A grammar of Hamar : a South Omotic language of Ethiopia
Petrollino, S.

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

Leiden University Repository

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/44090 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Petrollino, S.
Title: A grammar of Hamar : a South Omotic language of Ethiopia
Issue Date: 2016-11-10

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 sub-groups 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**   **éɛ**   **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**   **éɛ**   **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-ê̂   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** **mɛ́ɛ** **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 *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** **ɛ́na** **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** **mɛ́ɛ** **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), *mɛ́ɛ* (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) **mɛ́ɛ**   **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 *mɛ́ɛ* 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 *mɛ́ɛ* 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** **mɛ́ɛ**   **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, mɛ́ɛ, 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) **mɛ́ɛwal hamá-ise ínta shadá-ti dáa-de**
downwards say-CNV1 1SG look-SE.1SG exist-PFV
I am looking facing downwards

(26) **qáari-no mɛ́ɛ 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 *íínte* '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 *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**   **tudí̆-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

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 = niʔ-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

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 *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**   **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

	sédima		sunset
burínka	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	sέlso	sεlsɔ̂	sεlsóno
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, <u>finished!</u> after two years all the sorghum was <u>gone!</u>

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 <u>took</u> 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 <u>hard</u>, he <u>opened</u> 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 <u>exploded</u>

(73) **kurró**   **darɗ**   **ham-idí-ne**
honey:F.S   IDEO.explode   say-PF-COP
The big honey (container) <u>crashed</u>

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 <u>got</u> 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) **έε**   **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! […]"