A grammar of Hamar : a South Omotic language of Ethiopia

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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 = yi?á-de**
3 = go-PFV
he went

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

(4c) **yi?á-ise**
go-CNV1
going

(4d) **yi?á-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, *aajímí* '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.