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The Marked Nominative in Dhaashatee –
The Language of the Burji in Southern Ethiopia

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Abstract

The Highland East Cushitic language Dhaashatee (often referred to as “Burji”) has two ways of marking the nominative on common nouns: (1) the “long nominative”, marked by the suffixes *-ku* (m) and *-shi* (f), and (2) the “short nominative”, marked by the suffix *-i* (m) or vowel shortening (f). In past publications, the usage of the two forms has been linked to definiteness. However, different authors do not agree as to which nominative is definite and which one is indefinite. The goal of the present study was to shed more light on the conditions that determine the choice of one or the other nominative in stories. For the bulk of the data, previous hypotheses have been confirmed according to which modified subjects are marked by the short nominative, while unmodified ones are marked by the long one. Yet, the choice of the nominative is not only based on syntactic principles, but also on discourse-related ones – i.e. whether a participant is newly introduced or re-appears. Thus, an unmodified subject may be marked by the short nominative if the referent has appeared in the story before, while a modified subject may be marked by the long nominative if it appears for the first time. What requires further research is the question under which conditions the discourse-related principle may override the syntactic one.

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Glossing abbreviations

1	first person	INF	infinitive
2	second person	INS	instrumental
3	third person	JUSS	jussive
ABE	abessive	LNOM	long nominative
ABL	ablative	LOC	locative
ABS	absolute	M	masculine
ADE	adessive-allative	MID	middle voice
ADJ	adjective	N	noun
ANAPRO	anaphoric pronoun	NCON	non-conclusive
CAUS	causative	NEG	negation
COM	comitative	NOM	nominative
COMP	completizer	NPAST	non-past continuous
CON	conclusive	NPROP	proper noun
CONN	connective	OBJ	object
COP	copula	PASS	passive
CVB	converb	PL	plural
DAT	dative	PLUCON	pluperfect continuous
DIR	directive	POSS	possessive
DIST	distal	PROX	proximal
EG	epenthetic glide	PRSCON	present continuous
EV	epenthetic vowel	PRSPRF	present perfect
F	feminine	PST	simple past
FOC	focus	PURP	purposive
HAB	habitual-iterative	SG	singular
HOR	hortative	SNOM	short nominative
IMP	imperative	STAT	stative
IMPF	imperfect	SUPE	superessive-sublative
IMPFSTAT	imperfect stative		
INE	inessive-illative		

1. Introduction

The Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (S.N.N.P. Region) in Ethiopia is a highly diverse area, both culturally and linguistically. According to the 2007 *Population and Housing Census* (Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia)¹, its 15 million inhabitants belong to 46 different ethnic groups – counting only ethnicities with at least 10,000 members living in the Region. With regards to mother tongue, the census mentions similar numbers.² More than 80 languages are spoken there, around half of which have more than 10,000 speakers. The overwhelming majority of them belong to the Cushitic and Semitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. However, there are also a few Omotic languages (Hammarström et al. 2020). The fact that many of these languages have not yet been studied in detail makes the area highly attractive for linguistic fieldwork.

A further reason to be interested particularly in Cushitic languages is the fact that many of them have a feature, which is almost entirely absent from languages in other parts of the world: they mark the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs morphologically, but not the object. This phenomenon is known as the “marked nominative”. Within the Cushitic languages, one Highland East Cushitic language, Dhaashatee (often referred to as “Burji” in the linguistic literature), particularly stands out, as it has not one, but two ways of marking the subject. While there is a consensus among researchers that the two nominatives of Dhaashatee are not interchangeable, the conditions determining which one is chosen in a given context, have been discussed controversially. Most authors regard them as definite and indefinite markers, but – interestingly – do not agree as to which one is which. As will be demonstrated in the present thesis, the term “definiteness” is insufficient to explain the distribution of the two nominative forms, since most of their occurrences can be explained by the presence or absence of a nominal modifier on the subject. Yet, what also determines the choice is in how far the referent is identifiable based on the context – i.e. whether it has appeared in the story before or not.

The goal of this research is twofold. First, it seeks to provide further data on Dhaashatee, a

¹ This is the most recent census. Originally, the next one was planned for 2017. However, in March 2019 it was postponed for the third time because of the unstable security situation in the south and the west of the country. No census has taken place since.

(<https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2019/03/29/why-ethiopia-has-postponed-its-census>)

² Linguistic considerations with regards to the distinction between a language and a dialect most likely did not play any role during the conduction of the census. Rather, a language name was created for every ethnicity.

language that remains under-documented. Therefore, the first part of this thesis is a grammar sketch, covering the most important points of phonology, nominal and verbal morphology as well as syntax. Second, it aims to shed light on the functions of the two nominative markers in the language, thereby broadening our understanding of marked-nominative languages in general.

The data was collected in February 2020 during my fieldwork in Dilla and Soyama (both located in the S.N.N.P. Region, Ethiopia). The goal of the fieldwork was the collection of stories, in order to analyse marked-nominative forms in context. Narratives were preferred over other forms of natural speech, as they were expected to have a higher prevalence of NP subjects. The collected data consists of two stories in Highland Dhaashatee which were recorded in Soyama (Burji Woreda) from Abebe Argamo, as well as the parable “The Prodigal Son” in Lowland Dhaashatee, an audio recording of which was transcribed with Durio Guba in Dilla (Gedeo Zone). The transcriptions of the three stories can be found in the appendix. Further elicitation sessions were done with Mame Sisay, who teaches at the Dhaashatee Department of the College for Teacher Education in Dilla, as well as Solomon Siba, Samuel Marko and Ayelech Melese, who are students at the same institution.

2. Background

2.1 History, culture and current situation of the Burji

The 2007 Population and Housing Census states that there were around 70,000 Burji in Ethiopia at the time, three quarters of which lived in rural areas. Almost 80% lived in the S.N.N.P. Region, and specifically in the Burji Woreda (“Burji Special Woreda” until 2011). The following map illustrates the location of the Burji Woreda inside the S.N.N.P. Region.



Fig. 1: Map of Ethiopia with S.N.N.P. Region and approximate location of Burji Woreda³

Due to several emigration waves in the 20th century, the reasons of which will be discussed below, there is also a Burji community in Kenya. However, there seem to be no official estimates of the number of members.

The Burji in Ethiopia are divided into two sub-groups. The Highland Burji live in the southern part of the Amaro mountains. Their territory, as well as the group itself, are also known as *gubba*, which – according to Amborn (2009: 21) is the Oromo word for “highland”. The Lowland Burji live more southwards (Sasse & Straube 1977: 240). According to Tesfaye (2015: 1), their territory is also known as *guli*. The centre of the territory of the Lowland Burji, is Burji-town, also known as *Boohee Burji*⁴ or *Burji Kilico* (Amborn 2009: 16, 305, 309). The following map shows the Amaro mountains with North and South Burji. The locations of Burji-town (Lowland) and Soyama (Highland) are marked in red.

³ adapted from *Wikimedia Commons*:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Southern_Nations,_Nationalities,_and_People_%27s_Region_in_Ethiopia.svg#file

Please note that the map shows the shape of S.N.N.P. Region before June 18, 2020, when Sidama Zone, north of Dilla, became a separate region
<https://www.thereporterethiopia.com/article/sidama-embarks-statehood>).

⁴ According to Amborn (2009: 305), *Boohee Burji* may also refer to the “South Burjis' entire homeland”.

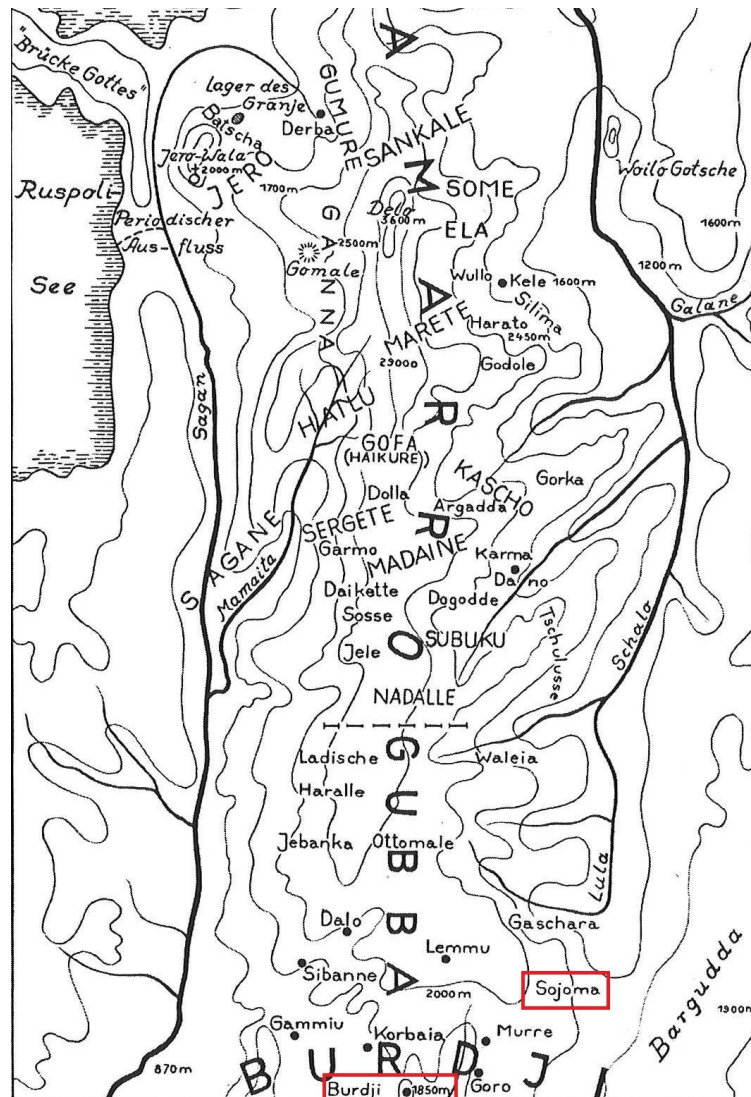


Fig. 2: Amaro mountains with North Burji (*Gubba*) and South Burji
 (adapted from Straube 1963, map 3)

According to a BA thesis on Burji history written at Addis Ababa University by Ali (1989: 1, as cited in Tesfaye 2015: 1), the Lowland Burji tend to regard themselves as the “root” of the entire Burji community. The idea of them being the “true” representatives of the group, is also found in literature written by European scholars, such as Sasse and Straube (1977). While it might in parts be a result of the Lowland Burji's political dominance over the Highland Burji, which is also mentioned by Sasse and Straube (1977: 240), the latter justify their claim on cultural and ethnic grounds. According to them, the Highland Burji are essentially descendants of members of the “Keura Amarro” (= Koore), who used to speak an

Omoti language, and were assimilated both linguistically and culturally following the immigration of a large number of Burji into their territory. However, even if this theory proves to be correct, it is by no means a reason to regard the Highland Burji as “less Burji” than the Lowland Burji. The differences in language, for example, are small and mainly concern phonology (see chapter 2.2.3 *Dialects*).

Interestingly, Amborn (2009: 31) mentions that during the second half of the 20th century, the centre of power has gradually shifted from the Lowland to the Highland Burji. This is reflected, for example, in the relocation of the administration office to Soyama (Highland) in the end of the 1950s, which subsequently developed into the biggest settlement of Burji. Another reason for the loss of the Lowland Burji's political dominance, is the fact that more people emigrated from South Burji than from the north (Amborn 2009: 31). According to Kellner (2007: 21), it was the conquest of the region by the troops of Emperor Menelik II in the end of the 19th century that first made members of the Burji community flee eastwards and southwards. Several waves of emigration followed throughout the 20th century, the reasons being, as reported by Straube in 1973, for example the neighbouring Guji, who violently tried to expand their territory, as well as the hope for better living and working conditions in the south, that is in Yabello, Moyale, Mega or Kenya (Amborn 2009: 31). According to Mude (1969: 44), the first Burji settled in Moyale in 1906, and in Marsabit (Kenya) in the 1920s.

As far as the earlier history of the Burji is concerned, that is before the split into a Highland and a Lowland group occurred, it seems indisputable that migrations have taken place. There are different versions of the traditional story that explains where the Burji came from. While some go as far as claiming an area near the Red Sea as the place of origin, they seem to agree at least in that the migration passed an area called Liban, which according to a map in Kellner (2007: 442) was located to the east of today's settlement area. The Burji are said to have lived in peace and close vicinity to the Borana and the Konso, but eventually got betrayed by one of the others and were forced to flee. According to Sasse and Straube (1977: 240), it is possible to trace back the final steps of their migration. However, they do not provide any details.

Culturally, Sasse and Straube (1977: 247) regard the Burji as most similar to the Konso, especially in terms of settlement structure and agriculture.

The 2007 Population and Housing Census does not give any information on the religions present in the different ethnic groups. However, the ones with the most followers in the Burji Special Woreda are, in descending order, the Protestant Church, the Orthodox Church, and Islam, where there are almost 24,000 Protestants, 20,000 Orthodox followers, and 11,000 to 12,000 Muslims. Changing one's religion for marriage is common practice in the Burji community and not stigmatized (Mame Sisay, p. c.).

For more detailed descriptions of Burji culture see Amborn (2009), or Sasse and Straube (1977).

2.2 Dhaashatee – the language of the Burji

2.2.1 Terminology

There are various names to refer to the language of the Burji. In most European and North American publications, the term “Burji” is used to refer to both the people and the language. Judging from the 2007 Population and Housing Census, the same is true for official publications of the Ethiopian government – including those in English. Following the Amharic pattern of deriving language names from peoples' names by attaching the suffix *-gna* [na], the term in use is “Burjigna”.

However, while talking to members of the Burji community during my fieldwork, it turned out that they prefer the term “Dhaashatee” for their language. This is in line with Amborn's (2009: 35) observations. Degu Sode (p. c.), the director of the Dhaashatee Department at the College for Teacher Education in Dilla, confirmed that the term “Burji” refers to the people only and should not be used for the language. Other speakers, who were interrogated about the topic independently, agreed. Given that there seems to be such a strong preference for “Dhaashatee”, it is surprising that no linguistic publication appears to use the term. This also holds for theses written by Ethiopian scholars, such as Tesfaye Baye Assefa, whose PhD thesis with the title *A descriptive grammar of Burji* does not even mention “Dhaashatee” as an alternative name for the language.⁵

Although I am not aware of any representative survey that has investigated how the majority of Burji refer to their language, the opinions and information I gathered hardly justify the use

⁵ He does mention “Bambala” and “Daashi” (sic.) as alternative names. The former is, according to Amborn (2009: 21), a clan name, while the latter seems to be a misspelling of *Dhaashi*, which according to Amborn (2009: 35) refers to the Burji people.

of “Burji” to refer to the language. Therefore, unlike in previous linguistic publications, “Dhaashatee” is preferred over “Burji” in the present thesis.

2.2.2 Classification

Dhaashatee belongs to the Cushitic sub-branch of the Afro-Asiatic languages. Cushitic languages are spoken in large parts of East Africa, that is primarily Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania and Sudan. They are further subdivided into North Cushitic (Beja, spoken in Sudan), Central Cushitic (Agaw, Northern Ethiopia), South Cushitic (e.g. Iraqw, Tanzania), and East Cushitic (spoken mostly in Ethiopia and Somalia). Dhaashatee belongs to the latter group (Sasse 1981).

Inside East Cushitic, Dhaashatee belongs to the Highland East Cushitic (HEC) sub-branch, the other sub-branch comprising the Lowland East Cushitic languages. All HEC languages are spoken in southern Ethiopia. Their sub-classification according to Hudson (1981) is shown below.⁶

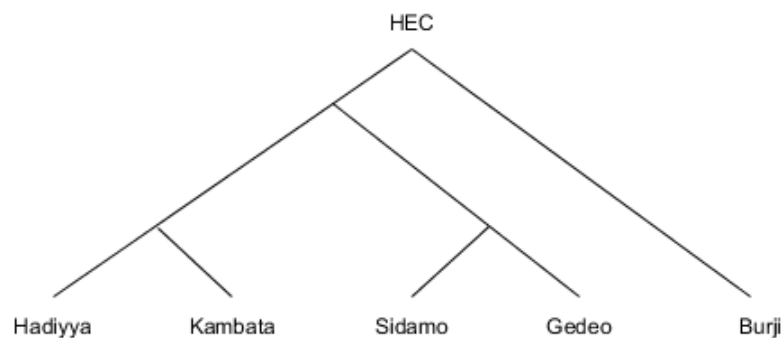


Fig. 3: Sub-classification of HEC languages according to Hudson (1981)

Hudson (1976: 243) justifies his decision to include Dhaashatee among the HEC languages not very convincingly with the observation that it would fit even less with Konso and Gidole (both Lowland East Cushitic, according to Hammarström et al. 2020). However, he does emphasize that it is rather distinct from the remaining HEC languages.

Yet, the lexical similarities between Dhaashatee and the other HEC languages are

⁶ Hammarström et al. (2020) further split up the nodes “Hadiyya” and “Kambaata”. While the former comprises Hadiyya and Libido, the latter comprises Alaba-K'abeena and Kambaata (spellings as in Hammarström et al.). Interestingly, separate grammars have been written on Alaba (Schneider-Blum 2007) and K'abeena (Crass 2005).

undeniable. Bender (1971: 174), for example, came to the conclusion that Dhaashatee shares 60% of its basic vocabulary with Sidamo, and 37% with Gedeo.

Wedekind (1990: 46) repeated Bender's study with more data and found that Dhaashatee shares 47% of its basic vocabulary with Sidamo, 45% with Kambaata, 44% with Hadiyya, and 43% with Gedeo. However, the similarities among the other HEC languages were even larger. Yet, Wedekind does not explain in how far he tried to identify and exclude loanwords from the comparison.

Hudson's (1981: 112) compares not only lexical, but also phonological and morphological features, with the goal of determining which HEC languages are closer or more distant to each other. According to his analysis, Dhaashatee shares 14 features with Gedeo, and 8 with Sidamo, while Gedeo and Sidamo share 30 features.

Wedekind (1990: 58) set up a similar study, but came to the conclusion that Dhaashatee is more similar to Sidamo than to Gedeo. He investigated the distribution of a set of morphophonemic rules across the three languages. An example for such a rule is given below. It shows how the languages deal with the underlying consonant cluster /gn/. While both Sidamo and Gedeo change the order of the consonants to arrive at the surface form *ng*, Dhaashatee resolves the cluster by inserting /i/ between the consonants.

$g + n$	\rightarrow	<i>ng</i>	(Sidamo, Gedeo)	
	\rightarrow	<i>gin</i>	(Dhaashatee)	(adapted from Wedekind 1990: 57)

According to Wedekind, the rules he uses for quantitative comparison cover "most of the processes known to occur in these languages" and are therefore representative. All in all, Dhaashatee shares more rules (7) with Sidamo than with Gedeo (3). Gedeo and Sidamo, on the other hand, share 18 rules.

The same result, namely that Dhaashatee and Sidamo are more similar to each other than Dhaashatee and Gedeo, was found by Bender and Cooper (1971). They investigated, among others, in how far native speakers of Alaaba, Gedeo, Hadiyya, Kambaata, and Sidamo are able to understand a story in Dhaashatee. It turned out that the speakers of Sidamo had less difficulties understanding Dhaashatee than the Gedeo speakers (Bender & Cooper 1971: 43).

All in all, four out of five studies found that Dhaashatee is more similar to Sidamo

than to Gedeo. This is surprising, since the area where Gedeo is spoken is located between Burji and Sidama.

2.2.3 Dialects

Dhaashatee has two major dialects: Highland Dhaashatee, which is spoken in the north of the language area, and Lowland Dhaashatee, spoken in the south (see chapter 2.1 *History, culture and current situation of the Burji*). Yet, the two dialects are mutually intelligible, as the differences are small and mostly phonological. According to Wedekind (1990: 44), they concern the voicing of consonants, labial implosion and vowel assimilation, as well as – on a non-phonological level – the sources of loan words.

My fieldwork data comprises both dialects, although more was collected in Highland Dhaashatee. A difference that is very visible in my data is that the Lowland dialect tends to use voiced plosives, especially in nasal-oral compounds, where the Highland dialect uses voiceless ones. This can be seen in various suffixes, some of which are given in table 1.

	Highland Dhaashatee	Lowland Dhaashatee
Nominative	<i>-nkoo</i>	<i>-ngoo</i>
Possessive	<i>-nta</i> (F.ABS)	<i>-nda</i>
	<i>-nka</i> (M.ABS)	<i>-nga</i>
	<i>-nku</i> (M.NOM)	<i>-ngu</i>
Question particle	<i>-taa</i>	<i>-daa</i>

Tab. 1: Dialectal differences in the voicing of plosives

It seems that the Highland forms are the underlying forms of the suffixes, since the voiced surface forms of Lowland Dhaashatee can be easily explained by assimilation to the preceding nasal and following vowel. Assuming that the plosives are underlyingly voiced makes it hard to explain how they became voiceless in the Highland dialect.

Tesfaye (2015: 9) also gives a short list of words that are distinct in Lowland and Highland Dhaashatee, almost all of which differ only in one sound. An exception are the words for “outside”, which are *ifa* in the Highland and *gamboolee* in the Lowland dialect, according to Tesfaye.

2.2.4 Language situation

According to the 2007 Population and Housing Census, Dhaashatee had 46,419 native speakers in Ethiopia at the time, 94% of which lived in the S.N.N.P. Region, where the Burji Woreda is located.

As for Kenya, Eberhard et al. (2020) state that Dhaashatee had 23,700 speakers when the Kenyan Population and Housing Census was conducted in 2009. However, the raw data of the census do not seem to be accessible online.

According to Tesfaye (2015: 9), education in Dhaashatee was introduced in the Burji Woreda in 2006, using the Latin alphabet (see chapter 3.1.3 *Orthography*). However, the language is often seen as less prestigious and useful than Amharic, Oromo or English, according to Tesfaye. In spite of this, a Dhaashatee Language Department was founded at the College for Teacher Education in Dilla in 2016. Since 2017, it offers a full-time program of three years for future teachers of Dhaashatee (Sode Degu 2020).

2.2.5 Earlier work on Dhaashatee

Dhaashatee is one of the less well studied Cushitic languages. However, there are various publications on the Burji from an anthropological point of view. In the following, the most important works – linguistic as well as anthropological – shall be listed.

The first publications about the Burji were written by Italian orientalist in the early 20th century. Carlo Conti Rossini is the author of a publication on “The Bambala from Amarr Burji and their language” (original: *I Bambala di Amarr Burji e il loro linguaggio*) from 1913, which includes a short Dhaashatee-Italian wordlist. Another early work on the language is “Notes on the Burji language” (original: *Note di lingua burji*) by Martino Mario Moreno (1937).

The Amaro-Burji of Southern Ethiopia (1969) by K. A. Mude is the first ethnographic account by a Burji author. According to Amborn (2009: 8), Mude grew up in Marsabit (Kenya) and worked as a diplomat in various countries.

It seems that the interest in the Burji was greatest in the 1970s and 1980s. Anthropological work has been done e.g by the German anthropologists Helmut Straube and Hermann Amborn, the latter of which i.a. published Straube's notes after his death (Amborn 2009). More recently, Alexander Kellner (2001, 2007) did anthropological research on Burji narratives, in the process of which he transcribed several stories in Highland and Lowland

Dhaashatee, which will be used for analysis in the present study.

Linguistic work was done by the German linguist Hans-Jürgen Sasse, who in 1982 published *An etymological dictionary of Burji*, as well as Richard J. Hayward, whose 1988 article *Is there a language with an indefinite nominative: Burji?* on the marked nominative in Dhaashatee will be discussed extensively in this thesis. Notable researchers also include the linguists Charlotte and Klaus Wedekind, whose publications deal with phonology (Klaus Wedekind 1980), morphology (Charlotte Wedekind 1985), as well as narratives (Klaus Wedekind 1990). Besides, Charlotte Wedekind wrote a dictionary of Lowland Dhaashatee together with the Ethiopian linguist Roba Dame. Although it remains unpublished, a draft is accessible online. The most up-to-date version is an update from 2008 of the 1994 dictionary.

Dhaashatee has also featured in several bachelor's and master's theses at Addis Ababa University. Unfortunately, they do not seem to be available online. The topics include verb morphology (BA thesis, Yilma Tiruneh 1984), simple declarative sentences (BA thesis, Yeneneh Tessema 1986), noun morphology (BA thesis, Roba Dame 1989), clause structure (MA thesis, Abebe Lemessa 2001), as well as interrogative sentences (MA thesis, Binyam Ephrem 2003).

Finally, a PhD thesis with the title *Descriptive Grammar of Burji* was written by Tesfaye Baye Assefa in 2015. Since the hard copy is only available on site, the preliminary electronic version of the work was kindly made available to me by the Department of Linguistics and Philology at Addis Ababa University. It will be extensively discussed in this thesis.

3. Grammar sketch

3.1 Phonology

3.1.1 Consonant inventory

According to Tesfaye (2015: 20), Dhaashatee has 31 phonemes, 26 of which are consonants. They are given in table 2.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	ʔ
Ejective	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	
Implosive	[p'] ~ ~ [b]		t' d'		k'	
Nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>		
Trill			<i>r</i>			
Fricative		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i> (z)	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>h</i>
Affricate				<i>tʃ dʒ</i>		
Ejective				tʃ' dʒ'		
Approximant		labiovelar: <i>w</i>		<i>j</i>		
Lateral approximant			<i>l</i>			

Tab. 2: The consonant inventory of Dhaashatee
(adapted from Tesfaye 2015: 21)

Length seems to be phonemic in all consonants but the glottal ones.

Notes on table x:

[p'] ~ [b]: According to Wedekind (1990: 50), there is only the ejective /p'/, while Tesfaye (2015: 20) claims that there is only the implosive /b/. Kellner (2007: 273) uses the symbol /p'/ but calls it an implosive. According to Hudson (1989: 12), the two sounds are allophones and co-exist in Dhaashatee as “idiolectal or dialectal variants”. In any case, the phoneme is rather rare, as Tesfaye (2015: 23) found it only in around ten words. It does not occur in the data collected during my fieldwork.

/p/ is rather rare and occurs only intervocalically (Tesfaye 2015: 23,

confirmed by Roba and Wedekind 2008).

/ʔ/ obligatorily precedes word-initial vowels, and rarely occurs in intervocalic positions. Since its intervocalic occurrence is unpredictable, Tesfaye (2015: 31) regards it as a phoneme, which is in line with other authors like Wedekind (1990: 50) or Hudson (1976: 24). In the following, the glottal plosive will only be marked intervocalically.

/tʃ/ does not occur word-initially, except for the feminine demonstrative *ci* (Tesfaye 2015: 32, confirmed by Roba & Wedekind 2008).

/z/ Wedekind (1980: 133) states that Dhaashatee has preserved “the original /z/” of Highland East Cushitic. However, according to Hudson (1976: 248) and Sasse (1982: 18), /z/ is not a native phoneme in Dhaashatee, but only appears in loanwords. This is confirmed by Tesfaye (2015: 35) for the majority of occurrences.

/ɲ/ is rare. All but two of Tesfaye's (2015: 39-40) examples with this sound are mentioned as loanwords from Oromo or Swahili by Sasse (1981: 153-154)⁷. Hudson (1976: 248) states that as a phoneme, /ɲ/ is marginal in Dhaashatee. However, he claims that it occurs as an allophone of /n/ before “alveo-palatal”⁸ consonants. It does not appear in my fieldwork data.

/j/ Tesfaye (2015: 43) claims that, except for loanwords, /j/ is always geminated between vowels. However, my fieldwork data do contain a near-minimal pair with a geminate and non-geminate /j/, which is given in (1). When asked specifically about the length of /j/ in these two words, the speaker (Highland Dhaashatee) made a clear phonetic distinction.

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------|--|
| (1) <i>iyi</i> | 'to be, say' | (converb, 3 rd person singular masculine) |
| <i>iyya</i> | 'my' | (masculine possessee, absolutive) |

The difference between the two occurrences of /j/ is that the one in *iyi* is an epenthetic glide, which is inserted between the stem *i-* 'to be, say' and the converb marker suffix *-i*, while the presence of the glide in *iyya* has lexical rather than phonological reasons. Still, as far as surface forms are concerned, Tesfaye's statement is incorrect.⁹

⁷ As for the two exceptions, they are also clearly identifiable as loanwords from Swahili (*nyaannyaa* 'tomato') and Oromo (*nyanyee* 'rabies', translated as “mad dog” in Tesfaye 2015: 39).

⁸ Referred to as “palatal” by Tesfaye (2015: 21).

⁹ See chapter 3.1.6.5 *Glide insertion* for more on epenthetic glides.

3.1.2 Vowel inventory

Dhaashatee has five vowels, all of which can be short or long. They are given in table 3.

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i ii</i>		<i>u uu</i>
Mid	<i>e ee</i>		<i>o oo</i>
Low		<i>a aa</i>	

Tab. 3: The vowel inventory of Dhaashatee
(adapted from Tesfaye 2015: 46)

According to Tesfaye (2015: 46), the vowel inventory is the same as in the other HEC languages.

Short vowels are devoiced word-finally, or deleted completely. Whether they are deleted or not, seems to be determined by speed and “clarity” of the speech, rather than phonology.¹⁰ Since /e/ and /o/ do not appear word-finally, they do not have any voiceless allophones (Tesfaye 2015: 47). /ii/ and /uu/ are not attested word-finally, according to Tesfaye (2015: 48). This is confirmed by the dictionary of Roba and Wedekind (2008).¹¹

3.1.3 Orthography

In table 4, the Latin-based orthography of Dhaashatee, as taught in schools in the Burji district, will be presented. The information is based on Tesfaye (2015: 10).

¹⁰ Sasse reports from his fieldwork in 1973 on Lowland Dhaashatee that there were some disagreements between his twenty-year-old main speaker and the older generation concerning the pronunciation of final vowels. While the elderly would pronounce the final vowels very clearly, the young speaker tended to “swallow” them (Sasse 1977: 239). This gives an indication of the time frame, in which the phonological process of final-vowel devoicing and elision has developed.

¹¹ In my fieldwork data the suffix *-ii* has been found as a marker of the first person singular of the simple past (see e.g. *Goat* 20, 22, 34). Yet, it is unclear if /ii/ is the underlying morpheme here, or if the lengthening is related to prosody and takes place at the sentence-level.

Letter	IPA symbol	Letter	IPA symbol	Letter	IPA symbol
<i>a</i>	/a/	<i>i</i>	/i/	<i>ph</i>	/b/ or /p'/
'	/ʔ/	<i>j</i>	/dʒ/	<i>r</i>	/r/
<i>b</i>	/b/	<i>k</i>	/k/	<i>s</i>	/s/
<i>ch</i>	/tʃ/	<i>q</i>	/k'/	<i>sh</i>	/ʃ/
<i>c'</i>	/tʃ'/	<i>l</i>	/l/	<i>t</i>	/t/
<i>dh</i>	/d/	<i>m</i>	/m/	<i>x</i>	/t'/
<i>e</i>	/e/	<i>n</i>	/n/	<i>u</i>	/u/
<i>f</i>	/f/	<i>ny</i>	/ɲ/	<i>w</i>	/w/
<i>g</i>	/g/	<i>o</i>	/o/	<i>y</i>	/j/
<i>h</i>	/h/	<i>p</i>	/p/	<i>z</i>	/z/

Tab. 4: Latin-based orthography of Dhaashatee

The orthography presented above will largely be followed in this thesis. Exceptions are the alveolar and velar ejectives, which will be transcribed as *t'* and *k'* respectively, as well as the non-ejective affricate /tʃ/, which will be transcribed as *c*. These decisions were made for two reasons. First, this is how ejectives and affricates are commonly represented in the linguistic literature on Dhaashatee (compare e.g. Hudson 1976, Wedekind 1990, Kellner 2007), and second, it ensures that the relationship between ejectives and the corresponding non-ejective sounds is visible.

3.1.4 Phonotactics and syllable structure

There are no diphthongs in Dhaashatee. Where two vowels do occur next to each other, either an epenthetic glide is inserted, as in (2), or one of the vowels is deleted, as in (3).

(2) *i-y-i*

say-EG-CVB

'saying'

(3) *i-ann-oo* > *i-nn-oo*

say-PST-CON

'I / he said'

Leaving affricates aside, consonant clusters do not consist of more than two consonants and may occur only word-internally. As opposed to other HEC languages, the first position of the cluster may be occupied by an obstruent (Tesfaye 2015: 52). In this regard, Wedekind (1985: 111) notes that Dhaashatee is more similar to Oromo. The possible types of consonant clusters are listed in table 5. The examples are taken from Tesfaye (2015: 53-56).

Consonant cluster	Example
plosive-plosive	<i>abdee</i> 'hope', also <i>addee</i> ¹²
plosive-fricative	<i>labsa</i> 'to inform', also <i>lassa</i> ¹³
fricative-plosive	<i>hiska</i> 'worm'
fricative-liquid	<i>afree</i> 'edge'
sonorant-plosive	<i>empe</i> 'mango' ¹⁴ <i>arba</i> 'elephant'
sonorant-fricative	<i>galsa</i> 'dowry'
sonorant-affricate	<i>balcaa</i> 'kind (noun)'
liquid-(other) sonorant	<i>ilma</i> 'tears'
approximant-(other) sonorant	<i>oyroo</i> 'farmer'

Tab. 5: Types of consonant clusters

In all cases, the two consonants of the cluster belong to different syllables (Tesfaye 2015: 57).

As for the basic syllable structure, Tesfaye (2015: 58) describes it as CV(V)(C). Only vowels can be in the nucleus. Geminate consonants, /p/, and /b/ do not occur in the onset. As for the coda, Tesfaye (2015: 59-60) states that all words end in a vowel, including loanwords, e.g. from Amharic, which are adapted accordingly. While this might underlyingly indeed be the case, surface forms ending in a consonant do exist due to the elision of final vowels (see chapter 3.1.2 *Vowel inventory*).

3.1.5 Stress

According to Wedekind (1980: 138), stress in Dhaashatee is fully determined by phonological rules. It falls on the last syllable, except in words ending on a short vowel, where the

¹² Roba and Wedekind (2008)

¹³ meaning “to multiply”, according to Roba and Wedekind (2008)

¹⁴ = Sasse (1981: 68): *embee*, loanword from Swahili *embe*

penultimate syllable is stressed. Contrary to other Cushitic languages spoken in the area, such as Afar, Saho, or Borana-Oromo, pitch is tied to stress and not phonemic (Wedekind 1990: 52-53).

3.1.6 Phonological processes

3.1.6.1 Assimilation

There are a number of assimilation processes in Dhaashatee, which cannot all be described in detail here. Therefore, only a brief overview shall be given in the following. For a more complete list of processes, please refer to Tesfaye (2015: 65-69).

One of the suffixes that undergo or trigger assimilation is *-t*, the subject agreement marker of the third person singular feminine, which attaches to the verb stem. Since Tesfaye (2015: 66) only lists examples of underlying forms and surface forms, but does not formulate any general phonological rules, this shall be attempted in the following.

It seems that *-t* assimilates in manner of articulation to the final sound of the verb stem if the latter is a voiceless alveolar sound¹⁵. An example with the respective phonological rule is given in (4).

(4) *k'aas-t-* 'to trap' *k'aass-* (Tesfaye 2015: 66)
 [t] → [α manner] \ [+ alveolar, - voice, α manner] _

Voiceless non-alveolar stem-final consonants seem to assimilate completely to *-t*, though the number of examples given by Tesfaye is too small prove this definitely. An example is given in (5).

(5) *t'af-t-* 'to hide' > *t'att-* (Tesfaye 2015: 66)
 [- alveolar, - voice] → [t] \ _ [t]

An alveolar implosive likewise assimilates completely to *-t*, as shown in (6).

¹⁵ Affricates cause *-t* to assimilate completely, even when they are voiced.

(6) *hadhadh-t-* 'to throw' > *hadhatt-* (Tesfaye 2015: 66)
 [+ alveolar, + implosive] → [t] \ _ [t]

If the stem-final consonant is a voiced plosive, it assimilates only in place of articulation, while its voicedness spreads to -t. This is illustrated in (7).

(7) *hab-t-* 'to forget' > *hadd-* (Tesfaye 2015: 68)
 [+ plosive, + voice] → [+ alveolar] \ _ [t]
 [t] → [+ voice] \ [+ plosive, + voice] _

The same rules apply to stem-final sonorants, as shown in (8).

(8) *gam-t-* 'to bite' > *gand-* (Tesfaye 2015: 69)
 [+ sonorant] → [+ alveolar] \ _ [t]
 [t] → [+ voice] \ [+ sonorant] _

As for the first person plural marker -n, it seems that it gets assimilated to liquids, but when preceded by a different consonant, it assimilates to the latter. Examples for both cases are given in (9) and (10).

(9) *hal-n-* 'to fall' > *hall-* (Tesfaye 2015: 67)
 [n] → [+ liquid, α manner] \ [+ liquid, α manner] _

(10) *shom-n-* 'to pay' > *shonn-* (Tesfaye 2015: 67)
 [- liquid] → [n] \ _ [n]

As for the causative suffix -s, it seems to trigger complete assimilations of stem-final plosives. Yet, alternative causative forms can be formed by inserting an epenthetic vowel between stem-final consonant and causative suffix. In the latter case, no assimilation takes place. Below, causative forms of *akkab-* 'to listen' with assimilation (11a) and without assimilation (11b) are shown.

- (11) a. *akkab-s-* 'to listen' > *akkass-*
 b. *akkab-s-* 'to listen' > *akkabis-* (Tesfaye 2015: 68)

3.1.6.2 Palatalisation

Palatalisation in Dhaashatee mostly concerns /t/ when followed by /i/ (Hayward 1988: 684). If the sound preceding /t/ is a vowel, glide, fricative, or /r/, /t/ is palatalised and spirantised, resulting in [ʃ]. If the sound preceding /t/ is a plosive, a nasal, or /l/, /t/ is palatalised and affricated, resulting in [tʃ]. The phonological rules are summarised below.

1. Palatalisation and spirantisation

[t] → [ʃ] / [vowel, glide, fricative or r] _ [i]

2. Palatalisation and affrication

[t] → [tʃ] / [plosive, nasal or l] _ [i]

Examples of spirantisation (12) and affrication (13) are given below.

- (12) *dhakku-t-i-nk-i* > *dhakku-sh-i-nk-i*
 be.quick-2-EV-PL-CVB
 'Hurry up and (...)' (Text *Son* 31)

- (13) *-n-t-i* > *-n-c-i*
 POSS-F-NOM

Tesfaye (2015: 69-73) limits his analysis to processes involving the verbal subject agreement markers *-t* and *-t-nk*. Although he doubts that the palatalisation is triggered by /i/, he does not offer any alternative explanation. However, he gives numerous examples, which can be used for further analysis.

According to Tesfaye (2015: 69), palatalisation is often preceded by the assimilation of the stem-final consonant to the suffix *-t*, as illustrated in (14). However, the order of the two phonological processes might also be reverse.

	Assimilation	Palatalisation (and Affrication)
(14) <i>t'af-t-i</i>	> <i>t'att-i</i>	> <i>t'acc-i</i>
hide-3SG.F-CVB		(Tsfaye 2015: 70)

Another observation that can be made based on his data is that the voiced final consonant of a verb stem passes the feature [+ voice] on to the resulting affricate. Thus, it might seem that, like /t/, /d/ is also palatalised before /i/. The process is illustrated in (15).

(15) <i>hab-t-i</i>	> <i>hadd-i</i>	> <i>haji-i</i>
forget-3SG.F-CVB		(Tsfaye 2015: 70)

Yet, the palatalisation of -t might also occur before the resulting affricate /tʃ/ and the stem-final consonant assimilate to each other.

Interestingly, there are cases, where the resulting palatalised sound is /ʃ/, even if an affricate would be expected based on the rules stated above. Two examples are given in (16) and (17).

(16) <i>it-t-i</i>	>	<i>issh-i</i>
eat-3SG.F-CVB		

(17) <i>godh-t-i</i>	> <i>gott-i</i>	> <i>gossh-i</i>
weed-3SG.F-CVB		(Tsfaye 2015: 70)

As for *it-* 'to eat', Wedekind (1985: 127) explains this irregularity with the need to “dissimilate” the form from similar ones, such as *it-a* 'to eat', or *itta* 'my'. However, this does not seem a plausible explanation for the spirantisation of /t/ in *godh-t-i*.

Finally, it needs to be taken into account that the sequence /ti/ does exist in surface forms of Dhaashatee, thus palatalisation is not an automatic process. Uncovering the historical reasons of these irregularities will be left to future research.

In (21), the Lowland surface forms of *saa* 'cow' in the long and short nominative as well as the possessive are given.

(21) <i>saa</i>	'cow'	<i>seyi-gu</i>	<i>sey-i</i>	<i>seyi-nga</i>
		cow-LNOM.M	cow-SNOM.M	cow-POSS.M.ABS

(Tesfaye 2015: 80)

In case of the short nominative, *-y-* is inserted in order to resolve the vowel sequence /ei/. However, in the long nominative and the possessive, it is less obvious where *-y-* comes from. It might be that it used to have a morphological function, and that *-i-* is inserted after it to resolve the consonant cluster /jg/ or /jn/. Hayward (1988: 684) solves this issue by assuming – at least for the masculine long nominative – that it is formed based on the short one. The processes involved are illustrated in (22), using Tesfaye's example.

		Shortening of stem-final vowel ¹⁶	Insertion of epenthetic glide /j/	Raising of /a/ to /e/
(22) <i>saa-i-gu</i>	>	<i>sa-i-gu</i>	>	<i>se-y-i-gu</i>
		cow-SNOM.M-LNOM.M		

Hayward's (1988: 684) example is slightly different in that the sequence *-i-ku* is reduced to one syllable *-yuh*.¹⁷ In my fieldwork data, the number of syllables is not reduced in these cases (see chapter 4.2.1.2.1 *The long nominative* for details).

3.1.6.6 Vowel assimilation

Dhaashatee seems to have tendencies of vowel harmony, as certain suffixes require the stem-final vowel to assimilate to the vowels of the suffix. This is, among others, the case for the suffix *-gu* of the long nominative masculine (Lowland Dhaashatee), which causes the stem-final vowel of the noun (or the short-nominative marker *-i*, according to Hayward 1988: 685) to change to /u/, and the plural suffix *-na* which requires the final vowel to change to

¹⁶ According to Hayward (1988: 683), the first vowel element belongs to the stem, and only the second one is replaced by the short-nominative marker (see chapter 4.2.1.2.3 *The short nominative*).

¹⁷ For *moonaa* 'kraal', Hayward (1988: 684) gives the long nominative *moonayuh* (< *moonaa-i-ku*).

/a/. Examples of the nominative (23), and the plural suffix (24) are given below.

(23) *lammi-gu*¹⁸ > *lammu-hu*¹⁹
man-LNOM.M

(24) *maddoo-na* > *madda-na*
spring-PL (Tefaye 2015: 82)

Yet, assimilation does not always take place, as shown in (25).

(25) *k'oloo-na* > **k'ola-na*
woman.in.childbed-PL (Tefaye 2015: 82)

Since there are no systematic co-occurrences of certain vowels throughout the language (e.g. allomorphs of suffixes with different vowels), it seems more reasonable to speak of vowel assimilation rather than vowel harmony in Dhaashatee.

3.2 Morphology

Dhaashatee is a predominately agglutinating language, both as far as nominal and verbal morphology are concerned.

3.2.1 Nominal morphology

Dhaashatee nouns come in two grammatical genders, four numbers, and between nine and eleven cases. In the following sections, each of these three topics shall be discussed separately.

¹⁸ According to Hayward (1988: 684), the masculine suffix of the long nominative attaches to the short nominative. However, in the case of *lammi* this does not make any difference, since absolutive and short nominative are identical.

¹⁹ Hayward (1988: 685) explains the change from the stem-final underlying /i/ to /u/ by a “leftwards ‘translaryngeal’ spreading of the lip rounding feature”. A further phonological process changes the velar plosive /g/ into a fricative (compare Wedekind 1990: 526).

3.2.1.1 Gender

Nouns are either masculine or feminine. In some cases, the final vowel of the base form reveals the gender of the noun. However, three out of the five possible final vowels are ambiguous with regards to gender. An overview of the different final vowels is given in table 6.

Final vowel	Gender	Examples	Translation
-i	m	<i>ber-i</i>	year
-ee	f	<i>gar-ee</i>	calf
-a	m f	<i>k'uww-a</i> <i>lukk-a</i>	thorn leg
-aa	m f	<i>worsh-aa</i> <i>sin'-aa</i>	rhinoceros urine
-oo	m f	<i>morj-oo</i> <i>simbaabb-oo</i>	thief spider

Tab. 6: Gender marking on nouns
(adapted from Tesfaye 2015: 97)

For nouns ending in one of the ambiguous vowels, the gender is revealed by modifiers, such as demonstrative pronouns, which agree in gender with the head noun.

Although with animate nouns grammatical gender tends to coincide with biological gender, this is not always the case. The noun *saa* 'cow', for example, is grammatically masculine, even if it refers to a female animal. The opposite is true for *mirgoo* 'bullock', which is grammatically feminine (Tefsaye 2015: 100).

There are also nouns which can refer to animates of both genders, although their grammatical gender is fixed. An example is the feminine noun *giraaww'ee* 'cat' (Tefsaye 2015: 102).

Some nouns have different genders in the singular and the plural. This is true for *korommi* 'cock', which is masculine in the singular, but becomes *korommee* in the plural, thus suffixing a feminine final vowel (Tefsaye 2015: 101).

3.2.1.2 Number

The base form of Dhaashatee nouns can be singular, plural, singulative, or have a “general number”, according to Tesfaye (2015: 87). Hudson (1976: 251) states that Dhaashatee has a singulative suffix, which is used less than in other HEC languages, and often does not mark the plural morphologically. Wedekind (1990) and Kellner (2007) do not discuss number, except for the plural suffix *-na*.

Nouns with “general number” can be used as both singular and plural nouns. One example is *micc'a* 'bone(s)'. Numerals may optionally be used to specify the number. Yet, there are also nouns with general number, from which singulative forms can be formed. An example is *gota* 'hyena(s)', from which *goticcoo* 'a particular hyena' may be derived (Tesfaye 2015: 87-88).

Nouns which are singular in their base form may or may not have singulative forms, and usually form their plural with a suffix. The plural suffixes are *-na*, *-naa*, *-nee*, *-nnaa* and *-nnee*, the most frequent one being *-na* (Tesfaye 2015: 89-90). According to Tesfaye (2015: 92-93), there are no clear rules to predict which noun takes which plural marker, although not all plural markers can appear with all final vowels.

Tesfaye (2015: 94-95) regards base forms ending in *-(c)coo* as singulative. An example is *aliccoo* 'girl'. However, he also states that these nouns are used just like singular nouns, without any implications of specificity or definiteness. There appears to be no singular form (anymore), from which these nouns have been derived.

Finally, there are nouns whose base form is in the plural. They do not have a singular, but a singulative, which is marked by the suffix *-coo*. Tesfaye (2015: 96) claims that the base forms are not overtly marked for plural, even if they have endings such as *-na*, *-naa*, *-nee* or *-noo*, because an *-n* is retained before the singulative suffix, which means that it is part of the stem. For example, the singulative of *reena* 'gourds' is *reenco*, which implies that the stem of the noun is *reen-*, rather than *ree-*. Yet, given the obvious resemblance to regular plural suffixes, Tesfaye's argumentation is not convincing. Rather, these forms can most likely be explained when looking into their historical development.

Interestingly, out of the ten nouns Tesfaye lists as examples of plural base forms, three, namely *mooyya* 'wild animals', *wosha* 'dogs', and *k'aloo* 'goats' do not have anything similar to a plural suffix at all. What Tesfaye does not prove, however, is that the base forms of all

these words is indeed the plural and not the singulative. While it might be true that the plural cannot be regularly derived from the singulative, it is at least as difficult the other way round. Furthermore, in all but two of the ten cases, Roba and Wedekind (2008) list only the singulative in their dictionary. The two exceptions are *mooyya* 'wild animals' and the corresponding singulative *mooccaa*, as well as *k'aloo* 'goats' with *k'alcoo*. Interestingly, Roba and Wedekind (2008) give slightly different translation for *mooyya* and *mooccaa*, namely 'wild animal' and 'animal', both in the singular. Hudson (1989) mentions both in the same entry, with the translation "beast of prey". As for *k'aloo* and *k'alcoo*, "goat" is given as a translation by Roba and Wedekind (2008) in both cases. However, the text *K'alinta aayee* 'The mother of the goats', shows that *k'aloo* indeed refers to the plural. The fact that the singulative can be easily derived from it by replacing the final vowel with the singulative suffix, suggests that this is indeed a case of a plural base form.

3.2.1.3 Case

According to Tesfaye (2015: 108), Dhaashatee has nine cases: nominative, accusative, genitive/possessive, dative, comitative, instrumental, ablative, locative and vocative. All but the accusative are marked morphologically by suffixes. An overview of the different case markers is given in table 7. Please note that the genitive (or possessive case) will be discussed separately, as its suffixes do not agree in gender with the noun they attach to, but with the following noun.

	Feminine	Masculine
Nominative	1) <u>-shi</u> 2) -i, -u, -a? 3) <u>-nkoo/-ngoo</u>	<u>-ku/-gu</u> -u, -a <u>-nkoo/-ngoo</u>
Accusative	no marking	
Dative	<u>-ga(a), ha(a), gaasee</u> (= “directive” suffixes, according to Kellner 2007: 277)	
Comitative	<u>-cci, -cca(a), -ga</u>	
Instrumental	<u>-shi-ni</u>	<u>-ku/-gu-ni</u>
Ablative	<u>-cci, -cca</u>	-deyi, <u>ddee, -ddey</u> ²⁰
Locative	1) -ga 2) <u>-ddi, -dda</u> 3) -u 4) <u>-koo/-hoo</u>	
Vocative	<u>-oo</u> <u>-danoo</u> <u>-ee</u>	<u>-yyoo</u> ²¹ <u>-ganoo</u>

Tab. 7: Case marking suffixes in Dhaashatee²²

It is clear that Tesfaye's approach to case is theory-driven, rather than data-driven, that is he started out with predefined categories, for which appropriate suffixes were searched. This results in cases like locative or dative being represented by different suffixes with different meanings, or the presumable genitive, which is quite different from “regular” cases.

Kellner (2007: 274) proposes six cases: absolute/accusative, nominative, genitive, dative/directive, vocative, and comitative. Thus, he partly fuses Tesfaye's dative and locative cases. The instrumental is discussed together with the comitative, and the ablative marker is regarded as a postposition.

Wedekind (1990: 523-526) does not clearly distinguish between adverbial markers and cases. He lists suffixes for the following functions: comitative, direction, location, source, manner, recipient, and vocative. Some of the suffixes can also attach to verbs.

In the following, I will discuss each case separately, except for the nominative, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.2.1.2 *Noun phrases*, and the absolute, which is

²⁰ Kellner (2007) and Wedekind (1990) not distinguish between masculine and feminine ablative suffixes.

²¹ Gender-neutral according to Wedekind (1990: 526).

²² Based on Tesfaye (2015: 108-127). Bold suffixes from Kellner (2007: 274-279), underlined ones from Wedekind (1990: 524).

morphologically unmarked.

3.2.1.3.1 Dative

According to Tesfaye (2015: 119), there are two dative suffixes, *-gaa* and *-ga*, which are phonetically almost identical, but differ in meaning. He illustrates the difference with the examples given in (26) and (27).

(26) <i>Ama-shi</i>	<i>Baritee-gaa</i>	<i>daddaabee</i>	<i>arg-ann-oo.</i>
woman-LNOM.F	Barite-DAT	letter	send-PST-CON
'The woman sent Barite a letter'			

(27) <i>Ad-u</i>	<i>mat'aashaa</i>	<i>Jiloo-ga</i>	<i>uww-ann-oo.</i>
Ado-SNOM	book	Jiloo-DIR	give-PST-CON
'Ado gave a book through Jilo.'			(Teskaye 2015: 119)

According to Tesfaye (2015: 119), the difference is that in (26), Barite is the ultimate recipient of the letter, while in (27), Jiloo will pass on the book to somebody else. According to Tesfaye, the suffixes in (26) and (27) are interchangeable, which means that their choice does not depend on the semantics of the verb.

Interestingly, Kellner (2007: 277) mentions *-ga*, *-ha*, *-gaa*, *-haa* and *-gaasee* as markers of the dative/directive.²³ It seems that “directive” is a better description of *-ga* in (27) than “dative”, especially since Tesfaye also mentions a locative *-ga* with a potentially directional meaning (see chapter 3.2.1.3.4 *Locative*). This could be the same suffix.

3.2.1.3.2 Comitative and Instrumental

The comitative suffix *-cci* is mostly restricted to proper nouns and common nouns referring to humans.²⁴ The latter may also take the instrumental suffix, while for all remaining nouns, that is nouns referring to non-humans, only the instrumental is possible, but not the comitative (Teskaye 2015: 124).

²³ Although he refers to them as “postpositions”, the way he presents them suggests that they are actually suffixes.

²⁴ An exception is *c'eeji-cci* 'with (his) blood' (Text *Son* 53).

The instrumental is unique in the case system, in that its marker *-ni* is obligatorily preceded by the “nominative marker” *-ku*, for masculine nouns, or *-shi*, for feminine nouns. Apparently, the nominative marker does not function here as such, since a noun in the instrumental can never be the subject of a sentence. For a more detailed discussion of the possible origins see chapter 4.2.1.2.2 *Other uses and interpretations of the long nominative suffix*.

Kellner (2007: 277) mentions *-cci*, *-cca*, *-ccaa*, and *-ga* as comitative markers. *-Cci* and *-ga* are also mentioned by Wedekind (1990: 524).

3.2.1.3.3 Ablative

Tesfaye (2015: 120) mentions *-deyi* as the masculine marker of the ablative. As for the two feminine markers *-cci* and *-cca*, Tesfaye (2015: 120) states that they are not interchangeable, but he does not know what determines their choice. In the texts collected during my fieldwork, only *-cci* appears, but not *-cca*. However, it is also used with masculine nouns, as shown in (28).

(28) <i>Aabbey-hu</i>	<i>hammey-cci</i>	<i>gal-aa=di (...)</i>
father-LNOM.M	farm[M]- ABL	return-IMPF=when
'When the father returned from the farm (...)' (Text <i>Girl</i> 20)		

Kellner (2007: 277) mentions *-ddee*, *-ddey*, and *-cci* as postpositions describing a source, which is the semantic function of an ablative. Wedekind (1990: 525) mentions *-ddee* and *-cci*. Neither Kellner nor Wedekind mention that the choice of the suffix depends on the gender of the noun.

3.2.1.3.4 Locative

Tesfaye (2015: 120-122) regards both *-ga* and *-ddi* as markers of the locative, but emphasizes that they do have different meanings. The suffix *-ga* means “on”, e.g. like in *tiriri-ga* 'on the bed'. It seems that there is also a directional sense “onto”, as the example in (29) suggests, though this is not stated explicitly by Tesfaye.

(29) *Meddha-ga taydh-i!*

stool-**DIR/LOC** sit-IMP.2SG

'Sit on the stool!'

(Tesfaye 2015: 121)

(29) is not an ideal proof that *-ga* can imply a direction – a better example would be a construction like “to put something on the stool”. However, Kellner (2007: 277) does mention *-ga* as a marker of the directive (see chapter 3.2.1.3.1 *Dative*).

The second suffix *-ddi* clearly expresses both location (30) and direction (31), as the following examples show.

(30) *Gaawwa-ddi diida yedh-a.*

pot-**LOC**

honey

be-IMPSTAT.3SG

'There is honey in the pot.'

(adapted from Tesfaye 2015: 121)

(31) *Got-u hoora-ddi mar-ann-oo.*

hyena-NOM.M

forest-**LOC/DIR** go-PST-CON

'The hyena went to the forest.'

(Tesfaye 2015: 122)

Tesfaye (2015: 121) claims that the meaning of *-ddi* depends on the semantics of the noun. With containers, it means “in”, whereas with places, it means “to”. However, in the text *The Mother of the Goats*, the leopard lives *hoora-ddi* 'in the forest' (Text *Goat* 5). This shows that *-ddi* can have different meanings with the same noun, thus it is not necessarily the noun that determines whether the sense is locational or directional.

Even if the data do not contain examples of a noun which takes both *-ga* and *-ddi*, with a difference in meaning, it is very possible that they do exist, thinking e.g. of something being located on top of a closed container vs. inside the same container.

Rather than regarding both suffixes as locative markers, it seems more appropriate to describe their functions in more specific terms. Comparing them to suffixes in languages like Hungarian or Finnish, the function of *-ga* seems to be the one of a superessive and superlative, while *-ddi* represents inessive and illative (represented by the glosses SUPE and INE from now on).

Kellner (2007: 277) only mentions *-ddi* and *-dda* for the locative, both with the meaning “in”, and Wedekind (1990: 524) mentions *-ddi* for the locative, and *-gaa* for the directive.

Further locative suffixes given by Kellner (2007: 278) are *-koo/-hoo*, meaning “with someone, at someone's place” or “to someone('s place)”, and *-u*, the latter of which seems to appear only with a restricted set of nouns and will be glossed with LOC in the following. The meaning of *-koo/-hoo* corresponds to the cases adessive and allative, restricted to human referents.

3.2.1.3.5 Vocative

The vocative in Dhaashatee seems to be mostly used with kinship terms. An exception is *wontoo* 'God', which has the vocative form *wontoo-dannoo*. The choice of the suffixes *-oo* (f) and *-yyoo* (m), vs. *-danoo* (f) and *-ganoo* (m) seems to be mostly lexically determined, as the examples given by Tesfaye (2015: 126) suggest.

Kellner's (2007: 277) description largely agrees with Tesfaye's, one difference being that Kellner regards *-yyoo* and possibly also *-oo* as gender-neutral (as for *-yyoo*, so does Wedekind 1990: 526). Besides, he mentions *-ee* as a further feminine vocative marker, as well as the lengthening of the final vowel for nouns ending in *-a*.

3.2.1.3.6 Possessive

The possessive is different from the other cases in that it is obligatorily marked for either absolutive or nominative. This can be seen in table 8 which gives an overview of the respective suffixes in Lowland Dhaashatee.²⁵

	Feminine	Masculine
Absolutive	<i>-nda</i>	<i>-nga</i>
Nominative	<i>-nci</i>	<i>-ngu</i>

Tab. 8: Possessive suffixes
(Tefaye 2015: 115)

Regarding the possessive as a full case would imply that a noun can be marked by two cases at the same time, which seems questionable. However, it is possible that the possessive

²⁵ In Highland Dhaashatee, the plosives following the nasals are voiceless, that is the absolutive forms are *-nta* (f) and *-nka* (m), while the masculine nominative suffix is *-nku*.

suffixes contain the relicts of an old genitive suffix. Internal reconstruction suggests that the suffixes consist of the following underlying elements.

-n-	-t- (f)	-a (ABS)
-n-	-t- (f)	-i (NOM.F)
-n-	-k- (m)	-a (ABS)
-n-	-k- (m)	-u (NOM.M)
Genitive(?)	Gender marker	Case marker

Tab. 9: Underlying structure of possessive suffixes

Please note that under this hypothesis, gender and case marker of the possessive nominative are identical to the long nominative suffixes (see chapter 4.2.1.2.1 *The long nominative*).

A major difference between the possessive and other cases is the fact that both case and gender marking do not refer to the noun to which the suffix is attached, but to the noun it modifies. Thus, the possessive marking indicates that the noun functions as a modifier for the noun that follows and gives information about the latter's gender and syntactic role. This is shown in (32), where the gender marking of the possessive suffix on *k'aloo* 'goats' refers to the possessee *aayee* 'mother'. Hence, in terms of possessive noun phrases Dhaashatee shows dependent marking.

- (32) *k'al-i-nta* *aayee*
 goat[m]-EV-POSS.F.ABS mother[f]
 'the mother of the goats' (= title of one of the stories in the Highland dialect)

When modifying a proper noun, however, the suffix lacks the presumable genitive marker²⁶, but instead, the gender markers are geminated. This is illustrated in table 10.

²⁶ Kellner (2007: 276) mentions *-nci* instead of *-cci* for the feminine nominative possessive modifying proper nouns.

	Feminine	Masculine
Absolutive	<i>-tta</i>	<i>-kka</i>
Nominative	<i>-cci</i>	<i>-kku</i>

Tab. 10: Possessive suffixes of proper nouns
(Tefaye 2015: 115)

One possible analysis is that the geminated gender markers are the underlying ones, and that they are reduced to a single consonant when preceded by another consonant. This seems to happen in possessive pronouns (see chapter 4.2.1.3.1 *Possessive pronouns*). In that case, an explanation is needed, why they are not geminated in the suffixes of the long nominative. An answer could be that they are derived from the demonstrative pronouns *ku* and *ti*, which starts with single consonants since geminate consonants cannot occur in the onset (see chapter 3.1.4 *Phonotactics and syllable structure*).

3.2.1.3.7 Proposed case system of Dhaashatee

To summarize the discussions above, the “genitive” does not seem to be a case like the others, but rather a possessive, which probably consists of an old genitive marker and the gender and case marker of the noun it modifies. What Tefaye (2015) describes as “locative”, rather seem to be two separate cases. The instrumental is different from the other cases in that it requires the nominative markers *-ku/-gu* and *-shi* to precede the suffix. A list of proposed cases is given in table 11.

	Feminine	Masculine
Nominative	1) <i>-shi</i> 2) <i>-i, -u, -a?</i> 3) <i>-nkoo/-ngoo</i>	<i>-gu</i> <i>-u, -a</i> <i>-nkoo/-ngoo</i>
Absolutive ²⁷	no marking	
Dative	<i>-gaa, -ga?</i>	
Comitative	<i>-cci, -cca(a), -ga</i>	
Instrumental	<i>-shi-ni</i>	<i>-ku/-gu-ni</i>
Ablative	<i>-cci, -cca, -d(d)eyi</i>	
Directive/ Superessive/Sublative	<i>-ga, -gaa?</i>	
Inessive/Illative	<i>-ddi, -dda</i>	
Adessive/Allative	<i>-koo, -hoo</i>	
Vocative	<i>-oo</i> <i>-danoo</i> <i>-ee</i>	<i>-yyoo</i> (=gender-neutral?) <i>-ganoo</i>

Tab. 11: Proposed case system

3.2.2 Verbal morphology

The verbal domain of Dhaashatee is rather complex morphologically and includes numerous tense-aspect distinctions. Interestingly, most of the tense and aspect forms described by Tesfaye (2015: 159-171) do not appear in the texts collected during my fieldwork. This could be due to dialectal differences between Lowland and Highland Dhaashatee – or between narratives and other sorts of text.

3.2.2.1 Tense and aspect

Unlike Tesfaye (2015: 159) claims, tense and aspect are not clearly distinguishable in Dhaashatee. The term “past progressive” (Tsfaye 2015: 170), for example, which he uses to describe an allegedly pure tense, very obviously contains a reference to aspect. Still, the morphological forms given by Tesfaye as well as certain points of his analysis, will be included in the present chapter, since they sometimes differ from or add to what is said by other authors. The terms that will be used to refer to the tense-aspect forms, however, will

²⁷ Unlike Tesfaye (2015), I prefer the term “absolutive” over “accusative”, as explained in chapter 4.1.1 *Case-alignment systems and terminology*.

mostly be taken from Wedekind (1990: 540-541), as they are more precise. The verb forms given in tables in this chapter contain the underlying forms of the suffixes, that is before palatalisations and assimilations have taken place, even if the author originally presented the surface forms.

All finite verb forms have subject agreement markers, which are given in table 12. If present, they follow a derivational suffix (see chapter 3.2.2.5 *Verbal derivation*) or the simple past marker *-an(n)* (see chapter 3.2.2.1.1.1 *Simple past*). Otherwise, they are attached directly to the stem. The third person singular masculine may be used with plural subjects (Wedekind 1985: 117).

	Singular	Plural
1st person		<i>-n-</i>
2nd person	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-nk-</i>
3rd person (m)		<i>-nk-</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>(-t-)²⁸</i>	see above

Tab. 12: Subject agreement markers

Apparently, *-t-* is a marker of the second person, while *-nk-* marks the plural. However, in the first person the plural marker is *-n-*, which distinguishes it from the third person plural.

There is also a marker *-t-* of the third person singular feminine, which is most likely different from the marker of the second person, since *-t-* is also the feminine marker in the possessive (see chapter 3.2.1.3.6 *Possessive*) and the long nominative (see chapter 4.2.1.2.1 *The long nominative*). Yet, if the feminine subject agreement marker and the nominal suffixes are indeed identical – or have a common origin – an explanation is needed, why the subject agreement marker is not geminated.

There is no morphological distinction between first and third person singular masculine, and second and third person singular feminine.

An epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted where necessary to resolve forbidden consonant clusters, for example in the second person plural between the second person marker and the plural marker, but also between verb stem and subject agreement markers if needed.

²⁸ There is no subject agreement marker of the third person singular feminine in the simple past.

3.2.2.1.1 Simple verb forms

3.2.2.1.1.1 Simple past

The simple past, referred to as “perfective aspect” by Tesfaye (2015: 160) and “past” by Wedekind (1990: 542), is marked by the suffix *-an(n)*, which is attached directly to the verb stem. While Tesfaye (2015: 161) and Wedekind (1990: 542) mostly agree with regards to the shape of past tense marker and subject markers, there are some differences in the final vowels. These are shown in table 13. Please note that the segmentation of the verbal endings has been adapted in the interest of greater clarity.

	Singular		Plural	
	Tesfaye (2015)	Wedekind (1990)	Tesfaye (2015)	Wedekind (1990)
1st person	<i>-ann-oo</i>	<i>-ann-i</i>	<i>-an-i-n-u</i>	<i>-an-n-u/oo</i>
2nd person	<i>-an-t-u</i>	<i>-an-t-u/oo</i>	<i>-an-t-i-nk-u</i>	<i>-an-t-i-nk-u/oo</i>
3rd person	<i>-ann-oo</i>	<i>-ann-i/oo</i>	<i>-an-i-nk-u</i>	<i>-ann-i-nk-u/oo</i>

Tab. 13: Simple past

Charlotte Wedekind (1985: 117) emphasizes that the two sets of final vowels entail semantic differences. While *-i/-u* expresses a “relevance of the action to the present”, *-oo* is used “almost exclusively” in narratives. Klaus Wedekind (1990: 493) refers to the latter as “conclusive” and attributes a perfective aspectual as well as a modal meaning to it. According to him, it indicates that “the speaker puts some distance of objectivity between the text and himself”. The “non-conclusive” forms are regarded as the unmarked ones by Wedekind. Interestingly, as far as my fieldwork data are concerned, most past tense forms in the Highland texts are conclusive, while in the Lowland text they are mostly non-conclusive.

The fact that *-an(n)* does not always mark the past tense, but may also be used as a perfective marker, is shown by the fact that it can appear in the imperative. An example is *bak'-ann-ee* 'run out!' in *The mother of the goats*, sentence 84 and 86.

The negation of the simple past is formed by replacing the final vowel with the negative suffix *-ey'i* (Tefaye 2015: 161). This shows that subject markers and final vowels are indeed separate entities.

3.2.2.1.1.2 Imperfect

The imperfect is mentioned by Wedekind (1990: 541) and Hudson (1976: 265), but not Tesfaye (2015). The reconstructed underlying forms are given in table 14, based on the surface forms from Wedekind (1990: 541).

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>mar-a</i>	<i>mar-n-a</i>
2nd person	<i>mar-t-a</i>	<i>mar-t-i-nk-u/oo</i>
3rd person (m)	<i>mar-a</i>	<i>mar-i-nk-u/oo</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>mar-t-a</i>	see above

Tab. 14: Imperfect of *mar-* ‘to go’

When negated the final vowel is replaced by *-ey'i* (Wedekind 1990: 542).

First person singular and third person singular masculine are morphologically identical to the infinitive (Wedekind 1990: 547).

Kellner (2007: 292) mentions very similar forms and uses tentatively the term “active participle” to refer to them. They differ from the ones given by Wedekind only in that the final vowel is long, and that the subject agreement marker *-t* is palatalised even before *-aa*.

Interestingly, in my fieldwork data both forms in *-a* and *-aa* occur, with no obvious distinction in meaning. In questions, the final vowel is usually long. However, forms with long final vowels also appear in declarative sentences. For the moment, both versions are glossed with IMPF. Future research will hopefully show if there is a difference in meaning between them, or if the reasons for vowel lengthening or shortening are related to prosody.

3.2.2.1.1.3 Imperfect stative

In the Highland Dhaashatee texts a verb form has been found which is morphologically similar to the habitual-iterative (see chapter 3.2.2.1.2.6 *Habitual-iterative*) in that it is marked with the final vowel *-oo*. What is different, however, is that there is no auxiliary, but the subject agreement instead occurs on the main verb before the final vowel.

There is no similarity with the habitual-iterative in meaning either, as example (33) shows.

(33) *Ashi* *isi* *gabi* *hook'-a* *hayy-i-t-oo?*
 2SG.NOM 3SG.M.ABS from leave-INF need-EV-2-IMPFSTAT
 'Do you need to leave him?' (Text *Girl* 25)

Wedekind (1990: 542) mentions an “imperfect stative” which looks identical to the forms in *-oo* found in the texts. It is formed with the subject markers followed by the vowel *-u* or *-oo*, or *-* in case of the third person singular – *-a*. Wedekind (1990: 542) gives the paradigm of the verb *yedh-* 'to be, live', and translates the first person singular with “if I live”, implying that this is a paradigm of conditional forms.

When looking at (33) again, there is clearly no condition involved. However, “to need” is a state rather than an action, which supports the hypothesis that the verb form is indeed stative. Other verbs that appear in this form are *dan-* 'to be able' and *yedh-* 'to be', which are clearly stative verbs.

3.2.2.1.2 Compound verb forms

3.2.2.1.2.1 Present continuous

The present continuous refers to actions that are happening at the moment of utterance and is formed by attaching the final vowel *-aa* and the suffix *-ddaa* to the main verb. The information on person and number is conveyed by the auxiliary *yedh-* ‘to be’. The complete paradigm is shown in table 15.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-oo</i>	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-n-oo</i>
2nd person	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-t-oo</i>	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-t-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (m)	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-aa</i>	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-t-aa</i>	see above

Tab. 15: Present continuous
 (Tesfaye 2015: 165)

Wedekind (1990: 544) mentions *-u* as an alternative to the final vowel *-oo*. Besides, the shape of the suffix is *-ddi*, according to him. One form that fits Wedekind's description has been found in one of the Highland texts. It is given in (34).

(34) <i>Oo</i>	<i>gabala</i>	<i>dhogolu-hu</i>	<i>rib-i=mi=k'aa</i>
DEM.DIST.M.ABS	until	leopard-LNOM.M	lurk-CVB=while=FOC
<i>ishee-tta</i>	<i>heetoo</i>	<i>hub-adh-addi</i>	<i>yedh-aa.</i>
POSS.3SG.F-F.ABS	action	recognize-MID-PRSCON	be-PRSCON

'So far, the leopard had been lurking and observing her actions.' (Text *Goat* 49)

Negation is done by replacing the final vowel of the auxiliary with *-ey'i* (Teskaye 2015: 165).

3.2.2.1.2.2 Non-past continuous

The non-past continuous, referred to as “imperfective” by Tesfaye (2015: 162), is formed by reduplication. The reduplicated verb precedes the main verb and has no subject agreement markers, but only a long final vowel, which is *-aa* – except for second and third person plural where it is *-oo*. According to Wedekind (1990: 543), *-u* is an alternative final vowel for the forms ending in *-oo*. The subject agreement markers attach to the main verb. An overview of the forms is given in table 16.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>-aa -aa</i>	<i>-aa -n-aa</i>
2nd person	<i>-aa -t-aa</i>	<i>-aa -t-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (m)	<i>-aa -aa</i>	<i>-aa -i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>-aa -t-aa</i>	see above

Tab. 16: Non-past continuous
(Teskaye 2015: 162)

An example of the non-past continuous used in a sentence is given in (35), where it refers to the future.

(35) <i>Ani</i>	<i>boru</i>	<i>burjee</i>	<i>intey-aa</i>	<i>intey-aa.</i>
1SG	tomorrow	Burji	come-NPAST	come-NPAST

'I will come to Burji tomorrow.' (adapted from Tesfaye 2015: 163)

The negative forms of the non-past continuous are identical to the ones of the negated simple past, except that they obviously lack the past marker. There is no reduplication (Tesfaye 2015: 164).

None of these forms has been found in the texts collected during my fieldwork. This might be due to the fact that the non-past continuous describes habitual and future actions (Tesfaye 2015: 163), and is therefore rather unlikely to be found in stories.

3.2.2.1.2.3 Present perfect

The present perfect is similar to the present continuous. The only differences are that in the present perfect both main verb and auxiliary have identical subject markers, and that the main verb ends in the final vowel *-aa*. The paradigm is given in table 17.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>-aa yedh-oo</i>	<i>-n-aa yedh-n-oo</i>
2nd person	<i>-t-aa yedh-t-oo</i>	<i>-t-i-nk-aa yedh-t-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (m)	<i>-aa yedh-aa</i>	<i>-i-nk-aa yedh-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>-t-aa yedh-t-aa</i>	see above

Tab. 17: Present perfect

The forms in the table above are taken from Tesfaye (2015: 166). When negated, the negative marker *-ey'i* attaches only to the auxiliary.

The forms Kellner (2007: 291) and Wedekind (1990: 543) describe as “present perfect” differ slightly in that the final vowel of the main verb is not *-aa*, but *-i*. As usual, *-u* is given as an alternative ending of the auxiliaries ending in *-oo*.

Neither the forms given by Tesfaye (2015), nor the ones given by Kellner (2007) or Wedekind (1990) appear in any of the texts collected during my fieldwork. However, Kellner (2007: 291) mentions contracted forms of the present perfect, which do occur in all three texts. Wedekind (1990: 544) gives similar forms, which he regards as instances of the “present stative”. The respective non-contracted forms are identical to the ones of his present perfect. The contracted paradigms of both Kellner and Tesfaye are given in table 18, using the verb *mar-* ‘to go’. Unlike in previous sections, the surface forms of the markers are presented, as given in Kellner (2007: 291) and Wedekind (1990: 544).

	Singular		Plural	
	Kellner (2007)	Wedekind (1990)	Kellner (2007)	Wedekind (1990)
1st person	<i>mar-e-edh-u/oo</i>	<i>mar-e/a-edh-oo</i>	<i>mar-r-e-en-n-u/oo</i>	<i>mar-r-e-en-n-oo</i>
2nd person	<i>mar-c-e-et-t-u/oo</i> or <i>mar-sh-e-et-t-u/oo</i>	<i>mar-c-e-et-t-oo</i>	<i>mar-ce-e-cingu/oo</i> or <i>mar-she-e-cingu/oo</i>	<i>mar-cinge-ec-cingoo</i>
3rd person (m)	<i>mar-e-edha</i>	<i>mar-e-edh-oo</i>	<i>mar-e-edhingoo</i> or 3SG.M	<i>mar-inge-edh-ingoo</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>mar-c-e-et-t-a</i> or <i>mar-sh-e-et-t-a</i>	<i>mar-ce-et-t-oo</i>	see above	see above

Tab. 18: Contracted forms of the present perfect/present stative of *mar-* ‘to go’

As can be seen in the table above, the /j/ of the auxiliary is deleted and the following /e/ is contracted with the final vowel of the main verb into /ee/. Besides smaller differences in final vowels between Kellner’s and Wedekind’s paradigms, a larger one is found in the second and third person plural. Here, the subject markers of the main verb are deleted according to Kellner, but not according to Wedekind.

Interestingly, the subject marker *-t* is palatalised before /e/ in the second and third person singular feminine. Apparently, not only /i/ can trigger palatalisation as assumed in chapter 3.1.6.2 *Palatalisation*. What still needs an explanation is why both /j/ and /tj/ are possible outcomes according to Kellner (2007), even if after /r/ /j/ would be expected.

An example of the contracted present perfect from my fieldwork data is given in (36).

(36) *Tanee* *ibaat-ceetoo* *kan'i* *waala* *baass-i (...)*!
now wear-PRSPRF.2SG DEM.PROX.M.ABS clothes take.off-CVB

'Now take off the clothes you have put on (...)' (Text *Girl* 34)

3.2.2.1.2.4 Pluperfect

The “pluperfect” (Wedekind 1990) or “past perfect” (Tesfaye 2015) differs from the present perfect in that the auxiliary appears twice. The forms of the main verb and the first auxiliary remain the same. The forms of the second auxiliary are shown in table 19. It appears to be a shortened version of *yedh-* in the simple past.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>dh-ann-oo</i>	<i>dh-an-i-n-oo</i>
2nd person	<i>dh-an-t-oo</i>	<i>dh-an-t-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (m)	<i>dh-ann-oo</i>	<i>dh-an-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>dh-an-t-oo</i>	see above

Tab. 19: Second auxiliary of the pluperfect
(Teskaye 2015: 169)

Wedekind (1990: 545) mentions alternative final vowels for the second auxiliary, which are *-i* for the first and third person masculine and feminine, and *-u* for all other forms. Besides, the final vowel of the first auxiliary in the first person singular is *-aa* instead of *-oo*, according to Wedekind, which makes it different from the corresponding form of the present perfect.

Teskaye (2015: 169) states that in “Northern Burji”, apparently referring to Highland Dhaashatee, the first auxiliary may be omitted, while the second one appears with the full stem *yedh-*. An example will be given in the following chapter, as the same process happens in the pluperfect continuous. The negative suffix only attaches to the second auxiliary (Teskaye 2015: 170).

Kellner (2007: 291) only found contracted forms of the pluperfect.

3.2.2.1.2.5 Pluperfect continuous

The pluperfect continuous, or “past progressive” (Teskaye 2015: 171) differs from the pluperfect only in that the main verb does not have subject markers, but ends in the final vowel *-aa*, to which the suffix *-ddaa* is attached, just like in the present continuous.

As with the pluperfect, in “Northern Burji” the first auxiliary may be omitted, while the second one appears in its full form (Teskaye 2015: 171). The “southern” version is shown in (37a), while (37b) shows the “northern” version.

(37) a. *muus-aaddaa* *yedh-aa* *dh-ann-oo*
 break-PLUCON be-PLUCON be-PST-CON

b. *muus-aaddaa* *yedh-ann-oo*
 break-PLUCON be-PST-CON

'he had been breaking'

(Tesfaye 2015: 171)

The full paradigm of the northern forms is shown in table 20.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-ann-oo</i>	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-ann-i-n-oo</i>
2nd person	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-an-t-oo</i>	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-an-t-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (m)	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-ann-oo</i>	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-ann-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>-aa-ddaa yedh-an-t-oo</i>	see above

Tab. 20: Contracted forms of the pluperfect continuous

(Tesfaye 2015: 171)

As with the present continuous, Wedekind's (1990: 545) forms differ from the ones given by Tesfaye in that the “progressive marker” is *-ddi* instead of *-ddaa*. Besides, Wedekind only mentions the “southern”, non-contracted forms.

3.2.2.1.2.6 Past stative

Another compound tense-aspect form that appears in my fieldwork data consists of the imperfect of the main verb, to which the shortened form of the auxiliary *yedh-* 'to be' in the simple past is attached. It is mentioned by Charlotte Wedekind (1985: 122) as “composite perfect-based: continuous”.

On overview of the underlying suffixes is given in table 21. They have been derived from the paradigm given by Wedekind (1985: 122).

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>-aa dh-ann-oo</i>	<i>-n-aa dh-an-i-n-oo</i>
2nd person	<i>-t-aa dh-an-t-oo</i>	<i>-t-i-nk-oo dh-an-t-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (m)	<i>-aa dh-ann-oo</i>	<i>-nk-oo dh-ann-i-nk-oo</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>-t-aa dh-an-t-oo</i>	see above

Tab. 21: Past stative
(adapted from Wedekind 1985: 122)

In my fieldwork data, these forms appear with the stative verbs *k'af-* 'to have', *gal-* 'to live', and *hayy-* 'to want', and only once (probably) with the non-stative *iy-* 'to say'. Therefore, I tentatively refer to it as “past stative”. The term is deliberately left vague, since it is unclear how it differs, for example, from the pluperfect continuous discussed in the previous section.

3.2.2.1.2.7 Habitual-iterative

It seems that at least Highland Dhaashatee has verb forms to describe that an action takes place repeatedly or habitually. Kellner (2007: 283) uses the term “iterative”. However, as (38) shows, this verb form is not only used for actions that are repeated within the same situation, but also to describe habits. Morphologically, the habitual-iterative is formed by suffixing *-oo* to the main verb, plus a form of the auxiliary *i-* 'to be', that agrees with the subject, as shown in (38).

(38) <i>Ci</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>isa-kka</i>	<i>k'aloo</i>
DEM.PROX.F.NOM	woman	POSS.3SG.M-M.ABS	goats
hooss-oo=k'aa	<i>malaal-oo</i>	<i>i-t-aa.</i>	
take.to.field-HAB=FOC	look.after-HAB	be-3SG.F-HAB	

'This woman (regularly) took her goats to the field and looked after them.'

(Text *Goat 3*)

An example of an iterative use is shown in (39).

(39) <i>Ishee-nkoo=nni</i>	<i>mur-am-eedhaa</i>	<i>maala</i>	<i>goy-oo=k'aa</i>
3SG.F-NOM=CONN	cut-PASS-PRSPRF.3SG.M	meat	take-HAB=FOC
<i>bun'is-oo</i>	<i>i-y-a</i>	<i>acc-ann-oo.</i>	
feed-HAB	be-EG-INF	start-PST-CON	

'After it had been cut, she started taking the meat and feeding him (repeatedly).'

(Text *Goat* 71)

What stands out in examples (38) and (39) is that both contain two adjacent verbs suffixed with *-oo*, the first of which has a focus marker. This is also true for the other three occurrences of this verb form in the texts. Another unusual feature is that instead of the auxiliary *yedh-* the verb *i-* 'to be' is used. Maybe this is not a tense-aspect form as the ones described before, but something else, e.g. a participle. More research is needed here.

3.2.2.2 Converb

Dhaashatee uses converbs rather frequently. According to Tesfaye (2015: 278), they are “subordinate verb forms that occur without aspect, tense and mood [markers] but with subject agreement markers”. Aspect, tense and mood are only marked on the main verb at the end of the sentence. An example is given in (40).

(40) <i>Gal-ci=k'aa</i>	<i>borsshu</i>	<i>deygga</i>	<i>rik'-ann-oo.</i>
return-CVB.3SG.F=FOC	next	day	return-PST-CON

'She returned (to her husband), but came back (to her parents) the next day.'

(Text *Girl* 19)

In (40), only the final verb *rik'annoo* is marked for the simple past, while the converb *galci*, only has subject agreement markers. However, the aspect marking of the final verb also applies to the converb, that is in terms of semantics, *galci* is also in the simple past. The converb is a way of making tense-aspect marking more economical by restricting it to the sentence-final verb, while other verbs merely receive a suffix indicating that their tense-aspect is the same as the one of the main verb.

Converbs are marked as such by the suffix *-i*. It is preceded by subject agreement markers.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>-i</i>	<i>-n-i</i>
2nd person	<i>-t-i</i>	<i>-t-i-nk-i</i>
3rd person (m)	<i>-i</i>	<i>-nk-i</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>-t-i</i>	see above

Tab. 22: Converb markers
(adapted from Tesfaye 2015: 279)

The surface forms emerge through rules of assimilation, palatalisation and affrication, which have been discussed in chapter 3.1.6 *Phonological processes*.

3.2.2.3 Abessive and purposive

In the present section, two further verbal suffixes shall be briefly discussed, which express neither tense, nor aspect, and do not fit into any category commonly associated with mood either.

The first one is the abessive marker *-kkadh*, meaning “without” or “before”. An example is given in (41).

- (41) (...) *damm-a-kkadh-ci=k'aa* (...) *ba'-ann-oo*.
 spend.night-IMPF-**ABE**-CVB.3SG.F=FOC leave-PST-CON
 '(...) she left (...) before spending the night.' (Text *Girl 12*)

The second one is the purposive marker *-uwaa*, which expresses a purpose or an intention. Examples are given in (42) and (43).

- (42) *Ishi* *muuzi* *iss-h-uwaa=naa* *mar-ann-oo*.
 3SG.F.NOM banana eat.3SG.F-**PURP**=FOC go-PST-CON
 'She went in order to eat bananas.'
 (Tefsaye 2015: 272, glossing and translation adapted)

(43) (...) *ani* *i-y-aa* *basi* *goo-t-uwaa* *eetee=naa* *gal-cettoo* (...)
 1SG.NOM say-EG-IMPF thing do??-2-PURP acceptance=FOC return-PRSPRF.2SG
 '(...) you agreed to do what I say (...)' (Text *Girl* 32)

3.2.2.4 Mood

Dhaashatee has imperative markers for the second person singular and plural, and jussive markers for first and third person, according to Tesfaye (2015: 177-178).

The imperative markers are *-i* for the singular, and *-ee* for in the plural. They are directly attached to the stem without any further marking. In the negation, the suffixes are preceded by *-ash-* in the singular, and *-akk-* in the plural (Tesfaye 2015: 177). An example of an affirmative imperative is given in (44).

(44) *Dhakku-sh-i-ng-i* *dansaa* *waala* *isa-gaa* *amb-ee!*
 hurry.up-2-EV-PL-CVB good clothes 3SG.M-DAT bring-IMP.2PL
 'Hurry up and bring him good clothes!' (Text *Son* 31)

The jussive is marked by *-ooni*. The respective suffixes are given in table 23.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>-ooni</i>	<i>-n-ooni</i>
3rd person (m)	<i>-ooni</i>	<i>-nk-ooni</i>
3rd person (f)	<i>-t-ooni</i>	see above

Tab. 23: Jussive markers
 (Tesfaye 2015: 178)

An example from Lowland Dhaashatee containing a jussive is given in (45).

(45) <i>Enagaa=naa</i>	<i>isi</i>	<i>Yesoo</i>	<i>arg-i-ss-ann-i</i>
therefore=FOC	3SG.M.NOM	Jesus	send-EV-CAUS-PST-NCON.3SG

<i>ninsi</i>	<i>ba'-a-s-ooni.</i>
1PL.ABS	leave-EV-CAUS-JUSS

'Therefore, he sent Jesus to make us leave (sin).' (Text *Son* 49)

As for negation, the forms of the third person are *-akki* for the singular, and *akkee* for the plural. As for the first person, the jussive cannot be negated morphologically. Instead the affirmative jussive of the verbs *wa'*- 'to hate' or *habar*- 'to leave' is used. Thus, the negated jussive of *it-i-n-ooni* 'let us eat', would be *it-wa'-n-ooni* 'let us hate eating' or *it-habar-n-ooni* 'let us leave eating' (Tsfaye 2015: 179).

3.2.2.5 Verbal Derivation

In the following, three major ways of verbal derivation – passive, middle voice, and causative – will be briefly discussed. All of them are formed by means of a suffix which is attached directly to the stem.

3.2.2.5.1 Passive

The suffix marking the passive is *-am*. An example is given in (46).

(46) <i>Alicc-u=nni</i>	<i>uww-am-ann-oo.</i>
girl-SNOM.F=CONN	give-PASS-PST-CON
'(And) the girl was given.' (Text <i>Girl</i> 8)	

As can be seen in (46), *aliccu* is the syntactic subject of the sentence. It is marked by the nominative and triggers subject agreement on the verb, even if, semantically, it is the patient of the event of “giving”. It thus meets the criteria commonly defined for passives (see e.g. Dixon 1994: 146).

3.2.2.5.2 Middle voice

The middle voice indicates that “the subjects makes the activity for himself/herself” (Tesfaye 2015: 181).

It is marked in Dhaashatee by the suffix *-adh*. For stems ending in /l/, /m/, /n/ and /r/, the middle voice is marked by a glottal stop (Tesfaye 2015: 181-183). An example is given in (47).

(47) <i>Yedh-i-nk-oo=mi=k'aa</i>	<i>aliccoo</i>	<i>on'itta</i>
be-EV-PL-IMPSTAT=while=FOC	girl	DEM.DIST.F.ABS
<i>waariss-adh-a</i>	<i>acc-ann-i-nk-oo.</i>	
ask.for.marriage- MID -INF	start-PST-EV-PL-CON	

'With time, (people) started to ask that girl (for themselves) for marriage.'

(Text *Girl 4*)

3.2.2.5.3 Causative

The causative is formed by the suffix *-s* which attaches directly to the stem. An epenthetic vowel is inserted if necessary to prevent forbidden consonant clusters. Assimilation might also occur, as discussed in chapter 3.1.6.1 *Assimilation*.

According to Tesfaye (2015: 187), it is possible to attach several causative markers at once to a verb stem. In that case, all but the first causative suffix become geminated to *-ss*. Epenthetic vowels are inserted between them. However, Tesfaye only gives examples with two causative suffixes, as shown in (48).

(48) <i>Jil-u</i>	<i>Baritee-gaa</i>	<i>itee</i>	<i>arg-i-s-i-ss-ann-oo.</i>
Jilo-NOM	Baritee-DAT	food	send-EV-CAUS-EV-CAUS-PST-CON

'Jilo ordered someone to have food sent to Baritee.'

(Tesfaye 2015: 191, glossing and translation adapted)

3.3 Syntax

3.3.1 Word order

Dhaashatee is a head-final language, that is modifiers precede the head noun inside the noun phrase. In the same way, dependent clauses precede independent clauses, and relative clauses precede the noun they modify (Wedekind 1990: 72-73).

The basic word order at the sentence-level is SOV, just like in other HEC languages (Wedekind 1990: 72).

3.3.2 Subordinate clauses

3.3.2.1 Complement clauses

A subordinate clause may be marked by the clause-final complementizers *dek'ee* or *yek'ee*, which are – according to Tesfaye (2015: 265) – interchangeable. An example with *dek'ee* from Highland Dhaashatee is given in (49).

(49) <i>Alaakey-hu</i>	<i>duweedh-eedhaa</i>	<i>dek'ee</i>	<i>hubadh-ci=k'aa</i>
basalt-LNOM.M	become.red-PRSPRF.3SG.M	COMP	recognize-CVB.3SG.F=FOC
<i>dhogoli</i>	<i>asees-s-ann-oo.</i>		
leopard	stand-CAUS-PST-CON		

'When she saw that the basalt had become red, she woke up the leopard.'
(Text *Goat* 68)

As expected, the complement clause precedes the main clause.

3.3.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Dhaashatee are not formally marked, but can be distinguished from main clauses by the presence of more than one fully inflected verb in a non-final position. In contrast, in a “regular” main clause with multiple verbs, all but the last one take a converb suffix. Other types of subordinate clauses are marked by complementizers (see preceding chapter) or subordinate conjunctions (see e.g. chapter 3.3.2.3 *Temporal conjunctions*).

An example of a relative clause is given in (50). *Dhogoli* functions as the subject of both the relative clause and the main clause.

(50) <i>Lama lasa</i>	<i>eegadh-i</i>	<i>dhab-ann-oo</i>	<i>dhogol-i</i>	<i>aaree-shini</i>
two day	wait-CVB	loose-PST-CON	leopard- SNOM.M/ABS	anger-INS.F
<i>gal-i=k'aa</i>	<i>akkarraga</i>	<i>isheek-koo</i>	<i>mar-ann-oo.</i>	
return-CVB=FOC	evening	POSS.3SG.F-ADE	go-PST-CON	

'Having lost two days waiting, the leopard returned furiously, and in the evening, he went to her house.' (Text *Goat* 17)

The case marking of *dhogoli* is ambiguous, since it might either be in the absolutive, or in the short nominative (see chapter 4.2.1.2.3 *The short nominative* for a discussion of the markers of the latter). When questioned whether the long nominative form *dhogoluhu* would also be possible in (50), the speaker confirmed it, but changed the structure of the sentence, moving the subject *dhogoluhu* to the first position. While it is unclear what other changes this movement would trigger in the sentence, what the speaker did might have been resolving the relative clause to make it part of the main clause.

Interestingly, in another sentence of the same story the speaker first marked the head noun with the short nominative, and then when repeating it replaced it by the marking of the long one. The respective example is given in (51), with the long nominative, since this form was repeated multiple times.

(51) <i>Bodhooka</i>	<i>dhaamsi</i>	<i>k'af-aa</i>	<i>dh-ann-oo</i>	<i>gotu-hu</i>	<i>buk'adh-i</i>
previous	advice	have-STAT	be-PST-CON	hyena-LNOM.M	jump-CVB
<i>burr-aa-di</i>	<i>isa-tta</i>	<i>hirba</i>	<i>dhogoli-nku</i>		
climb-IMPF=when	POSS.3SG.M-F.ABS	after	leopard-POSS.M.NOM		
<i>rees-i</i>	<i>shork'u=k'aa</i>	<i>i-nn-oo.</i>			
corpse-SNOM.M?	follow?=FOC	say-PST-CON			

'When the hyena, who had (heard) the previous advice, jumped and climbed, the leopard's corpse followed.' (Text *Goat* 89)

While it could be that the change in case marking was a consequence of slowing down the rate of speech to an extent that the speaker lost track of the overall structure of the sentences, the head noun was produced directly after the verb of the relative clause, even when the speaker broke the sentence into smaller bits. This suggests that the long nominative is indeed a valid option.

Yet, examples of head nouns of relative clauses in the short nominative do exist. One can be found in Kellner (2007: 360, sentence 50). Since the respective noun is masculine and ends in *-a* in the absolutive – just like *gota* 'hyena' – the ending *-i* present in the example can only be the short nominative marker. The sentence is given in (52) with adapted glosses.

(52) <i>Gabi</i>	<i>hook'-ann-oo</i>	<i>meen-i=nni</i>	<i>boohee</i>	<i>dhak'ab-i=k'aa</i>
from	remain-PST-CON	people-SNOM.M=CONN	Boohee	reach-CVB=FOC
<i>angul-'-a-gaa-see</i>	<i>higaa-ga</i>	<i>dan-ann-oo.</i>		
see-MID-INF-DAT-ECHO? ²⁹	other	be.able-PST-CON		

'The remaining clans saw (=received) (rings) when they reached Boohee.'

Tesfaye (2015: 268-269), however, does give examples of absolutive subjects in relative

²⁹ Gloss adopted from Kellner (2007). It usually refers to the suffix sequence *-ddee-see*, by which the storyteller refers back to the response of the listener (Kellner 2007: 288).

clauses, one of which is shown in (53).

- (53) *Baree int-ann-oo ama i-tta beela=k'aa.*
 yesterday come-PST-CON woman.ABS POSS.1SG-F.ABS friend=COP
 'The woman who came yesterday is my friend.' (Tesfaye 2015: 268)

Tesfaye's analysis seems valid on the premise that the short nominative marker of nouns ending in *-a* is *-u*, as claimed in Tesfaye (2015: 109). However, he only gives the nominative of a masculine noun ending in *-a* as an example, while *ama* is feminine. Hayward (1988: 684), on the other hand, postulates *-ə* as the short-nominative marker of feminine nouns ending in *-a*. Given the devoicing of final short vowels, and the reduction that seems to be involved (see chapter 4.2.1.2.3 *The short nominative*), it seems likely that the short nominative of feminine nouns in *-a* does not even differ phonologically from the absolutive. As for the other examples given by Tesfaye, the respective head nouns are either marked unambiguously by the short or long nominative, or they end in *-i*, which makes it impossible to decide if they are in the absolutive or in the short nominative.

Thus, so far there does not seem to be any unequivocal evidence of a head noun in the absolutive, which functions as a subject in both the relative clause and the main clause.

As for relative clauses that follow the head noun, Kellner (2007: 285) states that the long nominative marker of the head noun is repeated on the predicate of the relative clause. This only concerns head nouns which function as subjects in both relative clause and main clause. An example is given in (54).

- (54) *Gamiyo-shi=nni accaa Yaabbu-guni galcettaadhannoo-shi*
 Gamiyo-LNOM.F=CONN at.first Yaabbu-INS.M they.had.entered-LNOM.F

'and the Gamiyo people, who had immigrated together with the Yaabi clan'
 (Kellner 2007: 285)

In cases like (54), the long nominative marker seems to indicate the end of the relative clause, while simultaneously emphasizing the connection between subject and predicate.

At this point, no definite answer can be given to the question, to what degree the case of the head noun has any semantic implications. The fact that the long nominative on the subject of (53) was rejected – at least with the present syntax – suggests that there is a difference. However, the uncovering of the exact conditions, and whether they are syntactic or semantic must be left to future research.

3.3.2.3 Temporal conjunctions

Dhaashatee has at least three conjunctions which specify the temporal relation between a main clause and a subordinate clause. Their status, that is whether they are postpositions, clitics or verbal suffixes, could not be determined definitely yet. Wedekind (1990: 498) regards them as suffixes, but does not justify his decision. In the following, they will be treated as clitics, since they clearly have more lexical content than the grammatical suffixes that precede them and therefore seem more independent than suffixes. At the same time, at least *mi* and *(d)di* are very short elements and clearly form a phonological unit with the verb, which speaks against them being separate words, that is postpositions. However, these are only tentative conclusions.

3.3.2.3.1 =*kalli* 'after'

Kalli 'after' attaches to a finite verb and expresses that the action described by that verb happens before the one described by the main clause. An example is given in (55).

(55) <i>Aney-hu=yaa</i>	<i>ama-shi</i>	<i>wolli-cci</i>	<i>gal-i-nk-oo=kalli</i>
man-LNOM.M=and	woman-LNOM.F	each.other-COM	live-EV-3-IMPFSTAT=after
 <i>dhetti</i>	 <i>alicoo=k'aa</i>	 <i>k'al-ann-i-nk-oo.</i>	
one.F	girl=FOC	give.birth-PST-EV-PL-CON	

'After living together, the man and the woman had a daughter.' (Text *Girl 2*)

Interestingly, what distinguishes =*kalli* from the postposition *faana*, which also means “after”, is that the latter follows perfective verbs, while =*kalli* in (55) follows a verb in the

imperfect stative.

3.3.2.3.2 =mi 'while'

The conjunction =mi also attaches to a fully inflected verb (Tesfaye 2015: 273). Wedekind (1990: 498) translates it with “while”, stating that it signals that the respective action is of the same duration as the action described in the main clause (Wedekind 1990: 517). An example is given in (56).

(56) <i>Maddi</i>	<i>gama</i>	<i>hoof-i=k'aa</i>	<i>hoora-ddi</i>	<i>guddh-i</i>
Maddi	side	go.out-CVB=FOC	forest-INE	hide-CVB
<i>eegadh-aa=mi</i>	<i>nagee-nn-oo.</i>			
wait-IMPF=while	stay-PST-CON			

'He went out to Maddi, hid in the forest, and waited there (“stayed while waiting”).'
(Text *Goat* 12)

According to an example from Tesfaye given in (57), =mi is also combinable with the simple past.

(57) <i>Ani</i>	<i>joor-u</i>	<i>int-ann-oo=mi</i>	<i>i-tta</i>	<i>aliccoo</i>
1SG	home-LOC	come-PST-CON= while	POSS.1SG-F.ABS	girl
<i>sunk'-ann-oo.</i>				
kiss-PST-CON				

'When I came home, I kissed my daughter.'
(Tesfaye 2015: 273)

In (57), “while” is not a suitable translation for =mi, and it is clearly not the case that the two events or actions have the same duration. However, depending on the interpretation, it is possible that they overlap.

3.3.2.3.3 =(d)di 'when'

A verbal suffix that is very frequent in all of the texts, is =*di*. It attaches to the imperfect and seems to be used for describing a chain of action, that is the verb to which the suffix attaches describes the action happening first, while the main verb refers to the one occurring afterwards. Kellner (2007: 288) postulates the shape -*ddi* for this suffix, and the meaning “when”.³⁰ (58) is an example of =*di* with a feminine subject.

(58) <i>Aabba-gaa</i>	<i>war-t-aa=di=k'aa</i>	<i>“miya=taa</i>	<i>shi-cci</i>
father-DAT	tell-3SG.F-IMP=when=FOC	what=Q	POSS.2SG-F.NOM
<i>dhiba?”</i>	<i>i-y-i</i>	<i>worsadh-ann-oo.</i>	
problem	say-EG-CVB	ask-PST-CON	

'When she told her father, he asked “what is your problem?”.' (Text *Girl* 15)

Contrary to converbs (see chapter 3.2.2.2 *Converb*), verbs suffixed with =*di* seem to be used with a subject that is different from the one of the main verb, while a converb always has the same subject as the main verb.

3.3.3 Connector =*nni*

Dhaashatee has the connector =*nni* 'also, and' to connect two clauses (Wedekind 1990: 482). It often – but not always – attaches to the subject. An example is given in (59).

(59) <i>Halan-gu=nni</i>	<i>isa-kka</i>	<i>aabba-gaa</i>	<i>ungu=naa</i>	<i>i-nn-i: (...)</i>
boy-LNOM.M=CONN	POSS.3SG.M-M.ABS	father-DAT	like.this=FOC	say-PST-NCON.3SG
'And the boy said to his father: (...)' (Text <i>Son</i> 28)				

According to Wedekind (1990: 482), the connector =*nni* connects two noun phrases “across clause boundaries”. It “takes up a NP which has not been a subject yet, and by doing so it establishes a relation not only between two nominal items but also between the two

³⁰ Wedekind (1990: 524) regards this suffix as identical to the locative suffix -*ddi* (see chapter 3.2.1.3.4 *Locative*). While it does make sense in terms of semantics that these two suffixes are connected, I did not perceive a gemination of /d/ in these forms – in contrary to the locative suffix.

paragraphs which contain these nominal items”. This is true for *aliccoo* 'girl' in the text *The girl and the marriage*, which is marked with the connective when appearing for the first time as a subject (Text *Girl* 8). The same holds for *halami* 'boy' (Text *Girl* 28). Yet, =*nni* also attaches to objects and “nominal items” which have been subjects shortly before³¹. As for example (59), *halami* 'boy' has appeared as a subject in the beginning of the story, but does not re-appear as a noun phrase until the sentence given above.

3.3.4 Focus markers

The morphemes *k'aa* and *naa* are highly frequent in Dhaashatee and occur in almost every sentence of the collected data. They serve as focus markers, but also have a range of other functions, which shall be briefly presented in the following.

According to Wedekind (1990: 482), *k'aa* and *naa* are fully interchangeable and their choice is a matter of personal preference. However, in a story it is uncommon to switch between them within a section (Wedekind 1990: 533).

Besides, there is *i-naa*, a “free focus marker” according to Wedekind (1990: 510). It is used when the verb is in focus. Judging from its shape, it might be the verb stem *ih-* 'to be', followed by the focus marker *naa*. In my fieldwork data, it only appears in the Lowland Dhaashatee text. An example is given in (60).

(60) (...) *wontoo duru inaa labbeedh-ann-i.*
 God in.front.of FOC make.mistake-PST-NCON.3SG
 '(...) I made a mistake in front of God.' (Text *Son* 22)

Wedekind states that only one focus marker per sentence is allowed. The bound focus markers *k'aa* and *naa* are added to expressions that are “determined” by a possessive, an article, or a demonstrative (Wedekind 1990: 486). However, they also attach very frequently to converbs, as my fieldwork data show.

K'aa and *naa* do not only serve as focus markers, but also as copulas, again with no difference in meaning between them. Since only one occurrence is allowed per sentence, it

³¹ See e.g. the dialogue between the woman and the leopard in *The mother of the goats*, sentences 55-64, where the direct speech is introduced with *ishi=nni* 'she' and *isi=nni* 'he', in order to mark who is talking.

is impossible to use them as a focus marker in the same sentence. (61) is an example of *k'aa* used as a copula.

(61) *Shiyi* *min-i* *yeraa=naa*.
 POSS.2SG.M.NOM house-SNOM.M bad=COP
 'Your house is bad.' (spelling as in Wedekind 1990: 534, glossing added)

Furthermore, the focus markers reinforce different kinds of “prominence marking” by attaching to words like *c'alla* 'only' or *'ora* 'pause'. This kind of focus marking differs from the one described above in that these are not “determined” expressions.

Finally, they are used to “separate one information package from the next” by “drawing a line between what the hearer is supposed to know now, and give a little time for this to settle in the hearer's mind” (Wedekind 1990: 534). This use is very frequent in my fieldwork data, as shown for example in (62). It accounts for many, but not all cases of converbs with focus markers.

(62) *l-y-aa=di=k'aa* *k'oddheyshu-hu* *ree-nn-oo*.
 say-EG-IMPF=when=FOC male.goat-LNOM.M die-PST-CON
 'Then, the goat died.' (Text *Goat* 60)

4. The marked nominative

4.1 General background

4.1.1 Case-alignment systems and terminology

Transitive verbs, such as English *to see*, have two core participants: an agent (A), that executes the action, and a patient (P), which is the object of the action. This is illustrated in (63).

(63) [*The woman*] sees [*the man*].
Agent **Verb** **Patient**

Intransitive verbs, such as *to sleep*, only have a subject (S), as illustrated in (64).

(64) [*The woman*] [*is sleeping*].

Subject **Verb**

Where more than one core argument is involved, such as in (63), languages may want to specify which of them is the agent, and which is the patient. This can be done in three ways: by core term marking (e.g. case marking), argument indexation or constituent order (Creissels 2008: 446).

There are three theoretical possibilities to assign cases to the respective participants.

1. all core participants are treated the same
(i.e. no specification of the syntactic role through case marking)
2. all core participants are treated differently
3. two of them are treated differently from the third one

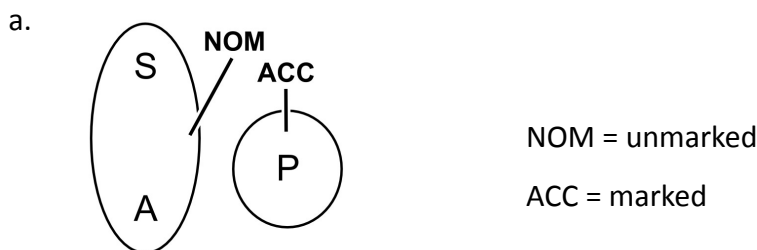


Fig. 4: Accusative system

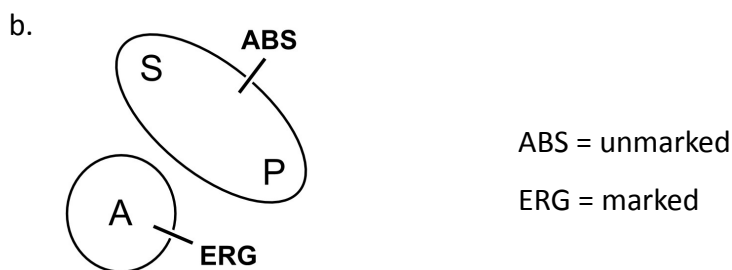


Fig. 5: Ergative system

As for type (3), there is also the theoretical option that A and P are marked in the same way and differently from S. However, this system is extremely rare and occurs only in a small number of languages of the Iranian branch of Indo-European, such as Roshani. Languages marking S morphologically, but not A and P do not seem to exist. The same holds for identical morphological marking of the three core arguments (Creissels 2009: 454).

When talking about “marked” cases, it is important to distinguish between morphological and functional marking. Morphological marking means that the case is marked for example by an affix or tone. An example from Hungarian, which marks patients with the accusative suffix *-t*, is shown in (65).

(65) *A nő látja a férfi-t.*
 DEF woman sees DEF man-ACC
 'The woman sees the man.'

A case is “functionally marked” when it is restricted to a few functions, while all others are assumed by a more general “default case”. In accusative languages such as Hungarian, for example, the accusative is only used to mark patients, while the nominative is the base form and also marks agents and subjects.

In both accusative and ergative systems, there is a marked case (accusative, ergative) and an unmarked one (nominative, absolutive) (Kießling 2007: 150). However, there are “accusative” languages with a marked nominative, such as Dhaashatee, and “ergative” languages with a marked absolutive (Hands Schuh 2014: 5-6).

The marked-nominative system is sometimes regarded as a subtype of the accusative system, since S and A are treated in the same way, and differently from P. Yet, the lack of formal marking on P is something the “accusative” shares with the absolutive case of the ergative system. König (2008: 8) therefore regards the marked-nominative system as a mixture of accusative and ergative system.

The position of marked-nominative systems between accusative and ergative systems entails a terminological challenge. How shall the unmarked case be referred to? In the literature, both “accusative” and “absolutive” have been used. What speaks against using the term “absolutive” is that it does not encode intransitive subjects – unlike the absolutive of ergative languages. “Accusative”, on the other hand, suggests that it is restricted to objects, though its function in marked-nominative languages is much broader. When referring to the base form of a noun, for example, it seems strange to talk about its “accusative”. Also, as stated above, the accusative is usually marked in the languages of the world, while the absolutive is not. Therefore, the term “absolutive” will be preferred in the following.

4.1.2 Distribution of marked-nominative languages

Within the Afro-Asiatic phylum, marked-nominative languages are present in Berber (North and South), Cushitic (especially East and North) and Omotic (West). In the Nilo-Saharan phylum³², only Nilotic (East and South) and Surmic language have marked-nominative systems, and so has Berta, an isolate language spoken in Sudan and Ethiopia. Besides, marked-nominative systems are present in a few closely related Bantu languages of southwestern Africa (König 2008: 192).

Outside Africa, the phenomenon is extremely rare, the only reliable cases being, according to König (2008: 138), the Yuman languages, and the Yukian language Wappo, all from western North America. Further potential, though in some cases controversial candidates include Houailou (Austronesian), “some older Germanic languages”, Old French, Ancient Egyptian (pronouns), Maidu (California), Xokleng (Je, Brasil), Mullukmulluk (Northern Daly, Australia), and Proto-Afroasiatic (König 2008: 138).

The concentration of marked-nominative systems in East Africa raises the question whether the origins of the phenomenon are genetic or areal, and whether they go back to a single innovation. According to König (2008: 192-193), the marked nominative is “at least to some extent” a genetically motivated phenomenon. Comparing Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan languages with marked-nominative systems, it turns out that there are certain differences between the phyla. In Afro-Asiatic languages, definiteness plays an important role, as some of them have split systems where only definite nouns get case marking, while this does not hold for Nilo-Saharan languages. Also, marked-nominative systems with morphological marking of both nominative and absolutive are only found in Afro-Asiatic. Another unique Afro-Asiatic feature is the use of portmanteau morphemes (in the form of suffixes, vowel loss or stress change) to mark gender and case simultaneously.

However, the marked nominative also seems to be an areal phenomenon. In the border region between Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia, nearly all languages have marked-nominative systems, even if they belong to different branches of the Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan phyla (König 2008: 193-194). Those few which do not have a marked nominative are

³² The existence of the Nilo-Saharan phylum – first mentioned by Greenberg (1963: 130) – is controversial. Nichols (1997: 376), for example, regards it as a “residual grouping” rather than a “genetic grouping”. Dimmendaal (2018: 9), however, argues that there is “a set of stable function morphemes pointing towards a common genetic origin of a core of languages classified as Nilo-Saharan”. For reasons of simplicity, the term is used as it is in König (2008).

Afro-Asiatic, and more specifically Omotic and Semitic languages. The lack of a marked nominative in the Cushitic languages Kemantney (Central Cushitic; Leyew 2003) and Dullay (East Cushitic) from northern Ethiopia, is explained by Tosco (1994: 229) by areal contact with Ethio-Semitic languages like Amharic, Tigre, Tigrinya and Gurage.

As for the historical development, König (2008: 196-197) gives three reasons why it is more likely that the marked-nominative system spread from East Cushitic to East and South Nilotic, and not the other way round. First, East and South Nilotic languages have adopted a considerable amount of lexical and other borrowings from East Cushitic (see e.g. Ehret 1974: 39, Heine et al. 1979: 75).³³ Second, the majority of marked-nominative languages are Cushitic. Third, Afro-Asiatic marked-nominative systems show greater structural diversity.³⁴

The Bantu languages with marked-nominative systems are spoken in southeastern Angola and the surrounding region. They are closely related genetically and are spoken in close vicinity to each other, but there is no genetic connection to East Africa. Interestingly enough, case marking by tone is present in marked-nominative languages of both areas – and only in them. This is surprising, since it is a rare strategy typologically (König 2008: 197-198).

Due to the lack of genetic relationships and language contact between East Africa and Angola, it seems unlikely that all marked-nominative languages of Africa go back to a single innovation. However, as far as East Africa is concerned, it seems that the marked nominative first developed in Afro-Asiatic and subsequently spread to surrounding Nilo-Saharan languages.

4.1.3 Historical development of marked-nominative systems

There are different theories about the origin of marked-nominative systems. Dixon (1994: 67) suggests that they have developed from ergative systems, where the marking of A was extended to S, since both A and S are universally identified as “subject”. An ergative origin has also been suggested by linguists working on individual marked-nominative languages,

³³ An exception is the contact between the Nilotic language Turkana and the Lowland East Cushitic language Dhaasanac, which resulted in Nilotic influence on Cushitic. Yet, the contact between these languages is presumably less than 200 years old, i.e. it is relatively recent (König 2008: 196-197).

³⁴ Languages marking either only the nominative morphologically, or both nominative and absolutive, are present, case is marked in different ways (by accent shift, suffix, tone, or a combination of these), there are more cases, and marked-nominative systems occur in several branches of Afro-Asiatic. This suggests that it is an older phenomenon than in Nilo-Saharan (König 2008: 196-197)

e.g. by Randal (2000) for Tennet (Surmic) and by Schröder (2005: 106) for West Nilotic languages. Handschuh (2014: 16-17), however, objects that regular ergative languages, which do not extend the marking of A to S, are much more frequent than marked-nominative languages.

König (2008: 178-191) proposes several other scenarios. First, the marked nominative might have originated from a "marker of peripheral agents in passive-like constructions" (Gerrit Dimmendaal, p.c. as cited in König 2008: 179). This would explain why it is morphologically marked.

Second, it might be a former definiteness marker, as argued by König concerning the Nilotic languages Pãri, Anywa and Jur-Luwo. In Pãri, there is a suffix marking both nominative and ergative, depending on the clause type. It is therefore assumed that it used to mark something different than case, and König assumes that it was "probably" definiteness (König 2008: 179, see König 2008: 117-121 for details).

Third, the Berber languages show that nominative marking by stress and vowel change can be the result of a former preceding definite element (König 2008: 180).

Fourth, Tosco (1994: 229) argues that in East Cushitic the nominative developed out of a topic marker, while the absolutive originates from a focus marker.

Finally, as for the long nominative of Dhaashatee, it might have developed from a postpositive demonstrative (see chapter 4.2.1.2.2 *Other uses and interpretations of the long nominative suffix*).

All in all, it seems that nominative markers can different origins and have developed from various other markers that had already been present in the language.

As for the alignment systems preceding the development of the marked nominative, Hayward and Tsuge (1998) assume that the Omotic languages Gimira and Ometo used to have an accusative system. König (2008: 191) extends this hypothesis to Omotic in general, as well as Cushitic.

4.2 The marked nominative in Dhaashatee

4.2.1 Morphology

In Dhaashatee, both pronouns and full noun phrases get nominative marking when functioning as subjects. In the following chapters, the different ways of marking pronouns

(chapter 4.2.1.1), noun phrases (chapter 4.2.1.2), and nominal modifiers (chapter 4.2.1.3) will be presented.

4.2.1.1 Pronouns

The subject pronouns of Dhaashatee are given in table 24. There is no difference between the Highland and the Lowland dialect.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>ani</i>	<i>naa-nu</i>
2nd person	<i>ashi</i>	<i>ashi-nu</i>
3rd person	<i>isi (m)</i> <i>ishi (f)</i>	<i>isi-nu</i>

Tab. 24: Nominative pronouns

It seems that the plural pronouns are formed by attaching the suffix *-nu* to the singular forms. Only in the first person the singular stem is different from the plural stem. When looking only at the surface forms, it seems that there is no morpheme marking these pronouns with the nominative³⁵.

Tesfaye (2015: 138-140) claims that absolutive pronouns can be used as subjects when either marked by one of the focus markers *naa* or *k'aa* (see chapter 3.4.4 *Focus markers*), or – for certain pronouns – the nominative marker *-nkoo/-ngoo* (see chapter 4.2.1.2.4 *The suffix -nkoo/-ngoo*). The absolutive pronouns are given in table 25. The pronoun of the third person plural was taken from Tesfaye (2015: 140), as it does not appear in my fieldwork data.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>ee</i>	<i>ninsi</i> ³⁶
2nd person	<i>shee</i>	<i>shinsi</i>
3rd person	<i>isi (m)</i> <i>ishee (f)</i>	<i>isinoo</i>

Tab. 25: Absolutive pronouns

There is one instance in my fieldwork data where a focus marker which is attached to an

³⁵ Hayward (1988: 687) regards subject pronouns as being marked by the short nominative.

³⁶ Wedekind (1990: 490) mentions *ninsa* and *shinsa* for the first and second person plural pronouns.

absolute pronoun enables the latter to encode a subject. The example is given in (66).

(66) (...) *ee=naa* *shee* *bun'-i-s-aa*.
 1SG.ABS=FOC 2SG.ABS taste-EV-CAUS-IMPF
 '(...) I will feed you.' (Text *Goat*, 69)

However, a focus marker is not always necessary for an absolute pronoun to function as a subject. According to Charlotte Wedekind (1985: 117-119), for example, *ee mar-ann-oo* 'I went/It was I who went' is just as acceptable as *ee=k'aa mar-ann-oo* '(It is) I-FOC (who) went'. Interestingly, however, the nominative pronoun *ani* 'I' can only be used with *marannoo* when the latter is preceded by the free focus marker *inaa*.³⁷ According to Klaus Wedekind (1990: 550), the nominative pronouns are “non-topic pronouns”, while the absolute pronouns are “topic pronouns”. See Wedekind (1990: 547-554) for more on “verb-focus relations”.

As for the marker *-nkoo/-ngoo*, it can, according to Tesfaye (2015: 139), only attach to the pronoun forms of the third person singular feminine, as well as second and third person plural. The third person singular feminine does indeed appear with *-nkoo* in both Highland texts. An example is given in (67).

(67) *Ishee-nkoo* *Maddi* *gama* *hooss-ann-eyi*.
 3SG.F-NOM Maddi side herd-PST-NEG
 'She did not herd in Maddi.' (Text *Goat* 13)

Wedekind (1990: 490) regards *-nkoo/-ngoo* as a topic marker. While he also did not find the corresponding forms of first person singular and plural, second person singular, and third person singular masculine, he explains this with the participants that appear in his texts – admitting, however, that the form of the second person singular would be expected to be present.

³⁷ This only holds for sentences consisting of nothing more than a subject pronoun and a verb.

4.2.1.2 Noun phrases

There are three ways to mark the nominative on nouns: a suffix which is attached to the final vowel of the noun (“long nominative”), a suffix replacing the final vowel (“short nominative”), and the suffix *-nkoo/-ngoo*. While the choice of the latter seems to be largely determined by lexical principles, the usage of the long and short forms is more complex. In the following chapters the morphology of the long nominative (chapter 4.2.1.2.1), the short nominative (chapter 4.2.1.2.2), and *-nkoo/-ngoo* (chapter 4.2.1.2.3) will be discussed. The usage of short and long forms will be the topic of chapter 4.2.2.

4.2.1.2.1 The long nominative

The long nominative is formed by suffixes which agree with the subject noun in gender and attach to the final vowel of the noun.³⁸ Feminine subjects are marked by *-shi*, as shown in (68).

(68) <i>lshi=nni</i>	<i>eetee</i>	<i>gal-ci=k'aa</i>	<i>aayee-shi</i>
3SG.F.NOM=CONN	agreement	return-CVB.3SG.F=FOC	mother-LNOM.F
 <i>k'itt'ey-ann-oo.</i>			
complete-PST-CON			

'The mother agreed to complete (the task).' (Text *Goat* 62)

The suffix is often reduced to *-sh* due to the deletion of short final vowels (see chapter 3.1.2. *Vowel inventory*). Hayward (1988: 684) claims that the underlying form is *-ti*, consisting of the gender marker *-t* and the nominative marker *-i*, and that /t/ is palatalised before /i/ following the phonological rules discussed in chapter 3.1.6.2 *Palatalisation*. Since feminine nouns always end in a vowel, the conditions for palatalisation are always given, so that the surface form is consistently *-shi*.

The shape of the masculine subject marker is more difficult to determine. In the present data, the most common shape is *-hu*. The final vowel of the noun assimilates to *-u*. In case it is *-aa*, the shape changes to *-ey* (see chapter 3.1.6.5 *Glide insertion* for a description of the

³⁸ According to Hayward (1988: 685), in masculine nouns the long nominative suffix attaches to the short one.

phonological processes involved). Thus, *lammi* 'man, person' becomes *lammuhu* in the nominative, while *aabbaa* 'father' becomes *aabbeyhu*. An example with the latter is given in (69).

(69) <i>lhooni malee</i>	<i>aabbey-hu</i>	<i>angul-ann-oo-sh</i>	<i>tami itta</i>
however	father-LNOM.M	see-PST-CON-LNOM.F?	first time?
<i>marru</i>	<i>gal-i</i>	<i>i-y-i=k'aa</i>	<i>arg-ann-oo.</i>
because	return-IMP.2SG?	say-EG-CVB=FOC	send-PST-CON

'However, since the father saw her only for the first time, he sent her back.'

(Text *Girl* 18)

However, the hypothesis of the underlying shape being *-hu* is challenged by the nominative form of *halami* 'boy', which is *halanku* (Highland) or *halangu* (Lowland) instead of *halamuhu*, as would have been expected. Typologically, it is rather unusual for a fricative to change into a plosive through a phonological process, while the opposite is very common. It thus seems more likely that the velar plosive is the underlying element. Since it is more difficult to explain the presence of the voiceless plosive in Highland Dhaashatee than the voiced one in Lowland Dhaashatee, it seems preferable to regard the former as the underlying one, while the voicing can be explained with assimilation to the voiced surroundings. This analysis is also in line with Hayward (1988: 684), who proposes *-ku* as the underlying shape, consisting of the gender marker *-k* and the nominative marker *-u*. He bases his analysis, among others, on the nominative form of the possessive pronoun (see chapter 4.2.1.3.1 *Possessive pronouns*).

The question why the final vowel of *halami* is deleted, while this is not the case in other nouns, cannot be answered at the present moment.

As for the surface form of the suffix, *-u-hu* is often reduced to *-uh*. In case the suffix is preceded by *-aa*, such as in *aabbaa*, which becomes *aabbeyhu* in the long nominative, /j/ and /h/ might even be deleted in very fast speech, while the final vowel /u/ becomes the glide /w/, thus resulting in *aabbew*.

4.2.1.2.2 Other uses and interpretations of the long nominative suffix

While Hayward (1988: 684) refers to the long nominative as the indefinite one, surprisingly, Tesfaye (2015: 104) regards its suffixes as definite articles. However, he emphasizes that they only occur on subjects, while demonstrative pronouns are used to express definiteness in objects (Tesfaye 2015: 111). The question of definiteness or indefiniteness of the two nominatives will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.2.2 *Usage*.

There is, however, another case in which the long-nominative suffixes – or homonymous suffixes – occur. This is the instrumental, (see chapter 3.2.1.3.2 *Comitative and Instrumental*) which is formed by the respective suffixes, followed by *-ni*. Examples for a feminine (70a) and a masculine (70b) noun are given in the following.

- (70) a. *aaree-ti-ni* < *aaree-shi-ni*
 anger-“TI”-INS 'with anger, angrily'
- b. *maala-ku-ni* < *maalu-hu-ni*
 meat-“KU”-INS 'with meat'

The question is whether these are indeed the same suffixes as the long nominative ones. At first glance, it seems strange that a nominative marker should be present in the instrumental, as a noun marked by the instrumental can never be the subject of the phrase. However, it is possible that the suffixes have a common origin and used to mark something different in the past. There are several options.

First, they could be gender markers. This seems to be the function they have today in the instrumental. However, the gender is already determined by the final vowel of the noun, and although this marking may be ambiguous – especially when vowel shortening and assimilation is involved – it does not seem convincing that a disambiguating suffix should be necessary only in the instrumental.

Second, they could have been definite markers, as Tesfaye (2015) suggests even with respect to today's long nominative suffixes. This hypothesis is mentioned by König (2008: 175) concerning the short nominative of Dhaashatee. What supports this hypothesis with respect to the long nominative of Dhaashatee, is the existence of the demonstrative pronouns *ku*

(m) and *ci* (f) (see chapter 4.2.1.3.2 *Demonstrative pronouns*). Today, however, definiteness is implied neither in the instrumental, nor in the long nominative. Also, as with the gender hypothesis, an explanation would be needed why a definite marker is necessary only in the instrumental.

Third, Wedekind (1990: 529) regards the markers of the long nominative in Dhaashatee as topic markers. Tosco (1994: 229) assumes the same origin for nominative markers in East Cushitic. However, if this is also the origin of the suffix preceding the instrumental marker, an explanation would be needed, why an instrumental participant should have a greater topic-worthiness than others.

Finally, disambiguation could have played a role. Even if no nominal suffix *-ni* seems to be present nowadays other than in the instrumental, it could be that this used to be the case, and that the nominative/definiteness/topic marker was inserted before the instrumental suffix to avoid confusion with the other marker, which subsequently disappeared or changed into something else. Yet, at the present moment this is only a speculation.

More research into the history of Dhaashatee is needed to find out where the suffix preceding the instrumental marker comes from. This is also relevant for the study of the marked nominative, as it might shed light on the origin of its long version as well.

4.2.1.2.3 The short nominative

The short nominative is formed by shortening the final vowel of the noun and/or replacing it by a different vowel. The different markers, as given by Tesfaye (2015), are summarized in table 26.

Final vowel	Example	Translation	Nominative
-i	<i>tirir-i</i> (m)	bed	<i>tirir-u</i>
-ee	<i>harr-ee</i> (f)	donkey	<i>harr-i</i>
-a	<i>huww-a</i> (m)	bee	<i>huww-u</i>
-aa	<i>k'ol-aa</i> (m) ³⁹	goat	<i>k'ol-a</i>
-oo	<i>shil-oo</i> (m) ⁴⁰	rock	<i>shil-u</i>

Tab. 26: Markers of the short nominative (Tefaye 2015)
(adapted from Tesfaye 2015: 109)

The choice of the marker depends on the final vowel of the noun stem. All markers are short vowels and therefore get devoiced or even deleted in natural speech. This means that the short nominative is not always clearly distinguishable in spoken language. Tosco (1994: 233) therefore predicts that the long nominative – which he refers to as the “indefinite subject marker” – will replace the short one “in due time”.

In terms of vowel quality, it seems impossible to formulate a general rule predicting all of the vowel changes. However, there seems to be a tendency for the stem vowel to be raised.

Sasse and Straube (1977: 251), who worked on Lowland Dhaashatee, however, came up with simpler patterns. According to them, masculine nouns are marked with *-u* in the nominative. Yet, their claims should be treated with care, as they seem to be unaware of the distinction between long and short nominative. Thus, they treat the nominative endings *-uwu* and *-eu* as allophones of *-u*, although they are most likely instances of the long nominative suffix *-hu* preceded by an assimilated vowel (see chapter 4.2.1.2.1 *The long nominative*), that is *-uhu* and *-eyhu*. As for the feminine ending, they only mention *-sh(i)*, which is clearly the marker of the long nominative. Thus, it is possible that Sasse and Straube did not even come across any forms of the short nominative.

Wedekind (1990: 528), who like Sasse and Straube (1977) worked on Lowland Dhaashatee, mentions *-i* as the masculine marker of the nominative.

This is in line with Hayward (1988: 684), who worked on Highland Dhaashatee. An overview of the markers he found is given in table 28. Hayward also states that nouns with a final vowel that is ambiguous with regards to gender, still take different short-nominative suffixes depending on whether they are masculine or feminine.

³⁹ = *kolaa* 'castrated goat' (m) in Roba and Wedekind (2008: 51), with the nominative *koleygu*; *kola* '(castrated) ram' in Hudson (1989: 204).

⁴⁰ = *shilloo* 'rock' (m) in Roba and Wedekind (2008: 72)

Final vowel	Example word	Translation	Nominative
-i	<i>galda-i</i> ⁴¹ (m)	baboon	<i>galda-y</i>
-ee	<i>gar-ee</i> (f)	calf	<i>gar-i</i>
-a	<i>min-a</i> (m)	house	<i>min-i</i>
	<i>sun-a</i> (f)	nose	<i>sun-ə</i>
-aa	<i>moona-a</i> (m)	kraal	<i>moona-y</i>
	<i>bash-aa</i> (f)	grass	<i>bash-a</i>
-oo	<i>bidd-oo</i> (m)	centre-pole of house	<i>bidd-i</i>
	<i>sor-oo</i> (f)	knife	<i>sor-u</i>

Tab. 27: Markers of the short nominative (Hayward 1988)
(adapted from Hayward 1988: 684)

Hayward (1988: 683-684) summarizes the formation of the short nominative as follows. For feminine nouns ending in a long vowel, it consists in “the truncation of the final mora”, that is the shortening of the final vowel if it is long. In case it is short, Hayward (1988: 683) claims that absolute and short nominative are identical. However, *sun-ə* in the table above shows, that the final vowel is centralised to a schwa. This process is most likely not restricted to nouns in the short nominative, but happens to all word-final short vowels, together with the devoicing. As for masculine nouns, the final vowel is replaced by *-i*. Please note that for long final vowels of masculine nouns, only the last one is seen as the actual final vowel, while the preceding one is regarded as belonging to the stem.

As for personal names, Hayward (1988: 686) states that they behave like feminine nouns, regardless of the gender of the referent. They do not appear with suffixes of the long nominative.

Comparing Hayward's and Tesfaye's analysis, there are clear differences with regards to the nominative forms of masculine nouns. Hayward (1988) postulates *-i* as the masculine marker of the nominative. In Tesfaye (2015), however, all masculine example nouns end in *-u* – except the one ending in *-aa* in the base form. Besides, Tesfaye does not distinguish between feminine and masculine nouns ending in *-a*, *-aa*, and *-oo*, while Hayward has found differences in marking between them.

⁴¹ This is the underlying form. Since diphthongs are not allowed in Dhaashatee, a glide is inserted between the vowels on the surface. Roba and Wedekind (2008) give the form *geldeyi* for “baboon”.

The crucial question is: do the differences between Hayward's and Tesfaye's accounts reflect actual dialectal differences between Highland and Lowland Dhaashatee?

In order to answer this question, let us first examine the probability that the vowels got “confused”. /i/ and /u/ differ in both frontness and lip-rounding. While /i/ is a front unrounded vowel, /u/ is a back rounded vowel. Since short final vowels are devoiced in Dhaashatee, the most reliable feature to distinguish between /i/ and /u/ is lip-rounding. However, it seems that (some) vowels also get centralised as a result of the devoicing (compare *sun-ə* from table 28). This might also affect lip-rounding in a way that makes it difficult to distinguish between short devoiced centralised /i/ and /u/. Thus, it may be that the short nominative marker of masculine nouns is simply a reduced high central vowel.

Another indicator as for who of the authors may be right is how well the proposed analysis fits into the general theory. Here, Hayward is definitely more convincing, since his hypothesis of the masculine nominative marker being *-i* accounts for all forms discussed in his paper, including those ending in *-aa*. Tesfaye, on the other hand, does not provide any explanation for the appearance of the glide /j/ in the latter.

A further possible explanation of Tesfaye's forms in *-u* could be that they have been confused with long-nominative forms. As mentioned in chapter 4.2.1.2.1 *The long nominative*, the ending *-u-hu* of the masculine forms is subject to reduction including the deletion of the final vowel. As I have noticed during my fieldwork, the glottal fricative /h/ is also often hardly perceivable.

Thus, at this point Hayward's account of short-nominative markers seems more convincing. Also, no masculine short-nominative forms ending in *-u* have been found in my fieldwork data.

4.2.1.2.4 The suffix *-nkoo/-ngoo*

The suffix *-nkoo* (Highland Dhaashatee) or *-ngoo* (Lowland Dhaashatee) is restricted to names and certain kinship terms, according to Hayward (1988: 690). He regards it as a possibly archaic alternative marking. Wedekind (1990: 530) adds that absolute pronouns can also take *-nkoo/-ngoo* (see chapter 4.2.1.1 *Pronouns*). What they all have in common, according to him, is that they are high on the animacy scale⁴² and have a high topic-

⁴² According to Wedekind (1990: 530), non-animate participants tend to be expressed as full NPs rather than pronouns, and if they are pronouns, they tend to be objects.

worthiness. Yet, there is an example in Wedekind (1990: 487) where the suffix *-ngoo* is attached to the noun *waayyaa* 'saliva'. This might either be an archaic usage of the suffix, or the saliva is the topic of the particular sentence.

In the present data, this suffix is rather rare. The nouns marked by *-nkoo/-ngoo* are listed in table 28.

Highland Dhaashatee		Lowland Dhaashatee	
<i>Dhaashi</i>	Burji	<i>aabboo</i>	father
<i>ama</i>	woman	<i>Yesoo</i>	Jesus

Tab. 28: Nouns marked by *-nkoo/-ngoo*

According to Tesfaye (2015: 113), *-ngoo* only attaches to nouns with a long final vowel. However, *Dhaashi* and *ama* end in short vowels and still take *-nkoo* as a suffix, resulting in *Dhaashinkoo* (see *Text Girl* 5) and *amankoo* (*Text Goat* 92).

Ama 'woman' stands out among the nouns, since it does not denote a kinship relation, nor is it a name. While it can have the meaning "wife", this is clearly not the intended meaning in the text *The mother of the goat*, since the character does not have a husband.

All of the nouns listed in table 28, except for *ama*, occur exclusively with the suffix *-nkoo/-ngoo* in the respective texts (*Dhaashi* appearing only once). However, Roba and Wedekind's (2008) dictionary of Lowland Dhaashatee lists *aabbeyhu* as the nominative form of *aabboo*. This is surprising, since, unlike *-aa*, the final vowel *-oo* does not usually change to *-ey* before the nominative suffix. Hence, it is more likely that *aabbeyhu* is in fact the nominative of *aabbaa*. However, the latter is listed by Roba and Wedekind (2008) as the vocative. To further complicate things, Tesfaye's (2015: 126) analysis is directly contrary, thus regarding *aabboo* as the vocativ. The collected data support Tesfaye's analysis, since the only vocative form of "father" in the texts – even if from Highland Dhaashatee – is *aabboo*, while all non-vocative forms are formed based on *aabbaa*. It is, however, surprising that *aabboo* appears with the nominative marker *-ngoo* in the Lowland text. One possible explanation could be that the distinction between vocative and non-vocative forms is gradually lost, as it is also reported by Tesfaye (2015: 126) for the corresponding terms for mother. According to him, the original non-vocative form for "mother" used to be *ama*, while *aayyee* used to be the

vocative form. However, nowadays *aayyee* is used both as vocative and non-vocative, according to him. My fieldwork data support this statement, as can be seen for example in the title of one of the Highland texts, which is *K'alinta aayee* 'The mother of the goats'.

4.2.1.3 Nominal modifiers

Noun phrases consist of a noun and one or more modifiers. The modifier can be an adjective, a demonstrative or possessive pronoun, a numeral or a quantifier. In the present data, the modifiers of subject nouns are almost exclusively demonstrative and possessive pronouns. According to Tesfaye (2015: 240), all modifiers “usually” precede the noun they modify. This is true for the Highland Dhaashatee texts. However, in the Lowland one the modifier often follows the noun. This may be a matter of style, since the Lowland text is taken from the Bible, while the other two stories are folk tales.

According to Tesfaye (2015: 113, 241-242), possessive and demonstrative pronouns, as well as quantifiers agree in case with the head noun. However, as for quantifiers he does not specify whether the agreement is compulsory or optional. For numerals, however, he explicitly states that agreement is obligatory, while adjectives never agree.

In my fieldwork data, there are cases where only the modifier gets nominative marking, whereas the head noun is in the absolutive. In these cases, the modifier follows the head noun. An example is given in (71), where the possessive pronoun is in the nominative, while the head noun *k'albee* 'memory' is unmarked.

(71) <i>K'albee</i>	<i>isa-cci</i>	<i>isa-gaa</i>	<i>rik'-idh-aa=di (...)</i>
memory	POSS.3SG.M-F-NOM	3SG.M-DAT	return-MID-IMPF=when
'When his memories returned to him (...)'			(Text <i>Son</i> 17)

However, mostly both modifier and head noun are marked, as in (72).

(72) <i>Uu</i>	<i>aney-hu</i>	<i>hammunnaa</i>	<i>arg-ann-i</i>
DEM.DIST.M.NOM	man-NOM.M	fields	send-PST-NCON.3SG
<i>booyee-gaa</i>	<i>itee</i>	<i>uw-ooni.</i>	
pig-DAT	food	give-JUSS	

'That man sent him to the fields to feed the pigs.' (Text *Son* 13)

As for the quantifier *laboo* 'many', it seems that the nominative marking can either be on the noun itself or on the quantifier, but not on both of them. The marked constituent always follows the unmarked one, and the nominative suffix is always chosen according to the gender of the head noun, even if only the quantifier is marked. The following examples were given as alternatives by the speaker. In (73a), the quantifier is marked and follows the noun, while in (73b) the marking is on the head noun.

(73) a.	<i>Kaysummaa</i>	<i>laboo-sh</i>	<i>joor-u</i>	<i>intay-t-aa=di=naa</i>	(...)
	guest[F]	many-LNOM.F	house-LOC	come-3SG.F-IMPF=when=FOC	
b.	<i>Laboo</i>	<i>kaysummaa-sh</i>	<i>joor-u</i>	<i>intay-t-aa=di=naa</i>	(...)
	many	guest[F]-LNOM.F	house-LOC	come-3SG.F-IMPF=when=FOC	

'When many guests came to my house (...)' (Text *Goat* 22)

There is one example in the data, which seems to contradict Tesfaye's statement that adjectives do not agree with the head noun in case. It is given in (74).

(74) <i>Halam-i</i>	<i>dubakkey-hu</i>	<i>isa-kka</i>	<i>aabbaa</i>	<i>ungu=naa</i>
boy-SNOM	younger-LNOM.M	POSS.3SG.M-M.ABS	father	like.this=FOC
<i>i-nn-i: (...)</i>				
say-PST-NCON.3SG				

'The younger son said to his father: (...)' (Text *Son* 2)

The speaker does not pause between *halami* and *dubakkeyhu*, which would have been a strong indication that the latter is in fact a noun, which is added in a parenthesis (“the boy – the younger one – said”). Still, its status remains unclear. What is interesting is that the noun is marked by the short nominative⁴³, while the adjective(?) takes the long one.

4.2.1.3.1 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns agree in gender, number and case with the head noun. The forms are given in table 29. Only the ones marked by an asterisk have been found in my fieldwork data, whereas the remaining ones were taken from Tesfaye (2015: 141). The underlying forms of the pronouns have been derived based on the rules discussed in chapter 3.1.6.2 *Palatalisation*. There seem to be no differences between Highland and Lowland Dhaashatee.

	Nominative	Absolutive	Nominative	Absolutive
	Masculine		Feminine	
1SG	<i>i-yy-u*</i>	<i>i-yy-a*</i>	<i>icci* < i-tt-i</i>	<i>i-tt-a*</i>
2SG	<i>shi-yy-u</i>	<i>shi-yy-a*</i>	<i>shicci* < shi-tt-i</i>	<i>shi-tt-a*</i>
3SG.M	<i>isa-kk-u</i>	<i>isa-kk-a*</i>	<i>isacci* < isa-tt-i</i>	<i>isa-tt-a*</i>
3SG.F	<i>ishee-kk-u</i>	<i>ishee-kk-a*</i>	<i>isheecci < ishee-tt-i</i>	<i>ishee-tt-a*</i>
1PL	<i>ni-n-k-u</i>	<i>ni-n-k-a*</i>	<i>ninci < ni-n-t-i</i>	<i>ni-n-t-a*</i>
2PL	<i>shi-n-k-u</i>	<i>shi-n-k-a</i>	<i>shinci < shi-n-t-i</i>	<i>shi-n-t-a</i>
3PL	<i>isa-na-kk-u</i>	<i>isa-na-kka</i>	<i>isanacci* < isa-na-tt-i</i>	<i>isa-na-tt-a</i>

Tab. 29: Possessive pronouns

It seems that the plural forms have the plural marker *-n(a)*. This is particularly evident in the third person forms *isa-na-kku* (NOM) and *isa-na-kka* (ABS), when comparing them to the third person singular forms *isa-kku* (NOM) and *isa-kka* (ABS). The plural marker *-na* is also found on nouns (see chapter 3.2.1.2 *Number*). In the first and second person plural it is reduced to *-n*, but still functions as a plural marker, as a comparison between the feminine forms of the second person singular and plural shows.

The stems of the possessive pronouns clearly resemble the ones of the absolutive pronouns (see chapter 4.2.1.1 *Pronouns*), except for the first and second person singular, which have

⁴³ Presumably, since short nominative and absolutive are morphologically identical for nouns ending in *-i*.

slightly different stems.

It seems that the masculine marker of the nominative is *-u*, while the feminine one is *-i*. The absolutive forms of both genders are marked by *-a*.

The feminine nominative marker *-i* triggers the palatalisation of the preceding /t/, as described in chapter 3.1.6.2 *Palatalisation*.

Underlyingly, the feminine gender seems to be marked by *-(t)t-*, while the masculine is marked by *-(k)k-*. Only in the masculine forms of the first and second person singular *-kk-* is replaced by *-yy-*. With both feminine and masculine forms, the gender markers are geminated in all but first and second person plural. This could be due to the fact that in the latter, the gender marker is preceded by a consonant, which might have led to the shortening of the gender marker, in order to facilitate the pronunciation. This seems to be more plausible than assuming that the underlying marker is a single consonant, which is geminated after vowels, as this would complicate the pronunciation, rather than facilitate it.⁴⁴

Hayward (1988: 684-685) justifies his claim that the feminine nominative marker is underlyingly *-ti* with the shapes of the possessive pronouns, but does not elaborate on it. Instead, he points to a forthcoming paper of his on Dhaashatee phonology for a “more complete discussion”, which, however, seems to never have been published.

4.2.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Dhaashatee has a high number of demonstrative pronouns, divided into proximal and distal ones. While several researchers have mentioned the demonstratives of Dhaashatee in their work (e.g. Wedekind 1990, Kellner 2007, Tesfaye 2015), their accounts are often contradictory and do not discuss the more fine-grained semantic differences. There is definitely more research needed in this area. Therefore, rather than comparing and discussing all the paradigms different researchers came up with, I will only present the forms actually found in my data (marked by asterisks), and complete the respective sets with the help of the patterns given in Tesfaye (2015: 222).

⁴⁴ If this rule is correct, we need to reformulate the analysis of possessive suffixes on nouns (see chapter 3.2.1.3.6 *Possessive*), so that the underlying gender markers are *-kk-* and *-tt-* and they are shortened after the genitive marker *-n*.

	PROX		DIST	
	M	F	M	F
NOM	<i>ku</i> <i>kan'uu</i> * ⁴⁵	<i>ti > ci</i> * <i>kan'ish</i> *	<i>uu</i> *	<i>i</i>
ABS	<i>ka</i> * <i>kan'i</i> *	<i>ta</i> *	<i>oo</i> *	<i>ee</i> * <i>en'idha</i> * ⁴⁶ <i>on'itta</i> *

Tab. 30: Demonstrative pronouns

Tesfaye (2015: 222) states that there are derived and underived demonstrative pronouns, the latter of which are the ones given in the first lines of each row in table 31. Derived demonstratives, on the other hand, consist of a stem and a suffix. It seems clear that this is the case for *kan'uu* and *kan'ish*, whose suffixes strongly resemble the ones found on nouns. *Kan'i*, however, is not expected to be an absolutive demonstrative, based on nominal suffixes.⁴⁷ The suffix *-tta* on *on'itta*, however, is identical to the feminine absolutive suffix of the possessive (see chapter 3.2.1.3.6 *Possessive*) and the suffix of feminine absolutive possessive pronouns (see chapter 4.2.1.3.1 *Possessive pronouns*). This suggests that at least some of the “derived demonstrative pronouns” might originally have been nouns. According to Wedekind (1990: 535), *en'idha* and *on'itta*⁴⁸ are independent pronouns, which means that they function like noun phrases. However, in my fieldwork data *en'idha* is used attributively, as shown in (75).

(75) *Hiliccoo* *c'ooma* *en'idha* *amb-i-shingi* *ay-ee!*
female.calf fat DEM.DIST.F.ABS bring-EV-CVB.2PL slaughter-IMP.PL
'Bring and slaughter a fat calf!' (Text *Son* 33)

⁴⁵ Kellner 2007: 282 gives the forms *kandhugu* and *kandhishi* instead, while Assefa's (2015: 222) forms are *ka'ugu* and *ka'ishi*.

⁴⁶ Wedekind (1990: 535) mentions *endha* as an absolutive feminine distal demonstrative with the meaning “this one”. However, as Kellner (2007: 281) observes, the translation should be “that one”, as it is distal and not proximal.

⁴⁷ According to Wedekind (1990: 535), *kandhi* is marked for the nominative, whereas *kandha* is in the absolutive.

⁴⁸ in Wedekind (1990: 535-536): *endha* and – probably *ondhitta* (the latter form is not given directly, but Wedekind mentions that demonstratives with *-tta* are formed “in accordance with the rules described for these suffixes in general”)

4.2.2 Usage

4.2.2.1 Absolutive subjects

An example of subjects in the absolutive from Highland Dhaashatee is given in (76).

(76) <i>Weyda</i>	<i>dhekki</i>	<i>anaa=yaa</i>	<i>ama=k'aa</i>	<i>yedh-ann-oo.</i>
long.ago	one.M	man=and	woman=FOC	be-PST-CON

'Once upon a time, there lived a man and a woman.' (Text *Girl 1*)

There are two possible explanations why the subjects in (76) are unmarked. On the one hand, it could be the existential predicate *yedh-* 'to be' that triggers zero-marking. On the other hand, it could be the indefinite article *dhekki*. There is no example in my fieldwork data of a subject of an affirmative existential which is not modified by *dhekki* and has distinct morphological forms in the absolutive and the short nominative.

However, there is one with the negated existential, where the long nominative is used, as shown in (77).

(77) (...)	<i>tanee</i>	<i>joor-u</i>	<i>hakk'a-shi</i>	<i>yedh-t-eyi</i>	<i>marru (...)</i>
	now	home-LOC	firewood-LNOM.F	be-3SG.F-NEG	because

'(...) since there is no firewood at the house at the moment (...)' (Text *Goat*, 63)

This points to *dhekki* triggering the zero-marking in (76), though it does not prove it.

4.2.2.2 Earlier theories about the two nominatives

The two nominatives of Dhaashatee are linked to definiteness and indefiniteness in the few publications that deal with the topic. Interestingly, however, the authors do not agree as to which one is definite, and which one is indefinite.

Tesfaye (2015: 108) regards the suffixes of the long nominative as definite articles. Still, short-nominative forms are translated into English with "the/a", thus with both definite and indefinite article. Wedekind (1990: 65) translates long-nominative nouns with English "the". However, this is in opposition with the absolutive, which is translated with the indefinite article "a". As for the short nominative, Wedekind (1990: 528) mentions it only very briefly as

“nominative”. The texts he transcribed contain a few instances of short-nominative forms (see chapter 4.2.2.3.1 *Lowland Dhaashatee*).

Support for the theory that the long nominative – at least historically – had a definite function, comes from the fact that the underlying shape of the suffixes is identical to the ones of the proximal demonstratives *ku* (m) and *ti* (f).

According to König (2008: 232-234), however, the short nominative was originally a definiteness marker which developed into a nominative marker. Unmarked forms came to be used as objects. Since at that stage subjects would automatically be definite, the suffixes of the long nominative emerged, in order to encode indefinite subjects. König agrees with Hayward (1988) in that the short nominative is older, since in case of masculine nouns, the long-nominative suffix is added to the short nominative (see chapter 3.1.6.5 *Glide insertion*). She argues that if the short nominative had lost its definite function, there would have been no need to introduce yet another indefinite marker. However, to me it seems strange that a marker identical to a demonstrative should be chosen to mark indefinite subjects.

Hayward (1988) also regards the long nominative as the indefinite one. The short forms, which he calls “definite”, are used with subjects that have some kind of “expansion”, that is a specifier or complement (Hayward 1988: 685). The examples he lists include subjects modified by possessive pronouns (78a), demonstrative pronouns (78b), adjectives (78c), relative clauses (78d) and possessive complements (78e), as shown in the following examples from Hayward (1988: 685-686; adapted orthography, glosses added).

- (78) a. *I-cci* *harr-i* *laafaa.*
 POSS.1SG-F.NOM donkey-SNOM.F weak
 'My donkey is weak.'
- b. *Ond'i* *manda-y* *dansaa.*
 DEM.DIST.M.NOM girl-SNOM.M good
 'The girl is beautiful.'

- c. *Laafaa lamm-i dhukkub-ann-i.*
 weak man-SNOM.M fall.sick-PST-NCON.3SG
 'The weak man fell sick.'
- d. *Ree-nn-o(-h) meen-i nin-ta gossa.*
 die-PST-CON?-LNOM.M people-SNOM.M POSS.1PL-F.ABS kinsfolk
 'The people who died (were) our kinsfolk.'
- e. *Kaaci wocc-a-tta dhag-e inaa bee-nn-i.*
 DEM dog-EV-POSS.F.ABS ear-SNOM.F FOC disappear-PST-NCON.3SG
 'That dog's ear is missing.'

Hayward (1988: 686) also gives examples of subjects without modifiers, which are all marked by the long nominative.

However, Hayward's findings are not entirely consistent with the data from my fieldwork. In (79), for example, the subject *allicoo* 'girl' appears without any modifier, but gets marked by the short nominative.

- (79) *Itaadi=k'aa alicc-u ba'-ann-oo.*
 therefore=FOC girl-SNOM.F leave-PST-CON
 'Therefore, the girl left.' (Text *Girl* 10)

As for the text in Lowland Dhaashatee, there is a subject in the long nominative, which is modified by an adjective, as shown in (80).

- (80) *Worshee isa-tta oloos-aa=di=naa ee*
 wealth POSS.3SG.M-F.ABS loose-IMP=when=FOC DEM.DIST.F.ABS
- biya ham'anee laa-shi inta-ann-i.*
 country big famine-LNOM.F come-PST-NCON.3SG

'When he had lost all his money, a big famine came to the country.' (Text *Son* 10)

Hayward (1988: 687) does admit with reference to narratives that the distinction definite-indefinite, in the sense of being identifiable by the listener or not, cannot fully explain the way short and long nominative are used. He formulates the following principles: “Failure to mark the IN [= long nominative] can always be taken to mean that the subject entity is identifiable *to some degree*; but marking the IN cannot always be taken to mean that an entity is unidentifiable” (Hayward 1988: 687).

Wedekind (1990) does not discuss the usage of the short nominative. As for the long nominative, he states that the suffixes are actually topic markers, because they correlate with “animacy, subject function, and topic-worthiness”. According to him, they are rarely used with non-animate subjects. *-Ngoo* only appears on inanimates when they have a “critically 'dominant' status” (Wedekind 1990: 529-530).

4.2.2.3 Analysis of the collected data

4.2.2.3.1 Lowland Dhaashatee

In the Lowland text *The Prodigal Son* most short nominative forms also end in *-i* in the absolutive, which makes it difficult to judge which of the two forms is present. An example with the subject *halami* 'boy' is given in (80). Since it is modified by an adjective, however, it seems more plausible to assume that it is marked by the short nominative.

(81) <i>C'in'atta</i>	<i>lasa</i>	<i>k'udee=naa</i>	<i>dagee</i>	<i>halam-i</i>	<i>joori-cci</i>	<i>bay-i</i>
small.F	day	after=FOC	young	boy-SNOM.M	home-ABL	disappear-CVB
<i>bayyaa</i>	<i>biya</i>	<i>mar-ann-i.</i>				
far	country	go-PST-NCON.3SG				

'A few days later, the younger son left home to go to a faraway country.' (Text *Son* 4)

Interestingly, however, it does happen in the text that modified subjects take the long nominative. An example of a feminine subject in the long nominative modified by an adjective is sentence 10 of *The Prodigal Son*. It is given in chapter 4.2.2.2 *Earlier theories about the two nominatives*. An example of a masculine subject in the long nominative, which

is modified by a demonstrative pronoun is given in (82). Due to strong phonological reductions of both the short and long masculine nominative marker with masculine nouns ending in *-aa*, such as *anaa* 'man' in the example (*aney-i* > *aney* for the short nominative vs. *aney-hu* > *aneyh*, *anew* for the long one), the two forms seem to be prone to confusion. However, in example (82), the lip-rounding during the last element was clearly perceivable (*anew*).

(82) <i>Uu</i>	<i>aney-hu</i>	<i>hammunnaa</i>	<i>arg-ann-i (...)</i>
DEM.DIST.M.NOM	man-LNOM.M	fields	send-PST-NCON.3SG
'That man sent him to the fields (...)' (Text <i>Son</i> 13)			

The presence of the long nominative in (82) cannot even be explained with the fact that the referent appears in the story for the first time, since it has occurred already in the preceding sentence.

As for the Lowland texts in Wedekind (1990: 564-568, 579-581, 595-602), short nominative forms do appear and can be explained by Hayward's rule. In the first text, a story of a hyena and a jackal looking for a house, *mina* 'house' occurs twice in the short nominative. It is modified by a relative clause and a possessive pronoun, respectively. In the second text, the report of a journey, only *meena* 'people' appears in the short nominative (*meeni*). It is modified by a relative clause. The third text, which is about the history of the Burji, contains *godoo* 'place' in a relative clause (*godi* in the short nominative), *meena* 'people' with a demonstrative, and *aadaa* 'culture' with a relative clause (*aadeyi* in the short nominative). As for long nominatives, they are never modified, except for one subject, which is followed by a relative clause for which it functions as a head noun (Wedekind 1990: 596, sentence 3d). While it might seem that it is the unusual order of head noun and relative clause which accounts for the different marking, head nouns of relative clauses in the long nominative actually seem to be more frequent, regardless of the order of head noun and relative clause (see chapter 3.3.2.2 *Relative clauses*).

When looking at the history of the Burji in Lowland Dhaashatee, as transcribed by Kellner (2007: 348-372), at least eleven of the thirteen short nominative nouns are modified. The two uncertain ones are *mak'ey* 'name' which is preceded by something which semantically

seems to be a possessive modifier, but lacks the appropriate marking (Kellner 2007: 349, sentence 5), and *Konso*, which is followed by *issa* 'selbst', thus meaning “the Konso themselves” (Kellner 2007: 349, sentence 7)⁴⁹.

All in all, Hayward's (1988) rules seem to hold for the bulk of the Lowland Dhaashatee data. Yet, an explanation is needed for modified subjects in the long nominative. As far as relative clauses are concerned, it seems that the head noun does not always appear in the short nominative, but may also appear in the long nominative.

4.2.2.3.2 Highland Dhaashatee

Kellner (2007: 373-402) provides a transcription and translation of the Yaayya myth⁵⁰, which describes the life of the first “priest” of the Baambala clan (Kellner 2007: 173). All of the short-nominative occurrences are subjects with a modifier, such as a relative clause or a demonstrative or possessive pronoun, and are thus in line with the rule formulated by Hayward (1988). In the story *The lazy baboon* transcribed by Kellner (2001: 41-70), only long nominative forms are present, none of which has a modifier.

In *The mother of the goats*, *aayee* 'mother' appears in the long nominative, unless it is modified by the possessive *k'alinci* 'of the goats'. Another short nominative is *min-i-nka aney* 'the man/owner of the house'. Both are in line with Hayward (1988). Besides, there are two cases of *dhogoli* 'leopard' as the head noun of a relative clause, where it is probably in the short nominative (see chapter 3.3.2.2 *Relative clauses*). An example of *dhogoli* as the subject of a main clause is given in (83).

(83) <i>Ee</i>	<i>hoora-ddi</i>	<i>dhogol-i=k'aa</i>	<i>gal-aa dh-ann-oo.</i>
DEM.DIST.ABS.F	forest-INE	leopard- SNOM.M/ABS =FOC	live-STAT be-PST-CON
'In that forest, there lived a leopard.' (Text <i>Goat</i> 5)			

Since *dhogoli* is not modified, there seems to be no reason to expect marking by the short nominative. However, there is no reason for zero-marking either. While the stativeness of

⁴⁹ Reflexive pronouns are not mentioned by Hayward (1988) as modifiers that trigger the use of the short nominative.

⁵⁰ According to Kellner (2007: 174), the storyteller is from Leemmoo in “South Burji”. However, then looking at the text, it is clear that it is in the Highland dialect, since it contains the Highland versions of the suffixes given in chapter 2.2.3 *Dialects*.

the verb *gal-* 'to live' might be a trigger, other stative verbs, like *k'af-* 'to have', have not been found with absolutive subjects. Therefore, the short nominative seems to be more plausible at the present moment. What is remarkable, however, is that this is the first appearance of the leopard in the story. Thus, not only is there no modifier, but the referent is also definitely not identifiable from discourse context. All in all, it does not seem like a typical situation for using a “definite” nominative.

As for the text *The girl and the marriage*, what is in line with Hayward is that none of the long-nominative nouns has a modifier. However, the only noun appearing in the short nominative is *aliccu* 'girl'. Surprisingly, it consistently appears in that form when functioning as a subject, although it is never modified. The long version *aliccooshi* as an alternative was rejected by the speaker in the cases he was questioned about it. One of them is given in (84).

- (84) *Alicc-u=nni* *uw-am-ann-oo.*
 girl-SNOM.F=CONN give-PASS-PST-CON
 'The girl was given' (Text *Girl 8*)

This clearly contradicts Hayward's (1988) generalizations. However, he himself admits that in narratives the short nominative may occur with subjects that are not modified, and that this might be explained by “discourse identifiability” (Hayward 1988: 687). Indeed, *aliccoo* first appears multiple times as an object in the story, before becoming a subject in sentence 8. In this sentence, the long nominative cannot be used to mark the subject, since it would mean “some girl”, as the speaker declared.

To summarize, unlike the data from Wedekind (1990) and Kellner (2001, 2007) might suggest, the choice between short and long nominative is not based on purely syntactic grounds. When looking at the story *The girl and the marriage* in isolation, one might be tempted to assume that the short nominative is used to mark the main character. However, this is not true for *The mother of the goats*, which was told by the same person. It seems highly unlikely that the speaker used principles of case marking so fundamentally different in the two stories.

4.2.3 Comparison to other HEC languages

According to König's (2008: 194) map with the title "Areal distribution of case in southern Ethiopia and adjacent areas", all HEC languages have a marked nominative. However, just like Dhaashatee, not all of them have been well described yet. Even if most of them feature in at least one PhD thesis written at an Ethiopian university, these works are usually not accessible online. Thus, this chapter will only give a brief overview of the information that is available on the marked nominative in other HEC languages.

As for Gedeo, Gasparini (1994: 1) states that masculine nouns take the suffix *-i* in the nominative, whereas feminine subject nouns are unmarked. This is confirmed by Eyob (2015: 109).

In Sidamo, all feminine nouns and most masculine proper nouns are unmarked in the nominative. What is interesting is that as far as masculine common nouns are concerned, there is a difference between modified nouns, which take the suffix *-i*, and unmodified ones, which take *-u* (Kawachi 2007: 483). This distinction is very similar to the one in Dhaashatee. Adjectives and adnominal demonstratives are also marked by the nominative (Kawachi 2007: 487).

In K'abeena, the nominative is marked – depending on the inflectional class – by changing the final vowel, shifting the accent to the preceding syllable or zero (Crass 2005: 87). As for the final vowels, it seems that they are retracted and/or raised. Unlike in Dhaashatee, the absolutive is also marked morphologically (Crass 2005: 61). Yet, since modifiers appear in their unmarked form when combined with a noun in the absolutive, König (2008: 170) concludes that the morphological marking of the absolutive is weaker than the one of the nominative.

In Alaaba, which is closely related to K'abeena, the nominative is formed by means of an accent shift to the left for masculine nouns. This results in the final vowel being devoiced in case it is short. The nominative suffix attached to feminine nouns is *-t(i)*. There is no accent shift with feminine nouns. The subject of a subordinate clause may appear in the absolutive (Schneider-Blum 2007: 82, 78).

Like K'abeena, Kambaata also has morphological marking on both nominative and absolutive. However, the absolutive is more frequent and is used in more contexts than the nominative (Treis 2008: 102). It can therefore be regarded as "functionally unmarked". As for

the nominative, the marking is done by shifting the accent, and in some cases replacing the final vowel. Judging from the overview given by Treis (2008: 103), the nominative vowel is usually back and/or high in comparison to the final vowel of the absolutive. As for its functions, the nominative encodes subjects of verbal and non-verbal predicates, while the absolutive marks direct objects, temporal adverbials and serves as the base form. A similar form (differing from the absolutive only in the accent) is used to encode nominal predicates (Treis 2008: 116, 118).

As for Hadiyya, it seems that the nominative is marked by dropping the final vowel (Stinson 1976: 150).

The different ways of marking the nominative are summarized in table 31.

	Masculine	Feminine
Dhaashatee	<i>-i</i> (possibly also <i>-u</i>) <i>-ku/-gu/-hu</i>	truncation of final vowel <i>-shi</i>
Gedeo	<i>-i</i>	zero-marking
Sidamo	modified: <i>-i</i> unmodified: <i>-u</i>	zero-marking
K'abeena	retraction and/or raising of final vowel, accent shift or zero-marking	
Alaaba	leftwards accent shift, devoicing of short final vowels	<i>-t(i)</i>
Kambaata	accent shift (and in some cases retraction and/or raising of final vowel)	
Hadiyya	deletion of the final vowel	

Tab. 31: Nominative marking in HEC languages

The table shows that as for the short nominative of masculine nouns, Dhaashatee is most similar to Gedeo and Sidamo. With the latter it also shares the fact that both languages have two nominative markers, the usage of which depends (to some degree) on the presence or absence of nominal modifiers. However, unlike Dhaashatee, Sidamo does not mark the nominative on feminine nouns.

As for the short-nominative marker of feminine nouns, vowel shortening does not occur in any other HEC language on feminine nouns. What comes closest is that in Hadiyya the final

vowel is deleted in the nominative, and in Alaaba short final vowels are devoiced as a result of an accent shift. Yet, the latter concerns only masculine nouns.

In terms of the feminine long nominative, Alaaba seems to be the one most similar to Dhaashatee. However, even if the surface form of the suffix in Alaaba is identical to the underlying one in Dhaashatee, this does not necessarily mean that both suffixes have the same origin.

As for the masculine long nominative marker *-ku*, the most similar suffix is *-u* in Sidamo.

All in all, it seems that nominative markers of Dhaashatee are most similar to the ones in Sidamo – at least as far as masculine nouns are concerned. What is also interesting is that retracting and/or raising the final vowel – thus probably often resulting in /i/ or /u/ – seems to be a common strategy to mark the nominative. In any case, it seems that the short nominative of Dhaashatee, which is based on the substitution or shortening of the final vowel, has more in common with the other HEC languages than the long nominative, which is marked by the addition of a suffix. This suggests that it is indeed the older one, as claimed by Hayward (1988).

5. Summary and conclusion

Unlike most other HEC languages, Dhaashatee has two forms of nominative marking. While the long nominative is formed by attaching a suffix to the final vowel (or short-nominative marker, for masculine nouns), the short one shortens and the final vowel or replaces it with a different one.

According to Hayward (1988: 685-686), subjects modified by possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, adjectives, relative clauses and “genitive objects” appear in the short nominative, while subjects without a modifier take the suffix of the long nominative. While these rules do explain nearly all occurrences of the nominatives in texts transcribed by other researchers (Wedekind 1990, Kellner 2001, Kellner 2007) as well as most of my own fieldwork data, it has been shown that subjects modified by a relative clause may also appear in the long nominative. Whether the choice of the case entails any semantic differences still requires investigation.

Interestingly, in one of the Highland texts, the main character is consistently marked with the short nominative when functioning as the subject, even if it never has a modifier. No other

noun appears in the short nominative in this text. Possibly, it is regarded as “identifiable” on a discourse-level, since it first appears several times as an object, before taking the role of a subject. This supports Hayward (1988: 687) who states that subjects with the short-nominative suffix are identifiable “to some degree”.

Thus, the choice of the short or the long nominative is not only based on syntactic principles – i.e. the presence or absence of a modifier – but also discourse-related ones – i.e. whether a participant is newly introduced or re-appears. Hence, there seems to be one nominative for unmodified or newly introduced subjects (the long one), and one for modified or re-appearing subjects (the short one). What requires further research is the question under which conditions the discourse-related principle may override the syntactic one.

Also, there are three cases in my fieldwork data (Text *Goat* 5, 89 and *Son* 13), which cannot be explained by these generalizations and need further investigation.

Still, Hayward's (1988) hypotheses have been largely confirmed, while it has been shown that – unlike claimed by Tesfaye (2015) – the long nominative is certainly not a definite article. Whether with regards to the short or the long nominative, “definite” and “indefinite” do not seem to be suitable descriptions of how the two forms function in present-day Dhaashatee. However, finding a term that covers both the syntactic and the discourse-related aspect of their usage seems to be quite impossible. Yet, since most of their distribution appears to be explainable by syntax, I would refer to them as nominative markers for modified and unmodified nouns – until a better option is available.

With regards to further research on the marked nominative in Dhaashatee that goes beyond the questions addressed in present thesis, investigating the history of the nominative markers would definitely be a worthy topic. If the long-nominative markers developed from demonstrative pronouns, how did they come to mark newly introduced participants in a story? If the short-nominative markers used to be definite articles, how did they come to mark nouns modified by demonstratives?

Also, a comparison to the marked-nominative system of Sidamo might be interesting.

As for other areas of Dhaashatee grammar that are still poorly understood, the demonstrative pronouns and the tense-aspect system definitely need more research.

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7. Appendix: Stories

7.1 Aliccooyaa madhee – The girl and the marriage (Highland Dhaashatee)

The following text is the transcription of a story told by Abebe Argamo, a native speaker of Highland Dhaashatee working at the Burji Administration Office in Soyama. After recording the complete story in natural speech, the audio was played back sentence by sentence, in order to transcribe and translate it into English together with the speaker. The transcription sessions took place during the third week of February 2020 at the Burji Administration Office in Soyama.

- 1.1 **Weyda dhekki anaayaa amak'aa yedhannoo.**
weyda dhekki anaa =yaa ama =k'aa yedh -ann -oo
long ago one.M man =and woman; wife =FOC to be PST CON

Once upon a time, there lived a man and a woman.

- 1.2 **Aneyhuyaa amash wolli-cci galinkookalli**
anaa -ku =yaa ama -shi wolli-cci gal -i- -nk -oo =kalli
man LNOM.M =and woman; wife LNOM.F each.other-COM to live EV PL IMPFSTAT =after

- dhetti aliccook'aa k'alanninkoo.**
dhetti aliccoo =k'aa k'al -ann -i- -nk -oo
one.F girl =FOC to give birth PST EV PL CON

After living together, the husband and the wife had a daughter.

- 1.3 **K'alanninkoo aliccoo daninkoo k'itt'a**
k'al -ann -i- -nk -oo aliccoo dan -i- -nk -oo k'itt'a
to give birth PST EV PL CON girl to be able EV PL IMPFSTAT enough

- woogisinkik'aa ham'aneeta godhanninkoo.**
woogis -i- -nk -i =k'aa ham'aneeta godh -ann -i- -nk -oo
to make big EV PL CVB =FOC very; enough to make PST EV PL CON

They did everything to provide well for the daughter they had born.

- 1.4 **Yedhinkoomik'aa aliccoo on'itta waarissadha**
yedh -i- -nk -oo =mi =k'aa aliccoo on'itta waariss -adh -a
to be EV PL IMPFSTAT =while =FOC girl DEM.DIST.F.ABS to ask for marriage MID INF

- accanninkoo.**
acc -ann -i- -nk -oo
to start PST EV PL CON

With time, people started to ask that girl for marriage.

- 1.5 **Dhaashinkoo aliccoo waarissadha jooru intaya**
dhaashi -nkoo aliccoo waariss -adh -a joor -u intay -a
Dhaashi NOM.NPROP girl to ask for marriage MID INF/IMPF? home LOC to come INF

acci	uyeyyaa	naatturaa	k'asadhi	intayaa.
acc -i	uyee =yaa	naatturaa	k'as -adh -i	intay -aa
to start CVB	basil =and	African wormwood	to put; to pierce(?) MID CVB	to come IMPF

Burji people, when asking a girl for marriage, start coming to the family (of the girl) with basil and African wormwood put (into their hair).

1.6 **Ee** **dawwaccik'aa** **uyeyyaa** **naatturaa**
 ee dawwa -cci =k'aa uyee =yaa naatturaa
 DEM.DIST.F.ABS way COM =FOC basil =and African wormwood

k'asadhinki **intaanninkoo.**
 k'as -adh -i- -nk -i intay -ann -i- -nk -oo
 to put, pierce MID EV PL CVB to come PST EV PL CON

So, they came with basil and wormwood put (into their hair).

1.7 **Aabbeyhuyaa** **aayeesh,** **aliccoo** **kan'ishi** **madhee**
 aabbaa -ku =yaa aayee -shi aliccoo kan'ishi madhee
 father LNOM.M =and mother LNOM.F girl DEM.PROX.F.NOM marriage

dhakk'abjeettaa **marru,** **uwwagaak'aa** **eetee**
 dhakk'ab -ceettaa marru uww -a -gaa =k'aa eetee
 to be enough PRSPRF.3SG.F because to give INF? DAT? =FOC acceptance

galanninkoo.
 gal -ann -i- -nk -oo
 to return PST EV PL CON

Since the girl was old enough for marriage, the father and the mother agreed to give (her).

1.8 **Aliccunni** **uwwamannoo.**
 alicc -u =nni uww -am -ann -oo
 girl SNOM.F CONN to give PASS PST CON

And the girl was given.

1.9 **Aliccu** **madhamannoo** **faana** **damma** **isanacci**
 alicc -u madh -am -ann -oo faana damma isa -na -cci
 girl SNOM.F to marry PASS PST CON after life POSS.3 PL F.NOM

dhibanta **ihannoo.**
 dhiba -nta ih -ann -oo
 problem POSS.F.ABS to be PST CON

After the girl had been married, their life (of husband and wife) was filled with problems.

1.10 **Itaadik'aa** **aliccu** **ba'annoo.**
 itaadi =k'aa alicc -u ba' -ann -oo
 therefore =FOC girl SNOM.F to leave PST CON

Therefore, the girl left.

- 1.11 **Ihooni malee aayeesh argannoo.**
 ih -ooni malee aayee -shi arg -ann -oo
 to be JUSS only mother LNOM.F to send PST CON

However, the mother sent her (back).

- 1.12 **Ennetta faana dammakkaccik'aa k'adinni ba'annoo.**
 enetta? faana damm -a -kkadh -ci =k'aa k'adinni ba' -ann -oo
 DEM after to spend night IMPF ABE CVB.3SG.F =FOC again to leave PST CON

After that, she left again before spending the night.

- 1.13 **Aayeesh aabbaa t'afcik'aa argannoo.**
 aayee -shi aabbaa t'af -ci =k'aa arg -ann -oo
 mother LNOM.F father to hide CVB.3SG.F =FOC to send PST CON

The mother sent her back, hiding it from the father.

- 1.14 **Fadiseetta ba'ataadik'aa aayeesh aabbaga**
 fadiseetta ba' -a- -t -aa =di =k'aa aayee -shi aabbaa -ga
 third.F to leave EV 3SG.F IMPF =when =FOC mother LNOM.F father DIR

waareennoo.
 waariy -ann -oo
 to tell PST CON

When she left for the third time, the mother told it to the father.

- 1.15 **Aabbaga waartaadik'aa, "miyataa shicci dhiba?",**
 aabbaa -ga waar(iy) -t -aa =di =k'aa miya =taa shi -cci dhiba
 father DIR to tell 3SG.F IMPF =when =FOC what =Q POSS.2SG F.NOM problem

iyi worsadhannoo.
 i -y- -i worsadh -ann -oo
 to say EG CVB to ask PST CON

When she told the father, he asked: "what is your problem?".

- 1.16 **"Ani isagaa ama ihi damma daneyi", innoo.**
 ani isi -gaa ama ih -i damm -a dan -eyi i -nn -oo
 1SG.NOM 3SG.M DAT wife to be CVB to live INF to be able NEG to say PST CON

"I cannot be a wife to him and live (with him)", she said.

- 1.17 **Ihaadi "maataayaa" iyi worsadhaadik'aa, "eeyaa**
 ihaadi maa =taa =yaa i -y- -i worsadh -aa =di =k'aa ee =yaa
 then what =Q =and to say EG CVB to ask IMPF =when =FOC 1SG.ABS =and

isi wolloi gabi hiiri" ishi biit'ifadhannoo.
 isi wolloi gabi hiir -i ishi biit'ifadh -ann -oo
 3SG.M.ABS each other from to divorce IMP.SG 3SG.F.NOM to demand? PST CON

Then, when he asked "what (do you want)?", she demanded "divorce me and him from each other!"

1.18 **Ihooni malee aabbeyhu angulannoosh tami itta marru,**
 Ihooni malee aabbaa -ku angul -ann -oo -sh tami itta marru
 however father LNOM.M to see PST CON LNOM.F? first time? because

gali iyik'aa argannoo.
 gal -i i -y- -i =k'aa arg -ann -oo
 to return IMP.2SG? to say EG CVB =FOC to send PST CON

However, since the father saw her only for the first time, he sent her back.

1.19 **Galcik'aa borsshu deygga rik'annoo.**
 gal -ci =k'aa borsshu deygga rik' -ann -oo
 to return CVB.3SG.F =FOC the next day day to return PST CON

She returned (to her husband), but came back the next morning.

1.20 **Aabbeyhu hammeycci galaadi ishi jooru**
 aabbaa -ku hammey -cci gal -aa =di ishi joor -u
 father LNOM.M farm ABL to return IMPF =when 3SG.F.NOM home LOC

yettaadi; "mittaa maahannoo?", iyi
 yedh -t -aa =di mittaa maah -ann -oo i -y- -i
 to be 3SG.F IMPF =when what to happen PST CON to say EG CVB

worsadhaadik'aa, "aabboo", "yoo", "ani isagaa ama
 worsadh -aa =di =k'aa aabboo yoo ani ishi -gaa ama
 to ask IMPF =when =FOC father.VOC yes 1SG.NOM 3SG.M DAT woman; wife

ihi daneyi", innoo.
 ih -i dan -eyi i -nn -oo
 to be CVB to be able NEG to say PST CON

When the father returned from the farm, and she was at home, he asked: "what happened?". "Father" – "yes" - "I cannot be his wife", she said.

1.21 **"Tanee galtoonaa, ashi ee argantonna**
 tanee gal -too =naa ashi ee arg -an -t -oo =nna
 now to return ? =FOC 2SG.NOM 1SG.ABS to send PST 3SG.F CON =like, as

ani dawwaddeynaa iss c'uul'aa", ishi'kaa
 ani dawwa -ddey =naa issa c'uul' -aa i shi =k'aa
 1SG.NOM way ABL? =FOC myself to hang (oneself) IMPF to say CVB.3SG.F =FOC

waannoo.

waa -nn -oo
to warn? PST CON

"If you send me back now, I will hang myself on the way", she warned.

1.22 **"C'uul'acc** **reytaadi** **shee** **dhabaattana**
c'uul' -a -cci rey -t -aa =di shee dhab -aattana
to hang (oneself) INF/IMPF? COM/ABL? to die 2 IMPF =when 2SG.ABS to loose ?

gabi **aninni** **shee** **lubboo** **yettoomi** **angulla**
gabi ani =nni shee lubboo yedh -t -oo =mi angull -a
from 1SG.NOM CONN 2SG.ABS life to be 2 IMPFSTAT =while to see INF

hayyoo **marru** **dhekki** **basinaa** **wollicc** **eetee**
hayy -oo marru dhekki basi =naa wolli -cci eetee
to need IMPFSTAT because one.M thing =FOC each other COM acceptance

galla", **iyik'aa** **aabbeyhu** **worsadhannoo.**
gal -n -aa i -y- -i =k'aa aabbaa -ku worsadh -ann -oo
to return 1PL IMPF to say EG CVB =FOC father LNOM.M to ask PST CON

"If you die by hanging yourself, I will loose you, and since I need to see you alive, we (need to) agree on one thing.", the father said.

1.23 **"Ani** **iyaa** **bubbinka** **basi** **dantoona,**
ani i -y- -aa bubba -nka basi dan -t -oo =naa
1SG.NOM to say EG IMPF all POSS.M.ABS thing to be able 2 IMPFSTAT =FOC

ani **iyaa** **basi** **gootoonaa",** **iyik'aa**
ani i -y- -aa basi goo -t -oo =naa i -y- -i =k'aa
1SG.NOM to say EG IMPF thing to do?? 2 IMPFSTAT =FOC to say EG CVB =FOC

worsadhannoo.

worsadh -ann -oo
to ask PST CON

"Are you able to do anything I say, will you do what I say?", he asked.

1.24 **Ishinni,** **"godhuwaanaak'aa"** **innoo.**
ishi =nni godh -uwaa -naa =k'aa i -nn -oo
3SG.F.NOM CONN to make PURP? ? =FOC to say PST CON

"I will do it", she said.

1.25 **"Ashi** **isi** **gabi** **hook'a** **hayyitoo?",**
ashi isi gabi hook' -a hayy -i- -t -oo
2SG.NOM 3SG.M.ABS from to leave INF to need EV 2 IMPFSTAT

"Do you need to leave him?"

1.26 "Aani."

aani
yes

"Yes."

1.27 Iyaadik'aa

i -y- -aa =di =k'aa halami -gaa intey -i innoo.
to say EG IMPF =when =FOC boy DAT to come to say PST -CON

Then he called the boy.

1.28 Halankunni

halami -ku =nni intay -ann -a
boy LNOM.M CONN to come PST ?

And the boy came.

1.29 "Sheesa

ani iyaa basi godhantoonna,
shee -sa ani i -y- -aa basi godh -an -t -oo =nna
2SG DAT 1SG.NOM to say EG IMPF thing to make PST 2 CON =like, as

ani shiyya anaa gabinaa shee hiirissaa",
ani shi -yya anaa gabi =naa shee hiir -i- -ss -aa
1SG.NOM POSS.2SG M.ABS husband from =FOC 2SG.ABS divorce EV CAUS IMPF

iyik'aa shiidannoo.
i -y- -i =k'aa shiid -ann -oo
to say EG CVB =FOC to speak PST CON

"If you do what I say to you, I will divorce you from your husband", he said.

1.30 Ihik'aa

aayeenni isheenni taysannoo.
ih -i =k'aa aayee =nni ishee =nni tay -s -ann -oo
to be CVB =FOC mother CONN 3SG.F.ABS CONN to sit CAUS PST CON

Then, he also made the mother and her (the daughter) sit down.

1.31 Halankunni

taydhanna.
halami -ku =nni taydh -ann -a
boy LNOM.M CONN to sit PST ?

The boy also sat down.

1.32 Aabbeyhu

ahak'aa innoo: "Tanee ashi hirmadha
aabbaa -ku aha =k'aa i -nn -oo tanee ashi hirmadh -a
father LNOM.M like this =FOC to say PST CON now 2SG.NOM to divorce INF

hayyitu, ani iyaa bas gootuwa
hayy -i- -t -u ani i -y- -aa basi goo -t -uwa
to need EV 2 IMPFSTAT.2SG 1SG.NOM to say EG IMPF thing to do?? 2 PURP

eeteenaa galceettoo, kanagaa, aseesi!"
 eetee =naa gal -ceettoo kanagaa asees -i
 acceptance =FOC to return PRSPRF.2SG therefore to stand IMP.SG

The father said: "Now, you want to divorce, you have agreed to do what I say, so stand up!"

1.33 **Iyaadik'aa "eetee" innoo.**
 i -y- -aa =di =k'aa eetee i -nn -oo
 to say EG IMPF =when =FOC acceptance to say PST CON

She said: "okay".

1.34 **"Tanee ibaatceettoo kan'i waala baassi, t'onnee**
 tanee ibaat -ceettoo kan'i waala ba' -a- -ss -i t'onnee
 now to wear PRSPRF.2SG DEM.PROX.M.ABS clothes to leave EV CAUS CVB naked

ninsa duru k'aani", iyik'aa ajajannoo.
 ninsa duru k'aan -i iyik'aa ajaj -ann -oo
 1PL.ABS in front of to stand? IMP.SG to say EG CVB =FOC to command PST CON

"Now take off the clothes you wear and stand(?) in front of us naked", he commanded.

1.35 **"Ashi t'onnee ninsa duru k'aadhantoonna, shiyya**
 ashi t'onnee ninsa duru k'aadh -an -t -oo =nna shi -yya
 2SG.NOM naked 1PL.ABS in front of to stand PST 2 CON =like, as POSS.2SG M.ABS

anaa gabinaa shee hiirissaa".
 anaa gabi =naa shee hiiri -ss -aa
 husband from =FOC 2SG.ABS to divorce CAUS IMPF

"When you stood naked in front of us, I will divorce you from your husband."

1.36 **Iyaadik'aa aliccu halami gabi hiira**
 i -y- -aa =di =k'aa alicc -u halami gabi hiir -a
 to say EG IMPF =when =FOC girl SNOM.F boy from to divorce INF

hayyitaadhannoo marru aseesi accitaami
 hayy -i- -t -aa (ye)dh -ann -oo marru asees -i accitaami
 to want EV 3SG.F STAT to be PST CON because to stand CVB at first

gabikkaaneet k'ooloo ba'asadhannoo.
 gabikkaaneet k'ooloo ba'as -adh -ann -oo
 upper shirt to take off MID PST CON

Since the girl wanted to divorce from the boy, she stood up and first took off the upper shirt.

1.37 **Gagga aansishi gamaa dhiicci hidhaceettaa hiitook'aa**
 gagga aans -i- -shi gamaa dhiicci hidh -a- -ceettaa hiitoo =k'aa
 ANAPRO to start EV CVB.3SG.F skirt with.F to tie EV PRSPRF.3SG.F belt =FOC

hiirannoo.

hiir -ann -oo
to loosen PST CON

She continued loosening the belt the skirt was tied with.

- 1.38 **Hiitoo hiirtaadi gameyhu halaadi t'onnee**
 hiitoo hiir -t -aa =di gamaa -ku hal -aa =di t'onnee
 belt to loosen 3SG.F IMPF =when skirt LNOM.M to fall IMPF =when naked

ita marru, na'ashik'aa ba'asannoo
 i -t -a marru na' -a -shi =k'aa ba'as -ann -oo
 to be 3SG.F IMPFSTAT because to be afraid EV CVB.3SG.F =FOC to take off PST CON

gamaa isakka aabbaatta illaga karcik'aa
 gamaa isa -kka aabbaa -tta illa -ga kar -ci =k'aa
 skirt POSS.3SG.M M.ABS father NPROP.POSS.F eye DIR to throw CVB.3SG.F =FOC

anaa k'udee lacc'i guddhannoo.
 anaa k'udee lat' -ci guddh -ann -oo
 man after to turn CVB.3SG.F to hide PST CON

Because she was naked, when the belt was untied and the skirt fell, she was afraid, and she threw the skirt she had taken off on her father's eyes and turned to hide behind her husband.

- 1.39 **Iyaadik'aa aabbeyhu gamaa illa gabi**
 i -y- -aa =di =k'aa aabbaa -ku gamaa illa gabi
 to say EG IMPF =when =FOC father LNOM.M skirt eye from

dhoor'aadi isheenkoo anaa k'udee guddhaceetaa,
 dhoor' -aa =di ishee -nkoo anaa k'udee guddh -a- -ceetaa
 to remove IMPF =when 3SG.F.ABS NOM man after to hide EV PRSPRF.3SG.F

ihaadi marroo "tanee itta illanaa fashantu".
 ih -aa =di marroo tanee i -tta illa =naa fash -an -t -u
 to be IMPF =when because now POSS.1SG F.ABS eye =FOC to cover PST 2 NCON

When the father removed the skirt from his eyes, she had hidden behind her husband, therefore (he said) "now you covered my eyes".

- 1.40 **"Iccinaa shiyya anaa k'udeenni lat'antu."**
 icci =naa shi -yya anaa k'udee =nni lat' -an -t -u
 then =FOC POSS.2SG M.ABS man after CONN to turn PST 2 NCON

"Then, you also turned behind your husband."

- 1.41 **"Shiyya aneeyaa ashi maalayaa mic'anaa."**
 shi -yya anaa =yaa ashi maala =yaa mic'a =naa
 POSS.2SG M.ABS man =and 2SG.NOM meat =and bone =COP

"Your husband and you are meat and bone."

1.42 **"Kanagaa, marcinki wollicci galee."**
 kanagaa mar -c -i- -nk -i wollicci -cci gal -ee
 therefore to go 2 EV PL CVB each other COM to return IMP.PL

"Therefore, go and return together."

1.43 **Iyaadik'aa wolli gaddhinki galanninkoo.**
 i -y- -aa =di =k'aa wolli gaddh -i- -nk -i gal -ann -i- -nk -oo
 to say EG IMPF =when =FOC each other to take EV PL CVB to return PST EV PL CON

Then, they returned together.

7.2 K'alinta aayee – The mother of the goats (Highland Dhaashatee)

The same observations apply as with the preceding story.

- 1.1 **Weyda dhetti biyaddi laboo k'aloo k'aftaa aayeeek'aa**
 weyda dhetti biya -ddi laboo k'aloo k'af -t -aa aayee =k'aa
 long ago one.F country INE much goat to have 3SG.F IMPF mother =FOC

yedhannoo.

yedh -ann -oo
 to be PST CON

Long ago, in a country there was a woman who had many goats.

- 1.2 **Isheenkoonni t'eellaa amak'aa.**
 ishee -nkoo =nni t'eellaa ama =k'aa
 3SG.F.ABS NOM =CONN clever woman =COP

She was a clever woman.

- 1.3 **Ci ama isakka k'aloo**
 ci am -a isa -kka k'aloo
 DEM.PROX.F.NOM woman SNOM.F POSS.3SG.M M.ABS goat

hoosook'aa

hoos -oo =k'aa malaaloo itaa.
 malaal -oo i -t -aa
 to take to the field HAB =FOC to look after HAB to be 3SG.F HAB

This woman (regularly) took her goats to the field and looked after them.

- 1.4 **Isheekkoo ollaaddi gannanee hoorak'aa yetta.**
 isheek(ka) -koo ollaa -ddi gannanee hoora =k'aa yedh -t -a
 POSS.3SG.F ADE neighbour INE big forest =FOC to be 3SG.F IMPFSTAT.3SG

Near to her (house), there was a big forest.

- 1.5 **Ee hooraddi dhogolik'aa galaadhannoo.**
 ee hoora -ddi dhogol -i =k'aa gal -aa (ye)dh -ann -oo
 DEM.DIST.F.ABS forest INE leopard SNOM.M? =FOC to live STAT to be PST CON

In that forest, there lived a leopard.

- 1.6 **Dhogoluhu laboo wogga maala itaa marru iteenka**
 dhogoli -ku laboo wogga maala it -aa marru itee -nka
 leopard LNOM.M much time meat to eat IMPF because food POSS.M.ABS

rakkook'aa k'afaadhannoo.

rakkoo =k'aa k'af -aa (ye)dh -ann -oo
 problem =FOC to have STAT to be PST CON

Since a leopard most of the time eats meat, he had a problem of (finding) food.

1.7 **Kanagaak'aa isheenkoo k'aloo hoossitaa wogga,**
 kanagaa =k'aa ishee -nkoo k'aloo hooss -i- -t -aa wogga
 therefore =FOC 3SG.F.ABS NOM goat to herd EV 3SG.F IMPF time

ilaalook'aa dhidhiyoo iyaa.
 ilaal -oo =k'aa dhidhi -y- -oo i -y- -aa
 to look HAB =FOC to crave EG HAB to be EG HAB

Therefore, whenever she (the woman) herded the goats, he was watching and craving (to eat one).

1.8 **Dhetti lasa laashi isi ban'attaadik'aa**
 dhetti lasa laa -shi isi ban' -adh -t -aa =di =k'aa
 one.F day hunger LNOM.F 3SG.M.ABS to win MID 3SG.F IMPF =when =FOC

jooru marannoo.
 joor(a) -u mar -ann -oo
 home LOC to go PST CON

One day, when the hunger won over him, he went to her house.

1.9 **Isheekkoo marik'aa "kayidu k'aloo haballa hoossitaa?",**
 isheek(ka) -koo mar -i =k'aa kayidu k'aloo haballa hooss -i- -t -aa
 POSS.3SG.F ADE to go CVB =FOC today goat where to herd EV 2 IMPF

iyi worsadhannoo.
 i -y- -i worsadh -ann -oo
 to say EG CVB to ask PST CON

He went to her and asked: "Where will you herd the goats today?".

1.10 **Isheenkoonni "Maddi gamanaa hoossa" ishik'aa**
 ishee -nkoo =nni maddi gama =naa hooss -a i -shi =k'aa
 3SG.F.ABS NOM =CONN Maddi side =FOC to herd IMPF to say CVB.3SG.F =FOC

waareennoo.
 waari(y) -ann -oo
 to tell PST CON

She said: "I will herd in Maddi".

1.11 **Ta akkabannoo dhogoli maggaami**
 ta akkab -ann -oo dhogol -i magg -aa =mi
 DEM.PROX.F.ABS to hear; to accept PST CON leopard SNOM.M to be happy IMPF =while

galik'aa, yedi gohakkadhi dammi
 gal -i =k'aa yedi goh -a -kkadh -i damm -i
 to return CVB =FOC night to sleep IMPF ABE CVB to spend the night CVB

deygga wodhakkaa aseesik'aa Maddi gama hoofannoo.
 deygga wodhakkaa asees -i =k'aa maddi gama hoof -ann -oo
 morning very early in the morning to stand CVB =FOC Maddi side to go (out) PST CON

Having heard this, the leopard returned happily, spent the night without sleeping, got up early in the morning the next day, and went to Maddi.

1.12 **Maddi gama hoofik'aa hooraddi guddhi eegadhaami**
 maddi gama hoof -i =k'aa hoora -ddi guddh -i eegadh -aa =mi
 Maddi side to go (out) CVB =FOC forest INE to hide CVB to wait IMPF =while

nageennoo.

nage(y) -ann -oo
 to stay PST CON

He went out to Maddi, hid in the forest and stayed there waiting.

1.13 **Isheenkoo Maddi gama hoossanneyi.**
 ishee -nkoo maddi gama hooss -ann -eyi
 3SG.F.ABS NOM Maddi side to herd PST NEG

She did not herd in Maddi.

1.14 **Itaadik'aa bogoo nagayi galannoo.**
 itaadi =k'aa bogoo nagay -i gal -ann -oo
 therefore =FOC without eating to stay CVB to return PST CON

Therefore, he returned without eating.

1.15 **Borsshunni ittaakallinaa hoossitaa iyik'aa**
 borsshu =nni ittaakalli =naa hooss -i- -t -a i -y- -i =k'aa
 the next day =CONN maybe =FOC to herd EV 3SG.F IMPF to think EG CVB =FOC

Maddi gama hoofannoo.

maddi gama hoof -ann -oo
 Maddi side to go (out) PST CON

And the next day, he thought she may herd (there), and went to Maddi.

1.16 **Ihooni malee, isheenkoo Maddi gama hoossanneyi.**
 ih -ooni malee ishee -nkoo maddi gama hooss -ann -eyi
 to be JUSS only 3SG.F.ABS NOM Maddi side to herd PST NEG

However, she did not herd in Maddi.

1.17 **Lama lasa eegadhi dhabannoo dhogoli aareeshini**
 lama lasa eegadh -i dhab -ann -oo dhogol -i aaree -shini
 two day to wait CVB to loose PST CON leopard SNOM.M anger INS.F

galik'aa **akkarraga isheekkoo** **marannoo.**
gal -i =k'aa akkarraga isheek(ka) -koo mar -ann -oo
to return CVB =FOC evening POSS.3SG.F ADE to go PST CON

Having lost two days waiting, the leopard returned furiously, and in the evening, he went to her house.

1.18 **Iyik'aa,** **"awweyi" innoo.**
i -y- -i =k'aa awweyi i -nn -oo
to say EG CVB =FOC 2SG.VOC to say PST CON

"You", he said.

1.19 **"Yoo", "ashi fajakkalli** **k'aloo haballa hoossitaa**
yoo ashi fajakkalli k'aloo haballa hooss -i- -t -aa
yes 2SG.NOM the day before yesterday goat where to herd EV 2 IMPF

iyaadi **maantoo?",** **iyi** **worsadhannoo.**
i -y- -aa =di maa i -n -t -oo i -y- -i worsadh -ann -oo
to say EG IMPF =when what to say PST 2 CON to say EG CVB to ask PST CON

"Yes", "where did you say you would herd the goats the day before yesterday?", he asked.

1.20 **Ishinni** **"Maddi gamanaa hoossa** **ungunaa**
ishi =nni maddi gama =naa hooss -a ungu =naa
3SG.F.NOM =CONN Maddi side =FOC to herd IMPF? like this =FOC

iyeedhannii" **innoo.**
i -y -aa yedh -ann -ii i -nn -oo
to say EG STAT? to be PST PST.1SG to say PST CON

"I said I would herd in Maddi", she said.

1.21 **"Ihaani haani hoossantoo?",** **iyik'aa** **worsadhannoo.**
ihaanii haani hooss -an -t -oo i -y- -i =k'aa worsadh -ann -oo
then where is it to herd PST 2 CON to say EG CVB =FOC to ask PST CON

"Then where did you herd?", he asked.

1.22 **Isheenkoonni** **"kaysummaa labooshi** **jooru**
ishee -nkoo =nni kaysummaa laboo -shi joor -u
3SG.F.ABS NOM =CONN guest many LNOM.F home LOC

intaytaadinaa **isanagaa** **buninka** **luboo**
intay -t -aa =di =naa isana -gaa buni -nka luboo
to come 3SG.F IMPF =when =FOC 3PL DAT coffee POSS.M.ABS variety

saarsoo **itee** **saloo** **iyaami**
saar -s -oo itee sal -oo i -y- -aa =mi
to boil CAUS HAB food to cook HAB to be EG HAB =while

1.26 **"Ihaadi boru haa gama hoossitaa?", iyik'aa**
 ihaadi boru haa gama hooss -i- -t -aa i -y- -i =k'aa
 then tomorrow which side to herd EV 2 IMPF to say EG CVB =FOC

worsadhannoo.

worsadh -ann -oo
 to ask PST CON

"Then, where will you herd tomorrow?" he asked.

1.27 **Isheenkooni, "boru ani Gamalli gamanaa hoosaa"**
 ishee -nkoo =nni boru ani Gamall -i gama =naa hooss -a
 3SG.F.ABS NOM =CONN tomorrow 1SG.NOM Gamalloo -? side =FOC to herd IMPF

ishik'aa

i -shi =k'aa waari(y) -ann -oo
 to say CVB.3SG.F =FOC to tell PST CON

waarennoo.

"Tomorrow I will herd in Gamalloo", she said.

1.28 **Isinni, maggaami gali soodummaga**
 isi =nni magg -aa =mi gal -i soodumma -ga
 3SG.M.NOM =CONN to be happy IMPF =while to return CVB sunrise SUPE

Gamalloo hoofannoo.

Gamalloo hoof -ann -oo
 Gamalloo to go (out) PST CON

He returned home happily and at sunrise went to Gamalloo.

1.29 **Gamalloo hoofik'aa dagammaa k'uwwa jelu eegadhaami**
 Gamalloo hoof -i =k'aa dagammaa k'uwwa jelu eegadh -aa =mi
 Gamalloo to go (out) CVB =FOC small thorn bush under to wait IMPF =while

nageennoo.

nage(y) -ann -oo
 to stay PST CON

After having arrived to Gamalloo, he waited under a small thorn bush.

1.30 **Isheenkoo hoossanneyi.**
 ishee -nkoo hooss -ann -eyi
 3SG.F.ABS NOM to herd PST NEG

She did not herd (there).

1.31 **Maddi gamak'aa ishi hoossadhannoo.**
 maddi gama =k'aa ishi hooss -adh -ann -oo
 Maddi side =FOC 3SG.F.NOM to herd MID PST CON

She was herding in Maddi.

hoossagaa eesa iha wa'ataadi, Maddi gama
 hooss -a- -gaa ee -sa ih -a wa'a -t -aa =di maddi gama
 to herd EV DAT 1SG DAT to be INF to be impossible 3SG.F IMPF =when Maddi side

hoossanii".

hooss -ann -ii
 to herd PST PST.1SG

When he said angrily to her: "After you said yesterday that you would herd in Gamallo, how did you herd in Maddi?", she said "No, one of my goats was sick, and while I gave her medicine, the time passed, and when it was impossible for me to herd in Gamallo, I herded in Maddi."

1.36 **"Ihaani boru haballa hoossitaa?", iyik'aa**
 ihaani boru haballa hooss -i- -t -aa i -y- -i =k'aa
 then tomorrow where to herd EV 2 IMPF to say EG CVB =FOC

worsadhannoo.

worsadh -ann -oo
 to ask PST CON

"So, where will you herd tomorrow?", he asked.

1.37 **"Boru k'adi Gamallomaa hoosaa, haballa hoosaa?" innoo.**
 boru k'adi Gamalloo -maa hooss -aa haballa hooss -aa i -nn -oo
 tomorrow again Gamalloo ? to herd IMPF where to herd IMPF to say PST CON

"Tomorrow I will herd in Gamalloo again, where (else) should I herd?", she said.

1.38 **Itaadi'aa isi Gamalloo hoofannoo.**
 itaadi =k'aa isi Gamalloo hoof -ann -oo
 therefore =FOC 3SG.M.NOM Gamalloo to go (out) PST CON

Therefore, he went out to Gamalloo.

1.39 **Ishi Gamalloo hoossanneyi.**
 ishi Gamalloo hooss -ann -eyi
 3SG.F.NOM Gamalloo to herd PST NEG

She did not herd in Gamalloo.

1.40 **Ishi Maddi gamak'aa hoossannoo.**
 ishi maddi gama =k'aa hooss -ann -oo
 3SG.F.NOM Maddi side =FOC to herd PST CON

She herded in Maddi.

1.41 **Itaadi'aa aari higaa malanaa woyyita**
 itaadi =k'aa aar -i higaa mala =naa woyy -i- -t -a
 therefore =FOC to become furious CVB another method =FOC to be better EV 3SG.F INF

iyi mala ba'asadhannoo; iyik'aa
i -y- -i mala ba' -a- -s -adh -ann -oo i -y- -i =k'aa
to be EG CVB method to leave EV CAUS MID PST CON to say EG CVB =FOC

malcadhannoo.

malc -adh -ann -oo
to plan MID PST CON

Therefore, he became furious and planned another, better method.

1.42 **Isheekka k'alooddeyi maamma ita danaahannak'aa**
ishee -kka k'aloo -ddeyi maamma it -a dan -aaha =nna =k'aa
POSS.3SG.F M.ABS goat ABL how to eat INF to be able ? =how =FOC

mala ba'asadhannoo.

mala ba' -a- -s -adh -ann -oo
method to leave EV CAUS MID PST CON

He thought of a way to be able to eat (one) of her goats.

1.43 **Isinni, isheenkoo galakkattaami ommadi**
isi =nni ishee -nkoo gal -a -kkadh -t -aa =mi ommadi
3SG.M.NOM =CONN 3SG.F.ABS NOM to return IMPF ABE 3SG.F IMPF =while quickly

galik'aa isheekkoo gombba ba'annoo.
gal -i =k'aa isheek(ka) -koo gombba ba' -ann -oo
to return CVB =FOC POSS.3SG.F ADE upper floor to leave PST CON

Before she came home, he quickly returned and climbed on the upper floor of her house.

1.44 **Gombba ba'annoo faana barashini ribik'aa isheetta**
gombba ba' -ann -oo faana bara -shini rib -i =k'aa ishee -tta
upper floor to go out PST CON after chest INS.F lurk CVB =FOC POSS.3SG.F F.ABS

gala eegadha accannoo.
gala eegadh -a acc -ann -oo
return to wait INF to start PST CON

After having climbed on the upper floor, he began to wait silently for her to return, lying on his chest.

1.45 **Isheenkooni dansaa nageennoo marru**
ishee -nkoo =nni dansaa nage(y) -ann -oo marru
3SG.F.ABS NOM =CONN well to stay PST CON because

maggishik'aa k'aloo isakka
magg -i- -shi =k'aa k'aloo isa -kka
to be happy EV CVB.3SG.F =FOC goat POSS.3SG.M M.ABS

However, since he was still hungry, he observed the goats and was eager to eat one.

- 1.51 **Mahaneyhunni k'aluhu gabbinnak'aa k'afaadhannoo.**
 mahaneyhu =nni? k'aloo -ku gabbinna =k'aa k'af -aa dh -ann -oo
 because =CONN? goat LNOM.M fatness =FOC to have STAT to be PST CON

Because the goat was fat.

- 1.52 **Tanacci ilaalaamik'aa waayyaashi k'olollu ishi**
 tanacci ilaal -aa =mi =k'aa waayyaa -shi k'olollu i -shi
 with this to look IMPF =while =FOC saliva LNOM.F slobber to be CVB.3SG.F

hamant'inka k'ameyddi goddannoo.
 hamant'a -nka k'amaa -ddi godd -ann -oo
 grindstone POSS.M.ABS flour INE to come down PST CON

Seeing this, he slobbered, and (his) saliva came down to the flour on the grindstone.

- 1.53 **K'alinci aayi murgishik'aa "ci**
 k'al(oo) -nci aay(ee) -i murg -i- -shi =k'aa ci
 goat POSS.F.NOM mother SNOM.F to be afraid EV CVB.3SG.F =FOC DEM.PROX.F.NOM

abuyatta waayyaa", ishik'aa sudujji
 abuya -tta waayyaa i -shi =k'aa sudud -ci
 uncle POSS.NPROP.F.ABS saliva to say CVB.3SG.F =FOC to bend down CVB.3SG.F

arraabannoo.
 arraab -ann -oo
 to lick PST CON

The mother of the goats was afraid and said "this is my uncle's saliva", bent down and licked it.

- 1.54 **Ee faana kaddeyshik'aa "abuya, miya hujitaa?",**
 ee faana kaddey -shi =k'aa abuya miya huji -t -aa
 DEM.DIST.F.ABS after to look up CVB.3SG.F =FOC uncle what to do 2 IMPF

ishi worsadhannoo.
 ishi worsadh -ann -oo
 3SG.F.NOM to ask PST CON

Then, she looked up and asked "uncle, what are you doing?".

- 1.55 **Isinni "ash ee sobji**
 isi =nni ashi ee sob -ci
 3SG.M.NOM =CONN 2SG.NOM 1SG.ABS to lie; to cheat CVB.3SG.F

ban'attaadinaa intaannii", innoo.
 ban' -adh -t -aa =di =naa inta(y) -ann -ii i -nn -oo
 to win MID 2 IMPF =when =FOC to come PST PST.1SG to say PST CON

He said: "You lied to me, (that's why) I came."

1.56 **Ee faana isheenkoo "miya hayyitoo?"**
 ee faana ishee -nkoo miya hayy -i- -t -oo
 DEM.DIST.F.ABS after 3SG.F.ABS NOM what to want EV 2 IMPFSTAT

ishik'aa worsadhannoo.
 i -shi =k'aa worsadh -ann -oo
 to say CVB.3SG.F =FOC to ask PST CON

Then she asked: "What do you want?"

1.57 **Isinni "sheesagammu shiyya k'alooga goddaa?"**
 isi =nni shee -saga =mmu shi -yya k'aloo -ga godd -aa
 3SG.M.NOM =CONN 2SG DAT =or POSS.2SG M.ABS goat DIR to come down IMPF

iyik'aa k'addeennoo.
 i -y- -i =k'aa k'adde(y) -ann -oo
 to say EG CVB =FOC to stand up PST CON

He rose and said: "Shall I jump on you or on your goats?"

1.58 **Ishinni "abuya, eesaga goddaash hayyitoo**
 ishi =nni abuya ee -saga godd -aash hayy -i- -t -oo
 3SG.F.NOM =CONN uncle 1SG DAT to come down IMP.SG.NEG to want EV 2 IMPFSTAT

k'aloo shoodhacc gagga goddi!", innoo.
 k'aloo shoodh -a- -cc gagga godd -i i -nn -oo
 goat to choose EV ABL? on to come down IMP.SG to say PST CON

She said: "Uncle, don't jump on me, choose a goat you want and jump on it!"

1.59 **Isinni gabboo k'oddheyshi ilaalik'aa gooraddi**
 isi =nni gabboo k'oddheyshi ilaal -i =k'aa goora -ddi
 3SG.M.NOM =CONN fat male goat to look CVB =FOC back INE

goddi sildee k'asi c'eeji t'unt'annoo.
 godd -i sildee k'as -i c'eeji t'unt' -ann -oo
 to come down CVB throat to bite CVB blood to suck PST CON

And he saw a fat male goat, jumped on its back, bit its throat and sucked the blood.

1.60 **Iyaadik'aa k'oddheyshuhu reennoo.**
 i -y- -aa =di =k'aa k'oddheyshi -ku re(y) -ann -oo
 to say EG IMPF =when =FOC male goat LNOM.M to die PST CON

Then the goat died.

1.61 **Isinni amalaa dirk'adhannoo faana taydhik'aa**
 isi =nni amalaa dirk' -adh -ann -oo faana taydh -i =k'aa
 3SG.M.NOM =CONN behaviour to return (sth) MID PST CON after to sit CVB =FOC

ka maala aayeeshi "ee itissi!"
ka maala aayee -shi ee it -i -ss -i
DEM.PROX.M.ABS meat mother LNOM.F 1SG.ABS to eat EV CAUS IMP.SG

iyi ajajannoo.
i -y- -i ajaj -ann -oo
to say EG CVB to command PST CON

After his action was successful, he sat down and commanded the woman to feed him this meat.

1.62 **Ishinni eetee galcik'aa aayeeshi**
ishi =nni eetee gal -ci =k'aa aayee -shi
3SG.F.NOM =CONN acceptance to return CVB.3SG.F =FOC mother LNOM.F

k'itt'ey sannoo.
k'itt'ey -ann -oo
to complete PST CON

The woman agreed and completed (the task).

1.63 **Ee faana "abuya, tanee jooru hakk'ashi yetteyi**
ee faana abuya tanee joor -u hakk'a -shi yedh -t -eyi
DEM.DIST.F.ABS after uncle now home LOC firewood LNOM.F to be 3SG.F NEG

marru ba'inaa karracci goyaak'aa", innoo.
marru ba' -i =naa karra -cci goy -aa =k'aa i -nn -oo
because to leave CVB =FOC outside ABL to take IMPF =FOC to say PST CON

Then she said: "Uncle, since there is no firewood at the house now, let me go out and take it from outside."

1.64 **Isinni "ba'ashi goyi", iyik'aa**
isi =nni ba' -a- -shi goy -i i -y- -i =k'aa
3SG.M.NOM =CONN to leave EV CVB.3SG.F to take IMP.SG to say EG CVB =FOC

hirk'adhannoo.
hirk'adh -ann -oo
to lie down PST CON

He said "go out and take it!", and lay down.

1.65 **Isheenkoo hakk'a haasa lamminna ici alaakey**
ishee -nkoo hakk'a haas -a lammi =nna i -ci alaakey
3SG.F.ABS NOM firewood to look for IMPF person =like to be CVB.3SG.F basalt stone

goyshik'aa hakk'ashin t'afci rik'annoo.
goy -shi =k'aa hakk'a -shini t'af -ci rik' -ann -oo
to take CVB.3SG.F =FOC firewood INS.F to hide CVB.3SG.F to return PST CON

She seemed like a person looking for firewood, (but) she took basalt and returned covering it with

firewood.

- 1.66 **Ee faana maala murshi gaawwaddi worcik'aa**
ee faana maala mur -shi gaawwa -ddi wor -ci =k'aa
DEM.DIST.F.ABS after meat to cut CVB.3SG.F pot INE to put CVB.3SG.F =FOC

alaakeenni giddi dheebannoo.
alaakey =nni giddi dheeb -ann -oo
basalt stone =CONN in to put PST CON

After that, she cut the meat, put it into a pot, and put also the basalt stone (into the pot).

- 1.67 **Hakk'a macc'i issish, maala salannoo faana,**
hakk'a macc'i iss -i- -shi maala sal -ann -oo faana
firewood a lot?? to make EV CVB.3SG meat to cook PST CON after

alaakeynta duwwinnak'aa hubadhannoo.
alaakey -nta duww -inna =k'aa hubadh -ann -oo
basalt stone POSS.F.ABS red ADJ > N =FOC to recognize PST CON

After she had put a lot of firewood and cooked the meat, she recognized that the basalt had become red.

- 1.68 **Alaakeyhu duwweedheedhaa dek'ee hubaccik'aa**
alaakey -ku duwweedh -eedhaa dek'ee hubadh -ci =k'aa
basalt stone LNUM.M to become red PRSPRF.3SG.M COMP to recognize CVB.3SG.F =FOC

dhogoli aseessannoo.
dhogoli asees -s -ann -oo
leopard to stand CAUS PST CON

When she saw that the basalt had become red, she woke up the leopard.

- 1.69 **Ishik'aa "abuya, ashi angashini itaashi**
i -shi =k'aa abuya ashi anga -shini it -aash -i
to say CVB.3SG.F =FOC uncle 2SG.NOM hand INS.F to eat NEG IMP.SG

eenaa shee bun'isaa", innoo.
ee =naa shee bun' -i- -s -aa i -nn -oo
1SG.ABS =FOC 2SG.ABS to taste EV CAUS IMPF to say PST CON

She said: "Uncle, don't eat with your hand, I will feed you."

- 1.70 **Isinni eetee galik'aa ishee duru**
isi =nni eetee gal -i =k'aa ishee duru
3SG.M.NOM =CONN acceptance to return CVB =FOC 3SG.F.ABS in front of

nasshadhi taydhannoo.
nasshadh -i taydh -ann -oo
to be proud CVB to sit PST CON

He agreed and sat down proudly in front of her.

- 1.71 **Isheenkooni** **murameedhaa** **maala** **goyook'aa**
 ishee -nkoo =nni mur -am -eedhaa maala goy -oo =k'aa
 3SG.F.ABS NOM =CONN to cut PASS PRSPRF.3SG.M meat to take HAB =FOC

bun'isoo **iya** **accannoo.**
 bun' -i- -s -oo i -y- -a acc -ann -oo
 to taste EV CAUS HAB to be EG INF to start PST CON

She cut the meat, and started taking the meat and feeding (the leopard).

- 1.72 **Isinni** **maggaashini** **laa** **ba'uwaa** **iyik'aa**
 isi =nni magгаа -shini laa ba' -uwaa i -y- -i =k'aa
 3SG.M.NOM =CONN happiness INS.F hunger to leave PURP to be EG CVB =FOC

dheema **accannoo.**
 dheem -a acc -ann -oo
 to swallow INF to start PST CON

He started swallowing, being happy that the hunger would leave.

- 1.73 **Isheenkoo** **umutta-** **liyanna** **bun'isik'aa** **lamaliseettannaddi**
 ishee -nkoo umutta liya -nna bun' -i- -s -i =k'aa lamaliseetta -nna -ddi
 3SG.F.ABS NOM five six time to taste EV CAUS CVB =FOC seventh time INE

alaakey **maaluhuni** **gagarci** **bun'isannoo.**
 alaakey maala -huni gagar -ci bun'' -i- -s -ann -oo
 basalt stone meat INS.M to catch CVB.3SG.F to taste EV CAUS PST CON

She fed him five, six times, and in the seventh round she took basalt with the meat and fed (the leopard).

- 1.74 **Alaakeyhu** **ra'eedhannoo** **marru** **kokee** **acci** **sulee**
 alaakey -ku ra'eedh -ann -oo marru kokee acc -i sulee
 basalt stone LNOM.M to be cooked PST CON because throat to start CVB down

bukk'usaami **marik'aa** **rima** **c'irc'irannoo.**
 bukk'us -aa =mi mar -i =k'aa rima c'irc'ir -ann -oo
 to burn IMPF =while to go CVB =FOC intestine to mince PST CON

Because the basalt had cooked, starting from the throat, it went down burning, and cut the intestine into small pieces.

- 1.75 **Isinni** **lubboo** **ba'uwwaa** **waahadik'aa** **reennoo.**
 isi =nni lubboo ba' -uwwaa waahadi=k'aa re(y) -ann -oo
 3SG.M.NOM =CONN life to leave PURP???

And he died rolling from one side to the other.

1.76 **K'alinci** **aayi** **isatta** **raya**
 k'al(oo) -nci aay(ee) -i isa -tta raya
 goat POSS.F.NOM mother SNOM.F POSS.3SG.M F.ABS death

hubaccik'aa **reesi** **ba'asuwaa** **itaadi**
 hubadh -ci =k'aa reesi ba' -a- -s -uwaa i -t -aa =di
 to recognize CVB.3SG.F =FOC corpse to leave EV CAUS PURP to be 3SG.F IMPF =when

ban'annoo.
 ban' -ann -oo
 to try PST CON

The mother of the goats recognized his death and tried to take out the corpse.

1.77 **Ee** **faana** **"maahaa?"** **ishik'aa** **karra** **ba'annoo.**
 ee faana maahaa i -shi =k'aa karra ba' -ann -oo
 DEM.DIST.F.ABS after what can I do to think CVB.3SG.F =FOC outside to leave PST CON

Then she thought "what can I do?", and went outside.

1.78 **Ka** **wogga** **maalinta** **foolee** **goyeedhaa**
 ka wogga maala -nta foolee goy -eedhaa
 DEM.PROX.M.ABS time meat POSS.F.ABS smell to take PRSPRF.3SG.M

goti **mina** **k'areek'aa** **yedhannoo.**
 got -i mina k'aree =k'aa yedh -ann -oo
 hyena SNOM.M house near =FOC to be PST CON

At that moment, a hyena who had got the smell of the meat, was near the house.

1.79 **Isheenkooni** **mic'a** **kubjik'aa** **duru** **worannoo.**
 ishee -nkoo =nni mic'a kub -ci =k'aa duru wor -ann -oo
 3SG.F.ABS NOM =CONN bone to collect CVB.3SG.F =FOC in front of to put PST CON

She collected the bones and put them in front (of the hyena).

1.80 **Isinunni** **iti** **fureennoo** **faana** **goha**
 isinu =nni it -i fure(y) -ann -oo faana goh -a
 3PL.NOM =CONN to eat CVB to be satisfied PST CON after to sleep INF

hayyadhik'aa **ishee** **worsadhanninkoo.**
 hayy -adh -i =k'aa ishee worsadh -ann -i- -nk -oo
 to want MID CVB =FOC 3SG.F.ABS to ask PST EV PL CON

After they (= hyenas, now there are more) had eaten enough, they wanted to sleep and asked her (if they could sleep in her house).

1.81 **Ishinni** **"ta** **mininka** **aneyi** **lammuhu**
 ishi =nni ta mina -nka anaa -i lammi -ku
 3SG.F.NOM =CONN DEM.PROX.F.ABS house POSS.M.ABS man SNOM.M man LNOM.M

shasshayaadi hayyeyi marru c'aha ishinki
 shasshay -aa =di hayy -eyi marru c'aha i -sh -i- -nk -i
 to move IMPF =when to love NEG because silently to be 2 EV PL CVB

goheek'aa!", innoo.
 goh -ee =k'aa i -nn -oo
 to sleep IMP.PL =FOC to say PST CON

She said: "Since the man (owner) of this house does not like disturbance(?), sleep silently!"

1.82 **K'adinni "shinsi miyanku gamannoonnayaa**
 k'adinni shinsi miya -nku gam -ann -oo =nna =yaa
 then 2PL.ABS what POSS.M.NOM to bite PST CON =like, as =and

k'um'annonna shasshayakkee!", ishik'aa
 k'um' -ann -oo =nna shasshay -akk -ee i -shi =k'aa
 to harm PST CON =like, as to move NEG IMP.PL to say CVB.3SG.F =FOC

dhaamannoo.
 dhaam -ann -oo
 to warn PST CON

Then she warn: "If anything bites you and teases you, don't move!"

1.83 **Isinunni eetee galinkik'aa gohannoo.**
 isinu =nni eetee gal -i- -nk -i =k'aa goh -ann -oo
 3PL.NOM =CONN acceptance to return EV PL CVB =FOC to sleep PST CON

They agreed and went to sleep.

1.84 **Higaata k'adinni "ani boytaa nak'aa wogga ashinu**
 higaata k'adinni ani boytaa nak' -aa wogga ashinu
 also again 1SG.NOM trough to beat IMPF time 2PL.NOM

dhakkushinki bak'anneek'aa!", innoo.
 dhakku -sh -i- -nk -i bak' -ann -ee =k'aa i -nn -oo
 to be quick 2 EV PL CVB to run out PST IMP.PL =FOC to say PST CON

She also said: "When I beat a trough, run out quickly!".

1.85 **"Oo wogga ani 'naaraddi, naaraddi' iyinaa**
 oo wogga ani naara -ddi naara -ddi i -y- -i =naa
 DEM.DIST.M.ABS time 1SG.NOM cliff INE cliff INE to say EG CVB =FOC

t'aaraa".
 t'aar -aa
 to shout IMPF

"At that moment, I will shout 'To the cliff, to the cliff!' "

1.86 **"Ashinunni naarinka eeri bak'annee",**
 ashinu =nni naara -nka eeri bak' -ann -ee
 2PL.NOM =CONN cliff POSS.M.ABS direction to run out PST IMP.PL

ishik'aa gorsannoo.
 i -shi =k'aa gors -ann -oo
 to say CVB.3SG.F =FOC to advise PST CON

"You run to the cliff", she advised.

1.87 **Ee faana lilima gaddhacik'aa dhogolinta dheegee**
 ee faana lilima gaddh -a- -ci =k'aa dhogoli -nta dheegee
 DEM.DIST.F.ABS after needle to take EV CVB.3SG.F =FOC leopard POSS.F.ABS tail

gotintanaga doysannoo.
 gota -nta -na -ga doys -ann -oo
 hyena POSS.F.ABS PL DIR to sew PST CON

After that, she took a needle and sewed the leopard's tail to the hyenas.

1.88 **Bubbinka basi k'itt'ey sannoo faana boytaak'aa nak'annoo.**
 bubba -nka basi k'itt'eys -ann -oo faana boytaa =k'aa nak' -ann -oo
 all POSS.M.ABS thing to complete PST CON after trough =FOC to beat PST CON

After having finished everything, she beat the trough.

1.89 **Bodhooka dhaamsi k'afaadhannoo gotuhu buk'adhi**
 bodhooka dhaamsi k'af -aa (ye)dh -ann -oo gota -ku buk'adh -i
 previous advice to have STAT to be PST CON hyena LNOM.M to jump CVB

burraadi isatta hirba dhogolinku
 burr -aa =di isa -tta hirba dhogoli -nku
 to climb; to jump IMPF =when POSS.3SG.M F.ABS after leopard POSS.M.NOM

reesi shork'uk'aa innoo.
 rees -i shork'u =k'aa i -nn -oo
 corpse SNOM.M? follow? =FOC to say PST CON

When the hyena(s?), who had (heard) the previous advice, jumped and climbed, the leopard's corpse followed.

1.90 **Isheenkoo "naaraddi, naaraddi!" ishik'aa t'aarannoo.**
 ishee -nkoo naara -ddi naara -ddi i -shi =k'aa t'aar -ann -oo
 3SG.F.ABS NOM cliff INE cliff INE to say CVB.3SG.F =FOC to shout PST CON

She shouted: "To the cliff, to the cliff!".

1.91 **Gotuhunni naarinka eeri bak'adhi giddi**
 gota -ku =nni naara -nka eeri bak' -adh -i giddi
 hyena LNOM.M =CONN cliff POSS.M.ABS direction to run out MID CVB in

halik'aa reeno.
 hal -i =k'aa rey -nn -oo
 to fall CVB =FOC to die PST CON

And the hyena(s?) ran to the cliff, fell off and died.

1.92 **T'eellaa amankoo, k'alinci aayi, tanacci**
 t'eellaa ama -nkoo k'al(oo) -nci aay(ee) -i tanacci
 smart woman NPROP.NOM goat POSS.F.NOM mother SNOM.M with this

mal'acik'aa dhogoli siish issakka k'alcci
 mal -' -a- -ci =k'aa dhogoli sii -shi issi -kka k'al -cci
 to plan MID EV CVB.3SG.F =FOC leopard to kill CVB.3SG.F self? M.ABS goat ABL/COM?

haaloo dirk'adhannoo.
 haaloo dirk' -adh -ann -oo
 revenge to return (sth) MID PST CON

The smart woman, the mother of the goats, killed the leopard with this plan, and took revenge for her goat.

1.93 **K'alooni k'alansadhannoo.**
 k'aloo =nni k'alansadh -ann -oo
 goat =CONN to herd PST CON

And she continued to herd her goats.

7.3 The prodigal son (Lowland Dhaashatee)

The following text is the transcription of a three-minute audio recording of the biblical parable “The prodigal son”, downloaded from “Global Recordings Network”.⁵¹ The transcription and translation was done together with Durio Guba, a retired history teacher and native speaker of Lowland Dhaashatee, at his home in Dilla in February 2020. The transcription may differ slightly from the original.

1.1	Dhekki lamminaa		k'aroo	lama	k'afa		weyda.
	dhekki lamm -i	=naa	k'aroo	lama	k'af -a		weyda
	one.M man SNOM?	=FOC	children	two	to have IMPF		long ago

A long time ago, a man had two sons.

1.2	Halam dubakkeyhu		isakka		aabbaa ungunaa
	halami dubakkaa -ku		isa -kka		aabbaa ungu =naa
	boy younger LNOM.M		POSS.3SG.M M.ABS		father like this =FOC

inni:		"yaa aabbaa wor'a	basi ees uyi!"
i -nn -i	yaa aabbaa wor'a	basi ee -sa	u(ww) -y- -i
to say PST NCON.3SG	VOC father inheritance	thing 1SG DAT	to give EG IMP.SG

The younger son said to his father: "Father, give me my inheritance!"

1.3	Ka marroonaa isinakk		aabbongoo
	ka marroo =naa	isa -na -kk?	aabbo(o) -ngoo
	DEM.PROX.M.ABS because =FOC	POSS.3.M PL M.ABS/NOM?	father NOM.NPROP

worshee k'oodanni.
worshee k'ood -ann -i
wealth to distribute PST NCON.3SG

Therefore, their father distributed the wealth.

1.4	C'in'atta lasa k'udeenaa dagee halami		jooricci bayi
	c'in'atta lasa k'udee =naa	dagee halami -i	joora -cci bayi -i
	small.F day after =FOC	young boy SNOM.M	home ABL to disappear CVB

bayyaa biya maranni.
bayyaa biya mar -ann -i
far country to go PST NCON.3SG

A few days later, the younger boy left home to go to a far away country.

1.5	Oo godoonaa isatta laboo beesee oloosanni.
	oo godoo =naa isa -tta laboo beesee oloos -ann -i
	DEM.DIST.M.ABS place =FOC POSS.3SG.M F.ABS much money to loose PST NCON.3SG

⁵¹ The recording can be found here: <https://globalrecordings.net/nl/language/1439>

There, he lost a lot of money.

1.6 **Waalaa dansamaada laboodanaa allan'anni.**

waala dansamaada labooda =naa allan' -ann -i
clothes very good much =FOC to buy PST NCON.3SG

He bought many good clothes.

1.7 **Worshee isatta kasaaraaddiyaa birk'addinaa**

worshee isa -tta kasaaraa -ddi =yaa birk'a -ddi =naa
wealth POSS.3SG.M F.ABS gambling INE =and millet beer INE =FOC

ba'asanni.

ba' -a- -s -ann -i
to leave EV CAUS PST CVB

He lost his wealth gambling and (drinking) *birk'a* (millet beer).

1.8 **Amananda faana ba'inaa labooda beesee isatta**

ama -na -nda faana ba' -i =naa labooda beesee isa -tta
woman PL POSS.F.ABS after to leave CVB =FOC much money POSS.3SG.M F.ABS

ba'asanni.

ba' -a- -s -ann -i
to leave EV CAUS PST CVB

He lost a lot of money going after women.

1.9 **Ammanni isi laboo basinaa hujeenaa wontoosh**

ammanni isi laboo basi =naa hujee =naa wontoo -shi
also 3SG.M.NOM much thing =FOC work =FOC god LNOM.F

hayyedheyi hujeenni.

hayy -edh -eyi hujiiy -ann -i
to love MID NEG to work PST NCON.3SG

He did many things that God did not like.

1.10 **Worshee isatta oloosaadinaa ee biya**

worshee isa -tta oloos -aa =di =naa ee biya
wealth POSS.3SG.M F.ABS to loose IMPF =when =FOC DEM.DIST.F.ABS country

ham'anee laash intaanni.

ham'anee laa -shi inta(y) -ann -i
big hunger; famine LNOM.F to come PST NCON.3SG

When he had lost all his money, a big famine came to the country.

1.11 **Laasi umuccoo isi gafoonaa goonni.**

laas -i umuccoo isi gafoo =naa go(y) -nn -i
to be hungry CVB over there 3SG.M.NOM trouble =FOC to take PST NCON.3SG

Since he suffered from hunger there, he got into troubles.

- 1.12 **Tanagaanaa isi ee biya dhekki anaaga**
 tanagaa =naa isi ee biya dhekki anaa -ga
 therefore =FOC 3SG.M.NOM DEM.DIST.F.ABS country one.M man DIR

galanni.

gal -ann -i
 to return PST NCON.3SG

Therefore, he went to one person in that country.

- 1.13 **Uu aneyhu hammunnaa arganni booyyegaa**
 uu anaa -ku hammunnaa arg -ann -i booyyee -gaa
 DEM.DIST.M.NOM man LNOM.M fields to send PST NCON.3SG pig DAT

itee uwwooni.

itee uww -ooni
 food to give JUSS

That man sent him to the fields to feed pigs.

- 1.14 **Oo marroo isi ham'anee dhekkinaa selfadhanni.**
 oo marroo isi ham'anee dhekki =naa selfadh -ann -i
 DEM.DIST.M.ABS because 3SG.M.NOM big one.M =FOC to be ashamed PST CVB

Therefore he was very ashamed.

- 1.15 **Ham'anee dhekki laasinaa booyeeng itee ita**
 ham'anee dhekki laas -i =naa booyyee -nga itee it -a
 big one.M to be hungry CVB =FOC pig POSS.M.ABS food to eat INF

hayyedhanni

hayy -edh -ann -i isi
 to want MID PST NCON.3SG 3SG.M.NOM

Since he was very hungry, he wanted to eat the pigs' food.

- 1.16 **Dhekki lamminni itee isagaa uwwa hayyedhanneyi.**
 dhekki lammi =nni itee isi -gaa uww -a hayy -edh -ann -eyi
 one.M man =CONN food 3SG.M DAT to give INF to need MID PST NEG

Nobody wanted to give him food.

- 1.17 **K'albee isacci isagaa rik'idhaadi isi**
 k'albee isa -cci isi -gaa rik' -idh -aa =di isi
 memory POSS.3SG.M F.NOM 3SG.M DAT to return MID IMPF =when 3SG.M.NOM

issaga

issi -ga
 self DIR

ungunaa

ungu =naa
 like this =FOC

inni:

i -nn -i
 to say PST NCON.3SG

"Iyya

i -yya
 POSS.1SG M.ABS

aabbagaa

aabba -gaa
 father DAT

hujiyaa lammi laboogaanaa yedha.
 hujiy -aa? lamm -i laboo -gaa =naa yedh -a
 to work IMPF? man SNOM? many DAT? =FOC to be IMPFSTAT.3SG

When his memories returned to him, he said to himself: "My father has many servants." Those people have a lot of food.

1.18 **Uu meeni laboo iteenaa k'afa.**
 uu meen(a) -i laboo itee =naa k'af -a
 DEM.DIST.M.NOM people SNOM.M much food =FOC to have IMPFSTAT.3SG

Those people have a lot of food.

1.19 **Ani kumiccoo laashininaa reya.**
 ani kumiccoo laa -shini =naa rey- -a
 1SG.NOM here hunger INS.F =FOC to die IMPF

I am dying from hunger here.

1.20 **Ani tanee mina aseesi iyya aabbaga galaa.**
 ani tanee mina asees -i i -yya aabba -ga gal -aa
 1SG.NOM now house to stand CVB POSS.1SG M.ABS father DIR to return IMPF

I will get up now and return to my father.

1.21 **Tanee ani iyya aabbagaa iyaa basi?**
 tanee ani i -yya aabba -gaa i -y- -aa basi
 now 1SG.NOM POSS.1SG M.ABS father DAT to say EG IMPF thing

Now, what will I say to my father?

1.22 **"Aabbo, ani shee duruyaa wontoo durunni inaa**
 aabboo ani shee duru =yaa wontoo duru =nni inaa
 father.VOC 1SG.NOM 2SG.ABS in front of =and god in front of =CONN FOC

labbeedhanni."

labbeedh -ann -i
 to lie; to make a mistake PST NCON.1SG

"Father, I made a mistake in front of you and in front of God."

1.23 **"Ani tana k'udee shitta k'alanaa ihagaanni**
 ani tana k'udee shi -tta k'ala =naa ih -a -gaa =nni
 1SG.NOM DEM after POSS.2SG F.ABS child =FOC to be INF? DAT? =CONN

malanneyi."

mal -ann -eyi
 to deserve?? PST NEG

"After this, I don't deserve to be your child."

- 1.24 **"Tanee ora hujee shitta hujiyaa lammi ee godhi."**
 tanee ora hujee shi -tta hujiy -aa lammi ee godh -i
 now then work POSS.2SG F.ABS to work IMPF man 1SG.ABS to make IMP.SG

"Now make me your worker."

- 1.25 **Tanagaanaa isi bayyaa biyacci isakka aabbaa**
 tanagaa =naa isi bayyaa biya -cci isa -kka aabbaa
 therefore =FOC 3SG.M.NOM far area; country ABL POSS.3SG.M M.ABS father

galanni.

gal -ann -i
 to return PST NCON.3SG

Therefore, he returned to his father from the faraway country.

- 1.26 **Uu halami bayyaa yedhaaminaa**
 uu halam -i bayyaa yedh -aa =mi =naa
 DEM.DIST.M.NOM boy SNOM? far to be IMPF =while =FOC

isakk

isa -kk?
 POSS.3SG.M M.ABS/NOM?

aabbongoo

aabboo -ngoo
 father NOM.NPROP

isi

isi
 3SG.M.ABS

angullanni.

angull -ann -i
 to see PST NCON.3SG

While the boy was still far, his father saw him (in the distance).

- 1.27 **Isinni na'minaa isatta guduma gaari**
 isi =nni na' =mi =naa isa -tta guduma gaar -i
 3SG.M.NOM =CONN to be afraid =while =FOC POSS.3SG.M F.ABS shoulder to hold CVB

sunk'adhanni.

sunk' -adh -ann -i
 to kiss MID PST NCON.3SG

He was afraid, put his arm around his shoulder and kissed him.

- 1.28 **Halangunn isakka aabbagaa ungunaa**
 halam(i) ku =nni isa -kka aabba -gaa ungu =naa
 boy L.NOM.M =CONN POSS.3SG.M M.ABS father DAT like this =FOC

inni:

i -nn -i
 to say PST NCON.3SG

And the boy said to his father:

- 1.29 **"Aabboo, ani shiyya dheeriyaa wontanga**
 aabboo ani shi -yya dheeri =yaa wont(oo) -a- nga
 father.VOC 1SG.NOM POSS.2SG M.ABS proximity =and god EV POSS.M.ABS

dheeri inaa labbeedhanni."

dheeri inaa labbeedh -ann -i
proximity FOC to lie; to make a mistake PST NCON.1SG

"Father, I have made a mistake next to you and next to God."

1.30 **"Ani shitta k'alanni iha malanneyi."**

ani shi -tta k'ala =nni ih -a mal -ann -eyi
1SG.NOM POSS.2SG F.ABS child =CONN to be INF to deserve?? PST NEG

I don't deserve to be your child.

1.31 **Aabboongoo isagaa hujiyaa meenagaa ungunaa**

aabboo -ngoo isi -gaa hujiy -aa meena -gaa ungu =naa
father.VOC NOM.NPROP 3SG.M DAT to work IMPF people DAT like this =FOC

inni:

i -nn -i
to say PST NCON.3SG

"Dhakkushingi

dhakku -sh -i- -ng -i
to be quick 2 EV PL CVB

dansaa waala isagaa

dansaa waala isi -gaa
good clothes 3SG.M DAT

ambee!

amb -ee
to bring IMP.PL

The father said to his workers: "Hurry up and bring him good clothes!"

1.32 **"K'ubeen angaddi woree, toholaan isatta lukkaddi!"**

k'ubee -na anga -ddi wor -ee toholaa -na isa -tta lukka -ddi
ring PL hand INE to put IMP.PL shoe PL POSS.3SG.M F.ABS foot INE

"Put rings on his hands and shoes on his feet!"

1.33 **"Hiliccoo c'ooma en'idha ambishingi ayee!"**

hiliccoo c'ooma en'idha amb -i- -sh -i- -ng -i ay -ee
female calf fat DEM.DIST.F.ABS to bring EV 2 EV PL CVB to slaughter IMP.PL

Bring and slaughter that fat calf!

1.34 **"Naanunni itini magginuwaasee!"**

naanu =nni it -i- -n -i magg -i- -n -uwaa -see
1PL.NOM =CONN to eat EV 1PL CVB to be happy EV 1PL PURP HOR

"Let us eat and be happy."

1.35 **"Halami iyyu kan'uu acca inaanna**

halam -i i -yyu kan'uu acca inaa =nna
boy SNOM.M POSS.1SG M.NOM DEM.PROX.M.NOM previously FOC =like??

reenni."

rey -nn -i
to die PST NCON.3SG

"It seemed like my boy had died."

1.36 **"Tanee inaa aseesanni."**

tanee inaa asees -ann -i
now FOC to stand PST NCON.3SG

"Now he is back."

1.37 **"K'ala icci kan'ish inaa acca inaa**

k'al -a i -cci kan'ishi inaa acca inaa
child SNOM.F POSS.1SG F.NOM DEM.PROX.F.NOM FOC previously FOC

beenni tanee inaa galanni."

bey -nn -i tanee inaa gal -ann -i
to disappear PST NCON.3SG now FOC to return PST NCON.3SG

"My child had disappeared, now he returned."

1.38 **Bubbink lammi ham'anee yekk'inaa magganni.**

bubba -nka? lamm -i ham'anee yekk'i =naa magg -ann -i
all POSS.M.ABS? man SNOM.M big COMP =FOC to be happy PST NCON.3SG

Everybody was very happy.

1.39 **Yesoo Kristoonaa kan'i shiidi -ddi haasaawanni.**

Yesoo Kristoo=naa kan'i shiidi -ddi haasaaw -ann -i
Jesus Christ=FOC DEM.PROX.M.ABS speech INE to speak PST NCON.3SG

Jesus Christ said this in his speech.

1.40 **Isi wontanga hayyinna ham'anee yekk'eenaa akkansa**

isi wont(oo) -nga hayyinna ham'anee yekk'ee =naa akkan -s -a
3SG.M.NOM god POSS.M.ABS love big COMP =FOC to learn CAUS INF

hayyadhanni.

hayyadh -ann -i
to want PST NCON.3SG

He wanted to teach that God's love is big.

1.41 **Wontoosh hayyedhaa basi.**

wontoo -shi hayy -edh -aa basi
god LNOM.F to love MID IMPF thing

God loves.

1.42 **C'ubboo k'afaa lammi isakka dheeri rikk'ee**

c'ubboo k'af -aa lamm -i isa -kka dheeri rikk' -ee?
sin to have IMPF man SNOM? POSS.3SG.M M.ABS proximity to return NEG?

yekk'eenaa hayyedha.
 yekk'ee =naa hayy -edh -a
 COMP =FOC to want MID IMPFSTAT.3SG

He wants that a person who has a sin, not(???)⁵² to return to him.

1.43 **Naanu bubbinku acca oo halaminnaa**
 naanu bubba -nku acca oo halami =nna =naa
 1PL.NOM all POSS.M.NOM previously DEM.DIST.M.ABS boy =like =FOC

yennoonn.
 yedh -n -oo =nni?
 to be 1PL IMPFSTAT =CON?

We all are like that boy.

1.44 **Acca naanu bubbinku wontanda dawwa**
 acca naanu bubba -nku wont(oo) -a- -nda dawwa
 previously 1PL.NOM all POSS.M.NOM god EV POSS.F.ABS way

habarinaa ninta dawwa maranninu.
 habar -i =naa nin -ta dawwa mar -ann -i- -n -u
 to leave CVB =FOC POSS.1PL F.ABS way to go PST EV 1PL NCON

We all have left God's way before and went our own way.

1.45 **Naanu c'ubboo k'afanninunanni wontoosh**
 naanu c'ubboo k'af -ann -i- -n -u =nanni wontoo -shi
 1PL.NOM sin to have PST EV 1PL NCON =if god L.NOM.F

ninsiminaa hayyedha.
 ninsi -mi =naa hayy -edh -a
 1PL.ABS FOC??? =FOC to need MID IMPFSTAT.3SG

Even if we have sins, he loves us.

1.46 **Uu halami rikk'inaa yeraa hujeeddee**
 uu halam -i rikk' -i =naa yeraa hujee -ddee
 DEM.DIST.M.NOM boy SNOM.M to return CVB =FOC bad work ABL

isakka aabbaa galanni.
 isa -kka aabbaa gal -ann -i
 POSS.3SG.M M.ABS father to return PST NCON.3SG

That boy came back and returned from his bad deeds to his father.

1.47 **Iyaadinaa isakk aabbongoo**
 i -y- -aa =di =naa isa -kk?
 to say EG IMPF =when =FOC POSS.3SG.M M.ABS/NOM? father NOM.NPROP

⁵² The speaker interpreted the suffix *-ee* on *rikk'-ee* as a negation marker and expressed his disagreement with the meaning of the sentence (for reasons of theology and text coherence).

maggaashini isi goonni.
 magгаа -shini isi go(y) -nn -i
 happiness INS.F 3SG.M.ABS to take PST NCON.3SG

Then, his father accepted him happily.

1.48 **Onannaminaa naanu c'ubboo gabicci rikk'ini,**
 onanna -mi =naa naanu c'ubboo gabi -cci rikk' -i -n -i
 like this FOC??? =FOC 1PL.NOM sin from ABL to return EV 1PL CVB

wontanda gama rikk'inaa yekk'i hayyedha.
 wont(oo) -a- -nda gama rikk' -i =naa yekk'i hayy -edh -a
 god EV POSS.F.ABS side to return CVB =FOC COMP to want MID IMPFSTAT.3SG

So, he wants that we return from sin to God.

1.49 **Enagaanaa isi Yesoo argissanni ninsi**
 enagaa =naa isi Yesoo arg -i- -s -ann -i ninsi
 therefore =FOC 3SG.M.NOM Jesus to send EV CAUS PST NCON.3SG 1PL.ABS

ba'asooni.
 ba' -a- -s -ooni
 to leave EV CAUS JUSS

Therefore, he sent Jesus to make us leave (sin).

1.50 **Yesoongoo ninka marrunaa gargari mask'aliga**
 yesoo -ngoo nin -ka marru =naa gargari mask'alii -ga
 Jesus NOM.NPROP POSS.1PL M.ABS because =FOC terribly? cross SUPE

reenni.
 rey -nn -i
 to die PST NCON.3SG

Jesus died for us terribly on the cross.

1.51 **Enagaa isi c'ubboo ninta nafakka**
 enagaa isi c'ubboo nin -ta nafa -kka
 therefore 3SG.M.NOM sin POSS.1PL F.ABS body POSS.NPROP.M.ABS

isi issaga gaddhanni.
 isi issi -ga gaddh -ann -i
 3SG.M.NOM (him)self DIR to take PST NCON.3SG

Therefore, he took our sin onto himself.

1.52 **Naanu c'ubboo gabicci rikk'ini Yesoo amananeenoonna**
 naanu c'ubboo gabi -cci rikk' -i- -n -i Yesoo aman -aneenoo =nna
 1PL.NOM sin from ABL to return EV 1PL CVB Jesus to believe ? =as

luufoo jaliccinaa ba'annaa.
 luufoo jali -cci =naa ba' -ann -aa
 accusation under ABL =FOC to leave PST ?

If we return from sin and believe in Jesus, we will be free from accusations.

1.53 **Enagaanaa Yesoongoo isakka c'eejicci ninka**
 enagaa =naa yesoo -ngoo isa -kka c'eeji -cci nin -ka
 therefore =FOC Jesus NOM.NPROP POSS.3SG.M M.ABS blood COM POSS.1PL M.ABS

c'ubboo dhika.
 c'ubboo dhik -a
 sin to wash IMPF?

Therefore, Jesus washed/washes? away our sins with his blood.

1.54 **Isi ninsa hajjinaa uwwaa.**
 isi ninsa hajji =naa uww -aa
 3SG.M.NOM 1PL.ABS strength; force =FOC to give IMPF

He gives us strength.

1.55 **Naanu wontanga dheeri marraa dekk'i.**
 naanu wont(oo) -a- -nga dheeri mar -n -aa dekk'i
 1PL.NOM god EV POSS.M.ABS proximity to go 1PL IMPF as

As we will go to God.

1.56 **Naanu reenninoonanni dhenaminaa wontang**
 naanu rey -nn -i- -n -oo =nanni dhena -mi =naa wont(oo) -a- -nga
 1PL.NOM to die PST EV 1PL CON =when once FOC? =FOC god EV POSS.M.ABS

dheeri ninsi dhisayaa.
 dheeri ninsi dhisay -aa
 proximity 1PL.ABS to bring IMPF

When we die, he will bring us to God at once.