CHAPTER ONE

A SKETCH OF THE PHONOLOGY

AND GRAMMAR OF GIMIRA (BENCHNON)

by

Mary J. Breeze

INTRODUCTION:

The Gimira language belongs to the so-called Gimojan (Gimira, Janjero and Ometo) sub-group of the Northern Omotic language family. It is spoken by approximately 42,000 (cf. Bender, Bowen, Cooper and Ferguson 1976: 15)[1] people who live at a height of between 4,500 and 6,000 feet in an area towards the west of Kaffa Province, in and around the towns of Mizan Teferi and Shewa Gimira. Their staple food crop is cocoyams, but corn, millet, *insät* and coffee are also grown. Dairy products form an important part of their diet and they are also well known as bee-keepers and producers of honey.

Two mutually intelligible dialects have been identified: Bench and She. This study is based on data from the Bench dialect, which is called Benchnon (= *mouth of Bench*) by native speakers, and which is the more widely spoken of the two.

Until recently, little research had been carried out on the Gimira language and so the discovery by linguists at the Addis Ababa University in 1980/1981, that it was a six-tone language caused a good deal of surprise. Dr Klaus Wedekind has subsequently recorded and published their findings in a paper entitled 'A Six-tone Language in Ethiopia : Tonal Analysis of

Benč^4 non^4 (Gimira)' (Wedekind 1983). C. Conti Rossini's early notes (1925) on the She dialect mention nothing concerning tone.

CONTENTS:

Notes

Appendix;

§1. PHONOLOGY:

§1.1. VOWELS:

There are five vocalic phonemes in Gimira:

i	u
e	o
a	

Generally, vowels are short, but a sequence of two similar vowels occurring as a result of affixation is realised as a phonetic long vowel.

$$[ta^4] \quad me \quad\quad [ta^4am^4] \quad by\ me$$
$$[ta^4a^4] \quad and\ me$$

§1.2. CONSONANTS:

The following chart shows the consonantal phonemes of Gimira:

Table 1

p	p^y	p^w	t	t^y		ŝ([t͡s])		č([t͡ʃ])	ɋ	k	k^y	ʔ ʔ^y ʔ^w
b	b^y	b^w	d	d^y						g	g^y g^w	
p'			t' t$^{y'}$			ŝ'([t͡s'])		č'([t͡ʃ'])	ɋ'	k'	k$^{y'}$	
	s	s^y	s^w				š ([ʃ])		ʂ			h
	z	z^y					ž ([ʒ])		ʐ			
m	m^y		n	n^y								
			l r				y					

These phonemes have allophones as follows:

(a)

/p/ has two allophones: [p^h] and [f]. Either [p^h] or [f] occur in any position; no conditioning has been noted, e.g.

$\quad\quad$ [ap^{h1}] or [af^1] *eye* $\quad\quad$ [p^{h}ug^2] or [fug^2] *sickness*

(b)

/y/ has two allophones: [y] and [w][2]. [w] occurs before back vowels,

while [y] occurs before front and central vowels e.g.

$$[\text{yis}^1] \quad he \qquad [\text{wos}^3] \quad send$$

$$[\text{yars}^1] \quad little \qquad [\text{wurs}^1] \quad pregnant$$

(c)

/z/ has three allophones: [ʒ], [d͡ʒ] and [ʒ^j]. [d͡ʒ] occurs in a consonant cluster following /n/ . Before /a/ either [ʒ] or [ʒ^j] may occur. Elsewhere [ʒ] only occurs, e.g.

$$[\text{gon}\widehat{\text{dʒ}}^4] \quad cooked\ \dot{\imath}ns\alpha t \qquad [\text{kaʒ}^{2-3}] \qquad happiness$$

$$[\text{gen}^4\widehat{\text{dʒ}}\text{u}^4\text{bay}^1] \quad dikdik \qquad [\text{maʒ}^4\text{gas}^3] \quad be\ patient$$

$$[\text{ʒa}^4\widehat{\text{tʃ}}\text{u}^3] \ or\ [\text{ʒ}^j\text{a}^4\widehat{\text{tʃ}}\text{u}^3] \quad maize\ or\ millet\ \ flower$$

(d)

/š/ and /č'/ each have two allophones: [ʃ] and [t͡ʃ'], and [ʃ^j] and [tʃ^j']. Before /a/ either the palatalised form or the non-palatalised form may occur. Elsewhere [ʃ] and [t͡ʃ'] only occur, e.g.

$$[\text{ʃap'}^3] \ or\ [\text{ʃ}^j\text{ap'}^3] \quad cooking\text{-}pot$$

$$[\widehat{\text{tʃ}}\text{'ar}^1] \ or\ [\widehat{\text{tʃ}}^j\text{'ar}^1] \quad sky$$

(e)
    /n/ has two allophones: [n] and [ŋ]. [ŋ] occurs preceding velars, [n] occurs elsewhere, e.g.

$$[\text{haŋ}^3\text{k'u}^2\text{e}^3] \quad he\ went \qquad [\text{dent}^{2\perp 3}] \quad middle$$

The contrast between /n/ and /m/ is neutralised postconsonantally, for here we find a syllabic nasal (represented phonologically as N) which always has the same place of articulation as the preceding consonant, e.g.

$$[\text{irs}^2\text{tn}_{\text{̩}}^3] \quad nine \qquad [\text{a}^2\text{bm}_{\text{̩}}^4] \quad mother's\ brother$$

$$[\text{nor}^2\text{gŋ}_{\text{̩}}^3] \quad butter \qquad [\text{har}^3\text{č'ɨ}^3] \quad tear$$

    Attention is directed to the last example, where we see that following palato-alveolars the postconsonantal syllabic nasal is oralised.

    It is necessary to point out that throughout this study a surface (autonomous) phonemic transcription is employed for all examples, so that the archiphonemic N found in certain morphemes represented abstractly (in isolation) will always be replaced by a phonemic representation (i.e., as n or m) in full words.

/ʐ/, /ʐ'/, /ʂ/ and /ẑ/ are retroflexed fricatives and affricates which contrast phonemically with the non-retroflexed set of palato-alveolar fricatives and affricates, e.g.

šer^3	*kind of tree*	ʂer$^{2-3}$	*browny yellow*
gač^4	*Poa abyssinica*	gaʐ^3	*shoulder*
č'ast^4	*be pierced*	ʐ'aʂt^3	*greet*
žeg^4	*salt*	ẑeg^1	*move to and fro*

§1.3. TONE:

Gimira is a tonal language with six distinct phonemic tones; five level or register tones numbered from 1 to 5 beginning with the lowest, and one rising glide from level 2 to level 3. Level 5 may sometimes be realised as a 4-5 glide. Each of these tones has been found to occur on any of the vowels or syllabic nasals and each can occur in any position in a word and on any word of any class.

Evidence for tonemic contrast can be shown by the following sextuplets and quadruplets.

Table 2

Tone	1	2	2-3	3	4	5
sext.	kar *male genitals*	kar *mud-wasp*	kar *game with stones*	kar *circle round*	kar *broad leaf*	kar *clear*
Quad.	bar *take a mouthful*		bar *lucky*	bar *holiday*	bar *neck*	
	šot *seedling*			šot *strip off*	šot *pointed stick*	šot *sharpness*
		mar *pity* (n.)	mar *guess*	mar *pity* (v.)	mar *personal name*	

While tone has been found to make numerous lexical distinctions, grammatical distinctions shown by tone are rather more limited. However, tone is important in distinguishing the cases of certain pronouns, certain verb tenses, the morphological classes of certain words and the semantic features of certain adjectives.

In this paper, the superscript tone numbers are marked following each syllable.

§1.4. THE SYLLABLE:

In Gimira, a syllable may be defined as a tone carrying unit and its nucleus can either be a vowel or a syllabic nasal.

The structure of syllables with a vowel as nucleus can be shown by the following formula;-

$$(C) \ V \ (C_0^3)^3 + tone$$

Examples;-

i^3bar^3	*true*	$in\check{c}^5$	*wood, tree*
ab^3	*time*	$yapst^{2-3}$	*be found*
tam^3	*fire*		

Initial C can be any consonant except /r/, /l/, /ŝ/, /č/ and /č̣/. When initial C is a palatalised consonant or /h/, V is always /a/.

t^yat^1	*master*	$ʔ^yard^4$	*enter*
$hayt'^1$	*word*		

When initial C is a labialised consonant, V is always /i/.

$b^wit'^5$	*open space*	$ʔ^wint'^2$	*short*

When C_0^3 is single C, it may be any non-palatalised, non-labialised consonant.

When C_0^3 is a CC cluster, it is made up of a continuant or a bilabial stop followed by a stop, fricative or affricate. However, especially where the first member of the cluster is /l/, /p/ or a fricative, there are restrictions as to which consonants can occur together.

When C_0^3 is a CCC cluster, the first C can be /r/, /y/, /m/, /p/

or /p'/, the second can be /n/ or a voiceless fricative and the third
can be /t/ or /k/. Again, not every possible combination occurs.

CCC clusters are rare, only occuring in passive forms of the verb
root and in some verbal nouns.

The structure of syllables with a nasal as nucleus can be shown by
the following formula:

$$(C) \ N \ (C)$$

Examples:- $ta^4\underline{m}^3$ *to me* $\underline{m}?^1$ *eat, food*

          $a^3\underline{\text{ṇd}}^3$ *people* $sa^2\underline{pm}^3$ *six*

Final C can only be /d/, /s/ or /?/. Initial C can be any non-palatalised,
non-labialised consonant.

Close transition is a feature of Gimira consonant clusters, particularly
notable being the frequently occurring CN sequence which is realised as a
nasal release of the preceding consonant. When C is a voiceless stop, the
nasal has a voiceless onset, instead of the stop being aspirated.

     $[u\check{s}^1k\underset{\circ}{\underset{,}{ŋŋ}}^3]$ *flower* $[n^yar^2t\underset{\circ}{\underset{,}{nn}}^3]$ *eight*

     $[sa^2p\underset{\circ}{\underset{,}{mm}}^3]$ *six*

§1.5. THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD:

By far the most common pattern of <u>root morphemes</u> of all classes is a
single vowel nucleus syllable. However, roots with up to three syllables
are quite common and one or two with four syllables have been found. With
one commonly occurring exception, a syllable with a nasal nucleus never
occurs word-initial. The exception is the word $m?^1$ meaning *eat* or *food*.

In verb roots, a syllabic nasal can only occur word-final.

Examples of verb roots: ham^3 *go*

                      wor^4sas^3 *lower, take down*

                      $i^3ra^3tn^3$ *suffer*

Examples of noun roots: tam^3 *fire*

$di^4či^4$ *maize*

$uš^1kn^3$ *flower*

$š'o^3bm^4bab^2$ *snake*

There are no prefixes in Gimira, but many suffixes are added to both nouns and verbs. After affixation, up to five extra syllables may be added to a verb root and up to four may be added to a noun root. No more than two of the added syllables contain a syllabic nasal, but a syllabic nasal can occur in any suffix syllable, e.g.

$?^yar^4dn^3sar^4gu^2e^2šn^3$ *so that he will not enter*

enter-Fut-Neg-Det-Purp

$a^3šnd^3wo^3t'n^3nd^5$ *and like people*

person-Pl-like-Con

$k'ay^1š'n^4sn^3$ *having worked*

work-Pf-PtDS

An interesting phonotactic restriction operating at word level is that no two palato-alveolar fricatives or affricates within a root morpheme can differ in the feature of retroflexion, e.g.

$\check{š}a\check{š}^3$ *vein* $šač^4$ *stretcher*

$\check{c}'u\check{c}'^4$ *louse* $č'ašt^4$ *be pierced*

§2. WORD CLASSES:

§2.1. NOUNS:

§2.1.1. DERIVED NOUNS:

(For nouns derived from verbs see §2.8.2.)

Nouns indicating persons with particular occupations, habits or qualities may be formed by adding nas^4 for masculine or $-nin^4$ for feminine to the noun form of the verb[4]. /n/ and /s/ are dropped when the final C

of the verbal noun is not a stop, e.g.

$$k'ay\grave{s}'^1 \quad \textit{work} \qquad k'ay^1\grave{s}'as^4 \quad \textit{worker, servant}$$

$$k'ay^1\grave{s}'in^4 \quad \textit{female worker, servant}$$

$$gid^{2-3} \quad \textit{strength} \qquad gid^{2-3}nas^4 \quad \textit{strong man}$$

$$gid^{2-3}nin^4 \quad \textit{strong woman}$$

$-(n)in^4$ may also be added to a noun to indicate feminine.

$$a\grave{s}^3 \quad \textit{person} \qquad a^4\grave{s}in^4 \quad \textit{woman}$$

§2.1.2. PLURALS:

Plurals may be formed by adding the suffix $-Nd^3$ (where N represents a syllabic nasal homorganic to the root-final consonant) to the noun root. However, the plural form is rarely used unless the noun is definite, e.g.

$$wu^5 \quad in^3\underline{gnd}^3 \qquad \qquad \textit{her relatives}$$

3f.Pos relative-Pl[7]

$$a^3\underline{\grave{s}n^3di}^3 \quad ba^4 \quad kang^5 \quad \textit{all the people}$$

person-Pl-S 3Ref all

§2.2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS:[5]

§2.2.1. PERSON/NUMBER CATEGORIES:

The following table shows the basic forms of the person/number categories distinguished in the Gimira personal pronoun system:

Table 3

	singular	Plural	Honorific	Vocative
1st Person	ta^4	Exc. nu^4		
		Inc. ni^5		
2nd Person	$ni^{4\,6}$	$yin^2tay^1k'n^3$	$yint^2$	m. wo^1
				f. ha^1
3rd Person m.	yi^5	$i^5\grave{s}ay^1k'n^3$	$i\grave{s}^5$	
f.	wu^5		gen^3	
Reflexive	ba^4	ba^4	ba^4	

ba^4 is a third person reflexive pronoun which has extended use beyond that of a normal reflexive pronoun. It marks any third person constituent within a sentence that is coreferential with the subject of that sentence, e.g.

$yi^1si^3 \underline{ba}^4 dor^3 go^1tu^2e^3$

3m-S   3Ref sheep sell-3m-Fin

He sold his (own) sheep

$yi^1si^3 \underline{ba}^3 ham^4m^3su^2e^3 ma^2ki^5 hay^3t'u^2$

3m-S   3Ref go-Fut-3m-Fin say-3m tell-3m

He said that he (i.e. he himself) would go

$bo^1dam^4 han^3k'a^4 \underline{ba}^3 yis^4ta^3gu^2\check{s}n^3 pan^3\check{s}'a^2 \quad ez^{2-3}$

road-Abl go-3Ref   3Ref be-Stat-Det-when leopard-NPMk big

$be^3k'u^2e^3$

see-3m-Fin

When he was going along the road, he saw a big leopard

§2.2.2. PRONOUN SETS:

The following chart shows the forms of the various sets of pronouns that are used and the slots in which they function. The 2nd and 3rd person plural and the honorific pronouns retain the same form and tone in all their functions and therefore have been omitted from the chart.

Table 4

		oblique case form	subject form	loc/ben form
1st Sg.		ta^4	tan^3	$ta^1t'n^3$
	Pl. Exc.	nu^4	nun^3	$nu^1t'n^3$
	Pl. Inc.	ni^5	nin^3	$ni^1t'n^3$
2nd Sg.		ni^4	nen^3	$ne^1t'n^3$
3rd Sg. m.		yi^5	yis^3	–
	f.	wu^5	wus^3	–
	Ref.	ba^4	ban^3	$ba^1t'n^3$

The <u>oblique case form</u> is the basic unmarked form which functions as an object, a possessive pronoun, and as the pronoun used in adverbial cases.

There are three forms of <u>subject pronoun</u>:

The <u>normal subject</u> form functions as head of a noun phrase and generally encodes known information and refers to a subject perviously mentioned, e.g.

$$es^3 \quad nu^3na^3 \quad kas^4ka^4 \quad yis^4ta^3gu^2\text{š}n^3$$

like 1+1-S   play-1+1 be-Stat-Det-when

When we were playing like this ...

The <u>emphatic subject</u> form changes to tone 1 and is used when the subject has special prominence in the sentence. It usually occurs sentence-initially, being front-shifted to precede the adverbial phrase when one is present, e.g.

$$yi^1si^3 \quad u^2\text{š}am^4 \quad ke^4tn^5 \quad kar^1ti^5 \quad han^3k'u^2e^3$$

3m-S   then   house-Loc return-3m go-3m-Fin

Then he returned home

A <u>reduced subject</u> form functions as part of the verb phrase and serves to indicate the person and number of the subject of the verb it precedes, where this cannot be distinguished by the verb form alone. It retains tone 3 but final C is dropped. One of the other subject pronoun forms may also occur in its normal position, e.g.

$$(ta^1na^3) \quad om^4tan^4 \quad ga^3bm^5 \quad \underline{ta^3} \quad han^3k'u^2e^3$$

1-S   yesterday market-Loc 1   go-1-Fin

Yesterday I went to market

$$\text{š}^{y'}a\text{š}'^1ba^1nu\text{š}^2 \quad ya^2pa^3rn^3 \quad \underline{ba^3} \quad nu^4 \quad de^2kn^3e^3$$

tie -3Ref-Det   after   3Ref 1+1 hit-Jus

After he tied us, thinking to hit us ...

The form termed <u>Locative/Benefactive</u> is a special form having the meaning *to, at or for one's own particular place or house*, e.g.

$$kar^1ta^4 \quad \underline{ta^1t'n^3} \quad ta^3 \quad han^3k'u^2e^3$$

return-1   to my house   1   go-1-Fin

I went home

§2.3. DETERMINERS:

The following determiner particles commonly occur within the noun phrase:

$$u\check{s}^2 \qquad masc. \qquad en^2 \qquad fem. \qquad end^2 \qquad plural$$

which has the basic meaning *that, the*;

$$ha\check{s}^2 \qquad masc. \qquad han^2 \qquad fem. \qquad hand^2 \qquad plural$$

which has the basic meaning *this*

These particles have the following functions:

1.

As modifiers in the noun phrase they may indicate anaphoric references, e.g.

$$na^4{'}sa^2 \quad ma^3t'a^3gi^5 \quad yis^3tu^2. \quad na^4sa^2 \quad ma^3t'a^2 \quad \underline{u\check{s}^2i^3}$$

man-NPMk   one-Stat-3m   be-3m   man-NPMK   one-NPMk   Det-S

There was a certain man.   That certain man ...

$$ba^4 \quad bar^2k'n^3 \quad \check{s}'e^1t'n^3i^5 \quad mi^1t'a^2 \quad \underline{e^2nis^3} \quad \check{s}u^3ki^5$$

3Ref   one another call-3+3   cow-NPMk   Det-O   slaughter-3+3

Calling to one another, they slaughtered the cow

$$a^3\check{s}n^3da^2 \qquad \underline{han^2dis^3} \quad har^{2-3}am^4 \quad bad^3 \quad a^4\check{s}n^3da^1?$$

person-Pl-NPMk   Det-O   what-Abl   separate   make-Fut-Int1

How can I separate these people?   (i.e. the ones previously

mentioned.)

2.

As modifiers in the noun phrase they may indicate exophoric reference, e.g.

$$ni^4 \quad nor^3gn^3 \quad \underline{han^2a^3} \quad a^1ma^3ga^4o^2?$$

2Pos   butter   Det-S   how much-Stat-3fInt

How much is this butter of yours?

3.

As head of a noun phrase they function as demonstrative pronouns, e.g.

$$a^3\check{s}a^3ga^2 \quad di^4\check{c}i^4is^3 \quad m?^1m^4si^5 \quad yis^3tu^2e^3. \quad u\check{s}^2is^3 \quad be^3k'n^4si^5$$

person-Gen   maize-O   eat-Pf-3m   be-3m-Fin   Det-O   see-Pf-3m

It was eating people's maize. Seeing that ...

4.

As head of a temporal phrase they function as time words, $u\check{\underset{\cdot}{s}}^2$- meaning

then and $ha\check{\underset{\cdot}{s}}^2$- meaning *now*, e.g.

$$u^2\check{\underset{\cdot}{s}}n^5 \quad na^4su^2\check{\tilde{s}}i^3 \quad pur^2k'n^3 \quad han^3k'u^2e^3$$

Det-Loc   man-Det-S   home   go-3m-Fin

Then, the man went home

5.

As suffixes on the verb stem, they indicate that the clause is a relative

clause. In this case $\check{\underset{\cdot}{s}}$ of $u\check{\underset{\cdot}{s}}^2$ and h of $ha\check{\underset{\cdot}{s}}^2$ etc. may be dropped, e.g.

$$a^4\check{s}in^4 \quad ke^4tn^5 \quad yis^4\underline{ken}^2$$

woman   house-Loc be-Det

the woman who is in the house

$$ta^3 \quad e^4ra^3ta^3\underline{su}^2 \quad giz^3$$

1   lend-Det   money

the money which I lent

$$ta^4 \quad gag^{2\text{-}3}na^4sa^2 \quad Ma^5t'a^3rab^1 \quad mas^2ti^5 \quad yis^4\underline{ka}^2\check{\underline{s}}i^3$$

1Pos   enemy-NPMK   Matarab   be called-3m   be-Det-S

my enemy called Matarab

6.

As suffixes added to an ablative or a locative phrase, they indicate that

the phrase is embedded, e.g.

$$ta^4 \quad gi^3za^2 \quad ni^4 \quad da^1dn^3\underline{u\check{s}}^2$$

1Pos   money-NPMk   2Pos   at the side-Det

my money that is with you

§2.4. NUMERALS:

§2.4.1. CARDINAL NUMBERS:

The cardinal numbers from 1 - 10 are:

1	mat'^3	6	sa^2pm^3
2	nam^4	7	na^2pm^3
3	kaz^4	8	$\text{n}^y\text{ar}^2\text{tn}^3$
4	od^4	9	irs^2tn^3
5	uč̢^2	10	tam^5

When a cardinal number functions as an adjective the suffix -as^3 may be added, e.g.

$\text{n}^y\text{a}^3\text{ʔa}^2 \quad \text{ka}^4\underline{\text{zas}}^3$

child-NPMk 3

3 Children

$\text{čet}^3\text{n}^y\text{a}^3\text{ʔa}^2 \quad \text{na}^4\underline{\text{ma}}^3\underline{\text{si}}^3$

young man-NPMk 2-S

2 young men

20, 30, 40, etc. are formed by adding tam *ten* to the number of tens but there are tone changes and a nasal is added before tam in 50, viz.

20	nam^3tam^2	60	$\text{sa}^5\text{pm}^3\text{tam}^2$
30	kaz^3tam^2	70	$\text{na}^5\text{pm}^3\text{tam}^2$
40	od^3tam^2	80	$\text{n}^y\text{ar}^5\text{tn}^3\text{tam}^2$
50	$\text{uč̢}^5\text{n}^3\text{tam}^2$	90	$\text{irs}^5\text{tn}^3\text{tam}^2$

100 is $\text{bal}^{2\text{-}3}$, and 1000 is $\text{wum}^{2\text{-}3}$

Compounds are formed by adding the coordinate suffix -a^4 to each figure in the number, viz.

13	$\text{ta}^5\text{ma}^4 \text{ka}^4\text{za}^4$
21	$\text{nam}^3\text{ta}^2\text{ma}^4 \text{ma}^3\text{t'a}^4$
236	$\text{nam}^4 \text{ba}^{2\text{-}3}\text{la}^4 \text{kaz}^3\text{ta}^2\text{ma}^4 \text{sa}^2\text{pm}^3\text{a}^4$

§2.4.2. ORDINAL NUMBERS:

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding nas^4 to the cardinal number, e.g.

$3rd$ kaz^4nas^4 $4th$ od^4nas^4

§2.5. ADJECTIVES:

An adjective may function as an attributive in a noun phrase or as a complement in a stative clause.

A number of descriptive adjectives can be intensified by raising the tone to tone 5, e.g.

ez^{2-3} *big* ez^5 *very big*

$p'ad^3$ *long tall* $p'ad^5$ *very long/tall*

§2.6. DIRECTIONAL WORDS:

There is a small class of directional words, which may function as an attributive in a noun phrase or as head of an adverbial phrase, e.g.

$g^ya^3ra^2$ $sa?^{2-3}k'an^4$ $han^3k'u^2e^3$

towards-NPMk forest-Loc   go-3m-Fin

He went towards the forest

to^1ra^2 ba^4 sak^2kan^4 bo^2ka^4 ni^4 $m?^5m^3se^2ne^3$

downwards-NPMk 3Ref cliff-Loc throw-3f 2   eat-Fut-3f-Fin

She (the river) will throw you down her cliff and swallow you

tor^1 kay^1 do^3da^2 $ṣan^4kn^5$ $wort^4na^4$

down only land-NPMk plain-Loc descend-2

Only descending downwards to the plain

§2.7. DEMONSTRATIVES:

There are the following demonstratives:

$hang^4$ *here*

ek^3 *there (not far away)*

$yink^2$ *there (far away)*

neg^3 *down there*

nek^2 *up there*

They have the following functions:

1.

Alone or with the determiner suffix $-$už^{2}or $-$až^2 added, they function as
demonstrative pronouns. A locative or nominative case marker may also be
affixed to the determiner, e.g.

<u>hang</u>^{2} nas^4 dad^{1}n^3 a^{2}ta^{3}gu^{2}žn^3

here   *man*   *near*   *reach-Stat-Det-when*

when he came near to the man ...

žet^{3}n^{y}a^{3}a^2 na^{4}ma^{3}si^2 <u>ne^{3}gaž</u>^{2} ni^5 a^{2}pa^{3}rn^3 yis^{4}ku^{2}e^3

young man-NPMk two-S   *down there-Det 1+2*   *in front of be-3m-Fin*

Two young men are down there in front of us

mašt$^{2-3}$ni^{4}na^3 <u>e^{3}ku^{2}žn</u>^{5} ham^3 ma^{2}ka^4

wife-Foc-S   *there-Det-Loc go*   *say-3f*

The wife said, "Move over there (a little)"

<u>ne^{2}ka^{2}ži^3</u>   o^{4}ne^5?

up there-Det-S who-3mInt

who is the one up there?

2.

When they bear the noun phrase marker $-$a^2 (See §3.1.3.), they function
as demonstrative adjectives, e.g.

n^{y}a^{3}ʔa^2 <u>ne^{3}ga^2</u>   han^{2}di^3

boy-NPMk   *down there-NPMk*   *Det-S*

those boys down there

<u>yin^{2}ka^2</u>   bo^{1}du^{2}žn^5 bek'^{3}

over there-NPMk   *road-Det-Loc*   *see*

See over there on the road

§2.8. VERBS:

§2.8.1. VERB CLASSES:

Girmira verbs can be divided into three classes which are set up on the basis of the structure of the basic stem, which is seen in the singular imperative form. This is the only stem form that can stand alone and is the form given in word lists.

§2.8.1.1. CLASS 1:

Class 1 includes the majority of Gimira verbs and consists of verbs with roots of a single syllable.

Each class 1 verb potentially has three different forms of its active stem:-

1.

The <u>singular imperative</u> stem, considered as the basic root form of the verb.

2.

The <u>past stem</u>: This is the stem form used in non-future, non-negative forms of the verb, and for most verbs it is identical with the singular imperative stem. However, (although they are not consistent), the following changes may occur:

Many verbs with a final voiceless fricative add -k, e.g.

$$sis^1 \text{ } listen \text{ changes to } sisk^{\underline{1}}$$

$$gi\check{s}^3 \text{ } suppurate \text{ changes to } gi\check{s}k^{\underline{3}}$$

but $ka\check{s}^3$ $rest$ does not add -k.

Many verbs with a final voiced fricative or an alveolar continuant add -k', e.g.

$$haz^2 \text{ } throw \text{ changes to } hazk'^2\text{-}$$

$$t'ol^1 \text{ } jump \text{ changes to } t'olk'^1\text{-}$$

but gaz^1 $take \text{ } out$ does not add -k'.

Many verbs with a final -m replace this with -nk', e.g.

ham^3 *go* changes to hank'$^{\underline{3}}$.

kim^1 *guard* changes to kink'$^{\underline{1}}$

but zim^3 *roar* does not change.

Many verbs with a final -p replace this with -k, e.g.

šup^3 *slaughter* changes to šuk$^{\underline{3}}$.

k^y'ap^2 *kick* changes to k^y'ak$^{\underline{2}}$.

but šap^3 *cut grass* does not change.

Many verbs with a final -b replace this with -g, e.g.

dub^4 *dance* changes to dug$^{\underline{4}}$

nab^4 *forbid* changes to nag$^{\underline{4}}$

but šib^1 *anoint* does not change.

Many verbs with a final -b or -p' replace these segments with -k',
e.g.

hayb^2 *die* changes to hayk'$^{\underline{2}}$

t'up'^{1} *burst* changes to t'uk'$^{\underline{1}}$

but k'erp'^{2} *bore* does not change.

3.

The <u>future stem</u>:. This is the stem used in future and negative forms of
the verb. Segmentally it is identical with the singular imperative stem
but the following tone changes occur:

Three common tone 1 verbs change to tone 5 for the future stem.

m?^{1} *eat* changes to m?$^{\underline{5}}$

sis^1 *listen* changes to sis$^{\underline{5}}$

uš^1 *drink* changes to uš$^{\underline{5}}$

Many tone 3 verbs, including <u>all</u> those which have changes in the past
stem, change to tone 4 for the future stem, e.g.

ham^3 *go* changes to hank'$^{\underline{3}}$ for the past stem and changes to
ham$^{\underline{4}}$ for the future stem.

bek'$\stackrel{3}{-}$ *see* does not change for the past stem, but changes to

bek'$\stackrel{4}{-}$ for the future stem.

But wot'^{3} *kill* remains on tone 3 for the future stem.

Most class 1 verbs have causative and passive forms and sub-classes can be set up on the basis of the forms of these and on the potential different types of derived stem the verb can have.

Sub-class A

Sub-class A verbs potentially have a causative and a passive form in addition to the active form. The causative adds the suffix $-as^3$ to the basic root, and retains the same form for past and future. Almost all tone 3 verbs change to tone 4 before $-as^3$ is added and a few others have irregular tone changes, e.g.

k'az^2	*add*	k'a^{2}zas^3	*cause to add*
ba^3	*break*	ba^4^{3}as^3	*cause to break*
u^1	*drink*	u^4^{3}as^3	*cause to drink, water*
nars^3	*blow*	nar^{2}sas^3	*cause to blow*

The passive is formed by adding $-n^3$ to the causative stem. In most cases the tone pattern remains the same but the following changes do occur:

Tone 4 verbs may change to tone 1, e.g.

ti^4	*send*	ti^{4}as^3	*cause to send*	ti^{1}a^{3}sn^3	*be sent*

Tone 3 verbs may change to tone 2 or tone 1, e.g.

t^{y}a?^{3}	*chew*	t^{y}a^4?as^3	*cause to chew*	t^{y}a^2?a^{3}sn^3	*be chewed*
mu^3	*cut*	mu^{4}as^3	*cause to cut*	mu^{1}a^{3}sn^3	*be cut*

Sub-class B

Sub-class B verbs also potentially have causative and passive forms as well as an active form.

The causative adds a voiceless fricative to the basic active stem and retains the same form for past and future. When the root-initial C is a grooved fricative or affricate, the voiceless fricative added is at a

similar point of articulation. When the root-initial C is any other
consonant, the added fricative is -s. When the fricative is added, other
morpho-phonemic and tone changes occur.

1.

The second consonant of a cluster is dropped before the fricative is
added. Following -n the fricative becomes -ŝ,e.g.

$$\text{ǯert}^1 \quad \textit{be red} \qquad \text{ǯerŝ}^1 \qquad \textit{make red}$$

$$\text{bunk'}^4 \quad \textit{burn} \qquad \text{bunŝ}^4 \qquad \textit{cause to burn}$$

2.

A final alveolar stop following a vowel becomes -ŝ, -č̌ or -č̣̌ as the
fricative is added, e.g.

$$\text{kit}^1 \quad \textit{draw water} \quad \text{kiŝ}^1 \qquad \textit{cause to draw water}$$

$$\text{gad}^1 \quad \textit{start} \qquad \text{gaŝ}^1 \qquad \textit{cause to start}$$

$$\text{šid}^3 \quad \textit{remain} \qquad \text{šič̌}^3 \qquad \textit{cause to leave}$$

$$\text{ç̣'ud'} \quad \textit{spit} \qquad \text{ç̣'uç̣̌'} \qquad \textit{cause to spit}$$

In the last two examples the influence of the initial C (i.e., š
and ç̣') brings about the changes to palato-alveolar and retroflex places
of articulation respectively (see final paragraph of §1.5.).

3.

Final velar stops and -h following a vowel are dropped or are replaced
by -r before the fricative is added, e.g.

$$\text{mak'}^2 \quad \textit{become clean} \quad \text{mars}^2 \qquad \textit{make clean}$$

$$\text{mak}^2 \quad \textit{say} \qquad \text{mas}^2 \qquad \textit{cause to say}$$

$$\text{duk'}^4 \quad \textit{plant maize} \quad \text{dus}^4 \qquad \textit{cause to plant maize}$$

$$\text{gah}^4 \quad \textit{talk} \qquad \text{gars}^4 \qquad \textit{cause to talk}$$

4.

Final bilabial stops following a vowel are sometimes dropped and
sometimes retained before the fricative is added. If -p' is not
dropped, it becomes -p, e.g.

šup^3 *slaughter* šuš^3 *cause to slaughter*

dub^4 *dance* dus^4 *cause to dance*

t'ep'^2 *carry* t'eps^2 *cause to carry*

5.

Final -l and -ʔ change to -y before the fricative is added, e.g.

bal^1 *become blind* bays^1 *make blind*

paʔ^4 *be heavy* pays^4 *make heavy*

6.

Final voiced fricatives become voiceless instead of another fricative being added, e.g.

goẓ^1 *be drunk* goš^1 *make drunk*

gaz^1 *take out* gas^1 *cause to take out*

7.

Final glottalised affricates become non-glottalised instead of a fricative being added, e.g.

gaȿ'^{2-3} *use* gaȿ^2 *cause to use*

k'aǯ'^1 *itch* k'aǯ^1 *cause to itch*

Tone changes are not regular. The majority of causative verbs retain the same tone as the basic active stem but the following changes are found:

Tone 1 may change to tone 4, tone 3 or tone 2, e.g.

saȿ'^1 *bite* saȿ^4 *cause to bite*

ǯoš^1 *vomit* ǯoš^3 *cause to vomit*

t'ol^1 *jump* t'oys^2 *cause to jump*

Tone 2 may change to tone 4 or tone 1, e.g.

wot'^2 *fall* woȿ^4 *cause to fall*

ȿ'eg^2 *call* ȿ'es^1 *cause to call*

Tone 3 may change to tone 4, e.g.

keʔ^3 *cry* keys^4 *cause to cry*

Tone 2-3 may change to tone 3, tone 2 or tone 1, e.g.

yap^{2-3} *get* $yaps^3$ *cause to get*

$gaš^{,2-3}$ *use* $gaš^2$ *cause to use*

$\underset{e}{š}ab^{2-3}$ *milk* $\underset{e}{š}a\underset{e}{š}^1$ *cause to milk*

Tone 4 may change to tone 3, e.g.

g^yad^4 *sympathise* $g^ya\grave{š}^3$ *cause to sympathise*

Sub-class B must be further sub-divided on the basis of the formation of the passive.

Sub-Class B(i)

Sub-class B(i) verbs add the suffix -t to the causative stem and the -t is retained in all forms of the passive verb, e.g.

mus^2 *cause to eat* $must^2$ *be eaten*

$zurs^4$ *cause to steal* $zurst^4$ *be stolen*

Causative stems with final -š on tone 3 do not add -t but their tone drops to tone 1 or tone 2, e.g.

$b^ya\grave{š}^3$ *cause to forget* $b^ya\grave{š}^1$ *be forgotten*

Other verbs with final -s retain their tone but -s becomes -st, e.g.

$sa\grave{š}^4$ *cause to bite* $sast^4$ *be bitten*

In addition, the following tone changes may occur:

Tone 2 may change to tone 1, e.g.

dos^2 *cause to dig* $dost^1$ *be dug*

Tone 3 often changes to tone 2, e.g.

ors^3 *cause to peel* $orst^2$ *be peeled*

Sub-Class B(ii)

Sub-class B(ii) verbs change to tone 1 and add -k to the causative in those forms that use the past stem. The singular imperative passive and passive forms using the future stem are recognised by the tone change alone. There are no tone 1 verbs in this group, e.g.

$ke\text{?}^3$ *cry out* $keys^4$ *cause to cry out* $keys(k)^1$ *be cried out*

Sub-class C

Sub-class C verbs form their causative with $-as^3$ but they form their

passive according to Sub-class B rules, e.g.

wos^3 *send* wo^4sas^3 *cause to send* $wos(k)^2$ *be sent*

Sub-class D

Sub-class D verbs form their causative according to Sub-class B rules

but they form their passive with $-a^3sn^3$, e.g.

not^1 *look at* $nos̆^1$ *cause to look at* $no^1ta^3sn^3$ *be looked at*

Sub-class E

Sub-class E verbs have an intransitive form which is considered as the

basic form, and in addition have a transitive form which adds a voiceless

fricative as well as a causative form which adds $-as^3$ to the transitive

form. There is no passive form.

$kart^1$ *return* $kars^1$ *answer* kar^1sas^3 *cause to answer*

$?^yard^4$ *enter* $?^yars^4$ *marry* $?^yar^4sas^3$ *cause to marry*

Sub-class F

Sub-class F consists of a few verbs which do not have a one-syllable

active form. The basic form has a causative suffix $-as^3$, though it does

not always have a causative meaning. Some have a passive form in addition,

which is formed in the regular way, e.g.

goy^4gas^3 *decorate* $goy^4ga^3sn^3$ *be decorated*

kus^5kas^3 *drizzle*

§2.8.1.2. CLASS 2:

Class 2 verbs have at least two forms of stem, one with an intransitive

or passive meaning and one with a transitive or causative meaning. The

former has a final syllable $-N^3$ and the latter replaces $-N^3$ with the

causative suffix $-as^3$. Verbs with an intransitive meaning may also form

a passive by adding $-N^3$ to the transitive form. There is no single-syllable

form. The $-N^3$ form is considered as the basic form, which appears in word lists. The stem retains the same form for all tenses.

$$\text{har}^3\text{č'n}^3 \quad \textit{tear (intr)} \quad \text{har}^4\text{č'as}^3 \quad \textit{tear (tr)}$$

$$\text{har}^4\text{č'a}^3\text{sn}^3 \cdot \textit{be torn}$$

Sometimes a double causative can be formed by adding a second $-as^3$ on to the transitive form, e.g.

$$\text{paš}^3\text{kn}^3 \quad \textit{split (intr)} \quad \text{paš}^4\text{kas}^3 \quad \textit{split (tr)}$$

$$\text{paš}^4\text{ka}^3\text{sas}^3 \quad \textit{cause to split}$$

When the causative suffix $-as^3$ replaces $-N^3$:

- a first syllable on tone 3 will change to tone 4, e.g.

$$\text{ga}^3\text{šn}^3 \quad \textit{be helped} \quad \text{ga}^4\text{šas}^3 \quad \textit{help}$$

- when -r or-l precede the nasal, -a of the suffix $-as^3$

   is dropped, e.g.

$$\text{ši}^3\text{ta}^3\text{ln}^3 \quad \textit{be strained} \quad \text{ši}^4\text{tals}^3 \quad \textit{strain}$$

§2.8.1.3. CLASS 3:

Class 3 verbs are compounded with mak^2 *say* or mas^2 *cause to say* (in a similar way to Amharic compound verbs with alä). While the first element does not change, mak^2 or mas^2 are conjugated as a normal Class 1 sub-class B(i) verb, e.g.

$$\text{k}^y\text{am}^{2-3} \text{ mak}^2 \quad \textit{be quick}$$

$$\text{dak'}^1 \text{ mas}^2 \quad \textit{wait a little}$$

§2.8.2. VERBAL NOUNS:

Most verbs of Class 1 have a noun form which is segmentally the same as the basic verb stem but which may have a different tone.

Verbs on tone 1, tone 2, tone 2-3 and tone 5 usually retain the same tone; but there are some exceptions.

Verbs on tone 3 and tone 4 often change to tone 1 for the noun form, but some on tone 3 retain tone 3, and some change to tone 2 or tone 4. Verbs

on tone 4 may change to tone 2, tone 3 or tone 2-3, but never seem to retain tone 4, e.g.

gošᶓ^3	*weed (v)*	gošᶓ^2	*weed (n)*
zuk^3	*steal*	zuk^4	*thief*
kurs^3	*choose*	kurs^1	*choice*
kit^4	*advise*	kit^1	*advice*

Some verbs with final -r add -t for the noun form, e.g.

k^{y}ar^4	*be bitter*	k^{y}art$^{2-3}$	*bitterness*
er^3	*know*	ert^2	*knowledge*

Some verbs with final -l or -ʔ replace -l or -ʔ with -ynt, e.g.

t'ol^1	*jump*	t'oynt$^{2-3}$	*jumping*
paʔ^4	*be heavy*	paynt$^{2-3}$	*weight*

Most Class 2 verbs have a noun form which is the same as the basic verb stem without the final -N^3 syllable.

kašᶳ^{3}n^3	*breathe*	kašᶳ^3	*breath*
bašᶳ^{2}tn^3	*quarrel (v.)*	bašᶳt^2	*quarrel (n.)*

§2.8.3. PARTICIPLES:

There are four forms of the participle in Gimira:

1.

The <u>past participle</u> indicates a completed action and is formed from the past stem of the verb, e.g.

ham^3	*go*	han^{3}k'i^5	*he having gone*
gaz^1	*take out*	ga^{1}za^4	*she having taken out*

2.

The <u>present perfect participle</u> indicates a completed action the result of which is continuous. It is formed from the past stem of the verb and a present perfect suffix which has three different forms:

-Ns^4-	-ng^4-	-ank'^{4}-

e.g.   er^3 *know*   e^{3}rn^{4}so^4 *we (exc) having learned*

$\check{s}er^4$ *be frightened* $\check{s}er^4k'n^4ga^4$ *she having become frightened*

sur^2 *sleep* $sur^2k'an^4k'i^5$ *he having fallen asleep*

3.

The <u>imperfect participle</u> indicates continuous action˙and is formed from the future stem and the stative suffix $-ag^3-$, e.g.

ham^3 *go* $ha^4ma^3gi^5$ *he going*

ik'^1 *grow* $i^1k'a^3ga^4$ *she growing*

These three participles take one of the following person/number markers when the following verb has the same subject:

$-i^5$ for 1st Pl. inc., 2nd and 3rd Pl., 3rd m. Sg.

$-a^4$ for 1st Pl. exc., 1st and 2nd Sg., 3rd f. Sg. and Ref.

$-o^4$ is an alternative marker for 1st Pl. exc.

When the following verb has a different subject, $-N^3$ is added instead of a person/number marker. The past participle does not take $-N^3$ but the imperfect form without $-ag^3-$ usually has a past participle meaning when $-N^3$ is added, e.g.

ham^4m^3 *he having gone*

$ta^4 gam^4sn^4sn^3$ *it having made me tired, (I.......)*

1   *tire-Pf-PtDS*

For special focus on the subject change, the emphatic form of the subject pronoun may be affixed before the different subject marker is added, e.g.

$ta^{\cdot4}$ $\check{s}er^4\check{s}ns^4\underline{yi^1sn}^3$ $k'a^4yan^4k'a^4$ ta^3 $yis^4ku^2e^3$

1   *frighten-Pf-3-PtDS tire-Pf- 1*   1   *be-1-Fin*

<u>It</u> having frightened me, <u>I</u> became tired

$hayt'^3(t)a(n)^1n^3$ $wo\check{s}'^3i^5$

tell-1-PtDS   *run-3m*

<u>I</u> having told, <u>he</u> running ...

4.

The <u>negative participle</u> is formed from the future stem, the negative suffix

$-arg^4-$ and $-u^2$ or one of the participle person/number markers, e.g.

$$ha^4mar^4gu^2 \text{ or } ha^4mar^4gi^5 \quad \textit{not/without having gone}$$

A participle alone may constitute a verb phrase or it may be used in

conjunction with suffixes or auxiliary verbs to indicate various tenses.

§2.8.4. SIMPLE TENSES:

The simple indicative verb has the following structure:

V = V root (Tense) (Neg) (Foc.Pn) Person/number Mk (Fin V Mk)

There are three simple tenses:

The <u>simple past</u> tense: In the affirmative this is formed from the past

stem, e.g.

$$ham^3 \qquad go \qquad han^3k'u^2e^3 \qquad\qquad \textit{He went}$$

The <u>future</u> tense is formed from the future stem and the future marker $-Ns^{\underline{3}}$

e.g.

$$ham^4m^3su^2e^3 \quad \textit{He will go} \qquad cf. ham^3 \qquad\qquad go$$

When the future marker is added to the basic form of Class 2 verbs,

the syllabic $-N^3$ is elided and the tone of the marker is raised to tone

4, e.g.

$$ga^3\mathrm{\check{s}}n^3 \quad \textit{be helped} \qquad ga^3\mathrm{\check{s}}n^4su^2e^3 \quad \textit{He will be helped}$$
$$(ga^3\mathrm{\check{s}}n^3 + -ns^3 + -u^2e^3 = ga^3\mathrm{\check{s}}n^4su^2e^3)$$
$$\quad\downarrow \qquad\quad \downarrow$$
$$\quad \phi \qquad -ns^4$$

The <u>present perfect</u> tense is formed from the present participle stem,

e.g.

$$ye^3\mathrm{\check{s}}an^4k'en^2de^3 \qquad \textit{They have prepared}$$
$$han^3k'n^4su^2e^3 \qquad\qquad \textit{He has gone}$$

For verbs whose future and past stems are identical, the only difference

between the future and one of the present perfect forms is the tone on $-Ns-$,

e.g.

$$ta^3 \; \check{s}un^3\underline{n}^3su^2e^3 \qquad \text{\textit{I will love}}$$

$$ta \; \check{s}un^3\underline{n}^4su^2e^3 \qquad \text{\textit{I have loved}}$$

For the negative, the future stem is used and the negative marker $-arg^4-$ is affixed before the pronoun or person/number marker. The present perfect has no distinct negative form.

$$ha^4\underline{mar}^4gu^2e^3 \qquad \text{\textit{He did not go}}$$

$$ham^4m^3\underline{sar}^4gu^2e^3 \qquad \text{\textit{He will not go}}$$

When the negative marker is added to the basic form of class 2 verbs, the nasal becomes part of the following tone 4 syllable, e.g.

$$ga\check{s}^3\underline{nar}^4gu^2e^3 \qquad \text{\textit{He was not helped}}$$

When the focus of a clause is on the verb rather than on the subject, the emphatic form of the subject pronoun is affixed before the person/ number marker instead of an independent pronoun form occurring immediately prior to the verb. $-g$ of preceding negative marker is dropped except before $yint^2$ *you (polite/plural)*. In this case, it is the $-y$ that is dropped e.g.

$$hank'^3\underline{ta}^1nu^2e^3 \qquad \text{\textit{I went}}$$

$$ham^4m^3sar^4\underline{ta}^1\underline{nu}^2e^3 \qquad \text{\textit{I will go}}$$

$$ham^4m^3sar^3\underline{gin}^2tu^2e^3 \qquad \text{\textit{You (pol. or pl) will go}}$$

§2.8.5. PERSON/NUMBER MARKERS:

The person/number markers added to the indicative verbs are related to the determiner which is added to nouns.

$-en^2$ indicates 3rd f. Sg.

$-end^2$ indicates 2nd and 3rd Pl.

$-u^2$ is used elsewhere

The finite verb marker $-e^3$ may be affixed after the person/number marker. This marker seems to be obligatory on the final verb of a discourse section but optional elsewhere.

The full conjugation of the simple past tense is as follows:

1s	$ta^3\ han^3k'u^2e^3$
2s	$ne^3\ han^3k'u^2e^3$
3s.m	$yi^3\ han^3k'e^2e^3$
3s.f	$wu^3\ han^3k'e^2ne^3$
3s.m/3s.f/3pl(Ref)	$ba^3\ han^3k'u^2e^3$
1pl	$ni^3\ /nu^3\ han^3k'u^2e^3$
2pol	$yint^2\ han^3k'u^2e^3$
2pl	$yin^2tayk'^1ni^3\ han^3k'en^2de^3$
3s.m.pol/3pl	$is^5/i^5sayk'^1ni^3\ han^3k'en^2de^3$

§2.8.6. COMPOUND TENSES:

§2.8.6.1. COMPOUND TENSES WITH $yist^3$ *be* as auxiliary verb:

The imperfect aspect is indicated by the use of the verb $yist^3$

meaning *be (in a place), live*. This verb has three stems but these have

slightly different functions from the usual.

$yist^3$ is the basic singular imperative form, but it is also used

to indicate past time, e.g. $yis^3tu^2e^3$ *he was*

$yisk^4$- is used to indicate present time, e.g. $yis^4ku^2e^3$ *he is*

$yist^4$- has the normal future stem functions.

The following tenses are compounds of participles and $yist^3$, both

parts of which are marked for person and number:

Present Continuous:

    Past participle + $yisk^4$-

e.g. $yi^1si^3\ han^3k'i^5\ yis^4ku^2e^3$ *he is going*

The negative has the same form as the simple past negative.

Past Continuous:

    Past participle + $yist^3$-

   $wu^1sa^3\ han^3k'a^4yis^3ten^2e^3$ *she was going*

Negative: $wu^1sa^3\ han^3k'a^4\ yis^4tar^4ge^2ne^3$ *she was not going*

In fast speech, the two parts of these tenses become one word and the participle suffix and y- of yïst or yisk- are elided. However, the tone of the participle suffix is retained for the -ist-/-isk- syllable, e.g.

e.g. wu^1sa^3 $han^3\underline{k'is}^4ku^2e^3$ *she is going*

e.g. yi^1si^3 $han^3\underline{k'is}^5ku^2e^3$ *he is going*

Future Continuous:

> Past participle + yis^4tns^{-3}

e.g. yi^1si^3 $han^3k'i^5$ $yis^4tn^3su^2e^3$ *he will be going*

The negative has the same form as the simple future negative.

Pluperfect:

> Present perfect participle + $yist^3$-

e.g. ta^1na^3 $han^3k'n^4sa^4$ $yis^3tu^2e^3$ *I had gone*

Negative: Negative participle + $yist^3$-

e.g. ta^1na^3 $ha^4mar^4gu^3$ $yis^3tu^2e^3$ *I had not gone*

Compound Present Perfect:

> Present perfect participle + $yisk^4$-

e.g. ta^3 $u^1t'n^4sa^4$ $yis^4ku^2e^3$ *I have taken hold of*

The negative has the same form as the simple past negative. Semantically, this tense appears to be identical with the simple present perfect.

Compound Participles:

The past participle of $yist^3$ can follow any of the participles except the imperfect to indicate continous action. Where there is a following subject change, the $-N^3$ is added to the auxiliary verb participle e.g.

> $han^3k'i^5$ yis^3ti^5 *being on the way going*
>
> $sur^2k'n^4si^5$ yis^4tn^3 *he being asleep*
>
> $yaps^{2-3}tar^4gu^2$ yis^3ti^5 *without being seen*

§2.8.6.2. COMPOUNDS WITH THE AUXILIARY VERB $\check{s}id^3$ *remain*:

An alternative way of expressing the negative, is by the use of the verb $\check{s}id^3$ *remain* together with the negative participle, e.g.

> $ha^4mar^4gu^2$ $\check{s}i^3du^2e^3$ *he did not go*
>
> (lit. *"he remained without going"*)

§2.8.6.3. COMPOUNDS WITH THE AUXILIARY VERB $peš^1$ *spend time:*

The past participle plus the verb $peš^1$ *spend time* indicates durative,

$ta^3 ko^1ya^4 peš^1ku^2e^3$ *I spent time searching, I continued to search*

§2.8.7. THE PAST NARRATIVE TENSE:

In narrative text, a special form of the verb has been found replacing

the usual simple past in the middle of a discourse. It has the same form

for all persons: viz. Past root + $-a^4$ e.g. $han^3k'a^4$ *he went*

This may represent a special use of the coordinate marker. (See section §3.1.6.)

§2.8.8. INTERROGATIVE VERB FORMS:

A distinction is made in Gimira between the forms of verbs used in

polar questions and the forms used in content questions.

§2.8.8.1. POLAR QUESTION FORMS:

The polar interrogative person/number markers are as follows:

	Sg		Pl
1st	$-da^1$	exc.	$-nu^1$
		inc.	$-ni^1$
2nd	$-ne^1$		$-de^1$
3rd m.	$-se^1$ or $-ge^1$		$-so^1$ or go^1
f.	$-sa^1$ or $-ga^1$		

Note that there are two forms of each of the 3rd person markers.

The past polar interrogative is formed from the past stem, a polar

interrogative suffix $-a^4-$ and a person/number marker. Third person

uses the $-s-$ form e.g.

$han^3k'a^4so^1$?

did they go?

$han^3k'a^4ne^1$?

Did you (sg) go?

The <u>future polar interrogative</u> is formed from the future stem the future polar interrogative suffix $-N^4-$ and a person/number marker. Third person uses the $-g-$ form, e.g.

$$ham^4m^4go^1?$$

Will they go?

$$ham^4m^4da^1?$$

Will I go?

The <u>present</u> and <u>past continuous polar interrogative</u> are formed from the past participle and $yist^3$.

The <u>present continuous</u> has a suffix $-a^3-$ and a person/number marker. Third person uses the $-g-$ form, e.g.

$$wu^1sa^3 \ han^3k'a^4 \ yis^3ta^3ga^1?$$

Is she going?

$$ni^1ni^3 \ han^3k'i^5 \ yis^3ta^3ni^1?$$

Are we (inc) going?

The 2nd and 3rd person masculine singular have the following common shortened forms:

$$ne^3 \ han^3k'is^4ten^1?$$

Are you going?

$$yi^3 \ han^3k'is^5te^1?$$

Is he going?

The <u>past continuous</u> has a suffix $-a^4-$ and a person/number marker. Third person uses the $-s-$ form, e.g.

$$yi^1si^3 \ han^3k'i^5 \ yis^3ta^4se^1?$$

Was he going?

$$nu^1na^3 \ han^3k'a^4 \ yis^3ta^4nu^1?$$

Were we (exc) going?

The <u>negative</u> of the <u>past polar interrogative</u> is formed from the negative stem, a suffix $-a^3-$ and a person/number marker. Third person uses the

-g- form. -g- of the negative suffix is dropped, e.g.

ta^3 $be^4k'a^4ra^3da^1$?

Did I not see?

wu^3 $be^4k'a^4ra^3ga^1$?

Did she not see?

The <u>negative</u> of the <u>future polar interrogative</u> is formed from the future stem and the future polar interrogative form of the verb $\check{s}id^3$ *remain*. Between the two parts of the verb a transition vowel $[\imath]$ or $[a]$ on tone 3 occurs.

yin^2ti^3 $ha^4m[^{a3}]\check{s}i^4dn^4de^1$?

Will you (pol) not go?

$i^5\check{s}ayk'^1ni^3$ $ha^4m[^{\imath3}]\check{s}i^4dn^4go^1$?

Will they not go?

The <u>negative</u> of the <u>compound tenses</u> is formed by replacing the past participle with the negative participle.

yi^1si^3 $ha^4mar^4gu^2$ $yis^3ta^3ge^1$?

Is he not going?

ne^1na^3 $ha^4mar^4gu^2$ $yis^3ta^4ne^1$?

Were you not going?

§2.8.8.2. CONTENT QUESTION FORMS:

The content interrogative person/number markers are as follows:

$-a^4o^2$ for 1st Pl. exc., 1st and 2nd Sg., 3rd f, Sg and ref.

$-e^5o^2$ for 1st Pl. inc., 2nd and 3rd Pl., 3rd m. Sg.

$-o^2$ is often dropped in fast speech.

The <u>past content interrogative</u> is formed from the past stem, a suffix $-ad^3-$ and a person/number marker, e.g.

ne^1na^3 $har^{2-3}k'an^4$ $han^3k'a^3da^4(o^2)$?

Where did you go?

yi^1si^3 $har^{2-3}k'an^4$ $han^3k'a^3de^5(o^2)$?

Where did he go?

The <u>future content interrogative</u> is formed from the future stem and
a person/number marker, e.g.

yi^1si^3 $har^{2-3}k'an^4$ $ham^4m^3se^5o^2$?

Where will he go?

The <u>present continous content interrogative</u> is formed from the past
participle and $yist^3$ + a person/number marker, e.g.

ne^1na^3 $har^{2-3}k'an^4$ $han^3k'a^4$ $yis^3ta^4o^2$

Where are you going?

This is usually shortened to $han^3k'is^4ta^4o^2$? Other forms with auxiliary
verbs have not been found.

For added emphasis, the stative suffix $-ag^3-$ may be added before
the person/number marker, e.g.

yi^1si^3 $har^{2-3}k'an^4$ $ham^4m^3sa^3ge^5o^2$?

Where is it that he will go?

ne^1na^3 $har^{2-3}k'an^4$ $han^3k'is^4ta^3ga^4o^2$?

Where is it that you are going?

§2.8.9. IMPERATIVE AND JUSSIVE:

§2.8.9.1. IMPERATIVES:

The singular imperative is the basic verb form. It has an optional
suffix $-o^3$, e.g.

ham^3 or ha^3mo^3 *go (Sg)!*

The plural imperative is formed from the future stem and the suffix $-Nd^3$
or $-N^3de^2$, e.g.

ham^4md^3 or $ham^4m^3de^2$ *go (Pl)!*

§2.8.9.2. JUSSIVES:

The jussive has two alternative forms:

- the future stem $+$ $-e^2$

- the singular imperative stem $+$ mak^2

Neither form has person/number distinctions, e.g.

$$yi^3\ ha^4me^2\quad or\quad yi^3\ ham^3mak^2\quad \textit{Let him go!}$$
$$ta^3\ ha^4me^2\quad or\quad ta^3\ ham^4mak^2\quad \textit{Let me go!}$$

§2.8.9.3. NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES AND JUSSIVES:

Negative imperatives and jussives are formed from the future stem and the imperative or jussive form of the verb $\check{s}id^3$ *remain*, e.g.

$$ha^4m[^{a3}]\check{s}i^3do^3\qquad \textit{Don't go (Sg)!}$$
$$ha^4m[^{\imath 3}]\check{s}i^4dn^3de^2\qquad \textit{Don't go (Pl)!}$$
$$yi^3\ ha^4m[^{\imath 3}]\check{s}id^3mak^2\qquad \textit{Let him not go!}$$
$$ta^3\ ha^4m[^{a3}]\check{s}i^4de^2\qquad \textit{Let me not go!}$$

§2.8.10. INFINITIVES:

The infinitive is formed from the future stem, the infinitive marker $-N^4-$ and a participle person/number marker.

$$got^1n^4i^5\qquad \textit{to buy}$$
$$got^1n^4a^4\qquad \textit{to buy}$$

The negative infinitive is formed from the future stem and the infinitive form of the verb $\check{s}id^3$.

$$go^1t[^{a3}]\check{s}i^4dn^4i^5\qquad \textit{not to buy}$$
$$go^1t[^{\imath 3}]\check{s}i^4dn^4a^4\qquad \textit{not to buy}$$

§2.8.11. OTHER VERB FORMS:

Some other verb forms which are occasionally used have been found but more research is needed to establish their exact functions.

One interesting form uses the past participle followed by $bo^2ka^4\ a^2$

to express certainty, e.g.

$$ba^1ʔa^4 \ bo^2ka^4a^2$$

She was surely lost

(Note: $bo^2ka^4(a^2)$ is the past narrative form of the verb bok^2
throw + $-a^2$ indicating focus.)

§2.9. POSTPOSITIONS:

Most postpositions are formed from a noun and an adverbial/case marker.

deb^1	*head*	de^1bm^5	*on*
$šiš^1$	*side*	$ši^1šam^4$	*at the side of*
dad^1	*side*	da^1dn^3	*at the side of*
to^4	*top*	to^4n^5	*over*
$geš^4$	*back*	$ge^4šn^5$	*after, behind*
ya^2par^3	*foot-print*	$ya^2pa^3rn^3$	*after, behind*
ap^1	*face*	a^2pm^5	*before, in front of*
		$a^2par^3n^3$	*before, in front of*

Some examples are:

$$ba^4 \quad par^3 \ \underline{de^1bm^5} \ wo^2gn^4si^5$$

3RefPos horse on   sit-Pf-3+3

sitting on their horses

$$dod^3 \ \underline{to^4n^5} \ yis^4kuš^2 \ aš^3$$

world over   be-Det   man

all the people of the world

$$wu^5 \ \underline{ya^2pa^3rn^3} \ han^3k'i^5 \ yis^4tn^3 \ be^3k'e^2ne^3$$

3f after   go-3m   be-PtDS see-3f-Fin

She saw him going after her

§ 3.   SYNTAX:

§ 3.1. THE NOUN PHRASE:

§ 3.1.1. NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE:

The normal structure of the noun phrase can be represented by the following formula:

NP = (Modifier$_1$) Head (Modifier$_2$) (Determiner) (Case) (Quantifier)

Modifier$_1$ can be a possessive pronoun, a numeral, an adjective or a relative clause. The head is usually a noun or a pronoun but it may also be an adjective or a determiner. Modifier$_2$ can be a numeral, an adjective or a relative clause. When the head is a pronoun, the only optional element to occur is the case marker.

Examples:-   wu^5 ša^{3}p'i^3 kang^5

3fPos pot-S   all

all her pots

ga^{4}ča^2 zo^{3}k'a^2 u^{2}šis^3

teff-NPMk red-NPMk Det-0

that red teff

n^{y}a^{3}ʔa^2 bo^{1}dam^4 han^{3}k'i^5 yis^{4}ku^{2}ši^3

child-NPMk road-Abl go-3m   be-Det-S

the child who is going along the road

ta^{4}is^3

me

sa^{2}pm^3 bi^{3}ri^{3}a^{4}nan^4 i^{5}kit^4

six   birr-only   only

only six birr

No more than two optional elements other than the case marker have been found following the noun, except where the adjective is repeated to emphasise plurality, e.g.

$$so^3 ʔa^2 \quad yanš'^2 \; yan^2 š'i^3 \; k'al^3$$

water-NPMk small   small-S   plenty

plenty of small streams

§3.1.2. THE CASE SYSTEM:

Case is marked by suffixes added to the final element of the noun phrase or penultimate element when a final quantifier is present. The case suffixes and their functions are as follows:

Nominative   Subject $-i^3$ for 3rd m. Sg., 1st Pl. inc.,

    2nd and 3rd Pl.

    $-a^3$ for 3rd f. Sg. and Ref, 1st

    and 2nd Sg. and 1st Pl. exc.

Accusative   Object $-is^3$

Genitive   Possession $-a^3ga^2$

Dative/Benefactive   *to/for* $-e^2šn^3$ / $-N^{3*}$

Locative   *in/on/to/* $-N^5$ / $-k'an^4 \sim -kan^4$

    from   ($-kan^4$ follows voiceless con-

    sonants; $-k'an^4$ follows voiced

    consonants and vowels.)

Ablative   *with/by/during* $-am^4$

*When added to nouns with a final vowel $-N^3$ is realised as $[n]$, but when added to most of the CV pronouns it is realised as $[m]$. In 3rd person singular, however, $-s$ is added to yi^5 and wu^5 before the nasal is added, e.g.

$$ta^4m^3 \qquad \textit{to me}$$
$$yi^5sn^3 \qquad \textit{to him}$$

When the head of the noun phrase is a noun, nominative and accusative suffixes are obligatory when the noun is specific and optional when the

noun is not specific. When the head of the phrase is a pronoun, however, the subject almost always bears the nominative suffix, whereas the object only bears the accusative suffix when it is especially prominent in the sentence. The genitive suffix is optional whether the head is a noun or a pronoun. In all the other cases the suffix is obligatory. Regarding pronouns, apart from the nominative, it is the basic form of the pronoun to which the case markers are affixed. Some examples are:

Nominative: $z^ya^2p'a^2$ $e^2\underline{na}^3$

heifer-NPMk Det-S

that heifer

Accusative yi^5 $d^yan^4ta^2$ $e^2\underline{nis}^3$

3mPos cow-NPMk Det-O

that cow of his

Genitive na^4sa^2 $u^2\underline{\check{s}a}^3ga^2$ ga^1his^3

man-NPMk Det-Gen talk-O

the man's talk

Dat/Ben na^4sa^2 $u^2\check{s}i^3$ dor^3 $yi^5\underline{sn}^3$ $yis^4ku^2e^3$

man-NPMk Det-S sheep 3m-Ben be-3m-Fin

the man has a sheep

$i^5\check{s}ayk'^1\underline{ne}^2\check{s}n^3$ $u^4\check{s}u^2e^3$

they -Dat give-3m-Fin

He gave it to them

Locative $d^yan^4ta^3ga^2$ $to\dot{P}^1\underline{k'an}^4$

cow-Gen leg-Loc

between the cow's legs

ba^4 ket^4 $me^2\underline{gn}^5$

3RefPos house door-Loc

in the house's doorway

Ablative du^4mars^3 $bo^1\underline{dam}^4$

by another way

§3.1.3. THE NOUN PHRASE MARKER:

In a noun phrase, any element other than a pronoun which precedes the element bearing the case suffix bears the marker $-a^2$; see the above examples. This marker, however, does not occur in a phrase where the head is a non-specific noun, neither is it added to a relative clause which precedes the head it modifies. In fast speech, it may be elided before the determiner.

cf. $a^3\underline{\check{s}a}^2$ ke^4tn^5 $yis^4ku\check{s}^2$

       ke^4tn^5 $yis^4ku\check{s}^2$ $a\check{s}^3$

       house-Loc be-Det   man   *the man who is in the house*

Where two nouns are in apposition, the first one bears the NP marker and the second bears the case suffix, e.g.

    ta^4 $do^3\underline{ra}^2$ $Bo^5k'a^3\underline{sa}^3$ *my sheep, Bokas*

    1 Pos   sheep-NPMK   Bokas-S

    $na^4\underline{sa}^2$ da^3wu^4 $ba^3u^2\underline{sis}^3$ *that old antelope*

    man-NPMK antelope old-Det-O

§3.1.4. FOCUS WITHIN THE NOUN PHRASE:

When a previously referred to head of a noun phrase has special prominence in the sentence, an appropriate form of the pronoun may occur following the determiner, or, in some cases, instead of it. This seems to act as a suffix rather than as a separate word, because the marker $-a^2$ never precedes it and the initial consonant of the pronoun is often elided.

The most frequent use of this construction is in a noun phrase functioning as subject, where the third person masculine or feminine emphatic subject pronoun yis^1 or wus^1 is the suffix, e.g.

k^yan^{3}n^{3}di^3... yis^{3}ten^{2}de^3. k^yan^{3}nd^3(y)i^{1}sind^5...ye^{3}ʔen^{2}de^3

dog-Pl-S   be-3+3-Fin   dog-Pl-3m-S-Con   come-3+3-Fi

There were ... dogs. These dogs ... came

e^{3}sn^5 wus^1<u>wu^{1}sa</u>^{3} pe^{4}tn^{3}se^{2}ne^3

Then   3f-3f - S   become-Fut-3f-Fin

Then it must be her

Less frequently, the oblique case pronoun may be added to an object or to a noun bearing a possessive suffix, e.g.

a^{4}s̆in^4<u>(w)u</u>^{5}a^{3}ga^2 be$^{2-3}$si^3 <u>*that*</u> *woman's husband*

woman-3f - Gen   husband-S

nas^4<u>(y)i</u>^{5} č'ad^{4}ba^{1}ne^3 *Let me bite that man*

man-3m   bite-3Ref-Jus

To bring a change of subject into focus, nas^4 for masculine and —nin^4 for feminine may be added to the subject noun or pronoun, e.g.

ta^1 ta^{4}m^3 e^{3}rar^{4}guš^2 uš'^{4}<u>ni^{4}na</u>^{3}

1   1-Ben know-Neg-Det   rat-Foc-S

Without my knowing it, a rat...

wu^1 yi^{5}k'an^4 s̆o^{3}ʔa^4 s̆i^{3}da^4. Tan^1<u>na^{4}sa</u>^{3}... ma^{2}ka^4

3f   3m-Loc.   bear-3f   remain-Nar   1-Foc-S   say-1

§3.1.5. OTHER SUFFIXES THAT MAY BE ADDED TO THE NOUN PHRASE:

The following suffixes may replace the nominative or the accusative case marker or may be added to the locative or ablative suffix:

-an^4 or -a^{4}nan^4 meaning *only*

-a^{3}gon^3 meaning *even*

wo^{3}t'n^3 or wo^{3}sn^3 meaning *like, as*

Examples: bam^{1}k'a^4<u>na^{3}gon</u>^{3} ʔ^{y}ar^{4}da^{4}sn^3

hole-Loc -even   enter-N.Cond

even if it entered the hole

ta^4 nor^{2}gn^{3}a^4<u>nan</u>^{4} ta^{4}m^3 uš^4

1Pos butter-only   1-Dat give

Only give me my butter

yi^5<u>wo</u>^{3}t'n^3 yis^{4}ku^{2}e^3

3m-like   be-3m-Fin

He is like him

§3.1.6. CO-ORDINATION OF NOUN PHRASES:

There are two types of co-ordinate noun phrase:

1.

Where the heads of the noun phrases have equal status, the coordinate marker -a^4 replaces the case marker on each of them and where the phrase is subject, the following verb will have the plural form. Up to three phrases may be linked in this may, e.g.

ba^4 in^3<u>ga</u>^{4} ba^4 zo^3<u>sa</u>^{4} kang^5 ye^{3}ʔen^{2}de^3

3Ref friend-Co   3Ref-neighbour-Co all   come-3+3-Fin

All his friends and neighbours came

šo^1<u>ba</u>^{4} yan^{1}ga^3<u>ra</u>^{4} du^{4}mars^3 du^{4}mar^{3}sa^{3}ga^2 š'o^{4}t'<u>a</u>^{4} m^{5}ʔar^{4}gi^5 yis^{4}tn^3

pig-Co fox-Co   other   other-Gen   animal-Co eat-Neg-3+3 be-PtDS

(so that) pigs, foxes and other kinds of animals will not eat ...

2.

Where the head of the first phrase of a co-ordinate noun phrase is in an accompanying role to the second, the co-ordinate marker replaces the case marker on each, but the verb following will be governed by the subject of the second phrase only. In this case, at least one of the phrases, usually the second,is a pronoun. Third person in this slot is always the reflexive pronoun, e.g.

šet^{3}n^{y}a^{3}ʔa^2 na^{4}ma^{3}sn^{3}den^2<u>da</u>^{4} ba^1<u>na</u>^{4} denš^{1}na^4 peš^{1}ka^4

boy-NPMK   two- Pl-Det-Co   3Ref-Co   struggle-3f spend time-3f

She with the two boys struggling ...

nan^{2}ša^2 Go^{3}da^{1}ba^4 ta^{1}na^4 han^{3}k'u^{2}e^3

boy-NPMk Godab-Co   1-Co   go-1-Fin

I went with the boy, Godab

§3.1.7. EMBEDDED NOUN PHRASES:

A noun phrase may be embedded within a noun phrase to indicate possession. The genitive marker is optional, e.g.

ba^4 ket^4 gob^4 *the inside of her house*

ta^4 in^{3}gu^{2}ša^{3}ga^2 d^{y}an^{4}tis^3 *my friend's cow*

1Pos friend-Det-Gen cow-0

An ablative noun phrase may be embedded within a noun phrase to give the meaning *those with,* e.g.

nu^4 ba$^{2-3}$ya^{4}men^{2}di^3 *those together with our mother*

1+1Pos mother-Abl-Det-S

may^{1}na^{4}mu^{2}ši^3 *the one who has a wife*

woman-Abl-Det-S

A locative noun phrase may be embedded within a noun phrase to give the meaning *which is to* or *which is from*, e.g.

Go^{4}liš^5 ga^{3}bm^5 bod^1 *the road to Golish market*

Golish   market-Loc   road

Benč^4 do^{3}dn^5 mayn^1 *a woman from Bench country*

Bench   country-Loc woman

A noun phrase may be reduplicated to indicate the distributive. The possessive pronoun may or may not be repeated, e.g.

ba^4 mayt^2 mayt^2 e^{3}ti^5 *each taking his spear*

3RefPos spear   spear   take-3+3

ba^4 dink^4 ba^4 dink^4 pe^{4}ln^{3}sen^{2}de^3

3RefPos trumpet   blow-Fut-3+3-Fin

They will each blow their trumpet!

§3.2. THE VOCATIVE PHRASE:

A vocative phrase obligatorily consists of a noun preceded by the vocative pronoun, wo^1 for masculine and ha^1 for feminine. The vocative suffixes, $-o^3$ for masculine and $-e^3$ for feminine may optionally be added to the noun, e.g.

$\underline{ha}^1$ Boǯ^5 *You, Boch!*

$\underline{ha}^1$ Bo^{5}ǯ'$\underline{e}^3$ *You, Boch!--*

$\underline{wo}^1$ a^{3}ŝn^{3}d$\underline{o}^3$ *You, men!*

§3.3. THE VERB PHRASE:

The verb phrase structure can be shown by the following fomula:

VP = (S.Pn) (O.Pn) V (S.Pn) (Aux V)

V can be a main verb, a subordinate verb or a participle. S.Pn is the reduced form of the subject pronoun which has been included in the verb phrase for two reasons; firstly because it can occur in addition to a normal subject pronoun and secondly because in a phrase containing an auxiliary verb, it can occur either before the main verb or between the main verb and the auxiliary verb, e.g.

ta^{1}na^3 ... ta^3 ni^4 $\overline{\text{hay}}^3$t'n^{3}su^{2}e^3

1-S   1   2   tell-Fut-1-Fin

I will tell you

ni^4 hay^{3}t'a^4 ta^3 yis^{3}tu^{2}e^3

2   tell-1   1   be-1-Fin

I was telling you

§3.4. THE CLAUSE:

§3.4.1. CLAUSE STRUCTURE:

Basic clause structure is:

NP_s Complement VP

NP_s and complement are optional.

Locative phrases generally precede accusative phrases whereas ablative and dative/benefactive phrases generally follow the accusative.

The complement never seems to consist of more than two phrases, e.g.

yi^1si^3 muz^3 go^1tu e^3

3m-S   *bananas buy-3m-Fin*

He bought bananas

na^4si^3 ta^4 $ku^1čn^5$ sa^2pm^3 bi^3ri^3 $bo^2ku^2e^3$

man-S   *1Pos*   *hand-Loc six*   *birr*   *put-3m-Fin*

The man put six birr into my hand

ta^4 $ba^{2-3}ya^3$ ba^4 mu^3zis^3 $kan^{2-3}tam^4$ $t'e^2p'a^4$

1Pos mother-S 3Ref banana-O basket-Abl   *carry-3f*

e^3ta^4 $han^3k'e^2ne^3$

take-3f go-3f-Fin

My mother went carrying her bananas in a basket

ta^1na^3 ta^4 $in^3ga^3ga^2$ $d^yan^4tis^3$ $yi^5e^2žn^3$ ko^1ya^4

1-S   *1Pos*   *friend-Gen*   *cow-O*   *3m-Ben*   *search-1*

I searched for my friend's cow for him ...

§3.4.2. RELATIVE CLAUSES:

When a clause is embedded in a clause or a phrase the determiner suffix $-uš^2$ or less frequently $-(h)aš^2$ plus a case marker are added to the verb stem. $-š$ of the masculine determiner is occasionally dropped.

A relative clause has the following functions:

1.

Attributive element in the noun phrase, e.g.

$a^3ša^2$ ke^4tn^5 $yis^4ku^2ši^3$ *the man who is in the house*

man-NPMk house-Loc be-Det-S

In such cases, a series of embedded clauses may occur. The clauses preceding the one bearing the case marker bear the noun phrase marker $-a^2$, e.g.

but^3 $a^2tn^3su^2\breve{\mathrm{s}}a^2$ $in^5\check{c}a^2$ $\check{z}ag^5$ $a^2tu^2\breve{\mathrm{s}}a^2$ zo^1la^2

pillar be-Fut-Det-NPMk tree-NPMk straight be-Det-NPMk strong-NPMk

$na^{2-3}pa^3ram^4$ mus^2ti^5 $a^2tn^3sar^4gu^2\breve{\mathrm{s}}is^3$

termite-Abl   be eaten-3m be-Fut-Neg-Det-0

a straight, strong tree that will not be eaten by termites

that will become the pillar of the house

2.

Head of a noun phrase, e.g.

ket^4 a^1pis^3 $t'e^2p'n^3su^2i^3$

house eye-0   carry-Fut-Det-S

that which carries the roof of the house

3.

In the accusative case, a relative clause may express the content of verbs
of hearing, seeing, knowing, etc.

$ta^4a^3ga^2$ $d^yan^4ti^3$ $ba^1\mathord{?}u^2\breve{\mathrm{s}}is^3$ $(sis^1ku^2e^3)$

1-Gen   cow-S   lost-Det-0   hear-3m-Fin

He heard that my cow was lost

§3.4.3. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES:

A subordinate clause is marked by a suffix or a postposition occurring
clause-finally.

The following suffixes are added directly to the verb stem:

$-a^3n^5$ indicating <u>conditional</u>. The imperfect participle of ham^3
go may also act as a particle introducing a conditional clause. For <u>present</u>
<u>conditional</u>, $-a^3n^5$ is added to the future stem, e.g.

$pur^2k'n^3$ kar^1ti^5 ni^3 $ha^4\underline{ma}^3\underline{n}^5$ $so^4ya^3gi^3ze^5o^2$

home   return-1+2 1+2 go-Cond   good-Stat-1+2

It will be good if we go home

For <u>future conditional</u>, $-a^3n^5$ is added to an auxiliary verb pet^4 *become*
following the future stem + $-u^2$, e.g.

$ha^4ma^3ga^4$ ... ga^3bm^5　$ham^4m^3su^2$　$\underline{pe^4ta^3n^5}$　muz^3

if　　　　*market-Loc go-Fut*　　*become-Cond banana*

wu^3　$go^1tn^3se^2ne^3$

3f　*buy-Fut-3f-Fin*

If she goes to market, she will buy bananas

When the present or future is more definite, the suffix　$-a^4ma^3n^5$
is added to the past stem. This gives a meaning of *when* rather than *if*,
e.g.

so^4yam^4　bu^3ka^4　ne^3　$kes^2\underline{ka^4ma^3n^5}$　k^yas^{2-3}　$dent^{2-3}kan^4$　$ham^4m^3su^2$

well-Abl cross-2 2　come out-Cond bamboo　middle-Loc　go-Fut-2

If (when) you cross safely, you will go through bamboo

For <u>past conditional</u>　$-a^3n^5$　is affixed to the past root $+-as^4-$,
e.g.

$k'as'^5$　ba^3　$k'ay^1s'\underline{a^4sa^3n^5}$　$gam^4t'n^3su^2e^3$

much　　*3Ref　work-Cond*　　　*tire-Fut-3m-Fin*

If he worked hard, he will be tired

For <u>negative conditional</u>, the normal negative stem may be used, or else
the stem formed from the auxiliary verb $šid^3$ *remain*. In the latter case,
an emphatic subject pronoun follows $-a-^3$, e.g.

ta^3　$ha^3kn^3sar^4gu^2$　$pe^4ta^3n^5$

1　*be able-Fut-Neg*　*be-Cond*

if I am not able

$k'o^3s'^{[a3]}ši^4da^3\underline{ne(n)^1n^5}$

if you do not pay...

The past polar interrogative form of the verb may replace the form
affixed by $-a^3n^5$ to function as an <u>alternative future</u> or <u>present conditional</u>
<u>subordinate verb</u>, e.g.

$ha^4ma^3ga^4$　ta^1na^3　may^1ne^3　　$ma^2ka^4\underline{sa^1}$

If　　　　*1-S*　　*woman-Stat*　*say-Cond*

If she says, 'I am a woman' ...

ha^{4}ma^{3}gi^5 nas^{4}yi^{1}si^3 gi^{4}š'n^{3}su^2 pe^{4}t<u>a^{4}se</u>^{1}

If   man-3m-S   build-Fut   be-Cond

If the man will build ...

dor^3 go^{1}tn^{4}a^4 ko^{1}y<u>a^{4}ne</u>^{1}

sheep buy-Inf want-Cond

If you want to buy a sheep

-a^{4}sn^3 is added to the past root and gives the meaning *even though, even if.* Where the subject of the verb marked by -a^{4}sn^3 is expressed, it bears the suffix -a^{3}gon^3 *even*, e.g.

ne^1<u>na^{3}gon</u>^{3} ha^{4}m^{4}ma^4 ma^2<u>ka^{4}sn</u>^{3} yi^{1}si^3 yah^1 ma^{2}kn^{3}sar^{4}gu^2

2-even   go-Inf   say-Cond   3m-S   agree-Fut-Neg-3m

Even if you decide to go, he will not agree

inč^5 ol^{4}k'an^4 kes^2<u>ka^{4}sn</u>^{3} ta^{3}na^3 ni^4 ši^{4}čn^{3}sar^{4}gu^2

tree branch-Loc climb-Cond   1-S   2   leave-Fut-Neg-1

Even if you climb the tree, I will not leave you

- am^{4}m^3 is added to the past root and gives the meaning *since (of reason).* The subject of the verb marked by - am^{4}m^3 is always different from that of the following verb, e.g.

wu^5 o^{1}č'n^{3}suš a^{3}ši^3 ba^{1}ʔ<u>am^{4}m</u>^{3} pur^{2}k'n^3

3f ask-Fut-Det man-S be lost-since home

kar^{1}ta^4 han^{3}k'en^2

return-3f go-3f

Since there was noone to ask (comfort) her, she returned home

The suffixes described in the following paragraphs are added to a relative clause construction. (With the exception of - a^{3}da^1 and wo^{3}t'n^3 masculine and feminine and plural distinctions of the determiner are neutralised.)

With the future form of the verb, - e^{2}šn^3 indicates purpose. -š̌ of the determiner suffix is dropped, e.g.

$di^4či^4is^3$ ba^3 $du^4k'n^3su^2\underline{e^2šn}^3$

maize-O   *3Ref*   *plant maize-Fut-Purp*

in order to plant maize

$i^5šayk'^1ni^3$ $?^yar^4dn^3sar^4gu^2\underline{e^2šn}^3$ ne^4 $ka^3šam^4$ bak'^4

3+3-S   *enter-Fut-Neg-Purp*   *2Pos life-Abl watch*

Watch with your life so that they do not enter ...

With the past form of the verb, $-e^2šn^3$ indicates reason, e.g.

$ȼ'u^4ȼ'i^3$ yi^5 $gi^4ra^3si^5$ $yis^3tu^2\underline{e^2šn}^3$ $ša?^{2-3}k'an^4$

louse-S *3m* *trouble-3m* *be-Reason*   *forest-Loc*

$han^3k'u^2$

go-3m

Because lice were troubling him, he went to the forest

yi^1sind^5 soy^4si^5 ba^3 $k'ay^1š'u^2\underline{e^2šn}^3$ $gam^4t'u^2e^3$

3m-S-Con *very* *3Ref work-Reason*   *tired-3m-Fin*

Because he worked hard, be became tired

$-n^3$ or $-kn^3$ is added to a relative clause construction formed from the future root or from a compound with $yist-^4$ to which the stative marker $-ag-^3$ has been added. It expresses simultaneous or immediate sequential action, e.g.

es^3 ba^3 $ma^2ka^3gu^2\underline{šn}^3$ $pur^2k'n^3$ $han^3k'u^2e^3$

like 3Ref say-Stat-Det-when home   go-3m-Fin

When he had said this, he went home

e^3ta^4 wu^3 $han^3k'a^4$ $yis^4ta^3guš^2\underline{kn}^3$ $n^ya^3?a^2$

take-3f 3f go-3f   be-Stat-Det-when   child-NPMk

$yan^2š'i^3$ $ye^3?i^5$

small-S come-3m

While she was carrying (it), little children came . . .

$sur^2k'n^4ga^4$ ta^3 $yis^4ta^3guš^2\underline{kn}^3$ $uš'^4ni^4na^3$ $ye^3?a^4$

sleep-Pf-1 1 be-Stat-Det-when rat-Foc-S come-3f

While I was sleeping, a rat came ...

To express past sequential action when the subject of the main clause

differs from that of the subordinate clause, the suffix $-am^4$ is added to the past root before the other suffixes are added.

$$\hat{s}'o^3bm^4ba^2bi^3 \quad gir^4k'an^4 \quad ?^yar^4d\underline{a}^4\underline{ma}^3gu^2\underline{\check{s}n}^3$$

snake-S   *hole-Loc*   *enter-Stat-Det-when*

$$a^3\underline{\check{s}}i^3 \quad han^3k'i^5$$

man-S   *go-3m*

When the snake had entered its hole, the man went ...

$-am^4$ indicates sequential action, e.g.

$$a^3bu^2\check{s}i^3 \quad a^2tn^3su^2\underline{\check{s}am}^4 \quad ba^4 \quad san^{2-3}tis^3 \quad e^3ti^5$$

time-Det-S arrive-Fut-Det-when 3RefPos basket-O   *take-3m*

When the time will come, he will take his basket ...

$$da^4wu^3 \quad ba^3a^2 \quad u^2\check{s}is^3 \quad ba^3 \quad be^3k'u^2\underline{\check{s}am}^4 \quad wo^3\hat{s}'i^5 \quad han^3k'i^5$$

antelope old-NPMk Det-O   *3Ref see-Det-when run-3m*   *go-3m*

When he saw the antelope, he ran ...

$-a^3da^1$ gives the meaning *but* when the actions of two different subjects are being contrasted. $-\check{s}$ is dropped from the masculine determiner suffix, e.g.

$$ni^4 \quad ba^{2-3}ya^3 \quad ga^3bm^5 \quad ham^4m^3se^2\underline{na^3da}^1 \quad ne^1na^3$$

2   *mother-S*   *market-Loc go-Fut-Det-but*   *2-S*

$$bo^1da^2 \quad du^4mars^3 \quad koy^1$$

road-NPMk other   *find*

Your mother will go to market, but you find another road

$$yi^1si^3 \quad gah^4n^4i^5 \quad ma^2ku^2\underline{a^3da}^1 \quad ta^1na^3ga^4 \quad i^3\check{c}u^2$$

3m-S   *speak-Inf*   *say-Det-but*   *1-Stat-1*   *refuse-1*

He agreed to speak but I refused

$-wo^3t'n^3$ or $-wo^3sn^3$ gives the meaning *as, like,* e.g.

$$ni^4m^3 \quad yi^3 \quad t^ya^3pn^4su\check{s}^2\underline{wo^3t'n}^3 \quad ni^4 \quad gom^3m^3da^4 \quad ne^1na^4$$

2-Ben   *3m*   *suit-Fut-Det-as*   *2Pos*   *friend-Pl-Co 2-Co*

$$\hat{s}'ok'^3$$

pray

As it is suitable for you, pray with your friends

ni^5 $de^2kn^4send^2\underline{wo^3sn^3}$ $yis^4ken^2de^3$

1+2   beat-Fut-Det-as   be-3+3-Fin

It looks as though they will beat us

The following postpositions follow a relative clause construction:
(Masculine, feminine, plural distinctions of the determiner are neutralised.)

$ya^2pa^3rn^3$, $ge^4\check{s}n^5$ and $e^2\check{c}n^5$ all give the meaning 'after', e.g.

ba^4 git'^1 $git'^1n^4a^4$ $wur^3su\check{s}^2$ $\underline{ya^2pa^3rn^3}$

3RefPos trade   trade-Inf   finish-Det   after

$pur^2k'n^3$ $ham^4m^3su^2$

home   go-Fut-3m

After he has finished marketing his goods, he will go home

wu^3 $mo\check{s}^4tu\check{s}^2$ $e^2\check{c}n^5$ wu^5 si^3mar^3 wu^3 $ma^3?e^2ne^3$

3f swim-Det   after   3fPos clothes   3f   dress-3f-Fin

After she swam, she got dressed

$a^2pa^3rn^3$ or $a^2par^3k'n^3$ gives the meaning *before*. In this case, the
verb stem is a negative form, e.g.

$wo^{2-3}li^3$ $k'a\check{s}'^5$ $bu^4kar^4gu\check{s}^2$ $\underline{a^2pa^3rn^3}$

rain-S   much   fall-Neg-Det before

before it rains very much ...

hak^{2-3} gives the meaning *until*. The relative clause construction
preceding hak^{2-3} bears the stative suffix $-ag-^3$ before $-u\check{s}^2$, e.g.

do^3di^3 $won^4ta^3gu\check{s}^2$ $\underline{hak^{2-3}}$ $ba^4k'u^2e^3$

earth-S get light-Stat-Det until   wait-3m-Fin

He waited until it was morning

The postposition $ta^3ma^2n^5$ may follow a participle or an infinitive
and gives the meaning *but rather*. The verb of the main clause is always
negative, while the participle or the infinitive is always affirmative, e.g.

ta^{1}na^3 ye^{3}ʔu^{2}ṣ̌i^3 kas^1 kas^{4}n^{4}a^4 <u>ta^{3}ma^{2}n^5</u>

1-S   come-Det-S game   play-Inf   but rather

k'ay^{1}ṣ̌'n^{4}a^4 e^{2}sar^{4}gu^2

work-Inf   NegSt-1

I did not come to work but I came to play games

wu^{1}sa^3 ye^{4}ka^4 yis^{4}ku^{2}ṣi^3 kaž$^{2-3}$k'n^{4}sa^4

3f-S   cry-3f   be-Det-S   happy-Pf-3f

<u>ta^{3}ma^{2}n^5</u>   ayn^{4}n^{4}sa^4 e^{2}sar^{4}gu^2

but rather   sad-Pf-3f   NegSt-3m

She is not crying because she is sad but because she is happy

§3.4.3.1. COORDINATION OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES:

Two clauses, each marked by the purpose/reason suffix $-e^2šn^3$ may be linked by adding the coordinate suffix $-a^4$ clause-finally to both clauses. The coordinate marker has not been found linking other types of subordinate clauses, e.g.

wo$^{2-3}$t'is^3 ba^3 du^{4}kn^{3}su^{2}eš^{2}n<u>a</u>^{4} t^{y}arb^3 ba^3

corpse-O   2Ref bury-Fut-Purp-Co   drum   3Ref

de^{2}kn^{4}su^{2}eš^{2}n<u>a</u>^{4}

beat-Fut-Purp-Co

in order to bury the corpse and beat the drum

n^{y}aʔ^3 ta^3 pe^{4}tu^{2}eš^{2}n<u>a</u>^{4} ta^4 a^{1}pi^3 pu^{4}gi^5

child 1 be-Reason-Co   1Pos eye-S pain-3m

yis^{4}ku^{2}eš^{2}n<u>a</u>^{4}

be-Reason-Co

because I was a child and because my eye was hurting

§3.4.4. PARTICIPLE CLAUSES:

Participles are extremely frequent in Gimira. In fact, their occurence outnumbers that of other verb forms in a ratio of approximately 3:1. They

often occur in series with up to four different participles following one
after the other, e.g.

$$Go^3dab^2ind^5 \quad han^3k'i^5 \quad ko'yi^5 \quad e^3ti^5 \quad a^4\check{s}i^5$$

Godab-Con   go-3m   search-3m   take-3m bring-3m

$$ta^4am^4 \quad pa^2\check{z}i^5 \quad \check{s}^y{}'a^2\check{s}'u^2$$

1-Abl   together   tie-3m

He went and searched for Godab, took and brought him and tied

him together with me

The same participle may be reduplicated up to four times to indicate
repetitive action, e.g.

$$d^yan^4ta^2en^2 \quad (w)u^5 \quad ko^1ya^4 \quad ko^1ya^4 \quad ko^1ya^4$$

cow-NPMk   Det-3f search-1   search-1   search-1

$$ko^1ya^4 \quad pe^1\check{s}n^3$$

search-1   spend time-PtDS

I continued searching and searching for the cow

It would seem convenient to treat such series as participle clauses containing
one verb phrase, rather than each participle as a separate verb phrase for
the following reasons:

1.

While the final participle in a series or a lone participle can be any one of
the four different participle forms, the non-final ones in a series always
have the past participle form. The tense of these is determined by that of
the final participle in the series.

$$ko^1ya^4 \quad ko^1ya^4 \quad pe\check{s}^1ka^4 \quad bay^4sn^4sa^4$$

search-1   search-1   spend time-1   lack-Pf-1

Having searched and searched and not found ...

$$ha^4kn^5 \quad no^1ti^5 \quad ya^{2-3}kn^4si^5 \; / \; wo^3\check{s}'i^5 \quad ye^3?i^5$$

far-Loc   see-3m   find-Pf-3m   run-3m   come-3m

$$a^2ti \; / \; nor^2gn^3 \; i\check{s}^5 \quad ku\check{c}^1kan^4 \quad go^4\check{c}u^2e^3$$

arrive-3m   butter   3+3Pos   hand-Loc   pull-3m-Fin

Having seen from far, he came running and snatched the butter

from their hand

In this last sentence, for example, I would say there are three clauses, each

with one verb phrase.

2.

Each verb in the series is governed by the same subject and each transitive

verb has the same object.

The use of participles is the most common way in Gimira of expressing

sequence of verbal coordination. In this case, the past participle is to

be interpreted as being in the same mood and tense as the verb following it.

$$\text{pon}\check{\text{s}}^4\text{ne}^1\text{n}^3 \quad \text{ba}^4 \quad \text{bay}^{2-3} \quad \text{ki}\check{\text{z}}^5 \quad \text{t}^y\text{'am}^2\text{mak}^3$$

release-2-PtDS 3Ref mother milk suck-Jus

Release it and let it suck it's mother's milk!

$$\text{ga}^3\text{bm}^5 \quad \text{han}^3\text{k'a}^4 \quad \text{si}^3\text{mar}^3 \quad \text{go}^1\text{tn}^3\text{su}^2\text{e}^3$$

market-Loc go-1 cloth buy-Fut-1-Fin

I will go to market and buy cloth

§3.4.5. STATIVE CLAUSES:

The present affirmative stative clause has two forms:

1.

$$(\text{NP}_s) \ \text{NP}_c \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-a}^3\text{gi}^3\text{ze}^5\text{o}^2 \ 8 \\ \text{-a}^3\text{gi}^3\text{za}^4\text{o}^2 \end{array} \right\}$$

e.g.

$$\text{ha}^2\check{\text{s}}\text{i}^3 \quad \text{n}^y\text{a}^4\text{la}^3\text{gi}^3\text{ze}^5\text{o}^2$$

This-S stone-Stat-3m

This is a stone

$$\text{wu}^1\text{sa}^3 \quad \text{a}^4\check{\text{s}}\text{i}^4\text{na}^3 \quad \text{so}^4\text{ya}^3\text{gi}^3\text{za}^4\text{o}^2$$

3f-S woman-NPMk good-Stat-3f

She is a good woman

2.

$$(\text{NP}_s) \ \text{NP}_c + \text{-e}^3 \quad \text{(i.e. finite verb marker)}$$

e.g.
$$ta^1na^3 \quad ?^ya^3ne^3$$

1-S   man-Fin

I am a man

$$so^4ye^3$$

good-Fin

It is good

For emphasis on the stative, the suffix $-as^4$ is added to the stative marker in place of $-i^3ze^5o^2$, e.g.

$$d^yant^4 \quad wu^1sa^3\underline{gas}^4 \quad ma^2ka^4$$

cow   3f-Stat-Foc   say-1

I said, "It must be the cow".

$$i^3ba^3ra^3\underline{gas}^4 \quad ma^2ki^5$$

true-Stat-Foc   say-3m

He said, "It is (must be) true."

The present negative stative clause is:

$$(NP_s) NP_c + -e^2\underline{sarg}^4 + \text{indicative verbal person/number suffix (Fin)}$$

e.g.

$$u^2\check{s}i^3 \quad n^ya^4le^2\underline{sar}^4\underline{gu}^2e^3$$

that-S   stone-NegSt-3m-Fin

That is not a stone

$$wu^1sa^3 \quad soy^4 \quad a^3\grave{s}e^2\underline{sar}^4\underline{ge}^2ne^3$$

3f-S   good   person-NegSt-3f-Fin

She is not a good woman

Other tenses are served by the verbs $yist^3$ *exist* and pet^4 *become.*

The stative marker $-ag-^3$ may also be used to express the stative in participle and subordinate clauses and in relative clauses.

Participle clause:

$$i^5\check{s}ayk'^1ni^3 \quad ba^4 \quad na^4ma^3si^3 \quad zos^3 \quad n^ya^3?\underline{a}^3\underline{gi}^5$$

3+3-S   3Ref two-S   neighbour child-Stat-3+3

They both being neighbour children ...

$a^4\check{s}i^4na^3$ $gi^3ri^4\underline{nag}^3(w)u^1sn^3$ wu^5 $d^ya n^4 ta^2$ e^2nis^3

woman-S   *poor-Stat-3f-PtDS*   *3fPos*   *cow-NPMk* *Det-O*

ko^1ya^4

search-3f

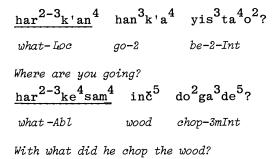*The woman being poor, we will search for her cow*

Subordinate clause:

$e^3\underline{sag}^3(y)i^1sa^3n^5$ *since it is like this*

like-Stat-3m-Cond

Relative clause:

wu^1sa^3 $\check{s}ap^{\prime 3}$ $d^ya^2\underline{da}^3\underline{ge}^2ne^3$

3f-S   *pot*   *make-Stat-Det-Fin*

She is someone who makes pots

$na^4ma^3sa^3ga^2$ $a^3\grave{s}a^2$ $gi^1t^{\prime}n^4i^5$ $m^5\text{?}a^3\underline{gen}^2\underline{da}^3\underline{gi}^5$

two-Gen   *man-NPMk*   *trade-Inf*   *eat-Stat-Det-Stat-3+3*

$yis^3ten^2de^3$

be-3+3-Fin

There were two men who were those who get their living by trading

The negative stative participle stem is $e^2sa^4ra\underline{g}^3$, e.g.

d^yant^4 wus^1 $\underline{e^2sa^4ra^3ga^4}$ na^4sa^2 $pan^3\grave{s}^{\prime}a^3gi^5$

cow   *3f*   *NegSt-3f*   *man-NPMk* *leopard-Stat-3m*

$yis^3tu^2e^3$

be-3m-Fin

It was not a cow but it was something that was a leopard

§ 3.4.6. INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES:

§ 3.4.6.1. NON-STATIVE QUESTIONS:

   A polar question clause is distinguished by the polar question verb
form (see Section §2.7.8.). A content question is distinguished by the
content question form of the verb. Also one element of the clause is
replaced by a question word bearing an appropriate case suffix, e.g.

<u>har</u>$^{2\text{-}3}$k'an^4 han^{3}k'a^4 yis^{3}ta^{4}o^2?

what-Loc go-2 be-2-Int

Where are you going?

<u>har</u>$^{2\text{-}3}$ke^{4}sam^4 inč^5 do^{2}ga^{3}de^5?

what -Abl wood chop-3mInt

With what did he chop the wood?

§3.4.6.2. STATIVE QUESTIONS:

In a polar stative question, one of the polar question suffixes is affixed to the noun phrase complement. Third person uses the –g form, e.g.

yi^{1}si^3 soy^4 a^{3}ša^4<u>ge</u>^{1}?

3m-S good man-Int-3m

Is he a good man?

ne^{1}na^3 git'^{1}na^{4}sa^4<u>ne</u>^{1}?

*2-S trader-**Int**-2*

Are you a trader?

A negative stative question may be formed using e^{2}sa^{4}re^1, e.g.

yi^{1}si^3 soy^4 aš^3 <u>e</u>^{2}sa^{4}re^1?

3m -S good man NegSt-Int

Is he not a good man?

In a content stative question, the question word occurs clause-finally and bears the stative marker –ag–^{3} and the appropriate content question suffix, e.g.

a^{4}ši^{4}na^2 e^{2}na^3 o^{4}na^{3}ga^{4}o^2?

woman-NPMk Det-S who-Stat-3fInt

Who is that woman?

ni^4 nor^{2}gn^3 a^1<u>ma</u>^{3}ge^{5}o^2?

2Pos butter how much-Stat-3mInt

How much is your butter?

Where the element replaced by the question word is a genitive, the noun phrase which is qualified by the genitive occurs clause-finally and bears the content question suffix. The question word precedes it, e.g.

$$u^2\check{s}i^3 \quad har^{2-3}kes \quad go^3\underline{e}^5?$$

that-S what   field-3mInt

Whose field is that?

$$u^2\check{s}i^3 \quad am^1 \quad n^ya^4le^5o^2?$$

that-S how many stone-3mInt

How many stones are there? (lit. That is how many of stones?)

§ 3.4.7. COMPARATIVE CLAUSES:

Comparative clauses have basically the same structure as non-comparative clauses except that the noun phrase referring to the item with which the subject is being compared bears the suffix $-e^2\check{s}n^3$, e.g.

$$ta^4 \quad k^ya^3ni^3 \quad ni^4 \quad k^ya^3ne^2\underline{\check{s}n}^3 \quad yar^1sa^3gi^3ze^5o^2$$

1Pos dog-S   2Pos   dog-Comp   small-Stat-3m

My dog is smaller than your dog

Sometimes the particle $be\check{s}^{2-3}$ from the verb $be\check{s}^{2-3}$ *be more* is added after the phrase bearing the comparative suffix or it may replace the suffix, e.g.

$$ne^1na^3 \quad ta^4(\underline{e^2\check{s}n}^3) \quad be\check{s}^{2-3} \quad mo\check{s}^4ta^4 \quad yis^4ku^2e^3$$

2-S   1-Comp   more   swim-2   be-2-Fin

You swim better than I do

§ 3.5. THE SENTENCE:

There are four basic sentence types, which are described in the following sub-sections.

§ 3.5.1. THE SIMPLE SENTENCE:

The <u>simple sentence</u> consists of one main clause, optionally preceded by one or more subordinate clauses, e.g.

$$yi^1si^3 \quad ga^3bm^5 \quad ba^3 \quad ha^4ma^3gu^2\underset{\sim}{s}n^3 \quad ba^4$$

3m-S   market-Loc 3Ref go-Fut-Stat-Det-When 3RefPos

$$in^3ga^2 \; Go^3da^1bis^3 \quad d^ya^3mu^2e^3$$

friend-NPMk G-O   meet-3m-Fin

When he was going to market, he met his friend, Godab

§ 3.5.2. THE SEQUENCE SENTENCE:

The <u>sequence sentence</u> consists of one main clause preceded by one or more participle clauses, e.g.

$$\check{s}er^4k'a^4 \quad soy^5si^5 \quad di^2tan^4k'a^4 \quad ta^4 \quad ku^1\check{c}is^3 \; z^ya\grave{s}^3$$

fear-1   very   shocked-Pf-1   1Pos hand-O   up

$$kar^1sa^4 \; ta^3na^3 \; don^4sn^3 \; ta^4 \; mat'^3na^4si^3 \; so^3?a^2$$

return-1 1-S   raise-PtDS 1   one-man-S   water-NPMk

$$u\underset{\sim}{s}^2kan^4 \; wo^2t'i^5 \; ta^4 \; ku\check{c}^1kan^4 \; u^1t'i^5 \; ta^4 \; ke^3si^5$$

Det-Loc fall-3m 1Pos hand-Loc   seize-3m   1   take out-3m

$$p^ya^3\underset{\sim}{s}u^2e^3$$

save-3m-Fin

Being afraid and very shocked, I raised my hand upwards and then my companion jumped into the water, seized my hand and taking me out, saved me

§ 3.5.3. THE QUOTATION SENTENCE:

§ 3.5.3.1. QUOTATION SENTENCE STRUCTURE:

The <u>quotation sentence</u> consists of a quotation functioning as a sentence embedded in a clause containing the verb mak^2 *say* immediately following the quotation, e.g.

$$Da^1\check{c}u^4ri^3 \; don^2ti^5 \; \text{"}ha^1 \; Bo\underset{\varsigma}{\;}'^5 \; dont^2ne^1n^3 \quad ni^3ni^3$$

Dachur-S stand-3m Voc Boch   stand-2-PtDS   1+2-S

$$pur^2k'n^3 \; ha^4me^3\text{"} \; \underline{ma^2ki^5} \quad wu^5 \quad o^1\check{c}'u^2e^3$$

home   go-Jus   say-3m   3f   ask-3m-Fin

Standing up, Dachur said, "Boch, stand up and let us to home."

§3.5.3.2. DIRECT AND INDIRECT QUOTATIONS:

Indirect quotations can only be distinguished from direct quotations by comparing the pronouns and verb forms used in both parts of the sentence, e.g.

Direct:

$$da^4wu^3 \quad ba^3a^2 \quad u^2\underset{\centerdot}{s}is^3 \quad \underline{ta^3na^3} \quad wo^3t\text{'}n^3su^2e^3 \quad ma^2ki^5$$

antelope old-NPMk Det-O   1-S   kill-Fut-1-Fin say-3m

He said, "I will kill the old antelope."

Indirect: $da^4wu^3 \quad ba^3a^2 \quad u^2\underset{\centerdot}{s}is^3 \quad \underline{ba^3na^3} \quad wo^3t\text{'}n^3su^2e^3 \quad ma^2ki^5$

3Ref-S

He said that he would kill the old antelope.

Within indirect quotations, third person subject reference is dis-ambiguated by the use of the reflexive pronoun to indicate coreferentiality,

e.g. $yi^1si^3 \quad \underline{ba^3} \quad ham^4m^3su^2e^3 \quad ma^2ki^5 \quad hay^3t\text{'}u^2e^3$

3m-S   3Ref go-Fut-3m-Fin say-3m tell-3m-Fin

He$_i$ said that he$_i$ would go (he himself)

$$yi^1si^3 \quad \underline{yi^3} \quad ham^4m^3su^2e^3 \quad ma^2ki^5 \quad hay^3t\text{'}u^2e^3$$

3m

He$_i$ said that he$_j$ would go (someone else)

In Gimira, as in other Ethiopian languages, frequent use is made of quotation sentences, not only to record actual spoken conversation or framed thoughts, but to express a great variety of other concepts such as purpose, reason, desire, decision etc, e.g.

$$ga^3bm^5 \quad han^3k\text{'}a^4 \quad \underline{ba^3} \quad go^1te^3 \quad ma^2ka^4 \quad \dots .$$

market-Loc go-3f   3Ref sell-Jus say-3f

$$don^2te^2ne^3$$

set out-3f-Fin

She set out to sell (them) at the market

$\text{ǯon}^4\text{gis}^3$ $\text{to}^2\text{kn}^4\text{a}^4$ ne^3 $\text{ma}^2\text{ka}^3\text{n̥}^5$

cocoyam-O plant-Inf   2   say-Cond

If you want to plant cocoyams ...

ta^4 $\text{in}^3\text{ga}^3\text{ga}^2$ $\text{d}^y\text{an}^4\text{ta}^3$ $\text{ba}^1\text{ʔa}^4\text{a}^2$ mas^2ti^5

1Pos friend-Gen cow-S   lost-Nar-foc be said-3m

$\text{a}^3\text{s̀i}^3$ kang^5

man-S   all

because my friend's cow was surely lost, all the men...

Gimira has few words for such concepts as ordering, suggesting, consider-ing, agreeing etc., so they are implied by the content of the quote and the speech clause. e.g.

$\text{pur}^2\text{ĸ'n}^3$ ha^3mo^3 ma^2ki^5 $\text{ti}^4\text{s̀u}^2$

home   go-Imp   say-3m   send-3m

He ordered him to go home

$\text{so}^4\text{ya}^3\text{da}^1$ ma^2ka^4 wu^5 e^3ta^4 $\text{han}^3\text{k'u}^2\text{e}^3$

all right   say-1   3f   take-1   go-1-Fin

I agreed and took her

$\text{wos}^{2\text{-}3}$ $\text{k'ay}^1\text{s̀'a}^4$ $\text{so}^3\text{ʔa}^2$ $\text{haǯ}^2\text{kan}^4$ $\text{ke}^2\text{sn}^4\text{da}^1?$

how   do -1   water-NPMk this-Loc   cross-Fut-1

ma^2ki^5

say-3m

He wondered how he could cross the river

§ 3.5.4. THE COMPLEX SENTENCE:

Any of the above sentence types may function as an embedded sentence in a <u>complex sentence</u>, e.g.

$\text{ku}^3\text{s̀a}^2$ $\text{u}^2\text{s̀n}^5\text{nd}^5$ ta^3 $\text{at}^2\text{na}^3\text{gu}^2\text{s̀n}^3$ d^yant^4

place-NPMk Det-Loc-Con 1   arrive-Stat-Det-when cow

$\text{wu}^1\text{sa}^3\text{gas}^4$ ma^2ka^4 wu^5 su^1mam^4 $\text{s̀'e}^2\text{ga}^4$ ta^3 $\text{s̆i}^4\text{ku}^2\text{e}^3$

3f-Stat   say-1 3Pos name-Abl call-1   1   approach-1-Fin

When I arrived at the place, thinking it was the cow, I

approached calling her by name

§3.5.5. FOCUS AT SENTENCE LEVEL:

When a <u>participle clause</u> has special prominence in the sentence, it is marked by the suffix $-an^3$, e.g.

tol^3 $yis^3ti^5\underline{an}^3$ ta^3 $ye^3?u^2$

Tol be-3m-Foc   1   come-1

It is from Tol that I came

$to^1?am^4$ $han^3k'i^5\underline{an}^3$ $yin^2ke^3sn^5$ a^2tu^2

foot-Abl   go-3m-Foc   there-Loc   arrive-1

It was going by foot that I arrived there

When a <u>subordinate clause</u>, a sentence initial <u>time phrase</u> or a <u>noun</u>

<u>phrase</u> has special prominence in the sentence, it is marked by one of the

suffixes $-is^3$, $-a^2$, or $-i^3sa^2$, e.g.

$ma^4t'n^3$ $go^4k'n^3n^5\underline{di^3sa}^2$ $Da^1\check{c}u^4ri^3$ don^2ti^5

one   day-Con-Foc   Dachur-S   stand-3m

And also, one day, Dachur got up ...

yi^1si^3 $\check{s}'ip^5ta^3ri^3$ yi^5 $sa^1\grave{s}'a^3gu\check{x}^2kn^3\underline{is}^3$

3m-S   snake-S   3m   bite-Stat-Det-when-Foc

$ha^{2-3}ra^3gi^5$ ta^4 $to?^1k'an^4$ $\check{c}'a^4di^5$ $yis^3te^5o^2?$

what-Stat-3m   1Pos   leg-Loc   pierce-3m be-3mInt

ma^2ki^5

say-3m

When the snake bit him, he said "What is it that is piercing

my leg?"

ba^3a^2 $Gays^{2-3}nab^1$ $na^4si^3\underline{a}^2$ $nan^2\grave{s}a^2$ $u^2\check{s}is^3$

old-NPMk Gaysnab   man-S-Foc   boy-NPMk Det-O

$be^3k'n^4si^5$

see-Pf-3m

Old Gaysnab, having seen the boy ...

§ 3.5.6. CONNECTION OF SENTENCES:

The following conjunctions may link sentences together:

$u^2\text{ṣam}^4$ or $u^2\text{ṣn}^5$ meaning *then*

$e^{2-3}kn^5$ or $g^ya^3rn^5$ meaning *immediately*

e^3sn^5 meaning *so then*

ka^2si^5 meaning *also*

$- Nd^5$ is the unmarked sentence connector that does not specify any particular time or logical relationship. When added to NP_s, the subject suffix becomes $-i^5$.

"Head to tail" linkage is also common in Gimira, e.g.

$ku^3\text{ṣa}^2$ $u^2\text{ṣis}^3$ ṣap^3. ne^3 $\text{ṣa}^3\text{puṣ}^2$ $ge^4\text{ṣn}^5$...

place-NPMk Det-0 clear 2 clear-Det after

Clear the place. After you have cleared it ...

CONCLUSIONS:

In this paper, I have attempted to present a preliminary analysis of the main features of the phonology and grammar of the Gimira language. As the analysis has been based on data collected from a limited number of speakers living outside their home area, the conclusions reached are tentative. However, it is hoped that there will be opportunities in the future for more detailed research to be carried out.

NOTES

1. Estimates based on the numbers registered in Peasants' Association Groups seem to confirm this as a reasonable approximation.

2. In the orthography, [w] has been distinguished, to avoid confusion for those who are used to reading Amharic and in order to distinguish palatalisation and labialisation. For this latter reason, [y] and [w] have been distinguished in the transcription employed in this paper.

3. C_o^3 meaning from 0-3 consonants may occur in this position.

4. nas^4 meaning 'man' may stand alone but $-nin^4$ has not been found standing alone.

5. For further details concerning personal pronouns see M. Breeze, 'Gimira' in Ursula Wiesemann (Ed.) *Pronominal systems series: continuum ·5.* 1986. Gunter Narr Verlag. Tübingen.

6. $\underline{ni}^4$ is the more common form but $\underline{ne}^4$ is also found.

7. A complete list of the abbreviations used in the morpheme by morpheme glosses is to be found in the Appendix.

8. $-\underline{e}^5$ for 1st Pl. inc., 3rd m. Sg., 2nd and 3rd Pl.

    $-\underline{a}^4$ for 1st Pl. exc., 3rd f. Sg. and Ref., 1st and 2nd Sg.

APPENDIX:

<u>Abbreviations</u>

Abl.	Ablative	Ng. Cond.	Negative Conditional
Adj.	Adjective	NP Mk.	Noun phrase marker
Aux.	Auxiliary	Num.	Numeral
Ben.	Benefactive	O.	Object
Co.	Coordinate marker	Pf.	Present Perfect
Comp.	Comparison	Pl.	Plural
Con.	Connector	Pn.	Pronoun
Cond.	Conditional	Pos.	Possessive
Dat.	Dative	PtDs	Different subject marker on participle
Det.	Determiner		
Exc.	Exclusive	Purp.	Purpose
f.	Feminine	Ref.	Reflexive
Fin.	Finite verb marker	Rel.Cl.	Relative Clause
Foc.	Focus	S.	Subject
Fut.	Future	Sg.	Singular
Gen.	Genitive	Stat.	Stative
Imp.	Imperative	Voc.	Vocative
Inc.	Inclusive		
Inf.	Infinitive marker	1	First person singular
Int.	Interrogative	2	Second person singular
Jus.	Jussive	3	Third person singular
Loc.	Locative	1+1	1st person plural exclusive
m.	Masculine	1+2	1st person plural inclusive
Nar.	Past narrative tense marker	2+2	2nd person plural
Neg.	Negative	3+3	3rd person plural
Neg. St.	Negative Stative		