4. Nouns

This chapter is about nominal morphology. Here, I describe gender, number, plurality in adjectives, semantic gender distinction, diminutive, indefinite reference and indefinite–specific morphemes and definite reference. I also deal with demonstrative suffixes, numerals, nominal derivation, case and compounding.

4.1. Gender

4.1.1. Gender of nouns

There are three interacting notions with regard to gender in nouns. First, we have the notion of plural gender versus non-plural (masculine and feminine) gender; secondly, we have the notion of semantic plurality; and thirdly, plurative versus singulative. The distinction plural gender versus non-plural masculine and feminine gender is based on the concord between a noun in the subject function and the verb of the same sentence. As will be shown later, the distinction of gender agreement markers on the verb is realised only when nouns serve as non-focused subjects. With regard to semantic plurality, we see that plural gender does imply semantic plurality in some cases but not in all, and that the non-plural genders can have plural interpretations. To avoid the confusion that might arise from the use of terms, I use the term 'plural' in the context of agreement on the verb whether the subject is numerically single or multiple. I also use the terms "singulative" and "plurative" for derived forms of nouns, and "base" for the form on which the derivation (singulative or plurative) is based. Moreover, I use the terms "single" and (following Hayward (1981)) "multiple" for the number values of nouns, and the terms, "masculine", "feminine" and "plural" for the values of gender.

Like other Cushitic languages, Konso shows gender, not number, agreement in the subject inflection on the verb. And gender has the values M(asculine), F(eminine) and P(lural), as is not uncommon for Cushitic languages. The third value for gender agreement is P(lural) because that is the ending on the verb. I use the abbreviation M/F in those gender agreement markers that do not distinguish between M and F. The head noun may be either M or F.

Thus, according to gender agreement on the verb, we have nouns that trigger the same agreement as the third person male subject (marked by the suffix **-ay**), those that trigger the same agreement as the third person female subject (marked by suffix **-t**) and those that trigger the same agreement as the third person plural subject (marked by the suffix **-n**).

Most nouns which are semantically specified for sex as female trigger the third person feminine gender agreement marker **-t** on the verb as shown in (1):

(1a) **inantasiʔ ʔiɗeʔti**
inanta-siʔ *i=ɗey-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F 3=come-3F-PF
'The girl came.'

(1b) **talteetasiʔ ʔipiʔti**
talteeta-siʔ *i=piʔ-t-i*
she-goat-DEF.M/F 3=fall-3F-PF
'The she-goat fell.'

Certain nouns that are semantically female have masculine gender agreement. Her is an example:

(2a) **okkattasiʔ ʔipiʔay**
okkatta-siʔ *i=piʔ-ay*
cow-DEF.M/F 3=fall-PF[3M]
'The cow fell.'

(2b) **arpasiʔ ʔiɗalay**
arpa-siʔ *i=ɗal-ay*
elephant-DEF.M/F 3=give.birth-PF[3M]
'The elephant gave birth.'

Nouns that are semantically specified for sex as male trigger third person masculine gender agreement on the verb as in (3).

(3a) **χormasiʔ ʔipatay**
χorma-siʔ *i=pat-ay*
ox-DEF.M/F 3=get.lost-PF[3M]
'The ox got lost.'

(3b) **hamiyaasiʔ ʔiɗeyay**
hamiyaa-siʔ *i=ɗey-ay*
boy-DEF.M/F 3=come-PF[3M]
'The boy came.'

(3c) **lahaiʔ ʔipatay**
laha-siʔ *i=pat-ay*
ram-DEF.M/F 3=get.lost-PF[3M]
'The ram got lost.'

All nouns with plural suffixes have the plural gender agreement **-n** on the verb. For example, the suffix **-wwaa** in **harreewwaa** 'donkeys' in (4a), **-ɗaa** in **χormaɗaa** 'oxen' in (4b) and **-ɗɗaa** in **lahaɗɗaa** 'rams' in (4c) are plural suffixes and, thus, impose the plural gender agreement marker **-n** on the verb.

(4a) harreewwaasini? ʔipatin
harreewwaa-sini? *i=pat-i-n*
donkeys-DEF.P 3=get.lost-PF-P
'The donkeys got lost.'

(4b) χormaɗaa-sini? ʔipatin
χormaɗaa-sini? *i=pat-i-n*
oxen-DEF.P 3=get.lost-PF-P
'The oxen got lost.'

(4c) lahaɗɗaasini? ʔipatin
lahaɗɗaa-sini? *i=pat-i-n*
rams-DEF.P 3=get.lost.PF-P
'The rams got lost.'

There are certain nouns which are semantically plural but have a masculine or feminine gender agreement on the verb. For instance, **iskatta** 'women' in (5a) is semantically plural but occurs with a masculine gender marker on the verb. In the same fashion, **kuyleeta** 'the Ts'amakko' in (5b) is semantically plural but occurs with a feminine gender agreement **-t** on the verb.

(5a) iskatta-si? ʔiɗey-ay
iskatta-si? *i=ɗey-ay*
women-DEF.M/F 3=come-PF[3M]
'The women came.'

(5b) kuyleetasi? ʔiɗeʔti
kuyleeta-si? *i=ɗey-t-i*
Ts'amakko-DEF.M/F 3=come-3F-PF
'The Ts'amakko came.'

Most nouns that are semantically undetermined for sex require masculine gender agreement, feminine gender agreement or plural gender agreement. The gender assignment cannot be predicted by the semantics of the nouns. Here are some examples:

(6a) ɠoyrasi? ʔiɠepay
ɠoyra-si? *i=ɠep-ay*
tree-DEF.M/F 3=break-PF[3M]
'The tree was broken.'

(6b) harreetasi? ʔiɠepti
harreeta-si? *i=ɠep-t-i*
donkey-DEF.M/F 3=be.broken-3F-PF
'The donkey was broken.'

(6c) **filaasini? ʔiɕepin**
filaa-sini? *i=ɕep-i-n*
comb-DEF.P 3=be.broken-PF-P
'The comb was broken.'

From our discussion so far, it is apparent that nouns fall into three groups based on their subject agreement on the verb: those with M(asculine), F(eminine) and P(lural) gender agreement. The three gender values to some degree follow the semantics of nouns but for quite a number of nouns the gender value cannot be predicted by semantics. Semantically plural nouns may trigger M, F or P agreement, and semantically singular nouns may trigger P agreement. Singular and plural pairs of nouns can have different gender values.

Agreement on the adjective shows that gender and number are separate agreement systems. On the adjective number is marked by reduplication (for plural), see 3.2 above, and P(lural) gender is marked by a suffix, see 4.1.4. Nouns that are plural in number need not be P(lural) in gender and nouns that are P(lural) in gender are not always plural in number. This state of affairs is confusing for those not acquainted with Cushitic languages. Using a different term for the third value of gender would be misleading because the agreement does coincide with that of third person plural 'they'.

When there are suppletive verb roots for singulative and pluractional (see 6.2.5 for pluracitonality), nouns that have a singulative notion occur with singulative verb roots, and those that have a plurative notion occur with pluractional verb roots. Nouns with plurative notion may differ in their gender agreement on the verb. For example, if we take, as in (7), the nouns **kawwaaɗaa** 'the Gawwada', **kaahuta** 'Kaaho villagers' and **χoyraa** 'the Burji' and the suppletive verb roots **keer-** 'to run[SG]' and **hir-** 'to run[PL]', we see that all the nouns have a plurative notion, and hence occur with the suppletive pluractional verb root **hir-** 'to run[PL]' rather than the singulative verb root **keer-** 'to run[SG]'. However, they differ in gender agreement: **kawwaaɗaa** 'the Gawwada' in (7a) triggers the same gender agreement as the third person masculine subject, **kaahuta** 'Kaaho villagers' in (7b) triggers the same gender agreement as the third person feminine subject, and **χoyraa** 'the Burji' in (7c) triggers the same gender agreement as plural subject.

(7a) **kawwaaɗaasi? ʔihiray**
kawwaaɗaa-si? *i=hir-ay*
kawwaɗa-DEF.M/F 3=run[PL]-PF[3M]
'The Gawwada ran.'

(7b) kaahutasiʔ ʔihirti
kaahuta-siʔ *i=hir-t-i*
kaaho-DEF.M/F 3=run[PL]-3F-PF
'The kaahuta ran.'

(7c) χoyraasiniʔ ʔihirin
χoyraa-siniʔ *i=hir-i-n*
burji-DEF.P 3=run[PL]-PF-P
'The Burji ran.'

There are some nouns with M~F gender values. The alternative use of the M~F does not bring any difference in meaning. For instance, the singulative raaka 'old woman' is semantically feminine but it may occur with the indefinite F takka in (8a) or with the M counterpart tokka in (8b), the former is preferred.

(8a) raaka takkaʔ ʔipiʔti
raaka *takka-ʔ* *i=piʔ-t-i*
old.woman INDEF.F-NOM 3=fall-3F-PF
'A certain old woman fell down.'

(8b) raaka tokkan akkay
raaka *tokka=in* *akk-ay*
old.woman INDEF.M=1 see-PF[3M]
'I saw a certain old woman.'

4.1.2. Gender agreement in definiteness marking

The gender of nouns determines the assignment of definite marking on nouns: nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as the masculine or feminine subject assign the definite suffix -siʔ as illustrated in (9).

(9a) ɠimaytasiʔ ʔikutiʔay
ɠimayta-siʔ *i=kutiʔ-ay*
old.man-DEF.M/F 3=sit.down-PF[3M]
'The old man sat down.'

(9b) orra-siʔ ʔikal-ay
orra-siʔ *i=kal-ay*
people-DEF.M/F 3=return.home-PF[3M]
'The people returned home.'

(9c) alleetasiʔ ʔipiʔti
alleeta-siʔ *i=piʔ-t-i*
hut-DEF.M/F 3=fall-3F-PF
'The hut fell.'

Nouns that trigger the same agreement as the plural subject on the verb assign the definite suffix **-sini?**. For example, the nouns **innaa** 'child' in (10a) and **filaa** 'comb' in (10b) are semantically singular. However, they add the plural gender agreement marker **-n** on the verb just like the noun **lahaɗɗaa** 'rams' in (10c). This clearly shows that **-n** is a gender agreement marker, not a number marker.

(10a) **innaasini? ?imukin**
innaa-sini? *i=muk-i-n*
child-DEF.P 3=sleep-PF-P
'The child slept.'

(10b) **filaasini? ?iɠepin**
filaa-sini? *i=ɠep-i-n*
comb-DEF.P 3=be.broken-PF-P
'The comb was broken.'

(10c) **lahaɗɗaasini? ?ikataman**
lahaɗɗaa-sini? *i=kat-am-a-n*
rams-DEF.P 3=sell-PAS-IPF.FUT-P
'The rams will be sold.'

4.1.3. Gender agreement in demonstratives

The gender of nouns determines the assignment of demonstrative marking on nouns. In other words, nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as masculine or feminine subject assign the demonstrative suffix **-asi?** or **-osi?** as illustrated in (11). For the distribution of the demonstrative suffixes, see Section 4.8.

(11a) **kahartaasi? ?iɗalti**
kaharta-asi? *i=ɗal-t-i*
ewe-DEM.M/F 3=give.birth-3F-PF
'This ewe gave birth.'

(11b) **ɠoyroosi? ?iɠepay**
ɠoyra-osi? *i=ɠep-ay*
tree-DEM.M/F 3=be.broken-PF[3M]
'This tree was broken.'

(11c) **orraasi? ?ikalay**
orra-asi? *i=kal-ay*
people-DEM.M/F 3=return.home-PF[3M]
'These people returned home.'

Nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as the plural subject on the verb assign the demonstrative suffix **-osini?**. In the following examples, the semantically singular noun **innaa** 'child' (12a) and the plurative noun **pottaawwaa** 'pumpkins' (12b) add the plural gender agreement suffix **-osini?**.

(12a) **innoosinif fatanaappaa ipi?in**
innaa-osini? *fatanaa-oppaa* *i=pi?-i-n*
child-DEM.P exam-in 3=fall-PF-P
'This child failed the exam.'

(12b) **pottaawwoosini? ?iŋapalin**
pottaawwaa-osini? *i=ŋapal-i-n*
pumpkins-DEM.P 3=be.spoiled-PF-P
'These houses were spoiled.'

4.1.4. Gender agreement in adjectives

When adjectives serve as attributes, gender is marked in addition to number. Plural number is expressed by reduplicating the adjectival root's initial $C_1V(C_1)$. Gender agreement is marked by suffixes **-a** for M/F gender and by the suffix **-aa?** for plural gender. For example, in (13a), the modified noun **χormasi?** 'the ox' is semantically singulative and [M] in gender and it has an M/F gender suffix on the adjectival root. In (13b), the modified noun **filaasini?** 'the comb' is semantically singulative but requires a plural gender suffix **-aa?** on the adjectival root. In (13c), the modified noun **?orrasi?** 'the people' is semantically plural and [M] in gender and requires a plural number agreement marked by reduplication but an M/F gender suffix on the adjectival root. In (13d), the object **χormaɗaasini?** 'the oxen' is semantically plural and [P] in gender and has a plural number agreement marked by reduplication and a plural gender agreement suffix **-aa?** on the adjectival root. Notice that the subject of each sentence in (13) is the first person singular.

(13a) **χormasik kappa in?akkay**
χorma-si? *kapp-a* *in=akk-ay*
ox-DEF.M/F be.fat-M/F 1=see-PF[3M]
'I saw the fat ox.'

(13b) **filaasinip pooraa? ?in?akkay**
filaa-sini? *poor-aa?* *in=akk-ay*
comb-DEF.P be.black-P 1=see-PF[3M]
'I saw the black comb.'

(13c) **orrasik kakappa in?akkay**
orra-si? *ka-kapp-a* *in=akk-ay*
people-DEF.M/F PL-be.fat-M/F 1=see-PF[3M]
'I saw the fat people.'

(13d) χormaɗaasinik kakappaaʔ ʔinʔakkay

χormaɗaa-sini?	*ka-kapp-aa?*	*in = akk-ay*
ox-DEF.P	PL-be.fat-P	1 = see-PF[3M]

'I saw the fat oxen.'

From the foregoing discussions, it is clear that gender as a morphological category has the M, F and P values in subject agreement marking on the verb, and M/F and P values in the noun phrase agreement, namely in definite nouns, demonstratives and adjectives.

4.2. Number

Number in nouns is derivational rather than inflectional (see Ongaye (in print)). The derivation of number in nouns involves the derivation of pluratives, and, to a much lesser degree, the derivation of singulatives. As I mentioned earlier, I use the terms "singulative" and "plurative" for derived forms of nouns, and "base" for the form on which the derivation (singulative or plurative) is based. Moreover, I use the terms "single" and (following Hayward (1981)) "multiple" for the number values of nouns. "Single" nouns refer to semantically individual entities while "multiple" nouns refer to semantically plural entities. In what follows, I first present the derivation of pluratives and then the derivation of singulatives.

Plurative is marked by the following ways:

A. attaching plurative suffixes
B. reduplicating the base-final consonant
C. geminating the last consonant of the base

Pluratives derived by any one of the above strategies are plural semantically and also trigger plural gender agreement marking on the verb. As we shall see later, there are also suppletives in Konso. Singular suppletives express single reference, while plural suppletives express multiple reference.

4.2.1. Number suffixes

There are five number suffixes used to mark plurative in nouns. The number suffixes are arranged from the most to the least frequently occurring suffix with a sample of about 470 nouns (see Chapter 15).

Form of number suffix	Base
A. -ɗɗaa (27%)	stem
B. -wwaa (22%)	root-**ta** (F)
C. -ɗaa (16%)	stem
D. -ayaa (7.5%)	root-**atta** (M)
E. -iyyaa (5.5%)	root-**itta** (M)

From the correlation between the number suffixes and their bases, we can see that some plurative suffixes are added to bases while others replace singulative suffixes. Thus, the plurative suffix of each noun has to be learned lexically. Furthermore, a lexeme may occur with more than one plurative suffix. In some cases, nouns with plurative suffixes may serve as bases to further derive pluratives. In fact, sometimes it is only the singulative that is derived. In other words, the system has both singulatives and pluratives, and both can be basic.

Below, I discuss each of the number suffixes. In the illustrative examples, I only indicate the gender values of the bases because plurative suffixes impose a plural gender value.

Plurative suffix **-ɗɗaa**

The plurative suffix **-ɗɗaa** is added to a base. Base final **aa** is shortened when **-ɗɗaa** is added. The bases may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender values. The bases are either underived, or derived singulatives in **-ta**. The following are illustrative examples:

(14)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	ɗaʔta (M)	'butter'	**ɗaʔtaɗɗaa**	'butters'
	kittayyaa (M)	'bedbug'	**kittayyaɗɗaa**	'bedbugs'
	maakaa (M)	'snake'	**maakaɗɗaa**	'snakes'
	mahanta (F)	'grass'	**mahantaɗɗaa**	'grasses'
	oχinta (F)	'fence'	**oχintaɗɗaa**	'fences'
	ʃiiʃaa (P)	'curse'	**ʃiiʃaɗɗaa**	'curses'
	kaariyyaa (P)	'evil spirit'	**kaariyyaɗɗaa**	'evil spirits'
	kosaa (P)	'granary'	**kosaɗɗaa**	'granaries'
	marɠinaa (P)	'intestine'	**marɠinaɗɗaa**	'intestines'

Plurative suffix -wwaa

The plurative suffix **-wwaa** replaces the singulative suffix **-ta**. Except apuyyaata 'maternal uncle (M)' and **kawkawa** 'lower jaw (M)', all such singulative nouns trigger a feminine gender agreement. Examples:

(15)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	hinʃaakkata (F)	'ant'	**hinʃaakkawwaa**	'ants'
	kaankita (F)	'mule'	**kaankiwwaa**	'mules'
	ʃooɠɠita (F)	'mud'	**ʃooɠɠiwwaa**	'muds'
	noodɗuta (F)	'bribe'	**noodɗuwwaa**	'bribes'
	muukuta (F)	'frog'	**muukuwwaa**	'frogs'
	fillayyaata (F)	'flea'	**fillayyaawwaa**	'fleas'
	landeeta (F)	'liver'	**landeewwaa**	'livers'

Plurative suffx -ɗaa

Like the suffix -ɗɗaa, plurative suffix -ɗaa is added to its bases. The bases have either a consonant cluster or geminate consonants preceding the suffix with the short ɗ. Although degemination in the context of geminate consonants or clusters of consonants has been attested elsewhere in the language, we cannot posit the suffix -ɗaa as an allomorph of the suffix -ɗɗaa because the suffix -ɗɗaa also occurs after clusters of consonants, as in **oχintaɗɗaa** 'fences' and **hawlaɗɗaa** 'graves'. Base final **aa** is shortened. The bases may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender value, but the majority have a masculine gender value. The following are illustrative examples. Notice that the plurative suffixes -ɗɗaa and -ɗaa are not allomorphs of the same plurative suffix.

(16)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	arpa (M)	'elephant'	**arpaɗaa**	'elephants'
	ipsaa (P)	'light'	**ipsaɗaa**	'lights'
	ɗalta (F)	'seed'	**ɗaltaɗaa**	'seeds'
	farta (F)	'horse'	**fartaɗaa**	'horses'
	maχχa (M)	'name'	**maχχaɗaa**	'names'
	kirra (M)	'river'	**kirraɗaa**	'rivers'
	kappaa (M)	'wheat'	**kappaɗaa**	'wheat'
	karmaa (M)	'lion'	**karmaɗaa**	'lions'
	karkaa (M)	'beehive'	**karkaɗaa**	'beehives'
	ɲaaŋɲaa (P)	'tomato'	**ɲaaŋɲaɗaa**	'tomatoes'
	paankaa (P)	'machete'	**paankaɗaa**	'machetes'

The base noun **ɲaaŋɲaa** 'tomato' can have plural interpretation in the absence the plurative suffix -ɗaa. Plural or singular interpretation is understood not from the gender agreement on the verb, as both trigger plural gender agreement marking on the verb, but rather from the singulativity or pluractionality of the action: when the verb root is a singulative suppletive or the verb root's initial $C_1V(C_1)$ is not reduplicated (for non-suppletives), then it has a singular interpretation. However, when the verb root is a plurative suppletive or the verb root's initial $C_1V(C_1)$ is reduplicated (for non-suppletives), then it has plural interpretation.

Plurative suffix -ayaa

The plurative suffix -**ayaa** replaces the singulative suffix -**atta** as can be seen from the data in (17). The majority of the bases have a masculine gender agreement.

(17)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	oypatta (M)	tree species	**oypayaa**	tree species
	arpatta (M)	grass species	**arpayaa**	grass species

karsatta (M)	tree species	**karsayaa**	tree species
dittatta (M)	plant species	**dittayaa**	plant species
hoppatta (M)	'gut'	**hoppayaa**	'guts'
kollatta (M)	'hide, skin'	**kollayaa**	'hides, skins'
okkatta (M)	'cow'	**okkayaa**	'cows, cattle'
karratta (M)	'squirrel'	**karrayaa**	'squirrels'
massatta (M)	'crocodile'	**massayaa**	'crocodiles'
kawwatta (F)	'terrace'	**kawwayaa**	'terraces'

There is one instance of a nominal root with a singulative suffix **-eetta** and a plural suffix **-eeyyaa**: **kupeetta** (M) **kupeeyyaa** 'lower bone of hind leg'.

Plurative suffix -iyyaa

The plurative suffix **-iyyaa** is added to roots by replacing the singulative suffix **-itta**. All the bases trigger a masculine gender agreement. Here are some examples:

(18)

Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
alkitta (M)	'sisal'	**alkiyyaa**	'sisals'
fiŋŋitta (M)	'pimple'	**fiŋŋiyyaa**	'pimples'
ɠupitta (M)	'finger'	**ɠupiyyaa**	'fingers'
ilkitta (M)	'tooth'	**ilkiyyaa**	'teeth'
karitta (M))	'belly'	**kariyyaa**	'bellies'
orritta (M)	'devil'	**orriyyaa**	'devils'
apitta (M)	'fire'	**apiyyaa**	'fires'
ɠinaʔitta (M)	'rib'	**ɠinaʔiyyaa**	'ribs'

4.2.2. Reduplicating the base final consonant

Reduplicating the base final consonant is another strategy that marks plurative. In this number derivation strategy, a base final consonant /**l**/ or /**n**/ in a consonant cluster is reduplicated and subsequently geminated/lengthened. The plurative forms have a final long **aa**. Most often the consonant clusters containing /**l**/ undergo metathesis (cf. 2.7.6.). The bases may have a short **a** or a long **aa**. A base final **-aa** is shortened in the plurative. The bases trigger either masculine or plural gender agreement, the majority triggering masculine gender agreement. The following is an exhaustive list:

(19)

Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
hawla (M)	'tomb, grave'	**hawlallaa**	'tombs, graves'
fanɠala (M)	'splinter'	**fanɠallaa**	'splinters'
tawna (M)	'bell'	**tawnannaa**	'bells'
moχna (M)	'rocky place'	**moχnannaa**	'rocky places'
ɠolfaa (P)	'park, pod'	**ɠolfallaa**	'parks (of tree), pods'

ɗikla (M)	'elbow'	**ɗiklallaa**	'elbows'
silpa (M)	'metal'	**silpallaa**	'metals'
kilpa (M)	'knee'	**kilpallaa**	'knees'
kulpa (M)	'big calabash'	**kulpallaa**	'big calabashes'
ɠolpa (M)	'he-goat'	**ɠolpallaa**	'he-goats'
ɗapna (M)	'temple (body)'	**ɗapnannaa**	'temples'

The bases in (20a) have the same phonological pattern as those in (19) but they do not reduplicate the final consonant in the plurative. The correct plurative forms are given in (20b).

(20a)	Base	gloss	plurative
	talpa (M)	'lentil'	***talpallaa**
	hupna (M)	'strength'	***hupnannaa**
	haynaa (P)	'remains after sucking cane'	***haynannaa**

(20b)	**talpaɗaa** (P)	'lentils'
	hupnannaa (P)	'strengths'
	haynaɗaa (P)	'remains after sucking cane'

4.2.3. Plurative marking by gemination

This plurative marking strategy geminates the onset of the last syllable. The short vowel /**a**/ of the bases is lengthened in the plurative forms. The majority of the bases trigger masculine gender agreement. The following are illustrative data.

(21)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	tika (F)	'house	**tikkaa**	'houses'
	raaka (F)	'old woman'	**raakkaa**	'old women'
	ɗila (M)	'field'	**ɗillaa**	'fields'
	kaɓa (M)	'canal'	**kaɓɓaa**	'canals'
	kafa (M)	'clan'	**kaffaa**	'clans'
	mura (M)	'forest'	**murraa**	'forests'
	pora (M)	'road, route'	**porraa**	'roads, routes'
	paaɠa (M)	'disease'	**paaɠɠaa**	'diseases'
	paala (M)	'feather'	**paallaa**	'feathers'
	kaasa (M)	'horn, gun'	**kaassaa**	'horns, guns'
	tuuɗa (M)	'pillar'	**tuuɗɗaa**	'pillars'
	hoofa (M)	'hole'	**hooffaa**	'holes'

The pluratives of the following bases are derived by geminating the onset of the last syllable but the singulative is marked by suffix **-ta**.

(22)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	kaharta (F)	‘ewe’	kaharraa	‘sheep’
	locʕta (F)	‘leg’	locʕʕaa	‘legs’
	hiɓta (F)	‘lip’	hiɓɓaa	‘lips’

4.2.4. Double plurative derivation

Certain plurative forms serve as bases for further derived pluratives. Double pluratives are derived by adding the plurative suffix -ɗaa when the plurative bases are formed by reduplicating the base final consonant as in (23a). They are also derived by adding the plurative suffix -ɗɗaa when the plurative bases are formed by geminating the base final consonant as in (23b).

(23a)	Base (plurative)	plurative (double derived)	
	tikkaa	tikkaɗaa	‘houses’
	raakkaa	raakkaɗaa	‘old women’
	ɗillaa	ɗillaɗaaa	‘fields’
	kaɓɓaa	kaɓɓaɗaa	‘canals’
	kaffaa	kaffaɗaa	‘clans’
	murraa	murraɗaa	‘forests’
	porraa	porraɗaa	‘roads, routes’
	paaʕʕaa	paaʕʕaɗaa	‘diseases’
	paallaa	paallaɗaa	‘feathers’
	kaassaa	kaassaɗaa	‘horns, guns’
	tuuɗɗaa	tuuɗɗaɗaa	‘pillars’
	hooffaa	hooffaɗaa	‘holes’

(23b)			
	silpallaa	silpallaɗɗaa	‘metals’
	ɗiklallaa	ɗiklallaɗɗaa	‘elbows’
	kilpallaa	kilpallaɗɗaa	‘knese’
	kulpallaa	kulpallaɗɗaa	‘big calabashes’
	ʕolpallaa	ʕolpallaɗɗaa	‘he-goats’
	hawlallaa	hawlallaɗɗaa	‘tombs, graves’
	fanʕallaa	fanʕallaɗɗaa	‘splinters’
	tawnannaa	tawnannaɗɗaa	‘bells’
	moχnannaa	moχnannaɗɗaa	‘rocky places’
	ɗapnannaa	ɗapnannaɗɗaa	‘temples’
	ʕolfallaa	ʕolfallaɗɗaa	‘parks (of tree), pods’

4.2.5. Irregular pluratives

Certain pluratives do not fall into the patterns discussed above. For example, the plurative ilɗaa ‘eyes’, which is derived from the nominal root il- ‘eye’ (singulative ilta (F) ‘eye’), does not conform to the pattern I discussed earlier for the plurative suffix -ɗaa. That is, in my earlier analysis, I showed that -ɗaa is added to bases, not roots. But in ilɗaa ‘eyes’, it is added to a root. The other

pluratives that do not fall into our earlier patterns include **ɠoraa** 'trees', **harkaa** 'hands' and **kereʔta** 'thieves'. The plurative **ɠoraa** 'trees' has the singulative **ɠoyra** (M) 'tree'. The derivation of the plurative **ɠoraa** 'trees' involves the deletion of the consonant **y** in the singulative, and lengthening the final vowel of the singulative. The plurative **harkaa** 'hands' is derived from the base by lengthening only the final vowel of the base. With regard to the derivation of the plurative **kereʔta** 'thieves' and its singulative **keraa** (M) 'thief', both have a root **ker-** to which **-eʔta** and **-aa** are added to derive the plurative and singulative, respectively.

In fact, the pluratives **harkaa** 'hands' and **kereʔta** 'thieves' can alternatively be used as stems to derive the plurative **harkaɗaa** and **kereʔewwaa**, respectively. Similarly, the singulative **ɠoyra** may serve as a stem to derive the plurative **ɠoyraɗaa**. This derivation fits into our analysis for the derivational pattern of the number suffix **-ɗaa**.

4.2.6. Suppletive plurals

Certain single-reference nouns have suppletive multiple reference counterparts. An exhaustive list is given in (24). The single-reference forms may trigger masculine, feminine or plural gender agreement; on the other hand, the plurals may trigger masculine or plural gender agreement.

(24)	Single	gloss	multiple	gloss
	innaa (P)	'child'	**hellaa** (P)	'(human) children'
	nama (M)	'man, person'	**orra** (M)	'people'
	saallaa (M)	'cow dung'	**kuufa** (M)	'pile of cow dung'
	inanta (F)	'girl'	**tupar(r)aa** (P)	'girls'
	innayyaa (P)	'young animal'	**ɲelɠaa** (P)	'young animals/birds'

4.2.7. Pluratives without corresponding singulative forms

In the preceding sections, we discussed the derivation of pluratives from singulative bases. The roots of the bases carry the semantics of singulative. However, there are instances in which there is only one number form which is plurative and not singulative. Such nouns are listed below.

(25)	**horeeta** (F)	'livestock'
	sawwaa (M)	'people (formal setting)'
	ikkaamaa (P)	'seed corn'

Our evidence for claiming that the above nouns are plurative comes from agreement. For instance, the examples in (26) are acceptable because the nouns **horreta** 'livestock' and **sawwaa** 'people' occur with the pluractional verb root **hir-** 'run[PL]'. On the other hand, the examples in (27) are unacceptable be-

cause the same nouns **horeeta** and **sawwaa** occur with a singulative verb root **keer-** 'run[SG]'.

(26a) **horeetasiʔ ʔihirti**
horeeta-siʔ *i=hir-t-i*
livestock-DEF.M/F 3=run[PL]-3F-PF
'The livestock ran.'

(26b) **keraasiʛ ʛapiyas sawwaasiʔ ʔihiray**
keraa-siʔ *ʛap-iya-ʔ* *sawwaa-siʔ*
thief-DEF.M/F catch-INF-DAT people-DEF.M/F

i=hir-ay
3=run[PL]-PF[3M]
'The people ran in order to catch the thief.'

(27a) ***horeetasiʔ ʔikeerti**
horeeta-siʔ *i=keer-t-i*
livestock-DEF.M/F 3=run[SG]-3F-PF
(intended: 'The livestock ran.')

(27b) ***keraasiʛ ʛapiyas sawwaasiʔ ʔikeeray**
keraa-siʔ *ʛap-iya-ʔ* *sawwaa-siʔ*
thief-DEF.M/F catch-INF-DAT people-DEF.M/F

i=keer-ay
3=run[SG]-PF[3M]
(intended: 'The people ran in order to catch the thief.')

4.2.8. Derivation of singulatives

Singulatives are derived from underived pluratives by deleting final vowels and adding the suffixes **-ayta** (M) as in (28a), **-ta** (M/F) as in (28b), **-itta** (M) as in (28c) or **-teeta** (F) as in (28d).

(28a)	Plurative	singulative	gloss
	ɗaʔayaa	**ɗaʔayta** (M)	plant species
	karayaa	**karayta** (M)	'gorge'
	keltayaa	**keltayta** (M)	'baboon'
	ottayaa	**ottayta** (M)	tree species
	ʛimayaa	**ʛimayta** (M)	'old man'
(28b)	**kumaanaa**	**kumaanta** (M)	'antelope'
	maskahanaa	**maskahanta** (M)	tree species
	pinaanaa	**pinanta** (M)	'animal'

	hotaaraa	**hotaarta** (M)	acacia tree species
	kolalaa	**kolalta** (M)	acacia tree species
	lafaa	**lafta** (F)	'bone'
	koromaa	**koromta** (F)	'heifer'
	kusumaa	**kusumta** (F)	'navel'
	oχinaa	**oχinta** (F)	'fence'
	koskoraa	**koskorta** (F)	'partridge'
(28c)	**ɠinaʔaa**	**ɠinaʔitta** (M)	'rib'
	ʃalaɠɠaa	**ʃalaɠɠitta** (M)	'flat stone'
	ilkaa	**ilkitta** (M)	'tooth'
	χolaʔaa	**χolaʔitta** (M)	cactus species
	ɠinaʔaa	**ɠinaʔitta** (M)	'rib'
	lukkalaa	**lukkalitta** (M)	'chicken'
(28d)	**ikkiraa**	**ikkirteeta** (F)	'louse'
	χampiraa	**χampirteeta** (F)	'bird'
	talaa	**talteeta** (F)	'she-goat'

The singulative **okkatta** (M) 'cow' is derived from the plurative **okkaa** 'cows'. The singulative **apitta** (M) 'fire' may also serve as a stem to derive the plurative **apittaɗɗaa**.

4.2.9. Associative plural

Associative plural is marked by the particle **opa** followed by the noun it modifies.[7] Associative plural expresses that the noun which the associative particle modifies has an associate(s) whose name(s) is (are) not mentioned. The associative plural may be a subject as in (29a) or an object as in (29b).

(29a) **opa χampiruʔ ʔiɗeyin**

opa	*χampiru-ʔ*	*i=ɗey-i-n*
ASS	χampiro-NOM	3=come-PF-P

'χampiro and his associates came.'

(29b) **antiʔ ʔopa Apittun akkay**

anti-ʔ	*opa*	*Apitto=in*	*akk-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM	ASS	Apitto=1	see-PF[3M]

'I saw ʔapitto and his associate(s).'

[7] The associative particle and the postposition indicating destination (see Section 8.2.1) have the same form **opa** but occur in different positions with regard to the noun they modify. I consider them to be distinct, homophonous morphemes.

4.3. Plurality in adjectives

Plural number agreement in adjectives is marked by reduplicating the root initial C_1V when there is a geminate consonant in the root as in (30), otherwise, C_1VC_1 as in (31). For example, in (30a), the initial C_1V of the adjectival root ɢalla?- 'to be thin, slim' is not reduplicated because the subject **inanta** 'girl' is singular. In (30b), it is reduplicated because the subject **tuparaa** 'girls' is plural. In the same fashion, in (31a), the initial C_1VC_1 of the adjectival root **ɖer-** 'to be long' is not reduplicated because the subject **ɢoyrasi?** 'the tree' is singular. In (31b), the initial C_1VC_1 of the adjectival root is reduplicated because the subject **ɢoraasini?** 'the trees' is plural.

(30a) **inantaasi? ʔiɢalla?i**
inanta-asi? *i=ɢalla?-i*
girl-DEM.M/F 3=be.slim-PF
'This girl is slim.'

(30b) **tuparoosini? ʔiɢaɢalla?i**
tuparaa-sini?i=ɢa-ɢalla?-i
girls-DEM.P 3=PL-be.slim-PF
'These girls are slim.'

(31a) **ɢoyrasi? ʔiɖeri**
ɢoyra-si? *i=ɖer-i*
tree-DEF.M/F 3=be.tall-PF
'The tree is tall.'

(31b) **ɢoraasini? ʔiɖeɖɖeri**
ɢoraa-sini? i=ɖeɖ-ɖer-i
tree-DEF.P 3=PL-be.tall-PF
'The trees are tall.'

We should note that reduplicating the adjectival root's initial $C_1V(C_1)$ shows only plural interpretation, and not plural gender agreement.

4.4. Semantic gender distinction

Names referring to certain domestic animals make a lexical semantic distinction between males and females. The lexical items that refer to 'sheep' are listed in (32a); those that refer to 'cow, ox, bull' are listed in (32b); and those that refer to 'goat' are listed in (32c).

	Male	Female	
(32a)	**laha** (M) 'ram'	**kaharta** (F) 'ewe'	
		sukeenta (F)	'female lamb'

(32b)	Male			Female	
	χorma (M)	'ox, bull'		**okkatta** (M)	'cow'
	mirkoota (M)	'young bull'		**koromta** (F)	'heifer'
				tullatta (M)	'old cow'
(32c)	**ɢolpa/ɢolpayta** (M)		'he-goat'	**talteeta** (F)	'she-goat'
				ritta (F)	'young she-goat'

From the data in (32), we see that all the lexical items that are semantically male trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb. But lexical items such as **ʔokkatta** 'cow' and **tullatta** 'old cow', which are semantically female, trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb as shown in (33).

(33a) **okkattasiʔ ʔiɗalay**
okkatta-siʔ *i=ɗal-ay*
cow-DEF.M/F 3=give.birth-PF[3M]
'The cow gave birth.'

(33b) **tullattasiʔ ʔipiʔay**
tullatta-siʔ *i=piʔ-ay*
old.cow-DEF.M/F 3=fall-PF[3M]
'The old cow fell.'

Lexical semantic gender distinction is also made in kinship terms. In the following table, I give the lexical items that refer to males in the first column, and their corresponding female names in the second column.

Male		Female	
aappaa	'father'	**aayyaa**	'mother'
aappaa	'husband'	**ahta**	'wife'
apuyyaata	'maternal uncle'	**maammata**	'aunt'
aakkaa	'grandfather'	**okkooyyita**	'grandmother'
oopaa	'grandson'	**oopta**	'granddaughter'
aʃuma	'nephew'	**aʃumta**	'niece'
alawa	'male sibling'	**alawta**	'female sibling'
hamiya	'baby boy'	**inanta**	'baby girl'

Table 1: Semantic gender distinction in kinship terms

Certain proper names also distinguish gender. In most instances, the female names are derived from male names by geminating the onset of the last syllable of the male name. One instance (last example) shows that when the penultimate syllable of a male name has a closed syllable, the coda of that syllable is geminated for the female name rather than the onset of the final syllable (i.e.

orχayto/orχayya). Most of the male names end in -o and the female counterparts end in -a.

(34a)	Male proper name	female proper name	source noun	meaning of source
	Katano	Katanna	katana	'season for sowing'
	Roopo	Rooppa	roopa	'rain'
	χampiro	χampirra	χampirteeta	'bird'
	Kappino	Kappinna	kappina	'bush'
	Urmale	Urmalla	ʔurmalaa	'market'
	Teykane	Teykanna	teykantaa	'morning'
	ɠuɗaaɗo	ɠuɗaaɗɗa	ɠuɗaaɗaa	'late morning'
	Kuyyawo	Kuyyanna	kuyyaʔta	'noon, day'
	Kallapo	Kallappa	kallapta	'late afternoon'
	Halkeeyo	Halkeeyya	halkeetta	'midnight'
	Orχayto	Orχayya	orχayta	'adopted child'

(34b)	Male proper name	female proper name	source noun	meaning of source
	Oraapo	Oraappa	oraap-	'to fetch water'
	Kutano	Kutanna	kut-	'to hunt'
	Kalʃo	Kalisso[8]	kalʃ-	'to make go home'

4.5. Diminutives

Diminutive is marked by the suffix -(tt)eeta. The diminutive suffix is added to nouns that show third person masculine gender value. The diminutive suffix renders a third person feminine gender value to the noun it is added to. The diminutive suffix implies that the addresser has a low opinion of the noun in question. For example, in (35a), the addresser has a high opinion of the noun ɠimaytasiʔ 'the old man', as it has no diminutive suffix; however, in (35b), it occurs with the diminutive suffix, implying that the addresser has a low opinion of the referent. In the translations of the examples below, I use the adjective 'little' to denote diminutive.

(35a) ɠimaytasiɠ ɠoyrasiʔ ʔihaaɗay
ɠimayta-siʔ *ɠoyra-siʔ* *i=haaɗ-ay*
old.man-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3=carry-PF[3M]
'The old man carried the tree.'

(35b) ɠimayteetasiɠ ɠoyrasiʔ ʔihaaʔti
ɠimayta-eeta-siʔ *ɠoyra-siʔ* *i=haaɗ-t-i*
old.man-DIM-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3=carry-3F-PF
'The little old man carried the tree.'

[8] kalisso is underlyingly kaliʃto.

Diminutive does not seem to occur with nouns that trigger plural gender agreement. The only exception that I noted is **innaa** 'child' but even then, the form of the diminutive is different: -**innaata** as shown in (36b).

(36a) **innaasiniʔ ʔipiʔin**

innaa-siniʔ	*i=piʔ-i-n*
child-DEF.P	3=fall-PF-P

'The child fell.'

(36b) **inninnaatasiʔ ʔipiʔti**

innaa-nnaata-siʔ	*i=piʔ-t-i*
child-DIM-DEF.M/F	3=fall-3F-PF

'The lttle child fell.'

The female lexical items **okkatta** 'cow' and **tullatta** 'old cow' that trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb acquire third person feminine gender agreement on the verb when the diminutive suffix is added to them. This is shown in (37).

(37a) **okkatteetasiʔ ʔitoʔti**

okkatta-eeta-siʔ	*i=toy-t-i*
cow-DIM-DEF.M/F	3=die[SG]-3F-PF

'The little cow died.'

(37b) **tullatteetasiʔ ʔipiʔti**

tullatta-eeta-siʔ	*i=piʔ-t-i*
old.cow-DIM-DEF.M/F	3=fall-3F-PF

'The little old cow fell.'

In the following examples, we have the noun **ɠoyra** 'tree'. This noun has third person masculine gender agreement without the diminutive as in (38a). However, with the diminutive suffix, it acquires third person feminine gender agreement on the verb, as illustrated in (38b).

(38a) **ɠoyrasiʔ ʔikupaɗay**

ɠoyra-siʔ	*i=kup-aɗ-ay*
tree.M-DEF.M/F	3=burn-MID-PF[3M]

'The tree was burnt.'

(38b) **ɠoyritteetasiʔ ʔikupatti**

ɠoyra-tteeta-siʔ	*i=kup-aɗ-t-i*
tree.F-DIM-DEF.M/F	3=burn-MID-3F-PF

'The little tree was burnt.'

When the performance of a referent in question excels the expectation of the addresser, the diminutive suffix expresses a surprise of the addresser. The following are illustrative examples:

(39a) **raakitteetasiʔ ʔiʃapaatti**
raaka-tteeta-siʔ *i=ʃapaad-t-i*
old.woman-DIM-DEF.M/F 3=be.strong-3F-PF
'Wow! The old little woman became strong.'

(39b) **aappitteetasiʕ ʕoyrasiʔ ʔihaʔti**
aappaa-tteeta-siʔ *ʕoyra-siʔ* *i=haḏ-t-i*
father-DIM-DEF.M/F tree/wood-DEF.M/F 3=carry-3F-PF
'Wow! The little man carried the log.'

Some nouns seem to have frozen diminutive suffix: **talteeta** 'she-goat', **lammitteeta** 'second wife'.

4.6. Indefinite reference and indefinite-specific morphemes

Indefinite reference is not morphologically marked both in subject and object function. This can be seen from the nouns **laha** 'ram', **ʔappitta** 'fire', **ʕimayaa** 'old men' and **χormaḏaa** 'bulls' with indefinite reference which appear in their citation forms as the following sentences demonstrate.

(40a) **antil laha impiḏḏa**
anti-ʔ *laha* *in=piḏḏ-a*
1SG.PRO-NOM ram 1=buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
'I will buy a ram.'

(40b) **inantasiʔ ʔapitta iʔopassi**
inanta-siʔ *apitta* *i=opay-ʃ-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F fire 3=build.fire-DCAUS-3F-PF
'The girl built fire.'

(40c) **ʕimayaa ḏise caa**
ʕimayaa *ḏise* *kiy-aa*
old.men there be-IPF.PRES
'There are old men over there.'

(40d) **iʃoonnaχ χormaḏaa heerin**
iʃoonna-ʔ *χormaḏaa=i* *heer-i-n*
3PL.PRO-NOM bulls=3 buy[PL]-PF-P
'They bought bulls.'

Specific-indefinite reference may be marked by **tokka** ‘one.M’ or **takka** ‘one.F’ or **takkan** ~ **takka-n** ‘one-P’. In the following examples, **tokka**, **takka** and **takkan** speficy the nouns **hamiya** ‘boy’, **ʔinanta** ‘girl’ and **χormaɗaa** ‘oxen’, respectively. These nouns have an inherent gender value: masculine, feminine and plural, respectively.

(41a) **hamiya tokkaʔ ʔiɗeyay**
hamiya *tokka-ʔ* *i=ɗey-ay*
boy INDEF.M-NOM 3=come-PF
‘A certain boy came.’

(41b) **inanta takkaʔ ʔiɗeʔti**
inanta *takka-ʔ* *i=ɗeʔ-t-i*
girl INDEF.F-NOM 3=come-3F-PF
‘A certain girl came.’

(41c) **χormaɗaa takka-n=in akk-ay**
oxen INDEF-P=1 see-PF
‘I saw a certain oxen.’

Sex-unspecific singulative nouns that have a specific-indefinite reference may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender value. For instance, the singulative **alleeta** ‘house (F)’ requires a feminine gender specific-indefinite reference marker **takka** in (42a). The singular **ɠoyra** ‘tree (M)’ requires a masculine gender specific indefinite reference marker **tokka** in (42b). The singulative **filaa** ‘comb (P)’ requires a plural gender specific-indefinite reference marker **takkan** in (42c).

(42a) **alleeta takkan piɗɗaɗay**
alleeta *takka=in* *piɗɗ-aɗ-ay*
house INDEF.F=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
‘I bought a certain house for myself.’

(42b) **ɠoyra tokkan piɗɗaɗay**
ɠoyra *tokka=in* *piɗɗ-aɗ-ay*
tree INDEF.M=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M
‘I bought a certain tree for myself.’

(42c) **filaa takka-n=in piɗɗ-aɗ-ay**
comb INDEF-P=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
‘I bought a certain comb for myself.’

It should be noted that the specific-indefinite reference **takka**, but not **tokka**, is used in the numeral system, meaning ‘one’ (see Numerals in 4.8).

4.7. Definite reference

Definite reference is marked by suffixes -siʔ and -siniʔ on nouns. Inherently definite entities such as proper names may also appear with the definite suffix -siʔ.

Nouns which trigger masculine or feminine gender agreement add the definite suffix -siʔ. For instance, in (43), the singulative nouns ɠimayta 'old man' and raaka 'old woman' and the plurative noun orra 'people' occur with the M/F definite reference -siʔ.

(43a) ɠimaytasiʔ ʔimukay
ɠimayta-siʔ *i=muk-ay*
old.man-DEF.M/F 3=sleep-PF[3M]
'The old man slept.'

(43b) raaka-siʔ ʔimukti
raaka-siʔ *i=muk-t-i*
old.woman-DEF.M/F 3=sleep-3F-PF
'The old woman slept.'

(43c) orrasiʔ ʔimukay
orra-siʔ *i=muk-ay*
people-DEF.M/F 3=sleep-PF[3M]
'The people slept.'

Nouns that trigger plural gender agreement add the definite suffix -siniʔ. For instance, in (44), the singulatives furaa 'comb' and aannaa 'milk' and the plurative karmaɗaa 'lions' occur with the plural definite reference suffix.

(44a) furaasiniʔ ʔipatin
furaa-siniʔ *i=pat-i-n*
key-DEF.P 3=disappear-PF-P
'The key disappeared.'

(44b) aannaasiniʔ ʔiŋapalin
aannaa-siniʔ *i=ŋapal-i-n*
milk-DEF.P 3=be.spoiled-PF-P
'The milk went bad.'

(44c) karmaɗaa-siniʔ ʔihirin
karmaɗaa-siniʔ *i=hir-i-n*
lions-DEF.P 3=run[PL]-PF-P
'The lions ran.'

Nouns derived from verb roots occur with the M/F definite suffix -siʔ as can be seen from the following examples.

(45) **keeritaasiʔ ʔiʔana kaftiʃay**
keer-taa-siʔ *i=ʔana*
run[SG]-VN-DEF.M/F 3=1SG.PRO.ACC

kafad-ʃ-ay
tire[MID]-CAUS-PF[3M]
'The running made me tired.'

Proper names can occur with the M/F definite suffix -siʔ. The definite suffix is added to a proper name when there is shared knowledge between the interlocutors about the person. Examples:

(46a) **Katannasiʔ ʔiʔaakta**
Katanna-siʔ *i=aak-t-a*
Katanna-DEF.M/F 3=be.well-3F-IPF.FUT
'The Katanna is well (recovering from illness).'

(46b) **kappoolesiʔ ʔayyee ca**
kappoole-siʔ *ayye=i* *kiy-a*
Kappoole-DEM.M/F here=3 be-IPF.FUT
'The Kappoole is here.'

The shared knowledge between the interlocutors in (46a) is about Katanna's health situation while in (46b), it is about Kappoole's whereabouts.

When definite suffixes are followed by the dative or instrumental suffix, the definite suffixes have the forms -sit for M/F (47) and -sinit for P as shown in (48).

(47a) **okkattasitip piʃaa ɗaaʃi**
okkatta-sit-ʔ *piʃaa* *ɗaaʃ-i*
cow-DEF.M/F-DAT water give-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Give water for the cow!'

(47b) **iskatteetasiʔ ʔorrasitiʔee ʃaɠaa katti**
iskatteeta-siʔ *orra-sit-ʔ=i* *ʃaɠaa*
woman-DEF.M/F people-DEF.M/F-DAT=3 local.beer

kat-t-i
sell-3F-PF
'The woman sold the people local beer.'

(47c) **kaasasitinin karmaasiʔ ʔiʃʃay**
kaasa-sit-n = in *karmaa-siʔ* *ʔiʃʃ-ay*
gun-DEF.M/F-INST = 1 lion-DEF.M/F kill-PF[3M]
'I killed the lion with the gun.'

(48a) **antiʔ ʔinnaasiniti?in χopaa pidɗay**
anti-ʔ *ʔinnaa-sinit-ʔ = in* *χopaa*
1SG.PRO-NOM boy-DEF.P-DAT = 1 shoes

pidɗ-ay
buy[SG]-PF[3M]
'I bought shoes for the boy.'

(48b) **teepaasinitin χormaasih hiɗi**
teepaa-sinit-n **χorma-asiʔ** **hiɗɗ-*i***
rope-DEF.P-INST ox-DEM.M/F tie.SG-IMP.SG
'(You (SG)) Tie this ox with the rope!'

Definite reference does not obligatorily require definite marking. In stories and conversations, for instance, it is quite customary to encounter entities that have been mentioned before used without definite suffixes later in the story or conversation. For example, in sentence (49), taken from a story about a lion that lived in a jungle, the noun **karmaa** 'lion', which has been mentioned a couple of times earlier in the story, appears without a definite marker.

(49) **karmaa ka ɠapaleesiɠ ɠaraa kaassumaa kaassaɗay**
karmaa *ka* *ɠapaleeta-asiʔ* *ɠaraa*
lion and monkey-DEM.M/F on

kaassuma = i *kaassaɗ-ay*
question = 3 ask-PF[3M]
'And, [the] lion asked this monkey [the] question.'

4.8. Demonstrative suffixes

There are four demonstrative suffixes that express proximity. These are: **-oosiʔ**, **-asiʔ**, **-siʔ** and **-oosiniʔ**. The suffixes **-oosiʔ**, **-asiʔ**, and **-siʔ** occur with nouns that trigger an M/F gender. The suffix **-oosiniʔ** occurs with nouns that trigger a plural gender. Among **-oosiʔ**, **-asiʔ**, and **-siʔ**, the suffix **-oosiʔ** is added to any nominal root. Examples:

(50a) **kut-oosiʔ**
dog-DEM.M/F
'this dog'

(50b) karm-oosiʔ
lion-DEM.M/F
'this lion'

(50c) orr-oosiʔ
people-DEM.M/F
'these people'

The following are illustrative sentential examples:

(51a) kutoosis sʷaa ihatay
kut-oosiʔ *soʔaa* *i=hat-ay*
dog-DEM.M/F meat 3=steal-PF[3M]
'This dog stole meat.'

(51b) ɗakoosiʔ ʔiʔulsi
ɗak-oosiʔ *i=ʔuls-i*
stone-DEM.M/F 3=be.heavy-PF
'This stone is heavy.'

(51c) orroosiʔ ʔileki
orr-oosiʔ *i=lek-i*
people-DEM.M/F 3=be.many-PF
'These people are numerous.'

The demonstrative suffix -asiʔ is added to nominal roots that have the nominaliser -a (but not -aa) or the singulative suffix -ta, as shown in the following illustrative phrases.

(52a) kuta-asiʔ
dog-DEM.M/F
'this dog'

(52b) nama-asiʔ
person-DEM.M/F
'this person'

(52c) tuuyyata-asiʔ
pig-DEM.M/F
'this pig'

(52d) tapayta-asiʔ
rat-DEM.M/F
'this rat'

The following are illustrative sentential examples in which the nouns **kuta** ‘dog’, **ɠoyra** ‘tree’ and **tapayta** ‘rat’ have the definite suffix **-asiʔ**.

(53a) **kutaasiʔ ʔipoori**
kuta-asiʔ *i=poor-i*
dog-DEM.M/F 3=be.black-PF
‘This dog is black.’

(53b) **ɠoyraasiʔ ʔiɠepay**
ɠoyra-asiʔ *i=ɠep-ay*
tree-DEM.M/F 3=be.broken-PF[3M]
‘This tree was broken.’

(53c) **tapaytaasiʔ ʔikappi**
tapayta-asiʔ *i=kapp-i*
rat-DEM.M/F 3=be.fat-PF
‘This rat is fat.’

Nominal roots that have the nominaliser **-aa** do not occur with the demonstrative suffix **-asiʔ**: **karmaa** ‘lion’, **ɗakaa** ‘stone’ **karkaa** ‘beehive’, **maakaa** ‘snake’. The nominal roots of such nouns occur only with the demonstrative suffix **-oosiʔ**.

The demonstrative suffix **-siʔ** occurs with nominal roots that have the nominaliser **-a** (but not **-aa**) or the singulative suffix **-ta**. In such cases **-siʔ** replaces the nominaliser and the singulative suffix. Note that **-siʔ** has the same form as the definite M/F reference marker.

(54a) **por-siʔ** < **pora** ‘road’
road-DEM.M/F
‘this road’

(54b) **tik-siʔ** < **tika** ‘house’
house-DEM.M/F
‘this house’

(54c) **ɠimay-siʔ** < **ɠimayta** ‘old man’
old.man-DEM.M/F
‘this old man’

(54d) **ɗam-siʔ** < **ɗamta** ‘food’
food-DEM.M/F
‘this food’

The following are illustrative sentential examples:

(55a) **ɠimaysiʔ ʔipaaɠni**
ɠimay-siʔ *i=paaɠ-ni*
old.man-DEM.M/F 3=be.sick-IPF.PRES
'This old man is sick.'

(55b) **ɗamsiʔ ʔakataa meʔawni**
ɗam-siʔ *akata=i* *meʔaw-ni*
food-DEM.M/F very=3 be.sweet-IPF.PRES
'This food is quite delicious.'

(55c) **harreesiʔ ʔiɗeepoodʈi**
harree-siʔ *i=ɗeep-oodʈ-i*
donkey-DEM.M/F 3=be.thirsty-MID-3F-PF
'This donkey is thirsty.'

Nominal roots with a final **CC** (e.g. **moott-** 'friend', **hark-** 'hand') do not allow the demonstrative suffix **-siʔ**.

The demonstrative suffix **-oosiniʔ**, as mentioned earlier, is added to nouns that trigger a plural gender agreement on the verb. For instance, the nouns **innaa** 'child', **piʃaa** 'water', **harreewwaa** 'donkeys' and **ɗillaa** 'fields' in the following examples occur with **-osiniʔ**.

(56a) **innoosiniʔ ʔipiʔin**
innaa-oosiniʔ *i=piʔ-i-n*
child-DEM.P 3=be.thin-PF-P
'This child fell.'

(56b) ***piʃoosiniʔ ʔipooraawin***
piʃaa-oosiniʔ *i=pooraaw-i-n*
water-DEM.P 3=be.impure-PF-P
'This water became impure.'

(56c) **harreeww-oosiniʔ ʔi=ka-kapp-i**
harreewwaa-oosiniʔ *i=ka-kapp-i*
donkeys-DEM.P 3=PL-be.fat-PF
'These donkeys are fat.'

(56d) **ɗilloosiniʔ ʔipappalɗi**
ɗillaa-oosiniʔ *i=pap-palɗ-i*
fields-DEM.P 3=PL-be.wide-PF
'These fields are wide.'

Using the nominal root **por-** 'road' or the singulative noun **pora** 'road', in (57) we show the occurrence of the demonstrative suffixes and the definite reference suffix:

(57) **por-si?** 'this road'
por-oosi? 'this road'
pora-asi? 'this road'
pora-si? 'the road'

Distal location is expressed by a locative adverb (see Section 8.2.1), the existential verb and a noun with a demonstrative suffix. The following are illustrative examples:

(58a) **namsiɗ ɗisee co moottaawu**

nam-si?	*ɗise=i*	*kiy-o*
person-DEM.M/F	there=3	be-3M

moottaa-wu
friend-1SG.POSS.M/F
'That man is my friend.'

(58b) **kaharroosini? ?irre ca ileki**

kaharr-oosini?	*irre*	*kiy-a*	*i=lek-i*
sheep-DEM.P	up.there	be-IPF.FUT	3=be.many-PF

'Those sheep up there are numerous.'

4.9. Numerals

4.9.1. Cardinal numbers

The cardinal number system is decimal. The cardinal **kuma** 'thousand' is the highest basic unit of the numeral system. The basic cardinal numbers are the following:

(59) **takka** 'one'
lakki 'two'
sessaa 'three'
afur 'four'
ken 'five'
leh 'six'
tappa 'seven'
settee? 'eight'
sakal 'nine'
kuɗan 'ten'
ɗippa 'hundred'

kuma ‘thousand’

The cardinal numbers **ɗippa** ‘hundred’ and **kuma** ‘thousand’ can occur with the basic cardinal units from one to nine as shown in (60a-b). Moreover, **kuma** ‘thousand’ may occur with the basic cardinal unit **kuɗan** ‘ten’ and **ɗippa** ‘hundred’, as demonstrated in (60c-d).

(60a) **ɗippa** **takka**
hundred one
‘one hundred’

(60b) **kuma** **lakki**
thousand two
‘two thousand’

(60c) **kuma** **kuɗan**
thousand ten
‘ten thousand’

(60d) **kuma** **ɗippa**
thousand hundred
‘hundred thousand’

The cardinal numbers **kuɗan** ‘ten’, **ɗippa** ‘hundred’ and **kuma** ‘thousand’ may take plural suffixes, as in (61). Note that there is metathesis when **kuɗan** ‘ten’ is plural: **kunɗa**. The plural suffixes indicate ‘many tens/hundreds/thousands’.

(61a) **kunɗaɗɗaa**
‘tens’

(61b) **ɗippaɗaa**
‘hundreds’

(61c) **kumaɗɗaa**
‘thousands’

Cardinals between eleven and nineteen are formed from the base ten (**kuɗan**), the conjunction **ka** ‘and’ and the lower cardinals (one to nine). Literally, the combination means ‘ten and X’, where X stands for a lower cardinal. The combinations are as follows:

(62)	**kuɗan ka takka**	‘eleven’	(lit.: ten and one)
	kuɗan ka lakki	‘twelve’	(lit.: ten and two)
	kuɗan ka sessaa	‘thirteen’	(lit.: ten and three)
	kuɗan ka afur	‘fourteen’	(lit.: ten and four)

kuɗan ka ken	'fifteen'	(lit.: ten and five)
kuɗan ka leh	'sixteen'	(lit.: ten and six)
kuɗan ka tappa	'seventeen'	(lit.: ten and seven)
kuɗan ka settee	'eighteen'	(lit.: ten and eight)
kuɗan ka sakal	'nineteen'	(lit.: ten and nine)

Multiples of ten, hundred or thousand are formed from base **kunɗa** <**kuɗan**> 'tens', **ɗippa** 'hundred' or **kuma** 'thousand' and the unit cardinals from one to nine. The following are illustrative examples.

(63)

kunɗa afur	'forty'
ɗippa sessaa	'three hundred'
ɗippa ken	'five hundred'
kuma leh	'six thousand'
kuma sakal	'nine thousand'

It is possible to say **kunɗa takka** 'ten' (lit. 'one ten').

Addition is expressed by **ka** after the unit ten, but by **ka** or **ʔ** otherwise. The **ʔ** appears as a gemination of the initial consonant of the following cardinal. Addition of single digits to the multiples of ten, hundred or thousand requires base ten, hundred or thousand followed by the unit cardinal of the multiple of ten, hundred or thousand. The cardinals occur in descending order from left to right. Here are some examples:

(64a) **kunɗa lakkis sessaa**

kunɗà	*lakki-ʔ*	*sessaa*
ten	two-plus	three

'twenty-three'

(64b) **ɗippa sessaak kunɗa ken**

ɗippa	*sessaa-ʔ*	*kunɗà*	*ken*
hundred	three-plus	tens	five

'three hundred fifty'

(64c) **ɗippa lakkik kunɗa lakkis sessaa**

ɗippa	*lakki?*	*kunɗà*	*lakki-ʔ*	*sessaa*
hundred	two	ten	two-plus	three

'two hundred twenty-three'

(64d) **ɗippa ken ka kunɗa afuris sessaa**

ɗippa	*ken*	*ka*	*kunɗà*	*afur-ʔ*	*sessaa*
hundred	five	and	ten	four-plus	three

'five hundred forty-three'

(64e) **kuma afur ka ɗippa sessak kunɗa ken**
kuma *afur* *ka* *ɗippa* *sessa-ʔ*
thousand four and hundred three-plus

kunɗa *ken*
ten five
'four thousand three hundred and fifty'

The addition of digits of hundred expressed by **ʔ** in (64c) can be replaced by **ka** 'and'. Likewise, **ka** 'and' in (64d) can be replaced by the suffix **ʔ** 'plus'.

Single digits after the multiples of hundred are expressed by a multiple of hundred followed by conjunction **ka** 'and', postposition **ɠaraa** 'on' and the single unit. Similarly, single units or multiples of ten after the multiples of thousand are expressed by multiple of thousand followed by the conjunction **ka** 'and', postposition **ɠaraa** 'on' and the single unit or multiple of ten. Examples:

(65a) **ɗippa** **lakki** **ka** **ɠara-a** **sessaa**
hundred two and on-LOC three
'two hundred and three'

(65b) **kuma** **tappa** **ka** **ɠara-a** **sakal**
thousand seven and on-LOC nine
'seven thousand and nine'

(65c) **kuma** **ken** **ka** **ɠara-a** **kuɗan** **leh**
thousand five and on-LOC ten six
'five thousand and sixty'

4.9.2. Mathematical operations

Two arithmetic exercise booklets (booklet I (2001) and booklet II (2004)) have been written in Konso by the Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus. With very little adaptation, I use the terminology used for mathematical operations in booklet II. The terminology is derived from verb roots or verb stems: the mathematical operation for addition is derived from the verb root **paɗaaw-** 'add, increase', subtraction from **χaʔʃ-** 'to cause to rise, lift', multiplication from **lek-** 'to be many', division from **ɠoot-** 'to divide'. The expressions are given in (66a). In (66b), I provide the glossed versions of some of the expressions.

(66a) **paɗaawtu** addition (+)
χaʔissu /*χaʔʃtu*/ subtraction (–)
lekissu /*lekʃtu*/ multiplication (×)
ɠoottu division (÷)

minakkittu /*mina?kittu*/	equal to	(=)
ʕara ʕaptu	greater than	(>)
kelpa χata kittu	less than	(<)
ʕara ʕaptu taakkite minakkittu	greater than or equal to	(≥)
kelpa χata kittu taakkite minakkittu	less than or equal to	(≤)

(66b) **ʕara ʕap-t-u**
on exceed-3F-DP
'greater than (>)'

kelpa χata kittu
kela-pa *χata* *kit-t-u*
under-to down be-3F-DP
'less than (<)'

ʕara ʕaptu taakkite minak kittu
ʕara *ʕap-t-u* *taakkite* *mina-ʔ* *kit-t-u*
on exceed-3F-DP otherwise front-DEST be-3F-DP
'greater than or equal to (≥)'

kelpa χata kittu taakkite minak kittu
kela-pa *χata* *kit-t-u* *taakkite* *mina-ʔ*
under-DEST down be-3F-DP otherwise front-DEST

kit-t-u
be-3F-DP
'less than or equal to (≤)'

Note that all the expressions of mathematical operations have the third person feminine gender agreement marker **-t**.

Expressions of mathematical operations are introduced by conditional conjunctions. In addition, for the operation of addition the conjunction **ʕara** 'on' is required. The suffix **-ʔ** 'plus' is added to the conjunction. The following is an illustrative example.

(67) **oo lakki ʕaral lakki paɗaawan, afure koɗɗini**
oo *lakki* *ʕara-ʔ* *lakki* *paɗaaw-a-n*
if two on-plus two add-IPF.FUT-P

afur=i *koɗɗ-ni*
four=3 become-IPF.PRES
'If two is added to two, it becomes four.' (2 + 2 = 4)

The operation of addition may also be expressed by the conjunction **ka** 'and' as shown below:

(68a) **lakki ka sassaa kenee kodɗini**
lakki *ka* *sassaa* *ken=i* *kodɗ-ni*
two and three five=3 become-IPF.PRES
'Two and three become five.'

(68b) **sessa ka afur tappaa kodɗini**
sessa *ka* *afur* *tappa=i* *kodɗ-ni*
three and four seven=3 become-IPF.PRES
'Three and four become seven.'

Like that of addition, the operation of subtraction requires the conjunction **ɠara** 'on' to which the locative suffix **-a** is attached. The following is an illustrative example.

(69) **oo leh ɠaraa lakki χaʔʃan, afure kelaa hasini**
oo *leh* *ɠara-a* *lakki* *χaʔʃ-a-n*
if six on-LOC two lift-IPF.FUT-P

afur=i *kela-a* *hasi-ni*
four=3 under-LOC remain-IPF.PRES
'If two is taken away from six, four remains.' (6 – 2 = 4)

The following is an example of the operation of multiplication:

(70) **oo sessaan leh kiɗan, kuɗan ka settee ʔe kodɗini**
oo *sessaa-n* *leh* *kiɗ-a-n,*
if three-times six say-IPF.FUT-P

kuɗan *ka* *settee ʔ=i* *kodɗ-ni*
ten and eight=3 become-IPF.PRES
'If six is said three times, it becomes eighteen.' (6 × 3 = 18)

The following is an example of the operation of the division.

(71) **oo kuɗan pora lakkiɠ ɠootan, kene kodɗini**
oo *kuɗan* *pora* *lakki-ʔ* *ɠoot-a-n*
if ten place two-DAT divide-IPF.FUT-P

ken=i *kodɗ-ni*
four=3 become-IPF.PRES
'If ten is divided into two places, it becomes five.' (10 ÷ 2 = 5)

The examples in (72a) and (72b) are illustrative examples for the operations of greater than and less than, respectively.

(72a) **tappak ken ʕaraa ʕapta**

tappa-ʔ	*ken*	*ʕara=i*	*ʕap-t-a*
seven-NOM	five	on=3	exceed-3F-IPF.FUT

'Seven is greater than five.' (7 > 5)

(72b) **sakalik kuɗan kelpa χataa kitta**

sakali-ʔ	*kuɗan*	*kela-opa*	*χata=i*
nine-NOM	ten	under-to	down=3

kit-t-a
be-3F-IPF.FUT
'Nine is less than ten.' (9 < 10)

4.9.3. Ordinals

All ordinal numerals, except for 'first', are formed by adding the suffix **-atta** to the cardinal numerals. The ordinal numeral 'first' is formed from the verb root **paayy-** 'to start, begin'. The ordinal number 'second' is formed from the older Cushitic root **lamm-** 'two' (cf. the cardinal **lakki** 'two') and the suffix **-atta**. It is also important to point out: that the final vowel in **sessaa** 'three' is shortened in the ordinal, that there is metathesis in the ordinal numeral **arf-atta** 'fourth' (cf. **afur** 'four'), that there is vowel deletion in **saklatta** 'ninth' (cf. **sakal** 'nine'), and that /t/ replaces the glottal stop in the cardinal number **settee?** 'eight'.

(73)

paayyuta	'first'
lammatta	'second'
sessatta	'third'
arfatta	'fourth'
kenatta	'fifth'
lehatta	'sixth'
tappatta	'seventh'
setteetatta	'eighth'
saklatta	'ninth'
kunɗatta	'tenth'
kuɗan ka takkatta	'eleventh'
kuɗan ka sessatta	'thirteenth'
kunɗa kenatta	'fiftieth'
ɗippatta	'hundredth'

4.10. Nominal derivation

4.10.1. Denominal/adjectival abstract nominals

Abstract nominals may be derived from nominal or adjectival roots (not from derived stems) by the suffix **-um**. The abstract suffix is followed by the suffixes **-a** or **-aa**. Abstract nominals derived from nominal roots occur with **-a** (M) while those derived from adjectival roots occur with **-aa** (P). For example, the abstract nominal **innuma** 'childhood (M)' in (74a) is derived from **innaa** 'child (P)' while the abstract nominal **kappumaa** 'fatness (P)' in (74b) is derived from the adjectival root **kapp-** 'be fat'.

(74a) **innumasiʔ ʔiʔiʃa ɗiiʃay**
innaa-um-a-siʔ *i=iʃa* *ɗiiʃ-ay*
child-ABS-NMZ-DEF.M/F 3=3SGM.PRO[ACC] leave-PF[3M]
'He does not behave like a child any longer.'
(lit.: The childhood left him.)

(74b) **okkattasik kappumaa ipaayyay**
okkatta-siʔ *kapp-um-aa* *i=paayy-ay*
cow-DEF.M/F be.fat-ABS-NMLZ 3=start-PF[3M]
'The cow started to get fat.'
(lit.: The cow started fatness.)

An abstract noun referring to 'childhood' is also derived from the suppletive multiple reference noun **hellaa** 'children (P)': **helluma** 'childhood (M)'

4.10.2. Deverbal agentive nominals

Deverbal agentive nominals are derived from verb roots by the suffix **-aamp**. The agentive suffix is followed by the nominal gender suffixes **-ayta** for masculine, **-ayt-eeta** for feminine and **-ayaa** for plural. The feminine suffix is a serial derivation in that it is built on the masculine agentive. From the verb roots **ɠot-** 'dig', **koɗ-** 'work' and **pol-** 'joke', we derive the masculine agentive nominals (75a), the feminine agentive nominals (75b) and the plural agentive nominals (75c).

(75a) **ɠotaamp-ayta** 'farmer.3M'
koɗaamp-ayta 'worker.3M'
polaamp-ayta 'joker.3M'

(75b) **ɠotaamp-ayt-eeta** 'farmer.3F'
koɗaamp-ayt-eeta 'worker.3F'
polaamp-ayt-eeta 'joker.3F'

(75c) **ʕotaamp-ayaa** ‘farmer.3P’
kodaamp-ayaa ‘worker.3P’
polaamp-ayaa ‘joker.3P’

In the following examples, I show the nominal gender agreement with various subjects. In (76a), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal masculine gender suffix **-ayta** for the semantically singular subject **nama** ‘man’. In (76b), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal masculine gender suffix **-ayta** for the semantically plural subject **χonsitta** ‘the Konso’. In (76c), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal feminine gender suffix **-ayteeta** for the semantically plural subject **kuyleeta** ‘the Ts’amakko’. Lastly, in (76d), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal plural gender suffix **-ayaa** for the semantically singular subject **innaa** ‘child’.

(76a) **namoosiʕ ʕotaampayta**
nama-osi? *ʕot-aamp-ayta*
man-DEM.M/F farm-AGENT-3M
‘This man is a (hard-working) farmer.’

(76b) **χonsitta** **ʕot-aamp-ayta**
Konso.PL farm-AGENT-3M
‘The Konso are (hard-working) farmers.’

(76c) **kuyleeta** **ʕot-aamp-ayt-eeta**
Ts’amakko.PL farm-AGENT-3M-3F
‘The Ts’amakko are (hard-working) farmers.’

(76d) **innoosiniʕ ʕotaampayta**
innaa-osini? *ʕot-aamp-ayaa*
child-DEM.P farm-AGENT-3P
‘This child is a (hard-working) farmer.’

4.10.3. Denominal ethnic nominals

Nationals or individuals of ethnic groups or place of residence (e.g. village) may be derived from nominal roots by means of gender suffixes: **-itta** (M) for male, **-itteeta** (F) for female and **-itta** (M), **-aa** (P) or **-eeta** (F) for plural. The plural form is the one used to refer to the name of the ethnic group or residents of a place. Table 2 contains illustrative examples for derived nominals referring to nationalities or ethnic groups. Table 3 contains illustrative examples for derived nominals referring to residents of particular villages.

Male	Female	Plural	
χons-itta Konso man	**χons-itt-eeta** Konso woman	**χons-itta** (M) Konso people	Konso
χoyr-itta	**χoyr-itt-eeta**	**χoyr-aa** (P)	Burji
kawwaaɗ-itta	**kawwaaɗ-itt-eeta**	**kawwaaɗ-aa** (M)	Gawwada
ʃiraat-itta	**ʃiraat-itt-eeta**	**ʃiraat-aa** (M)	Diraaʃe
kuyl-itta	**kuyl-itt-eeta**	**kuyl-eeta** (F)	Ts'amakko
ɠaww-itta	**ɠaww-itt-eeta**	**ɠaww-eeta** (F)	Amhara

Table 2: Examples of derived nominals referring to nationality or ethnic group

Male	Female	Plural	Village name
kuum-itta (male) person from Kuume	**kuum-itt-eeta** (female) person from Kuume	**kuuma** (M) people from Kuume village	Kuume
maʃaɠ-itta	**maʃaɠ-itt-eeta**	**maʃaɠaa** (M)	Maʃaɠe
ɗekatt-itta	**ɗekatt-itt-eeta**	**ɗekattoota** (F)	ɗekatto
sawkam-itta	**sawkam-itt-eeta**	**sawkamaata** (F)	Sawkama
kaaʃal-itta	**kaaʃal-itt-eeta**	**kaaʃalaa** (M)	Kaaʃale

Table 3: Examples of derived nominals referring to residents of particular villages

4.10.4. Denominal nouns with indication of characteristic

Persons with certain characteristic are derived from nouns with the suffix **-ool** which is followed by the nominal gender marking suffixes **-ayta** (M), **-ayt-eeta** (F) and **-ayaa** for male, female and plural, respectively. The derivation is productive mainly occurring with plural nouns and has a semantic specialisation indicating large quantity of the entities in question. With singulatives, it indicates that the noun in question has a large size. For example, from the singulative **matta** 'head', **kessa** 'chest' and plurative **ɗillaa** 'fields', we may derive the masculine nominals in (77a), feminine nominals in (77b) or plural nominals in (77c).

(77a) **matt-ool-ayta** 'one (M) with a big head'
kess-ool-ayta 'one (M) with a broad chest'
ɗill-ool-ayta 'one (M) with many fields'

(77b) **matt-ool-ayt-eeta** 'one (F) with a big head'
kess-ool-ayt-eeta 'one (F) with a broad chest'
ɗill-ool-ayt-eeta 'one (F) with many fields'

(77c) **matt-ool-ayaa** 'ones with big heads'
kess-ool-ayaa 'ones with broad chests'
ɗill-ool-ayaa 'ones with many fields'

With the noun **χolmaa** ‘neck (P)’, the derivation **χolm-ool-ayta** means ‘a man who uses force to obtain something’; **χolm-ool-ayt-eeta** ‘a woman who uses force to get something’ and **χolm-ool-ayaa** ‘people who use force to obtain something’. With the noun **hoppatta** ‘guts (M)’ the derivation indicates greed: **hoppatt-oolayta** ‘a greedy man’; **hoppatt-ool-ayt-eeta** ‘a greedy woman’ and **hoppatt-ool-ayaa** ‘greedy people’.

4.10.5. Deadjectival individual entities

Deadjectival nominals are derived from adjectival roots with the nominal gender suffixes **-ayta**, **-ayteeta** and **-yaa** for third person masculine, feminine and plural, respectively. Plural deadjectival nominals are also characterised by having the adjectival root based on the plural adjective and hence containing initial $C_1V(C_1)$ reduplication. For instance, from the adjectival roots **ɗer-** ‘be tall, long’, **kapp-** ‘be fat’ and **ɠalla?-** ‘be thin’, we can derive the masculine deadjectival nominals (78a), third person feminine deadjectival nominals (78b), singulative deadjectival nominals with plural gender (78c) or plural deadjectival nominals (78d).

(78a) **ɗerayta** ‘tall one.3M’
kappayta ‘fat one.3M’
ɠalla?ayta ‘thin one.3M’

(78b) **ɗerayteeta** ‘tall one.3F’
kappayteeta ‘fat one.3F’
ɠalla?ayteeta ‘thin one.3F’

(78c) **ɗerayaa** ‘tall one.P’
kappayaa ‘fat one.P’
ɠalla?ayaa ‘thin one.P’

(78d) **ɗeɗɗerayaa** ‘tall ones’
kakappayaa ‘fat ones’
ɠaɠalla?ayaa ‘thin ones’

The nominal gender suffixes added to deadjectival individual entities can be used not only to refer to persons but also to other entities.

4.10.6. Deverbal action nouns

Deverbal action nouns are derived from verb roots by using various suffixes as illustrated below. The list of the suffixes is not exhaustive.

(79a) -anta (F)

hatanta	‘stealing’	hat-	‘to steal’
palanta	‘ripening’	pal-	‘to ripen’
keranta	‘ageing’	ker-	‘to be old’
ʃaranta	‘crack’	ʃar-	‘to crack’

(79b) -antaa (M)

χaʔantaa	‘flying’	χaʔad-	‘to fly’
ʁaʔantaa	‘standing’	ʁaʔad-	‘to stand’
hirantaa	‘running[PL]’	hir-	‘to run[PL]’

(79c) -oota (F)

ɗaloota	‘birth’	ɗal-	‘to give birth’
ʁaloota	‘slaughtering’	ʁal-	‘to slaughter’

(79d) -eeta (F)

ʁoteeta	‘digging’	ʁot-	‘to dig, farm’
piɗɗeeta	‘buying[SG]’	piɗɗ-	‘to buy[SG]’
ɗiipeeta	‘washing’	ɗiip-	‘to wash’

(79e) -naa (P)

ʁahnaa	‘fleeing’	ʁah-	‘to flee’
pahnaa	‘example’	pah-	‘to resemble’
ʔupnaa	‘knowledge’	ʔup-	‘to know’
sahnaa	‘capacity’	sah-	‘to be able to’

(79f) -a (M)

ɗeeχa	‘peace making’	ɗeeχ-	‘to make peace’
ɗiika	‘blood’	ɗiik-	‘to bleed’
χarʃa	‘beans’	χarʃ-	‘to cook beans’

(79g) -aa (P)

fataa	‘vomit’	fat-	‘to vomit’
ɗamaa	‘food’	ɗam-	‘to eat’

(79h) **-uta** (F)

noodɗuta	'bribe'	**noodɗ-**	'to push'
needɗuta	'hatred'	**needɗ-**	'to hate'
paakkuta	'span'	**paakk-**	'to measure with span'
puussuta	'writing, line'	**puuss-**	'to draw a line'
moossuta	'piece of bread'	**mooss-**	'to break (bread)'

4.11. Case

Konso has nominative–accusative case alignment. The core cases nominative and accusative are rarely distinguished, see 4.11.1. Genitive constructions are marked with a genitive particle following its head noun. Dative and Instrumental nouns are marked with a suffix. The dative suffix is homophonous with one of the locative suffixes, both consisting of a glottal stop. The other locative suffix is similar to the background suffix, both ending in **-yye**. When addressing people, a vocative ending can be used. These phenomena do not form a coherent system within the language but are discussed here under the heading Case.

4.11.1. The nominative and accusative cases

Proper names, pronouns and days of a week are marked for the nominative case with the suffix **-ʔ**. For example, the proper names **Kappoole** and **Apitto** occur in the subject positions as in (80a) and (80b), respectively. Both also occur unmarked in the object position as in (80b) and (80a), respectively. In (80c), the subject pronoun **ʔinu** 'we' occurs with the suffix **-ʔ**, and in (80d), the week day **palawwa** 'Saturday' occurs with the suffix **-ʔ**.

Nominative marking by glottal stop is limited to the above cases. Common nouns do not distinguish nominative and accusative case (except in cleft constructions, see below). The items that do show nominative marking have in common that they are inherently specific. In this respect, it is interesting to observe that demonstrative and definite suffixes end in a glottal stop while possessive suffixes do not.

(80a) **Kappooliʔ ʔapittu ʔiɠoʃʃay**
Kappooli-ʔ *Apittu* *i=ɠoff-ay*
Kappoole-NOM Apitto 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
'Kappoole pinched Apitto once.'

(80b) **Apittuk Kappooli iɠoʃʃay**
Apittu-ʔ *Kappooli* *i=ɠoff-ay*
Apitto-NOM Kappoole 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
'Apitto pinched Kappoole once.'

(80c) **inut toman pidɗini**

inu-ʔ	*toma=in*	*pidɗ-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM	bowl=1	buy[SG]-1PL-PF

'We bought a bowl.'

(80d) **palawwap partaane**

palawwa-ʔ	*partaane*
Saturday-NOM	day.after.tomorrow

'Saturday is the day after tomorrow.'

With regard to pronouns, only first person singular and second person singular make a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases: **anti** 'I' vs. **ana** 'me' and **atti** 'you (SG) and **ke** 'you (SG)' (see Chapter 5 for details of pronouns). All pronouns in the subject position are also marked for nominative by the suffix -ʔ. For example, the pronoun **anti** 'I' and **ke** 'you (SG)' in (81a) occur in the subject and object positions, respectively. Similarly, the pronouns **atti** 'you (SG)' and **ana** 'me' in (81b) occur in the subject and object positions, respectively.

(81a) **antik ke inɠoʃʃay**

anti-ʔ	*ke*	*in=ɠoʃʃ-ay*
1SG.PRO-NOM	2SG.PRO.ACC	1=pinch.SG-PF[3M]

'I pinched you (SG) once.'

(81b) **attiʔ ʔana iɠɠoʃʃiti**

atti-ʔ	*ana*	*iʔ=ɠoʃʃ-t-i*
2SG.PRO-NOM	1SG.PRO.ACC	2=pinch.SG-2-PF

'You (SG) pinched me once.'

Pronouns that do not make a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative are still marked by the suffix -ʔ for nominative as shown in (82).

(82a) **inuʔ ʔiʃoonna indaanni**

inu-ʔ	*iʃoonna*	*in=ɗaan-n-i*
1PL.PRO-NOM	3PL.PRO[ACC]	1=chase-1PL-PF

'We chased them.'

(82b) **iʃoonnaʔ ʔinu idaanni**

iʃoonna-ʔ	*inu*	*i=ɗaan-n-i*
3PL.PRO-NOM	1PL.PRO[ACC]	3=chase-3PL-PF

'They chased us.'

Tone is used to make the nominative and accusative case distinction in cleft sentences in such a way that the nominative case is marked by a low tone whereas the accusative case is marked by a high tone. For example, in (83a-b),

we have the nouns **harreeta** ‘donkey’ and **χorma** ‘ox, bull’. In both examples, **harreeta** ‘donkey’ precedes **χorma** ‘ox, bull’. The lengthened final vowel of the noun **harreeta** ‘donkey’ in (83a) has a low tone; final vowel lengthening is one of the characteristic features of clefting (as discussed in Section 3.5). In (83b), however, the lengthened final vowel of **harreeta** ‘donkey’ has a high tone which marks the accusative case.

(83a) **harreeta-a** **χorma** **ɗiit-ay**
donkey-CLF[NOM] ox kick[SG]-PF[3M]
‘It is a donkey that kicked an ox.’

(83b) **harreeta-á** **χorma** **ɗiit-ay**
donkey-CLF[ACC] ox kick[SG]-PF[3M]
‘It is a donkey that an ox kicked.’

Now, when we exchange the positions of the two nouns **harreeta** ‘donkey’ and **χorma** ‘ox, bull’ in (84a-b), we find that the final vowel of **χorma** ‘ox, bull’ is lengthened. Moreover, in (84a), the lengthened final vowel carries a low tone, thus, marking nominative case while in (84b), the lengthened final vowel carries a high tone, thus, marking an accusative case.

(84a) **χorma-a** **harreeta** **ɗiit-ay**
ox-CLF[NOM] donkey kick[SG]-PF[3M]
‘It is an ox that kicked a donkey.’

(84b) **χorma-á** **harreeta** **ɗiit-t-i**
ox-CLF[ACC] donkey kick[SG]-3F-PF
‘It is an ox that a donkey kicked.’

4.11.2. The genitive case

The genitive is expressed with the genitive particle **ʔa** for human possessors, and **ʔa…ʔ** for non-human possessors. The final syllable of the possessor has a high tone.

The distribution of the genitive suffixes in accordance with whether the possessor is human or non-human is clear from the example in (85a) the noun **locʕta** ‘leg’ is possessed by a human possessor **Kappoole** but by a non-human possessor **tulpeeta** ‘hippo’ in (85b). Similarly, in the examples in (85c), the noun **tika** ‘house’ is possessed by the human possessor **Anto** while the noun **napahta** ‘ear’ in (85d) is possessed by the non-human possessor **arpa** ‘elephant’. In (85e), the noun **taamta** ‘branch’ is possessed by the non-human possessor **ʕoyra** ‘tree’.

(85a) **locʕta a kappoolíʔ ʔakkiti**
locʕta *a* *kappoolí=iʔ* *akk-t-i*
leg GEN kappoole=2 see-2-PF
'You (SG) saw Kappoole's leg.'

(85b) **locʕta a tulpeetáʔiʔ ʔakkiti**
locʕta *a* *tulpeetá-ʔ=iʔ* *akk-t-i*
leg GEN hippo-GEN=2 see-2-PF
'You (SG) saw hippopotamus's leg.'

(85c) **tika a Antú i=palɗ-i**
house GEN Anto 3=be.wide-PF
'Anto's house is wide.'

(85d) **napahta a arpá-ʔ i=palɗ-i**
ear GEN elephant-GEN 3=wide-PF
'The ear of an elephant is wide.'

(85e) **inantasit taamta a ʕoyraʔ ʔimurti**
inanta-siʔ *taamta* *a* *ʕoyra-ʔ*
girl-DEF.M/F branch GEN tree-GEN

i=mur-t-i
3=cut[SG]-3F-PF
'The girl cut a branch of a tree.'

Proper names with a final **aa** also have ´ʔ in the genitive construction as in (86).

(86a) **okkatta a Oynaá-ʔ=in akk-ay**
cow GEN Oynaa-GEN=1 see-PF[3M]
'I saw Oynaa's cow.'

(86b) **iʃeennat tika a kaaɓaáʔ ʔiʔupta**
iʃeenna-ʔ *tika* *a* *kaaɓaá-ʔ*
3SGF.PRO-NOM house GEN kaaɓaa-GEN

i=up-t-a
3=know-IPF.FUT
'She knows Kaaɓaa's house.'

Nouns possessed by associative plural are expressed with the genitive particle followed by the associative particle **opa** and the name, as illustrated in (87).

(87a) **tika a opa kappoolí i=sek-i**
house GEN ASS kappoole 3=be.far-PF
'Kappoole (and his associate)'s house is far.'

(87b) **ɗila a opa kintilí i=palɗ-i**
field GEN ASS kintile 3=be.wide-PF
'Kintile (and his associate)'s field is wide.'

The genitive particle may occur after nouns with possessive suffixes, as illustrated below.

(88) **hellaa-nno a χonsú-ʔ i=ɗey-i-n**
children-1PL.POSS.P GEN Konso-GEN 3=come-PF-P
'Our Konso fellows came.'
(lit.: 'Children of our Konso came.')

In fast speech, the glottal stop that occurs at the end of the genitive construction is elided, resulting in a complete assimilation to the initial vowel of the possessor noun if the possessor begins with a (glottal stop plus) vowel as in (89a-b). If the possessor begins with another consonant, the affix may be elided as in (89c).

(89a) **χorma aantú ʔipoori**
χorma a Antú i=poor-i
ox GEN Anto 3=be.black-PF
'Anto's ox is black.'

(89b) **aannookkattáʔ ʔinʔikay**
aannaa a okkattá-ʔ in=ik-ay
milk GEN cow-GEN 1=drink-PF[3M]
'I drank cow milk.'

(89c) **hoofa karrattáʔ ʔinakkini**
hoofa a karrattá-ʔ in=akk-n-i
hole GEN squirrel-GEN 1=see-P-PF
'We saw a squirrel's hole.'

4.11.3. The dative case

The dative is marked with the suffix -ʔ. The dative suffix differs from the nominative suffix in that it is not limited to pronouns and names but also occurs on common nouns. The main role of the dative is to denote the beneficiary. The following are examples:

(90a) **attiʛ ʛolpasiʔ ʔiʃaʔ ʔippiɗɗiti**
atti-ʔ *ʛolpa-siʔ* *iʃa-ʔ*
2SG.PRO-NOM he-goat-DEF.M/F 3SGM.PRO-DAT

iʔ=piɗɗ-t-i
2=buy[SG]-2-PF
'You (SG) bought him a he-goat.'

(90b) **inatasiʔ ʔanap piʃaa iɗaassi**
inata-siʔ *ana-ʔ* *piʃaa* *i=ɗaaʃ-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT water 3=give-3F-PF
'The girl gave me water.'

(90c) **antin nama tokkaʔin χapaa piɗɗay**
anti-ʔ *nama* *tokka-ʔ=in* *χapaa*
1SG.PRO-NOM person one.M-DAT=1 shoes

piɗɗ-ay
buy[SG]-PF[3M]
'I bought shoes for someone.'

(90d) **tuparaasiniʔ ʔokkayaaʔe oha ohin**
tuparaa-siniʔ *okkayaa-ʔ=i*
girls-DEF.P cows-DAT=3

oha *oh-i-n*
fodder cut.fodder-PF-P
'The girls cut fodder for the cows.'

First and second person beneficiaries are always marked with the dative suffix. However, it is possible for third person beneficiaries not to be marked. In this case, the dative suffix occurs at the end of the verb. This results in the final vowel of the verb having a high tone. For example, in (91a), there is no dative suffix, and as a result the final vowel of the verb occurs with a low tone. In (91b), there is a dative suffix at the end of the verb, and the preceding vowel has a high tone.

(91a) **in=ɗaaʃ-a**
1=give-IPF.FUT
'I will give (it).'

(91b) **in=ɗaaʃ-á-ʔ**
1=give-IPF.FUT-DAT
'I will give (it) for him/her/them.'

The example in (91b) can also be used to mean 'I will give (it) on behalf of him/her/them.'

4.11.4. The instrumental case

The instrumental case is marked by the suffix **-n(n)**. The suffix appears single before consonants (92a), and geminate before vowels (92b). It indicates that the noun it is added to is used as an instrument by an agent. For example, the nouns **faasita** 'pick axe' and **ulayta** 'stick' are used as instruments to accomplish the actions of cutting and hitting, respectively.

(92a) **attif faasitan ɠoyrasiʔ ʔimmurti**

atti-ʔ	*faasita-n*	*ɠoyra-siʔ*
2SG.PRO-NOM	pickaxe-INST	tree-DEF.M/F

iʔ=mur-t-i
2=cut-2-PF
'You (SG) cut the tree with a pickaxe.'

(92b) **antiʔ ʔulaytannin pinantasiɗ ɗayay**

anti-ʔ	*ulayta-nn=in*	*pinanta-siʔ*
1SG.PRO-NOM	stick-INST=3	animal-DEF.M/F

ɗay-ay
hit-PF[3M]
'I hit the animal with a stick.'

The instrumental suffix also indicates manner as in (93).

(93) **malannil lukkalittasiɠ ɠaptin**

mala-nn=iʔ	*lukkalitta-siʔ*	*ɠap-t-i-n*
wisdom-INST=2	chicken-DEF.M/F	catch-3F-PF-P

'You (PL) caught the chicken skillfully.'

4.11.5. The vocative case

The vocative is marked by the suffixes **-u/o** and **-y**. The former occurs with nouns that trigger M/F gender agreement on the verb, as in (94), and the latter with nouns that trigger a plural gender agreement on the verb, as in (95).

(94a) **namu, maanaʔ ʔaye koʔni**

nama-u	*maana=iʔ*	*aye*	*koɗ-ni*
man-VOC.M/F	what=2	here	do-IPF.PRES

'You guy, what are you doing here?'

(94b) **karru, okkattaayti ka χormaawu kulee ɗalay**
karraa-u, *okkatta-ayti* *ka*
squirrel-VOC.M/F cow-2SG.POSS.M/F and

χorma-awu *kuli=i* *ɗal-ay*
ox-1SG.POSS.M/F also=3 give.birth-PF[3M]
'Squirrel, your cow as well as my ox gave birth.'

(95a) **tuparraa-y** **χooy-a**
girls-VOC.P come-IMP.PL
'You girls, come!'

(95b) **ʔinnaa-y** **χooy-i**
boy-VOC.P come-IMP.SG
'You boy, come!'

In kinship terms, we may find the vocative suffixes **-u/o**, **-i/e** and **-a**. The distribution is lexically determined as can be seen from the following examples.

(96)

Vocative form		source	
aapp-u/o	'daddy!'	**aappaa**	'father'
okkooyy-u/o	'grandma!'	**okkooyyita**	'grandmother'
aayy-i/e	'mamma!'	**aayyaa**	'mother'
aatt-i/e	'elder sibling!'	**aattaa**	'elder sibling'
aakk-a	'grandpa!'	**aakkaa**	'grandfather'
maamm-a	'(paternal) aunt!'	**maammata**	'aunt'

Proper names with a final **-o** in the base form attach the vocative suffix **-u/o** as in (97a); those with a final **-e** attach the vocative **-e/i** as in (97b); those with a final **-a** attach the vocative suffix **-a** as in (97c).

(97a) **Antu/o** 'Anto!'
Katanu/o 'Katano!'
Paritu/o 'Parito!'

(97b) **Kappoole/i** 'Kappoole!'
Kanaase/i 'Kanaase!'

(97c) **χalaalla** 'χalaalla!'
Orkeeta 'Orkeeta!'

4.11.6. The locational markers -Vyye and -ʔ

The suffixes **-Vyye** and **-ʔ** mark location (see locational adverbs in 8.2.1). The **V** of **-Vyye** is the lengthening of the final vowel of the noun). The locational

marker -Vyye occurs mainly with the verb root kiy- ‘be, exist’ whereas -ʔ occurs with actions verbs such as χaay- ‘put’, ɗiiʃ- ‘leave’. The following are illustrative examples.

(98a) sakooyyaf faaʃeeyyee ca
sakooyya-ʔ *faaʃe-eyye=i* *kiy-a*
sakooyya-NOM faaʃe-LOC=3 be-IPF.FUT
‘Sakooyye is at Faaʃe.’

(98b) inantasit tomasit tikaʔ ʔiχaayti
inanta-siʔ *toma-siʔ* *tika-ʔ* *i=χaay-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC 3=put-3F-PF
‘The girl put the bowl at home.’

The locational markers do not replace each other. This can be seen from the examples in (99), which are modified versions of the examples in (98).

(99a) *sakooyyaf faaʃiʔ ʔica
sakooyya-ʔ *faaʃe-ʔ* *i=kiy-a*
sakooyya-NOM faaʃe-LOC 3=be-PF.FUT
(intended: ‘Sakooyye is at Faaʃe.’)

(99b) *inantasit tomasit tikaayye iχaayti
inanta-siʔ *toma-siʔ* *tika-ayye* *i=χaay-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC 3=put-3F-PF
(intended: ‘The girl put the bowl at home.’)

The locational suffixes differ with respect to optionality: It is possible to leave out -Vyye but not -ʔ. For example, in (100a), -Vyye occurs with the noun tika ‘house’ but it does not occur with the same noun in (100b). On the other hand, -ʔ is obligatory. To demonstrate this, example (100b) is repeated with and without the suffix in (100c) and (100d).

(100a) ɠimaytasit tikaayyee ca
ɠimayta-siʔ *tika-ayye=i* *kiy-a*
old man-DEF.M/F house-LOC=3 be-IPF.FUT
‘The old man is at home.’

(100b) ɠimaytasit tikaa ca
ɠimayta-siʔ *tika=i* *kiy-a*
old man-DEF.M/F house=3 be-IPF.FUT
‘The old man is at home.’

(100c) **inantasit tomasit tikaʔ ʔiχaayti**

inanta-siʔ	*toma-siʔ*	*tika-ʔ*	*i=χaay-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F	bowl-DEF.M/F	house-LOC	3=put-3F-PF

'The girl put the bowl at home.'

(100d) ***inantasit tomasit tika ʔiχaayti**

inanta-siʔ	*toma-siʔ*	*tika*	*i=χaay-t-i*
girl-DEF.M/F	bowl-DEF.M/F	house	3=put-3F-PF

'The girl put the bowl at home.'

The locational suffix -Vyye can be used as ablative, as in the following examples:

(101a) **inantaasiχ χonsooyyee ɗeʔti**

inanta-asiʔ	*χonso-eyye=i*	*ɗey-t-i*
girl-DEM.M/F	Konso-LOC=3	come-3F-PF

'This girl came from Konso.'

(101b) **urmalaayyeen laha pidɗay**

urmalaa-eyye=in	*laha*	*pidɗ-ay*
market-LOC=1	ram	buy[SG]-PF[3M]

'I bought a ram from the market.'

4.11.7. The background marker

The background is marked by the suffixes -eyye or -yye. The former has an allomorph -e. The distribution is phonologically determined: nouns with a short terminal -a occur with -eyye or -e, and nouns with a terminal vowel -aa occur with -yye. The background marker has the meaning 'person-wise' or 'entity-wise'.

(102a) **iʃan nameeyye iɗeri**

iʃa-ʔ	*nama-eyye*	*i=ɗer-i*
3SG.PRO-NOM	person-BKGRD.M/F	3=be.tall-PF

'Person-wise, he is tall.'

(102b) **ɠoyraasiɠ ɠoyre ɠoyra a kokay**

ɠoyra-asiʔ	*ɠoyra-e*	*ɠoyra*	*a*
tree-DEM.M/F	tree-BKGRD.M/F	tree	REL

kok-ay
dry-PF[3M]
'Tree-wise, this tree is dry.'
(lit.: 'Tree-wise, this tree is a tree which is dry.')

(102c) filoosinif filaayye itiimi
filaa-osini? *filaa-yye* *i=tiim-i*
comb-DEM.P comb-BKGRD.P 3=be.red-PF
'Comb-wise, this comb is red.'

(102d) tikkaa-yye i=pap-palɗ-i
houses-BKGRD.P 3=PL-be.wide-PF
'House-wise, they are wide.'

Deadjectival nominals that modifiy head nouns also occur with the background suffix -eye For instance, the deadjectival nominal ɠalla?ayta 'thin one' in (103a) occurs with the head noun ɠoyra 'tree' which, in the example, has the background suffix -eye. However, head nouns that have the definite suffix -si? do not allow deajectival nominals to occur with the background suffix, as shown in (103b). Similarly, deadjectival nominals do not occur with subject clitics, as illustrated in (103c).

(103a) ɠoyreeyye ɠalla?ayta
ɠoyra-eyye *ɠalla?-ayta*
tree-BKGRD.M/F be.thin-NMLZ.M
'Tree-wise, it is a thin one.'

(103b) *ɠoyreeyyesiɠ ɠalla?ayta
ɠoyra-eyye-si? *ɠalla?-ayta*
tree-BKGRD-DEF.M/F be.thin-NMLZ.M
(intended: 'Tree-wise, the tree is thin.')

(103c) *iɠalla?ayta
i=ɠalla?-ayta
3=be.thin-NMLZ.M
(intended: 'It is thin one.')

4.12. Compounding

Compounding is not really productive; I disagree with Daniel (2000) on this point. The following are the compound nouns I was able to find. Most of them have the genitive particle a. The words are compounds because, for example, the first two have reduced first parts which do not exist in this form independently. The rest of the compound words have a specialised, non-predictable meaning and thus are lexicalised.

(104a) kurɗakkayta
kurra + ɗakkayta
ear + deaf.M
tree species

(104b) **kuttimpira**
kuttumaa-pir-a
growth-finish-NMLZ
'molar tooth'

(104c) **ɗuusutakaarayyaáʔ**[9]
ɗuusuta-a-kaarayyaá-ʔ
fart-GEN-devil-GEN
mushroom species

(104d) **akalaparaʃʃaáʔ**
akala-a-paraʃʃaá-ʔ
sack-GEN-cereal.species-GEN
'centipede'

(104e) **χormawaaɠáʔ**
χorma-a-waaɠá-ʔ
ox-GEN-God-GEN
grasshopper species

(104f) **keraawaaɠáʔ**
keraa-a-waaɠá-ʔ
thief-GEN-God-GEN
'witchdoctor'

The above compound words may form their pluratives by replacing the singulative suffix with a plurative suffix, adding a plurative suffix in the end or to the initial part. The first compound forms its plurative by replacing the singulative suffix **-ta** with **-aa**. The the second three compound words form their pluratives by adding the plurative suffix **-ɗɗaa**. The last two compound words form their pluratives based on the pluratives of the first words. Notice that the final genitive marker **ʔ** in the singulatives appears after the plurative suffix. Below, I give the plurative of each of the above compound words to show that these words are one word and a noun.

	Singulative	plurative
(105a)	**kurɗakkayta**	**kurɗakkayaa**
	kurra + ɗakkayta	*kurra + ɗakkayaa*
	ear + deaf.M	ear + be.deaf.P
	tree species	tree species

[9] Also **ussukkaarayyaa**.

(105b)	kuttimpira	kutimpiraɗɗaa
	kuttumaa-pir-a	*kuttumaa-pir-a-ɗɗaa*
	growth-finish-NMLZ	growth-finish-NMLZ-P
	‘molar tooth’	‘molar teeth’
(105c)	ɗuusutakaarayyaáʔ	ɗuusutakaariyyaɗɗaáʔ
	ɗuusuta-ʔa-kaarayyaá-ʔ	*ɗuusuta-a-kaariyyaa-ɗɗaá-ʔ*
	fart-GEN-devil-GEN	fart-GEN-devil-P-GEN
	‘mushroom (species)’	‘mushrooms’
(104d)	akalaparaʃʃaáʔ	akalaparaʃʃaɗɗaáʔ
	akala-a-paraʃʃaá-ʔ	*akala-a-paraʃʃaɗɗaá-ʔ*
	sack-GEN-cereal.species-GEN	sack-GEN-cereal.species.P -GEN
	‘centipede’	‘centipedes’
(104e)	χormawaaɕáʔ	χormaɗawaaɕáʔ
	χorma-a-waaɕá-ʔ	*χormaɗaa-a-waaɕá-ʔ*
	ox-GEN-God-GEN	oxen-GEN-God-GEN
	‘grasshopper (species)’	‘grasshoppers’
(104f)	keraawaaɕáʔ	kereʔtawaaɕáʔ
	keraa-a-waaɕá-ʔ	*kereʔewwa-a-waaɕá-ʔ*
	thief-GEN-God-GEN	thieves-GEN-God-GEN
	‘witchdoctor’	‘witchdoctors’