to note that the word *kórmof* means 'corn' in Kara language.

monolingual Hamar speakers.³ The knowledge of ‘pidgin Hamar’ varies among people, and I have observed that social workers, drivers, doctors and nurses (i.e. people who work closely with Hamar people) speak it comfortably. The ‘pidgin Hamar’ shows a high degree of phonological convergence with Amharic. Grammatically, it makes use of constructions which are deemed ungrammatical in Hamar: I have often witnessed the use of uninflected nouns followed by masculine demonstratives: **qulí kaa*, instead of *qultâ káa* (see chapter 3 and 7), or more generally the use of the masculine demonstrative *káa* as the modifier of any noun (uninflected, masculine, feminine, and plural). A common verb form used in this pidginized variety of Hamar is the following (the hyphen separates the verb root from the rest):

wuc’-índane ‘I/you/she/he/we/they will drink’

This verb form is not attested in the language spoken by monolingual Hamar speakers, even though one could identify Hamar morphemes in it, such as the copula *-ne* and the aspectual marker *-da*. It is interesting that some verb forms reported in Da Trento’s wordlist (1941) include a similar formative *-inden* attached to the verb root. When I moved outside of Dimeka and I started to carry out fieldwork with monolingual speakers, I was scolded when using these verb forms.

Even though Amharic is the language of the administration and of education⁴ in Dimeka and Turmi, and even if the number of Hamar town-dwellers who acquire Amharic is growing, the Hamar people are proud of their own culture and of speaking their own language. However, there are external factors which should be

³ Dimeka is the administrative town of the Hamar woreda, and Turmi is nowadays the main touristic attraction in south Omo: tourist agencies from Addis Ababa are based in Turmi; from there tourists visit the ‘Omo tribes’ such as the Hamar, the Mursi and the Kara. Dimeka and Turmi hosts three important markets (on Monday in Turmi, and Saturday and Tuesday in Dimeka, cf. chapter 5, 5.3.1) which attract people from all over the places. On market days the Hamar sell (and buy) goats and cattle, honey, milk, coffee husks, tobacco, salt, *berberé*. The most lucrative activity for Hamar town-dwellers is to sell various Hamar handicraft (carved gourds, headrests, beads, brass bracelets and so on) to tourists.

⁴ Hamar is proudly used by young Hamar and in town I have witnessed several situations in which the young students intentionally use Hamar as a tool to exclude others from communicative interactions. Often the Hamar students play linguistic jokes in their own language to make fun of teachers who don’t speak Hamar. One particular example was reported to me, in which a student sneezed during class and a Hamar class mate replied with the Hamar expression “*tudí sfíti*”. This expression is close to a swear word (it literally means ‘buttock’s hair’) and Hamar kids would never utter it in the presence of adults. The teacher, unaware of what was going on, asked if that was the Hamar expression for ‘bless you’, and the Hamar student, lying, replied positively. Later on the teacher has been reported to say the Hamar swear word at any student who would sneeze, and students even started to fake sneezes to trigger the hilarious answer of their teacher.

taken into account when evaluating the vitality of the language. Changes in the Hamar society and in their lifestyle are taking place at increasing pace in recent years due to the amelioration of roads, villagization policies, and the plan of the government to dam the Omo river for hydroelectric power and irrigation agriculture.

1.1.3 Previous linguistic studies

The Hamar have received a thorough ethnographic and anthropological attention thanks to the long-term research of Ivo Strecker, Jean Lydall and their students, who have produced a vast literature (including audiovisual material) on Hamar culture and society (see references). The language has received some attention by scholars interested in long-range comparisons and classifications, thus the material on the Hamar language has never gone beyond word-lists and superficial comparative morphological analyses. The older materials are mainly wordlists collected by explorers and missionaries. The first wordlist of what was mistaken for Hamar was provided by Donaldson Smith (1897:444) who reported “Lists of a few words spoken by the Konso, Dume, and Arbore (Amar) tribes”. As Cerulli (1942) noted later on, the wordlist that Donaldson Smith labeled as “Arbore and Amar” (ibid.:445) contains only Arbore words. Conti Rossini (1927) reported Donaldson Smith’s wordlist and erroneously assumed Arbore and Hamar to be one language,⁵ but he also stated that the Kara, the Bashadfa and the Hamar spoke the same language.⁶ Another Hamar wordlist is reported by Captain Montagu Wellby (1901): in his “limited vocabulary of different tribes” he includes two Hamar lists, “Hammer Koki Words”, of which only one resembles Hamar (the other contains Arbore words).⁷ Da Trento (1941) published a sixty-words list of various languages of southern Ethiopia transcribed in Italian orthography, including Hamar (Da Trento refers to Hamar as “Amarr cocche”). Cerulli commented on this list and on the material provided by Wellby and classified Hamar and Aari as Nilotic languages (Cerulli 1942:264). The linguists Lionel Bender and Harold Fleming collected word lists of Hamar and other closely related languages in the seventies. Bender’s wordlist of Banna has been lost (Bender 1994:141; 2000:160), and a copy of Fleming’s list circulated at the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages in Cologne (Fleming 1986). The first comparative lexicon of Hamar, Aari and Dime was published by

⁵ “Gli Amarr vivono nel territorio a N del Lago Stefania, e gli Arbore ne sono contermini ad oriente, toccando l’estremo settentrionale del lago. Sul loro linguaggio, che sarebbe unico, ha raccolto qualche cosa il Donaldson Smith: quanto basta a dimostrarli Somali” (Conti Rossini 1927: 253).

⁶ In the same page Conti Rossini reports a list of Kara numerals collected by the explorer Vittorio Bottego (Conti Rossini 1927:252).

⁷ The following words and expressions are reported by Wellby (1901:407-408): “nullah: *banty*; close: *kunjisni*; far: *pegni*; go: *yiman*; horse: *farda*; is: *wakindi*; water: *noko*; there is no water: *ogo noko lai*; mule or donkey: *okulli*; man: *angi*; woman: *mar*; how: *taki kaki*; take: *yetki kut*; leopard: *zobu*; cow: *waki*; today: *kena enni*; bring: *ba-an*; elephant: *donger*; camel: *gamli*.”

Bender (1994). The first modern sketch of the language was written by the anthropologist Jean Lydall (1976) and appeared in the volume edited by Bender, “The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia”. Lydall wrote on other aspects of the language, such as the expression of gender (Lydall 1988) and the use of ideophones (Lydall 2002). A preliminary analysis of the verbal system of Hamar can be found in Cupi et al. (2012). Published papers which focus on comparison and classification are Tsuge (1996) and Moges (2007, 2015).

There is a number of unpublished papers on various aspects of the language, these are briefly mentioned here and are not included in the references. There are two theses written at the University of Addis Ababa: the BA thesis “Hamar Phonology”, written by Mary Yohannes in 1987, and the MA thesis “The structure of the Noun Phrase in Hamar” written by Getahun Amare in 1991. In 2011, the MA thesis “Indagine preliminare sulla fonetica e sulla fonologia della lingua hamer” was written by Loredana Cupi (University of Turin). Moges Yigezu, from the University of Addis Ababa, wrote a sketch of Hamar morphology in 1999 entitled “Hamar: A South Omotic Language”, and various articles written by him and Yona Takahashi (University of Tsukuba, Japan) are available online on the website of the Japan Association for Ethiopian Linguistics.⁸

1.2 Research background

The analysis underlying this work follows the theoretical framework on which descriptive linguistics is largely based, that is Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 1997, 2010a&b, 2012). The structure of the grammar is arranged according to an ascending model (Mosel 2006:48), thus the analysis moves from the phonology towards more complex units. In this section the fieldwork setting and methodology will be described (1.2.1), followed by a discussion on the data collected (1.2.2).

1.2.1 Fieldwork

Fieldwork was carried out mainly in four of the wards (*k'ebele*) of the Hamar woreda (see map 4): Dimeka Town, Dimeka Zuriya, Shanko and Lala. Since I was based in Dimeka Town (for access to electricity and drinkable water), I worked mainly in the area across the *kaske* river called *t'ía*; in my foster family's homesteads in Shanqo, 20 km east of Dimeka, and in Lala, in the settlement called *gáma díika*. In 2014 I worked often in the Buska mountains, 37 km east of Dimeka. The Buska mountains used to be the original homeland of the Hamar before the conquest by Menelik II⁹ dispersed the Hamar down in the lowlands (Strecker 1979a:1; Lydall & Strecker 1979b:2, 157; Strecker 2013:25-26). I visited as well other settlements and homesteads throughout the Hamar land, especially south of Dimeka, (Turmi,

⁸ <http://ds22n.cc.yamaguchi-u.ac.jp/~abesha/SEL/index.html>, last accessed 22 September 2016.

⁹ Menelik II was emperor (*negus*) of Ethiopia from 1889 until his death in 1913.

Simbale, Zogola, Dambaiti) and I made a few trips to Banna and Bashad'da homesteads, north and west of Dimeka, respectively. My exposure to Kara, a closely related language spoken by fishermen along the shores of the Omo river and generally included with Hamar in the South Omotic branch, was limited to collecting one text, some vocabulary and verb paradigms with two speakers in Dimeka.

I visited Hamar for the first time in 2010 with Prof. Mauro Tosco, and during that visit I could carry out a short preliminary research on the language (Cupi et al. 2012), and most importantly, I had the chance to establish contacts with the community. As part of my PhD program I carried out two fieldwork periods in Ethiopia (January-June 2013 and May-August 2014). During the first stay I took a one-month intensive course of Amharic, which I originally intended to use as a meta-language together with English. To my knowledge, there was only one trained linguist among the Hamar speakers at the time of my fieldwork. I could collaborate with this person only for a couple of weeks before he had to flee the country for political and personal reasons. For this reason, the ideal cooperation (Ameka 2006) between a native and non-native speaker both trained in linguistics, could not take place. The unforeseen departure of the person who was supposed to be my main collaborator in the research forced me to change my plans. I could not find, in fact, Hamar speakers who had an adequate knowledge of English and who could work with me: the few speakers who have basic communicative skills in English are educated Hamar, and they are either employed by the Ethiopian government, or live far away to pursue their college and university studies, therefore they could not participate full-time in my research. I then decided to learn the language with the help of Hamar students in Dimeka: their basic knowledge of English, coupled with my basic knowledge of Amharic, allowed communication among us, and it gave me the basis upon which I could start building a basic Hamar lexicon and simple sentences. When I felt comfortable I began to spend more time in Hamar homesteads outside of Dimeka. My foster Hamar family (Alfa Wengela's family) in *Shánqo* and in *T'ia* was essential in this learning process. Outside of Dimeka, my basic knowledge of Amharic became useless since the majority of Hamar people are still monolingual speakers. In Dimeka I was exposed to the 'pidginized' variety of Hamar (1.1.2) and that was the basis upon which I learnt Hamar. My closest Hamar friends who taught me the language and introduced me to their families urged me to learn the 'real' Hamar language.

The research has been based on participant observation along with semi-structured elicitation, which was carried out mainly in Hamar language. When I was in Dimeka, I would schedule English/Hamar working sessions with educated Hamar speakers who could check on my translations, confirm my hypotheses and clarify my doubts. However, because of the limitations in language that my Hamar collaborators and I had, and because of limited time, I was not able to dig into the deepest structures of the language and catch subtle semantic distinctions.

I transcribed and edited all the texts with the help of young Hamar students who would parse the content of the recordings. Even though they were acquainted with the orthographic conventions I used for Hamar, they never felt comfortable in transcribing texts by themselves since their primarily orthographic alphabet is the Amharic fidel.

1.2.2 Data

The data upon which this grammar is built is a selection of the actual corpus that was originally recorded and compiled during fieldwork. The corpus consists of audio recordings, transcriptions, grammatical annotations, glosses, translations, parsed words and processed data. The original corpus amounts to 70 gigabytes, and the processed and selected data used for the analysis amount to approximately 4,5 hours of media files. Out of 50 oral texts of varying length and genres, 40 have been transcribed, glossed and translated, and constitute the main source for the examples reported in this book. The selected data consists of 40 texts of varying length and genres, plus various context-free elicitation data and example utterances offered by the speakers and in-formal conversations that occurred during the recording sessions. Context-free elicitation data was collected for the phonological analysis, but elicitation was also aimed at collecting lexicon and study some specific grammatical topics. For instance, a typical example of context-free elicited data would be the elicitation of an un-inflected nominal form followed by all the inflected forms (masculine, feminine, plural) uttered in isolation and in context. An important part of the corpus consists as well of casual, informal conversations, hortatory expositions and folk definitions (Dingemanse 2015) that were recorded but not transcribed systematically: when I reached a reasonable knowledge of the language and I could follow the conversations, I resorted to these recordings and I transcribed only those sentences and chunks of conversations that were useful to illustrate a particular point. For this reason, the amount of recorded data does not correspond to the amount of transcribed and analysed data.

Along with traditional stories, descriptive texts, historical narrative and informal conversations, I recorded songs, proverbs, riddles and a few examples of *maz aafó*, a secret language of Hamar used by initiated boys (*maz*).¹⁰

A basic lexical database was built simultaneously to the transcription of texts with the software Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX), therefore it includes all the lexical morphemes that occur in the transcribed data (a selected lexicon can be found in the appendix at the end of the book). Spectograms were analysed by means of PRAAT and audio files are in uncompressed .wav formats.

¹⁰ Hamar discourse is rich of metaphoric speech in general, but the *maz aafó* is used as a secret language and can only be understood by the initiated boys, or neophytes. Ivo Strecker (1988a) has conducted an in-depth study of Hamar discourse strategies in social interaction, including the *maz aafó* and others metaphoric speech.

2 Phonology and morphophonology

2.1 Consonants

Hamar has 26 well established consonant phonemes. The velar implosive in brackets is attested only in one lexeme and it is considered marginal, see below.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p b	t d	c j	k g	q	
Implosives	ɓ	ɗ		(ɠ)		
Ejectives		t'	c'			
Fricatives		s z	sh	x		
Nasals	m	n	ɲ			
Liquids		l, r				
Glides	w		y			ʔ, h

The transcriptions of Hamar data follow a surface-phonemic convention, except when they occur within phonetic brackets. The following modifications to the International Phonetic Alphabet will be adopted: /j/ for what is realized as voiced palato-alveolar affricate [ɟ]; /c/ for the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ]; /c'/ for the palato-alveolar ejective affricate [tʃ']; /y/ for the palatal glide [j]; /h/ for the breathy-voiced glottal approximant [ɦ]; /sh/ for the palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ]. The alveolar fricative /s/ never clusters together with the glottal /h/, hence the orthographic convention /sh/ can only be interpreted as [ʃ]. The bilabial stop /p/ can be realized as [p] or [ɸ]. *p* [p] and *f* [ɸ] will be both used in surface-phonemic transcriptions, depending on the actual realization of the phoneme: a word like /payá/ 'good', can be written as *payá* or *fayá*. Similarly, the velar stop and the velar fricative will be written as *k* or *x*: /saká/ 'tomorrow' can be transcribed as either *saká* or *saxá*. Long vowels and geminated consonants are always indicated by doubling the vowel or the consonant symbol, respectively. In surface-phonemic transcriptions word initial glottal stop is not written, except for this chapter. The diacritic /^h/ indicates stress and high tone, and falling tone is written with the diacritic /^h/ (cf. 2.4). Monosyllabic CVC word types have no diacritics. Orthographic conventions represent phonemic changes after phonological rules have applied.

2.1.1 Description of consonant phonemes and distribution

A description of each consonant phoneme is given below, followed by examples showing distributional patterns (word-initial, intervocalic, post-consonantal and pre-consonantal, word-final) and occurrences of geminated counterparts. Of all phonemes, 16 can occur word-finally (/p/, /b/, /t/, /j/, /k/, /q/, /ʁ/, /c/, /s/, /z/, /sh/, /x/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/). The phonemes /d, c, g, ɗ, ɟ, t, ɲ/ have not been attested in word-final position. The voiceless bilabial, alveolar and velar stops are aspirated in word-initial position, but aspiration is not phonemic. The burst of air comes after the release. The bilabials /p, b, ʁ/ are partially released in word-final position before pause; lenition of stops generally occurs before the vowel /a/. The palato-alveolar stops are phonetically affricates, but they have to be considered mono-segmental since, unlike consonant clusters, they can occur word-initially, word-finally and they can be geminated. The segments /w/, /y/, /ʔ/, /h/ pattern like approximant consonants and never function as the nucleus of a syllable; the glides are deleted under morpho-phonological rule MP2 and MP4 (see 2.5.1). Intervocalic non-pulmonic consonants can be weakened and realized as pulmonic in fast speech. Ejectives cannot be geminated. The nasals /n/ and /m/ are two independent phonemes but the opposition is neutralized in clusters, where they assimilate in place of articulation to the following consonant. The velar nasal [ŋ] is not phonemic: it is always adjacent to a velar and it is analysed as an assimilated /n/. [ŋ] is reported as phonemic in Dime (Mulugeta 2008:9-10), but not in Aari (Hayward 1990:429-431). Word-final sonorants can be partially devoiced.¹¹

The phoneme in parenthesis in table 2.1 are marginal. The status of the velar implosive /ɓ/ is doubtful since it has only one lexical occurrence: *ɓiá* 'hit', see discussion below.

The realization of consonant phonemes is discussed below. For each phoneme, all the possible realizations are given in a table: the underlying phoneme is in the first column, followed by the default realization in the first line of the second column. Allophonic realizations are listed below the default realization, and environments are given in formal notation in the last column. The order of presentation is based on manner of articulation.

/p/	[p]	voiceless bilabial stop	/[_{word} ____ any (see below) /____] _{word}
	[p ^h]	voiceless bilabial aspirated stop	
	[ɸ]	voiceless bilabial fricative	
	[p̚]	partially released bilabial stop	

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop

parsí 'ale-gruel beer'

ʔaapó 'mouth'

¹¹ Devoicing of word-final sonorants is attested in Somali (Armstrong 1934; Saeed 1999:10-11).

ʔálpa ‘knife’
galáp ‘yellow’
happá ‘braid hair’

The bilabial plosive /p/ can be realized as [p] or [ɸ] in possibly all contexts, except when geminated and when it clusters together with the bilabial nasal /m/. The realization of the phoneme /p/ as [p] or [ɸ] may vary among speakers and within the same speaker’s speech.

payá	‘good’	[pajá] ~ [ɸajá]
pée	‘land’	[péé] ~ [ɸéé]
piisí	‘placenta’	[piisí] ~ [ɸiisí]
pooló	‘cloud’	[pooló] ~ [ɸooló]
pugá	‘blow’	[pugá] ~ [ɸugá]
ʔárpi	‘moon’	[ʔárpi] ~ [ʔárɸi]
lashpá	‘shoulder’	[laʃpá] ~ [laʃɸá]
ʔapála	‘clothes’	[ʔapála] ~ [ʔaɸála]
ʔaapó	‘mouth’	[ʔaapó] ~ [ʔaaɸó]
ʔeepí	‘dead body’	[ʔeepí] ~ [ʔeeɸí]
ʔudúp	‘pillar’	[ʔudúpˀ] ~ [ʔudúɸ]
sómpo	‘lung’	[sómpo]
happá	‘braid hair’	[happá]

Word-final bilabial stops occurring at the edge of a sentence or before a pause are partially released: the release burst is partially audible, or not audible at all. This is indicated only in phonetic transcriptions with an upper-right corner diacritic ˀ.

/b/	[b]	voiced bilabial stop	/V__V /___ˀword
	[β]	voiced bilabial fricative	
	[bˀ]	partially released voiced bilabial stop	

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop

bíiri ‘three pronged stir-stick’
dabí ‘wild animal’
ʔimbá ‘father’
qálbe ‘leaf’
ʔab ‘another’
jibbá ‘dislike’

/b/ can be weakened to [β] in intervocalic position when followed by the low vowel /a/. This lenition can be observed particularly in fast speech:

kubá	‘wall’	[kubá] ~ [kuβá]
gibáz	‘malaria’	[gibáz] ~ [giβáz]
labalé	‘ostrich’	[labalé] ~ [laβalé]

/t/	[t]	voiceless dental-alveolar stop	/[_{word} ___
	[tʰ]	voiceless aspirated dental-alveolar stop	

/t/ is a laminal voiceless dental-alveolar stop. The tongue touches both the upper teeth and the upper alveolar ridge. /t/ is aspirated word-initially.

toré	‘plain’
meté	‘head’
ʔínta	‘I’
gertámo	‘clan’
ʔermát	‘tears’
dettí	‘cow dung’

/d/	[d]	voiced dental-alveolar stop
-----	-----	-----------------------------

/d/ is a laminal voiced dental-alveolar stop. It is not attested in word-final position and it is not lenited before the low vowel /a/.

doobí	‘rain’
ʔoidí	‘four’
ʔindá	‘mother’
qaldó	‘thigh’
puddó	‘thread’

/c/	[tʃ]	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
-----	------	-------------------------------------

/c/ is a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate with a defective distribution. /c/ has been found only in one lexeme word-initially. It does not occur word-finally and it does not cluster with other consonants. It occurs geminated in intervocalic position in less than 20 lexemes, mainly in verb roots.¹²

cóo	‘down’
geccó	‘old’
wócci	‘difficult’

¹² In the neighbouring Cushitic language Ts’amakko, /cc/ occurs as the geminate counterpart of /ʃ/ as the trace of a historical phonological change: /ʃʃ/ > [cc]. Savà shows that Ts’amakko roots with /cc/ correspond to Dullay cognates containing /ʃ/ (Savà 2005:37-39). The historical link between /cc/ and /ʃ/ can be seen in two Ts’amakko stems: the adjectival root *geecc*- ‘old person’, and the verbal stem *geefuw*- ‘to become old’. It is remarkable that in Hamar the stem *geccó* ‘old person’ is semantically related to *geshó* ‘respected person’, suggesting that a similar historical relation may exist in Hamar, but such relationship cannot be shown synchronically.

The voiceless palato-alveolar affricate is considered mono-segmental since it occurs geminated and word-initially. Its voiced counterpart is also considered mono-segmental since it can occur in any position and it can cluster with other consonants. Consonant clusters, on the contrary can only occur word-internally.

/j/	[ɟʝ]	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
-----	------	----------------------------------

/j/ is a voiced palato-alveolar affricate. It does not occur geminated:

jálo	‘bird sp.’
ʔéemajo	‘good spirit’
barjó	‘fate’
c’agáj	‘green’

/k/	[k]	voiceless velar stop	/[_{word} ___ V___a
	[k ^h]	voiceless aspirated velar stop	
	[x]	voiceless velar fricative	

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop.

kerí	‘door’
ḏúka	‘mountain’
bankár	‘arrow’
báski	‘lover’
banák	‘type of timber tree’
líkka	‘small’

Spirantization of /k/ to [x] occurs in the following two words, where /k/ is in intervocalic position, before the low vowel /a/:

saká	‘tomorrow’	[saká] ~ [saxá]
ʔuká	‘pierce’	[ʔuká] ~ [ʔuxá]

Spirantization does not occur in the word *ḏúka* ‘mountain’. For further details see under the velar fricative /x/.

The instrumental case suffix /-ka/ is realized as [-xa] when the preceding segment is a vowel:

ʔaafɔ́-xa	‘with the mouth (M)’	[ʔaaφóxa]
ʔaafón-ka	‘with the mouth (F)’	[ʔaaφónka]

/g/	[g]	voiced velar stop
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/g/ is a voiced velar stop.

gurdá	‘village’
gugána	‘lightning’
bargá	‘millet’
moggó	‘namesake’

Word-finally /g/ occurs only in the numeral *dong* ‘five’. However, this word shows an unusual syllabic structure since consonant clusters never occur word-finally. This is the only example of a CVCC word in Hamar (see 2.3).

/q/	[q]	voiceless uvular stop	/[_{word} ___a /[_{word} ___ ; /___V _{word}] /[_{word} ___o, u
	[q’]	uvular ejective	
	[q ^h]	voiceless uvular aspirated stop	
	[ʔ]	voiceless glottal stop	

/q/ is a voiceless uvular stop. It does not occur geminated.

qáari	‘python’
sháaqa	‘small’
banqí	‘spear’
sílqa	‘knuckle’
panáq	‘frog’

The uvular stop is realized in different ways depending on the environment, on the rate of speech, and on the speaker. Similar to the other voiceless stops, word initially it can be aspirated: the closure is made in the oral cavity between the back of the tongue and the uvula, and the release is accompanied by a light burst of air. Aspiration occurs also before a devoiced final vowel. /q/ is not realized as fricative before the low vowel /a/.

qulí	‘goat’	[q ^h ulí]
máaqa	‘lizard’	[mááq ^h ǎ]

Some Hamar speakers often glottalize /q/ in word initial position before the low vowel /a/. This tendency has been observed especially among speakers exposed to Amharic, such as educated Hamar, and in places where the influence of Amharic is particularly strong, like Dimeka and Turmi. When /q/ is glottalized however, the

place of articulation is still uvular, and not velar.¹³ The glottalization of /q/ is marginal among monolingual Hamar speakers.

qáski	‘dog’	[qáski] ~ [q ^h áski] ~ [q’áski]
qáami	‘ear’	[qáámi] ~ [q ^h áámi] ~ [q’áámi]

In word initial position and followed by back vowels /o/ and /u/, /q/ is optionally realized as glottal stop, a property which it has in common with the dental-alveolar implosive /ɗ/:

qootí	‘beehive’	[qootí] ~ [q ^h ootí] ~ [ʔootí]
quntíni	‘rat’	[quntíni] ~ [q ^h untíni] ~ [ʔuntíni]

/ɓ/	[ɓ]	voiced bilabial implosive	
	[b]	voiced bilabial stop	/V__V
	[β]	voiced bilabial fricative	/V__V
	[ɓ̚]	partially released bilabial implosive	/__]_word

/ɓ/ is a voiced bilabial implosive realized with ingressive glottalic airstream.

ḃénta	‘seed’
geḃí	‘many’
karámḃa	‘calabash for coffee’
ʔatáḃ	‘tongue’
toḃḃá	‘seven’

In fast speech, the bilabial implosive occurring in intervocalic position is often realized as pulmonic [b] or fricativized to [β]:

kuṭ’úḃo	‘housefly’	[kuṭ’úḃo] ~ [kuṭ’úbo] ~ [kuṭ’úβo]
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Similar to bilabial plosives, the bilabial implosive is partially released word-finally:

ʔatáḃ	‘tongue’	[ʔatáḃ̚]
gudúḃ	‘tall’	[gudúḃ̚]

/ɗ/	[ɗ]	voiced dental-alveolar implosive	
	[d]	voiced dental-alveolar stop	/V__V
	[ʔ]	voiceless glottal stop	/V__V; /[_word__u]

/ɗ/ is a voiced dental-alveolar implosive realized with ingressive glottalic airstream.

¹³ Hayward (1990) reports a voiceless uvular non-ejective for Aari (to the north), whereas Savà (2005) reports the voiceless uvular ejective in Ts’amakko (to the east).

ḑánga	‘throat’
ʔáaḑe	‘hippopotamus’
baḑá	‘drunk’
kéḑḑa	‘half’

Word-final /ḑ/ has only been attested in ideophones. Similar to the bilabial implosive /ɓ/, /ḑ/ can be realized as pulmonic in intervocalic position. When /ḑ/ occurs in the accusative marker /-ḑan/ and is preceded by a vowel, it can be reduced to glottal stop. Reduction to glottal stop has been attested word-initially in one example:

ḑúka	‘mountain’	[ḑúka]~[ʔúka]
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Only in one lexeme, /ḑ/ is optionally assimilated to the preceding consonant:

guldánti	‘belly button’	[guldánti]~[gulʔánti]~[gullánti]
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/g/	[g]	voiced velar implosive	/L _{word} —
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/g/ is a voiced velar implosive realized with ingressive glottalic airstream. It is attested only in one verb, and it is in opposition with the voiced velar stop /g/: cf. *giá* ‘tell, say’.

giá	‘hit’
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This verb has a pragmatically marked use: it occurs in a variety of light verb constructions such as *waakí giá* ‘herd the cattle’, literally ‘hit cow’; *juurí giá* ‘churn the butter’, literally ‘hit the butter container’, and so on. The verb *qaná* which also means ‘hit’ is used in other light verb constructions such as *doobí qaná* ‘rain’, literally ‘rain hits’, *núki qaná* ‘sneeze’, *góono qaná* ‘stumble’, and it is used for modern concepts such as *sílki qaná* ‘make a phone call’, *kánki qaná* ‘drive a car’. Both the verbs *giá* and *qaná* have cognates in Aari and Dime: Dime has the verbs *gís’i* ‘hit’ and *k’ané* ‘rain’ (Mulugeta 2008); Aari has the verb *giʔ-* for ‘beat, hit’ and *k’əndə* ‘rain’ (Bender 2003a).

/tʰ/	[tʰ]	dental-alveolar ejective	/___a, i
	[tsʰ]	alveolar ejective affricate	

/tʰ/ is a dental-alveolar ejective produced with egressive glottalic airstream. It is not attested geminated and word-finally:

tʰánzi	‘giraffe’
déet’a	‘heavy’
mart’ó	‘type of necklace’

When followed by the low vowel /a/ or by the high vowel /i/, it can be realized as affricate [ts']:

t'aqalé	'rectum'	[t'aqalé] ~ [ts'aqalé]
t'ía	'black'	[t'ía] ~ [ts'ía]
kat'á	'shoot'	[kat'á] ~ [kats'á]
lant'í	'spleen'	[lant'í] ~ [lants'í]

/c'/	[tʃ]	palato-alveolar ejective affricate	/V__V
	[tʃ]	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate	

/c'/ is a palato-alveolar ejective affricate. It does not occur geminated.

c'ílo	'ant'
dooc'á	'milk container'
qórc'o	'throat'
pac'	'many'

In fast speech /c'/ can be deglottalized when occurring in inter-vocalic position:

pec'é	'beans'	[petʃ'é] ~ [pet'é]
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/s/	[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative
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/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative articulated with the blade of the tongue. The tip of the tongue rests against the lower teeth.

seení	'stone'
?ási	'tooth'
zarsí	'type of grass'
meské	'brain'
qáis	'forbidden'
?ossambará	'after two days'

/z/	[z]	voiced alveolar fricative
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/z/ is a voiced laminal alveolar fricative. It does not occur geminated.

zóbo	'lion'
?aizí	'goat hide'
dónza	'elders'
maz	'initiated boy'

/sh/	[ʃ]	voiceless palatal fricative
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/sh/ is a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative.

shaalá	‘ceiling’
búushi	‘chin’
bárshi	‘young’
láshpa	‘shoulder blade’
bish	‘only’
mishshá	‘be full’

/x/	[x]	voiceless velar fricative	/___]word; /V___V
-----	-----	---------------------------	-------------------

/x/ is a voiceless velar fricative with a defective distribution. It is found mainly inter-vocalically, it never occurs word-initially, but it is attested word-finally where it contrasts with /k/:

lax	‘six’
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In the words *saká~saxá* and *uká~uxá* the velar stop can be fricativized to /x/. For the words listed below, the realization of /x/ as [k] is deemed incorrect by the speakers:

baxá	‘cook’	[baxá]	*[baká]
taxá	‘cut’		
paxá	‘throw’		
paxála	‘clever’		
daxá	‘tie’		
wɔxá	‘ox’		
woxóno	‘cattle’		

Even if speakers reject the realization of the words listed above with the velar stop [k], the velar stop is the underlying phoneme: the words for ‘ox’ and ‘cattle’ for instance are lexicalized inflected forms related to the general form *waakí* ‘cow’, see chapter 3; the verb *daxá* ‘tie’ is related to the noun *dáki* ‘rope’. The verbs illustrated above, moreover, are reported with the velar stop in Fleming’s wordlist (1986). The postposition /róxa/ ‘through’ and the temporal subordinate marker /-xa/ are always realized with the velar fricative /x/.

/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal	/___]word
	[ṁ]	devoiced bilabial nasal	

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal.

máa	‘woman’
lamá	‘two’
qámɓi	‘poor’
sirmá	‘pregnant’
ʔóom [ʔóom]	‘bow’
ɗammá	‘fall’

/n/	[n]	voiced alveolar nasal	/[__]word /[__]k, g
	[ɲ]	devoiced alveolar nasal	
	[ŋ]	voiced velar nasal	

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal.

naasí	‘child’
guní	‘snake’
rínso	‘hornet’
kárna	‘belt’
makkán	‘three’
kánno	‘younger sister’

The nasal /n/ is devoiced word-finally:

isín [ʔisín]	‘sorghum’
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[ɲ] occurs only in consonant clusters before velar stops:

nángo	‘soldier ant’
kánki	‘car’

/ɲ/	[ɲ]	voiced palato-alveolar nasal	/[__]word ; V__V
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/ɲ/ is a voiced palato-alveolar nasal. It is not attested word finally and geminated:

ɲámɯɲa	‘ostrich feather’
háɲa	‘fat-tailed sheep’

According to some speakers, word-initial /ɲ/ is interchangeable with /n/ in the Banna variety:

ɲuuri	‘butter container’ [ɲuuri] ~ [nuuri]
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The loanword from Amharic *ferénji* ‘foreigner, white person’ is realized with the palato-alveolar nasal /ɲ/ in Hamar:

paráɲi ‘foreigner’

See the phonological rule P9 in 2.5 for further details.

/l/	[l]	voiced alveolar lateral	/___]_word
	[ɭ]	devoiced alveolar lateral	

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant articulated with the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar ridge.

láapa ‘bat’
c’fílo ‘ant’
wárle ‘hare’
wálqanti ‘Aloe sp.’
ḡul [ḡul] ‘waterhole’
qullá ‘goats’

/r/	[r]	voiced alveolar trill	/___]_word
	[ɾ]	devoiced alveolar trill	
	[ɾ]	voiced alveolar tap	

/r/ is a voiced alveolar trill realized with the tip of tongue at the alveolar ridge. Intervocally and in fast speech it can be realized as a tap.

róoto ‘mountain nyala’
qáara ‘vervet monkey’
gurdá ‘village’
déer [déér] ‘red’
wúrro ‘cat’

/w/	[w]	labio-velar approximant
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/w/ is a labio-velar glide produced with rounded lips and the back of the tongue raised towards the soft palate. Similar to the other glides /y/, /ɤ/ and /h/, it does not occur geminated nor word-finally.

waakí ‘cow’
weilám ‘heart’
wíi ‘type of vegetable’
wodímo ‘rich’
wúshki ‘bullet’
?áshawá ‘silver-like bracelet’

/y/	[j]	voiced palatal approximant
-----	-----	----------------------------

/y/ is a voiced palatal glide.

yáati	‘sheep’
yéela	‘roof’
yíti	‘owl’
dǝya	‘bone marrow’
qáyo	‘worm’

/ʔ/	[ʔ]	glottal stop
-----	-----	--------------

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop. It occurs in word initial position, where it contrasts with /h/, and intervocalically. The glottal stop can only function as the onset of a syllable; it does not occur geminated nor word-finally:

ʔéebe	‘cowhide’
daʔíni	‘snake poison’
gaʔásh	‘warthog’

The Amharic loanword [saʔat] ‘hour’ has been borrowed in Hamar as *saʔáti*, thus the glottal stop has been retained.

Words that do not begin with a consonant are analysed as having a glottal stop onset. In fast speech, intervocalic glottal stop can be dropped:

yiʔá	‘go’	[jiʔá] ~ [jiá]
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/h/	[fɸ]	breathy-voiced glottal transition	/[_{word} ___a
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/fɸ/ is a voiced glottal fricative with a highly defective distribution: it occurs in fact only word-initially before the low vowel /a/ and contrasts in the same environment with the glottal stop (cf. 2.1.2). In fast speech [fɸ] is produced with little air.

hámar	‘hamar’
hai	‘sun’
háada	‘rope’
harán	‘type of grass’

The glottal fricative is phonetically realized as breathy phonation on the following low vowel [a̤]. The phonological glottal fricative fills the otherwise unlicensed empty onset of syllables that do not begin with a glottal stop. Other phonemic breathy vowels in Hamar do not exist.

The question of whether setting up a parallel set of breathy vowels has been raised by Hayward for Aari (1990:431-433). In Aari, /h/ is found word-initially (where it contrasts with ʔ) and intervocalically. According to Hayward ‘[...]every word in

which an intervocalic [f] appears, can also be pronounced without such segment. [...] It would appear that h is on the verge of disappearing from the language, though not without leaving a trace of itself in the form of breathy phonation' (1990:431). At the same time, there are cases for which breathy vowels seem '[...]to be independent (in so far as an alternative pronunciation with a distinct [f] segment is not possible)[...]' (ibid.:433). Hayward thus contemplates the option of setting a parallel set of breathy vowels, supported by the fact that h can pair with almost any vowel (except for the back vowel u, ibid.:434, and for long vowels ibid:436). It is interesting to note that intervocalic h in Aari has disappeared in the Hamar cognate word, whereas word-initial h in Aari has some corresponding words in Hamar:

(Aari)	wə́fíá	(Hamar)	wáa	'meat'
(Aari)	ǣ:qe	(Hamar)	háqa	'tree'

2.1.2 Minimal pairs and near minimal pairs

Minimal and near minimal pairs supporting the phonemic status of the consonants are illustrated below. The data show opposition in place and manner of articulation. Pairs show contrast in word-initial, word-medial and word-final position whenever possible. Opposition in place of articulation:

- Voiceless stops /p t c k q/ word-initial

paashá	'recover'
taxá	'cut'
cóo	'down'
kashá	'pay'
qaashá	'collect'

- /p t k q/ word-medial

láapa	'bat'
maatá	'go back'
?aaká	'grandmother'
máaqa	'lizard'
?álpa	'knife'
waltá	'genet'
?álko	'type of agave plant'
ǣalqá	'talk'

- /p t k q/ word-final

galáp	'yellow'
pandát	'gap teeth'
?aarák	'uncle'
zináq	'type of tree'

- Voiced stops /b d j g/ word-initial

bagá	‘tease’
dará	‘lowland’
jagá	‘sparrow’
gará	‘stop’

- /b d j g/ word-medial

náabi	‘name’
wádin	‘differently’
qáji	‘cold’
gáagi	‘mancala game’
shólba	‘light’
qaldó	‘thigh’
barjó	‘fate’
bargá	‘millet’

- Implosives /ɓ ɗ ɠ/ word-initial

ɓagá	‘fall’
ɗaqá	‘avoid’
ɠiá	‘hit’

- /ɓ ɗ/ word-medial

geɓá	‘grow up’
geedá	‘answer’
demɓi	‘death’
ʔandí	‘type of tree’

- Ejectives /t' c'/ word-initial

t'íngo	‘honey badger’
c'íilo	‘ant’

- /t' c'/ word-medial

kat'á	‘shoot’
gaac'á	‘grind’
kúnc'a	‘type of antelope’
qunt'á	‘break’

- Fricatives /s z sh h/ word-initial

síiti	‘hair’
zíiti	‘hook’
shíiti	‘soft’
hámi	‘field’

- /s z sh x/ word-medial

maasá	‘give back’
bazá	‘debit’
mashá	‘slaughter’
baxá	‘cook’

- /s z sh x/ word-final

gas	‘threshold’
baz	‘lake’
gaʔásh	‘warthog’
lax	‘six’

- Nasals /m n ɲ/ word-initial

máati	‘sorghum sprout’
naasí	‘child’
ɲuurí	‘butter container’

- /m n ɲ/ word-medial

kamá	‘pick up’
qána	‘stream’
qáɲa	‘vagina’

- /m n/ word-final

háam	‘jugular vein’
ʔáan	‘arm’

- Liquids /l r/ word-initial

lant’í	‘spleen’
ráat’i	‘milk’

- /l r/ word-medial

túla	‘small pond’
túra	‘up’

- /l r/ word-final

gul	‘corner of the house’
gur	‘ring’

- Glides /w y/ word initial

wáa	‘meat’
yáa	‘you’
wíi	‘vegetable’

ʔíi	‘stomach’
yedá	‘keep’
ʔedá	‘separate’

- /w y ʔ/ word-medial

ʔáshawá	‘silver-like bracelet’
nagáya	‘peace’
gaʔásh	‘warthog’

Opposition in manner of articulation:

- Bilabials /p b ɓ m w/ word-initial

paashá	‘recover’
bashá	‘win’
ɓaashá	‘comb’
maashá	‘slaughter’
wushá	‘make drink’

- /p b ɓ m w/ word-medial

láapa	‘bat’
labalé	‘ostrich’
laɓá	‘square shape’
lamá	‘two’
ʔɔrawal	‘backwards, towards the speaker’

- Alveolars /t d ɗ tʰ s z n l r/ word-initial

tipá	‘honest’
diibá	‘steal’
ɗíta	‘type of tree’
tʰipá	‘darkness’
sirmá	‘pregnant’
zigá	‘shake’
niʔá	‘come’
líkka	‘little’
riggíma	‘chew stick’

- /t d ɗ tʰ s z n l r/ word-medial

raatá	‘sleep’
ʔadá	‘shave’
ʔaadá	‘give birth’
dáat’a	‘sweet’
ɗaasá	‘lift up’

gazá	‘generous’
kána	‘younger sibling’
galá	‘food’
gará	‘stop’

- Palato-alveolars /c j c’ sh ɲ y/ word-initial

cóo	‘down’
jaagá	‘sew’
c’aaná	‘load’
shaná	‘buy’
ɲámupna	‘ostrich feather’
yaaná	‘sheep’

- /j c’ sh ɲ y/ word-medial

barjó	‘fate’
wánc’o	‘milky way’
ʔásho	‘slope’
yáayo	‘wild hunting dog’
ɲáboqo	‘type of anklet’

- /j c’ sh/ word-final

shamáj	‘albino cattle coat colour’
pac’	‘many’
tánqash	‘antelope’

- Velars and uvular/k g ɣ q/ word-initial

kaá	‘pour’
giá	‘tell’
ɣiá	‘hit’
qaďá	‘wear’
kansá	‘fight’
gansá	‘sniff’
qansá	‘listen’

- /k g x q/ word-medial

púka	‘caracal’
pugá	‘blow’
ʔuká	‘pierce’
duuqá	‘sow’
ďóngo	‘bell’
ďónko	‘speech’
ʔonqó	‘type of bean’

- /k x q/ word-final

gerák	‘beam’
lax	‘six’
panáq	‘frog’

- Glottals /ʔ h/ word-initial

ʔáino	‘goat hide’
háino	‘sun’
ʔamḃá	‘dream’
hamḃá	‘be told’
ʔáka	‘large intestine’ ¹⁴
háqa	‘tree’
ʔáaḃe	‘hippopotamus’
háade	‘razor’
ʔáan	‘arm’
háan	‘you’ (2SG:ACC)
ʔátti	‘bird’
hátti	‘how’

- Glottals and uvular /ʔ h q/ word-initial

hámi	‘field’
ʔamí	‘breast’
qáami	‘ear’

- Glottal and glide /ʔ w/ word-initial

ʔoisá	‘ask’
woisá	‘put down’
ʔúkumḃa	‘thorn’
wúkumḃa	‘bark’

- Glottal and glide /ʔ y/ word-initial

ʔíir	‘inside’
yíir	‘upper arm’

- Glottal and long vowels word-medial

kaá	‘pour’
gaʔá	‘bite’
baʔá	‘bring’
ḃáa	‘up’

¹⁴ ʔáka is in opposition with ʔaaká ‘grandmother’, thus long /a/ is not necessarily breathy.

2.1.3 Consonant gemination

Gemination is only found word-internally. It occurs in lexical roots but it mainly arises grammatically. Geminated consonants are phonetically longer than average, and they have to be considered as ambisyllabic segments filling the coda of a preceding syllable and the onset of the following syllable. Over 24 consonant phonemes, 14 have been attested geminated (/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /c/, /k/, /g/, /b/, /d/, /s/, /sh/, /n/, /m/, /l/); the gaps are partly accidental: word-final sonorant segments become geminates with feminine and plural inflections (see below), whereas other segments undergo metathesis and other phonological processes, see 2.5.

Below I contrast some minimal pairs containing geminate and non-geminate consonants.

kótte	‘shirt’
kóte	‘here’
ʔóito	‘female name’
ʔóitto	‘the fourth’
kummá	‘eat’
kumá	‘drink (milk)’
hammó	‘which’
hamó	‘where’
ʔonnó	‘house’
ʔóono	‘heifer’
happá	‘make braids’
ʔapá	‘unfold’
balé	‘male name’
ballé	‘female name’
ʔalá	‘guard’
ʔállá	‘traditional beer mixed with honey’

Grammatically, gemination arises after suffixation of the feminine and the plural inflections /-no/ and /-na/ to nominal roots ending in a sonorant segment. When the sonorant is a liquid or bilabial nasal, the nasal of the inflection assimilates to the preceding consonant (see 2.5 for further details).

kerí	‘door’
kerró	‘door:F.S’
kerrá	‘doors:PL’
hámi	‘field’
hámmo	‘field:F.S’
hámma	‘fields:PL’
?apála	‘blanket’
?apálla	‘blanket:F.S’
?apálla	‘blankets:PL’

Passive and causative derivations as well give rise to geminated consonant:

?aðá	‘give birth’
?aðdá	‘be born’
raatá	‘sleep’
rattá	‘put to sleep’

2.2 Vowels

Hamar has seven vowel qualities and five diphthongs. Vowel quantity is contrastive. Vowel length is indicated by doubling the vowel symbol.

Table 2.2: Vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ii		u uu
Mid High	e ee		o oo
Mid Low	ɛ ɛɛ		ɔ ɔɔ
Low		a aa	

As will be discussed in 2.2.2, the mid-low vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are in complementary distribution with the mid-high vowels /e/ and /o/ in the lexicon: when mid-high vowels occur in stressed syllable and are followed by the low vowel /a/ they are realized as mid-low (with a few exceptions). Mid-low vowels however arise out of coalescence (phonological rule P5) and masculine mid-vowel lowering (morpho-phonological rule MP5), thus they have a high functional load. Changes in the quality of stem vowels are one aspect of morpheme realization: for this reason the mid-low vowels are considered phonemic. The morpho-phonological rule MP5 is described in detail in 2.5, and section 2.6 analyses the co-occurrence of MP5, P5 and prosody in masculine inflected nouns. Vowel realization is influenced by stress and it will be discussed in detail in 2.2.2. Vowel length is treated in 2.2.3.

2.2.1 Description of vowel phonemes and distribution

All vowel phonemes occur word-internally and word-finally after any consonant, except for the glottal fricative /h/ which can only pair with the low vowel /a/. The phonetic realization of vowels approximates cardinal vowels. The vowels /u o ɔ/ are always audibly rounded. /a/ is a low central unrounded vowel. Quality oppositions are illustrated below:

/i e/

walí	‘sickle’	walé	‘dove’
zíiga	‘spinal cord’	zéega	‘bird of prey sp.’
shidá	‘stay’	shedá	‘look’
píi	‘human faeces’	pée	‘land’

/e a/

bénzo	‘clapper of a bell’	bánzo	‘please’
leʔé	‘year’	laʔá	‘lick’
déer	‘red’	dáar	‘cattle’s field’
bóte	‘pumpkin’	bóta	‘space, room’

/i a/

kílanqi	‘snake eagle’	kalánqi	‘moringa tree’
máati	‘fermented grains’	maatá	‘come back’
mishá	‘older sister’	mashá	‘slaughter’

/u o/

ʔurró	‘war’	ʔorra	‘from over there’
burqá	‘be hot’	dorqá	‘sit’
gur	‘support for calabash’	gor	‘type of ritual’
kut’ó	‘vulture’	kot’ó	‘female name’

/o a/

zíigo	‘sorghum crumble’	zíiga	‘spinal cord’
dottá	‘put down’	dattá	‘wild animal’ (M)
ʔogó	‘that’ (F)	ʔagá	‘that’ (M)

/u a/

dumá	‘grab’	damá	‘be able’
gúuri	‘empty’	gaarí	‘big’
núu	‘fire’	náa	‘yesterday’

/i u/

gíní	‘vein’	guní	‘snake’
?irá	‘curse’	?urá	‘gale’
míri	‘river waves’	murá	‘gun’

/e o/

wuc’é	‘drink!’ (IMP.2PL)	wuc’ó	‘in order to drink’
zeelí	‘boma’	zoolí	‘shin’
dettá	‘make kill’	dottá	‘put down’

/i o/

kidí	‘he/they’	kodí	‘she’
míri	‘river waves’	móro	‘lard, fat’
?íi	‘stomach’	?óo	‘over there’

/e u/

kerí	‘door’	kurí	‘honey’
lemá	‘slow down’	lumá	‘feel unwell’
deesá	‘kill’	duusá	‘get used to’

The vowels /a e i o/ occur as terminal vowels in nouns. The infinitive of verbs, used as the citation form, ends in /-á/. The back vowel /u/ is found word-finally in monosyllabic nouns, as the second segment of the diphthong /au/: there are no words like *CVCu in Hamar. The back vowel /u/ has distributional restrictions: it can co-occur at the left of any vowel, but not in the syllable following the vowels /e i o/. The following table shows vowel co-occurrence in lexical items. The vowels in the first column on the left occur before the vowels in the top row.

Table 2.3: Vowel co-occurrence

	a	e	i	o	u
a	galá	qálbe	qáski	nángo	gámuri
e	berá	meté	kerí	geccó	
i	tíma	tigé	c’íshi	rínso	
o	dongár	kóte	wotí	noqó	
u	túla	búme	kurí	pusó	gutúm

The interrogative copula in Hamar is the morpheme /-u/, which can be suffixed to both nominal and verbal elements. In this context there are no restrictions and the vowel /u/ is found after any vowel:

hámar	‘Hamar’	hámar-u	‘(is he/she) Hamar?’
déer	‘red’	déer-u	‘(is it) red?’
yéela	‘roof’	yéela-u	‘(is it a) roof?’

?imidí	‘has given’	?imid-ú	‘have (you) given?’
báasha	‘chicken’	báasha-u	‘(is it a) chicken?’
seelé	‘guineafowl’	seelé-u	‘(is it a) guineafowl?’
c’íshi	‘bile’	c’íshi-u	‘(is it) bile?’
bóoko	‘club stick’	bóoko-u	‘(is it a) club stick?’

Moreover, the interrogative copula /-u/ suffixed to verb stems contrasts with the future interrogative marker /-o/:

?ashká-u	‘shall I make?’	?í=da ?ashkó	‘do I make?’
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2.2.2 Vowel realization

Word-final unstressed vowels can be devoiced or partially devoiced especially in utterance-final position.¹⁵

háada	‘rope’	[hááda] ~ [hááda]
róqo	‘tamarind tree’	[róq ^h o] ~ [róqo]
?éébe	‘cowhide’	[?éébe] ~ [?éébe]

Word-final stressed vowels, when words are uttered in isolation or precede a pause, can be phonetically breathy:¹⁶

meté	‘head’	[meté] ~ [meté ^h]
muná	‘sorghum dumpling’	[muná] ~ [muná ^h]
demí	‘side’	[demí] ~ [demí ^h]
indá	‘mother’	[indá] ~ [indá ^h]

This applies also to phonetically long vowels in final position, see examples in 2.4.1. In allegro speech, word-medial unstressed short vowels can be centralized:

kirá	‘these’ (DEM1.PL)	[kirá] ~ [kirá] ~ [kərá]
beré	‘later’	[beré] ~ [bərəé]
?ékeri	‘bed bug’	[?ékeri] ~ [?ékəri]
jagá	‘sparrow’	[ɕagá] ~ [ɕəgá]

¹⁵ Devoicing of short final vowels is reported also in Oromo (Stroomeer 1995:15); (Bender et al. 1976:132). Turkana has final devoiced vowels, but their occurrence is not predictable by the position of stress or tone (Dimmendaal 1983:31).

¹⁶ Similar to Hamar, Boraana final long vowels can be realized as a short vowel plus [h] plus voiceless vowel: [V^hɥ] (Stroomeer 1995:16). In Turkana breathy phonation is an articulatory correlate of [+ATR] vowels (Dimmendaal 1983:27-29).

Stressed mid-high vowels are lowered to /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ when followed by the low vowel /a/. Unstressed mid-high vowels are not affected. The realization of stressed mid-high vowels is shown in the examples below:

ʔéna	‘past’	[ʔéna]
yéɛla	‘roof’	[jéɛla]
déɛga	‘dumb’	[déɛga]
kédɔ́da	‘half’	[kédɔ́da]
ʔéemajo	‘good spirit’	[ʔéémaɕo]
gédaqa	‘tree sp.’	[gédaqa]
gélaba	‘Dhaasanac’	[gélaba]
pélan pélo	‘butterfly’	[pélan pélo]
bénta	‘seed’	[bénta]
ʔóra	‘towards the speaker’	[ʔóra]
qóɕt’a	‘nape’	[qóɕt]’a]
dónza	‘elder’	[dónza]
bóna	‘drought’	[bóna]
bóta	‘room, space’ (Amh.)	[bóta]
bólta	‘fermented milk’	[bólta]
dóya	‘bone marrow’	[dója]
qólma	‘without’	[qólma]
shólba	‘light’	[ʃólba]
róxa	‘through’	[róxa]

Pronouncing the words given above with the corresponding mid-high vowels is not considered incorrect by the speakers.

Apart from few exceptions, unstressed mid-high vowels are not affected by the low vowel /a/:

berá	‘in front of’	[berá]
booc’á	‘milk container’	[boot]’á]
shodár	‘bird sp.’	[ʃodár]
dongár	‘elephant’	[dɒŋgár]
deeshá	‘medicine’	[dee]há]
desá	‘know’	[desá]
doyá	‘show’	[dojá]
doolá	‘milk churn’	[doolá]
woomá	‘honey container’	[woomá]
gerák	‘beam’	[gerák]
gobá	‘run’	[gobá]
qoc’á	‘suck’	[qot]’á]
keerá	‘cactus’	[keerá]

In some lexical items, the mid-low vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are in free variation with the mid-high vowels /e/ and /o/ also when unstressed: the quality of the vowels in the following examples can vary within the same speaker's utterances and none of the two pronunciations is preferred over the other.

deesá	'kill'	[deesá] ~ [dɛɛsá]
déet'a	'heavy'	[déét'a] ~ [dɛét'a]
?eedá	'relative'	[?eedá] ~ [?ɛɛdá]
kéda	'then'	[kéda] ~ [kɛda]
?óida	'hot'	[?óida] ~ [?óida]
qolbá	'fetch water'	[qolbá] ~ [qɔlbá]
?oshála	'after two days'	[?oʃála] ~ [ʔɔʃála]
wólsha	'sorghum sugar cane'	[wólʃa] ~ [wɔlʃa]

On the contrary, for the few words illustrated below, the pronunciation given in brackets is the only one that has been recorded.

?ɛdá	'luck'	[?ɛdá]
cóobar	'down there'	[tʃóóbar]
córra	'from below'	[tʃórra]
?óobar	'up there'	[?óóbar]
?órra	'from there'	[?órra] ¹⁷
zéega	'bird of prey sp.'	[zééga]
sɛl	'nine'	[sɛl] ~ [sal]
mée	'downwards'	[mée] ¹⁸

These exceptions can give rise to few minimal pairs such as *ɛdá* 'luck' vs. *edá* 'separate'. As will be illustrated later on, mid-low vowels can arise as the result of phonological and morpho-phonological processes in nouns inflected for masculine gender. Substituting a mid-high vowel for a mid-low vowel in a masculine inflected noun is considered ungrammatical. Lowering of mid vowels in the lexicon is pretty close to metaphony, a type of height vowel harmony which targets only stressed vowels. However, in this assimilatory process, change in the height of a stressed vowel is generally triggered by a suffix vowel. In the case of Hamar, the post-tonic low vowel /a/ occurring in nouns cannot be considered, at least synchronically, a suffix. In most cases it is part of the nominal root to which gender and number inflections are suffixed:

¹⁷ The words *cóobar*, *córra*, *?óobar* and *?órra* are composed of the deictics *cóo* and *óo* plus the case suffixes *-bar* and *-rra*, see chapter 5.

¹⁸ In Boraana the question word *mɛɛ* 'where?' borrowed from Somali is also realized with the mid-low vowel *ɛ*. In this respect Stroemer (1995:16) states that '[...] it is not clear whether [ɛɛ] is an allophone of *ee* [...]'.

yéela	‘roof’	yéela-na	‘roof-PL’
yéela-no	‘roof-F.S’	yeełâ	‘roof:M’

Moreover, the low vowel /a/ may trigger lowering of mid-high vowels also when it occurs inside the root, as in *pélan pélo* ‘butterfly’, and in words such as *śra* ‘towards the speaker’. In the case of verbs, mid-high stem vowels are usually not lowered since the citation form of verbs always ends in /-á/ (see 2.4.2), however some variation may occur among different speakers, see the examples for *deesá* ‘kill’ and *qolbá* ‘fetch water’ given above.

gobá	‘run’
desá	‘know’

Lowering of stressed mid-high vowels (and unstressed mid-high vowels in the exceptional cases illustrated above) in nouns, verbs and connective words seems to emerge out of analogy with the nominal inflectional system, where the masculine mid-vowel lowering (morpho-phonological rule MP5) and vowel coalescence (phonological rule P5) occur systematically. MP5 and P5 however target both stressed and unstressed vowels causing various vowel mutations, see 2.5 and 2.6 for further details.

2.2.3 Vowel length

Vowel quantity is distinctive. Long vowels are restricted to the first syllable of a word. The examples below show the quantity oppositions:

/a/ /aa/

c’ác’i	‘sky’	c’aac’í	‘root’
?ashá	‘insult’	?aashá	‘hide’

/e/ /ee/

?éna	‘past’	?éena	‘people’
gedé	‘bed’	geedé	‘answer!’ (IMP.2PL)

/i/ /ii/

shidá	‘stay’	shiidá	‘be washed’
zigá	‘shake’	zíiga	‘spinal cord’

/o/ /oo/

gobá	‘run’	goobá	‘decorate’
qot’í	‘shaved area’	qootí	‘beehive’

/u/ /uu/

c'úba	'smoke'	c'uubá	'wash the clothes'
shupí	'lid'	shúupi	'sunflower'

Phonemically long vowels are phonetically long: they are longer than short vowels in stressed syllables. The examples below show vowel length (in seconds) in the first syllable (abbreviated VL1). The unstressed long vowel in *goobá* is longer than the stressed short vowel in *góro*.

góro	'Colobus monkey'	VL1 = 0.091
gobá	'run'	VL1 = 0.070
góodo	'termite eater'	VL1 = 0.151
goobá	'decorate'	VL1 = 0.130

Long vowels can be phonetically shortened when nominal or verbal stems are extended through inflection and/or derivation. CVVC syllables are allowed only in monosyllables (see 2.3). Vowel shortening occurs to avoid $C_1VVC_2.C_2V$ and $C_1VVC_2.C_3V$ structures. The context for vowel shortening is found often after suffixation of the feminine and plural markers /-no/ and /-na/, after suffixation of the masculine suffix /-tâ/, with verbal derivations and in concomitance with the ablative case /-rra/. Even though vowels undergoing shortening are not phonetically short as short vowels in word-medial position, they are shorter than the related long vowels in the general form. Forms in brackets represent unattested stages, see 2.5 for the underlying phonological rules.

qáami	'ear'	(qaam-no)	> qámno
?ooní	'house'	(?oon-no)	> ?onnó
?áan	'arm'	(?aan-ta)	> ?antâ
yíir	'upper arm'	(yiir-na)	> yírna
káara	'fish'	(kaar-ta)	> kartâ
jaagá	'sew'	(jaag-s-á)	> jashká
shooshí	'guest'	(shoosh-na)	> shoná
?óo	'over there'	(?oo-rra)	> ?órna

2.2.4 Diphthongs

Diphthongs occur in the lexicon in word-medial and word-final position, and arise grammatically. There are four closing diphthongs (/ai/, /au/, /ei/, /oi/), and one opening diphthong (/ia/).

/ai/ word-medial and word-final:

?áigi	'fence'	baití	'river'
lánkai	'eight'	dúmai	'thumb'

/ia/ word-final:

sía	‘bad’	zía	‘brave’
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/au/ word-medial and word-final:

c’aulí	‘white’	gáu	‘bracelet’
sautí	‘Acacia tree’	qáu	‘forest’

/ei/ word-medial:

weilám	‘heart’	?eiké	‘grandfather’
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/oi/ word-medial:

goití	‘pathway’	?óiso	‘question’
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As shown in 2.2.1, diphthongs arise grammatically when the interrogative copula /-u/ is suffixed to vowel ending nominal or verbal stems:

payá	‘good’	payáu	‘Is it good?’
wuc’á	‘drink’	wuc’áu	‘Shall I drink?’

2.3 Word structure

Onsetless syllables, onsets with consonant clusters and codas with consonant clusters are not permitted in Hamar. Syllable boundaries are indicated by a full stop.

2.3.1 Syllable

Hamar has four possible phonemic syllable types:

CV	qu.lí	‘goat’
CVV	káa.ra	‘fish’
CVC	kár.c’a	‘cheek’
CVVC	déer	‘red’

The minimal syllable type is CV. The nucleus of a syllable is either a short or a long vowel. CVVC syllables occur only in monosyllables. Derived nouns with a syllabic structure of the type CVVC.CV undergo vowel shortening and surface as CVC.CV as shown in 2.2.3. All consonants and glides can be the onset of a syllable. The onset and the coda of a syllable cannot contain more than one consonantal segment. For this reason consonant clusters only occur word-internally at syllable boundaries and geminate consonants are ambisyllabic segments filling the coda of a syllable and the onset of the following syllable:

?át.ti ‘bird’

Hamar shows a striking preference for sonorants in coda position. Obstruent segments in codas are extremely rare and are found only in monosyllables and word-final syllables. If consonant clusters arise where an obstruent occurs as the first segment of the cluster, morpho-phonological rules apply in order to avoid the illicit sequence (see metathesis and assimilation rules in 2.5).

Although consonant clusters are not allowed in codas, there is one exception: the numeral word *dong* ‘five’. /n.g/ is a licensed sequence in word-medial position, however there are no other Hamar words ending with a consonant cluster.

2.3.2 Consonant clusters

Consonant clustering is constrained as follows:

The first segment of a cluster is preferably a sonorant (nasal or liquid), or a fricative (the alveolar and post-alveolar /s//sh/); consonant clusters starting with stops, implosives and ejectives are not licensed. Metathesis occurs to avoid illicit sequences when they arise grammatically (see 2.5, phonological rule P2).

Nasal + obstruent clusters:

m.p	sómpo	‘lung’
m.b	dámbi	‘tradition’
m.ɓ	demɓí	‘death’
n.t	kánta	‘strength’
n.d	ʔindá	‘mother’
n.ɗ	tuqáɗa	‘hiccup’
n.tʼ	lantʼí	‘spleen’
n.s	qansá	‘listen’
n.z	ʔanzá	‘girl’
n.cʼ	gancʼá	‘thin’
n.sh	ʔanshá	‘descend’
n.k	kínka	‘together’
n.g	ɗánga	‘throat’
n.q	sunqá	‘kiss’

Liquid + obstruent clusters:

r.p	ʔárpi	‘moon’
r.m	sirmá	‘pregnant’
r.t	gertámo	‘clan’
r.d	ʔardá	‘enter’
r.ɗ	bardá	‘drunk’
r.tʼ	mártʼo	‘type of necklace’
r.s	parsí	‘ale-gruel beer’
r.l	bórle	‘young person’
r.j	mirjá	‘kudu’

r.c'	qarc'á	'grass' seed'
r.sh	marshá	'rituals'
r.k	túrke	'dust'
r.g	bárgi	'dry season'
r.q	dorqá	'sit'
l.p	?álpa	'knife'
l.b	silbí	'dark brown' (cattle coat colour)
l.ḡ	qolḡá	'fetch water'
l.m	?álma	'female name'
l.t	qultá	'male goat'
l.d	qaldó	'thigh'
l.d'	?eldá	'be called'
l.t'	galt'á	'seal with mud'
l.s	bulsá	'send out'
l.sh	galshá	'annoy'
l.k	?álko	' <i>Sansevieria</i> plant sp.'
l.g	gilgishá	'tickle'
l.q	ḡalqá	'speak'

Fricatives /s sh/ + obstruent clusters:

s.k	baská	'bring'
s.g	gasgó	'wheat'
sh.p	goshpá	'respect'
sh.k	?ashká	'do'

2.3.3 Syllable patterns in nouns and verbs

The preferred structure for nouns in Hamar is disyllabic. Trisyllabic and monosyllabic nouns occur but are rare. The canonical syllabic structure is CV.CV, CVC.CV, CVV.CV for disyllabic nouns and CV.CV.CV, CV.CVC.CV, CVC.CV.CV for trisyllabic nouns.

CV	wa	'another'
CVV	dáa	'clay pot'
CVC	ḡul	'waterhole'
CVVC	dáar	'cattle's field'
CV.CV	no.qó	'water'
CVV.CV	qáa.mi	'ear'
CVC.CV	gír.sho	'porcupine'
CVC.CVC	don.gár	'elephant'
CV.CVC	sho.dár	'bird sp.'
CV.CV.CV	se.ge.ré	'dik-dik'
CVC.CV.CV	kor.qi.shá	'francolin, bird sp.'

CV.CVC.CV	ka.rám.ḡa	‘calabash for coffee’
CVC.CVC.CV	wál.qan.ti ¹⁹	‘Aloe vera’

Verbs are generally disyllabic; monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems are uncommon. Longer stems are extended through derivational suffixes. Verbs in the citation form carry a high tone on the last vowel (see 2.4.2):

CVV	kaá	‘pour’
CV.CV	ḡulá	‘jump’
CVV.CV	raatá	‘sleep’
CVC.CV	ḡalqá	‘speak’

2.4 Word prosody

There are no accentless words in Hamar, and there is only one prominent syllable per word, cued by high pitch, loudness and increased duration. In this section the acoustic features and the functions of prominence are described, showing that Hamar has two co-existing, yet independent systems which can be analysed in terms of stress and tone. Stress is indicated with the diacritic /**́**/, and a circumflex accent /**ˆ**/ indicates falling tone. CV and CVC word types have no diacritics.

2.4.1 Stress

The phonetic cues of stress are increased duration (as shown in section 2.2.3, where the length of short unstressed vowels and short stressed vowels is compared), loudness and high pitch. In nouns, long vowels and diphthongs in word internal position and in monosyllabic words carry only one and the same pitch:

zíini	[ʼ zíini]	‘mosquito’	*[zĩini] *[ziĩini]
déer	[ʼ déer]	‘red’	
dáa	[ʼ dáa]	‘clay pot’	
qáu	[ʼ qáu]	‘bushy area’	
sía	[ʼ sía]	‘bad’	

In nouns there is only one stressed syllable and ***σ.σ** or ***ó.ó** word types are not attested:

ó.σ	qá.sa	‘louse’
σ.ó	me.té	‘head’

¹⁹ Plant’s names are usually trisyllabic. The following is a list of nouns referring to plants and trees, but not all of them have been classified yet, cf. the lexicon at the end of the book: *pulánti*, *ruc’ánti*, *kalánqi*, *gáranti*, *shámbulo*, *zínzaqe*, *tubáqe*, *óndoko*, *baráza*, *gédaga*.

Stress in nouns is lexical and its position is not predictable. In disyllabic nouns, either the final or the penultimate syllable can be stressed. In disyllabic nouns composed of a heavy syllable, stress is attested in any position:

shaa.lá	‘ceiling’
zí.ga	‘spinal cord’
síl.qa	‘knuckle’
gur.dá	‘village’

Stress in nouns can be lexically distinctive. A few óσ vs. óó minimal pairs occurring in the same grammatical domain have been attested:

hámmo	‘field:F.S’	hammó	‘which:F.S’
hámma	‘field:PL’	hammá	‘which:PL’
átti	‘bird’	attí	‘fermented sorghum’
?ásho	‘slope’	?ashó	‘type of tree’

The possessed form of the kinship terms (cf. chapter 8) for ‘mother’ and ‘father’ contrast with the general form in the position of pitch:

indá	‘mother’	índa	‘my mother’
imbá	‘father/owner’	ímba	‘my father’

Trisyllabic nouns can have a final, penultimate or antepenultimate stressed syllable as displayed in the CV.CV.CV minimal pairs below.

ánqasi	‘bee’	anqási	‘lamb’
shékini	‘white quartz’	shekíni	‘beads’
bagáde	‘backbone’	bagadé	‘cooked blood’

Suffixation of feminine (-no) and plural (-na) inflections to nominal roots does not change the position of pitch:

shaalá	‘ceiling’	shaaláno	shaalána
meté	‘head’	meténo	meténa
zikí	‘goat faeces’	zikíno	zikína
qólpo	‘scorpion’	qólpono	qólpona

Stress plays an important role in the nominal morphology, especially as far as masculine nouns are concerned. Nouns inflected for masculine gender get a final stress which is realized as falling tone:

qása	‘louse’	qasâ	‘louse:M’
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The masculine suffixes /-â/ and /-tâ/ trigger various (morpho)-phonological changes (see 2.5 and 2.6 for further details) on inflected nouns. For instance the masculine inflection /-â/ in the following example is realized with a final falling tone and with coalescence of the final vowel /o/ with the masculine inflection /-â/. Moreover, the masculine inflection lowers the root vowels:

róqo	‘tamarind tree’	rɔqô	‘tamarind tree:M’
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In nouns where vowel mutation is not observable, the difference between the uninflected form and the masculine inflected form is only prosodic: prominence usually switches to the final syllable and it is realized as falling tone.

hápa	‘sheep’	[‘hápa]
hapâ	‘sheep:M’	[hà‘pâ]

In the previous example the final vowel /a/ of the general form is devoiced because unstressed (cf. 2.2.2).

When nouns are uttered in isolation or before a pause, the final stressed syllable of the masculine form can be phonetically long. Length and falling tone however are hardly ever realized in connected speech, especially before case suffixes. When a noun like *hápa* above is inflected for masculine gender, the final stress can be thus realized with a final high tone, rather than a falling tone: [ha‘pá].

Some uninflected nouns have stress on the final syllable:

zará	‘body’
-------------	--------

In such cases the difference between the uninflected form *zará* and the masculine form *zarâ* can be noticed only in isolation or before a pause: the final vowel is realized longer and/or carrying a falling tone. Below I compare stress final uninflected forms²⁰ and their related masculine inflected form. The examples are all uttered in isolation. VL2 indicates the length (in seconds) of the final vowel:

jagá	‘sparrow’	VL2 = 0.080
jagâ (M)	[dʒà‘gâà ^h] ²¹	VL2 = 0.144
muná	‘dumplings’	VL2 = 0.068
munâ (M)	[mù‘náà]	VL2 = 0.141

²⁰ These words are examples of nouns which are neutral to the vowel mutation triggered by coalescence (P5) and masculine mid-vowel lowering (MP5).

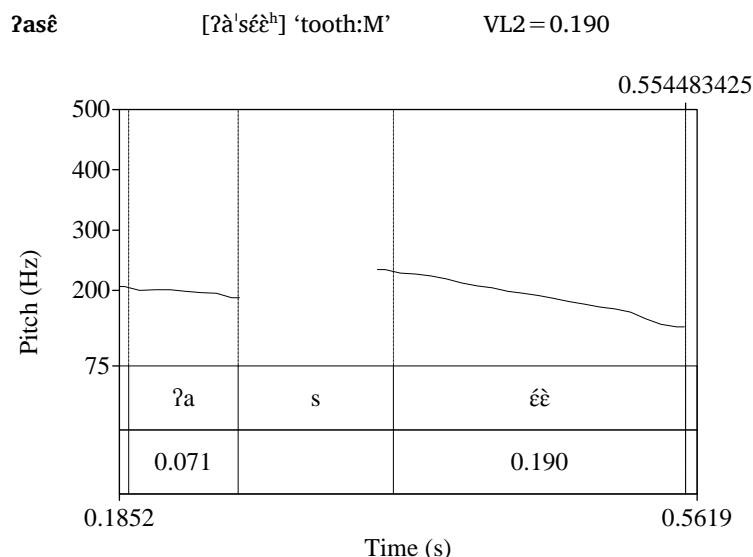
²¹ Note that final stressed vowels can be breathy, cf. 2.2.2. In all the examples the final vowel can be breathy or not.

shaalá		‘ceiling’	VL2 = 0.067
shaalá	(M)	[ʃàà'láà]	VL2 = 0.140
ganc'á		‘thin’	VL2 = 0.090
ganc'á	(M)	[gàn'tʃ'áà]	VL2 = 0.154

For such nouns, the difference between the uninflected form and the inflected masculine form cannot always be detected on the basis of phonological criteria because the distinction is lost in connected speech. The masculine form however can be distinguished from the uninflected form on the basis of syntactic, discourse-related and semantic properties. Uninflected forms are distributionally restricted and cannot occur in contexts where syntactic agreement is required; their meaning is general, undetermined and neutral about gender and number, see chapter 3 for further details.

The PRAAT diagrams below show the difference in length and pitch contour between masculine nouns uttered in isolation and in context.

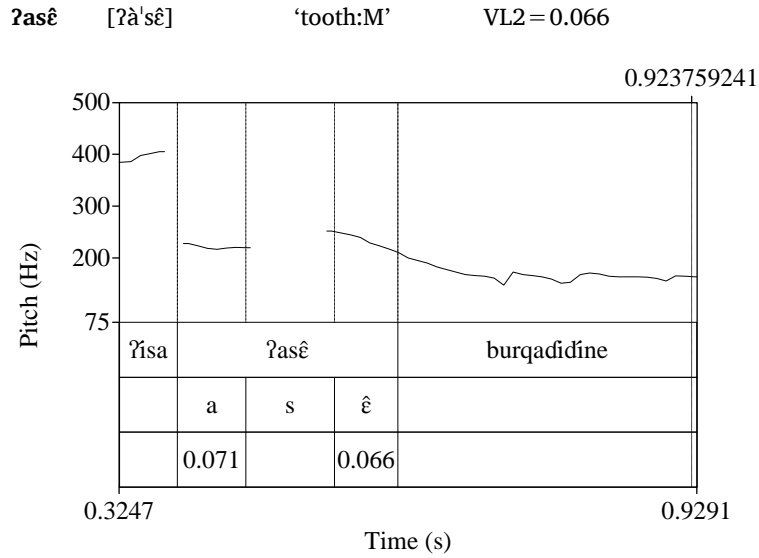
The first diagram displays the noun *ʔási* ‘tooth’ inflected for masculine gender and uttered in isolation. The final vowel of *ʔási* merges with the masculine suffix */-â/* resulting in the mid-low */ɛ/* (phonological rule P5, cf. section 2.5). The final vowel of *ʔasê* is quite long (0.190 seconds) and carries a falling pitch:



The second diagram shows the same inflected masculine noun *ʔasê* uttered in connected speech:

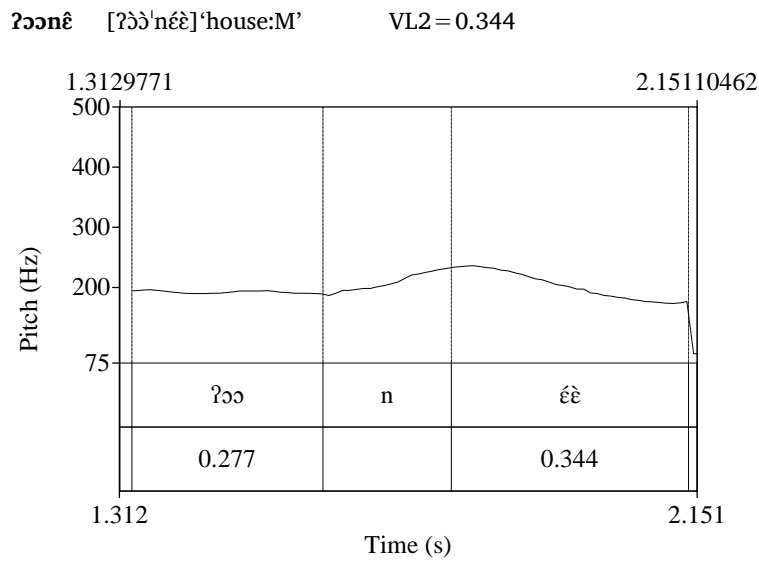
- (1) *ʔí* = **sa** *ʔasê* **burqad-idí-ne**
 1SG = GEN tooth:M hurt-PF-COP
 lit.: my tooth (M) hurts

The final vowel of *ʔasê* is drastically shorter in connected speech, as it can be seen in the next diagram representing sentence (1):



In the previous diagram, the falling pitch on the final short vowel of *ʔasê* is still visible.

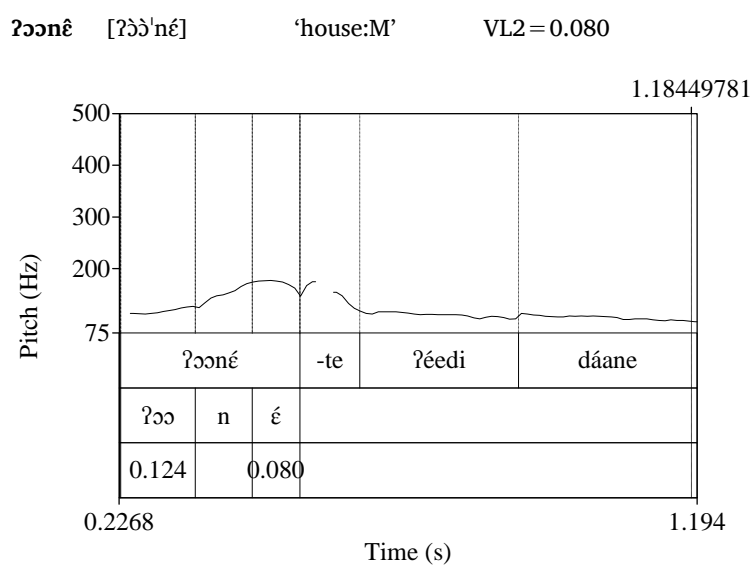
Next example shows the inflected masculine form of *ʔooní* 'house' in isolation. As for the noun *ʔási*, coalescence occurs between the final vowel /i/ of *ʔooní* and the masculine inflection /-â/. In isolation, the final vowel is exceptionally long:



The following examples show the masculine inflected noun *ʔɔɔnɛ* followed by the locative and allative suffix cases. In such cases, not only is the final long vowel shortened, but there is no clear fall on the final vowel.

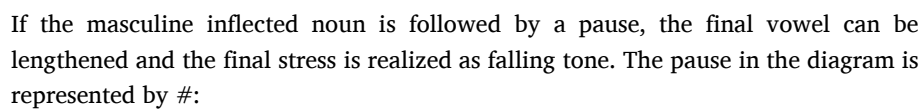
- (2) **ʔɔɔnɛ-te ʔéedi dáa-ne**
 house:M-LOC person exist-COP
 somebody is in the house (M)

In sentence (2), which is represented in the next diagram, the final vowel is only 0.080 seconds long, against the 0.344 seconds of the same noun uttered in isolation:

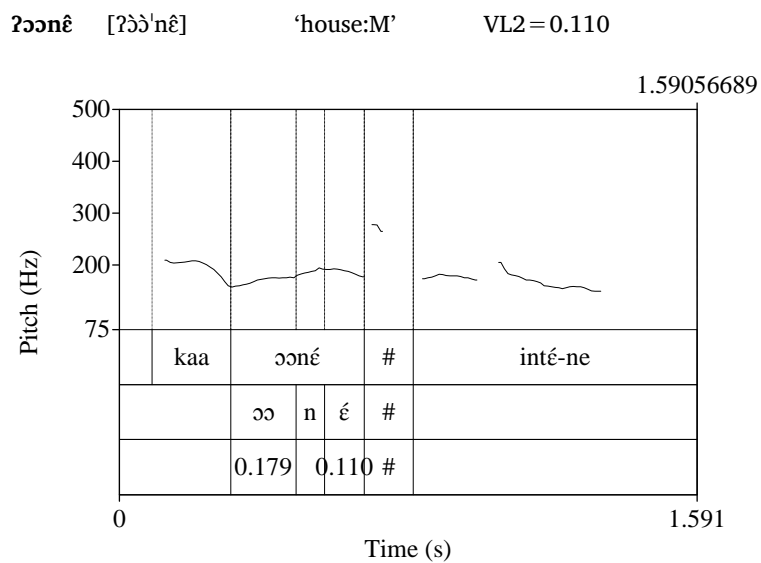


In (3) below, the final vowel of the masculine noun *ɔɔnɛ* is even shorter than that of the previous example (0.072 seconds). Most importantly, the final stress is not realized with a fall, but it is almost a level tone:

- (3) **ʔínta ʔɔɔnɛ-dar da-yiʔ-é**
 1SG house:M-ALL1 IPFV-go-PRES
 I will go to the house (M)



- (4) **káa ʔɔɔnɛ inté=ne**
 DEM1.M house:M 1SG:M=COP
 this house (M) is mine



Prominence in Hamar nouns is analysed as stress since it is obligatory, culminative and unpredictable (but see 2.4.2). Nouns in Hamar have lexical stress when they are uninflected, and get a final grammatical stress when they are inflected for masculine gender. This final stress is realized as falling tone and it is applied post-lexically.

Prominence has a high functional load in verbs. As for nouns, prominence in verbs is limited to one syllable per word, thus there are no $\acute{o}.\acute{o}$ nor $\sigma.\sigma$ verb types. Different from nouns, prominence in verbs is not lexically distinctive, but grammatical: verb roots are stress-less, and prominence is attested only on verbal suffixes. The simplest verb stem consists of the verb root plus $/\acute{a}/$. The $/\acute{a}/$ stem is used as the citation form of the verb, thus prominence is attested always on the right-most edge of the citation form:

c'a-á	[tʃ'à'á]	'clap'
gi-á	[gì'á]	'tell'
bul-á	[bù'lá]	'open'
shan-á	[ʃà'ná]	'buy'
dorq-á	[dòr'qá]	'sit'
?ukuns-á	[?ùkùn'sá]	'rest'

In the citation form of monosyllabic verb stems, prominence is found on the right-most vowel \acute{a} . This means that in monosyllabic verb stems formed by two consecutive vowels, contour tones can arise. As it was illustrated above in 2.4.1, there are no contour tones on consecutive vowels in nouns, thus the following minimal pairs exist in the language:

káa	[káá]	'this.M'
kaá	[kàá]	'pour'
sáa	[sáá]	'over there'
saá	[sàá]	'sweep'
t'ía	[t'íá]	'black'
tíá	[tìá]	'take'

When the citation form of the verb is used in the imperative mood and it is pronounced with emphasis, the last vowel can be phonetically long:

yi?-á	'go!'	[jì'ʔá] ~ [jì'ʔáá]
--------------	-------	--------------------

The citation form of the verb is used for the majority of verbal paradigms, that is, verbal suffixes can be suffixed to the verb stem ending in $/\acute{a}/$, see chapter 6 and chapter 9 for an overview of verb roots and verb stems. The suffix $/\acute{a}/$ however can be substituted for other suffixes depending on TAM and person marking. The plural addressee of the imperative for instance is marked by the suffix $/\acute{é}/$:

yiʔ-á	‘go!’ (IMP.2SG)	[jì'ʔá]
yiʔ-é	‘go!’ (IMP.2PL)	[jì'ʔé]

The position of stress may distinguish verb tenses, for instance stress placement distinguishes negative present and negative past inflections:

d̥es-atíne	‘I don’t know’	d̥es-átine	‘I did not know’
d̥es-atáne	‘you don’t know’	d̥es-átane	‘you did not know’

A few noun-verb pairs are segmentally identical, but prosodically different as the following examples show:

qána	‘stream’, noun	qaná	‘hit’, verb
búla	‘egg’, noun	bulá	‘jump’, verb

2.4.2 Tone

An analysis in terms of tone is supported by examples attested in both the verbal and the nominal domain. In the verbal domain, a final falling tone is found on the 3rd person of the negative present inflection /-ê/. This creates an opposition between the plural addressee of the imperative (illustrated in 2.4.1), and the 3rd person negative:

wuc’ê	‘he/she doesn’t drink, they don’t drink’
wuc’é	‘drink!’ (plural addressee)

The last vowel of the negative present inflection can be lengthened in emphatic speech:

wuc’ê	[wù'tʃ'ê] ~ [wù'tʃ'ée]
--------------	------------------------

The same inflection is found in the negative existential predicator, which contrasts with the question word ‘where’:

qolê	‘there is not’	qóle	‘where is?’
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Similarly, the negative equative copula carries a final falling tone and contrasts with the locative case suffix:

tê	‘is not’	-te	‘in’
-----------	----------	------------	------

Verb roots can be affixed with nominal inflections to form relativized verbs.

Relativized verbs which agree in gender with a masculine head noun take on the same masculine gender marker introduced in 2.4.1, i.e. the suffix */-â/*:

wuc'á	'drink'	[wù'tʃá]
wuc'â	'the one (M) who drank'	[wù'tʃâ]

For nouns and verbs which are segmentally identical but which differ prosodically, the following contrasts can arise:

qána	'stream'	noun, uninflected form
qaná	'hit'	verb, citation form
qanâ	'stream:M'	noun, masculine form
qanâ	'the one who hit'	noun, relativized masculine verb
qané	'hit!'	imperative 2 nd plural addressee
qanê	'he/she does not hit'	verb, negative present 3 rd person

The difference between the masculine form of *qána* 'stream' and the masculine of the relativized verb *qaná* 'hit', is purely prosodic. In nouns such as *qána* (that is, nouns which have lexical stress on the first syllable in the uninflected form), the high pitch on the first syllable is often realized in the masculine inflected form as well:

qána	'stream'	[qána]
qanâ	'stream:M'	[qánâ]~[qánâà]
hápa	'fat-tailed sheep'	[hápa]
hapâ	'fat-tailed sheep:M'	[hápâ]~[hápâà]

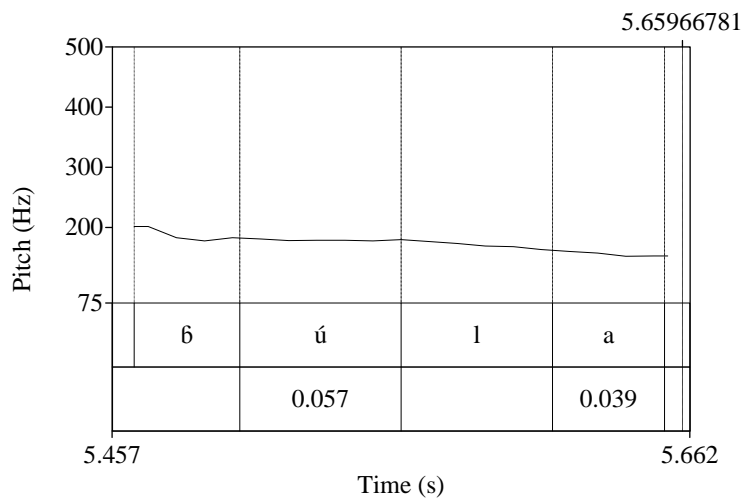
There is variation in the realization of these masculine inflected nouns, and the realization of pitch on the syllable that carried lexical stress varies among speakers and in the same speaker's speech. The fact that the lexical stress and the final grammatical stress (which is realized as falling tone) are both realized might be due to the fact that the final stress in masculine nouns is applied post-lexically.

For this reason, there is opposition between a masculine inflected noun such as *qanâ* 'stream:M', which can be realized as [qánâ], and the relativized masculine verb *qanâ* 'the one (M) who hits', which is realized always with low pitch on the first syllable: [qànâ]. These examples pose a challenge for a stress analysis: the option for a high vs. low opposition on the first syllable of disyllabic words with final falling tone is a violation of culminativity and suggests the existence of two independent systems. The nature of prominence on nouns and verbs is moreover quite different: prominence in nouns is a lexical property and it shows the characteristics of stress in that it is a property of the word and it is culminative and obligatory. In verbs, not only prominence is grammatical and it is a property of the morpheme (i.e. verbal inflections), but it shows the existence of two separate tonemes: a high tone (*qané*

hit.IMP.2PL) which contrasts with a falling tone (*qanê* hit.PRES.NEG.3). The two falling tones which are found on the final syllable of masculine inflected nouns (*qanâ* stream:M) and on the 3rd person negative inflection (*qanê* hit.PRES.NEG.3), are different in that the former is applied post-lexically but it is still a lexical property of masculine nouns, whereas the latter has a purely grammatical function.

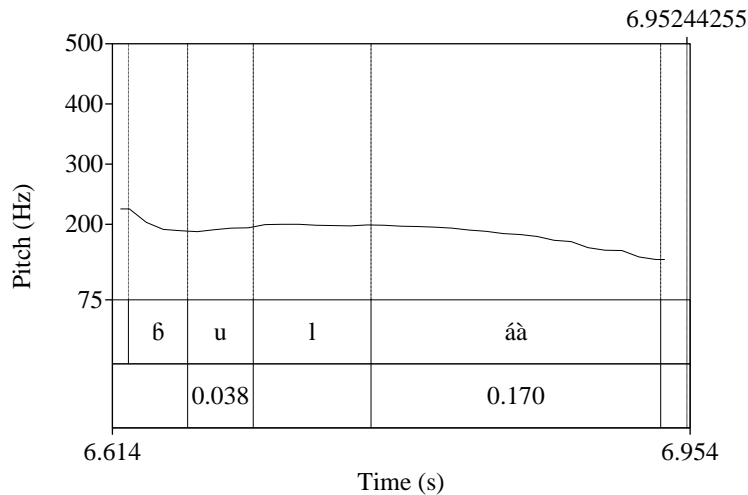
For the sake of clarity, the PRAAT diagrams below show the shape of pitch in three words uttered in isolation: the uninflected form and the masculine form of *búla* ‘egg’ is contrasted with the verb *bulá* ‘jump’.

búla ‘egg’



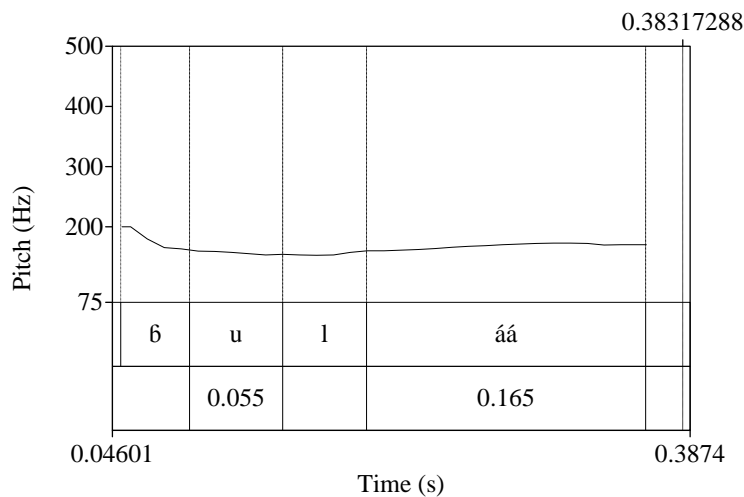
The uninflected form for ‘egg’ has a level high pitch on the first syllable which is higher than the pitch on the last syllable. In the M form the pitch contour on the first syllable is slightly rising, and then it sharply falls on the last long vowel:

bulâ 'egg:M'



Since these words were recorded in isolation, the final vowel in the masculine noun above and in the imperative form below is exceptionally long. In the verb *bulá* 'jump' the pitch on the first syllable has a slight fall and then raises on the last long vowel, remaining constantly high until the end of the utterance.

bulá 'jump'



The analysis of the prosodic system of Hamar is far from being complete and needs further investigation. Future acoustic analyses which take into account also phrasal intonation will give a better account of the prosodic facts. Moreover, the fact that stress and tone are competing produces a hybrid system which should be tested for

diachronic change, by studying for example the synchronic variation across different generations and different dialects of Hamar.

2.5 Phonological and morphophonological processes

Morphophonological processes are described in this section. The realizations of consonant phonemes have been already illustrated in the previous sections. Phonological rules are numbered P1, P2, and morphophonemic rules are numbered MP1, MP2 etc. This numbering will be used throughout this work whenever reference to a (morpho)-phonological process is needed. Numbering does not reflect rule ordering. Forms in parenthesis are unattested intermediate stages.

P1 Sibilant harmony

P2 Consonant metathesis

P3 i prosthetis

P4 Assimilation of plural and feminine markers

P5 Vowel coalescence

P6 Vowel deletion

P7 Complete harmony

P8 Voicing assimilation

P9 Consonant elision after palato-alveolar nasal

MP1 Apocope

MP2 Clitic reduction

MP3 Deletion of final vowel of feminine relativizing suffix

MP4 Deletion of word-initial /h/ before subject clitics

MP5 Masculine mid-vowel lowering

2.5.1 Overview of (morpho)phonological processes

P1 Sibilant harmony

Sibilant harmony is a root-structure condition but it extends as well across morpheme boundaries. Sibilant consonants occurring in the same word must agree in place of articulation, but do not need to be identical. The sibilant consonants in Hamar are: /c/ /j/ /c'/ /s/ /z/ /sh/.

shooshí	‘guest’
c’ác’i	‘sky’
sosó	‘eagle’
c’arshá	‘sharpen’
c’agáj	‘green’
zarsí	‘grass’
shic cá	‘soften’
shamáj	‘albino cattle coat colour’
c’íshi	‘bile’

Sibilant harmony operates from left to right and across non-sibilant consonants.²² It can be observed across morpheme boundaries when the causative derivational suffix /-s/ is affixed to a verb root:

giá	‘tell’	gisá	‘make sb. tell’
deesá	‘kill’	deesisá	‘make sb. kill’
gishá	‘herd’	gishishá	‘make sb. herd’
shaná	‘buy’	shanshá	‘sell’

P2 Consonant metathesis

Metathesis occurs as a structure preservation rule. The only permitted consonant clusters in Hamar are allowed at syllable boundaries and the first segment of the sequence can only be a sonorant (liquids or nasals). The fricatives /s/ and /sh/ have been attested so far only before a velar and a bilabial stop. Metathesis inverts the position of two segments in an illicit sequence, so that the first element of the cluster is a sonorant or a fricative segment. Metathesis is frequent when the feminine (-no) and plural (-na) inflections are suffixed directly to consonant-ending roots, in particular when the first segment of the cluster is a stop. This can happen with consonant ending nouns and when the terminal vowel of a noun is unstable (see chapter 3):

tudí	‘buttocks’	(tud-no)	>	tundó
tubáqe	‘type of tree’	(tubaq-no)	>	tubánqo

After metathesis, nasal assimilation occurs if the nasal precedes a bilabial consonant:

?atáβ	‘tongue’	(ataβ-na)	>	?atámβa
kut’úβo	‘housefly’	(kut’uβ-no)	>	kut’úmβo

²² The direction of harmony correlates with the suffixal nature of Hamar.

In verbal derivation, suffixation of the causative /-s/ can produce illicit sequences when the causative /-s/ is affixed to verb roots. Metathesis inverts the illicit sequence, after sibilant harmony P2:

jaagá ‘sew’ (jaags, jaashg) > **jashká**

Different voicing is not allowed in the same cluster after metathesis, see P8. Metathesis is found also in the derivation of some ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers by means of the suffix /-so/.

lax ‘six’ (lax-so) > **lásxo ~ lásko**

The forms [lásxo~láhso] have been attested as well. Two fricatives can cluster together but a sequence with a stop as second segment is always preferred, see also chapter 5, section 5.5.2 on ordinal numbers.

P3 i prosthesis

A prosthetic vowel -i can be inserted after consonant ending words:

baz ‘lake’ **bázi**
?áan ‘arm’ **?áani**

Some borrowings from Amharic get a prosthetic vowel -i:

sílki ‘phone’ (Amharic səlk)
múzi ‘banana’ (Amharic muz)

The prosthetic vowel -i is inserted between consonant ending nouns and various morphemes such as the copula /-ne/, the oblique case /-n/, the inclusive marker /-l/, the genitive case /-sa/:

gudúḅ	‘tall’	gudúḅ-ine	‘is tall’
hámar	‘Hamar’	hámar-in	‘Hamar-F.OBL’
yer	‘thing’	yér-il	‘a thing as well’
dong	‘five’	dóng-isa	‘of five’

P4 Assimilation of plural and feminine markers

When affixed directly to the root, the nasal consonant of the plural and feminine markers /-na/ and /-no/ takes on the manner of articulation of a preceding liquid or nasal segment.

segeré ‘dik-dik’ (seger-no) > **segerró**
qulí ‘goat’ > **qullá**

In a few instances, suffixation of nominal inflections creates illicit clusters such as /bn/, /pn/, /tn/, /zn/:

náabi	‘name’	(nab-no)	> námmo
galáp	‘yellow’		> galámmo
qootí	‘beehive’		> qonnó
maz	‘initiate boy’		> mánno

In these cases assimilation takes place bidirectionally: place assimilation occurs from left to right and nasal assimilation from right to left.

P5 Vowel coalescence

Vowel coalescence occurs across morpheme boundaries and it can be observed especially in the nominal domain, between the masculine suffix /-â/ and nominal terminal vowels /e i o/ of vowel ending nouns. Nouns ending in the diphthong /au/ and /ia/ are inflected by the masculine suffix /-tâ/ and will be treated in more details in chapter 3.

Vowel coalescence gives rise to the mid-low vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ according to the following pattern:

i + a > ɛ
e + a > ɛ
o + a > ɔ

?aizí	‘goat hide’	>	?aizê	‘goat hide:M’
bagadé	‘cooked blood’	>	bagadê	‘cooked blood:M’
búqo	‘knee’	>	buqô	‘knee:M’

On nouns in isolation, the masculine suffix /-â/ can be realized as a devoiced vowel, but it is hardly ever realized in connected speech:

qáski	‘dog’	
qaskê	‘dog:M’	[qaskê] ~ [qaské̥]
qaskê káa	‘dog:M DEM1.M’	[qaskê káa] ~ [qaské̥ káa]

Vowel coalescence is applied also to loanwords. For instance, the Amharic loanword for phone [səlk], is realized in Hamar with the epenthetic final vowel -i: *sílki*, the general form, becomes *silkê* in the masculine.

The masculine suffix is not the only trigger for vowel coalescence. Vowel coalescence is found for instance in the shortened forms of third person object pronouns.

kí = ɗan	‘3 = ACC’	>	kéen	‘3:ACC’
kó = ɗan	‘3F = ACC’	>	kóɔn	‘3F:ACC’

In fast speech, the implosive ɗ can be reduced to glottal stop, and glottal stop in intervocalic position is often deleted (cf. 2.1.1). The vowels /i o/ and /a/ thus merge, giving rise to the shortened forms illustrated above. Other persons, such as the first person plural (*wóɗan*) or the second person plural (*yéɗan*) have a shortened form but the quality of the vowel is not obligatory low, see chapter 4, section 4.1.2 for further details.

When the optative marker /-ánna/ is suffixed to clitic pronouns, coalescence occurs between the vowel of the clitic and the initial vowel of the optative marker /a/. Whereas coalescence always takes place in the first person singular and third persons, in the first and second plural it is optional and the pronunciation varies among speakers and within the same utterance:

(?i-ánna)	>	énna	(1SG:OPT)
(ha-ánna)	>	hánnna	(2SG:OPT)
(ki-ánna)	>	kénna	(3:OPT)
(ko-ánna)	>	kónnna	(3F:OPT)
(wo-ánna)	>	wónna ~ wɔnnna	(1PL:OPT)
(ye-ánna)	>	yénna ~ yénnna	(2PL:OPT)

Coalescence occurs also after MP4 deletes the word-initial glottal fricative of the reason clause marker *hattáxa* and other verbs with word-initial glottal fricative, see MP4 below. Vowel coalescence occurs word-internally only in the verb *giá* ‘hit’. Vowel coalescence often occurs when the verb is suffixed with subordinative markers.

[waakí ɣeáise niʔidí]

- (5) **waakí ɣiá-ise niʔ-idí**
 cattle hit-CNV1 come-PF
 (they) came herding the cattle

Vowel coalescence in this context is unusual since the vowel sequence /ia/ is allowed in monosyllabic noun roots and verb stems such as *sía* ‘bad’ and *giá* ‘tell’. When the verb *giá* ‘tell’ is suffixed with the same subordinative marker reported in example (5), coalescence does not take place, cf. (6) below with (5):

[budámo giáise gobidí]

- (6) **budámo giá-ise gob-idí**
 lie tell-CNV1 run-PF
 (he) lied and ran away

The final vowel of the question word *hamó* ‘where?’ is lowered to ɔ if the following word is the second person clitic pronoun *ha-*. MP2 deletes the initial consonant of the clitic pronoun (indicated by < >):

[hamɔa jiʔéʔ]

- (7) **hamó** < h > a = yiʔ-éʔ
 where.NSP 2SG = go-PRES.INT
 where are you going?

P6 Vowel deletion

Vowel deletion occurs only after clitic reduction (MP2). This is a peculiar case in which MP2 deletes the glides of clitic pronouns, and two vowels at word-boundaries becomes adjacent. The two consecutive vowels are reduced to one segment. In the examples below, the deleted vowel and the deleted glide of the clitic pronoun are written within arrow head symbols < >. P6 occurs especially in connected and allegro speech.

[waadímano ʔaʃké]

- (8) **waadíma-n** < o > < w > o = ʔashk-é
 work-F.S 1PL = do-PRES
 Let's work!

If the vowels have different qualities, the first vowel of the sequence is dropped so that the vowel belonging to the clitic pronoun remains in place:

[gáago jigé]

- (9a) **gáag** < i > < w > o = yig-é
 gaagi 1PL = play-PRES
 Let's play the gáagi game!

[kánki xóda jiʔé]

- (9b) **kánki-x** < a > < w > o = da-yiʔ-é
 car-INS 1PL = IPFV-go-PRES
 We will go by car

[ʔoonínti ʔardé]

- (9c) **ooní-n-t** < e > < ʔ > i = ʔard-é
 house-F.OBL-LOC 1SG = enter-PRES
 Let me enter the house

[dímekati dáade]

- (9d) **dímeke-t <e>** **<ʔ> i = dáa-de**
 Dimeka-LOC 1SG = exist-PFV
 I am in Dimeka

P6 can be observed especially in complex verbal paradigms which combine verb stems, clitic pronouns, and auxiliaries, see chapter 4 and chapter 6 for further details. Future tense for instance is expressed by reduplication of the verb stems. The clitic pronoun and the aspect marker /da/ are slotted in between the two verb stems. After MP2 deletes the initial segment of the clitic pronoun, the first vowel of the sequence is dropped:

[qanéda qané]

- (10) **qan <á> = <y> e = da** **qan-é**
 hit = 2PL = IPFV hit-PRES
 You will hit

P6 does not occur when a verb stem ending in /-á/ is followed by the 1st person singular clitic pronoun /ʔi/ (see MP2). Compare example (11) below with example (9) above where the 1st person singular pronoun /ʔi/ is used:

[qanáida qané]

- (11) **qaná = ʔi = da** **qan-é**
 hit = 1SG = IPFV hit-PRES
 I will hit

Progressive aspect is expressed by means of a locative construction of the type ‘I am in X’, where X is the lexical verb and pronominal subject marking is marked on the existential verb. P6 and MP2 take place between the locative case /-te/ and the following clitic pronouns: the first consonant of the clitic pronouns is dropped (MP2) and the final vowel of the locative case, which is the first of the sequence, is deleted (P6):

[wutʃ’áti dáade]

- (12a) **wuc’á-t <e>** **<ʔ> i = dáa-de**
 drink-SE 1SG = exist-PFV
 I am drinking

[wutʃ’áta dáade]

- (12b) **wuc’á-t <e>** **<h> a = dáa-de**
 drink-SE 2SG = exist-PFV
 you are drinking

[wutʃ'áto dáade]

- (12c) **wuc'á-t <e>** <w> **o = dáa-de**
 drink-SE 1PL = exist-PFV
 we are drinking

[wutʃ'áte dáade]

- (12d) **wuc'á-t <e>** <y> **e = dáa-de**
 drink-SE 2PL = exist-PFV
 you (PL) are drinking

Other verbal paradigms show full realization of the clitic personal pronouns. See chapter 4 and chapter 6 for more details.

P7 Complete harmony (vowel copy)

The low vowel /a/ of monosyllabic verb roots show assimilation for all vowel quality features with the following verbal suffixes. Harmony operates from right to left:

ka-á	'pour!' (imperative singular addressee)	[kàá]
ka-é	'pour!' (imperative plural addressee)	[kèé]
ki = da-é	'let him be' (da- 'to be')	[ki = dèé]

Complete harmony operates as well across an intervening glottal stop:

gaʔ-á	'bite!' (imperative singular addressee)	[gaʔá]
gaʔ-é	'bite!' (imperative plural addressee)	[geʔé]
baʔ-ó = i = de	'I'll bring' (baʔ- 'bring')	[boʔóide]

Translaryngeal harmony has been described for the neighbouring languages Arbore (Hayward 1984:73-76) and Dhaasanac (Tosco 2001:31), as well as in Somali (Armstrong 1934).

P8 Voicing assimilation

Different voicing in the same cluster are not allowed after metathesis has inverted an illicit sequence. This can be seen with both nominal inflections and verb derivations:

ʔaarák	'uncle'	(ʔarak-na)	> ʔaaránga
sagá	'go across'	(sag-s)	> saská
c'uubá	'wash clothes'	(c'ub-s)	> c'ushpá

Clusters occurring in lexical items can have different voicing:

gasgó	‘wheat’
dónko	‘speech’

P9 Consonant elision after palato-alveolar nasal

The palato-alveolar nasal /ɲ/ cannot cluster with other consonants. Sequences involving ɲ + C arise with suffixation of the nominal inflections /-na/ and /-no/ followed by metathesis and assimilation:

shooshí	‘guest’	(shoshna, shonsha, shonsha)	> shoná
c’agáj	‘green’	(c’agajno, c’aganjo, c’aganjo)	> c’agáno

MP1 Apocope

Apocope involves truncation of the final syllable before suffixation of nominal inflections /-no/ and /-na/. Nouns ending in a coronal or a sonorant segment followed by a front vowel are particularly affected:

ráat’i	‘milk’	> ráano
naasí	‘child’	> naaná
wálqanti	‘aloe vera’	> wálqanna
anqási	‘lamb’	> anqána

When other suffixes such as the dative case /-na/ are suffixed to such nouns, apocope does not take place:

naasí-na	‘child-DAT’
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MP2 Clitic reduction

Short form I clitic pronouns (see chapter 4) are shortened forms of independent pronouns and they are used for subject marking on main verbs in independent clauses. These clitics have a CV syllabic structure and begins with a glide: /ʔi/ (1SG), /ha/ (2SG), /wo/ (1PL), /ye/ (2PL). 3rd person clitic pronouns /ki/ and /ko/ are unaffected by this morphophonological rule. When short form pronouns occur in between words, the approximants /h, ʔ, w, y/ are dropped. This can be observed particularly in complex paradigms where clitics are slotted in between verb stems and auxiliaries. In (13) below the /h/ of the 2nd person singular occurring between a verb stem and an auxiliary is dropped, and P6 deletes one of the two adjacent vowels:

- [bardáda bardé]
 (13) **bard’ < á > = < h > a = da** **bard’-é**
 be.drunk = 2SG = IPFV be.drunk-PRES
 You will be drunk

The initial glottal stop in the 1st person singular clitic pronoun /ʔi/ in example (14a) is fully realized. However, when it occurs intervocalically, the glottal stop is deleted (14b):

- [ʔína ʔimá]**
 (14a) **ʔí = na ʔimá**
 1SG = DAT give.IMP.2SG
 Give me!
- [bardáida bardé]**
 (14b) **bardá = <ʔ>i = da bard-é**
 be.drunk = 1SG = IPFV be.drunk-PRES
 I will be drunk

In connected speech and between words, it has been noticed that the glide of the 1st and 2nd person plural can be deleted even if they are proclitics. Compare the first example, where *w* is not dropped, with the second example, where the proclitic /wo/ undergoes deletion of the glide:

- [wojiʔé]**
 (15a) **wo = yiʔ-é**
 1PL = go-PRES
 Let's go!
- [ʔoonínsa buudómbaro dáade]**
 (15b) **ooní-n-sa buudó-m-bar <w>o = dáa-de**
 house-F.OBL-GEN back-F.OBL-AD 1PL = exist-PFV
 we are behind the house
- [hárne wotʃ'imé]**
 (15c) **hárn <a> <y>e = woc'im-é?**
 why 2PL = argue-PRES.INT
 why are you arguing?

In example (15c) vowel deletion P6 takes place after deletion of the glide.

MP3 Deletion of final vowel of feminine relativizing suffix

The final vowel of the feminine relative suffix /-óno/ is deleted when the feminine relativized verb is followed by the accusative case /-dan/ or whenever the relative clause does not function as subject (cf. chapter 8, section 8.4, and chapter 7, section 7.4.2):

[éeno imbaskóndan janê]

- (16a) **éeno in = bask-óno-dan shan-ê**
 people:F.S 1SG = carry-REL.PAST.F-ACC buy-PRES.NEG.3
 the people won't buy what I have carried

[één gurdánte dóondan eeláise]

- (16b) **één gurdá-n-te da-óno-dan eelá-ise [...]**
 people.F.OBL village-F.OBL-LOC be-REL.PAST.F-ACC call-CNV1
 calling the people who were in the village [...]

In the previous example the low vowel /a/ of the verb root *da-* 'to be' assimilates to the quality of the following vowel suffix, as mentioned in P7 above.

MP4 Deletion of word-initial /h/ after subject proclitics

The breathy-voiced glottal approximant /h/ is deleted when subject clitic pronouns are attached to the reason clause marker *hattáxa*.

(ʔi-hattáxa)	>	ettáxa	(1SG:REAS)
(ha-hattáxa)	>	hattáxa ²³	(2SG:REAS)
(ki-hattáxa)	>	kettáxa	(3:REAS)
(ko-hattáxa)	>	kottáxa	(3PL:REAS)
(wo-hattáxa)	>	wottáxa ~ wottáxa	(1PL:REAS)
(ye-hattáxa)	>	yettáxa ~ yettáxa	(2PL:REAS)

After deletion of the glottal fricative, vowel coalescence P5 takes place between the final vowel of the subject clitics and the vowel *a*. MP4 applies to verbs beginning in /h/:

(ko-hambadé)	>	kɔmbadé
(ki-hambadé)	>	kɛmbadé

MP5 Masculine mid-vowel lowering

The masculine inflections /-â/ and /-tâ/ lower the mid-root vowels of nouns. The assimilation is regressive and it spreads from right to left affecting previous stressed and unstressed mid-high vowels /e/ and /o/.

In consonant-ending nouns, the masculine inflection /-â/ is suffixed to the uninflected form. Mid-high stem vowels, if any, lower to /ɛ/ and /ɔ/:

ʔatáɓ	'tongue'	ʔatabâ	'tongue:M'
maz	'initiated boy'	mazâ	'initiated boy:M'

²³ The example with the second person clitic pronoun *ha-* attached to the reason clause marker *hattáxa* is a case of haplology.

bankár	‘arrow’	bankarâ	‘arrow:M’
déer	‘red’	dëerâ	‘red:M’

Vowels assimilate also across consonant clusters:

dongár	‘elephant’	dɔŋgarâ	‘elephant:M’
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Recall that the vowel /o/ in the uninflected form of *dongár* is a mid-high vowel not affected by the following low vowel because it is unstressed (cf. 2.2.2).

Nouns belonging to declension 4 (see chapter 3, section 3.3) inflect for masculine gender by means of suffixation of the marker /-tâ/. Similar to the suffix /-â/, the suffix /-tâ/ as well lowers the mid-high stem vowels.

seelé	‘guineafowl’	sel-tâ	‘guineafowl-M’
shooné	‘hyrax’	shɔn-tâ	‘hyrax-M’

Vowel shortening in the examples above occurs to avoid CVVC.CV structure (cf. 2.2.3). The masculine suffix *-tâ* attaches directly to the nominal root: the final vowel of the uninflected nouns *seelé* and *shooné* is in fact dropped. In Omotic languages the terminal vowel of nouns is not considered part of the nominal root since it can be dropped when nominal inflections are suffixed, see chapter 3 for more information on this topic.

In vowel ending nouns inflected by means of the suffix /-â/, coalescence (P5) takes place between the terminal vowel and the masculine suffix. Given the mismatch between the target vowels of MP4 (/e o/) and those involved in P5 (/i e o/), and given the fact that nouns vary in terms of vowel composition and position of stress, the outcomes of the masculine inflected forms can be diverse, see 2.6 for a comparison.

The masculine inflection targets the mid-high vowels in the nominal root lowering them to /ɛ/ and /ɔ/:

ʔooní	‘house’	>	ʔɔɔnê	‘house:M’
c’íilo	‘ant’	>	c’iilɔ	‘ant:M’ *c’ɛɛlɔ

The final vowel /i/ in *ʔooní* changes to ɛ because of coalescence (P5) with the masculine suffix /-â/. MP4 is responsible for the lowering of the mid high vowel /oo/ in the root. The root vowel /ii/ in *c’íilo* is unaffected by MP4, but the final vowel /o/ fuses with the masculine suffix /-â/ (P5), this is the reason why the masculine form of *c’íilo* cannot be *c’ɛɛlɔ.

Root-internal high vowels /i u/ are never lowered: neither by an adjacent low vowel /a/ when they are stressed (cf. 2.2.2), nor by the masculine inflection /-â/:

qúna	‘resin-based incense’
quṇâ	‘resin-based incense:M’
díta	‘type of tree’
dítâ	‘type of tree:M’
muná	‘sorghum dumpling’
munâ	‘sorghum dumpling:M’
mirjá	‘kudu’
mirjâ	‘kudu:M’

Since the high vowel /i/ is affected by vowel coalescence (P5) but not by MP4, there are masculine nouns of the type CiCi in which root internal /i/ is unchanged, but final /i/ is lowered to /ɛ/ after vowel coalescence:

bíiri	‘three-pronged stir stick’	
biirê	‘three-pronged stir stick:M’	*bɛɛrê
zikí	‘goat faeces’	
zikê	‘goat faeces:M’	*zɛkê

Masculine mid-vowel lowering operates on trisyllabic nouns as well, although a few exceptions have been attested where the mid-low vowel of the first syllable is optionally lowered:

noqóle	‘type of bracelet’	>	noqɔlê ~ noqɔlê
qómbalti	‘shell’	>	qɔmbaltê
onkólo	‘calabash handbag’	>	ɔnkɔlɔ ~ onkɔlɔ
segeré	‘dik-dik’	>	segerê
qómoro	‘Adam’s apple’	>	qɔmɔrɔ

Intervening high vowels in the nominal root block MP4:

goití	‘pathway’	>	goitê
?eiké	‘grandfather’	>	?eikê
korqishá	‘francolin’	>	korqishâ
shekíni	‘beads’	>	shekinê
tesíʃe	‘axe’	>	tesíʃê
kóofini	‘squirrel’	>	koofinê

Masculine mid-vowel lowering is morphologically restricted to the masculine inflection, and other suffixes do not lower the mid-high vowels of nominal root. For instance the plural inflection /-na/ which is suffixed to the uninflected form of a noun, normally does not trigger lowering of the mid-high root vowels:

zóbo ‘lion’ **zɔbɔ̃** ‘lion:M’ **zóbo-na** ‘lion-PL’
 *zóbɔna is not attested.

This is valid even if we suppose that only stressed vowels adjacent to a post-tonic /a/ can be targeted by harmony (cf. 2.2.2):

meté ‘head’ **metê** ‘head:M’ **meté-na** ‘head-PL’
 *meténa

Likewise, in nouns containing the mid-low vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, nominal inflections do not ‘harmonize’ with the root vowels:²⁴

qɔ́ɔc’a ‘nape’
qɔ́ɔc’a-no ‘nape-F.S’ *qɔ́ɔc’ano

yéɛla ‘roof’
yéɛla-no ‘roof-F.S’ *yéɛlano

Other suffixes containing the low vowel /a/, such as the dative /-na/, the genitive /-sa/, the instrumental /-ka/ and so on, do not trigger lowering of root mid-high vowels. However, it has been noted that a few nouns whose plural inflected forms result in disyllabic word types, may ‘harmonize’ with the low vowel of the plural suffix /-na/. For these nouns, the terminal vowel of the general form is not stable and similar to consonant ending nouns, the feminine and plural inflections are suffixed to a consonant and assimilate to it (P4). This results into a disyllabic word:

kerí ‘door’ (ker-na) **kerrá** ‘door:PL’
demí ‘side’ (dem-na) **dɛmmá** ‘side:PL’
déer ‘red’ (deer-na) **dérra** ‘red:PL’

Mid-vowel lowering has been attested as well in the plural form of some monosyllabic words:

²⁴ This proves that Hamar does not have an ATR vowel harmony system. If harmony in Hamar was a full-fledged root structure condition, one would have expected either harmonization of mid-high root vowels with any other suffix containing a low vowel, or harmonization of suffix vowels with stem vowels.

In a dominant-recessive type of harmony, a vowel carrying a dominant feature (in this case the low vowel /a/) should trigger change in any recessive vowel (/ɛ/ and /o/), operating within and across the morpheme boundaries. Similarly, in an allegedly stem-controlled harmony system, the phonological characteristic of the stem should induce change in the suffix vowels.

pée	‘land’	pée-na	‘land-PL’
róo	‘leg’	róo-na	‘leg-PL’

The plural form of *éedi* ‘person, man’ can be uttered with both a mid-low or a mid-high vowel, depending on the speaker:

éedi	‘man, person’	ée-na ~ ée-na	‘people-PL’
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2.6 Realization of coalescence, mid-vowel lowering and stress in masculine nouns

Vowel coalescence is a phonological process occurring across morpheme boundaries, between the vowels /i e o/ and the low vowel /a/ (P5), whereas mid-vowel lowering (MP5) is a morpho-phonological process triggered by the masculine inflections /-â/ and /-tâ/, which target the nominal root vowels /e o/. P5, MP5 and stress realization are part altogether of the phonological realization of the masculine suffix /-â/ and /-tâ/, and this section will illustrate the interaction of the three phenomena. As illustrated in 2.4.1, all masculine nouns get a final stress which is realized as falling tone. For nouns which already have final stress in the uninflected form (i.e. nouns ending in /í/ /é/ /ó/), P5 and MP5 are the main expression of morpheme realization, since the difference between final lexical stress and final grammatical stress (˘) is lost in connected speech.²⁵ If the uninflected form has final stress and its root vowels are not mid-high, the masculine inflection is expressed by vowel coalescence alone:

c’aac’í	‘root’	>	c’aac’ê	‘root:M’
nukí	‘nose’	>	nukê	‘nose:M’
giní	‘vein’	>	ginê	‘vein:M’

If the root vowels of a stress-final uninflected form are mid-high, masculine is marked by both vowel coalescence and mid-vowel lowering:

meté	‘head’	>	metê	‘head:M’
sosó	‘eagle’	>	sɔsɔ̃	‘eagle:M’
toré	‘plain’	>	tɔrê	‘plain:M’
geccó	‘old’	>	geccɔ̃	‘old:M’
wotí	‘forehead’	>	wɔtê	‘forehead:M’
kerí	‘door’	>	kerê	‘door:M’

²⁵ Unless root vowels /a i u/ combine with final /-â/, such as *mirjá* ‘kudu’, *mirjá* ‘kudu:M’. In such cases the final falling tone is the only expression of masculine realization, but this difference is often lost with case suffixes. For these nouns the difference between uninflected and masculine form is not noticeable only on the basis of phonological criteria.

In 2.2.2 it was shown how stress can affect vowel realization, in particular when vowels are followed by a post tonic low vowel /a/.

For nouns ending in /á/, MP5 (and stress when the falling final tone is audible) are the only cues for masculine inflection: the mid-high root vowels harmonize whereas stress remains on the final syllable (or it is realized as falling tone). Coalescence between the two vowels /a/ results in final vowel length on nouns in isolation:

deeshá	‘medicine’	> dēeshâ ‘medicine:M’
doolá	‘milk container’	> doolâ ‘milk container:M’

In nouns with stressed mid-low vowels in the root, and final /a/, the masculine inflection is signaled only by the position of stress, which is shifted to the last syllable and it can be realized as falling:

déega	‘dumb’	> dēegâ ‘dumb:M’
shólba	‘light’	> sholbâ ‘light:M’

The role that vowel coalescence, stress and mid-vowel lowering play in cueing morpheme realization of the masculine suffix /-â/ is schematically displayed in the following tables, where all the possible outcomes are summarized. The occurrence of one process over the other depends on the vowel patterns of each general form and the position of stress, thus any possible Hamar word-type has been included. C can be interpreted as a single consonant or a sequence of consonants, since MP5 can spread across clusters. Vowels can be interpreted as short or long. Final consonants are not written, thus words such as *dongár* are represented by a CoCá word type.

In the examples illustrated in the tables 2.4, 2.5. and 2.6 below, stress always plays a role in cueing masculine inflection, at least when nouns inflected for masculine gender are not followed by case suffixes (cf. 2.4.1). When the difference between the final lexical stress of the uninflected form and final falling tone of the masculine form is lost in connected speech, stress cannot taken into consideration. In this case vowel coalescence (table 2.5) and mid-vowel lowering (2.6) are the only audible cue for masculine inflection.

Table 2.4.: Masculine inflection cued only by stress

General form	Masculine	Examples	
CáCa	CaCâ	lába	laḅâ
CúCa	CuCâ	púla	pulâ
CíCa	CiCâ	zíga	ziigâ
CéCa	CeCá	yéela	yēelâ
CóCa	CoCá	qócc’a	qōcc’â

Table 2.5: Masculine inflection cued by final vowel coalescence (and stress)

General form	Masculine	Examples	
CaCé	CaCê	t'aḃé	t'aḃê
CuCé	CuCê	tulé	tulê
CiCé	CiCê	tigé	tigê
CaCí	CaCê	banqí	banqê
CuCí	CuCê	kurí	kurê
CiCí	CiCê	giní	ginê
CaCó	CaCṡ	c'aaró	c'aarṡ
CuCó	CuCṡ	kut'ó	kut'ṡ
CiCó	CiCṡ	giló	gilṡ

Table 2.6: Masculine inflection cued by mid-vowel lowering (and stress)

General form	Masculine	Examples	
Cecá	CɛCâ	deeshá	dɛɛshâ
CoCá	CɔCâ	doolá	dɔɔlâ

Vowel coalescence plays a central role in the realization of the masculine inflection for the majority of word-types (table 2.5), whereas mid-vowel lowering is crucial only for two word-types: Cecá and CoCá (table 2.6).

The tables below show the interaction of P5, MP5, and stress in morpheme realization. Whereas stress placement and MP5 can combine with vowel coalescence and *vice versa*, MP5 alone cannot combine with stress because stressed mid vowels in the general form are already lowered.

Table 2.7: P5 + MP5

General form	Masculine	Examples	
CeCé	CɛCê	meté	mɛtê
CeCó	CɛCṡ	geshó	gɛshṡ
CeCí	CɛCê	kerí	kɛrê
CoCé	CɔCê	toré	tɔrê
CoCó	CɔCṡ	sosó	sɔsṡ
CoCí	CɔCê	shooshí	shɔɔshê

Table 2.8: P5 + stress placement

General form	Masculine	Examples	
CáCe	CaCê	ʔáadê	ʔaadê
CáCi	CaCê	qáami	qaamê
CáCo	CaCô	jálo	jalô
CúCe	CuCê	búme	bumê
CúCi	CuCî	túni	tunê
CúCo	CuCô	shúko	shukô
CíCe	CiCê	unattested	
CíCi	CiCê	zíni	ziinê
CíCo	CiCô	c'ílo	c'iilô

Table 2.9: P5 + stress placement + MP5

General form	Masculine	Examples	
CéCe	CêCê	méde	medê
CéCo	CêCô	unattested	
CéCi	CêCê	légi	legê
CóCe	CôCê	kótte	kottê
CóCo	CôCô	zóbo	zobô
CóCi	CôCê	unattested	

3 Nouns

This chapter treats morphemes which pertain to the noun itself, namely gender and number inflections. The noun classification system of Hamar is peculiar since gender is not an intrinsic property of nouns: nouns are gender-less and neutral for number, but they can also be inflected for both genders (masculine and feminine) and for plural number, regardless of their animacy reference. This system has both semantic and pragmatic functions. After describing the formal characteristics of nouns and of gender and number markers, the semantic properties of the noun classification system are treated in detail (3.4) and discussed in a cross-linguistic perspective. The case system of Hamar, the expression of grammatical relations and the pragmatic and discourse-related functions of gender and number are treated in chapter 7.

3.1 Basic form of nouns

The basic form of a noun consists of a root plus a terminal vowel, or a root alone. This form is referred to as ‘general form’ and it is the citation form volunteered by the speakers to name objects and entities. The preferred structure for nouns is disyllabic. Trisyllabic nouns occur to a lesser extent. General forms can end in any of the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, or in a consonant. The majority of nouns end in *-a*. Nouns ending in *u* are all monosyllabic and extremely rare. Nouns ending in a consonant form a fairly small set and some speakers add the prosthetic vowel *i* at the end of the word (phonological rule P3). Both forms are accepted by the speakers.

áan ~ áni	‘arm’
baz ~ bázi	‘lake’
gudúḅ ~ gudúḅi	‘tall’

As already mentioned in chapter 2, some borrowings from Amharic also get a final prosthetic vowel *i*.

Nouns in many Omotic languages end in a vowel which cannot be considered part of the root (since it can be ignored with suffixation of some morphemes) and which cannot be considered a separate suffix either. These vowels are referred to as ‘terminal vowels’ (Hayward 1987) and their distribution is lexically determined. Similar to other Omotic languages (Hayward 1987, Azeb 2012a), in Hamar there is no correlation between terminal vowels and the semantics of nouns, and no variation in the realization of the terminal vowel across speakers has been observed. Terminal vowels in Hamar are not stable when gender and number inflections are affixed to the general form: depending on the phonological characteristics of nouns, gender and number markers can be either suffixed to the root plus the terminal vowel, or to the root alone:

qásk-i	‘dog’		qáski-no	‘dog-F.S’
hám-i	‘field’	(hám-no)	hám-mo	‘field:F.S’

General forms are non-committal for gender and number, and are non-definite. General forms show some syntactic restrictions in that they cannot be modified by demonstratives or relative clauses and they are used only in combination with uninflected verb forms which do not cross-reference the subject (see chapter 6 and chapter 7).

3.2 Gender and number

Gender and number are overtly marked on nouns and trigger agreement on verbs and modifiers (determiners, adjectives, relativized verbs, possessive pronouns). Masculine, feminine and plural suffixes are illustrated in table 3.1:

Table 3.1: Masculine, feminine and plural suffixes

Masculine	Feminine	Plural
-â ; -tâ	-no ; -tóno	-na

Depending on the speakers’ choice and on discourse context, general forms can be inflected for gender (M, F) or number (PL), or they can be left unmarked in the general form (see section 3.4 for the semantic values associated with nominal inflections and general forms). Any noun, irrespective of the animate or non-animate semantic reference, can thus occur in three inflected forms:

qáski	‘dog’	ooní	‘house’
qaskê	‘dog:M’	oonê	‘house:M’
qáskino	‘dog-F.S’	onnó	‘house:F.S’
qáskina	‘dog-PL’	onná	‘house:PL’

Masculine, feminine and plural markers exclude each other in the sense that a noun is either inflected for gender or for number. The only exception to this pattern is represented by the nouns for ‘man, male’, ‘woman, female’, ‘mother’, ‘grandmother’ and ‘older sister’, see 3.4.1. These are the only nouns with inherent gender and they cannot be inflected for the opposite gender value.

Gender and number in Hamar are not obligatory categories, but the marking of a noun as feminine, masculine or plural has syntactic relevance in that it triggers F, M or PL agreement on verbs and modifiers (see the examples below). Gender and number assignment is the ultimate speaker’s choice.²⁶

²⁶ In this respect, gender and number marking shows features of both derivation and inflection. In the present work, gender and number markers will be referred to as inflections in the sense of *inherent inflections*, a distinction formulated by Booij (1994, 1996). (note continued on next page)

- (1) **éé-na orgó-na**
 man-PL short-PL
 the short people
- (2) **onnó hamḁ-áino onnó garró-ne**
 house:F.S be.called-REL.PRES.F house:F.S big:F.S-COP
 A so called ‘F’ house is a big house
- (3) **wɔxá káa inté-ne**
 ox:M DEM1.M 1SG:M-COP
 this ox is mine

The masculine suffix *-tâ* and the feminine suffix *-tóno* are suffixed directly to the root and they mark gender mainly on animate nouns, see 3.3 and 3.4 for further details. The masculine suffix *-â* and the feminine and plural suffixes *-no* and *-na* can be affixed either to the root or to the stem, determining different types of declensions, see 3.3.

Definiteness is not marked on nouns by a dedicated morpheme (a common feature in Omotic), but definiteness and gender marking interact: the general form is always non-definite, and inflected nouns are definite. Gender and number assignment is also related to pragmatic factors such as the expression of several degrees of definiteness and discourse prominence, see chapter 7 for further details.

Hamar general forms do not correspond to the subject case, nor to the ‘absolutive’ case of many nominative-absolutive (or marked-nominative) systems found in east African languages (Sasse 1984; König 2006, 2008a & b). Similarly, nouns inflected for M gender and PL number do not have an inherent value for nominative or accusative case. Feminine marking on the contrary, implies a distinction between a subject case and a non-subject case (or oblique case). Feminine nouns are glossed as F.S when they occur in the subject case (*-no* and *-tóno*), and as F.OBL when they are modified or occur in non-subject function (marked by *-n*). The system of grammatical relations and the interaction between gender and case marking is treated in detail in chapter 7.

3.3 Declensions

Hamar nouns can be grouped in six declensions depending on the phonological characteristics of the general form and depending on the behavior of terminal vowels (stable vs. unstable). If the terminal vowel is stable, vowel coalescence P5 merges the terminal vowel and the low vowel of the masculine inflection */-â/*. When the terminal vowel is unstable, morphophonological processes take place between

This distinction is useful in the case of Hamar since it takes into account the derivation-like features of gender and number markers.

the final consonant of the root and the first consonant of the nominal inflections. Nouns that preserve the terminal vowel along with the inflections belong to declension 1. Declension 2 includes nouns that preserve the terminal vowel only with the masculine inflection, whereas feminine and plural inflections are suffixed directly to the root. Declension 3 groups together all consonant ending nouns, and declension 4 includes nouns which get the masculine suffix *-tâ* instead of the suffix *-â*. Declension 5 consists of a small set of nouns which undergo final syllable truncation. A few nouns have lexicalized gender forms, and belong to declension 6. The majority of Hamar nouns belong to declension 1 and end in the vowel *a*:

Table 3.2: Declension 1

general form	M -â	F -no	PL -na
qúṇa ‘resin-based incense’	qunâ	qúṇano	qúṇana
kubá ‘wall’	kubâ	kubáno	kubána
sílqa ‘knuckle’	silqâ	sílqano	sílqana
meté ‘head’	metê	meténo	meténa
éeḃe ‘cowhide’	eeḃê	éeḃeno	éeḃena
rási ‘footprint’	rasê	rásino	rásina
kut’ó ‘vulture’	kut’ô	kut’óno	kut’óna
álko ‘plant sp.’	alkô	álkono	álkona

In declension 2 the terminal vowel is stable with the masculine marker, but it is deleted when feminine and plural inflections are suffixed. The majority of nouns belonging to declension 2 end in coronal or sonorant consonants followed by a front vowel. However, nouns with these characteristics can be found also in declension 1 and 5. The nasal consonant of the feminine and plural inflections assimilates to the preceding liquid or nasal segment (P4), see for instance *segeré* ‘dik-dik’. Metathesis (P2) inverts the position of the final obstruent consonant of the root and the nasal consonant of the inflections, see *tubáqe* ‘type of tree’. In the masculine form, vowel coalescence shows that the masculine inflection *-â* is suffixed to the terminal vowel.

Table 3.3: Declension 2

general form	M -â	F -no	PL -na
afála ‘clothes’	afalâ	afállo	afálla
tesíḃe ‘axe’	tesiḃê	tesímbo	tesímḃa
segeré ‘dik-dik’	segerê	segerró	segerrá
tubáqe ‘type of tree’	tubaqê	tubánqo	tubánqa
kurí ‘honey’	kurê	kurró	kurrá
ooní ‘house’	oonê	onnó	onná
tudí ‘buttocks’	tudê	tundó	tundá
kut’úḃo ‘housefly’	kut’uḃô	kut’úmbo	kut’úmḃa

In a few cases, some nouns may belong to both declension 1 and 2, that is the feminine gender marker and the plural number marker can be affixed either to the terminal vowel or to the root:

qáami	‘ear’
qaamê	‘ear:M’
qámmo ~ qáamino	‘ear:F.S’
qámma ~ qáamina	‘ear:PL’

Speakers attribute these differences to dialectal variation, but there is no consensus among the speakers about which of the two forms is Hamar and which is not. The form *qáamino* for instance is attributed to the Banna variety, but it is often attested in Hamar’s speech.

Nouns consisting of the root alone belong to declension 3. Similar to declension 2, metathesis and assimilation take place at morpheme boundaries to avoid illicit consonant clusters. Voicing assimilation (P8) and consonant elision after palato-alveolar ɲ (P9) occur after metathesis and assimilation, see for instance *gerák* ‘beam’ and *gaʔásh* ‘warthog’.

Table 3.4: Declension 3

general form	M -â	F -no	PL -na
yír ‘upper arm’	yiirâ	yírro	yírra
panák ‘frog’	panaqâ	panánqo	panánqa
atáb ‘tongue’	atabâ	atámbo	atámba
c’agáj ‘green’	c’agajâ	c’agáño	c’agáña
gerák ‘beam’	gerakâ	gerángo	geránga
gaʔásh ‘warthog’	gaʔashâ	gaʔáño	gaʔáña

Nouns belonging to declension 4 are either monosyllabic words, or nouns referring to non-domesticated animals and ethnonyms. They are inflected in the masculine by means of the suffix *-tâ*. Nouns referring to animals usually have two feminine forms, one ending in *-no* and the other in *-tóno*. The semantic meaning of these two feminine markers will be discussed in 3.4. A few nouns such as *zóbo* ‘lion’ and *ukulí* ‘donkey’ can be inflected by both the masculine suffixes *-â* and *-tâ*: they belong also to declension 1 and 2, respectively.

Table 3.5: Declension 4

general form	M -tâ	F -no F -tóno	PL -na
dáa ‘clay pot’	daatâ	dáano	dáana
íi ‘stomach’	iitâ	íino	íina
pée ‘land’	pɛɛtâ	péeno	péena
píi ‘human faeces’	piitâ	píino	píina
róo ‘foot, leg’	rɔɔtâ	róono	róna
qáu ‘forest’	qautâ	qáuno	qáuna
sháu ‘cheetah’	shautâ	sháuno shautóno	sháuna
ukulí ‘donkey’	ukultâ ukulê	ukulló ukultóno	ukullá
seelé ‘guineafowl’	seltâ	seeléno seltóno	seeléna
zóbo ‘lion’	zɔɔtâ zɔɔbô	zóbono zɔɔtóno	zóbona

Declension 5 consists of a small set of nouns which undergo syllable truncation (MP1) before suffixation of feminine and plural inflections. In the masculine these nouns are irregular since the masculine marker -â is either affixed to the terminal vowel, triggering coalescence (P5), or it is suffixed to the root, see for instance *yáati* ‘sheep’ and *aizí* ‘goat hide’. Nouns belonging to declension 5 end in a coronal segment followed by the high front vowel *i*:

Table 3.6: Declension 5

general form	M -â	F -no	PL -na
yáati ‘sheep’	yaatâ	yáano	yáana
naasí ‘child’	naasâ	naanó	naaná
aizí ‘goat hide’	aizê	ainó	ainá
goití ‘way’	goitê	goinó	goiná
kóisí ‘beer container’	kóisê	koinó	koiná
anqási ‘lamb’	anqasâ	anqáno	anqána

Declension 6 groups together a few nouns which have lexicalized gender forms. In the case of *waakí* ‘cow’ the inflected forms are more transparent and some morphophonological processes can still be observed, for instance metathesis and voicing assimilation in the feminine and plural forms *wóngo* and *wongá*:

Table 3.7: Declension 6

general form	M -â	F -no	PL -na
waakí ‘cow’	wɔxá	wóngo woxóno	wongá
ootó ‘calf’	ɔtâ	óono ootóno	ɔtárra
éedi ‘person’	ée	éedono éeno	éena ~ éena

3.4 Semantics of gender and number

Hamar nouns can be organized according to their animacy reference and the semantic values expressed by gender and number markers. Apart from *singularia tantum* which cannot be inflected for plural, and a few kinship terms that cannot be freely assigned to both genders, any noun in Hamar can be inflected for masculine and feminine grammatical gender, and plural number. Nouns inflected for gender and number are definite (see chapter 7). On the animacy scale, the more a noun expresses animate semantic reference, the tighter is the bond between grammatical gender and biological gender, and *vice versa* (see table 3.8). For this reason, depending on the semantic profile of nouns, gender markers encode semantic values such as sex (4),²⁷ augmentative and diminutive (5), and collective (4),(6). The association of gender and size-related (augmentatives and diminutives) and evaluative (appreciatives and depreciatives) meanings is common cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald 2012, Corbett 1991) and in African languages (Heine 1982, Di Garbo 2014). The Hamar noun classification system however shows rare and unique features when compared to prototypical gender systems, as for instance the fact that nouns can be assigned to any gender and the association of feminine gender with augmentation (see 3.4.5 for further discussions).

The plural marker refers to small quantities, usually no more than four or five countable units, unless the noun inflected for plural number is modified by numerals higher than ‘four’ or other modifiers such as ‘many’. For this reason plural is analysed as paucal and for some nouns it clearly contrasts with feminine gender which is used for reference to bigger quantities. In (4) below for instance, the general form of *qulí* ‘goat’ has one extra feminine form for collective reference in addition to the plural form:

²⁷ In this chapter the expressions ‘natural gender’ and ‘biological gender’ are used to refer to the sex of female or male beings, and contrast with ‘grammatical gender’ which refers to morphological gender marking. The fact that nouns inflected for M and F show the same verbal agreement of male and female beings justifies the labels ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ markers.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|--|
| (4) | General form: | qulí ‘goat’ |
| | M: | qultâ ‘male goat (buck)’ |
| | F: | qulló ‘female goat (doe)’ |
| | F: | qultóno ‘herd of goats’ |
| | PL: | qullá ‘some goats’ |
| (5) | General form: | dáa ‘clay pot’ |
| | M: | daatâ ‘small clay pot’ |
| | F: | dáano ‘big clay pot’ |
| | PL: | dáana ‘some clay pots’ |
| (6) | General form: | kurí ‘honey’ |
| | M: | kurê ‘a little bit of honey’ |
| | F: | kurró ‘a lot of honey’ |
| | PL: | kurrá ‘a few containers of honey’ |

As shown in example (6), mass nouns can be inflected for plural: the plural marker renders nouns countable, and it encodes distributive and paucal values.²⁸

The nouns for ‘sun’ *hai*, ‘moon’ *árpi* and ‘milky way’ *wánc’o* can be considered *singularia tantum*, i.e. nouns which cannot be inflected for plural number. However, the noun *árpi* can be inflected for plural number when it refers to ‘months’. The noun *barjó~bairó* ‘fate, fortune, god’ is the only Hamar noun which cannot be inflected for gender and number, however it triggers feminine agreement on verbs. Table 3.8 illustrates the semantic values expressed by grammatical gender and number inflections (M, F, PL) in relation to the animacy degree of nouns. Each class of nouns and the values encoded by gender and number markers are described in detail in the following sections.

²⁸ The semantics of plural and the fact that uninflected forms are non-specific for gender and number is discussed in chapter 7 along with the pragmatic functions of the noun classification system.

Table 3.8: Semantics of gender and number

			M	F	PL
+ animate	higher animates	Human beings, domestic animals, kinship terms	Masculine sex and singular	Feminine sex and singular; collective number	paucal
	lower animates	other animals	Singular; diminutive, masculine sex; depreciative	Augmentative; feminine sex; singular;	paucal
		insects and small animals	singular; diminutive;	singular; augmentative; collective	paucal
– animate	+ countable	Objects, places, body parts, plants and trees	diminutive; depreciative	augmentative; collective; appreciative	paucal
	– countable	Liquid and solid mass nouns	diminutive; paucal	augmentative; collective	distributive, paucal

3.4.1 Higher animates

Nouns referring to human beings and animals that Hamar people breed are higher animates. These nouns refer to sexually differentiable beings, thus when grammatical gender is expressed on the noun, it encodes biological gender. Kinship terms are exceptional since they do not always allow double gender marking, see later on. Nouns for domestic animals and a few nouns referring to human beings have two feminine forms to distinguish the female specimen from the collective number, usually the ‘group’ or the ‘herd’, see also the example of *qulí* ‘goat’ (4) above:

- (7a) General form: **éedi** ‘person’
M: **ée** ‘the man’
F: **éesono** ~ **éedono** ‘married woman’
F: **éeno** ‘a group of people’
PL: **éena** ‘some people’

- (7b) General form: **naasí** ‘child’
 M: **naasâ** ‘boy, son’
 F: **naanó** ‘girl, daughter’
 F: **naasóno** ‘group of children’
 PL: **naaná** ‘some children, kids’
- (7c) General form: **waakí** ‘cattle’
 M: **wɔxá** ‘ox’
 F: **wongó** ‘cow’
 F: **woxóno** ‘herd of cows’
 PL: **wongá** ‘some cows’
- (7d) General form: **yáati** ‘sheep’
 M: **yaatâ** ‘male sheep’ (ram)
 F: **yáano** ‘female sheep’ (ewe)
 F: **yaatóno** ‘herd of sheep’
 PL: **yáana** ‘some sheep’
- (7e) General form: **ootó** ‘calf’
 M: **ɔtâ** ‘male calf’
 F: **óono** ‘female calf’ (heifer)
 F: **ootóno** ‘group of calves’
 PL: **ɔtárra** ‘some calves’

It is remarkable that the suffix *-tóno* cannot be associated univocally to collective semantic value. In fact the suffix is used for female reference in ethnonyms and in lower animates such as wild animals, see 3.4.2:

- (7f) General form: **hámar** ‘Hamar’
 M: **hamartâ** ‘Hamar man’
 F: **hamartóno** ‘Hamar woman’
 F: **hámarro** ‘all the Hamar people’
 PL: **hámarra** ‘some Hamar people’
- (7g) General form: **káara** ‘Kara’
 F: **kartâ** ‘Kara man’
 F: **kartóno** ‘Kara woman’
 F: **káarano** ‘all the Kara people’
 PL: **káarana** ‘some Kara people’

The kinship terms for ‘younger brother/sister’ and ‘father’ have only one feminine form for feminine natural gender:

(7g)	General form:	kána ‘younger sibling’
	M:	kanâ ‘younger brother’
	F:	kánno ‘younger sister’
	PL:	kánna ‘younger siblings’

The feminine form of the noun *imbá* ‘father, owner’ refers to a female specimen, i.e. the ‘owner of the house’ which is always the woman in the Hamar society:

(7g)	General form:	imbá ‘father/owner/uncle’
	M:	imbâ ‘the father, the owner’
	F:	imbáno ‘the owner of the house’
	PL:	imbána ‘uncles, owners’

Apart from the nouns *kána* and *imbá*, other kinship terms cannot be inflected for both genders. The noun *kána*, like any other noun in Hamar, has a genderless general form that can be inflected depending on the context, whereas terms such as ‘mother’, or ‘female’, or ‘male’ reference biologically feminine or masculine entities by their inherent lexical genders and cannot be assigned to the opposite gender. The noun for ‘mother’ for instance can only be inflected for feminine gender (8c). The set of kinship terms illustrated in (8) and (9) represents the only nouns with lexical gender which do not allow double gender marking:

(8a)	General form:	ángi ‘man, male’
	M:	angê ‘the man’
	F:	-
	PL:	ángina ‘men’
(8b)	General form:	máa ‘woman, female’
	M:	-
	F:	máano ‘the woman’
	PL:	máana ‘women’
(8c)	General form:	indá ‘mother’
	M:	-
	F:	indáno ‘the mother’
	PL:	indána ‘mothers’
(8d)	General form:	aaká ‘grandmother’
	M:	-
	F:	aakáno ‘the grandmother’
	PL:	aakána ‘grandmothers’

- (8e) General form: **mishá** ‘older sister’
 M: -
 F: **misháno** ‘the older sister’
 PL: **mishána** ‘older sisters’

It is remarkable that apart from *ángi*, ‘man, male’, the rest of the nouns illustrated above has female lexical reference. Kinship terms referring to male beings, such as ‘grandfather’, do inflect for feminine gender but grammatical F gender encodes collective value, showing that the additional meaning of F is indeed collective:

- (9a) General form: **eiké** ‘grandfather’
 M: **eikê** ‘the grandfather’
 F: **eikéno** ‘the group of the ancestors’
 PL: **eikéna** ‘ancestors, grandfathers’
- (9b) General form: **ishím** ‘older brother’
 M: **ishimê** ‘the older brother’
 F: **ishímmo** ‘the group of older brothers’
 PL: **ishímma** ‘older brothers’

3.4.2 Lower animates

The set of lower animates includes insects and animals for which biological gender distinction is not fundamental. Since the link between grammatical gender and natural gender is weaker, the semantic values of masculine and feminine gender markers vary. Nouns can be arranged depending on whether the feminine gender marker encodes natural gender, big size, or collective number. However, a clear cut semantic distinction is not always possible and the following organization should not be taken as a straitjacket. Sometimes it is difficult to draw a clear cut distinction between ‘feminine natural gender’ and ‘big size’ because of sexual dimorphism. For instance the feminine form of ‘hyena’, *gudurró*, refers either to the large specimen or the female specimen, depending on context; similarly the feminine form of ‘spider’, *tangayóno*, may refer to the female or the big specimen. In these cases the female specimens are actually larger than the male ones, thus the two semantic values coincide, however sexual size dimorphism does not apply to all species.

A few nouns referring to wild animals (10a-e) have two feminine forms, similar to nouns for domesticated animals in the higher animates set. For some of them (10f-g) there is no consensus on which of the two forms refer to the feminine specimen or to the collective value. The suffix *-tóno* often marks female biological gender for some wild animals and ethnonyms, but this is in contrast with the pattern attested for domestic animals: see for instance *qultóno* ‘herd of goats’, *yaatóno* ‘herd of sheep’, *ootóno* ‘group of calves’ in 3.4.1.

- (10a) General form: **seelé** ‘guineafowl’
M: **seltâ** ‘male guineafowl’
F: **seltóno** ‘female guineafowl’
F: **seeléno** ‘a flock of guineafowls’
PL: **seeléna** ‘some guineafowls’
- (10b) General form: **góro** ‘Colobus monkey’
M: **gɔrɔ̃** ‘male Colobus monkey’
F: **gortóno** ‘female Colobus monkey’
F: **górono** ‘troop of Colobus monkeys’
PL: **górona** ‘some Colobus monkeys’
- (10c) General form: **labalé** ‘ostrich’
M: **labaltâ** ‘male ostrich’
F: **labaltóno** ‘female ostrich’
F: **laballó** ‘herd of ostriches’
PL: **laballá** ‘some ostriches’
- (10d) General form: **zóbo** ‘lion’
M: **zɔbɔ̃ ~ zɔttâ** ‘male lion’
F: **zottóno** ‘female lion’
F: **zóbono** ‘pride of lions’
PL: **zóbona** ‘some lions’
- (10e) General form: **gaʔásh** ‘warthog’
M: **gaʔashâ** ‘male warthog’
F: **gaʔashtóno** ‘female warthog’
F: **gaʔáño** ‘sunder of warthogs’
PL: **gaʔáña** ‘some warthogs’
- (10f) General form: **ukulí** ‘donkey’
M: **ukulê ~ ukultâ** ‘(one) male donkey’ (ass)
F: **ukultóno** ‘female donkey’ (jenny) / ‘herd’
F: **ukulló** ‘female donkey / ‘herd’
PL: **ukullá** ‘some donkeys’
- (10g) General form: **gáya** ‘baboon’
M: **gaitâ** ‘(one) male baboon’
F: **gaitóno** ‘female baboon’ / ‘troop of baboons’
F: **gáyano** ‘female baboon’ / ‘troop of baboons’
PL: **gáyana** ‘some baboons’

Probably the distinction between feminine and feminine-collective was common in the past when the Hamar used to hunt regularly, and it is now fading away: some nouns referring to other animals do not distinguish between female natural gender and feminine-collective value, see for instance the noun for ‘elephant’ below. The question of why the suffix *-tóno* is associated with feminine gender in some lower animates and human beings, and with collective number in domestic animals remains unsolved for the moment. For other animals, especially animals that Hamar people do not breed, masculine is generally associated with singular number and small size (diminutive) and feminine with big size (augmentative). However, while the association of feminine grammatical gender and big size is univocal and unambiguous among different speakers, the association of masculine and small size is occasional and irregular: masculine gender is mainly associated with singular number.

- | | | |
|-------|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| (11a) | General form: | wúrro ‘cat’ |
| | M: | wurrô ‘one (small) cat’ |
| | F: | wúrrono ‘one big cat’ |
| | PL: | wúrrona ‘cats’ |
| (11b) | General form: | qáski ‘dog’ |
| | M: | qaské ‘one (small) dog’ |
| | F: | qáskino ‘one big dog’ |
| | PL: | qáskina ‘dogs’ |
| (11c) | General form: | átti ‘bird’ |
| | M: | attê ‘one (small) bird’ |
| | F: | áttino ‘one big bird’ |
| | PL: | áttina ‘birds’ |
| (11d) | General form: | dongár ‘elephant’ |
| | M: | dongarâ ‘one (small) elephant’ |
| | F: | dongárro ‘one big elephant’ |
| | PL: | dongárra ‘elephants’ |

Masculine and feminine biological genders for these nouns can be expressed periphrastically by the modifier nouns *ángi* ‘male’ and *máa* ‘female’.

In folktales, masculine gender is often used as depreciative and derogative, whereas feminine gender marks appreciation. Animals are usually referred to in their general form, the latter being used as a proper noun. In the excerpts below the vervet monkey, which personifies the clever character who tricks the fool baboon, triggers feminine agreement on the verb:

- (12a) **qáara yin ko = giá-de**
 vervet.monkey so 3F = tell-PFV
 Monkey said so [...]

The baboon is inflected for masculine gender: this adds a derogative meaning and emphasizes that it is going to be killed because of its ineptitude:

- (12b) **zóbo yi?á-ise gaitâ garé-be gaitâ**
 lion go-CNV1 baboon:M big:M-COM baboon:M
likká-be-dan dees-idí-ne
 small:M-COM-ACC kill-PF-COP
 Lion went and killed the big baboon and the small baboon.

Insects and small animals are similar to non-domestic animals in that the bond between grammatical gender and biological gender is weaker. Similar to non-domestic animals, masculine grammatical gender for insects is rather associated with singular number than with small size, although the latter value cannot be excluded. Feminine gender is mainly associated with collective value:

- (13a) General form: **rínso** ‘hornet’
 M: **rinsô** ‘one (small) hornet’
 F: **rínsono** ‘a nest of hornets’
 PL: **rínsona** ‘hornets’
- (13b) General form: **c’íilo** ‘ant’
 M: **c’íilô** ‘one (small) ant’
 F: **c’íilono** ‘a colony of ants’
 PL: **c’íilona** ‘ants’
- (13c) General form: **kut’úbo** ‘housefly’
 M: **kut’úbô** ‘one (small) housefly’
 F: **kut’úmbo** ‘a swarm of houseflies’
 PL: **kut’túmbo** ‘houseflies’
- (13d) General form: **máaqa** ‘lizard’
 M: **maaqa** ‘one (small) lizard’
 F: **máaqano** ‘a group of lizards’
 PL: **máaqana** ‘lizards’

In this respect nouns for insects and small animals resemble mass nouns, see next section.

3.4.3 Inanimates

Gender assignment in nouns with inanimate reference depends on how objects are viewed by the speaker. Generally speaking, masculine gender is used for particularly small objects and feminine for larger objects. In the excerpts below, a Hamar speaker tries to explain the semantic differences between masculine and feminine gender when marked on the noun for ‘path’ *goití* (14-15) and on the noun for ‘river’ *baití* (16-17):

- (14) **goitê hamḃad-ê, goitê likkâ, éen**
 way:M say:PASS-REL.PRES.M way:M small:M people.F.OBL
goitê, ɔrgô, taxá-tte yiʔ-ê,
 way:M short:M cut-SE go-REL.PRES.M
goitê kemḃad-é
 way:M 3.say:PASS-PRES

The so called ‘M’ path is a small pathway, the path for people, short, the shortcut (the one that cuts across) is called a ‘M’ pathway.

- (15) **goinó hamḃad-áino, táaki kó-te**
 way:F.S say:PASS-REL.PRES.F now PRX.NSP-LOC
kánki-n goinó dimeká-rra laii lála-xa
 car-F.OBL way:F.S Dimeka-ABL IDEO.far Lala-INS
yiʔ-áino, ogoró goinó kḃmḃad-é
 go-REL.PRES.F DEM2.F way:F.S 3F.say:PASS-PRES

The so called ‘F’ way, here now the car road that goes from Dimeka and continues through Lala, that is called a ‘F’ road.

- (16) **baitê qána líkka-ne, agá táaki shánqo-r**
 river:M stream small-COP DEM2.M now Shanqo-IN
ḃáa kat’á baitê taxâ, baití líkka-ne, agá
 UP Kat’á river:M similar:M river small-COP DEM2.M
baitê gidí-r yer sía utá-ye [...]
 river:M middle-IN thing bad go.out-PAST.NEG.3

the ‘M’ river is a small stream, like the Kat’á river up there in Shanqo: it is a small river, in a ‘M’ river bad things never happened

- (17) **bainó garró hambad-áino, keské baín**
 river:F.S big:F.S say:PASS-REL.PRES.F Keske river.F.OBL
desí-no, éedi-l gebí gidí-r di-idí, bainó
 similar-F.S person-INCL many middle-IN die-PF river:F.S
gaarí-ne noqó-no gidí-r róoro wul di-ê [...]
 big-COP water-F.S middle-IN day every die-PRES.NEG.3
 what is called a big 'F' river, it is like the Keske river: many people died in
 it, it is a big river, the water in it never dries out [...]

Masculine gender indicates a specific position in a delimited area when marked on nouns referring to places or location, whereas feminine is used for general or wider location (see also chapter 5 on the relation between gender and specific vs. non-specific location, and chapter 7 for the pragmatic use of gender). The examples in (18) and (19) are extracted from the same folktale and they illustrate the point. In (18), somebody is giving precise instructions to the baboon as to where he must sit: the masculine form of *gidí* 'middle' is used to refer to the exact location: the dry trunk in the centre of the field. In example (19) instead, *gidí* 'middle' is used in the feminine and it simply translates as 'in the middle', which is not specific and it is the default form to express this locational meaning:

- (18) **"hámi-n-sa gidié-te hattâ durmâ woyá"**
 field-F.OBL-GEN middle:M-LOC tree:M dry.log:M stand.still.IMP.2SG
 "stand still on a dry trunk in the very centre of the field!"
- (19) **gaitâ núu-n-sa gidí-n-te bul-áise**
 baboon:M fire-F.OBL-GEN middle-F.OBL-LOC jump-CNV1
di-idí-ne
 die-PF-COP
 Baboon jumped in the middle of the fire and died.

In mass nouns masculine gender encodes paucal and feminine gender encodes collective number: however the speakers specify that liquid mass nouns inflected for gender need to be conceived together with the container: 'masculine beer' refers to a small gourd of beer, whereas 'feminine beer' indicates 'a lot of beer contained in a big gourd'. The masculine form of 'water' attested in folktale below refers to a 'small pond' (literally small water). In example (20) below the hyena teases a frog because the frog spends its life in a small pond, whereas the hyena is always roaming. The noun *noqó* 'water' is used in the masculine form to refer to the small pond but masculine gender could also be interpreted as depreciative, since the hyena is teasing and insulting the frog:

- (20) **ínta laii cóo kízo yiʔá-ḡ, mágo yiʔá-ḡ,**
 1SG IDEO.far DOWN kizo go-NARR Mago go-NARR
óo boráana-n péen yiʔá-ḡ, hayá-ise,
 DST boraana-F.OBL land.F.OBL go-NARR do-CNV1
woxón isá-ḡ isá-ḡ, yaatón isá-ḡ [...]
 cattle.F.OBL eat-NARR eat-NARR sheep.F.OBL eat-NARR
yáa c'anánna ká-te nɔqɔ-te dáa
 2SG always PRX.SP-LOC water:M-LOC exist
 “I go far down to Kizo, to Mago, over there to the land of the Boraana, I eat
 entire herds of cattle and sheep...you are always here in this miserable
 pond!”

Masculine gender renders solid mass nouns singulative: the masculine form of *shudí* ‘grass’, for instance, refers to a ‘grass blade’. Feminine gender may indicate a ‘big bundle of grass’ or ‘a lot of grass’, e.g. the grass contained in a field.

Plural number makes uncountable nouns countable and it has a distributive-paucal value, cf. (21) where feminine gender indicates ‘large quantity’ of sorghum with (22), where plural number refers to ‘a small amount of sorghum’.

- (21) **“há = sa-l gupá qolê, kí = sa-l gulfá**
 2SG = GEN-INCL illness exist.not 3 = GEN-INCL illness
qolê, isín-no-l yé = na ushá ko = ush-é”
 exist.not sorghum-F.S-INCL 2PL = DAT be.ripe 3F = be.ripe-PRES
 “there won’t be sickness for you and also for him, and a lot of sorghum will
 grow ripe for both of you”

- (22) **túra dúgge-n-dan uká-ḡ, isín-na**
 upwards container-F.OBL-ACC pierce-NARR sorghum-PL
qaashá-ḡ, tíma kaá-ḡ gaʔá-ḡ
 collect-NARR boiled.grains pour-NARR chew-NARR
 he pierced the sorghum container from below, upwards, collected a small
 amount of sorghum, boiled the grains, and ate

In (22) *isín* ‘sorghum’ is inflected for plural number and it translates as ‘a little bit’ of sorghum. The actual meaning though is distributive: the story is about a squirrel who day after day steals little amounts of sorghum until he eats the whole harvest.

3.4.4 Overview of gender and number

So far the semantic values associated with gender and number inflections have been discussed in relation to the animacy reference of nouns. However, the interpretation of masculine, feminine and plural markers depends also on other factors, such as discourse context (discussed in chapter 7) and the speaker’s attitude. In order to give

the reader a complete picture, this section provides a summary of the semantic values associated with each inflection. For ease of reference, grammatical gender and number will be abbreviated to M, F and PL.

M is marked by the suffixes *-â* and *-tâ*. The latter inflects declension 4 nouns (cf. 3.3), i.e. monosyllabic nouns and nouns referring to animals and ethnonyms. M encodes masculine biological gender on higher animates (human beings, kinship terms, domestic animals) and a few lower animates, mainly wild animals that Hamar people probably used to hunt. M encodes singular number on other lower animates such as animals and insects. For lower animates, the association of M with diminutive and small size is secondary and not always mentioned by every speaker. However, M regularly encodes diminutive and small size in countable nouns with inanimate reference, such as objects and plants. M nouns referring to places designate small, specific and delimited locations. M on mass nouns takes on paucal or singulative values depending on whether nouns refer to liquid or solid materials: M liquid materials are usually conceptualized within a small container. M is used as depreciative and derogative when marked on animate beings in folktales.

The standard marker for F is the suffix *-no*. The suffix *-tôno* occurs as the additional F marker for those nouns which have two feminine forms distinguishing the female specimen from the ‘group’: higher animates (domestic animals, ethnonyms) and a few lower animates referring to game animals. For these nouns, the semantics of the F suffixes *-no* and *-tôno* varies: in ethnonyms and nouns referring to wild animals the marker *-tôno* encodes feminine biological gender, see for instance ‘female ostrich’ in (23); however, when suffixed to noun roots referring to domestic animals it encodes collective number, see the example of ‘herd of goats’ in (23) below.

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (23) | qulló ‘female goat (doe)’ | laballó ‘herd of ostriches’ |
| | qultóno ‘herd of goats’ | labaltóno ‘female ostrich’ |

For nouns like those in (23), feminine biological gender and collective values cannot be univocally associated with neither the two F markers. Apart from these, other nouns are inflected for F by the suffix *-no* only. F designates feminine biological gender in kinship terms whose general form is either genderless, as in *kána* ‘younger sibling’, or it references a female being, as for *máa* ‘woman’. However, for kinship terms referring to male beings such as ‘grandfather’ or ‘older brother’, F denotes collective number. Augmentative and big size is associated with F on nouns referring to animals (i.e. lower animates which do not allow two feminine forms) and on nouns with inanimate reference. Mass nouns and nouns for insects inflected for F denote collective number and large quantities.

The inflectional PL suffix *-na* designates objects which are distributed in space and countable. If the noun inflected for PL is modified by modifiers such as ‘many’, or numerals higher than ‘five’, the PL marked noun denotes plural number, i.e. more than two units, but a noun inflected for PL alone usually refers to four/five

countable units or fewer instances. When asking the difference between (24) and (25) below, the speakers pointed out that (24) refers to ‘three or four goats scattered on the road’ whereas (25) indicates a ‘group of goats’ whose components cannot be counted separately:

- (24) **qullá goín-te ki = dáa-de**
 goat:PL way.F.OBL-LOC 3 = exist-PFV
 some goats are on the road
- (25) **qultóno goín-te ko = dáa-de**
 goat:F.S way.F.OBL-LOC 3F = exist-PFV
 the herd of goats is on the road

F groups and herds (collective) are conceived as indivisible and homogeneous unities, whereas nouns inflected for PL are separable and countable. The association of collective number with feminine gender is common in Cushitic languages. For instance in the Boraana dialect of Oromo, which is spoken to the south-east of Hamar, F can have collective reading (Clamons 1992:90-93).²⁹

PL on mass nouns denotes distributive and paucal values: as shown in example (4) in section 3.4, the PL form of ‘honey’ refers to ‘a few containers full of honey’, but often PL takes on paucal value as well: the concept of a mass substance distributed in several containers is consequently associated with small quantity, see example (22) in 3.4.3.

In the example below, the noun for ‘rain’ is inflected for PL to indicate a light rain or a drizzle:

- (26) **dommá igirá gēá-xa kidí háqa wa demí-r**
 rain:PL DEM2.PL hit-TEMP 3 tree another side-IN
woyá-ḡ
 stand-NARR
 while it was raining a bit he stood under a tree

3.4.5 Conclusions

In this section the characteristics of the noun classification system of Hamar are highlighted and compared with other systems. The structural differences with prototypical gender systems will be examined first, followed by a discussion on the dichotomy ‘feminine-big’ vs. ‘masculine-small’.

Gender systems which allow the assignment of nouns to more than one gender have been called with different labels in the literature on noun classification. Heine

²⁹ However, elsewhere within Afro-Asiatic, like in Arabic or Berber, F derives countable and singulative nouns from uncountable and mass nouns (which are usually M).

(1982) introduced the distinction between ‘free’ and ‘fixed’ gender systems for African languages: free gender systems are those in which nouns can be ‘ideally’ assigned to any gender (Heine 1982:198); Corbett (1991 *inter alia*) and Aikhenvald (2003) talks about ‘multi-gendered’, ‘double-gendered’ or ‘hybrid’ nouns as a rare phenomenon restricted to a small set of nouns with animate reference; Di Garbo (2014) in her typological survey on the interaction of gender, number and evaluative morphology in African languages refers to these systems as ‘non-rigid’ systems. The languages reported in the literature use productive *gender shift*³⁰ strategies in order to convey additional semantic values such as variation in size (diminution and augmentation) or variation in the speakers’ attitude (depreciation and appreciation). In these languages however, gender is always lexically specified: the notion of *gender shift* itself implies a change from a default value (the default gender) to another value (the opposite gender in sex-based gender systems). For this reason, gender shift as a strategy to encode variation in size is usually restricted to inanimate nouns, and it is always constrained by the semantic properties of nouns (Corbett 1991:145-188, Aikhenvald 2003, Di Garbo 2014). In this respect the Hamar noun classification system shows unique features not only if compared to neighboring languages but also in a cross-linguistic perspective. In Hamar, as shown in the previous sections, any noun can be assigned to masculine or feminine gender regardless of its animate or non-animate semantic reference. This is possible because of the existence in Hamar of general forms which are non-committal about gender and number, but can be productively inflected for both genders and for number: Hamar nouns are neither lexically specified for gender, nor are there gender assignment rules based on formal, morphological or phonological, criteria. In the case of Hamar the concept of *gender shift* does not apply because gender (and number) are categories indexed by inherent inflections which depend ultimately on the speakers’ choice and on discourse context. Within Di Garbo’s sample of African languages, only Maasai (Eastern Nilotic) resembles Hamar in that for some nouns gender is not lexically specified and size-related gender shift is found also in combination with animate nouns. A few nouns in Maasai have a genderless stem which can be marked for masculine or feminine, but these nouns are obligatorily marked for gender and cannot occur ‘unmarked’ like Hamar general forms:

F:	en-kitók ‘woman’
M:	ol-kitók ‘very respected man’
F:	en-dóínyó ‘hill’
M:	ol-dóínyó ‘mountain’

(Payne 1998:166-167)

Heine (1982:198), gives Kxoe as example of free gender system:

³⁰ otherwise called ‘manipulable gender assignment’ by Di Garbo (2014).

ngú	‘hut’
ngú-mà	M ‘big, rectangular hut’
ngú-hè	F ‘small, round hut’

(after Köhler 1981:515)

However, he states later on that ‘ideal’ languages with completely free gender systems in which nouns can be allocated to both genders “have not been found and do not seem to exist in Africa” (ibid.).³¹

The Hamar gender system was described for the first time by Jean Lydall in her grammatical sketch (1976:406-408); in the article *Gender, Number and Size in Hamar* the author tried to give an answer to the following question: “How can a society in which men generally enjoy a higher status than women, speak a language in which masculine gender is equated with smallness?” (Lydall 1988:78). Indeed, masculine gender in Hamar encodes semantic values such as diminutive, whereas feminine gender is associated with augmentation: this is quite a rare dichotomy for languages which use gender to encode evaluative morphology (Aikhenvald 2012; Di Garbo 2014), and the reverse pattern (M for big and F for small) is attested in neighbouring Omotic (Azeb 2012b) and Cushitic languages, and generally within the Afro-Asiatic family. In Di Garbo’s sample, the only language which associates feminine gender with large and big size is the isolate Hadza spoken in north-central Tanzania (Di Garbo 2014:161-165). Outside of Africa there are a few languages which apply feminine gender to objects that are large, wide, or ample: these are languages spoken in Papua New Guinea (Mali - Baining, Yonggom - Ok, Olo - Torricelli), in the Australian region (Tiwi - isolate), and in Europe (Cantabrian Spanish) (Aikhenvald 2012).

3.5 Nominal derivation

Two types of nominalization have been identified. Relativized verbs and some adjectives can be derived from verbs by means of relativizing suffixes which are described in chapter 8. The suffix *-ínta* derives abstract nouns from verbs and it is discussed in 3.5.1. A few nouns ending in *-a*, *-i* and *-o* pair with corresponding verb stems (table 3.9 on next page). Nouns ending in *-a* differ from verb stems only in tone. For some noun-verb pairs in table 3.9 it is not possible to take one form as the basic and derive the other from it; some verb forms have a more general meaning than the corresponding noun, and it is likely that this correspondence is the result of

³¹ The gender system of Kxoe as described by Köhler (1981) resembles the Hamar system. Köhler (1981:514) refers to the unmarked form of nouns as ‘neutral’ and he writes: “Le genre neutre singulier s’emploie lorsqu’on parle de manière générale d’un ‘enfant’, d’un ‘homme’, du ‘membre d’une tribu ou d’un peuple’. Alors que dans les langues à genres la désinence de genre est habituellement liée indissolublement au nom, elle tombe fréquemment en kxoe, surtout lorsqu’il s’agit de choses, qui relèvent du genre grammatical, mais fréquemment aussi lorsqu’il s’agit d’animaux ou même d’hommes [...] (ibid.).

verb to noun derivation (see for instance the pair *sára* / *sará*), for other pairs the contrary is also plausible, as the pair *dáki* / *daxá* suggests. A few adjectives have corresponding inchoative verbs, see 3.6. Agentive nouns can be derived from verbs by means of relativizing suffixes, see chapter 8.

Table 3.9: Noun - verb pairs

Nouns		Verbs	
bólá	‘egg’	bólá	‘to jump, to lay eggs’
désima	‘grinding stone’	desimá	‘to grind’
sára	‘goatskin used as baby sling’	sará	‘to catch’
waadíma	‘work’	waadimá	‘to work’
áapi	‘eye’	aapá	‘to see’
c’aaqí	‘evil eye, jinx’	c’aaqá	‘to cast the evil eye’
dáki	‘rope’	daxá	‘to tie’
díibi	‘thief’	diibá	‘to steal’
dúmai	‘thumb’	dumá	‘to grab’
eepí	‘coffin, dead body, funeral’	eepá	‘to cry’
galt’í	‘wall covered in mud’	galt’á	‘to seal with mud’
shooshí	‘guest’	shooshá	‘to welcome sb.’
pet’í	‘spittle’	pet’imá	‘to spit’
píi	‘faeces’	piá	‘to defecate’
ráati	‘sleep’	raatá	‘to sleep’
shupí	‘lid’	shupá	‘to seal’
óiso	‘question’	oisá	‘to ask’
keemó	‘wedding, marriage’	keemá	‘to marry’
pusó	‘fart’	pusá	‘to fart’
rósho	‘sling’	roshá	‘to hurl stones’

3.5.1 Abstract nouns

Abstract nouns are derived from verb roots through the suffixation of the suffix *-ínta*. The suffix can derive abstract nouns from both transitive and intransitive verbs:

Table 3.10: Abstract nouns

Verb stem		Derived noun	
des-	‘to know’	desínta	‘knowledge’
ad-	‘to give birth’	adínta	‘birth’
ois-	‘to ask’	oisínta	‘questioning’
kumm-	‘to eat’	kummínta	‘nourishment’
wuc’-	‘to drink’	wuc’ínta	‘beverage’
dees-	‘to kill’	deesínta	‘murder’
dalq-	‘to speak’	dalqínta	‘speech’
pax-	‘to throw’	paxínta	‘throwing stones at animals’
da-	‘live, exist, be’	daínta	‘life’

Some illustrative sentences are given in the examples below. Derived abstract nouns behave similar to general forms of nouns, their use is avoided in syntactic environment where agreement is required. For this reason abstract nouns cannot be modified by relative clauses or demonstratives. They have non-definite semantic interpretation, suggested also by the fact that they are usually followed by the noun *yer* ‘thing’:

- (27) **bíto desínta zagá ki = zag-é**
 Bito knowledge want 3 = want-PRES
 Bito seeks education
- (28) **deesínta yer sía-ne**
 killing thing bad-COP
 murder is a bad thing
- (29) **seení-n gaarí-n-ka yer paxínta**
 stone-F.OBL big-F.OBL-INS thing throwing
dandaim-ê
 be.possible-PRES.NEG.3
 with a big stone you can’t chase birds and animals (lit. throwing and related things are not possible)

3.6 Adjectives

There are two types of adjectives in Hamar: adjectival nouns and de-verbal adjectives. Adjectives in Hamar can function both as head and as modifier. The majority of the adjectives are nouns: they have a general form ending in a consonant or in the vowels *-a*, *-e*, *-i*, *-o* and are inflected for masculine, feminine and plural by means of nominal inflections. The adjective *háali* ‘new’, for instance, inflects according to declension 2 rules and undergoes the morpho-phonological processes described in section 3.3 above:

- (30a) **borqotó háali**
 headrest new
 new headrest
- (30b) **borqotô haalê**
 headrest:M new:M
 the new headrest (M)
- (30c) **borqotóno hállo**
 headrest-F.S new:F.S
 the new headrest (F)

- (30d) **borqotóna hálła**
 headrest-PL new:PL
 new headrests

A few adjectives denoting states or feelings are derived from stative verbs by means of the relativizing suffixes described in chapter 8. These de-verbal adjectives are basically relativized stative verbs marked by relative past inflections.

Attributive adjectives follow their head and agree in gender and number with it. The examples below show the agreement patterns of the adjectival noun *déega* ‘foolish’ and the de-verbal adjective *bardá* ‘drunk’ in attributive position. The adjective *déega* has been chosen since it ends in the vowel *-a*: morphologically, the two adjectives in (31) below differ in the fact the nominal inflections are suffixed to the nominal stem (i.e. the nominal root plus the terminal vowel) in the adjectival noun, whereas the relativizing suffixes are attached directly to the verb root of *bardá*. The difference between the two adjectival forms surfaces only in the feminine form: if *bardá* was inflected by means of nominal inflections we should have the form **bardáno*.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (31a) | éedi déega
person foolish
a foolish person | éedi bardá
person be.drunk
a drunk person |
| (31b) | ée deegâ
man:M foolish:M
the foolish man | ée bard-â
man:M be.drunk-REL.PAST.M
the drank man |
| (31c) | éeno déega-no
people:F.S foolish-F.S
a group of foolish people | éeno bard-óno
people:F.S be.drunk-REL.PAST.F
a group of drunk people |
| (31d) | éesono déega-no
woman:F.S foolish-F.S
the foolish woman | éesono bard-óno
woman:F.S be.drunk-REL.PAST.F
the drunk woman |
| (31e) | ée-na déega-na
man-PL foolish-PL
the foolish people | ée-na bard-ána
man-PL be.drunk-REL.PAST.PL
the drunk people |

The verb stem *bardá* is a full-fledged verb which can be inflected for any tense as prototypical verbs do (32). The only restriction is that stative verbs cannot be conjugated in the present progressive form.

- (32) **ínta bardá = i = da bard-é**
 1SG be.drunk = 1SG = IPFV be.drunk-PRES
 I will be drunk

Most of de-verbal adjectives are derived stems featuring the passive derivational suffix *-d-* (see chapter 6 for further details on verb derivation) and refer to physical states and emotions. These passive stems do not have a corresponding underived transitive form with an active meaning. A list of de-verbal adjectives can be found in table 3.12 at the end of the chapter.

A few adjectival nouns ending in *-i* correspond to inchoative verb stems, see table below.

Table 3.11: Adjectival nouns and inchoative verbs

Nouns		Verbs	
qáji	‘cold’	qajá	‘become/be cold’
dúrpi	‘fat’	durpá	‘become fat’
gebí	‘big, many’	gebá	‘grow up, become big’
qailí	‘decorated’	qailá	‘to decorate’
t’óot’i	‘full’	t’oot’á	‘become full, be numerous’

As mentioned before, adjectives in attributive positions agree in gender and number with their heads. Attributive adjectives are inflected also when the head noun is dropped, hence they agree with the noun for which they stand.

- (33) **durfê háine?**
 fat:M who
 who is the fat one (M)?

When used as predicates in copular sentences, adjectival nouns cannot be inflected and occur in the general form: compare (33a) with (33b) and the two attributive and predicative adjectives in (34):

- (33a) **ɔɔnê káa háali-ne**
 house:M DEM1.M new-COP
 this house (M) is new

- (33b) **ɔɔnê káa haalê**
 house:M DEM1.M new:M
 this new house (M)

- (34) **onnó koró geccó-no gúuri-ne**
 house:F.S DEM1.F old-F.S empty-COP
 this big old house is empty

De-verbal adjectives cannot occur as predicates, see chapter 9 (section 9.2 on non-verbal predication). A list of basic Hamar adjectives is given in the table 3.12.

Table 3.12: Hamar adjectives

Adjective	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
payá	‘good’	sía	‘bad’
zía	‘brave’	píi	‘fearful’
gazá	‘generous, kind’		
tipá	‘honest, reliable’	wóbo	‘dishonest’
paxála	‘clever, sharp’	déega	‘foolish’
qará	‘clever, dynamic’		
múuqi	‘strong’	qáji	‘weak’
wodímo	‘rich’	qám̃bi	‘poor’
geccó	‘old’	bárshi	‘young’
		háali	‘new’
gebí	‘big, many’		
gaarí	‘big’	líkka	‘small’
		sháaqa	‘small’ (for goats and sheep)
gudúb	‘tall, long’	orgó	‘short’
t’óot’i	‘full’	gúuri	‘empty’
dúrpi	‘fat’	ganc’á	‘thin’
t’eezí	‘near’	pegé	‘far’
oidí	‘hot, warm’	qáji	‘cold’
shíiti	‘soft, easy’	wócci	‘hard (e.g. of wood), difficult’
shólba	‘light’	déet’a	‘heavy’
dáat’a	‘sweet’	c’apá	‘rotten’
Colours		De-verbal adjectives	
tí’a	‘black’	bardá	‘drunk’
déer	‘red’	deebardá	‘thirsty’
c’aulí	‘white’	daaqardá	‘hungry’
galáp	‘yellow’	dagadá	‘angry’
c’agáj	‘green’	qajadá	‘tired’
úlo	‘blue’	aajadá	‘sick’
		qaabimá	‘sad’
		oshimbá	‘shy’

4 Pronouns and pronominal clitics

Chapter 4 explores Hamar personal, possessive and demonstrative pronouns. Personal pronouns occur as free forms or as clitics, and they can function as subject, object or oblique pronouns depending on syntactic contexts and case suffixes. Hamar has a reflexive third person pronoun and a set of restrictive and inclusive markers on pronouns which are discussed in 4.3 and 4.4 respectively. Interrogative pronouns are discussed in chapter 11.

4.1 Personal pronouns

There are six pronominal forms in Hamar: gender distinction is made only in the third person singular, and third person plural coincides with the third person masculine singular pronoun. The reflexive pronoun *yi* is a third person pronoun which does not distinguish gender and occurs only as clitic.

Honorific pronouns are not attested, nor is there an inclusive/exclusive distinction (but see 4.4 for restrictive and ‘inclusive’ pronouns). Personal pronouns occur as free grammatical words (independent forms) or as clitics (short form I and short form II) depending on their syntactic function. A few verb paradigms require independent subject pronouns if the subject is not overtly expressed, otherwise subject agreement on the majority of verbs is indexed by subject clitic pronouns. Subject clitics on verbs behave as pronominals and agreement markers (see section 4.1.1 and chapter 6) but they will be invariably called ‘clitic pronouns’. The co-occurrence of co-referential independent and clitic pronouns marks contrastiveness and signals emphasis on the subject. There are two sets of clitic pronouns: short form I pronouns are used for person marking on independent verb forms, and they are used to mark possession on kinship terms (cf. chapter 8, section 8.3.4). Moreover, short form I pronouns can be cliticized to case suffixes to form inflected pronouns (accusative, genitive and peripheral cases). These short forms are analysed as clitics because they are syntactically function words but prosodically they depend on their host (hence stress is not always found on the clitic pronoun). Moreover, clitic pronouns attach to any category, including verbs, nouns, case suffixes, and verbal aspectual markers. Short form II pronouns mark subject agreement on some dependent verb forms and are used to form the possessive pronouns and the comitative pronouns (i.e. ‘with you’, ‘with me’ and so on).³² Table 4.1 below presents the independent and clitic forms of Hamar pronouns. Short form II are always proclitics, whereas short form I can occur as proclitics and enclitics.

³² Short form II clitic pronouns are discussed also in chapter 7, where an alternative analysis is proposed. These pronominals are in fact composed of the formative *-n* which marks nominal dependency relations, see chapter 7, section 7.4.4.

Table 4.1 Pronominals

	Independent form	Short form I	Short form II
1SG	ínta	= i =	in =
2SG	yáa	= ha =	han =
3M / PL	kidí ~ kisí	= ki =	kin =
3F	kodí ~ kosí	= ko =	kon =
1PL	wodí ~ wosí	= wo =	won =
2PL	yedí ~ yesí	= ye =	yen =
REFL	-	= yi =	yin =

The independent pronouns *kidí*, *kodí*, *wodí*, *yedí*, have corresponding variant forms *kisí*, *kosí*, *wosí*, and *yesí*. These alternative forms are due to dialectal variation³³ and are interchangeable with no difference in meaning. Short form I pronouns are cliticized before the verb, but in certain paradigms they are slotted in between verb stems and auxiliaries, see chapter 6. The function and meaning of the reflexive pronoun will be discussed in 4.3.

4.1.1 Subject pronouns

Participant reference marking on verbs is generally indexed by subject pronouns. Some paradigms are uninflected and require independent subject clitics, but most verb forms, including negative and interrogative verbs, either require pronominal subject clitics, or they have incorporated subject clitic pronouns into the paradigm (see chapter 6 for an overview of main verb paradigms and pronominal subject marking). Independent subject pronouns are obligatory for instance with the perfect (1) and in copular sentences (2) when the subject is not overtly expressed:

- (1) **náa ínta isín shoosh-idí**
 yesterday 1SG sorghum roast-PF
 yesterday I roasted sorghum

- (2) **kidí éedi wodímo-ne**
 3 person rich-COP
 he is a rich person / they are rich people

Reference to the subject of a verb in dependent clauses can be expressed by short form II clitic pronouns cliticized before verb stems (3). Person marking on some subordinate verbs must be indexed by short form II clitic pronouns even if the subject is already expressed, see example (3b) below and chapter 10 for further details:

³³ The pronouns *kisí*, *kosí*, *wosí* and *yesí* are impressionistically more common among the Bashááda and in the area around Turmi.

- (3a) **ooní-n-te kin = de-énka kidí daaqardá-6**
 house-F.OBL-LOC 3 = exist-CNV2 3 be.hungry-NARR
 while they were in the house, they became hungry
- (3b) **kodí boqólla kon = shoosh-énka**
 3F corn:PL 3F = roast-CNV2
 when she roasted the corn kernels [...]

Short form II pronouns are cliticized to nominalized verb forms when the subject of a relative clause is expressed pronominally:

- (4) **barkotâ in = zag-â táaki ínta aaf-idí-ne**
 head-rest:M 1SG = want.REL.PAST.M now 1SG see-PF-COP
 I've now found the head-rest I looked for (lit. the head-rest I wanted now I have seen)

Person marking on independent verb forms in main clauses is indexed by short form I clitic pronouns. These pronouns are usually cliticized directly to verb stems (5), or to the aspect marker preceding the verb stem (6):

- (5) **ko = giá-de**
 3F = tell-PFV
 she said
- (6) **wo = da-yi?-é**
 1PL = IPFV-go-PRES
 we go

In complex paradigms such as the future (7a) and the progressive (7b), clitic pronouns can be slotted in between verb stems, auxiliaries and subordinative markers:

- (7a) **ni?á ki = ni?-é**
 come 3 = come-PRES
 he will come
- (7b) **ni?á-te ki = dáa-de**
 come-SE 3 = exist-PFV
 he is coming

As illustrated in chapter 2, these subject clitics undergo phonological reduction when they occur between words. In complex paradigms, the initial consonants of 1st and 2nd person clitic pronouns are deleted (morphophonological rule MP2), thus the

clitic pronouns surfaces as /i/ (1SG), /a/ (2SG), /o/ (1PL), /e/ (2PL). Third person pronouns are not affected. The examples below show the conjugation of the progressive verb form. Note that after MP2 has deleted the initial consonant of the clitic pronouns, P6 reduces two consecutive vowels at word-boundaries to one segment (phonological rule P6, cf. 2.5.1).

- [niʔáti dáade]**
 (8a) **niʔá-te ʔi = dáa-de**
 come-SE 1SG = exist-PFV
 I am coming
- [niʔáta dáade]**
 (8b) **niʔá-te ha = dáa-de**
 come-SE 2SG = exist-PFV
 you are coming
- [niʔáte kidáade]**
 (8c) **niʔá-te ki = dáa-de**
 come-SE 3 = exist-PFV
 he is coming, they are coming
- [niʔáte kodáade]**
 (8d) **niʔá-te ko = dáa-de**
 come-SE 3F = exist-PFV
 she is coming
- [niʔáto dáade]**
 (8e) **niʔá-te wo = dáa-de**
 come-SE 1PL = exist-PFV
 we are coming
- [niʔáte dáade]**
 (8f) **niʔá-te ye = dáa-de**
 come-SE 2PL = exist-PFV
 you (PL) are coming

In the negative paradigms, subject clitics are phonologically reduced to the extent that they have become part of the verbal inflection: in (9) below the vowel *i* and the vowel *a* mark respectively 1st person singular and 2nd person singular:

- (9a) **ínta parsí wuc'-átine**
 1SG beer drink-PAST.NEG.1SG
 I didn't drink *parsí* beer
- (9b) **yáa des-átane**
 2SG know-PAST.NEG.2SG
 you didn't know

For an overview of pronominal subject marking on different verbal paradigms see chapter 6.

4.1.2 Object pronouns

Object pronouns are formed by suffixing the accusative marker *-dan* to short form I pronouns. Object pronouns can occur in a reduced form: in fast speech the implosive consonant of the accusative suffix *-dan* can be reduced to glottal stop and to zero, and the low vowel *a* merges with the vowels of the short form I pronouns (phonological rule P5, cf. 2.5.1). Coalescence always occurs in the first singular and in the third person object pronouns, but it is optional in the first plural and second plural persons.

Table 4.2: Object pronouns

	Full form	Reduced form
1SG	í = <i>dan</i>	éen
2SG	há = <i>dan</i>	háan
3M / 3PL	kí = <i>dan</i>	kéen
3F	kó = <i>dan</i>	kóɔn
1PL	wó = <i>dan</i>	wóɔn ~ wóon
2PL	yé = <i>dan</i>	yéen ~ yéen

Object pronouns are used as the direct object of verbs:

- (10) **t'álian niʔá-ise wó = dan oit-idí-ne**
 Italians come-CNV1 1PL = ACC chase-PF-COP
 the Italians came and chased us
- (11) **yáa gobá-ise éen bashá-u ?**
 2SG run-CNV1 1SG:ACC exceed-INT.COP
 can you defeat me in the race?
- (12) **ínta háan isá = i = da is-é**
 1SG 2SG:ACC eat = 1SG = IPFV eat-PRES
 I will eat you

Reflexivity and reciprocity are generally not expressed morphologically by verbal derivation (but see chapter 6 for frozen derivation that can have reflexive or reciprocal meaning). Object pronouns are used as reciprocal pronouns as in (14), (15) and (16). Object pronouns can also have a reflexive meaning as in (13), but for the third person the reflexive pronoun *yi* is used (4.3).

- (13) **ínta í = ďan qail-idí-ne**
 1SG 1SG = ACC decorate-PF-COP
 I have decorated myself
- (14) **t'álian-be somále-be kéen uká-6**
 Italians-COM Somalis-COM 3:ACC fight-NARR
 the Italians and the Somalis fought each other
- (15) **gudirí-be panáq-be kí = ďan bagá-te dáa-da**
 hyena-COM frog-COM 3 = ACC tease-SE exist-IPFV
 Hyena and Frog were teasing each other
- (16) **geshóm-be geshó-be untínna kí = ďan**
 wife.F.OBL-COM husband:M-COM rat:PL 3 = ACC
kemďá-ise ki = ooní-n-te dáa-de
 be.married-CNV1 3 = house-F.OBL-LOC exist-PFV
 Mr. and Mrs. Rats were married to each other and they were in the house

4.1.3 Oblique pronouns

Case affixes can be suffixed to short form I clitic pronouns to form oblique pronouns (see chapter 8 for an overview of case suffixes). The comitative case *-be* is affixed to short form II clitic pronouns: the alveolar nasal consonant of the short form II pronouns assimilates to the following bilabial consonant (see last column of table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Oblique pronouns

	Genitive	Dative	Allative	Affective	Comitative
1SG	í = sa	í = na	í = dar	í = xal	ím = be
2SG	há = sa	há = na	há = dar	há = xal	hám = be
3M/ 3PL	kí = sa	kí = na	kí = dar/ darán	kí = xal/ kalán	kím = be
3F	kó = sa	kó = na	kó = dar/ darán	kó = xal/ kalán	kóm = be
1PL	wó = sa	wó = na	wó = dar	wó = xal	wóm = be
2PL	yé = sa	yé = na	yé = dar	yé = xal	yém = be
REFL	yí = sa	yí = na	yí = dar	yí = xal	-

The genitive pronoun is used in existential sentences to express predicative possession. The possessive construction has the form of an existential sentence in which the possessed NP functions as the subject of the existential verb and the possessor NP is marked by the genitive case:

- (17a) **naasí há=sa dá-u?**
 child 2SG=GEN exist-INT.COP
 do you have children?

- (17b) **wó=sa waakí dáa-ne**
 1PL=GEN cattle exist-COP
 we have cows

The allative and affective pronouns show an alternative form in the third persons, *darán* (18a) and *kalán* (18b) respectively. The two allomorphs are in free variation with the respective third person allative pronoun *kí-dar* and *kó-dar*, and with the third person affective pronoun *kí-xal* and *kó-xal* (18c):

- (18a) **darán zóbo ni?-idí**
 3.ALL lion come-PF
 Lion came to him/her/them

- (18b) **kalán qajá ko=qaj-é**
 3.AFF be.cold 3F=be.cold-PRES
 He/She/They will be cold (lit. it will be cold at him/her/them)

- (18c) **kí=xal qajá ko=qaj-é**
 3=AFF be.cold 3F=be.cold-PRES
 He/They will be cold (lit. it will be cold at him/them)

4.2 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are independent forms which agree in gender and number with the possessed object and take on nominal inflections in order to show the agreement. Nominal inflections are affixed to short form II pronouns:

Table 4.4: Possessive pronouns

	M	F	PL
1SG	ín = te	ín = no	ín = na
2SG	hán = te	hán = no	hán = na
3M / 3PL	kín = te	kín = no	kín = na
3F	kón = te	kón = no	kón = na
1PL	wón = te	wón = no	wón = na
2PL	yén = te	yén = no	yén = na
REFL	yín = te	yín = no	yín = na

The marker for the masculine possessive pronouns is different from the masculine nominal inflection, which is *-â* or *-tâ*. I have no explanation why the masculine possessive pronoun has a different masculine marker. The pronunciation of the masculine possessive pronoun, moreover, varies among speakers: in some cases it is realized as [ín̥te], in others as [ín̥te]. *-te* in Hamar is the locative case and the low vowel [ɛ] could be the result of coalescence between the mid-high vowel of the locative case *-te* and the low vowel *-â* of the masculine inflection. However, it is not clear why the masculine possessive pronoun would use the locative case and not the feminine and plural possessive pronouns. In the neighbouring language Aari, the formative *-te* is attested in possessive pronouns and it is analysed as genitive marker (Bender 2000:164).

The stress of the possessive pronouns shifts to the second syllable if a case marker is suffixed or the copula *-ne* follows. Possessive pronouns follow their head and take on case markers:

- (19a) **ée-na hánna mará!**
 man-PL 2SG:PL stop.IMP.2SG
 Stop your men!

- (19b) **koimô wonté-xa waakí lamá wo = shan-é**
 property:M 1PL:M-INS cow two 1PL = buy-PRES
 with our property let's buy two cows!

The genitive pronoun can co-occur with the possessive pronoun to mark contrast and emphasize possession:

- (20) **yáa í = sa ooní-n niʔ-idí-ne, yáa í = sa**
 2SG 1SG = GEN house-F.OBL come-PF-COP 2SG 1SG = GEN
máal-in innó-n gidí-n niʔ-idí-ne!
 centre-F.OBL 1SG:F-F.OBL middle-F.OBL come-PF-COP
 you came to my own house, you came to the very centre of my own place!

Possession on kinship terms is expressed by means of short form I clitic pronouns, see chapter 8 for further details.

4.3 The reflexive pronoun *yi*

The reflexive pronoun is a third person pronoun which does not distinguish gender and does not have an independent form: it occurs only in the short form I *yi*-, which is cliticized to oblique cases, and the short form II *yin*- which is used to form possessive pronouns and to mark subject agreement on subordinate verb forms. The reflexive pronoun is used when the third person subject and the possessive pronoun (21a,b) or other oblique pronouns (21c,d,e) of the same sentence are co-referential:

- (21a) **éeno gurdá-n yinnó-n-dar yi?á ko = yi?-é**
 people:F.S village-F.OBL REFL:F-F.OBL-ALL1 go 3F = go-PRES
 the people will go to their own villages
- (21b) **t'álian pée-n yinnó-n-te yi?á-ise woɖ-idí**
 Italians land-F.OBL REFL:F-F.OBL-LOC go-CNV1 stay-PF
 the Italians went to their own land and stayed there
- (21c) **ɖukâ hamɓaɗ-ê ɖukâ toré-n-te**
 mountain:M be.called-REL.PRES.M mountain:M plain-F.OBL-LOC
yí = bar woy-â
 REFL = AD stand-REL.PAST.M
 what is called a 'masculine mountain' is a small hill which stands on its own in the plain
- (21d) **kóopini, kidí tiá-tte yí = dar ooní-n**
 squirrel 3 take-SE REFL = ALL1 house-F.OBL
yinnó-n-sa ɓáa-bar meté-m-bar
 REFL:F-F.OBL-GEN UP-AD head-F.OBL-AD
dúgge-n-ɗan dottá-ɓ
 sorghum.container-F.OBL-ACC sit:CAUS-NARR
 squirrel took (it) for himself and put the sorghum container on the very top of his own house
- (21e) **núu wórqi-n-ɗan yí = xal yedá-ika yin = ham-énka**
 fire gold-F.OBL-ACC REFL = AFF keep-PF.CONT REFL = say-CNV2
 after Fire had kept the gold for himself [...] ³⁴

³⁴ Past perfect continuous in Hamar is expressed by means of a complex predicate which involves the verb *hamá* 'say' marked by the converb suffix *-énka*, see chapter 10, section 10.1.2.

The pronoun *yi* is used as a long-distance reflexive, thus it is important for discourse traceability in clause chaining. The following passage shows how both the reflexive form and the regular form of the possessive pronoun can be used in ambiguous syntactic contexts. The excerpt is taken from a folktale about a squirrel who eats the whole harvest of sorghum that the baboon had previously collected. In order to prove his (false) innocence, the squirrel proposes to check the faeces: the faeces containing sorghum belong to the person who stole and ate the harvest. However, the squirrel plays a trick on the baboon and manages to exchange his own faeces with those of the baboon, eventually proving himself innocent:

- (22) **éé-sa píi-n-dan dap, yinnó-n-te**
 man:M-GEN faeces-F.OBL-ACC IDEO.take REFL:F-F.OBL-LOC
shudí-n-dan yer háqa-n áafi-n-dan,
 grass-F.OBL-ACC thing tree-F.OBL eye-F.OBL-ACC
hayá-ise, isín déer-in yin = is-ón-dan
 do-CNV1 sorghum red-F.OBL REFL = eat-REL.PAST.F-ACC
sáa kinnó-n-te
 SLEV 3:F-F.OBL-LOC
 he took the faeces of the guy (the baboon): in his own faeces he put the
 grass and the fruits of the trees, in the baboon's faeces he put the red
 sorghum that he had eaten

The possessive pronoun *kinnónte* at the end of the sentence refers to the baboon, whereas the reflexive possessive pronoun and the reflexive subject pronoun of the relative verb denote the main actor of the folktale, the squirrel, which is the syntactic subject of the whole clause. However, because of clause-chaining (cf. chapter 10), the fact that the squirrel is the syntactic subject becomes clear only at the end of the folktale, after a long sequence of uninflected dependent clauses which are mostly subjectless. The excerpt illustrated above for instance lacks a fully inflected main verb since the speaker uses the ideophone *dap* to express the action of 'grabbing' and the gerundive uninflected form *hayáise* 'doing'. The use of the long-distance reflexive pronoun is crucial to keep track of the subject in story-telling. The reflexive pronoun can denote identity between the third person subject of a dependent verb in an embedded sentence and the third person subject of an independent verb in main clause, but it never marks subject agreement on main verbs:

- (23) **ukulí birré-na dóng yinná-dan yin = ut-énka**
 donkey birr-PL five REFL:PL-ACC REFL = go.up-CNV2
im-idí
 give-PF
 Donkey, after he got in, gave his own five birr

As shown in chapter 13, the Hamar reflexive pronoun is formally similar to the logophoric pronoun attested in both Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo languages. In languages like Ewe, the logophoric pronoun occurs in embedded sentences typically introduced by verbs of saying, feeling or thinking, such as “Kofi said that he left” (Clements 1975: 142): Ewe would make use of the logophoric pronoun to denote identity between *Kofi* and the third person subject pronoun in the complement clause. Hamar does not have indirect speech forms (see chapter 10), thus it cannot be shown whether the reflexive pronoun *yi* occurs in typical logophoric contexts. In other Omotic languages a special third person pronoun used anaphorically is often attested and it is described as a reflexive or logophoric pronoun (Azeb 2001:90; 2012a:471). In Benchnon however, the reflexive pronoun is used in reported speech, see Rapold (2006).

The reflexive pronoun *yin* is used as manner adverb or connective particle (see also chapter 5, section 5.4). It occurs in fixed expressions such as ‘if you say so, if that is it’ (24a); with verbs such as ‘say’, ‘tell’ (24b), and it introduces direct speech (24c):

- (24a) **ee, yin desí kónna**
 ok so similar 3F:OPT
 ok, if it is like that
- (24b) **kidí gi-idí; yin gi-â, qáski**
 3 tell-PF so tell-REL.PAST.M dog
 he said; Dog is the one who said so
- (24c) **kin = ois-énka, qáara yin ko = giá-de**
 3 = ask-CNV2 vervet.monkey so 3F = tell-PFV
 after he asked, Monkey said so [...]

The reflexive pronoun is used to form third person restrictive pronouns, see 4.4 below.

4.4 Restrictive and inclusive markers on pronouns

As already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Hamar pronouns do not distinguish inclusiveness and exclusiveness. However, two suffixes have been attested, the intensifier *-mal* and the inclusive *-l* which add an inclusive/exclusive meaning when suffixed to pronouns. The intensifier *-mal* has been found only on pronouns, and it is suffixed to short form I clitic pronouns. The intensifier *-mal* translates as ‘alone’ and I refer to this set of pronouns as ‘restrictive’ pronouns after Azeb (2001:90-91). The third person restrictive pronouns use the reflexive pronoun *yi* instead of the regular third person pronouns: forms like **kímal* or **kómal* are ungrammatical:

Table 4.5: Restrictive pronouns

1SG	í = mal
2SG	há = mal
3M/3F/3PL	yí = mal
1PL	wó = mal
2PL	yé = mal

Restrictive pronouns are used in the following way:

- (25a) **yáa** **há = mal** **dá-u?**
 2SG 2SG = INTF exist-INT.COP
 are you alone?
- (25b) **qáara** **yí = mal** **ko = shidá-de**
 vervet.monkey REFL = INTF 3F = be.left-PFV
 ooní-n-dan **yí = na** **ko = tiá-de**
 house-F.OBL-ACC REFL = DAT 3F = take-PFV
 Monkey remained alone and took the house for herself.

The inclusive marker *-l* can be suffixed to both nouns and pronouns and expresses a meaning parallel to the English ‘as well, also’, see chapter 8 on inclusive coordination for further details. The marker can be suffixed to the independent form of personal pronouns (26a), to oblique pronouns (26b) and to possessive pronouns (26c):

- (26a) **yáa** **eef-idi-ánna** **ínta-l** **eefá = i = da** **eef-é**
 2SG cry-PF-OPT 1SG-INCL cry = 1SG = IPFV cry-PRES
 if you cry, I will also cry
- (26b) **kéda** **há = sa-l** **gupa** **qolê**
 then 2SG = GEN-INCL illness exist.not
 then also for you there won’t be illness
- (26c) **ée-na** **kinná-l** **banqí** **da-zagá**
 man-PL 3:PL-INCL fight IPFV-want
 his men as well wanted war

4.5 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns function as both pronouns and modifiers. They are inflected for gender and number, and make a two-way distinction between proximal and distal deixis with respect to the speaker.

Table 4.6: Demonstrative pronouns

	Proximal	Distal
M	káa	agá
F	koró	ogoró ~ ogó
PL	kirá	igirá

Demonstratives occur as free pronominal forms. They usually follow the head they modify, however they can precede their heads to mark contrast (27b):³⁵

- (27a) **ínta b̥rq̥t̥s káa qail-idí-ne**
 1SG headrest:M DEM1.M decorate-PF-COP
 I have decorated this head rest

- (27b) **káa b̥rq̥t̥s-d̥an ínta qail-idí-ne**
 DEM1.M headrest:M-ACC 1SG decorate-PF-COP
 I have decorated this headrest

In addition to the distal and proximal deictic use, demonstratives can be used anaphorically. In procedural texts and in folktales the distal demonstrative *agá* is often found in combination with the ablative case to indicate the end of the event mentioned in the previous sentence and the starting point of a new situation:

- (28a) **noq̥ó-n kaá-ise búno-n ko = kaɗ-é,**
 water-F.OBL pour-CNV1 coffee-F.OBL 3F = pour:PASS-PRES
agá-rra, burq-idí kónna
 DEM2.M-ABL boil-PF 3F:OPT
 After pouring the water, the coffee is poured. From that moment, if it boils [...]

- (28b) **gesh̥ waakí shansh-ánna g̥é-tte laii**
 husband:M cattle buy:CAUS-OPT herd-SE IDEO.far
kin = yiʔ-énka, kodí agá-rra éé-na-na qánte
 3 = go-CNV2 3F DEM2.M-ABL man-PL-DAT DAT
aafó gi-idí
 message tell-PF
 when the husband went very far to herd and sell the cattle, from that moment she sent a message to the men

³⁵ Focus on the noun phrase ‘this headrest’ in (27b) is signaled also by accusative marking, see chapter 7.

Demonstratives can be followed by the presentational marker *-sh*: this marker is accompanied always by pointing gestures, and it is used especially when people give or pass objects with their hands:

- (29a) **káa-sh,** **murá-na** **há = xal,** **káa-sh**
 DEM1.M-PRS gun-PL 2SG = AFF DEM1.M-PRS
 here you go, these guns are for you

- (29b) **pée-no** **kínno** **agá-sh**
 land-F.S 3:F DEM2.M-PRS
 their land is that one over there

Hamar has a rich system to encode deixis and spatial relation. Locative and directional deictics encode more specific spatial information, and are discussed in chapter 5.

5 Other word classes

This chapter discusses locational, temporal, and manner adverbs, numerals, and ideophones. Spatial relations in Hamar are expressed in several ways: apart from the demonstratives discussed in chapter 4, Hamar describe static location and motion events through deictics (5.1) and postpositional body parts (5.2). The case system of Hamar plays a crucial role in the description of spatial relations; case affixes can be suffixed to both adverbial deictics and question words. For further information about the case system of Hamar, see chapter 8. Temporal specification is coded mainly syntactically, through the expression of tense and aspect on the verb, and through subordinating verbal markers. Additionally, Hamar has a rich variety of temporal shifters and expressions which are described in 5.3.

5.1 Locational adverbs

Locational deictics in Hamar grammatically function as adverbs and if they modify a locative NP, they generally precede it. These adverbs can be organized into four subgroups depending on whether they distinguish proximal, distal and elevation deixis; a further subgroup consists of directional deictics which specify the source or goal of motion. The deictic centre of the system is always the speaker. Proximal, distal and elevation deictics can get locative case affixes depending on whether they encode static location or motion. Proximal deictics further distinguish specific and non-specific location. Table 5.1 on the next page offers an overview of the Hamar spatial deictic system. The last column of the first section lists the question words *hamá-* and *hamó-*, ‘where?’. The specific and non-specific parameters apply as well to question words: the latter in fact perfectly match deictic adverbs, see table 5.1 and also chapter 11 on interrogative clauses.

Table 5.1: Locational deictics

		Specific	Non-specific	Question word 'where?'
Proximal	here	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>hamá- / hamó-</i>
	in here	<i>ká-te</i>	<i>kó-te</i>	<i>hamá-te / hamó-te</i>
	around/on here	<i>ká-bar</i>	<i>kó-bar</i>	<i>hamá-bar / hamó-bar</i>
	through here	<i>ká-xa</i>	<i>kó-xa</i>	<i>hamá-xa / hamó-xa</i>
	towards here	<i>ká-shet</i>	<i>kó-shet</i>	<i>hamá-shet / hamó-shet</i>
	away from here	<i>ká-rra</i>	<i>kó-rra</i>	<i>hamá-rra / hamó-rra</i>
Distal	there		<i>óo</i>	
	around there		<i>óo-bar</i>	
	from there		<i>ó-rra</i>	
Elevation	up	<i>báa</i>	up there	<i>báa-bar</i>
			from above	<i>bá-rra</i>
	same level	<i>sáa</i>	there (same level)	<i>sáa-bar</i>
			from there (same level)	<i>sá-rra</i>
	down	<i>cóo</i>	down there	<i>cóo-bar</i>
			from below	<i>có-rra</i>
Directional	up, uphill, upward		<i>túra, túrawal</i>	
	down, downhill, downward		<i>mée, méewal</i>	
	hither		<i>śra, śrawal</i>	
	thither		<i>us, úsuwal</i>	

Distal/proximal deixis and elevation relative to the speaker are commonly attested in the deictic systems of Omotic languages and other languages of Ethiopia. The specific vs. non-specific distinction in Hamar proximal deictics is linked to the gender system. The deictic *ka-* which denotes specific proximal location must be related to the masculine proximal demonstrative *kaa*; proximal non-specific deictics are instead formed by *ko-* which corresponds to the third person feminine pronoun *ko-*. The question word *hamó-* denoting non-specific location is characterized by the vowel *o*, which resembles the nominal feminine inflection *-no*, whereas the question word *hamá-*, which elicits specific location, is characterized by the vowel *-a* which could be analysed as masculine inflection. Locational adverbs glossed as specific deictics refer to identified places which are usually delimited, restricted in size, and which can be easily seen or individuated by the speakers. Non-specific deictics, instead, point out general, wide, and non-restricted spaces. The location denoted by non-specific deictics is not necessarily identifiable by the speakers. Likewise nouns inflected for masculine gender may denote, among others, small, specific and defined spaces whereas nouns inflected for feminine gender describe wide and undefined locations, see for instance examples (18) and (19) in chapter 3.

The proximal bases *ka-* and *ko-* are always suffixed with case markers, whereas the deictics *óo* (distal from the speaker), *báa* (above the speaker's level), *sáa* (same level) and *cóo* (below the speaker's level) can also be used as bare forms.

The distal deictic *óo* does not express whether the distant location is specific or non-specific. Locative case markers can be suffixed also to the distal deictic *óo*, and to deictic adverbs distinguishing elevation, *báa*, *sáa*, and *cóo*. The general locative case *-te* and the adessive case *-bar* generally encode static location, whereas other cases such as the ablative *-rra*, the instrumental/perlative *-ka*, or the allative *-shet* specify motion. When there is no case marking on these deictics, the values they express in terms of static location or motion depends on whether they modify stative verbs or motion verbs. In the examples below for instance, the distal deictic *óo* modifies a motion verb in (1) and a stative verb in (2):

- (1) **háile selá-sa kaisí-na óo yiʔá-ise boráana**
 Haile Selassie-GEN servant-PL DST go-CNV1 Boraana
da-uxá
 IPFV-fight
 the vassals of Haile Selassie used to go there and raid the Boraana
- (2) **óo wodí beré shidó-da shid-é**
 DST 1PL later stay.1PL-IPFV stay-PRES
 later we will stay there

The following two sections offer examples showing the use and meaning of Hamar adverbial deictics. In order to give an overview of the spatial system of Hamar and to show the way in which case markers and adverbial deictics interact with motion and stative verbs, the discussion is organized in location (5.1.1) and motion (5.1.2).

5.1.1 Location

Static location is conveyed by the locative cases *-te* and *-bar*. The latter is used when contact is implied between the figure and the ground (see chapter 8 for further details on locative cases). The proximal adverbs *káte* and *kóte* are composed of a base form *ka-* and *ko-* to which the general locative case *-te* can be suffixed (3).

- (3) **kó-te murá qoléi, kó-te banqí-be**
 PRX.NSP-LOC gun exist.not PRX.NSP-LOC spear-COM
fálde-be bish dáa-ne
 arrow-COM only exist-COP
 here there are no guns, here there are only spears and poisoned arrows

In (3) the proximal deictic *kóte* conveys the general meaning of 'here in the land of the Hamar'. In (4) below the proximal deictic *káte* is used to indicate a specific

deictic reference. The sentence, which was also accompanied by the pointing gesture of the speaker, was uttered to instruct somebody on how to take a picture with a camera, and the speaker was indicating the exact spot that needed to be touched on the display:

- (4) **ká-te, ká-te lazá!**
 PRX.SP-LOC PRX.SP-LOC touch.IMP.2SG
 here, touch exactly here!

Distance from the deictic centre is coded by the adverb *óo*. In (5) below the deictic occurs in the bare form (5) and it translates as ‘somewhere over there’. Note that the distal deictic *óo* in (5) does not refer to the temporal shifter *éna* ‘past’, but it modifies the following locative NP. In (6) the locative adessive case *-bar* (6) encodes contact or proximity with the distal location:

- (5) **dattâ éna óo Mágo park-ín-te**
 animal:M past DST Mágo park-F.OBL-LOC
han = kat’-â
 2SG = shoot-REL.PAST.M
 the wild animal that you shot long time ago somewhere in the Mago Park
- (6) **wa ée shaalá-n kodí bul-idí, wá-dan**
 another man:M ceiling-F.OBL 3F take.out-PF another-ACC
óo-bar ooní-n-sa gulí-n-te aash-idí
 DST-AD house-F.OBL-GEN corner-F.OBL-LOC hide-PF
 she sent one man above the ceiling, and hid the other one somewhere in the corner of the house

Same-level location from the deictic centre is conveyed by the deictic *sáa*:

- (7) **sáa ée shúpo-n-te dorq-â**
 SLEV man:M shadow-F.OBL-LOC sit-REL.PAST.M
ímba-ne
 my.father-COP
 the man who sits over there in the shadow is my father

Example (7) is uttered along with a gesture pointing at a specific person located on the same level of the speaker’s eyes.

Elevation relative to the speaker is conveyed by the deictics *báa* and *cóo*. The deictic *báa* in example (8) is used to refer to a place situated at a higher altitude compared to the speaker’s location: the sentence was in fact uttered in Dimeka Town, and it refers to a village, called Lala, which is up in the Buska mountains:

- (8) **saxá báa lálá-r han = aaf-áino**
 tomorrow UP Lala-IN 2SG = see-REL.PRES.F
 the one (F) that you will see tomorrow up there in Lala [...]

These deictics refer not only to uphill and downhill locations but in general they describe higher (9) and lower (10) locations, and objects positioned on the roof or on the top (11), or at the bottom (12):

- (9) **wó = na kash-ê báa c'ac'í-n-te dáa-ne**
 1PL = DAT share-REL.PRES.M UP sky-F.OBL-LOC exist-COP
 the one who will give us is up there in the sky

- (10) **kidí noqó-n-sa íi-n-te cóo**
 3 water-F.OBL-GEN stomach-F.OBL-LOC DOWN
kin = shed-énka
 3 = look-CNV2
 when he looked down inside the water

As mentioned earlier, elevation deictics and the distal deictic can occur as bare forms or they can be suffixed with case suffixes. In (11) and (12) below the adessive case *-bar* is suffixed to the deictics *báa* and *cóo* to code contact between the figure and the ground:

- (11) **kɔsɔ táaki báa-bar ki = dáa-de**
 ball:M now UP-AD 3 = exist-PFV
 the ball now is on the top
- (12) **kóopini cóo-bar íi-n-te wodá-ise [...]**
 squirrel DOWN-AD stomach-F.OBL-LOC sleep-CNV1
 after squirrel slept inside at the bottom [...]

5.1.2 Motion

Motion events can be described by adverbial deictics and locative cases which describe paths, such as the allative, the instrumental/perlative and the ablative case. The proximal bases *ka-* and *ko-* in the example below describe motion towards general location (13), motion through a specific location (14) and motion from a general location (15):

- (13) **kó-shet gobá!**
 PRX.NSP-ALL2 run.IMP.2SG
 run towards here!

- (14) **ká-xa** **wo = yiʔ-é**
 PRX.SP-INS 1PL = go-PRES
 let's pass through here

- (15) **kó-rra** **mée** **kéɲa-dar** **saská-ise**
 PRX.NSP-ABL downwards Kenya-ALL1 cross:CAUS-CNV1
 from here (they) made (them) cross downwards to Kenya [...]

Different from the proximal deictics *ka-* and *ko-*, the distal deictic *óo* and the elevation deictics *ḃáa*, *sáa*, and *cóo* cannot be marked by any locative case: the distal and elevation deictics occur only in combination with the adessive case (cf. examples (6), (11), (12) above), and with the ablative case to describe source of motion. These deictics can occur as bare forms with both motion and stative verbs (see (1) and (2) above), and when they modify motion verbs, the goal of motion is lexically specified (16), (17).

- (16) **ḃáa** **yiʔá-ise** **éna** **aapó-n** **han = galt'-â**
 UP go-CNV1 past mouth-F.OBL 2SG = seal-REL.PAST.M
yáa **bulá**
 2SG open.IMP.2SG
 you go on the top and unseal the opening that you sealed in the past!

- (17) **ínta** **laili** **cóo** **kízo** **yiʔá-ḃ**
 1SG IDEO.far DOWN kizo go-NARR
 I go far down to Kizo

Source of motion needs to be expressed by suffixation of the ablative case. Note that the long vowel of the distal and elevation deictics is shortened after suffixation of the ablative case in order to avoid CVVC₁.C₁V syllabic structure (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.3).

- (18) **yáa-ne** **ó-rra** **t'álian** **baʔá-ise** **niʔ-â**
 2SG-COP DST-ABL Italians bring-CNV1 come-REL.PAST.M
 It's you who came and brought the Italians from there

- (19) **kidí** **ḃá-rra** **mée** **ḃamm-idí-ne**
 3 UP-ABL downwards fall-PF-COP
 he has fallen down from the top (of something)

Movement can be described as well by means of directional adverbial deictics which are never suffixed with case markers. These are *túra* (uphill, upwards), *mée* (downhill, downwards), *śra* (towards the deictic centre), *us* (away from the deictic centre):

- (20a) **túra** **utá**
 upwards go.up.IMP.2SG
 go upwards / go uphill / climb up!
- (20b) **mée** **anshá**
 downwards descend.IMP.2SG
 go downwards / go downhill / climb down!
- (20c) **śra** **niʔá**
 HI come.IMP.2SG
 come here! (towards the deictic centre)
- (20d) **us** **yiʔá**
 THI go.IMP.2SG
 go away! (away from the deictic centre, in the opposite direction)

The deictic reference of *túra* and *mée* may overlap with that of *śáa* and *cóo*. According to the speakers they refer to the same trajectory (i.e. uphill or upwards for *túra* and *śáa*; downhill or downwards for *mée* and *cóo*), and they can occur in the same contexts:

- (21a) **sení** **có-rra** **túra** **paxaʔ-idí-ne**
 stone down-ABL upwards throw:PASS-PF-COP
 a stone has been thrown up from below
- (21b) **sentâ** **có-rra** **śáa** **paxaʔ-idí-ne**
 stone:M down-ABL UP throw:PASS-PF-COP
 the stone has been thrown up from below
- (22a) **kɔʂɔ** **mée** **ki = anshá-de**
 ball:M downwards 3 = descend-PFV
 the ball went down (lit. descended downwards)
- (22b) **kɔʂɔ** **cóo** **balí-n-dar** **anshá-ise**
 ball:M DOWN plain-F.OBL-ALL1 descend-CNV1
 the ball descending down in the plain [...]

The deictics *śra* and *us* encode respectively hither (towards the deictic centre, i.e. the speaker) and thither (away from the deictic centre) trajectories:

- (23a) **naasí seení ó-rra óra ki = paxá-de**
 child stone DST-ABL HI 3 = throw-PFV
 a child threw a stone from there towards me
- (23b) **marlé-m-bar óra yin eshká-6**
 Arbore-F.OBL-AD HI so point-NARR
 in Arbore (they) pointed at us
- (24) **ínta seení kó-rra us pax-idí-ne**
 child stone PRX.NSP-ABL THI throw-PF-COP
 I have thrown a stone from here towards there (in the opposite direction)

The deictics *túra*, *mée*, *óra*, *us*, can occur as complement of the verb *hamá* ‘say’: in this case they need to end in *-wal*. Compare (25) and (26):

- (25) **méewal hamá-ise ínta shadá-ti dáa-de**
 downwards say-CNV1 1SG look-SE.1SG exist-PFV
 I am looking facing downwards
- (26) **qáari-no mée maatá-ise wod-idí**
 python-F.S downwards turn-CNV1 sleep-PF
 Python laid down facing downwards

The verb *hamá* ‘say’ generally functions as a light verb introducing temporal expressions and various ideophones, see 5.3 and 5.6.

An additional adverb *súsu* has been heard in spoken speech but unfortunately it does not occur in recorded texts. According to our information, which is however scanty on this point, it conveys degrees of rotation: *súsu* (and *súsuwal*) apparently describe 90° rotation rightwards or leftwards. Similarly, the adverb *ús* can refer to 180° rotation: by ordering to somebody *usúwal hamá*, the person will turn around rotating 180°.

5.2 Body parts

Body part terms are used to describe scenes in which objects are in contact or in close proximity with a surface and they are used to describe both motion events and static location. Body part terms function as locative noun phrases heading a genitival construction and they form postpositional phrases expressing spatial relations such as ‘inside’, ‘back’, ‘behind’, ‘top of’, ‘through’ and so on.

The postposition *ínte* ‘inside’ (cf. examples (10) and (12) above) contains the body part noun *ii* ‘stomach’ followed by the locative case *-te*, and it can be analysed as follows:

- (27) **íi-n-te**
 stomach-F.OBL-LOC
 in the stomach > inside

The noun *íi* ‘stomach’ is attested also with other case suffixes, such as the inessive case *-r* and the instrumental/perlative case *-ka*:

- (28) **kut’úbo ráat’i-sa íi-r ardá-ise shid-idí**
 housefly milk-GEN stomach-IN enter-CNV1 stay-PF
 the housefly entered inside the milk and remained there
- (29a) **dattóno doobí-n-sa íi-n-ka gob-idí**
 wild.animal:F.S rain-F.OBL-GEN stomach-F.OBL-INS run-PF
 the wild animal ran through the (inside of the) rain
- (29b) **kəs̩ óolo-n-sa íi-n-ka anshá-ise**
 ball:M hole-F.OBL-GEN stomach-F.OBL-INS descend-CNV1
 the ball descending through (the inside of) the hole [...]

The body parts *buudó* ‘back’ (30), and *tudí* ‘buttock’ (31) marked by the locative case *-te* or the adessive case *-bar*, form the postposition ‘behind, at the back’. The body part noun *buudó* is used when there is no contact between the figure and the ground:

- (30a) **kidí ooní-n-sa buudó-m-bar ki = dáa-de**
 3 house-F.OBL-GEN back-F.OBL-AD 3 = exist-PFV
 they are behind the house (lit. at the back of the house)
- (30b) **í = sa buudó-n-te dorqá**
 1SG = GEN back-F.OBL-LOC sit.IMP.2SG
 sit behind me!
- (31) **yaatâ yáan-sa tudí-m-bar ki = dáa-de**
 sheep:M sheep.F.OBL-GEN buttock-F.OBL-AD 3 = exist-PFV
 the male sheep is behind the female sheep

The body part term ‘head’ marked by the adessive case *-bar* translates as ‘on the top of’ (32):

- (32) **ée dúka-n-sa meté-m-bar ki = dáa-de**
 man:M mountain-F.OBL-GEN head-F.OBL-AD 3 = exist-PFV
 the man is on the top of the mountain

5.3 Temporal adverbs

Time is specified through several adverbs and adverbial nouns. Shifters are adverbs referring to past, present and future intervals with respect to the present, and they are illustrated in Table 5.2. They often occupy the initial position of the sentence, but they never occur in sentence-final position or after the verb.

Table 5.2: Temporal shifters

éna	in the past, long time ago
léle	the last time, some time ago
iní	earlier, before
táaki	now
beré	later

Apart from *éna* and *léle*, the shifters *iní*, *táaki* and *beré* refer to a time frame not extending beyond the limit of the day in which they are uttered.

- (33) **iní won = ni?-énka**
 earlier 1PL = come-CNV2
 when we came earlier [...]

- (34) **táaki ínta macc-idí-ne**
 now 1SG finish-PF-COP
 I'm done now

- (35) **ínta koimó cóo beré anshá-te**
 1SG fee DOWN later descend-SE
kashá = i = da kash-é
 pay = 1SG = IPFV pay-PRES
 later I will get off and pay the fee, down there

The temporal adverb *éna* is used in the fixed expression which opens folktales and introduces narratives of past events (36). It can be reduplicated to refer to more remote events, as in (37).

- (36) **zóbo éna wadénka éedi wodímo-ne**
 lion once.upon.a.time person rich-COP
 Once upon a time Lion was a rich person [...]

- (37) **éedi wáni, éna~éna, dong dá-ise**
 person some past~past five exist-CNV1
 Long time ago there were five guys (lit. some guys, long time ago, were five)

Day terms refer to events within the span of nine days: yesterday, today, tomorrow and so on. In table 5.3 it can be noted that day terms are perfectly symmetric and distinguish four days before and after today. These day terms are expressed by single words or lexicalized analytic constructions. The etymology and the morphology underlying these constructions is not transparent. Only the distal deictic adverb *óobar* can be split up in the expression *óobar galá* ‘four days go’.

Table 5.3: Day terms

<i>óobar galá</i>	four days ago
<i>ánnibir galá</i>	three days ago
<i>angála ~ angálla</i>	two days ago
<i>náa</i>	yesterday
<i>níi</i>	last night
<i>kína</i>	today
<i>saxá</i>	tomorrow
<i>oshála</i>	the day after tomorrow
<i>ossambará</i>	three days from now
<i>okkantaná</i>	four days from now

Day terms occur at the beginning of the sentence and are used in the following way:

- (38) **angála** **kidí** **di-idí**
 two.days.ago 3 die-PF
 he died two days ago

- (39) **saxá** **ínta** **yé = na** **yer** **giá = i = da** **gi-é**
 tomorrow 1SG 2PL = DAT thing say = 1SG = IPFV say = PRES
 I'll tell you something tomorrow

The main parts of the day are referred to with adverbial nouns which are formed from nouns marked by the instrumental/temporal case suffix *-ka*. The general form of these nouns is hardly ever attested in isolation:

- (40a) **burí** > **burí-n-ka**
 morning morning-F.OBL-INS
 morning > in the morning

- (40b) **ibán** > **ibán-in-ka**
 afternoon afternoon-F.OBL-INS
 afternoon > in the afternoon

- (40c) **sóoti** > **sóoti-n-ka**
 night night-F.OBL-INS
 night > at night

Specific times of the day are expressed through periphrastic expressions which either function as the complement of the verb *hamá* ‘say’, or get suffixed with the instrumental/temporal case. Table 5.4 illustrates these time expressions and provides an approximation of the corresponding time of the day. For some time expressions a translation was suggested by the speakers and it is included in the table. Examples (41) shows the use of *sóoti* ‘night’ and *burí* ‘morning’ followed by the instrumental/temporal case.

- (41) **sóoti-n-ka** **wodá-ise** **burí-n-ka** **ɖaaɓá-ise**
 night-F.OBL-INS sleep-CNV1 morning-F.OBL-INS wake.up-CNV1
 after sleeping at night and waking up in the morning [...]

Example (42) illustrates the time of the day *haitâ washgíl* ‘early afternoon’ functioning as the complement of the verb *hamá* ‘say’, whereas example (43) and (44) shows the expression *kéɖɖa lamá* ‘midnight’ and *róoro c’akó* ‘late morning’ with the instrumental/temporal case:

- (42) **hai-tâ** **washgíl** **hamá-isaxa** **ínta** **ɖaaɓ-idí-ne**
 sun-M move.down say-PAST.PF 1SG wake.up-PF-COP
 I woke up after the *haitâ washgíl* time (i.e. in the afternoon)
- (43) **kéɖɖa** **lamá-xa** **í = da** **ni?-é**
 half two-INS 1SG = IPFV come-PRES
 I will come at midnight
- (44) **róoro** **c’akó-xa** **wo = waadim-é**
 day calm-INS 1PL = work-PRES
 Let’s work in the late morning

Table 5.4: Times of the day

burinka	sédíma		sunset
	meránin wodá	‘time of milking the cow’	between 7 and 10 a.m.
	róoro c’akó	‘calm day’	between 10 and 12 a.m.
	róoro c’ingé		between 12 and 14 p.m.
ibáninka	haitâ washgíl	‘when the sun starts moving down’	between 14 and 15 p.m.
	íba róoro		between 16 and 17 p.m.
sóotinka	sháakina		between 19 and 21 p.m.
	kédída lamá	‘two halves’	midnight
	demínka maatafé	‘time of turning on the other side (while sleeping)’	between 1 and 3 a.m.
	báasha berá oolé	‘the first cackle of the rooster’	dawn

5.3.1 Days of the week

Days of the week in Hamar do not make up a distinct word class, however it is worth it to mention the way they are expressed. Apart from ‘Saturday’, called *gabáno gémbo*, and ‘Tuesday’, called *máana gabá*, which are the market days in Hamar land, there are no other specific terms for naming weekdays. *gabáno gémbo* translates as ‘big market day’ and *máana gabá* as ‘women’s market day’. The other days of the week can be referred to, if need be, with more complex expressions. The expressions for naming Monday and Wednesday use Tuesday as the day of reference:

- (45) **máa-na gabâ saxá kénna kína**
 woman-PL market:M tomorrow 3:OPT today
 Monday: the day before women’s market day (lit. if it was today, tomorrow would be women’s market day)

- (46) **máa-na gabá-sa wúda**
 woman-PL market:M-GEN Sunday (< Amh)
 Wednesday: the ‘Sunday’ after women’s market day

The other days of the week (Thursday, Friday, Sunday) are named with Saturday as a day of reference:

- (47) **gabá-no gémbo oshála kónna kína**
 market-F.S big:F.S day.after.tomorrow 3F:OPT today
 Thursday: Two days before big market day (lit. if it was today, the day after tomorrow would be big market day)

- (48) **gabá-no gémbo saxá kónna kína**
 market-F.S big:F.S tomorrow 3F:OPT today
 Friday: The day before big market day (lit. if it was today, tomorrow would be big market day)
- (49) **gabā geḅá-sa wúda**
 market:M big:M-GEN Sunday (< Amh)
 Sunday: The ‘Sunday’ after big market day

The term for Sunday in examples (46) and (49) is a borrowing from Amharic [əhud]. The Amharic terms for weekdays are increasingly entering the vocabulary of the younger generations and are often attested in the speech of Hamar people who are more exposed to Amharic.

The term *gabá* ‘market’, which is also a borrowing from Amharic, is used alone to refer to the whole week:

- (50) **gabá lamá kaapá-ise niʔá = i = da niʔ-é**
 market two pass-CNV1 come = 1SG = IPFV come-PRES
 I will come after two weeks (lit. after two markets)

5.4 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs specify the manner of an action. They occupy always the pre-verbal position in the sentence. Table 5.5 provides a list of Hamar manner adverbs.

Table 5.5: Manner adverbs

sun	just, simply
kátti	very, a lot, especially
bish	only
yin	so
léma	slowly
sána	quickly, fast, soon
payá	well

The use of manner adverbs is illustrated in the examples below:

- (51) **qulí-sa birr kála qoléi, sun kidí ut-idí**
 goat-GEN birr one exist.not just 3 climb-PF
 Goat had not even one birr, and he just got in
- (52) **ínta háan kátti sind-idí**
 1SG 2SG:ACC a.lot miss-PF
 I miss you a lot

- (53) **ínta kála bish i = da-ool-é**
 1SG one only 1SG = IPFV-bray-PRES
 I bray only once
- (54) **yin giá-ise báasha ɗaqa-b**
 so say-CNV1 chicken survive-NARR
 saying so, Rooster survived

The adverbs *léma* and *sána* can be reduplicated (55), (56) and they can be suffixed with some verbal markers and inflections, however they cannot be fully inflected as prototypical verbs do:

- (55) **“léma léma” yin ko = giá-de**
 slowly slowly so 3F = say-PFV
 “Slowly! slowly!” she said so [...]
- (56) **sána sana maata**
 quickly quickly go.back.IMP.2SG
 come back soon!

The stem *san-* has been attested with the verbal marker for perfect *-idí* (57) and the stem *lem-* can be suffixed with the converb marker *-ise* (58):

- (57) **kánki san-idí**
 car be.fast-PF
 the car goes fast
- (58) **lemá-ise ɗalqa**
 slow-CNV1 speak.IMP.2SG
 speak slowly

The form *lemáise* probably developed from the constructions *léma hayáise* where the verb *hayá* ‘do’ selected the adverb *léma*. This construction is attested with ideophones and other adverbs as well. *fayá* ‘good, well’ for instance can be both an adjectival noun and an adverb. When it functions as adverb, it can modify a following verb (59) or it can be the complement of the dummy verb *hayá* ‘do’ (60):

- (59) **fayá giá**
 well say.IMP.2SG
 speak well!

- (60) **fayá hayá-ise qans-é**
 well do-CNV1 listen-IMP.2PL
 Listen carefully! (lit. doing well, listen!)

For constructions involving ideophones as the complements of the verbs *hamá* ‘say’ and *hayá* ‘do’ see section 5.6.

5.5 Numerals

Hamar has a base ten system for numerals from one to nineteen, and a base twenty for numerals above nineteen. ‘Zero’ is expressed by the noun *gur*: *gur* is a ring, similar to a wreath, traditionally made of bended and intertwined branches, used to hold the calabashes horizontally. The related noun *gúuri* means ‘empty’. A term for ‘number’ does not exist in Hamar, and young speakers use the Amharic word [qut’ər]. The verb designating the process of counting is *paidá*. The traditional numeral system of Hamar co-exists along with a faster system which uses borrowed numerals from Amharic. The latter is used in trading and for money-counting; this will be discussed in 5.5.3.

5.5.1 Cardinal numbers

Table 5.6 shows the base-ten system of Hamar which consists of numbers from one to nineteen; table 5.7 and 5.8 illustrate the vigesimal system: the former includes multiples of twenty and the latter provides a few examples of numbers above twenty which are not multiples of twenty.

Numbers from one to ten are unanalyzable lexemes. The numeral ‘one’ *kála*³⁶ comes from *kalí* ‘little finger, pinky’ which is also the first finger people bend down when counting. The counting gesture begins with the opened palm of the left hand and fingers are progressively bent down towards the palm. The right hand is sometimes used to help bending the fingers. A closed fist corresponds to the value of five. The counting gestures continues on the right hand and it begins from the little finger as well. When the number ‘ten’ is reached the two fists are gently knocked together with the fingers facing each other. One knock is interpreted as ‘ten’, two knocks as ‘twenty’ and so on.

³⁶ When counting, the numeral *kála* ‘one’ is pronounced with the stress on the last syllable: *kalá*.

Table 5.6: Numbers from 1 to 19

1	kála	11	taḃí kála
2	lamá	12	taḃí lamá
3	makkán	13	taḃí makkán
4	oidí	14	taḃí oidí
5	dong	15	taḃí dong
6	lax	16	taḃí lax
7	toḃḃá	17	taḃí toḃḃá
8	lánkai	18	taḃí lánkai
9	sel	19	taḃí sel
10	taḃí		

Whereas numbers from one to ten are lexical number words, numbers from ten to nineteen are formed by juxtaposing the numeral *taḃí* ‘ten’ and another unit. From twenty onwards, the system is vigesimal. One person (*édi*) is assigned the value of twenty decimal units, hence the numeral for twenty corresponds to the expression ‘one complete person’: *édi kála kaisá*.³⁷ Multiples of twenty are formed by counting ‘complete persons’: the numeral forty thus corresponds to ‘two complete persons’: *édi lamá kaisá* and so on.

Table 5.7: Multiples of twenty

20	édi kála kaisá	‘1 complete person’
40	édi lamá kaisá	‘2 complete persons’
60	édi makkán kaisá	‘3 complete persons’
80	édi oidí kaisá	‘4 complete persons’
100	édi dong kaisá	‘5 complete persons’

Decimal units after twenty are counted in ‘mouths’: for instance the numeral forty-seven corresponds to ‘two complete persons (forty) and seven mouths’: *édi lamá kaisá aafó toḃḃá*. Similarly, numbers which are not multiples of twenty such as thirty, fifty and so on, are calculated in base-twenty and decimal units are counted in mouths: the number fifty-six for instance is composed of forty plus sixteen, i.e. *édi lamá kaisá aafó taḃí lax*.

³⁷ The verb *kaisá* can be translated as ‘finish’, ‘disappear’ or ‘erase’ as well.

Table 5.8 : Non multiples of twenty

30	éedi kála kaisá aafó tabí	1 complete person and 10 mouths
32	éedi kála kaisá aafó tabí lamá	1 complete person and 12 mouths
50	éedi lamá kaisá aafó tabí	2 complete persons and 10 mouths
53	éedi lamá kaisá aafó tabí makkán	2 complete persons and 13 mouths
70	éedi makkán kaisá aafó tabí	3 complete persons and 10 mouths
74	éedi makkán kaisá aafó tabí oidí	3 complete persons and 14 mouths
90	éedi oidí kaisá aafó tabí	4 complete persons and 10 mouths
95	éedi oidí kaisá aafó tabí dong	4 complete persons and 15 mouths

Young speakers say that they can count beyond one hundred. The system just described allows to account for higher numbers, however the people who volunteered to enumerate numbers beyond one hundred had to think about it and often disagreed with each other. Numbers higher than one hundred are often replaced by the Amharic numeral system.

Numerals follow their head noun, and normally they modify general, uninflected forms. The numeral ‘one’ is inflected for masculine or feminine gender in agreement with its head. Numerals higher than ‘one’ do not inflect for plural number.

The following examples show the agreement pattern of the numeral *kála* ‘one’ modifying the uninflected form *qulí* in (61a), the masculine noun *qultâ* in (61b) and the feminine noun *qulló* in (61c):

(61a) **í = sa** **qulí** **kála** **dáa-ne**
 1SG = GEN goat one exist-COP
 I have one goat

(61b) **í = sa** **qultâ** **kalâ** **dáa-ne**
 1SG = GEN goat:M one:M exist-COP
 I have one buck

(61c) **í = sa** **qulló** **kállo** **dáa-ne**
 1SG = GEN goat:F.S one.F exist-COP
 I have one doe

The general form of nouns modified by numerals higher than ‘one’ has plural interpretation:

(62) **kó = sa** **gáu** **toḅḅá** **dáa-ne**
 3F = GEN metal.bracelet seven exist-COP
 she has seven bracelets

- (63) **waakí** **lamá** **wo = shan-é**
 cow two 1PL = buy-PRES
 let's buy two cows

Nouns modified by numerals higher than 'one' do not necessarily inflect for plural number. As will be discussed in chapter 7 (section 7.3), plural marking is used on pragmatic basis and the semantics of plural is strictly speaking paucal.

5.5.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are derived from the cardinal numbers by the suffix *-so* and they agree with their referent in gender. Masculine ordinal numbers are inflected by the masculine marker *-â* which merges with the preceding vowel, hence they end in *-sâ* (which depending on the speaker can be realized as *[-sâ]* or *[-sâà]*, see chapter 2). Feminine ordinal numbers end in *-sóno*, i.e. the feminine inflection *-no* is suffixed to the derivational suffix *-so*. The ordinal number for 'first' corresponds to the form *berá*; however the masculine ordinal number 'one' *kalâ* can also be used.

Some morpho-phonological rules take place between the fricative consonant of the suffix *-so* and the final consonant of the numeral root, c.f. chapter 2.

A list of ordinal numbers is given in table 5.9. Ordinal numbers above ten are not attested.

Table 5.9: Ordinal numbers

	Citation form	Masculine	Feminine
1st	berá	berâ	beróno
2nd	lánso	lansâ	lansóno
3rd	makkánsó	makkansâ	makkansóno
4th	óitto	oittâ	oittóno
5th	dónso	donsâ	donsóno
6th	lâxso~lâhso~lâsko	laskâ	laskóno
7th	tóbbiso	tobbisâ	tobbisóno
8th	lânkaiso	lankaisâ	lankaisóno
9th	sélso	selsâ	selsóno
10th	tábisó	tabisâ	tabisóno

The following are illustrative examples of ordinal numbers:

- (64) **námma** **kí = sa** **berâ** **dongár** **lansô** **guní**
 name:PL 3 = GEN first:M elephant second:M snake
makkansô **poolí** **ɔittô** **tumbuqúlo** **donsô**
 third:M turtle fourth:M worm fifth:M
kóopini **lahsô** **núu** **toḅḅisô** **noqó**
 squirrel sixth:M fire seventh:M water
 their names were: the first, Elephant, the second, Snake, the third Turtle, the fourth, Worm, the fifth, Squirrel, the sixth, Fire, the seventh, Water.
- (65) **náano** **ínno** **lansó-no**
 child:F.S 1SG:F second-F.S
 my second daughter

5.5.3 Money-counting

A faster counting system can be used instead of the traditional decimal and vigesimal system described in 5.5.2. This counting system is attested in the context of trading, when counting and talking about money. From one to nine the Hamar numerals illustrated in table 5.6 above are used:

- (66) **ukulí-xal** **bərr** **dong** **dáa**
 donkey-AFF birr five exist
 Donkey has five birr

The word *bóndi*³⁸ accounts for the amount of ‘ten birr’: *bóndi kála* means ten birr, *bóndi lamá* means twenty birr and so on. The Amharic words *mató* and *shi* refer to hundreds and thousands, respectively. Units after the tens are added to the right and counted in birr (67):

- (67) **bóndi** **kála** **bərr** **dong**
 ten one birr five
 fifteen birr

³⁸ According to some Hamar speakers, the term *bóndi* comes from the English ‘pound’, which was the currency of the British administration.

Table 5.10: Money-counting system

10 birr	bóndi kála
30 birr	bóndi makkán
40 birr	bóndi oidí
50 birr	bóndi dong
60 birr	bóndi lax
100 birr	mató kála
800 birr	mató lánkai
1000 birr	shi kála

5.6 Ideophones

Hamar ideophones can be organized in three groups depending on their syntactic function: the majority of ideophones attested in the data informing this work function as predicates; the second larger group includes ideophones which occur as complements of the verbs *hamá* ‘say’ or *hayá* ‘do’; ideophonic adverbs constitute a smaller group. Most of the ideophones attested have a monosyllabic structure. For further information about the semantics of Hamar ideophones see Lydall (2000).

Ideophones which function as head of a predicate phrase occur at the right edge of the clause, in the slot which is normally occupied by the main independent verb. However, there is no pronominal subject agreement or other verbal inflections marked on ideophones. In the following examples, the English translation of the ideophones is underlined.

The following excerpt shows the use of the ideophone *p^heu* which roughly translates the action of finishing or emptying something:

- (68) **tíma** **kaá-6** **gaʔá-6,** **yín** **ki = dá-ika**
 boiled.grains pour-NARR chew-NARR so 3 = be-PF.CONT
p^heu! **leʔé** **lamá** **yín** **wod-énka,** **isín-no**
 IDEO.finish year two so sleep-CNV2 sorghum-F.S
yín **p^heu!**
 so IDEO.finish
 After he had kept on boiling and chewing steamed sorghum, finished! after
 two years all the sorghum was gone!

The ideophone *dap* designate the action of taking something quickly, or stealing:

- (69) **kéda** **boráana-dan** **oitá-ise** **wongá** **dap**
 then Boráana-ACC chase-CNV1 cows:PL IDEO.take
 then after chasing the Boráana, they took the cows

- (70) **éé-sa píi-n-dan dap**
 man:M-GEN faeces-F.OBL-ACC IDEO.take
 he took the faeces of the guy

In the following excerpt two ideophones are used. First, the ideophone *t'ik* which is the complement of the verb *hamá*, and then the predicative ideophone *pirsh* 'to open':

- (71) **gaitâ báa shupí-no kin = bul-énka t'ik**
 baboon:M UP lid-F.S 3 = open-CNV2 IDEO.hard
kómá-xa, álpa-n-ka pirsh
 3F.say-PAST.CONT knife-F.OBL-INS IDEO.open
 The baboon was opening the lid on the top and since it was hard, he opened it with a knife.

The ideophone *dard'* 'explode, crash' can occur as predicate (72) or as the complement of *hamá* (73):

- (72) **kodí keda anc'á-ḡ hamḡ-énka**
 3F then laugh-NARR say:PASS-CNV2
íi-no kó = sa dard'
 stomach-F.S 3F = GEN IDEO.explode
 Then she laughed and her stomach exploded
- (73) **kurró dard' ham-idí-ne**
 honey:F.S IDEO.explode say-PF-COP
 The big honey (container) crashed

The construction which consists of the verb *hamá* and *hayá* selecting ideophones as their complements can be seen in the following examples. This construction is employed with some manner adverbs and directional deictics discussed in the previous sections.

- (74) **dattá-dan kat'-ánna qánte zap hayá-ise**
 animal:M-ACC shoot-OPT DAT IDEO.grab do-CNV1
 when he was ready to shoot the animal and he got it [...]

The followings are very common expressions involving the verb *hamá*. The ideophone *c'ak* in (75a) resembles the time reference expression illustrated in 5.3 (*róoro c'akó* 'calm day'):

- (75a) **c'ak** **hamá**
 IDEO.calm say.IMP.2SG
 calm down!
- (75b) **kap** **hamá**
 IDEO.wait say.IMP.2SG
 wait a sec!
- (75c) **laili** **hamá**
 IDEO.continuously say.IMP.2SG
 wait! (longer period than the previous example)
- (75d) **kup** **hamá**
 IDEO say.IMP.2SG
 lean forward! (at 90 degrees, for instance when entering a hut)

Adverbial ideophones usually co-occur in combination with a fixed set of verbs. The ideophone *laili* is often found with motion verbs since it conveys the idea of a continuous movement. In some contexts it can translate as ‘far’. The lengthening of the final *i* evoke further distance or prolonged duration:

- (76a) **kóopini** **laili** **gobá-ise** **gobá-ise**
 squirrel IDEO.continuously run-CNV1 run-CNV1
 Squirrel ran and ran continuously
- (76b) **laili** **rasê-te** **rasê-te** **rasê-te**
 IDEO.long footprint-LOC footprint-LOC footprint-LOC
laili **rasê-te** **yi?á-da**
 IDEO.long footprint-LOC go-IPFV
 he went for a long time footprint after footprint

Other adverbial ideophones are *t'if* ‘disappear’ and *put* ‘out’. The translation might sound redundant since they modify, accordingly, the verb ‘disappear’ and ‘go out’:

- (77) **dabíno** **t'if** **kai-idí**
 wild.animal:F.S IDEO.disappear disappear-PF
 The wild animals disappeared
- (78) **éé** **put** **utá-ise**
 man:M IDEO.out go.out-CNV1
 The man went out [...]

The ideophone *put* occurs often in the fixed expression introducing direct speech *put yin haménka*:

- (79) **shóqo** **put** **yin** **ham-énka:** **“kóofini [...]**
 tick IDEO.out so say-CNV2 squirrel
 Tick said so: “ Squirrel! [...]”

6 Verbs

This chapter discusses the morphological characteristics of the verb, providing an overview of the verb stem including extended verb stems. Causative, passive and impersonal passive constructions are discussed in 6.2, additionally the fossilized extension *-Vm-* is treated in 6.2.3. Section 6.3 offers an overview of uninflected and inflected paradigms, and discusses the distribution of pronominal subject marking across paradigms. Verb paradigms are discussed in chapter 9.

6.1 Basic form of verbs

Verb roots do not occur on their own but they must be followed by a vowel and/or other verbal inflections. As already mentioned in chapter 2 (section 2.3.3 and 2.4.2), the simplest verb stem consists of the verb root plus *-á*, and this stem is used by Hamar speakers as the citation form of the verb. The basic verb stem ending in *-á* is used as verbal complement (1) and it corresponds to the singular addressee of the imperative mood (2); the General Declarative is expressed by the reduplicated verb stem ending in *-á* (3).

- (1) **yáa ukulí mashá d̥esá-u?**
 2SG donkey slaughter know-INT.COP
 do you know how to slaughter a donkey?
- (2) **wuc'á!**
 drink.IMP.2SG
 drink!
- (3) **kodí d̥esá~d̥esá**
 3F know~know
 she knows

The majority of verb paradigms, including subordinate and interrogative verb forms, are composed of this basic verb stem ending in *-á*: that is, inflectional suffixes and aspect markers are affixed to the *-á* stem as shown in the examples below.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(4a) ki = yiʔá-de
 3 = go-PFV
 he went</p> | <p>(4b) ki = yiʔá-da
 3 = go-IPFV
 he was going/used to go</p> |
| <p>(4c) yiʔá-ise
 go-CNV1
 going</p> | <p>(4d) yiʔá-b
 go-NARR
 (he) went and...</p> |

For this reason, the vowel *-á* is not associated with particular aspectual values as claimed by Lydall (1976) or Cupi et al. (2012). The authors associated aspectual values to various ‘verb stems’: for instance the verb stem ending in *-á* was identified with the perfect aspect by Lydall (1976) and with the perfective aspect by Cupi et al. (2012). In the present analysis aspect is associated with other suffixes and with syntactic configurations, see chapter 9, section 9.1 for further details.

A few paradigms are formed by suffixation of verbal suffixes directly to the root. Verbal suffixes which attach directly to the verb root are presented in table 6.1.³⁹ Nominalizing suffixes attach to the verb root as well, see chapter 8, section 8.4.

Table 6.1: Verbal suffixes affixed to the root

suffix	gloss	definition
-idí	PF	perfect
-é	PRES	present
-ó	PURP	purposive
-ánna	OPT	optative
-ámma	NEG.COND	negative conditional
-ína	COND	veridical conditional
-énka	CNV2	different subject converb
-íma	NEG.SUB1	negative subordinative

Verb stems can be extended by derivational suffixes, described in the coming section. Derivational suffixes are attached to the root, before the final vowel *-á* or the other verbal inflections mentioned above.

Verbal inflections can encode the expression of TAM values, dependent and independent verb forms, negation and interrogative forms, however tense and aspect are mainly expressed syntactically by means of periphrastic constructions and the combination of verbal inflections and auxiliaries. Pronominal subject marking is mainly pre-verbal, see 6.3.

6.2 Verb derivation

Hamar verb roots can be productively extended by two verbal derivational suffixes: the causative and the passive derivations. A further derivational suffix *-Vm-* is found in a few verb stems but it is no longer productive and it encodes varying meanings discussed in 6.2.3. Causative and passive derivation is generally built on verbs, but a few passive stems are built on nouns. Most stative verbs are passive stems which do not have corresponding underived forms. Two derivational suffixes can co-occur in a

³⁹ The first vowel *-á* of the optative marker *-ánna* in table 6.1 belongs to the suffix and it is not part of the verb stem: when this marker is suffixed to clitic pronouns, vowel coalescence takes place between the vowel *-á* of the suffix and the vowel of the clitic pronouns, see P5, chapter 2, Section 2.5.1. The negative conditional marker *-ámma* behaves similarly, see chapter 12.

stem: in some cases, the passive is built on the causative stem, and double causatives have been attested as well. The following sections describe formal, semantic and syntactic properties of causative and passive derivations. Impersonal passive constructions are introduced in 6.2.2 and they are discussed as well in chapter 7, (section 7.4.5). In order to show the morphological make-up of the extended stems, verb roots and derivational suffixes are separated by a hyphen.

6.2.1 Causative

The causative suffix is *-s* in vowel-ending verb roots (5) and in verb roots ending with a sonorant consonant, i.e. liquids (6) and nasals (7). Between consonant ending roots and the causative suffix *-s* the vowel *-i* is added, see (8). Sibilant harmony (P1) takes place if the verb root is composed of sibilant consonants (7a), (8a & b), (9a).

(5)	gi-	‘say’	gi-s	‘make sb. say’
(6)	bul-	‘go out’	bul-s	‘send out’
(7a)	shan-	‘buy’	shan-sh	‘sell’
(7b)	kum-	‘drink milk’	kun-s	‘make sb. drink milk’
(8a)	gish-	‘herd’	gish-ish	‘make sb. herd’
(8b)	mash-	‘slaughter’	mash-ish	‘make sb. slaughter’
(8c)	gob-	‘run’	gob-is	‘make sb. run’

The causative derivation is partially lexically determined since the distribution of the two markers *-s* and *-is* is not always predictable. The marker *-s* in fact can be suffixed to consonant ending roots (9) and *vice versa*, verb roots ending in sonorants can get the suffix *-is* (10):

(9a)	c’uub-	‘wash clothes’	c’ushp-	‘make sb. wash clothes’
(9b)	sag-	‘go across’	sask-	‘make sb. go across’
(10)	qail-	‘decorate’	qail-is	‘make sb. decorate’

In example (9) voicing assimilation (P8) takes place after metathesis (P2) has inverted the illegal consonant cluster. Note that other consonant ending roots are extended by the derivational suffix *-is* as shown in (8c) above. Suffixation of the derivational marker *-s* to consonant ending roots causes several segmental changes which are lexically determined. These changes are not predictable and are limited to a small set of verbs illustrated below. The root-final consonant of some verbs can be replaced by *-s* (11):

(11a)	ard-	‘enter, go in’	ars-	‘insert, wear’
(11b)	bard-	‘be drunk’	bars-	‘make sb. drunk’
(11c)	daaḃ-	‘stand up’	daas-	‘lift up’
(11d)	maat-	‘go back’	maas-	‘return, give back’

(11e)	piim6-	'be afraid'	piins-	'scare sb.'
(11f)	gungum-	'roll'	gungus-	'make something roll'

The causative stems given in (11b) and (11e) are based on passive stems, and do not correspond to underived stems, see 6.2.2. The root-final palato-alveolar ejective *c*' is replaced by *-sh* (12):

(12a)	qoc'-	'suck'	qosh-	'make sb. suck'
(12b)	wuc'-	'drink'	wush-	'make sb. drink'

The root-final consonant of verbs in (13) is replaced by *cc*, whereas the final consonant of the roots in (14) is replaced by *tt*. Verb roots ending in *q* or *t* are found in both groups, compare for instance (13a) with (14d) and (13e) with (14a).

(13a)	burq-	'be hot, boil'	bucc-	'boil water'
(13b)	ḏaq-	'avoid death'	ḏacc-	'make sb. avoid death'
(13c)	maq-	'finish' (intr.)	macc-	'finish' (trans.)
(13d)	qaj-	'be weak'	qacc-	'make sb. tired'
(13e)	shiit-	'be soft'	shicc-	'soften'
(14a)	raat-	'sleep'	ratt-	'put sb. to sleep'
(14b)	dees-	'kill'	dett-	'cause to kill'
(14c)	ḏes-	'know'	ḏett-	'teach'
(14d)	dorq-	'sit'	dott-	'put something down'
(14e)	niʔ-	'come'	nitt-	'send' (hither)
(14f)	yiʔ-	'go'	yitt-	'send' (thither)
(14g)	gur-	'line up, get in line' (intr.)	gutt-	'make people line up'

Some verb roots have alternative causative derivations: the derived stem of *dees*- 'kill' can be *dett-* or *deesis-*; the causative derived stem of *gur-* 'line up' can be *gutt-* or *gurs-*. The causative stems with *cc* and *tt* probably constitute older stages of Hamar causative derivation, and contrast with the more recent, and fully productive *-s*-derivation.

Two causative derivational suffixes can co-occur in a verb stem: in this case the second causative suffix is always *-is* or *-ish*, depending on the (sibilant) consonants of the verb root:

(15a)	raat-	'sleep'	underived verb
	ratt-	'put sb. to sleep'	causative
	ratt-is-	'order sb. to put sb. to sleep'	double causative

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| (15b) | wuc’- | ‘drink’ | underived verb |
| | wush- | ‘make sb. drink’ | causative |
| | wush-ish- | ‘order sb. to make sb. drink’ | double causative |

The causative derivation is a valence-increasing strategy which renders intransitive verbs transitive (16) and transitive verbs ditransitive (17) by introducing new arguments.

- (16a) **búnno** **burq-idí-ne**
 coffee:F.S boil-PF-COP
 the coffee boils
- (16b) **noqó-n** **buccá = i = da** **bucc-é**
 water-F.OBL boil:CAUS = 1SG = IPFV boil:CAUS-PRES
 I’ll boil the water
- (17a) **naasí** **parsí** **wuc’á~wuc’á**
 child beer drink~drink
 children drink *parsí* beer
- (17b) **wɔxá-dan** **noqó-n** **wushá**
 ox:M-ACC water-F.OBL drink:CAUS.IMP.2SG
 make the ox drink the water!

Double causatives can be formed from both intransitive and transitive verbs. The causee in a double causative construction (i.e. the argument which performs the action caused by the subject argument) is not obligatory and if expressed, it is marked by the instrumental case as examples (18c) and (19c) show.

- (18a) **éébe-no** **shiit-idí-ne**
 hide-F.S be.soft-PF-COP
 the hide is soft
- (18b) **éébe-n-dan** **áari** **shicc-idí-ne**
 hide-F.OBL-ACC Aari be.soft:CAUS-PF-COP
 Aari has softened the hide
- (18c) **wodí** **éébe-n-dan** **áari-xa** **shicc-ish-idí-ne**
 1PL hide-F.OBL-ACC Aari-INS be.soft:CAUS-CAUS-PF-COP
 we made Aari soften the hide

- (19a) **ráat'i kumá!**
 milk drink.milk.IMP.2SG
 drink milk!
- (19b) **káira-mai! naasâ í = na kun-s-á!**
 Kaira-VOC child:M 1SG = DAT drink.milk-CAUS-IMP.2SG
 oh Kaira! make the child drink milk for me!
- (19c) **ínta naasá-dan káira-xa i = kun-s-is-á-de**
 1SG child:M-ACC kaira-INS 1SG = drink.milk-CAUS-CAUS-PFV
 I made Kaira give milk to the child

6.2.2 Passive

There are no semantic restrictions for verb roots to be passivized, including intransitive verbs. The passive derivation is marked by the suffix *-d-* in vowel ending roots and in roots ending in liquids or nasals (20). In verb roots ending with the bilabial nasal /m/, the suffix *-d-* assimilates its place of articulation to the preceding bilabial nasal (21). The suffix *-d-* occurs as well in verb roots ending in ʔ, where the glottal stop is elided (22). Other consonant ending roots are derived by the suffix *-ad-* (23).

(20a)	gi-	‘tell’	gi-d-	‘be told’
(20b)	ka-	‘pour’	ka-d-	‘be poured’
(20c)	hai-	‘do’	hai-d-	‘be done’
(20d)	doi-	‘show’	doi-d-	‘be shown’
(20e)	qan-	‘hit’	qan-d-	‘be hit’
(20f)	eel-	‘call’	el-d-	‘be called’
(21a)	keem-	‘marry’	kem-ɓ-	‘be married’
(21b)	ham-	‘say’	ham-ɓ-	‘be said’
(21c)	im-	‘give’	im-ɓ-	‘be given’
(22a)	yiʔ-	‘go’	yi-d-	‘be gone’
(22b)	baʔ-	‘bring’	ba-d-	‘be brought’
(23a)	ashk-	‘make’	ashk-ad-	‘be made’
(23b)	des-	‘know’	des-ad-	‘be known’
(23c)	jaag-	‘sew’	jaag-ad-	‘be sewed’
(23d)	wuc’-	‘drink’	wuc’-ad-	‘be drank’
(23f)	shaɓ-	‘brew’	shaɓ-ad-	‘be brewed’

A few consonant ending roots are exceptional and they are extended by means of the suffix *-d-*, cf. (24) with (25).

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------|----------------|-----------|
| (24) | ad- | 'give birth' | ad-d- | 'be born' |
| (25) | qad- | 'wear' | qad-ad- | 'be worn' |

Some passive stems are not related to underived roots (Table 6.2). These passive stems are often stative verbs which are used to derive adjectives denoting states and feelings (cf. chapter 3, Table 3.11):

Table 6.2: Stative verbs

aajad ⁻⁴⁰	‘be sick’
bard-	‘be drunk’
daaqard-	‘be hungry’
dakaɖ-	‘be dirty’
deebard-	‘be thirsty’
ɖagaɖ-	‘be angry’
eermad-	‘be sweaty’
purd-	‘be stuffed with food’
targaɖ-	‘be startled’
wozaɖ-	‘be happy’

Other stative verbs are derived from verbs as shown in (26) below:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| (26a) | qaj- | ‘be cold’ | qaj-ad- | ‘be tired’ |
| (26b) | bash- | ‘win, exceed’ | bash-ad- | ‘be tired, overwhelmed’ |
| (26c) | burq- | ‘be hot, boil’ | burq-ad- | ‘hurt, be hurt’ |

For the stative verbs presented above, the derivational suffix *-d/-ad-* is semantically closer (and homophonous) to the Cushitic middle derivation (Mous 2004). A few Hamar passive stems express typical middle meanings including body activities, reflexive and autobenefactive, such as *shiid-* ‘wash oneself’, *shand-* ‘urinate’, *shid-* ‘remain, stay’, *amb-* ‘dream’, *aadimb-* ‘hide oneself’ (the latter though might be further composed of the frozen suffix *-Vm-*, see 6.2.3). The semantics of middle derivation can also be expressed in Hamar by some stative verbs formed by the frozen derivational suffix *-Vm-*, see further on (6.2.3).

Passive derivation can apply to a few nouns and adjectives as shown in (27):

- (27a) **bóna** ‘drought’ **bon-d-** ‘to be dry
(during drought)’

⁴⁰ The verb stem *aaǰaǝ-* has a corresponding passtive stem *aaǰimǝ-* which translates as ‘be wounded’. There are two nouns in Hamar, *aaǰimi* ‘wound’ and *aaǰimo* ‘disease’. These nouns and the derived stem for ‘be wounded’ probably contains the frozen suffix *-Vm-*, see section 6.2.3.

- (27b) **bárgi** ‘short rainy season’ **barg-ad-** ‘to be dry (during the short rainy season)’
- (27c) **ganc’á** ‘thin’ **ganc’-ad-** ‘to become thin’

Other denominal passives have not been attested so far and inchoative meanings like the one in (27c) are usually expressed periphrastically by the verb *maatá* ‘become’, see also section 6.2.3 for further details.

As already mentioned earlier, two derivational suffixes can co-occur. Some derived stems combine passive and causative derivations. Whereas double causatives are fully productive, the derivation of passive from causative stems is lexically determined. Table 6.3 shows passive stems derived from causatives.

Table 6.3: Passive derived from causative

Underived root	Causative stem	Passive stem
ard- ‘enter’	ars- ‘insert’	ars-ad- ‘be inserted’
dees- ‘kill’	dett- ‘cause to kill’	dett-ad- ‘caused to be killed’
sag- ‘attach, tie’	sask- ‘tie a knot’	sask-ad- ‘be attached, be tied’
shiit- ‘be soft’	shicc- ‘soften’	shicc-ad- ‘get softened’
yi?- ‘go’	yitt- ‘send’	yitt-ad- ‘be sent’ (thither)
ni?- ‘come’	nitt- ‘send’	nitt-ad- ‘be sent’ (hither)

The verbs *hamá* ‘say’ and *hayá* ‘do’ can be exceptionally marked by two passive suffixes.

- (28a) **ham-** ‘say’ underived verb
hamb- ‘be said’ ‘passive’
hamb-ad- ‘be called, be named’ ‘double’ passive
- (28b) **hai-** ‘do’ underived verb
hai-d- ‘be done’ ‘passive’
haid-ad- ‘be used’ ‘double’ passive

Passive marking on these verbs does not really affect the semantics and the argument structure of the verb. The derived stems *hamb-* and *haid-* are mainly used as temporal connectors in clause-chaining, see chapter 10. The stems with two passive derivational suffixes are used in the following way:

- (29) **sennó** **garró** **hambad-áino,** **pər**
stone:F.S big:F.S say:PASS:PASS-REL.PRES.F IDEO.also
desintón-na **qánte** **ko = haidad-é**
grinding.stone.F.OBL-DAT DAT 3F = do:PASS:PASS-PRES
what is called a big stone, it is used also as grinding stone

The verb *haidad-* is generally used with a dative complement as in (29).

The passive derivation is used in passive and impersonal passive constructions. Hamar passives are syntactically agent-less but an agent is always assumed to exist. A passive construction involves an argument NP functioning as the S of the derived passive verb stem (30), and this argument is not the S of the underived verb:

- (30) **lansó-no gaitâ likká-sa giní-rra**
 second-F.S baboon:M small:M-GEN tendon-ABL
 ko = ashkad-é
 3F = make:PASS-PRES
 the second will be made from a tendon of the small baboon

There is no way to include the demoted subject of an active clause as the agentive NP of a passive clause: the example in (31) is grammatical because the instrumental suffix marks the instrument used to perform the action denoted by the verb. When trying to introduce an agentive NP marked by the instrumental case, the sentence gets a locative reading (32).

- (31) **qultâ murá-n-ka ki = deesadâ-de**
 goat:M gun-F.OBL-INS 3 = kill:PASS-PFV
 the male goat has been killed with the gun

- (32) **qultâ mugá-xa ki = deesadâ-de**
 goat:M Muga-INS 3 = kill:PASS-PFV
 the male goat has been killed at Muga's place

The general form of a noun can occur as the S of a passive verb only if the verb is uninflected (33), whereas nouns inflected for gender or number have no syntactic restrictions in terms of cross-reference on verbs (34):

- (33a) **ínta seení pax-idí-ne**
 1SG stone throw-PF-COP
 I have thrown a stone

- (33b) **seení pax-ad-idí-ne**
 stone throw-PASS-PF-COP
 a stone has been thrown

- (34a) **qultâ ki = deesadâ-de**
 goat:M 3 = kill:PASS-PFV
 the male goat has been killed

- (34b) **qullá lamá ki = deesadá-de**
 goat:PL two 3 = kill:PASS-PFV
 two goats have been killed

- (34c) **qúllo ko = deesadá-de**
 goat:F.S 3F = kill:PASS-PFV
 the female goat has been killed

Passive derivation can be used to form impersonal passive constructions (see also chapter 7). Both impersonal passives and passive constructions have in common the demotion of the subject of the active clause; in impersonal passives however the patient remains in object function and it is marked by the accusative case. An underlying agentive NP is never stated nor implied. In impersonal passive constructions cross-reference on the verb is always that of the 3rd person feminine (if the verb paradigm requires an anaphoric device). This means that unless the core argument is present, the difference between a passive with a feminine subject and an impersonal passive construction cannot be noticed:

- (35) **ko = guní-na gidá-de**
 3F = snake-DAT say:PASS-PFV
 it was told to the snake

The 3rd feminine clitic pronoun in (35) can be interpreted either as the S argument of a passive construction or as the O argument of an impersonal passive. The clitic pronoun is a subject-agreement marking device that could also be cliticized directly to the verb, see chapter 4 and section 6.3 below.

The following two examples (extracted from the same text) show a true passive (36a) and an impersonal passive (36b) construction with explicit core arguments: the feminine subject case (*wórqino*) is used for the single argument of the passive construction, whereby the accusative case and the oblique case (*wórqindan*) mark the feminine argument of the impersonal passive. The system of grammatical relations and the syntax of feminine subject case and oblique case are discussed in more details in chapter 7.

- (36a) **wórqi-no per guní-na ko = imbá-de**
 gold-F.S again snake-DAT 3F = give:PASS-PFV
 the gold again was given to Snake (passive)

- (36b) **wórqi-n-dan per núu-na ko = imbá-de**
 gold-F.OBL-ACC again fire-DAT 3F = give:PASS-PFV
 the gold again was given to Fire (impersonal passive)

In cross-reference, the agreement on the passive verb of an impersonal passive is that of 3F and this leads to a mismatch between the core argument and the agreement on the verb, if the core argument is a noun inflected for M gender or PL number. The following excerpt shows the noun inflected for M gender, *bitâ* ‘ritual leader’ (general form *bitî*), functioning first as O of a transitive active verb (37a), then as the single argument of the impersonal passive construction in (37b), and finally as S of a passive verb (37c). The excerpt is divided in three examples for ease of presentation, but they are originally part of one utterance:

- (37a) **“bitâ-dan dɔy-é” hambáxa éeno**
 ritual.leader:M-ACC show-IMP.2PL say:PASS-PAST.CONT people:F.S
wána yedá-ise gidá-xa
 another catch-CNV1 say:PASS-PAST.CONT
 the people caught somebody and when it was told “show the ritual leader!” (direct object)
- (37b) **bitâ-dan ko = doidá-de**
 ritual.leader:M-ACC 3F = show:PASS-PFV
 the ritual leader was shown (impersonal passive)
- (37c) **bitâ doidá-isɔxa**
 ritual.leader:M show:PASS-PAST.PF
 after the ritual leader was shown [...] (passive)

In (37b) the argument is marked by the accusative case and the agreement on the passive verb is that of the 3rd person feminine.

The impersonal passive is widespread in procedural texts and in proverbs (38); The impersonal passive has a backgrounding effect on the event expressed by the verb.

- (38) **guní haan gaʔ-ánna ko = daké-na gobad-é**
 snake 2SG.ACC bite-OPT 3F = rope:M-DAT run:PASS-PRES
 once a snake has bitten you, you will run away from the rope (lit. it will be runned away)

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, intransitive verbs can also be passivized as shown in (38) above (a common feature for languages of Ethiopia). Intransitive passivized verbs have an impersonal reading as well, and they highlight the event expressed by the verb. The S argument is not expressed and pronominal subject marking on the intransitive passivized verb is omitted, even when it should be obligatory marked. A past perfective verb like the one in (39) below normally requires subject-agreement marking: in both active and passive sentences pronominal subject marking is obligatory if the subject is not otherwise expressed; in the

impersonal passive construction involving a passive intransitive verb pronominal subject marking can be exceptionally omitted:

- (39) **dungurí-n g̃ens-ó kí-na yidá-de**
 sandal-F.OBL hit:CAUS-PURP 3-DAT go:PASS-PFV
 (somebody) went to consult the fortune teller for him⁴¹

A similar example can be seen in (40) below. The following excerpt consists of the main verb ‘go’ (in the passive voice) preceded by three embedded clauses. None of the verb forms, either the main passive verb or the subordinate verbs, has pronominal subject marking. Similar to the past perfective verb in (39), the past imperfective verb requires a subject marker, but in this particular construction there is no pronominal subject marking:

- (40) **gurdá ée-na eelá-ise, kínka wuc’á-ḡ, hayá-ise,**
 village man-PL call-CNV1 together drink-NARR do-CNV1
laalimá-te yidá-da
 separate-SE go:PASS-IPFV
 (they) called the village people, drank together, separated and went (lit. calling the village people, drinking and doing together, separating and it was gone)

The passive derivation in Hamar is thus available also for monovalent verbs, and it is used to form passive and impersonal passive constructions.

6.2.3 Frozen *-Vm-* derivation

This section discusses the fossilized derivational suffix *-Vm-*. This suffix covers a range of meanings including passive, middle, reflexive, reciprocal, inchoative and durative. The quality of the suffix vowel depends on the preceding root vowels, thus the suffix appears as *-im-*, *-um-*, *-am-* and probably *-em-*. Of the 20 verb forms attesting the morpheme, 12 are derived from verb roots, 2 are derived from nouns and 6 are not related to underived verb roots nor nouns. A few stems combine the passive suffix and the *-Vm-* suffix. For the two verbs in (41) there is no variation in meaning between the underived and the derived form. The stem *baxem-* is the only instance in which the vowel of the suffix is realized as front mid-high *-e-*:

- (41a) **bax-** ‘cook’ **bax-em-** ‘cook’
 (41b) **des-** ‘grind’ **des-im-** ‘grind’

⁴¹ lit. ‘it was gone to make hit the sandals for him’. The expression *dungurí gíá* ‘hitting sandals’ refers to the fortune teller who throws a pair of sandals and reads the future depending on the position in which they fall on the ground.

A suffix *-im-* is found also in a couple of nouns, suggesting that the suffix could have been, at some stage, a nominalizing suffix used to derive nouns from verbs. A trace of this function can be seen only in the following examples, that is, this derivation is no longer productive:

(42a)	des-	‘grind’	dés-im-a	‘grinding stone’
(42b)	ir-	‘curse’	ír-im-a	‘swear word’
(42c)	ad-	‘give birth’	ád-im-a	‘birth, deliver’

Different from the verb *desim-* and *baxem-*, other derived stems show semantic variation with respect to the underived root (43). Sometimes the passive can be built on the *-Vm-* derivation as in (43a), or there can be two passive forms with overlapping meanings as in (43b).

(43a)	laal-	‘spread, throw liquids’ (tr.)	underived verb
	laal-im-	‘leak, separate’ (intr.)	<i>-Vm-</i> derivation
	laal-im-6-	‘be separated, be empty’	passive
(43b)	fax-	‘tie’ (tr.)	underived verb
	fax-am-	‘be jailed’ (intr.)	<i>-Vm-</i> derivation
	fax-am-6-	‘be tied up’	passive
	fax-ad-	‘be tied up’	passive

The most common meanings associated with the *-Vm-* derivation correspond to the semantics of middle (i.e. reflexivity, body activity, state of mind):

(44a)	pi-	‘defecate’	pi-im-6-	‘be afraid’
(44b)	qaab-	‘think’	qaab-im-	‘be sad’
(44c)	-		woc’-im-	‘be disappointed’
(44d)	-		aad’-im-6-	‘hide oneself’
(44e)	-		kunt-um-	‘crawl, creep’
(44f)	pet’í	‘saliva’	pet’-im-	‘spit’
(44g)	-		waad-im-	‘work’

The stem *aad’-im-6-* ‘hide oneself’ in (44d) seems to be composed of the passive and the *-Vm-* derivation, however the stem does not relate to an underived root (the transitive verb root for ‘hide’ is *aash-*).

The verb *malgim-* ‘be sick for many months’ suggests a durative meaning as well.

Reciprocity is also expressed by some verb stems containing the *-Vm-* suffix:

(45a)	qaash-	‘collect’	qaash-im-	‘agree with each other’
(45b)	uk-	‘fight’	uk-um-	‘fight each other’

(45c)	sunq-	‘kiss’	sunq-um-	‘kiss each other’
(45d)	-		ok-im-	‘exchange’
(45e)	kash-	‘distribute’	kash-im-	‘share’

Other less common meanings are potential (46) and inchoative (47), (48).

(46)	dandai-	‘be able’	danda-im-	‘be possible’
(47)	des-	‘know’	des-im-	‘be known, introduce oneself’
(48)	líkka	‘small’	likk-im-	‘become small’

Example (48) is close to Dime inchoative suffix *-imá-*, however the suffix in Dime always co-occurs with the reduplication of the verb root (Mulugeta 2008:146). As already explained in 6.2.2, inchoative meanings are usually conveyed by the verb *maatá* ‘become’. Some verbs derived from adjectives have inchoative meanings such as *gecc-* ‘become old’, from *geccó* ‘old’ and *geb-* ‘become big, grow up’ from *gebí* ‘big, many’, see chapter 3, table 3.11.

6.3 Pronominal subject marking

Object marking on verbs is absent in Hamar, in line with Omotic languages (Azeb 2012a). Subject agreement is marked on most affirmative-declarative verbs and on negative and interrogative paradigms. This is in contrast to what is reported by Bender (2000:172): ‘the most striking feature of Hamar verbs is the near-absence of person and number marking’. Pronominal subject marking is mainly pre-verbal. In complex paradigms composed of auxiliaries, subject affixes might occur after the verb stem but before the auxiliary providing tense and aspect specifications. In chapter 4 it was shown how subject clitics in some paradigms have been phonologically reduced to the extent of becoming inflectional agreement markers (chapter 4, section 4.1.1). Pronominal subject marking in Hamar constitutes a transitional system where all the stages of the historical development from personal pronouns to subject agreement inflections can be seen. In this section the Hamar paradigms will be illustrated according to the complexity shown in the indexation of subject agreement. Uninflected paradigms will be illustrated first, followed by paradigms which require subject proclitics. Inflected paradigms are discussed at the end.

6.3.1 Uninflected paradigms

The uninflected paradigms are listed in Table 6.4. These verb forms require a nominal or pronominal subject (i.e. the independent subject pronoun):

Table 6.4: Uninflected paradigms

Affirmative-declarative
Copula
General Declarative
Perfect
Narrative
Same event converb
General converb
Interrogative
Interrogative copula
Interrogative General Declarative
Interrogative perfect

The copula, the General Declarative and the Perfect are invariable for person and number. The following examples illustrate a copular sentence (49), the General Declarative (50) and the Perfect (51). If the subject is not overtly expressed, only the independent subject pronouns can be used, i.e. subject clitics never occur with these paradigms:

(49a) **yáa éedi sía-ne**
 2SG person bad-COP
 you are a bad person

(49b) **Búsko éedi sía-ne**
 Busko person bad-COP
 Busko is a bad person

(50) **ínta/yáa/kidí/kodí/wodí/yedí desá ~ desá**
 1SG/2SG/3M/3PL/3F/1PL/2PL know~know
 I, you, he/they, she, we, you know/s

(51) **ínta/yáa/kidí/kodí/wodí/yedí kumm-idí**
 1SG/2SG/3M/3PL/3F/1PL/2PL eat-PF
 I, you, he/they, she, we, you have/has eaten

6.3.2 Subject pro-clitics

In the majority of paradigms, including both independent and dependent verb form, subject agreement is indexed by means of pro-clitics. The subject clitic pronouns are cliticized before verb stems, and in some paradigms they function as agreement markers since they are obligatory even when a nominal or pronominal subject is already present. Table 6.5 shows the paradigms for which subject clitics can be

omitted, whereas table 6.6 lists the paradigms for which subject clitics are used anaphorically.

Table 6.5: Non-obligatory subject clitics

Perfective
Imperfective
Past perfect
Past continuous
Veridical conditional
Different-subject converb

The position of the subject clitic in the perfective and imperfective paradigm is not fixed, and it can be cliticized to a complement preceding the verb:

- (52a) **zóbo-na ko = giá-de**
 lion-DAT 3F = tell-PFV
 she said to the lion

- (52b) **ko = zóbo-na giá-de**
 3F = lion-DAT tell-PFV
 she said to the lion

If a pronominal or nominal subject is expressed, the pronominal subject clitic can be omitted as in (53) below. The omitted subject clitic is indicated by 0:

- (53) **ínta naasá-dan 0 = rattá-de**
 1SG child:M-ACC sleep:CAUS-PFV
 I put the child to sleep

- (54) **ínta ánamo-n innó-n-sa geshô i = aapá-de**
 1SG friend-F.OBL 1SG:F-F.OBL-GEN husband:M 1SG = see = PFV
 I saw the husband of my female friend

The independent subject pronoun *ínta* in (54) can be either omitted or it can co-occur in combination with the subject clitic: pre-verbal subject clitics can optionally co-occur with the corresponding independent pronoun to mark focus on the subject. In example (55) the verb inflected in the past perfect occurs without subject clitic since the subject is overtly expressed (55a); in the subsequent sentence instead the verb is repeated with the subject clitic (55b):

- (55a) **qulí gobá-ise 0 = yi?á-isaxa kéda,**
 goat run-CNV1 go-PAST.PF then
 after Goat went away running,

- (55b) **ki = yi?á-isaxa kéda**
 3 = go-PAST.PF then
 after he went away, then [...]

Subject clitic pronouns function as agreement markers and are obligatory for the paradigms listed in table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Obligatory subject pro-clitics

Affirmative Present Jussive mood Future Irrealis Reason Progressive Inceptive Potential conditional
Interrogative Interrogative Present Past Interrogative (content questions) Present Interrogative (content questions) Interrogative progressive Interrogative future
Negative Negative veridical conditional Negative potential conditional

The examples below show obligatory pronominal subject marking in the jussive mood (56), and in the present tense (57).

- (56) **i = kalsh-é**
 1SG = help-PRES
 let me help
- (57a) **i = da kalsh-é**
 1SG = IPFV help-PRES
 I help
- (57b) **ínta i = da kalsh-é**
 1SG 1SG = IPFV help-PRES
I help
- (57c) ***ínta 0 = da-kalsh-é**

Different from the verb paradigms illustrated in table 6.5, the pronominal subject clitic is obligatory even if the subject is overt, as illustrated by the ungrammatical example in (57c): compare (57) with (53) and (54) above. Pronominal subject clitics are obligatory in reason clauses marked by *hattáxa* (58). The dependent verb form which constitutes the reason clause in (58) contains the bare citation form of the verb (*eelá*) and the reason marker *hattáxa* preceded by subject clitics (*kottáxa*). See MP4 in chapter 2 for the underlying morpho-phonological change and chapter 10 for reason clauses:

- (58) **kodí wó=ɗan eelá kottáxa wo=niʔá-de**
 3F 1PL=ACC call 3F.REAS 1PL=come-PFV
 we came soon after she called us

In complex paradigms formed by periphrastic constructions, the subject clitics occur after the verb and they are cliticized before the auxiliary as in (58) above and (59) below. Since the subject clitics are slotted in between verb stems and auxiliaries, morpho-phonological changes apply, reducing the phonological shape of subject clitics. This was illustrated in chapter 2 (section 2.5) and in chapter 4 (section 4.1.1) for the future tense and the progressive aspect, repeated below for ease of reference.

- [núun pugáti dáade]
 (59) **núu-n pugá-te i=dáa-de**
 fire-F.OBL blow-SE 1SG=exist-PFV
 I am blowing the fire

- [wodí saxá jiʔóda jiʔé]
 (60) **wodí saxá yiʔá wo=da-yiʔ-é**
 1PL tomorrow go 1PL=IPFV-go-PRES
 tomorrow we will go

The examples like those in (59) and (60) where phonologically reduced clitics are used, can be seen as an intermediate stage in the development of subject agreement markers. The phonologically reduced subject clitics are obligatory and they are used anaphorically as shown in (60). Next step in the development of subject agreement markers is represented by the fully inflected paradigms illustrated in the following section.

6.3.3 Inflected paradigms

The following paradigms are considered the only inflected forms in the Hamar verbal system.

Table 6.7: Inflected forms

Present Negative
Past Negative
Imperative
Negative Imperative
Prohibitive

The present and past negative differ from each other only in tone (see chapter 12 for further details on negative verb paradigms). The vowels composing the negative inflections resembles the phonologically reduced subject clitics: see for instance the vowel *i* for the 1st person singular pronoun in (61a) and the vowel *a* for the 2nd person singular pronoun in (61b):

(61a)	gi-átine say-PAST.NEG.1SG I did not tell	gi-atíne say-PRES.NEG.1SG I don't tell
(61b)	gi-átane say-PAST.NEG.2SG you did not tell	gi-atáne say-PRES.NEG.2SG you don't tell

For other persons however, the relation between subject pronouns and inflection is not so transparent, see chapter 12. Clauses containing these verb forms do not require an explicit subject nor independent pronoun.

The singular and plural addressee of the imperative mood could trace back to the reduced forms of the second person clitic pronouns */ha/* and */ye/*, respectively:

(62)	yiʔ-á ! go-IMP.2SG go! (SG addressee)	yiʔ-é ! go-IMP.2PL go! (PL addressee)
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The negative imperative and the prohibitive are based on the affirmative imperative of (62), see chapter 12 for further details.

7 Basic syntax

This chapter describes word order at clause level (7.1) and at noun phrase level (7.2); section 7.3 deals with the pragmatic and discourse related functions of gender and number. The discussion continues with grammatical relations and core cases (7.4): Hamar has an accusative alignment, but nouns inflected for feminine gender distinguish subject case from non-subject case: such a system is analysed as a type of differential object marking. More details on the noun phrase structure can be found in chapter 8.

7.1 Word order at clause level

The dominant word order in Hamar is SOV (1) in both independent and dependent clauses (2). Word-order correlations are predominantly consistent with verb-final languages, thus dependent clauses precedes main clauses (2), (3), and affixes are generally suffixes.

- (1) **ukulí shuđí is-idí**
 donkey grass eat-PF
 Donkey ate some grass
- (2) **wó = ɗan deesá-ise, wongá tiá ki = ti-é**
 1PL = ACC kill-CNV1 cow:PL take 3 = take-PRES
 after killing us, he will take the cows
- (3) **éna kin = niʔ-énka, kidí párdan baʔá-ise**
 past 3 = come-CNV2 3 horse-F.OBL bring-CNV1
ki = niʔá-de
 3 = come = PFV
 when they came in the past, they came bringing horses

In (2) and (3) above the dependent clauses containing subordinate verb forms precede main final verbs. The morphology of independent and dependent verb forms is treated in chapters 9 and 10.

Case marking in Hamar is dependent on constituent order and on nouns' role in the argument structure. Altered word orders are pragmatically motivated and they are always signaled by accusative marking and/or masculine gender on constituents (see 7.3 and 7.4). OSV word order for instance is usually possible, but fronted objects are obligatorily marked by the accusative case *-ɗan*. OSV word order indicates the topicalization of the object:

- (4a) **shóqo yí=mal bash-idí birré-n-dan shóqo ti-idí**
 tick REFL=INTF win-PF birr-F.OBL-ACC tick take-PF
 Tick alone won, (and) the money, Tick took it
- (4b) **murá-n-dan kéda t'álian ba?á-ise**
 gun-F.OBL-ACC then Italians bring-CNV1
 the weapons, when the Italians brought them [...]

O and S can only exceptionally occur after the verb, as afterthoughts and preceded by a pause. A constituent occurring after the verb is marked by M gender, see section 7.3 on pragmatic and discourse-related functions of gender marking.

7.2 Word order at noun phrase level

Word order at the noun phrase level deviates from head-final order: apart from the genitival modifier which precedes the head noun (see chapter 8, 8.3.1), modifiers generally follow their heads. Possessive pronouns, adjectives, numerals and relativized verbs are always postnominal. The preferred place for demonstratives is after the head noun, but they can precede it to mark contrast. If the head noun is modified by a demonstrative and an adjective, the demonstrative occurs preferably before the adjective:

- (5) **onnó koró geccó-no innó-ne**
 house:F.S DEM1.F old-F.S 1SG:F-COP
 this old house is mine

In extended noun phrases consisting of more than one modifying adjective, the demonstrative can either precede the head noun or follow the adjectives:

- (6a) **ɔɔnê likká haalê káa inté-ne**
 house:M small:M new:M DEM1.M 1SG:M-COP
 this small new house is mine
- (6b) **káa ɔɔnê likká haalê inté-ne**
 DEM1.M house:M small:M new:M 1SG:M-COP
 this small new house is mine

The genitival modifier precedes the head when it is marked by the genitive case and also when it is juxtaposed: a noun modifying another noun, for instance in noun-noun compounds, precedes the head noun, see chapter 8, section 8.3.2. The clitic pronoun used in kinship possession is cliticized before the possessed kinship term (chapter 8, section 8.3.4), but possessive pronouns are generally postnominal. The table below sums up the position of modifiers.

Table 7.1: Position of modifiers

Modifier	Position
Demonstrative	[Head Dem]
Possessive pronoun	[Head Poss]
Adjective	[Head Adj]
Relativized verb	[Head Rel]
Numeral	[Head Num]
Genitival modifier	[Gen Head]
Modifying noun	[N Head]

With respect to the typological classification of constituent order types in African languages proposed by Heine (1976), Hamar belongs to subtype D2, i.e. verb-final languages in which the modifier-head order is inverted at the noun phrase level. Heine's D2 pattern is widespread in Nilo-Saharan languages and in Lowland East Cushitic, specifically in the Oromoid and Omo-Tana group and in the Dullay cluster (Dimmendaal 2008, *inter alia*). Omotic languages are generally SOV but differ with respect to word order in noun phrases and rigidity of constituent order, see Azeb (2012a) for an overview. Aari (Bender 1991) and Dime (Mulugeta 2008) allow both prenominal and postnominal adjectives and relative clauses.

7.3 Pragmatic functions of gender and number

In chapter 3 it was shown that gender is not an intrinsic property of nouns, and the semantic functions of gender and number, including the association of gender with size and evaluative meanings, were discussed in detail. In addition to the various semantic values described in chapter 3, gender and number play a crucial role in the pragmatic organization of discourse. Hamar has grammaticalized the pragmatic categories of referentiality and identifiability by means of gender and number markers: the use of gender as a definiteness-marking device is illustrated in section 7.3.1, and the discourse-related functions such as prominence and reference-tracking are discussed in 7.3.2. Section 7.3.3 is dedicated to the pragmatic use of plural marking. As will become clear in this section, the discourse pragmatics of gender and number can account for the recurrent distribution of feminine inflected nouns.

7.3.1 Definiteness

Different from the close relatives Dime (Mulugeta 2008:42-43) and Aari (Hayward 1990:442), Hamar does not have a dedicated suffix that overtly marks definiteness. The general form of nouns has non-definite reference, and the only strategy to make nouns definite is to inflect them for gender. In some Omotic languages such as Anfillo (Goshu and Demeke 2005, in Azeb 2012a:442) demonstratives can modify non-definite nouns and make them definite. This is not possible in Hamar, since the

general uninflected form cannot be modified by demonstratives (cf. chapter 4): the uninflected form *ooní* ‘house’ in (7d) cannot be followed by a demonstrative.

(7a) **ɔɔnê** **káa**
 house:M DEM1.M
 this house (M)

(7b) **onnó** **koró**
 house:F.S DEM1.F
 this house (F)

(7c) **onná** **kirá**
 house:PL DEM1.PL
 these houses (PL)

(7d) ***ooní** ?

Gender can be used to indicate the mental representation of discourse referents, and this is particularly visible when gender does not encode the sex of the referent (that is, when it is used on non-animate nouns). Gender marks two degrees of definiteness: feminine gender is used for definite and identifiable referents, whereas masculine gender marks definite, specific and individuated referents.

The general form, which is not committal for gender and number, is used in contexts in which the referent is not established as identifiable in the discourse. General, uninflected forms are often found in general truth statements expressed by means of the General Declarative (see chapter 9, section 9.1.2) and in proverbs. The Hamar proverb in (8), contains only the general forms of *cheetah*, *eye*, and *oribi* because reference is made to mental objects which do not need to be identified. A zero (0) next to the noun in the English translation indicates that the noun is uninflected, as opposed to (M), (F) and (PL) for masculine, feminine and plural marking:

(8) **sháu** **áapi** **aajadá-isaxa,** **gumí** **da-belbat-é**
 cheetah eye be.sick-PAST.PF oribi IPFV-snort-PRES
 when the eyes (0) of the cheetah (0) are sick, oribis (0) will snort

When a noun is introduced for the first time in the discourse and it is non-definite (i.e. it refer to a non-yet-identifiable and established referent), it occurs in the uninflected general form. Any subsequent mention is generally inflected for feminine gender, since once a noun has been introduced, it becomes definite and identifiable, cf. *kánki* vs. *kánkin* in (9) and *baití* vs. *baín* in (10):

- (9) **qáski, kánki niʔ-ína, kánki-n-dan alá~alá**
 dog car come-COND car-F.OBL-ACC chase~chase
 if a car (0) comes, Dog will chase the car (F)

- (10) **goín kin = yiʔ-énka baití-dan ki = aafá-de.**
 way.F.OBL 3 = go-CNV2 river-ACC 3 = see-PFV
baín aafá-ḡ hayá-ise
 river.F.OBL see-NARR do-CNV1
 when they went along the road (F), they saw a river (0). After they saw
 the river (F) [...]

In the previous examples the oblique feminine case (glossed as F.OBL) is used (*kánkin* and *baín*). Nouns in the oblique case trigger feminine agreement on modifiers and on verbs: the syntactic properties of these nouns and the difference between subject feminine nouns (glossed as F.S) and oblique feminine nouns (glossed as F.OBL) are discussed in 7.4.

As shown in (9) and (10) above, feminine gender marks definite constituents. Feminine gender is used as well when an entity is considered explicit enough for the speaker's purpose, or when a referent is obvious from the context. This can be noticed especially in procedural texts, where nouns referring to the ingredients or the tools necessary for a recipe are always inflected for feminine gender. In the excerpt below for instance the nouns for *water*, *sorghum*, *stone*, *flour* (highlighted by a surrounding border), are inflected for feminine gender because the speaker expects the listener to be able to identify the referent of those nouns in that particular speech situation. Nouns modified by numerals, such as *róoro* 'day' in (11b) are discussed in 7.3.3.

- (11a)

noqó-n-sa water-F.OBL-GEN
haí-n-dar sun-F.OBL-ALL1

íi-rra bulá-ise,
 stomach-ABL take.out-CNV1
apá~apadá
 unfold~unfold:PASS
 after taking it out from the water (F), it is stretched in the sun (F)

- (11b)

haí-n-dar sun-F.OBL-ALL1
isínno sorghum:F.S

róoro lámá, makkán, oidí,
 day two three four
woccá = ko wocc-é
 be.hard = 3F be.hard-PRES
 two, three, four days (0) in the sun (F), the sorghum (F) will become
 hard

- (11c) **wocc-idí** **kónna** **kéda** **agá-rra** **desá~desadá**
 be.hard-PF 3F:OPT then DEM2.M-ABL grind~grind:PASS
 if it becomes hard, then it is grinded

- (11d) **seení-n-dar** **desá-ise,** **pər** **dílo** **ogoró**
 stone-F.OBL-ALL1 grind-CNV1 again flour:F.S DEM2.F
mottá~mottadá
 mix~mix:PASS
 after grinding on the stone (F), that flour (F) is mixed again

As will become clear in this section, feminine gender is functionally the unmarked gender since it represents the default strategy to encode definiteness. Masculine gender, on the other hand, is distributionally more rare than feminine gender because it is associated with discourse prominence and cognitive salience.

Masculine gender marks definite nouns, but different from feminine gender, it helps identifying and individuating specific and referential entities which are considered salient for the speaker.

The excerpt below is taken from a folk tale in which Dog is slaughtering Donkey under the order of Hyena. Dog wants to trick Hyena and secretly eat the most precious part, the heart, thinking that Hyena will not ask for it. The first mention of ‘heart’ in (12a) is treated as definite and thus it is inflected for feminine gender:

- (12a) “**kidí** **wáa-n** **wul** **ḡocá** **ki = ḡoc-é,**
 3 meat-F.OBL all think 3 = think-PRES
weilá-n-dan **ḡoc-é,** **gudiri** **ḡoc-é”**
 heart-F.OBL-ACC think-PRES.NEG.3 hyena think-PRES.NEG.3
 “he will think of all the meat (F), but he won’t think about the heart (F),
 Hyena does not think”

In the succeeding sentence the noun for ‘heart’ gets masculine gender: different from the feminine definite noun in (12a), the masculine noun in (12b) is specific and individuated, and it becomes prominent in the discourse stage:

- (12b) **weilamâ** **bishê** **bulá-tte** **gaʔá-ḡ**
 heart:M only:M take.out-SE bite-NARR
 so he took out only the heart (M) and ate it

Masculine gender can be used also as an indicator of discourse referentiality and continuity. The folktale excerpt below tells the story of a race between Tick and Squirrel. Tick is going to cheat and win the race by attaching to Squirrel’s leg. The first mention of the leg of the squirrel in (13a) is marked by masculine gender because that element is going to be crucial for the understanding of the trick, and of

the whole story. The speaker uses masculine gender to signal that the constituent must be traced through the evolving narrative. The following mentions of the squirrel's leg in the rest of the story are inflected for feminine gender (13b):

- (13a) **shóqo** **put** **yin** **ham-énka,** **kóopini-sa**
 tick IDEO.out so say-CNV2 squirrel-GEN
 rɔɔ-tá-xal **t'eezí** **dorq-idí**
 leg-M-AFF near sit-PF
 After Tick replied so, he stood next to the leg (M) of Squirrel

- (13b) **kínka** **gobá-n** **kin = jammar-énka,** **shóqo**
 together run-F.OBL 3 = start-CNV2 tick
 gobá-ise **róo-n-dar** **sag-idí**
 run-CNV1 leg-F.OBL-ALL1 attach-PF
 when they started racing, Tick attached to the leg (F) while running

The use of masculine gender for specificity and referentiality correlates with the pragmatic use of gender for salience and contrast (7.3.2). In this sense masculine gender is functionally the marked gender when compared to feminine gender.

7.3.2 Discourse prominence

Masculine gender is often found on prominent constituents. In the examples below, the copula after the perfect suffix on the verb indicates that the clause is pragmatically marked (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.4). Additionally, masculine gender is used to indicate assertive focus:

- (14) **walé-sa** **rɔɔ-tâ** **ai-idí-ne**
 Walé-GEN leg-M be.broken-PF-COP
 Wale's leg (M) is broken
- (15) **anqasê** **í = sa** **kárc'a-n** **gaʔ-idí-ne**
 bee:M 1SG = GEN cheek-F.OBL bite-PF-COP
 the bee (M) bit me on my cheek

Example (14) and (15) were uttered by speakers who believed that the interlocutor had no knowledge of the information provided (i.e. that the leg of Walé was broken, and that the bee had bit the speaker). Focused constituents marked by masculine gender can be prosodically louder than the rest of the sentence.

As it was mentioned in 7.1, post-verbal constituents are marked by masculine gender and are preceded by a pause. Masculine gender is found on post-verbal subjects and objects occurring as afterthoughts:

- (16) **kánki-n-ɗan** **al-idí,** [...] **qaskê**
 car-F.OBL-ACC chase-PF dog:M
 he chased the car ... the dog (M)
- (17) **tittá-ise** **kéda** **goshá~goshadá,** [...] **aizé-ɗan**
 soak-CNV1 then pull.out~pull.out:PASS goat.hide:M-ACC
 after soaking it, it is stretched ... the goat hide (M)

If a speaker makes a mistake, masculine gender is used for reference-tracking. In example (18) for instance the speaker skips a step in a procedural text and uses masculine gender for discourse recoverability. In (18a), after the dependent clause [*desá desá hayáise, kéda*] she begins a new sentence with the feminine noun *dáa* ‘pot’ functioning as direct object and marked by the accusative case. When the speaker realizes that she has skipped one step, she interrupts the utterance and re-formulates a new sentence (18b) in which the noun for pot functions as indirect object. The noun in (18b) is inflected for masculine gender and it is marked by the allative case:

- (18a) **desá~desá** **hayá-ise,** **kéda,** **dáa-n-ɗan** [...]
 grind~grind do-CNV1 then pot-F.OBL-ACC
 after grinding, then, the pot (F) [...]
- (18b) **beráise,** **daa-tá-dar** **saskínna** **da = arsaɗ-é**
 first pot-M-ALL1 branch:PL IPFV = enter:PASS-PRES
 first of all, some branches will be inserted in the pot (M)

A similar use of gender and number markers is reported for the geographically not-so-distant Nilo-Saharan (Koman) language Komo (Otero 2015). In Zargulla (East Ometo), the morphemes *-(t)ta* and *-(t)te* which are used respectively as feminine and masculine copula markers, can also be used to indicate discourse-pragmatic information (Azeb 2010).

7.3.3 Pragmatic use of number

As it was mentioned in chapter 3, the plural inflection *-na* encodes paucal and distributive values, and it renders mass nouns countable. In this section it is shown that plural marking is used on pragmatic basis as well. The plural suffix *-na* is not obligatory, and nouns modified by numerals and quantifiers occur in the general uninflected form:

- (19a) **kí = sa** **máa** **lamá** **dáa-ne**
 3 = GEN woman two exist-COP
 he has two wives (0)

- (19b) **éedi-l gebí gidí-r di-idí**
 person-INCL a.lot middle-IN die-PF
 a lot of people (0) died in it as well

Nouns modified by numerals and quantifiers can be inflected if the speaker wants to emphasize the collective (F) or the paucal (PL) value. In (20) below for instance, feminine gender is used to highlight the large amount of buffaloes (20a) and meat (20b): cf. (20a) with (19b).

- (20a) **in = add-énka méeki-no gebí dáa**
 1SG = give.birth:PASS-CNV2 buffalo-F.S a.lot exist
 when I was born there were many buffaloes (F)

- (20b) **wáa-no pac'-íne**
 meat-F.S a.lot-COP
 it is a lot of meat (F)

The example (19a) above for instance can be uttered as well as (21a) if the noun phrase ‘two wives’ is focused. Compared to (21a) below, example (19a) is pragmatically unmarked:

- (21a) **kí = sa máa-na lamá dáa-ne**
 3 = GEN woman-PL two exist-COP
 he has two wives (PL)

- (21b) **ínta zóbo-na makkán isá-de!**
 1SG lion-PL three eat-PFV
 I ate three lions!

The plural marker is used only if plurality, which in Hamar corresponds to paucal and distributive values (cf. chapter 3), is communicatively relevant in a specific context. In (22) below for instance, plural marking on the noun *shárqa* ‘calabash’ reinforces the distributive meaning given by the verb *kashá* ‘distribute’:

- (22) **éen-na shárqa-na-dar baadá-n-dan kashá-tte**
 people.F.OBL-DAT calabash-PL-ALL1 food-F.OBL-ACC distribute-SE
 distributing the food for the people in (different) calabashes (PL) [...]

In (23), plural agreement on the relativized verb *desadána* ‘what was known’ emphasizes the paucity of the known objects. This meaning is further accentuated by the adverbial *bish* ‘only’:

- (23) **kéda éna desad-ána, sóqo-be**
 then in.the.past know:PASS-REL.PAST.PL salt-COM
barbará bish, yer ab qoléi
 berberé only thing another exist.not
 in the past what was known (PL) was only salt and *berberé*, other things did not exist

7.3.4 Conclusions

The pragmatic and discourse-related functions of gender and number may overlap with the lexical and semantic values described in chapter 3. Table 7.2 sums up some of the semantic and pragmatic functions described so far.

Table 7.2: Semantic and pragmatic functions of gender and number

	Semantics	Pragmatics
General form	neutral for gender and number	non-definite, non-identifiable
Feminine	F, augmentative, collective	definite, identifiable
Masculine	M, diminutive	specific, individuated, focus
Plural	paucal/distributive	focused paucal/distributive

The functions of gender apply to different levels of the information structure: gender plays a role in signaling the mental representation of discourse referents but at the same time it is used to encode information structural relations such as new information vs. given/known information.

For the non-native speaker of Hamar it is not always clear whether a particular nominal inflection is being used with lexical or with pragmatic functions. Semantic values such as diminution and augmentation, however, can be expressed attributively by means of modifying adjectives, thus if diminution and focus are expressed simultaneously, masculine gender is used for prominence:

- (24) **kankê likká-xa wó=da yi?-é**
 car:M small:M-INS 1PL=IPFV go-PRES
 we go with the small car (M)

7.4 Grammatical relations and core cases

Linear order and subject-cross reference on the verb play an equal role in the encoding of grammatical relations. Additionally, case marking helps disambiguating equivocal syntactic contexts and objects can be marked by the phrasal case affix *-dan* in the syntactic contexts described in 7.4.1.

General, uninflected forms and nouns inflected for masculine gender or plural number do not correspond to a case form and can function indifferently as A (the agent-like argument of transitive verbs), S (the only argument of intransitive verbs) and O (the patient of proto-typical transitive verbs).

The syntactic properties of nouns inflected for feminine gender are different, and feminine nouns can be seen as part of a separate system which encodes grammatical relations by means of inflectional cases (7.4.3). The feminine inflections *-no* and *-tóno* mark the subject case of feminine nouns. If a noun is inflected for feminine gender and does not function as S, it is marked by the oblique case *-n*. In section 7.4.3 it will be shown that nouns marked by the oblique case *-n* (glossed as F.OBL) trigger feminine agreement on verbs and modifiers, and they also have feminine semantic interpretation.

Two types of case suffixes can be distinguished in Hamar: phrasal case suffixes and inflectional cases. Phrasal case suffixes operate at NP level: case is encoded only once and it attaches to the rightmost element of the NP, including the modifiers of the head. The accusative case (7.4.1) and the non-core cases discussed in chapter 8 are phrasal case suffixes. Inflectional cases on the other hand are a property of the noun, which can be inflected for gender (including feminine subject case *-no* and the non-subject case *-n*) or for number. The oblique case *-n* is different from phrasal case affixes because it is marked on both the head and the modifier of a feminine NP and it obligatorily precedes any other phrasal case suffix. The morpheme *-n* occurs also in other domains and it functions as a marker of nominal dependency relations (7.4.4). Feminine subject case and oblique case play an important role in distinguishing passive from impersonal passive constructions when the single argument of the verb is feminine (7.4.5).

7.4.1 Accusative case

Accusative marking is not obligatory but object NPs can be marked by means of the accusative case *-dan*. Case suffixes, including the accusative *-dan*, attach to the rightmost element of the NP. The presence of the accusative marker does not code the definiteness of the object. The pronominal system of Hamar matches the pattern of accusative languages: object pronouns are derived from subject pronouns by the accusative marker *-dan*. The patient semantic role is the proto-typical role of the accusative case.

General forms and nouns inflected for M gender or PL number can function as A, S and O. In the examples below, the inflected masculine noun *sentâ* (general form: *seenî*) functions as O (25a), S (25b) and A (25c):

- (25a) **ínta sentâ pax-idí-ne**
 1SG stone:M throw-PF-COP
 I have thrown the stone (M)

- (25b) **sentâ pax-ađ-idí-ne**
 stone:M throw-PASS-PF-COP
 the stone (M) has been thrown

- (25c) **sentâ** **í = ďan** **qan-idí-ne**
 stone:M 1SG = ACC hit-PF-COP
 the stone (M) has hit me

In (25a) there is no need to mark *sentâ* with the accusative case since A is expressed by the pronominal subject form and O is occupying the object slot before the verb. In (26) below O is distinguished only by SOV constituent order. Note that the general forms *gibáre* and *háqa* in (26) can be also substituted with inflected forms, depending on the choice of expression of the speaker.

- (26) **gibáre** **háqa** **qunt'-idí-ne**
 wind tree break-PF-COP
 wind (0) has broken trees (0)

General forms, M nouns and PL nouns functioning as O can be additionally marked by the accusative marker *-ďan*. The accusative marker is used to disambiguate grammatical relations in equivocal syntactic contexts and for discourse recoverability.

The accusative suffix *-ďan* for instance is fundamental in complex clauses headed by uninflected verb forms which do not cross-reference the subject. This is particularly useful in clause-chaining since the syntactic subject of a clause may be expressed only once at the beginning of a long sequence of independent verb forms preceding the main verb. In the following example, the subject *bainó garró* 'the big river (F)' is expressed a couple of clauses before in an excerpt which is not included here. Since there is no subject cross-referencing on both the dependent (*ba?átte*) and independent (*yi?idí*) verb form, the two NPs in the clause need to be marked by the accusative case, otherwise the sentence would have a completely different interpretation.

- (27) **éedi-ďan** **kánki-ďan** **ba?á-tte** **yi?-idí**
 person-ACC car-ACC bring-SE go-PF
 (the big river) washed out people (0) and cars (0)

Without accusative marking the general form *éedi* 'person' would function as S and the general form *kánki* would be the O on the basis of constituent word-order, thus the example would mean 'a man brought a car and went away'.

Accusative marking in Hamar is not correlated with definiteness as shown in (27) above: the general forms *éedi* and *kánki*, which are uninflected and non-definite, are in fact marked by the accusative case. Impressionistically the accusative case occurs more frequently on definite (i.e. inflected for gender or number) NPs than on general forms, but this has to do with the overall occurrence in texts of non-definite

(uninflected) and definite (inflected) nouns, rather than the properties of accusative marking.

If an object NP is composed of a head plus more than one modifier, it is always marked by the accusative case:

- (28) **ínta saxá qullá sháaqa-na kirá-dan**
 1SG tomorrow goat:PL small-PL DEM1.PL-ACC
mashá = i = da mash-é
 slaughter = 1SG = IPFV slaughter-PRES
 tomorrow I will slaughter these small goats (PL)

The accusative case marks object constituents in clauses where the standard SOV word order has been altered, see (29) below and (4) in section 7.1.

- (29) **éé-na-dan kodí aash-idí**
 man-PL-ACC 3F hide-PF
 she hid the men (PL)

Accusative marking is also found in impersonal passive constructions, where the only argument of a passive verb is marked by *-dan*, see section 6.2.2 in chapter 6 and section 7.4.5 below.

Nouns inflected for F gender and functioning as O are marked by the oblique case (30), but they can be additionally marked by the accusative case (31):

- (30) **qullá shudí-n is-idí-ne**
 goat:PL grass-F.OBL bite-PF-COP
 a few goats (PL) ate the grass (F)
- (31) **isín-in-dan hámi-rra baská!**
 sorghum-F.OBL-ACC field-ABL carry.IMP.2SG
 carry the sorghum (F) from the field!

F nouns functioning as O occur always in the oblique case, regardless of whether the accusative case *-dan* is marked on the NP or not (cf. 7.4.3). This means that whenever the phrasal case suffix *-dan* is marked on a feminine NP, each noun in the feminine NP is marked by the oblique case *-n* as well.

The distribution of the accusative case *-dan* and the feminine oblique case *-n* reveals that Hamar employs differential object marking to distinguish objects with different pragmatic statuses and definiteness. The various morpho-syntactic strategies for object marking in Hamar are listed below and the order of presentation starts from the least functionally marked construction (32a) to the more marked one (32e).

The most unmarked construction occurs when the object is non-definite (i.e. uninflected nouns and noun phrases) and it is characterized by SOV word order and zero marking:

- (32a) **ínta borqotó qail-idí-ne**
 1SG headrest decorate-PF-COP
 I have decorated a headrest

The object in an SOV sentence can be feminine (32b) or masculine (32c) depending on pragmatic statuses: the default construction to mark definite objects consists in inflecting the object for feminine gender (-n), whereas masculine gender is used if the object is definite, specific and individuated:

- (32b) **ínta borqotó-n qail-idí-ne**
 1SG headrest-F.OBL decorate-PF-COP
 I have decorated the headrest

- (32c) **ínta ḅorqoṭ̰ qail-idí-ne**
 1SG headrest:M decorate-PF-COP
 I have decorated the headrest (i.e. this specific headrest we are talking about, the aforementioned headrest)

Contrastive focus on the object is signaled by the accusative marker *-dan* in a construction similar to (32c) and consisting of SOV order and masculine gender:

- (32d) **ínta ḅorqoṭ̰-dan qail-idí-ne**
 1SG headrest:M-ACC decorate-PF-COP
 I have decorated the aforementioned headrest (not something else)

Inverting the SOV order and fronting the object is a very marked construction. Moving the subject to the rhematic position just before the verb is used to mark contrastive focus on the subject:

- (32e) **ḅorqoṭ̰-dan ínta qail-idí-ne**
 headrest:M-ACC 1SG decorate-PF-COP
 I have decorated the aforementioned headrest (not somebody else)

The objects in (32e) can be substituted by a feminine inflected noun marked by the accusative case (*borqotó-n-dan*) if the pragmatic status of the object is only definite (instead of specific and individuated). The present analysis can provide only a partial overview of object marking, and further investigation is needed in order to determine how this type of differential object marking interacts with other

pragmatic principles such as animacy and whether the system is based on categorical vs.thetic contrast (Sasse 1987). The latter is a widespread feature in Nilo-Saharan languages (Dimmendaal 2010). The data suggest that the marker *-n* is the default marker for definite non-animate objects in unmarked constructions (32b); the accusative case *-dan* is instead used in marked constructions, in altered word orders, for focus coding and for discourse recoverability in ambiguous syntactic contexts. The accusative marker *-dan* does not code definiteness of the object since it can be found on both uninflected and inflected nouns (cf. example 27 above), whereas the marker *-n* marks definiteness (F=definite, cf. 7.3.1). The accusative marker *-dan* is suffixed to the NP (similar to other case suffixes it is suffixed only once to the rightmost element of the NP), whereas the oblique marker *-n* is an inflectional suffix that attaches to each element of the object NP, being a property of the noun.

7.4.2 Derivation of oblique feminine forms

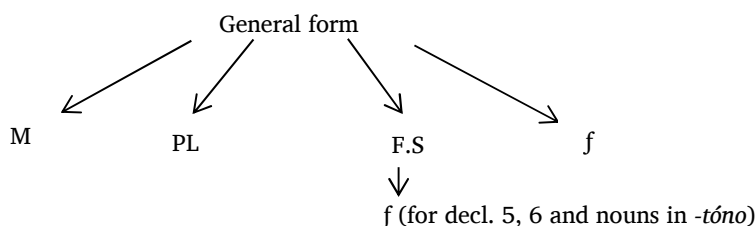
The oblique case *-n* is affixed to the general form of the noun. For feminine nouns belonging to declension 1, 4, 5, and some nouns of declension 6, the oblique form can be seen as the result of the elision of the vowel *-o* of the F.S suffix *-no*. However, declension 2 and 3, and some nouns of declension 6 do not fit in this pattern since the oblique case *-n* is clearly suffixed to the general form (cf. table 7.3 on the next page). The other option is to consider the feminine oblique form derived from the general form by suffixation of *-n*: this applies to declensions 1, 2, 3, 4, and some nouns of declension 6 (in bold in the table) but it does not work for declension 5 and 6 where the oblique form is derived from the feminine subject form.

Table 7.3: F subject form and F oblique form of nouns

Declension	General form	F.S (-no, -tóno)	F.OBL (-n)
1	meté 'head'	meténo	meté-n
2	ooní 'house'	onnó	ooní-n
3	panáq 'frog'	panánqo	panáq-in
4	ii 'stomach'	íino	ii-n
5	goití 'way' yáati 'sheep'	goinó yaatóno	goín yaatón
6	waakí 'cattle' éedi 'person'	wóngo woxóno éeno	wong-ín ~ waakí-n woxón éen ~ éen-in

Apart from the F nouns *wongín* and *éenín* where the oblique case is suffixed to the F.S form (when *-n* is suffixed to consonant ending nouns, a prosthetic vowel *-i* is inserted, cf. P3), in other nouns from declension 5 and 6 it is the final vowel *-o* of the F.S that is clearly elided, as in *woxón* <o> and *yaatón* <o>. Feminine nouns ending in *-tóno* are found across all the declensions and in the oblique case they all

undergo deletion of the final vowel *-o*. Nouns belonging to declension 5 and 6 are less than ten items. The morpheme *-n* exists independently of feminine subject nouns, and it can occur outside of the nominal domain, for instance it is found on verbs (see 7.4.4). For this reason, oblique feminine forms are analysed as derived by means of suffixation of *-n* to the general form.



Nouns belonging to declension 5 and 6 are analysed as exceptionally derived from feminine subject forms by deletion of the final vowel⁴² or suffixation of *-n*. Declension 6 nouns can be irregular, as illustrated in the following examples. In (33) the noun *waakí* ‘cow’ from declension 6 is inflected for F gender and covers S and O functions: S in (33a), O in (33b), (33c). The oblique form of the feminine noun for ‘cow’ can be either derived from the general form by suffixation of *-n* (33c), or it can be obtained from the subject feminine form *wóngo* (33b).

- (33a) **wóngo niʔ-idí-ne**
 cow:F.S come-PF-COP
 The cow (F) has come back

- (33b) **ínta wong-ín t’a-idí-ne**
 1SG cow.F-F.OBL milk-PF-COP
 I have milked the cow (F)

- (33c) **ínta waakí-n t’a-idí-ne**
 1SG cow-F.OBL milk-PF-COP
 I have milked the cow (F)

7.4.3 Feminine subject case and feminine oblique case

Nouns inflected for feminine gender by means of the inflections *-no* and *-tóno* can only function as A and S, including the S of copula clauses and S (patient) of passive verbs. Example (34) shows the difference between the feminine subject case (34a)

⁴² Vowel elision is attested also for the relative feminine suffix *-óno* when the relative clause functions as object (see MP3), (see chapter 8 on relative clauses), and whenever feminine demonstratives (*koró*, *ogoró*, *ogó*) are part of a NP which does not function as subject (see 7.4.3).

and the feminine non-subject case (or oblique) (34b) of the noun *édi* (general form, ‘person’). The noun *édi* has animate reference and it has two feminine forms, one for the female specimen (*ésono* ‘woman’), the other for the collective (*éeno* ‘people’), cf. chapter 3. In (34b) the feminine-collective noun functions as direct object thus it cannot be inflected as *éeno*, but it occurs in the oblique form *een*:

- (34a) **éeno gabá-n-te ko = d́aa-de**
 people:F.S market-F.OBL-LOC 3F = exist-PFV
 the people (F) are in the market

- (34b) **édi éen c’aq-idí-ne**
 person people.F.OBL evil.eye-PF-COP
 somebody (O) has cast the evil eye on the people (F)

Similarly in (35) below, the general form *uurí* ‘fight’ can be the feminine complement of the verb *gará* ‘stop’ only if it is in the oblique form. The subject feminine form *urró* cannot function as O (35b). The masculine form *uurê* instead has no restrictions and it can function as O (35c):

- (35a) **uurí-n gará**
 fight-F.OBL stop.IMP.2SG
 stop the war (F)!

- (35b) ***urró gará**
 fight:F.S stop.IMP.2SG

- (35c) **uurê gará**
 fight:M stop.IMP.2SG
 stop the fight (M)!

The oblique case marks feminine NPs functioning as direct or indirect object and it is suffixed to both the head and the modifiers of a NP. In (36) below the feminine-collective noun *woxóno* ‘herd of cows’ (derived from the general form *waakí*) functions as S in (36a) and as O in (36b). The feminine object NP in (36b) has the oblique case on both the head (*woxón*) and the following demonstrative (*ogón*).⁴³

- (36a) **woxóno ogoró ímba-sa-ne**
 herd.of.cows:F.S DEM2.F my.dad-GEN-COP
 that herd (F) is my dad’s

⁴³ The feminine distal demonstrative *ogó* is the shortened variant of *ogoró*, cf. table 4.6 in chapter 4.

- (36b) **woxón** **ogó-n** **gě-tte** **mée** **baré-xa**
 herd.of.cows.F.OBL DEM2.F-F.OBL herd-SE down bare-INS
ko = anshá-de
 3F = descend-PFV
 they drove that herd (F) and descended down through Baré

Both the head and the modifier of feminine NPs marked by phrasal case suffixes are marked for oblique case: this is the reason why the oblique case seems to ‘link’ feminine NPs to case suffixes. Phrasal case markers can be normally suffixed to M and PL inflected nouns and to the uninflected general form, see chapter 8 for an overview. Example (37) below shows the noun *pée* ‘land’ inflected for feminine subject case in (37a) and for feminine oblique case in (37b). In both examples, the feminine noun is modified by a possessive pronoun, however in (37a) the possessive NP ‘their land’ functions as S, whereas in (37b) the possessive NP ‘your land’ is embedded in a locative phrase, thus the oblique case is marked on both the head and possessive modifier:

- (37a) **pée-no** **kinnó** **agá-ne**
 land-F.S 3:F DEM2.M-COP
 their land (F) is that one
- (37b) **yáa** **maatá-ise** **pée-n** **hannó-n-te** **ardá**
 2SG turn-CNV1 land-F.OBL 2SG:F-F.OBL-LOC enter.IMP.2SG
 you turn and go back to your country (F)!

Similarly, the general form *ooní* ‘house’ is inflected for F subject case in (38a), where it functions as feminine S and as feminine nominal predicate; in (38b) the feminine NP ‘big house’ is nested in a phrase marked by the locative case *-te*, thus the whole NP is marked by the oblique case on both the head and the modifier. Example (38c) shows that nouns inflected for M gender are not affected by case suffixes, thus the M noun *ɔɔnɛ* in (38c) is not marked by the oblique case *-n*, but it is directly marked by the locative case:

- (38a) **onnó** **hamɓ-áino** **onnó** **garró-ne**
 house:F.S be.called-REL.PRES.F house:F.S big:F.S-COP
 what is called the F house, is the big house (F)
- (38b) **éedi** **ooní-n** **gaarí-n-te** **dáa-ne**
 person house-F.OBL big-F.OBL-LOC exist-COP
 there is somebody in the big house (F)

- (38c) **ɔɔné-te** **éedi** **dáa-ne**
 house:M-LOC person exist-COP
 there is somebody in the house (M)

The examples in (39) show the general form *goiti* ‘road’ inflected for F gender. In (39a) the F noun functions as S and it controls agreement on the relativized verb; in (39b) and (39c) the F noun occurs as complement of the verb and the locative case, respectively, thus it occurs in the oblique form.

- (39a) **kánki-n** **goínó** **dimeká-rra** **laili** **lála-xa**
 car-F.OBL way:F.S Dimeka-ABL IDEO.far Lala-INS
 yi?-áino
 go-REL.PRES.F
 the car-road (F) that goes (F) all the way from Dimeka through Lala
- (39b) **gáya** **iní** **won = ni?-énka** **goín** **dorqá-ise**
 baboon earlier 1PL = come-CNV2 way.F.OBL sit-CNV1
 dáa-ne
 exist-COP
 when we came earlier, Baboon was there sitting on the way (F)
- (39c) **gudirí** **darán** **goín-te** **ni?á-ɓ**
 hyena 3.ALL way.F.OBL-LOC come-NARR
 Hyena approached him on the way (F)

Other phrasal case suffixes such as the dative case in (40) below are suffixed to the oblique form of feminine nouns. In (40), the noun *panáq* ‘frog’ is inflected for feminine gender since it is used with collective reference (‘all the frogs’). The feminine subject case of *panáq* is *panánqo*, however in the example below the oblique form *panaqín* is used because of the dative case:

- (40) **panaqâ** **kalâ,** **panaq-ín-na** **párho-n** **giá-ɓ**
 frog:M one:M frog-F.OBL-DAT message-F.OBL tell-NARR
 one frog (M) passed on the message to all the frogs (F)

In (41) the noun *óolo* ‘hole’ is first marked by the locative case *-te* and then by the instrumental case *-ka*. In the first locative phrase the noun is inflected for M gender, in the second instrumental/perlative phrase it is inflected for F gender. The fact that the general form *óolo* ‘hole’ is inflected first for M gender and then for F gender is a choice of expression of the speaker, and the noun marked by the oblique case has feminine semantic interpretation:

- (41) **guní ɔɔlɔ-te ardá-ise óolo-n-ka ki = utá-de**
 snake hole:M-LOC enter-CNV1 hole-F.OBL-INS 3 = go.out-PFV
 Snake entering in the small hole (M) came out from the big hole (F)

The instrumental phrase ‘with my hand/s’ in (42) is composed of the noun *áan* ‘arm’ inflected for F gender in (42a), for M gender in (42b) and for PL number in (42c). The examples are extracted from the same folktale. In (42b) and (42c) masculine gender and plural number are used on pragmatic basis. The oblique case is used only with the feminine, definite, NP in (42a), and the fact that the noun marked by the oblique case has F gender can be seen also in the agreement with the following possessive pronoun:

- (42a) **áan-in innó-n-ka i = ti-idi-ánna**
 arm-F.OBL 1SG:F-F.OBL-INS 1SG = take-PF-OPT
 if I take with my hand (F)[...]
- (42b) **an-tâ inté-xa i = dum-idi-ánna**
 arm-M 1SG:M-INS 1SG = grab-PF-OPT
 if I grab with my hand (M) [...]
- (42c) **ánna inná-xa i = há = na dum-é**
 arm:PL 1SG:PL-INS 1SG = 2SG = DAT grab-PRES
 let me grab (it) for you with my hands (PL)
- (42d) ***ánno innó-ka, *ánno-n innó-ka**
 arm:F.S 1SG:F-INS arm:F.S-F.OBL 1SG:F-INS

As illustrated by the ungrammatical example in (42d), nouns and NPs inflected for feminine subject case cannot be marked by case suffixes. In this section it was illustrated that the oblique case suffix *-n* (and the oblique nominal forms for the irregular nouns described in 7.4.2) functions as non-subject marker for nouns and noun phrases inflected for feminine gender. The non-subject case *-n* (F.OBL) contrasts with the subject case *-no* (F.S), and in this context it can be analysed as an agreement marker (F). However, another morpheme *-n* (glossed as R) with slightly different functions is attested in other domains and it is not necessarily linked to feminine gender. This is discussed in the next section.

7.4.4 Nominal dependency relations

The morpheme *-n* (R) is homophonous to the feminine oblique case. Since it marks nominal dependency relations, regardless of the gender specification and the subject/non-subject function of the constituents on which it occurs, it is labelled ‘relational marker’. The discussion on dependency relations in this section includes

NPs marked by the comitative case, noun-noun compounds, arguments within relative clauses and complement clauses. These topics are discussed also in the pertinent sections of the book. The sub-set of clitic pronouns called ‘short form II’ in chapter 4 is also re-discussed here, since these pronouns contain the formative *-n* which can be analysed as relational marker.

The comitative case is suffixed to coordinated NPs as in the examples provided below (see chapter 8 for further details on the meaning and functions of the comitative case). The comitative case *-be* is directly suffixed to nouns inflected for masculine gender, whereas for feminine nouns, the oblique case *-n* is interposed between the noun and the comitative case. The morpheme *-n* gets assimilated to the following bilabial consonant:

- (43a) **imbá-be** **aaká-m-be** **óo** **yi?á-ise**
 father:M-COM grandmother-F.OBL-COM DST go-CNV1
 while the father (M) and the grandmother (F) go there [...]
- (43b) **ḍúká-be** **ḍúka-m-be** **hamḍ-é-sa**
 hill:M-COM hill-F.OBL-COM say:PASS-REL.PRES.M
wána~wána **wo = da-gi-é**
 different~different 1PL = IPFV-tell-PRES
 we will tell the difference between saying ‘M hill’ and ‘F mountain’

Despite the fact that the coordinated NPs function as the subject of the sentences in (43), the nouns inflected for F gender (*aaká-n* and *ḍúka-n*) occurs in the oblique case. These examples represent a bridging context that links the feminine non-subject function of the morpheme *-n* (glossed as F.OBL) to the more general function of dependency relation marker (glossed as R). In (43) the subject function is overruled by the syntactic restriction imposed by the comitative case on feminine nouns. Nouns and noun phrases inflected for F gender and marked by the comitative case can only occur in the oblique case, whereas the comitative case is suffixed directly to the M or PL inflected nouns and to uninflected general forms. However, when the comitative case is suffixed to personal pronouns (44a), the short form II of the pronominal clitic is used (cf. table 4.1 in chapter 4). Short form II clitic pronouns contain the morpheme *-n*: *i-n=*; *ha-n=*; *ki-n=*; *ko-n=*; *wo-n=*; *ye-n=*. Besides comitative pronouns, short form II are used to form possessive pronouns (45a), and to mark subject agreement on relativized verbs (46a) and on the different-subject converb *-énka* (47a) (see chapter 10 for subordinate clauses). Short form II pronouns can be re-analysed as short form I pronouns marked by the relational marker *-n* (44-45-46-47b):

- | | |
|--|--|
| (44a) kím = be kóm = be
3 = COM 3F = COM
he and she | (44b) kí = m-be kó = m-be
3 = R-COM 3F = R-COM
he and she |
| (45a) geshō inté
husband:M 1SG:M
my (M) husband | (45b) geshō i = n-té
husband:M 1SG = R-M
my (M) husband |
| (46a) kin = gi-â
3 = say-REL.PAST.M
what (M) he said | (46b) ki = n = gi-â
3 = R = say-REL.PAST.M
what (M) he said |
| (47a) kin = gi-énka
3 = say-CNV2
when he said | (47b) ki = n = gi-énka
3 = R = say-CNV2
when he said |

Apart from possessive pronouns and comitative pronouns, short form II pronouns are not used with other case suffixes, which are instead suffixed to short form I clitic pronouns (cf. chapter 4). Similarly, short form I clitic pronouns are used as subject markers on other dependent verb forms (chapter 10). The examples from (44) to (47) are the only instances of clitic pronouns marked by *-n*. In this context and in those illustrated in the following examples, the suffix *-n* does not function as feminine oblique case *-n* (F.OBL) and it is not associated with feminine gender.

The relational marker *-n* (R) is found on the first component of inflected noun-noun compounds (cf. also chapter 8, 8.3.2). The general form of noun-noun compounds has no marking, but when the compound is inflected, the relational marker links the first component to the following, inflected one:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| (48) General form: | dará ukulí ‘zebra’ (lit. lowland donkey) |
| M: | dará-n ukultâ |
| F: | dará-n ukultóno |
| PL: | dará-n ukullá |

Complement clauses which are not marked by subordinative verb suffixes (chapter 10, section 10.1.7), are marked by the relational marker *-n*. The relational marker *-n* functions as a nominalizer of the verbal complement. The verbal complement of the verb *gará* ‘stop’ for instance is always marked by the relational marker *-n*:

- | |
|--|
| (49a) dabí-đan deesá-n wo = gar-ánna payá-ne
wild.animal-ACC kill-R 1PL = stop-OPT good-COP
if we stop killing wild animals is good |
|--|

- (49b) **yáa oolá-n gará!**
 2SG bray-R stop.IMP.2SG
 don't you bray! (lit. stop braying)

The subject and the object arguments in the relative clause (section 7.7) are also marked by the relational marker *-n*: this explains why the clitic pronouns marking subject agreement on the relativized verb get the suffix *-n*, (cf. 50) with (46) above.

- (50) **qultâ otólo-n shan-â gob-idí-ne**
 goat:M Otólo-R buy-REL.PAST.M run-PF-COP
 the goat (M) that Otolo bought (M) has run away

The suffix *-n* is analysed as a polysemous morpheme which marks non-subject functions for feminine nouns and nominal dependency relations in other contexts. The bridging context that links the two functions can be observed on NPs marked by the comitative case, where the morpheme *-n* still works as a feminine agreement marker, but instead of marking oblique case, it marks the dependency relation between the feminine noun and the comitative case. The morpheme has a dedicated function for nominal dependency relations when it is found in the short form II clitic pronouns, in noun-noun compounds, in verb complementation and when it occurs on the arguments in the relative clause. In these contexts the morpheme loses its connection with feminine gender.

7.4.5 Impersonal passive constructions

As anticipated in chapter 6, passive derivation is used for passive and impersonal passive constructions. Different from true passive constructions, the patient of the derived passive verb is not promoted to subject but it remains in object function. Subject agreement on the verb is that of 3rd person feminine (if the verb paradigm requires pronominal subject marking, cf. chapter 6). Accusative case marking is obligatory on M and PL nouns since masculine and plural inflections do not encode subject/object functions. Feminine nouns occurring as the patient of an impersonal passive construction are always in the oblique case, and additionally, the accusative case can be suffixed to disambiguate equivocal interpretations.

Since nouns inflected for F gender are distributionally more frequent than other inflected and uninflected nouns (cf. 7.3 on feminine gender as the default strategy to encode definiteness), feminine subject case and feminine oblique case are crucial to distinguish passives from impersonal passives.

The following excerpt offers an overview of the functions covered by the feminine subject case as the single argument of a passive construction (51a) and the feminine oblique case as the single argument of an impersonal passive (51b). The oblique case marks also the object of the transitive verb in (51a):

- (51a) **noqó-no** **kaďá=ko** **kaď-é,**
 water-F.S pour:PASS = 3F pour:PASS-PRES
noqó-n **kaá-ise**
 water-F.OBL pour-CNV1
 the water will be poured, after pouring the water [...]

- (51b) **saskínna** **arsá-ise,**
 branches:PL insert-CNV1
noqó-n-ďan **kaďá=ko** **kaď-é**
 water-F.OBL-ACC pour:PASS = 3F pour:PASS-PRES
 after inserting some branches, the water will be poured

The feminine argument of impersonal passive constructions occurs either in the oblique case (52) or in the oblique case plus the accusative case as shown in (51b) above.

- (52) **parsí-no** **róoro** **kála** **ko = haaq-ína**
 beer-F.S day one 3F = stay-COND
aapó-n **galt'á** **galt'adá**
 mouth-F.OBL seal seal:PASS
 if the *parsí* rests for one day, the opening (lit. the mouth of the container) is sealed

The accusative case cannot be a cue to differentiate the O argument of a transitive verb from the O argument of an impersonal passive because its function is related to discourse recoverability and word order.

In (53) below for instance, the general form *naasí* 'young boy/girl' is inflected for feminine gender ('young girl') and it occurs in an impersonal passive construction (53a) and (53c), wherein it is marked only by the oblique case. In (53b) the same noun functions as direct O of a transitive verb and it is additionally marked by the accusative case. The accusative is necessary because of altered word-order: a periphrastic noun phrase marked by the instrumental case occurs after the verb.

- (53a) **imbá** **kí=na** **qánte** **naan** **oisadá-isaxa [...]**
 father 3 = DAT DAT girl.F.OBL ask:PASS-PAST.PF
 after the girl has been asked to the father himself [...]

- (53b) **náan-ďan** **oisá** **kénna** **koolí-n-ka**
 girl.F.OBL-ACC ask 3:OPT stick-F.OBL-INS
 if they ask the girl with the *koolí* stick

- (53c) **náan im6-idi-ánna [...]**
 girl.F.OBL give:PASS-PF-OPT
 and if the girl is given [...]

General forms of nouns functioning as the single argument of impersonal passives have not been attested so far; this gap is probably related to the fact that accusative marking on uninflected general forms is more rare. Nouns inflected for M gender or PL number are always marked by the accusative case when they function as the core argument of impersonal passives, see examples in chapter 6 (section 6.2.2) and below.

- (54a) **kéda aizé-ɗan ɗaxá = ko ɗaxaɗ-é**
 then goat.hide:M-ACC tie = 3F tie:PASS-PRES
 then the goat hide will be worn
- (54b) **aizê káa ká-te ɗaxá = ki ɗaxaɗ-é**
 goat.hide:M DEM1.M PRX.SP-LOC tie = 3 tie:PASS-PRES
 this goat hide will be tied exactly here

In (54a) and (55) accusative marking on the masculine arguments and 3F agreement on the verb are the cues for the impersonal passive construction.

- (55) **kéda waqaté-ɗan íi-rra káli-n-ka**
 then butter:M-ACC stomach-ABL spoon-F.OBL-INS
masá = ko masáɗ-é
 separate = 3F separate:PASS-PRES
 then the butter will be separated (from the milk) from the inside (of the calabash) with a spoon

7.4.6 Conclusions

The aim of this section was to explore grammatical relations and the encoding of core cases. The alignment system of Hamar is accusative: the pronominal system matches the pattern of accusative languages (chapter 4), and NPs functioning as O can be marked by the accusative case *-ɗan*, independently on whether they are inflected or not. Feminine marking implies a distinction between a subject case (*-no*, *-tóno*) and a non-subject case or oblique (*-n*); such distinction is not available for general forms, masculine nouns and plural nouns. If only feminine nouns are taken into consideration, the organization of grammatical relations resembles a marked-nominative of the type in which both nominative and accusative are morphologically marked (König 2006, 2008a & b). In fact, in line with marked-nominative languages, the nominative form of feminine nouns is functionally marked, whereas the oblique case, which encodes O as well, is functionally

unmarked since it is used with the widest range of functions. This is due to the fact that feminine gender is the default strategy to mark definiteness, as opposed to masculine and plural nominal inflections, which encode various semantic values and degrees of discourse prominence (7.3). In marked-nominative languages, however, the nominative is derived from the accusative and the accusative corresponds to the ‘citation form’, or ‘absolute case’. This is not the case for Hamar feminine nouns because the subject case and the oblique case in Hamar are both derived from uninflected general forms (except for the special cases discussed in 7.4.2).

The table below summarizes the organization of grammatical relations:

Table 7.4: Grammatical relations of inflected and uninflected nouns

	gen.	M	PL	F
O (and oblique)	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n ± <i>ḏan</i>
S (active)	✓	✓	✓	✓ + no\ + <i>tóno</i>
S (passive)	✓	✓	✓	✓ + no\ + <i>tóno</i>
O (impersonal passive)	-	✓ + <i>ḏan</i>	✓ + <i>ḏan</i>	✓ + n ± <i>ḏan</i>

A check mark ✓ signals that an inflected or uninflected noun can function in a specific syntactic role and it is further indicated whether accusative (*-ḏan*) or oblique (*-n*) case are obligatorily (+) or optionally (±) marked.

8 Syntax of the noun phrase

This chapter provides an overview of the noun phrase structure. Section 8.1 summarizes the agreement patterns within the NP and the possibility for uninflected nouns to be modified. Section 8.2 gives an overview of non-core cases: these are phrasal affixes which similar to the accusative case *-dan* discussed in chapter 7, attach to the rightmost edge of the NP. Section 8.3 is dedicated entirely to the genitive case and the expression of possession, whereas section 8.4 deals with relative clauses. The last section of this chapter treats conjunctive, inclusive and disjunctive coordination.

8.1 Agreement

Head nouns can be modified by attributive nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, possessive pronouns, and relative clauses. Since modifiers agree in gender and number with their heads, syntactic restrictions apply to uninflected nouns: the general form of nouns can only be modified by adjectives and attributive nouns, since the latter have an uninflected general form. Demonstratives, possessive pronouns and relative clauses agree in masculine and feminine gender, or in plural number with their heads, and do not have an uninflected form. Table 8.1 offers an overview of the syntactic restrictions for inflected and uninflected nouns in Hamar: a check mark ✓ signals the possibility for inflected and uninflected nouns to be modified. Relativized verbs are treated in detail in section 8.4.

Table 8.1: Syntactic restrictions for inflected and uninflected nouns

	gen.	M	PL	F
Demonstratives	-	✓	✓	✓
Possessive pronouns	-	✓	✓	✓
Relativized verbs	-	✓	✓	✓
Adjectives / attributive nouns	✓	✓	✓	✓

Masculine, feminine and plural agreement is found on each modifier of the head (1), whereas the ‘zero’ agreement of general forms can only be cross-referenced on attributive nouns and adjectives (2).

- (1a) **ɔɔnê likkâ haalê káa**
 house:M small:M new:M DEM1.M
 this small, new house (M)

- (1b) **onnó koró geccó-no innó-ne**
 house:F.S DEM1.F old-F.S 1SG:F-COP
 this old house (F) is mine

- (1c) **kidí qullá sháaqa-na igirá-dan shansh-idí-ne**
 3 goat:PL small-PL DEM2.PL-ACC buy:CAUS-PF-COP
 he has sold those small goats (PL)
- (2a) **shekíni déer**
 beads red
 red beads
- (2b) **éedi oshimḃá**
 person shy
 a shy person / shy people

The examples in (2) can be inflected for M/F gender and PL number as illustrated in (3) below, but the head nouns in (1) cannot occur in the general form because they are modified by demonstrative and possessive pronouns. Even though general forms cannot be modified by possessive pronouns, pronominal possession can still be expressed over uninflected forms by means of genitive-marked pronouns, see 8.3.3 below.

- (3a) **shekínno dérro**
 beads:F.S red:F.S
 red beads (F)
- (3b) **éε oshimḃâ**
 man:M shy:M
 the shy man (M)

Numerals, except for the numeral ‘one’ and for ordinal numbers do not inflect for gender, nor for number; numerals usually modify uninflected nouns. The numeral *kála* ‘one’ and ordinal numbers inflect for M and F gender and agree with the head they modify, see section 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 in chapter 5.

8.2 Non-core cases

This section discusses non-core phrasal case suffixes. The table below offers an overview of non-core cases, and the respective glosses are given in the last column. The genitive case is treated separately in section 8.3 together with possessive constructions.

Table 8.2: Non-core case suffixes

Case	Suffix	Gloss
Genitive	-sa	GEN
Dative	-na ; qánte ; nánte	DAT
Affective	-kal ~ -xal	AFF
Instrumental	-ka ~ -xa	INS
General locative	-te	LOC
Inessive	-r	IN
Adessive	-bar	AD
Specific allative	-dar	ALL1
General allative	-shet ~ -shette	ALL2
Ablative	-rra	ABL
Comitative	-be ~ -bet ~ -bette	COM

Table 8.3 illustrates the combination of phrasal case suffixes with general forms and inflected nouns. As shown in the table, the oblique case *-n* (cf. chapter 7, section 7.4.3) is never found on general forms and on nouns inflected for masculine gender or plural number, but it occurs only on feminine nouns, before phrasal case suffixes. Apart from a few exceptions (indicated by an asterisk * if there are particular restrictions, or by an hyphen if a case suffix is not attested with a particular inflection), case marking is generally possible with both inflected and uninflected nouns. The exceptions are due to the morpho-phonological make up of some case suffixes, or simply to accidental gap in the data. These exceptions will be mentioned along with the discussion accompanying each case suffix.

Table 8.3: Case marking on inflected and uninflected nouns

	gen.	M	PL	F
accusative	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n ± ACC
genitive	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + GEN
dative	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + DAT
affective	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + AFF
instrumental	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + INS
general locative	*	✓	-	✓ + n + LOC
inessive	✓	-	-	-
adessive	✓	✓	-	✓ + n + AD
specific allative	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + ALL1
general allative	✓	✓	-	✓ + n + ALL2
ablative	✓	-	-	-
comitative	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + COM

8.2.1 Dative case

The semantic roles associated with the dative case are recipient and benefactive (4), and we will see later on that the dative case is used with other functions as well. The examples below show the dative case suffixed to clitic pronouns and to NPs:

- (4a) **múna** **kí=na** **imá**
 sorghum.dumplings 3 = DAT give.IMP.2SG
 give him sorghum dumplings!
- (4b) **í=na** **dungurí** **jaagá**
 1SG = DAT sandal sew.IMP.2SG
 sew sandals for me!
- (4c) **há=sa** **geshón-na** **nagáya** **hamá**
 2SG = GEN wife.F.OBL-DAT peace say.IMP.2SG
 say 'nagáya' to your wife
- (4d) **ukulê** **káa-na** **galá-n** **im-é**
 donkey:M DEM1.M-DAT food-F.OBL give-IMP.2PL
 give the food to this male donkey!

Two verbs take a dative complement in fixed expressions: the verb *gobá* 'run' with a dative complement translates as 'run away from'. The example below show the verb 'enter' with a dative complement (5a) and with a subject argument (5b):

- (5a) **há=na** **ard-idú?**
 2SG = DAT enter-PF.INT
 did you understand? (lit. did it enter to you?)
- (5b) **yáa** **ard-idú?**
 2SG enter-PF.INT
 did you get in?

The dative case is used as well in comparative constructions to mark the standard NP, see also chapter 9 on copular clauses:

- (6) **ɔɔnê** **agá** **ɔɔnê** **káa-na** **geccó-ne**
 house:M DEM2.M house:M DEM1.M-DAT old-COP
 that house is older than this house

The dative case *-na* has two allomorphs cases, *nánte* and *qánte*, which are used analytically. The dative *qánte* can be added after the dative case to emphasize the recipient reading:

- (7a) **kodí éé-na-na qánte aapó gi-idí**
 3F man-PL-DAT DAT message say-PF
 she told a message to/for the men
- (7b) **kí=na qánte álpa wul imá-ḡ**
 3=DAT DAT knife all give-NARR
 (he) gave him all the knives
- (7c) **wáa-n-ḡan éen-na qánte kashá-ise**
 meat-F.OBL-ACC people.F.OBL-DAT DAT distribute-CNV1
 after distributing the meat to the people [...]
- (7d) **ínta há=na qánte saxá saʔáti lammá-xa yaatí**
 1SG 2SG=DAT DAT tomorrow hour two-INS sheep
baʔá-te niʔ-ó=i=de
 bring-SE come-PURP=1SG=PFV
 tomorrow at two I will come and bring a sheep for you

The marker *qánte* occurs in complex predicates to mark inceptive aspect, see also chapter 9, section 9.1.7:

- (8) **wodí yiʔ-ánna qánte**
 1PL go-OPT DAT
 we are about to go

The expression ‘for this reason, because of that’ is expressed in Hamar with a dative construction involving the marker *qánte*:

- (9) **ogó-na qánte yáa núu-ḡan deesá!**
 DEM2.F-DAT DAT 2SG fire-ACC kill.IMP.2SG
 for that reason, kill Fire!

The analytic dative case *nánte* is often found in combination with nouns inflected for plural number: compare (10a) and (10b) below:

- (10a) **zóbo-na nánte yin ko=giá-de**
 lion-PL DAT so 3F=tell-PFV
 she said so to the lions

- (10b) **zóbo-na ko = giá-de**
 lion-DAT 3F = tell-PFV
 she said to Lion

The dative *nánte* however is not obligatory with plural nouns. Plural nouns can be marked by the dative suffix case, but the sequence *-na-na* (-PL-DAT) is more rare. Compare (11) below with (7a) above.

- (11) **zóbo ée-na nánte ki = giá-de**
 lion man-PL DAT 3 = tell-PFV
 Lion said to the men

The two analytic dative cases *qánte* and *nánte* are clearly related to each other, and they can be both seen as being composed of the general locative case *-te*. *nánte* is probably the result of assimilation between the dative case suffix *-na* and the benefactive marker *qánte* (the uvular can be reduced to glottal stop and to zero, cf. chapter 2). The analytic case *nánte* can be suffixed to clitic pronouns (short form I). Compare the two examples given below:

- (12a) **ínta yé = na yer gi-idí-ne**
 1SG 2PL = DAT thing tell-PF-COP
 I told you (PL) something
- (12b) **ye = nánte waadíma i = da-kash-é**
 2PL = DAT work 1SG = IPFV-distribute-PRES
 I'll give you (PL) work / I'll give work for you

8.2.2 Affective case

The affective case⁴⁴ represents an involuntary experiencer participant which is not visibly affected by an event. The action expressed by the verb does not involve volition nor a change of state (13).

- (13a) **gaitâ gaaré-be gaitâ likká-be**
 baboon:M big:M-COM baboon:M small:M-COM
qáara-be zóbo-xal ki = dáa-de
 monkey-COM lion-AFF 3 = exist-PFV
 the big baboon, the small baboon, and the vervet monkey lived at Lion's place

⁴⁴ The term is borrowed from linguistic descriptions of some North-East Caucasian languages where a special affective case marks the senser of verbs of feeling or perception, cf. Comrie (1981:223-224). I thank Denis Creissels for pointing it out to me.

- (13b) **shóqo kóopini-sa rɔɔ-tá-xal t'eezí dorq-idí**
 tick squirrel-GEN leg-M-AFF near sit-PF
 Tick sat close to the squirrel's leg

- (13c) **ínta há = xal dáa-ne**
 1SG 2SG = AFF exist-COP
 I am with you (i.e. I won't leave you)

In (13) the affective case marks the affected experiencer which lacks control over the situation expressed. The affective case can be used in place of the genitive case on the possessor NP for predicative possession (14).

- (14) **qáski-xal bóndi kála dáa-da**
 dog-AFF ten one exist-IPFV
 Dog had ten birr

The typical function of the affective case is to mark the experiencer of sensation and perception verbs; the source of the sensation is treated as the subject of the construction:

- (15a) **úuma í = xal gaam-idí-ne**
 flower 1SG = AFF smell-PF-COP
 I smell the scent of the flower (lit. flower smells at me)

- (15b) **wó = xal qajá ko = qaj-é**
 1PL = AFF be.cold 3F = be.cold-PRES
 we will feel cold (lit. it will be cold at us)

The verb *gaamá* in example (15a) can take also an allative complement, see example (26) below. The affective case can also be suffixed to pronouns to mark animate participants which are somehow related to the event described in an intransitive clause (16). In this context the affective case occurs in the form *-kalánka* (the velar *k* is fricativized in intervocalic position, cf. chapter 2, section 2.1.1.⁴⁵

- (16a) **wɔxá i = xalánka goín-te di-idí-ne**
 ox:M 1SG = AFF road.F.OBL-LOC die-PF-COP
 the ox died on me along the way

⁴⁵ *-kalánka* can also be segmented as *-kalán* followed by the instrumental *-ka*. *kalán* is the alternative form of the oblique pronoun *kí = xal* or *kó = xal*, see chapter 4, section 4.1.3.

- (16b) **i = xalánka ðaq-idí-ne**
 1SG = AFF be.wrong-PF-COP
 I am wrong, I made a mistake
- (16c) **qultóno i = xalánka kai-idí-ne**
 goat:F.S 1SG = AFF be.lost-PF-COP
 I lost the herd of goats

This construction resembles those found in some Romance languages which use a dative pronoun, usually referred to as dative of interest, in order to add an extra argument to intransitive clauses.

8.2.3 Instrumental case

The instrumental case *-ka* encodes instrument (with, by means of) but also temporal and perlocative (through). The overlap between instrumental (17) temporal (18) and perlocative (19) will be shown in the following examples. The instrumental case does not have a comitative meaning and the concept of ‘together with’ is expressed instead by the comitative case, see 8.2.4.

- (17a) **ínta riggíma-xa ási-n shurt-idí-ne**
 1SG chew.stick-INS tooth-F.OBL brush-PF-COP
 I brushed my teeth with a chew stick
- (17b) **róo-n-ka wo = yiʔ-é**
 leg-F.OBL-INS 1PL = go-PRES
 let’s go on foot
- (18a) **rɔɔrɔ ɔittɔ-xa mótta-no baxá baxadá**
 day:M fourth:M-INS fermented.dough-F.S cook cook:PASS
 on the fourth day, the fermented dough will be cooked
- (18b) **yáa pər beré saʔáti kála-xa niʔá**
 2SG IDEO.again later hour one-INS come.IMP.2SG
sóoti-n-ka geshɔ ínte qolê
 night-F.OBL-INS husband:M 1SG:M exist.not
 you also, come later at one, at night my husband is not there
- (19) **goín ogó-xa, ɔra laii wóna-xa**
 way.F.OBL DEM2.F-INS HI IDEO.far wóna-INS
ko = niʔá-de
 3F = come-PFV
 by that road, they came all the way through Wóna to here

The instrumental case can be used as a vocative marker on nouns and on proper names:

- (20a) **éen-ka** **yedí** **í = na** **birr** **im-é!**
 people.F.OBL-INS 2PL 1SG = DAT bərr give-IMP.2PL
 oh people! give me money!
- (20b) **guní-xa** **zóbo-dan** **deesá!**
 snake-INS lion-ACC kill.IMP.2SG
 oh Snake! kill Lion!

8.2.4 Locative cases

Case marking plays an important role in Hamar spatial description and there are up to seven cases used for location of referents in the spatial domain.

Static location is expressed by the general locative case *-te* (21), the inessive case *-r* (22) and the adessive case *-bar* (23). These cases occur hardly ever with motion verbs. If motion verbs are used in combination with these locative cases, the emphasis is on the goal of the motion, i.e. the landmark towards which the motion is directed. Other cases are used in combination with motion verbs to describe path of motion events, see below. The following example illustrate the expression of static location by means of the general locative case (21). The general locative case *-te* is homophonous with the same-event converb marker *-te*, see chapter 10.

- (21) **t'álian** **niʔá-ise** **boráan** **pée-n-te** **gebí**
 Italians come-CNV1 Boraana.F.OBL land-F.OBL-LOC a.lot
dorq-idí
 sit-PF
 the Italians came and stayed for long time in the land of the Boraana

The inessive case involves containment in the space denoted by the NP (22a), (22b) and it denotes static location in delimited areas such as villages or small places (22c):

- (22a) **yərâ** **kalâ** **há = sa** **íi-r** **dáa-ne**
 thing:M one:M 2SG = GEN belly-IN exist-COP
 there is something inside of you (i.e. there is something wrong with you)
- (22b) **tumbuqúlo** **pée-r** **ardá-ise** **shid-idí**
 worm ground-IN enter-CNV1 stay-PF
 Worm entered in the ground and remained there

- (22c) **náa** **ínta** **shánqo-r** **isín** **shoosh-idí-ne**
 yesterday 1SG Shanqo-IN sorghum roast-PF-COP
 yesterday I roasted sorghum in Shanqo

The adessive case denotes close contact and expresses proximity to the described place:

- (23) **haqattâ** **yáan-sa** **mizaqá-bar** **ki = dâa-de**
 tree:M sheep.F.OBL-GEN right-AD 3 = exist-PFV
 the small tree is at the right of the female sheep

The allative (motion to), perlative (motion through), and ablative (motion away from) cases describe goal, trajectory and source of movement. There are two allative cases, the specific allative *-dar* and the general allative *-shet*. The allative *-shet* denotes motion towards places (24) without any specific denotation, whereas the allative *-dar* involves movement towards a goal with contact (25):

- (24a) **laii** **sagá-te** **kéna-shet** **ko = yi?á-de**
 IDEO.far continue-SE Kenya-ALL2 3F = go-PFV
 they continued and went all the way to Kenya

- (24b) **mée** **yín** **gurmá-n** **káara-n-shet** **yín**
 downwards so slope-F.OBL Kara-F.OBL-ALL2 so
gob-idí-ne
 run-PF-COP
 so they ran down the slope towards Kara

- (25a) **noqó** **núu-dar** **laalimá-ise** **núu** **di-idí**
 water fire-ALL1 leak-CNV1 fire die-PF
 Water leaked on Fire and Fire died

- (25b) **dâa-n-dan** **báakulo-n-dar** **woisá-ise**
 pot-F.OBL-ACC stone-F.OBL-ALL1 put-CNV1
 after putting the pot on the cooking stones [...]

The verb *gaamá* 'smell' can take an allative complement denoting the experiencer of the action:

- (26) **doobí** **í = dar** **gaam-idí-ne**
 rain 1SG = ALL1 smell-PF-COP
 I smell the scent of the rain (lit. rain smells to me)

Source is expressed by the ablative case *-rra*:

- (27a) **pée-n wonnó-rra yáa utá!**
 land-F.OBL 1PL:F-ABL 2SG go.out.IMP.2SG
 get out of our land!

- (27b) **qullá-ďan yaaná-rra ed-é!**
 goat:PL-ACC sheep:PL-ABL separate-IMP.2PL
 separate the goats from the sheep!

- (27c) **ínta Diméka-rra iní i = ni?á-de**
 1SG Dimeka-ABL earlier 1SG = come-PFV
 I came earlier from Dimeka

Apart from the instrumental case *-ka* which can have a perlocative reading (cf. 8.2.3 example 19), there is a postposition in Hamar which is used to designate motion through, across or along the space referred to by the NP. The postposition *róxa* is used in the following way:

- (28a) **noqó róxa háan ba?á-tte ardá = i = da ard-é**
 water PER 2SG:ACC bring-SE enter = 1SG = IPFV enter-PRES
 I will carry you across the water and I will immerse myself in it

- (28b) **qáu róxa róoro kála yi?-idí**
 forest PER day one go-PF
 one day (he) went through the forest

- (28c) **kəs̥ có-rra túra dúka-na róxa utá-ise**
 ball:M down-ABL up mountain-PL PER go.out-CNV1
 after the ball climbs up and passes through the mountains [...]

The perlocative postposition can be analysed as composed of the inessive case *-r* and the instrumental/perlocative case *-ka*.

Locative case suffixes show some restrictions and they cannot be suffixed to any noun. The inessive (*-r*) and the ablative (*-rra*) are found only on the general form of the noun and on proper nouns (names of places). The reason for that could be due to the phonological shape of the case suffixes. The adessive (*-bar*) and the allative case (*-shet*) are never attested with plural nouns, but these gaps are probably accidental. Similarly, the general locative case (*-te*) is not found with plural nouns. General uninflected forms do not get the general locative suffix *-te*, but if a non-definite location has to be expressed, the locative case is suffixed to the modifier *wa* ‘another’ following the uninflected noun:

- (29a) **raqí wá-te**
 place another-LOC
 somewhere else (lit. in another place)

- (29b) **baití wá-te**
 river another-LOC
 in a river

8.2.5 Comitative case

This section treats the functions of the comitative case as phrasal case suffix. The function of the comitative case has been extended to coordination at NP level (30d): this topic is developed in section 8.5.

The comitative case *-be* denotes the relationship of accompaniment between the participants of an event: comitative and instrumental are thus marked differently. The comitative case has three allomorphs: *-be*, *-bet* and *-bette*. The latter usually occurs before a pause. As mentioned in chapter 4 and in the previous sections, the comitative case is suffixed to the short form II of clitic pronouns, and the nasal consonant assimilates in place of articulation to the following bilabial consonant. The comitative case is suffixed on both NPs:

- (30a) **ínta kóm = be yi?á = i = da yi?-é**
 1SG 3F = COM go = 1SG = IPFV go-PRES
 I'll go with her

- (30b) **qáara-bet kínka báz-in-dar ki = yi?á-de**
 monkey-COM together river-F.OBL-ALL1 3 = go-PFV
 He went to the river together with Vervet Monkey

- (30c) **dattâ hám = bette éedi-sa aafó-n-ka**
 animal:M 2SG = COM person-GEN mouth-F.OBL-INS
ḍalq-â
 talk-REL.PAST.M
 the wild animal that talked to you like a person (lit. with the mouth of a person)

- (30d) **geshóm-be geshó-be kínka ooní kála-sa**
 wife.F.OBL-COM husband:M-COM together house one-GEN
íi-n-te ki = dáa-de
 stomach-F.OBL-LOC 3 = exist-PFV
 the wife and the husband were together inside a house

8.3 Genitive case and possessive constructions

This section compares genitival constructions and the encoding of possessive constructions within the NP. The genitive case is discussed in 8.3.1 and compared vis-à-vis juxtaposition in 8.3.2. In 8.3.3 the use of the possessive pronoun is contrasted with the genitive-marked pronouns. Kinship terms have special possessed forms which are described in 8.3.4.

8.3.1 Genitive case

The genitival relation between two nouns or NPs is expressed by the genitive case *-sa*. The genitive case is suffixed to the last word of the NP functioning as possessor, and the possessed follows the genitival modifier. This order does not fit with the general order at NP level, whereby modifiers follow their heads. The genitive construction in Hamar denotes various types of relationships, which do not always involve actual possession. The relationships expressed by the genitival construction are the following: ownership (31) (32), whole-part relationship (33) including body parts of humans (34) and animals (35), partitive (36), and kinship relationship (37).

- (31) **bargám̐ba-sa** **qullá-dan** **ko = bombí-n-ka** **maccá-de**
Bargamba-GEN goat:PL-ACC 3F = bomb-F.OBL-INS finish-PFV
they killed (some of) Bargamba's goats with bombs
- (32) **hámmo** **koró** **shulí-sa-ne**
field:F.S DEM1.F Shuli-GEN-COP
this field belongs to Shuli (lit. this field is Shuli's)
- (33) **ɔɔnê** **likká-sa** **yéela-no** **ɖamm-ídí**
house:M small:M-GEN roof-F.S fall-PF
the roof of the small house fell down
- (34) **walé-sa** **rɔɔ-tâ** **ai-ídí-ne**
Walé-GEN leg-M be.broken-PF-COP
Wale's leg is broken
- (35) **éedi** **wa** **máaqa-sa** **dubaná** **tax-ídí-ne**
person another lizard-GEN tail cut-PF-COP
somebody has cut a lizard's tail
- (36) **éɛ-na** **dóng-isa** **éɛ** **kalâ** **ka-ídí**
man-PL five-GEN man:M one:M get.lost-PF
of five people, one got lost

- (37a) **áari-sa indá-na áli-be dóbo-be-ne**
 Aari-GEN mother-PL Ali-COM Dobo-COM-COP
 Ali and Dobo are Aari's mothers⁴⁶

- (37b) **ínta ánamo-n innó-n-sa geshô i = aapá-de**
 1SG friend-F.OBL 1SG:F-F.OBL-GEN husband:M 1SG = see = PFV
 I saw the husband of my friend (F)

Note that in (37b) the possessor NP is itself a possessive construction with a possessive pronoun. Locational NPs, which mostly involve spatial terms related to body parts, are also marked by the genitive case (38):

- (38a) **gaitâ utá-te hattá-sa zuló-te dorqá-isɔxa**
 baboon:M climb-SE tree:M-GEN back:M-LOC sit-PAST.PF
 after the baboon climbed and sat on the very top of the tree

- (38b) **kɔsô háqa-na-sa gidí-n-ka gungumá-te ki = yiʔá-de**
 ball:M tree-PL-GEN middle-F.OBL-INS roll-SE 3 = go-PFV
 the ball rolled and passed through the trees

- (38c) **dáa-n-sa sukká-n-te núu-n gutt-é**
 pot-F.OBL-GEN around-F.OBL-LOC fire-F.OBL light.fire-IMP.2PL
 light the fire around the pot

The genitive case is used for predicative possession in existential clauses, and it can mark the standard NP in comparative constructions (see chapter 9).

8.3.2 Juxtaposition and genitive constructions

In addition to the genitive-marked constructions, nouns can be simply juxtaposed. Juxtaposition is rarely used to mark ownership, but it is attested in body terms denoting whole-part relationship and in noun-noun compounds:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(39a) dará ukulí
 lowland donkey
 'zebra'</p> | <p>(39b) áapi síiti
 eye hair
 'eye lash'</p> |
| <p>(39c) búushi síiti
 chin hair
 'beard'</p> | <p>(39d) nukí óolo
 nose hole
 'nostril'</p> |

⁴⁶ The second mother is the second wife of her father.

As mentioned in chapter 7 (section 7.4.4), when the compounds above are inflected, the relational marker is suffixed to the first element of the compound. Other parts of the body are described with genitival constructions:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------------------|--------------|
| (40a) | áapi-sa | t'ía | (40b) | áan-isa | buudó |
| | eye-GEN | black | | arm-GEN | back |
| | 'pupil' | | | 'back of the hand' | |

Juxtaposition is preferred over genitive marking in the case of extended NPs already marked by the genitive case. In (41a) below the NP [Dobo's house] functioning as the possessor of the genitive construction, is itself a possessive construction, thus the ownership relationship between the possessor 'Dobo' and the possessed 'house' is encoded by juxtaposition. Note that Hamar does not make distinctions on the nature of the possessor or the possessed (such as alienable or inalienable): 'house' can occur as the possessed element of a genitival construction as shown in (41b):

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (41a) | dóbo | ooní-n-sa | yéela-no | si-idí-ne |
| | Dóbo | house-F.OBL-GEN | roof-F.S | be.broken-PF-COP |
| | The roof of Dóbo's house is broken | | | |
-
- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------|
| (41b) | dóbo-sa | ooní-n-dar | i = da | yi?-é |
| | Dóbo-GEN | house-F.OBL-ALL1 | 1SG = IPFV | go-PRES |
| | I go to Dóbo's house | | | |

Example (42) shows a sequence of three possessive constructions: the first relationship is expressed by juxtaposition, the following two are genitive-marked. In this case the genitive-marked locational NP is also the possessed of a genitival construction; the ownership relation between the possessor 'Walé' and the possessed 'ox' is thus expressed by juxtaposition.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (42) | walé | waxá-sa | qushumbá-n-sa | íi-n-te | ardá-ise |
| | Walé | ox:M-GEN | horn-F.OBL-GEN | stomach-F.OBL-LOC | enter-CNV1 |
| | entering inside the horns of Walé's ox [...] | | | | |

8.3.3 Possessive pronouns and genitive-marked pronouns

Both possessive pronouns and genitive-marked pronouns can modify inflected NPs. They can be used with kinship terms, animates, inanimates and body parts. The use of inflected possessive pronouns seem to correlate with specific pragmatic contexts in which a stronger contrast is expressed (cf. 43a and 43b). However, for some of the examples given below (44) the two pronouns are interchangeable without changing the meaning:

(43a) **í = sa an-tâ ai-idí-ne**
 1SG = GEN arm-M be.broken.PF.COP
 my arm is broken

(43b) **an-tâ inté ai-idí-ne**
 arm-M 1SG:M be.broken.PF.COP
my arm is broken

(44a) **í = sa námmo bárqi-ne**
 1SG = GEN name:F.S Barqi-COP
 my name is Barqi

(44b) **námmo ínno bárqi-ne**
 name:F.S 1SG:F Barqi-COP
 my name is Barqi

(45a) **naasâ í = sa aajaď-idí-ne**
 boy:M 1SG = GEN be.sick-PF-COP
 my son is sick

(45b) **naasâ inté aajaď-idí-ne**
 boy:M 1SG:M be.sick-PF-COP
 my son is sick

Genitive pronouns cannot modify possessive constructions which have dependency relations with the clause: apart from the comitative case discussed above, double-case marking is not allowed. For this reason, the instrumental case in example (46) can only mark a possessive phrase in which the possessor is a possessive pronoun:

(46) **zóbo ínta aaf-idí-ne, áapi-n innó-n-ka**
 lion 1SG see-PF-COP eye-F.OBL 1SG:F- F.OBL-INS
 I have seen a lion, with my eyes

Genitive-marked pronouns represent the only way to express pronominal possession over general uninflected forms: since possessive pronouns agree in gender or number with the possessed NP, they cannot modify general forms:

(47a) **í = sa ánamo ens-ó i = da-yi?-é**
 1SG = GEN friend go.with-PURP 1SG = IPFV-go-PRES
 I go to accompany a friend of mine

- (47b) **í = sa** **zará** **da-shoq-é**
 1SG = GEN skin IPFV-stink-PRES
 I stink (lit. my skin stinks)

In existential sentences expressing predicative possession, the pronominal possessor can only be marked by the genitive case: inflected possessive pronouns cannot occur in predicative possession.

- (48) **éedi** **makkán** **kó = sa** **báski** **dáa**
 person three 3F = GEN lover exist
 she has three lovers

As shown in chapter 4, section 4.2, genitive pronouns and possessive pronouns co-occur to emphasize possession.

8.3.4 Kinship possession

A possessive phrase such as ‘my father’ can be expressed either by the possessive pronoun modifying the noun for ‘father’ or by a special possessed form. Most possessed kinship terms take on short form I clitic pronouns when the possessor is the first (*i-*) or second (*ha-*) person singular. These proclitics function as possessive pronouns only when they are cliticized to the kinship terms for ‘mother’, ‘father’, ‘older sister’, ‘older brother’ and ‘younger brother or younger sister’. The cliticization of short form I pronouns triggers some changes in the phonological make up of kinship terms. First of all, the 1st and 2nd person pronouns trigger a change in the position of tone. For nouns beginning in *i*, like ‘mother’, ‘father’, or ‘older brother’, the difference between the first person possessed form and the general form is purely tonal. The 2nd person clitic pronoun *ha-* replaces of the initial vowel of kinship terms:

Table 8.4: Possessed kinship terms

Kinship terms	Possessed forms
indá ‘mother’ (gen.)	índa ‘my mother’ hánda ‘your mother’
indána ‘mothers’ (PL)	índana ‘my mothers’ hándana ‘your mothers’
imbá ‘father’ (gen.)	ímba ‘my father’ hámba ‘your father’
imbána ‘uncles’ (PL)	ímbana ‘my uncles’ hámbana ‘your uncles’
mísha ‘older sister’ (gen.)	ímisha ‘my older sister’ hámisha ‘your older sister’
ishím ‘older brother’ (gen.)	íshim ‘my older brother’ háshim ‘your older brother’

kána ‘younger sibling’ (gen.)	íkana ‘my younger brother’ hákana ‘your younger brother’ íkanno ‘my younger sister’ (F) hákanno ‘your younger sister’
-------------------------------	--

The possessed kinship terms are used in the following ways:

- (49a) **índa-na** **sóofa-be** **kerí-be-ne**
 my.mother-PL Sóofa-COM Kerí-COM-COP
 Sóofa and Kerí are my mothers
- (49b) **woxóno** **ogoró** **ímba-sa-ne**
 cow:F.S DEM2.F my.father-GEN-COP
 that is my father’s herd of cows
- (49c) **hámba** **háine?**
 your.father who
 who is your father?
- (49d) **íkanno** **sirmá-ne**
 my.sister:F.S pregnant-COP
 my younger sister is pregnant

Possessed kinship terms can be modified by possessive pronouns to emphasize possession:

- (50) **hámmo** **koró** **íshim** **inté-sa-ne**
 field:F.S DEM1:F.S my.brother 1SG:M-GEN-COP
 this field belongs to my older brother

The noun *misó* ‘friend’ has been attested in the possessed form with the clitics *i-* and *ha-* even though strictly speaking it does not fall in the category of kinship terms. The nouns for ‘wife’ or ‘husband’ can be only possessed by means of possessive pronouns.

8.4 Relative clauses

In many regards, this section only scratches the surface of Hamar relative clauses, and further investigation is needed to fully understand this topic.

Relative clauses are formed by nominalized verbs following their head noun. Only inflected and definite head nouns can be modified by relative clauses, and there are no special pronouns introducing them (but see locative relative clauses below).

Verbs can be nominalized by suffixing nominal markers to the verb root. Nominalized verbs are participial forms which agree in gender and number with the head they modify. The nominal markers are identical to the regular nominal inflections *-â* (M), *-no* (F) and *-na* (PL) except for the fact that they are preceded by a vowel and attach to verb roots (cf. chapter 3, section 3.6). The masculine present nominalizing suffix show that there was a vowel *i* between the verb root and the agreement marker, and it assimilated.

Table 8.5: Nominalizing suffixes

	Present	Past
M	-ê	-â
F	-áino	-óno
PL	-áina	-ána

These nominalizing suffixes can be used to derive adjectives from stative verbs (see chapter 3) and to form relative clauses:

- (51a) **ée** **dagad-â**
 man:M be.angry-REL.PAST.M
 the angry man (the man who is angry)

- (51b) **ée** **shúfo-n-te** **dorq-â** **ímba-ne**
 man:M shadow-F.OBL-LOC sit-REL.PAST.M my.father-COP
 the man who is seated in the shadow is my father

Nominalized verbs can be agentive as in (51a) and (52a).

If the action expressed by the verb has present or future reference, the nominalizing suffixes *-ê*, *-áino*, and *-áina* are used (52a & b). If the event has taken place in the past, the markers *-â*, *-óno* and *-ána* are suffixed to the verb (51b).

- (52a) **parsí-n** **wuc'-óno**
 beer-F.OBL drink-REL.PAST.F.S
 the *parsí* drinker (F) / The one who drank *parsí*

- (52b) **sáa** **éeno** **parsí-n** **wuc'-áino**
 SLEV people:F.S beer-F.OBL drink-REL.PRES.F.S
í = sa **anamó-ne**
 1SG = GEN friend-COP
 those people over there who are drinking *parsí* beer are my friends

The nominalizing suffixes are labelled 'relative present' and 'relative past' since they mark relative clause constructions with present or past reference, compare for instance (53) below with (51b) above. In (51b) the relativized verb *dorqâ* has a

resultative meaning, whereas the relativized verb *dorqê* in (53) is interpreted as a present event which is being witnessed by the speakers:

- (53) **sáa shúfo-n-te dorq-ê ímba-ne**
 SLEV shadow-F.OBL-LOC sit-REL.PRES.M my.father-COP
 the one who is sitting in the shadow over there is my father

Relative present suffixes are used for present and future reference (54) whereas relative past suffixes have past reference (55). Present and future are lumped together in the negative paradigms, see chapter 12, section 12.3.

- (54a) **wɔxá ɔra niʔ-ê agá wongéla-sa**
 ox:M HI come-REL.PRES.M DEM2.M Wongéla-GEN
wɔxá-ne
 ox:M-COP
 the ox which is coming towards us, that is Wongéla's ox
- (54b) **saxá ɓáa lála-r han = aaf-áino índa-ne**
 tomorrow UP Lala-IN 2SG = see-REL.PRES.F.S my.mother-COP
 the one (F) you will see tomorrow up there in Lala is my mother
- (55a) **náa gabá-n-te han = aaf-óno**
 yesterday market-F.OBL-LOC 2SG = see-REL.PAST.F.S
índa-ne
 my.mother-COP
 the one (F) you saw yesterday in the market is my mother
- (55b) **boqólla kim = baʔ-ána makkán-ne**
 kernel:PL 3 = bring-REL.PAST.PL three-COP
 the kernels (PL) that he brought (PL) were three

The complex NP (the head noun plus the relative clause) can be slotted into whatever position a noun phrase can fill, thus it can function as subject (56), direct object (57), and object of non-core cases (58). The nominalized verb shows agreement with the relativized position:

- (56a) **qultâ gabá-rra in = shan-â aajaɗ-idí-ne**
 goat:M market-ABL 1SG = buy-REL.PAST.M be.sick-PF-COP
 the goat (M) that I bought in the market is sick

- (56b) **gaitóno** **náa** **qáu-n-te** **in = aap-óno**
 baboon:F.S yesterday forest-F.OBL-LOC 1SG = see-REL.PAST.F.S
ko = diá-de
 3F = die-PF
 the baboon (F) I saw yesterday in the forest died

The syntactic restrictions which apply to feminine NPs (cf. chapter 7, section 7.4.3 on feminine subject case and feminine oblique case) are valid also in the context of relative clauses. The feminine complex NP in (56b) functions as subject and this is signalled by subject feminine markers on the head noun *gaitóno* and the nominalized verb *aapóno*, both glossed as 'F.S'. Compare example (56b) with (57b) and (57c) below where the feminine complex NP functioning as direct object is marked by the non-subject (oblique) case *-n*:

- (57a) **qultâ** **in = shan-á-dan** **mash-atíne**
 goat:M 1SG = buy-REL.PAST.M-ACC slaughter-PRES.NEG.1SG
 I won't slaughter the goat (M) that I bought

- (57b) **gabá-n-te** **qulí-n** **in = shan-ón**
 market-F.OBL-LOC goat-F.OBL 1SG = buy-REL.PAST.F.OBL
ínta mash-idí-ne
 1SG slaughter-PF-COP
 I've slaughtered the goat (F) that I bought in the market

- (57c) **éeno** **in = bask-ón-dan** **shan-ê**
 people:F.S 1SG = carry-REL.PAST.F.OBL-ACC buy-PRES.NEG.3
 people won't buy what (F) I have brought

The non-subject function on the nominalized verb with feminine agreement in (57b) and (57c) is obtained by deleting the final vowel *-o* of the subject feminine suffix *-ono* (or *-no*), cf. chapter 2, morpho-phonological rule MP3.

The complex NP can function as object of peripheral cases as illustrated below:

- (58) **gabá-rra** **murâ** **kin = shan-á-xa**
 market-ABL gun:M 3 = buy-REL.PAST.M-INS
qáu-n-te **dabí** **dees-ó** **ki = yi?-é**
 forest-F.OBL-LOC wild.animal kill-PURP 3 = go-PRES
 he goes to kill wild animals in the forest with the gun (M) he bought from the market⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The adjunct *gabárra* 'from the market' is part of the relative clause but it is not included in it.

Any argument within the relative clause is marked by the relational marker *-n* regardless of whether it functions as subject or object of the relative clause. The relational marker can also be individuated in the clitic pronouns marking subject agreement on the relativized verb, cf. chapter 7, section 7.4.4. The examples in (59) illustrate the object argument, whereas examples in (60) show it on the subject argument of the relativized verb.

- (59a) **sáa naasâ parsí-n wuc'-ê agá**
 SLEV child:M parsí-R drink-REL.PRES.M DEM2.M
íkana-ne
 my.younger.brother-COP
 the boy (M) over there who is drinking (M) *parsí*, that is my younger brother
- (59b) **dámpo-n shansh-áino ogoró índa-ne**
 tobacco-R sell-REL.PRES.F.S DEM2.F my.mother-COP
 that one (F) who is selling tobacco is my mother
- (60a) **qulló otólo-n shan-óno di-idí-ne**
 goat:F.S Otólo-R buy-REL.PAST.F.S die-PF-COP
 the goat (F) that Otolo bought died
- (60b) **qullá walé-n shan-ána**
 goat:PL Walé-R buy-REL.PAST.PL
 the goats (PL) that Walé bought
- (60c) **burcukô ballé-n ba?-â damm-idí-ne**
 glass:M Ballé-R bring-REL.PAST.M fall-PF-COP
 the glass (M) that Ballé brought fell

The head noun of a complex NP is omitted in headless relative clauses:

- (61a) **han = aaf-áino índa-ne**
 2SG = see-REL.PRES.F.S my.mother-COP
 the one (F) you are seeing is my mother
- (61b) **'t'álian gállo' hamô-óno**
 Italians enemy:F.S say:PASS-REL.PAST.F.S
 the so-called (F) 'Italian enemies' (lit. those called 'Italian enemies')

- (61c) **kéda, yi?-ána lax**
 then go-REL.PAST.PL six
 then, those who went (PL) were six

When the relativized position is a locative phrase, a dedicated relative suffix is used. The relative suffix *-kir* attaches to the subject clitic cross-referencing the subject of the relativized verb, and the relativized verb gets feminine agreement by default.

- (62a) **kín = kir ut-óno ácci.algóne-ne**
 3 = REL.LOC climb-REL.PAST.F.S Ácci Algóne-COP
 Ácci Algóne is the place where they climbed
- (62b) **ín = kir aǰǰá-ise geǰ-óno**
 1SG = REL.LOC give.birth:PASS-CNV1 grow.up-REL.PAST.F.S
búska-r-ne
 Buska-IN-COP
 the place where I was born and where I grew up is in Búska
- (62c) **t'álian gállo hamǰ-áino, kón = kir**
 Italians enemy:F.S say:PASS-REL.PRES.F.S 3F = REL.LOC
ni?-óno keǰá-rra-ne
 come-REL.PAST.F.S Kenya-ABL-LOC
 the so-called 'Italian enemies', the place where they came from is Kenya

8.5 Coordination

This section offers an overview of the various strategies for coordinating phrases ('and clauses') of equal rank: conjunctive, inclusive and disjunctive coordination.

8.5.1 Conjunctive coordination

In section 8.2.5 it was anticipated that the comitative case *-be* is used for coordination at noun phrase level. Conjunctive coordination in Hamar is bisyndetic (Haspelmath 2004): two or more NPs can be conjoined by suffixing the comitative case to each conjoined NP (62). In coordination the allomorphs of the comitative case *-bet* and *-bette* are never used.

- (63) **kéda shid-ána kóopini kím = be núu-be**
 then be.left-REL.PAST.PL squirrel 3 = COM fire-COM
noqó-be-ne
 water-COM-COP
 then, those who were left were the Squirrel and with him the Fire and the Water

As it was illustrated in chapter 7, feminine nouns marked by the comitative case occur in the oblique form even if they function as subject (cf. section 7.4.3):

- (64) **hámar-im-be** **gélaba-m-be** **uurí** **kans-idí-ne**
 Hamar-F.OBL-COM Dhaasanc-F.OBL-COM conflict fight-PF-COP
 the Hamar people and the Dhaasanac people have fought

If the conjoined NP is marked by other case suffixes, the comitative case precedes them:

- (65a) **gaitâ** **gaaré-sa** **εεβέ-be** **giné-be-dan**
 baboon:M big:M-GEN hide:M-COM tendon:M-COM-ACC
baʔá-ise **qáara-na** **ki = imá-de**
 bring-CNV1 monkey-DAT 3 = give-PFV
 he brought the skin and the tendon of the big baboon and gave them to the vervet monkey

- (65b) **ée** **káa** **walé-be** **ím = be-sa** **imbá-ne**
 man:M DEM1.M Walé-COM 1SG = COM-GEN father-COP
 this man is my and Walé's father

- (65c) **yáano** **naasá-be** **yaatá-be-sa**
 sheep:F.S boy:M-COM sheep:M-COM-GEN
gidí-n-te **ko = dáa-de**
 middle-F.OBL-LOC 3F = exist-PFV
 the female sheep is between the boy and the male sheep

8.5.2 Inclusive coordination

For inclusive coordination (i.e. 'both ... and' coordination) the inclusive marker *-l* is suffixed to the NP. However, as the examples show, this is rather a strategy for sentential coordination than NP coordination since the two conjoined NPs belong to two identical conjoined sentences:

- (66a) **qáski-l** **gecc-idí** **ukulí-l** **gecc-idí**
 dog-INCL become.old-PF donkey-INCL become.old-PF
 both Dog and Donkey became old

- (66b) **éé-xa háqa-no-l há = xal-ne, áнно**
 man:M-VOC tree-F.S-INCL 2SG = AFF-COP arm:F.S
hannó-l há = xal-ne, gétte deesá!
 2SG:F-INCL 2SG = AFF-COP hit.SE kill.IMP.2SG
 oh man, you have both the big branch and your arms, hit and kill! (lit. the big branch is also with you, your arms are also with you)
- (66c) **ukulí desí máan-il c'aaná~c'aaná,**
 donkey similar woman.F.OBL-INCL load~load
angé-l c'aaná~c'aaná
 man:M-INCL load~load
 (they) load both the woman and the man like donkeys
- (66d) **há = sa-l gulpá qolê, kí = sa-l gulpá qolê**
 2SG = GEN-INCL illness exist.not 3 = GEN-INCL illness exist.not
 for both you and him there won't be misfortune

As mentioned in chapter 4, when the inclusive suffix is marked only once, it translates as 'also, as well' (67):

- (67) **geshón-dan-il per kidí gī-idí**
 wife.F.OBL-ACC-INCL again 3 hit-PF
 he hit the wife as well

8.5.3 Disjunctive coordination

For disjunctive coordination, the disjunctive Amharic conjunction *wei* (68a) or the marker *-mo* (68b) are used. The disjunctive marker *-mo* is used more commonly in interrogative sentences, where it is suffixed to verbs, see chapter 11, section 11.2.4. The disjunctive marker is monosyndetic and it works both at clause level (68a) and at phrase level (68b):

- (68a) **ḡáa-bar wo = yi?-é wei cóo-bar wo = yi?-é**
 UP-AD 1PL = go-PRES or DOWN-AD 1PL = go-PRES
 let's either pass above or below
- (68b) **naasâ yaaná-sa berá-n-te-mo tudí-n-te?**
 boy:M sheep:PL-GEN in.front-F.OBL-LOC-DISJ buttock-F.OBL-LOC
 Is the boy in front or behind the sheep?

The disjunctive conjunction *wei* borrowed from Amharic has been attested also in the neighbouring language Aari (Bender 1991:94).

When one wants to stress that the choice between two conjoined NPs is compulsory (i.e. ‘either...or’), an alternative construction is used. Clitic pronouns are attached to the optative marker *-anna* (which is used in conditional clauses, c.f. section 10.1.4 in chapter 10), plus the inclusive marker *-l*:

- (69) **mugá** **kénna-l** **áari** **kónna-l** **ki = niʔ-é**
 Muga 3:OPT-INCL Aari 3F:OPT-INCL 3 = come-PRES
 let either Muga or Aari come

9 Simple clauses

This chapter provides an overview of simple clauses in Hamar, and it describes the expression of TAM values in main clauses. Simple clauses contain one independent clause formed by the main final verbs described in 9.1. Since TAM values can be expressed periphrastically in complex predicates, these will be discussed in section 9.1 for ease of reference. The chapter treats copular clauses (9.2) and existential clauses (9.3) as well. Dependent clauses are described in chapter 10.

9.1 Independent verb forms

This section offers an overview of main (final) verb paradigms. Independent clauses (i.e. stand-alone clauses) in Hamar contain the verb paradigms illustrated by the verb *wuc'á* 'drink' in tables 9.1 and 9.2.

Table 9.1: Independent verb forms (1SG) - Simple predicates

Simple predicates	
Imperative	wuc'á (SG addressee)/ wuc'é (PL addressee)
General Declarative	wuc'á~wuc'á
Present and Jussive	i = da- wuc'é
Future	wuc'á = i = da wuc'é
Intentional Future	wuc'ó = i = de
Perfect	wuc'-idí
Perfective	i = wuc'á-de
Imperfective	i = wuc'á-da
Narrative	wuc'á-ḡ

Table 9.2: Independent verb forms (third person) - Complex predicates

Complex predicates	
Progressive	wuc'á-te ki = dáa-de
Inceptive	wuc'-ánna ki = dáa-de
Optative	kidí wuc'-ánna zag-idí
Completive	kidí wuc'á-ise shid-idí
Experiential	kidí wuc'á-ise des-ê
Present Probability	kidí wuc'-íma gar-ê
Past Probability	kidí wuc'-idí da-íma gar-ê
Irrealis	wuc'á-te ki = ḡaqábe

Dependent forms, which are syntactically subordinated to the main verbs, are discussed in chapter 10. Aspect and tense are expressed mainly syntactically, by means of periphrastic constructions, stem reduplication, auxiliaries and the combination of verb roots and stems with verbal markers. There are two aspectual

markers: the perfective marker *-de*, which denotes a temporally bounded event seen in its entirety, and the imperfective marker *-da*, which denotes events whose temporal boundaries are unknown. The two markers seem to have originated from the existential verb *dáa*.⁴⁸ These are not marked on all paradigms but they are found in the main tenses, namely the past, the present and the future. The perfect marker *-idí* can also be seen as composed of a formative *-d-* derived from the existential *dáa*. Regardless of the presence of the aspectual markers *-de* and *-da*, tense always carries aspectual information in declarative-affirmative verbs. Aspect is not marked in negative paradigms and in interrogative content questions, which instead distinguish only between past and non-past (chapter 11 and 12). There are no sentence type markers in Hamar, nor are there morphemes which mark exclusively declarative, imperative or interrogative mood.

In the following sections the paradigms are organized in simple predicates and complex predicates depending on whether they involve periphrastic constructions. Simple predicates will be discussed one by one, whereas complex predicates are treated together under section 9.1.7.

9.1.1 Imperative

The imperative is one of the few ‘inflected’ paradigms within the Hamar verbal system (cf. chapter 6, section 6.3.3). The singular addressee corresponds to the verb root plus *-á* (1); the plural addressee is formed by the root plus *-é* (2).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) gi-á!
say-IMP.2SG
say! (SG addressee) | (2) gi-é!
say-IMP.2PL
say! (PL addressee) |
|--|--|

For the other persons (the jussive), the present paradigm is used (see 9.1.3).

The emphatic particle *-tá* can be suffixed to the singular addressee of the imperative to express stronger force: this is often used by adults addressing children or between same-age peers.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (3a) yáa fayá gi-a-tá!
2SG well say-IMP.2SG-EMPH
say it well! (speak well!) | (3b) búno baʔá-ise shopá-na im-a-tá!
coffee bring-CNV1 guest:PL-DAT give-IMP.2SG-EMPH
bring coffee and give it to the guests! |
|---|---|

⁴⁸ cf. also Dime where the imperfective marker *-dée-* derived from the existential verb *déen* (Mulugeta 2008: 125).

In sequences of commands, the verbs preceding the final imperative form are always marked by subordinating verbal markers, as in (3b) above (see chapter 10 for subordinate clauses).

9.1.2 General Declarative

The General Declarative is expressed by the reduplication of the citation form of the verb, and it translates the general stance of the speaker, that is it is used to express common truths (4a, 4c), general facts (4b), actions which are planned or take place over specific periods of time or actions which are the logical next step in procedural texts (4d, 4e):

- (4a) **gudirí wongá-dan gaʔá~gaʔá**
 hyena cows:PL-ACC bite~bite
 hyenas bite the cows
- (4b) **bító wuc'á~wuc'á**
 Bító drink~drink
 Bító drinks
- (4c) **éedi wul ási pandát nashá~nashá**
 person all tooth gap like~like
 everybody likes (girls with) gap teeth
- (4d) **agá-rra santé-xa doolá-n qadá~qadadá**
 DEM2.M-ABL cloth:M-INS milk.churn-F.OBL rub~rub:PASS
 after that, the milk churn is rubbed with the cloth
- (4e) **agá-rra kéda dáa-n-dar arsá~arsadá**
 DEM2.M-ABL then pot-F.OBL-ALL1 insert~insert:PASS
 after that, it is inserted in the pot

Examples (4d) and (4e) contain reduplicated passive verbs: only the second (final) stem is extended by the passive derivation. This is common for passive derived stems which get reduplicated, see also the future tense discussed below. The passive derivation is not repeated on the reduplicated verb but it occurs only on one of the two verb stems.

9.1.3 Present, Jussive, Future and Intentional Future

The present and future belong to the set of paradigms for which anaphoric subject clitics are used (cf. table 6.6 in chapter 6). The present is formed by the subject clitic

and the aspectual marker *-da* prefixed to the verb stem ending in *-é* (5). The present refers to actions which take place at the moment of speaking:

- (5) **kánki-xa wo = da-yi?-é**
 car-INS 1PL = IPFV-go-PRES
 we go by car

The aspectual marker is always omitted with third persons: the third person conjugation is generally irregular across paradigms.

- (6a) **wongá diibá-ise wóon ki = dees-é**
 cows:PL steal-CNV1 1PL:ACC 3 = kill-PRES
 they steal our cows and kill us

- (6b) **róoro wul kínka ki = yay-é**
 day every together 3 = move-PRES
 every day they move together

The jussive mood is formed by omitting the aspectual marker *-da* from the Present (7). This means that there is no difference between present tense and jussive mood for third persons, see the full paradigm in table 9.3.

- (7a) **wo = yig-é**
 1PL = play-PRES
 let's play!

- (7b) **ínta kála bish i = da-ool-é, kála bish**
 1SG one only 1SG = IPFV-bray-PRES one only
i = ool-é!
 1SG = bray-PRES
 I bray only once, let me bray just once!

Table 9.3: Present and jussive conjugations

	Present	Jussive
1SG	i = da- wuc' -é	i = wuc' -é
2SG	ha = da- wuc' -é	-
3M/3PL	ki = wuc' -é	ki = wuc' -é
3F	ko = wuc' -é	ko = wuc' -é
1PL	wo = da- wuc' -é	wo = wuc' -é
2PL	ye = da- wuc' -é	-

Future tense is derived from the present by adding a reduplicated verb stem ending in *-á* before the present paradigm (8). The subject clitic and the aspectual marker

can be cliticized to the first verb stem in fast speech (8a). As for the General Declarative, passive derived verbs in the future get the derivational passive suffix only on the final stem (8b).

- (8a) **ínta bashá=i=da bash-é**
 1SG win=1SG=IPFV win-PRES
 I will win

- (8b) **doolá-no sharká=ko sharkad-é**
 milk.churn:F.S shake=3F shake:PASS-PRES
 the milk churn will be shaken (with a piece of smouldering charcoal)

Some passive verb stems, however, are reduplicated and the passive derivation is repeated in the reduplicated stem, see for instance example 26 in section 10.1.5, chapter 10.

Intentional future can be expressed only for the first person singular. The verb form consists of the purposive marker *-o* (see chapter 10, section 10.1.5) and the perfective marker *-de*. The intentional future translates the intention and willingness of the speaker to perform the action expressed by the verb. The action is intended to be performed soon after the moment of speaking:

- (9a) **ínta kais-ó=i=de**
 1SG disappear:CAUS-PURP=1SG=PFV
 I'll disperse (them)!

- (9b) **támpo boʔ-ó=i=de**
 tobacco bring-PURP=1SG=PFV
 I'll bring tobacco!

Intention can be expressed also by the future tense illustrated in (8) above. The difference between the future and the intentional future lays in the temporal boundary of the action: for the ordinary future marked by the imperfective aspect *-da*, the beginning or the end of the action performed by the verb is not known, as it is not known whether the action will ever take place. The intentional future marked by *-de* denotes an action which will be performed soon after speaking, cf. (10a) and (10b):

- (10a) **ínta haan kalshá=i=da kalsh-é**
 1SG 2SG.ACC help=1SG=IPFV help-PRES
 I will help you (now, later, one day)

- (10b) **ínta haan kalsh-ó=i=de**
 1SG 2SG.ACC help-PURP=1SG=PFV
 I will help you (right now)

9.1.4 Perfect

The perfect form of the verb is invariable with all persons and it is characterized by the suffixation of the perfect marker *-idí* to the verb root. Previous analysis (Lydall 1976; Cupi et al. 2012) considered the first vowel *-i* of the perfect suffix *-idí* part of the verb stem. The verb stem ending in *-i* was thus referred to as the ‘perfect stem’ (Cupi et al. 2012) or ‘descriptive stem’ (Lydall 1976). As already mentioned in chapter 6 and in section 9.1 above, the present study does not associate aspectual values to verb stems.

The perfect refers to actions viewed as already completed at the time of reference. The completed action might have present relevance:

- (11a) **t’álian kéda ni?-idí**
 Italians then come-PF
 the Italians then came
- (11b) **qáski-l gecc-idí ukulí-l gecc-idí**
 dog-INCL become.old-PF donkey-INCL become.old-PF
 both Dog and Donkey became old
- (11c) **núu guní-ɖan dees-idí**
 fire snake-ACC kill-PF
 Fire killed Snake

The copula *-ne* can additionally be suffixed to the perfect form of the verb to mark focus (similar to what is described in 9.3 for the existential verb *dáa*). When the copula *-ne* is suffixed to the perfect form of the verb, the scope of the focus is on the entire clause (the truth value of the entire clause is asserted):

- (12) **ínta kátti purɖ-idí-ne**
 1SG a.lot be.full-PF-COP
I am completely full (I have eaten a lot)

The perfect marker is suffixed to adjectival stative verbs to express states:

- (13) **naanó qajaɖ-idí-ne**
 girl:F.S be.tired-PF-COP
 the girl is tired

9.1.5 Perfective and Imperfective

Perfective and imperfective are formed by the citation form of the verb plus the aspectual markers *-de* (14) and *-da* (15) respectively. These verb forms are labelled ‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective’ since they primarily encode aspectual distinctions, however perfective and imperfective are often used with reference to past events. The perfective describes events which are seen as temporally bounded. In the perfective the emphasis is put on the whole event, whereas in the perfect described above the emphasis is on the end point of the action.⁴⁹

- (14a) **gáya-be kóopini-be kínka haamí ki = paxá-de**
 baboon-COM squirrel-COM together field 3 = till-PFV
 Baboon and Squirrel tilled a field together
- (14b) **“gaitâ likká-xa wongá-dan gishá!”**
 baboon:M small:M-INS cows:PL-ACC herd.IMP.2SG
hamá-ise ki = giá-de
 say-CNV1 3 = tell-PFV
 “oh small baboon, herd the cows!”, he said
- (14c) **ínta búska-r i = addá-de**
 1SG Buska-IN 1SG = give.birth:PASS-PFV
 I was born in Buska

The perfective describes events whose internal composition is not further analyzable, whereas the imperfective denotes temporally unbounded event which might have been performed habitually, continuously or for long periods.

- (15a) **t’álian ká-te qaldó-n-te qaná-da**
 Italians PRX.SP-LOC lap-F.OBL-LOC hit-IPFV
 the Italians used to hit here on the laps
- (15b) **sóqo-no óo somále-n pé-rra badá-da**
 salt-F.S DST Somali-F.OBL land-ABL bring:PASS-IPFV
 the salt was brought from there, from the land of the Somali

⁴⁹ The difference between perfective and perfect in Hamar is well described in the difference drawn by Comrie between ‘complete’ and ‘completed’ actions (Comrie 1976:18): “The perfective does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end. The use of ‘completed’, however, puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation, whereas the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis, necessarily, on the end of a situation than on any other part of the situation, rather all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole”.

- (15c) **kéda laii yi?á-da, báa búska ko = utá-de**
 then IDEO.far go-IPFV UP Búska 3F = climb-PFV
 then (they) kept on going further on, and climbed up at Búska

Verbs marked by the imperfective aspect can be repeated to express the iterative aspect of the action:

- (16) **éen-na qánte wáa-n ogó-dan**
 people.F.OBL-DAT DAT meat-F.OBL DEM2.F-ACC
taxá-da taxá-da
 cut-IPFV cut-IPFV
 (he) kept on cutting that meat for the people

The suffix *-da* marking imperfective aspect is sometimes found before the verb. I do not have an explanation for the movement of the imperfective marker *-da*, and speakers confirmed that there is no change in meaning:

- (17a) **kidí wushkí-n-ka kat'á-te da-ni?á**
 3 bullet-F.OBL-INS shoot-SE IPFV-come
 they were coming shooting the bullets
- (17b) **mangisê káa banqí da-zagá**
 government:M DEM1.M fight IPFV-want
 this *government* was looking for war
- (17c) **kodí t'álian gállo da-hamhá**
 3F Italians enemy:F.S IPFV-say:PASS
 They were/used to be called 'the Italian enemies'
- (17d) **qáski-be ukulí-be kínka ooní-n-te da-ashká**
 dog-COM donkey-COM together house-F.OBL-LOC IPFV-do
 Dog and Donkey were working together in the house

9.1.6 Narrative

The narrative marker *-b* is suffixed to the citation form of the verb and it is used in the narrative flow to mark sequential actions. Narrative verbs are uninflected.

- (18a) **gámuri ni?á-b, gámuri ni?á-ise**
 jackal come-NARR jackal come-CNV1
báasha-dan yedá-b
 chicken-ACC catch-NARR
 the jackal came, the jackal came and caught the chicken

- (18b) **gaitâ** **aafó-n** **galt'á-ḡ**, **hayá-ise**,
 baboon:M mouth-F.OBL seal-NARR do-CNV1
yí = sa **qáu** **róxa** **yi?á-ḡ**
 REFL = GEN forest PER go-NARR
 the baboon sealed the opening, then went through the forest

9.1.7 Complex predicates

This section offers an overview of complex predicates and the periphrastic expression of aspect and mood in main clauses. Complex predicates generally consists of a final auxiliary verb which provides information on tense, aspect, and person specification, plus a verb providing semantic content and functioning as the predicate of the auxiliary. Even though the lexical verb is syntactically dependent on the main final auxiliary verb, the periphrasis as a whole is understood as a single predicate. For more details on subordinating suffixes see chapter 10.

The auxiliary *dáa* 'exist' is used for the expression of progressive (19) and inceptive (20) aspect. Progressive and continuous actions are expressed by the existential predicator *dáa* (see also 9.3) and the complement verb marked by the same-event marker *-te*. The converb marker *-te* is homophonous with the locative case *-te* which is suffixed to NPs and nouns, thus the construction can be alternatively seen as a locative construction. The same-event converb covers a range of several syntactic functions, see chapter 10 for more details.

The auxiliary *dáa* can be marked by the aspectual markers *-da* and *-de*: the perfective marker *-de* suffixed to the existential verb generally has present interpretation, whereas the imperfective marker *-da* gives past reading to the predicate:

- (19a) **kɔsɔ** **mée** **anshá-te** **ki = dáa-de**
 ball:M down descend-SE 3 = exist-PFV
 the ball is descending down
- (19b) **gudirí-be** **panáq-be** **kí = dan** **bagá-te** **dáa-da**
 hyena-COM frog-COM 3 = ACC tease-SE exist-IPFV
 Hyena and Frog were teasing each other

The inceptive aspect of an action is given by the optative marker *-ánna* (see chapter 10) suffixed to a complement verb in an existential construction:

- (20a) **dommó** **qan-ánna** **ko = dáa-de**
 rain:F.S hit-OPT 3F = exist-PFV
 It is about to rain

- (20b) **naaná** **raat-ánna** **ki = dáa-de**
 children:PL sleep-OPT 3 = exist-PFV
 the children are falling asleep (are about to sleep)

The notion of imminence can be conveyed also by the combination of the dative marker *qánte* and the optative marker (cf. chapter 8, section 8.2.1). In these constructions the dative marker *qánte* has a verbal complement:

- (21a) **ínta** **yi?-ánna** **qánte**
 1SG go-OPT DAT
 I am about to go
- (21b) **guní** **kí = ďan** **ga?-ánna** **qánte**
 snake 3 = ACC bite-OPT DAT
 a snake was ready to bite him

If the existential auxiliary in (20b) is changed into a volitional verb the construction does not convey inceptive meaning, but instead it takes on an optative meaning, i.e. it translates the wish of the subject:

- (22a) **naaná** **raat-ánna** **zag-idí**
 children:PL sleep-OPT want-PF
 the children want to sleep
- (22b) **índo-be** **ímbo-be-na** **kurí** **ba?-ánna** **zag-idí-ne**
 mum-COM dad-COM honey bring-OPT want-PF-COP
 (I) want to bring honey to mum and dad

The verb of cognition ‘think’ often has the optative suffix on its complement verb, combined with the benefactive marker as in (23) below (see also complement clauses in chapter 10):

- (23a) **róoro** **kála** **shóqo-be** **kóofini-be** **kínka**
 day one tick-COM squirrel-COM together
gob-ánna **qaabá-da**
 run-OPT think-IPFV
 one day, Tick and Squirrel were planning to race each other

- (23b) **éedi kála-be qáari-be kínka baití**
 person one-COM python-COM together river
sag-ánna qánte qaabá-ḡ
 cross-OPT DAT think-NARR
 a guy and a python were planning to cross a river together

Other verbs can add aspectual meaning to a clause. The completive and perfective aspect conveyed by the marker *-idí* for instance can be emphasized by using the verb *shidá* ‘stay, remain’ as the auxiliary of the lexical verb providing the semantic information:

- (24) **íi-no kó=sa dard, kéda agá-te**
 stomach:F.S 3F=GEN IDEO.explode then DEM2.M-LOC
kodí diá-ise shid-idí
 3F die-CNV1 remain-PF
 her stomach exploded, then she died there

The verb of cognition *desá* ‘know’ is used negatively to express an action that has never been performed before (this has also been referred to as ‘experiential perfect’ by Comrie 1976). The construction involves the verb *desá* inflected for negative present tense and preceded by the embedded lexical verb marked by the converb suffix *-ise*:

- (25) **yáa éna éedi-bet gobá-ise des-atáne**
 2SG past person-COM run-CNV1 know-PRES.NEG.2SG
 you never raced with anybody before! (lit. running you don’t know)

Constructions involving negative clauses are used for the expression of epistemic modality. Present and future probability is conveyed by the auxiliary verb *gará* ‘stop’ inflected for person and negative present tense, and preceded by the lexical complement verb marked by the negative subordinative marker *-íma* (see chapter 12 for negative markers). The semantic path conveying probability originates in the negation of a verb which is already inherently negative, *gará* ‘stop, prevent, not do anymore’:

- (26a) **shopá saxá ni?-íma gar-ê**
 guest:PL tomorrow come-NEG.SUB1 stop-PRES.NEG.3
 the guests might come tomorrow (lit. the guests don’t do anymore not coming, no longer not coming)

- (26b) **áari óo ooní-n-te da-íma gar-ê**
 Aari DST house-F.OBL-LOC exist-NEG.SUB1 stop-PRES.NEG.3
 maybe Aari is there in the house
- (26c) **árpi lámá kaapá-ise ínta yi?-íma gar-atíne**
 moon two pass-CNV1 1SG go-NEG.SUB1 stop-PRES.NEG.1SG
 in two months I might go

Probability in the past is expressed as follows: the lexical verb is inflected for perfect aspect and functions as the main verb of the clause; probability is conveyed by a negative construction similar to that in (26), with the existential verb *dáa* marked by the negative subordinative marker and the verb *gará* inflected for negative present tense, cf. (27) with (26a).

- (27) **kodí arbamín-shet yi?-idí da-íma gar-ê**
 3F Arba Minch-ALL2 go-PF exist-NEG.SUB1 stop-PRES.NEG.3
 maybe she went to Arba Minch

The adjunct *daíma garê* at the end of the sentence in (27) has become a lexicalized expression: the verb *garê* does not inflect for person as in the present probability construction in (26), but the expression *daíma garê* is used indifferently with all persons.

Events that did not take place, but that could have happened are expressed in a construction involving the invariable auxiliary *daqábe*. The auxiliary expresses irrealis aspect and translates ‘almost completed’ actions. It seems to be derived from the verb *daqá* ‘avoid’. The lexical verb gets the same-event converb marker:

- (28) **naasâ baqá-te ki = daqábe**
 child:M fall-SE 3 = IRR
 the child almost fell

9.2 Copula

Equative and attributive nominal clauses are marked by the invariable copula *-ne*. In addition to copular clauses, this section deals as well with the expression of comparison.

The equative copula is invariable for person (29), tense and aspect (30). It occurs sentence finally and it is cliticized to the predicate nominal of the non-verbal clause:

- (29a) **éedi naasí-na qánte dembí líkka-ne**
 person child-DAT DAT death small-COP
 for human beings⁵⁰ death is a small thing (lit. to human beings death is small)
- (29b) **wɔxá káa t'íá-ne**
 ox:M DEM1.M black-COP
 this ox is black
- (29c) **naanó koró gudúḡ-ine**
 girl:F.S DEM1.F tall-COP
 this girl is tall
- (30) **zóbo éna waḡénka éedi wodímo-ne**
 lion once.upon.a.time person rich-COP
 Once upon a time Lion was a rich person

In (29c) the prosthetic vowel *i* is inserted after the consonant ending noun *gudúḡ* (phonological rule P3).

The predicate of a copular clause can be a noun (31), an adjective (32), a possessive pronoun (33), or a demonstrative (34):

- (31) **wollí eedá-ne**
 Wollí relative-COP
 Wollí is a relative
- (32) **gaitâ gaarê kátti dúrpi-ne**
 baboon:M big:M very fat-COP
 the big baboon (M) was very fat
- (33) **ukullá kirá inná-ne**
 donkey:PL DEM1.PL 1SG:PL-COP
 these donkeys are mine
- (34) **búska agá-ne**
 Buska DEM2.M-COP
 Buska is that one

⁵⁰ *éedi naasí* translates as 'human beings'

The copula can be used for focus coding; for instance it marks truth-value focus when it follows the affirmative perfect form of verbs (see section 9.1.4 above) or the existential verb *dáa* (9.3 below).⁵¹

Copular clauses are used for the expression of comparison. The standard NP in a comparative construction is marked by either the dative case or the genitive case, with no difference in meaning (cf. 35b and 35c):

- (35a) **qultâ káa qultâ káa-na sháaqa-ne**
 goat:M DEM1.M goat:M DEM1.M-DAT small-COP
 this goat is smaller than this goat

- (35b) **otólo walé-na gaarí-ne**
 Otólo Walé-DAT big-COP
 Otólo is bigger than Walé

- (35c) **otólo walé-sa gaarí-ne**
 Otólo Walé-GEN big-COP
 Otólo is bigger than Walé

Nominal clauses without copula in Hamar are hardly ever attested, and the occurrence of the copula *-ne* is not restricted to certain pragmatic contexts as in other Omotic languages (cf. Azeb 2012a and the overview in Crass and Meyer 2007). The copula can be omitted when the presentational marker *-sh* is suffixed to demonstratives: a variant of example (34) above can be expressed by (36a) below. If two copular clauses are coordinated, the copula is exceptionally cliticized only once, on the rightmost predicate nominal at the end of the clause (36b).

- (36a) **búska agá-sh**
 Buska DEM2.M-PRS
 Buska is that one (accompanied by gesture)

⁵¹ The copula *-ne* resembles the declarative sentence marker *-ne* of Maale (Azeb 2001:148), however there are no reasons for analyzing *-ne* in Hamar as a declarative sentence marker since it is found also in negative sentences. The morpheme occurs as affirmative copula at the right edge of non-verbal sentences as illustrated in this section, but it functions as a focus marking device when it is found at the right edge of the existential predicator *dáa* (see 9.3) or cliticized to the perfect marker *-idí*. The morpheme *-ne* is not obligatory in the latter two contexts. A formative *-ne* can be individuated as well in negative inflections: verb paradigms for both past and present negative end in *-ne* (see chapter 12). This feature resembles rather the negative perfective verbs of Konso (Ongaye 2013:217). In Hamar negative copular clauses, the negative copula *-tê* is used, see chapter 12.

- (36b) **qushumbá-no** **kí=sa** **líkka,** **zará-no-l** **kí=sa** **orgó-ne**
 horn-F.S 3 = GEN small body-F.S-INCL 3 = GEN short-COP
 his horns were small and his body was short

Clauses with adjectives used predicatively can be expressed by stative verbs (cf. chapter 3 and chapter 6 on adjectival stative verbs). Adjectival stative verbs cannot occur as predicates, and if they function predicatively, the perfect form of the verb is used instead:

- (37a) **ée** **bard-idí**
 man:M be.drunk-PF
 the man is drunk

- (37b) ***ée** **bardá-ne**

The copula *-ne* has a corresponding interrogative and negative copula, discussed in chapter 11 and 12, respectively. Non-verbal predication in subordinate clauses is expressed by the existential verb *dáa*, and it is treated in chapter 10.

9.3 Existential

Existential predication is used in Hamar to express existence, location and possession. The verb *dáa* ‘to live’ is a regular and fully inflectable verb as shown in (38a) below, and it functions as existential predicator (38b) in the predicative constructions discussed in this section.

The verb stem *dáa* differs from canonical Hamar verbs in that it does not have a final high tone in the citation form (**daá*), and this makes it homophonous with the related noun *dáa* ‘life’.⁵²

- (38a) **kínka** **dáa-n** **da-idí**
 together life-F.OBL live-PF
 (they) lived (the life) together
- (38b) **sillamá** **óo** **óolo-n-sa** **íi-n-te** **dáa**
 evil.spirit DST hole-F.OBL-GEN stomach-F.OBL-LOC exist
 Bogey man is there in the hole / Bogey man lives there in the hole

When the verb stem *dáa* functions as predicator in existential constructions, it is not fully inflectable as its lexical equivalent *dáa* ‘to live’. In this sense it is irregular, and it shows syntactic restrictions which vary depending on whether the construction is predicating generic existence, possession or location. Generic existence, possession

⁵² ‘life’ can also be expressed by the abstract noun *daínta*, cf. chapter 3.

and location are all expressed by the predicator *dáa*, however the first two are syntactically restricted to the General Declarative (39), whereas the latter (location) is restricted to perfective aspect (40).

- (39a) **noqó** **dáa**
 water exist
 there is water

- (39b) **í = sa** **waakí** **dáa**
 1SG = GEN cattle exist
 I have cattle / I have a cow

- (40) **kɔsɔ̃** **noqó-n-te** **ki = dáa-de**
 ball:M water-F.OBL-LOC 3 = exist-PFV
 the ball (M) is in the water

The existential predicator marked by perfective aspect in (40) requires subject cross-referencing: this means that the subject of existential predications expressing location (also referred to as figure) need to be inflected for gender or number, that is to say, the subject must be definite. Uninflected nouns (i.e. non-definite nouns) cannot be used in sentences such as the one in (40). On the other hand, the subject of existential predications denoting existence (39a) can be either inflected or non-inflected: the General Declarative does not cross-reference the subject. These syntactic restrictions are secondary effects of the organization at the level of the information structure and reveal how the semantic categorization of location and existence is structured.

The expression of generic existence is restricted to the General Declarative form of *dáa*. Different from canonical verbs, the General Declarative of *dáa* is not expressed by repetition of the citation form of the verb (cf. 9.1.2). The General Declarative is expressed by the citation form alone as in (39) above and (41) below, or by the citation form followed by the copula *-ne* if the construction is focused (42).

- (41) **apá-ɓ** **hayá-ise** **ko = qaj-ína** **kéda** **máati-no**
 unfold-NARR do-CNV1 3F = be.cold-COND then yeast-F.S
 dáa
 exist
 after spreading (the dough), if it cools down, then you have obtained the yeast (lit. there is the yeast)

- (42) **éedi** **báz-in-te** **dáa**
 person lake-F.OBL-LOC exist
 there is a person in the lake

Predicative possession as well has the form of an existential sentence in which the possessed NP functions as the subject of the existential verb and the possessor NP is marked by the genitive case:

- (43) **éna í=sa qulí gebí dáa**
 past 1SG=GEN goat a.lot exist
 in the past I had many goats (lit. many goats exist of me)

In both possessive and existential constructions the predicator *dáa* is invariable for tense, aspect and person marking: the General Declarative form is used for past, present and future reference.

In existential predication expressing location of a definite (i.e. inflected) figure, the verb *dáa* is marked by the perfective marker *-de* and it gets obligatorily pronominal subject marking:

- (44a) **éno gabá-n-te ko=dáa-de**
 people:F.S marked-F.OBL-LOC 3F=exist-PFV
 the people (F) are in the market
- (44b) **ée gabá-n-te ki=dáa-de**
 man:M marked-F.OBL-LOC 3=exist-PFV
 the man (M) is in the market

The existential predicator marked by perfective aspect in (44) is used for the expression of progressive and inceptive aspect: *dáa* functions as the main final verb and it provides subject specifications, whereas the verb providing semantic content occurs as complement of *dáa* (45), see section 9.1.7.

- (45) **ínta kəs̃ gungusá-te i=dáa-de**
 1SG ball:M roll:CAUS-SE 1SG=exist-PFV
 I am making the ball roll

In order to locate an uninflected, non-definite noun (i.e. the general form), an existential construction like to the one in (42) above is used:

- (46a) **kóso noqó-n-te dáa**
 ball water-F.OBL-LOC exist
 there is a ball in the water
- (46b) **éedi ooní-n-te dáa**
 person house-F.OBL-LOC exist
 there is a person in the house

The existential verb *dáa* shows stem suppletion in the negative and interrogative paradigms (a common strategy cross-linguistically, see Creissels 2013). The suppletive root *qol-* is used to form the negative existential predicator *qolê*. The negative existential predicator is invariable for tense, aspect and person and it is used to negate existential predication and predicative possession:

- (47a) **búno qolê**
 coffee exist.not
 there is no coffee
- (47b) **ooní-n-te búno qolê**
 house-F.OBL-LOC coffee exist.not
 there is no coffee in the house
- (47c) **kó=sa búno qolê**
 3F=GEN coffee exist.not
 she doesn't have coffee

Interrogative clauses differentiate generic existence from location in the following way. Existential predication (together with predicative possession) can be questioned only by means of the general interrogative form (48). The question in (48) elicits existential constructions with the General Declarative of *dáa*, or the suppletive negative stem *qolê*.

- (48a) **búno dá-u?**
 coffee exist-INT.COP
 is there coffee?
- (48b) **búno há=sa dá-u?**
 coffee 2SG=GEN exist-INT.COP
 do you have coffee?

In order to express location in interrogative clauses, the suppletive interrogative predicator *qóle* 'where is?' is used, or alternatively, the question word *hamó* 'where' followed by the interrogative perfective paradigm of *dáa* (see chapter 11 for interrogative paradigms).

- (49a) **búnno qóle?**
 coffee:F.S exist.INT
 where is the coffee?

- (49b) **éeno** **hamó-te** **ko = dáa?**
 people:F.S where.NSP-LOC 3F = exist.INT
 where are the people?

Locative clauses as those given in (40) and (44), which involve an inflected subject and perfective aspect marking plus pronominal subject marking on the existential predicator, are the only adequate answers to the interrogative clauses in (49).

Definiteness restrictions on the figure, perfective aspect on the predicator, and the overall syntactic organization of existential predication suggest that Hamar distinguishes the two categories of existence and location in a subtle way: even if the same lexical predicator is used in syntactically similar constructions, different pragmatic statuses are assigned depending on whether the focus (Koch 2012) or the perspectival centre (Creissels 2013, Partee and Borschev 2007) is on the figure or on the ground.

10 Complex clauses

In the following sections the various clauses which show syntactic and semantic dependency to a nominal or verbal head will be described. Complex clauses in Hamar are composed of syntactically dependent clauses preceding the main clause. Dependent clauses are generally marked by converbs and various dedicated verbal suffixes, and they can be combined together in clause-chaining. Clause level coordination has been dealt along with phrase-level coordination in chapter 8, section 8.5.

10.1 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses in Hamar precede the main clause and contain dependent verb forms marked by the suffixes listed in table 10.1. Subordinate clauses cannot form a complete utterance and must be syntactically embedded within a main clause (independent paradigms which can instead make up main clauses were overviewed in chapter 9). Hamar, as other Afro-Asiatic languages of Ethiopia (Azeb & Dimmendaal 2006, *inter alia*), has non-finite verb forms which mark clausal dependency relations and which are referred to as converbs. Not all the subordinating suffixes listed in table 10.1 are converbs: some dependent verb forms are not considered converbs strictly speaking since they do not depend on the main final verb for tense and aspect reference, whereas converbs inherit tense specification from the main final verb. Subordinated clauses are signaled by a short pause before the following clause: this is marked in the examples by a comma.

Table 10.1: Subordinating suffixes

suffix	gloss	definition
-te	SE	same-event converb
-ise	CNV1	general converb
-énka	CNV2	different subject converb
-o	PURP	purposive
-ánna	OPT	optative
-xa	PAST.CONT	past continuous
-isaxa	PAST.PF	past perfect
-ika	PF.CONT	past perfect continuous
-ína	COND	veridical conditional

10.1.1 Converbs

There are three converb markers in Hamar. *-te* (glossed as SE) is used for dependent verb forms which predicate actions which are conceived to be part of the same event predicated by the main verb. The same-event converb is always co-referential with the following verb. The marker *-ise* (CNV1) is used for both simultaneous and

anterior actions, whereas *-énka* (CNV2) marks dependent verbs whose subject is not co-referential with that of the main verb. The converb markers *-te* and *-ise* are interchangeable in some contexts and can be used to form both adverbial and complement clauses. The three converbs are all used to form complex predicates in periphrastic expressions of aspect (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.7).

The same-event converb marker *-te* is suffixed to the citation form of the verb to mark simultaneity and unity with the action expressed by the following verb. The verb following the same-event converb can be either a dependent verb form or a main final verb. The marker is often realized as *[-tte]* when the verb root ends in a glottal stop (1a), but some speakers use both variants with any type of verb root (1b), (2).

- (1a) **noqó baʔá-tte niʔá!**
 water bring-SE come.IMP.2SG
 come and bring water!
- (1b) **ínta há = na qánte saxá saʔáti lammá-xa**
 1SG 2SG = DAT DAT tomorrow hour two-INS
yaatí baʔá-te niʔ-ó = i = de
 sheep bring-SE come-PURP = 1SG = PFV
 tomorrow at two I will come and bring a sheep for you

The following two examples are extracted from the same folk tale and feature both the same-event converbs *zagá-te* and *zagá-tte*:

- (2a) **ínta gugána zagá-te i = da-yiʔ-é**
 1SG lightning look.for-SE 1SG = IPFV-go-PRES
 I go to look for lightning
- (2b) **silláma gugána zagá-tte dul**
 bogeyman lightning look.for-SE IDEO.go
 Bogeyman went to look for a lightning

The subject of the same-event converb is coreferential with the subject of the following verb:

- (3a) **guní ɖaaʔá-ise, dongár-ɖan gaʔá-tte dees-idí**
 snake stand.up.CNV1 elephant-ACC bite-SE kill-PF
 Snake lifted his head, bit and killed Elephant

- (3b) **dattâ** **ḏaabá-te** **ḏorqá-b**
 wild.animal:M stand.up-SE sit-NARR
 the male wild animal woke up and sat down
- (3c) **dattóno** **maqasá-te** **gob-idí**
 wild.animal:F.S bleed-SE run-PF
 the female wild animal ran away while bleeding
- (3d) **kilánqi-no** **kéen** **sará-te** **yi?-idí**
 eagle-F.S 3:ACC catch-SE go-PF
 the eagle caught him and went away

The same-event marker semantically coordinates verb phrases, but the verb marked by *-te* is syntactically subordinated to the following verb.

The same-event converb occurs in the periphrastic expressions of irrealis and progressive aspect (see chapter 9). The marker *-te* can join two or more dependent verbs, see for instance example (4), where it joins the two lexical verbs functioning as complements of the existential construction expressing progressive aspect.

- (4) **háile.sellási** **gállo** **báako-rra** **mée** **gélaba-n-shet**
 Haile.Selassie enemy:F.S Báako-ABL down Gálaba-F.OBL-ALL2
gobá-te **yi?á-te** **ko = dáa-de**
 run-SE go-SE 3F = exist-PFV
 the Amhara are running and going from Baako down to Dhaasanac⁵³

The converb marker *-te* used in existential constructions for the expression of progressive aspect can be occasionally substituted for the general converb *-ise*, cf. (5a) and (5b):

- (5a) **ooní-n** **woisá-te** **ki = dáa-de**
 house-F.OBL stand:CAUS-SE 3 = exist-PFV
 they are building the house
- (5b) **ooní-n** **woisá-ise** **ki = dáa-de**
 house-F.OBL stand:CAUS-CNV1 3 = exist-PFV
 they are building the house

The obligatory argument of the verb *maccá* ‘finish’ is always marked by *-te*, see section 10.1.7 for further details on complement clauses:

⁵³ Hamar *gal* refers to Amhara, or generally ‘enemies’, and Haile Selassie is used with reference to the Amhara enemies. The Dhaasanc people are called *Gélaba*, see maps in chapter 1.

- (6) **worsá-te ha = macc-ína**
 stir-SE 2SG = finish-COND
 if you finish stirring [...]

As shown in examples (4), (6) above and in (7) below, the verb following the same-event converb can be a dependent verb form. In (7) the converb *tiáte* is syntactically dependent on the following general converb *qadáise*:

- (7) **qáashi-n tiá-tte qadá-ise, karám̃a-na**
 leather.cloak-F.OBL take-SE wear-CNV1 calabash-PL
tiá-ise, éen-na qolbá-ise,
 take-CNV1 people.F.OBL-DAT fetch-CNV1
burí-n-ka im̃á = ko im̃-é
 morning-F.OBL-INS give:PASS = 3F give:PASS-PRES
 taking and wearing the leather cloak, taking some calabashes, fetching it for
 the people, in the morning it (coffee) is given

Example (7) illustrates the use of the general converb marker *-ise*, which is roughly translated as a gerundive form. The general converb however can refer to actions which are simultaneous or anterior with respect to the following (main) verb. The general converb joins together several subordinated clauses as shown in (7) and (8).

- (8) **waakí kínka gishá-ise mashá-ise isá-ise**
 cow together herd-CNV1 slaughter-CNV1 eat-CNV1
kínka daínta-n jammar-idí
 together life-F.OBL begin-PF
 herding, slaughtering and eating cattle together, they *started* their life
 together

The tense and aspect of the main verb determines that of the converb: cf. the past reference in (9a) with the future reference in (9c).

- (9a) **gamálla gʒá-ise ki-niʔá-de**
 camel:PL hit-CNV1 3 = come-PFV
 they came herding camels
- (9b) **kidí pər qáski-n baʔá-ise darán gará-6**
 3 again dog-F.OBL bring-CNV1 3.ALL1 let-NARR
 so he brought the dog and left it with him

- (9c) **wó = dan deesá-ise wongá tiá ki = ti-é**
 1PL = ACC kill-CNV1 cow:PL take 3 = take-PRES
 he will kill us and take the cows (lit. after killing us, he will take the cows)

When the subject of the subordinate clause is different from the subject of the main verb, the converb marker *-énka* is suffixed to the verb root. The different-subject converb can take pronominal subject marking if the subject of the subordinate clause is not overtly stated.

- (10a) **han = yi?-énka ínta eefá = i = da eef-é**
 2SG = go-CNV2 1SG cry = 1SG = IPFV cry-PRES
 When you leave I will cry
- (10b) **kí = na wa ool-énka gudirí ni?á-ise**
 3 = DAT another bray-CNV2 hyena come-CNV1
kéen dees-idí
 3:ACC kill-PF
 when (Donkey) brayed at him one more time, Hyena came and killed him
- (10c) **qáu-n-te kin = zag-énka dabí-no**
 forest-F.OBL-LOC 3 = want-CNV2 wild.animal-F.S
t'if kai-idí
 IDEO.disappear get.lost-PF
 when he searched in the forest, the animals disappeared

The different-subject converb is occasionally found in subordinated clauses which are co-referential with the main verb. The general converb is however more common in this syntactic context.

- (11) **goín kin = yi?-énka baití-dan ki = aafá-de**
 way.F.OBL 3 = go-CNV2 river-ACC 3 = see-PFV
 when they went along the road, they saw a river

10.1.2 Temporal clauses

Apart from simultaneous and sequential temporal clauses coded by converbs, there are various ways of expressing aspectual distinctions in temporal clauses with past reference. The verb paradigms illustrated in table 10.2 are different from the converbs discussed in the previous section (10.1.1) because they have past reference (that is, they do not inherit tense and aspect from the final clause), and subject agreement is marked by short form I pronouns. There are two periphrastic ex-

pressions which use the dummy verb *hamá* as auxiliary, marked by the converb suffix *-énka*: these are treated here since they contribute to the encoding of aspectual distinction in temporal clauses. The dependent verb forms in table 10.2 form temporal subordinated clauses which are syntactically embedded in the final matrix clause.

Table 10.2: Aspectual distinctions in temporal clauses

Past Continuous	ko = wuc' á-xa 'while she was drinking'
Past Perfect	ko = wuc' á-isaxa 'after she drank'
Past Perfect Continuous	wuc' á-ika kon = ham-énka 'after she had been drinking'
Inceptive	wuc' -ánna kon = ham-énka 'when she was ready to drink'

The suffix *-xa* attaches to the citation form of the verb in a dependent clause to mark continuous aspect:

- (12a) **dommá** **igirá** **ḡéá-xa,** **kidí** **háqa** **wa**
rain:PL DEM2.PL hit-PAST.CONT 3 tree another
demí-r **woyá-ḡ**
side-IN stand-NARR
while it was raining a bit, he stood next to a tree

- (12b) **yáa** **kánki-xa** **yi?á-xa,** **kánki** **róo** **si-idí**
2SG car-INS go-PAST.CONT car leg be.broken-PF
while you were going by car, a wheel broke

In the following excerpt the two temporal clauses preceding the matrix clause are both marked by the suffix *-xa*. The second temporal clause is an existential construction expressing progressive aspect: the existential predicator *dáa* cannot be marked by the perfective aspect *-de* which only occurs in independent clauses, and it is instead marked by the Past Continuous marker *-xa*:

- (13) **simbáale-n-shet** **mée** **ki = anshá-xa,**
 Simbáale-F.OBL-ALL2 down 3 = descend-PAST.CONT
ogó-sa **cóo** **simbáale-n-sa** **ogó-te**
 DEM2.F-GEN DOWN Simbáale-F.OBL-GEN DEM2.F-LOC
yi?á-te **ki = dáa-xa,** **ée** **silémba**
 go-SE 3 = exist-PAST.CONT man:M Silémba
hamḡ-ê **somáale** **kála-dan** **dees-idí-ne**
 say:PASS-REL.PRES.M Somali one-ACC kill-PF-COP
 when they were descending down towards Simbáale, while they were
 going down in the area around Simbáale, the man called Silémba killed
 one Somali

Verbs marked by the suffix *-xa* can be repeated to emphasize the duration and the iteration of an action: see for instance the repetition of the verb *kiyi?áxa* ‘he kept on going’ in example (14) below:

- (14) **kidí** **wongá** **gḡéá-ise** **ki = yi?á-xa,** **waakí** **gḡéá-ise**
 3 cow:PL hit-CNV1 3 = go-PAST.CONT cow hit-CNV1
ki = yi?á-xa **yi?á-xa** **yi?á-xa,** **óo**
 3 = go-PAST.CONT go-PAST.CONT go-PAST.CONT DST
kin = yesk-énka, **darán** **zóbo** **ni?-idí**
 3 = arrive-CNV2 3.ALL lion come-PF
 while he kept on going and herding the cows, while he kept on going and
 going and herding the cattle, when he arrived over there, Lion came to
 him

Past Perfect in subordinated clauses is expressed by the suffix *-isaxa* attached to the citation form of the verb (15). The suffix can be realized as [isɔxa] if the verb root contains the back vowels [u] and [o] (16), however some speakers use this phonetic variant with any verb stem, see (17). In fast speech the velar fricative of the suffix can be reduced to [h]: [isaha]. Short form I pronouns are used for pronominal subject marking.

- (15a) **ha = yi?á-isaxa** **ínta** **eep-idí-ne**
 2SG = go-PAST.PF 1SG cry-PF-COP
 after you went I cried
- (15b) **ko = ḡammá-isaxa** **wodí** **anc'-idí-ne**
 3F = fall-PAST.PF 1PL laugh-PF-COP
 we laughed after she fell

- (15c) **gudirí deesá-isaxa, qáski aadĩmbá-isaxa, gudirí**
 hyena kill-PAST.PF dog hide:PASS-PAST.PF hyena
qáski-dan aaf-idí
 dog-ACC see-PF
 after the hyena killed and after the dog had hid, the hyena saw the dog
- (16a) **gaitâ utá-te hattá-sa zuló-te dorqá-isaxa**
 baboon:M climb-SE tree:M-GEN back:M-LOC sit-PAST.PF
 after the baboon climbed and sat on the top of the trunk [...]
- (16b) **wórq-in ogó wúl-dan ki = dumá-isaxa**
 gold-F.OBL DEM2.F all-ACC 3 = grab-PAST.PF
 after he took all that gold [...]
- (17a) **gudirí gi-idí, gudirí yin giá-isaxa**
 hyena say-PF hyena so say-PAST.PF
 Hyena said. After Hyena said so [...]
- (17b) **yin ki = giá-isaxa, ée-na pər kínka**
 so 3 = say-PAST.PF man-PL again again
ɖalqá-ise, óo noqó-xal ki = yi?á-de
 talk-CNV1 DST water-AFF 3 = go-PFV
 after he said so, the people consulted each other again and went there to Water

The actions expressed by the Past Perfect marker are conceived as completed before the action of the main verb takes place.

Other aspectual distinctions in subordinate temporal clauses can be made by means of periphrastic constructions. In order to express duration before a completed event in the past (Past Perfect Continuous), the verb *hamá* ‘say’ is used as auxiliary and it is marked by the different-subject converb marker *-énka*. The verb providing lexical content is marked by the suffix *-ika* and it can be repeated to emphasize duration in time:

- (18a) **kínka yi?á-ika yi?á-ika yi?á-ika ham-énka,**
 together go-PF.CONT go-PF.CONT go-PF.CONT say-CNV2
qáski-be ukulí-be bashad-idí
 dog-COM donkey-COM be.tired:PASS-PF
 after they had been going and going for long time, Dog and Donkey got tired

- (18b) **wórqi-n** **ogó-dan** **zóbo** **yedá-ika** **yin = ham-énka**,
 gold-F.OBL DEM2.F-ACC lion hold-PF.CONT REFL = say-CNV2
“wórq-in-dan wo = kashim-é!” hamá-ise
 gold-F.OBL-ACC 1PL = share-PRES say-CNV1
ki = ée-na giá-de
 3 = man-PL say-PFV
 after Lion had been holding that gold by himself for a while, the people
 said: “let’s share the gold!”

Inceptive aspect in subordinate clauses can be expressed with a complex paradigm which resembles the one used in independent clauses: the optative marker *-ánna* is suffixed to the complement verb (see chapter 9, section 9.1.7). However, the existential auxiliary which is normally used in independent clauses is substituted for the dummy verb *hamá* marked by the converb marker *-énka*:

- (19a) **dattá-dan** **kat’-ánna** **kin = ham-énka**
 wild.animal:M-ACC shoot-OPT 3 = say-CNV2
 when he was about to shoot the male wild animal [...]
- (19b) **ooní-n** **kin = ard-ánna** **ham-énka**
 house-F.OBL 3 = enter-OPT say-CNV2
 when he was about to enter the house [...]

10.1.3 Reason clauses

Reason clauses require the citation form of the verb followed by the reason marker *hattáxa*. Short form I subject pronouns are cliticized before the reason marker *hattáxa*. Deletion of the word-initial /h/ (MP4) and vowel coalescence (P5) take place between the subject clitic and the reason marker *hattáxa*:

- (20a) **kí = dan** **eelá** **ettáxa** **ki = ni?á-de**
 3 = ACC call 1SG.REAS 3 = come-PFV
 he came because I called him
- (20b) **gaitá-dan** **c’úba-m-be** **núu-m-be**
 baboon:M-ACC smoke-F.OBL-COM fire-F.OBL-COM
baxarsá **kottáxa,** **gaitá** **núu-n-sa**
 sweat:CAUS 3F.REAS baboon:M fire-F.OBL-GEN
gidí-n-te **bulá-ise** **di-idí-ne**
 middle-F.OBL-LOC jump-CNV1 die-PF-COP
 because the smoke and the fire made the baboon sweat, the baboon
 jumped in the middle of the fire and died

- (20c) **tumbuquúlo líkka yi?á-ika ham-énka, pee-r**
 worm little go-PF.CONT say-CNV2 ground-IN
ardá-ise shid-idí, shidá kettáxa, kéda
 enter-CNV1 stay-PF stay 3.REAS then
yi?-ána dong
 go-REL.PAST.PL five
 After Worm had been going for a while, he entered in the ground and stayed. Those who went were five since he stayed.

10.1.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses in Hamar distinguish between veridical and potential conditions. The validity of the main clause (the apodosis) is considered to be true if the preceding dependent clause (the protasis) encodes a veridical condition, whereas the potential condition makes the situation expressed in the main clause hypothetical. Veridical conditional clauses are formed by suffixing the conditional marker *-ína* to the root of the verb in the protasis. Subject marking is obligatorily marked by short form I pronouns. Veridical conditional clauses express certainty and true statements, and in the examples below the English conjunction *if* can be substituted for *when*.

- (21a) **ki = shiit-ína, aiziê agá-sa fáala-no**
 3 = be.soft-COND goat.hide:M DEM2.M = GEN flesh-F.S
gurtá~gurtadá
 scrape.out~scrape.out:PASS
 if it becomes soft, the excess flesh of that goat hide is scraped out
- (21b) **kodí shánqo-shet ko = yi?-ína, búno ba?á-te**
 3F Shanqo-ALL2 3F = go-COND coffee bring-SE
ko = yi?-é
 3F = go-PRES
 if she goes to Shanqo, she goes and brings coffee
- (21c) **roo-tâ i = jug-ína, ínta dabí aaf-idí-ne**
 leg-M 1SG = shake-COND 1SG wild.animal see-PF-COP
 if I shake the leg, (it means that) I have seen a wild animal

Potential conditional clauses are formed by the perfect form of the verb followed by the optative marker *-ánna* (22).

- (22a) **ínta dimeka-dar róo-n-ka yi?-idi-ánna,**
 1SG Dimeka-ALL1 leg-F.OBL-INS go-PF-OPT
qajá = i = da qajad-é
 be.cold = 1SG = IPFV be.cold:PASS-PRES
 If I go to Dimeka on foot I become tired
- (22b) **yáa daaqard-idi-ánna kummá!**
 2SG be.hungry-PF-OPT eat.IMP.2SG
 if you get hungry, eat!
- (22c) **doobí qan-idi-ánna, míri wo = shed-é!**
 rain hit-PF-OPT waves 1PL = look-PRES
 if it rains, let's watch waves (in the river)!
- (22d) **kánki da-idi-ánna, shánqo yi?á = ki yi?-é**
 car exist-PF-OPT Shanqo go = 3 go-PRES
 if there is a car, he will go to Shanqo

As shown by example (22c) and (22d) this strategy allows for general forms to function as the subject of the verb in the protasis. However, the optative marker can also be suffixed to short form I subject pronouns (see chapter 2 under vowel coalescence P5), and in this case the subject of the protasis needs to be specified for gender or number:

- (23a) **káira parsí gebí wuc'-idí kónna,**
 Kaira beer a.lot drink-PF 3F:OPT
bardá = ko bard-é
 be.drunk = 3F be.drunk-PRES
 if Kaira (F) drinks a lot of *parsí* beer she gets drunk
- (23b) **yedí payá hayá-ise kumm-idí yénna,**
 2PL good do-CNV1 eat-PF 2PL:OPT
durfé = da durf-é
 be.fat.2PL = IPFV be.fat-PRES
 if you eat well you will gain weight

Potential conditional clauses refer to hypothetical, yet possible, future events. As the examples above show, the verb in the apodosis is usually in the future tense, although the imperative or the jussive mood is also possible.

In a few instances the optative marker was found suffixed directly to the verb root, without the perfect marker *-idí*. Subject agreement in these examples is marked by

short form I pronouns on the verb. Discussing these examples was very hard and the speakers re-formulated them with the perfective form of the verb:

- (24a) **í = xal** **éedi** **qoléi,** **beré** **i = gar-ánna**
 1SG = AFF person exist.not later 1SG = leave-OPT
éen **ki = geʔ-é**
 1SG:ACC 3 = bite-PRES
 there's nobody with me, if I leave (him) later he will bite me
- (24b) **dattâ** **káa** **i = kat'-ánna,** **beré** **éen**
 wild.animal:M DEM1.M 1SG = shoot-OPT later 1SG:ACC
gaʔá = ki **goʔ-ó?**
 bite = 3 bite-PRES.INT
 If I shoot at this wild animal, will he bite me later?

10.1.5 Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses are marked by the suffix *-o* which attaches to the verb root. The purposive marker *-o* can be used only if the subject of the purposive clause and that of the main clause are the same:

- (25a) **ínta** **baín-te** **shiid-ó** **i = da-yiʔ-é**
 1SG river.F.OBL-LOC wash:PASS-PURP 1SG = IPFV-go-PRES
 I go to wash myself in the river (lit. I go in order to wash myself in the river)
- (25b) **dímeke-shet** **qulí** **shansh-ó** **yiʔá-te** **ki = dáa-de**
 Dimeka-ALL2 goat buy:CAUS-PURP go-SE 3 = exist-PFV
 he is going to Dimeka in order to sell a goat

If the subject of the purposive clause is different from the subject of the main clause, the jussive mood is used to express purpose:

- (26) **éeno** **ko = kumm-é** **imḃá = ko** **imḃ-é**
 people:F.S 3F = eat-PRES give:PASS = 3F give:PASS-PRES
 it will be given so that the people can eat

The purposive suffix *-o* is used in the paradigm for intentional future as well, see chapter 9 (9.1.3).

10.1.6 Non-verbal predication in subordinate clauses

In subordinate clauses non-verbal predication is expressed by means of the existential verb *dáa* which can be marked by the general converb *-ise*. The general converb *dáise* translates both temporal and reason clauses.

- (27a) **wɔxá-sa qushumbá líkka dá-ise**
 ox:M-GEN horns small exist-CNV1
 since the horns of the ox were small [...]
- (27b) **kidí kédá bórle dá-ise**
 3 then young exist-CNV1
 when he was young [...]
- (27c) **éedi wáni éna~éna dong dá-ise, adamá-n**
 person some past~past five exist-CNV1 hunt-F.OBL
mágo.parkí-n yi?á-da
 Mago.Park-F.OBL go-IPFV
 some guys, long time ago, being five, were going to hunt in Mago Park
- (27d) **kínka dá-ise, róoro wul kínka ki = yay-é**
 together exist-CNV1 day all together 3 = walk-PRES
 when they were together, they used to walk together every day

The veridical vs. potential distinction in conditional clauses is not maintained in verb-less clauses. Non-verbal predication in the protasis is expressed by the optative marker suffixed directly to short form I subject pronouns: verb-less conditional clauses are identical to the potential conditional clauses shown in (23) above, except for the fact that the optative marker is suffixed to a pronoun.

- (28a) **yáa! agá tigá-tte, ángi hánna, ni?á!**
 2SG DEM2.M step-SE man 2SG:OPT come.IMP.2SG
 you! if you are a man, step on that (log) and come!
- (28b) **kidí paxála kénna parápi-n aapó-n wul**
 3 clever 3:OPT foreigner-F.OBL mouth-F.OBL all
desá ki = des-é
 know 3 = know-PRES
 he would know the whole language of the foreigners if he was clever
- (28c) **ínta átti éнна kapá-na-xa daabá = i = da daab-é**
 1SG bird 1SG:OPT wing-PL-INS fly = 1SG = IPFV fly-PRES
 If I were a bird I would fly with wings

10.1.7 Complement clauses

There are two complementation strategies in Hamar, namely nominalization and clause chaining. The most common complementation strategy is that of using a nominalized verbal complement: the verbal element of a complement clause is nominalized by means of the relational marker *-n* suffixed to the citation form of the verb:

- (29a) **yáa banqí-n zagá-n gará!**
 2SG fight-F.OBL want-R stop.IMP.2SG
 stop looking for war!
- (29b) **murá-dan kat'á-n des-ê**
 gun-ACC shoot-R know-PRES.NEG.3
 he does not know how to shoot a gun
- (29c) **qáara dungurí-n jaagá-n desá=ko des-é**
 vervet.monkey sandal-F.OBL sew-R know=3F know-PRES
 Vervet Monkey knows how to sew the sandals
- (29d) **ímba-dan ooní-n ashká-n**
 my.father-ACC house-F.OBL do-R
kalshá=i=da kalsh-é
 help=1SG=IPFV help-PRES
 I'll help my father prepare the house
- (29e) **kínka gobá-n kin=jammar-énka**
 together run-R 3=start-CNV2
 when they started racing each other [...]

The marker *-n* on the complement verb is analysed as relation marker because there are no arguments in favor of an analysis in terms of oblique case F.OBL. Verb complements cannot function as subject arguments thus it cannot be verified whether the nominalized verb marked by *-n* triggers feminine agreement. A sentence like 'dancing is tiring' in (30) below is expressed by a subordinate clause marked by the different-subject converb *-énka*:

- (30) **in=guz-énka qaccá=ko qacc-é**
 1SG=dance-CNV2 be.tired:CAUS=3F be.tired:CAUS-PRES
 when I dance, it will make (me) tired

The relational marker *-n* is not suffixed on interrogative complement clauses:

- (31a) **qootí dooná dandayá-u?**
 beehive build.beehive be.able-INT.COP
 can you build a beehive?
- (31b) **yáa ukulí mashá desá-u?**
 2SG donkey slaughter know-INT.COP
 do you know how to slaughter a donkey?
- (31c) **yáa dungurí jaagá desá des-ó?**
 2SG sandal sew know.2SG know-PRES.INT
 do you know how to sew sandals?

Clause-chaining as complementation strategy is used with some verbs which take a complement verb marked by the same-event converb marker *-te*. The complement of the verb *maccá* ‘finish’ for instance is always marked by the same-event converb marker *-te*:

- (32a) **páala-n gurtá-tte maccá-ise**
 flesh-F.OBL scrape.out-SE finish-CNV1
 when you finish scraping out the excess meat [...]
- (32b) **búno-n wuc’á-te macc-idi-ánna**
 coffee-F.OBL drink-SE finish-PF-OPT
 if they finish drinking coffee [...]
- (32c) **waadimá-te macc-é!**
 work-SE finish-IMP.2PL
 finish work!

The same-event converb *-te* can mark also the verbal complement of the verb *yi?á* ‘go’, however the verb ‘go’ can take verbal complements marked by other converb markers, such as the purposive marker *-o* or the general converb marker *-ise*.

- (33) **ínta deeshá zagá-te i = da-yi?-é**
 1SG medicine want-SE 1SG = IPFV-go-PRES
 I go to look for a medicine

The complement of volitional and cognition verbs such as *zagá* ‘want’ and *qaabá* ‘think’ is always marked by the optative marker *-ánna*:

- (34a) **kodí kalsh-ánna zag-idí**
 3F help-OPT want-PF
 she wanted to help

- (34b) **shóqo-be kóopini-be kínka ki = gob-ánna qaabá-isaxa**
 tick-COM squirrel-COM together 3 = run-OPT think-PAST.PF
 after Tick and Squirrel thought of racing each other [...]

10.2 Quotative clauses

Indirect speech report is not possible in Hamar, hence quotative clauses are composed of direct speech utterances. In order to link a quotative clause to the clause headed by a quotative verb (such as *giá* ‘tell’, *berá* ‘reveal’, *oisá* ‘ask’), the dummy verb *hamá* ‘say’ is used (in the following examples the dummy verb is highlighted by a surrounding box). The dummy verb gets the general converb marker *-ise*:

- (35a) “**kála bish oolá!**” **hamá-ise** **qáski gi-idí**
 one only bray.IMP.2SG say-CNV1 dog tell-PF
 “Bray only once!”, Dog said (lit. saying “bray only once!” Dog said)

- (35b) “**wongá diibá-ise wóon ki = dees-é**” **hamá-ise**
 cow:PL steal-CNV1 1PL:ACC 3 = kill-PRES say-CNV1
t’álian-dar boráana bersá-6
 Italians-ALL1 Boraana reveal:CAUS-NARR
 “they steal the cows and kill us”, the Boraana informed the Italians

Quotative clauses are formally independent clauses since only independent verb forms can be used, and the dummy verb *hamá* functions as an argument of the matrix clause headed by the quotative verb.

The passive form of *hamá* is used always with the different-subject marker *-énka* and the temporal subordinative suffix *-xa*. These complementizers are used without pronominal subject marking and their function is to separate different conversational turns, for example in narratives involving longer sequences of direct speech:

- (36a) “**yáa qáski macc-idú?**” **hamá-ise**
 2SG dog finish-PF.INT say:PASS-PAST.CONT
 “**ínta macc-idí-ne**”
 1SG finish-PF-COP
 “you, Dog, have you finished?”, “I have finished”

- (36b) **“koimó kashá!”** **ham6-énka** **“ínta koimó cóo**
 fee pay.IMP.2SG say:PASS-CNV2 1SG fee DOWN
beré anshá-te kashá = i = da kash-é” **hamá-ise**
 later descend-SE pay = 1SG = IPFV pay-PRES say-CNV1
budámo giá-ise, cóo kánki-n-sa woyâ
 lie say-CNV1 DOWN car-F.OBL-GEN stop
qulí gobá-ise yi?-idí
 goat run-CNV1 go-PF
 “pay the fee!”, “I will pay the fee later when I get off”, lying, at the
 car-stop downhill Goat ran away

The dummy verbs *hamáise* and *hambáxa* are used also as discourse fillers in the narrative flow, to connect information between main clauses (37a), to shift to a different topic (37b) or simply to pause the narrative flow in order to consider what to say next (37c):

- (37a) **noqó núu-dar laalimá-ise, núu di-idí.**
 water fire-ALL1 leak-CNV1 fire fee
hambá-xa **kéda noqó-be kím = be**
 say:PASS-PAST.CONT then water-COM 3 = COM
kínka wongá gíá-ise yi?-idí
 together cow:PL hit-CNV1 go-PF
 Water leaked over Fire, and Fire died. Then, Water together with him
 went herding the cows.
- (37b) **éedi makkán kó = sa báski dáa.**
 person three 3F = GEN lover exist
hambá-xa **kéda geshô waakí gétte**
 say:PASS-PAST.CONT then husband:M cow hit.SE
gabá-n-dar waakí shansh-ánna ut-idí
 market-F.OBL-ALL1 cow buy:CAUS-OPT go.out-PF
 She had three lovers. Then, the husband went out to herd the cattle to
 the market to sell them
- (37c) **ooní-n ard-ánna kin = de-énka, hai-tâ**
 house-F.OBL enter-OPT 3 = exist-CNV2 sun-M
ibán-in-ka oolá-6, hamá-ise, ooní-n
 afternoon-F.OBL-INS call-NARR say-CNV1 house-F.OBL
kin = ard-ánna yi?-énka gamurê kí = ďan yedá-6
 3 = enter-OPT go-CNV2 jackal:M 3 = ACC catch-NARR
 when (the rooster) was about to enter the house, he called at the sunset.
 Then, when he was about to enter the house, the jackal caught him

Similar to the dummy verb *hamá*, the verb *hayá* ‘do’ marked by the general converb *-ise* can also be used as a transition word between clauses:

- (38a) **ée** **deesá-ḡ**, **hayá-ise** **kí=sa** **wongá** **qaná-ḡ**
 man:M kill-NARR do-CNV1 3=GEN cow:PL hit-NARR
 He killed the man, and he stole his cows.

- (38b) **qaskê** **málsi** **ti-ái**, **hayá-ise** **ogó-rra**
 dog:M change take-NEG.PRES.3 do-CNV1 DEM2.F-ABL
pər **qulí-sa** **birr** **kála** **qoléi**
 IDEO.again goat-GEN birr one exist.not
 Dog does not take his change. Then, after that, Goat has not even one
 birr

11 Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses are marked by special verbal inflections and are signaled by a raising pitch. There is a basic difference between content and polar questions: in content questions verbal inflections distinguish only present tense and past tense; in polar questions, several interrogative paradigms corresponding to those illustrated in chapter 6 have been attested, and there are no polar question particles. Focused content questions are discussed together with content questions in 11.1, and section 11.1.1 is dedicated to question words. Polar questions are discussed in 11.2 and include interrogative copula and existential constructions.

11.1 Content questions

Content questions are morphologically marked on verbs and are signaled by the presence of question words and by a distinctive pattern of rising intonation. Verbal inflections in content questions mark either past or present tense, and the latter is used for present and future reference. Past interrogative is marked by *-á*, present interrogative is marked by *-é*; pronominal subject marking is obligatory on interrogative verbs, and independent pronouns can co-occur with clitic pronouns. Question words cannot be combined with the interrogative paradigms described in 11.2.3.

- (1a) **hamó** **ki = yi?-á?**
 where.NSP 3 = go-PAST.INT
 where did he go?/ where did they go?

- (1b) **har** **ha = zag-é?**
 what 2SG = want-PRES.INT
 what do you want?

The copula is omitted in content questions, and the verbal inflections *-á* and *-é* are suffixed directly to the question word:

- (2a) **agá** **har-á?**
 DEM2.M what-PAST.INT
 what was that?

- (2b) **har-é?**
 what-PRES.INT
 what is (it)?

If the question word is focused, a cleft construction is used. The main verb is nominalized into a relative verb and precedes the question word:

- (3a) **han = is-óno har?**
 2SG = eat-REL.PAST.F what
what (F) did you eat? (lit. what (F) you ate, what is it?)
- (3b) **baq-óno har-é?**
 fall-REL.PAST.F what-PRES.INT
what fell? (lit. the thing that fell (F), what is it?)

11.1.1 Question words

Questions words in Hamar constitute a closed class, however they are heterogeneous with respect to their morphological make up and syntactic behavior. Except for the question word ‘how many?’, all the others begin in *ha-*. Some of them are unanalyzable words, others can be either inflected and/or marked for case. A list of basic content question words is given in table 11.1.

Table 11.1: Basic question words

who	háibene, háine
which	hamá
where	hamó, hamá
what	har
how	hátti
why	hárna
when	haa
how many	mee máine ~ mei máine

It is surprising to find the copula *-ne* suffixed to the question word *háibene* or *háine* ‘who?’ and in the expression *mee máine* ‘how many?’, since *-ne* is the affirmative copula and its interrogative counterpart is *-u*. *hai-* is the base to which case suffixes are attached and it can never occur bare.

Similar to personal pronouns, the question word for ‘who’ has a subject and object form and it can take case suffixes depending on the syntactic role. It does not inflect for gender or number, however gender and number are expressed on the relativized verb or noun preceding it.

The following excerpt illustrates the use of *háine* and *háidan* in the same conversation, in the function of subject and object (A and B stand for different speakers):

- (4) A: **boraána eel-idí**
 Boráana call-PF
 the Boráana called
 B: **eel-â háine?**
 call-REL.PAST.M who
 who called? (lit. who is the one (M) who called?)
 A: **eel-ána boráana**
 call-REL.PAST.PL Boráana
 the Boráana called (lit. those (PL) who called are the Boráana)
 B: **háí-ďan?**
 who-ACC
 whom (did they call)?
 A: **t'álian-ďan!**
 Italians-ACC
 the Italians!

The form *háibene* is a variant of *háine*, and probably it is formed by the comitative case *-be*:

- (5) **kidí háibene? / kidí háine?**
 3 who 3 who
 who is he? who is he?

The comitative form of the question word *háine* is *háibet*, i.e. the comitative case *-bet* is suffixed to the base *hai-* :

- (6) **háí-bet ki = kaam-á?**
 who-COM 3 = meet-PAST.INT
 with whom did he meet?

The question ‘what’s your name’ is formulated with *háine*:

- (7) **námmo hánno háine?**
 name:F.S 2SG:F who
 What’s your name?

The question word for ‘which’ can be considered a full-fledged (pro)nominal form since it can be inflected for masculine and feminine gender or plural number depending on the noun it modifies. The following excerpt illustrates the agreement pattern of *hamá*, which inflects like declension 2 nouns.

(8a) **hamâ ukulê?**
 which:M donkey:M?
 which donkey (M)?

(8b) **hammó wóngo?**
 which:F.S cow:F.S
 which cow (F)?

(8c) **hammá qullá?**
 which:PL goat:PL
 which goats?

The citation form *hamá* is homophonous with the deictic interrogative word ‘where’ *hamá*, and the two are probably related:

(9a) **kidí goitê hamá-xa ki = ni?-é?**
 3 way:M which:M-INS 3 = come-PRES.INT
 through which path do they come? (which is the exact path they come through?)

(9b) A: **álpa í = na imá!**
 knife 1SG = DAT give.IMP.2SG
 pass me a knife
 B: **hamá?**
 which
 which one?
 A: **agá-sh**
 DEM2.M-PRS
 that one!

The locative interrogative words *hamá/hamó* were already introduced in chapter 5. Specific and non-specific location is expressed respectively by the vowels *-a* and *-o* (cf. chapter 5). Several locative cases can be suffixed to the interrogative words *hamá* and *hamó* (10), depending on whether they refer to location or movement. See section 11.2.2 below for further details on interrogative locational predication.

(10a) **yaatâ yáan-sa hamá-bar ki = dáa?**
 goat:M goat.F.OBL-GEN where.SP-AD 3 = exist.INT
 Where exactly is the male goat with respect to the female goat?

- (10b) **yáa hamó-te add-á?**
 2SG where.NSP-LOC be.born-PAST.INT
 Where were you born?
- (10c) **yáa waakí gɛá-ise hamó-xa yi?-é?**
 2SG cow hit-CNV1 where.NSP-INS go-PRES.INT
 (through) where are you going to herd the cattle?
- (10d) **yáa hamó-rra ni?-é?**
 2SG where.NSP-ABL come-PRES.INT
 where are you coming from?
- (10e) **hamá-xa ki = yi?-á?**
 where.SP-INS 3 = go-PAST.INT
 (through) where exactly did he pass?

The question word *har* ‘what’ and *hátti* ‘how’ can have overlapping meanings:

- (11a) **har ko = ham-á?**
 what 3F = say-PAST.INT
 what did she say?
- (11b) **hátti ko = ham-á?**
 what 3F = say-PAST.INT
 what did she say? / how did she say?
- (11c) **kidí har ki = ashk-é?**
 3 what 3 = make-PRES.INT
 what will he make?

The question word *har* translates as ‘how’ when it is marked by the instrumental case *-ka*:

- (12a) **qultâ hár-ka ki = di-á?**
 goat:M what-INS 3 = die-PAST.INT
 how did the goat die?
- (12b) **hár-ka = ki yé = ɖan qan-é?, hár-ka = ki**
 what-INS = 3 2PL = ACC hit-PRES.INT what-INS = 3
yéɛn dees-é?
 2PL:ACC kill-PRES.INT
 how do they fight you? how do they kill you?

- (12c) **yáa hár-ka sag-á?**
 2SG what-INS cross-PAST.INT
 how did you cross?

The question word *hátti* has the variant form *hátta* which has been attested in combination with the converb marker *-ise*:

- (13) **gudirí í=đan hattá-ise bag-é?**
 hyena 1SG=ACC how-CNV1 tease-PRES.INT
 how dare Hyena tease me?

The question words for ‘why’, ‘when’ and ‘how many’ are invariable and cannot be suffixed with case markers:

- (14) **yedí kínka hárna woc’im-á?**
 2PL together why argue-PAST.INT
 why did you argue?

- (15) **kodí haa kemḡ-é?**
 3F when get.married-PRES.INT
 when will she get married?

- (16) **birr mei máine ki = zag-é?**
 birr how.many 3 = want-PRES.INT
 how much does he want?

11.2 Polar questions

Polar questions prompt ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answers and are signaled by interrogative verbal inflections and rising intonation on the verb. Word order is not altered in polar questions. In the following sections the interrogative copula and locational predication are discussed first (11.2.1, 11.2.2) followed by interrogative verbal paradigms and disjunctive questions (11.2.3, 11.2.4).

11.2.1 Interrogative copula

The interrogative copula is *-u*, and it is suffixed, as its affirmative counterpart, to the nominal predicate. It does not distinguish tense, aspect, nor person.

- (17a) **koró onnó-u?**
 DEM1.F house:F.S-INT.COP
 is this the house?

- (17b) **paráni-n** **pée-no** **fegé-u?**
 foreigner-F.OBL land-F.S far-INT.COP
 is the country of the foreigners far?

The standard Hamar greeting consists of an interrogative nominal clause (18a). The answer is the equivalent affirmative nominal clause (18b):

- (18a) **payá-u?**
 good-INT.COP
 how are you? (li. is it good?)

- (18b) **payá-ne**
 good-COP
 I am fine (li. it is good)

The interrogative copula *-u* is found on some interrogative verbal paradigms, see the next sections.

11.2.2 Interrogative existential

Existential predication in interrogative clauses varies depending on whether the predication expresses locational or existential meaning (cf. chapter 9).

For locational predication, the suppletive stem of the existential predicator *dáa* is used. The suppletive stem *qóle* (4a) can be substituted for the question word *hamó* ‘where’ followed by the perfective interrogative form of the predicator (4b): recall that locational predication is always marked by the perfective aspect (chapter 9, section 9.3). The two constructions co-exist and do not differ semantically.

- (19a) **galá-no** **qóle?**
 food-F.S exist.INT
 where is the food?
- (19b) **áari** **hamó-te** **ko = dáa?**
 Aari wher.NSP-LOC 3F = exist.INT
 where is Aari?

See next section for an overview of interrogative paradigms.

For existential predication, the general interrogative form of the existential predicator *dáa* is used. This requires the suffixation of the interrogative copula *-u* to the General Declarative of *dáa* (see also next section).

(20a) **noqó dá-u?**
 water exist-INT.COP
 is there water?

(20b) **dáa**
 exist
 there is (response to 20a)

Recall that the General Declarative of *dáa* does not require repetition of the stem (see chapter 9).

11.2.3 Interrogative paradigms

The interrogative paradigms are available for the affirmative paradigms listed in table 11.2.

Table 11.2: Interrogative paradigms

General Declarative
Perfect
Present and Future
Present Progressive
Perfective

Apart from the perfective, the interrogative paradigms listed in table 11.2 cannot be combined with the question words discussed in 11.1.

The interrogative equivalent of the General Declarative is formed by suffixing the interrogative copula *-u* to the stem of the verb ending in *-á*. Different from the General Declarative in affirmative-declarative clauses, the stem is not reduplicated in the interrogative paradigm, cf. (21a) and (21b).

(21a) **kodí aapó-n desá-u?**
 3F mouth-F.OBL know-INT.COP
 does she know the languages?

(21b) **îi, kodí desá~desá**
 yes 3F know~know
 yes, she knows (response to 21a)

When used in the first person singular, the general interrogative has permissive interpretation:

- (22a) **háan kalshá-u?**
 2SG help-INT.COP
 may I help you?
- (22b) **ábi giá-u?**
 another tell-INT.COP
 shall I say another one?
- (22c) **niʔá-u?**
 come-INT.COP
 shall I come?

The interrogative copula is used to form the interrogative perfect. The *-idí* inflection of the affirmative paradigm is substituted for *-idú*:

- (23a) **yáa í = ɗan bag-idú ?**
 2SG 1SG = ACC tease-PF.INT
 have you made fun of me?
- (23b) **kodí kemɓ-idú ?**
 3F marry:PASS-PF.INT
 is she married?
- (23b) **isín-no ush-idú ?**
 sorghum-F.S be.ripe-PF.INT
 is the sorghum ripe?

The present and the future interrogative are formed by substituting the final vowel *-é* of the corresponding declarative form (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.3), with the vowel *-ó*. The aspectual marker *-da*, which in the affirmative-declarative paradigm is marked on each person except for the third persons (cf. table 9.3 in chapter 9), is marked only on the first persons in the interrogative paradigm. For the morpho-phonological changes occurring in the future interrogative paradigm, see phonological rule P6 and morpho-phonological rule MP2 in chapter 2.

Table 11.3: Interrogative present and future conjugation

	Present	Future
1SG	i = da- wuc' -ó?	wuc' á = i = da wuc' -ó?
2SG	ha = wuc' -ó?	wuc' á = ha wuc' -ó? [wutʃ'á wutʃ'ó]
3M/3PL	ki = wuc' -ó?	wuc' á ki = wuc' -ó?
3F	ko = wuc' -ó?	wuc' á ko = wuc' -ó?
1PL	wo = da- wuc' -ó?	wuc' á = wo = da wuc' -ó? [wutʃ'óda wutʃ'ó]
2PL	ye = wuc' -ó?	wuc' á = ye wuc' -ó? [wutʃ'é wutʃ'ó]

The interrogative paradigm corresponding to the perfective is obtained by omitting the aspectual marker which is obligatory in the declarative form (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.5). A similar morpho-syntactic strategy (referred to as ‘reductive morphology’ by Azeb 2012a) is used to contrast polar interrogatives and declaratives in other Omotic languages such as Dime, Sheko and Zargulla (Azeb 2012a:494).

- (24a) **náa** **galá** **i = bax-á?**
 yesterday food 1SG = cook-PAST.INT
 did I cook food yesterday?

- (24b) **náa** **galá** **i = baxá-de**
 yesterday food 1SG = cook-PFV
 yesterday I cooked food (response to 24a)

The aspectual marker is omitted also in the interrogative existential construction used in the present progressive:

- (25a) **áari** **baxá-te** **ko = dáa ?**
 Aari cook-SE 3F = exist.INT
 Is Aari cooking?

- (25b) **áari** **baxá-te** **ko = dáa-de**
 Aari cook-SE 3F = exist-PFV
 Aari is cooking (response to 25a).

11.2.4 Disjunctive questions

The disjunctive marker was introduced in chapter 8 (section 8.5), where it was shown that disjunctive coordination is monosyndetic. Disjunctive questions are formed by suffixing the disjunctive marker *-mo*⁵⁴ to one of the two verbs:

- (26) **naasâ** **daq-idí-mo,** **naasâ** **di-idú?**
 child:M survive-PF-DISJ child:M die-PF.INT
 has the child survived or has he died?

Only the final verb gets the interrogative inflection. The disjunctive suffix has been sporadically reported in interrogative sentences of the type shown in (27), where the second option is omitted:

⁵⁴ The same disjunctive suffix exists in Maale, cf. Azeb 2001:219-221.

- (27a) **ínta lum-ánna i = dáa-mo?**
 1SG feel.unwell-OPT 1SG = exist-DISJ
 am I about to get sick or what?
- (27b) **ush-idí-mo?**
 be.ripe-PF-DISJ
 is it ripe or what?

12 Negative clauses

In this chapter the morpho-syntactic properties of negation are discussed. Both the negative interjection *á?ā?* ‘no’ and the affirmative interjection *ĩ* ‘yes’ can be the full response to a polar question. The negative interjection *á?ā?* is the only inherently negative particle of Hamar. Sentential negation is expressed on the verb by special paradigms, and negation of constituents is generally expressed with a periphrasis in negative existential constructions. The chapter discusses negation in copular clauses and subordinated clauses as well.

12.1 Negative copula

The negative copula *tê* has the same syntactic properties as the equative affirmative (chapter 9) and interrogative (chapter 11) copula: it occurs sentence-finally after the predicate nominal and it is invariable for person and tense. It differs from its affirmative and interrogative counterparts in that it is a self-standing morpheme characterized by a falling tone: the affirmative copula *-ne* and the interrogative copula *-u* on the contrary are clitics. It should be noted that *-ê* is also the 3rd person inflection of the negative present paradigm and it is found as well on the negative existential predicator (see next section). The following examples show the occurrence and use of the negative copula:

- (1a) **koró rósho-n gállo tê**
 DEM1.F sling-F.OBL enemy:F.S NEG.COP
koró gal wána-ne
 DEM1.F enemy different-COP
 these are not the ‘rósho’⁵⁵ enemies, these are other enemies
- (1b) **demê káa fayá tê**
 side:M DEM1.M good NEG.COP
 this side is not good
- (1c) **kidí hámar tê**
 3 hamar NEG.COP
 he is not Hamar
- (1d) **agá ínte tê**
 DEM2.M 1SG:M NEG.COP
 that is not mine

⁵⁵ *rósho* literally means ‘sling’, and it refers here to the sling-like sound produced by their weapons.

- (1e) **ínta bishê tê**
 1SG alone:M NEG.COP
 I am not the only one

12.2 Negative existential

The negative stem *qolê* is a suppletive form used to negate existential constructions expressing existence (2a), possession (2b) and location (2c), cf. chapter 9, section 9.3. The variants *qolêi*, *qolêi* and *qolâi* have been attested as well.

- (2a) **noqó qolêi**
 water exist.not
 there is no water
- (2b) **í=sa waakí kála-l qolê**
 1SG=GEN cow one-INCL exist.not
 I have not even one cow (lit. also one cow of me does not exist)
- (2c) **kó-te éna murá qolêi**
 PRX.NSP-LOC past gun exist.not
 in the past here there were no guns

Negative indefinite words corresponding to the English ‘nobody’ or ‘nothing’ do not exist in Hamar, but they can be expressed with negative existential sentences. Consider for instance the following examples:

- (3a) **éedi qolêi**
 person exist.not
 there’s nobody
- (3b) **yer qolêi**
 thing exist.not
 there’s nothing

The general form of the noun *yer* ‘thing’ can be modified by a relativized verb when it functions as the negative indefinite subject of a clause: this is the only case attested so far where an uninflected noun can be modified by a relative clause, cf. chapter 8, section 8.1.

- (4) **yer baq-â qolêi**
 thing fall-REL.PAST.M exist.not
 nothing fell (lit. the thing that fell does not exist)

The suppletive root *qol-* is found also in the negative postposition *qólma* ‘without’. This postposition can be analysed as the suppletive root *qol-* plus the negative formative *-m-* which is attested in negative verbs in subordinate clauses (see 12.4):

- (5a) **ínta kurí qólma búno-n i = wuc’á-de**
 1SG honey without coffee-F.OBL 1SG = drink-PFV
 I’ve drunk the coffee without honey
- (5b) **“yáa róo-n qólma qaldó-n qólma” ki = bagá-de**
 2SG leg-F.OBL without thigh-F.OBL without 3 = tease-PFV
 “you! without legs and without thigh” he teased
- (5c) **ínta koimó qólma yi?-idí-ne**
 1SG belongings without go-PF-COP
 I went empty-handed (lit. I went without belongings)

12.3 Negative paradigms

In declarative independent clauses negation is marked on the verb by negative inflections. Similar to content questions, in negative clauses verb inflections distinguish only present from past tense, without aspectual distinctions. Negative paradigms are formed by suffixing the inflections to the verb root: the negative paradigms belong to the set of fully inflected verb paradigms, cf. chapter 6 (section 6.3.3). The full negative paradigms can be seen in table 12.1:

Table 12.1: Negative present and negative past conjugations

	Negative present	Negative past
1SG	wuc’-atíne	wuc’-átine
2SG	wuc’-atáne	wuc’-átane
3M/3F/3PL	wuc’-ê / wuc’-ái	wuc’-áye
1PL	wuc’-atóne	wuc’-ótone
2PL	wuc’-aténe	wuc’-étene

The difference between the present and past negative paradigm is purely tonal for the 1st and 2nd person singular. The vowel alternation in the negative inflections reveals the presence of the phonologically reduced subject clitics, except for the 3rd persons. In the negative present the tone is on the vowel of the subject clitic.

The following examples illustrate the use of the negative declarative paradigms: as it can be seen from the examples, the negative present is used also for future reference.

- (6) **ínta naasí ad’-átine**
 1SG child give.birth-PAST.NEG.1SG
 I haven’t given birth

- (7) **wodí kaisí-n hannó-n laz-atóne**
 1PL servant-F.OBL 2SG:F-F.OBL touch-PRES.NEG.1PL
 we won't touch your vassals (referring to Haile Selassie's vassals)
- (8) **ínta goín-te yi?á-da bashadá=i=da**
 1SG road.F.OBL-LOC go-IPFV be.tired=1SG=IPFV
bashad-é gabá-n sána yesk-atíne
 be.tired-PRES market-F.OBL fast arrive-PRES.NEG.1SG
 I will become tired along the road, and I won't reach the market soon
- (9) **dongár dɛɛs-â wó=ɗan gar-ê**
 elephant kill-REL.PAST.M 1PL=ACC leave-PRES.NEG.3
 the one who killed Elephant won't leave us
- (10) **yáa shóqo í=ɗan bash-atáne!**
 2SG tick 1SG=ACC win-PRES.NEG.2SG
 you, Tick, you won't defeat me!

An alternative paradigm corresponding to the negative past illustrated in table 12.1 has been attested in naturally-occurring conversations.

The alternative negative past conjugation is a contracted version of the full paradigm, and it shows vowel assimilation of the subject clitic pronouns in the 1st and 2nd person plural. The third person is identical to the full paradigm, and there is no difference between the 1st and the 2nd person singular (see table 12.2). The syllabic structure of this paradigm is due to compensatory vowel lengthening (recall that CVVC syllables are allowed only in monosyllabic words, cf. chapter 2, 2.3.1). An alternative paradigm for the negative present does not exist, probably because the tonal opposition cannot be reproduced on the shortened paradigm.

Table 12.2: Alternative negative past conjugation

	Negative past
1SG	wuc'-áan
2SG	wuc'-áan
3M/3F/3PL	wuc'-áye
1PL	wuc'-óon
2PL	wuc'-éen

- (11) **yedí sun har ye=ɗalq-á? ɗes-éen!**
 2PL just what 2PL=speak-PAST.INT know-PAST.NEG.2PL
 why did you speak? you did not know!

Imperative mood is negated by means of the negative morpheme *bóde* which follows the imperative affirmative form of the verb:

- (12a) **yiʔá** **ḡóde!**
 go.IMP.2SG IMP.NEG
 don't go!
- (12b) **ḡalq-é** **ḡóde!**
 speak-IMP.2PL IMP.NEG
 don't speak!
- (12c) **qultá** **dettá** **ḡóde!**
 goat:M kill:CAUS.IMP.2SG IMP.NEG
 don't let kill the goat!

Prohibition can also be expressed by means of the verb *gará* 'stop': in this case the argument of *gará* is marked by the relational marker *-n* (see chapter 7, section 7.4.4).

- (13) **yáa** **banqí-n** **zagá-n** **gará!**
 2SG fight-F.OBL want- R stop.IMP.2SG
 stop looking for war!
- (14) **í = ḡan** **bagá-n** **gará!**
 1SG = ACC tease-R stop.IMP.2SG
 stop teasing me!

12.4 Negative subordinate clauses

Negation in dependent clauses is expressed by means of the negative markers *-mónna* and *-íma* suffixed to verbs. Negation in conditional clauses is coded by a negative conditional suffix and a periphrastic construction involving the negative existential *qolê*, see later on.

The negative marker *-mónna* attaches to the citation form of the verb, and gets obligatory pronominal subject marking (short form II). The verb marked by the negative suffix *-mónna* can convey also the semantic reading associated with reason clauses:

- (15a) **mugá** **parsí** **kin = wuc'a-mónna** **wodí** **kí = na**
 Muga beer 3 = drink-NEG.SUB2 1PL 2M = DAT
qarrabó **im-idí-ne**
 qarrabó give-PF-COP
 since Muga does not drink *parsí* beer, we gave him *qarrabó*.

- (15b) **qulí táaki birr bazá kin = kasha-mónna**
 goat now birr debit 3 = pay-NEG.SUB2
kánki ni?-ína gobá~gobá
 car come-COND run~run
 now Goat, not having paid the debt, if a car comes, he runs away
- (15c) **kó-te ni?á-ise, há = ďan in = aapa = mónna,**
 PRX.NSP-LOC come-CNV1 2SG = ACC 1SG = see = NEG.SUB2
ínta maata-ise yi?-idí
 1SG go.back-CNV1 go-PF
 when I came, since I didn't see you, I went back.

The negative marker *-íma* attaches to the verb root and it translates as 'without doing something'. In other Omotic languages this has been called negative converb or negative dependent verb (Azeb 2012a:470, Azeb and Dimmendaal 2006).

- (16a) **í = ďan ens-íma ki = yi?á-de**
 1SG = ACC go.with-NEG.SUB1 3 = go-PFV
 he went and did not bring me along (lit. without bringing me)
- (16b) **raat-íma waadíma-n ashká-ti dáa-de**
 sleep-NEG.SUB1 work-F.OBL do-SE.1SG exist-PFV
 I am working without having slept
- (16c) **dungurí ars-íma roo gúuri ki = goín**
 sandals enter:CAUS-NEG.SUB1 foot empty 3 = road.F.OBL
yi?á-de
 go-PFV
 without putting on the sandals he went along the road bare foot

As it was shown in chapter 10, two types of conditional clauses operate in Hamar: potential conditional clauses and veridical conditional clauses. In negative conditional clauses the difference between potential and veridical conditions is maintained.

Veridical condition (which is marked by *-ína* in affirmative conditional sentences) is marked by the negative conditional marker *-ámma* on the verb. This verb form requires pronominal subject agreement (short form I pronouns):

- (17) **ha = eel-ámma kó-te ni?-atóne**
 2SG = call-NEG.COND PRX.NSP-LOC come-PRES.NEG.1PL
 if you don't call we won't come

Negative potential conditional is expressed periphrastically, similar to the affirmative potential conditional (10.1.4). The construction consists of the short negative paradigm illustrated in table 12.2 plus the negative conditional marker *-ámma* suffixed to a following subject pronoun.

Vowel coalescence (P5) takes place between the vowel of the clitic pronouns and the initial vowel /a/ of the negative conditional marker *-ámma*, see chapter 2.

- (18a) **ínta galá kumm-áan émma**
 1SG food eat-PAST.NEG.1SG 1SG:NEG.COND
aajaďá=i=ďa aajaď-é
 be.sick = 1SG = IPFV be.sick-PRES
 I would be sick if I didn't eat food
- (18b) **macc-óon wómma róoro ábi**
 finish-PAST.NEG.1PL 1PL:NEG.COND day another
maccó-ďa macc-é
 finish.1PL-IPFV finish-PRES
 If we don't finish, we will finish another day
- (18c) **shekind-áan hámma ínta**
 make.a.hunting.trophy-PAST.NEG.2SG 2SG:NEG.COND 1SG
há = xal ďaa-ne
 2SG = AFF exist-COP
 if you don't make a hunting trophy, I will be with you forever

If the condition is expressed by the existential verb a periphrastic construction is used. The negative existential stem *qolê* is used as the complement of the dummy verb *hamá* 'say'; the latter takes the verbal inflections used to form the affirmative potential conditional:

- (19) **kánki qolêi ham-idi-ánna búska-shet yi?-atóne**
 car exist.not say-PF-OPT Buska-ALL2 go-PRES.NEG.1PL
 if there is no car, we don't go to Buska

12.5 Tag questions

Tag questions are formed by suffixing the tag *-tai* to verbs in affirmative-declarative clauses. In verb-less sentences the tag is attached directly to the noun phrase. From a morpho-syntactic point of view tag questions are not interrogative clauses because verbs occur in the affirmative-declarative forms. However, tag questions are uttered with a rising pitch similar to interrogative clauses, and they elicit an implicitly positive answer.

- (20a) **wodí angála míri shed-idí-tai?**
 1PL day.before.yesterday wave look-PF-TAG
 didn't we watch the waves the day before yesterday?

- (20b) **ím = be hám = be kínka yi?-idí-tai?**
 1SG = COM 2SG = COM together go-PF-TAG
 you and me, we went together, didn't we?

In fast speech, the perfect inflection *-idí* assimilates to the following tag *-tai*: the verbs in (20) are thus pronounced as [jedíttai] and [ji?íttai].

The examples below shows the tag *-tai* cliticized to nouns:

- (21a) **háile.sellás-sa kaisí-na yi?á-ise boráana da-uxá,**
 Haile.Selassie-GEN servant-PL go-CNV1 Boraana IPFV-fight
gabáre-tai?, boráana da-uxá
 Gabra.Oromo-TAG Boraana IPFV-fight
 the vassals of Haile Selassie went and fought the Boraana, the Gabra
 Oromo, isn't it? they went and fought the Boraana.

- (21b) **kurí isá~isadá gin búno noqó-tai?**
 honey eat~eat:PASS but coffee water-TAG
 honey is eaten, *but* coffee is water, isn't it?

13 Classification

As mentioned in chapter 1, there is general agreement on the internal coherence of South Omotic as a unit. The status of the Omotic family as a unit, and its status as an independent family of Afro-Asiatic is debated. The classificatory controversy concerns consequently also the internal organization of Afro-Asiatic. The history of the genetic classification of Omotic languages is linked to the internal classification of Cushitic, for an overview see Fleming (1976a & b), Lamberti (1991, 1993) and Azeb (2012a).

13.1 Internal and external classification of Omotic

The languages which are now known as ‘Omotic’ were originally classified under Cerulli’s Sidama branch of Cushitic, and under Moreno’s ‘West Cushitic’. Moreno’s ‘West Cushitic’ was also referred to as ‘ta/ne languages’ since they share the 1st person singular pronoun *ta* and the 2nd person singular *ne* (Moreno 1940:320). Cerulli and Moreno’s grouping did not include the South Omotic languages Hamar, Kara, Aari and Dime. Cerulli considered Aari and Dime Nilotic languages (Cerulli 1942); Moreno left the ‘Aari group’ unclassified for lack of evidence. Greenberg accepted Moreno’s West Cushitic but incorporated Aari, Hamar and Dime into West Cushitic (Greenberg 1963 and later reprints).⁵⁶

In the early seventies, Greenberg’s five-branched Afro-Asiatic phylum was re-defined and West Cushitic was separated from Cushitic (Fleming 1969, Bender 1975a) and established as the sixth independent family of Afro-Asiatic. Fleming re-named West Cushitic ‘Omotic’ (1974) since most of these languages are spoken in the area crossed by the Omo river in South West Ethiopia. As explained below, this hypothesis has not been accepted by all specialists in the field. Moreover, the Afro-Asiatic affiliation of Omotic as a whole (in Fleming’s sense) has been questioned by a number of scholars, see for instance Newman (1980) or Theil (2006, 2012).

Internal classifications proposed for the Omotic family are those presented by Fleming (1969, 1976b), Bender (1971, 2000, 2003a) and Fleming and Bender (1976). The classifications they have proposed are slightly different in the labels used and in the organization of the lower groups and sub-groups. Hamar, Aari, Dime and Kara are always considered as a unit of closely related languages and they are referred to as ‘South Omotic’ (Fleming 1976b), ‘Aroid’ (Bender 1994, 2000), and

⁵⁶ According to Fleming (1976b:308), at that time the only published data on South Omotic was Da Trento’s list (1941). Cerulli had unpublished data on Aari and Dime, which was not available. Preliminary data on Aari, Hamar, Banna, and Kara was collected by Fleming and Herbert Lewis in 1959 and it was given to Greenberg.

‘Eastern Omotic’ (Fleming and Bender 1976). In the present work the labels ‘South Omotic’ and ‘North Omotic’ will be used.

Fleming’s classification (1976):

1. North Omotic

1.1 Kafa-Gimojan

- Gimojan
 - Ometo
 - South :*Maale*
 - West :*Basketto, Doko-Dollo*
 - East :*Harro, Kachama, Koyra, Zayse*
 - North :*Gamo, Gofa, Kullo, Wolaitta*
 - *Janjero (Yem)*
 - *Gimira (Bench)*
- Kafa languages (or Gongga languages)
 - *Shinasha (Boro)*
 - *Southern Mao (Anfillo)*
 - *Kafa-Mocha*

1.2 Maji languages

- *Nao (Nayi)*
- *Sheko*
- *Maji (Dizi)*

2. South Omotic

- *Aari, Dime, Hamar, Banna, Kara*

According to Fleming’s classification, the Omotic family branches into two sub-families: North Omotic and South Omotic. Bender (2000) added the Mao languages⁵⁷ as an independent sub-family of Omotic and lumped South Omotic (called Aroid) and the Maji languages (called Dizoid) under the same node. Bender’s internal organization proposes that Fleming’s South Omotic and Maji languages (Dizi, Sheko, Nayi) form a separate unit opposed to Fleming’s North Omotic, whereas Fleming classified the Maji languages within North Omotic. Bender’s classification is

⁵⁷ Mao is an ethnically and linguistically ambiguous term and it is used in different and confusing ways in the literature. The term refers to Omotic languages, but also to the Nilo-Saharan languages Komo and Kwama. Bender (2000, 2003a) used the term to refer to the Omotic languages Bambassi-Diddesa, Hozo, Seze and Ganza. Anfillo, which in Fleming’s classification is also named Southern Mao, is geographically not connected to the Mao (Omotic) languages and it belongs to a different branch of Omotic. See Bender (1975b) and Küspert (2015) for a terminological disambiguation.

supported by Hayward (2009), while Fleming and Bender (1976) argue that 'An unusual amount of common features between Maji (= Dizi) and Eastern (= South) Omotic may be due to the earlier prominence of the Maji kingdom in the lower Omo area. However, it is also possible that a special linguistics relationship between the two exists' (Fleming and Bender 1976:46).

Other classifications challenge the position of the South Omotic languages within Omotic, and the existence of an independent 'Omotic' family. Lamberti's view (1993) for instance is similar to the one proposed by Greenberg (1963): he did not consider Omotic to be an independent family of Afro-Asiatic, and restored North Omotic languages under West Cushitic. However, Lamberti separated South Omotic languages from West Cushitic and established them as a parallel, special branch within the larger Cushitic family. Different from Lamberti, Zaborski (2004) has questioned the unity of Omotic and has proposed to classify North Omotic as West Cushitic, whereas South Omotic (and additionally the Mao languages) should be part of the Nilo-Saharan phylum on the basis of similarities in the pronominal system. A lexicostatistical comparison of Omotic lexicon has been carried out by Blažek (2008) and suggests that Omotic constitutes an independent branch of Afro-Asiatic. According to Blažek, however, South Omotic languages represent an extinct branch of the Nilo-Saharan phylum, and lexical similarities with other Omotic languages can be explained by convergence (Blažek p.c., Blažek 2008; Blažek and Maláškova 2016). Moges (2007, 2015) has a similar view and proposes to classify South Omotic languages under the Nilo-Saharan phylum, however, he does not provide a classification for the rest of Omotic. Theil (2006, 2012) has questioned the affiliation of South Omotic (and Maji languages) to the rest of Omotic, and in general the genetic affiliation of Omotic to Afro-Asiatic. Omotic, according to Theil, should be considered an isolated phylum until regular sound correspondences established by the comparative method prove the opposite.

The various subgroupings proposed by Fleming and Bender show that in general the group-internal coherence of South Omotic is not questioned. The controversy revolves around the relation (if there is any) between South and North Omotic, that is, the status of Omotic as a unit. If the link between South and North Omotic can be established, Omotic can be considered a unit, which then, depending on one's view, could constitute a sixth branch of Afro-Asiatic, a sub-branch of Cushitic, or an isolate group not related to Afro-Asiatic.

13.2 The controversy

The classifications proposed for South Omotic and Omotic languages show that the controversy is far from being settled. The scarcity of detailed grammatical descriptions of Omotic languages, the general methodological weakness in the historical investigation of Omotic languages and the primacy of morphological vs. lexical evidence in scholar's views are among the main reasons behind such controversy.

Omotic languages have been in contact with Cushitic and Nilo-Saharan languages for a long time, and this creates challenges for comparative studies. Scholars mention various ‘layers’ of Cushitic (especially Eastern Cushitic, cf. Bender 2003b) or Nilotic. As a matter of fact, the intense contact and interference among Omotic, Cushitic and Nilo-Saharan languages may have obscured genetic relationships.⁵⁸

Morphology is considered to be more reliable in comparative studies as grammatical morphemes are more resistant to diffusion. Yet morphological evidence does not lead to unequivocal results. Much of the controversy boils down to the fact that Omotic lacks the diagnostic features of Afro-Asiatic such as the gender markers (the *-(a)t* feminine marker) and the prefix conjugation. Hayward has objected this view and has criticized the ‘Semitic bias’ that has dominated historical-comparative Afro-Asiatic studies: scholars who see Omotic as marginal within Afro-Asiatic are often biased by the Semitic yardstick (Hayward 1995:14-15; 2000:84-85, 2003:244). Hayward even suggested the possibility of a ‘Creole Hypothesis’ explaining the innovative new morphology (Hayward 1995:15-16). Bender, who developed and supported the hypothesis of Omotic as a unit with the reconstruction of Omotic lexicon and phonology (Bender 2003a) and morphology (Bender 2000), has expressed several doubts concerning the affiliation of Omotic to Afro-Asiatic: ‘Is this stock of proposed Omotic retained isomorphs from Afrasian sufficient in quantity and quality to establish Omotic as an Afrasian family?’ (Bender 2003a:314). In a paper published the same year (Bender 2003b) he actually stated that ‘there are certainly mysteries about the nature of Omotic, and my classification, which makes Omotic a primary family within Afrasian, may be wrong’.

As far as South Omotic languages are concerned, the strongest opponent to the Omotic/Afro-Asiatic affiliation is Zaborski (2004), who sees strong morphological support for a Nilo-Saharan affiliation in the pronominal system of South Omotic languages. Zaborski refused Bender’s idea that South Omotic pronouns have been exceptionally borrowed from neighbouring Nilotic languages (Bender 2000: 198-201).

13.3 Hamar in comparative perspective

This section contributes up-to-date Hamar data to existing comparative works, namely Bender (2000, 2003a), Hayward (2009), Hayward and Tsuge (1998), Zaborski (1990, 2004). Lexical and morphological similarities within South Omotic are pointed out in 13.3.1 and 13.3.2. The remaining sections discuss morphological evidence, such as pronominals and verbal derivation, which show plausible external relations.

⁵⁸ Not far from Hamar, there is an even more puzzling case for African language classification. Ongota, a highly endangered language spoken by eight people, has been classified as an independent, major branch of Afro-Asiatic (Fleming 2006); a Nilo-Saharan language (Blažek 2007); an East Cushitic language with Nilo-Saharan substratum (Savà and Tosco 2000, 2003), and as an isolate language (Savà and Tosco 2015).

13.3.1 South Omotic lexicon

Table 13.1 below provides a comparative Swadesh list expanded with the additional lexicon used by Bender (1994, 2003a). The source for Dime is Mulugeta (2008), while data for Aari is taken mainly from Hayward (1990), but Bender (1991,1994) and Fleming (1986) are also taken into consideration. The data are reported in the original transcriptions. The Kara data come from my personal field notes (written in normal font) and from the Kara dictionary compiled by Dunga Batum Nakuwa and Nadine Brückner (written in italics), although it should be kept in mind that the latter does not provide narrow phonetic transcriptions.

There are striking lexical resemblances between Kara, Hamar, Aari and Dime: Hamar and Aari share 73% of lexical resemblances, whereas Hamar-Dime and Aari-Dime share almost 50% of the lexicon. Even though there is a plausible presence of loans, some sound laws can be seen on the spot: the Hamar uvular *q* is often glottalized in Aari (cf. Hamar *qáji* > Aari *?aaji*, ‘cold’; Hamar *qáski* > Aari *?aksi*, ‘dog’), whereas it is fricativized in Dime (cf. Hamar *háqa* > Dime *?áxe*, ‘tree’; Hamar *noqó* > Dime *náxe* ‘water’).

Table 13.1: South Omotic comparative word-list (150 items)

	Kara	Hamar	Aari - Galila	Dime
I (1SG)	ínta	ínta	?itá	?até
all	wul	wul	wull	wuuf-id
armpit	<i>galó</i>	babáti	kaf	lobáč
ashes		dibíni	bmdí	bíndí
ask	ois-	ois-	góys-	?úis-
axe	<i>shúkó</i>	tesíbe	wókka	tebiz; kált
bark	<i>góngó</i>	wúkumba	oofri	
beard, chin	<i>boci</i>	búushi	buci, c’iri	gəʁč’é
bedbug		ékeri	ekri	
bee	anqats’o	ánqasi	?antsí	?ins’é
beehive		qootí	bezí	gónú
belly, stomach	ii	ii	nortí ⁵⁹	c’olay
big	gaari	gaarí	gaʔsé	giccó-b ⁶⁰
bird	<i>karia</i>	átti	?aftí, apte	?éfti
bite	gaʔ-	gaʔ-	gaʔsé	gáʔá
black	ts’ia	t’ía	c’eləmi (Amh.)	s’án-ub
blood	<i>maasi</i>	zombí	zomʔ (animal); qasé (human)	béé, máχse ⁶¹
body	<i>bishi</i> ⁶²	zará		zéré

⁵⁹ cf. Hamar ‘small intestine’ *juqurtí*

⁶⁰ cf. Hamar ‘old’ *geccó*

⁶¹ cf. Hamar ‘bleed’ *maqas-*

bone	<i>lapó</i>	léepi	lefi	k'uus
boy, child	<i>ange naaso</i>	naasí	yintsì	níts
breast	ami	amí	ami	?íme
bring	ba?-	ba?-	bá?s-	ba?ád
burn (intr)	<i>atamo</i>	at-	atsi (tr.)	?atse
bush, forest	qau	qáu	qosé	gááši, kúfú
buttocks	tudí	tudí	tuudí	góya
calf (cattle)	ootó	ootó		?ótníts ⁶³
cattle	waaki	waakí	waakí	wóʒən
chicken	<i>baaca</i>	báasha	baac	koiz
claw, nail	gusho	gúsho ⁶⁴	guša, ?uqšmí	gušš
cloud	<i>luup</i>	pooló	uppá	c'íic'
cold	<i>qaci</i>	qáji	k'aji, gaji, ?aji	bágzem-ub
come	na?-	ni?-	aad-	?áde
cook	bak-	bax-, ush- ⁶⁵	uš-, ?ú(u)š(š)	?úššú
cooking stones	baaka	báakulo		bááki
corn, maize	kórmosho	boqólo	fatír	kábbe
cow	waaki mee	wóngo ⁶⁶		?ótu ⁶⁷
die	c'a-	di- ⁶⁸	dɛʔ, déʔs	deyi ⁶⁹
dog	qasqi	qáski	?áksi	kéné
donkey	ukulí	ukulí	arra, ukli	yəré, yərí
drink	wuc'-	wuc'- ⁷⁰	wəc', wocc'	wuc'u
dry	<i>tsedi</i>	wócci	wócc-ə	wuc-ub
ear	qaamo	qáami	k'aami, qaamí	k'ááme
earth, land	pee	pee	fec'é ⁷¹	yilé
eat	its'-	is-; kumm-	ic-, ?itts-	?ítsi
egg	<i>mukaio</i>	búla ⁷²	muqá, muxá	mólu
eight	lonkai	lánkai	qaskén tamars	k'ášinašiš
elephant	dongár	dongár	dangór	dúúrú
eye	aapí	áapi	?áafi	?áfe

⁶² cf. 'skin'

⁶³ ?ótníts is composed of 'cow' and 'child'.

⁶⁴ Hamar 'hoof' is *shukúma*

⁶⁵ Hamar *ush-* means 'be ripe', or 'be cooked'

⁶⁶ Hamar *wóngo* is the feminine inflected form of *waakí*.

⁶⁷ cf. Hamar 'calf' *ootó*

⁶⁸ Hamar 'death' is *dembí*

⁶⁹ *deyi* refers to animals, *laɣt'e* refers to humans

⁷⁰ Hamar has the verb root *kum-* for 'drink milk'; Dime has *kumti* for 'drink while eating'.

⁷¹ Hamar *pec'é* refers to a type of bean

⁷² In the Banna dialect of Hamar *múqa* is used instead of *búla* for 'egg'

far	pegé	pegé	fegá	ʔáátim
fat	dúrpi	dúrpi	durfi	mərši ⁷³ , báχ
fat-tailed sheep		hána		saké
feather	silé	silé	kefi (wing)	
fire	noo	nuu	noh, nóhà	núnú
fish	káara	káara	tóyla	ʔórxú
five	dong	dong	dónq	šinní
flesh, meat	waa	waa	wahá, waa	woxú
fly	ḏaaḏ-	yay-;ḏaaḏ-	far-, azze (run)	fáre
foot, leg	ra	roo	dúuti	dóótu, dóottu
footprint	rasí	rási		dóom ⁷⁴
four	oidí	oidí	ʔoydí	wuddum, ʔúddú
full	tsoosa	t'óot'i	c'oooc'i, ts'oots'í	
giraffe	ts'amsi	t'ánzi		k'əč'anč'ir
give	im-	im-	ʔim-	ʔímí
go, walk	yaʔ-	yiʔ-	kay-, ay-	híní ~ tíní
goat	qulí	qulí	qolí	dəré
good	ts'aalí	payá	la(qa)mí	ʔáho-b
grease, fat	móro	móro ⁷⁵		kuštú; mərši; báχ
green	c'agi	c'agáj		c'ərχond-ub
hair	siiti	síiti	shic'i, sits'í	bánde, s'is'i ⁷⁶
hand	aan	áan	ʔáaní	ʔáne
he (3sg M)	noo	kidí	nó(ō)	nú
head	meté	meté	mətá, matá	máte
hear, listen	esar-	qans-	ʔésər	k'áámsé
heart	woilam	weilám	búude	búud
honey	kuro	kurí	kuri	kúrú, nákur
horn	qushumó	qushumbá	šoxá	ʔúšúm
hot	óidfa	oidí		šélí
kill	dees-	dees-	deys, dées	déysi, deisi
knee	buqo	búqo	buqa	wóχ
know	ḏees-	ḏes-	ʔesh, ʔes, ʔéss	dése
kraal, village		gurdá	gurdá	báfó
leaf		qálbe	k'alba, qalʔe	k'áame ⁷⁷

⁷³ *mərši* refers to the fat of a person

⁷⁴ Mulugeta reports *šuuquíumu* as well, cf. Hamar *shukúma* 'hoof'

⁷⁵ Hamar *móro* and Dime *kuštú* refer to the 'fat of the meat'. Dime *mərši* is the fat of a person

⁷⁶ Dime *s'is'i* means 'grey hair'

⁷⁷ Dime word for 'ear' and 'leaf' are the same

lion	zobo	zóbo	zob	zób
liver	təraβu	tiraβó	tirá	tááχte
long (tall)	gudiβ	gudúβ		gúdúm-ub
louse		qása	qasá, k'asa	gársi
man	éedi	ángi, éedi	aŋ	goštú
many		gebí, pac'	bedmí	s'us'-id
milk	raats'i	ráat'i		dʒíʃi
milk a cow	ts'a-	t'a-		s'ohú
moon	arpi	árpi	arfen, ʔárfi	ʔirfé
mountain	<i>germar</i>	dúka	balá	
mouth	apó	aapó	ʔáfa	ʔáfé
name	naabi	náabi	laami, naami	mízí
navel	<i>gungussi</i>	guldánti	gulʔa	guúfú
neck, throat	qorc'i	qorc'í, izáqe	qadá, qórc'í	ʔəks'e, ʔéɾzi
new	hali	háali	killé	wólgu
night, dark	sooti	sóoti	soyti	dúúm
nine	sel	sel	wolqán tamárs	wóklasiš
nose	núki	nukí	nukí	núkú
old	gecó	geccó	geco, galtá	ʔátse (m), gəšin(f)
one	kalá	kalá	wóllaq	wókkil
ox	<i>waaki ange</i>	wəxâ, waakí zía ⁷⁸	jic	zíti (bull)
path, road	goi	goití	googi	dóótgáš
person	eedi	éedi	ʔeed	ʔiyyí
rain	doobo	doobí	doobí	dífí
red	zawi	deer	zeemi	zúub
root	c'ac'i	c'aac'í	c'aac'i	c'ic'i
round, circle		kúmbul, túni		zuusú
saliva, spit	pats'i	pet'í, pet'im-	túf-	túfú, táχil, s'erχé
sand	<i>gaymi</i>	sháami	šami	šááyi
say, tell, speak	gi-	gi-, ham-, ɕalq-	gáy-, ʔalq-	ʔééné, bedá, k'óót
see, look	shed-	aap-, shed-	sed, šet	yefé, yíní,
seed	<i>bia</i>	bénta	meša	mišít
seven	ts'oβbá	toβbá	tabzá	tússim
she (3sg F)	náa	kodí	nää	ná

⁷⁸ Hamar zía is adjective 'brave'

sheep	yeetí	yaatí	qolí, dertí	ʔííní
sit	dərɣ-	dorɣ-	dóq	dáhi
six	lah	lax	lah, láä	lax
skin		bíshi		bici, bicé
sleep	raat-	raat-, wod-	raa(t)ts-	náχte, záap'e
small	<i>keta, shouli</i>	líkka	liŋk'sh-, niŋk'sh- tokmí	c'ək'k'-ub, ləkk'- ub
smoke	c'ubí	c'úba	c'ubé	c'úbsi
sorghum	<i>isini</i>	isín		kámáy
stand	ɖaɑb-	woi-	wóʔ-, ɖáam-	k'ínti, wúyí
star	ɛsin	eezín	bɛz	bééz
stone	<i>suní</i>	seení	seení	lále
sun	hayo	hai	a(a)i	ʔíyí
t'ef		gáashi	gaac'i	gíči
tail		dubaná	gooli, goyríy	golán
ten	teβi	taβí	təmmə, tammá	təmmé
that (distal)	agá	agá (M) ogó (F) igirá (PL)	ka-se (M), kona-se (F)	sanú (M), saná (F), sakét (PL)
they (3PL)	ke	kidí	ketá	kété
this (proximal)	kaa	kaa (M) koró (F) kerá (PL)	ka (M), kuna (F)	sinú (M), siná (F), sikét (PL)
three	makkañ	makkán	məkkən, makkán	məkkím
tongue	atáβ	atáβ	admi	ʔidi
tooth	as'i	ási	ʔatsí	ʔitsí
tree	haaqa	háqa	ääqa	ʔáæ
two	lamá	lamá	qastén, qaskén	k'éstín
water	<i>nunko</i>	noqó	luuqa, noqá	náæ
we	wotí	wodí	wö(ö)tá	wótú
what	har, hará	har, har-é	äre	wúyú
white	c'aulí	c'aulí	ts'áam- (verb)	gúit'-ub
who	<i>hauw</i>	hai-, háine	äy	ʔáyi
wild animal	dabí	dabí	debí	kúfó
woman	mee	maa	maa	ʔámze
yellow	<i>makale</i>	galáp		c'ífilil-ub
you (2PL)	yaa	yedí	yetá	yesí
you (2SG)	yetí	yaa	ääná	yáay/yáye

13.3.2 South Omotic morphemes

In this section grammatical morphemes across South Omotic languages will be compared. Sections 13.3.3, 13.3.4 and 13.3.5 discuss morphological features which suggest external relations of South Omotic. South Omotic pronominals (13.3.3) have been used to support the Nilo-Saharan affiliation; however verbal derivation is typically Cushitic, especially in Hamar where various strata can be detected (13.3.5). A morpheme *-n* (13.3.4) functioning as object/oblique case is attested in Hamar, and vestiges of it can be individuated in Aari and Dime as well; this morpheme is widespread across Omotic and it links South Omotic to North Omotic.

Nominal inflections

The Hamar gender suffixes are *-(t)â* (M) and *-(tó)no* (F). A separate suffix marking definiteness (as the Dime *-is/-iz*) does not exist in Hamar.

Dime's nominal affixes are *-ub* (M), *-ind* (F), *-id/-af* (PL). Gender affixes are marked on modifiers but not on head nouns, whereas plural is marked on the head (*-af*) and on the modifier (*-id*) (Mulugeta 2008:41-46). Hamar nominal inflections are overtly marked on nouns, adjectives and other modifiers.

Aari has a definite plural marker *-(i)n(a)* *-(i)n(e)* and a singulative marker *-s*. In Aari only feminine gender is marked, by means of *-ta* (Hayward 1990:442-446).⁷⁹ Bender reports for Aari 'special gender-marking prefixes' (Bender 2000:167): *aŋ-zob* 'lion', *ma-zob* 'lioness' (cf. Hamar *zôbo* 'lion'). These gender prefixes correspond to Hamar nouns *ángi* 'man' and *maa* 'woman'.

Table 13.2: South Omotic nominal inflections

	Hamar	Aari	Dime
M	<i>-(t)â</i>	zero marked / <i>aŋ-</i>	<i>-ub</i>
F	<i>-(to)no</i>	<i>-ta</i> / <i>ma-</i>	<i>-ind</i>
PL	<i>-na</i>	<i>-(i)n(a)</i> / <i>-(i)n(e)</i>	<i>-af/ -id</i>

Hamar gender inflections do not have cognates in Aari and Dime, whereas the plural number suffix *-na* is formally related to the definite plural marker *-(i)n(a)* and *-(i)n(e)* in Aari.

Case affixes

Nominative is unmarked in Aari and Dime, whereas Hamar shows a mixed system in which both the subject case and the object/oblique case of feminine nouns are morphologically marked. For masculine nouns, plural nouns, and uninflected nouns only the accusative case is marked, cf. chapter 7. Accusative case markers

⁷⁹ Note that in Aari the feminine gender marker *-ta* is homophonous to the genitive marker *-ta*, but it occupies a different slot. The suffix *-tâ* in Hamar is for masculine gender, but the element *-tV* is also attested in the feminine inflection *-tôno*.

are *-dan/-n* in Hamar, *-im* in Dime and *-m* in Aari (or *-n* according to Bender 2000:163). The case suffix *-n* is discussed in 13.3.4. In Hamar and Dime case is suffixed to the NP; for Aari this information is not available. The genitive case marker is different across Hamar, Aari and Dime, however both Hamar and Aari allow noun + noun compounds such as Hamar *dará ukulí* ‘zebra’ (lit. valley donkey) and Aari *qosá arre* ‘zebra’ (lit. forest donkey). Hayward reports only the accusative and genitive case for Aari, whereas other cases are analysed as postpositions.

Table 13.3: Case suffixes of Hamar, Aari and Dime

Case	Hamar	Aari	Dime
accusative	-dan / -n	-m / -n	-im
genitive	-sa	-ta / -te	-ko
dative	-na	kan	-in
instrumental	-ka / -xa		-ká
comitative	-be	kikíl / kin	same as above
allative	-dar	dar	-ká-bow
locative ‘in’	-te	various postpositions	-se / -o
ablative	-rra	girank, rank	-de

From a Hamar’s perspective, some of Aari’s locative postpositions can be further segmented and analysed. Hayward reports the postposition *gidír*, *gidér*, *gir* (1990: 489). Hamar *gidí* means ‘middle’ and it is often followed by the general locative case *-te* or the inessive case *-r*, thus *gidí-r* in Hamar means ‘in the middle’.

In Hamar instrumental and comitative are marked differently, whereas Dime uses *-ka* for both roles. Bender reports the Aari comitative *kin* ‘with’ (Bender 2000: 176) which is found also in Hamar *kínka* ‘together’. The comitative *-ka* in Dime is used for bisyndetic coordination and likewise the suffix *-be* in Hamar it is suffixed to each conjoined noun phrase, see chapter 8, section 8.5.1. Bender reports for Aari a connector *k/ek/ke* used for bisyndetic coordination as well (Bender 2000:176).

Nominal derivation

The table below shows the nominal derivational suffixes attested in Hamar, Aari and Dime. The Hamar suffix used to derive abstract nouns from verbs is equivalent to the Aari infinitive suffix. Traces of the Dime nominalizer suffix *-im* (which is homophonous to the Dime accusative case marker) can be found in a few verb-noun pairs in Hamar: *irá* ‘to curse’, *írima* ‘swear word’, *adá* ‘give birth’, *ádima* ‘birth, delivery’. The formative *-Vm-* however could also be a fossilized verbal derivational suffix, see chapter 6, section 6.2.3, and see discussion below. The suffix *-Vm-* is also attested in Ometo: in Maale for instance abstract nominals can be derived from adjectives by means of *-um-* (Azeb 2001:74).

Table 13.4: Nominal derivations in Hamar, Aari and Dime

	Hamar	Aari	Dime
infinitive	zero/ -n	-ínti	-n
abstract	-ínta	-mi	-im

Copula

The attributive/equative and existential copulas across Hamar Aari and Dime are compared in the table below.

Table 13.5: Copula in Hamar, Aari and Dime

	Hamar	Aari	Dime
attributive	-ne	-ye (-e)	-ée (-yéé)/ dán
existential	daa	dak-,ääq-, doq-	déén

Dime existential copulas *dán* and *déén* have reflexes in Hamar *dáa* ‘life, exist’.⁸⁰ Aari existential copulas are posture verbs: *doq-* ‘sit’ (Hamar *dorq-*), *ääq-* ‘stay’ (Hamar *haaq-*). Possession is expressed predicatively by means of the existential copula and a genitive construction in all the three languages. In Hamar content question the copula is expressed by *-é*. Outside of South Omotic, reflexes of the Hamar attributive copula *-ne* could be the declarative sentence marker *-ne* of Maale (Azeb 2001:148) and the final element of all tense markers of Zargulla (*-ínne*, *-íne*, *-éne*, see Azeb 2012a). Bender reconstructs the Proto-Ometo existential copula as *-de? (2000: 88;219).

Subject-agreement marking on the verb

There is great variation in the way subject-agreement is marked on the verb in Omotic in general: some North Omotic languages are highly inflecting, but the lack of inflection is attested as well. Within South Omotic, three different systems are attested. Aari is a highly inflecting language as illustrated by the subject agreement markers reported by Hayward (1990:474):

Table 13.6: Aari subject agreement markers

1SG	-it	1PL	-ō(ō)t
2SG	-ay	2PL	-et
3	-e, -a ⁸¹	3PL	-ek

Dime has a reduced system which distinguishes only first persons (*-t*) against second and third persons (*-n*). Hamar differs from Aari and Dime in that it uses phonologically reduced personal pronouns, see chapter 4 and 6.

⁸⁰ Bender remarked that the Western Nilotic language Anuak (Anywa) which is in contact with Omotic, has a copula *da* (Bender 2000:200).

⁸¹ The third person singular subject markers are irregular and those illustrated in the table represent only some of them.

Converb markers

Converbs are non-finite verb forms used to express adverbial subordination and are widely attested in the languages of Ethiopia. The converb marker *-énka* in Hamar has reflexes in both Aari and Dime, and a possible cognate form is found outside of South Omotic, in Benchnon:

Hamar: *kin-wuc'-énka* 'he having drunk'

Aari: *?í wóons-ink(a)* 'if I work' (Hayward 1990:487)

Dime: *yíz-inká* 'since (he) ran' (Mulugeta 2008:160)

Bench: *sur²k'-an⁴k'ĩ⁵* 'he having fallen asleep' (Breeze 1990:28)

13.3.3 Pronouns

South Omotic pronominals show striking similarities with those of Eastern Nilotic languages such as the neighbouring Teso-Turkana languages.

The Hamar 3rd person masculine and feminine independent pronouns, *kidí* and *kodí*, differ from those of Kara (own data), Dime (Mulugeta 2008) and Aari (Hayward 1990). In these languages however the formatives *ki-* and *ko-* occur in object and oblique pronouns, in possessives, and in subject agreement on dependent verb forms. The Hamar pronouns have the variant *kisí*, *kosí*, *wosí*, *yesí*, that is, the alveolar stop can be substituted with the fricative, see chapter 4.⁸² The table below shows both independent pronouns and the shortened form of pronouns used as a basis to form oblique, object and possessive pronouns.

Table 13.7: South Omotic pronominals

	Hamar		Kara		Aari		Dime	
1SG	ínta	i-	ínta	i-	?itá	?i-	?até	?is-
2SG	yaa	ha-	yáa	ha-	ääná	ää-	yáay	yín-
3M	kidí	ki-	nóo	ki-	nó(ö)	kí-	nú	kín-
3F	kodí	ko-	náa	ko-	nää	kó-	ná	kón-
1PL	wodí	wo-	wotí	wo-	wö(ö)tá	wó(ö)-	wótú	wón-
2PL	yedí	ye-	yetí	ye-	yetá	yé-	yesé	yen-
3PL	kidí	ki-	ketí	ke-	ketá	ké	kété	kén-

The table below shows the pronominal system of Ongota (unclassified), Sheko (Maji, Hellenthal 2010) and Maale (North Omoto, Azeb 2001). Ongota has *ki* for 3M and *ku*

⁸² Bender (2000:163) erroneously reports Hamar *kosí* as 3PL pronoun, and he says that 3F is identical to 3M *kidí*. This is clearly a misunderstanding of Lydall's description of Hamar pronouns (1976): Lydall describes the 3F pronoun as 'non-individual third'. As explained in chapter 3, feminine gender in Hamar can have collective semantic value.

for 3F subject clitics and object pronouns, *kita* and *kuta* as 3M and 3F independent pronouns (Savà & Tosco 2000).⁸³

Table 13.8: Ongota, Sheko and Maale pronominals

	Ongota		Sheko		Maale
1SG	kata	ka	nata	n-	tááni
2SG	janta	i	yeta	ha-	nééní
3M	kita	ki	áz	há-	ʔízí
3F	kuta	ku	íʒ	yí-	ʔízá
1PL	juta	ju	náta	ń-	núúní
2PL	gitata	gita	ítí	ítí-	ʔíntsí
3PL	kiʔita	kiʔi-a	íʃi	íʃi-	ʔiyátá

The Teso-Turkana pronouns are reported in table 13.9 (Bender 2000:199 for Teso, Dimmendaal 1983 for Turkana). The Teso-Turkana pronouns do not distinguish gender in the third person pronouns, but they have inclusive/exclusive distinctions in the first person plural.

Table 13.9: Teso-Turkana pronominals

	Teso	Turkana
1SG	ɛɔŋɔ	a-yɔŋɔ
2SG	ɪɔ	i-yɔŋɔ
3M/3F	ŋɛsɪ	ì-ŋɛsɪ
1PL in./ ex.	ɔnɪ / is(y)ɔ	ì-ŋwɔŋɔ / ì-suà
2PL	yɛsɪ	ì-yɛsɪ
3PL	kɛsɪ	ì-kɛsɪ

The striking similarity between South Omotic and Teso-Turkana 2nd and 3rd plural pronouns is often mentioned to support the Nilo-Saharan affiliation of South Omotic (Cerulli 1942, Zaborski 2004, Moges 2015), although none of the scholars who claim this affiliation have proposed a sub-group membership for South Omotic. Bender argued that the elements *w-*, *y-*, *k-* in the plural pronouns are typical person markers prefixes in Nilotic, and he suggested a contact scenario whereby the 3rd singular and the 2nd and 3rd plural pronouns were borrowed (2000:163,198). Bender reconstructs the development of Omotic pronouns from a cleft construction involving a copula: ‘it is I that...’. in South Omotic (but also in the ta-ne languages as illustrated by Sheko in table 13.8) the *-ta* formative is identified as an ancient copula. Another possible analysis⁸⁴ is that the element *-e* in the 2nd and 3rd plural pronouns of Kara, Aari,

⁸³ The formatives *ki-* and *ko-* are attested in the neighbouring Cushitic language Ts’amakko but with inverted functions: the pronominal particle *ko/ku* is reported for masculine, *ke/ki* for feminine. Moreover, these formatives occur as the second singular object pronouns: *koo* for 2SG masculine and *kee* for 2SG feminine (Savà 2005)

⁸⁴ I am grateful to Maarten Kossman for suggesting this interpretation.

Dime (and Hamar), was a plural marker associated with the marker for 2nd person *y-* (still present in Hamar, Kara, Dime; in Aari it survives only in the 2nd plural, in Ongota it is found in the 2nd singular). Similarly, the formative *k-* can be analysed as a marker of 3rd person, which combined with the plural marker *-e*, results into the present-day 3rd plural pronoun of South Omotic.

Even if the Nilotic origin of South Omotic pronouns is disregarded, a link to Nilo-Saharan could still be found in the special third person pronoun which is described in Omotic languages as a reflexive or logophoric pronoun. Hayward (2009) remarked that Maji and South Omotic do not participate in the shared innovation of the special third person pronoun *bV/pV*, which is found throughout the ta-ne languages. This special third person pronoun is not found in Maji and South Omotic languages. In the light of the the present study, it can be added that Hamar does have a third person reflexive pronoun *yi-* which is used as a long-distance reflexive. The Hamar reflexive pronoun *yi* might point to Nilo-Saharan: Dimmendaal (2001) reports logophoric pronouns consisting of the formative *yV* in Central Sudanic (Moru-Madi *yi*) and in Nilotic (Acholi *yi*), as well as in the Niger-Congo phylum, in Benue-Congo (Babungu *yì-*), in Kwa (Avatime *yì*; Ewe *yè-*), in Adamawa-Ubangi (Ndogo *yì*) (2001:148-155). He links the Omotic formative *bV/pV* to West Chadic forms, and argues that Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan logophoric markers are functionally, and in some cases formally, cognates, and must be interpreted as evidence for genetic inheritance. However, a formative *yì-* is attested also in the Maji language Shoko as a 3F pronoun (cf. table 13.8).

The object pronouns in Hamar, Kara, Aari (Hayward 1990) and Dime (Mulugeta 2008) are illustrated in the table below. The accusative marker in Hamar is *-dan*, but it can be reduced to *-n* in the shortened form (in the second column in table 13.7, but see also chapter 2, phonological rule P5 and chapter 4). In Hamar, Kara, Aari and Dime the object marker attaches to the second set of pronouns given in table 13.7 above.

Table 13.10: Object pronouns of Hamar, Kara, Aari and Dime

	Hamar		Kara	Aari	Dime
	full form	reduced			
1SG	í-dan	éen	i-m	ʔí-m	ʔis-im
2SG	há-dan	háan	ha-m	áä-m	yín-im
3M	kí-dan	kéen	ki-m	kí-m	kín-im
3F	kó-dan	kóon	ko-m	kó(ö)-m	kón-im
1PL	wó-dan	wóon	wo-m	wó(ö)-m	wón-im
2PL	yé-dan	yéen	ye-m	yé(ë)-m	yen-im
3PL	kí-dan	kéen	ke-m	ké-m	kén-im

Mulugeta (2008:65) notices that differently from Aari, in Dime the accusative marker is not suffixed directly to the pronoun, but preceded by *-n-*. The same happens in Hamar for the formation of possessive pronouns. The element *-n* is a widespread iso-

gloss in Omotic; in Hamar it is analysed as oblique case and as marker of nominal dependency, see discussion under 13.3.4.

South Omotic possessive pronouns are formed by the suffixation of the genitive case to clitic pronouns, thus in Dime the genitive case *-ko* is suffixed to clitic pronouns, and in Aari the possessive pronouns are formed by the genitive case *-te/-ta*.⁸⁵

Pronominal possession in Hamar is expressed by means of genitive pronouns and possessive pronouns. Genitive pronouns are formed by suffixation of the genitive case *-sa* to subject clitics; possessive pronouns agree in gender and number with the head noun they modify, thus the clitic pronoun is suffixed with gender and number nominal inflections. The first person possessive pronoun for instance is *í-n-te* for masculine agreement, *í-n-no* for feminine, and *í-n-na* for plural, wherein *-te*, *-no* and *-na* are M, F and PL agreement markers. Whereas feminine and plural possessive pronouns in Hamar are formed by the same agreement marker found on nouns, the masculine suffix *-te* is problematic because it does not correspond to the masculine nominal inflection *-â* and *-tâ* (see chapter 4). The suffix *-te* in the masculine possessive pronoun resembles rather the Hamar locative case *-te* or the genitive case of Aari (but it should be kept in mind that Aari's genitive suffix case is reported as both *-ta* and *-te*).⁸⁶

Because of the resemblance with Aari possessives, and for ease of reference, the table below shows only the Hamar possessive pronouns with masculine agreement. For a full list of inflected pronouns cf. chapter 4.

Table 13.11: Possessive pronouns of Hamar, Aari and Dime

	Aari	Hamar		Dime
		Possessive (M)	Genitive	
1SG	ʔis-ten	í-n-te	í-sa	ʔis-ko
2SG	ää-n-ten	há-n-te	há-sa	yí-ko
3M	kii-ttén	kí-n-te	kí-sa	kí-ko
3F	kö(ö)-tten	kó-n-te	kó-sa	kó-ko
1PL	wö(ö)-n-tén	wó-n-te	wó-sa	wó-ko
2PL	ye-n-tén	yé-n-te	yé-sa	ye-ko
3PL	ke-ttén	kí-n-te	kí-sa	ké-ko

In Hamar possessive pronouns, the clitic pronoun is linked to gender and number inflections by means of the affix *-n-* (see table 4.4 in chapter 4 and section 7.4.4 in chapter 7 for further details). The affix *-n-* emerges in Aari possessives as well, where

⁸⁵ Bender's notes on Aari (2000:164) report genitive pronouns which are slightly different from those provided by Hayward, but equally formed by the genitive case *-ta*: *i-n-ta* 'mine', *ke-ta* 'theirs'.

⁸⁶ A masculine morpheme *-(t)te* (and a feminine *-(t)ta*) can be found in East-Ometo (in Zargulla, see Azeb 2010).

it is visible in the second person singular and in the first plural pronouns, but it assimilates in the remnant pronouns.

In both Hamar (chapter 8, section 8.3.4) and Aari (Hayward 1990:458), some kinship terms can be possessed by prefixing directly subject clitics to the possessed kinship noun.

13.3.4 The morpheme *-n*

The case suffix *-n* is widespread across all groups of Omotic (Zaborski 1990, Fleming 1976b, Hayward and Tsuge 1998). Since it shows formal and functional similarity in both South and North Omotic, it is taken by Hayward and Tsuge (1998) as evidence linking South and North Omotic.⁸⁷ Hayward and Tsuge assign **-n* to the Proto-Omotic stage as an oblique case marker, alongside an accusative case **-m*. The suffix *-n* functions as a direct object marker in several North Omotic languages, and according to Hayward and Tsuge it can be individuated even in the object pronouns of the nominative marking languages of the Ometo group (ibid:22-26). *-n* functions also as an oblique case marker in both South and North Omotic. In South Omotic, the authors report the morpheme *-m* as the accusative case. Since there is no evidence in North Omotic for a **m > n* sound change, the authors reject the idea that the morphemes *-n* and *-m* are related to **-n*, but they posit the existence of both morphemes. They thus reconstruct **-m* as the accusative marker at Proto-Omotic stage: the marker has survived in South Omotic, but it has been replaced in North Omotic by the more peripheral oblique case **-n*. According to Hayward and Tsuge, the accusative case *-m* is an isomorph shared by South Omotic languages, but this view is not supported by the Hamar data presented in this work. Hayward and Tsuge's source for Hamar is Lydall (1976), who reports two accusative markers: *-dan* and *-dam*. According to the data collected for this grammar, the Hamar accusative case is *-dan*. The issue is even more complex if we look at Aari's accusative case marker: Hayward reports *-m* (Hayward 1990:443), but Bender has *-n* (Bender 2000:163). In Hamar the oblique case *-n* marks non-subject functions of feminine nouns, including object functions. The suffix *-n* is thus found in both object and more peripheral oblique functions, alongside the accusative case *-dan*, see chapter 7 for further details. Hamar does not share the accusative case isomorph *-m* found in Aari and Dime, but the presence of the morpheme *-n* links it to North Omotic. The suffix *-n* can be individuated in Aari possessive pronouns and in Dime object pronouns. In Dime, moreover, there is a suffix *-in* which mark dative case and the object verbal complement of verbs (Mulugeta 2008:49; 50).

⁸⁷ Zaborski remarked that there is accusative *-n* in Nilo-Saharan (2004:176), but he does not specify in which language, or language group.

13.3.5 Verbal derivation

Apart from the causative derivation, verbal derivational suffixes in South Omotic are heterogeneous. Hamar verb roots can be extended by causative and passive derivational suffixes. A further derivational suffix *-Vm-* is found in a few verb stems but it is no longer productive. There are two causative suffixes in Hamar, which reflect various stages of the language. The suffix *-s-* is fully productive and the distribution of its allophones *-is-*, *-sh-*, *-ish-* is always predictable. A restricted list of verbs show a possibly older causative derivation in *-tt-* and *-cc-*, which is synchronically lexically determined. The older and the more recent causative derivations may overlap and some verbs might be extended by both: *dees-* ‘kill’, *dett-* or *deesis-* ‘make sb. kill’. The passive derivational suffix in Hamar is *-d-* (allo-morphs *-ad-*, *-b-*). Some passive stems are not related to underived roots and these stems are often stative verbs which are used to derive meanings denoting states and feelings. The derivational suffix *-d-* is semantically and formally close to the Cushitic middle derivation (Mous 2004): typical middle meanings expressed by *-d-* in Hamar include body activities, reflexive and autobenefactive. One instance has been found whereby the passive *-d-* is used to derive an inchoative verb from an adjective: this function recalls that of the denominal verbalizers of Maale (South Omoto) *-ád-* and of Konso (Lowland East Cushitic) *-aad-*: these suffixes are used to derive inchoatives from nouns and adjectives (Azeb 2001:108; Ongaye 2013:149). Inchoative meaning in Hamar (and in Aari, see Bender 2000:176) is otherwise expressed by means of the verb *maat-* ‘become’, however, Aari terms indicating colours and states are verbs which include a formative *-m-*.

Table 13.12: Verbal derivations in Hamar, Aari and Dime

	Hamar	Aari	Dime
causative	-s-, -is-, -sh-, -ish-, -tt-, -cc-	-sis, -zis	-is/-s
passive	-d-, -ad-, -b-	-er, -ar, -ser	-int'
-Vm-	-im-, -um-, -em-	-m	-imá-, -sim

The fossilized derivational suffix *-Vm-* covers a wide range of semantic meanings including passive, middle, reflexive, reciprocal, inchoative and durative. Each of these meanings point to similarities with both Cushitic and Omotic. For instance *-m-* is the general passive derivation in Cushitic and a passive derivational suffix *-am* (and an inchoative verbalizer *-om*) is found in the neighbouring language Ts'amakko. The formative *-m-* is however used also for durative in Iraqw and for reciprocity in the Agaw languages (Mous 2004, 2012). The inchoative suffix in Dime is *-imá-* the reciprocal is *-sim*, whereas Benchnon and Sheko have a nasal morpheme for the reciprocal-middle.

13.3.6 Conclusions

A first perusal of the Hamar data provided in this study confirm what other specialists in the field have argued: the striking lexical similarities and the grammatical evidence clearly establish Hamar, Aari and Dime as a group. Similarities between Aari, Hamar, (Kara), and Dime can be observed in some case affixes and locative postpositions, in the nominal derivation, in some copula predicators and in subordinating/converb markers. A number of elements, as already pointed out by Bender (2000, 2003a) point also to Ometo and to the Maji languages: the oblique/object marker *-n*, the existential and attributive copula, the converb marker and some of the pronouns. Ambiguous traits such as the Nilotic elements in the pronominal system or the Afro-Asiatic features in the verbal derivation are the vestiges of millennia of intense language contact that took place between Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan.

Appendix A - Selected Hamar texts

1 - Qulíbe Ukulíbe Qáskibe - Goat, Donkey and Dog

éna **beráise** **qulí-be** **ukulí-be** **qáski-be** **kínka**
 past first goat-COM donkey-COM dog-COM together
kánki **kála-xa** **gabá** **cóo** **pegé** **yi?-ánna** **qánte** **qaaḅá-ḅ**
 car one-INS market DOWN far go-OPT DAT think-NARR
 Once upon a time Goat, Donkey and Dog were thinking to go far down to a market,
 together with one car

kánki-n-sa **wága-no** **birr** **dong** **da-kashadá**
 car-F.OBL-GEN price-F.S birr five IPFV-pay:PASS
 the price for the car to be paid was five birr

birr **dong** **kashadá-xa**
 birr five pay:PASS-PAST.CONT
 given that five birr needed to be paid

ukulí-xal **birr** **dong** **dáa**
 donkey-AFF birr five exist
 Donkey had five *birr*

ukulí **birrre-na** **dong** **yinná-dan** **yin = ut-énka** **im-idí**
 donkey birr-PL five REFL:PL-ACC REFL = get.in-CNV2 give-PF
 Donkey gave his own five birr when he got in.

hayá-ise, **qáski-xal** **bóndi** **kála** **dáa-da**
 do-CNV1 dog-AFF ten one exist-IPFV
 Dog had ten birr

bóndi **kála** **tiá-ise** **qaskê** **málsi** **ti-ái**
 ten one take-CNV1 dog:M change take-NEG.PRES.3
 taking ten birr, the dog does not take back the change

hayá-ise, **ogó-rra** **pər** **qulí-sa** **birr** **kála** **qoléi**
 do-CNV1 DEM2.F-ABL also goat-GEN birr one exist.not
sun **kidí** **ut-idí**
 just 3 get.in-PF
 then, again, Goat had not even one birr, and he carelessly got in

cóo yi?á-da kánki-n raqâ woyá-te hátte
 DOWN go-IPFV car-F.OBL place:M stop:M-LOC COMPL
 they went down there and reached the place of the car stop

‘koimó kash-á’ hamḅ-énka
 fee pay-IMP.2SG say:PASS-CNV2
 when it was said: ‘pay the fee!’

‘ínta koimó cóo beré anshá-te kashá=i=da kash-é,
 1SG fee DOWN later descend-SE pay=1SG=IPFV pay-PRES
 ‘I will get off and pay the fee later down there

táaki ínta, har-ko hay-é ? beré cóo anshá-te
 now 1SG what-INS.1PL do-PRES.INT later DOWN descend-SE
kashá=i=da kash-é’
 pay=1SG=IPFV pay-PRES
 now, how do we do? I will pay later down there, when I get off

hamá-ise, budámo giá-ise cóo kánki-n-sa woyâ
 say-CNV1 lie say-CNV1 DOWN car-F.OBL-GEN stop:M
qulí gobá-ise yi?-idí
 goat run-CNV1 go-PF
 Goat lied and at the car stop downhill he ran away

qulí gobá-ise yi?á-isaxa kéda ki=yi?á-isaxa kéda
 goat run-CNV1 go-PAST.PF then 3=go-PAST.PF then
 after Goat ran away, then, after he went away

qáski birr dǒng-isa málsi shid-idí dáa
 dog birr five-GEN change remain-PF exist
 Dog had five birr change left

ukulí kashá-ise yinná ansh-idí
 donkey pay-CNV1 REFL:PL descend-PF
 Donkey paid his fee and got off

qáski-sa málsi-n kash-íma, kánki-n gobá-xa,
 dog-GEN change-F.OBL pay-NEG.SUB1 car-F.OBL run-PAST.CONT
kánki-n-dan al-idí qaskê
 car-F.OBL-ACC chase-PF dog:M
 but since Dog’s change was not paid, running at the car, Dog chased the car

táaki **ogó-na** **qánte** **hamá-ise,** **qáski-no** **kánki**
 now DEM2.F-DAT DAT say-CNV1 dog-F.S car
ni?-ína **kánki-n-dan** **alá~alá**
 come-COND car-F.OBL-ACC chase~chase
 now, for that reason, if a car comes, the dog will chase it

ukulí **ta** **kánki** **ni?-idi-ánna** **kánki-na**
 donkey now car come-PF-OPT car-DAT
gob-ái, **kodí** **bazá-n** **yinnó-n** **kash-idí**
 run-NEG.PRES 3F debt-F.OBL REFL:F-F.OBL pay-PF
 Donkey, if a car comes, won't run away from a car: she has paid her debt

hayá-ise **ogó-rra** **qulí** **táaki** **birr** **bazá**
 do-CNV1 DEM2.F-ABL goat now birr debt
kin = kasha-mónna **kánki** **ni?-ína** **gobá~gobá**
 3 = pay-NEG.SUB2 car come-COND run~run
 whereas Goat now, not having paid the debt, if a car comes, runs away

agá-ne
 DEM2.M-COP
 that's it

2 - Kóopinibe Shóqobe - Squirrel and Tick

róoro **kála** **shóqo-be** **kóofini-be** **kínka** **gob-ánna**
 day one tick-COM squirrel-COM together run-OPT
qaabá-da
 think-IPFV
 one day, Tick and Squirrel were planning to race each other

shóqo-be **kóopini-be** **kínka** **ki = gob-ánna** **qaabá-isaxa**
 tick-COM squirrel-COM together 3 = run-OPT think-PAST.PF
 after Tick and Squirrel planned the race together

shóqo **put** **yem-énka** **'kóofini** **yáa** **í = dan**
 tick IDEO.out REFL.say-CNV2 squirrel 2SG 1SG = ACC
bash-atáne' **hamá-da**
 win-PRES.NEG.2SG say-IPFV
 Tick was saying: 'Squirrel, you won't defeat me!'

kóopini yin ut-énka ‘yáa shóqo í = dan
 squirrel IDEO.out reply-CNV2 2SG tick 1SG = ACC
bash-atáne, yáa éna éedi-bet
 win-PRES.NEG.2SG 2SG past person-COM
gobá-ise des-atáne
 run-CNV1 know-PRES.NEG.2SG

Squirrel replied so: ‘you Tick, you won’t defeat me, you never raced with anybody before!’

í = dan hattá-ise bash-ê’ hamḃá-xa
 1SG = ACC COMPL-CNV1 win-PRES.NEG.3 say:PASS-PAST.CONT
 nobody ever wins against me’ it was said

‘ínta bashá = i = da bash-é beré ée wó = sa
 1SG win = 1SG = IPFV win-PRES later man:M 1PL = GEN
bash-á-na wodí birr imó-da im-é’
 win-REL.PAST.M-DAT 1PL birr give.1PL-IPFV give-PRES
 ‘I will win, and later we will give money to the one of us who has won’

hamá-ise kínka ḃalqá-ḃ hamḃá-xa
 say-CNV1 together talk-NARR say:PASS-PAST.CONT
 they talked to each other, then

kóopini put yin ham-énka ‘yin desí kónna
 squirrel IDEO.out so say-CNV2 so similar 3F:OPT
yáa tazagaj-á! wo = gob-é! woy-á!
 2SG be.ready-IMP.2SG 1PL = run-PRES stand-IMP.2SG
woy-á! kéḃḃa woy-á! wo = gob-é!
 stand-IMP.2SG equal stand-IMP.2SG 1PL = run-PRES

Squirrel said: ‘if it’s like that, be ready! let’s run! stand ready, stand equal to me and let’s run!’

ham-énka kidí shóqo fut yin = ham-énka
 say-CNV2 3 tick IDEO.out REFL = say-CNV2
kóopini-sa rɔɔ-tá-xal t’eezí dorq-idí
 squirrel-GEN leg-M-AFF near sit-PF
 after Tick replied, he stood next to the squirrel’s leg

t'eezí **dorqá-ise** **agá-rra** **kéda** **'wo = gob-é,**
 near sit-CNV1 DEM2.M-ABL then 1PL = run-PRES
gob-á' **hamá-ise**
 run-IMP.2SG say-CNV1
 while sitting next to each other 'let's run! run!' he said

kínka **gobá-n** **kin = jamar-énka** **shóqo**
 together run-F.OBL 3 = start-CNV2 tick
gobá-ise **róo-n-dar** **sag-idí**
 run-CNV1 leg-F.OBL-ALL1 attach-PF
 when they begun racing each other, Tick while running attached to the leg (of the squirrel)

kóopini **laili** **gobá-ise** **gobá-ise** **gobá-ise**
 squirrel IDEO run-CNV1 run-CNV1 run-CNV1
gobá-ise **gobá-ise** **raqâ** **yeská-ise**
 run-CNV1 run-CNV1 place:M reach-CNV1
 Squirrel running and running continuously, arriving to the place (the arriving point of the race)

írawal **hamá-ise** **ki = shedá-xa** **ánna**
 HI say-CNV1 3 = look-PAST.CONT always
róo-n-te **dáa**
 leg-F.OBL-LOC exist
 whenever he was looking back, he (Tick) was always on the leg

pər **'yáa,** **káa-sin?** **yáa** **i = ɗan**
 again 2SG DEM1.M-TAG.Q 2SG 1SG = ACC
gobá-ise **bash-atáne'**
 run-CNV1 win-PRES.NEG.2SG
 and he (Tick) said each time "you won't defeat me in the race, will you?"

pər **róo-n-te** **dáa**
 again leg-F.OBL-LOC exist
 and he was always on the leg

agá-rra **pər** **ɗaaɓá-ise** **laili** **gobá-ise**
 DEM2.M-ABL again stand.up-CNV1 IDEO run-CNV1
gobá-ise **gobá-ise** **gobá-ise** **gobá-ise**
 run-CNV1 run-CNV1 run-CNV1 run-CNV1
 then again he stood up and kept on running and running and running

pər kénna d́aa
 again 3.always exist
 but he (Tick) was always there

agá agá-xa gobá-da
 DEM2.M DEM2.M-INS run-IPFV
 He (Tick) was running by means of that (Squirrel)

kí = na bashad́a-ise kóofini bashad́a-isaxa
 3 = DAT be.tired-CNV1 squirrel be.tired-PAST.PF
 Squirrel became tired of him, and when he became tired

shóqo yí-mal bash-idí, birré-n-dan shóqo ti-idí
 tick REFL-INTF win-PF birr-F.OBL-dan tick take-PF
 Tick alone won, and took the money

3 - Aizí - Goathide

táaki aín ashkad́-áino
 now goat.hide.F.OBL do:PASS-REL.PRES.F
 the making of the goat hide

ainó, beráise qultá mashá = ki mashad́-é
 goat.hide:F.S first goat:M slaughter = 3 slaughter:PASS-PRES
 the goat hide, first of all the goat is slaughtered

mashad́-idí kónna
 slaughter:PASS-PF 3F:OPT
 if it has been slaughtered (impersonal passive)

mashá-tte qultá-rra aizé-dan ha = bul-ína
 slaughter-SE goat:M-ABL goat.hide:M-ACC 2SG = pull-COND
haí-n-dar t'aḁá~t'aḁad́á
 sun-F.OBL-ALL1 stretch~stretch:PASS
 if you slaughter and take out the skin from the goat, the skin will be stretched in the sun

qultâ mashá-te ha = bul-ína,
 goat:M slaughter-SE 2SG = pull-COND
t'abé-n qarsá-ise, t'abé-n-ka haí-n-dar
 stake-F.OBL sharpen-CNV1 stake-F.OBL-INS sun-F.OBL-ALL1
t'abá~t'abadá

stretch~stretch:PASS

if you slaughter and skin the goat, sharpening the stakes, the skin will be stretched
 in the sun with the stakes

t'abá-ise, aizê agá haí-n-dar
 stretch-CNV1 goat.hide:M DEM2.M sun-F.OBL-ALL1
ki = wocc-ína ibán-in-ka buldá~buldá
 3 = be.hard-COND afternoon-F.OBL-INS pull:PASS~pull:PASS
 after stretching, if that goat hide has become hard in the sun, it will be taken away
 from the sun in the late afternoon

bulá-ise agá-rra
 stretch-CNV1 DEM2.M
 after taking it away

aizé-dan, qot'í-no kí = sa buldá~buldá
 goat.hide-ACC shaved.area-F.S 3 = GEN pull:PASS~pull:PASS
 the shaved area of the goat hide will be scratched out

qot'í-n bulá-6 hayá-ise
 shaved.area-F.OBL pull-NARR do-CNV1
 after scratching the shaved area

kéda ibán-in ogó ki = wod-ína
 then afternoon-F.OBL DEM2.F 3 = pass-COND
 if that afternoon passes

burí-n-ka attí-n-ka
 morning-F.OBL-INS fermented.sorghum-F.OBL-INS
tittá = ko tittad'é, parsí-n attí-n-ka
 soak = 3F soak:PASS-PRES beer-F.OBL fermented.sorghum-F.OBL-INS
 in the morning it (the goat hide) is soaked in water with the fermented sorghum,
 with the fermented sorghum from the parsí beer

tittá-6 hayá-ise kéda, ki = shiit-ína
 soak do-CNV1 then 3 = be.soft-COND
 after soaking in water, if it is soft

pər álpa-n tiá-tte aiziê agá-sa fáala-no
 again knife-F.OBL take-SE goat.hide:M DEM2-GEN flesh-F.S
gurtá~gurtadá
 scrape.out~scrape.out:PASS
 taking the knife, the excess flesh of the goat hide is scraped out

páala-n gurtá-tte maccá-ise
 flesh-F.OBL scrape.out-SE finish-CNV1
 when you finish scraping out the excess meat

kéda aiziê agá kuccá = ko kuccad-é,
 then goat.hide:M DEM2.M rub = 3F rub:PASS-PRES
róoro lamá-sa íi-n-te
 day two-GEN stomach-F.OBL-LOC
 that goat hide is rubbed for two days

kuccá-ḡ hayá-ise
 rub-NARR do-CNV1
 after rubbing it

kuccá-te yi-macc-ína
 rub-SE REFL-finish-COND
 if the rubbing process is over

pər ráat'i-be noqó-be kínka worsá-ise
 again milk-COM water-COM together stir-CNV1
 mixing together water and milk

pər tittá = ko tittad-é, pər, aizé-dan
 again soak = 3F soak:PASS-PRES again goat.hide:M-ACC
 the goat hide is soaked again

tittá-ise kéda goshá~goshadá, aizé-dan
 soak-CNV1 then pull.out~pull.out:PASS goat.hide:M-ACC
 after soaking, the goat hide is pulled (manually stretched)

goshá-te yi-macc-ína
 pull.out-SE REFL-finish-COND
 if the stretching process is over

kéda agá-rra
 then DEM2.M-ABL
 then, after that

waqáti-n-ka qaadá-ḡ hayá-ise
 butter-F.OBL-INS smear-NARR do-CNV1
 after smearing it with butter

kéda sunsuró-n saská-te laii
 then nail-F.OBL cross:CAUS-SE IDEO.continuously
maccá-ḡ hayá-ise
 finish-NARR do-CNV1
 then, after clipping the nails (all around the edge)

wei shekíni-n uxá-ḡ hayá-ise
 or beads-F.OBL spear-NARR do-CNV1
 or sawing beads (onto it)

kéda aizé-dān ḡaxá = ko ḡaxad-é
 then goat.hide:M-ACC tie = 3F tie:PASS-PRES
 then the goat hide is worn (impersonal passive)

Appendix B - Hamar - English selected lexicon

In the Hamar-English and English-Hamar lexicon the following abbreviations are used: *adj* for 'adjective', *adv* for 'adverb', *Amh.* for 'Amharic', *cardnum* for 'cardinal number' and *ordnum* for 'ordinal number', *conn* for 'connector', *dial. var.* for 'dialectal variant', *dem* for 'demonstrative', *fr. var.* for 'free variant', *Ideo* for 'ideophone', *interj* for 'interjection', *interrog* for 'question words', *lit.* for 'literal translation', *n* for 'noun', *nprop* for 'proper noun', *pers* for 'personal pronoun', *sp.* for 'species', *v* for verb. Lexical items are organized in alphabetical order, implosive and ejective consonants come after their pulmonic counterparts. Verb roots are listed without the terminal vowel -á of the citation form.

a

aabó vocative form for 'uncle'
(mother's younger and older brothers)
áade *n* hippopotamus
aadim6 *v* hide (intransitive)
aajad *v* be sick
aajim6 *v* be wounded
aajími *n* wound
aajímo *n* disease
aaká *n* 1) grandmother 2) aunt:
mother's older sister aakó
aakó (aaká) *n* vocative form for
'grandmother' or 'aunt'
áan *n* arm, hand
aap *v* see
áapi *n* 1) eye 2) seed, fruit
aapi kayá (áapi, kai) *n* blind person
áapi kerí (áapi, kerí) *n* face
áapi síiti *n* eye lash
áapisa t'ía *n* pupil
aapó *n* 1) mouth 2) opening of a
container 3) message
aapó qúuro (aapó, qúuro) *n* lip
aarák *n* uncle: mother's younger
and older brother
aash *v* hide (transitive)
ab (*fr. var.* ábi)
ábi (ab) another

adamá *n* hunt
ad *v* give birth
adǎ (passive ad) *v* be born
ádíma *n* birth, delivery
agá *dem* that
agála *n* fence surrounding the cattle
enclosure
ágili *n* a new born kid or calf
ai *v* be broken *róono ísa aidíne, my*
leg is broken
áida *interj* I don't know
áigi *n* fence
ais (causative ai) *v* break
áis *n* pregnant (for animals)
aizí *n* goat hide, sheep hide
áka *n* large intestine
áka mukánde *n* Abyssinian Ground
Hornbill, *Bucorvus abyssinicus*,
bird sp.
ákatti *n* joke, funny story
al *v* guard, follow, chase
alánqa *n* whip
albén *n* type of gun
albén t'áli *n* type of gun
introduced by the Italians
álko *n* *Sansevieria Erythraeae*, plant
sp.
állá *n* parsí beer mixed with honey
álpa *n* knife
áma *n* second wife

amó *v* dream
amí *n* breast
amín aapó (amí, aapó) *n* nipple, *lit.* 'the mouth of the breast'
ánamo *n* friend
anc' *v* laugh
andí *n* candelabra tree, *Euphorbia candelabrum*, plant sp.
angála (*fr. var.* angállá) *adv* the day before yesterday
angále *n* last year
angállá (*fr. var.* angála)
angámo *n* 1) stuff, material, a person's belongings 2) metal
ángi *n* man, male
ánna *cf.* c'an
ánnibir galá *adv* three days ago
ánqaqo *n* termite
anqási *n* lamb and kid
ánqasi *n* bee
ansh *v* 1) descend, climb down 2) put something down
anzá *n* girl, unmarried woman
ap *v* unfold, stretch, spread
apad' (passive ap) *v* be unfolded, be spread, be stretched
apála *n* clothes, blankets, fabrics
ard *v* enter, get in
árka *n* hartebeest
árpi *n* 1) moon 2) month
árqi *n* Acacia tree with yellow mimosa flowers
ars (causative ard) *v* wear, put on
arsad' (passive ars) *v* be inserted
asará *n* dry sorghum or dry corn
ash *v* insult *yáa hárna ídan ashá?*, *why did you insult me?*
áshawa *n* type of metal bracelet, silver-like colour
ashk *v* 1) make, do 2) work
ashká *n* flat dish used to cook bread
ashkad' (passive ashk) *v* be done

ashó *n* type of tree
ásho *n* slope
ási *n* tooth
asíle *n* red ochre mixed with butter
ásino (ási) *n* big tooth, elephant's tusk
at *v* burn (intransitive)
atáb *n* tongue
atará *n* soya bean
átti *n* bird
átti káira *n* lark (bird sp. of the genus *Mirafra*)
attí *n* fermented sorghum, used to prepare the traditional ale-gruel beer *parsí*.
áyo *n* spokesman
á?á? *interj* no

b

báako *nprop* Jinka
báakulo *n* the three cooking stones
báasha *n* hen, rooster
báasha berá olé *n* dawn; *lit.* 'time of the day when the hens first cackle' (3-4 a.m.)
báashano *n* hen
babáti *n* armpit
bad' (passive ba?) *v* be brought
bag *v* tease
bagadé *n* cooked blood mixed with milk and eaten as porridge
bagáde *n* pelvic bones, loin
bairó (*fr. var.* barjó)
bairó imé thank you, *lit.* 'may god give'
baití *n* river
bajé *n* hunter
bakkí *n* bifurcation (of branches, or roads)
balá *adj* bald
balásha *n* bread

balí *n* plain, level ground
banák *n* type of tree, used for timber
bankár *n* arrow with a metal point
bánna *n* Banna people
banqí *n* 1) spear 2) fight
banzí *n* bull's penis
bánzo *interj* please
baq *v* fall
baqal *v* sprout
baráza *n* *Grewia mollis* Juss., plant sp.
bard (passive) *v* be drunk
bardá *adj* drunk
bargá *n* millet
bargad (passive) *v* be dry
bárgi *n* short rainy season
barjó (*fr. var. bairó*) *n* fate, fortune, god, destiny, good fortune, well-being
bars (causative *bard*) *v* make drunk
bárshi *adj* young
bash *v* 1) exceed 2) win
bashad (passive *bash*) *v* be tired, be won, be overwhelmed
bask *v* carry
báski *n* lover
baskis (causative *bask*) *v* make sb. carry, load sb.
bax *v* cook, prepare food
baxad (passive *bax*) *v* be cooked, be prepared (of food)
baxalsad *v* fermentate
baxard *v* sweat
baxars *v* make sweat
baz (*fr. var. bázi*)
bazá *n* debt, prize
bázi (*fr. var. baz*) *n* big water, flowing river
ba? *v* 1) bring 2) carry
bel *n* bond friend

belbat *v* the sound produced by the male goat when mating
bénzo *n* clapper of a bell
ber *v* reveal
berá 1) *adv* in front of 2) *ordnum* first
beráise *adv* first
beré 1) after 2) *adv* later
bers (causative *ber*) *v* inform
bert' *Ideo* just a drop (of liquid)
bərr (*fr. var. birré*)
bíiri *n* three pronged stir-stick, often used to stir *parsi*
bik *v* stop raining
bilqáti *n* (Amh.) any container made of glass
biparé *n* 1) collar made of dik-dik skin for the bride 2) long twisted strip made of animal skin wrapped around the waist of an initiate (*maz*)
birr, bərr, birré *n* *birr*, currency of Ethiopia
bish 1) *adv* only 2) alone
bíshi *n* body, skin
bití *n* ritual leader
boc' *v* bark (for dogs and primates)
bóda *n* valley (between hills or mountains)
bolále *n* trousers
bólta *n* fermented milk similar to yogurt
bóna *adj* drought, dry season
bóndi *n* ten (money-counting)
bond' *v* be dry
booc'á *dial. var. of* *dooc'á*
book *v* dig a hole in search of water
bóoko *n* carved stick with a round club end
boq *v* scratch
boqólo *n* (Amh.) corn
boráana *n* Boráana

bordí labál cattle coat colour and pattern: spotted and white-patched
bóro *n* red ochre used for body and hair decoration
borqotó *n* headrest, stool
borqotó káro *n* old people's headrest
borqotó qailí *n* decorated headrest
bóta *n* (Amh.) space, room
bóte *n* pumpkin
bucc (causative burq) *v* boil (water or other liquids)
budámo *n* 1) false 2) lie
bul₁ *v* 1) open 2) take out
bul₂ *n* holding structure supporting the beehive on a tree
bulđ (passive bul) *v* be taken out, be pulled out
bulš (causative bul) *v* send out
búme *nprop* Nyangatom
búno *n* (Amh.) coffee (husk and drink)
búqo *n* knee
burí *n* morning
burq *v* be hot, boil (intransitive)
burqad (passive burq) *v* hurt
buudó 1) *adv* behind 2) *n* back
búushi (búushi síti) *n* beard

ḡ

ḡáa up there, above
ḡáabar top of, on, up, upper, upward
ḡáabar aapó (ḡáabar, aapó) *n* upper lip
ḡáabar ási *n* upper teeth
ḡáaḡa *n* food
ḡaashá *n* comb
ḡag *v* fall
ḡelé *n* edible mushroom

ḡénta *n* seed
ḡocc *v* think
ḡóde do not
ḡórle *n* young person
ḡul *n* waterhole, pond
ḡul₁ *v* jump
ḡul₂ *v* lay eggs
ḡúla *n* egg
ḡulđuq *Ideo* sound of object falling into the water
ḡúlt'a *n* kidney

c

ciggír *n* (Amh.) problem
cóo down there, below
cóobar under, lower, downward
cóobar aapó *n* lower lip
cóobar ási *n* lower teeth

c'

c'a *v* clap
c'aac'í *n* root
c'aan *v* load
c'aaq *v* cast the evil eye on somebody
c'aaqí *n* the evil eye, the jinx
c'aaró *n* pygmy falcon, *Polihierax semitorquatus*, bird of pray sp.
c'ác'i *n* sky
c'ác'i guní *n* airplane, *lit.* 'the snake of the sky'
c'agáj *adj* green
c'ailí gawá *n* cattle coat colour and pattern: spotted white
c'ámpa *n* nightjar, bird sp.
c'an (*fr. var.* áнна; c'an áнна) *adv* always
c'ansh (causative c'aan) *v* make sb. carry; load a car, a donkey, or a person

c'apá *n* rotten
c'arí *n* blade of a knife
c'arkí *n* dew
c'arsh *v* sharpen
c'aulí *adj* white
c'fílo *n* small ant
c'íshi *n* bile
c'onc'óro *n* goat hoof rattle
c'úba *n* smoke
c'úla *n* beads bend used as necklace
c'ulď *v* (passive) choke
c'ur *v* jump over an obstacle
 without touching it
c'ushp (causative c'uub) *v* make sb.
 wash the clothes
c'uub *v* wash the clothes

d

dáa *n* clay pot
dáa 1) *v* exist, be 2) *v* live 3) *n* life
daaqard' (passive) *v* be hungry *ínta*
daaqardíndíne, I am hungry
dáar *n* area of the field reserved for
 cows and goats
dáat'a *adj* sweet
dabí *n* wild animal
dakad' *v* be dirty
dam *v* be able, manage
dámbi *n* tradition, custom, social
 convention
dámpo (*fr. var. tampo*) *n* tobacco
dandai *v* be able, manage
dandaim *v* be possible
dap *Ideo* action of taking
dará ukulí (ukulí) *n* zebra, *lit.*
 'donkey of the valley'
darángoli *n* male red-headed
 weaver, *Anaplectes rubriceps*, bird
 sp.
dard' *Ideo* crash or explosion

daʔíni *n* 1) snake venom 2) poison
 3) gun powder
deebard' (passive) *v* be thirsty
deebardá *n* thirst
déega *adj* foolish, dumb
déer *adj* red; bronze-like colour
déer balá cattle coat colour and
 pattern: red with a white patch on
 the head
déer labál cattle coat colour and
 pattern: red and white-patched
déer shóta cattle coat colour and
 pattern: red and white-patched
dees *v* kill
deesad' (passive dees) *v* be killed
deesis (causative dees) *v* cause to
 kill
déet'a *adj* heavy (weight)
dembí *n* death
demí 1) *n* side 2) *adv* next to
demínka maataďé *n* after midnight
 (1-3 a.m.), *lit.* 'turning and
 changing side (while sleeping)'
des *v* grind
desad' (passive des) *v* be grinded
desí *adv* like, similar to,
desim (des) *v* grind
désima *n* grinding stone
dett (causative dees) *v* cause to kill
dettí *n* cow dung
di *v* die
dibíni *n* ashes
diib *v* steal
díibi *n* thief
díire *n* bushy area, forest
dik *Ideo* all, everyone, everywhere
díllama *n* bulbul, bird sp. of the
 family *Pycnonotidae*
díngisha (*fr. var. tígisha*) *n* (Amh.)
 potato
dit' *v* close
dong *cardnum* five

dongár *n* elephant
dónso *ordnum* fifth
dónza *n* elder, married man
doobí *n* rain
dooc'á (*dial. var.* booc'á) *n*
 container used to collect milk
 when milking the cow
doolá *n* calabash container for
 storing milk, milk churn
dor *v* collect sorghum
dorq *v* sit
dott (causative dorq) *v* put down,
 place
dubaná *n* tail
dúbeza *n* mongoose
dúbo *n* foam (in the milk, or in the
 river)
dúgge *n* sorghum container
dúki *n* grave
dul *Ideo* action of going
dum *v* grab
dúmai *n* thumb and big toe
dungurí *n* 1) sandals, shoes 2)
 pieces of leather used to read the
 future
durmá *n* dry log
durp *v* become fat
dúrpi *adj* fat
duuq *v* plant
dúure *n* comb of a rooster
duus *v* get used to, be used to

d

daa6 *v* 1) stand up 2) wake up 3)
 take off (of birds), fly
daas *v* 1) lift up a big or heavy load
 2) call on the phone, pick up the
 phone
dab *v* 1) throw 2) fall
dabaď (passive dab) *v* be thrown

ďacc (causative ďaq) *v* miss the
 target (when shooting or throwing
 stones)
ďagad *v* be angry
ďáki *n* rope
ďalq *v* speak, talk
ďamm *v* fall
ďánga *n* throat
ďaq *v* 1) avoid 2) avoid death,
 survive
ďax *v* tie
ďaxad (passive ďax) *v* be tied
ďaxam (ďax) *v* be jailed
ďaxam6 (passive ďaxam) *v* be tied,
 be fastened
ďeeshá *n* medicine
ďes *v* know
ďesad (passive ďes) *v* be known
ďesim (ďes) *v* be known, introduce
 oneself
ďett (causative ďes) *v* teach
ďíli *n* flour
ďíta *n* plant sp. When the bark is
 wet, it produces foam. It was used
 in the past instead of soap
ďitt *v* pour for somebody; cf. *ka*
ďittad (passive ďitt) *v* be poured
ďoi *v* show
ďoid (passive ďoi) *v* be shown
ďóngo *n* bell with a trapezoidal
 shape
ďónko *n* wise narrative, speech
ďoon *v* build a beehive
ďóya *n* bone marrow
ďúka *n* mountain
ďúkan noqó *n* waterfall
ďukúr *Ideo* action of entering
ďúrra *n* salt for tobacco

e

- ecc** *interj* 1) shut up! 2) stupid! 3) shit!
- ed** (fr. var. of *edim*) *v* separate
- edá** *n* luck, good fortune
- edim** (fr. var. of *ed*)
- ee** *interj* ok, yes
- éébe** *n* cowhide; leather; hide of animals
- eedá** (éedá) *n* relative
- éedi** *n* person, man. *éedi naasí*, humankind
- eel** *v* call
- éemajo** *n* good spirit living in the forest
- éeno** (éedi) *n* people
- eep** *v* cry
- eebí** *n* dead body, coffin, funeral
- éeqe** *adj* (of firewood), fresh, wet, green
- eermaď** *v* be dirty, be sweaty
- eezín** *n* star
- eezintâ angê** *n* the male star: planet Jupiter
- eezintóno máano** *n* the female star: planet Venus
- eiké** *n* 1) grandfather 2) uncle: father's older brother
- eikéno** (eiké) *n* ancestors
- ékeri** *n* bed bug
- elat** *v* scream
- eld** *v* be called
- ens** *v* go with, bring a person along, pick up sb.
- ermát** *n* tears
- eshk** *v* show
- ed** *Ideo* insult
- ee** (éedi) *n* man
- éna** *n* past; *éna wadénka*, *éna pénka* once upon a time

g

- gaac'** *v* grind into a fine powder
- gáagi** *n* type of mancala game consisting of sowing stones or seeds in holes
- gaal** *v* struggle
- gaam** *v* smell (good)
- gaarí** *adj* big
- gáashi** *n* t'ef
- gaashimísha** *n* monitor lizard
- gabá** *n* (Amh.) 1) market 2) village
- gabáre** *n* Gabra Oromo
- gabars** *v* force, oppress
- gaitá** *n* thin metal blade at the end of a hoe, or at the end of the *wóso* stick
- gal** 1) *n* Amhara 2) enemy
- galá** *n* (Amh.) food
- galáp** *adj* yellow, golden-like colour
- galsh** *v* disturb, annoy, harass
- galt'** *v* 1) cover with mud or dung the wall of the hut 2) seal with mud or dung
- galt'ad'** (passive *galt'*) *v* be covered or sealed with mud
- galt'í** *n* wall of a hut covered in mud
- gam** *v* mate (for both humans and animals)
- gamále** *n* (Amh.) camel
- gámuri** *n* jackal
- ganc'á** *adj* thin
- ganc'ad'** (passive) *v* be thin, become thin, lose weight
- gangá** *n* resin
- gans** *v* sniff
- gar** *v* 1) stop 2) give up, let 3) leave
- garán boqóna** *n* ankle
- gas** *n* threshold of a Hamar hut
- gasgó** *n* wheat
- gáu** *n* iron bracelet

gáya *n* baboon
gáya úkumḁa *n* type of plant used for treating scorpion sting, *lit.* 'baboon's thorn'
gazá *adj* generous, kind
gaʔ *v* 1) bite 2) chew, crunch, munch (of animals) 3) sting (of insects)
gaʔásh *n* warthog
geḁ *v* grow up
geḁí *adj* a lot, very; big
gecc *v* become old
geccó *adj* old
gédaqa *n* type of tree that produces small, tiny berries. The berries have a lemon-like smell and the Hamar put them in the coffee to give an additional aroma.
gedé *n* step in a house used as bed
geedʼ *v* answer
gélaba *n* Dhaasanac
géle *n* shoulder
gerák *n* beam supporting the ceiling of a hut
gertámo *n* clan
geshó *n* person with high status, polite way of addressing people with higher status
geshóno (geshó) *n* wife
geshō (geshó) *n* husband
gi *v* say, tell
gibáre *n* wind
gíbaz 1) *n* malaria 2) *v* have malaria *ínta gibazidí, I have malaria* 3) shiver
gib *v* rush, be on a hurry
gidí *n* middle, centre
gidí bárgi *n* small rainy season
gidʼ (passive gi) *v* be told
gigirí *n* 1) molar teeth 2) the nail that join together the beam and the blade of the plough

gúito *n* metalsmith
gilgish *v* tickle
giló *n* culture, ritual
gimbát *n* thunder
giní *n* 1) vein 2) tendon
gírsho *n* porcupine
gis (causative gi) *v* make sb. tell, make sb. say
gish *v* herd and keep the cattle
gishish (causative gish) *v* make sb. herd the cattle
gizé period of time
gob *v* run
gobis (causative gob) *v* make sb. run
góggama *n* woodpecker
gogilí *n* type of gun
goití *n* pathway, way
golál *n* Acacia nilotica, *Vachellia nilotica*, plant sp.
gon *n* true
goob *v* decorate
góodo *n* aardvark, termite eater
gor *n* type of ritual
góro *n* Mantled Guereza, *Colobus Guereza*, monkey sp.
gosh *v* 1) pull out 2) take out
goshadʼ (passive gosh) *v* be taken out
goshp *v* respect, honour
góshpi *n* respect
gudirí *n* hyena
gudúḁ *adj* tall, long
gudʼ *v* snort (of oxen)
gugána *n* lightning
gul *n* corner of the house, a separate space built on one side of the house
gulḁánti *n* umbilicus
gulpá *n* illness, cold or flu
gumí *n* oribi, *Ourebia ourebi* sp.
gúngulo *n* calabash ladle used with the clay pot
gungum *v* roll

gungus (causative gungum) *v* make something roll

guní *n* snake

guní belé *n* poisonous mushroom

gur *n* ring used to hold the calabash

gur *v* line up, for instance when dancing

gurdá *n* village

gúrgur (*fr. var. gúrguro*) *n* crocodile

gurmá *n* slope, downhill

gurt *v* scrape out the excess flesh from a hide

gurtad (passive gurt) *v* be scraped out

gúsho *n* nail, claw

gusí *n* *Lagenaria Siceraria* sp. Calabash gourd used for the production of food/liquids containers. The Hamar people do not eat it.

gutt *v* put branches against each other in order to light the fire

gutúm *n* upperarm

gúuri *adj* empty, useless, empty-handed

g

gĩ *v* 1) hit 2) herd the cattle 3) churn butter by shaking the butter container

gĩans (causative gĩ) *v* make hit, make herd

h

haa *interrog* when

haad *v* shave

háada *n* rope made of leather

háade *n* razor

háali *adj* new

háam *n* jugular vein

haaq *v* stay

hácca *n* dry leaves

hai *n* sun

hai *v* do

haid (passive hai) *v* be done, be made

haidad (passive haid) *v* be used

háidan *interrog* whom

háine *interrog* who *námmo hánno háine?* what's your name?

háisa *interrog* whose

haitâ waiggíl (haitâ washgíl) *n* early afternoon (14 p.m.)

hakká *dial. var. of* hátte

ham *v* say

hamá 1) *interrog* which 2) where, specific location

hámar Hamar

hambí *n* antelope, bushbuck

ham፩ (passive ham) *v* be told

ham፩ad (passive ham፩) *v* be called, be named

ham፩áxa *conn* then, and so on

hámi *n* field

hamó *n* 1) place 2) *interrog* where, non-specific location

hanguu *Ideo* hyena's sound

hápa *n* fat-tailed sheep

happ *v* braid hair

háqa *n* tree

har *interrog* what *káa haré?* what is this?

harán *n* type of grass used in the making of beehives

hárna *interrog* why

hatt *v* tear apart, rip

hátte *interrog* how

hat'ím፩a *n* type of broom, bigger than *tupó* and made of *baraza* tree or *sarqo* tree

i

íba róoro *n* late afternoon, around 16-17 p.m.

ii 1) *n* stomach, belly, abdomen

îî *interj* yes

íinte (íi) *n* inside

im *v* give

imbá *n* 1) owner,

imbána (imbá) *n* uncles: father's younger brothers

imbáno (imbá) *n* the owner of the house (always the woman)

ímbo (imbá) *n* 1) vocative form for 'father'

im6 (passive im) *v* be given

indá *n* 1) mother 2) aunt: mother's younger sister

índo (indá) *n* vocative form for 'mother'

iní *adv* before, earlier

ínta *pers* I

ir *v* curse

irgíma (*fr. var.* riggíma)

írima *n* swear word

is *v* eat

isad (passive is) *v* be eaten

isánte *n* necklace made of metal

ishím *n* firstborn brother, older brother

ishk *v* stop, hamper, prevent sb. from doing something

isín *n* sorghum

izáqe *n* neck

j

jaag *v* sew

jaagad (passive jaag) *v* be sewed

jagá *n* sparrow, bird sp.

jálo *n* glossy blue starling, bird sp.

jammar *v* (Amh.) start, begin

jashk (causative jaag) *v* make sb. sew

jibb *v* dislike *ínta gáya jibbidíne, I don't like baboons*

jug *v* move, shake

jújug *Ideo* movement

k

ka *v* 1) pour into something, decant 2) make coffee

káa *dem* this

kaal *v* wait

káli *n* wooden spoon

kaam *v* meet

káara₁ *n* fish

káara₂ *nprop* Kara

kad (passive ka) *v* be poured, be prepared (of coffee)

kai *v* 1) disappear 2) be missing, be lost

kais (causative kai) *v* 1) forget 2) get lost, be lost 3) make disappear 4) delete

kaisí *n* servant, subject, vassal

kal *n* waist

kála 1) *cardnum* one

kalánqi *n* Moringa tree, plant sp.

kalí *n* the little finger; the little toe

kallé *n* type of tree

kalsh *v* help

kam *v* pick up (something small and light, like a flower)

kaná (kána) *n* younger brother

kána *n* younger sibling

kánki *n* car

kánno (kána) *n* younger sister

kans *v* fight

kánta *n* strength

kap *Ideo* a little bit

kaap *v* 1) stay, remain 2) (of time) pass

kapá *n* wing

karám̃ba *n* calabash for coffee
kaarán b̃anno *n* Omo river, *lit.* 'the river of the Kara'
kárc'a *n* cheek
kárna shekíni *n* beads belt
káro *n* hunchbacked person
kasála *n* canine teeth
kash *v* 1) distribute, share 2) pay
kashad' (passive *kash*) *v* be paid
kashim (*kash*) *v* share
kat' *v* 1) shoot 2) comb
kat'ad' (passive *kat'*) *v* be combed
katamá *n* (Amh.) town
káte *adv* here, specific location
katíl *n* poisoned arrow
kátti *adv* very, a lot, especially
kat'ad' (passive *kat'*) *v* be shot
kayó *n* evil spirit, future teller
kéda (*fr. var. kéda*) *conn* then
kéd̃da half, equal
kéd̃da lama *n* midnight, *lit.* 'two halves'
keem *v* marry (for men)
keemó *n* marriage, wedding
keerá *n* cactus
kem̃b (passive *keem*) *v* be married (for women) *yáa kem̃bidú?* are you married?
kerí *n* door, window
kermí *n* fence surrounding the boma
kidí (*dial. var. kisi*) *pers* 1) he 2) they
kilánqi *n* snake eagle
kína *adv* today
kínka *adv* together
kirá *dem* these
kirb *v* dance
kisi *dial. var. of kidí*
kodí *pers* she
kóde *discourse marker* 'it is told'
koi *v* till, cultivate, dig

koimó *n* 1) property, belongings 2) fee
koi (causative *koi*) *v* plough with oxen
koi *n* calabash container for *parsi*
kolpí *n* cabbage
kóno *n* granary
kónso *n* Konso
koolí *n* 1) type of staff made of *baraza* tree and hold by people who are asking a girl for marriage 2) negotiation (usually for a girl)
kóopini *n* squirrel
koq *v* burn (transitive)
koqad' (passive *koq*) *v* get burned
kor *v* plant vegetables
korkoró *n* corrugated iron sheets
koró *dem* this
korqishá *n* Jackson's francolin, *Pternistis jacksoni*, bird sp.
kóso *n* (Amh.) ball
kóte *adv* here, non-specific location
kótte *n* shirt
kubá *n* wall of a hut made of staffs and sticks
kucc *v* 1) subtract, pick up a small portion 2) rub against
kuccad' (passive *kucc*) *v* be rubbed
kúda kúda *Ide* furrow
kúdde fermented goat milk
kum *v* drink milk
kúmbul *n* circle *kúmbul hamáise wokummé*, let's eat in circle
kúmbulo *n* calabash used to drink *parsi*, the traditional beer
kumm *v* eat
kumpurd' *v* kneel down
kúnc'a *n* klipspringer (small antelope living in rocky areas)
kuns (causative *kum*) *v* make sb. drink milk

kuntum *v* crawl, creep
kup *Ideo* lean forward at 90 degrees
kurí *n* honey
kúrkuto *n* milk container used for making *waqáti* (butter) and *raat'í nuurí* (buttermilk)
kurr *Ideo* reach, also used to call the bees
kut'ó *n* white-headed vulture
kut'úbo *n* housefly

l

laal *v* spread, throw (for liquids or mass nouns)
laalim (*laal*) *v* 1) leak 2) separate, split up
laalim6 (passive *laalim*) *v* be separated, be empty
láapa *n* bat
labalé *n* common ostrich
la6á *n* rectangular or square shape
laili 1) *Ideo* continuously, repeatedly 2) far
láiso *n* 1) hairstyle of married women that consists of twirling the hair in ringlets with butter and red ochre. 2) silks of the female corn flower
laitá *n* rocks
lamá *cardnum* two
lánkai *cardnum* eight
lánkaiiso *ordnum* eighth
lánsi discourse marker: additionally
lansó *ordnum* second
lant'í *n* spleen
lashpá *n* shoulder blade
lax *cardnum* six
laxso *ordnum* sixth
laz *v* touch
la? *v* 1) lick 2) taste
léepi *n* bone

légi *n* ribs
léle *adv* in the past
lem *v* be slow
léma *adv* slowly
le?é *n* 1) year 2) long rainy season
li6 *Ideo* disappear
líkka *adj* small, few, a little bit
likkim (*líkka*) *v* become small
lins *v* caress, cuddle
loodí *n* serval
lulí *n* bell with a rectangular shape
lum *v* feel unwell
lúquma *n* nape or scruff of the neck

m

máa *n* woman, female
máal *n* 1) centre 2) border, side
máaqa lizard
maas (causative *maat*) *v* give back, return
maat 1) *v* go back, come back 2) become
máati *n* yeast, or fermented grains used for the fermentation of *parsi*
macc (causative *maq*) *v* 1) finish (transitive) 2) empty a container of its content
maccad (passive *macc*) *v* be finished
madá *n* scar
mak *Ideo* across
makkán *cardnum* three
makkánso *ordnum* third
malgim *v* be sick for many months
málsi *n* (Amh.) change, answer
mangístu *n* (Amh.) government
mángo *n* (Amh.) mango
mánte *n* bat-eared fox
maq *v* finish (intransitive)
maqas *v* bleed
mar *v* stop

marlé *n* Arbore
marlén banno *n* Weit'o river, *lit.* 'river of the Arbore'
márpi *n* (Amh.) syringe
marqúsha *n* mongoose
marsh *v* do rituals
márt'o *n* necklace made of giraffe's tail
mas *v* separate butter from milk
masaď (passive *mas*) *v* be separated
mash *v* slaughter
mashaď (passive *mash*) *v* be slaughtered
mashish (causative *mash*) *v* make sb. slaughter
mashitá *n* double bladed knife
mató *cardnum* (Amh.) hundred
maz *n* a boy who has been initiated and is going through a series of rituals until he gets married
méde *n* 1) flat stone for grinding grains 2) palm of the hand
mee máine (*fr. var. mei máine*) *interrog* how many
meegíni *n* placenta (of animals)
méeki *n* buffalo
méeshi *n* evil spirit
mei máine (*fr. var. mee máine*)
meránin wodá , time of the day people can milk the cattle; between 8-11 a.m.
meské *n* brain
meté *n* head
mée *adv* downwards, down
méewal *adv* downwards (vertically)
meq *Ideo* very slow action
míngi *n* impure, abnormal; children whose upper teeth grow before the lower teeth are said to be *míngi*.
míri *n* waves on a river
mirjá *n* kudu

mírsha *n* black lava stone
mishá *n* 1) older sister 2) aunt: father's sister
mishsh *v* be full
misó *n* friend, hunting mate
mizaqá *n* right (opposed to left)
moggó *n* namesake
móoro *n* fortune teller
moqóla *n* type of berry
móro *n* lard, fat
mott *v* mix with water in order to obtain a fermented dough
mótta *n* fermented dough for bread or *parsí*
mottaď (passive *mott*) *v* be mixed with water
muldá *n* a person from the same clan *Bíto ísa muldáne, Bito is from my clan*
múna *n* dumplings made of sorghum or maize flour
mung *v* shave the whole head
múqa *n* egg (Banna)
murá *n* 1) gun, rifle 2) weapon
murdá *n* calf, back of the leg, below the knee
múrso *nprop* Mursi
múuqi *adj* strong
múzi *n* (Amh.) banana
n
náa *adv* yesterday
náabi *n* name
naanó (naasí) *n* girl, daughter
naasâ (naasí) *n* child, boy
naasí *n* child
nagáya *n* well, peace, wealth
nángo *n* soldier ant
nash *v* like
-ne affirmative copula
níi *adv* last night

nitt (causative ni?) *v* send (hither)
ni? *v* come
noqó *n* water
nukí *n* nose
nukí óolo (nukí, óolo) *n* nostril
nuqurtí (*dial. var.* juqurtí) (Banna)
núu *n* fire
nuurí (*fr. var.* juurí) *n* butter
 container, cf. also *raat'í nuurí*

j

jáboqo *n* anklet made of colobus
 monkey's tail.
jámuṗa *n* ostrich feather worn by
 Hamar men on their heads
joqóle *n* arm bracelet made of the
 tale of the colobus monkey.
juqurtí (*dial. var.* nuqurtí) *n* small
 intestine, small bowel
juurí *fr. var. of* nuurí

o

ogó *adv* 1) over there 2) then
ogoró *dem* that
oidí *cardnum* four
oid' *v* be hot, be warm
óida *n* hot (ambient temperature)
*péeno óidane, it's hot, the land is
 hot*
oidí *adj* hot (property of the matter)
ois *v* ask
oisad' (passive ois) *v* be asked
óiso *n* question
oit *v* chase
oitad' (passive oit) *v* be chased
óitto *ordnum* fourth
okim *v* exchange
okkantaná four days from now
onkólo *n* calabash handbag
onqó *n* type of bean

óo *adv* over there, distal deixis
óobar galá four days ago
ool *v* sounds of animals *wúrro oolidí*
*the cat meows; wóngo ooldí, the cow
 bellows; qulí oolidí, the goat bleats;
 báasha oolidí, the hen cackles*
óolo *n* hole
óom *n* bow
óon galá after four days
ooní *n* house
óono (ootó) *n* female calf, heifer
ɔɔtâ (ootó) *n* male calf
ootó *n* calf
ootóno (ootó) *n* group of calves
orgó *adj* short, small-sized
oshála *adv* the day after tomorrow
óshi *n* meeting, assembly
oshimḡ *v* be shy
oshimḡá *adj* shy
osó *n* rhinoceros
ossambará three days from now
otárra (ootó) *n* calves
óra *adv* here, towards the speaker
órawal *adv* backwards, towards the
 speaker

p

páala *n* excess flesh attached to a
 goat hide or a cow hide
paash (causative payá) *v* recover
pac' *Ideo* many
paid *v* count
pálde *n* type of poisoned arrow
panáq *n* frog
pandát *n* gap teeth
paráṗi *n* (Amh.), foreigner
párda *n* (Amh.) horse
parsí *n* ale-gruel, traditional
 alcoholic drink
pax *v* 1) throw stones at animals in
 order to chase them out of the

field 2) grind to powder, pound with a mortar 3) castrate *shooró*
paxá 4) prepare a field from scratch (by cutting the trees)
 5) till
paxad' (passive *pax*) *v* be thrown, be chased out
paxála *adj* clever, sharp
paxínta *n* throwing
payá *adj* good, beautiful *yáa fayáu?*
ínta fayane! how are you? I'm fine!
pec'é *n* beans
pée *n* 1) ground, floor, soil 2) land
péeno (*pee*) *n* country
pegé *adj* far
pélan pélo *n* butterfly
per (*fr. var. pər*) 1) *adv* again, also
pet'í *n* saliva, spittle *ínta pet'í*
dabidíne, I spitted
pet'im *v* spit
p^heu *Ideo* finish
pi *v* defecate
píi 1) *n* human faeces 2) *adj*
 fearful *yáa éedi píine, you are a*
fearful person
piim6 (passive) *v* be afraid
piisí *n* placenta (for human beings)
pirsh *Ideo* open
piskill *v* cough
poolí *n* turtle
pooló *n* cloud
puddó *n* thread of cotton or other fibres
pug *v* blow
púka *n* caracal
púla *n* window, small opening in the wall of a hut
púnqo *n* arrow without a metal point, used to kill birds
purd' *v* be full, be stuffed *ínta*
purdidíne, I am stuffed
pus *v* fart

pusó *n* fart
put₁ *Ideo* 1) up 2) out 3) ready
put₂ *v* make bracelets or earrings with beads *Káira shiggiréxa shekíni*
putidíne, Kaira prepared beads jewls
with the string sack
púuma *fr. var. of* úuma

q

qaab *v* think
qaabim (*qaab*) *v* be sad
qaad *v* smear with butter
qáami *n* ear
qáami kayá (*qáami, kai*) *n* deaf person
qáami shekíni (*qáami, shekíni*) *n* bead earrings
qáamin c'anc'amána *n* temple, the flat part of either side of the head between the forehead and the ear.
qáara *n* Vervet monkey, *Chlorocebus pygerythrus*, monkey sp.
qáari *n* python
qaash *v* 1) collect 2) agree
qáashi *n* women's leather cloak
qaashim (*qaash*) *v* agree with each other
qacc (causative *qaj*) *v* make sb. tired
qad' *v* 1) wear 2) rub the interior part of a calabash
qadad' (passive *qad*) *v* be worn, be rubbed
qail *v* decorate, body-paint
qailad' (passive *qail*) *v* be decorated
qailí *adj* decorated
qailis (causative *qail*) *v* make sb. decorate
qáis *n* forbidden, unacceptable
qaj *v* be cold, be weak

qajad' (passive qaj) *v* be tired *yáa qajadidu? are you tired?*
qáji *adj* 1) cold 2) weak
qalánsi *n* fence surrounding a cultivated field
qálbe *n* leaf
qaldó *n* 1) thigh 2) lap
qálshi *n* pocketed belt for ammunition
qám̃bi *adj* poor, somebody who has no relatives
qan *v* 1) hit 2) whip 3) rain
dommó qanáte kodáade, it's raining
 4) sneeze *kidí núki qanidíne, he sneezed* 5) drive *motoróðan lemáise qaná! drive the motorbike slowly!* 6) phone-call *ínta hádar silk qanáidaqané, I will phone you* 7) stumble *íðan góono qanidíne, I stumbled on something*
qána *n* stream, gully
qand' (passive qan) *v* be hit
qans *v* 1) listen 2) understand *yáa qansidu? did you hear/understand?*
qánte analytical dative case
qáña *n* vagina
qará *adj* clever, active person
qarc'á *n* grass' seed
qars *v* sharpen a stick
qása *n* louse
qáski *n* dog
qatt *v* tie a necklace or a bracelet
qattad' (passive qatt) *v* be attached
qáu *n* forest
qáyo *n* worm
qiq *v* crow of the rooster *báasha qiqidíne, the rooster crows*
qob *v* cover a beehive with grass
qoc' *v* suck
qol̃b *v* fetch water
qóle *interrog* where is
qolê *v* there is not

qólma without
qólpo *n* scorpion
qómbalti *n* shell
qómore *n* Adam's apple
qócc'a *n* nape or sides of the neck
qóogi *n* coal
qoosí *n* elbow
qootí *n* beehive
qoq *Ideo* sound of frog
qorc'í *n* neck
qórc'o *n* throat
qórre *n* butter container (same as *kúrkuto*)
qosh (causative qoc') *v* make suck the milk *ínta anqánna qoshidíne, I've made the lamb suck the milk (from a sheep other than the mother)*
qot' *v* shave a goathide, unhairing stage in the tanning process
qot'í *n* shaved area on a goathide
qucc *v* pinch
quh *Ideo* sound of a bullet
qulí *n* goat
qulí búu *n* castrated goat
qullá (qulí) *n* goats
qulló (qulí) *n* female goat
qultâ (qulí) *n* male goat
qultóno (qulí) *n* herd of goats
qunt' *v* break, crack
quntíni (*fr. var. untíni*) *n* mouse, rat
qúña *n* resin-based incense
qúra *n* stick
qushumbá *n* horn
qúuro *n* face wrinkle

r

raat *v* sleep
rát'i *n* milk
rát'i nuurí *n* buttermilk
ráati *n* sleep

raqí *n* place, location
rási *n* footprint
ratt (causative raat) *v* put sb. to sleep
riggíma (*fr. var. irgíma*) *n* teeth
 cleaning twig, chew stick
rínso *n* hornet, large stinging wasp
róo *n* leg, foot
róo táana *n* heel
róo tigé *n* palm of the foot
róoro *n* day
róoro c'akó *n* time between 12 and 13 p.m., midday.
róoro c'ingé *n* afternoon, between 12 and 14 p.m.
rootó *n* mountain nyala or balbok, *Tragelaphus buxtoni*, antelope sp.
róqo *n* Tamarind (tree and its fruit), *Tamarindus indica*, plant sp.
rosh *v* sling, hurl stones
rósho *n* sling
ruc'ánti *n* type of grass
ruub *v* rinse the mouth

s

sa *v* sweep up
sáa *adv* there, same level of the speaker
sáama *n* penis
sadá *n* chest
sadá síiti (sadá, síiti) *n* chest hair
sag *v* 1) continue, carry on 2) cross, go across 3) attach, tie
san *v* be fast
sána *adv* fast, quickly
santé *n* cloth, rag used to clean the doolá (milk container)
sar *v* catch
sára₁ *n* goathide used to carry babies on the back, baby sling
sára₂ *n* enclosure for lambs and kids

sask (causative sag) *v* 1) carry sb. across 2) tie a knot
saskad (passive sask) *v* be tied
saskíni *n* small branches used for steaming food. They are inserted in the pot to form a layer which separates food from boiling water.
sáut (*fr. var. sautí*) *n* Acacia tree sp.
sautí *sautí*
saxá *n* tomorrow
sa?áti *n* hour
sédíma *n* sunset
seelé *n* Helmeted guineafowl, *Numida meleagris*, bird sp.
seení *n* stone
seepí *n* vagina
séere *n* locust
segeré *n* dik-dik
sel *cardnum* nine
si *v* be broken, be dirty, be stained, be ruined *kánkino siidíne*, the car is broken
sía *adj* bad
síiti *n* hair, body hair
silbí cattle coat colour and pattern: dark brown
silbí labál cattle coat colour and pattern: dark brown and white-patched
silbí súra cattle coat colours and patterns: dark brown and grey, pale brown
silé *n* feather
sílki *n* (Amh.) telephone
sillamá *n* evil spirit, boogie man, usually evoked to scare children
sílqa *n* knuckle
sirmá *n* pregnant (of humans)
sobaré *n* castrated calf
sómpo *n* lung
sóoti *n* night

soot *v* become dark *péeno sootidíne*,
it's dark

sóqo *n* salt

sosó *n* eagle sp.

súkka *adv* around, surrounding

sun *adv* just, so, simply, like that

sunq *v* kiss

sunqum *v* kiss each other

sunsuró *n* (Amh.) metal nail

sur bordí cattle coat colour and
pattern: spotted white-faded

súra grey, white-faded (for cattle
coat), silver-like colour

súrki *n* finger

súsuwal *adv* sideways, 90 degrees
rightwards or leftwards

sut *v* sip

sútta *n* blu-headed bee eater, bird sp.

sh

sháakina *n* evening, from 19 to 21
p.m.

shaalá *n* ceiling

sháami *n* sand

shaan *n* 1) urine 2) bladder

sháaqa *n* small size

shaḁ *v* brew

shaḁad (passive shaḁ) *v* be brewed

shai *n* (Amh.), sugar

shamáj cattle coat colour and
pattern: albino

shamajá *n* nickname for *parsí* beer
*yáa shamajá sutidú? did you take a
sip of parsí?*

shan *v* buy

shand *v* urinate

shansh (causative shan) *v* sell

sharb *v* strip a branch of its leaves

shark *v* shake the milk container in
order to clean it (a piece of
smouldering charcoal is inserted

and the container is shaken
several times)

sharkad (passive shark) be cleaned

shárqa *n* calabash (for food)

sháu *n* cheetah or leopard

shed *v* look

sheegíni *n* waters (in pregnancy)

shekind *v* make a hunting trophy

shekíni *n* beads, bracelets or
necklaces made of beads

shékini *n* 1) white quartz 2)
hailstone

shi *n* thousands (Amh.)

shicc (causative shiit) *v* soften

shiccad (passive and causative
shiit) *v* get softened

shiccish (causative shiit) *v* make sb.
soften something

shid *v* 1) stay, be left 2) remain

shiggirí *n* string sack whose fibres
are used to make bracelets and
ear rings

shii *v* wash

shiid (passive shii) *v* wash oneself

shíiri *n* metal spike or prong, used
for carving wood and other
materials

shiish (causative shii) *v* make wash

shiit *v* be soft

shíiti *adj* soft, easy, simple, light

shir *v* move in circles

shirá *n* string skirt for baby girls

shodár *n* Buzzard, bird of prey sp.

shólba *adj* light (weight)

shooné *n* hyrax

shooró *n* testicles

shoosh *v* 1) roast 2) welcome the
guests and help them settle in

shooshí *n* guest

shoq *v* stink

shóqo *n* tick

shu *Ide* fast movement

shudí *n* grass, mead
shúko *n* carved or shaped stick
shukúma *n* hoof
shup *v* close
shupaď (passive shup) *v* be closed
shupí *n* lid
shúpo *n* shadow
shupurá *n* (Amh.) chickpea
shurt *v* 1) brush *ínta riggímaxa ásin shurtidíne, I brushed my teeth with the chew stick* 2) spread
shúupi *n* sunflower

t

ta (*fr. var. táaki*)
táaki (*fr. var. ta*) *adv* now
táaki kónna what ever
taap *v* mix water and flour by hand
taapaď (passive taap) *v* be mixed with water and flour
taďí *cardnum* ten
takk *v* pick the leaves from a branch until they are gone
támpo (*fr. var. dámpo*)
tángayo *n* spider
tánqash *n* antelope
targaď *v* be startled
tarsh *Ideo* 1) climb down from a tree 2) come down
tax *v* cut
taxá similar
tê negative copula
tesíbe *n* axe, blade of the axe
ti *v* take
tid (passive ti) *v* be taken
tig *v* 1) step in 2) reach
tigé *n* sole of the foot
tíma *n* boiled grains
tíma gattá *n* temple
tíngisha *fr. var. of* díngisha

tipá *adj* 1) honest, reliable (of a person) 2) straight (of a road)
tiraďó *n* liver
tishá *n* fermented milk
tísha *n* corncob
tísha qálbe *n* corn husk
titt *v* soak in water
tittaď (passive titt) *v* be soaked in water
toďďá *cardnum* seven
toďďisó *ordnum* seventh
tooqó *n* leather skirt for women
toré *n* valley
tubáqe *n* type of tree
tudí *n* buttock
tudí óolo (tudí, óolo) *n* anus
túla *n* small pond dug by hand
tukará *n* manure consisting of goat faeces and cow dung. It is usually accumulated outside of the kraal.
tumántumo *n* (Amh.) tomato
tumbuqúlo *n* worm
tumpó *n* lid made of sorghum
túni *n* circle shape
tunk *v* gather together, sit together
tupó *n* small broom made of dry sorghum
tuqánda *n* hiccup
túra up
túrawal *adv* upwards
túrke *n* dust
turqánda *n* dwarf mongoose
túuma *n* onion

t'

t'a *v* 1) milk *wongá t'aá, milk the cows!* 2) vomit *ínta t'aidíne, I vomited*
t'ad (passive t'a) *v* be milked
t'aď *v* stretch a hide in the sun
t'aďad (passive t'aď) *v* be stretched

t'aḃé *n* wooden stake used to stretch
hides

t'af *v* (Amh.) write

t'amái *n* Ts'amái

t'angáza *n* a person belonging to
the opposite moiety. Marriage is
allowed only between clans
belonging to opposite moieties

t'ánzi *n* giraffe

t'aqalé *n* rectum

t'áta *n* finger ring

t'eezí *adj* near, close

t'ía 1) *n* black 2) *nprop* T'ia village

t'if *Ideo* disappear

t'ik *Ideo* hard

t'íngo *n* ratel, honey badger

t'ínqiri *n* charcoal

t'ipá *n* darkness

t'oot' *v* be full, be many

t'óot'i *adj* full, many

u

-u *interrog* interrogative copula

úba *n* female red-headed weaver,
bird sp.

ucc *v* cook

uccish (causative *ucc*) *v* make sb.
cook

udúp *n* central pillar of the house

uk *v* 1) spear 2) fight 3) cattle raid
wongá uxá, steal cattle 4) pierce,
perforate, prick 5) light up

ukulí *n* 1) donkey 2) a youth who
has to go through the first stage of
initiation (the leap of the cattle).

ukum (uk) *v* fight each other

úkumḃa (uk) *n* thorn; prick on a
plant

ukuns *v* rest

úlde *n* Arbore who live north of
Chew Bahir.

úlo blue

untíni *fr. var. of* quntíni

úpuri *n* 1) corncob with no kernels
2) lid for the clay pot made of
corncocks

urá *n* gale, very strong wind

urs (uuri) *v* fight

us *adv* thither, away from the
speaker, in the opposite direction

ush *v* 1) be ripe 2) be cooked

úsuwal *adv* 1) backwards, turning
the body at 180 degrees

ut *v* 1) go out 2) come out *háino*
utidí, the sun came out, sunrise
3) climb

utad' (passive *ut*) *v* be climbed

utamóno *n* period of 3-4 months in
which a married woman is
covered in butter and sits in the
house of the husband's parents
before she is given to her
husband.

úuma (*fr. var. púuma*; Banna áama)

uuri *n* fight, conflict

w

wa another

wa *v* sunset *háino waidí, the sun went*
down

wáa *n* meat

waadim *v* work

waadíma *n* work

waadimḃ (passive *waadim*) *v* be
worked; be done

waak *v* cackle that hens make when
they are about to lay an egg
báashano waakidíne, the hen
cackled

waakí *n* cattle, cow

waakí búu *n* castrated bovine

waakí shárqa *n* calabash bowl used for drinking milk
waakí zéle *n* cattle enclosure
waakí zía *n* bull
wádin otherwise, differently
wága *n* value, price
waiterá *n* type of gun
wal *v* forget
walé *n* dusky turtle dove, *Streptopelia lugens*, dove sp.
walí *n* sickle, farming tool with a semicircular blade
wálqanti *n* *Aloe vera* sp.
waltá *n* genet (small animal similar to a cat)
wána *adj* different
wána wána *n* difference
wánc'o *n* milky way
wáni 1) other, another 2) some
wanná *n* centre *hámarin woredénsa wannáno Dímekane, the centre of the Hamar woreda is Dímekane*
waqámbe *n* blue chestnut roller, bird sp.
waqáti *n* butter
warkatá *n* left
wárle *n* hare
wárqati *n* (Amh.) paper, notebook
washgíra *n* type of gun
wei conn or
weilám *n* heart (as physical organ), but also bravery
wíi *n* any vegetable, green leaves
wóbo *adj* dishonest, crooked
woc'im *v* 1) be disappointed 2) have a fight with sb. 3) argue
wocc *v* become hard or dry
wócci *adj* 1) hard 2) difficult 3) dry (for wood)
wod *v* put down
wodí (*dial. var.* wosí) *pers* we
wodímo *adj* rich

wod' *v* 1) sleep, lay down 2) pass
woi *interj* response made by a man addressed by his personal name, "Mugá?" "Woi!", "Mugá?" "Yes!"
woi *v* 1) stop, stand still 2) stand up 3) wait 4) stand still
wois (causative woi) *v* 1) make stand still, put 2) build a house
woisá *n* flute
woisis (causative wois) *v* stop sb. *ínta hádan woisisdíne, I've made you stand still, I stopped you*
wólsha (wólsha) *n* sorghum's cane stalk rich in sugar and sucked as sugar cane
wombári *n* (Amh.), any piece of furniture
wongá (waakí) *n* cows
wóngo (waakí) *n* female cow
woomá *n* butter container
wórqi *n* (Amh.) gold
worré *n* outside
wors *v* stir
worsad' (passive wors) *v* be stirred
worshó *n* slave
wosh *v* 1) starve 2) be thirsty
wosí *dial. var. of* wodí
wosó *n* type of stick used like a hoe to dig small holes in the earth
wotí *n* forehead
wotí ási *n* central incisors, *lit.* 'front teeth'
woxóno (waakí) *n* herd of cows
wozad' *v* be happy *ínta kátti wozadídíne, I am very happy*
woxá (waakí) *n* ox
wuc' *v* drink (water)
wúc'o *n* infesting insect (for sorghum, t'ef and millet)
wuc'ad' *v* be drunk
wúkumba *n* bark (of trees)
wul 1) all, every 2) *adj* all

wúrro 1) *n* cat 2) *nprop* Wurro
wush *v* (causative wuc') make sb.
 drink
wúshki *n* bullet

y

yáa *pers* you (2SG)
yaaná (yaatí) *n* sheep
yáano (yaatí) *n* female sheep (ewe)
yaatâ *n* male sheep (ram)
yaatí *n* sheep
yáayo *n* wild dog
yay *v* 1) walk 2) move 3) fly (for
 birds)
yed *v* 1) take 2) put 3) catch
yedaď (passive yed) *v* be taken, be
 caught
yedí (*dial. var.* yesí) *pers* you (2PL)
yéela *n* roof
yek *v* be enough, *ína yekidíne*, it's
 enough for me
yer *n* thing, something
yesí *dial. var. of* yedí
yesk *v* arrive, reach, join *beré ídan*
yeská, join me later!
yi- *pers* reflexive pronoun
yid (passive yi?) *v* be gone
yig *v* play, talk, chat
yií *interj* what?
yír *n* upper arm
yiit' *v* sow, planting seeds by
 scattering them on the earth
yin *adv* so
yin disikónna if it is like that
yínda *interj* let's
yíne *interj* yes
yípi síle *n* eyebrow
yíti *n* owl
yitt (causative yi?) *v* send
yittad (passive yitt, yi?) *v* be sent
yi? *v* go

yo *interj* response made by a woman
 addressed by her personal name,
 "Kerí?" "Yo!", "Kerí?" "Yes!".

z

záani *n* rope made of plant fibres
zag *v* 1) want 2) look for, search
zap *Ideo* catch
zará *n* body, skin
zargí *n* type of bean
zarsí *n* 1) type of reticulating grass
 2) used in the F, crowd of people
zéega *n* open country sparrowhawk,
 bird of pray sp.
zeelí *n* boma, kraal, enclosure
zélló (zeelí) *n* family
zía *adj* brave
zig *v* shake
zíga *n* spinal cord
zígo *n* sorghum crumble
zíli *n* rainbow
zíini *n* mosquitoes
zíiti *n* hook
zikí *n* goat faeces
zilánqa *n* harmless snake
zináq *n* plant sp. which produced
 edible fruits
zir *n* small pathway in between two
 fields
zo *n* red
zóbo *n* lion
zombí *n* blood
zoolí *n* shin
zuló 1) *n* shoulders and back 2) on
 3) top

Appendix C - English - Hamar selected lexicon

a

a lot **gebí** a lot, very
 aardvark **góodo** *n* aardvark,
 termite eater
 able, be **dam** *v* be able, manage
 acacia (plant sp.) **árqi** *n* acacia sp.
 with yellow mimosa flowers; **sáut**
 (**sautí**) *n* acacia sp.
 Adam's apple **qómoro** *n*
 afraid, be **piim፩** (pi) *v*
 after **beré** after, later
 again **per**
 agree **qaashim** (qaash) *v*
 airplane **c'ác'i guní** *n*, *lit.* 'the snake
 of the sky'
 all **wul** all, every
 Aloe vera (plant sp.) **wálqanti** *n*
 alone **bish**
 Amhara **gal** *n* enemy, Amhara
 angry, be **ፈagaፈ** (passive) *v*
 animal (wild) **dabí** *n*
 anklet **jáboqo** *n* anklet made of
 colobus monkey's tail.
 another **ábi** (ab); **wa**
 ant **c'íilo** *n* small ant; **nángo** *n*
 soldier ant
 antelope **tánqash** *n*
 anus **tudí óolo** (tudí, óolo) *n*
 Arbore **marlé** *n*; **úlde** *n* Arbore who
 live north of Chew Bahir
 arm **aan** *n* arm, hand
 armpit **babáti** *n*
 around **súkka** *adv*
 arrive **yesk** *v* reach, join
 arrow **bankár** *n* arrow with a metal
 point; **katíl** *n* type of poisoned
 arrow; **pálde** *n* type of poisoned
 arrow; **púnqo** *n* arrow without a
 metal point, used to kill birds
 ashes **dibíni** *n*

ask **ois** *v*

attach **qatt** *v* tie a necklace or a
 bracelet; **sag** *v* attach, tie
 avoid **ፈaq** *v*
 axe **tesíbe** *n* axe or blade of the axe

b

baboon **gáya** *n*
 bad **sía** *adj*
 bald **balá** *adj*
 banana **múzi** *n* (Amh.)
 Banna **bánna** *n*
 bark **boc'** *v* *qáski boc'idí, a dog*
barked; gaytâ boc'idí, the monkey
barked
 bark (of tree) **wúkum፩a** *n*
 bat **láapa** *n*
 bat-eared fox **mánte** *n*
 bead earrings **qáami shekíni** *n*
 beads **shekíni** *n*
 beads bend **c'úla** *n* bend used as
 necklace
 beam **gerák** *n* beam supporting the
 ceiling of a hut
 bean (type of) **onqó**; **pec'é** *n*
 beard **búushi síiti** (búushi, síiti) *n*
 bedbug **ékeri** *n*
 bee **ánqasi** *n*
 bee eater **sútta** *n* blu-headed bee
 eater, bird sp.
 beehive **qootí** *n*
 beer **parsí** *n* ale-gruel, traditional
 beer; **állá** *n* beer mixed with
 honey
 before **iní** before, earlier
 behind **buudó**
 bell **ፈóngo** *n* bell with a trapezoidal
 shape; **lulí** *n* bell with a
 rectangular shape
 belly button **guldánti** *n*

belt (pocketed) **qálshi** *n* pocketed belt for ammunition; **kárna shekíni** *n* beads belt
 bifurcation **bakkí** *n* bifurcation (of branches, or roads)
 big **gaarí** *adj*
 bile **c'íshi** *n*
 bird **átti** *n*
 birth **ádíma** *n*
 bite **ga?** *v*
 black **t'ía** *n*
 bladder **shaan** *n*
 blade **c'arí** *n* blade of a knife; **gaitá** *n* thin metal blade at the end of a hoe, or at the end of the *wóso* stick.
 bleed **maqas** *v*
 blind **áapi kayá** (*áapi, kai*) *n* blind person
 blood **zombí** *n*; **bagadé** *n* cooked blood mixed with milk and eaten as porridge
 blow **pug** *v*
 blue **úlo** *n*
 body **bíshi** *n* body and skin
zará *n* body
 boil **burq** *v* be hot, boil
 boiled grains **tíma** *n*
 boma, kraal **zeelí** *n* enclosure
 bone **léepi** *n*
 bone marrow **ḏóya** *n*
 Boraana **boráana** *n*
 born, be **adḏ** (passive *ad*) *v*
 bow **óom** *n*
 bracelet **áshawa** *n* type of metal bracelet, silver-like; **noqóle** *n* arm bracelet made of the tale of the colobus monkey; **gáu** *n* brass bracelet
 braid hair **happ** *v*
 brain **meské** *n*

branches **saskíni** *n* small branches used for steaming food. They are inserted in the pot to form a layer which separates food from the water.
 brave **zía** *adj*
 bread **baláša** *n*
 break **ais** (causative *ai*) *v* break; **qunt'** *v* break, crack
 breast **amí** *n*
 brew **shaḥ** *v* brew *parsí* beer
 bring **ba?** *v*
 broken, be **ai** *v* *róono ísa aidíne, my leg is broken*; **si** *v* be dirty, be stained, be ruined *kánkino siidíne, the car is broken*
 broom **tupó** *n* small broom made of dry sorghum; **hat'ímḥa** *n* type of broom, bigger than *tupó* and made of *baraza* tree or *sarqo* tree
 brother **ishím** *n* firstborn brother; **kaná** *n* younger brother
 brush **shurt** *v* brush *ínta riggímaxa ásin shurtidíne, I brushed my teeth with the chew stick*
 buffalo **méeki** *n*
 build a beehive **ḏoon** *v*
 bullet **wúshki** *n*
 burn **at** *v* (intransitive); **koq** *v* burn (transitive)
 bushbuck **hambí** *n*
 bushy area **ḏíire** *n*
 butter **waqáti** *n*
 butter container **nuurí** (*fr. var. juurí*) *n*; **qórre** *n* butter container (same as *kúrkuto*); **woomá** *n* butter container
 butterfly **pélan pélo** *n*
 buttermilk **raat'i nuurí** *n*
 buttock **tudí** *n*
 buy **shan** *v*

c

cabbage **kolpí** *n*
 cackle **waak** *v* cackle that hens make when they want to lay an egg *báashano waakidíne, the hen cackled*
 cactus **keerá** *n*
 calabash **karám̃ba** *n* calabash for coffee; **kúmbulo** *n* calabash used to drink *parsí*; **shárqa** calabash for food; **waakí shárqa** *n* calabash bowl for milk; **kóisí** *n* calabash container for *parsí* beer
 calabash gourd **gusí** *n* *Lagenaria siceraria*, calabash gourd used for the production of food/liquids containers. Hamar people do not eat it.
 calabash handbag **onkólo** *n*
 calabash ladle **gúngulo** *n*
 calf (body-part) **murdá** *n*
 calf **ootó** *n*
 call **eel** *v*
 camel **gamále** *n* (Amh.)
 candelabra tree (plant sp.) **andí** *n*
Euphorbia candelabrum
 canin teeth **kasála** *n*
 car **kánki** *n*
 caracal **púka** *n*
 caress **lins** *v* coddle
 carry **bask** *v*
 castrate **pax** *v* *shooró paxá* castrate
 castrated bovine **waakí buu** *n*
 castrated calf **sobaré** *n*
 castrated goat **qulí buu** *n*
 cat **wúrro** *n*
 catch **sar** *v*; **yed** *v*
 cattle raid **uk** *v* *wongá uxá, steal cattle*
 cattle, cow **waakí**
 cattle's field **daar** *n* area of the field reserved for cows and goats

ceiling **shaalá** *n*
 centre **maal** *n*
 change **málsi** *n* (Amh.) answer
 charcoal **t'ínqiri** *n*
 chase **oit** *v*
 cheek **kárc'a** *n*
 cheetah **sháu** *n*
 chest **sadá** *n*
 chew stick **riggíma** (irgíma) *n* teeth cleaning twig
 child **naasí** *n* young boy or girl
 chin **búushi** *n*
 choke **c'uld** *v*
 circle **kúmbul** *n* *kúmbul hamáise wokummé, let's form a circle and let's eat*; **túni** *n* circle, round shape
 clan **gertámo** *n*
 clap **c'a** *v*
 clapper (of bell) **bénzo** *n*
 cleaning rag **santé** *n* cloth, rag used to clean the *doolá* container
 clever **paxála** *adj* clever, sharp; **qará** *adj* clever, active person
 climb **ut** *v*
 close **dít'** *v* close; **shup** *v* close, seal
 clothes **apála** *n* clothes, blanket
 cloud **pooló** *n*
 coal **qóogi** *n*
 coat a beehive with grass **qob** *v*
 coffee **búno** *n* (Amh.); coffee bean **búno áapi**
 coffin **eepí** *n* dead body, coffin, funeral
 cold, be **qaj** *v* be weak
 collect **qaash** *v*; collect sorghum **dor** *v*
 comb **baashá** *n*
 comb (of a rooster) **dúure** *n*
 come **ni?** *v*

come out **ut** *v háino utidí, the sun came out*
 continue **sag** *v carry on*
 cook **bax** (baxem) *v cook, prepare food; ush v be cooked, be ripe isín ushidú?, is the sorghum ripe?*
 corn **boqólo** *n* (Amh.); corn husk **tísha qálbe**; corncob **tísha** *n*; corncob with no kernels **úpuri** *n*
 corner **gul** *n* corner of the house, separate space built on one side of the house
 cough **piskill** *v*
 count **paid** *v*
 cover (with mud) **galt'** *v to cover with mud or dung the wall of the hut*
 cowhide **éebe** *n* hide of animals
 crawl **kuntum** *v* creep
 crocodile **gúrgur** (gúrguro) *n*
 cross **sag** *v go across*
 crow **qiq** *v* crow of the rooster
 cry **eep** *v*
 cultivate **koi** *v* till, cultivate, dig
 culture **giló** *n* culture, ritual
 curse **ir** *v*
 cut **tax** *v*

d

dance **kirb** *v*
 dark, become **soot** *v péeno sootidíne, it's dark*
 darkness **t'ipá** *n*
 dawn **báasha berá olé** *lit. 'time of the day when the hens first cackle (3-4 a.m.)'*
 day **róoro** *n*
 day after tomorrow **oshála**
 deaf **qáami kayá** *n*
 death **dembí** *n*
 decorate **goob** *v*; **qail** *v* decorate, body-paint

decorated **qailí** *adj*
 defecate **pi** *v*
 descend **ansh** *v* climb down
 destiny **barjó** (bairó) *n* destiny, fate, fortune, god
 dew **c'arkí** *n*
 Dhaasanac **Gélaba** *nprop*
 die **di** *v*
 difference **wána wána** *n*
 different **wána** *adj*
 differently **wádin** otherwise
 difficult **wócci** *adj*
 dig **book** *v* dig a hole in search of water
 dik-dik **segeré** *n*
 dirty, be **dakad'** (passive) *v*; **eermad'** (passive) *v* be dirty, be sweaty
 disappear **kai** *v* get lost
 disappointed, be **woc'im** *v*
 disease **aajímo** *n*
 dish **ashká** *n* flat dish used to cook bread
 dishonest **wóbo** *adj* crooked
 dislike **jibb** *v*
 distribute **kash** *v* share
 disturb **galsh** *v* disturb, annoy, harass
 do **ashk** *v* make; **hai** *v* do
 dog **qáski** *n*
 donkey **ukulí** *n*
 door **kerí** *n* door, window
 dough **mótta** *n* fermented dough (for bread, or *parsí*)
 dove **walé** *n* dusky turtle dove, *Streptopelia lugens*, bird sp.
 downwards **mee**
 dream **amó** *v*
 drink (water) **wuc'** *v*
 drink (milk) **kum** *v*
 drive **qan** *v* *motoródan lemáise qaná! drive the motorbike slowly!*

drunk **bardá** *adj*
 drunk, be **bard** *v*
 dry **wócci** *adj* dry (of wood)
 dry corn **asará** *n* dry sorghum or
 dry corn
 dry log **duramá** *n*
 dry season **bóna** *adj* drought, dry
 season
 dumplings **múna** *n* dumplings
 made of sorghum or maize
 dung **dettí** *n* cow dung
 dust **túrke** *n*

e
 eagle **sosó** *n*; **kilánqi** *n* snake eagle
 ear **qáami** *n*
 easy **shíiti** *adj* soft, easy, simple,
 light
 eat **is** *v*; **kumm** *v*
 egg **ǂúla** *n* egg
 eight **lánkai** *cardnum*
 elbow **qoosí** *n*
 elder **dónza** *n*
 elephant **dongár** *n*
 empty **gúuri** *adj* empty, useless
 enclosure **sára** *n* enclosure for lambs
 and kids; cattle enclosure **waakí**
 zeelí *n*
 enough, be **yek** *v* *ína yekidíne, it's*
 enough for me
 enter **ard** *v*
 equal **kédǂa** *half*
 evil eye **c'aaqí** *n* the jinx
 evil spirit **kayó** *n*; **sillamá** *n* evil
 spirit, boogie man; **méeshi** *n*
 devil, evil spirit
 exceed **bash** *v*
 exchange **okim** *v*
 exist **dáa** *v*
 eye **áapi** *n*
 eye lash **áapi síiti** *n*
 eyebrow **yípi síle** *n*

f
 face **áapi kerí** *n*
 fall **baq** *v*; **ǂamm** *v*
 false **budámo** *n*
 far **pegé** *adj*
 fart **pus** *v*; **pusó** *n* fart
 fast **sána** *quickly*
 fast, be **san** *v*
 fat **dúrpi** *adj*; **móro** *n* lard, fat
 fate **bairó** (barjó) *n* fortune, god,
 destiny
 father **imbá** *n* owner
 feather **silé** *n*
 faeces **pii** *n* human faeces
 fence **áigi** *n*; **agála** *n* fence
 surrounding the cattle enclosure;
 kermí *n* fence surrounding the
 boma; **qalánsi** *n* fence
 surrounding the field
 fermentate **baxalsad** (passive) *v*
 fermented milk **tishá** *n*; **bólta** *n*
 fermented milk similar to yogurt;
 fermented goat milk **kúǂǂe** *n*
 fermented sorghum **attí** *n*
 fetch (water) **qolǂ** *v*
 field **hámi** *n*
 fight **banqí** *n* conflict; **uurí** *n* war;
 fight **kans** *v*; **uk** *v* raid; fight
 each other **ukum** (uk) *v*
 finger **súrki** *n*
 finish **macc** (transitive) *v*; **maq**
 (intransitive)
 fire **nuu** *n*
 first **beráise**
 fish **káara** *n*
 five **dong** *cardnum*
 flour **ǂíli** *n*
 flower **úuma** (púuma; áama); *n*
 flute **woisá** *n*
 fly **yay** *v*
 foam **dúbo** *n* foam (in the milk, or
 in a river)

food **ḥáada** *n*
 foolish **déega** *adj* dumb
 footprint **rási** *n*
 forbidden **qáis** *n* unacceptable
 force **gabars** *v* oppress
 forehead **wotí** *n*
 forest **qáu** *n* bushy area
 forget **wal** *v*
 fortune teller **móoro** *n*
 four **oidí** *cardnum*
 fresh (of firewood) **éeqe** *adj* wet,
 green
 friend **ánamo** *n*; **misó** *n* hunting
 mate; **bel** *n* bond friend (among
 girls)
 frog **panáq** *n*
 front (in front of) **berá**
 full **t'óot'i** *adj* many
 full, be **t'oot'** *v*

g

Gabra Oromo **gabáre** *n*
 gale **urá** *n* very strong wind
 gap teeth **pandát** *n*
 gather together **tunk** *v* sit together
 generous **gazá** *adj* kind
 genet **waltá** *n* small animal similar
 to a cat
 get used to **duus** *v*
 giraffe **t'ánzi** *n*
 girl **anzá** *n* unmarried woman,
 young girl
 give **im** *v*
 give birth **ad** *v*
 go **yi?** *v*
 go (come) back **maat** *v*
 go out **ut** *v* climb up
 goat **qulí** *n*
 goat faeces **zikí** *n*
 goat hide **aizí** *n* goat or sheep hide
 goat hide baby sling **sára** *n*
 gold (Amh.) **worqi** *n*

good **payá** *adj* beautiful, well; *yaa*
fayáu? ínta fayáne! how are you?
I'm fine!
 grab **dum** *v*
 granary **kóno** *n*
 grandfather **eiké** *n*
 grandmother **aaká** *n*
 grass **shudí** *n* grass, mead;
ruc'ánti *n* type of grass; **zarsí** *n*
 type of reticulating grass.
 grass' seed **qarc'á** *n*
 grave **dúki** *n*
 green **c'agáj** *adj*
Grewia mollis (plant sp.) **baráza** *n*
 grind **des** (desim) *v*; **gaac'** *v* grind
 into a fine powder; **pax** *v* pound
 with a mortar
 grinding stone **désima** *n*
 ground **pee** *n* ground, floor, soil,
 land, country
 grow up **geḥ** *v*
 guard **al** *v* follow, chase
 guest **shooshí** *n*
 guineafowl **seelé** *n* Helmeted
 guineafowl, bird sp.
 gun **murá** *n* rifle

h

hailstone **shékini** *n*
 hair **síiti** *n* body hair
 hamper **ishk** *v* stop, prevent sb.
 from doing something
 hand (arm) **aan** *n*
 happy, be **wozaḥ** (passive) *v*
 hard **wócci** *adj*
 hard, become **wocc** *v* become dry
 hare **wárle** *n*
 hartebeest **árka** *n*
 head **meté** *n*
 headrest **bórkoto** *n*
 heart **weilám** *n* heart (as physical
 organ), but also bravery

heavy **déet'a** *adj* heavy (weight)
 heel **roo táana** *n*
 help **kalsh** *v*
 hen **báasha** *n*
 herd **gish** *v* herd and keep the
 cattle
 hiccup **tuqánda** *n*
 hide **aash** *v* (transitive); **aadim6** *v*
 (intransitive)
 hippopotamus **áade** *n*
 hit **gī** *v* **qan** beat *v*
 hole **óolo** *n*
 honest **tipá** *adj* reliable (of a person)
 honey **kurí** *n*
 hoof **shukúma** *n*
 hook **zíiti** *n*
 horn **qushumbá** *n*
 hornbill (bird sp.) **áka mukánde** *n*
 hornet **rínso** *n* large stinging wasp
 horse (Amh.) **párda** *n*
 hot **óida** *n* hot (outside
 temperature) *péno óidane, the*
 land is hot, it's hot; oidí *adj* hot
 (as a property of a matter); **oid** *v*
 be hot, be warm *íxal oididíne, I*
 am hot, it's hot
 hour **saʔáti** *n* (Amh.)
 house **ooní** *n*
 housefly **kut'úbo** *n*
 human being **éedi naasí**
 hundred **mató** *cardnum* (Amh.)
 hungry, be **daaqard** (passive) *v* **ínta** *v*
 daaqardidíne, I am hungry
 hunt **adamá** *n*
 hunter **bajé** *n*
 hurt **burqad** (passive) *v* **úno ísa**
 burqadidíne, my stomach hurts
 husband **gesh6** *n* (masculine
 inflected nouns)
 hyena **gudirí** *n*
 hyrax **shooné** *n*

i
 illness **gulpá** *n* cold or flu
 inform **bers**
 initiate boy **maz** *n* a boy who has
 been initiated and is going
 through a series of rituals until he
 gets married
 insect **wúc'o** *n* infesting insect (for
 sorghum, t'ef and millet)
 inside **íinte** (ii)
 insult **ash** *v* *yaa hárna ídan ashá?*
 why did you insult me?
 intestine **ii** *n*; **áka** *n* large intestine;
 juqurtí (nuqurtí) *n* small
 intestine, small bowel

j
 jackal **gámuri** *n*
 Jinka **báako** *nprop*
 joke **ákatti** *n* funny story
 jugular vein **háam** *n*
 jump **bul** *v*; **c'ur** *v* jump over an
 obstacle without touching it
 just **sun** so, simply, like that

k
 Kara/Karo **káara** *nprop*
 kid **ágili** *n* a new born kid or calf
 kidney **bul't'a** *n*
 kill **dees** *v*
 kiss **sunq** *v*
 knee **búqo** *n*
 kneel down **kumpurd** *v*
 knife **álpa** *n*; **mashitá** *n* double
 bladed knife
 know **des** *v* know
 knuckle **sílqa** *n*
 Konso **kónso** *nprop*
 kudu **mirjá** *n*

l

lamb **anqási** *n* lamb and kid
 land **pee** *n* country
 language **aapó** *n*; mouth, message
 lap **qaldó** *n*
 lark (bird sp.) **átti káira** *n*
 last night **nii**
 later **beré**
 laugh **anc'** *v*
 lava stone **mírsha** *n* black lava stone
 lay (eggs) **bul** *v* *báashano bulidíne*,
 the hen laid an egg
 leader **bití** *n* ritual leader, king
 leaf **qálbe** *n*
 leak **laalim** *v* *noqó laalimidíne*, *the*
 water leaked
 leather cloak **qáashi** *n* women's
 leather cloak; **tooqó** *n* leather
 skirt
 left **warkatá**
 leg, foot **roo** *n*
 lick **la?** *v* taste
 lid **shupí** *n*; **tumpó** *n* lid made of
 dry sorghum
 lie **budámo** *n*
 life **daínta** *n*
 lift up **daas** *v* lift up a big or heavy
 load
 light **shólba** *adj* light (weight)
 light the fire **gutt** *v* put branches
 against each other in order to
 light the fire
 lightning **gugána** *n*
 like **nash** *v*
 line up **gur** *v* line up, for instance
 when dancing
 lion **zóbo** *n*
 listen **qans** *v*
 little **líkka** *adj* small, few, a little bit
 liver **tiraó** *n*
 lizard **máaqa** *n*

load **c'aan** *v*; **baskins** (causative)
 load water on somebody's back;

locust **séere** *n*

long **gudúf** *adj* tall

look **shed** *v*

louse **qása** *n*

lover **báski** *n*

luck **edá** *n* good fortune

lung **sómpo** *n*

m

malaria **gíbaz** *n*

male **ángi** *n* man

manage **dandai** *v* be able; **dandaim**
 v be possible

manure **tukará** *n*

many **pac'** *adj*

market **gabá** *n* (Amh.)

marriage **keemó** *n*

married, be **kemf** (for women)

marry **keem** *v*

mate **gam** *v* mate (for both humans
 and animals)

meat **waa** *n*

medicine **deeshá** *n*

meet **kaam** *v*

meeting **óshi** *n* assembly

metalsmith **gíito** *n*

middle **gidí** *n* centre

midnight **kédá lamá** *n*

milk **ráat'i** *n*

milk **t'a** *v* *wongá t'aá*, *milk the cows*

milk churn **doolá** *n*

milk container **booc'á** (dooc'á) *n* milk
 container used to collect milk
 when milking the cow; **kúrkuto**
 n milk container used for the
 production of *waqáti* (butter) and
 raat'i nuurí (buttermilk)

milky way **wánc'o** *n*

millet **bargá** *n*

mix **mott** *v* mix with water in order to obtain a fermented dough;
taap *v* mix water and flour by hand
molar teeth **gigirí** *n*
mongoose **dúbeza** *n*; **marqúsha** *n*;
dwarf mongoose **turqánda** *n*
monitor lizard **gaashimísha** *n*
monkey **góro** *n* *Colobus Guereza*;
qáara *n* Vervet monkey
moon **árpi** *n* month
moringa (plant sp.) **kalánqi** *n*
morning **burí** *n*
mosquito **zíini** *n*
mother **indá** *n*
mountain **dúka** *n*
Mountain nyala (antelope sp.) **rootó**
n *Tragelaphus buxtoni*
mouse **quntíni** (untíni) *n* rat
mouth **aapó** *n*
move **jug** *v* move, shake; **yay** *v*
move, go; **shir** *v* move around,
move in circles
Mursi **URSO** *nprop*
mushroom **belé** *n* edible
mushroom; **guní belé** *n*
poisonous mushroom

n

nail **gúsho** *n* claw
nail (metal) **sunsuró** *n* (Amh.)
name **náabi** *n*
namesake **moggó** *n*
nape **lúquma** *n* scruff of the neck;
qócc'a *n* nape or sides of the
neck
near **t'eezí** *adj*
neck **izáqe** *n* neck; **qorc'í** *n* neck,
throat
necklace **márt'o** *n* necklace made
of giraffe's tail; **biparé** *n* collar

made of dik-dik skin for the bride;
isánte metal necklace
new **háali** *adj*
night **sóoti** *n*
nightjar (bird sp.) **c'ámpa** *n*
nine **sel** *cardnum*
nipple **amín aapó**
non-kinsman **t'angáza** *n* a person
belonging to the opposite moiety.
Marriage is allowed only between
clans belonging to opposite
moieties.
nose **nukí** *n*
nostril **nukí óolo** *n*
now **táaki** (ta)
Nyangatom **búme** *nprop*

o

ochre **asíle** *n* red ochre mixed with
butter; **bóro** *n* red ochre used for
body and hair decoration
old **geccó** *adj*
old, become **gecc** *v*
older sister **mishá** *n*
Omo river **kaarán bánno** *n* Omo
river, *lit.* 'the river of the Kara'
one **kála** *cardnum*
only **bish**
open **bul** *v*
or **wei** *conn* (Amh.)
oribi **gumí** *n* *Ourebia ourebi*,
antelope sp.
ostrich **labalé** *n*
ostrich feather **jamupa** *n*
owl **yíti** *n*

p

past **éna** *n*
path **zir** *n* small pathway in
between two fields
pathway **goití** *n* path; way; road
penis (humans) **sáama** *n*

penis (animals) **banzí** *n*
 pelvic bones **bágade** *n* loin
 person **éedi** *n*
 pick (leaves) **takk** *v* pick the leaves
 from a branch until they are gone
 pick up **kam** *v* pick up something
 small and light
 pierce **uk** *v* perforate; prick
 pillar **udúp** *n* central pillar of the
 house
 pinch **qucc** *v*
 place **raqí** *n* location
 placenta (animals) **meegíni** *n*
 placenta (humans) **piisí** *n*
 plant **duuq** *v*; **kor** *v* plant
 vegetables
 play **yig** *v* talk, chat
 please **bánzo**
 plough **kois** (causative koi) *v*
 plough (with the ox)
 pond **bul** *n* waterhole, pond; **túla** *n*
 small pond dug by hand
 poor **qámí** *adj* somebody who has
 no relatives
 porcupine **gírsho** *n*
 possible, be **dandaim**
 pot **daa** *n* clay pot
 potato **díngisha** (tíngisha) *n* (Amh.)
 pour **ka** *v* decant
 pregnant (humans) **sirmá** *n*
 pregnant (animals) **áis** *n*
 price **bazá** *n* debt
 problem **ciggír** *n* (Amh.)
 property **koimó** *n* belongings
 pull out **gosh** *v*
 pumpkin **bóte** *n*
 pupil **áapisa t'ía** *n*
 put down **wod** *v*
 python **qáari** *n*

q

question **óiso** *n*

r

rain **doobí** *n*; **qan** *v* rain, *dommó*
 qanáte kodáade, it's raining
 rainbow **zíili** *n*
 ratel **t'íngo** *n* honey badger
 rattle **c'onc'óro** *n* rattle made with
 goat hoof
 razor **háade** *n*
 reach **tig** *v*; **yesk** *v* arrive
 recover **paash** *v*
 rectum **t'aqalé** *n*
 red **deer** *adj* red; bronze-like
 colour; **zo** *n* red
 relative **eedá** *n*; **muldá**
 a person from the same clan
 remain **shid** *v*
 resin **gangá** *n*
 resin-based incense **qúpa** *n*
 respect **goshp** *v* honour; **góshpi** *n*
 respect
 rest **ukuns** *v*
 return **maas** *v* give back
 reveal **ber** *v* inform
 rhinoceros **osó** *n*
 rib **légi** *n*
 rich **wodímo** *adj*
 right **mizaqá** *n* right (opposed to
 left)
 ring **gur** *n* ring used to hold a
 calabash; finger ring **t'áta** *n*
 rinse (the mouth) **ruub** *v*
 rip **hatt** *v* tear apart
 ripe, be **ush** *v*
 river **baití** *n*
 roast **shoosh** *v*
 roll **gungum** *v*
 roof **yéela** *n*
 root **c'aac'í** *n*
 rope **dáki** *n*; **háada** *n* rope made
 of leather; **záani** *n* rope made of
 vegetable fibre
 run **gob** *v*

rush **gib** *v* be on a hurry

s

sad, be **qaabim** *v*

saliva **pet'í** *n*

salt **sóqo** *n*

sand **sháami** *n*

Sansevieria Erythraeae (plant sp.)

álko *n*

say **gi** *v* tell

scar **madá** *n*

scorpion **qólpo** *n*

scrape **gurt** *v* scrape out the excess
flesh from a hide

scratch **boq** *v*

scream **elat** *v*

see **aap** *v*

seed **ḡénta** *n* (grains)

seed, fruit **áapi** *n* **háqansa áapi**
tree's fruit

sell **shansh** (causative shan) *v*

send **nitt** (causative ni?) *v* (hither)
ína Aiké nittá, send Aike to me;

yitt (causative yi?) *v* (thither)

send out **bul**s (causative bul) *v*

separate **ed** (edim) *v* separate; **mas**
v separate butter from milk

serval **loodí** *n*

seven **toḡḡá** *cardnum*

sew **jaag** *v* sew

shadow **shúpo** *n*

shake **zig** *v*; **shark** *v* shake in
order to clean the milk container

share **kashim** *v*

sharpen **c'arsh** *v*; **qars** *v* sharpen a
stick

shave **haad** *v* *háade ína imá! metén*
idahaadé, give me the razor! I will
shave my head; **mung** *v* shave the
whole head; **qot'** *v* shave a
goathide; **qot'í** *n* shaved area on
a goathide

sheep **yaatí** *n*; fat-tailed sheep **hápa** *n*

shell **qómbalti** *n*

shin **zoolí** *n*

shirt **kótte** *n*

shoe **dungurí** *n* sandal

shoot **kat'** *v*

short **orgó** *adj* small size

shoulder **géle** *n*

shoulder blade **lashpá** *n*

shoulders (and back) **zuló** *n*

show **doi** *v*; **eshk** *v*

shy **oshimḡá** *adj*; shy, be **oshimḡ** *v*

sick, be **aajaḡ** (passive) *v*; **malgim** *v*
be sick for many months; **lum** *v*
feel unwell

sickle **walí** *n* farming tool with a
semicircular blade

side **demí** *n*

similar **desí** alike, similar to; **taxá**
identical

sip **sut** *v*

sit **dorq** *v*

six **lax** *cardnum*

sky **c'ác'i** *n*

slaughter **mash** *v*

slave **worshó** *n*

sleep **raat** *v*; **wod'** *v* sleep, lay
down

sling **rosh** *v* hurl stones; **rósho** *n*
sling

slope **ásho** *n*; **gurmá** *n*

slow, be **lem** *v*

small (for animals) **sháaqa** *n*

smear **qaad** *v* smear with butter

smell **gaam** *v* smell (good)

smoke **c'úba** *n*

snake **guní** *n*; **zilánqa** *n* harmless
snake; **qáari** python

sneeze **qan** *v* *kidí núki qanidíne, he*
sneezed

sniff **gans** *v*

snort **gud'** *v* snort (of oxen) *woxâ*
gudâ gudâ, the ox snorts
 soak (in water) **titt** *v*
 soft, be **shiit** *v*
 soften **shicc** (causative shiit) *v*
 sole of the foot **tigé** *n*
 sorghum **isín** *n*
 sorghum container **dúgge** *n*
 sorghum crumble **zíigo** *n*
 sorghum sugar cane **wólsha**
 sow **yiit'** *v*
 soya bean **atará** *n*
 sparrow **jagá** *n*
 speak **ǫalq** *v* talk
 spear **banqí** *n*
 speech **ǫónko** *n* wise narrative
 spider **tángayo** *n*
 spike **shíiri** *n* metal spike or prong
 spinal cord **zíiga** *n*
 spit **pet'im** *v*
 spleen **lant'í** *n*
 spread **laal** *v* throw (liquids or mass nouns)
 sprout **baqal** *v*
 square **laǫá** *n* rectangular shape, square shape
 squirrel **kóopini** *n*
 stake **t'aǫé** *n* wooden stake
 stand up **ǫaaǫ** *v*; **woi** *v* stand up, stand still *v*
 star **eezín** *n*
 starling (bird sp.) **jálo** *n* Glossy Blue Starling
 startled, be **targad'** (passive) *v*
 starve **wosh** *v*
 stay **haaq** *v* *nagáya haaqá! stay well!* (leave-taking greeting); **kaap** *v* remain; **shid'** *v* stay, be left
 steal **diib** *v*
 step in **tig** *v*
 stick **bíiri** *n* three pronged stir-stick, often used to stir *parsí*

beer; **bóoko** *n* carved stick with a round club end; **koolí** *n* staff made of *baraza* tree and hold by people who are asking a girl for marriage; **qúra** *n* stick; **shúko** *n* carved or shaped stick; **wosó** *n* stick used like a hoe to dig small holes
 stink **shoq** *v*
 stir **wors** *v*
 stomach **ii** *n* belly, abdomen
 stone **seení** *n*; **méde** *n* flat stone for grinding grains; **désima** grinding stone; **báakulo** *n* the three cooking stones;
 stop **gar** *v*; **mar** *v*
 stop raining **bik** *v*
 stream **qána** *n* gully
 strength **kánta** *n*
 stretch **ap** *v* unfold, spread; **t'aǫ** *v* stretch a hide in the sun
 string sack **shiggirí** *n*
 string skirt **shirá** *n* string skirt for baby girls
 strip **sharb** *v* strip a branch of its leaves
 strong **múuqi** *adj*
 struggle **gaal** *v*
 stuff **angámo** *n* a person's belongings
 stumble **qan** *v* *íǫan góono qanidíne, I stumbled on something*
 subtract **kucc** *v* pick up a small portion
 suck **qoc'** *v*
 sugar (Amh.) **shai** *n*
 sun **hai** *n*
 sunflower **shúupi** *n*
 sunset **sédíma** *n*
 swear word **írima** *n*
 sweat **baxard'** (passive) *v*
 sweep up **sa** *v*

sweet **dáat'a** *adj*

t

tail **dubaná** *n*

take **ti** *v*; **yed** *v* hold

tamarind (plant sp.) **róqo** *n*

tears **ermát** *n*

tease **bag** *v*

t'ef **gáashi** *n*

ten **bóndi** *n* (money-counting);

tabí *cardnum*

termite **ánqaqo** *n*

testicles **shooró** *n*

thank you **bairó imé**

then **kéda, kéda** *conn*

thief **díibi** *n*

thigh **qaldó** *n*

thin **ganc'á** *adj*

thing **yer** *n* something

think **bocc** *v*; **qaab** *v*

thirsty, be **deebard** (passive) *v*

thorn **úkumba** (uk) *n* prickle on a plant;

thousands **shi** *n* (Amh.)

thread **puddó** *n*

three **makkán** *cardnum*

threshold **gas** *n* threshold of a hut.

throat **dánga** *n*; **qórc'o** *n*

throw **ḏab** *v*; **pax** *v*

thumb **dúmai** *n* thumb and big toe

thunder **gimbát** *n*

tick **shóqo** *n*

tickle **gilgish** *v*

tie **ḏax** *v*

till **pax** *v* **hámi paxá** prepare a field from scratch (by clearing the area from trees and bushes)

tired, be **bashad** (passive bash) *v*

be won, be overwhelmed; **qajad**

(passive qaj) *v* be tired

tobacco **dámipo** (tampo) *n*

today **kína**

together **kínka**

tomorrow **saxá**

tongue **atáb** *n*

tooth **ási** *n*

top **zuló**

touch **laz** *v*

tradition **dámbi** *n*

tree **háqa** *n*

trousers **bolále** *n*

true **gon** *n*

Ts'amakko **t'amái** *n*

turtoise **poolí** *n*

two **lamá** *cardnum*

u

uncle **aarák** *n* mother's younger and older brother

up **túra**

upper arm **yíir** *n*; upperarm and shoulders **gutúm** *n*

urinate **shand** *v*

urine **shaan** *n*

v

vagina **qápa** *n*; **seepí** *n*

valley **bóda** *n* valley in between hills or mountains; **toré** *n* valley

value **wága** *n* price

vassal **kaisí** *n* servant, subject

vegetables **wíi** *n* green leaves

vein **giní** *n*

venom **daʔíni** *n* snake venom

very **kátti** a lot

village **gurdá** *n* kraal, boma

vulture **kut'ó** *n* white-headed

vulture

vomit **t'a** *v*

w

waist **kal** *n*

wait **kaal** *v*; **woi** *v*

walk **yay** *v* move

wall **galt'í** *n* wall covered in mud;
kubá *n* wall made of staffs
want **zag** *v*
warthog **gaʔásh** *n*
wash **shii** *v* wash; **c'uub** *v* wash
the clothes
water **noqó** *n*
waters **bázi** (baz) *n* big water,
flowing river
waters (pregnancy) **sheegíni** *n*
waves **míri** *n* waves on a river
weak **qáji** *adj*
wear **qad** *v*; **ars** (causative ard)
welcome (guests) **shoosh** *v*
well **nagáya** *n* peace
wet **c'apá** *n* rotten
what **har** *interrog*
wheat **gasgó** *n*
when **haa** *interrog*
where **hamó** *interrog*
which **hamá** *interrog*
whip **alánqa** *n*; **qan** *v* whip
white **c'aulí** *adj*
who **háine** *interrog*; whom
háidan; whose **háisa**
why **hárna** *interrog*

wife **geshóno** (feminine inflected
noun) *n*; **áma** *n* second wife
win **bash** *v* defeat
wind **gibáre** *n*
window **kerí** *n*; **púla** *n* small
opening in the wall of a hut
wing **kapá** *n*
woman **maa**
work **waadim** *v*; **waadíma** *n* work
worm **qáyo** *n*; **tumbuqúlo** *n*
wound **aajími** *n*
wounded, be **aajim6** *v*
wrinkle **qúuro** *n*
write (Amh.) **t'af** *v*

y

year **leʔé** *n* long rainy season
yeast **máati** *n* fermented grains
yellow **galáp** *adj* golden-like colour
yesterday **naa**
young **bárshi** *adj*; **6órle** *n*
young initiate **ukulí** *n*

z

zebra **dará ukulí** *n lit.* 'lowland's
donkey'

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Samenvatting

Deze grammatica beschrijft de fonologie, morfologie en syntaxis van het Hamar, een Zuid-Omotische taal die gesproken wordt in Zuid-West Ethiopië door ca. 46.500 mensen. Het boek is onderverdeeld in dertien hoofdstukken gevolgd door een aantal Hamar teksten die geglost en vertaald zijn (in Appendix A) en een Hamar-Engels en Engels-Hamar lexicon (Appendix B en C).

Het eerste hoofdstuk geeft een introductie van de taal, haar sprekers en de geografische locatie, en maakt melding van eerdere studies. Het Hamar heeft enige aandacht gekregen in het kader van brede taalvergelijkingen en classificaties, maar een meer uitgebreide grammaticale beschrijving van de taal was nog niet eerder gemaakt. In het eerste hoofdstuk worden ook het theoretische raamwerk en de gebruikte onderzoeksmethoden beschreven.

De fonologische en morfofonologische eigenschappen van het Hamar worden behandeld in hoofdstuk twee. Dit hoofdstuk presenteert de foneeminventaris en de fonetische realisatie van de verschillende fonemen, en behandelt de syllabestructuur en het prosodische systeem van het Hamar. Het prosodische systeem heeft eigenschappen van zowel een toon- als een stress-systeem. In verscheidene morfofonologische regels spelen metathesis en assimilatieprocessen een belangrijke rol. Een laatste paragraaf is gewijd aan de discussie van drie fenomenen bij de realisatie van mannelijke zelfstandige naamwoorden: klinkersamenvoeging, het verlagen van middenklinkers, en stress/toon. Deze fonologische en morfofonologische verschijnselen zijn in eerdere studies niet opgemerkt en sommige auteurs hebben Hamar klinkers ten onrechte beschouwd in termen van ATR-harmonische sets. Die analyse wordt in deze studie verworpen.

Hoofdstuk drie beschrijft de formele eigenschappen van zelfstandige naamwoorden en behandelt de eigenschappen van het classificatiesysteem van zelfstandige naamwoorden. Anders dan in canonieke geslachtssystemen, is geslacht geen inherente eigenschap van het zelfstandig naamwoord, maar kan ieder zelfstandig naamwoord elk geslacht aannemen, of ook zonder flectie voorkomen. Op de betekenis van geslacht en getal wordt in dit hoofdstuk uitvoerig ingegaan. Een van de opvallende eigenschappen van het classificatiesysteem van zelfstandige naamwoorden is de afwezigheid van meervoud: getal in het Hamar onderscheidt paucale en collectieve waarden. De pragmatische functies van geslacht en getal zijn fundamenteel voor het uitdrukken van bepaaldheid, specificiteit en referentialiteit; deze functies worden geïntroduceerd in hoofdstuk drie maar worden later, in hoofdstuk zeven, uitvoeriger behandeld.

Hoofdstuk vier behandelt de persoonlijke voornaamwoorden en pronominale clitica en geeft een overzicht van subject, object, oblique en reflexieve pronomina, en van hun distributie en functies. Het reflexieve pronomen wordt in het Hamar gebruikt als een lange-afstandsreflexief en is van belang voor het volgen van langere stukken tekst. Verder behandelt hoofdstuk vier restrictieve (“alleen ik”) en inclusieve

(bijvoorbeeld “ik ook”) markeerders die zich binden aan pronomina. Het hoofdstuk sluit af met een overzicht van demonstratieven.

Hoofdstuk vijf is gewijd aan andere woordklassen: bijwoorden van plaats, tijd en wijze, getallen en ideofonen. Het beschrijft de uitdrukking van ruimtelijke relaties, locatie bijwoorden en het gebruik van naamwoorden voor lichaamsdelen om locatie en beweging weer te geven. Het deictische systeem van het Hamar onderscheidt dichtbij, veraf en verhoging; deictica die dichtbij aanduiden onderscheiden bovendien specifieke en niet-specifieke locatie; andere bijwoorden worden gebruikt om oorsprong of doel van de beweging uit te drukken. Het hoofdstuk geeft een beschrijving van getallen en illustreert het telsysteem dat gebaseerd is op twintigtallen en het parallelle telsysteem dat gebruikt wordt voor het tellen van geld. De laatste sectie van het hoofdstuk geeft een overzicht van ideofonen. Ideofonen kunnen functioneren als predicaten, bijwoorden, of als complementen van de werkwoorden *hamá* ‘zeggen’ en *hayá* ‘doen’.

Hoofdstuk zes bespreekt morfologische eigenschappen van het werkwoord en geeft een overzicht van werkwoordswortels en werkwoordsstammen. Verbale afleiding wordt besproken samen met een overzicht van causatieve, passieve en onpersoonlijke constructies. Het hoofdstuk gaat in op verbogen en onverbogen paradigma’s en geeft een overzicht van geattesteerde paradigma’s in de taal. Deze sectie vormt een uitbreiding op hoofdstuk vier, waarin de functie van proclitische elementen als onderwerpsmarkeringen slechts kort werd geïntroduceerd.

De basissyntaxis van het Hamar wordt geïntroduceerd in hoofdstuk zeven. Het hoofdstuk begint met een bespreking van de woordvolgorde op het niveau van de enkelvoudige zin en de NP. Wat betreft de typologische classificatie van woordvolgorden in Afrikaanse talen, behoort het Hamar tot het subtype van werkwoordsfinale talen waarin de modificeerder-hoofd volgorde omgedraaid wordt op het niveau van de NP. De volgende secties geven een beschrijving van de pragmatische functies van geslacht en getal. Het onderwerp werd eerder geïntroduceerd in hoofdstuk drie samen met de discussie over de semantiek van geslacht en getal. Geslacht en getal spelen een cruciale rol in de pragmatische organisatie van Hamar teksten, en uitleg van het systeem is nodig om de uitdrukking van grammaticale relaties en de codering van kernnaamvallen te begrijpen. Vrouwelijk geslacht is in feite de basisstrategie om bepaaldheid uit te drukken. Mannelijke geslacht is zeldzamer qua distributie dan vrouwelijke geslacht omdat het geassocieerd wordt met focusmarkering.

Op het niveau van grammaticale relaties corresponderen zelfstandige naamwoorden die gemarkeerd zijn door het mannelijke geslacht niet met een naamvalsform en kunnen functioneren als A, S, of O. De syntactische eigenschappen van zelfstandige naamwoorden die verbogen zijn volgens het vrouwelijke geslacht zijn anders, en vrouwelijke zelfstandige naamwoorden onderscheiden een onderwerpsvorm van een oblique vorm.

Het hoofdstuk gaat verder met een beschrijving van accusatieve markeringsstrategieën en er wordt betoogd dat het Hamar tegelijkertijd accusatieve en gemarkeerd-nominatieve constructies kent: persoonlijke voornaamwoorden, onverbogen zelfstandige naamwoorden, mannelijke zelfstandige naamwoorden en paucale zelfstandige naamwoorden worden gemarkeerd voor accusatief, terwijl vrouwelijke zelfstandig naamwoorden gemarkeerd worden voor zowel nominatief als accusatief.

De focus van hoofdstuk acht ligt op de syntaxis van de NP en het hoofdstuk begint met een illustratie van de congruentiepatronen binnen de NP. De volgende secties beschrijven in detail de niet-kernnaamvallen. Het naamvalssysteem van het Hamar omvat zes locatieve naamvallen en een “affectieve” naamval die gewoonlijk een onvrijwillige experiencer beschrijft, zoals de participant van sensatie- en perceptiewerkwoorden. Na de beschrijving van het naamvalssysteem, wordt de genitief-naamval besproken, samen met de verschillende genitieve constructies en de uitdrukking van bezittelijke constructies binnen de NP. Het hoofdstuk besluit met een sectie over relatieve zinnen en een sectie over coördinatie van NPs.

Hoofdstuk negen geeft een overzicht van enkelvoudige zinnen en beschrijft de uitdrukking van TAM daarin. De verschillende onafhankelijke werkwoorden die gebruikt worden in (losstaande) hoofdzinnen worden onderscheiden in enkelvoudige en samengestelde werkwoorden, afhankelijk van of wel of geen gebruik gemaakt wordt van perifrastische constructies. Aspect en tijd worden vooral syntactisch uitgedrukt, door middel van perifrastische constructies, reduplicatie van de stam en hulpwerkwoorden. Bij gelijkstelling en bij predicatief gebruik van nominale zinsdelen wordt het koppelwerkwoord gebruikt. Het koppelwerkwoord heeft een vaste vorm, onafhankelijk van persoon, tijd of aspect. Existentiële predicatie, in de zin van existentie, locatie of bezit, wordt uitgedrukt met een werkwoord dat ‘leven, bestaan’ betekent.

Hoofdstuk tien behandelt samengestelde zinnen en beschrijft afhankelijke bijzinnen. Afhankelijke bijzinnen worden gewoonlijk aangegeven door ‘converbs’ en door bepaalde achtervoegsels op het werkwoord. Afhankelijke bijzinnen gaan vooraf aan de hoofdzin en kunnen met elkaar gecombineerd worden (‘clause-chaining’). Er zijn meerdere onderschikkende achtervoegsels in het Hamar, waaronder drie converb-markeerders: een markeerder van het “algemene converb”, van het “zelfde-gebeurtenis converb”, en van het “verschillend-onderwerp converb”. Converb-markeerders zijn anders dan andere onderschikkende achtervoegsels, omdat converbs voor hun interpretatie wat betreft tijd en aspect strikt afhankelijk zijn van het hoofdwerkwoord. Andere onderschikkende achtervoegsels markeren bijzinnen van tijd, reden, voorwaarde en doel. In dit hoofdstuk wordt ook ingegaan op complementszinnen, inclusief complementszinnen met directe rede.

Hoofdstuk elf is gewijd aan vraagzinnen. Inhoudelijke vragen maken alleen onderscheid tussen tegenwoordige en verleden tijd (dezelfde tweedeling die ook in ontkennende zinnen bestaat). Ja/nee-vragen maken gebruik van speciale vragende

werkwoorden die dezelfde TAM-waarden onderscheiden als mededelende hoofdzinnen. In geval van niet-werkwoordelijke predicatie wordt gebruik gemaakt van het vragende koppelwerkwoord of van de vraagvorm van het werkwoord dat gebruikt wordt voor existentiële predicatie.

De grammaticale beschrijving sluit af met hoofdstuk twaalf, dat de morfo-syntactische eigenschappen van ontkennende constructies beschrijft. Ontkenning wordt uitgedrukt door ontkennende werkwoordsvormen, het ontkennende koppelwerkwoord, de ontkennende vorm van het werkwoord dat gebruikt wordt voor existentiële predicatie en het ontkennende tussenwerpsel *ǎǎ?* 'nee'. In onafhankelijke ontkennende zinnen maakt de vervoeging van het werkwoord alleen onderscheid naar tegenwoordige en verleden tijd, niet naar aspect. In afhankelijke zinnen kan een ontkennend converb of een ander achtervoegsel op het werkwoord worden gebruikt.

Hoofdstuk dertien behandelt de kwestie van de genetische classificatie van het Hamar binnen de Omotische taalgroep en binnen het Afro-Aziatisch. Na een kort overzicht van de discussie en van de verschillende classificaties die voor het Omotisch en het Hamar zijn voorgesteld, wordt een geactualiseerde vergelijkende woordenlijst van Zuid-Omotisch lexicon gepresenteerd. De lijst bevat onder meer woorden uit het Kara, een taal die nog onbeschreven is en die door sommigen beschouwd wordt als een dialect van het Hamar, door anderen echter als een taal behorend tot de Nilo-Saharaanse taalfamilie. Ook worden enkele grammaticale morfemen vergeleken binnen talen van het Zuid-Omotisch en worden, zonder enige aanspraak te willen maken op volledigheid, verbanden belicht met taalgroepen buiten het Omotisch. Het Hamar vertoont enkele morfologische overeenkomsten met andere Omotische talen; daarnaast deelt het morfologische elementen met het Koesjitisch (werkwoordsderivatie) en het Nilotisch (het systeem van voornaamwoorden).

Curriculum Vitae

Sara Petrollino was born in 1984 in Campobasso, a town in the region of Molise, Italy. In 2001 she travelled for the first time to Africa, when she visited Chad. Upon her return she moved to Naples to study African languages and cultures at the University “L’Orientale”, where she obtained her Bachelor’s degree with a thesis on grammaticalization in Arabic-based pidgin and creole languages. She attended Arabic classes in Tunisia and spent some time travelling across Tanzania before moving to Leiden, where she attended the Master program in African linguistics while working as a student assistant from 2009 to 2011. In those years she traveled for a short interval to South West Ethiopia, where she got in touch with the Hamar people. After obtaining her Master’s degree from Leiden University with a thesis on multilingual production among the Iraqw people of Tanzania, she moved to France where she was recruited as PhD researcher by the Laboratoire d’Excellence ASLAN in Lyon. She has been recently appointed education/research staff member and lecturer at Leiden University.