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A grammar of Hamar : a South Omotic language of Ethiopia

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8 Syntax of the noun phrase

This chapter provides an overview of the noun phrase structure. Section 8.1 summarizes the agreement patterns within the NP and the possibility for uninflected nouns to be modified. Section 8.2 gives an overview of non-core cases: these are phrasal affixes which similar to the accusative case *-dan* discussed in chapter 7, attach to the rightmost edge of the NP. Section 8.3 is dedicated entirely to the genitive case and the expression of possession, whereas section 8.4 deals with relative clauses. The last section of this chapter treats conjunctive, inclusive and disjunctive coordination.

8.1 Agreement

Head nouns can be modified by attributive nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, possessive pronouns, and relative clauses. Since modifiers agree in gender and number with their heads, syntactic restrictions apply to uninflected nouns: the general form of nouns can only be modified by adjectives and attributive nouns, since the latter have an uninflected general form. Demonstratives, possessive pronouns and relative clauses agree in masculine and feminine gender, or in plural number with their heads, and do not have an uninflected form. Table 8.1 offers an overview of the syntactic restrictions for inflected and uninflected nouns in Hamar: a check mark ✓ signals the possibility for inflected and uninflected nouns to be modified. Relativized verbs are treated in detail in section 8.4.

Table 8.1: Syntactic restrictions for inflected and uninflected nouns

	gen.	M	PL	F
Demonstratives	-	✓	✓	✓
Possessive pronouns	-	✓	✓	✓
Relativized verbs	-	✓	✓	✓
Adjectives / attributive nouns	✓	✓	✓	✓

Masculine, feminine and plural agreement is found on each modifier of the head (1), whereas the ‘zero’ agreement of general forms can only be cross-referenced on attributive nouns and adjectives (2).

- (1a) **ɔɔnê likkâ haalê káa**
 house:M small:M new:M DEM1.M
 this small, new house (M)

- (1b) **onnó koró geccó-no innó-ne**
 house:F.S DEM1.F old-F.S 1SG:F-COP
 this old house (F) is mine

- (1c) **kidí qullá sháaqa-na igirá-dan shansh-idí-ne**
 3 goat:PL small-PL DEM2.PL-ACC buy:CAUS-PF-COP
 he has sold those small goats (PL)
- (2a) **shekíni déer**
 beads red
 red beads
- (2b) **éedi oshimḃá**
 person shy
 a shy person / shy people

The examples in (2) can be inflected for M/F gender and PL number as illustrated in (3) below, but the head nouns in (1) cannot occur in the general form because they are modified by demonstrative and possessive pronouns. Even though general forms cannot be modified by possessive pronouns, pronominal possession can still be expressed over uninflected forms by means of genitive-marked pronouns, see 8.3.3 below.

- (3a) **shekínno dérro**
 beads:F.S red:F.S
 red beads (F)
- (3b) **éε oshimḃâ**
 man:M shy:M
 the shy man (M)

Numerals, except for the numeral ‘one’ and for ordinal numbers do not inflect for gender, nor for number; numerals usually modify uninflected nouns. The numeral *kála* ‘one’ and ordinal numbers inflect for M and F gender and agree with the head they modify, see section 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 in chapter 5.

8.2 Non-core cases

This section discusses non-core phrasal case suffixes. The table below offers an overview of non-core cases, and the respective glosses are given in the last column. The genitive case is treated separately in section 8.3 together with possessive constructions.

Table 8.2: Non-core case suffixes

Case	Suffix	Gloss
Genitive	-sa	GEN
Dative	-na ; qánte ; nánte	DAT
Affective	-kal ~ -xal	AFF
Instrumental	-ka ~ -xa	INS
General locative	-te	LOC
Inessive	-r	IN
Adessive	-bar	AD
Specific allative	-dar	ALL1
General allative	-shet ~ -shette	ALL2
Ablative	-rra	ABL
Comitative	-be ~ -bet ~ -bette	COM

Table 8.3 illustrates the combination of phrasal case suffixes with general forms and inflected nouns. As shown in the table, the oblique case *-n* (cf. chapter 7, section 7.4.3) is never found on general forms and on nouns inflected for masculine gender or plural number, but it occurs only on feminine nouns, before phrasal case suffixes. Apart from a few exceptions (indicated by an asterisk * if there are particular restrictions, or by an hyphen if a case suffix is not attested with a particular inflection), case marking is generally possible with both inflected and uninflected nouns. The exceptions are due to the morpho-phonological make up of some case suffixes, or simply to accidental gap in the data. These exceptions will be mentioned along with the discussion accompanying each case suffix.

Table 8.3: Case marking on inflected and uninflected nouns

	gen.	M	PL	F
accusative	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n ± ACC
genitive	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + GEN
dative	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + DAT
affective	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + AFF
instrumental	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + INS
general locative	*	✓	-	✓ + n + LOC
inessive	✓	-	-	-
adessive	✓	✓	-	✓ + n + AD
specific allative	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + ALL1
general allative	✓	✓	-	✓ + n + ALL2
ablative	✓	-	-	-
comitative	✓	✓	✓	✓ + n + COM

8.2.1 Dative case

The semantic roles associated with the dative case are recipient and benefactive (4), and we will see later on that the dative case is used with other functions as well. The examples below show the dative case suffixed to clitic pronouns and to NPs:

- (4a) **múna** **kí=na** **imá**
 sorghum.dumplings 3 = DAT give.IMP.2SG
 give him sorghum dumplings!
- (4b) **í=na** **dungurí** **jaagá**
 1SG = DAT sandal sew.IMP.2SG
 sew sandals for me!
- (4c) **há=sa** **geshón-na** **nagáya** **hamá**
 2SG = GEN wife.F.OBL-DAT peace say.IMP.2SG
 say 'nagáya' to your wife
- (4d) **ukulê** **káa-na** **galá-n** **im-é**
 donkey:M DEM1.M-DAT food-F.OBL give-IMP.2PL
 give the food to this male donkey!

Two verbs take a dative complement in fixed expressions: the verb *gobá* 'run' with a dative complement translates as 'run away from'. The example below show the verb 'enter' with a dative complement (5a) and with a subject argument (5b):

- (5a) **há=na** **ard-idú?**
 2SG = DAT enter-PF.INT
 did you understand? (lit. did it enter to you?)
- (5b) **yáa** **ard-idú?**
 2SG enter-PF.INT
 did you get in?

The dative case is used as well in comparative constructions to mark the standard NP, see also chapter 9 on copular clauses:

- (6) **ɔɔnê** **agá** **ɔɔnê** **káa-na** **geccó-ne**
 house:M DEM2.M house:M DEM1.M-DAT old-COP
 that house is older than this house

The dative case *-na* has two allomorphs cases, *nánte* and *qánte*, which are used analytically. The dative *qánte* can be added after the dative case to emphasize the recipient reading:

- (7a) **kodí éé-na-na qánte aapó gi-idí**
 3F man-PL-DAT DAT message say-PF
 she told a message to/for the men
- (7b) **kí=na qánte álpa wul imá-ḡ**
 3=DAT DAT knife all give-NARR
 (he) gave him all the knives
- (7c) **wáa-n-ḡan éen-na qánte kashá-ise**
 meat-F.OBL-ACC people.F.OBL-DAT DAT distribute-CNV1
 after distributing the meat to the people [...]
- (7d) **ínta há=na qánte saxá saʔáti lammá-xa yaatí**
 1SG 2SG=DAT DAT tomorrow hour two-INS sheep
baʔá-te niʔ-ó=i=de
 bring-SE come-PURP=1SG=PFV
 tomorrow at two I will come and bring a sheep for you

The marker *qánte* occurs in complex predicates to mark inceptive aspect, see also chapter 9, section 9.1.7:

- (8) **wodí yiʔ-ánna qánte**
 1PL go-OPT DAT
 we are about to go

The expression ‘for this reason, because of that’ is expressed in Hamar with a dative construction involving the marker *qánte*:

- (9) **ogó-na qánte yáa núu-ḡan deesá!**
 DEM2.F-DAT DAT 2SG fire-ACC kill.IMP.2SG
 for that reason, kill Fire!

The analytic dative case *nánte* is often found in combination with nouns inflected for plural number: compare (10a) and (10b) below:

- (10a) **zóbo-na nánte yin ko=giá-de**
 lion-PL DAT so 3F=tell-PFV
 she said so to the lions

- (10b) **zóbo-na ko = giá-de**
 lion-DAT 3F = tell-PFV
 she said to Lion

The dative *nánte* however is not obligatory with plural nouns. Plural nouns can be marked by the dative suffix case, but the sequence *-na-na* (-PL-DAT) is more rare. Compare (11) below with (7a) above.

- (11) **zóbo ée-na nánte ki = giá-de**
 lion man-PL DAT 3 = tell-PFV
 Lion said to the men

The two analytic dative cases *qánte* and *nánte* are clearly related to each other, and they can be both seen as being composed of the general locative case *-te*. *nánte* is probably the result of assimilation between the dative case suffix *-na* and the benefactive marker *qánte* (the uvular can be reduced to glottal stop and to zero, cf. chapter 2). The analytic case *nánte* can be suffixed to clitic pronouns (short form I). Compare the two examples given below:

- (12a) **ínta yé = na yer gi-idí-ne**
 1SG 2PL = DAT thing tell-PF-COP
 I told you (PL) something
- (12b) **ye = nánte waadíma i = da-kash-é**
 2PL = DAT work 1SG = IPFV-distribute-PRES
 I'll give you (PL) work / I'll give work for you

8.2.2 Affective case

The affective case⁴⁴ represents an involuntary experiencer participant which is not visibly affected by an event. The action expressed by the verb does not involve volition nor a change of state (13).

- (13a) **gaitâ gaaré-be gaitâ likká-be**
 baboon:M big:M-COM baboon:M small:M-COM
qáara-be zóbo-xal ki = dáa-de
 monkey-COM lion-AFF 3 = exist-PFV
 the big baboon, the small baboon, and the vervet monkey lived at Lion's place

⁴⁴ The term is borrowed from linguistic descriptions of some North-East Caucasian languages where a special affective case marks the senser of verbs of feeling or perception, cf. Comrie (1981:223-224). I thank Denis Creissels for pointing it out to me.

- (13b) **shóqo kóopini-sa rɔɔ-tá-xal t'eezí dorq-idí**
 tick squirrel-GEN leg-M-AFF near sit-PF
 Tick sat close to the squirrel's leg

- (13c) **ínta há = xal dáa-ne**
 1SG 2SG = AFF exist-COP
 I am with you (i.e. I won't leave you)

In (13) the affective case marks the affected experiencer which lacks control over the situation expressed. The affective case can be used in place of the genitive case on the possessor NP for predicative possession (14).

- (14) **qáski-xal bóndi kála dáa-da**
 dog-AFF ten one exist-IPFV
 Dog had ten birr

The typical function of the affective case is to mark the experiencer of sensation and perception verbs; the source of the sensation is treated as the subject of the construction:

- (15a) **úuma í = xal gaam-idí-ne**
 flower 1SG = AFF smell-PF-COP
 I smell the scent of the flower (lit. flower smells at me)

- (15b) **wó = xal qajá ko = qaj-é**
 1PL = AFF be.cold 3F = be.cold-PRES
 we will feel cold (lit. it will be cold at us)

The verb *gaamá* in example (15a) can take also an allative complement, see example (26) below. The affective case can also be suffixed to pronouns to mark animate participants which are somehow related to the event described in an intransitive clause (16). In this context the affective case occurs in the form *-kalánka* (the velar *k* is fricativized in intervocalic position, cf. chapter 2, section 2.1.1.⁴⁵

- (16a) **wɔxá i = xalánka goín-te di-idí-ne**
 ox:M 1SG = AFF road.F.OBL-LOC die-PF-COP
 the ox died on me along the way

⁴⁵ *-kalánka* can also be segmented as *-kalán* followed by the instrumental *-ka*. *kalán* is the alternative form of the oblique pronoun *kí = xal* or *kó = xal*, see chapter 4, section 4.1.3.

- (16b) **i = xalánka ðaq-idí-ne**
 1SG = AFF be.wrong-PF-COP
 I am wrong, I made a mistake
- (16c) **qultóno i = xalánka kai-idí-ne**
 goat:F.S 1SG = AFF be.lost-PF-COP
 I lost the herd of goats

This construction resembles those found in some Romance languages which use a dative pronoun, usually referred to as dative of interest, in order to add an extra argument to intransitive clauses.

8.2.3 Instrumental case

The instrumental case *-ka* encodes instrument (with, by means of) but also temporal and perlocative (through). The overlap between instrumental (17) temporal (18) and perlocative (19) will be shown in the following examples. The instrumental case does not have a comitative meaning and the concept of ‘together with’ is expressed instead by the comitative case, see 8.2.4.

- (17a) **ínta riggíma-xa ási-n shurt-idí-ne**
 1SG chew.stick-INS tooth-F.OBL brush-PF-COP
 I brushed my teeth with a chew stick
- (17b) **róo-n-ka wo = yiʔ-é**
 leg-F.OBL-INS 1PL = go-PRES
 let’s go on foot
- (18a) **rɔɔrɔ ɔittɔ-xa mótta-no baxá baxadá**
 day:M fourth:M-INS fermented.dough-F.S cook cook:PASS
 on the fourth day, the fermented dough will be cooked
- (18b) **yáa pər beré saʔáti kála-xa niʔá**
 2SG IDEO.again later hour one-INS come.IMP.2SG
sóoti-n-ka geshɔ ínte qolê
 night-F.OBL-INS husband:M 1SG:M exist.not
 you also, come later at one, at night my husband is not there
- (19) **goín ogó-xa, ɔra laii wóna-xa**
 way.F.OBL DEM2.F-INS HI IDEO.far wóna-INS
ko = niʔá-de
 3F = come-PFV
 by that road, they came all the way through Wóna to here

The instrumental case can be used as a vocative marker on nouns and on proper names:

- (20a) **éen-ka** **yedí** **í = na** **birr** **im-é!**
 people.F.OBL-INS 2PL 1SG = DAT bərr give-IMP.2PL
 oh people! give me money!
- (20b) **guní-xa** **zóbo-dan** **deesá!**
 snake-INS lion-ACC kill.IMP.2SG
 oh Snake! kill Lion!

8.2.4 Locative cases

Case marking plays an important role in Hamar spatial description and there are up to seven cases used for location of referents in the spatial domain.

Static location is expressed by the general locative case *-te* (21), the inessive case *-r* (22) and the adessive case *-bar* (23). These cases occur hardly ever with motion verbs. If motion verbs are used in combination with these locative cases, the emphasis is on the goal of the motion, i.e. the landmark towards which the motion is directed. Other cases are used in combination with motion verbs to describe path of motion events, see below. The following example illustrate the expression of static location by means of the general locative case (21). The general locative case *-te* is homophonous with the same-event converb marker *-te*, see chapter 10.

- (21) **t'álian** **niʔá-ise** **boráan** **pée-n-te** **gebí**
 Italians come-CNV1 Boraana.F.OBL land-F.OBL-LOC a.lot
dorq-idí
 sit-PF
 the Italians came and stayed for long time in the land of the Boraana

The inessive case involves containment in the space denoted by the NP (22a), (22b) and it denotes static location in delimited areas such as villages or small places (22c):

- (22a) **yərâ** **kalâ** **há = sa** **íi-r** **dáa-ne**
 thing:M one:M 2SG = GEN belly-IN exist-COP
 there is something inside of you (i.e. there is something wrong with you)
- (22b) **tumbuqúlo** **pée-r** **ardá-ise** **shid-idí**
 worm ground-IN enter-CNV1 stay-PF
 Worm entered in the ground and remained there

- (22c) **náa ínta shánqo-r isín shoosh-idí-ne**
 yesterday 1SG Shanqo-IN sorghum roast-PF-COP
 yesterday I roasted sorghum in Shanqo

The adessive case denotes close contact and expresses proximity to the described place:

- (23) **haqattâ yáan-sa mizaqá-bar ki = dâa-de**
 tree:M sheep.F.OBL-GEN right-AD 3 = exist-PFV
 the small tree is at the right of the female sheep

The allative (motion to), perlative (motion through), and ablative (motion away from) cases describe goal, trajectory and source of movement. There are two allative cases, the specific allative *-dar* and the general allative *-shet*. The allative *-shet* denotes motion towards places (24) without any specific denotation, whereas the allative *-dar* involves movement towards a goal with contact (25):

- (24a) **laii sagá-te kéna-shet ko = yi?á-de**
 IDEO.far continue-SE Kenya-ALL2 3F = go-PFV
 they continued and went all the way to Kenya

- (24b) **mée yin gurmá-n káara-n-shet yin**
 downwards so slope-F.OBL Kara-F.OBL-ALL2 so
gob-idí-ne
 run-PF-COP
 so they ran down the slope towards Kara

- (25a) **noqó núu-dar laalimá-ise núu di-idí**
 water fire-ALL1 leak-CNV1 fire die-PF
 Water leaked on Fire and Fire died

- (25b) **dâa-n-dan báakulo-n-dar wóisá-ise**
 pot-F.OBL-ACC stone-F.OBL-ALL1 put-CNV1
 after putting the pot on the cooking stones [...]

The verb *gaamá* 'smell' can take an allative complement denoting the experiencer of the action:

- (26) **doobí í = dar gaam-idí-ne**
 rain 1SG = ALL1 smell-PF-COP
 I smell the scent of the rain (lit. rain smells to me)

Source is expressed by the ablative case *-rra*:

- (27a) **pée-n wonnó-rra yáa utá!**
 land-F.OBL 1PL:F-ABL 2SG go.out.IMP.2SG
 get out of our land!

- (27b) **qullá-ďan yaaná-rra ed-é!**
 goat:PL-ACC sheep:PL-ABL separate-IMP.2PL
 separate the goats from the sheep!

- (27c) **ínta Diméka-rra iní i = ni?á-de**
 1SG Dimeka-ABL earlier 1SG = come-PFV
 I came earlier from Dimeka

Apart from the instrumental case *-ka* which can have a perlocative reading (cf. 8.2.3 example 19), there is a postposition in Hamar which is used to designate motion through, across or along the space referred to by the NP. The postposition *róxa* is used in the following way:

- (28a) **noqó róxa háan ba?á-tte ardá = i = da ard-é**
 water PER 2SG:ACC bring-SE enter = 1SG = IPFV enter-PRES
 I will carry you across the water and I will immerse myself in it

- (28b) **qáu róxa róoro kála yi?-idí**
 forest PER day one go-PF
 one day (he) went through the forest

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

The perlocative postposition can be analysed as composed of the inessive case *-r* and the instrumental/perlocative case *-ka*.

Locative case suffixes show some restrictions and they cannot be suffixed to any noun. The inessive (*-r*) and the ablative (*-rra*) are found only on the general form of the noun and on proper nouns (names of places). The reason for that could be due to the phonological shape of the case suffixes. The adessive (*-bar*) and the allative case (*-shet*) are never attested with plural nouns, but these gaps are probably accidental. Similarly, the general locative case (*-te*) is not found with plural nouns. General uninflected forms do not get the general locative suffix *-te*, but if a non-definite location has to be expressed, the locative case is suffixed to the modifier *wa* ‘another’ following the uninflected noun:

- (29a) **raqí wá-te**
 place another-LOC
 somewhere else (lit. in another place)

- (29b) **baití wá-te**
 river another-LOC
 in a river

8.2.5 Comitative case

This section treats the functions of the comitative case as phrasal case suffix. The function of the comitative case has been extended to coordination at NP level (30d): this topic is developed in section 8.5.

The comitative case *-be* denotes the relationship of accompaniment between the participants of an event: comitative and instrumental are thus marked differently. The comitative case has three allomorphs: *-be*, *-bet* and *-bette*. The latter usually occurs before a pause. As mentioned in chapter 4 and in the previous sections, the comitative case is suffixed to the short form II of clitic pronouns, and the nasal consonant assimilates in place of articulation to the following bilabial consonant. The comitative case is suffixed on both NPs:

- (30a) **ínta kóm = be yi?á = i = da yi?-é**
 1SG 3F = COM go = 1SG = IPFV go-PRES
 I'll go with her

- (30b) **qáara-bet kínka báz-in-dar ki = yi?á-de**
 monkey-COM together river-F.OBL-ALL1 3 = go-PFV
 He went to the river together with Vervet Monkey

- (30c) **dattâ hám = bette éedi-sa aafó-n-ka**
 animal:M 2SG = COM person-GEN mouth-F.OBL-INS
ḍalq-â
 talk-REL.PAST.M
 the wild animal that talked to you like a person (lit. with the mouth of a person)

- (30d) **geshóm-be geshó-be kínka ooní kála-sa**
 wife.F.OBL-COM husband:M-COM together house one-GEN
íi-n-te ki = dáa-de
 stomach-F.OBL-LOC 3 = exist-PFV
 the wife and the husband were together inside a house

8.3 Genitive case and possessive constructions

This section compares genitival constructions and the encoding of possessive constructions within the NP. The genitive case is discussed in 8.3.1 and compared vis-à-vis juxtaposition in 8.3.2. In 8.3.3 the use of the possessive pronoun is contrasted with the genitive-marked pronouns. Kinship terms have special possessed forms which are described in 8.3.4.

8.3.1 Genitive case

The genitival relation between two nouns or NPs is expressed by the genitive case *-sa*. The genitive case is suffixed to the last word of the NP functioning as possessor, and the possessed follows the genitival modifier. This order does not fit with the general order at NP level, whereby modifiers follow their heads. The genitive construction in Hamar denotes various types of relationships, which do not always involve actual possession. The relationships expressed by the genitival construction are the following: ownership (31) (32), whole-part relationship (33) including body parts of humans (34) and animals (35), partitive (36), and kinship relationship (37).

- (31) **bargám̐ba-sa qullá-d̐an ko = bombí-n-ka maccá-de**
 Bargamba-GEN goat:PL-ACC 3F = bomb-F.OBL-INS finish-PFV
 they killed (some of) Bargamba's goats with bombs

- (32) **hám̐mo koró shulí-sa-ne**
 field:F.S DEM1.F Shuli-GEN-COP
 this field belongs to Shuli (lit. this field is Shuli's)

- (33) **ɔ̌nê likká-sa yé̌la-no d̐amm-idí**
 house:M small:M-GEN roof-F.S fall-PF
 the roof of the small house fell down

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

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

- (36) **é̌e-na d̐óng-isa é̌e kalâ ka-idí**
 man-PL five-GEN man:M one:M get.lost-PF
 of five people, one got lost

- (37a) **áari-sa indá-na áli-be dóbo-be-ne**
 Aari-GEN mother-PL Ali-COM Dobo-COM-COP
 Ali and Dobo are Aari's mothers⁴⁶

- (37b) **ínta ánamo-n innó-n-sa geshô i = aapá-de**
 1SG friend-F.OBL 1SG:F-F.OBL-GEN husband:M 1SG = see = PFV
 I saw the husband of my friend (F)

Note that in (37b) the possessor NP is itself a possessive construction with a possessive pronoun. Locational NPs, which mostly involve spatial terms related to body parts, are also marked by the genitive case (38):

- (38a) **gaitâ utá-te hattá-sa zuló-te dorqá-isɔxa**
 baboon:M climb-SE tree:M-GEN back:M-LOC sit-PAST.PF
 after the baboon climbed and sat on the very top of the tree

- (38b) **kɔsô háqa-na-sa gidí-n-ka gungumá-te ki = yiʔá-de**
 ball:M tree-PL-GEN middle-F.OBL-INS roll-SE 3 = go-PFV
 the ball rolled and passed through the trees

- (38c) **dáa-n-sa sukká-n-te núu-n gutt-é**
 pot-F.OBL-GEN around-F.OBL-LOC fire-F.OBL light.fire-IMP.2PL
 light the fire around the pot

The genitive case is used for predicative possession in existential clauses, and it can mark the standard NP in comparative constructions (see chapter 9).

8.3.2 Juxtaposition and genitive constructions

In addition to the genitive-marked constructions, nouns can be simply juxtaposed. Juxtaposition is rarely used to mark ownership, but it is attested in body terms denoting whole-part relationship and in noun-noun compounds:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(39a) dará ukulí
 lowland donkey
 'zebra'</p> | <p>(39b) áapi síiti
 eye hair
 'eye lash'</p> |
| <p>(39c) búushi síiti
 chin hair
 'beard'</p> | <p>(39d) nukí óolo
 nose hole
 'nostril'</p> |

⁴⁶ The second mother is the second wife of her father.

As mentioned in chapter 7 (section 7.4.4), when the compounds above are inflected, the relational marker is suffixed to the first element of the compound. Other parts of the body are described with genitival constructions:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------------------|--------------|
| (40a) | áapi-sa | t'ía | (40b) | áan-isa | buudó |
| | eye-GEN | black | | arm-GEN | back |
| | 'pupil' | | | 'back of the hand' | |

Juxtaposition is preferred over genitive marking in the case of extended NPs already marked by the genitive case. In (41a) below the NP [Dobo's house] functioning as the possessor of the genitive construction, is itself a possessive construction, thus the ownership relationship between the possessor 'Dobo' and the possessed 'house' is encoded by juxtaposition. Note that Hamar does not make distinctions on the nature of the possessor or the possessed (such as alienable or inalienable): 'house' can occur as the possessed element of a genitival construction as shown in (41b):

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (41a) | dóbo | ooní-n-sa | yéela-no | si-idí-ne |
| | Dóbo | house-F.OBL-GEN | roof-F.S | be.broken-PF-COP |
| | The roof of Dóbo's house is broken | | | |
-
- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------|
| (41b) | dóbo-sa | ooní-n-dar | i = da | yi?-é |
| | Dóbo-GEN | house-F.OBL-ALL1 | 1SG = IPFV | go-PRES |
| | I go to Dóbo's house | | | |

Example (42) shows a sequence of three possessive constructions: the first relationship is expressed by juxtaposition, the following two are genitive-marked. In this case the genitive-marked locational NP is also the possessed of a genitival construction; the ownership relation between the possessor 'Walé' and the possessed 'ox' is thus expressed by juxtaposition.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (42) | walé | wɔxá-sa | qushumḃá-n-sa | íi-n-te | ardá-ise |
| | Walé | ox:M-GEN | horn-F.OBL-GEN | stomach-F.OBL-LOC | enter-CNV1 |
| | entering inside the horns of Walé's ox [...] | | | | |

8.3.3 Possessive pronouns and genitive-marked pronouns

Both possessive pronouns and genitive-marked pronouns can modify inflected NPs. They can be used with kinship terms, animates, inanimates and body parts. The use of inflected possessive pronouns seem to correlate with specific pragmatic contexts in which a stronger contrast is expressed (cf. 43a and 43b). However, for some of the examples given below (44) the two pronouns are interchangeable without changing the meaning:

- (43a) **í = sa an-tâ ai-idí-ne**
 1SG = GEN arm-M be.broken.PF.COP
 my arm is broken

- (43b) **an-tâ inté ai-idí-ne**
 arm-M 1SG:M be.broken.PF.COP
my arm is broken

- (44a) **í = sa námmo bárqi-ne**
 1SG = GEN name:F.S Barqi-COP
 my name is Barqi

- (44b) **námmo ínno bárqi-ne**
 name:F.S 1SG:F Barqi-COP
 my name is Barqi

- (45a) **naasâ í = sa aajaď-idí-ne**
 boy:M 1SG = GEN be.sick-PF-COP
 my son is sick

- (45b) **naasâ inté aajaď-idí-ne**
 boy:M 1SG:M be.sick-PF-COP
 my son is sick

Genitive pronouns cannot modify possessive constructions which have dependency relations with the clause: apart from the comitative case discussed above, double-case marking is not allowed. For this reason, the instrumental case in example (46) can only mark a possessive phrase in which the possessor is a possessive pronoun:

- (46) **zóbo ínta aaf-idí-ne, áapi-n innó-n-ka**
 lion 1SG see-PF-COP eye-F.OBL 1SG:F- F.OBL-INS
 I have seen a lion, with my eyes

Genitive-marked pronouns represent the only way to express pronominal possession over general uninflected forms: since possessive pronouns agree in gender or number with the possessed NP, they cannot modify general forms:

- (47a) **í = sa ánamo ens-ó i = da-yi?-é**
 1SG = GEN friend go.with-PURP 1SG = IPFV-go-PRES
 I go to accompany a friend of mine

- (47b) **í = sa** **zará** **da-shoq-é**
 1SG = GEN skin IPFV-stink-PRES
 I stink (lit. my skin stinks)

In existential sentences expressing predicative possession, the pronominal possessor can only be marked by the genitive case: inflected possessive pronouns cannot occur in predicative possession.

- (48) **éedi** **makkán** **kó = sa** **báski** **dáa**
 person three 3F = GEN lover exist
 she has three lovers

As shown in chapter 4, section 4.2, genitive pronouns and possessive pronouns co-occur to emphasize possession.

8.3.4 Kinship possession

A possessive phrase such as ‘my father’ can be expressed either by the possessive pronoun modifying the noun for ‘father’ or by a special possessed form. Most possessed kinship terms take on short form I clitic pronouns when the possessor is the first (*i-*) or second (*ha-*) person singular. These proclitics function as possessive pronouns only when they are cliticized to the kinship terms for ‘mother’, ‘father’, ‘older sister’, ‘older brother’ and ‘younger brother or younger sister’. The cliticization of short form I pronouns triggers some changes in the phonological make up of kinship terms. First of all, the 1st and 2nd person pronouns trigger a change in the position of tone. For nouns beginning in *i*, like ‘mother’, ‘father’, or ‘older brother’, the difference between the first person possessed form and the general form is purely tonal. The 2nd person clitic pronoun *ha-* replaces of the initial vowel of kinship terms:

Table 8.4: Possessed kinship terms

Kinship terms	Possessed forms
indá ‘mother’ (gen.)	índa ‘my mother’ hánda ‘your mother’
indána ‘mothers’ (PL)	índana ‘my mothers’ hándana ‘your mothers’
imbá ‘father’ (gen.)	ímba ‘my father’ hámba ‘your father’
imbána ‘uncles’ (PL)	ímbana ‘my uncles’ hámbana ‘your uncles’
mísha ‘older sister’ (gen.)	ímisha ‘my older sister’ hámisha ‘your older sister’
ishím ‘older brother’ (gen.)	íshim ‘my older brother’ háshim ‘your older brother’

kána 'younger sibling' (gen.)	íkana 'my younger brother' hákana 'your younger brother' íkanno 'my younger sister' (F) hákanno 'your younger sister'
-------------------------------	--

The possessed kinship terms are used in the following ways:

- (49a) **índa-na** **sóofa-be** **kerí-be-ne**
 my.mother-PL Sóofa-COM Kerí-COM-COP
 Sóofa and Kerí are my mothers
- (49b) **woxóno** **ogoró** **ímba-sa-ne**
 cow:F.S DEM2.F my.father-GEN-COP
 that is my father's herd of cows
- (49c) **hámba** **háine?**
 your.father who
 who is your father?
- (49d) **íkanno** **sirmá-ne**
 my.sister:F.S pregnant-COP
 my younger sister is pregnant

Possessed kinship terms can be modified by possessive pronouns to emphasize possession:

- (50) **hámmo** **koró** **íshim** **inté-sa-ne**
 field:F.S DEM1:F.S my.brother 1SG:M-GEN-COP
 this field belongs to my older brother

The noun *misó* 'friend' has been attested in the possessed form with the clitics *i-* and *ha-* even though strictly speaking it does not fall in the category of kinship terms. The nouns for 'wife' or 'husband' can be only possessed by means of possessive pronouns.

8.4 Relative clauses

In many regards, this section only scratches the surface of Hamar relative clauses, and further investigation is needed to fully understand this topic.

Relative clauses are formed by nominalized verbs following their head noun. Only inflected and definite head nouns can be modified by relative clauses, and there are no special pronouns introducing them (but see locative relative clauses below).

Verbs can be nominalized by suffixing nominal markers to the verb root. Nominalized verbs are participial forms which agree in gender and number with the head they modify. The nominal markers are identical to the regular nominal inflections *-â* (M), *-no* (F) and *-na* (PL) except for the fact that they are preceded by a vowel and attach to verb roots (cf. chapter 3, section 3.6). The masculine present nominalizing suffix show that there was a vowel *i* between the verb root and the agreement marker, and it assimilated.

Table 8.5: Nominalizing suffixes

	Present	Past
M	-ê	-â
F	-áino	-óno
PL	-áina	-ána

These nominalizing suffixes can be used to derive adjectives from stative verbs (see chapter 3) and to form relative clauses:

- (51a) **ée** **dagad-â**
 man:M be.angry-REL.PAST.M
 the angry man (the man who is angry)

- (51b) **ée** **shúfo-n-te** **dorq-â** **ímba-ne**
 man:M shadow-F.OBL-LOC sit-REL.PAST.M my.father-COP
 the man who is seated in the shadow is my father

Nominalized verbs can be agentive as in (51a) and (52a).

If the action expressed by the verb has present or future reference, the nominalizing suffixes *-ê*, *-áino*, and *-áina* are used (52a & b). If the event has taken place in the past, the markers *-â*, *-óno* and *-ána* are suffixed to the verb (51b).

- (52a) **parsí-n** **wuc'-óno**
 beer-F.OBL drink-REL.PAST.F.S
 the *parsí* drinker (F) / The one who drank *parsí*

- (52b) **sáa** **éeno** **parsí-n** **wuc'-áino**
 SLEV people:F.S beer-F.OBL drink-REL.PRES.F.S
í = sa **anamó-ne**
 1SG = GEN friend-COP
 those people over there who are drinking *parsí* beer are my friends

The nominalizing suffixes are labelled 'relative present' and 'relative past' since they mark relative clause constructions with present or past reference, compare for instance (53) below with (51b) above. In (51b) the relativized verb *dorqâ* has a

resultative meaning, whereas the relativized verb *dorqê* in (53) is interpreted as a present event which is being witnessed by the speakers:

- (53) **sáa shúfo-n-te dorq-ê ímba-ne**
 SLEV shadow-F.OBL-LOC sit-REL.PRES.M my.father-COP
 the one who is sitting in the shadow over there is my father

Relative present suffixes are used for present and future reference (54) whereas relative past suffixes have past reference (55). Present and future are lumped together in the negative paradigms, see chapter 12, section 12.3.

- (54a) **wɔxá ɔra niʔ-ê agá wongéla-sa**
 ox:M HI come-REL.PRES.M DEM2.M Wongéla-GEN
wɔxá-ne
 ox:M-COP
 the ox which is coming towards us, that is Wongéla's ox
- (54b) **saxá ɓáa lála-r han = aaf-áino índa-ne**
 tomorrow UP Lala-IN 2SG = see-REL.PRES.F.S my.mother-COP
 the one (F) you will see tomorrow up there in Lala is my mother
- (55a) **náa gabá-n-te han = aaf-óno**
 yesterday market-F.OBL-LOC 2SG = see-REL.PAST.F.S
índa-ne
 my.mother-COP
 the one (F) you saw yesterday in the market is my mother
- (55b) **boqólla kim = baʔ-ána makkán-ne**
 kernel:PL 3 = bring-REL.PAST.PL three-COP
 the kernels (PL) that he brought (PL) were three

The complex NP (the head noun plus the relative clause) can be slotted into whatever position a noun phrase can fill, thus it can function as subject (56), direct object (57), and object of non-core cases (58). The nominalized verb shows agreement with the relativized position:

- (56a) **qultâ gabá-rra in = shan-â aajaɗ-idí-ne**
 goat:M market-ABL 1SG = buy-REL.PAST.M be.sick-PF-COP
 the goat (M) that I bought in the market is sick

- (56b) **gaitóno** **náa** **qáu-n-te** **in = aap-óno**
 baboon:F.S yesterday forest-F.OBL-LOC 1SG = see-REL.PAST.F.S
ko = diá-de
 3F = die-PF
 the baboon (F) I saw yesterday in the forest died

The syntactic restrictions which apply to feminine NPs (cf. chapter 7, section 7.4.3 on feminine subject case and feminine oblique case) are valid also in the context of relative clauses. The feminine complex NP in (56b) functions as subject and this is signalled by subject feminine markers on the head noun *gaitóno* and the nominalized verb *aapóno*, both glossed as 'F.S'. Compare example (56b) with (57b) and (57c) below where the feminine complex NP functioning as direct object is marked by the non-subject (oblique) case *-n*:

- (57a) **qultâ** **in = shan-á-dan** **mash-atíne**
 goat:M 1SG = buy-REL.PAST.M-ACC slaughter-PRES.NEG.1SG
 I won't slaughter the goat (M) that I bought

- (57b) **gabá-n-te** **qulí-n** **in = shan-ón**
 market-F.OBL-LOC goat-F.OBL 1SG = buy-REL.PAST.F.OBL
ínta mash-idí-ne
 1SG slaughter-PF-COP
 I've slaughtered the goat (F) that I bought in the market

- (57c) **éeno** **in = bask-ón-dan** **shan-ê**
 people:F.S 1SG = carry-REL.PAST.F.OBL-ACC buy-PRES.NEG.3
 people won't buy what (F) I have brought

The non-subject function on the nominalized verb with feminine agreement in (57b) and (57c) is obtained by deleting the final vowel *-o* of the subject feminine suffix *-ono* (or *-no*), cf. chapter 2, morpho-phonological rule MP3.

The complex NP can function as object of peripheral cases as illustrated below:

- (58) **gabá-rra** **murâ** **kin = shan-á-xa**
 market-ABL gun:M 3 = buy-REL.PAST.M-INS
qáu-n-te **dabí** **dees-ó** **ki = yi?-é**
 forest-F.OBL-LOC wild.animal kill-PURP 3 = go-PRES
 he goes to kill wild animals in the forest with the gun (M) he bought from the market⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The adjunct *gabárra* 'from the market' is part of the relative clause but it is not included in it.

Any argument within the relative clause is marked by the relational marker *-n* regardless of whether it functions as subject or object of the relative clause. The relational marker can also be individuated in the clitic pronouns marking subject agreement on the relativized verb, cf. chapter 7, section 7.4.4. The examples in (59) illustrate the object argument, whereas examples in (60) show it on the subject argument of the relativized verb.

- (59a) **sáa naasâ parsí-n wuc'-ê agá**
 SLEV child:M parsí-R drink-REL.PRES.M DEM2.M
íkana-ne
 my.younger.brother-COP
 the boy (M) over there who is drinking (M) *parsí*, that is my younger brother
- (59b) **dámpo-n shansh-áino ogoró índa-ne**
 tobacco-R sell-REL.PRES.F.S DEM2.F my.mother-COP
 that one (F) who is selling tobacco is my mother
- (60a) **qulló otólo-n shan-óno di-idí-ne**
 goat:F.S Otólo-R buy-REL.PAST.F.S die-PF-COP
 the goat (F) that Otolo bought died
- (60b) **qullá walé-n shan-ána**
 goat:PL Walé-R buy-REL.PAST.PL
 the goats (PL) that Walé bought
- (60c) **burcukô ballé-n ba?-â damm-idí-ne**
 glass:M Ballé-R bring-REL.PAST.M fall-PF-COP
 the glass (M) that Ballé brought fell

The head noun of a complex NP is omitted in headless relative clauses:

- (61a) **han = aaf-áino índa-ne**
 2SG = see-REL.PRES.F.S my.mother-COP
 the one (F) you are seeing is my mother
- (61b) **'t'álian gállo' hamô-óno**
 Italians enemy:F.S say:PASS-REL.PAST.F.S
 the so-called (F) 'Italian enemies' (lit. those called 'Italian enemies')

- (61c) **kéda, yi?-ána lax**
 then go-REL.PAST.PL six
 then, those who went (PL) were six

When the relativized position is a locative phrase, a dedicated relative suffix is used. The relative suffix *-kir* attaches to the subject clitic cross-referencing the subject of the relativized verb, and the relativized verb gets feminine agreement by default.

- (62a) **kín = kir ut-óno ácci.algóne-ne**
 3 = REL.LOC climb-REL.PAST.F.S Ácci Algóne-COP
 Ácci Algóne is the place where they climbed
- (62b) **ín = kir aǰǰá-ise geǰ-óno**
 1SG = REL.LOC give.birth:PASS-CNV1 grow.up-REL.PAST.F.S
búska-r-ne
 Buska-IN-COP
 the place where I was born and where I grew up is in Búska
- (62c) **t'álian gállo hamǰ-áino, kón = kir**
 Italians enemy:F.S say:PASS-REL.PRES.F.S 3F = REL.LOC
ni?-óno keǰá-rra-ne
 come-REL.PAST.F.S Kenya-ABL-LOC
 the so-called 'Italian enemies', the place where they came from is Kenya

8.5 Coordination

This section offers an overview of the various strategies for coordinating phrases ('and clauses') of equal rank: conjunctive, inclusive and disjunctive coordination.

8.5.1 Conjunctive coordination

In section 8.2.5 it was anticipated that the comitative case *-be* is used for coordination at noun phrase level. Conjunctive coordination in Hamar is bisyndetic (Haspelmath 2004): two or more NPs can be conjoined by suffixing the comitative case to each conjoined NP (62). In coordination the allomorphs of the comitative case *-bet* and *-bette* are never used.

- (63) **kéda shid-ána kóopini kím = be núu-be**
 then be.left-REL.PAST.PL squirrel 3 = COM fire-COM
noqó-be-ne
 water-COM-COP
 then, those who were left were the Squirrel and with him the Fire and the Water

As it was illustrated in chapter 7, feminine nouns marked by the comitative case occur in the oblique form even if they function as subject (cf. section 7.4.3):

- (64) **hámar-im-be** **gélaba-m-be** **uurí** **kans-idí-ne**
 Hamar-F.OBL-COM Dhaasanc-F.OBL-COM conflict fight-PF-COP
 the Hamar people and the Dhaasanac people have fought

If the conjoined NP is marked by other case suffixes, the comitative case precedes them:

- (65a) **gaitâ** **gaaré-sa** **εεβέ-be** **giné-be-dan**
 baboon:M big:M-GEN hide:M-COM tendon:M-COM-ACC
baʔá-ise **qáara-na** **ki = imá-de**
 bring-CNV1 monkey-DAT 3 = give-PFV
 he brought the skin and the tendon of the big baboon and gave them to the vervet monkey

- (65b) **ée** **káa** **walé-be** **ím = be-sa** **imbá-ne**
 man:M DEM1.M Walé-COM 1SG = COM-GEN father-COP
 this man is my and Walé's father

- (65c) **yáano** **naasá-be** **yaatá-be-sa**
 sheep:F.S boy:M-COM sheep:M-COM-GEN
gidí-n-te **ko = dáa-de**
 middle-F.OBL-LOC 3F = exist-PFV
 the female sheep is between the boy and the male sheep

8.5.2 Inclusive coordination

For inclusive coordination (i.e. 'both ... and' coordination) the inclusive marker *-l* is suffixed to the NP. However, as the examples show, this is rather a strategy for sentential coordination than NP coordination since the two conjoined NPs belong to two identical conjoined sentences:

- (66a) **qáski-l** **gecc-idí** **ukulí-l** **gecc-idí**
 dog-INCL become.old-PF donkey-INCL become.old-PF
 both Dog and Donkey became old

- (66b) **éé-xa háqa-no-l há = xal-ne, áнно**
 man:M-VOC tree-F.S-INCL 2SG = AFF-COP arm:F.S
hannó-l há = xal-ne, gétte deesá!
 2SG:F-INCL 2SG = AFF-COP hit.SE kill.IMP.2SG
 oh man, you have both the big branch and your arms, hit and kill! (lit. the big branch is also with you, your arms are also with you)
- (66c) **ukulí desí máan-il c'aaná~c'aaná,**
 donkey similar woman.F.OBL-INCL load~load
angé-l c'aaná~c'aaná
 man:M-INCL load~load
 (they) load both the woman and the man like donkeys
- (66d) **há = sa-l gulpá qolê, kí = sa-l gulpá qolê**
 2SG = GEN-INCL illness exist.not 3 = GEN-INCL illness exist.not
 for both you and him there won't be misfortune

As mentioned in chapter 4, when the inclusive suffix is marked only once, it translates as 'also, as well' (67):

- (67) **geshón-dan-il per kidí gī-idí**
 wife.F.OBL-ACC-INCL again 3 hit-PF
 he hit the wife as well

8.5.3 Disjunctive coordination

For disjunctive coordination, the disjunctive Amharic conjunction *wei* (68a) or the marker *-mo* (68b) are used. The disjunctive marker *-mo* is used more commonly in interrogative sentences, where it is suffixed to verbs, see chapter 11, section 11.2.4. The disjunctive marker is monosyndetic and it works both at clause level (68a) and at phrase level (68b):

- (68a) **ḡáa-bar wo = yi?-é wei cóo-bar wo = yi?-é**
 UP-AD 1PL = go-PRES or DOWN-AD 1PL = go-PRES
 let's either pass above or below
- (68b) **naasâ yaaná-sa berá-n-te-mo tudí-n-te?**
 boy:M sheep:PL-GEN in.front-F.OBL-LOC-DISJ buttock-F.OBL-LOC
 Is the boy in front or behind the sheep?

The disjunctive conjunction *wei* borrowed from Amharic has been attested also in the neighbouring language Aari (Bender 1991:94).

When one wants to stress that the choice between two conjoined NPs is compulsory (i.e. ‘either...or’), an alternative construction is used. Clitic pronouns are attached to the optative marker *-anna* (which is used in conditional clauses, c.f. section 10.1.4 in chapter 10), plus the inclusive marker *-l*:

- (69) **mugá** **kénna-l** **áari** **kónna-l** **ki = niʔ-é**
 Muga 3:OPT-INCL Aari 3F:OPT-INCL 3 = come-PRES
 let either Muga or Aari come