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HELMUT BUSKE VERLAG HAMBURG

Mauro Tosco

A Grammatical Sketch of Dahalo

including texts and a glossary

HELMUT BUSKE VERLAG HAMBURG

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Dedicated
To the Dahalo
and All the "Little Peoples"
of the World

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FOREWORD

This work originates from a two-month period of field work among the Dahalo in the Lamu District (Coast Province, Kenya), in January-March 1988. It was made possible by a scholarship granted by the Istituto Italo-Africano. The main aim of my work was to collect material on the morpho-syntax of the language, a certain amount of lexicon having already been presented by Ehret (1980), in his reconstruction of Proto-South-Cushitic, and others. The morphology had already been dealt with (in the generative framework current in the 70s) by Elderkin (especially 1974).

My principal informant was Dawa Hamadi, at that time 30 years old, niece of one of Zaborski's (1986) informants. Although she had been living in Lamu town for many years, she was born in the area of Mkunumbi and was fluent in Dahalo. Like most Dahalo (as a matter of fact, all those I met), she was bilingual in (Amu) Swahili and spoke no other language.

The research was carried out in Lamu town and in the surrounding areas of Mokowe and Mkunumbi.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC NOTES

The sociolinguistics and the history of Dahalo lie beyond the scope of the present work. Notes on these subjects can be found in Nurse (1986) and in Tosco (1990): the latter specifically deals with the issue of Dahalo as a minority language, probably on the verge of extinction.

Dahalo is spoken in the Lamu district of Coast Province, Kenya, by former hunter-gatherers which partly turned to a sedentary existence in recent years.

Concerning the actual number of Dahalo speakers, it is calculated in "a few hundreds" by Ehret (1980: 12), while Zaborski "could estimate about 280 of them though the upper limit may be about 400" (1987: 223-4). We think that the figure of 400 cannot greatly exceed the truth: in the peripheral (for the Dahalo people) area of Mokowe we met in one occasion about 50 of them, and we were told that many more lived in the same area.

Official statistical data are unreliable: the Kenya Population Census reports the ethnic affiliation without regard to the actual language(s) spoken by the communities, and moreover, in the case of the Dahalo the ethnic affiliation is concealed under the over-term of "Sanye-Boni", applied for the Boni of the Lamu District, the Waata of the Tana River and Kilifi Districts and the far less numerous Dahalo.

The same confusion is found in Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977: 319), where Dahalo is considered "one of the so-called 'SANYE' dialects, spoken in coastal districts north of Mombasa in Kenya", therefore putting the Dahalo together with the Waata, actually speaking an Oromo dialect.

Among the Dahalo themselves, while the term "Dahalo" (d'ahaálo; singulative M: d'ahaálato) is understood, it is never used, and the Dahalo pretend that it means "slave" in their own language (but my informants were not able to elaborate on this point, such as to give plural forms, etc.); they further say that "Dahalo" is a term used by the Swahili, to which they return referring to the Swahili as wadzoa (Singulative M: kúúdzeti), which would likewise mean "slaves".

The Dahalo we met always referred to themselves as d'áko (Singulative M: d'áato); it is probable that this is just the name of a section of the people, as the informants were also very firm in saying that, while all the Daako are sedentary, not all the Dahalo are Daako; they furthermore demonstated to understand the precise ethnological value of the term "Sanye", applying it with preference to the little groups

of hunters which live only in the bush and do not practice the cultivation. This sharp sociological distinction between the two groups is not accompanied, we were assured, by any practical dialectal difference (which remains uninvestigated), but we have been told on many occasions that dialect variability is minimal between the D groups, involving above all the lexicon (more Southern groups having been influenced by Pokomo and Elwana). The question seems therefore to be related to the languages of the peoples with which different groups of Dahalo speakers come into contact, resulting in a partially different composition of the very mixed Dahalo lexicon, in which a great deal of Somali, Oromo, Swahili and other Bantu languages loans are found, together with ancestral words of probable Khoisan origin, as can be argued by the presence of two clicks.

The people we interviewed used occasionally for themselves the denomination of guɦo g^{w}itstso "Little People"; on the other side, the denomination of guɦo gárimaani ("People of the Outside") reported by Elderkin (1974: 2) was unknown. The language was called simply ʔáfo gúɦooni "the language of the People".

I shall not deal here with classificatory problems: Dahalo is generally considered South-Cushitic, but a number of scholars have never considered Ehret's (1980) reconstructed Proto-South-Cushitic above suspicion. Personally, I prefer to see in Dahalo an East-Cushitic language, possibly linked with Yaaku (Tosco: 1989).

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Naturally, all faults and omissions are mine.

Finally, special thanks are due to Miss Dawa Hamadi, my other informants, the people of Mokowe and Mkunumbi and all the other Dahalo I met and who always showed the greatest patience and kindness towards me.

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

In the Dahalo texts, • ǀ • and • ǁ • represent, respectively, a short and a long pause in the informant's speech; • + • stands for a morpheme boundary.

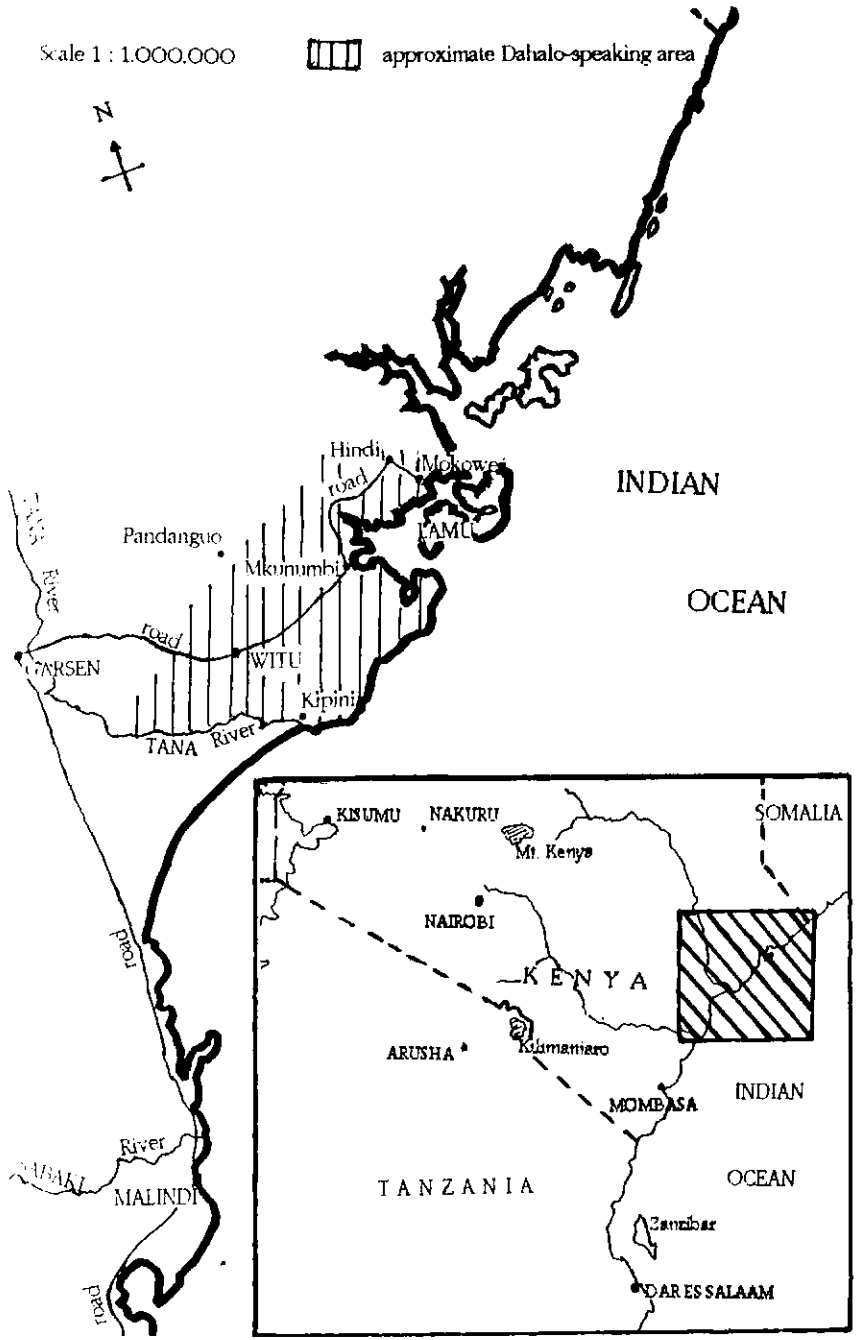
In the translation, round brackets are "emic" and contain literal translation and other material which is redundant in the target language, while square brackets are "etic" and are used for additions or other material needed in the target language and not present in the original.

The occasional "philological" notes to the texts aim in no way to be exhaustive; I have not investigated to any depth the cultural and historical framework of the texts, which remains beyond the scope of the present work.

D material in phonetic (not phonological) transcription, or derived through the application of optional phonological rules, is put between square brackets (see also 1.2.1.). Archimorphemes are put between braces.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC:	accusative
AFF:	affirmative verb selector
ALL:	allative
BEN:	benefactive
Bo.:	Boni
Br.:	Baraawa Swahili (Chi-Miini)
C:	consonant
COP:	copula
D:	Dahalo
F:	feminine
FOC:	focus marker
FREQ:	frequentative verbal form
GEN:	genitive
Gir.:	Giriama
HAB:	habitual action selector
ID:	ideophone
IRR:	unrealised action selector
Kr.:	Karre (: Garre) Somali dialect
LOC:	locative
LP:	Lower Pokomo
M:	masculine
Mij.:	Mijikenda
NEG:	negative selector
NSw.:	Northern Swahili dialects
O:	particle-complex marker
Or.:	Oromo
P:	plural
PAST:	remoter past selector
PERF:	perfect past selector
PR:	pronoun
RED:	reduplicated verbal stem
S:	singular
SE:	stem extension
SG:	singulative
Som.:	Somali
Sw.:	Swahili
V:	vowel
VEN:	venitive



I. PHONOLOGY

I.1. SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

I.1.1 The segments

I.1.1.1. Preliminaries: Previous studies

Previous studies on Dahalo have pointed out the richness of the D phonological system, but have failed to distinguish accurately between phonemes and allophones in "pure" D and those of unassimilated or partly assimilated loans. It now seems desirable both to reduce the number of D phonemes and to remove some typological oddities of Elderkin's (1974 and 1976) and Ehret's (1980) treatments.

a) Ehret (1980)

Ehret (1980: 126), after having expounded his reconstruction of the phonological history of D (which lies outside the scope of our work), arrives at a consonantal chart consisting of the following 51 phonemes:

b'		d'				j'			
b	d	ɖ	dz	ɬ		j	g	gʷ	ʕ
p	t	ʈ	ts	ɬ	/	ǰ	k	kʷ	ʔ
p'		t'	ts'	tɬ'		ǰ'	k'	kʷ'	ħ
f		s				š			h
ß, ʋ	ð								
m		n				ɲ			
ᵐb	ⁿd	ᶯɖ	ⁿdz		ᵑ/	ᶮj	ᵑg	ᵑgʷ	
w									
				r, dl					

(typographically modified according to our system (see below, I.1.1.2.); at this point we do not separate borrowed phonemes from inherited ones).

b) Elderkin (1974) and (1976)

Elderkin's account of D phonemes is made difficult by the theoretical - and by now rather obsolete - approach adopted, namely that of generative phonology. To Ehret's inventory Elderkin (in his sketch of Southern Cushitic (1976: 291)) adds:

- labiovelars: /ᵑdʷ/, /ɬʷ/, /tsʷ'/, / /ʷ/;
- glottalized: /g'/;
- finally, /ŋ/ and /ɣ/;

while from Ehret's inventory Elderkin subtracts /ʋ/ (1).

Thus, we arrive at a 57-member inventory.

Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse's (1989), a "Dahalo Lexis", containing all previously published as well as unpublished lexical data, has this same inventory, with the addition of /ʋ/ for a loanword (2).

c) Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977)

Only 39 consonants have been recorded by these authors, but this more modest number has not avoided the inclusion of allophones, while true phonemes have been ignored, the labiovelars being the most notable case, as well as plain /b/. Their transcription is totally unreliable and impressionistic, but it shows, for example, a fluctuation between voiceless and voiced stops (e.g., /dáβa, táβa/ "hand"), which more sophisticated analysis would have missed.

Leaving aside Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977), the most notable feature of the other inventories is their extraordinary richness: similar arrays of consonants are always suspicious (cf. Sasse (1981: 204) about the proposed consonant charts for Proto-South Cushitic and Proto-Cushitic) and this impression is further strengthened on closer examination:

1) in Ehret's account, D hase both a bilabial (/ß/) and a labiodental (/ʋ/) fricative, which would make D a unicum in the languages of the world (cf. Maddieson: 1984: 46); it is possible to get rid of /ß/ and /ð̠/, by considering them allophones (derived by an apposite PR; see below) of the occlusives /b/ and /d/ . Nothing in our data seems to counter this solution.

2) D is described as possessing both dental (transcribed by these authors as /d̪/, /t̪/) and alveolar (/d/, /t/) stops, which, especially when coupled with other phones produced in the same area with a manner difference (such as the alveolar implosive /ɗ/ and ejective /tʼ/, and the dental fricative /ð̠/), makes the D system at least unusual (cf. Maddieson: 1984: 32).

Ehret (1980) reconstructs PSC phonemes for both the alveolar and the dental occlusives (in our transcription, /ḍ/, /ṭ/ and /d/, /t/, respectively; note that we mark (with /ˍ/) alveolarity, and not dentality (as both Ehret and Elderkin do): this both on the basis of the larger diffusion of dental vs. alveolar occlusives in the languages of the world ([3]) and of the status of the alveolars in D as minority loan-phonemes. Moreover, only dentals have a role in the morphology of D).

Without entering into the reconstruction of PSC proposed by Ehret, it suffices to note that to reconstruct an alveolar articulation for PSC plain /d/, /t/ does not seem justified (Cushitic as a whole knows dentals rather than alveolars); then, in order to account for the real situation of D (in which overwhelmingly more dentals than alveolars are found; indeed, only dentals occur in derivation), Ehret proposes a rule (n. 22, Fig. 6b) that changes PSC alveolars to D dentals. A preliminary, maybe simplistic counter-solution could instead be: PSC had only dentals, which changed to alveolars owing to Bantu influence in all SC languages except D (which has never been totally sorrounded by Bantu); then, alveolars crept into D, again through Bantu influence (even if we cannot always trace back today the origin of loans), with the result that we have today both dentals and alveolars. This may also permit us to eliminate PSC *ɗʸ/ and *tʸ/ (Ehret admits that *ɗʸ/ is doubtful). Naturally, this solution undermines the suggested PSC origin of those D words containing the alveolars.

Other phonemes reported in previous accounts have not been met with: /ᵑdʷ/ (one item in Ehret, Elkderkin, Nurse (1989), /gʼ/ (in medial position), /tsʷʼ/ (one item), /ᵑgʷ/ (one item), /ᵑj/ (five items), /ʼʷ/ (four items).

By saying that phonological systems such as those proposed for D are typologically implausible, we do not imply that they are impossible; we just mean to suggest that the "stranger" a proposed phonological system is (both in terms of its size and of its internal arrangement), the more it must be looked at suspiciously and be justified.

Now, the phonological system of D is indeed rich and asymmetrical, and these characteristics are a function of the mixed nature of its lexicon, in which the multiple borrowings have not (yet) been equally absorbed.
In other words, it is simply unrealistic to look at the "sounds" of D as constituting a system: they do not, because different systems are always present in any utterance of a

speaker. As is probably the case in any bi- or multilingual community, the ndaries between the systems, initially strongly perceived by the speakers, ually fade away, as one of the systems conquers new communicative fields: while the first phase the loans are adapted to the phonological system of the target-guage, gradually, as more and more loans creep in, they are simply stored, alyzed. In other words, when looking at D phonology one has to distinguish ween Lehnwörter and Fremdwörter, and their respective phonological systems. fact that many "D phonemes" have a very low phonological weight (see below, 2.1) is, in our opinion, to be ascribed to the loan origin of a large part of D abulary; while it is not always possible to separate true phonemes from allophones phones occurring only in foreign, unnativized material, it is interesting to note a much more reduced inventory is attained by considering only those phonemes h can occur in final position in verbal stems (see below, I.1.2.2.2.) ([4]).

Other differences between ours and Derek's and Elderkin's systems can surely ascribed to the different localization of the field work, which enabled them to ord borrowings from foreign languages which are totally unknown to our ants (at least Giryama and the Orma dialect of Oromo, maybe Pokomo). If, on one hand, these languages reduce the impact of Swahili on D, on the other they new phonemes to an already rich inventory.

1.2 The phonemes

The phonemic inventory of the variety of D described is made up of 50 nants and 10 vowels.

The following chart states the pronunciation of consonantal phonemes where phonological rule operates:

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.
STOPS:								
implosives	b'	d'						
voiced	b	d	ḍ		g	gʷ		
voiceless	p	t	ṭ		k	kʷ		ʔ
ejectives	p'	t'			k'	kʷ'		
clicks		/						
nasals	m		n	ɲ				
prenasal.	ⁿb	ⁿd, ⁿ/	ⁿḍ		ⁿg	ⁿgʷ		
AFFRICATES								
implosive				j'				
voiced		dz	dl	j				
voiceless		ts		č				
ejective		ts'		č'				
prenasal.		ⁿdz		ⁿj				
FRICATIVES								
voiced	v						ʕ	
voiceless	f		s	š			ħ	h
TRILL			r					
LATERALS								
voiced			l					
voiceless			ɬ					
ejective			tl'					
GLIDES	w			y				

Notes:

a) columns are arranged according to the following articulation points:

I. bilabials/labiodentals
II. dentals
III. alveolars
IV. (alveo)palatals
V. velars
VI. labialized velars
VII. pharyngeals
VIII. glottals

b) phonemes separated by a comma have the same articulation point;

c) for typographical reasons, both ejective and implosive articulation are marked by / ' / following the symbol of the corresponding plain phoneme, though a more correct transcription would be /'C/ for implosives and /C'/ for ejectives (the timing

the release of the glottal and the oral occlusions being the opposite in the two nes);

/ⁿC/ marks a prenasalized consonant, the nasal element being homorganic with following C; thus, /ⁿb/ is properly [ᵐb]. To consider the /ⁿC/ phones as quences N + C would entail the loosening of the constraint which prohibits long wels before consonant sequences (see I.1.3.4.): long vowels do occur before 's, as in the (Northern) Swahili loans čaaⁿda "finger", sííⁿdano "needle", uuⁿgu "club"; /ooⁿC/ sequences are missing.

dl/ is a voiced lateral alveolar affricate (more properly it should be transcribed

The vowel system of D is made up of 10 elements: short /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and long /aa/, /ee/, /ii/, /oo/, /uu/), realized as follows:

/a/ : short central open; neutral posture of the lips [a];
/e/ : short half-open front vowel; spread lips [e];
/i/ : short close front vowel; spread lips [i];
/o/ : short half-open back vowel; rounded lips [o];
/u/ : short close back vowel; rounded lips [u];
/aa/ : long central open; neutral posture of the lips [a:];
/ee/ : long half-open front vowel; spread lips [e:];
/ii/ : long close front vowel; spread lips [i:];
/oo/ : long half-open back vowel; rounded lips [o:];
/uu/ : long close back vowel; rounded lips [u:].

I.1.1.2.1. Free allophones and foreign phonemes

A few Bantu words have retained a syllabic nasal: mfállume "king", mkullima mer", msúúzo "food stirring stick".

[z] occurs only in unassimilated Bantu words, and is optionally nativized as /d/: ikadi ~ kásika[z]i "dry season" (< Sw. kaskazi). We do not consider it nemic.

/ⁿḍ/ - which occurs only in loans from Northern Swahili - freely alternates in informants' speech with [ⁿḍr] and [ⁿr] (as it does in Amu and Baraawa dialects wahili).

I.1.1.2.2. Gemination

Sequences of two identical (either original or derived through assimilation rules) ents are articulated as a single geminate phone; they are nevertheless ologically two phonemes (i.e., they do not violate the phonotactic rules, cf. 2).

Most D consonants can be geminated, and gemination plays an important role rbal morphology.

Gemination is excluded for some phonemes of limited occurrence (cf. I.1.2.2.1.) and for others whose absence as geminates is probably accidental (due to incompleteness of the data); in particular, the following phonemes have not been observed as geminates:

/b'/ (which occurs mainly in initial position), /č/, /kʷ'/, /ɲ/, /j/, /dl/, /ts'/, /ɣ/.

For some phonemes gemination is attested only in those paradigms where consonant gradation in 3M applies (see II.2.3.4.2.1.), as:

/s/ (last stem-consonant in ɬąs- "to pull"),

/v/ (last stem consonant in ɦąąv- "to mention"),

/tl'/ (last stem-consonant in vatl'- "to return" and ɦuntl'- "to chew"),

or in frequentative (reduplicated) stems (see II.2.2.2.6.), as:

/f/ in faffąąʃ- (from fąąʃ- "to break"),

/ / / in /u//uuk- (from /uuk- "to fill"),

/ɦ/ in ɦąɦɦąąvit- (from ɦąąv- "to mention"),

/p'/ in p'upp'uʃud- (from p'uʃud- "to pierce").

Geminate /č'/ is attested only in the probable loan ɦač'č'ą "only".
Finally, prenasalized consonants do not occur as geminates.

Geminates are transcribed by doubling the sign of the single phoneme, but note that geminate sequences of phonemes for which gemination shows up as prolonged articulatory posture of a stop element are transcribed by doubling the sign of the stop only; therefore:
a) affricates:

dz + dz ---> ddz, ts + ts ---> tts, tl' + tl' ---> ttl';

b) labialized velars:

gʷ + gʷ ---> ggʷ, kʷ + kʷ ---> kkʷ;

c) implosive and ejective stops and affricates:

č' + č' ---> čč', d' + d' ---> dd', k' + k' ---> kk', p' + p' ---> pp',
t' + t' ---> tt'.

I.1.2. Phonotactics

I.1.2.1. Introduction

Under the heading of phonological rules, both the rules of allophonic realization and fully automatic rules of phonemic substitution are covered. As only exceptionless rules (which operate whenever the requirements of their structural description are met) link surface and underlying forms, all the rich morphology of D will be accounted for by morphophonemic, i.e. morphologically- or lexically-governed rules. When comparing this approach (which is, roughly speaking, that of Natural Phonology) to the one adopted by Elderkin (1974) in his description of verbal and nominal morphology of D (the approach of "standard" Generative Phonology),

one can note that in our approach many insights and generalizations inevitably get lost, but the transcription remains sufficiently close to phonetic form and phonemic psychological reality to be readable, and all imaginative and arbitrary reconstruction is avoided.

Whenever adherence to the phonetic output of the rules is required, we shall quote the relevant linguistic material between square brackets (if necessary with reference to the relevant rule and a morphophonemic transcription between oblique strokes) (5).

I.1.2.2. Phonotactics

In the following, "word" stands for "phonological word" (graphically, everything which is separated by blanks in transcription):

a. all words begin with one and only one consonant;

b. all words end in (one short) vowel;

c. the only consonant clusters admitted are those made up of a nasal and an unvoiced following element;

d. no sequences of non-homorganic vowels occur.

In D words, a sequence of two non-homorganic vowels is found in ɗ'ąu "pot" and in ɭée "path".

Exception to the above must also be made for the Bantu unassimilated loans with long final vowel (jamąą "family), syllabic nasal-initial clusters (cf. I.1.1.2. above) and non-homorganic sequences of vowels (such as in ąu "or", mui "town").

Clusters N + C (where N is homorganic to C) are found both in patent loans and in D vocabulary". The following clusters have been met:

/nf/ ; ex.: ʃunf- "to chew"

/mp/ ; ex.: ɬimpid- "to blow one's nose"

/nk/ ; ex.: nínką "clitoris"

/nkʷ/ ; ex.: ʃankʷid- "to bend"

/nt/ ; ex.: ʔentid- "to show"

/nţ/ ; ex.: múnţą "farm"

/nt'/ ; ex.: funt'- "to breathe"

/nʃ/ ; ex.: ʃinʔeed- "to empty"

/ns/ ; ex.: tsintsą "vagina"

/nl'/ ; ex.: ɦuntl'- "to chew"

As predicted by PR 4 (I.1.3.4.), the vowel preceding the cluster is always short, and this is a major difference from the prenasalized consonants.

I.1.2.2.1. Positional restrictions on phonemes

As all D words end in a vowel, only initial and medial positions can be taken into consideration for consonants; final position may be taken into consideration for verbal stems.

The following phonemes, of very limited occurrence, are found in initial position only:

/dl/ (three items)

/č'/ (four items, all Sw. loans)
/j'/ (three items, two Sw. loans)
/kʷ'/ (four items)
/ts'/ (three items)

The following phonemes are not found in initial position:
/ḍ/
/b/ (the only voiced bilabial stop in initial position being /b'/)

The following phonemes are of very limited occurrence:
/č'/ (found in two items in initial position - probably as free realization of /č/ - and in one item medially)
/č/ (found only in a few items in initial position and medially in one item - probably a reduplicated stem: čikočik- "to saw")
/ɬʷ/ (one item: ɬʷaħ- "to pinch")
/p'/ (found only in initial position - except in one instance in a reduplicated stem and stem-finally in k'arap'- "to cut" and t'up'- "to leak")
/š/ (ten items, all of them loans, mainly from Sw., but also from Som.)
/tl'/ (found in six items in initial position and stem-finally in vatl'- "to return" and ħuntl'- "to chew")
the labialized velars (probably all of loan origin) are for the most part of limited occurrence; in particular, /ˀgʷ/ occurs only in háˀgʷaraˀgʷára "centipede" and /ˀj/ in kípuˀju "place where the maize is seasoned", /ˀdz/ in three items, /ˀ/ in five.
/ɣ/ (found only in ɣááɣo "mother (alive)")
/ˀḍ/ (two items)

The status of glides is somehow problematic: Ehret has /w/ but not /ɣ/, Elderkin both glides; two glides appear in our informants' speech too, but with a very limited occurrence (/w/ appears stem-internally in a few words only, and in the stem-extension -Vw; almost all instances of /w/ found in other sources are replaced by /o/ in my data).
Moreover, we could not find instances of opposition between voiced and voiceless dentoalveolar affricates (/dz/ and /ts/): Ehret, however, records both dzaa?- and tsaa?- "to die" and their derivates dze?ed- (= dzee?ed-) and tse?ed- (= tsee?ed-) "to kill". In our informants' speech, the voiced greatly outnumbers the voiceless.

1.1.2.2.2. Consonants in stem-final position
Taking into consideration only the consonants which can appear in verbal stem-final position, and which can therefore be considered the "core system", we find that only 27 consonants can occur, while 23 are excluded.
The chart proposed above would be reduced to:

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.
STOPS:								
implosives		ɗ						
voiced	b	d			g			
voiceless	p	t			k	kʷ		ʔ
ejectives	p'(2 i.)	t'			k'			
affricates			ˀ/ (1 item)					
nasals	m		n					
FRICATES								
voiced				j				
FRICATIVES								
voiced	v (1 item)						ʕ	
voiceless	f (3 items)		s (1 item)				ħ	h
TRILL			r					
LATERALS								
voiced			l					
voiceless			ɬ					
ejective			tl' (2 items)					
GLIDE	w							

All the columns (articulatory points) are represented, but alveopalatals only by Several rows, however, are eliminated or else suffer great reduction; the only nasalized consonant is the click /ˀ/ / (in the stem ʕaˀ/- "to lick"; note the presence of Cushitic /ʕ/ !) and the only labiovelar is /kʷ/. Alveolar stops are absent, affricates are represented, again, only by /j/ (/j/ in stem-final position is subject metaphony, and its presence here is due, in reality, to the convention by which forms are indicated by 1S forms minus the vowel ending; see II.2.3.4.2.4.).
Not only is the size of such an inventory much more "acceptable", it is also more regular and it is interesting to note that, from a historic point of view, this consonant chart is much less "exotic", and much more "common Cushitic", than the chart of I.1.1.2. and the Proto-South-Cushitic system proposed by Ehret (1980).

1.1.2.2.3. Vocalic patterns and vowel harmony
Taking into consideration bisyllabic nouns only, we find the following vocalic patterns and figures:

	a	e	i	o	u
a	ʔáára	t'át'e	dabi	ʔaddo	ɬáábu
(81)	"white hair"	"small ant"	"animal"	"sun, day"	"leaf"
	(30)	(13)	(13)	(20)	(5)
e	ʔééga	ⁿbéne	hééri	heddo	ⁿ/éénu
(19)	"fire"	"glans of the penis"	"goat"	"evening"	"python"
	(5)	(7)	(2)	(4)	(1)
i	ʔila	híbe	gʷiʔi	gimpo	---
(36)	"eye"	"baboon"	"thirst"	"carpus"	
	(13)	(6)	(8)	(7)	
o	móla	/óóke	ⁿgoowi	tsoolo	lóóbu
(26)	"mead"	"breast"	"rainbow"	"nail"	"sheath"
	(7)	(5)	(4)	(8)	(2)
u	ʔunt'a	gudde	tumpi	gúħo	ṭuṭṭu
(30)	"branch"	"bush"	"horn"	"person"	"kind of mat"
	(12)	(5)	(1)	(7)	(5)
totals:	(67)	(36)	(32)	(46)	(13)

(rows for first vowel; columns for second; figures in brackets give the number of items attested; an example for each pattern is given; figures are calculated, again trying to eliminate loans, but some probable loans of unknown origin have been included)

All patterns are attested (i - u would be attested considering the deictics: ʔítu "that (F)"), but disharmonic sequences are disfavoured, esp. high front --- high back, high back --- high front; disharmonic sequences of mid --- high are also rare. With all vowels, harmonic sequences have the highest score, except when the second vowel is /a/, which emerges as the unmarked vowel of the system. /u/ is also quite rare in the morphology: as paradigmatic vowels and person markers in the verb, for example, all the vowels are attested except /u/ (cf. II.2.3.2. and II.2.3.3.2.).

I.1.2.2.4. Syllabic structure

Allowed syllabic structures are:

CV : /wáraħa "spear"
CVV : /óó$ke "nipple"
CVC : ʔá$gadz$dzo "ear"

CVVC syllables are not allowed; if a long vowel is followed by a consonant cluster (most often for affixation), the vowel is shortened (cf. PR 4 below).

I.1.3. Phonological rules

As nouns always end in a vowel, the rules involving the verbal stem and the affixes are taken as phonological rules (PRs), unless counter-evidence permits them to be assigned to a morphologically or lexically established subset of verbs (morphophonological rules: MPRs).

I.1.3.1. LENITION (PR 1)

Voiced stops /b, d/ are spirantized between vowels:

PR 1: [b, d] ---> [ß, ð] / V___V

Examples:
lú[ß]o "I beat" (/lub- o/)
dzééʔe[ð]o "I kill" (/dzeeʔed- o/)

/g/ never spirantizes (6).

This rule eliminates /ß/ and /ð/ of the preceding sources; contrary to [illegible]kin's data, in our informants' speech [ß] never occurs initially; e. g., ßuddað- of [illegible]kin (1974: 81) is b'uḍḍad- "to ask". The following grade of lenition is /w/ and [illegible], as is demonstrated by the inverse process, in which /z/ of Sw. loans is, when [illegible]ized, hardened to /d/, e.g. in:

fukidad-	"to smoke"	< Sw. -fukiza
kásikádi	"drought"	< Sw. kaskazi
páándi	"grasshopper"	< Sw. panzi

However, /w/ of Sw. loans changes to /v/, while, in some (older?) loans, Sw. [illegible] changes to /b'/ in initial position and to /b/ in medial position; these are [illegible]isely the words in which Ehret and Elderkin have /ß/ initially: ßuddað- (= [illegible]uḍḍad-) "to ask" (cf. Bajuuni -vuða) and ßuunaað- (= b'uunad-) "to harvest" [illegible] NSw. -vuna), and ʔiißu (= ʔíbu) "ashes" (cf. NSw. ivu).

I.1.3.2. REGRESSIVE DENTAL ASSIMILATION (PR 2)

/d, d', t/ undergo complete assimilation to a following oral or nasal stop [illegible]tually, before /t/ and /n/, which only occur as affixes):

PR2: {d, d', t} ---> [t, n] / ___ [t, n]

Examples:
hónne+[ð]a "we tell to (him/her/them)" /hood' - ne - da/(PR 2; PR 1)
hótto "you tell" /hood' - to/
súúbitto "she does" /suubid - to/
ránni "we walked" /rat- ni/

Alveolar stops do not undergo this rule, as they are never stem-final.

I.1.3.3. NASAL ASSIMILATION (PR 3)

Nasals assimilate to the point of articulation of a following stop (again, only /t/ and /n/ are involved as affixes). If the stop is nasal, the result is complete assimilation, yielding a geminate:

PR 3: N ---> [t, n] /___ [t, n]

Examples:

jónto "you speak" /joom - to/
jónno "we speak" /joom - no/

I.1.3.4. VOWEL CONTRACTION (PR 4)

A vowel contracts by one mora before a consonant cluster or a geminate consonant:

PR 4: VV --> V /___ CC

Examples:

jónto "you speak" / joom - to/ (PR 3; PR 4)
jónno "we speak" / joom - no/ (PR 3; PR 4)

The following rules are optional, occurring in allegro speech only.

The result of their application will be written throughout between square brackets.

I.1.3.5. GLOTTAL STOP DELETION (PR 5)

Intervocally, the glottal stop optionally undergoes deletion (in practice, only in slow, careful speech is the glottal stop preserved in this position):

PR 5: ʔ ---> (opt.) 0 /V___V

Example:

b'ɑ́ɑb'ɑ+suʔ+u ---> (opt.) /b'ɑ́ɑb'asuu/ "his father"

I.1.3.6. VOWEL LOWERING (PR 6)

A high vowel (/i/, /u/) can be lowered to mid (/e/, /o/) in two cases:
a) in word-final position;
b) when the preceding vowel is low or mid:

PR 6: [i, u] ---> (opt.) [e, o] / { __ ≠# / {a, e, o} X __

(where X is any segment)

Cf. the verbal phrase gété+ki+ka+i[é]+ʔa "let me bring it to you", where of the selector -ii is lowered to /e/ following /a/; or kéé i ik[o] "I was born" kéé i iku in final position; or still the deictic ʔúku "that (M)", which frequently ps to ʔúk[o].

I.1.3.7. VOWEL RAISING (PR 7)

A final /a/ can be raised to /e/ in final position; this seems to happen ally with some particles, such as na "and", ʔukʷa "this (M)":

PR 7: a ---> (opt.) e / __#

I.1.3.8. VOWEL ASSIMILATION (PR 8)

As a result of GLOTTAL STOP DELETION (PR 5), two vowels can be found in quence; in this case, a sequence [ai] (< /aʔi/) can pass to [ee]:

PR 8: ai ---> (opt.) ee

A frequent case is:

b'á+ʔi+va lube ---> b'[éé]+va lube "I did not beat"

I.2. TONOLOGY

I.2.1. Preliminaries

It must be stressed that a lot of work remains to be done in this field, especially what concerns the tonology of particles and sentence intonation.

D has two phonological tones: high (H) and low (L). In our transcription, while tone is marked by ´_ , L tone is left unmarked. On the contrary, L will be marked _ in the affixes (where L shifts back one syllable according to the TONAL GRESSION RULE (TR 3, cf. I.2.2.3.).

We propose that D be considered as a pitch-accent language (like many East ushitic languages, e.g., Somali, Oromo and Arbore), because surface tonal patterns n be derived from the tone of the penultimate syllable plus the application of the al rules (cf. infra). Nevertheless, D tone is somewhat different from "typical" pitch- ent languages: H tone shows a tendency to fall on the first syllable (while pitch- ent is generally limited to final or penultimate syllables).

As in East Cushitic languages, tone generally accompanies other features of mmatical marking, while it is seldom the sole carrier of a grammatical distinction, l practically never of a lexical one; cf.:

gúɦo "person" P: guɦo "persons; people"

Elderkin (1974: 11) also reports gát'a "beard" and gat'a "wind", but we have recorded this last item.

Again, as in East Cushitic languages, more function is carried by the tone in bal paradigms, where tone alone often distinguishes two forms:

ubo 1) "I am beating" (Non-Past General)
2) "I was beating" (Imperfective General Past)

ISIS:

lubo "beat!" (Perfective Imperative Plural)

I.2.2. Tonal rules

In Elderkin's (1974) generative approach, tones are derived through the ordered application of various rules. In our approach, one tone per word (that on the penultimate syllable) is specified lexically, and a small set of tonal rules apply - whenever their domain is found - yielding the surface tones of both lexical words and morphologically complex forms.

The following tonal rules operate in D:

I.2.2.1. UNMARKED LOW RULE (TR 1)

TR1: $ --> `$

(where "$" is a tonally unspecified syllable)

i.e.: H is marked, L unmarked; a tonally unspecified syllable takes an L tone. This rule is called "Other Tones Low rule" by Elderkin (1974: 31).

I.2.2.2. INITIAL HIGH RULE (TR 2)

TR 2: $ --> ´$ /__$

i.e.: "the tone of a word-initial syllable [is] high, unless the following syllable is already specified as High" (Elderkin (1974: 37), who calls it "Initial Tone H rule".

I.2.2.3. TONAL REGRESSION RULE (TR 3)

TR 3: $+°$ ---> °$+$

(where "+" is a morpheme boundary and "°$" a tonally specified - High or Low - syllable)

i.e.: the tone of an affix is shifted one syllable back (leftwards). Elderkin's "Tonal Regression rule" states: "The tone of a syllable is the tone proper to the next element capable of carrying tone at one point in the morphology. More simply, there is a rule which moves tones back one place" (1974: 30). In Elderkin's view, the rule is operative even without the presence of a boundary, and contributes to the make-up of the tonal pattern of lexical items.

I.2.2.4. FINAL LOW RULE (TR 4)

TR 4: $ ---> `$ /__##

i.e.: final syllables always have L tone (this is true as far as phonological tones are concerned; in the domain of sentence stress, a final syllable can take an H tone with suspensive intonation).

This rule predicts that when a monosyllabic particle with H tone appears in isolation it loses its H.

I.2.2.5. HIGH TONE LOWERING RULE (TR 5)

TR 5: HH --> HL

i.e.: two consecutive H tones are excluded, and from the two underlying ...utive H tones the second changes to L. Both the rule and its name are from ...kin (1974: 31).

I.2.3. Tonal patterns

In order to obtain the surface tonal pattern of a word, one needs to specify the ... of the penultimate syllable only (which is assigned lexically); the other tones will ...erived from the application of the TRs.

If we take bisyllabic nominals into consideration, we note that only the patterns ...d HL are allowed:

...i "animal"

...e "nipple"

but LH and HH are excluded (LH because of TR 4, and HH because of TR 5).

With trisyllabic nominals we get the follwing two possible sequences:

...unu "wound"

...ima "tear"

while all of the other six theoretical possibilities are excluded. The penultimate ...ble can be L (as in ʔútunu), or H (as in ʔilíma). In the first case TR 2 applies, ...e in the second, the constraint on TR 2 excludes the initial H. H on the last syllable ...verywhere excluded by TR 4, while TR 1 transforms the tonally unspecified ...bles into Ls.

With four-syllable nominals, we get the following patterns:

...ha?aane "topi"

...kána "shyness"

Surface tonal patterns of both are derived through the application of TR 2 and TR 1.

There are, nevertheless, some tonally irregular words, such as d'id'iʕíima ...nder", perhaps originally composed with an affix or a nominal formative (cf. ... I.1.).

More-than-four-syllable words are always polymorphemic, such as ...nkaláli "leopards" (from nímankalo with reduplication pattern -áCi), or ...plicated words, such as há^{n}g^{w}ara^{n}g^{w}ára "centipede".

If we consider the behaviour of polymorphemic words (such as nouns when ...wed by a plural affix), we note that the H of the affix is shifted back one syllable:

kiri "giraffe" + -íma ---> kírima "giraffes"
unless this slot is already H-toned:
ɲáħe "hippopotamus" + -údda ---> ɲáħudda "hippos"

Verbal forms are likewise subject to the effects of the TRs, after which relevant endings, with their specified tone, are affixed to the stem (which, not being a word, is not toned):

lub- "to beat" + -ó ---> lúbo "I am beating" (Non-Past) (TR 3)
lub- " + -o ---> lubo "I beat/I was beating" (Imperfective Past) (TR3)
lub- " + 0 ---> lúbu "I beat" (Perfective Past; a vowel identical to the stem vowel is copied, and then TR 2 applies)

Let us now consider a verbal form with affixed verbal particles, such as:

géte+kí+ka+j[é]+ʔa
send-F2-1S+you-F+IRR+HAB+VEN
"let me bring to you (SF)"

composed of the verbal form géte "let me bring" (1S of Iussive Positive of the verb get- "to send, bring"), to which are affixed:

-kj "you (singular feminine)" (cf. II.1.5.1.2.)
-ká "IRR" (unrealised action selector) (cf. II.3.2.6.)
-jí "HAB" (habitual action selector) (cf. II.3.2.4.) - the meaning is one of habituality in the future: "let me continue to provide you")
-ʔá "VEN" (venitive) (cf. II.3.3.1.)

The overall surface tones are given by the following tonal shifts:

-ká shifts its H to preceding -ki; -jí (lowered to [e] by PR 6) shifts its H to -ká, which, since it immediately follows an H-toned syllable (-kí) - is turned into L by TR 5 (HH ---> HL); and -ʔá shifts its H to preceding -jí. This shows that tones shift leftwards, but not from the element furthest to the right: instead, each element is affixed after the tones of the previous element(s) have already adjusted to the TRs of the language. This is in accordance with the fact that the tones of the verbal forms (or of nominals, for that matter) never change under the influence of suffixed elements.

The same happens in the particle complex (cf. II.3.1.), where the serialization of tones applies leftwards, but with each element to the right adjusting to the preceding one, as in:

ʔá+ka+j[é]+ji
0+IRR+HAB+ALL

where the H tone of -ká is shifted onto -ʔa; -jí shifts its H onto -ká, but TR 5 (HH ---> HL) turns it into an L tone; finally, the second -jí (the allative particle "ALL", homophonous with the habitual action marker; cf. II.3.3.2.) shifts its H onto the first -kí.

TO PART I

ally, in Elderkin (1976) /n'/ and /š'/have been misprinted instead of /j'/ /ʔ'/ (E. D. Elderkin, personal communication, 11.1.1990).

ret, Elderkin and Nurse's phonological inventory (1989: 6) does not contain / which is nevertheless present in the lexicon.

Canepari (1983: 22, 30), who advocates the use of simple ·d, t· for dentals; er, we do not follow his use of modified signs for the alveolars, preferring the ipt /ɾ/ for typographical reasons.

Nurse (1985) has suggested that dentality is an areal feature in North-eastern a, possibly spreading from Dahalo and Boni into North-eastern Bantu (Northern ali, Pokomo, Elwana); this on the basis that "a series of dental stops occurs in a nty of languages worldwide" (Nurse: 1985: 243). Nurse takes this suggestion from en's Guide to the Languages of the World (Stanford: Stanford U.P.: 1976), but recently Maddieson (1984) - who works on a better designed database - does ommit himself to any generalization on the relative frequency of dental and lar stops.

oaned vowel-final stems (mainly from Swahili) are always nativized through the xation of the morpheme -d (see II.2.2.2.1.3.). Concerning the impact of foreign rial (mainly Swahili) on D grammar, see Tosco (1990).

These principles of transcription are the same as those of Hayward (1984), whom also follow in the general account of phonology along the lines of Natural erative Phonology.

Tucker, Bryan, and Woodburn (1977: 320) note the presence of a voiced velar ative /ɣ/, but offer only one example, in pre-glide position. Given the numerous rs of transcription in this phonological sketch of D, we think that this new neme can be dismissed altogether.

II. MORPHOLOGY

D morphology, both inflectional and derivational, is suffixal, at least as far as segments are concerned (with the exclusion of the tonal patterns and reduplicated-stem verbs, which can be said to be partially prefixal): this accords well with the general SOV word order of the language. Therefore, nothing remains in D of the putative Proto-Cushitic prefix conjugation.

In this chapter, only the morphology of the categories will be analyzed, syntactic frames being discussed in part III.

II.1. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

II.1.1. Preliminaries

In this chapter we shall refer to the following categories: nouns (comprising substantives, adjectives and numerals; II.1.2. to II.1.4.), pronouns (under which deictics are also dealt with; II.1.5.).

The categories of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns display formal variability, namely:

substantives display variability according to number;

adjectives display variability according to number and gender;

numerals - to the limited extent to which D numerals have survived - are not variable, with the exception of "one" (for gender);

pronouns can display variability according to number, gender, person, and to the syntactic role of the pronominalized entity .

II.1.1.1. Nominal shapes and formatives

A basic problem in morphology is to recognize how words may be divided into morphemes; in the case of nouns, an obvious possibility is a treatment based on a stem, to which derivational and inflectional morphs are affixed. Now, the final vowel of the basic form of nouns is dropped when an affix of number is suffixed, and a shifting back of the H tone of the affix occurs: one could therefore interpret the final vowel of the basic form as a morphological marker. The fact that no semantic regularity is observable in the final vowels (they cannot be interpreted as gender or number morphemes) does not by itself rule out this possibility: in spite of the traditional definition of morphemes as the smallest meaningful elements of the language, we can still recognize a morpheme without being able to assign a specific meaning to it; the "morphemic" analysis could be saved by postulating that the final vowel is phonologically determined by the root (by some kind of vowel harmony). But even this possibility is ruled out by facts: we have seen that, while a certain tendency to vowel harmony is indeed present, no regularity occurs (at least synchronically).

In the present analysis, we shall treat nouns in their basic shape as monomorphemic. Plurals and singulatives will likewise be written without "+" (morpheme boundary) between stem and affix.

All D nouns have at least two syllables. Bisyllabic nouns (including substantives in their basic form, adjectives, numerals, independent pronouns, with the exclusion of evident loans) account for about 60 % of all nouns.

Monomorphemic nominals recur frequently with the shape CV(V)CV:

/úʕe	"brown ant"
ʔáfo	"mouth"

ɾíla	"eye"
/áóke	"nipple"
/óóne	"breast"

A certain number of trisyllables (less than 35 %) occurs (shape CV(V)CV):

ʔágaddzo	"ear"
ɡálite	"knife"
ɾirífa	"eyelash"
ʔútobo	"anus"
d'ááʕeero	"neck"
fád'ak'e	"fire stick"

Few four-syllabic and very few five-syllabic nominals occur (about 6 %); it is likely that at least some of them are made up of formatives (singulatives), or involve some kind of reduplication or composition; this analysis is supported by the fact that four-syllabic nouns can show two high tones, a feature which never appears on (other) monomorphemic nouns.

4-syllabic:	/úbubuʕe	"moth"
	b'ábaʔaane	"topi"
	d'ahániite	"pestle" (stem + -te singulative?)
5-syllabic:	/í^birik'ítte	"gecko" (stem + -te singulative?)
	há^g^ara^g^ára	"centipede"
	múkumpilo	"ankle"
	nímankalo	"leopard"
	níʕaapiʕe	"thick"

We may note that a formative -ʕV often occurs in names of animals; apart from /úbubuʕe "moth", cited above, we have: /untáʕe "cicada", b'eeʕa "rabbit", ɦélleʕa "zebra", k^'ánaʔa "scorpion"; but also mánaʕe "newborn", ɡilíʕe "star", and others.

A formative in -mV (frequently -ma) occurs in some nominals (all recorded ones are reported below):

ʔilíma	"tear"
b'áhama	"hard"
b'ágama	"belly"
d'id'iʕíima	"thunder"
díɾama	"morning"
dokóómi	"elephant"
dzááʔama	"dead" (cf. dzaaʔ- "to die")
fílime	"comb"
gárima	"outside"
gúrume	"old (of persons)"

hómome	"frog"
júúfume	"air" (cf. juuf- "to blow")
k'úúħuma	"white"
káʃime	"many"
ɬááħame	"sweet"
páɬɬaʔámo	"glade; shelter" (cf. paɬ- "to put aside" ?)
ragáma	"grave"
t'ééʃema	"soft"
t'ókkoome	"cold"
táʃame	"how?"

(bisyllabic nouns, such as hííma "night", are excluded, as well as obvious loanwords).

From the above, one may conclude that -ma, and, less frequently, -me, are adjective-formatives. For some nouns ending in -me the semantics seems to point to an origin as singulatives. The nominals in -mi and -mo (one item each) may be of no relevance here.

With a very few (quadrisyllabic) nouns an -inna formative occurs:

ʔáámininna	"little"
b'íriḱ'inna	"lightning"

A lot of nominals (tri- and polysyllabic) end in -te and -ne; while it is tempting to interpret them as singulatives, they are, at least synchronically, basic forms from which regular plurals are formed:

ʃálite	"knife",	plural: ʃálitúmu
ʔgíkine	"eyebrow",	plural: ʔgíkinuuta

One may note that, in words of sure comparison with EC languages, -o is frequently associated with nouns which are masculine in other languages, while -a is frequently associated with nouns feminine in other languages.

II.1.2. Nouns

II.1.2.1. Gender

Nouns do not have any affix which can be interpreted, at least synchronically, as gender-marking. Given the existence of separate masculine (3M) and feminine (3F) forms of the determinants and of the 3 singular verbal forms, an obvious possibility is that nouns are sub-categorized according to gender. Now, only semantically feminine subject nouns (i.e., nouns whose referent has female sex) do govern feminine forms of the determinants and, as subjects, of 3S verbal forms; this seems to have been recognized by Elderkin (1976: 292): "Gender in Dahalo is natural". All evidence seems to indicate that the category of gender is dying out in D (influence from neighboring Bantu languages is the first cause that comes to mind).

II.1.2.2. Number

As in other Cushitic languages, the great majority of D nouns display number city. This may take the form of plural marking or of singulative marking with to the basic form. Not all the nouns have three forms: while the majority of have a plural affix, "collective" nouns have a singulative affix, and some have plural and singulative affixes. It must also be said that, as in other Cushitic ges, plurals tend to be used only when number cannot be conveyed otherwise; ouns take their basic forms in association with numerals (but plural forms with thers" such as "all, many").

Number marking of nouns and adjectives in D has already been the subject of a te chapter in the monography by Zaborski on nominal number marking in c languages (Zaborski: 1986: 203-215). Zaborski does not try to associate basic al/singulative patterns, nor, it seems, is he conscious of the existence of basic distinct from number-marked ones: he just associates "singulars" (either ive-marked nouns or basic forms) and plurals.

II.1.2.2.1. Plural marking

As is common in Cushitic, there are a lot of different plural patterns; no single e for the assignment of a plural pattern can be established, as the selection of ral depends upon phonological, morphological and lexical factors, and ly involves a high degree of idiosyncrasy.

In addition to nouns without a plural, there are nouns that can have more than ral form, without change in meaning (and differences will be noted between nd previous authors' data). The use of specific plurals for different semantic an occasionally be noted, but never as an exclusive criterion. The absence of categorization of nouns implies, naturally, the absence of the "polarity" typical East Cushitic plural formations.

Plural marking can take the form of:

al reduplication
plication plus suffixation
ation alone
ge of final vowel
ge of tonal pattern (without change in segments)
ular formation

It is possible to distinguish, at least tentatively, between productive and d plural formations on the basis of the number of items associated with each n; and, also, of the plurals the informants tend to use or "create" for recent ds. It seems clear that the patterns d., e. (and, naturally, f.) are no longer ive: nouns pluralized by e./f. often have another plural by affixation or ation; obvious loanwords never build their plural by e./f., while many nouns al types e./f. are part of the basic vocabulary; the few "true" adjectives of D be identified by their almost exclusive plural marking by -i.

The following plural affixes reported by Zaborski (1986) are missing from our

uCe, -uCa, -utta, -atti, -uté, -to, -uka, -aiju, -aggi, -agge.

Instead of -uCa we have an item pluralized with -uCCa and one with -eCCo.

uls in -aCanne, in -'dde, and in -agááme were hitherto unrecorded.

II.1.2.2.1.1. Plural by reduplication (type a.)

This plural formation, which is fully productive, is often also used for recent loanwords from Sw. Nouns using this plural formation can end in any vowel; on the whole, reduplication seems to be used mostly with nouns of more than two syllables.

This type of plural formation is used for 75 items, accounting for 32.75 % of all plurals.

Reduplicated plurals involve the reduplication of the last consonant of the basic form, with dropping of the final vowel. Different sub-types are given by the consonant quantity (simple or geminate) and by the vowel quality.

Reduplication does not behave as an affix, as it does not involve the shifting back of the H tone (TR 3):

ʔútunu	"wound"	--->	ʔútunáni	"wounds"
ʔilíma	"tear"	--->	ʔílimámi	"tears"
ʔaare	"arrow-notch"	--->	ʔaarári	"arrow-notchs"
ʔáádi	"scar"	--->	ʔáádaddi	"scars" (HH ---> HL; TR 5)

This suggests that, while affixation takes place before surface tones are assigned, reduplication operates on surface forms. Thus, ʔaarári can surface as such, while *ʔilímámi is realized as ʔílimámi (LHH ---> HLH) and *ʔáádáddi as ʔáádaddi (TR 5). On the contrary, plural affixes always conform to TR 3, by which the H of the affix is shifted back (cf. *kiríma > kírima, from kiri plus the affix -íma).

In the following, the left-hand column reports the basic form of the nominals whose number-marked form (plural or singulative) is given in the right-hand column.

Simple consonant reduplication
(35 items; 15.28 % of all plurals, and 46.67 % of all plurals by reduplication)

a.1. -áCi plurals
(33 items; 14.41 % of all plurals, 44 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 94.29 % of the plurals by simple consonant reduplication)

ʔaare	"arrow-notch"	ʔaarári
ʔáfitete	"shadow (of an object)"	ʔáfitáti (SG?; no basic form recorded)
ʔilíma	"tear"	ʔílimámi
ʔirídi	"string of beads around the neck"	ʔíridádi
ʔírifa	"eyelash"	ʔírifáfi (and ʔírifamunte)
ʔútunu	"wound"	ʔútunáni
ʔúṭaaṭi (< NSw. uṭaṭi)	"ugali"	ʔúṭaaṭáṭi
d'áɦanite	"pestle"	d'áɦanitáti (SG?; cf. the verb d'aɦ- "to pound")
d'uuko	"deaf"	d'uukáki
dokóómi	"elephant"	dókoomámi
dóóro	"shoulder"	dóórari
duura	"bowels"	duurári

[illegible]	"elephant"	dókoomámi
	"shoulder"	dóórari
	"bowels"	duurári
[illegible]'e	"fire stick"	fád'ak'ák'i
	"piece of cloth"	góórari
	"bow"	ʔáálali (and ʔááluke)
[illegible] (< Sw. jirani)	"neighbor"	j'ííranáni
	"shoulder extremity"	jékelái
[illegible]e	"not poisoned arrow-head"	k'áreetáti
[illegible]o	"leg (lower part)"	kónkoolái
[illegible]	"black dress (of women)"	káánikáki
	"rope"	kámbaki (and kámbauke)
[illegible]	"testicle"	kámporári
[illegible]	"den"	kíbuurári
[illegible]	"turban"	kíe^bábi
[illegible]	"wrist"	kíivikáki
[illegible]oti	"quiver"	kíra^gatáti
[illegible]	"string of beads around the waist"	kísiirári
[illegible]	"paralytic"	kíṭevávi
[illegible]	"sheath"	lóóbabi
[illegible]alo	"leopard"	nímankaláli (and nímankaluuta)
[illegible]	"door"	t'úpapi
[illegible]ule	"hare"	tsú^gulái
[illegible]me (cf. Sw. mfalme)	"king"	mfállumámi

[illegible].2. -áCa plurals
[illegible] items; 0.68 % of all plurals, 2.67 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 5.71 % [illegible] plurals by simple consonant reduplication)

[illegible]ati	"freeman"	k'áávatáta
[illegible] (< Sw. rafiki)	"friend"	rááfikáka

[illegible] geminate consonant reduplication
[illegible]0 items; 17.47 % of all plurals, and 52.70 % of the plurals by reduplication)

[illegible].3 -áCCi plurals
[illegible]1 items; 13.60 % of all plurals, 41.33 % of the plurals by reduplication, and [illegible] of the plurals by geminate consonant reduplication)

[illegible]	"scar"	ʔáádaddi
	"elder brother"	ʔáájaiji (and ʔáájini)
[illegible]aani	"big not poisoned arrow-head"	b'áód'aanánni
[illegible]	"hole"	b'áókakki
[illegible] (< Sw. boma)	"fenced-in place"	b'áómammi

d'ɛ́ɛ́kʷaani	"man's shadow"	d'ɛ́ɛ́kʷaanánni
fílime	"comb"	fílimámmi
fúú^ba (< Sw. fumba)	"mat"	fúú^babbi
gát'a	"beard"	gát'at't'i (Zaborski (1986: 209) has gát'uka)
j'áá^bi	"mat"	j'áá^babbi
kíkoddzi	"hawk"	kíkoddzáddzi
kiṭá^ḍa (< Sw. kitanda)	"bed"	kíṭa^ḍáḍḍi
kípu^ju	"place where the maize is seasoned"	kípu^jájji
múganka	"dance"	múgankággi
múkibe	"widow"	múkibábbi
mútsunki	"waterpot"	mútsunkággi
nínka	"clitoris"	nínkaggi
rúpa^ga	"panga"	rúpa^gággi
sií^dano (< Sw. sindano)	"needle"	sií^danánni
túntumu	"fist"	túntumámmi
ṭámpo	"trap"	ṭámpabbi
tumpi	"horn"	tumpáppi
vááli (< Sw. vali)	"cooked rice"	váálalli
^/éénu	"python"	^/éénanni
^battsi	"fragment"	^battsáttsi
^déégi	"canine tooth"	^déégaggi
^dzóne	"spleen"	^dzónanni
^bíite	"bad; ugly"	^bíijajji

(the plural is probably derived from the theme *^biii-, upon which the feminine ^bíijattsa is also based)

msúúzo	"food stirring stick"	msúúzaddzi

(the foreign phoneme /z/ is geminated upon its assimilation to /dz/)

a.4. -áCCe plurals

7 items; 3.06 % of all plurals, 9.33 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 17.50 % of the plurals by geminate consonant reduplication)

/óóke	"nipple"	/óókakke
daba	"hand; paw"	dábabbe
hééri	"sheep"	héérarre
šóóka (< Sw. shoka)	"axe"	šookákke
^béne	"glans of the penis"	^benánne
^ḍáála	"bag"	^ḍaalálle
^dzáája	"jaw"	^dzaajájje

a.5. -éCCo plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, 1.33 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 2.50 % of the plurals by geminate consonant reduplication)

[illegible]	"tooth"	kálatétto (Elderkin (1974: 43) has kalátetto; Zaborski (1986: 208) kalatíito)

a.6. -úCCa plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, 1.33 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 2.50 % of plurals by geminate consonant reduplication)

[illegible]a	"heel"	táharúrra

II.1.2.2.1.2. Plural by reduplication and suffixation (type b.)

The plural pattern under this heading is made by simple consonant reduplication, to which a bilabial nasal marker is affixed; two plural markers of this type reported by Zaborski (1986: 206-207), namely -Cama and -Cemu, have not been encountered while we recorded the previously unknown -aCanne marker. The [illegible] plurals (see below, c.18) may correspond to Zaborski's -Cama.

As for simple reduplication, the H tone of the plural does not shift back one syllable.

Only two items using this type of plural marking have been discovered, accounting for 0.68 % of all plurals.

b.1. -áCanne plurals

(< Sw. kapu)	"basket"	kápapánne
	"lung"	ṭáfafánne

II.1.2.2.1.3. Plural by suffixation (type c.)

While vowel patterns show great variability, consonants used as plural markers are restricted to nasals, dental stops, velar stops, palato-alveolar affricates, and combinations of these. Apart from the affricates - which seem to be secondary developments and which are rarely used - all others are well known Cushitic and even Afroasiatic gender/number markers (but velars are restricted to a few languages; cf. Ehret 1986).

This is the most commonly used type of plural marking: 105 plurals by suffixation have been recorded, i.e., 45.85 % of all plurals; it is also used for unassimilated Sw. nouns.

Nasal affixes

Final vowel of the basic form is always dropped in affixes beginning with a nasal. The syllable before the affix takes H tone.

A nasal plural marker has been found with 43 items, accounting for 18.78 % of the plurals, and 40.95 % of the plurals by suffixation.

c.1. -éma plurals

(11 items; 4.81 % of all plurals, 10.48 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 25.58 % of plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

[illegible]	"big calabash"	b'áárema
	"baboon"	híbema (and hibe)

jáme	"warthog"	jámema
jara	"porcupine"	járema
radda	"feather; arrow-fletching"	ráddema
t'áʃa	"poison; poisoned arrow-head"	t'áʃema
t'eede	"elbow"	t'éédema (and t'éédudda)
t'óóʔo	"wildcat"	t'óóʔema
t'úúto	"antelope"	t'úútema
toˀgo (< NSw. tongo)	"blind"	tóˀgema
ˀḍúpa (cf. NSw. tʰupa)	"bottle"	ˀḍúpema

c.2. -íma plurals

(8 items; 3.49 % of all plurals, 7.62 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 18.60 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

b'áʔi	"lion"	b'áʔima
b'úb'wi	"dumb"	b'úb'wima
dabi	"animal"	dábima
kiri	"giraffe"	kírima
lanki	"bat"	lánkima
pááˀdi (< Sw. panzi)	"grasshopper"	pááˀdima
t'át'e	"small ant"	t'át'ima
tsúnke	"soldier ant"	tsúnkima

(Zaborski (1986: 212) reports for the two last items plurals with change of the final vowel to /i/).

c.3. -úma plurals

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, 1.90 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 4.65 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

paapó	"baby"	páápuma
pefu (NSw.)	"incense"	péfuma

c.4. -ˊme plurals

In this plural formation the affix is added to the noun without dropping the final vowel.

(2 items; see c.3. for the percentages)

ruuˀgu (< Sw. rungu)	"club, knobbed stick"	rúúˀgume
ˀbini	"cow tail"	ˀbínime

c.5. -úmu plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals; .95 % of the plurals by suffixation and 2.33 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

ʃálite	"knife"	ʃálitúmu

c.6. -(ó)ma plurals

c.6. -(ó)ma plurals

Some nouns ending in /o/ form their plural by adding this affix, sometimes also dropping the final vowel.

(5 items; 2.19 % of all plurals, 4.76 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 11.63 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

[illegible]	"carpus; malleolus"	gímpoma
[illegible]	"old (of persons)"	kíídzoma (Zaborski has kíídzoma, which seems to be an error; Elderkin (1974: 42) also has /oo/)
[illegible]	"bow-string"	háásooma
[illegible] (< Sw. leso)	"shawl"	léésooma

c.7. -ˊne plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, 0.95 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 2.33 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

[illegible]	"arm"	míggine

c.8. -ˊni plurals

Zaborski (1986: 211-212) was the first to record this marker, noting that "It is probable that only relationship terms have been found making plural forms with -ni (but note our last two items, below) ([1]).

(13 items; 5.68 % of all plurals, 12.38 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 30.23 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

[illegible]	"grandmother"	ʔáábani
[illegible]	"elder brother"	ʔáájini (and ʔáájajii)
[illegible]	"mother's brother"	ʔáámani
[illegible]	"father's sister"	ʔánnoni
[illegible]	"brother-in-law"	ʔáragoni
[illegible]gsa	"mother-in-law"	ʔéénumáseni
[illegible]'a	"father"	b'ááb'ani
[illegible]	"sister-in-law"	náátoni
[illegible]	"elder sister"	táátani
[illegible]	"fish"	ˀbálabéni
[illegible] (< Sw. nguvu)	"strong"	ˀgúúfuni

with change of the final vowel to /e/:

[illegible]	"wife"	ʔáraséni
[illegible]	"friend"	jááleséni

Dental affixes

11 items have been found using a nasal element as their plural marker, accounting for 19.21 % of all plurals, and 41.90 % of the plurals by suffixation.

c.9. -uuta plurals

The syllable before the affix takes high tone.

(13 items, accounting for 5.68 % of all plurals, 12.38 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 29.55 % of the plurals by suffixation of a dental element)

ʔaamína	"small"	ʔáámamuuta (irregular!)
b'áb'aʔaane	"topi"	b'áb'aʔaanuuta
d'iibe	"buttock"	d'íibuuta
gák'ane	"chin"	gák'anuuta
há ⁿg ʷara ⁿg ʷára	"centipede"	há ⁿg ʷara ⁿg ʷáruuta
hómoome	"frog"	hómoomuuta (Zaborski (1985: 207) has húmuúta, but suggests *húmumúúta)
ʃani	"head"	ʃánuuta
já?awo	"jackal"	já?awuuta
nímankalo	"leopard"	nímankaluuta (and nímankalálì)
nú ⁿgunú ⁿgu (< Sw. nyungunyungu)	"worm"	nú ⁿgunú ⁿguuta
rágama	"grave"	rágamuuta
wáraaba	"hyena"	wáraabuuta
ⁿgíkine	"eyebrow"	ⁿgíkinuuta

c.10. -ádi plurals

Many words for which we got this plural affix had been collected by others with different plurals. Final vowel of the basic form is dropped. The syllable preceding the last consonant before the affix has H tone.

(12 items, accounting for 5.24 % of all plurals, 11.43 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 27.27 % of the plurals by suffixation of a dental element))

ʔáádi	"scar"	ʔáádaddi
ʔunt'a	"branch"	ʔúnt'addi
b'úúba	"chest"	b'úúbaddi
ʃééna	"tongue"	ʃéénaddi
k'ok'o	"throat"	k'ók'addi
k'úúba	"cheek"	k'úúbaddi
kénṭe	"bag to be carried on the head"	kénṭaddi
k'óbe (< Sw. kobe ?)	"tortoise"	k'óbaddi
lée	"street, path"	léaddi
ⁿgoma (< Sw. ngoma)	"drum"	ⁿgómaddi
sína	"nose"	sínaddi
ⁿḍóḍi	"thumb"	ⁿḍóḍaddi

c.11. -udda plurals

(12 items; see c.9 for the percentages)

ʔáfo	"mouth"	ʔáfudda
b'ággama	"belly"	b'ákamudda (note the /gg/ ~ /k/ alternation)
č'aa ⁿda	"finger"	č'áá ⁿdudda (Zaborski has čáá ⁿduka)

[illegible]eero	"neck"	d'ááʃoorudda
[illegible]me	"bee"	d'íimudda
[illegible]e	"armpit"	ɦábudda
[illegible]	"calabash"	kíbudda
[illegible]o	"hippo"	páɦudda
[illegible]ele	"elbow"	t'éédudda (and t'éédema)
[illegible]áʃa	"river; lake"	tl'ááʃudda
[illegible]la	"nail; claw"	tsóóludda (and tsóóle, reported also by Zaborski (1986: 214))
[illegible]ne	"breast"	ɮóónudda (and ɮoonu, as Elderkin (1974:35))

c.12. - ´dde plurals

The final vowel of the singular form does not drop in the plural. Note the use of affix with unassimilated Swahili loans.

(7 items; 3.06 % of all plurals, 6.67 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 15.91 % of plurals by suffixation of a dental element)

[illegible]ʃa	"foot"	dakáʃadde
[illegible] (Sw.)	"mortar"	kínudde
[illegible]ma (Sw.)	"well (n.)"	kísimadde
[illegible]o	"heart"	múnadde
[illegible]	"nose"	sínadde
[illegible]ria (Sw.)	"saucepan"	sufuriadde
[illegible]lo	"wrist"	ⁿgáladde

Velar affixes

Only 8 items have been found using a velar element as their plural marker, counting for 3.49 % of all plurals, and 7.62 % of all plurals by suffixation.

c.13. -uuke plurals

(5 items; 2.18 % of all plurals, 4.76 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 62.50 % of plurals by suffixation of a velar element)

[illegible]ta	"bow"	ʃááluuke (and ʃáálaì)
[illegible]áta	"wild animal; enemy"	dzaaʔátuuke
[illegible]a	"rope"	ká ⁿbauuke (and ká ⁿbakì; note the final vowel of the singular form is not dropped in this Swahili loan)
[illegible]lila	"hawk"	tsílalluuke
[illegible]ha	"spear"	wáraɦuuke

c.14. -eka plurals

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, 1.90 % of the plurals by suffixation of a velar element)

[illegible]'u	"wall"	fíit'eka
[illegible]a	"farm, shamba"	múnṭeka

c.15. -eki plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, 0.95 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 12.50 % of the plurals by suffixation of a velar element)

gunia (Sw.)	"sack"	gúnieki

Affricate affixes

Only 3 items have been found using a velar element as plural marker, accounting for 1.31 % of all plurals, and 2.86 % of all plurals by suffixation.

c.16. -´ajju plurals

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, 1.90 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 66.67 % of the plurals by suffixation of an affricate element)

b'eeʕa	"buffalo"	b'ééʕajju (and b'ééʕamunte)
gave	"snake"	gávajju

c.17. -´je plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, 0.95 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 33.33 % of the plurals by suffixation of an affricate element)

d'au	"pot"	d'áuje

c.18. "composed" affix -munte

We call this affix "composed" since it is the only bisyllabic and contains both the nasal and the dental elements; only 5 cases have been recorded (fewer than by Zaborski), accounting for 2.18 % of all plurals, and 4.76 % of the plurals by suffixation; the variant -mutte has not been encountered.

ʔírifa	"eyelash"	ʔirífamunte (and ʔírifáfi)
b'eeʕa	"buffalo"	b'ééʕamunte
kʷ'ánaʔa	"scorpion"	kʷ'ánaʔamunte
mákko	"liver"	mákkamunte
tóóyoyo	"butterfly"	tóóyoyamunte

c.19. -agááme plurals

Since the two items (0.68 % of all plurals, and 1.90 % of the plurals by suffixation) found to use this plural suffix have as last consonant /k/ and /k'/, respectively, this suffix could also be seen as an instance of reduplication plus suffix (type b. above), with gradation of the stem consonant to voiced stop. In this case, a good parallel could be found in the -Cama plurals reported by Zaborski (1986: 206), but such a consonant gradation would be isolated in the grammar of D.

b'onko (< NSw. bongo)	"brain"	bónkagááme
lúk'a (< Som. lug ?)	"leg (upper part)"	lúk'agááme

II.1.2.2.1.4. Plural by change of the final vowel (type d.)

Elderkin (1974) and Zaborski (1985) agree on describing the change of final [illegible] as vowel alternation, and not as the suffixation of a vocalic morpheme of plural [illegible]em, which would involve some kind of vowel deletion.

38 items have been found with this type of plural formation, i.e., 16.59 % of all [illegible]

d.1. -a ---> -e

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, and 2.63 % of the plurals by vowel change)

[illegible]	"girl"	deele

[illegible]ski (1985: 214) has déélu - without tone shift; our data are in agreement with [illegible] of Elderkin (1974: 35).

d.2. -a ---> -o

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

[illegible]sa	"child"	gʷittso
[illegible]a	"woman"	nat'o

d.3. -a ---> -i

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

[illegible]úma	"sick"	ruk'úmi
[illegible]ema	"soft"	t'ééʕemi

d.4. -e ---> -á

(7 items; 3.06 % of all plurals, and 18.42 % of the plurals by vowel change)

[illegible]'e	"doum palm"	ʔávak'a
[illegible]be	"vervet"	golóba
[illegible]be	"bird"	ħíddiba
[illegible]	"fibre"	kónka
[illegible]he	"ember"	t'ilíħa
[illegible]uʕe	"moth"	/úbubúʕa
[illegible]líʕe	"star"	/íʔgilíʕa

The tone pattern of golóba and /úbubúʕa suggests that -a is inherently H-[illegible] (H shifting onto the preceding syllable). In the other nominals, the H of the [illegible]es not surface, as the nominal is already H-toned.

d.5. -e ---> -i

This pattern of vowel change is the most common, being used for many [illegible]ives.

(12 items; 5.24 % of all plurals, and 31.58 % of the plurals by vowel change)

[illegible]laale	"hunter"	gúbaalaali (a de-nominal adjective; cf. II.1.3.1.)
[illegible]	"old (of persons)"	gúrumi
[illegible]	"thorn"	ʕéémi
[illegible]	"egg-shell"	k'awi

łákane	"sharp"	łákani
dlááłune	"slim"	dlááłuni
mánaʕe	"new-born baby"	mánaʕi
rúúmate	"tall; deep"	ruumáti
t'ílale	"witch"	t'ílali
ts'íraraʔe	"red"	ts'íraraʔi
ţúme	"bush"	ţúmi
mpókome	"Pokomo"	mpókomi

d.6. -e ---> -o

This pattern is absent from Elderkin's corpus (substituted by -e ---> -u).
(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

náʕeete	"dog"	náʕeeto
víne	"good; beautiful"	vino

d.7. -e ---> -u

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

kábaʔe	"baobab"	kábaʔu
/óóne	"breast"	/oonu (and /óónudda)

d.8. -o ---> -á

(3 items; 1.31 % of all plurals, and 7.89 % of the plurals by vowel change)

gaano	"grown-up person"	gáána
ħaad'o	"arrow"	ħáád'a
miło	"body"	míła

d.9. -o ---> -é

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

k'oro	"tree"	k'óre "woods"
tsoolo	"nail; claw"	tsóóle (and tsóóludda)

d. 10. -o ---> -i

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

ʔágaddzo	"ear"	ʔágaddzi
b'ággo	"dress"	b'ággi

d.11. -o ---> -ú

(3 items; 1.31 % of all plurals, and 7.89 % of the plurals by vowel change)

jaago	"cow"	jáágu
ˆgúúko	"chicken"	ˆgúúku
ˆḍuugo	"kinsman"	ˆḍúúgu

The following alternations reported by Zaborski are missing from our data:

-a ---> -u, -u ---> -i, -i ---> -o.

.: 10 alternations are the same reported by Elderkin, with just the addition of
-> -o , whose absence Elderkin considered "accidental" (Elderkin: 1974: 34) and
a ---> -i.

It may be observed that the high vowels /i, u/ , when involved in these ernations, occur only in the plural, while mid and low vowels occur both in singulars d plurals.

II.1.2.2.1.5. Plural by change of tonal pattern (type e.)

While Zaborski recorded eight cases, we recorded the same two bisyllables ported by Elderkin (1974: 39), which change their H tone of the basic form into an L

ho	"person"	guħo
he	"baboon"	hibe

is the three trisyllables:

ikima	"dull"	siikíma
ogohi	"egg"	ʕogóhi (Elderkin (1974: 35) has singular ʕógohe)
ntáʕe	"cicada"	/untaʕe

ally 5 items, accounting for 2.18 % of all plurals)

II.1.2.2.1.6. Irregular plurals

Four cases (1.75 % of all plurals) of irregular plurals have been recorded; to the owing three already recorded by Zaborski and Elderkin:

mini	"house"	míddzi

borski (1986: 215) suggests that the final nasal of the basic form drops
n-dzi ?); but the dental affricate remains unexplained)

ħááio	"man; person"	ħáʕi
ʔila	"eye"	ʔílla

add:

gilli	"knee"	gíllibe

One could interpret this as a (unmotivated) shift of a nasal stop (gíllime is ported by Zaborski (1986: 210)) to an oral stop; it seems more likely that D has kept the plural the triconsonantal shape of the Cushitic root for "knee" (PEC *gilb-gulb- (Sasse: 1982: 81)), losing /b/ only in the singular. The form recorded by borski is therefore secondary. This is a strong case against the putative PSC duction of many triconsonantal roots to biconsonantal.

II.1.2.2.2. Singulative marking

Formally simpler than plural marking, the singulative makes use of suffixes only; exponents are partly the same Afro-Asiatic markers we have already seen for al: nasals and dental stops (velars are not used). Zaborski (1986: 204) and Elderkin

(1974: 42) mention an affricate singulative: ˀ/óʔoje "frond of palm", basic form ˀ/óʔo; we have not recorded the singulative of this noun.

Notwithstanding the use of the same consonants as markers, no confusion is possible between singulative and plural affixes: the final vowel in singulatives (except in ethnic names, see below) is always /e/; plural has bilabial nasal affixes, singulative only a dental nasal affix (we have not recorded the singulatives in -me of Zaborski).

1. -´ne singulatives

Elderkin (1974: 41) notes that "there is a tendency for Sg -ne to be associated with the idea of longness and thinness".

ʔáára	"white hair"	ʔáárane
ʔítta	"louse"	ʔíttone
ʔúmuˀgu	"beetle of the maize"	ʔúmuˀgune
gínaaˀda	"pubic hair"	gínaaˀdáne
ʕínta	"housefly"	ʕíntone
ɬaabu	"leaf"	ɬáábune
t'átta	"hair"	t'áttane
táámi	"grass"	táámine "blade of g."

2. -(é)éte singulatives

The fact that it is used with recent unassimilated Sw. loans suggests that it is a productive singulative marker. We could not find any rule governing the choice between /é/ and /éé/ of the affix.

b'óóra	"boy"	b'óóreete
gúbaga	"young people"	gúbagééte
kónṭa	"dry fish"	kónṭete
mággoˀba	"banana (plant)"	mággoˀbééte
máve (<Sw. mawe)	"stone"	mávete
mazu (Sw.)	"banana (fruit)"	má[z]ute

(the final vowel of this unassimilated loan is preserved and /éé/ of the suffix is dropped)

mísikita	"cut meat"	míísikíteete "portion of meat"
sóóʔe	"song"	sooʔómeete

(sóóʔe is the infinitive of sooʔ- "to sing"; a noun *sóóʔome from which the singulative sooʔómeete seems to be derived has not been recorded)

/úʕe	"brown ant"	/úʕite

(the change of final /e/ to /i/ remains unexplained)

3. "ethnic names" singulatives

As noted by Ehret (1980: 54), a -to suffix is used for deriving singulatives from "ethnic" names, i.e., names used to refer to whole peoples, and therefore collective in their basic form. These names display in any case great variability in the form of the singulative suffix they use: besides -to, -ééte and -ti have been found. As in adjectives, two forms, one for males and the other for females, are derived.

llective		masculine	feminine
...idi	"Somali"	ʔíjideto	ʔíjidittsi
...ɡoḍa	"Boni"	ʔógoḍééte	ʔógoḍééttsi
...áko	"Dako"	d'ákoto	d'ákottsi
...ahááło	"Dahalo"	d'aháálоto	d'aháálottsi
...uɲa	"Bajuun"	gúúɲeto	gúúɲettsi
...ijiedi	"Oromo"	kárijedito	kárijedittsi
...dza	"Swahili"	kúúdzeti	kúújittsa
...ika	"Giriama"	váɲiketo	váɲikettsi

but:

...komi	"Pokomo"	mpókome	mpókomettsi

It seems possible to create a true plural from the basic form; we recorded:

d'ákotaɲi "Dako men/women"

The -´Vttsa suffix is freely used for deriving other feminines from nouns of ...ng beings: apart from nát'ettsa "female" (used also for "woman", but more ...en for specifying the female sex of an animal), we recorded jámettsa "female ...thog". In any case, a P form originating out of the F is excluded.

II.1.2.2.3. Invariable nouns

Apart from such mass-nouns as maʔa "water" or wongo "earth", which do not ...play number-variability, we include in this category such words as monno "much, ...", gírigíri "quickly", méˀ/ate "slowly", and some others, which behave ...tactically as nouns (unlike particles, they cannot enter in the verbal phrase nor in ... particle complex, see II.2.1. and II.3.1.), and morphologically show the same shape ...d pattern of formation of "true" nouns (in particular, méˀ/ate is perhaps an old ...gulative).

II.1.3. Adjectives

Adjectives have M, F and P forms.

As in other Cushitic languages, adjectives in D play only a marginal role; they ...ction as a subset of nouns having the peculiarity of gender-sensitivity, but one can ...e that the F ending of adjectives, -VttsV, appears in nouns too, when the ...ning allows couples of M and F nouns (cf. the "ethnic names").

The only pluralization device possible with adjectives is the change of the final ...el. Especially frequent is the ending -e for MS, with the change -e ---> -i in the ...al (cf. II.1.2.2.1.4., d.5).

Adjectives borrowed from Sw. are invariable, or the Sw. plural class may be ...d, as in the following sentence:

ʔaddókʷa mambo ʔákkale mapya
day-this-M things all new-P
"everything is new today"

in which mapya is the Sw. plural of mpya "new", and is in agreement with the Sw. word mambo "things, affairs".

II.1.3.1. De-nominal adjectives

A few cases of de-nominal adjectives with the meaning "having X" have been recorded.

From a noun like g^{w}íttsa "child" it is possible to derive:

g^{w}íttsattse	"having child (M)"
g^{w}íttsattsíttse	" " " (F)"
g^{w}íttsattsi	" " " (P)"

(from *g^{w}íttsaattse, etc., with application of Vowel Contraction (PR 5)).

After some hesitation, the informant produced a similar (irregular) form after an unassimilated Swahili word:

gilasi "glass" (< English glass) ---> gilasattsíttse "having glass (F)"

Elderkin (1974: 46) recorded other instances of derivation of adjectives from nouns, all with the meaning "having X".

In some cases, the meaning of such a derivative adjective seems to have been lexicalized:

gubaalid-"to hunt" ---> gúbaalaale "hunter", P: gúbaalaali

b'ágama "belly" ---> b'ágamaamíttse "pregnant" ("having belly")

II.1.4. Numerals

D numerals have been recorded up to "5" only; from "6" onwards the Sw. numerals are used.

The numerals are invariable, except for "1", which has a F form.

one: vattúk^{w}e (M), vatték^{w}e (F)

two: lííma

three: k'aba

four: saʃála

five: dáwatte

In some cases, M vattúk^{w}e has also been used for F: nát'ettsa vattúk^{w}e "one woman" (cf. II.1.2.1. on the decay of the category of gender in D).

Actually, Sw. numerals are often used also for "1" to "5", as in the following casual sentence:

2) ɦáʃi saʃála ʔamma tanu rattsi gudde
men 4 or 5 walk-C1-3P bush
"Four or five men went into the bush"

in which Sw. tano "5" has been used instead of D dáwatte, even in the presence of the D numeral for "4".

II.1.5. Pronouns

II.1.5.1. Personal pronouns

There are two series of personal pronouns, independent and bound. Some persons have a special reduced form of the independent pronouns when a postposition is affixed to them.

	Independent pronoun	Reduced form	Bound pronoun
1S	ʔáɲi	ʔan-	-ʔi
2S	ʔááta		-ku (M)
			-ki (F)
3SM	ʔúdu	ʔu- *	-du
3SF	ʔídi	ʔi- *	-di
1P	ɲáɲi	ɲan-	-ni
2P	ʔatta		-kunná (M)
			-kinná (F)
3P	ʔummámu		-ʔiɲá

* plus gemination of the following consonant.

Elderkin (1974: 47) proposes as underlying forms for 3 *ʔud, *ʔid; from *ʔud and *mámu would be derived 3P ʔummámu; as the assimilation of dentals is found among the processes of D, Elderkin's proposal also explains the reduced forms and the gemination of the following consonant.

The H tone on final /a/ of -kunná, -kinná, and -ʔiɲá is shifted back by PR 3

II.1.5.1.1. Independent personal pronouns

These may be used in any syntactic role, but only as subjects of nominal sentences are they compulsory: subjects of verbal sentences can be syntactically absent, as the verb is normally inflected for the person of the subject, and the pronoun may be added for emphasis or clarity. For the same reason, independent personal pronouns are sometimes added with the same referent as bound pronouns in various syntactic roles (object and adpositional phrases, etc.), and may take their reduced form. This occurs most frequently with kúsi "self" and the accusative marker kabe, which is optionally used with the independent pronouns to enforce bound pronouns functioning as object.

Reflexive pronouns are constructed with the affix -máni "self".

Examples of the use of the bound forms are seen in the following sentences:

ʔán+kusi ʔílla páta
I+too eyes get-C2-1S
"I too have got my eyes (back)" (from text No. 3: the speaker was pretending to be blind, and now he says that he can see again)

4) ʔáɲi+na ʔukʷatta háʕa ʔú+kabe ɣaħe+ʔ[e]
I+PERF here come-C2-1S he+ACC see-I+ALL
"I came here in order to see him"

II.1.5.1.2. Bound personal pronouns

These are affixed to various elements, both before and after the verb.

As may be seen from the preceding chart, 2S forms distinguish M and F affixes. This may well be a new formation (based on the similar 3S forms), rather than a preservation of an Afroasiatic "rare archaism", as Hetzron believes (1980: 71).

3 forms are always facultative, a transitive verb without expressed object implying a 3 one (cf. the same situation in various Eastern Cushitic languages):

4) ʔáɲi te ʔélejo
I AFF know-A-1S
"I know him/her"

or:

4') ʔáɲi te ʔélejo ʔú+kabe
I AFF know-A-1S he+ACC

Bound pronouns can have both H and L tone. They have L tone when direct objects, and H tone for oblique/benefactive (cf. Elderkin: 1974: 30 and 1976: 293). Examples are given in the relevant paragraphs of the syntax (cf. III.2.2.-3.).

According to Elderkin (1974:93), -du and -di are subject to a "devoicing rule", whereby their /d/ changes to /t/ after /n/ of 2P and 3P verbal forms. Our data do not give examples of such a devoicing.

II.1.5.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns show variability according to both the possessor and the possessed entity; they can be analyzed as composed of a possessive affix and of a final vowel which reflects the gender/number of the possessed element (masculine and plural versus feminine).

Possessive pronouns can occur as independent words (following the noun they refer to) or as suffixes; when independent, they prefix the empty morph ʔa- (cf. the PCM in the verbal phrase). Exceptions are: the 1S possessive, which, being vowel-initial, does not need this ʔa-, and occurs mostly as an independent word; and the 3P form, which can occur only as an affix.

		masculine and plural forms	feminine forms
1S	"my"	ʔitts+i	ʔitts+a
2SM	"your (SM)"	-kuʔ+u	-kuʔ+a
2SF	"your (SF)"	-kiʔ+i	-kiʔ+a
3SM	"his"	-suʔ+u	-suʔ+a
3SF	"her"	-siʔ+i	-siʔ+a
1P	"our"	-ɲiʔ+i	-ɲiʔ+a
2P	"your (P)"	-kunuʔ+u	-kunuʔ+a
3P	"their"	-mámuʔusuʔ+u	-mámuʔusuʔ+a
		~ -ʔiɲiʔ+i	~ -ʔiɲiʔ+a

It is evident that the vowel which shows the gender of the possessed element merely copies the last vowel of the possessive for masculine/plural forms (/i/ or /u/), while feminine forms are constantly marked by /a/.

To the possessives, provided with the gender-vowel, other elements can be affixed, such as the deictics:

nat'a+suʔ+a "his woman"
nat'á+suʔ+á+t[o] "that woman of his"

3P possessive pronouns -ʔiɲiʔ- (the forms reported by Elderkin (1976: 293)), which parallel the bound pronoun -ʔiɲá, are less often used than mámuʔusuʔ-.

II.1.5.3. Deictic pronouns

Deixis in D distinguishes two grades: NEAR (:proximity to the speaker) and FAR (:remoteness from the speaker) deixis.

Like the possessive pronouns, deictics can occur as independent words or as suffixes. When independent, they are preceded by ʔu- (for masculine and plural deictics) or ʔi- (feminine deictics).

	masculine	feminine	plural
NEAR ("this")	(ʔu)kʷa	(ʔi)ta	(ʔu)kʷammámu
FAR ("that")	(ʔú)ku	(ʔí)tu	(ʔú)kummámu

Masculine markers are {k} and the initial vowel {u}; feminine markers are {t} and the initial vowel {i}.

The near deixis marker is {a}, the far deixis marker is {u}. Plural deictics are clearly made up of masculine forms plus the pluralizing element -(m)mamu.

From these are formed the adverbs ʔukʷatta "here" and ʔukotta "there" (with movement and state), probably derived from ʔukʷa and ʔúku and the LOC adposition -da (and also used as postpositions meaning "in(side)", cf. II.3.4.2.4.). Cf. also the adverb of time ʔukʷatti "now".

At the end of a noun phrase, only two deictics occur: -kú for masculine and plural nouns, -tú for feminine nouns, mainly realized as -k[ó], -t[ó] because of VOWEL LOWERING (cf. I.1.3.6.); the H tone shifts back according to TR 2 (cf. I.2.2.3.).

Their presence seems to be compulsory in relative clauses, but they frequently occur in genitival constructions, too; more rarely in the other types of noun phrases (see III.1. for examples). This suggests that the NEAR deictics are marked, unlike the FAR deictics which are unmarked.

In the form without an initial vowel, the deictics enter the particle complex.

II.1.5.4. Indefinite and interrogative pronouns

WH-Words for "who?" and "what?", used both as interrogatives in main sentences and as indefinite heads of subordinate sentences, can have the gender-markers -tu (M), -ttsi (F), -mamu (P) suffixed:

jíko "who?"
(perhaps derived from -íí "allative marker" (cf. II.3.3.2.) and ʔúku "that"):

5) ɦáája ʔúku ʔíni jíkotu
man that FOC who-M
"who is that man?"

6) mááka ʔúúno kali jíkotu g^{w}íttsa ʔúk[o]
what do-A-1P harsh who-M little that
"what shall I do to that little one?"

7) dééla ʔítu ʔíni jíkottsi
girl that-F FOC who-F
"who is that girl?"

mááka "what?":

8) ʔuk^{w}a ʔíni máákatu
this FOC what-M
"what is this?"

kééke "where?" (movement):

9) yááyo ʔááta kééke rátto
mother you where walk-A-2S
"mother, where are you going?"

kééda "where?" (state):

10) kééda láva+kí+k[o]
where home+you(SF)+that
"where is your home?"

(but the distinction between "where?" of movement and of state is not strictly observed; cf. III.2.4.1.).

méék'a "how many?":

11) g^{w}ittso méék'a tl'ááto
children how-many have-A-2S
"how many children do you have?"

With mááka and the postpositions, other interrogative words are built:

12) mááka+ani ʔípa ɦút'uto
what+GEN them follow-A-2S
"why are you following them?"

13) mááka+dá+na roʔáto
what+LOC+PERF go-C1-3F
"where has she gone?"

14) mááka+b'ara+va ɦáʃati ʔamu
what+before+PAST come-C1-2S L.
"when did you come to Lamu?"

For "why?" often the Sw. loan "bona (more rarely kwani) is used:

15) "bona hoodi b'á+ku+na paɦe
why hoodi NEG+you+PERF beat-I
"why haven't you asked 'may I come in?'"

II.2. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

II.2.1. Preliminaries

There is no doubt that verbal morphology is the most interesting and most difficult area of D grammar. The categories for which D verbs inflect are quite familar, and even most of their exponents are typical Cushitic; another tract of the verb phrase which D shares with a lot of Eastern and Southern Cushitic languages is the quasi-obligatory presence of a number of particles, among which the selectors stand out (see II.3.2.); we shall call "verbal phrase" the syntactic complex constituted by:

- one or more particles;
- the verbal form.

While the verbal form is obligatory, the particle(s) can be missing, be clustered together in the "particle complex", be suffixed to the verb or to a preceding nominal, or even be partly preposed to the verb and partly suffixed.

The verbal form is made up of a stem and an affix. This in turn can be made up of a subject marker and a paradigmatic vowel.

The tonal pattern often distinguishes among verbal forms which are segmentally homophonous.

From a semantic point of view, the following categories find expression in the verbal form:
1. person of the subject: 1 (speaker), 2 (addressed), 3 (other entity(ies)). This finds expression in the subject marker.
2. number of the subject: S(ingular), P(lural). Number is expressed in the subject marker, but P may also involve the use of a different stem and in this case the corresponding singular subject markers are used (for 3P the 3M form is used); 3P can also be expressed by the reduplication of the stem, and in this case too the corresponding 3M ending is used.
A 2S can be addressed with a 2P form "if a relationship of respect is involved" (Elderkin: 1976: 294).
3. gender of the subject (in 3S only): M(asculine), F(eminine); expressed in the subject marker.
4. tense: Past/Non-past, expressed through various paradigmatic vowels, tonal patterns and selectors.
5. aspect: Perfective/Imperfective (neutralized in the Non-past), expressed through modifications of the stem; finer tense/aspect distinctions are supplied by the selectors.
6. diathesis: affirmative, negative. This is expressed through various selectors and/or various subject markers and paradigmatic vowels.
7. mood: General (indicative), Habitual, Subjunctive, Imperative, Iussive, Infinitive. Expressed through the selectors, and various paradigmatic vowels and endings.

Formally, both syncretism of some categories in a single morph and expression of the same category in different morphs occur.

Stems never occur as words, i.e., D verbal forms are never monomorphemic (with the exceptions of stem-truncating verbs; see below); moreover, given the suffixal nature of D morphology, the stem is always the first morph of the verbal form.

This applies as far as inflectional morphology is concerned; derivation affects the stems, which can thus be primitive or derivate. But to draw a line between inflection and derivation is hardly possible, since the latter involves categories, such as the person/number of the subject of the verb, which are traditionally dealt with in inflectional morphology. The problem will be tackled in the discussion of the stem extensions.

II.2.2. Derivational morphology of verbs

Stems can be simple or augmented through stem extensions (SEs). Since these same extensions can change the conjugational class of the verb, the problem arises as to whether we are dealing here with derivational or inflectional morphology. We shall treat all stem extensions in this section, but to draw a clear-cut line seems difficult.

Stems always end in one and only one consonant.

Since stems are not words, and since they come under the effect of several PRs and/or MPRs, another problem is to know which form of the stem has to be considered basic. We follow Elderkin (1974) in taking as stem (and citation form) the 1S, deprived of subject marker, paradigmatic vowel, and tone.

II.2.2.1. Simple stems

Simple stems most frequently occur in the shape CV(V)C; less frequently also CV(V)CVC occurs. Longer stems are almost always extended, either through

productive or fossilized stem extensions. The borrowed verbs are generally extended,
[illegible].

II.2.2.1.1. Plural stems

A few verbs use a different stem in the plural; the recorded ones are:

"to run": S stem: k"aʃ-; P stem: kit-

"to sleep": S stem: b'om-; P stem: giit-

For 3P subjects, plurality - already signalized in the stem - is no longer expressed in the subject marker, and the 3M ending is used:

kiti "they run"

Other verbs accept only plural subjects, such as ieem- "to live, inhabit".

II.2.2.2. Stem extensions

Both productive and fossilized SEs occur in D: the only fully productive SEs are the Transitivizer/Causative, the Passive and the Frequentative/Plural (which can be realized in three different ways). The most widely used markers of stem extensions are the dentals {d} and {t} (subject to the idyosincracies discussed in II.2.3.5.2.2.); {m} is also used, and, more rarely and never alone, the velar {k}. It seems that the Cushitic causative marker {s} has become {d} through a regular sound shift.

II.2.2.2.1. Stem extensions in {d}

II.2.2.2.1.1. Transitivizer/Causative

An extension whose basic exponent is {d} is used with the general function of adding a syntactic "place" to the base it is suffixed to.

This stem extension corresponds to the D reflex of the general EC causative in {s}; as a matter of fact, with transitive verbs, D uses this marker as a causative and the same marker can also make a transitive out of an intransitive verb. Thus, it has assumed in D the general value of "place-adder": it makes transitives out of intransitives/reflexives (from 1 to 2 places), and causatives out of transitives (from 2 to 3 places).

Many simple stems have been lost (or simply have not been recorded yet), and the {d}-extended verb has no counterpart it can be derived from; there are many examples, but some of them may just be simple stems ending in -d:

ʃubad- "to investigate"

ɬokkod- "to remember"

'gaasid- "to explain"

In other cases, verbs ending in -id and -it seem to have a denominal origin (but often the original noun has not been recorded):

gammiit- "to think"

milaak'it- "to dream" (cf. milaak'ani "dream")

Nevertheless, the "place-adding" function is demonstrated in a high number of cases:

a) from intransitive to transitive (1 ---> 2 places):

The suffix here is -Vd, but the dental affix can also be reduplicated, as in the causatives (see below), assuming the form -Vdid; V copies the last vowel of the simple stem. The basic stem can also have a reflexive value.

/aʔ-	"to be puzzled"	/aʔad-	"to puzzle, astonish"
ʔot'-	"to enter"	ʔot'od-	"to make enter"
dir-	"to pass"	dirid-	"to make pass"
dzaaʔ-	"to die"	dzeeʔed-	"to kill" (in one case we have recorded dzaaʔad-)
ɬiin-	"to get well"	ɬiinid-	"to cure"
vatl'-	"to return (intr.)"	vatl'id-	"to return (tr.)"
gʷaħ-	"to stay"	gʷaħadid-	"to make stay"
i'eer-	"to be shy"	i'eeredid-	"to make shy"
laaʃ-	"to hide oneself"	laaʃat-	"to hide"

b) from transitive to causative (2---> 3 places):

In this function the reduplication of {d} seems to be the normal and productive case (that with simple {d} being relegated to a few instances):

ʃag-	"to eat"	ʃaadid-	"to feed"
ʃaˀ/-	"to lick"	ʃaˀ/adid-	"to make lick"
vaħ-	"to see"	vaħid-	"to show"

This recalls the double causatives of many Eastern Cushitic languages, where the SF assumes the form -sîs, -isîs, etc. (Hayward: 1984 bis: 79 foll.).

II.2.2.2.1.2. Frequentative {d} ~ {t}

Always preceded by -i, {d} and, more rarely, {t}, have a frequentative meaning ("to do X many times"), and the resulting verbs are always imperfective (the frequentative meaning often being superseded by the change of conjugational class).

In the following couples of verbs, the first is perfective, the second is imperfective and frequentative in meaning.

mantaħ-	"to vomit"	mantaħid-	"to vomit repeatedly"
mukk'ur-	"to bind"	mukk'urid-	"to bind repeatedly"
mukkanad-	"to take by force"	mukkaanadid-	"to take by force repeatedly"
mut'uʃud-	"to pull down the foreskin"	mut'uʃudid-	"to pull down the foreskin many times"
reeb- (< Som. reeb)	"to stop, prevent"	reebid-	"to stop repeatedly"

Sometimes the suffix is repeated (as for the causatives) and takes the form -adid:

nik'id-	"to wink at s.o."	nik'idadid-	"to wink at s.o.repeatedly"

In a few cases this suffix has a resultative meaning:

daba paħ-	"to clap hands"	daba paħad-	"to clap hands in time (to music)"
p'uʃ-	"to prick"	p'uʃud-	"to pierce" (i.e., to prick until a hole results)
mat'-	"to wake up"	mat'at-	"to be awake"

In other cases the semantic relation between the simple and the extended stem is not clear (if it exists at all):

jaar-	"to become old"	jaarid-	"to convince"

In a few cases the suffix in {d} carries a reflexive/medial meaning (as with similar suffixes in East Cushitic languages):

paaħ-	"to wash"	paaħat-	"to bathe"
gub-	"to burn"	gubit-	"to burn oneself"

We think that, in this last case, at least, we are dealing with a Som. loan: the extended stem could also have been borrowed from Som. reflexive-middle (third conjugation) gubo (2).

II.2.2.2.1.3. {d} in vowel-final stems

D stems are always consonant-final; however, all Sw. loans, many of which are verbs, are always vowel-final. In order to provide a suitable basis to which exponents can be affixed, a {d} is suffixed to the borrowed stem. It can be affixed directly, especially when the loan ends in /a/:

andad-	(< Sw. -anda)	"to begin"
isad-	(< Sw. -isha)	"to finish"
ʃikad-	(< NSw. -ǰika)	"to bury"
aminid-	(< Sw. -amini)	"to believe"

When the loan ends in a vowel other than /a/, the inserted segment is often -ad:

akiʔad-	(< Sw. -baki)	"to remain"
tukiʔad-	(< Sw. -tuki)	"to hate"

-ʔad can also be added to /a/-ending loans:

aʔad-	(and patad-, < Sw. -pata)	"to get"
laad-	(from *peelaʔad-?, <Sw. -peleka ?)	"to sweep"

In at least one case, {d} is added to a Som. root (3):

ubid- (< Som. suubbi) "to make"

In our view, also ʔunneed- "to swallow" belongs here, as a possible loan from Som. ʕun- "to eat", via Boni/Karre un-; Nurse (1986: 303), however, hypothesizes a D loan in Bo. In this case, {d} is not lost in Perfective General Past 1S and Imperative 2S.

II.2.2.2.1.4. Perfectivizer -eed

Some perfective verbs are formed with an extension -eed, which is subject to the same idiosyncracies of the other {d}-extended verbs (cf. II.2.3.5.2.2.).

II.2.2.2.2. Passive -ikud

A productive passive extension appears in the form -ikud; Ehret (1980: 64) considers it as formed by a velar suffix, occurring also in Ma'a, which he reconstructs for PSC as *-Vx-, plus the causative -Vd, but he cannot determine the original meaning of Proto-South-Cushitic *-Vx-. As a matter of fact, a marker {k} is not always linked to {d} in D: it appears with {m} in luttukum- "to fall", historically connected with luttid- "to knock down" (no simple stem has been recorded; cf. Elderkin: 1974: 72); it seems that /k/ of luttukum- , originally an extension - maybe the passive marker - has been reanalyzed as part of the stem; in 3Plúttukaakumummi "they fall", a "new" passive extension -akud- (cf. II.2.3.5.2.1., c. and II.2.3.5.2.2. for the idyosincratic changes of the root extension) is added to the root luttuk-. A similar case is turukum- "to enter quickly".

In still other cases, a formal passive has a reflexive, rather than passive, meaning:
kʷ'at'ikud- "to wash hands" (simple stem kʷ'at'- "to wash")
filikud- "to comb one's hair" (cf. filime "comb")

or even a general intransitive meaning:
sonkoʔikud- "to fall in love" (Elderkin records sonkod- "to be troubled").

It is therefore better to consider -iku as the passive extension, which is then further extended by /d/ in order to have a consonant-final stem. As for borrowed stems, /d/ gets lost when no exponent is suffixed:
kaaj- "to bear a child", passive: kaajikud- "to be born"
1S: ʔaɲi+va+te kaajiku "I was born"

Sometimes the passive value seems to be missing; we could not define the difference between kar- and karikud-, both meaning "to be able to, can" (but the latter is less frequently used than the former).

II.2.2.2.3. Intransitive/Perfectivizer -eem / -anim

Ehret (1980: 62) calls this stem extension "stative/intransitive"; Elderkin too (1974: 72) suggests a stative meaning, but notes that some verbs in -eem include

"bodily actions" as well as states. The intransitive use of these verbs, too, is not an indication of the meaning of this SE, since the simple stems are also often intransitive, though it is true that verbs extended by -eem are always intransitive. Elderkin (1974: 71) also suggests that these verbs are always perfective (and their simple stem - if present - imperfective), but in our texts, verbs extended by -eem are, occasionally, imperfective.

The basic form of the exponent, -eem, formally recalls the Cushitic passive *-am (Hayward: 1984 bis: 96); in the plural the affix takes the form -anim:
tippeemo "I come out"
tippanimummi "they come out"

As with verbs extended by -d, many verbs end in -eem without a corresponding basic form:
ruppeem- "to land"
sereem- "to move, change position"
suukeem- "to set down"

Pairs of verbs occurring in the simple stem and with this SE are:

tipp-	"to come out"	tippeem-	"to come out"
b'irik'-	"to turn (tr.)"	b'irik'eem-	"to turn into, to become"

II.2.2.2.4. Frequentative -ameemit

The nasal and the dental elements occur together with a frequentative meaning in the compound suffix -ameemit, which is formed by the plural morpheme {am} plus the Intransitive {eem} and the element {it} (itself having a frequentative meaning; cf. II.2.3.1.2.2.):

ʕug-	"to eat"	ʕaameemit- (< ʕa[g]ameemit-)	"to eat many times"
ʕuʔtl'-	"to chew"	ʕuʔtl'ameemit-	"to chew many times"
joom-	"to speak"	joomameemit-	"to speak continuously"
lub-	"to hit"	lubameemit-	"to hit continuously"
maʔaw-	"to drink"	maʔameemit-	"to drink many times"

This suffix has the same meaning as the reduplication plus {t} (see below II.2.2.2.6.). Frequentative verbs are conjugated as Imperfectives.

II.2.2.2.5. Fossilized stem extensions

Ehret (1980: 63) notes the presence in D of a "consequentive extension" marker *-aw which builds verbs from nouns or adjectives, and cites: maʔaw- "to drink" from maʔa "water". We may add:
gurumuw- (= gur+um+uw ?) "to grow" from gúrume "old (of persons)"
p'uʔatuw- "to rot" from p'óʔate "rotten"
hut'uw- "to look like, to resemble" (from hut'- "to follow" ?)

The form of this extension seems rather -Vw, in which V copies the last stem vowel (but a few exceptions do exist).

That we are dealing here with a true affix is demonstrated by the fact that final -Vw is dropped when a derivational affix is added: maʔaw- "to drink" ---> maʔameemit- "to drink continuously, repeatedly" (see II.2.3.2.4.) and 1S Perfective: máʔu. Moreover, verbs ending in -Vw occur without a corresponding nominal: /ituw- "to carry the game hung to the bow"; ʔeevaw- "to build" (Ehret (1980: 63) has ʔajuw-); hajow- "to yawn"; laaw- "to pick up" (does this last example belong here?). To call this a "consequentive" obscures the simple fact that this is the D reflex of the well-known Eastern Cushitic denominal (and de-adjectival) marker *-ôw ~ *-âw (Hayward:1984 bis: 99).

A few verbs end in -ij, which can be interpreted as a fossilized stem-extension on the basis of the deletion of the segment in 1S Perfective and 2S Imperative:
gaalij- "to go home": gáálo "I went home; go home!"

Perhaps we have also a fossilized stem extension in the final /b/ of such verbs as ʔiɖiɓ- "to fetch", ʔiddzab- "to climb", and k'ad'ab- "to taste", which drop their final /b/ in 1S Perfective and 2S Imperative, and assimilate it (as if it were a dental) to a C-affix (see II.2.3.5.2.3. for examples).

II.2.2.2.6. Reduplicated stems

Partly reduplicated stems convey a frequentative or intensive meaning; as other frequentative stem formations, they can be used for 3P subjects, which then take 3M exponents.

gaggaalij- "to go home", reduplicated form of gaalij-, is used for all plural subjects.

Reduplication involves the first consonant and vowel of the simple stem, and can be formalized as:

CV(V)X ---> CVCCV(V)X

(where X is any following segment or string of segments). Examples are:

/uuk-	"to fill"	--->	/u//uuk-
haab-	"to cut"	--->	hahhaab-
keek-	"to look"	--->	kekkeek-
p'uʃud-	"to pierce"	--->	p'upp'uʃud-
ħaav-	"to mention"	--->	ħaħħaav-

In its frequentative meaning, reduplication can co-occur with {t}:

kool-	"to fly"	--->	kokkoolit- "to fly about; to hop"

An irregular reduplication (in which the whole stem is doubled) is found in d'uk'ud'uk'ud- "to spoil, to destroy" from d'uk'ud'- "to break".

II.2.3. Inflectional morphology of verbs

II.2.3.1. Conjugations: Perfective and Imperfective

Verbs are conjugated in D according to two different sets of endings. While for most verbs the set is idiosyncratic, the fact that some verbs can be conjugated with both sets, and that the affixation of stem extensions can lead to a change in the conjugation, supports the opinion that we are dealing here with meaningful classes. Elderkin (1972) spoke of Perfective and Imperfective, but he did not associate labels and endings; in his later work (1974), in coherence with the theoretical framework adopted - which discouraged semantic labels and viewed morphology as a purely formal study - he just called the classes "alpha" and "beta". But later, in his 1976 overview of Southern Cushitic, he spoke of "two 'Aspects', unmarked and intensitive/ continuous/ frequentative" (Elderkin: 1976: 293).

According to our data, while it is true that for most verbs the conjugational class is just given once and for all, analysis of the semantic shift between the two classes, where this is possible, suggests that the labels Imperfective and Perfective can be used with reasonable accuracy. Taking the verb lub- (one of the few which admit both sets without intervening extension, and which has been used by Eldekin too), we find that, when used with the Imperfective set of endings, it means just "to hit", while with the Perfective endings it conveys rather the meaning "to hit once (or just a part of the body), to give a blow". On the other hand, when from an intrinsic Perfective verb one creates (through an extension) an Imperfective, this comes to mean "to do X many times". It is true that this shade of meaning seems to be conveyed principally by the stem extension, with the change of conjugation as an auxiliary device, but it is a fact that intensive or repetitive stem extensions are always associated with Imperfective conjugation. This association of meaning and conjugational class has been greatly lexicalized, so that we find both primitive stems and extended stems without a primitive root used only as Imperfectives, without a corresponding "imperfective" meaning.

About the markedness relationship which is implied in Elderkin's (1976) definition of Perfective as (semantically) "unmarked", it seems rather that in terms of frequency the opposite is true: Imperfective conjugated verbs are more numerous and in any case more frequent in connected speech. One must also note that, although non-past (either present or future) paradigms are aspect-indifferent, i.e., the Imperfective/Perfective opposition is neutralized, they are conjugated with the same set of person markers as the Imperfective; this is in accordance with the well-known fact that, when an association between aspect and tense is present, the Perfective is often associated with past actions, and the Imperfective with present actions: "Since the present tense is essentially used to describe, rather than to narrate, it is essentially imperfective" (Comrie: 1976: 66). As often happens when an aspect distinction does not cover all the tenses of a language, the aspect system of D is restricted to the past ("It appears that the tense that most often evinces aspectual distinctions is the past tense"; Comrie (1976: 71)).

II.2.3.2. Affixes

Verbal forms which show subject agreement have seven-fold person marking: following the common Cushitic pattern, masculine and feminine forms are distinguished in 3S in most paradigms. The overall system follows the interlocking pattern (Tucker: 1967): 2S and 3F have the same exponent, but 1S and 3M are always differentiated.

Again following a (Eastern) Cushitic pattern, the vowel which accompanies most exponents - and which we call a paradigmatic vowel - is determined by other categories. The situation in Dahalo seems very similar to that stated by Hayward for Arbore:

"Although they occupy the same morphological 'slot', terminal vowels certainly do not constitute a single system in terms of the grammatical categories they signal, which include categories of aspect, mood [...]. Moreover, certain segmentally identical vowels mark a variety of categories, and specificity requires reference to other elements" (Hayward: 1984: 255).

In D paradigmatic vowels concur in indicating mood, tense and aspect, interacting with tonal patterns and selectors. They will be analyzed together with the paradigms (II.2.3.3.).

As in many other Cushitic languages, certain verbal forms (infinitive, past negative) do not show person marking, or show it in a reduced form (imperative); as for fully inflected paradigms, the following endings are found (irrespective of tones):

1S	-V ~ 0
2S	-tV
3M	-V ~ -:V ~ -i
3F	-tV
1P	-nV
2P	-ten ~ teenV ~ -tin ~ tinV
3P	-am- + 3M ~ -:en ~ -:eenV ~ -ani ~ -in ~ -inV

The vowel found in all paradigms in 1S, 2S/3F, 1P and, occasionally, in the other persons too, is the paradigmatic vowel. 3M, 2P and especially 3P show great variation; as can be expected, more basic (and frequent) paradigms display greater inner variation.

Elderkin (1974: 54, 80) has suggested that the 3M exponent is "underlying" {y}, which surfaces as /i/ or as /:/ (gemination of the final consonant of the stem) depending on the morphological context. Our theoretical framework does not allow such underlying entities, which nowhere surface as such (even if an underlying {y} is very tempting in historical Cushitics! - cf. Elderkin (1972:6)).

3M is marked by the gemination of the final consonant of the stem (and by gradation for certain consonants, see II.2.3.4.2.1.) in all paradigms except Perfective Past General and Non-past Subjunctive (respectively, paradigms C2 and B; see II.2.2.3.). In the General mood the vowel which accompanies gemination is -i, but in the other moods the relevant paradigmatic vowel of the mood occurs. In Perfective Past General and Non-past Subjunctive only the paradigmatic vowel (without gemination) acts as the 3M marker.

3P has a double set of endings: while some paradigms allow two different endings, others permit only one.

A first type of 3P marking is the plural extension -am- (alternating with -amum- for certain verbs) to which the 3M exponent is affixed, eventually resulting in gemination of /m/ and the same final vowel (either /i/ or the paradigmatic vowel) of 3M.

The second set of endings displays the typical Cushitic parallelism of the 2P and 3P endings -tVn and -Vn; in Perfective paradigms the vowel is /i/, in Imperfective and aspect-indifferent paradigms /e/, giving the following endings:

	IMPERFECTIVE (and aspect-neutral)	PERFECTIVE
2P	-ten, -teenV	-tin, -tinV
3P	-:en, -:eenV, -ami	-in, inV

(V being the paradigmatic vowel).

As may be seen, the parallelism is only partial, as /e/ is subject to lengthening when the paradigmatic vowel follows, while /i/ is not.

A morphophonological rule deletes /n/ when it is word final (i.e., when no affix, selector, etc., is attached):

n ---> 0 / __##

When an affix follows, /n/ is not dropped, and can assimilate to the following consonant.

The1S marker of Perfective Past General is problematic: the vowel which stands as its exponent is neither a person marker nor a paradigmatic vowel, but simply a copy of the last vowel of the stem. It is therefore correct to think of 0 as its marker. With certain stem extensions, such as the passive and other verbs extended with -d, the 1S Perfective results in deletion of -d, which surfaces only when an affix follows; the same happens with unproductive extensions such as -aw and -aj, with the final consonant of other verbs (which is deleted), even when a selector follows and the final consonant of the stem can assimilate to it:

1) ʔáɲi+ʋa+te ʔíddza (root: ʔiddzab-)
I+PAST+AFF climb-C2-1S
"I climbed"

2) ʔáɲi +úɲ+na (for: /+uum- + ná/, instead of *+uumú+na)
I get-angry-C2-1S+PERF
"I got angry"

Leaving aside the problematical 3 persons, the person markers, once deprived of the paradigmatic vowels, are:

1S	0	1P	n
2S/3F	t	2P	tVn

These are the same markers reconstructed by Elderkin (1974: 53).

II.2.3.3. The system of D paradigms

The tense/aspect/mood oppositions presented in II.2.1. produce the following set of paradigms:

A. General Non-past

B. Subjunctive Non-past
C1/2. General Past (Imperfective/Perfective)
D1/2. Subjunctive Past (Imperfective/Perfective)
E1/2. Habitual Past (Imperfective/Perfective)
F1/2 Positive Iussive (Imperfective/Perfective)
G1/2. Negative Iussive (Imperfective/Perfective)
H1/2. Imperative (Imperfective/Perfective)
I. Infinitive

These tags will be used in the glosses throughout; e.g.:

ro?óte will be glossed as "go-D1-3F", i.e.: "third person feminine, Past Subjunctive Imperfective" of the verb ro?- "to go".

II.2.3.3.1. Vowel Insertion Rule

Before presenting the verbal paradigms it is necessary to introduce a very general morphophonological rule to accomodate between the stem and the consonant-initial affixes. Since specific MPRs may account for specific types of stems (and will be presented in II.2.6.), this can be viewed as the default rule of exponent affixation. It states that C-initial exponents are affixed through an epenthetic vowel, which copies the last vowel of the stem.

This MPR has the same form as Elderkin's Vowel Inserting Rule (1974: 51):

VOWEL INSERTION RULE (C-EXPONENTS AFFIXATION DEFAULT RULE)
MPR 1: $0 \rightarrow V_X / V_X\ C\_\_C$
with the specification of the morphological domain "between verbal stem and affix".

Examples:

ráto	"I walk"	
rátato	"you walk/she walks"	/rat - to/
kééko	"I look"	
kééketo	"you look/she looks"	/keek - to/
díko	"I leave"	
díkito	"you leave/ she leaves"	/dik - to/
ró?o	"I go"	
ró?oto	"you go/she goes"	/ro? - to/
lúbo	"I hit"	/lub - o/
lúbuto	"you hit/she hits"	/lub - to/

As can be seen in e.g., kééketo above, the inserted vowel is always short; cf. also:

háásoobo	"I speak, converse"
háásoobото	"you speak/she speaks" /haasoob - to/

II.2.3.3.2. The paradigms

In the following, the left-hand column is the paradigm pattern: X is any preceding segment or string of segments; V the last stem vowel; C the last stem consonant; subscript x means that the affix vowel copies the last stem vowel. The right-hand column shows the corresponding paradigm for the "regular" (which means that no morphophonological rule is needed in order to account for its forms, except the Vowel Insertion Rule) verb lub- "to hit". As the stem is monosyllabic, an H tone on the first syllable may be required by the tonal pattern of the relevant paradigm, or may result from the application of the Initial H Rule (cf. I.2.2.2.).

II.2.3.3.2.1. General Non-past (A)

A present or future meaning is conveyed by the Non-past; in no case is the future formally distinct from the present in the verb. Non-past is marked, in statements not depending on other verbs, by {o} vowelling.

The fact that Non-past is based upon the Imperfective is shown by 3M and 3P forms (with reduplication of the last consonant of the stem); H tone on the first syllable (as a result of TR 2, the Initial High Rule) distinguishes this paradigm from the Imperfective General Past (C1).

1S	XVCo	lúbo
2S	XV_XCV_Xto	lúbuto
3M	XVCCi	lúbbi
3F	XV_XCV_Xto	lúbuto
1P	XV_XCV_Xno	lúbuno
2P	XV_XCV_Xten	lúbuten
3P	XVCCen ~ XVCammi	lúbben ~ lúbammi

In the negative, the same paradigm is preceded by b'á+ka (NEG+IRR).

II.2.3.3.2.2. Subjunctive Non-past (B)

The Non-past tense of subordinate verbs is marked by {a}-vowelling; as this is a non-past paradigm, aspect opposition is neutralized. 3M does not have gemination of the stem-consonant, and is distinguished from 1S through a different tonal pattern; while initial H in all the other persons is the result of TR 2 (the Initial High Rule), 3M affix is -à, which shifts to the penultimate after the application of TR 3 (the Tonal Progression Rule).

1S	XVxCa	lúba
2S	XV_XCV_Xta	lúbuta
3M	XVCà	luba
3F	XV_XCV_Xta	lúbuta
1P	XV_XCV_Xna	lúbuna
2P	XV_XCV_Xteena	lúbuteena
3P	XVCamma	lúbamma

As for paradigm A., the negative forms are preceded by b'á+ka. The 2S and 2P forms of paradigm B are also used for the negative imperative.

Some sentences are:

3) ʔáɲi ʔélejo ħáájo ʔúk[o] káádi ʔukʷa falá+j[e]+k[o]
I know-A-1S man that work this do-B-3M+HAB+that
"I know the man who [can] do this work"

4) ʔáɲi (ʔíɲa+)te ʔélejo dáákotáɲi ʔukʷatta gʷáħammá+j[e]+k[o]
I them+AFF know-A-1S D.-P here stay-B-3P+HAB+that
"I know the Daako who live here"

5) b'á+ka ʔélejo dééla ʔít[o] háásoobota ʔintó+t[o]
NEG+IRR know-A-1S girl that-F converse-B-2S with+that-F
"I do not know the girl you are speaking with"

II.2.3.3.2.3. General Past (C1/2)

Past is often, but not always, accompanied by the selectors -va (PAST) or -ná (PERF) and has different paradigmatic vowels in Perfective and Imperfective verbs. Perfective Past is marked by the paradigmatic vowel {i}, Imperfective Past by the paradigmatic vowel {o}.

Imperfective has H tone on the affix in 2S, 3F, 1P and 2P, and L tone in 1S, 3M, and on "short" 3P (lubben); tones are shifted back by TR 3. The presence of tone on the affixes ensures opposition with the Non-Past in all persons except 3P lúbammi (where the Initial High rule applies).

Perfective receives an initial H by TR 2 on all persons, except in 2P and 3P, where the, respective, H and L tones of the affix are shifted back by TR 3.

Perfective 1S receives a vowel which copies the last stem vowel (except in the verbs which undergo stem truncation). Attention is directed to the idiosyncracies of Imperfective 3P (cf. II.2.3.5.2.).

Imperfective (C1)

1S	XVCò	lubo
2S	XV_xCV_xtó	lubúto
3M	XVCCì	lubbi
3F	XV_xCV_xtó	lubúto
1P	XV_xCV_xnó	lubúno
2P	XV_xCV_xtén	lubúten
3P	XVCCèn ~ XVCammi	lubben ~ lúbammi

Perfective (C2)

[illegible]	XVC	lúbu
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xti	lúbuti
[illegible]	XVCi	lúbi
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xti	lúbuti
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xni	lúbuni
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xtín	lubúti(n)
[illegible]	XVCìn	lubi(n)

Negative past sentences make use of the infinitive, preceded by the selector [illegible] (NEG), followed by the affix pronouns and the selector (see II.2.3.3.2.9.).

II.2.3.3.2.4. Subjunctive Past (D1/2)

In subordinate past sentences, a paradigm marked by the paradigmatic vowels, [illegible] for Imperfective and {i} for Perfective, is used.

Imperfective has, as the Non-Past, no specified tone on the affixes, and receives [illegible] H by TR 2.

The Perfective follows the pattern of C1 (except in 3P), i.e.: H on the affix in 2S, [illegible] 1P, 2P and 3P; L in 1S and 3M. The tones are shifted back by TR 3.

Imperfective (D1)

[illegible]	XVCe	lúbe
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xte	lúbute
[illegible]	XVCCe	lúbbe
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xte	lúbute
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xne	lúbune
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xteene	lúbuteene
[illegible]	XVCamme	lúbamme

Perfective (D2)

[illegible]	XVCì	lubi
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xtí	lubúti
[illegible]	XVCCì	lubbi
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xtí	lubúti
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xní	lubúni
[illegible]	XV_xCV_xtíne	lubútine
[illegible]	XVCíne	lúbine

Some sentences containing examples of these forms are:

6) ʔídi ɦáájo+k[o] safari ró??e+vá+ʔi+k[o] | ʔá+te ɬóóto
she man+that journey go-D1-3M+PAST+by+that 0+AFF love-C1-3F
ˀd uugo+si?+i kae
friend+her+M ACC
"when the husband had set out on a journey, she loved her friend (:her lover)"

7) ʔatta safari ró??oteene+vá+ʔi+k[o]
you-P journey go-D1-2P+PAST+by+that
"when you (P) had set out on a journey"

Paradigm D is used both in positive and, with the selector b'a- (NEG), negative sentences:

8) ɦáájo ʔisí+ni+ke b'a+vá+ʔi ró??e+k[o]
man her+FOC+ACC NEG+PAST+by go-D1-3M+that
"even if (her) husband had not set out on a journey"

II.2.3.3.2.5. Habitual Past (E1/2)

The presence of the Habitual selector -jí entails, only in the Past tense, a paradigm characterized by (a) vowelling, tones and endings being otherwise the same of those of the Past Subjunctive (D) above. In a few rare cases the selector is absent.

The tonal pattern of the Imperfective is, again, the same as the Non-Past (no tone specified, initial H by TR 2).

The Perfective follows the pattern of C1 and D2: H on the affix in 2S, 3F, 1P, 2P and 3P; L in 1S and 3M. The tones are shifted back by TR 3.

Imperfective (E1)

1S	XVCa	ɬúba
2S	XV_XCV_Xta	ɬúbuta
3M	XVCCa	ɬúbba
3F	XV_XCV_Xta	ɬúbuta
1P	XV_XCV_Xta	ɬúbuna
2P	XV_XCV_Xteena	ɬúbuteena
3P	XVCamma	ɬúbamma

Perfective (E2)

1S	X`VCa	ɬuba
2S	$XV_XC´V_Xta$	ɬubúta
3M	X`VCCa	ɬubba
3F	$XV_XC´V_Xta$	ɬubúta
1P	$XV_XC´V_Xta$	ɬubúna
2P	$XV_XC´V_Xtina$	ɬubútina
3P	XVCina	ɬúbina

This paradigm is used both in positive and, with b'a- (NEG), in negative sentences:

nat'a+ta+ke ʔa+vá+ji+te ɬágg"a | ɦáájo+k[o]
woman+this-F+ACC 0+PAST+HAB+AFF love-E1-3M man+that
b'á+ka+vá+ji ɬágg"a
NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB love-E1-3M
"he loved his daughter, [but] he did not love his son"

b'á+ka+vá+ji váɦina suura+su[ʔ]+u típpemma+vá+ji
NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB see-E2-3P manner+his+M come-out-E1-3M+PAST+HAB
"they could not see how he came out"

II.2.3.3.2.6. Positive Iussive (F1/2)

The endings are the same as the Past Subjunctive (D) above, but the tonal pattern is different.

The tonal patterns are the same as in D and E.

Imperfective (F1)

	XVCe	ɬúbe
	XV_XCV_Xte	ɬúbute
C1	XVCCe	ɬúbbe
	XVxCVxte	ɬúbute
	XV_XCV_Xne	ɬúbune
	XVxCVxteene	ɬúbuteene
	XVCamme	ɬúbamme

Perfective (F2)

	X`VCe	ɬube
	$XV_XC´V_Xte$	ɬubúte
C1	X`VCCe	ɬubbe
	$XV_XC´V_Xte$	ɬubúte
	$XV_XC´V_Xne$	ɬubúne
	$XV_XC´V_Xtine$	ɬubútine
	XVCine	ɬúbine

This paradigm is used in both main and subordinate sentences as a iussive ("let ... hit, etc."):

kíla kínto géte+kí+ka+j[é]+ʔa
every thing send-F2-1S+you-F+IRR+HAB+VEN
"let me provide you (F) (with) everything"

12) hóód'i ró?oté+?a
say-H1-S go-F2-3F+VEN
"tell her to come"

13) hóód'i+da lééso+ku káddze+?i
say-H1-S+LOC cloth+that keep-F2-3M+me-BEN
"tell him to keep the (piece of) cloth for me"

II.2.3.3.2.7. Negative Iussive (G1/2)

The endings and the tonal patterns are the same as the Iussive Positive (F) above, but with final /a/ (thus paralleling the difference between paradigms D and E)

Imperfective (G1)

1S	X`VCa	luba
2S	$XV_XC\acute{V}_Xta$	lubúta
3M	X`VCCa	lubba
3F	$XV_XC\acute{V}_Xta$	lubúta
1P	$XV_XC\acute{V}_Xna$	lubúna
2P	$XV_XC\acute{V}_Xteena$	lubúteena
3P	XVCamma	lúbamma

Perfective (G2)

1S	XvCa	lúba
2S	XV_XCV_Xta	lúbuta
3M	XVCCa	lúbba
3F	XV_XCV_Xta	lúbuta
1P	XV_XCV_Xna	lúbuna
2P	$XV_XC\acute{V}_Xtina$	lubútina
3P	XVCína	lubína

The Iussive Negative negates both paradigms F and H (Imperative):

14) ?uk^{w}á+?i b'á+ka d'iríta
this+by NEG+IRR pass-G1-2S
"do not pass through here!"

II.2.3.3.2.8. Imperative (H1/2)

The Imperative has only 2S and 2P forms; different endings are used for Perfective and Imperfective verbs.

The singular is tonally unspecified (and receives Initial H by TR 2); plural affixes have L tone, shifted back by TR 3.

Perfective 2S shares with Perfective General Past 1S the characteristic of being marked by a 0 affix; the same rules (copying of the last stem vowel) and exceptions (in stem truncating verbs) apply.

Imperfective (H1)

2S	XVCi	lúbi
2P	XVCè	lubè

Perfective (H2)

2S	XV_XCV_X	lúbu
2P	XVCò	lubò

The Imperfective imperative of ro?- "to go" is ró[?]i (/?/ is normally dropped, cf. PR 5); addition of the particle -?á (VEN) gives ró[?]i+?a "come here!" (cf. Elderkin: 1974: 69).

The Imperative is used in main sentences only; in subordinate and/or negative sentences the paradigms F and G are used:

?addo+k^{w}a ?áɲi ?akk^{w}o+?i
day+this I leave-H2-P+me
"today, leave me!"

?uk^{w}a ró?i+nta b'á+ka ?éntitta b'ábba+ku[?]+u kae mpaka
this go-H2-S+with NEG+IRR show-G2-2S father+your+M ACC until
te háddurá+?i+ko júko kotta púhu
AFF sleep-B-3M+by+that navel in sting-H2-S
"go with this (needle, and) do not show it to your father; [until], (when) he is sleeping, stab him with it in the navel"

II.2.3.3.2.9. Infinitive (I)

Different endings are used in what seems to be morphophonological alternation. Elderkin (1974: 69) has suggested that the Infinitive ending is a true suffix, not a verbal ending. In our framework, the fact that the stem may undergo modification during the Infinitive-affixation rules out this hypothesis: the Infinitive will be viewed as an inflectional formation.

Elderkin (1974: 70) has proposed the following generalizations:

-è for C_1VC_2 stems ending in any consonant with the exception of glides and /g/, and V ≠ /e/,

-à the same as the above for stems with V = /e/;

-mè for C_1VC_2 stems ending in glide and /g/, and V ≠ /e/;

-mà the same as the above for stems with V = /e/;

-ò for $C_1VC_2(V)C_3$ stems ending in any consonant with the exception of nasals, dental stops, glides, /b/ and /g/;

-nì for $C_1VC_2(V)C_3$ stems ending in nasals, dental stops, glides, /b/ and /g/;

0 for stems with more than three consonants (as in the other cases with a 0 affix, a vowel copying the last vowel is suffixed; stem truncating verbs suffix -i).

Examples include:

dzaa?-	"to die"	--->	dzaa?e	/dzaa? - e/;
joom-	"to speak"	--->	joome	/joom - e/;
lub-	"to beat"	--->	lube	/lub - e/;
haʃ-	"to come"	--->	haʃe	/haʃ - e/;
paɦ-	"to hit"	--->	paɦe	/paɦ - e/;

(in all five preceding verbs, the stem ends in C ≠ glide, /g/ and V ≠ /e/);

get-	"to send"	--->	geta	/get - a/

(the same, but with V = /e/);

ʃag-	"to eat"	--->	ʃaame	/ʃag - me/

(the stem ends in /g/, which assimilates to the preceding vowel before consonants)

ʔeetit-	"to hear"	--->	ʔéétini	/ʔeetit - ni/

(the stem ends in C_2; /t/ assimilates to following /n/)

suubid-	"to make"	--->	súúbitti	/ suubid - ni/

(the same)

ʔiddzab-	"to climb"	--->	ʔíddzabi	/ʔiddzab - 0/

(triconsonantal stem, ending in /b/);

d'ukk'ud'uk'-	"to spoil"	--->	d'úkk'ud'uk'u

/d'ukk'ud'uk'- 0/ (more-than-three-consonants stem)
(in the last four verbs, initial H tone is due to TR 2)

The Infinitive is a verbal noun, used with main "modal" verbs such as "to be able to, can", "to want".

Being a noun, it behaves syntactically as an object: it precedes the main verb, but can also be shifted into postverbal position (see III.2.1.) and can also be determined.

In some cases, the infinitive replaces an empty object (in expressions corresponding to "to speak a speech", "to eat food").

17) jíko jommi joome ʔúk[o]
who speak-C1-3M speak-I that
"Who told you this [speaking]?"

18) hiímane káro haʃe
tomorrow can-A-1S come-I
"I can come tomorrow"

19) b'á+ka k'óóbo ʔááta ʔúkʷatta haʃe
NEG+IRR want-A-1S you (S) here come-I
"I don't want you (S) to come here"

20) ʔápi ʔukʷatta háʃa ʔú+kabe vaɦé+ʔ[e]
I here come-C2-1S he+ACC see-I+VEN
"I came here in order to see him"

21) vákati dzaaʔé+éni+k[o] ʔá+va+kʷa kʷáʃi
time die-I+GEN+that 0+PAST+this run-C2-3M
"instead of dying, he ran away"

) rattsi ʃaga ʃamme+da
walk-C1-3P food eat-I+LOC
"they went to eat [food]"

The infinitive preceded by b'a-, the affix pronouns (0 for 3 persons), and a past selector is used in order to negate past sentences. For the verb lub-, and with the selector va-, the paradigm is:

1S	b'á+ʔi+va (~ b'[éé]+va)	lube
2M	b'á+ku+va	"
2F	b'á+ki+va	"
3M	b'á+va	"
3I	b'á+va	"
3P	b'á+ni+va	"
1PM	b'a+kúnna+va	"
1PF	b'a+kínna+va	"
2P	b'á+va	"

"I did not beat, you did not beat", etc.)

The same affixes can be object-oriented (the subject then being expressed by the independent pronouns); in this case, for a 3P object the affix pronoun -ʔípa is used:

) b'a+ʔípa+va lube (ʔúkummámu kabe) "I did not beat them"

) ʔááta b'á+ni+va lube (pán+kabe) "you (S) did not beat us"

) ʔúdu b'á+ku+va lube (ʔááta kabe) "he did not beat you (SM)"

) pápi b'á+ku+va lube (ʔááta kabe) "we did not beat you (SM)"

But the object can be expressed only after the verbal phrase, the affix retaining subject meaning:

ʔááta b'á+ku+va lube ʔúkummámu kabe "you (S) did not beat them"

II.2.3.4. Alternations

Alternation can result either from the application of a fully automatic phonological rule (PR), of a category-governed rule (MPR), or from an idiodsyncrasy of a verb or a verb class.

It may be difficult to decide whether an alternation results from the application of a morphophonological rule or is just an idiosyncracy: this is true of both the -aw verbs and of the -Vb verbs; but while the first case is treated under the MPRs (as there is some phonological rationale to the change aw ---> u involved), the deletion of

-Vb in some forms is considered idiosyncratic (i.e., historically determined, cf. II.2.2.2.5.).

In some cases, where assimilation prevents the application of the Vowel Insertion Rule (MPR 1), homophony between paradigms A. (General Non-past) and C.1. (Imperfective General Past) may result; only the use of the selectors will therefore disambiguate the sentence.

II.2.3.4.1. Phonologically determined alternations

With specific types of stems, the Vowel Insertion Rule does not operate and, instead, various PRs occur between the stem and the affix.

II.2.3.4.1.1. REGRESSIVE DENTAL ASSIMILATION (PR 2)

With dental-ending stems (either primitive or derived) assimilation of the final dental and a following consonant affix is observed:

hónno+da	"we tell [to] him"	/hood' - no - da/
hótto	"you tell"	/hood' - to/
súúbitto	"she does"	/suubid - to/
gínno	"we sleep"	/giit - no/

II.2.3.4.1.2. NASAL ASSIMILATION (PR 3)

With nasal-ending stems (either primitive or derived) assimilation of the nasal to the point of articulation of a following consonant affix is observed:

jónto	"you speak"	/joom - to/
jónno	"we speak"	/joom - no/

II.2.3.4.1.3. VOWEL-CONTRACTION (PR 4)

It occurs by assimilating stems before consonantal affixes; the same two verbal forms cited above are instances of the application of this rule:

jónto	"you speak"	/joom - to/
jónno	"we speak"	/joom - no/

II.2.3.4.2. Category-governed alternations

Under this heading we shall deal with the morphophonological rules (MPRs) which apply between specific types of stems and the affixes, and which are not the result of automatic phonological rules. The default rule of II.2.2.3.1. will be repeated here for convenience:

VOWEL INSERTION RULE (C-EXPONENTS-AFFIXATION DEFAULT RULE)

MPR 1: 0 ---> V_X / V_X C__+C

with the specification of the morphological domain "between verbal stem and affix".

II.2.3.4.2.1. FINAL CONSONANT GRADATION IN 3M (MPR 2)

With some consonants, the gemination entailed by the 3M marker in paradigms A, C1, D1/2, E 1/2, F 1/2, G1/2 results in alternation:

final stem	/t'/	--->	/ts'/
"	/t, d/	--->	/ts/
"	/d', j/	--->	/dz/
"	/w/	--->	/gʷ/

Elderkin adds 0 ---> /h/ and /ß/ ---> /b/; actually, no verb ending in 0 (i.e., in a vowel) has been found, while /ß/ ---> /b/ is misleading, given the allophonic status of [ß].

To the result of alternation, the gemination is then applied, resulting in such forms as:

ʔótts'i	"he enters"	/ʔot' - :i/
rattsi	"he walked"	/rat - :i/
hoddzi	"he said"	/hood' - :i/
maʔaggʷi	"he drinks"	/maʔaw - :i/

It is apparent here that some kind of consonant gradation is involved. In three of the four cases, this is realized through the change of stops to affricates; for the glide /w/, it shows up as the change to a stop.

II.2.3.4.2.2. FINAL /w/ and /g/ STEM ASSIMILATION (MPR 3)

Stem final /w/ and /g/ assimilate to a preceding vowel before a consonantal affix (see Elderkin: 1974: 84):

MPR 3: V_X {w, g} ---> V_XV_X / ___+C

Examples:

from ɬaw- "to love, like":

ɬaóto "you love/she loves" (see below MPR 4 for the metaphony of the vowel)

from ʔug- "to do":

ʔuúto "you do" /ʔun - to/

ʔunno "we do" /ʔun - no/

from tl'ag- "to have":

mini tl'ááto "you have / she has a house" /tl'ag - to/

mini tl'ááno "we have a house" /tl'ag - no/

tl'á+ka tl'ááte mini "you (P) do not have a house" /tl'ag - te/

II.2.3.4.2.3. FINAL -aw STEM ALTERNATION (MPR 4)

Stem-final -aw changes to /u/ before a C-suffix and 0:

MPR 4: V_X aw ---> u / ___{+C, 0}

from mą?aw- "to drink":

má?uto	"you drink/she drinks"	/ma?aw - to/
má?uno	"we drink"	
má?ute	"you (P) drink"	

3P of Non-Past and Imperfective General Past behaves as {d}-extended verbs and /b/-final verbs in eliding the final consonant and taking the affix -amummi:

má?umummi "they drink"

1S General Past Perfective and Imperative S Perfective: má?u

II.2.3.4.2.4. METAPHONY (MPR 5)

Verbs ending in /j, w/ have a rule whereby a central stem vowel is metaphonized to a mid vowel when the stem-ending consonant is dropped according to the assimilation rule or the stem-truncation rule.

MPR 5: a ---> {e, o}/___{j, w}

with the specification of the morphological domain: "in stems subject to assimilation and/or truncation"

Examples:

from kąąj- "to put":

kééto "you put/she puts"

from ɬąw- "to love, like":

ɬóóto "you love/she loves"

II.2.3.4.2.5. STEM TRUNCATION (MPR 6)

The final consonant of the stem of verbs ending in -j is dropped before a C-suffix and O:

MPR 6: -j ---> 0 /__{+C, 0}

Example:

from gaalij- "to go home":

gáálito "you go/she goes back home" /gaalij - to/

1S Perf Past General and S Perf Imperative: gáálį

II.2.3.5. Idiosyncratic alternations

Many verbs, both simple and extended, show idiosyncratic alternations; a first group of these irregularities (idiosyncracies of the stem) consists in the failure to conform to MPRs to which, on the basis of their phonological structure, they would be expected to submit; a second group (idiosyncracies of the person affixes) is linked to the behaviour of specific verbs and verb classes when certain person markers are affixed to them. Under this heading fall the idiosyncracies of the plural.

II.2.3.5.1. Idiosyncracies of the stem

II.2.3.5.1.1. EXCEPTION TO DENTAL ASSIMILATION

The final /t/ of the verb get- "to send" does not undergo assimilation to a following C-suffix:

gétęto "you send / she sends" /get - to/

Elderkin (1974: 83) mentions the verb rud'- "to heap up" ("to bury, cover up" in Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse (1989: 41)) as an instance of a non-assimilating /d'/-stem. We did not record this item.

II.2.3.5.1.2. EXCEPTION TO FINAL /w/ and /g/ STEM ASSIMILATION

The verb sug- "to wait" does not conform to MPR 3: its final /g/ never assimilates:

súgo	"I wait"
súguto	"you wait/she waits"

It is possible that the failure to assimilate goes back to the loan- origin (from Somali ?) of this verb.

II.2.3.5.2. Idiosyncracies of the person affixes

Idiosyncracies of the person affixes have been found for 3P of Non-Past and General Past paradigms of Imperfective verbs, and for 1S General Past and 2S Imperative of Perfective verbs.

II.2.3.5.2.1. IDIOSYNCRATIC PLURAL STEMS

a) apart from the verbs which use a suppletive stem in the plural (cf. II.2.2.1.1.) the verbs gʷaɦ- "to stay" and b'eh- "to be silent" make all their plural forms with the 3P extension -am-:

gʷáɦanno	"we stay"	/gʷaɦ- am- no/
gʷáɦante	"you (P) stay"	/gʷaɦ- am- ten/
gʷáɦammi	"they stay"	
b'éhanno	"we are silent"	/b'eh- am- no/
b'éhante	"you (P) are silent"	/b'eh- am- ten/
b'éhammi	"they are silent"	

b) the verb ro?- "to go" does not possess 3P forms; relevant 3M forms of the verb rat- "to walk" are used instead: rátstsi "he goes, walks; they go, walk". This seems to have been recognized already by Elderkin (1973: 2), who spoke of "partial suppletion" between the two stems.

c) some simple or extended verbs, in which /k/ or /k'/ precedes an extension (-V(V)d/t, -Vm), make their plural forms with an unusual and complex pattern, by which the velar is reduplicated and followed by /aa/ (in one case, -d is also reduplicated):

from pak'eed- "to uncover":
pák'ak'aadide "uncover!" (Imperative 2P)
pák'ak'aadimummi "they uncover"

from milaak'it- "to dream":
mílaak'aak'ite(n) "you (P) dream"

from taarikud- "to join together":
táárikaakude(n) "you (P) join together"

from luttukum- "to fall":
lúttukaakumummi "they fall"

As can be seen from the examples above, the reduplicated syllable -Caa- can either follow (in /k'/ verbs, pak'eed-, milaak'it-), or, it would seem, precede the last stem consonant, which would constitute a unique case of infixation. Further research is needed, also on the possible productivity of the phenomenon.

d) as already mentioned in II.2.2.2.3., the Intransitive/Imperfective extension -eem changes to -anim in the plural.

e) in some cases, a reduplicated stem is used for plural subjects (cf. II.2.2.2.6.).

II.2.3.5.2.2. STEM TRUNCATION IN {d}-EXTENDED VERBS

a) final /d/ of {d}-extended verbs (whatever the meaning of the extension) is elided in Perfective General Past 1S and Imperative 2S:

from keejikud- "to be born", passive of keej- to give birth":
kééjiku "I was born"

from suubid- "to do":
súúbi "do it!" (cf. the 2P form: súúbido)

from pak'eed- "to uncover":
pák'e "uncover!"

The extension surfaces again when an affix follows the verbal form:
kééjikudo+va "I was born"

b) {d}-extended verbs (whatever the meaning of the extension) reduplicate the 3P affix -am in the form -amum-, after which gemination of final /m/ and the -i ending is then applied, giving -amummi; final /d/ is elided (verbs extended by -did elide only the second /d/); examples:

from mantaɦid-, frequentative of mantaɦ- "to vomit":
mántaɦimummi "they are vomiting continuously"

from gʷaɦadid- "to make stay", causative of gʷaɦ- "to stay":
gʷáɦadimummi "they make it stay"

Verbs extended through -t are likewise subject to this idiosyncracy:

from ma?ameemit-, frequentative of ma?aw- "to drink":
má?ameemimummi "they drink continuously"

Where the extension takes the form -eed, 3P is likewise built with -amum-, before which the whole extension is elided:

from fuʔʔeed- "to tear":
fúʔʔamummi "they tear"

When the 3P affix is different from -am, /d/ is not elided; e.g., from suubid- "to do":
súúbimummi+va "they did" (Imperfective)
súúbidin+kʷa "they did" (Perfective)

II.2.3.5.2.3. STEM TRUNCATION AND ASSIMILATION IN /b/-FINAL STEMS

Some plurisyllabic /b/-final verbs, such as k'ad'ab- "to taste", ?idib- "to fetch", ?iddzab- "to climb", lose final /b/ in Perfective General Past 1S and Perfective Imperative 2S. When located before a consonant-initial person marker, they behave as {d}-extended verbs, to the extent that they assimilate their final stem-consonant to the following suffix.

from k'ad'ab- "to taste":
k'ád'a "taste!"
k'ád'abo "I taste"
k'ád'atto "you taste/ she tastes"
k'ád'attsi "he tastes" (cf. ráttsi "he goes, walks" from rat- "to walk")
k'ád'anno "we taste" /k'ad'at - no/

from ʔidib- "to fetch":

ʔídítto	"you fetch"
ʔídimummi	"they fetch"

from ʔiddzab- "to climb":

ʔíddza	"I climbed" (Perfective Past 1S), "climb!" (Perfective Imperative S)

As for /d/ of {d}-extended verbs (cf. II.2.3.5.2.2.), final /b/ surfaces again when an affix follows the verbal form.

Elderkin (1974: 82) treats /b/ before C-affixes separately, considering it an instance of assimilation, though noting that "assimilation seems typewise the exception rather than the rule". Naturalness for a rule assimilating /b/ before dental affixes is scanty, and in any case many verbs do not conform to such a rule (as all monosyllabic verbs and some plurisyllabic ones, such as haasoob- "to converse"). It seems preferable to treat all the irregularities of /b/-final stems together and to consider -Vb- a frozen verb formative (see II.2.2.2.5.).

II.3. PARTICLES

II.3.1. Generalities

We reserve the term "selectors" for those particles which contain a general verb modifying meaning and which can govern the choice among different verbal forms; other particles, while frequently occurring in the same positional slots as the connectors, may still theoretically occur in other positions in the sentence. These are: the adpositions, the affix pronouns and the deictics. This distinction is useful in order not to inflate the category of selectors with elements whose use in the verbal phrase is clearly secondary.

As a cover-term, "particle" will be used both for the selectors and others; particles can cluster together in a phonological word which we call "particle complex".

II.3.2. Selectors

As has become apparent from II.3.1., many different semantic and grammatical categories find their expression, exclusively or partly, through what have been labelled "selectors". As we have already noted (cf. II.2.1.), D selectors do not signal person/number of the subject (as is the case in other languages), but only have an aspect/tense- (and possibly focus-) marking function.

It is probable that this is an archaic tract of D syntax: the main use of the selectors in other languages is to help to distinguish between verbal forms which have become partly or totally undifferentiated with reference to the subject. Since D has well preserved the Cushitic subject-marking system on the verb, it has not encountered the need to acquire this type of selector.

Distinct from the selectors, we find the two "directional particles" -ʔá and -íí, which, though not verbal in character, are only used in connection with verbs (either suffixed or in the particle complex).

Selectors are not words, in the sense that they are almost always suffixed, either to the verbal form or to a preceding nominal, or else clustered together or with other particles in the particle complex. The reasons governing the choice between the two solutions are not clear (if they exist at all): surely, the more are the selectors which a verbal form requires, the more probable is their clustering in preverbal position, but serial suffixation of selectors to the verb is also possible. Still another possibility is to place them partly before and partly after the verb.

The analysis of selectors is further hampered by a certain degree of homophony among them, and by the multiple functions that many of them have, and which can be seen in the sentences below. It is therefore clear that, while future research will certainly improve our knowledge in this field, the tags we use in glossing the selectors are little more than a mnemotechnic device, based on that function which seems basic, or most common.

II.3.2.1. -va: remoter past (PAST)

We call this selector "remoter" past (following Elkderkin: 1972 and 1976), in the sense that it can be contrasted with the perfect past and always expresses an action whose effects do not persist in the present.

After the final /p/ of 2P and 3P, va- takes the form -k^{w}a; after other consonants it takes the form -g^{w}a. Elderkin (1972: 3) reconstructs *-ɣ^{w}a as the common underlying form. This morphophonological rule takes the form:

-va --> k^{w}a / n__
g^{w}a / C__ (except /n/)

The tonal behaviour of this selector is complex; on the whole, it seems to be tonally unmarked. Elderkin (1974: 30-33) suggests that it can have H or L tone, without specifying the conditioning rationale.

II.3.2.2. -ná: perfect (PERF)

While "perfect" generally "indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation" (Comrie: 1976: 52), the D perfect is more specifically a perfect of result, by which "a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation" (Comrie: 1976: 56; 56-61 for a general survey of the different uses of the perfect); cf. the following sentences, in which the first is PERF-marked, the second PAST-marked:

1) kíbo+kú+na te /úúkikúdi
gourd+that+PERF AFF fill-PASS-C2-3M
"the gourd is full"

2) kíbo+ku+va te /úúkikúdi
gourd+that+PAST AFF fill-PASS-C2-3M
"the gourd was full"

(more literally: "the gourd has been filled (and it is now full)" and "the gourd was filled (and presumably it is no longer full)"; note the passive verbs).

Other:

3) b'á+ki+nq dzaa?e
NEG+you(SF)+PERF die-I
"haven't you died (yet) ?"

The selectors -ʋa and -ná are mutually exclusive.

II.3.2.3. te: affirmative action (AFF)
In contrast with other selectors, this never seems obligatory, being used rather as a kind of optional "emphasizer" of the verb; verbal forms in isolation are generally provided with this selector, while its presence is excluded in negative, interrogative, and subordinate sentences; these two facts seem to indicate that te is a verbal focus marker:

4) ?á+ki+ʋá+ji+te ɬuba
0+you-F+PAST+HAB+AFF beat-E1-1S
"I used to beat you (F)"
(H tone on ?a- for the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)

5) b'á+ka+ki+ʋá+j[e] ɬuba
NEG+IRR+you-F+PAST+HAB beat-E1-1S
"I did not use to beat you (F)"

This particle is always placed before the verb and can occur isolated. In the verbal complex, it occupies the final position.

II.3.2.4. -jí: habitual action (HAB)
This expresses habituality of the action, both in the past and non-past. In the past it requires the verb to be in the paradigm "E".
/ i/ is often lowered to [e] (PR 6).

In the following pairs of sentences, the first sentence is aspectually unmarked (and, being in the non-past, implies a progressive action), while the second gives expression to a habitual action:

6) ?ápi te ʃágo
I AFF eat-A-1S
"I am eating"

7) ?ápi+j[e] ʃágo
I+HAB eat-A-1S
"I eat (habitually)"

8) ?ápi nkunumbi ráto
I N. walk-A-1S
"I'm going to Nkunumbi"

9) ?ápi+j[e] nkunumbi ráto
I+HAB N. walk-A-1S
"I go (habitually) to Nkunumbi"

Other sentences:

10) gúɦo ?úk[o]+ʋá+ji rúúmate
person FAR+PAST+HAB wall
"he was a big man"

11) b'á+ka+ʋá+ji +ágg^{w}a
NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB love-E1-3M
"he did not love him"

12) ?a+ʋá+ji kinu kammá+ji ?a+ʋá+ji ɦábe+da
0+PAST+HAB mortar hold-E1-3M+HAB 0+PAST+HAB armpit+LOC
?át'adiddza
enter-CAUS-E1-3M
"he used to take a mortar and put it under his armpit"

13) ?ummámu+ʋá+j[e]+?a te fálamma
they+PAST+HAB+VEN AFF do-E1-3P

equivalent to:

13') ?ummámu fálamma+ʋá+j[e]+?a
"they used to do it"

14) ?a+ʋá+j[e]+?a nkunumbi g^{w}áɦa
0+PAST+HAB+VEN N. stay-E1-1S
"I used to live in Nkunumbi"

15) kínto ?údu dzéé?eda+dú+ji+k[o]
thing he kill-B-3M+him+HAB+that
"the thing that can make him die"

In the last example, the abituality is one of "possibility": "the thing that is able (normally, habitually) to kill him".

II.3.2.5. b'a-: negative (NEG)
This is obligatorily followed by -ká (IRR) in the non-past negative; in the remote or perfect past negative it is followed by the clitic pronouns of the subject and by the remote or perfect past selector; the verb is then in the infinitive form. But if the verb is further specified by a HAB selector, the syntax of the non-past negative is followed (i.e., both b'a- and -ká occur, and precede all other particles; the verb is fully inflected in the (a)-paradigm). Another characteristic that sets b'a- apart from the other selectors - except te - is the fact that it is never suffixed to the verbal form; moreover, it always occupies the first position in the particle complex.

16) b'á+va lube
NEG+PAST beat-I
"he did not beat (him)"
(b'a- is H-toned for TR 2)

17) b'á+ka+ʔi+vá+j[e] lúbba
NEG+IRR+me+PAST+HAB beat-E1-3M
"he did not use to beat me"

II.3.2.6. -ká: unrealised action (IRR)

The general meaning of this selector is that the action expressed by the verbal form has not occurred (yet), and it is thus un-real (the tag "IRR" - from irrealis - has been chosen, quite arbitrarily). It occurs very often in the negative compound particle b'á+ka. When used alone, it often has a conditional or concessive meaning; in some cases, it can even assume a future nuance (cf. sentence 22).

18) ʔápi+ka kíbo k'óóbo kíbo te hóód'o
I+IRR gourd want-A-1S gourd AFF tell-A-1S
"if I want a gourd I'll ask you (for) [a gourd]"

19) mpaka g"íttsa ka+vá+ʔi+te táábu monno+va vaɦɦi+k[o]
until child IRR+PAST+by+AFF distress very+PAST see-C1-3M+that
"until the boy saw that he was in great distress"

20) ro??í+ka háʃi+ka+da ʔa+vá+ji fitina ʔot'óto
go-C1-3M+IRR come-C2-3M+IRR+LOC 0+PAST+ALL quarrel enter-C1-3F
"that he went (or) that he came, she (always) started a quarrel"

21) híima d'ú?i+ka ʔa+vá+ji+k"a b'ommi
night set-C2-3M+IRR 0+PAST+ALL+this sleep-C1-3M
"when the night had set, he went to sleep there"

22) kila kínto géte+kí+ka+j[é]+ʔa
every thing send-F2-1S+you-F+IRR+HAB+VEN
"let me provide you (F) (with) everything"

II.3.2.7. The particle-complex marker ʔa- (0)

When particles cluster in the particle complex, they are preceded by the particle-complex marker ʔa-, which we tag "0" and which seems to have no other function than to mark the beginning of the complex itself (as in sentence 23)). In many cases it has the function of carrying the H tone of a following particle, which would otherwise be lost in initial position.

23) ʔá+va+k"a rattsi
0+PAST+this walk-C1-3P
"they went"

(H tone on ʔa- from the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)

24) ʔá+ʔi+ji+da te joommi
0+me-BEN+HAB+LOC AFF speak-C1-3M
"he said it to me"
(H tone on ʔa- shifted from ʔí- (benefactive))

In the following sentences, the presence of ʔa- distinguishes the benefactive from a possible direct object interpretation:

25) ʔúdu ʔá+ʔi+na+te d'akki
he O+me+PERF+AFF cook-C1-3M
"he cooked (it) for me"

26) ʔúdu ʔí+na+te d'akki
he me+PERF+AFF cook-C1-3M
"he cooked me"

Without ʔa-, the underlying sequence /ʔí+ná+te/ would give, after the application of the tonological rules: ʔí+na+te. ʔí- would be interpreted as underlyingly L and its surface H as the H of the following ná-, therefore entailing an object interpretation of ʔí-. ʔa- carrying H, however, can be interpreted only as the surface realization of a following H-toned (benefactive) affix pronoun.

Only the affirmative selector te and the negative b'a- can precede the verb without being preceded by ʔa-.

II.3.3. Directional particles

Under this heading we shall treat the two particles -ʔá and -jí, which indicate movement toward and away from the centre of attention or the speaker respectively (cf. the Northern Somali particles with similar function soo and sii).

II.3.3.1. -ʔá: venitive (VEN)

We tag this particle "VEN" (venitive). It has the general meaning "towards the centre of attention or the speaker, here". It often accompanies the bound pronouns and the verbs of motion.

27) rattsi+dá+ʔa mpaka ʔa+te ʔukotta háʃi
walk-3M+LOC+VEN until 0+AFF in come-C2-3M
"he went until he arrived"

28) ʔááta+na ʔuk"atta háʃati ʔán+kabe vaɦe+ʔí+ʔa
you(S)+PERF here come-C2-2S I+ACC see-I+me+VEN
"you have come here in order to see me"
(underlying tones: /vaɦe+ʔi+ʔá)

29) ma?a hee?ó+?i+?a
water give-H-2P+me+VEN
"give me water!"
(underlying tones: /hee?o+?í+?á/)

II.3.3.2. -íí: allative (ALL)

We tag this particle "ALL" (allative). Its general meaning is "away from the centre of attention or the speaker, there". It can also replace a third person pronoun.

More frequently used than the preceding -?a, and not only with verbs of motion, it sets the action of the verb away from the speaker or the current centre of attention. It is often used, however, in narration to imply that the speaker himself did not witness the event he is speaking of, but merely "reports" the information.

-íí is subject to a morphonological rule, whereby /j/ changes to /ts/ after a consonant (actually, after /n/ of 2P and 3P verbal forms); /j/ further changes to /dz/ after a vowel, but, it seems, only if ALL precedes other selectors (normally ALL is put at the end of the particle complex):

-jí ---> -tsí / C__
-dzí V__+selector

(Examples of the application of this rule are given in sentences 32), 33), and 34) below).

Elderkin (1974: 93) suggests this should be treated as a devoicing rule, alongside the shift /ʊ/ ---> /kʷ/ of the past selector -ʊa (II.3.2.1) and others. This does not seem phonologically plausible (natural), and we prefer to treat all these facts with separate morphonological rules.

30) fálammí+ji
do-A-3P+ALL
"they are going to do it there"

31) fálammí+j[e]+ji
do-A-3P+HAB+ALL
"they usually go and do it there"

32) gʷittso b'á?imá+áni+da kaají́n+tsi
youngs lions+GEN+LOC put-C2-3P+ ALL
"they put her where lion cubs lived" (lit.: "in [a place] of young lions")

33) kínta ?údu dzéé?edá+dzi+j[é]+k[o]
thing he kill-B-3M+ALL+HAB+that
"the thing that will kill him"

34) ?úku+dzi+te dakkʷi
that+ALL+AFF run-C1-3M
"he ran there"

II.3.4. Non-verbal particles

Under this heading we shall treat the adpositions and their use in the verbal complex of the deictics -k[á] ("that"), -t[á] ("that-F"); -kʷa ("this"), -ta ("this-F").

II.3.4.1. Deictics

The deictics, normally affixed to the noun (cf. II.1.5.3.), can be suffixed to the verbal form or inserted in the particle complex in order to connect the verbal phrase to the nouns; in their bound form, they occur as the final elements in the particle complex or the verbal form, and the adpositions often precede them (while in the noun phrase the adpositions occur as final elements). They can also be used in the verbal complex in their independent form; in this case, they take initial position and the particle complex does not need the PCM ?a-.

35) ?á+ji+kʷa ?éékadimummi
0+ALL+this look-C1-after-3P
"they looked after him there" (from text No. 5 "Fumo Aliongwe"; here the soldiers look after Fumo in the bush)

followed in the text by:

36) ?inta+kʷa ro??i
with-this go-C1-3M
"he went with this"

II.3.4.2. Adpositions

D possesses a limited set of elements which most often occur as postpositions and/or as suffixes. Certain verbs require a specific adposition, while, conversely, the use of an adposition is avoided when the semantics of the verb contains among its "deep" cases the function that would be carried by the adposition; thus, hood'- "to say" requires the locative adposition -da , while puh- "to sting" does not require -?í of the instrument.

Apart from their use in nominal phrases, adpositions can signal the relative "position" of the sentences, thus becoming markers of subordination and building up the real skeleton of a D text.

Also the accusative marker kabe (and its variants), the focus marker ?íni, and the copula -sú behave like particles, since they can enter the particle-complex. They will be treated in the relevant sections of the syntax.

II.3.4.2.1. -da: locative (LOC)

This indicates both movement and state, and often only the dative; we tag it "LOC".

Its presence seems to be obligatory with some verbs, the most frequent being hood'- "to say (to)", but also ˆgaasid- "to explain (to)", ɬuum- "to get angry (with)", and others:

37) hoddzi+da
say-C1-3M+LOC
"he said (to)"

38) ʔáɲi te ɬún+ku+na+da
I AFF be-angry-C2-1S+you(SM)+PERF+MOV
"I am angry with you"

The movement and static meanings of -da can be seen in the following sentences:

39) rá??a+vá+ji líímani+da | ʔa+vá+ji láva+da ʔákkʷa
go-E1-3M+PAST+HAB work-H+LOC 0+PAST+HAB home+LOC leave-E1-3M
"he went to work and left (him) at home"

40) múnt̪a+da líímamummi
farm+LOC cultivate-3P
"they work on the farm"

41) múnt̪a+da ʔú+kuʂi+na te hút'i
farm+LOC he+too+and AFF follow-C2-3M
"he too followed him to the farm"

42) rattsi ʕaga ʕamme+da
walk-C1-3P food eat-I+LOC
"they went to eat" (or: "into the eating-place")

The nominal governed by the adposition can be stated or implicit:

43) ʔá+va+da+kʷa ra??i
0+PAST+LOC+this go-C1-3M
"he went there"
(H tone on ʔa- from the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)

The use of -da seems to be excluded when the static/movement meaning is already implied in the verb:

44) ʔááta kééke+va kééjikútti
you(S) where+PAST bear-PASS-C2-2S
"where were you born?"

or:

44') ʔááta+va kééke kééjikútti

45) ʔáɲi+va nkunumbi kééjiku
I+PAST N. bear-PASS-C2-1S
"I was born in Mkunumbi"

46) ʔááta kééke j[é]+ʔa gʷáɦato
you where HAB+VEN live-A-2S
"where do you live?"

47) ʔáɲi j[é]+ʔa ʔamu gʷáɦo
I HAB+VEN L. live-A-1S
"I live in Lamu"

-da is subject to the following morphonological rule, whereby its /d/ is devoiced to /t/ when following a consonant (actually, when following /n/ of 2P and 3P verbal forms). Elderkin (1974: 93) suggests that this should be treated with the same devoicing rule as the shift of -jí (ALL) to -tsí (see above, II.3.3.2.). But too few cases have been recorded to allow any generalization.

-da ---> -ta / C__

The application of this rule can be seen in:

48) gʷittso ʔúkummámu hoddzen+ta
youngs these say-C1-3P+LOC
"these young (snakes) said to her"

II.3.4.2.2. -ʔí: instrumental ("by")
Frequently used as a verbal particle, this has an instrumental meaning. It can also be used as a subordination marker, however, assuming a temporal/causal meaning and setting the action of the verb in temporal or logical connection with that of the following (main) verb; in the following sentence the two uses occur together:

49) dába ʔukʷá+ʔi páɦɦe+vá+ʔi+k[o]
hand this+by beat-D1-3M+PAST+by+that
"as he beat him with this (other) hand"

The following sentences expound the adpositional use of -ʔí; for its use as a subordination marker, see III.1.4.2.

50) ʔá+va gʷíttsa lubo sííˆbo+ʔi
0+PAST child hit-C1-1S stick+by
"I hit (past) the boy with the stick"

51) ʔá+va dabi dzéé?e ɦaad'á+ʔi
0+PAST animal kill-C2-1S arrow+by
"I killed the prey with the arrow"
(in both 50) and 51), H tone on ʔa- is determined by the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)

In some cases -ʔí is used with verbs of movement with the meaning "through":

52) lée+k[ó]+ʔi vátl'ati
path+that+by return-C2-3F
"she came back by that way"

II.3.4.2.3. ʔinto ~ -nto: comitative ("with")
The independent and bound form are mutually exchangeable:

53) ʔúdu+va nat'a+su+ʔu ʔinto gʷaɦɦi
he+PAST woman+his+M with live-C1-3M
"he lived with his wife"

54) ʔá+va+te háʃa ali+nto
0+PAST+AFF come-C2-1S A.+with
"I came with Ali"
(H tone on ʔa- from the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)

-da and -nto can be combined in -da+nto with the meaning "from":

55) ʔá+na munt̪a+da+nto háʃa b'ura ʔukʷa
0+PERF farm+LOC+with come-C2-1S morning this
"I have come from the farm this morning"

This adposition - glossed as "with" - can also be used in order to indicate a temporal simultaneity with the action of the main verb; examples are given in III.1.4.2.

II.3.4.2.4. -kʷatta "here" / -kotta ~ -kutta "there": state
Deprived of initial ʔu-, the adverbs ʔukʷatta "here" and ʔukotta "there" (especially the second) can be used as postpositions with a locative meaning:

56) júko+kotta púhu
navel+there sting-H2-S
"sting him in the navel !"

Being bound words, they must affix to any preceding element, even part of a different NP:

57) ʔá+va+kʷa ʔinto+kotta dzáá?i
0+PAST+this with+there die-C2-3M
"he died there with this (the bow)"
(H tone on ʔa- from the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)

II.3.4.2.5. hollo "(together) with"
This only occurs as an independent word, put between the two nouns it links together, and is more of a conjunction than an adposition:

58) ʔúdu+va nat'a+su?+u ʔinto gʷaɦɦi | hollo gʷíttsa ʔa+su+ʔa
he+PAST woman+his+M with live-C1-3M with child his+F
"he lived with his wife and with his she-baby"

II.3.5. Syntax of the particles
The following serialization of selectors and other particles in the particle complex can be proposed:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
ʔa (PCM)	ʔi ("me")	va	jí (HAB)	jí (ALL)	da	k[ó]
te	ku	ná	ʔá (VEN)	nto		t[ó]
b'a	ki			ʔí ("by")		kʷa
	du					ta
	di					kʷatta
	ni					kotta
	kunná					
	kinná					
	ʔiɲá					

NOTES TO PART II

(1) Elderkin suggests this to be not a plural morpheme, but rather a suffix meaning "and others"; therefore, b'ááb'ani would not mean "fathers", but "father and (the) others" (as in Elderkin: 1974: 11). An analogous suffix is found in Sandawe (E.D. Elderkin, personal communication, 11.1.1990). Our analysis of -'ni as a plural morpheme follows Zaborski (1986).

(2) Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse (1989: 32) consider gub- to be the reflection of a Proto-South-Cushitic root. The only possible South Cushitic cognate I am aware of is Iraqw gufa "firebrand" (Ehret: 1980: 238).

(3) Again, Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse (1989: 25) consider suubid- to be the reflection of a Proto-South-Cushitic root. This remains unproven, while the hypothesis of a Somali-Boni loan would explain even the final -d affix in D. Other Somali verbs borrowed in D basic vocabulary are kar- "to be able to, can" and probably gub- "to burn" (cf. note 2), above).

III. SYNTAX

D syntax follows the general Cushitic basic SOV word order at the sentence level, while in the noun phrase the modifiers follow the noun, in accordance with a VO word-order.

In the following we shall treat the noun phrase (the verbal phrase having been handled in II.3., under the particles), then the sentence, ending with notes on the complex sentences and the build-up of a D text.

III.1. THE NOUN PHRASE

The head noun always occurs as first member and can be modified by following adjectives, numerals, nouns, determinatives, and relative clauses (the last one treated under "Subordination", III.1.4.).

III.1.1. Genitival construction

The modifying noun follows its head and is provided with the postposition ní (GEN) (with lengthening of the final vowel of the preceding word and shifting back of the H tone); it is suffixed only to the last member of the construction, but can be followed by other particles, especially by the deictics -k[ó] (M/P) and -t[ó] (F) (see sentences No. 4) and 5) below).

1) ʃánuta ká?ime guħó+óni
heads many persons+GEN
"many human skulls"

2) g̃ittso b'á?imá+áni+da
children lions+GEN+LOC
"to a lion-cubs' (den)"

3) háát'i miní+íni+da šírri
near house+GEN+LOC be-there-A-3M
"he is near the house"

4) káádi miní+íni+k[o]
work house+GEN+that
"the house-work"

5) nat'a mfallumé+éni+t[o]
woman king+GEN+that-F
"the king's wife"

6) ʔúk[o] ʔíni ɬée nkunumbí+íni
that FOC path N.+GEN
"that is the way to Nkunumbi"

Head and modifier can also be separated by extra-phrasal words:

7) súmma šírri mini+íni
front be-there-A-3M house+GEN
"He is in front of the house"

The head-noun can be omitted when it has a general meaning:

8) ʔávak'i+íni
doum-palm+GEN
"(the place of) the doum-palm"

Expressions of position and others are often rendered with a genitival construction:

9) dába luá+áni
hand right+GEN
"to the right"

10) dába šóóto+oni
hand left+GEN
"to the left"

11) mááka+ani
what+GEN
"why?"

12) b'ára+ani
before+GEN
"old"

Infinitives behave like nouns in that thay can be members of genitival constructions:

13) kulla sampuli dzeeʔení+íni
every system kill-I+GEN
"every system of killing"

III.1.2. Adpositional phrases

The adpositions were treated in II.3.4.2. Their use as subordination markers will be expounded in III.1.4.2.

Adpositions are always suffixed to the last member of the noun phrase (see III.1.1., sentences 2) and3)), but can also appear in the particle complex or suffixed to the verbal form:

14) ʔéégə kammi ʔa+vá+ji+nto+kʷa gúbi
fire hold-C1-3M 0+PAST+ALL+with+this burn-C2-3M
"he caught the fire and with it he set fire"

(where: -ji+nto "with that (:the fire)", -kʷa "this" (:the hare, protagonist of the text No. 1 and subject of the sentence)

15) ʔukʷa rói+nto
this go-H1-S+with
"go with this !"

III.1.3. Adjectival and numeral phrases

Adjectives and numerals follow the head-noun. The adjective agrees in number (and gender) with the head-noun.

In numeral phrases, the head-noun occurs in the singular preceding the numeral, but in its plural form preceding such quantifiers as káʕime "many".

16) ʔukʷa ʔíni mini víne ali ʔéévaggʷi+vá+k[o]
this FOC house big A. build-C1-3M+PAST+that
"this is the beautiful house which Ali built"

17) ʔukʷa ʔíni mini lííma vino ali+íni
this FOC house 2 beautiful-P A.+GEN
"these are Ali's two beautiful houses"

18) mui ʔukʷatta middzi káʕime tl'ággi
town there houses many have-A-3M
"there are many buildings in the town"

19) ʔáji+na kíbo k'aba váha
I+PERF gourd 3 see-C2-1S
"I have seen three gourds"

III.1.4. Subordination

III.1.4.1. Relative phrases

The relative phrase follows the head noun, and is followed in turn by the determinative of the head.

20) ʔéleto dééla ʔita ʔukʷatta gʷáhatá+j[e]+t[o
know-A-2S girl this-F here live-B-3F+HAB+that-F
"do you know the girl who lives here?"

21) ʔááta ʔéleto dáákotapi ʔukʷatta gʷáhammá+j[e]+k[o]
you know-A-2S D.-P here live-B-3P+HAB+that
"do you (S) know the Daako who live here?"

22) ʔááta ʔéleto dééla muhammadi hoovaaddzi+vá+t[o]
you know-A-2S girl M. marry-C1-3M+PAST+that-F
"do you (S) know the girl Muhammadi has married?"

23) ʔá+va+te vaho muhammadi láva ʔítts+i+da háʕi+vá+k[o]
0+PAST+AFF see-C1-1S M. home my+M+LOC come-C2-3M+PAST+that
"I saw Muhammadi while he was coming to my house"

III.1.4.2. Adverbial sentences

Subordinate sentences are built on the same pattern, with the use of various adpositions; as was mentioned in II.3.2.2., a very common way of linking sentences with a temporal-consecutive meaning is with -ʔí "by", followed by the determinative of the head-noun:

24) safari rɔ́ʔʔe+va+ʔi+k[o]
journey go-D1-3M+PAST+by+that
"when he had gone out on a journey"

25) ʔídi rɔ́ʔɔte+va+ʔi ʃeeto+va
she go-D1-3F+PAST+by get-lost-C1-3F+PAST
"having gone away, she got lost" ("because/after she had gone away,...")

26) tume+ke rɔta+vá+j[e]+ʔí+k[o] | ʔa+vá+ji+nto ali kulumo
bush+ACC walk-1S+PAST+HAB+by+that 0+PAST+there+with A. meet-C1-1S
"while going to the bush I met Ali"

27) dába ʔukʷá+ʔi kúsi páɲɲe+va+ʔi+k[o] ʔa+va+kʷ[e] kammi
hand this+by too hit-D1-3M+PAST+by+that O+PAST+this hold-C1-3M
"when he hit him with this other hand, he held him"

(in the last sentence -ʔí appears with a twofold meaning: in the first instance, it is a nominal adposition: dába ʔukʷá+ʔi "with this hand"; in the second it behaves like a "subordinative particle": páɲɲe+va+ʔi+k[o] "as he hit him").

A temporal action taking place at the same time as the principal sentence can be expressed by -nto ("with"):

28) ʔa+vá+j[e]+nto tume+ke rattsa ʔá+ji ʔéékadimummi
0+PAST+HAB+with bush+ACC walk-E1-3P 0+ALL look-for-C1-3P
"and while going into the bush, they looked for him"

29) háʃi+vá+ji+nto suurúki síínd'ano
come-C2-3M+PAST+ALL+with hide-C2-3M needle
"he arrived there (: at home) and hid the needle"

(here -nto "with" modifies the verbal phrase and signals the temporal proximity of the two sentences: "as soon as he arrived..."; see below II.4.3.2.)

A more conditional meaning is given by -ká (IRR):

30) ʔá+ka+ji mini+ke háʃa | ʔá+ji guɲo ʔíttsi+nto ʃágo
0+IRR+ALL house+ACC come-B-1S 0+ALL people my+with eat-A-1S
"when I am home, I'll eat there with my family"

III.2. THE SENTENCE

III.2.1. Word-order

III.2.1.1. Unmarked word-orders

While the NP-VP and SOV word orders are basic, many alternative orders are possible, again conforming to the picture familiar in Eastern Cushitic, in which word order is dominated by pragmatic factors.

While adverbial phrases precede the subject, at least in the basic word order, and are thus the farthest from the verb, the complement phrases are interposed between the subject and the verb:

Adverbial Phrase-Subject-Object-Verb:
múnta+da guɲo b'urú+j[e] líímamummi
farm+LOC people maize+HAB work+3P
"They cultivate maize in the farm"

Subject-Complement Clause-Verb:
ʔáni+j[e] ali+nto háásoobo
I+HAB A. +with speak-A-1S
"I converse (habitually) with Ali"

Imperative sentences exclude the presence of an expressed subject:
ʔákkʷa+ʔi
leave-H2-S+me
"leave me!"

gʷáɲa ʔukʷatta súgi+ni
stay-H2-S here wait-H1-S+us
"stay here [and] wait for us!"

III.2.1.2. Marked word-orders

III.2.1.2.1. Object fronting

A focussed object noun phrase can be preposed to the subject:

gʷíttsa ʔúku ʔíni gaanó+ku lúbbi
child that FOC man+that hit-A-3M
"the child, the man beats him"

gʷíttsa ʔúku+na gaanó+ku lubbi
child that+PERF man+that hit-C1-3M
"the child, the man has beaten him"

As can be seen from the examples, when a noun is fronted, its position in the normal SOV sentence is recalled by a deictic (in the examples above, affixed to the object noun).

III.2 1.2.2. SVX permutation

A much more commonly used possibility is that of placing one or more constituents after the verb (SVX). This violation of the SOV basic word order basically serves a topical function.

An SVX word order is moreover the only possibility in most of the complex sentences; in this case, the order SVX (where X is here a dependent sentence) serves the classical purpose of avoiding center-embedding.

The object normally follows the verb in imperative sentences:

7) héé?[e? ?]+í+?a kíbo+k[o]
give-H2-S +me+VEN gourd+that
"give (S) me the gourd"

The same permutation of the basic word order can also be used - under the influence of Sw. syntax - in non-imperative sentences:

8) ?á+na+te vaħo déélа
0+PERF+AFF see-C1-1S girl
"I have seen the girl"

9) ?ídi ?í+na+te ?éétitti ?áɲi
she me+PERF+AFF hear-C2-3F I
"she has heard me"

The positioning of the object clause after the verb in imperative sentences is in itself just a subcase of the general rule by which dependent clauses follow the main sentence:

10) hóód'i+da mááka k'óóboto
tell-IMPV-S+LOC what want-A-2S
"say what you want"

The subject too can be switched after the verb:

11) b'á+ka+?íɲa ?élejo ?áɲi
NEG+IRR+them know-A-1S I
"I do not know them"

III.2.1.2.3. Focus

A nominal phrase can be focalized with the use of ?íni or its bound variant -ni. The focalized nominal phrase can be either subject or object, as the following examples show:

12) nát'ettsa ?ít[o] ?íni d'aháálottsi
female that-F FOC D.-F
"that woman is Dahalo"

13) nat'á+t[o] ?íni te lúbuto
woman+that-F FOC AFF beat-A-2S
"you are going to beat the woman"

g^{w}íttsa ?úku ?íni gááno+ku lúbbi
child that FOC old-that beat-A-3M
"the child, the man beats him"

The use of ?íni is possible in positive, negative, and interrogative sentences; in [illegible] case, it is also used with simple phrases, which would be unmarked in positive [illegible]tences:

?uk^{w}a ?íni k'óóbo
this FOC want-A-1S
"I want this one"

?áɲi b'á+ka+ni ali | ?áɲi abedi
I NEG+IRR+FOC A. I A.
"I am not Ali, I am Abedi"

b'á+ka+ni+vá+?a ħáʕi
NEG+IRR+FOC+PAST+VEN men
"they were not men"

?ááta ?íni dáákottsi
you FOC D.-F
"are you (SF) Daako?"

ħáájo ?úku ?íni jíkotu
man that FOC who-M
"who is that man?"

déélа ?ít[o] ?íni jíkottsi
girl that-F FOC who-F
"who is that girl?"

?uk^{w}a ?íni máákatu
this FOC what-M
"what is this?"

III.2.2. The object

Objects follow the subject in basic word order; they can be, and often are, [illegible] by kabe. The use of kabe is especially frequent when the object follows the [illegible], and its syntactic function cannot therefore be deduced from word order.

While the absence of an expressed object implies a 3 one (see), pronominal [illegible] are expressed through the bound pronouns with L tone (cf. II.1.5.1.2.) and, [illegible]ally, with the (bound-) independent pronouns followed by kabe. The following [illegible]ces are an attempt to illustrate all the possibilities of object expresssion:

?á+va dabi dzéé?e
0+PAST animal kill-C2-1S
"I killed the prey"

23) ʔáąta ʔéleto dawa kabê
you know-A-2S D. ACC
"do you know Dawa?"
(cf. III.2.4.2. for rising-falling intonation in YES-NO questions)

24) ʔąni te ʔélejo gúho+k[o]
I AFF know-A-1S person+that
"I know that man"

25) ʔąni ʔélejo+kj
I know-A-1S+you(SF)
"I know you (SF)"

26) ɲąni ʔéleto+ni
we know-A-2S+us
"you know us"

27) ʔáąta ʔéleto+ni ɲąnî
you know-A-2S+us we
"do you know us?"

28) ʔáąta ʔéleto+ʔi ʔán+kabê
you know-A-2S+me I+ACC
"do you know me?"

kabe can be reduced to kae and to -ke; the latter is a postposition, suffixed to the last member of the object noun phrase (while the alternation between kabe and kae seems to be a matter of rhythm of speech).

kabe and its alternants have a general accusative meaning (and are glossed by "ACC") and they can indicate the direction of movement (instead of the more generic -da). -ke is found in kééke "to where?, whither?", contrasting with kééda "where?" (of state; cf. II.1.5.4.); there are, however, some apparent irregularities, where kééke is used without motion being involved.

III.2.2. The indirect object (benefactive)

Indirect object (or benefactive: "for, on behalf of...") phrases involve a difference from the object phrase only as far as the bound pronouns are concerned (indirect object having H tone, object L tone; see II.1.5.1.2.). Bound pronouns are often followed by ʔá- "VEN". When a noun or an independent pronoun is used, these phrases make use of the same kabe accusative marker, or of just the same word order, found in object phrases. We label this phrase "indirect object" (tag: IND) since "benefactive" would logically exclude sentences such as the following:

29) ʔá+ni+ʔ[e] kíbodda kúsi fáffaʕʕi
0+us-IND+VEN gourds too smash-A-3M
"He is breaking our gourds, too"

Other examples:

hééʔe+ní+ʔa maʔa
give-H2-S+us-IND+VEN water
"give us water!"
(underlying tones: /hééʔe+ní+ʔá/)

ʔąni+va maʔa hééʔe ʔú+kabe
I+PAST water give-C2-1S he+ACC
"I gave him water"

ʔąni+va dééla hééʔe maʔa
I+PAST girl give-C2-1S water
"I gave the girl water"

III.2.3. The nominal sentence

"True" nominal (i.e., verbless) sentences occur only in unmarked (affirmative non-past) sentences of the type "X is Y", and when the noun phrase is simple, consisting of the simple noun, perhaps with a modifier, or a pronoun:

ʔąni d'ahąálottsi
"I (F) am Dahalo"

ʔáąta d'ahąálota
"you (SM) are Dahalo"

ɲąni dąákotąni
"we are Daako"

ʔátta dąákotąni
"you (P) are Daako"

nát'ettsa ʔít[o] d'ahąálottsi
"this woman is Dahalo"

dééla ʔíta vínattsa
"this girl is beautiful"

Past affirmative nominal sentences use the past marker -va:

ʔúdu+va gúbaalaale
he+PAST hunter
"he was a hunter"

ʔá+va gúbaalaali
0+PAST hunters
"they were hunters"

Negative nominal sentences make use of the verb ʔeek- "to be":

41) b'á+ka ʔééketo víne
NEG+IRR be-A-2S good
"you (SM) are not good"

42) b'á+ka ʔéékeno ⁿbííjajji
NEG+IRR be-A-1P bad-P
"we are not bad"

43) b'á+va ʔeeka ɦáájo
NEG+IRR be-1 man
"he was not a man"

III.2.3.1. The copula

A true copula is -sú (COP); the H tone is shifted back (according to TR 3). The use of -sú remains to be investigated in detail; in particular, it is difficult to state why -sú is used instead of the simple nominal sentence in the following:

44) ʔúdu+su dáákotu
he+COP D.-M
"he is a Daako"

45) ʔááta sáára+ku[ʔ]ú+su jíka
you name+your(SM)+COP who
"what is your name?"

46) ʔáni sáára+tts+í+su abedi
I name+my+M+COP A.
"my name is Abedi"

47) káádi+su[ʔ]+ú+su ʔá+ji+kʷa guɦa+ke báɦa
work+his+M+COP 0+HAB+this people+ACC kill-I
"his work was to kill people"

48) ʔukʷa gettsi+ki ʔa+vá+su jíka
this bring-C1-3M+you-F O+PAST+COP who
"who was to bring you here?"

As may be seen, the copula can be used in affirmative and interrogative sentences, and also in the past, but no instances of its use in negative sentences have been found.

All informants agreed that the two constructions (with and without -sú) have the same meaning.

III.2.4. Questions

III.2.4.1. WH-Questions

Fronting of the interrogative word is optional, i.e., the interrogative word can occupy the same position as a noun with the same syntactic function in non-interrogative sentences:

ʔááta kééke+va kééjikútti
you where+PAST bear-PASS-C2-2S
"where were you born?"

ʔááta+va kééke kééjikútti

Cf. the answer:

ʔáni+va nkunumbi kééjiku
I+PAST N. bear-PASS-C2-1S
"I was born in Mkunumbi"

ʔááta kééke j[é]+ʔa gʷáɦata
you where HAB+VEN live-A-2S
"where do you live?"
(note the use of kééke for a state, instead of kééda)

or, being inherently focussed, the interrogative word can be fronted at the beginning of the sentence:

mááka+b'ara+va háʃati ʔamu
what+before+PAST come-C2-2S L.
"when did you come to Lamu?"

mááka+dá+ʔi+na háʃati ʔukʷatta
what+LOC+by+PERF come-C2-2S here
"why have you come here?"

ʔáni+na ʔukʷatta háʃa ʔááta kabe vaɦe+kú+ʔ[e]
I+PERF here come-C2-1S you ACC see-I+you(SM)+VEN
"I have come here in order to see you (SM)"

háʃa ʔa+kú+ʔ[e] ʔááta kabe vaɦe

III.2.4.2. YES-NO questions

D has no neutral interrogative word; in the absence of a "wh-word", the interrogative meaning is rendered by a rising-falling intonation on the final syllables (marked /^/ on the last syllable); cf. the following statement and question:

55) ʔááta ʔéleto+ʔi
you know-A-2S+me
"you (S) know me"

56) ʔááta ʔéleto+ʔî
you know-A-2S+me
"do you (S) know me?"

III.3. THE TEXT

In a text, the verb which has just presented a new piece of information is often repeated, in the subordinative mood and followed by -ʔí ("by") or -ká (IRR) and the determinative, thus building a subordinate which constitutes the logical premise to the information which follows:

1) ʔukʷa kééki | kééke+vá+ʔi+k[o] hoddzi+da
this look-C2-3M look-D1-3M+PAST+by+that say-C1-3M+LOC
"he looked; as he had looked, he said to him"

2) ʔaddo lííma+ani háʕettsi+da | háʕettsi+vá+ʔi+k[ó]+ka
day 2+GEN come-C1-3P+LOC come-C1-3P+PAST+by+that+IRR
ʔá+va+te d'úʔikakuddzi
0+PAST+AFF untie-PASS-C1-3M
"the following day they came to it; after they had come to it, it was untied"

APPENDIX 1

TEXTS

Introduction

The five texts which follow were all produced by Dawa Hamadi.

The reason for choosing these, and not others, is essentially linguistic, as they are richer in vocabulary and syntax. Others would have been perhaps more interesting from an ethnological point of view.

The same abbreviations and tags used in the grammar are used; for convention, different words have been glossed differently in the infra-linear translation: so, ʔud'- is constantly translated by "say", ʔibed- by "tell", and joom- by "speak". After the gloss of a verbal stem means that the verb is inherently plural.

The English translation aims at reproducing as far as possible the original, even the expense of the style.

TEXT No. 1

"The Story of the Astute Hare and the Drought"

Version recorded on 10.2.1988

dábima šírammi+va | tsúⁿgule hollo dokóómi ʔá+va jeema
animals be-there-C1-3P+PAST hare with elephant 0+PAST live-P-E2-3M

rááfiki || vákati ʔúk[o] ʔa+vá+j[e] kásiká[z]i || dokóómi
friend time that 0+PAST+HAB drought elephant

tsúⁿgule+da hoddzi+da | roʔóne kisima faat'áne+ji |
hare+LOC say-C1-3M+LOC go-F1-1P well dig-F1-1P+ALL

tsúⁿgule ʔá+va+kʷa náʕi | hoddzi+da | ʔáɲi b'á+ka
hare 0+PAST+this refuse-C2-3M say-C1-3M+LOC I NEG+IRR

k'óóbo || dokóómi hollo dábima ʔaḍḍe+su+ʔa rattsi
want-A-1S elephant with animals companion+his+F walk-C1-3P

ʔa+vá+ji kisima fáát'ammi | mpaka maʔa ʔá+va+kʷa+da
0+PAST+ALL well dig-C1-3P until water 0+PAST+this+LOC

tippéémi || ʔaddo lííma+ani ʔa+te gúħo ʔákkʷi | wáraaba
go-out-C2-3M day 2+GEN 0+AFF person leave-C2-3M hyena

|| ʔíbemummi+da | ʔááta ʔukʷátta gʷáħa | tsúⁿgule ʔukʷá+ʔi
tell-C1-3P+LOC you here stay-H2-S hare this+by

b'á+ka+ka d'irra | ʔummámu ʔá+va+kʷa rattsi | ʕaga ʕaame+da
NEG+IRR+IRR pass-G1-3M they 0+PAST+this walk-C1-3P food eat-I+LOC

10. || wáraaba gʷaɦɦi | kékke+va+kʷ[e] tsúˆgule+ku ká+ʔa+te
hyena stay-C2-3M look-D1-3M+PAST+this hare+that IRR+VEN+AFF

ratta || hoddzi+da | tsúˆgule | ʔukʷá+ʔi b'á+ka d'iríta ||
walk-G1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC hare this+by NEG+IRR pass-G1-2S

hoddzi+da | héé | kʷani ʔáɲi ʔukʷá+ʔi d'ire k'óóbo | ʔáɲi
say-C1-3M+LOC ID why I this+by pass-I want-A-1S I

manní+ku kabe ráto || rattsi+da tsúˆgule ʔá+va+dá+ji+kʷa
there+that ACC walk-A-1S walk-C1-3M+LOC hare 0+PAST+LOC+ALL+this

haʃʃi | hoddzi+da | ʔukʷatta maʔa hoddzi+na dokóómi b'á+ka
come-C1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC here water say-C1-3M+PERF elephant NEG+IRR

15. ʔéditta || hoddzi+da | ʔáɲi maʔa b'á+ka k'óóbo | ʔá+na+kʷa
fetch-B-2S say-C1-3M+LOC I water NEG+IRR want-A-1S 0+and+this

te kééko | maʔa+kúnu+kʷa k'úúɦuma au híímate || ʔáá
AFF look-A-1S water+your(P)+this white or black ID

kééki b'asi ráʔine ʔukʷattá+ʔi | ʔá+va+kʷa kekki |
look-H1-S just go-F2-1P here+by 0+PAST+this look-C1-3M

kékke+vá+ʔi+k[o] hoddzi+da víne maʔa ʔukʷa || hoddzi+da |
look-D1-3M+PAST+by+that say-3M+LOC good water this say-C1-3M+LOC

héla | ʔá+ku+ʔi kínto ʃáˆ/adido || nala+kʷa kammi ʔá+va+kʷa
come-on! 0+you+by thing make-taste-A-1S honey+this hold-C1-3M O+PAST+this

20. ʃáˆ/adídi || ʔa+te táɦame vaɦɦi || hoddzi+da | ʔáá |
make-taste-C2-3M 0+AFF sweet see-C1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC ID

nala+kʷa víne | kínto ʔukʷa víne | hoddzi+da | ʔáá b'asi
honey+this good thing this good say-C1-3M+LOC ID just

k'óóboto | ʔáá k'óóbo || hoddzi+da | b'asi d'úʔaje+ku |
want-A-2S ID want-A-1S say-C1-3M+LOC just tie-F1-1S+you

ʔukʷa d'úʔaddzi | ʔá+va+te maʔa+su+ʔu ʔídibbi
this tie-C1-3M 0+PAST+AFF water+his+M fetch-C1-3M

ʔuk'éémi+vá+ʔi+kʷa ro??i | ʔaddo lííma+ani háʃettsi+da |
wake-C2-3M+PAST+by+this go-C1-3M day 2+GEN come-C1-3P+LOC

25. háʃettsi+vá+ʔi+k[o]+kʷa ʔa+te d'úʔikakuddzi | jíko+kú+na
come-C1-3P+PAST+by+that+this 0+AFF untie-PASS-C1-3M who+you+PERF

d'úʔaddzi | ʔíbettsi+da | tsúˆgule || ʔaddo lííma+ani kúsi
tie-C1-3M tell-C1-3M+LOC hare day 2+GEN too

k'óbe hoddzi+da | ʔáɲi ʔaddo+kʷa ʔáɲi ʔakkʷo+ʔi || dokóómi+ku
tortoise say-C1-3M+LOC I day+this I leave-H2-P+me elephant+that

hoddzi+da | ʔáá | wáraaba b'á+na kare ʔááta karáto | ʔáɲi
say-C1-3M+LOC ID hyena NEG+PERF can-I you can-A-2S I

ʔaddo+kʷa ʔakkʷo+ʔi | ʔukʷatta gʷaɦe | ʔá+va+kʷa ʔákkʷi ||
day+this leave-H2-P+me here stay-F1-1S 0+PAST+this leave-C2-3M

k'óbe gʷaɦɦi | kékke+va+kʷe tsúˆgulé+ku ká+ʔa+te ratta
tortoise stay-C1-3M look-D1-3M+PAST+this hare+that IRR+VEN+AFF walk-G1-3M

ʔúdu te kisima kotta ʔót'i | té+ji+k[o] gʷaɦɦi | rattsí+ʔa
he AFF well in enter-C2-3M AFF+ALL+that stay-C1-3M walk-C1-3M+VEN

kékkekki b'aadu gúño | hoddzi+da | háye | ʔaddo+kʷa
look-RED-C1-3M without person say-C1-3M+LOC go-on! day+this

kitíten+na | b'a+kúnna+va jeema || haʃʃi ʔukʷa ʔót'i |
run-P-C1-2P+PERF NEG+your(PM)+PAST live-I come-C1-3M this enter-C2-3M

ʔót'i+k[o] maʔa+kʷa ʔídibbi | /u//úkke+va+kʷ[é]+ʔi+k[o]
enter-C2-3M+that water+this fetch-C1-3M fill-RED-D1-3M+PAST+this+by+that

kíboddá+k[o] | ʔukʷa+te d'úk'udd'uk'u k'obbi ||
gourds+that this+AFF spoil-RED-I want-C1-3M

hoddzi+va+kʷ[é]+ʔi+k[o] ʔa+te+kʷa kammi | dakáʃa ʔukotta |
say-C1-3M+PAST+this+by+that 0+AFF+this hold-C1-3M leg there

ʔákkʷa+ʔi ʔákkʷa+ʔi | ʔákkʷa+ʔi | dakáʃa lííma+ani páɦo+kú+ka
leave-H2-S+me leave-H2-S+me leave-H2-S+me leg 2+GEN beat-A-1S+you+IRR

| ʔa+te dzáá?ado ||dakáʃa lííma+ani+kʷa páɦɦe+vá+ʔi+k[o]
0+AFF kill-A-1S leg 2+GEN+this beat-D1-3M+PAST+by+that

ʔá+va+kʷa kammi | ʔákkʷa+ʔi ʔákkʷa+ʔi | dába+kʷá+ʔi kusi
0+PAST+this hold-C1-3M leave-H2-S+me leave-H2-S+me hand+this+by too

páɦo+ku | dába ʔukʷá+ʔi | dába ʔukʷá+ʔi páɦo+ku kusi |
beat-A-1S+you hand this+by hand this+by beat-A-1S+you too

ʔá+va+kʷa kammi | dába lííma+ani ʔukʷá+ʔi kúsi
0+PAST+this hold-C1-3M hand 2+GEN this+by too

páɲɲe+vá+ʔi+k[o] ʔá+va+kʷa kammi || dokóómi heddo
beat-D1-3M+PAST+by+that 0+PAST+this hold-C1-3M elephant evening

ʔekki+va+kʷé+ʔi+k[o] háʃammí+ʔa | haʃettsi+va tsúˆgule+ku
be-C1-3M+PAST+this+by+that come-C1-3P+here come-C1-3P+PAST hare+that

b'oma maʔa ʔukʷatta | ʔá+va+kʷa kammi dokóómi ʔá+va+kʷa
sleep-B-3M water here 0+PAST+this hold-C1-3M elephant 0+PAST+this

45. gúdi gárima ʔukʷatta | jamaa ʔa+du+va+kʷa paṭádi | mááka
remove-C2-3M outside here group 0+him+PAST+this get-C2-3M what

ʔúúno kali jíkotu gʷíttsa ʔúk[o] || dokóómi ʔukʷa hoddzi+da |
do-A-1P harsh who little that elephant this say-C1-3M+LOC

ʔukʷa ʔáɲi hee ʔó+ʔi | ʔukʷa kammi | hoddzi+da kali jíkotu
this I give-H2-P+me-BEN this hold-C1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC harsh who

gʷíttsa ʔúk[o] mááka+du ʔúno | ʔáámininna ʔamma ʔukʷa |
little that what+him-BEN do-A-1P little like this

ʔíbettsi+da ko ʔe ʔáɲi | ʔáɲi kínto fálo+du || kammi+va
tell-C1-3M+LOC wait-H1-P I I thing make-A-1S+him-BEN hold-C1-3M+PAST

50. rik'a+kʷa ʔá+va+te viṭ avi ṭédi| viṭ avi ṭédi mpaka rik'a+kʷa
tail+this 0+PAST+AFF rotate-C2-3M rotate-C2-3M until tail+this

ʔá+va+kʷa po ʔéémi | tsúˆgule ʔá+va+kʷa kʷáʃi || kʷáʃi+va |
0+PAST+this be-consumed-C2-3M hare 0+PAST+this run-C2-3M run-C2-3M+PAST

ʔáfiteda gʷaɲɲí+ka rik'á+k[o] ʔa+te va+addzi [[2 times] ||
shadow live-C1-3M+IRRtail+that 0+AFF pain-C1-3M

gʷaɲɲi vaɲɲi+va+kʷ[é]+ʔi saa ʔukʷá+na+te gííti
stay-C1-3M see-C1-3M+PAST+this+by time this+PERF+AFF sleep-P-C2-3M

ṭume+mámusu ʔ+u ʔukotta | ʔuk'éémi ʔéega+su ʔ+u ʔukʷa kammi |
bush+their+M there get-up-C2-3M fire+his+M this hold-C1-3M

55. ʔíɲa+vá+ji+nto ʔukʷa gúbi | ʔákkale ʔá+va+kʷa láɲi ||
them+PAST+ALL+with this burn-C2-3M all 0+PAST+this finish-C2-3M

képpa ʔá+va+kʷa vátl'a ||
finish-C2-1S 0-PAST-this return-C2-1S

Free Translation

Once upon a time there were the animals; the hare and the elephant lived as friends. At that time there was a drought. The elephant said to the hare: "Let's go to dig a well", but the hare refused, saying: "I don't want to!".

The elephant, together with his fellow-animals, went and dug a well, until water came out.

The following day he appointed as guard the hyena; they said to it: "Stay here, you, and don't let the hare pass by here!". And they went to eat food.

The hyena stayed, and it saw the hare walking in its direction. It said: "Hare! Don't pass by here!". The hare said: "Hey! Why should I want to pass by? I just want to go there".

The hare went and came there. [The hyena] said: "The elephant said that you should not fetch water". It said: "I don't want water. I am just looking [to see] if your water is black or white". "O.K., come on". It looked, and after that it said: "This water is good!", and it said: "Let me make you taste a thing". It took some honey and let [the hyena] taste it. [The latter] saw that it was sweet, and said: "Ah! This honey is good; this thing is good!". [The hare] said: "Do you want it?".

[The hyena] said: "Yes, I want it" - "I [must] just tie you up". It tied [the other], then it fetched water, and afterwards it rose and went away.

The following day [the elephant] came, and after the hyena was untied [said]: "Who tied you?" - [The hyena] said: "The hare".

And the following day the tortoise said: "Let me stay here today!". The elephant said: "The hyena could not [prevent the hare from fetching water], how could you?" - "Today, leave me, let me stay here!". [The elephant] left it there.

The tortoise stayed and watched until the hare came: he [: the tortoise] entered the well and stayed there; [the hare] went and looked: nobody! It said:

"Ehi! Have you run away today? Aren't you here?" It came and entered.

It entered, fetched the water and filled its containers, and after that it wanted to foul the water.

It said that, and then [the tortoise] caught its leg.

"Leave me! Leave me!". "I'll beat (you) your other leg too! I'll kill you!".

It hit [the hare] on its other leg and caught it. "Leave me! Leave me!". "I'll 40. beat you on your other paw too! I'll beat you on your other paw too! On your other paw too!". It caught [the hare]; after having beaten it on its other paw, it held it.

When evening had fallen, the elephant came. They came and the hare was lying in the water. The elephant got hold of it and removed it from underneath [the water]. The group [of the animals] got hold of it: "What harm shall we do to this little one?"

The elephant said: "Leave it to me!" It took it. [The elephant] said: "What harm shall I do to this little one, to a little thing like this?". [Then] it said: "Wait! I, I'll do something to it". It took it by its tail and swung it round. It swung it round until the [hare's] tail was all consumed, and the hare ran away.

It ran away and stayed in the shadow, while its tail was hurting. It stayed and watched until they were sleeping in their bush.

[Then] it got up and took its fire, and with it, it burned them. They all died. I finished and came back.

Note:

We have here a Dahalo version of a well-known tale, very abridged in comparison with the Swahili version given by Knappert (1970: 154 foll.); e.g., here only the hyena and the tortoise act as guards of the well (in Knappert's version, the giraffe, the buffalo, the lion, the elephant itself, and, finally, the tortoise act as guards). In the final scene, here, it is the hare who burns the animals, while in Knappert's text the hare takes its vengeance, by persuading the hyena to take its place. The animals then burn the hyena believing they are burning the hare.

It will also be observed that our informant politely avoided elaborating on how the tortoise caught the hare (in the Swahili text, by holding it fast with its anus).

The beginning of the story (here dábima šírammi+va "there were animals", more often guħo gʷáħammi+va "there were people") recurs in the other Dahalo texts. The end, too, is a stereotype: képpa ʔá+va+kʷa vátl'a "I finished and came back" (see also texts No. 2 and 3).

TEXT No. 2
"The Story of the Two Brothers"
Recorded on 29.1.1988

1. guħo gʷáħammí+va || ʔá+va ħáájo kúsi širri | hollo gʷittso
persons stay-C1-3P+PAST 0+PAST man too exist-C1-3M with youngs

ʔa+su[ʔ]+u | gʷittso ʔa+su+[ʔ]u+va lííma | ʔá+va nat'a hollo
0+his+M youngs 0+his+PAST 2 0+PAST woman with

ħáájo || nat'á+ta+ke+vá+ji+te łággʷa | ħáájo+k[o]
man woman+this-F+ACC+PAST+HAB+AFF love-E1-3M man+that

b'á+ka+vá+ji łággʷa || ħáájo+kʷa+ke ʔa+vá+ji monno lúbba ||
NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB love-E1-3M man+this+ACC 0+PAST+HAB very hit-E1-3M

5. síku[z]ote lubbi | b'ura ʔuk'éémi+ka+kʷ[é]+na+te lubbi |
always hit-C1-3M morning get-up-C2-3M+IRR+this+by+PERF+AFF hit-C1-3M

kínṭo ʔugge kínṭo b'á+ka ʔugga || gʷíttsa ka+va raha
thing do-F1-3M thing NEG+IRR do-G1-NEG-3M young IRR+PAST rest

b'á+ka tl'aggi || ʔá+va gʷáħammi | mpaka gʷíttsa+k[o] vaħħi
NEG+IRR have-C1-3M 0+PAST stay-C1-3P until young+that see-C1-3M

mááte | táábu monno vaħħi+k[o] | gʷíttsa+k[o] manni ʔá+va
what distress very see-C1-3M+that young+that far 0+PAST

kʷakkʷáʕi | ʔá+va gúdde+da kʷáʕi || ʔá+va ʔinto nat'á+to
run-RED-C2-3M 0+PAST forest+LOC run-C2-3M 0+PAST with woman+that-F

b'ákiʔádi | te łavá+t[o] || gʷaħħi+nto gʷíttsa ʔa+su+ʔa |
remain-C2-3M AFF love-B-3M+that-F stay-C1-3M+with young 0+his+F

gʷíttsa ħáájo+kʷa b'á+ka+j[e] buḍḍáttsa || ħáájo tippéémi+da
young man+this NEG+IRR+HAB ask-E1-3M man come-out-C2-3M+LOC

ʔá+va+kʷa hóóvaati+di || ʔít[o] kúsi+na ħáájo+sí[ʔ]+ni
0+PAST+this marry-C2-3M+her that-F too+and man+her+FOC

róʔote+vá+ʔi+k[o] | ʔídi ⁿḍuugo+si+ke łóóto || gʷáħató+ji
go-D1-3F+PAST+by+that she kinsman+her+ACC love-A-3F stay-A-3F+ALL

ʔárasa kúsi+n[é]+ʔi | lóʕikútti | mini vattúkʷe jéémi ||
wife too+and+by bring-PASS-C2-3F house 1 live-C2-3P

gʷáħammi | ʔárasá+to+ká+j[e] kééta | ʔídi
stay-C1-3P wife+that-F+IRR+HAB bear-child-E1-3F she

haʕáti+vá+ji+k[ó]+j[e] gʷittso loʕítto || ʔárasá+to ʔinááfa
come-D2-3F+PAST+HAB+that+ALL youngs bring-C1-3F wife+that-F jealousy

laláto || b'á+ka+ji łóóta ʔárasá+ta kabe | ħáájo+kʷa háʕi+ka
do-C1-3F NEG+IRR+HAB love-E2-2S wife+this-F ACC man+this come-C2-3M+IRR

ʔa+vá+ji fitina ʔot'óto | roʔʔí+ka háʕi+ka+da
0+PAST+ALL discord enter-C1-3F go-C1-3M+IRR come-C2-3M+IRR+LOC

ʔa+vá+ji fitina ʔot'óto | há | nat'a+ku+ʔá+ta gʷíttsa
0+PAST+ALL discord enter-C1-3F ID woman+your+F+this-F child

b'á+ka+ji kééketo | nat'a+ku+ʔá+ta b'á+ka+ji súúkento |
NEG+IRR+ALL look-A-3F woman+your+F+this-F NEG+IRR+ALL settle-A-3F

ħáájo+k[o] b'á+ka kamme || gʷáħammi hata ʔaddó+k[o] |
man+that NEG+IRR take-H stay-C1-3P until day+that

ħáájo+k[o] te safari roʔʔi | safari róʔʔe+vá+ʔi+k[o] | ʔídi
man+that AFF voyage go-C1-3M voyage go-D1-3M+PAST+by+that she

dabara+kʷa kae | ʔá+va háʕate+da rááfiki+si+da hootto+da |
behind+this ACC 0+PAST come-D1-3F+LOC friend+her+LOC say-C1-3F+LOC

ħáájo+ni | ʔíbetto+da ʔaddo+kʷa | ʔárattsá+to vaddánne |
man+FOC tell-C1-3F+LOC today co-wife+that-F carry-F1-1P

ʔattaħáne+ji | ⁿḍuugo váddati hííma || rattsi+nto | ʔa+vá+ji
throw-F2-1P+ ALL kinsman carry-C2-3F night walk-C1-3P+with 0+PAST+ALL

gʷittso gávajú+úni+da kʰáʰi || ʔíbemummi+da | gʷáʰa ʔukʷatta
youngs snakes+GEN+LOC put-C2-3P tell-C1-3P+LOC stay-H2-S here

súgi+ni || gʷáʰatí+ji | hollo naapo ʔa+si+ʔa || gʷaʰáto
wait-H1-S+us stay-C2-3F+ALL with baby 0+her+F stay-C1-3F

gʷittso gávajú+k[o] ʔinto | t'ooʃóto mééši+n[e] to+da d'árati
youngs snakes+that with collect-C1-3F place+FOC that-F+LOC put-C2-3F

|| míída yááyo ʔummámu+su+ʔu háʃati | háʃati+vá+ʔi+k[o] |
at-once mother they+his+M come-C2-3F come-C2-3F+PAST+by+that

30. há | tʰúnti yááyo ʔummámu+su+ʔá+to || gʷittso ʔúkummámu
ID be-angry-C2-3F mother they+his+F+that-F youngs these

hoddzen+ta | yááyo | b'á+ka tʰúnta ʔíta+ni+na ʔá+na kutta
say-C1-3P+LOC mother NEG+IRR be-angry-G2-2S this-F+us+and 0+PERF there

ginne ká+na kárane ʔíkʷa+ke ʔíddzabi | ʔá+na+kʷa
sleep-I IRR+and can-D1-1P here+ACC climb-I 0+PERF+this

ʰǫóʔadíto+ʔi+ni ʔukʷatta d'áratí+ʔa || ʔíta gúho vínaddza
approach-C1-3F+by+us here put-C2-3F+VEN this-F person good-F

monno | há || gííti ʔukotta ʔídi hollo gave holio
very ID sleep-C2-3F there she with snake with

35. gʷittso+si[ʔ]+i mpaká+su b'ura || b'ura ʔárasa háʃati+da |
youngs+her+M until+COP morning morning wife come-C2-3F+LOC

ʔukʷatta mááka ʔúúto | b'á+ki+na dzaaʔe | kééketo | ha |
here what do-A-2S NEG+you-F+PERF die-I look-A-3F ID

ʔúk'e roʔóne | há | váddati || rattsi+nto mpaka gʷittso
get-up-H1-P go-F1-1P ID carry-C2-3F walk-C1-3P+with until youngs

b'áʔimá+áni+da kaajín+tsi || ʔukotta ʔagáddati ʔukotta |
lions+GEN+LOC put-C2-3P+ ALL there spend-the-day-C2-3F there

ʔagáddati mpaká+su hííma | hííma ʔééki+vá+ʔi+k[o]
spend-the-day-C2-3F until+COP night night be-C2-3M+PAST+by+that

40. háʃettsi+vá+di k'át'ammi k'át'ammí+ʔa |
come-C1-3P+PAST+her-BEN go-and-look-C1-3P go-and-look-C1-3P+VEN

ʔukʷatta mááka ʔúúto | b'á+ki+na dzaaʔe | ha | ʔúk'e ʔúk'e
here what do-A-2S NEG+you-F+PERF die-I ID get-up-H2-P get-up-H2-P

roʔóne | vádda ti || mpaká+ji+kʷa rattsi mpaka kábaʔe+da |
go-F1-1P carry-C2-3F until+ALL+this walk-C1-3P until baobab+LOC

ʃánuta káʃime guʰó+óni || ʔíbemummi+da | ʔukotta gʷáʰa+ji |
heads many persons+GEN tell-C1-3P+LOC there stay-H2-S+ALL

ʔummámu ʔukʷatta b'á+ji+ke ranni | ʔa+vá+ʔi+kʷa rattsi ||
they here NEG+ALL+ACC walk-I 0+PAST+by+this walk-C1-3P

róʔoto gʷáʰató+ji | mpaka hííma ʔekki+va+kʷé+ʔi+k[o] | gúho
go-A-3F stay-A-3F+ALL until night be-D2-3M+PAST+this+by+that person

ʔá+va+kʷa háʃi | haʃʃi+vá+ʔi+k[o] gúho | gúho ʔa+ta
0+PAST+this come-C2-3M come-D2-3M+PAST+by+that person person 0+this-F

gʷáʰata || kekki+di || gʷíttsattsíttse | roʔʔi b'ómi+ji
stay-B-3F look-C1-3M+her child-having-F go-C1-3M sleep-C2-3M+ALL

mpaká+su b'ura | b'ura ʔá+va+kʷa ʃíji | háʃati+da |
until+COP morning morning 0+PAST+this call-C2-3M come-C2-3F+LOC

ʔíbettsi+da | ʔááta ʔukʷatta jíko kí+na géti || ʔíbettoda |
tell-C1-3M+LOC you here who you-F+PERF send-C2-3M tell-C1-3F+LOC

ʔukʷatta ʔí+na ʔárattsa géteti | mááka+dá+na roʔáto |
here me+PERF co-wife send-C2-3F what+LOC+PERF go-C1-2S

ʔíbetto+da | b'á+ka+ʔi tʰóóto | ʔúdu kekki ʔá+va+kʷa
tell-C1-3F+LOC NEG+IRR+me love-A-3F he look-C1-3M 0+PAST+this

b'ári | hoddzi+da | ʔááta ʔápi ʔéleto+ʔi | ʔíbetto+da | ʔá
recognize-C2-3M say-C1-3M+LOC you I know-A-2S+me tell-C1-3F+LOC ID

b'á+ka+ku ʔélejo | ʔíbettsi+da | ʔápi+su ʰǫuugo+kí+k[o] ʔíni
NEG+IRR you know-A-1S tell-C1-3M+LOC I+COP kinsman+your-F+that FOC

| b'ááb'a monno lúbba+ʔi+vá+j[e]+k[o] || ʔéé | ʔá+va+kʷa
father very beat-E1-3M+me+PAST+HAB+that ID 0+PAST+this

b'árati | ʔíbetto+da | ʰbona ʔukʷatti ʔukʷaddzi guʰo+ke
recognize-C2-2S tell-3F+LOC why now nowadays persons+ACC

ʔááto | ʔíbettsi+da | ʔéé | váák'a ʔí+na ʔammé+kʷa falli |
eat-A-2S tell-C1-3M+LOC ID god me+PERF this-way do-C1-3M

ʔukʷatti ʔukʷa || ʔá+ji guʰo+ke ʃágo | ʔááta kúsi gʷáʰa |
now this 0+HAB persons+ACC eat-A-1S you self stay-H2-S

kila kínto géte+kí+ka+j[é]+ʔa || ʔa+vá+ji+kʷa gʷáɦati
every thing send-F2-1S+you-F+IRR+HAB+VEN 0+PAST+ALL+this stay-C2-3F

ᵐɖuugo+si[ʔ]+i+nto | ɦáájo+si[ʔ]+í+k[o] háʃʃe+vá+ʔi+k[o]
kinsman+her+M+with man+her+M+that come-D1-3M+PAST+by+that

60. nat'a+su+ʔá+to búɖɖattsi | ʔíbettoda | b'á+ka ʔélejo | ʔídi
woman+his+F+that-F ask-C1-3M tell-3F+LOC NEG+IRR know-A-1S she

ró?ote+vá+ʔi ʃééto+va || b'á+ka+vá+ji b'ómma híima |
go-D1-3F+PAST+by get-lost-C1-3F+PAST NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB sleep-E1-3M night

ʔaddo ʔa+vá+ji nat'a+su+ʔa ʔéékadiddza || rí ᵐgaddzi kutta
day 0+PAST+HAB woman+his+F look-for-E2-3M go-around-C1-3M there

híima d'ú?i+ká+ji+kʷa b'ommi | b'ura b'árittsí+ka na te
night set-C2-3M+IRR+ALL+this sleep-C1-3M morning rise-C1-3M+IRR and AFF

ʔantádi | rá ᵐgaddzí+ji mpaka ʔaddo+kʷa ʔá+ji+kʷa vaɦɦi
begin-C2-3M go-around-C1-3M+ALL until day+this O+ALL+that see-C1-3M

65. nat'a+su+ʔá+t[o] hollo gʷíttsa+su[ʔ]+u || hoddzi+da | ʔukʷa
woman+his+F+that-F with young+his+M say-C1-3M+LOC this

gettsi+ki ʔa+vá+su jíko || ʔíbetto+da | ʔárattsa ᵐgóʔate
bring-C1-3M+you-F 0+PAST+COP who tell-C1-3F+LOC co-wife approach-D1-3F

ʃáttaɦati || rattsi gʷaɦɦi mpaka ʔárago+su[ʔ]+ú+k[o]
throw-C2-3F walk-C1-3M stay-C1-3M until brother-in-law+his+M+that

ʔá+va+dá+ʔi+te háʃi || ʔáragá+su[ʔ]+ú+k[o] hoddzi+da |
0+PAST+LOC+by+AFF come-C2-3M brother-in-law+his+M+that say-C1-3M+LOC

ᵐbona ᵐɖuugo+si[ʔ]+í+ta nat'a+ke ʃáttaɦati | hoddzi+da |
why kinsman+her+M+this-F woman+ACC throw-C2-3F say-C1-3M+LOC

70. ʔápi b'á+ka+va šíro | safari šíro | ʔárasa ᵐgóʔate
I NEG+IRR+PAST be-there-A-1S voyage be-there-A-1S wife approach-D1-3F

ʃáttaɦati || ʔípa ʔá+va+kʷa paṭa ʔántantídi | paṭa |
throw-C2-3F them 0+PAST+this agreement begin-RED-C2-3M agreement

ʔántammi | ʔá+va+kʷa gágggalittsi || ʔíbettsi+da |
begin-C1-3P 0+PAST+this go-home-P-C1-3P tell-C1-3M+LOC

ʔít[o]+ʔi+na háʃatí+ka+dá+ji híima+ka jaagú+k[o]
that-F+by+and come-C2-3F+IRR+LOC+ALL night+IRR cows+that

ʔéétití+ka+te búɖɖuʔedimummi | hóód'i+da | róʔi | jaagú+k[o]
hear-C2-2S+IRR+AFF rush-C2-3P say-G1-S+LOC go-G1-S cows+that

kééki+ji || ʔá+va háʃettsí+ji | gettsi+vá+ʔi+k[o] ʔíni híima
look-H1-S+ALL 0+PAST come-C1-3P+ALL send-D2-3M+PAST+by+that FOC night

ʔá+va jaagú+k[o] ʔéétití+ka+te búɖɖuʔedimummi || hoddzi+da |
0+PAST cows+that hear-C2-3F+IRR+AFF rush-C2-3P say-C1-3M+LOC

ró?i | ró?i | jaagu ʔittsí+ku kééki+ji | ʔárasá+to típpenti
go-H1-S go-H1-S cows my+M+that look-H1-S+ALL wife+that-F go-out-C2-3F

ʔa+vá+ji+kʷa ʃágikútto || ʔúdu+va nat'a+su+ʔa+nto gʷaɦɦi |
0+PAST+ALL+that eat-PASS-C1-3F he+PAST woman+his+F+with stay-C1-3M

hollo gʷíttsa ʔa+su+ʔa || képpa ʔá+va+kʷa vát|'a ||
with young 0+his+F finish-C2-1S 0+PAST+this return-C2-1S

Free Translation

There were people, and there was also a man with his children. His children were two, a girl and a boy. As for the girl, he loved her, but the boy, he did not love him. He beat the boy very much, always he beat him. In the morning, when he woke up, he beat him, whether he had done or had not done anything. The boy did not find peace; they stayed until the boy found himself in great distress, and ran away, into the forest.

The man was left with the girl, whom he loved: he stayed with the girl and he did not bother asking about the boy. A man came and married the girl, and she went with her husband, though loving her brother.

She stayed and another wife was brought, and they lived together in a single house. They stayed so, and the [other] wife did not bear children; she, after she came, bore children. The other wife became jealous, and did not love the girl. She quarelled with the husband when he came: whether he went or he came, she [always] quarelled with him: "Hey! This wife of yours does not look after the child! She won't be quiet!". The man did not care. They stayed, until one day the man went on a journey. After he had left (on the journey), and the [other] wife [had stayed] there, [the co-wife] went and said to her friend - her lover -: "Today let's take my co-wife, and get rid of her". She took her relative [: her co-wife], by night. They went away and left her in a place [where] young snakes [lived].

They said to her: "Remain here, wait for us". She stayed there, with her child. She stayed with the young snakes, collected them and put them in [their proper] place. Suddenly, their mother arrived, and, after she had arrived, she got angry, their mother. The young ones said to her: "Mum! Don't be angry! This [woman], while we were sleeping and could not climb up [to our place], came close to us and put us straight. She is a very good person!" - "Ah!". [So] she stayed there with the snake and her child until the morning. In the morning, the [other] wife came: "Here, what has happened? Haven't you died?" she looked - "Hey! Get up, let's go!" - "O.K.". She took her.

They went on until they put her in a lion-cubs' [den]. There she spent the day (, there she spent the day), until night. When night had fallen, they [: the co-wife and her lover] came in, looking around.
"What has happened here? Haven't you died? Hey! Get up, get up, let's go!". She took her. And they walked until [they came to] a baobab, where many human skulls were lying.
They said to her: "Stay here". They did not go in, [but] went away.
She went in and stayed, until, as night had fallen, a man came. As the man came in, she stood up. He looked at her, and she had her child. He went to sleep until morning. In the morning he called her and, after she had come, he said to her: "Who brought you here?". She said to him: "[My] co-wife brought me here" - "Why has she gone away?" - "She does not love me". He looked and recognized her, and said: "Do you know me?". She said to him: "I do not know you". He told her: "I am your brother whom father beat a lot" - "Ah!" - she recognized him, and said: "Why do you now eat people?". He said to her: "Well! God has done this to me, that I now eat people; [but] you, stay here. Let me provide you [with] everything".
[So] she stayed there with her brother, [while] her husband, having come back, asked his wife [about his other wife]. She said: "I do not know; she went away, and then she got lost". He could not sleep, and day and night he went looking for his wife. He roamed, going to sleep when night had fallen, and beginning [to look around again] in the morning. He went around until one day he saw his wife with his child.
He said to her: "Who was it who brought you here?". She said: "[My] co-wife came and threw [me] out".
He walked in and stayed there until his brother-in-law came; his brother-in-law [: the girl's brother] said to him: "Why has her relative [: the co-wife] thrown the woman out?". He said: "I was not there, I was on a journey: the co-wife came in and threw her out". [The brother] began to settle the matter among them, they (began to) settle[d] it and then went back home. The brother had said: "When you have come back to her [i.e., the co-wife] and you hear the cattle rushing, say [to your co-wife]: 'Go and look at the cattle'".
They came back [home] and when she [i.e., the co-wife] heard the rushing of cows, he said [to his co-wife]: "Go! Go and look at my cattle!". She went out and was eaten [by the other wife's brother]. He [i.e., the husband] stayed with his wife and with her son. I finished and came back.

Note:
That the story was not born out of a traditional hunting-gatherer setting is made clear by the reference to cattle; moreover, no reference is made to any role played by the clan in the wedding: the man just comes, asks for the girl and marries her. An agricultural-pastoral setting (and Islamic culture ?) is therefore to be assumed as its origin.

TEXT No. 3
The Story of Ahmadi and Ishe"
Recorded on 4.2.1988

guho gʷáhammi | guho gʷáhammi | ?íše kúsi+n[é]+?i ?á+va+te
persons stay-C1-3P people stay-C1-3P I. too+and+by 0+PAST+AFF

širri | hollo gʷíttsa ?a+su?+u ?ahmádi || yááyo+su?+á+to
exist-C1-3M with child 0+his+M A. mother+his+F+that-F

?a+vá+?i+te dzáá?ati | yááyo+su?+a ?ahmádi+jní+ta | gʷáhammi
0+PAST+by+AFF die-C2-3F mother+his+F A.+GEN+this-F stay-C1-3P

na b'ááb'a+su?+ú+k[o] na ?íše+kʷa+vá+ji mkullima | ?a+vá+ji+te
and father+his+M+that and I.+this+PAST+HAB farmer 0+PAST+HAB+AFF

líímattsa || sasa gʷíttsa ?a+su+?u+kʷa b'ura ró??a+vá+ji
work-E1-3M now child 0+his+M+this morning go-E1-3M+PAST+HAB

líímani+da | ?a+vá+ji láva+da ?ákkʷa || líímattsí+ji | kisa
work-I1+LOC 0+PAST+HAB home+LOC leave-E1-3M work-C1-3M+ALL then

gʷíttsa ?a+su+[?]u+kʷá+ji ma?a b'ú??a | mini+kotta péélaadiddzi
child 0+his+M+this+HAB water fetch-E2-3M house+there sweep-C1-3M

| ʃaga d'akki | ?a+vá+ji b'ááb'a+su[?]+u+ke gettsa ||
food cook-C1-3M 0+PAST+HAB father+his+M+ACC send-E2-3M

b'ááb'a+su+[?]u ʃaggí+ka+da ?ísakúdi+ka ?ákkale b'úhi
father+his+M eat-C1-3M+IRR+LOC finish-C2-3M+IRR all go-(P)-C2-3M

múnta+da ?a+kʷa líímamummi || mpaka heddo ?ahmádi+kʷá+j[e]
farm+LOC 0+this work-C1-3P until evening A.+this+HAB

?ééga+su?+u d'ú??a ?a+vá+j[e]+?a+kʷa gáálittsa ||
fire+his+M close-E1-3M 0+PAST+HAB+VEN+this go-home-E1-3M

láva+mámusu?+u+kotta ?a+vá+ji j'íírani+mámusu+?a tl'áámumma
home-their+M+there 0+PAST+HAB neighbour+their+F have-E1-3P

nát'etsta | ?ílakini kúsi+né+?i gaano gʷíttsa || ?ukotta
woman but too+and+by old young there

?a+vá+j[e]+da hatá+ji gaano gʷíttsa+ani+kotta gʷahhi |
0+PAST+ALL+LOC until+ALL old young+GEN+there stay-C1-3M

hoddzi+da | b'ááb'a ?ítts+i+ku hííma+ka+te b'ómmi |
say-C1-3M+LOC father my+M+that night+IRR+AFF sleep-A-3M

ʔá+ki+ji+kʷa ʔáátą+ke ɦáɦɦaavittsi ki monno łággʷi |
0+you-F+HAB+this you+ACC mention-RED-A-3M you-F very love-A-3M

ʔáátą+kúsi+n[e] b'á+ka ʔą+ki hóóvaattsi b'ááb'ą ʔíttș+i+ku
you+too+and NEG+IRR 0+you-F marry-A-3M father my+M+that

b'á+ka ǀéénte b'á+ka víntitte ʔan+kabe | hotto+da | b'a+ka
NEG+IRR live-A-2P NEG+IRR look-after-A-2P I+ACC say-C1-3F+LOC NEG+IRR

kú+i[e]+da iommi ioome ʔúk[o] | [2 times]|| há ʔí+i[e]+da te
you+ALL+LOC speak-C1-3M speak-I that ID me+ALL+LOC AFF

20. iommi | gʷaɦɦi hágásobbi | kisá+ʔi+kʷa ro??i || b'ááb'a+su?+u
speak-C1-3M stay-C1-3M converse-C1-3M then+by+this go-C1-3M father+his+M

kúsi+ne háʃi+ka hiíma ʃáámummí+ka+kʷe giití+ka+kʷe
too+and come-C2-3M+IRR night eat-C1-3P+IRR+this sleep-P-C1-3P+IRR+this

ú+kusi+da b'ááb'a+su[ʔ]+u+kotta iommi | b'ááb'a gaano gʷíttsa
he+too+LOC father+his+M+there speak-C1-3M father old young

ʔíto monno łóóto+ku | hótto+ji ʔá+ka ǀéése héé?eti te
that-F very love-A-3F+you say-A-3F+ALL 0+IRR cloth give-C2-2S AFF

hóóvatto gaano ʔí[t][o]+kabe || b'ááb'a hoddzi+da ʔáátą jíko
marry-A-2S old that-F+ACC father say-C1-3M+LOC you who

25. kú+i[e]+da iommi ioome ʔúk[o] | ʔídi ionto ʔí+i[e]+da |
ou+ALL+LOC speak-C1-3M speak-I that she speak-C1-3F me+HAB+LOC

gʷáɦammi || ʔaddo ǀííma+ani kúsi b'áła?i hoddzi+da
stay-C1-3P day 2+GEN too again say-C1-3M+LOC

b'ááb'a+su[ʔ]+u+kotta | b'ááb'a+su?+ú+k[o] hoddzi+da | ʔaddo
father+his+M+there father+his+M+that say-C1-3M+LOC day

híímane+kʷa ró?otó+ka+da hóód'i ró?oté+ʔa || ro??i ʔaddo
tomorrow+this go-A-2S+IRR+LOC say-H1-S go-F2-3F+VEN go-C1-3M day

ǀííma+ani || ró??e+va+dá+ʔi+k[o] gaanó+to+da hoddzi+dá+ji |
2+GEN go-D1-3M+PAST+LOC+by+that old+that-F+LOC say-C1-3M+LOC+ALL

30. b'ááb'a hoddzí+ki+na+da ʔáátą+k[o] ró?i+da | ʔá+ki+ji ǀéése
father say-C1-3M+you-F+PERF+LOC you+that go-G1-S+LOC 0+you-SF+ALL cloth

hé??e ʔá+ki hoova hoovádddze || ʔíbetto+da | hóód'i+da
give-F2-3M 0+you-SF marriage marry-F2-3M tell-C1-3F+LOC say-H1-S+LOC

ǀéése+ku káddze+ʔi ʔá+ka+ji[é]+ji te hoovádddzi || káái+di |
both+that keep-F2-3M+me 0+IRR+HAB+ALL AFF marry-A-3M keep-C2-3M+her

ró?oté+va+dá+ʔi+k[o] | ʔá+di+va+kʷa hoovádi || gʷáɦammi |
go-D1-3F+PAST+LOC+by+that 0+her+PAST+this marry-C2-3M stay-C1-3P

sasa ʔú+kusi+né+ʔi ʔą+te nafasi paṭádi ʔaˀga múṇṭa+ku+ke
now he+too+and+by 0+AFF chance get-C2-3M so-that farm+that+ACC

rata+ná+ni | káá[z]i miní+íni+k[o] ʔą+te díki+ʔi ||
walk-B-3M+and+GEN work house+GEN+that 0+AFF leave-C2-3M+by

b'ááb'a+su?+ú+k[o] ro??í+ka muṇṭa+da ʔú+kusi+na te hút'i |
father+his+M+that go-C1-3M+IRR farm+LOC he+too+and AFF follow-C2-3M

ʔídi ʔukʷá+ke b'áki?átto | b'ááb'a+su[ʔ]+u+nto ǀíímamummí+ji
she this+ACC remain-C1-3M father+his+M+with work-C1-3P+ALL

ǀeddo vát|'i+ka kisa ʔídi saa síta ʔééki+ka+kʷe | ʃaga+si[ʔ]+i
evening return-C2-3P+IRR then she noon be-C2-3M+IRR+this food+her+M

t'óóʃoto | ʔa+kʷa gééteto | múṇṭa+ku kae || háʃato+dá+ji
collect-A-3F 0+this send-A-3F farm+that ACC come-A-3F+LOC+ALL

ʔinto+kʷa héé?eto | ʃáámummi kisa t'óóʃoto dóˀbo+si[ʔ]+i
with+this give-A-3F eat-A-3P then collect-A-3F utensil+her+F

ʔa+kʷa gáálito mui kae | hata ʔaddó+k[o] ʔahmádi na ʔíše+ku
0+this go-home-A-3F town ACC until day+that A. and I.+that

ʔíbettsi | ʔá | ʔaddo+kʷa yááyo+ke súgo ǀée+kutta | ro??i
tell-C1-3M ID day+this mother+ACC wait-A-1S path+there go-C1-3M

ʔa+vá+ji+kʷa gʷaɦɦi | kééki+va+kʷe ka ʔá+te ratta | na
0+PAST+ALL+this stay-C1-3M look-C2-3M+PAST+this IRR 0+AFF walk-D1-3F and

kápu+si?+i | rattó+ʔa hata ʔukʷá+ʔi ǀée paṭa+kotta ʔa+kʷa
basket+her+M walk-C1-3F+VEN until this+by path get+there 0+ this

kééti kápu vattúkʷe | vattúkʷe ʔinto ǀée+k[ó]+ʔi vát|'ati ||
put-C2-3F basket 1 1 with path+that+by return-C2-3F

kééki+dí+ka+kʷá+ji+te rátta ʃíji+di | yááyo | kééke
look-C2-3M+her+IRR+this+ALL+AFF walk-B-3F call-C2-3M+her mother where

rátto | gí+enti | kʷáʃatí+ʔa | há ʔá+na+te ʃaio |
walk-A-2S be-scared-C2-3F run-C2-3F+VEN ID 0+PERF+AFF get-lost-C1-1S

tsááka+k^{w}a ɬákane | ʔá+na+te ʃaio | b'á+ka váʃo hata
hot(n.)+this strong 0+PERF+AFF get-lost-C1-1S NEG+IRR see-A-1S until

lée+ʔí+k[o] ʔílla ʔinto hímammi+ʔí+na | ˀǫoo ʔúk[o]+ke
path+by+that eyes with be-black-C1-3P+me+PERF well! that+ACC

50. raté+na || hoddzi+da | héla kápu+k^{w}a héla tl'ááta mááka
walk-G1-1S+and say-3M+LOC come-on! basket+this come-on! have-B-2F what

šírri | kéékí+va | váálí ntéé+ni dabi ˀguukó+óni |
be-there-A-3M look-C2-3M+PAST cooked-rice mchele+GEN meat chicken+GEN

ʔukotta kúsi+n[e]+ʔi ʔuṭááṭi hollo kóṇṭeṭe | ʔáá yááyo |
there too+and+by ugali with dry-fish ID mother

ʔaddó+k^{w}a monno fúrehi kákuttí+na [2 times] | ʔá+na kóṇṭeṭe
day+this very joy give-C2-2S+PERF 0+PERF dry-fish

d'ákati | ʔuṭááṭi+ʔi ʔá+na váálí d'ákati | dabi ˀguukó+óni |
cook-C2-2S ugali+by 0+PERF cooked-rice cook-C2-2S meat chicken+GEN

55. ˀbona ʔá+va lée+k[o] kúsi+n[e] ʔinto ʔu+ke ráttе | ʔá ʔá
why 0+PERF path+that too+and with he+ACC walk-D1-2S ID ID

ʔá+na te ʃaio | héé?i+ʔí+ʔa gete b'ááb'a kae ||
0+PERF AFF get-lost-C1-1S give-H1-S+me+VEN send-G1-1S father ACC

ro??i+nto | ʃáámummi ʔídi g^{w}áɦato kééketo || b'asi kééketo
go-C1-3M+with eat-C1-3P she stay-A-3F look-A-3F just look-A-3F

j'íírani+si?+i líímani b'áʔa | b'úrune || ʔíbettoda | ʔáá
neighbour+her+M work-I hard dust tell-C1-3F+LOC ID

ʃaga+k^{w}a ʔákkale táʃame ʃááte na j'íírani+kunu?+u te
food+this all how eat-A-2P and neighbour+your-P+M AFF

60. líímattsi | b'ááb'a+su?+ú+k[o] hoddzi+da | ʔahmádi ʔúk'e
work-A-3M father+his+M+that say-C1-3M+LOC A. get-up-H2-S

ró?i ʃíjí+ji | háye ʃagge ʔú+kusi || ro??i+da ||
go-H2-S call-H2-S+ALL go-on! eat-F1-3M he+too go-C1-3M+LOC

ro??i+va+da ʔu+te líímattsi+da suumá+k[o]+ʔi dirri |
go-C1-3M+PAST+LOC he+AFF work-C1-3M+LOC in-front+that+by pass-C1-3M

hoddzi+da | gáána g^{w}ittso g^{w}áɦammi+k^{w}e b'á+ka ʃáámummi
say-C1-3M+LOC big-P little-P stay-A-3P+this NEG+IRR eat-A-3P

ʃaga víne ʔímane kínto víívu kéékeekammi | hoddzi+da | mááka
food good how thing jealousy look-RED-A-3P say-C1-3M+LOC what

jónto | hoddzi+da b'á+ka+ni b'ááb'a hollo yááyo ||
say-A-2S say-C1-3M+LOC NEG+IRR+FOC father with mother

víívu ʔááta+da hoddzí+na+ku ʂíí^{ˀ}bo+ʔi páɦɦi |
jealousy you+LOC say-C1-3M+PERF+you stick+by beat-A-3M

ʔéétittsi+va+k^{w}[é]+ʔi+k[o] ɟéémpe ʔá+va ɬáʃaji ʔá+va+k^{w}a
hear-D2-3M+PAST+this+by+that hoe 0+PAST abandon-C2-3M 0+PAST+this

k^{w}aʔʔi || hoddzi+da ˀbona ʔúku+dzi+te dakk^{w}i | hoddzi+na |
run-C1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC why that+ALL+AFF run-C1-3M say-C1-3M+and

núk[o]+k^{w}[e] náttsi kisa ʔá+te vát|'i || b'ááb'a+su?+u+kotta
that+this walk-A-3M then 0+AFF return-A-3M father+his+that+M+there

hoddzi+da | ʃááne ʔááta+kúsi k^{w}ani ʔuk^{w}a šíí^{ˀ}ǫaddzi+ni |
say-C1-3M+LOC eat-G1-1P you+too because this defeat-A-3M+us

ʃáámummi ʔá+va+k^{w}a gággaalittsi || nát'ettsá+to ʔá+va+k^{w}a
eat-C1-3P 0+PAST+this go-home-P-C1-3M woman+that-F 0+PAST+this

núnti | ʔíbetto+da | váák'a to^{ˀ}go héé?i+d[o] | g^{w}íttsa ʔúk[o]
be-angry-C2-3F tell-C1-3F+LOC God blind give-H1-S+him+VEN little that

tabia+su?+u karááma ^{ˀ}bííte | ɦáájo ʔítts+i+ku ʔá+na ʃaga gete
character+his manners bad man my+M+that 0+PERF food send-D2-1S

| ʔúdu+ná+ji te réébi || ʔúdu+ji mááte+da ʔót'i kábaʔe+da |
he+PERF+ALL AFF stop-C2-3M he+ALL what+LOC enter-C2-3M baobab+LOC

hoddzi+da | ʔamíína ʔamíína || ʔamíína ʔamíína | hata kábaʔe
say-C1-3M+LOC amen amen amen amen until baobab

jí+na te páke?áǫo [2 times] || rattsi+va |háʃettsi+vá+?[e]+k[o]
me+PERF AFF receive-C1-3M walk-C1-3P+PAST come-D2-3P+PAST+by+that

| hoddzi+da |sasa ʔááta+ka ! kábaʔe+k^{w}a hoddzi+da | sasa
say-C1-3M+LOC now you+IRR baobab+this say-C1-3M+LOC now

ʔááta+ka te k'óóboto ɦáʃi to^{ˀ}go ʔéékammi mpaka kó^{ˀ}doo
you+IRR AFF want-A-2S men blind be-A-3P until sheep

híímaté+k[o] hát'a+ʔína ʃáámummi dabí+k[o] | ʔááta b'á+ka
black+that slaughter-H2-S+them-BEN eat-A-3P meat+that you NEG+IRR

80. ʃááta | hoddzi+da | háʃate+ii+k[o] ʔahmádi na ʔíše+k[o]+ke
eat-G2-2S say-C1-3M+LOC come-D1-3F+ALL+that A. and I.+that+ACC

váɦati ʔá+va+kʷé+ʔi+k[o] | rói+[ʔ]a rói+[ʔ]a ʔahmádi
see-C2-3F 0+PAST+this+by+that go-H1-S+VEN go-H1-S+VEN A.

rói+[ʔ]a || ʔá+va+kʷ[e] roʔʔi | róʔi ʔááta+ʔi
go-H1-S+VEN 0+PAST+this go-C1-3M go-H1-S you+me-BEN

kóndoo+kʷa hat'ó+k[o] | [2 times] | hát'i ʔísaʔádi+da dabi
sheep+this slaughter-H2-P+that slaughter-C2-3M finish-C2-3M+LOC meat

káánkaʔádimummi | háʃi b'ááb'a+suʔ+u haʃʃi+va+dá+ʔi+k[o] |
roast-C2-3P come-C2-3M father+his+M come-D2-3M+PAST+LOC+by+that

85. b'ááb'a ʔaddo+kʷa ʔukʷatti kóndoo hát'ani ʃááne
father day+this now sheep slaughter-C2-1P eat-G1-1P

dabí+k[o] | ieemi ʃáámummi kisa hodzdzi+da | b'ááb'a
meat+that live-C2-3P eat-C1-3P then say-C1-3M+LOC father

ʔápi hóód'a+ku ʔááta+kúsi hóód'i | ʔíbetstsi+da | hay | konka
I say-B-1S+you you+too say-G1-S tell-C1-3M+LOC yes fibre

ʔa+kʷa kammi ʔá+va+kʷa héé?i | ʔíbetstsi+da | kamba
0+this take-C1-3M 0+PAST+this give-C2-3M tell-C1-3M+LOC rope

saka?a | hay | ka kamba saká?i | hodzdzi+da | ʔápi
sew-H2-S yes IRR rope sew-C2-3M say-C1-3M+LOC I

90. hood'o+ka | b'ááb'a ʔápi+na tongo falo | ʔááta+kúsi hóód'i
say-C1-1S+IRR father I +PERF blind do-C1-1S you+too say-H1-S

| ʔan+kúsi+na tongo falo || ʃáámummi fúúran+na+kʷ[é]+ʔi+k[o]
I+too+and blind do-C1-1S eat-C1-3P be-satiated-C1-3P+PERF+this+by+that

| ʔáá ʔila+kʷa p'úʃummí+na | ʔúku+kúsi hodzdzi+da | ʔáá
ID eye+this prick-C1-3P+PERF that+too say-C1-3M+LOC ID

ʔan+kúsi ʔila+kʷa p'úʃummí+na || ʔídi típpenti roʔóto |
I+too eye+this prick-C1-3P+PERF she come-out-C2-3F go-C1-3F

roʔóto+ii keekéto | rááfiki+si[ʔ]+í+k[o] váɦati |
go-C1-3F+ALL look-C1-3F friend+his+M+that see-C2-3F

ɦáájo+ní+k[o] | vááji gete k'óóbote+va | ka ʔá+te rata
man+FOC+that cooked-rice send-I want-D1-3F+PAST IRR 0+AFF walk-B-3M

ʔíbetto+da | ʔót'o | [2 times] | ˀdani b'á+k[e]+nto+ku
tell-C1-3F+LOC enter-H2-S inside NEG+IRR+with+you

b'á+ka váʃammi gúɦo kae || ʔót'i | ʔots'ts'i+vá+ʔi+k[o] ||
NEG+IRR see-A-3P person ACC enter-C2-3M enter-D2-3M+PAST+by+that

díridíttɔ mpaka čumba+ke kiṭanḍa+kotta gʷaɦɦi | ʔídi+dú+ji
pass-CAUS-C2-3F until room+ACC bed+there stay-C1-3M she+him+ALL

šááhi ḍ'akáto | muhammedi na ʔišé+k[o] hodzdzi+da |
tea cook-C1-3F M. and I.+that say-C1-3M+LOC

b'ááb'a+kʷe ʔíkʷe ʔuk'éémi ʔuk'éémi | b'ááb'a ʃáʔi ʃáʔi
father+this now get-up-H1-S get-up-H1-S father cry-C2-3M cry-C2-3M

ʔa+vá+ji+ntó+k[o] ʔát'i ˀdáni+ku kae | ʔóts'ts'a+jí+k[o]
0+PAST+ALL+with+that enter-C2-3M inside+that ACC enter-E2-3M+HAB+that

ʔúdu kiṭanḍa+kotta b'ommí+ka ʔú+kusí+na+dá+ji te b'ommi |
he bed+there sleep-C1-3M+IRR he+too+PERF+LOC+ALL AFF sleep-C1-3M

ʔuk'éémi+kʷa kʷáʃi | ʔukʷá+ʔi šóó+ni+ke ʔót'i+ji |
get-up-C2-3M+this run-C2-3M this+by toilet+GEN+ACC enter-C2-3M+ALL

ʔót'i+ji ʔinto | ʔíbetto+da | ʔááta+kúsi b'á+ka súúkento |
enter-C2-3M+ALL with tell-C1-3F+LOC you +too NEG+IRR be-still-A-2S

hata gúɦo+ka tongo ʔééki+ji ʔamme+kʷa rá ˀgadzdzi |
even-if person+IRR blind be-A-3M+ALL this-way go-around-A-3M

b'á+ka+ji mééši+da b'ommi | ʔa+kʷa monno t'óʃʃi ʔila+kʷa |
NEG+IRR+ALL place+LOC sleep-C1-3M 0+this very pain-A-3M eye+this

[2 times] | siṭo ʔót'i+ka ʔots'ts'i+nto | tippémmi+ka
store enter-C2-3M+IRR enter-C1-3M+with go-out-A-3M+IRR

tippémmi na ʔinto | hóroridzdzi mpaka te
go-out-A-3M and with chase-C1-3M until AFF

laffí+va+ʔí+k[o] ʔa+vá+ji mááte+da ʔót'i |
get-tired-D2-3M+PAST+by+that 0+PAST+HAB what +LOC enter-C2-3M

ɭumba mááte b'urú+úni+da | ʔukotta ɭááʃati || ʔahmádi na ʔiše
mat-sack what maize+GEN+LOC there hide-C2-3M A. and I.

ʔúku+ni ro??i+ʔa | b'ááb'a+su+ʔu+kotta kamba+kʷa kammi+da |
that+FOC go-C1-3M+VEN father+his+M+there rope+this take-C1-3M+LOC

ro??í+ji ʔukotta gʷaɦɦi | hodzdzi+da | ʔukʷatti ʔukʷatta
go-C1-3M+ALL there stay-C1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC now here

ʔílla páta || hodzdzi+da | b'ááb'a+su?+u hodzdzi+da
eyes get-C2-1S say-C1-3M+LOC father+his+M say-C1-3M+LOC

| ʔukʷatti ʔán+kusi ʔílla páta | hodzdzi+da | ʔá | fumba
now I+too eyes get-C2-1S say-C1-3M+LOC ID mat-sack

115. ʔukʷa ʔíni ʔúmungu monno tl'ággi | ʔíbetstsi+da | héé?e+ʔi
this FOC beetles very have-A-3M tell-C1-3M+LOC give-G2-S+me-BEN

ʔá+ji ʃáttaɦe | ro??i ʔinto ro??i | mpaka lée+dá+ji+nto
0+ALL throw-G-1S go-C1-3M with go-C1-3M until path+LOC+ALL+with

mfállume kúlummi | mfállume+kʷa hodzdzi+da | ʔúkʷa mááka
king meet-C1-3M king+this say-C1-3M+LOC this what

váddatto | hodzdzi+da ʔúkʷa b'uru | ʔíbetstsi+da | ʔáá b'asi
carry-A-2S say-C1-3M+LOC this maize tell-C1-3M+LOC ID just

b'uru ʔúku+nto ᵐbuuku ʔítsts+i fáɦɦi | ró?i b'oomá+k[o]+ke
maize that+with chickens my+M be-useful-A-3M go-H1-S open-place+that+ACC

120. ké+ʔi+ji || ro??í+nto | haʃʃi+vá+ji+k[o] nat'a
keep-G1-S+me-BEN+ALL go-C1-3M+with come-D2-3M+PAST+ALL+that woman

mfállumé+éni+t[o] kusi ɦáájo vatte tl'aato | ɦáájo+si[ʔ]+í+k[o]
king+GEN+that-F too man other have-C1-3F man+her+M+that

vaɦi+vá+ʔi+k[o] ʔíni muhammadí+ku kae ʔá+va+kʷ[e] kʷáʃi+ji
see-D2-3M+PAST+by+that FOC M.+that ACC 0+PAST+this run-C2-3M+ALL

mútsunki+da ʔót'i | ʔúdu kínto b'á+va+da hoome | ro??i
waterpot+LOC enter-C2-3M he thing NEG+PAST+LOC say-I go-C1-3M

fúmba+su[ʔ]+u kááji+ʔi+kʷa gʷaɦɦi | mfállume+ke sugge
mat-sack+his+M keep-C2-3M+by+this stay-C1-3M king+ACC wait-G1-3M

125. háʃi+ka séénti+su[ʔ]+u héé?e+dá+ʔi b'uru+kʷa ʔakʷkʷi ||
come-C2-3M money+his+M give-G2-3M+LOC+by maize+this leave-C1-3M

mfállume nat'á+to kʷáʃati ᵐbani+ku kae | mfállume
king woman+that-F run-C2-3F inside+that ACC king

[illegible]+si[ʔ]+i kʷáʃati mfállume+kʷa hotto+da | ʔáá muhammadi na
man+her+M run-C2-3F king+this say-C1-3F+LOC ID M. and

[illegible]še karááma | hata míiri b'á+ka tl'ággi | gʷítstsa ᵐbíite
behaviour until manners NEG+IRR have-A-3M young bad

[illegible] | héla gúɦo+oni+da ró?oto na b'á+ka+j[e] hoodi páɦata
come-on! person+GEN+LOC go-A-2S and NEG+IRR+ALL hoodi beat-A-2S

| taʃame+kʷe te ró?oto hollo ʔot'e mééši+kotta | kééki
how+this AFF go-A-2S with enter-H place+there look-H1-S

[illegible]+na+ji ʔúku ríngadi ʔan+kúsi+ʔa b'ággo b'á+ka+na
0+PERF+ALL that+ALL go-around-C2-3M I+too+VEN dress NEG+IRR+PERF

tl'agge | háʃi+na+kʷe te váɦi ʔí+na+kʷe
have-H come-C2-3M+PERF+this AFF see-C2-3M me+PERF+that

[illegible]'ééredídi || ʔáá | mfállume te tag[illegible]g[illegible]i nat'a+su+ʔa kae
make-shy-C2-3M ID king AFF love-C1-3M woman+his+F ACC

[illegible]úmi ro??i+da | rúfanga+su[ʔ]+u háʃi+dá+ji || ʔéé
be-angry-C2-3M go-C1-3M+LOC panga+his+M come-C2-3M+LOC+ALL ID

ᵐbona ʔááta nát'etstsa+ke háʃati na+kʷa+te ʔót'oti
why you woman+ACC come-C2-2S and+this+AFF enter-C2-2S

ʔukʷatta | ᵐbona hoodi b'a+kú+na paɦe | mááka šarria |
here why hoodi NEG+you+PERF beat-I what law

[illegible]uma+ní+ka b'uru+ku?+ú+k[o]+ni | ʔá+va+da ʔápi háɦhaabo
[illegible]FOC+IRR maize+your+M+that+FOC 0+PAST+LOC I smash-RED-A-1S

[illegible]embe+kʷá+ʔi | ʔíbetstsi+da | háába ʔán+kusi+ji
[illegible]word+this+by tell-C1-3M+LOC smash-H2-S I+too+ALL

[illegible]útsunki+ku?+ú+ku páɦa | ro??í+ʔa ʔukotta
[illegible]aterpot+your+M+that beat-A-1S go-C1-3M+VEN there

[illegible]umba+su[ʔ]+ú+ku+ʔi+kʷa hábi tembé+ʔi | ʔú+kusi+n[e]
[illegible]at sack+his+M+that+by+this smash-C2-3M sword+by he+too+and

[illegible]ungu+su?+u kámma+ji mutsunkí+k[o] paɦɦi ʔá+va+kʷa
[illegible]+his+ M take-E1-3M+ALL waterpot+that beat-C1-3M 0+PAST+ALL

that we have slaughtered the sheep, let's eat the meat". They stayed and ate, and then he said: "Father, say what I say, you too. [The father] said: "O.K.". He took up a fibre and gave it to him, and he said: "Plait the fibre" - "O.K.". He plaited the fibre. He said: "When I say: 'Father, I have become blind', you too say: ' I too have become blind'". They ate, and when they were satiated [Ahmadi] said: "Ah! They have pricked my eyes!". He [:his father] too said: "Ah! me too, they have pricked my eyes!".
She came out and went looking around; and she saw her friend, her lover, to whom she wanted to bring the rice. When he walked, she said: "Enter! Inside, nobody except you can see anyone!".
He entered; after he had entered, she let him pass into the room where the bed was. She made tea for him, and Ahmadi [son] of Ishe said: "Father, now get up, get up!". The father cried, and entered with him inside. [Everywhere] he [: the lover] entered, if [, for example] he was lying in the bed, [Ahmadi] too went to bed. He [: the lover] rose up and ran away. And as he entered the toilet, [Ahmadi] too entered with him. She said: "But you [Ahmadi], are not still! A person who is blind, cannot roam this way and sleep there!" - "My eye hurts too much!". If [the lover] entered the store, he too entered with him. If he went out, he too went out. He chased him until [the lover] got tired and entered the sack of the maize, and hid there.
Also Ahmadi [son] of Ishe went there, and his father brought the rope. He went and stayed there and said: "Just now, here, I have got my eyes back" - he said. His father said: "Now I too have got my eyes back". He said: "This matting [of the maize-sack] has a lot of beetles inside!", and said: "Give it to me, [so] that I [might] throw it away!".
He went with that [sack], and went until, on the road, he met the king. The king said to him: "What are you carrying?". He said: "This is maize". [The king] said: "Well, this maize could be good for my chickens. Go and keep it for me".
He went with this [sack], but, after he had come [to the king's house], [he found that] the king's wife too had another man. As this lover (of hers) had seen Ahmadi, he ran away and got into a [big] waterpot. He [: Ahmadi] did not say anything; he went and kept his maize, and stayed, waiting for the king to come and give him his money and leave him the maize. The woman ran to the king; his wife went to the king and said to him: "Ha! Ahmadi [son of] Ishe's behaviour! He does not have manners! He is a very bad boy! How can you enter a person ['s room] without asking for permission? How can you go and enter a place in such a manner? Look! He went around while I had nothing on (me)! He came and saw me and made me shy!" - "Ha!". The king loved his wife, and got angry. He went and took his panga: "Hey! Why have you gone to [my] wife and have entered there? Why didn't you ask for permission? That is not the way! And if that is your maize, I'll destroy it with this sword!". [Ahmadi] said: "Destroy it, and I too shall hit your waterpot!". [The king] went and stabbed the mat with the sword, while [Ahmadi] took his panga and hit the waterpot, smashing it to pieces. [The king] looked, and here there was a man, and there too he saw a man.
The following day he called them, him [: Ahmadi], with his father and the woman. And when they had come, he asked: "How did it happen that in the mat there was a man, and when I stbbed it a person came out?". [Ahmadi] said: "Well! This is my mother's lover, whom she secretly had. And as for this woman too, the man I killed in the waterpot, he was the man whom this woman [: the king's wife] secretly had".
So I finished and came back.

Note:
Islamic culture and an agricultural way of life must be assumed as the origin of the story: the protagonists are farmers and there is a king (and therefore towns). The wicked roles played by women (both Ahmadi's stepmother and the king's wife) and Ahmadi's cunning (which reminds us of well-known Islamic tricksters, like Abu Nuwas) fit well into the cliché of Islamic folk-tales. Other African examples can be found in the Swahili tales edited by Knappert (1970), in the chapters "The wiles of women" and "Stories of wit and wisdom".
Toward the end of the story, the informant changed Ahmadi into Mohammadi by mistake.

TEXT No. 4
"The Story of Fumo Aliongwe"
Recorded on 10.2.88

fumo ʔalioˆgʷe gʷáɦɦa+vá+ji | gúho ʔúk[o] ʔíni ʔa+vá+ji
F. A. live-E1-3M+PAST+HAB man that FOC O+PAST+HAB

púúmate | b'á+ka+vá+ji tl'agga kiyáási || b'uru+su[ʔ]+u
tall NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB have-E2-3M size maize+his+M

d'aɦe k'óbba+vá+j[e] | ʔa+vá+ji kinu kammá+ji
grind-I want-E1-3M+PAST+HAB 0+PAST+HAB mortar take-E2-3M +HAB

ɦábe+da ʔót'odiddza | ʔa+vá+ji b'uru d'áɦɦa gunia mzima |
armpit+LOC enter-CAUS-E2-3M 0+PAST+HAB maize grind-E1-3M sack entire

ɦábe ʔukotta || ʔukʷa+da+nto te rattsi || ʃaga ʔa+su?+u
armpit there this+LOC+with AFF walk-C1-3M food 0+his+M

d'ákka+vá+j[e] gunia ɬíma ʔa+vá+ji te ʃágga | hollo
cook-E1-3M+PAST+HAB sack 2 0+PAST+HAB AFF eat-E1-3M with

b'ába?aani vattúkʷe | mzima ʔúdu káá?i+su[ʔ]+u+ni ʃaggi ||
antelope 1 entire he alone+his+M+FOC eat-C1-3M

kisa+va gʷíttsa ʔa+su+ʔu vattúkʷe kááji haččʼa | gʷíttsa ʔúku
then+PAST young 0+his+M I hold-C2-3M only young that

ʔa+kʷa viintídi mpaka ʔá+va gaano ʔaamína ʔééki | pantɔ
0+this look-after-C2-3M until 0+PAST grown-up small be-C2-3M around

kipiní+íni || sasa kúúdza ʔúkummámmu b'á+ka+ji ɬávamma fumo
K.+GEN now Swahili those NEG+IRR+HAB love-E1-3P F.

ʔalioˆgʷe kae | kisa ʔa+vá+ji ɦííla+ʔi ʔéékadi kulla sampuli
A. ACC then 0+PAST+HAB trick+by look-after-C2-3P every system

dzéé?eni+íni | || ?a+vá+ji gʷíttsa+ku+ke pátaddza
kill-I+GEN 0+PAST+HAB young+that+ACC get-E1-3M+PERF

gʷíttsa+ku+ke mui+ke ró??i hádddzen+ta | b'ááb'a+ku[?]+ú+k[o]
young+that+ACC town+ACC go-A-3M say-C1-3P+LOC father+your+M+that

mááka+?í+ji dzaa?a || ?íbettsida | ?áá b'á+ka ?élejo | kínto
what+by+HAB die-B-3M tell-C1-3M+LOC ID NEG+IRR know-A-1S thing

15. ?údu dzéé?edá+dzi+i[é]+k[o] || budádimummi | [2 times] |
he kill-B-3M+ALL+HAB+that ask-C1-3P

ró??a+vá+i[e] láva+su[?]+u kae ?ummámu saa vatte+vá+ji
go-E1-3M+PAST+HAB home+his+M ACC they time other+PAST+HAB

?ásakári t'ó??amma || ?a+vá+ji ?into túme+ku+ke ráttsa
soldiers collect-E1-3P 0+PAST+HAB with bush+that+ ACC walk-E1-3M

?a+vá+ji+kʷa ?éékadimummi [2 times] || ?éékadimummí+ka
0+PAST+ALL+this look-for-C1-3P look-for-C1-3P+IRR

rí"gamummi kékkeekammi túme+kú+?i ?údu+va ?ípa+na
go-around-C1-3P look-(RED)-C1-3P bush+that+by he+PAST them+and

20. b'árra+vá+?i | ?ágla+su[?]+u kammi | hollo ħáád'a | ?ípa+da
know-E2-3M+PAST+by bow+his+M catch-C1-3M with arrows them+LOC

ħaad'o ?attáħi | ħaad'o ?attáħi+ka+da ?ummámu ?ákkale kíti
arrow throw-C2-3M arrow throw-C2-3M+IRR+LOC they all run-(P)-C2-3M

?ásakári+k[o] hollo kúúdza+k[o] | mui kae | mpaka ?á+va+kʷa
soldiers+that with Swahili+that town ACC until 0+PAST+this

šii"dádi kábisa | mpaka ?addo ?úk[o] ?á+va sií"d'ano hee?i
defeat-C2-3M totally until day that 0+PAST needle give-C2-3P

gʷíttsa+su[?]+ú+k[o] kae ?íbemummi+da | ?ukʷa ró?i+nto b'á+ka
child+his+M+that ACC tell-C1-3P+LOC this go-H2-S+with NEG+IRR

25. ?éntitta b'áába+ku[?]+u kae | mpaka te hádduru+?i+k[o]
show-G2-2S father+your+M ACC until AFF sleep-B-3M+by+that

júko+kotta púhu || gʷíttsa ?ukʷa ?into+kʷa ro??i | háši+va+ji
navel+there sting-H2-S young this with+this go-C1-3M come-C2-3M+PAST+ALL

?into suurúki sií"d'anó+k[o] | mpaka b'ááb'a+su[?]+u ?addo
with hide-C2-3M needle+that until father+his+M day

ro??e+vá+?i+k[o] ro??í+ji ?ukʷa púhi | júko+kotta ||
go-D1+3M+by+PAST+by+that go-C1-3M+ALL this sting-C2-3M navel+there

ngkati dzaa?é+éni+k[o] ?á+va+kʷa kʷáši | mpaka ?a"de
time die-I+GEN+that 0+PAST+this run-C2-3M until outside

mui+kotta || ?a+vá+ji+kʷa gilli vaddzúhi | ?a+va
town+there 0+PAST+ALL+this knee bend-C2-3M 0+PAST

haad'o+su[?]+ú+k[o] ?ót'odídi | šágla+kotta ?á+va+kʷa
arrow+his+M+that enter-CAUS-C2-3M bow+there 0+PAST+this

ngʷídi || ?á+va+kʷa ?into+kotta dzáá?i | na méeši ?ukotta
send-C2-3M 0+PAST+this with+there die-C2-3M and place there

mpaka ?addó+kʷa guħó+ji ma?a ?ídimummi gilli+su?+ú+k[o]
until day+this people+ALL water fetch-A-3P knee+his+M+that

d'ášj+vá+k[o] | ?á+va b'ooku ?ééki ||
put-down-C2-3M+PAST+that 0+PAST hole be-C2-3M

Free Translation

[Once upon a time] there was [a man called] Fumo Aliongwe, and he was a big man: no one else had a similar size. When he wanted to grind his maize, he took a [big] mortar and he put it under his armpit; and he ground an entire sack of maize under his armpit, and with it he went along.
When he cooked his food, he ate two sacks [of maize], together with an antelope, and he ate it all alone. He had only one child, and he looked after him until he was almost grown up, [and all this happened] around Kipini.
Now, the Swahili people did not love Fumo Aliongwe, and they looked for any way to kill him by trickery. When the child was going to the town, they caught him, and they said to him: "Your father, by what will he die?". He said: "Ah! I do not know the thing which will make him die".
They asked him and they asked him, while other times, as he [:Fumo] was coming home, they gathered soldiers, and, as he was walking in the bush they looked for him. They looked for him roaming and looking [around], and he exceed them. So he took up his bow, and his arrows, and he shot arrows at them. And when he shot arrows at them, they all ran away, the soldiers and the Swahili, to the town, until he defeated them completely.
Until, one day they gave his child a needle, saying to him: "Go with this, and do not show it your father. Then, when he is sleeping, prick him in the navel". The child went along with this [needle].
When he had come [home] with it, he hid the needle away. Until one day, when his father had gone [to sleep ?], he went and pricked him in the navel.
While he was dying, he ran away until [he was] out of town.
And he bent his knee, took up his arrows and bent his bow, and with it [in his hand] he died. And in the very place [where he died], until today people [fetch] water, because, where he put down his knee, a [water-] hole resulted.

Note:
Might this story refer in a legendary fashion to episodes of wars between Swahili and hunter-gatherers?

TEXT No. 5
"The Story of Jaro and His Son Avadi"
Recorded on 12.2.1988

1. ʔá+va jaro širri | jaro maṯaká+áni | ʔá+va gʷíttsa+su[ʔ]+u
0+PAST J. exist-C1-3M J. M.+GEN 0+PAST young+his+M

kááji sáára+su[ʔ]+ú+su ʔá+ji ʔavadi || jaro kúsi+né+ʔi
hold-C2-3M name+his+M+COP 0+HAB A. J. too+and+by

káádi+su[ʔ]+ú+su ʔá+ji+kʷa guho+ke báhha | ʔa+vá+ji
work+his+M+COP 0+HAB+this people+ACC kill-E1-3M 0+PAST+HAB

ṯumi+da gʷáhha | gúho+ni+da ká+ji típpemmi || ʔásakári
bushes+LOC stay-E1-3M person+FOC+LOC IRR+ALL come-out-C1-3M soldiers

5. rátsa+vá+ji kammi+da | b'á+ka+du+vá+ji páṯamummi ||
walk-E1-3M+PAST+HAB catch-C1-3M+LOC NEG+IRR+him+PAST+HAB get-C1-3P

saa vatte ʔa+vá+ji lée+da váʃina ʔúku ratá+ji |
time other 0+PAST+HAB path+LOC see-E2-3P that walk-D2-3M+HAB

ratsí+ka+da kammi+da | ʔukʷa kékkeekammí+ka ʔáámininna |
walk-C1-3P+IRR+LOC hold-C1-3P+LOC this look-RED-C1-3P+IRR a-bit

kékkeekammí+ka ʔá+na góógo te ʔééki+ka+da lée ʔampalla+kotta
look-RED+3P+IRR 0+PERF log AFF be-C2-3M+IRR+LOC path beside+there

saad'a | ʔummámu ʔi+kʷa díramni | hóóni ʔéékammí+ka+ji
stand-B-3M they by+this pass-C1-3P far be-C1-3P+IRR+HAB

10. ʔáámininna | ʔípa+ná+ʔa hhaad'ó+ʔi púhi | kisa ʔásakári+k[o]
a-bit them+PERF+VEN arrow+by sting-C2-3M then soldiers+that

ʔákkale ʔá+va+kʷa kí+i | na ʔa+vá+ji+te kámmikuddzá+ji
all 0+PAST+this run-P-C2-3M and 0+PAST+HAB+AFF hold-PASS-E2-3M+ALL

d'úʔikúdi+ka | hííma ʔa+vá+ji+te típpemmi | valla
close-PASS-C2-3M+IRR night 0+PAST+ALL+AFF come-out-C1-3M by-god

b'á+ka+vá+ji váʃina suura+su[ʔ]+u típpemma+vá+ji || kisa
NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB see-E2-3P manner+his+M come-out-E1-3M+PAST+HAB then

ʔá+va gʷíttsa+su[ʔ]+u kááji sáára+su[ʔ]+ú+su ʔavadi || ʔavadi
0+PAST young+his+M hold-C2-3M name+his+M+COP A. A.

jaro+né+ʔi ʔá+va gʷíttsa+su+ʔa nát'ettsa vattúkʷe kááji
and+by 0+PAST child+his+F woman 1 hold-C2-3M

sáára+si[ʔ]+í+su hesa | na ʔúdu kúsi+ne b'ááb'a+su[ʔ]+u+da
name+her+F+COP H. and he too+and father+his+M+LOC

kʷa ʔúdu vattúkʷe káájikúdi b'á+ka t|'ággi ʔguugó+su[ʔ]+u |
this he I bear-PASS-C2-3M NEG+IRR have-A-3M kinsman+his+M

takini kíímo+su[ʔ]+ú+k[o] yáayo+oni paṯádi |ʔguufu+kʷa
that height+his+M+that mother+GEN get-C2-3M strenght+this

b'áab'a+su?+ú+úni || ró??a+vá+ji mpaka mini gúho+oni+da+ke
father+his+M+GEN go-E1-3M+PAST+HAB until house person+GEN+LOC+ACC

ka+ka nat'a+ke k'obbi | háʃi+da hháajo ʔukotta | hoddzi+da
IRR woman+ACC want-C1-3M come-C2-3M+LOC man there say-C1-3M+LOC

| ʔúk'e ʔúkʷatta nat'á+ta ʔi+k'óóbo | na ʔú+kusí+ka+da
set up-I12-S here woman+this me-BEN+want-A-1S and he+too+IRR+LOC

ta ťúúmi | ʔa+kʷa kammi ʔa+kʷa lubbi | d'úʔaddzi+kʷa
AFF be-angry-C2-3M 0+this hold-C1-3M 0+this hit-C1-3M close-C1-3M+this

kʷa nat'a+su+[ʔ]á+to páṯaddzi || ʔinto+kʷa ro??i | širrí+ji
this C1-3M woman+his+F+that get-C1-3M with+this go-C1-3M exist-C1-3M+ALL

ʔinto kisa ʔa+kʷa vatt|'a | vát|'iddzi+da ʔúk'eemi+kʷa
with then 0+this return-E2-3M return-(tr.)-C1-3M+LOC get-up-C2-3M+this

ʔi nat'a+su?+a || mpaka ʔaddó+k[o] ʔá+va gúho šírra
C1-3M woman+his-F until day+that 0+PAST person exist-E1-3M

ji+ji muinga | síku[z]ote ró??a+vá+ji ʔa+dá+ji+ji
HAB stupid always go-E1-3M+PAST+HAB 0+LOC+HAB+ALL

t'a+su[ʔ]+a kámma || ťúúmi+ka+da na te lubbi |
man+his+F hold-E1-3M be-angry-C2-3M+IRR+LOC and AFF hit-C1-3M

a+su?+a+ke paṯádi+ka | nat'a+su?+a muingá+k[o] ʔíni+ini
man+his+F+ACC get-C2-3M+IRR woman+his+F stupid+that FOC+GEN

na+te váddati | saa vatte ʔa+vá+ji+kʷ[e]+da ʔinto+kotta
PERF+AFF carry-C2-3M time other 0+PAST+ALL+this+LOC with+there

30. b'ommi | mpaká+su b'ura | ʔúdu gárima+kotta b'ommi j'áá ⁿbi+da
sleep-C1-3M until+COP dawn he outside+there sleep-C1-3M mat+LOC

|| ʔaddó+k[o] ʔíni ʔá+va+kʷa háʃʃi+va+dá+ji+ʔí+k[o] ʔípa+kʷa
day+that FOC 0+PAST+this come-D2-3M+PAST+LOC+ALL+by+that them+this

saʃáni | b'ommi b'áriddzi b'ura ʔípa+kʷa saʃáni |
greet-C2-3M sleep-C1-3M leave-at-dawn-C1-3M dawn them+this greet-C2-3M

ʔá+va+kʷa ro??i | ɨée+da ʔééki+va+kʷ[e] vát|'i+ji |
0+PAST+this go-C1-3M path+LOC be-C2-3M+PAST+this+by return-C2-3M+ALL

mpaka ʔávak'i muingá+k[o] ʔíni+ini| ʔa+vá+ji+kʷa ʔiddzábi |
until doum-palm stupid+that FOC+GEN 0+PAST+ALL+this climb-C2-3M

35. má?agg^{w}i | ⱡe^{n}bo+su[?]+u ʔa+va+da+nto kíboddá+k[o] fá?fa??i
drink-C1-3M beer+his+M 0+PAST+LOC+with containers+that smash-RED-C1-3M

|| nat'a+su?+á+t[o] hotto+da | ro?óne ʔávak'í+íni | ʔá+va+kʷa
woman+his+F+that say-C1-3F+LOC go-G1-1P doum-palm+GEN 0+PAST+this

rattsi | rattsi+va ʔúdu k'át'amma+va | kíboddá+k[o] te
walk-C1-3P walk-C1-3P+PAST he go-and-look-E1-3P+PAST containers+that AFF

má?agg^{w}i ʔisádi+ka kíbo+kʷa te faʃʃi | má?agg^{w}i
drink-C1-3M finish-C2-3M+IRR container+this AFF smash-C1-3M drink-C1-3M

ʔisádi+ka kíbo+kʷa te faʃʃi || ʔíbetto+da |
finish-C2-3M+IRR container+this AFF smash-C1-3M tell-C1-3F+LOC

40. váɦatí+na ɦáájo ʔíttsi | hotto+da ʔaddá+ji+dá+k[o]+ka ʔukʷa
see-C2-2S+PERF man my+M say-C1-3F+LOC day+ALL+LOC+that+IRR this

ʔa+ni+te b'áɦɦi | mpaka ʔaddo+kʷa ʔá+ni+ʔ[e] kíbodda kúsi
0+us+AFF kill-A-3M until day+this 0+us-BEN+VEN containers too

fáffaʃʃi || ʔíbetto+da | na ʔúku ʔukʷa+da+te ró?oto ⁿbóóri+da
smash-REP-C1-3M tell-C1-3F+LOC and that this+LOC+AFF go-A-2S fight+LOC

b'á+ka kárato | ʔukʷatti ʃáála vádda+ddzi láva kae|
NEG+IRR can-A-2S now bow carry-H2-S+ALL home ACC

b'óód'aani púhu dzéé?e || ro??í+?a | ʃáála+su[?]+u vádda tí+?i
arrow sting-H2-S kill-H2-S go-C1-3M+VEN bow+his+M carry-C2-3M+by

45. hollo b'óód'aani | b'óód'aaní+k[o] ʔá+va+kʷa púhi
with arrow arrow+that 0+PAST+this sting-C2-3M

b'ootí+kʷatta | roɦéédi ʔá+va+kʷa ʃattáɦi | hoddzi+da |
high+here remove-C2-3M 0+PAST+this throw-C2-3M say-C1-3M+LOC

ʔe+kunna d'ídd'iiʃéémo b'árate+ʔi || kéékammi ʔukʷá+ka+te
sit-H1-P+you-P go-down-FREQ-A-1S know-A-2P+me look-C1-3P this+IRR+AFF

d'iiʃéémi | ʔíbetto+da | ʔukʷá+ka+te d'iiʃéémi mpaka
go down-C2-3M tell-C1-3F+LOC this+IRR+AFF go-down-C2-3M until

virí+kʷatta ʔa+ni kabisa b'áɦɦi || ɦaad'ó+k[o]+ʔi púhu
below+here 0+us totally destroy-A-3M arrow+that+by sting-H2-S

t'áʃa+ʔí+k[o] | ʔá+va ɦaad'o t'áʃa+ʔí+k[o] ʔukʷa kammi
poison+by+that 0+PAST arrow poison+by+that this hold-C1-3M

ʔa+va+kʷa púhi | ʔá+va b'idi falli mpaka ʔukʷa d'iiʃéémi ||
0+PAST+this sting-C2-3M 0+PAST hard do-C1-3M until this go-down-C2-3M

ʔí+da | háʃi mpaka háát'i+kotta ʔukʷa kammi falli ʔúkʷa
C2-3M+LOC come-C2-3M until near+there this hold-C1-3M do-C1-3M this

ite gúdi || ʃálite gúdi || puho k'obbi+vá+ʔi+k[o]
knife remove-C2-3M knife remove-C2-3M sting-I want-C1-3M+PAST+by+that

ʔílakini ɦáʃi ʔákkalé+ʔi laɦe | ʔukʷa dzáá?i na
but men all+by be-finished-C1-3P this die-C2-3M and

te+su[?]+u || nat'a+su+ʔá+to b'ura+va+kʷa ʔéékatti |
this+M woman+his-F+that dawn+PAST+this look-after-C2-3F

i+va+da ɨée+da kúlumummi| ʔíbetto+da | ⁿbajoni
C2-3F+PAST+LOC path+LOC meet-C1-3P tell-C1-3F+LOC let's-go

'í+íni+k[o]+ke | ʔán+kusi+né+ʔi | ⱡe^{n}bo hee?ó+ʔi |
palm+GEN+that+ACC I+too+and+by beer give-G2-P+me-BEN

+da | ʔáá b'á+ka šírri gúɦo | rattsi mpaka
C1-3P+LOC ID NEG+IRR exist-A-3M person walk-C1-3P until

ʔá+va+te gʷíttsa+si[?]+i kúlunto ɦáájo+ni |
LOC 0+PAST+AFF young+her+M meet-C1-3F man+FOC

+da | yááyo ʔááta kééke rátto | ʔíbetto+da |
SM+LOC mother you where walk-A-2S tell-C1-3F+LOC

mmámu+ke hút'o | ʔíbettsi+da | ʔúkummámu mááka+ani
ACC follow-A-1S tell-C1-3M+LOC those what+GEN

ʔíɲa hút'uto na b'ááb'a+na ʔummámu dzéé?edi ʔaddo+kʷa k'aba
them follow-A-2S and father+PERF they kill-C2-3P day+this 3

| ʔa+kutta b'ómmi || roʔʔi | ʔa+vá+ji ripoṭi paħħi |
VEN+there sleep-A-3M go-C1-3M 0+PAST+ALL report beat-C1-3P

ʔa+vá+ji+kʷa kámmikúdi+ʔa | ʔa+vá+ji+kʷa d'úʔikúdi ||
0+PAST+ALL+this hold-PASS-C2-3M+VEN 0+PAST+ALL+this close-PASS-C2-3M

tú+kusi nat'a+suʔ+á+to ʔá+va+kʷa gááliti |áva+siʔ+i |
this-F+too woman+his+F+that 0+PAST+this go-home-C2-3F home+her+M

ʔú+kusi+va+kʷa váddakúdi | ʔá+va ʔamu+kʷa+ke ⁿḍígakúdi ||
he+too+PAST+this return-PASS-C2-3M 0+PAST L.+this+ACC bury-PASS-C2-3M

Free Translation

There was [a man called] Jaro, (Jaro) [son of] Mataka. And he had a son, whose name was Avadi. As for Jaro, his work was killing people. He stayed in the bush, and nobody [could] come out [alive].
The guards went to catch him, but they could not get hold of him. Sometimes they saw him walking on the path, and went to catch him; as soon as they saw him, he transformed into a log lying beside the path; they passed by and as they were a little far away, he shot arrows at them, and all the guards ran away. And whenever they got hold of him, at night he got out, and, by God!, none could see the manner [in which] he had escaped.
Then, he had a child, whose name was Avadi; Avadi, too had a daughter, whose name was Hesha; [Avadi] alone was born to his father, he had no brother. He had taken his size from his mother, but his strength was that of his father.
[Jaro] used to go along until he came to a house, and, if he desired a woman, he came and said to the man: "Get up, I want this woman!"; and if that one got angry, he got hold of him, hit him, tied him there, and took the woman. He went with her, stayed with her, and then came back. He sent her back, got up and went back to his wife. Until one day [he found that] there was a stupid man; he always went to him and took his wife, and if [the stupid man] got angry, he beat him, and took the stupid man's wife. Other times he slept there with her until morning, while the man slept outside on the mat.
One day, he came and greeted them, slept, and in the morning said good-bye and went. When he was on the path he came back until [he reached] the doum-palm of the stupid [man]; he climbed it and drank his [: the stupid man's] beer and smashed the [beer] containers.
The wife said [to her husband]: "Let's go to the doum-palm". They went and looked around for him: he was drinking [from] the beer-containers; he finished one, and smashed it, he finished one and smashed it.
[The woman] said: "You have seen, my husband, what I told you, that he was going to kill us[: to ruin us]! Today even the containers, he smashed!". She said: "And if you go to him, you cannot [bear] the fight! Now, bring the bow from home, hit him with a b'ood'aani [:big arrow without poison], and kill him!".

He went, brought the bow with the b'ood'aani and hit him with the b'ood'aani in the thigh. [Avadi] removed it, threw it away and said: "Wait [until] I come down, and you will know me!". They looked as he was coming down, and [the woman] said: "If he comes down to the ground he will kill us completely! Hit him with the poisoned arrow!". He took the poisoned arrow and hit him, but [Jaro] made an effort to come down. He came down until he was near . He took his knife. He took the knife and wanted to hit him [: the stupid man] with that, but they all [together] finished him. He died with his knife.
In the morning, his wife looked for him and came along, [until] they [: the killers] met her on the way. She said: "Let's go to the doum-palm, I too [shall] come and you will] give me beer".
They said: "Eh! Nobody is there". They walked, until along the way she met her son. He said to her: "Mum! Where are you going?". She said: "I am following these people" - "Why are you following them, as they killed father, and he has been lying there for three days!".
He went and reported [to the police] and that one [:the killer] was caught and arrested.
His woman went back to her home, and he [:Jaro] was brought back and buried in Lamu.

APPENDIX 2

GLOSSARY

Foreword

Items in the Dahalo-English part are arranged in the following order:

ʔ, a	l
b'	ɬ
b	m
č'	n
č	ɲ
d'	o
d	p'
dz	p
dl	r
ǧ	s
e	š
f	t'
g	t
h	ts'
ħ	ts
ʃ	tl'
i	ţ
j'	u
j	ʊ
k'	w
k	y
kʷ'	z
kʷ	/

Prenasalized consonants follow in the same order.

The same abbreviations are used as throughout the text; in addition, perfective verbs are indicated by "(perf.)" and imperfective verbs by "(impf.)".

All bound forms have a following dash, whether occurring as prefix, suffix, or infix.

The sources of loanwords are not intended to be exhaustive.

The following sources have been used: Möhlig (1984/85) and Nurse (1982) for Northern Swahili; Nurse (1986) for Mijikenda and Lower Pokomo; Stroomer (1987) for Southern Oromo. We have followed the spelling of the sources. Somali loans are reported in the national Somali orthography, while Boni and Garre loans are given in phonemic transcription.

DAHALO-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

[illegible]	ah! (ID)
[illegible]	particle-complex initial marker (0)
[illegible]	venitive marker (VEN)
[illegible], P ʔááboni	grandmother
[illegible], P ʔáádaddi	scar
[illegible], P ʔáájajji ~ ʔáájini	elder brother
[illegible]	here
[illegible], P ʔáámani	mother's brother
[illegible]nna	small
[illegible]inid - (< Sw. -amini)	believe, to
[illegible]inna, P ʔáámamuuta	little; few; a bit of
[illegible], SG ʔáárane	white hair
[illegible], P ʔaarári	nock, notch of arrow
[illegible]	you (2S; INDEPENDENT PR.)
[illegible]	sun; day
[illegible]ʷa (= ʔaddo + -kʷa)	today
[illegible]te (SG ʔ), P ʔáfitáti	shadow (of an object)
[illegible] P ʔáfudda	mouth
[illegible]	spend the day, to
[illegible]o, P ʔágaddzi	ear
[illegible]d-	weave, to
[illegible]	all
[illegible]	spread out, to
[illegible]	leave, to; let go, to
[illegible]	trade, to; buy, to; sell, to
[illegible]	fat, oil
[illegible] saaʃ-	greet, to
[illegible]	amen!
[illegible]	as, like
[illegible]ʷa (= ʔamma + kʷa)	so, thus
[illegible]	aside
[illegible]	I (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)
[illegible] (< NSw. -anda)	begin, to
[illegible] (cf. Br. ʔde)	outside
[illegible]	so that
[illegible] P ʔánnoni	father's sister
[illegible]	I (INDEPENDENT PR.)
[illegible], P ʔáragoni	brother-in-law
[illegible]	greed
[illegible], P ʔáraséni	wife

ʔárattsa	co-wife
ʔatta	you (2P; INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔávak'e, P ʔávak'a	doum palm
ʔéé	eh! (ID)
ʔéega	fire
ʔeek- (1P: ʔeekam-)	be, to; become, to
ʔeekadid-	look after, to
ʔeetit-	hear, to
ʔeevaw-	build, to
ʔeiead- (< Sw. -elea)	understand, to
ʔeiej-	know, to
ʔéno, P ʔénama	father-in-law
ʔentid-	show, to
ʔénumasa, P ʔénumaséni	mother-in-law
ʔídi	she (INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔígira	meat-eating place (of hunters in bush)
ʔí-	she (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔí-	by, with
ʔi-	me (BOUND PR.)
ʔibed-	tell, to
ʔidib-	fetch, to
ʔiddzab-	climb, to
ʔíivu	ash
ʔijidi, M-ééto, F-ittsi (cf. W. jiiduu)	Somali
ʔila, P ʔílla	eye
ʔílakini (< Sw.)	but
ʔilíma, P ʔílimámi	tear
ʔinááfa (< Sw.)	jealousy
ʔinááfa fal-	become jealous, to
ʔíni	focus marker (FOC)
ʔinto	with; from
ʔiɲá-	them (BOUND PR.)
ʔiɲi?-	their (BOUND PR.)
ʔíre	truth
ʔirídi, P ʔiridádi	string of beads (worn around the neck)
ʔírifa, P ʔirifamunte ~ ʔirifáfi	eyelash
ʔisad- (< Baj. -isa)	finish, to (tr.)
ʔisakud- (< Baj. -isa)	finish, to (intr.)
ʔita	this (F)
ʔíttsa	my (F)
ʔíttsi	my (M)
ʔítta, SG ʔíttone	louse

[illegible]	that (F)
[illegible]gu, M ʔógoḍééte, F ʔógoḍéettsi	Boni
[illegible]e?ad- (< Sw. -omba)	pray, to
[illegible]	enter, to
[illegible]-	make enter, to
[illegible]ad- (< NSw. nḍoo)	approach, to
[illegible])	or
[illegible]	he (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)
[illegible]	he (INDEPENDENT PR.)
[illegible]	do, to
[illegible]-	annoy, to; bother, to
[illegible]-	stand up, to
[illegible]	there
[illegible]	that (M)
[illegible]mámu	those
[illegible]	this (M)
[illegible]dize	nowadays (?)
[illegible]mámu	these
[illegible]	here
[illegible]	now
[illegible]	they (INDEPENDENT PR.)
[illegible] (cf.Br. munjo), SG ʔúmu ˀgune	maize beetle
[illegible], P ʔúnt'addi	branch
[illegible]	anus
[illegible], P ʔútunáni	wound
[illegible]i (< NSw. utati), P ʔúṭaaṭáṭi	ugali

	negative selector (NEG)
[illegible]-	dry, to (obj.: meat)
[illegible], P b'ááb'ani	father
[illegible]	carry a child on the back, to
[illegible]-	carry a child on the back, to (FREQ)
[illegible]míiri (< b'aadu + míiri ?)	crazy
[illegible]	without
[illegible], P b'á?ima	lion
[illegible], P b'áárema	calabash (big)
[illegible]ane, P b'ába?aanuuta	topi
[illegible], P b'ágamudda	belly
[illegible] kantid-	pregnant, to make
[illegible]amíttse	pregnant
[illegible], P b'ággi	dress

b'ággo d'uh-	dress o.s., to
b'áha	hard (adv.)
b'áhama, F -iddza, P b'áhami	hard
b'aħ-	kill, to (plural object)
b'akiʔad- (< Sw. -baki)	remain, to
b'akk-	lit fire, to
b'álaʔi	again
b'alak-	move house, to
b'aneed-	boast, to
b'ar- (< Som. bar- ?)	recognize, to
b'ára	before; (+ GEN) old
b'arij- (cf. Or. barii)	depart on dawn, to
b'áriti (cf. Or. barii)	dawn
b'asi (Sw.)	well!
b'avaʔ-	burn, to (intr.)
b'eeʕa, P b'ééʕamunte ~ b'ééʕajju	buffalo
b'eh- (P: beham-)	silent, to be
b'er-	touch, to
b'idii (Sw.)	hard (adv.)
b'inadamu (Sw.)	man, human being
b'irik'- (cf. Br. inviringe "round")	turn, to (tr.)
b'irik'eem-	turn into, to; become, to
b'írik'inna	lightning
b'om-	sleep, to
b'onko (< NSw. bongo), P b'ónkagááme	brain
b'óód'aani, P b'óód'aanánni	not poisoned big arrow-head
b'óóhi	nostril
b'óóku, P b'óókakki	hole
b'óóma (< Sw. boma), P b'óómammi	fenced open place
b'óóra, SG b'óóreete	boy
b'ooti, P b'óótime	thigh
b'uʔ-	put into, to; plant, to
b'uʔud-	enter, to (P)
b'ub'wi (< Sw. bubu), P b'úb'wima	dumb
b'uḍḍad- (< NSw. -uǯa ?)	ask, to
b'uḍḍuved-	rush, to (subj.: animals)
b'ura	morning
b'uru (cf. NSw. (m)buru)	maize
b'úrune	dust
b'ut'uʕ- (impf.)	spit, to
b'úúba, P b'úúbaddi	chest
b'uukul-	fill a hole, to

[illegible]nad- (< Sw. -vuna)	harvest, to
[illegible]ad- (cf. Br. wała ?)	shine, to (subj.: sun)
[illegible]ad- (< NSw.; cf. Br. vuya)	leak, to
[illegible]da (variant of čaaⁿda)	
[illegible]pe (< Sw. jembe), P č'émpabbi	hoe
[illegible]da (<NSw. chanda), P čááⁿdudda ~ č'áánduka	finger
[illegible]ik- (< Sw. -siki ?)	saw, to
[illegible] (< Sw. choo), P čóvadde ~ zoo	toilet
[illegible]ba (<Sw. chumba), P -abbi ~ zuⁿbe	room
[illegible]	go out in a hurry, to
[illegible]eero, P d'ááʕoorúdda	neck
[illegible]d'at'-	tread on, to (FREQ)
[illegible]	waist
[illegible]álo, M -to, F -ttsi	Dahalo
[illegible]	put down, into, to
[illegible]	pound, to
[illegible]nite, P d'áħanitáti	pestle
[illegible]ikud-	pounded, to be
[illegible] (perf.)	cook, to
[illegible]	keep walking, to
[illegible]d-	tear, to
[illegible]	yesterday
[illegible] summa	day before yesterday
[illegible] summééni	third day before today
[illegible] (< Som. dar- ?)	put together, to; collect, to
[illegible]	tread on, to
[illegible], P d'áuje	pot
[illegible]ááni, P d'eek"áánanni	shadow (of a man)
[illegible], P d'íibuuta	buttock
[illegible]iʕeem-	go down, to (FREQ)
[illegible]ííma	thunder
[illegible]	strip away, to; peel off, to
[illegible]em-	go down, to
[illegible], P d'íímudda	bee
[illegible]	pass, to
[illegible]	pass, to make

d'ód'oʔa (cf. Br. totope ?)	mud
d'uʔ-	set, to (subj.: sun, night)
d'uʔaj-	tie, to; close, to
d'uʔikakud-	be untied, to
d'uʔikud-	tied, to be
d'uk'-	broken, to be
d'uk'ud'uk'ud-	spoil, to; destroy, to (FREQ)
d'uk'ud-	break, to
d'uuko (cf. Br. duuko), P d'úúkaki	deaf

d

da-	in, at (LOC)
dááko,M -to, F -ttsi, P dáákotaɲi	Daako
dába, P dábabbe	hand; paw
dába lua	right (hand)
dába paħ-	clap hands, to
dába paħad-	clap hands in time of music, to (FREQ)
dába šoto (< Sw. -shoto)	left (hand)
dabara (< Som. ?)	behind
dabi (cf. Br. daaba), P dábima	animal, game
dakáʕa, P dakáʕadde	leg, foot
dakáʕa kiţaⁿga	sole of the foot
dánnabe (cf. Bor., Orma dannabaa)	elephant (female)
dáwatte	five
dééla, P dééle	girl (young woman not married)
di-	her (BOUND PR.)
díírama (< Or.)	morning
dik-	depart, to; leave, to
dokóómi, P dókoomámi	elephant
doⁿbo (< Baj. zombo)	utensils, kitchenware
dook-	take away, to; kidnap, to (obj.: woman)
dóóminto	behind (?)
dóóro, P dóórari	shoulder
du-	him (BOUND PR.)
dumaar-	wander, to
dúúra, P dúúrari	bowels

dz

dzaaʔ-	die, to
dzaaʔad-	kill, to
dzááʔama, F dzááʔamittse, P -i	dead
dzaaʔáta, P dzaaʔátuuke	wild animal; enemy

[illegible]ed-	kill, to

[illegible]une,F dlááłunittse, P dlááłuni	slim
[illegible]ʷid-	masturbate, to
[illegible]nad-	sting, to

[illegible] (Sw. -faa)	useful, to be
[illegible] (impf.)	destroy, to
[illegible]	dig, to
[illegible]k'e, P fád'ak'ák'i	fire stick
[illegible]aʕ-	crack down, to (FREQ)
	do, to; work, to
[illegible]	morning star
[illegible]ud-	made, to be
[illegible] (impf.)	remove, to
[illegible]a, P fíít'eka	wall
[illegible]kud-	comb o.s., to
[illegible], P fílimámmi	comb
[illegible] (Sw.)	discord
[illegible]one	light (adj.)
[illegible]	rest, to
[illegible]ed-	tear, to; rend, to
[illegible]ud- (< Sw. -fukiza)	smoke, to
[illegible] (Sw.)	bag
[illegible] (Sw.)	javelin
[illegible]i (Sw.), P fúⁿdime	craftsman
[illegible]hi (< Sw. -furahi) kakud-(?)	happy, to be
[illegible] (< Sw. -futa)	rub, to
[illegible]d- (< Sw. -fua)	wash, to
[illegible]	satiated, to be
[illegible] (< Sw. fumba), P fúúⁿbabbi	mat
[illegible]	breathe, to
[illegible]ono	sweat; warm

[illegible]	spend the day, to
[illegible]j (< Or. gala)	go home, to
[illegible], P gáána	large, big; grown-up person
[illegible]ʷittsa, P gáána gʷittso	young man
[illegible] lábaani	village elder
[illegible]	above, upon

gaggaalij- (< Or. gala) go home, to (P)
gák'ane, P gák'anúúta chin
gárima outside
gát'a, P gát'att'i beard
gáve, P gávajju snake
get- bring, to; send, to
gínaa^da, SG gínaa^dáne pubic hair
gídda sperm
gilli, P gillibe knee
giɬeem- scared, to be
gimpo, P gímpoma carpus; malleolus
giri under, below
gírigíri quickly, fast
git- sleep, to (P)
gólobe, P góloba monkey
gomm- (cf. Br. inamma) bend down, to
góógo (< Sw. goga) log
góóra, P góórari piece of cloth
gúbaalaale, P gúbaalaali hunter
gúúɲa, M gúúɲeeto, F gúúɲeettsi Bajuun
gub- (< Som. gub ?) burn, to (tr.)
gubaalid- hunt, to
gúbaga, SG gúbagéété young (n.)
gubit- burn, to (intr.)
gud- remove, to
gudde bush
gúho, P guho person; pl.: people
guho g^ittso Sanye (coll.; lit.: "the Little People")
guɬeed- untie, to; open, to; undress, to
gunia (Sw.), P gúnieki sack
gúrume, F gúrumiddze, P gúrumi old (of persons)
gurumuw- grow, to

g^

g^aɦ- (P: g^aɦam-) stay, to; live, to
g^aɦadid- stay, to make
g^at'- chew, to
g^i?i thirst
g^i?i kam- thirsty, to be
g^íttsa, P g^ittso child
g^íttsa patad- give birth to a baby, to

ah! (ID)
(impf.) cut, to
dance (kind of women' _)
, P hháásooma bow-string
-oob- talk, to; converse, to
near
understand, to
only
-ur- sleep, to
moon; month
-aab- cut, to (FREQ)
come, to
-ow- yawn, to
-ud'e ripe
slaughter, to
(Sw.) until
-ud- slaughtered, to be
yes
(< Sw. haya) go on!
ra^g^ára, P há^g^ara^g^áruuta centipede
evening
yes (ID)
give, to
, P héérarre goat
(< Sw.) come on!
P hibe ~ híbema baboon
night
me (SG of híima ?) tomorrow
mesú[?]u day after tomorrow
te black
pant, to
with, and
, P hómomúúta frog
(cf. Br. kood ?) say, to
(Sw.) may I come in ?
far
(< NSw.) marriage
-f- (< NSw. -o(w)a) marry, to (subj.: man)
-ud- get married, to (subj.: woman)
(< Sw. -koroga ?) stir, to
(perf.) chase, to

hororid- (impf.)	chase, to
hubat- (< Som. hubso ?)	know, to
huk'-	have sexual intercourse, to
hul-	stink, to
hut'-	follow, to
hut'uw-	look like, to; resemble, to
huud-	sew, to
huufud-	blow, to (subj.: man)

ħ

ħaad'o, P ħáád'a	arrow
ħaad'o t'áʕa?i	arrow with poison on the head
ħáájo, P ħáʕi	man
ħaav-	mention, to
ħábe, P ħábudda	armpit
ħaħħaavit-	mention, to (FREQ)
ħélleʕa	zebra
ħíd'aade	heavy
ħíddibe, P ħíddiba	bird
ħiik'-	grind, to
ħííla (< Som.)	trick
ħiir-	shave, to (tr.)
ħiirikud-	shave, to (intr.)
ħot'-	scratch, to
ħuntl'-	chew, to
ħuntl'ameemit-	chew continuously, to (FREQ)

ʕ

ʕaadid- (< ʕa[g]did-)	feed, to
ʕáála, P ʕááluuke ~ ʕáálali	bow
ʕaameemit-	eat continuously, to (FREQ)
ʕag-	eat, to
ʕaga	food
ʕagikud-	eaten, to be
ʕaʕ-	cry, to
ʕaj-	lost, to get
ʕálite, P ʕálitúmu	knife
ʕam-	take, to
ʕameedid-	stroll, to
ʕani, P ʕánuuta	head
ʕank‿id-	bend, to (tr.)
ʕank‿ikud-	bent, to be

t'id-	scratch, to
uħ-	throw, to
/	lick, to
udid-	lick, to make
, P ʕéémi	thorn
, P ʕéénaddi	tongue
	push, to
d-	scatter, to
	call, to
	scream, to
a, SG ʕíntone	housefly
ed-	empty, to
hi, P ʕogóhi	egg
id	cough, to
	put in, to
d- (<Som.cun- "to eat" ?)	swallow, to
	chew, to

a (Sw.)	although

bi (cf.Br. ijanbi), P j'áa"babbi	mat
(cf. Br. jera)	shy, to be
edid-	shy, to make
ni (<Sw. jirani), P j'íiranáni	neighbour

, P jáʔawuuta	vervet
, P jáágu	cow
	mother (after death)
i (<Som. jaalle ?), P jááleséni	friend
	old, to become
d-	convince, to
(cf. Sw. ajabu) kantid-	astonish, to
(Sw.)	family; group
P jámema	warthog
P járema	porcupine
a	fish (sp. of _)
	live together, to (P)
(variant of č'éémpe)	
, P jékkeláli	shoulder extremity
	allative marker (ALL)

jí-	habitual action selector (HAB)
jíko	who?
jíkoto, F jíkottsi, P jíkommámu	who?
joka	which?
joom-	speak, to
joomameemit-	speak continuously, to (FREQ)
juʕeed-	extinguish, to (obj.: fire)
juʕeem-	burn, to (subj.: fire)
júko (cf. Br. čidhuku)	navel
juuf-	blow, to
júúfume	air
júúfune (SG ?)	wind

k'

k'aatad-	divide, to
k'áávati, F -ettsa, P -áta	freeman
k'aba	three
k'ad'ab-	taste, to
k'ad'atid- (< k'ad'a[b]tid-)	taste, to make
k'aħ-	bite, to
k'akk'aatad-	divide, to (FREQ)
k'áraare (cf. Br. haraari-si)	bitter
k'arap'-	cut, to
k'áreete, P k'áreetáti	not poisoned arrow-head
k'at'-	go and look, to
k'attsid-	circumcise, to
k'attsikud-	circumcised, to be
k'awe, P k'awi	egg-shell
k'eer-	chop, to
k'ére	hunger
k'ére kam-	hungry, to be
k'iik'-	laugh, to
k'óbe (< Sw. kobe ?), P k'óbaddi	tortoise
k'ok'o, P k'ók'addi	throat
k'oˀgo	giant
k'oob-	want, to
k'oro, P k'óre	tree; P: woods
k'úúba, P k'úúbaddi	cheek
k'úúħuma	white

k

ká-	unrealised action selector (IRR)

[illegible]di (< Sw. kazi)	work (n.)
[illegible]-	shout, to
[illegible]j-	put, to; set, to; keep, to
[illegible]jikud-	put, to be
[illegible]a	as
[illegible]mad- (< Sw. -kama)	milk, to
[illegible]iki, P káánikáki	dress (black, of women)
[illegible]i (variant of káádi)	
[illegible]ˀgad- (< Sw. -kaanga)	roast, to
[illegible]ʔe, P kábaʔu	baobab
[illegible]	accusative marker (ACC)
[illegible]sa (Sw.)	completely
[illegible]ʕ-	bite, to (P)
[illegible]	if
[illegible] (variant of kábe)	
[illegible] (+ POSS. DET.)	alone
[illegible]me	many
[illegible]kad-	remember, to
[illegible]ati, P kálatétto	tooth
[illegible]ati suumani	incisor tooth
[illegible]i (Sw.)	harsh, fierce
[illegible]	hold, to; take, to; marry, to
[illegible]ba (<Sw. kamba), P káˀbaki ~ -uuke	rope
[illegible]ikud-	caught, to be
[illegible]pore, P kámporári	testicle
[illegible] (< Sw. kapu), P kápapánne	basket
[illegible] (< Som. kar-)	can, to
[illegible]ama (Sw.)	manner
[illegible]jedi, M -to, F kárijedittsi	Oromo
[illegible]kud-	can, to
[illegible]	dress (kind of -?)
[illegible]kadi (< Sw. kaskazi)	drought; dry season; Northern wind
[illegible]iant of kábe)	
[illegible]	where?
[illegible]	give birth, to
[illegible]ikud-	born, to be
[illegible]	look at, to; provide, to
[illegible]	whither?
[illegible]ikud-	looked, to be
[illegible]	come near, to; approach, to
[illegible]eek-	look around, to (FREQ)

kénţe, P kénţaddi — bag (for carrying -exp. meat- on the head)
keppad- — finish, to (tr.; at end of a story only)
ki- — you (2SF; BOUND PR.)
kiasi (Sw.) — moderation
kíbo, P kíbudda — calabash, gourd
kíbuuro, P kíbuurári — den
kíe"ba (< Sw. kilemba), P kíe"babi — turban
kiidzo, P kíídzooma — old man
kiidzo lábaani — village elder
kíímo (< Sw. kimo) — height
kiir- — go and come back, to
kíívíko, P kíívikáki — wrist
kíkoddzi (cf. Sw. kozi), P kíkoddzáddzi — hawk
kila (Sw.) — every
kił- — run away, to (P)
kinná- — your (2PF; BOUND PR.)
kínţo (< Sw kitu ?; cf. Br. čiinču) — thing
kinu (< Sw.), P kínudde — mortar
kípu"ju, P kípu"jájji — place where the maize is seasoned
kíra"gáti, P kíra"gatáti — quiver
kiri, P kírima — giraffe
kisa (Sw.) — then
kísiiri, P kísiirári — string of beads (worn around the waist)
kisima (Sw.), P kísimagge ~ -adde — well (n.)
kitogo — dance (kind of _)
kiţa"ḍa (<Sw. kitanda), P kíţa"ḍáḍḍi — bed
kíţevi, P kíţevávi — paralytic
ko?- — wait, to (only imperative)
ko?eed- — put an end to, to
kokkoolit- — fly about, to; hop, to (FREQ)
ko"doo (Sw.) — sheep
kónke (< cf. Sw. ukonge), P kónka — fibre
kónkoolo, P kónkooláli — leg (from knee to foot)
kónţa, SG kónţeete — dry fish
kool- — fly, to
kotta- — in, inside
ku- — you (2SM; BOUND PR.)
kub'aalid- (< Sw. -kubali) — agree, to
kulla (Sw.) — every, any
kulum- (< Som. kulmi) — meet, to; come across, to
kunná- — you (2PM; BOUND PR.)
kupid- — cover, to

[illegible]i — self; too
[illegible]ud- — wrap, to
[illegible]a (variant of kotta)
[illegible]dza, M kúúdzeeti, F kúújittsa — Swahili
[illegible]i (Sw.) — why?

[illegible]allid- — erection, to have an
[illegible]na?a, P k'"'ána?amunte — scorpion
[illegible]t'- — wash, to
[illegible]t'ikud- — wash hands, to

[illegible]h- — slash, to
[illegible]- — run away, to
[illegible]k'"arikud- — roll, to (intr.)

[illegible]- — tired, to be
[illegible]u — news
[illegible] — hide, to (intr.)
[illegible]ut- — hide, to (tr.)
[illegible]- — pick up, to
[illegible]a — penis
[illegible]ima (< Sw. lazima) — necessity
[illegible] — finished, to be
[illegible]i (Sw.; variant of ?ílakini)
[illegible]i, P lánkima — bat
— pull, to
[illegible] — settlement, village
[illegible], P léaddi — street, path
[illegible] (< Sw. leso), P léésoma — shawl
[illegible] — two
[illegible]- (< Sw. -lima) — work, to; cultivate, to
[illegible] (< Sw. -likiza) — send away, to
— bring, to
[illegible]ud- — brought, to be
[illegible] (SG ?) — lip
[illegible], P lóóbabi — sheath
[illegible] (perf., impf.) — hit, to; beat, to
[illegible]emit- — hit continuously, to (FREQ)
[illegible]ud- — beated, to be
[illegible] (< Som. ?), P lúk'agáame — leg (from thigh to knee)

luttid-	knock down, to
luttokum-	fall, to

ɬ

ɬáábu, SG ɬáábune	leaf
ɬááɦame	sweet
ɬáfi, P ɬáfafánne	lung
ɬaɦ-	put on fire, to
ɬaʃaj-	leave off, to; abandon, to
ɬákane, P ɬákani	sharp
ɬakkʷ- (?)	burn, to (intr.)
ɬaⁿgadad-	puzzle, to; astonish, to
ɬaw-	love, to; like, to
ɬeeʃ-	smell, to
ɬiin-	get well, to
ɬiinid-	cure, to
ɬimpid-	blow one's nose, to
ɬuub-	sip, to
ɬuum-	upset, to get; angry, to get
ɬʷaɦ-	pinch, to

m

maʔa	water
maʔa lub-	rain, to
maʔameemit-	drink continuously, to (FREQ)
maʔaw-	drink, to
mááte	what
mággoⁿba (<Sw. mgomba), SG -ééte	banana (plant)
mágoɬe	thorn
mááka(-to)	what?
máákaani (= mááka + ní- (GEN))	why?
mákabára	when?
mákko, P mákkomunte	liver
mákʷaju	sesame
málata	hunting
mamiit-	think, to
mamusuʔ-	their (BOUND PR.)
mánaʃe, P mánaʃi	baby (new-born _)
máni	self
manni	there (very far)
mantaɦ- (< Bo.?)	vomit, to
mantaɦid-	vomit, to (FREQ)

[illegible]piⁿgáni (P ?)	string of beads (worn around the wrist)
[illegible]punka (< Sw. mpunga)	rice before husking
[illegible]-	wake up, to
[illegible]at-	awake, to be
[illegible] (< Sw. mawe), SG máveete	stone
[illegible]iⁿgu (< Sw. mawingu)	clouds
[illegible] (NSw.), SG mázute	banana (fruit)
[illegible]a (< Som. meeqa)	how many, how much?
[illegible]i (< Som. meeshi)	place
[illegible]ate (SG ?)	slowly
[illegible]llume (cf. Sw. mfalme), P -ámi	king
[illegible]ji, P míggine	arm
[illegible]da	suddenly, at once
[illegible]i	manners, behaviour
[illegible]k'it-	dream, to
[illegible]ʃ-	stick out the tongue, to
[illegible], P miɬa	body
[illegible], P míddzi	house
[illegible]kíta, SG mísikitéete	meat (dried; SG: portion of _)
[illegible]llima (Sw.)	farmer
[illegible], P mólalle	mead
[illegible]	very
[illegible] (Sw.)	until
[illegible] (Sw.)	new
[illegible]ome, F mpókomettsi, P mpókomi	Pokomo
[illegible]o, P msúúzaddzi	food stirring stick
[illegible]aka, P múgankággi	dance
[illegible]aka (cf. NSw. mganga)	sorcerer
[illegible]aka ʃee?-	dance, to
[illegible] (NSw.)	town, village
[illegible]pi (Sw.)	stupid
[illegible]ur-	bind, to
[illegible], F múkibettsa, P múkibábbi	vidow
[illegible]anad-	take by force, to
[illegible]anadid-	take by force, to (FREQ)
[illegible]pilo	ankle
[illegible]ud-	smile, to
[illegible], P múnadde	heart
[illegible], P múnʈeka	farm, shamba
[illegible]ʃud-	pull down the foreskin, to
[illegible]ʃudid-	pull down the foreskin, to (FREQ)
[illegible]ki (< LP/Mij.), P mútsunkággi	waterpot

múúɲo (< NSw. munyu)	salt
mzima (Sw.)	all, complete

n

na (Sw.)	with, and
ná-	perfect past selector (PERF)
nááto, P náátoni	sister-in-law
nafáási (< Sw. nafasi)	chance
nafáási paṯad-	get a chance, to
naʃ-	refuse, to
náʃeete, P náʃeeto	dog
nala	honey
nat'a, P nat'o	woman
nát'ettsa	female
ni-	us (AFFIX PR.)
ni-	focus marker (affix form)(FOC)
ní-	genitive affix (GEN)
nik'id-	wink at, to
nik'idadid-	wink at, to (FREQ)
nímankalo, P -uuta ~ -áli	leopard
nínka, P nínkaggi	clitoris
no?-	suck, to
no?odid-	milk, to
nóma	language
nú^gunú^gu (< Sw. nyungunyungu), P -uuta	worm
nusu (Sw.)	half
ntée (< NSw. mtee)	rice after husking (Sw. mchele)

ɲ

ɲaaɲo, P ɲááɲuma	baby
ɲáĥe, P ɲáĥudda	hippopotamus
ɲan-	we (BOUND INDEPENDENT PR.)
ɲaɲánt'e	leech
ɲáɲi	we (INDEPENDENT PR.)
ɲíʃaaɲiʃe	thick
ɲó^gora	happiness
ɲuk'-	rub, to
ɲuuk'ut- (impf.)	rub, to

p'

p'ó?ate	rotten
p'u?atuw-	rotten, to get
p'uʃ-	prick, to

uʃud-	pierce, to
pp'uʃud-	wound, to (FREQ)

h-	wash, to
hat-	bathe, to
ma (< Sw. -pana)	wide
^di (< Sw. panzi), P páá^dima	grasshopper
	beat, to
eed-	uncover, to
(impf.)	shift, to; put aside, to
a?ámo	glade; shelter, hiding-place
u	around
(< Sw. pata) ?antad-	reach an agreement, to
(?a)d- (< Sw. -pata)	get, to
aad- (cf. NSw. -pea)	sweep, to
uadiini (SG ?), P peeláádiide	broom
(NSw.), P péfuma	incense
(impf.)	lay open, to
em-	consumed, to be; burnt up, to be
fad- (< Sw. -pokea)	receive, to
	sting, to
ʃ-	burn, to (intr.)

iki (< Sw. rafiki), P rááfikáka	friend
	hang, to
aaʃ-	hang, to (FREQ)
a]kud-	hung, to be
u, P ráddema	feather; arrow-fletching
ma, P rágamuuta	grave
(Sw.)	rest
l'ag-	have peace, rest, to
(< Sw. -rai)	flatter, to
ud- (variant of ri^gad-)	
	walk, to
(< Som. reeb)	stop, to; hold tight, to
	pull, to
	afraid, to be
	tail
d-	go around, to; roam, to
i (Sw. < English)	report
(< Sw. -rithi)	inherit, to

ro?- go, to
roɲeed- remove, to
rubat- fish with spear, to
rúfaⁿga (variant of rúpaⁿga)
ruh- despair, to be in
ruk'o sickness
ruk'úma, F ruk'úmiddze, P ruk'úmi sick
rúpaⁿga (cf. NSw. upanga), P -ággi panga
ruppeem- land, to
rúúmate, F rúúmatiddze, P ruumáti tall; deep
ruuⁿgu (< Sw. rungu), P rúúⁿgume club, knobbed stick

s
saa (Sw.) time, hour
saa sita (Sw.) noon
saa vatte sometimes
saad'- stand, to
sááre name
saattid- stand up, to make
safari (Sw.) voyage
saɲan- greet, to
saɲid- forget, to
saʃála four
saka?- twist, to
sálaama (< Sw. salama) git- have a good night, to (in greetings)
sampuli (Sw.) system
sárakána shyness
sarakána kantid- shy, to make
sáre back (n.)
sasa (Sw.) now
séébo, P sééboma whetstone
sélle now
senti (Sw.) money
sereem- move, to; change position, to
sííkima, P siikíma dull
sííri (< Sw. siri) secret
sííⁿbo (< NSw. simbo) stick
sííⁿdano (< Sw. sindano), P -ánni needle
síku[z]lote (Sw.) always
sína, P sínadde nose
sínt'a urine
sínt'a darat- urinate, to

sint'a lik- urinate, to
sito (< Sw. sitoo < English) store
suko?ikud- fall in love, to
suu?- sing, to
suu?e, SG suo?ámeete song
subad- make a mistake, to
suko (< Sw. soko) market
sul- catch, to
sun- give, to
su copula (COP)
sufuria (Sw.), P sufuriádde saucepan
summa in front of; before
suúggo brother
subid- (< Som. suubbi) make, to
sug- (< Som. suug) wait, to
sukeem- be still, to
sura (< Sw. sura) system
suruk- hide, to (tr.)

ʃahi tea
ʃaⁿda (variant of ǯ(')aaⁿd'a)
ʃⁿgadad- (< Sw. -shangaza) astonish, to
ʃaria (< Sw. sharia) law
ʃaruti (< Sw. sharuti) necessity
ʃⁿdad- (< Sw. -shinda) win, to; overcome, to
ʃ (< Gar. šir-) stay, to; exist, to
ʃtahid- (< Sw. -stahi) respect, to
ʃoka (< Sw. shoka), P šóókakke axe

t'- poison, to
t'a, P t'áʃema poison; arrow with poison (= ɲaad'o t'áʃa?i)
t'- bewitch, to
t'e, P t'át'ima ant (small _)
t'ta, SG t'áttane hair
t'- find, to
t'ede, P t'éédudda ~ t'éédema elbow
t'eʃe body hair
t'eʃema, F -iddze, P t'ééʃemi soft
t'qud- oath, to
t'lale, P t'ílali witch

t'ilíħe, P t'ilíħa	embers
t'ílo	witchcraft
t'oʕ-	pain, to; cut, to (?)
t'ókkoome	cold
t'óóʔo, P t'óóʔema	wildcat
t'ooʕ-	collect, to; gather, to
t'uggʷa	smoke
t'up'-	leak, to
t'úpe, P t'úpapi	door
t'uub-	squeeze, to
t'úúto, P t'úútema	waterbuck

t

taabu (Sw.)	distress
táájiri (< Sw. tajiri) (M, F, P)	rich
táámi, SG táámine	grass (SG: a blade of _)
taarik-	join together, to
tááta, P táátani	elder sister
tabáda	lie
tabia (Sw.)	character
tada	right, good
táhara, P táharúrra	heel
taħ-	cross, to
táʕame	how?
tamanid- (< Sw. -tamani)	desire, to; long for, to
tanatanadid-	smash to pieces, to
tar-	mix, to
tarar-	tremble, to
tattavaanad- (< Sw. -tavanya)	scatter, to
te	affirmative selector (AFF)
tem-	try, to; taste, to
teˆbe	sword
tipp-	come out, to; rise, to (subj.: sun)
tippeem- (perf.)	come out, to
tirid-	move restlessly, to
tohíini	fourth day after today
tóóyoyo, P tóóyoyomunte	butterfly
toˆgo (<NSw.tongo), P tóˆgema	blind
toˆgo fal-	blind, to become
tukiʔad- (< NSw. -tuki)	hate, to
tumpi, P tumpábbi	horn
túntumu, P túntumámmi	fist

[illegible]ukum-	enter quickly, to
[illegible]ri (< Som. tuur- "to throw" ?), 2P túúrane	go away!

[illegible]araʔe, F -ittse, P -i	red
[illegible]iʕ-	pick lice, to
[illegible]iʕid-	pick lice, to (FREQ)

[illegible]aka	hot season; hottest part of the day
[illegible]lalla, P tsílalluuke	hawk
[illegible]ntso	vagina
[illegible]ob-	draw blood from a hematoma, to
[illegible]olo, P tsóóle ~ tsóóludda	nail; claw
[illegible]ˆgule (< Gir. tsʰungula), P -áli	hare
[illegible]nke, P tsúnkima	ant (soldier _)

[illegible]áʕa, P tl'ááʕudda	river; lake
[illegible]aʕaj-	let go, to
[illegible]ag-	have, to
[illegible]ak'eed-	distribute, to
[illegible]aʕ-	tired, to get

[illegible]mpo (< NSw. ţambo), P ţámpabbi	trap
[illegible]mpo maʔááni	spring, pool of water
[illegible]mpo kʷaʕ-	trap, to
[illegible]	halo around the moon
[illegible]ˆbo (NSw.)	beer (local)
[illegible], P ţúmi	bush
[illegible]mpo	tobacco
[illegible]mpo	only
[illegible]ţţu	mat for drying the meat

[illegible]	remoter past selector (PAST)
[illegible]ʕ-	abuse, to
[illegible]k'a	sky; God
[illegible]li (< Sw. vali), P váálalli	rice (cooked _)
[illegible]f	carry, to
[illegible]dakud-	brought back, to be
[illegible]dat-	make carry, to

vaddzud-	kneel down, to
vaɦ-	see, to
vaɦid-	show, to
vakati (Sw.)	time
val-	play, to
valla (< Sw. wallahi)	by God!
vaɬ-	hunt, to (intr.)
vaɲika, M vaɲikééto, F vaɲikéettsi	Giriama
vatl'-	return, to (intr.)
vatl'id-	return, to (tr.); bring back, to
vátte (M, F, P)	other
vatték^{w}e	one (F)
vattúk^{w}e	one (M)
víívu (< Sw. wivu)	jealousy
vintid-	look after, to
víne, F vínaddza, P vino	good; beautiful
vitavited-	rotate, to (tr.)

ʷ

waala	rhinoceros
wáraaba, P wáraabuuta	hyena
wáraɦa, P wáraɦuuke	spear
wongo (NSw.)	earth

y

yááyo	mother (alive)
yááyo ʔááma	mother's sister

z

zíva (< Sw. maziva)	milk

/

/aʔ-	dry, to be
/aʔid-	puzzle, to; astonish, to
/aaɲi	saliva
/aɦadid-	ponder, to; think, to
/íᵐbirik'itte (SG ?)	gecko
/íᵐgiliʃe, P /íᵐgilíʃa	star
/ituw-	carry the game hung to the bow, to
/oʔ-	pick (from a tree), to
/óóke, P /óókakke	nipple
/óóne, P /oonu ~ /óónudda	breast
/uʔu	excrements

...u lik-	defecate, to
...buʃe, P /úbubúʃa	moth
...	strip, to; peel, to
..., SG /úʃite	ant (brown _)
...o	waist
...- (?)	fill, to
...	fill, to
...ikud-	full, to be; filled, to be
.../uuk-	fill, to (FREQ)
...ʃe, P /untaʃe	cicada

...oni	let's go!
...ube, ᵐbálabéni	fish
...tsi, P ᵐbattsáttsi	potsherd
..., P ᵐbénanne	glans of the penis
...te, P ᵐbííjajji	bad, ugly
...i, P ᵐbínime	cow tail (symbol of manhood)
... (Sw. mbona)	why?
...i	fight, war

...ngi	mantis
...ji, P ᵐdéégaggi	canine tooth

...nje, P ᵐdzáájajje	jaw
...ne, P ᵐdzónanni	spleen
...me	honey (kind of _)

...a, P ᵐḍáálalle	bag
... (NSw.)	inside
...l- (cf. NSw. -ǰika)	bury, to
...kud-	buried, to be
...i, P ᵐḍóḍaddi	thumb
... (NSw.)	come!
...o	sand
...d- (variant of ?oᵐḍoʔad-)	
... (cf. NSw. thupa), P ᵐḍúpema	bottle
...u (< Sw. ndugu), P ᵐḍúúgu	kinsman

ˀg

ˀgaasid-	explain, to
ˀgálo, P ˀgáladde	wrist
ˀgíkine, P ˀgíkinuuta	eyebrow
ˀgoma, P ˀgómaddi	drum
ˀgoowi	rainbow
ˀgúmine (SG), P mávi ˀgu (< Sw.)	cloud
ˀgúúfu (<Sw.nguvu), F-uniddze,P-uni	strong
ˀgúúko (cf. NSw. khuku), P ˀgúúku	cock

ˀ/

ˀ/aba	forest
ˀ/éénu, P ˀ/éénanni	python
ˀ/óʔo	palm frond

ENGLISH-DAHALO GLOSSARY

A

above, upon	gábbo
abuse, to	vaaʃ-
accusative marker (ACC)	kabe
affirmative selector (AFF)	te
afraid, to be	ɲik'-
again	b'álaʔi
agree, to	kub'aalid- (< Sw. -kubali)
ah! (ID)	ʔá(á)
ah! (ID)	há
air	júúfume
all	ʔákkaɨe
all, complete	mzima (Sw.)
allative marker (ALL)	jí-
alone	kaʃ- (+ POSS. DET.)
although	ingawa (Sw.)
always	síku[z]ote (Sw.)
amen!	ʔamíina
animal, game	dabi (cf. Br. daaba), P dábima
ankle	múkumpilo
annoy, to; bother, to	ʔujid-
ant (brown _)	/úʃe, SG /úʃite
ant (small _)	t'át'e, P t'át'ima
ant (soldier _)	tsúnke, P tsúnkima

	ʔútobo
ch, to	ʔoˀɖoʔad- (< NSw. nɖoo)
	miggi, P míggine
	ɦábe, P ɦábudda
	panʈu
	ɦaad'o, P ɦáád'a
with poison on the head	ɦaad'o t'áʃaʔi
	kááka
	ʔamma
	ʔíívu
	ʔampalla
	b'uɖɖad- (< NSw. -uʤa ?)
ch, to	jabi (cf. Sw. ajabu) kantid-
ch, to	ša ˀgadad- (< Sw. -shangaza)
, to be	mat'at-
	šóóka (< Sw. shoka), P šóókakke

m	híbe, P hibe ~ híbema
	mánaʃe, P mánaʃi
	ɲaaɲo, P ɲááɲuma
	sáɾe
gly	ˀbííte, P ˀbííjajji
	fuko (Sw.)
	ˀɖáála, P ˀɖáálalle
carrying -exp. meat - on the head	kéntʂe, P kéntʂaddi
	gúúɲa, M gúúɲeeto, F gúúɲeettsi
(fruit)	mazu (NSw.), SG mázute
(plant)	mággoˀba (<Sw. mgomba), SG -éété
	kábaʔe, P kábaʔu
	kapu (< Sw. kapu), P kápapánne
	lanki, P lánkima
to	paaɦat-
become, to	ʔeek- (1P: ʔeekam-)
l, to	suukeem-
ed, to	d'uʔikakud-
	gát'a, P gát'att'i
	paɦ-
to be	lubikud-
jealous, to	ʔinááfa faɨ-
	kiʈaˀɖa (<Sw. kitanda), P kíʈaˀɖáɖɖi
	d'íime, P d'íímudda

beer (local)	ʈeˀbo (NSw.)
before; (+ GEN) old	b'ára
begin, to	ʔaˀdad- (< NSw. -anda)
behind	dabara (< Som. ʔ)
behind (?)	dóóminto
believe, to	ʔaaminid - (< Sw. -amini)
belly	b'ágama, P b'ágamudda
bend, to (tr.)	ʃankʷid-
bend down, to	gomm- (cf. Br. inamma)
bent, to be	ʃankʷikud-
bewitch, to	t'ar-
bind, to	mukk'ur-
bird	ɦíddibe, P ɦíddiba
bite, to	k'aɦ-
bite, to (P)	kad'aʃ-
bitter	k'áraare (cf. Br. haraari-si)
black	himmate
blind	toˀgo (<NSw.tongo), P tóˀgema
blind, to become	toˀgo fal-
blow, to	juuf-
blow, to (subj.: man)	huufud-
blow one's nose, to	ɬimpid-
boast, to	b'aneed-
body	miɬo, P miɬa
body hair	t'ééʃe
Boni	ʔágoɖa, M ʔágoɖéété, F ʔágoɖééttsi
born, to be	keejikud-
bottle	ˀɖupa (cf. NSw. thupa), P ˀɖúpema
bow	ʃáála, P ʃááluuke ~ ʃáálali
bow-string	ɦááso, P ɦáásooma
bowels	dúúra, P dúúrari
boy	b'óóra, SG b'óóreete
brain	b'onko (< NSw. bongo), P b'ónkagááme
branch	ʔunt'a, P ʔúnt'addi
break, to	d'uk'ud-
breast	/óóne, P /oonu ~ /óónudda
breathe, to	funt'-
bring, to	loʃ-
bring, to; send, to	get-
broken, to be	d'uk'-
broom	péélaadiini (SG ?), P peeláádiide
brother	surúggo

[illegible] in-law	ʔárago, P ʔáragoni
[illegible]ht back, to be	vaddakud-
[illegible]ht, to be	loʃikud-
[illegible]	b'eeʃa, P b'ééʃamunte ~ b'ééʃajju
[illegible] to	ʔeevaw-
[illegible] to be	ˀɖigakud-
[illegible] to (intr.)	gubit-
[illegible] to (intr.)	puruʃ-
[illegible] to (intr.)	ɬakkʷ- (?)
[illegible] to (intr.)	b'ava?-
[illegible] to (subj.: fire)	juʃeem-
[illegible] to (tr.)	gub- (< Som. gub ?)
[illegible] to	ˀɖigad- (cf. NSw. -ʤika)
[illegible]	ʈúme, P ʈúmi
[illegible]	gudde
[illegible]	ʔílakini (< Sw.)
[illegible]fly	tóóyoyo, P tóóyoyomunte
[illegible]k	d'ííbe, P d'ííbuuta
[illegible]th	ʔí-
[illegible]d!	valla (< Sw. wallahi)
[illegible]h (big)	b'ááre, P b'áárema
[illegible]h, gourd	kíbo, P kíbudda
[illegible]	ʃij-
[illegible]	kar- (< Som. kar-)
[illegible]	karikud-
[illegible] tooth	ˀdéégi, P ˀdéégaggi
[illegible] malleolus	gimpo, P gímpoma
[illegible]	vad-
[illegible] child on the back, to	b'aab-
[illegible] child on the back, to (FREQ)	b'aabit-
[illegible]he game hung to the bow, to	/ituw-
[illegible] to	sool-
[illegible]t, to be	kamikud-
[illegible]cle	háˀgʷaraˀgʷára, P háˀgʷaraˀgʷáruuta
[illegible]	nafáási (< Sw. nafasi)
[illegible]ter	tabia (Sw.)
[illegible] to	hororid- (impf.)
[illegible] to	horor- (perf.)
[illegible]	k'úúba, P k'úúbaddi
[illegible]	b'úúba, P b'úúbaddi

chew, to	ħuntl'-
chew, to	ʃunf-
chew, to	gʷat'-
chew continuously, to (FREQ)	ħuntl'ameemit-
child	gʷíttsa, P gʷittso
chin	gák'ane, P gák'anúúta
chop, to	k'eer-
cicada	/untáʃe, P /untaʃe
circumcise, to	k'attsid-
circumcised, to be	k'attsikud-
clap hands in time, to (FREQ)	dába paħad-
clap hands, to	dába paħ-
climb, to	ʔiddzab-
clitoris	nínka, P nínkaggi
cloud	ʰgúmine (SG), P máviʰgu (< Sw. mawingu)
club, knobbed stick	ruuʰgu (< Sw. rungu), P rúúʰgume
co-wife	ʔárattsa
cock	ʰgúúko (cf. NSw. khuku), P ʰgúúku
cold	t'ókkoome
collect, to; gather, to	t'ooʃ-
comb	fílime, P fílimámmi
comb o.s., to	fílikud-
come near, to; approach, to	keer-
come on!	héla (< Sw.)
come out, to	tippeem- (perf.)
come out, to; rise, to (subj.: sun)	tipp-
come!	ʰǫoo (NSw.)
come, to	haʃ-
completely	kabisa (Sw.)
consumed, to be; burnt up, to be	poʔeem-
convince, to	jaarid-
cook, to	d'ak- (perf.)
copula (COP)	sú-
cough, to	ʃoʃoʔid
cover, to	kupid-
cow	jáágo, P jáágu
cow tail (symbol of manhood)	ʰbini, P ʰbínime
crack down, to (FREQ)	faffaaʃ-
craftsman	fuʰdi (< Sw. fundi), P fúʰdime
crazy	b'aadomíiri (< b'aadu + míiri ?)
cross, to	taħ-
cry, to	ʃaʃ-

...ce, to	ɬiinid-
...to	k'arap'-
... to	haab- (impf.)
... to (FREQ.)	hahhaab-
...iko	dááko,M -to, F -ttsi, P dáákotaɲi
...ido	d'aháálo, M -to, F -ttsi
...e	múganka , P múgankággi
...e (kind of women')	hááli
...e (kind of)	kitogo
...e, to	múganka ʃeeʔ-
...o	b'áriti (cf. Or. barii)
...after tomorrow	hiímanesú[ʔ]u
...before yesterday	d'ammo summa
...l	dzááʔama, F dzááʔamittse, P -i
...l	d'uuko (cf. Br. duuko), P d'úúkaki
...cate, to	/uʔu lik-
	kíbuuro, P kíbuurári
...out on dawn, to	b'arij- (cf. Or. barii)
...out, to; go out, to	dik-
...e, to; long for, to	tamanid- (< Sw. -tamani)
...ur, to be in	ruh-
...ay, to	faaʃ- (impf.)
...to	dzaaʔ-
...to	faat'-
...ard	fitina (Sw.)
...ess	taabu (Sw.)
...bute, to	tl'ak'eed-
...e, to	k'aatad-
...e, to (FREQ)	k'akk'aatad-
...	ʔug-
..., work, to	fal-
	náʃeete, P náʃeeto
	t'úpe, P t'úpapi
...palm	ʔávak'e, P ʔávak'a
...blood from a hematoma, to	tsoob-
...to	milaak'it-
	b'ággo, P b'ággi
...black, of women)	káániki, P káánikáki
...kind of -?)	karri
...s., to	b'ággo d'uh-

drink continuously, to (FREQ)	ma?ameemit-
drink, to	ma?aw-
drought; dry season; Northern wind	kásikadi (< Sw. kaskazi)
drum	ˆgoma, P ˆgómaddi
dry fish	kónţa, SG kónţeete
dry, to (obj.: meat)	b'a?ad-
dry, to be	/a?-
dull	sííkima, P siikíma
dumb	b'ub'wi (< Sw. bubu), P b'úb'wima
dust	b'úrune

E

ear	?ágaddzo, P ?ágaddzi
earth	wongo (NSw.)
eat, to	ʃag-
eat continuously, to (FREQ)	ʃaameemit-
eaten, to be	ʃagikud-
egg	ʃógohi, P ʃogóhi
egg-shell	k'awe, P k'awi
eh! (ID)	?éé
elbow	t'eede, P t'éédudda ~ t'éédema
elder brother	?ááji, P ?áájajji ~ ?áájini
elder sister	tááta, P táátani
elephant	dokóómi, P dókoomámi
elephant (female)	dánnabe (cf. Bor., Orma dannabaa)
embers	t'iliñe, P t'iliña
empty, to	ʃin?eed-
enter quickly, to	turukum-
enter, to	?ot'-
enter, to (P)	b'u?ud-
erection, to have an	kʷ'allid-
evening	heddo
every	kila (Sw.)
every, any	kulla (Sw.)
excrements	/u?u
explain, to	ˆgaasid-
extinguish, to (obj.: fire)	juʃeed-
eye	?ila, P ?illa
eyebrow	ˆgíkine, P ˆgíkinuuta
eyelash	?irifa, P ?irifamunte ~ ?irifáfi

F

fall, to	luttokum-

love, to	sonko?ikud-
group	jamaa (Sw.)
	hóóni
shamba	múnţa, P múnţeka
	mkullima (Sw.)
	?áłi
	b'ááb'a, P b'ááb'ani
s sister	?ánno, P ?ánnoni
in-law	?éno, P ?énama
; arrow-fletching	radda, P ráddema
to	ʃaadid- (< ʃa[g]did-)
	nát'ettsa
l open place	b'óóma (< Sw. boma), P b'óómammi
to	?idib-
	kónke (< cf. Sw. ukonge), P kónka
war	ˆbóóri
ole, to	b'uukul-
	/uuk-
	/utuw- (?)
(FREQ)	/u//uuk-
	t'eb-
	čaaˆda (<NSw. chanda), P čááˆdudda ~ čááˆduka
to (intr.)	?isakud- (< Baj. -isa)
to (tr.)	?isad- (< Baj. -isa)
to (tr.; at end of a story only)	keppad-
d, to be	laħ-
	?éége
ick	fád'ak'e, P fád'ak'ák'i
	ˆbalábe, ˆbálabéni
sp. of _)	járibu
ith spear, to	rubat-
	túntumu, P túntumámmi
	dáwatte
r, to	raid- (< Sw. -rai)
	kool-
out, to; hop, to (FREQ)	kokkoolit-
marker (FOC)	?íni
marker (affix form) (FOC)	ni-
w, to	hut'-
	ʃaga
stirring stick	msúúzo, P msúúzaddzi
	ˆ/aba

forget, to	saɦid-
four	saʃála
fourth day after today	tohííni
freeman	k'áávati, F -ettsa, P -áta
friend	rááfiki (< Sw. rafiki), P rááfikáka
friend	jáálesi (<Som. jaalle ?),P jááleséni
frog	hómome, P hómomúúta
full, to be; filled, to be	/uukikud-

G

gecko	/íᵑbirik'itte (SG ?)
genitive affix (GEN)	ní-
get, to	paʈa(ʔa)d- (< Sw. -pata)
get a chance, to	nafáási paʈad-
get married, to (subj.: woman)	hoovaakud-
get well, to	ɬiin-
giant	k'oᵑgo
giraffe	kiri, P kírima
Giriama	vaɲika, M vaɲikéétо, F vaɲikééttsi
girl (young woman not married)	dééla, P dééle
give birth to a baby, to	gʷittsa patad-
give birth, to	keej-
give, to	soor-
give, to	hee?-
glade; shelter, hiding-place	páɬɬaʔámo
glans of the penis	ᵑbéne, P ᵑbénanne
go, to	ro?-
go and come back, to	kiir-
go and look, to	k'at'-
go around, to; roam, to	riᵑgad-
go away!	túúri (< Som. tuur- ?), 2P túúrane
go down to (FREQ)	d'idd'iʃeem-
go down, to	d'iʃeem-
go home, to	gaalij- (< Or. gala)
go home, to (P)	gaggaalij- (< Or. gala)
go on!	háye (< Sw. haya)
go out in a hurry, to	d'aaʃ-
goat	hééri, P héérarre
good; beautiful	víne, F vínaddza, P vino
grandmother	ʔáábo, P ʔááboni
grass (SG: a blade of _)	táámi, SG táámine
grasshopper	pááᵑdi (< Sw. panzi), P pááᵑdima

ave	ragáma, P rágamuuta
ed	ʔáraka
et, to	ʔámani saaʃ-
et, to	saɦan-
ol, to	ɦiik'-
w, to	gurumuw-

nual action selector (HAB)	jí-
n	t'átta, SG t'áttane
l	nusu (Sw.)
around the moon	ʈánu
l, paw	dába, P dábabbe
dkerchief	kíeᵑba (< Sw. kilemba), P kíeᵑbabi
g, to	raaʃ-
g, to (FREQ)	raaʃraaʃ-
ppiness	póᵑgora
ppy, to be	furehi (< Sw. -furahi) kakud-
d	b'áhama, F -iddza, P b'áhami
d (adv.)	b'áha
d (adv.)	b'idii (Sw.)
e	tsúᵑgule (< Gir. tsʰungula), P -áli
sh, fierce	kali (Sw.)
vest, to	b'uunad- (< Sw. -vuna)
e, to	tuki?ad- (< NSw. -tuki)
e, to	tl'ag-
ve a good night, to (in greetings)	sálaama (< Sw. salama) git-
e peace, rest, to	raha tl'ag-
e sexual intercourse, to	huk'-
k	kíkoddzi (cf. Sw. kozi), P kíkoddzáddzi
k	tsílalla, P tsílalluuke
(REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔú-
(INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔúdu
d	ʃani, P ʃánuuta
, to	ʔeetit-
rt	muna, P múnadde
vy	ɦíd'aade
l	táhara, P táharúrra
ght	kíímo (< Sw. kimo)
(BOUND PR.)	di-
e	ʔúkʷatta
e	ʔááma

hide, to (intr.)	laaʃ-
hide, to (tr.)	suuruk-
hide, to (tr.)	laaʃat-
him (BOUND PR.)	du-
hippopotamus	ɲáñe, P ɲáñudda
hit continuously, to (FREQ)	lubameemit-
hit, to; beat, to	lub- (perf., impf.)
hoe	č'émpe (< Sw. jembe), P č'émpabbi
hold, to; take, to; marry, to	kam-
hole	b'óóku, P b'óókakki
honey	naʃa
honey (kind of _)	ᵐdzóóme
horn	tumpi, P tumpábbi
hot season; hottest part of the day	tsááka
house	mini, P míddzi
housefly	ʃínta, SG ʃíntone
how?	táʃame
how many, how much?	méék'a (< Som. meeqa)
hung, to be	raaʃ[a]kud-
hunger	k'ére
hungry, to be	k'ére kam-
hunt, to	gubaalid-
hunter	gúbaalaale, P gúbaalaali
hunting	málata
hurt, to (intr.)	vaɬ-
hyena	wáraaba, P wáraabuuta

I

I (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔan-
I (INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔáɲi
if	kada
in front of; before	summa
in, at (LOC)	da-
in, inside	kotta-
incense	pefu (NSw.), P péfuma
incisor tooth	kálati suumani
inherit, to	risid- (< Sw. -rithi)
inside	ᵐɖani (NSw.)

J

javelin	fumo (Sw.)
jaw	ᵐdzáája, P ᵐdzáájajje
jealousy	víívu (< Sw. wivu)

[illegible]lousy	ʔinááfa (< Sw.)
[illegible] together, to	taarik-
[illegible]p walking, to	d'akʷ-
[illegible], to	dzeeʔed-
[illegible] to	dzaaʔad-
[illegible] to (plural object)	b'aɦ-
[illegible]	mfállume (cf. Sw. mfalme), P -ámi
[illegible] man	ᵐɖuugo (< Sw. ndugu), P ᵐɖúúgu
[illegible]e	gilli, P gíllibe
[illegible]el down, to	vaddzud-
[illegible]e	ʃálite, P ʃálitúmu
[illegible]k down, to	luttid-
[illegible]w, to	hubat- (< Som. hubso ?)
[illegible]w, to	ʔelej-
[illegible]d, to	ruppeem-
[illegible]ange	nóma (SUFF.)
[illegible] big; grown-up person	gaano, P gáána
[illegible]gh, to	k'iik'-
	šaría (< Sw. sharia)
[illegible]pen, to	piɬ- (impf.)
[illegible]	ɬáábu, SG ɬáábune
[illegible], to	b'uyad- (< NSw.; cf. Br. vuya)
[illegible] to	t'up'-
[illegible]e off, to; abandon, to	ɬaʃaj-
[illegible]e, to; let go, to	ʔakkʷ-
[illegible]i	ɲaɲánt'e
[illegible] hand)	dába šoto (< Sw. -shoto)
[illegible] foot	dakáʃa , P dakáʃadde
[illegible] from knee to foot)	kónkoolo, P kónkooláli
[illegible] from thigh to knee)	lúk'a (< Som. ?), P lúk'agááme
[illegible]ed	nímankalo, P -uuta ~ -áli
[illegible]e, to	tl'aaʃaj-
[illegible]go!	ᵐbajóni
[illegible]o	ʃaᵐ/-
[illegible] to make	ʃaᵐ/adid-
	tabáda
[illegible] (adj.)	fóófoone
[illegible]ring	b'írik'inna
	b'áʔi, P b'áʔima

lip	lókome (SG ?)
lit fire, to	b'akk-
little; few; a bit of	?ámininna , P ?ámamuuta
live together, to (P)	jeem-
liver	mákko, P mákkomunte
log	góógo (< Sw. gogo)
look at, to; provide, to	keek-
look after, to	vintid-
look after, to	?eekadid-
look around, to (FREQ)	kekkeek-
look like, to; resemble, to	hut'uw-
looked, to be	keekikud-
lost, to get	ʃaj-
louse	?ítta, SG ?íttone
love, to; like, to	ɬaw-
lung	ɬáfi, P ɬáfafánne

M

made, to be	falikud-
maize	b'uru (cf. NSw. (m)buru)
maize beetle	?úmu ᵐgu (cf.Br. munjo),SG ?úmu ᵐgune
make, to	suubid- (< Som. suubbi)
make a mistake, to	soobad-
make carry, to	vaddat-
make enter, to	?ot'od-
man	ɦáájo, P ɦáʃi
man, human being	b'inadamu (Sw.)
manner	karama (Sw.)
manners, behaviour	mííri
mantis	ᵐdáragi
many	káʃime
market	sooko (< Sw. soko)
marriage	hoova (< NSw.)
marry, to (subj.: man)	hoovaad- (< NSw. -o(w)a)
masturbate, to	dˡaggʷid-
mat	j'áá ᵐbi (cf.Br. ijanbi),P j'áá ᵐbabbi
mat	fúú ᵐba (< Sw. fumba), P fúú ᵐbabbi
mat for drying the meat	ʈuʈʈu
may I come in ?	hoodi (Sw.)
me (BOUND PR.)	?i-
mead	móla, P mólalle
meat (dried; SG: portion of _)	mísikíta, SG mísikitéété

meat-eating place (of hunters in the bush)	?ígira
meet, to; come across, to	kulum- (< Som. kulmi)
mention, to	ɦaav-
mention, to (FREQ)	ɦaɦɦaavit-
milk	zíva (< Sw. maziva)
milk, to	kaamad- (< Sw. -kama)
milk, to	no?odid-
mix, to	tar-
moderation	kiasi (Sw.)
money	senti (Sw.)
monkey	gólobe, P góloba
moon; month	ɦáge
morning	díírama (< Or.)
morning	b'ura
morning star	fálaʃe
mortar	kinu (< Sw.), P kínudde
mouth	/úbubuʃe, P /úbubúʃa
mother (after death)	jáájo
mother (alive)	yááyo
mother's brother	?ááma, P ?áámani
mother's sister	yááyo ?ááma
mother-in-law	?énumasa, P ?énumaséni
mouth	?áfo, P ?áfudda
move house, to	b'alak-
move restlessly, to	tirid-
move, to; change position, to	sereem-
mud	d'ód'o?a (cf. Br. totope ?)
my (F)	?íttsa
my (M)	?íttsi

nail, claw	tsoolo, P tsóóle ~ tsóóludda
name	sáára
navel	júko (cf. Br. čidhuku)
near	ɦáát'i
necessity	šáruti (< Sw. sharuti)
necessity	ládima (< Sw. lazima)
needle	d'ááʃeero, P d'ááʃoorúdda
needle	síí ᵐdano (< Sw. sindano), P -ánni
negative selector (NEG)	b'a-
neighbour	j'íírani (<Sw. jirani),P j'ííranáni
nine	mpia (Sw.)

news	láágu
night	hííma
nipple	/óóke, P /óókakke
nock, notch of arrow	ʔaare, P ʔaarári
noon	saa sita (Sw.)
nose	sína, P sínadde
nostril	b'óóhi
not poisoned arrow-head	k'áreete, P k'áreetáti
not poisoned big arrow-head	b'óód'aani, P b'óód'aanánni
now	sélle
now	sasa (Sw.)
now	ʔúkʷatti
nowadays (?)	ʔukʷaddze

Q

oath, to	t'igad-
old (of persons)	gúrume, F gúrumiddze, P gúrumi
old man	kiidzo, P kíídzooma
old, to become	jaar-
one (F)	vatték^{w}e
one (M)	vattúk^{w}e
only	ṭúmpo
only	hačč'a
or	au (Sw.)
Oromo	kárijedi, M -to, F kárijedittsi
other	vátte (M, F, P)
outside	ʔaᵑḍe (cf. Br. ᵑde)
outside	gárima

P

pain, to; cut, to (?)	t'oʃ-
palm frond	ᵑ/óʔo
panga	rúpaᵑga (cf. NSw. upanga), P -ággi
pant, to	hagid-
paralytic	kíṭevi, P kíṭevávi
particle-complex initial marker (0)	ʔa-
pass, to	d'ir-
pass, to make	d'irid-
penis	ladda
perfect past selector (PERF)	ná-
person; pl.: people	gúho , P guho
pestle	d'áhanite, P d'áhanitáti
pick (from a tree), to	/oʔ-

pick lice, to	ts'iʃ-
pick lice, to (FREQ)	ts'iʃid-
pick up, to	laaw-
piece of cloth	góóra, P góórari
pierce, to	p'uʃud-
pinch, to	ɬ^{w}aħ-
place	mééši (< Som. meeshi)
place where the maize is seasoned	kípunju, P kípunjájji
play, to	val-
poison, to	t'aʃ-
poison; arrow with poison (= ħaad'o t'áʃaʔi)	t'áʃa, P t'áʃema
Pokomo	mpókome, F mpókomettsi, P mpókomi
ponder, to; think, to	/aħadid-
porcupine	jara, P járema
pot	d'au, P d'áuje
potsherd	ᵑbattsi, P ᵑbattsáttsi
pound, to	d'aħ-
pounded, to be	d'aħikud-
pray, to	ʔoᵑboleʔad- (< Sw. -omba)
pregnant	b'ágamaamíttse
pregnant, to make	b'ágama kantid-
prick, to	p'uʃ-
pubic hair	gínaaᵑda, SG gínaaᵑdáne
pull down the foreskin, to	mut'uʃud-
pull down the foreskin, to (FREQ)	mut'uʃudid-
pull, to	ɬas-
pull, to	riip-
push, to	ʃiʔ-
put an end, to	koʔeed-
put down, into, to	d'aʃ-
put in, to	ʃoɬ-
put into, to; plant, to	b'uʔ-
put on fire, to	ɬaħ-
put together, to; collect, to	d'ar- (< Som. dar- ?)
put, to; set, to; keep, to	kaaj-
put, to be	kaajikud-
puzzle, to; astonish, to	/aʔid-
puzzle, to; astonish, to	ɬaᵑgadad-
python	ᵑ/éénu, P ᵑ/éénanni

Q

quickly, fast	gírigíri

quiver	kíraˆgáti, P kíraˆgatáti
R	
rain, to	maʔa lub-
rainbow	ˆgoowi
reach an agreement, to	paʈa (< Sw. pata) ʔaˆdad-
receive, to	pokeʔad- (< Sw. -pokea)
recognize, to	b'ar- (< Som. bar- ?)
red	ts'íraraʔe, F -ittse, P -i
refuse, to	naʃ-
remain, to	b'akiʔad- (< Sw. -baki)
remember, to	kakkad-
remoter past selector (PAST)	va-
remove, to	fiir- (impf.)
remove, to	roɦeed-
remove, to	gud-
report	ripoʈi (Sw. < English)
respect, to	ɮitahid- (< Sw. -stahi)
rest	raha (Sw.)
rest, to	fook'-
return, to (intr.)	vatl'-
return, to (tr.); bring back, to	vatl'id-
rhinoceros	waaɬa
rice (cooked _)	vááli (< Sw. vali), P váálalli
rice after husking (Sw. mchele)	ntée (< NSw. mtee)
rice before husking	mápunka (< Sw. mpunga)
rich	táájiri (< Sw. tajiri) (M, F, P)
right (hand)	dába lua
right, good	tada
ripe	hámaad'e
river; lake	tl'ááʃa, P tl'ááʃudda
roast, to	kaaˆgad- (< Sw. -kaanga)
roll, to (intr.)	kʷarakʷarikud-
room	čúúˆba (<Sw. chumba), P -abbi ~ zuˆbe
rope	káˆba (<Sw. kamba), P káˆbaki ~-uuke
rotate, to (tr.)	vitavited-
rotten	p'óʔate
rotten, to get	p'uʔatuw-
rub, to	ɲuuk'ut- (impf.)
rub, to	fuʈad- (< Sw. -futa)
rub, to	ɲuk'-
run away, to	kʷaʃ-

run away, to (P)	kiɬ-
rush, to (subj.: animals)	b'uɖɖuved-
S	
sack	gunia (Sw.), P gúnieki
saliva	/aaɲi
salt	múúɲo (< NSw. munyu)
sand	ˆɖóóʃo
sanye (coll.; lit.: the Little People)	guɦo gʷittso
satiated, to be	fuur-
saucepan	sufuria (Sw.), P sufuriádde
saw, to	čikočik- (< Sw. -siki ?)
say, to	hood'- (cf. Br. kood ?)
scar	ʔáádi, P ʔáádaddi
scared, to be	giɬeem-
scatter, to	tattavaanad- (< Sw. -tavanya)
scatter, to	ʃiʔed-
scorpion	kʷ'ánaʔa, P kʷ'ánaʔamunte
scratch, to	ɦot'-
scratch, to	ʃant'id-
scream, to	ʃik-
secret	sííri (< Sw. siri)
see, to	vaɦ-
self	máni
self; too	kúsi
send away, to	lik- (< Sw. -likiza)
sesame	mákʷaju
set, to (subj.: sun, night)	d'uʔ-
settlement, village	láva
sew, to	huud-
shadow (of a man)	d'eekʷáání, P d'eekʷáánanni
shadow (of an object)	ʔáfitete (SG ?), P ʔáfitáti
sharp	ɬákane, P ɬákani
shave, to (intr.)	ɦiirikud-
shave, to (tr.)	ɦiir-
shawl	lééso (< Sw. leso), P léésoma
she (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔí-
she (INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔídi
sheath	lóóbu, P lóóbabi
sheep	kondoo (Sw.)
shift, to; put aside, to	paɬ- (impf.)
shine, to (subj.: sun)	b'uvad- (cf. Br. waɬa ?)

shoulder	dóóro, P dóórari
shoulder extremity	jékkele, P jékkeláli
shout, to	kaaʃ-
show, to	ʔentid-
show, to	vaɦid-
shy, to be	j'eer- (cf. Br. jera)
shy, to make	j'eeredid-
shy, to make	sarakána kantid-
shyness	sárakána
sick	ruk'úma, F ruk'úmiddze, P ruk'úmi
sickness	ruk'o
silent, to be	b'eh- (P: beham-)
sing, to	sooʔ-
sip, to	ɬuub-
sister-in-law	nááto, P náátoni
sky; God	váák'a
slash, to	kʷah-
slaughter, to	hat-
slaughtered, to be	hatikud-
sleep, to	haddur-
sleep, to	b'om-
sleep, to (P)	git-
slim	dlááɬune, F dlááɬunittse, P dlááɬuni
slowly	méˀate (SG ?)
small	ʔaamína
smash to pieces, to	tanatanadid-
smell, to	ɬeeʃ-
smile, to	mummukud-
smoke	t'uggʷa
smoke, to	fukidad- (< Sw. -fukiza)
snake	gáve, P gávajju
so that	ʔaˀga
so, thus	ʔammékʷa (= ʔamma + kʷa)
soft	t'ééʃema, F -iddze, P t'ééʃemi
sole of the foot	dakáʃa kiʈaˀga
Somali	ʔíjidi,M-ééto,F-istsi (cf.Waata jiiduu)
sometimes	saa vatte
song	sóóʔe, SG sooʔómeete
sorcerer	múganka (cf. NSw. mganga)
speak continuously, to (FREQ)	joomameemit-
speak, to	joom-
spear	wáraɦa, P wáraɦuuke

spend the day, to	gaad-
spend the day, to	ʔagad-
sperm	gídda
spit, to	b'ut'uʃ- (impf.)
spleen	ˀdzóne, P ˀdzónanni
spoil, to; destroy, to (FREQ)	d'uk'ud'uk'ud-
spread out, to	ʔakkid-
spring, pool of water	ʈámpo maʔááni
squeeze, to	t'uub-
stand up, to	ʔuk'eem-
stand, to	saad'-
stand up, to make	saattid-
star	/íˀgiliʃe, P /íˀgilíʃa
stay, to; live, to	gʷaɦ- (P: gʷaɦam-)
stay, to make	gʷaɦadid-
stay, to; exist, to	šir- (< Gr. šir-)
stick	sííˀbo (< NSw. simbo)
stick out the tongue, to	milaʃ-
sting, to	dl appanad-
sting, to	puh-
stink, to	hul-
stir, to	horok'- (< Sw. -koroga ?)
stone	máve (< Sw. mawe), SG máveete
stop, to; hold tight, to	reeb- (< Som. reeb)
store	siʈo (< Sw. sitoo)
street, path	lée, P léaddi
string of beads (worn around the neck)	ʔirídi, P ʔiridádi
string of beads (worn around the waist)	kísiiri, P kísiirári
string of beads (worn around the wrist)	mápiˀgáni (P ?)
strip away, to; peel off, to	d'iʃ-
strip, to; peel, to	/uʃ-
stroll, to	ʃameedid-
strong	ˀgúúfu (<Sw.nguvu), F -uniddze, P -uni
stupid	muinga (Sw.)
suck, to	noʔ-
suddenly, at once	miida
sun; day	ʔaddo
Swahili	kúúdza, M kúúdzeeti, F kúújittsa
swallow, to	ʃunneed- (<Som.cun- "to eat" ?)
sweat; warm	fúnt'oono
sweep, to	peelaad- (cf. NSw. -pea)
sweet	ɬáɦame

sword	te ˀbe
system	sampuli (Sw.)
system	suura (< Sw. sura)

T

tail	rik'a
take, to	ʃam-
take away, to; kidnap, to (obj.: woman)	dook-
take by force, to	mukkaanad-
take by force, to (FREQ)	mukkaanadid-
talk, to; converse, to	ɦaasoob-
tall; deep	rúúmate, F rúúmatiddze, P ruumáti
taste, to	k'ad'ab-
taste, to make	k'ad'atid- (< ɻ'ad'a[b]tid-)
tea	šaahi
tear	ʔilíma, P ʔílimámi
tear, to	d'aɬid-
tear, to; rend, to	fuʃʃeed-
tell, to	ʔibed-
testicle	kámpore, P kámporári
that (F)	ʔítu
that (M)	ʔúku
their (BOUND PR.)	ʔiɲiʔ-
their (BOUND PR.)	mamusuʔ-
them (BOUND PR.)	ʔiɲá-
then	kisa (Sw.)
there	ʔúkotta
there (very far)	manni
these	ʔúkʷammámu
they (INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔummámu
thick	ɲíʃaaɲiʃe
thigh	b'ooti, P b'óótime
thing	kínʈo (< Sw kitu ?; cf. Br. čiinču)
think, to	mamiit-
third day before today	d'ammo summééni
thirst	gʷiʔi
thirsty, to be	gʷiʔi kam-
this (F)	ʔita
this (M)	ʔukʷa
thorn	mágoɬe
thorn	ʃééme, P ʃéémi
those	ʔúkummámu

three	k'aba
throat	k'ok'o, P k'ók'addi
throw, to	ʃattaɦ-
thumb	ˀɖóɖi, P ˀɖóɖaddi
thunder	d'id'iʃííma
tie, to; close, to	d'uʔaj-
tied, to be	d'uʔikud-
time	vakati (Sw.)
time, hour	saa (Sw.)
tired, to be	laaf-
tired, to get	tl'oʃ-
tobacco	ʈúmpo
today	ʔaddókʷa (= ʔaddo + kʷa)
toilet	čóo (< Sw. choo), P čóvadde ~ zoo
tomorrow	híímane (SG of hííma ?)
tongue	ʃééna, P ʃéénaddi
tooth	kálati, P kálatétto
topi	b'ábaʔaane, P b'ábaʔaanuuta
tortoise	k'óbe (< Sw. kobe ?), P k'óbaddi
touch, to	b'er-
town, village	mui (NSw.)
trade, to; buy, to; sell, to	ʔallaɦ-
trap	ʈámpo (< NSw. ʈambo), P ʈámpabbi
trap, to	ʈámpo kʷaʃ-
tread on, to	d'at'-
tread on, to (FREQ)	d'add'at'-
tree; P: woods	k'oro, P k'óre
tremble, to	tarar-
trick	ɦííla (< Som.)
truth	ʔíre
try, to; taste, to	tem-
turn into, to; become, to	b'irik'eem-
turn, to (tr.)	b'irik'- (cf. Br. inviringe "round")
twist, to	saka?-
two	lííma

U

ugali	ʔúʈaaʈi (< NSw. utati), P ʔúʈaaʈáʈi
uncover, to	pak'eed-
under, below	giri
understand, to	ʔelead- (< Sw. -elea)
understand, to	ɦaaw-

unrealised action selector (IRR) ká-
untie, to; open, to; undress, to gu↓eed-
until hata (Sw.)
until mpaka (Sw.)
upset, to get; angry, to get ↓uum-
urinate, to sínt'a lik-
urinate, to sínt'a darat-
urine sínt'a
us (BOUND PR.) ni-
useful, to be faah- (Sw. -faa)
utensils, kitchenware do"bo (< Baj. zombo)

V

vagina tsintso
venitive marker (VEN) ʔá-
vervet já?awo, P já?awuuta
very monno
vidow múkibe, F múkibettsa, P múkibábbi
village elder gaano lábani
village elder kiidzo lábani
vomit, to mantaħ- (< Bo.?)
vomit, to (FREQ) mantaħid-
voyage safari (Sw.)

W

waist /útu
waist d'ága
wait, to suug- (< Som. suug)
wait, to (only imperative) ko?-
wake up, to mat'-
walk, to rat-
wall fiit'a, P fíít'eka
wander, to dumaar-
want, to k'oob-
warthog jáme, P jámema
wash hands, to k"'at'ikud-
wash, to fuu?ad- (< Sw. -fua)
wash, to k"'at'-
wash, to paaħ-
water ma?a
waterbuck t'úúto, P t'úútema
waterpot mútsunki (< LP/Mij.), P mútsunkággi
we (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.) ɲan-

we (INDEPENDENT PR.) ɲáni
weave, to ?agg"id-
well (n.) kisima (Sw.), P kísimagge ~ -adde
well! b'asi (Sw.)
what mááte
what? mááka(-to)
when? mákabára
where? kééda
whetstone séébo, P séébema
which? joka
white k'úúħuma
white hair ?áára, SG ?áárane
whither? kééke
who? jíko
who? jíkoto, F jíkottsi, P jíkommámu
why? máákaani (= mááka + ni- (GEN))
why? "bona (Sw.)
why? kwani (Sw.)
wide páána (< Sw. -pana)
wife ?árasa, P ?áraséni
wild animal; enemy dzaa?áta, P dzaa?átuuke
wildcat t'óó?o, P t'óó?ema
win, to; overcome, to šii"ɖad- (< Sw. -shinda)
wind júúfune (SG ?)
wink at, to nik'id-
wink at, to (FREQ) nik'idadid-
witch t'ílale, P t'ílali
witchcraft t'ílo
with, and hollo
with, and na (Sw.)
with; from ?into
without b'aadu
woman nat'a, P nat'o
work (n.) káádi (< Sw. kazi)
work, to; cultivate, to liimad- (< Sw. -lima)
worm nú"gunú"gu (< Sw. nyungunyungu), P -uuta
wound ?útunu, P ?útunáni
wound, to (FREQ) p'upp'uʃud-
wrap, to kutad-
wrist kíívíko, P kíívikáki
wrist "gálo, P "gáladde

Y

yawn, to	hajow-
yes	hay
yes (ID)	héé
yesterday	d'ammo
you (2P; INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔatta
you (2PM; BOUND PR.)	kunná-
you (2S; INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔááta
you (2SF; BOUND PR.)	ki-
you (2SM; BOUND PR.)	ku-
young (n.)	gúbaga, SG gúbagééte
young man	gaano gʷíttsa, P gáána gʷittso
your (2PF; BOUND PR.)	kinná-

Z

zebra	ħéileʔa

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