CHAPTER EIGHT

NOTES ON THE AARI LANGUAGE*

by

Richard J. Hayward

INTRODUCTION:

With the exception of the Dime far to the west, the Aari ([ʔa:rí]) are the most northern speakers of a Southern Omotic language. Although some Aaris do live down in the lowlands, the majority inhabit the plateau and scarplands of the lofty southwest spur of the Gemu-Gofa highlands within the administrative territory of the Bako-Gazär wäräda. According to Haberland (p.420 in Jensen 1959), the Aari comprise ten tribes, known as Bako, Kure, Shangama, Bio, Sido, Argenne, Ubamer, Bargedda, Galila and Gossa, with a total population of less than 20,000[1]. Although the highland Aari cultivate some wheat and barley and keep many sheep, their staple foodstuff is *ɨnsät*, but from the lack of sophistication shown in their preparation of the latter, Haberland infers that for the Aari an *ɨnsät* - based culture is an adopted one (ibid., 421). Those Aari who inhabit the scarplands grow maize and sorghum varieties and keep small herds and flocks.

Apart from classificatory studies utilising basic vocabulary the language of the Aari (which is also called [ʔa:rí]) has remained completely undescribed. The present paper is an attempt to begin to fill this gap by putting on record a tentative analysis of some aspects of the

phonetics, phonology, and grammar of the language. The material on which my analysis is based was collected in Addis Ababa during two to three weeks of research conducted in the months of July and November 1984. My sole informant and assistant in this research was Ato Aynalem Tsegaye, an Aari-speaking student at Addis Ababa University. I acknowledge with gratitude the conscientious commitment of time and energy that Ato Aynalem gave to our research programme. For their encouragement and practical helpfulness, I wish also to acknowledge here my indebtedness to the staff of the Addis Ababa University Institute of Language Studies where the research took place.

In view of the altitude and environment range over which the Aari are found, and on account of the fact that their homesteads are widely separated (ibid., 420), it would not be surprising if their language showed some dialectal differences (cf. Fleming 1976b: 310). My informant was of the opinion that the Aari speech of the highlands shows an Ometo (Gofa ?) influence and that the "purest" language is that spoken on the scarplands. I have been very fortunate in having had access to the valuable manuscript collection of Aari vocabulary, phrases and paradigms recorded by Bender and Tully in 1973-74. I express here my deep gratitude to Lionel Bender for making these data available to me. Comparison of this material with my own does indeed show some variations, and at certain points in this study I draw attention to these; but my informant and the men who worked with Bender and Tully were all born close to Jinka, and it is quite clear that they speak essentially the same language. It would be very interesting, however, to see how far their variety differs from the speech of, say, the Galila, much farther to the north.

Contents:

§1. PHONOLOGY:

§1.1. CONSONANTS:

The consonant phonemes of Aari are set out in the following table.

Table 1

	t	s̀	č	k	q	
b	d		ǰ	g		
p'	d'	s̀'	č'			ʔ
f	s		š			h
	z		ž			
m	n					
	l					
	r					
w			y			

The notes which follow relate to the occurrence and the phonetic realisation of the consonant phonemes.

1. f is frequently, though not always, pronounced as a bilabial fricative, viz. [ɸ]

2. The place of articulation for t and d is dental, though for d' it is post-alveolar.

3. The voiceless non-uvular plain stops (t, s̀, č, k) are aspirated fairly strongly in syllable-initial position. This feature is an especially useful cue for distinguishing the affricated plain stops from their glottalized counterparts.

4. The affricated glottalized stops (s̀' and č') are ejectives. d' is an implosive stop with fairly full voicing. p' is also implosive, but is largely devoiced - entirely so when it is word-final, e.g.

fee[ɗ]áy	*useless*	[ɗ]umí	*darkness*
[ƥ]óyka	*keep!*	ro[ƥ]	*light*

5. s̀ and s̀' are asibilated affricated stops, i.e., [t͡sʰ] and [t͡s'] respectively. The only recorded instances of a voiced affricated stop for this series, i.e., [d͡z], straddle morpheme boundaries, and are clearly phoneme sequences, e.g. gúr[d͡z]it *I built a fence* (/gurd-s-it/), cf. gurdá *fence*

6. č, ǰ, č', š and ž have a palato-alveolar place of articulation, and correspond to IPA [t͡ʃʰ], [d͡ʒ], [t͡ʃ'], [ʃ] and [ʒ] respectively. Of the five ǰ is decidedly rare. It occurs in loans such as s̀'á[d͡ʒ:]i *mead* and [d͡ʒ]ámmarka *begin!* Its occurrence in ma[d͡ʒ]í *blister* and gú[d͡ʒ]ka *add to!*, the native status of which there is no reason to doubt, requires that it be considered as a phoneme[2]. [d͡ʒ] also occurs in certain verb forms, but in all except the case of guǰ- *add to*, it is probably best seen as the surface realisation of a two consonant sequence (see §2.7.1.2.).

7. q has a uvular place of articulation[3]. In terms of the phonological pattern of the language it probably "fills the gap" for a glottalized stop in the velar series. Nevertheless, phonetically it is a uvular, and definitely not glottalized in any way. Before consonants it is generally realised as a plosive, and word-initially as either a plosive or an affricate. Following a continuant it commonly has a fricative pronunciation, and intervocalically it may even be voiced, e.g.

   p'ó[q]šit *I thought/desired;* ʔál[q]sek *they talked;* [q]aaré ~ [q͡χ]aaré *vervet monkey;* wóše[X]e ~ wóše[ʁ]e ~ wóše[q]e *it gave off a smell;* šó[X]a ~ šó[ʁ]a ~ šó[q]a *horn;* sóo[X] ~ sóo[q] *salt*

8. n has a wide range of preconsonantal pronunciations, e.g.

dental: ʔu[n̪]tín *rat;* alveolar: ge[n]zí *duiker;*

palato-alveolar: yí[n̠ʲ]ʧ'ka *laugh!;* velar: su[ŋ]gulá *flies;* uvular: fa[N]qá *frog*

However, even morpheme-internally, as in the case of a word like ba[m]bará *red pepper,* it would not be reasonable to propose an archisegmental analysis of preconsonantal nasals (cf. the analysis of Zayse nasals in Ch. Four), since the pronunciation of nasals is not always predictable in this position, e.g.

wóo[n]sit *I worked* vs. ʔó[m]ssit *I loaded*

ɜ'ú[ŋ]ka *pinch!* vs. ká[m]ka *pick up!*

The corpus contains only one instance of [ŋ] not preceding a velar, viz. zo[ŋ]ʔí ~ zo[m]ʔí *animal blood.* In view of the related verb forms (e.g. zó[m]ʔse *he bled,* etc.) this velar nasal has clearly to be regarded as a surface realisation of m.

9. One of the more interesting features of Aari phonology emerges in connection with h. As a clearly delimitable segment, h (which is pronounced as [ɦ]) is rather uncommon. [ɦ] has been recorded intervocalically in words such as:

wa[ɦ]á *meat;* le[ɦ]á *pumpkin;* dá[h]isit *I chased*

However, many words contain vowels with a distinctly breathy or murmured quality. The vowels in the preceding examples have this quality, viz. w[a̤ɦá̤], l[e̤ɦá̤], d[á̤hi̤]sit. Moreover, every word in which an intervocalic [ɦ] appears, can also be pronounced without such a segment. Thus, in the case of the three words cited we could have w[a̤ː], l[e̤á̤] and d[âj]sit. It would appear that h is on the verge of disappearing from the language, though not without leaving a trace of itself in the form of breathy phonation[4].

It is not the case, however, that an [ɦ] (as a possible realisation of underlying h) can be substituted in every word where breathy vowels occur. Thus, breathy vowels occur in all the word forms deriving from such verb stems as

[a̤:]d- *come;* [a̤]ss- *chop;* k[e̤:]z- *tell;* [a̤]ʔs- *tear (tr.);* č'[a̤:]q- *curse;* w[o̤:]l- *feel, touch*

In these and many other similar words my informant never pronounced an [ɦ], nor would he accept pronunciations containing one. It was noted that breathy phonation was especially common in vowels in the environment of ž and y, e.g.

g[o̤:]ž- *get drunk;* q[a̤:]ž- *become cold;* f[i̤]ž- *create;* [a̤]ž- *become sick;* y[i̤]ž- *hate;* y[i̤]r- *become startled;* y[e̤]d- *seize;* y[i̤]nšɨ *child*

though it is unlikely that too much significance should be attached to this, since as well as the occurrence of many items containing breathy phonation in which y and ž do not appear, there are also many items containing y or ž where there is no breathy phonation.

Words which do not commence with some other consonant have either a glottal stop onset or breathy phonation. It is of further interest that if a high tone is associated with the first vowel of a word, and that first vowel is breathy, the high tone will be realised as a rise. This is especially clear in the case of long vowels. If the first vowel is breathy but has non-high tone, the actual pitch sounds lower than it would be if it occurred on a non-breathy vowel in a comparable position[5], e.g.

[a̤:]fsit	[⁀ ‾]	[ʔe:]fsit	[‾ ‾]
I found		*I wept*	
[a̤:]nt	[⁀]	[ʔa:]fi	[‾ ‾]
you		*eye*	
[a̤:]qe	[‾‾]	[ʔa:]ni	[‾‾]
tree		*arm*	

Provided an [ɦ] actually appears, if only in a variant pronunciation of a word, it would seem reasonable to represent that word as having a /h/ phonologically. But in all other cases, where the breathy phonation feature of a vowel appears to be independent (insofar as an alternative pronunciation with a distinct [ɦ] segment is not possible), there seems to be no alternative but to set up an extra series of breathy vowel phonemes. Throughout the remainder of this study such vowels will be indicated (by means of diaresis) everywhere, except when they occur in juxtaposition to an h, since in this position such vowels are predictable. Further research may provide the key to a more satisfactory analysis.

The occurrence of independent breathy vowels in Aari acquires a further dimension of significance in view of the fact that another South Omotic language, namely Hamer, exhibits vowel harmony phenomena based on two sets of vowels (Lydall 1976: 397ff). One of the phonetic properties of Hamer vowels belonging to Lydall's "Category II" is said to be an advanced tongue root position, and what I have here called breathy phonation is a common concomitant of this feature in many languages. I was unable to observe any vowel harmony processes at work in the utterances of my informant, but it would be rash to reject such a possibility until considerably more work has been done.

§1.2. VOWELS:

The basic vowel system comprises five terms, viz. i, e, a, o, and u. When single the pronunciation of i and u are close to those of Cardinal Vowels 1 and 8 respectively. Single a is low, but between Cardinal Vowels 4 and 5. Single o is nearer to a half-open than a half-close tongue position. Single e is half-open and has a very centralised pronunciation when it occurs either in a closed syllable or word-finally, even in the environment of "palatal" consonants. This makes it quite easy

to mistake it for a lax version of a, e.g.

g[u]dr[í] *hyaena;* ?[å̀]mb[í] *bushbuck,* d[å̀]ng[ɔ̰́]r *elephant;* d[ɔ̰]q[u]nt[í] *stool;* q[å̀]s[ś]/[ɛ́] *human blood;* ?[ǻ]š[ə]rs[ɛ]/[ə] *it burned;* t[ɛ̰́]čč[ə]/[ɛ] *he cut*

In addition to this overlap in the pronunciations of e and a it will be noted in latter sections that many morphemes have free variant forms, one with a, one with e.

Whether or not the articulation of the breathy vowels involves tongue root advancement (with the concomitant invalidation of the Cardinal Vowel technique for assessing tongue height) is not known, but the longer duration of the breathy vowels seems to make them more like double non-breathy vowels with respect to that part of their quality which must depend on vocal tract shape. It should be noted that a breathy congener for the high back vowel u (or uu)has not been recorded: though our investigations are as yet of too preliminary a nature to attach much weight to this fact.

§1.3. LENGTH:

Intervocalically differential duration has been found for a number of consonants. However, the only recorded cases of most of the geminate consonants occur in morphologically complex forms, and are obviously the result of consonant assimilation across morpheme boundaries (see § 2.7.1.2. and § 2.7.2.4.). The consideration of morpheme-internal contrasts suggests that underlying gemination is far less common. The following single : geminate contrasts (though the environments of contrast are never quite identical) are all morpheme-internal.

ll ([l:]) : l ([l]) láll-er-se *it flowed;* killá *new;* č'éla *raw;* yéla *So-and-So;* ?íla *flour*

mm ([m:]) : m ([m])	zémma *morning;* tammá *ten;* daamí *war;* d'umí *darkness*
s̀s̀ ([t͡s^{h}]) : s̀ ([t͡s^{h}])	ʔus̀s̀á *near;* kas̀s̀ími *spear;* ʔás̀i *teeth*
tt ([t̪:^{h}]) : t ([t̪^{h}])	ko-tta ... *is hers;* fuuttá* *cotton;* kootá *brideprice;* ʔootá *calf*
ǰǰ ([d͡ʒ]) : ǰ ([d͡ʒ])	s̀'áǰǰi* *mead;* maǰí *blister*
kk ([k:^{h}]) : k ([k^{h}])	wókka *axe;* makkán *three;* waakí *cattle;* núki *nose*
qq ([q͡X]) : q ([X])	qóqqa* *spurfowl;* šóqa *horn;* noqá *water*

Asterisked words in the above list are loans, so that the most convincing cases of geminate consonants are l and m, and the voiceless stops t, s̀, k — so far no instances of morpheme-internal geminate č have been noted.

Differential duration of vowels is phonemic in many words, though apparently not in word-final position. As in the case of the consonants, durationally longer vowels are interpreted as double vowels. Once again the examples cited do not show contrasts in environments that are fully identical, though it is very probable that exact minimal pairs could be found.

ii ([i:]) : i ([i̬])	tiilé *water-pot;* díibi *thief;* tirá *liver;* s̀'izí *sweat (n.)*
ee ([e̬:]) : e ([ɛ]/[å])	déesi *grindstone;* s̀'éedze *it shortened;* debí *wild animal;* bédze *it increased*
aa ([a:]) : a ([à])	máas̀se *he returned (intr.);* ž̈ä̈agše *he sewed;* ʔáafi *eye;*

	matá *head;* žą́qše *he threw down;* ʔafá *mouth*
oo ([o̬:]) : o ([o̭])	goolá *beer;* tóoni *human faeces;* qóli *goats and sheep;* šoq́[ʃ]eqe *it stank*
uu ([u:]) : u ([u])	búuri *back;* guumí *mist;* búrukše *he boils (tr.);* guní *snake;* gurí *empty*

Breathy vowels present a problem in the matter of length. Only in the case of the low vowel have I been able to find convincing length contrasts, e.g.

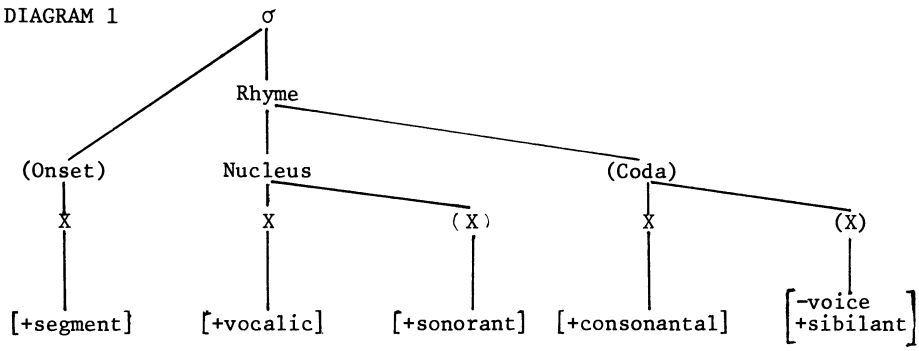
ą́y	:	ą́ą́y
who?	:	*negative jussive formative*
ązkí	:	ąądkí
he did not run	:	*he did not come*
ą́sse	:	ą́ą́fse
he chopped	:	*he found*

It will be recalled that no instances of high back breathy vowels have been recorded, but in the case of the other breathy vowels I have not been able to establish length contrasts. Impressionistically the high front breathy vowel seems short, and I have written it with a single vowel letter in all cases. The mid vowels commonly sound longer in open syllables, and shorter in closed syllables. Word-initially mid breathy vowels again give the impression of being long. But I must emphasize that no clear phonological contrasts have come to light. Throughout this study this indeterminacy has been indicated by writing all instances of mid breathy vowels as e̤(ę̤) and o̤(ǫ̤).

§1.4. PHONOTACTICS:

In the matter of consonant sequences Aari presents something that is quite marked as far as the languages of S. Ethiopia are concerned, since it has sequences of three, and even four, consonants. However, it appears that in this language (cp. the statements made concerning Zayse in Chapter Four) the structure of words can be accounted for in terms of combinations of syllables conforming to a generalised canonical form (C)V(V/C)(C)(C). In this not-too-precise formulation the notation "V/C" is used to capture the fact that although syllables of the form (C)VV(C) and (C)VCC(C) occur, there are none having the form (C)VVCC(C). It is also the case that when a syllable does close with a sequence of two or three consonants, the first of these is always a sonorant[6]. It is also the case that wherever a sequence of three consonants occurs syllable-finally, the last consonant is either s or š. These phonotactic facts are most simply interpreted in terms of a syllable structure template which gives recognition to distinct nucleus and coda constituents. The cooccurrence constraints are incorporated as positive conditions on the structure of the nucleus and coda, viz.

DIAGRAM 1



A further condition governing the structure of the nucleus is that if the righthand (ie. the [+sonorant]) segment is [+vocalic], it will either be identical to the preceding segment (in which case it will be interpreted as a double vowel, as in Diagram 2) or it will be [+high], and so interpreted as a glide, as in Diagram 3.

DIAGRAM 2

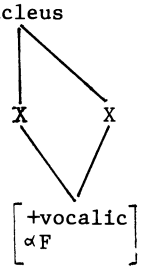
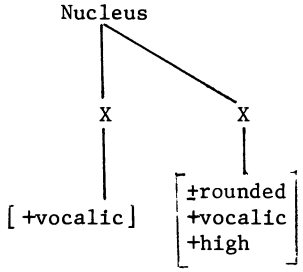


DIAGRAM 3



This means that the language has neither sequences such ae, eo, ue, etc., nor the sequences iy, uw.

It is worth repeating the point made earlier (cf. § 1.1., 9.), that in the only cases where a syllable occurs without an onset consonant the nucleus contains a breathy vowel. As the template of Diagram 1 indicates, onsets are simple; indeed, the only one clear instance of a complex onset that has been recorded occurs in the Amharic loanword qwanš'á *dried meat*. In rapid speech there is a tendency for unstressed vowels to syncopate when preceded or followed by r; and where a pretonic vowel is dropped, a complex onset is created, e.g.

bűrukse *it boiled* → b[úr]kse

birázen *the future* → [br]ázen

tirá *liver* → [tr]á

The following examples show the syllabification of some typical Aari words.

wúk.sak *jackal*; dóq.sin.ti *diarrhoea*; tab.zá *seven*;

gób.ka *jump!*; č'úp'.[ʒ]e *he squeezed*; súd'.ka *wrap it!*

lá?.ka *peel!*; č'ä̈aq.[ʃ]e *he swore an oath*; tuf.ná *stopper;*

á?.ser.se *it split*; woš.mí *smell (n.)*; qam.?í *poor person*; dą̈w.la *desert country*; p'óy.dab *guard, keeper;*

?oyd'.mí *hot*; máyk *buffalo*; ?áng *male*;

bálš *bread (inǰärä)*; ą̈wš.da *he is resting*; míks.ka *beg!;*

?áys.se *he broke (sthg.)*; lánqs.se *he felt tired;*

lánqš.ka *tire (tr.)!*

It should not be assumed from the preceding account that all logically possible consonant sequences are in fact tolerated, and there are a number of morphological alternations witnessed in verbs (see §2.7.1.2. and §2.7.2.4.) which suggest that certain sequences created in morpheme combinations are avoided by the operation of phonological processes; but how far the sequences that are circumvented in this way represent sequences that are subject to fully general negative phonotactic constraints that operate both within and across morpheme boundaries is not clear; though it seems likely that this would be the case.

§1.5. ACCENT:

It is clear from words uttered in isolation that there is one, but one only, high pitched syllable per word. This fact suggests that the language has an accentual system, rather than a tonal one. The function of accent location appears to be lexical in nouns, but grammatical in verbs.

Accent seems usually to occur on the ultimate syllable in trisyllabic and consonant-final disyllabic nouns, e.g.

ą̈žím *sickness*; dangór *elephant*; ʔuntín *rat*; ʔisín *food*
fatír *maize*; sungulá *flies*; doquntí *stool*;
qundulá *hump (cattle)*; balašá *'two-pronged hoe;*
noqortí *viscera*

but there are some exceptions to this, e.g.

wúksak *jackal*; barkóta *headrest-cum-stool*;
dóqsinti *diarrhoea*

The majority of vowel-final disyllabic nouns also seem to have the accent finally, e.g.

qantí *testicles*; siè'í *hair*; bezí *beehive*;
kiʔí *husband*; duukí *grave*; mooré *neighbour*

but there are also a good many where it is penultimate, e.g.

?árfi *moon, month*; léesi *corpse*; sónqa *kiss;*

búudi *chest, heart*; ?áksi *dog*

In the case of verbs, accentual placement varies according to the paradigm concerned, and could therefore be regarded as a part exponent of the category (categories) expressed in that paradigm. All verbs behave uniformly in these matters, i.e., there are no lexically governed differences, e.g.

?ík-ta *He has pierced*; ?ik-kí *He has not pierced;*

?ik-áy *He will not pierce*; ?ik kí ?ikeno *Let him pierce!*

§2. GRAMMAR:

§2.1. NOUNS:

Leaving aside any morphologically complex nouns, (for which see §2.1.1.), there are, with regard to canonical form, two main types of noun: those ending in vowels, and those ending in consonants. There is justification for regarding vowel-final nouns as bipartite in structure, and that the terminal vowel (TV) is to a certain extent independent of the root, which comprises everything to its left. Consonant-final nouns consist solely of a root. Justification for considering the TVs as an independent, albeit lexically determined, element relies upon the following facts. Firsly, in certain morpho-syntactic configurations the TVs of some nouns may be replaced by some other formative. It should be stressed, however, that only a minority of nouns exhibit such behaviour (the details appear in § 2.1.1.). There is also the fact that where we find cognate noun : verb pairs, then the TV, which appears only in the noun, has obviously to be regarded as a distinct element, e.g.

noun		verb - various forms	
qa̤žǐ	*cold(ness)*	qa̤ž-áy	*it did not get cold*
seѐ'é	*day*	séѐ'-ta	*it became morning*
sónqa	*kiss*	sónq-se	*he/she kissed sb*
d'umí	*darkness*	d'úm-se	*it got dark*
gurdá	*fence*	gúrd-ka	*build a fence!*
šoošé	*roasted grain*	šóoš-ta	*he/she roasted grain*
síѐ'i	*saliva*	síѐ'-da	*he/she spits through the teeth*
tóoni	*faeces*	tóon-seqe	*he/she defecated*

Finally, some further evidence for this view is provided by a few nouns which show variability with regard to the TV, e.g.

qaaré ~qaará *vervet monkey;* gós ~ gosí *barley;*

lehá ~ lehí *pumpkin;* zêrga ~ zêrgi *wheat*

Elsewhere I have argued on comparative grounds that TVs have to be posited for Proto-North Omotic, and now the fact that such elements also turn up in Aari, which belongs to South Omotic, required us to recognise the feature as being of Proto-Omotic origin (see Hayward, 1987).

There are three TVs: i, e and a. The following are typical V-final nouns.

TV - i: debí *wild animal;* nukí *nose;* nortí *belly;* tuud'í *buttocks;* qórč'i *throat, larynx;* dúuti *leg, foot*

TV - e: qosé *forest;* č'ooré *cow-dung;* a̤a̤qé *tree, wood;* diiré *grass;* ʔakšé *skelit;* búrče *maize-cob;* ʔoolé *pit, hole*

TV - a: muqá *egg;* fultá *door, doorway;* noqá *water;* moosá *food prepared from ~~ins~~ät;* susá *relative;* ʔíla *flour;* qasá *louse*

The following are typical consonant-final nouns.

ʔindáp's *brother;* šeegér *side, proximity;* gidér *inside, middle;* gáamet *mongoose;* rǫ̈(ǫ̈)r *daytime;* bón *dry season, year;* táw *lie;* ʔéed *man, person*

It appears that no consonant-final noun has more than two syllables, and indeed, the only simple nouns extending to three syllables are those in which the third syllable is a TV. From this we extract the generalisation that nominal roots never exceed two syllables in length. It should be added, moreover, that monosyllabic roots are by far the most numerous (cf. the similar statement concerning verbs in §2.7.1.1.).

§2.1.1. NOMINAL INFLECTION:

So far we have considered only the citation form of a noun, but the actual morphological form of a noun will depend upon its categorization with respect to a number of features. Although Aari nominal inflection actually seems to follow a very logical system, that system is of a rather unusual type for Ethiopian languages, and initially it may appear somewhat confusing, especially with regard to the interaction of "plural" and definiteness.

Leaving aside the genitive (for which see §2.1.2.)[7] the four parameters affecting noun inflection are: species (= definiteness), case, number, and gender. Of these, species is of primary significance, since unless a noun is marked as definite, none of the other categories are ever marked, i.e., the noun will appear in the citation form. It is necessary too to appreciate the fact that certain inherent semantic features of the noun itself will determine whether it is possible for it to be inflected for number or gender. Thus, it is only possible to distinguish number categories in nouns which are inherently [+countable], and it is only possible to distinguish gender categories in nouns which are inherently [+animate]; moreover, a positive value for the second of these features naturally implies a positive value for the first. This means that a mass

noun can only inflect for species and case, and, of course, for the latter only if it is definite with respect to the former.

Each of the four parameters comprises just two categories. In the case of species and case, it is appropriate to speak of marked (definite and accusative) and unmarked (indefinite and non-accusative) categories. In the case of a mass ([-countable]) noun, which presents the simplest situation, definite is marked by means of a suffix -in(a/e) ~ n(a/e). The alternant with initial i occurs with consonant-final nouns, and the variants with a final a or e are only obligatory when the accusative suffix is added. In direct object function the head of a definite NP receives an accusative suffix -m[8]. For mass nouns then, there are just three distinct forms morphologically; an unmarked indefinite form, a form terminating in -n(a/e) ~ -in(a/e), which is definite and non-accusative, and a form terminating in -nam ~ -inam[9], which is both definite and accusative. These forms are illustrated in the following sentences.

fatír doqá

There is maize

fatirín (~fatiriná) máqse

The maize has finished

fatír zíigdit

I want maize

fatirinám zíigdit

I want the maize

?anѐ'iná laqmí-ye

The honey is good

?anѐ'í laqmí a̤a̤feráy

Good honey is not obtainable

balšinám ?í[t͡s^{h}]ek

They ate the injärä

With [+countable] nouns the category of number becomes relevant. According to the present analysis, Aari does not really have a marked plural form. Instead there is a marked singulative or individuated category, which stands opposed to an unmarked generic or class-denoting category. The singulative category is in general marked by a suffix -s, which attaches directly to the noun stem, and so precedes the definite suffix, which is, of course, obligatory. Since the singulative forms can only refer to one individuated item, it is not surprising that the unmarked non-singulative definite carries with it some sense of plurality, so that in the case of [+countable] nouns informants will give this form as a "plural", and in subject function such a form may require plural verb agreement[10]. Thus, for such nouns we have at least five forms:

1. unmarked indefinite forms
2. definite, non-singulative, non-accusative forms*
3. definite, non-singulative, accusative forms*
4. definite, singulative, non-accusative forms
5. definite, singulative, accusative forms

(Forms marked with an asterisk may be interpreted as "plurals".)

These are exemplified in the following sentences.

tiilé doqá

There is a water-pot or A water-pot is present

tiilé šén[ʃ]tit

I have bought a water-pot

tiilená doqák

The water-pots are present

tiilesín ʔáyse

The water-pot broke

tiilenám ʔáyssọ̈(ọ̈)t

We broke the water-pots

tiilesinám šeń[ʃ]tit

I have bought the water-pot

There is natural gender only, which in the case of Aari means that only those nouns which are inherently [+female] can ever be marked as feminine morphologically. Feminine is marked only in singulative forms, where a -ta suffix replaces the -s suffix of the general non-feminine gender[11], e.g.

ʔanzá doqá

There is a girl or A girl is present

ʔanzaná doqák

The girls are present

ʔanzanám šé[d͡ʒ]it

I have seen the girls

ketá ʔanzá zíziigdek

They want a girl

ʔanzitán ʔéfʔeefda

The girl is weeping

nǫ́(ǫ) ʔanzitanám nąą́[ʃː]e

He loved the girl

baačená doqák

The hens are about

baačitán déʔse

The hen died

baačitanám dę(ę)skî

He did not kill the hen

There is no corresponding morphological mark for nouns that are semantically [+animate, -female], i.e., nouns denoting male animals. The singulatives of these are non-distinct from those of other [+countable] nouns, e.g.

ʔángsin déʔse

The male died

nood'ísin ą́ą̈de

The leopard came

máyksinam šéʃd͡ʒ]o̤(o̤)te

We saw the buffalo

bą̈ą̈bísinam zíziigdek

They want the chief

Certain [+animate] nouns such as ʔéed *man, person,* waakí *cattle,* dertí *sheep,* etc. seem to be [±female], since they appear with feminine or non-feminine singulative forms.

§2.1.2. THE GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION:

The genitive construction has the order genitive NP - Head. The final constituent of the possessor NP takes a -t(a/e) suffix. Although this genitive suffix shows a certain degree of homophony with the feminine singulative suffix (cf. §2.1.1.), it always follows the definite suffix, whereas the latter precedes it. As some of the following examples show, definiteness in the genitive and head NPs varies independently[12]. As would be expected, accusative marking occurs only on the head NP. Some examples are the following.

ʔéedte naamí gaʔšʃé]	ʔéed-te
A man's name is important	*man-gen.*
ʔéedsinte náamin Gáʔamša	ʔeed-si-n-te
The name of the man is Ga'amsha	*man-sglt.-def.-gen.*
ʔéedsin kootá[13] náamin Gáʔamša	ʔeed-si-n koo-ta
The name of this man is Ga'amsha	*man-sglt.-def. this-gen.*

ʔéedsin kooté náaminem ʔesáyite

I do not know the name of this man

guníte ʔaàí márzi-ye

A snake's teeth are poisonous

guníte ʔoolé šedkíte

I have not seen a snake's hole

gunísin kootá ʔooleném šé[d͡ʒ]it

I have seen this snake's hole

ʔanzáta melé gaʔš[é]	ʔanza-ta
A girl's beauty is important	*girl-gen.*
ʔanzitént ʔálqin daqalí-ye	ʔanz-ite-n-t(e)
The girl's speech is bad	*girl-sglt.-def.-gen.*

ʔaksí gudrít wošmí nąšáy

Dogs do not like (the) scent of hyaenas

dangórt(e) lefiná deèsmí-ye

The bone(s) of an elephant is (are) heavy

ʔíste ráaàinte gusín ʔáyse

My milk-gourd broke

The genitive suffix is absent in some noun + noun expressions, though the possessor first order of the genitive construction seems to be observed. Perhaps such expressions should be regarded as compounds, e.g.

qosá-a̤rre *zebra cf.* qosá *Forest;* á̤rre *donkey*

fuuttá-afi *cotton boll cf.* fuuttá *cotton;* ʔáaf; *eye*

raaè'í-waaki *milch cow cf.* raaè'í *milk;* waakí *cow, cattle*

waakí-p'oydab *cowherd cf.* waakí *cow;* p'oy-s- *keep*

sa̤a̤bí-ba̤a̤b *shaman cf.* sa̤a̤bí *possession spirit;* ba̤a̤b *father, owne*

daamí-ba̤a̤b *warrior cf.* daamí *war;* ba̤a̤b *father, owner*

ʔáng-yi̤nè *boy cf.* ʔáng *male;* yi̤nèí *child*[14]

má̤a̤-yinè *girl cf.* má̤a̤ *woman, Female;* yi̤nèí *child*[14]

noqó-ʔoole *water-hole cf.* noqá *water;* ʔoolé *pit, hole*

?indê-qoli *nanny-goat cf.* ?indí *mother;* qolí *goat*

berí-a̤a̤q *tree-spirit, sacred tree cf.* berí *shade, spirit;* a̤a̤qé *tree*

Note: a̤a̤qánta beri *shade of a tree*

§2.2. PRONOUNS:

§2.2.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS:

The basic seven-fold set of unaffixed pronominal stems is as follows.

1s	?í	1p	wó̤(o̤)
2s	á̤a̤	2p	yé
3s.m	kí	3p	ké
3s.f	kó[15]		

Such minimal forms occur immediately before various dependent clause verb forms, where they function to distinguish the subject, for, unlike main clause verbs, dependent clause verbs do not usually contain subject agreement markers. They appear, for example, in subordinate clauses (cf.§2.7.4.) such as the following.

?í díib[z]inka ...

if I steal ...

á̤a̤ woonkínk ...

if you do not work ...

wó̤(o̤) ?alqdik ...

when we spoke ...

kí (~nó̤(o̤)) ?eskís ...

before he knew ...

kó (~ná̤a̤) ?eefseqínda kán ...

because she wept ...

?í woč'áyinda kán ...

because I will not drink ...

It should be noted, however, that if a subject pronoun occurs independently, these preverbal pronouns will not also occur, thus:

ą́ąna ʔím yę́(ę)ksink ʔíta ą́ąm yę́(ę)kter

If you insult me, I shall insult you

The significance of the variants nǫ(ǫ) (3s.m) and nąą (3s.f), which may occur in such clauses (and are the only possible forms in certain syntactic contexts considered below) is not yet clear. These basic pronoun forms also appear preverbally in relative clauses (cf. §2.7.3.), e.g.

[ʔí ziig[z]eqínda ziigán] žáʔ[ʃ]e

The goods that I wanted arrived

[kí nąškínda réy] máa[t͡s^{h}]e

A thing which he did not like happened

[wǫ́(ǫ) booktén ʔoolén] noqók s̀'ó[t͡s̀']e

The pit which we have dug has filled with water

Pronouns of this type occur also in the "complex paradigm" of the jussive (cf. §2.7.2.2.), e.g.

deʔ kí deʔen

Let him die!

To the very limited extent that they have been investigated it appears that relational postpositions (cf. § 2.8.) follow pronominal forms of this type, e.g.

ʔúutu giiníname ʔí kan téyye

Uutu took the butter for me

ą́ą kan ʔisín ʔímsit

I gave food to you

ʔí-rank káyye

He went away from me

kí re ą́ądite

I came to him

A set of object pronouns is furnished by suffixing the accusative marker -m to the foregoing forms, viz.

1s	ʔím	1p	wǫ́(ǫ)m
2s	ą́ąm	2p	yę́(ę)m
3s.m	kím	3p	kém
3s.f	kǫ́(ǫ)m		

Attention is directed to the 3s.f and 2p forms here, for they appear with breathy vowels. I have no explanation for this.

As heads of independent NPs in subject or nominal predicate function we find the following set of pronominal forms. Most of them are derived by suffixation of -ta[16], viz.

1s	ʔitá	1p	wǫ(ǫ)tá
2s	ąąná	2p	yetá
3s.m	nǫ́(ǫ)	3p	ketá
3s.f	nąąą́		

Some examples of subject, nominal predicate and object pronouns are seen in the following sentences.

ketá yę́(ę)m bá[ʃ:]eqek

They overcame you(p)

yetá kím merkáyet

You(p) did not help him

ąąná galta

You are an old man

nǫ̌(ǫ) gáʔšé

He is big

nąąą́ kǫ́(ǫ)m yížyižda

She hates her

wǫ(ǫ)tá ą́ąm nąąąšdǫ(ǫ)t

We like you

kúur ąąqseqínda nǫ́(ǫ) -ye

He is the one who spent the day here

p'aškínda yeté

You(p) are the ones who were not frightened

fi̱[ʒ:]ertén wo̱(o̱)té

We are the ones who were created

(For a possible explanation of the vowel change seen in the pronouns in the last two examples, see §2.6.).

The reflexive direct object pronouns are composite items which transparently derive from a construction consisting of a possessive determiner + matá *head* + accusative -m, viz.

1s	?ímatam		1p	wǫ̈(o̱)matam
2s	á̱a̱matam		2p	yę̈(e̱)matam
3s.m	kímatam	yí̱matam	3p	kématam
3s.f	kómatam			

The form yímatam is neutral with respect to the sex of the antecedent[17]. Some examples are as follows:

?ité ?ímatam gí?sit

I hit myself

nǫ̈(o̱) yí̱matam (~kímatam) ?és?esda

He knows himself

a̱a̱ná á̱a̱matam šédday

You see yourself

§2.2.3. DEICTIC PRONOUNS:

The two deictic pronouns kooné ~ kooná *this, that, these, those* and keené ~ keená *these, those* have straightforwardly to be identified with the deictic determiners (see §2.3.2.). In direct object function the more general form (kooné ~ kooná)shows that it has a composite structure, for the accusative suffix -m is seen to replace the ending. The same

conclusion would be reached from a consideration of genitive NPs containing deictic determiners, for in these the genitive suffix attaches directly to the determiner stem koo-; see §2.1.2. (My data contain no evidence for this analysis in the case of keené ~ keená.) A few examples of the pronominal (i.e., head role) of these deictics are given here, but others appear elsewhere in this study.

kooné ʔaksi

This/that is a dog

kooné toylá dakki

This/that is not a fish

wo̱(o̱)té kó̱(o̱)m téyyo̱(o̱)t

We took this/that one

é̱(e̱)n a̱a̱nt kooné

Your house is this/that one

keené č'elmí-ye

These/those are black

wo̱(o̱)tá keeném ná̱šdo̱(o̱)t

We like these/those

§2.2.3. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS:

Possessive pronouns appear to be formed from one type of possessive determiner (see § 2.3.1.) by attachment of the definite suffix -n(a) ~ -n(e), viz.

1s	ʔistén	1p	wo̱(o̱)ntén
2s	a̱a̱ntén	2p	yentén
3s.m	kittén	3p	kettén
3s.f	ko̱(o̱)ttén		

The following are some examples:

ʔistén (~ʔistená) gáaš'da

Mine is better

kettené s̀'eedí-ye

Their's is short

kittená č'elmí-ye

His is black

kooné yenten (~yentena)

This/that is yours(p)

a̤a̤nténem zíigda

He wants yours

§2.2.4. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS:

The following interrogative pronouns were recorded:

ą̈y *who?;* a̤mná ~ a̤mné *which one?;* a̤ré *what?;* méym *how much/many?;* ą̈ynet *when?;* ą̈bir *where?;* a̤sní *how?;* aré kan *why?*

Three of these will be seen to be formally identical to the interrogative determiners considered in § 2.3.3.

One observation needs to be made with respect to clauses containing interrogative pronouns, for it has been noted that whatever the person of the clause subject the verb appears in an invariable form. In the perfect this form may be identified as the 3s perfect 1. In the imperfect the form found resembles the regular imperfect in containing the same -d formative, but since the final vowel is an e , it is not possible to identify the form with the 3s imperfect (for the latter terminates in a ; see § 2.7.2.2.) Moreover, none of the instances recorded show any signs of reduplication. For both perfect and imperfect there is an equally common and acceptable alternative form terminating in -il. These forms are illustrated with de? - die, viz.

perfect: dé?se ~ dé?sik

imperfect: dé?de ~ dé?dik

The basic personal pronouns (see § 2.2.1.) occur with these verb forms when the questioned constituent is a non-subject, though in the case of 3ms subjects

the pronoun seems to be optional only (see the discussion of -ik below). The feature of an invariable verb form suggests that the structure of content question clauses could involve a cleft sentence, e.g.

(a) méym-ke[18] šénde (~ šéndik)

How many/much will they buy?

(b) ą̈bir-ą̈ káyde (~ káydik)

Where are you going?

What is curious, however, is the fact that replies appropriate to such questions (which would, one assumes, have the same focus structure) may not contain the invariable verb form. Thus, for (a) and (b) above appropriate answers might be (a') and (b').

(a') qastén šendek

They will buy two

(b') ǰinká kaydit

I am going to Jinka

Yet the possibility of a copula (or what was originally a copula) being involved is enhanced by the fact that in cases where there is a 3ms subject, it is common for a -ik suffix to appear on the interrogative pronoun, and in such cases the verb form can only have the -e ending; so that it appears that the two homophonous suffixes should be identified, e.g.

ą̈ynetik ą̈ą̈de ~ ą̈ynet ą̈ą̈dik ~ ą̈ynet ą̈ą̈de

When will he come? (**ą̈ynetik ą̈ą̈dik)

ą̈birik doqde ~ ą̈bir doqdik ~ ą̈bir doqde

Where does he live? or *Where is he?*

There is even one case where an otherwise unidentified -k suffix appears attached to a 3p pronoun, i.e.,

ą̈birán-kek ą̈ą̈de

Where? - from - they -k came

Where have they come from?

Clearly there is here an interesting area for future research. Further examples of sentences containing interrogative pronouns are the following:

ą́ré nąšde (~ nąšdik)

What does he like?

méym-ko téyde (~ téydik)

How many will she take?

ą́ré-ki maaśik (~ maa[t͡s^{h}]e)

What happened?

ą́sník ą́ą́de ~ ą́sní ą́ą́dik

How did he come?

é́ę́n ą́ą́nt ą́mná deek[19]

Which one is your house?

ą́́ynet-ko dé?de (~ dé?dik)

When will she die?

méym de?sik

How many died?

ą́́y ą́ą́de

Who came?

ą́yím-wǫ́(ǫ́) zíigde (~ zíigdik)

Whom do we want?

ą́yím-e zíigde (~ zíigdik)

Whom do you(p) want?

Comparison of the last three examples reveals that in object function ą́́y takes the accusative suffix -m; this does not occur in the case of any of the other interrogative pronouns.

§2.3. DETERMINERS:

§2.3.1. POSSESSIVE DETERMINERS:

The most general set of possessive determiners appears to have

developed from a genitive NP construction, for each determiner consists of a personal pronoun plus the genitive suffix (see §2.1.2.). However, certain morphological idiosyncrasies suggest that they have now to be regarded as lexicalisations. Each member of the set has a longer and a shorter form, e.g.

1s	ʔíste, ʔíst	1p	wǫ́(ǫ)nte, wǫ́(ǫ)nt
2s	ą́ąnte, ą́ąnt	2p	yénte, yént
3s.m	kítte, kít	3p	kétte, két
3s.f	kótte, kót		

The shorter forms occur both preceding and following the head, though it seems likely that when no other dependent elements are present, the latter position is usual. My informant claimed that when the determiner is placed before the head, it imparts a contrastive force, especially in the case of the longer form, which occurs only in this position, e.g.

matá ʔíst séeqda

My head ached/is unwell

ę́(ę)n kít ʔáše̱rse

His house caught fire

bąąbán kítam ʔéssit

I knew his father

bą́ąb ą́ąnt naamí Čalmáyo

Your father's name is Chalmayo

kót ʔindáp'sinta ę́(ę) šé[d͡ʒ]ǫ(ǫ)t

We saw her brother's house

nǫ́(ǫ) kót ʔindánam yí[ʒ]e

He hates her mother

ʔíst waakténem díib[z]aqay

You stole my cow

ʔíste waakí díib[z]aqay

You stole MY cow

For the pronominal function of these determiners in headless NPs, see §2.2.3.

Aari expresses possessive predication (i.e., predications employing *to have* in English) by means of the locative-existential verb doq- (see §2.7.2.5.). In such cases the entity possessed functions as head of the subject NP, and is obligatorily followed by a possessive determiner. When it is expressed, the possessor occurs sentence-initial, and since it too takes the nominative, it has probably to be regarded as having an appositional structure, e.g.

(ʔitá) mą́ą ʔíst doqá

I have a wife

(nąą́) tokmí ganzáb kót doqá

She has a little money

(ketá) feč́á bedmí két doqá

They have much land

ʔanzitén kooné ʔinnaaní kót doqá

That girl has a sister

(yetá) ʔaflá kílla yént doqá

You(p) have new clothes

yinsí wolláq ʔíst doqá ąąq

I had one child

laqamí mą́ą kít doqá

He had a beautiful wife

Attention is also directed to the fact that certain kin terms have special possessed forms, which appear to be used interchangeably with constructions involving the regular noun form + possessive determiner described above, e.g.

kin term	possessed form	
bąąbá	bąąb	*father*
ʔindí	ʔindąąk	*mother*

?imčí	?imčą̈ą̈k	*aunt*
?indap'sí	?indap's	*brother*
?innáan	?innaan	*sister*

Preposed possessive determiners which are formally similar to the basic pronominal stem forms (see §2.2.1.) occur with these particular items, and the initial ?i sequence, which characterises most of them, is dropped, e.g.

?í-bą̈ą̈b	*my father*
ké-bą̈ą̈b	*their father*
kí-ndą̈ą̈k	*his mother*
ą́ą̈-ndap's	*your brother*
wǫ́(ǫ̈)-mčą̈ą̈k	*our aunt*
yé-nnaan	*your(p) sister*

It should be noted that other kin terms, such as ?irkí *uncle*, mą́ą̈ *wife*, susá *relative*, etc. do not have similar possessive forms.

§2.3.2. DEICTIC DETERMINERS:

The most widely encountered and general deictic determiner is kooné ~ kooná *this, that, these, those*. The other item keené ~ keená seems to be restricted to use with noun heads that are semantically "plural" (see §2.1.1.)[20]. As in the case of the possessive determiners, kooné and keené are found both preceding and following the head; though the latter position is probably the basic or unmarked one. The following are some typical examples of the use of these determiners; other examples appear elsewhere in the paper.

?isinín kooné č'éla

This/that grain is raw

d'aakín kooné ǹ'eed'í-ye

This/that rope is short

yi̱nǹsí kooné ?indáp's kít doqá

This/that boy has a brother

?eedín keené (~ kooné) ?assáab két laqamí-ye

These/those people have a good idea

lit: *These/those people, their idea is good*

ę(ę)ná keená (~ kooné) ga?š[é]

These/those houses are big

For the pronominal function of these determiners in headless NPs see § 2.2.2.

§2.3.2. INTERROGATIVE DETERMINERS:

Three interrogative determiners were recorded, viz.

méym *how much/many?;* ąmná ~ ąmné *which?;* ą́y *whose?*

e.g.

dertí ąmném ąą zíigday

Which sheep do you like?

waaksín ąmné ga?š[é]

Which cow is bigger?

kooná ą́y waaki

Whose cow is this?

waakí méym doqá

How many cows are there?

?éed méym ą́ąde

How many people came?

For the pronominal function of these determiners in headless NPs see § 2.2.4.

§2.4. ADJECTIVES:

From the point of view of morphology there is often an indeterminacy between adjectives and nouns, and it seems that some lexical items can function as either. A number of items that are usually adjectives semantically share a suffix -mi; and since for many of them we find verbs having cognate roots, one might feel justified in regarding this suffix as an adjectival formative, e.g.

?aymí *broken, cf.* ?ay- *break (intr.)*

?oyd'mí *hot, cf.* ?oyd'- *become hot*

ąžmí *sick, cf.* ąž- *become sick*

bedmí *many, much, cf.* bed- *become many/much*

tokmí *small, cf.* tok- *become small, decrease*

deès'mí *heavy, cf.* Maale deès'ene *heavy*

zeymí *red, cf.* Maale zók'e *red*

zaazmí *wet, cold, cf.* zaaz- *become wet/cold*

rǫǫtmí *tall,* (no cognates available)

There are, however, some nouns that look as if they contain the same suffix, e.g.

ʔaqmí *insät;* ʔikmí *pain* (cf. ʔik- *pierce, stab*);

ʔuqmí *thorn*[21]; ʔuqšmi *claw*[21]

Moreover, in some instances ʔoyd'mí and ąžmi (see above list) appear to require translation as *heat* and *sickness* respectively. Thus, although verb cognates have not been found in every case, it might be safer to conclude that -mí is simply a deverbative derivational suffix.

Other items which function adjectivally (though not exclusively so in every case) but which lack -mi are such as the following:

gaʔšá *big, fat, important;* s'eedí *short;* kílla *new;*

feedáy *useless;* ʔusšá *near* (cf. ʔuš- *become near*);

qąží *cold* (cf. qąž- *become cold,* qąží *wind*); č'éla *raw, raw food:* s'oos'í *full* (cf. s'oos'- *become full*)

The behaviour of predicative adjectives with respect to the copula -ye is treated elsewhere (see §2.6.). Some additional examples are given here:

goolená kooná daqalí-ye (~ daqali)

This beer is bad

yinsín tokmí-ye (~ tokmi)

The child is small

In the following the two final examples give evidence of agreement between adjective and noun: at least in subject function

ʔanzá laqamí ąąde

A beautiful girl came

d'aakí s'eedí zíigdite

I want a short rope

wo̱(o̱)tá ʔaflá killa wó̱(o̱)nt doqá

we have new clothes

gudrí ɬ'aami dakkí-ye

There are no white hyaenas

yi̱nɬín tokminá é̱(e̱)fda

The small child is crying

galɬí č'elmísin déʔse

The black old man died

§2.5. NUMERALS:

The basic numerals are as follows:

1	wóllaq	7	tabzá
2	qaskén (~ qastén)	8	qaskén-tamars
3	makkán	9	wolqán-tamars
4	ʔoydí	10	tammá
5	dónq	100	matá (~ mató)
6	lą̱a̱	1000	šiyá

The form for *twenty* could also be regarded as a basic numeral, for it differs from all the other numerals denoting multiples of ten, which are clearly derivative, e.g.

20	bondá	60	lą̱a̱-tam
30	makkán-tam	70	tabzá-tam
40	ʔoydí-tam	80	qaskén-tamárs-tam
50	dónq-tam	90	wolqán-tamárs-tam

The intermediate numbers are fomed straightforwardly, viz.

11 tammá-wollaq (~ támmollaq)

12 tammá-qasten

13 tammá-makkan

26 bondá-la̱a̱

41 ʔoydi-tám-wollaq

253 mató qastén donq-tám-makkan

428 mató ʔoydí bonda-qaskén-tamars

As attributive nominal quantifiers numerals always follow the head, and when they are present, a deictic or possessive determiner will obligatorily precede the head. However, the data include cases where a numeral is followed by a relative clause, e.g.

dertí wolláq doqá

There is one sheep

ʔaksí dónq šé[d͡ʒ]it

I saw five dogs

keené ʔaksí dónqinem šé[d͡ʒ]it

I saw these five dogs

ʔíst (~ʔí) yi̱nšíne makkánin žáʔ[ʃ]eqek

My three children have arrived

ʔéedin ʔoydín a̱a̱dten doqák

There are four people who have come

In many cases, especially in predicative function, numerals may stand alone, e.g.

wo̱(o̱)tá la̱a̱ á̱a̱qo̱(o̱)t

We were six

makkánin á̱a̱dek

The three came

keené makkáninem zíigdit

I want these three

§ 2.6. COPULAR CLAUSES:

Under certain circumstances an optional copular clitic -ye may appear in affirmative present tense/state nominal and adjectival predications. Such occurrences seem to be possible only when the citation form of the predicate noun or adjective has final accent. If -ye does not appear (i.e., if it is optionally absent) or if it cannot appear (i.e., if the predicate item has non-final accent in the underlying/citation form), the

final predicate item is low-pitched. e.g.

kooné yi̱nsˇí-ye (~ ?yi̱nsˇi)

That is a child cf. yi̱nsˇí *child*

tiilená ?oyd'mí-ye (~ ?oyd'mi)

The pot is hot cf. ?oyd'mí *hot*

kúur a̱a̱qseqínda ?éed díib-ye

The man who passed the day here is a theif

wahaná zeymí-ye (~ zeymi)

The meat is red cf. zeymí *red*

but: gusiná killa

The calabash is new cf. kílla *new*

kooné ?aksi

This is a dog cf. ?áksi *dog*

Cases like ga?šá *big, fat, important* and galtá *old man, old* are interesting, for although -ye is not pronounced, variant predicative forms of these appear with a final high-pitched [é] e.g.

?istén ga?ša (~ ga?š[é])

Mine is big

nó̱(o̱) galta (~ galt[é])

He is an old man or *He is old*

Such variant forms might well derive from underlying /ga?šá + ye/, /galta + ye/, etc.

The special set of kin terms discussed in §2.3.1. have their own predicative forms with a final e, e.g.

?í-ba̱a̱be

It is my father

á̱a̱-nnaane

It is your sister

?eedtén de?tén kí-ndaake

The woman who died is his mother

Negative present tense/state nominal and adjectival predictions require dak-, an irregular verb that also serves in the negative of the negative of the locative-existential verb doq- (see § 2.7.2.5.). Many cases have been noted in which the clitic -ye attaches to the 3s form of dak- e.g.

ʔitá galtá dakkít(e)

I am not an old man

kooná toylá dakki (~ dakkí-ye)

This is not a fish

doobiná gaʔšá dakki (~ dakkí-ye)

The rain is not abundant

Affirmative and negative past tense nominal and adjectival predications employ a̤a̤q- and dakkí-a̤a̤q- respectively, e.g.

ʔitá folíis a̤a̤q(e)

I was a soldier/policeman

ná̤a̤ má̤a̤ laqamí a̤a̤q

She was a good woman

ʔitá folíis dakkít-a̤a̤q

I was not a soldier

nó̤(o̤) qamʔí dakkí-a̤a̤q

He was not poor

§ 2.7. VERBS:

§ 2.7.1. VERB STEMS:

Verb stems may be simple or extended. Extended-stem (ES) verbs differ from simple-stem (SS) verbs in having one or more derivational suffixes which are associated with the formation of passive and causative verbs; simple-stem verbs contain a root only.

§2.7.1.1. SIMPLE STEMS:

In the great majority of SS verbs the root is a monosyllable conforming to the canonical form for syllables in the language (see §1.4.). Some typical verb roots are the following:

gob- *jump;* bed- *become many/much;* woč- *become dry;* ąz- *run, fly;* ʔes- *know;* ža?- *arrive;* book- *dig;* yę̈(ę̈)k- *insult;* ʔoyd'- *become hot;* ʔays- *break;* ąẅš- *rest;* mang- *hunt;* š'uns- *pinch;* sonq- *kiss;* ʔoms- *load;* gin?- *fall asleep;* ʔard- *enter;* qol?- *add to;* ʔalq- *speak*

Apart from obvious loans such as ʔammañ- *believe* and jammar- ~ žammar- *begin,* only a handful of disyllabic SS verb roots were recorded, and of these two are deadjectival derivatives. Moreover, all of them have monosyllabic alternants, and the second vowels of the disyllabic alternants could probably be analysed as epenthetic insertions, viz.

ʔuugum- ~ ʔuugm- *shout;* bukul- ~ bukl- *slip down;* laqam- ~ laqmi *become good* (cf. laqamí ~ laqmí *good*); daqal- ~ daql- *become bad* (cf. daqalí ~ daqlí *bad*)

§2.7.1.2. EXTENDED STEMS:

The investigation of ES verbs was restricted to a consideration of "passives" (derived intransitives) and "causatives" (both derived transitives and "true" causatives). As far as these forms are concerned, the overall picture is a familiar one as far as Ethiopian languages are concerned. Thus, for every transitive SS verb of the language which functions in a clause which may contain an overt (subject) expression of an agentive argument, there is an ES passive or intransitivized counterpart, which functions in a clause where there is usually no overt expression of an agentive argument - though one is usually implied. Similarly, for every intransitive SS verb there is an ES transitivized form which has an additional agentive argument.

Such transitivized forms function in clauses in which the agentive may be expressed as clause subject. For transitive SS verbs there is also usually a causative ES form which functions in clauses in which the clause subject will express a second or "higher" or "instigating" agentive argument. In such a case syntactic expression of the "lower" or "mediating" agentive argument is commonly omitted.

There are some very productive processes associated with the formation of ES verbs. There are also a few irregular forms. Generally speaking, the existence of an irregular form "filling the gap" lexically appears to "block" the application of the more regular and productive rule (Aronoff 1976).

The productive word formation rule for passives involves the suffixation of -er to the root, e.g.

simple-stem transitive		extended-stem passive	
diib-	*steal*	diiber-	*be stolen*
wod-	*put down*	woder-	*be put down*
foč-	*open*	fočer-	*be opened*
ʔuš-	*cook*	ʔušer-	*be cooked*
wo̤(o̤)l-	*touch, feel*	wo̤(o̤)ler-	*be touched/felt*
de̤(e̤)s-	*kill, grind*	de̤(e̤)ser-	*be killed/ground*
wod'-	*trap*	wod'er-	*be trapped*

In passives of verbs having a root-final q the vowel of the extension is bakced and lowered to [a], e.g.

sonq-	*kiss*	sonq[a]r-	*be kissed*
ʔalq-	*speak*	ʔalq[a]r-	*be spoken*
ro̤(o̤)q-	*hang*	ro̤(o̤)q[a]r-	*be hung*

A handful of verbs have been found to have a passive extension -ser, either instead of, or in free variation with, the more regular -er suffix, e.g.

kam-	*pick up*	kamser-	*be picked up*

ga?-	*bite*	ga?er- ~ ga?ser-	*be bitten*
tig-	*have sexual intercourse (man)*	tig[z]er-	*have sexual intercourse (woman)*
wur-	*hear, listen to*	wurser-	*be heard/listened to*

A passive ES verb is employed in the case of a number of important verbs having a subjective or reflexive meaning in such cases a cognate SS verb may not even exist, e.g.

qob-er- *get dressed;* ?es-er- *hear* (cf. ?es- *know*); daaq-[a]r- *become hungry;* seeq-[a]r- *suffer pain/sickness;* qą̈ž-er- *feel cold;* saam-er- *become thirsty;* lall-er- *flow* (cf. lall- *pour*); galt-er- *become old, age* (cf. galtá *old person, old*)

The regular rule for forming causatives involves suffixation of -sis to the root, e.g.

	simple-stem verb		extended-stem verb	
(a)	transitive		causative	
	ą̈ą̈f-	*find*	ą̈ą̈fsis-	*cause to find*
	gi?-	*hit*	gi?sis-	*cause to hit*
	duuk-	*bury*	duuksis-	*cause to bury*
	kam-	*pick up*	kamsis-	*cause to pick up*
	wur-	*hear*	wursis-	*cause to hear*
	lall-	*pour out*	lalsis-	*cause to pour out*
(b)	intransitive		transitivized	
	wo?-	*stand up (intr.)*	wo?sis-	*stand up (tr.)*
	leeq-	*chat*	leeqsis-	*engage in conversation*
	yi̇̈r-	*be startled*	yi̇̈rsis-	*startle*
	daqal-	*become bad*	daqalsis-	*make bad*
	siir-	*become pregnant*	siirsis-	*make pregnant*

The initial s of -sis undergoes a voicing assimilation, when the root-final consonant is a voiced obstruent, e.g.

diib-	*steal*	diib[z]is-	*cause to steal*
s̀'eed-	*become short*	s̀'eed[z]is-	*shorten (tr.)*
sug-	*push*	sug[z]is-	*cause to push*
a̤z-	*run*	a̤[z:]is-	*cause to run*

Root-final sonorants do not generally bring about such voicing assimilations, though an exception occurs in the case of bir- *pass, precede*, which in the perfect 1 paradigm (see § 2.7.2.2.) has a variant containing [z], i.e., 3s bir[s]e ~ bir[z]e *he/she passed*. More typical examples, however, are the following:

?imsis- *cause to give*; mersis- *cause to forbid*;
woonsis- *cause to work*; lalsis- *cause to pour out*

Root-final d' may simply reduce to [?] before the causative suffix, e.g.

?ad'-	*give birth*	?a[?]sis-	*cause to give birth*
sud'-	*collect, store*	su[?]sis-	*cause to collect*
?oyd'-	*become hot*	?oy[?]sis-	*heat*

Alternatively, d' may undergo coalescence with the initial s of the causative suffix to yield [t͡sʰ], which is parallel to the behaviour of stem-final t, which coalesces with s to give [t͡sʰ], e.g.

?ad'-	*give birth*	?a[t͡s']is-	*cause to give birth*
sud'-	*collect, store*	su[t͡s']is-	*cause to collect*
ra̤a̤t-	*lie down*	ra̤a̤[t͡s']is-	*cause to lie down*
wut-	*go out*	wu[t͡sʰ]is-	*cause to go out*

Total assimilation (or coalescence?) occurs between the initial s

of the causative suffix and root-final s̀ or s̀', e.g.

ʔis̀-	*eat*	ʔi[t͡s^{h}]is-	*feed*
ges̀-	*pass the night*	ge[t͡s^{h}]is-	*cause to pass the night*
ʔas̀-	*burn (tr.)*	ʔa[t͡s^{h}]is-	*cause to burn*
zii s̀'-	*shut*	zii[t͡s']is-	*cause to shut*
bus̀'-	*uproot*	bu[t͡s']is-	*cause to uproot*
sis̀'-	*spit*	si[t͡s']is-	*cause to spit*

There is an interesting consonant harmony process in Aari, whereby the presence of a palato-alveolar sibilant (š,ž,č,č',ǰ) anywhere in the root will bring about "palatalization" of any sibilant in a suffix[23]. This process will operate across intervening non-sibilant segments. The causative suffix -sis is an obvious candidate for the process, e.g.

ʔuš-	*cook*	ʔu[ʃ:]i[ʃ]-	*cause to cook*
nąš-	*like, love*	ną[ʃ:]i[ʃ]-	*cause to like*
žąq-	*throw*	žąq[ʃ]i[ʃ]-	*cause to throw*
č'ąąq-	*curse, swear an oath*	č'ąąq[ʃ]i[ʃ]-	*cause to curse, etc.*
šen-	*buy, sell*	šen[ʃ]i[ʃ]-	*cause to buy/sell*
šaan-	*urinate*	šaan[ʃ]i[ʃ]-	*cause to urinate*

If, in addition to the presence of a palato-alveolar sibilant in the root, the root-final consonant is a voiced obstruent, the initial sibilant of the suffix is subject to the obstruent voicing rule described above, viz.

qąž-	*become cold*	qą[ʒ:]i[ʃ]-	*make cold*
gǫ(ǫ)ž-	*get drunk*	gǫ(ǫ)[ʒ:]i[ʃ]-	*intoxicate*
žąąg-	*sew*	žąąg[ʒ]i[ʃ]-	*cause to sew*

In the case of root-final palato-alveolar affricates the initial segment of the causative suffix undergoes total assimilation (or coalescence ?), e.g.

ʔaač-	*hide*	ʔaa[t͡ʃʰ]i[ʃ]-	*cause to hide*
goč-	*pull*	go[t͡ʃʰ]i[ʃ]-	*cause to pull*
yinc'-	*laugh*	yin[t͡ʃ']i[ʃ]-	*cause to laugh*
woč'-	*drink*	wo[t͡ʃ']i[ʃ]-	*cause to drink*
guǰ-	*add to*	gu[d͡ʒ]i[ʃ]-	*cause to add to*

Although the last example is the only instance of a root-final ǰ, there is another example of a causative stem which terminates in [d͡ʒ] , for if palatalization of the first sibilant in the causative suffix occurs, and this is preceded by a root-final d, voicing assimilation and coalescence occur. The resulting segment is phonetically indistinguishable from the last example, e.g.

šed-	*see*	še[d͡ʒ]i[ʃ]-	*show*

A few intransitive verbs have been found to have causative ES counterparts with a formative -š, rather than -sis, e.g.

maq-	*be finished*	maqš-	*finish*
b(u)ruk-	*boil (intr.)*	b(u)rukš-	*boil (tr.)*
č'ub-	*emit smoke*	č'ubš-	*cause to smoke*

In the perfect 1 forms of č'ub- and č'ub-š-, in which a -se(qe) formative follows the stem, only the obstruent voicing rule distinguishes the two verbs[24], viz.

č'úb[ʒ]e(qe)	*it emitted smoke*
č'úb[ʃ]e(qe) ~ č'úb[ʃ·]e(qe)	*he cause sthg to smoke*

A handful of intransitive verbs were collected in which there is a consonant + š sequence stem-finally, even though there appear to be no (extant) simple-stem verbs from which such verbs could be said to be derived. It is most convenient to regard these as "deponent"[25] causatives, e.g.

ƥ'oqš- *think, desire;* ąwš- *rest, become free;* yi̤rš- *become startled*

A few verbs have been recorded with a monoconsonantal causative

extension -s, viz.

?ay-	*break (intr.)*	?ays-	*break (tr.)*
lanq-	*feel tired*	lanqs-	*tire, make tired*
d'aw-	*show*	d'aws-	*cause to show*

Two others (both having a root-final sequence consisting of a sonorant consonant + glottal stop) have a causative extension -is, viz.

qol?-	*add to, pour in*	qol?is-	*cause to add to*
gin?-	*fall asleep*	gin?is-	*cause to sleep*

Finally attention is directed to a comparison between the intransitive verb maat- *return, go back, happen, become* and its transitive counterparts maasis- and maas-, both of which mean *return (tr.)*. It looks here as if the intransitive stem itself contains a -t extension formative. This is of some interest, since passive/intransitivizing extension suffixes in -t occur in the Ometo languages (see, for example, Adams 1983: 129ff, Hayward 1982: 244ff).

§2.7.2. VERB INFLECTION:

§2.7.2.1. INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES AND PROCESSES:

The inflected forms that are considered here are aspect and tense paradigms, imperative and jussive paradigms, and the negative forms appropriate to these. It will be noted that all verb inflections in Aari involve suffixation.

Considerably more research will be necessary before the precise significance and function of the various aspect and tense forms described here are appreciated. It appears, however, that there is primarily a perfect : imperfect dichotomy. The formatives of the imperfect are -da[26] in the affirmative and -ay in the negative. Reduplication of the root, or part of the root, is also a common, though not invariable feature of the imperfect aspect (see below). There are two paradigms for the perfect, which contain

-se(qe) and -ta formatives respectively in the affirmative. They share a common set of negative forms, which contain a formative -ki. Unfortunately the nature of the distinction conveyed by selection of one or other of the two forms is not understood.

Past tense forms are formed for the perfect and imperfect by means of a postposed auxiliary verb ąąq- . This verb also occurs as a perfect (past ?) copula. In addition, there is a main verb ąąq-, which means *pass the day*, and without doubt the copulative ąąq- with its auxiliary verb development has evolved from this. Nevertheless, the inflectional behaviour of the two is now very distinct. As a main verb meaning *pass the day* ąąq- displays the full range of paradigmatic variation possible for a verb. The perfect copula ąąq-, however, is a single paradigm verb (see §2.7.2.5.), and as an auxiliary, it commonly appears with just one invariable form (as inspection of the paradigms of the perfect past and imperfect past will show). (In the paradigms the auxiliary ąąq- is linked to the preceding main verb by means of a hyphen. This device is intended to indicate that the auxiliary probably has clitic status[27]. The simple imperfect may be used to indicate an incompleted action either in the present or in the future. In addition, however, there is a special future tense, though it appears not to have its own negative. The formative of the future seems to be a -t with singular persons, and -st with plural persons-; but there is also a curious -er element, which appears in most forms of the future paradigm instead of the usual pronominal elements.

The affirmative imperfect very commonly exhibits reduplication in the case of monosyllabic stems. There are actually two patterns of reduplication. In one type the entire root is reduplicated, and in the other reduplication affects only the first CV sequence. It is noted that double vowels are usually reduced to single ones in both patterns. Both forms

seem to be equally acceptable: the reduced reduplication pattern is probably typical of a more casual or rapid style of speech, e.g.

	basic stem	imperfect - 3s form	
	č'úp'-	č'úp'č'úp'da ~ č'úč'up'da	*squeeze*
	šed-	šédšedda ~ šéšedda	*see, look at*
	teč-	téčtečda ~ tétečda	*cut*
	š'iz-	š'ízš'izda ~ š'iš'izda	*sweat*
	miks-	míksmiksda ~ mímiksda	*beg*
	book-	bókbookda ~ bóbookda	*dig*
	šooš-	šóššoošda ~ šóšoošda	*parch grain*
	gaam-	gámgaamda ~ gágaamda	*get angry*
but	daqal-	dáqalda	*become bad*

The affirmative imperative has a -ka formative. The negative has a preposed element ą́ą̈y . The jussive employs an invariable verb form with a formative -en . The various subject agreements (non-2nd person, of course,) are distinguished only by means of preverbal pronouns. It is an optional feature of the jussive that it is preceded by the bare stem of the verb, thus exhibiting the "complex" type of paradigm common in Koyra (cf. Hayward 1982: 249). Like the imperative the jussive negative has a preposed ą́ą̈y . In 3rd persons the -en formative is maintained in the negative, but in the non-3rd persons (= 1st person forms) there is both stem reduplication and a -ka suffix.

Except in the case of 3rd person singular forms, pronominal subject agreement markers are suffixed to the aspect or negative formatives. In the case of past tense forms the subject marker may be suffixed either to the main verb or to the auxiliary ąąq- . In the case of 3s verb forms it is not possible to recognise a common suffixal element. Thus, for the verb qaal- *cross* we find the following forms for 3s persons - which should be compared with the accompanying 2s forms.

	3s form	2s form
affirmative perfect 1	qa̋alseqe	qáalseqay
affirmative perfect 2	qáalta	qáaltay
negative perfect	qaalkí	qaalkáy
affirmative imperfect	qáqaalda	qáqaalday
negative imperfect	qaaláy	qaaláyay
affirmative future	qáalter	qáaltay

On account of the complete lack of uniformity in 3s subject agreement markers, the various terminal vowels in 3s forms are analysed as belonging to the formatives for aspect, tense, negative, etc. It will be noted, however, that the various terminal vowels of these formatives are absent in non-3s persons of the paradigm, i.e., when subject agreement markers occur. It is further noted that the non-3s subject agreement markers are all vowel-initial, viz.

1s	-it	1p	-o̱(o̱)t
2s	-ay	2p	-et
		3p	-ek

The analysis proposed here is that when (as a result of morphological processes) vowels are juxtaposed within a word, the first one undergoes elision. Thus:

2s affirmative perfect 1 qaalse + ay → qáals[a]y

1p affirmative imperfect qaqaalda + o̱(o̱)t → qáqaaldo̱(o̱)t

1s negative perfect qaalki + it → qaalk[í]t

3p affirmative perfect 2 qaalta + ek → qáalt[e]k

Cp. 2p negative imperfect qaal + ay + et → qaaláy[e]t

Such an analysis claims that 3s forms are unmarked. (The alternative interpretation would, of course, require us to say that for each paradigm there was a different allomorph for the 3s subject agreement marker.) It is worth pointing out that although it is true that Aari does not permit sequences of dissimilar vowels (see §1.4.), it would not carry any conviction

to say that the vowel elision process was motivated by this, for this would leave the single vowels in the 1s negative perfect shown above, and in forms such as the following

2p affirmative perfect 1 qaalse + et → qáals[e]t

2s affirmative imperfect qaqaalda + ay → qáqaald[a]y

without explanation, for the double vowels created here by the affixation would not violate the prohibition on dissimilar vowel sequences. The elison process has to be regarded as a morphological rule.

§2.7.2.2. THE PARADIGMS:

The following paradigms are exemplified with the verb ba?- *bring*. The glosses provided for the various paradigms are somewhat tentative and should be taken as indicative only of the general areas of usage. Throughout the paradigms superscript numbers refer to the notes at the end.

affirmative perfect 1		affirmative perfect 2	
I (etc.) brought/have brought		*I (etc.) brought/have brought*	
1s	bá?seqit(e) ~ bá?sit(e)[1)]	1s	bá?tit
2s	bá?seqay ~ bá?say	2s	bá?tay
3s	bá?seqe ~ bá?se	3s	bá?ta
1p	bá?seqQ(Q)t(e) ~ bá?sQ(Q)t(e)	1p	bá?tQ(Q)t
2p	bá?seqat(e) ~ bá?set(e)	2p	bá?tet
3p	bá?seqak(e) ~ bá?sek(e)	3p	bá?tek

negative perfect[2)]

I (etc.) have not brought/did not bring,

1s ba?kít(e)

2s ba?káy

3s ba?kí

1p ba?kQ́(Q)t(e)

2p ba?két(e)

3p ba?kék(e)

affirmative imperfect

I (etc.) bring/am bringing/will bring

1s	bá?ba?dit ~ bába?dit
2s	bá?ba?day ~ bába?day
3s	bá?ba?da ~ bába?da
1p	bá?ba?dọ̈(ọ̈)t ~ bába?dọ̈(ọ̈)t
2p	bá?ba?det ~ bába?det
3p	bá?ba?dek ~ bába?dek

negative imperfect

I (etc.) do not bring/am not bringing/will not bring

1s	ba?áyit
2s	ba?áyay
3s	ba?áy
1p	ba?áyọ̈(ọ̈)t
2p	ba?áyet
3p	ba?áyek

affirmative perfect past 1

I (etc.) had brought

1s	bá?seqit-ą̈ą̈q(e)[3]
2s	bá?seqay-ą̈ą̈q(e)
3s	bá?seqey-ą̈ą̈q(e) ~ bá?sey-ą̈ą̈q(e)
1p	bá?seqọ̈(ọ̈)t-ą̈ą̈q(e)
2p	bá?seqet-ą̈ą̈q(e)
3p	bá?seqek-ą̈ą̈q(e)

affirmative perfect past 2

I (etc.) had brought

1s	ba?tít-ą̈ą̈q(e)
2s	ba?táy-ą̈ą̈q(e)
3s	bá?t-ą̈ą̈q(e)
1p	ba?tó̈(ọ̈)t-ą̈ą̈q(e)
2p	ba?tét-ą̈ą̈q(e)
3p	ba?ték-ą̈ą̈q(e)

negative perfect past[2]

I (etc.) had not brought

1s	ba?kít-ą̈ą̈q(e)
2s	ba?káy-ą̈ą̈q(e)
3s	ba?kí-ą̈ą̈q(e)
1p	ba?kó̈(ọ̈)t-ą̈ą̈q(e)
2p	ba?két-ą̈ą̈q(e)
3p	ba?kék-ą̈ą̈q(e)

<u>affirmative imperfect past</u>

I (etc.) was bringing/used to bring/had been bringing

1s bába?dit-ąąq(e) ~
bába?d-ąąqit(e)

2s bába?day-ąąq(e) ~
bába?d-ąąqay

3s bába?d-ąąq(e)

1p bába?dǫ(ǫ)t-ąąq(e) ~
bába?d-ąąqǫ(ǫ)t(e)

2p bába?det-ąąq(e) ~
bába?d-ąąqet(e)

3p bába?dek-ąąq(e) ~
bába?d-ąąqek(e)

<u>negative imperfect past</u>

I (etc.) was not bringing/used not to bring/had not been bringing

1s ba?áyit-ąąq(e)

2s ba?áyay-ąąq(e)

3s ba?áy-ąąq(e)

1p ba?áyǫ(ǫ)t-ąąq(e)

2p ba?áyet-ąąq(e)

3p ba?áyek-ąąq(e)

<u>affirmative future</u>[4]

I (etc.) will bring

1s bá?ter

2s bá?tay[5]

3s bá?ter[6]

1p bá?stǫ(ǫ)t

2p bá?ster[6]

3p bá?ster

affirmative jussive		negative jussive	
Let me (etc.) bring!		*Let me (etc.) not bring!*	
1s	ba? ʔí ba?en ~ ʔi bá?en	1s	ą́ą̈y ʔí bá?baaka
3s	ba? kí ba?en ~ ki bá?en	3s	ą́ą̈y ba?en
1p	ba? wǫ́(ǫ̈) ba?en ~ wǫ̈(ǫ̈) bá?en	1p	ą́ą̈y wǫ́(ǫ̈) bá?baaka
3p	ba? ké ba?en ~ ke bá?en	3p	ą́ą̈y ke bá?en

affirmative imperative		negative imperative	
Bring!		*Don't bring!*	
2s	bá?ka	2s	ą́ą̈y ba?ka
2p	bá?ket	2p	ą́ą̈y ba?ket

Notes to the paradigms:

1) The righthand variants are obviously contracted forms. It will be noted that in the perfect past 1 the formative -seqe generally appears in full (apart from final vowel elision); only for the 3s person is there a contracted variant.

2) These negatives do duty for both the affirmative paradigms.

3) Variants in which the subject agreement markers are suffixed to the auxiliary (as in the imperfect past) were not recorded, though they may well exist.

4) There is no future negative; the negative imperfect is employed.

5) There is complete homophony here with the 2s affirmative perfect 2.

6) Attention is directed to the non-distinctness of 3s : 1s and 2p : 3p members in this paradigm.

§ 2.7.2.3. INTERROGATIVE FORMS:

In polar interrogative sentences ("Yes/No" questions) verb forms are regularly marked with a terminal -o formative. In 3s forms, where this -o

follows the vowel of the aspect or negative formatives, the latter undergo elision (see above). The interrogative paradigms are exemplified with 3s and 3p forms; all remaining forms pattern like the 3p form and are fully predictable.

	3s	3p
affirmative perfect 1	bá?seqo ~ bá?so	bá?seqeko
affirmative perfect 2	bá?to	bá?teko
negative perfect	ba?kíyo	ba?kéko
affirmative imperfect	bába?do	bába?deko
negative imperfect	ba?áy-a̤a̤qo	ba?áyek-a̤a̤qo
affirmative perfect past 1	bá?seqey-a̤a̤qo ~ bá?sey-a̤a̤qo	bá?seqek-a̤a̤qo
affirmative perfect past 2	bá?t-a̤a̤qo	ba?ték-a̤a̤qo
negative perfect past	ba?kíy-a̤a̤qo	ba?kék-a̤a̤qo
affirmative imperfect past	bába?d-a̤a̤qo	bába?dek-a̤a̤qo
past		bába?d-a̤a̤qeko
negative imperfect past	ba?ay-a̤a̤qo	ba?áyek-a̤a̤qo
affirmative jussive	ba? kí ba?eno ~ ki bá?eno	ba? ké ba?eno ~ ke bá?eno
negative jussive	á̤a̤y bá?eno	á̤a̤y ke bá?eno

Unfortunately the interrogative future tense was not recorded.

§2.7.2.4. ALTERNATION IN THE INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY:

Certain morphological and phonological processes operate at the boundaries of stems and consonant-initial inflectional suffixes.

With the -se(qe) formative of perfect 1 processes identical to those described in the case of the initial s of the causative suffix are seen to operate (see §2.7.1.2.), e.g.

stem	3s perfect 1	
gob-	gób[z]e(qe)	*he danced/jumped*
fayd-	fáyd[z]e(qe)	*he counted sthg*
kẹ̈(ẹ̈)z-	kẹ́̈(ẹ̈)[z]e(qe)	*he told sb*
tig-	tíg[z]e(qe)	*he had sexual intercourse*

Root-final d' may either undergo reduction to [ʔ] or coalesce with the sibilant to yield [t͡s'], e.g.

wod'-	wó[ʔ]se(qe) ~ wó[t͡s']e(qe)	*he trapped sthg*
ʔoyd'-	ʔóy[ʔ]se(qe) ~ ʔóy[t͡s']e(qe)	*he heated sthg*

Root-final t also shows coalescence, e.g.

maat-	máa[t͡sʰ]e(qe)	*he returned, went back*
wut-	wú[t͡sʰ]e(qe)	*he went out*

Total assimilation (or coalescence) occurs with root-final š or š' e.g.

ʔuš-	ʔú[t͡sʰ]e(qe)	*he approached*
soyš-	sóy[t͡sʰ]e(qe)	*he passed the evening*
gaaš'-	gáa[t͡s']e(qe)	*he surpassed, it was better*
š'ooš'-	š'óo[t͡s']e(qe)	*it became full*

The palatalisation harmony process is also fully in evidence, e.g.

p'aš-	p'á[ʃ:]e(qe)	*he feared*
baš-	bá[ʃ:]e(qe)	*he overcame/defeated sb*
ža?-	žá?[ʃ]e(qe)	*he arrived, it was prepared*
šoq-	šóq[ʃ]e(qe)	*it stank*
čal-	čál[ʃ]e(qe)	*he was able*
miš-sis-	mí[ʃ:]i[ʃ:]e(qe)	*it caused him to be replete*
woč-sis-	wó[t͡ʃʰ]i[ʃ]e(qe)	*he dried sthg*
yï̱ž-sis-	yí̱̈[ʒ:]i[ʃ:]e(qe)	*he caused sb to hate/quarrel*
žą̈q-sis-	žą́̈q[ʃ]i[ʃ:]e(qe)	*he caused sb to throw*

It should be noted that the final four examples have extended (causative) stems, which have themselves been subject to palatalisation. Palatalisation also operates across a stem containing the passive suffix -er , e.g.

šen-er-	šéner[ʃ]e(qe)	*it was bought/sold*
ʔaač-er-	ʔáačer[ʃ]e(qe)	*it was hidden*
žą̈ą̈g-er-	žą́ą̈ger[ʃ]e(qe)	*it was sewn*

The obstruent voicing process is seen to interact with palatalisation in the following:-

č'ub-	č'úb[ʒ]e(qe)	*he made sthg smoke*
ą̈ž-	ą́[ʒ:]e(qe)	*he became sick*

As in the case of the causative suffix root-final palato-alveolars trigger total assimilation (or coalescence), e.g.

teč-	té[t͡ʃʰ]e(qe)	*he cut*
foč-	fó[t͡ʃʰ]e(qe)	*he opened*
buuč'-	buu[t͡ʃ']e(qe)	*he reaped/combed*
guǰ-	gú[d͡ʒ]e(qe)	*he added to sthg*

In šed- with a root-final d , the palatalised element of the perfect 1 formative undergoes voicing and coalescence, e.g.

šed-	šé[d͡ʒ]e(qe)	*he saw/looked at*

Suffixation of the -da formative of the imperfect to root-final d' results in a perseverative assimilation (or coalescence), e.g.

stem	3s imperfect	
wod'-	wód'wo[ʔɗ]a	*he traps*
sud'-	sú[ʔ]su[ʔɗ]a	*he stores/wraps/ collects*

Suffixation of the perfect 2 -ta formative to root-final d, and suffixation of the imperfect -da formative to root-final t both result in anticipatory assimilations, e.g.

stem	(a) 3s perfect 2	
yɐ̯(ɐ̯)d-	yɐ̯́(ɐ̯)[t̪:^{h}]a	*he seized*
a̤a̤d-	á̤a̤[t̪:^{h}]a	*he came*
	(b) 3s imperfect	
ra̤a̤t-	rá̤ra̤a̤[d̪:]a	*he lies down*
maat-	mámaa[d̪:]a	*he returns, it happens*

The velar elements in the imperative formative -ka and the negative perfect formative -ki undergo perseverative assimilation to a root-final q, e.g.

stem	(a) imperative	
buq-	bú[q:]a	*mix!*
leeq-	léé[q:]et	*chat!, play!*
	(b) negative perfect	
č'a̤a̤q-	č'a̤a̤[q:]í	*he did not swear an oath*
rǫ̯(ǫ̯)q-	rǫ̯(ǫ̯)[q:]éke	*they did not hang*
talq-	tal[q:]ǫ̯́(ǫ̯)te	*we did not borrow/lend*

§2.7.2.5. IRREGULAR VERBS:

The three common and important verbs a̤a̤d- *come*, kay- *go*, and tey- *take* are somewhat irregular in not having an affirmative perfect 1 containing the sibilant element of the -se(qe) formative. In these verbs the contracted form of the perfect I paradigm is formed by direct attachment of the subject agreement markers to the root, though in the cases of kay- and tey- the stem-final segment geminates, viz.

	a̤a̤d-	kay-	tey-
1s	á̤a̤dit(e) ~ á̤a̤deqit(e)	káyyit(e) ~ káyyeqit(e)	téyyit(e) ~ téyyeqit(e)
2s	á̤a̤day ~ á̤a̤deqay	káyyay ~ káyyeqay	téyyay ~ téyyeqay

3s	á̤á̤de ~ á̤á̤deqe	káyye ~ káyyeqe	téyye ~ téyyeqe
1p	á̤á̤dǫ̤(ǫ̣)t(e) ~	káyyǫ̤(ǫ̣)t(e) ~	téyyǫ̤(ǫ̣)t(e) ~
	á̤á̤deqǫ̤(ǫ̣)t(e)	káyyeqǫ̤(ǫ̣)t(e)	téyyeqǫ̤(ǫ̣)t(e)
2p	á̤á̤det(e) ~	káyyet(e) ~	téyyet(e) ~
	á̤á̤deqet(e)	káyyeqet(e)	téyyeqet(e) ~
3p	á̤á̤dek(e) ~	káyyek(e) ~	téyyek(e) ~
	á̤á̤deqek(e)	káyyeqek(e)	téyyeqek(e)

All other paradigms of these three verbs appear to be perfectly regular.

The root doq- is common to two quite distinct verbs, though the semantic relationship between the two is quite transparent. doq- meaning *be present, exist* (i.e., a locative-existential verb) has only two paradigms. There is an affirmative paradigm which resembles those of the three irregular verbs just considered, at least in its formal characteristics (though not with regard to its accentual pattern or the vowel of the formative in the 3s form). But though there is a formal similarity, this paradigm of doq- differs from those other three verbs in that it has an imperfect or present tense sense. The other paradigm of this verb is a negative which is again perfect in form while being imperfect in sense, viz.

	affirmative	negative
1s	doqít(e)	dakkít
2s	doqáy	dakkáy
3s	doqá[28]	dakkí
1p	doqǫ̤́(ǫ̣)t(e)	dakkǫ̤́(ǫ̣)t
2p	doqét(e) ~ doqát(e)[28]	dakkét
3p	doqék(e) ~ doqák(e)[28]	dakkék

This same negative paradigm serves as the negative for the copula (see §2.6.). It would seem reasonable to doubt that the negative is actually based on the same root as the affirmative. Not only is the root vowel different, but, as shown above (see §2.7.2.4.) juxtaposition of the k element of the perfect

negative to a root-final q usually results in perseverative assimilation of the k , rather than anticipatory assimilation of the q . It seems likely that we have to regard the root in the negative paradigm as dak-, i.e., as a suppletive, etymologically unrelated item[29].

Reference has already been made to the root a̤a̤q- . As a full lexical verb with a complete and regular paradigm there is a̤a̤q- *pass the day*. Here we consider a̤a̤q- the past tense copula. Its negative involves a compound paradigm based on dak-, viz.

	affirmative	negative
1s	á̤a̤qit(e)	dakkít-a̤a̤qe
2s	á̤a̤qay	dakkáy-a̤a̤qe
3s	á̤a̤qe	dakkí-a̤a̤qe
1p	á̤a̤qo̤(o̤)t(e)	dakkó̤(o̤)t-a̤a̤qe
2p	á̤a̤qet(e)	dakkét-a̤a̤qe
3p	á̤a̤qek(e)	dakkék-a̤a̤qe

In addition to the preceding a few minor irregularities have been noted in the verbs da̤a̤y- *chase;* gay- *say;* and siir- *become pregnant*; their principle parts are simply listed here:

	da̤a̤y-	gay	siir-
3s affirmative perfect 1	dá̤a̤yse	gáyse	síirse
3s affirmative perfect 2	dá̤a̤ta	gáata	síirta
3s affirmative imperfect	dádа̤a̤dda	gágaadda	sísiirda
3s negative imperfect	da̤á̤y	gayáy	siirmáy
2s imperative	dá̤a̤ka	gáaka	síirka

§2.7.3. RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMS:

There appear to be several ways of forming relatives, and it is not at all clear whether this variation is syntactically governed or free. The most frequently encountered type in my material involves suffixation of -inda(a) to the tense/aspect/polarity formative. Such relative

forms do not inflect for subject agreement, though it seems likely that they are based on 3s forms. What I believe to be the underlying forms of the relative verb forms of šed- *see* are as follows:

	affirmative	negative
perfect 1	šed-seqe-inda(a)	šed-ki-inda(a)
perfect 2	šed-te-inda(a) ~ -n(aa)	
imperfect	šed-da-inda(a)	šed-ay-inda(a)

In terms of the affirmative perfect 2 -inda(a) has what seems to be a genuine free variant with -n(aa). My informant would not accept any forms with root reduplication (see §2.7.2.1.).

In the following examples it will be noted that in NPs with object function the relative terminates in -itam ~ -item . While it is obvious that this is a complex containing the accusative marker, it is not so obvious what the -it represents, since such an element has only been noted in NPs in which the head is singulative feminine (see §2.1.1.)[29]. Another thing to be noted is that at the junction of the tense/aspect/polarity formative with the relative formative -inda(a) either the vowel of the former or the latter is elided. The accent in relative forms is always on this juncture syllable. It should also be noted that like other modifying constituents in NPs, relative clauses usually follow the head, though a prehead order does also occur. e.g.

ą́ą ziig[z]eqínda(a) ziigán žá?[ʃ]e

The thing you wanted arrived

?í ?eserténaa guddayín laqamí-ye

The business that I heard about is good

?éedsin ą[ʕ:]ertén ?í-bąąbe

The man who got sick is my father

gunín kǫ́(ǫ)m ga?seqánditam dę́(ę)site

I killed the snake that bit her

ʔanzitán leeqdínditam wo̱(o̱)tá ʔésʔesdo̱(o̱)te

We know the girl who is dancing

kí na̱škínda(a) réy máa[t͡s^{h}]e

A thing he did not like happened

wǫ̱́(o̱) bookkínda(a) ʔoolén dáqalse

The pit which we did not dig got spoiled

ʔí na̱šdínda(a) ʔisín žáʔ[ʃ]e

The food that I like has arrived

kí gaaddínda(a) réyn ʔín dáss gaadda

The thing he is saying pleases me

á̱a̱ šedáyindatem rey á̱a̱n dáwsdit

I will show you what you do not see

Headless relatives are also common, e.g.

bášten nǫ̱́(o̱)-ye

He is the one who overcame

wočqínda(a) feed'áy

The dry one is useless

fi[ʒ:]erténaa wo̱(o̱)té

We are the created (ones)

šendínda(a) ʔí-ba̱a̱be

The one who is buying/selling is my father

birdínda(a) wǫ̱́(o̱)m googínem d'ad'awda

The one who is going ahead will show us the way

In addition to the relative clause forms described above other forms with a formative -aab have been noted, and similar forms are also recorded by Bender and Tully, e.g.

ʔáksin ʔuugumd'áabsin ʔéedam gáʔgaʔda

The dog that is barking bites people

yi̱nsina ʔáksin ʔuugumd'áabsinam p'ášp'ašdek

The children fear the dog that is barking

ʔéedsin deʔkáabsin ą́z[z]eqe

The man who did not die ran away

§2.7.4. SUBORDINATE CLAUSE FORMS:

Only a few types of subordinate (adverbial) clauses were investigated.

Affirmative and negative conditionals are based on (what appears to be) the perfect 1 and perfect negative stems, viz.

	affirmative	negative
	If I (etc.) work ...	*If I (etc.) do not work*
1s	ʔí wóonsink(a)	ʔí woonkínk(a)
2s	ą́ą wóonsink(a)	ą́ą woonkínk(a)
3s.m	kí / nǫ́(ǫ) wóonsink(a)	kí / nǫ́(ǫ)
etc.		woonkínk(a) etc.

eg.

ʔí díib[z]ink(a) qát't'aʔerdit

If I steal, I shall be punished

There is a temporal clause based on the imperfect stem in the affirmative. The appropriate negative, however, looks more as if it is based on the perfect negative. As in the conditional, the actual verb form itself is invariable, viz.

	affirmative	negative
	When I (etc.) speak ...	*When I (etc.) do not speak ...*
1s	ʔí ʔalqdík	ʔí ʔalqekís
2s	ą́ą ʔalqdík	ą́ą ʔalqekís
etc.		etc.

Certain clauses of time, cause and extent have the structure of NPs with relative clause complements (see §2.7.3.). In the case of the time

clause there is an overt head which has the independent meaning *time, day*. The other two cases have probably to be analysed as headless NP complements of postpositions, e.g.

ʔí ʔalqseqínda seè'e	*when I spoke*
ʔí ʔi[t͡s^{h}]eqínda kan	*because I eat cf.* kan *for*
ʔí fočkínda kan	*because I didn't open*
ʔí ʔesqínda dirás	*until I knew*

§2.7.5. THE CONVERB:

Bender and Tully have recorded the following paradigm for the verb ʔiś- *eat*, which I take the liberty of presenting here in the transcription employed throughout this paper.

1s	ʔiè̀ito	1p	ʔiè̀o̤(o̤)to
2s	ʔiè̀ayo	2p	ʔiè̀eta
3s	ʔiè̀iyo / ʔiè̀iè̀o	3p	ʔiè̀eka

e.g.

nǫ̈(o̤) ʔiè̀ito katama kayye

Having eaten he went to town

§2.7.6. THE INFINITIVE:

Reference has already been made to a deverbative form having the suffix -mi,(see §2.4.), and in the field-notes compiled by Bender and Tully there are some sentences which suggest that this form could be interpreted as having an infinitive-like function, e.g.

woč̌'mí laqamte

Drinking/to drink is good

ą̈zmí kan laqamte

(It) is good for running

They also record forms such as the following in which what appears to be the postposition kan follows the verb stem, e.g.

ʔitá woč'-kan zíziigdit

I want to drink

My own researches show the formation of a regular infinitive/verbal noun involving the suffixation of -inti to the stem, e.g.

wóč'inti *to drink;* gáp'inti *to grow;* ą́ąfinti *to find;*

kę́(ę)zinti *to tell;* dę́(ę)sinti *to kill/grind.*

The form occurs in both subject and object functions, e.g.

wóč'inti nąšáyt

I do not like to drink

díibinti daqalí-ye

To steal/stealing is bad

§2.8. LOCATIVE NOUNS AND POSTPOSITIONS:

There are a number of items denoting spatial locations, such as:

zan *top, superior location;* bur *external location;*

goyr *inferior location;* šeegér *side location;* gidír ~

gidér, gir *international location*

These occur as heads of genitive constructions (though a genitive suffix is not invariably present: see §2.1.2.), thereby furnishing a series of locative expressions. It is not at all obvious how or, indeed, whether such items should be distinguished from other postposed elements such as:

kan *for;* da, dar, re *to;* zą̈nąanka, girank, -rank

(or rank?) *from;* kikíl *with*

Some examples are:

gunísin dooniyént gidir (doqá)

The snake is inside the sack

ʔuntísin guftánt goyr (doqá)

The mouse is under the skin

diirá zan dóqse

He sat on the grass

eherânk ą́ąde

He came from the house

ą̈résin aaqént šeeger (doqá)

The donkey is beside the tree

tiilén ehént bur (doqá)

The water-pot is outside the house

miksí kan ʔisín ʔímsit	gában dar káyye
I gave food to the beggar	*He went to market*
ʔí girank káyyeke	kí re ą̈ą̈dit
They went away from me	*I came to him*

NOTES:

* I acknowledge here my gratitude to the Central Research Fund of the University of London for a financial grant which covered the costs of the research presented in this paper.

1. This figure appears in Jensen, 1959. The figure given in Bender *et al.* (1976) is 32,000.

2. Bender and Tully have recorded a few cases of ǰ in free variation with ž. e.g. ǰoga ~ žoga *cyclone, hurricane;* ǰaʔ- ~ žaʔ- *arrive, reach.* They also recorded ǰ in aǰim sick, where I have ž, i.e. ą̈žím.

3. In all words where I have recorded q Bender and Tully have either k', k or x.

4. Although Bender and Tully make no reference to the breathy phonation feature, certain items in their material have variant transcriptions indicative of the phenomenon described here, e.g.

   aaše ~ haašte *he wiped;* asina ~ hasina *how?* (cf. my ą̈snî) noha ~ noa *fire* (cf. my nohá ~ nǫ̈(ǫ̈)); yinši ~ inš'i *child* (cf. my yi̤nšî)

5. Compare the effect of breathy phonation on tone in certain Bantu languages of the Nguni group; see Ladefoged, 1971: 13ff; Rycroft, 1983.

6. I have recorded only one item which would require a modification of this statement, i.e., ʔíst- a contracted form of ʔíste *my*.

7. Bender and Tully also recorded a vocative in -o e.g.

ʔindo *mother!*; anziteno *girl!*

8. In this respect Aari resembles Amharic in having a marked accusative in definite NPs, and its case system is typologically different from that of most of the North Omotic (not to mention East Cushitic) languages, which have a marked nominative : unmarked non-nominative case system. Significantly, however, Hamer also appears to be a language of the Aari type (see Lydall 1976: 432).

9. Here again there are variants with e instead of a.

10. Bender and Tully also noted the correlation between definiteness and plurality.

11. It will be noted that in some cases the TV is replaced by i when -ta is added, e.g. ʔanzá : ʔabzután; but this does not always occur.

12. This is not the case in many Ethiopian languages.

13. Although most of my examples show -t(a) attaching directly to the determiner stem, a few examples indicate that -n(a) may also be present, e.g.

nood'ísin koonát(e) zaná zíigdit

I want this leopard's skin

14. Bender and Tully have ʔaŋ for *male* and ma or man for *female*. These occur in pairs of compounds such as ʔaŋ -zob *lion* : ma-zob *lioness;* ʔaŋ-baača *cock:* man-baača *hen.*

15. Sometimes I heard this as kọ(ọ), i.e., with a breathy vowel, as in the object and possessive pronoun forms kọ́(ọ)m and kọ(ọ)ttén. I have no explanation for this variation.

16. For a speculative discussion of the possible significance of this suffix see Hayward, in preparation.

17. It seems most likely that the yi̤- (as opposed to ki- or ko-) base in yí̤matam reflects a (uniquely preserved) "referential" or "impersonal" distinction still found throughout the entire set of third person pronouns in Hamer (see Lydall 1976: 414 ff).

18. I have represented the pronouns with hyphens here, since their lack of accent suggests they may be enclitic (cf. similar forms described for Zayse in Ch. Four.

19. The root or stem de- (or dee-) appears in a few sentences in the corpus. It is almost certainly a reflex of Proto-Omotic *d-; see Hayward 1984 b.

20. Bender and Tully also note a suffixal (or enclitic) determiner -ka, e.g.

    ʔeesin-ka *this man*

21. These words would appear to share a common root.

22. I say "may contain an overt subject" for the simple reason that given the appropriate discourse situation, any non-verb constituent may be dropped - as is the case in many Ethiopian languages.

23. Strictly speaking the process is one of "palato-alveolarization". The occurrence of this feature in Aari is of considerable interest in view of the fact that it is also found in at least two of the Ometo languages, i.e., Koorete (see Hayward 1982 : 245 ff) and Zayse (see Ch. Four), as well as in Gimira (see Ch. 1.,§2.7.1. Subclass B). In view of the non-contiguity of these languages geographically, it is unconvincing to explain the process as an "areal feature".

24. Suffixation of -se(qe) to the Cš- stem-final sequence will result in palatalization, and the resultant segment may be

durationally longer, i.e., [ʃ:] rather than [ʃ], but post-consonantally the distinction is difficult to hear, and may not be a regular feature. However, in other forms of the paradigm there is a clear distinction since as it is part of the stem, the -š is, of course, found throughout the entire paradigms of such causatives, e.g.

brúkška *boil it!;* brukšáy *he will not boil it; etc.*

25. I use this term for any ES verb which has no obvious SS cogener.

26. For a discussion of this formative, see Hayward 1984b.

27. 3s forms of the imperfect past suggest a clitic interpretation, for in these forms the preceding vowel drops.

28. The low vowel in these forms should be compared with the low vowel alternant of the passive extension, which also occurs following q (see §2.7.1.2.).

29. In the East Cushitic language Qafar headless relative clauses regularly take feminine gender.