A grammar of Hamar : a South Omotic language of Ethiopia

Petrollino, S.

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Sara Petrollino
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Promotores:

Prof. dr. Maarten Mous

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Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. Denis Creissels (Université Lyon 2)

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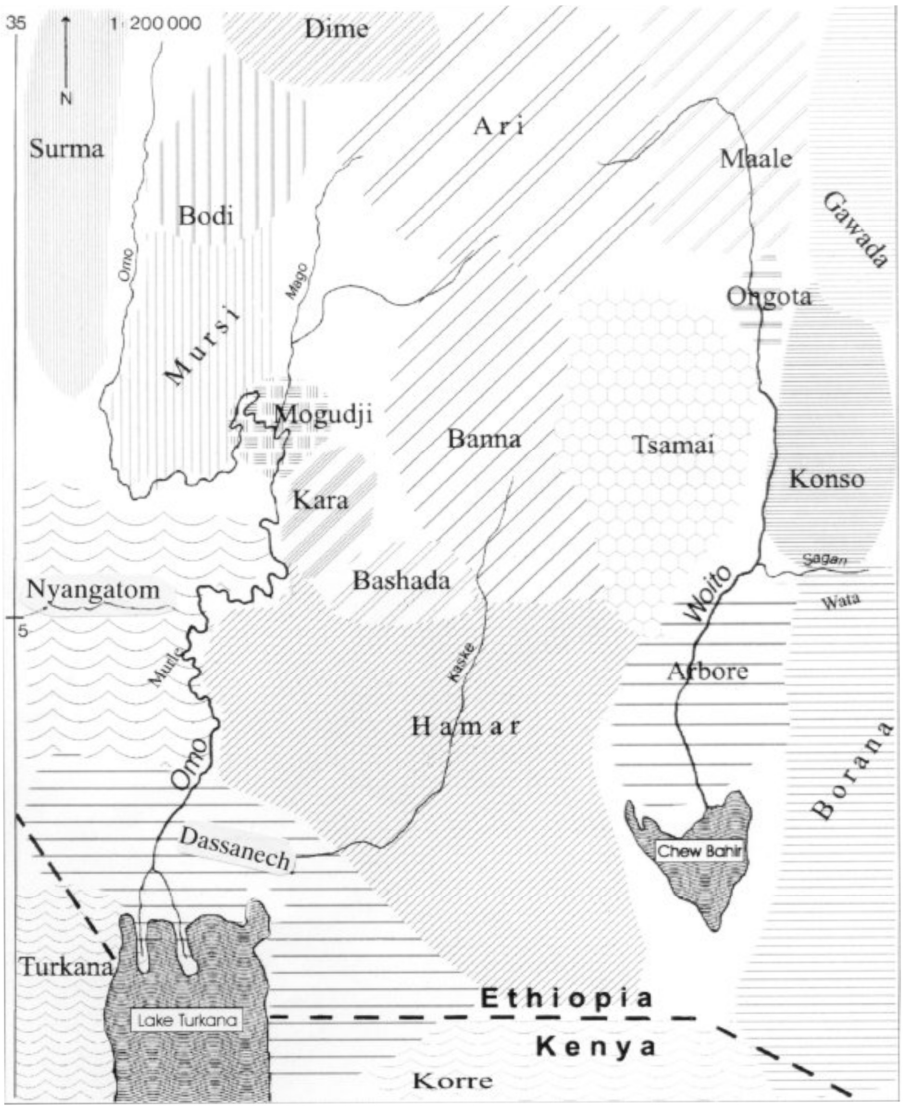
-â, -tâ	M	masculine singular
-á	IMP.2SG	imperative, second person singular
-ɓ	NARR	narrative
-aɗ-, -ɗ-, -ɓ-	PASS	passive
agá	DEM2.M	masculine demonstrative, distal deixis
-ánna	OPT	optative marker
-bar	AD	adessive case
-be,-bet	COM	comitative case
ɓóde	IMP.NEG	negative imperative
-da	IPFV	imperfective marker
-de	PFV	perfective marker
-dar	ALL1	allative case
-ɗan	ACC	accusative case
-ɗaqáɓe	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, -isɔxa	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
rɔ́xa	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

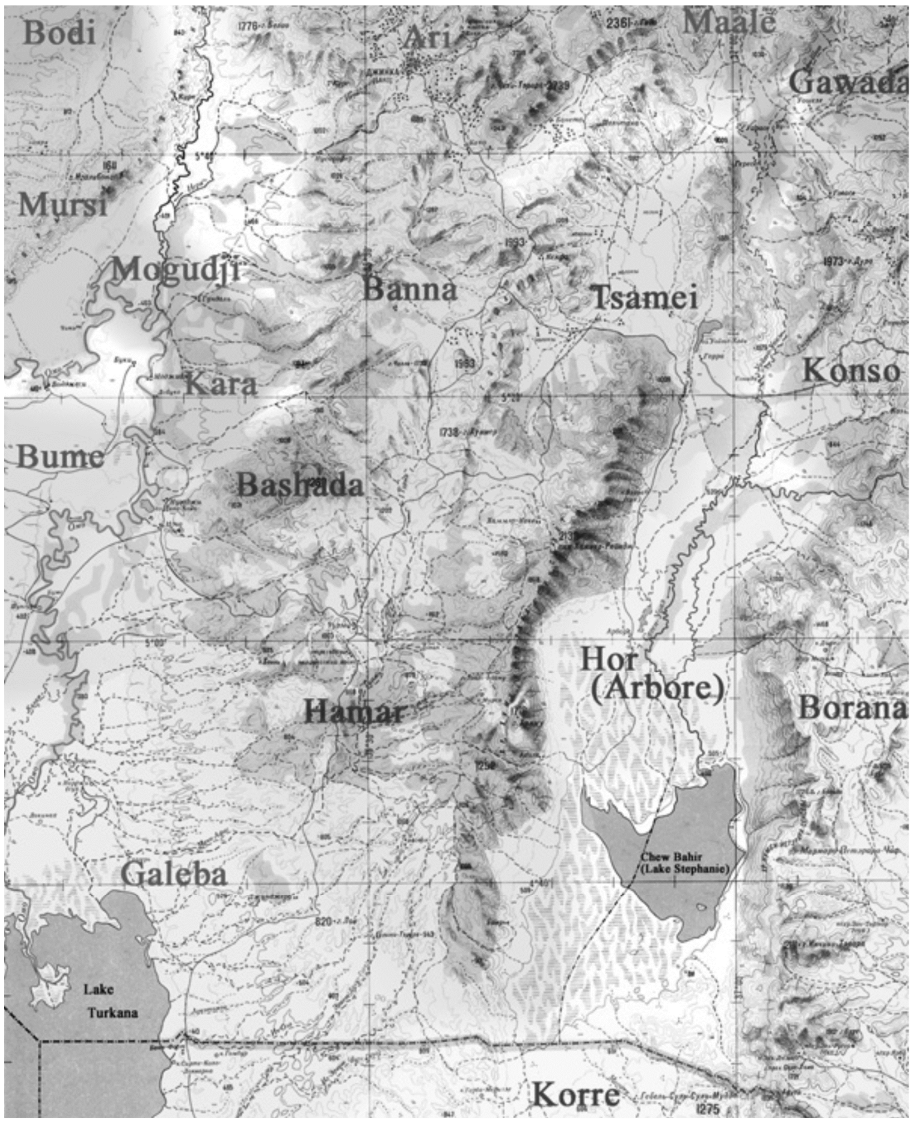
List of abbreviations

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

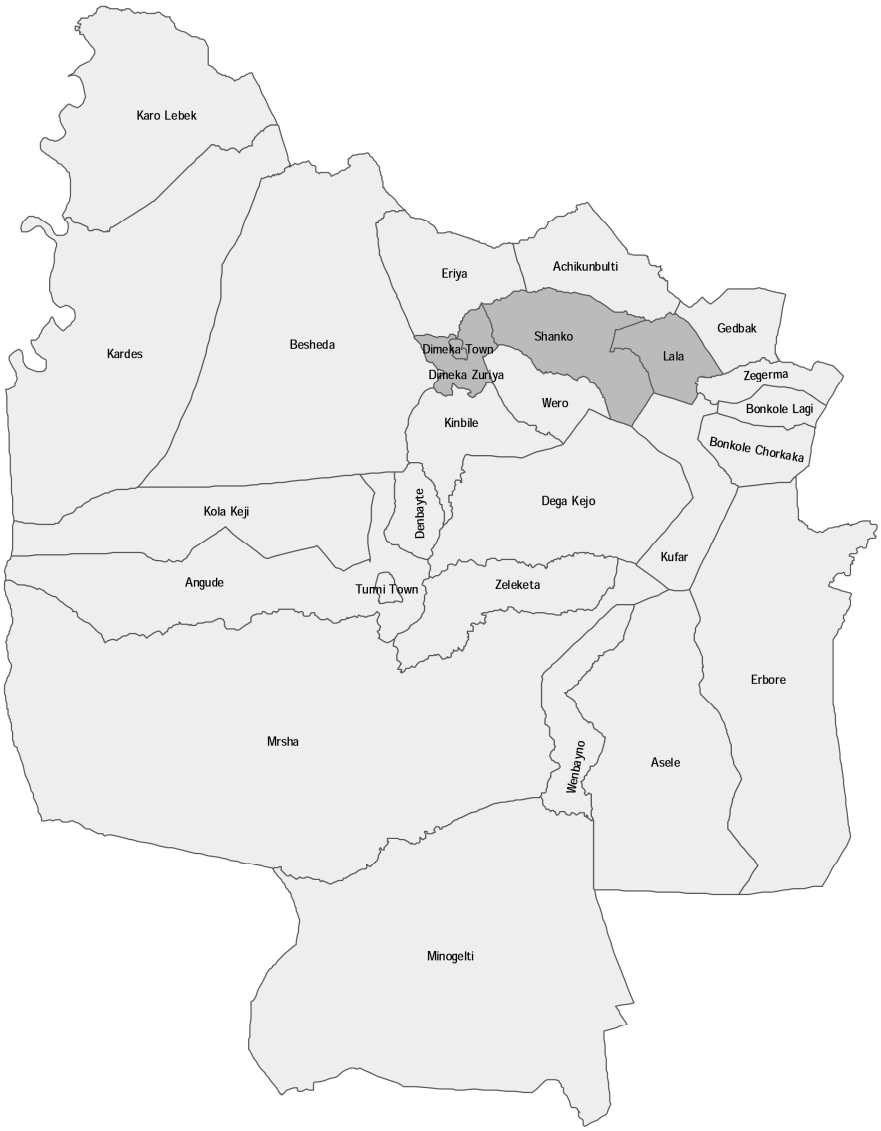
PF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PL	paucal/plural marker
PRES	present
PRS	presentational marker
PRX	proximal deixis
PURP	purposive marker
R	nominal dependency marker
REAS	reason clause marker
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
S	subject
SE	same event converb
SG	singular
SLEV	same-level deixis
SP	specific locational 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* [ɑ̤́mar aaɸó] and they form a cultural (Lydall 1976:393) and linguistic unit together with the Banna and the Bashaɗɗa: 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 Bashaɗɗa), 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 Bashaɗɗa) 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 (Gɛ́laba) 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 education[1] and it is proportional to the proximity to the main towns, Dimeka and Turmi, where the exposion to Amharic is greater. Hamar speakers are aware of the dialectal differences with Banna and Bashaɗɗa as they can mock their way of speaking and point out phonological and lexical divergences with Banna or Bashaɗɗa. A few lexical and phonological differences between Hamar and Bashaɗɗa are listed in table 1.1:

Table 1.1: Some differences between Hamar and Bashaɗɗa

	Hamar	**Bashaɗɗa**
together	kínka	pailá
parsí beer mixed with honey	álla	ants'í
corncob with no kernels	úpuri	kórmoʃo[2]
corn	boqólo	quló
let's go!	wo = yiʔé	wo = iɗé
we are eating	kummáto dáade	kummíto 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 Hamer' 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 *kórmoʃo* 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 education[4] 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 nowaday 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 "*tudî sîiti*". 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 Bashaɗɗa 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 thesis 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 dúka*. 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 II[9] 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 Bashaɗɗa 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'ía* 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 eli-citation 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 conver-sations, 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 tran-scribed 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 [ʤ]; /c/ for the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [ʧ]; /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 /V́/ indicates stress and high tone, and falling tone is written with the diacritic /V̂/ (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/, /ɓ/, /c'/, /s/, /z/, /sh/, /x/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/). The phonemes /d, c, g, ɗ, ɠ, 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, ɓ/ 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 /ɠ/ is doubtful since it has only one lexical occurrence: *ɠiá* '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	
	[p^h]	voiceless bilabial aspirated stop	/[$_{word}$__
	[ɸ]	voiceless bilabial fricative	any (see below)
	[$p^{\urcorner}$]	partially released bilabial stop	/__]$_{word}$

/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’	[ʔudúp˺]~[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 ˺.

/b/	[b]	voiced bilabial stop	
	[β]	voiced bilabial fricative	/V__V
	[b˺]	partially released voiced bilabial stop	/__]$_{word}$

/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	
	[t^h]	voiceless aspirated dental-alveolar stop	/[$_{word}$—

/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 *geeʃuw-* ‘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/	[ʤ]	voiced palato-alveolar affricate

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

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

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

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop.

kerí ‘door’
ɗúka ‘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 *ɗúka* ‘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)’	[ʔaaɸɔ́xa]
ʔaafón-ka	‘with the mouth (F)’	[ʔaaɸónka]

/g/	[g]	voiced velar stop

/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	
	[q’]	uvular ejective	/[$_{word}$__a
	[q^{h}]	voiceless uvular aspirated stop	/[$_{word}$__ ; /__ɣ̞]$_{word}$
	[ʔ]	voiceless glottal stop	/[$_{word}$__o, u

/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}a̤]

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
	[ɓ˺]	partially released bilabial implosive	/__]$_{word}$

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

ɓɛ́nta	'seed'
geɓí	'many'
karámɓa	'calabash for coffee'
ʔatáɓ	'tongue'
toɓɓá	'seven'

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

kuťúɓo	'housefly'	[kuťúɓo]~[kuťúbo]~[kuťúβo]

Similar to bilabial plosives, the bilabial implosive is partially released word-finally:

ʔatáɓ	'tongue'	[ʔatáɓ˺]
gudúɓ	'tall'	[gudúɓ˺]

/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).

ɗánga ‘throat’
ʔáaɗe ‘hippopotamus’
barɗá ‘drunk’
kɛ́ɗɗa ‘half’

Word-final /ɗ/ has only been attested in ideophones. Similar to the bilabial implosive /ɓ/, /ɗ/ can be realized as pulmonic in intervocalic position. When /ɗ/ occurs in the accusative marker /-ɗan/ 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:

ɗúka ‘mountain’ [ɗúka]~[ʔúka]

Only in one lexeme, /ɗ/ is optionally assimilated to the preceding consonant:

gulɗánti ‘belly button’ [gulɗánti]~[gulʔánti]~[gullánti]

/ɠ/	[ɠ]	voiced velar implosive	/[$_{word}$__

/ɠ/ 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’.

ɠiá ‘hit’

This verb has a pragmatically marked use: it occurs in a variety of light verb constructions such as *waakí ɠiá* ‘herd the cattle’, literally ‘hit cow’; *ɲuurí ɠiá* ‘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 *ɠiá* 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 *gi?-* for ‘beat, hit’ and *k’əndə* ‘rain’ (Bender 2003a).

/t’/	[t’]	dental-alveolar ejective	
	[ts’]	alveolar ejective affricate	/___a, i

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

t’ánzi ‘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'/	[ʧ']	palato-alveolar ejective affricate	
	[tʃ]	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate	/V__V

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

c'íilo	'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]~[petʃé]

/s/	[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative

/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'
ʔási	'tooth'
zarsí	'type of grass'
meské	'brain'
qáis	'forbidden'
ʔossambará	'after two days'

/z/	[z]	voiced alveolar fricative

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

zóbo	'lion'
ʔaizí	'goat hide'
dɔ́nza	'elders'
maz	'initiated boy'

/sh/	[ʃ]	voiceless palatal fricative

/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’

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’		
ɗaxá	‘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 *ɗaxá* ‘tie’ is related to the noun *ɗáki* ‘rope’. The verbs illustrated above, moreover, are reported with the velar stop in Fleming’s wordlist (1986).
The postposition /rɔ́xa/ ‘through’ and the temporal subordinate marker /-xa/ are always realized with the velar fricative /x/.

/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal	
	[m̥]	devoiced bilabial nasal	/__]$_{word}$

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal.

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

/n/	[n]	voiced alveolar nasal	
	[n̰]	devoiced alveolar nasal	/__]$_{word}$
	[ŋ]	voiced velar nasal	/__k, g

/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 [ʔisín̰] ‘sorghum’

[ŋ] occurs only in consonant clusters before velar stops:

nángo ‘soldier ant’
kánki ‘car’

/ɲ/	[ɲ]	voiced palato-alveolar nasal	/[$_{word}$__ ; V__V

/ɲ/ is a voiced palato-alveolar nasal. It is not attested word finally and geminated:

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

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

ɲuurí ‘butter container’ [ɲuurí]~[nuurí]

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	
	[l̥]	devoiced alveolar lateral	/__]$_{word}$

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

láapa ‘bat’
c’íilo ‘ant’
wárle ‘hare’
wálqanti ‘Aloe sp.’
ɓul [ɓul̥] ‘waterhole’
qullá ‘goats’

/r/	[r]	voiced alveolar trill	
	[r̥]	devoiced alveolar trill	/__]$_{word}$
	[ɾ]	voiced alveolar tap	/V__V

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

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

/w/	[w]	labio-velar approximant

/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/, /ʔ/ and /h/, it does not occur geminated nor word-finally.

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

/y/	[j]	voiced palatal approximant

/y/ is a voiced palatal glide.

yáati ‘sheep’
yɛ́ɛla ‘roof’
yíti ‘owl’
ɗɔ́ya ‘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:

ʔéeɓe ‘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]

/h/	[ɦ]	breathy-voiced glottal transition	/[$_{word}$__a

/ɦ/ 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 [ɦ] 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 [ɦ] 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 [ɦ] 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)	wa̤ɦa̤	(Hamar)	wáa	'meat'
(Aari)	a̤: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'
ʔaaká	'grandmother'
máaqa	'lizard'
ʔálpa	'knife'
waltá	'genet'
ʔálko	'type of agave plant'
ɗalqá	'talk'

- /p t k q/ word-final

galáp	'yellow'
panɗát	'gap teeth'
ʔaarák	'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’
shɔ́lba	‘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’
geeɗá	‘answer’
demɓí	‘death’
ʔandĩ	‘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
ʔáshawa ‘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’
ʔɔ́rawal ‘backwards, towards the speaker’

- Alveolars /t d ɗ t’ s z n l r/ word-initial
tipá ‘honest’
diibá ‘steal’
ɗíta ‘type of tree’
t’ipá ‘darkness’
sirmá ‘pregnant’
zigá ‘shake’
niʔá ‘come’
líkka ‘little’
riggíma ‘chew stick’

- /t d ɗ t’ s z n l r/ word-medial
raatá ‘sleep’
ʔadá ‘shave’
ʔaaɗá ‘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’
ɲámuɲa ‘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 ɠ q/ word-initial
kaá ‘pour’
giá ‘tell’
ɠiá ‘hit’
qaɗá ‘wear’
kansá ‘fight’
gansá ‘sniff’
qansá ‘listen’

- /k g x q/ word-medial
púka ‘caracal’
pugá ‘blow’
ʔuká ‘pierce’
duuqá ‘sow’
ɗóngo ‘bell’
ɗónko ‘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’
ʔamɓá	‘dream’
hamɓá	‘be told’
ʔáka	‘large intestine’[14]
háqa	‘tree’
ʔáaɗe	‘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’
ʔúkumɓa	‘thorn’
wúkumɓa	‘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’
ɓáa	‘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/, /ɓ/, /t/, /ɗ/, /c/, /k/, /g/, /ɠ/, /ƈ/, /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’
ʔálla	‘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’
ʔapála	‘blanket’
ʔapállo	‘blanket:F.S’
ʔapálla	‘blankets:PL’

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

ʔaɗá	‘give birth’
ʔaɗɗá	‘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.'
shiɗá	'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'	**bɔ́ta**	'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'	**ʔórra**	'from over there'
burqá	'be hot'	**dorqá**	'sit'
gur	'support for calabash'	**gor**	'type of ritual'
kuťó	'vulture'	**koťó**	'female name'

/o a/

zíigo	'sorghum crumble'	**zíiga**	'spinal cord'
dottá	'put down'	**dattâ**	'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/

giní	‘vein’	**guní**	‘snake’
ʔirá	‘curse’	**ʔurá**	‘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’
ʔíi	‘stomach’	**ʔóo**	‘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	ángo	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?’
yɛ́ɛla	‘roof’	**yɛ́ɛla-u**	‘(is it a) roof?

ʔimidí	‘has given’	**ʔimid-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/:

ʔashká-u	‘shall I make?’	**ʔí = da ʔashkó**	‘do I make?’

2.2.2 Vowel realization

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

háada	‘rope’	[háádḁ]~[hááda]
róqo	‘tamarind tree’	[róq^{h}o̥]~[róqo]
ʔéeɓe	‘cowhide’	[ʔééɓe̥]~[ʔééɓe]

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]~[kɪrá]~[kərá]
beré	‘later’	[beré]~[bəré]
ʔékeri	‘bed bug’	[ʔékeri]~[ʔékəri]
jagá	‘sparrow’	[ʤagá]~[ʤəgá]

[15] Devoicing of short final vowels is reported also in Oromo (Stroomer 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^{h}V̥] (Stroomer 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'	[jéɛ́la]
déɛga	'dumb'	[déɛ́ga]
kédɗa	'half'	[kédɗa]
ʔéɛmajo	'good spirit'	[ʔéɛ́maʤo]
gédaqa	'tree sp.'	[gédaqa]
gɛ́laba	'Dhaasanac'	[gɛ́laba]
pɛ́lan pélo	'butterfly'	[pɛ́lan pélo]
ɓénta	'seed'	[ɓénta]
ʔɔ́ra	'towards the speaker'	[ʔɔ́ra]
qɔ́ɔc'a	'nape'	[qɔ́ɔ́tʃ'a]
dɔ́nza	'elder'	[dɔ́nza]
bɔ́na	'drought'	[bɔ́na]
bɔ́ta	'room, space' (Amh.)	[bɔ́ta]
bɔ́lta	'fermented milk'	[bɔ́lta]
ɗɔ́ya	'bone marrow'	[ɗɔ́ja]
qɔ́lma	'without'	[qɔ́lma]
shɔ́lɓa	'light'	[ʃɔ́lɓa]
rɔ́xa	'through'	[rɔ́xa]

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'	[bootʃ'á]
shodár	'bird sp.'	[ʃodáɾ̪]
dongár	'elephant'	[doŋgáɾ̪]
ɗeeshá	'medicine'	[ɗeeʃá]
ɗesá	'know'	[ɗesá]
ɗoyá	'show'	[ɗojá]
doolá	'milk churn'	[doolá]
woomá	'honey container'	[woomá]
gerák	'beam'	[gerák]
gobá	'run'	[gobá]
qoc'á	'suck'	[qotʃ'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]~[dɛ́ɛ́t'a]
ʔeedá	'relative'	[ʔeedá]~[ʔɛɛdá]
kéda	'then'	[kéda]~[kɛ́da]
ʔóiɗa	'hot'	[ʔóiɗa]~[ʔɔ́iɗa]
qolɓá	'fetch water'	[qolɓá]~[qɔlɓá]
ʔoshála	'after two days'	[ʔoʃála]~[ʔɔʃála]
wólsha	'sorghum sugar cane'	[wólʃa]~[wɔ́lʃa]

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

ʔɛdá	'luck'	[ʔɛdá]
cóobar	'down there'	[tʃóóbar]
córra	'from below'	[tʃórra]
ʔóobar	'up there'	[ʔóóbar]
ʔórra	'from there'	[ʔórra][17]
zéega	'bird of prey sp.'	[zééga]
sɛl	'nine'	[sɛl]~[sal]
méɛ	'downwards'	[méɛ́][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*, *ʔóobar* and *ʔórra* 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 Stroomer (1995:16) states that '[...] it is not clear whether [ɛɛ] is an allophone of ee [...]'.

yɛ́ɛla	‘roof’	**yɛ́ɛla-na**	‘roof-PL’
yɛ́ɛla-no	‘roof-F.S’	**yɛɛlâ**	‘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 *ɔ́ra* ‘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 *qolɓá* ‘fetch water’ given above.

gobá	‘run’
ɗesá	‘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’
ʔashá	‘insult’	**ʔaashá**	‘hide’
/e/ /ee/			
ʔéna	‘past’	**ʔɛ́ɛna**	‘people’
gedé	‘bed’	**geeɗé**	‘answer!’ (IMP.2PL)
/i/ /ii/			
shiɗá	‘stay’	**shiiɗá**	‘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)	> **qámmo**
ʔooní	'house'	(ʔoon-no)	> **ʔonnó**
ʔáan	'arm'	(ʔaan-ta)	> **ʔantâ**
yíir	'upper arm'	(yiir-na)	> **yírra**
káara	'fish'	(kaar-ta)	> **kartâ**
jaagá	'sew'	(jaag-s-á)	> **jashká**
shooshí	'guest'	(shoosh-na)	> **shoŋá**
ʔóo	'over there'	(ʔoo-rra)	> **ʔórra**

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:

ʔáigi	'fence'	**baití**	'river'
lánkai	'eight'	**dúmai**	'thumb'

/ia/ word-final:

sía	‘bad’	**zía**	‘brave’

/au/ word-medial and word-final:

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

/ei/ word-medial:

weilám	‘heart’	**ʔeiké**	‘grandfather’

/oi/ word-medial:

goití	‘pathway’	**ʔóiso**	‘question’

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:

ʔát.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 occur 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	**tuqándaɗa**	'hiccup'
n.t'	**lant'í**	'spleen'
n.s	**qansá**	'listen'
n.z	**ʔanzá**	'girl'
n.c'	**ganc'á**	'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	**barɗá**	'drunk'
r.t'	**márt'o**	'type of necklace'
r.s	**parsí**	'ale-gruel beer'
r.l	**ɓórle**	'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	**ʔálpa**	‘knife’
l.b	**silbí**	‘dark brown’ (cattle coat colour)
l.ɓ	**qolɓá**	‘fetch water’
l.m	**ʔálma**	‘female name’
l.t	**qultá**	‘male goat’
l.d	**qaldó**	‘thigh’
l.ɗ	**ʔelɗá**	‘be called’
l.t’	**galt’á**	‘seal with mud’
l.s	**bulsá**	‘send out’
l.sh	**galshá**	‘annoy’
l.k	**ʔálko**	‘*Sansevieria* plant sp.’
l.g	**gilgishá**	‘tickle’
l.q	**ɗalqá**	‘speak’

Fricatives /s sh/ + obstruent clusters:

s.k	**baská**	‘bring’
s.g	**gasgó**	‘wheat’
sh.p	**goshpá**	‘respect’
sh.k	**ʔashká**	‘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	**ɓul**	‘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.ɓa**	‘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	**ɓulá**	‘jump’
CVV.CV	**raatá**	‘sleep’
CVC.CV	**ɗalqá**	‘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 /V́/, and a circumflex accent /V̂/ 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	[ˈzííni]	‘mosquito’	*[zîini] *[zìíni]
déer	[ˈdéér]	‘red’	
dáa	[ˈdáá]	‘clay pot’	
qáu	[ˈqáú]	‘bushy area’	
sía	[ˈsíá]	‘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, gédaqa.*

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’
zíi.ga	‘spinal cord’
síl.qa	‘knuckle’
gur.dá	‘village’

Stress in nouns can be lexically distinctive. A few όσ vs. σό 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’
ʔásho	‘slope’	**ʔashó**	‘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:

qásа	‘louse’	**qasâ**	‘louse:M’

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’	**rɔqɔ̂**	‘tamarind tree:M’

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.

háɲa	‘sheep’	[ˈháɲa̰]
haɲâ	‘sheep:M’	[hàˈɲâ]

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 *háɲa* above is inflected for masculine gender, the final stress can be thus realized with a final high tone, rather than a falling tone: [haˈɲá].
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 forms[20] 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)	[dʒàˈgáàʰ][21]	VL2 = 0.144
muná		‘dumplings’	VL2 = 0.068
munâ	(M)	[mùˈnáà]	VL2 = 0.141

[20] These words are exemples 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.

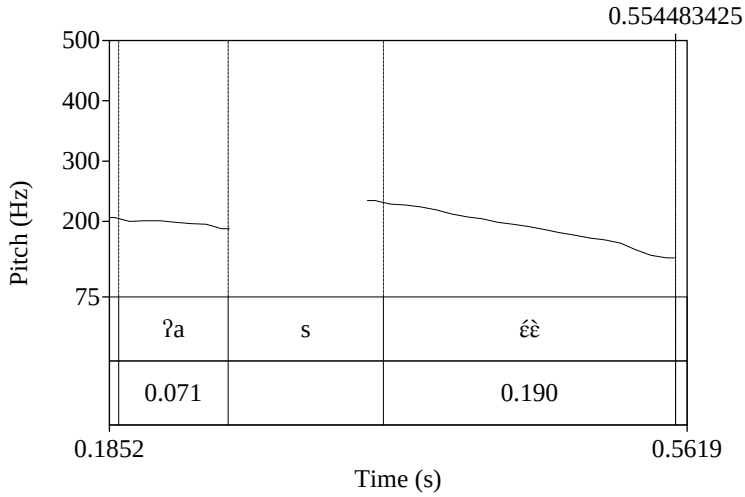
shaalá		‘ceiling’	VL2 = 0.067
shaalâ	(M)	[ʃààˈláà]	VL2 = 0.140
ganc’á		‘thin’	VL2 = 0.090
ganc’â	(M)	[gànˈtʃ’áà]	VL2 = 0.154

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 *ʔasɛ̂* is quite long (0.190 seconds) and carries a falling pitch:

ʔasɛ̂ [ʔàˈsɛ́ɛ̀ʰ] ‘tooth:M’ VL2 = 0.190

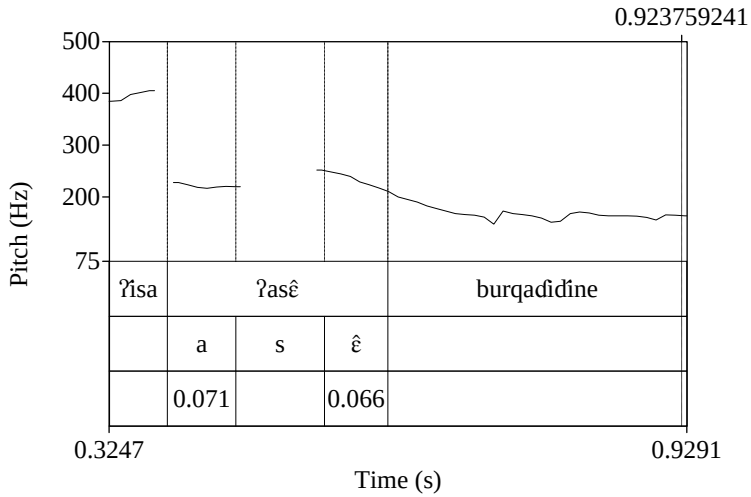


The second diagram shows the same inflected masculine noun *ʔasɛ̂* uttered in connected speech:

(1) **ʔí = sa** **ʔasɛ̂** **burqaɗ-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):

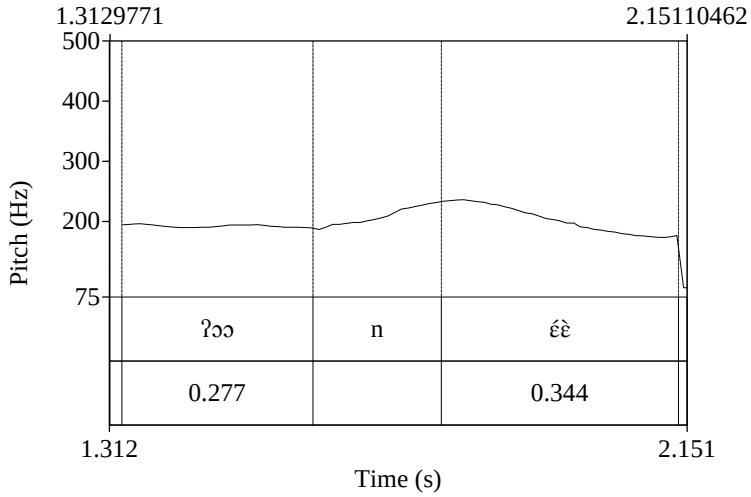
ʔasê [ʔàˈsɛ̂] ‘tooth:M’ VL2 = 0.066



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:

ʔɔɔnɛ̂ [ʔɔ̀ɔ̀ˈnɛ́ɛ̀] ‘house:M’ VL2 = 0.344

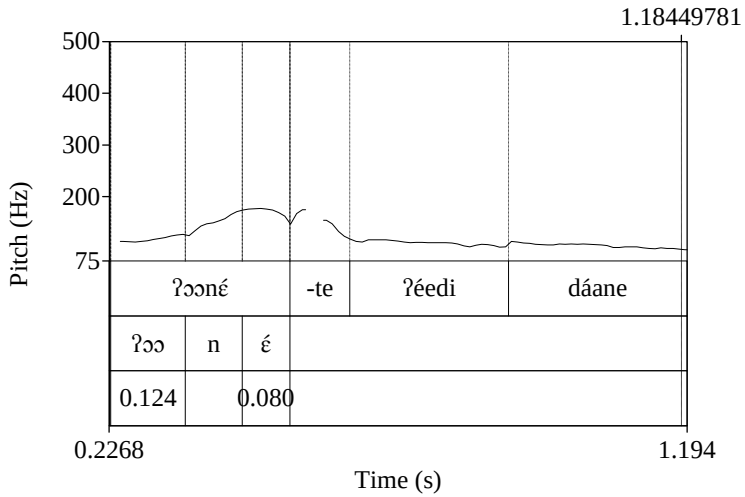


The following examples show the masculine inflected noun *ʔɔɔnɛ̂* followed by the locative and allative suffix cases. In such cases, not only is the final long vowel shortened, but there is no clear fall on the final vowel.

(2) **ʔɔɔné-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:

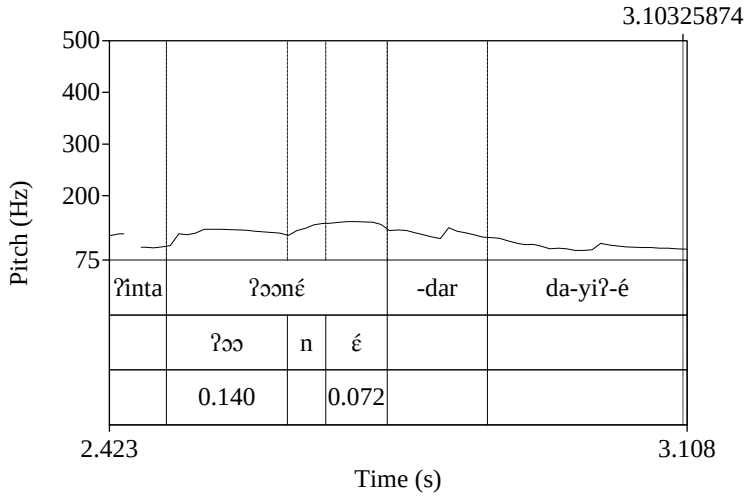
ʔɔɔnɛ̂ [ʔɔ̀ɔ̀ˈnɛ́] ‘house:M’ VL2 = 0.080



In (3) below, the final vowel of the masculine noun *ɔɔnɛ̂* 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** **ʔɔɔné-dar** **da-yiʔ-é**
1SG house:M-ALL1 IPFV-go-PRES
I will go to the house (M)

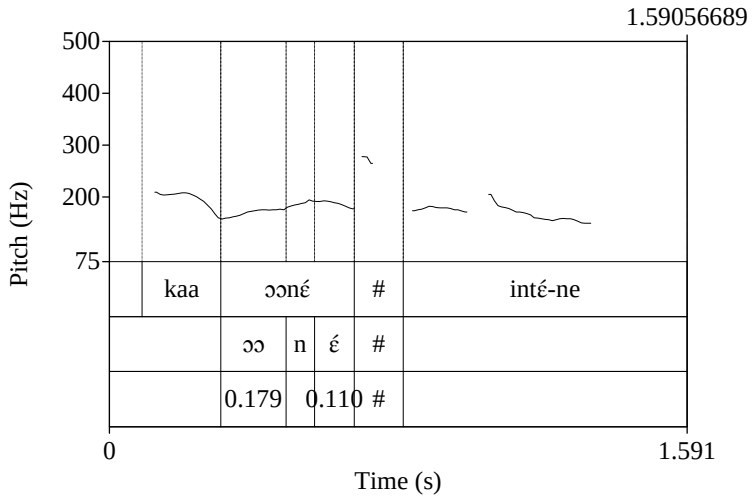
ʔɔɔnê [ʔɔ̀ɔ̀ˈné] ‘house:M’ VL2 = 0.072



If the masculine inflected noun is followed by a pause, the final vowel can be lengthened and the final stress is realized as falling tone. The pause in the diagram is represented by #:

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

ʔɔɔnê [ʔɔ̀ɔ̀ˈnê] ‘house:M’ VL2 = 0.110



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 ó.ó nor σ.σ 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 /-á/. The /-á/ 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'àˈá]	'clap'
gi-á	[gìˈá]	'tell'
bul-á	[bùˈlá]	'open'
shan-á	[ʃàˈná]	'buy'
dorq-á	[dòrˈqá]	'sit'
ʔukuns-á	[ʔùkùnˈsá]	'rest'

In the citation form of monosyllabic verb stems, prominence is found on the right-most vowel *-á*. 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'
tiá	[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:

yiʔ-á	'go!'	[jìˈʔá]~[jìˈʔáá]

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 /-á/, see chapter 6 and chapter 9 for an overview of verb roots and verb stems. The suffix /-á/ 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 /-é/:

yiʔ-á	‘go!’ (IMP.2SG)	[jìˈʔá]
yiʔ-é	‘go!’ (IMP.2PL)	[jìˈʔé]

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

ɗes-atíne	‘I don’t know’	**ɗes-átine**	‘I did not know’
ɗes-atáne	‘you don’t know’	**ɗes-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
ɓúla	‘egg’, noun	**ɓulá**	‘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	[wùˈtʃ’ê]~[wùˈtʃ’éè]

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

qolê	‘there is not’	**qóle**	‘where is?’

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'	[wùˈtʃá]
wuc'â	'the one (M) who drank'	[wùˈtʃâ]

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 2nd plural addressee
qanê	'he/she does not hit'	verb, negative present 3rd person

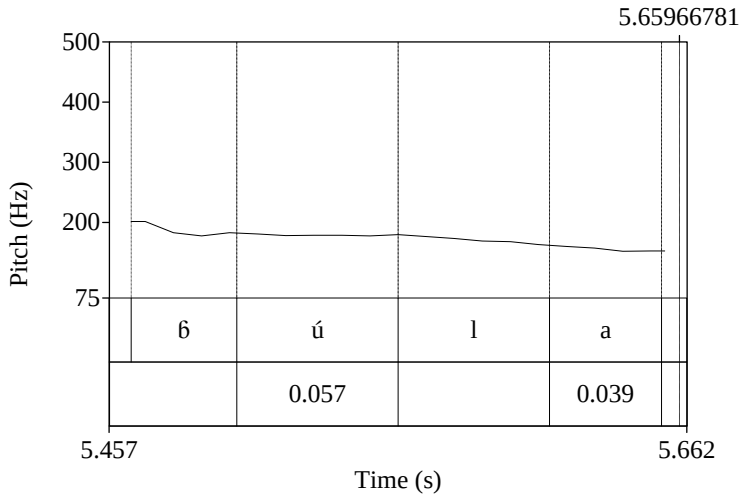
The difference between the masculine form of *qána* 'stream' and the masculine of the relativized verb *qaná* 'hit', is purely prosodic. In nouns such as *qána* (that is, nouns which have lexical stress on the first syllable in the uninflected form), the high pitch on the first syllable is often realized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

qána	'stream'	[qána]
qanâ	'stream:M'	[qánâ]~[qánáà]
háŋa	'fat-tailed sheep'	[háŋa]
haŋâ	'fat-tailed sheep:M'	[háŋâ]~[háŋáà]

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*

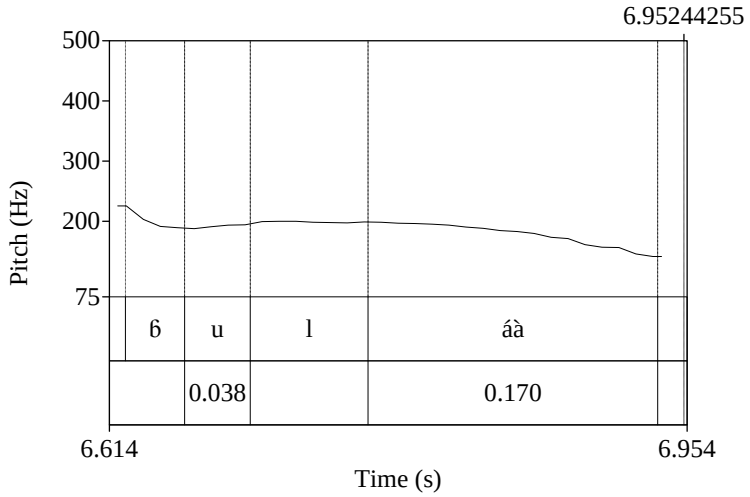
hit.IMP.2PL) which contrasts with a falling tone (*qanê* hit.PRES.NEG.3). The two falling tones which are found on the final syllable of masculine inflected nouns (*qanâ* stream:M) and on the 3rd person negative inflection (*qanê* hit.PRES.NEG.3), are different in that the former is applied post-lexically 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 *ɓúla* 'egg' is contrasted with the verb *ɓulá* 'jump'.

ɓúla 'egg'



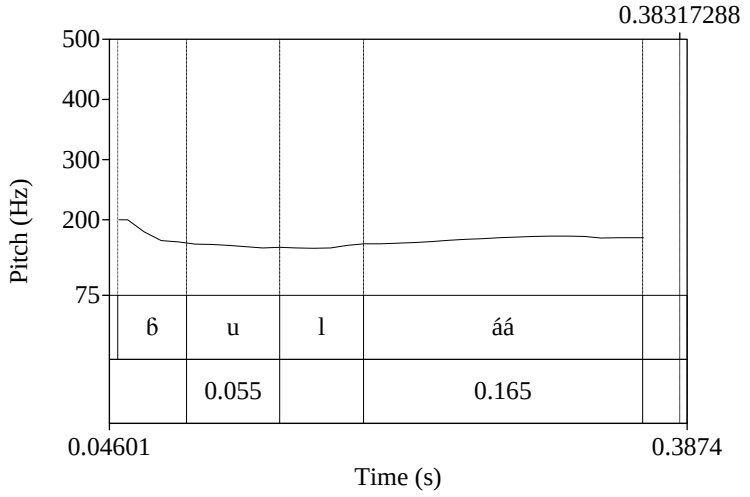
The uninflected form for 'egg' has a level high pitch on the first syllable which is higher than the pitch on the last syllable. In the M form the pitch contour on the first syllable is slightly rising, and then it sharply falls on the last long vowel:

ɓulâ ‘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 *ɓulá* ‘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.

ɓulá ‘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’
shiccá	‘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):

tudĩ	‘buttocks’	(tuɗ-no)	>	**tunɗó**
tubáqe	‘type of tree’	(tubaq-no)	>	**tubánqo**

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

ʔatáɓ	‘tongue’	(ataɓ-na)	>	**ʔatámɓa**
kut’úɓo	‘housefly’	(kut’uɓ-no)	>	**kut’úmɓo**

[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 [láxso~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'
ʔáan	'arm'

bázi
ʔáani

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/:

gudúɓ	'tall'	**gudúɓ-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

ʔaizí	'goat hide'	>	**ʔaizɛ̂**	'goat hide:M'
bagadé	'cooked blood'	>	**bagadɛ̂**	'cooked blood:M'
búqo	'knee'	>	**buqɔ̂**	'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'	
qaskɛ̂	'dog:M'	[qaskɛ̂]~[qaskɛ́a̯]
qaskɛ̂ káa	'dog:M DEM1.M'	[qaskɛ̂ káa]~[qaskɛ́a̯ 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 *silkɛ̂* 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’	>	**kɛ́ɛn**	‘3:ACC’
kó = ɗan	‘3F = ACC’	>	**kɔ́ɔn**	‘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:

(ʔi-ánna)	>	**énna**	(1SG:OPT)
(ha-ánna)	>	**hánna**	(2SG:OPT)
(ki-ánna)	>	**kénna**	(3:OPT)
(ko-ánna)	>	**kɔ́nna**	(3F:OPT)
(wo-ánna)	>	**wónna ~ wɔnna**	(1PL:OPT)
(ye-ánna)	>	**yénna ~ yénna**	(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 *ɠiá* ‘hit’. Vowel coalescence often occurs when the verb is suffixed with subordinative markers.

[waakí ɠɛáise niʔidí]

(5) **waakí** **ɠiá-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 < >):

[hamɔ́a ji?é?]
(7) **hamó** **<h>a=yi?-é?**
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 ji?é]
(9b) **kánki-x<a>** **<w>o=da-yi?-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) **dímeka-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'	(ʔaarak-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’
ɗónko ‘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, shoɲsha)	> **shoɲá**
c’agáj	‘green’	(c’agajno, c’aganjo, c’agaɲjo)	> **c’agáɲo**

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’

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:

[barɗáda barɗé]
(13) **barɗ<á> = <h>a = da** **barɗ-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!

[barɗáida barɗé]
(14b) **barɗá = <ʔ> i = da** **barɗ-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 /-ɗan/ or whenever the relative clause does not function as subject (cf. chapter 8, section 8.4, and chapter 7, section 7.4.2):

[éeno imbaskónɗan ʃanê]

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

[éen gurdánte dóonɗan eeláise]

(16b)	**éen**	**gurdá-n-te**	**da-óno-ɗan**	**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)	>	**ɛttáxa**	(1SG:REAS)
(ha-hattáxa)	>	**hattáxa**[23]	(2SG:REAS)
(ki-hattáxa)	>	**kɛttáxa**	(3:REAS)
(ko-hattáxa)	>	**kɔttáxa**	(3PL:REAS)
(wo-hattáxa)	>	**wottáxa** ~ **wɔttáxa**	(1PL:REAS)
(ye-hattáxa)	>	**yettáxa** ~ **yɛttáxa**	(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-hamɓaɗé)	>	**kɔmɓaɗé**
(ki-hamɓaɗé)	>	**kɛmɓaɗé**

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'	**ʔataɓâ**	'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’	**dɛɛrâ**	‘red:M’

Vowels assimilate also across consonant clusters:

dongár	‘elephant’	**dɔngarâ**	‘elephant:M’

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’	**sɛl-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’	>	**ʔɔɔnɛ̂**	‘house:M’
c’íilo	‘ant’	>	**c’iilɔ̂**	‘ant:M’ *c’ɛɛlɔ̂

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’ɛɛlɔ̂*.
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/:

qúɲa	‘resin-based incense’
quŋâ	‘resin-based incense:M’
ɗíta	‘type of tree’
ɗîtâ	‘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’	
biirɛ̂	‘three-pronged stir stick:M’	*bɛɛrɛ̂
zikí	‘goat faeces’	
zikɛ̂	‘goat faeces:M’	*zɛkɛ̂

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:

ɲoqóle	‘type of bracelet’	>	**ɲɔqɔlɛ̂ ~ ɲoqɔlɛ̂**
qómbalti	‘shell’	>	**qɔmbaltɛ̂**
onkólo	‘calabash handbag’	>	**ɔnkɔlɔ̂ ~ onkɔlɔ̂**
segeré	‘dik-dik’	>	**sɛgɛrɛ̂**
qómoro	‘Adam’s apple’	>	**qɔmɔrɔ̂**

Intervening high vowels in the nominal root block MP4:

goití	‘pathway’	>	**goitɛ̂**
ʔeiké	‘grandfather’	>	**ʔeikɛ̂**
korqishá	‘francolin’	>	**korqishâ**
shekíni	‘beads’	>	**shekinɛ̂**
tesíɓe	‘axe’	>	**tesiɓɛ̂**
kóofini	‘squirrel’	>	**koofinɛ̂**

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’ **zɔbɔ̂** ‘lion:M’ **zóbo-na** ‘lion-PL’
*zɔ́bɔna 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’ **mɛtê** ‘head:M’ **meté-na** ‘head-PL’
*mɛténa

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’anɔ

yɛ́ɛla	‘roof’	
yɛ́ɛla-no	‘roof-F.S’	*yɛ́ɛlanɔ

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)	**kɛrrá**	‘door:PL’
demí	‘side’	(dem-na)	**dɛmmá**	‘side:PL’
déer	‘red’	(deer-na)	**dɛ́rra**	‘red:PL’

Mid-vowel lowering has been attested as well in the plural form of some mono-syllabic 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 (/e/ 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’	**pɛ́ɛ-na**	‘land-PL’
róo	‘leg’	**rɔ́ɔ-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** ~ **ɛ́ɛ-na**	‘people-PL’

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 (ˆ) 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’	>	**mɛtê**	‘head:M’
sosó	‘eagle’	>	**sɔsô**	‘eagle:M’
toré	‘plain’	>	**tɔrê**	‘plain:M’
geccó	‘old’	>	**gɛccô**	‘old:M’
wotí	‘forehead’	>	**wɔtê**	‘forehead:M’
kerí	‘door’	>	**kɛré**	‘door:M’

[25] Unless root vowels /a i u/ combine with final /-â/, such as *mirjá* ‘kudu’, *mirjâ* ‘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'	> **dɛɛshâ** 'medicine:M'
doolá	'milk container'	> **dɔɔlâ** '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:

dɛ́ɛga	'dumb'	> **dɛɛgâ** 'dumb:M'
shɔ́lɓa	'light'	> **shɔlɓâ** '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	láɓa	laɓâ
CúCa	CuCâ	púla	pulâ
CíCa	CiCâ	zíiga	ziigâ
Cɛ́Ca	CɛCá	yɛ́ɛla	yɛɛlâ
Cɔ́Ca	CɔCá	qɔ́ɔc'a	qɔɔc'á

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

General form	**Masculine**	**Examples**	
CaCé	CaCɛ̂	t'aɓé	t'aɓɛ̂
CuCé	CuCɛ̂	tulé	tulɛ̂
CiCé	CiCɛ̂	tigé	tigɛ̂
CaCí	CaCɛ̂	banqí	banqɛ̂
CuCí	CuCɛ̂	kurí	kurɛ̂
CiCí	CiCɛ̂	giní	ginɛ̂
CaCó	CaCɔ̂	c'aaró	c'aarɔ̂
CuCó	CuCɔ̂	kut'ó	kut'ɔ̂
CiCó	CiCɔ̂	giló	gilɔ̂

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	CɛCɛ̂	meté	mɛtɛ̂
CeCó	CɛCɔ̂	geshó	gɛshɔ̂
CeCí	CɛCɛ̂	kerí	kɛrɛ̂
CoCé	CɔCɛ̂	toré	tɔrɛ̂
CoCó	CɔCɔ̂	sosó	sɔsɔ̂
CoCí	CɔCɛ̂	shooshí	shɔɔshɛ̂

Table 2.8: P5 + stress placement

General form	**Masculine**	**Examples**	
CáCe	CaCɛ̂	ʔáaɗe	ʔaaɗɛ̂
CáCi	CaCɛ̂	qáami	qaamɛ̂
CáCo	CaCɔ̂	jálo	jalɔ̂
CúCe	CuCɛ̂	búme	bumɛ̂
CúCi	CuCî	túni	tunɛ̂
CúCo	CuCɔ̂	shúko	shukɔ̂
CíCe	CiCɛ̂	unattested	
CíCi	CiCɛ̂	zíini	ziinɛ̂
CíCo	CiCɔ̂	c'íilo	c'iilɔ̂

Table 2.9: P5 + stress placement + MP5

General form	**Masculine**	**Examples**	
CéCe	CɛCɛ̂	méde	mɛdɛ̂
CéCo	CɛCɔ̂	unattested	
CéCi	CɛCɛ̂	légi	lɛgɛ̂
CóCe	CɔCɛ̂	kótte	kɔttɛ̂
CóCo	CɔCɔ̂	zóbo	zɔbɔ̂
CóCi	CɔCɛ̂	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 ~ **áani**	'arm'
baz ~ **bázi**	'lake'
gudúɓ ~ **gudúɓi**	'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)	**hámmo**	'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'
qaskɛ̂	'dog:M'	**ɔɔnɛ̂**	'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) **ɛ́ɛ-na** **orgó-na**
man-PL short-PL
the short people

(2) **onnó** **hamɓ-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**
qúŋa ‘resin-based incense’	quŋâ	qúŋano	qúŋana
kubá ‘wall’	kubâ	kubáno	kubána
sílqa ‘knuckle’	silqâ	sílqano	sílqana
meté ‘head’	mɛtê	meténo	meténa
éeɓe ‘cowhide’	ɛɛɓê	éeɓeno	éeɓena
rási ‘footprint’	rasê	rásino	rásina
kuť’ó ‘vulture’	kuť’ɔ̂	kuť’óno	kuť’óna
álko ‘plant sp.’	alkɔ̂	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
tesíɓe ‘axe’	tesiɓê	tesímɓo	tesímɓa
segeré ‘dik-dik’	sɛgɛrê	segerró	segerrá
tubáqe ‘type of tree’	tubaqê	tubánqo	tubánqa
kurí ‘honey’	kurê	kurró	kurrá
ooní ‘house’	ɔɔnê	onnó	onná
tuɗí ‘buttocks’	tuɗê	tunɗó	tunɗá
kuť’úɓo ‘housefly’	kuť’uɓɔ̂	kuť’úmɓo	kuť’úmɓa

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**
yíir 'upper arm'	yiirâ	yírro	yírra
panáq 'frog'	panaqâ	panánqo	panánqa
atáɓ 'tongue'	ataɓâ	atámɓo	atámɓa
c'agáj 'green'	c'agajâ	c'agáɲo	c'agáɲa
gerák 'beam'	gerakâ	gerángo	geránga
gaʔásh 'warthog'	gaʔashâ	gaʔáɲo	gaʔáɲa

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	péɛna
píi ‘human faeces’	piitâ	píino	píina
róo ‘foot, leg’	rɔɔtâ	róono	rɔ́ɔna
qáu ‘forest’	qautâ	qáuno	qáuna
sháu ‘cheetah’	shautâ	sháuno shautóno	sháuna
ukulí ‘donkey’	ukultâ ukulɛ̂	ukulló ukultóno	ukullá
seelé ‘guineafowl’	sɛltâ	seeléno seltóno	seeléna
zóbo ‘lion’	zɔttâ zɔbɔ̂	zóbono zottóno	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’	aizɛ̂	ainó	ainá
goití ‘way’	goitɛ̂	goinó	goiná
koisí ‘beer container’	koisɛ̂	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’	ɔɔtâ	óono ootóno	ɔtárra
éedi ‘person’	ɛ́ɛ	éedono éeno	ɛ́ɛna ~ 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: **ɛ́ɛ** 'the man'
F: **éesono** ~ **éedono** 'married woman'
F: **éeno** 'a group of people'
PL: **ɛ́ɛna** '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:	**ɔɔtâ** ‘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:	**angɛ̂** ‘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:	**sɛltâ** ‘male guineafowl’
	F:	**seltóno** ‘female guineafowl’
	F:	**seeléno** ‘a flock of guineafowls’
	PL:	**seeléna** ‘some guineafowls’
(10b)	General form:	**góro** ‘Colobus monkey’
	M:	**gɔrɔ̂** ‘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:	**zɔbɔ̂** ~ **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:	**gaʔáŋo** ‘sounder of warthogs’
	PL:	**gaʔáŋa** ‘some warthogs’
(10f)	General form:	**ukulí** ‘donkey’
	M:	**ukulɛ̂** ~ **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:	**wurrɔ̂** ‘one (small) cat’
	F:	**wúrrono** ‘one big cat’
	PL:	**wúrrona** ‘cats’
(11b)	General form:	**qáski** ‘dog’
	M:	**qaskɛ́** ‘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:	**dɔngarâ** ‘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** **yiʔá-ise** **gaitâ** **garé-be** **gaitâ**
lion go-CNV1 baboon:M big:M-COM baboon:M
likká-be-ɗan **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: **rinsɔ̂** ‘one (small) hornet’
F: **rínsono** ‘a nest of hornets’
PL: **rínsona** ‘hornets’

(13b) General form: **c’íilo** ‘ant’
M: **c’iilɔ̂** ‘one (small) ant’
F: **c’íilono** ‘a colony of ants’
PL: **c’íilona** ‘ants’

(13c) General form: **kut’úɓo** ‘housefly’
M: **kut’úɓɔ̂** ‘one (small) housefly’
F: **kut’úmɓo** ‘a swarm of houseflies’
PL: **kut’túmɓa** ‘houseflies’

(13d) General form: **máaqa** ‘lizard’
M: **maaqâ** ‘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** **hamɓaɗ-ê,** **goitê** **likkâ,** **éen**
way:M say:PASS-REL.PRES.M way:M small:M people.F.OBL
goitê, **ɔrgɔ̂,** **taxá-tte** **yiʔ-ê,**
way:M short:M cut-SE go-REL.PRES.M
goitê **kɛmɓaɗ-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** **hamɓaɗ-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** **kɔmɓaɗ-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
ɓáa **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** **hamɓaɗ-áino,** **keské** **baín**
river:F.S big:F.S say:PASS-REL.PRES.F Keske river.F.OBL
desí-no, **éedi-l** **geɓí** **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** **ɓul-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-ɓ,** **mágo** **yiʔá-ɓ,**
1SG IDEO.far DOWN kizo go-NARR Mago go-NARR
óo **boráana-n** **péen** **yiʔá-ɓ,** **hayá-ise,**
DST boraana-F.OBL land.F.OBL go-NARR do-CNV1
woxón **isá-ɓ** **isá-ɓ,** **yaatón** **isá-ɓ […]**
cattle.F.OBL eat-NARR eat-NARR sheep.F.OBL eat-NARR
yáa **c'anánna** **ká-te** **nɔqɔ́-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 *shudĩ* '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** **gulpá** **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-ɗan** **uká-ɓ,** **isín-na**
upwards container-F.OBL-ACC pierce-NARR sorghum-PL
qaashá-ɓ, **tíma** **kaá-ɓ** **gaʔá-ɓ**
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 *-tóno* 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 *-tóno* varies: in ethnonyms and nouns referring to wild animals the marker *-tóno* 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** **ɠɛá-xa** **kidí** **háqa** **wa** **demí-r**
rain:PL DEM2.PL hit-TEMP 3 tree another side-IN
woyá-ɓ
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:	ɛn-kitók 'woman'
M:	ol-kitók 'very respected man'
F:	ɛn-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 *ɗáki / 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**	
ɓúla	'egg'	ɓulá	'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'
ɗáki	'rope'	ɗaxá	'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**	
ɗes-	'to know'	ɗesínta	'knowledge'
aɗ-	'to give birth'	aɗínta	'birth'
ois-	'to ask'	oisínta	'questioning'
kumm-	'to eat'	kummínta	'nourishment'
wuc'-	'to drink'	wuc'ínta	'beverage'
dees-	'to kill'	deesínta	'murder'
ɗalq-	'to speak'	ɗalqínta	'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 ɗesínta 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) **bɔrqɔtɔ̂ haalê**
headrest:M new:M
the new headrest (M)

(30c) **borqotóno hállo**
headrest-F.S new:F.S
the new headrest (F)

(30d) **borqotóna** **hálla**
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 *dɛ́ɛga* 'foolish' and the de-verbal adjective *barɗá* 'drunk' in attributive position. The adjective *dɛ́ɛga* 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 *barɗá*. The difference between the two adjectival forms surfaces only in the feminine form: if *barɗá* was inflected by means of nominal inflections we should have the form **barɗáno*.

(31a) **éedi** **dɛ́ɛga** **éedi** **barɗá**
person foolish person be.drunk
a foolish person a drunk person

(31b) **ɛ́ɛ** **dɛɛgâ** **ɛ́ɛ** **barɗ-â**
man:M foolish:M man:M be.drunk-REL.PAST.M
the foolish man the drank man

(31c) **éeno** **dɛ́ɛga-no** **éeno** **barɗ-óno**
people:F.S foolish-F.S people:F.S be.drunk-REL.PAST.F
a group of foolish people a group of drunk people

(31d) **éesono** **dɛ́ɛga-no** **éesono** **barɗ-óno**
woman:F.S foolish-F.S woman:F.S be.drunk-REL.PAST.F
the foolish woman the drunk woman

(31e) **ɛ́ɛ-na** **dɛ́ɛga-na** **ɛ́ɛ-na** **barɗ-ána**
man-PL foolish-PL man-PL be.drunk-REL.PAST.PL
the foolish people the drunk people

The verb stem *barɗá* 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** **barɗá = i = da** **barɗ-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 *-ɗ-* (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'
geɓí	'big, many'	geɓá	'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) **durfɛ̂** **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) **ɔɔnɛ̂** **káa** **háali-ne**
house:M DEM1.M new-COP
this house (M) is new

(33b) **ɔɔnɛ̂** **káa** **haalɛ̂**
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’	dɛ́ɛga	‘foolish’
qará	‘clever, dynamic’		
múuqi	‘strong’	qáji	‘weak’
wodímo	‘rich’	qámɓi	‘poor’
geccó	‘old’	bárshi	‘young’
		háali	‘new’
geɓí	‘big, many’		
gaarí	‘big’	líkka	‘small’
		sháaqa	‘small’ (for goats and sheep)
gudúɓ	‘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’
shɔ́lɓa	‘light’	déet’a	‘heavy’
dáat’a	‘sweet’	c’apá	‘rotten’
Colours		**De-verbal adjectives**	
tí’a	‘black’	barɗá	‘drunk’
déer	‘red’	deebarɗá	‘thirsty’
c’aulí	‘white’	daaqarɗá	‘hungry’
galáp	‘yellow’	ɗagaɗá	‘angry’
c’agáj	‘green’	qajaɗá	‘tired’
úlo	‘blue’	aajaɗá	‘sick’
		qaabimá	‘sad’
		oshimɓá	‘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 variation[33] 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 Bashádɗa and in the area around Turmi.

(3a) **ooní-n-te** **kin = de-énka** **kidí** **daaqarɗá-ɓ**
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) **bɔrkɔtɔ̂** **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-yiʔ-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) **niʔá** **ki = niʔ-é**
come 3 = come-PRES
he will come

(7b) **niʔá-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 ɗes-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 *-ɗan* to short form I pronouns. Object pronouns can occur in a reduced form: in fast speech the implosive consonant of the accusative suffix *-ɗan* 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 = ɗan	ɛ́ɛn
2SG	há = ɗan	háan
3M / 3PL	kí = ɗan	kɛ́ɛn
3F	kó = ɗan	kɔ́ɔn
1PL	wó = ɗan	wɔ́ɔn ~ wóon
2PL	yé = ɗan	yɛ́ɛn ~ yéen

Object pronouns are used as the direct object of verbs:

(10) **t'álian ni?á-ise wó = ɗan oit-idí-ne**
Italians come-CNV1 1PL = ACC chase-PF-COP
the Italians came and chased us

(11) **yáa gobá-ise ɛ́ɛn 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 = ɗan** **qail-idí-ne**
1SG 1SG = ACC decorate-PF-COP
I have decorated myself

(14) **t'álian-be** **somále-be** **kɛ́ɛn** **uká-ɓ**
Italians-COM Somalis-COM 3:ACC fight-NARR
the Italians and the Somalis fought each other

(15) **gudirí-be** **panáq-be** **kí = ɗan** **bagá-te** **dáa-da**
hyena-COM frog-COM 3 = ACC tease-SE exist-IPFV
Hyena and Frog were teasing each other

(16) **geshóm-be** **gɛshɔ́-be** **untínna** **kí = ɗan**
wife.F.OBL-COM husband:M-COM rat:PL 3 = ACC
kemɓá-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 [íntɛ], in others as [ínte]. *-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) **ɛ́ɛ-na** **hánna** **marά!**
man-PL 2SG:PL stop.IMP.2SG
Stop your men!

(19b) **koimɔ́** **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** **ni?-idí-ne,** **yáa** **í = sa**
2SG 1SG = GEN house-F.OBL come-PF-COP 2SG 1SG = GEN
máal-in **innó-n** **gidí-n** **ni?-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** **yiʔá** **ko = yiʔ-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** **yiʔá-ise** **woɗ-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) **ɗukâ** **hamɓaɗ-ê** **ɗukâ** **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 = ɗar** **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) **ɛ́ɛ-sa** **píi-n-ɗan** **dap,** **yinnó-n-te**
man:M-GEN faeces-F.OBL-ACC IDEO.take REFL:F-F.OBL-LOC
shuɗí-n-ɗan **yer** **háqa-n** **áafi-n-ɗan,**
grass-F.OBL-ACC thing tree-F.OBL eye-F.OBL-ACC
hayá-ise, **isín** **déer-in** **yin = is-ón-ɗan**
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-ɗan** **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 = shiɗá-de**
vervet.monkey REFL = INTF 3F = be.left-PFV
ooní-n-ɗan **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) **kɛ́da** **há = sa-l** **gulpá** **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** **bɔrqɔtɔ̂** **káa** **qail-idí-ne**
1SG headrest:M DEM1.M decorate-PF-COP
I have decorated this head rest

(27b) **káa** **bɔrqɔtɔ́-ɗan** **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) **noqó-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) **gɛshɔ̂** **waakí** **shansh-ánna** **ɠɛ́-tte** **laii**
husband:M cattle buy:CAUS-OPT herd-SE IDEO.far
kin = yi?-énka, **kodí** **agá-rra** **ɛ́ɛ-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	*ka-*	*ko-*	*hamá- / hamó-*
	in here	*ká-te*	*kó-te*	*hamá-te / hamó-te*
	around/on here	*ká-bar*	*kó-bar*	*hamá-bar / hamó-bar*
	through here	*ká-xa*	*kó-xa*	*hamá-xa / hamó-xa*
	towards here	*ká-shet*	*kó-shet*	*hamá-shet / hamó-shet*
	away from here	*ká-rra*	*kó-rra*	*hamá-rra / hamó-rra*
Distal	there		*óo*	
	around there		*óo-bar*	
	from there		*ó-rra*	
Elevation	up	*ɓáa*	up there	*ɓáa-bar*
			from above	*ɓá-rra*
	same level	*sáa*	there (same level)	*sáa-bar*
			from there (same level)	*sá-rra*
	down	*cóo*	down there	*cóo-bar*
			from below	*có-rra*
Directional	up, uphill, upward		*túra, túrawal*	
	down, downhill, downward		*méɛ, méɛwal*	
	hither		*ɔ́ra, ɔ́rawal*	
	thither		*us, úsuwal*	

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), *ɓáa* (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, *ɓáa*, *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** **shiɗó-da** **shiɗ-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
fálɗe-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** **ɛ́ɛ** **shaalá-n** **kodí** **bul-idí,** **wá-ɗan**
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** **ɛ́ɛ** **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 *ɓáa* and *cóo*. The deictic *ɓáa* 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** **ɓáa** **lála-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-ɛ̂** **ɓáa** **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 *ɓáa* and *cóo* to code contact between the figure and the ground:

(11) **kɔsɔ̂** **táaki** **ɓáa-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** **woɗá-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** **méɛ** **kɛ́ŋa-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 *ɓáa*, *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) **ɓáa** **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** **laii** **cóo** **kízo** **yiʔá-ɓ**
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 $CVVC_1.C_1V$ 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** **ɓá-rra** **méɛ** **ɗamm-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), *méɛ* (downhill, downwards), *ɔ́ra* (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) **méɛ** **anshá**
downwards descend.IMP.2SG
go downwards / go downhill / climb down!

(20c) **ɔ́ra** **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 *méɛ* may overlap with that of *ɓáa* and *cóo*. According to the speakers they refer to the same trajectory (i.e. uphill or upwards for *túra* and *ɓáa*; downhill or downwards for *méɛ* and *cóo*), and they can occur in the same contexts:

(21a) **sení** **có-rra** **túra** **paxaɗ-idí-ne**
stone down-ABL upwards throw:PASS-PF-COP
a stone has been thrown up from below

(21b) **sɛntâ** **có-rra** **ɓáa** **paxaɗ-idí-ne**
stone:M down-ABL UP throw:PASS-PF-COP
the stone has been thrown up from below

(22a) **kɔsɔ̂** **méɛ** **ki=anshá-de**
ball:M downwards 3=descend-PFV
the ball went down (lit. descended downwards)

(22b) **kɔsɔ̂** **cóo** **balí-n-dar** **anshá-ise**
ball:M DOWN plain-F.OBL-ALL1 descend-CNV1
the ball descending down in the plain […]

The deictics *ɔ́ra* 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 ɔ́ra ki = paxá-de**
child stone DST-ABL HI 3 = throw-PFV
a child threw a stone from there towards me

(23b) **marlé-m-bar ɔ́ra yin eshká-ɓ**
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, méɛ, ɔ́ra, us,* can occur as complement of the verb *hamá* 'say': in this case they need to end in *-wal*. Compare (25) and (26):

(25) **méɛwal hamá-ise ínta shadá-ti dáa-de**
downwards say-CNV1 1SG look-SE.1SG exist-PFV
I am looking facing downwards

(26) **qáari-no méɛ maatá-ise woɗ-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 *ɨ́nte* '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 *ii* 'stomach' is attested also with other case suffixes, such as the inessive case *-r* and the instrumental/perlative case *-ka*:

(28) **kut'úɓo** **ráat'i-sa** **íi-r** **ardá-ise** **shiɗ-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) **kɔsɔ̂** **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 *tuɗí* '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** **tuɗí-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) **ɛ́ɛ** **ɗúka-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

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

Apart from *ɛ́na* 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 *ɛ́na* 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** **ɛ́na wadénka** **éedi** **wodímo-ne**
lion once.upon.a.time person rich-COP
Once upon a time Lion was a rich person […]

(37) **éedi** **wáni,** **ɛ́na~ɛ́na,** **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

óobar galá	four days ago
ánnibir galá	three days ago
angála ~ angálla	two days ago
náa	yesterday
níi	last night
kína	today
saxá	tomorrow
oshála	the day after tomorrow
ossambará	three days from now
okkantaná	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** **woɗá-ise** **burí-n-ka** **ɗaaɓá-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 *kɛ́ɗɗa lamá* 'midnight' and *róoro c'akó* 'late morning' with the instrumental/temporal case:

(42) **hai-tâ** **washgíl** **hamá-isaxa** **ínta** **ɗaaɓ-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) **kɛ́ɗɗa** **lamá-xa** **í=da** **niʔ-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

burínka	séɗima		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.
	kéɗɗa lamá	'two halves'	midnight
	demínka maataɗé	'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 gémɓo*, and 'Tuesday', called *máana gabá,* which are the market days in Hamar land, there are no other specific terms for naming weekdays. *gabáno gémɓo* 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** **gémɓo** **oshála** **kɔ́nna** **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** **gémɓo** **saxá** **kɔ́nna** **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) **gabâ** **geɓá-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** **sinɗ-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 ɗaqá-ɓ**
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 sána maatá**
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 ɗalqá**
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	taɓí kála
2	lamá	12	taɓí lamá
3	makkán	13	taɓí makkán
4	oidí	14	taɓí oidí
5	dong	15	taɓí dong
6	lax	16	taɓí lax
7	toɓɓá	17	taɓí toɓɓá
8	lánkai	18	taɓí lánkai
9	sɛl	19	taɓí sɛl
10	taɓí		

Whereas numbers from one to ten are lexical number words, numbers from ten to nineteen are formed by juxtaposing the numeral *taɓí* 'ten' and another unit. From twenty onwards, the system is vigesimal. One person (*éedi)* is assigned the value of twenty decimal units, hence the numeral for twenty corresponds to the expression 'one complete person': *éedi kála kaisá.*[37] Multiples of twenty are formed by counting 'complete persons': the numeral forty thus corresponds to 'two complete persons': *éedi lamá kaisá* and so on.

Table 5.7: Multiples of twenty

20	éedi kála kaisá	'1 complete person'
40	éedi lamá kaisá	'2 complete persons'
60	éedi makkán kaisá	'3 complete persons'
80	éedi oidí kaisá	'4 complete persons'
100	éedi 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': *éedi lamá kaisá aafó toɓɓá.* 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. *éedi lamá kaisá aafó taɓí 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 taɓí	1 complete person and 10 mouths
32	éedi kála kaisá aafó taɓí lamá	1 complete person and 12 mouths
50	éedi lamá kaisá aafó taɓí	2 complete persons and 10 mouths
53	éedi lamá kaisá aafó taɓí makkán	2 complete persons and 13 mouths
70	éedi makkán kaisá aafó taɓí	3 complete persons and 10 mouths
74	éedi makkán kaisá aafó taɓí oidí	3 complete persons and 14 mouths
90	éedi oidí kaisá aafó taɓí	4 complete persons and 10 mouths
95	éedi oidí kaisá aafó taɓí 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** **toɓɓá** **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 *-sɔ̂* (which depending on the speaker can be realized as [-sɔ̂] or [-sɔ́à], 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	lansɔ̂	lansóno
3rd	makkánso	makkansɔ̂	makkansóno
4th	óitto	ɔittɔ̂	oittóno
5th	dónso	donsɔ̂	donsóno
6th	láxso~láhso~lásko	laskɔ̂	laskóno
7th	tóɓɓiso	toɓɓisɔ̂	toɓɓisóno
8th	lánkaiso	lankaisɔ̂	lankaisóno
9th	sɛ́lso	sɛlsɔ̂	sɛlsóno
10th	táɓiso	taɓisɔ̂	taɓisóno

The following are illustrative examples of ordinal numbers:

(64) **námma** **kí = sa** **berâ** **dongár** **lansɔ̂** **guní**
name:PL 3 = GEN first:M elephant second:M snake
makkansɔ̂ **poolí** **ɔittɔ̂** **tumbuqúlo** **donsɔ̂**
third:M turtoise fourth:M worm fifth:M
kóopini **lahsɔ̂** **núu** **toɓɓisɔ̂** **noqó**
squirrel sixth:M fire seventh:M water
their names were: the first, Elephant, the second, Snake, the third Turtoise, 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 *pʰeu* which roughly translates the action of finishing or emptying something:

(68) **tíma** **kaá-ɓ** **gaʔá-ɓ,** **yin** **ki = dá-ika**
boiled.grains pour-NARR chew-NARR so 3 = be-PF.CONT
pʰeu! **leʔé** **lamá** **yin** **woɗ-énka,** **isín-no**
IDEO.finish year two so sleep-CNV2 sorghum-F.S
yin **pʰeu!**
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-ɗan** **oitá-ise** **wongá** **dap**
then Boráana-ACC chase-CNV1 cows:PL IDEO.take
then after chasing the Boráana, they took the cows

(70) **ɛ́ɛ-sa** **píi-n-ɗan** **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** **ɓáa** **shupí-no** **kin = bul-énka** **t'ik**
baboon:M UP lid-F.S 3 = open-CNV2 IDEO.hard
kɔmá-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 *darɗ* 'explode, crash' can occur as predicate (72) or as the complement of *hamá* (73):

(72) **kodí** **kɛ́da** **anc'á-ɓ** **hamɓ-énka**
3F then laugh-NARR say:PASS-CNV2
íi-no **kó = sa** **darɗ**
stomach-F.S 3F = GEN IDEO.explode
Then she laughed and her stomach exploded

(73) **kurró** **darɗ** **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-ɗan** **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) **laii** **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 *laii* 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** **laii** **gobá-ise** **gobá-ise**
squirrel IDEO.continuously run-CNV1 run-CNV1
Squirrel ran and ran <u>continuously</u>

(76b) **laii** **rasê-te** **rasê-te** **rasê-te**
IDEO.long footprint-LOC footprint-LOC footprint-LOC
laii **rasê-te** **yiʔá-da**
IDEO.long footprint-LOC go-IPFV
he went <u>for a long time</u> 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) **ɛ́ɛ** **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 ɗesá-u?**
2SG donkey slaughter know-INT.COP
do you know how to slaughter a donkey?

(2) **wuc'á!**
drink.IMP.2SG
drink!

(3) **kodí ɗesá~ɗesá**
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.

(4a) **ki = yiʔá-de**
3 = go-PFV
he went

(4b) **ki = yiʔá-da**
3 = go-IPFV
he was going/used to go

(4c) **yiʔá-ise**
go-CNV1
going

(4d) **yiʔá-ɓ**
go-NARR
(he) went and…

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)	**barɗ-**	‘be drunk’	**bars-**	‘make sb. drunk’
(11c)	**ɗaaɓ-**	‘stand up’	**ɗaas-**	‘lift up’
(11d)	**maat-**	‘go back’	**maas-**	‘return, give back’

(11e)	**piimɓ-**	‘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)	**ɗaq-**	‘avoid death’	**ɗacc-**	‘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)	**ɗes-**	‘know’	**ɗett-**	‘teach’
(14d)	**dorq-**	‘sit’	**dott-**	‘put something down’
(14e)	**ni?-**	‘come’	**nitt-**	‘send’ (hither)
(14f)	**yi?-**	‘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-ɗan** **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) **éeɓe-no** **shiit-idí-ne**
hide-F.S be.soft-PF-COP
the hide is soft

(18b) **éeɓe-n-ɗan** **áari** **shicc-idí-ne**
hide-F.OBL-ACC Aari be.soft:CAUS-PF-COP
Aari has softened the hide

(18c) **wodí** **éeɓe-n-ɗan** **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-ɗan** **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 *-ɗ-* in vowel ending roots and in roots ending in liquids or nasals (20). In verb roots ending with the bilabial nasal /m/, the suffix *-ɗ-* assimilates its place of articulation to the preceding bilabial nasal (21). The suffix *-ɗ-* 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 *-aɗ-* (23).

(20a)	**gi-**	'tell'	**gi-ɗ-**	'be told'
(20b)	**ka-**	'pour'	**ka-ɗ-**	'be poured'
(20c)	**hai-**	'do'	**hai-ɗ-**	'be done'
(20d)	**ɗoi-**	'show'	**ɗoi-ɗ-**	'be shown'
(20e)	**qan-**	'hit'	**qan-ɗ-**	'be hit'
(20f)	**eel-**	'call'	**el-ɗ-**	'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-ɗ-**	'be gone'
(22b)	**baʔ-**	'bring'	**ba-ɗ-**	'be brought'
(23a)	**ashk-**	'make'	**ashk-aɗ-**	'be made'
(23b)	**ɗes-**	'know'	**ɗes-aɗ-**	'be known'
(23c)	**jaag-**	'sew'	**jaag-aɗ-**	'be sewed'
(23d)	**wuc'-**	'drink'	**wuc'-aɗ-**	'be drank'
(23f)	**shaɓ-**	'brew'	**shaɓ-aɗ-**	'be brewed'

A few consonant ending roots are exceptional and they are extended by means of the suffix *-ɗ-*, cf. (24) with (25).

(24)	**aɗ-**	'give birth'	**aɗ-ɗ-**	'be born'
(25)	**qaɗ-**	'wear'	**qaɗ-aɗ-**	'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

aajaɗ-[40]	'be sick'
barɗ-	'be drunk'
daaqarɗ-	'be hungry'
dakaɗ-	'be dirty'
deebarɗ-	'be thirsty'
ɗagaɗ-	'be angry'
eermaɗ-	'be sweaty'
purɗ-	'be stuffed with food'
targaɗ-	'be startled'
wozaɗ-	'be happy'

Other stative verbs are derived from verbs as shown in (26) below:

(26a)	**qaj-**	'be cold'	**qaj-aɗ-**	'be tired'
(26b)	**bash-**	'win, exceed'	**bash-aɗ-**	'be tired, overwhelmed'
(26c)	**burq-**	'be hot, boil'	**burq-aɗ-**	'hurt, be hurt'

For the stative verbs presented above, the derivational suffix *-ɗ-/-aɗ-* 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 *shiiɗ-* 'wash oneself', *shanɗ-* 'urinate', *shiɗ-* 'remain, stay', *amɓ-* 'dream', *aadimɓ-* '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)	**bɔ́na**	'drought'	**bon-ɗ-**	'to be dry (during drought)'

[40] The verb stem *aajaɗ-* has a corresponding passtive stem *aajimɓ-* which translates as 'be wounded'. There are two nouns in Hamar, *aajímі* 'wound' and *aajímo* 'desease'. 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-aɗ-**	‘to be dry (during the short rainy season)’
(27c)	**ganc’á**	‘thin’	**ganc’-aɗ-**	‘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-aɗ-	‘be inserted’
dees- ‘kill’	dett- ‘cause to kill’	dett-aɗ-	‘caused to be killed’
sag- ‘attach, tie’	sask- ‘tie a knot’	sask-aɗ-	‘be attached, be tied’
shiit- ‘be soft’	shicc- ‘soften’	shicc-aɗ-	‘get softened’
yiʔ- ‘go’	yitt- ‘send’	yitt-aɗ-	‘be sent’ (thither)
niʔ- ‘come’	nitt- ‘send’	nitt-aɗ-	‘be sent’ (hither)

The verbs *hamá* ‘say’ and *hayá* ‘do’ can be exceptionally marked by two passive suffixes.

(28a)	**ham-**	‘say’	underived verb
	hamɓ-	‘be said’	‘passive’
	hamɓ-aɗ-	‘be called, be named’	‘double’ passive
(28b)	**hai-**	‘do’	underived verb
	hai-ɗ-	‘be done’	‘passive’
	haiɗ-aɗ-	‘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 *hamɓ-* and *haiɗ-* 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** **hamɓaɗ-áino,** **pər**
stone:F.S big:F.S say:PASS:PASS-REL.PRES.F IDEO.also
desintón-na **qánte** **ko = haiɗaɗ-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 *haiɗaɗ-* 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 = ashkaɗ-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 = deesaɗá-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 = deesaɗá-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-aɗ-idí-ne**
stone throw-PASS-PF-COP
a stone has been thrown

(34a) **qultâ** **ki = deesaɗá-de**
goat:M 3 = kill:PASS-PFV
the male goat has been killed

(34b) **qullá** **lamá** **ki = deesaɗá-de**
goat:PL two 3 = kill:PASS-PFV
two goats have been killed

(34c) **qúllo** **ko = deesaɗá-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** **giɗá-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 (*wórqinɗan*) 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 = imɓá-de**
gold-F.S again snake-DAT 3F = give:PASS-PFV
the gold again was given to Snake (passive)

(36b) **wórqi-n-ɗan** **per** **núu-na** **ko = imɓá-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 *bitɨ́*), 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) **"bitá-ɗan** **ɗoy-é"** **hamɓáxa** **éeno**
ritual.leader:M-ACC show-IMP.2PL say:PASS-PAST.CONT people:F.S
wána **yedá-ise** **giɗá-xa**
another catch-CNV1 say:PASS-PAST.CONT
the people caught somebody and when it was told "show the ritual leader!" (direct object)

(37b) **bitá-ɗan** **ko = ɗoiɗá-de**
ritual.leader:M-ACC 3F = show:PASS-PFV
the ritual leader was shown (impersonal passive)

(37c) **bitâ** **ɗoiɗá-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 = ɗaké-na** **gobaɗ-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** **ɠɛns-ó** **kí-na** **yiɗá-de**
sandal-F.OBL hit:CAUS-PURP 3-DAT go:PASS-PFV
(somebody) went to consult the fortune teller for him[41]

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** **ɛ́ɛ-na** **eelá-ise,** **kínka** **wuc'á-ɓ,** **hayá-ise,**
village man-PL call-CNV1 together drink-NARR do-CNV1
laalimá-te **yiɗá-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 ɠîá* '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)	**aɗ-**	'give birth'	**áɗ-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.)	*-Vm-* derivation
	laal-im-ɓ-	'be separated, be empty'	passive
(43b)	**ɗax-**	'tie' (tr.)	underived verb
	ɗax-am-	'be jailed' (intr.)	*-Vm-* derivation
	ɗax-am-ɓ-	'be tied up'	passive
	ɗax-aɗ-	'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-ɓ-**	'be afraid'
(44b)	**qaab-**	'think'	**qaab-im-**	'be sad'
(44c)	**-**		**woc'-im-**	'be disappointed'
(44d)	**-**		**aaɗ-im-ɓ**	'hide oneself'
(44e)	**-**		**kunt-um-**	'crawl, creep'
(44f)	**pet'í**	'saliva'	**pet'-im-**	'spit'
(44g)	**-**		**waad-im-**	'work'

The stem *aaɗ-im-ɓ-* '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)	**ɗes-**	'know'	**ɗes-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 *geɓ-* 'become big, grow up' from *geɓí* '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 Hamer 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** **ďesá ~ ďesá**
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-ɗan** **0 = rattá-de**
1SG child:M-ACC sleep:CAUS-PFV
I put the child to sleep

(54) **ínta** **ánamo-n** **innó-n-sa** **geshɔ̂** **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 = yiʔá-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 (*kɔttáxa*). See MP4 in chapter 2 for the underlying morpho-phonological change and chapter 10 for reason clauses:

(58)	**kodí**	**wó = ɗan**	**eelá**	**kɔttáxa**	**wo = ni?á-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 ji?óda ji?é]			
(60)	**wodí**	**saxá**	**yi?á**	**wo = da-yi?-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 infected 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**	**gi-atíne**
	say-PAST.NEG.1SG	say-PRES.NEG.1SG
	I did not tell	I don't tell
(61b)	**gi-átane**	**gi-atáne**
	say-PAST.NEG.2SG	say-PRES.NEG.2SG
	you did not tell	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 !**	**yiʔ-é !**
	go-IMP.2SG	go-IMP.2PL
	go! (SG addressee)	go! (PL addressee)

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** **shudĭ** **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) **ɛ́na** **kin = ni?-énka,** **kidí** **párda-n** **ba?á-ise**
past 3 = come-CNV2 3 horse-F.OBL bring-CNV1
ki = ni?á-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-ɗan**	**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-ɗan**	**kɛ́da**	**t'álian**	**baʔá-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)	**ɔɔnɛ̂**	**likkâ**	**haalɛ̂**	**káa**	**inté-ne**
	house:M	small:M	new:M	DEM1.M	1SG:M-COP
	this small new house is mine				

(6b)	**káa**	**ɔɔnɛ̂**	**likkâ**	**haalɛ̂**	**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) **ɔɔnɛ̂ 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 aajaɗá-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-ɗan 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-ɗan ki = aafá-de.**
way.F.OBL 3 = go-CNV2 river-ACC 3 = see-PFV
baín aafá-ɓ 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 íi-rra bulá-ise,**
water-F.OBL-GEN stomach-ABL take.out-CNV1
haí-n-dar apá∼apaɗá
sun-F.OBL-ALL1 unfold∼unfold:PASS
after taking it out from the water (F), it is stretched in the sun (F)

(11b) **haí-n-dar róoro lamá, makkán, oidí,**
sun-F.OBL-ALL1 day two three four
isínno woccá = ko wocc-é
sorghum:F.S 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**	**kɛ́da**	**agá-rra**	**desá~desaɗá**
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**	**ɗíllo**	**ogoró**
stone-F.OBL-ALL1	grind-CNV1	again	flour:F.S	DEM2.F

mottá~mottaɗá
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**	**ɓoccá**	**ki = ɓocc-é,**
3	meat-F.OBL	all	think	3 = think-PRES

weilá-n-ɗan	**ɓocc-ê,**	**gudirí**	**ɓocc-ê"**
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	**bishɛ̂**	**bulá-tte**	**gaʔá-ɓ**
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 <u>leg</u> (M) is broken

(15)

anqasê	**í = sa**	**kárc'a-n**	**ga?-idí-ne**
bee:M	1SG = GEN	cheek-F.OBL	bite-PF-COP

<u>the bee</u> (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, […] qaskɛ̂**
car-F.OBL-ACC chase-PF dog:M
he chased the car … the dog (M)

(17) **tittá-ise kɛ́da goshá~goshaɗá, […] aizɛ́-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 [*ɗesá ɗesá hayáise, kɛ́da*] 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, kɛ́da, 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** **geɓí** **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 = aɗɗ-énka** **méeki-no** **geɓí** **dáa**
1SG = give.birth:PASS-CNV2 buffalo-F.S a.lot exist
when I was born there were <u>many buffaloes</u> (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 <u>two wives</u> (PL)

(21b) **ínta** **zóbo-na** **makkán** **isá-de!**
1SG lion-PL three eat-PFV
I ate <u>three lions</u>!

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** **ɓaaɗá-n-ɗan** **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 *desaɗána* 'what was known' emphasizes the paucity of the known objects. This meaning is further accentuated by the adverbial *bish* 'only':

(23) **kéda** **ɛ́na** **ɗesaɗ-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** **yiʔ-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 *-ɗan* 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 *-ɗan*. Case suffixes, including the accusative *-ɗan,* 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 *-ɗan*. 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 *sɛntâ* (general form: *seenî*) functions as O (25a), S (25b) and A (25c):

(25a) **ínta** **sɛntâ** **pax-idí-ne**
1SG stone:M throw-PF-COP
I have thrown the stone (M)

(25b) **sɛntâ** **pax-aɗ-idí-ne**
stone:M throw-PASS-PF-COP
the stone (M) has been thrown

(25c) **sɛntâ** **í = ɗan** **qan-idí-ne**
stone:M 1SG = ACC hit-PF-COP
the stone (M) has hit me

In (25a) there is no need to mark *sɛntâ* 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 *-ɗan*. The accusative marker is used to disambiguate grammatical relations in equivocal syntactic contexts and for discourse recoverability.
The accusative suffix *-ɗan* 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-ɗan** **kánki-ɗan** **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-ɗan**
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) **ɛ́ɛ-na-ɗan** **kodí** **aash-idí**
man-PL-ACC 3F hide-PF
she hid <u>the men</u> (PL)

Accusative marking is also found in impersonal passive constructions, where the only argument of a passive verb is marked by *-ɗan*, 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** **shuɗí-n** **is-idí-ne**
goat:PL grass-F.OBL bite-PF-COP
a few goats (PL) ate the grass (F)

(31) **isín-in-ɗan** **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 *-ɗan* is marked on the NP or not (cf. 7.4.3). This means that whenever the phrasal case suffix *-ɗan* 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 *-ɗan* 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 bɔrqɔtɔ̂ 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 *-ɗan* in a construction similar to (32c) and consisting of SOV order and masculine gender:

(32d) **ínta bɔrqɔtɔ̂-ɗan 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) **bɔrqɔtɔ̂-ɗan 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-ɗan*) 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 *-ɗan* is instead used in marked constructions, in altered word orders, for focus coding and for discourse recoverability in ambiguous syntactic contexts. The accusative marker *-ɗan* 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 *-ɗan* 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

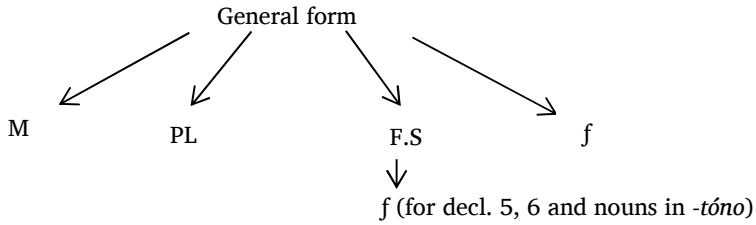
The oblique case *-n* is affixed to the general form of the noun. For feminine nouns belonging to declension 1, 4, 5, and some nouns of declension 6, the oblique form can be seen as the result of the elision of the vowel *-o* of the F.S suffix *-no*. However, declension 2 and 3, and some nouns of declension 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 *éenin* 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 vowel[42] 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** **ni?-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 *éedi* (general form, 'person'). The noun *éedi* has animate reference and it has two feminine forms, one for the female specimen (*éesono* '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 = dáa-de**
people:F.S market-F.OBL-LOC 3F = exist-PFV
the people (F) are in the market

(34b) **éedi** **éen** **c'aq-idí-ne**
person people.F.OBL evil.eye-PF-COP
somebody (0) 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**	**ɠɛ́-tte**	**méɛ**	**baré-xa**
	herd.of.cows.F.OBL	DEM2.F-F.OBL	herd-SE	down	barɛ-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 *ɔɔnɛ̂* 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 *goití* '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** **goinó** **dimeká-rra** **laii** **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** **párdo-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**	**ɔɔlɔ́-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 comitatve 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) **ɗuká-be** **ɗúka-m-be** **hamɓ-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 *ɗúka-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 Ʀ). 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**	(44b)	**kí = m-be**	**kó = m-be**
	3 = COM	3F = COM		3 = R-COM	3F = R-COM
	he and she			he and she	

(45a)	**gɛshɔ̂**	**intɛ́**	(45b)	**gɛshɔ̂**	**i = n-tɛ́**
	husband:M	1SG:M		husband:M	1SG = R-M
	my (M) husband			my (M) husband	

(46a)	**kin = gi-â**	(46b)	**ki = n = gi-â**
	3 = say-REL.PAST.M		3 = R = say-REL.PAST.M
	what (M) he said		what (M) he said

(47a)	**kin = gi-énka**	(47b)	**ki = n = gi-énka**
	3 = say-CNV2		3 = R = say-CNV2
	when he said		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-ɗan**	**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** **kaɗá = ko** **kaɗ-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-ɗan **kaɗá = ko** **kaɗ-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'aɗá**
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 peripheric noun phrase marked by the instrumental case occurs after the verb.

(53a) **imbá** **kí = na** **qánte** **naan** **oisaɗá-isaxa […]**
father 3 = DAT DAT girl.F.OBL ask:PASS-PAST.PF
after the girl has been asked to the father himself […]

(53b) **náan-ɗan** **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** **imɓ-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** **káali-n-ka**
then butter:M-ACC stomach-ABL spoon-F.OBL-INS
masá=ko **masaɗ-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 'absolutive 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 ± ɗan
S (active)	✓	✓	✓	✓ + no\ + tóno
S (passive)	✓	✓	✓	✓ + no\ + tóno
O (impersonal passive)	-	✓ + ɗan	✓ + ɗan	✓ + n ± ɗan

A check mark ✓ signals that an inflected or uninflected noun can function in a specific syntactic role and it is further indicated whether accusative (*-ɗan*) 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 *-ɗan* 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) **ɔɔnɛ̂ likkâ haalɛ̂ 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-ɗan** **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** **oshimɓá**
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) ***ɛ́ɛ*** **oshimɓâ**
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) **ukulɛ̂** **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) **ɔɔnɛ̂** **agá** **ɔɔnɛ̂** **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** **ɛ́ɛ-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-ɓ**
3 = DAT DAT knife all give-NARR
(he) gave him all the knives

(7c) **wáa-n-ɗan** **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-ɗan** **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** **ɛ́ɛ-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 case[44] 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** **ɗaq-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 perlative (through). The overlap between instrumental (17) temporal (18) and perlative (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) **rɔɔrɔ̂** **ɔittɔ́-xa** **mɔ́tta-no** **baxá** **baxaɗá**
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 **geshɔ̂** **íntɛ** **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,** **ɔ́ra** **laii** **wóŋa-xa**
way.F.OBL DEM2.F-INS HI IDEO.far woŋa-INS
ko = niʔá-de
3F = come-PFV
by that road, they came all the way through Woŋa 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-ɗan**	**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**	**geɓí**
	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)	**yɛrâ**	**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**	**shiɗ-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 = dáa-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** **kéɲa-shet** **ko = yiʔá-de**
IDEO.far continue-SE Kenya-ALL2 3F = go-PFV
they continued and went all the way to Kenya

(24b) **méɛ** **yin** **gurmá-n** **káara-n-shet** **yin**
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) **dáa-n-ɗan** **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-ɗan** **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=niʔá-de**
1SG Dimeka-ABL earlier 1SG=come-PFV
I came earlier from Dimeka

Apart from the instrumental case *-ka* which can have a perlative 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 *rɔ́xa* is used in the following way:

(28a) **noqó** **rɔ́xa** **háan** **baʔá-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** **rɔ́xa** **róoro** **kála** **yiʔ-idí**
forest PER day one go-PF
one day (he) went through the forest

(28c) **kɔsɔ̂** **có-rra** **túra** **ɗúka-na** **rɔ́xa** **utá-ise**
ball:M down-ABL up mountain-PL PER go.out-CNV1
after the ball climbs up and passes through the mountains […]

The perlative postposition can be analysed as composed of the inessive case *-r* and the instrumental/perlative 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** **yiʔá = i = da** **yiʔ-é**
1SG 3F = COM go = 1SG = IPFV go-PRES
I'll go with her

(30b) **qáara-bet** **kínka** **báz-in-dar** **ki = yiʔá-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
ɗalq-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** **gɛshɔ́-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) **bargámba-sa** **qullá-ɗan** **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) **ɔɔnɛ̂** **likká-sa** **yɛ́ɛla-no** **ɗamm-idí**
house:M small:M-GEN roof-F.S fall-PF
the roof of the small house fell down

(34) **walé-sa** **rɔɔ-tâ** **ai-idí-ne**
Walé-GEN leg-M be.broken-PF-COP
Wale's leg is broken

(35) **éedi** **wa** **máaqa-sa** **dubaná** **tax-idí-ne**
person another lizard-GEN tail cut-PF-COP
somebody has cut a lizard's tail

(36) **ɛ́ɛ-na** **dóng-isa** **ɛ́ɛ** **kalâ** **ka-idí**
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 mothers[46]

(37b) **ínta** **ánamo-n** **innó-n-sa** **gɛshɔ̂** **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** **zulɔ́-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) **kɔsɔ̂** **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:

(39a) **dará** **ukulí**
lowland donkey
'zebra'

(39b) **áapi** **síiti**
eye hair
'eye lash'

(39c) **búushi** **síiti**
chin hair
'beard'

(39d) **nukí** **óolo**
nose hole
'nostril'

[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**	**yɛ́ɛla-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**	**yiʔ-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**	**wɔxá-sa**	**qushumɓá-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** **intɛ́** **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** **aajaɗ-idí-ne**
boy:M 1SG = GEN be.sick-PF-COP
my son is sick

(45b) **naasâ** **intɛ́** **aajaɗ-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-yiʔ-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*** **ɗagaɗ-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 *dorqɛ̂* in (53) is interpreted as a present event which is being witnessed by the speakers:

(53) **sáa** **shúfo-n-te** **dorq-ɛ̂** **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-ɛ̂** **agá** **wongɛ́la-sa**
ox:M HI come-REL.PRES.M DEM2.M Wongɛ́la-GEN
wɔxá-ne
ox:M-COP
the ox which is coming towards us, that is Wongɛla'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-ɗan** **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-ɗan** **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 market[47]

[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 baʔ-â ɗamm-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' hamɓ-óno**
Italians enemy:F.S say:PASS-REL.PAST.F.S
the so-called (F) 'Italian enemies' (lit. those called 'Italian enemies')

(61c) **kɛ́da, yiʔ-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 aɗɗá-ise geɓ-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 hamɓ-áino, kón = kir**
Italians enemy:F.S say:PASS-REL.PRES.F.S 3F = REL.LOC
niʔ-óno kɛŋá-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 shiɗ-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** **gɛ́laba-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** **gaarɛ́-sa** **ɛɛɓɛ́-be** **giné-be-ɗan**
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) **ɛ́ɛ** **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) **ɛ́ɛ-xa** **háqa-no-l** **há = xal-ne,** **ánno**
man:M-VOC tree-F.S-INCL 2SG = AFF-COP arm:F.S
hannó-l **há = xal-ne,** **ɠétte** **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-ɗan-il** **per** **kidí** **ɠi-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) **ɓáa-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** **tuɗí-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**	**kɔ́nna-l**	**ki = ni?-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-ɓ

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 shiɗ-idí
Experiential	kidí **wuc'**á-ise ɗes-ê
Present Probability	kidí **wuc'**-íma gar-ê
Past Probability	kidí **wuc'**-idí da-íma gar-ê
Irrealis	**wuc'**á-te ki = ɗaqáɓe

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!**	(2)	**gi-é!**
	say-IMP.2SG		say-IMP.2PL
	say! (SG addressee)		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**	**shoŋá-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 *-déé-* derived from the existential verb *déén* (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 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-ɗan** **gaʔá~gaʔá**
hyena cows:PL-ACC bite~bite
hyenas bite the cows

(4b) **bíto** **wuc'á~wuc'á**
Bíto drink~drink
Bíto drinks

(4c) **éedi** **wul** **ási** **panɗát** **nashá~nashá**
person all tooth gap like~like
everybody likes (girls with) gap teeth

(4d) **agá-rra** **santé-xa** **doolá-n** **qaɗá~qaɗaɗá**
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** **kɛ́da** **dáa-n-dar** **arsá~arsaɗá**
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** **sharkaɗ-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 kɛ́da 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-ɗan 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 purɗ-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 qajaɗ-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-ɗan** **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 = aɗɗá-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** **baɗá-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 yiʔá-da, ɓáa 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-ɗan**
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-niʔá**
3 bullet-F.OBL-INS shoot-SE IPFV-come
they were coming shooting the bullets

(17b) **mangisɛ̂ káa banqí da-zagá**
government:M DEM1.M fight IPFV-want
this *government* was looking for war

(17c) **kodí t'álian gállo da-hamɓá**
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 *-ɓ* 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 niʔá-ɓ, gámuri niʔá-ise**
jackal come-NARR jackal come-CNV1
báasha-ɗan yedá-ɓ
chicken-ACC catch-NARR
the jackal came, the jackal came and caught the chicken

(18b) **gaitâ** **aafó-n** **galt'á-ɓ,** **hayá-ise,**
baboon:M mouth-F.OBL seal-NARR do-CNV1
yí = sa **qáu** **rɔ́xa** **yiʔá-ɓ**
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) **kɔsɔ̂** **méɛ** **anshá-te** **ki = dáa-de**
ball:M down descend-SE 3 = exist-PFV
the ball is descending down

(19b) **gudirí-be** **panáq-be** **kí = ɗan** **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** **yiʔ-ánna** **qánte**
1SG go-OPT DAT
I am about to go

(21b) **guní** **kí = ɗan** **gaʔ-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** **baʔ-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-ɓ**
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 *shiɗá* 'stay, remain' as the auxiliary of the lexical verb providing the semantic information:

(24) **íi-no** **kó=sa** **darɗ,** **kɛ́da** **agá-te**
stomach:F.S 3F=GEN IDEO.explode then DEM2.M-LOC
kodí **diá-ise** **shiɗ-idí**
3F die-CNV1 remain-PF
her stomach exploded, then she died there

The verb of cognition *ɗesá* '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 *ɗesá* inflected for negative present tense and preceded by the embedded lexical verb marked by the converb suffix *-ise*:

(25) **yáa** **ɛ́na** **éedi-bet** **gobá-ise** **ɗes-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) **shoŋá** **saxá** **niʔ-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** **lamá** **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 *garâ* 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 *ɗaqáɓe*. The auxiliary expresses irrealis aspect and translates ‘almost completed’ actions. It seems to be derived from the verb *ɗaqá* ‘avoid’. The lexical verb gets the same-event converb marker:

(28) **naasâ** **baqá-te** **ki=ɗaqáɓe**
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 demɓí líkka-ne**
person child-DAT DAT death small-COP
for human beings[50] death is a small thing (lit. to human beings death is small)

(29b) **wɔxá káa t'ía-ne**
ox:M DEM1.M black-COP
this ox is black

(29c) **naanó koró gudúɓ-ine**
girl:F.S DEM1.F tall-COP
this girl is tall

(30) **zóbo ɛ́na waɗénka 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 *gudúɓ* (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)	**qushumɓá-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)	**ɛ́ɛ**	**barɗ-idí**
	man:M	be.drunk-PF
	the man is drunk	

(37b)	***ɛ́ɛ**	**barɗá-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) **kɔsɔ̂** **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** **geɓí** **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) **éeno** **gabá-n-te** **ko = dáa-de**
people:F.S marked-F.OBL-LOC 3F = exist-PFV
the people (F) are in the market

(44b) **ɛ́ɛ** **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** **kɔsɔ̂** **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 *-íse* (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** **ɗaaɓá-ise,** **dongár-ɗan** **gaʔá-tte** **dees-idí**
snake stand.up.CNV1 elephant-ACC bite-SE kill-PF
Snake lifted his head, bit and killed Elephant

(3b) **dattâ** **ɗaaɓá-te** **dorqá-ɓ**
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** **kɛ́ɛn** **sará-te** **yiʔ-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** **mɛ́ɛ** **gɛ́laba-n-shet**
Haile.Selassie enemy:F.S Báako-ABL down Gálaba-F.OBL-ALL2
gobá-te **yiʔá-te** **ko = dáa-de**
run-SE go-SE 3F = exist-PFV
the Amhara are running and going from Baako down to Dhaasanac[53]

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 *Gɛ́laba*, 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 *qaɗáise*:

(7) **qáashi-n** **tiá-tte** **qaɗá-ise,** **karámɓa-na**
leather.cloak-F.OBL take-SE wear-CNV1 calabash-PL
tiá-ise, **éen-na** **qolɓá-ise,**
take-CNV1 people.F.OBL-DAT fetch-CNV1
burí-n-ka **imɓá = ko** **imɓ-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** **ɠɛá-ise** **ki-niʔá-de**
camel:PL hit-CNV1 3 = come-PFV
they came herding camels

(9b) **kidí** **pər** **qáski-n** **baʔá-ise** **darán** **gará-ɓ**
3 again dog-F.OBL bring-CNV1 3.ALL1 let-NARR
so he brought the dog and left it with him

(9c) **wó = ɗan** **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
kɛ́ɛn **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-ɗan** **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** **ɠɛá-xa,** **kidí** **háqa** **wa**
rain:PL DEM2.PL hit-PAST.CONT 3 tree another
demí-r **woyá-ɓ**
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) **simbále-n-shet** **méɛ** **ki = anshá-xa,**
Simbále-F.OBL-ALL2 down 3 = descend-PAST.CONT
ogó-sa **cóo** **simbále-n-sa** **ogó-te**
DEM2.F-GEN DOWN Simbále-F.OBL-GEN DEM2.F-LOC
yiʔá-te **ki = dáa-xa,** **ɛ́ɛ** **silémba**
go-SE 3 = exist-PAST.CONT man:M Silémba
hamɓ-ɛ̂ **somále** **kála-ɗan** **dees-idí-ne**
say:PASS-REL.PRES.M Somali one-ACC kill-PF-COP
when they were descending down towards Simbále, while they were going down in the area around Simbále, 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 *kiyiʔáxa* 'he kept on going' in example (14) below:

(14) **kidí** **wongá** **ɠɛá-ise** **ki = yiʔá-xa,** **waakí** **ɠɛá-ise**
3 cow:PL hit-CNV1 3 = go-PAST.CONT cow hit-CNV1
ki = yiʔá-xa **yiʔá-xa** **yiʔá-xa,** **óo**
3 = go-PAST.CONT go-PAST.CONT go-PAST.CONT DST
kin = yesk-énka, **darán** **zóbo** **niʔ-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 = yiʔá-isaxa** **ínta** **eep-idí-ne**
2SG = go-PAST.PF 1SG cry-PF-COP
after you went I cried

(15b) **ko = ɗammá-isaxa** **wodí** **anc'-idí-ne**
3F = fall-PAST.PF 1PL laugh-PF-COP
we laughed after she fell

(15c) **gudirí** **deesá-isaxa,** **qáski** **aaɗimɓá-isaxa,** **gudirí**
hyena kill-PAST.PF dog hide:PASS-PAST.PF hyena
qáski-ɗan **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** **zulɔ́-te** **dorqá-isɔxa**
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-ɗan** **ki = dumá-isɔxa**
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-isɔxa,** **ɛ́ɛ-na** **pər** **kínka**
so 3 = say-PAST.PF man-PL again again
ɗalqá-ise, **óo** **noqó-xal** **ki = yiʔá-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** **yiʔá-ika** **yiʔá-ika** **yiʔá-ika** **ham-énka,**
together go-PF.CONT go-PF.CONT go-PF.CONT say-CNV2
qáski-be **ukulí-be** **bashaɗ-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-ɗan** **zóbo** **yedá-ika** **yin = ham-énka,**
gold-F.OBL DEM2.F-ACC lion hold-PF.CONT REFL = say-CNV2
“wórq-in-ɗan **wo = kashim-é!”** **hamá-ise**
gold-F.OBL-ACC 1PL = share-PRES say-CNV1
ki = ɛ́ɛ-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-ɗan** **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 = ɗan** **eelá** **ɛttáxa** **ki = niʔá-de**
3 = ACC call 1SG.REAS 3 = come-PFV
he came because I called him

(20b) **gaitá-ɗan** **c’úba-m-be** **núu-m-be**
baboon:M-ACC smoke-F.OBL-COM fire-F.OBL-COM
baxarsá **kɔttáxa,** **gaitâ** **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) **tumbuqúlo** **líkka** **yiʔá-ika** **ham-énka,** **pee-r**
worm little go-PF.CONT say-CNV2 ground-IN
ardá-ise **shiɗ-idí,** **shiɗá** **kɛttáxa,** **kéda**
enter-CNV1 stay-PF stay 3.REAS then
yiʔ-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,** **aiziɛ̂** **agá-sa** **fáala-no**
3 = be.soft-COND goat.hide:M DEM2.M = GEN flesh-F.S
gurtá~gurtaɗá
scrape.out~scrape.out:PASS
if it becomes soft, the excess flesh of that goat hide is scraped out

(21b) **kodí** **shánqo-shet** **ko = yiʔ-ína,** **búno** **baʔá-te**
3F Shanqo-ALL2 3F = go-COND coffee bring-SE
ko = yiʔ-é
3F = go-PRES
if she goes to Shanqo, she goes and brings coffee

(21c) **rɔɔ-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** **diméka-dar** **róo-n-ka** **yiʔ-idi-ánna,**
1SG Dimeka-ALL1 leg-F.OBL-INS go-PF-OPT
qajá = i = da **qajaɗ-é**
be.cold = 1SG = IPFV be.cold:PASS-PRES
If I go to Dimeka on foot I become tired

(22b) **yáa** **daaqarɗ-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** **yiʔá = ki** **yiʔ-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** **geɓí** **wuc'-idí** **kɔ́nna,**
Kaira beer a.lot drink-PF 3F:OPT
barɗá = ko **barɗ-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
éɛn **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** **éɛn**
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** **shiiɗ-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) **dímeka-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** **imɓá = ko** **imɓ-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** **qushumɓá** **líkka** **dá-ise**
ox:M-GEN horns small exist-CNV1
since the horns of the ox were small […]

(27b) **kidí** **kɛ́da** **ɓórle** **dá-ise**
3 then young exist-CNV1
when he was young […]

(27c) **éedi** **wáni** **ɛ́na∼ɛ́na** **dong** **dá-ise,** **adamá-n**
person some past∼past five exist-CNV1 hunt-F.OBL
mágo.parkí-n **yiʔá-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,** **niʔá!**
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** **kɛ́nna** **parájni-n** **aapó-n** **wul**
3 clever 3:OPT foreigner-F.OBL mouth-F.OBL all
ɗesá **ki=ɗes-é**
know 3=know-PRES
he would know the whole language of the foreigners if he was clever

(28c) **ínta** **átti** **ɛ́nna** **kapá-na-xa** **ɗaaɓá=i=da** **ɗaaɓ-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-ɗan** **kat'á-n** **ɗes-ê**
gun-ACC shoot-R know-PRES.NEG.3
he does not know how to shoot a gun

(29c) **qáara** **dungurí-n** **jaagá-n** **ɗesá = ko** **ɗes-é**
vervet.monkey sandal-F.OBL sew-R know = 3F know-PRES
Vervet Monkey knows how to sew the sandals

(29d) **ímba-ɗan** **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** **ɗooná** **dandayá-u?**
beehive build.beehive be.able-INT.COP
can you build a beehive?

(31b) **yáa** **ukulí** **mashá** **ɗesá-u?**
2SG donkey slaughter know-INT.COP
do you know how to slaughter a donkey?

(31c) **yáa** **dungurí** **jaagá** **ɗesá** **ɗes-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** **ɗeeshá** **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-ɓ**
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?"** **hamɓá-xa**
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!” hamɓ-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 yiʔ-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 *hamɓáxa* 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
hamɓá-xa kéda noqó-be kím=be
say:PASS-PAST.CONT then water-COM 3=COM
kínka wongá ɠiá-ise yiʔ-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
hamɓá-xa kéda geshô waakí ɠétte
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-ɓ, hamá-ise, ooní-n
afternoon-F.OBL-INS call-NARR say-CNV1 house-F.OBL
kin=ard-ánna yiʔ-énka gamurê kí=ɗan yedá-ɓ
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)	**ɛ́ɛ**	**deesá-ɓ,**	**hayá-ise**	**kí = sa**	**wongá**	**qaná-ɓ**
	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**	**qolɛ́i**	
	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 *háiɗan* 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: **hái-ɗan?**
who-ACC
whom (did they call)?
A: **t'álian-ɗan!**
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) **hái-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** **aɗɗ-á?**
2SG where.NSP-LOC be.born-PAST.INT
Where were you born?

(10c) **yáa** **waakí** **ɠɛá-ise** **hamó-xa** **yiʔ-é?**
2SG cow hit-CNV1 where.NSP-INS go-PRES.INT
(through) where are you going to herd the cattle?

(10d) **yáa** **hamó-rra** **niʔ-é?**
2SG where.NSP-ABL come-PRES.INT
where are you coming from?

(10e) **hamá-xa** **ki = yiʔ-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 = ɗan** **qan-é?,** **hár-ka = ki**
what-INS = 3 2PL = ACC hit-PRES.INT what-INS = 3
yɛ́ɛn **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=ɗan 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 kemɓ-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) **parájŋi-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** **ɗesá-u?**
3F mouth-F.OBL know-INT.COP
does she know the languages?

(21b) **ɪ̂ɪ̂,** **kodí** **ɗesá~ɗesá**
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 ɗaq-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 *ɑ́ʔɑ̃ʔ* 'no' and the affirmative interjection *ɪ̃ɪ̃* 'yes' can be the full response to a polar question. The negative interjection *ɑ́ʔɑ̃ʔ* 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) **dɛmê** **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 *qoléi*, *qolɛ́i* and *qolái* have been attested as well.

(2a) **noqó** **qolɛ́i**
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** **ɛ́na** **murá** **qoléi**
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** **qoléi**
person exist.not
there's nobody

(3b) **yer** **qoléi**
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** **qoléi**
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 *qɔ́lma* '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 qɔ́lma 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 qɔ́lma qaldó-n qɔ́lma" 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 qɔ́lma yiʔ-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 aɗ-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** **yiʔá-da** **bashaɗá = i = da**
1SG road.F.OBL-LOC go-IPFV be.tired = 1SG = IPFV
bashaɗ-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 *ɓóde* which follows the imperative affirmative form of the verb:

(12a) **yiʔá** **ɓóde!**
go.IMP.2SG IMP.NEG
don't go!

(12b) **ɗalq-é** **ɓóde!**
speak-IMP.2PL IMP.NEG
don't speak!

(12c) **qultâ** **dettá** **ɓóde!**
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 = ɗan** **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 = ɗan** **in = aapa = mónna,**
PRX.NSP-LOC come-CNV1 2SG = ACC 1SG = see = NEG.SUB2
ínta **maatá-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 = ɗan** **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 ɛ́mma**
1SG food eat-PAST.NEG.1SG 1SG:NEG.COND
aajaɗá = i = da aajaɗ-é
be.sick = 1SG = IPFV be.sick-PRES
I would be sick if I didn't eat food

(18b) **macc-óon wɔ́mma róoro ábi**
finish-PAST.NEG.1PL 1PL:NEG.COND day another
maccó-da macc-é
finish.1PL-IPFV finish-PRES
If we don't finish, we will finish another day

(18c) **shekinɗ-áan hámma ínta**
make.a.hunting.trophy-PAST.NEG.2SG 2SG:NEG.COND 1SG
há = xal dáa-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 qolɛ́i ham-idi-ánna búska-shet yiʔ-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 [ʃedíttai] 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~isaďá** **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**
    1.1Kafa-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 Gonga 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 languages[57] 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 Malášková 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.

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[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 substratrum (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 *ʔaaji,* 'cold'; Hamar *qáski* > Aari *ʔaksi,* 'dog'), whereas it is fricativized in Dime (cf. Hamar *háqa* > Dime *ʔáʁe*, 'tree'; Hamar *noqó* > Dime *náʁe* 'water').

Table 13.1: South Omotic comparative word-list (150 items)

	Kara	**Hamar**	**Aari - Galila**	**Dime**
I (1SG)	ínta	ínta	ʔitá	ʔaté
all	wul	wul	wull	wuuf-id
armpit	*galó*	babáti	kaf	lobáč
ashes		dibíni	bɪndí	bíndí
ask	ois-	ois-	góys-	ʔúis-
axe	*shúkó*	tesíɓe	wókka	tebiz; kált
bark	*góngo*	wúkumɓa	oofri	
beard, chin	*boci*	búushi	buci, c'ɪri	gəʁč'é
bedbug		ékeri	ekri	
bee	anqats'o	ánqasi	ʔantsí	ʔins'é
beehive		qootí	bezí	gónú
belly, stomach	ii	ii	nortí[59]	c'olay
big	gaari	gaarí	gaʔšé	giccó-b[60]
bird	*karia*	átti	ʔaftí, apte	ʔéfti
bite	gaʔ-	gaʔ-	gaʔsé	gáʔá
black	ts'ia	t'ía	c'ɛlɛmi (Amh.)	s'án-ub
blood	*maasi*	zomɓí	zomʔ (animal); qasé (human)	béé, máχse[61]
body	*bishi*[62]	zará		zéré

[59] cf. Hamar 'small intestine' *ɲuqurtí*

[60] cf. Hamar 'old' *geccó*

[61] cf. Hamar 'bleed' *maqas-*

bone	*lapó*	léepi	lefi	k'uus
boy, child	*ange naaso*	naasí	yintsì	níts
breast	ami	amí	ami	ʔíme
bring	baʔ-	baʔ-	báʔs-	baʔád
burn (intr)	*atamo*	at-	atsi (tr.)	ʔatse
bush, forest	qau	qáu	qosé	gáášі, kúfú
buttocks	tuɗí	tuɗí	tuuɗí	góya
calf (cattle)	ootó	ootó		ʔótníts[63]
cattle	waaki	waakí	waakí	wɔʁən
chicken	*baaca*	báasha	baac	koiz
claw, nail	gusho	gúsho [64]	guša, ʔuqšmí	gušš
cloud	*luup*	pooló	uppá	c'íic'
cold	*qaci*	qáji	k'aji, gaji, ʔaji	bágzem-ub
come	naʔ-	niʔ-	aad-	ʔáde
cook	bak-	bax-, ush-[65]	uš-, ʔú(u)š(š)	ʔúššú
cooking stones	baaka	báakulo		bááki
corn, maize	kórmosho	boqólo	fatír	kábbe
cow	waaki mee	wóngo[66]		ʔótu[67]
die	c'a-	di-[68]	dɛʔ, déʔs	deyi[69]
dog	qasqi	qáski	ʔáksi	kɛ́nɛ́
donkey	ukulí	ukulí	arra, ukli	yəré, yərí
drink	wuc'-	wuc'-[70]	wəc', wocc'	wuc'u
dry	*tsedi*	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-, ʔìtts-	ʔítsi
egg	*mukaio*	ɓúla[72]	muqá, muxá	mólu
eight	lonkai	lánkai	qaskén tamars	k'ášinašiš
elephant	dongár	dongár	dangór	dúúrú
eye	aapí	áapi	ʔáafi	ʔáfe

[62] cf. 'skin'

[63] *ʔótníts* is composed of 'cow' and 'child'.

[64] Hamar 'hoof' is *shukúma*

[65] Hamar *ush-* means 'be ripe', or 'be coocked'

[66] Hamar *wóngo* is the feminine inflected form of *waakí.*

[67] cf. Hamar 'calf' *ootó*

[68] Hamar 'death' is *demɓí*

[69] *deyi* refers to animals, *laχt'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 *ɓúla* for 'egg'

far	pegé	pegé	fegá	ʔáátim
fat	dúrpi	dúrpi	durfi	mərši [73], báχ
fat-tailed sheep		hájna		saké
feather	silé	silé	kefí (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	ɗaaɓ-	yay-;ɗaaɓ-	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'ooc'i, ts'oots'í	
giraffe	ts'amsi	t'ánzi		k'əč'anč'ir
give	im-	im-	ʔim-	ʔímí
go, walk	yaʔ-	yiʔ-	kay-, ay-	híŋí ~ tíŋí
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	nő(ö)	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	qushumɓá	šoxá	ʔúšúm
hot	óiɗa	oiɗí		šélí
kill	dees-	dees-	deys, dées	déysi, deisi
knee	*buqo*	búqo	buqa	wóχ
know	ɗees-	ɗes-	ʔɛsh, ʔɛs, ʔéss	ɗése
kraal, village		gurdá	gurdá	báfó
leaf		qálbe	k'alɓa, qalʔe	k'ááme[77]

[73] *mərši* refers to the fat of a peson

[74] Mulugeta reports *šuukúumu* 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	təraɓu	tiraɓó	tirá	tááχte
long (tall)	gudiɓ	gudúɓ		gúdúm-ub
louse		qása	qasá, k'asa	gársi
man	éedi	ángi, éedi	aŋ	goštú
many		geɓí, pac'	bedmí	s'us'-id
milk	raats'i	ráaťi		dʒíši
milk a cow	ts'a-	ťa-		s'ohú
moon	arpi	árpi	arfɛn, ʔárfi	ʔirfé
mountain	*germar*	ɗúka	balá	
mouth	apó	aapó	ʔáfa	ʔáfé
name	naabi	náabi	laami, naami	mízí
navel	*gungussi*	gulɗánti	gulʔa	guúfú
neck, throat	qorc'i	qorc'í,izáqe	qadá, qórc'í	ʔəʁs'e, ʔéʁzí
new	hali	háali	killé	wólgu
night, dark	sooti	sóoti	soyti	ɗúúm
nine	sɛl	sɛl	wolqán tamárs	wóklasiš
nose	núki	nukí	nukí	núkú
old	gecó	geccó	geco, galtá	ʔátse (m), gəšin(f)
one	kalá	kalá	wóllaq	wókkil
ox	*waaki ange*	wɔxâ, waakí zía[78]	jic	zíti (bull)
path, road	*goi*	goití	googi	dóótgáš
person	eedi	éedi	ʔeed	ʔiyyí
rain	doobo	doobí	doobí	dííbí
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	*gaymi*	sháami	šami	šááyi
say, tell, speak	gi-	gi-, ham-, ɗalq-	gáy-, ʔalq-	ʔééné, beɗá, k'óót
see, look	shed-	aap-, shed-	sɛd, šɛt	yefé, yíŋí,
seed	*bia*	ɓénta	meša	mišít
seven	ts'oɓɓá	toɓɓá	tabzá	tússim
she (3sg F)	náa	kodí	nā́ä	ná

[78] Hamar *zía* is adjective 'brave'

sheep	yeetí	yaatí	qolí, dertí	ʔííní
sit	dərq-	dorq-	dóq	dáhi
six	lah	lax	lah, lą́ä	lax
skin		bíshi		bici, bicé
sleep	raat-	raat-, wodˀ-	raa(t)ts-	náχte, záap'e
small	*keta, shouli*	líkka	liŋk'sh-, niŋk'sh-tokmí	c'ək'k'-ub, ləkk'-ub
smoke	c'ubí	c'úba	c'ubé	c'úbsi
sorghum	*isini*	isín		kámáy
stand	ɗaaɓ-	woi-	wóʔ-, ɗáam-	k'ínti, wúyí
star	ɛsin	eezín	bɛz	bééz
stone	*suni*	seení	seení	lále
sun	hayo	hai	a(a)i	ʔíyí
t'ef		gáashi	gaac'i	gíči
tail		dubaná	gooli, goyríy	golán
ten	teɓi	taɓí	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	makkań	makkán	məkkən, makkán	məkkím
tongue	atáɓ	atáɓ	admi	ʔɨdi
tooth	as'i	ási	ʔatsí	ʔitsí
tree	haaqa	háqa	ääqa	ʔáʁe
two	lamá	lamá	qastén, qaskén	k'ə́stin
water	*nunko*	noqó	luuqa, noqá	náʁe
we	wotí	wodí	wö(ö)tá	wótú
what	har, hará	har, har-é	äré	wúyú
white	c'aulí	c'aulí	ts'áam- (verb)	gúiťˀub
who	*hauw*	hai-, háine	äy	ʔáyi
wild animal	dabí	dabí	debí	kúfó
woman	mee	maa	maa	ʔámze
yellow	*makale*	galáp		c'íilil-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 modifers.

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 *zóbo* 'lion'). These gender prefixes correspond to Hamar nouns *ángi* 'man' and *maa* 'woman' .

Table 13.2: South Omotic nominal inflections

	Hamar	**Aari**	**Dime**
M	-(t)â	zero marked / aŋ-	-ub
F	-(to)no	-ta / ma-	-ind
PL	-na	-(i)n(a)/ -(i)n(e)	-af/ -id

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 *-tóno*.

are *-ɗan/-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 *darά ukulí* 'zebra' (lit. valley donkey) and Aari *qosά 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	-ɗan / -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', *adά* 'give birth', *ádîma* '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)	-éé (-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	-ö(ö)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: *ʔí wóons-ink(a)* 'if I work' (Hayward 1990:487)
Dime: *yíz-inká* 'since (he) ran' (Mulugeta 2008:160)
Bench: *sur^{2}k'-an^{4}k'i^{5}* '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-	ʔitá	ʔi-	ʔaté	ʔis-
2SG	yaa	ha-	yáa	ha-	ääná	ää-	yáay	yín-
3M 3F	kidí kodí	ki- ko-	nóo náa	ki- ko-	nő́(ö) nä́ä	kí- kó-	nú ná	kín- kón-
1PL	wodí	wo-	wotí	wo-	wö(ö)tá	wő́(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 Ometo, 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	íʃì	íʃì-	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-yɔŋ̰
2SG	ɪjɔ	i-yoŋ̰
3M/3F	ŋɛsɪ	ì-ŋesi̯
1PL in./ ex.	ɔnɪ / is(y)ɔ	ì-ŋwɔni̯ / ì-suà
2PL	yɛsɪ	ì-yesi̯
3PL	kɛsɪ	ì-kesi̯

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 analysis[84] 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 *yɪ*) and in Nilotic (Acholi *yɪ*), as well as in the Niger-Congo phylum, in Benue-Congo (Babungo *yì-*), in Kwa (Avatime *yi;* Ewe *yè-*), in Adamawa-Ubangi (Ndogo *ỳi*) (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 *yí-* is attested also in the Maji language Sheko 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 *-ɗan*, 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-ɗan	ɛ́ɛn	i-m	ʔí-m	ʔis-im
2SG	há-ɗan	háan	ha-m	ɑ̋ä-m	yín-im
3M	kí-ɗan	kɛ́ɛn	ki-m	kí-m	kín-im
3F	kó-ɗan	kɔ́ɔn	ko-m	kő(ö)-m	kón-im
1PL	wó-ɗan	wóon	wo-m	wő(ö)-m	wón-im
2PL	yé-ɗan	yéen	ye-m	yő(ë)-m	yen-im
3PL	kí-ɗan	kɛ́ɛn	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	ʔís-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 remant 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 peripherical 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: *-dʌn* and *-dam*. According to the data collected for this grammar, the Hamar accusative case is *-ɗan.* 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 peripheric oblique functions, alongside the accusative case *-ɗan*, 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 *-ɗ-* (allomorphs *-aɗ-*, *-ɓ-*). 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 *-ɗ-* is semantically and formally close to the Cushitic middle derivation (Mous 2004): typical middle meanings expressed by *-ɗ-* in Hamar include body activities, reflexive and autobenefactive. One instance has been found whereby the passive *-ɗ-* is used to derive an inchoative verb from an adjective: this function recalls that of the denominal verbalizers of Maale (South Ometo) *-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	-ɗ-, -aɗ-, -ɓ-	-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

ɛ́na	**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**	**qaaɓá-ɓ**
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-kashaɗá**
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**	**kashaɗá-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	**birré-na**	**dong**	**yinná-ɗan**	**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**	**qaskɛ̂**	**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	**yiʔá-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!’**	**hamɓ-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**	**yiʔ-idí**			
goat	run-CNV1	go-PF			

Goat lied and at the car stop downhill he ran away

qulí	**gobá-ise**	**yiʔá-isaxa**	**kɛ́da**	**ki = yiʔá-isaxa**	**kɛ́da**
goat	run-CNV1	go-PAST.PF	then	3 = go-PAST.PF	then

after Goat ran away, then, after he went away

qáski	**birr**	**dóng-isa**	**málsi**	**shiɗ-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-ɗan	**al-idí**	**qaskɛ̂**		
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
niʔ-ína **kánki-n-ɗan** **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** **niʔ-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** **niʔ-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 = ɗan**
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 = ɗan**
squirrel IDEO.out reply-CNV2 2SG tick 1SG = ACC
bash-atáne, **yáa** **ɛ́na** **éedi-bet**
win-PRES.NEG.2SG 2SG past person-COM
gobá-ise **ɗes-atáne**
run-CNV1 know-PRES.NEG.2SG
Squirrel replied so: ‘you Tick, you won’t defeat me, you never raced with anybody before!’

í = ɗan **hattá-ise** **bash-ê’** **hamɓá-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** **ɛ́ɛ** **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** **ɗalqá-ɓ** **hamɓá-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! **kɛ́ɗɗa** **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 = *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 begun racing each other, Tick while running attached to the leg (of the squirrel)

kóopini **laii** **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)

ɔ́rawal **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** **laii** **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 **kɛ́nna** **dáa**
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 **bashaɗá-ise** **kóofini** **bashaɗá-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-ɗan** **shóqo** **ti-idí**
tick REFL-INTF win-PF birr-F.OBL-ɗan tick take-PF
Tick alone won, and took the money

3 - Aizí - Goathide

táaki **aín** **ashkaɗ-áino**
now goat.hide.F.OBL do:PASS-REL.PRES.F
the making of the goat hide

ainó, **beráise** **qultâ** **mashá = ki** **mashaɗ-é**
goat.hide:F.S first goat:M slaughter = 3 slaughter:PASS-PRES
the goat hide, first of all the goat is slaughtered

mashaɗ-idí **kɔ́nna**
slaughter:PASS-PF 3F:OPT
if it has been slaughtered (impersonal passive)

mashá-tte **qultá-rra** **aizɛ́-ɗan** **ha = bul-ína**
slaughter-SE goat:M-ABL goat.hide:M-ACC 2SG = pull-COND
haí-n-dar **t'aɓá~t'aɓaɗá**
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'aɓé-n **qarsá-ise,** **t'aɓé-n-ka** **haí-n-dar**
stake-F.OBL sharpen-CNV1 stake-F.OBL-INS sun-F.OBL-ALL1
t'aɓá~t'aɓaɗá
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'aɓá-ise, **aizê** **agá** **haí-n-dar**
stretch-CNV1 goat.hide:M DEM2.M sun-F.OBL-ALL1
ki = wocc-ína **ibán-in-ka** **bulɗá~bulɗá**
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-ɗan, **qot'í-no** **kí = sa** **bulɗá~bulɗá**
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-ɓ** **hayá-ise**
shaved.area-F.OBL pull-NARR do-CNV1
after scratching the shaved area

kɛ́da **ibán-in** **ogó** **ki = woɗ-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 **tittaɗ-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-ɓ **hayá-ise** **kɛ́da,** **ki = shiit-ína**
soak do-CNV1 then 3 = be.soft-COND
after soaking in water, if it is soft

pər	**álpa-n**	**tiá-tte**	**aiziɛ̂**	**agá-sa**	**fáala-no**
again	knife-F.OBL	take-SE	goat.hide:M	DEM2-GEN	flesh-F.S

gurtá~gurtaɗá
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

kɛ́da	**aiziɛ̂**	**agá**	**kuccá=ko**	**kuccaɗ-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-ɓ	**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**	**tittaɗ-é,**	**pər,**	**aizɛ́-ɗan**
again	soak=3F	soak:PASS-PRES	again	goat.hide:M-ACC

the goat hide is soaked again

tittá-ise	**kɛ́da**	**goshá~goshaɗá,**	**aizɛ́-ɗan**
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-ɓ** **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-ɓ **hayá-ise**
finish-NARR do-CNV1
then, after clipping the nails (all around the edge)

wei **shekíni-n** **uxá-ɓ** **hayá-ise**
or beads-F.OBL spear-NARR do-CNV1
or sawing beads (onto it)

kɛ́da **aizɛ́-ɗan** **ɗaxá=ko** **ɗaxaɗ-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)
áaɗe *n* hippopotamus
aaɗimɓ *v* hide (intransitive)
aajaɗ *v* be sick
aajimɓ *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
aɗ *v* give birth
aɗɗ (passive aɗ) *v* be born
áɗima *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*
áiɗa *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'áali *n* type of gun introduced by the Italians
álko *n* *Sansevieria Erythraeae*, plant sp.
álla *n* parsí beer mixed with honey
álpa *n* knife
áma *n* second wife

amɓ *v* dream
amí *n* breast
amín aapó (amí, aapó) *n* nipple, *lit.* 'the mouth of the breast'
ánamo *n* friend
anc' *v* laugh
andĭ *n* candelabra tree, *Euphorbia candelabrum*, plant sp.
angála (*fr. var.* angálla) *adv* the day before yesterday
angále *n* last year
angálla (*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
apaɗ (passive ap) *v* be unfolded, be spread, be streched
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
arsaɗ (passive ars) *v* be inserted
asará *n* dry sorghum or dry corn
ash *v* insult *yáa hárna íɗan 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
ashkaɗ (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)
atáɓ *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
ɑ́ʔɑ̃ʔ *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
baɗ (passive baʔ) *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.
barɗ (passive) *v* be drunk
barɗá *adj* drunk
bargá *n* millet
bargaɗ (passive) *v* be dry
bárgi *n* short rainy season
barjó (*fr. var.* bairó) *n* fate, fortune, god, destiny, good fortune, well-being
bars (causative barɗ) *v* make drunk
bárshi *adj* young
bash *v* 1) exceed 2) win
bashaɗ (passive bash) *v* be tired, be won, be overwelmed
bask *v* carry
báski *n* lover
baskis (causative bask) *v* make sb. carry, load sb.
bax *v* cook, prepare food
baxaɗ (passive bax) *v* be cooked, be prepared (of food)
baxalsaɗ *v* fermentate
baxarɗ *v* sweat
baxars *v* make sweat
baz (*fr. var.* bázi)
bazá *n* debt, prize
bázi (*fr. var.* baz) *n* big water, flowing river
baʔ *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
biŋaré *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)
bɔ́da *n* valley (between hills or mountains)
bolále *n* trousers
bɔ́lta *n* fermented milk similar to yogurt
bɔ́na *adj* drought, dry season
bóndi *n* ten (money-counting)
bonɗ *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
bɔ́ta *n* (Amh.) space, room
bóte *n* pumpkin
bucc (causative burq) *v* boil (water or other liquids)
budámo *n* 1) false 2) lie
bul$_1$ *v* 1) open 2) take out
bul$_2$ *n* holding structure supporting the beehive on a tree
buld (passive bul) *v* be taken out, be pulled out
buls (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 síiti) *n* beard

ɓ

ɓáa up there, above
ɓáabar top of, on, up, upper, upward
ɓáabar aapó (ɓáabar, aapó) *n* upper lip
ɓáabar ási *n* upper teeth
ɓáaɗa *n* food
ɓaashá *n* comb
ɓag *v* fall
ɓelé *n* edible mushroom
ɓɛ́nta *n* seed
ɓocc *v* think
ɓóde do not
ɓórle *n* young person
ɓul *n* waterhole, pond
ɓul$_1$ *v* jump
ɓul$_2$ *v* lay eggs
ɓúla *n* egg
ɓuldúq *Ideo* sound of object falling into the water
ɓúlt'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.* ánna; c'an ánna) *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'íilo *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'ulɗ *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
daaqarɗ (passive) *v* be hungry *ínta daaqarɗidíne, I am hungry*
dáar *n* area of the field reserved for cows and goats
dáat'a *adj* sweet
dabí *n* wild animal
dakaɗ *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.
darɗ *Ideo* crash or explosion
daʔíni *n* 1) snake venom 2) poison 3) gun powder
deebarɗ (passive) *v* be thirsty
deebarɗá *n* thirst
dɛ́ɛga *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 shɔ́ta cattle coat colour and pattern: red and white-patched
dees *v* kill
deesaɗ (passive dees) *v* be killed
deesis (causative dees) *v* cause to kill
déet'a *adj* heavy (weight)
demɓí *n* death
demí 1) *n* side 2) *adv* next to
demínka maataɗé *n* after midnight (1-3 a.m.), *lit.* 'turning and changing side (while sleeping)'
des *v* grind
desaɗ (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.* tíngisha) *n* (Amh.) potato
dit' *v* close
dong *cardnum* five

dongár *n* elephant
dónso *ordnum* fifth
dɔ́nza *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

ɗ

ɗaaɓ *v* 1) stand up 2) wake up 3) take off (of birds), fly
ɗaas *v* 1) lift up a big or heavy load 2) call on the phone, pick up the phone
ɗab *v* 1) throw 2) fall
ɗabaɗ (passive ɗab) *v* be thrown
ɗacc (causative ɗaq) *v* miss the target (when shooting or throwing stones)
ɗagaɗ *v* be angry
ɗáki *n* rope
ɗalq *v* speak, talk
ɗamm *v* fall
ɗánga *n* throat
ɗaq *v* 1) avoid 2) avoid death, survive
ɗax *v* tie
ɗaxaɗ (passive ɗax) *v* be tied
ɗaxam (ɗax) *v* be jailed
ɗaxamɓ (passive ɗaxam) *v* be tied, be fastened
ɗeeshá *n* medicine
ɗes *v* know
ɗesaɗ (passive ɗes) *v* be known
ɗesim (ɗes) *v* be known, introduce oneself
ɗett (causative ɗes) *v* teach
ɗíli *n* flour
ɗíta *n* plant sp. When the bark is wet, it produces foam. It was used in the past instead of soap
ɗitt *v* pour for somebody; cf. *ka*
ɗittaɗ (passive ɗitt) *v* be poured
ɗoi *v* show
ɗoiɗ (passive ɗoi) *v* be shown
ɗóngo *n* bell with a trapezoidal shape
ɗónko *n* wise narrative, speech
ɗoon *v* build a beehive
ɗɔ́ya *n* bone marrow
ɗúka *n* mountain
ɗúkan noqó *n* waterfall
ɗukúr *Ideo* action of entering
ɗúrra *n* salt for tobacco

e

ecc *interj* 1) shut up! 2) stupid! 3) shit!
ed (fr. var. of edim) *v* separate
ɛdá *n* luck, good fortune
edim (fr. var. of ed)
ee *interj* ok, yes
éeɓe *n* cowhide; leather; hide of animals
eedá (ɛɛdá) *n* relative
éedi *n* person, man. *éedi naasí,* humankind
eel *v* call
ɛ́ɛmajo *n* good spirit living in the forest
éeno (éedi) *n* people
eep *v* cry
eepí *n* dead body, coffin, funeral
éeqe *adj* (of firewood), fresh, wet, green
eermaɗ *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
elɗ *v* be called
ens *v* go with, bring a person along, pick up sb.
ermát *n* tears
eshk *v* show
ɛɗ *Ideo* insult
ɛɛ (éedi) man
ɛ́na *n* past; *ɛ́na wadénka, ɛ́na 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'aɗ (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'aɗ (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 úkumɓa *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
geɓ *v* grow up
geɓí *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
geeɗ *v* answer
géɬaba *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
gɛshɔ̂ (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
giɗ (passive gi) *v* be told
gigirí *n* 1) molar teeth 2) the nail that join together the beam and the blade of the plough
gíito *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
gɔ́ggama *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
goshaɗ (passive gosh) *v* be taken out
goshp *v* respect, honour
góshpi *n* respect
gudirí *n* hyena
gudúɓ *adj* tall, long
guɗ *v* snort (of oxen)
gugána *n* lightning
gul *n* corner of the house, a separate space built on one side of the house
gulɗánti *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 ɓelé *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
gurtaɗ (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 eachother in order to light the fire
gutúm *n* upperarm
gúuri *adj* empty, useless, empty-handed

ɠ

ɠi *v* 1) hit 2) herd the cattle 3) churn butter by shaking the butter container
ɠians (causative ɠi) *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
haiɗ (passive hai) *v* be done, be made
haiɗaɗ (passive haiɗ) *v* be used
háiɗan *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
hamɓ (passive ham) *v* be told
hamɓaɗ (passive hamɓ) *v* be called, be named
hamɓáxa *conn* then, and so on
hámi *n* field
hamó *n* 1) place 2) *interrog* where, non-specific location
hanguu *Ideo* hyena's sound
háɲa *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'ímɓa *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
ĩĩ̂ *interj* yes
íinte (íi) 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'
imɓ (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
isaɗ (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
jaagaɗ (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
júgjug *Ideo* movement

k

ka *v* 1) pour into something, decant 2) make coffee
káa *dem* this
kaal *v* wait
káali *n* wooden spoon
kaam *v* meet
káara$_1$ *n* fish
káara$_2$ *nprop* Kara
kaɗ (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

karámɓa *n* calabash for coffee
kaarán bánno *n* Omo river, *lit.* 'the river of the Kara'
kárc'a *n* cheek
kárna shekíni *n* beads belt
káro *n* hunchbacked person
kasála *n* canin teeth
kash *v* 1) distribute, share 2) pay
kashaɗ (passive kash) *v* be paid
kashim (kash) *v* share
kat' *v* 1) shoot 2) comb
kat'aɗ (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'aɗ (passive kat') *v* be shot
kayó *n* evil spirit, future teller
kéda (*fr. var.* kéda) conn then
kéɗɗa half, equal
kéɗɗa lama *n* midnight, *lit.* 'two halves'
keem *v* marry (for men)
keemó *n* marriage, wedding
keerá *n* cactus
kemɓ (passive keem) *v* be married (for women) *yáa kemɓidú? are you married?*
kerí *n* door, window
kermí *n* fence surrounding the boma
kidí (*dial. var.* kisí) *pers* 1) he 2) they
kilánqi *n* snake eagle
kína *adv* today
kínka *adv* together
kirá *dem* these
kirb *v* dance
kisí *dial. var. of* kidí
kodí *pers* she
kóɗe *discourse marker* 'it is told'
koi *v* till, cultivate, dig
koimó *n* 1) property, belongings 2) fee
kois (causative koi) *v* plough with oxen
koisí *n* calabash container for *parsí*
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)
koqaɗ (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
kuccaɗ (passive kucc) *v* be rubbed
kúɗa kúɗa *Ideo* furrow
kúɗɗe 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
kumpurɗ *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 volture
kut'úɓo *n* housefly

l

laal *v* spread, throw (for liquids or mass nouns)
laalim (laal) *v* 1) leak 2) separate, split up
laalimɓ (passive laalim) *v* be separated, be empty
láapa *n* bat
labalé *n* common ostrich
laɓá *n* rectangular or square shape
laii 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
lánkaiso *ordnum* eighth
lánsi discourse marker: additionally
lansó *ordnum* second
lant'í *n* spleen
lashpá *n* shoulder blade
lax *cardnum* six
láxso *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
liɓ *Ideo* disappear
líkka *adj* small, few, a little bit
likkim (líkka) *v* become small
lins *v* caress, coddle
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
maccaɗ (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 bánno *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
masaɗ (passive mas) *v* be separated
mash *v* slaughter
mashaɗ (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
méɛ *adv* downwards, down
méɛwal *adv* downwards (vertically)
mɛq *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
moqɔ́la *n* type of berry
móro *n* lard, fat
mott *v* mix with water in order to obtain a fermented dough
mɔ́tta *n* fermented dough for bread or *parsí*
mottaɗ (passive mott) *v* be mixed with water
mulɗá *n* a person from the same clan *Bíto ísa mulɗáne, 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.* ɲuqurtí) (Banna)
núu *n* fire
nuurí (*fr. var.* ɲuurí) *n* butter container, cf. also *raat'í nuurí*

ɲ

ɲáboqo *n* anklet made of colobus monkey's tail.
ɲámuɲa *n* ostrich feather worn by Hamar men on their heads
ɲoqóle *n* arm bracelet made of the tale of the colobus monkey.
ɲuqurtí (*dial. var.* nuqurtí) *n* small intestine, small bowel
ɲuurí *fr. var. of* nuurí

o

ogó *adv* 1) over there 2) then
ogoró *dem* that
oidí *cardnum* four
oiɗ *v* be hot, be warm
óiɗa *n* hot (ambient temperature) *péeno óiɗane, it's hot, the land is hot*
oiɗí *adj* hot (property of the matter)
ois *v* ask
oisaɗ (passive ois) *v* be asked
óiso *n* question
oit *v* chase
oitaɗ (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
oshimɓ *v* be shy
oshimɓá *adj* shy
osó *n* rhinoceros
ossambará three days from now
otárra (ootó) *n* calves
ɔ́ra *adv* here, towards the speaker
ɔ́rawal *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
pálɗe *n* type of poisoned arrow
panáq *n* frog
panɗát *n* gap teeth
paráɲi *n* (Amh.), foreigner
párda *n* (Amh.) horse
parsí *n* ale-gruel, traditional alchoholic 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

paxaɗ (passive pax) *v* be thrown, be chased out

paxála *adj* clever, sharp

paxínta *n* throwing

payá *adj* good, beautiful *yáa fayáu? inta 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

pɛ́lan pélo *n* butterfly

per (*fr. var.* pər) 1) *adv* again, also

pet'í *n* saliva, spittle *ínta pet'í ɗabidíne, I spitted*

pet'im *v* spit

p^{h}eu *Ideo* finish

pi *v* defecate

píi 1) *n* human faeces 2) *adj* fearful *yáa éedi píine, you are a fearful person*

piimɓ (passive) *v* be afraid

piisí *n* placenta (for human beings)

pirsh *Ideo* open

piskill *v* cough

poolí *n* turtoise

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

purɗ *v* be full, be stuffed *ínta purɗídine, I am stuffed*

pus *v* fart

pusó *n* fart

put$_{1}$ *Ideo* 1) up 2) out 3) ready

put$_{2}$ *v* make bracelets or earings 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

qaɗ *v* 1) wear 2) rub the interior part of a calabash

qaɗaɗ (passive qaɗ) *v* be worn, be rubbed

qail *v* decorate, body-paint

qailaɗ (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

qajaɗ (passive qaj) *v* be tired *yáa qajaɗidu? 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
qámɓi *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 *motoróɗan lemáise qaná! drive the motorbike slowly!* 6) phone-call *ínta hádar silk qanáidaqané, I will phone you* 7) stumble *íɗan góono qanidíne, I stumbled on something*
qána *n* stream, gully
qanɗ (passive qan) *v* be hit
qans *v* 1) listen 2) understand *yáa qansidu? did you hear/understand?*
qánte analytical dative case
qáŋa *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
qattaɗ (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
qolɓ *v* fetch water
qóle *interrog* where is
qolê *v* there is not
qɔ́lma without
qólpo *n* scorpion
qómbalti *n* shell
qómoro *n* Adam's apple
qɔ́ɔc'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
qúŋa *n* resin-based incense
qúra *n* stick
qushumɓá *n* horn
qúuro *n* face wrinkle

r

raat *v* sleep
ráat'i *n* milk
ráat'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
sára$_1$ *n* goathide used to carry babies on the back, baby sling
sára$_2$ *n* enclosure for lambs and kids
sask (causative sag) *v* 1) carry sb. across 2) tie a knot
saskaɗ (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 **sáut**
saxá *n* tomorrow
saʔáti *n* hour
séɗima *n* sunset
seelé *n* Helmeted guineafowl, *Numida meleagris,* bird sp.
seení *n* stone
seepí *n* vagina
séere *n* locust
segeré *n* dik-dik
sɛl *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 eachother
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* sidewards, 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
shaɓ *v* brew
shaɓaɗ (passive shaɓ) *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
shanɗ *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 shaked several times)
sharkaɗ (passive shark) be cleaned
shárqa *n* calabash (for food)
sháu *n* cheetah or leopard
shed *v* look
sheegíni *n* waters (in pregnancy)
shekinɗ *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
shiccaɗ (passive and causative shiit) *v* get softened
shiccish (causative shiit) *v* make sb. soften something
shiɗ *v* 1) stay, be left 2) remain
shiggirí *n* string sack whose fibres are used to make bracelets and ear rings
shii *v* wash
shiiɗ (passive shii) *v* wash oneself
shíiri *n* metal spike or prong, used fot 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.
shɔ́lɓa *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 *Ideo* fast movement

shuɗí *n* grass, mead
shúko *n* carved or shaped stick
shukúma *n* hoof
shup *v* close
shupaɗ (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 kɔ́nna what ever
taap *v* mix water and flour by hand
taapaɗ (passive taap) *v* be mixed with water and flour
taɓí *cardnum* ten
takk *v* pick the leaves from a branch until they are gone
támpo (*fr. var.* dámpo)
tángayo *n* spider
tánqash *n* antelope
targaɗ *v* be startled
tarsh *Ideo* 1) climb down from a tree 2) come down
tax *v* cut
taxá similar
tê negative copula
tesíɓe *n* axe, blade of the axe
ti *v* take
tiɗ (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)
tiraɓó *n* liver
tishá *n* fermented milk
tísha *n* corncob
tísha qálbe *n* corn husk
titt *v* soak in water
tittaɗ (passive titt) *v* be soaked in water
toɓɓá *cardnum* seven
toɓɓisó *ordnum* seventh
tooqó *n* leather skirt for women
toré *n* valley
tubáqe *n* type of tree
tuɗí *n* buttock
tuɗí óolo (tuɗí, 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
tuqándaˀa *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'aɗ (passive t'a) *v* be milked
t'aɓ *v* strech a hide in the sun
t'aɓaɗ (passive t'aɓ) *v* be streched

t'aɓé *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
úkumɓa (uk) *n* thorn; prickle 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 corncobs
urá *n* gale, very strong wind
urs (uurí) *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
utaɗ (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)
uurí *n* fight, conflict

w

wa another
wa *v* sunset *háino waidí, the sun went down*
wáa *n* meat
waadim *v* work
waadíma *n* work
waadimɓ (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 Dimeka*
waqámba *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
wodˀ *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 háɗan woisisdíne, I've madeyou stand still, I stopped you*
wólsha (wɔ́lsha) *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
worsaɗ (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
wozaɗ *v* be happy *ínta kátti wozadîdíne, I am very happy*
wɔxá (waakí) *n* ox
wuc' *v* drink (water)
wúc'o *n* infesting insect (for sorghum, t'ef and millet)
wuc'aɗ *v* be drank
wúkumɓa *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
yedaɗ (passive yed) *v* be taken, be caught
yedí (*dial. var.* yesí) *pers* you (2PL)
yɛ́ɛla *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 íɗan yeská, join me later!*
yi- *pers* reflexive pronoun
yiɗ (passive yi?) *v* be gone
yig *v* play, talk, chat
yií *interj* what?
yíir *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
yittaɗ (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
zéllo (zeelí) *n* family
zía *adj* brave
zig *v* shake
zíiga *n* spinal cord
zíigo *n* sorghum crumble
zíili *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
zomɓí *n* blood
zoolí *n* shin
zuló 1) *n* shoulders and back 2) on 3) top

Appendix C - English - Hamar selected lexicon

a

a lot **geɓí** 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 **piimɓ** (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 **ɗagaɗ** (passive) *v*
animal (wild) **dabí** *n*
anklet **ɲáboqo** *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 **tuɗí óolo** (tuɗí, 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; **pálɗe** *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 **ɗaq** *v*
axe **tesíɓe** *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) **wúkumɓa** *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; **álla** *n* beer mixed with honey
before **iní** before, earlier
behind **buudó**
bell **ɗóngo** *n* bell with a trapezoidal shape; **lulí** *n* bell with a rectangular shape
belly button **gulɗánti** *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 **ádɗima** *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 **ɗɔ́ya** *n*
Boraana **boráana** *n*
born, be **aɗɗ** (passive aɗ) *v*
bow **óom** *n*
bracelet **áshawa** *n* type of metal bracelet, silver-like; **ɲoqóle** *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 **balásha** *n*
break **ais** (causative ai) *v* break; **qunt'** *v* break, crack
breast **amí** *n*
brew **shaɓ** *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'ímɓa** *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 **ɗoon** *v*
bullet **wúshki** *n*
burn **at** *v* (intransitive); **koq** *v* burn (transitive)
bushbuck **hambí** *n*
bushy area **díire** *n*
butter **waqáti** *n*
butter container **nuurí** (*fr. var. ɲuurí*) *n*; **qórre** *n* butter container (same as *kúrkuto*); **woomá** *n* butter container
butterfly **pɛ́lan pélo** *n*
buttermilk **raat'i nuurí** *n*
buttock **tuɗí** *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 **karámɓa** *n* calabash for coffee; **kúmbulo** *n* calabash used to drink *parsí*; **shárqa** calabash for food; **waakí shárqa** *n* calabash bowl for milk; **koisí** *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.) **anɗí** *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'ulɗ** *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 **dit'** *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 **ɓaashá** *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 **éeɓe** *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 **demɓí** *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 **Géɬaba** *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 **dakaɗ** (passive) *v;* **eermaɗ** (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 **mɔ́tta** *n* fermented dough (for bread, or *parsí*)
dove **walé** *n* dusky turtle dove, *Streptopelia lugens*, bird sp.
downwards **mɛɛ**
dream **amɓ** *v*
drink (water) **wuc'** *v*
drink (milk) **kum** *v*
drive **qan** *v motoróɗan lemáise qaná! drive the motorbike slowly!*

drunk **barɗá** *adj*
drunk, be **barɗ** *v*
dry **wócci** *adj* dry (of wood)
dry corn **asará** *n* dry sorghum or dry corn
dry log **durmá** *n*
dry season **bɔ́na** *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 **ɓúla** *n* egg
eight **lánkai** *cardnum*
elbow **qoosí** *n*
elder **dɔ́nza** *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 **kéɗɗa** 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*; **ɗamm** *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 **baxalsaɗ** (passive) *v*
fermented milk **tishá** *n*; **bɔ́lta** *n* fermented milk similar to yogurt; fermented goat milk **kúɗɗe** *n*
fermented sorghum **attí** *n*
fetch (water) **qolɓ** *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 **ɗíli** *n*
flower **úuma** (púuma; áama); *n*
flute **woisá** *n*
fly **yay** *v*
foam **dúbo** *n* foam (in the milk, or in a river)

food **ɓáaɗa** *n*
foolish **déɛga** *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 **panɗát** *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 **aɗ** *v*
go **yiʔ** *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 **shuɗí** *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 **geɓ** *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 **wozaɗ** (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 **tuqándaˀ** *n*
hide **aash** *v* (transitive); **aadɨmɓ** *v* (intransitive)
hippopotamus **áadɛ** *n*
hit **ɠi** *v* **qan** beat *v*
hole **óolo** *n*
honest **tipá** *adj* reliable (of a person)
honey **kurí** *n*
hoof **shukúma** *n*
hook **zíiti** *n*
horn **qushumɓá** *n*
hornbill (bird sp.) **áka mukánde** *n*
hornet **rínso** *n* large stinging wasp
horse (Amh.) **párda** *n*
hot **óiɗa** *n* hot (outside temperature) *péeno óiɗane, the land is hot, it's hot;* **oiɗí** *adj* hot (as a property of a matter); **oiɗ** *v* be hot, be warm *íxal oiɗídíne, I am hot, it's hot*
hour **saʔáti** *n* (Amh.)
house **ooní** *n*
housefly **kut'úɓo** *n*
human being **éedi naasí**
hundred **mató** *cardnum* (Amh.)
hungry, be **daaqarɗ** (passive) *v ínta daaqarɗídíne, I am hungry*
hunt **adamá** *n*
hunter **bajé** *n*
hurt **burqaɗ** (passive) *v íino ísa burqaɗídíne, my stomach hurts*
husband **gɛshɔ́** *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 íɗan ashá? why did you insult me?*
intestine **ii** *n*; **áka** *n* large intestine; **ŋuqurtí** (nuqurtí) *n* small intestine, small bowel

j
jackal **gámuri** *n*
Jinka **báako** *nprop*
joke **ákatti** *n* funny story
jugular vein **háam** *n*
jump **ɓul** *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 **ɓúlt'a** *n*
kill **dees** *v*
kiss **sunq** *v*
knee **búqo** *n*
kneel down **kumpurɗ** *v*
knife **álpa** *n*; **mashitá** *n* double bladed knife
know **ɗes** *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) **ɓul** *v báashano ɓulidíne, 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 **laʔ** *v* taste
lid **shupí** *n*; **tumpó** *n* lid made of dry sorghum
lie **budámo** *n*
life **daínta** *n*
lift up **ɗaas** *v* lift up a big or heavy load
light **shɔ́lɓa** *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 **tiraɓó** *n*
lizard **máaqa** *n*
load **c'aan** *v;* **baskins** (causative) load water on somebody's back;
locust **séere** *n*
long **gudúɓ** *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 **kemɓ** (for women)
marry **keem** *v*
mate **gam** *v* mate (for both humans and animals)
meat **waa** *n*
medicine **ɗeeshá** *n*
meet **kaam** *v*
meeting **óshi** *n* assembly
metalsmith **gíito** *n*
middle **gidí** *n* centre
midnight **kéɗɗa 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'í 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 **ɗúka** *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 **murso** *nprop*
mushroom **ɓelé** *n* edible mushroom; **guní ɓelé** *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; **qɔ́ɔc'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; **biɲaré** *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 **sɛl** *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 **ɲámuŋa** *n*
owl **yíti** *n*

p

past **ɛ́na** *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 **ɓul** *n* waterhole, pond; **túla** *n* small pond dug by hand
poor **qámɓi** *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*; **mulɗá** a person from the same clan
remain **shiɗ** *v*
resin **gangá** *n*
resin-based incense **qúɲa** *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 **yéɛla** *n*
root **c'aac'í** *n*
rope **ɗáki** *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 **ɓɛ́nta** *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 **buls** (causative bul) *v*
separate **ed** (edim) *v* separate; **mas** *v* separate butter from milk
serval **loodǐ** *n*
seven **toɓɓá** *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 rasor! 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 **hájna** *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 **ɗoi** *v*; **eshk** *v*
shy **oshimɓá** *adj*; shy, be **oshimɓ** *v*
sick, be **aajaɗ** (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*; **woɗ** *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 **guɗ** *v* snort (of oxen) *woxâ guɗá guɗá, 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 **ɗalq** *v* talk
spear **banqí** *n*
speech **ɗónko** *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 **laɓá** *n* rectangular shape, square shape
squirrel **kóopini** *n*
stake **t'aɓé** *n* wooden stake
stand up **ɗaaɓ** *v*; **woi** *v* stand up, stand still *v*
star **eezín** *n*
starling (bird sp.) **jálo** *n* Glossy Blue Starling
startled, be **targaɗ** (passive) *v*
starve **wosh** *v*
stay **haaq** *v nagáya haaqá! stay well!* (leave-taking greeting); **kaap** *v* remain; **shiɗ** *v* stay, be left
steal **diib** *v*
step in **tig** *v*
stick **bíiri** *n* three pronged stir-stick, often used to stir *parsî* 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'aɓ** *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 íɗan 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 **sédĩma** *n*
swear word **írima** *n*
sweat **baxarɗ** (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); **taɓí** *cardnum*
termite **ánqaqo** *n*
testicles **shooró** *n*
thank you **bairó imé**
then **kɛ́da, kéda** *conn*
thief **díibi** *n*
thigh **qaldó** *n*
thin **ganc'á** *adj*
thing **yer** *n* something
think **ɓocc** *v*; **qaab** *v*
thirsty, be **deebarɗ** (passive) *v*
thorn **úkumɓa** (uk) *n* prickle on a plant;
thousands **shi** *n* (Amh.)
thread **puddó** *n*
three **makkán** *cardnum*
threshold **gas** *n* threshold of a hut.
throat **ɗánga** *n*; **qórc'o** *n*
throw **ɗab** *v*; **pax** *v*
thumb **dúmai** *n* thumb and big toe
thunder **gimbát** *n*
tick **shóqo** *n*
tickle **gilgish** *v*
tie **ɗax** *v*
till **pax** *v hámi paxá* prepare a field from scratch (by clearing the area from trees and bushes)
tired, be **bashaɗ** (passive bash) *v* be won, be overwelmed; **qajaɗ** (passive qaj) *v* be tired
tobacco **dámpo** (tampo) *n*
today **kína**
together **kínka**
tomorrow **saxá**
tongue **atáɓ** *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 **shanɗ** *v*
urine **shaan** *n*

v

vagina **qájna** *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
volture **kut'ó** *n* white-headed volture
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 **qaɗ** *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 **háiɗan**; 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 **aajimɓ** *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*; **ɓórle** *n*
young initiate **ukulí** *n*

z

zebra **dará ukulí** *n lit.* 'lowland's donkey'

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Subject Index

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, specifiekheid 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, locatieve 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 naamvalsvorm 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.

Hoofstuk 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 *ǻʔāʔ* '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.