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*From the edge:*

**A sketch of Ongota, a dying language of Southwest Ethiopia**  
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A SKETCH OF ONGOTA  
A DYING LANGUAGE OF SOUTHWEST ETHIOPIA\*

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The article provides a grammatical sketch of Ongota, a language on the brink of extinction (actively used by eight out of an ethnic group of nearly one hundred) spoken in the South Omo Zone of Southwestern Ethiopia. The language has now been largely superseded by Ts'amakko, a neighboring East Cushitic language, and code-switching in Ts'amakko occurs extensively in the data. A peculiar characteristic of Ongota is that tense distinctions on the verb are marked only tonally. Ongota's genetic affiliation is uncertain, but most probably Afroasiatic, either Cushitic or Omotic; on the other hand, it must be noted that certain features of the language (such as the almost complete absence of nominal morphology and of inflectional verbal morphology) point to an origin from a creolized pidgin.

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## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The extreme southwestern corner of Ethiopia is well-known as an ethnic and linguistic mosaic. What was formerly the western part of Gemu-Gofa and is now the Southern Omo Zone (Amharic: *yä-däbub omo zon*) of the "Southern Peoples, Nations and Nationalities Region" comprises peoples speaking Cushitic and Omotic languages of the Afroasiatic family, as well as Nilotic and Surmic languages of the Eastern Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan. But there is at least another enigmatic people, mostly known in the area as Birale, but whose ethnic selfname is rather Ongota (*ŋongota* [ŋongóta]). One would search in vain for either the Birale or the Ongota in the Ethiopian census (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 1998). The state of our knowledge about this people and their language (*iifa ŋongota* 'language ['mouth'] of the Ongota') is well summarized in *Ethnologue's* entry, quoted here below:

Birale (Ongota, Birelle, Ifa'Ongota, "Shanqilla") [BXE] 20 speakers out of an ethnic group of 70 (SIL 1990). One village on the west bank of the Weyt'o River, southeast Omo Region. Afroasiatic, Unclassified. All the speakers are old. The others conduct their affairs in Tsamai. 18% lexical similarity with Tsamai, but from borrowing. Typology: SOV; post-positions; genitives follow noun heads; suffixes indicate noun case; verb affixes mark subject person, number, and gender; passive; causative. Agriculturalists, hunters. Nearly extinct. [Grimes 1996: 260]

The entry itself represents a decisive improvement over previous reports, such as, for example, *Ethnologue's* 11th edition, where the language was said to be spoken '[O]n Lake Weyto, north of the Cushitic-speaking Tsamay' [Grimes 1991: 218]. At least at the present time, no such thing as a (permanent) "Lake Weyto" exists, and Ongota is spoken to the east of Ts'amakko,<sup>2</sup> rather than to the north. The improvement is mostly the result of a single article, published in 1992/93 in

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used:

Amh	Amharic	NPST	Non-Past
CAUS	Causative verbal extension	O	Ongota
F	Feminine	PST	Past
IMPV	Imperative	P	Plural
INF	Infinitive	PROG	Progressive
INT	Interrogative	S	Singular
INTR	Intransitive verbal extension	SING	Singulative
ISP	Impersonal Subject Pronoun	Ts	Ts'amakko
M	Masculine		
MID	Middle verbal extension	-	Morpheme boundary
NEG	Negative	=	Clitic boundary

<sup>2</sup> The denomination of Tsamay or Ts'amay, although common in the area (and in the literature) is unknown in the language itself. The ethnic selfname is rather Ts'amakko (corresponding to S'aamakko of Hayward [1989]).



the short-lived *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages*. The article, entitled 'Ongota or Birale: A moribund language of Gemu-Gofa (Ethiopia)', was co-authored by Harold C. Fleming, Aklilu Yilma, Ayyalew Mitiku, Richard Hayward, Yukio Miyawaki, Pavel Mikeš, and J. Michael Seelig [Fleming et al. 1992/93] and presented the first real data on the Ongota language. Actually, as well-argued in the article itself, there are reasons to believe that the Ongota were first mentioned by the American explorer Donaldson Smith [1896], when he spoke of a "Borali" people in connection with other yet unidentified tribes, especially a mysterious group of pygmies, the "Dume".

Fleming et al. [1992/93] is particularly interesting for its rich vocabulary (with comparative notes), but it also presented much grammatical data, although only incompletely analysed. A year later it was followed by a precious 320-item wordlist of Ongota, Arbore, and Ts'amakko, published by the "Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia" [Dinota & Siebert 1994]. Although the words were carefully transcribed, no phonological analysis was attempted, and grammatical data was missing. In the following years, Aklilu Yilma, a linguist at Addis Ababa University (and one of the authors of Fleming et al. [1992/93]) collected additional sociolinguistic data on the people, visiting their settlement on various occasions. But no new linguistic data has been provided.

Differently from previous researchers, we more or less stumbled on Ongota while working on another language. On August 18, 2000, in the course of a fieldwork campaign aimed at various Dullay varieties, we stopped in the small town of Weyt'o, just after the bridge on the Weyt'o river, along the road leading from Arba Minch to the Omo. We had heard that a few Ongota were working at the Birale Agricultural Development Corp., a successful cotton company whose head-quarters are located just out of town, and had decided to enquire into the subject with the local manager. Although he could not be of great help (to his knowledge, no Ongota was found among the workers), he had us taken to somebody who arranged to have a few Ongota brought to us. On the following day we were introduced to three ethnic Ongota<sup>3</sup> and began interviewing them. It soon became apparent that the three had a limited command of the language (although they could remember much of its vocabulary). Finally, we were promised a much better speaker for the following day, and on August 20 we were introduced to Mole Sagane, of the *baritto* clan.

Mole was the informant who provided Dinota & Siebert's [1994] word-list (where he is referred to as Moyle Sagane). A short interview convinced us that he was the man we were looking for; Mole agreed to follow us to Jinka (the provincial capital of South Omo), where we worked full-time on Ongota from August 21 to 29. The present article contains the result of that work.

Mole claimed once to be 48 years old (but later denied knowing his age); he is a well-known and much respected elder, as well as a brave hunter; a native speaker of Ongota, he speaks like all his people a perfect Ts'amakko, masters well Hamar-

<sup>3</sup> Their names are: Geta K'awla, Muda K'awla, and Gename Wa'do.



Banna, and has also a working knowledge of both Amharic and Borana Oromo.<sup>4</sup> He soon proved to be a good linguistic informant, intelligent, cooperative and, above all, patient towards our endless questioning and our first clumsy attempts at speaking his language.

According to Mole, there are eight speakers of Ongota left: apart from himself, his older brother Aburre Sagane, and four brothers: Dulo Korayo, Oydalle Korayo, Guya'o Korayo and Iida Korayo (of the *ṣamadṣo* clan). They all live in Muts'e, a good hour's walk upstream of the bridge upon the Weyt'o river; most Ongota live there, together, we were told, with a few Ts'amakko. Two other Ongota speakers not living in Muts'e are Mole's older brother Tabba Sagane, and Gacco Olle (of the *hizmakko* clan). According to Mole, the eight speakers actively use the language among themselves (on one occasion, we witnessed a conversation between Mole and one of his brothers).

Mole also claimed that four Ongota women speak the language, but since they are married to Ts'amakko men and have been living among the Ts'amakko for many years, it is probable that their active knowledge of the language is limited. We could not have their names.

The number of the ethnic Ongota is only slightly larger: according to Mole's mental count, they do not exceed one hundred. This accords well with Aklilu Yilma's (p.c.) personal count of 75 Ongota in Muts'e alone, and with the figure of 89 given in Fleming et al. [1992/93: 186]. Many, according to Mole, understand Ongota, some of them also speak it a little bit (such as the three Ongota we met on August 19), but for all practical purposes Ongota is a dead language and the Ongota are Ts'amakko speakers.

Still according to Mole, the Ongota abandoned their language and ceased teaching it to their children in order to avoid being teased by the Ts'amakko and the Banna. But he had to admit that their pastoral neighbors still look upon them in scorn, since the Ongota do not possess cattle and mainly live on fishing, hunting and honey.

We do not take a position on questions of classification in this descriptive sketch; different hypotheses have been put forward about the genetic affiliation of Ongota: that it is an autonomous branch of Nilo-Saharan [Blažek 1991]; that it is a separate branch of Afroasiatic (Harold Fleming), or that it makes a separate branch within South Omotic (Christopher Ehret, p.c.). While either a Cushitic or Omotic affiliation makes sense, one must note that the almost complete absence of inflectional morphology makes Aklilu Yilma's (p.c.) idea of a creolized pidgin attractive, if only, at the present state of our knowledge, unverifiable. This creole would involve Nilotic, Omotic, and Cushitic elements (Lionel M. Bender, p.c.), because, as Bender [1994] has shown, any statistical test on the basic lexicon does not support aligning Ongota with any single Ethiopian language family. A further element pointing in the direction of a creole is possibly provided by the oral traditions of the Ongota, who speak of themselves as originally a collection of clans from

<sup>4</sup> Due to Mole's insufficient knowledge of Amharic, we were partially helped by Olle Fattale, a Ts'amakko policeman servicing in Jinka.



different ethnic and linguistic origins (ranging, for example, from the North Omotic Maale to the South Omotic Banna, to the East Cushitic Borana and Dishina).

## 2. Phonology

**2.1. Segments.** As noted by Fleming et al. [1992/93: 190], any account of the phonology of Ongota (henceforth: O) is hampered by the huge amount of free variation which is found in the data. This variation is most probably the result of the obsolescence of the language and of the pervasive influence of Ts'amakko (henceforth: Ts), which, as anticipated, is the true living language of the Ongota. Even when speaking in O, code-switching with Ts is the norm. Also, most phonological processes of O find an exact parallel in Ts (e.g., the Final Height Neutralization of Vowels, the Glottal Onset Insertion, and many others).

The O vowels are the five cardinals. Their quality is relatively stable and unaffected by neighboring consonants. As for the consonants, O operates with the 26 phonemes charted in Table 1.

Table 1. The consonant phonemes of Ongota

	bilab.		lab-dent.		(post) alv.		palato-alv.		velar		uvular		pharyn.		glottal	
voice (±)	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
Plosives																
oral		<i>b</i>			<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>q</i>				<i>ʔ</i>	
glottalized						<i>d̥</i>				<i>g̥</i>						
nasal		<i>m</i>				<i>n</i>										
Affricates					<i>ts</i>		<i>tʃ</i>	<i>dʒ</i>								
Fricatives			<i>f</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ʃ</i>				<i>χ</i>		<i>ħ</i>	<i>ʕ</i>	<i>h</i>	
Trill						<i>r</i>										
Approximant																
central		<i>w</i>						<i>j</i>								
lateral						<i>l</i>										

The following spelling conventions are used: IPA /ʃ/ = *š*; /dʒ/ = *j*; /tʃ/ = *c*; /j/ = *y*; /χ/ = *x*.

## 2.2. Allophonic variation

**2.2.1. Voicing opposition.** As for Ts'amakko and other Dullay varieties, as well as the Konso languages, the status of the voice-voiceless opposition is doubtful (cf. Hayward [1989: 7-8] for Ts'amakko and Amborn, Minker & Sasse [1980: 73] for Dullay in general). Voice alternations have been found extensively for /h/ and /ʕ/ and, in one case only, between /d/ and /t/, as in (1). A word-initial /t/ is often voiced into [d] when it comes to be found between vowels, for example, in cliticization, as in (2).

- (1) *gaddaʒuni* [gaddahhúni ~ gaddaʒúni] 'big'  
       *gidata* [gidáta ~ gitáta] 'you (P)'

- (2) *miditte* 'clitoris' but *miditti=du* (an insult; from *miditte=tu*)

**2.2.2. Labial alternation.** In a few cases [p<sup>h</sup>] is in free alternation with /f/.

- (3) *oxoni faʔo* [p<sup>h</sup>áʔo] 'to kindle the fire'

Word-internally /bb/ is optionally devoiced to [pp<sup>h</sup>]: [bb] → [pp<sup>h</sup>] / X \_\_ X

- (4) *dibba* [dípp<sup>h</sup>a] 'hundred'  
       *abba* [app<sup>h</sup>a] 'good'

In Ts, too, /p/ is in free alternation with /p<sup>h</sup>/, /f/ or /ɸ/ in all positions, except when geminated or postnasal [Hayward 1989: 5]: for example, *pari* [pari ~ fari] 'to die' and *poolo* [po:lo ~ p<sup>h</sup>o:lo ~ ɸo:lo] 'cloud'.

**2.2.3. Fricativization.** The palato-alveolar voiced affricate optionally loses its stop component, becoming a fricative. Again, this process occurs also in Ts: [dʒ] → [ʒ] (optional).

- (5) *janta* [dʒánta ~ ʒánta] 'you' (S)

**2.2.4. Glottalization.** There is no plain (non-glottalized) /ts/ in Ts; the phoneme Hayward [1989] transcribes /s/ 'is usually an affricated (but occasionally a fricative) ejective' ([Hayward 1989: 6]; hence Hayward's "S'aamakko" for the more common "Ts'aamakko" or "Ts'amakko"). In O, on the contrary, /ts/ is plain; glottalization is frequently heard in Ts loans (e.g., *tsoonako* [ts'o:náko] 'honeybee') and sporadic elsewhere, for example, *nitsina* [nits'ína] 'many'.

Likewise, the phonemic status of glottalized /c'/ [tʃ'] vs. plain /c/ is doubtful: both phonemes are found in Ts (although the latter is rare [cf. Hayward 1989: 5]); in O, /c'/ has been recorded only in a few Ts loans, such as *cayde* [tʃ'ájde] 'pen, enclosure', but also in the possibly native word *conqorte* [tʃ'ONqóрте] 'mud'.

## 2.3. Phonological processes

**2.3.1. Final Height Neutralization.** Word-finally only three vowels are in opposition, the high vowels /i, u/ being optionally lowered to mid /e, o/:

V [+high] → V [-high, -low] / \_\_\_\_ # (optional).

- (6) *ki=* [ki ~ ke] '3S.M' (3rd Singular Masculine, Subject Clitic)

The same neutralization is common in Ts, not only in final position, for example, *gefe* [géʕ'e ~ géʕ'i] 'belch' and *kuttonko* [kuttónko ~ kottónko] 'mountain'.

**2.3.2. Final-Vowel Dropping.** A final /a/ is often dropped in connected speech and before clitics. Other final vowels are not apparently affected. This process is reminiscent of similar rules dropping a "Terminal Vowel" (generally, a lexicalized former gender marker) in neighboring Cushitic languages (cf. Tosco [2001: 65f.] for Dhaasanac).<sup>5</sup>

- (7) *barama* [baráma ~ barám] 'tomorrow'  
*caṣawa* [tʃaṣáwa ~ tʃaṣáw] 'water; river'

**2.3.3. Glottal-Onset Insertion.** The phonemic status of /h/ is doubtful: on the one hand, a handful or so of words are consistently pronounced with an initial /h/; a few examples are: *handura* 'navel', *hobat* 'to wash', and the Ts loan *hokam* 'to exchange'. In all these cases, /h/ is considered phonemic. On the other hand, vowel-initial words are optionally provided with a glottal onset, and (possibly as a result of the uncertainties in voicing opposition [cf. 2.2.1.]) this is realized either as a glottal stop [ʔ] or as a voiceless laryngeal [h] in free variation:

Ø → [ʔ ~ h] / # \_\_ (optional).

- (8) *ayma* [áyma ~ ʔájma ~ hájma] 'woman'

In Ts, too, apparently there is free alternation between Ø and /ʔ/ word-initially, for example, *arre* [ʔarre ~ arre] 'donkey', although the phonemic status of /h/ is beyond doubt.

**2.3.4. Final-Glottal Deletion.** The presence of /ʔ/ in word-initial position is due to the operation of Glottal Onset Insertion (cf. 2.3.3); /ʔ/ is, nevertheless, phonemic in word-internal position (although attested in very few words only, such as *iiʔa* 'arm'). A glottal stop is deleted word-finally, but it is recovered in affixation, for example, [ki=dʒi] 'he killed, hit' will be interpreted and transcribed *ki=jíʔ*, on the basis of such forms as the IMPV.S: *jíʔá* 'kill!' and the IMPV.P: *jíʔta* 'kill! (P)'. Final Glottal Deletion (/ʔ/ → Ø / \_\_#) is particularly relevant in Middle verbs, whose extension =iʔ is realized as [i], except when further followed by an affix, as shown by the examples in (9).

<sup>5</sup> The label "Terminal Vowel" itself is taken from Hayward's [1987] discussion of Omoto nominals, where it is used in a different technical meaning.



		IMPV.S:	IMPV.P:
(9)	<i>faʔ-</i> 'to kindle; add; put into'	<i>faʔá</i>	<i>fáʔta</i>
	compare also the derived forms:		
	<i>faʔiʔ-</i> 'to add for oneself'	<i>faʔiʔá</i>	<i>faʔiʔtá</i>
	<i>faʔsan-</i> 'to make add'	<i>faʔsaná</i>	<i>faʔsánta</i>
	<i>moromiʔ-</i> 'to converse'	<i>moromiʔá</i>	<i>moromíʔta</i>
	[moromi]		
	<i>taʔ-</i> 'to take, catch'	<i>taʔá</i>	<i>táʔta</i>
	<i>tuʔ-</i> 'to put into (sth. solid)'	<i>tuʔá</i>	<i>túʔta</i>
	<i>xoʔ-</i> 'to beat, hit'	<i>xoʔá</i>	<i>xóʔta</i>
	<i>zooʔ-</i> 'to take honey'	<i>zooʔá</i>	<i>zóoʔta</i>

### 2.3.5. Final Devoicing.

Voiced plosives are devoiced word-finally.

- (10) *ki=šúb* [kiʃúb] 'he killed'  
*šubá* [ʃubá] 'kill!'

The voiced affricate is devoiced, not only word-finally, but also, optionally, word-internally: /dʒ/ → /tʃ/ (optional).

- (11) *ka=báaj* [kabá:tʃ] 'I carried'  
*báajjo* [bá:tʃ:o] 'to carry'

The same optional devoicing occurs in Ts, too, for example, *jiffo* [dʒiʃ':o ~ ʒiʃ':o] 'a sp. of bird'.

### 2.3.6. Final Non-release.

Final voiceless plosives are unreleased.

- (12) *ki=cák* [kitʃák'] 'he ate'      compare: *caká* 'eat!'

A particular application of Final Non-release is the dropping of a word-final glottal stop (Final Glottal Deletion, cf. 2.3.3).

### 2.3.7. Uvular Spirantization.

The uvular stop is generally voiced and fricativized intervocalically: q → [ɣ] / V\_\_V, as in (13). Word-finally, it can be affricated (14).

- (13) *kata kara ka=qáfi* [kaɣáfi] 'I fished'  
 I fish 1S=catch.PST
- (14) *ki=cóq* [kitʃóqχ] 'he shot'  
 3S.M=shoot.PST

Intervocalic uvular spirantization occurs in Ts, too, as, for example, in *soqo* [soɣo] 'salt'.



## 2.4. Assimilations

**2.4.1. Assimilation to a dental.** The Imperative Plural suffix *-ta* induces progressive voicing assimilation of an immediately preceding voiced plosive.

IMPV.P

- (15) *yeqadá* 'hiccup!'      *yeqadtá* [yeqattá]  
*sugá* 'sniff!'      *súgta* [súkta]

**2.4.2. Nasal Assimilation.** A nasal assimilates to the articulation point of a following plosive.

- (16) *ki=ífan* 'he married'  
*ayma=ko kita ífan=ta* 'the woman he married'

- (17) *tagamá* 'sleep!'      *tagánta* (IMPV.P)

**2.4.3. Sibilant harmony.** /s/ of the Causative suffixes =*san*, =*as*, =*is* becomes a palato-alveolar /š/ when following a palatal consonant in the stem.

- (18) *ka=cóq* 'I shot'      *ka=cóqšan* 'I made shoot'

In Ts, /s/ of the causative suffixes *-is*, *-as* and the rarely attested *-os* is affected by the same kind of sibilant harmony (19).

- (19) *jooq-i* 'I/he ground'      *jooq-aš-i* 'I/he made grind'  
*šoḥ-i* 'I/he washed'      *šoḥ-iš-i* 'I/he wade wash'  
*šiggar-i* 'I/he stopped'      *šiggar-oš-i* 'I/he made stop'

In O., the same rule has been sporadically found in other cases, as in (20).

- (20) *šijju* 'by us, chez nous'      (\**sijju*)

**2.5. Syllables.** The syllable structure of O can be expressed as (C)V(V)(C). This allows the following syllable types:

V	as in:	<u>á</u> .xa.co	'sun'
CV		<u>ca</u> .ta	'meat'
CVV		<u>zoo</u> .ba	'beeswax'
VC		<u>ip</u> .pa	'door'
VVC		<u>iiš</u> .te	'neck'
CVC		(ka=)c <u>óq</u>	'I shot'
CVVC		(ka=)t <u>íid</u>	'I put' (past)

**2.6. Clusters and epenthesis.** Clusters are limited to two elements and to word-internal position. A three-element cluster arising from affixation processes is

[illegible]

(22) *aka* 'foot, leg'      *aaka* 'women, females'  
       *aka* 'foot, leg'      *akka* 'grandfather'  
       *ame-* 'to suck'      *aame-* 'to rest'

(23) *dīm-* 'to plunge' > *dímmo* 'to plunge' (Infinitive)  
*kat-* 'to come out' > *kátto* 'to come out' (Infinitive)

- (25) *yooba* [yó:ba] ‘men, males’      *yoobá* [yo:bá] ‘see!’ (IMPV.S)

(26) *ka=xááb* 'I scratched' vs *ka=xaáb* 'I'll scratch'  
 [kaxááb̥] [kaxàáb̥]

Accent may be lexically or morphologically defined, or may be assigned by default. In this case, it affects the penultimate syllable. Default-assigned accent is not marked in the phonological transcription.

- (27) *gitata* [gitáta] 'you (P)'  
*kara* [kára] 'fish'

Penultimate position is the rule for accent placement also in plurimorphemic words resulting from the affixation/cliticization of accentless morphemes.

- (28) *ayma* [ájma] 'woman'      *ayma=ko* [ajmáko] 'the woman'  
*ʃongota* [ʃoŋgóta] 'Ongota'      *ʃongotitta* [ʃoŋgotítta] 'one Ongota'

Morphologically-assigned accent is found in verbs (cf. 3.9.3), where past is expressed by accent on the first (in the following example, the only) stem vowel, while non-past is expressed by absence of accent on the stem vowel, which induces high pitch on the subject clitic *ka*.

- (29) *ka=cóq* [katfóq] 'I shot'      *ká=coq* [kátfoq] 'I'll shoot'

Accent may be assigned lexically, either on the antepenultimate (for example, *ʃádaba* 'tongue') or on the last mora (for example, *barám* 'tomorrow' in alternation with *barama* [baráma]).

Accent may also be assigned lexically to specific morphemes, such as the Imperative Singular *-á* or the Imperative Plural *-ta* (which induces accent on the preceding vowel).

- (30) *coqá* 'shoot!'      *cóqta* 'shoot!' (P)

**2.9. Treatment of Ts'amakko loans.** Borrowings from Ts are often left unchanged. However, a final /o/ of Ts is often changed into /a/ in O, especially in the Singulative suffixes (cf. 3.2.1.1), as in (31). There are, nevertheless, many exceptions, as in (32), which are perhaps to be regarded as unassimilated loans. A similar change of Ts final /e/ to O /a/ is also common, shown in (33).

- |                    |                    |   |
|--------------------|--------------------|---|
| (31) Ts'amakko     | Ongota             |   |
| <i>irgaʃo</i>      | <i>irgaʃa</i>      | 'axe'                                     |
| <i>orgo</i>        | <i>orga</i>        | 'Hamer-Banna'                             |
| <i>baaro</i>       | <i>baara</i>       | 'armpit'                                  |
| <i>barlo</i>       | <i>barla</i>       | 'white-browed sparrow weaver'             |
| <i>heko</i>        | <i>hooka</i>       | 'chest' (note the irregular vowel change) |
| <i>rummaʃtitto</i> | <i>rummaʃtitta</i> | 'an Arbore man/woman'                     |
| <i>orgitto</i>     | <i>orgitta</i>     | 'a Hamer-Banna man/woman'                 |
| <i>konsitto</i>    | <i>konsitta</i>    | 'a Konso man/woman'                       |
| <i>kaykitto</i>    | <i>kaykitta</i>    | 'male guest'                              |



Ts'amakko	Ongota	
(32) <i>boraho</i>	<i>booraho</i>	'seed'
(33) <i>atole</i>	<i>atolla</i>	'pigeon'
<i>dige</i>	<i>diga</i>	'owlet'
<i>donke</i>	<i>donka</i>	'hornbill'
<i>hezze</i>	<i>hizza</i>	'root, vein'
<i>biye</i>	<i>biya</i>	'earth, land'
<i>kirince</i>	<i>kirinca</i>	'ankle'
<i>kurrube</i>	<i>kurruba</i>	'crow'

In a few cases a Ts noun extended with a lexicalized Singulative suffix has been taken into O in its bare form, possibly from an earlier stage of Ts; in most such cases the O word ends in /a/ (34); a few end in /o/ (35). There are a few cases of irregular change in the final vowel or the suffix (36).

(34) <i>berko</i>	<i>bera</i>	'season'
<i>doʔosko</i>	<i>doʔosa</i>	'waterbuck'
<i>dullayko</i>	<i>dullaya</i>	'the Weyt'o river' <sup>6</sup>
<i>gereʃko</i>	<i>gereʃa</i>	'thief'
<i>gibilko</i>	<i>gibila</i>	'knee'
<i>gubusko</i>	<i>gibisa</i>	'femur'
<i>gaarakko</i>	<i>gaara</i>	'monkey'
<i>damʃatto</i>	<i>damʃa</i>	'giraffe'
<i>qalatte</i>	<i>qalaya</i>	'hyena'
(35) <i>halte</i>	<i>halo</i>	'calabash'
<i>balgitto</i>	<i>balgo</i>	'ostrich'
(36) <i>gogʃile</i>	<i>gogʃa</i>	'white-headed buffalo weaver'
<i>tokonko</i>	<i>tokoma</i>	'heel'
<i>kormicco</i>	<i>korome</i>	'fishing hook'

The /ʃ/ of Ts loanwords is sometimes devoiced to /h/ (cf. 2.2.1. for Voicing Opposition in O) (37). A cluster /ʃt/ in a Ts loan is shifted to /tt/ in O (38).

(37) <i>ʃaaʃko</i>	<i>haaʃe</i>	'grass'
<i>ʃangararo</i>	<i>hangararo</i>	'worm'
(38) <i>orʃaʃte</i>	<i>orʃatte</i>	'rhinoceros'
<i>muqoʃte</i>	<i>muqotte</i>	'frog'

<sup>6</sup> From the local name of the Weyt'o river Amborn, Minker & Sasse [1980] originally proposed to call "Dullay" an East Cushitic dialect cluster spoken on both sides of the river (with Ts'amakko being spoken on the west side, and all the other dialects on the highlands to the east).



Finally, the following kinship names are extended in O with *-ne*.

- |                |           |                   |
|----------------|-----------|-------------------|
| (39) Ts'amakko | Ongota    |                   |
| ʃazo           | ʃazane    | 'younger brother' |
| ʃaʃalko        | ʃaʃalkune | 'older brother'   |

**2.10. Words, affixes and clitics.** A word is defined here phonologically as the domain of accent placement (cf. 2.8). A word may be mono-morphemic (as is most commonly the case of nouns), or it may be formed by a root morpheme followed by one or more affixes (for example, verbal forms, which are always at least bimorphemic), or, still, by a stem preceded and/or followed by one or more clitics:

$$\text{Word} = (\text{Clitic}_n) + \text{Stem} + (\text{Affix}_n) + (\text{Clitic}_n)$$

A few examples displaying different word-compositional possibilities are shown in (40).

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| (40) <i>ayma</i> | 'woman' (monomorphemic)  |
| <i>sugá</i>      | 'sniff!' (stem <i>sug-</i> 'to sniff' + IMPV.S. Suffix <i>-á</i> )                                     |
| <i>coqšaná</i>   | 'make shoot!' (stem <i>coq-</i> 'shoot' + Causative suffix <i>-san</i><br>+ IMPV.S. Suffix <i>-á</i> ) |
| <i>ayma=ko</i>   | <i>ayma</i> + Determinative clitic = <i>ko</i>   |
| <i>ka=cóq</i>    | 'I shot' ( <i>ka</i> = '1st Sing. Subject Clitic' + stem <i>coq-</i> 'shoot'<br>+ Past /' /)           |

### 3. Morphology

**3.1. Word-classes.** Nouns and verbs may be clearly defined in O in terms of their different morpho-syntactic behavior. Other categories of less certain status are the adpositions, the pronouns, the adjectives, and the numerals.

**3.2. Nouns.** Native nouns are uninflected, apart from the occasional use of Ts number (both Singulative and Plural) suffixes. In one case, from the native noun *caʃa* 'stone' a diminutive has been provided through a change in vowel quality: *ceʃe* 'pebble'.

Nouns always end in a vowel (verbal stems, on the contrary, are generally consonant-ending); the preferred word shapes are (C)V(V).CV or (C)V(V).CV. CV. The final vowel is subject to deletion when a Ts number suffix is added.

A few nouns are apparently related to verbal stems, in a few cases through the addition of a vowel copying the (last) stem vowel of the verb. *dáyte* 'firestick' is apparently a borrowing from Ts *dáyte*, but compare the verb *dáy-* 'to twist'.

(41)	<i>ame-</i>	'to suck'	<i>ama</i>	'breast'
	<i>axay-</i>	'to rise'	<i>áxaco</i>	'sun'
	<i>ʃad-</i>	'to lick'	<i>ʃádaba</i>	'tongue'
	<i>caʃaw-</i>	'to drink'	<i>caʃawa</i>	'water; river'
	<i>naʃ-</i>	'to give'	<i>náʃana</i>	'food' (?)
	<i>ʃoxe-</i>	'to have sex'	<i>ʃoxo</i>	'blood'
	<i>zooʔ-</i>	'to collect honey'	<i>zóoba</i>	'beeswax'

### 3.2.1. Number

**3.2.1.1. Singulative.** Names of peoples (all of them apparently Ts loans, except *fuga* 'Amhara') have a collective meaning; from them singulative forms are built through the suffixes *-itta* (M) and *-itte* (F), corresponding to Ts *-itto* (M) (cf. 2.9) and *-itte* (F), respectively.

(42)	<i>fuga</i>	S.M <i>fugitta</i>		'Amhara' <sup>7</sup>
	<i>orga</i>	S.M <i>orgitta</i>	S.F <i>orgitte</i>	'Hamar-Banna'
	(cf. Ts <i>orgo</i> )	S.M <i>orgitto</i>	S.F <i>orgitte</i> )	
	<i>rummatte</i>	S.M <i>rummattitta</i>		'Arbore'
	(cf. Ts <i>rummaʃte</i> )	S.M <i>rummaʃtitto</i> )		
	<i>ʃale</i>	S.M <i>ʃalitta</i>		Gawwada and other Dullay-
	(cf. Ts <i>ʃalle</i> )	S.M <i>ʃallatto</i> )		speaking groups of the highlands
	<i>konso</i>	S.M <i>konsitta</i>		'Konso'
	<i>ʃongota</i>	S.M <i>ʃongotitta</i>		'Ongota'
	(cf. Ts <i>ʃongota</i> )	S.M <i>ʃongotitto</i> )		

Examples of the use of the singulative forms (43)-(44) vs. plural (45):

- (43) *kata ʃongotitta* 'I am *Ongota*' (focalized; cf. 4.11)  
 I Ongota-SING
- (44) *ayma=ko ʃongotitta* 'the woman is *Ongota*'  
 woman-DET Ongota-SING
- (45) *juta ʃongota* 'we are *Ongota*'  
 we Ongota

The Ts singulative suffixes *-(ak)ko* (M), *-(at)te* (F), as well as the Plural suffix *-ayke* are used with derived adjectives, as in (46) (cf. 3.6.2). In one case, the same

<sup>7</sup> The term is widespread in Ethiopia for depressed or outcaste clans. Its use for the Amhara is probably derogatory.

suffix *-te* has been used with the O word *cefe* 'pebble' with a diminutive meaning, yielding *cefete* 'pebble'.

(46) Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Plural	
<i>zaarakko</i>	<i>zaaratte</i>	<i>zaarayke</i>	'fool, crazy'
<i>kamurko</i>	<i>kamurte</i>	?	'rich'
<i>daafakko</i>	<i>daafatte</i>	<i>daafayke</i>	'blind'
<i>arrakko</i>	<i>arratte</i>	<i>arrayke</i>	'dark grey'
<i>tonnakko</i>	<i>tonnatte</i>	<i>tonnayte</i>	'lame'

**3.2.2.2. Plural and Collective.** A common way to express plurality is through the use of the adjective *badde* 'all' or *nitsina* 'many' (47). Occasionally, the Ts plural affix *=adde* is used with O nouns. A frequent case is *ṣádiba* 'elder', which is often provided a plural form *ṣadibadde*, perhaps because other nouns referring to groups of people express number distinctions through the use of different stems, as in (48).

(47) *ayma=ko badde* 'all the women'  
 woman-DET all

(48) Singular	Plural or Collective	
<i>ayma</i>	<i>aaka</i>	'woman; female; wife'
<i>inta</i>	<i>yooba</i>	'man; male; husband'
<i>jaaka</i>	<i>eela</i>	'child, baby'
<i>juuka</i>	<i>igire</i>	'girl; daughter'
<i>maara</i>	<i>cela</i>	'boy; son'

In a few cases (49), the element *-wa* has been observed with a plural function. It might be an old Plural marker fallen out of use.

(49) *ṣongotawa* 'Ongota' (P)  
*karawa* 'fishes'  
*juukawa* 'girls'

**3.2.2. Gender.** Apart from the occasional use of different gender-sensitive Singulative suffixes, gender is not formally expressed on O nouns. Nominal gender has nevertheless relevance in the pronominal system and in verbal accord. In the Personal Pronouns different forms for the 3rd Sing. Masculine and Feminine are used. Gender accord with subject nouns denoting humans is natural; with subject nouns denoting things the Subject clitic is in the 3S.F, and the same applies to most animals, especially little and socially unimportant ones (for example, most wild animals).



- (50) *uke ki=tíb* 'an/the elephant died'  
elephant 3S.M-die.PST

vs.

- (51) *karbo ku=tíb* 'a/the bird died'  
bird 3S.F-die.PST

**3.3. Pronouns.** The Personal Pronouns of O follow the usual Cushitic seven-members system, with separate Masculine and Feminine elements for the 3rd Singular.

Six series of personal pronominal elements have been identified: Emphatic, Subject Clitic, Object, Postpositional, and Possessive; a sixth series, the Indirect Clitics, has separate forms for the singular persons only. They are shown in Table 2, together with their glosses.

Table 2. Personal Pronouns

EMPHATIC (INDEPENDENT)		SUBJECT CLITIC		OBJ / INDIRECT / POSTPOS				POSSESSIVE	
<i>kata</i>	I	<i>ka</i>	1S	<i>ka</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ka</i>	me	<i>sinne</i>	my
<i>janta ~</i> <i>jaama</i>	you	<i>i</i>	2S	<i>jami</i>	<i>jata</i>	<i>jan</i>	you	<i>siidu</i>	your
<i>kita</i>	he	<i>ki</i>	3S.M	<i>ki</i>	<i>wana</i>	<i>ki</i>	him	<i>seena</i>	his
<i>kuta</i>	she	<i>ku</i>	3S.F	<i>ku</i>	<i>wata</i>	<i>ku</i>	her	<i>suuʔu</i>	her
<i>juta</i>	we	<i>ju</i>	1P	<i>ju</i>	—	<i>ju</i>	us	<i>sijju</i>	our
<i>gitata</i>	you	<i>gita</i>	2P	<i>gita</i>	—	<i>gita</i>	you.Obj	<i>sigida</i>	your
<i>kiʔita</i>	they	<i>kiʔi-a</i>	3P	<i>kiʔi ~</i> <i>kiʔa</i>	—	<i>kiʔi</i>	them	<i>suwaya</i>	their

**3.3.1. Emphatic Pronouns.** Emphatic pronouns may occur in whatever syntactic role but do not replace members of the other series. They may be regarded as extrasentential. In the following sentence the Emphatic pronoun is underlined.

- (52) *juta* *hanca ju=gád* 'we cut the tree'(past)  
we tree 1P-cut.PST

**3.3.2. Subject Clitics.** The Subject Clitics obligatorily precede the verbal form in declarative clauses. The Impersonal Subject Pronoun *a* (ISP), which is used in the Passive (cf. 4.3.3), also belongs here. In the following sentence the Subject Clitic is underlined.

- (53) *janta hanca i=gád* 'you cut the tree'(past)  
you tree 2S-cut.PST



**3.3.3. Object Pronouns.** The Object Pronouns (underlined in the following examples) are used in the role of direct objects; they may appear before the Subject Clitic but may also be cliticized after a verbal form.

- (54) *kata* *ki* *ka=góhis* 'I made him grow'  
 I him 1S-make\_grow.PST
- (55) *kata* *šúḷuna=me* *ka=šúguc=**ki* 'I smeared him with butter'  
 I butter-with 1S-smear.PST-him

**3.3.4. Indirect Pronouns.** A series of Indirect Pronouns is proposed on the basis of a few sentences only, in which the 3S.M and 3S.F have irregular forms *wana*, *wata* (reported also by Fleming et al. [1992/93: 198]), 1S *na*, and 2S *jata*. *na* and *ta* as markers of 3S.M and 3S.F, respectively, are found in relative clauses (see 4.7).

For the plural persons the Object Pronouns are used followed by the postposition =*ku* 'for'. The Indirect Pronouns can appear either before or after the verbal form, as in (56)-(57).

- (56) *hálo=ke* *ṣari* *uccé* *wana* 'fill the container with coffee for him!'  
 container-in coffee put.IMPV.S him
- (57) *barama* *tora* *ká=naṣ* *jata* 'tomorrow I'll give you my spear'  
 tomorrow spear 1S-give.NPST you

**3.3.5. Possessives.** As expounded in 3.3.6, the Possessive pronominal series may possibly be analyzed as containing the preposition *se* 'of' followed by a special series of pronominals, also occurring with the preposition *uku* 'on'. The Possessives act as nominal modifiers but may also occur alone.

- (58) *ayma* *sinni* *seena=tu* *abba* 'my wife is more beautiful than his'  
 woman my his-from good

**3.3.6. Postpositional series and other pronominals used with adpositional elements.** The Postpositional Pronouns are used with a following postposition (see 3.5). With the preposition *uku* 'on', which is apparently used only with pronominals, the pronominal element follows in a special form. This same form is also found in the Possessives, which may be analyzed as formed with the preposition *se* (found, albeit not regularly, in nominal phrases; see 4.2).

The pronominal series used with all the postpositions, the one used with *uku* 'on', and the Possessives are shown in Table 3. Use of the preposition *uku* is shown in (59)-(65).

- (59) *uku=ni* *ki=déhad* 'he came near ("upon") me'  
 on-me 2S.M.come\_near.PST

Table 3. Postpositional Pronouns

	Pronouns + =tu 'from'	uku= 'on' + Pronouns	Possessives (se 'of' + Pronouns)
1S	<i>ka=tu</i>	<i>uku=ni</i>	<i>sinni</i>
2S	<i>jan=tu</i>	<i>ugu=du</i>	<i>siidu</i>
3S.M	<i>kii=tu</i>	<i>eke=na</i>	<i>seena</i>
3S.F	<i>kuu=tu</i>	<i>uku=?u, uku=wi</i>	<i>suu?u</i>
1P	<i>ju=tu</i>	<i>uku=šijja</i>	<i>sijju</i>
2P	<i>gida=tu</i>	<i>uku=gida</i>	<i>sigida</i>
3P	<i>ki?i=tu</i>	<i>uku=waya</i>	<i>suwaya</i>

(60) *kata ka=déhad ugu=du* 'I am coming near ("upon") you'  
I 1S-come\_near.NPST on-you

(61) *eke=na déhadá* 'go near him!'  
on-him come\_near.IMPV.S

(62) *uku=?u déhadá* 'go near her!'  
on-her come\_near.IMPV.S

(63) *janta uku=šijja ~ uku=šijji i=déhad* 'you came near us'  
you on-us 2S.come\_near.PST

(64) *kata uku=gida ka=déhad* 'I went near you (P)'  
I on-you.OBJ 1S.come\_near.PST

(65) *kata uk[u]=waya ka=déhad* 'I went near them'  
I on-them 1S.come\_near.PST

The following sentences show the use of the Postpositional Clitics with the post-position =*ki* 'in, to'.

(66) *kata gida=ki ka=déhad* 'I went near you (P)'  
I you.OBJ-to 1S-come\_near.PST

(67) *janta ju=ki i=déhad* 'you came close to us'  
you us-to 2S-come\_near.PST

When one leaves out of consideration the irregular and defective Indirect Object series, it becomes obvious that the pronominal series share a common set of forms, and that this series actually coincides with the Postpositional Series. In particular, both the Subject and the Object Clitic series are actually identical to the Post-

positional series, with the exception of the 2S Subject Clitic *i* and the 2S Object Clitic *jami*, while the Emphatic pronouns may be analyzed as formed through affixation of an invariable element *-ta* of unclear value.<sup>8</sup>

**3.4. Deictics and Determiners.** The deictic system of O is still far from clear. The elements *=ko* and *=nki* (the former very possibly borrowed from Ts'amakko; cf. 3.2.1.1. on Singulatives) are frequently found, with no apparent difference in meaning. Both *=ko* and *=nki* will be glossed "Det" (for Determiner); an alternative analysis could account for these elements as connectors, as they are generally found with nouns which are further followed by a modifier, following the pattern common in Ts'amakko and generally in Dullay:

- (68) *ayma=ko, inta=nki* 'the woman, the man'  
 woman-DET, man-DET

More clearly deictic is *inda* 'this', which follows the noun, either in its bare form or, more commonly, with the Determiners *=ko* and *=nki*.

- (69) *cawo inda ka=héeni* 'I like this gun'  
 gun this 1S-like.PROG
- (70) *ayma=nki inda abba* 'this woman is beautiful'  
 woman-DET this beautiful

Other deictic words are *áddate* 'there' (implying a considerable distance from the speaker and the hearer) and *inkena* 'here (for Masculine nouns)/*inkona* (for Feminine nouns — females, animals, and things), possibly to be analyzed as plurimorphemic: *in=ke/ko=na*, with *=ke*, *=ko* being the 3S.M and 3S.F Object Clitics, respectively. Both *áddate* and *in=ke=na/in=ko=na* follow a noun, generally with the Determiners *=ko* and *=nki*.

- (71) *maara=nki áddate sae* 'whose is that (faraway) child?'  
 child-DET there whose
- (72) *maara=ko inkona sae* 'whose is this child (nearby)?'  
 child-DET here.M whose
- (73) *tagara inda áddate ka=héeni* 'I like that place' ("shade")  
 shade this there 1S-like.PROG
- (74) *tagara inda in=ko=na ka=héeni* 'I like this place ("shade") here'  
 shade this here-F 1S-like.PROG

<sup>8</sup> It is noteworthy that a similar element is found in Omotic languages, most notably in the 1S \*ta, which Bender [2000: 197 ff] proposes to explain on the basis of an old affixed copula; in due time the original pronominal element was dropped and its function was taken over by the erstwhile copula itself.



**3.5. Adpositions.** Adpositions are clitics to a preceding element, either a noun, a noun modifier, or a pronoun.

=*tu* ‘from’

- (75) *haw=tu éeni* ‘where do you come from?’  
 where-from come.PROG
- (76) *ʃongot=tu ka=éeni* ‘I came from Ongota’  
 Ongota-from 1S-come.PROG
- (77) *kata caʃáw=tu katto ka=háabini* ‘I want to come out of  
 I water-from come\_out.INF 1S-want.PROG the water’
- (78) *ka=tu eefi ku=kúm* ‘I finished the milk’  
 me-from milk 3S.F-finish.PST

The postposition =*tu* may also follow a Possessive pronominal with a spatial meaning (‘by’, Fr. ‘chez’).

- (79) *sijji=tu maara xódi* ‘a boy was born to us’  
 our-from child be\_born.PST

Noteworthy is also the use of =*tu* in insults, such as in *sorra=du* from *sorra* ‘anus’ (see also the lexicon; note also the intervocalic voicing of =*tu* to =*du* ; see 2.2.1).

=*ki* ‘to, in’ (movement):

- (80) *haw=ki i=róota* ‘where are you going?’  
 where-to 2S-go.PROG
- (81) *ʃongot=ki ka=róota* ‘I am going to Ongota’  
 Ongota-to 1S-go.PROG
- (82) *kata caʃáw=ki réeʃu ka=háabini* ‘I want to go in the water’  
 I water-to go\_down.INF 1S-want.PROG
- (83) *halo=ke ʃari uccé=ju=ku* ‘fill the container with coffee for us!’  
 container-in coffee put.IMPV.S-us-for

=*me* ‘with’ (instrumental and comitative)

- (84) *hak=me gida=éeni* ‘who did you (P) come with?’  
 who-with 2P-come.PROG
- (85) *kata cawo=me binta ka=hát* ‘I shot the animal with the gun’  
 I gun-with animal 1S-shoot.PST



- (86) *inta gúlbata=mi ki=dángadi* 'the man is strong' ["works with  
man strength-with 3S.M-work.PROG strength"]

=*ku* 'for' (also used to express an indirect object with nominals and, as anticipated in 3.3.4., with plural pronouns)

- (87) *halo=ke fari ka=úcci gida=ku*  
container-in coffee 1S-put.PST you.P-for  
'I filled the container with coffee for you (P)'  
["I put coffee in the container for you"]

- (88) *halo=ke fari uccé ju=ku*  
container-in coffee put.IMPV.S us-for  
'fill the container with coffee for us!'

=*na* 'with, and'

- (89) *cašáw=na eefi ella ki=šángata* 'he mixed water with milk'  
water-and milk together 3S.M-mix.PST

- (90) *halo=ke fari uccé na* 'fill the container with coffee for  
container-in coffee put.IMPV.S me me!'

- (91) *halo=ke fari uccé waya=ku* 'fill the container with coffee for  
container-in coffee put.IMPV.S them-for them!'

- (92) *halo=ke fari ka=úcci ja=ta* 'I filled the container with coffee  
container-in coffee 1S-put.PST you-for for you'

- (93) *halo=ke fari ka=úcci=wa=ta* 'I filled the container with coffee  
container-in coffee 1S-put.PST-her-for for her'

**3.5.1. Spatial relations.** A few items, possibly nouns, which follow a noun to which the postposition =*tu* 'from' is affixed, are used to express and further delimit various spatial relations.

*galla* 'under' (from Ts *gallo*)

- (94) *inta hancá=tu galla ki=ída* 'the man was under the tree'  
man tree-from under 3S.M-be\_there.PST

*ippa=tu* 'out of' ("door.from")

- (95) *janta wura=tu ippa=tu i=kát* 'you came out of the house'  
you house-from out 2S-go\_out.PST

*gúskuto* 'in, within' (*gusku* ? + =*tu* 'from')

- (96) *karbo wura=tu gúskuto ku=gáyya* 'the bird is flying in the house'  
bird house-from within 3S.F-fly.PROG

*rúggitu* ‘above, over, upon’ (*ruggi* ? + =*tu* ‘from’)

- (97) *karbo wura=tu rúggitu ku=róota* ‘the bird is flying over the house’  
bird house-from over 3S.F-go.PROG

*bagáttu* ‘behind’ (*baga* ? + =*tu* ‘from’)

- (98) *inta wura=ko=tu bágattu ki=ída* ‘the man is behind the house’  
man house-DET-from behind 3S.M-be\_there.PST

*balṣastu* ‘in front of’ (*balṣas* ? + =*tu* ‘from’)

- (99) *inta wura sinni=tu balṣastu ki=déhéni*  
man house my-from front 3S.M-stop.PROG  
‘the man is sitting in front of my house’

- (100) *inta juuka=tu balṣastu ki=yáwa*  
man girl-from front 3S.M-stand.PROG  
‘the man is standing in front of the girl’

**3.6. Adjectives.** There is not a unitary category “Adjective”: many adjectival concepts are expressed by verbs, a minority of others by true adjectives.

**3.6.1. Basic adjectives.** A few adjectives have different endings for Masculine and Feminine, or for Singular and Plural, but most are invariable. A few native adjectives end in =*uni*, which is also used in derived adjectives from verbs (see below). A list of basic adjectives is given below.

- (101) *gaddaṣuni*; P: *giddeṣeta* ‘big; large; wide; fat, old (of people and animals)’  
*munnuṣuni*; P: *minṣeta* ‘small, little; young (of people and animals)’  
*abba* ‘nice, beautiful; good; sweet’  
*ṣádala* ‘ugly; bad’  
*ṣádiba* ‘old’ (for Masculine nouns only)  
*geccate*; P: *geccayke* ‘old’ (for Feminine nouns only; from Ts)  
*kamurko*; F: *kamurte* ‘rich’ (from Ts)  
*carba* ‘thin’  
*hólbātuni* ‘short’  
*órma* ‘tall’ (from Ts)  
*zaarakko*; F: *zaaratte*; P: *zaarayke* ‘fool; crazy’ (from Ts)  
*mekente* ‘sterile’ (from Ts; subj: woman; for men the expression *moolo tiibto* [“the penis died”] is used)

**3.6.2. Derived adjectives.** A few adjectives are derived from verbs; an ending *-ni* has been noted in a few cases. Compare (102) with (103)-(104), (105) with (106), (107) with (108), and (109) with (110).

- (102) *inta=ko šaſatuni* 'scared, fearful man'  
man-DET afraid
- (103) *kata ka=šaſatí* 'I am afraid'  
I 1S-be\_afraid.NPST
- (104) *inta=ko juta ju=ma=šaſáti=ʔi* 'we are not afraid of that man'  
man-DET we 1P-NEG-be\_afraid-NEG
- (105) *caſáw tsántuni* 'cold water'  
water cold
- (106) *sibila=ko ku=tsán* 'the iron is (became) cold'  
iron-DET 3S.F-be\_cold.PST
- (107) *ayma=ko erehte* 'pregnant woman'  
woman-DET pregnant
- (108) *ku=érehí* 'she is pregnant'  
3S.F-be\_pregnant.PST
- (109) *inta daafakko* 'blind man'  
man blind
- (110) *kata ka=dáaf* 'I became blind'  
I 1S-be\_blind.PST

**3.6.3. Verbs with adjectival meaning.** Other adjectival concepts are expressed through verbs.

- (111) *kata ka=malál* 'I am tired, weak' (from Ts)  
I 1S.be\_tired.NPST
- (112) *hanca ki=šóoni* 'the wood is (became) hot'  
wood 3S.M-be\_hot.PST
- (113) *caſa ku=bóſi* 'the stone is (became) hard'  
stone 3S.F-be\_hard.PST
- (114) *naſana=ko ku=tsáqami* 'the food is (became) salty'  
food-DET 3S.F-be\_salty.PST



**3.6.4. Colors.** Like other languages of the area (cf. Tosco [2001: 582ff.] for Dhaasanac), the color system of O has five basic colors:

<i>áttomuni</i>	'white'
<i>dákkamuni</i>	'black'
<i>róomini</i>	'red'
<i>cárkamuni</i>	'green'
<i>silbe</i>	'yellow'

The following non-basic colors have been recorded; note the use of *silbe* 'yellow' in these compounds.

<i>silbe áttomuni</i>	'light blue' ("yellow+white")
<i>silbe cárkamuni</i>	'dark green' ("yellow+green")
<i>silbe dákkamuni</i>	'blue' ("yellow+black")
<i>silbe róomini</i>	'pink; violet' ("yellow+red")
<i>moora</i>	'light gray' (from Ts)
<i>arrakko</i> ;	'dark gray' (from Ts)
F: <i>arratte</i> ; P: <i>arrayke</i>	

**3.6.5. Adjectival phrases.** The adjective follows the noun it modifies. Both the noun and the adjective may be followed by a determiner.

- (115) *ayma=nki gaddaʕuni=nki (sinni)* 'the big woman (is my wife)'  
 woman-DET big-DET my
- (116) *juuka=ko abba=ko (ka=háabini)* '(I want) a beautiful girl'  
 girl-DET nice-DET 1S-want.PROG

**3.6.6. Comparatives and superlatives.** In comparatives the adjective does not change; the subject may either precede or follow the element against which the comparison is made, which is followed by the postposition =*tu* 'from'. The same construction, which is common in the area, is used in Ts.

- (117) a. *inta=nki ayma=ko áddate=tu gaddaʕuni*  
 man-Det woman-Det there-from big  
 'the man is taller than that woman'
- b. Ts:  
*qawko kutta gaant=issa kaysa=nu ko damma*  
 man this woman-that there-to CONN big  
 'this man is taller than that woman'

- (118) a. *ayma=nki=tu inta=nki gaddaṣuni*  
 woman-DET-from man-DET big  
 'the man is taller than the woman'
- b. Ts:  
*gaante=nu qawko damma*  
 woman-to man big  
 'the man is taller than the woman'
- (119) a. *inta=nki inda ayma=ko áddade=tu abba*  
 man-DET this woman-DET there-from beautiful  
 'this man is more beautiful than the woman'
- b. Ts:  
*qawko=kutta gaante kaysa=nu ko qayya*  
 man-this woman that-to CONN beautiful  
 'this man is more beautiful than the woman'
- (120) a. *ayma=nki=tu inda áddate abba*  
 woman-DET-from this there beautiful  
 'that (woman) is more beautiful than this one'
- b. Ts:  
*gešant=itta=nu kissa abba*  
 woman-this-to that beautiful  
 'that (woman) is more beautiful than this one'
- (121) a. *hanca=nki badḍi=tu inda gaddaṣuni*  
 tree-DET all-from this big  
 'this tree is the biggest of all'
- b. Ts:  
*gar=e xumbi=nu kutta ko damma*  
 tree-P all-to this CONN big  
 'this tree is the biggest of all'

Other sentences:

- (122) *ayma=nki inda=tu inta áddate gaddaṣuni*  
 woman-DET this-from man there big  
 'that man is taller than this woman'
- (123) *wura siidi=tu wura sinni gaddaṣuni*  
 house your-from house your big  
 'my house is bigger than yours'

For the equative comparative, the Ts structure with the Ts word *gura* 'like' following the second element is used.

- (124) a. *hanca=nki hanca=nki áddate gura gaddaṣuni*  
 tree-DET tree-DET there like big  
 'this tree is as big as that one'

b. Ts:

*garko kutta garko kaysa gura ko damma*  
 tree this tree there like CONN.M big  
 'this tree is as big as that one'

Sometimes =*tu* appears also after the second element in an equative comparison.

- (125) *inta=nki ayma=ko áddate=tu gura abba*  
 man-DET woman-DET there-from like beautiful  
 'this man is as beautiful as that woman'

### 3.7. Numerals

3.7.1. **Cardinals.** The following numerals have been recorded:

<i>kálbano</i> ~ <i>akkálbano</i>	'one' <sup>9</sup>
<i>lama</i>	'two' (Cushitic)
<i>zaḥa</i>	'three' (Ts <i>zéḥ</i> )
<i>tálaḥa</i>	'four' (Ts <i>tálaḥa</i> )
<i>xubbi</i>	'five' (Ts <i>xobín</i> )
<i>tsanafa</i>	'six'
<i>tahanke</i>	'seven' (Ts <i>tahán</i> )
<i>ista</i>	'eight'
<i>gollanke</i>	'nine' (Ts <i>gollán</i> )
<i>coma</i>	'ten' <sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The form *akala* mentioned by Fleming et al. [1992/93: 203] has not been found. On the other hand, *kálbano* ~ *akkálbano* apparently contains a formative *-bano* which is also found in the special forms for 'two' and 'three' used in numeral phrases (see 3.7.2).

<sup>10</sup> When counting or mentioning numbers, the oral expression of the numbers is usually accompanied by a conventional manipulation of the fingers; the numbers up to ten are expressed as follows:

- 1: little finger curled by the other hand, other fingers extended;
- 2: little finger and ring finger curled by the other hand, other fingers extended;
- 3: little finger, ring finger and middle finger curled by the other hand, other fingers extended;
- 4: all fingers except the thumb curled by the other hand, thumb extended;
- 5: all fingers clenched over the thumb;
- 6: thumb of left hand held between the thumb and the forefinger of right hand; other fingers of left hand extended;

continued on next page



Teens are formed with *coma* 'ten' followed by the unit, for example:

*coma akkálbano* 'eleven'

*dibba* ([~ *díppa*]) 'hundred'

(cf. Dullay *díppá* [Amborn, Minker & Sasse 1980: 96])

**3.7.2. Numeral phrases.** The numeral always follows the head noun. The following special forms used in phrases have been recorded (see also fn. 9).

*lám-bano* 'two'

*zéhbano* 'three'

- (126) *wura=ko áddate zéhbano ku sinni* 'those three houses are mine'  
house-DET that three 3S.F my

The other numerals are used in phrases without changes.

- (127) *wura=ko áddate xubbi ku sinni* 'those five houses are mine'  
house-DET that five 3S.F my

**3.8. Adverbs.** A few elements have been tentatively classified as adverbs; they can precede or follow a noun or an emphatic subject pronoun, but always precede the verb and the pronominal clitics.

Adverbs of time:

*barám* ~ *barama* 'tomorrow':

- (128) *barama kata ka=kolí* 'I will return tomorrow'  
tomorrow I 1S-return.NPST

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7: thumb and forefinger of right hand inserted between the thumb and the forefinger of the left hand; the forefinger of the left hand is curled, while the other fingers are extended;

8: thumb, forefinger and middle finger of the right hand inserted between the thumb and the forefinger of the left hand; the fingers of the left hand are extended;

9: all fingers of the right hand except the little finger inserted between the thumb and the forefinger of the left hand; the fingers of the left hand are extended;

10: both hands as for 5.; the two fists knocked together.

This system is, in a way, the reverse of the one used among the Dhaasanac [cf. Tosco 2001: 108]; in particular, the Dhaasanac start from the forefinger and proceed toward the little finger, while the Ongota start from the little finger; among the Dhaasanac, extension of one or more fingers expresses the counted number, while the other fingers are kept curled, while for the Ongota it is the curling of one or more fingers which expresses the counted number. For example, among the Dhaasanac 1. is expressed extending the forefinger and keeping the other fingers curled; for 2. the forefinger and the middle finger are extended, and so on.

*naxani* 'yesterday':

- (129) *kata naxani ka=gási* 'yesterday I ran'  
I yesterday 1S-run.PST

*burinki* 'this morning':

- (130) *burinki ka=málal baram ka=dangád*  
this\_morning 1S-be\_tired.PST tomorrow 1S.work.NPST  
'this morning I was tired, I will work tomorrow'

*wuuni* 'today':

- (131) *wuuni ka=róo* 'I went today'  
today 1S-go.PST

*ayke* 'now':

- (132) *ayke ka=róota* 'I am going now'  
now 1S-go.PROG

*qarra* 'before':

- (133) *qarra ku=bóši=ba ayke cárqamuni*  
before 3S.F-be\_fresh.PST-and now green  
'before it was fresh and now is yellow'

*sidda* 'before':

- (134) *juuka=ko sidda abba ayke íádala*  
girl-DET before nice now ugly  
'the girl before was nice, now she is ugly'

*kolba* 'again' has been found only in the sentence:

- (135) *ayma ka=íšéeni=ba kolba ka=háabini*  
woman 1S-bring.PROG-and again 1S-want.PROG  
'I have a woman and I want another one'

Adverbs of quantity and intensity

*ekketé* 'much':

- (136) *ekketé caká* 'eat a lot!'  
much eat.IMPV.S
- (137) *ekketé riirá* 'scream loudly'  
much scream.IMPV.S

*iccama* 'a little bit; slowly':

(138) *iccama caká* 'eat a little!'   
 little eat.IMPV.S

(139) *iccama rootá* 'go slowly!'   
 little go.IMPV.S

The adjective *abba* 'good' is used as an adverb with the meaning 'well, properly':

(140) *kita cata abba ki=gádi* 'he is cutting the meat properly'   
 he meat good 3S.M-cut.PROG

The following adverbial phrases have been noted:

*qane qane* 'sometimes' and *qane badde* 'always' (Lit. "all day". A calque of Ts *qane xumbi*. Cfr. Amh *k'ān* 'day').

(141) *qane badde kara ka=cákini* 'I am always eating fish'   
 day all fish 1S-eat.PROG

*kanna kanna* 'quickly' (Ts *kanna kanna*):

(142) *kanna kanna ki=róota* 'he is going quickly'   
 quickly 3S.M-go.PROG

**3.9. Verbs.** The following categories find expression in verbal inflection:

- tense: Past (: PST), Non-Past (: NPST);
- aspect: unmarked vs. Progressive (: PROG);
- mood: Main, Imperative (: IMPV), Jussive, Verbal Noun or Infinitive (: INF);
- polarity: Positive vs. Negative (the latter tagged NEG).

It will be noted that the person, number, and gender of the subject of the sentence is not indexed on the verb itself, although a few verbs use different stems for Singular and Plural Subjects and/or Objects. Other categories find their expression in verbal derivation; the simplest form of a stem, both morphologically and semantically, is the Basic stem. From a Basic stem one or more derived stems are derived through suffixation.

Inflection may be suffixal or suprasegmental (tonal); derivation is exclusively suffixal.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to decide whether the extreme reduction in inflectional categories expressed on the verb is exclusively a function of the obsolescence of the language; other Cushitic languages, all of them spoken in close contact with non-Cushitic languages, show similar, although perhaps not so radical, reduction: Dhaasanac, Elmolo, and Yaaku are the most evident examples. But two  
continued on next page



**3.9.1. Basic stems.** In the following discussion and in the Lexicon, verbs will be given under their stem forms, which never surface as such; for most verbs the stem is actually identical to the form found in the Past and Non-Past, but without accent (cf. 3.9.3); this is also the form to which suffixes (both derivational and inflectional) are added. This applies to the consonant-ending verbs, which are the vast majority of all verbs. Among the consonant-ending verbs, most are mono-syllabic and have the shape CV(V)C; a minority are bi- and pluri-syllabic.

A good number of verbs are vowel-ending; the final vowel is *-i* in the tensed forms, but *-e* before the inflectional suffixes. Finally, no final vowel is generally found before the derivational suffixes. For example, one finds the following forms:

Past:	<i>ka=múxi</i>	'I laughed'
Non-Past:	<i>ka=muxí</i>	'I laugh, will laugh'
but		
Imperative Singular:	<i>muxé</i>	'laugh!'
Imperative Plural:	<i>muxéta</i>	'laugh! (P)'
and		
Causative, Past:	<i>ka=múxsan</i>	'I made laugh'

Considering that only /e/ or Ø are found before suffixes, and taking into account Final Height Neutralization (cf. 2.3.1), it is possible to consider these verbs as ending in *-e* in their stem-form. As shown above, both /i/ and /e/ appear word-finally; now, while it is tempting to hypothesize that a final accented /e/ avoids raising, thereby accounting for, for example, the Past *ka=múxi* 'I laughed' vs. the Imperative Singular *muxé* 'laugh!', this would leave unexplained the Non-Past *ka=muxí* 'I laugh, will laugh'. It is tentatively assumed here that /e/ is the final stem-vowel and that raising to /i/ is morphologically determined; all the basic vowel-ending verbs are therefore reported with a final /e/ in the following discussion and in the Lexicon. A few examples are: *aame*- 'to rest', *ame*- 'to suck', *ee*- 'to come', *išee*- 'to bring', *ʃebeʃe*- 'to vomit', *baʃce*- 'to carry on the back', *beʔe*- 'to give', *berre*- 'to touch', *boye*- 'to cry', *goxe*- 'to put out', *mayye*- 'to kiss', *muxe*- 'to laugh'

**3.9.1.1. Plural stems.** A few verbs have different stems for Singular and Plural Subject and/or Object. These verbs are the following:

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of these (Elmolo and Yaaku) were recorded in their terminal stages, too. Derivation has been on the whole more resistant to decay than inflection.

Singular stem	Plural stem		
<i>ḡay-</i>	<i>baḡat-</i>	'to run'	Cfr. Ts <i>sor</i> (S), <i>baḡad</i> (P)
<i>xoʔ-</i>	<i>kuše-</i>	'to hit'	
<i>ḡad-</i>	<i>qits-</i>	'to cut'	Cfr. Ts <i>qits</i>
<i>ʔ-</i>	<i>xot-</i>	'to put down'	
<i>dehe-</i>	<i>aame-</i>	'to stop (intr.)'	
<i>dat-</i>	<i>ʔ-</i>	'to make fall'	
<i>kat-</i>	<i>foof-</i>	'to leave'	
<i>reex-</i>	<i>ʔ-</i>	'to go down'	

(143) *kita hanca kɨ=ḡad* 'he'll cut the tree'  
           he tree 3S.M-cut.NPST

(144) *kiʔita hanca kiʔa=qits* 'they'll cut the tree'  
           they tree 3P-cut.P.NPST

Other verbs seem to be used only with plural subjects, without a corresponding singular stem.

—	<i>haḡi-</i>	'to collect, pick up'
—	<i>hokam-</i>	'to exchange'

**3.9.2. Derived stems.** The productive derivational system consists of a Causative (CAUS) extension and of a Reflexive-Middle (MID) extension (whose productivity is unclear).

**3.9.2.1. Causative.** The most common extension is *-san*; possibly this was, at least originally, a compound Causative-Passive extension, since a scarcely productive extension *-am* is found with an Intransitive meaning (cf. 3.9.2.3).

The Causative in *-san* is completely productive. Basic vowel-ending verbs (cf. 3.9.1) delete their final *-e* before the extension.

Basic Stem		Causative	
<i>coq-</i>	'to hit'	<i>coqsan-</i>	'to make hit'
<i>caʃaw-</i>	'to drink'	<i>caʃawsan-</i>	'to make drink'
<i>lool-</i>	'to be angry'	<i>loolsan-</i>	'to make angry'
<i>muxe-</i>	'to laugh'	<i>muxsan-</i>	'to make laugh'

A second Causative derivation, apparently of less productivity, is *=is*. This is the same suffix used in Ts, and is frequent with Ts loans, but not limited to them.

Basic Stem		Causative	
<i>baḡat-</i>	'to run' (P subj.)	<i>baḡtis-</i>	'to make run' (P subj.)
<i>gutal-</i>	'to jump, dance, sing'	<i>gutalis-</i>	'to make jump, dance, sing'
<i>ḡoh-</i>	'to grow' (from Ts)	<i>ḡohis-</i>	'to make grow'
<i>kox-</i>	'to leak'	<i>koxis-</i>	'to make leak'

In a few cases, both *-san* and *-is* have been recorded, with apparently no difference in meaning:

Basic Stem		<i>-is</i> Causative	<i>-san</i> Causative	
<i>maḡ-</i>	'to take another road'	<i>maḡis-</i>	<i>maḡsan-</i>	'to cause to take...'
<i>morom-</i>	'to speak'	<i>moromis=</i>	<i>moromsan-</i>	'to make speak'
<i>sal-</i>	'to wait' (from Ts)	<i>salis-</i>	<i>salsan-</i>	'to make wait'
<i>tiid-</i>	'to put, store'	<i>tiid-is/-as-</i>	<i>tiidsan-</i>	'to make put'

A few verbs have, possibly as a variant of *-is*, a Causative extension *-as* (or *-aš*, very possibly a variant of *-as*):

Basic Stem		Causative	
<i>ucce-</i>	'to pour, fill' (from Ts)	<i>uccaš-</i>	'to make pour'
<i>ʕad-</i>	'to lick'	<i>ʕadas-</i>	'to make lick'
<i>diig-</i>	'to pour' (from Ts)	<i>diigas-</i>	'to make pour'

Finally, the following shows a Causative *-os*, apparently borrowed from a Dullay variety other than Ts together with the Basic stem:

Basic Stem		Causative	
<i>daggab-</i>	'to arrive'	<i>daggabos-</i>	'to make arrive'

**3.9.2.2. Middle.** The usual Cushitic Reflexive-Middle (or Auto-benefactive) extension is found in O with the unusual shape *-iʔ*, which has been recorded for a substantial number of verbs.

Basic Stem		Middle	
<i>boš-</i>	'to pick up, collect'	<i>bošiʔ-</i>	'to pick up for o.s.'
<i>coq-</i>	'to spear, sting'	<i>coqiʔ-</i>	'to spear for o.s.'
<i>ḡad-</i>	'to cut'	<i>ḡadiʔ-</i>	'to cut for o.s.'
<i>ḡes-</i>	'to shave'	<i>ḡesiʔ-</i>	'to shave o.s.'
<i>hobat-</i>	'to wash'	<i>hobatiʔ-</i>	'to wash o.s.'

In *filiʔ*- 'to comb', the Middle extension has been added to a loan verb (Ts *fil*) without a Basic correspondent. Other verbs, such as *ḡoiʔ*- 'to take, get' and *ʕiqqiʕiʔ*- 'to sneeze', are found only in their Middle forms without a Basic stem.

**3.9.2.3. Intransitive.** An Intransitive extension in *-am* has been recorded for a few verbs. It is evidently connected to the Passive East Cushitic extension of the same form, and, as anticipated, could be the origin of the common Causative extension *-san*.



Basic Stem	Intransitive
<i>bul-</i> 'to pull out'	<i>bulam-</i> 'to be pulled out'
<i>lax-</i> 'to mix' (tr.)	<i>laxam-</i> 'to mix' (intr.)
<i>šud-</i> 'to cover, dress' (Ts)	<i>šudam-</i> 'to wear'
<i>xot-</i> 'to put down'	<i>xotam-</i> 'to go down'

At least the following has an irregular double Intransitive extension *-mam*.

Basic Stem	Intransitive
<i>caq-</i> 'to hide'	<i>caqmam-</i> 'to hide oneself'

A few Intransitive-extended verbs have been recorded without a corresponding Basic stem, such as *ʔifam*-‘to marry’, *hokam*-‘to exchange (P. subj.; from Ts)’. Maybe also *morom*-‘to speak’ belongs here.

The opposition between a Basic transitive stem and its Intransitive derivate may be seen in the following sentences:

- (145) *kuta eefi=na cašaw ella=ki ku=lax*  
 she milk-and water together-to 3S.F-mix.PST  
 ‘she mixed the milk with water’

- (146) *eefi=na cašaw ella=ki ku=laxam*  
 milk-and water together-to 3S.F-mix.INTR.PST  
 ‘the milk mixed with water’

The complete series of (regular) derivational possibilities is illustrated, for example, in the following:

Basic Stem	Middle	Intransitive	Causative
<i>bul-</i> ‘to pull out’	<i>buliʔ-</i>	<i>bulam-</i>	<i>bulsan-</i>
<i>diig-</i> ‘to pour into’ (from Ts)	<i>diigiʔ-</i>	<i>diigam-</i>	<i>diigas-</i>

**3.9.2.4. Frozen derivational extensions?** A few verbs appear with a dental ending in their Basic stem; while for a few of them a Ts origin is evident, this is not always the case. They can act as the base of further, “true” derivation:

Basic Stem
<i>šangat-</i> ‘to mix’ (tr.)
<i>hobat-</i> ‘to wash’
<i>nabad-</i> ‘to hate’ (from Ts)
<i>noqot-</i> ‘to look, aim at’ (from Ts)

**3.9.3. Tense.** A twofold opposition Past vs. Non-Past is found. The Non-Past is used for an incomplete action, either present or future. The Past tense is marked by tone on the first (or only) mora of the verbal form. If the verb stem is a long monosyllabic one (CVVC), the sequence High-Low yields a falling tone. The Non-

Past tense is marked by absence of tone on the mora of the stem if this is monomoraic (CVC). In this case, the Subject Clitic gets High tone; a certain amount of non-phonological lengthening of the stem vowel is occasionally heard.

- (147) a. (*kata*) *ka=búd* ' (me,) I spat'  
           I       1S-spit.PST  
       b. (*kata*) *ká=bud* [*burɔ́*] ' (me,) I'll spit'  
           I       1S-spit.NPST
- (148) a. *ka=cíg* 'I sewed'  
           1S-sew.PST  
       b. *ká=cig* 'I'll sew'  
           1S-sew.NPST
- (149) a. *ka=cóq* 'I hit'  
           1S-hit.PST  
       b. *ká=coq* 'I'll hit'  
           1S-hit.NPST
- (150) a. *tampo ka=súg* 'I sniffed tobacco'  
           tobacco 1S-sniff.PST  
       b. *tampo ká=sug* 'I'll sniff tobacco'  
           tobacco 1S-sniff.NPST
- (151) a. *ka=héd* 'I tied'  
           1S-tie.PST  
       b. *ká=hed* 'I'll tie'  
           1S-tie.NPST

If the verb is at least bimoraic, the verbal form gets a Tone on the last mora and the Subject Clitic does not get High tone. If the stem is a long monosyllabic one (CVVC), the sequence Low-High yields a rising tone.

- (152) a. *ka=xáab* [*xáàb̥*] 'I scratched'  
           1S-scratch.PST  
       b. *ka=xaáb* [*xàáb̥*] 'I'll scratch'  
           1S-scratch.NPST
- (153) a. *ka=zíi?* 'I farted'  
           1S-fart.PST  
       b. *ka=zií?* 'I'll fart'  
           1S-fart.NPST

If the stem is bi- or pluri-syllabic the Non-Past has High tone on the last mora.

- (154) a. *naxani ju=iški* 'we played yesterday'  
yesterday 1P-play.PST  
b. *barám ju=iški* 'we'll play tomorrow'  
tomorrow 1P-play.NPST
- (155) a. *kata ka=iikkiši* 'I sneezed'  
I 1S-sneeze.PST  
b. *kata ka=iikkiši* 'I'll sneeze'  
I 1S-sneeze.NPST

Native verbs and loans do not differ in their treatment, as shown by the following verbs from Ts.

- (156) a. *ka=géŋ* 'I belched'  
1S-belch.PST  
b. *ká=geŋ* 'I'll belch'  
1S-belch.NPST
- (157) a. *ka=gúfaŋ* 'I coughed'  
1S-cough.PST  
b. *ka=gufáŋ* 'I'll cough'  
1S-cough.NPST

**3.9.4. Aspect.** An on-going action is expressed through the Progressive ending *-i/-ni*. The verb receives the accent on the first vowel. Verb stems ending in a consonant (cf. 3.9.1) add *-i*; verbs ending in a vowel add *-ni*. Compare the following sentences.

- (158) a. *barám kata ka=dangád* 'tomorrow I'll work'  
tomorrow I 1S-work.NPST  
b. *inta gúlbata=mi ki=dángadi* 'the man is working hard'  
man strength-with 3S.M-work.PROG
- (159) a. *naxani narfe=me ka=cíg* 'yesterday I sewed with the  
yesterday needle-with 1S-sew.PST needle'  
b. *barám narfe=me ká=cig* 'I'll sew with the needle  
tomorrow needle-with 1S-sew.NPST tomorrow'  
c. *ayki narfe=me ka=cígi* 'I am sewing with the needle now'  
now needle-with 1S-sew.PROG



- (160) a. *naxani kata kara ka=qáfi* 'yesterday I fished'  
 yesterday I fish 1S-catch.PST  
 b. *barám kata kara ka=qafi* 'I'll fish tomorrow'  
 tomorrow I fish 1S-catch.NPST  
 c. *ayki kara ka=qáfini* 'I am fishing now'  
 now fish 1S-catch.PROG
- (161) a. *naxani kata ka=hóbi* 'yesterday I washed'  
 yesterday I 1S-wash.PST  
 b. *barám kata ka=hobi* 'I'll wash tomorrow'  
 tomorrow I 1S-wash.NPST  
 c. *kata ka=hóbini* 'I am washing'  
 I 1S-wash.PROG
- (162) a. *naxani na i [ne]= xá* 'what did you do yesterday?'  
 yesterday what 2S do.PST  
 b. *barám na í=xa [= néxa]* 'what will you do tomorrow?'  
 tomorrow what 2S-do.NPST  
 c. *ayki na i [ne]= xáni* 'what are you doing now?'  
 now what 2S do.PROG

The verb *roo*-‘to go’ has an irregular Progressive in *-ta*.

- (163) *caśáw=ki ka=róota* 'I am going to the river'  
 river-to 1S-go.PROG

The Progressive may be used for an on-going action in the present or in the past.

- (164) *caśáw=to ka=éeni* 'I am coming from the river'  
 river-from 1S-come.PROG
- (165) *naxani ka=áxay=ba ka=qáfini=ba ku=gírib*  
 yesterday 1S-get\_up.PST-and 1S-catch.PROG-and 3S.F-be\_night.PST  
 'yesterday I woke up and spent the day fishing until it became night'
- (166) *kita ki=éeni na=tu kata ka=yób*  
 he 3S.M-come.PROG what-from I 1S-see.PST  
 'I saw him as he was coming from over there'
- (167) *kita ki=éeni na=tu juta ju=yób*  
 he 3S.M-come.PROG what-from we 1P-see.PST  
 'we saw him as he was coming from over there'

- (168) *caṣáw=ki ki=róota na=tu kata ka=yób*  
 water-to 3S.M-go.PROG him-from I 1S-see.PST  
 'I saw him as he was going (there) to the river'

**3.9.5. Negative paradigms.** For both the Past and the Non-Past a single Negative form is used, marked on the verb by a suffix *-ʔi* and by a negative marker *ma* (both glossed NEG) preceding the verbal form.

- (169) *barama kata ka=ma=éeni-ʔi* 'I won't come tomorrow'  
 tomorrow I 1S-NEG-come.PROG-NEG
- (170) *kata ku=mi ka=ma=móromi-ʔi* 'I don't speak with her'  
 I 3S.F-with 1S-NEG-speak-NEG

**3.9.6. Imperative.** The Positive Imperative (: IMPV) Singular of consonant-ending verbs (cf. 3.9.1) is marked by final High-toned *-á*; the Plural by *-ta*.

- (171) *budá* 'spit!' *búdta* 'spit (P)!'  
 spit.IMPV.S spit.IMPV.P
- (172) *gufaśá* 'cough!' *gufáśta* 'cough! (P)'  
 cough.IMPV.S cough.IMPV.P

Vowel-ending stems (cf. 3.9.1) end in their Imperative Singular in High-toned *-é*, while for the Plural the same *-ta* ending of all other verbs is used.

- (173) *muxé* 'laugh!' *muxéta* 'laugh (P)!'  
 laugh.IMPV.S laugh.IMPV.P

**3.9.6.1. Irregular imperatives.** The Imperative of *roo-* 'to go' is built from the irregular Progressive (cf. 3.8.3) *róota*: S *rootá*, P *róotta*. The verb *xaʔ-* 'to do' extends its stem in the Imperative: S *xaaśá*, P *xáaśta*. As in many Ethiopian languages, the verb *ee-* 'to come' has a suppletive Imperative: S *háy*, P *háyta*.

**3.9.6.2. Negative imperative.** The Negative Imperative uses the special Negative element *intima* (composed with *maʔ*).

- (174) *intima qáfi* 'don't fish!' *intima gida qáfi* 'don't (P) fish!'  
 NEG fish NEG 2P fish

**3.9.7. Jussive.** A separate Jussive form has been found for the 1st Plural only and is built with the suffix *-ítu* (after consonant) or *-tu* (after vowel; but a few irregular forms have been found).

- |       |                |                  |                    |  |
|-------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|--|
| (175) | <i>axay-</i>   | <i>axáytu</i>    | 'let's stand up!'  |  |
|       | <i>boye-</i>   | <i>bóytu</i>     | 'let's cry!'       |  |
|       | <i>caṣaw-</i>  | <i>caṣawítu</i>  | 'let's drink'      |  |
|       | <i>ji?-</i>    | <i>jíʔtu</i>     | 'let's kill!'      | (note the idiom <i>cáxma jíʔtu</i><br>'let's eat!' ["let's kill meat!"]) |
|       | <i>faʔ -</i>   | <i>faʔítu</i>    | 'let's kindle!'    |  |
|       | <i>gaḍ-</i>    | <i>gaḍítu</i>    | 'let's cut!'       |  |
|       | <i>muxe-</i>   | <i>muxítu</i>    | 'let's laugh!'     |  |
|       | <i>roo-</i>    | <i>róoytu</i>    | 'let's go!'        |  |
|       | <i>tagam-</i>  | <i>tagamítu</i>  | 'let's sleep!'     |  |
|       | <i>tiid-</i>   | <i>tiidítu</i>   | 'let's put!'       |  |
|       | <i>tsug-</i>   | <i>tsugítu</i>   | 'let's lie down!'  |  |
|       | <i>yaw-</i>    | <i>yawítu</i>    | 'let's stop!'      |  |
|       | <i>yawsan-</i> | <i>yawsanítu</i> | 'let's make stop!' |  |

**3.9.8. Infinitive.** Verbs in the basic stem, both monosyllabic and bisyllabic, make their Infinitive with the suffix *-Co* (where *C* is the last stem consonant); the accent falls on the first syllable. The Infinitive is used in object and subject clauses (cf. 4.8).

- |       |                                     |                   |                                       |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (176) | <i>kata kara šúbbo</i>              | <i>ka=háabini</i> | 'I want to kill fish'                 |
|       | I fish kill.INF 1S-want.PROG        |                   |                                       |
| (177) | <i>rotto</i>                        | <i>ka=háabini</i> | 'I want to go'                        |
|       | go.INF 1S-want.PROG                 |                   |                                       |
| (178) | <i>jami xóʔʔo</i>                   | <i>ka=háabini</i> | 'I want to hit you'                   |
|       | you.OBJ hit.INF 1S-want.PROG        |                   |                                       |
| (179) | <i>caṣáw báʔco</i>                  | <i>ka=háabini</i> | 'I want to carry water (on the back)' |
|       | water carry.INF 1S-want.PROG        |                   |                                       |
| (180) | <i>laalbe šúdammo</i>               | <i>ka=háabini</i> | 'I want to put on the dress'          |
|       | dress wear.INF 1S-want.PROG         |                   |                                       |
| (181) | <i>oxoni gúyyo</i>                  | <i>ka=háabini</i> | 'I want to kindle the fire'           |
|       | fire kindle.INF 1S-want.PROG        |                   |                                       |
| (182) | <i>kata tágammo</i>                 | <i>ka=háabini</i> | 'I want to sleep'                     |
|       | I sleep.INF 1S-want.PROG            |                   |                                       |
| (183) | <i>kuta šuʔuna šúgucco</i>          | <i>ku=háabini</i> | 'she wants to smear butter'           |
|       | she butter smear.INF 3S.F-want.PROG |                   |                                       |



- (184) *kata ŋikkišadfo ka=háabini* 'I want to sneeze'  
 I sneeze.INF 1S-want.PROG
- (185) *kata jan=tu bine fillo ka=háabini* 'I want to comb you'  
 I you.OBJ-from head comb.INF 1S-want.PROG
- (186) *inta wora=ki gíššo ki=háabini* 'the man wants to enter  
 man house-to enter.INF 3S.M-stop.PROG the house'

Vowel-ending stems have a suffix *-le*; again, the accent falls on the first syllable.

- (187) *bóyele ka=háabini* 'I want to cry'  
 cry.INF 1S-want.PROG
- (188) *qáadile ka=háabini* 'I want to lie down'  
 lie\_down.INF 1S-want.PROG
- (189) *šóxele ka=háabini* 'I want to have sex'  
 have\_sex.INF 1S-want.PROG
- (190) *gidata kúšile ka=háabini* 'I want to hit you (P)'  
 you.P.OBJ hit.INF 1S-want.PROG

**3.9.9. 'to have'.** "to have" is expressed by the construction "from me X is", widely found in Ethiopian languages. It has a parallel also in Ts.

- (191) a. *ka=tu darbo ku=ida* 'I have a skin'  
 me-from skin 3S.F-there\_is
- b. Ts:  
*eeta doolte ŋagay*  
 to-me skin there\_is
- (192) a. *gida=tu darbo ku=ida* 'you (P) have a skin'  
 you(P)-from skin 3S.F-there\_is
- b. Ts:  
*ineta doollo ŋagay*  
 to-you (P) skin there\_is

The negative form employs the negative of *ba* 'to be', which is a borrowing from Ts.

- (193) a. *ka=tu ba* 'I do not have'  
 me-from not\_be
- b. Ts:  
*eta ba*  
 to-me not\_be

'to have' is also expressed through the Progressive form of the verb *išee-* 'to bring'.

- (194) *kata ayma ka=išeeni* 'I have a woman'  
 I woman 1S-bring.PROG
- (195) *kita hugu ki=išeeni* 'he is itching'  
 he itching 3S.M-bring.PROG
- (196) *kata bor=mi jata ka=išeeni* 'I remember you'  
 I stomach-with you 1S-bring.PROG ('I bring you in the stomach')
- (197) *inta iifa ki=ma=išeeni* 'a man who has no mouth'  
 man mouth 3S.M-NEG-bring.PROG (i.e. a dumb man)

#### 4. Syntax

O is an SOV, dependent-marking language. The verb is the last element of a sentence, but a pronominal object often follows the verbal form (v. 4.3.2).

**4.1. Noun Phrases.** The Noun is the first element of the phrase; a Possessive immediately follows the head, but the relative order of other modifiers is apparently free.

- (198) *wura sinni lama* 'my two houses'  
 house my two
- (199) *wura sinni lama giddeŷeta* 'my two big houses'  
 house my two big.P
- but:
- (200) *wura sinni minŷeta lama* 'my two little houses'  
 house my little.P two
- (201) *ayma=ko maar ku=ma=xódi(=ʔi)*  
 woman-DET child 3S.F-NEG-generate.PST(-NEG)  
 'a woman who did not gave birth to a child'

**4.2. Genitival phrases.** The Possessed precedes the Possessor; in closed, possibly frozen, expressions, no element intervenes.

- (202) *iifa ſongota* 'the Ongota language ["mouth"]'  
 mouth O.

Generally, the Possessor is further followed by an element =*te*:

- (203) *iiʔa inta=te* 'the man's hand'  
 hand man-?

- (204) *cawo inta=te* 'the man's gun'  
gun man-?
- (205) *wura inta=te/ayma=te/yooba=te* 'the man's, woman's, people's house'  
house man-?, woman-?, people-?
- (206) *ippa wura=te* 'the door of the house'  
door house-?

The possessed may be followed by *se*, glossed 'of', which is also found in the Possessive pronominal elements. Its use is sporadic; it could also result from the transfer into O of the common Ts Determinative or connector *-se*.

- (207) *ii?a se inta=te* 'the man's hand'  
hand of man-?

Frequently the first element is followed by the Determiners *=ko* or *=nki*.

- (208) *ii?a se inta=nki=te* 'the man's hand'  
hand of man-DET-?

A reverse Possessor-Possessed is possible but, apparently, less used. In this case, the Possessor precedes, followed by the eventual Determiners and the case-marker *=tu* 'from'; the Possessed is, in its turn, followed by the Possessive pronominal referring to the Possessor following the possessed.

- (209) *inta=nki tu ii?a seena* 'the man's hand'  
man-DET from hand his ("from the man, his hand")
- (210) *ayma=nki tu ii?a suu?u* 'the woman's hand'  
woman-DET from hand her ("from the woman, her hand")

This order is instead normal when further modifiers are present.

- (211) *wura sinni tu ippa* 'the door of my house'  
house my from door ("from my house, the door")
- (212) *wura ayma=ko tu ippa* 'the door of the woman's house'  
house woman-DET from door ("from the woman's house, the door")

**4.3. Sentences.** Although verbs are the prototypical predicates, also nouns, adjectives, possessives, and numerals may act as predicates in nominal sentences (see 4.6).

**4.3.1. Subjects.** A nominal subject is normally found in sentence-initial position; there are reasons to believe that such nouns do not act as the syntactic subjects of the sentence, a function which is rather filled by a Subject Clitic; only the presence of a Subject Clitic is mandatory for any declarative clause, while a noun may



appear in the first position in the clause or also (possibly as a right-dislocated topic?) at the end, or may be altogether absent.

**4.3.2. Objects.** The only element that can intervene between the Subject Clitic and the Verb is the Negative marker *ma*. An Object Pronoun can take the position of a corresponding object noun before the Subject Clitic.

- (213) *kata uke ka=jí?* 'I shot an elephant'  
I elephant 1S-shoot.PST

and:

- (214) *kata ki ka=jí?* 'I shot him'  
I 3S.M 1S-shoot.PST

Sentence (214) above may be analyzed as having the structure:

[kata]<sub>Top</sub> [[uke]<sub>O</sub> [[ka]<sub>S</sub> [jí?]<sub>V</sub>]<sub>VC</sub>]<sub>S</sub>  
I elephant 1S shoot.PST

More commonly, an Object Pronoun is affixed after the verbal form. It can also be introduced with an Emphatic Pronoun or repeated after the verb.

- (215) *kita cata ki=gáʕ* 'he bit the meat'  
he meat 3S.M-bite.PST

vs.

- (216) *gabare ki=gáʕ=ki* 'a snake bit him'  
snake 3S.M-bite.PST-him

An indirect object precedes the direct object.

- (217) *šiggi=tu maara xódi* 'a boy was born to us'  
us-to boy generate.PST

**4.3.3. Passive (Impersonal construction).** A passive construction is expressed through the use of the Impersonal Subject Pronoun *a* (ISP); the object follows the verbal form:

- (218) (*kata*) *a=xódi=ka* 'I was born' ("me, they generated me")  
I ISP-generate.PST-me

- (219) (*janta*) *a=xódi=jámi* 'you (S) were born'  
you ISP-generate.PST-you

- (220) (*kita*) *a=xódi=ki* 'he was born'  
he ISP-generate.PST-him

- (221) (*kuta*) *a=xódi=ku* 'she was born'  
 she ISP-generate.PST-her
- (222) (*juta*) *a=xódi=ju* 'we were born'  
 we ISP-generate.PST-us
- (223) (*gidata*) *a=xódi=gita* 'you (P) were born'  
 you ISP-generate.PST-you.OBJ
- (224) (*kiʔita*) *a=xódi=kiʔi* 'they were born'  
 they ISP-generate.PST-them

The Negative Paradigm involves the (optional?) use of the Negative particle *ma* (NEG), which is often missing, and, obligatorily, of the suffix =*ʔi* at the end of the verbal form:

- (225) (*kata*) *a=(ma) xódi=ka=ʔi* 'I was not born'  
 I ISP-(NEG) generate.PST-me-NEG
- (226) (*janta*) *a=(ma) xódi=jámi=ʔi* 'you (S) were not born'  
 you ISP-(NEG) generate.PST-you-NEG

**4.3.4. Reciprocal and Reflexive.** Both a Reciprocal and a Reflexive are expressed through the use of *ella* or *elella* 'self' and 'together' (from Ts) and the clitic =*na* 'and' after the first element:

- (227) *ka=na jami ju=šúb ella* 'we (me and you) killed each other'  
 1S-and 2S 1P-kill.PST self
- (228) *ki=jíʔ ella* 'he killed himself'  
 3S.M-kill.PST self
- (229) *ka=gád ella* 'I cut myself'  
 1S-cut.PST self
- (230) *juta elella ju=éeni* 'we come together'  
 we together 1P-come.PROG

Followed by a postposition:

- (231) *caʃáw=na eefi ella=ki reekisá* 'mix milk with water!'  
 water-and milk self-in mix.IMPV.S

#### 4.4. Questions

**4.4.1. Content questions.** Content questions ("Wh-questions") do not have fronting of the question word. When the question word is subject of the sentence, no Subject Clitic is found, a fact that can be assumed to imply that the question word is always focalized.

*haka* 'who?':

- (232) *haka ée* 'who came?'  
 who come.PST

Note the following idiom:

- (233) *meša=ko siidu haka* 'what's your name?'  
 name-DET your.S who

*sae* 'whose?':

- (234) *wura=nki sae* 'whose is the house?'  
 house-DET whose

A possible elliptical answer is:

- (235) *se ayma=te* 'It is the woman's'  
 of woman-of

*na* 'what?':

- (236) *na ki=xá* 'what did he do?'  
 what 3S.M-happen.PST

*haw=* 'where?':

The element *haw=* 'where' is always followed by a postposition:

- (237) *haw=ki i=áskam* 'where did you go?'  
 where-to 2S-go.PST
- (238) *haw=tu i=éeni* 'where are you coming from?'  
 where-from 2S-come.PROG

*bari* 'when?':

- (239) *bari i=ée* 'when did you come?'  
 when 2S-come.PST

*ayta* 'which?':

- (240) *cawo ayta i=héeni* 'which gun do you like?'  
 gun which 2S-like.PROG

*mi?a* 'how much/many?':

- (241) *kara mi?a i=jĩ?* 'how many fish did you catch?'  
 fish how-many 2S-catch.PST



*na=ku* 'why?' ('what-for'):

- (242) *na=ku i=éeni* 'why are you coming?'  
 what-for 2S-come.PROG

*ašana* 'how?':

- (243) *ašana ki=dángat* 'how did he do it?'  
 how 3S.M-do.PST

**4.4.2. Polar questions.** Polar questions are marked by a final =*ʔi* (INT) on the verb and by a rising intonational contour.

- (244) *janta naxani kara i=qáfi=ʔi* 'did you go fishing yesterday?'  
 you yesterday fish 2S-fish.PST-INT

When the question relates to the subject of the sentence, no Subject Clitic is present on the verb; as in the case of content question words (cf. 4.4.1), it can be assumed that this is because a questioned nominal is inherently focused.

- (245) *mole=mu aburre ée* 'was it Mole or Aburre who came?'  
 M.-or A. come.PST

#### 4.4.3. Greetings

- (246) a. *ášana i=tag* 'how did you sleep?'  
 how 2S-sleep.PST  
 b. *janta nágayko tág=í* 'did you sleep in peace?'  
 you peace sleep.PST-INT

answer:

- (247) *abba ka=tág* 'I slept well'  
 good 1S-sleep.PST  
 or simply *nágayko* 'peace' (from Ts).

**4.5. Direct speech.** The quoted speech follows the main clause.

- (248) *kita ku=tu ki=gísi=na caśáw laxá*  
 he her-to 3S.M-tell.PROG-and water mix.IMPV.S  
 'he told her: "mix the water!"'

**4.6. Nominal sentences.** In nominal sentences no verb appears and the role of predicate is fulfilled by an adjective or a noun, introduced by a Subject Clitic. Absence of the latter is found in focalized nominal sentences (see 4.11), in which

the subject noun (or an Emphatic pronoun) is followed directly by the nominal predicate.

- (249) *kata munnufuni* 'I am small'  
I small

In negative nominal sentences the usual negative markers *ma* and *=ʔi* (affixed to the noun or adjective in predicative position) appear. *ʔi* and *ma* can also both follow the predicate.

- (250) a. *kata gaddafuni ʔi=ma* 'I am not big'  
I big NEG-NEG  
b. *kata ma gaddafuni=ʔi* 'I am not big'  
I NEG big-NEG
- (251) *kata gaddafuni ʔi=ma munnufuni* 'I am not big, I am small'  
I big NEG-NEG small
- (252) *ayma sinni wura=tu* 'my wife is at home'  
woman my house-from

For the past, the verb *ida* 'to be' is used.

- (253) *ayma sinni wura=tu ku=ida* 'my wife was at home'  
woman my house-from 3S.F-be\_there.PST
- (254) *kata fongotitta* 'I am Ongota'  
I O.SING
- (255) *kiʔita fongota* 'they are Ongota'  
they O.
- (256) a. *kata fongota=ʔi* 'I am not Ongota'  
I O.-NEG  
b. *kata fongotitta=ʔi* 'I am not Ongota'  
I O.SING-NEG
- (257) *wura=ko áddate giddeʕeta lámbano ku sinni*  
house-DET there big.P two 3S.F my  
'those two big houses are mine'

#### 4.7. Relative clauses. The following rules apply:

- relative clauses precede the matrix clause;
- the end of the clause is marked by the Indirect Clitics of third person *=na* 'him' if its head is masculine, and *=ta* 'her' if feminine (cf. 3.3.4).

— the relative verb is generally not preceded by a Subject Clitic; this is especially the case when the subject of the relative is also the subject of the main clause.

- (258) *naxani inta=nki áddate kara qáfini=na aza sinni*  
 yesterday man-DET there fish fish.PROG-him sibling my  
 'that man who yesterday caught the fish is my brother'
- (259) *inta kara qáfini=na ka=yób*  
 man fish fish.PROG-him 1S-see.PST  
 'I saw the man who caught the fish'
- (260) *ayma=ko janta ifan=ta ka=tsíini*  
 woman-DET you marry.PST-her 1S-know.PROG  
 'I know the woman you married'
- (261) *ayma=ko kita ifan=ta ka=tsíini*  
 woman-DET he marry.PST-her 1S-know.PROG  
 'I know the woman he married'
- (262) *ayma maara xódi=ta aza sinni*  
 woman child generate.PST-her sibling my  
 'the woman who gave birth to a child is my sister'
- (263) *ayma=ko janta ifan=ta maara ku=xódi*  
 woman-DET you marry.PST-her child 3S.F-generate.PST  
 'the woman you married gave birth to a child'

The presence of the Object Clitic representing the head is excluded if the relative clause contains an Object Clitic.

- (264) *inta kimiša cák=ta ki=tíb*  
 man crocodile eat.PST-her 3S.M-die.PST  
 'a man who eats a crocodile dies' (crocodile is feminine)

not: \**inta kimiša cák=ta=na ki=tíb*  
 eat.PST-her-him

- (265) *inta kara ji=ta aza sinni*  
 man fish shoot.PST-her (= it) brother my  
 'the man who caught fish is my brother'
- (266) *inta=ko burinki caŋáw=ki ki=róota aza sinni*  
 man-DET today river-to 3S.M-go.PST brother my  
 'the man who today went to the river is my brother'

In negative relative clauses:

— the Subject Clitic is present, followed by the Negative marker *ma*, which, evidently, cannot stay alone before the verb;



— the suffixed negative marker =*ʔi* generally does not appear after a relative verb;

— the end of the clause is not marked by =*na* ‘him’ if its head is masculine, and by =*ta* ‘her’ if feminine.

- (267) *inta cata ki=ma=cák aza sinni*  
 man meat 3S.M-NEG-eat.PST brother my  
 ‘the man who did not eat meat is my brother’
- (268) *inta=nki kara ki=ma=jí=ta aza sinni*  
 man-DET fish 3S.M-NEG-shoot.PST-her (= it) brother my  
 ‘the man who did not catch fish is my brother’
- (269) *inta ayma ki=ma=ífam aza sinni*  
 man woman 3S.M-NEG-marry.PST brother my  
 ‘the man who didn’t marry the woman is my brother’

**4.8. Object and subject sentences.** The Infinitive (cf. 3.9.8) is used in the object or subject clause, which precedes the matrix clause:<sup>12</sup>

- (270) *kata jami šuʔuna=me šúgucco ka=háabini*  
 I you.OBJ butter-with smear.INF 1S-want.PROG  
 ‘I want to smear you with butter’
- (271) *kata tora=me binta cóqgo ka=háabini*  
 I spear-with animal hit.INF 1S-want.PROG  
 ‘I want to hit the animal with the spear’
- (272) *wákko kata ka=ma=háabini=ʔi* ‘I don’t want to fall’  
 fall.INF I 1S-NEG-want-NEG
- (273) *múxele abba* ‘to laugh is good’  
 laugh.INF good

**4.9. Sentence embedding.** The embedded clause always precedes the matrix clause.

- (274) *hawki ki=róo ka=ma=tsú[ni=ʔi]*  
 where 3S.M-go.PST 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)  
 ‘I don’t know where he went’
- (275) *haw=to ki=ée ka=ma=tsú[ni=ʔi]*  
 where-from 3S.M-come.PST 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)  
 ‘I don’t know where he came from’

<sup>12</sup> Ts also uses this infinitive construction.

- (276) *haw=tu ki=éeni ka=ma=tsii[ni=?i]*  
 where-from 3S.M-come.PROG 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)  
 'I don't know where he comes from'
- (277) *yooba=ko mi?a ée káta ka=ma=tsii[ni=?i]*  
 people-DET how-many come.PST I 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)  
 'I don't know how many men came'
- (278) *báre ki=áskam ka=ma=tsii[ni=?i]*  
 when 3S.M-go.PST 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)  
 'I don't know when he went'
- (279) *haka ée ka=ma=tsii[ni=?i]*  
 who come.PST 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)  
 'I don't know who came'
- (280) *kata ku=mi mórommo ka=háabini*  
 I 3S.F-with speak.INF 1S-want.PROG  
 'I want to speak with her'
- (281) *kata ku=mi mórommo ka=ma=háabini=?i*  
 I 3S.F-with speak.INF 1S-NEG-want.PROG-NEG  
 'I don't want to speak with her'
- (282) *haka i=yób fále na=ku* 'tell me whom you saw'  
 who 2S-see.PST tell.IMPV.S 1S-for
- (283) *barama ku éeyo ka=háabini* 'I want her to come tomorrow'  
 tomorrow 3S.F come.INF 1S-want.PROG  
 (note the irregular Infinitive of *éé* 'to come' with epenthetic /y/)
- (284) *na i=yób fále na=ku* 'tell me what you saw'  
 what 2S-see.PST tell.IMPV.S 1S-for
- (285) *barama i=róota=na fále na=ku*  
 tomorrow 2S-go.PROG-and tell.IMPV.S 1S-for  
 'tell me if you are going tomorrow'

Specific sentence-subordinating (or coordinating?) devices are *=na* 'and' and *=ba* 'if' (possibly borrowed from Ts.).

- (286) *ayki šera i=ma=náf na=ku=na barama tora ka=ma=náf=i*  
 today knife 2S-NEG-give me-for-and tomorrow spear 1S-NEG-give-NEG  
 'if today you don't give me your knife, tomorrow I won't give my spear'
- (287) *kimiša inta ki=háf=ba ki=ji[=ni]*  
 crocodile man 3S.M-bite-and 3S.M-kill(.PROG)  
 'if a crocodile bites a man, it kills (will kill) him'

**4.10. Coordination.** Sentences are often linked without marking:

- (288) *janta rootá hanca=ko gadá* 'go and cut the tree!'  
 you go.IMPV.S tree-DET cut.IMPV.S

Apart from =*na* 'and' and =*ba* 'if' (cf. 286, 287), a partial list of coordinating elements—all of them clitics—follows here below.

=*ʔi* 'also'

- (289) *kí=ʔi gaddaʕuni* 'he too is big'  
 3S.M-too big

=*ma* 'but'

- (290) *kata gaddaʕuni=ma kata munnuʕuni* 'I am not big; instead, I am small'  
 I big-but I big

=*mu* 'or'

- (291) *caʕawa=mu eefi háabini* 'do you want water or milk?'  
 water-or milk want.PROG

**4.11. Focus.** As far as one can tell from our data, the absence of the Subject Clitics in declarative sentences is a focus-marking device, as shown above in nominal sentences (v. 4.6), and in:

- (292) *gabare gáʕ ki* 'a snake bit him'  
 snake bite.PST 3S.M

No specific focus-marking element has been identified, except for the following contrastive-marking repetition of a Subject Clitic.

- (293) *ka=ʔi ki=ki=ám* 'not me; he was (to do it)!'  
 I-NEG 3S.M-3S.M-be

As anticipated, the absence of the Subject Clitics in Content and Polar Questions (cf. 4.4.1., 4.4.2) is probably to be explained on the basis of the inherently focalized status of the word on which the question bears.



## 5. Ongota lexicon

Words are arranged in alphabetical order; vowel-initial words are listed all together at the beginning, followed by /ʃ/-initial words. Ts'amakko and a few other loans are underlined. Verbs are reported under their stem-form; the Imperative Singular and Plural forms are given whenever available.

- aaka** women; females  
**aame-** to rest  
 IMPV.S: *aamé*; IMPV.P: *aaméta*  
**abba** good; beautiful; well  
**abun-** to embrace, to lull (Ts)  
 IMPV.S: *abuná*, IMPV.P: *abúnta*  
**áddate** that (faraway); there  
**afa** eye; *afa axay ka=tu* — 'the eye hurts me' (calque from Ts)  
**ah-** to lose  
 IMPV.S: *ahá*; IMPV.P: *áhta*;  
 CAUS *ahsan* to make lose  
 IMPV.S: *ahsaná*; IMPV.P: *ahsánta*  
**aka** foot; leg  
**akka** grandfather (both father's father and mother's father)  
**(ak)kálbano** one  
**akkuyte** father's older brother/sister  
**algas-** can, to be able (Ts)  
**am-** to be  
**ama** breast; *ama=to iifa* — nipple ('breast's mouth'; calque from Ts)  
**amate** white sorghum (Ts)  
**ame-** to suck  
 IMPV.S: *amé*, IMPV.P: *améta*  
 CAUS *amsan* to make suck  
 IMPV.S: *amsaná*, IMPV.P: *ansánta*  
**andulle** heron (cf. *bargada*)  
**ard'o** ox  
**arka** hartebeest (Ts)  
**ármata** catarrh, mucous  
**arrakko**; F: *arratte* dark gray (Ts)  
**árre** donkey (Ts)  
**aryitta** friend (Ts)  
**askam-** to go  
 IMPV.S.: —; IMPV.P: *askánta*  
**ašana** how?  
**ašawa** earring (Ts)  
**ášinkuni** sister's son  
**áttomuni** white  
**átolla** pigeon (Ts *atole*)  
**áxaco** sun  
**axay-** to rise, stand up  
 IMPV.S: *axayá*; IMPV.P: *axáyta*  
**ayki** now  
**ayma** woman, wife; female (P: *aaka*)  
**ayta** which?  
**ayyane** mother  
**aza** sibling  
**ázole** sp. of edible grass (Ts)  
**ee-** to come (irr. IMPV.: *háy/háyta*);  
 IMPV.NEG: *ínti ma éa* — 'don't come!'  
**eeda** relative (Ts)  
**eefi** milk; tear  
**eela** children  
**ekkešad-** sad, to be (Ts)  
 IMPV.S: *ekkešadá*  
**ékkite** loud; a lot (Ts)  
**ella, elella** oneself  
**erangolle** necklace of white and red beads (Ts)

**ereha** foetus; *ereha ku=áh* 'she had a miscarriage'; *kuta ereha ka=ahsan* 'I make her have a miscarriage'

**erehi?**- to become pregnant

IMPV.S: *erehi?á*, IMPV.P: *erehi?ta*;

CAUS *erehsan-* to make pregnant

IMPV.S: *erehsaná*,

IMPV.P: *erehsánta*

**erehte** P: *erehiwa* pregnant (a Ts loan?)

**íccama** (=ícca=ma ?) slowly; a little bit; softly; *ícca=ma caká* — 'eat a little bit!'

**ifam-** to marry

IMPV.S: *ifamá*, IMPV.P: *ifánta*

**igire** daughters; girls

**ii?a** arm; hand; finger

**iida** there is/are

**iifa** mouth; language; *iifa ſongota* — the Ongota language; *inta iifa ki ma išéeni* — dumb ('man who doesn't have a mouth')

**iila** sons; boys

**iište** neck (cf. also *denge*)

**ílašá** bushpig (Ts *ilaaša*)

**inkena** so; this

**innakko** spider (Ts)

**inta** man; husband; male (P: *yooba*)

**inta akkálbano** twenty ('one man'; calque from Ts *qawko mume* 'a whole man')

**ippa** door

**irgaſa** axe (Ts *irgaſo*)

**irmatte** termite (Ts *irmatte*)

**ista** eight

**išee-** to bring; to have

IMPV.S: *išée*, IMPV.P: *išéeta*

**iške-** to play

IMPV.S: *išké*, IMPV.P: *iškéta*

**išma** play (n.)

**itima** tooth; *itima miintite* incisor (calque from Ts *ilge miinate*)

**olla** village, settlement

**oobde** son's daughter (Ts?)

**oofe** beans (Ts)

**oofko** son's son (Ts?)

**orga** SING: *orgitta* Hamar (Ts)

**orma** tall (Ts)

**oršatte** rhinoceros (Ts)

**ottako** calf (Ts)

**óxaya** lion

**oxoni** fire

**ucce-** to pour, fill (Ts)

IMPV.S: *uccé*, IMPV.P: *uccéta* CAUS

*uccaš* to make fill

IMPV.S: *uccašá*, IMPV.P: *uccášta*

**uke** elephant

**úkubu** sister's husband

**ukubu** sp. of gray fish with many scales

**uppatte** amniotic fluid (Ts)

**ſabuya** uncle

**ſabuyte** grandmother (both father's mother and mother's mother or father's/mother's older sister)

**ſad-** to lick

IMPV.S: *ſadá*, IMPV.P: *ſáda*

CAUS *ſadas* to make lick

**ſádaba** tongue

**ſádala** bad, ugly

**ſadda** father's older brother's wife or son (Ts *ſadda* 'friend, brother')

**ſádiba** elder, old man; husband

**ſahaye** bird

**ſálala** kind of dove or pigeon (Ts *xalle*)

**ſale** Gawwada (and other Dullay-speaking groups of the highlands; Ts)

**ſale-** to tell

IMPV.S: *ſalé*, IMPV.P: *ſaléta*

**ƙangaba** big acacia umbrelliphera

**ƙangat-** to mix

IMPV.S: ƙangatá, IMPV.P: ƙangátta

**ƙango** wisdom tooth

**ƙar-** to stink

IMPV.S: ƙará, IMPV.P: ƙárta

**ƙari** coffee (Ts)

**ƙázane** younger brother (Ts ƙazo)

**ƙebeƙe-** to vomit

**ƙiqqíši?** to sneeze

IMPV.S: ƙiqqíši?a, IMPV.P: ƙiqqíši?ta

**ƙiqad-** to hiccough (Ts)

IMPV.S: ƙiqadá, IMPV.P: ƙiqádtá

**ƙizza** root, vein (Ts ƙezze)

**ƙongóta** SING: ƙongotítta Ongota (the people and the area); ƙongót= to from Ongota

=ba and

**baahante** bow (Ts)

**baara** armpit (Ts báaro)

**baaxa** dirty

**baaye** father

báaye munnuƙuni father's younger brother ["little father"]

**ba?, ba?ate** there is not (Ts); neg. of *ida*

**bafatuni** poor

**bafce-** to carry (on the back)

**badio** pelican (Ts)

**badde** all

**bagaye** small portable container for water

**bagáda** back (body part)

**bagfat-** to run (P subj.)

IMPV.P: bagátta;

CAUS bagftis to make run (P obj.)

IMPV.P: bagfítta

**balƙasa** face

**balgo** ostrich (Ts balgitto)

**balo** shrew

**bannádďa** beetle (Ts)

**baq-** to die (P stem?)

IMPV.P: báqta

**baqa** excrement

**baqas-** to divide, share (Ts)

**barám, barama** tomorrow

**bárgada** heron (Ts)

**bargadde** collar-bone (Ts)

**bari** when?

**barla** white-browed sparrow weaver (Ts barlo)

**báyaƙa** buffalo

**be?e-** to give

IMPV.P: be?é, IMPV.P: be?éeta

**behatto** left (Ts)

**bera** year (Ts berko)

**berre-** to touch (Ts)

IMPV.S: berré, IMPV.P: berréta

**bia** land (Ts bie)

**bih-** to lose

IMPV.S: bihé, IMPV.P: bihéta

CAUS bihsan to cause to lose

IMPV.S: bihsaná, IMPV.P: bihsánta

**biibe-** to chase, send away

IMPV.S: biibé, IMPV.P: biibéta

**bine** head; hair

**binta** wild animal

**bof-** to be hard, strong; to be dry

**bod'a** saliva

**bor** chest, stomach (Ts borko); *kata*

*bor=mi jata ka=išéeni* — 'I remember you' ('I carry/have you in the chest')

IMPV.S: bor=mi išée

IMPV.P: bor=mi išéeta

**boraho** seed (Ts boraho)

**bositte** pubic hair (Ts)



**boš-** to pick up, collect

IMPV.S: *boošá*, IMPV.P: *bóošta*;

MID *boše* to pick up, collect

IMPV.S: *boošé*, IMPV.P: *boošéta*;

CAUS *bošisan* to make collect

**bote** wild peas (Ts)

**boye-** to cry

IMPV.S: *boyé*, IMPV.P: *boyéta*

**buš-** to dry up, become dry

IMPV.S: *bušá*, IMPV.P: *búšta*

**bud-** to spit

IMPV.S: *budá*, IMPV.P: *búda*

**buhad-** to bark (subj.: dog)

**bul-** to pull out

IMPV.S: *bulá*, IMPV.P: *búlta*

PASS *bulam* to be pulled out

MID *buli?* to pull out

CAUS *bulsan* to make pull out

**burinki** today

**buusa** belly (Hamar busa 'lower belly'

[Fleming et al. 1992/93: 210]);

*buusa=mi ku=išéeni* pregnant ('she has a belly')

**buute** sp. of snake (Ts)

**cafa** (masc.) stone; grinding stone (below)

**caſaw-** to drink

IMPV.S: *caſawá*, IMPV.P: *caſáwta*

CAUS *caſawšan-* to make drink;

IMPV.S: *caſawšá*, IMPV.P: *caſáwšta*

**caſawa** water; river; *caſaw=to ki=šáb* 'he crossed the river'; *caſaw=to gúskuto ki=zóguy* 'he swam in the river'

**cak-** to eat

IMPV.S: *caká*, IMPV.P: *cákta*; *bine*

*cáki=ka* 'my head hurts ("eats") me'

CAUS *cakšan-* to make eat

IMPV.S: *cakšaná*, IMPV.P: *cakšánta*

**caq-** to hide

IMPV.S: *caqá*, IMPV.P: *cáqta*

MID *caqi-* to hide for oneself

IMPV.S: *caqi?á*, IMPV.P: *caqi?ta*

*caqmam-* to hide oneself

IMPV.S: *caqmamá*, IMPV.P: *caqmánta*

CAUS *caqšan-* to make hide

IMPV.S: *caqšaná*, IMPV.P: *caqšánta*

**carba** thin

**cárkamuni** green

**carke** dew (Ts)

**cata** meat

**cawo** gun, rifle (cf. Ts *qawa?*)

**caxti?** to ask

IMPV.S: *caxti?á*, IMPV.P: *caxti?ta*

**cayde** pen, enclosure (Ts)

**cífi** little stone, pebble (cf. *cafa*)

**cig-** to sew

IMPV.S: *cigá*, IMPV.P: *cígta*

**cikila** elbow (Ts *tsekila*)

**cincaqe** ant (cf. Ts *shinshalle?*)

**coma** ten; *coma akkálbano* eleven;

*coma lama* twelve; *coma zeha* thirty

**comba** lung (Ts *somba*)

**conqorte** mud

**coq-** to hit, pierce, spear, sting; *káta tóra=me ka=cóq* 'I speared with the spear'; *ka=cóq ba ka=jí* 'I speared and I killed'

IMPV.S: *coqá*, IMPV.P: *cóqta*

*coqi?* to hit for oneself (w/spear)

IMPV.S: *coqi?á*, IMPV.P: *coqi?ta*

CAUS *coqšan-* to make hit (w/spear)

IMPV.S: *coqšaná*, IMPV.P: *coqšánta*

**corkoto** sp. of fish, not eaten

**cuutta** red-fronted tinkerbird (Ts *suutta*)

**daaf-** to become blind (Ts)

IMPV.S: *daafá*, IMPV.P: *dáafta*

**daafakko** F: *daafatte*; P: *daafayke*  
blind (Ts)

**daafis-** to make be blind (Ts)

IMPV.S: *daafisá*, IMPV.P: *daafista*

**dábarsa** genet

**dábaša** baboon

**dabb-** to miss the target (Ts)

IMPV.S: *dabbé*, IMPV.P: *dabbéta*

**daggab-** to arrive (Ts)

IMPV.S: *daggabá*, IMPV.P: *daggáhta*

*dággabos-* to make arrive

**dakkakko** F: *dakkatte*; P: *dakkayke*  
deaf; stupid (Ts)

**damša** giraffe (Ts)

**dambalaſitte** sp. of snake (Ts *damba-*  
*laſe*)

**dangadangaco** porcupine (Ts)

**dangad-** to plough; to do, make, work

IMPV.S: *dangadá*, IMPV.P: *dangáhta*

**daqse** [daqša] long-crested eagle

**darbo** skin; hide

**dat-** to make fall

IMPV.S: *datá*, IMPV.P: —

**deela** hole

**denge** neck (Ts; cf. also *ište*)

**dibita** cat

**diga** owl (Ts *dige*)

**diig-** to add water (and other liquids)  
(Ts); *caſáw cata=ki ki=diíg* 'he  
added water to the meat'

IMPV.S: *diigá*, IMPV.P: *diigta*

*diigam-* to be poured (?)

MID *diigi?* to pour into

IMPV.S: *diigi?á*, IMPV.P: *diigi?ta*

CAUS *diigas-* to make pour

IMPV.S: *diigasá*, IMPV.P: *diigáhta*

cf. also *tu?* - 'to add (things, one by  
one, or other liquids)' and *fa?* 'to add  
salt (sand, earth)'

**diira** sp. of small fish, with many spines

**dizza** klipspringer (Ts)

**do?osa** waterbuck (Ts *do?osko*)

**doore** sp. of fish

**dúbaza** mongoose (Ts)

**dullaya** the Weyt'o river (Ts *dullayko*)

**dunko** pupil of the eye (Ts)

**dákkamuni** black

**dáy** to twist the firesticks

IMPV.S: *dáya*, IMPV.P: *dáyta*

**dáye** firesticks (together)

**deſse** kidney (Ts)

**deesa** poison; medicine

**dehad-** to reach (someone) (Ts)

IMPV.S: *dehadá*, IMPV.P: *deháhta*

**dehe-** to stop (intr.); P stem: *aame-*

IMPV.S: *dehé*, IMPV.P: *aaméta*

**dibba** hundred (Dullay)

**diim-** to plunge (Ts *diim*)

IMPV.S: *diimá*, IMPV.P: *diinta*

**donka** hornbill (Ts *donke*)

**dugate** truth (Ts)

**fa?** to kindle; to add (salt, sand, earth),  
to put into; *kita soqo ki=fá?* 'he  
added salt'

IMPV.S: *fa?á*, IMPV.P: *fa?ta*

*fa?am-* to be added

*fa?i-* to add for oneself

IMPV.S: *fa?i?á*, IMPV.P: *fa?i?ta*

CAUS *fa?san-* to make add

IMPV.S: *fa?saná*, IMPV.P: *fa?sánta*

cf. *diig-* 'to add water (and other  
liquids)' and *tu?* 'to add (things, one  
by one)'

**fad-** to put down; IMPV.P: *fáhta*

**fálde** [pálde] arrow's point (Ts *pálde*)

**farat-** to send away

IMPV.S: *faratá*, IMPV.P: *farátta*

CAUS *faratsan-* to cause to send away

IMPV.S: *farsaná*, IMPV.P: *farsánta*

**fi?**- to milk

IMPV.S: *fi?á*, IMPV.P: *fi?ta*

**fidis-** to whistle (Ts *fidis*)

IMPV.S: *fidisá*, IMPV.P: *fidísta*

**fili?**- to comb (Ts *fil*)

IMPV.S: *fili?á*, IMPV.P: *fili?ta*

**filma** comb (Ts)

**foof-** to leave; to emerge (P. stem)

IMPV.P: *fóofta*

CAUS *foofsan-* to make leave (P. obj.)

**foolo** cloud (Ts *poolo*)

**fuga** SING: *fugitta* Amhara

**fulfula** [pulpula] sacrum (*anat.*)

**gaba** bush duiker (Ts)

**gabare** snake

**gaddaʃuni** P: *giddeʃeta* big; old

**gallabdi** evening (Ts *gallaw?*; or areal word?)

**game** corn (Ts)

**garaboko** shin (Ts *garaboko*)

**gats-** to climb; to come out

IMPV.S: *gatsá*, IMPV.P: *gá[t]sta*

**gawarsa** bateleur (*Theratopius ecaudatus*; Ts *gawarakko*)

**gawšo** chin (Ts *gawso*)

**geʃ-** to belch (Ts)

IMPV.S: *geʃá*, IMPV.P: *geʃta*

**geccate** P: *geccayke* old (Ts) (not used for S.M)

**gereʃ-** to steal (Ts)

IMPV.S: *gereʃá*, IMPV.P: *gereʃta*

**gereʃa** thief (Ts)

**gergitto** enemy (Ts)

**geʃante** firestick (horizontal) (cf. Ts *geʃante* 'woman?')

**gibila** knee (Ts *gibilko*)

**gibisa** femur (Ts *gubusko*)

**gidana** hair

**gillata** fish eagle (Ts *giloto*)

**gira** [haji ki...] to lighten

**girib-** to become night

**gis-** to say; *dugate ka=gisi=jantu* 'I tell you the truth'

IMPV.S: *gisá*, IMPV.P: *gísta*;

MID *gisi?*- to say

IMPV.S: *gisi?á*, IMPV.P: *gisi?ta*

**giš-** to enter; to understand

**goʃa** white-headed buffalo weaver (Ts *gohile*)

**gola** beer

**gollanke** nine (Ts)

**gorgora** beehive

**gosa** tribe (Amh)

**goxe** to put out

**goyangoyo** a sp. of fish, not eaten

**gúbale** rabbit (Ts)

**gufaʃ-** to cough (Ts)

IMPV.S: *gufaʃá*, IMPV.P: *gufaʃta*

**gula** a sp. of lizard (?) (Ts)

**gúlbata** strength; *inta gúlbata=mi ki=dángadi* 'the man worked with strength'

**gulma** kind of big calabash (Ts)

**gúmara** throat

**gunture** hartebeest (Ts)

**gura** such as, like (Ts)

**gurbaʃa** little swift (Ts *gurbaʃakko*)

**gure** hunting dog

**gurtulla** galago; bush baby? (Ts *gurtullo*)



**gúskutu** inside

**gusunte** navel (cf. also *handúra*)

**guta-** to jump; to dance, sing

IMPV.S: *gutálá*, IMPV.P: *gutálta*

CAUS *gutalis-* to make jump, dance, sing

IMPV.S: *gutalisá*, IMPV.P: *gutalista*

**gutula** stump (Ts *gutsunko*)

**gaf-** to bite

IMPV.S: *gafá*, IMPV.P: *gáfita*

**gad-** to cut

IMPV.S: *gadá*; P. stem: *qits-* (Ts)

*gadi?* to cut for oneself

IMPV.S: *gadi?á*, IMPV.P: *gadi?ta*

CAUS *gadsan-* to make cut

IMPV.S: *gadsaná*, IMPV.P: *gadsánta*

**gar-** to be happy

CAUS *garsas-* to cause to be happy;

IMPV.S: *garsasá*, IMPV.P: *garsásta*

**gas-** to hunt (see also *qoš*) (Ts *gaasi* 'to fish')

**gay-** to run

IMPV.S: *gayá*; P. stem: *bagat-*

CAUS *gaysan-* to make run

IMPV.S: *gaysaná*

**gefe** side

**ges-** to shave

IMPV.S: *fili?á*, IMPV.P: *fili?ta*

*gesi?* to shave oneself

IMPV.S: *gesi?á*, IMPV.P: *gesi?ta*

**ginafa** rib (Ts)

**ginano** mosquito

**goh-** to grow (Ts)

IMPV.S: *gohá*, IMPV.P: *góhta* CAUS

*gohis-* to make grow

IMPV.S: *gohisá*, IMPV.P: *hohísta*

**goi?** to take, get

IMPV.S: *goi?á*, IMPV.P: *goi?ta*

**guy-** to kindle the fire

IMPV.S: *guyá*, IMPV.P: *gúyta*

**haka** who

**handúra** navel (Ts *handurte*; cf. also *gusunte*)

**haš-** to hear, listen

IMPV.S: *ašá*, IMPV.P: *ášta*

**hat-** to clap the hands

**hawki** to where?

**hawtu** from where?

**háy** P: *háyta* 'come!' (irregular IMPV of *ée* 'to come')

**hobat-, hobe-** to wash

IMPV.S: *hobata*, IMPV.P: *hobátta*

*hobati?* to wash oneself

IMPV.S: *hobati?á*, IMPV.P: *hobati?ta*

**hokam-** to exchange (P. subject) (Ts *ooki*)

IMPV.P: *hokánta*

**haabi-** to want (always as *háabini* PROG)

**haaši** leaf; grass (Ts *faaško* 'grass')

**habura** wind (Ts *háburko*)

**had-** to collect (stem)

IMPV.S: *hadá*, IMPV.P: *hádta*

MID *hadi-* to collect, pick up (P. stem)

IMPV.P: *hadíta*

CAUS *hadsan-* to make collect

IMPV.S: *hadsaná*, IMPV.P: *hadsánta*

**hágalo** edible leaves

**hagun-** smell good, to

IMPV.S: *haguná*, IMPV.P: *hagúnta*

**haji** rain

**halo** calabash (Ts *halte*)

**hanca** tree; wood

**hangararo** worm (Ts)

**hat-** to hunt, shoot; *kata cawo=me binta ka=hát* 'I shot an animal with the rifle'

IMPV.S: *hatá*, IMPV.P: *hátta*; *binta*

*noqóttá=ba gída hátta* 'you (P)

take aim and shoot the animal!'

**hed-** to close, tie

IMPV.S: *hedá*, IMPV.P: *hétta*

**hee-** to like, love (always PROG: *héeni*)

**hizge** star (Ts *hezge*)

**hóibatuni** short

**hooka** chest (Ts *heko*)

**hugu** itching

**jaaka** child, baby (P: *eela*)

**janta** ~ **jaami** you

**ji?** to kill; to hit; to extinguish (fire) (see also *šúb*); *kata uke ka=jí* 'I killed an elephant'

IMPV.S: *ji?á*, IMPV.P: *jí?ta*

**juuka** daughter; girl (P: *igire*)

**kaada** rope

**kaanna** since long ago (Ts)

**káasala** molar (Ts)

**kab-** to wait

**kacce** shoulder (Ts)

**káfafa** sp. of snake

**kala** bead

**kamurre**, **kamurko**, **kamurte** rich (Ts, areal)

**kanna kanna** in a hurry (Ts)

**kano** vagina; *kanu=du* an insult

**kara** fish (general term); sp. of big black fish (cf. Ts *xarre?*)

**kara** power, authority (?); used in the sentence: *inta kara ki=roota* 'he is powerful'

**karawa** colobus (Ts *karawko*)

**karbo** bird

**kat-** to leave; to come out, emerge

IMPV.S: *katá*; P stem: *foof-*

**kawlal** cheek

**kaykitta** bridegroom (Ts)

**kaykitte** bride (Ts)

**keesa** other

**kere** headrest (Ts)

**kermayle** zebra (Ts?)

**kidisa** cooking stones

**kimiša** crocodile

**kirde** testicle (Ts)

**kirinca** ankle (Ts)

**kiti** road

**kobis-** to pinch (Ts)

IMPV.S: *kobisá*, IMPV.P: *kobísta*

**kol-** to come back, return (Ts)

IMPV.S: *kolá*, IMPV.P: *kólta*

MID *kola-* to come back, return

IMPV.S: *kolé*, IMPV.P: *koléta*

CAUS *kolsan-* to make return

IMPV.S: *kolsaná*, IMPV.P: *kolsánta*

**kolba** another time, again

**kolokolfo** hamerkop (or cormorant, or bishop bird?; cf. Ts *qolaqolfo*)

**komba** beads necklace (Ts)

**konqayle** goose

**koola** wing (Ts *koolo*)

**koom-** to dig

IMPV.P: *koomá*, IMPV.P: *kóonta*

**kórkiša** [=sa] francolin or spurfowl (Ts *korkiša*)

**kórome** fishing hook (Ts *kormicco*)

**kox-** to leak

CAUS *koxis-* to make leak

**kubís** flower (cf. Ts *bisko?*)

**kufe** tortoise (Ts)

**kuhhen** fruit

**kúlula** guinea-fowl (Ts *kulule*)

**kum-** to finish (intr.) (Ts *kum*)

IMPV.S: *kumá*, IMPV.P: *kúnta*

**kunkumitte** cheek (Ts)

**kúrruba** crow, raven (Ts *kúrrube*)

**kuskuso** hyena (cf. Ts *kuškušo* cock's mane')

**kuše-** to beat, hit (obj.: P)

IMPV.P: *kušé*, IMPV.P: *kušéta*

**kutsa** [kutša] vulture (Ts *kutso*)

**kuttunko** mountain (Ts *kuttunko*)

**laahko** arrow (Ts)

**laalbe** dress

**laale** oribi (Ts)

**laamaxode** twins ('2nd-born')

**láfakko** plain (Ts *láfakko*)

**lama** two (Cushitic)

**lattu** soft (Ts)

**lax-** to mix (tr.) (Dullay)

IMPV.S: *laxá*, IMPV.P: *laxta laxam-*  
to mix (intr.)

IMPV.S: *laxamá*, IMPV.P: *laxámta*

**leeŋa** moon; month (Ts *leeŋo*)

**leeleŋa** uvula

**lool-** to be, get angry

IMPV.S: *loolá*, IMPV.P: *lóolta*

CAUS *loolsan-* to cause to be angry

IMPV.S: *loolsaná*, IMPV.P: *loolsánta*

**luqqa** cuckoo or coucal (Ts *lukkale*)

**maaqqa** sp. of lizard (Ts *maaqqa*)

**maara** 1. son, child (male), boy; 2. sun-bird (Ts, this meaning only)

**mac'e** sp. of edible grass (Ts)

**mag-** to go away; to take a different road (Ts)

IMPV.S: *magá*, IMPV.P: *máŋta*

MID *magŋi?* to go away

IMPV.S: *magŋé*, IMPV.P: *magŋéta*

CAUS *magŋis-* to cause to take a different way

IMPV.S: *magŋisá*, IMPV.P: *magŋista*

CAUS *magŋsan-* to chase away; to cause to take a different way

IMPV.S: *magŋsaná*, IMPV.P: *magŋsánta*

**malal-** to be tired (Ts)

IMPV.S: *malalá*, IMPV.P: *malálta*

*malalsi-* to tire

IMPV.S: *malalisá*, IMPV.P: *malalísta*

**marrahe** sp. of edible grass (Ts)

**marróte** forearm bracelet (Ts)

**marte** she-calf; *marte ord'a* he-calf

**martsa** little acacia umbrelliphera (Ts)

**maš-** to cut with a knife, slice; to slaughter (for 'to cut' in general see *hač-*);

*kata šera=me barama kara ká=maš*  
'tomorrow I'll cut the fish with a knife'

IMPV.S: *mašá*, IMPV.P: *mášta*

**mayye-** to kiss (Ts)

IMPV.S: *mayyé*, IMPV.P: *mayyéta*

**meef-** to shout (subj.: animal)

**mekente** sterile (F; Ts); for male: *moolo tiibto*

**merja** antelope (Ts)

**meša** name

**mi?a** how much/many?

**mic'a** bone

**middo** wrist bracelet (Ts)

**midisa** grinding stone

**miditte** clitoris; *miditti=du* an insult

**milmille** sp. of fish, not eaten

**mir?amatte** intestine (Ts *mirma?atte*)

**mirila** cheetah; leopard (Ts *moralle*)

**mizigitte** right (Ts)

**moolo** penis; *moolo siidu* an insult;

*moolo tiibto* sterile (said of male; 'the penis is dead')

**moora** light gray (Ts)

**moqotte** frog (Ts *muqoŋte*)

**morom-** to speak

IMPV.S: *moromá* IMPV.P: *morónta*

MID *moromi?* to converse

IMPV.S: *moromi?á*, IMPV.P: *moromí?ta*



- CAUS *moromis-* to make speak  
 IMPV.S: *moromisá*, IMPV.P: *moromísta*  
 CAUS-MID *moromsan-* to make speak  
 IMPV.S: *moromsaná*,  
 IMPV.P: *moromsánta*
- moyle* gerenuk (Ts *moyle*)
- munnuṣuni* P: *minṣeta* little, small;  
 young
- múrala* kori bustard (Ts *múrale*)
- múta* crane (Ts *mute*)
- muusko* sorghum; *muusko roomini*  
 red sorghum
- muuts-* to answer; to give back  
 IMPV.S: *muutsá*, IMPV.P: *múutsta*
- muxe-* to laugh  
 IMPV.S: *muxé*, IMPV.P: *muxéta*  
 CAUS *muxsan-* to make laugh  
 IMPV.S: *muxsaná*, IMPV.P: *muxsánta*
- naṣ-* to give  
 IMPV.S: *naṣá*, IMPV.S: *náṣta*  
 CAUS *naṣsan-* to cause to give
- naṣana* food
- nabad-* to hate (Ts)  
 IMPV.S: *nabadá*, IMPV.P: *nabáda*
- nágayko* peace; a greeting (Ts)
- naḥ-* to be surprised, shocked  
 IMPV.S: *naḥá*, IMPV.P: *náhta*  
 CAUS *naḥsan-* to surprise, to be a  
 cause of surprise  
 IMPV.S: *naḥsaná*, IMPV.P: *naḥsánta*
- na=ku* why? (“what-for”)
- narfi* needle (Amh)
- naxani* yesterday
- nilla* little fish used for bait
- nitsina* many
- noqot-* to look, aim at (Ts)  
 IMPV.S: *noqotá*, IMPV.P: *noqótta*  
*noqoti?* look, aim at, to  
 IMPV.S: *noqoti?á*, IMPV.P: *noqotí?ta*
- qaabakko* sp. of fly (tse-tse?; Ts)
- qaade-* to lie down  
 IMPV.S: *qaadé*, IMPV.P: *qaadéta*
- qaara* monkey (Ts *qaarakko*)
- qaba* saucepan
- qafe-* to fish  
 IMPV.S: *qafé* ~ *qappé*,  
 IMPV.P: *qaféta* ~ *qappéta*
- qalaya* golden cat; hyena (Ts *qalate*)
- qalte* sp. of big white fish
- qane* day (Amh); *qane badde* always;  
*qane qane* sometimes (calque from  
 Ts)
- qaqayo* little frog
- qaqqe* bark (Ts *qaqqatte*)
- qaske* dog
- qaw-* to burn (intr.); to catch fire;  
*qawad-* to burn (intr.)
- qawte* pumpkin (Ts)
- qoba* finger (Ts *qobakko*)
- qode* snail (Ts)
- qola* animal (domestic) (Ts *qole*)
- qolo* goat
- qooṣ-* to hunt (see also *has*) (Ts *qooṣi*)
- qumu* container (general term)
- raaw-* to finish (tr.) (Ts *raawi*)  
 IMPV.P: *raawá*, IMPV.P: *ráawta*
- rakke-* to hang (Ts)  
 IMPV.S: *rakké*, IMPV.P: *rakkéta*  
 CAUS *rakkis-* to make hang
- reekis-* to mix (Ts)  
 IMPV.S: *reekisá*, IMPV.P: *reekísta*
- reex-* to go down  
 IMPV.S: *reexá*; P stem: ?
- renta* hippopotamus (Ts *rento*)
- rewa* sp. of edible grass
- rig-* to smooth a skin with a stone (Ts?)  
 IMPV.S: *rigá*, IMPV.P: *rigda*

**riir-** to shout (Ts *riir*)

IMPV.S: *riirá*, IMPV.P: *riirta*

**roo-** to go

IMPV.S: *rootá*, IMPV.P: *róotta*

**róomini** red

**roqinta** heart

**ruggi=***tu* in front of

**rummahte** SING: **rummattitta** Arbore (Ts)

**saalta** oryx (Ts *šaalto*)

**sáamule** ibis

**sagayto** wrist

**sal-** to wait (Ts *sál*)

IMPV.S: *salá*, IMPV.P: *sálta*

CAUS *salis-* to make wait (CAUS)

IMPV.S: *salisá*, IMPV.P: *salista*

CAUS-MID *salsan-* to make wait

IMPV.S: *salsaná*, IMPV.P: *salsánta*

**sarba** calf (body part) (Ts *sarba*)

**sayra** dikdik (Ts *sawro*; cf. also *séngere*)

**séngere** dikdik (cf. also *sayra*)

**sey** flea (Ts)

**sibila** iron (areal word)

**sidda** before

**siibde** bow string (Ts *siibde*)

**siida** eyebrow (Ts *sido*)

**siina** nose

**siinsad-** to smell

IMPV.S: *siinsadá*, IMPV.P: *siinsáda*

**silbe** yellow

*silbe áttomuni* light blue ('yellow+white')

*silbe cárkamuni* dark green ('yellow+green')

*silbe dákkamuni* blue ('yellow+black')

*silbe róomini* pink; violet ('yellow+red')

**sippa** [tsippa] sweat (Ts *sippo*)

**siraʔa** sp. of very small fish

**sodda** sister (Ts 'brother/sister-in-law')

**sonon-** to blow the nose

IMPV.S: *sononá*, IMPV.P: *sonónta*

**sonqitte** fingernail

**soorto** umbilical cord (Ts)

**soqo** salt (Ts)

**sorra** anus; *sorra=du* an insult

**sug-** to sniff (obj.: *tampo* 'tobacco')

IMPV.S: *sugá*, IMPV.P: *súgta*

**suude** flank

**šaʔat-** to be afraid

IMPV.S: *šaʔatá*, IMPV.P: *šaʔátta*

**šaaha** urine; sperm

**šaʔalkuni** older brother (Ts *šaʔalko*)

**šab-** to cross

IMPV.S: *šabá*, IMPV.P: *šáhta*

**šammaʃšiʔ-** to yawn (Ts)

IMPV.S: *šammaʃšiʔá*,

IMPV.P: *šammaʃšiʔta*

**šanne-** to rest (on the headrest) (Ts *šánni*)

IMPV.S: *šanné*, IMPV.P: *šannéta*

**šeera** knife

**šompola** namaqua dove (Ts *šumpulo*)

**šona** bongo (or kudu?) (Ts)

**šóokaya** honey

**šoon-** to be hot; to be feverish, ill

IMPV.S: *šooná*, IMPV.P: *šóonta*

**šoqta** male; bull; firestick (vertical)

**šoxe-** to have sexual intercourse (subj.: male; female: passive)

IMPV.S: *šoxé*, IMPV.P: *šoxéta*

**šoxo** blood

**šuʔuna** butter

**šuʔa** to anoint

IMPV.S: *šuʔá*, IMPV.P: *šúʔta*

**šub-** to kill (see also *ji?*); *ki?ita šúb ella* 'they killed each other'; *kata barám kara šúbbo ka=róota* 'I go fishing tomorrow'; *korome=me kara ka=šúb* 'I fished with the fish hook'

**šud-** to cover; to dress (tr.) (Ts)  
IMPV.S: *šudá*, IMPV.P: *šúta*  
**šudam-** to dress oneself  
IMPV.S: *šudamá*, IMPV.P: *šudánta*;  
CAUS *šudas-* to make dress, cover  
IMPV.S: *šudašá*, IMPV.P: *šudašta*

**šuguc-** to anoint oneself  
IMPV.S: *šugucá*, IMPV.P: *šugúcta*

**šumaħa** sand (Ts *šumaħto*)

**ta?** to take, catch  
IMPV.S: *ta?á*, IMPV.S: *ta?ta*  
MID *ta?am-* to take, catch  
IMPV.S: *ta?amá*, IMPV.S: *ta?ánta*  
CAUS *ta?san-* to make take, catch  
IMPV.S: *ta?saná*, IMPV.S: *ta?sánta*

**tařanta** very

**taba** thorn

**tafo** thigh (Ts *tapo*)

**tag-, tagam-** to sleep  
IMPV.S: *tagamá*, IMPV.P: *tagánta*  
CAUS *tagsaŋ-* to make sleep  
IMPV.S: *tagsaná*, IMPV.S: *tagsánta*  
CAUS *tagansan-* to make sleep  
IMPV.S: *tagansaná*,  
IMPV.P: *tagansánta*

**tágara** shadow; *met.* place

**tagats-** to make go up  
IMPV.S: *tagatsá*, IMPV.P: *tagátsta*

**tahanke** seven (Ts *tahhan*)

**talaha** four (cf. Ts *salah?*)

**tamar-** to learn (Amh)  
IMPV.S: *tamará*, IMPV.P: *tamáta*

**tampo** tobacco (areal word)

**taw-** to build  
IMPV.S: *tawá*, IMPV.P: *táwta*

**ta[w]i-** to build for oneself  
IMPV.S: *tawi?á*, IMPV.P: *tawí?ta*

**taxay-** to raise  
IMPV.S: *taxayá*, IMPV.P: *taxáyta*

**tereh-** to make go down  
IMPV.S: *terehá*, IMPV.P: *teréhta*

**terekko** dust (Ts *teerikko*)

**tib-** to die  
IMPV.S: *tibá*, IMPV.P: *tíhta*

**tiid-** to put, store  
IMPV.S: *tiidá*, IMPV.P: *tíitta*  
CAUS *tiidis-?*, *tiidas-* to cause to put  
IMPV.S: *tiidisá*, IMPV.P: *tiidísta*  
CAUS *tiidsan-* to cause to put  
IMPV.S: *tiidsaná*, IMPV.P: *tiidsánta*

**tildo** paradise flycatcher (Ts *tílda*)

**tilile** black kite (Ts)

**tinniša** potato (Amh)

**tira** liver (Ts *tire*)

**tókoma** heel (Ts *tókonko*)

**tonnakko** F: *tonnatte*; P: *tonnayke* lame;  
hump-backed (Ts)

**toonte** frankincense

**toollo** stick (Ts *toolingo*)

**tora** spear; *tora ki=nář=na* 'he gave me the spear'

**tu?** to add (things, one by one); *naxani cařa ki=tú?* 'yesterday he added a stone'

IMPV.S: *tu?á*, IMPV.P: *tú?ta*

*tu?a-* to be added

MID *tu?i-* to add for oneself

IMPV.S: *tu?i?á*, IMPV.P: *tu?i?ta*

CAUS *tu?san-* to make add (sth. solid)

IMPV.S: *tu?saná*, IMPV.P: *tu?sánta*

cf. *diig-* 'to add liquid' and *fa?* 'to add salt (sand, earth)'

=*tu?i* also, too

**tule** buttocks (cf. Ts *turde?*)

**tunaw-** to be blunt (Ts *tunay*)



**tuuts** to push (Ts *tuuts*)

IMPV.S: *tuutsá*, IMPV.P: *túutsta*

**tsáamitsa** louse

**tsal-** to curse

IMPV.S: *tsalá*, IMPV.P: *tsálta*

MID *tsali?*- to curse

CAUS *tsalsan-* to make curse

**tsan-** 1. to be cold; 2. to heal (intr.), to recover

IMPV.S: *tsaná*, IMPV.P: *tsánta*

**tsanafa** six

**tsaqam-** to be salty, bitter

**tsii-** to know

IMPV.S: *tsiiá*, IMPV.P: *tsíita*

**tsug-** to lie down

**tsuub-** to suck (Ts)

IMPV.S: *tsuubá*, IMPV.P: *tsúubta*

**tsoonako** honeybee (Ts *ts'oonako*)

**waaga** bat

**wáala** generic name for various species of colored weavers

**waaga** African hoopoe (Ts *wáaqo*)

**wáara** forest

**waga** god

**wak-** to fall

IMPV.S: *waká*, IMPV.P: *wákta*

**wal-** to forget (Ts)

IMPV.S: *walá*, IMPV.P: *wálta*

**wale** panga (Ts)

**was-** to spend the day

IMPV.S: *wasá*, IMPV.P: *wásta*

**wuyam-** to call (Ts *wuyá*)

IMPV.S: *wuyamá*, IMPV.P: *wuyánta*

**wohara** he-goat

**woki** there

**wowa** ear

**wunki** here

**wura** house

**xa?**- to do (irregular)

IMPV.S: *xaašá*, IMPV.P: *xáašta*

**xaab-** to scratch

IMPV.S: *xaabá*, IMPV.P: *xáabta*

**xalle** sp. of fish

**xam-** to become

IMPV.S: *xamá*, IMPV.P: *xánta*

**xarat-** to divide

**xaraw** [haji ki...] to thunder

**xasod-** to rejoice (Ts)

**xibte** lip (Ts)

**xo?**- to beat, hit; P stem: *kuše-*

IMPV.S: *xo?á*, IMPV.P: *xó?ta*

**xobbi** five (Ts *xobin*)

**xod-** to generate; to be born (with ISP *a*)

IMPV.S: *xodé*, IMPV.P: *xodéta*

**xoona** sheep

**xot-** to put down (P. stem)

IMPV.P: *xótta*

*xotam-* to go down (P. stem)

IMPV.P: *xotánta*

**xur-** to leave

IMPV.S: *xurá*, IMPV.P: *xúrta*

**yaw-** to stop, stand

IMPV.S: *yaawá*, IMPV.P: *yáawta*

CAUS *yawsan-* to make stop, stand

IMPV.S: *yawsaná*,

IMPV.P: *yawsánta*

**yaayo** jackal

**yob-** to see

IMPV.S: *yobá*, IMPV.P: *yóbta*

**yooba** men; males; people

**zaarakko** F: *zaaratte*; P: *zaarayke*  
crazy, stupid (Ts)

**zabarna** lie, falsehood

**zanitte** palm lines (Ts)

**zaqe** cotton (Ts *záqe* "cotton thread")

**zax-** to grind

IMPV.S: *zaxá*, IMPV.P: *záxta*

MID: *zaxi?*- to grind for oneself

IMPV.S: *zaxi?á*, IMPV.P: *zaxi?ta*

CAUS *zaxsan-* to make grind

IMPV.S: *zaxsaná*, IMPV.P: *zaxsánta*

**zeha** three (Ts *zeh*)

**zii?** 1. to pull; 2. to fart

IMPV.S: *zii?á*, IMPV.P: *zii?ta*

**zilanqa** sp. of lizard (Ts *zilanqa*)

**zoborko** worm (Ts)

**zoguy-** to swim (Ts *zoguy-*)

IMPV.S: *zoguyá*, IMPV.P: *zogúyta*

**zoo?** to collect honey

IMPV.S: *zoo?á*, IMPV.P: *zoo?ta*

MID *zoo?i?*- to collect honey

IMPV.S: *zoo?é*, IMPV.P: *zoo?éta*

**zooba** beeswax

## 6. English-Ongota index

to add (things, one by one) *tu?*-; (obj. water and other liquids) *diig*

to be afraid *ša?at-*

all *badde*

also, too = *tu?i*

Amhara *fuga*; SING: *fugitta*

amniotic fluid *uppatte*

and = *ba*

to be, get angry *lool-*

animal (domestic) *qola*; (wild) *binta*

ankle *kirinca*

to anoint *šu?a*; (obj. oneself) *šuguc-*

another time, again *kolba*

to answer; to give back *muuts-*

ant *cincaqe*

antelope *merja*

anus *sorra*

Arbore *rummatte*; SING: *rummattitta*

arm; hand; finger *ii?a*

armpit *baara*

to arrive *daggab*

arrow *laahko*

arrow's point *falde* [*palde*]

to ask *caxti?*-

axe *irgaša*

baboon *dábaša*

back (body part) *bahada*

bad, ugly *šádala*

bark *qaqqe*

to bark (subj.: dog) *buhad-*

bat *waaga*

to be *am-*

bead *kala*; beads necklace *komba*

beans *oofe*

to beat, hit <i>xoʔ-</i> ; (obj.: P) <i>kuše-</i> ; <i>coq-</i>	calabash <i>halo</i>
to become <i>xam-</i>	calf <i>ottako</i> ; she-calf <i>marte</i>
beehive <i>gorgora</i>	calf (body part) <i>sarba</i>
beer <i>gola</i>	to call <i>wuyam-</i>
beeswax <i>zooba</i>	can, to be able <i>algas</i>
beetle <i>bannáɗɗa</i>	to carry (on the back) <i>baŋce-</i>
before <i>síɗɗa</i>	cat <i>dibita</i>
to belch <i>geŋ-</i>	catarrh, mucous <i>ármata</i>
belly <i>buusa</i>	to chase, send away <i>biibe-</i>
big; old <i>gaddaŋuni</i> ; P: <i>giddeŋeta</i>	cheek <i>kawlal</i> ; <i>kunkumitte</i>
bird (general term) <i>karbo</i> ; <i>ŋahaye</i>	cheetah; leopard <i>mirila</i>
to bite <i>gaŋ-</i>	chest <i>hooka</i>
black <i>dákkamuni</i>	chest, stomach <i>bor</i>
blind <i>daafakko</i> ; F: <i>daafatte</i> ; P: <i>daa-</i> <i>fayke</i> ; to become blind <i>daaf-</i> ; to make be blind <i>daafis</i> -	child, baby <i>jaaka</i> ; P: <i>eela</i>
blood <i>šoxo</i>	chin <i>gawšo</i>
to blow the nose <i>sonon-</i>	to clap the hands <i>hat-</i>
to be blunt <i>tunaw-</i>	to climb; to come out <i>gats-</i>
bone <i>mic'a</i>	clitoris <i>miditte</i>
bow <i>baahante</i>	to close, tie <i>hed-</i>
bow string <i>siibde</i>	cloud <i>foolo</i>
bracelet (forearm) <i>marrote</i> ; (wrist) <i>middo</i>	coffee <i>ŋari</i>
breast <i>ama</i>	to be cold <i>tsan-</i>
bride <i>kaykitte</i>	collar-bone <i>bargadde</i>
bridegroom <i>kaykitta</i>	to collect <i>haɗ-(P. stem)</i> ; (obj. honey) <i>zooʔ-</i>
to bring; to have <i>išee-</i>	to comb <i>filiʔ-</i>
brother (older) <i>šafalkuni</i> ; (younger) <i>šázane</i>	comb <i>filma</i>
buffalo <i>báyaŋa</i>	to come ee-
to build <i>taw-</i>	to come back, return <i>kol-</i>
to burn (intr.); to catch fire <i>qaw-</i>	container <i>qumu</i>
bush duiker <i>gaba</i>	cooking stones <i>kidisa</i>
bushpig <i>ílaša</i>	corn <i>game</i>
butter <i>šuŋuna</i>	cotton <i>zaqe</i>
buttocks <i>tule</i>	to cough <i>gufaŋ-</i>
	to cover; to dress (tr.) <i>šud-</i>
	crane <i>muta</i>



crazy, stupid zaarakko; F: zaaratte;

P: zaarayke

crocodile kimiša

to cross šab-

crow, raven kúrruba

to cry boye-

to curse tsal-

to cut gaḏ-

to cut with a knife, slice; to slaughter  
maš-

daughter; girl juuka; P: igire; son's  
daughter oobde

day qane

deaf; stupid dakkakko; F: dakkatte;

P: dakkayke

dew carke

to die tib-; (P stem?) baq-

to dig koom-

dikdik sayra; séngere

dirty baaxa

to divide xarat-

to divide, share baqas -

to do xa?; dangad-

dog qaske

donkey arre

door ippa

dress laalbe

to drink caṣaw-

to dry up, become dry buṣ-

dust terekko

ear wowa

earring ašawa

to eat cak-

edible leaves hágalo

eight ista

elbow cikila

elder, old man; husband šádiba

elephant uke

to embrace, to lull abun-

enemy gergitto

to enter; to understand giš-

evening gallabdi

to exchange hokam- (P. subject)

excrement baqa

eye afa

eyebrow siida

face baṣasa

to fall wak-; to make fall dat-

to fart zii?

father baaye; father's older brother/  
sister akkuyte

femur gibisa

finger qoba

finger nail sonqitte

to finish (intr.) kum-; (tr.) raaw-

fire oxoni

firestick gešante; d'ayte

to fish qafe-

fish (general term) kara

eagle (fish eagle) gillata; (long-  
crested eagle) daqse [daqša]

fishing hook kórome

five xobbi

flank suude

flea sey

flower kubís

foetus ereha

food naṣana

foot; leg aka

forest waara

to forget wal-

four talaha

frankincense toonte

friend <u>aryitta</u>	heel <u>tókoma</u>
frog <u>moqotte</u>	here <u>wunki</u>
fruit <u>kuhhen</u>	heron <u>andulle</u> ; <u>bárgada</u>
Gawwada (and other Dullay-speaking groups of the highlands) <u>šale</u>	to hiccough <u>šiqad</u>
to generate <u>xod-</u>	to hide <u>caq-</u>
giraffe <u>damša</u>	hippopotamus <u>renta</u>
to give <u>naš-</u> ; <u>beʔe-</u>	hole <u>deela</u>
to go <u>roo-</u> ; <u>askam-</u> ; to go away; to take a different road <u>mah-</u> ; to go down <u>reex-</u> ; to make go up <u>tagats-</u> ; to make go down <u>tereh-</u>	honey <u>šóokaya</u>
goat <u>qolo</u> ; he-goat <u>wohara</u>	honeybee <u>tsoonako</u>
god <u>waga</u>	hornbill <u>donka</u>
golden cat; hyena <u>qalaya</u>	to be hot; to be feverish, ill <u>šoon-</u>
good; beautiful; well <u>abba</u>	house <u>wura</u>
goose <u>konqayle</u>	how? <u>ašana</u>
grandfather <u>akka</u>	how much/many? <u>miʔa</u>
gray (light) <u>moora</u> ; (dark) <u>arrakko</u> ; F: <u>arratte</u>	hundred <u>dibba</u>
green <u>cárkamuni</u>	to hunt, shoot <u>has-</u> ; <u>qooš-</u> ; <u>hat-</u>
to grind <u>zax-</u>	hunting dog <u>gure</u>
grinding stone <u>midisa</u>	hyena <u>kuskuso</u>
to grow <u>hoh-</u>	ibis <u>sáamule</u>
guinea-fowl <u>kúlula</u>	intestine <u>mirʔamatte</u>
gun, rifle <u>cawo</u>	iron <u>sibila</u>
hair <u>gidana</u>	itching <u>hugu</u>
Hamar <u>orga</u> ; SING: <u>orgitta</u>	jackal <u>yaayo</u>
to hang <u>rakke-</u>	to jump; to dance, sing <u>guta-</u>
to be happy <u>har-</u>	kidney <u>deʔse</u>
to be hard, strong; to be dry <u>boš-</u>	to kill; to hit; to extinguish (fire) <u>jiʔ-</u> ; <u>šub-</u>
to hate <u>nabad-</u>	to kindle; to add (salt, sand, earth), to put into <u>faʔ-</u>
head; hair <u>bine</u>	to kindle the fire <u>huy-</u>
headrest <u>kere</u>	to kiss <u>mayye-</u>
to heal (intr.), to recover <u>tsaan-</u>	klipspringer <u>dizza</u>
to hear, listen <u>haš</u>	knee <u>qibila</u>
heart <u>roqinta</u>	knife <u>šeera</u>
	to know <u>tsii-</u>
	lame; hump-backed <u>tonnakko</u> ;

F: <u>tonnatte</u> ; P: <u>tonnayke</u>	moon; month <u>leeſa</u>
land <u>bia</u>	mosquito <u>hinano</u>
to laugh <u>muxe-</u>	mother <u>ayyane</u>
leaf; grass <u>haaši</u>	mountain <u>kuttunko</u>
to leak <u>kox-</u>	mouth; language <u>iifa</u>
to learn <u>tamar-</u>	mud <u>conqorte</u>
to leave <u>xur-</u>	name <u>meša</u>
to leave; to come out, emerge <u>kat-</u> ; (P subj.) <u>foof-</u>	navel <u>gusunte</u> ; <u>handura</u>
left <u>behatto</u>	neck <u>iište</u> ; <u>denge</u>
to lick <u>ſad-</u>	needle <u>narfi</u>
lie, falsehood <u>zabarna</u>	to become night <u>girib-</u>
to lie down <u>qaade-</u> ; <u>tsug-</u>	nine <u>gollanke</u>
like, love, to <u>heeni-</u>	nose <u>ſína</u>
lion <u>óxaya</u>	now <u>ayki</u>
lip <u>xibte</u>	old <u>geccate</u> ; P: <u>geccayke</u>
little, small; young <u>munnuſuni</u> ;	one <u>akkálbano</u>
P: <u>minſeta</u>	oneself <u>ella</u> , <u>elella</u>
liver <u>tira</u>	oryx <u>saalta</u>
to look, aim at <u>noqot-</u>	ostrich <u>balgo</u>
to lose <u>ah-</u> ; <u>bih-</u>	other <u>keesa</u>
loud <u>ékkite</u>	owlet <u>diga</u>
louse <u>tsáamitsa</u>	ox <u>ardo</u>
lung <u>comba</u>	palm lines <u>zanitte</u>
male; bull; firestick <u>šoqta</u>	peace <u>nágayko</u>
man; husband; male <u>inta</u> , P: <u>yooba</u>	pelican <u>badio</u>
many <u>nitsina</u>	pen, enclosure <u>cayde</u>
to marry <u>ifam-</u>	penis <u>moolo</u>
meat <u>cata</u>	to pick up, collect <u>boš-</u>
milk; tear <u>eefi</u>	to pierce, spear, sting <u>coq-</u>
to milk <u>fi?</u>	pigeon <u>átolla</u>
to miss the target <u>dabb-</u>	to pinch <u>kobis-</u>
to mix <u>ſangat-</u> ; <u>lax-</u> ; <u>reekis-</u>	plain <u>láſakko</u>
molar <u>káasala</u>	to play <u>iške-</u>
mongoose <u>dúbaza</u>	play <u>išma</u>
monkey <u>qaara</u>	to plough; to do, make <u>danhad-</u>
	to plunge <u>diiim</u>



poison; medicine <i>deeša</i>	saliva <i>boda</i>
poor <i>bašatuni</i>	salt <i>soqo</i>
porcupine <i>dangadangaco</i>	to be salty, bitter <i>tsaqam-</i>
potato <i>tinniša</i>	sand <i>šumaha</i>
to pour, fill <i>ucce</i>	saucepan <i>qaba</i>
pregnant <i>erehte</i> ; P: <i>erehiwa</i> ; to become pregnant <i>erehi?</i>	to say <i>gis-</i>
pubic hair <i>bositte</i>	to scratch <i>xaab-</i>
to pull <i>zii?</i>	to see <i>yob-</i>
to pull out <i>bul-</i>	seed <i>boraho</i>
pumpkin <i>qawte</i>	to send away <i>farat-</i>
pupil of the eye <i>dunko</i>	seven <i>tahanke</i>
to push <i>tuuts</i>	to sew <i>cig-</i>
to put, store <i>tiid-</i>	to have sexual intercourse <i>šoxe-</i>
to put down <i>fad-</i> ; <i>xot-</i>	shadow, place <i>tágara</i>
to put out <i>goxe-</i>	to shave <i>hes-</i>
rabbit <i>gúbale</i>	sheep <i>xoona</i>
rain <i>haji</i>	shin <i>garaboko</i>
to raise <i>taxay-</i>	short <i>hóibatuni</i>
to reach (someone) <i>dehad</i>	shoulder <i>kacce</i>
red <i>róomini</i>	to shout <i>riir-</i> ; <i>meef-</i>
to rejoice <i>xasod-</i>	sibling <i>aza</i>
relative <i>eeda</i>	side <i>hefe</i>
to rest <i>aame-</i> ; (on the headrest) <i>šanne-</i>	sister <i>sodda</i> ; sister's husband <i>úkubu</i> ;
rhinoceros <i>oršatte</i>	sister's son <i>ášinkuni</i>
rib <i>hinaša</i>	six <i>tsanafa</i>
rich <i>kamurre</i> , SING.M <i>kamurko</i> , SING.F <i>kamurte</i>	skin; hide <i>darbo</i>
right <i>mizigitte</i>	to sleep <i>tag-</i> , <i>tagam-</i>
to rise, stand up <i>axay-</i>	slowly; a little bit; softly <i>íccama</i>
road <i>kiti</i>	to smell <i>siinsad</i> ; (good) <i>hagun-</i>
root, vein <i>šizza</i>	to smooth (a skin with a stone) <i>rig-</i>
rope <i>kaada</i>	snail <i>qode</i>
to run <i>hay-</i> ; (P subj.) <i>baħat-</i>	snake <i>gabare</i>
sacrum (anat.) <i>fulfula</i> [pulpula]	to sneeze <i>šiqqiši?</i>
to be sad <i>ekkešad</i>	to sniff (obj.: <i>tampo</i> 'tobacco') <i>sug-</i>
	soft <i>lattu</i>

son, child (male), boy <i>maara</i> ; P: <i>iila</i> ;	three <i>zeħa</i>
son's son <i>oofko</i>	throat <i>gúmara</i>
sorghum <i>muusko</i>	to thunder <i>xaraw</i> [haji ki...]
to speak <i>morom-</i>	to be tired <i>malal-</i>
spear <i>tora</i>	tobacco <i>tampo</i>
to spend the day <i>was-</i>	today <i>burinki</i>
spider <i>innakko</i>	tomorrow <i>barám, barama</i>
to spit <i>bud-</i>	tongue <i>śádaba</i>
star <i>hizge</i>	tooth <i>itima</i>
to steal <i>gereŝ-</i>	tortoise <i>kufe</i>
sterile (F) <i>mekente</i>	to touch <i>berre-</i>
stick <i>toollo</i>	tree; wood <i>hanca</i>
to stink <i>śar-</i>	tribe <i>gosa</i>
stone; grinding stone <i>cafa</i>	truth <i>dugate</i>
to stop (intr.) <i>dehe-</i>	twins <i>laamaxode</i>
to stop, stand <i>yaw-</i>	to twist the firesticks <i>day</i>
strength <i>gúlbata</i>	two <i>lama</i>
stump <i>gutula</i>	umbilical cord <i>soorto</i>
to suck <i>ame-; tsuub-</i>	uncle <i>śabuya</i>
sun <i>áxaco</i>	urine; sperm <i>śaaha</i>
to be surprised, shocked <i>nah-</i>	uvula <i>leeleśa</i>
sweat <i>sippa</i> [tsippa]	vagina <i>kano</i>
to swim <i>zoguy-</i>	very <i>taśanta</i>
to take, get <i>hoi?</i> -	village, settlement <i>olla</i>
to take, catch <i>ta?</i> -	to vomit <i>śebeśe-</i>
tall <i>orma</i>	vulture <i>kutsa</i> [kutśa]
to tell <i>śale-</i>	to wait <i>kab-; sal</i>
ten <i>coma</i>	to want <i>haabi-</i>
termite <i>irmatte</i>	to wash <i>hobat-</i>
testicle <i>kirde</i>	water; river <i>caśawa</i>
that (faraway) <i>áddate</i>	waterbuck <i>do?osa</i>
there <i>woki</i>	Weyt'o river <i>dullaya</i>
thief <i>gereśa</i>	when? <i>bari</i>
thigh <i>tafo</i>	(to) where? <i>hawki</i> ; from where? <i>hawtu</i>
thin <i>carba</i>	which? <i>ayta</i>
thorn <i>taba</i>	to whistle <i>fidis</i> -

white *áttomuni*

who *haka*

why? *na=ku*

wild peas *bote*

wind *habura*

wing *koola*

wisdom tooth *fango*

woman, wife; female *ayma*; P: *aaka*

worm *hangararo*; *zoborko*

wrist *sagayto*

to yawn *šammašši?*

year *bera*

yellow *silbe*

yesterday *naxani*

zebra *kermayle*

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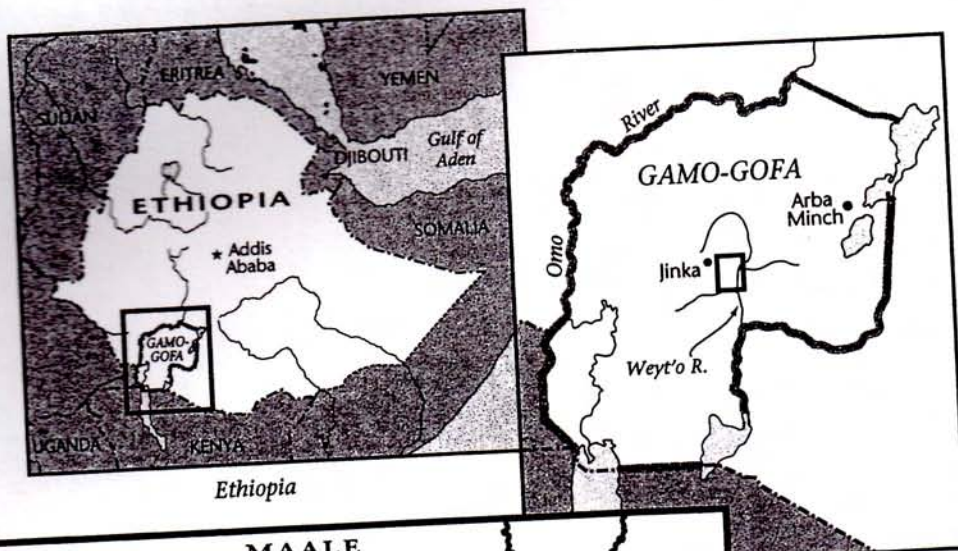
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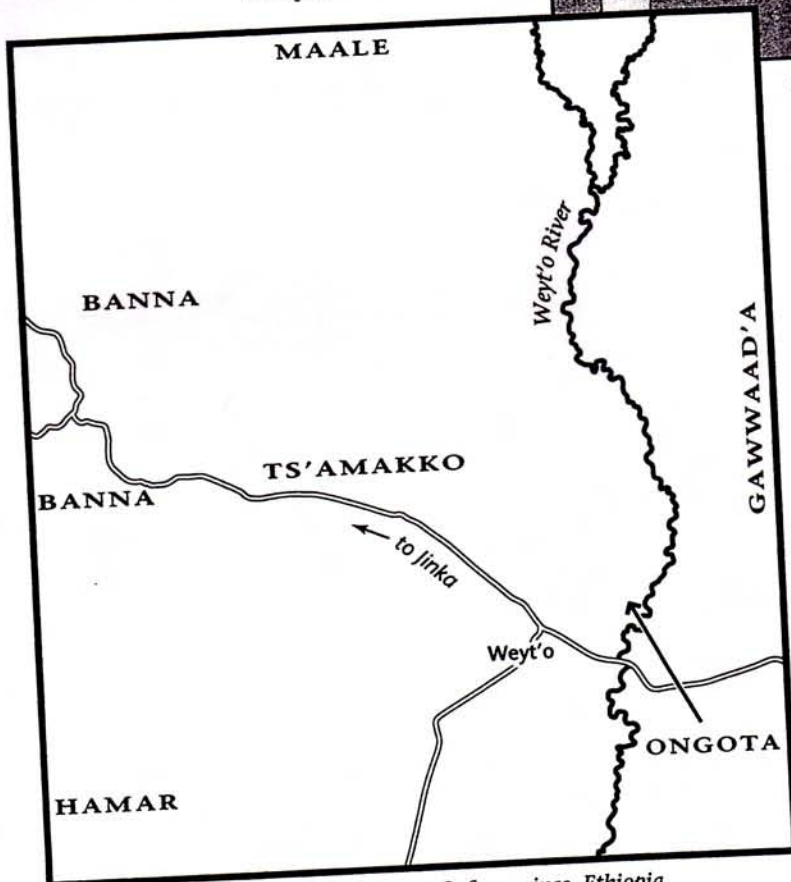
*A sketch of Ongota*

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*Ethiopia*

*Gamo-Gofa province, Ethiopia*



*Weyt'o River area in Gamo-Gofa province, Ethiopia.*