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## **A grammar of Hamar : a South Omotic language of Ethiopia**

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## 5 Other word classes

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

### 5.1 Locational adverbs

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

Table 5.1: Locational deictics

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 5.1.1 Location

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 5.1.2 Motion

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

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

- (14) **ká-xa**            **wo = yiʔ-é**  
 PRX.SP-INS      1PL = go-PRES  
 let's pass through here
- (15) **kó-rra**            **mée**            **kéɲa-dar**            **saská-ise**  
 PRX.NSP-ABL      downwards      Kenya-ALL1      cross:CAUS-CNV1  
 from here (they) made (them) cross downwards to Kenya [...]

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

- (16) **ḃáa**    **yiʔá-ise**    **éna**    **aapó-n**            **han = galt'-â**  
 UP    go-CNV1    past    mouth-F.OBL      2SG = seal-REL.PAST.M  
**yáa**    **bulá**  
 2SG    open.IMP.2SG  
 you go on the top and unseal the opening that you sealed in the past!
- (17) **ínta**    **laili**            **cóo**            **kízo**            **yiʔá-ḃ**  
 1SG    IDEO.far    DOWN    kizo            go-NARR  
 I go far down to Kizo

Source of motion needs to be expressed by suffixation of the ablative case. Note that the long vowel of the distal and elevation deictics is shortened after suffixation of the ablative case in order to avoid CVVC<sub>1</sub>.C<sub>1</sub>V syllabic structure (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.3).

- (18) **yáa-ne**    **ó-rra**            **t'álian**    **baʔá-ise**            **niʔ-â**  
 2SG-COP    DST-ABL    Italians    bring-CNV1      come-REL.PAST.M  
 It's you who came and brought the Italians from there
- (19) **kidí**    **ḃá-rra**    **mée**            **ḃamm-idí-ne**  
 3      UP-ABL    downwards    fall-PF-COP  
 he has fallen down from the top (of something)

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 5.2 Body parts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 5.3 Temporal adverbs

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

Table 5.2: Temporal shifters

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 5.3: Day terms

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (41)    **sóoti-n-ka**            **wodá-ise**            **burí-n-ka**            **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 *kéɗɗa 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)    **kéɗɗa**    **lamá-xa**    **í = da**            **ni?-é**  
           half    two-INS            1SG = IPFV            come-PRES  
           I will come at midnight
- (44)    **róoro**    **c’akó-xa**    **wo = waadim-é**  
           day    calm-INS            1PL = work-PRES  
           Let’s work in the late morning

Table 5.4: Times of the day

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

### 5.3.1 Days of the week

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 5.4 Manner adverbs

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

Table 5.5: Manner adverbs

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

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

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



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

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

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

The stem *san-* has been attested with the verbal marker for perfect *-idí* (57) and the stem *lem-* can be suffixed with the converb marker *-ise* (58):

- (57) **kánki san-idí**  
 car be.fast-PF  
 the car goes fast
- (58) **lemá-ise 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*<sup>36</sup> 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.

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<sup>36</sup> When counting, the numeral *kála* ‘one’ is pronounced with the stress on the last syllable: *kalá*.

Table 5.6: Numbers from 1 to 19

1	kála	11	taḃí kála
2	lamá	12	taḃí lamá
3	makkán	13	taḃí makkán
4	oidí	14	taḃí oidí
5	dong	15	taḃí dong
6	lax	16	taḃí lax
7	toḃḃá	17	taḃí toḃḃá
8	lánkai	18	taḃí lánkai
9	sel	19	taḃí sel
10	taḃí		

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

Table 5.7: Multiples of twenty

20	édi kála kaisá	‘1 complete person’
40	édi lamá kaisá	‘2 complete persons’
60	édi makkán kaisá	‘3 complete persons’
80	édi oidí kaisá	‘4 complete persons’
100	édi dong kaisá	‘5 complete persons’

Decimal units after twenty are counted in ‘mouths’: for instance the numeral forty-seven corresponds to ‘two complete persons (forty) and seven mouths’: *édi lamá kaisá aafó toḃḃá*. Similarly, numbers which are not multiples of twenty such as thirty, fifty and so on, are calculated in base-twenty and decimal units are counted in mouths: the number fifty-six for instance is composed of forty plus sixteen, i.e. *édi lamá kaisá aafó taḃí lax*.

<sup>37</sup> 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 taḃí	1 complete person and 10 mouths
32	éedi kála kaisá aafó taḃí lamá	1 complete person and 12 mouths
50	éedi lamá kaisá aafó taḃí	2 complete persons and 10 mouths
53	éedi lamá kaisá aafó taḃí makkán	2 complete persons and 13 mouths
70	éedi makkán kaisá aafó taḃí	3 complete persons and 10 mouths
74	éedi makkán kaisá aafó taḃí oidí	3 complete persons and 14 mouths
90	éedi oidí kaisá aafó taḃí	4 complete persons and 10 mouths
95	éedi oidí kaisá aafó taḃí 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**                    **toḃḃá**    **dáa-ne**  
              3F = GEN    metal.bracelet    seven    exist-COP  
              she has seven bracelets

- (63)      **waakí**    **lamá**    **wo = shan-é**  
             cow        two        1PL = buy-PRES  
             let's buy two cows

Nouns modified by numerals higher than 'one' do not necessarily inflect for plural number. As will be discussed in chapter 7 (section 7.3), plural marking is used on pragmatic basis and the semantics of plural is strictly speaking paucal.

### 5.5.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are derived from the cardinal numbers by the suffix *-so* and they agree with their referent in gender. Masculine ordinal numbers are inflected by the masculine marker *-â* which merges with the preceding vowel, hence they end in *-sâ* (which depending on the speaker can be realized as *[-sâ]* or *[-sâà]*, see chapter 2). Feminine ordinal numbers end in *-sóno*, i.e. the feminine inflection *-no* is suffixed to the derivational suffix *-so*. The ordinal number for 'first' corresponds to the form *berá*; however the masculine ordinal number 'one' *kalâ* can also be used.

Some morpho-phonological rules take place between the fricative consonant of the suffix *-so* and the final consonant of the numeral root, c.f. chapter 2.

A list of ordinal numbers is given in table 5.9. Ordinal numbers above ten are not attested.

Table 5.9: Ordinal numbers

	Citation form	Masculine	Feminine
1st	berá	berâ	beróno
2nd	lánso	lansâ	lansóno
3rd	makkánsó	makkansâ	makkansóno
4th	óitto	oittâ	oittóno
5th	dónso	donsâ	donsóno
6th	lâxso~lâhso~lâsko	laskâ	laskóno
7th	tóbbiso	tobbisâ	tobbisóno
8th	lânkaiso	lankaisâ	lankaisóno
9th	sélso	selsâ	selsóno
10th	tábisó	tabisâ	tabisóno

The following are illustrative examples of ordinal numbers:

- (64) **námma**    **kí = sa**    **berâ**    **dongár**    **lansô**    **guní**  
 name:PL    3 = GEN    first:M    elephant    second:M    snake  
**makkansô**    **poolí**    **ɔittô**    **tumbuqúlo**    **donsô**  
 third:M    turtle    fourth:M    worm    fifth:M  
**kóopini**    **lahsô**    **núu**    **toḅḅisô**    **noqó**  
 squirrel    sixth:M    fire    seventh:M    water  
 their names were: the first, Elephant, the second, Snake, the third Turtle, the fourth, Worm, the fifth, Squirrel, the sixth, Fire, the seventh, Water.
- (65) **náano**    **ínno**    **lansó-no**  
 child:F.S    1SG:F    second-F.S  
 my second daughter

### 5.5.3 Money-counting

A faster counting system can be used instead of the traditional decimal and vigesimal system described in 5.5.2. This counting system is attested in the context of trading, when counting and talking about money. From one to nine the Hamar numerals illustrated in table 5.6 above are used:

- (66) **ukulí-xal**    **bərr**    **dong**    **dáa**  
 donkey-AFF    birr    five    exist  
 Donkey has five birr

The word *bóndi*<sup>38</sup> 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

<sup>38</sup> According to some Hamar speakers, the term *bóndi* comes from the English ‘pound’, which was the currency of the British administration.

Table 5.10: Money-counting system

10 birr	bóndi kála
30 birr	bóndi makkán
40 birr	bóndi oidí
50 birr	bóndi dong
60 birr	bóndi lax
100 birr	mató kála
800 birr	mató lánkai
1000 birr	shi kála

## 5.6 Ideophones

Hamar ideophones can be organized in three groups depending on their syntactic function: the majority of ideophones attested in the data informing this work function as predicates; the second larger group includes ideophones which occur as complements of the verbs *hamá* ‘say’ or *hayá* ‘do’; ideophonic adverbs constitute a smaller group. Most of the ideophones attested have a monosyllabic structure. For further information about the semantics of Hamar ideophones see Lydall (2000).

Ideophones which function as head of a predicate phrase occur at the right edge of the clause, in the slot which is normally occupied by the main independent verb. However, there is no pronominal subject agreement or other verbal inflections marked on ideophones. In the following examples, the English translation of the ideophones is underlined.

The following excerpt shows the use of the ideophone *p<sup>h</sup>eu* which roughly translates the action of finishing or emptying something:

- (68) **tíma**                **kaá-6**                **gaʔá-6,**                **yín**                **ki = dá-ika**  
 boiled.grains    pour-NARR    chew-NARR    so    3 = be-PF.CONT  
**p<sup>h</sup>eu!**                **leʔé** **lamá**                **yín**                **wod-énka,**                **isín-no**  
 IDEO.finish    year    two                so                sleep-CNV2                sorghum-F.S  
**yín**                **p<sup>h</sup>eu!**  
 so                IDEO.finish  
 After he had kept on boiling and chewing steamed sorghum, finished! after  
 two years all the sorghum was gone!

The ideophone *dap* designate the action of taking something quickly, or stealing:

- (69) **kéda**                **boráana-dan**                **oitá-ise**                **wongá**                **dap**  
 then                Boráana-ACC                chase-CNV1                cows:PL                IDEO.take  
 then after chasing the Boráana, they took the cows

- (70) **éé-sa píi-n-dan dap**  
 man:M-GEN faeces-F.OBL-ACC IDEO.take  
 he took the faeces of the guy

In the following excerpt two ideophones are used. First, the ideophone *t'ik* which is the complement of the verb *hamá*, and then the predicative ideophone *pirsh* 'to open':

- (71) **gaitâ báa shupí-no kin = bul-énka t'ik**  
 baboon:M UP lid-F.S 3 = open-CNV2 IDEO.hard  
**kómá-xa, álpa-n-ka pirsh**  
 3F.say-PAST.CONT knife-F.OBL-INS IDEO.open  
 The baboon was opening the lid on the top and since it was hard, he opened it with a knife.

The ideophone *dard'* 'explode, crash' can occur as predicate (72) or as the complement of *hamá* (73):

- (72) **kodí keda anc'á-ḡ hamḡ-énka**  
 3F then laugh-NARR say:PASS-CNV2  
**íi-no kó = sa dard'**  
 stomach-F.S 3F = GEN IDEO.explode  
 Then she laughed and her stomach exploded
- (73) **kurró dard' ham-idí-ne**  
 honey:F.S IDEO.explode say-PF-COP  
 The big honey (container) crashed

The construction which consists of the verb *hamá* and *hayá* selecting ideophones as their complements can be seen in the following examples. This construction is employed with some manner adverbs and directional deictics discussed in the previous sections.

- (74) **dattá-dan kat'-ánna qánte zap hayá-ise**  
 animal:M-ACC shoot-OPT DAT IDEO.grab do-CNV1  
 when he was ready to shoot the animal and he got it [...]

The followings are very common expressions involving the verb *hamá*. The ideophone *c'ak* in (75a) resembles the time reference expression illustrated in 5.3 (*róoro c'akó* 'calm day'):



- (75a) **c'ak**                      **hamá**  
 IDEO.calm      say.IMP.2SG  
 calm down!
- (75b) **kap**                      **hamá**  
 IDEO.wait      say.IMP.2SG  
 wait a sec!
- (75c) **laili**                      **hamá**  
 IDEO.continuously      say.IMP.2SG  
 wait! (longer period than the previous example)
- (75d) **kup**      **hamá**  
 IDEO      say.IMP.2SG  
 lean forward! (at 90 degrees, for instance when entering a hut)

Adverbial ideophones usually co-occur in combination with a fixed set of verbs. The ideophone *laili* is often found with motion verbs since it conveys the idea of a continuous movement. In some contexts it can translate as ‘far’. The lengthening of the final *i* evoke further distance or prolonged duration:

- (76a) **kóopini**      **laili**                      **gobá-ise**      **gobá-ise**  
 squirrel      IDEO.continuously      run-CNV1      run-CNV1  
 Squirrel ran and ran continuously
- (76b) **laili**                      **rasê-te**                      **rasê-te**                      **rasê-te**  
 IDEO.long      footprint-LOC      footprint-LOC      footprint-LOC  
**laili**                      **rasê-te**                      **yi?á-da**  
 IDEO.long      footprint-LOC      go-IPFV  
 he went for a long time footprint after footprint

Other adverbial ideophones are *t'if* ‘disappear’ and *put* ‘out’. The translation might sound redundant since they modify, accordingly, the verb ‘disappear’ and ‘go out’:

- (77) **dabíno**                      **t'if**                      **kai-idí**  
 wild.animal:F.S      IDEO.disappear      disappear-PF  
 The wild animals disappeared
- (78) **éé**                      **put**                      **utá-ise**  
 man:M      IDEO.out      go.out-CNV1  
 The man went out [...]

The ideophone *put* occurs often in the fixed expression introducing direct speech *put yin haménka*:

- (79)    **shóqo**    **put**            **yin**    **ham-énka:**    **“kóofini [...]**  
          tick        IDEO.out    so       say-CNV2       squirrel  
          Tick said so: “ Squirrel! [...]”