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A grammar of Dime

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A Grammar of Dime

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Cover illustration: The cover shows some of the Dime phonemes, Dime villages and different activities of the people. Cover design by Yafet John.

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A Grammar of Dime

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op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof.mr. P.F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
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door

Mulugeta Seyoum
geboren te Asella, Ethiopië
in 1967

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Table of Contents

Maps	ix
Major language families in Ethiopia.....	ix
Omotic languages and dialects	x
Abbreviations and symbols.....	xiii
Acknowledgements	xv
1 Introduction	1
1.1 The Dime people	1
1.2 The Dime language.....	2
1.3 Endangerment of the Dime language.....	4
1.4 Previous studies on Dime	5
1.5 The scope of the present study.....	6
1.6 What makes Dime special in the context of Omotic languages?.....	6
2 Phonology	9
2.1 Consonants.....	9
2.1.1 Description of the consonant sounds	11
2.1.2 Near minimal pairs	15
2.1.3 The distribution of consonant phonemes in Dime	18
2.1.4 Consonant phonemes and their allophones	23
2.1.5 Gemination	24
2.2 Vowel phonemes	25
2.2.1 Description of Dime vowels.	26
2.2.2 Contrast of comparable vowel phonemes	26
2.2.3 Vowel length.....	27
2.3 Diphthongs.....	28
2.4 Tone.....	29
2.4.1 Tone patterns in nouns and verbs.....	29
2.4.2 Tone and lexical distinctions.	30
2.4.3 Tone and affixation	31
2.5 Syllable structure	32
2.5.1 Onset.....	33
2.5.2 Coda.....	33
2.5.3 Nucleus	33
2.6 Clusters of consonants	34
2.7 Reduplication.....	34
2.8 Phonological processes	36
2.8.1 Spirantization	36
2.8.2 Distant voicing.....	36
2.8.3 Homorganic nasal assimilation	37
2.8.4 Glottalization	37
2.8.5 Truncation of glottal stop in initial syllables	37
2.8.6 Epenthesis	38
2.8.7 Deletion	38

2.8.8	Glide insertion	39
2.8.9	Allomorphs of the imperfective marker	39
3	Nouns and nominal categories.....	41
3.1	Basic form of nouns.....	41
3.2	Definiteness	42
3.3	Gender	43
3.4	Number	46
3.5	Case	46
3.5.1	Nominative and accusative cases.....	47
3.5.2	The dative	49
3.5.3	The genitive/possessive	50
3.5.4	The instrumental and comitative.....	51
3.5.5	Conjunction/coordinator -ka	52
3.5.6	The locative	55
3.5.7	The ablative	57
3.6	Derived nominals.....	59
3.6.1	Agentive nouns	59
3.6.2	Infinitives.....	60
3.6.3	-im nominalization.....	61
3.7	Compound nouns	63
4	Pronouns.....	65
4.1	Personal pronouns.....	65
4.1.1	Subject and object pronouns	65
4.1.2	The dative in personal pronouns	67
4.1.3	Genitive/possessive pronouns.....	68
4.1.4	Reflexive pronouns	70
4.2	Demonstrative pronouns	72
4.2.1	Demonstratives indicating nearness/ farness	73
4.2.2	Demonstratives expressing 'up-there' and 'down-there'	75
4.3	Prefixes added to demonstratives	77
4.4	Case marking in personal and demonstrative pronouns.....	78
5	Adjectives and modifying nouns.....	81
5.1	Adjectives	81
5.2	Modifying nouns.....	91
6	Other word classes.....	95
6.1	Numerals.....	95
6.2	Conjunctions	97
6.3	Adverbials.....	99
6.3.1	Manner adverbials	99
6.3.2	Time adverbials	100
6.3.3	Directional adverbials	101
6.4	Question words	104
7	Noun phrase and quantifier phrase	107
7.1	Noun phrases	107
7.1.1	Noun phrases with a noun as modifier.....	107

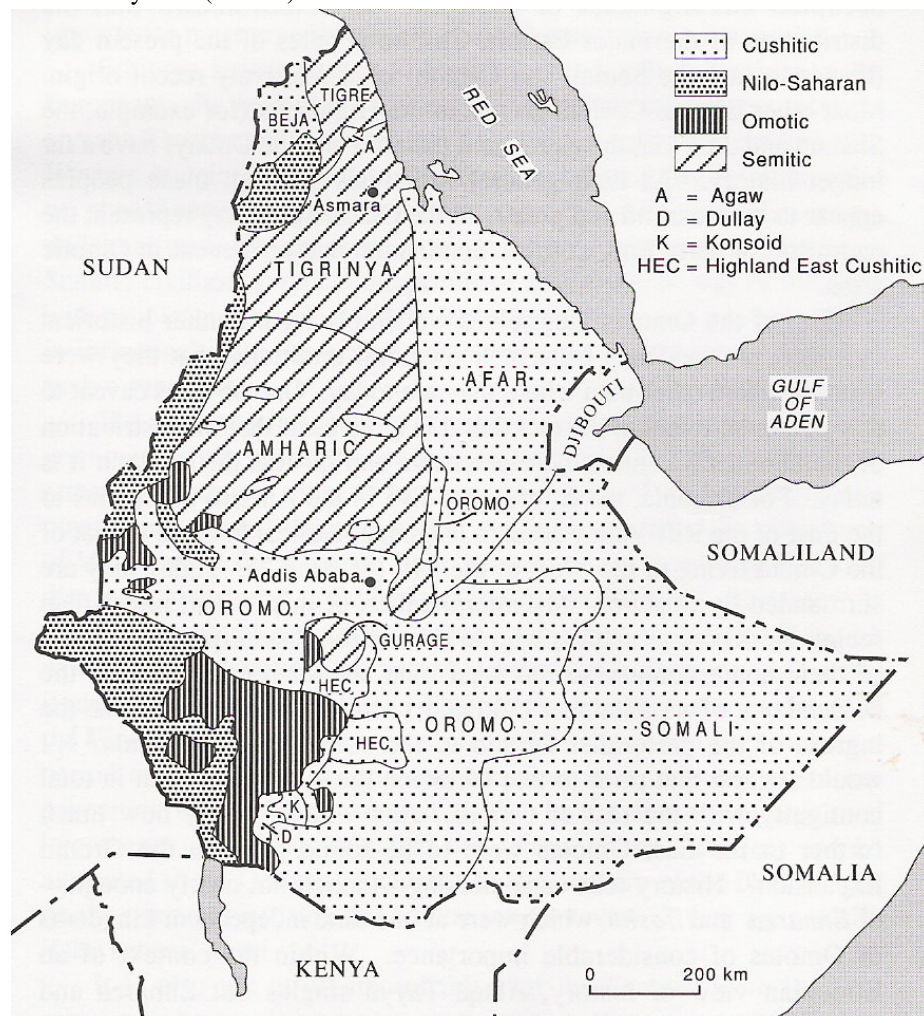
7.1.2	Noun phrases with adjectives as modifiers	108
7.1.3	Noun phrases with numeral and possessive noun as modifiers	111
7.1.4	Noun phrases with demonstratives as modifiers	112
7.1.5	Noun phrases with the relative clause as modifier	112
7.1.6	Locative noun phrases	113
7.1.7	Measure phrases.....	115
8	Verb inflections	121
8.1	Verb roots and the imperative.....	121
8.2	Subject agreement marking	123
8.3	Aspect marking	124
8.3.1	Imperfective -dée-	124
8.3.2	Progressive.....	126
8.3.3	Perfective -i	127
8.3.4	Far past	128
8.3.5	Aspect and negation.....	129
9	Nominal clauses.....	131
9.1	Tenseless nominal clauses	131
9.2	Past tense nominal clauses	134
9.3	Future tense nominal clauses	136
9.4	Negative nominal clauses	136
9.5	Interrogative nominal clauses	137
9.6	Some comparative notes	138
10	Verbal derivations	141
10.1	Causative	141
10.2	Passive	143
10.3	Reciprocal.....	145
10.4	Inchoative verbs.....	146
11	Verbs and their arguments	149
11.1	One place (intransitive) verbs	149
11.2	Two place (transitive) verbs	149
11.2.1	Semi-transitive	150
11.2.2	Mono-transitive.....	151
11.3	Three place (di-transitive) verbs	151
12	The syntax of clauses	153
12.1	Simple declarative clauses	153
12.2	Relative clauses	154
12.3	Complex clauses	157
12.3.1	Converbs	157
12.3.2	Conditional clauses	160
12.3.3	Reason clauses	160
12.3.4	Concessive clauses.....	161
12.3.5	Temporal clauses	162
12.4	Interrogative Clauses	162
12.4.1	Polar interrogatives	163
12.4.2	Non-polar interrogatives	168

12.5	Word order.....	171
12.5.1	Word order in NPs.....	172
12.5.2	Word order in verbal sentences.....	173
13	Texts.....	177
13.1	Greetings.....	177
13.2	Stories.....	180
13.2.1	Text 1: A dog and a donkey.....	180
13.2.2	Text 2: The process of building a Dime house.....	185
13.2.3	Text 3: Good will of a Dime girl.....	188
13.2.4	Text 4: The selection of a chief in Dime.....	190
13.2.5	Text 5: A story about two friends.....	193
13.2.6	Text 6: The relation between a lion, a wolf, a monkey and an ape.....	197
13.2.7	Text 7: An ape and her relatives.....	203
13.2.8	Text 8: The three persons.....	206
13.2.9	Text-9: A rat and an elephant.....	211
13.2.10	Text 10: A story about a rabbit and a deffersa.....	217
14	Word list.....	222
14.1	Dime- English word list.....	222
14.2	English-Dime word list.....	233
	References.....	247
	Index.....	253
	Summary.....	257
	Samenvatting.....	261
	Curriculum Vitae.....	265

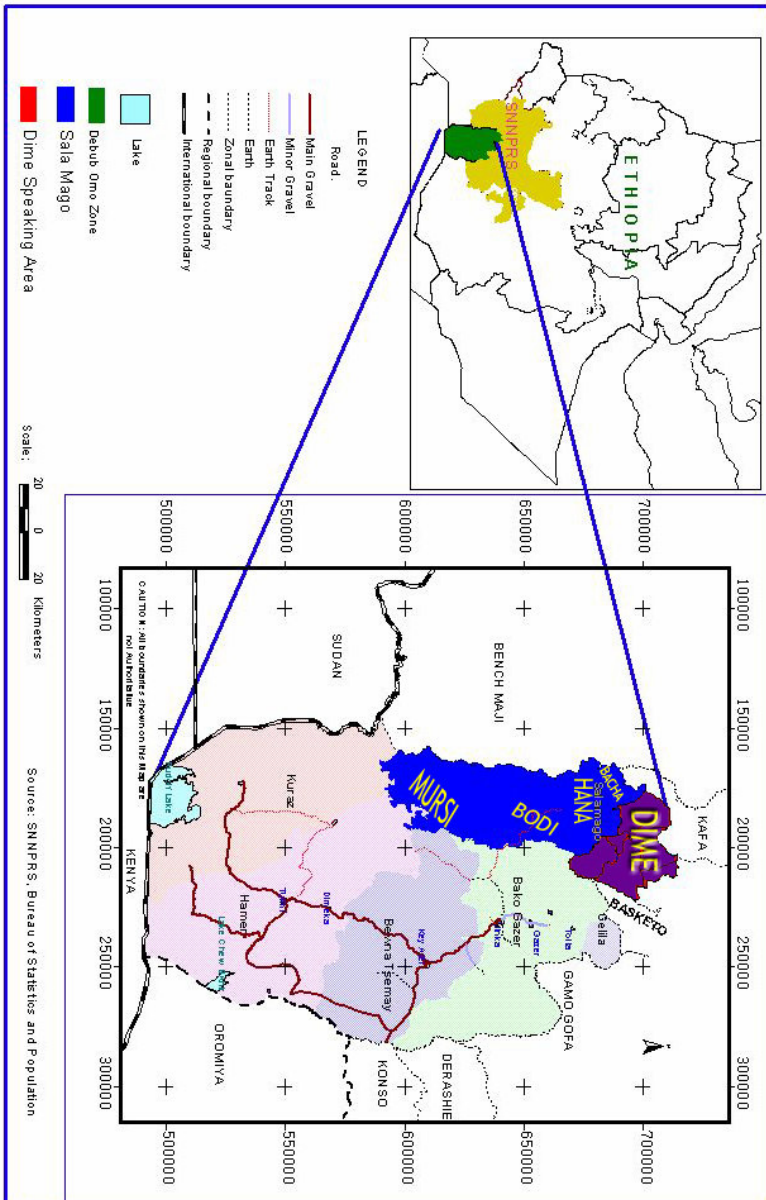
Maps

Major language families in Ethiopia

Source: Hayward (1995:7)



GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF DIME SPEAKING AREA



Structure morphemes

Morpheme	gloss	Name/approximate function
-á	CNV1	converb
-af	PL	plural
-andé	CNV2	converb
-áá	Q	polar question marker
-bab	AGEN	agentive
-bow	DIR	directional
dán	COP	non tense copula
-de	ABL	ablative
-déé	IPF	imperfective aspect
-déé	PF	perfective marker in non-verbal construction
dééf-ká	TEMP	when
déen	COP	copula of existence
déen-ká	exist-PF	past copula
-dó/dót	COND	conditional marker
-dótik	-	or
-ée	IPF	imperfective aspect
-ée	COP	copula
-i	PF	perfective
-id	PL	plural agreement for modifier
-ik	-	too
-im	ACC / NMZ	accusative marker / nominalizer
-imá	INCH	inchoative
-in	LOC	locative to/for
-ind	F	feminine gender marker
-inká	REAS	reason clause
-int'	PAS	passive marker
-is	CAUS	causative
-is	DEF	definitive
-is	PL.ADR	plural addressee
-ká	COM	comitative
-ká	CNJ	conjunction
-ká	INST	instrumental
-káy	NEG	negative marker
-kiyó	prox	here
-ko	GEN	genitive
-kóy	NEG	negative imperative
-matim	REFL	reflexive marker
-n	2/3 person marker	2/3 S/PL marker in declarative sentence
-ó	LOC	locative in
-sákiyó	distal	there
-se	LOC	locative on
-sim	REC	reciprocal

-t	1 person marker	1S/PL marker in declarative sentences
-tub	FUT	future marker for first person
-ub	M	masculine gender marker
V-ind	F.RELT	relative verb with feminine head noun
V-ub	M.RELT	relative verb with masculine head noun

Abbreviations and symbols

'	high tone	F	feminine
//	phonemic	FUT	future
[]	phonetic	FREQ	frequentative
<	derived from	GEN	genitive
>	derived to	H	high
*	ungrammatical	INF	infinitive
1S	first person singular	INCH	inchoative
1PL	first person plural	INST	instrumental
2S	second person singular	Int. pron	Interrogative pronouns
2PL	second person plural	IPF	imperfective
3SF	third person singular feminine	JUS	jussive
3SM	third person singular masculine	LOC	locative
3PL	third person plural	L	low
ABL	ablative	M	masculine
ACC	accusative	N	noun
ADJ	adjective	NEG	negative
ADR	addressee	NMZ	nominalizer
adv	adverb	OPT	optative
AGEN	agentive	ORD	ordinal numeral
AGR	agreement	PAS	passive
C	consonant	PF	perfective
C1	the first consonant of a cluster	PL	plural
C2	the second consonant of a cluster	pron	pronoun
CAUS	causative	Prox	proximal
COND	conditional	Q	question
CNV1(CNV2)	converb	REAS	reason clause
CNJ	conjunction	REC	reciprocal
COM	comitative	RDP	reduplication
COP	copula	REFL	reflexive
DAT	dative	RELT	relative
DEF	definite	sp.	species
DEM	demonstrative	SUBJ	subject
DGR	degree	TEMP	temporal
DIM	diminutive	V	verb
DIR	directional	Vd	voiced
Dis	distal	VI	voiceless
DSJ	disjunction		

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1 Introduction

1.1 The Dime people

The southern part of Ethiopia is the homeland of a remarkable variety of communities. Their cultural and linguistic diversity results from a complex historical background, compounded by geographical and social differences. One of the communities inhabiting this culturally rich area is the Dime people. The Dime belong to the South Omo administrative region. According to Siebert (2002), the Dime people's territory comprises a mountain range of less than 20 km's width and 55 km's length, which stretches from north to south with Mt. Smith (8,294 ft) as its highest elevation. There are conflicting views among different scholars concerning the statistics of the Dime population, for instance, Bender (1976:8) estimates the total Dime population at about 2,000, while Fleming (1990:495) states that "they are steadily decreasing and now threatened with extinction". According to a 1994 census the Dime constitute a population of 5,462 people. Similarly, Siebert's (2002) estimation of the population is 5000.

According to an interview with Ato K'elob K'alob, an elderly of about 90 years from Gerfa area, "Dime" was originally the name of the person, who first settled the Dime people in the Us'a area." The Dime people live in six villages: Gero, Us'a, Gerfa, Genč'ire, Geč'a and Irk'a. All these villages are located on the mountains of Gerfa, Woyede, Vingi, Bampre, Gulo, Irk'a and Galc'ic'. Some of the names of the villages seem to be derived from the names of the mountains. Among these six villages, only the people of the villages of Us'a and Gero are accustomed to using oxen for farming during the recent period, while the rest only use hoes for their traditional farming activities. In general, they are settled farmers raising crops. Their products include: Maize, sorghum, *t'eff* (*Eragrostis abyssinica*), potato, inset, and coffee. They also keep bees and domestic animals.

The language communities surrounding the Dime area are the Chara to the north (across the river Omo), the Basketto to the north-east and east, the Aari to the southeast, the Mursi and some Surma to the south-west, and the Bodi (Me'en) to the west. The Dime communities have currently peace. Fleming (1990) states that during the reign of Emperor Menelik II, around 1910, their territories embraced all the highlands and lowlands from Us'nu River to the Omo River. However, the Dime people were unable to protect themselves against their enemies, consequently their territories declined and they only occupy now the most mountainous areas.

Due to the absence of good roads and the lack of transportation system the Dime people do not have regular connection to the outside market. An interesting aspect of the traditional knowledge of the Dime people is their production of metal by smelting the ores found in the local soil. Concerning their traditional iron technology Abbink (2005:164) states that "they were also one of the few remaining Ethiopian societies that until the late 1970s retained the traditional art of iron-smelting, carried out in 1.5-m-high earthen furnaces. The iron was used for spears, plough points and various other tools."

Most of the Dime between the ages of 7-20 attend school; they have relatively better access to education compared to their neighbours. Consequently the current government has given educated people from the Dime area positions of authority in local administration and they govern the Sala-Mago district. For instance, during my first fieldwork the administrative head of the District, the representative of the district, the head of the justice office, the head of the local finance office, and the head of the information office at Zone levels were all from the Dime people. However, due to their restricted number, they tend to be culturally influenced by the majority groups of their neighbours like the Bodi, and Aari. Moreover, for elementary and high school education they go out of their village and are obliged to live with other communities. For instance they have to go to Hanna for elementary school and to Jinka for attending high school. Since schools are located far from their villages and because of lack of transportation, they are forced to live away at least for half a year or more. Their chance to visit their family is during summer. Since the lingua franca language is Amharic in the region they often use Amharic to communicate with the other communities, teachers and students, rather than using their mother tongue.

The Dime have some cultural affinities with neighbouring groups. Their music and musical instruments resemble those of the other Omotic people such as the Aari.

Among the different cultural activities of the Dime, an interesting one is the burial customs of their chiefs, which occurs as follows: When their chiefs die, they do not bury the corpse under the ground. They place the chief on a seat, which is placed in a hole in the ground. Subsequently he is buried up to his neck, leaving his head above ground. They cover the head with a basket to prevent any damage. Within a few days it decomposes, and worms are visible moving on the ground. It is believed that during this period all his blessings are imparted to the people. They are convinced that if they bury his whole body under the ground, they would miss his blessings and they would be exposed to danger or punishment (cf. Mulugeta 1999: 52-62). Such ideas are prevalent among the traditional believers. Concerning religious affiliation, some follow traditional beliefs others are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church or the Protestant Christian church.

Another important aspect of Dime culture is the absence of promiscuity. Marriage is an honourable tradition with them. In the course of the wedding preparations, the value of the bride price is fixed through negotiations with the family of the girl. It is accepted in the Dime culture for the bridegroom to give only one or two cattle and some money, according to his income. This stands in contrast to the neighbouring Bodi culture where a man who intends to marry a girl has to provide 37-40 cattle and one gun to her family.

1.2 The Dime language

Dime is an endangered language. As Fleming (1990:494) states, the self-name is **dim-aaf** (Dime- mouth) or **dim-ko-af** (Dime-Gen-Mouth). Dime is the name of the language, the land and the people who speak the language. It belongs to the Omotic

language family according to the classification of Fleming (1976)¹. Concerning this Fleming (1990:500) states the following:

Dime has been classified genetically by myself, Bender (1971), Greenberg (personal communication) and others as (a) an Afro-asiatic language, (b) an Omotic or “West Cushitic” language, and (c) a member of the south Omotic branch of Omotic. But the classification of Dime is still actively controversial, with some believing that it is not even Afro-asiatic, and others contending that it – as well as the rest of Omotic – is simply Cushitic. Some also used to believe that Dime and its close kin were not related to the northern “West Cushitic” languages like Kafa or Janjero, but rather was actually related to Nilotic or East Sudanic. However, no one that I know of doubts that Dime finds its closest genetic kin in Hamar and the Ari dialects extending from Bako to Umbar and Galila in western GemuGofa.

According to Fleming (1976), Dime forms the South-Omotic branch of Omotic together with the “Hamar–Banna dialect cluster (including Beshada and Karo)”, and the “Ari dialects” (including Bako, Shangama, Ubamer, and Galila).²

Most Dime people speak one or two languages next to their mother tongue, especially those living along the border with the Basketo, Aari, and Bodi. These are multilingual groups, but there are also monolingual groups in Dime which are in the middle of the Gerfa area.

Fleming (1990:490-500) states that Dime has three regional dialects: the north, central and a more divergent southern dialect. The author of the present study distinguishes two distinct dialects: the Us’a and the Gerfa dialects (Mulugeta 2005). This study is mainly concerned with the Us’a dialect. The name of the dialect is derived from the name of the village. According to my assistant, Us’a is the ancient place of Dime speakers. Concerning this Fleming (1990:498) pointed out that Us’a is “the most secure spot for Dimes.” (See also Siebert (2002) who shares this opinion).

The two dialects have some lexical and phonological differences. Moreover, most Gerfa words end in the vowel **u**, while in Us’a they end in **e** or **i** (see also Fleming 1990). The following words illustrate the lexical differences:

<i>Us’a</i>	<i>Gerfa</i>	
koizi	ʔasu	‘hen’
ʔasin	bədə	‘press’
ʔáá	bá	‘upper’
kisi	kaču	‘anus’

¹ As Bender (1990) states, the Omotic language family is the least known and the least studied language family from the Afro-asiatic phylum. Its classification is still problematic. Fleming (1976) classified it as an independent sub-family under the Afro-asiatic phylum; some scholars object Fleming’s classification and consider Omotic as part of Cushitic and use labels such as West Cushitic and “Sidama”.

² Bender (2000:160) states that Dime is the most divergent Aroid language, which means, it is more distant from Ari and Hamar than the latter two are from each other.

<i>Us'a</i>	<i>Gerfa</i>	
más'in	māsīt	'salt'
kúmú	?iṇé	'cabbage'
kóólú	wólu	'eagle'
k'ars'i	diku	'cut'
?indiid	?indaf	'wife'
t'axay	p'isu	'harvest'
kit'i	yəmu	'remove'
zób	bíy	'lion'
giccó-b	gád	'big'
gi?gis-déen	məmərs-téen	'will prevent'
yizzi	tummú	'deep'

1.3 Endangerment of the Dime language

One of the most important causes for urgency in linguistic research in Dime is language endangerment. Some of the earlier works on endangered languages in Ethiopia include Hayward (1998), Zelealem (1998), and Appleyard (1998), just to mention a few. Hayward (1998:17) calls on scholars to draw their attention to language endangerment: "I wonder whether our best strategy would be to draw attention as strongly as possible to any rare or unique linguistic properties found in languages that happen to be endangered, whenever we are aware of such properties." See also Zelealem (1998) and Appleyard (1998).

Similarly, different scholars emphasized the urgent need of the preservation of data on endangered languages and recommend assessment of language endangerment situations (cf. Batibo (1992), Crystal (2000), Nettle and Romaine (2000), Enfield (2004), among others).

Endangerment of the Dime language is strongly linked to the demographic state of its speakers. This in turn relates to historical enmity with the neighbouring Bodi people and competition for resources. Due to the fighting between Bodi and Dime people a lot of Dime died and migrated to other places. Consequently, the number of the speakers declined. Todd (1997:223) makes the following statement about this:

The most obvious effect of the war on the Dime was that many of them left the country, and will probably never return. A similar number died. The population has therefore declined by somewhere between 1,000 and 3,000 which is a considerable loss for a people who did not originally number more than perhaps 11,000.

Fleming (1990:495) expressed a similar concern:

Demographically the Dime are a small people, steadily decreasing and now threatened with extinction. If they disappear, it will be a case of creeping 'ethnocide'. Unable to defend themselves against their enemies, the Bodi, yet undefended by their former masters (the 'Dime Amhara') or the central state,

many Dime have either fled to Basketo and Aari lands to the east or remained in Dime huddled together defensively, fearful and depressed.

Competition for resources contributes to the endangerment of the Dime language. The violence between the neighbouring communities and disease results in economic crises and migration. Abbink (2005) expresses a similar generalization “since the early years of 20th century Dime has been a society in crisis and demographic decline, due to violence, disease, economic decline and immigration.”

The previous social and historical influence of Amhara governors and the current use of Amharic as a lingua franca language for education and administration purposes, and missionary activities in Amharic may also contribute to endangerment of the Dime language. Dime children have no possibility to learn in their language in elementary or treasury school as the language is not used in education, political and other public functions. Since Dime is a non-literate language this role is taken by Amharic.

Describing the language and developing a writing system to promote the language to be used as medium of instruction at lower level of education for native speakers may help the revival of the language.

Enfield (2004) states “without good quality documentation while the language is vital, ... later generations would have no hope of reviving a language once it is moribund or dead.”

Therefore the primary concern of this research is to document the Dime language. This would contribute not only for the preservation of the Dime language but also of some cultural, social and environmental knowledge of the speakers.

1.4 Previous studies on Dime

The Dime language is not well documented. Earlier works have not attempted towards broader description of its phonology, morphology and syntax. The main source of information on Dime is the work of Fleming (1990). It is a survey of the Dime grammar, which contributed a lot to this study.

Fleming (1973) produced a comparative study of Dime, Ari and Basketo and of Dime, Ari and Hamar (in Bender 1976:314-321). In his work, he also tried to show the significance of the independent pronouns of Dime by comparing Galila, Ari and Hamar.

Furthermore, Hetzron (1988) includes some comparative notes on Dime in his study on the position of Omotic. Siebert (1995) collected some lexical items. The other source of information on Dime is David Todd (unpublished, pamphlet no. 43); he is more concerned with history and ethnography than language. Finally, Tsuge Yoichi (1996) discussed Dime consonants in his work on the consonant correspondences of south Omotic languages. Olson (1996) discussed the Dime people and the classification of their language in his Ethno historical dictionary of the people of Africa. Mulugeta (1999) provides brief information about the culture and the language (in Amharic). The recent comparative morphology of Omotic by Bender (2000) presents part of the Dime morphology partly based on the above mentioned

works on the language.³ Another recent work on Dime is a sociolinguistic survey by Siebert (2002). A short description of the language is made in Mulugeta (2005). Ab-bink (2005) deals with Dime ethnography. In his description of Hamar pronouns, Moges (2005) included some Dime pronouns for comparison.

1.5 The scope of the present study

The present study describes the Dime language. The data for the study are mainly from the Us'a dialect. I also did some research with a few people speaking the Gerfa dialect to check the difference between the two dialects.

In comparison with other Ethiopian language groups such as Semitic and Cushitic, linguistic research on Omotic languages is still very limited. As the Dime language is an endangered language, with a small number of speakers, the primary concern of this study is to document the language. The description in the present work is a synchronic study, which makes use of data collected by the present author and also from the works of Fleming and Bender.

The major method employed in this study is fieldwork in the language area. Interview or consultation of native speakers was carried out using prepared questions based on research experience. Moreover, fieldwork guidance books such as Payne (1997) were used. Data collection included two periods of fieldwork in the Dime area. The first period was from May 2003 to December 2004 and the second period was from January 2004 to May 2005. My main research assistant was Shiftaye Yisan, 25 years old, born in Us'a in Sala mago district. He worked with me during the first and second fieldwork. His talent helped me a lot to collect the necessary data for my analysis. Other highly involved people in my research were Taddese Gelbok, 20, born in Us'a; Maikro Gizachew Keto, 21, born in Us'a. Deban Gasso, 40, born in Us'a; Kuraze Mebratu, 26, born in Genchire; K'elob K'albo, 90, born in Gerfa.

1.6 What makes Dime special in the context of Omotic languages?

Dime reflects a few unusual features compared to related languages (Bender, 2000:160). Bender (1988) does not include /x, ɣ, χ, ʁ/ among the frequent consonants of the Omotic language family. The presence of these segments in the Dime language makes it somewhat different from the rest of Omotic. These segments appear in some Omotic languages only phonetically (cf. Wedekind (1990:73), for instance, the segments (ɣ, χ) are found phonetically in Yemsa. Ford, (1990:430) reports that (χ and ʁ) are found phonetically in Aari. Furthermore, the consonants (ʒ, w, y, ɕ,) occur very rarely in other Omotic languages (Bender 1988). Fleming (1990:505) also reports no /p/ and /h/ in Dime and according to him the glides /w/

³ Bender (2000) mentions a possible weakness in some field material, elicited from persons reasonably fluent in Amharic; especially schoolboys. He assumes that they include artificial forms based on direct translation from Amharic.

and /y/ are questionable. However, these segments are frequent in my data. Consider some of the following examples:

/z/	/č/	/y/	/w/	/h/
zómár 'ginger'	čúú 'bottom'	yəχnám 'farm'	wunt'ú 'work'	haméχ 'how many'
fuuz 'heavy cough'	wúčub 'empty'	yinči 'laugh'	wuč'i 'drink (v)'	hálfe 'knife'
č'iizz 'tuber'	yinči 'laugh'	nayi 'hyena'	gəwwu 'hookworm'	ʔéhé 'house'

Bender (1988:125) states that across Omotic languages a five vowel system is strongly supported. However, in Dime there are five basic vowels and two half-open and two central vowels. Among these, each of the basic five vowels has a long counterpart. The remaining four vowels do not have a long counterpart. Since the latter vowels are in contrast with the five basic vowels, I conclude that they have phonemic value. Thus Dime has a nine vowels system.

Hayward (1989:30) points out that all the modern Omotic languages abandoned grammatical gender, however, Dime has grammatical gender.

Moreover, it is interesting that demonstratives in Dime are formed by combining proximity indicating morphemes **si-** 'proximal' and **sá-** 'distal' with the third person subject pronouns. For instance, **nú** 'he', **ná** 'she', **kété** 'they' result in **sinú** 'this (M)', **siná** 'this (F)', **sikét** 'these' and **sanú** 'that (M)', **saná** 'that (F)', **sakét** 'those'.

We observe in Dime demonstratives that the language uses prefixes (i.e. considering the independent subject pronouns as bases for the derivation of the demonstratives). This also applies to the proximal and distal morphemes **si-** and **sa-**. No further prefix forms are attested in this language. In Omotic in general, prefixation is not a common phenomenon. Thus Dime demonstratives represent a rare pattern in the family.

2 Phonology

In this chapter, the speech sounds of Dime are identified and described. Moreover, common phonological processes, tone, syllable structure and co-occurrence of segments in the language are treated. The transcription largely employs the IPA conventions as revised in 1993. Note that **p'**, **s'**, **t'**⁴, **tʃ'**, **k'**, are glottalized consonants and **d** is a voiced implosive. For the sake of convenience in subsequent sections, **tʃ'**, **tʃ'**, **f** and **ʒ** are written as **č**, **č'**, **š** and **ž** respectively.

We present the description of the consonants in 2.1, followed by the description of the vowels in section 2.2.

2.1 Consonants

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	vl	p	t		k		
	vd	b	d		g		
	ej	p'	t'		k'		ʔ
	imp		d'				
Fricative	vl	f	s	š	x	χ	h
	vd		z	ž	ɣ	ʁ	
	ej		s'				
Affricate	vl		ts	č			
	vd			dʒ			
	ej			č'			
Nasal	vd	m	n		ŋ		
Liquids			l				
			r				
Glides		w		y			

Table-1 Consonant Phonemes of Dime

All consonants except **ts**, **dʒ**, **ʔ**, **d'**, **x**, **χ**, **ɣ**, **ʁ**, **h**, **ŋ** and **r** occur as geminates. Before dealing with the detailed description of the consonant sounds we make some general observations about them. The evidence for these statements will be given in subsequent sections. The consonant phonemes include the plain voiceless stops **p**, **t**, **k** and their voiced counterparts **b**, **d**, **g**. The glottal stop **ʔ** occurs very often word initially, and contrasts with the voiceless glottal fricative **h**. Words that do not begin with another consonant are analyzed as beginning with a glottal stop.

The phoneme **p** appears in word initial position as in [**p**^hólú] 'make a vow', word-medially as in **dámpu** 'tobacco', **dippí** 'all' and finally as in **/gómp/** 'back'. We have a different analysis from Fleming (1990) who reported that there is no **p** in Dime. **p** may be realized as **f** or **ɸ** in medial and final positions when it is not gemi-

⁴The exact pronunciation of **t'** is still uncertain; I sometimes heard it as a voiced ejective.

nated and when it does not form a cluster with another segment. **p** is aspirated and not realized as **f** or **ɸ** word initially but contrasts with **f** as in [**p^huč'u**] 'small grass', [**fúčú**] 'open'. We analyse **p** as an independent phoneme since it contrasts with other sounds and forms near-minimal pairs as in [**p^hólú**] 'make a vow', [**bókú**] 'fruit sp.' in word-initial position. Siebert (2000) also has the **p** phoneme in his Dime word list as in **pasinpastu** 'dull', **balup** 'other'. He didn't mention anything about the phonetic realizations of the sound.

The voiceless fricatives are **f**, **s**, **š**, **x**, **χ**, **h** and the voiced fricatives are **z**, **ž**, **ɣ**, **ʁ**. Fleming (1990:505) does not include the phoneme **h** in his chart but in the present study **h** is identified as a phoneme⁵. It occurs in initial, medial and final position of words as in **láh** 'six', **háme** 'home country', **sahí** 'to brush', and **ʔéhé** 'house'. Consonants such as **x**, **χ**, **ʁ** seem to be phonemes in Dime⁶. Fleming (1990:509) did not analyse the sounds **x**, **ʁ**, **ʔ**, **k'**, **h** as phonemes. The present author ascertained that **x**, **k'** are clearly independent phonemes. They contrast with their corresponding voiced and voiceless velar and glottal consonants and each occur in word initial, medial and final positions. The voiced uvular fricative **ʁ** in my data seems to correspond to Fleming's **ʀ** although he didn't offer the exact phonetic description of this segment. I understand that it is the voiced counterpart of the voiceless uvular sound **χ**.

Even though the above velar and uvular sounds are not registered as phonemes in most Omotic languages, in some studies they are reported as phonetic elements. For instance, **ɣ**, **χ**, **q**, occur in Yemsa, phonetically (Wedekind 1990:73). The consonants [**x**, **ʁ**, **qχ**, **q**] are included in the phonetic chart of Aari (Ford 1990:430).

The affricates contain two voiceless and one voiced consonant **ts**, **č**, **dʒ**. The series of ejective sounds contains five consonants **p'**, **s'**, **t'**, **č'**, **k'**, which are common sounds in Ethiopian languages.

There are three plain nasal consonants. These are the bilabial **m**, the alveolar **n** and the velar **ŋ**. The velar nasal sound **ŋ** is also an independent phoneme since it occurs both in word medial and final positions and it contrasts with **n**, **g** in an identical environment see also Fleming (1990:508). It is also reported that **ŋ** is found in Aari (Hayward 1990:431). The sound **ñ** does not occur as a phoneme but it occurs as an allophone of **n** before **č** or **dʒ** (cf. see section 2.8.3). The voiced alveolar implosive **ɗ** occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

The last group of consonants are the glides **w** and **y**, the lateral approximant **l** and the alveolar flap/trill **r**⁷. Fleming (1990:505) states that the glides **w** and **y** are questionable. In the present work the glides **w** and **y** are analysed as independent phonemes because of their wider distribution and contrast in the language.

⁵ Hayward (1990:431) states that **h** is on the verge of disappearance from Aari (South Omotic), though not without leaving a trace in the form of breathy phonation.

⁶ Bender (1988) treated the consonants across Omotic languages but he didn't mention the sounds **x**, **ɣ**, **χ**, **ʁ** as sounds of the Omotic group (Bender, 1976:76).

⁷ Fleming (1990) states the phoneme /r/ is a resonant flap. Concerning a trill /r/ he points out that it is not clear whether it constitutes a phoneme or is derived from it or it is simply a variant.

According to Bender (1988) the consonant sounds **ǰ**, **w**, **y**, and **č**, are not very common in other Omotic languages but in Dime these are independent phonemes and found in any word position. The phoneme **w** and **y** occur word-initially, medially and finally.

Bender (2000:161) states that none of the phonemes **h**, **č**, **r**, **ǰ**, **ts**, **x**, and **ŋ** appear initially in his comparative analysis of the Aroid phonological inventory. In Dime **h**, **č**, **r**, **ǰ**, **ts** occur word-initially; however, their frequency is very low compared to their occurrence in medial and final position. For instance, I found only two words with **ts**, one word with **ǰ**, three words with **r**, two words with **č** and many words with **h** in word initial position. These sounds are found very frequently in other positions. I have no words in the corpus that begin with **ŋ**, **x**, **y**, **χ**, or **ʁ**.

2.1.1 Description of the consonant sounds

The description of the consonant sounds of Dime will be presented below. When verbs are included in the examples, these are in the imperative form which is the simplest verbal form in the language. The order is based on the point of articulation of the consonants.

1. **p** is a voiceless bilabial stop
pólú 'make a vow'
gómp 'back'
dámpe 'tobacco'
dippi 'all'
2. **b** is a voiced bilabial stop
bánde 'hair'
búbud 'husband'
k'ámub 'bad'
kábbe 'maize'
3. **f** is a voiceless, labio-dental fricative
físt 'cough'
kalfé 'shoulder'
nǎrfe 'needle'
dúf 'foam'
4. **p'** is a bilabial ejective stop. It is not attested word finally.
p'ǎlt'e 'testicle'
č'up'u' 'squeezed'
5. **m** is a voiced bilabial nasal
míči 'sister'
súulu 'heat'
hamzé 'birth place'

6. **w** is a voiced bilabial semi-vowel
wunt'ú 'work'
zəwdin 'put on'
gawwu 'hookworm'
bow 'direction'
7. **t** is a voiceless alveolar stop
t' íst 'sneeze'
gúntu 'rope'
bñit 'magic, evil'
gáit 'hoe'
8. **d** is a voiced alveolar stop
dəré 'goat'
s'éidub 'short'
búud 'heart'
búbud 'husband'
ʔúddú 'four'
9. **t'** is an alveolar ejective stop
t'íp'i 'drop'
ʔúmint' 'arrow'⁸
p'él't'e 'testicle'
ʔát't'e 'gave birth'
10. **ɗ** is a voiced alveolar implosive. It is a remarkable feature of Dime that /**ɗ**/ retains its implosive character after a nasal.
ɗíle 'medicine'
ʔúmɪnd' 'arrow'
gófind' 'hide'
p'élɕend' 'lightning'
11. **s** is a voiceless alveolar fricative
sinú 'this'
ʔaxsé 'clay'
ʔúis 'ask'
túss 'pillar'

⁸ Mostly in word final position **ɗ'** appears as an alternation of the ejective sound **t'** which seems to be feature of the Aaroid group (Dime, Aari, Hamar) (Bender1988: 124) For example, **ʔúmɪnt'** or **ʔúmɪnd'** 'arrow'. **ɗ'** is a voiced alveolar implosive occurs word finally and medially only after nasal sounds.

12. **z** is a voiced alveolar fricative
zúúlu 'rainbow'
kúbzú' 'fly'
yízi 'run'
yizzi 'deep'
koiz 'hen'
13. **s'** is an alveolar ejective fricative. It is not attested word finally.
s'éet 'hundred '
k'ós'ú 'scratch'
p'els'e 'bold'
gás's'e 'vagina'
14. **n** is a voiced alveolar nasal
núkú 'nose'
?úrin 'rat'
zúnú 'up'
wonnú 'return'
15. **r** is a voiced alveolar flap⁹. The sound /r/ occurs at word final, word medial and also at word initial position. The word initial one is not as frequently found as compared to medial and final positions. No geminate form is attested.
rúú 'wealth'
gər̥z 'cat'
dəré 'goat'
gofir 'frog'
16. **l** is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant
lále 'stone'
kalfé 'shoulder'
?íl 'hare'
dʒullú 'cheat'
17. **ʃ** is a voiceless palatal fricative
śáaye 'sand'
miśít 'seed'
tíśś 'ripe crop'
18. **ʒ** is a voiced palatal fricative¹⁰
zómár 'ginger'
guuzú 'drink'
č'íizz 'tuber'

⁹ Bender (1988) states that /r/ is one of the consonant sounds, which occurs relatively commonly in the Omotic languages.

¹⁰ Bender (1988) points out in his chart of consonant correspondences of Omotic languages that ʒ occurs only in medial position. We ascertained that ʒ occurs at word initial, medial and

19. **ts** is a voiceless alveolar affricate. No geminate form is attested.
ʔitsé 'teeth'
níts 'boy'
tseki 'large'
tsase 'towards there'
20. **č** is an alveo-palatal affricate
čúú 'bottom'
bač 'year'
ʔisĩnci 'think'
giččó 'big'
21. **dʒ** is a voiced palatal affricate. **dʒ** is not attested word finally and no example is recorded with a geminate **dʒ**.
dʒaŋé 'throw'
ʔankódʒaŋe 'arm pit'
dʒígi 'sew'
22. **čʼ** is a palatal affricate ejective
čʼii čʼ 'cloud'
gəŋčʼé 'chin'
23. **y** is a voiced palatal glide
yəχnám 'farm'
yikáy 'not/none'
nayi 'hyena'
ʔiyyi 'person'
24. **k** is a voiceless velar stop
kúbzú 'fly'
ʔunkíl 'chest'
lóokk 'chat'
25. **g** is a voiced velar stop
giččób 'big'
məngé 'gourd'
čʼiiggí 'pay'
lág 'friend'
26. **kʼ** is a velar ejective stop. It is not attested word finally.
kʼotʼ 'velum'
kʼu kʼú 'taste'
ləkʼkʼub 'small'

27. **x** is a voiceless velar fricative. It is not attested in word initial position.
kóxó 'love'
ʔór^hxú 'fish'
šóxšú 'roasted cereals'
ʔé^hx 'wet'
28. **ɣ** is a voiced velar fricative. It is not attested word initially and finally.
s'elayé 'devil'
gə^hɣó 'inside'
boɣt'ú 'forget'
29. **χ** is a voiceless uvular fricative. It is not attested word initially.
ɣəχsé 'measure'
haméχ 'how many'
30. **ʁ** is a voiced uvular fricative. It is not attested word initially and word finally.
gə^hʁé 'chin'
laχt'é 'die'
ʔə^hʁs'é 'neck.'
wə^hʁən 'cattle'
31. **ŋ** is a voiced velar nasal. It is not attested word initially
kíŋi 'spider'
ʔééŋ 'high-land'
tóŋas 'few'
síŋsí 'destroy'
biŋé 'spear'
32. **ʔ** is a glottal stop. It often occurs at word initial position. There are no vowel initial words in Dime. Words that start with a vowel underlyingly, have a initial glottal stop phonetically.
ʔór^hxú 'fish'
ʔankogúš 'finger (hand)'
baʔa 'eat' (for cereals or solid matter)
33. **h** is a voiceless glottal fricative
s'ááh 'vomit'
háme 'home country'
sáhi 'clean'
ʔéhé 'house'

2.1.2 Near minimal pairs

In principle, if two sounds bring change of meaning in a pair of otherwise identical words, they are considered to be separate phonemes. The main objective of the arrangements of the following examples is to demonstrate the phonological contrast between consonants that are related phonetically. Some of the word pair contrasts

are arranged based on the parameter of their voice difference. Other pairs have been arranged based on their air stream mechanism, for instance pulmonic or non pulmonic, and a group of pairs shows phonemic contrast between nasal, velar, uvular and glottal place of articulation. The following are some of the minimal and near minimal pairs that have been identified in Dime.

34. [**p^h**] [**b**]
 [**p^hólú**] ‘make a vow’
 [bókú] ‘fruit sp.’
35. [**b**] [**m**]
 [míčí] ‘sister’
 [bičí] ‘skin’
36. [**m**] [**n**]
 [múkú] ‘huge’
 [núkú] ‘nose’
37. [**ŋ**] [**n**]
 [yíní] ‘see’
 [ʔíní] ‘today’
 [síní] ‘destroy’
 [síndi] ‘wheat’
38. [**t**] [**d**]
 [wutú] ‘get out’
 [ʔúdú] ‘put’
39. [**t'**] [**t**]
 [t'íst] ‘sneeze’
 [tíss] ‘ripe crop’
40. [**d**] [**d'**]
 [d'íle] ‘medicine’
 [dóóttu] ‘leg’
41. [**t**] [**ts**]
 [ʔítsé] ‘teeth’
 [ʔítee] ‘back of the neck’
42. [**s**] [**z**]
 [súúlu] ‘heat’
 [zúúlu] ‘rainbow’
43. [**š**] [**ž**]
 [tíss] ‘ripe crop’
 [č'íížž] ‘tuber’

44. [z] [ž]
[žómár] 'ginger'
[zámu] 'female cow which has not given birth'
45. [s] [s']
[ʔeys'é] 'neck'
[ʔaxse] 'break'
46. [s'] [ts]
[s'itsi] 'right'
[s'is'i] 'grey hair'
47. [r] [l]
[kulú] 'roasted grain'
[kúru] 'honey'
48. [č'] [č]
[č'iiggí] 'pay'
[čilči] 'draw'
49. [y] [l]
[lále] 'stone'
[taáye] 'now'
50. [y] [r]
[ʔúrin] 'rat sp.'
[kuyú] 'dig'
[yerí] 'donkey'
[nayi] 'hyena'
51. [k] [g]
[kúč'u] 'quarrel'
[guč'ú] 'burnt food'
52. [ʔ] [g]
[géhé] 'push'
[ʔéhé] 'house'
53. [ʔ] [h]
[háme] 'home country'
[ʔáne] 'hand'
[síří] 'wash'
[síhí] 'smell (bad)'
54. [g] [ʁ]
[dʒáké] 'throw'
[dʒági] 'rain with wind'

55. [g] [ɣ]
[s'elayé] 'devil'
[dʒígi] 'sew'
56. [g] [ŋ]
[dʒígi] 'sew'
[kíŋi] 'spider'
57. [k'] [k]
[k'uk'ú] 'taste'
[kúlú] 'stick'
58. [x] [k]
[ʔórxú] 'fish'
[ʔórkú] 'snake sp.'
59. [h] [χ]
[meh] 'money'
[bex] 'fruit sp.'
60. [x] [ɣ]
[kóxó] 'love'
[gɔɣó] 'inside'
61. [χ] [ʁ]
[wɔɕən] 'cattle'
[yəχnám] 'farm'
[ʔeχse] 'guide/show'
[ʔəks'í] 'neck'
62. [ʁ] [ɣ]
[gɔɣó] 'inside'
[gɔɕó] 'step back'
63. [x] [χ]
[doxt'ú] 'swirl'
[doχsú] 'round'
[láj] 'six'
[laχub] 'soft'
64. [x] [h]
[box] 'knee'
[meh] 'money'

2.1.3 The distribution of consonant phonemes in Dime

In this section we demonstrate the various positions of phonemes in words and formations of consonant clusters. We show the distribution of consonants by classifying them according to their manner of articulation which is one of the basic compo-

nents of speech production. These are stops, affricates, fricatives, glottal, and nasals, liquids and glides. Each class shows the word distribution in six columns. The words of the first column show the distributions of phonemes at word-initial position; the second column illustrates the distribution at word-medial (intervocalic) position; the third column represents the distribution at word-final position. In the fourth column possibilities of gemination are illustrated; in the fifth column the distribution at the pre-consonantal position is shown; in the last column are examples of distribution in post-consonantal position.

Sound	Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate	–C	C–
/p/	pólú 'made a vow'	lupé 'suddenly'	---	gúppú 'fail down'	---	gómp 'back'
/b/	bánde 'hair'	búbud 'husband'	díibub 'thief'	kábbe 'maize'	kúbzú 'fly'	dúrbab 'reach'
/d/	dóóttu 'leg'	díídí 'scar'	búud 'heart'	ʔúddú 'four'	bədzé 'out'	bánde 'hair'
/t/	túfú 'saliva'	sótù 'choke'	gáit 'hoe'	bittub 'straight'	dóótgaš 'way'	goštú 'man'
/k/	kobu 'ant'	núkú 'nose'	šáák 'light'	yekké 'equal'	šokšú 'swell'	ʔásinká 'why'
/g/	góya 'buttock'	dʒígi 'sew'	lág 'friend'	č'íggí 'pay'	məgláf 'net'	mango 'mango'
/ʔ/	ʔáfé 'mouth'	[šíʔ] 'wash'	---	---	---	---

Table-2: Stops and their distribution.

As can be seen from the above table the least versatile stop consonant phoneme in different word positions is the consonant phoneme ʔ. It occurs very frequently at word initial position. It is not attested as a member of a cluster, as a geminate, and word finally. This may strengthen Fleming's (1990:507) statement that the phonemic status of ʔ is questionable in Dime. However, as we showed earlier ʔ is contrastive at word-initial position and should be regarded as a phoneme. The phone **p** becomes **f** or **ɸ** when it occurs between or after vowels, while it is aspirated word initially.

Sound	Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate	-C	C-
/ts/	ts akes 'large'	ʔ tsi 'eat'	ʔótn ts 'calf'	---	f atská b 'useless'	ʔ tsi 'need'
/č/	č úú 'bottom'	b iči 'skin'	lobá č 'armpit'	gicc ób 'big'	---	ʔ i sinc 'think'
/č'/	č' olay 'belly'	č' u č' ufi 'rot'	č' i č' 'cloud'	-----	---	gə č'é 'chin'
/dʒ/	dʒ iši 'milk'	ʔankód ʒ áye 'arm'	---	---	---	dʒ am dʒimé 'unsettled'

Table-3: Affricates and their distribution

As can be seen from the above table there are three pulmonic affricates **ts**, **č**, and **dʒ** in Dime. The affricate sound **ts** occurs in every positions of words but it has no geminate counterpart. It occurs frequently in the language especially at word medial and final position, e.g. **ʔitsi** 'eat', **ʔatsi** 'fever'. It contrasts with /t/, /s/ in [ʔitsé] 'teeth' [ʔitee] 'back of the neck', and [s'itsi] 'right', [s'is'i] 'grey hair'. With the exception of the word **ʔeftsi** 'need' we did not find a cluster consonant with this sound. **ts** is very rarely found word initially. My corpus contains only two instances of **ts** at word initial position. The second affricate sound **č** occurs in almost every position except in the pre-consonantal slot. It is not also frequently attested in word initial position (see also Fleming (1990:507)). The last affricate sound **dʒ** does not occur in every position. It occurs in word-initial and pre-consonantal positions. It is not attested in other positions and it is not geminated.

Sound	Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate	–C	C–
/f/	fásint' 'separate'	yáfe 'God'	káf 'wait'	-----	gúfs'úsind 'chameleon'	hálfe 'knife'
/s/	súulu 'heat'	tuusú 'family'	k'uus 'bone'	túss 'pillar'	gíska 'ancient'	gársi 'louse'
/z/	zób 'lion'	yízi 'run'	kóiz 'hen'	yizzi 'deep'	gázde 'boundary'	bédze 'out'
/ʃ/	suunú 'grass'	mišit 'seed'	dóotgās 'way'	ʔussú 'cook'	físt 'cough'	mərši 'fat'
/ʒ/	zómār 'ginger'	guuzú 'drink'	fuuz 'strong flue'	č'iizz 'tuber'	-----	gərž 'cat'
/s'/	s'ááh 'vomit'	gis'é 'shoot'	-----	-----	-----	láms' 'leprosy'
/x/	-----	kóxó 'love'	ʔéx 'wet'	-----	šóxsú 'cereals'	ʔórú 'fish'
/ɣ/	-----	zaɣim 'tortoise'		-----	boɣt'ú 'forget'	-----
/χ/	-----	keχim 'dream'	ʔólóχ 'quick'	-----	ʔóllóχya 'slowly'	p'élχənd' 'lightning'
/ɤ/	-----	náɤe 'water'		-----	gəɤč'é 'chin'	-----
/h/	hamzé 'birth place'	géhé 'push'	meh 'money'	-----	-----	-----

Table-4: Fricatives and their distribution

There are ten pulmonic fricative consonants in Dime. The segment **f** appears in every position except as a geminate. The fricative consonants **s**, **z**, **ʃ** are found in every position. The sibilant **ʒ** does not occur in pre-consonantal positions. The other segments such as **x**, **ɣ**, **χ**, **ɤ**, do not occur in every position. The fricative **h** is found initially, medially and in word final position; it lacks a geminate counter-part and it is not found as a member of a cluster.

Sound	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemi- nate	–C	C–
/p'/	p'él't'e 'testicle'	č'up'ú 'squeezed'	-----	-----	-----	gáip'e 'plait'
/s'/	s'imi 'sperm'	gís'i 'hit'	kíis' 'snore'	gás's'e 'vagina'	-----	ʔəks'i 'throat'
/t'/	t'emi 'push'	gúit'-ub 'white'	fásint' 'sepa- rate'	ʔat't'e 'born'	p'él't'e 'testi- cle'	ʔumint' 'arrow'
/č'/	č'ubú 'smoke'	kič'i 'dress'	č'íic' 'cloud'	-----	-----	yinc'i 'laugh'
/k'/	k'aame 'ear'	k'uk'ú 'taste'	-----	lák'k'ub 'small'	mók'du 'brain'	surk'ú 'taste a bit'
/d/ ¹¹	d'ile 'medi- cine'	bid'i 'go'	ʔumind' 'arrow'	-----	-----	p'élχənd'één 'will shine'

Table-5: Glottalised consonants and their distribution

As shown in the above table, **d'**, **p'**, and **č'** do not occur geminated. Moreover, **p'**, **s'**, **č'**, and **d'** cannot form the first element in a consonant cluster. **p'** and **k'** do not occur at word-final position. The most restricted ejective in terms of distribution is **p'**.

¹¹ The consonants **d'** and **t'** occur as free variants in word final position. **d'** occurs in combination with a nasal when in word final position. **č'** and **t'** occur also in combination with other consonants as in, **boyt'in** 'forget', **dubt'u** 'carry', **gəč'e** 'chin', etc. **d'** is reported for the related south Omotic language Aari as a voiced implosive stop (Hayward, 1990:429).

Sound	Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate	–C	C–
/m/	máte 'head'	zímé 'chief'	zélím 'wise'	təmmé 'ten'	dámpe 'tobacco'	básmub 'fearful'
/n/	núkú 'nose'	zúnú 'up'	šúškin 'quiver'	wonnú 'return'	wunt'ú 'work'	?ótníts 'calf'
/ŋ/	-----	biŋé 'spear'	?ééŋ 'high-land'	-----	śiŋsí 'destroy'	-----
/r/	ruú 'wealth'	yíri 'placenta'	zór 'still'	-----	čerti 'emerge'	-----
/l/	lále 'stone'	džala 'friend'	dóótol 'footprint'	džullú 'cheat'	bálte 'forehead'	?otlu 'jump'
/w/	wóɓən 'cattle'	-----	bow 'direction'	gəwwu 'hookworm'	zəwdin 'put on'	-----
/y/	yízi 'run'	yáyi 'wolf'	máy 'pot'	?iyyí 'person'	kuybab 'digger'	-----

Table-6: Nasals, liquids and glides and their distribution

The nasal consonants **m** and **n** are attested in every position of a word. The resonant that is most restricted in terms of distribution is **ŋ**. It appears in only word medial, final and pre-consonantal positions. The consonant phoneme **r** does not occur geminated and it is not attested in post-consonantal position. **l** appears very frequently in initial, medial, final, and in pre-consonantal position. **w** frequently occurs in word initial position and in rare cases in word final position. It has also a geminated form and it is attested in pre-consonantal position. **y** occurs in all positions except post-consonantal. The glides **w** and **y** occur geminated as in **gəwwu** 'hookworm' and **?iyyí** 'person'. Both do not occur in post-consonantal position. It seems that there is a restriction on the vowels that occur after **y** and **w**. The glide **w** is followed only by back and central vowels, while the glide **y** is followed by front and central vowels.

65. **wóɓən** 'cattle' **yilé** 'land'
 wóšu 'paddle' **yááy** 'you (sg)'
 wučim 'dry' **yekké** 'equal'
 wade 'please'

2.1.4 Consonant phonemes and their allophones

If one phoneme is realized by two or more different phones, these phones are called allophones. The choice of an allophone is governed by phonological rules. This section deals with the consonant phonemes and the distribution of allophones.

66. /p/ [p^h] voiceless aspirated bilabial stop word initially. E.g. [p^hólú] 'make a vow'

- [ɸ] voiceless bilabial fricative occurs post-vocally e.g., [góɸù] ‘ribs’, [baluɸ] ‘other’
- [p] voiceless bilabial stop occurs elsewhere (i.e., after nasal and where geminated, e.g., [dámpu] ‘tobacco’, [gúppú] ‘fall down’, [dippi] ‘all’)
67. /b/ [β] voiced, bilabial, fricative. It occurs post-vocally, e.g., [báβi] ‘father’, [k’ámuβ] ‘bad’,
- [b] voiced, bilabial stop occurs elsewhere, i.e., word initially and after a nasal. e.g., [bɛɾ] ‘Adam’s apple’, [zimbits] ‘finger nail’
68. /t/ [t^h] voiceless aspirated alveolar stop word initially e.g., [t^həmmɛ] ‘ten’, [t^hɪŋi] ‘go’
- [t] voiceless un-aspirated alveolar stop elsewhere, e.g., [gúntu] ‘rope’, [físt] ‘mucus’
69. /k/ [k^h] voiceless aspirated velar stop word initially, e.g., [k^húc’u] ‘quarrel’
- [k] voiceless un-aspirated velar stop elsewhere [zuuku] ‘bundle imprisonment’, [ʔuuk] ‘change the money’
70. /n/ [ɲ] voiced palatal nasal before palatal sound, e.g., [ʔĩɲĩɲi] ‘remember’, [yĩɲĩ] ‘laugh’
- [n] voiced, alveolar elsewhere, e.g. [niiri] ‘gum’, [gúntu] ‘rope’

h and **ʔ** are in free variation word initially in some lexemes:

71. a. ʔálfe and hálfe ‘knife’
 b. ʔáɾɛ and háɾɛ ‘wood, tree’
 c. ʔááke and hááke ‘to pick up’
 d. ʔaay and haay ‘grass’

However, there are also words, where **ʔ** and **h** are in opposition word initially.

72. a. ʔáɹín ‘to insult’
 b. háɹín ‘behind’

Moreover, there are examples which show free variation between **y** and **h**, and **y** and **ʔ**.

73. a. yízí or hízí ‘to run’
 b. yín or ʔín ‘you (obj)’

2.1.5 Gemination

Gemination is phonemic in Dime. For instance, ʔime ‘breast’ contrasts with ʔimme ‘give’, and túmú ‘deep water’ with túmmú ‘stomach’. However gemination is not

very frequent in Dime. Consonant gemination is possible in intervocalic (medial) position and final position of words. Word initial gemination is not attested. In the following examples we provide further minimal pairs showing the phonemic status of consonant length.

74. [l] vs [ll]

ʔólóχ ‘quick’
ʔóllóχ ‘slowly’

75a. [n] vs [nn]

ʔáne ‘hand’
ʔanne ‘wild fire’

75b. bit’e + i-n binn
leave-PF-3 ‘left’

The geminate **nn** in (75b) is formed due to the perfective and person marker suffix. The final consonant **t’** of the basic verb form changes to geminate **nn** after the suffixation of **-i-n**. Here we observe two points. The first one is the assimilation of **t’** to **n** and word final gemination and the second is vowel deletion between two nasal consonants. More examples on word final gemination are given in (76).

76. [guss̃] ‘find’
[c’iǰǰ̃] ‘tuber’

Thus, gemination is phonologically significant.

2.2 Vowel phonemes

We find the terms close, half-close, half-open, and open useful for the classification of Dime vowels according to height. The following vowel phonemes are recorded for Dime.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ɨ	u
Half-close	e		o
Half-open	ɛ	ə	ɔ
Open		a	

Table-7: The vowel phonemes of Dime

In addition to these vowel phonemes, there are also diphthongs (see section 2.3.). The half-open vowels **ɛ** and **ɔ** tend to be more centralized than their corresponding half-close vowels (i.e., they are closer to schwa in the front/back dimension). Also, the vowels **i**, **e**, **u**, **o** and **a** tend to have the position of the tongue body slightly higher than the corresponding **ɨ**, **ɛ**, (and **ə** vowels. The latter vowels are always short and do not have length opposition. Moreover, they do not occur in an open syllable at the end of words. They need a following consonant.

2.2.1 Description of Dime vowels.

The following are illustrative examples of vowels of Dime:

77. [i], close front vowel. Examples:
ʔitsi 'tooth'
yizi 'run'
78. [ɪ], close central vowel. Examples:
ʔisinci 'remember'
ʔirfi 'moon'
79. [e], Half-close front vowel. Examples:
báále 'market'
deexé 'cook'
80. [ɛ], half open front vowel. Examples:
p'elt'e 'testicles'
meh 'money'
81. [a] open central vowel. Examples:
ʔáfé 'mouth'
wonná 'return'
82. [ə] half-open central vowel. Examples:
bəlté 'luck'
d'al 'flour'
wɔʔən 'cattle'
83. [o] half close back vowel. Examples:
pólú 'made a vow'
kóxó 'love'
84. [ɔ] half-open back vowel. Examples:
wɔʔən 'cattle'
kɔxu 'crow'
85. [u] close back vowel. Examples:
kúlú 'stick'
ʔúrin 'rat'

2.2.2 Contrast of comparable vowel phonemes

The vowels **i**, **e**, **u**, **o** and **a** contrast with **ɪ**, **ɛ**, **ɔ** and **ə**. The following are examples.

86. /a/ contrasts with /ə/
 86a. **məté** 'problem'
máte 'my head'

- 86b. **ʔəχsi** ‘show’
ʔaχsi ‘break’
- 86c. **gərɜ** ‘cat’
garɜi ‘kind of container’
87. /ə/ contrasts with /i/ and /i/
- 87a. **dʔəl** ‘flour’
dʔil ‘medicine’
- 87b. **gibzi** ‘asleep’
gəbzi ‘local beer’
88. /i/ contrasts with /i/
- 88a. **girs̃** ‘porcupine’
girsi ‘recovery of illness’
- 88b. **bĩŋi** ‘spear’
kĩŋi ‘spider’
89. /e/ contrasts with /ɛ/
- kéts** ‘taboo’
kéné ‘dog’
90. /o/ contracts with /ɔ/
- 90a. **gəbe** ‘Basketo person’
gomp ‘back’
- 90b. **wɔɾən** ‘cattle’
wóg ‘custom’
- 90c. **kɔxu** ‘crow’
koku ‘bird species’

As Bender (1986:125) states, in Omotic languages a five vowel system is very common. However, in some Omotic languages including Dime, other vowels exist. For instance, Dizi has a sixth vowel ʌ (Bender 1986), and Hamar has a set of ‘lax’ vowels (Lydall 1976).

2.2.3 Vowel length

Dime has a nine vowel system with the vowels **i**, **e**, **u**, **o**, **a**, two half-open vowels **ɛ** and **ɔ**, and two central vowels **ɨ** and **ə**. Among these, only **i**, **e**, **u**, **o**, **a** have long counterparts. The following are examples of length contrast:

91. /u/ contrasts with /uu/
 a. **gusú** ‘big gourd’
guusú ‘really’
 b. **súulu** ‘heat’
súl ‘dishonest’
92. /i/ contrasts with /ii/
ǵiki ‘to stab’
ǵiiki ‘a kind of locust’
93. /o/ contrasts with /oo/
bóno ‘scar on girls’
bóono ‘to be sufficient’
94. /e/ contrasts with /ee/
géri ‘terrace’
gééri ‘antelope’
95. /a/ contrasts with /aa/
č’áan ‘load’
č’an ‘slap’

2.3 Diphthongs

Dime has falling diphthongs. A diphthong is the combination of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. When the sonantal element comes first, the combination is a falling diphthong (Jones 1929). When the consonantal element comes first it is a rising diphthong. All diphthongs belong to the same phonological syllable. The following examples show the falling diphthongs of Dime.

96. /ai/ [gáit] ‘hoe’
97. /oi/ [ʔámóid] ‘when’
 [koíz] ‘hen’
98. /ei/ [s’éid-ub] ‘short’
99. /ui/ [guít'-ub] ‘white’
 [guidú] ‘monkey’

There are diphthongs that contrast with each other in the same environment:

100. **ǵúis** ‘ask’
ǵóis ‘butter’

2.4 Tone¹²

Tone is the use of pitch in languages to distinguish words. Not all languages use tone to distinguish meaning even though they use intonation to express emphasis, emotion etc. If a language uses tone to distinguish lexical and/or grammatical meaning, tones are as important and essential as consonantal phonemes and they are referred to as tonemes. Most of Omotic languages have either tone or pitch accent. For instance, Benchnon has six contrastive tones (Wedekind 1985b, Rapold 2006).

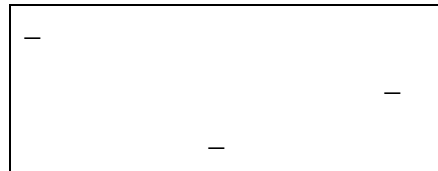
In Dime tone has not been well treated in any of the previous studies. In the present study, we only treat the vital roles played by tone without discussing tone fully. Thus, the tone system in Dime needs further investigation.

Dime has two basic tones, H and L, we represent high tone by (´) and leave low tone unmarked.

The tone-bearing unit is the vowel; there are no tone-bearing consonants or syllabic nasals in the language. Within a syllable a long vowel or a diphthong may bear a contour tone. For instance, in example 102 the adjective **zúub** ‘red’ and the verb **lóok** ‘speak’ the first part of the long vowel carries high tone and the second carries low tone. There are also examples in which the long vowel carries a level high or low tone: **šuum** ‘rest’ and **déen** ‘be, exist’.

Downdrift: A low tone tends to lower the pitch of a following high tone as shown below:

101. **más’in** + **ká** > **más’in-ká** ‘by salt’



As can be seen in the above example, there is a gradual drop in the pitch of High tones from the beginning of the utterance to the end due to the intervening low tone during speech.

2.4.1 Tone patterns in nouns and verbs

In this section we discuss monosyllabic words. All possible combinations of H and L tone occur on monosyllabic words.

¹² Professor Peter Ladefoged checked some of the tone patterns of Dime in his phonetic laboratory presentation when we met in Ethiopia during the International Symposium on Endangered Languages of Ethiopia, 27-30 April 2005. Moreover, many of the ideas concerning Dime tone, velar and uvular consonants, and vowel systems have been discussed with Dr. Klaus Wedekind during his stay in Addis for the same conference and for providing training in phonetics at Addis Ababa University.

102.	Nominals			Verbs		
	H	fĩst	‘common cold’	H	gĩst	‘keep’
	L	gər̥z	‘cat’	L	goft	‘happiness’
	LL	suum	‘relax’	LL	?uuš	‘cock’
	HH	?éeg	‘high-land’	HH	déen	‘present/exist’
	HL	zúub	‘red’	HL	lookk	‘chat’
	HL	gáit	‘hoe’	HL	?úis	‘ask’
	LH	tuú	‘lake’			

There are a few mono-syllabic words. Other examples include the open syllable words **čúú** ‘bottom’, **ná** ‘she’, **nú** ‘he’. Otherwise the Dime lexicon is predominantly disyllabic. The following are examples of tone patterns in disyllabic nouns and verbs.

103.	Nouns			Verbs		
	LH	wontsú	‘answer’	LH	bulú	‘disconnect’
	HH	bĩndĩ	‘ash’	HH	fásint’	‘separate’
	LL	tummu	‘stomach’	LL	šini	‘buy’
	LHH	guúfú	‘navel’	LHH	boólú	‘cursing to kill’
	HHH	dúúrú	‘elephant’	HHH	kóórú	‘plant’
	LLH	k’aamsé	‘hear’	LLH	looχón	‘sweat’
	HL	?áfe	‘eye’	HL	bĩndi	‘create’
	HLH	?áime	‘movement’	HLH	dóistál	‘adjust the grinder’
	HHL	lóosu	‘uvula’	HHL	zíiti	‘hang up’
	HLL	gúit’ub	‘white’	HLL	záap’e	‘lie down’
	LLL	guuru	‘crocodile’	LLL	bolidi	‘forecast’

2.4.2 Tone and lexical distinctions.

Tone in Dime has lexical functions. It is also used to identify affirmative and question constructions. The question constructions always have a high tone.¹³ The following data illustrate the lexical functions of tone in disyllabic words.

104.	HH	?áfe	‘mouth’	N
	HL	?áfe	‘eye’	N
	LH	?áfe	‘displayed’	Adj
	HH	bĩndĩ	‘ashes’	N
	HL	bĩndi	‘create’	V
	LH	bindĩ	‘always’	Adv
	LHH	guúfú	‘navel’	N
	LLH	guufú	‘ribs’	N

¹³ Fleming (1990:539) writes, “without precise understanding of vowel length and tones in Dime, I can still say that Dime questions have suprasegmental tone as marked features, as questions do in English and many other languages. Dime questioning tends strongly towards high pitch and stress on the last syllables of a sentence.”

LH	gufú	‘press with’	V
LH	zulú	‘bone’	N
HHL	zúúlu	‘rain bow’	N

The imperative form of the verb stem is the basic form in the language. By imposing a high tone onto the imperative form the interrogative is formed. This is an example indicating grammatical functions of tone in the language.

- 105a. [šínè] ‘buy!’
 105b. [šíné] ‘is it bought?’
 106a. [zís’í] ‘close!’
 106b. [zís’í] ‘is it closed?’

2.4.3 Tone and affixation

In this section we discuss tone stability and contour tones. Tone stability is observed when a vowel resyllabifies or when a phonological rule deletes a tone-bearing unit (TBU) and the tone remains unaffected and associates with an adjacent TBU. Such stability can not be accounted for if tone is assumed to be an integral part of the phonological segment on which it appears in the phonetic representation.¹⁴ Tone stability shows that tone is an auto-segmental unit. In Dime, when the plural or definite marker is added to the root the terminal vowel is deleted but the tone remains attached to the suffix. Consider the following examples:

107. Root +plural suffix
- | Noun | Suffix | Plural Nouns |
|--------------|------------|---------------------------|
| ʔéhé | -af | [ʔéh-âf] ‘houses’ |
| zimé | -af | [zím-âf] ‘chiefs’ |
| donú | -af | [dòn-âf] ‘potatoes’ |
| gɔbé | -af | [gɔb-âf] ‘Basketo people’ |
| goštú | -af | [gòšt-âf] ‘men’ |
| guuru | -af | [gùùr-âf] ‘crocodile’ |
| kábbe | -af | [kább-âf] ‘maize’ |

As can be seen from the above examples, when the plural morpheme **-af** is suffixed to the noun the terminal vowel of the noun is deleted but the tone of the vowel remains and is attached to the suffix vowel. When the tone of the final vowel is low it is deleted and reduction takes place as in [kább-âf] ‘maize’. The same phenomenon is observed with the definite marker:

¹⁴ There are languages that show tone stability such as Margi a language spoken in Nigeria Kenstowicz (1994:321): **fà + árí = fǎrí** ‘farm’, **ù + árí = tǎrí** ‘mourning’, **hù + árí = hwǎrí** ‘grave’. In this language the definite suffix **-ari**, which has an underlying HL tonal melody, is added to the nominal stems (i.e., **fá**, **tí** and **hù**). However, while one of the vowels is deleted, the tone is not. The tone is stable and creates a contour tone on a single vowel.

108.	Root + definite			
	Noun	Suffix	Definite Noun	
	ʔéhé	-is	[ʔéh-ís]	‘the house’
	zimé	-is	[zìm-ís]	‘the chief’
	guuru	-is	[gùùr-ís]	‘the crocodile’
	kábbe	-is	[kább-ís]	‘the maize’

When the possessive suffix **-kó**, which has an underlying High tone, is added to a nominal stem, the final vowel of the noun is deleted. However, the tone is not deleted and it creates a contour tone on the single vowel of the suffix as in (109a):

109a.	ʔáne	‘hand’	+	kó	‘GEN’	>	[ʔán-kǒ]	‘my hand’
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In fast speech, rising and falling tones also occur due to tone stability and vowel deletion. Examples.

109b.	lále	‘stone’	+	káb	>	[lálkǎb]	‘stony’
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109c.	ʔéhé	‘house’	+	-af	>	[ʔéh-áf]	‘houses’
-------	-------------	---------	---	------------	---	-----------------	----------

2.5 Syllable structure

A syllable that contains a consonant in the coda is called a closed syllable, while a syllable that does not contain a consonant in the coda is called an open syllable. Dime has both open and closed syllables. According to Clements and Keyser (1983:29), languages of the world may have any one of the following inventories of canonical syllable types.

110. Type I: CV
 Type II: CV, V
 Type III: CV, CVC
 Type IV: CV, V, CVC, VC

Among the above types, Dime can be considered as a type III language. However, it has some more syllable types: CVVC and CVCC. Goldsmith (1990:113) argues that languages frequently divide syllables into heavy and light syllables. Moreover, in word final position a super-heavy syllable may appear in a language, which consists of what looks like a heavy syllable plus an extra consonant (cf. McCarthy 1982:11 and Goldsmith 1990). These types of syllables are present in Dime and are presented in examples (111 e and f).

In Dime a sequence of consonants occurs only in word medial and final positions. The number of consonants in a sequence is just two consonants. In syllables, the onset can not be more than one consonant while the coda can be occupied by two consonants. The nucleus of the syllable can be a short or long vowel. The possible syllable types of Dime are:

111a.	CV	
	ná	‘she’
	nú	‘he’

- 111b. CVC
káf ‘wait’
lág ‘friend’
- 111c. CVV
čúú ‘bottom’
loo.mú ‘lemon’
- 111d. CVVC
neey ‘hunger’
zúub ‘red’
- 111e. CVCC
guŋŋ ‘nail’
físt ‘mucus’
gər̥z ‘cat’
- 111f. CVVCC
lookk ‘chat’
c’iŋŋz ‘tuber’

2.5.1 Onset

Any consonant, except the consonants, x , η , κ , χ , can be an onset of a syllable in Dime. Even though these consonants are not attested as an onset of a syllable, they can be a coda of a syllable. A word initial syllable must have an onset. Where there are no other consonants, the onset position is filled by the glottal stop, $ʔ$.

2.5.2 Coda

The coda of a closed syllable in Dime can be any consonant except the consonants $ʔ$ and κ . These consonants are not attested in coda position. The coda of a syllable can be zero as in **ná** ‘she’, or it may have one or a cluster of two consonants. The cluster may consist of two different consonants or a geminate consonant as shown below:

112. **goft** ‘happiness’
c’iŋŋz ‘tuber’
k’əstin ‘two’

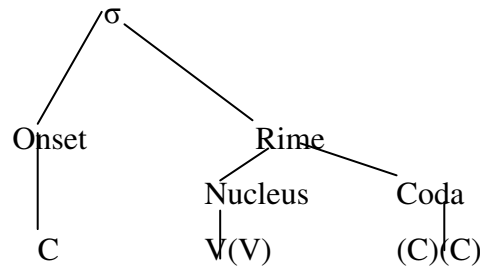
2.5.3 Nucleus

The nucleus in Dime can be a long or short vowel or a diphthong. The possible nuclei are as follows:

113. **bále** ‘charcoal’
hááke ‘pick up’
gáit ‘hoe’

The syllable structure in Dime can thus be represented as:

114.



2.6 Clusters of consonants

The maximum number of consonants in a cluster is two in Dime. The following three points need to be mentioned in connection to consonant sequences in Dime:

- 115a. There are no word-initial consonant sequences
- 115b. Word-final sequences of at most two consonants, of which the sonority of the first is equal to or greater than the second, including final geminate consonants. For example **tíšt** ‘sneeze’, **tálk** ‘borrow’, **šáánk** ‘floor’, **túss** ‘pillar’.¹⁵
- 115c. Word medial sequences of at most two consonants, including cases with long consonants counted as two consonants. The sonority of consonant sequence can be rising or falling in medial position. No restrictions on sequence of consonants in word medial clusters have been observed. Examples: **dámpe** ‘tobacco’, **bášmub** ‘fearful’, **gázde** ‘boundary’, **bedze** ‘out’

When consonant clusters occur word medially, the first consonant of a cluster manifests the coda of the preceding syllable, and the second consonant manifests the onset of the immediately following syllable.

2.7 Reduplication

Reduplication is a very frequent phenomenon in Dime. Some of the consonant segments, such as velar fricatives, glides, and affricates (i.e., **ts**) are not used in partial reduplication.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 116. | sítsá | si-sítsá | *sitsatsa |
| | morning | RDP-morning | |
| | ‘morning’ | ‘every morning’ | |

¹⁵ For Giegerich (1992:132), the sonority of a sound is its relative loudness compared to other sounds, everything else (pitch, etc.) being equal. Speech sounds can be ranked in terms of their relative sonority: voiceless oral stops have minimal sonority while low vowels have the highest degree of sonority of all speech sounds. All other sounds are ranked in between these two extreme points of the sonority scale.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| 117. | deis
kill
'kill' | de-deis-déé-n
RDP-kill-IPF-3/2
'is killing' | *deyeysid-e-n |
| 118. | náχe
sleep
'sleep' | ná-náχ-téé-n
RDP-sleep-IPF-3/2
'(he)is sleeping' | *naχe χt-e-n |
| 119 | looyón
sweat
'sweat' | lo-loy-déé-n
RDP-sweet-IPF-3/2
'(he)is sweating' | * loyəyən |

The second syllable can also be reduplicated as in (120) and (121).

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|--|---|----------------|
| 120. | yízi
run
'run' | nú
3MS | yízi-z-í
run-RDP-OPT
'let him run' | *yíyízi |
| 121. | wuč'u,
drink
'drink' | wuč'-ič'-i-n
drink-RDP-PF-3/2
'drank' | *wuwuč'ič'-i-n | |

As can be seen from the above examples the initial CV is reduplicated in (116-119) while the final is reduplicated in (120 and 121). The words with the symbol (*) are unacceptable. In most cases reduplication seems to take place to the left of the root but whenever the glide sounds occur in word initial position, the position of reduplication changes to the right as in (120) and (121) above. Reduplication of the segments **ts**, **y** and **χ** has not been recorded in the language. Since these do not occur in word initial position, we could not see their impact on the positions of reduplication as we observed in glides. The initial consonant segment is reduplicated when **ts**, **y** or **χ** appears as a second segment in a word as in (116) above. If **ts**, **y** or **χ** occur as a second consonant segment, and when they are preceded by a glide consonant in C1 position, the entire word is reduplicated as in (122). Reduplication of **ts**, **y** and **χ** is avoided.

Examples:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| 122. | ʔaté | č'iy-ó | gɔyó | woχim woχim-déé-t |
| | 1S.SUBJ | cave-LOC | inside | RDP-enter-IPF-1 |
| | 'I am entering to the cave' | | | |

With the exceptions discussed above consonants can be reduplicated either in word initial or word final position. If both the first and the second consonant segments in a word are potentially reduplicable, the initial segment is more susceptible for partial reduplication. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 123. | ká~in | ká-ká~tée-n |
| | remove-INF | RDP-remove-IPF-3/2 |
| | 'to remove branch' | 'is removing the branch' |

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 124. | gíme
tell
'tell' | gí-gím-dée-n
RDP-tell-IPF-3/2
'(he) is telling' |
| 125. | šini
buy
'buy' | ši-šin-dée-n
RDP-buy-IPF-3/2
'is buying' |
| 126. | məté
suffer
'suffer' | mə-mət-ée-n
RDP-suffer-IPF-3/2
'is suffering' |

The consonants **k**, **g**, **š**, **s**, **z**, **l** and **m** are all reduplicable. Only the initial segment is reduplicated when any two or more of these segments occur in the same word, as in the examples in (123-126).

As mentioned earlier, reduplication is attested in different word categories of the language.

2.8 Phonological processes

2.8.1 Spirantization

Stops are spirantized after vowels; whereas spirantization is blocked through gemination (cf. see section 2.1.4). Even though the application of this process varies from speaker to speaker, the spirantization of bilabial stops after vowels is a common phenomenon. The segments **p** and **b** are the basic forms since spirantization is blocked due to gemination. The followings are examples:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 127. | /p, b / > [ɸ, β] / v- or -v | |
| | /yapé/ > [yaɸe] | 'sky' |
| | /?in-kabow/ > [ʔin-kaβow] | 'towards you' |
| | /liɣub/ > [liɣuβ] | 'clean' |
| 128. | /guppu/ > [guppu] | 'fell down' |
| | /kábbe/ > [kábbe] | 'maize' |

2.8.2 Distant voicing

A voiced consonant causes a fricative of the next syllable to be voiced, as shown below:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|---|--------------|---------------|
| 129. | /?ák-af/
tree-PL | > | /?ák-aβ] | 'trees' |
| 130. | /giččo-b + is/
big-M + DEF | > | [giččo-β-iz] | 'the big one' |
| 131. | /?ámz-is/
woman-DEF | > | [?ámz-iz] | 'the woman' |

As can be seen from the above examples the voicing process is triggered by **ɣ**, **z**, and **b**. The voicing assimilation takes place at a distance since there is a vocalic element (**a** or **i**) in between the consonants.

2.8.3 Homorganic nasal assimilation

This process of assimilation is regressive assimilation in place of assimilation of the nasal to the following consonant. The nasal sound assimilates to the following palatal sound /č/ and /dʒ/ as in (132) and (133).

132. /ʃšinčĩ/ > [ʃšinčĩ] ‘remember’
 133. /ʔandʒ -is/ > [ʔandʒ-iʒ] ‘blessing’
 thank-DEF

Another interesting phenomenon is the change of the glottalized sound **tʼ** to **n** in the formation of the perfective form. It is a regressive assimilation after vowel deletion. It only happens to **tʼ** but not to **t**.

134. **bitʼe** ‘leave’ + **in** > **bitʼ-ín** > **bitʼn** > **binn** ‘he left’

2.8.4 Glottalization

Stop consonants following ejective sounds are glottalized. For instance, **t** changes to **tʼ** following **čʼ**. In addition to this glottal assimilation, stop consonants are glottalized following the velar nasal, e.g. **k** changes to **kʼ** following **ŋ**.

- 135a. **wučʼi** ‘drink’ + **dée** ‘IPF’ > **wučʼ-tʼéen** ‘(he) will drink’
 135b. **yáaye** **wúyím** **wučʼ-wučʼ-tʼée**
 2S.SUBJ what RDP-drink-IPF
 ‘What are you drinking?’
 135c. **ʔaté** **úŋ-kʼáy**
 1S.SUBJ go-NEG
 ‘I do not go’

It is a bit strange that **k** changes to **kʼ** following **ŋ** because **ŋ** is not an ejective/glottalized sound.

2.8.5 Truncation of glottal stop in initial syllables

Due to compound formation segments are deleted at word boundary. Specifically, when the second word starts with a glottal stop and the onset of the preceding syllable (of the first word) is also a glottal stop. The following are examples:

- 136a. **ʔa-** ‘my’ + **ʔiind** ‘mother’ > **ʔaínd** ‘my mother’
 136b. **baʔá** ‘take’ + **ʔádi** ‘come’ > **baʔád** ‘bring’

In the combined word **ʔaínd** ‘my mother’ the morpheme **ʔiind** ‘mother’ is reduced to **-índ**.

As shown in the above examples a sequence of CV segments involving the glottal stop undergo deletion during compounding.

2.8.6 Epenthesis

Kenstowicz (1994) states that without the notion of syllable, it is difficult to understand why languages should have rules to insert vowels out of nowhere into quite specific points in phonological strings. By making use of the syllable, this is explained: the vowels are inserted to syllabify unparsed consonants.

Epenthesis is a common phenomenon in Ethiopian languages such as in Amharic (Hudson 2000, Mulugeta 2001, 2003). An epenthetic vowel **i** is inserted in Dime where a cluster of CCC arises due to affixation, cliticization or reduplication. The nature of the epenthetic vowel in every position of words is based on the cluster rule of the language.

If three consonants occur at word initial position, the epenthesis is between the first two consonants because a consonant cluster or geminate consonant is not permitted word initially. Since a sequence of two consonants is permitted at word medial and final position, the epenthesis is either between the first and the second or between the second and the third consonant.

For instance, between the word **goft** ‘happiness’ and **bábe** ‘father’ there is an epenthetic vowel **i** as in the examples below:

- 137a. **goft** ‘happiness’ + **bábe** ‘father’ **goft-i-bábe** ‘happy’
 137b. **gíst** ‘keep’ + **k’áy** ‘not’ **gíst-i-k’áy** ‘not keep’

Another strategy to avoid CCC clusters is to drop the final consonant, e.g.

138. **?axs-tée-n** > **?axs-ée-n** ‘he breaks’

2.8.7 Deletion

The terminal vowels in the root are deleted when a vowel-initial morpheme is suffixed to a root.

- 139a. **/zimé-af/** > **/zimâf/**
 chief-PL ‘chiefs’
 139b. **/guuru-af/** > **/guuraf/**
 crocodile-PL ‘crocodiles’
 140. **/zimé-is/** > **/zim-ís/**
 chief-DEF ‘the chief’

As can be seen from the above examples, when suffixes are added to the root the terminal vowel is deleted but the tone remains attached to either the plural or definite suffix. In some cases when the final vowel of the stem has a morphological function it is not deleted during the suffixation process, but instead the initial vowel of the suffix is deleted, as in (141).

141. **ʔéhé** ‘house’ + **-ó** = **ʔéh-ó** + **is** > **ʔéh-ó-s** ‘in the house’, where the final vowel **-ó** has a locative function.

2.8.8 Glide insertion

When the copula **-ée** is suffixed to the pronouns **nú** ‘he’, **ná** ‘she’, a glide is inserted as in (142a) and (142b) to avoid a sequence of more than two vowels.

- 142a. **nú-y-ée** ‘It is him’

- 142b. **ná-y-ée** ‘It is her’

Similarly, if the copula is followed by a morpheme beginning with a vowel, the glide is inserted.

- 142c. **yá wúdúr-ée** → **yá wúdúr-ée-y-áá**
 2S.SUBJ girl-COP 2S.SUBJ girl-COP-y-Q
 ‘You are a girl’ ‘Are you a girl?’

Glide insertion does not occur when the copula is suffixed to a noun which ends in consonant due to the deletion of the final vowel as in (143a) and (143b).

- 143a. **nú gošt-ée** ‘He is a boy’

- 143b. **ná wúdúr-ée** ‘She is a girl’

2.8.9 Allomorphs of the imperfective marker

Due to consonant co-occurrence restriction, voicing and devoicing, and palatal assimilation processes the imperfective marker **-déé** has variant forms.

- 144a. **-déé**
 144b. **-téé (devoicing)**
 144c. **-t’ée/d’ée** (glottalization)
 144d. **-ée** (consonant deletion)

Examples in (145a-d) demonstrate the above four variant forms of the imperfective aspect marker respectively.

- 145a. **ʔaté ʔád-déé-t** ‘I will come/I come’
 145b. **nú deis-téé-n** ‘he kills’
 145c. **nú náʔe wuč’-t’ée-n/-d’ée-n** ‘he drinks water’
 145d. **nú ʔáʒs-ée-n** ‘he breaks’

The initial consonant of the imperfective suffix **déé** becomes voiceless due to the preceding voiceless consonant (145b). The consonant of the suffix may be omitted due to impermissible sequence of consonants (145d). The language doesn’t allow a sequence of more than two consonants. Thus, if **déé** is preceded by two consonants the imperfective suffix either drops the initial consonant or uses an epenthetic vowel **i**.

The phonological conditions which determine these allomorphs are governed by the following rules: the voiced consonant **/d/** becomes voiceless **/t/** following a voiceless consonant; the voiced **/d/** becomes **/dʰ/** following the ejective palatal sound or it becomes a voiceless sound **/tʰ/** following a voiceless ejective sound. Since the language permits only a sequence of two consonants, the initial sound of the imperfective marker **/d/** become zero following two consonants, or the epenthetic sound **i** is inserted.

3 Nouns and nominal categories

3.1 Basic form of nouns

Most nouns end in vowels. There are, however, some nouns which end in consonants. Thus nouns in Dime can be classified into vowel final (V-final) and consonant final (C-final) nouns (cf. also Fleming 1990:516-18). The nouns that end in vowels consist of two components: the root and a terminal vowel. The terminal vowels are **i**, **e** and **u**. With some nouns, e.g. those in (1), terminal vowel **i** may be replaced by **u** or **e** without causing change of meaning¹⁶.

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|-------------|
| 1. | ʔáfi / ʔáfu | ‘eye’ |
| | ʔáɪ / ʔáɪu | ‘tree/wood’ |
| | k’áámi / k’áámu | ‘leaf’ |
| | náɪ / náɛ | ‘water’ |
| | ʔéhi / ʔéhé | ‘house’ |

However, the alternation may not work for every word; for instance, it is possible to say **náɛ** or **náɪ** ‘water’ but not **náɪu**. The same is true for **ʔéhi** ‘house’ and **gááɪ** ‘forest’ which may alternatively be pronounced as **ʔéhé** ‘house’ and **gááɛ**. The terminal vowels **e**, **i** and **u** are often deleted when a vocalic morpheme is added to the noun.

It is noted that nouns ending with the vowels **i/e** are common in the **Us’a** dialect, whereas in the Gerfa dialect nouns with **u**-ending are much common (cf. the list of words in chapter one indicating the lexical variation between the two dialects).

There are also vocalic morphemes such as locative **-ó**, interrogative **-áá**, and possessive **-é**; the different morphological status of these vowels, vis-à-vis the terminal vowels, is indicated by placing morpheme boundaries before them. The base-noun and terminal vowels are not separated by a morpheme boundary. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------|
| 2. | dóóttú | ‘leg’ |
| | dóótt-áá | ‘is it a leg?’ |
| | dóótt-ó | ‘under the leg’ |
| 3. | ʔáf i | ‘eye’ |
| | ʔáf -áá | ‘is it an eye?’ |
| | ʔáf -ó | ‘in the eye’ |

The following are examples of nouns that end in consonants:

¹⁶ Fleming (1990:500) also mentioned that his informant is capable of rendering a noun with a final [u] or [e] freely, **u** and **e** are contrastive phonemes.

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 4. | k'uus | 'bone' |
| | bángil | 'jaw' |
| | búud | 'heart' |
| | gómp | 'back' |
| | dóóm | 'foot print/heel' |
| | bóχ | 'knee' |
| | šáánk | 'floor' |
| | níts | 'child' |
| | k'iz | 'trap' |
| | dolind | 'beetle' |
| | wugir or mule | 'rhinoceros' |

The following sections deal with the inflectional morphology of nouns. In these sections definiteness, gender, number, and case are treated.

3.2 Definiteness

The term definite is used to refer to a specific, identifiable entity (or class of entities); it is usually contrasted with indefiniteness (Crystal 2003). The indefinite reference is not morphologically marked in the Dime language. Definiteness is marked morphologically by **-is**. The terminal vowels are replaced by the vowel of the definite marker **-is** as in the following nouns.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 5. | ʔéhé | 'a house' |
| | ʔéh-is | 'the house' |
| 6. | níts | 'a child' |
| | níts-is | 'the child' |
| 7. | ʔiyyi | 'a person' |
| | ʔiyy-is | 'the person' |
| 8. | yeri | 'a donkey' |
| | yer-is | 'the donkey' |
| 9. | goštú | 'a male one' |
| | gošt-is | 'the male one' |
| 10a. | ʔámzi | 'a woman' |
| | ʔámz-is | 'the woman' |
| 10b. | ʔámzi | gúdúm-ind-is 'the tall woman' |
| | woman | tall-F-DEF |
| | gúdúm-ub | gošt-is 'the tall man' |
| | tall-M | man-DEF |

As can be seen from example (10b), in the presence of a modifier element in a noun phrase the definite marker is suffixed to the modifier.

The definite marker **-is** may optionally be changed to **-iz** when following voiced consonants. Examples:

11. [ʔéh-**is**] ‘the house’
 [ɡášš-**is**] ‘the road’
 [ʔámz-**iz**] ‘the woman’
 [zúùb-**iz**] ‘the red one’

Generally, definiteness is marked at the end of the noun. With the exception of the accusative marker **-im**, other grammatical morphemes precede it.

- 12a. ʔéh-**áf-is** ‘the houses’
 dər-**áf-is** ‘the goats’
 12b. ʔaté guur-**af-is-im** deis-**i-t**
 1S.SUBJ crocodile-PL-DEF-ACC kill-PF-1
 ‘I killed the crocodiles’

Definiteness is optional when the noun is modified by demonstratives. For instance, if somebody asks by saying, “Who touched this gourd?” the response can be either with or without the definite marker on the head noun, (13a) and (13b) respectively.

- 13a. si-nú ʔiyyî yîd-i-n mæng-**ís-m**
 this(M) person touch-PF-3 gourd-DEF-ACC
 ‘This man touched the gourd’
 13b. si-nú ʔiyy-**ís** yîd-i-n mæng-**ís-m**
 this (M) man-DEF touch-PF-3 gourd-DEF-ACC
 ‘This man touched the gourd’

3.3 Gender

In the present section we examine gender marking in nouns, by showing morphological as well as lexical means of distinguishing gender. We also discuss periphrastic expressions of gender and how gender marking is manifested in non-verbal predicative constructions. Gender in pronouns is discussed in Section 4.1.1. We first present a brief overview of the gender system.

The gender system in Dime distinguishes masculine and feminine. The markers occur in various modifying categories: in nominal modifiers, pronominal, and relative verbs but not on the noun. Like in most Omotic languages, gender is generally semantically motivated: in nouns referring to entities that make sex distinction, gender is assigned according to their inherent gender. That is, words like ‘man’ and ‘woman’ have masculine and feminine gender respectively. Most inanimate nouns are masculine by default. However, sometimes inanimate nouns may take feminine marker in order to express smallness of the referent. With few exceptions (see below), reference to inanimate nouns is made using the pronouns **nú** ‘he’ or **sinú** ‘this (M)’ rather than **ná** ‘she’ or **siná** ‘this (F)’. Examples:

14. **nú ʔáre gúdúm-ub dán**
 he tree tall-M COP
 ‘It is a tall tree’
15. **sinú lále s’án-ub dán**
 this (M) stone black-M COP
 ‘It is a black stone.’

There are a few inanimate words that have inherent gender that is not masculine but feminine. These are the words for ‘moon’ and ‘sun’ (see also Bender, 1991: 103). Examples:

16. **ʔírf-ís mǔlmǔl-ind**
 moon-DEFround-F
 ‘The moon is round’
17. **ʔíy-ís giččo-nd**
 sun-DEF big-F
 ‘The sun is big’

Bender (1991) following Fleming (1976) notes that “sun” is ambiguous and its modifier takes either feminine or masculine marker. However, we observed that both **ʔírfi** ‘moon’ and **ʔíyi** ‘sun’ in Dime are feminine by adjectival concord. No ambiguity is observed as informants reject the construction when the modifier is marked by a masculine gender.

18. ***ʔírfi mǔlmǔl-ub**
 moon round-M
 Intended meaning: ‘The moon is round’
19. ***ʔíy-ís giččo-b**
 sun-DEF big-M
 Intended meaning: ‘The sun is big’

Some words referring to entities that have natural sex have different lexical forms for feminine and masculine. Examples:

- 20a. **ʔámze** woman’
 20b. **goštú** ‘man’
 20c. **ʔaṇsé** ‘female lamb (goat/sheep)’ (equivalent to **k’eb** in Amharic)
 20d. **s’úmpu** ‘male lamb (goat/sheep)’ (equivalent to **t’äbbot** in Amharic)

To indicate the gender of a person among many persons, the numeral **wókkil** ‘one’ which singles out such a referent is marked for gender. Examples:

21. **wó-kó-de wókkil-ub-is**
 1PL-GEN-ABL one-M-DEF
 ‘One of us (M)’

22. **wó-kó-de** **wókkil-ind-is**
 1PL-GEN-ABL one-F-DEF
 ‘One of us (F)’

In summary, with large animate nouns gender agreement is generally semantic. The same holds for gender marking in pronouns and demonstratives as will be discussed in detail in the respective sections below. Inanimate nouns have masculine gender agreement by default. In nouns gender is not marked but it is marked on noun modifiers. Masculine gender is marked by the suffix **-ub** while feminine gender is designated by the suffix **-ind**. The masculine gender marker **-ab/ub** resembles **bábe** ‘father’ and the feminine gender marker **-ind** is very similar to **?inde** ‘mother’. There are instances of word formation which are similar to these gender markers.

There are some morphemes which are formally similar to the gender affixes but denote a different meaning. For instance, **níts-ind** ‘the mother of a child’ is a combination of two nouns (**níts+?ind**). The word **níts-ob** means ‘something from one’s childhood.’ Examples:

23. **kuraz-ko** **?indiid-is** **níts-ind**
 kuraze-GEN wife-DEF child-mother
 ‘The wife of Kuraze is the mother of Kuraze’s child.’
24. **šiftay-ko** **šif-is** **?een** **níts-ob**
 shiftaye-GEN shoes-DEF early childhood
 ‘The shoes of Shiftaye are from his childhood.’

Gender marking in the relative clause is treated in section 7.1.6. Gender in pronouns and demonstratives is discussed in section 4.1.1 and section 4.2, respectively. The following table provides a summary of the gender marking morphemes in Dime.

No	word class	Gender marker		Examples
		M	F	
1.	Pronouns	-u	-a	nú ‘he’; ná ‘she’
2.	Demonstratives	-u	-a	sinú ‘this (M)”; siná ‘this (F)’
3.	Adjectives	-ub	-ind	gúdúm-ind-is ?ámzi tall-F-DEF woman ‘The tall woman’ gúdúm-ub-is ?áxi tall-M-DEF tree ‘The tall tree’
4.	Relative clauses	-ub	-ind	kén-is ?ád-ind-is dog-DEF come-F-DEF ‘The dog which (F) came’ kén-is ?ád-ib-is dog-DEF come-M-DEF ‘The dog which (M) came’

Table-1 Gender marking

3.4 Number

Nouns and noun phrases make singular and plural distinction. Singular is morphologically unmarked; plural is marked by the suffix **-af**. That a head noun is plural can be also inferred from the morpheme **-id** which is suffixed to modifiers of plural nouns. Generally, **-af** is suffixed to the noun base, preceding the definite marker **-is** and/or case marking morphemes. Examples:

- 25a. **ʔéh-áf-is** ‘the houses’
house-PL-DEF
- 25b. **dər-áf-is** ‘the goats’
goat-PL-DEF
- 25c. **guur-af-is** ‘the crocodiles’
crocodile-PL-DEF

The plural marker **-id** is suffixed only to modifiers as in (26-28). It can be considered as plural agreement morpheme as shown below. Plural agreement replaces gender agreement: The word **giččo** becomes **giččo-nd** or **giččo-b** suffixing **-ind** or **ub** to indicate feminine or masculine gender, respectively. When modifying a plural noun, however, the same adjective is **giččo-d** (< **giččo** + **-id**) to indicate agreement to the plural head noun.

26. **s’us’-id kén-af**
many-PL dog-PL
‘many dogs’
27. **məkkim giččo-d ʔámz-af ʔád-i-n**
three big-PL woman-PL come-PF-3
‘Three big women came’
28. **k’əstin í-línt’-id wúdúr-af-is yígim-yígim-dée-n**
two RDP-beautiful-PL girl-PL-DEF RDP-play-IPF-3
‘The two beautiful girls are playing.’

3.5 Case

Dime has at least six morphologically distinct case marking morphemes. These are: accusative **-im**, dative **-in**, genitive **-ko**, locative **-se** and **-o**, instrumental **-ká**, ablative **-de**. Nominative case is unmarked. As Creissels (2000) stated “Among the languages that have case marking systems distinguishing the subject from the object, the most common type, both worldwide and at the level of African continent, is that in which the subject is unmarked for case, whereas the object takes a particular case form, called accusative”. Dime is part of this widely attested typological type. Case can be categorized into two different levels. The first one is “core case” which includes nominative, accusative and dative case. The second level, peripheral case, includes instrumental, genitive, locative, and ablative cases. Core cases express syntactic relation, while peripheral cases express semantic relations (Blake 1995:33).

In Section 3.5.1. and 3.5.2. respectively, we discuss the core cases, i.e. nominative, accusative and the marking of the dative case. In Sections 3.5.3.-3.5.6. the second-level (semantic) case roles are discussed.

3.5.1 Nominative and accusative cases

Dime is a nominative-accusative language. Except for the nominative case, the other cases in this language are morphologically marked. For instance, in examples (29) and (30), the subject **kéné** is not morphologically marked for case.

29. **kéné** **ʔéft-im** **deis-i-n**
 dog bird-ACC kill-PF-3
 ‘A dog killed a bird’
30. **ʔéft-im** **kéné** **deis-i-n**
 bird-ACC dog kill-PF-3
 ‘A dog killed a bird’

In intransitive clauses also nominative case is not morphologically marked as in example (31).

31. **kéné** **ʔéh-ó** **yíz-i-n**
 dog house-LOC run-PF-3
 ‘A dog ran home.’

The accusative case identifies object nouns; it is marked by **-im**. It is suffixed to the patient or affected constituent of two argument verbs. This is in line with what accusative markers do in related languages. It is marked both in definite and indefinite nouns as comparison of (32a) and (33a) with (32b) and (33b), illustrates.

- 32a. **šiftaye** **zit-ím** **šin-i-n**
 shiftaye ox-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye bought an ox’
- 32b. **šiftaye** **zit-ís-im** **šin-i-n**
 shiftaye ox-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye bought the ox’
- 33a. **šiftaye** **zítí** **s’án-ub-im** **šin-i-n**
 shiftaye ox black-M-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye bought a black ox’
- 33b. **šiftaye** **zítí** **s’án-ub-is-im** **šin-i-n**
 shiftaye ox black-M-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye bought the black ox’

As examples (32a) to (33b) demonstrate the accusative marker occurs phrase finally. If there is no modifier, the accusative marker is suffixed to the noun.

In example (33a-b) we see that the case marker is affixed to the modifier if the latter is the last element of the phrase. If instead, the word order of NP is modifier-head, **-im** is attached to the noun as in example (34).

34. **šiftaye s'an-ub zit-is-im šin-i-n**
 shiftaye black-M ox-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
 'Shiftaye bought the ox'

It is observed that the accusative can be marked two or more times in a sentence as in (35) and (36), where it is marked both on the modifier and the head noun.

35. **nááʁe ʔád-ib-is-im gošt-is-im nú yéf-i-n**
 yesterday come-M-DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC 3SM.SUBJ see-PF-3
 'He saw the man who came yesterday'
36. **ʔaté níts-is-im deis-ib-is-im ʔiyy-is-im yéf-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ child-DEF-ACC kill-M-DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC saw-PF-1
 'I saw the man who killed the child'

Earlier we made the observation that case marking is phrasal marking. Accusative may be marked on all noun phrase constituents (35 and 36), but if it is only marked once, it will be on the final one.

Depending on the nature of the verb, we may find two object noun phrases in a sentence, both marked for the accusative case. For instance, with three-place verbs such as **ʔim-** 'give', both the object noun and the recipient are marked with **-im** as in (37a) and (37b). This is especially common when the recipient is designated by a pronoun. (See also §3.5.2. on the Dative case)

- 37a. **ʔatí kón-im mes'af-im ʔim-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ 3FS-ACC book-ACC give-PF-1
 'I gave her a book'
- 37b. **nú kón-(im) t'él-im ʔim-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-ACC medicine-ACC give-PF-3
 'He gave her medicine.'

The accusative case is also suffixed to interrogative pronouns in Dime. For instance, the interrogative pronouns **wúyú** 'what', **ʔáyi** 'who' have the accusative form **wúy-ím** 'what', **ʔáy-ím** 'whom'. The following are examples:

38. **ʔáyi wúy-ím wunt'**
 who what-ACC do-PF:Q
 'Who did what?'
39. **ʔáyi ʔáy-im deis-tée**
 who who-ACC kill-IPF:Q
 'Who kills whom?'

Largely, in Ethiopian languages, direct object case affixes are differential according to the definite-indefinite distinction but this does not seem to be the case in Dime.

When accusative is marked on a definite noun the definite marker always precedes the case marker (cf. 35-36).

Definiteness can also be marked both on the head noun and its modifier. Example.

40. **šiftaye zit-ís s'án-ub-is-im šin-i-n**
 shiftaye ox-DEF black-M-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
 'Shiftaye bought the balck ox'

With the exception of the inclusive marker **-k**, case markers tend to occur at the final position of the noun phrase. The inclusive occurs after the accusative case marker as in examples (41).

41. **šiftaye zim-áf-is-im-k deis-i-n**
 shiftaye chief-PL-DEF-ACC-too kill-PF-3
 'Shiftaye killed the chiefs too.'

When two conjoined object nouns occur in a sentence both nouns must be marked for case as in 42.

42. **?até níts-is-im-ká wúdúr-is-im-ká yef-í-t**
 1S.SUBJ child-DEF-ACC-CNJ girl-DEF-ACC-CNJ see-PF-1
 'I saw the boy and the girl'

For the analysis of the morpheme **-im** as a nominalizing morpheme see section 3.6.3. Case marking in pronouns and demonstratives is treated under section (4.4).

3.5.2 The dative

The dative in Dime is marked with **-in**. In three place verbs, the patient/affected (direct) object complement is marked by the accusative which is discussed in the previous section. The second complement representing the recipient or goal noun is marked by the dative. The patient or the recipient argument can be omitted if it can be understood from the context. Examples:

43. **šiftaye zim-ís-in gím-i-n**
 shiftaye chief-DEF-DAT answer-PF-3
 'Shiftaye answer to the chief '
44. **šiftaye zim-ís-in-k gím-i-n**
 shiftaye chief-DEF-DAT-too answer-PF-3
 'Shiftaye answered to the chief too'

The following are some examples of verbs which take a dative:

45. **?ími** 'give'
 gímí 'tell/answer'
 ?exsi 'show'
 šini 'buy/sell'

The sentential examples in (46-51) illustrate that in case marking in clauses that are headed by the verbs in (45), the dative is used to mark the semantic roles recipient and beneficiary.

46. **šiftaye maikro-n mes'áf-im řim-i-n**
 Shiftaye Maikro-DAT book-ACC give-PF-3
 'Shiftaye gave a book to Maikro.'
47. **šiftaye maikro-n řuis-im ġim-i-n**
 Shiftaye Maikro-DAT question-ACC answer-PF-3
 'Shiftaye answered a question to Maikro.'
48. **nú yíf-id-in yeřnám-im řeřs-i-n**
 3SM guest-PL-DAT farm-ACC show-PF-3
 'He showed the farm to the guests'
49. **nú yíf-id-af-in¹⁷ yeřnám-im řeřs-i-n**
 3SM guest-PL-PL-DAT farm-ACC show-PF-3
 'He showed the farm to the guests'
50. **nú yer-ín řay-im bařá řád-i-n**
 3SM donkey-DAT grass-ACC bring come-PF-3
 'He brought grass for the donkey'
51. **yá řamz-in mes'af-is-im řin-i-n**
 2S.SUBJ woman- DAT book-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
 'You bought the book for a woman'

3.5.3 The genitive/possessive

The genitive / possessive relation between nouns can be marked in various ways: by a genitive suffix or by juxtaposition with deletion of the final vowel of the possessed noun: compare the (a) and (b) examples in (52-53). There is no semantic difference between these structures.

- 52a. **zób-ko dóóttu deř-ub**
 lion-GEN leg strong-M
 'A lion's leg is strong'
- 52b. **zób dóót deř-ub**
 lion leg strong-M
 'A lion's leg is strong'
- 53a. **kó-ko řáne s'ėid-ub**
 her-GEN hand short-M
 'Her hand is short.'

¹⁷ Surprisingly the plural marker for modifiers is used in **yif-id** 'guest' as in (48), and an additional nominal plural suffix **-af** can be used with no difference in meaning as in (49). This is a peculiarity of the lexeme **yif-** 'guest'.

- 53b. **kó ʔáne s'ei d-ub**
 her hand short-M
 'Her hand is short.'

It is also possible to use the genitive marker more than once in the same extended noun phrase construction as in example (54) and (55).

54. **zim-kó ʔindiid-is-ko máte**
 chief's-GEN wife-DEF-GEN head
 'the chief's wife's head'
55. **ʔis-ko mát-ko bände zú-ub**
 1S.OBJ-GEN head-GEN hair red-M
 'My head's hair is red.'

For more information on genitive case in pronouns, see section (4.1.3).

3.5.4 The instrumental and comitative

An instrumental case encodes the instrument with which an action is carried out (Blake 1994). In Dime the instrumental case is marked by **-ká**.

56. **ʔaté ʔár-im fíbz-is-ká k'árs'-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ tree-ACC axe-DEF-INST cut-PF-1
 'I cut a tree with the axe'
57. **maikro gáit-ká kuy-á don-ím kór-i-n**
 maikro hoe-INST dig-CNV1 potato-ACC plant-PF-3
 'Maikro planted a potato digging (the earth) with a hoe.'

The morpheme **-ká** is also used to express comitative case. Consider the following example:

58. **nú kí-ko míc-ká ʔéh-ó fíŋ-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN sister-COM home-LOC go-PF-3
 'He went home with his sister.'

If the morpheme **-ká** is used in a sentence that combines the functions of coordination and the other functions discussed above we get multiple **-kás**. As we discuss in section (3.5.5) the morpheme **-ká** expresses conjunction, comitative and instrumental. The conjunction **-ká** is suffixed to each coordinated constituent, while the instrumental and the comitative morpheme **-ká** is used only once in a single phrase. Sometimes it can also be suffixed to each noun. To identify the instrumental and the comitative **-ká** we distinguish them in the gloss. In example (59) **-ká** in **ʔaté yin-ká** 'I with you' is the comitative; in the same sentence there are two **-kás** in **kóxs-im-ká-ká** 'with love and ...', the first **-ká** in this coordinated noun phrase is the comitative **-ká**, while the second **-ká** is the conjunction marking **-ká**.

59. **ʔaté yín-ká kóx-is-im-ká-ká ʔĩsinč-ká dá-tub**
 1S.SUBJ you-COM love-ACC-COM-CNJ think-CNJ live-FUT
 ‘I will live with you with love and devotion.’

We discuss in detail about the conjunction/coordinator **-ká** in the following section in addition to its usage of marking comitative and instrumental constructions.

3.5.5 Conjunction/coordinator **-ka**¹⁸

Dime has a morpheme **-ká** which expresses conjunction/co-ordination, comitative, and instrumental relation (60-62). There is also a morpheme **-yi** which is occasionally used as an alternative form of the conjunction morpheme **-ká** (see ex 70a-b). In the present discussion we focus on the morpheme **-ká** which occurs very frequently in the language. The usage of the morpheme **-ká** in Dime is highly varied; other than the three functions mentioned above, **-ká** is also used in directional adverbials (see Section 6.4.3). The following examples demonstrate the three main uses of **-ká**.

60. **taddese-ká maikro-ká ʔéh-ó bin-n**
 taddese-CNJ makiro-CNJ house-LOC go:PF-3
 ‘Taddese and Maikro went home.’
61. **šiftaye kǐ-ʔind-ká ʔéh-ó ʔiŋ-i-n**
 shiftaye 3SM-mother-COM house-LOC go-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye went home with his mother.’
62. **šiftaye kált-ká ʔák-im das-i-n**
 shiftaye axe-INST wood-ACC cut-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye cut the wood with an axe.’

In (60) the morpheme **-ká** is suffixed to each coordinated noun: e.g., **taddese-ká maikro-ká** ‘Taddese and Maikro’. On the other hand, if **-ká** is used only once the meaning is different. For instance, **-ká** in **šiftaye kǐ-ʔind-ká** ‘Shiftaye with his mother’ in (61) expresses only the comitative. Similarly, in example (62) **-ká** is used only once but here it functions as instrumental because the noun it is attached to is inanimate and thus excludes a comitative reading. A comitative reading is only possible with animate nouns; example (63) is ungrammatical.

63. ***šiftaye kǐ-ko tebiz-ká bál-ó ʔiŋ-i-n**
 shiftaye 3MS.OBJ-GEN axe-COM market-LOC go-PF-3
 Intended meaning ∴ ‘Shiftaye went to market with his axe.’

Example (64) is a further example of the instrumental/ comitative function with an inanimate noun. Structurally, there is no difference between comitative and instrumental roles.

¹⁸ A similar morpheme **-ka** is used for coordination in some Ethiopian languages, e.g. in Konso (Mous to appear).

64. **zerse sól-im koiz-ká žits-i-n**
 zerse enjera-ACC chicken-INST eat-PF-3
 ‘Zerse ate enjera with chicken (sauce).’

Like with nouns the morpheme **-ká** can be used to coordinate adjectives. Compare the following examples where the coordination and instrumental functions contrast:

65. **zú-ub-ká s’án-ub-ká**
 red-M-CNJ black-M-CNJ.
 ‘red and black’
66. **zú-ub s’án-ub-ká**
 red-M black-M-INST
 ‘red with black’
67. **žiy-ís k’əlemi s’án-ub-is-im zú-ub-is-ká žikkims-i-n**
 man-DEF colour black-M-DEF-ACC red-M-DEF-INST mix-PF-3
 ‘The man mixed the black colour with the red one.’

When multiple nouns are coordinated, **-ká** is suffixed to each of the nouns as in (68):

68. **žis-ká yín-ká kó-ká kî-ká náŕ-im**
 1S.OBJ-CNJ 2S.OBJ-CNJ 3SF.OBJ-CNJ 3SM.OBJ-CNJ water-ACC
wuč’-i-t
 drink-PF-1
 ‘I, you, she, and he drank water.’

Multiple instances of **-ká** in the same sentence may represent two or more different functions, e.g., comitative and conjunction as in the following examples:

- 69a. **žaté yín-ká koxs-im-ká-ká žišinč-ká da-tub**
 I you-COM love-NMZ-COM-CNJ interest-CNJ live-FUT
 ‘I will live with you with love and devotion.’
- 69b. **žatí kî-ká-ká kó-ká-ká wunt’-ée-t**
 1S.SUBJ 3MS-COM -CNJ 3FS:OBJ-COM-CNJ work-IPF-1
 ‘I work with him and with her.’
- 69c. **taddese maikro-ká-ká šiftaye-ká-ká wunt’-ée-n**
 taddese maikro-COM-CNJ shiftaye-COM-CNJ work-IPF-3
 ‘Taddese works with Maikro and with Shiftaye.’

The following example illustrates conjunction with the morpheme **-yî** as an alternative form to the conjunction function of **-ká**.

- 70a. **žatí kî-ká-yî kó-ká-yî wunt’-ée-t**
 1S.SUBJ 3MS-COM-CNJ 3SF.OBJ-COM-CNJ work-IPF-1
 ‘I work with him and with her.’

- 70b. **ʔatí** **kó-ko-yí** **kó-ko** **k'obs-is-ko-yí** **gím-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ 3FS-GEN-CNJ 3FS-GEN boss-DEF-GEN-CNJ speak-PF-1
 'I reported to her and to her boss.'

The morpheme **-ká** is suffixed only to an object pronoun form. Even when the pronoun with **-ká** is used as subject NP, the form containing subject pronoun plus **-ká** is not acceptable as in (71b) and (72b):

- 71a. **kó-ká** **kí-ká** **wókkil-im** **yígm-dée-n**
 3FS:OBJ-CNJ 3MS.OBJ-CNJ one-NMZ /ACC play-IPF-3
 'She and he are playing together.'
- 71b. ***ná-ká** **nú-ká** **wókkil-im** **yígm-dée-n**
 3FS.SUBJ-CNJ 3MS.SUBJ-CNJ together-NMZ/ACC play-IPF-3
 Intended: 'She and he are playing together.'
- 72a. **ʔis-ká** **yín-ká** **kó-ká** **kí-ká**
 1S.OBJ-CNJ 2S-CNJ 3SF.OBJ-CNJ 3S.M.OBJ-CNJ

náw-im **wuč'-i-t**
 water-ACC drink-PF-1
 'I, you, she, and he drank water.'
- 72b. ***ʔatí-ká** **yá-ká** **ná-ká** **nú-ká**
 1S.SUBJ-CNJ 2S.SUBJ-CNJ 3SF.SUBJ-CNJ 3SM.SUBJ-CNJ

náw-im **wuč'-it**
 water-ACC drink-PF-1
 Intended meaning: 'I, you, she, and he drank water.'

The morpheme **-ká** cannot be used to coordinate verbs. Verbs are coordinated by the converb marker **-ándé** as in (73a) and (73b).

- 73a. **kété** **ʔád-ándé** **gím-i-n**
 3PL.SUBJ come-CNV2 speak-PF-3
 'They came and spoke.' [literally "Having come, they spoke."]
- 73b **nú** **ʔits-ándé** **náxt'-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ eat-CNV2 sleep-PF-3
 'He ate and slept.'

In summary, the same morpheme **-ká** is used to express conjunction, comitative, and instrumental relations. Stassen (2000) points out that many of the world's languages use the same marker for expressing conjunction ('A and B') and comitative ('A with B') relations. He refers to such languages as 'with-languages'. He argues that the identity of their shape may be due to a very common semantic-syntactic change from comitative marker to conjunction coordinator.

The morpheme **-ik** 'too' or 'also' is suffixed to nouns or conditional elements at word final position. The following are some examples:

- 74a. **ʔis-ko-m-ik** **kí-ko-m-ik**
 1S:OBJ-GEN-ACC-too 3SM:OBJ-GEN-ACC-too
 ‘Me, and him too’
- 74b. **ʃiftaye zim-áf-is-im-k** **deis-i-n**
 shiftaye cheif-PL-DEF-ACC-too kill-PF-3
 ‘Shiftay killed the chiefs too.’

3.5.6 The locative

In this section we discuss case morphemes and other independent words which are used for the expression of location. There are two locative case markers which are suffixed to nouns. These are the suffixes **-se** ‘on’ and **-o** ‘in’. Examples:

75. **məŋ-ís** **t’ərəp’ez-is-se** **dáh-i-n**
 gourd-DEF table-DEF-LOC stay-PF-3
 ‘The gourd is on the table.’
76. **níts-is** **ʔéh-ó** **dán**
 child-DEF house-LOC COP
 ‘The child is in the house’ (cf. citation form **ʔéhé** ‘house’)
77. **nú** **mir-ó** **ʔótl-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ river-LOC jump-PF-3
 ‘He jumped into the river.’

Moreover, to express more specific location the locative noun can be followed by **lisin** ‘on top/surface of’, **gəy-ó** ‘in the interior of’. The examples in (75-77) contrast with those in (78-80):

78. **məŋ-ís** **t’ərəp’ez-is-se** **lisin** **dáh-i-n**
 gourd-DEF table-DEF-LOC on live-PF-3
 ‘The gourd is on (surface) the table.’
79. **níts-is** **ʔéh-ó** **gəy-ó** **dán**
 child-DEF house-LOC inside-LOC COP
 ‘The child is inside the house’ (cf. citation form: **ʔéhé** ‘house’)
80. **lál-is** **mir-ó** **gəy-ó** **dán**
 stone-DEF river-LOC inside-LOC COP
 ‘The stone is in the river.’

The noun preceding the words **lisin** ‘on top/surface of’ and **gəy-ó** ‘inside/interior of’ must always be marked for the locative case by one of the suffixes **-ó** or **-se**. Otherwise, **lisin** ‘on top/surface of’ and **gəy-ó** ‘inside/interior of’ cannot be used by themselves to express location. Thus, example (81) is unacceptable because **lisin** is preceded by the noun **t’ərəp’ez-is** ‘the table’, without it being marked with the locative case.

81. *məŋ-ís t'ərəp'ez-is lisin dáh-i-n
 gourd-DEF table-DEF on stay-PF-3
 Intended meaning: 'The gourd is on the table.'

The form **gəy-ó** ends in **ó**, which looks like the locative case marker **-ó**. There is a similar word **baf-ó** 'near' that has the same ending. The question is whether these words are morphologically complex forms containing a locative (nominal) base and the locative suffix **-ó**. There are no lexical forms such as ***gəy** or **baf**, or related lexical forms ending with any of the terminal vowels, e.g.,: ***gəye**, ***gəyi** or ***gəyu**. However, there are other words which are used in exactly the same way as **gəy-ó** and **baf-ó**, which have corresponding citation form nouns (examples 82). These include **dóótt-ó** 'under', **gomp-ó** 'behind' and **mátt-ó** 'above/over' and their respective nominal counterparts are: **dóóttu** 'leg', **gomp** 'back' and **máte** 'head'. Because of this, we consider the final vowel in **gəy-ó** and **baf-ó** 'near' as a locative case marker.

82. wúdúr-is ʔák-is-ó dóótt-ó dáh-i-n
 girl-DEF tree-DEF-LOC leg-LOC sit-PF-3
 'The girl sat under the tree.'

The noun preceding **gəy-ó**, **baf-ó**, **dóótt-ó**, **mátt-ó**, etc., can also take the genitive case.

83. kúl-ís kí-ko dóót-ko dóótt-ó
 stick-DEF 3SM-POS leg-GEN under
 'The stick is under his leg.'
84. kén-is ʔéh-ís-ko ʔáátim wuyy-á dáh-á diš-téé-n
 dog-DEF house-GEN far stand-CNV1 stay-CNV1 bark-IPF-3
 'The dog is barking far from the house.'
85. níts-is náɤ-ko baf-ó wuyy-á yŋ-déé-n
 child-DEF river-GEN near-LOC stand-CNV1 look-IPF-3
 'The child stands near the river and he is looking at the water.'
86. níts-is náɤ-ko ʔáátim dáh-á ʔél-déé-n
 child-DEF river-GEN far stay-CNV1 call-IPF-3
 'The child is far from the river and he is calling out.'

The following table represents summary of the locative phrases:

locative plus locational noun	Example	Based on
-ó + gəy-ó	t'ərəp'ez-is-ó gəy-ó 'in the table'	gəy-ó 'inside'
-se + lisin	t'ərəp'ez-se lisin 'on the table'	lisin 'top'
-ko + dóótt-ó	may-is-ko dóótt-ó 'under the pot'	dóóttu 'leg'
-ko + baf-ó	t'ərəp'ez-ko baf-ó 'near the table'	baf-ó 'near'
-ko-de + ʔáátim	t'ərəp'ez-ko-de ʔáátim 'far from the table'	ʔáátim 'far'

Table-5 Locative case and locational noun in Dime

3.5.7 The ablative

The ablative case is marked by the suffix **-de**. It expresses source, e.g. ‘from’ or ‘out of’. In most cases the ablative case marker follows a genitive or locative stem (see section 4.1.3, table-5). Examples (87-91) illustrate that the ablative case is formed on the basis of a locative form.

87. **ná kîn-ze-de ?ád-i-n**
3SF.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-LOC-ABL come-PF-3
‘She came from his place.’
88. **dim-ko ?ámze ?ed-is-se-de yĩč-á ?ád-i-n**
dime-GEN woman mountain-DEF-LOC-ABL descend-CNV1 come-PF-3
‘A Dime woman came down from the top of the mountain’
89. **nú ?ed-is-se-de ?ád-i-n**
3SM.SUBJ. mountain-DEF-LOC-ABL come-PF-3
‘He came from the top of the mountain.’
90. **nák-is ?ed-is-ó-de ?ád-i-n**
water-DEF mountain-DEF-LOC-ABL come-PF-3
‘The water came from inside the mountain.’
91. **nú mēh-im wón-ze-de tálk’-i-n**
3SM.SUBJ money-ACC 1PL: OBJ-LOC-ABL borrow-PF-3
‘He borrowed money from us’

The ablative case morpheme can alternatively be suffixed to the directive particle as in example (92-95) instead of being attached to the source nouns as in the examples in (87-91).

92. **šiftaye taddese-ká bow-de ?ēh-ó ?ád-i-n**
shiftaye taddesse-COM DIR-ABL house-LOC come-PF-3
‘Shiftaye came out from Taddesse’s home.’
93. **gún-ís taddese-ká bow-de ?ád-i-n**
snake-DEF taddesse-COM DIR-ABL come-PF-3
‘The snake came out from Taddesse’s house.’
94. **šiftaye taddese-ká bow-de bin-n¹⁹**
shiftaye taddesse-COM DIR-ABL leave:PF-3
‘Shiftaye left from Taddesse’s place.’
95. **ná kî-ká bow-de ?ád-i-n**
3SF.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-COM DIR-ABL come-PF-3
‘She came from his place.’

The morpheme **bow-** may have developed from a noun. The sequence Noun-**ká-**

¹⁹ The basic verb form **bit’e** changes to **binn** when the perfective morpheme **-i** followed by the person marker **-n** is suffixed to it, i.e. **bit’e + in > binn**.

bow (Noun-comitative/instrumental-directional) expresses direction towards the N (e.g. **taddese** in 96a). However, if the ablative marker is added to such a construction, i.e., Noun-**ká-bow-de**, it expresses direction away from the Noun (as in **taddese** in 96b).

- 96a. **šiftaye taddese-ká-bow ūŋ-i-n**
 shiftaye taddese-COM-DIR go-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye went towards Taddese.’
- 96b. **šiftaye taddese-ká-bow-de ?ád-i-n**
 shiftaye taddese-COM-DIR-ABL come-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye came from the place where Taddese is found.’

In some cases of inherently locative nouns such as place names, the ablative is suffixed to nouns directly without a preceding locative case marker. For instance, in examples (97) and (98) we have **gazer-de** ‘Gazer, a place name in south west Ethiopia’, **džinka-de** ‘Jinka, a town in south west Ethiopia’ without any interference of another element between the ablative case and the noun.

97. **?até bunú liŋ-ub gazer-de šin-ée-t**
 1S.SUBJ coffee good-M gazer-ABL buy-IPF-1
 ‘I bought a good coffee from Gazer’
98. **taddese džinka-de kúrum bá-?ád²⁰-dée-n**
 taddese jinka-ABL honey bring-IPF-3
 ‘Taddese will bring honey from Jinka’

The ablative case marking in pronouns is treated under section (4.1.3).

The following table represents summary of case marking morphemes.

case type	Case marker	Example	Translation
Nominative	unmarked	šiftaye yil-im yaŋn dán	Shiftaye is a farmer
Accusative	-im	šiftaye yil-im yaŋn dán	Shiftaye is a farmer
Dative	-in	yer-ín	for a donkey
Ablative	-de	ké-se-de, ké-ko-de	from them
Genitive/possessive	-ko	?ámz-is-ko dóótu	the woman’s leg
Locative	-se and -ó	t’ərbəz-is-se/t’ərbəz-is-ó	on the table
Instrumental	-ká	?até ?ák-is-im ūbz-is-ká	I cut a tree with the axe

Table-7: Summary of case marking morphemes in Dime

The ablative, dative, comitative and instrumental cases are also directly suffixed to interrogative pronouns as in example (99-101).

²⁰ The word **bá?ád** is a combination of two words **bá?a** ‘take’ and **?ádi** ‘come’.

99. **ʔámz-is ʔamó-de**
 woman-DEF where-ABL:Q
 ‘Where is the woman from?’
100. **yá ʔáy-in mäs’af-is-im ʔím**
 2S.SUBJ who-DAT book-DEF-ACC gave:Q
 ‘To whom did you give the book?’
101. **ʔáy-ká déén nú ʔíts-int’**
 who-INST was it eat-PASV:Q
 ‘By whom was it eaten?’

3.6 Derived nominals

In this section we deal with derivation of nouns. Agentive, abstract and infinitive nominals are derived by adding the morphemes **-bab**, **-im**, and **-in** respectively to verbal or adjective base. Moreover, the cognate object nouns are also derived from their corresponding verb root by adding the above morpheme **-im**. Below, each of these is discussed in turn.

3.6.1 Agentive nouns

The morpheme **-bab** is suffixed to verb roots to derive agentive nouns. Such derived agentive nouns refer to the agent of the action indicated by the verb. The morpheme **-bab** seems to have originated from the noun **babe** ‘father’²¹. The following are examples:

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 102. | Root | | derived agentive |
| | yíz- | ‘run’ | yíz-báb ‘runner’ |
| | wunt’- | ‘work’ | wunt’-báb ‘worker’ |
| | šém- | ‘beg’ | šém-báb ‘beggar’ |
| | džék- | ‘sew’ | džék-báb ‘sewer’ |
| | kóx | ‘love’ | kóx-báb ‘lover’ |

The (a) and (b) examples below illustrate the base verb and the use of the derived noun.

- 103a. **nú ʔólóχ yíz-dée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ quick run-IPF-3
 ‘He will run quickly’
- 103b. **nú ʔahó-b yíz-báb dán**
 3SM.SUBJ good-M run-AGEN COP
 ‘He is a good runner’

²¹ In Sheko, a member of the Dizoid branch of Omotic, the word **baaba** ‘father’ is used in a similar way: e.g., **unk’u** ‘steal’ **unk’u -baab** ‘thief’ (Hellenthal p.c).

- 104a. **šiftaye sól-im šém-dée-n**
 shiftaye enjera-ACC beg-IPF-3
 ‘Shiftaye begs enjera’
- 104b. **šiftaye šém-báb dán**
 shiftaye beg-AGEN COP
 ‘Shiftaye is a beggar’

3.6.2 Infinitives

The infinitive is formed by suffixing the morpheme **-in** to the verb root (see also Fleming, 1990:565).

Base form / imperative	Derived infinitives	
yíz-	yíz-in	to run
ʔád-	ʔád-in	to come
wuč’-	wuč’-in	to drink
ʔuuš-	ʔuuš-in	to cook
ʔits-	ʔits-in	to eat
s’ááh-	s’ááh-in	to vomit
kúb-	kúb-in	to carry

Table-2: Base form and Infinitive form of verbs

The infinitive occurs as object complement of verbs in both affirmative and negative constructions. Examples:

- 105a. **ʔatí ʔád-in k’ay-dée-t**
 1S.SUBJ come-INF want-IPF-1
 ‘I want to come’
- 105b. **ʔád-in k’ay-dée-t**
 come-INF want-IPF-1
 ‘I/we want to come’
- 106a. **ʔaté yín-im gís’-in k’ay-dée-t**
 1S.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC beat-INF want-IPF-1
 ‘I want to beat you’
- 106b. **nú yín-im gís’-in ʔád-dée-t**
 3SM.SUBJ. 2S.OBJ-ACC beat-INF come-IPF-3
 ‘He comes to beat you.’
107. **bay-is ʔits-in ʔahó-b**
 food-DEF eat-INF good-M
 ‘The food is good to eat.’
108. **zim-ís ʔád-in k’ay-káy**
 chief-DEF come-INF want-NEG
 ‘The chief doesn’t want to come.’

There are also a few examples of infinitives with the morpheme **-ta**. But this morpheme is not productively used.

109. **kété yín-im yîŋ-tá bin-n kaf-tée-n**
 3PL.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC see-INF go:PF-3 wait-IPF-3
 ‘They are waiting to see you.’

3.6.3 **-im** nominalization

In Dime **-im** is used as a nominalizer morpheme which is suffixed to adjectives to derive abstract nouns and sometimes to verb roots to derive verbal nominals.

First we will discuss the use of the morpheme **-im** to derive abstract nouns from adjectives and second its use to derive cognate object nouns from their corresponding verbs. The following examples illustrate nouns derived from adjectives.

110. **ʔák-is-ko giččó-b-is-im ság-in gá-gám-dée-n**
 tree-DEF-GEN big-M-DEF-NMZ cut-INF RDP:difficult-IPF-3
 ‘The bigness of the tree makes it difficult to cut it.’
 (Adj = **giččó-b** ‘big’)
111. **duúr-is-ko giččó-b-is-im ʔéh-is-se-de**
 elephant-DEF-GEN big-M-DEF-NMZ house-DEF-LOC-ABL
kol-dée-n
 high-IPF-3
 ‘The bigness of the elephant is more than that of the house’
 (Adj = **giččó-b** ‘big’)
112. **kín-m ʔáfál-is-ko s’án-ub-is-im t’um-is-ká**
 3SM.OBJ-ACC cloth-DEF-GEN black-M-DEF-NMZ dark-DEF-COM
yekkí wón-i-n
 equal be-PF-3
 ‘The blackness of his cloth makes him (look) darker’
 (Adj = **s’ánu-b** ‘black’)
113. **šánk-is-ko č’ək’k’-ub-is-im ʔahó-b dán**
 field-DEF-GEN small-M-DEF-NMZ good-M COP
 ‘The smallness of the field is good.’
 (Adj = **č’ək’k’u-b** ‘small’)

From the above examples (110-113) we observe two problems. First, if we consider **-im** as a nominalizer, it is strange that the definite marker precedes the nominalizer. If it is not a nominalizer the second option is to analyse **-im** as the accusative case marker **-im**. However, this second hypothesis is also problematic. That is, the **-im**-marked nominals occur in subject position (cf. 110-113). For now, we choose to analyse **-im** as a nominalizer morpheme which derives abstract nouns from adjectives. The use of such derived abstract nouns in context can be observed

in texts (1 :012, 013; text7: 005). For instance, the word **wókkil** ‘one’ is changed to **wókkil-im** ‘unity’. Just like in Amharic, where **?and** ‘one’ becomes **?and-+nnät** ‘unity’; the adjectives **k’äyy** ‘red’ becomes **k’äyy-+nnät** ‘redness’, and **dägg** ‘kind’ **dägg+nnät** ‘kindness’, by suffixing **-+nnät**.

The morpheme **-im** can also be added to verbs to derive cognate nouns. No other affix intervenes between these two.

114. Root derived nouns
 yígi - ‘play’ **yíg-im** ‘game’
 ŷits - ‘eat’ **ŷits-im** ‘food’

The derived form is then used in sentences as cognate object to its related verb. For instance, by suffixing the morpheme **-im** to the verbs **ŷitsi** ‘eat’, **yígi** ‘play’, **zági** ‘dance’ their corresponding cognate object forms **ŷits-im** ‘food’, **yíg-im** ‘game’ and **zág-im** ‘dancing/dance’ are derived.

115. **nú** **ŷits-im** **ŷits-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ food-NMZ eat-PF-3
 ‘He ate food’
116. **nú** **káx-im** **káx-si-n**
 3SM.SUBJ dream-NMZ dream-PF-3
 ‘He dreamed a dream’
117. **nú** **zág-im** **zá-zág-dée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ dance- NMZ RDP:dance-IPF-3
 ‘He is dancing a dance’
118. **kéŷi** **yíg-im** **yígim-déen**
 3PL.SUBJ game- NMZ play-IPF-3
 ‘They play a game’

The derived cognate object can be used both as subject and object. Its use in the object position is illustrated in the examples in (115-118). The following example illustrates its use as subject:

119. **ŷits-im-is** **ŷits-int’-i-n**
 eat-NMZ-DEF eat-PAS-PF-3
 ‘The food was eaten’

The fact that the cognate object is used as subject as in (119) and that an additional accusative **-im** is needed to form the accusative of a cognate object noun as in (120) justifies the analysis that **-im** has a nominalizing role.

120. **kéŷi** **yíg-im-is-im** **gír-gír-i-n**
 3PL.SUBJ game- NMZ -DEF-ACC RDP:hate-IPF-3
 ‘They hate the game’

In example (119) the noun is nominative, not overtly marked for case. In (120) the morpheme **-im** occurs twice: once preceding the definite marker and once following

the definite marker. In its first occurrence it nominalizes the verb. In its second occurrence it indicates that the derived nominal functions as object. In example (121) which is extracted from (Text 4: 005), **laχ-im-is-im** ‘corpse/dead body’ is derived from **laχt’i** ‘die’.

121. **yək-af** **məkkim** **ʔad-á** **wókkil-is** **láχ-im-is-im**
 sister-PL three come-CNV1 one-DEF corpse-NMZ-DEF-ACC
k’əsin-sub-is **níts-is-im** **məkkim-sub-is** **gon-is-im**
 second-ORD-DEF child-DEF-ACC third-ORD-DEF hive-DEF-ACC
 ‘Three of his sister’s children come and then the first, the second and the third son carry the corpse, the child of the chief and the hive, respectively.’

It is not possible at this point to satisfactorily defend the analysis of **-im** only as an accusative case marker, or as a nominalizer or as a morpheme that simultaneously serves to mark accusative case and to derive nominals from verbs and adjectives. Each of these possible analyses has a problem. We therefore leave this question open as a topic that needs further investigation.

3.7 Compound nouns

A compound is a complex word that consists of two or more lexemes. Dime allows the following types of compounds:

122. word class componenets compounds
 ADV+N **lizin** ‘fast’ + **níts** ‘child’ **lizin-níts** ‘thunder storm’
 V+V **baʔa** ‘take’ + **ʔadé** ‘come’ **ba-ʔad** ‘bring’
 N+N **ʔafe** ‘eye’ + **náke** ‘water’ **ʔafnák** ‘tears’
 ʔafe ‘eye’ + **níts** ‘child’ **ʔafníts** ‘eye nucleus’

The N+N compounds in (122) look very similar to genitive phrases which can be formed through juxtaposition of two simple nominals or alternatively through suffixation of **-ko** on the possessed nominal. In the present analysis, the forms in (122) are considered compounds because **-ko** cannot intervene between the two components. There are however, expressions such as those in (123) which formally look like the compounds we have shown before but may not be fully lexicized because their first component can take **-ko**.

123. N+N **ʔáne** ‘hand’ + **gúš** ‘finger’ **ʔán-gúš** / **ʔán-ko gúš** ‘finger’
 N+N **dóóttu** ‘leg’ + **gúš** ‘finger’ **dóót-gúš** / **dóót-ko gúš** ‘toe’

There are also compound words which are formed by combining interrogative pronouns, conjunctions and some other word classes. Such kinds of compounds often contain more than two forms:

124. **wúy-dó-lóok** ‘something’
wúyú ‘what’
dót ‘if’
look ‘thing’

124. **wúyím- dót-ik** ‘anything’
wúyím ‘what’
dót ‘if’
-ik ‘too’
125. **?ámó-dót-ik** ‘anywhere’
?ámó ‘where’
dót ‘if’
-ik ‘too’

4 Pronouns

In this chapter we discuss personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. We will show that third person pronouns are the source of gender and number markers on demonstratives.

4.1 Personal pronouns

There are two separate sets of subject and object personal pronouns in Dime. In each set, both person and number are distinguished. For the third person singular, a further distinction in gender is made. In this section we also discuss dative and genitive/possessive personal pronouns. The base forms of the dative, possessive and ablative pronouns correspond formally to that of object pronouns. In contrast, the base form of subject pronouns is different from all other pronouns. This formal correspondence between object pronouns and dative, possessive and ablative pronouns is indicated by including OBJ (object) when glossing the latter group of pronouns, e.g. **kí-n** ‘for him’ is glossed as 3SM.OBJ-DAT.

4.1.1 Subject and object pronouns

Subject personal pronouns are independent and, except for the third person singular forms which show vowel alternation according to gender, they are morphologically simple. Object pronouns are different from these in that they comprise two to three morphemes: the base form of the pronoun, an additional **-n-** element (see below for discussion) and the accusative case marker **-im** which is also used for marking accusative case on nouns. There are seven subject and object pronouns. These are listed in the following table.

	Subject		Object	
1S	ʔaté	‘I’	ʔis-im	‘me’
2S	yáay/yáye	‘you’	yín-im	‘you’
3SM	nú	‘he’	kín-im	‘him’
3SF	ná	‘she’	kón-im	‘her’
1PL	wótú	‘we’	wón-im	‘us’
2PL	yesé	‘you’	yen-im	‘you’
3PL	kété	‘they’	kén-im	‘them’

Table-1: Subject and object personal pronouns in Dime

In table 1, we observe that some of the base forms of subject and object pronouns are formally related but not identical. That is, the initial syllables of the plural object and subject pronouns are similar, as is the second person singular subject and object pronoun. In contrast, the base forms of third person singular feminine and third person singular masculine subject and object pronouns are completely different: **ná** ‘she’ and **kó-** in **kón-im** ‘her’. Similarly, the subject form of 3MS is **nú** ‘he’ while in the corresponding object pronoun **kín-im** ‘him’ we find the base form **kí-**. The object pronouns cannot occur independently but they require a case marker, while sub-

ject pronouns are not marked for case. We notice also from the above table that the first person subject and object pronoun forms **?até** and **?is-** are not identical. Their similarity is based on the initial segment **?**. The vowel and the second consonantal segment are different.

The Dime pronouns are similar in some respects to pronouns of other south Omotic languages, such as Aari and Hamar. However, there are also some differences among the languages with respect to their pronouns. For instance, as reported by Hayward (1990), Daniel (1994), the initial pronominal of object and subject pronouns in Aari are similar to the object and subject pronouns of Dime. The object form of the 3MS in Aari is **ki-m** and 3FS is **ko-m** whereas the corresponding 3MS and 3FS subject pronouns are: **na** ‘he’ and **no** ‘she’, just as in Dime. In both Aari and Dime, the direct object (accusative) marker is **(-im)**. However there is a difference between Dime and Aari with regard to the affixation of **(-im)**. In the pronoun paradigm of Dime the accusative marker **-im** is not directly suffixed to the object pronoun but rather it is preceded by an **-n-** element. This seems peculiar to Dime, which we discuss more fully in section 4.4. In Hamar there is no independent form for subject pronouns; the distinction between subject and object pronouns is marked by nominative and accusative suffixes **-si** and **-na**, respectively (cf. Moges, 2005: 117).

As can be observed from table 1, gender is distinct only in the third person singular pronouns; in the other pronouns it is not distinguished. In third person singular subject pronouns, masculine and feminine gender is marked by the suffixes **-ú** and **-á** respectively (i.e., **nú** ‘he’ and **ná** ‘she’). The masculine and feminine gender markers **-ub** and **-ind** are not used. The corresponding third person singular masculine and feminine object pronouns are distinguished as **kí-** and **kó-** respectively. The following examples illustrate the use of subject and object pronouns:

- 1a. **?atí** **don-ím** **déχ-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ potato-ACC cook-PF-1
 ‘I cooked the potato.’
- 1b. **ná** **?is-im** **yéf-i-n**
 3SF.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-ACC see-PF-1
 ‘She saw me.’
- 2a. **wótú** **wuuf** **?ád-in** **k’ay-dée-t**
 1PL.SUBJ all come-INF want-IPF-1
 ‘We all want to come.’
- 2b. **ná** **wón-im** **k’is’-im** **k’óm-i-t**
 3SF.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-ACC bread-ACC make-PF-3
 ‘She made us bread.’
- 3a. **nú** **wuč’-wuč’-dée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ RDP-drink-IPF-3
 ‘He is drinking.’

- 3b. **wótú** **kín-im** **yéf-i-t**
 1PL.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-ACC see-PF-1
 ‘We saw him.’

In examples (2b, 3b) we have an **n** element before the accusative case marker. Analytic problems related to **n** intervening between the object pronoun base and the accusative case marker are discussed in section 4.4. For our purpose here, this specific form is not transliterated. Instead, **n** is represented as part of the pronoun. A formally similar dative case marking morpheme **-(i)n** on the other hand is transliterated as DAT.

The second person singular subject pronoun **yáay** or **yáye** can be reduced to **yá**, which is used as an alternative form to **yáye**. However, the other subject personal pronouns do not have a short form. The short form of the second person singular pronoun is only used as subject. Thus, second person has three subject forms **yáye**, **yáay** and **yá**, and only one object form, **yín-im**. The following three sentences illustrate the three forms.

- 4a. **yáye** **wunt’-ée-n** **k’áys-is-tée-n**
 2S.SUBJ work-IPF-2 need-CAUS-IPF-2
 ‘You must do it.’
- 4b. **yáye** **wunt’-ée-n** **k’áys-is-tée-n**
 2S.SUBJ work-IPF-2 need- CAUS-IPF-2
 ‘You must do it.’
- 4c. **kété** **yín-im** **yín-tá** **bin-n** **kaf-tée-n**
 3PL.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC see-INF go:PF:3 wait-IPF-3
 ‘They are waiting to see you.’

4.1.2 The dative in personal pronouns

Pronouns can be marked by the dative suffix **-in** ‘for /to’. This morpheme is realised as **-n** when it follows a vowel and as **-in** when it follows a morpheme that ends in a consonant.

1	Singular	Plural
	ʔis-in ‘for/to me’	wó-n ‘for/to us’
2	yí-n ‘for/to you’	ye-n ‘for/to you’
3	kí-n ‘for/to him’	ke-n ‘for/to them’
	kó-n ‘for/to her’	

Table-2: Dative pronouns

Examples (5 and 6) illustrate that dative marking in nouns is used for the semantic roles recipient and beneficiary.

5. **nú** **dər-ín** **nák-is-im** **ʔeɣs-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ goat-DAT water-DEF-ACC show-PF-3
 ‘He led the goat to the water (so that it can drink).’

6. **nú** **yer-ín** **?ay-im** **ba?ád-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ donkey-DAT grass-ACC bring-PF-3
 ‘He brought grass for a donkey.’

In pronouns the same semantic roles, i.e. recipient and beneficiary may be expressed either by the dative (7) or accusative cases (8). In example (8) pronominal forms *kon* and *ken* which look like the dative found in the examples in (7) are affixed with the accusative *-im* and designate a recipient.

- 7a. **zim-ís** **kî-mát-in** **kó-n** **medal-im** **?ím-i-n**
 chief-DEF 3SM-REFL-DAT 3SF-DAT medal-ACC give-PF-3
 ‘The chief himself gave her the medal.’
- 7b. **kété** **wó-n** **sól-im** **šin-i-n**
 3PL.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-DAT enjera-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘They bought enjera for us.’
- 7c. **ná** **kî-n** **meh-im** **?ím-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-DAT money-ACC give-PF-3
 ‘She gave him money.’
- 8a. **nú** **kón-im** **d’él-im** **?ím-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-ACC medicine-ACC give-PF-3
 ‘He gave her medicine.’
- 8b. **yá** **kén-im** **mes’af-is-im** **šin-i-n**
 2S.SUBJ 3PL-ACC book-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘You bought the book for them.’

As the above examples suggest, dative and accusative cases are not always clearly distinguished in pronouns. This is one of the difficulties in the analysis of Dime pronouns. Moreover, what looks like the dative case occurs with some mono-transitive verbs as in (9a). In contrast the accusative form occurs in di-transitive constructions where the dative case is expected as in (8) and (9b).

- 9a. **yesé** **kó-n** **yéf-i-n**
 2PL.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-DAT see-PF-2
 ‘You saw her.’
- 9b. **?afí** **kón-im** **mes’af-im** **?ím-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-ACC book-ACC give-PF-1
 ‘I gave her a book.’

We will further discuss this issue in section 4.4.

4.1.3 Genitive/possessive pronouns

The genitive marker in Dime is **-ko**. It is suffixed to the object pronouns to form the genitive personal pronoun as shown in table 3:

1	Singular	Plural
	?is-ko / ?a 'my'	wó-ko 'our'
2	yí-ko 'your'	ye-ko 'your'
3	kí-ko 'his'	ké-ko 'their'
	kó-ko 'her'	

Table-3: Genitive pronouns

The genitive personal pronouns function as possessive modifiers, (10, 11), and as independent possessive pronouns, (12).

10. **kó-ko** **?áne** **s'éid-ub**
 3SF.OBJ-GEN hand short-M
 'Her hand is short.'
11. **kó-ko** **míčí**
 3SF.OBJ-GEN sister
 'her sister'
12. **yá** **?is-ko-ká** **wunt'-wunt'-ée-n**
 2S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN-INST RDP:work-IPF-3
 'You are using mine/working with mine.'

The genitive can be also expressed with juxtaposition without using the suffix **ko-**. Compare the (a) and (b) forms in the following two examples:

- 13a. **?até** **?is-ko** **dóót-im** **nák-ká** **šĩ?-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN leg-ACC water-INST wash-PF-1
 'I washed my leg with water.'
- 13b. **?até** **?a-dóót-im** **nák-ká** **šĩ?-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ. 1S.OBJ-leg-ACC water-INST wash-PF-1
 'I washed my leg with water.'
- 14a. **nú** **kí-ko** **dóót-im** **tebzi-gá**²² **k'ars'-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN leg-ACC axe-INST cut-PF-3
 'He cut his leg with an axe.'
- 14b. **nú** **kí-dóót-im** **tebzi-gá** **k'ars'-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-leg-ACC axe-INST cut-PF-3
 'He cut his leg with an axe.'

A summary of the possessive pronouns both with and without **ko-** are given in the following table. The terminal vowel **u** is omitted in the later form.

²² **-ká** is changed to **-gá** due to the preceding voiced sound.

Genitive form		
with –ko	without –ko	
?is-ko dóótu	?a-dóót	my leg
yín-ko dóótu	yí-dóót	your (S) leg
kí-ko dóótu	kí-dóót	his leg
kó-ko dóótu	kó-dóót	her leg
wó-ko dóótu	wó-dóót	our leg
ye-ko dóótu	ye-dóót	your (PL) leg
ké-ko dóótu	ké-dóót	their leg

Table-4 possessive pronouns in Dime

The ablative case marker, –**de**, is preceded either by the locative or genitive case.

- 15a. **?is-se-de dííbi mēh temm-im díib-i-n.**
 1S.OBJ-LOC-ABL thief money ten-ACC steal-PF-3
 ‘A thief has stolen ten *birr* from me.’ (*birr* is the name of Ethiopian currency)

- 15b. **?is-ko-de dííbi mēh temm-im díib-i-n**
 1S.OBJ-LOC-ABL thief money ten-ACC steal-PF-3
 ‘A thief has stolen ten *birr* from me.’

ABL	ABL	
?is-se-de	?is-ko-de	from me
yín-ze-de	yín-ko-de	from you
kín-ze-de	kí-ko-de	from him
kón-ze-de	kó-ko-de	from her
wó-ze-de	wó-ko-de	from us
ye-ze-de	ye-ko-de	from you
ké-ze-de	ké-ko-de	from them

Table-5 Ablative case marking on pronouns

4.1.4 Reflexive pronouns

It seems that the reflexive marker is derived from the noun **máte** ‘head’²³, e.g. in the word /**?a-mát**/ ‘myself’ the morpheme /–**mát**/ is derived from /**máte**/ ‘head’. The reflexive root is preceded by either the genitive personal pronoun or by the object pronoun. Thus from the object pronoun **?a** and **mát** the reflexive **?a-mát** ‘myself’ is formed (Reflexive-1 in table 6); alternatively, the dative marking morpheme –**in** can be added to simple reflexive-1 forms to derive reflexive-2 forms (cf. Table 6) as in **?a-mát-in** ‘myself’. The noun **mát** ‘head’ may instead be preceded by the genitive

²³ Heine (1999:18) states that if in a given African language a new marker for reflexive arises, then it can be predicted with a certain degree of probability that that marker will be derived from a noun meaning ‘body’. A second choice, having a considerably lower degree of probability is that it will be a noun for ‘head’.

personal pronouns (cf. 4.1.2) and followed by either the dative case ending **-in** or by the conjunction/instrumental marker **-ká** as in **?is-ko-mát-ká** ‘I myself’ (lit. ‘I by my head’). We refer to these two latter forms as reflexive-3 and reflexive-4 in Table 6, respectively. These forms are not interchangeable; each of them has a slightly different meaning according to the case suffixed to it.

Person	Subject Pronouns	Reflexive1	Reflexive2	Reflexive3	Reflexive4
1S	?is-im	?a-mát	?a-mát-in	?is-ko-mát-in	?is-ko-mát-ká
2S	yín-im	yí-mát	yí-mát-in	yí-ko-mát-in	yí-ko-mát-ká
3SM	kín-im	kí-mát	kí-mát-in	kí-ko-mát-in	kí-ko-mát-ká
3SF	kón-im	kó-mát	kó-mát-in	kó-ko-mát-in	kó-ko-mát-ká
1PL	wón-im	wó-mát	wó-mát-in	wó-ko-mát-in	wó-ko-mát-ká
2PL	yen-im	ye-mát	ye-mát-in	ye-ko-mát-in	ye-ko-mát-ká
3PL	kén-im	ké-mát	ké-mát-in	ké-ko-mát-in	ké-ko-mát-ká

Table-6: Reflexive pronouns

When the subject and the object are the same person the reflexive pronoun is co-referential with the subject of the clause in which it occurs. Consider the following examples:

- 16a. **?aú ?a-mát tičind-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-REFL cut-PF-1
 ‘I cut myself.’
- 16b. **?aú ?a-mát-in kərf-i-n**
 1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-REFL-DAT speak-PF-1
 ‘I spoke to myself.’
17. **nú kí-ko-mát-in ?ayim-káy**
 3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN-REFL-DAT move-NEG
 ‘He can’t move himself.’ (lit. he can’t move for his head).
- 18a. **kété ké-ko-mát-in k’am-im siqs-i-n**
 3PL.SUBJ 3PL.OBJ-GEN-REFL-DAT accident-ACC blame-PF-3
 ‘They blamed themselves for the accident.’ (lit. they blamed the accident for their head)
- 18b. **nú kí-ko-mát-ká ?ayim-káy**
 3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN-REFL-INST move-not
 ‘He can’t move by himself.’ (lit. he can’t move by his head).

From the above examples, we observe that there are four forms of reflexive pronouns. That is, the reflexive pronouns are formed either by suffixing **-mát** to the subject pronouns as in (16a) or by adding the dative marker as in (16b) or by the combination of possessive plus **-mát** and finally a dative marker as in (17) and (18a).

Some reflexive pronouns may be used for emphasising the subject. For instance, in (19), to express the chief is the person who gave somebody the medal, the reflexive pronoun is used with the noun chief. In the data at hand, for the emphatic, only the reflexive forms with the dative case are used (19-20). There are no examples with the other reflexive forms. Whether or not these can be used for emphasis cannot be demonstrated.

19. **zim-ís kî-mát-in kó-n medal-im ʔim-i-n**
 chief-DEF 3SM-REFL-DAT 3SF-DAT medal-ACC give-PF-3
 ‘The chief himself gave her the medal.’
20. **šiftaye kî-mát-in kír-im puč-i-n**
 shiftaye 3SM.OBJ-REFL-DAT door-ACC open-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye himself opened the door.’

The following table summarizes the personal pronouns and all suffixes which they take.

Person	Subject	Object	Dative	Genitive	Ablative	Instrumental	Reflexive
1S	ʔaté	ʔis-ím	ʔis-in	ʔis-ko	ʔis-ko-de	ʔis-ká	ʔa-mát
2S	yáye	yín-im	yí-n	yín-ko	yín-ko-de	yín-ká	yí- mát
3MS	nú	kín-im	kí-n	kí-ko	kí-ko-de	kí-ká	kí-mát
3FS	ná	kón-im	kó-n	kó-ko	kó-ko-de	kó-ká	kó- mát
1PL	wótú	wón-im	wó-n	wó-ko	wó-ko-de	wó-ká	wó- mát
2PL	yesí	yen-im	ye-n	ye-ko	ye-ko-de	ye-ká	ye- mát
3PL	kété	kén-im	ké-n	ké-ko	ké-ko-de	ké-ká	ké- mát

Table-7 Summary of personal pronouns

4.2 Demonstrative pronouns

In Dime, the same forms are used both as demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives. Consider the following examples:

- 21a. **siná wúdúr-is džinka-de ʔád-i-n**
 this(F) girl-DEF jinka-ABL come-PF-3P
 ‘This girl came from Jinka.’
- 21b. **siná ʔis-ko mǐči**
 this(F) 1S.OBJ-GEN sister
 ‘This one is my sister.’
22. **sakín-im ʔitsi**
 that(M)-ACC eat
 ‘Eat that one.’

Thus demonstratives can be used as modifiers (21a), or they may head a noun phrase as subject or object as in (21b) and (22).

Gender is marked on singular demonstrative pronouns. Consider the following examples:

23. **siná ʔámz-is ʔád-dée-n**
 this (F) woman-DEF come-IPF-3
 ‘This woman is black.’
24. **saná ʔámz-is tîŋ-dée-n**
 that (F) woman-DEF go-IPF-3
 ‘That woman will go.’
25. **sanú ʔiyy-ís tîŋ-dée-n**
 that (M) man-DEF go-IPF-3
 ‘That man will go.’
26. **sinú tîŋ-dée-n**
 this (M) go-IPF-3
 ‘This one (M) will go.’
27. **siná tîŋ-dée-n**
 this (F) go-IPF-3
 ‘This one (F) will go.’

In plural demonstrative pronouns gender is not marked. The following are examples:

28. **sikét ʔámz-af**
 these woman-PL
 ‘these women’
29. **sikét nîts-af**
 these child-PL
 ‘these children’
30. **sakét ʔámz-af**
 those woman-PL
 ‘those women’
31. **sakét gošt-áf**
 those man-PL
 ‘those men’

Dime demonstratives can be classified into two basic types: those that distinguish distance only and those that involve elevation. Below, each of these is discussed in turn.

4.2.1 Demonstratives indicating nearness/ farness

There are two basic demonstrative forms, proximal (Prox) **si-** and distal (Dis) **sa-**. The full form of these demonstratives is formed by combining them with the third person subject pronouns **nú** ‘he’, **ná** ‘she’, **kété** ‘they’. This results in the forms in

(32). Observing the compounding, from here on, the components of the demonstrative pronouns are separated by a morpheme boundary and are glossed separately.

32.	NOM	ACC
32a.	si-nú Prox-3SM.SUBJ 'this (M)'	si-kín-im Prox-3SM.OBJ-ACC 'this (M)'
32b.	si-ná Prox-3SF.SUBJ 'this (F)'	si-kón-im Prox-3SF.OBJ-ACC 'this (F)'
32c.	sa-nú Dis-3SM.SUBJ 'that (M)'	sa-kín-im Dis-3SM.OBJ-ACC 'that (M)'
32d.	sa-ná Dis-3SF.SUBJ 'that (F)'	sa-kón-im Dis-3SF.OBJ-ACC 'that (F)'
32e.	si-két Prox-3PL.SUBJ 'these'	si-két-im Prox-3PL.OBJ-ACC 'these'
32f.	sa-két Dis-3PL.SUBJ 'those'	sa-két-im Dis-3PL.OBJ-ACC 'those'

Demonstratives take the accusative case marker **-im** when they occur in object position. Interestingly, while **sakí** and **sanú** are used interchangeably in their subject form, only the base **saki** is used in the object form. That is, the accusative form is only **sakín-im** 'that'; there is no form ***sanún-im** for the same meaning. Just like the accusative form of personal pronouns, the element **n** follows the demonstrative pronoun preceding the accusative case yielding **sakín-im**, as in (32c) above.

Diessel (1999:29) shows that in Lezgian the stem of demonstrative pronouns is formed from a demonstrative root and a third person pronoun, in a similar way as in Dime, or a classifier. The following table illustrates Dime demonstratives with their corresponding pronouns.

Demonstratives	Corresponding pronouns
sinú/ʔisnu 'this (M)'	nú 'he'
siná 'this (F)'	ná 'she'
sanú/saki 'that (M)'	nú 'he'
saná 'that (F)'	ná 'she'
sikét/ʔisket 'these'	kété 'they'
sakét 'those'	kété 'they'

Table-8: Demonstrative pronouns in Dime

The proximal singular and plural demonstrative pronouns are pronounced as **sinú** or **?isnú**, and **sikét** or **?iskét** by different speakers. The demonstrative forms **sanú** and **saki** are used alternatively. The latter, **saki** ‘that’, seems to be a reduced form of the adverbial **sakiyo** ‘there’. The following are examples:

33. **sinú dim-ko báhil-im gím-dée-b-is mäs’af**
 this dime-GEN culture-ACC tell-IPF-M.RELT-DEF book
 ‘This is the book which has information about the Dime culture.’
34. **sinú ?atí t’est-ée-b-is líŋ-ub hotel**
 this 1S.SUBJ know-IPF-M.RELT-DEF good-M hotel
 ‘This is the best hotel that I know.’
35. **sanú ?atí t’est-ée-b-is líŋ-ub hotel**
 that 1S.SUBJ know-IPF-M.RELT-DEF good-M hotel
 ‘That is the best hotel that I know.’
36. **sikét zim-aŋ yíz-dée-n**
 these chief-PL run-IPF-3
 ‘These chiefs will run.’
37. **sakét ?ámz-aŋ ?ád-dée-n**
 those woman-PL come-IPF-3
 ‘Those women will come.’

There are two adverbial demonstratives: **sikiyó** ‘here’ and its distal counterpart **sakiyó** ‘there’.²⁴

- 38a. **sakét ?ámz-aŋ sakiyó ŋŋ-i-n**
 those woman-PL there go-PF-3
 ‘Those women went there.’
- 38b. **zim-aŋ-is sikiyó dáh-i-n**
 chief-PL-DEF here stay-PF-3
 ‘The chiefs stayed here.’

4.2.2 Demonstratives expressing ‘up-there’ and ‘down-there’

Demonstratives indicating up-ward and down-ward directions are used to refer to persons or places located at a higher or lower altitude from both the speaker and the listener’s point of view. These demonstratives are distal demonstratives because they are used when facing away from the mountain slope on which speaker and hearer are situated. Hayward (1980:285) describes demonstratives with a similar meaning in Gidole (also Diraytat); comparable forms are attested in Maale (Azeb Amha 2001: 140-141). This might be wide-spread among languages of the area.

²⁴ In some cases, speakers use only **kiyó**, as a distal counterpart, instead of **sakiyó**.

The roots of the Dime elevation-demonstratives are **?aa** for higher altitude and **čúú** for lower altitude. Fleming (1990:527) reported that **čúú** means down there; on a mountain that can be quite far. These roots are followed by the third person subject personal pronoun **čúú-nú** or by the proximal demonstrative **čúúy sinú** and the latter by an accusative marker when in object position **čúúy sinú-m** or by a deviant form of the object personal pronoun **čúú-kínú-m**. The deviation of the object personal pronoun lies in the fact that the gender vowel of the subject pronoun is fully realised and the vowel of the accusative **-im** is suppressed; thus, while the masculine and feminine third person object pronouns are **kínúm** and **kónúm** respectively, in these elevation demonstratives their forms are **kínúm** and **kónam**. This suggests that the **n** element in these pronouns is (a remnant of) the third person object pronoun. The fact that the proximal demonstrative form is used in these distal elevation demonstratives is surprising; possibly the proximal demonstratives are used as default demonstrative. The elevation demonstratives are presented in Table 9 below:

NOM	NOM	ACC	ACC	
čúú-nú	čúúy sinú	čúúy sinú-m	čúú-kí-nú-m	‘that lower down (M)’
čúú-ná	čúúy siná	čúúy siná-m	čúú-kó-ná-m	‘that lower down (F)’
čúú-két		čúú-két-im		‘those lower down (PL)’
?aa-nú	?aay sinú		?aa-kí-nú-m	‘that higher up (M)’
?aa-ná	?aay siná		?aa-kó-ná-m	‘that higher up (F)’
?aa-két		?aa-két-im		‘those higher up (PL)’

Table-9: Elevation demonstrative pronouns

Examples:

39. **čúú-nú sugur dán**
 down-3MS Bodi COP
 ‘That down there is a Bodi man.’
40. **čúú-ná sugur ?ámzi dán**
 down-3FS Bodi woman COP
 ‘That down there is a Bodi woman.’
41. **čúú-két sugur-ko-d²⁵ dán**
 down-these/those Bodi-GEN-PL COP
 ‘Those down there are Bodi people.’
42. **?aa-nú ?efte řiŋ-ub ?éh-ko kutse dá-dée-b-is**
 up-3MS bird beautiful-M house-GEN top of house stay-IPF-M.RELT-DEF
 ‘That bird up there on the top of the house is beautiful.’

²⁵ Note that here, the modifier NP **sugur** (i.e., ‘a Bodi person’) takes the plural gender modifier **-(i)d** rather than the plural noun modifier **-af**.

43. **ʔaa-ná ʔed-ko máte dá-dée-nd-is ʔis-ko ʔind**
 up-3FS mountain-GEN head stay-IPF-F.RELT-DEF 1S.OBJ-GEN mother
 ‘That is my mother who stays up there on the top of the mountain.’

4.3 Prefixes added to demonstratives

In Omoti in general, prefixation is not a common phenomenon. In Dime we find prefixes in demonstratives.

If the object referred to is placed in a higher altitude than the speaker, the prefix **s’ay-** is added to the demonstrative **sinú** ‘this’ forming **s’ay-sinú** ‘this above the speaker’. If the object is found in horizontal position to the speaker, the Dime may use one of the following demonstratives depending on the distance between the point of reference and the referent: **ʔoy-sinú** ‘this near and visible horizontally’, **say-sinú** ‘that far away from the speaker’, and **s’uy-sinú** ‘that, out of sight of the speaker’. Interestingly, all these forms are based on the proximal demonstrative **sinu** (or its gender and number variants **siná** and **siket**) and the different prefixes express the distance, more suggesting that the proximal demonstrative is used as default. The prefix **s’uy-** can be reduplicated to intensify the expression of the distance even more.

44. **si-nú** ‘this here, (visible)’
 s’ay-sinú ‘this, at higher altitude compared to the speaker’
 ʔoy-sinú ‘this, (near and visible)’
 say-sinú ‘that, (further away, visible)’
 say-siket ‘those, (further away, visible)’
 s’uy-si-nú ‘that, (furthest away out of reach and/or invisible)’
 s’u-s’uy-si-nú ‘that, (furthest away, out of reach and/or invisible)’
45. **say-sinú náɁ-is sede sinú náɁ-is kol-dée-n**
 that water-DEF than this water-DEF big-IPF-3
 ‘That river is bigger than this river.’
46. **say-siket kén-áf šinn-is kó-ko wuuf yíziz-dée-n**
 those dog-PL five-DEF 3FS.OBJ-GEN all run:RDP-IPF-3
 ‘All those five dogs of hers are running.’
47. **say-sinú tóŋ-ub níts-is ʔád-i-n**
 that small-M boy-DEF come-PF-3
 ‘That small boy came.’
48. **say-siket nú tóŋas meh-im ké-n ʔim-i-n**
 those 3MS some money-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-PF-3
 ‘He gave some money to those.’

The bases of the above forms are the simple demonstrative forms **sinú**, **sanú**, etc.; thus the elevation markers **s’ay-**, **ʔoy-** and **say-** are prefixes added to these base forms. There are no further prefixes in the language.

4.4 Case marking in personal and demonstrative pronouns

Personal pronouns and demonstratives are marked for case. First we discuss case marking in personal pronouns and later we will discuss case marking in demonstratives. Dime has two separate sets of subject and object pronouns. In each set, first, second and third person and singular-plural are distinguished. For the third person singular, a further distinction in gender is made. This results in the seven independent subject and object pronouns listed in table 10 below. The table also shows the dative, accusative, genitive, ablative, and instrumental pronouns which are formed on the basis of the object pronouns.

We briefly discussed in sections 4.1.1 to 4.1.3 case marking in pronouns and mentioned the problem of distinguishing accusative and dative forms in pronouns. In this section we focus on the analysis of the morphemes **-im** and **n** in object pronouns and on the formal similarity of the latter segment with the dative marker **-(i)n**.

Person	Subject	Object	Dative	Genitive	ABL	INST
1S	ʔaté	ʔis-im	ʔis-in	ʔis-ko	ʔis-ko-dé	ʔis-ká
2S	yaye	yín-im	yí-n	yí-n-ko	yí-n-ko-dé	yí-n-ká
3MS	nú	kín-im	kí-n	kí-ko	kí-ko-dé	kí-ká
3FS	ná	kón-im	kó-n	kó-ko	kó-ko-dé	kó-ká
1PL	wótú	wón-im	wó-n	wó-ko	wó-ko-dé	wó-ká
2PL	yesí	yen-im	ye-n	ye-ko	ye-ko-dé	ye-ká
3PL	kété	kén-im	ké-n	ké-ko	ké-ko-dé	ké-ká

Table –10: Pronouns and their case marker forms

As we observe in the above table the subject pronoun forms are not marked for case, while the object pronouns are marked for various cases. The following examples illustrate their uses:

49. **kété** **wón-im** **gís'-i-n**
 3PL.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-n-ACC hit-PF-3
 ‘They hit us.’
50. **ná** **kón-im** **mes'af-im** **ʔim-i-n**
 3SF.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-n-ACC book-ACC give-PF-3
 ‘She gave her a book.’

With the exception of the first person singular, in all object pronouns we find the segment **n** preceding the accusative marker **-im**. In the second person singular, this **n** occurs in all columns except the subject.

A number of analyses or interpretation may be suggested with regard to the status of **n** in the object and related case forms:

The first possibility is that the insertion of **n** is phonologically motivated to avoid sequence of vowels, as suggested by Tsuge (1997:579). This can raise the following two questions:

- i. Why is the element **n** not added to 2S in its object, genitive, ablative, instrumental forms in table 10 above?
 - ii. Why is the element **n** not used in nouns (51) and in interrogative pronouns (52)?²⁶
- 51 **ʔatí** **k'ir-im** **zis'-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ door-ACC close-PF-1
 'I closed the door.'
52. **ʔayi** **ʔay-im** **deis**
 who who-ACC kill:PF
 'Who killed whom?'

If the insertion on **n** was phonologically conditioned we would expect to find it in all personal and interrogative pronouns that meet the condition and also in nouns.

Since the **n** element and the dative case marker **-(i)n** are formally identical, one might suggest the analysis that the object pronoun paradigm is built on the dative case and displays a synchronic double case marking. However, this does not seem to be a likely scenario because were this an instance of double case marking one would expect the dative to be built on the accusative rather than the other way round.

There is a third analysis which I support. This is the line taken by Hayward and Tsuge (1998) in their historical and comparative analysis of Omotic languages. These authors suggest that the recurring **-n** element in the pronoun paradigm of many Omotic languages is a remnant/fossil element of a once productive morpheme. They write:

In data recently collected from the Biyo dialect of Aari we see perhaps the last relics of a dative/benefactive function of ***-n** in Aari. This suffix was recorded only with pronouns; no examples having appeared with nouns. (Hayward and Tsuge, 1998:27)

As Hayward and Tsuge (1998:24) stated, among the Omoto languages, accusative ***n** still survives as a fossil in the first and second person pronouns, and occasionally in interrogative pronouns e.g., in Zayse.

Thus, the **n** element in Dime in object pronouns may be the fossil element ***n** which is attested in many Omotic languages.

The other issue is case marking in demonstratives. The accusative case is suffixed to modifying demonstrative pronouns following the **n** element. Examples:

53. **nú** **máy** **sikín-im** **šin-ée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ pot this-ACC buy-IPF-3
 'He buys this pot.'

²⁶ In Aari, a related language, the accusative case marker **-im** is suffixed to pronouns without any intervention of **-n**.

54. **nú** **sinú** **máy-im** **šin-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ this pot-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘He bought this pot.’

As can be seen from the above examples case is not marked on both demonstratives and nouns. It is marked either on the noun or on the demonstrative; whichever occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase carries the case marker.

Case marking on interrogative pronouns is similar to case marking in nouns. The accusative case marker is directly suffixed to the interrogative pronouns without the intervention of the **-n** element, as in (55).

55. **ʔayí** **ʔáy-im** **deis**
 who who-ACC kill:PF
 ‘Who killed whom?’

5 Adjectives and modifying nouns

5.1 Adjectives

In Dime adjectives constitute a separate word class. They are characterized by gender agreement whereas nouns and verbs are not marked for gender. There is a uniquely adjectival morpheme **-id** for plural agreement. Thus, the masculine and feminine gender distinction and plural agreement is a unique feature of adjectives compared to nouns and verbs. In addition adjectives may be marked for case and definiteness. Dime adjectives may precede or follow the nouns they modify. Semantic categories expressed by the adjective class include: dimension, colour, age, value, physical property and human propensity of the referent.

Generally, the basic form of the gender marking morphemes is **-ub** (masculine), **-ind** (feminine) and **-id** (plural). These are directly affixed to adjectival modifiers or to relativized verbs, sometimes replacing the terminal vowel of the adjective or the verb. In a few cases, however, it is the vowel of the gender morphemes that is dropped. Accordingly the above mentioned morphemes may be realised as **-nd** (1b), **-b** (2b), and **-d** respectively.

Comparison of the (a) and (b) examples in (1-3) demonstrates the above mentioned dropping of the vowels.

- 1a. **ʔámzi fi-ŋiŋt'-ind-is**
 woman RDP-beautiful-F-DEF
 'the beautiful woman'
- 1b. **ʔámzi gičćó-nd fi-ŋiŋt'-ind-is**
 woman big-F RDP-beautiful-F-DEF
 'the big beautiful woman'
- 2a. **goštú li-ŋiŋt'-ub-is**
 man RDP-beautiful-M-DEF
 'the handsome man'
- 2b. **goštú gičćó-b li-ŋiŋt'-ub-is**
 man big-M RDP-beautiful-M-DEF
 'the big handsome man'
- 3a. **k'əstin-ŋid-is gúdúm-id zim-áf**
 two-PL-DEF tall-PL chief-PL
 'the two tall chiefs'
- 3b. **dəŋr-is-im wúdúr-is-in šin-i-d ʔámz-af-is**
 goat-DEF-ACC girl-DEF-DAT buy-PF-F.RELT woman-DEF

laxt'-i-n²⁷

die-PF-3

'The women who bought the goat for the girl died.'

Adjectives share a number of features with nouns in that they are marked for number, definiteness, and case. For instance, adjective and nouns both may take the accusative marker **-im** and the definite marker **-is**. The main distinction between adjectives and nouns is that adjectives are marked for gender while nouns are not. Fleming (1990:528) states: "Dime adjectives behave like themselves for the most part, taking some number and gender suffixes which are largely confined to adjectives."

Adjectives can appear independently without the (understood) head noun that they modify. Consider the following examples:

- 4a. **s'an-ub-is** **?ad-i-n**
 black-M-DEF come-PF-3
 'The black one (M) came.'
- 4b. **s'an-ind-is** **?ad-i-n**
 black-F-DEF come-PF-3
 'The black one (F) came.'

For inanimate nouns the adjectives generally take the masculine gender marker but alternatively it may take the feminine gender marker only to express the diminutive. Consider feminine and masculine gender marking in the following extract:

5. **?eene** **?əšin-is** **k'áaru** **wókkil-ind** **déen-ka**
 like this story-DEF ape one-F exist-PF
- wónən-im** **gišt-tée-n** **wónən-im** **giš-á** **bókú**
 cattle-ACC keep-IPF-3 cattle-ACC keep-CNV1 fruit (sp.)
- s'ot-tée-n** **boke-tub** **wón-ée** **?ábe** **?áfe**
 milking-IPF-3 bear_fruit (of boku)-FUT 1PL-COP wood fruit
- č' ək'k'-ub** **déen**
 small-M exist

'The story goes like this: there was one ape that kept cattle. As she tended her cattle, she collected their milk under the *boku* tree. This is the tree which produces for us the *boku* fruit.'

In the first clause of the text the feminine gender marker **-ind** is suffixed to the numeral modifier **wókkil-ind** 'one', while the masculine gender marker **-ub** is suffixed to the adjective **č'ək'k'-ub** in the last clause (see also text-7:001, text-6:005, text 8:002, 003). Tree is masculine because masculine is the default gender for inanimates; ape, being animate, can have feminine agreement depending on its natural/biological gender.

²⁷ **laxt'i** 'die' is used only for human beings. For other animals **deyi** 'die' is used.

Adjectives show number agreement with nouns in three ways: by reduplication or by suffixing the plural agreement suffix **-id** or both. The adjective may be fully or partially reduplicated to express plurality. Example (6b) illustrates full reduplication of the adjective **giččo-b** ‘big’.

- 6a. **ʔis-ko kúlú giččo-b-is ʔáh-i-n**
 1S.OBJ-GEN stick big-M-DEF break-PF-3
 ‘My big stick is broken.’
- 6b. **ʔis-ko kúlú giččo-giččo-b-is ʔáh-i-n**
 1S.OBJ-GEN stick RDP-big-M-DEF break-PF-3
 ‘My big sticks are broken.’

The possessed noun phrase in (6b) can also be constructed as **kul-af giččo-d** ‘big sticks’ or **giččo-d kul-af**, with the addition of the plural marker- **af**. An example of plural agreement with **-id** is given in (7).

7. **ʔeen-í-b giš-ká ʔiyyí mákkim-id dim-am-ze déén ʔél-i-n**
 early-PF-M.RELT time-INST person three-PL Dime-ACC-LOC exist call-PF-3
 ‘In early times there were three people who were in Dime; it was said.’

Partial reduplication, in which word initial CV of the adjective is reduplicated is also attested (8b).

- 8a. **ʔéhé č’ək’k’-ub**
 house small-M
 ‘small house’
- 8b. **ʔéh-af č’ə-č’ək’k’-ub**
 house-PL RDP:small-M
 ‘small houses’

The base form of some adjectives can be either a verb or an adverb. There are also some underived adjectives. As Givon (1990) states: adjectives fall semantically somewhere in between verb and nouns. In Dime some adjectives have corresponding verbal forms. The difference is that the adjectives consistently take the masculine or feminine gender suffixes **-ub** and **-ind** respectively. Compare the following forms:

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|---|--|
| 9. | Verb stem | Adjectival form | |
| | s’éidi ‘be short’ | s’éid-ub goštú
‘a short man’ | s’éid-ind wuduri
‘a short girl’ |
| | đíibi ‘steal’ | đíib-ub goštú
‘a thief (M)’
[a stealing man] | đíib-ind ʔámzi
‘a thief (F)’
[a stealing woman] |
| | gúdúmú ‘lengthen’ | gúdúm-ub goštú | gúdúm-ind ʔámzi |

		‘a tall man’	‘a tall woman’
s’anu	‘blacken’	s’án-ub nîts	s’án-ind nîts
		‘black child (M)’	‘black child (F)’
wuču	‘be dry’	wuč-ub k’áame	wuč-ind k’áame
		‘dry leaf’	‘dry leaf (very small part)’

Adjectival verbs take the same tense-aspect markers as other main verbs.

10.	Verb stem	perfective	imperfective	
	gúdumu	gúdum-i-n	gúdum-dée-n	‘lengthen’
	đíibi	đíib-i-n	đíib-dée-n	‘steal’
	wuču	wuč-i-n	wuč-tée-n	‘dry’

The following are sentential examples of the verb **wuču** ‘dry’.

- 11a. **ʔák-is wuč-tée-n**
wood-DEF dry-IPF-3
‘The wood will be dry.’

- 11b. **ʔák-is wuč-i-n**
wood-DEF dry-PF-3
‘The wood has dried.’

In (12) the same form **đíib-** ‘thief’ functions as an adjective (**đíib-ub**) which modifies **ʔiyyîs** ‘the person’ and as a verb which is inflected for aspect (**đíib-i-n**). At the end of section 5.2 we show that such adjectives can also be used independently as nouns.

12. **ʔiyy-ís đíib-ub ʔák-is đíib-i-n**
person-DEF thief-M wood-DEF stole-PF-3
‘The thief (M) has stolen the wood.’

Fleming (1990: 528) states that “yet one adjective, **ling**²⁸ ‘good, beautiful, clean’ can act like a verb also show concord with nouns!” Fleming uses **liniŋ**, **ling**, and **liŋkt’** in his transcription. The following are examples from Fleming (1990: 533). The glossing is modified in some cases by the present author.

- 13a. **lí-líŋ-s-i-n**
RDP:clean-CAUS-PF-3
‘He cleaned.’
- 13b. **ʔam-is líŋkt’-ub-ée**
country-DEF good-M-COP
‘It’s the good country.’

²⁸ I transcribe this word as **líŋ** or **líŋt’** assuming that it has two alternative roots.

- 13c. **lí-líŋkt'-ind**
RDP-beautiful-F
'beautiful (feminine)'
- 13d. **?is-im lí-líŋk-dée-n**
1S.OBJ-ACC RDP-beautiful-IPF-3
'It makes me happy.'

Fleming describes the same word as adjective and verb based on the suffix that it takes. Compare also example (14a) and (14b), where **láχ** is the head of the clause (14a) and a modifying category (14b).

- 14a. **?áfál-is-im šī-šī?-inká lá-láχ-i-n**
cloth-DEF-ACC RDP-wash-REAS RDP-soft-PF-3
'The cloth became soft since it was washed.'
- 14b. **nú ?áfál láχ-ub-is-im šin-i-n**
3SM.SUBJ cloth soft-M-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
'He bought the soft cloth.'

The base form of some adverbs and adjectives is related. The relation can be interpreted in two ways: i.e., the adverbs are derived from adjectives by omitting the gender marker or alternatively, it could be analysed as the adjectives are derived from adverbs by adding a gender marker. However, it is difficult to conclude which of these two directions of derivation is the best for the Dime data at hand. Consider the (a) and (b) forms in the following examples.

- 15a. **yesé gəbz-im giččó k'áss**
2PL.SUBJ local_beer-ACC more add
'You add more beer.'
- 15b. **maikró giččó-b nīts**
maikro big-M child
'Maikro is a big boy.'
- 16a. **nú ?ahó yíz-dée-n**
3SM.SUBJ well run-IPF-3
'He runs nice/well.'
- 16b. **nú ?ahó-b goštú**
3SM.SUBJ good-M man
'He is a good man.'

One can not elicit roots of adjectives in isolation. If we try, we may get gender marked forms such as **zú-ub** 'red'.

17. **č'ək'k'-ub kéní č'ək'k'-ind kéní**
small-M dog small-F dog
'a small dog (M)' 'a small dog (F)'

18. **zú-ub zít-is zú-und ?ot-is**
 red-M ox-DEF red-F cow-DEF
 ‘the red ox’ ‘the red cow’

In contrast, there are modifying forms that do not take gender marker i.e., neither the masculine marker **-ub** nor the feminine marker **-ind** is used. For instance, the modifiers **wolgú** ‘new’, **?ex** ‘wet’, **č’úmú** ‘rotten’, do not show agreement of any sort with their head. Some of the meanings expressed by these words can also be expressed by adjectives, which are marked for gender: **?in-ub** ‘wet’, **šukun-ub** ‘rotten’ (see the forms in tables below). Thus, I assume these are not adjectives because gender agreement is the characteristic of adjectives (see also section 5.2). Since these words are not verbs, nor adverbs, they are best treated as nouns. Consider the following examples:

19. **maikro ?iní ?áfál wolg-ím šin-i-n**
 maikro today cloth new-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘Maikro has bought a new cloth.’
20. **maikro ?áfál wolg-ím nák-ó šî?-i-n**
 maikro cloth new-ACC water-LOC wash-PF-3
 ‘Maikro washed a new cloth in water.’
21. **?áfál wolgú ?áts-i-n**
 cloth new burn-PF-3
 ‘The new cloth is burned.’

Gender is not directly marked in nouns in Dime. If the noun is marked with the plural marker **-af**, the plural agreement morpheme **-id** is suffixed to modifiers. Thus, modifiers show plural agreement with the head noun.

22. **k’əstin-af-is ďiib-id koos-im yígim-déen**
 three-PL-DEF thief-PL ball-ACC play-IPF-3
 ‘The three thieves will play football.’

The following are some more examples of modifiers with plural agreement.

23. **k’əstin-id-is gúdúm-id zim-áf ?ád-i-n**
 two-PL-DEF tall-PL chief-PL come-is-PF-3
 ‘The two tall chiefs came.’
24. **mákkim gúdúm-id zim-áf ?ád-i-n**
 three tall-PL chief-PL come-PF-3
 ‘Three tall chiefs came.’
25. **nú ?ámz-af s’án-id-is-in meh-im ?im-i-n**
 3MS.SUBJ woman-PL black-PL-DEF-DAT money-ACC give-PF-3
 ‘He gave money to the black women.’

A series of two or more modifiers can occur in the same structure. The following are elicited examples:

26. **giččo-b-is** **s'an-ub** **yerí** **?ád-i-n**
 big-M-DEF black-M donkey come-PF-3
 'The big black donkey came.'
27. **gúdúm-ub-is** **kórm-ub** **?atsî** **zim-ís** **laxt'-i-n**
 tall-M-DEF thin-M old chief-DEF die-PF-3
 'The tall, thin, old chief has died.'
28. **?ahó-b-is** **gúdúm-ub** **kórm-ub** **zimî** **?atsî** **yíziz-dée-n**
 good-M-DEF tall-M thin-M chief old run-RDP-IPF-3
 'The good, tall, thin, old chief is running.'
29. **giččo-b-is** **s'an-ub** **lí-líqt'-ub** **zim-áf**
 big-M-DEF black-M RDP-beautiful-M chief-PL
?atsî **?ád-?ád-dée-n**
 old RDP-come-IPF-3
 'The big, black, handsome old chiefs are coming.'

Adjectives may also be used as predicates in non-verbal clauses. Gender is also expressed in predicative adjectives, as is illustrated below (see also in section 9.1). The use of a copula **-ée** or **dan** is not obligatory.

- 30a. **sinú** **?éh-ís** **giččo-b-ée/dán**
 this house-DEF big-M-COP
 'This house is big.'
- 30b. **sinú** **?éh-ís** **giččo-b**
 this house-DEF big-M
 'This house is big.'
- 31a. **ná** **lí-líqt'-ind-ée/dán**
 3SF.SUBJ RDP-beauty-F-COP
 'She is beautiful.'
- 31b. **ná** **lí-líqt'-ind**
 3SF.SUBJ RDP-beauty-F
 'She is beautiful.'
- 32a. **nák-is** **súulum-ub-ée/dán**
 water-DEF hot-M-COP
 'The water is hot.'
- 32b. **nák-is** **súulum-ub**
 water-DEF hot-M
 'The water is hot.'

In the following section, I categorize adjectives according to semantic classes including dimension, physical property, human propensity, colour, age and value, (see Dixon (1982)).

č'ək'k'-ub	'small'
s'ěid-ub	'short'
k'óól-ub	'thin'
s'ərək'úk'-ub	'narrow'
giččó-b	'big'
gúdúm-ub	'long/tall'
t'ér-ub	'thick'
šáak-ub	'wide'
ʔáát-ub	'far'

Table-1: Adjectives of dimension

The following are some sentential examples of adjectives that are used to express dimension.

33. **nár-is šáak-ub**
 river-DEF wide-M
 'The river is wide.'
34. **buč'e ʔed-is gúdúm-ub dán**
 buč'e(name) mountain-DEF tall-M COP
 'The mountain *buč'e* is high.'

šaak-ub	'light'
súúlúm-ub	'hot'
ʔints-ub	'heavy'
dóótt-ub	'low'
ʔín-ub	'wet'
liŋt'-ub/liŋ-ub	'beautiful'
s'olum-ub	'sharp'
daχ-ub	'hard/ strong'
šuukun-ub	'rotten'
sór-ub	'sour'
kurkur-ub	'ugly'
wučim-ub	'dry'
sint'-ub	'dirty'
laχ-ub	'soft'
zerka-b	'fat'
báyzem-ub	'cold'

Table-2: Adjectives of physical property

An example:

35. **ná ŋi-ŋiŋt'-ind wúdúr**
 she RDP-beauty-F girl
 'She is a beautiful girl.'

mə̌tismə̌tista-b	‘difficult’
kǒxsim-ub	‘agreeable’
ʔahó-b	‘peaceful/good’
básm-ub	‘fearful’
lóokkumka-b	‘calm’
kitim-ub	‘selfish’
yíf-ub	‘stranger, visitor’
lóokba-b	‘talkative’

Table-3: Adjectives of human propensity

The following sentential examples illustrate the above adjectives:

- 36 **nú** **kitim-ub** **ʔiyyé**
 3SM.SUBJ selfish-M person
 ‘He is a selfish person.’
37. **nú** **biq-in** **básm-ub**
 3SM.SUBJ spear-DAT fear-M
 ‘He is fearful of spear.’

zú-ub	‘red’
s’án-ub	‘black’
č’ilil-ub	‘blue’
gúit’-ub	‘white’
č’ərxənd’-ub	‘green’
t’últ’úl-ub	‘gray’
šicim-ub	‘mixed(colour)’

Table-4: Colours

The following sentences illustrate the above adjectives that express colours:

38. **kété** **s’án-id**
 3PL.SUBJ black-PL
 ‘They are black.’
39. **maikro-ko** **ʔunts-in** **nú** **ʔáfál** **gúit’-ub-im** **šin-i-n**
 maikro-GEN fiancée-DAT 3SM.SUBJ cloth white-M-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘Maikro bought white cloth for his fiancée.’
40. **maikro-ko** **biq-ká** **kólaf** **dəré** **k’at-im** **zú-und-im** **ʔik-i-n**
 maikro-GEN spear-INST wild goat young-ACC red-F-ACC pierce-PF-3
 ‘Maikro has pierced the red wild young goat with his spear.’

In the following table we include adjectives which express value as well as two adjectives which express taste; the latter do not fit easily to the previous semantic categorisations:

k'ám-ub	'bad'
?ahó-b	'good'
dúrba-b	'rich'
lúúkún-ub	'sweet'
?ank'um-ub	'bitter'

Table-6: Value

Sentential examples with value expressing adjectives :

41. **ná** **?ámze** **?ahó-nd-ée**
 3SF.SUBJ woman good-F-COP
 'She is a good woman.'
42. **ná** **?áfál** **k'ám-ub-im** **k'óbt'-i-n**
 3SF.SUBJ cloth bad-M-ACC dress-PF-3
 'She is dressed with a bad cloth.'

The following are quantifying adjectives:

s'us'-id	'many'
yiss-ub	'little'
wuuf-id	'all'
tóŋas	few
fət't'e	much

Table -7: Quantifying adjectives

The form **tóŋas** 'few' in Table-7 is a quantifying modifier and it combines with countable head nouns (43a-b). It is based on the adjective **tóŋ-ub** 'small' (43c); see also Section 7.1.2 ex (13a-b). The adjective **yiss-ub** 'little' is directly used as a quantifier for non-countable nouns (44). For quantifying large numbers, the adjective **s'us'u** 'many' is used with countable nouns (45), and the nominal modifier **fət't'e** 'much' is used with non-countable nouns (46). The quantifier **wuuf-id** 'all' is an adjective (47).

- 43a. **tóŋas wúdúr-af**
 few girl-PL
 'a few girls'
- 43b. **say-si-két nú** **tóŋas meh-im** **ké-n** **?im-i-n**
 those 3MS.SUBJ some money-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-PF-3
 'He gave some money to them.'
- 43c. **say-si-nú** **tóŋ-ub nítis-is** **?ád-i-n**
 that small-M boy-DEF come-PF-3
 'That small boy came.'
44. **giččo yiss-ind náŋe**
 very little-F water
 'very little water'

45. **s'us'-id ?ámz-af-is-ko ?akim-is**
 many-PL woman-PL-DEF-GEN calabash-DEF
 'the calabash of all the women'
46. **giččo fət't'e náke**
 very much water
 'plenty of water'
47. **wuuf-id zim-áf**
 all-PL chief-PL
 'all the chiefs'

5.2 Modifying nouns

Nouns can modify nouns (see also in Section 7.1.1). Modifying nouns are not marked with gender suffixes. In Dime the independent words **?atsé** 'old male', **gəšin** 'old female', **?ót** 'cow', and **zit** 'ox' are used to express the sex of the head noun as shown below:

- 48a. **kéné ?ats-ís dey-î-n**
 dog male-DEF die-PF-3
 'The male dog died.'
- 48b. **kéné gəšin-is dey-î-n**
 dog female-DEF die-PF-3
 'The female dog died.'
- 49a. **?ót-níts-is dey-î-n**
 cow-child-DEF die-PF-3
 'The female calf died.'
- 49b. **zit-níts-is dey-î-n**
 ox-child-DEF die-PF-3
 'The male calf died.'

Adjectives may precede modifying nouns such as **?atsé** 'old male', **gəšin** 'old female'. In this situation too, these nouns carry the function of modifier noun with the full semantic contribution i.e., inclusive of the sense 'old'. Consider the following examples:

- 50a. **kéné s'an-ub ?atsé**
 dog black-M old.male
 'old black dog (M)'
- 50b. **kéné s'an-ind gəšin**
 dog black-F old.female
 'old black dog (F)'

ʔatsé	‘old (M)’
gəšin	‘old (F)’
níts	‘young’
wolgú	‘new’
ʔéχil	‘baby’
kuysimi	‘middle-aged’

Table-5 Modifying nouns of age

Sentential examples of the above noun modifiers:

51. **maikro ʔíní ʔáfál wolg-ím šin-i-n**
 maikro today cloth new-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘Maikro has bought a new cloth today.’
52. **medan ʔáfál ʔats-ím nár-ó šíʔ-i-n**
 medan cloth old-ACC water-LOC wash-PF-3
 ‘Medan washed the old cloth in water.’
53. **ʔiyy-ís ʔatsé dey-í-n**
 man-DEF old die-PF-3
 ‘The old man died.’
54. **ná níts ʔéχil kóχ-dée-n**
 3SF.SUBJ child baby love-IPF-3
 ‘She loves a baby child.’

It is also possible to indicate the gender of the child by using a female or male noun as a modifier. Consider the following examples.

- 55a. **gošt níts-is** ‘the male child (M)’ ***nits-ub**
 male child-DEF
- 55b. **ʔámzi níts-is** ‘the female child’ ***nits-ind**
 woman child-DEF

Sentential examples:

56. **nú goštú níts-is-im ʔéh-ó ba-bin-n**
 3SM.SUBJ male child-DEF-ACC house-LOC take-go:PF-3
 ‘He brought the boy home.’
57. **nú ʔámzi níts-is-im ʔindiid wons-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ female child-DEF-ACC wife make-PF-3
 ‘He married the young girl.’

Since nouns are not marked for gender the noun **níts** doesn’t take the masculine or feminine gender marker.

The word **yíf-ub** ‘guest’ functions as modifier. For example in **yíf-ub goštú** ‘a (male) guest’ the noun **goštú** ‘man’ is modified by **yíf-ub** ‘guest’. On the other hand, **yíf-ub** can also head a noun phrase by itself as in, **yíf-ub ʔád-i-n** ‘a guest

came’, in which case **yíf-ub** is used independently. However, **yíf-ub** can not be a noun because only adjectives receive the suffix **-ub/-ind**. The inflection of the root form **yíf-** ‘guest’ parallels that of adjectives as given below:

- 58a. **yíf-ub-is** ‘the guest (M)’
 58b. **yíf-ind-is** ‘the guest (F)’
 59. **yíf-ub-is** **nááre** **?ád-i-n**
 guest-M-DEF yesterday come-PF-3
 ‘The guest (M) came yesterday.’
 60. **yíf-ub-is-im** **tuku-m** **wuč’ ?et’**
 guest-M-DEF-ACC coffee-ACC drink say
 ‘Ask the guest (M) to have coffee.’
 61. **yíf-ind-is** **?ámoíd ?ád**
 guest-F-DEF when come
 ‘When did the guest (F) come?’
 62. **yíf-ind-is-im** **?él**
 guest-F:DEF-ACC call
 ‘Call the guest (F)!’

Interestingly, the root **ǎǎb-** ‘steal’ belongs to two word classes in Dime. It is used as an adjective (**ǎǎb-ub** in 63) by adding a gender marker; at the same time, it is used independently as a noun: **ǎǎbi** ‘a thief’ (63b).

- 63a. **ǎǎb-ub** **?ar-is** **ǎǎb-i-n**
 thief-M wood-DEF stole-PF-3
 ‘A thief (M) has stolen the wood.’
 63b. **?is-se-de** **ǎǎbi** **meh** **temm-im** **ǎǎb-i-n.**
 1S.OBJ-LOC-ABL thief money ten-ACC steal-PF-3
 ‘A thief has stolen ten birr from me.’

6 Other word classes

6.1 Numerals

The Dime numeral system is decimal, although there are a few complex numerals which consist of more than one base form. The numerals 1 - 10 are the following:

1.

wókkil	‘one’
k’əstin	‘two’
məkkim	‘three’
ʔúddú	‘four’
šinní	‘five’
láxi	‘six’
tússum	‘seven’
k’əsnášiš	‘eight’
wóklášiš	‘nine’ ²⁹
təmme	‘ten’

The numerals **k’əsnášiš** ‘eight’ and **wóklášiš** ‘nine’ seem to be respectively formed from **k’əstin** ‘two’ and **-ašiš**, and **wókkil** ‘one’ and **-ašiš**. In each case, the final syllable of the lower numeral is dropped. Thus, **k’əsnášiš** can be interpreted as ‘two more to ten’ and **wóklášiš** as ‘one more to ten’.

Numerals (11 to 19) can be formed in two ways: (1) with the combination of **təmme** ‘ten’ and a lower numeral or (2) **təmme** ‘ten’ followed by **ʔáf-ó** plus the lower numerals; **ʔáf-ó** is the locative form of the noun **ʔáfé** ‘mouth’. These two forms can be used alternatively without any meaning difference. **ʔáf-ó** can not be replaced by any other noun. Examples:

- 2a.

təmme	məkkim	dər-áf
ten	three	goat-PL
‘thirteen goats’		
- 2b.

təmme	ʔáf-ó	məkkim	dər-áf
ten	mouth-LOC	three	goat-PL
‘thirteen goats’ [lit. ‘in the mouth of ten (add) three’]			

In the following list, we provide a single representation for the two ways of forming the numerals (11-19):

²⁹ Fleming (1990:541) has (**bokolaš/ukalaš/okolas**). My data show **wokil** which is similar to his last example.

- 3.
- | | | | |
|-------|---------|--------------|-------------|
| təmme | (ʔáf-ó) | wókkil | ‘eleven’ |
| təmme | (ʔáf-ó) | k’əstin | ‘twelve’ |
| təmme | (ʔáf-ó) | məkkim | ‘thirteen’ |
| təmme | (ʔáf-ó) | ʔúddú | ‘fourteen’ |
| təmme | (ʔáf-ó) | šinnî | ‘fifteen’ |
| təmme | (ʔáf-ó) | láxi | ‘sixteen’ |
| təmme | (ʔáf-ó) | tússu | ‘seventeen’ |
| təmme | (ʔáf-ó) | k’aṣnāṣiṣ | ‘eighteen’ |
| təmme | (ʔáf-ó) | wóklāṣiṣ | ‘nineteen’ |

Number twenty has a lexical form **woidu**. The rest of the decimal numbers from thirty up to ninety are formed by a combination of **təmt’i** and the lower numerals. In this combination there is a formal modification of **təmme** ‘ten’ to **təmt’i**.

- 4.
- | | | |
|--------|--------------|-----------|
| woidu | | ‘twenty’ |
| təmt’i | məkkim | ‘thirty’ |
| təmt’i | ʔúddú | ‘fourty’ |
| təmt’i | šinnî | ‘fifty’ |
| təmt’i | láxi | ‘sixty’ |
| təmt’i | tússu | ‘seventy’ |
| təmt’i | k’aṣnāṣiṣ | ‘eighty’ |
| təmt’i | wóklāṣiṣ | ‘ninety’ |

ʔáf-ó may optionally be used in counting from ‘twenty one’ to ‘twenty nine’. Consider the following two examples:

- 5.
- | | | | |
|-------|---------|---------|--------------|
| wóidi | (ʔáf-ó) | wókkil | ‘twenty one’ |
| wóidi | (ʔáf-ó) | k’əstin | ‘twenty two’ |

In the numerals higher than 30 using **ʔáf-ó** is not optional. The absence of **ʔáf-ó** makes the structure ungrammatical in the numerals from thirty to hundred as shown by the forms preceded by (*):

- 6.
- | | | | | | |
|--------|--------------|-------|------------|---------------|------------------------|
| təmt’i | məkkim | ʔáf-ó | wókkil | ‘thirty one’ | *təmt’i-məkkim-wókkil |
| təmt’i | məkkim | ʔáf-ó | k’əstin | ‘thirty two’ | *təmt’i-məkkim-k’əstin |
| təmt’i | ʔúddú | ʔáf-ó | wókkil | ‘fourty one’ | *təmt’i-ʔuddu-wókkil |
| təmt’i | ʔúddú | ʔáf-ó | k’əstin | ‘fourty two’ | *təmt’i-ʔuddu-k’əstin |
| təmt’i | šinnî | ʔáf-ó | wókkil | ‘fifty one’ | |
| təmt’i | šinnî | ʔáf-ó | k’əstin | ‘fifty two’ | |
| təmt’i | láxi | ʔáf-ó | wókkil | ‘sixty one’ | |
| təmt’i | láxi | ʔáf-ó | k’əstin | ‘sixty two’ | |
| təmt’i | tússu | ʔáf-ó | wókkil | ‘seventy one’ | |
| təmt’i | tússu | ʔáf-ó | k’əstin | ‘seventy two’ | |
| təmt’i | k’aṣnāṣiṣ | ʔáf-ó | wókkil | ‘eighty one’ | |
| təmt’i | k’aṣnāṣiṣ | ʔáf-ó | k’əstin | ‘eighty two’ | |
| təmt’i | wóklāṣiṣ | ʔáf-ó | wókkil | ‘ninety one’ | |
| təmt’i | wóklāṣiṣ | ʔáf-ó | wóklāṣiṣ | ‘ninety-nine’ | |

There is one large number after **təmt'i wóklášis ʔáf-ó wóklášis** 'ninety-nine'. This numeral has a simple form **s'éet** 'hundred'. The same simple form is used in a number of Omotic languages, e.g. Maale, Wolaitta, Haro (cf. Azeb Amha 2001, Hirut W/Mariam 2004).

Examples of other complex counting forms:

- 7.
- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| s'éet wókkil ʔáf-ó wókkil | 'one hundred and one' |
| s'éet wókkil ʔáf-ó k'əstin | 'one hundred and two' |
| s'éet wókkil ʔáf-ó təmme | 'one hundred and ten' |
| s'éet wókkil ʔáf-ó woyidu | 'one hundred and twenty' |
| s'éet wókkil ʔáf-ó təmt'i məkkin | 'one hundred and thirty' |
| s'éet k'əstin | 'two hundred' |
| s'éet məkkin | 'three hundred' |
| s'éet təmmi | 'one thousand' |
| s'éet təmmi təmmi | 'ten thousand' |

Ordinal numerals are formed by suffixing the morpheme **-sub** to the cardinal numerals, which is followed by the definite marker **-is**:

8. **wókkil-sub-is** 'the first'
 9. **k'əstin-sub-is** 'the second'
 10. **məkkin-sub-is** 'the third'
 11. **wut-sub-is** 'the fourth'
 12. **šin-sub-is** 'the fifth'
 13. **wóid-sub-is** 'the twentieth'

6.2 Conjunctions

There are a few elements which are used for conjoining or disjoining clauses. The major ones are the suffixes **-ká** 'and, with' and **-ik** 'also, too', (See section 3.5.3). Conjoining words are **dótik** 'or', **ʔendótik** 'but', **dót** 'if', **ʔengašká** 'because', **bow-de-tifó** 'after', **bow-de-wutó** 'before'. We will discuss each of them below:

The element **dótik** 'or' seems to be a combination of two elements. The conditional marker **dót** 'if' and the inclusive **-ik** 'too, also'. Like **-ká**, **dótik** also is marked on both nouns. Examples:

- 14a. **šiftaye dótik taddese dótik ʔád-dée-n**
 Shiftaye or taddese or come-IPF-3
 'Shiftaye or Taddese will come.'
- 14b. **ʔaté sól-im dótik k'is'-im dótik ʔist-tée-t**
 1S.SUBJ enjera-ACC or bread-ACC or eat-IPF-1
 'I will eat enjera or bread.'

The form **ʔendótik** 'but' comprises a number of different morphemes. It seems to be a combination of **ʔen** 'thing', **dót** 'if', **ik** 'too, also'. Examples:

- 15a. **ʔaté ʔéh-ó ʔád-dée-t ʔendótik**
 1S.SUBJ house-LOC come-IPF-1 but
nú ʔád-káy
 3SM.SUBJ come-NEG
 ‘I will come home but he will not come.’

- 15b. **wuč’u ʔendótik gužu-kóy**
 drink but drunkard-NEG
 ‘Drink but do not be a drunkard.’

The other connector is **dót** ‘if’ (see also in section 12.3.2.). It marks conditional clauses. The following are some examples.

- 16a. **sikín-im t’íl-is-im yá wuč’-á dó**
 this-ACC medicine-ACC 2S.SUBJ. drink-CNV1 COND
yá láxt’-ée-n
 2S.SUBJ die-IPF-2
 ‘If you drink this medicine, you will die.’
- 16b. **diib dó ʔaté ʔád-káy**
 rain COND 1S.SUBJ come-NEG
 ‘If it rains, I will not come.’

The conditional clause morpheme **dót** (17a) has an alternate reduced form **-dó**. The short form cliticizes to the element that precedes it, as in (17b-c).

- 17a. **nák-is báyzem-ub dó ʔatí wuč’-t’ub**
 water-DEF cold-M COND 1S.SUBJ drink-FUT
 ‘If the water is cold, I will drink it.’
- 17b. **nák-is báyzem-ub-dó ʔatí wuč’-t’ub**
 water-DEF cold-M-COND 1S.SUBJ drink-FUT
 ‘If the water is cold, I will drink it.’
- 17c. **diib -dó ʔaté ʔád-káy**
 rain-COND 1S.SUBJ come-NEG
 ‘If it rains, I will not come.’

The reason clause linker **ʔengašká** ‘because’ is used to conjoin two clauses (18).

- 18a. **nú meh-bab ʔengašká lílín-is-á**
 3SM.SUBJ money-AGEN because well-CAUS-CNV1
wunt’-ée-n
 work-IPF-3
 ‘He is rich because he works well.’

- 18b. **nú yíz-im šál-káy ?engašká ?átse dán**
 3SM.SUBJ run-ACC can-NEG because old COP
 ‘He can’t run because he is old.’

?engašká often occurs between two clauses. It can also occur sentence initially as in (19a) and (19b).

- 19a. **?engašká řlřř-is-á wunt’-ée-n nú mēh-bab**
 because well-CAUS-CNV1 work-IPF-3 3SM.SUBJ money-AGEN
 ‘Because he works well, he is rich.’
- 19b. **?engašká ?átse dán nú yíz-im šál-káy**
 because old COP 3SM.SUBJ run-ACC can-NEG
 ‘Because he is old, he can’t run.’

The coordinating conjunctions, **bow-de-tifó** ‘after’, **bow-de-wutó** ‘before’ and other connecting elements that are not included here are treated in Section 12.3.5.. Table-2 summarizes the connecting morphemes.

-ik	also/too
dót	if
dót-ik	or
?en-dót-ik	but
?en-gəs-ká	because
wonná-dót-ik/won-ká-dót-ik	although
?en-wonná-dót-ik	therefore

Table-2: Coordinators

6.3 Adverbials

Dime adverbials can be categorized into three semantic groups: manner, time and directional adverbials. Manner adverbs and time adverbs are expressed through simple lexical forms. Directionals are expressed with a bound morpheme.

6.3.1 Manner adverbials

Manner adverbs indicate the manner in which the action is carried out. Dime has a few lexical forms that are used for expressing manner. The following are examples:

20. **nú ?ahó s’afit-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ good write-PF-3
 ‘He wrote well.’
21. **nú bos-ká ?ahó lookum-dée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ very-COM good speak-IPF-3
 ‘He speaks very well.’

Similarly, the adverb **giččo** ‘very’ is added to the quantifiers to express degree.

- 22a. **giččó** **s'us'u** **ʔéh-áf**
 very many house-PL
 'very many houses'
- 22b. **giččó** **yiss-ind** **náre**
 very little-F water
 'very little water'
- 22c. **giččó** **fətt'e** **náre**
 very much water
 'a lot of water'

The adverbs **ʔahó** 'well' and **giččó** 'very' are formally related to the adjectives **ʔahó-b** 'good' and **giččó-b** 'big' respectively.

Other manner adverbs are **ʔólóχ** 'soon' and **ʔóllóχ** 'slowly' which contrast by gemination of the medial consonant. The following are examples:

- 23a. **nú** **ʔólóχ** **láχt'-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ soon die-PF-3
 'He died soon.'
- 23b. **nú** **ʔóllóχ** **dáh-á** **ʔiŋ-dée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ slowly stay-CNV1 go-IPF-3
 'He goes slowly.'

Reduplicated manner adverbs may be used to express intensity of the action. This is illustrated below:

24. **ná** **ʔólóχ ʔólóχ** **ʔits-i-n**
 3SF.SUBJ RDP:quick eat-PF-3
 'She ate very quickly.'

6.3.2 Time adverbials

Adverbials of time that are commonly used are the following:

- 25a. **wutó** 'early/before'
- 25b. **nááre** 'yesterday'
- 25c. **ʔiní** 'today'
- 25d. **gárim** 'tomorrow'

The following are sentential examples:

26. **ná** **ʔiní** **ʔiŋ-dée-n**
 3SF.SUBJ today go-IPF-3P
 'She will go today.'
27. **nú** **mes'af-im** **nááre** **šin-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ book-ACC yesterday buy-PF-3
 'He bought a book yesterday.'

28. **ʔiyy-ís táayi tí-tíŋ-dée-n**
 man-DEF now RDP-go-IPF-3
 ‘The man is going now.’

Reduplication of time adverbials expresses frequentative (or habitual) action as shown in the examples below:

- 29a **nú sitsi-sits-ó bal-ó tíŋ-dée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ RDP-morning-LOC market-LOC go-IPF-3
 ‘He goes to the market every morning.’
- 29b **nú ʔaxte-ʔaxt-ó ʔéh-ó tíŋ-dée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ RDP-evening-LOC home-LOC go-IPF-3
 ‘He goes home every evening.’

The following list includes all attested forms expressing adverbs of time:

sitsó	‘morning’
wutó	‘before’
sáʔat	‘time’ (borrowed from Amharic: säʔat ‘time’)
túrdú	‘year’
sis’í	‘day’
sits’e	‘daily’
ʔirfé	‘month’
táay	‘now’
dáhin	‘late’
ʔólóχ	‘soon’
taak	‘still’
ʔóllóχ	‘slowly’
naáke	‘yesterday’
ʔiní	‘today’
gáɓim	‘tomorrow’
ʔoksín	‘the day after tomorrow’
ʔončil	‘the fourth day’

Table-3: Time adverbials

6.3.3 Directional adverbials

A combination of bound forms is used to express directional adverbs. To express ‘direction towards someone or something’, there are at least two forms. The first one is **-ká-bow** which is formed by a combination of the comitative/instrumental marker **-ká** and the directional lexeme **bow**. It is attached to the goal noun, as in example (30):

- 30a. **kété kî-ká-bow yíz-dée-n**
 3SF.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-COM-DIR run-IPF-3
 ‘They run towards him.’

- 30b. **koos-is-im** **šiftaye** **maikro-ká-bow** **gís'-i-n**
 ball-DEF-ACC shiftaye maikro-COM-DIR kick-PF-3
 'Shiftaye kicked the ball to Maikro.'
- 30c. **kúmz-is** **šiftaye-ká-bow** **?ayim-dée-n**
 fly-DEF shiftaye-COM-DIR move-IPF-3
 'The fly moves towards Shiftaye.'

The form **-ká-bow** can be attached to any noun or pronoun base. In the case of pronouns it is attached to the object form of the pronoun as shown in the following list:

31. **?is-ká -bow** 'towards me'
 wó-ká-bow 'towards us'
 yîn-ká-bow 'towards you (S)'
 ye-ká-bow 'towards you (PL)'
 kó-ká-bow 'towards her'
 kî-ká-bow 'towards him'
 ké-ká-bow 'towards them'

The second way of expressing 'direction towards a goal' is through the use of **bow-gaš-ká**. Like **-ká-bow**, **bow-gaš-ká** also contains the lexeme **bow** and the morpheme **-ká**. However, they occur in different orders (compare examples (30-31) with (32)). Moreover, in **bow-gaš-ká** the two bound morphemes are intervened by the obligatory occurrence of **gaš**, which seems to be derived from the noun **gaše** 'road'. The following are examples:

- 32a. **ná** **?is-ká** **bow-gaš-ká** **?ád-dée-n**
 3SF.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-COM DIR-road-INST come-IPF-3
 'She comes towards me.'
- 32b. **kété** **kî-ká** **bow-gaš-ká** **yîz-dée-n**
 3PL.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-COM DIR-road-INST run-IPF-3
 'They run towards him.'

The 'source of movement to a direction' is expressed by adding the ablative marker **-de** to one of the two directive forms which we discussed above, namely, **-ká-bow**. Examples:

33. **koos** **šiftaye-ká-bow-de** **?uza-ká** **bin-n**
 ball Shiftaye COM-DIR-ABL roll-INST go:PF-3
 'The ball rolled away from Shiftaye.'
34. **šiftaye** **maikro-ká-bow-de** **bin-n**
 Shiftaye Maikro-COM-DIR-ABL go:PF-3
 'Shiftaye left from the place of Maikro.'
35. **koos-is-im** **šiftaye** **maikro-ká-bow-de** **gís'-i-n**
 ball-DEF-ACC shiftaye maikro-COM-DIR-ABL kick-PF-3
 'Shiftaye kicked the ball away from Maikro.'

The combination of **-ká-bow-de** and pronouns yields the following forms:

36. **ʔis-ká-bow-de** ‘from the direction/ place of me’
 wó-ká-bow-de ‘from the direction/ place of us’
 yîn-ká-bow-de ‘from the direction/ place of you (S)’
 ye-ká-bow-de ‘from the direction/ place of you (PL)’
 kó-ká-bow-de ‘from the direction/ place of her’
 kî-ká-bow-de ‘from the direction/ place of him’
 ké-ká-bow-de ‘from the direction/place of them’

Finally, there are two deictic directional adverbs: **sáá-gaš-in** ‘in that direction, i.e., direction further away from the speaker’, and **sóó-gaš-in** ‘in this direction, i.e., direction closer to the speaker’. The forms **sáá-** and **sóó-** have some related forms in demonstrative pronouns, **say-si-nú** ‘that, (further away, visible)’, **ʔoy-si-nú** ‘this, (near and visible)’ (cf. Section 4.2.). Examples:

- 37a. **wó-n** **sáá-gaš-in** **ʔim**
 1PL.OBJ-DAT that-road-DAT give
 ‘Give us through that side (i.e., further away from the speaker).’
 37b. **nú** **sóó-gaš-ká** **ʔad-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ this-road-INST come-PF-3
 ‘He came towards this side (i.e., closer to the speaker).’

The following is a stretch of connected speech, where several examples of the usage of directional adverbials are attested:

- 38a. **ʔaté** **šiftaye** **taddese-ká** **maikro-ká** **dáhi** **koos-im**
 1S.SUBJ shiftaye taddese-CNJ maikro-CNJ be ball-ACC
 yígin-yígin **déen-ká**
 RDP-play exist-PF
 ‘I, Shiftaye, Taddesse and Maikro were playing football.’
 38b. **taddese** **koos-im** **ʔis-ká-bow** **gís'-inká** **maikro** **wonn-á**
 taddese ball-ACC 1S.OBJ-COM-DIR beat-REAS maikro turn-CNV1
 šiftaye-ká-bow **kolits-á** **gís'-i-n**
 shiftaye-COM-DIR pass-CNV1 beat-PF-3
 ‘Taddesse kicked the ball towards me, Maikro got it and he kicked it back and passed it to Shiftaye.’
 38c. **šiftaye** **koos-im** **wonts-á** **maikro-ká-bow** **gašš-in**
 shiftaye ball-ACC return-CNV1 maikro-COM-DIR road-DAT
 yíd-déef-ká **koos-is** **zaak-i-n** **sáá-gaš-ká** **bin-n**
 catch-TEMP-COM ball-DEF roll-PF-3 that-road-INST go-PF-3
 ‘When Shiftaye kicked the ball back towards Maikro, the ball rolled and left towards that way (i.e., it did not reach Maikro).’

- 38d. **sákiyó dad-ée-b níts-is maikro-ká-bow**
 there stay-IPF-RELT (M) child-DEF maikro-COM-DIR
wunts-á gís'-i-n
 return-CNV1 beat-PF-3
 'The child who was walking around nearby kicked it back to Maikro.'
- 38e. **koos-is za-zag-ima maikro-ká-bow ?ád-á wuy-i-n**
 ball-DEF RDP:roll-INCH maikro-COM-DIR come-CNV1 stand-PF-3
maikro šiftaye-ká-bow wontsá gís'-i-n
 maikro shiftaye-COM-DIR return-CNV1 beat-PF-3
 'The ball rolled towards Maikro and it stopped near him. Maikro then kicked it back towards Shiftaye.'
- 38f. **koos-im šiftaye ?is-ká-bow gís'-inká**
 ball-ACC shiftaye 1S.OBJ-COM-DIR beat-REAS
?até šiftaye-ká-bow wonts-á gís'-inká
 1S.SUBJ shiftaye-COM-DIR return-CNV1 beat-REAS
wótú yissá yígim-i-t
 2PL.SUBJ some play-PF-1
 'Shiftaye kicked the ball towards me, I kicked it back towards Shiftaye and we played like this for some time.'
- 38g. **koos-is gaš-ká-bow zaa-ká gaše dadéey-id wonts-á**
 ball-DEF road-INST-DIR roll-INSTroad RDP:exist-PL return-CNV1
wó-ká-bow gís'-i-n
 1PL-COM-DIR beat-PF-3
 'The ball rolled towards passers-by in the road, they kicked it back towards us.'
- 38h. **kiyó wonn-á sáa-gaš-ká sóo-gaš-ká yissá yígim-i-t**
 there turn-CNV1 there-road-INST here-road-INST some play-PF-1
 'We played the ball by directing it to here and there (in the road).'

6.4 Question words

The following are interrogative pronouns or content question words of Dime:

Subject	Object	
wúyú	wúy-ím	what
?áyí	?áy-ím	who
?ámo		where
?ásiyá		how
?ameh		how many
?ámóid		when
?áminú		which
?ásinká		why

Table-4: Question words

Among the above eight interrogative pronouns two have an accusative form i.e., **wúy-ím** ‘what’, **?áy-ím** ‘whom’. Moreover, except for the first interrogative pronoun **wúyú** ‘what’ the others begin with the same syllable **?a-**.

The content question word **?ásiyá** ‘how’ is used in greetings, e.g., **?ástadée** ‘how are you?’ which contains **?ás-** ‘how’. Similarly, **?ás ?oxt** ‘good morning’ consists of **?ás** ‘how’ and **?oxt** ‘morning’.

7 Noun phrase and quantifier phrase

The present chapter on syntax provides basic information on noun phrases with nouns, adjectives, numerals, possessive marker, demonstratives and relative clauses as modifiers. We also discuss locative noun phrases and measure phrases (quantifier phrase).

7.1 Noun phrases

In Dime, noun phrases have a flexible word order: both head-modifier and modifier-head orders occur. A noun can be modified by another noun, an adjective, a numeral, or a demonstrative. The order of morphemes in the noun phrase follows the following pattern: in modifiers, the first inflectional morpheme is the gender marker, then follow, an optional plural marker, the definite marker and finally the case marker. In nouns, the first inflectional morpheme is the plural marker which is followed by the definite and case markers; the inclusive marker **-ik** may follow the case marker word finally.

Gender is marked on modifiers but not on the head noun. If the noun is plural the plural agreement morpheme, **-id**, is suffixed on the modifier(s). In some cases the nominal plural marker **-af** can also be affixed to a modifier. But the morphemes **-id** and **-af** do not cooccur. Definiteness and case markers often occur phrase finally but it is also possible to mark both the modifier and head noun in the phrase by definiteness and case morphemes. Numeral modifiers may or may not be marked with the plural agreement morpheme. Generally, the syntax of noun phrases exhibits flexibility in the order of constituents i.e., with few exceptions modifiers can precede or follow their head noun. There is also a degree of flexibility in marking grammatical morphemes which are part of the head noun on the modifier. These include number, definiteness and case marking morphemes.

In the following section we will discuss nouns with different modifiers.

7.1.1 Noun phrases with a noun as modifier

When a noun is used as modifier, the order of the head noun and the modifier noun is not free. The noun modifier always precedes the head noun. In the following examples the constituent order cannot be reversed:

- 1a. **?ot nîts**
 cow child
 ‘female calf’
- 1b. **zit nîts**
 ox child
 ‘male calf’

The modifiers **?ot** ‘cow’ and **zit** ‘ox’ express the gender of the head noun **nîts** ‘child’, which in this context refers to a newly born calf. Similarly, the nouns **goštú** ‘man’ and **?ámze** ‘woman’ modify the head noun **nîts** ‘child’ to express the gender

of a newly born baby.

- 2a. **gošt nīts**
 man child
 ‘male baby’

- 2b. **ʔámz nīts**
 woman child
 ‘female baby’

The examples (1) and (2) have modifier-head order. In these examples the order of constituents cannot be changed whereas generally word order in noun phrases is flexible. Thus, reversing **ʔot nīts** to **nīts ʔot** or **gošt nīts** to **nīts gošt** in the examples in (1-2) is not possible. There are a few examples with noun-noun pattern but these do not seem to be phrases. The following are examples:

- 3a. **nīts-ind**
 child-mother
 ‘one’s brother, born by the same biological mother’

- 3b. **dǎmm-aak**
 drum-wood
 ‘wooden drum’

- 4a. **nák máy**
 water pot
 ‘water pot’

- 4b. **wohú máy**
 meat pot
 ‘meat pot’

7.1.2 Noun phrases with adjectives as modifiers

When the head noun is modified by an adjective, the adjective takes a morphological gender marker in agreement with the head noun: **-ub** is affixed to the adjective when the head noun is masculine while **-ind** and **-id** are respectively attached to the head noun when it is feminine singular and plural.

The word order is flexible when the modifier is an adjective (cf. section 12.5).

- 5a. **goštú gúdúm-ub ʔád-dée-n**
 man tall-M come-IPF-3
 ‘A tall man will come.’

- 5b. **gúdúm-ub goštú ʔád-dée-n**
 tall-M man come-IPF-3
 ‘A tall man will come.’

- 6a. **ʔámzi s'án-ind-is láxt'-ée-n**
 woman black-F-DEF die-IPF-3
 'The black woman will die.'
- 6b. **s'án-ind-is ʔámz-is láxt'-ée-n**
 black-F-DEF woman-DEF die-IPF-3
 'The black woman will die.'

The adjectives **gúdum-ub** 'tall', **s'án-ind** 'black', are modifiers of the head nouns **goštú** 'man', **ʔámzi** 'woman'.

As showed in Section 3.5.1, the accusative case, i.e. one of the core cases, appears not only in nouns but also on certain dependents of the noun such as adjectives and determiners. It is generally marked on the last element of the noun phrase, whether the phrase-final element is a head or modifier. However, in some instances both the head noun and the modifiers are marked for the accusative case (see Section 12.2). The following examples demonstrate phrasal marking of the accusative case. Examples:

- 7a. **kéné ʔeftí giččo-b-im deis-i-n**
 dog bird big-M-ACC kill-PF-3
 'A dog killed a big bird.'
- 7b. **kéné giččo-b ʔeft-ím deis-i-n**
 dog big-M bird-ACC kill-PF-3
 'A dog killed a big bird.'

Due to the flexible order of Adj + N or N + Adj, example (7b) has two readings. It can be "a big dog killed a bird" because the adjective **giččo-b** 'big' can modify the noun **kéné** 'dog' as in (8). Alternatively, it can be understood as: 'a dog killed a big bird' because the adjective **giččo-b** 'big' can also modify the noun **ʔeft-ím** 'bird' (9).

8. **kéní giččo-b**
 dog big-M
 'big dog'
9. **giččo-b ʔeft-ím.**
 big-M bird-ACC
 'big bird'

If the position of the modifier is before the first noun, the above ambiguity is avoided as (10).

10. **giččo-b kéní ʔeft-ím deis-i-n**
 big-LOC-M dog bird-ACC kill-PF-3
 'A big dog killed a bird.'

Marking the left-most word of the NP for case leads to ungrammaticality as in (11):

11. ***kén-ím giččo-b ʔeffi deis-i-n**
 dog-ACC big-LOC-M bird kill-PF-3
 Intended meaning:... ‘A big dog killed a bird.’

If the noun is plural and it is marked by the suffix **-af**, the adjective accordingly takes the plural agreement morpheme **-id**, as in example (12):

12. **s’án-id wúdúr-af-is yíziz-dée-n**
 black-PL girl-PL-DEF run:RDP-IPF-3
 ‘The black girls are running.’

The agreement morpheme **-id** is not needed when the plural marker **-af** is suffixed to the adjective.

- 13a. **ʔámzi tón-ind-is-im baʔ-i-n**
 woman small-F-DEF-ACC take-PF-3
 ‘The woman took the smaller one.’
- 13b. **ʔámzi tón-ind-af-is-im baʔ-i-n**
 woman small-F-PL-DEF-ACC take-PF-3
 ‘The woman took the smaller ones.’

When a sequence of adjectives occurs in the same NP, the order of adjectives is not restricted. Compare the order in the following examples:

14. **sinú gúit’-ub k’óol-ub ʔiyy-ís láxt’-i-n**
 this white-M thin-M man-DEF die-PF-3
 ‘This white skinny man died.’
15. **sinú k’óol-ub gúit’-ub ʔiyy-ís láxt’-i-n**
 this thin-M white-M man-DEF die-PF-3
 ‘This skinny white man died.’
16. **sanú ʔahó-b giččo-b kén-ís dey-î-n**
 that good-M big-M dog-DEF die-PF-3
 ‘That big good dog died.’

Interestingly, when a series of adjectives are used as modifiers, the adjectives need not occur together. Some may occur before the noun while the remaining ones follow the head noun (17). This aspect of the syntax and its implication for constituent identification is not fully understood and it needs further research.

- 17a. **sanú giččo-b kéné ʔahó-b-is dey-î-n**
 that big-M dog good-M-DEF die-PF-3
 ‘That big good dog died.’
- 17b. **ʔahó-b-is gúdúm-ub k’óol-ub zimí ʔátsi**
 good-M-DEF tall-M thin-M chief old
 ‘The good, tall, thin, old chief.’

7.1.3 Noun phrases with numeral and possessive noun as modifiers

When the numeral occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase, it is marked for number, case and definiteness. Otherwise the head noun is marked for case. Compare the following two examples:

- 18a. **maikro k'əstin-id zim-áf-is-im yéf-i-n**
 maikro two-PL chief-PL-DEF-ACC see-PF-3
 'Maikro saw the two chiefs.'
- 18b. **maikro zimé k'əstin-áf-is-im yéf-i-n**
 maikro chief two-PL-DEF-ACC see-PF-3
 'Maikro saw the two chiefs.'

In noun phrases in which the modifier numeral is **k'əstin** 'two' or higher (e.g. **mákkim** 'three'), plural marking on the head noun is optional (18b).

Numerals show number agreement (20-21) but this is not obligatory, as we have seen in example 24 of chapter 5, which is repeated below as example (19):

19. **mákkim gúdúm-id zim-áf ʔád-i-n**
 three tall-PL chief-PL come-PF-3
 'Three tall chiefs came.'
20. **mákkim-id ʔámz-af ʔád-i-n**
 three-PL woman-PL come-PF-3
 'Three women came.'
21. **k'əstin-id wúdúr-af-is yízíz-dée-n**
 two-PL girl-PL-DEF RDP-play-IPF-3
 'The two girls are running.'

A possessive pronoun requires the genitive suffix **-kó** and it precedes the noun. For instance, in (22-23), **ʔis-kó** 'my' modifies the head noun **zimí** 'chief' that follows it.

22. **ʔaté ʔis-kó zim-ím yéf-i-n**
 1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN chief-ACC see-PF-3
 'I saw my chief.'
22. **ʔaté ʔis-kó zim-áf-ím yéf-i-n**
 1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN chief-PL-ACC see-PF-3
 'I saw my chiefs.'
23. **ʔaté ʔis-kó k'əstin-id zim-áf-ím yéf-i-n**
 1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN two-PL chief-PL-ACC see-PF-3
 'I saw my two chiefs.'

Thus, a possessive pronoun modifier is not as flexible in word order as adjective and numeral modifiers.

7.1.4 Noun phrases with demonstratives as modifiers

The head noun can be preceded or followed by a demonstrative. Demonstratives agree with their head noun in number and gender. These are bound morphemes which consist of the proximal/distal marker plus a third person feminine or masculine pronouns (see section 4. 2). For instance, **sinú** ‘this (M)’ is a combination of the proximal morpheme **si-** ‘this’ and the third person singular masculine pronoun **nú** ‘he’, while **sana** ‘that (F)’ consists of the distal morpheme **sa-** and the third person singular feminine pronoun **na** ‘she’. In the present section I simply translate **sinú** and **sana** as ‘this’ and ‘that’ and **sikét** and **sakét** as ‘these’ and ‘those’ respectively.

In examples (24-27), the demonstratives modify the nouns **?ámze** ‘woman’, **goštú** ‘man’, **zimí** ‘chief’. In all cases, the demonstratives precede the head noun.

- 24a. **sinú goštú**
this:M man
‘this man’
- 24b. **sana ?ámzi**
that:F woman
‘that woman’
- 25a. **sa-két zim-áf-is**
those chief-PL-DEF
‘those chiefs’
- 25b. **si-két k’əstin zim-áf-is ?ád-i-n**
these two chief-PL-DEF come-PF-3
‘These two chiefs came.’

The following examples illustrate that demonstratives may follow their head noun.

26. **?ámz-is siná**
woman-DEF this (F)
‘this woman’
27. **?ámz-is sana**
woman-DEF that (F)
‘that woman’

7.1.5 Noun phrases with the relative clause as modifier

The relative clause is marked for the gender or number of the noun that it modifies. When the modified noun is feminine the feminine gender marker is attached to the relative verb in agreement with the gender of the relativised noun. The same holds for the masculine and plural relativised noun as in the examples in (28-29). (See also section 12.2).

- 28a. [bay-im ʔist-ée-b-is] goštú č'ək'k'-ub
 food-ACC eat-IPF-M.RELT-DEF man small-M
 'The man who eats food is small.'
- 28b. [bay-im ʔist-ée-d-is] gošt-áf č'ək'k'-ub
 food-ACC eat-IPF-PL:RELT-DEF man-PL small-M
 'The men who eat food are small.'
- 29a. [bay-im ʔist-ée-nd-is] ʔámze č'ək'k'-ind
 food-ACC eat-IPF-F.RELT-DEF woman small-F
 'The woman who eats food is small.'
- 29b. [bay-im ʔist-ée-d-is] ʔámz-af č'ək'k'-ub
 food-ACC eat-IPF-PL:RELT-DEF woman-PL small-M
 'The women who eat food are small.'

The word order of the head noun and the relative clause is flexible (30) and (31).

30. goštú [ʔist-ée-b-is bay-im] č'ək'k'-ub
 man eat-IPF-M.RELT-DEF food-ACC small-M
 'The man who eats food is small.'
31. ʔámze [ʔist-ée-nd-is bay-im] č'ək'k'-ub
 woman eat-F.RELT-DEF food-ACC small-M
 'The woman who eats food is small.'

When the relative clause precedes the noun it modifies, the relative verb must occur as the final constituent of the relative clause. For instance, the relative clause in (32), which contains the same constituents as examples (28) and (30) is ungrammatical because the order of the two constituents within the pre-nominal relative clause, i.e., the verb and its complement, is changed.

32. [ʔist-ée-b-is bay-im] goštú č'ək'k'-ub
 eat-IPF-M.RELT-DEF food-ACC man small-M
 Intended meaning:... 'The man who eats food is small.'

7.1.6 Locative noun phrases

The nouns **máte** 'head', **dóóttu** 'leg', and **gómp** 'back' have a locative form **mátt-ó** 'over', **dóótt-ó** 'under', and **gómp-ó** 'behind', respectively. They express a locative relation by combining with another noun. The order of the constituents is fixed. In example (33a-b) both nouns are marked with the locative suffix **-ó** whereas in the examples in (34-35), the first noun is marked with the genitive morpheme **-ko** and the second noun is marked with the locative suffix **-ó**. In the examples in (33), it is difficult to identify the exact status of the suffix **-ó** on the first member of the pair of nouns, i.e., **ʔák-is-ó** (33a) and **ʔéh-ó** (33b). The **-ó** on these nouns could be a shortened form of the genitive **-ko**, because this suffix is used in the parallel examples in (34-35). Alternatively, the **-ó** on the first noun of the locative noun phrases in (33) could be assigned through concord with the second noun in the phrase. This second

explanation is plausible because in Dime modifier and head can take the same affixes even when this is not needed structurally e.g., definiteness and accusative case markers may occur on both modifier(s) and the head noun (see section 11.4. ex.28 and 29). Whether there is any semantic difference related to the alternative use of possessive **-ko** and locative **-ó** in the locative phrases such as those in (33a-b) is not known. Further investigation is needed to resolve this.

- 33a. **wúdúr-is** **ʔák-is-ó** **dóótt-ó** **dáh-i-n**
 girl-DEF tree-DEF-LOC leg-LOC sit-PF-3
 ‘The girl sat under the tree.’
- 33b. **nú** **ʔéh-ó** **gómp-ó** **wuy-dée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ house-LOC back-LOC stand-IPF-3
 ‘He stands behind the house.’
- 34a. **níts-is** **ʔámz-is-ko** **gómp-ó** **dáh-i-n**
 child-DEF woman-DEF-GEN back-LOC sit-PF-3
 ‘The child sat behind the woman.’
- 34b. **nú** **níts-is-ko** **mátt-ó** **ʔútil-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ child-DEF-GEN head-LOC jump-PF-3
 ‘He jumped over the child.’
35. **nú** **t’erep’ez-ko-de** **mátt-ó** **ʔútil-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ table-GEN-ABL head-LOC jump-PF-3
 ‘He jumped over the table.’

The examples in (36) demonstrate that **bafó** ‘near’, **gɔyó** ‘inside’ are used in a similar way as **mátt-ó** ‘over’, **dóótt-ó** ‘under’, and **gómp-ó** ‘behind’ which are discussed above. However, unlike the latter nouns, **bafó** ‘near’, **gɔyó** ‘inside’ do not have a corresponding citation form. Thus, we have to address the question whether the final vowel of the two nouns is part of the lexical root or whether it is the locative morpheme **-ó**. In the present analysis, we assume that the final vowel of these words is the locative marker **-ó** because **bafó** ‘near’ and **gɔyó** ‘inside’ occur in parallel constructions as those in (33) which clearly have a suffixal **-ó** and because there are no other citation form nouns in Dime which end in the vowel **-ó** (see also Section 3.5.5.).

- 36a. **níts-is** **ʔind-is-ko** **baf-ó** **dáh-i-n**
 child-DEF mother-DEF-GEN near-LOC sit-PF-3
 ‘The child sat near his mother.’
- 36b. **lál-is** **ʔéh-ís-ó** **gɔy-ó** **dán**
 stone-DEF house-DEF-LOC inside-LOC COP
 ‘The stone is inside the house.’

The constituents on the right hand side of the locative noun phrases are not postpositions because they occur following case marked nouns and they themselves are also marked for locative case. Additional examples:

37. **níts-is** **yer-ís-ko** **gómp-ó** **dáh-i-n**
 child-DEF donkey-DEF-GEN back-LOC sit-PF-3
 ‘The child sat behind the donkey.’
38. **níts-is** **yer-ís-ko** **gómp-sé** **dáh-i-n**
 child-DEF donkey-DEF-GEN back-LOC sit-PF-3
 ‘The child sat on the back of the donkey.’

7.1.7 Measure phrases

Measure phrases have nominal heads that signify entities, which are employed as units of measurement. Any noun phrase indicating quantity, size, distance etc., can be called a measure phrase (cf. Matthews 1997). Measure phrases in Dime express precise amounts of both [-count] and [+count] nouns; structurally, they function as specifiers of the head noun that is being quantified. The following are examples:

39. **mákkim** **dzáyáy** **yilé**
 three metre land
 ‘three metres of land’
40. **k’əstin** **dzáyáy** **ʔáɾe**
 two metre wood
 ‘two metres of wood’

In examples (41-43) below, the morpheme **-ká** is suffixed to the head noun. **-ká** in this use represents the instrumental case; it is used when the measure noun refers to some kind of container or means of transportation (in contrast **-ká** is not used in the examples in (39-40))

41. **k’əstin** **ʔakim-ká** **náɾe**
 two calabash-INST water
 ‘two calabash of water’ (Lit. two calabash with/by water)
42. **šinní** **ʔoxur-ká** **gíčí**
 five sack-INST teff
 ‘five sacks of teff (Lit. five sacks with/by teff)’

In the above examples, the measure phrase as a whole, e.g., **k’əstin ʔakim-ká** ‘two calabash’ (41-42), **šinní ʔoxur-ká** ‘five sack’ (42), specifies the head noun, i.e., **náɾe** and **gíčí**, respectively.

The noun modified by a measure phrase can be a simple noun as in (41-42), or it can also be a noun plus a modifier as in (43), in which the head **bunú** is modified by **ʔaf-ó**:

43. **k’əstin** **ʔakim-ká** **ʔaf-ó** **bunú**
 two calabash-INST seed-LOC coffee
 ‘two calabash coffee beans’

The measure phrases quantify uncountable nouns such as **gíčí** ‘teff’, **náɾe** ‘water’, as

in (42-43) as well as countable nouns such as **ʔáɹe** ‘wood’ as in (40), which are heads of the complex noun phrase. The measurement expressions contain countable nouns (sacks, bottles, metres), which may themselves be specified by numerals, for instance, ‘two bottles’. Moreover, various ways of transportation can also function as quantifiers of heads in measure phrases. These too take the instrumental marker **-ká** as shown below:

44. **šinne yer-ká ɕʼandʒ-ub šinde**
 five donkey-INST load-M wheat
 ‘five donkey-loads of wheat’
45. **təmmé məkkin-ká ɕʼandʒ-ub kábbe**
 ten car-INST loads-M maize
 ‘ten car-loads of maize’

In Dime measure phrases precede the head noun. If the measure phrase and the head noun are reversed the structure becomes ungrammatical. Consider the following examples:

46. ***náɹe tʼərmús-ká kʼəstin**
 water bottle-INST two
 Intended meaning:... ‘two bottles of water’
47. ***yilé dʒáyáy məkkin**
 land metre three
 Intended meaning:... ‘three metres of land’

Within the measure phrase, however, it is possible to reverse the numeral and the unit of measurement as shown below:

48. **kʼəstin ʔakim-ká náɹe**
 two calabash-INST water
 ‘two calabashes of water’
49. **tʼərmús-ká kʼəstin náɹe**
 bottle-INST two water
 ‘two bottles of water’
50. **məkkin dʒáyáy yilé**
 three metre land
 ‘three metres of land’
51. **dʒáyáy məkkin yilé**
 meter three land
 ‘three metres of land’

In other Ethiopian languages such as Koorete (North Omotic) there is a similar structure of classifier phrases (Baye Yimam 1984, Biniyam Sisay 2002, Getahun Amare 2003).

Dime also has noun classifier phrases which are similar in structure to the measurement phrases we discussed above. The classifier noun phrase does not use measurement or container terms but rather individuating and enumerating nouns.

52. **ʔáf-ó wókkil bun-ko**
 eye-LOC one coffee-GEN
 ‘one coffee bean’
53. **máte kábbe wókkil**
 head maize one
 ‘one cob maize’
- 54a. **čʔičʔi kʼəstin ʔayim-ko kááse**
 root two enset-GEN plant
 ‘two individual plants of enset’
- 54b. **čʔičʔi láχ kábbi-ko kááse**
 root six maize-GEN plant
 ‘six individual plants of maize’
- 54c. **čʔičʔi ʔúddú birtukan-ko kááse**
 root four orange-GEN plant
 ‘four individual orange plants’

The selection of the head noun of the classifier phrase, e.g. **čʔičʔi** ‘root’ in **čʔičʔi kʼəstin** ‘two roots’ in (54a), **ʔáf-ó** ‘seed’ in **ʔáf-ó wókkil** ‘one seed’ (in 52), is based on whether the head of the complex noun phrase refers to a plant, or to different parts of the plant, e.g., seed or fruit.

If the numerals are dropped from the above phrases this would lead to ungrammatical structure. Parallel to the examples in (54), we get the following unacceptable expressions:

55. ***čʔičʔi ʔayim-ko kááse**
 root enset-GEN plant
 Intended meaning:... ‘two individual plants of enset’
56. ***čʔičʔi káb-ko kááse**
 root maize-GEN plant
 Intended meaning:... ‘six individual plants of maize’
57. ***čʔičʔi birtukan-ko kááse**
 root orange-GEN plant
 Intended meaning:... ‘four individual orange plants’

Classifier nouns precede the noun (phrase) which they modify. Within the classifier noun phrase, the numeral and the classifier noun may change their order.

It is common in Dime that the accusative case is marked at the right edge of the noun phrase. Therefore, if the classifier is the last element within the complex noun phrase, it is marked for the accusative case (in the same manner as other noun phrases).

58. **nú** **ʔúddú** **k'ab-ko** **mát-im** **das-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ four maize-GEN head-ACC cut-PF-3
 'He cut four heads of maize.'
59. **ná** **šinní** **bun-ko** **ʔaf-im** **k'aid-ée-n**
 3SF.SUBJ five coffee-GEN seed-ACC need-IPF-3
 'She wants five beans of coffee.'
60. **wótú** **k'əstin** **kamay-ko** **mát-im** **šin-i-t**
 we two sorghum-GEN head-ACC buy-PF-1
 'We have bought two heads of sorghum.'

However, changing the order of numerals, classifier and head nouns is also possible. If we compare examples (58) and (61), the structures correspond exactly to Amharic, **hulət yəmašilla ras** 'two head of Sorghum(two Sorghum head)' or **hulət ras mašilla** 'two head of Sorghum' etc. Compare the examples in 58-60 with those 61-63.

61. **nú** **máti** **ʔúdd-ím** **k'ab-ko** **das-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ head four-ACC maize-GEN cut-PF-3
 'He has cut four heads of maize.'
62. **ná** **šinní** **ʔáf-im** **bun-ko** **k'aid-ée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ five fruit-ACC coffee-GEN need-IPF-3
 'She wants five beans of coffee.'
63. **wótú** **k'əstin** **mát-im** **kamay-ko** **šin-i-t**
 1PL.SUBJ two head-ACC sorghum-GEN buy-PF-1
 'We have bought two heads of sorghum.'

The noun classifier phrases **mát ʔúdd-im** 'four head' in (61), **šinní ʔáf-im** 'five fruits' in (62), and **k'əstin mát-im** 'two heads' in (63) restrict their respective heads. When the genitive marker **-ko** is suffixed to the nouns **k'ábbe** 'maize', **bunú** 'coffee', **kəmay** 'sorghum', the accusative marker is suffixed to the classifier noun phrases such as **máti ʔúddú-m** 'four head', **šinní ʔáf-im** 'five beans', and **k'əstin mát-im** 'two head' as in (61), (62) and (63), respectively. It is not clear why the accusative is marked on the classifier phrases, while the genitive is marked on the head noun. Maybe the head noun represents the whole part of the noun, while the classifier represents one of the part (partitive).

Dime has yet another strategy to classify nouns, which can be considered as classification of functions of certain entities. For example, cattle can be categorized as 'meat-cattle', 'farm-cattle', and 'milk-cattle', etc. The following are examples:

66. **dʒíši** **wəxən** **k'əstin**
 milk cattle two
 'two milk cows'

67. **mǎkkim wǒhú wǒɣən**
 three meat cattle
 ‘three meat cattle’
68. **wókkil yǐŋi wǒɣən**
 one land cattle
 ‘one ploughing ox’

In the above constructions the numeral plus noun forms are not classifier phrases, rather they label the function or role of the different types of cattle.

Generally, only a few types of classifier phrase are identified in Dime. Maybe this result supports the typological analysis of Creissels (2000), who pointed out that nominal classification systems are more used in East Asian languages, but are extremely rare in African languages. In Dime, measure phrases, classifier nouns and the functional categorization are used side by side to a limited extent (cf. Aikhenvald 2000 for a cross-linguistic analysis of classifiers).

8 Verb inflections

This chapter contains discussion of the verb root, subject-agreement, tense-aspect marking, and negation. All verb inflections in Dime involve suffixation.

8.1 Verb roots and the imperative

The basic verb is mainly biconsonantal. Hayward (2000:93) states that the Omotic verb root is most frequently biconsonantal, as is also the case in Chadic and Cushitic languages. The imperative form of the verb is the simplest verb form in Dime. The imperative stem can end in one of the vowels **-e**, **-i**, and **-u** or in any consonant. However, the basic form or the imperative verb stems which end in vowels lose the vowel when suffixes are added to the basic form, e.g., the plural addressee marker **-is** or the negative marker **-kóy**. We can thus categorize the basic verb in two types. The first one contains verbs that end in a vowel, and the second one contains verbs that end in a consonant. Both type I and type II verbs have the same structure after suffixation, as in the plural addressee form in the following table:

	Imperative stem		
	Basic form (Single addressee)	Plural addressee	
Type I	yízi	yíz-is	Run
	ʔáde	ʔád-is	Come
	wuč'u	wuč'-is	Drink
Type II	ʔuuš	ʔuuš-iš	Cook
	tálk'	tálk'-is	Borrow
	s'ááh	s'ááh-is	Vomit
	kúb	kúb-is	Carry

Table-1: The basic verb forms of Dime

In the type I imperative stems the final vowels are varied. This is due to the vowel harmony between the root vowel and the imperative vowel. The final vowel assimilates completely to a preceding **i**, **e** or **u** but this is not the case with **o** and **a**. If the first vowel is **o** the second is either **o** or **u**. If the first vowel is **a**, the following vowel is either **e** or **i**. That is the vowels **o** and **a** show harmony in roundness. The following examples demonstrate the vowel harmony of the final vowel with the preceding one.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|------------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------|---------|
| 1. | e -ending | | i -ending | | u -ending | |
| | ʔééné | 'say' | ʔími | 'give' | ʔúdú | 'put' |
| | šemé | 'beg' | tíŋi | 'go' | kuyú | 'dig' |
| | t'eesé | 'know' | yízi | 'run' | wuč'u | 'drink' |
| | ʔáde | 'come' | gámi | 'win' | fótu | 'fail' |

As can be observed from the above examples, imperative verbs have a final vowel whose shape is to a large extent determined by the preceding root vowel and which disappears before suffixation. In addition, there are very few verbs ending with **-o** in Dime, for instance, **boóno** ‘be sufficient’, **fooko** ‘embrace’, **k’oŋk’o** ‘knock’ which show similar pattern to the previous examples. There are also some exceptional verb forms where final vowels are not determined by the preceding root vowel, for example: **k’oté** ‘arrive’, **bósini** ‘end/finish’, **bukté** ‘take by force’, **bolidi** ‘forecast’ etc.

The basic verb form is used in commands and in some interrogatives with content question words (cf. 4a below). In negative imperatives or prohibitions the final vowel of the basic verb is dropped and the special negative marker **-kóy** (not the negative declarative marker **káy**), is attached to the verb root. Consider the following examples:

2.	Commands	Prohibitions	
	yízi	‘Run!’	yíz-kóy ‘Do not run!’
	géhé	‘Push!’	géh-kóy ‘Do not push!’
	ʔólóχ	‘Hurry!’	ʔólóχ-kóy ‘Do not hurry!’
	dáhin	‘Wait!’	dáhin-kóy ‘Do not wait!’
	wúy	‘Stop!’	wúy-kóy ‘Do not stop!’

For plural addressees the imperative verb is marked by **-is**. This morpheme is suffixed only to utterances directed to participants in the dialogue such as commands, questions, and greetings.

- 3a. **ʃiftaye k’int’i**
 shiftay stand.up
 ‘Shiftaye stand up!’
- 3b. **ʃiftaye-ká taddese-ká k’int’-is**
 shiftaye-CNJ taddese-CNJ stand_up-PL.ADR
 ‘Shiftay and Taddese stand up!’
- 4a. **ʔás ʔoχt**
 how spend night
 ‘Good morning! (singular addressee)’
- 4b. **ʔás ʔoχt-is**
 how spend night-PL.ADR
 ‘Good morning! (pl. addressee)’

The following examples illustrate the use of the morpheme **-is** in interrogative clauses:

- 5a. **yá wúy-ím ʔits**
 2S.SUBJ what-ACC eat:Q
 ‘What did you (2S) eat?’ (cf. basic form: **ʔitsi**)

- 5b. **yá wúy-ím ʔits-dée**
 2S.SUBJ what-ACC eat-IPF:Q
 ‘What do you (2S) eat?’
- 5c. **yesé wúy-ím ʔits-ís**
 2PL.SUBJ what-ACC eat-PL.ADR:Q
 ‘What did you (2PL) eat?’

The suffix **-is** does not occur with first and third person. Consider the following examples:

6. **ná ʔás ʔox̣t**
 3SF.SUBJ how night
 ‘How is she doing today?’ (lit. How did she pass the night)’
7. **nú wúy-ím ʔits**
 3MS.SUBJ what-ACC eat
 ‘What did he eat?’
8. **ná ʔámóid ʔád**
 3FS.SUBJ when come
 ‘When did she come?’

Fleming (1990:568) states that verb roots with the suffix **-u** and with the suffix **-m** are used with a single addressee, while verb roots with the suffix **-is** are used when the command is directed to two or more addressees. However, as we have shown above, the verb roots may end in a vowel or a consonant in the case of a single addressee, while the suffix **-is** is used consistently with plural addressees. Whether the difference in our observations are based on dialect differences needs to be checked.

8.2 Subject agreement marking

Subject agreement in Dime is marked only in declarative affirmative clauses (for indirect indication of the second person in interrogative verbs, see section 12.4). The agreement indicates only person, distinguishing first person from second and third persons. The verb does not indicate the number and gender of the subject. The suffix **-t** indicates that the subject of the clause is first person (singular or plural), and the suffix **-n** indicates second and third person singular and plural subjects. The following table illustrates person marking in Dime verbs.

Verbal affix	Person
-t	1(S and PL)
-n	2 and 3 (S and PL)

Table-2: Person markers

The following are examples that show person agreement on the verb.

- 9a. **ʔaté don-ím déχ-i-t**
1S.SUBJ potato-ACC cook-PF-1
'I cooked potato.'
- 9b. **wótú don-ím déχ-i-t**
1PL.SUBJ potato-ACC cook-PF-1
'We cooked potato.'
- 9c. **nú don-ím déχ-i-n**
3SM.SUBJ potato-ACC cook-PF-3
'He cooked potato.'
- 9d. **ná don-ím déχ-i-n**
3SF.SUBJ potato cook-PF-3
'She cooked potato.'
- 9e. **yá don-ím déχ-i-n**
2S.SUBJ potato cook-PF-2
'You cooked potato.'

In summary, when the subject is first person the person marker in the verb is **-t**; it is **-n** when the subject is second or third person. The verb does not indicate whether the subject is plural or singular; masculine or feminine.

8.3 Aspect marking

Tense-aspect is expressed using suffixation and reduplication. In Dime the first person is distinguished from other persons as demonstrated in the overview in table 2. There is no person differentiation in the progressive past.

person	imperfective	progressive(now)	Progressive(past)	perfective	far past
1	ʔád-dée-t	ʔád-ʔád-dée-t	ʔád-ʔád-déen-ká	ʔád-i-t	ʔád-ʔád-i-t
others	ʔád-dée-n	ʔád-ʔád-dée-n	ʔád-ʔád-déen-ká	ʔád-i-n	ʔád-ʔád-i-n

Table-3: Aspect tense distinction for the verb **ʔád** 'come'

In the following sections we discuss the imperfective, progressive (present/past), perfective and far past tenses.

8.3.1 Imperfective **-dée-**

The imperfective aspect is marked by **-dée** and **-tub**. **-dée** is used for all persons in verbal constructions. **-tub** is used only in non-verbal clauses and as alternative for **-dée** for first person singular and plural subject in verbal constructions. **-dée** is followed by the person markers **-n** or **-t** (but see section 12.4).

The imperfective form consists of the basic verb, the imperfective morpheme and the person marker. The paradigm of the verb **ʔáde** ‘come’ is shown below:

10.	ʔaté	ʔád-dée-t	‘I will come/I come.’
	(ʔáte	ʔád-tub)	‘I will come/I come.’
	wótú	ʔád-dée-t	‘We will come/we come.’
	(wótú	ʔád-tub)	‘We will come/we come.’
	yáay	ʔád-dée-n	‘You will come/you come.’
	yesé	ʔád-dée-n	‘You(PL) will come/you come.’
	nú	ʔád-dée-n	‘He will come/he comes.’
	ná	ʔád-dée-n	‘She will come/she comes.’
	kété	ʔád-dée-n	‘They will come/they come.’

Some more examples of Dime imperfective verbs:

11.	Imperfective form	
	ʔaxs-ée-n	‘(he) breaks’
	woxim-dée-n	‘(he) enters’
	wuc’-t’ée-n	‘(he) drinks’
	k’aams-ée-n	‘(he) hears’
	k’obt’-ée-n	‘(he) wears’
	náxt-ée-n	‘(he) sleeps’
	yíz-dée-n	‘(he) runs’
	dáh-dée-n	‘(he) sits’

The imperfective marker **-dée** has variant forms **-t’ée-**, **-téé**, **-ée** due to consonant assimilations such as devoicing, glottalization and consonant sequence restrictions. For further information on phonological processes that apply to **-dée** see Section 2.8.9, ex. 144).

The suffix **-dée** of the imperfective seems to have originated from the existential verb **déen**. The imperfective aspect indicates present, habitual and future.

12.	ná	bindí	nák-ó	t’úl-dée-n
	3SF.SUBJ	always	river-in	swim-IPF-3
	‘She always swims in the river.’			

13.	ʔaté	nák-ó	t’úl-dée-t
	1S.SUBJ	river-in	swim-IPF-1
	‘I swim in a river.’		

The suffix **-tub** as in (14b) is used to indicate the imperfective aspect which subsumes present, habitual and future tenses in verbal constructions. **-tub** is used only in first person in free variation with **-dée**.

14a.	ʔaté	nák-ó	t’úl-dée-t
	1S.SUBJ	river-LOC	swim-IPF-1
	‘I will swim in a river.’		

- 14b. **ʔaté náκ-ó t'úl-tub**
 1S.SUBJ river-LOC swim-IPF:1
 'I will swim in a river.'

8.3.2 Progressive

To express the progressive aspect, Dime uses partial or full reduplication of the verb stem. The reduplicated stem is marked with the imperfective aspect marker. Consider the following progressive construction:

15. **ʔaté náκ-ó t'úl-t'úl-dée-t**
 1S.SUBJ river-LOC RDP-swim-IPF-1
 'I am swimming in a river.'

The reduplication in the progressive aspect has two patterns. In one type the entire root is reduplicated as in (16) and (17), and in the other reduplication affects only the first CV sequence as in (18).

16. **nú sól-im ʔits-i-ʔist-ée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ enjera-ACC RDP-i-eat-IPF-3
 'He is eating enjera'
17. **kété ʔéh-ó fíŋ-fíŋ-dée-n**
 3PL.SUBJ house-LOC RDP-go-IPF-3
 'They are going home.'
18. **ná lá-láχt'-ée-n**
 3SF.SUBJ RDP-die-IPF-3
 'She is dying.'

In the reduplication of the entire root (16), epenthetic **i** is inserted to avoid an impermissible sequence of consonants (i.e., the **tsʔ** sequence is not permitted).

In partial reduplication, some consonants, such as velar fricatives, glides, and the affricate **ts** are not used. For instance **náχe**, 'sleep' can be partially reduplicated as **ná-náχ-tée-n** 'he/she/they is/are sleeping' but not as ***naxex-tée-n**, since **χe** cannot be reduplicated. Similarly, there is restriction in the reduplication of **y** and **ʔ** (see, 2.8).

The progressive forms of the verb **fíŋ** 'go' with various subjects are shown below:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 19. | ʔaté | fíŋ-fíŋ-dée-t | 'I am going.' |
| | wótú | fíŋ-fíŋ-dée-t | 'We are going.' |
| | yáay | fíŋ-fíŋ-dée-n | 'You are going.' |
| | yesé | fíŋ-fíŋ-dée-n | 'You are going.' |
| | nú | fíŋ-fíŋ-dée-n | 'He is going.' |
| | ná | fíŋ-fíŋ-dée-n | 'She is going.' |
| | kété | fíŋ-fíŋ-dée-n | 'They are going.' |

If the reduplication of the verb stem in the above examples is omitted, the construc-

tion expresses the imperfective (i.e., future or habitual), e.g. **ná fɪŋdée-n** ‘she will go’. It is reported that Koorete, one of the Omotic languages in the Omoto cluster, also has a verb paradigm in which the verb root is reduplicated to mark a different aspect (Azeb, 1994:11).

The copula morpheme **déen-ká** is used to express past progressive action of the main verb. The verbs are not inflected for person in the past progressive, as illustrated in (20):

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 20. | ʔaté | t’úl-t’úl-déen-ká | ‘I was swimming.’ |
| | wótú | t’úl-t’úl-déen-ká | ‘We were swimming.’ |
| | yáay | t’úl-t’úl-déen-ká | ‘You were swimming.’ |
| | yesé | t’úl-t’úl-déen-ká | ‘You were swimming.’ |
| | nú | t’úl-t’úl-déen-ká | ‘He was swimming.’ |
| | ná | t’úl-t’úl-déen-ká | ‘She was swimming.’ |
| | kété | t’úl-t’úl-déen-ká | ‘They were swimming.’ |

8.3.3 Perfective -i

The perfective aspect is mainly used to refer to completed actions. It is marked by the morpheme **-i**. The duration between the completion of the action/event and the utterance affects the form of the verb. If the completion of an event was followed by a long duration, then the verb is fully or partially reduplicated (cf. section 8.3.4). The following examples illustrate the perfective construction.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 21. | nú | ʔíní | sutsó | ʔád-i-n |
| | 3SM.SUBJ | today | morning | come-PF-3 |
| | ‘He came this morning.’ | | | |
| 22. | kété | ʔád-i-n | | |
| | 3PL.SUBJ | come-PF-3 | | |
| | ‘They came.’ | | | |
| 23. | ʔatí | bay-is-im | bós-i-t | |
| | 1S.SUBJ | food-DEF-ACC | finish-PF-1 | |
| | ‘I finished the food.’ | | | |
| 24. | yá | ʔád-i-n | | |
| | 2S.SUBJ | come-PF-2 | | |
| | ‘You came.’ | | | |

As can be seen from the above examples, the perfective morpheme **-i** is followed by one of the two person markers: **-n** and **-t**. The paradigm of the verb **ʔádi** ‘come’ is shown in (25):

25. **ʔaté** **ʔád-i-t** 'I came.'
 wótú **ʔád-i-t** 'We came.'
 yáay **ʔád-i-n** 'You came.'
 yesé **ʔád-i-n** 'You came.'
 nú **ʔád-i-n** 'He came.'
 ná **ʔád-i-n** 'She came.'
 kété **ʔád-i-n** 'They came.'

The following proverbs illustrate the use of the perfective aspect:

26. **ʔissim** **yéf-ká-dée** **tír-im** **tír-i-n**
 groom see-NEG-PF carpet-ACC plait-PF-3
 'Without seeing the bridegroom they prepared the carpet.'
 [i.e., actions have to be carried out according to their priority]
27. **gúidu** **kó-goy-im** **yín-ká-dée** **ʔiyyí-ko-m** **k'or-i-n**
 monkey 3SF.OBJ-buttock-ACC see-NEG-PF man-GEN-ACC complain-PF-3
 'A monkey complained about others' beauty while forgetting to see a scar
 on its own buttock.' [i.e., criticizing others but to fail to notice one's own
 drawback is easy]

8.3.4 Far past

The remote past is expressed by reduplication of the verb stem and the addition of the perfective morpheme, as shown in (28a) and (28b).

- 28a. **ʔaté** **nák-ís-ó** **t'úl-t'úl-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ river-DEF-LOC RDP-swim-PF-1
 'I swam in the river (a long time ago).'
- 28b. **nú** **ʔád-ʔád-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ RDP-come-PF-3
 'He had come long ago.'

The following paradigm illustrates the inflection of the verb **ʔád** 'come' for the far past.

29. **ʔaté** **ʔád-ʔád-i-t** 'I came long ago.'
 wótú **ʔád-ʔád-i-t** 'We came long ago.'
 yáay **ʔád-ʔád-i-n** 'You came long ago.'
 yesé **ʔád-ʔád-i-n** 'You came long ago.'
 nú **ʔád-ʔád-i-n** 'He came long ago.'
 ná **ʔád-ʔád-i-n** 'She came long ago.'
 kété **ʔád-ʔád-i-n** 'They came long ago.'

It seems that in affirmative constructions, copula verbs and reduplication have an important role in expressing different tense-aspect distinctions, while in negative constructions tense-aspect is not marked. The past and future tenses are expressed in copula constructions (see also Section 9.2 and 9.3).

8.3.5 Aspect and negation

With one exception (see below in this section), the verb morphology of Dime does not distinguish perfective-imperfective aspect in negative constructions. The verb shows only the negation marker **-káy**. The negative morpheme may be realized as either **-ká**, **-káy** or **k'áy**. The variation between the first two forms is the following: **-ká** is a reduced form of **-káy** and it occurs at non-final position, affixed to a copula verb or a main verb. **k'áy** is used following ejective consonants and the velar nasal (**ŋ**).

In negatives, aspectual distinction is neutralized as shown below:

30. **ná** **ʔíní** **ʔád-káy**
3SF.SUBJ today come-NEG
'She does not come today.'
31. **ná** **gáɓim** **ʔád-káy**
3SF.SUBJ tomorrow come-NEG
'She will not come tomorrow.'
32. **ná** **nááɓi** **ʔád-káy**
3SF.SUBJ yesterday come-NEG
'She didn't come yesterday.'
33. **wótú** **gáɓim** **wunt'-i-k'áy**
1P.SUBJ tomorrow work-i-NEG
'We will not work tomorrow.'

The negative forms of the verb **wunt'** in (33) and the paradigm of **úŋ** 'go' in (34) illustrate that the initial consonant, **k**, of the negative marker changes to **k'** after ejectives and **ŋ** (see also Section 2.8.4.).

34. **ʔaté** **úŋ-k'áy** 'I do/will/ did not go.'
wótú **úŋ-k'áy** 'We do/will/ did not go.'
yáay **úŋ-k'áy** 'You do/will/ did not go.'
yesé **úŋ-k'áy** 'You do/will/ did not go.'
nú **úŋ-k'áy** 'He does/will/did not go.'
ná **úŋ-k'áy** 'She does/will/did not go.'
kété **úŋ-k'áy** 'They do/will/ did not go.'

With verbs which end in consonants other than ejectives and **ŋ** the negative suffix is **-káy** but not **-k'áy**. For example, **kété gaaz-káy** 'they will not curse'.

Refusal is expressed through a slightly different negative construction. As we already mentioned and demonstrated in example (34), tense-aspect is generally not expressed in negative verb forms. In the expression of refusal, however, the existential verb **déen** / **déét** and the morpheme **-tub** which marks future tense follow the negative marker **-k'á(y)** / **-ká(y)** as illustrated in (35).

35. **wótú gárim wunt'-k'a-déet-tub**
 1P.SUBJ tomorrow work-NEG-exist-FUT
 'We shall not work tomorrow.' (lit. We are expected to work tomorrow,
 but we refuse to work)

The structure of the verb in example (35) is complex as it involves two verbs: **wunt'**- 'work' and **déet** 'exist'. The final verb **déettub** is observed in nominal clauses (see section 9.3). The negative morpheme **-káy** also occurs following a copula verb but at sentence-final position (see examples 39 below):

36. **nú sóo ?ád-ká dáhim**
 3SM.SUBJ here come-NEG stay
 'He has not come yet.'
37. **nú nááke ?ád-káy**
 3SM.SUBJ yesterday come-NEG
 'He did not come yesterday.'
38. **nú kéní yi-ká-dée**
 3SM.SUBJ dog COP-NEG-PF
 'It was not a dog.'
39. **?is-ko kéní yi-káy**
 1S.OBJ-GEN dog COP-NEG
 I have no dog.'

In interrogative sentences aspect is marked (cf. section 12.4). Verbs are not inflected for person in interrogatives.

We summarize the inflection of verbal suffixes in the following table:

Affirmative				Negative
Aspect marker		Person		(no person marker)
		1S/PL	2/3S/PL	
IPF	-déé	-t	-n	-ká/káy
PF	-i	-t	-n	-ká/káy
FUT	-tub	no person marker	no person marker	-ká-déet-tub

Table-4: Verbal suffixes

9 Nominal clauses

In this chapter we deal with tense-less, past and future copula clauses. We also discuss nominal clauses in negative and interrogative constructions. The copula may or may not be overt. In the following table, we present an overview of the affixes that mark attributive/equative and existential/possessive copula clauses.

copula	tense-less	past	future	negative non-past	negative past	negative future
equative/ attributive	-ée dán	déébdée déen-ká	déét-tub	yi-káy	yi-ká-dée	yi-ká-déét-tub
existential/ possessive	déen	dédéen-ká déen-ká	déét-tub	yi-káy	yi-ká-dée	yi-ká-déét-tub

Table-1: Copula and tenses

9.1 Tenseless nominal clauses

Present / tense-less equative and attributive nominal clauses are marked by **-ée** or **dán**. These morphemes are used alternatively without any apparent meaning difference. Consider the following equative constructions:

1. **maikro ʔis-kó wutun-ub ʔišim-ée**
maikro 1OBJ-GEN old-M brother-COP
'Maikro is my eldest brother.'
2. **maikro ʔis-kó wutun-ub ʔišim dán**
maikro 1OBJ-GEN old-M brother COP
'Maikro is my eldest brother.'

In example (1), the subject of the clause Maikro is the referent that is equated to the nominal predication 'my eldest brother'. Payne (1997:114) states that "equative clauses are those, which assert that a particular entity (the subject of a clause) is identical to the entity specified in the nominal predicate. Equative clauses mark a close connection between one referent and other referents".

The copula markers in tense-less equative-attributive clauses may be dropped (4). In example (4), **gabar** 'farmer' is in the predicative position and it is used to identify the subject as belonging to a group of farmers.

- 3a. **k'alób gabar-ée**
k'alób farmer-COP
'K'alób is a farmer.'

- 3b. **k'alób gabar dán**
 k'alób farmer COP
 'K'alób is a farmer.'
4. **k'alób gabar**
 k'alób farmer
 'K'alób is a farmer.'

In the examples in (5) and (6) the copula expresses the property that is associated with the subject.

5. **zób-is wolk'a-b kúfó-b-ée**
 lion-DEF strong-M beast-M-COP
 'The lion is a strong animal.'
6. **zób-is wolk'a-b kúfó-b dán**
 lion-DEF strong-M beast-M COP
 'The lion is a strong animal.'

In Dime, nominal clauses can be constructed in three ways: either by a zero copula without employing any marker as in example (7)³⁰ or using one of the copula morphemes as in (8) and (9). Thus the copula is optional in present tense equative and attributive clauses.

7. **nú nīts ?ahó-b**
 3SM.SUBJ child good-M
 'He is a good child.'
8. **nú nīts ?ahó-b-ée**
 3SM.SUBJ child good-M-COP
 'He is a good child.'
9. **nú nīts ?ahó-b dán**
 3SM.SUBJ child good-M COP
 'He is a good child.'

Attributive clauses qualify the subject in terms of property, colour, etc. In the (a, b, c) examples in (10-12) we illustrate present tense copula constructions with zero-marking, with the morphemes **-ée** or **dán**.

- 10a. **ná ři-řĩř' -ind-ée**
 3SF.SUBJ RDP: beauty-F-COP
 'She is beautiful.'

³⁰ In Ethiopian languages zero copula construction is a common phenomenon, which is attested in Tigre, Ge'ez (Crass, Demeke, Meyer and Watter, 2005), and Basketo (Omoti) (Alemayehu, 2002). Typologically it is reported that in many languages the optionality of the copula is restricted to the present tense (Hengeveld 1992:209).

- 10b. **ná** **lí-ńĩt'-ind** **dán**
 3SF.SUBJ RDP-beauty-F COP
 'She is beautiful.'
- 10c. **ná** **lí-ńĩt'-ind**
 3SF.SUBJ RDP-beauty-F
 'She is beautiful.'
- 11a. **nák-is** **súulum-ub -ée**
 water-DEF hot-M-COP
 'The water is hot.'
- 11b. **nák-is** **súulum-ub** **dán**
 water-DEF hot-M COP
 'The water is hot.'
- 11c. **nák-is** **súulum-ub**
 water-DEF hot-M
 'The water is hot.'
- 12a. **?akim** **zú-ub-ée**
 calabash red-M-COP
 'The calabash is red.'
- 12b. **?akim** **zú-ub** **dán**
 calabash red-M COP
 'The calabash is red.'
- 12c. **?akim** **zú-ub**
 calabash red-M
 'The calabash is red.'

In existential and possessive nominal clauses, even in non-tensed forms, the copula is obligatory. If the existential copula is missing, the construction becomes ungrammatical. Example:

13. **níts-ís** **déen**
 child-DEF exist
 'There is a child.'

The possessive construction is a special form of the existential/locative construction in which the possessor is expressed with a genitive case suffix and the possessed is the subject of the existential form **déen**. Compare the possessive construction in (14a) with the existential/locative one in (14b):

- 14a. **?is-ko** **níts** **?ahó-b** **déen**
 me-GEN child good-M exist
 'I have a good child.'

- 14b. **kéńí ?éh-ó déén**
 dog house-LOC exist
 'There is a dog in the house.'

The copula verb is not inflected for person. If the possessive clause is inflected for person, e.g., by first person marker **-t**, the construction is ungrammatical as in (15).

15. ***?is-ko níts ?ahó-b déét**
 1S.OBJ-GEN child good-M exist
 Intended meaning: ... 'I have a good child.'

In the following sections, we discuss tense-aspect marking in nominal clauses. Affirmative, negative and interrogative equative, existential and possessive constructions will be examined in turn.

9.2 Past tense nominal clauses

The past nominal clause is expressed by **déén-ká**, which comprises the existential verb **déén** and the perfective marker **-ká**. This form applies to the past tense of attributive/equative clauses (The past tense of locative/possessive construction is different, see below). Compare the past nominal clauses in the (a) examples with their corresponding present or tense-less nominal clauses in the (b) examples:

- 16a. **nú níts déén-ká**
 3SM.SUBJ child exist-PF
 'He was a child.'
- 16b. **nú níts dán**
 3SM.SUBJ child COP
 'He is a child.'
- 17a. **yá ?astemare déén-ká**
 2S.SUBJ teacher exist-PF
 'You were a teacher.'
- 17b. **yá ?astemare dán**
 2S.SUBJ teacher COP
 'You are a teacher.'
- 18a. **níts déén-ká**
 child exist-PF
 'There was a child.'
- 18b. **níts déén**
 child exist
 'There is a child.'

The existential clause has only a copula verb and a complement, while the equative clause has a subject, a complement noun and a copula verb. Both the existential and equative clauses respectively illustrated in examples (16-17) and (18) use the past

tense copula **déen-ká** for second and third person. However, the past tense form of first person existential and equative clauses is different.

The suffix **-dée** is used as an imperfective marker in verbal clauses, as we have shown earlier. Surprisingly, in the non-verbal clauses **-dée** serves as a perfective aspect marker in combination with a distinct existential verb **dééb**. This combination, i.e., **dééb-dée** is used only when the subject is first person as in (19a), whereas in the second and the third person, the form **déen-ká** is used (16-18, above). The unacceptable sentence in (19c) illustrates that **déen-ká** cannot be used with first person subject; (19d) illustrates that the existential verb **dééb** cannot combine with the perfective marker **-ká**.

- 19a. **ʔaté nîts dééb-dée**
 1S.SUBJ child exist-PF
 ‘I was a child.’
- 19b. **ʔaté nîts dán**
 1S.SUBJ child COP
 ‘I am a child.’
- 19c. ***ʔaté nîts déén-ká**
 1S.SUBJ child exist-PF
 Intended meaning: ... ‘I was a child.’
- 19d. ***ʔaté nîts dééb-ká**
 1S.SUBJ child exist-PF
 Intended meaning: ... ‘I was a child.’

The 2nd and 3rd person past tense equative/attributive and existential-locative nominal clauses are similar in that all of these use the copula **déen-ká**. The past possessive, however, requires reduplication of the first CV of the verb **déen-ká** as in (20a). The present possessive/existential form is given in (20b) for comparison (reduplication is also used in verbal clauses to mark far-past, see Section 8.3.4.).

- 20a. **kó-kó nîts ʔahó-b dé-déen-ká**
 3SF.OBJ-GEN child good-M RDP-exist-PF
 ‘She had a good child.’
- 20b. **kó-kó nîts ʔahó-b déén**
 3SF.OBJ-GEN child good-M exist
 ‘She has a good child.’

If the reduplicated existential verb in (20a) is replaced by a non-reduplicated **déen-ká**, the structure becomes ungrammatical as in (21) below:

- 21 ***kó-kó nîts ʔahó-b déén-ká**
 3SF.OBJ-GEN child good-M exist-PF
 Intended meaning: ... ‘She had a good child.’

The past tense existential verb **déen-ká** is also used in combination with main verbs to indicate the past continuous tense, in which case the main verb is reduplicated

before **déen-ká** (see section 8.3.2).

9.3 Future tense nominal clauses

The future tense in nominal clauses is expressed by the morpheme **-tub**. The same morpheme is used for expressing future or imperfective in verbal clauses, specifically with first person pronouns. In non-verbal constructions **-tub** expresses future tense with all subjects, irrespective of the person value of the subject. This is illustrated by the following examples comparing the equative, existential, and possessive future nominal clauses (22), (23), and (24) or (25), respectively. Due to the assimilation process the existential form **déen** changes to **déét**.³¹

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|---------------|-----------------|--|-------------|
| 22. | ná | ?ámze | déet-tub | | |
| | 3SF.SUBJ | woman | exist-FUT | | equative |
| | 'She will be a woman.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 23. | wúdúr-af | | déet-tub | | |
| | girl-PL | | exist-FUT | | existential |
| | 'There will be girls.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 24. | kí-ko | mes'af | déet-tub | | |
| | 3SM.OBJ-GEN | book | exist-FUT | | possessive |
| | 'He will have a book.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 25 | ?is-ko | mes'af | déet-tub | | |
| | 1S.OBJ-GEN | book | exist-FUT | | possessive |
| | 'I will have a book.' | | | | |

In verbal constructions **-tub** occurs as an alternative form of **déet** (see section 8.3.1). In copula clauses, however, **-tub** is directly affixed to **déet** as in examples (23-25).

9.4 Negative nominal clauses

The negative nominal clause is headed by the negative copula **yi-** and the negative marker **-káy**. Equative, attributive, existential, locative as well as possessive negative nominal clauses use **yi-káy**. In examples (26-28) the present negative nominal clause is illustrated:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------------|---------------|
| 26. | nú | kéní | yi-káy |
| | 3SM.SUBJ | dog | COP-NEG |
| | 'It is not a dog.' | | |
| | | | |
| 27. | kéní | yi-káy | |
| | dog | COP-NEG | |
| | 'There is no dog.' | | |

³¹ The final consonant **-n** in **déen** assimilates to the consonant **-t** that follows it: **déen-tub** > **déettub**.

28. **ʔis-ko** **kéní** **yi-káy**
 1S.OBJ-GEN dog COP-NEG
 'I have no dog.'

As mentioned earlier, in verbal constructions too, the negative marker **-káy** is added to the main verb. This is illustrated here in (29) (see also Section 8.3.5 on verbal negative construction).

29. **kén-ís** **ʔád-káy**
 dog-DEF come-NEG
 'The dog doesn't come.'

The past negative nominal clause is expressed by the element **yi-ká-dée** as shown below for equative, locative and possessive nominal clauses.

- 30 **nú** **kéní** **yi-ká-dée**
 3SM.SUBJ dog COP-NEG-PF
 'It was not a dog/he had no dog.'
31. **kéní** **yi-ká-dée**
 dog COP-NEG-PF
 'There was no dog.'
32. **kéní** **yi-ká-dée-tub**
 dog COP-NEG-PF-FUT
 'There will be no dog.'

In connection to the past negative form illustrated in (30-32), two important points should be noted: first, the morpheme **-dée**, which has been analysed as imperfective aspect marker in main verbs in Chapter 8, is used as perfective aspect marker in negative nominal clauses, as in (30-32) (see also section 9.2 ex.17). Secondly, preceding the perfective marker **-dée** in negative nominal clauses, and generally in medial position, the negative marker is realised as **-ká** instead of **-káy**. The **-ká** in this context should not be confused with the perfective aspect marker **-ká** in affirmative past nominal clauses, i.e., **déen-ká**.

The copula is obligatory in negative nominal clauses and in tensed nominal clauses in contrast to non-tensed ones.

9.5 Interrogative nominal clauses

The interrogative marker in nominal clauses is **-áá** for second person singular and plural, both in perfective and imperfective aspects. For the other persons, the interrogative in nominal clauses is indicated prosodically, through a high tone on the final vowel of the aspect marker. Interrogative sentences of Dime are treated in section 12.4. Here we will only provide a few examples of nominal interrogative clauses.

A glide is inserted between the copula and the interrogative marker **-áá** or the aspect marker **-i** as in (33-35).

		Tense-less	PAST	FUTURE
Copula	Equative/attributive	dán / -ée 'I am/ you are/ they are/ he/ she is'	dééb-dée 'I was/ we were' déen-ká 'she/he was or you (S/PL) / they were'	déét-tub 'I/ you/ he, she/ we/ you (pl)/ they/ will be'
	Possessive	déen 'I/you/we/they have, he/she has'	dééb-dée 'I/we had' dédéen-ká 'you/he/she/they had'	déét-tub 'I/ you/ he, she/ we/ you (pl)/ they/ will have'
	Existential/locative	déen 'I am at X/ I exist, you are at X/you exist, etc.'	dééb-dée 'I was at X' déen-ká 'you/ they were at X, he/she was at X '	déét-tub 'I/ you/ he, she/ we/ you (pl)/ they/ will be at X'
	Negative	yi-káy 'I am not/ you are not/ they are not/ he or she is not'	yi-ká-dée 'I was not/ we were not/ she/he was not/ you (S/PL) / they were not'	yi-ká-dée- tub 'I/ you/ he, she/ we/ you (pl)/ they/ will not be'
Verbal aspect		Imperfective	perfective	
	verb root: ʔits - 'eat'	ʔits-dée-t 'I/we eat or will eat' ʔits -dée-n 'you / he / she / they eat or will eat'	ʔits -i-t 'I/we ate' ʔits -i-n 'you / he / she / they ate'	-tub (only for first person, as alternative to imperfec- tive dée e.g. ʔaté sol-im ʔits -tub /dée 'I eat/ will eat'

Table-2. Copula verbs in Dime

10 Verbal derivations

In Dime there are no derived words that are formed by prefixes. In contrast, suffixation is a common phenomenon in both inflectional and derivational processes of the language. Derived stems such as causative, passive, and reciprocal are formed by suffixing their respective morphemes to the verb roots. Reduplication is also a means of derivation. The derivational morphemes are shown in Table-1:

Derivational morpheme	Verb form
-is/-s	Causative
-int'	Passive
-sim	Reciprocal
-imá	Inchoative

Table-1: The verbal derivational suffixes

10.1 Causative

The causative is formed by suffixing the morpheme **-is** to the verb root. The morpheme **-is** is widely attested with this function in many Afroasiatic languages (cf. Bender, 2000:6).³² The realization of the subject, causee, affected entity and the verb form in Dime is illustrated in the following example:

1. **ʔind-is** **níts-is-im** **dʒĩš-im** **šin-is-i-n**
mother-DEF child-DEF-ACC milk-ACC buy-CAUS-PF-3
‘The mother got the child to buy milk.’

In this example, **ʔind-is** ‘the mother’ is the causer subject, **níts-is-im** ‘the child’ is the causee and **dʒĩš-im** ‘milk’ is the affected entity. Both the causee and the affected entity are marked by the accusative case. The verb is morphologically marked by the causative suffix. Concerning morphological marking of the causative, Comrie (1989:167) writes:

Turning to morphological causatives, the prototypical case has the following two characteristics. First, the causative is related to the non-causative predicate by morphological means, for instance by affixation, or whatever other morphological techniques the language in question has at its disposal (e.g., Turkish). The second characteristic of the prototypical morphological causative is that this means of relating causative and non-causative predicates is productive: in the ideal type, one can take any predicate and form a causative form of it by the appropriate morphological means.

The causative derivation in Dime is productive. Some examples:

³² This includes a number of Omotic languages such as Basketo, Ko:rete, Kullo, and Maale (see Azeb 1994, 2001).

2.	Base		Causative	
	šini	‘buy/sell’	šin-is	‘cause to buy/sell’
	wunt’u	‘work’	wunt’-is	‘cause to work’
	káf	‘keep’	káf-is	‘cause to keep’
	kerf	‘tell’	kerf-is	‘cause to tell’
	ʔišinči	‘remember’	ʔišinč-is	‘cause to remember’
	birsí	‘add’	birs-is	‘cause to add’
	wuč’u	‘drink’	wuč’-is	‘cause to drink’

The following are examples of causative constructions of intransitive (3) and transitive (4) verbs.

3. **níts-is ʔiyy-ís-im k’in-is-i-n**
 child-DEF man-DEF-ACC wake-CAUS-PF-3
 ‘The child woke the man up.’
4. **ʔatí gošt-ís-im náre mané wókkil-im wuč’-is-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ boy-DEF-ACC water gourd one-ACC drink-CAUS-PF-1
 ‘I made the boy drink a calabash of water.’

When the morpheme /-is/ is suffixed to intransitive verbs, the verb is transitivityzed as in (3). Such kinds of transitivityzed verbs may take an additional causative suffix. Consequently a double causative verb form is created. Fleming (1990:578) refers to such kinds of causative forms in Dime as complex causatives. The causee or agent of the original verb and the patient of the original verb receive the accusative case marker. Fleming (1990:579) provides the following example to demonstrate what he labelled as complex causative:

5. **sat’an is-im zób-is-im deis-is-is-i-n**
 sat’an me-ACC lion-DEF-ACC die-CAUS-CAUS-PF-3
 ‘Satan made me kill the lion.’

Double causative marking is also reported for other Omotic languages (cf. Azeb 1994:1123).

Azeb (2001:95) states in her analysis of Maale verbs that “the causative verb stem may be formed from transitive or intransitive verbs. In the causative of intransitive verb roots, the causative suffix is realized twice. One of these double causative affixes can be regarded as having a transitivityzing effect to the intransitive verb”. Similarly, in Dime double causative occurs in the causative of intransitive verbs. The following are examples:

6. **ʔák-is ʔats-i-n**
 wood-DEF burn-PF-3
 ‘The wood burned.’
7. **nú ʔák-is-im ʔats-ʔats-is-tée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ wood-DEF-ACC RDP-burn-CAUS-IPF-3
 ‘He is burning the wood.’

8. **nú** **kín-im** **ʔáɓ-is-im** **ʔats-is-is-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-ACC wood-DEF-ACC burn-CAUS-CAUS-PF-3
 ‘He made him burn the wood.’

Reduplication affects the causative suffix. For instance, when reduplication takes place for expressing far past tense and if the verb stem is causative, each reduplicant contains the causative marker.

10. **deisi** ‘kill’ **deis-is-deis-is-in** ‘he caused someone to kill’
 ʔaxsi ‘break’ **ʔaxs-is-ʔaxs-is-in** ‘he caused something to break’
 sónk ‘kiss’ **sónk-is-sónk-is-in** ‘he caused someone to kiss’
 ʔimí ‘give’ **ʔim-is-ʔim-is-in** ‘he caused something to give’
 šini ‘buy’ **šin-is-šin-is-in** ‘he caused something to buy’
 gís’i ‘kick’ **gís’-is gís’-is-in** ‘he caused someone to kick’
11. **šiftaye** **kón-im** **deis-is-deis-is-i-n**
 Shiftaye 3SF.OBJ-ACC RDP-CAUS-kill-CAUS-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye caused someone to kill her (long ago).’

The following table provides more examples of Dime causative verbs:

Intransitive	Causative	Double causative
ʔats- ‘burn’	ʔats-is-i-n	ʔats-is-is-in ‘he made somebody burn it’
wuč- ‘dry’	wuč-iš-i-n	wuč-iš-iš-in ‘he made somebody dry it’
ʔin-t’ ‘wet’	ʔin-ís-i-n	ʔin-ís-is-in ‘he made somebody to wet it’
dey- ‘be strong’	dey-is-i-n	dey-is-is-in ‘he made somebody strengthen it’
k’óbt- ‘dress’	k’ób-is-i-n	k’ób-is-is-in ‘he made somebody dress it’
ʔuuš ‘cook’	ʔuuš-iš-i-n	ʔuuš-iš-iš-in ‘he made somebody cook it’

Table-2: Double causatives

10.2 Passive

In passive constructions the subject is affected by the action of the verb. The passive is marked by **-int’-**, which is suffixed to the verb root preceding the aspect marker. Compare the (a) examples in (12-14) with those in (12-14b).

- 12a. **ʔámz-is** **ʔáɓ-is-im** **ʔaxs-i-n**
 woman-DEF wood-DEF-ACC broke-PF-3
 ‘The woman broke the wood.’
- 12b. **ʔáɓ-is** **ʔaxs-int’-i-n**
 wood-DEF broke-PAS-PF-3
 ‘The wood was broken.’

- 13a. **wótú ʔóis-is-im sikíyó wud-i-t**
 1PL.SUBJ butter-DEF-ACC here keep-PF-1
 ‘We kept the butter here.’
- 13b. **ʔóis-is sikíyó wud-int’-i-n**
 butter-DEF here keep-PAS-PF-3
 ‘The butter was kept here.’
- 14a. **ʔaté sól-im ʔis-tée-t**³³
 1S.SUBJ enjera-ACC eat-IPF-1
 ‘I will eat enjera.’
- 14b. **sól-is ʔits-int’-ée-n**
 enjera-DEF eat-PAS-IPF-3
 ‘The enjera will be eaten.’

In example (12b, 13b, and 14b) the active verbs **ʔaxs-i-n** ‘you(sg./pl.)/he/she/they broke’, **wud-i-t** ‘I/we kept’, **ʔis-tée-t** ‘you(sg./pl.)/he/she/they eat’ are changed to **ʔaxs-int’-i-n**, **wud-int’-i-n**, **ʔits-int’-ée-n**, respectively. In this passive construction who or what was responsible for the action is not mentioned. Often overt expression of the agent is avoided in Dime. However, it is not ungrammatical to express the agent in passive forms as can be observed in example (15d). Comrie (1977) states that some languages do not allow the expression of the agent, while in other languages it appears that passive clauses must always contain an agent phrase.

As mentioned earlier, the passive marker in Dime is suffixed to the verb preceding the aspect marker i.e., preceding the perfective marker **-i** and the imperfective marker **-déé**. However, it may also occur without the aspect marker in content question forms, as in (15c). Example (15) represents a short dialogue.

- 15a. **níts-is wúyím wox-woxənt’-ée**
 child-DEF why RDP-scream-IPF:Q
 ‘Why is the child screaming?’
- 15b. **ʔasinkat’adót nú gís’-int’-gís’-int’-ib-is-o**
 because 3MS.SUBJ RDP-beat-PAS-M.RELT-DEF-LOC
 ‘Because he is being beaten.’
- 15c. **nú ʔáy-ká gís’-int’**
 3SM.SUBJ whom-INST beat-PAS:Q
 ‘By whom is he being beaten?’
- 15d. **nú kî-bab-ká gís’-int’-i-n**
 3SM. SUBJ 3MS.OBJ-father-INST beat-PAS-PF-3
 ‘He is being beaten by his father.’

A similar form of the passive marker, **-int**, is also attested in Basketo, a neighbour-

³³ When the imperfective marker is suffixed to the verb stem **ʔitsi**, metathesis takes place to avoid non-permittable sequence of the consonants **ts** and **t**. Thus, **ʔitsi** is changed to **ʔistéén**

ing Omotic language of Dime and also in Maale (see Azeb 1994, 2001).

The active and passive forms of some verbs are given below:

Perfective	Imperfective	Passive Perfective	Passive Imperfective	
ʔits-i-n	ʔits-ée-n	ʔits-int'-i-n	ʔits-int'-ée-n	eat
búg-i-n	búg-ée-n	búg-int'-i-n	búg-int'-ée-n	snatch
k'óbt'-i-n	k'óbt'-ée-n	k'óbt'-int'-i-n	k'óbt'-int'-ée-n	dress
káms-i-n	káms-ée-n	káms-int'-i-n	káms-int'-ée-n	hear
bášt-i-n	bášt-ée-n	bášt-int'-i-n	bášt-int'-ée-n	fear
wuč'-i-n	wuč'-ée-n	wuč'-int'-i-n	wuč'-int'-ée-n	drink
ʔaɣs-i-n	ʔaɣs-ée-n	ʔaɣs-int'-i-n	ʔaɣs-int'-ée-n	break
wúnt'-i-n	wúnt'-ée-n	wúnt'-int'-i-n	wúnt'-int'-ée-n	work
ʔats-i-n	ʔats-ée-n	ʔats-int'-i-n	ʔats-int'-ée-n	burn

Table-3: Passive verbs

10.3 Reciprocal

The reciprocal stem is formed by suffixing **-sim** to verb roots.³⁴ The reciprocal refers to an activity carried out by participants, who are both agent and patient of the action. Agent and patient are both expressed in the subject, which has to be plural or a coordinated noun phrase.

16. **sonk-** 'kiss' **sonk-i-sim** 'kiss each other'
 k'áy- 'find' **k'áy-sim** 'find each other'
 gís'- 'kick' **gís'-s'im** 'kick each other'
 deis- 'kill' **deis-sim** 'kill each other'
 kaf- 'wait' **kaf-sim** 'wait for each other'

Since a sequence of more than two consonants is not permitted in the language, the epenthetic vowel **-i-** is inserted between the verb root and the suffix **-sim** when the verb root ends in a geminate consonant or with a cluster of consonants, as in the case of the verb **sonk-i-sim**. Examples:

17. **maikro-ká** **šiftaye-ká** **sónk-i-sim-i-n**
 maikro-CNJ shiftaye-CNJ kiss-i-REC-PF-3
 'Maikro and Shifaye kissed each other.'
18. **tadese-ká** **taye-ká** **gís'-s'im-i-n**
 tadese-CNJ taye-CNJ kick-REC-PF-3
 'Taddese and Taye kicked each other.'

³⁴ Affixation seems to be a very common means for deriving reciprocal verbs cross-linguistically (see Mchombo, 1991, Lewis 1967, Evans 2003).

19. **diim-bab-is deis-sim-i-n**
 war-AGEN-DEF kill-REC-PF-3
 ‘The warriors killed each other.’

10.4 Inchoative verbs

Dime forms inchoative verbs mainly through reduplication of the verb root. There are morphological elements that additionally signal an inchoative verb. The inchoative marker **-imá** is consistently used in addition to reduplication. When comparing the reduplicated inchoative verb with its corresponding nominal form, we observe that in some inchoative forms there is an additional final segment **-t’**. The exact function of the element **-t’** needs further investigation. The reduplication can be partial, affecting the first syllable of the stem as in (20–22) or it can be full reduplication of the stem (23–24).

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 20. | <u>Basic form</u>
śáák
‘wide’ | <u>derived inchoative</u>
śá-śáák-imá
RDP-wide-INCH
‘become wide’ |
| 21 | baam
‘near’ | ba-baamt’-imá
RDP-near-INCH
‘become nearer’ |
| 22. | zú-b
‘red-M’ | zú-zú-má
RDP-red-INCH
‘become red’ |
| 23 | wuču
‘dry’ | ?ák-is wuč-wuč-imá
wood-DEF RDP-dry-INCH
‘The wood becomes dry.’ |
| 24 | ?atsí
‘old’ | ?ats-ím-?ats-ím-t’-imá
RDP-old-ACC-t’-INCH
‘become old’ |

The following sentential examples illustrate the use of the inchoative verbs listed above:

25. **?ák-is wuč-wuč-imá**
 wood-DEF RDP-dry-INCH
 ‘The wood became dry.’
26. **?iyy-ís ?ats-ím ?ats-ím-t’-imá**
 person-DEF old-ACC old-ACC-t’-INCH
 ‘The person became old.’

27. **kí-ko** **?indid-ko guufúšá-šáák-ima**
 3SM.OBJ-GEN wife-GEN chest RDP-wide-INCH
 ‘The chest of his wife became wide.’
28. **?ámz-is-ko** **?áfe** **zú-zú-ímá**
 woman-DEF-GEN eye RDP-red-INCH
 ‘The eye of the woman became red.’

Dime also uses the verb **?ád-** ‘come’ following the inchoative form to express durational inchoatives as in (29).

29. **?ák-is** **wuč-wuč-ímá** **?ád-i-n**
 wood-DEF RDP-dry-INCH come-PF-3
 ‘The wood became dry (slow progress).’

The verbs in examples (20 - 28) get aspectual interpretation from the context. Other Dime verbs that are not inflected for aspect include converbs, dependent verb forms which are used frequently in the language. The main verb inflects for aspect but the converb is not inflected (see Section 12.3.1). Example:

30. **šiftaye sól-im** **?its-á** **taddese nák-im** **wuč’-á**
 shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CNV1 taddese water-ACC drink-CNV1
kété **tíŋ-i-n**
 3PL.SUBJ go-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye having eaten enjera and Taddese having drunk water they went.’

In Dime, intensive or frequentative action is expressed through reduplication of adverbs rather than using any productive derivational morpheme. Example:

31. **ná** **?ólóχ ?ólóχ** **?its-i-n**
 3SF.SUBJ RDP quick eat-PF-3
 ‘She ate very quickly.’

It is reported that in Omoto languages such as Maale, Basketo, and Koorete reduplication of the verb root is used to mark intensive/frequentative verb stems (see Azeb 1994: 1124).

11 Verbs and their arguments

Dime verbs can be categorized into one place verbs (intransitive) and two or three place verbs (i.e. transitives). There are however, some verbs that function as both one and two place verbs. For instance, **wučú** ‘dry’ is such a verb as illustrated in (1a) and (1b):

- 1a. **ʔáɤ-is wuč-i-n**
 wood-DEF dry-PF-3
 ‘The wood dried.’
- 1b. **ʔiy-is ʔáɤ-im wuč-i-n**
 sun-DEF wood-ACC dry-PF-3
 ‘The sun dried the wood.’

11.1 One place (intransitive) verbs

These are verbs with a single argument. They include verbs such as **wúyi** ‘stand’, **ʔádi** ‘come’ **ʔífi** ‘cry’ and **yízi** ‘run’ which occur with a subject. Such verbs may be preceded by a circumstantial complement. For instance, in the example (2-6) **ʔéh-ó** ‘in the house’, **ʔami ʔaatim-de** ‘from a far country’, **giččo** ‘too much’, **kí-ko mič-ká** ‘with his sister’, and **timhirt-o** ‘to school’ are such complements.

- 2 **níts-is ʔéh-ís-ó wúy-i-n**
 child-DEF house-DEF-LOC stand-PF-3
 ‘The child stood in the house.’
3. **nú ʔami ʔaatim-de ʔád-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ country far place-ABL come-PF-3
 ‘He came from a far country.’
4. **nú giččo ʔíf-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ very cry-PF-3
 ‘He cried very much.’
5. **nú kí-ko mič-ká ʔéh-ó tíŋ-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ 3SM OBJ-GEN sister-COM house-LOC go-PF-3
 ‘He went home with his sister.’
6. **nú timhirt-ó yíz-î-n**
 3SM.SUBJ school-LOC run-PF-3
 ‘He ran to school.’

11.2 Two place (transitive) verbs

Givón (1984) classifies two-place verbs into two main types: prototypical transitive verbs and less prototypical transitive verbs. The prototypical transitive verb has a property that singles it out: having agent and patient nouns. The less prototypical transitive verb may deviate from the transitive verb prototype in various ways (cf.

Givón 1984: 89-106). For our purpose we classify the two place verbs in Dime as semi-transitive and mono-transitive. Each of these is discussed in turn.

11.2.1 Semi-transitive

These types of verbs have an optional cognate object noun; the stem of the verb and the object noun are formally very similar. Semi-transitive verbs behave syntactically like normal transitive verbs although the cognate object can be left out. In the following sentential examples the (a) and (b) forms represent sentences with and without the cognate object:

- 7a. **nú** **ʔits-im** **ʔits-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ food-NMZ/ACC eat-PF-3
 ‘He ate food.’
- 7b. **nú** **ʔits-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ eat-PF-3
 ‘He ate.’
- 8a. **nú** **káx-im** **káx-si-n**
 3SM.SUBJ dream-NMZ/ACC dream-PF-3
 ‘He dreamed a dream.’
- 8b. **nú** **káx-si-n**
 3SM.SUBJ dream-PF-3
 ‘He dreamed.’
- 9a. **ʔámz-is** **śán-im** **śá-śán-dée-n**
 woman-DEF urine-NMZ/ACC RDP-urine-IPF-3
 ‘The woman is urinating urine.’
- 9b. **ʔámz-is** **śá-śán-dée-n**
 woman-DEF RDP-urine-IPF-3
 ‘The woman is urinating.’
- 10a. **nú** **zág-im** **zá-zág-dée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ dance- NMZ/ACC RDP-dance-IPF-3
 ‘He is dancing a dance.’
- 10b. **nú** **zá-zág-dée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ RDP-dance-IPF-3
 ‘He is dancing.’
- 11a. **kété** **yíg-im** **yíg-dée-n**
 3PL.SUBJ game-NMZ/ACC play-IPF-3
 ‘They play game.’
- 11b. **kété** **yíg-dée-n**
 3PL.SUBJ play-IPF-3
 ‘They play.’

As mentioned earlier, the stem of the verb and its object complement are formally similar. The main difference is that the verb forms are inflected for aspect while the noun forms are affixed with the morpheme **-im**. This **-im** is either the nominalizer **-im** or the accusative case marking morpheme **-im**. Evidence for **-im** being a nominalizer in the examples in (7a-11a), comes from the fact that the cognate object noun can be used as subject in a passive sentence as in (12), see also Section 3.6.3.

12. **ʔits-im-is** **ʔits-int'-i-n**
 eat-NMZ-DEF eat-PAS-PF-3
 'The food was eaten.'

For semi-transitive verbs with cognate-object nouns in related languages, see Azeb Amha (2001), Rapold (2006); for a cross-linguistic survey, see Næss (2003).

11.2.2 Mono-transitive

This is a simple transitive verb with two arguments: a subject and a single direct object. The subject is not marked by any special morpheme for its syntactic/ semantic role. The object noun is marked by the accusative case marker **-im**. Such verbs often occur with overt subject and object complements. Some of the verbs that are categorized in this sub-class are **koχd-** 'like', **šin-** 'buy, sell', **deχ-** 'cook' and **zis-** 'close', as exemplified below:

13. **ʔatí** **dime ʔiyy-af-is-im** **koχd-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ Dime people-PL-DEF-ACC like-PF-1
 'I liked the Dime people.'
14. **šiftaye mäs'af-is-im** **šin-i-n**
 shiftaye book-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
 'Shiftaye bought the book.'
15. **ʔatí** **dón-is-im** **deχ-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ potato-DEF-ACC cook-PF-1
 'I cooked the potato.'
16. **ʔatí** **k'ir-is-im** **zis'-i-t**
 1S.SUBJ door-DEF-ACC close-PF-1
 'I closed the door.'

The phrases **dime ʔiyy-af-is-im** 'the Dime people', **mäs'af-is-im** 'the book', **dón-is-im** 'the potato', and, **k'ir-is-im** 'the door' are objects of the transitive verbs **koχ-** 'like', **šin-** 'buy/sell', **deχ-** 'cook' and **zis-** 'close' respectively, and bear the accusative case **-im**.

11.3 Three place (di-transitive) verbs

Verbs in this group commonly take three arguments. They include **ʔimi** 'give', **gimi** 'tell', and **bitsi** 'send'.

17. **gošt-ís ʔis-in k'is's'-im ʔim-i-n**
 man-DEF 1S.OBJ-DAT bread-ACC give-PF-3
 'The man gave me bread.'
18. **šiftaye maikro-n lóokk tuss-im g'ím-i-n**
 shiftaye maikro-DAT chat story-ACC tell-PF-3
 'Shiftaye told Maikro the story.'
19. **šiftaye maikro-n mēh-im bits-i-n**
 shiftaye maikro-DAT money-ACC send-PF-3
 'Shiftaye sent money to Maikro.'
20. **ná ʔís-in mes'af-im ba-ʔád-i-n**
 3SF.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-DAT book-ACC bring-come-PF-3
 'She brought a book for me.'
21. **nú y'ífid-in yexnám-im ʔexs-í-n**
 3SM.SUBJguest-DAT farm-ACC show-PF-3
 'He showed the farm to the guest.'

In some cases speakers leave out one of the objects of di-transitive constructions when these can be understood from the context, as in (22a-22c).

- 22a. **ʔaté šiftay-in mes'af-im ʔim-tub**
 1S.SUBJ shiftaye-DAT book-ACC give-FUT
 'I will give the book to Shiftaye.'
- 22b. **ʔaté šiftay-in ʔim-tub**
 1S.SUBJ shiftaye-DAT give-FUT
 'I will give to Shiftaye.'
- 22c. **ʔaté mes'af-im ʔim-tub**
 1S.SUBJ book-ACC give-FUT
 'I will give the book (to somebody).'

12 The syntax of clauses

Dime sentences often exhibit SOV word order. However, word order is not strict in the language. Fleming (1990: 572) reported that “Dime is clearly an SOV language, at least in its surface structure and in its simple declarative sentence.”

The following sentence types are distinguished: affirmative and negative declarative clauses, interrogatives and imperatives. Nouns and their modifier(s), and verbs and their complements are discussed in chapter 7 and chapter 11, respectively. Imperative sentences are discussed in chapter 8. In the present chapter we deal with simple declarative clauses, relative clauses, complex clauses and interrogative clauses.

12.1 Simple declarative clauses

A simple declarative clause is made up of one independent clause with only one predicate. Simple clauses include sentences with main verbs, copula verbs, and adjectival or nominal predicates.

A simple clause consists of a noun phrase (NP) and verb phrase (VP):

1. [[**zim-ís**] [**dəré wókkil-im šin-i-n**]]
 chief-DEF goat one-ACC buy-PF-3
 ‘The chief bought one goat.’
2. [[**zim-ís**] [**wúdúr-is-im yéf-i-n**]]
 chief-DEF girl-DEF-ACC see-PF-3
 ‘The chief saw the girl.’
3. [[**?iyy-ís**] [**k’is’-im ?its-?isteen**]]
 man-DEF bread-ACC RDP-eat-IPF-3
 ‘The man is eating bread.’

As demonstrated in example (4) adverbials precede the verb which is clause-final.

4. [[**?ámz-is**] [**nááɤe ?ád-i-n**]]
 woman-DEF yesterday come-PF-3
 ‘The woman came yesterday.’

The following examples illustrate simple clauses in which negation is marked on the main verb.

5. [[**?iyy-ís**] [**k’is’-im ?its-káy**]]
 man-DEF bread-ACC eat-NEG
 ‘The man is not eating bread.’
6. [[**zim-ís**] [**dəré wókkil-im šin-káy**]]
 chief-DEF goat one-ACC buy-NEG
 ‘The chief does not buy a goat.’

12.2 Relative clauses

The relative clause is not introduced by a relative pronoun in Dime. The relative verb form is characterised by the morphemes **-ub** (masculine), **-ind** (feminine) or **-id** (plural agreement) which are identified as gender markers in modifiers of nouns. When the relativised noun is feminine the feminine gender marker is affixed to the relative verb in agreement with the gender of the head noun. Thus the gender distinction of the relativized noun is obligatorily marked on the relative verb. The verb in the relative clause may also be inflected for definiteness and case as well as for verbal inflectional categories such as aspect.

The initial vowel of the gender markers is deleted when the perfective or imperfective aspect marker is suffixed to the relative verb. A similar deletion is observed in adjectives. Thus, the masculine and feminine gender markers appear as **-b** and **-nd** respectively, while the plural agreement morpheme appears as **-d**. Examples:

7. **ʔámz-is káy-dée-nd-is-im ʔálf-ís-im yéf-i-n**
 woman-DEF want-IPF-F.RELT-DEF-ACC knife-DEF-ACC saw-PF-3
 ‘The woman found the knife that she is looking for.’
8. **ʔámz-is káy-i-nd-is-im ʔálf-ís-im yéf-i-n**
 woman-DEF want-PF-F.RELT-DEF-ACC knife-the-ACC saw-PF-3
 ‘The woman found the knife that she looked for.’
9. **taáy ʔád-dée-b-is-im gōst-ís-im**
 now come-IPF-M.RELT -DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC
 nú yéf-dée-n
 3SM.SUBJ see-IPF-3
 ‘He sees the man who is coming now.’

The imperfective or perfective aspect marker, **-dée** or **-i**, is suffixed to the main verb as in (7- 9) and an aspect marker is also suffixed to the relative verb, preceding the gender marker. The definite and accusative markers are affixed following the gender marker in the relative clause.

In some relative clauses, gender is marked twice, as in (10a). In these examples, the independently used numeral has its own gender marker. In addition, the relative clause, which is a nominalized modifier, is also marked for gender as well as definiteness.

- 10a. **wókkil-ub k’ay-dée-b-is ‘the one who wants (M)’**
 wókkil-ub fīŋ-dée-b-is ‘the one who goes (M)’
 wókkil-ub s’áfint’-ée-b-is ‘the one who shaves (M)’
 wókkil-ub gīm-ub-ís ‘the one who speaks (M)’
 wókkil-ind yīgim-i-nd-is ‘the one who played (F)’
 wókkil-ind yīz-dée-nd-is ‘the one who runs (F)’
 wókkil-ind yīŋ-i-nd-is ‘the one who looked (F)’
 wókkil-ind yīŋ-dée-nd-is ‘the one who looks (F)’

The following is a sentential example:

- 10b. **wókkil-ub** **k'ay-dée-b-is** **ʔéh-ím** **ʔád-i-n**
 one-M want-IPF-M.RELT-DEF house-ACC come-PF-3
 'The one who wants the house came.'

If a possessive pronoun is used as a nominal predicate and thus occurs following the head noun of the relative clause, the gender of the possessed noun is marked on the (pronominal) predicate (compare 11a with 11b). The examples in (12) illustrate copula clauses the subject-complement of which is modified by a relative clause.

- 11a. **ʔis-ko** **níts-is** **ʔád-dée-n**
 1S.OBJ-GEN child-DEF come-IPF-3
 'My child comes.' [non relativized]
- 11b. **[tááy ʔád-ub** **[níts-is]** **ʔis-ko-b** **dán**
 now come-M.RELT child-DEF 1S.OBJ-GEN-M COP
 'The child who comes now is mine.' [SBJ relativized]
- 12a. **[tááy ʔád-ub** **[ʔis-ko níts-is]** **gumt'-déén-ká**
 now come-M.RELT 1S.OBJ-GEN child-DEF sick-exist-PF
 'My child who comes now was sick.' [SBJ relativized]
- 12b. **[tááy ʔád-ub** **[[níts-is] ʔis-ko-b]** **gumt'-déén-ká**
 now come-M:RELAT child-DEF 1S.OBJ-GEN-M sick-exist-PF
 'My child who comes now was sick.' [SBJ relativized]
 ('Lit. 'The child who's coming now, who is mine, was sick')

The following examples are further illustrations, contrasting subject and object relativization

- 13a. **goštú yer-ím** **nááke** **šin-i-n**
 man donkey-ACC yesterday sell-PF-3
 'A man sold a donkey yesterday.' [non-relativized]
- 13b. **yer-ím** **nááké** **šin-i-b-is** **goštú láxt'-i-n**
 donkey-ACC yesterday sell-PF- M.RELT -DEF man die-PF-3
 'The man who sold a donkey yesterday died.' [SBJ relativized]
- 13c. **goštím** **nááké** **šin-i-b-is** **yer-ís** **láxt'-i-n**
 man yesterday sell-PF-M.RELT-DEF donkey-DEF die-PF-3
 'The donkey that a man sold yesterday died.' [OBJ relativized]
14. **dər-ím** **wúdúr-in** **šin-i-nd** **ʔámz-is** **láxt'-i-n**
 goat-DEF-ACC girl-DAT buy-PF-F.RELT woman-DEF die-PF-3
 'The woman who bought a goat for a girl died.' [SBJ relativized]
15. **ʔámzim níts-in** **šin-i-b** **dər-ís** **láxt'-i-n**
 woman child-DAT buy-PF-M:RELAT goat-DEF-ACC die-PF-3
 'The goat that a woman bought for a boy died.' [OBJ relativized]

The relative verb agrees with the head of the relative clause in number, gender and definiteness. If the relativized noun is plural the suffix **-(i)d** is suffixed to the relative verb as shown in (16).

16. **dər-is-im** **wúdúr-is-in** **šin-i-d** **?ámz-af-is**
 goat-DEF-ACC girl-DEF-DAT buy-PF-PL.RELT woman-PL-DEF
laɣt'-i-n³⁵
 die-PF-3
 'The women who bought the goat for the girl died.'

The imperfective marker **dée** and the perfective marker **-i** are suffixed to the relative verb preceding the gender marker. Since these final vowels have morphological function they are not deleted; instead, the initial vowel in the suffix is deleted.³⁶

17. **níts-is-in** **gáɪm** **?iin-im** **šin-dée-nd** **?ámz-is**
 child-DEF-DAT tomorrow sheep-ACC buy-IPF-F.RELT woman-DEF
 'the woman who will buy a sheep for the child tomorrow'
18. **níts-is-in** **nááɛ** **?iin-im** **šin-i-nd**
 child-DEF-DAT yesterday sheep-ACC buy-PF-F.RELT
?ámz-is
 woman-DEF
 'the woman who bought a sheep for the child yesterday'

The definite marker can be suffixed only on the relativized noun as in (19) or on both the relative verb and on the relativized noun as in (20-21):

19. **?ámz-is-im** **níts-is-in** **šin-i-b** **dər-ís** **laɣt'-i-n**
 woman-DEF-ACC child-DEF-DAT buy-PF-M:RELAT goat-DEF die-PF-3
 'The goat that the woman bought for the boy died.'
20. **gošt-ím** **nááɛ** **šin-i-b-is** **yer-ís** **dey-i-n**
 man-ACC yesterday sell-PF-M.RELT-DEF donkey-DEF die-PF-3
 'The donkey that the man sold yesterday died.'
21. **nááɛ** **?ád-i-b-is-im** **gošt-ís-im** **nú** **yéf-i-n**
 yesterday come-PF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC 3SM.SUBJ see-PF-3
 'He saw the man who came yesterday.'

Just like other nominal modifiers relative clauses may precede or follow the noun which they modify. In most of the examples above, the relative clause precedes the head noun. Examples (22-23) illustrate the reverse order:

³⁵ **laɣt'-i** 'die' is used only for human beings. For other animals **deyi** 'die' is used.

³⁶ Terminal vowels that have no morphological function in nouns are deleted when suffixes follow them. For instance, **?éhé** 'house' becomes **?éh-ís** 'the house' but if the final vowel has morphological function it is not deleted: **?éh-ó** 'in a house', **?éh-ó-s** 'in the house'. In the last word, the vowel of the suffix **-is** is deleted.

22. **goštú** [**ʔist-ée-b-is** **bay-im**] **č'ək'k'-ub**
 man eat-IPF-M-DEF food-ACC small-M
 'The man who eats food is small.'
23. **ʔámzi** [**ʔist-ée-nd-is** **bay-im**] **č'ək'k'-ind**
 woman eat-IPF-F-DEF food-ACC small-M
 'The woman who eats food is small.'

12.3 Complex clauses

A complex clause contains one or more dependent clause(s) and a main/matrix clause. Below we discuss complex clauses involving converbs, conditional clauses, reason clauses, and temporal clauses.

12.3.1 Converbs

In Dime, the converb is a verb form that is used for the expression of (co)subordination and does not form a sentence on its own. The converb is not inflected for aspect or tense, while the main verb inflects for aspect.

There are two converb markers in Dime: a short form **-á**, and a long form **-ándé**. We label these as CNV1 and CNV2, respectively. There is a slight difference in the distribution of the two converb forms: a converb with the suffix **-á** is used to express events that are simultaneous or sequential to that expressed by the main verb as in (24) and (25).

24. **nú** **sól-im** **ʔits-á** **náb-im** **wuč'-á** **úŋ-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ enjera-ACC eat-CNV1 water-ACC drink-CNV1 go-PF-3
 'Having eaten enjera and having drunk water, he went.'
25. **nú** **dzinka-de** **ʔád-á** **gumt'-á** **dáh-á**
 3SM.SUBJ jinka-ABL come-CNV1 sick-CNV1 live-CNV1
wonn-á **úŋ-i-n**
 turn-CNV1 go-PF-3
 'He came from Jinka, he became sick, he stayed (here) and left.'

Connected speech containing several of the short converb **-á** is given in (26).

26. **nááŋi** **ʔaŋi** **bal-ó** **úŋ-á,** **ʔaŋi** **bay-im**
 yesterday 1S.SUBJ market-LOC go-CNV1 1S.SUBJ food-ACC
šin-á, **kín-im** **ʔaté** **ʔis-ko** **ʔindid-ko**
 buy-CNV1 3SM.OBJ-ACC 1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN wife-GEN
ʔéh-ó **ba-ʔád-á** **ʔaŋi** **kó-ko** **deɖd-á**
 house-LOC take-come-CNV1 1S.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-GEN cook-CNV1

gím-á dɛɛd-á ʒítsi-ʒíts-i-t
 tell-CNV1 cook-CNV1 RDP-eat-PF-1

‘Yesterday I went to the market, I bought some grain, I brought it home to my wife, I told her to cook it, she cooked it and we ate it.’

In contrast to **-á** the suffix **-ándé** is mainly used to express anterior events that occur before the event that is expressed by the main verb. Consider the following example:

27. **nú sól-im ʒíts-ándé náɛ-im wuč’-á tíŋ-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ enjera-ACC eat-CNV2 water-ACC drink-CNV1 go-PF-3
 ‘He went out after he ate enjera and drunk water.’

If **-ándé** appears twice in sequence with the same subject in a sentence, the resulting construction is ungrammatical as in example (28).

- 28*. **nú dʒinka-de ʔád-ándé gumt’-ándé dáh-ándé wonn-á**
 3SM.SUBJ jinka-ABL come-CNV2 sick-CNV2 live-CNV2 back-CNV1
 tíŋ-i-n
 go-PF-3
 Intended meaning: ‘He, having come from jinka, having been sick, he lived (here) and went back.’

However, when two or more converbs occur in a sentence and if these are separated by different subject nouns each of the converbs can be marked by **-ándé**, allowing it to occur twice or more times in the same sentence (30).

29. **ʃiftaye sól-im ʒíts-á taddese náɛ-im wuč’- á**
 shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CNV1 taddese water-ACC drink-CNV1
 kété tíŋ-i-n
 3PL.SUBJ go-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye having eaten enjera and Taddese having drunk water they went.’
30. **ʃiftaye sól-im ʒíts-ándé taddese náɛ-im wuč’-ándé**
 shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CNV2 taddese water-ACC drink-CNV2
 kété tíŋ-i-n
 3PL.SUBJ go-PF-3
 ‘Shiftaye having eaten enjera and Taddese having drunk water they went.’

On the other hand if there is only one converb in the sentence, either of the two converb marker can be used.

31. **nú ʔák-is-im des-á yer-ís-im kofs-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ wood-DEF-ACC cut-CNV1 donkey-DEF-ACC load-PF-3
 ‘Having cut the wood he loaded it on the donkey.’
32. **nú ʔák-is-im des-ándé yer-ís-im kofs-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ wood-DEF-ACC cut-CNV2 donkey-DEF-ACC load-PF-3
 ‘Having cut the wood he loaded it on the donkey.’

Furthermore repetition of the reduplicated converb is used to express repeated, durational, frequentative or distributive actions as illustrated in the following examples.

33. **nú to-toɣs-á to-toɣs-á ʔits-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ RDP-less-CNV1 RDP-less-CNV1 eat-PF-3
 ‘He ate less and less (food).’
34. **nú bi-birs-á bi-birs-á ʔits-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ RDP-more-CNV1 RDP-more-CNV1 eat-PF-3
 ‘He ate more and more (food).’
35. **nú yiz-iz-á yiz-iz-á fač-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ run-RDP-CNV1 run-RDP-CNV1 tire-PF-3
 ‘Having run and run he became tired.’
36. **nú gu-gumt’-á gu-gumt’-á la-láxt’-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ RDP-sick-CNV RDP-sick-CNV1 RDP-die-PF-3
 ‘Having been sick a long time he died.’
37. **nú meh-is-im faš-faš-á faš-faš-á**
 3SM.SUBJ money-DEF-ACC RDP-divide-CNV1 RDP-divide-CNV1
bos-i-n
 finish-PF-3
 ‘Handing out his money to several people, he finished it.’
38. **nú ʔats-á-ʔats-á ʔak-is-im bos-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ RDP-burn-CNV1 wood-DEF-ACC finish-PF-3
 ‘He burned and burned the wood and finished it.’

In complex sentences, converbs and other adverbial modifiers can be combined:

39. **šiftaye sól-im ʔits-á náκ-im wuč-á ʔad-á**
 shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CNV1 water-ACC drink-CNV1 come-CNV1
dót ʔaté dóót-im šiʔ-á tır-im tır-á
 COND 1S.SUBJ leg-ACC wash-CNV1 mattress-ACC lay-mattress-CNV1
ʔiš-is-tub
 sleep-CAUS-FUT
 ‘If Shiftaye comes having eaten enjera and drunk water, I will wash his feet and lay a mattress for him so that he can sleep.’

To sum up, there are two converb markers: **-á** and **ánde**. There is a slight difference in their distribution. That is, speakers prefer to use the short form to express a sequence of two or more actions that are carried out by the same subject.

Similar verbal constructions are reported for other Ethiopian languages (cf. Azeb Amha 2001:190, Azeb Amha and Dimmendaal 2006, Gasser 1983, Rapold 2006).

12.3.2 Conditional clauses

A conditional clause is subordinate to a main clause and it is marked by **dót** or **-dó**. The implementation of the situation which is expressed in the conditional clause is the prerequisite for implementation of the action expressed by the verb in the main clause. The conditional marker **dót** or its reduced form **-dó** can be used alternatively, as in (40a) and (40b).

- 40a. **návis báyzem-ub dóť ʔafi wuč'-t'ub**
 water-DEF cold-M COND 1S.SUBJ drink-FUT
 'If the water is cold, I will drink it.'
- 40b. **návis báyzem-ub-dó ʔafi wuč'-t'ub**
 water-DEF cold-M-COND 1S.SUBJ drink-FUT
 'If the water is cold, I will drink it.'
41. **nú ʔád-dée-n k'ay-á dóť nú**
 3SM.SUBJ come-IPF-3 want-CNV1 COND 3SM.SUBJ
kín-im yéf-tée-n
 3SM.OBJ-ACC see-IPF-3
 'If he wants to come, he will see him.'
42. **sikín-im t'il-is-im yá wuč'-á dóť**
 this-ACC medicine-DEF-ACC 2S.SUBJ. drink-CNV1 COND
yá láxt'-ée-n
 2S.SUBJ. die-IPF-2
 'If you drink this medicine, you will die.'

The conditional clause need not contain a finite verb. It may contain a converb (42), or a nominal adjectival construction without a copula (40). The conditional clause mainly occurs before the main clause; however, it is also possible for it to occur after the main clause.

43. **nú ʔád-káy diib k'án-ándé dóť**
 3SM.SUBJ come-NEG rain rain-CNV2 COND
 'He will not come, if it rains.'

When the verb in the main clause is negative, it is not marked for aspect (43).

12.3.3 Reason clauses

A reason clause (REAS) is a type of subordinate clause that describes the motivation for an event or state of affairs to take place. The reason clause is marked by the morpheme **-inká** which is suffixed directly to the verb.

44. **nú gićco-b saʔat-im yíz-inká líŋsa gišt-in**
 3SM.SUBJ long-M time-ACC run-REAS well breath-INF

gám-i-n

unable-PF-3

‘Since he ran long, he was unable to breath well.’

45. **nú d’es-ká-b bay-im řits-inká s’áss-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ know-NEG-M.RELT food-ACC eat-REAS vomit-PF-3
 ‘Since he ate unknown food, he vomited.’

46. **wunt’-i-bab-is bay-is-im mers-inká nīts-af-is**
 servant-i-AGEN-DEF food-DEF-ACC prevent-REAS child-PL-DEF

č’ir-i-n

complain-PF-3

‘Since the servant took away their lunch, the children complained.’

There is also another morpheme which marks reason clauses: **?engašká** ‘because’. **?engašká** introduces the reason clause as in (47) and (48) (for more discussion on conjunctions, see Section 6.4.)

47. **nú meh-báb ?engašká ři-ři-is-á wunt’-ée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ money-AGEN because RDP-well-CAUS-CNV1 work-IPF-3
 ‘He is rich because he works well.’

48. **nú ýiz-im šál-káy ?engašká řátse dán**
 3SM.SUBJ run-ACC can-NEG because old COP
 ‘He can’t run because he is an old man.’

12.3.4 Concessive clauses

A concessive clause is a subordinate clause which refers to a situation that contrasts with the one described in the main clause. In Dime there are at least three morphologically complex concessive conjunctions. The first one is **wúy-dót-ik**, which means ‘although’. The second way of expressing concession is through the use of the conjunction **wúyim-dót-ik**, ‘even though’ and another way of expressing concessive meaning is by using the conjunction **wúy-dót-ik wonnadót** ‘whatever’. The first and the second conjunctions are related. All concessive conjunctions contain the conditional **dót** and the morpheme **-ik** ‘too’. Examples:

49. **wúy-dót-ik yá koř-ká-dót-ik táá-dót-ik**
 what-COND-too 2S.SUBJ like-NEG-if-too now-if-too

?ahó-b wont-á k’áys-is-tée-n

good-M be-CNV1 find-CAUS-IPF-2

‘Although you don’t like him you can still be polite.’

50. **wúy-ím-dót-ik ná ři-ind won-ká**
 what-ACC-COND-too 3SF.SUBJ beauty-F be-NEG

- ná ʔólóχ búbud dáh-dée-n**
 3SF.SUBJ soon husband marry-IPF-3
 ‘Even though she is not beautiful, she will marry soon.’
51. **wúy-dót-ik wonn-á dót yá wunt’-á dót**
 what-COND-too return- CNV1 COND 2S.SUBJ work-CNV1COND
ʔatí yín-ko gím-ub-is-im kín-im gím-kóy
 1S.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-GEN tell-RELT-DEF-ACC 3SM.OBJ-ACC tell-NEG
 ‘Whatever you do, don’t tell him what I told you.’

12.3.5 Temporal clauses

A temporal clause in Dime can be marked by **-déeḑka** ‘when’, **wutó** ‘before’ or **tifó** ‘after’, as in the following examples:

- 52a. **nú náχ-is-im wuč’-déeḑká yíd-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ water-DEF drink-TEMP cough-PF-3
 ‘When he drank water, he coughed’
- 52b. **nú sóó gómp-ó wunn-á tíŋ-déeḑká nay ʔád-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJhere back-LOC turn-CNV1 go-TEMP hyena come-PF-3
 ‘When he turned back and looked, a hyena had already come.’

In the examples in (52), the temporal marker **-déeḑka** is suffixed to the dependent verb that precedes the main verb. In this construction, the verb with the third person singular marker occurs as an independent main clause verb, i.e., **yíd-i-n** ‘he coughed’. The dependent temporal clauses are not marked for tense-aspect.

In example (53), the temporal marker **wutó** ‘before’ and **tifó** ‘after’ conjoin the relativized verb and the main verb. In all cases of temporal clauses, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

- 53a. **nú k’otin-úb bow-dé wutó ʔatí níts-af-ko**
 3SM.SUBJarrive-M.RELT DIR-ABL before 1S.SUBJ child-PL-GEN
bay-im ʔim-dée-t
 food-ACC give-IPF-1
 ‘Before he arrives, I’ll give the children their food.’
- 53b. **nú k’otin-úb bow-dé tifó ʔatí níts-af-kó**
 3SM.SUBJarrive-M.RELT DIR-ABL after 1S.SUBJ child-PL-GEN
bay-im ʔim-dée-t
 food-ACC give-IPF-1
 ‘After he arrives, I’ll give the children their food.’

12.4 Interrogative Clauses

The interrogative is characterized by a high tone in clause final position and the deletion of the person marker. The prosodic feature plays an important role in the for-

mation of Dime interrogatives. Fleming (1990:539) also reports that “... Dime questions have suprasegmental tone as a marked feature, as questions do in English and other languages. Dime questioning tends strongly towards high pitch and stress on the last syllable of a sentence”. Dime interrogatives can be divided into two types: polar interrogative that involve a “yes” or “no” answer and non-polar interrogatives, which involve content question words.

12.4.1 Polar interrogatives

In this section we discuss informative polar interrogatives and tag questions. The form of the verb in polar interrogative clauses differs according to the person of the subject of the interrogative clause. First and third person informative polar interrogative sentences are signalled by dropping the subject agreement marker from the verb. This reduction of the person marker applies both in the perfective and imperfective aspect. For example, in the first and third person imperfective declarative form of the verb **k'óm-** is **k'óm-dée-t** and **k'óm-dée-n** respectively. The interrogative counterpart of both the first and third person is: **k'óm-dée** ‘will we, I, he/she/they bake?’, which only differs from the respective declarative forms only in the absence of the person markers **-t** and **-n** (see example 54-55). Similarly, the perfective declarative form of these persons is respectively **k'óm-i-t** ‘I/we baked’ and **k'óm-i-n** ‘he/she/they baked’ and the interrogative counterpart of these two forms is: **k'óm-í** ‘Did he/she/they bake?’. Thus, in the first and third person, the forms of the perfective and imperfective polar interrogative correspond to their affirmative counterparts except for the deletion of the person marker and change of intonation. On the other hand, with the second person singular and plural subject, the declarative verb form of which has the same person marker **-n** as that used in the third person, polar interrogative is formed by adding the morpheme **-áá** to the verb root, replacing both tense-aspect and person marking morphemes. With the second person, the morpheme **-áá** functions as an interrogative marker in both perfective and imperfective declarative clauses. Compare the second person declarative clause in (56a) with the second person interrogative in (56b). In (56b) both tense-aspect and person marking morphemes are replaced by **-áá**.

- 54a. **wótú** **sól-is-im** **k'óm-dée-t**
 1PL.SUBJ enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF-1
 ‘We will bake the enjera.’
- 54b. **wótú** **sól-is-im** **k'óm-dée**
 1PL.SUBJ enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF:Q
 ‘Shall we bake the enjera?’
- 55a. **mánte** **sól-is-im** **k'óm-dée-n**
 mánte enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF-3
 ‘Mante bakes the enjera.’

- 55b. **mánte sól-is-im k'óm-k'óm-dée**
 mánte enjera-DEF-ACC RDP-bake-IPF:Q.
 'Is Mante baking the enjera?'
- 56a. **yáayí sól-is-im k'óm-dée-n**
 2S.SUBJ enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF-2
 'You will bake the enjera.'
- 56b. **yáayí sól-is-im k'óm-áá**
 2S.SUBJ enjera-DEF-ACC bake-Q
 'Will you bake the enjera?'

In affirmative interrogatives the morpheme **-áá** is restricted to second person. In negative interrogatives however, **-áá** is used as interrogative marker for all persons (see ex 59-62).

The same word order is used in both polar interrogatives and affirmative declarative sentences. Watters (2000: 204) states: "Most African languages use their basic word order to form yes/no question." He mentions that in content questions the situation is similar to that of yes/no questions.

Answers to polar questions may be preceded by **?áy** 'no' or **?íi** 'yes' which always occur at the beginning of a sentence. These may then be followed by a declarative clause. Thus, as a response to the polar question in (54b), either of the following two sentences can be used:

57. **?áy, ná k'ís'-is-im k'óm-i-n**
 no, 3FS.SUBJ bread-DEF-ACC bake-PF-3
 'No, she baked the bread.'
58. **?íi, ná sól-im k'óm-i-n**
 yes, 3FS.SUBJ enjera-ACC bake-PF-3
 'Yes, she baked the enjera.'

In the following two paradigms, the imperfective declarative and imperfective interrogative can be compared. This shows that the major distinction between the two constructions is the absence of person marker **-n** or **-t** in the interrogative structures.

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 59. | Imperfective declarative | Imperfective interrogative |
| | ?até ?ád-dée-t 'I will come.' | ?até ?ád-dée 'shall I come?' |
| | wótú ?ád-dée-t 'we will come.' | wótú ?ád-dée 'shall we come?' |
| | nú ?ád-dée-n 'he will come.' | nú ?ád-dée 'will he come?' |
| | ná ?ád-dée-n 'she will come' | ná ?ád-dée 'will she come?' |
| | kété ?ád-dée-n 'they will come.' | kété ?ád-dée 'will they come?' |
| | yá ?ád-dée-n 'you will come.' | yá ?ád-dée-y-áá 'will you(S) come?' |
| | yesé ?ád-dée-n 'you will come.' | yesé ?ád-dée-y-áá 'will you(PL) come?' |

As we observe from the above examples, the second person form, in contrast to the first and third person forms, is marked for the interrogative by **-áá**. There is a **-y-** preceding the interrogative marker because of a regular glide insertion rule in the language when a sequence of two vowels occurs.

The interrogative in copula clauses is similar to that in verbal clauses. That is, a question marker **-áá** is suffixed to the copula when the subject is second person and when the clause is imperfective as in (60). In the perfective interrogative copula clause however, aspect is marked by attaching the regular perfective aspect marker **-i-** to the copula verb.

60. **yá wúdúr dán-áá**
 you girl COP-Q:2S
 'Are you a girl?'
61. **nú ʔáy dá-dée**
 he who COP-IPF:Q
 'Who is he?'
62. **yín-ko kané déé-y-í**
 you-GEN sister COP-y-PF:Q
 'Did you have a sister?'

Fleming (1990:537-541) reports that Dime interrogative verbs drop the final person marking suffix **-n** or **-t** and substitute it by **-aa** or **-ee**. The following are some of the examples Fleming provided: **lotoxtAA** 'did you spend the night well?'; k'Amu mObEE 'Is it bad?' (it seems that Fleming used upper-case vowels to indicate suprasegmental features such as tone and/or intonation). The morpheme **-aa** which Fleming mentioned corresponds to the interrogative marker **-áá** which we mentioned earlier. This suffix is also used in perfective interrogatives. The morpheme **-ee**, however, seems to be a variant of the imperfective marker **-déé**, which loses its initial consonant when preceded by another consonant.

To summarise, there are two ways of forming the interrogative in Dime: first by using the interrogative morpheme **-áá**. The second way is by adding high tone on the vowel of the aspect marker and omitting the person marker from verb final position. Interestingly, interrogative and declarative clauses differ in the way they treat subject agreement. That is, interrogative clauses treat the second person subject as distinct from first and third persons by overtly marking the interrogative only when the subject is second person. In contrast, affirmative declarative clauses treat the first person subject differently from second and third person subject by using one special subject agreement marker on the verb, i.e., **-t** for first person singular and plural, while second and third person singular and plural are marked by one and the same morpheme **-n**.

The full paradigm of perfective declarative and perfective interrogative is provided below:

63a.	Perfective declarative	Perfective interrogative
	?até ?ád-i-t 'I came.'	?até ?ád-î 'Did I come?'
	wótú ?ád-i-t 'we came.'	wótú ?ád-î 'Did we come?'
	nú ?ád-i-n 'he came.'	nú ?ád-î 'Did he come?'
	ná ?ád-i-n 'she came.'	ná ?ád-î 'Did she come?'
	kété ?ád-i-n 'they came.'	kété ?ád-î 'Did they come?'
	yá ?ád-i-n 'you (S) came.'	yá ?ád-áá 'Did you (S) come?'
	yesé ?ád-i-n 'you (PL) came.'	yesé ?ád-áá 'Did you (PL) come?'

Dime has no other subcategories of polar interrogatives; for example, permissive polar interrogatives are not different from other polar interrogatives.

Givon (1990:786) pointed out that cross-linguistically different languages have different systems of polar interrogative marking. For instance, only intonation is used in Israeli Hebrew, both morphological marking and intonation in Swahili, both word order and intonation in German. He further states that:

To code a yes/no question distinctively vis-à-vis the declarative norm, a language may resort to all three syntactic coding devices – intonation, morphology and word order. Of the three, intonation is probably universal. Morphology, word order or both are added in many – but by no means all – languages. Givon (1990:786)

Dime uses intonation for polar interrogative marking, as well as 'subtractive morphology' and in some cases additive morphology, but not word order (cf. Azeb Amha, forthcoming, and Hellenthal 2005).

Polar negative interrogatives are not marked for aspect and person. Both the perfective (63b-65a) and the imperfective negative forms (65b-67) have the same verbal structure. Moreover, there is no variation on the verbal form corresponding to the person, number and gender of the subject.

63b.	Polar negative interrogatives	
	?até ?ád-k'áy-áá	'Didn't I come?'
	wótú ?ád- k'áy-áá	'Didn't we come?'
	nú ?ád- k'áy-áá	'Didn't he come?'
	ná ?ád- k'áy-áá	'Didn't she come?'
	kété ?ád- k'áy-áá	'Didn't they come?'
	yá ?ád- k'áy-áá	'Didn't you (S) come?'
	yesé ?ád- k'áy-áá	'Didn't you (PL) come?'

The following are sentential examples:

- 64a. **yá tíŋ-k'áy-áá**
2S.SUBJ go-NEG-Q
'Didn't you go?'
- 64b. **yá tíŋ-k'áy- áá**
2S.SUBJ go-NEG-Q
Don't you go?'

- 65a. **ná wunt'-is-im bos-káy-áá**
 3SF.SUBJ work-DEF-ACC finish-NEG-Q
 'Didn't she finish the work?'
- 65b. **ná wunt'-is-im bos-káy-áá**
 3SF.SUBJ work-DEF-ACC finish-NEG-Q
 'Doesn't she finish the work?'
66. **yá bay-im ʔits-káy-áá**
 2S.SUBJ food-ACC eat-NEG-Q
 'Aren't you eating the food?'
67. **kété náx-ó bosin-ká tɪŋ-k'áy-áá**
 3PL.SUBJ water-LOC place-CNJ go-NEG-Q
 'Aren't they going to the river at all?'

Consider also the form of **gáʔa-k'áy-áá** 'will you not eat me?' in the following example, extracted from text 1 (ex 011), in which the interrogative marker **-áá** occurs following the negative marker.

- 68 **kén-ís gím-á ʔaté yin-kó kiyó**
 dog-DEF speak-CNV1 1S.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-GEN there
k'ót-a dót yá gáʔa-k'áy-áá ʔet'-á ʔúis-i-n
 arrive-CNV1 if 2S.SUBJ eat-NEG-Q say-CNV1 ask-PF-3
 'The dog asked (the hyena) by saying "If I come down to you, will you not eat me?"'

In the remaining part of this section we discuss tag/confirmation questions. This is a type of yes/no question that consists of a declarative clause followed by a "tag" that requests confirmation or rejection of the declarative clause (cf. Payne 1997). The examples in (69-73) question confirmation of a negative statement.

69. **yá kɪn-im yéf-káy, (yá)yéf-áá**
 2S.SUBJ 3MS.OBJ-ACC see-NEG, see-PF:Q
 'You did not see him, did you?'
70. **šiftaye t'úlim šál-káy, (nú) šál-dée**
 šiftaye swim can-NEG, 3MS.SUBJ can-IPF:Q
 'Shiftaye can not swim, can he?'
71. **šiftaye t'úl-im šál-káy, (nú) šál-í**
 šiftaye swim-ACC can-NEG, 3MS.SUBJ can-PF:Q
 'Shiftaye could not swim, could he?'
72. **ʔaté kén-im gís'-káy, (ʔaté) gís'-í**
 1S.SUBJ 3PL.OBJ-ACC beat-NEG, 1S.SUBJ beat-PF:Q
 'I did not beat them, did I?'

73. **yá t'úlim šál-káy, (yá) šál-áá**
 2S.SUBJ swim can-NEG, 2S.SUBJ can-Q
 'You can not swim, can you?'

The structure of the verb in the "tag" question is the same as that in regular interrogative clauses.

Confirmation questions after affirmative statements are expressed by a copy of the verb followed by the negation marker **-káy**. The suffix **-áá** is added to the verb following the negative marker for all persons. Here the interrogative marker **-áá** which is used only with second person subjects in affirmative interrogatives is attached to all negative interrogative verbs irrespective of the person of the subject and the aspect of the verb. Examples:

74. **p'et'ros yín-im madd-i-n, (nú) mad-káy-áá?**
 Peter 2S.OBJ-ACC help-PF-3 (3MS) help-NEG-Q
 'Peter helped you, didn't he?'
75. **mante sakiyó déén-ká, (ná) yi-káy-áá?**
 mante there exist-PF (3FS) COP-NEG-Q
 'Mante was there, wasn't she?'
76. **?até dáh-í-t, (?ati) da-káy-áá**
 1S.SUBJ late-PF-1, I be late-NEG-Q
 'I'm late, am I not?'
77. **wó-n k'iy, šál-káy-áá**
 1PL.OBJ-DAT go, can-NEG-Q
 'Let's go, can't we?'

12.4.2 Non-polar interrogatives

In this section we treat content question words. There are eight content question words in Dime. It seems that all of these are derived from two basic roots **wu-** and **?a-**. The accusative form of content question words is suffixed with the accusative case marker **-im** just as in nouns. The content question words can be used predicatively without the copula morpheme, as in tense-less nominal clauses in general.

78. **?ámz-ís ?amó-de**
 woman-DEF where-ABL
 'Where is the woman from?'
79. **?ámz-ís ?amó**
 woman-DEF where
 'Where is the woman?'

In the imperfective aspect, polar and non polar interrogative clauses have a similar structure. Their main difference is the presence or absence of a content question word. The two interrogative clauses mark the verb for imperfective aspect in the same way. Compare the (a) examples in (80-81) with the ones in (b).

- 80a. **ná** **dime-n** **tíŋ-dée**
 3SF.SUBJ dime-DAT go-IPF:Q
 ‘Will she go to Dime?’
- 80b. **ná** **?amóid dime-n** **tíŋ-dée?**
 3SF.SUBJ when dime-DAT go-IPF:Q
 ‘When does she go to Dime?’
- 81a. **nú** **?ád-dée**
 3SM.SUBJ come-IPF:Q
 ‘Will he come?’
- 81b. **?áyí** **?ád-dée**
 who come-IPF:Q
 ‘Who will come?’

In the perfective, however, polar and non-polar interrogatives are different. In polar interrogatives the person marker is deleted from the verb and high tone is added to the perfective aspect marker. In contrast, in non polar interrogatives both the person and aspect marker are deleted from the verb as in (82b), (83b) and (84).

- 82a. **níts-af-is** **?ád-í**
 child-PL-DEF come-PF:Q
 ‘Did the children come?’
- 82b. **?ameh-id** **níts-af** **?ád**
 how-many-PL child-PL come:PF:Q
 ‘How many children came?’
- 83a. **nú** **?ád-í**
 3SM.SUBJ come-PF:Q
 ‘Did he come?’
- 83b. **?áyí** **?ád**
 who come:PF:Q
 ‘Who came?’

A list of perfective content question forms using the verb **kóxú** ‘love’ and various subjects is given in (84).

84. **?até** **?áy-im** **kóx** ‘Whom did I love?’
wótu **?áy-im** **kóx** ‘Whom did we love?’
ná **?áy-im** **kóx** ‘Whom did she love?’
nú **?áy-im** **kóx** ‘Whom did he love?’
kété **?áy-im** **kóx** ‘Whom did they love?’
yá **?áy-im** **kóx** ‘Whom did you (2S) love?’
yesé **?áy-im** **kóx** ‘Whom did you (2PL) love?’

In perfective polar interrogative clauses the suffixes **-í** is essential (except in second person). The absence of the perfective aspect marker makes the structure ungram-

matical. In contrast, in perfective non-polar interrogatives, it is the absence of the aspect marker that identifies the structure, as the list in (84) and the sentential examples in (85) demonstrate.

More than one content question word may occur in a sentence. The following are examples:

85. **ʔáyí ʔáy-im deis**
 who who-ACC kill:PF:Q
 ‘Who killed whom?’
86. **ʔáyí ʔáy-im deis-tée**
 who who-ACC kill-IPF:Q
 ‘Who kills whom?’

In examples (85) and (86) the same question word is realized with a nominative and accusative case. The accusative is marked by **-im**, while the nominative one is unmarked. Different types of question words can also occur in the same sentence, one as a subject and the other as an object (87-91). The object is always marked with the accusative marker.

87. **ʔáyí wúy-ím wúč’**
 Who what-ACC drink:PF:Q
 ‘Who drank what?’
88. **ʔáyí wúy-ím wúč’-déé**
 Who what-ACC drink-IPF:Q
 ‘Who drinks what?’
89. **ʔáyí ʔamó-de ʔád**
 who where-ABL come:PF:Q
 ‘Who came from where?’
90. **ʔáyí ʔamó tŋ**
 who where go:PF:Q
 ‘Who went to where?’
91. **ʔáyí wúy-ím ʔáy -ká ʔam-ó wunt’**
 who what-ACC who-CNJ where-LOC work:PF:Q
 ‘Who did what with whom and where?’

As examined above, it is possible to use multiple content question words in the same sentence. As Wachowicz (1975) typological observation correctly indicates multiple content words are used when the speaker misses the information provided by other speech participants, specifically when preceding statements/comments are about several parallel events.

Content question words may be marked by the dative, ablative or other peripheral cases (92-95).

92. **ʔáy-ká déén nú ʔits-int'**
 who-INST exist 3SM eat-PAS:Q
 'By whom was it eaten?'
93. **yá ʔáy -in mäs'af-is-im ʔim**
 2S.SUBJ who-DAT book-DEF-ACC gave:Q
 'To whom did you give the book?'
94. **wúyo-de kîn-im yá wunt'**
 what-ABL 3SM.OBJ-ACC 2S.SUBJ made:Q
 'From what did you make it?'
95. **ʔaté ʔáy -ká náx-ó ʔiŋ-túb**
 1S.SUBJ who-with water-LOC go-FUT:Q
 'With whom will I go to the river?'

Negative interrogative clauses with content question words are suffixed with the negative marker **-k'áy**. In these cases aspect or tense distinction is not marked on the verb:

96. **ná ʔamóid dime-n ʔiŋ-k'áy**
 3SF.SUBJ when dime-DAT go-NEG
 'When is it that she does not go to Dime?'
97. **ʔáyi ʔád-k'áy**
 who come-NEG
 'Who did not come?'
98. **ʔameh-id nîts-af ʔád-k'áy**
 how.many-PL child-PL come-NEG
 'How many of the children are not coming?'

In summary, in the polar interrogative construction **-déé** marks imperfective aspect, while **-í** marks perfective aspect for first and third person. The morpheme **-áá** is a verbal interrogative marker that has a restricted use in perfective and imperfective polar interrogative clauses; namely, it is affixed to the verb when the subject of the interrogative clause is second person. In negative tag/confirmation questions the interrogative is marked by **-áá** for all persons. In non-polar interrogative clauses, the perfective aspect is not marked morphologically on the verb. The imperfective aspect is marked morphologically (using the morpheme **-déé**) both in polar and non-polar interrogative clauses. In both perfective and imperfective negative polar and non-polar interrogatives, the negative marker **-k'áy** is suffixed to the verb.

12.5 Word order

In Dime SOV word order is frequent. With the exception of the subject, every constituent is morphologically marked for case. Perhaps because of this morphological marking, which reflects the grammatical relation among the words in a sentence, word order is not strict in Dime. The following examples demonstrate the frequent

word order of simple sentences in both transitive and intransitive clauses:

96. **gošt-ís yíz-dée-n**
 boy-DEF run-IPF-3
 ‘The boy runs.’
97. **nú k’ís’-im ʔíst-ée-n**
 3SM.SUBJ bread-ACC eat-IPF-3
 ‘He eats bread.’

12.5.1 Word order in NPs

First we discuss word order in nouns and noun modifiers. This involves word order of noun phrases with adjectives, numerals, demonstratives and possessives. The word order of nouns and noun modifiers is flexible as the difference in the (a) and (b) forms in the examples in (98-95) shows.

- 98a. **nú gúdm-úb ʔák-im ʔats-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ tall-M tree-ACC burn-PF-3
 ‘He burned a tall tree.’
- 98b. **nú ʔáki gúdúm-ub-im ʔats-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ tree tall-M burn-PF-3
 ‘He burned a tall tree.’
- 99a. **ná mǎkkim ʔámz-af-im baʔád-i-n**
 3SF.SUBJ three woman-PL-ACC bring-PF-3
 ‘She brought three women.’
- 99b. **ná ʔámz-af mǎkkim-im baʔád-i-n**
 3SF.SUBJ woman-PL three-ACC bring-PF-3
 ‘She brought three women.’
- 100a. **siná ʔámzi**
 this woman
 ‘this woman’
- 100b. **ʔámzi siná**
 woman this
 ‘this woman’

Changing word-order in morphologically marked genitive constructions does not bring a change in meaning. Consider the following examples:

- 101a. **zim-kó ʔindiid-ká ʔind-ká ʔád-i-n**
 chief-GEN wife-CNJ mother-CNJ come-PF-3
 ‘A chief’s wife and mother came.’

- 101b. **ʔindiid-ká ʔind-ká zim-kó ʔád-i-n**
 wife-CNJ mother-CNJ chief-GEN come-PF-3
 ‘A chief’s wife and mother came.’

In non-verbal constructions the predicative constituent occurs at sentence final position. For instance, the noun **ʔis-ko ʔindiid** ‘my wife’ (102a), **saná** ‘that’ (102b and 102c) and **ʔis-ko-nd** ‘mine (F)’ (102d) are predicates of their respective clauses.

- 102a. **saná ʔis-ko ʔindiid**
 that (F) 1S.OBJ-GEN wife
 ‘That is my wife.’
- 102b. **ʔis-ko ʔindiid saná**
 1S.OBJ-GEN wife that (F)
 ‘My wife is that.’
- 102c. **ʔindiid ʔis-ko saná**
 wife 1S.OBJ-GEN that (F)
 ‘My wife is that.’
- 102d. **saná ʔindiid ʔis-ko-nd**
 that (F) wife 1S.OBJ-GEN (F)
 ‘That is my wife.’

In example (102d) the genitive pronoun at the predicate position is suffixed with a gender marker, which indicates the gender of the possessed noun.

12.5.2 Word order in verbal sentences

Word-order is not restricted in verbal sentences as well. Verbs and adverbs alternate their order without changing the meaning of the phrase as shown in example (103). Objects and adverbs can also occur in any order (105), and the object can follow the verb (105c).

- 103a. **wunt’ú ʔólóχ ʔólóχ**
 work RDP quick
 ‘Work quickly!’
- 103b. **ʔólóχ ʔólóχ wunt’ú**
 RDP quick work
 ‘Work quickly!’
- 104a. **nú ʔahó s’aft-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ well/nice write-PF-3
 ‘He wrote well.’
- 104b. **nú s’aft-i-n ʔahó**
 3SM.SUBJ write-PF-3 well/nice
 ‘He wrote well.’

- 105a. **nú** **mes'af-im** **nááke** **šin-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ book-ACC yesterday buy-PF-3
 'He bought a book yesterday.'
- 105b. **nú** **nááke** **mes'af-im** **šin-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ yesterday book-ACC buy-PF-3
 'He bought a book yesterday.'
- 105c. **nú** **nááke** **šin-i-n** **mes'af-im**
 3SM.SUBJ yesterday buy-PF-3 book-ACC
 'He bought a book yesterday.'

More examples that demonstrate the freedom of word order are given below. Object can precede subjects, (106b); and follow the verb, (106c). The occurrence of the verb at sentence initial position is not common; however, there are instances of simple sentences, where the verb occurs initially (106d).

- 106a. **yer-ís** **?ay-im** **ǵits-i-n**
 donkey-DEF grass-ACC eat-PF-3
 'The donkey ate grass.'
- 106b. **?ay-im** **yer-ís** **ǵits-i-n**
 grass-ACC donkey-DEF eat-PF-3
 'The donkey ate grass.'
- 106c. **yer-ís** **ǵits-in** **?ay-is-im**
 donkey-DEF eat-PF-3P grass-DEF-ACC
 'The donkey ate the grass.'
- 106d. **ǵits-i-n** **yerí** **?ay-im**
 eat-PF-3 donkey grass-ACC
 'A donkey ate grass.'

The word order alternation in sentences with dative complements is illustrated in (107a-d) below:

- 107a. **nú** **ké-n** **yiss-ub-im** **məs'af-im** **ǵim-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ 3PL-DAT some-M-ACC book-ACC give-PF-3
 'He gave some books to them.'
- 107b. **nú** **yiss-ub-im** **məs'af-im** **ké-n** **ǵim-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ some-M-ACC book-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-PF-3
 'He gave some books to them.'
- 107c. **nú** **məs'af-im** **ké-n** **yiss-ub-im** **ǵim-i-n**
 3SM.SUBJ book-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT some-M-ACC give-PF-3
 'He gave some books to them.'
- 107d. **məs'af-im** **ké-n** **ǵim-i-n** **nú** **yiss-ub-im**
 book-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-PF-3 3SM.SUBJ some-M-ACC
 'He gave some books to them.'

In Dime, dependent clauses usually occur before the main clause. However, they may also occur after the main clause, as illustrated in the examples below:

- 108a. **ʔámz-is ʔád-á dót ʔiyy-ís tíŋ-dée-n**
 woman-DEF come-CNV1 COND man-DEF go-IPF-3
 ‘If the woman comes, the man will go.’
- 108b. **ʔiyy-ís tíŋ-dée-n ʔámz-is ʔád-á dót**
 man-DEF go-IPF-3 woman-DEF come-CNV1 COND
 ‘The man will go, if the woman comes.’

Word order is also flexible in relative clauses. The order of the relativized noun and the relative clause can be changed as examples (109) and (110) demonstrate:

109. **níts-im deis-i-b-is ʔiyy-ís ʔád-i-n**
 child-ACC kill-PF-M.RELT-DEF man-DEF come-PF-3
 ‘The man who killed the child came.’
110. **ʔiyyí níts-is-im gís'-i-b-is laxt'-i-n**
 man child-DEF-ACC beat-M.RELT-DEF die-PF-3
 ‘A man who has beaten the child died.’

However, within the relative clause, word order change is ungrammatical as in (111).

111. ***deis-i-b-is níts-im ʔiyy-ís ʔád-i-n**
 kill-M.RELT-DEF child-ACC man-DEF come-PF-3
 Intended meaning:... ‘The man who killed the child came.’

Although word-order in a clause and within an NP is not strict, the changing of word order in Noun-Noun modifiers and compound words brings meaning change or leads to ungrammaticality. For instance, the order of the following construction is restricted:

112. **ʔot níts**
 cow child
 ‘male calf’
113. **ʔáf-náx**
 eye-water
 ‘tear’

The reverse order, namely, **níts ʔot** or **náx ʔáf** is not possible in the above examples.

13 Texts

13.1 Greetings

In this section we present some texts and greetings. Greetings are expressed using the words **ʔás** 'how' and **ʔax** 'spend day' or **ʔox̣t** 'spend night'. The word **ʔás** seems to be a reduced form of **ʔásiya** 'how'. Thus, literally **ʔás ʔox̣t** means 'how (did you) spend (the) night?'

Greeting in the morning

1. **ʔás ʔox̣t**
how spend night
'Good morning' (2SF/M)
2. **ʔás ʔox̣t-is**
how spend night-PL
'Good morning (2PL)'

The answer to the above greetings will be:

3. **ʔahó yá ʔás ʔox̣t**
fine 2S.SUBJ how spend night
'Fine! How have you spent the night.'

Greeting in the evening or midday

4. **ʔás ʔax**
how spend day
'Good afternoon (2SF/M)!'
5. **ʔás ʔax-is**
how spend day-PL
'Good afternoon (2PL)!'

The (interrogative) greeting forms illustrated above, can also be used to enquire the well-being of somebody else.

6. **Maikro ʔás ʔax**
Maikro how spend day
'How is Maikro doing (how did he spend the day?)'
7. **ná ʔás ʔax**
3SF.SUBJ how spend day
'How is she doing?'
8. **ʔahó! yá ʔás ʔax**
fine 2S.SUBJ how spend
'Fine! How did you spend the day.'

As can be seen from the above examples, there are different types of greetings for the morning and afternoon. There are no special greeting terms for the evening; there is no equivalent of the Amharic **፳፻፲፱ ፳፻፳፱**, a special greeting expression for the evening.

Leave taking is expressed in the following way:

- 9a. **səro ʔax**
 peace spend day
 ‘have a peaceful day’
- 9b. **səro ʔox**
 peace spend night
 ‘have a peaceful night’

The above leave taking expressions are formally similar to greetings in some other Omotic language such as Wolayta. For instance in Wolayta : **sáro péʔa** means ‘good day/have a nice day’, while **sáro ʔak’á** means ‘good night/have a nice evening (Alemayehu Dogamo, pc)’.

The following dialogue contains some more examples of Dime greeting expressions:

- 10a. **ʔás ta-dée**
 how be-IPF:Q
 ‘How are you?’
- 10b. **ʔaté ʔahó yá ʔahó da-dée-y-áá?**
 1S.SUBJ. good 2S.SUBJ. good be-IPF-y-Q
 ‘I am fine, how are you?’
11. **wuuf-is ʔahó-w-áá**
 all-DEF good-w-Q
 ‘Is everything fine?’
12. **ʔiyyí wuuf-is ʔahó yá ʔahó-dée ʔád-áá woxm-á dáh-i-n**
 person all-DEF good 2S.SUBJ good-IPF:Q come-Q enter-CNV1 stay-PF-3
 ‘Everybody is fine. Is everything alright (you came with good news?)? Get in and sit down.’
13. **yaf ʔanji ʔaté dáh-káy ʔólox tíŋ-dée-t**
 God bless 1S.SUBJ stay-NEG quickly go-IPF-1
 ‘God bless (you)! I will not stay (long). I will leave soon.’
14. **səro dáh-á**
 peace stay-CNV1
 ‘Stay in peace!’
15. **səro dáh-is**
 peace stay-PL
 ‘Stay in peace!’

The following extract illustrates conversation during a visit to a sick person.

- 16a. **ʔasta-dée**
how-IPF:Q
'how are you?'
- 16b. **sakiyo ʔéende da-dée-t**
there like that live-IPF-1
'I am in the same condition (Lit., there, like that I live).'
- 17a. **wúy-dót-ik loote-káy-áa**
what-if-too better-NEG-Q
'There is no change in your situation?'
- 17b. **wúy-dót-ik loote yi-káy**
what-if-too better COP-NEG
'Nothing, I don't feel better.'
- 18a. **say-ká-dó ʔakim ʔéh-ó tíŋi**
cure-NEG-COND doctor home-LOC go
'If you do not feel better, (it is better you) go to the hospital.'
- 18b. **ʔakim ʔéh-ó tíŋ-ta meh yi-káy**
doctor home-LOC go-DAT money COP-NEG
'To go to the hospital, I have no money.'
- 19a. **ʔáhá! meh yi-káy šid-inká ʔakim ʔéh-ó tíŋ-ká**
ha! money COP-NEG remain-REAS doctor home-LOC go-NEG
šid-áa meh-im ʔaté tald-ub
stay-Q money-ACC 1.SUBJ lend-M
'ha! you stay here because you don't have money? I will lend you some money.'
- 19b. **yaf ʔim meh yent-'a-do ʔiní ʔééneno ʔakim**
God give money get-CNV1-COND today right.now doctor
ʔéh-ó tíŋ-tub
home-LOC go-FUT
'May God give you, if I get money, I will go to the hospital right away.'
- 20a. **ʔólóχ ʔakim-in't**
quick treat-PAS
'See a doctor soon!'
- 20b. **ʔišsi³⁷ yaf ʔim**
ok God give
'Ok! Thank you!' (lit. '(May) God give (you)')

³⁷ A word borrowed from Amharic, **ʔišsi** 'ok'

13.2 Stories

This section includes transcribed and glossed Dime stories. Text 1 is a story about a dog and a donkey. Text 2 describes the process of building a Dime house. Text 3 is about the good will of a Dime girl whose name is Abeba Shiftaye Mehil. Text 4 concerns the cultural traditions on selecting a Dime Chief. Text 5 narrates the friendship between two people. Text 6 is a story of the friendship between a lion, a wolf, a monkey and an ape. Text 7 is concerned with an ape and his relatives. Text 8 pursues a narrative concerning three people. Text 9 is a tale of the rat and the elephant. Text 10 relates the story of the rabbit and *Deffersa* (a wild animal *sp.*).

In all the texts we use a four-line transliteration: in the first line we represent the Dime sentence as it is recorded, in the second line we indicate morpheme boundaries, in the third line translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes is given, the fourth line contains a free-translation of the whole sentence.

13.2.1 Text 1: A dog and a donkey

This story was told by Shiftaye Yisan, 13 August 2003, Dime, Ethiopia.

- kénká yerká**
 kén-ká yer-ká
 dog-CNJ donkey-CNJ
 ‘A dog and a donkey’
001. **kénká yerká wókkil ?insé**
 kén-ká yer-ká wókkil ?insé
 dog-CNJ donkey-CNJ one day
wótú kubó gašká tíŋa bayím k’áyá ?istúb
 wótú kub-ó gaš-ká tíŋ-á bay-ím k’áy-á ?ist-túb
 1PL.SUBJ forest-LOC road-INST go-CNV1 food-ACC find-CNV1 eat-FUT
?énet’á tíŋa ?išinčibisó k’ótúb bowde tifó
 ?énet’-á tíŋ-á ?išinčib-is-ó k’ót-úb bow-de tifó
 say-CNV1 go-CNV1 thought-DEF-LOC arrive-M.RELT DIR-ABL after
bayim k’áy’a dzemerin
 bay-im k’áy- t’a dzemer-i-n³⁸
 food-ACC find-INF starte-PF-3
 ‘Once up on a time, a dog and a donkey agreed and say, “we must go to the bush in order to search for food together”. They went as agreed. After arriving at the appointed place, they began to search for food.’
002. **k’ótúb bow-de yerís šúním ?ítsá**
 k’ót-úb bow-de yer-ís šún-ím ?íts-á
 arrive-M.RELT DIR-ABL donkey-DEF grass-ACC eat-CNV1

³⁸ **dzemere** ‘start’ is borrowed from Amharic.

gígís'it

gí-gís'-i-t

RDP-satisfy-PF-1

'The donkey found grass to eat and satisfied himself'.

003. **kénkó weydótik bayi yənt'k'áy šidin**

kén-kó weydótik bayi yənt'-k'áy šid-i-n

dog-GEN CONC food get-NEG fail-PF-3

níiká dadéenká

níi-ká da-déen-ká

hunger-COM stay-exist-PF.

'The dog failed to find any food; consequently he remained hungry'.

004. **yerís wótú ŋitsá gígís'ib bowde**

yer-ís wótú ŋits-á gí-gís'-i-b-bow-de

donkey-DEF 1PL.SUBJ eat-CNV1 RDP-PF-satisfy-M.RELT-DIR-ABL

wóko bábkóká?indkóká kíši

wó-ko bábk-ó-ká ?ind-kó-ká kíši

1PL.OBJ-GEN father-GEN-CNJ mother-GEN-CNJ custom

ʔuχʔuχtéébdée ʔet'á kénískó gímit

ʔuχ-ʔuχ-tée-b-dée³⁹ ʔet'-á kén-ís-kó gím-i-t

RDP- cry-IPF-M.RELT-dée say-CNV1 dog-DEF-GEN speak-PF-1

yerís babáštá wádé yá ʔuχskóy

yer-ís ba-bašt-á wádé yá ʔuχs-kóy

donkey-DEF RDP:fear-CNV1 please 2S.SUBJ cry-NEG

'The donkey said "In the tradition of our father and mother after having eaten we neigh." Despite this the donkey felt some fear, especially when the dog told him not to neigh.'

005. **ʔet'á šéminká ŋisko ŋikík yidint'a gíminká.**

ʔet'-á šém-inká ŋis-ko ŋik-ík yid-in-t'a⁴⁰ gím-inká.

say-CNV1 beg-TEMP 1S.OBJ-GEN stomach ache-RDP feel-INF-? speak-REAS

'However, the donkey begged him saying 'Since my stomach is full I must neigh'.

006. **kénís gímándé kufób k'amub ʔádá gaʔá k'á**

kén-ís gím-ándé kuf-ó-b k'am-ub ʔád-á gaʔá-k'á

dog-DEF speak-CNV2 wild-LOC-M bad-M come-CNV1 eat-NEG

³⁹ The copula **-dée** or **-ée** occurs following verbs or adjectives after person or gender markers. At this position it seems to function as focus marker.

⁴⁰ It is interesting that the element **-ta** which occurs rarely as an alternative form of the infinitive marker **-in** appears here as **-t'a** following the infinitive marker **-in**.

?até ?áko wúttúbée kiyóde tifó yín ?uχsé

?até ?ák-ó wút-túb-ée kiyó-de tifó yín ?uχsé
 1P.SUBJ tree-LOC climb-FUT-ée there-ABL after 2S.OBJ cry

?et'ándé

?et'-ándé

say-CNV2

'The dog said "Perhaps, dangerous wild animals will come to eat us, let me first climb up a tree and then you can neigh"'.
 007.

kénis ?áko wuttubowde yerís ?uχ?uχin

kén-is ?ák-ó wuttu-bow-de yer-ís ?uχ-?uχ-i-n
 dog-DEF tree-LOC climb-DIR-ABL donkey-DEF RDP-cry-PF-3

nay k'əstin dáhá kiko ?uχssim k'ámsá

nay k'əstin dáh-á kí-ko ?uχs-is-im k'áms-á
 hyena two appear-CNV1 3MS.OBJ-GEN voice-DEF-ACC hear-CNV1

kíká bow ?adá kínim yidá gaʔan

kí-ká-bow ?ad-á kín-im yid-á gaʔ-i-n
 3MS.OBJ-COM-DIR come-CNV1 3MS.OBJ-ACC catch-CNV1 eat-PF-3

'After the dog climbed up the tree, the donkey started neighing. On hearing the donkey's voice, two hyenas appeared. Having come, they caught the donkey and ate it'.

008 kénis ?áíísó dáhá dúmú yín-de yéfka

kén-is ?ák-ís-ó dáh-á dúmú yín-de yéf-ká
 dog-DEF tree-DEF-LOC stay-CNV1 down look-ABL see-NEG

nibáb wónibis gísó wóχis kín ?éfts ?éftsín

ni-báb wón-i-b-is gísó wóχ-is kí-n ?éfts-?éfts-i-n
 hunger-AGEN be-PF-M.RELT-DEF reason meat-DEF 3MS.OBJ-DAT RDP-want-PF-3

'The dog looked down from the tree as the hyenas ate the donkey. Because of hunger the dog felt a strong desire to eat meat'.

009 hičúú-dó gágáʔat'ub ?et'á babastá

hiči-čúú-dó gá-gáʔa-t'ub ?et'-á ba-bast-á
 descend-down-COND RDP-eat-FUT say-CNV1 RDP-fear-CNV1

kiyó zim dádahin ?išínč kádéeǵká**kíko**

kiyó zim dá-dáh-i-n ?išínč-ká-déeǵká kí-ko
 there silent RDP-stay-PF-3 think-NEG-TEMP 3MS.OBJ-GEN

?áfóde táχsil náyisko máttó t'íp'in

?áfó-de táχsil nay-ís-ko mátt-ó t'íp'-i-n
 mouth-ABL saliva hyena-DEF-GEN head-LOC drop-PF-3

'Yet the dog feared that if he descended from the tree, he would (himself) be eaten by the hyenas. It remained silent there where he was. However,

without him realizing his mouth began to water and saliva dribbled onto the head of one of the hyenas’.

010. **nayís zúnú wuná yíṅdée yéfka ʔakíso kéní dán**
 nay-ís zúnú wun-á yíṅ-dée yéf-ká ʔak-ís-ó kéní dán
 hyena-DEF up turn-CNV1 look-IPF see-NEG tree-DEF-LOC dog COP

nayís kénískó yá sóó ʔadu ʔaté
 nay-ís kén-ís-kó yá sóó ʔadu ʔaté
 hyena-DEF dog-DEF-GEN 2S.SUBJ LOC come 1S.SUBJ.

yínkó sakiyó k’ótti ʔédínká
 yín-kó sakiyó k’ótti ʔéd-ínká
 2S.OBJ-GEN there arrive tell-REAS

‘When the hyenas looked up, there was a dog on the tree. They hyena told the dog that either it should descend from the tree and come to them or they would climb up the tree’.

011. **kénís gímá ʔaté yínko sakiyó k’ótá**
 kén-ís gím-á ʔaté yín-ko sakiyó k’ót-á
 dog-DEF speak-CNV1 1S.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-GEN there arrive-CNV1

dót yá gáʔak’áyáá ʔet’á ʔuyisin
 dóṭ yá gáʔa-k’áy-áá ʔet’-á ʔuyis-i-n
 COND 2S.SUBJ eat-NEG-Q say-CNV1 ask-PF-3

‘The dog asked the hyenas “If I come down to you, won’t you eat me?”’

012. **nayís gímándé sóó wutó wohim yéfka**
 nay-ís gím-ándé sóó wutó woh-im yéf-ká
 hyena-DEF speak-CNV2 here front meat-ACC see-NEG

ʔaté yínim wúytá gaʔadée
 ʔaté yín-im wúy-tá gaʔa-dée
 1S.SUBJ 2P OBJ-ACC what-INF eat-IPF:Q

kénís yíčá yiló kíkábow ʔádinká
 kén-ís yíč-á yil-ó kí-ká-bow ʔád-ínká
 dog-DEF down-CNV1 ground-LOC 3MS.OBJ-COM-DIR come-REAS

wókkil-im wohim gáʔam-ée ʔédít
 wókkil-im woh-im gáʔa-m-ée ʔéd-i-t
 one-NMZ meat-ACC eat-m-ée say-PF-1

‘The hyenas replied to the dog “Don’t you see all this meat around us, why should we eat you?” Subsequently the dog climbed down the tree and the hyenas allowed him to eat meat with them’.

013. **wókkilim wohísim gaʔándé yéfka bóʔónit**
 wókkil-im woh-ís-im gaʔ-ándé yéf-ká bóʔón-i-t
 one-NMZ meat-DEF-ACC eat-CNV2 see-NEG finish-PF-1

wótú yínim gáʔadit yá ʔíní wókkil-ím dáhá

wótú yín-im gáʔad-i-t yá ʔíní wókkil-im dáh-á
 1PL.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC eat-PF-1 2S.SUBJ today one-ACC stay-CNV1

gáʔandé yefká wókobis bóboʔinéé

gáʔ-andé yef-ká wó-ko-b-is bó-bóʔ-i-n-éé
 eat-CNV2 see-CNJ 1PL.OBJ.-GEN-M-DEF RDP-finish-PF-3-éé
 ‘They ate together and the meat was finished. Eventually one of the hyenas said to the dog; “As soon as the meat is finished, we will eat you too!”’

014. **taáyé yínim gáʔadá k’áysistéét ʔét’inká**

taáyé yín-im gáʔad-á ʔéd-á k’áys-is-tée-t
 now 2P.OBJ-ACC eat-CNV1 tell-CNV1 want-CAUS-IPF-1

ʔét’-inká

say-REAS

‘Finally, the hyenas said; “now we want to eat you!”’

015. **kénis gímándé wókó kíši kót’irdéébdée**

kén-is gím-andé wó-kó kíši kót’ir-dée-b-dée
 dog-DEF speak-CNV2 1PL.OBJ-GEN custom jump-M.RELT-dée

ʔaté láláyt’éebis gišó kínim ʔaté

ʔaté lá-láyt’ée-b-is gišó kín-im ʔaté
 1S.SUBJ RDP-die-M.RELT-DEF way it(3MS)-ACC 1S.SUBJ

yén

yé-n

2PL.OBJ-DAT

‘The dog said, “As I am somebody who is going to die, let me do it in my custom.”’

016. **ʔéχsinká tifó gáʔasé ʔét’it nayís ʔééndót**

ʔéχs-inká tifó gáʔa-sé ʔét’-i-t nay-ís ʔéen dót
 show-REAS after eat-LOC say-PF-1 hyena-DEF like this COND

ʔólóχ k’ót’irá yinde ʔəχséén ʔet’á kítit

ʔólóχ k’ót’ir-á yín-de ʔəχs-ée-n ʔet’-á kít-i-t
 quick sing-CNV1 2S.SUBJ-ABL show-IPF-3 say-CNV1 order-PF-1

kénis

kén-is

dog-DEF

kót’irisim ʔəχisde téďá kénim midándé yízá

kót’ir-is-im ʔəχ-is-de téď-á kén-ím mid-ándé yíz-á
 sing-DEF-ACC show-DEF-ABL say-CNV1 dog-ACC cheat-CNV2 run-CNV1

kíkó k'óbsisko ?ého láyat'i k'adée k'otinéé

kí-kó k'óbs-is-ko ?éh-ó láyt'i-k'á-dée k'ót-i-n-ée
 3MS.OBJ-GEN owner-DEF-GEN house-LOC die-NEG-IPF arrive-PF-3-ée
 “If so, (they said) sing quickly and show us your talent!” However, when
 the hyenas ordered the dog to sing, he was able to deceive them and escape
 death and arrived safely at his owner’s house’

13.2.2 Text 2: The process of building a Dime house

This story was told by Shiftaye Yisan on September 2, 2003, Ethiopia.

001. **háy ?éhím kič't'á binn k'áysistéeb gās**
 háy ?éh-ím kič't'-á bin-n k'áys-is-tée-b gās
 grass house-ACC built-CNV1 go-: PF-3 find-CAUS-IPF-RELT (M) road
 ‘The required way of building a house’.
002. **wútó ?éh-ím kič't'á binn bisinim meret'éen**
 wútó ?éh-ím kič't'-á bin-n bisin-im meret'-t'ée-n⁴¹
 before house-ACC work-CNV1 go-:PF-3 place-ACC choose-IPF-3
kiyóde tifó doč ?áwim k'árs'á kutstéen
 kiyó-de tifó doč-?áw-im k'árs'-á kuts-tée-n
 there-ABL after-LOC wall-wood-ACC cut-CNV1 collect-IPF-3
 ‘In order to build a hut, one has to choose a suitable place for the building.
 Then, the required amount of wood for construction purposes must be cut
 and collected’.
003. **?óló síkim gir?áwimká tiiḡimká bá?ádée**
 ?óló sík-im gir-?áw-im-ká tiiḡ-im-ká bá-?ád-ée-t
 also this-ACC RB⁴²-wood-ACC-CNJ rope-ACC-CNJ bring-IPF-1
síkiská gir?áwiská tiiḡiská s'us'u bowde
 síkis-ká gir-?áw-is-ká tiiḡ-is-ká s'us'u-bow-de
 this-CNJ RB-wood-DEF-CNJ rope-DEF-CNJ full-DIR-ABL
?éhísim kič't'á binn bisinim mälčá
 ?éh-ís-im kič't'-á bin-n bisin-im mälč-á
 house-DEF-ACC built-CNV1 go-:PF-3 place-ACC remove forest-CNV1
líḡistéen kukuyá lalalá bäsintstéen
 líḡ-is-tée-n ku-kuy-á lalalá bäsints-tée-n
 clean-CAUS-IPF-3 RDP-dig-CNV1 level make-IPF-3

⁴¹ meret'-ée-n ‘choose’ is from Amharic **märrät'ä** ‘chose’.

⁴² RB is an abbreviation of ‘reinforcing beam’.

‘Different types of wood are required: for framing the roof, for reinforcing beams and for making rope. After preparing wood for the roof, for the reinforcing beam and rope, the existing trees and undergrowth must be removed from the place. It must be dug and leveled (and made suitable for constructing the hut)’.

004. **sikiyode tifó ?éhísko šákim yəχsá**
 sikiyó-de tifó ?éh-ís-ko šák-im yəχs-á
 here-ABL after house-DEF-GEN width-ACC measure-CNV1

bisinisse ?ócafim kúyá bəsintstéen
 bisin-is-se ?óč-af-im kúy-á bəsints-tée-n
 place-DEF-LOC hole-PL-ACC dig-CNV1 level-IPF-3
 ‘Subsequently, the width of the hut must be measured out, the site leveled, and holes dug’.

005. **?óčis kuyint’á bo?inká ?óčisó dóču**
 ?óč-is kuyint’-á bo?-inká ?óč-is-ó dóču
 hole-DEF dig-CNV1 finish-REAS hole-DEF-LOC wall

?əʔafisim tórdín dédéye yílím sú-s’ugdéen
 ?əʔ-af-is-im tórd-ín dé-déye yíl-im sú-s’ug-dée-n
 wood-PL-DEF-ACC plant-INF RDP-strong soil-ACC RDP-compress-IPF-3

‘On completing the holes, the wooden pillars to support the walls must be planted and the soil compressed (to bear the weight of the pillar)’.

006. **kiyode sikét wúnis bow bowde**
 kiyó-de sikét wún-is bow-bow-de
 there-ABL these work-DEF RDP-DIR-ABL

bosinisé ?éhískó gidó ?óčim kúyá
 bosin-is-sé ?éh-ís-kó gid-ó ?óč-im kúy-á
 final-DEF-LOC house-DEF-GEN middle-LOC hole-ACC dig-CNV1

?édím yidá gírí ?uddé ?éni-gir bowde
 ?éd-im yíd-á gírí ?uddé ?éni-gir bow-de
 ring roof-ACC catch-CNV1 RBW four about-RBW DIR-ABL

gírísím ?éhískó gidódé míló wutsá
 gír-is-im ?éh-ís-kó gid-ó-dé míl-ó wuts-á
 RBW-DEF-ACC house-DEF-GEN middle-LOC-ABL outside-LOC take-CNV1

gidisó ?óčim kuyá tússim tordin
 gid-is-ó ?óč-im kúy-á túss-im tord-i-n
 middle-DEF-LOC hole-ACC dig-CNV1 pillar-ACC plant-PF-3

‘After finishing the central part of the house, a hole is dug, and the ring of the roof is constructed usually with four reinforcing beams proportionate to the hut’s width. Following this the reinforcing beam for the roof on the outside wall of the house are removed and a pillar is planted in the hole in the middle of the house’.

007. **girisim dʒárdéé-n bot't'éeb diris síkim**
 gír-is-im dʒák-déé-n bot't'ée-b dir-is sík-im
 RBW-DEF-ACC throw-IPF-3 finish-IPF-RELT (M) until-DEF this-ACC

woywoyim sáá girá mus't'één ʔóló ʔáyiská
 woɣ-woɣ-im-sáá gir-á mus't'éé-n ʔóló ʔáy-is-ká
 RDP-enter-ACC-LOC RBW-CNV1 end-IPF-3 also grass-DEF-INST

kikižt'één
 ki-kiž-t'éé-n
 RDP-cover-IPF-3

‘The reinforcing wood is put on it until the house is finished and then thatched the roof with (dry) grass. He also covers the hole through which the central pillar was planted, by thatching over it’.

008. **sikiyódé ʔéhískó šáŋkim bəsintsá**
 sikiyó-dé ʔéh-ís-kó šáŋk-im bəsints-á
 here-ABL house-DEF-GEN floor-ACC arrange-CNV1

náŋim kásá zazatéén
 náŋ-im kásá za-za-tée-n
 water-ACC add RDP-compress-IPF-3

‘Consequently, he arranges and levels the floor of the hut, adding water to compress it’.

009. **s'is'íhi bowde k'ék'éyistéén bósinnisé buním**
 s'í-s'íhi bow-de k'é-k'éys-tée-n bósín-is-sé bun-ím
 RDP-dry DIR-ABL RDP-paint-IPF-3 final-DEF-LOC coffee-ACC

diš-á wúlim ʔéél-á wu č'ándé ʔiyyí góɣ-ó
 diš-á wúl-im ʔéél-á wuč'-ándé ʔiyyí góɣ-ó
 boil-CNV1 neighbour-ACC call-CNV1 drink-CNV2 man inside-LOC

wox-imá ʔéhím déén.
 wox-imá ʔéh-ím déén.
 enter-INCH house-ACC exist

‘Finally, when the hut painting is dry the owner prepares coffee and invites the neighbours to the house to have coffee. They celebrate the end of a construction by drinking coffee together inside the house) and subsequently the occupants begin to live there’.

13.2.3 Text 3: Good will of a Dime girl

This story was told by Abeba Siftaye Mehel September 26, 2003, Jinka.

?ahob k'aysistéén

?ahó-b k'aysis-tée-n
good-M desire-IPF-3
'Good wish'

001. **?até ?isko bábé šiftaye mihelisde**

?até ?is-ko bábé šiftaye mihel-is-de
1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN father shiftaye mihel-DEF-ABL

?isko ?ind ?atan bersobisde s'ééttammi

?is-ko ?ind ?atan bersob-is-de s'éét -tammi
1S.OBJ-GEN mother ?atan bersob-DEF-ABL thousand-ten

wókkilāše tamt'i tussum ?afó turdu k'əstin bačká

wókkilāše tamt'i tussum ?af-ó turdu k'əstin bač-ká
nine hundred seventy mouth-LOC year two year-INST

?at'imt'it

?at'imt'-i-t
born-PF-1

'My father is Shiftaye Mihel and my mother is Atan Bersob. I was born in the year nineteen seventy two (1972) (according to the Ethiopian calendar)'.

002. **?até ?at'imt' ub bačisodé k'int'a ?ini**

?até ?at'im-t'ub bač-is-o-dé k'int'-á ?ini
1S.SUBJ born-FUT year-DEF-LOC-ABL begin-CNV1 today

k'otebká ?até ?išinč?išinčká ?isko woydi mǎkkim

k'oteb-ká ?até ?išinč-?išinč-ká ?is-ko woydi mǎkkim
count-by 1S.SUBJ RDP-think-COM 1S.OBJ-GEN twenty three

bač k'ot'in

bač k'ot'-i-n
year arrive-PF-3

'Counting my age from my date of birth, I am twenty-three year old'.

003. **?até ?at'imt' bowde bač tammi k'asinubiská**

?até ?at'imt' bow-de bač tammi k'asin-ub-is-ká
1S.SUBJ born DIR-ABL year ten two-M-DEF-COM

timhert ?éhó woǵimit táá bow ?isko

timhert ?éh-ó woǵim-i-t táá bow ?is-ko
school house-LOC enter-PF-1P now DIR 1S.OBJ-GEN

timhirtisim bobonistéet

timhirt-is-im bo-bonis-tée-t
 school-DEF-ACC RDP-finish-IPF-1

‘I attended school from the age of twelve, this year I will finish my secondary school education’.

004. **kiyóde wonnándé yaf gimá dót**

kiyó-de wonn-ándé yaf gim-á dót
 there-ABL return back-CNV2 God say-CNV1 COND

?isko wunisko ?afis ?ádá dót

?is-ko wun-is-ko ?af-ís ?ád-á dót
 1S.OBJ-GEN work-DEF-GEN result-DEF come-CNV1 COND

?até timhert ?éhé giččóbow tĩndéet kiyóde

?até timhert ?éhé giččó-bow tĩn-dée-t kiyó-de
 1S.SUBJ school house very-DIR go-IPF-1 there-ABL

wonnándé bosinisée ?andzim ?andzimt’á

wonn-ándé bos-i-n-is-ée ?andzim-?andzim-t’á
 return back-CNV2 finish-PF-3-CAUS-IPF RDP-graduating-INF

‘If, by grace of God, I achieve a good result in my matriculation exams, I will join a College or University and eventually return (to my area) after graduation’.

005. **?ádándé ?isin wondéeb wunim**

?ád-ándé ?is-in won-dée -b wunt’-im
 come-CNV2 1S.OBJ-DAT be-IPF-M.RELT work-ACC

yídi bowde d3ank’éen wonná bubinée

yídi-bow-de d3ank’-ée-n wonn-á bubin-ée
 catch-DIR-ABL final-IPF-3 return-CNV1 husband-ée

dadéet bubinée dáhi bowde d3ank’ wonná

da-dée-t bubin-ée dáhi bow-de d3ank’-wonn-á
 live-IPF-1 husband-ée stay DIR-ABL final-return-CNV1

‘After returning, I will get a job, get married and thereafter live together with my husband’.

006. **?iská kíká wókkilim dáhá wón**

?is-ká kík-ká wókkil-im dáh-á wó-n
 1S.OBJ-CNJ 3MS.OBJ-CNJ one-NMZ sit-CNV1 1PL-DAT

wónim t’éméh hene zorenzorentándé ?iskoimk

wó-n-im t’éméh hene zoren-zorent-ánde ?is-ko-im-k
 1PL.OBJ-n-ACC convenient like RDP-advice-CNV2 1S.OBJ-GEN-ACC-too

kíkoimk tússafim maddéet kiyóde

kí-ko-im-k túss-af-im mad-dée-t kiyó-de
 3SM.OBJ-GEN-ACC-too relative-PL-ACC help-IPF-1 there-ABL

dʒank'ée wonná yaf gímá dot nítim ʔat'ándé
 dʒank'-ée wonn-á yaf gím-á dót nítim ʔat'-ándé
 final-ée return-CNV1 God say-CNV1 COND child-ACC deliver-CNV2

wókilim koʒisim koʒisimá dadéet
 wókkil-im koʒ-is-im-koʒ-is-imá da-dée-t.
 one-NMZ RDP-love-CAUSE-INCH live-IPF-1
 'We will consult each other, and discuss to improve our life. We will also help our relatives. After doing all these things, we will have children through the will of God. Then we will live together in love'.

13.2.4 Text 4: The selection of a chief in Dime

This story was told by Miakro Gizachew Keto on December 26, 2003, Ethiopia.

001. **zimé wondéebis wutódée tussiné gašká**
 zimé won-dée-b-is wutó-dée tussiné gaš-ká
 chief be-IPF-M.RELT-DEF beg-IPF hereditary road-INST
- zimé wókkilub laŋt'inká nítasafisóde wókkilim**
 zimé wókkil-ub laŋt'-inká nít-af-is-ó-dé wókkil-im
 chief one-REL(M) die-REAS child-PL-DEF-LOC-ABL one-ACC
- wuddéen nítasafisóde wutunub nítis**
 wud-dée-n nít-af-is-ó-de wutun-ub nítis-is
 assign-IPF-3 child-PL-DEF-LOC-ABL begin-M.RELT child-DEF
- zimín**
 zim-in
 chief-DAT

'A chief is selected according to his degree of kinship with the previous chief. When a chief dies, one of his sons will be assigned to succeed him as the next chief. Normally the eldest son of a chief is assigned to inherit his father's role as a chief'.

002. **wuddéen zimísim zimíseko woogdéén**
 wud-dée-n zim-ís-im zim-ís-se-ko woog déén
 assign-IPF-3 chief-DEF-ACC chief-DEF-LOC-GEN law exist
- sikétim**
 sikét-im
 these-ACC
 'There is a customary procedure for assigning a chief':
003. **deʒedaf kusumdéen**
 deʒed-af kusum-dée-n
 wise/old-man-PL meet-IPF-3
 'The wise old men hold a meeting'.

004. **ʒiinim baʒaddéen**
 ʒiin-im ba-ʒad-dée-n
 sheep-ACC take-come-IPF-3
 ‘They bring a sheep’.
005. **kuru baʒaddéen**
 kuru ba-ʒad-dée-n
 honey take-come-IPF-3
 ‘They bring honey’
006. **gonumká bindimká baʒaddéen**
 gonum-ká bind-im-ká ba-ʒad-dée-n
 hive-CNJ ash-ACC-CNJ take-come-IPF-3
 ‘They bring a hive and ashes’.
007. **sikétim wúúfisim kutsbowde tifó deɣdɔf ʒádá**
 sikét-im wuuf-is-im kuts-bow-de-tifó deɣd-af ʒád-á
 these-ACC all-DEF-ACC collect-DIR-ABL-after wise man-PL come-CNV1
wókkilim kutsumá kiko woogisim dulumá.
 wókkil-im kutsum-á kík-ko woog-is-im dulum-á.
 one-NMZ meet-CNV1 3SM.OBJ-GEN law-DEF-ACC dance-CNV1
 ‘After all these materials are collected, the wise men come together and dance according to the custom’.
008. **níts wutó bisine ʒéhko k’iru ʒádá nítsisim**
 níts wutó bisine ʒéh-ko k’iru ʒád-á níts-is-im
 child in front place house-GEN door come-CNV1 child-DEF-ACC
yəkis yidá kalfisé baʒa dulumdulumá
 yək-is yid-á kalf-is-sé baʒ-á dulum-dulum-á
 sister-DEF catch-CNV1 shoulder-DEF-LOC take-CNV1 RDP-dance-CNV1
babkó kiš ʒéhó baʒak’ot’á laɾt’imisko
 bab-kó kiš-ʒéh-ó ba-ʒak’ot’-á laɾt’-im-is-ko
 father-GEN god-house-LOC enter-arrive-CNV1 death-NMZ-GEN
wutó wúdin ʒiinisim məčá deɣdɔf
 wutó wúd-in ʒiín-is-im məč-á deɣd-af
 in front put-INF sheep-DEF-ACC slaughter-CNV1 wise man-PL
č’olayisim wutsá yíŋbowde tifó
 č’olay-is-im wuts-á yíŋ-bow-de-tifó.
 intestine-DEF-ACC out-CNV1 see-DIR-ABL-after
nítsim maɣskáká kuruká bindká wuufubisim
 níts-im maɣs-ká-ká kuru-ká bind-ká wuuf-ub-is-im
 child-ACC blood-COM-CNJ honey-CNJ ash-CNJ all-M-DEF-ACC

kutsá nítsisko zerise sahá bowde tifó

kuts-á níts-is-ko zer-is-se sah-á bow-de tifó
 collect-CNV1 child-DEF-GEN body-DEF-LOC paint-CNV1 DIR-ABL after

wonná mǝřsim ʔǝisó zúúká gunsé k'estim ʔoxin.

wonn-á mǝř-im ʔǝ-is-ó zúú-ká gun-sé
 return-CNV1 fat-ACC neck-DEF-LOC tie-COM hive-LOC

k'est-im ʔox-i-n.
 tail-ACC pierce-PF-3

'Then the wise men and the sons of the proposed chief's sister (the candidate chief's cousins) come to his door to bring him out. They dance carrying the candidate on their shoulder, and then they bring him before the God of his father. The wise men slaughter a sheep and then they tell his fortune predicting his future life, by reading the sheep intestines. They paint the body of the candidate with blood, honey and ashes. After painting his whole body they put the fat on the neck of the child and they pierce the wings of a bird on the hive'.

009. **yəkaf mǝkkim ʔádá wókkil-is láxt'imisim**

yək-af mǝkkim ʔád-á wókkul-is láxt'-im-is-im
 sister-PL three come-CNV1 one-DEF corpus-NMZ-DEF-ACC

k'əstinsubis nítsisim mǝkimsbis gonisim

k'əstin-sub-is níts-is-im mǝkim-sub-is gon-is-im
 second-ORD-DEF child-DEF-ACC third-ORD-DEF hive-DEF-ACC

baʔá dulumká yifká tíŋá

baʔ-á dulum-ká yif-ká tíŋ-á
 take-CNV1 dance-COM cry-NEG go-CNV1

ʔédaafim doxsá ʔexsá wonsá báʔádá

ʔéd-af-im doxs-á ʔexs-á wons-á bá-ʔád-á
 mountain-PL-ACC round-CNV1 show-CNV1 turn-back-CNV1 take-come- CNV1

láximisim yiló yičá yilísim

lax-im-is-im yil-ó yič-á yil-ís-im
 corpus-NMZ-DEF-ACC ground-LOC burry-CNV1 soil-DEF-ACC

ʔexs'od-á t'utsá kiyóde lálká mǝtisko

ʔexs'od-á t'uts-á kiyó-de lál-ká mǝt-is-ko
 neck-down-CNV1 fill-CNV1 there-ABL stone-INST head-DEF-GEN

báfisim kokká gónisim mǝtsé wuddá

báf-is-im kok-ká gón-is-im mǝte wudd-á
 near-DEF-ACC built-INST hive-DEF-ACC head put-CNV1

šístéén
 šíst-ée-n
 leave-IPF-3

‘Then three of his sister’s children come and then the first, the second and the third son carry the corpse, the son of the chief and the hive, respectively. They pass over mountains dancing quietly and visiting different places with the corpse and the son of the dead chief. When they (finally) return they bury the corpse of the chief. They bury him so that his body is underground, but his neck and head remain above ground’.

010. **kiyódó wonná mátsim bədzé šíšéebis**
 kiyó-dó wonn-á máts-im bədzé šíš-ée-b-is
 there-COND return-CNV1 head-ACC outside leave-IPF-M.RELT-DEF

zimísko ?anjĩš yilzé šit’iydéén
 zim-ís-ko ?anj-iš yil-zé šit’iy-dée-n
 chief-DEF-GEN bless-CAUS ground-LOC remain-IPF-3

‘Then they bury the corpse leaving the head above the ground to get the chief’s blessing’.

011. **nítsis kiyó-de wonn-á deχdaf baʔá mišesó**
 níts-is kiyó-de wonn-á deχd-af baʔ-á mišes-ó
 child-DEF there-ABL return-CNV1 wise-PL learn-CNV1 god house-LOC

baʔádá bab wunt’éeb wunisimká
 ba-ʔád-á bab wunt’ée-b wun-is-im-ká
 take-come-CNV1 father work-IPF-M.RELT work-DEF-ACC-CNJ

woogisimká təmarsá k’amub bisinó tĩŋtitéé
 woog-is-im-ká təmars-á k’am-ub bisin-ó tĩŋ-tée
 rule-DEF-ACC-CNJ learn-CNV1 bad-M place-LOC go-IPF

yiká-m gímá šišbowde nítsis bisiniso
 yi-ká-m gím-á šiš-bow-de níts-is bisin-is-ó
 COP-NEG-ACC tell-CNV1 leave-DIR-ABL child-DEF place-DEF-LOC

dáhá woogisim wont’á šit’éen
 dáh-á woog-is-im wont’-á šit’-ée-n
 live-CNV1 custom-DEF-ACC work-CNV1 left-IPF-3

‘Subsequently, the son returns and then the wise men bring him to the Gods’ house where his father was working. They teach him the rules and they advise him not to go to bad places. Finally, he acts as a chief based on the rules and the custom he is taught’.

13.2.5 Text 5: A story about two friends

This story was told by Shiftaye Yisan on February 19, 2005, Jinka.

001. **ʔiyyí k'əstin lágafis**
 ʔiyyí k'əstin lág-af-is
 person two friend-PL-DEF
 'The two friends'
002. **ʔénub bacó ʔiyyí k'əstinid wókkilim**
 ʔeen-ub bač-ó ʔiyyí k'əstin-id wókkil-im
 early-M.RELT year-LOC person two-PL one-NMZ
dáhá sits'é wókkilsits'e tíŋándé kubu tíŋándé
 dáh-á sits'é wókkil-sits'e tíŋ-ándé kubo tíŋ-ándé
 stay-CNV1 day one-day go-CNV2 forest go-CNV2
ʔamim yíŋtubée ʔedá ʔišinčin
 ʔam-im yíŋ-tub-ée ʔed-á ʔišinč-i-n
 country-ACC see-FUT-ée tell-CNV1 think-PF-3
 'One day some years ago two friends decided to visit a specific place in the forest'.
003. **ʔišinci bowde tifó wókkilim dáhá tíŋá kiyó**
 ʔišinči bow-de tifó wókkil-im dáh-á tíŋ-á kiyó
 think DIR-ABL after one-NMZ stay-CNV1 go-CNV1 there
bisinó k'ottebká ʔóló ʔišinčká dééfká
 bisin-ó k'ott-eb-ká ʔóló ʔišinč-ká dééfká
 place-LOC arrive-M.RELT-COM also think-COM TEMP
kékode wókkilubis náyisim yín yéftéen
 ké-ko-de wókkil-ub-is nay-is-im yín yéf-tée-n
 3PL.OBJ-GEN-ABL one-M-DEF hayena-DEF-ACC 2P-DAT see-IPF-3
nayim yéf-ándé wútó kiko wókkilim
 nay-im yéf-ándé wútó kík-ko wókkil-im
 hayena-ACC see-CNV2 before-LOC 3SM.OBJ-GEN one-ACC
lágisóde gímká dáhá yízándé ʔakó
 lág-is-ó-de gím-ká dáh-á yíz-ándé ʔak-ó
 friend-DEF-LOC-ABL tell-NEG live-CNV1 run-CNV2 tree-LOC
fattéen
 fat-tée-n
 climb-IPF-3
 'Together, they arrived at the place they intended to visit and one of them saw a hayena suddenly coming in their direction. This person quickly climbed up the tree to hide himself without telling his friend.'
004. **nú sóo gómpó wunná yíŋdééfká nay ʔádin**
 nú sóo gómp-ó wunn-á yíŋ-dééfká nay ʔád-i-n
 3SM.SUBJ here back-LOC turn-CNV1 see-TEMP hyena come-PF-3

‘When he (the other friend) turned back and looked the hyena had already come.’

005. **ʔáʔó wut-ta bam bamt'éen bašinká**
 ʔáʔó wut-ta bam-bamt'-ée-n baš-inká
 tree-LOC climb-INF RDP-near-IPF-3 fear-REAS

wuyá dadééfka wókkilub
 wuy-á da-dééfka wókkil-ub
 stop-CNV1 live-TEMP one-M

‘The other friend was too afraid to start climbing up the tree, because the hyena was already approaching him’.

006. **ʔišinči kiko máttó ʔádin**
 ʔišinči kí-ko mátt-ó ʔád-i-n
 think 3SM-OBJ-GEN mind-LOC come-PF-3

ʔén kiko babafká ʔiyyí deχid
 ʔén kí-ko bab-af-ká ʔiyyí deχ-id
 early 3SM.OBJ-GEN father-PL-COM man wise-PL:RELT

gímdééfka nayi láláχs'im gaʔak'áb ʔédá gím
 gím-dééfka náyi lá-láχs'-im gaʔa-k'á-b ʔéd-á gím
 tell-TEMP hyena RDP:die-NMZ/ACCeat-NEG-M.RELT say-CNV1speak

‘Then a new idea occurred to him. He said, he said (to himself), “our fore fathers, the wise men say that hyenas do not eat flesh from human corpse.”’

007. **zimimta ʔólo ʔaté ʔáʔó yízá wutkámée ʔisko**
 zimimta ʔólo ʔaté ʔáʔ-ó yíz-á wut-kám-ée ʔis-ko
 zimimta also 1P.SUBJ tree-LOC run-CNV1 climb-NEG-ée 1S.OBJ-GEN

‘I can not run and I can not climb up the tree to save myself’.

008. **lagisk ʔiskó gímká dáhá ʔáʔó wutá**
 lag-is-k ʔis-ko gím-ká dáh-á ʔáʔ-ó wut-á
 friend-DEF-too 1S.OBJ-GEN speak-CNJ live-CNV1 tree-LOC climb-CNV1

dáhá tááy ʔaté ʔásitubebet'ándé ʔišinčis máttó ʔádá
 dáh-á tááy ʔaté ʔásitu-bebet'-ándé ʔišinč-is mátt-ó ʔád-á
 stay-CNV1 now 1S.SUBJ how-can be-CNV2 think-DEF head-LOC come-CNV1

bowde yiló nánáχtá dáhá láláχs'im
 bow-de yil-ó ná-náχt-á dáh-á lá-láχs'-im
 DIR-ABL earth-LOC RDP:liedown-CNV1 stay-CNV1 RDP:die-NMZ

bezá dáhinká nú ʔáʔó dáhá kínim yíŋimá
 bezá dáh-inká nú ʔáʔ-ó dáh-á kín-im yíŋ-imá
 like stay-REAS 3SM.SUBJ tree-LOC stay-CNV1 3SM.OBJ-ACC see-INCH

dáhinká nay-is ʔadándé nú nánáxtá

dáh-inka nay-is ʔad-ándé nú ná-náxt-á
 stay-REAS hayena-DEF come-CNV2 3SM.SUBJ RDP-sleep-CNV1

dáhinká kínim šušuxšá yíŋyíŋá ʔoló

dáh-inka kín-im šu-šuxš-á yíŋ-yíŋ-á ʔoló
 stay-REAS 3SM.OBJ-ACC RDP-smell-CNV1 RDP-see-CNV1 again

lálá ʔs'im bezá bosin gištá šedinká yíŋá dáhá

lá-lá ʔs'-im bezá bosin gišt-ká šed-inka yíŋ-á dáh-á
 RDP:dead-NMZ seem final breeze-NEG remain-REAS see-CNV1 stay-CNV1

šušuxšá ʔusú bit'bowde

šu-šuxš-á ʔusú bit'-bow-de
 RDP: smell-CNV1 to-there go-DIR-ABL

‘Since my friend climbed up the tree without warning me, the best thing to do at this moment is to lie down, so that I appear to be a dead person.’ As he lay down on the ground, his friend watched him from the tree above. The hyena came to the sleeping friend and snuffled around him, finally left him and went away’.

009. **kíko lag-is yiló yičá**

kí-ko lag-is yil-ó yič-á
 3SM.-GEN friend-DEF earth-LOC climb down-CNV1

nayis bit'bow-de tifó yičá

nay-is bit'-bow-de tifó yič-á
 hayena-DEF go-DIR-ABL after climb down-CNV1

ʔadándé ʔíní nayis yíko k'amó wuyim

ʔad-ándé ʔíní nay-is yí-ko k'am-ó wúy-im
 come-CNV2 tody hayena-DEF 2S.OBJ-GEN ear-LOC what-ACC

gím-dée wuyimde gímá ʔadá bit'e gíminká

gím-dée wúy-im-de gím-á ʔad-á bit'e gím-inka
 speak-IPF what-ACC-ABL speak-CNV1 come-CNV1 leave speak-REAS

‘When the animal was gone, the friend in the tree descended and approached the one on the ground, asking him what the hyena had said when he snuffled around near his ear’.

010. **nú gímándé lagis k'amub gize**

nú gím-ándé lag-is k'am-ub gize
 3SM.SUBJ speak-CNV2 friend-DEF bad-M time

yínim seyskáy yínim šakšakišá kímáttin

yín-im seys-káy yín-im šak-šakiš-á kímátt-in
 2S.OBJ-ACC cure-NEG 2S.OBJ-ACC RDP:leave-CNV1 3SM-head-DAT

yízdeéfka ?ólo tifo tíŋkóyéé
 yíz-deéfka ?ólo tifo tíŋ-kóy-ée
 run-TEMP again after go-NEG-ée

dá nayis zorum gímá binnée
 dá nay-is zorum gím-á bin-n-ée
 say hyena-DEF advice speak-CNV1 leave-PF-3-ée

?et'in

?et'-i-n

advice-PF-3

‘The friend (who had lied down on the ground) told the other; “in time of danger, a person who does not save his friend but rather saves only himself is not a good friend. Thus, the hyena advised me not to accompany such a friend in the future”’.

13.2.6 Text 6: The relation between a lion, a wolf, a monkey and an ape

001 **?aşker zóbo yayi guidi k'áari mákkim déen-ká**
 ?aşker zób-ko yayi guidi k'áari mákkim déen-ká
 servant lion-GEN wolf monkey ape three exist-PF

mákkimsibis kiko zóbo ?aşker woná
 mákkim-sib-is kí-ko zób-ko ?aşker won-á
 three-ORD-DEF 3SM.OBJ-GEN lion-GEN servant be-CNV1

k'alim k'amsá dán

k'alim k'ams-á dán

order hear-CNV1 COP

‘The lion had a wolf, a monkey and an ape as a servant. The three of these lived with the lion, waiting on him as servants’.

002. **k'alim k'amsá bindí kiko ?éhko**
 k'alim k'ams-á bindí kí-ko ?éh-kó
 order hear-CNV1 always 3SM.OBJ-GEN house-GEN

kiko tizazik kiko kitok tíŋtíŋdéén
 kí-ko tizaz-ik⁴³ kí-ko kitok tíŋ-tíŋ-dée-n
 3SM.OBJ-GEN order-too 3SM.OBJ-GEN message RDP:go-IPF-3

‘The ape served the lion tending his garden, delivering messages for him and carrying out his orders all the time’.

003. **?ólo k'əstinis ?ams'eña wóninká kén lále**
 ?ólo k'əstin-is ?ams'eña wón-inká kén lále
 again two-DEF impolite be-REAS 3PL-DAT stone

⁴³ **tizaz** ‘order’ is a borrowed Amharic word **tizaz** ‘order’

giččóbim mátsse kóbsá wuyswuysá dán

giččo-b-im máts-se kóbs-á wuys-wuys-á dán
big-M-ACC head-LOC carry-CNV1 RDP:stand-CNV1 COP

‘The lion forced the other two (animals) to carry big stones on their heads and stand like that in order to teach them to serve him in a polite way’.

004. **gúidim-yi yeyisimyi wuys wuyse dadééfká**

gúid-im-yi yeyis-im-yi wuys-wuyse da-dééfká
monkey-CNJ wolf-ACC-CNJ RDP-stand stay-TEMP

k’obséé k’áare č’amim d3igá d’estinéé yá

k’obs-éé k’áare č’am -im d3ig-á d’est-i-n-éé yá
lord-COP ape shoes-ACC sew-CNV1 know-PF-3- éé 2S.OBJ

dóotká yilím wuču wutá ?afšité kormá

dóot-ká yil-ím wuču wut-á ?afšité korm-á
foot-INST earth-ACC empty moveout-CNV1 insist inform-CNV1

yitistéén

yit-is-tée-n
catch-CAUS-IPF-3

‘When the monkey and the wolf were standing in such a way, they asked the lion why he went barefoot on the ground, when the ape could sew shoes for him. Consequently the lion caught the ape’.

005. **korkormá yitis yitisinká ?áhá! ?ééná**

kor-korm-á yit-is-yit-is-inká ?áhá! ?ééná
RDP-inform-CNV1 RDP-catch-CAUS-REAS ?áhá! Like this

déénká ?éé táá kín-im ?élé k’áarim

déén-ká ?éé táá kín-im ?élé k’áar-im
exist-PF yes now 3SM.OBJ-n-ACC call ape-ACC

?élé déénká ?éldée-n k’áarim ?él-déén

?élé déén-ká ?él-dée-n k’áar-im ?él-dée-n
call exist-PF call-IPF-3 ape-ACC call-IPF-3

‘When the lion was informed about these things by the monkey, he exclaimed; “aha! Is that so?” He ordered them to call the ape’.

006. **k’áare kiko ?ekičó dáhándé kínim**

k’áare kí-ko ?ekič-ó dáh-ándé kín-im
ape 3SM.OBJ-GEN floor-LOC stay-CNV2 3SM.OBJ-ACC

kormá yistéebisim k’ak’amstéén

korm-á yistéé-b-is-im k’a-k’ams-tée-n
inform-CNV1 catch-IPF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC RDP-hear-IPF-3

‘The monkey and the wolf asked the ape to appear before the lion’.

007. **k'ak'ams-tub bow-de ?até ?asiá bultubée**
 k'a-k'ams-tub bow-de ?até ?asiá bult-ub-ée
 RDP-hear-FUT DIR-ABL 1S.SUBJ how solve-M.RELT- éé
?edá?edá ?išinká dán
 ?ed-á-?ed-á ?išink-á dán
 RDP-say-CNV1 think-CNV1 COP
 'The ape spent some time thinking "how can I solve the problem presented by the lion and how should I answer him"'.
 008. **?išinč-?išinč dáhá ?išši yá k'áare**
 ?išinč-?išinč dáh-á ?išši yá k'áare
 RDP-think stay-CNV1 ok 2S.SUBJ ape
č'amu dzigá d'estene d'axná
 č'amu dzig-á d'estene d'axn-á
 shoes sew-CNV1 know say-CNV1
desteyá ?edá gíminká ?ée ?até
 destey-á ?ed-á gím-inká ?ée ?até
 know-y-CNV1 say-CNV1 speak-REAS yes 1S.SUBJ
d'estetée melsim zób-in gímin
 d'este-tée mels-im zób-in gím-i-n
 know-IPF answer-ACC lion-DAT speak-PF-3
 'As the ape mused over what she should answer to the lion, the lion asked her whether she could sew shoes for him. The ape replied to the lion that she could indeed sew shoes'.
 009. **zóbin ?até d'estetée d'áá gímá**
 zób-in ?até d'este-tée d'á-á gím-á
 lion-DAT 1S.SUBJ know-IPF say-CNV1 speak-CNV1
gímú bowde ?ólótáá yá kiko yáko
 gímú bow-de ?óló táá yá kík-ko yáy-ko
 speak DIR-ABL also now 2S.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN wolf-GEN
džinimi ?óló kiko goidko fatayimi
 džinimi ?óló kík-ko goid-ko fatayimi
 vein also 3SM.OBJ-GEN monkey-GEN leather
ba?ándé č'am-im dzigdéeb déenká
 ba?ándé č'am-im dzig-dée-b déen-ká
 take-CNV2 shoes-ACC sew-IPF-M.RELT exist-PF
šinné šid'inká ?até útá kékóde
 šinné šid-inká ?até út-á ké-ko-de
 five remain-REAS 1S.SUBJ go-CNV1 3PL-GEN-ABL

mičá baʔá ʔime d'éénká ʔimzin mičá ʔimaminká

mičá baʔ-á ʔime d'één-ká ʔimz-i-n mič-á ʔimam-inká
 take-off take-CNV1 give exist-PF give-PF-3 take off-CNV1 give-REAS

bak'otá náwó dʒagá

ba-k'ot-á náw-ó dʒag-á
 bring-arrive-CNV1 river-LOC fall-CNV1

‘Consequently, the lion asked the ape to sew a (pair of) shoe(s) for him. Since the ape was sly and cunning, she asked the lion to bring the wolf’s vein as string and the skin of the monkey as leather, to serve as materials for sewing the shoes. In order to get the required material, the lion killed the monkey and the wolf and gave the ape the skin of the monkey and the vein of the wolf’.

010. **dʒigá baʔadée ʔédá gímdéén ʔʔssi ʔédá**

dʒig-á baʔa-dée ʔéd-á gím-déén ʔʔssi ʔéd-á
 sew-CNV1 bring-IPF say-CNV1 speak-IPF-3 ok say-CNV1

kété k'alisim zim d'áa k'alisim baʔadéén

kété k'al-is-im zim d'a-á k'al-is-im baʔa-dée-n
 3PL.SUBJ word-DEF-ACC silent say-CNV1 word-DEF-ACC bring-IPF-3

‘The ape informed the lion that she would bring him the shoes. Meanwhile the ape did not do anything’.

011. **dʒigá baʔadée d'éénká dʒigá dahándé**

dʒig-á baʔa-dée d'één-ká dʒig-á dah-ándé
 sew-CNV1 bring-IPF exist-PF sew-CNV1 stay-CNV2

kíko budká wonn t'aanná ʔišinča dadéedadée

kí-ko bud-ká wonn t'aann-á ʔišinč-á da-dée-da-dée
 3SM.SUBJ-GEN hear-CNJ only study-CNV1 think-CNV1 RDP-stay-IPF

ʔólóbze ʔabia k'áare yá dʒigá

ʔóló-b-ze ʔabia k'áare yá dʒig-á
 next-M.RELT-LOC hear-you ape 2S.SUBJ sew-CNV1

baʔadik yá d'a-á gíminká ʔʔssi ʔaté

ba-ʔad-ik yá d'a-á gím-inká ʔʔssi ʔaté
 take-come-too 2S.SUBJ say-CNV1 speak-REAS ok 1S.SUBJ

dʒig-dʒigá bosinká yane d'áa ʔiská gašó

dʒig-dʒig-á bos-inká yane d'a-á ʔis-ká gaš-ó
 RDP-sew-CNV1 finish-REAS somebody say-CNV1 1S.OBJ-COM way-LOC

yínim yínenim bezdé bašbašá baʔinéé d'áa

yín-im yín-en-im bezdé baš-baš-á baʔ-i-n-ée d'a-á
 2S.OBJ-ACC yourself like RDP-fear-CNV1 take-PF-3-ée say-CNV1

‘Eventually the lion (became impatient) and ordered the ape to bring him

the shoes. The ape appeared to agree, but told that “when I was bringing the finished shoes somebody greatly resembling you met me along the way and ordered me to give him the shoes. Afraid, I gave it to him”.

012. **kíko zóbko gíminká ?aydéé baʔá d'éénka**
 kí-ko zób-ko gím-inká ?ay-déé baʔ-á d'één-ká
 3SM.SUBJ-GEN lion-GEN speak-RES who-IPF take-CNV1 exist-PF

‘Then the lion asked “who took the shoes?”’

čúú náʔó dáhá baʔinée náʔó
 čúú náʔ-ó dáh-á baʔ-i-n-ée náʔ-ó
 down river-LOC stay-CNV1 take-PF-3-ée river-LOC

?absé maló loχčá dáhá dʒigdéen
 ?absé mal-ó loχč-á dáh-á dʒíg-dée-n
 edge sandy-LOC make-CNV1 stay-CNV1 sew-IPF-3

d'éénká náʔó dáhá baʔinée ?édá gímdéen
 d'één-ká náʔ-ó dáh-á baʔ-i-n-ée ?éd-á gím-dée-n
 exist-PF river-LOC stay-CNV1 take-PF-3-ée say-CNV1 speak-IPF-3

‘The ape told the lion that he (the offender) lived in the river and that he took the shoes when he emerged from the water, as she stood at the river-bank sewing the shoes using the water to wet the skin’.

013. **?een dót k'iyé ?isin k'otá ?eχsé nú**
 ?een dót k'iyé ?is-in k'ot-á ?eχsé nú
 early happen COND move 1S.OBJ-DAT arrive-CNV1 show 3SM.SUBJ

?eχsinée
 ?eχs-i-n-ée
 show-PF-3-ée

‘The lion said that if this really happened, the ape should go with him and show him the place’.

014. **d'áá tíŋá k'otándé čúú ?istané náʔó**
 d'á-á tíŋ-á k'ot-ándé čúú ?istané náʔ-ó
 say-CNV1 go-CNV1 arrive-CNV2 down it is river-LOC

gɔʔó zóbis ?eχstéen zób ?íi ?iskob
 gɔʔó zób-is ?eχs-tée-n zób ?íi ?is-kob
 inside lion-DEF show-IPF-3 lion oh! 1S.OBJ-GEN

?asé d'áá baʔadée d'áá náʔó gɔʔó wúysiné
 ?asé d'á-á baʔad-ée d'á-á náʔ-ó gɔʔó wúys-i-n-ée
 1S.OBJ say-CNV1 take-come-ée say-CNV1 river-LOC inside ask-PF-3-ée

‘The ape brought the lion to the river bank and pointed her finger into the

river saying; “he is down there”.

015. **dʼaá kʼotinká zóbisim bizdéeb meselká yimtʼéen**
 dʼa-á kʼot-inká zób-is-im biz-dée-b meselk-á yim-tʼée-n
 say-CNV1 arrive-REAS lion-DEF-ACC like-IPF-M.RELT similar-CNV1 saw-IPF-3

náʔó gɔyó dáhá nú wókkil ʕʼirin-ʕʼir-ándé
 náʔ-ó gɔy-ó dáh-á nú wókkil ʕʼirin-ʕʼir-ándé
 river-LOC inside-LOC stay-CNV1 3SM.SUBJ one RDP-aggressive-CNV2

‘When he looked into the water, the lion saw somebody resembling him, his own reflection in the river. He became aggressive and opened his mouth to defeat his enemy’.

016. **gaʔin ʔisč-ándé zúnú wóninká ʔíí kʼob sóo yínim**
 gaʔ-i-n ʔisč-ándé zúnú wón-inká ʔíí kʼob sóo yín-im
 eat-PF-3 think-CNV2 up return-REAS ah! lord here 2S.OBJ-ACC

ʔaté wučumdéé ʔamanana yá náʔó ʔotlkáyáá
 ʔaté wučum-deé ʔamanana yá náʔ-ó ʔotl-káy-áá
 1S.SUBJ dry-IPF I-believe 2S.OBJ river-LOC jump-NEG-Q

ʔedá gímdéen ʔéen dót tʼetándé zúnú ʔutsub
 ʔed-á gím-dée-n ʔéen dót tʼet-ándé zúnú ʔuts-ub
 say-CNV1 speak-IPF-3 like this COND say-CNV2 up climb-M.RELT

ʔóló kʼotá ʕʼirinká ʕúú dáhá kíyeh
 ʔóló kʼot-á ʕʼir-inká ʕúú dáh-á kí-yeh
 again arrive-CNV1 aggressive-REAS down stay-CNV1 3SM-like

dʼašinká tasfera yizzó fotándé nú
 dʼaš-inká tasfera yizz-ó fot-ándé nú
 openmouth-REAS stand deep-LOC fall-CNV2 3SM.SUBJ

zóbis kíkómátká wókkil kiyó kʼékʼéyitʼinin
 zób-is kík-ko-mát-ká wókkil kiyó kʼékʼéyi-tʼin-i-n
 lion-DEF 3SM.OBJ-GEN-head-CNJ one there disappear-PASPF-3

‘Subsequently, it looked calm and turned away from the water. At this point the ape admonished him; “Oh! My Lord why do you turn back? I think you should rather attack the one in the river”. The lion returned to the river and looked down into the water. Seeing his own image he became aggressive and opened his mouth. When the lion opened his mouth, the image inside the river also opened its mouth. The lion jumped down into the river to attack him and he disappeared’.

017. **ʕúú kíkó šib-is koká ʔikʼiskoká**
 ʕúú kík-ko šib-is ko-ká ʔikʼ-is-ko-ká
 down 3SM.OBJ-GEN shoes-DEF 3SF-CNJ material-GEN-CNJ

misalem yīṇándé ?ólo ?ádá zóbisimzé keysinen
 misalem⁴⁴ yīṇ-ándé ?ólo ?ád-á zób-is-im-zé keysin-i-n
 example see-CNV2 again come-CNV1 lion-DEF-ACC-LOC avoid-PF-3

k'áare zelem-ub.

k'áare zelem-ub
 ape wise-M
 '(It went) down, with his shoes and material. The lesson is the wise ape avoided the lion again.'

13.2.7 Text 7: An ape and her relatives

001. **?éene ?əšinis k'áare wókkilind déenká**

?éene ?əšin-is k'áare wókkil-ind déen-ká
 like that story-DEF ape one-F exist-PF

wóḅənim gīštéeṇ wóḅənim gīšá boku

wóḅənim gīšt-tée-n wóḅənim gīš-á boku
 cattle-ACC keep-IPF-3 cattle-ACC keep-CNV1 fruit(sp.)

s'ottéeṇ boket'ú wónée ?áke ?áfe

s'ot-tée-n boket'ú wó-n-ée ?áke ?áfe
 suck-IPF-3 bear fruit 1PL-DAT-ée wood fruit

č'ek'k'ub déen

č'ek'k'-ub déen
 small-M exist
 'The story goes like this: there was an ape that kept cattle. As she tended her cattle, she collected their milk under the *boko* tree (kind of tree). This is a tree which produces for us the boku fruit'.

002. **?isbow džišim s'ohayi**

?is-bow džiš-im s'ohayi
 1S.OBJ-DIR milk-ACC milking

kišayi ?addée-n

kišayi ?ád-dée-n
 make_offering come-IPF-3

'He milks there and comes to make offering to the ancestor spirit.'

003. **kišá ?ádi bow-de džišiš**

kiš-á ?ádi bow-de džiš-iš
 make_offering-CNV1 come DIR-ABL milk-DEF

sikinim ?até tússabisim wuufu ?elelá

sikín-im ?até túss-ab-is-im wuufu ?el-el-á
 this-ACC 1S.SUBJ relative-M.RELT-DEF-ACC all call-RDP-CNV1

⁴⁴ **misalem** 'example' is an Amharic loan word.

kišá wuč't'ind ?até wondá

kiš-á wuč't'-i-nd ?até wondá
engaged in sorcery-CNV1 drink-PF-F.RELT 1S.SUBJ alone

wuč't'indée bedá ?išičnštéén

wuč't'-ind-ée bed-á ?išičnš-tée-n
drink-PF-F.RELT-ée say-CNV1 think-IPF-3
'After offering part of the milk, she thought to herself; "What shall I do, call my relatives or drink it alone?"'

004. **?išičná ?išičná ?išičnis bosin kínim**

?išič-á ?išič-á ?išič-is bosin kín-im
RDP think-CNV1 think-DEF finally 3SM.OBJ-ACC

čenek'čene k'isinká ?élisim ?élélizá

čenek'-čenek'-is-inká ?él-is-im ?él-él-iz-á
RDP-worry-DEF-REAS call-DEF-ACC call-RDP-CAUS-CNV1

ké-n ?eχsá ?eχs-á ?áfisse wuč'adot kétik

ké-n ?eχs-á ?eχs-á ?áf-is-sé wuč'a dot két-ik
3PL.OBJ-DAT RDP-show-CNV1 eye-DEF-LOC drink COND 3PL.OBJ-too

gak'adk'akáyée ?até wón dáhá wuč'adó

gak'ad-k'a-káy-ée ?até wó-n dáh-á wuč'-á dot
dis appoint-not-COP 1S.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-DAT stay-CNV1 drink-CNV1 COND

gagak't'éénée t'aándé ?eleldéen.

gagak'-t'éé-n-ée t'a-ándé ?el-el-dée-n.
oppose-IPF-3-FOC say-CNV2 call-RDP-IPF-3

'While worried and in deep thought, she decideds to call them, and to show them the milk (clearly) in front of them. She said to herself: "if I drink it alone, they will be seriously disappointed. If we get together and I drink it alone, they will not object to that very much." Finally, she called them all.

005. **tusabisim wuufu k'áare déébisim**

tus-ab-is-im wuufu k'áare dé-éb-is-im
relative-M.RELT -DEF-ACC all ape call-M.RELT-DEF-ACC

?elá bosá ?óló kiko wulaf-imik

?el-á bos-á ?óló kí-ko wul-af-im-ik
call-CNV1 finish-CNV1 again 3SM-GEN neighbour-PL-ACC-too

'Finally the ape invited all her relatives, and neighbours'.

006. **dadéebisim ?iyyáf ?elá bosbosá**

da-dée-b-is-im ?iyy-áf ?él-á bos-bos-á
live-IPF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC man-PL call-CNV1 RDP:finish-CNV1

ʔiyyáfis wuufu ʔéen dadéebisó

ʔiyy-áf-is wuufu ʔéen da-dée-b-is-ó
 man-PL-DEF all like this live-IPF-M.RELT-DEF-LOC

gidó k'int'á wuyándé ʔabeydée

gid-ó k'int'-á wuy-ándé ʔabeyd-ée
 between-LOC start-CNV1 stand-CNV2 person-COP

ʔaté seekemde wudá dáhá

ʔaté seekem-de wud-á dáh-á
 1S.SUBJ much-ABL put-CNV1 stay-CNV1

yenim ʔeldéénée ɗaá gímikoyée

yen-im ʔel-dée-n-ée ɗa-á gími-kóy-ée
 2PL-ACC call-IPF-3-ée say-CNV1 speak-NEG-ée

sinuyée ʔiskó džiši s'ohá dadéebis

sinuy-ée ʔis-kó džiši s'oh-á da-dée-b-is
 this-ée 1S.OBJ-GEN milk suck-CNV1 live-IPF-M.RELT-DEF

sinuyée sikinim ʔaté wóndáhá wučá

sinú-y-ée sikinim ʔaté wón-dáh-á wuč-á
 this-y-ée this-ACC 1S.SUBJ alone-stay-CNV1 drink-CNV1

dót ʔaté yen ʔexská dáhá wuč'á

dót ʔaté ye-n ʔexs-ká dáh-á wuč'-á
 COND 1S.SUBJ 2P.OBJ-DAT show-NEG stay-CNV1 drink-CNV1

dót ʔoló yesé ʔissé gagagdéeb-is gışin

dót ʔoló yesé ʔis-sé gagag-dée-b-is gışin
 COND again 2PL.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-LOC RDP:oppose-M.RELT-DEF since

ʔisko maŋisim ʔafká ʔéene yəfisinka ʔaté

ʔis-ko maŋ-is-im ʔaf-ká ʔéene yəf-is-inká ʔaté
 1S.OBJ-GEN gourd-DEF-ACC eye-COM as this see-DEF-REAS 1S.SUBJ

wuč't'ubée ɗaá bókiská kén

wuč't'-ub-ée ɗa-á bók-is-ká ké-n
 drink-M.RELT-ée say-CNV1 fruit-DEF-COM 3PL.OBJ-DAT

‘When she had called all the people together, the ape stood between them and said; “dear friends I called you here for a very small thing, it really isn’t a big matter. It concerns this small quantity of milk that I have collected until now. I called you to show you the milk under the *boko* tree with your own eyes and just to drink it soon’.

007. **ʔexʔexándé ʔafó šohu kasá bitsinká**

ʔex-ʔex-ándé ʔaf-ó šohu kas-á bits-inká
 RDP-show-CNV2 mouth-LOC just enter-CNV1 send-REAS

kétik gágt'k'adée binnée

két-ik gágt'-k'a-dée bin-n-ée.
 3PL.OBJ-too oppose-NEG-PF go:-PF-3-ée

'After being shown the milk, they went away without any opposition'.

008. **ʔóló ʔíní nú gay woná**

ʔóló ʔíní nú gay won-á
 again today 3SM.SUBJ fool be-CNV1

dáhá ʔéh-ó wónu wuč'ib dót gagagt'edáne

dáh-á ʔéh-ó wónu wuč'-ib dót ga-gagt'-adné
 stay-CNV1 house-LOC only drink-RELT (M) COND RDP:oppose-CNV2

ɖaá wótú ʔešindéeɓ ʔešin ʔiyyká

ɖa-á wótú ʔešin-dée-b ʔešin ʔiyy-ká
 say-CNV1 1PL.SUBJ narrate-IPF-RELT (M) story person-COM

ʔaté wókkilim ʔiŋta ɖaá ʔiyyká tusum tusum

ʔaté wókkil-im ʔiŋ-ta ɖa-á ʔiyy-ká tusu-m-tusu-m
 1S.SUBJ one-NMZ go-DAT say-CNV1 person-COM RDP-relative-ACC

ɖaá ʔiŋta ɖaá lookindée-b lookis

ɖa-á ʔiŋ-ta ɖa-á lookin-dée-b look-is
 say-CNV1 go-INF say-CNV1 talk-IPF-RELT (M) thing-DEF

sikinimdée ʔaté ʔešindéeɓ.

sikin-im-dée ʔaté ʔešindée-t.
 this-ACC-dée 1S.SUBJ narrate-IPF-1

'Now, if she had stayed at home like a foolish person and drank it (alone) they would have quarrelled with her. This story that the ape knew how to live with her relatives in a good way. This is the moral of the story'.

13.2.8 Text 8: The three persons

001. **ʔeneb gíšká ʔiyyí mákkimid dimamze déén ʔél**

ʔenebgíš-ká ʔiyyí mákkim-id dim-am-zé déén ʔél
 early time-INST person three-PL Dime-ACC-LOC exist say
 'Early times there were three people who were in Dime.'

002. **ʔiyyí mákkimisóde wókkilis durbab kiko**

ʔiyyí mákkim-is-ó-de wókkil-is dur-bab kí-ko
 person three-DEF-LOC-ABL one-DEF wealth-AGEN 3SM.OBJ-GEN

bayik déén santik déén wuuf -ub look déén.

bay-ik déén santik déén wuuf-ub look déén.
 food-too exist money exist all-M thing exist

'There were three people, one of whom was well-placed, having food, money and everything he needed.'

003. **k'əstinafis dííbid dáhinká k'əstinafisóde**
 k'əstin-af-is dííb-id dáh-inká k'əstin-af-is-ó-de
 two-PL-DEF thief-PL live-REAS two-PL-DEF-LOC-ABL
wókkilubis zelemká giččo ?eč' k'iko déén
 wókkil-ub-is zelem-ká giččo ?eč' k'í-ko déén
 one-M-DEF clever-PF very wise 3SM.OBJ-GEN exist
 'The (other) two were thieves. One of the two was clever and he was very wise.'
004. **wobis gaayi tááy wókkil sis'e k'ent'ándé**
 wob-is gaayi tááy wókkil sis'e k'ent'-ándé
 other-DEF fool now one day stand-CNV2
?amis durbabiskábow bayim dííbta
 ?am-is dur-bab-is-ká-bow bay-im dííb-ta⁴⁵
 man-DEF wealth-AGEN-DEF-COM-DIR food-ACC steal-INF
binn tíŋ-déén tíŋándé wókkilim tíŋa tíŋkáy
 bin-n tíŋ-déén tíŋ-ándé wókkil-im tíŋ-a tíŋ-káy
 go-PF-3 go-IPF go-CNV2 one-NMZ go-CNV1 go-NEG
?amobisko k'irzé k'otándé kirim-ó wobis
 ?am-ob-is-ko k'irzé k'ot-ándé kirim-ó wob-is
 person-M-DEF-GEN door arrive-CNV2 fence-LOC other-DEF
zelemubiséé kirmó dáhánde yá kotándé
 zelem-ub-is-ée kirm-ó dáh-ándé yá kot-ándé
 wise-M-DEF-COP fence-LOC sit-CNV2 2S.SUBJ go-CNV2
k'iko k'íkeyisim bayisim pučándé
 k'í-ko k'í-key-is-im bay-is-im puč-ándé
 3SM.OBJ-GEN 3SM-something-DEF-ACC food-DEF-ACC open-CNV2
gotarisim pučándé bayisim k'iko
 gotar-is-im puč-ándé bay-is-im k'í-ko
 store-DEF-ACC open-CNV2 food-DEF-ACC 3SM.OBJ-GEN
wutsá ba?áddéén
 wutsá ba-?ád-dée-n
 take out take-come-IPF-3

'The other thief was a fool. One day the thieves woke up and went to the rich man's house to steal. When they arrived at the door of the rich man, the wise man positioned himself somewhere within the fence and instructed the other thief, "go to the store of the wealthy man and steal his food by breaking open the store.'"

⁴⁵ The morpheme **-tá** is an alternative of **-in** used to mark the infinitive form.

005. **tááy wobis gaay-is lupu woχmá k'ot-ándé**
 tááy wo-b-is gaay-is lupu woχm-á k'ot-ándé
 now one-M-DEF fool-DEF suddenly enter-CNV1 arrive-CNV2

ʔéhó kíkó goterisim k'otándé k'ík'inistéen

ʔéh-ó kík-ó goter-is-im k'ot-ándé k'ík'in-is-tée-n
 house-LOC 3MS.OBJ-GEN store-DEF-ACC arrive-CNV2 RDP-left-CAUS-IPF-3

goterisim k'insándé bayi kíkó natint'isim

goter-is-im k'ins-ándé bayi kík-ko natint'-is-im
 storm-DEF-ACC lift-CNV2 food 3MS.OBJ-GEN roof-DEF-ACC

buktéebká ʔiyyís durbbais ʔadándé yídtin

buktée-b-ká ʔiyy-is dur-bab-is ʔad-ándé yídt-i-n
 take-M.RELT-COM man-DEF wealth-AGEN-DEF come-CNV2 catch-PF-3

The fool entered the house suddenly. Breaking through the roof of the store he removed the contents. While he was busy doing this, the wealthy man came and caught him.

006. **yídí bowde yídídándé ʔóló bayisóde šankise**
 yídí bow-de yídíd-ándé ʔóló bay-is-ó-de šank-is-se
 catch DIR-ABL catch-CNV2 also food-DEF-LOC-ABL field-DEF-LOC

wutsá gisím-in parstin.

wuts-á gisím-in parst-i-n
 take out-CNV1 kick-INF start-PF-3

'After having caught him, the rich man took the thief out side and he started to kick him'.

007. **gigizt'éebká nú kiyó dáhá**
 gi-giz-t'ée-b-ká nú kiyó dáh-á
 RDP-hit-IPF-M.RELT-INST 3MS.SUBJ there stay-CNV1

ʔuxs-ʔuxsá ʔaté yídínsite ʔisim gigizt'éénée

ʔuxs-ʔuxs-á ʔaté yídínsite ʔis-im gí-gís'-t'ée-n-ée
 RDP: cryCNV1 1S.OBJ catch 1S.OBJ-ACC RDP: hit-IPF-3-ée

ʔeenedándé ʔuxs ʔuxstéen milofko

ʔeened-ándé ʔuxs-ʔuxs-tée-n milof-ko
 like-CNV2 RDP: cry-IPF-3 out-GEN

'When the rich man hit the thief, the thief cried out to his friend saying; "I have been caught and am being beaten (by him)." He cried out like this for a long time'.

008. **milóbis ʔú miló dáhándé yáayisó yízándé**
 miló-b-is ʔú miló dáh-ándé yáay-is-ó yíz-ándé
 Out-M.RELT-DEF there out stay-CNV2 you-DEF-LOC run-CNV2

miló wutkayáá ?enéda gíminká ?ayi ?até ?asiyá wutó

miló wut-kay-áá ?ené-dá gímin-ká ?ayi ?até ?asiyá wutó
 out out-NEG-Q say-like speak-NEG no 1S.SUBJ how infront

?isim yídíné yídídá gízt'inée.

?is-im yídíne-yíd-á gízt-t'in-ée.
 1SUBJ-ACC RDP: catch-CNV1 hit-PAS-ée.

'The (second) thief who remained outside replied to his friend, who had been seized; "why don't you get up and escape?" The (first) thief responded to his friend; how can I escape when I am being held tight and receiving heavy blows?'

009. **kété ?íní mǎkkimis durbabisik dimafim**

kété ?íní mǎkkim-is dur-bab-is-ik dim-af-im
 3PL.SUBJ now three-DEF rich-AGEN-DEF-too dime-PL-ACC

distéen kété dííbid k'əstinafisik dimafim

dis-tée-n kété dííb-id k'əstin-af-is-ik dim-af-im
 know-IPF-3 3PL.SUBJ thief-PL two-PL-DEF-too Dime-PL-ACC

d'estéen

d'es-tée-n
 know-IPF-3

'Now, all three men; both the rich man and the two thieves knew the Dime language'.

010. **táa?ú zelembabiséé kíko lágisim fasinét'á**

táa ?ú zelem-bab-is-ée kí-ko lág-is-im fasiné-t'á
 now here wise-AGEN-DEF-COP 3SM.OBJ-GEN friend-DEF-ACC escape-INF

?šinčándé wúyé dǎ gímdé yínko

?šinč-ándé wúyé dǎ gímdé yín-ko
 think-CNV2 what say speak 2S.OBJ-GEN

?ankinim yíd ?ée-déen

?an-kin-im yíd ?ée-déen
 which-3SM.OBJ-ACC catch say-IPF-3

'The wise thief thought of a clever way of saving his foolish friend. He asked him "which part of your body has been siezed (by the rich man)?"'

011. **?isko zerode ?an-im yídínée ?ée-déen**

?is-ko zerode ?an-im yídín-ée ?ée-déen
 1OBJ-GEN body hand-ACC catch-COP say-IPF-3

'The foolish thief replies; "My hand, he is holding my hand".'

012. **yínko ?anim yídí**

yín-ko ?an-im yídí
 2S.OBJ-GEN hand-ACC catch

‘The wise friend said; did he catch your hand?’

013. **ʔíí ʔisko ʔanim yídín**

ʔíí ʔis-ko ʔan-im yíd-í-n
yes 1S.OBJ-GEN hand-ACC catch-PF-3

‘The foolish thief replied (again); “yes he is holding onto my hand.”’

014. **ʔíní yínko ʔanim yídíbis ʔiskíšo táá**

ʔíní yín-ko ʔan-im yíd-íb-is ʔis-kíšo táá
early 2S.OBJ-GEN hand-ACC catch-REL(M)-DEF 1S.OBJ-tie now

fastené ʔíní yá kín zede

fastené ʔíní yá kín zede
escape first 2S.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ than

yínko nú kusim yidá dót

yín-ko nú kus-im yidá-dót
2S.OBJ-GEN 3SM.SUBJ nose-ACC catch-COND

‘The wise thief said; “since he caught you by your hand you can escape, but if he had managed to catch your nose you couldn’t escape from him!”’

015. **yá ʔíní fasefaskáy dáhínká ʔéédéénká nú ʔamis**

yá ʔíní fas-fas-káy dáh-ínká ʔéédéén-ká nú ʔam-is
2S.SUBJ first RDP-free-not stay-REAS say-exist-PF 3SM.SUBJ man-DEF

durbab-is ʔíní ʔanisim yidá gís’t’ibis

dur-bab-is ʔíní ʔan-is-im yíd-á gís’t’-ib-is
rich-AGEN-DEF first hand-DEF-ACC catch-CNV1 hit-M.RELT-DEF

ʔaháá sinú ʔissede fasá ʔádá bidéénáá ʔed’ándé

ʔaháá sinú ʔis-sede fasá ʔád-á bid-éé-n-áá ʔed’ándé
Oh! this 1S.OBJ-than escape come-CNV1 go-IPF-Q say-CNV2

táá ʔaté nukúsim yítub dán

táá ʔaté nukú-s-im yít-tub dán
now 1S.SUBJ nose-DEF-ACC catch-FUT COP

‘Upon hearing this exchange of words the rich man took note and thought to himself; “if I catch his nose he will not escape from me!”’

016. **ʔed’ándé nukúsim ʔotelá yittéebká nukúsim**

ʔed’ándé nuk-ís-im ʔotel-á yít-téé-b-ká nuk-ís-im
say-CNV2 nose-DEF-ACC jump-CNV1 catch-M.RELT-NEG nose-ACC

yidá gízt’túb ʔedééfka kíko ʔanisóde

yíd-á gízt’-túb ʔe-dééf-ká kí-ko ʔan-is-ó-de
catch-CNV1 hit’-FUT say-TEMP 3SM.OBJ-GEN hand-DEF-LOC-ABL

fasándé díibubis gaayisik yízándé wutinée.

fas-ándé díib-ub-is gaay-is-ik yíz-ándé wut-i-n-ée.

escape-CNV2 thief-M-DEF fool-DEF-too run-CNV2 escapt-PF-3-ée.

‘Consequently he tried to catch his nose, thinking that he could hold him more firmly and kick him harder. However, the foolish thief was able to benefit from the sudden movement to escape out of his hand, and rush to his friend. And this is how the story ended’.

017. **ʔičibisik miló dáhándé gááyisimik**
 ʔič-ub-is-ik mil-ó dáh-ándé gááy-is-im-ik
 wise-M-DEF-too out-LOCsit-CNV2 fool-DEF-ACC-too

fasándé gááyisik miló yízá wutá
 fas-ándé gááy-is-ik mil-ó yíz-á wut-á
 escape-CNV2 fool-DEF-too out-LOC run-CNV1 leave-CNV1

binn ʔené dán ʔenééb giská
 bin-n ʔené dán ʔené-éb giská
 go-PF-3 say COP say-M.RELT ancient time

‘In ancient times it was said that the wise man who stayed outside, as well as foolish thief who went inside were able to escape’.

13.2.9 Text-9: A rat and an elephant.

001. **ʔurn ʔédʔub duurko nítisim beďá ʔuystenin**
 ʔurn ʔédʔ-tub duur-ko nítis-im beď-tʔá ʔuysten-i-n
 rat call-FUT elephant-GEN child-ACC marry-INF ask-PF-3
 ‘The rat asked the daughter of the elephant to marry him’.

002. **duurkó nítisim baďá ʔustééká ná nítis ʔíše ďá**
 duur-kó nítis-im baď-á ʔus-tééká ná nítis-is ʔíše ďá
 elephant-GEN child-ACC marry-CNV1 ask-TEMP 3SF child-DEF ok say

kínim kíkó kʔálo duurko nú ʔurnisko
 kín-im kíkó kʔálo duur-ko nú ʔurn-is-ko
 3SM-ACC 3SM-GEN word elephant-GEN 3SM rat-DEF-GEN

ʔíše ďá káló koʒimdéén
 ʔíše ďá káló koʒim-dée-n
 ok say word agree-exist-3

‘When the rat asked the daughter of the elephant agreed to marry’.

003. **kʔálo koʒim koʒiminká babis yaxnode tíŋá**
 kʔálo koʒim-koʒim-inká bab-is yaxn-ó-de tíŋ-á
 word RDP-agree-REAS father-DEF farm-LOC-ABL go-CNV1

?addééfka diibká k'antay diibinti ?asi déé-b-ée

?ad-dééfka diib-ká k'antay diib-i-n-ti ?asi déé-b-ée⁴⁶
 come-TEMP rain-COM to rain rain-PF-? how be-IPF-M.RELT-ée

'After they agreed to the marriage the shadow of the elephant's father who came for the wedding covered them'.

004. **babaštée-babaštá yízá wuyó woɣimtu déébéeɗa**

babaš-tée-babašt-á yíz-á wuyó woɣimtu déé-b-ée ɗa
 RDP-fear-IPF-fear-CNV1 run-CNV1 where enter be-IPF-M.RELT-ée say

futtó yízá ?akimó yízá ?áčimt'inká

futt-ó yíz-á ?akim-ó yíz-á ?áčimt'-inká
 cotton-LOC run-CNV1 calabash-LOC run-CNV1 hid-REAS

'Due to the huge shadow of the elephant over him the rat thought that cloud had come and it was going to rain. Then the rat exclaimed; "is it going to rain? He was afraid. He said; "where should I hide?", he ran and hid in the cotton. Then the rat emerged from the cotton and hid himself in the calabash'.

005. **babis ?adándé yiló dáhándé bayim ?itsá**

bab-is ?ad-ándé yil-ó dáh-ándé bay-im ?its-á
 father-DEF come-CNV2 ground-LOC stay-CNV2 food-ACC eat-CNV1

bosá ?óló seniyá ?igs'e geɣim-geɣimt'inká nú

bos-a ?óló seniyá ?igs'e geɣ-im-geɣ-imt'-inká nú
 finish-CNV1also like this material RDP-support-REAS 3SM.SUBJ

kíkó ?urnis matká ?oɣs-?oɣs-téen s'ii ?edá

kí-kó ?urn-is mat-ká ?oɣs-?oɣs-tée-n s'ii ?ed-á
 3SM-GEN rat-DEF head-INST RDP-cry-IPF-3 voice of rat say-CNV1

?oɣs-?oɣs-inká wúyt'éenka ?is'é ?isko búbud

?oɣs-?oɣs-inká wúy-t'éen-ká ?is'é ?is-ko búbud
 RDP-cry-REAS what-exist-PF this 1S-GEN husband

?et'á gímdéen

?et'-á gím-dée-n
 say-CNV1 tel-IPF-3

'The elephant father ate his food and lie down on the ground to rest. When the elephant lay down on the ground, he touched the calabash, in which the rat was hiding. Subsequently, the rat cried out; s'ii, s'iii, s'iiii! When the rat cried out; "s'ii, s'iii, s'iiii," the elephant heard and asked his daughter what the matter was, and who was crying. His daughter replied that it was her husband, the rat'.

⁴⁶ **déébée** without suffixing to verb expresses a type of verb 'to be' which seems relative and also seems to be emphasized.

006. **ʔeré ʔaté ʔiyyi yá ʔiyyinéé dakayi č'ekk'ub**
 ʔeré ʔaté ʔiyyi yá ʔiyy-in-ée dakayi č'ekk'-ub
 Ah! 1S.SUBJ man 2S.SUBJ man-DAT-ée marry small-M
- ʔiskinéé dadéebis yinim ʔay fak'id yínká**
 ʔis-kín-ée da-dée-b-is yín-im ʔay fak'id yín-ká
 1S-3SM- COP stay-IPF-M.RELT-DEF 2S.OBJ-ACC who permission 2S-COM
- ‘Oh! I am a dignified person; you should marry a worthy husband! Who permitted you to marry such a small animal?’
007. **yá ʔiskinéé dadée gím bowde nú**
 yá ʔis-kín-ée da-dée gími bow-de nú
 2S.SUBJ 1S-3SM-COP stay-IPF speak DIR-ABL 3SM
- lum-ó woɣim-á dáhá worim k'amsándé ʔóló nú**
 lum-ó woɣim-á dáh-á wor-im k'aams-ándé ʔóló nú
 hole-LOC enter-CNV1 stay-CNV1 talk-ACC hear-CNV2 also 3SM
- ‘After saying this to his daughter, the elephant went. The rat was listening and heard everything that the elephant told to his daughter, as he hid in the hole below’.
008. **duuris bayim ʔitsá k'int'á tukum wuč'á**
 duur-is bay-im ʔits-á k'int'-á tukum wuč'-á
 elephant-DEF food-ACC eat-CNV1 stand-CNV1 coffee leaf drink-CNV1
- yaxnu binn k'int'á tíŋdéeŋká tifótifó tíŋándé**
 yaxnu bin-n k'int'-á ti-tíŋ-déeŋká tifó-tifó tíŋ-ándé
 farm leave-:PF-3 prepair-CNV1 RDP-go-TEMPRDP: behind go-CNV2
- k'otá kikistéefká kiso gaška woɣimá**
 k'ot-á ki-kis-téeŋká kiso gaška woɣim-á
 arrive-CNV1 RDP-toilet-TEMP anus road-INST enter-CNV1
- kíko kóko babisko buudum**
 kí-ko kó-ko bab-is-ko buud-im
 3SM.SUBJ-GEN 3SF-GEN father-DEF-GEN heart-ACC
- k'ars'á kínim láɣ-láɣstéen**
 k'ars'-á kín-im láɣ-láɣs-téen
 cut-CNV1 3SM-ACC RDP-die-IPF-3
- ‘The elephant having eaten his food and drunk coffee he went to his farm. When the elephant sat down to relieve himself, the rat entered into his body through his anus and ate his heart. This caused the elephant’s death’.
009. **láláɣsá wonná yízá ʔádá yínkó**
 lá-láɣs-á wonn-á yíz-á ʔád-á yín-kó
 RDP:kill-CNV1 again-CNV1 run-CNV1 come-CNV1 2S.OBJ-GEN

babé láláxt'inée ?edá gímdée babisim

babé láláxt'-i-n-ée ?ed-á gím-dée bab-is-im
 father RDP: die-PF-3-ée say-CNV1 speak-IPF father-DEF-ACC

dukin kóko tusafim ?elá kutsá

dukin kó-ko tus-af-im ?el-á kuts-á
 burry 3SM-GEN relative-PL-ACC call-CNV1 gather-CNV1

k'obt'á bá?ándá mduduktéen

k'obt'á bá?ánd-á duduk-tée-n
 arrive-CNV1 bring-CNV1 RDP-burry-IPF-3

'The rat killed the elephant and came back to his wife and told her that her father had died. He called all her relatives and gathered them to burry her father. They carried the corpse and buried him'.

010. **dudukunká nú ?ólóχ ?ádká šitinká yíi?**

duduk-inká nú ?ólóχ ?ád-ká šit-inká yíi?
 RDP-burry-REAS 3SM.SUBJ hurry come-NEG absent-REAS oh!

seniyá láxsibisim wótú kínim

seniyá láxs-i-b-is-im wótú kín-im
 like this die-PF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC 1PL.SUBJ 3SM-ACC

wuyká yá deysiti kíkó tusunká kínimká

wuy-ká yá deysiti kí-kó tusun-ká kín-im-ká
 what-COM 2S.SUBJ kill 3SM-GEN relative-CNJ 3SM-ACC-CNJ

?elá ?éhé kutsá ?éhé wókkilim mum ?imđin

?el-á ?éhé kuts-á ?éhé wókkil-im mum ?ím-i-n
 say-CNV1 house collect-CNV1 house one-ACC alone give-PF-3

'However, after he was buried relatives of the elephant said; "the elephant may come back to us (i.e. may haunt us?)". Therefore they decided to take revenge on the rat. They invited rats, and gave them a house and kept them together there'.

011. **mum ?imá dáhá kín gebzinká bayimká**

mum ?im-á dáh-á kí-n gebz-inká bay-im-ká
 alone give-CNV1 stay-CNV1 3SM.-DAT local beer-REAS food-ACC-COM

?íma bosá yínzé ?iyyí ?áddub

?ím-a bos-á yín-zé ?iyyí ?ád-dub
 give-CNV1 finish-CNV1 2S.OBJ-LOC man come-FUT

?édá miló gašká k'irim zis'á k'irim

?éd-á miló gaš-ká k'ir-im zis'-á k'ir-im
 say-CNV1 outside road-INST door-ACC close-CNV1 door-ACC

zizis'á dáhá ?óló?éhése nunim wudéén

zi-zis'-á dáh-á ?óló ?éh-se nun-im wudéé-n
 RDP-close-CNV1 stay-CNV1 again house-LOC fire-ACC put-IPF-3

'The elephant's relatives waited some days, leaving the rats alone in the house. They gave them food and local beer to drink, warning them not to come out and not to see anybody. They closed the doors firmly, and eventually set fire to the house'.

012. ?éhse nunum wudinká kété ?entaχ besinsá

?éh-se nun-im wud-inká kété ?entaχ besins-á
 house-LOC fire-ACC fire-REAS 3PL last time correct-CNV1

liḡisubo lumó šotšot yízá wuχmá

liḡ-is-ub-ó lum-ó šot-šot yíz-á wuχm-á
 prepare-CAUS-M.RELT-LOC hole-LOC RDP-enter run-CNV1 enter-CNV1

gíringičim ?aká kutsá wutsub déénká ?óló

gíringič-im ?ak-á kuts-á wut-sub déén-ká ?óló
 bush-ACC pick-CNV1 collect-CNV1 put-FUT exist-PF again

?éhis ?atatééfká gíringičis gɔyó dáhá tataχšdéén

?éh-is ?ata-tééfká gíringič-is gɔyó dáh-á tataχš-déé-n
 house-DEF fire-TEMP bush-DEF inside stay-CNV1 explod-IPF-3

'However, while the house burned the rats run away and entered a hole, which they had prepared before. They collected fruits from the bush and left them in the fire. When the house burned down the fruits exploded'.

013. kété ?éhim ?atsá ?isinú ?egirtaχšin ?egirtašin

kété ?éh-ím ?ats-á ?isinú ?egir-taχš-i-n ?egir-taš-i-n
 3PL.SUBJ house-ACC fire-CNV1 this RDP-explode-PF-3 explode-PF-3

?édá mizim faydééfká nú ?éhkičo k'otá

?édá miz-im fay-dééfká nú ?éh-kičo k'ot-á
 say-CNV1 name-ACC count-TEMP 3SM house-ground arrive-CNV1

?éhisim wúyá ?atsé ?édá wonná ?uysin

?éh-is-im wúyá ?atsé ?éd-á wonn-á ?uys-i-n
 house-DEF-ACC what fire say-CNV1 again-CNV1 ask-PF-3

'As the house burned down, the fruits exploded. The elephants outside counted the explosions and assumed that each one marked the explosion of the body of a rat. Finally the rat who was the husband of the elephant's daughter (emerged) and asked who had set fire to the house'.

014. kéko malkeydin malkeydinká ?abeside tasim wótú ?asiyá

ké-ko malkeyd-in-malkeyd-inká ?abeside tasim wótú ?asiyá
 3PL-GEN RDP-disturb-REAS my dear near 1PL how

šaldubée d'á k'ínim ?óló kónim sítso

šal-dub-ée d'á k'ín-im ?óló kón-im sítso-ó
can-FUT-ée say 3SM-ACC again 3SM-ACC morning-LOC

šayná bistéen ?urnisinée kóko bubid

šayn-á bis-tée-n ?urn-is-in-ée kó-ko bubid
see off-CNV1 send-IPF-3 rat-DEF-DAT-ée 3SF-GEN husband

'They reacted to the question with confusion. One of the elephants exclaimed; "Dears, what shall we do?" Finally they sent the rat (husband) with his wife to their home in the morning'.

015. **?isin gašo k'ot'ándé yá dži?e ?iskó šan**

?is-in gaš-ó k'ot'-ándé yá dži?e ?is-kó šan
me-DAT road-LOC arrive-CNV2 2S.SUBJ. go 1S.OBJ-GEN urine

?adinée d'á nú gašabisée

?ad-i-n-ée d'á nú gaš-ab-is-ée
come-PF-3-ée say 3SM.SUBJ road-M.RELT-DEF-ée

'Somewhere along the way, the rat told her that he wanted to urinate but that he would see her off to their home first'.

016. **?iyyíko ?iriŋim déenká bafusá ga?adéeŋká k'ínim**

?iyyí-kó ?iriŋ-im déen-ká bafus-á ga?a-déeŋká k'ín-im
man-GEN peas-ACC exist-PF take-CNV1 eat-TEMP 3SM-ACC

kiyóde lálká foktéén kašim k'íko lálká

kiyó-de lál-ká fok-tée-n kaš-im k'í-ko lál-ká
there-ABL stone-INST hit-IPF-3 cheek-ACC 3SM-GEN stone-INST

fokinká yízá kókábow k'ot'á ?isko baŋlim

fok-inká yíz-á kó-ká-bow k'ot-á ?is-ko baŋl-im
hit-REAS run-CNV1 3SF-COM-DIR arrive-CNV1 1S-GEN jaw-ACC

zolgis'in

zol-gis'-i-n
crow-hit-PF-3

'On the way he departed from her and ate the crops (peas) of the farm along the way. The owner hit him on his cheek with a stone. When he was struck by the stone, he came back to his wife and told her the crow had hit him'.

017. **?isim nársolsá ší?ed'á ?indidiskó**

?is-im náre sols-á ší?e-d'á ?indid-is-kó
1S.OBJ-ACC water hot-CNV1 wash-say wife-DEF-GEN

duuriskó

duur-is-kó

gímdéén.

gím-dée-n.

elephant-DEF-GEN speak-IPF-3

‘He told his wife to wash him with hot water’.

018. **ná ?ólo táá ?ólo búbudéé t’ibisim ?ist**
 ná ?ólo táá ?ólo búbud-ée t’ib-is-im ?ist
 3SF.SUBJ again now again husband-ée consider-DEF-ACC me
- náwe šišide?déenká ?amó k’otti**
 náwe šišide?-déen-ká ?amó k’otti
 water RDP:wash-exist-PF where arrive
- yedá fírim ?érgim šušubišá tiré déenká**
 yed-á fírim ?érg-im šu-šub-iš-á tiré déen-ká
 say-CNV1 bed leaf-ACC RDP-get dry-CAUS-CNV1 bed exist-PF
- ?irgem šušubiš melzé ?išišá**
 ?irge-m šuš-ub-iš melzé ?išiš-á
 leaf-ACC get dry-M.RELT-CAUS floor make_sleep-CNV1

‘She prepared hot water, intending to wash his jaw and make him sleep on the bed. He ordered his wife to prepare a leaf out side, and remove the moisture in order to wash him outside on it. She put the leaf outside on the bed to wash him, while he slept outside on the floor’.

019. **náwe ší?i dá d?idééfká kínim melzéde zol gis’a**
 náwe ší?i dá d?idééfká kín-im melzé-de zol gis’-á
 water wash say enter-TEMP 3SM-ACC floor-ABL crow hit-CNV1
- ba?á gís’i babinnée dadéeb wóko**
 ba?-á gís’i ba-bin-n-ée da-dée-b wó-ko
 take-CNV1 hit take-go-PF-3-ée exist-M.RELT 1PL.OBJ-GEN
- terete déen-ée**
 terete déen-ée
 story exist-ée

‘When she entered the home to bring the water in order to wash him, the crow had struck him and taken him away. This is how the story is told’.

13.2.10 Text 10: A story about a rabbit and a deffersa⁴⁷.

001. **?ilká kukká**
 ?il-ká kuk-ká
 rabbit-CNJ deffersa-CNJ
 ‘Rabit and *deffersa*’
002. **?ilká kukká bač giččóm wókkila dáhímá**
 ?il-ká kuk-ká bač gičč-ó-b-im wókkila dáh-imá
 rabbit-CNJ deffersa-CNJ year big-LOC-M-ACC one stay-INCH

⁴⁷ A *deffersa* is a kind of waterbuck.

dáhá

dáh-á

be-CNV1

‘Many years ago, the Rabbit and the *Deffersa* lived together’.003. **ʔil kukim ʔaylonsá dáh-ándé bind ʔisko zerde**

ʔil kuk-im ʔaylonsá dáh-ándé bind ʔis-ko zer-de

Rat *deffersa*-ACC servant stay-CNV2 always me-GEN body-ABL**seimáká bitsá ʔisko zere ʔals'im-ʔals'imá ʔisim**

seimá-ká bits-á ʔis-ko zere ʔals'im-ʔals'imá ʔis-im

flea-INST find_out-CNV1 me-GEN body RDP: scratch-INCH 1S.OBJ-ACC

seye gagaʔadéénée seyimaká ʔisko bitsá dáhe dá

seye gagaʔadéé-n-ée seyima-ká ʔis-ko bits-á dáhe dá

flea RDP-eat-IPF-3-ée flea-INST me-GEN find-CNV1 stay say

gímit

gím-i-t

tell-PF-1

‘The *deffersa* was told by the rabbit that he would have to stay with him as a servant and remove the fleas from his body. He suffered from the bites of the fleas, which made him scratch his body very often’.004. **kuku zerdeéyidis wuuf ʔiši dá kiko**

kuku zer-dééy-id-is wuuf ʔišši dá kík-ko

deffersa body-exist-PL-DEF all ok say 3SM.OBJ-GEN**dóóttó ʔox̣tá seyimá ʔahimá wonú bač giččóm**

dóótt-ó ʔox̣t-á seyim-á ʔahim-á wonú bač giččó-m

leg-LOC govern-CNV1 flea-CNV1 find-CNV1 only yearbig-ACC

kolsin

kols-i-n

pass-PF-3

‘All the *deffersa* were subservient to the rule of the rabbits and they spent a very long time like this’.005. **kiyóde tifó wókkilim s'ee ʔilis gímándé ʔisko**

kiyó-de tifó wókkil-im s'ee ʔil-is gím-ándé ʔis-ko

there-ABL after one-NMZ day rat-DEF speak-CNV2 1S.OBJ-GEN

ʔušim-is-im ʔanká yídka meχ bafó k'otká mēh

ʔušim-is-im ʔan-ká yíd-ká meχ baf-ó k'ot-ká mēh

horn-DEF-ACC hand-COM catch-NEG value near-LOC arrive-NEG money

wonú zere-zere wonu káye d'á gímá k'ááme

wonú zere zere wonu káye d'á gim-á k'ááme
only RDP:body only find say speak-CNV1 ear

s'olumum wučizindá wuysá midá wonú

s'olum-um wučizind-á wuys-á mid-á wonú
sharp-ACC silent-CNV1 stand-CNV1 deny-CNV1 only

dama-dama dadééfka wókkilons'ee ?intax ?óló ?intaxubisim

dama-dama dadééfka wókkilon-s'ee ?intax ?óló ?intax-ub-is-im
RDP-graduallystay-TEMP one-day previous also previous-M-DEF-ACC

gímá kínim tizazim ?imit

gim-á kín-im tizazim ?im-i-t
tell-CNV1 3SM-ACC order give-PF-1

'After some time, one day a rabbit told the *deffersa*'s; "Don't touch my horn with your hand and don't go near it, you are only supposed to pick off the fleas from my body." The rabbit was pretending that his ear was sharp and hard as a horn. This way the rabbits prevented the *deffersas* from having power over them, and they stayed like this for a long time'.

006. **kété ?óló gussu ?intaxubiséé d'a kiko**

kété ?óló gussu ?intax-ub-is-ée d'a kí-ko
3PL also true previous-M-DEF-ée say 3SM-GEN

k'áamsé k'otká dáh-á

k'áam-sé k'ot-ká dáh-á
ear-LOC arrive-NEG stay-CNV1

seyimá ?akimá dáhá yidádeéfká nú ?óló

seyim-á ?akim-á dáh-á yidá-deéfká nú ?óló
flea-CNV1 pick-CNV1 stay-CNV1 catch-TEMP 3SM also

kéko foko ?ilis nanaxtéén

kéko foko ?il-is na-naχ-tée-n
3PL-GEN handed rat-DEF RDP-sleep-3

'It went on like this for a long time. The *differsas* thought what they were told previously was true. They continued picking off fleas from the rabbits' bodies without touching the ears.'

007. **kuku wókkilubis ?óllóχyá**

kuku wókkil-ub-is ?óllóχyá
deffersa one-M-DEF slowly

?anim kiko káámse k'otsá yíηdééfká

?an-im kí-ko káám-se k'ots-á yíη-deéfká
hand-ACC 3SM-DEF ear-LOC arrive-CNV1 see-TEMP

?iki yikáy laḡub dán kiyóde yíṅá kété

?iki yi-káy laḡ-ub dán kiyó-de yíṅ-á kété
 pierce COP-NEG soft-M COP there-ABL see-CNV1 3PL.OBJ

wuyndotik gímká dáhá kínim šaki šišinká

wuyndotik gím-ká dáh-á kín-im šaki šiš-inká
 nothing speak-NEG be-CNV1 3SM-ACC evil silent-REAS.

‘Once, a deffersa slowly checked whether the rabbit’s ear was sharp and strong like a horn or not. He realised that the rabbit’s ear is very soft and couldn’t pierce their body. They left him to sleep and kept the secret to themselves’.

008. **nú náḡtódée kindá dok’đimá tíṅá wokkilons’ee**

nú náḡtó-dée kind-á dok’đim-á tíṅ-á wókkilon-s’ee
 3SM.SUBJsleep-IPF stand-CNV1 turn-CNV1 go-CNV1 one day

?óló ?ádá seysimá ?aked’ wōṅisinká kukabis

?óló ?ád-á seysim-á ?aked’ wōṅis-inká kukab-is
 also come-CNV1 flea-CNV1 pick order-RESL deffersa-DEF

gímá wótú ?akkáy wuyindót wónim zerisimá

gím-á wótú ?ak-káy wuyin dót wón-im zerisim-á
 speak-CNV1 1PL pick-NEG what COND 1PL-ACC problem-CNV1

dadodéetée déenká ?até yenimá ?išin

da-do-dée-t-ée déen-ká ?até yen-im-á ?išin
 live-COND-IPF-1-ée exist-PF 1S.SUBJ 2PL-ACC-CNV1 after

?isko ?ušim ?is-ká č’erč bostub ?ed’enkáy ?ay

?is-ko ?ušim ?is-ká č’erč bos-tub ?ed’en-káy ?ay
 1S.OBJ-GEN horn 1S.OBJ-CNJ pierce finish-FUT say-NEG no

midikóy wotik ?āšin dóótinká ?asiná ?āšin diriksīt

midi-kóy wot-ik ?āšin dóót-in-ká ?asin-á ?āšin diriksīt
 deny-NEG 1PL-too laterfoot-DAT-CNJ press-CNV1 after cratch

?edit

?ed-i-t
 say-PF-1

‘The rabbit later woke up from his sleep and started moving around. Another day when the rabbits ordered the deffersas to pick off the fleas from their body they refused to serve them. The deffersas admonished the rabbits not to trouble them. The rabbits warned them, threatening that if they did not serve them they would be killed by their sharp horns. The deffersas replied that they could no longer suppress them. We can kick you with our leggs and we attack you together’.

009. **kíkade baštá k'ekéyisinká ?ilis yízízá**
 kí-ká-de bašt-á k'ekéyis-inká ?il-is yízíz-á
 3SM-COM-ABL fear-CNV1 RDP-dismiss-REAS rabbit-DEF run-CNV1
- šédí bowde kiyóde tifó kuko ?ilkó ?ayli**
 šédí bow-de kiyó-de tifó kuko ?il-kó ?ayli
 remain DIR-ABL there-ABL after deffersa rabbit-GEN servant
- wonná šidí bowde tifó kéko mátin nətsá**
 wonn-á šidí bow-de tifó ké-kó mátt-in nətsá
 return-CNV1 remain DIR-ABL after 3PL-GEN head-DAT free
- bezé wutsá šinné d'á gímdéén**
 bezé wuts-á šinné d'á gím-dée-n
 out leave-CNV1 absent say speak-IPF-3

'The rabbit was afraid and rushed out, when they (the differsas) came towards them. In this way the differsas liberated themselves from the influence of the rabbit, they declared their freedom. It is said that it happened this way'.

14 Word list

In this section we provide Dime word list in two different columns. In the first column the word list is arranged based on the following order: **ʔ, b, č, č', d, d', f, g, h, dʒ, k, k', l, m, n, p, p', r, s, s', š, t, t', ts, w, y, z, ž**. In the second column the word list is arranged based on the English alphabet. Nouns end in vowels or consonants. The nouns that end in vowels consist of two components: the root and a terminal vowel. The terminal vowels are **i, e** and **u**. The imperative is the basic form of Dime verbs. The imperative stem can end in one of the vowels **-e, -i**, and **-u** or in any consonant. Adjectives are characterized by using the suffixes **-ub/-ind**.

14.1 Dime- English word list

ʔ

ʔaafé *n* face
ʔááke *v* pick up
ʔaak *n* paternal grandmother
ʔaašé *v* insult
ʔabsáχ *n* fire wood
ʔabse *n* edge
ʔáčimt' *v* hide
ʔáde *v* come
ʔúddú *n* four
ʔáfál *n* cloth
ʔáfé *n* mouth
ʔáfe *n* eye
ʔáfé *v* display/expose
ʔaf *v* result
ʔahó *adv* well
ʔahó-b *adj* good
ʔákan *adj* younger brother
ʔákim *n* calabash
ʔákk *n* stomach
ʔayim *n* ensset
ʔalge *n* bed
ʔáməs-ub *adj* individual
ʔámze *n* woman
ʔánjim *v* bless
ʔanne *n* wild fire
ʔánúftin *n* menstruation
ʔaxsé *v* break, bend
ʔaxsé *n* clay
ʔásinká *int* why
ʔáši *v* insult
ʔaté *pron* I

ʔátsi *n* fever
ʔát't'e *v* give birth
ʔát't'imd *n* offspring
ʔane *n* hand
ʔangášká *cnj* because
ʔánkódžaye *n* arm
ʔankógúš *n* finger(hand)
ʔankóšónke *n* palm
ʔanzól *n* hawk
ʔarú *n* hippopotamus
ʔatse *v* burn
ʔátse *n* old
ʔake *n* tree
ʔáysi *v* drive
ʔáybič *n* fire fighting
ʔáyli *n* servant
ʔáyi *Int.pron* who
ʔáimé *n* movement
ʔáyse *n* gift for marriage
ʔayyán *n* luck
ʔééŋ *n* high-land
ʔéérs'í *v* swallow
ʔéfti *n* bird
ʔéftsi *n* need
ʔéhé *n* house
ʔél *v* call
ʔéme *n* termite sp.
ʔéné *n* ancient
ʔéχ *n* wet
ʔénon *v* judge
ʔəχsi *v* show

?əks'í *n* throat (neck)
 ?əks'í *v* sink
 ?ec'im *v* to be wise
 ?ešin *n* story
 ?éti *v* wound him
 ?étim *n* wound
 ?érxen *v* sweat
 ?idi *n* tongue
 ?íí *v* cry
 ?íik *n* paternal grand father
 ?íini *n* sheep
 ?iitsé *n* red-eyed
 ?iki *v* pierce
 ?ikimse *v* mix
 ?il *n* hare
 ?im yídidin *n* ?udder
 ?ime *n* breast
 ?ímí *v* give
 ?íní *n* today
 ?ink *n* ant
 ?íj *n* journey
 ?inse *v* make wet
 ?insé *n* weight
 ?ísim *n* elder brother
 ?irimi *v* threaten
 ?išinci *v* think
 ?išin *v* get hurt
 ?indib *n* aunt son/daughter
 ?indiid *n* wife
 ?indotik *cnj* therefore
 ?inkán *n* maternal aunt
 ?insé *n* day
 ?ins'é *n* bee
 ?irfé *n* moon
 ?ítsi *v* eat
 ?ítsi *n* teeth
 ?itee *n* back of the neck
 ?išši *v* lai down
 ?išin *n* sorrow
 ?iyí *n* sun light
 ?iyyí *n* person
 ?óxsú *v* shout
 ?óxsum *n* shout
 ?oxuru *n* sack
 ?ócu *n* a hole
 ?óis *n* butter
 ?ókšin *adv* the day after tomorrow
 ?órkú *n* snake
 ?órxú *n* fish

?ótńits *n* calf
 ?ólp'ú *v* draining water
 ?ótu *n* cow
 ?otlu *v* jump
 ?óllóx *adv* slowly
 ?olo *adv* also/again
 ?ólóx *adv* quick
 ?otsú *v* peel
 ?úbsú *n* evaporation
 ?úddú *n* four
 ?údú *v* put
 ?údúl *n* mortar
 ?úk *v* exchange
 ?úmind' *n* arrow
 ?úrin *n* rat spec
 ?unkil *n* chest
 ?úššú *v* cook
 ?úšúm *n* horn
 ?úis *v* ask

b

bááke *n* hearth
 baalim *n* blind
 báálé *n* market
 báám *n* near
 bááni *n* big wound
 ba?a *v* eat (for serials or solid matter)
 ba?ád *v* bring
 bábe *n* father
 báb-kán *n* paternal uncle
 bač *n* year
 bač ?intahó *adv* last year
 bačče *n* cattle fence
 báfo *n* village
 bágzem-ub *adj* cold
 báhe *n* paternal aunt
 bálé *n* difference
 bále (kilč'i) *n* charcoal
 balagí *n* foolishness
 bál-ub *adj* other
 bábbálu *n* father-in-law
 bám-úb *adj* shallow of water
 bām *adv/adj* near
 bānde *n* (fur of wild animal)
 bant *n* appointed drinking day
 bangi *n* vagina lip
 bāngil *n* jaw

báŋe *v* marry
bárži *n* meaning
bášim *n* fear
bášim-ub *adj* fearful
bayi *n* food
báze *n* debt
bázzám-ub *adj* damned
bááki *v* boil stone
bábásten *v* fear
balté *n* forehead
balt'é *n* trade
bánde *n* hair
bárgəl *n* enemy
barži *n* millet
bárži *n* translate
báχ *v* get fat
bək'ul *n* mule
bəlté *n* luck
bəłcé *n* cooked cereal
bərtsé *v* increase
bəšé *n* clay plate (for baking enjera)
béét *n* refugee
bééz *n* star
bédze *adv* out
bedá *v* say
bésin (gúsú) *v* correct
betá betá *n* lizard sp.
bezá *v* seem
bée *n* blood
béχ *n* goiter
beχ *n* fruit spec.
biŋe *n* spear
bínní *v* satisfy
bíndi *v* create
bindí *adv.* always
bíndí *n* ashes
bikóli *n* bottle
birgí *n* summer
birži *v* repent
bitsí *v* send
bitt-ub *adj* straight
bíit *n* evil
bit'e *v* leave
bičé *n* leather/skin
bilátká *n* system
bír *n* adam's apple
bókú *n* fruit sp.
boyt'ú *v* forget
bolidi *v* forecast

bósini *v* end/finish
boólú *v* curse to kill
bóno *n* scar on girls
boóno *v* be sufficient
bóytit *v* be slippery
bóχ *n* knee
búbud *n* husband
búc'ú *n* flower
búlú *v* untie
búrú *n* kidney
búúlú *n* dust
búlkú *v* clear forest
búxúlú *v* sprout
bukté *v* take by force
búkú *n* solid soil
bulú *v* disconnect
búltu *v* solve
búnú *n* coffee
búnk'am *n* coffee leaf
búud *n* heart
buugu *v* rob

č

čilči *v* draw/spill
čúú *adv* bottom

č'

č'áán *n* meeting place
č'áák'e *n* oath
c'ááki *v* swear
c'ác'á?án *v* slap
c'ále *v* make peace
č'áne *v* load
č'ərti *v* emerge
č'ək'k'-ub *v* small
č'iilil-ub *adj* yellow
č'ərxond-ub *adj* green
č'erké *n* dew
č'íri *n* mercy/forgiveness
č'ísime *n* flower
č'íyi *n* cave
č'ízz *n* tuber
čič'i *n* root
č'íic' *n* cloud
č'íigí *v* pay
č'íit' *v* relax

č'ólay *n* belly
 č'ólu *n* dirty (spoiled intestine)
 č'úbsi *v* smoke
 č'úbú *n* smoke
 č'ué'ufi *v* rot
 č'up' ú *v* squeezed

d

dááfe *n* cutter
 dááre *n* wall
 dáhi *v* live, sit, stay
 dál *v* beat
 dámpe *n* tobacco
 dán *copula* is/are/am
 dándé *n* long/high grass
 dammé *n* drum
 dawú *n* dragon
 dǎré *n* goat
 déém-ub *adj* virgin
 déén/ déét *v* exsit
 desi(sǎgé) *v* cut
 déése *n* shadow
 dexsé *v* be strong
 deyi *v* die (of non-humans)
 déysi *v* kill
 deexé *v* cook
 déx-ub *adj* wise
 dǎibi *v* steal
 diibi *n* rain
 diibi-řizgáf *n* heavy rain
 dǎib-ub *adj* thief
 dǎidi *n* scar
 dǎimi *n* war
 dǎini *n* soup (type)
 dis *v* grind
 diitsǎi *v* grow
 dippǎi - all
 dišǎi *v* boil
 dǎzi *n* mid land
 dólind *n* beetle
 dóistal *v* adjust the grinder
 dómsu *v* cut
 dót *cnj.* if
 dotik *cnj.* or
 dóótgǎš *n* way/path
 dóóm *n* foot print
 dóóttu *n* leg

dóótsǎfim *n* bended leg
 doxsú *n* round
 doxt'ú *v* swirl
 donú *n* potato
 dóótto *adv* under
 dúbt'ú (kubt'u) *v* carry
 dóxú *v* noise made by lion or ox
 dúf *n* foam
 dúlúm *n* dance
 dúnú *n* clay soil
 duumu *adv* down
 dúmind' *n* slop
 dúrbab *n* rich
 dúru *n* wealth
 dúúru *n* elephant
 dúúku *v* grave
 dúúl *v* dance
 dudi *n* dump
 durum *n* stamp
 dúúku *v* bury
 duyúú *v* stoop

d

d'ǎŋ *n* throat
 d'áse *v* open mouth
 d'ese *v* know
 d'ǎl *n* flour
 d'ǎl/d'ǎle *n* medicine
 d'úúm *n* night
 d'óyislál *v* adjust the grinder

f

fǎči *v* be tired
 fáre *v* fly
 fáse *v* escape
 fašǎi/ falé *v* divide
 fǎšint' *v* separate
 fǎtskač-b *adj* useless
 fátáye *n* leather mat
 fááhe *n* light rain
 fáidi *v* judge
 faidé *v* count
 faré *v* fight
 fašindé *n* difference
 faidé *v* read

fənti *v* boil
firi *v* look in to
fist *n* common cold
fistéen *v* cough
firaši *n* mattress
fótu *v* fail
fookó *v* embrace
fókú *v* throw stone
fónnú *v* fall
fóóra/ fóola *v* be tired of (sth)
fúfind *n* yoghurt
fúćú *v* open
fusú *v* send
fuuz *n* heavy cough
fúg *n* bladder

g

gáádi *v* demarcate/divide
gáayi *n* fool
gááz *v* curse
gále *n* provisions for journey
gawwu *n* hookworm
gágádi *v* suck
gáit *n* hoe
gárim *adv* tomorrow
gák'di *v* disappoint
gá?á *v* bite
gámi *v* win
gámis *n* robber
gánciru *n* pot (big)
gačib *n* plant sp.
garše *n* flea
gáram mištin *n* wizard
gársi *n* louse
gáši *n* road
gáási *n* forest
gás's'e *n* clitoris/vagina
gáip'e *v* plaited (hair)
gázde *n* boundary
garim *v* groan
gáre *n* plant spec
gəbtsé *n* group work
gəč'č'é *n* chin
géhé *v* push
gəmməd-úb *adj* inseparable
gənné *n* honorable woman
gərž *n* cat

gəšin *n* old woman
géri *n* terrace
géeri *n* an telope
gebzé *n* local beer
giči *n* teff
gidó *adv* between
giltó *adv.* down
gimi *v* tell
gini *n* vein
giringič *n* bush
girsī *v* relapse
gis'i *v* hit
gis'im *n* satisfaction
gišt *v* breath
giši *n* shepherd
gičči *v* cover
giččo *adv* very /more
giččo-b *adj* big
giid *v* belch
gimél *n* camel
giri *n* roof
girs *n* porcupine
gišimi *n* pasture
giska *adj* ancient
gis'é *v* shoot
gis'i *v* satiate
gis'im *n* quarrel
giri *v* hate
girsī *v* recovering
girs *n* porcuoine
gəbə *n* basketo (person)
gəyó *adj* inside
gəwó *n* step back
gófind *v* hide
gofir *n* frog
goft *n* happiness
góidu *n* monkey
gómp *n* back (body part)
góngu *n* boat
góngu *n* plate for serving food
gont' *v* disagree
gónú *n* beehive
gós'u *n* mosquito
góturu *n* barn
góya *n* buttack
golán *n* tail
goštú *n* man
gúdúm *n* pork
gúdúm-ub *adj* tall

gúit'-ub *adj* white
guls'ú *n* alge
gúntu *n* rope
gumt'i *n* disease
gúppú *v* fail down
guurfú *n* empty (of house only)
guurfél *n* a kind of hole
gušš *n* nail
gúsu *n* big gourd
gús-maŋ *n* gourd for drinking beer
guúf *n* shield
gúfs'uind *n* chameleon
guúfú *n* navel
guufú *n* ribs
gufú *v* stamp (on land)
guč'ú *n* burnt food
guud3ú *n* state of drunkenness
guud3bab *n* drankard
gumi *v* fry
gumt'ú *n* thunder
gunt'i *v* twist
guuru *n* crocodile
guusá *n* truth
guužú *v* get drunk

h

háákkó *v* resign
hááke *v* 'pick up'
hálfe *n* knife
haméχ *adv* how many
hame *n* home country
hamzé *n* birth place
híŋi *v* go
híríŋ *n* pea
hirim *n* hump

d3

d3áγáy *n* metre
d3áɤe *n* forearm
d3áɤé *v* throw
d3áɤin *v* disappear
d3afé *n* pluck
d3ala *n* friend
d3amd3amin *v* drink continuously
d3amd3imé *v* be difficult

d3ammé *n* salt
d3ampé *n* side (body part)
d3ank'é *v* move
d3igi *v* sew
d3agi *n* rain with wind
d3íní *n* muscles
d3íši *v* milk
d3iiré *n* valley
d3imžinp' *v* tremble
d3ómar *n* ginger
d3orá *n* storm
d3úbúr *n* circular wind
d3ullú *v* cheat

k

kááde *v* faint
kááse *v* plant
kábbe *n* maize
kádi *n* locust
káf *v* wait
kámáy *n* sorghum
kámme *n* wing
kánim *n* sister (younger)
káše *n* check
kási *v* suckle
kásil *n* molar teeth
káze *n* fierewood
kalfé *n* shoulder
kárim *v* chew
kátse *n* worm
kerfe *v* talk
kéts *n* taboo
kétsé *n* vagina
kéχsi *v* dream
keχim *n* dream
kéki *n* bird spec
kété *pron.* they
keysí *v* erase
kéné *n* dog
kéz *n* sudden news of death
kí *pron.* him
kíŋi *n* spider
kíis' *v* snore
kíisi *n* faeces
kílím *n* day
kíši *n* wasp
kít *v* command/order

kitim-ub *adj* selfish
kitok *n* message
kič'í *v* cover with grass
kilo *v* follow foot step
kindé *n* eye lash
kirčkirč-ub *adj* hard
kiyó *adv.* there
kó *pron.* her
kóits *v* kick hard
kóitsub *n* iron/metal
koiz *n* hen
kóku *v* build (stone)
kókú *n* bird spec
kólab *n* child walk
kólúb *adv* previous
kóólú *n* eagle
kóólu *v* put side way
kolsi *v* pass
komob *v* win
korada *n* bell
kóórú *v* plant
kóruru *n* coriander seed
koɣsim *n* agreement
kóxú *n* love
kobu *n* ant
kobt'u *v* carry
kofcú *n* lung
koisan *n* sugar cane
koizkisé *n* hen poop
komú *n* wind
kórr *n* talk
kórr-bab *n* talkative
kot'iri *v* jump
kóšu *n* scart (made of polished wood bark)
koom *v* keep corpus from any danger
kɔx *n* crow
kúbzú *n* fly
kúbtsú *v* load down
kúbt'i *v* carry
kúfú *n* forest
kúč'u *v* quarrel
kúč'im *v* call
kúlú *n* stick
kulú *n* burnt grain
kúmti *v* chew diet
kúmu *n* cabbage
kúmú *v* bread
kúkú *n* deffersa (animal spec)

kúyú *v* dig
kúy-báb *n* digger
kuru *n* honey
kurkur-ub *adj* ugly
kutsumú *v* meet
kutsint' *n* pile
kuštú *n* fat (of meat)

k'

k'áame *n* ear/leaf
k'aamsé *v* hear/listen
k'áare *n* ape
k'aay *n* fog
k'áhé *n* necklace (of shell and beads)
k'ané *v* rain
k'ánzé *n* day
k'anp'á *n* plant.sp.
k'ášinašiš *n* eight
k'áše *v* like
k'əstin *n* two
k'ásinsé *n* devil
k'ayé *v* want
k'əfé *v* spread
k'amu *n* accedent
k'am-ub *adj* bad
k'əbəti *n* belt
k'əč'anč'ir *n* giraffe
k'əre *n* edge
k'ərase *n* strature
k'ənsi *v* lift
k'érxe *v* gird
k'əts *pron* nothing
k'eyi *v* disappear
k'eisi *v* get off
k'ere *n* saturday
k'iiri *n* door
k'int'i *v* wake up
k'inde *n* shirt
k'inti *v* stand
kíši *v* practice magic
k'is's'i *n* bread
k'isət *n* elbow
k'iz *n* trap
k'əbtu *v* wear
k'óóxu *v* continue
k'óót *v* speak
k'ob *n* lord

k'óbú *n* hut
k'obt'ú *v* carry
k'óisú *n* porridge
k'ómu *v* make
k'ondĩgác *n* leprosy
k'òṅk'o *v* knock
k'òṅĩsu *n* fifty leg worm
k'óp'ild' *n* beans
k'ós'ú *v* scratch
k'óte *v* arrive
k'ot' *n* velum
k'úxú *n* knot
k'uk'ú (lās's'e) *v* taste
k'úḡ *n* fire wood
k'uurink'árs *n* back bone
kutsú *v* collect
k'uus *n* bone

l

lále *n* stone
lāxim *n* corpse
larté *v* die
lág *n* friend
lax *n* six
laas' *v* looking back
lakk'-ub *adj* small
lams' *n* leprosy
laḡ-ub *adj* soft
lānsé *v* prepare
lént' *n* joy
lés'e *v* taste
lés'i *v* lick
lĩh *n* bird (spec)
liṅ-ub *adj* clean
liṅ-id *adj* innocents
lĩnsĩ *v* correct
liit *n* witch craft
liliṅ-ub *adj* beautiful
lisin *prep* on surface
look *n* matter /thing
lóós'u *n* uvula
lókḡ *v* chat
lobáč *n* armpit
loomú *n* lemon
looḡón *v* sweat
lúmmú *n* window/opening
lúfsú *v* screw

lupé *adv* suddenly

m

máḡse *n* blood
máake *n* mushroom
máddi *v* help
máadi *v* frog (spec).
māḡé *n* gourd
māntsé *v* weed (sth.)
máte *n* head
máto-gat'en *n* head ache
máttó *n* top
mátí *n* tribe
mangó *n* mango fruit
máy *n* pot
máki *v* sexual intercourse
makkĩm *n* three
mārši *n* fat (of person)
mādinti *v* promise
māgláf *n* net (for fish)
mārək'i *n* soup (of seed or meat)
mārfi *n* needle
mārsi *v* forbid
māte *n* problem
medĩ *v* cajole
mĩci *n* elder sister
mĩdi *v* deny
mĩkĩ *n* buffalo
mĩri *n* drianege/vallay
mit'i *n* snail
mĩzi *n* name
mĩci *v* take off
mili *n* millstone
miló *n* outside
mimir *v* refuse
minté *n* twins
miṅi *n* placenta
mĩt'ri *v* snatch
mĩsit *n* seed
meh *n* money
mehan *n* lizard hole
mók'du *n* brain
mólu *n* egg
mórú *n* spleen
móótisi *v* judge
morku *n* roat
múkú *n* huge

múúru *n* yeast
mulú *n* testicle
múúz *n* banana

n

nááɛ *adv* yesterday
nákur *n* pure honey
naɛ may *n* pot (of water)
náɛ *n* water
náka-timmint' *n* pool
natint' *n* roof
náɣte *v* sleep
nayi *n* hyena
nərzinit' *n* stout person
nərfe *n* needle
neey *n* hunger
níts *n* child
nítskánd *n* pregnant
núkú *n* nose
núnú *n* fire

p

parts *v* brush
parsten *v* start
pólú *v* made a vow
puč'u (máč'i) *n* short grass

p'

p'ále *v* split
p'élɣənd' *n* lightning
p'élt'e *n* testicle
p'éls'e *n* 'bold'

r

rukum *n* negotiation
ruku *n* catapult
rúú *n* wealth

s

sááni *n* broom
səro *n* peace

sáhi *adv* clean
sákét *dem* those
sánt-báb *n* rich
sánú *dem.* that
sáne *n* brush
sahí *v* rub
saké *v* fat-tailed (sheep)
sakiyó *adv* there
sáts-im *v* to select a wife
séyi *v* recover
sinub *adj* dirty/ugly
síndi *n* wheat
siŋsɪ *n* damage/destroy
śisi *n* wax
śiyi *n* flea
sikiyo *adv* here
sitsé *n* fruit bowl
sítsá *n* morning
sikét *dem.* these
sinú *dem.* this
sór-ub *adj* sour
sótu *n* choke
suúđind *n* ape (spec)
súl-ub *adj.* dishonest
súlu *n* cheater
súnú *n* kind of food (from inset)
súr *n* trousers
sútú *n* evening
súúlu *n* heat
suku *n* Ari people
surk'ú *v* taste
suul *n* aggressiveness

s'

s'ááh *v* vomit
s'ááme *n* eagle
s'aamé *n* pain
s'áfɪ *v* shave
s'án-ub *adj* black
s'elayé *n* devil
s'ééle *n* a lofty place for scouting
s'eet *n* hundred
s'erɣé *v* spit
s'éid-ub *adj* short
s'ilint' *n* big pool
s'ími *n* sperm
s'ís'e dax *v* be short

s'is'i *n* grey hair
s'it *n* gun
s'itú *n* soot
s'itsi *adv.* right'
s'ohú *v* milk a cow
s'olum-ub *adj* sharp
s'osu *n* evil spirit
s'os-báb *n* wizard (magician)
s'úmú *n* evil eye
s'úmpu *n* lamb
s'úrú *v* be pregnant
s'útsú *v* plug
s'ur-ind *adj* pregnant
s'us'-id *adj* many

Š

šáak *n* light
šáák *adv* wide
šááme *n* calabash (big)
šáán *n* urine
šáánk *n* floor
šáánke *n* field/plain
šánko *n* desert
šááše *n* rock
šáát *n* spring (water)
šaáye *n* 'sand'
šácim *n* butterfly
šáhi *v* extract
šákat *n* chair
šákre *n* termite
šášáde *v* urinate
šaye *v* pick
šááyi *n* sand
šakše *v* pull
šaldé *v* be able
šalé *n* thread
šákót *n* stool
šəmpé *n* life
šéli *v* warm
šép'í *v* baptize
šemé *v* beg
šešem-deeb *v* beggar
šempé *n* soul
šicim-ub *adj* mixed
šit'é *v* absent
šig *v* open
šigin *v* lie down

šizi *v* wash
šíf *n* shadow
šífi *n* shoe
šíhi *v* smell (bad)
šíní *n* penis
šini *v* buy/sell
šire *n* termite
šisi *v* leave
šítí *n* place of worship
šítim *n* handicapped person
šidi *v* absent
šigin *n* cause to sell/buy
šinčí *v* on sell
šinní *n* five
širimí *n* diarrhea
šizi *v* wash
šiz-báb *n* washer
šootú *v* make shape
šóxsú *n* roasted cereals'
šokšú *v* swell
šufú *v* hide
šúgum *v* whistle
šúkú *v* shake
šúku *n* malaria
šúntú *n* a cover
šuíftá *v* deceive
šunú *n* bird (spec)
šuškin *v* quiver
šuškdéeb *n* bad smell
šuukú *n* movement
šuukúmu *n* animal foot mark
šúúxún *n* bad smell/rotten
šúúgind *adj* never married woman
šuum *v* relax
šuunú *n* grass

t

tááχte *n* liver
tááyí *adv* now
tabltabl *v* speak about unnecessary topics
táχil *n* saliva
taχši *v* exploit
tálk' *v* borrow
təmmé *n* ten
táriki *n* story
təmt'-məkkim *n* thirty

təmt'i-ʔuddu *n* forty
təmt'i-sini *n* fifty
təmt'i-laxi *n* sixty
təmt'i-tussu *n* seventy
təmt'i-k'asnašiš *n* eighty
təmt'i-woklašiš *n* ninety
təčči *v* revenge
təku *v* strike
təmaré *n* student
téése *n* sister-in law
tebiz/ kált *n* axe
tiči *v* cut
tič-báb *n* cutter
tíŋi *v* go
tiri *n* mat
tiri *n* dust
tičé *n* slaughter
tiči *v* circumcise
t'ist *v* sneez
tíšš *n* ripe crop
tíšt'li *v* melt
tóol *n* mud
tóŋas *adj.* few
tuú *n* lake
túčú *v* count
tufú *n* saliva
túk'ú *v* crouch
túrinši *n* malt
túss *n* pillar
tússu *n* seven
tummu *n* stomach
túúm *n* garlic
tuusu *n* family

t'

t'áame *n* mursi (person)
t'eesi *v* know
t'éési *n* shadow of person
t'émi *v* push
t'esin -báb *n* known
t'ist *v* sneeze
t'imú *n* stomach ache
t'ip'i *v* drop
t'óki *adv* easily
t'úlú *v* swim
t'úm *n* darkness
t'ult'abub *adj* gray

t'utsi *v* fill

ts

tsase *prep* towards there
tsakes (*adj*) large

W

wáde please
wátú *pron* we
wəčú *adv* well
wóbu *pron* other
wóxim *n* enter
wóχ *n* knee
wókkil *n* one
wókkilam *adv.* together
wóklasiš *n* nine
wókši *v* a limp person
wólgu *n* new
wóšu *n* paddle
wonna *adv.* also
wonnú *v* return
wontsú *v* answer
won-ub *adj* alone
wohú *n* meat
woxu *v* scream
woidú *n* twenty
wóizu *n* tube /washint/
wóχæn *n* cattle
wóχimú *v* enter
wúčub *adj* empty
wuč'u *v* drink
wudu *v* keep
wuddum(ʔuddú) *n* four
wúduńits *n* metal (used as a pestle)
wútú *v* go out/climb
wuu-id *adj.* all
wúúf-bison *adv.* every were
wúúf-sis'e *adv* every day
wugǝr *n* rhinoceros
wúyi *v* stop
wuyé *int* what
wuč-ub *adj* dry
wunt'ú *n* work
wutó *loc* in front of
wuyisu *v* stop

y

yáfe *n* God/sky
yáyi *n* wolf
yáay/yaye *pron* you
yefe *v* see
yəχni *v* cultivate
yəkk-ob *pron* yours
yəré *n* donkey
yəχsé *v* measure
yəχnám *n* farm
yekké *adv* equally
yesi *pron* you (pl)
yídi *v* catch
yífid *n* guests
yíri *n* placenta
yíci *v* climb down
yidim *v* start
yigi *n* playing
yikáy *neg* not/none
yilé *n* land/earth
yín *pro.* for you
yíŋi *n* look/see
yíŋé *v* try
yinci *v* laugh
yint'i *v* flirt
yíši *n* pain
yíši *v* put off
yiss-úb *adv.* few/little
yítsi *v* take appointment
yízi *v* run
yizzi *adv* deep

Z

záádim *lazy*
zááge *v* dance
záák *v* roll
záákábur *n* a kind of animal food

zááme *n* obstacle
záap'e *v* lie down
zaaté *v* compress
záát *n* pea (spec).
zálá *n* fly (found on buffalos)
záte *n* forge
zabim *n* tortoise
zəwdin *v* put on
zélim *n* wise
zéré *n* body
zersé *n* obligation
zíiti *v* hang up
zíindu *n* jackal
zindá *adv* quite
zíti *n* bull
zimise *v* be king
zimé *n* chief
zis'i *n* door
zis'i *v* shut
zób *n* lion
zóólú *n* food
zoor *v* advice
zoor-bab *n* advisor
zór *adv* still
zuuku *n* bundle imprisonment
zúlú *n* a person with big head
zulú *n* elbow
zúnú *adv* up
zúsú *v* creat
zutú *n* share
zúub *n* red
zúúlu *n* rain bow
zúúmu *adv* tight
zuum-ub *adj* warm
zuusú *v* round

Ž

žómár *n* ginger

14.2 English-Dime word list

a

able **šaldé** *v*
 accedent **k'amu** *n*
 add water **kásé** *v*

adjust the grinder **d'óislál** *v*
 advise **zoor** *v*
 agreement **koχsim** *v*

alge **guls'ú** *n*
 all (every) **dippí** -
 all **wuuf-id** *adj*
 alone **won-ub** *adj*
 also **wonna** *cnj*
 also/again **?olo** *adv*
 always **bidi** *adv*
 antelope **géeri** *n*
 ancient **giska** *adj*
 anger/sorrow **?išin** *n*
 answer **wontsú** *v*
 ant **?ink** *n*
 ant **kobu** *n*
 antelope **geeri** *n*
 ape **k'áare** *n*
 appoint **yitsí** *v*
 ari people **suku** *n*
 arm **?ané** *n*
 armpit **lobáč** *n*
 arrive **k'óte** *v*
 arrow **?úmint'** *n*
 ashe **bíndí** *n*
 ask **?úys** *v*
 axe **tebiz/ kált** *n*

b

back **gómp** *n*
 back of the neck *n* **?itee**
 bad feeling after food **t'imí** *n*
 bad smell **šuškdéeb** *n*
 bad **k'am-ub** *adj*
 barke lion or ox **dóxú** *v*
 buffalo **míkí** *n*
 bush **giringič** *n*
 bread **kúmú** *n*
 banana **múúz** *n*
 baptize **šép'í** *v*
 barn **góturu** *n*
 basketo (person) **gobé** *n*
 be strong **deχsé** *v*
 beans **k'óp'ild'** *n*
 beat **dál** *v*
 beautiful **liliq-ub** *adj*
 because **?angášká** *cnj*

become sweet **looxón** *v*
 bed **?àlgé** *n*
 beehive **gónú** *n*
 beer **gebzé** *n*
 bees wax **śisi** *v*
 beetle **dólinđ** *n*
 brush **parts** *v*
 buy/sell **śini** *v*
 beggar **šešem-deeb** *n*
 bel **korada** *n*
 belt **k'əbəti** *n*
 belly **č'olay** *n*
 bend **?aχsé** *v*
 bended leg **dóótu-śifim** *n*
 between **gídó** *adv*
 big **giččó-b** - *adj*
 big head person **zúlú** *n*
 big wound **bááni** *n*
 bird **?éfti** *n*
 bird spec **ľih** *n*
 bird spec **śunú** *n*
 bird spec **kéki** *n*
 bird spec **kókú** *n*
 birth place **hamzé** *n*
 bite **gá?á** *v*
 black **s'an-ub** *adj*
 bladder **fúg** *n*
 bless **?ánjim** *v*
 body **zere** *n*
 bold **p'əls'e** *n*
 bone **k'uus** *n*
 borrow **tálk'** *v*
 bottle **bikóli** *n*
 bottom **čúú** *pro*
 boundary **gázde** *n*
 bow **?úmind** *n*
 brain **mók'du** *n*
 bread **k'is's'i** *n*
 breast **?ime** *n*
 bring **ba?ád** *v*
 broom **sááni** *n*
 brother (young) **?akan** *n*
 build with grass **kič'i** *v*
 build with stone **kóku** *v*
 bull **ziti** *n*

burn **?atse** *v*
 burnt food **guč'ú** *n*
 burrial place **duuku** *n*
 bury **dúúku** *v*
 buttock **góya** *n*
 butterfly **šáćim** *n*
 butter **?óis** *n*

C

cabbage **kúmu** *n*
 cajole **međi** *v*
 calabash (big) **šááme** *n*
 calabash **?ákim** *n*
 calf **?ótníts** *n*
 call **kúć'i** *v*
 call **?él** *v*
 camel **gimél** *n*
 carry **kobt'u** *v*
 cat **gərž** *n*
 catch **yídi** *v*
 catch up **fookó** *v*
 cattle **wórən** *n*
 cattle fence **bačće** *n*
 cause to sell/buy **šigin** *v*
 cave **č'íyí** *n*
 chair **šákat** *n*
 chameleon **gúfs'ús'ind** *n*
 charcoal **bále** *n*
 chat **lóokk** *v*
 cheat **dʒullu** *v*
 cheater **súlu** *n*
 check **káše** *n*
 chest, rib **guufú** *n*
 chewing **kávim** *v*
 chief **zimé** *n*
 child **níts** *n*
 chin **gəkc'é** *n*
 choke **zĩiti** *v*
 circular wind **dʒúbúr** *v*
 circumcise **tići** *v*
 clay **?axšé** *n*
 clay plate for baking enjera **bəšé** *n*
 clean **liŋ-ub** *adj*
 clean **sáhi** *v*

clitoris/vagina **gás's'e** *n*
 cloud **c'iič'** *n*
 coffee **búnú** *n*
 coffee leaf **bún-k'ám** *n*
 cold **bágzem-ub** *v*
 collect **kutsú** *v*
 come **?áde** *v*
 command/order **kít** *v*
 continue **k'óóxu** *v*
 cook **?uššú** *v*
 cook **deexé** *v*
 cooking **?uuš** *n*
 cooked cereals **bəlcé** *v*
 coriander seed **kóruru** *n*
 corpse **laxim** *n*
 correct **bésin** *v*
 correct **linsí** *n*
 cough, mucus **fíšt** *v*
 cough (heavy) **fuuž** *n*
 count **faidé** *v*
 cover **gícč'i** *v*
 covering **šúntú** *n*
 cow **?ótu** *v*
 create **bíndi** *v*
 crocodile **guuru** *v*
 crouch **túk'ú** *n*
 crow **kəxu** *n*
 cry (shout) **?óχsú** *v*
 cry **?ífi** *n*
 cut **tići** *v*
 cultivate **yəχni** *v*
 curse **gááz** *v*
 curse to kill **boólú** *v*
 cut **dómsu/ desi** *v*
 cutter **tič-báb** *n*
 cutter **dááfe** *n*

D

damage/destroy **siŋsi** *n*
 damned **bázzámu** *n*
 dance **dúúl** *v*
 dance **zááge** *n*
 darkness **t'úm** *n*
 day **?insé** *n*

day after tomorrow **ʔókšin** *n*
 day **k'ánzé** *n*
 death **láxt'i** *n*
 disease **gumt'im** *n*
 debt **báze** *v*
 deceive **šuiŋtá** *n*
 deep **yizzi** *n*
 deffersa (animal spec) **kúku** *v*
 demarcate **gááđi** *v*
 deny **məlti** *v*
 deny **míđi** *v*
 descend **yiči** *n*
 desert **šánko** *n*
 devil **k'ásinsé** *n*
 devil **s'elayé** *n*
 dew **c'erké** *n*
 diarrhoea **širimí** *n*
 dictator **suul** *n*
 die (non-human) **deyi** *v*
 die **laŋt'e** *v*
 difference **bálé** *n*
 different **fašind-ub** *adj*
 difficult **dʒamjimé** *v*
 difficulty **zááme** *adv*
 dig **kúyú** *v*
 digger **kúy-báb** *n*
 dirty (from intestine) **c'ól-ub** *adj*
 dirty/ugly **sin-ub** *adj*
 disagree **gont'** *v*
 disappoint **gák'đi** *v*
 disappear **dʒagin(k'eyi)** *v*
 disconnect **bulú** *v*
 dishonest **sulub** *adj*
 display/expose **ʔafé** *n*
 dis-virgin **déembim bitsin** *v*
 divide **fàší/ falé** *n*
 dog **kéné** *n*
 donkey **yerí** *n*
 door **k'iirí** *n*
 door **zis'i** *v*
 dove (red-eyed sp.) **ʔiitsé** *n*
 down **duumú** *n*
 down **gílt** *v*
 draining water **ʔólp'ú** *v*
 drink much **dʒamdʒami** *v*

draw/spill **čilči** *n*
 dream **keŋi** *v*
 dream **keŋim** *n*
 dress **kic'i** *n*
 drink while eating **kúmti** *n*
 drinking on appointment **bant** *n*
 drive **ʔáysi** *n*
 drop **t'ip'í** *v*
 drunk (get _) **guužú** *v*
 drunkard **guudʒbáb** *n*
 drum **dammé** *n*
 dry **wuč-ub** *n*
 dump **dudí** *v*
 dust **buulú** *n*
 dust **tíri** *n*

e

eagle **kólú** *n*
 eagle **s'ááme** *n*
 ear/leaf **k'ááme** *n*
 early **ʔéné** *adv*
 erase **keysí** *v*
 easy **t'ók-ub** *adv*
 eat **ʔítsi** *v*
 eat (cerial) **baʔa** *v*
 edge **k'əre (ʔabse)** *n*
 egg **mólu** *n*
 eight **k'ášinašiš** *n*
 eighty **təmt'i- k'ášinašiš** *n*
 elbow **k'isət** *n*
 elder brother **ʔišim** *n*
 elephant **dúru** *v*
 emerge **č'ərti** *v*
 empty **wúčub** *adj*
 empty (of house only) **guufú** *n*
 enemy **bárgəl** *v*
 enset **ʔayim** *n*
 enter **wəŋimú** *v*
 equally **yekké** *v*
 escape **fásé** *v*
 exploit **taŋši** *v*
 evil **bíit** *n*
 eye **ʔáfe** *n*
 eye lash **kindé** *n*

f

face **ʔaafé** *n*
 faeces **kíisí** *v*
 fail **fótu** *v*
 faint **kááde** *v*
 fall **fónnú/guppu** *n*
 fall down **gúppu** *v*
 family **tuusu** *n*
 farm **yəχnám** *n*
 fat **kuštú / báχ** *n*
 fat (white part of meat) **mərši** *n*
 father **bábe** *n*
 father in law **báb-bálub** *n*
 father's mother **ʔaak** *n*
 father's sister **báhe** *n*
 fatigue **fáči** *n*
 fat-tailed (sheep) **saké** *n*
 finish **bósin** *v*
 fear **bášim** *n*
 fearful **bášm-ub** *adj*
 fedup (be_), annoyed **fóóla** *v*
 fever **ʔátsi** *n*
 few **nóŋas** *adj*
 field/plain **šáánke** *n*
 fierewood **kázè** *n*
 fifty **təmt'i-šini** *n*
 fight **faré** *v*
 fill **t'utsi** *v*
 final **bósin** *v*
 finger (hand) **ʔankógúš** *n*
 finger **gúš** *n*
 fire **núnú** *n*
 firend **lág** *n*
 fire extinguisher **ʔáybič** *n*
 fire wood **ʔabsáχ** *n*
 fish **ʔórχu** *n*
 five **šinní** *n*
 flea **gárse** *n*
 flea (sp.) **síyí** *n*
 food (type of) **zóólú** *n*
 floor **šáánk** *n*
 fool **gááyí** *n*
 flour **ɖəl** *n*

flour of crop product **dalim** *n*
 flower **c'isime** *n*
 fly **kúbzú** *n*
 fly (found on buffalo) **zálá** *n*
 fly (spec) **fáre** *v*
 flirt **yint'in** *v*
 foam **dúf** *n*
 fog **k'aay** *n*
 food **bayim** *n*
 food (for animals to recover) **záákábur** *n*
 food for journey **gále** *n*
 food from inset **súnú** *n*
 follow foot step **kilo** *v*
 foolish (be) **balagí** *v*
 foot print **dóóm** *n*
 forbid **mərší** *v*
 forecast **bolidi** *v*
 forearm **džáke** *n*
 forehead **balté** *n*
 forest **gáási** *n*
 forest **kúfú** *n*
 forge **záte** *n*
 forget **boyt'ú** *v*
 four **ʔúddú** *n*
 four **wuuddum** *n*
 forty **təmt'i-ʔúddú** *n*
 few/little **yiss-úb** *adj*
 fresh crop **tíšš** *n*
 friend **džala** *n*
 friend **lág** *n*
 frog **gofir** *n*
 frog spec **máádi** *v*
 fruit sp. **bókó** *n*
 fruit-bat **sitsé** *n*
 fry **gumi** *v*
 fur (wild) **bánde** *n*

g

garlic **túúm** *n*
 gass (smoke) **ʔúbsú** *n*
 give birth **ʔát't'e** *v*
 get off **k'eyší** *v*
 gift for marriage **ʔáyse** *n*

ginger **dʒómár** *n*
 giraffe **k'əč'anč'ir** *n*
 gird **k'érxe** *v*
 give **ʒimí** *v*
 gladden **lént'i** *v*
 go (past) **binn** *v*
 go **hĩĩ** *v*
 go **tĩĩ** *v*
 go out climb **wútú** *v*
 goat **dəré** *n*
 God/sky **yáfe** *n*
 goitre **béχ** *n*
 good **ʔáho-b** *adj*
 gourd **maŋé** *n*
 gourd (big) **gúsu** *n*
 gourd (for loal beer) **gús-maŋé** *n*
 grandmother **ʔaaké** *n*
 grass **ʃuunú** *n*
 grass (big) **dándé** *n*
 grave **dúúku** *v*
 gray **t'ult'abub** *n*
 green **č'ərχondub** *n*
 grind **disi** *v*
 grey hair **s'is'i** *n*
 group work **gəbtsé** *n*
 groan **garim** *v*
 grow **diĩtsĩ** *v*
 guests **yĩfid** *n*
 guide **ʔeχsé** *v*
 gun **s'it** *n*

h

hair **bánde** *n*
 hammered **záte** *v*
 handicapped person **ʃitĩm** *n*
 hand **ʔáne** *n*
 happiness **goft** *n*
 hard **kirčkirč-ub** *adj*
 hare **ʒil** *n*
 hate **giri** *v*
 hawk **ʔanzól** *n*
 how many **haméχ** *int*
 head **máte** *n*

headache **máto-gat'en** *n*
 hear /listen **k'aamsé** *v*
 heart **búud** *n*
 hearth **bááke** *n*
 heat **súulu** *n*
 heavy rain **diibi-ʒizgáf** *n*
 heavy cough **fuuž** *n*
 help **máddi** *v*
 hen **koiz** *n*
 hen dropping **koiz-kisé** *n*
 her **kó** *pron.*
 here **sikiyó** *adv*
 hide **gófint'** (**ʃufú**) *v*
 high land **ʔéén** *n*
 him **kí** *pro.*
 hinge the neck **sótu** *v*
 hippopotamus **ʔarú** *n*
 hit **gis'i** *v*
 hoe **gáit** *n*
 hole **ʔóču** *n*
 hole (big) **guurfel** *n*
 home country **háme** *n*
 honorable woman **gənné** *n*
 honey **kúru** *n*
 honey (pure) **nákur** *n*
 hookworm **gawwu** *n*
 horn **ʔúšúm** *n*
 hot leafe **zuumú** *n*
 house **ʔéhé** *n*
 how many **haméχ** *pron*
 huge **múkú** *n*
 hump **hirim** *n*
 hundred **s'éét** *n*
 hunger **neey** *n*
 husband **búbud** *n*
 hut **k'óbú** *n*
 hyena **nayi** *n*

i

I **ʔáté** *pro*
 if **dót** *cnj*
 impolite/powerful **k'am-úb** *adj*

increase **bərtsé** *v*
 individual **ʔámə** *n*
 in front of **wutó** *loc*
 innocent **fiŋ-ub** *adj*
 inseparable **gəmməd-ub** *adj*
 inside **gəyó** *adv*
 insult **ʔaašé** *v*
 insult **ʔāšin** *n*
 iron/metal **kóitsub** *n*

j

jano (red edge cloth) **dzané** *n*
 jackal **zindu** *n*
 jump **kot'iri** *v*
 jump **ʔotlu** *n*
 jaw **bāngil** *n*
 journey **ʔiŋi** *n*
 joyful **lént'-ub** *adj*
 judge **fáydi** *v*

k

keep corpse **koom** *v*
 keep **wudu** *v*
 kidney **búru** *n*
 kick hard **kóits** *v*
 kill **deisi** *v*
 king-ship **zimise** *n*
 knee **bóχ** *n*
 knife **hálfe** *n*
 knock **k'onyisu** *v*
 knot **k'úuxu** *n*
 know **t'eesí** *v*
 known **t'esin-báb** *n*

l

lake **tuú** *n*
 lamb **s'úmpu** *n*
 land/earth **yilé** *n*
 large **təskes** *adj*
 laugh **yinč'i** *v*
 lay down **ʔišši** *v*

lazy **záadim-ub** *adj*
 leather/skin **bícé** *n*
 leather mat for sleep **fátáye** *n*
 leave **bit'e** *v*
 leaf **k'ááme** *n*
 leave **wútú** *v*
 leg **dóótu** *n*
 lemon **loomú** *n*
 leprosy **lams'** *n*
 lick **lés'i** *v*
 lie down **záap'e** *v*
 life **šəmpé** *n*
 light **šáák** *n*
 light rain **fááhe** *n*
 lightning **p'élχənd'** *n*
 like **k'áše**
 limp person **wóχši** *n*
 lion **zób** *n*
 live, sit, stay **dáhi** *v*
 liver **tááχte** *n*
 lizard sp. **betá betá** *n*
 lizard (home) **məhan** *n*
 locust **kádi** *n*
 lofty place for scouting **s'ééle** *n*
 look/see **yîŋi** *v*
 look in to **fîrî** *v*
 looking back **laas'** *n*
 lost **dzáwi** *v*
 louse **gársi** *n*
 love **kóxú** *v*
 luck **ʔayyán** *n*
 lung **kofčú** *n*

m

made a vow **pólú** *n*
 magic **bîit** *n*
 magic **kîši** *v*
 maize **kábbe** *n*
 make **k'ómu** *v*
 make peace **č'ále** *v*
 malaria **šúkú** *n*
 man **goštú** *n*
 mango fruit **mangú** *n*

many **s'us'-id** *adj*
 market **báálé** *n*
 marry **báŋe** *v*
 mat **tirí** *n*
 matter, thing **look** *n*
 malt **túrinsí** *n*
 measure **yəχsé** *v*
 meat **woxú** *n*
 medicine **díle** *n*
 meet **kutsumu** (**kutsumu**) *v*
 melt **tíšt'li** *v*
 menstruation **?ánúftin** *n*
 mercy **č'irí** *n*
 message **kitok** *n*
 metre **dʒayáy** *n*
 mid-land **đizi** *n*
 migrant **béet** *n*
 millet **barži** *n*
 milk **dʒíši** *v*
 milk a cow **s'ohú** *v*
 millstone **mili** *n*
 miss **šidi/šit'i** *v*
 mix **?ikimsé** *v*
 mixed **šičim-ub** *adj*
 molar teeth **kásil** *n*
 money **meh** *n*
 monkey **góidu** *n*
 monkey sp. **suúđind** *n*
 moon **?irfé** *n*
 morning **sítsá** *n*
 mortar **?údúl** *n*
 mosquito **gós'u** *n*
 mouth **?áfé** *n*
 move here and there **dʒank'é** *v*
 movement **?áyimé** *n*
 muscles **dʒíní** *n*
 mud **tóól** *n*
 mule **bək'ul** *n*
 mursi person **t'ááme** *n*
 mushroom **mááke** *n*

n

necklace **k'áhé** *n*
 neck **?əks'e** *n*

name **mízi** *n*
 navel **guúfú** *n*
 near **báám** *n/adv*
 need **?éftsi** *v*
 needle **nərfe** *n*
 negotiation **rukum** *n*
 net **məgláf** *n*
 new **wólgu** *n*
 news of a person's death **kéz** *n*
 never married (of woman) **šúúgind** *adj*
 nice **?áhó** *adv*
 night **đúúm** *n*
 nine **wóklasĩš** *n*
 ninety **təmt'i-woklasĩš** *n*
 nock **k'ók'ú** *v*
 nose **núkú** *n*
 not/none **yikáy** *pron.*
 nothing **k'éts** *n*
 now **tááyí** *adv.*

o

oath **č'áák'e** *n*
 oblique **zersé** *n*
 offspring **?át't'imd** *n*
 old man **?átse** *n*
 old woman **gəšin** *n*
 on **lisin** *Loc.*
 on sale **šinči** *v*
 one **wókkil** *n*
 open **fúćú** *v*
 open (for mouth) **ďáše** *v*
 open **šigi** *v*
 opportunity **bəlté** *n*
 or **dotik** *cnj.*
 other **bál-ub**
 out **bédze** *n*
 outside **miló** *loc*
 over **?ááde** *loc*
 owner **báb** *n*

p

paddle **wóšu** *n*
 pain **s'aamé** *n*
 pain **yíši/ʔíši** *v*
 palm **ʔankó-šónke** *n*
 paternal grandfather **ʔíik** *n*
 paternal grandmother **ʔaak** *n*
 paternal uncle **báb-kán** *n*
 pass **kolsi** *v*
 pasture **gíšimi** *n*
 pay **č'iigí** *v*
 pea sp. **hírī** *n*
 pea sp. **záánk'e** *n*
 pea sp. **záát** *n*
 peace **səro** *n*
 peel **ʔotsú** *v*
 penis **šini** *n*
 person **ʔiyyí** *n*
 pestle **wúdunits** *n*
 pick **šaye** *v*
 pick up **ʔááke** *v*
 pierce **ʔikí** *v*
 pillar **túss** *n*
 place of worship **šítí** *n*
 placenta **miŋi/yírí** *n*
 plaited (hair) **gáyp'e** *v*
 plant **kóórú** *n*
 plant (sp.) **gáre** *n*
 plant (sp.) **gačib** *n*
 plant (sp.) **k'anp'á** *n*
 plate for food **góngu** *n*
 play **yigi** *n*
 please **wáde** *n*
 pluck **dʒafé** *v*
 pool (big) **náka-timmint'** *n*
 pool (small) **s'ilint'** *n*
 porcupine **girš** *n*
 pork **gúdúm** *n*
 porridge **k'óisú** *n*
 pot **māy** *n*
 pot (big) **gánčiru** *nd*
 potato **donú** *n*
 pregnant **s'ur-ind** *adj*
 previous **kólúb** *n*
 problem **məté** *n*

promise **mədinti** *v*
 push **géhé / t'émi** *v*
 put **ʔúdú** *v*
 put on **zəwdin** *v*
 put off **yíši** *v*
 put aside **kóólu** *v*

q

quarrel **kúč'u** *v*
 quick **ʔólóχ** *adv*
 quite **zindá** *v*
 quiver **šuškín** *v*

r

rain **díibí** *n*
 rainbow **zúúlu** *n*
 rain with wind **dʒági** *n*
 rat sp. **ʔúrin** *n*
 react **tókú** *v*
 read **faidé** *v*
 recover **séyi** *v*
 red **zúub** *n*
 refuse **mimir** *v*
 rhinoceros **wugir** *n*
 relapse **girši** *v*
 remove forest **málči/búlkú** *v*
 repent **birzī** *v*
 resign **háákkó** *v*
 rest **šúm** *v*
 result **ʔaf** *v*
 return **wonnú** *v*
 revenge **təčči** *n*
 ribs **guufú** *n*
 rich **dúr-báb /sánt-báb** *n*
 ripe crop **tišš** *n*
 right **s'itsi** *n*
 road **gáši** *n*
 roasted cereals **šóxšú** *n*
 roasted grain **kulú** *n*
 rotate **zuusu** *v*
 rob **buugu** *v*
 robber **gámis** *n*

rock **šááše** *n*
 roll **záák** *v*
 roof **gírí** (**natint'**) *n*
 root **č'ič'i** *n*
 rope **gúntu** *n*
 rot **č'u č'ufi** *v*
 rotate **zuusú** *v*
 rotten **č'uč'ufi** *adv*
 rotten smell **šúúxún** *n*
 round **doxsú** *n*
 rub **sahí** *n*
 run **yízi** *v*

S

sack **?oxuru** *n*
 saliva **táxil/túfú** *n*
 salt **dzammé** *n*
 sand **šáayi** *n*
 satisfy **binní** *v*
 satisfaction **gis'im** *n*
 satiate **gis'i** *v*
 saturday **k'ere** *n*
 say **?ééné** (**bedá**) *v*
 scar **díidi** *n*
 scare on girl **bóno** *n*
 skirt (of polished wood bark) **kóšu** *n*
 scratch **k'os'i k'ós'ú** *v*
 scream **woxu** *v*
 screwdriver **lúfsú** *v*
 skirt **k'inde** *n*
 see **yefé** *v*
 seed **mišit** *n*
 seem **bezá** *v*
 selfish **kitim-ub** *adj*
 send **bitsú/fusú** *v*
 separate **fášint'** *v*
 servant **?áyli** *n*
 seven **tússim** *n*
 seventy **təmt'i-tussu** *n*
 sexual-intercourse **mókí** *v*
 sew **džigi** *v*
 shadow **šíf** *n*
 shadow of person **t'éěši** *n*
 shake **šuukú** *v*

shallow **bám-ub** *adj*
 shape **šootú** *v*
 share **zutú** *n*
 sharp **s'olum-ub** *adj*
 shave **s'áfini** *v*
 sheep **žíní** *n*
 shield **gúuf** *n*
 shepherd **gšši** *n*
 shirt **k'inde** *n*
 shoe **šífi** *n*
 shoot **gis'é** *v*
 short **s'eid-ub** *adj*
 short **s'is'e dax** *v*
 short grass **puč'u** *n*
 shoulder **kalfé** *n*
 shouting **?óχsum** *n*
 show **?əχse** *v*
 shut **zis'i** *v*
 sickness **gumt'um** *n*
 side (body part) **džampé** *n*
 sink **?ərs'i** *v*
 sister (elder) **míči** *n*
 sister (younger) **?ákan** *n*
 six **lax** *n*
 sixth **lásé** *n*
 sixty **təmt'i-laxi** *n*
 skin **biči** *n*
 skin disease **k'ondingáč** *n*
 slaughter **tičé** *v*
 sleep **náχte** *v*
 slope **dúmind'** *n*
 slowly **?olloχyá** *adv*
 small **lək'k'-ub** *adj*
 small **č'ək'k'-ub** *adj*
 smaller sister **kánim** *n*
 smoke **čúbú** *v*
 smell (bad) **šíhi** *v*
 snail **mit'i** *n*
 snake **?órkú** *n*
 sneeze **t'ist** *v*
 snore **kíis'** *v*
 soft **laχ-ub** *adj*
 solid soil **búkú** *n*
 solve **búltu** *v*
 soot **s'itú** *n*

sorghum **kámáy** *n*
 sorrow **ʔšin** *n*
 soul **šempé** *n*
 soup **mərək'i** *n*
 soup(other type) **ďĩni** *n*
 speak something unnecessary
tabltabl *v*
 speak **lók** *v*
 talk **k'óót** *v*
 spear **biḡé** *n*
 sperm **s'ímí** *n*
 spider **kĩṇi** *n*
 spite **s'erχé** *n*
 spite **túfu** *n*
 spleen **mórú** *n*
 split **p'ále** *v*
 spread **k'əfé** *v*
 spring **šááte** *n*
 sprout **búxúlú** *v*
 squeezed **č'up'ú** *v*
 stamp **gufú** *v*
 stand **k'inti /wúyí** *v*
 star **bééz** *n*
 start **parsten** *v*
 start **yidim** *v*
 state of drunkenness **guujú** *v*
 stature **k'ərase** *n*
 steal **ďíibi** *v*
 step back **gəwó** *n*
 stick (small) **kúlú** *n*
 stick (big) **ďááke** *n*
 still **zór** *v*
 stomach **ʔákk** *n*
 stone **lále** *n*
 stool **šákət** *n*
 stoop **duyúú** *v*
 stop **wuyisu** *v*
 storm **dʒorá** *n*
 story **ʔəšin** *n*
 stout person **nərzinit'** *n*
 straight **bitt-ub** *adj*
 student **təmaré** *n*
 sufficiently **bóono** *adv*
 stump **durum** *v*
 suck **gágádi** *v*

suckle **kási** *v*
 suddenly **lupé** *adv*
 sugar cane **koišan** *n*
 summer **birḡi** *n*
 sun **ʔiyí** *n*
 swallow **ʔéeks'i** *v*
 sweat **looχón** *v*
 swell **šokšú** *v*
 swim **t'úlú** *v*
 swirl **doxt'ú** *v*
 system **bilátká** *n*

t

tail **golán** *n*
 take by force **bukté** *v*
 take off **miči** *v*
 tall **gúdúm-ub** *adj*
 talk **kərf** *v*
 taste **k'uk'u /lés'e** *v*
 taste a bit **surk'ú** *v*
 taboo **kéts** *n*
 teeth **ʔitsí** *n*
 teff **ḡiči** *n*
 tell **kerf/ḡimí** *v*
 ten **təmmé** *n*
 terrace **geri** *n*
 termite sp. **ʔémé** *n*
 termite sp. **šire** *n*
 termite sp. **šákre** *n*
 testicle **p'elt'e/ mulú** *n*
 that **sánú** *dem.*
 there **kiyó** (short form)*adv*
 those **sákét** *dem.*
 there **sakiyó** *adv.*
 therefore **ʔindotik** *cnj*
 these **sikét** *dem.*
 they **kété** *pro.*
 thief **ďíibub** *adj*
 think **ʔišinč** *n*
 thirty **təmt'-məkkim** *n*
 this **sinú** *dem.*
 three **məkkim** *n*
 thread **šalé** *n*

threaten **ʔirimi** *v*
 three hundred **s'eet-məkkim** *n*
 throat (neck) **ʔéksí** *n*
 throw **dʒáʔé** *v*
 throw stone **fókú** *v*
 thunder **gumt'ú** *n*
 tight **zúúmu** *n*
 tire **fáči** *v*
 today **ʔíní** *n*
 toddler **kólab** *n*
 toe (animal) **ʃuukúmu** *n*
 tortoise **zayim** *n*
 trade **záxim** *n*
 translate **bárži** *n*
 tremble **dʒimžinp** *v*
 tribe **mátí** *n*
 trousers **súr** *n*
 truth **guusá** *n*
 try **yíṇé** *v*
 tube **wóizu** *n*
 tuber **č'ízz** *n*
 twenty **woidú** *n*
 twins **minté** *n*
 twist **gunt'i** *v*
 two **k'əstin** *n*
 towards there **tsase** *pron*
 two hundred **s'eet-k'əstin** *n*

U

udder **ʔim yídidin** *n*
 ugly **kurkur-ub** *adj*
 unbalance **zikim** *v*
 under **dóotto** *loc*
 untie **búlú** *v*
 up **zúnú** *-adv*
 up(higher position) **ʔaa** *adv*
 urinate **šášádé** *v*
 urine **šáán** *n*
 useless **fátská-b** *adj*
 uvula **lóós'u** *n*

V

vagina **kétsé** *n*
 vagina lip **báangi** *n*
 valley (big) **dʒiiré** *n*
 valley (small) **mírí** *v*
 vein **gíní** *n*
 velum **k'ot'** *n*
 very /more **giččo** *adv*
 village **báfó** *n*
 virgin **déemb** *n*
 violence **gis'im** *n*
 vomit **s'ááh** *v*

W

wait **káf** *v*
 wake up **k'ínt'i** *v*
 wall **dáare** *n*
 want **k'ayé** *v*
 war **díimi** *n*
 warm **šéli** *v*
 wash **širi** *v*
 wasp **šiz-báb** *n*
 water pot **naʔ may** *n*
 water **náke** *n*
 wax **sisi** *n*
 way **dóót-gáš** *n*
 we **wótú** *pron.*
 wealth **dúru/rúú** *n*
 wear **k'óbtu** *v*
 well **ʔahó** *adv*
 wet **ʔinse** *v*
 what **ʔéx** *pron*
 wheat **síndi** *n*
 white **šúgúm** *v*
 who **ʔáyi** *pron*
 why **ʔásinkə** *pron*
 wide **šáák** *adv.*
 win **gámi** *v*
 win **komob** *v*
 wind **komú** *n*
 window/opening **lúmmú** *n*
 wing **kámme** *n*
 wise **déx-ub** *adj*
 wise (be) **zélím** *v*

witchcraft **liit** *n*
wizard **s'os-báb** *n*
wood (for fire) **k'úg** *n*
wolf **yáyí** *n*
woman **?ámze** *n*
worm **kátsé** *n*
worm (sp.) **k'óŋĩsu** *n*
wound **?étim** *n*
work **wunt'ú** *n*

y

year **báč** *n/adv*
yeast **múúru** *n*
yellow **č'íilil-ub** *adj*
yesterday **nááke** *adv*
yoghurt **fúfınd'** *n*
you **yín** *pron*
you **yáay/yá** *pron*
you (pl) **yesé** *pron*

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Index

A

Aari, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 22, 66, 79, 139
 Abbink, 1, 5, 6
 ablative, 46, 57, 58, 78, 79, 170, 257
 accusative, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 62, 66, 74, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 105, 114, 117, 118, 142, 151, 154, 168, 170, 257
 addressee, 121, 123
 adjectival predicates, 153
 adjective, 29, 44, 53, 61, 72, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 93, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 172, 222, 258
 adjectives, 258
 adverbial, 75, 99, 101, 159
 adverbials, 258
 affricates, 10, 19, 20, 34, 126
 African languages, 164
 Afro-asiatic, 3, 141
 agent, 145
 agentive, 59
 agreement, 45, 46, 81, 82, 83, 86, 108, 110, 111, 112, 154, 163, 259
 Aikhenvald, 119
 Alemayehu, 132, 138, 139
 allophone, 10, 23
 animate, 82
 Appleyard, 4
 argument, 47, 149
 Aroid, 3, 11
 aspect, 1, 2, 39, 84, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 135, 137, 138, 139, 143, 151, 154, 157, 163, 166, 169, 171
 attributive, 131, 132, 135, 136, 140
 Azeb, 97, 127, 138, 141, 142, 145, 147, 151, 159
 Azeb Amha and Dimmendaal, 159

B

Basketto, 1
 Batibo, 4
 Baye, 116
 Benchnon, 29
 Bender, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 27, 44, 141
 beneficiary, 50, 67
 Beniyam, 116
 Blake, 46, 51
 Bodi, 1, 2, 4, 76

C

case, 4, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 63, 65, 70, 72, 74, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 95, 109, 111, 114, 117, 121, 123, 133, 135, 141, 142, 145, 151, 154, 168, 170, 171, 257
 causative, 141, 142, 143, 258
 Chara, 1
 clause, 45, 71, 82, 98, 112, 113, 131, 138, 139, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160, 161, 162, 164, 167, 168, 169, 173, 175, 259
 Clements and Keyser, 32
 cluster, 34
 coda, 32, 33, 34
 cognate object, 62
 comitative, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58
 complement, 134, 149
 complex clauses, 157
 compound, 37, 63, 175
 compounds, 63
 Comrie, 141, 144
 concessive, 161
 conditional clause, 160
 conjunction, 52, 53, 54, 71, 101, 161
 consonants, 9, 10
 converb, 54, 157, 158, 159
 copulas, 131, 132
 countable, 116
 Crass, 132
 Creissels, 46, 119
 Crystal, 4, 42
 Cushitic, 3, 6, 121

D

Daniel, 66, 139
 dative, 46, 49, 50, 58, 65, 67, 71, 72, 78, 79, 170, 174, 257
 Deban Gasso, 6
 declarative, 153, 164, 165, 166, 167, 259
 default, 43, 45, 76, 77, 82
 definiteness, 42
 Demeke, 132
 demonstratives, 7, 45, 49, 65, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 107, 112, 172, 258
 dependent, 175
 derivation, 7, 59, 61, 141, 258
 Diessel, 74

Dime, 257, 258, 259
 dimunitive, 82
 diphthong, 28, 29, 33
 distributions of phonemes, 19
 Dixon, 87

E

emphatic, 72
 Enfield, 4, 5
 epenthesis, 38
 equative, 131, 140
 Evans, 145
 existential, 125, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 139

F

feminine, 43, 44, 46, 65, 76, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 92, 108, 112, 124, 154, 257
 Fleming, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 19, 20, 30, 41, 44, 60, 76, 82, 84, 85, 95, 123, 142, 153, 163, 165
 Ford, 6
 frequentative, 101, 147, 159
 fricative, 15
 fricatives, 10, 19, 34, 126
 future tense nominal clause, 136
 future tense., 124

G

Galila, 3, 5
 Gasser, 159
 Gazer, 58
 gemination, 24
 gender, 7, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 65, 66, 73, 76, 77, 78, 82, 85, 86, 87, 91, 92, 93, 107, 108, 112, 123, 154, 156, 173, 257, 259
 genitive, 46, 50, 51, 56, 57, 65, 68, 69, 70, 78, 79, 111, 113, 118, 133, 172, 173, 257
 Gerfa, 1, 3, 6, 41
 Getahun, 116
 Giegerich, 34
 Givon, 83, 149, 150, 166
 glide insertion, 39
 glides, 6, 10, 19, 23, 34, 35, 126
 glottal, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19, 33, 37, 38
 glottalized, 9, 37

Goldsmith, 32
 greetings, 105, 122

H

habitual, 101, 125, 127
 Hamer–Banna, 3
 Hanna, 2
 Hayward, ix, x, 4, 7, 10, 22, 75, 79, 121, 247, 248, 249, 250, 252
 head a noun, 72
 Heine, 70
 Hellenthal, 166
 Hengeveld, 132
 Hetzron, 5
 high tone, 29, 30, 31, 162, 165, 169, 259
 Hirut, 97
 homorganic, 37
 Hudson, 38

I

imperative, 31, 37, 60, 83, 84, 121, 122, 153, 169, 222
 imperfective, 39, 40, 84, 124, 125, 127, 129, 135, 136, 144, 154, 156, 163, 164, 166, 171
 inanimate, 43, 44, 52, 82
 inchoative, 141, 146, 147, 258
 infinitives, 60
 inflectional, 42, 107, 141, 154, 258
 instrumental, 46, 51, 52, 54, 58, 71, 78, 79, 115, 257
 intensive, 147
 interrogative, 31, 41, 48, 58, 63, 79, 80, 104, 105, 130, 134, 137, 138, 153, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 259
 interrogative marker, 163, 171
 intransitive, 47, 142, 149, 172, 258
 IPA, 9

J

Jones, 28
 juxtaposition, 50, 63, 69

K

K'elob K'albo, 6
 Kenstowicz, 31, 38

Kuraze, 6, 45

L

language, 258
Lewis, 145
liquids, 19
location, 55
Lydall, 27

M

Maale, 97, 138, 141, 145, 147
Maikro Gizachew, 6
markers, 43, 47, 49, 65, 81, 112, 114,
139, 154, 157, 159, 169, 259
masculine, 43, 44, 45, 46, 65, 66, 76, 81,
82, 83, 86, 92, 108, 112, 124, 257
Matthews, 115
McCarthy, 32
Mchombo, 145
measure phrases, 115
Meyer, 132
minimal pairs, 10, 15, 16
modifiers, 43, 46, 69, 72, 86, 92, 107,
111, 114, 154, 156, 159, 172, 175, 257,
259
modifying nouns, 91
Moges, 6, 66
mono transitive, 150, 258
morphological, 257, 258
Mous, 52
Mulugeta, 2, 3, 5, 38
Mursi, 1

N

Næss, 151
nasals, 19, 29
negative, 122, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136,
137, 138, 139, 153, 164, 166, 167, 168
Nettle, 4
nominal clauses, 131
nominalizer, 61
nominative, 46, 47, 58
Nominative, 257
non polar interrogative clauses, 168
non-polar interrogatives, 163, 259
non-verbal clauses, 87
noun phrase and quantifier phrase, 107
nouns, 30, 31, 41, 46, 59

nucleus, 32, 33, 63
number, 46
numeral system, 95, 258
numerals, 95, 96, 97, 107, 111, 116, 117,
118, 258

O

object, 46, 47, 49, 54, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67,
68, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 105, 150,
151, 155, 170, 259
object pronouns, 65, 78
Olson, 5
Ometo, 79, 127, 147
Omotic, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 22, 27, 29,
43, 66, 77, 79, 97, 116, 121, 127, 138,
141, 142
onset, 32, 33, 34

P

palatal, 9, 13, 14, 24, 37, 39, 40
passive, 141, 143, 144, 145, 151, 258
past, 124, 127, 128, 131, 134, 135, 137,
138, 139, 143
patient, 47, 49, 145, 149
Payne, 6, 131, 167
perfective, 25, 37, 57, 84, 124, 127, 128,
129, 135, 154, 156, 163, 165, 166, 169,
171
personal pronoun, 67, 68, 70, 76
phoneme, 9, 10, 11, 19, 23
phrases, 107, 116, 153, 258
plural, 31, 38, 46, 50, 65, 73, 75, 78, 83,
86, 107, 110, 111, 112, 121, 122, 123,
124, 145, 156, 257
point of articulation, 11
polar interrogatives, 163
possessive, 32, 41, 50, 58, 65, 68, 69, 70,
107, 111, 114, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136,
137, 258
predicate, 131, 141, 153, 173, 259
prefixes, 7, 77, 141
progressive, 37, 124, 126, 127
pronouns, 5, 7, 39, 43, 45, 48, 49, 51, 58,
63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73,
74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 104, 105, 112,
136, 154, 168, 170, 259
proximal, 7, 73, 75, 76, 77, 112

Q

quantifiers, 99, 116
question words, 104

R

Rapold, 29, 97, 151
reason clause, 157, 160, 259
recipient, 49, 50, 67, 68
reciprocal, 145
reduplication, 34, 101, 141
Reduplication, 258
reflexive, 70, 71, 72
relative clause, 113, 153, 154, 259
relative clauses, 154
Romaine, 4

S

Sala-Mago, 2
segments, 6, 9, 21, 34, 35, 36, 37
semi-transitive, 150, 258
sentence, 158, 259
Siebert, 1, 3, 6, 10
simple clause, 153, 259
sonority, 34
South Omo, 1
spirantization, 36
Stassen, 54
stops, 9, 19, 34, 36
subject, 7, 46, 47, 54, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 78, 92, 124, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 143, 145, 151, 155, 158, 159, 163, 168, 170, 259
subject agreement marking, 123
suffixation, 25, 38, 121, 122, 124, 258
syllable, 9, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 95, 146, 163, 257
syllables, 30, 32, 35, 65

T

Taddese Gelbok, 6

time adverbials, 100
Todd, 4, 5
tone, 29, 30, 31
transitive, 47, 68, 142, 149, 150, 151, 152, 172, 258, 259
Tsuge Yoichi, 5

U

uncountable, 115
ungrammatical, 96, 113, 116, 117, 133, 135, 158, 170, 175
Us'a, 1, 3, 6

V

verb, 25, 29, 31, 47, 48, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 83, 84, 85, 112, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 151, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 160, 163, 164, 168, 169, 171, 173, 174, 258, 259
verb root, 121, 127
verbal derivations, 141
verbs and their arguments, 149
vocalic, 37, 41, 138
voiced, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 24, 36, 40, 43, 69
vowels, 7, 9, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 121, 156, 164, 222

W

Wachowicz, 170
Watters, 164
Wedekind, 6, 10, 29
word order, 107, 108, 111, 113, 153, 164, 166, 171, 172, 174, 175, 259

Z

Zealelem, 4

Summary

This dissertation presents a descriptive study of Dime, an endangered south Omotic language of Ethiopia. The number of the speakers is about 5400. The Dime people are settled farmers. Dime has two dialects: the Us'a and the Gerfa dialects. The present study is based on the Us'a dialect. The linguistic description is based on 12 months fieldwork conducted between 2003 and 2005. The thesis is divided into fourteen chapters.

The first chapter provides an introduction about the Dime people, the state of language use and language endangerment and it outlines the scope of the research. Chapter 2 presents a description of the sound system of the language. The inventory of consonant phonemes shows a remarkable series of uvular and velar fricatives. The presence of these segments in the language makes Dime somewhat different from the rest of the Omotic group. A detailed description of the consonant and vowel phonemes is provided. Dime has two basic tones, H and L. A description of the syllable structure and cluster of consonants is made. This is followed by the discussion of phonological process.

In Chapter 3, nouns and nominal categories are discussed. The forms of nouns, definiteness, gender, number and case are described. Nouns in Dime are either vowel-final or consonant-final. In the presence of a modifier element in a noun phrase, the definite marker may be suffixed to the modifier(s). Dime distinguishes two grammatical genders: masculine and feminine. The gender markers are suffixed to various modifying categories such as adjectives and relative verbs. This is in contrast to what is reported for many Omotic languages. In the latter languages gender is not realized in associated words but rather masculine-feminine distinction is marked only on the noun itself. A two-way number distinction is made: singular is morphologically unmarked; plural is marked on nouns by the morpheme **-af**. There is a special plural-agreement morpheme **-(i)nd**, which is only affixed to modifiers. The case marking suffixes comprise: accusative **-im**, dative **-in**, genitive **-ko**, locative **-se** and **-o**, instrumental **-ká** and ablative **-de**. The nominative case is not morphologically marked. In Dime, case affixes are not differential according to the definite-indefinite distinction but this seems to be the case largely in Ethiopian languages. Morphologically marked nominal derivations include agentive, infinitive and abstract nouns. Compounding is not highly productive and some compound forms are difficult to distinguish from juxtaposed possessive noun phrases. These are discussed in the chapter at some length.

Chapter 4 focuses on Dime pronouns. It introduces personal and demonstrative pronouns. Subject, object, dative, genitive and reflexive pronouns are morphologically distinct. Demonstratives indicating nearness and farness as well as deictic expressions pointing out altitude differences (up-ward or down-ward from where the speaker is located) are identified. Some of the affixes in the demonstrative paradigm are prefixes. This is interesting in light of the fact that prefixation is not a common phenomenon in other Omotic languages. Within Dime itself prefixation is attested only with demonstratives.

In Chapter 5 we discuss adjectives and modifying nouns. Adjectives are characterized by suffixing masculine and feminine gender markers or the plural agreement suffix if the modified noun is plural. Moreover, adjectives share some features with nouns in that they may be marked for definiteness and case. When nouns are used as modifiers they are not marked with the adjectival affixes just mentioned.

Dime numerals, conjunctions/coordinators and adverbials which includes manner, time, and directional adverbials and question words are described in Chapter 6. The numeral system in Dime is decimal. Higher numerals must take the noun *ʔafó* ‘mouth’ as a connecting element. The conjunction marker in Dime is also used to mark instrumental and comitative cases. Dime adverbials can be categorized into three semantic groups: manner, time and directional adverbials. Manner adverbs and time adverbs are expressed through simple lexical forms. Directionals are expressed with a bound morpheme. Several content question words are derived from limited base forms.

Chapter 7 provides basic information on noun phrases with noun, adjective, numeral, possessive, demonstrative or relative clause modifiers. Locative noun phrases and measure phrases (quantifier phrase) are also discussed. The chapter demonstrates that noun phrases mainly have flexible word order: both head-modifier and modifier-head orders occur. However, when a noun is used as modifier, the order of the head noun and the modifier noun is not freely exchangeable. The noun modifier always precedes the head noun. There is also a degree of flexibility in marking grammatical morphemes which are part of the head noun. These include number, definiteness and case which may be marked either on the head noun or on the modifier or on both. Interestingly, when a series of adjectives are used as modifiers, the adjectives need not occur together. Some may occur before the noun while the remaining ones follow the head noun.

Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 are concerned with verbal and nominal inflections respectively, while Chapter 10 is devoted to verbal derivations. The chapter on verbal inflection contains a discussion of the verb root, subject-agreement, tense-aspect marking and negation. All verb inflections in Dime involve suffixation. Present (or tense-less) nominal clauses as well as past and future copula clauses which obligatorily take copula verbs are discussed. Chapter eight also discusses nominal clauses in negative and interrogative constructions. The copula may or may not be overt depending on tense and polarity. Suffixation is a common phenomenon in both inflectional and derivational processes of the language. Thus, the formation of derivational stems such as causative, passive, reciprocal and inchoative is formed by suffixation of their respective morphemes to the verb roots, as Chapter 10 demonstrates. Reduplication is also a means of derivation. Dime mainly uses reduplication to derive inchoative verbs. There are morphological elements that additionally signal an inchoative verb.

Verbs and their arguments are treated in Chapter 11. Dime verbs can be categorized into one place verbs (intransitive) and two or three- place verbs (i.e. transitives). There are however, some verbs that function as both one and two place verbs. Two place verbs in Dime are classified as semi-transitive and mono- transitive.

Semi-transitive verbs have a subject and an optional cognate object noun. In Dime cognate object nouns mainly denote names of the events of a corresponding verb or the affected entity. Mono-transitive verbs are simple transitive verbs with two arguments: a subject and a single direct object.

Chapter 12 deals with simple declarative clauses, relative clauses and complex clauses. A simple declarative clause is made up of one independent clause with only one main predicate. Thus, the simple clause includes sentences with main verbs, copula verbs, and adjectival predicates. The relative clause is not introduced by a relative pronoun in Dime. The relative verb is marked by the morphemes **-ub**, **-ind** or **-id** (plural agreement) which are identified as gender markers in modifiers of nouns. The relative verb thus in agreement with the gender of the head noun. The sections on complex clauses include discussion on the converb construction, conditional clauses, reason clauses, and temporal clauses. Polar interrogatives that involve “yes” or “no” answer and non-polar interrogatives, which involve content question words are discussed in sections 12.4.1 and 12.4.2. The interrogative is characterized by a high tone in clause final position and the deletion of person markers. SOV word order is frequent but other word orders are also attested.

The final chapters 13 and 14 incorporate texts and basic word lists respectively. The texts include greetings and stories. The word-list includes both Dime-English and English-Dime entries.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift bestaat uit een beschrijvende grammatica van het Dime, een Zuid-Omotische taal uit Ethiopië. De Dime leven van de landbouw. Het Dime is een bedreigde taal en telt ongeveer 5400 sprekers. Het kent twee dialecten: het Us'a en het Gerfa. Deze studie behelst het Us'a dialect en is gebaseerd op in totaal twaalf maanden veldwerk in de periode van 2003 tot 2005.

Het proefschrift beslaat veertien hoofdstukken. Hoofdstuk 1 geeft een inleiding over het Dime volk, de taalsituatie en de reikwijdte van deze studie. Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt de klankstructuur. In de inventaris van medeklinkers valt de aanwezigheid van velare en uvulare wrijfklanken op; deze klanken zijn ongewoon voor de Omotische taalfamilie. Het hoofdstuk bevat een gedetailleerde beschrijving van de segmenten, klinkers en medeklinkers. Dime is een toontaal met Hoog en Laag als basistonen. Het hoofdstuk omvat ook de beschrijving van mogelijke lettergreepstructuren en van acceptabele medeklinkerclusters. Daarnaast worden de fonologische processen behandeld.

In hoofdstuk 3 worden de nominale categorieën behandeld. De mogelijke vormen van naamwoorden komen aan bod, evenals definitie, geslacht, getal en naamval. Naamwoorden kunnen zowel klinkerfinaal als medeklinkerfinaal voorkomen. Definitie wordt gemarkeerd op de naamwoordgroep en kan daardoor op naamwoordmodificeerders terecht komen. Dime maakt onderscheid tussen mannelijke en vrouwelijke naamwoorden en dit blijkt onder andere uit de geslachtsmarkeerders op bijvoeglijk naamwoorden en werkwoordsvormen in de betreffende bijzin. De meeste andere Omotische talen kennen geen uitdrukking van geslachtsovereenkomst en drukken dit alleen uit op het naamwoord zelf. Meervoud wordt op het naamwoord uitgedrukt door een achtervoegsel **-af** en op modificeerders door het achtervoegsel **-(i)nd**. De naamvalachtervoegsels zijn **-im** accusatief, **-in** datief, **-ko** genitief, **-se** en **-o** locatief, **-ká** instrumenteel en **-de** ablatief; de nominatief is niet gemarkeerd. Anders dan in vele andere Ethiopische talen is de uitdrukking van casus in Dime onafhankelijk van definitie. Naamwoordelijke afleiding zijn de nomen agentis, de infinitief en een afleiding voor abstracte naamwoorden. Samenstellingen komen weinig voor maar samenstellingen zijn moeilijk te onderscheiden van de genitief constructie die bestaat uit het naast elkaar plaatsen van naamwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt de persoonlijke en aanwijzende voornaamwoorden. Er zijn verschillende voornaamwoorden voor subject, object, datief en genitieve naamval. Er is ook een apart wederkerig voornaamwoord. Aanwijzende voornaamwoorden kennen niet alleen een onderscheid tussen ver weg en dichtbij maar ook tussen hoger of lager. Een interessant detail is dat de aanwijzende voornaamwoorden voorvoegsels kennen terwijl achtervoegsels de norm zijn in Dime en andere Omotische talen.

Hoofdstuk 5 behandelt bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en andere naamwoorden die als modificeerder dienen. Bijvoeglijke naamwoorden kunnen als woordsoort worden gedefinieerd op grond van de overeenkomst die zij vertonen in getal en geslacht (modificerende naamwoorden doen dat niet). Bijvoeglijke naamwoorden

zijn naamwoordelijk in de eigenschap dat definitie en naamval erop aangegeven kan worden.

Hoofdstuk 6 omvat een aantal andere woordsoorten zoals getallen, voegwoorden, vraagwoorden en bijwoorden van wijze, van tijd en van richting. Het getalsysteem is gebaseerd op het tientallig stelsel. Hogere getallen maken gebruik van het woord **ʔafó** 'mond' als verbindend element. Het voegwoord 'en' is tevens gebruikt voor instrumenteel en comitatief. Bijwoorden van tijd en wijze zijn veelal ongestructureerde lexicaal vormen. Bijwoorden van richting daarentegen vormen gebonden morfemen. De vraagwoorden hangen lexicaal met elkaar samen.

Hoofdstuk 7 behandelt de structuur van de naamwoordelijke constituent met hoofdnaamwoorden en verschillende modificeerders zoals bijvoeglijke naamwoorden, getallen, bezittelijke voornaamwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden en bijzinnen. Locatieve naamwoordelijke constituenten en die die graad uitdrukken worden apart besproken. Een opmerkelijk feit is dat de woordvolgorde in de naamwoordelijke groep vrij is en modificeerders zowel vóór als achter hun hoofd kunnen staan. Alleen naamwoorden die als modificeerder optreden zijn beperkt in plaatsing en moeten vóór hun hoofd staan. Ook grammaticale morfemen zoals die voor naamval, getal en definitie vertonen plaatsingsvrijheid en kunnen op het hoofd, op de modificeerder of op beide voorkomen. Wanneer een naamwoord door verschillende bijvoeglijke naamwoorden wordt bepaald kunnen deze zowel vóór als achter het naamwoord staan.

Hoofdstuk 8 gaat over werkwoordsvervoeging en 9 over naamwoordvervoeging, terwijl hoofdstuk 10 werkwoordsverbuiging behandelt. Hoofdstuk 8 omvat de vorm van de werkwoordswortel, de uitdrukking van onderwerp op het werkwoord, de markering van tijd-aspect en van negatie. Al deze grammaticale markering is in de vorm van achtervoegsels. Ook de tijdmarkering, negatie en vraagvorming in nominale zinnen komt onder de loep. De noodzaak tot gebruik van een koppelwerkwoord hangt af van uitdrukking van tijd of negatie. In hoofdstuk 10 komen de werkwoordsafleidingen voor causatief, passief, reciproque en inchoatief aan de orde. Dit zijn allemaal achtervoegsels maar de inchoatief kan ook door verdubbeling aangeduid worden.

Hoofdstuk 11 behandelt de argumentstructuur van werkwoorden. Er zijn werkwoorden met één, twee of drie verplichte argumenten. Sommige werkwoorden functioneren zowel als éénplaatsig (intransitief) als als tweeplaatsig (transitief). Semitransitieve werkwoorden hebben optioneel een cognaat object bestaande uit een nominalisatie van hetzelfde werkwoord in de zin en wijken daarin af van tweeplaatsige transitieve werkwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 12 behandelt de syntaxis van enkelvoudige hoofdzinnen, bijzinnen en van complexe zinnen. Enkelvoudige hoofdzinnen bevatten één predicat: een hoofdwerkwoord, een koppelwerkwoord of een bijvoeglijk naamwoord. De betreffende bijzin wordt niet geïntroduceerd door een betrekkelijk voornaamwoord. Het werkwoord in de betreffende bijzin bevat de één van de morfemen **-ub** (manlijk), **-ind** (vrouwlijk) of **-id** (meervoud) om de overeenkomst met het hoofd van de betreffende bijzin uit te drukken. Deze concordantie morfemen treden ook op in bijvoeglijke naamwoorden. De paragrafen over de

complexe zin behandelen constructies met een afhankelijke werkwoord (converb), conditionele zinnen, en bijzinnen van rede en van tijd. Er zijn aparte paragrafen over de verschillende soorten vraagzinnen. Vraagzinnen worden gekenmerkt door een bepaalde zinsfinale intonatie en het wegvallen van de persoonsaanduiding. De meest voorkomende volgorde van constituenten is SOV maar andere volgordes komen ook voor.

De laatste hoofdstukken, 13 en 14 omvatten voorbeeldteksten en woordenlijsten. De teksten omvatten, naast verhalen, ook begroetingen. De woordenlijsten zijn zowel Dime-Engels als Engels-Dime.

Curriculum Vitae

Mulugeta Seyoum was born 4 February 1967 in Asella, Ethiopia. In June 1984 he completed his high school education at Asella Comprehensive Secondary School. Between September 1984 and July 1988 he completed a study for the B.A degree in linguistics at the Linguistics Department of Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. From 1988 to 1997 he was an employee of the Ethiopian Language Academy and worked in different regions in the country. In September 1998 he joined the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim and completed the advanced Masters Programme (MPhil) in linguistics in 2001. Between February 2001 and November 2002 he was lecturer at Addis Ababa University. From November 2002 to November 2006 he was employed as a Ph.D. researcher at Leiden University, Department of African Languages and Cultures. Currently he is working in Ethiopia at Addis Ababa University, in the Ethiopian Languages Research Centre. He is married with three sons, and a priest in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church.