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Petrollino, S.

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Author: Petrollino, S.

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10 Complex clauses

In the following sections the various clauses which show syntactic and semantic dependency to a nominal or verbal head will be described. Complex clauses in Hamar are composed of syntactically dependent clauses preceding the main clause. Dependent clauses are generally marked by converbs and various dedicated verbal suffixes, and they can be combined together in clause-chaining. Clause level coordination has been dealt along with phrase-level coordination in chapter 8, section 8.5.

10.1 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses in Hamar precede the main clause and contain dependent verb forms marked by the suffixes listed in table 10.1. Subordinate clauses cannot form a complete utterance and must be syntactically embedded within a main clause (independent paradigms which can instead make up main clauses were overviewed in chapter 9). Hamar, as other Afro-Asiatic languages of Ethiopia (Azeb & Dimmendaal 2006, *inter alia*), has non-finite verb forms which mark clausal dependency relations and which are referred to as converbs. Not all the subordinating suffixes listed in table 10.1 are converbs: some dependent verb forms are not considered converbs strictly speaking since they do not depend on the main final verb for tense and aspect reference, whereas converbs inherit tense specification from the main final verb. Subordinated clauses are signaled by a short pause before the following clause: this is marked in the examples by a comma.

Table 10.1: Subordinating suffixes

suffix	gloss	definition
-te	SE	same-event converb
-ise	CNV1	general converb
-énka	CNV2	different subject converb
-o	PURP	purposive
-áanna	OPT	optative
-xa	PAST.CONT	past continuous
-isaxa	PAST.PF	past perfect
-ika	PF.CONT	past perfect continuous
-ína	COND	veridical conditional

10.1.1 Converbs

There are three converb markers in Hamar. *-te* (glossed as SE) is used for dependent verb forms which predicate actions which are conceived to be part of the same event predicated by the main verb. The same-event converb is always co-referential with the following verb. The marker *-ise* (CNV1) is used for both simultaneous and

anterior actions, whereas *-énka* (CNV2) marks dependent verbs whose subject is not co-referential with that of the main verb. The converb markers *-te* and *-ise* are interchangeable in some contexts and can be used to form both adverbial and complement clauses. The three converbs are all used to form complex predicates in periphrastic expressions of aspect (cf. chapter 9, section 9.1.7).

The same-event converb marker *-te* is suffixed to the citation form of the verb to mark simultaneity and unity with the action expressed by the following verb. The verb following the same-event converb can be either a dependent verb form or a main final verb. The marker is often realized as *[-tte]* when the verb root ends in a glottal stop (1a), but some speakers use both variants with any type of verb root (1b), (2).

- (1a) **noqó baʔá-tte niʔá!**
 water bring-SE come.IMP.2SG
 come and bring water!

- (1b) **ínta há = na qánte saxá saʔáti lammá-xa**
 1SG 2SG = DAT DAT tomorrow hour two-INS
yaatí baʔá-te niʔ-ó = i = de
 sheep bring-SE come-PURP = 1SG = PFV
 tomorrow at two I will come and bring a sheep for you

The following two examples are extracted from the same folk tale and feature both the same-event converbs *zagá-te* and *zagá-tte*:

- (2a) **ínta gugána zagá-te i = da-yiʔ-é**
 1SG lightning look.for-SE 1SG = IPFV-go-PRES
 I go to look for lightning

- (2b) **silláma gugána zagá-tte dul**
 bogeyman lightning look.for-SE IDEO.go
 Bogeyman went to look for a lightning

The subject of the same-event converb is coreferential with the subject of the following verb:

- (3a) **guní ɖaaʔá-ise, dongár-ɖan gaʔá-tte dees-idí**
 snake stand.up.CNV1 elephant-ACC bite-SE kill-PF
 Snake lifted his head, bit and killed Elephant

- (3b) **dattâ** **ḏaabá-te** **ḏorqá-b**
 wild.animal:M stand.up-SE sit-NARR
 the male wild animal woke up and sat down
- (3c) **dattóno** **maqasá-te** **gob-idí**
 wild.animal:F.S bleed-SE run-PF
 the female wild animal ran away while bleeding
- (3d) **kilánqi-no** **kéen** **sará-te** **yi?-idí**
 eagle-F.S 3:ACC catch-SE go-PF
 the eagle caught him and went away

The same-event marker semantically coordinates verb phrases, but the verb marked by *-te* is syntactically subordinated to the following verb.

The same-event converb occurs in the periphrastic expressions of irrealis and progressive aspect (see chapter 9). The marker *-te* can join two or more dependent verbs, see for instance example (4), where it joins the two lexical verbs functioning as complements of the existential construction expressing progressive aspect.

- (4) **háile.sellási** **gálla** **báako-rra** **mée** **gélaba-n-shet**
 Haile.Selassie enemy:F.S Báako-ABL down Gálaba-F.OBL-ALL2
gobá-te **yi?á-te** **ko = dáa-de**
 run-SE go-SE 3F = exist-PFV
 the Amhara are running and going from Baako down to Dhaasanac⁵³

The converb marker *-te* used in existential constructions for the expression of progressive aspect can be occasionally substituted for the general converb *-ise*, cf. (5a) and (5b):

- (5a) **ooní-n** **woisá-te** **ki = dáa-de**
 house-F.OBL stand:CAUS-SE 3 = exist-PFV
 they are building the house
- (5b) **ooní-n** **woisá-ise** **ki = dáa-de**
 house-F.OBL stand:CAUS-CNV1 3 = exist-PFV
 they are building the house

The obligatory argument of the verb *maccá* ‘finish’ is always marked by *-te*, see section 10.1.7 for further details on complement clauses:

⁵³ Hamar *gal* refers to Amhara, or generally ‘enemies’, and Haile Selassie is used with reference to the Amhara enemies. The Dhaasanc people are called *Gélaba*, see maps in chapter 1.

- (6) **worsá-te ha = macc-ína**
 stir-SE 2SG = finish-COND
 if you finish stirring [...]

As shown in examples (4), (6) above and in (7) below, the verb following the same-event converb can be a dependent verb form. In (7) the converb *tiáte* is syntactically dependent on the following general converb *qadáise*:

- (7) **qáashi-n tiá-tte qadá-ise, karám̄ba-na**
 leather.cloak-F.OBL take-SE wear-CNV1 calabash-PL
tiá-ise, éen-na qolbá-ise,
 take-CNV1 people.F.OBL-DAT fetch-CNV1
burí-n-ka imbá = ko im̄-é
 morning-F.OBL-INS give:PASS = 3F give:PASS-PRES
 taking and wearing the leather cloak, taking some calabashes, fetching it for
 the people, in the morning it (coffee) is given

Example (7) illustrates the use of the general converb marker *-ise*, which is roughly translated as a gerundive form. The general converb however can refer to actions which are simultaneous or anterior with respect to the following (main) verb. The general converb joins together several subordinated clauses as shown in (7) and (8).

- (8) **waakí kínka gishá-ise mashá-ise isá-ise**
 cow together herd-CNV1 slaughter-CNV1 eat-CNV1
kínka daínta-n jamar-idí
 together life-F.OBL begin-PF
 herding, slaughtering and eating cattle together, they *started* their life
 together

The tense and aspect of the main verb determines that of the converb: cf. the past reference in (9a) with the future reference in (9c).

- (9a) **gamálla gʒé-ise ki-niʔá-de**
 camel:PL hit-CNV1 3 = come-PFV
 they came herding camels
- (9b) **kidí pər qáski-n baʔá-ise darán gará-ḅ**
 3 again dog-F.OBL bring-CNV1 3.ALL1 let-NARR
 so he brought the dog and left it with him

- (9c) **wó = dan deesá-ise wongá tiá ki = ti-é**
 1PL = ACC kill-CNV1 cow:PL take 3 = take-PRES
 he will kill us and take the cows (lit. after killing us, he will take the cows)

When the subject of the subordinate clause is different from the subject of the main verb, the converb marker *-énka* is suffixed to the verb root. The different-subject converb can take pronominal subject marking if the subject of the subordinate clause is not overtly stated.

- (10a) **han = yi?-énka ínta eefá = i = da eef-é**
 2SG = go-CNV2 1SG cry = 1SG = IPFV cry-PRES
 When you leave I will cry

- (10b) **kí = na wa ool-énka gudirí ni?á-ise**
 3 = DAT another bray-CNV2 hyena come-CNV1
kéen dees-idí
 3:ACC kill-PF
 when (Donkey) brayed at him one more time, Hyena came and killed him

- (10c) **qáu-n-te kin = zag-énka dabí-no**
 forest-F.OBL-LOC 3 = want-CNV2 wild.animal-F.S
t'if kai-idí
 IDEO.disappear get.lost-PF
 when he searched in the forest, the animals disappeared

The different-subject converb is occasionally found in subordinated clauses which are co-referential with the main verb. The general converb is however more common in this syntactic context.

- (11) **goín kin = yi?-énka baití-dan ki = aafá-de**
 way.F.OBL 3 = go-CNV2 river-ACC 3 = see-PFV
 when they went along the road, they saw a river

10.1.2 Temporal clauses

Apart from simultaneous and sequential temporal clauses coded by converbs, there are various ways of expressing aspectual distinctions in temporal clauses with past reference. The verb paradigms illustrated in table 10.2 are different from the converbs discussed in the previous section (10.1.1) because they have past reference (that is, they do not inherit tense and aspect from the final clause), and subject agreement is marked by short form I pronouns. There are two periphrastic ex-

pressions which use the dummy verb *hamá* as auxiliary, marked by the converb suffix *-énka*: these are treated here since they contribute to the encoding of aspectual distinction in temporal clauses. The dependent verb forms in table 10.2 form temporal subordinated clauses which are syntactically embedded in the final matrix clause.

Table 10.2: Aspectual distinctions in temporal clauses

Past Continuous	ko = wuc' á-xa 'while she was drinking'
Past Perfect	ko = wuc' á-isaxa 'after she drank'
Past Perfect Continuous	wuc' á-ika kon = ham-énka 'after she had been drinking'
Inceptive	wuc' -ánna kon = ham-énka 'when she was ready to drink'

The suffix *-xa* attaches to the citation form of the verb in a dependent clause to mark continuous aspect:

- (12a) **dommá igirá gɛá-xa, kidí háqa wa**
rain:PL DEM2.PL hit-PAST.CONT 3 tree another
demí-r woyá-ɓ
side-IN stand-NARR
while it was raining a bit, he stood next to a tree

- (12b) **yáa kánki-xa yi?á-xa, kánki róo si-idí**
2SG car-INS go-PAST.CONT car leg be.broken-PF
while you were going by car, a wheel broke

In the following excerpt the two temporal clauses preceding the matrix clause are both marked by the suffix *-xa*. The second temporal clause is an existential construction expressing progressive aspect: the existential predicator *dáa* cannot be marked by the perfective aspect *-de* which only occurs in independent clauses, and it is instead marked by the Past Continuous marker *-xa*:

- (13) **simbáale-n-shet** **mée** **ki = anshá-xa,**
 Simbáale-F.OBL-ALL2 down 3 = descend-PAST.CONT
ogó-sa **cóo** **simbáale-n-sa** **ogó-te**
 DEM2.F-GEN DOWN Simbáale-F.OBL-GEN DEM2.F-LOC
yi?á-te **ki = dáa-xa,** **ée** **silémba**
 go-SE 3 = exist-PAST.CONT man:M Silémba
hamḡ-ê **somáale** **kála-ḡan** **dees-idí-ne**
 say:PASS-REL.PRES.M Somali one-ACC kill-PF-COP
 when they were descending down towards Simbáale, while they were
 going down in the area around Simbáale, the man called Silémba killed
 one Somali

Verbs marked by the suffix *-xa* can be repeated to emphasize the duration and the iteration of an action: see for instance the repetition of the verb *kiyi?áxa* 'he kept on going' in example (14) below:

- (14) **kidí** **wongá** **ḡeá-ise** **ki = yi?á-xa,** **waakí** **ḡeá-ise**
 3 cow:PL hit-CNV1 3 = go-PAST.CONT cow hit-CNV1
ki = yi?á-xa **yi?á-xa** **yi?á-xa,** **óo**
 3 = go-PAST.CONT go-PAST.CONT go-PAST.CONT DST
kin = yesk-énka, **darán** **zóbo** **ni?-idí**
 3 = arrive-CNV2 3.ALL lion come-PF
 while he kept on going and herding the cows, while he kept on going and
 going and herding the cattle, when he arrived over there, Lion came to
 him

Past Perfect in subordinated clauses is expressed by the suffix *-isaxa* attached to the citation form of the verb (15). The suffix can be realized as [isɔxa] if the verb root contains the back vowels [u] and [o] (16), however some speakers use this phonetic variant with any verb stem, see (17). In fast speech the velar fricative of the suffix can be reduced to [h]: [isaha]. Short form I pronouns are used for pronominal subject marking.

- (15a) **ha = yi?á-isaxa** **ínta** **eep-idí-ne**
 2SG = go-PAST.PF 1SG cry-PF-COP
 after you went I cried
- (15b) **ko = ḡammá-isaxa** **wodí** **anc'-idí-ne**
 3F = fall-PAST.PF 1PL laugh-PF-COP
 we laughed after she fell

- (15c) **gudirí deesá-isaxa, qáski aadimbá-isaxa, gudirí**
 hyena kill-PAST.PF dog hide:PASS-PAST.PF hyena
qáski-dan aaf-idí
 dog-ACC see-PF
 after the hyena killed and after the dog had hid, the hyena saw the dog
- (16a) **gaitá utá-te hattá-sa zuló-te dorqá-isaxa**
 baboon:M climb-SE tree:M-GEN back:M-LOC sit-PAST.PF
 after the baboon climbed and sat on the top of the trunk [...]
- (16b) **wórq-in ogó wúl-dan ki = dumá-isaxa**
 gold-F.OBL DEM2.F all-ACC 3 = grab-PAST.PF
 after he took all that gold [...]
- (17a) **gudirí gi-idí, gudirí yin giá-isaxa**
 hyena say-PF hyena so say-PAST.PF
 Hyena said. After Hyena said so [...]
- (17b) **yin ki = giá-isaxa, ée-na pər kínka**
 so 3 = say-PAST.PF man-PL again again
ɗalqá-ise, óo noqó-xal ki = yi?á-de
 talk-CNV1 DST water-AFF 3 = go-PFV
 after he said so, the people consulted each other again and went there to Water

The actions expressed by the Past Perfect marker are conceived as completed before the action of the main verb takes place.

Other aspectual distinctions in subordinate temporal clauses can be made by means of periphrastic constructions. In order to express duration before a completed event in the past (Past Perfect Continuous), the verb *hamá* 'say' is used as auxiliary and it is marked by the different-subject converb marker *-énka*. The verb providing lexical content is marked by the suffix *-ika* and it can be repeated to emphasize duration in time:

- (18a) **kínka yi?á-ika yi?á-ika yi?á-ika ham-énka,**
 together go-PF.CONT go-PF.CONT go-PF.CONT say-CNV2
qáski-be ukulí-be bashad-idí
 dog-COM donkey-COM be.tired:PASS-PF
 after they had been going and going for long time, Dog and Donkey got tired

- (18b) **wórqí-n ogó-đan zóbo yedá-ika yin = ham-énka,**
 gold-F.OBL DEM2.F-ACC lion hold-PF.CONT REFL = say-CNV2
“wórq-in-đan wo = kashim-é!” hamá-ise
 gold-F.OBL-ACC 1PL = share-PRES say-CNV1
ki = ée-na giá-de
 3 = man-PL say-PFV
 after Lion had been holding that gold by himself for a while, the people
 said: “let’s share the gold!”

Inceptive aspect in subordinate clauses can be expressed with a complex paradigm which resembles the one used in independent clauses: the optative marker *-ánna* is suffixed to the complement verb (see chapter 9, section 9.1.7). However, the existential auxiliary which is normally used in independent clauses is substituted for the dummy verb *hamá* marked by the converb marker *-énka*:

- (19a) **dattá-đan kat’-ánna kin = ham-énka**
 wild.animal:M-ACC shoot-OPT 3 = say-CNV2
 when he was about to shoot the male wild animal [...]
- (19b) **ooní-n kin = ard-ánna ham-énka**
 house-F.OBL 3 = enter-OPT say-CNV2
 when he was about to enter the house [...]

10.1.3 Reason clauses

Reason clauses require the citation form of the verb followed by the reason marker *hattáxa*. Short form I subject pronouns are cliticized before the reason marker *hattáxa*. Deletion of the word-initial /h/ (MP4) and vowel coalescence (P5) take place between the subject clitic and the reason marker *hattáxa*:

- (20a) **kí = đan eelá ettáxa ki = ni?á-de**
 3 = ACC call 1SG.REAS 3 = come-PFV
 he came because I called him
- (20b) **gaitá-đan c’úba-m-be núu-m-be**
 baboon:M-ACC smoke-F.OBL-COM fire-F.OBL-COM
baxarsá kottáxa, gaitá núu-n-sa
 sweat:CAUS 3F.REAS baboon:M fire-F.OBL-GEN
gidí-n-te bulá-ise di-idí-ne
 middle-F.OBL-LOC jump-CNV1 die-PF-COP
 because the smoke and the fire made the baboon sweat, the baboon
 jumped in the middle of the fire and died

- (20c) **tumbuqúlo líkka yi?á-ika ham-énka, pee-r**
 worm little go-PF.CONT say-CNV2 ground-IN
ardá-ise shid-idí, shidá kettáxa, kéda
 enter-CNV1 stay-PF stay 3.REAS then
yi?-ána dong
 go-REL.PAST.PL five
 After Worm had been going for a while, he entered in the ground and stayed. Those who went were five since he stayed.

10.1.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses in Hamar distinguish between veridical and potential conditions. The validity of the main clause (the apodosis) is considered to be true if the preceding dependent clause (the protasis) encodes a veridical condition, whereas the potential condition makes the situation expressed in the main clause hypothetical. Veridical conditional clauses are formed by suffixing the conditional marker *-ína* to the root of the verb in the protasis. Subject marking is obligatorily marked by short form I pronouns. Veridical conditional clauses express certainty and true statements, and in the examples below the English conjunction *if* can be substituted for *when*.

- (21a) **ki = shiit-ína, aiziê agá-sa fáala-no**
 3 = be.soft-COND goat.hide:M DEM2.M = GEN flesh-F.S
gurtá~gurtadá
 scrape.out~scrape.out:PASS
 if it becomes soft, the excess flesh of that goat hide is scraped out

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

- (21c) **roo-tâ i = jug-ína, ínta dabí aaf-idí-ne**
 leg-M 1SG = shake-COND 1SG wild.animal see-PF-COP
 if I shake the leg, (it means that) I have seen a wild animal

Potential conditional clauses are formed by the perfect form of the verb followed by the optative marker *-ánna* (22).

- (22a) **ínta diméka-dar róo-n-ka yi?-idi-ánna,**
 1SG Dimeka-ALL1 leg-F.OBL-INS go-PF-OPT
qajá = i = da qajad-é
 be.cold = 1SG = IPFV be.cold:PASS-PRES
 If I go to Dimeka on foot I become tired
- (22b) **yáa daaqard-idi-ánna kummá!**
 2SG be.hungry-PF-OPT eat.IMP.2SG
 if you get hungry, eat!
- (22c) **doobí qan-idi-ánna, míri wo = shed-é!**
 rain hit-PF-OPT waves 1PL = look-PRES
 if it rains, let's watch waves (in the river)!
- (22d) **kánki da-idi-ánna, shánqo yi?á = ki yi?-é**
 car exist-PF-OPT Shanqo go = 3 go-PRES
 if there is a car, he will go to Shanqo

As shown by example (22c) and (22d) this strategy allows for general forms to function as the subject of the verb in the protasis. However, the optative marker can also be suffixed to short form I subject pronouns (see chapter 2 under vowel coalescence P5), and in this case the subject of the protasis needs to be specified for gender or number:

- (23a) **káira parsí gebí wuc'-idí kónna,**
 Kaira beer a.lot drink-PF 3F:OPT
bardá = ko bard-é
 be.drunk = 3F be.drunk-PRES
 if Kaira (F) drinks a lot of *parsí* beer she gets drunk
- (23b) **yedí payá hayá-ise kumm-idí yénna,**
 2PL good do-CNV1 eat-PF 2PL:OPT
durfé = da durf-é
 be.fat.2PL = IPFV be.fat-PRES
 if you eat well you will gain weight

Potential conditional clauses refer to hypothetical, yet possible, future events. As the examples above show, the verb in the apodosis is usually in the future tense, although the imperative or the jussive mood is also possible.

In a few instances the optative marker was found suffixed directly to the verb root, without the perfect marker *-idí*. Subject agreement in these examples is marked by

short form I pronouns on the verb. Discussing these examples was very hard and the speakers re-formulated them with the perfective form of the verb:

- (24a) **í = xal** **éedi** **qoléi,** **beré** **i = gar-ánna**
 1SG = AFF person exist.not later 1SG = leave-OPT
éen **ki = geʔ-é**
 1SG:ACC 3 = bite-PRES
 there's nobody with me, if I leave (him) later he will bite me

- (24b) **dattâ** **káa** **i = kat'-ánna,** **beré** **éen**
 wild.animal:M DEM1.M 1SG = shoot-OPT later 1SG:ACC
gaʔá = ki **goʔ-ó?**
 bite = 3 bite-PRES.INT
 If I shoot at this wild animal, will he bite me later?

10.1.5 Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses are marked by the suffix *-o* which attaches to the verb root. The purposive marker *-o* can be used only if the subject of the purposive clause and that of the main clause are the same:

- (25a) **ínta** **baín-te** **shiid-ó** **i = da-yiʔ-é**
 1SG river.F.OBL-LOC wash:PASS-PURP 1SG = IPFV-go-PRES
 I go to wash myself in the river (lit. I go in order to wash myself in the river)
- (25b) **dímeke-shet** **qulí** **shansh-ó** **yiʔá-te** **ki = dáa-de**
 Dimeka-ALL2 goat buy:CAUS-PURP go-SE 3 = exist-PFV
 he is going to Dimeka in order to sell a goat

If the subject of the purposive clause is different from the subject of the main clause, the jussive mood is used to express purpose:

- (26) **éeno** **ko = kumm-é** **imḃá = ko** **imḃ-é**
 people:F.S 3F = eat-PRES give:PASS = 3F give:PASS-PRES
 it will be given so that the people can eat

The purposive suffix *-o* is used in the paradigm for intentional future as well, see chapter 9 (9.1.3).

10.1.6 Non-verbal predication in subordinate clauses

In subordinate clauses non-verbal predication is expressed by means of the existential verb *dáa* which can be marked by the general converb *-ise*. The general converb *dáise* translates both temporal and reason clauses.

- (27a) **woxá-sa qushumbá líkka dá-ise**
 ox:M-GEN horns small exist-CNV1
 since the horns of the ox were small [...]
- (27b) **kidí kédá bórle dá-ise**
 3 then young exist-CNV1
 when he was young [...]
- (27c) **éedi wáni éna~éna dong dá-ise, adamá-n**
 person some past~past five exist-CNV1 hunt-F.OBL
mágo.parkí-n yi?á-da
 Mago.Park-F.OBL go-IPFV
 some guys, long time ago, being five, were going to hunt in Mago Park
- (27d) **kínka dá-ise, róoro wul kínka ki = yay-é**
 together exist-CNV1 day all together 3 = walk-PRES
 when they were together, they used to walk together every day

The veridical vs. potential distinction in conditional clauses is not maintained in verb-less clauses. Non-verbal predication in the protasis is expressed by the optative marker suffixed directly to short form I subject pronouns: verb-less conditional clauses are identical to the potential conditional clauses shown in (23) above, except for the fact that the optative marker is suffixed to a pronoun.

- (28a) **yáa! agá tigá-tte, ángi háanna, ni?á!**
 2SG DEM2.M step-SE man 2SG:OPT come.IMP.2SG
 you! if you are a man, step on that (log) and come!
- (28b) **kidí paxála kénna parápi-n aapó-n wul**
 3 clever 3:OPT foreigner-F.OBL mouth-F.OBL all
desá ki = des-é
 know 3 = know-PRES
 he would know the whole language of the foreigners if he was clever
- (28c) **ínta átti éna kapá-na-xa daabá = i = da daab-é**
 1SG bird 1SG:OPT wing-PL-INS fly = 1SG = IPFV fly-PRES
 If I were a bird I would fly with wings

10.1.7 Complement clauses

There are two complementation strategies in Hamar, namely nominalization and clause chaining. The most common complementation strategy is that of using a nominalized verbal complement: the verbal element of a complement clause is nominalized by means of the relational marker *-n* suffixed to the citation form of the verb:

- (29a) **yáa banqí-n zagá-n gará!**
 2SG fight-F.OBL want-R stop.IMP.2SG
 stop looking for war!
- (29b) **murá-dan kat'á-n des-ê**
 gun-ACC shoot-R know-PRES.NEG.3
 he does not know how to shoot a gun
- (29c) **qáara dungurí-n jaagá-n desá = ko des-é**
 vervet.monkey sandal-F.OBL sew-R know = 3F know-PRES
 Vervet Monkey knows how to sew the sandals
- (29d) **ímba-dan ooní-n ashká-n**
 my.father-ACC house-F.OBL do-R
kalshá = i = da kalsh-é
 help = 1SG = IPFV help-PRES
 I'll help my father prepare the house
- (29e) **kínka gobá-n kin = jamar-énka**
 together run-R 3 = start-CNV2
 when they started racing each other [...]

The marker *-n* on the complement verb is analysed as relation marker because there are no arguments in favor of an analysis in terms of oblique case F.OBL. Verb complements cannot function as subject arguments thus it cannot be verified whether the nominalized verb marked by *-n* triggers feminine agreement. A sentence like 'dancing is tiring' in (30) below is expressed by a subordinate clause marked by the different-subject converb *-énka*:

- (30) **in = guz-énka qaccá = ko qacc-é**
 1SG = dance-CNV2 be.tired:CAUS = 3F be.tired:CAUS-PRES
 when I dance, it will make (me) tired

The relational marker *-n* is not suffixed on interrogative complement clauses:

- (31a) **qootí dooná dandayá-u?**
 beehive build.beehive be.able-INT.COP
 can you build a beehive?
- (31b) **yáa ukulí mashá desá-u?**
 2SG donkey slaughter know-INT.COP
 do you know how to slaughter a donkey?
- (31c) **yáa dungurí jaagá desá des-ó?**
 2SG sandal sew know.2SG know-PRES.INT
 do you know how to sew sandals?

Clause-chaining as complementation strategy is used with some verbs which take a complement verb marked by the same-event converb marker *-te*. The complement of the verb *maccá* ‘finish’ for instance is always marked by the same-event converb marker *-te*:

- (32a) **páala-n gurtá-tte maccá-ise**
 flesh-F.OBL scrape.out-SE finish-CNV1
 when you finish scraping out the excess meat [...]
- (32b) **búno-n wuc’á-te macc-idi-ánna**
 coffee-F.OBL drink-SE finish-PF-OPT
 if they finish drinking coffee [...]
- (32c) **waadimá-te macc-é!**
 work-SE finish-IMP.2PL
 finish work!

The same-event converb *-te* can mark also the verbal complement of the verb *yi?á* ‘go’, however the verb ‘go’ can take verbal complements marked by other converb markers, such as the purposive marker *-o* or the general converb marker *-ise*.

- (33) **ínta deeshá zagá-te i = da-yi?-é**
 1SG medicine want-SE 1SG = IPFV-go-PRES
 I go to look for a medicine

The complement of volitional and cognition verbs such as *zagá* ‘want’ and *qaabá* ‘think’ is always marked by the optative marker *-ánna*:

- (34a) **kodí kalsh-ánna zag-idí**
 3F help-OPT want-PF
 she wanted to help
- (34b) **shóqo-be kóopini-be kínka ki = gob-ánna qaabá-isaxa**
 tick-COM squirrel-COM together 3 = run-OPT think-PAST.PF
 after Tick and Squirrel thought of racing each other [...]

10.2 Quotative clauses

Indirect speech report is not possible in Hamar, hence quotative clauses are composed of direct speech utterances. In order to link a quotative clause to the clause headed by a quotative verb (such as *giá* ‘tell’, *berá* ‘reveal’, *oisá* ‘ask’), the dummy verb *hamá* ‘say’ is used (in the following examples the dummy verb is highlighted by a surrounding box). The dummy verb gets the general converb marker *-ise*:

- (35a) “**kála bish oolá!**” **hamá-ise** **qáski gi-idí**
 one only bray.IMP.2SG say-CNV1 dog tell-PF
 “Bray only once!”, Dog said (lit. saying “bray only once!” Dog said)
- (35b) “**wongá diibá-ise wóon ki = dees-é**” **hamá-ise**
 cow:PL steal-CNV1 1PL:ACC 3 = kill-PRES say-CNV1
t’álian-dar boráana bersá-6
 Italians-ALL1 Boraana reveal:CAUS-NARR
 “they steal the cows and kill us”, the Boraana informed the Italians

Quotative clauses are formally independent clauses since only independent verb forms can be used, and the dummy verb *hamá* functions as an argument of the matrix clause headed by the quotative verb.

The passive form of *hamá* is used always with the different-subject marker *-énka* and the temporal subordinative suffix *-xa*. These complementizers are used without pronominal subject marking and their function is to separate different conversational turns, for example in narratives involving longer sequences of direct speech:

- (36a) “**yáa qáski macc-idú?**” **hambá-xa**
 2SG dog finish-PF.INT say:PASS-PAST.CONT
ínta macc-idí-ne
 1SG finish-PF-COP
 “you, Dog, have you finished?”, “I have finished”

- (36b) “koimó kashá!” **ham6-énka** “ínta koimó cóo
 fee pay.IMP.2SG say:PASS-CNV2 1SG fee DOWN
beré anshá-te kashá = i = da kash-é” hamá-ise
 later descend-SE pay = 1SG = IPFV pay-PRES say-CNV1
budámo giá-ise, cóo kánki-n-sa woyâ
 lie say-CNV1 DOWN car-F.OBL-GEN stop
qulí gobá-ise yi?-idí
 goat run-CNV1 go-PF
 “pay the fee!”, “I will pay the fee later when I get off”, lying, at the
 car-stop downhill Goat ran away

The dummy verbs *hamáise* and *hambáxa* are used also as discourse fillers in the narrative flow, to connect information between main clauses (37a), to shift to a different topic (37b) or simply to pause the narrative flow in order to consider what to say next (37c):

- (37a) **noqó núu-dar laalimá-ise, núu di-idí.**
 water fire-ALL1 leak-CNV1 fire fee
hambá-xa **kéda noqó-be kím = be**
 say:PASS-PAST.CONT then water-COM 3 = COM
kínka wongá gíá-ise yi?-idí
 together cow:PL hit-CNV1 go-PF
 Water leaked over Fire, and Fire died. Then, Water together with him
 went herding the cows.
- (37b) **éedi makkán kó = sa báski dáa.**
 person three 3F = GEN lover exist
hambá-xa **kéda geshô waakí gétte**
 say:PASS-PAST.CONT then husband:M cow hit.SE
gabá-n-dar waakí shansh-ánna ut-idí
 market-F.OBL-ALL1 cow buy:CAUS-OPT go.out-PF
 She had three lovers. Then, the husband went out to herd the cattle to
 the market to sell them
- (37c) **ooní-n ard-ánna kin = de-énka, hai-tâ**
 house-F.OBL enter-OPT 3 = exist-CNV2 sun-M
ibán-in-ka oolá-6, hamá-ise, ooní-n
 afternoon-F.OBL-INS call-NARR say-CNV1 house-F.OBL
kin = ard-ánna yi?-énka gamurê kí = ðan yedá-6
 3 = enter-OPT go-CNV2 jackal:M 3 = ACC catch-NARR
 when (the rooster) was about to enter the house, he called at the sunset.
 Then, when he was about to enter the house, the jackal caught him

Similar to the dummy verb *hamá*, the verb *hayá* ‘do’ marked by the general converb *-ise* can also be used as a transition word between clauses:

(38a) **ée** **deesá-ḡ**, **hayá-ise** **kí=sa** **wongá** **qaná-ḡ**
 man:M kill-NARR do-CNV1 3=GEN cow:PL hit-NARR
 He killed the man, and he stole his cows.

(38b) **qaskê** **málsi** **ti-ái**, **hayá-ise** **ogó-rra**
 dog:M change take-NEG.PRES.3 do-CNV1 DEM2.F-ABL
pər **qulí-sa** **birr** **kála** **qoléi**
 IDEO.again goat-GEN birr one exist.not
 Dog does not take his change. Then, after that, Goat has not even one
 birr