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A GRAMMAR OF HARO WITH COMPARATIVE
NOTES ON THE OMETO LINGUISTIC GROUP

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ABSTRACT

A GRAMMAR OF HARO WITH COMPARATIVE NOTES ON THE OMETO LINGUISTIC GROUP

The aim of this study is two-folded. The first one is providing a thorough description of the Haro language, while the second one is offering some comparative and historical notes on the Ometo linguistic group, which Haro belongs to. The two aspects complement each other. The data for the comparative analysis is derived from the description of Haro. Presenting the Haro data within a comparative framework, on the other hand, discloses more facts about the Haro language and the relationship it has with the others.

Although it particularly emphasizes on the morphological domain, the description, however, also covers the phonological and syntactic structures of the language. Haro is an interesting language from typological and historical perspectives. For instance, the Haro language shows an intricate system of focus marking that affects the morpho-syntactic properties and categorization of a verb. The language has a three-way number-marking system that distinguishes among the singular, paucal and plural number values. The numeral system of Haro is not attested to anywhere else in the Ometo linguistic group. An elaborated system of mood and modality is also observed in Haro.

The second part of the study, dealing with comparative and historical notes on certain morphological aspects of the Ometo languages, adds to our understanding of the Ometo linguistic group. It shows how certain grammatical aspects in the Ometo languages operate. It also reconstructs the archaic systems for the Proto-Ometo language. Issues addressed in the second part include the system of terminal vowels of nominals, the system of number marking of nouns and the system of definite marking

of nouns. In addition, the pronoun systems across the Ometo languages are investigated, in which the   short and long pronoun paradigms in the Ometo languages are particularly explored, properties of the two sets of pronouns are characterized, the relationship between the two sets is described and an etymological interpretation that relates the third person singular pronouns with the remote demonstrative is offered.

Furthermore, an investigation into the numeral system of the Ometo languages is made. A historical quinary numeral system is reconstructed and etymological interpretations are provided for the quinary base as well as some of the basic numerals. The quinary base, which stands for the value of 'five', is etymologically related to the quantifier expression 'many'.

From the comparative notes, the relationship among the different sub-branches and different members of Ometo is disclosed. Haro, together with a few other members, appears to be conservative, preserving two gender-sensitive archaic definite markers, which have been lost totally or partially from most of the other members of Ometo.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

0.0.   The terms Haro, Haruro and Geditcho

The term Haro is used to refer to the language, the people and the particular locality on the eastern shore of the Geditcho Island, where the Haro people reside. Gedicho, one of the islands of Lake Abaya, is located in the southern part of the Ethiopia, half way between Sodo and Arba Minch, in the Northern Omo Zone of the Southern Peoples, Nations and Nationalities Regional State of Ethiopia. Gedicho, the homeland of the Haro people, is the biggest island in the lake. There are twenty-one other islands on the lake. The Islands that are identified by name by the inhabitants of Geditcho include: Megala, Agise, Shayitatwi, Langama, Ugayye, Get'eme, Ganjulle, Wolege, Adela, Gumlaka, Daboye and Paragossa.

There are three villages on the Gedicho Island; namely, Shigma, Bayso and Haro. The Bayso people, who speak a Cushitic language, occupy Shigma and Bayso, while the Haro people reside on the village also known as Haro.

Other names used to refer to Haro, are *Haruro*, and *Geditcho*. In his pioneer descriptive study of some of the Ometo languages, Conti Rossini (1936) uses the term Haruro for Haro. The use of Geditcho for Haro is also observed in Fleming (1976). On the other hand, in a recent book by Bender (2000), the two are treated as distinct variants in the Ometo group. According to the present study, there is no a single linguistic community identified by the name Gedicho. On the other hand, Geditcho is a homeland for two communities speaking distinct languages: Bayso and Haro. The former belongs to the Cushitic language family, whereas, the latter belongs to the Omotic language family. It has also been observed that *Haruro* is a term used by the Gamo and Wolayitta to refer to the homeland of both the Haros and the Bayso but not specifically to the Haro. In the same way, Gedicho is a name used by Gedeo and Guji-Oromo to refer to all the inhabitants of the island: the Bayso as well as the Haro.

1977.2.   The Haro language

Haro belongs to the Omotic language family, the biggest language family in Ethiopia. More than half of the Ethiopian languages is classified under it. The Omotic family contains about forty languages, grouped into two major branches; namely, the Eastern and the Western branches. The Eastern branch has fewer languages than the Western, which includes Banna, Hamer, Karo, Ari, and Dime languages. The Western branch, on the other hand, comprises various groups: the Maji languages group (Maji, Sheko, Nao), the Kefa languages group (Kefa-Mocha, South Mao, Shinasha), and the Gimojan languages group (Gimira, Janjero, Ometo). Ometo, a linguistic group under the Gimojan branch contains a group of related languages and dialects. It is the most diversified group of all the Omotic family, which consists of more than 20 languages and dialects.

> Based on classification of Fleming (1976:300) which is lexicostatistically based, the Ometo cluster is further divided into four subgroups, namely North Ometo, which comprises Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa, Dawuro (Kullo), Zala, Dache, Dorze, Oyda and others; South Ometo, which comprises only one language: Maale; East Ometo, which comprises Zayse-Zergulla, Koyra (Korette), Geditcho, Gatsame (Kachama) and Ganjule; and West Ometo, which comprises Chara, Doko-Dollo, and Basketo.

According to Fleming (1976), Haro (his Geditcho) belongs to the East Ometo subbranch of the Omotic family. According to Haro elders, Haros are mutually intelligible with Ganjule and Gatsame, the linguistic varieties spoken by people who used to live in the neighbouring islands. The Gatsames live in the village of Ugayo on the western shore of Lake Abaya. The Ganjule, who used to live on an island of Lake Chamo, currently inhabit the village of Shele-Mela, west of Lake Chamo, some 15 kilometres south of Arba Minch, on the main road to Konso. The population of the Gatsame and Ganjule is estimated to be 1000 and 800, respectively. An overview of the lexical items of the three varieties also confirms their closeness (see also word lists by Brenzinger, 1995). A further extensive dialect survey is needed to determine the degree of closeness among such varieties.

The following family tree of Fleming (1976) shows the place of Haro in the Omotic family:

0.0. The State of Endangerment and the Language Use Situation of Haro

At present, Haro is very much endangered. It has only a few speakers who are mostly elders of the community. According to our survey in the island, 24 households speak the language and the estimated population is about 200. Brenzinger (1995) also estimated the population to be about 150. According to the 1994 National Census of Ethiopia, which is published in 1996, population of Haro is 110[1].

All members of the Haro community are bilinguals in Bayso, a Cushitic language spoken by a community inhabiting the same island. Besides, the Haro people have an extended language contact with the people outside the island. This is because of interactions in administrative and business affairs with the people in the near by areas such as Merab Abaya and Arba Minch. Hence, Haros are known by their ability to speak severabl languages of the vicinity such as Guji-Oromo, Amharic, Wolaitta and Gamo. An annual magazine of the Culture and Information Office of the Northern Omo zone (1990: 20) describes the situation in the following way.

> The language use situation of the Gedicho community is very amazing. The people [seem to have] have special language learning ability and they speak and adapt to all the languages found in their vicinity such as Wolaitta, Gamo, Amharic and Guji-Oromo. They use other's language in all their socio-economic. In the contrary no one outside their community can speak their language.

The level of Lake Abaya appears to have risen constantly over the years, thereby covering the surrounding fertile land. There are no plantations on the island. The soil is salty and not fertile enough for cultivation. This situation creates scarcity of food in the island. The islanders survive from fishing, which is also decreasing from time to time. Life in the island is getting more and more difficult and so the inhabitants specially the youngsters are abandoning the Island. Members of the two communities are, therefore, migrating into nearby localities where Gamo and Wolaitta are spoken. They have applied to their zonal administration for a fertile resettlement on the mainland areas. This situation most likely is leading to the total extinction of the language. Although the situation with the language obsolescence of Haro is an interesting area for research, it has not been dealt with in the present study.

Haros live from fishery and cattle breeding. Hunting hippopotamus is another economic activity of the Haros. They hunt hippopotamus, eat the meat and sell the skin. In addition, weaving is practised commonly by Haros. They make 'bulukko', a traditional blanket made of cotton and take it to the weekly Merab Abaya market that takes place every Sunday.

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[1] In the Census the name Hariri is used for Haro (see CSA 1996:119).

Because they eat the meat of hippopotamus, the Haro people are considered as out-cast by their neighbours even by the Baysos who are sharing the same island to Haros. Hence, Haros do not have intermarriage with people outside their ethnic groups. Haros are mostly adherents of a traditional religion and they believe in witchcrafts although recently some are converted to Christianity.

1977.4.   Significance of the Study

The concerns of this study, as has been mentioned already, are two-fold: providing a grammatical description of Haro and providing a comparative insight into the Ometo languages. The languages and dialects used for comparison are carefully selected to represent each of the sub-branches within the Ometo group. Dawuro, Wolaitta, Malo, Oyda and Gamo are used from the North Ometo group; Basketo from the West Ometo group; and Maale from the South Ometo group. Besides, Koyra, Ganjule and Zayse languages, which belong to the same sub-group as Haro, will be included in the comparison. The data on Haro, Ganjule, Gamo, Wolaitta and Dawuro are from my own field notes. All data other than mine are indicated.

The significance of the present study lies in the following aspects:

- Haro is an endangered language, which has not yet been documented. This study will contribute to the discovery and preservation of the linguistic facts of Haro, facts that can serve as a reference and points of departure for future developments in linguistic scholarship in the area. It is also hoped that the study will help fill the gaps in our knowledge of Ometo and serve as a live document reflecting the linguistic and cultural profiles of its speakers.

- Linguists dealing with a comparative study of Omotic languages have repeatedly reported on the lack of linguistic data on Haro as one shortcoming confronting linguists interested in the area. Hayward (1999), for instance, states the following concerning the problem: "On the Grammar of the laustrine East Ometo varieties spoken by the Harro, Ganjule and Gats'ame not much is known." This study, is, therefore, hoped to contribute to an increase in our knowledge of the barely studied Omotic languages by furnishing new data on Haro. The comparative perspective the study adopts in describing Haro can possibly add to our understanding of the Ometo language groups in general. The morphological comparative description can provide useful information for further historical and comparative studies in the field of Omotic linguistics.

Proposals on the internal classification of Ometo and Omotic languages, in general, are based on lexicostatistical materials. The classificatory works that are based on comparative morphological studies are crucial as is indicated in various studies (e.g. Hayward, 1990). For this reason, the comparative material in this study focuses on the morphological domain.

## 1977.5.	Previous works on Haro and Ometo Languages

Literature on the Haro language is virtually non-existent. There is no study available on the Haro language apart from a brief preliminary linguistic information in a pioneer study undertaken by Conti Rossini (1936), which contains a short word list and a few grammatical notes. Most of the data presented in the work are not similar to those recorded by the present researcher. The other piece of material available is a report by Brenzinger (1995) entitled "The Islanders of Lake Abaya," a study undertaken in the program known as 'Survey of the Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia'. The report contains a short word list on Haro and some sociolingistic information on the island.

Regarding the literature on the comparative and historical aspects of the Ometo cluster, Zaborski (1984), Hayward (1987, 1999) and Azeb (1994 and 1996), Bender (2000) can be mentioned. But none of these works has included material from Haro.

With regard to works on individual Ometo languages and dialects, several studies are found: Bruce Adams (1983) on Wolaitta; Hayward (1982) on Koyra, (1990) on Zayse; Azeb (1996) on Basketo, (1997) on Wolaitta and (2001) on Maale; Allan (1976) on Kullo, Hampo, (1990) on Gamo; Ford (1990); Lamberti and Sottile (1997); Ohman and Hailu (l976) are some of the published descriptive studies on different issues and aspects of the said languages. Other than these, students of Addis Ababa University have produced a number of senior essays and M.A. theses on individual Ometo languages.

1.6. Theoretical and methodological preliminaries

The descriptive approach of linguistics that treats languages in terms of their internal structures is applied to describe the grammatical system of Haro. When relevant to explain the Haro data, other theories are also utilized. Ideas developed within typological studies of syntactic structures, for example as summarized in Shopen (1985) and guidelines

outlined for Studying and Describing unwritten languages (Bouquiaux 1992) are used as a heuristic device.

The Haro data do not fit into the traditional approach 'item and arrangement morphology' which regards words as realizing ordered sequences of morphemes. A single morph can stand for more than one grammatical exponent in Haro. For instance, each of the two grammatical features: case and gender, definiteness and gender, tense and modality are attested expressed jointly via a single element. The notion of Word and Paradigm Morpholgy as expressed by Matthews (1972, 1974, 1991), Anderson (1977,1982, 1985) etc., can handle the data in Haro better. A similar situation is attested for Maale (Azeb 2000). In explaining the system of case marking in Haro which is applied only to a set of nouns, we refer to the notion of 'differential case marking' as outlined by (Aissen 2000).

In the second part of the thesis, where we discuss some comparative data of the Ometo languages, we utilize a comparative method, which is used in determining older patterns of a language and how the descendent languages have reached their present form. The comparative method has been highly successful in disclosing relationships between languages and in permitting us to reconstruct earlier forms than those attested. As Bynon (1977:45) points out, since related languages have preserved and modified inherited forms and rules in different ways, systematic comparison should allow the recovery of the original system from which they all derive. In order to account systematically for the phenomena of language change, it is postulated two fundamental principles governing the development of language through time, namely sound change and analogy. Sound change deals with processes operating at the phonological level while analogy deals with those at the grammatical level, (Bynon, 1977:24).

Based on the procedures for morphological reconstruction proposed by Ross (1996:220-221), different morphs are matched across the members of the Ometo languages selected from the four subgroups. The relative likelihood of each of the compared forms and paradigmatic patterns will be assessed to check whether they are archaic or innovative. Protoforms of the attested forms are posited and plausible processes of morphological changes that would transform the protoform into each of the attested forms are identified.

Whenever possible. a historical explanation on the origin of certain affixes is offered. For instance, the agentive nominal marker in the Ometo languages is attested to be originated from the word for 'man/person'. Similarly, the paucal marker in Haro is identified as a derivative of a previously freestanding lexical morpheme. In explaining the origin of affixes from erstwhile free lexical items we follow Givon (1971), Bybee and Pagliuca (1985) and others. In explaining etymology of the quinary base which is not the form for 'five', we apply the notion of conceptual transfer as indicated in (Greenberg 1978, Heine (1997, etc.).

The following methods of investigation are employed in the study. The linguistic data is elicited by using linguistic questionnaire. Mainly, questionnaire outlined by Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992) is used. The non-linguistic information is collected by using participant observation and interviewing.

1.7. Fieldwork and Data

The Haro data used in this study were collected in consequetive fieldworks carried out by the researcher in the Geditcho island. The first fieldwork was conducted during the period between September 2001 to August 202 and the second period of fieldwork was conducted between April 2003 and June 2003.

A short period of fieldwork was also carried out by the authour in May 1998, before she started working on the dissertation, when the researcher got the first chance to be introduced to the people, the language and the place where Haro is spoken. The basic wordlist and some preliminary grammatical data were collected in that very first fieldwork on Haro. The Research and Publication Office of Addis Ababa University sponsored the fieldwork.

Both elder as well as younger members of the community were used as informants of the Haro language. The principal informants were Beyene Alemayehu, Shito Beteno, Machessa Battere, Mersha Alemayehu and Segaye Shocha.

For the second part of the study, which deals with some historical-comparative research on the development of certain morphological aspects of Ometo, comparative data were compiled on different Ometo languages belonging to the four sub-groups. For the East Ometo sub-group, data on Haro, Zayse and Koyra have been used. For the North Ometo sub-group, which contains several members, data on Malo, Dawuro, Gamo, Wolaitta, and Oyda are used. Data on Basketo of the West Ometo and Maale,

the only member of South Ometo, are also included. Most of the comparative data have been collected by the authour. Sponsored by the Federal Government of Ethiopia, the researcher conducted consequetive fieldworks in 1998 and 1999.in Arbaminch and the surrounding areas and collected data on Gamo, Wolaitta, Dawuro, Gofa and Dorze. The data on Ganjule was collected in April 2003 in Shele-Mele in the way back from the Geditcho island.

In additon to the primary data, secondary sources are used for languages which have literature such as Maale, Basketo, Zayse , Malo, Oyda and Koyra.

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY

In this chapter, we deal with the phonology of Haro. The chapter identifies the basic phonemes and their allophonic variants, co-occurrence restrictions and the phonological processes operating in the system. In addition, suprasegmental feature, syllable structures, and morphophonemic processes are investigated. Finally, the contrast between the phonological and grammatical word in Haro is addressed. In our presentation, transcriptions enclosed in forward slashes are intended as phonemic transcriptions, while those in square brackets are intended to be phonetic. Transcriptions that are not otherwise marked can be considered phonemic.

Consonants

The consonants in Haro share many features with that of other Ometo languages such as Maale (Azeb 2001) and Zayse (Hayward 1990) for instance. Few distinct features are also observed. Based on their manner of articulation, consonants in Haro can be categorized into six categories: stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, approximants and semi-vowels. There is a three-way distinction between voiceless, voiced and ejective consonants for stops, fricatives and affricates in several places of articulations. Identification and description of Haro consonants is presented below.

Stops

Haro has bilabial, alveolar, velar and glottal stop series. With the exception of the glottal stop, which is voiceless, other stops in this language occur in series contrasting voiceless, voiced and ejective for each place of articulation. The stops in Haro occur at onset position but they are not attested at the coda position of a syllable. Description and exemplification on each consonant will be given below.

1. /p/: voiceless, bilabial, stop:

The phoneme /p/ undergoes different phonetic modifications. Preceding a vocalic segment at a word initial position, it is realized as an aspirated [pʰ]. In the intervocalic position it gets spirantized and appears as [☞] or interchangeably as [f].

[pʰúlto]	'hot spring '
[pʰila]	'cheese'
[yéé☞o]/[yééfo]	'crying'
[☜a☞úntˢi]/[☜afúntˢi]	'tear drop'
[šemp-ó]	'breathing'

2. /p'/ voiceless, bilabial, ejective:

Examples:
[bip'ílo]	'roasted grain'

3. /b/: voiced, bilabial, stop:

/b/ occurs in all environments except word-finally. In inter-vocalic position, it is realized as a voiced bilabial fricative [ꟿ].

Examples:
[binána]	'hair'
[wórba]	'tiger'
[búúꟿa]	'flying'
[☜aꟿáꟿo]	'uncle'

4. /t/: voiceless, alveolar, stop:

In word initial position preceding a vowel, it is realized as an aspirated, [tʰ].

Examples:
[tʰamá]	'fire'
[pʰíte]	'to sweep'

5. /d/: voiced, alveolar, stop:

Examples:
[☜áde]	'husband'

[dóro]   'sheep'

6. /k/: voiceless, velar, stop:

It is aspirated word initially before a vowel.

Examples:

[kʰ um-á]   'full'
[lankúčče]   'eight'

7. /k'/: voiceless, velar, ejective:

Examples:

[k'ufé]   'cough'
[k'amité]   'dinner'

8. /g/: voiced, velar, stop:

Examples:

[agéssi]   'wind'
[gárma]   'lion'

9. / /: voiceless, glottal, stop:

As mentioned above, the glottal stop differs from other stops in that it does

not occur as part of a series.

Examples:

[zú a]   'chest'
[azááge]   'hippopotamus'

The bilabial and alveolar stop series have implosive members in addition.

10. / /: voiced, bilabial, implosive:

Examples:

[u úle]   'egg'
[šéé o]   'crocodile

11. / /: voiced, alveolar, implosive:

The implosives in Haro are very rare and, therefore, marginal to the inventory.

The following are examples of such occurrences:

[wo -á]   'kill:IMP'
[hara o]   'termite'

The alveolar implosive in Haro is freely interchangeable with the alveolar

ejective, /t'/, which is preferably used by youngsters of the community. Haro speakers

may have borrowed this consonant from their neighbouring Cushitic language, Bayso,

in which they are fluent. This process results in demolishing the class of implosives, which has two marginal consonants: ↖ and ◷. On the other hand, it extends the class of ejectives by adding one more member. This makes Haro different from other Ometo languages. Haro, has two alveolar ejectives, /t'/ and /s'/, at least in its phonetic inventory, while other languages of Ometo only have one or the other; for instance, Wolayitta (Adams 1983) has /t'/ but not /s'/; Gamo (Hirut, 1999), Gofa (Moreno, 19380), Dawuro (Allan, 1976), Koyra (Hayward, 1982), Basketo (Haileyesus, 1988), Zayse (Hayward, 1990), and Maale (Azeb, 2001) have /s'/ in the absence of /t'/. Ford (1990: 413) points out that in Koyra /t'/ occurs in borrowed words and are pronounced only by speakers who are 'phonologically bilingual'.

All in all, the stop series in Haro, consists of the following eleven consonants: /p/, /p'/,/b/ /◷/ ,/t/,/d//↖/,/k/,/k'/ /g/ and /☞/.

Fricatives

Haro has five fricative series: /s/, /s'/, /z/, /š/, /h/. The fricatives in Haro occur in four places of articulations corresponding to all of the places of articulations in which the stops occur. The fricative series has an additional member in the alveo-palatal place of articulation where no stop counterpart is found. The fricatives of Haro occur in series containing voiced and voiceless members. In the series of alveolar fricatives, in addition to voicing, glottalization plays a role of contractiveness. Thus, the alveolar fricative series in Haro has three members: voiced, voiceless and ejective. The following words illustrate occurrence of such consonants:

1) [sáka]   'soil'

      [bóósa]   'grave'
      [didúnsi]   'thunder'

[zááwa]   'house'

[háyzzi]   'three'

[👌ins'ire]   'tongue'

[s'eete]   'hundred'

The alveo-palatal series in Haro constitutes only one member: a voiceless /š/.

2)   [šoré]   'porridge'

[wóyšši]   'a kind of tree'

The other fricative consonant, which cannot take part in voicing

alternation, is a glottal fricative. The glottal fricative series has, therefore, a single

member.

3)   [háyzzi]   'three'

[gihóra]   'sleeping'

Haro has two labial fricatives [f] / [☞] and [🖎]. As shown earlier (2.1.1.1),

these segments are not distinct contrastive phonemes, but phonetic realizations of the

respective stops in the sense that they are phonologically conditioned variants of /p/

and /b/, respectively.

2.1.3. Affricates

Haro has four affricates produced in alveolar and palatal places of articulation.

The alveolar affricate series has a single member: voiceless, /tˢ/, while the palatal

series consists of three members contrasting in voicing and glottalization: /č/, /ǰ/

and /č'/, respectively.

The alveolar affricate /tˢ/ differs in two respects. First, it does not occur word-

initially. More significantly, it does not involve voicing alternation. In the same way,

the voiceless palatal affricate /č/ is attested only at word-medial position, while its

voiced and ejective counterparts occur word-initially as well as word-medially.

4)   [kʰukúntˢi]   'eye lash'

[s'ugúntˢi]   'nail'

[gánče]   'stomach'

[eʄášši]   'fear'

[☞areʄáta]   'chair'

Affricates in Haro are interpreted as single consonantal units rather than a sequence of a stop and fricatives. An affricate in Haro can occur as a member of a cluster, an otherwise consideration would result in a cluster of three consonants, which is not allowed in the language. The following words illustrate occurrences of the affricates as members of a cluster:

5)   kirč 'ifile   'ankle'

            gančе   'stomach''

            kukunt^{s}i   'eye lash'

Haro has gone through reduction and distributional restriction of sibilant consonants. Apparently, the asymmetry and defective distribution of affricates is a widespread phenomenon attested in most languages of Omotic (cf. Hayward, 1986, 1988, 1990).

The affricates /t^s/ /č/ and /j/ occur very rarely, and are restricted to word-initial position.   Comparative data shows merger between **/t^s/** and **/s/** at word-medial positions in Haro. Consider the following cognates:[2]

Haro	Ganjule	Gamo	Dawuro	Gofa	
suussi	suut^{s}i	suut^{s}u	suut^{s}a	suut^s i	'blood'
t'ansi		ʛant^{s}a	ʛant^{s}a	ʛant^{s}i	'breast'
karsi	kart^{s}i	karet^{s}i	karet^{s}a	karet^{s}a	'black'

*Table 1: merger of **/t^s/** and **/s/***

A somehow parallel situation is attested with the voiced alveolar affricate, /d^z/, which is synchronically absent from the consonant inventory of Haro. As evidenced from comparative data, /d^z/ has been replaced by a geminated voiced alveolar fricative

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[2] The data for Basketo, Maale, Koyra and Gamo are from Azeb (2001), Hayward (1982) and Hirut (1999) respectively. The rest are from my own field notes.

in Haro. A similar situation like Haro is observed with cognates of Wolaitta, Gofa and Dawuro. Consider the following cognates for the word 'three':

6)   *Haro   Basketo   Gamo   Wolayitta   Dawuro   Gofa   Koyra*
              hayzzi   hayd^{z}i   heed^{z}a   heezza   heezza   heezza   hayd^z e

That the voiced alveolar affricate /d^z / in Haro has merged with the corresponding fricative has caused asymmetry in the affricate series, which contains /t^s/, but not /d^z/.

The voiceless palatal affricate **/č/** in Haro has a defective distribution. It is absent from a word-initial position and rarely found elsewhere. The absence of /č/ from the initial position of a word is also attested in other languages of Ometo such as Zayse (Hayward 1982), Koyra (Ford 1990), Maale (Azeb 2001), Gamo, Dawuro etc,. In the case of Haro

/ č/ has undergone merger with /š/ even in the word-medial position where it is well preserved in other members. The same situation as that of Haro is also attested with other members of Ometo such as Ganjule, Gamo, Wolayitta, and Maale as shown below[3]

Haro	Ganjule	Gamo	Wolayitta	Maale	
☞ašó	☞ačo	☞ašo	☞ašó	☞aški	meat
☞iše	☞iče	☞iša	☞išá	☞íšó	brother
mišo	mičo	miččó	miččó	míšó	sister
ku´še	kuče	ku´še	ku´še	kúčči	hand

Table 2: *merger of /č/ and /š/*

2.1.4. Nasals

Haro has nasal phonemes in two places of articulations: labial and alveolar. These are /m/ and /n/.

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[3] The Maale cognates are taken from Azeb(2001) while the Koyra and Zayse cognates are from Hayward(1982) and (1990) respectively.

7)   [zumá]   'hill'

           [míšo]   'sister'
           [gáárma]   'lion'

The alveolar nasal in Haro undergoes a homorganic assimilation with the alveolar, palatal and velar oral consonants, which follows it .It is thus realized as [n], [✸] and [⚇] before a palatal and velar consonants respectively as illustrated in (8).

8)   [hánta]   'work'

           [bá⚇ga]   'sorghum'
           [kú⚇ke]   'nose'
           [dímbe]   'drum'
           [di⚇gíre꜀e]   'heel'
           [kú⚇ke]   'nose'
           [k'i✸č'ífile]   'ankle'
           [gá✸če]   'stomach''

Liquids

Haro has two liquids: /l/ and /r/.

/l/   voiced, alveolar, lateral

9)   [lo◌ó]   'beautiful/good'
           [láále]   'thin'

/r/ voiced, alveolar flap:

10)   [hadúrsi]   'left'

The phoneme /r/ does not occur at word-initial position. Such a defective distribution of /r/ is attested in other Ometo varieties as well (cf. Hayward, 1990:223).

2.1.6. Semi-vowels

There are two semi-vowels in Haro: the labio-velar /w/ and the palatal semi-vowels /y/. Both are voiced. Examples:

11)   [wódira]   'thigh'
           [gáwo]   'belly'

[haybo]   'death'
[yé☞o]   'crying'
[yéé]   'that/those'

All in all, twenty-six consonant phonemes are found in Haro, as presented

in the following chart:

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	t		k	☞
	Voiced	b	d		g	
	Ejectives	p'			k'	
	Implosive	🕐	↖			
Fricatives	Voiceless		s	š		h
	Voiced		z			
	Ejectives		s'			
Affricates	Voiceless		tˢ	č		
	Voiced			ej		
	Ejective			č'		
Nasals		m	n			
Flap			r			
Lateral			l			
Glides		w		y		

Table 3: The consonant phonemes of Haro

2.1.7. Gemination

All consonants except **h**,☞, **j**, **r**, and **tˢ** can be geminated in Haro.
Gemination is phonemic, as illustrated in (12).

12)　　　　túke　　　　'foot'
　　　　　　túkke　　　'coffee'

　　　　　　ʔalá　　　　'what'
　　　　　　ʔálla　　　'earth'

　　　　　　sáwo　　　　'smell'
　　　　　　sáwwo　　　'peace(used for greetings)'

　　　　　　bák'a　　　'a stick with a branching end'
　　　　　　bák'k'a　　'a slap'

　　　　　　mísi　　　　'tree/wood'
　　　　　　míssi　　　'cattle/cow'

A geminated consonant in Haro is considered as a sequence of two single consonants. Such an account is preferred for the fact that a geminated consonant like another cluster of consonants get split into two and occur as parts of two different syllable units (see 2.4). However, a geminated consonant as any other single consonant occurs as a second member of a consonant cluster as in (13).

13)　　　　háyssi　　'butter'
　　　　　　bórkka　　'mucus'
　　　　　　k'úrbbo　'testicle'
　　　　　　ʔóóntta 'neck'

In addition to the phonological gemination, Haro has a morphologically conditioned gemination predictably occurring with prefixation. An initial consonant of a verb stem gets geminated when a pronominal prefix is attached to it. For example, prefixiation of a pronominal marker to the verb-root **guydd**- 'hit' results in gemination of the consonant **g** as shown in (14)

14)　　　　**[tá-ggu ydd-e]**
　　　　　　1SG-hit-AFF:DEC
　　　　　　'I hit.'

　　　　　　[né-gguydd-e]
　　　　　　2SG-hit AFF:DEC
　　　　　　'You hit.'

　　　　　　[ʔé- gguydd-e]
　　　　　　3MS-hit-AFF:DEC
　　　　　　'He hits.'

Similarly, an initial consonant of a nominal to which a Genitive pronoun gets prefixed undergoes the same process. The following structures involve prefixation of genitive pronouns to a noun **míssi** 'cow'.

15) **[tá-mmíssi]**
 1SG-cow
 'my cow'

 [né-mmíssi]
 2SG cow
 'your cow'

 [⟨⟩é-mmíssi]
 3MS-cow
 'his cow'

Co-occurrence restrictions

A consonant cluster in Haro has two members of which the second consonant may be a geminated one. There is a constraint on the kind of consonant used as a first member of the cluster. The latter should be a liquid, a nasal or a semi-vowel: l, r, n, m, y or w. In a very few cases, the sibilants /s/ and /š/ are found occurring as a first member of a cluster:

16) **⟨⟩iskora**   'sleeping'
 gašmalo   'wave'

There is a wider choice in selection of the second member. Except p,p' r,h,w and j, all consonants can be used as a second member of a cluster. Clusters lk', rm, rb, rd, nt, rg, yš, yd,yb, lk,yk,ns', nk, mb,rs, yč,nč, mb,m⟨⟩, nč', ng, nč',rj,ws,r⟨⟩,l⟨⟩,yz,r⟨⟩,rč',nk' ,ls   are common in Haro.

wúlk'a	'power'	gáárma	'lion'
wórba	'bee'	hantássi	'worker'
maydó	'ox'	déeyšši	'goat'
tolkó	'hyena'	dímbe	'drum'
gúl⟨⟩a	'navel'	worga	'find:IMP'
mant'ák'o	'hook'	dingírje	'heel'
šánka	'hunting'	kinč'ifile	'ankle'
gánde	'axe'	nam⟨⟩u	'two'
kársi	'black'	karse	'black'
⟨⟩ár⟨⟩o	'big'	barč'úk'e	'a kind of food'
háyzzi	'three'	dínk'e	'skin of barley'
haybo	'death'	gánče	'stomach'
⟨⟩alsá	'finish:IMP'		

Table 4: Examples on consonant cluster

A consonant cluster is restricted to a word-medial position. At the surface level, however, one may encounter a cluster of consonant word-finally. This is a result of an omitted word-final vowel, which is attested in certain phonological environments, as in the following are examples:

17)
[kukunts]	'eyelash'
[k'eyš]	'fence'
[deyšš]	'goat'
[č'irunč]	'tik'
[diduns]	'thunder'

When another morpheme follows such forms the final vowel reappears, as in the case of **déyšši** 'goat' in the following example:

18) tán-í   déyšši tá-   wong- ín- e
     I-NOM   goat   1SG- buy- PA- AFF:DEC
     'I bought a goat.'

2.2.   Vowels

The Haro vowel system consists of five short and five long phonemic vowels.

i	**u**	**ii**	**uu**
e	**o**	**ee**	**oo**
	a		**aa**

The following are examples of minimal pairs of the Haro vowels:

19)   /a/ : /o/

           /☞olá/   'drop:IMP'

           /☞oló/   'old time'

           /e/ : /o/

           /dóó/   'you:SG:MAS:VOC'

           /déé/   'you:SG:FEM:VOC'

           /i/ : /e/

           /☞ísí/   'she:NOM'

           /☞ésí/   'he:NOM

           /u/ : /o/

           /wulk'a/   'fluid'

/wólk'a/　　　'power'

Long vowels often occur in the penultimate syllable.

20)　　　　　báálle　　　'wet'
　　　　　　maatá　　　'grass'
　　　　　　saamó　　　'cabbage'
　　　　☞úússi　　　'wild banana'
　　　　　　káási　　　'play'
　　　　　　bíínne　　　'mosquito'
　　　　　　šeeč'é　　　'sand'
　　　　　　k'aaré　　　'monkey'
　　　　　　búúso　　　'song'
　　　　　　tiiró　　　'darkness'

Long vowels are not common in word-final position. Exceptions are certain

interrogative and negative verb structures:

21)　　　　hiidibóó　　　'Didn't you say so?'
　　　☞ohibéé　　　　　'Didn't he say so?'
　　　☞ohimaans'úú　'Didn't you(pl) say so?'

A long vowel is also found with vocative pronouns.;

22)　　　　dóó　　　'you:SG:MAS:VOC'
　　　　　déé　　　'you:SG:FEM:VOC'

Parallel to a geminated consonant, a sequence of identical vowels is not

interpreted as two segments, but treated as a single unit with a relatively long

duration. That a sequence of identical vowels always belong to one and the same

syllable, and carry identical but not two different tone levels shows their being a

single unit.

23)　　　　gáárma　　　'lion'
　　　　　bíínne　　　'mosquito'
　　　　　déé　　　'you:VOC'
　　　　　guus　　　'small'
　　　　　k'aaré　　　'ape'

Unlike in some other Ometo languages such as Maale, Wolaitta etc.,

'diphtongaization' is not found in Haro, that is, a sequence of two different

vowels is not attested. Instead, sequences of a vowel plus an approximant as in

maydó 'ox' are common in Haro:

When two vowels come in sequence by a morphological process, they are

usually brought into conformity by deletion of the first vowel, as illustrated in (24)

24) kápo - iʡe→ kap-íʡe 'birds'
mááč'e-iʡe→ maač'- íʡe 'women'

2. 3. Tone-accent

Like other Ometo varieties for which there exist descriptions, such as Wolaitta (Azeb, 1996), Zayse (Hayward, 1990) and Gamo (Hayward, 1994), Haro is a tone-accent language, in which a high tone occurs only once per simple word. As Hayward (1999:231) states, in such languages

> [P]rominence is regarded as cumulative or syntagmatic, as the pitch melody of a sentence is almost entirely predicable from a knowledge of the pitch properties of the words of which it is composed. One thing that differentiates such a system from that of a stereotypical tone language is the fact that obvious constraints are imposed on the occurrence of one of the tones, the High tone.

The tone-accent in Haro words is carried by the nucleus of a syllable, which can be a short or long vowel. A long vowel in Haro is always assigned identical, but never contrastive tones.

25) ʡóóntta 'neck' tóʡo 'bright'
súússi 'blood' darúri 'sky'
ʡííta 'bad' ʡíše 'brother'
gáámo 'lion' ʡaawá 'sun'
keemó 'cattle' ʡatté 'back'

A change in tone pattern of a word may result in change in the word's grammatical meaning:

26) máʡo 'to dress'
maʡó 'cloth'
ʡúwwa 'screaming'
ʡuwwá 'scream:IMP'
gobá 'be brave'
góba 'brave'
ʡééha 'to love'
ʡeehá 'love:IMP'

The once-per-word high accent constraint does not apply on pronouns and some other morphologically complex words. Furthermore, a morphological process may affect the original tone-accent placement in a word, i.e., it may result in a shift in the original tone-accent placement. The exact placement of the High tone-accent in a

simple word is not predictable, especially in di-syllabic words. Below a description of the tone-accent pattern in different word-classes and words of different syllable structures is provided.

2.3.1. Tone-accent in nominals

The basic tone-accent configurations of Haro nouns and adjectives are given below.

1.2.0.0.   Monosyllabic nominals:

Haro has a set of nominals which have a monosyllabic surface level. These words appear to have a level tone. This may be because the domain of tone-accent marking requires at least two syllables to show contrast in tone-accent:

27)   [šeem]   'a kind of pest'
          [miss]   'cattle'
          [šoš]   'snake'

Exceptional monosyllabic forms assigned high 'tone-accent' are the vocative pronouns, **dóó** 'you' (Mas) and **déé** 'you' (Fem).

1.2.0.0.   Disyllabic nominals

The majorities of nominals in Haro are disyllabic and bear a high tone-accent on the penultimate syllable, as illustrated below:

28)   bálle   'leaf'   ☞áro   'big'
          zó☞a   'chest'   šúgo   'soft/young'
          wási   'water'   páča   'wide'
          bíínne   'mosquito'   lápa   'weak'
          súússi   'blood'   čolólo   'deep'
          kúše   'hand'   gússi   'small'
          gáárma   'lion'   dóóma   'tilted'
          zíízo   'bee'   háta   'short'
          tólko   'hyena'   méla   'dry'
          ☞óta   'calabash'   pás'a   'healthy'

In few cases, the ultimate syllable may bear a high tone-accent. It is not possible, however, to predict in any way the tone-accent placement of individual words.

29   kapó   'bird'   laalí   'thin'

kapó	'bird'		laalí	'thin'
kunké	'nose'		ɗaadé	'true'
moló	'fish'		k'aaré	'ape'
ɗašó	'meat'		dees'ó	'heavy'
wašé	'ear'		kumé	'full'
kaatí	'king'		ɗaddá	'father'

2.3.1.3 Poly-syllabic nominals

Most of the nominals in this category are tri-syllabic. Placement of the high tone-accent in these nominals is almost entirely predictable, always occurring on the penultimate syllable.

30)
wus'úns'e	'fly'
gus'úme	'worm'
belétti	'moon'
ɗangússi	'first born(Mas)'
kinč'ifíle	'ankle'
s'olíínte	'a kind of shining worm'
barrája	'star'
belétti	'snow'
ʔuʔúlle	'egg'
merééra	'a kind of food'
mus'úro	'heart'
suk'asúk'o	'a kind of fly'

As mentioned above, morphological processes cause a shift on the original tone-accent pattern of simple lexical items, attracting the tone-accent to the penultimate syllable. The following are Absolutive forms of examples of indefinite, definite, indefinite plural and definite plural nouns in Haro. Consider the tone-accent shift into the penultimate syllable.

31)

Indefinite	Definite	Ind.Plural	Df Plural	
tólko	tolkóza	tolkíꞪe	tolkiꞪéza	hyena
gáárma	gaarmáza	gaarmíꞪe	gaarmiꞪéza	lion
ɗangússi	ɗangussáza	ɗangussíꞪe	ɗangussiꞪéza	1st born (Mas)
šeeʔítto	šeeʔítto	šeeʔíꞪe	šeeʔittéza	crocodile
šééʔo	kapítto	kapíꞪe	kapittéza	bird
kapó				

The same situation is observed with nominal derivation, in which attachment of a derivational morpheme causes a shift in the high tone-accent of the stem so that the tone-accent occurs on the penultimate syllable of the derived form.

32) láále   'thin'   laaléte   'thinness'
     č'olólo   'deep'   č'ololéte   'depth'
     jí⟡o   'poor'   ji⟡éte   'poorness'
     géšše   'clean'   geššéte   'cleanness'

When followed by another morpheme the tone pattern of the nominal stem shifts to secure a penultimatie accented syllable.

33) zawwá   **gešš- eté- z-   i**   lo⟡ó⟡&⟡&□
     house:ABS   clean-NMZ-MAS:DF-NOM good-FOC
     'The house's cleanness (being clean) is good.'

Nouns which have verbal counterparts behave in the same way as other simple nouns discussed above. That is the tone-accent may fall either on the penultimate (34) or ultimate (35) syllable and this cannot be predicted on morphological or phonological grounds.

34)
     wóss-i   'running'   móóg-o   'burying
     ⟡úš-e   'drinking'   túk-o   'planting'
     č'óšš-i   'vomiting'   gúm⟡-o   'squeezing'
     yéél-o   'giving birth   s'úúg-e   'burning'
     šóg-e   'washing'   č'útt-e   'spiting'
     ⟡áčč-i   'tiding up'   púnn-o   'blowing'
     káss-o   'cooking'   ⟡útt-e   'siting down'

35) hant-á   'going'
     šemp-ó   'breathing'
     č'o⟡l- á   'wishing'
     šank –á   'hunting'
     ⟡er- ó   'knowing'

2.3.2. Tone-accent in verbs

The tone accent pattern of an inflected verb seems to be determined by the type of the suffix attaching to the verb.

In Haro, the verb is inflected for tense, aspect and mood, as will be presented in Chapter Five. It seems that each verbal paradigm has its own tone accent pattern. For instance, in the present tense, the verb root is always accented while the suffix is not accented. In the case of the past and future tense paradigms, the accent occurs on the tense marker, which occurs preceding the affirmative declarative marker. In contrast to this, in the imperative, the verb root occurs unaccented, while the suffix gets accented. The following paradigms illustrate our point. The prefix **tá** in the verb

forms is a first person singular subject agreement marker. (Tone-accent placement in other verbal paradigms is shown in their respective sections in Chapter Five.)

36)   Present   Past   Future   Imperative

tá-wóss-e   tá-woss-ín-e   tá-woss-ór-e   woss-á   'run'
tá-☞úš-e   tá-☞uš-ín-e   tá-☞uš-ór-e   ☞uš-á   'drink'
tá-šóg-e   tá-šog-ín-e   tá-šog-ór-e   šog-á   'wash'
tá-káss-e   tá-kass-ín-e   tá-kass-ór-e   kass-á   'cook'

2.3.3. Tone-accent of pronouns

As mentioned above, pronouns in Haro behave uniquely in their tone-accent patterns, having more than one high tone-accent per word.

37)   táná   'I:ABS'
        néná   'you ABS '
        ☞ísá   'she:ABS'
        ☞ésá   'he:ABS'
        núná   'we:ABS'
        ☞úníná   'you(pl) :ABS'
        ☞úsíná   'they:ABS'

The confirmative expression ☞éró, 'of course/O.K', is also found assigned with two high tone-accents.

2.4.   The syllable structure

In this subsection, we describe the syllable structure of Haro. The constraint on the distribution of consonants within the syllable is also addressed. A syllable in Haro comprises an onset, nucleus and coda. The nucleus can be a long or short vowel. The coda is optional, as against the nucleus and the onset, which are

obligatory. The possible syllable types of Haro are: $CV_i(V_i)$ and $CV(V)C_i(C_2)$ as illustrated below.

CV	<u>sí</u>-no	'face'
CVV	<u>kéé</u>-mo	'cattle'
CVC	<u>wúl</u>-k'a	'power'
CVCC-	<u>bórk-ka</u>	'mucus'
CVVC	<u>guus</u>-sí	'intercouse
CVVCV	óónt-ta	'neck'

It has been emphasized in linguistic literature that what constitutes a well-formed syllable varies from language to language, and within a language it may also vary according to grammatical status and positions. The open syllable in Haro is the most preferred syllable type, occurring frequently and in any position of a word, while the closed syllable is constrained to non-word final positions. Occurrence of certain phonemes in Haro can also be explained in terms of syllable structure. For example, the affricate consonants **ts** and **č** do not occur at word initial position but they do occur at syllable initial position.

The syllable in Haro is rigidly structured with constraints in the occurrence of certain consonants in certain syllable positions. Especially the coda is much more restricted than is the onset. The onset can be filled by any consonant other than **r**, while the coda is restricted to either a liquid, or a semi-vowel, or nasal consonant.

In most cases, the penultimate syllable of a word bears a high tone-accent so that when a suffix gets added to a stem, the high tone-accent occurs on the new penultimate syllable.

38)   gáárma   'lion:IND:ABS'
        gaarm-íↄe   'lion:PL:IND:ABS'
        gaarm-íↄé-za   'lion:PL:DF:ABS'

1.4.   Phonological processes

2.4.1. Free variation

The consonants ◣ and **t'** occur in free variation, as in the following:

39)   ◣áánsi =   t'áánsi   'breast'
           ◣egg-á =   t'egg-á   'refuse!'

The same alternation is observed in the plural marker, which can be realized

as

-i◣e or -it'e:

40)   deyší◣e =   deyšít'e 'goats'
           ◁eč'erí◣e   =   ◁eč'erít'e   'rats'

2.4.2. Devoicing/deletion of final vowels

With the exception of the low vowel, *a*, vowels in Haro are deleted or devoiced

before a pause, as shown below.

41)   [déyši◡◉]   'goat'   [támmu◡◉]   'ten'   [s'ééte◡◉]   'hundred'
        [súúsi◡◉]   'blood   [mek'éte◡◉]   'bone'   [túkke◡◉]   'coffee'
        [gámmo◡◉]'lion'   [lááfu◡◉]   'six'   [šóši◡◉]   'snake'
        [maččo◡◉] 'woman'   [múúmi◡◉]   'deaf'   [mišo◡◉]   'sister'
        [s'ugúntˢi◡◉]   'nail'   [◁izzífu◡◉]   'six' [gúúsi◡◉]   'small'

Vowels bearing a high-tone accent are not subjected to such a process even if

they follow a voiceless sibilant or a nasal as in (42)

42)   kapó   'bird'
        ◣atté   'back'
        keemó   'cattle'
        bošé   'hill'
        biššó   'girl'
        maassí   'milk'
        ◁ašó   'meat'
        kunké   'nose'

An unaccented final vowel remains voiced if preceded by a consonant other

than voiceless sibilant.

43)   ◁azáge   'hippopotamus'
        mus'úro   'heart'
        ◁órde   'fat'
        bálle   'leaf'

It is also observed that the devoicing has different degrees of realizations across vowels. The vowels **e** and **o**, still are better audible while the high vowels are reduced to inaudible whisper. In the latter case, the vowel quality can only be recognized when followed by another morpheme.

As Hayward (1982) points out, devoicing and total or partial loss of final short vowels is characteristic feature of a number of languages of this area including the Cushitic languages, Booraan and Burji.

2.6.   Morphophonemic processes

The following processes are often attested at morpheme boundaries.

2.6.1. Gemination

Two instances of gemination processes are attested. One concerns initial consonants of a set of nouns and the other concerns final consonants of a group of verb roots.

Initial consonant of nouns having a high tone-accent on the initial syllable gets geminated when a prefix gets attached.

44)   lááge   'friend'   [tá-llááge]   'my friend'
             míšo   'sister'   [tá-mmíšo]   'my sister'
             gútta   'relative'   [né-ggutta]   'your(sg) relative'

      A set of verbs in Haro exhibit gemination of final consonant of the root. Compared to their nominal

correspondences. The gemination may be a result of a fossilized verbal marker (cf: Hayward 1996)

45)   bák'a   'slap'

             bak'k'-   to slap
             suk'e   'weaved cotton'
             suk'k'- 'to weave'
             dome   'a starting point'
             domm-   'start'
             sogo   'jumping'
             sogg-   'jump'

2.6.2.. Consonant Alternation

Lexically or grammatically determined changes of the final consonant(s) of a verb root is a prototypical feature of the Ometo languages, more particularly that of the East Ometo varieties (see Hayward, 1982,1990; Azeb 2001). The consonant alternations in Haro are attested between a verb form and its nominal counterpart and they can be categorized into the following three types.

- *Ejective –non ejective correspondences*

A correspondence between non-ejective and ejective sibilant consonants is observed in the following nominal and verbal pairs.

46)   **č→č'**

☞oyičči	'asking'	☞oyič'č'-	'to ask'
☞ačči	'tying'	☞ač'č'-	'to tie'
miičči	'laughter'	miič'č'-	'to laugh'
bičči	'urine'	bič'č'-	'to urinate'

s→s'

sússi	'blood:ABS'	sús'-	'to bleed'
pássi	'getting cured'	pas'-	'to get cured'
wossi	'running'	wos's'-	'to run'

- *Labial – velar correspondences*

Four quite intriguing labial-velar correspondences are attested on the final consonant of a verb stem and its nominal cognate. The first and the common one is alternation of a final nasal bilabial consonant **m** with a consonant cluster **ng**, and in one instance **nt**.

	Verb root		**Nominals**	
47	☞ing-	'give'	☞ím-e	'giving'
	wong-	'buy'	wóóm-a	'buying'
	☞ung-	'fail'	☞úme	'failure'
	sang-	'get rotten '	sám-a	'rotten'
	k'ang-	'curse'	k'ám-e	'curse(N) '
	sang-	'get thirsty'	sáám-e	'thirsty'
	s'óóng-	'throw'	s'óóm-e	'throwing/arrow'
	č'ang-	'get bitter'	č'am-o	'bitter '
	kung-	'fill'	kúm-e	'full'
	hant-	'go'	hám-e	'going'

The second one is alternation of the voiceless bilabial consonant **p** with a voiceless velar consonant **k**, or its geminated form **kk**. A single instance of alternation of the cluster **nt** into **m** is also found.

48)   **Verb root**   **nominals**

yeek-	'cry'	yéép-o	'crying'
s'okk-	'drop(v)'	s'óp-e	'a drop of water'

The third correspondent involves verb stems ending with consonants **g** and **ʔ,** which have a corresponding nominal with **b**. This alternation is not widely attested.

49)

hayʔ-	'die'	háyb-o	'death/ dying'
taagg-	'count'	tááb-o	'counting/number'

An instance of consonant alternation among three consonants **d, y,** and **n** is encountered in the following verbal forms.

50)

beed-a	'look:IMP'
beeyy-e	'look:GER'
beey-in-e	'look:PAS'
been-tt-e	'look: PASS:NOM'

2.6.3. Deletion of segments

Two instances of deletion of segments are attested to in Haro. One is deletion of a TV of nominals before a suffixal element, such as a plural marker, **-iɗe,** for instance.

51)

šúro	'cat'	šur-íɗe	'cats'
doró	'sheep (sg.)'	dor-iɗé	'sheep (pl)'
ʔassí	'person'	ʔass-iɗé	'persons'

The second one occurs optionally with focal verbs. The final vowel of the focus marker **kko** and the initial consonant of the pronominal affix which follows the focus marker are deleted resulting in a contracted form.

52)

yottá-kko-ʔé-ne	->	yottá-kké-ne	'He goes / will go'
yottá-kko-ʔí-ne	->	yottá-kkí-ne	'She goes / will go'
yottá-kko-ʔíní -ne	->	yottá-kkiní-ne	'You (pl.) go / will go'
yottá-kko-ʔú-ne	->	yottá-kkú -ne	'They go / will go'

1.6.   The phonological and grammatical word in Haro

Since a word is the central element in a language, this section attempts to characterize words in Haro. The word 'word' is used in various and ambiguous ways in different linguistic discourses (see for instance, Lyons (1968), Matthews (1991:208)). Considering the existing problem on the definition of 'word', Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:2-6) suggest the following distinctions.

It is important to make certain fundamental distinctions: between a lexeme and its varying forms; between an orthographic word and other types of words; between a unit primarily defined on grammatical criteria and one primarily defined on phonological criteria.

Concerning the distinction between 'lexeme' and 'word', scholars like Lyons (1968:197), Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:7) suggest the use of 'lexeme' for root or underlying form and 'word' for inflected form of a lexeme. Linguistic literatures also emphasize the importance of distinguishing a phonological word from a grammatical word. Matthews (1991:209) points out that 'the word tends to be a unit of phonology as well as grammar' In this respect, Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:9) suggest that one should deal separately with 'grammatical word' and 'phonological word' and then examine the relationship between the two units.

According to Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:2-19), there could be a mismatch or coincidences between a grammatical word and a phonological word in languages. A phonological word can be characterized in terms of its segmental features, prosodic features and phonological rules (languages may have phonological rules occurring within a word as oppose to word boundary). On the other hand, a grammatical word should have a conventionalised coherence and meaning, and it consists of one or more grammatical elements that occur in a fixed order. A phonological word may also consist of more than one grammatical word. In light of the above discussion, below we consider the phonological and the grammatical word in Haro separately.

1.6.0.   The phonological word

Below, we define the phonological word in Haro in terms of its segmental feature, syllable structure and prosodic feature. A phonological word in Haro should be consonant-initial and vowel-final, e.g., **doró** 'sheep', **kang-á** 'take:IMP'.

Of the twenty-six consonant phonemes in the phonological inventory of Haro, /**r**/, cannot be used as a word initial segment. Thus, a phonological word in Haro

cannot start with the consonant **/r/**. As shown in 2.6, consonant alternation may occur especially in verbs, and only root- finally.

A phonological word in Haro should be a unit larger than a syllable, i.e., it should have at least two syllables, but not less. A verb root may be monosyllabic. However, in order to manifest as a phonological word, it obligatorily involves at least one inflectional suffix, a mood or modality marker, and thereby, satisfies the requirement of the syllable structure of a phonological word in the language. The exceptional monosyllabic forms attested in Haro are the vocative pronouns: **dóó** 'you (mas.) and **déé** 'you (fem.)'. These forms are considered to be borrowed from the neighbouring Cushitic languages, most probably from Bayso the other language in the island. Bayso has cognate forms; **kóó** and **téé** used as masculine and feminine vocative pronouns respectively[4]. On the other hand, no cognate counterparts are attested in other languages of Ometo, for which we have a description. Nouns and adjectives containing more than two syllables are less common.

There are phonotactic restrictions in the phonological structure of a word. A phonological word in Haro does not start in a geminated or a cluster of consonants. In addition, a phonological word cannot have a cluster of more than two consonants. There is a restriction in membership of the cluster. The first consonant of a cluster in Haro word should be either a liquid, or nasal or a semi-vowel: **l**, **r, n, m, y** or **w**. Only in a very few cases, sibilant **s** and **š** are attested occurring as a first member of a cluster (see 2.1.3.for phonotactic possibilities of a word in Haro).

In very many languages, stress (or accent) provides one criterion for phonological word (cf: Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2002:16). This criterion cannot be applied for Haro. The tone-accent placement in Haro may depend on a combination of

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[4] The data on the Bayso is from my own field notes.

lexical and morphological factors, and one cannot deduce a word from its tone-accent. Simple nouns have one high tone-accent, and the penultimate syllable is the most favourable place for a high-tone accent. However, there are also nouns with a high-tone accent on the ultimate syllable. On the other hand, personal pronouns, and complex word structures involving pronominal clitics may have more than one high tone-accent as a clitic in this language bears a high tone-accent (see for instance the deictic clitics in chapter six)

2.7.2. Grammatical word in Haro

A grammatical word in Haro does not always coincide with a phonological word for two reasons. One is that a phonological word in Haro may consist of one or more than one grammatical word. This happens because Haro has clitics, which are grammatical but not phonological words. They occupy an intermediate position between a phonological word and an affix. Depending on their grammatical and semantic properties, the clitics in Haro are pronominals and deictics. Examples of the former are **tá** '1SG', **né** '2SG', etc., and examples of the latter are such as **há, yéé etc,** which are used as a proximal and distal demonstratives (see also 4.1 and 6.2 respectively). In order to occur as a phonological word, they need to attach in to another phonological word, a head noun, which hosts them. When occurring without a head, the clitics occur attached to other special affixal elements, which serve as a place holding element for the omitted head noun (see the discussions in chapter four and six). The clitics in Haro are proclitic. This property suggests that they are not affixal elements since all affixes in Haro are suffixes but not prefixes.

It is also the case in Haro that a grammatical word may consist of more than one phonological word. This involves compound words, which consists of two phonological words as components, e.g.:

53) wašé tukke   'leaf of a coffee tree'

wašé	'ear'
tukke	'coffee'

Speaking about the morphological profile, various derivational processes may be applied to a root, each in turn forming a derived stem, phonological word. Inflections occur once the derivational processes have been applied. In certain cases, the presence of certain inflectional categories is relevant for the manifestation of a phonological word. For instance, mood/modality is an obligatory component of a verb. In contrast, tense and agreement markers are not required in all verb forms. In other words, there is no phonological verb without at least a mood/modality marker. On the other hand, there is interdependency in the presence of inflectional morphemes involve in a noun. A noun marked for definiteness should also be marked for case, otherwise it cannot be accepted as a phonological word. Parallel to that, a simple noun should always have a terminal vowel, which may be deleted when another affix is added. Interdependency of morphemes is also observed in nouns. A noun which is not marked for definiteness cannot also be marked for case (see Chapter Three). Similarly, personal pronouns in Haro are bound forms; they need to be case-marked to appear as a phonologically existing word, e.g., **tan-a** 'I: ABS' **tan-i** 'I:NOM'.

Further, a word in Haro respects cohesiveness. It does not allow intervention of another element between the root and the suffixal elements (for the discussion on the type of morphemes and their order in words see the morphological descriptions in the proceeding chapters).

THE NOUN

The overwhelming majority of simple nouns in Haro are disyllabic. Monosyllabic nouns are not attested. Most polysyllabic nouns, that is, nouns with three or more syllables, are attested to be polymorphemic as well. However, there is a small residue of polysyllabic nouns, which are not analysable and must be considered as basic. Most such nouns are ideophones as shown in (1).

1) **kukúntsi**   'eyelash'
    wus'úns'e   'fly'
    merééra   'a kind of food'
    suk'asúk'o   'a kind of fly'

Nouns in Haro end in a vowel that may be deleted when a suffix is added to them. Before embarking on the internal structures of nouns, therefore, we shall first characterize and examine properties of the terminal vowels of nouns This chapter is organized as follows: section 3.1. deals with terminal vowels of nouns; section 3.2. discusses noun inflection and section 3.3. deals with nominalization.

3.1. Terminal vowels of nouns

The system of terminal vowels of nouns, and nominals (nouns, adjectives and numerals) in general, constitutes the most complicated and intricate aspect of noun morphology in Haro as well as in other Ometo languages. The consideration of a terminal vowel (hereafter 'TV') as a significant independent unit of nouns in the Ometo languages is brought into light by Hayward (1987:215) who points out the following

> …although their (TVs') co-occurrence with particular roots is lexically determined for a given language, there is a strong comparative evidence that TVs must often have behaved independently of the roots they were originally associated with in the ancestral Ometo languages.

Hayward (1987:221) further hypothesizes that the language ancestral to the Ometo group had four classes of nominals distinguished by four distinct TVs**: *-e, *-a,*-o**

and ***-i**. In the development of different languages of Ometo, changes in TVs of nominals has taken place and nominal cognates across members of Ometo show variation in TVs of nominals.

In the present study, we give a further characterization of TVs. Examination on predictability of the association between a TV and a noun stem will be made. Stability of TVs in the process of suffixation will be investigated. For ease of presentation, discussions concerning the issue of TVs in the Ometo group that involve comparative data is dealt with separately in Part II, Chapter One. In what follows, we examine the situation in Haro.

Of the five phonemic vowels, four are attested as TVs of nouns in Haro. Ordered on their frequency of occurrence, the four TVs are -**a,- e,-o** and -**i**.. Only two exceptional instances of nouns are attested with TV -**u**. These nouns are: **lab-ú** 'beach' and **lukk-u** 'hen'. The noun **lukk-u** has a cognate counterpart **lukkul-a** in Koyra. A consideration that excludes –**u** from the proto-system of TVs is taken by Hayward (1987). The TV -**u** is traced in a few nouns of Gamo and numerals of several languages of Ometo that may suggest the possibility of this vowel as part of the system of TVs of nominals in the proto-Ometo languages (see Part II Chapter One).

The tone-accent feature of a TV is a lexically determined phenomenon, and so cannot be predicted. A few examples from the four classes are presented in table 1 below.

TV-a	TV-e	TV-o	TV-i

kan-á	dog	báll-e	feather	máčč-o	woman	míss-i	cow
záww-a	house	⬚iš-e	brother	⬚índ-o	mother	⬚ass-í	man
⬚add-áz	father	⬚ád-e	husband	míš-o	sister	déyšš-i	goat
wórb-a	elephant	tukk-e	coffee	bíšš-o	girl	šóóš-i	snake
máát-a	tiger	k'aaré	monkey	šaat-ó	little	kukúnts-i	eyelash
	grass	gánč-e	intestine	kap-ó	bird	mááč'-i	female

Table 1: Examples of the four TVs of nouns in Haro

The situation with TVs is much more puzzling and complicated. Apart from their occurrence with simple nouns, terminal vowels are also attested attached to verb roots whereby they function as nominalizing elements (see 3.4). It is unlikely that TVs with verb stems and TVs that occur with simple noun stems that have no verbal counterparts, to be accidental homonyms. In both cases, the out put of the process is a noun stem. That the TVs in simple nouns behave independently from the root is an already attested fact (cf: Hayward 1987). As will be shown in the coming sections, a tendency of phonologically conditioned predictability of TVs is observed in both simple nouns as well as nouns with verbal counterparts. One can therefore suggest that TVs are kind of noun class markers occurring with all nouns whether the nouns have verbal counterpart or not. In other words, nominals, either with or without verbal counterparts, are realized with a TV whose function is nominal class marker. This suggests that, TVs are entities that form nominals from bound forms, which do not belong to a specific word category:

ROOT-TV = NOUN STEM

Synchronically, association of a TV with a noun stem seems arbitrary, unpredictable and only lexically determined. However, in certain cases, the phonological feature of the noun stems seems determining occurrences of a TV in a noun stem.

3.1.1. Predictability of terminal vowels

With a very few exceptional instances, occurrence of TV **i** is predictable from the phonological feature of the stem. This TV is attested with noun stems, which have a sibilant-final consonant (see for instance nouns in Table 1). Exceptions to this generalization are attested with nouns **miná◌i** 'calf', **ná◌i** 'male', **wúdiri** 'girl' and **sábbi** 'boy'. Restricted to a post sibilant position, the TV-**i** in Haro is a marginal TV. As pointed out in 2.5, a TV that occurs at a post-sibilant position may be reduced to a devoiced vowel or optionally deleted resulting in innovation of a new class of nouns ending in a sibilant consonant. A similar condition as in Haro is attested in other languages of Ometo with regard to TV-**i** (see Part II Chapter One).

On the other hand, a link between the feminine gender and TV –**o** is attested in Haro nouns. Such a link is widely attested across other Ometo languages (see Part II Chapter one). As illustrated in (2) in Haro most feminine nouns terminate in a vowel **o**.

2) **máácc-o**   'woman'
    ◌índ-o   'mother'
    míš-o   'sister'
    bíšš-o   'girl'
    ◌angúz-o   'first   born
    ◌áákk-o   'grand
    lánk-o   'aunt'

Like feminine nouns, nouns denoting animates which are small in size are attested involving the same TV. Note that it is common for the feminine gender in most Ethiopian languages to encompass things having small size (cf. Baye 1994).

3) **šaat-ó** 'little child'   **kap-ó** 'bird'
    neber-o 'mouse'   **mol-ó** 'fish'
    ziz-ó   bee'   **šúr-o** 'cat'

There are a few feminine nouns ending in –**e** or **-i**: **mácce** 'wife, **bóltte** 'in-law: FEM', **wudíri** 'girl'.Non-feminine nouns ending in **-o** are few in number, and include

nouns like ⬚ášo ' meat', **maydó** 'ox' and **mirgó** 'bull'. Taking in to consideration the facts shown above, one can say that TV -**o** is associated with feminine gender while the other three TVs are associated with the masculine gender. As shown from distribution of gender-sensitive morphemes like the definite marker elements, the feminine gender in Haro incorporates biologically feminine animates and things small in size while the masculine gender incorporates all non-feminine nouns suggesting the default gender to be masculine (see 3.2.2). Thus, It may not be surprising to see the system of TVs marking the feminine gender while leaving the masculine gender unmarked.

This link between TV and gender shown for Haro is widely observed across other languages of Ometo in different nominal categories such as personal pronouns, demonstratives and proper nouns (see Part II chapter One).

3.1.2. Stability of TVs

In this section, we will examine stability of the TVs. When a noun undergoes a process of suffixation, its TV may not remain stable. It can either be deleted or replaced by another TV, most commonly by TV -**a**.

This study points out that stability of a TV of a noun is determined by two factors: phonetic property of the TV as well as the affix, and grammatical feature of the affix. Each one will be discussed in turn.

3.1.2.1. *Phonetic properties of the TV and the suffix vs. instability of TVs*

The high vowel –**i** is attested being the most unstable TV of nouns in Haro. As mentioned in section 2.5 in certain phonetic environments, TV –**i** can optionally be deleted or devoiced even when there is no suffix following it.

When followed by a vowel initial suffixal element, all TVs are deleted and that is considered as triggered by phonotactics. See for instance the following nouns (4).

4)
IND:SG	IND:Paucal	
déyšš-i	**deyšš-úns'u**	'goat'
☞ass-í	**☞ass-uns'ú**	'man'
wudír-i	**wudir-úns'u**	'female'

On the other hand, when a consonantal suffix is added to a noun, stability of the TV is determined by quality of the vowel and gender feature of the suffix. This is observed specially with suffixation of a definite marking suffix, which is gender sensitive to a noun stem. The high vowels -**i** and -**u** are always deleted in contrast to the TV -**a,** which remains stable in the same position.. On the other hand, the mid TVs -**e** and -**o** can be deleted or remain on the structure. Their stability depends on the gender feature of the suffix as discussed latter 3.2.2. Consider for instance suffixation of a definite marker –**z-** or –**t-** to noun stems with TV -**i** and -**a** in (5) and (6) below

5)
IND:ABS	MAS:DEF:ABS	FEM:DEF:ABS	
déyšš-i	**deyšš-á-z-a**	**deyšš-á-t-o**	'goat'
wudír-i		**wudir-á-t-o**	'girl'

6)
IND:SG:ABS	MAS:DF:ABS'	FEM:DF:ABS'	
záwwa	**zawwá-z-a**		'house'
kaná	**kaná-z-a**	**kaná-t-o**	'dog'
☞óta		**☞otá-t-o**	'calabash'

That **i** is the most unstable TV goes in line with a cross-linguistic observation on high vowels. As Greenberg (1969:93) points out, if a language has to lose a vowel from a final position of a word, then the first one would be a high vowel

It is also noted that stability of TV goes in line with their frequency of occurrence in the lexicon. TV **a** is the most frequently found TV (see 3.1.1), as well as the most stable one at the morpheme boundary. Moreover, it is attested taking the slot of other unstable TVs, when other TVs get deleted at a morpheme boundary, -**a** takes over the slot. On the other hand, the TV –**i** is the least frequent and unstable. What makes –**a** the most preferable TV is not clear at this point.

On the other hand, TVs –**e** and -**o** appear to take an intermediate position between -**i** and –**a** with regard to stability. Before a vocalic initial suffix, they always get lost and before a consonantal suffix, grammatical feature of the affix determines their stability.

3.1.2.2.   Grammatical feature of a suffix vs. stability of TVs

It has been noted that the grammatical function associated to a suiffx also determines stability of a TV of a noun in Haro. Hence, it is possible to categorize nominal suffixes into two: those triggering deletion of a TV and those, which do not.

Peripheral case markers such as for Dative, Instrumental and Ablative cannot trigger deletion of TV –**i**.

7) a   **⬚assí- si   lo⬚ó   kássa   kass-á**
       man-   DAT   good   food   cook-IMP
       'Prepare good food for a man'

   b   **wassi-ppá-kko   tá-   yóód-e**
       water-ABL-FOC   1SG-   come-AFF:DEC
       'It is from water that I come'

As already mentioned above, when followed by a consonant-initial suffix, stability of the TVs -**o** and -**e** is determined by the gender feature of the noun stem. If the feminine definite marker –**t**- follows a noun stem with TV -**o** or -**e,** the TV gets dropped and replaced by –**a**. On the other hand, when followed by the masculine definite marker -**z**- the TV remains stable. Consider the TVs in the following examples, which involve suffixation of –**t**-, feminine definite marker, and –**z**-, masculine definite marker, respectively in (8).

8)   FEM:IND:ABS   FEM:DF-ABS
       míš-o   **miš-á-t-o**   'sister'
       mááč-e   **maač-á-t-o**   'wife'

       MAS:IND:ABS   MAS:DF-ABS
       mayd-ó   **mayd-ó-z-a**   'ox'.
       ⬚ád-e   **⬚⬚d-é-z-a**   'husband'

One could argue that stability of the TV –**o** before a feminine definite marker may take place in order to avoid redundancy in a feminine gender feature. As shown

earlier in example (2) and proved in the comparative data in Part II Chapter One, TV –**o** seems to have a link with feminine gender at least historically. Besides, as we shall see in section 3.1.2.4, nouns marked for definiteness are obligatorily followed by a case marker, which also co-marks gender. The explanation given above, however, fails to account for the situation with TV –**e** of feminine nouns. TV -e behaves in the same fashion as that of –**o** in its stability. Unlike the later, it is not however considered to have a link with the feminine gender. Feminine nouns ending in –**e** are very rarely found, and the deletion of -**e** of feminine nouns may be analogous to that of -**o**.

In general, stability of a TV is a complex phenomenon involving various factors. The phonetic feature of a TV, and the phonetic feature of the affix added to the stem, and the grammatical feature of the suffix play interactively in the process. In contrast, the low vowel –**a** is the most stable TV. It is the one taking over the place of unstable TVs, which are deleted when a suffix is attached to the noun stem. On the other hand, stability of the mid TVs are found being conditioned by the gender feature of the definite marker. In relation to vowel quality and stability, it is possible to generalize that the higher the TV, the most unstable and less frequent it is. A further discussion on comparative notes of TVs in nominals of Ometo will be provided in Part II, Chapter One.

3.2. Inflection of the Noun

Nominal inflectional morphology is relatively simple in comparison to verbal morphology in Haro. Nouns may be inflected for number, definiteness and case. The markers for each category are agglutinated to a stem as represented by the following scheme:

X-NUMBER-DEFINITENESS-CASE

It is common for inflectional categories in Haro to be expressed cumulatively by the use of 'portmanteau' morphemes in contrast to derivational categories expressed by separate morphemes. Nominal inflectional categories in Haro co-mark the prototypical nominal feature: gender. This is true especially with definiteness and case, which have gender sensitive allomorphic variants. As argued earlier, TVs in Haro are also attested associated with a gender feature. Generally, one can say that gender is a salient property of nominals in Haro. The inflectional categories of nouns such as gender, definiteness, number and case will be dealt with in turn below.

3.2.1.Gender

Haro has a two-way semantic gender system that distinguishes between the masculine and feminine. Basically, gender distinction is the feature of animate nouns. In the case of inanimate nouns, with a few exceptions, they belong to the masculine class. The feminine gender is used for all animate entities whose reference is either biologically female and diminutives. Apart from this, animates viewed as 'smart' and 'active' are considered as female irrespective of their biological gender. These include **k'aaré** 'ape' and **č'ére** 'rat'[5]. It is also noted that from entities of the solar system, while **gáde** 'earth', **bakála** 'dawn star' and **áwwa** 'sun' are masculine, **agúnna** 'moon' is feminine.

In Haro, there is no element whose sole role is indicating gender nouns. However, gender is indicated via the following strategies.

0. Initial consonant of the noun
0. Terminal vowel of the noun
0. The use different lexemes
0. Form of the definite marker
0. Form of the case marker
0. The use of attributives
0. Subject agreement markers

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[5] There are several tales and stories in Haro showing smartness of monkeys.

3.2.1.1.   Gender and initial consonant of a noun

A group of feminine nouns in Haro are characterized by having a striking phonological similarity. Such nouns have an element **m**- as an initial consonant and a sibilant consonant as a second consonant. Consider the following examples.

9a*) Feminine*

mááč'i	'female'
mááče	'wife'
mááčo	'woman'
míšo	'sister
bíššo	'little girl'

The formal similarity shown in the above nouns may suggest presence of some kind of morphological relationship among the feminine noun stems. The element **m**-, which appears as **b**- in one case, may be a prefixal element probably standing for feminine gender in some earlier stage of the language. This assumption is supported by a hypothesis forwarded by Gerard Philippson in his paper entitled 'An **m**- Prefix in Omotic?'. Philippson (2003:8)[6] pointes out the following:

> Omotic languages are well known for exhibiting almost exclusive suffixing morphology.
> However, comparative analysis turns up a small number of recurrent examples where
> mostly Ometo stems with initial m- seem to correspond with ①- initial in other branches
> of Omotic, this suggesting a possible m-prefix in some earlier stage of Omotic.

Parallel to the feminine nouns, a few masculine nouns also show a striking phonological similarity. The masculine nouns have a glottal stop as initial consonant and consonant **d(d)** as a second consonant as shown in (9b).

9b*)*   '○꠷●ℳ'

áde	'husband'
addá	'father'

3.2.1.2. Gender and TVs of nouns

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[6] This quotation is taken from an abstract of the paper presented presented in the 4th International Conference of Cushitic and Omotic languages in Leiden in 10-12 April 2003

As shown in 3.1, and again illustrated below in (10), feminine nouns in Haro are

identified by having a TV **–o**.

10) **mááčč-o**   'woman'
    índ-o   'mother'
    míš-o   'sister'
    bíšš-o   'girl'
    angúz   '1st   born   (fem.)'
    -o   'grand   mother'
    áákk-   'aunt'
    o
    lánk-o

Similarly, nouns denoting animates which are small in size also end in the same

vowel, -**o**. It is common for the feminine gender in most Ethiopian languages to

encompass things having small size.

11)   **šaat-ó** little boy   **kap-ó** bird
    nebér-o mouse   **mol-ó** fish
    zíz-o bee   **kop-ó** lizard
    šuur-ó cat

The small set of non-feminine nouns ending in-**o** in our corpus includes

ášo ' meat', **máydo** 'ox' and **mirgó** 'bull'. On the other hand, there are a few

feminine nouns ending in TV –**e** or -**i**. Examples: **mááče** 'wife, **bóltte** 'in-law:FEM,

wudíri 'girl'.

The link between TV–**o** and feminine gender is also observed in the citation

forms of personal pronouns and demonstrative forms as in (12).

12)   **és-ó**   'she:ABS',
    hánn-o   'this:FEM:ABS'
    yénn-o   **'**that:FEM:ABS'.

The TV-gender association attested in Haro is commonly traced across other Ometo

members (see part II 1.2.2).

3.2.1.3. The use of different lexemes

Using totally different lexemes for masculine and feminine nouns used

to indicate the gender of some animate nouns shown in (13).

13)   *Feminine*   *Masculine*

    ʔíndo   'mother   **ʔaddá**   'father'
    wudíri 'girl'   **sáábbi** 'boy'
    jedbáwo 'female crocodile' **šeéɗo** 'crocodile'
    míssi   'cow'   **máydo**   'ox'
    bólla   'in-law (MAS)'   **bóltte** 'in-law (FEM)'

3.2.1.4. The use of gender attributives

Another commonly used way of specifying gender of animate nouns is using gender-distinguishing attributives. Distinct modifiers are used for animates. Hence, **ʔíndo** 'mother' and **ʔádde** 'male' are used for feminine and masculine nouns respectively.

14)   **ʔazáɗge**   'hippopotamus'
    ʔíndo ʔazáɗge 'female   hippopotamus'
    ʔádde ʔazáɗge 'male hippopotamus'

    č'okóšo   'eland'
    ʔíndo č'okóšo   'female   eland'
    ʔádde č'okóšo   'male eland'

    gáárma   'lion''
    ʔíndo gáárma   'lioness'
    ʔádde gáárma   'male lion'

    kaná   'dog'
    ʔíndo kaná   'bitch'
    ʔádde kaná   'dog'

    tolko   'hyena'
    ʔíndo tolko   'female   hyena'
    ʔádde tolko   'male hyena'

In addition, **ɓáltu** 'female' and **kórma** 'male, bull' are used to indicate feminine and masculine genders. These two forms are loan words from Oromo (cf: Stromer 1946:73) It may be the case that Haros borrowed these forms from their Guji Oromo neighbours. Some examples are given in (15).

15)   **ʔazáɗge**   'hippopotamus'
    ɓáltu ʔazáɗge 'female   hippopotamus'
    kórma ʔazáɗge   'male hippopotamus'

    č'okóšo   'eland'
    ɓáltu č'okóšo   'female   eland'
    kórma č'okóšo   'male eland'

gáárma	'lion''		
ꞃáltu gáárma	'lioness'		
kórma gáárma	'male lion'		
kan-á	'dog'		
ꞃáltu kan-á	'bitch'		
kórma kan-á	'dog'		
tolkó	'hyena'		
ꞃáltu tolkó	'female		hyena'
kórma tolkó	'male hyena'		

With human nouns, **mááč'i** and **naꞏi** are used to modify feminine and masculine nouns respectively as illustrated in (16).

16)	**náꞏi polise**	'a	male	female	police'
	mááč'i polise	'a female police'			
	náꞏi ꞏastamare	'a	male		teacher'
	mááč'i ꞏastamare	'a female teacher'			
	náꞏi laagé	'boy		friend'	
	mááč'i laagé	'girl friend'			

3.2.1.5. Gender and definiteness

A definite marker in Haro nouns co-marks gender. As will be discussed in the next section, definiteness in Haro is marked via two gender sensitive elements -**t**- and -**z**-, which occur with feminine and masculine nouns respectively. Consider the following example.

17a) **kaná-   z-   i**
   dog-   MAS:DF-   NOM
   'the dog:NOM'

17b) **kana- t-   í**
   dog-   FEM:DF-   NOM
   ' the bitch:NOM'

Nouns whose gender is lexically specified are also marked for definiteness. This suggests the suffixes **-t-** and **-z**- basically stand for definiteness rather than for gender as illustrated in (18).

18)	**ꞏaddá**	'father:IND:ABS'
	ꞏaddá-z-a	'father-MAS:DF-MAS:ABS'
	ꞏassí	'man:IND:ABS'
	ꞏassá-z-a	'man-MAS:DF-MAS:ABS'

⌨áde   'husband:IND:ABS
⌨adé-z-a   'husband:MAS:DF:MAS:ABS

Similarly, lexically feminine nouns are also marked for definiteness, which also marks gender.

19)   **bíššó**   **'**girl:IND:ABS'
      bišša-t-ó   'girl-FEM:DF-FEM:ABS

      míšo   'sister:IND'
      mišá-t-o   'sister-FEM:DF-FEM:ABS

      míss-i   'cow:IND:ABS
      missá-t-o   'cow-FEM:DF-FEM:ABS'

      ⌨**índ-o**   **'**mother:IND:ABS'
      ⌨**indá-t-o**   'mother-FEM:DF-FEM:ABS

3.2.1.6. Gender and Case

Like the situation with definiteness marking, case marking, especially the Absolutive case marking, involves two allomorphic variants occurring with masculine and feminine genders respectively (see also 3.2.4). Hence, -**a** is used with masculine nouns while **-o** is used with feminine nouns as illustrated in (20).

20)   **kaná-**   **z-**   **a**
      dog-   MAS:DF-   MAS:ABS
      'the dog:ABS'

      kaná-   **t-**   **o**
      dog-   FEM:DF-   FEM:ABS
      'the bitch:ABS'

The Nominative case, on the other hand, does not show such a gender distinction attested with the Absolutive case.

3.2.1.7. Subject agreement markers

The subject agreement marker in the predicate of a sentence identifies gender of the subject noun. For example, the subject agreement markers ⌨ℳ⌨

and ⧄✝⧊ in (21a) and (21b) indicate that 'moon' and 'dawn star' belong to the feminine and masculine genders respectively.

21a) **⧄agunná-   t-   i   tiro-   gá-   kko   ⧄í⧊   ♫●⧊   ín■⧊**
      ṃ
      moon-   FEM:DF- NOM   dark-   LOC-   FOC   3FS-   enter- PA- AFF:DEC
      'The moon entered into the dark (Lit: it is in the darkness that the moon entered.)

21b) bak'alá- z-   i   kess-   á-   kko-   ⧄é   dd-   e
      dawn star MAS:DF NOM   get out- INF   FOC-   3MS- PF-   AFF:DEC
      'The dawn star has got out.'

To summarize, lexical, morphological and syntactic strategies are used to mark the gender of a referent of a noun in Haro. Morphologically, even though there is no morpheme whose sole property is indicating gender, the gender class of a noun is expressed in amalgamation with definiteness and case. Besides, agreement marker of a verb indicates gender of a referent that occurs as a subject of a sentence. Hence, selection of one of the two gender-sensitive definite markers, case markers and agreement markers shows gender of a noun.

3.2.2. Definiteness

Definiteness in Haro denotes familiarity of the referent expressed by the noun to both the speaker as well as the hearer. This feature of definiteness in Haro fits into the notion of definiteness characterized by C. Lyons (1999: 2-3):

> In the case of indefinite noun phrases, the speaker may be aware of what is being referred to and the hearer probably not, with a definite noun phrase this awareness is signalled as being shared by both participants. A definite noun phrase signals that the entity denoted by the noun phrase is familiar to both speaker and hearer, and the indefinite noun is used where the speaker does not want to signal such shared familiarity.

In many languages, a noun phrase may contain an element that seems to have as its sole or principal role to indicate the definiteness or indefiniteness of the noun phrase. This element may be a lexical item like the definite and indefinite articles of English (*the, a*), or an affix of some kind like the Arabic definite prefix *al-* and indefinite suffix-*n* (cf: Lyons 1999:1).

In Haro, indefinite nouns are not morphologically marked. Citation forms are used as indefinite and generic forms. On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, definiteness is indicated via two gender sensitive suffixes: -**z**- or -**t**-. The former occurs with masculine gender while the latter occurs with feminine gender.

Suffixation of a definite marker may affect the original tone-accent pattern of a noun stem. With noun stems having a high tone-accented final syllable, the high tone may or may not change its position depending on the gender of the noun. With feminine definite nouns, the high-tone accent occurs on the final syllable while with masculine counterparts, it occurs on the penultimate syllable.

In Haro, definiteness closely interacts with core case marking. A noun should first be marked for definiteness in order to have an overt case marking, and a noun marked for definiteness should also be marked for one of the two core cases: Absolutive and Nominative (see also 3.2.4). Thus, nouns with animate reference can be realized in one of the four forms which vary in their specification of gender and case as illustrated in (22).

22)   **gáárma**   'lion:IND'
      gaarmá-z-a 'lion-MAS:DF-MAS:ABS'
      gaarmá-z-i 'lion-MAS:DF-NOM'
      gaarmá-t-o 'lion-FEM:DF-FEM:ABS'
      gaarmá-t-i 'lion-FEM:DF-NOM'

      kaná   'dog:IND'
      kaná-z-a   'dog-MAS:DF-MAS:ABS'
      kaná-z-i   'dog-MAS:DF-NOM'
      kana-t-ó   'dog-FEM:DF-FEM:ABS'
      kana-t-í   'dog-FEM:DF-NOM'

*As mentioned earlier(3.2), TV –**o** of noun stems is deleted before the feminine definite marker -**t**- but not before the masculine definite marker –z- as illustrated below.*

23)   **máydo**   'ox:IND'
      mydó-z-a   'ox-MAS:DF-MAS:ABS
      mydó-z-i   'ox-MAS:DF-NOM

tolk-ó	'hyena	:IND
tolkó-z-a	'hyena-MAS:DF-MAS:ABS'	
tolkó-z-i	'hyena-MAS:DF-NOM	
tolká-t-ó	'hyena-FEM:DF-	FEM:ABS
tolka-t-í	'hyena-FEM:DF-NOM'	
má⬚-o	'cloth:IND	
ma⬚ó-z-a	'cloth-MAS:DF-MAS:ABS	
ma⬚ó-z-i	'cloth-DF:MAS-NOM'	

As mentioned earlier, inanimate nouns are basically considered as masculine and, therefore, take the masculine definite marker -**z**. Nouns denoting things small in size are considered as feminine and so take the feminine definite marker-**t**-. In the process of suffixation, TV -**e** gets dropped before a feminine definite marker (see also 3.2 stability of TVs).

24)
kása	'grain:IND:ABS	
kasá-z-a	'grain-MAS:DF-MAS:ABS'	
kasá-z-i	'grain-MAS:DF-NOM'	
wássi	'water:IND'	
wassá-z-a	'water:MAS:DF-MAS:ABS	
wassá-z-i	'water:MAS:DF-NOM'	
záwwa	'house:IND'	
zawwá-t-o	'house (small in size):FEM:DF- FEM:ABS'	
mííše	'money'	
miišá-t-o	'money (small in amount):FEM:DF- FEM:ABS'	

*Animate nouns considered as 'smart' also belong to the feminine class, and accordingly take the feminine definite marker -**t**-.*

25)
k'aaré	'ape:IND'	
k'aará-t-o	'ape-FEM:DF-	FEM:ABS'
k'aará-t-i	'ape-FEM:DF-NOM'	

The use of feminine definite marker with masculine nouns indicates a diminutive sense and has a derogative semantic connotation.

26)
máydo	'ox'
maydá-t-o	'ox:FEM:DF-FEM:ABS (Diminutive)'
⬚assí	'man'
⬚assá-t-o	'man:FEM:DF-FEM:ABS (Dimunitive)'

Plural nouns, even plurals of feminine nouns take the masculine definite marker, -**z-.**

27)
gaarm-í⬚e	'lion:PL:ABS'
gaarm-i⬚é-z-a	'lion:PL:MAS:FEM-MAS:ABS

ᴐínd-áás'i   'mother-PL:ABS'
ᴐínd-aas'í-z-a 'mother-PL-MAS:DF-MAS:ABS'

Plural nouns even plurals of feminine nouns take the masculine definite marker -**z**. The use of feminine definite marker -**t**- with feminine plural nouns is not acceptable. This implies that Haro shows neutralization of 'gender polarity', as nouns reverse their gender when they become plural and definite, i.e. those feminine in the singular indefinite become masculine when pluralized. Such a neutralization of gender polarity in plural nouns is also attested with case markers (see 3.2.4.).

Strangely, Haro allows a further identification of a definite noun with the use of a spatial deixis or a Genitive pronoun.

28a) **yéé ᴐassá-   z-   a**
        that man-   MAS:DF-MAS:ABS
        'that man'

28b) **há   lukká   -t-   o**
        this   hen-   FEM:DF- FEM:ABS
        'this hen'

28c) **ᴐú–   hanttᴐ   áᴐ ℵᴐ   ℶ**
        3PL- work- NMZ- MAS:DF- MAS:ABS
        'their work'

In general, definiteness is a very important feature of nouns in Haro. It is a requirement for a core case marking. Besides, it comarks gender. As will be shown later in the comparative data, the two gender sensitive definite markers in Haro are archaic elements to the ancestral Ometo language. Thus, Haro is one of the very few conservative members of Ometo preserving both elements, which have lost partly or totally from most members. (See Part II Chapter Two).

3.2.3 Number

Haro has a rich system of number marking. Nouns in Haro show a three-way distinction: singular, paucal and plural, which is not attested anywhere in Ometo. The three-way number system is not attested with personal pronouns and demonstratives (see chapter four and chapter six respectively). Only countable nouns are paucalized

or pluralized. Kinship nouns involve distinct number marking elements. Below the three categories will be discussed.

3.2.3.1. The singular

The singular form signifies that the referent is a single entity. A simple noun in Haro is a singular form from which the plural and the paucal are formed by adding affixal elements. Singularity with nouns is expressed by a zero morpheme that contrasts paradigmatically with the plural and paucal morphemes. The singular noun also refers to the generic and collective form as shown in (29).

29) **lúkku**   'a   hen   /hen'
    kapó   'a bird /bird'
    déyšši   'a goat /goat'
    ⬅ℳčʰére   'a   rat   /rat
    ⬅✺••í 'a   man/people
    míssi   'a   cow/cattle'
    náyši   'a child/children'

Whether the noun refers to a singular or a generic entity can be ambiguous. It is only the context that clarifies the exact reference.

30)   **⬅✺••í**   **ⵙ**   **&ʰáOꙄⵙ**   **&&⬜**   **⬅é** **–Ꙅém⬅ℳ**
       man:NOM-   night-   FOC   3MS   -sleep- AFF:DEC
       'A man sleeps at night / People sleep at night'?

A set of nouns, which refer to body parts found in pair, have an inherent dual/plural meaning. With such nouns, the singular meaning is obtained by modifying the noun by the numeral **bízzi** 'one'.

31) **⬅ápe** 'eye/eyes'   **bízzi ⬅ápe** 'an   eye'
    kúše 'hand/hands' **bízzi kúše**   'a   hand'
    túke 'foot/feet'   **bízzi túke**   'a foot'

3.2.3.2. The Paucal

The paucal, as defined by Corbett (2000:22), refers to a small number of distinct real world entities. The paucal is similar to the English quantifier 'a few' in

meaning. In Haro, the paucal refers to a small group of entities ranging from two to four in number. This includes nouns denoting things found in pair, such as 'breast', 'ear', 'foot', and a small group of animates, for instance.

Nouns referring to things that cannot be encountered in a group lack paucal forms. The noun **šóóši** 'snake', for instance, does not have a paucal form. Other exceptions to this are nouns referring to in-laws such as **bólla** 'in-law (MAS)' and **bóltte** 'in-law (FEM)'. The use of paucal or singular for in-laws is considered as non-honorific among the Haro people. Hence, in-laws are addressed in plural.

The paucal noun in Haro is formed by suffixing - *úns'u or uns'ú* ***to the singular form. The former occurs with nouns having an accented penultimate syllable while the latter occurs with nouns having an accented ultimate syllable. No other*** *Ometo* ***language has been reported to mark nouns for paucality. Making a distinction between the paucal and plural number values makes Haro an exception. It may be the case that Haro has borrowed the system of paucal number marking from Bayso, a neighbouring Cushitic language spoken in the same island. According to Corbett (2000:11, 'based on personal communication with Hayward'), Bayso distinguishes among the general, singular, paucal and plural number values in both its nouns and verbs. Interestingly, what Haro imported is the system of paucal marking in nouns, not the whole number system. While Bayso distinguishs the general from the singular, Haro does not. Also, Haro did not borrow the paucal-marker from Bayso. What it imported is the notion of paucality, and then, adopted its own paucal-marking element. The paucal-marking morpheme in***

Bayso is jaa, where as its equivalent in Haro is -uns'ú. The etymological root

for the paucal marker in Haro may be the quantifier expression ⌨ááns'u

'how many/how much'. Some paucal nouns in Haro are given in (32).

32)   Singular   Paucal
  kapó   **kap-uns'ú**   'bird'
  moló   **mol-uns'ú**   'fish'
  šaató   **šaat-uns'ú**   'child'
  doró   **dor-uns'ú**   'sheep'
  k'aaré   **k'ar-uns'ú**   'ape'
  laak′á   **laak'-uns'ú**   'baby   sheep/goat'
  ⌨**addá**   ⌨**add-uns'ú**   'father'
  ⌨☺♦♦**í**   ⌨☺♦♦**uns'ú**   'man'

    Both feminine and masculine nouns are attested here. Nouns of all kinds of

terminal vowels are also exhibited in this class. Given that many nouns in this

language have an accented penultimate syllable (see section 2.4.1), this class has a

large number of members.

33)   Singular   Paucal
  ◤**ansi**   ◤**ans-úns'u**   'breast'
  tuke   **tuk-úns'u**   **'**foot'
  lúkku   **lúkk-úns'u**   'hen'
  déyšši   **déyšš-úns'u**   'goat'
  s'olínte   **s'olínt-úns'u**   'star'
  ⌨**áde**   ⌨**ád-úns'u**   'husband'
  wúdri   **wúdr-uns'u**   'girl'
  sábbi   **sább-uns'u**   'boy'
  ⌨**azáge**   ⌨**azág-uns'u**   'hippopotamus'

    Interestingly, unlike the singular and plural, the paucal appears to be

inherently definite, and therefore, cannot take an overt definite marker.

34a)   ⌨**ass- uns'ú**   ⌨**aná**⌨**ú -hang- e**
            person- PAU   where 3PL- go-   AFF:DEC
            'Where are the people going/where do the people go?'

34b)   * ⌨**ass-uns'a- z-   i   ⌨aná   ⌨ú - hang-   e**
            person- PAU-   DF:MAS- NOM where 3PL- go-   AFF:DEC
            'Where are the people going/where do the people go?'

3.2.3.3. The Plural

    The regular plural marker in Haro nouns is suffix **-í◤e / -i◤é**. With kinship

nouns, as presented in the later part of this section, a special plural marker is used.

The suffix -i**ɗé** occurs with the noun stem having a high tone-accent on the ultimate syllable. TV of the noun stem gets deleted together with the high tone-accent when the plural marker is added (see section 3.1.1.2 on deletion of TVs). Some examples of plural nouns formed with suffix -i**ɗé** are given in (35).

35) Singular   Plural

kapó	'bird'	**kap-iɗé**	'birds'	
moló	'fish'	**mol-iɗé**	'fishes'	
šaató	'child'	**šaat-iɗé**	'children'	
doró	'sheep'	**dor-iɗé**	'sheep'	
kaaré	'ape'	**k'ar-iɗé**	'apes'	
laak'á	'baby sheep/goat'	**laak'-iɗé**	'baby	sheep/goats'
⟨glyph⟩**í**	'⟨glyph⟩'	⟨glyph⟩**iɗé**	'men'	

As mentioned above, nouns bearing a high tone on the penultimate syllable form their plurals by adding the suffix -**íɗe.** The great majority of nouns in Haro belong to this class as most of the nouns are accented on the penultimate syllable. Examples of such plural nouns are given below.

36) Singular   Plural

déyšši	'goat'	**deyšš-íɗe**	'goats'	
lúkku	'hen '	**lukk-íɗe**	'hens'	
⟨glyph⟩	'rat'	⟨glyph⟩**-íɗe**	'rats'	
sábbi	'boy'	**sabb-íɗe**	'boys'	
wúdri	'girl'	**wudr-íɗe**	'girls'	
bíššo	'little girl'	**bišš-íɗe**	'little	girls'
mááččo	'woman'	**maačč-íɗe**	'women'	
⟨glyph⟩**u**⟨glyph⟩**úlle**	'egg'	⟨glyph⟩**u**⟨glyph⟩**ull -íɗe**	'eggs'	

The plural marker -**íɗe** in Haro has an alternative form, **–it'é / ít'e,** which is preferably used by the young generation of speakers (cf. 2.1). This may be a case of borrowing from the neighbouring Cushitic languages, Bayso and Guji Oromo. The plural forms for **kapó** 'bird' and **deyšši**, can be **kap-it'é** and **deyšš-ít'e**. With kinship terms, plurality is marked by way of a suffix -**áás'i**. as in (37).

37) Singular   Plural

⟨glyph⟩**ádda**	⟨glyph⟩**add-áás'i**	'father/uncle	on	father's	side'
⟨glyph⟩**índo**	⟨glyph⟩**ɣnd-áás'i**	'mother/father's			sister'
téngo	**teng-áás'i**	'second-wife'			

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míšo	**miš-áás'i**	'sister'			
bólla	**boll-áás'i**	'in-law			(MAS)
bóltte	**boltt-áás'i**	'in-law			(FEM)
lánko	**lank-áás'i**	'aunt (mother's side)			

Usage of the regular plural marker -íꞃe/-iꞃé with kinship nouns is also acceptable although not preferable.

38)   Singular   Plural

ꞃádda	**ꞃadd-íꞃe**	'father/uncle	on	father's	side'
ꞃíndo	**ꞃʌnd-íꞃe**	'mother/father's			sister'
téngo	**teng-íꞃe**	'second-wife'			
míšo	**miš-íꞃe**	'sister'			
bólla	**boll-íꞃe**	'in-law			(MAS)
bóltte	**boltt-íꞃe**	'in-law			(FEM)
lánko	**lank-íꞃe**	'aunt (mother's side)			

As shown in the above examples, TV of the base noun is dropped, and the high tone-accent of the base noun is deleted because the attached suffix is accented. This goes in line with the once per word high tone-accent, which is the common tone-accent pattern of words in Haro.

Quantity of countable nouns can also be expressed by the use of attributive numerals or other quantifier expressions. The element **lágo** 'many' is used to express a large number of entities. By contrast, the quantifier **gúút^{s}i** 'little' indicates a small number. The plural marker can optionally occur with such nouns.

39) **támmu deyšši/deyššíꞃe** 'ten   goats'
     lágo déyšši/ déyšš-iꞃe 'many   goats'
     tansínde doró/ dor-iꞃé 'nine   sheep(pl)'
     lágo doró/ dor-iꞃé   'many   oxes'

With mass nouns a large amount is expressed by using ꞃáꞃ ꞃáꞃ 'big'.

40) **wássi** 'water'   ꞃáꞃ ꞃáꞃ **wássi**   'much   water'
     mássi 'milk'   ꞃáꞃ ꞃáꞃ **mássi**   'much   milk'
     ꞃííla 'flour'   ꞃáꞃ ꞃáꞃ **ꞃííla**   'much flour'

The quantifier **gúút^{s}i** 'little' indicates a small amount of uncountable nouns as well as small number of countable nouns.

41) **gúútˢi ⟨⟩assí**   'few   persons/men'
    gúútˢi wássi   'little   water'
    gúútˢi mássi   'little milk'

The quantifier '**s'ík'k'i**' 'tiny' expresses a very little amount of uncountable nouns.

42) **s'ík'k'i ⟨⟩ášo**   'a   very   small   piece   of   meat'
    s'ík'k'i wássi   'very   little   water'
    s'ík'k'i ⟨⟩ííla   'very little flour'

3.2.4. Case

Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads, the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level (Blake, 1994:1).

In Haro, although case is typically a property of nouns, case marking is often found on certain classes of words that are not obviously nouns. Relative clauses, adjectives and demonstratives can be marked for case if the head noun, which they modify, is absent. (See sections 3.3, 6.1 and 6.2).

Following Blake (1994:34)'s categorization and the trend with other Ometo language studies such as Zayse (Hayward, 1990) and Maale (Azeb, 2001), the case system in Haro is divided into two hierarchical levels or strata: 'core case' and 'peripheral' case, also referred as 'primary ' and 'secondary' cases. However, unlike the system reported for other Ometo languages, the core case in Haro has three members: Absolutive, Nominative and Genitive. Consideration of the Genitve case as part of the core case level is based on its function as a base for peripheral case marking. The 'peripheral' cases in Haro are Dative, Instrumental, Locative, Ablative, Directive, Comitative and Vocative.

Haro has an interesting and quite complex case system, which differs from the system attested in related languages such as Maale (Azeb 2001) and Zayse (Hayward 1990) etc. Firstly, not all nouns in Haro are overtly case marked for a core case. A core case marking, as opposed to peripheral case marking, requires definiteness of a

noun. With indefinite nouns, there is no formal distinction among the core cases, and therefore, an indefinite noun has the same form in all the Absolutive, Nominative and Genitive cases. Only syntactic devices make the distinctions with indefinite nouns. On the other hand, definite nouns are always overtly case marked. There is, however, a formal similarity attested with the case marking. The Nominative and Genitive cases involve the same morphological marking as against the Absolutive. The formal similarity between the Nominative and Genitive is considered as a mere historical coincidence or homonymy since functionally there may not be much that can be said about the closeness between the Nominative and Genitive.

Although the two do not show distinction in form, what appears as a base of a peripheral case marking is considered to be the Genitive rather than the Nominative. This is because there is no typological or theoretical evidence supporting the use of a Nominative case as the base. The use of Genitive as a base form for peripheral cases is attested in K'abena, a Highland East Cushitc language (Grass forthcoming). A similar situation is attested in a set of nouns of Wolaitta (Azeb forthcoming). Other Ometo languages such as Maale, a South Ometo language, and Zayse, an East Ometo language mark case irrespective of the nouns definiteness and use the Absolutive form to derive the Dative and other peripheral cases (cf Azeb 2001, Hayward 1990 for Maale and Zayse respectively). The system of core case marking in Haro involves a phenomenon know as 'differential case marking' that allows certain nouns to be exempted from case marking. Before discussing each case category, we first deal with the phenomenon 'differential case marking' in Haro.

3.2.4.1. Differential case marking
The recent literature in case marking show that it is common for languages with overt case marking of nouns to mark some nouns discriminately from others. In such nouns, the basic criterion for case marking is the semantic and pragmatic

features of the noun (see for instance Aissen 2000). The phenomenon differential case marking is a typologically common feature. At least 300 presently known languages around the world are reported showing this phenomenon more commonly with object marking (cf: Aissen 2000). In Hebrew, all and only definite objects are case marked (Givón, 1978:669). Object marking in Amharic shows a similar situation (cf: Baye 1994).

In Haro, as mentioned above, the indefinite nouns are not overtly case marked while definite nouns, personal pronouns and interrogative pronouns, proper nouns are obligatorily case marked. In the case of indefinite nouns, the case feature of a noun is identified from the common syntactic coding device, word order. Consider the Absolutive, Nominative, and Genitive nouns as in (43a and 43b).

43a) šéé⊕o   gáárma-   kko   ⬦⊟éⓐ⬜   m⬜ ín⬜   e
     crocodile:IND:NOM   lion:IND:ABS-   FOC   3MS- eat- PA-   AFF:DEC
     'A crocodile has eaten a lion.'

43b) gáárma   šéé⊕o-   kko   ⬦⊟éⓐ⬜   m⬜ ín⬜   𝕸
     lion:IND:NOM   crocodile:IND:ABS FOC   3MS- eat- PA- AFF:DEC
     'A lion has eaten a crocodile.'

The situation with definite nouns is presented in the following sections.

Consider the Nominative and Absolutive forms of personal pronouns below.

44)   Nominative   Absolutive
     1SG   **tan-i**   **tan-a**
     2SG   **nen-i**   **nen-a**
     3MS   **⬦⊟es-i**   **⬦⊟es-a**
     3FS   **⬦⊟is-i**   **⬦⊟is-o**
     1PL   **nun-i**   **nun-a**
     2PL   **⬦⊟inin-i**   **⬦⊟inen-a**
     3PL   **⬦⊟usin-i**   **⬦⊟usun-a**

Like personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns are bound forms that can only be realized with a case marker.

Consider the Nominative and Absolutive interrogative pronouns in (45a and 45b).

45a) ⬦⊟oon- í   káre   gu-   guy-   é-   s-   i
     who- NOM   door:ABS   FRQ-   hit-   AFF:REL- ELP- NOM
     'Who is knocking the door?'

45b) ⬦⊟oon- á   ⬦⊟í- worg- ín-   e
     who-   MAS:ABS   3FS- want- PA- AFF:DEC
     'Whom does she want?'

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The following structures illustrate a similar situation with proper nouns.

46a) **tašóm-   i   hánna- kko**   ☞í- yood- ín- e
      teshome- NOM -here- FOC   3MS come- PA-   AFF:DEC
      'Teshome came here '

46b) **tašom-a**   s'eg-**á**
      teshome-   call- IMP
      'Call Teshome'

Taking into consideration the situation with the nouns and pronouns discussed above, one can conclude that the higher in prominence rank a noun is, the more likely it is to be overtly case marked. According to Aissen, prominence manifests itself in two ways: definiteness and animacy, and it can be assessed by the definiteness scale and Animacy scale. What determines case marking in Haro nouns is the definiteness scale, which is proposed by (Aissen 2000:2) as follows.

Definiteness scale: Pronoun>Proper noun>Definite>Indefinite

Accordingly, if a noun at some rank on the definiteness hierarchy is obligatorily case marked, then nouns at all higher ranks will also be obligatorily case marked. In Haro, nouns placed at a higher rank than indefinite nouns are all case marked. Unlike the case in languages like Amharic and Hebrew, differential case marking works for both Nominative as well as Absolutive cases in Haro.

3.2.4.2. The Absolutive case marking
The term Absolutive, here, should not be confused with its sense in ergative system of case marking whereby the Absolutive refers to the subject of an intransitive verb and the direct object a transitive verb as opposed to Nominative that marks subject of a transitive verb (cf: Blake 1994). The Absolutive case in Haro also in related languages like Maale and Zayse refers to a core case having a wider range of syntactic functions. It embraces the citation form of a noun, i.e., the answer given to the question 'what is that?' the direct object, and the predicative noun. One fact that has become clear from the situation in Haro and other related languages of Ometo is that a model based on the familiar Nominative-Accusative pattern is not adequate to

describe the case system. The Accusative form of a noun is not restricted to the direct object grammatical relation but as just mentioned, it also occurs in the predicative and citation forms. Hence, instead of Accusative the term Absolutive is used.

Unlike in its common usage the term Absolutive here does not imply morphological unmarkedness. As we will show in the coming section, the Absolutive is characterized by a special morphological signal that paradigmatically contrasts with the Nominative and Genitive. However, we still use the term Absolutive because of its wider syntactic functions unlike the other two core cases: the Nominative and Genitive.

The Absolutive case in Haro is marked by two distinct gender sensitive suffixes: -**a** and –**o**. The former is used with nouns referring to masculine while the latter is used with nouns referring to feminine. In (47a and b), the Absolutive noun encodes the direct object, whereas in (47c and d) it introduces a predicative relation to the subject (also the form used as an answer for the question 'what is that'). Consider also distribution of the two Absolutive marking suffixes.

47a) ⬤ís- í **garmá- z-** ⬤ ⬤í- wo⬤- ín- e
     she- NOM lion- MAS:DF- MAS:ABS 3FS- kill- PA- AFF:DEC
     'She killed the lion. '

47b) ⬤ís- í **gaarmá t- o** ⬤í- wo⬤- ín- e
     she- NOM lion- FEM:DF- FEM:ABS 3FS- kill- PA- AFF:DEC
     'She killed the lioness. '

47c) yé⬤⬤ ⬤ **gaarma- z- á- kko**
     that- NOM lion- MAS:DF- MAS:ABS- FOC
     'That is the lion

47d) yé⬤⬤ ⬤ **gaarma- t- ó- kko**
     that- NOM lion- FEM:DF- FEM:ABS- FOC
     'That is the lioness.'

These same elements are attested marking the Absolutive case in other Ometo languages such as Zayse (Hayward 1990), Koyra (Beletu 2003) and Zergula (Baye 1994), Wolaitta (Adams 1983), Gamo (Hirut 1999a), Dawuro (Hirut 1999b) etc.

3.2.4.3. The Nominative case marking

The Nominative case marking involves suffixation of the element –**i.** Unlike the situation with the Absolutive, the Nominative case does not co-mark gender. The gender distinction shown in the Absolutive case undergoes syncretism or merger in the Nominative case. Consider (48a and 48b).

48a) **gaarmá- z-   i**   deyššá- z-   a-   kko   ☜é 🖙   🖙   🖙
      lion-   MAS:DF- NOM goat-   MAS:DF- MAS:ABS FOC 3MS- eat- PA- AFF:DEC
      'The lion ate the goat. '

48b) **gaarmá- t-   i**   **deyššá- t-   o**   ☜é 🖙 🖙   🖙   🖙
      lion-   FEM:DF- NOM goat-   FEM:DF- FEM:ABS   3MS- eat- PA-   DEC:AFF
      'The lioness ate the goat (fem).'

With plural nouns the gender polarity in the Absolutive case marking gets neutralized, and therefore, plural nouns, even plural of feminine nouns take masculine Absolutive case.

49)   **šaató- z-   i   maačč- i☜é- z-   a**
      boy-   MAS:DF- NOM woman- PL-   MAS:DF- MAS:ABS

      ☜é   **č'aš-   ín- e**
      3MS insult- PA- AFF:DEC
      'The boy has insulted the women.'

The asymmetry shown in gender distinction of the core case markers distinguishes the East Ometo languages such as Zayse (Hayward, 1990), Koyra (Hayward, 1982) and Zergula (Baye, 1994) from the rest Ometo. This gender syncretism in the Nominative case can be considered an isogloss separating East Ometo from the rest of Ometo. In languages of North Ometo, South Ometo (Maale), and West Ometo, the Nominative case, like that of Asolutive, involves gender polarity (see, for instance, Lamberti (1997) on Wolaitta, Hirut (1999 a and b) on Dawuro and Gamo, (Azeb 1996 and 2001) on Basketo and Maale respectively. The suffix–**i,** which functions as a sole Nominative case marker in Haro and other East Ometo languages, serves as the masculine Nominative case marker elsewhere in Ometo where the gender polarity has been preserved in the Absolutive case marking.

In Haro, the semantic relations associated to a subject are heterogeneous. It expresses an entity that performs an activity or brings about a change of state as already shown in the above examples. In addition, it can express the entity existing in a state or undergoing change (50), or the entity that is viewed as located or moving (51), or experiencing an emotion or perception (52).

50) **biššá-**   **t-**   **i**   ⬠⭒á⬠ ⬛⬠⬠   &;&□   ⬠í ⬠   šempát- e
little girl- FEM:DF- NOM bad-   INS-   FOC 3FS-   breath-   AFF:DEC
'The little girl breaths badly (It is badly that the little girl breaths).'

51) **maaččá-**   **t-**   **i**   guutá-   kko   gáyya   ⬠í hang- ór-   e
woman-   FEM:DF-   NOM tomorrow-   FOC   market   3FS- go-   FUT- AFF:DEC
'The woman will go to the market tomorrow (It is tomorrow that the woman will go to the market.)'

52) ⬠⬠⭒á⬠   ⬠⬠ **i**   ⬠⬠šo- kko ⬠é-   ⬠é⬠⬠   ⬠
man-   MAS:DF-NOM   meat-   FOC 3MS-like-   AFF:DEC
'The man likes meat.'

Further, the subject can carry a patient role in passive constructions as illustrated in

(53).

53) gadé-   z-   i   woot- utt-   á-   kko- ⬠é- dd- e
and-   MAS:DF-   NOM plough- PAS-   INF-   FOC 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
'The land was ploughed.'

3.2.4.4. The Genitive Case

As already mentioned, the Genitive case in Haro is considered as a member of the core case system. This consideration is based on two observations. Like other core cases, it involves differential case marking, that is only definite nouns allow overt case marking. Besides, it is used to derive peripheral cases such as the Dative, Ablative etc.

As mentioned above, and illustrated below in (54a-54d) with indefinite nouns, Haro uses juxtaposition as a strategy for forming a Genitive NP. The possessor occurs preceding the possessed noun.

54a) **tolkó wúla**
hyena   cave
'hyena's cave'

54b) ⬠⬠é   ⬠⬠í⬠⬠⬠
husband   relative'
'husband's relative'

54c) **kaná   šaato**
    dog   child
    'dog's child'

54d) **šóóši   č'úúčči**
    snake   saliva
    'snake's saliva'

With definite nouns, the Genitive is marked morphologically via suffix –**i**, which is also used as a Nominative case marker. As already mentioned, the syncretism in Genitive and the Nominative case marking can be a historical coincidence since functionally the two are distinct.

The use of suffix -**i** as a Genitive marker is also attested in Koyra, an East Ometo language (see Hayward 1982:255). On the other hand, a rather limited use of -**i** as a Genitive case marker is also reported for the Gonga languages (cf: Fleming 1976b: 373). Zaborski (1990:620) remarks that the Genitive marker -**i** could be an archaism to the Omotic family. On the other hand, the use of –**i** for Nominative case is attested more commonly across the Ometo/Omotic languages (see Bender 2000). It seems that at one historical stage the Nominative and Genitive cases underwent syncretism in a few Ometo/Omotic languages. In the case of Haro, the Nominative and Genitive are marked by the same morpheme regularly. Consider examples of definite Genitive nouns in (55a-55d) below.

55a) **šaató-   z-   i   doró**
    boy-   MAS:DEF- GEN sheep:ABS
    'the boy's sheep'

55b) **šee◯ó-   z-   i   k'óme**
    crocodile-   MAS:DF- GEN   skin:ABS
    'the crocodile's skin.'

55c) **⟨husband⟩   i   ⟨relative⟩**
    husband-   MAS:DEF- GEN relative:ABS
    'the husband's relative'

55d) **kana-   t-   í   šaató**
    dog-   FEM:DF- GEN   child:ABS
    'the dog's child'

The Grammatical relation covers a wide range of relationships like the part-whole relationship (56), the kinship (57), source (58) and possessions (59).

56) **maaččá- t- i binána** ⟨is'- **utt- á- kko-** ⟨é- **dd- e**
woman- FEM:DF- GEN hair cut- PAS- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF-
AFF:DEC
'The woman's hair has got cut.'

57) **tá- míšše šaat-í**⟨**e lagé- kko**
1SG- sister child-PL:NOM many- FOC
'My sisters children are many.'

58) **déyšši maassí tá-ri** ⟨**ing-á**
goat milk 1SG-DAT give-IMP
'Give me goat's milk'

59) ⟨**assá- z- i maydó** ⟨**ekk- í yood-á**
man- MAS:DF- GEN ox hold- CNV come- IMP
'Bring the man's ox (Lit: Holding the man's come).'

Haro allows extensive Genitive constructions as shown in (60a), (60b) and (60c).

60a) **maaččá- t- i kúše gí**⟨**lla- kko** ⟨**í-k'ais'-utt- ín-e**
woman- FEM:DF- GEN hand:GEN finger:ABS FOC 3FS- cut- PAS- PA-AFF:DEC
'The woman's hand's finger was cut(Lit:It was the woman's hand's finger that got cut).'

60b) **déyšši maassí** ⟨**áysi** ⟨**alé- kko**
goat :GEN milk:GEN butter:NOM medicine:ABS- FOC
'goat's milk's butter is medicine.'

60c) ⟨**és-í** ⟨**ólla maaččá- t- i šaató- kko**
he-NOM neighbour woman- FEM:DF GEN child- FOC
'He is a child of the neighbouring woman.'

In the absence of the head noun, the Genitive is marked by the suffix –**si**, the element

used as a Dative marker as shown in (61a-c).

61a) **šaato- z- í- si**
boy- MAS:DEF- GEN DAT
'That of the boy'

61b) **šee**⟨**ó- z- í- si**
crocodile- MAS:DF- GEN DAT
'That of the crocodile'

61c) ⟨⟨⟨⟨é⟨ ⌘⟨ **í si**
husband- MAS:DEF- GEN DAT
'that of the husband'

Proclitic pronouns function as Genitive forms (see Chapter Four).

3.2.4.5. Peripheral case-marking

As already mentioned, unlike the situation with core case marking, a peripheral case

is marked on both indefinite as well as definite nouns. With indefinite nouns, which

are not marked for a core case, a peripheral case marker gets attached directly to the

stem. With definite nouns, which require an obligatorily core case marking, a

peripheral case marker occurs as a secondary layer. As discussed above, the Genitive

case functions as a base for the peripheral case marking of definite nouns in Haro. The

peripheral cases in Haro are Dative, Instrumental, Comitative, Locative, Ablative,

Directive and Vocative.

3.2.4.5.1.   *The Dative*

        The Dative case is the case that encodes the indirect object (Blake 1994:199).

The Dative case in Haro is marked by the suffix –**si,** an archaic element considered to

be a 'Proto-Cush-Omotic' form (see Zaborski, 1990:623). With pronouns the Dative

is encoded by suffix -**ri**.

      As mentioned above, with definite nouns, which are marked for core case, the

Genitive is the base for forming the Dative case (also other peripheral case markers).

For practical reasons, the core case marker -**i** is not separately glossed or

interlinearlized. The glossary for the core case is left out to avoid a confusion that

may be raised by sequences of case markers. So with definite nouns, the elements

provided as peripheral case markers are compositional; they include the Genitive case

marker, -**i** as an initial component.

62) ⟨é•⟩   **í**   **mííše–**   **z–**   **a**   **maačča– t–**   **ísi** ⟨é– ⟨ing–
     í■⟩ℳ
    he-   NOM   money- MAS:Df ABS woman-   FEM:DF- DAT   3MS- give-   PA-AFF:DEC
    'He gave the money to the woman .'

63) **yéé**   ⟨⌥••⌥ ⟩   ⌘ **í•**✕ ⟨✕■Ɏ⟩ **á**
    that   man-   MAS:DF- DAT give- IMP
    'Give it to that man.'

    A similar situation is attested with interrogative pronouns whereby the Dative

is based on the form   ⟨□□■⟩**í**, which is used in the Genitive and Nominative

in contrast with the Absolutive form ⟨□□■⟩**á** (see also chapter 7).

64)   **bóóra**   ⟨□□■⟩ **í•**✕   ⟨í⟩ ♌□□□⟩   ℳ
     ♌□ℳ⌥⚏:ABS whose-   DAT   3FS-   bake-   AFF:DEC
     'Whom are you baking bread for?'

Haro verbs that take indirect objects include three-place verbs such as ⟨ᴏᴄʀ⟩ 'tell', ⟨ᴏᴄʀ⟩ 'give', **gujj-** 'add', **kass-** 'cook', **wong-** 'buy', **zal**⟨ᴏᴄʀ⟩ 'sell', **hiid-** 'say', **bey-** 'show', **hant-** 'work', **deng-** 'find', **giš-** 'divide' and ⟨ᴏᴄʀ⟩ ⁶hold'. and two-place verbs such as **yeekk-** 'cry', ⟨ᴏᴄʀ⟩**šiš-** 'present', ⟨ᴏᴄʀ⟩ 'be worried', ⟨ᴏᴄʀ⟩-'be thirsty' and ⟨ᴏᴄʀ⟩ 'be hungry' take a Dative Case.

The indirect object and the direct object can interchange their positions in a sentence as shown in (65).

65) ⟨⟩í⟨⟩í   mamákko-z-   a⟨⟩šša-   si   ⟨⟩í⟨⟩   ⟨⟩⟨⟩   í■⟨⟩⟨⟩
     •⟨⟩⟨⟩NOM   tale-   MAS:DF-ABS   little girl- DAT   3MS-   tell-   PA-
     AFF:DEC
     'She told a tale to a little girl.'

The passive verbs 'be hungry', 'be thirsty' and 'be in problem' require a subject and an indirect object, but not a direct object.

66a) **tán-   í   wassí- si   tá-   sang-   utt- á- kko-** ⟨⟩é⟨⟩   **n**⟨⟩   **e**
     I-   NOM   water- DAT 1SG-   thirst-   PAS- INF-FOC-   3MS-   IMF-   AFF:DEC
     'I am thirsty for water.'

66b) ⟨⟩é•⟨⟩   **í   miššé- si   met- utt- á- kko-** ⟨⟩é⟨⟩   **n** ⟨⟩ **e**
     ⟨⟩⟨⟩   NOM   money- DAT   be in problem-PAS-   INF-FOC- 3MS-   IMF-   AFF:DEC
     'He is troubled for money.'

The Dative indicates a benefactive entity as illustrated in the following structures.

67a) ⟨⟩és-í   **hant- ass- i**⟨⟩**é- si   mííše** ⟨⟩é- **gujj- ín-   e**
      he-NOM   work-   NM- PL-   DAT   money:ABS 3MS-   add-   PA-   AFF:DEC
      'He made a salary increment to the workers.'

67b) ⟨⟩é•⟨⟩í   č⟨⟩X⟨⟩⟨⟩   ⟨⟩   •X   ⟨⟩□⟨⟩é⟨⟩ ⟨⟩⟨⟩□   ⟨⟩é ⟨⟩   ⟨⟩⟨⟩⟨⟩
     í■⟨⟩⟨⟩
     he-NOM   old man-   DAT way:ABS- FOC 3MS- show-   PA-AFF:DEC
     'He showed the way to an old man.'

The Dative may have a malefactive interpretation as in (68a and b). In such constructions, the action expressed by the verb is against the entity expressed by the Dative noun.

68a) ⟨⟩XX⟨⟩Y⟨⟩ú■♦⟨⟩⟨⟩   •X   ⟨⟩á●⟨⟩⟨⟩   ⟨⟩⟨⟩□⟨⟩á■♦⟨⟩   ♦š♦
     poor-   NMZ- DAT- medicine:ABS- FOC   work-   POS
     'The medicine against poorness is working'

68b)

⟨fat-NMZ-⟩	DAT	medicine	bread:ABS-	FOC	reduce-	POS	◆šu
fat-NMZ-	DAT	medicine	bread:ABS-	FOC	reduce-	POS	

'The medicine against fatness is reducing bread (bread eating)'

3.2.4.5.2.   The Comitative

The morpheme -**ra** functions as a Comitative case marker in Haro. The comitative introduces an entity that is present at the same event frame as the primary participant. For example, the Comitative shows a relation, which is interpreted as a co-agent as in (69).

69)

óyddu	assá-	z-	i	táná-	ra	tá-	maače-	ra
four	person-	MAS:DF-	NOM	I:ABS-	COM	1SG-	wife:ABS-	COM

tá-	bollá-	ra	é-	biššó-	ra	bizzi-	só-	kko
1SG-	fatherin-law-	COM	3FM-	girl-	COM	one-	NMZ-	FOC

óge	nú-	hang-	ín-	e
road:ABS	1PL-	go-	PA-	AFF:DEC

'Four persons, my wife, my father-in-law and his daughter and I (all in one) had a trip (Lit: Four persons, my wife, my father-in-law, his daughter and I went a road.'

The comitative case is different from the inclusive, which is marked by -**ni** and occur as in the (70).

70)

káyso	ač'	utt	é	kušše-ni	túke ni	bibíršitt-	í
	agg-	í					
thief:NOM	tie-	PAS-REL:AFF	hand-	INC	foot INC	untie-	CNV leave- CNV

batt-	á-	kko-	é-	dd-	e
get lost-	INF-	FOC-	3MS-	PF-	AFF:DEC

'Having untied his hands and his foot, which were tied, the thief has escaped.'

As shown below the comitative also functions as instrumental case marker. However, the reverse is not true; the Instrumental case is not used as a comitative.

3.2.4.5.3.   The Instrumental case

The Instrumental case denotes an entity or a tool by which or with which an action is done. The Instrumental in Haro is marked by suffix –**na**. Consider the following examples.

71a)

íis-í	míssi	gandé-	na-kko	is'-	ín-	e
he-NOM	tree:ABS	axe-	INS-FOC	cut-	PA-	AFF:DEC

'He cut a tree with an axe.'

71b)

kaná-	z-	a	gíɗó-	na	guydd	-á
dog-	MAS:DF-	ABS	stick-	INS	hit-	IMP

'Hit the dog with a stick.'

The instrumental case can also be interchangeably indicated by the suffix

-ra, an element, which functions as a comitative case marker.

72a) ꧁ís-í   míssi   gandé- ra-kko   yes'- ín- e
        he-NOM   tree:ABS   axe-   INS- FOC   cut- PA- AFF:DEC
        'He cut a tree with an axe.'

72b) **kaná- z-   a   gí꧁ó- ra- guydd -á**
        dog- MAS:DF- ABS   stick- INS- hit-   IMP
        'Hit the dog with a stick.'

Even though there is a distinct grammatical element, which is used exclusively

to indicate the Instrumental, the Comitative case gets out of its scope to indicate the

Instrumental. This seems to happen because of the semantic affinity the two categories

have.

The syncretism between the Instrumental and the Comitative cases is a cross-

linguistic phenomenon, which draws different scholars' attention. In his cross

linguistic study of Instrumental-comitative syncretism, drawn from a large sample of

languages, Stolz (1996: 123-127) shows that, of the 323 languages in the sample, only

79 have coherent syncretism of Instrumental and Comitative, as few as 35 show a

mixed type of syncretism, and up to 209 are incoherent, showing no syncretism

between the two categories.

An earlier work by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:135) points out that forms with

both an Instrumental and Comitative value would likely be present in all but few

languages of the world. They explained this syncretism as based on a metaphor that

would link the notions of *accompaniment* and *instrumentality* at a conceptual level.

The metaphor 'An instrument is a companion' would form part of our system of

coherent and systematic relationships between concepts. This conceptual system is

essential to our cognitive apparatus. Similarly, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer

(1991:158) argue that syncretism of Instrumental and Comitative is, not only

universal, but also asymmetrical and unidirectional. Accordingly, instrumentality is

considered more abstract than accompaniment and therefore, instrumentals will be derived from comitatives: They claim that the Comitative use preceded the Instrumental but not vice versa. Stolz (1996) argues against the strict unidirectionality connecting comitatives and instrumentals proposed by Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991). He says there is a contradiction in defending the universal character of devices expressing *instruments* and *companions* and stating at the same time that the Comitative precedes the Instrumental. The latter statement presupposes some stage, before the Comitative extends its scope over the Instrumental, at which either both categories co-occur as distinct categories (cf: Stolz 1996:117-121), or there is a Comitative, but no device to express the Instrumental at all. Stolz (1996:177) argues that integration of the semantics of the input categories into a blended space has resulted syncretism. The Instrumental, which denotes a tool is picked out as a counterpart to a person in the domain of companion. The generic schema common to both the instrument and its counterpart, the companion, is their co-presence at a given event frame.

The situation in Haro is quite interesting. The Instrumental and Comitative cases are distinct case categories expressed via two distinct elements. However, the Instrumental extends its scope over the Comitative showing a kind of partial merger of the two cases. The case in Haro clearly shows the direction of the integrity between the two cases. It goes from the Comitative to the instrumental. The situation in related languages of Ometo is quite different. For example, in Maale, suffix -**na,** the element, which is used as the Instrumental case marker in Haro, serves to mark both Instrumental as well as Comitative cases (Azeb 2001). The two cases have totally syncritisized in Maale. On the other hand, Zayse keeps the two apart and use the element -**ra** for Comitative and –**na** for the Instrumental (Hirut 1988).

Like in other peripheral cases, with definite nouns the Genitive is used as a base for marking the Instrumental. Hence, with definite nouns the instrumental case marker -**na** is preceded by the Genitive case marker and it appears as -**ína**

73) ⟨⟩íis-í   míssi   k'áára gande-z-   ína ⟨⟩is'- ín-   e
    he-NOM tree:ABS sharp   axe-   MAS:DF- INS cut- PA- AFF:DEC
    'He cut a tree with the sharp axe.'

Semantically, the Instrumental case in Haro can also introduce manner of an action (74a) agent of the passive, i.e., the demoted subject of the corresponding active construction (74b).

74a) maššá- z-   i   ⟨⟩itta- ná-   kko   ⟨⟩é- k'aar- et- ín-   e
    knife- MAS:DF- NOM bad-   INS- FOC   3MS- sharp- INCH- PA-AFF:DEC
    'The knife is sharpened badly (very much).'

74b) ⟨⟩és- í   bé-   bollá-   ra- kko ⟨⟩é- gal- att-   ín-   e
    he- NOM 3REF- father-in-law- INS- FOC 3MS- thank- PAS- PA- AFF:DEC
    'He was thanked by his father-in-law.

3.2.4.5.4.   The Ablative case

The Ablative expresses source or the beginning point of the path or trajectory (Blake 1994). In Haro the Ablative noun is marked by the suffix –**pa.** The Ablative case has a number of functions. The common use of the Ablative case is to express the starting point of motion (75a-c).

75a) ⟨⟩és- í   míssi- gillá- pa   ⟨⟩ung- á- kko- ⟨⟩é- dd-   e
    he- NOM tree- LOC- ABL   fail- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF-   AFF:DEC
    'He has fallen from a tree.'

75b) ⟨⟩és-   í   karé- pa hátte- kko   ⟨⟩í- gel-   ín-   e
    he- NOM outside- ABL   now- FOC 3MS-   get into- PA-   AFF:DEC
    'He entered (to the house) from outside now.'

75c) ⟨⟩azagé-   z-   i- wassí- pa- kko kes- í   ⟨⟩é-   yood ín-   e
    hippopotamus- MAS:DF- NOM   water- ABL FOC get out- CNV 3MS-   come- PA-
    AFF:DEC
    'The hippopotamus got out of the water and came.'

The Ablative is used to express a reservation from doing an action as in the following structure.

76) ♦á■⌂í   ⟨⟩adisába hánt- a-   pa   ⟨⟩⌂⌂♦♦⌂ á⌂
    ♦♦⌂
    I-NOM Addis Ababa go- NMZ- ABL   remain-   NEG-   NEG:DEC
    'I do not remain from going to Addis.'

Comparative expressions involve Ablative noun.

77) há   géri   nú- géri- pa ⟨⟩⌂⌂♦⌂ ■⌂⌂ &&□ ⟨⟩ú-⌂
    ●⌂⌂⌂í■⌂⌀
    ♦⌂⌂♦   □⌀□□●⌀   1PL- people-   ABL bad- INS- FOC 3PL-

great-   PA-AFF:DEC
'These people are greater than our people.'

The expression 'other than' is indicated by the Ablative noun as illustrated in (78).

78) **šaato**   ⬧◆⬧⬧🐚🐬   p🐚   ◻🌙◆🐚   ⬧🌙◻🐬á🐬   ◆⬧🐚
    child   shouting🐬   ABL   other   know-   NEG-   NEG:DEC
    'A child knows nothing other than shouting.'

3.2.4.5.5.   The Locative case

The Locative case expresses spatial locations and other semantically related relations. Haro has two locative markers-**ga** and –**nna**, which are distinct both semantically as well as distributionally. A static relationship between an entity and the place it is located is expressed by –**nna**, while a dynamic relation, which involves motion is indicated by -**ga**. The suffix –**nna** but not -**ga** occurs with a locative noun that functions as an argument of the verb **yes**-'exist'. Consider (79)

79) **nún-   í**   ⬧🐚●&¿á◆◻🐬   **nna**   ⬯🌙◆🐬   🌙
    we-   NOM   Alkaso-   LOC   exist-   AFF:DEC
    'We are in Alkaso (We exist in Alkaso).'

    *nún-   í   ⬧🐚●&¿á◆◻🐬   🐚   ⬯🌙◆🐬   🌙
    we-   NOM   Alkaso-   LOC   exist-   AFF:DEC
    'We are in Alkaso (We exist in Alkaso).'

Below we will discuss and illustrate the use of each locative marker in turn.

1. The suffix -ga

As already mentioned, suffix -**ga** is used to indicate a locative relation in which the located entity is in a dynamic position. It shows that an object is moving into a place of the reference object. Hence, verb which conflates motion and path such as **yood-** 'come' **hang-** 'go', enter, **guss** 'add',   **geh**🐬⫯sleep (go to bed)⫯🐬   **tiš-**'smear', ⬧🐬**ung-** 'fall', **késs-**'take out' etc**.,** involve locative nouns suffixed to –**ga**. Consider the following examples.

80a) **sógo   ⬧🐬ota-   gá-   kko   ⬧🐬ol-   á**
    salt:ABS   calabash-   LOC-   FOC   drop–IMP
    'Drop salt in the calabash.'

80b) **wáási** **🔶otá- ga** **guss- á**
water:ABS calabash- LOC add- IMP
'Add water in the calabash.'

80c) 🔶í 🔶 🔶á♒ℳ ♦á■🔶á ◯🔶&i■á🔶 🔶🔶🔶&&□
🔶é🔶 ♦🔶🗡🔶□🔶 ♦♦🔶 í■🔶 ℳ
3FS husband:NOM I-ABS car- LOC -FOC-3MS- get in a car-CAU- PA-
AFF:DEC
'Her husband let me got into a car.'

80d) **tán- í** 🔶o◰♒♒é🔶 🔶🔶🔶&&□ ♦á🔶 🔶ℳ≋🔶 í■🔶
ℳ
I- NOM chair- LOC- FOC 1SG- sleep- PA- AFF:DEC
'I slept on the chair.'

80e) **🔶ís- í sino- gá- kko 🔶áyssi -🔶í- tiš- e**
She- NOM face- LOC- FOC butter 3MS- smear- AFF:DEC
'She is smearing butter on her face.'

80f) **šaató 🔶□gé- ga 🔶ung - á – kko - 🔶é - dd- e**
child:NOM road- LOC- fall down- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
'The child fell down on the road.'

The locative marker –**ga** indicates inclusion of a reference in a certain

environment or region, as shown in (81a and b).

81a) **míssi 🔶awwá- ga késs- i lo🔶ó maak'-** á- wwa
cattle:ABS sun- LOC take out- NMZ good becomeNEG- NEG:DEC
'It is not good to take out cattle into the sunshine.'

81b) nún- í 🔶🔶🔶&á♦□🔶 🔶🔶 🔶utt- a- ra dand- á- wwa
we- NOM Alkaso- LOC sit- INF-PUR able- NEG- NEG:DEC
'We cannot sit in Alkaso.'

The suffix **-ga** seems a gramaticalized element of the locative noun **gidda**

'middle' with which it is freely interchangeable. Hence, the locative nouns introduced

by the element -**ga** in (80) can also be introduced by the locative word **gidda** .

82a) **sógo 🔶ota- giddá- kko 🔶ol- á**
salt:ABS calabash- LOC- FOC drop– IMP
'Drop salt in the calabash.'

82b) **šaató 🔶□gé- giddá 🔶ung - á – kko - 🔶é - dd- e**
child:NOM road- LOC- fall down- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
'The child fell down on the road.'

When followed by another suffix such as the focus marker –**kko**, the element

–**ga** occurs accented, whereas when it occurs stem finally the accent would be on the

final syllable of the base.

2. *The suffix* ***-nna***

The suffix -**nna** indicates location of an entity, which is in a relatively fixed or static position with respect to a reference object used to establish the position of the located entity.

83) **nú- gére   mirabe- z-   í-   ga** ⬠á●ꙮℳ   ≋⧗⧗⚭⭗   **í**
    ⬠◆⚭⭗é
    3PL- people:NOM Mirab-   MAS:DF- NOM- LOC Alge   say-   CNV   call-REL

    ꙮ⬠⚭é⭗ **nna**⭗&⭗□   ⬠é◆⭗   ℳ
    country-   LOC   FOC   exist- AFF:DEC
    'Our people live in Mirab at a country called Alge.'

The suffix -**nna** often occurs in conjunction with 'location words'. Location words are words used to indicate the specific orientation of the located entity with reference to the location (cf: Blake 1994:16). Apart from their function as locative devises, the locative words in Haro have primary nominal references. The nominal references and locative references of 'location words' are given respectively below.

84)   línk'e   'side'   'beside/next to'

         bágga   'half'   'on the side'

         gílla   'body'   'on top of'

         ⬠ápa   '◆&⬠᷁   'over the surface (physical contact is not relevant)'

         ⬠ómmo   'under part'   'under, through/ implies a figure whose position

                                       exceeds the spatial extent of the ground in some dimension'

         gínde   'back'   'behind'

         bíro   'front'   'in front'

         gídda   'middle'   'in side, among'

The following structures illustrate the use of 'locative words' functioning as locative nouns. As mentioned above, these words occur attached to locative marker –**nna** .

85) **tá- gáwwo- giddá- nna hargé- kko yes- é-   s- i**
    1SG- stomach   inside- LOC disease- FOC exist- AFF:REL- ELP-   NOM
    'There is a disease in my stomach.(Lit: It is disease that exists in my stomach.)'

86) **makína   gindé- nna yes- é**   ⬠□⬠⚭é⭗ ga   ⬠◆◆⭗   **á**
    car   back- LOC exist- AFF:REL   seat-   LOC sit- IMP
    'Sit down on the seat which is at the back of the bus.'

86) **kééše   god**á   **gill**á- **nna-   kko**   ⟨script⟩**é-   sus'-   utt-   ín-   e**
    basket   wall-   body- LOC-   FOC   3MS-   hang- PAS-   PA-   AFF:DEC
    'The basket is hung on the wall.'

87) *šuurá-   t-   i   ⟨script⟩**álga-ommó- nna-   kko**   ⟨script⟩ ⟨script⟩ ⟨script⟩*
    cat-   FEM:DF- NOM   bed-   under-   LOC-   FOC   3FS-   enter- PAS-   AFF:DEC
    'The cat got under the bed.(Lit: It is under the bed that the cat got.'

An Ablative noun, which introduces a reference point of a certain location, can

modify a locative noun. Consider the following phrases.

88a) **zawwa-pa-ginde-nna**
     house-ABL-behind-LOC
     'behind the house (from the house's back)'

88b) **zawwa-pa**   **biró-nna**
     house-ABL   front-LOC
     'in front of the house (from the front of the house)'

88c) **zawwa-pa ⟨script⟩apa-nna**
     house-ABL-top-LOC
     'over (on top of roof) the house'

The following sentence illustrate occurrence of the locative phrases shown above.

89) **zuma-   pa   ommo- nna   wassi- kko   yes-   e-   s-   i**
    mountain-ABL- under- LOC   water- FOC   exist- AFF:REL- ELP-   NOM
    'There is water under the mountain (It is water that exists under the mountain'

Apart from the locative sense, the use of suffix -**nna** is extended to express

other semantically related concepts such as temporal and cause as illustrated in the

following structures.

90) **gašmalo– si   šo**⟨script⟩ **nna   hang- učči lo**⟨script⟩   **kko**
    wave-   DAT   morning- LOC go-   NMZ   good-   FOC
    'To escape the wave, it is good to go in the morning (Lit: for wave going in the morning is good.)

91) ⟨script⟩**indo ham**⟨script⟩   ⟨script⟩ **nna-   kko**   ⟨script⟩**šša-t-   i**
    ⟨script⟩
    mother   go-   NMZ- LOC-   FOC   little girl- FEM:DF- NOM- 3FS-cry-PA-AFF:DEC
    'Because of the departure of the mother, the little child cried.

The locative is also used to express a manner of relationship. As illustrated

below, a friendship involving two individuals is expressed by suffixing the locative

marker to numeral 'two'.

92) **k'aaré-   ni   šee**⟨script⟩**ó-   ni   nam**⟨script⟩**ú**⟨script⟩   ⟨script⟩ ⟨script⟩   **áási**
    ⟨script⟩:ABS- INC   crocodile- INC   two-   LOC   friend- PL

    ma⟨script⟩⟨script⟩⟨script⟩   **í**   ⟨script⟩**ó**⟨script⟩   ⟨script⟩⟨script⟩⟨script⟩
    become-CNV   together   exist- CNV
    'Ape and crocodile, while becoming friends made of two and living together...'

The two locative case markers -**ga** and -**nna** are attested co-occurring attached

to a spatial deictic. Consider the following structure.

93) **hayi-ga-nna**   **hang-a**
     this-LOC-LOC   go-IMP
     'Go this way.'

3.2.4.5.6.   The Directive

Haro has a special morpheme, suffix **–kki,** used to expresses a directional relation 'towards

occurring in structures like the following.

94) ⟨ú•í■⟩ í   borbonó- z-   a   ⟨⟩⟨•ô⟩ í   •⟨••í- ⟨⟨⟩⟨
     they- NOM Borbono   MAS:DEF- ABS cut-   CNV   water- DIR

     ⟨ú-   ⟨⟨◆●⟩ í■⟩   ⟨
     3PL-   drop-   PA-AFF DEC

     'They cut the Borbono (a kind of tree) and threw it onto water'

95) **tán- í   ⟨algé⟩ kki hang⟩ í-   kko**
          márpe
     I   NOM Alge- DIR go-   CNV FOC needle(Amharic)

     ◆á⟩   č'ad- útt-   í■⟩   ⟨
     1SG-   pierce- PAS-   PA   AFF:DEC

     'Having gone to Alge, I had an injection (Lit: Having gone to Alge, I have been pierced (by)a
needle .'

The suffix –**kki** can also occur with demonstrative pronouns as in (96).

96) ⟨és- í   yee-   kki   bed- í   ⟨é-   wud-   ín- e
     he- NOM that- DIR   see- CNV 3MS- go down- PA- AFF:DEC
     'He looked into that, then went down.'

3.2.4.5.7.   The Vocative
The Vocative is used as a form of address. Vocative nouns in Haro are formed by

suffixing – **ó** to a noun. TV of the stem gets dropped, and the tone-accent pattern of

the base is altered as shown in (97).

97)   ***Absolutive***   ***Vocative***
        lánko   'aunt(mother's side)'   **lank-ó**   'aunt!'
        náyši   'childern'   **nayš-ó**   'children!'
        kááti   'chief'   **kaat- ó**   'chief!
        mayála 'Mayala'   **mayal-ó**   'Mayala!'
        wošíre 'Woshire'   **wošir- ó** 'Woshire!'
        ⟨éni   'Deni'   ⟨en-ó   'Deni'

Vocatives of a few kinship nouns are expressed by suppletive forms.

98) índo   'mother'   aayé   'mother!'
     míšo   'sister'   á   'sister!'
     íše   'brother'   í   'brother!'

Vocative nouns referring to in-laws occur in plural forms. These forms are also

modified by first person plural possessive pronoun in order to express respect for in-

laws

99a) **nú-boltt-áás'i**
      1PL-in-law:FEM-PL
      'our mother/sister/aunt in-law'

99b) **nú-bolla-áás'i**
      1PL-in-law:MAS-PL
      'our father/brother/uncle in-law'

Haro allows two layers of case markers. In spatial deictic nominals, the locative case

marker -**nna** can be followed by the Ablative marker –**pa** as in (100).

100) šaató-   z-   i   há- nná- pa yéé- nna hang-í-   kko é-   maak'-in-e
      child-   MAS:DF- NOM   this- LOC- ABL that- LOC go-   CNV- FOC 3MS-return-PA-AFF:DEC
      'The child having gone from here to there returned back.'

In general, the case system in Haro shows several typologically remarkable

properties, which distinguish it from other Ometo languages. The core case has three

members and they are all morphologically signalled. Definite nouns, but not indefinite

nouns are marked for core case. From the wider functions, which are covered by the

Absolutive case, one can consider Haro as a Nominative marked language. On the

other hand, the Genitive but not the Absolutive occurs as a base for a peripheral case

marking.The following table presents inventoryhe of the case markers.

Core case		Peripheral case (based on Genitive case)	
Absolutive	**-a**	Dative	**-si,-ri**
Masculine	**-o**	Comitiative	**–ra**
	-i , í	Instrumental	**–na/íra**
Feminine	**-i**	Ablative -	**-pa**
Nominative		Locative	**-ga/-nna**
Genitive		Directive	**-kki**
		Vocative	**-ó**

3.3   Nominalization

Haro shows a rich system of nominalization whereby nouns can be derived from nominals and verbs. Based on the category of words from which the nouns are created, the derived nouns are classified mainly into two: nouns derived from nominals and nouns derived form verbs. Each one will be discussed in turn below. In our discussion, the term nominal is used to refer to both nouns as well as adjectives while the term noun is used to refer distinctively to nouns. The term nominalization is used for all kinds of process used for forming nouns.

3.3.1 Nouns derived from nominals

Nouns in Haro can be derived from adjectives and nouns through suffixation. The process is very productive that every noun and adjective could function as an input. Semantically, the derived nouns in this section can be categorized as abstract nouns. Nouns belonging to this class have a meaning 'being Noun /Adjective'.

There are two suffixes, which vary from each other on their tone-accent pattern, involved in the formation of abstract nouns. These are -**éte** and -**eté**. Occurrence of the two suffixes is determined by the tone-accent pattern of the base. The former occurs with a base having an accented penultimate syllable, while the latter occurs with nominal stems having an accented ultimate syllable. If the base has a high tone-accent on the penultimate syllable, then the derived nominal also have the same tone-accent configuration. If the base is with an accented ultimate syllable, then -**eté** occurs as a nominalizer so that the derived form gets its accent on the ultimate syllable. Hence, both the base as well as the derived nominal appears to have a similar

tone-accent pattern. Some examples of nominals derived via the suffix **éte** are given

in the following table.

Nominal stems		Abstract nouns	
⬯órde	'fat'	**⬯ord-éte**	'fatness'
láále	'thin'	**laal-éte**	'thinness'
k'óók'e	'blind'	**k'ook'-éte**	'blindness'
gešše	'clean'	**gešš-éte'**	'cleanness'
bízzo	'one'	**bizz-éte**	'unity'
míno	'strong'	**mine-éte**	'strength'
⬯í■⌂□	'○□◆≋ℳ□'	**⬯i■⌂⬭é◆ℳ**	'motherhood'
míšo	'sister'	**○✕š⬭é◆ℳ**	'sisterhood'
⬯ó●●ℊ	'neighbour'	**⬯o●●⬭é◆ℳ**	'neighbourhood'
láápa	'week'	**laap-éte**	'weakness'

*Table 2:Abstract nouns with suffix -**éte***

The following are examples of abstract nominals formed via the suffix –**eté** as

presented in the following table.

stems		Abstract nouns	
laagé	'friend'	**laag-eté**	'friendship'
⬯addá	'father'	**⬯add-eté**	'fatherhood'
dees'ó	'heavy'	**dees'-eté**	'heaviness'
hargé	'disease'	**harg-eté**	'sickness
kumé	'full'	**kum-eté**	'being
gammó	'yellow'	**gamm-eté**	'yellowness'
⬯ehá	'lovely'	**⬯ℳ≋⬭eté**	'endearment'
paččá	'wide'	**pačč-eté**	'width'
			'

*Table 3: Abstract nouns with suffix **eté***

Haro has two meal-name nominals derived from temporal nominals by the use

of the element –**éte**, one of the suffixes used to derive abstract nominals. The

meaning of such nominals is 'meal of X time'. However, unexpected discrepancies

attested in one case, 'lunch' is derived from the temporal nominal 'morning'.

101) **k'áme** 'evening'   **kam-éte**   'dinner'
     šó⬯ℳ 'morning'   **šó⬯⬭é◆ℳ**   'lunch'

Nouns referring to other meals taken in between are not derived forms. Most

commonly the noun **bóóra** 'bread/food' is used for meals other than 'dinner' and

'lunch'.

3.3.2. Deverbal nominalization

Deverbal nominalization whereby a verb loses its verbal quality and functions as a noun is a very productive process in Haro. Nouns can be formed from verb roots, extended verb stems and relative clauses. In the following sections, we first present nouns derived from verb roots, which are further classified into three types: agentive/experiencer nouns, action nouns and result nouns. Then, we deal with nouns, which are based on extended verb stems such as passive, causative etc. Finally, we present nominalization of clauses.

3.3.2.1. Agentive/experiencer nouns

Haro has a derivational system whereby verbs can be changed into nouns having the meaning 'doer/experiencer of an action' expressed by the verb. There are two agentive nominalizers -**ássi** and –**áčči** whose distribution is phonologically conditioned. The latter occurs with verbs having a final alveo- palatal fricative –**š**- or a glottal fricative –**h** whereas the former occurs elsewhere. The following table shows some examples of the agentive nominals in Haro.

Verb root		Agentive nouns	
wo◥-	'kill'	**wo◥-ássi**	'killer'
bok-	'dig'	**bok-ássi**	'digger'
šog-	'wash'	**šog-ássi**	'washer'
me◥-	'create'	**me◥-ássi**	'creator'
ka⬡is-	'steal'	**ka⬡is-ássi**	'thief
hantt-	'work'	**hantt-ássi**	'worker
ješš-	'be afraid'	**ješš-áčči**	'coward
gošš-	'get drunk'	**gošš-áčči**	'drunkard'
kah-	'be sympathetic'	**kah-áčči**	'a sympathetic person'

Table 4: Agenitive nouns

Suffix -**ássi**, the more widely attested agentive nominalizer, may be a grammaticalized form of the noun ⟨ᵔ⟩ 'man/person'. Cognates of the suffix as well as the noun are attested elsewhere in Ometo. In comparison, Zayse uses the form ⟨ᵔ⟩ for 'man' and ⟨ᵔ⟩ for deriving agentive nominalizer.

102)   *Zayse (Hirut 1988:35)*

Verb root	Gloss	Agentive Noun	Gloss
mang-	'begin'	**mang-ats**	'beginner'
woᵔ-	'kill'	**woᵔ-ats**	'killer'
ᵔadarts-	'ride'	**ᵔadarts-ats**	'rider'

A similar relationship between **atse** 'man' and the agentive nominalizer is attested in Koyra, another language of East Ometo.

103)   *Koyra (Hayward 1982)*

Verb root	Gloss	Agentive Noun	Gloss
woᵔ-	'kill'	**woᵔ-atse**	'killer'
bono-	'rob'	**bono-atse**	'burglar'

The formal similarity attested between the nouns 'man/person' and the agentive nominalizer in the Ometo languages suggests an etymological relationship between the affix and the noun at least in east Ometo.

3.3.2.2. Action nouns

There is a derivational relationship between verbs expressing actions and nouns referring to names of the actions. The two forms share the same root. The noun involves a verb root followed by a vocalic suffixal element, which function as derivational elements here. The derivational suffixes have the same form as terminal vowels, which are attested with simple or non-verbal nouns (see 3.1). On the other hand, the verbal counterpart involves the verb root and verbal inflectional suffixes which may be preceded by derivational suffixes. Semantically, the nouns refer to

names of things or objects while their verbal counterparts denote activities associated with the nouns. Action nouns, as described by Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993:6), are:

> …nouns in certain respects occupying an intermediate position between typical verbs and typical nouns. Typical nouns include names of things, persons, places, while typical verbs denote actions and processes. action nominals, like English *discovery, shooting*, etc., clearly refer to events, like verbs do, although not by asserting the occurrence of the events of the discourse, but by giving them a name.

Action nouns in Haro are divided into two types, namely class-one and class-two. Membership to the first class is open, in a sense that, every verb has a nominal counterpart belonging to this class. In contrast, the second class has a limited number of members, and not every verb has a nominal counterpart in the latter class. Hence, certain verbs in Haro have two action nominal correspondents. The two classes of nominals show various properties at the phonological, and morpho-syntactic levels. Below each class will be presented in turn.

3.3.2.2.1. Class-one action nouns

Class-one action nouns in Haro are formed from verb roots via either one of the four suffixes: –**a**,-**o**, -**e** or –**i** . Other than the suffix –**i**, which is restricted to a sibilant final consonant, elsewhere, association of a suffix with a verb root is unpredictable and remains lexically determined. The set of verbs to which the suffixes -**a**,-**o**, or -**e** are suffixed cannot be generalized or predicted. In the case of –**i**, a very similar phonological restriction is observed also in its occurrence a TV in simple (non-verbal) noun stems (see 3.1.1). Deglottalization of a final sibilant consonant is also attested with the suffixation of -**i.**

Semantically, action nouns show instances of idiosyncratic properties, in a sense that, the meaning is mostly lexically determined. Below are some examples of action nouns in Haro.

104) Verb root   Nouns

Verb root		Nouns	
woss-	'run'	**wóss-i**	'running'
dičč-	'grow up'	**díčč-i**	'growing up'
kess-	'get out'	**késs-i**	'getting out'
yess-	'exist'	**yess-i**	'life/living'
míč'č-	'laugh'	**míčč-i**	'laughter/laughing'
s'áás'-	'pack'	**s'ááss-i**	'packing/package'
bey-	'see'	**béy-e**	'seeing'
miy-	'eat'	**míy-e**	'eating'
zal◇-	'trade'	**zál◇◻◻**	'trading/selling'
◇◻≈◻	'tell'	**◇ó≈◻◻**	'telling'
yood-	'come'	**yóód-e**	'coming'
sokk-	'drop'	**sókk-e**	'dropping(water) '
hantt-	'work'	**hántt-a**	'working/work'
hang-	'go'	**háng-a**	'going/walking'
wor◇◻	'⚭)(●●'	**◆ó◻◇◻◻**	'killing'
hasa◇◻	'speak'	**hasá◇◻◻**	'speaking/speech'
gá◇-	'pray'	**gá◇-o**	'praying/prayer'
bot	'bless'	**bót-o**	'blessing'
me◇◻	'cut'	**◯é◇◻◻**	'cutting'
gel-	'enter'	**gél-o**	'entering'
ma◇-	'dress '	**má◇-o**	'dressing /cloth'
◥aants-	'breast feed'	**◥ánts-o**	'breast feeding'
č'útt-	'spit'	**č'útt-o**	'spiting'
púnn-	'blow fire'	**púnn-o**	'blowing fire'
sús'-	'bleed	**sús'-o**	'bleeding'
bó◇-	'kneel'	**bó◇-o**	'kneeling down'

3.3.2.2.2. Class-two action nouns

As mentioned above, for a set of verbs, in addition to class-one nouns, there exist other action nouns, which are referred here as class-two. Action nouns in this class differ from those in class one in many respects. Firstly, unlike those in class-one, all the nominalizing suffixes in this class, –**é** or -**ó,** and **-á,** are associated with a high tone-accent. The suffix –**i**, which is used to derive nominals from sibilant-final verb roots in class-one, is not attested here. The other feature that makes nouns in this class special is a consonant alternation exhibited between the verbs and their noun counterparts. Below, we first describe the forms and then try to explain what motivated the consonant alternation and the presence of two action nouns for a set of verbs.

Most of the verb roots in this class are identified constituting a consonant cluster –**ng-**, which strangely alters into –**m-** in the corresponding nominal form as shown in (105).

105) *Verb root*   *Nominals*

deng-	'get'	**dem-ó**	'acquisition'		
hang-	'go'	**ham-é**	'going	out (exodus)	'
⟨ing-	'give'	**⟨im-é**	'gift'		
wong-	'buy'	**woom-á**	'purchase'		
⟨ung-	'drop/fall'	**⟨um-é**	'failure'		
sang-	'get bad(for meat) '	**sam-á**	'rotten		meat'
k'ang-	'curse'	**k'am-e**	'curse(N)		'
sang-	'be thirsty'	**saam-é**	'thirsty'		
s'óóng-	'throw(an arrow) '	**s'óóm-é**	'shooting	an	arrow'
dong-	'get tilted'	**doom-á**	'tilted'		
kung-	'fill'	**kum-á**	'full'		
č'ing-	'ware out/get old'	**č'im-á**	'old person'		

There are also other non-frequent consonant alternations. In addition, degemination of the root consonant is attested with a group of nominals. With a set of few nominals, the velar segment in the verb is not preceded by a nasal segment, instead gets geminated to appear as **k(k)** or **g(g)**. In this case, unlike the situation shown above, final velar consonant of the verb changes into an oral labial consonant, **p** and **b** respectively.

106) *Verb root*   *Noun*

yeek-	'cry(v.) '	**yeep-ó**	'cry		(mourning)(n.)
⟨ⅲ⅍⅋⅌ꝺ	'♦ꝏ⅋ꝳ'	**⟨ⅲꞔ⅌ⅲ**	'taking'		
s'okk-	'drop(v.)'	**s'op-é**	'a		drop'
taagg-	'count'	**tááb-ó**	'number'		
kak-	'look after'	**kap-é**	'looking after(guarding) '		

In two other instances presented below, consonants **⟨** and **d** occur verb finally, corresponding to –**b-** and –**w-** respectively in the nominal forms.

107)   Verb root   Noun

hay⟨-	'dye'	**hayb-ó**	'death'
yood-	'come'	**yoow-é**	'origin'

With a set of nominals like the following, degemination of final consonant is attested:

108) **Verb root**   **Nouns**

       domm- 'start'   **dóme**   'starting point

       tukk- 'plant'   **túko**   'plant

       s'ogg- 'jump'   **s'ógo**   'jumping

       k'opp- 'think'   **k'ópa**   'thought

3.3.2.3. Explanations on the consonant alternation and the presence of two classes of action nouns

In this section we shall examine what brought the velar-labial consonant alternation in the verbs and their nominal counterparts discussed above. In addition, we attempt to answer the question what motivates introduction of a second class of nominals for a group of verbs in Haro.

Two possible arguments are forwarded regarding the velar-labial consonant alternation. One is that, the labial consonant may be part of the nominalizing suffix. Final-consonant of the verb may have been merged with the labial consonant, which is part of the nominalizing suffix, and so it got obscured from the synchronic form of the nominal. In other words, the velar final-consonant of a verb root has been deleted from the structure in the process of suffixation of a labial segment. Having merged with the bilabial suffixal element, the velar consonant has got obscured from the synchronic form of a nominal. This hypothesis does not seem plausible because it initiates a question why first of all such a suffixation is restricted to velar ending verb roots. Besides, there is no evidence supporting existence of a nominalizer entity with a labial consonant either in Haro or other related languages.

The second hypothesis is that the verb roots in this group may historically have a labial final consonant. At a latter stage, the verb has undergone suffixation of a velar entity that obscured the labial consonant from the verb, i.e., the final labial consonant –**m**- and a velar suffix **k/g** has merged into a consonant cluster, **nk/ng**. The class-two action nominals were created from archaic forms of the verbs, which had a labial final consonant. Therefore, the nominals in this class have preserved the earlier form of

final consonant of the verb. It is after the nominalization that final labial consonant of the verb root got changed into a velar entity. The change in the final-consonant of the verb may be triggered by verbal affixation involving a velar element. Thus, nominals like **ham-é** 'going' can be reinterpreted as being derived from the archaic form of the verb root, ***ham**-, but not from the synchronic form hang**-**. The two verb roots are related by a historical suffixational process, i.e., **ham + g/k > hang**.

Providing the use of a velar consonant functioning as a verbal suffix, comparative data on related languages supports this latter hypothesis. Data on Gimira, an Omotic language related to the Ometo branch, evidences a velar suffixal element functioning as a 'past tense' marker. According to Breeze (1990:19-20), a group of verb roots in Gimira add a velar consonant -**k-**/-**k**'- to form the 'past stem'.

109) *Gimira (Breeze, 1990:19)*

The non-past stem   The past stem

sis-	**sisk**-	'listen'
giš-	**gišk**-	'suppurate'
haz-	**hazk'-**	'throw'

Interestingly, the Gimira data further suggests merger of the velar suffix with labial final consonant of the verb root, the same process assumed for verbs serving as class-two nominal bases in Haro. As Breeze (ibid) points it out, a labial final consonant of a verb stem in Gimira alters into a velar consonant in the 'past-stem'. More specifically, a verb final bilabial consonant –**m**- is reported to be replaced by a cluster -**nk'-** in the 'past-stem'

110) **ham-**   **hank'-**   'go'
       kim-   **kink-'**   'guard'

Parellel to the case in Haro, -**p**- and –**b**- are reported to be altered into –**k-** and –**g**- respectively.

111) **šup-**   **šuk-**   'slaughter'
      dub-   **dug-**   'dance'
      hayb-   **hayk'-**   'dye'

A somehow similar situation is attested, in Zayse, in which verb stems show consonant alternation between velar and bilabial consonants. As Hayward (1990:286) states it, in the 'short perfect' and certain other forms, root-final **p**, and **m** are replaced by [k:ʰ][g:][g] respectively.

Zayse (Hayward, 1990:286-7)

112)   Short perfect   Imperative

       tú [k:ʰ]í   **tú[p:ʰ]á**   'plant'
       ku[g]í   **ku[m:]á**   'become full'

For such verb stems, Hayward (1990:286) suggests the labial consonant to be the underlying form.in such forms. This goes in line with our second hypothesis that the labial final consonant attested with class-two nominals in Haro is a focilized suffixal element of the verb, which has been lost from the synchronic form of the verb stem. Unlike with the situation with Gimira and Zayse, in the case of Haro, such alternation is not attested between verb stems, but between a verb stem and its nominal counterpart.

The question why a group of verbs in Haro are with two action nominals is, therefore, related to the historical change of consonant alternation the verbs have undergone. A group of verb root in Haro have two action nominal counterparts, which are derived at two different stages. A class-two nominal has been formed from an archaic form of a verb, i.e., before the verb undergone consonant alternation. In contrast, its counterpart in class-one is derived from the synchronic form of the verbs, i.e., after the change in the final consonant of the verb root.

The following table summarizes the above discussion by presenting the two classes of action nominals with their corresponding bases. Hypothetical underlying verb roots are provided for class-two nominals.

Synchronic Verb roots	Class-one action nominals	Historical Verb roots	class-two action nominals	Gloss of the verb
yood-	yood-e	*yóów-	yóów-e	'come'
sokk-	sóp-e	*sóp-	sókk-e	'drop(for water) '
deng-	deng-o	*dem-	dem-ó	'give'
hang-	hant-a	*ham-	ham-é	'go'
⟨⟩ing-	⟨⟩)(■)₀⟨⟩⟨⟩	*⟨⟩im-	⟨⟩im-	'give'
wong-	wóng-a	*woom-	woom-á	'buy'
taagg-	táágg-a	*tááb-	tááb-ó	'count'
⟨⟩ung-	⟨⟩ung-a	*⟨⟩um-	⟨⟩um-	'fail'
sang-	sáng-a	*sam-	sam-á	'stink'
k'ang-	k'áng-a	*k'am-	k'am-e	'curse'
sang-	sang-a	*saam-	saam-é	'be
s'oong-	sóóng-a	*s'óóm-	s'óóm-	'throw'
dong-	dóng-a	*doom	doom-á	'get tilted'

Action nouns in Haro, like any simple noun, can involve inflectional processes such as definiteness and case marking as illustrated below.

113a) ⟨⟩é♦⟨⟩ í han♦♦á⟨⟩ ✻⟨⟩ a⟨⟩ hantt⟨⟩ í ⟨⟩als⟨⟩ í
      -kko ⟨⟩é⟨⟩hang⟨⟩ ín⟨⟩Ⅲ
      ≈Ⅲ⟨⟩ NOM work- MAS:DF- ABS- work- CNV finish- CNV FOC-
      3MS-go-PA-AFF:DEC
      'He worked the work finished it and went out.'

113b) hantt- á- z- i ⟨⟩✿● ⟨⟩ á⟨⟩ &;&□ ⟨⟩
      ⟨⟩é⟨⟩ ♁♁ ⟨⟩ Ⅲ
      ♦□□&;⟨⟩ NMZ- MAS:DF- NOM finish- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF-
      AFF:DEC
      'The work is finished.'

Action nouns can be marked for a peripheral case such as Ablative or Locative as illustrated below.

114) tán- í hantt- á- pa ⟨⟩✿♦♦⟨⟩ á wwa
     I ⟨⟩ NOM ♦□□&;⟨⟩ NMZ⟨⟩ ABL be absent- NEG NEG:DEC
     'I will not be absent from work.'

115) zal⟨⟩Ⅲ⟨⟩ nná⟨⟩ ni moló hantta⟨⟩ nna⟨⟩ ní⟨⟩ &;&□
     nú⟨⟩ hak' Ⅲ
     trade- LOC- INC fish:ABL work- LOC- INC- FOC 1PL- live- AFF:DEC
     'We live from trade and fishing.'

Action nominal in Haro can be modified by an attributive nominal (116) or a demonstrative pronoun (117).

116) **moló   hántt-a   yood- únu moló hántt-á-   si   gússi záá☉a nú-dadd-ín-e**
fish:ABS work- NMZ come- TEM fish:ABS work- NMZ- DAT small boat   1PL-make-PA-
AFF:DEC
'When fishing had started, we made a small boat (Lit: When fish work came(began), for fish work we made a small boat.'

117) **há -   hántta gedó- nna-kkonúni   alkasó– ga   ⬅utta- ra**
this   work   cause- LOC-FOC we   Alkaso- in   sit-   PUR

nú-   danda⬅-   ín-   e
1PL-   able-   PA-   AFF:DEC
'Because of this work we could stay in Alkaso (Lit: Because of this work we were able to sit in Alkaso.'

The basic lexical meaning of an action noun is determined by the semantics of the verb. However, the exact meaning of an action noun may be unpredictable and it can only be specified from the context in which it occurs. For instance, the nominal **gél-o** 'entering', which mainly refers to the name of the action of entering may also refer to 'entrance/ something for entering in' as in (118). Similarly, the noun **yél-o** 'giving birth' may refer to result of the action as of giving birth as in (119). On the other hand, **pun-o** 'blowing fire' is attested denoting part of the body involved in the action of blowing fire, that is, mouth and its surrounding (120).

118) **há   gél-   o   ⬅ó𝓷ₒ𝓜   &;&;□**
this   enter-   NMZ-   door:ABS-FOC
'This is an entrance door'

119) **há   kaná yél-   o-   kko**
this   dog   give birth-   NMZ-   FOC
'This is a pupet (A thing dog gave birth to)'

120) **tán-   í   táma   púnn- o   dand⬅🄳   á-   ◆◆🄾**
I   NOM   fire   blow- NMZ   able-   NEG-   NEG:DEC

◆á🄳 púnno harg- á-   kko-   ⬅é🄳   ■🄳   𝓜
1SG- mouth sick- INF- FOC-   3MS- IMPF- AFF:DEC

'I cannot blow fire.my mouth (and its surrounding) is aching '

In the above example, the nominal **púnno** ' blowing fire' occurs twice, firstly as name of the process of blowing and, secondly, as name of the body part involved in performing the action of blowing fire that is 'mouth and its surrounding'. According to the demonstration given by the informants **púnno** refers to part of face below The nose and above the chin, the part that gets protruded out when one blows fire.

As mentioned earlier, class-one nominals and class-two nominals in Haro show different properties. A member in the latter class behaves more like a simple noun both in their meaning as well as syntactic usage whereas its counterpart in class-one behaves more like a verb. Semantically, unlike the class-one action nouns, action-two nouns behave much more like simple nouns, with more specific meaning. For instance, a class-two nominal **yoow⬒🝳ɱ** ｟come-NMZ｠ denotes 'origin', while its class-two counterpart, **⬓□□⚏⬒🝳ɱ** lacks this denotation. Consider the following illustrative sentences.

121) **⬒ó●□⬒   nú⬒   ɳᵇé□ɱ   ⬓□□◆⬒ é nú⬒**
      ⬒⚒⚏⚏á⬒□⚒⬒𝄐𝄐□   ◆á⬒   ⬒□□ᶆᵇⱨⱨín⬒   ɱ
      ancient 1PL- people:ABS come- NMZ 1PL- father-ABL-FOC 1SG- ask-   PA-   AFF:DEC
      'I asked my father about the origin of our ancestors.'

      *⬒ó●□⬒
      nú⬒ɳᵇé□ɱ   ⬓óó⚏⬒ɱ   nú⬒   ⬒⚒⚏⚏á⬒□⚒
      ◆á⬒⬒□⬓ᶆᵇⱨí■⬒ɱ
      ancient   1PL-people:ABS come-NMZ 1PL- father-ABL   1SG-ask-PA-AFF:DEC
      'I asked my father about the origin of our ancestors.'

Both class-one and class-two action nouns can occur as a complement of another verb. However, in order to occur in such a context a class-one nominal should be attached to a purposive clause marker, suffix –**ra.** Attachment of the purposive On the other hand, attachment of the purposive clause marker to the latter results in unacceptable structure as illustrated in the following sentences.

123a) **tán- i   lúkku   woom- á-   kko   tá-   worg- e**
      I- NOM   hen:ABS buy- NMZ- FOC   1SG- want- AFF:DEC
      'I want to buy a hen.'

123b) **lúkku   wang-   á-   ra-   kko   tá-   worg-   e**
      hen:ABS   buy-   NMZ-   PUR   FOC   1SG-   want-   AFF:DEC
      'I want to buy a hen.'

123c) *lúkku   woom- á -   ra   tá-   worg-   e
        hen:ABS   buy-   NMZ- PUR   1SG-   want-   AFF:DEC

3.3.2.4. Result nouns

A group of verbs in Haro have result noun counterparts in addition to action nouns. Suffixing -**i** into verb roots forms these nouns. The nouns in this class refer to result of body actions mostly body discharges while the verb counterparts denote the body actions. Deglottalization of a final consonant is observed with most of such nouns as in (124a).

124a) Verb roots   Result   nouns
       sús'-   'to bleed'   **súss-i** 'blood'
       biič'-   'to urinate'   **bííčč-i** 'urine'
       mas'-   'to milk'   **máss-i**   'milk'
       mič'-   'to laugh'   **míčč-i** 'laughter'

Also palatalization of a final consonant is observed in some cases.

124b) Verb roots   Result   nouns
       č'utt-   'to spit'   **č'účč-i**   'saliva'
       šii⬛-   'to excrete'   **šíš-i**   'excrement'
       č'ooš-   'to vomit'   **č'óóš-i**   'vomit'

In most cases, the result nouns are distinguished formally from their action noun counterparts, as in (125) below.

125)   **⬛ánts-o**   'breast   feeding'
        č'útt-o   'spiting'
        sús'-o   'bleeding'

Some result nouns, which refer to objects of the physical environment, are derived from verbs denoting the actions of producing them. Such nouns are also used as name of the respective actions The derivational morpheme involving in the nominalization process is –**o**.

126)   **mu⬛-** 'to   sprout   up   /   to   have   a   baby   teeth
        mú⬛o 'sprouting grain /baby teeth

pur-	'to			flower'
púrto	'flower/flowering'			
pult-	'to	spring		out'
púlto	'spring water/ springing'			

The following sentences illustrate occurrence of the result nouns and their verbal counterparts. The verb forms occur in a complex (focal) sturucture. See also Chapter Nine.

127a) **púrto**   **purt-**   áﬦ   &ﬥ&ﬤ□ ﬦ ﬤéﬦ   ♁♁ ﬦ   ﬅ
flower:NOM flowered- INF- FOC 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
The flower is flowered.'

127b) **ﬤúrk'a**   **ﬤurk'-**   áﬦ &ﬥ&ﬤ□ ﬦ   ﬤéﬦ   ♁♁ ﬦ   ﬅ
mud:NOM   mud-   INF- FOC 3MS-   PF-   AFF:DEC
'The mud became mud.'

127c) **púlto**   **pult-**   áﬦ   &ﬥ&ﬤ□ ﬦ   ﬤéﬦ   ♁♁ ﬦ   ﬅ
spring water:NOM   spring- INF- FOC 3MS-   PF-   AFF:DEC
'The spring water sprang out.'

Such result nouns also used as action nouns referring to names of the actions. For example, **púrto** 'flower' can also mean 'flowering'.

With regard to the verb noun derivational relationship we have seen so far, one may assume an opposite direction that considers the nouns as a base, for the verb counterparts. The nouns, like other simple nouns discussed in 3.1, can be considered as containing a root and a terminal vowel. The verbal counterparts can be considered as being derived from the nouns by dropping the terminal vowels and attaching verbal inflections. It is also equally possible to assume a simultaneous derivation of both the noun and the verb from a common root which is without any word category. However, we prefer to treat the nouns as deverbal forms for the following reasons. There are cases where the nouns share certain phonological and semantic feature. For example, the nouns categorized as result nouns are all result of body actions and they all use vowel -**i** as a nominalizer. Besides, there is a morphophonologcial processes, which suggest the direction of derivation is observed in some cases. For instance, a root final consonant, –**tt**- in **č'utt-** 'to spit' undergoes palatalization when followed by

-**i,** and realize as **č'účč-i** 'saliva' when followed by the nominalizing suffix **–i**. An otherwise derivational direction does not account for such a common phonological process. Moreover, the process of deglottalization, which also occurs in transitivization of intransitive verbs, is attested in the nominalization (see 5.3.1.1). In the case of transitivization, the direction of derivation is clearer.

3.3.2.5. Nouns derived from extended verb stem

This section deals with formation of nouns from extended verb stems, i.e., from passive, causative, reflexive passive and reflexive causative stems. Below, each one will be presented in turn.

3.3.2.5.1. Nouns formed from passive verb stems
A verb stem functioning as a base for action nouns in this class appears to have the element -**účč**-, in which the geminated consonant **–tt-** of the passive verb marker **–utt** undergoes palatalization due to the following high vowel -**i**.

Passive nominals in Haro are formed from passive verb stems via suffixation of of –**i**. As will be presented in chapter five, passive verb stems in Haro are derived from verb roots through suffixation of -**utt**-. In the nominal correspondent, the passive verb marker –**utt** is realized into **–učč**, i.e., **tt** undergoes palatalization before the high vowel, **-i**.

The process of passive nominalizaion is very productive and unconstrained in that any passive verb stem may become a nominal meaning ' being recipient of an action'. The following are few examples of such nominals and their verb stems in Haro.

128)   Passive verb stems   Passive nominals

      hantt-útt -   'be worked'   **hantt-účč-i**   'being   worked'

      bot-útt -   'be err'   **bot-účč -i**   'being   mistaken'

      ⌦ing⌦útt ⌦   'be given'   ⌦�follng⌦účč ⌦�follⱵ

                'being   g⌦⋄Ɱ▪'

ꞵang◻útt- 'be cursed' **k'ang-účč -i** 'being cursed'

ol◻útt- 'be dropped/discarded **ol◻účč ◻ǂ** 'being dropped/discarded'

wong-útt- 'be bought' **wong-účč-i** 'being bought'

anj◻útt- 'be blessed' **anj◻účč ◻ǂ** 'being blessed'

As illustrated below, a passive nominal in Haro is often used as a complement of a verb and as a subject of a copula.

129) **◆á■◻   í   ꝋǂ◻◻ účč◻ ǂ   ◆□□Ɏ◻ á   ◆◆ꞩ**
I-   NOM be poor- PAS- NMZ want-   NEG- NEG:DEC
'I do not want to be poor.'

130) **laagé- pa   mííše   tal◻- účč- i   lo◻ó   mak'◻ á   ◆◆ꞩ**
ↄ□ǂⅢ■ᾶ◻   ABL◻ money:ABS- borrow-   PAS- NMZ   good
            become-   NEG-   NEG:DEC
'Borrowing money from a friend is not good.'

3.3.2.5.2. Nouns formed from reflexive passive nominals
In contrast to the passive nominals presented above, Haro has a class of nominals, which can be categorized as reflexive passive nominals. Reflexive passive nominals are formed from their respective verb stems, which themselves are formed from the verb root by adding **únt** (see 5.3.4.). Suffixing **–e** is employed to form such nominals, which have a meaning 'getting ones own into an action or being in a certain condition'.

With a few exceptions, the verb stems do not synchronically exist. Hence, as the situation with class-two nominals discussed earlier, reflexive passive nominals preserve archaic forms of their verb equivalents, which are no more in function. The following table presents some of the reflexive passive nominals in Haro.

Verb stem	Passive reflexive nouns	Gloss

bo⟨⟩-unt-	**bo⟨⟩-únt-e**	'kneeling
šaa⟨⟩-unt-	**šaa⟨⟩-únt-**	'yawing'
⟨⟩aš-únt-	**⟨⟩□rd-únt-e**	'getting/ being
***⟨⟩ord-únt-**	**⟨⟩aš-únt-e**	'getting/ being
***laal-únt-**	**laal-únt-e**	'getting ones self
***k'ook'-únt-**	**k'ook'-únt-e**	'getting ones self
***gešš-únt-**	**gešš-únt-e**	'getting ones self
***bizz-únt-**	**bizz-únt-e**	'getting ones self
***min-únt-**	**min-únt-e**	'getting ones self
***harg-únt-**	**harg-únt-e**	'getting ones self
***laag-únt-**	**laag-únt-e**	'getting ones self many'

The following structures illustrate occurrence of the above nouns in sentences.

129) **⟨⟩ís- í- ri ⟨⟩aš- únt- e šato yes- e- s i**
she- NOM- DAT be hid- PAS:REF- NMZ child exist- AFF:REL- ELP NOM
'She has a hidden child (Lit.It is a hidden child who exists for her.)'

3.3.2.5.3. Nouns formed from causative verb stems

Causative nominals in Haro are formed by suffixing **–o** to the causative stem, and have a meaning 'causing an action'.

128) **tal⟨⟩⟨⟩ú♦** 'cause to borrow' **tal⟨⟩⟨⟩ú♦⟨⟩□** 'causing to borrow'
⟨⟩i■ꙑ⟨⟩ús ⟨⟩ 'cause to give' **⟨⟩)(■ꙑ⟨⟩ús⟨⟩□**
'causing to g)(❖ℳ'
⟨⟩ßa■ꙑ⟨⟩ús- 'cause to curse' **k'ang-ús-o**
'causing to curse'
⟨⟩o●⟨⟩ús- 'cause to drop/discard' **⟨⟩□●⟨⟩ús⟨⟩□** 'causing to drop/discard'
wong-ús- 'cause to buy' **wong-ús-o** 'causing to buy'
⟨⟩a■𝑒𝑟⟨⟩ús- 'cause to 𝄞●ℳ♦♦' **⟨⟩a■𝑒𝑟⟨⟩ús ⟨⟩□** 'causing to 𝄞●ℳ♦♦'

3.3.2.5.4. Nouns formed from reflexive causative

Parallel to the passive reflexive nominals, Haro has a few causative reflexive nominals. Such nominals constitute a verb root, a reflexive causative marker -**uns**, and a nominalizing suffix -**i**, which as in other nominals, occurs following a post sibilant final consonant. The verbal bases of such nominals are not attested synchronically. Semantically, such nominals designate a result of causing oneself into an action for some a certain outcome. The following examples are self-explanatory.

130) **⟨⟩er-** 'know' **⟨⟩er-uns-i** 'a result of causing oneself to knowing (knowledge)'
gap- 'get tired' **gap-uns-i** 'a result of causing oneself to get tired exhaustion)'
yel- 'give birth' **yel-uns-i** 'a result of causing oneself into giving birth labour)'

The reflexive causative nouns in Haro contrast with their respective simple action nominal and causative nominal counterparts.

131) **er-o** 'knowing'   **er-us-o** 'causing   to   know'
     gap-o 'getting tired'   **gap-us-o** 'causing   to   get   tired'
     yel-o 'giving birth'   **yel-us-o** 'helping someone to give birth'

Compare occurrence of the three nominal counterparts below.

132a) **ís-   í   yel-   un-   s-   í-   kko   í-   ayk-   utt-   ín-   e**
      she- NOM   give birth REF- CAU- NMZ- FOC 3FS- catch- PAS- PA-   AFF:DEC
      'She is in labour. (Lit. She is caught by an act of causing oneself into giving birth '

132b) **ís- í   yel-   ó-   kko   í-   yel-   ín-   e**
      she- NOM   give birth- NMZ   FOC   3FS- give birth- PA- AFF:DEC
      'She gave birth (Lit:It is giving birth that she gave birth.)

132c) **tá-   índo   yel-   ús-   o**
      1SG-   mother   give birth- CAU- NMZ

      er- á-   kko- í-   n-   e
      know- INF- FOC- 3FS- IMPF- AFF:DEC

      'My mother knows assisting in labour (Lit: My mother knows causing to give birth).'

3.3.2.6. Nominalization of relativized verb stems

Nominals in Haro can also be derived from relativized verb stems. These nominals show properties of both nominals as well clauses. Like verbs, they are marked for polarity, and like nominals they are subjected to gender, definiteness and case categories. In Haro, a relative clause is formed by suffixing –**é** or –**á** to a verb root. The former occurs with affirmative clause while the latter occurs with a negative clause. Formation of such nominals involves the elements –**sa** or -**na** for masculine and feminine nominals respectively. The nominalization process changes inherent syntactic property of a relative clause, which functions as attributive clause. The derived nominal functions as a head of an NP rather than as a modifier entity. Such nominals have a similar semantic denotation to that of agentive nominals. Morphologically, as mentioned above, the nominalized clauses behave like any other noun and are subjected to all kinds of nominal inflections such as definiteness, number and case.

On the other hand, nominals derived from relativized verb stems differ from the ones derived unrelativized verb roots and stems. First, the process is more regular, productive and not involving a number of suffixal nominalizers. Any relativized verb stem in Haro can undergo such a nominalzation process, and the same nominalizers are employed. The other, and more importantly, nominals in this class retain a property of the verb, polarity. Finally, the nominalizers in this class are porto-morphemes functioning as gender markers as well as nominalizers.

133) *Masculine*   *Feminine*

Masculine	Feminine			
yood-é -sa	**yood-é -na**	'one	who	comes
wong-é -sa	**wong-é -na**	'one	who	buy
hantt-é -sa	**hantt-é -na**	'one	who	workes
worʖ-é -sa	**worʖ-é -na**	'one	who	kills
hant-é -sa	**hant-é -na**	'one	who	goes
gaʖ-é -sa	**gaʖ-é -na**	'one	who	prays
hasaʖ-é -sa	**hasaʖ-é -na**	'one	who	speaks

The negative forms of relativized verb stems can also be used as inputs of nominalization in this class. The negaive relativized verb stem is formed by suffixation of –**a** into a verb root.

134) Masculine   Feminine

Masculine	Feminine					
yood-á-sa	**yood-á-na**	'one	who	does	not	come'
wong-á-sa	**wong-á-na**	'one	who	does	not	buy
hantt-á-sa	**hantt-á-na**	'one	who	does	not	work
worʖ-á-sa	**worʖ-á na**	'one	who	does	not	kill
hant-á-sa	**hant-á na**	'one	who	does	not	go'
gaʖ-á -sa	**gaʖ-á-na**	'one	who	does	not	pray'
hasaʖ-á-sa	**hasaʖ-á-na**	'one who does not speak '				

As mentioned above, the nominals in this class may take nominal inflectional markers. Hence, the masculine or feminine definite markers -**z**- or -**t**- respectively can be suffixed into the nominal. The plural maker -**iꞪe** ; the case marking elements –**a** or –**o** in the Absolutive masculine and feminine respectively; and the Nominative case marker –**i** can be attested with such nominals.

135)	**yood-e-sa-z-a**	'one	who	come:SG:	MAS:DEF:ABS'
	yood-e-na-t-o	'one	who	come:SG:FEM:DF:	ABS'

yood-e-s-iʔe	'one			who		come:IND:PL:ABS'
yood-e-s-iʔe-z-a	'one			who		come:DF:PL:ABS'
yood-a-si	'one	who	does	not		come:SG:IND:NOM'
yood-a-sa-z-i	'one	who	does	not		come:SG:DF:MAS:NOM'
yood-a-na-t-i	'one	who	does	not		come:SG:DF:FEM:NOM'
yood-a-s-iʔe	'one	who	does	not		come:IND:PL:NOM'
yood-a-s-iʔe-z-i	'one who does not come:IND:PL:NOM'					

The following structures illustrate the use of the nominalized clause as object and

subject NPs in sentences.

136a) **zine   yood- e-   na-   t-   o-**
yesterday   come   AFF:REL   NMZ-   FEM:DF-   ABS

   bett-   a-   kko-   ta-   dd-   e
   see-   INF-   FOC-   1SG-   PF-   AFF:DEC

   'I saw the one(fem.) who came yesterday.'

136b) **zíne   yood- e-   na-   t-   i**
yesterday   come-   AFF:REL-   NMZ-   FEM:DEF-   NOM-

   ta-   deyšši   wong-   a-   kko-   ʔi-   dd-   e
   1SG   goat:ABS   buy-   INF-   FOC-   3FS-   PF-   AFF:DEC

   'The one (fem.) who came yesterday bought my goat.'

   The following sentences contain clausal counterparts of the nominalized forms

in the above sentences.

137a) **zine   yood- e   mačča- t-   o**
yesterday   come-   AFF:REL   woman-   FEM:DF-   ABS

   bett-   a-   kko-   ta-   dd-   e
   see-   INF-   FOC-   1SG-   PF   AFF:DEC

   'I saw the one(fem.) who came yesterday.'

137b) zine   **yood- e   mačča-** t-   i
yesterday   come-   AFF:REL   woman-   FEM:DF-   NOM

   tá-   deyšši   wong-   á-   kko-   ʔí- dd-   e
   1SG-   goat:ABS   buy-   INF-   FOC-   3SG- PF-   AFF:DEC
   'The woman who came yesterday bought my goat.'

See also Part II on comparative notes on some issues related to the noun morphology

of the Ometo languages.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRONOUNS

In this chapter, we will discuss the pronoun system in Haro. More consideration of the issue will be provided later (Part II Chapter Four) when we deal with the pronoun system of the Ometo languages from a historical-comparative perspective. Personal pronouns in Haro make a six-way person distinction. Person, number and gender are the three pervasive systems underlying the Haro pronouns. Gender is relevant to only the third person. Pronouns in Haro do not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive forms. There is no special honorific form in Haro. The plural forms are used as honorific forms as well. The honorific usage is applied to the chief, village elders, to the people older than the speaker and to anyone the speaker wishes to honour.

There are two forms for pronouns in Haro, as is the case in most Omotic languages These are phonologically reduced short forms and full or long forms ('short' and 'long' hereafter).

After a discussion on the properties of short and long pronoun paradigms, we then discuss the different pronoun categories in Haro will be presented. Like nouns, pronouns in Haro are marked for case as well. Hence, pronouns in Haro can be categorized in to different classes such as Absolutive, Nominative, Dative, Ablative, Genitive, Restrictive, Reflexive, and Vocative.

3.0.   The short vs. long forms

In this section, formal and morpho-syntactic properties of the short and long pronoun forms in Haro will be compared. The relationship between the long and short forms of pronouns in Haro and other related languages is not a sheer matter of

phonological reduction. The two forms differ profoundly in their morpho-syntactic

behaviours, giving rise to distinctive complementary patterns. The short pronouns

lack the autonomy associated with words. They lack a lexical independence expected

from free morphemes and, therefore, cannot occur as a subject or object of a sentence.

They rather occur as oblique, and verbal pronominal in which they can attach to

another free morpheme. The short pronouns in Haro are clitics. In contrast, the long

pronouns are free words, which occur as a subject and object arguments. The table

below presents the short and long pronoun paradigms in Haro.

	Short forms			Long forms		
	Verbal, Attributive-Genitive (class-one)	Headless- Genitive Dative, Ablative (class two)	Reflexive	Absolutive	Nominative	Reflexive
1SG	tá	táá		taná	tání	
2SG	né	néé		néná	néní	
3MS	☞é	☞ési	bé/béé	☞ésá	☞ésí	béna
3FS	☞í	☞ísi	bé/béé	☞íso	☞ísí	béna
1PL	nú	núú		núná	núní	
2PL	☞íní	☞íní		☞ínená	☞íníní	
3PL	☞ú	☞úsí	bé/béé	☞úsúná	☞úsíní	béna

Table 1:Short and Long pronoun forms

With the exception of third person singular forms, the form of a pronoun in the

long paradigm consists of a short form plus a suffixal element -**na/** -**ni**. The element –**n-** is

reported to be a fossilized element of the Proto-Omotic Accusative case marker (see

Hayward and Tsuge, 1998). The final vowel -**a** and –**i** , which occur following -**n** are

Absolutive and Nominative case markers respectively (see also 3.2.4). In contrast, the

third person singular pronouns lack the element –**n**. Our comparative data indicates the

presence of this element in the archaic form of the third person singular pronoun

paradigm (see Part II Chapter Four).

As mentioned above, the short and long forms differ in their distributions. The long forms can be used as a subject and as an object of a sentence as illustrated in the following structure.

1) **tán- í**   **nén- á**   gičč̌ó- ra   tá- guydd- ór- e
   I-   NOM   you(sg)- ABS   stick- INS   1SG- hit-   FUT- AFF:DEC
   'I will hit you with a stick.'

In addition, the long pronouns occur in predicative constructions, as an answer to a question like 'Who is it?' as illustrated in (2b and 2c) below.

2a)   **nén- í   oon- í**
             You- NOM   who- NOM
             Who is it (Who are you) ?"

2b)   **tán   á-   kko**
       I-   MAS:ABS-   FOC
       'It is me '

2c)   **tán- á   maak'- á   wwa**
       I-   ABS:MAS   become-   NEG-   NEG:DEC
       'It is not me (Lit: It becomes not me).'

The use of a short form as a subject of a predicative construction is not acceptable.

2d)   *tá-kko
        I-FOC

       *tá   maak'-áwwa

        I-FOC

As shown in the above table, the short pronouns in Haro are further divided into three sets, one of which is a category of reflexive pronouns consisting of only the third person paradigm while the other two classes constitute forms slightly differing from each other. With the exception of the third person pronouns, members in the two paradigms vary only in vowel length. In the case of the third person singular pronouns, however, long forms occur where the short pronouns are expected. The third person singular pronoun paradigm in Haro and other languages of Ometo shows various distinctive properties that eventually lead to the etymological root of the form (see Part II chapter Four).

The two short pronoun paradigms differ in their function. As shown in the above table, members in one class occur in headless Genitive pronouns, and as the bases of the Dative and Ablative case marking whereas their counterparts in the second class occur as attributive Genitive forms (see also 4.2. below)

Apart from that, as illustrated below the class- two pronouns also occur as verbal markers co-referring with the subject of a sentence as illustrated in (3)

3a) **tán-   í**   gayyá-   kko **tá-**   hang- ín-   e
    I-   NOM   market- FOC 1SG go-   PA- AFF:DEC
    'It is to the market that I went to.'

3b) **nén-   í**   gayyá-   kko **né-** hang- ín-   e
    you-   NOM   market- FOC 2SG- go-   PA-   AFF:DEC
    'It is to the market that you went to.'

3c) ⬳**és-   í**   gayyá-   kko   ⬳**é-** hang- ín-   e
    he-   NOM   market-   FOC   3MS- go-   PA- AFF:DEC
    'It is to the market that he went to.'

3d) ⬳**ís-   í**   gayyá-   kko   ⬳**í-** hang- ín- e
    she-   NOM   market-   FOC   3FS- kill-   PA- AFF:DEC
    'It is to the market that she went to.'

3e) **nún-   í**   gayyá-   kko   **nú-** hang- ín- e
    we-   NOM   market-   FOC   1PL go-   PA- AFF:DEC
    'It is to the market we went.'

3f) ⬳**ínín-   í**   gayyá-   kko   ⬳**íní-** hang- ín-   e
    you(pl)-   NOM   market-   FOC   2PL- go-   PA-   AFF:DEC
    'It is to the market you(pl) went.'

3g) ⬳**úsín-í**   gayyá- kko   ⬳**ú-**   hang- ín-   e
    they-   NOM   market-FOC   3PL go-   PA-   AFF:DEC
    'It is to the market they went.'

4.2.   The pronoun categories

As mentioned earlier, Haro makes a formal distinction between Absolutive, Nominative, Dative, Ablative, Genitive, Restrictive, Reflexive, and Vocative pronouns. Below, each one will be discussed in turn.

4.2.1. The Absolutive and Nominative pronouns

As already mentioned above, and as displayed in table 1, the Absolutive and Nominative pronoun paradigms in Haro are characterized by long forms. The

Absolutive pronoun occurs as a citation form, as a complement of a predicative construction, and as a direct object of a verb.

With regard to case marking, the Absolutive and Nominative pronouns behave in the same way as definite nouns. Like the definite nouns, the Absolutive pronouns in Haro terminate with one of the two gender-sensitive suffixes: -**á** or –**ó,** which occur with masculine and feminine forms respectively. Similarly, the Nominative pronouns, as the situation with definite nouns, are marked with suffix –**i** irrespective of the gender distinction (see Table 1).

4.2.2. The Dative pronouns

The Dative pronouns in Haro are indicated by the suffix –**ri**. The short pronoun forms, which are categorized as class-two, are used as a base for Dative case marking.

4a) **táá-   ri**   ing-   á
     I- DAT give-   IMP
     'Give it to me.'

4b) **néé-ri**   ekk-   á
     you(sg.)-   DAT take-   IMP
     'Take it to you.'

4c) **ésí-   ri**   ing-   á
     he-   DAT give- IMP
     'Give it to him

4d) **ísi-   ri** ing- á
     she- DAT give-   IMP
     'Give it to her.'

4e) **núú-   ri** ing- á
     we-   DAT give-   IMP
     'Give it to us.'

4f) **íní-   ri**   ekk- á
     you(pl.)-   DAT   take- IMP
     'Take it to you.'

4g) **úsí-   ri**   ing- á
     they- DAT give-   IMP
     'Give it to them'

The Dative pronoun in Haro makes use of a different suffix from the one attested with nouns that is **-si**. This is true with most other Ometo languages (Zaborski 1990).

4.2.3. The Ablative pronouns

Like the Dative nouns, the Ablative pronouns in Haro are formed by the suffix –**pa.** Like in the case of Dative pronouns, the short paradigm is used as a base of suffixation in the formation of the Ablative pronouns. The following are the Dative pronouns in Haro.

5) **táá-pa** 'from me'
    néé-pa 'from you (sg.)'
    é-pa 'from him'
    í-pa 'from her'
    núú-pa 'from us'
    íní-pa 'from you (pl)
    úsí-pa 'from them'

4.2.4. The Genitive pronouns

Two types of Genitive pronouns are encountered in Haro. These are attributive and headless Genitive pronouns. The two paradigms differ from each other in their morpho-syntactic properties. A pronoun in the former class functions as a modifier element, and always appears followed by a head noun, the possessum, whereas a pronoun in the latter class is a headless genitive pronoun and occurs independently i.e., as an elliptic phrase. The two pronoun sets show formal variation (see table). The following paradigm illustrates the use of attributive Genitive pronouns. The head noun involved in the phrase is **míssi** 'cow'.

6) **tá-míssi** 'my cow'
    né-míssi 'your (sg) cow'
    é-míssi 'his cow'
    í-míssi 'her cow'
    nú-míssi 'our cow'
    íni-míssi 'your (pl) cow'
    ú-míssi 'their cow'

The headless Genitive pronouns are formed by using short pronoun forms identified as class-two (see Table 1) as a base and suffixing the element -**ra** or -**ri** to

them. Suffix -**ra** occurs with the Absolutive form whereas suffix **ri**- occurs with the

Nominative form as shown in table 2.

Absolutive		Nominative	
táá-ra	'mine one'	**táá-ri**	'mine one'
néé-ra	'yours(sg) one'	**néé-ri**	'yours(sg) one'
ⲉⲥí-ra	'his one'	**ⲉⲥí-ri**	'his one'
ⲓⲥí-ra	'hers one'	**ⲓⲥí-ri**	'hers one'
nú-ra	'ours one'	**nú-ri**	'ours one'
ⲓní-ra	'yours(pl) one'	**ⲓní-ri**	'yours(pl) one'
ⲩⲥí-ra	'theirs one'	**ⲩⲥí-ri**	'theirs one'

Table 2: The Genitive pronouns 1

The suffix –**ra,** which holds the slot of the head noun in the Genitive

constructions, has the same form to the Dative case marker –**ri**. A similar situation is

attested with the headless Genitive noun phrases in which the suffix -**si**, an element

with a similar form to the Dative case marker attested with nouns, occurs when a head

noun gets omitted from the phrase (see 3.2.4.2).

The headless Genitive pronouns in Haro take all the inflectional properties of

the omitted head noun to show identity of the possessum. The same suffixal elements

that occur with nouns occur with the headless phrase to express definiteness, number,

and case features of the absent head noun. Hence, Genitive pronouns referring to the

masculine possessum are formed by suffixing the masculine definite marker **–z** to the

Absolutive form of the elliptic Genitive phrase, which is shown above in table 2. A

case-marking suffix follows the definite marker. The meaning of such Genitive

constructions is 'that one of mine/his/her etc., which is masculine'.

MAS:DF:ABS	MAS:DF:NOM	

táá-rá-z-a	táá-rá-z-i	'mine (the masculine one)
néé-rá-z-a	néé-rá-z-i	'yours(sg) (the masculine one)'
☞ésí-rá-z-a	☞ésí-rá-z-i	'his (the masculine one)'
☞ísí-rá-z-a	☞ísí-rá-z-i	'hers (the masculine one)'
nú-rá-z-a	nú-rá-z-i	'ours (the masculine one)'
☞íní-rá-z-a	☞íní-rá-z-i	'your(sg) (the masculine one)
☞úsí -rá-z-a	☞úsí –rá-z-i	'their (the masculine one)

Table 3: Genitive pronouns 2

Similarly, suffixation of the feminine definite **-t-** to the same forms derives Genitive pronouns referring to the feminine possessum. A genitive pronoun of this type has a meaning 'that one feminine, which is mine/ his/ etc.,' In the Absolutive case, the feminine Absolutive case marker **-o** follows the definite marker while in the Nominative case, suffix -**i**, which is the only Nominative case marker, is added. See the following table.

FEM:DFABS	FEM:DF:NOM	
táá-rá-t-o	táá-rá-t-i	'mine (the feminine one)'
néé-rá-t-o	néé-rá-t-i	'yours(sg) (the feminine one))
☞ésí-rá-t-o	☞ésí-rá-t-i	'his one (the feminine one)'
☞ísí-rá-t-o	☞ísí-rá-t-i	'hers one (the feminine one)'
nú-rá-t-o	nú-rá-t-i	'ours one (the feminine one)'
☞íní-rá-t-o	☞íní-rá-t-i	'your(sg) (the feminine one)
☞úsí–rá-t-o	☞úsí–rá-t-i	'their (the feminine one)

Table 4: Genitive pronouns 3

Suffixation of the plural marker suffix **-iɍe** to the same forms shown above expresses plurality of the absent possessed noun. This form can also be marked for definiteness. As in the case of nouns, the plural forms take –**z-,** masculine form of the definite marker.

IND:PL:ABS/NOM	DF:PL:ABS	DF:PL:NOM	
táá-r-íɍe	táá-r-iɍé-z-a	táá-r-iɍé-z-i	'mine ones'
néé-r-íɍe	néé-r-iɍé-z-a	néé-r-iɍé-z-i	'your (sg) ones'
☞esí-r-íɍe	☞esí-r-iɍé-z-a	☞esí-r-iɍé-z-i	'his ones'
☞ísí-r-íɍe	☞ísí-r-iɍé-z-a	☞ísí-r-iɍé-z-i	'her ones
nú-r-íɍe	nú-r-iɍé-z-a	nú-r-iɍé-z-i	'our ones
☞íní-r-íɍe	☞íní-r-iɍé-z-a	☞íní-r-iɍé-z-i	'your(pl) ones
☞úsí -r-íɍe	☞úsí-r-iɍé-z-a	☞úsí-r-iɍé-z-i	'their ones

Table 5: Genitive pronouns 4

The following examples illustrate occurrence of the above Genitive phrasal pronouns in sentences. The 'place-holding' element –**ra**- is interpreted as an elliptic phrase marker in the glossary.

7)   **táá-**   **rá-**   **z-**   **i**   **é-**   **yóód-**   **e**
         1SG-   ELP   MAS:DF-   NOM   3MS-   come-   AFF:DEC
         'Mine comes (Lit: the masculine one who is mine comes).'

8)   **táá-**   **rá-**   **t-**   **i**   **í-**   **yóód-**   **e**
         1SG-   ELP-   FEM:DF-   NOM   3FS-   come-   AFF:DEC
         'Mine comes (Lit: the feminine one who is mine comes).'

9)   **táá-**   **r-**   **íe-**   **z-**   **i**   **ú-**   **yóód-**   **e**
         1SG-   ELP   PL-   MAS:DF-   NOM   3PL-   come-   AFF:DEC
         'Mine come (Lit: the ones which are mine) come.'

4.2.5. Restrictive pronouns

The restrictive pronouns in Haro are formed by suffixing –**nna,** an element, which functions as a Locative case marker, to the short pronoun forms, and adds a meaning 'with oneself/alone' to the pronoun. In the case of third persons, the reflexive pronoun, **béé**, is used as a base.

10)   1SG   **tá-nna**
        2SG   **né-nna**
        3rd   **béé-nna**
        1PL   **nú-nna**
        2PL   **íní-nna**

The following sentences illustrate the use of reflexive pronouns.

11)   **tán-i**   **tá–**   **nna-**   **kko**   **tá-**   **hant-**   **óno**
         I-   NOM   1SG-   RES-   FOC   1SG-   work-   CER
         'I will do it by myself (Lit: I will work it with myself)'

12)   **és-i**   **bé-**   **nna-**   **kko**   **é-**   **hang-**   **óno**
         He-   NOM   REF-   RES-   FOC   3MS-   go-   CER
         'He will go by himself'

When the context desires emphasis, a restrictive pronoun occurs along with the Absolutive form. Order of the two forms is freely interchangeable.

13a)   **nún- í**   **nú- nna**   **nún- á**   **nú-**   **éh-**   **e**
         we-   NOM   we-   RES   we-   ABS   1SG-   love-   AFF:DEC
         'We love ourselves (Lit: We love ourselves with ourselves).'

13b) **nún- í   nún- á   nú- nna nú- ⟨⟩éh- e**
    we- NOM we-   ABS we- RES 1SG- love- AFF:DEC
    'We love ourselves (Lit: We love ourselves with ourselves).'

4.2.6. The Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive in Haro, as in other Ometo languages such as Maale (Azeb 2001),

Zayse (Hayward, 1990) etc. is limited to third person. Haro has a special form of

pronoun, **béna**, which is restricted to third persons, and characterizes coreferentiality

between subject and object within a simple clause. Such notion of reflexive reference,

which holds primarily within a simple sentence, is considered as reflexive (cf.

Wiesemann, 1985:439).

Unlike other third person singular pronouns, the third person singular reflexive

pronoun shows neutralization of gender and number features. Hence, all the

masculine, feminine and plural reflexive pronouns have the same form as illustrated

in (14a-14c) below.

14a) **⟨⟩és-í   béna   ⟨⟩é- wo⟨⟩- ín- e**
    he- NOM 3REF   3MS- kill- PA- AFF:DEC
    'He killed himself.'

14b) **⟨⟩ís- í   béna   ⟨⟩í- wo⟨⟩- ín- e**
    she-   NOM 3REF 3FS-   kill- PA- AFF:DEC
    'She killed herself.'

14c) **⟨⟩úsín-í   béna ⟨⟩ú- wo⟨⟩- ín-   e**
    they-   NOM 3REF 3PL- kill- PA- AFF:DEC
    'They killed themselves.'

Unlike the situation with Maale (Azeb 2001), the reflexive pronoun in Haro does
not show a cross-sentential coreference, and cannot be considered as a logophoric
marker.

Like the other pronoun categories, the reflexive pronoun **béna** has a short

counterpart, **bé-/béé**-. As in the case of the first and second person short pronoun

forms, which differ from their long forms by lacking the element -**na**, that is **ta/tana**

and **ne/nena**, the short reflexive pronoun formally differs from the long form because

it lacks the same element.

While the full form expresses a coreference between subject and object, the short
form shows coreference of an otherwise argument with a subject. Thus, the short

form occurs suffixed to a peripheral case marker to shows coreferenciality between subject and either Genitive, Dative or an instrumental argument. Such a complementary distribution between short and long forms of a pronoun is, in fact, attested regularly with other pronouns in the language.

A slight formal variation is attested with the different occurrences of the short reflexive pronoun. It is realized either as **bé** or **béé**. In its occurrence to show coreference between subject and possessor, it appears in the form **bé,** while elsewhere it occurs as **béé.**

Attachment of the Dative marker, -**ri** to the short reflexive pronoun expresses coreferentiality of subject and indirect object, and designates the notion 'for ones own' and. This communicates a benefactive event.

15a) ɗís-   í   béé- ri   maɗó   ɗí- wong- ín-   e
      she-   NOM   REF- DAT cloth:ABS 3MS- buy-   PA-   AFF:DEC
      'She$_i$ bought cloth for her$_i$ (She bought cloth for herself).'

15b) ɗís-   í   ɗísí-   ri   maɗó   ɗí- wong- ín-   e
      she-   NOM she-   DAT cloth:ABS 3MS- buy-   PA-   AFF:DEC
      'She$_i$ bought cloth for her$_j$.'

16a) ɗassá-   z- i   béé- ri   déyšši ɗé-šukk- ín-   e
      man-   MAS:DF NOM REF- DAT goat:ABS 3MS- slaughter-PA- AFF:DEC
      'The man$_i$ slaughered a goat for him$_i$ (The man slaughtered a goat for himself).'

16b) ɗassá-z-   i   ɗésí- ri   déyšši   ɗé- šukk-   ín- e
      man-   MAS:DF- NOM he-   DAT goat:ABS 3MS- slaughter- PA- AFF:DEC
      'The man$_i$ slaughered a goat for him$_j$.'

The following structures illustrate occurrence of the reflexive pronoun **bé-** in a Genitive construction showing a coreferentiality between a subject and a Genitive noun.

17a) ɗésí bé-   máɗo   ɗé- šogg- ín- e
      he   REF- cloth:ABS 3MS- wash- PA- AFF:DEC
      'He$_i$ washed his$_i$ cloth.

17b) ɗésí ɗé-   máɗo   ɗé- šogg- ín- e
      he   3MS- cloth:ABS 3MS- wash- PA- AFF:DEC
      'He$_i$ washed his$_j$ cloth.'

The short reflexive pronoun also occurs as part of a headless Genitive phrase, in which it appears with a long vowel, **béé**-, as the situation with other short pronoun forms in the same context (see table). In such a construction, the reflexive pronoun is

suffixed to the headless Genitive marker–**ra,** which is also attested with non-reflexive

pronouns shown above (4.2.5) above. The headless reflexive pronoun can also marked

for definiteness and case.

18) **ʔís- í béé- ra- z- a ʔí- šogg- ín- e**
she- NOM REF- NMZ- MAS:DF- MAS:ABS 3FS- wash- PA- AFF:DEC
'She washed her own one (the masculine one which is her).'

19) **ʔassá- z- i béé- ra- t- o ʔé- šukk- ín- e**
man- MAS:DF- NOM REF- NMZ- FEM:DF- FEM:ABS 3MS- slaughter-PA-AFF:DEC
'The man slaughtered his (the feminine one which is his).'

Suffixation of the element –**nna** to the short reflexive pronoun has a reading of

a restrictive pronoun, and expresses ones being alone. The restrictive pronoun in Haro

is commonly accompanied by a focus marker -**kko**

20) **bízzi ʔassí béé- nna- kko ʔé- yood- ín- e**
one man:NOM REF- RES- FOC 3MS- come- PA- AFF:DEC
'Only one man/person came.'

With emphatic reflexive construction, both the object reflexive pronoun as

well as the instrumental form occurs. Order of the two forms can be interchangeable.

This structure has a reading of 'by oneself', and is used to emphasize that the agent

accomplishes an action without any assistance.

21a) **ʔís- í bé- nna béna ʔí- k'oh- ín- e**
she- NOM REF- RES REF:ABS 3FS destroy- PA- AFF:DEC
'She destroyed herself(Lit: She destroys herself by herself).'

21b) **ʔís- í béna bé- nna ʔí- k'oh- ín- e**
she- NOM REF:ABS REF- RES 3FS destroy- PA-AFF:DEC
'She destroyed herself (Lit: She destroys herself by herself).'

21c) **ʔés- í béna bé- nna- kko ʔé- woɗ- ín- e**
he- NOM REF:ABS REF- RES- FOC 3MS- kill- PA- AFF:DEC
'He killed himself (Lit: He killed himself by himself).'

4.2.7. The vocative pronouns

Haro has special vocative pronoun forms, which are specified for gender and number

features.

22) **dóó** 'You:MAS'
déé 'You:FEM'
ʔinínó 'You:PL'

See Part II Chapter Four for more discussions on the pronoun system of the Ometo

langauges.

Haro has a largely suffixal, transparent, agglutinative morphology that allows concatenation of two to three suffixes in verb stems. Often, alternation, gemination and deletion of a verb root occur on the final consonant. In this section, we will first describe the structure of the verb roots (5.1), and show the changes on the final consonant (s) of the verb roots (5.2). Then, we examine verb stem formations (5.3). Finally, inflections of the verbs will be discussed (5.4).

The verb stems in Haro are of two types: simple and complex. Distribution of the two forms is pragmatically determined. The latter is focus-oriented, whereas the former is not. Hence, a speaker of Haro has a choice of using a verb with or without focus. The two verb forms have distinct morphological properties and different componential units. The simple verb stem, in contrast to its complex counterpart involves elaborated systems of tense, mood and modality. The complex verb, on the other hand, makes aspectual but not tense distinction. Also, it does not make mood and modality distinction. The focused verb is not discussed in this chapter; it is rather presented later in chapter 8 when we deal with the system of focus marking in Haro.

5.1. The verb root

All verb roots in Haro end in consonant. Statistically, the majority of the verb roots are /is monosyllabic. The patterns of simple verb roots are listed below. The hyphen indicates its being obligatorily followed by inflectional elements in order to form a phonological word.

1.   C-

        b-   Negative copula

2. CV(V)C(C)-

hiid-	'say'
wo↖-	'kill'
yel-	'give birth'
✑er-	'know'
yeekk-	'cry'
beed-	'see'

3. CVC$_1$C$_2$ -

wong-	'buy'|
worg-	'find'
hant-	'work'
zal✑-	'sell'
per✑-	'tear'
gayl-	'quarrel'
✑urk'-	'become mud'
dend-	'get up'

4. CVC$_1$C$_1$ -

yott-	'come'
č'add-	'bit'
šogg-	wash'
bokk	'dig'

5. CVCVC-

    hasa✑-   'speak'

6. CVC$_1$C$_2$VC(C)-

    ✑andur-   'roll down'

    guydut-   'hit/beat'

    ✑)(■♦◊☺□- 'decline'

    biršitt-   'untie'

7. CVCVC$_1$C$_2$-

    palang-   'argue'

5. 2. Verb root alternation

Unlike the situation with related languages like Koyra and Zayse (Hayward 1982, 1990) whereby consonant alternation makes a distinction between the perfective and imperfective verb stems, in Haro, the phenomenon is commonly attested between the verb and its nominal counterpart. Often, it occurs with transtivization (causativization of intransitive verbs). Rarely, it is attested with verb inflections.

The frequently found consonant alternation is between a consonant cluster –**ng**- and a bilabial nasal consonant –**m**-. As mentioned above, this alternation occurs in a verb root and its nominal counterpart as exemplified in (1).

1) *Verb root* *Nominal*

hang-	'go'	**ham-é**	'going'
deng-	'get'	**dem-ó**	'acquisition'

An alternation between –**k(k)-** and **–p-** is also frequently encountered in verbs and nominal equivalents, e.g.,

2) *Verb root* *Nominal*

yeek-	'cry (v.)'	**yeep-ó**	'cry (mourning)(n.)'
⬠m&&⬡		**ep⬡é** 'taking'	

A less frequent alternation is exhibited between -⬠- and-**b-,** and between -**d**- and –**w-** respectively, e.g.

3) *Verb root* *Nominal*

hay⬠⬡	'dye'	**hayb-ó**	'death'
yood-	'come'	**yoow-é**	'origin'

The consonant alternation shown just above is explained in terms of a historical process. A velar suffixal element, which is synchronically attested in related languages, has historically taken part in the verb morphology. The velar element has coalesced with a labial final-consonant of the verb triggering it to alter.

Hence, the velar final consonant in the verbs is a fossilized morpheme while the nasal consonant preceding it is the altered final consonant. Archaic form of the verb-final consonant has been preserved with the nominal forms since the nominals have not involved the velar element, the verbal suffix. This suggests that the consonantal change in the verb forms has taken place after the nominal formation (see also 3.3.).

Gemination of a verb-final consonant **m** and **g** is also attested with few verbs compared to the nominal counterparts. Again, this may be resulted from assimilation of a verbal suffix with the final consonant.

4)   **domm**-   'start'   **dóm-e**   'a   starting   point'
        sogg-   'jump'   **s'óg-o**   'jumping'

As mentioned earlier, with a handful of verbs, final root alternation is encountered among different derivational and inflectional categories. It is not, however, possible to characterize this change.

5)   **miy**-   'eat/eating/ will eat'
        mud-   'ate/ be eaten'
        m-   'cause to eat'

6)   **beed**-   'see'
        been-tt- 'be seen'
        beey-ss 'show'

In the contrary, degemination of final velar consonant is observed with a group of verb roots undergoing causativization (see also 5.3.1).

7)   **tukk-**   'plant'   **tuk-us-**   'cause   to   plant'
        s'ugg-   'burn'   **s'ug-us-** 'cause to burn'

Deletion of final consonants is another process attested with verb stem formation, especially with transtivization, e.g.,

8)   **yeekk-**   'cry'   **yee-ss-**   'make   cry'
        bott-   'bleach'   **bo-ss-**   'whiten'
        ⟨ar⟨-   'pass (int.)' **⟨a-ss-** 'pass(TV.)'

In one exceptional case, with a verb 'come', alternation among four consonants is encountered. These are **yott-, yoon**-, **yow**-, **yood-,** and distributed across a focused

verb form (complex verb), present tense verb stem, verbal noun, and elsewhere respectively.

5. 3.   Verb stem formation

In this section, we are concerned with the part of morphology that deals with formation of   verb stems. Verb-deriving patterns in Haro are quite numerous and productive; verb stems can be formed from verb roots, verb stems, and from adjectives and nouns. The derived verb stems in Haro includes causatives verbs, passive verbs, reflexive verbs, frequentative verbs, reciprocal verbs inchoative verbs and infinitive verbs. The reflexive formative in Haro occurs combined with the passive or causative formative, but not independently. Verb stem formation patterns in Haro display suffixation of a derivational morpheme into a root, except in the case of frequentative and reciprocal verb stems, which involve reduplication.

The verb root extension processes in Haro result change in the (grammatical) meaning of the verbal root and eventually alternation of its valence. In what follows, we will show the kinds of relations that hold between derived verbs and the forms they are derived from.

5.3.1. Causativization

Different scholars have characterized causativization semantically and syntactically. Semantically, it is defined by characterizing the causative situation that the construction expresses. Talmy (1976:52) defines a 'basic causative situation' as a simple event that which immediately causes the event and the causal relation between the two. Shibatani (1976) also considers the causative situation to be a relation between two events: the causing event and the caused event. In addition, he characterizes this relation in terms of the speaker's belief that the caused event would not have taken place if the causing event had not taken place.

Syntactically, causativization introduces an extra argument, the causer, and therefore it changes an intransitive verb into a transitive one. Also, the argument introduced by causativization would lead to a transitive verb becoming a ditransitive verb, i.e., a transitive verb with three arguments (cf. Comrie 1976 Lyons, 1977; Shopen, 1985).

Causativization in Haro involves morphological suffixation, consonant alternation, and change in argument-structure. Causativization of intransitive verbs (transitivization) shows distinctive properties from that of divalent or transitive verbs. As presented below, it allows allomorphic variations and root alternation processes.

5.3.1.1. Causativization of intransitive verbs

The transitive and intransitive verbs in Haro are overwhelmingly morphologically related. Exceptions to this include the verbs **wo✎-** 'kill' and **hay✐-** 'die'. Morphological transitivization can be applied on intransitive verbs, adjectival inchoative verbs and reflexive verbs.

In all cases, the process allows resubcategorization of the base verb as a transitive one by adding a 'cause' relation and an agent argument. The transitivity changing patterns in Haro are categorized in to seven classes as presented below.

1. Suffixation of –**ss**

An intransitive verb in this class is characterized by having (a) final consonant(s), which is (are) deleted in the process. The derivational suffix used with such verb stems is -**ss-**. Examples:

9) *Intransitive*   *Transitive*

gukk-	'get splashed'	**gu-ss-**	'splash'	
yeekk-	'cry'	**yee-ss-**	'make	cry'

bott-	'get bleach'	**bo-ss-**	'bleach'
ʔarʔ-	'pass(int.) '	**ʔa-ss-**	'pass(TV.)
ʔerʔ-	'stand'	**ʔe-ss-**	'erect'

2. Suffixation of –s-

The intransitive verb stems in this category have a base with a final consonant cluster, of which, unlike the situation with those shown above, only the last one is subjected to deletion as illustrated in (10).

10)   ***Intransitive***   ***Transitive***

dend-	'get up (int.)'	**den-s-**	'get up(tv.)'
karʔ-	'be black'	**kar-s-**	'blacken'
dong-	'be tilted'	**don-s-**	'make tilted
kung-	'be full'	**kun-s-**	'fill'
pinn-	'cross (int.)'	**pin-s-**	'cross (tv.)'

The transitivizing suffix –**s-** is also encountered with few other verbs having a single final consonant that remains undeleted as in (11).

11)   ***Intransitive***   ***Transitive***

kes-	'get out	**kes-s-**	'get	something	out'
gel-	'get in	**gel-s-**	'take		in'
ʔal-	'be ende	**ʔal-s-**	'finish'		

With a few verbs having a palatal consonant finally or pre-finally, the suffix –**s-** gets palatalised, and realized as **š**. Final consonant of the base gets deleted in the transitive alternation process.

12)	**gej**	'clean (int.)	**ge-š-**	'clean	(tv.)'
	šik'-	'be closer'	**ši-š-**	'make closer/make present'	

3. Deglottalization and gemination

Intransitive verbs in this class are characterized by having a glottal final consonant -**s'-**, which gets deglottalized and then, geminated in the transitivization, that is -**s' -> ss.** This process can be interpreted as involving suffix –**s,** with which the final consonant **s'** undergoes assimilation as shown in (12).

13) *Intransitive Transitive*

pas'-	'heal'	**pas-s-**	'heal'
sus'-	'bleed'	**sus-s-**	'make bleed'
ƛes'-	'burn'	**ƛes-s-**	'make fire'
kas'-	'cook (int.)'	**kas-s-**	'cook'

4. Suffix –ass-

Suffixation of –**ass**- is employed to transitivize a group of adjectival inchoative verbs. No final consonant deletion is involved.

14) *Intransitive*   *Transitive*

loƛ-	'become good'	**loƛ-ass-**	'make good'
ƛiit-	'become bad'	**ƛiit-ass-**	'make bad'
ʛoh-	'become dirty'	**ʛoh-ass-**	'make dirty'
pent-	'become boiled (int.)'	**pent-ass-**	'boil (tv.)'
binn-	'become warm'	**binn-ass-**	'make warm'

5. Suffixation of –us-

The suffix –**us,** an element used to causativize transitive stems, also transitivizes a group of inchoative adjectival intransitive verbs. Adding the same morpheme once again to the transtivized stem results in causative forms (see 5.3.2.)

15) *Intransitive*   *Transitive*

laal-	'become thin'	**laal-us-**	'make thin'
č'ing-	'become old'	**č'ing-us-**	'make old'
pol-	'become dry'	**pol-us-**	'make dry'
mol-	'become straight'	**mol-us-**	'make straight'
lik'-	'become fine (for grain)'	**lik'-us-**	'make fine'

6. Consonant alternation

A final consonant alternation, without any kind of suffixation, takes place as a transitivity-changing mechanism with some verbs.

16) *Intransitive*   *Transitive*

mak'-	'become'	**mah-**	'make'
poƛ-	'become light	**pok'-**	'make light'

7. Suffixation of –ns-

This section deals with a single verb **meʔ-** 'break', which is a reflexive verb. It is used when things like a tree or a leg gets broken involved in something without any external agent. Suffixation of the element –**ns**- to the reflexive verb root **meʔ-** transitivizes it and the form becomes **me-ns-** 'break (transitive verb)'. The glottal stop gets deleted before the suffix. The transtivized verb **me-ns**- 'break (trv.)' could be interpreted as 'make break itself' since the lexical base has a reflexive reading.

Like other transitive verbs, the transitive verb **me-ns-** can be causativized by the use of the suffix –**us, me-ns-us**- 'cause something to break itself'. No other verb is attested with a similar property. There are, however, a group of verbal nominals constituting causative reflexive verb stems, which are made up of a root and the suffix –**uns-** (see chapter three).

In Haro, an intransitive verb as well as its transitivized and causativized counterparts have nominal counterparts, e.g., **méʔ-o** 'breaking itself' **mé-ns-o** 'making break itself' **me-ns-us-o** 'causing someone make something break itself' (see also 3.3.2). The language allows a construction in which a derived nominal cognate of a verb occurs as an object argument of an intransitive verb. The verbal nominal is marked by the focus marker -**kko**. The presence of this second occurrence of the verb stem, which is also attested in similar structures of other east Ometo languages like Koorete (cf. Hayward 1982, 1999:314), has no semantic significance. It is suggested that it occurs simply to supply phonetic content, a 'dummy' element, for an otherwise unfilled place in structure.

17) missá- z- i me&- ó- kko &é- me&- ín-e
  tree MAS:DF- NOM cut- NMZ- FOC 3MS- break- PA-AFF:DEC
  'The tree/wood is broke down (It is breaking that the tree is broke).'

The occurrence of a focalised verbal nominal as an object of an intransitive verb is not allowed if the verb occurs in a focal (complex verb) structure, or if there is a focalised adverbial argument in the sentence (see chapter eight).

Like in other languages, transitivization introduces one more valency, the causer, which does not appear with the intransitive verb (18). Likewise, causativization of the transitive verb adds one more argument to the structure (19). The latter process will be discussed in the next section in detail.

18) &és- í missí- kko &é- me- ns- ín- e
  he- NOM tree - FOC 3MS- break- TRV- PA- AFF:DEC
  'He broke the tree/wood (He made the tree break down).'

19) &és- í &ís- ó míssi &é- me - ns- us ín-e
  he- NOM she- ABS tree:ABS-3MS -break- TRV- CAU- PA-AFF:DEC
  'He caused her break the tree/wood (He caused her made the tree break dawn).'

The following structures provide more examples on the occurrences of intransitive and transitive counterparts of some verbs presented earlier.

20) šaata- t- í &iita-na kko &é-&er&- ín- e
  child- FEM: DF- NOM bad-INS-FOC 3MS- stand- PA- AFF:DEC
  'The child stood badly.'

20b) &és- í šaatá- t- o &é- &e- ss- ín-e
  he- NOM child- FEM:DF- FEM:ABS 3MS- stand- TRV-PA-AFF:DEC
  'He erected the wood/ (He made the wood stand up).'

21a) &ís- í lo&ó hantt- ássi -kk0- &í- mak'- ín- e
  he NOM good work- NMZ-FOC 3FS- become-PA- AFF:DEC
  'She became a good worker.'

21b) &és- í &ís- ó lo&ó hantt- ássi-kko &é- mah- ín-e
  he- NOM she- ABS good work- NMZ-FOC 3MS- make- PA-AFF:DEC
  'He made her a good worker.'

A periphrastic use of transtivization is also attested in one case; the transitive form of **zek'-** 'stink', literally 'take the offensive smell', as illustrated below.

22a) **kaná- z- i ɗiita-na kko ɗé- zék'- e**
dog- MAS:DF NOM bad-INS-Foc-3MS- stink- AFF:DEC
'The dog is stinking badly.'

22b) **ɗés- i kána zek'- eté-kko ɗé-ɗik- ín- e**
he- NOM dog:ABS stink- NMZ-FOC 3MS- take- PA- AFF:DEC
'He smelled the offensive smell of the dog (Lit: He took the offensive smell of the dog.)'

5.3.1.2. Causativization of transitive verbs

Compared to causativation of intransitive verbs, shown in the preceding section, causativaization of transitive verbs showsmore regularity. With a few exceptions, the process involves suffixation of –**us-** to a verb root. Some examples are given in (23)

23) Verb root　　　　　　　Causative stem
woʔ-　'kill'　　**woʔ-us-**　'cause　　　　　　to　　　　kill'
worg-　'find　　**worg-us-**　'cause　　　　　to　　　　find'
ɗod-　'bring'　　**ɗod-us-**　'cause　　　　　to　　　　bring'
lans-　'take again'　　**lans-us-**　'cause　　　to　　　take　again'
guɛrj-　'add'　　**gujj-us-**　'cause to add'

With few verbs, causativization brings about degemination of a final velar consonant as in (24).

24) Verb root　　　　　　　Causative stem
s'ugg-　'burn'　　**s'ug-us-**　'cause　　　　to　　　burn'
tukk-　'plant'　　**tuk-us-**　'cause　　　to　　　plant'
šogg-　'wash'　　**šog-us-**　'cause to wash'

Haro allows double causativization. Hence, verb stems, which are the out puts of causativization, can be used as input for the same process, as shown below.

25) Transtivized verb stems　　Causativized verb stems
loɗ-ass-　'make good'　　**loɗ-ass-us**　'cause　　to　　make　good'
ɗiit-ass-　'make bad'　　**ɗiit-ass-us**　'cause　　to　　make　bad'
ʔoh-ass-　'make dirty'　　**ʔoh-ass-us**　'cause　　to　　make　dirty'
pent-ass-　'boil (TV)'　　**pent-ass-us**　'cause　　　to　　boil'
binn-ass-　'make warm'　　**binn-ass-us**　'cause　　to　　make　warm'
kes-s-　'get out'　　**kes-s-us-**　'cause to take out'

It is observed that two suffixes –**ass** and –**us** can interchange their positions as in the following.

26) Transitive verb stems　　　　Causative verb stems
loɗ-ass-　'make good'　　**loɗ-us-ass-**　'cause　　to　　make　good'
ɗiit-ass-　'make bad'　　**ɗiit-us-ass-**　'cause　　to　　make　bad'

Ʞoh-ass-	'make dirty'	Ʞoh-us-ass-	'cause	to	make	dirty'
pent-ass-	'boil (TV)'	pent-us-ass-	'cause		to	boil'
binn-ass-	'make warm'	binn-us-ass-	'cause to make warm'			

Suffix -**s(s)-** is used to causativize a set of verbs with a final consonant, which gets altered or deleted in the process. This suffix, as shown above (5.3.1.), is also used to transtivize intransitive verbs.

27)   Transtive verb stems   Causative verb stems

beed-	'see'	beey-ss-	'show
deng-	'found'	dey-is-	'find
sid-	'hear'	si-ss-	'cause	to	hear
dang-	'breast suck'	dant-s-	'breast feed'

In one case, the causative marker appears as -**š-** as in ⟨uš- 'drink'

⟨uš-š- 'make drink'. Other verbs with the same ending, however, take the regular causative marker -**us**.

28)   Transtive verb stems   Causative verb stems

guš-	'share'	guš-us-	'cause	to	share
jaš-	'fear'	jaš-us-	'cause	to	fear
č'aš-	'insult'	č'aš-us-	'cause to insult'

Verbs encoding actions that are non-controllable by the agent, and have idiophonic expressions, occur in causative forms. Such verbs lack non-causative basic forms.

29)   **k'up-us-**   'cough'
         Ꞧiš-us-   'sneeze'
         dir-is-   'stretch ones own body'

Syntactically, the causative construction in Haro is characterized by the valency change of the verb and by the property of argument-structure-changing. It introduces a new subject argument namely 'the causer' and changes the subject into a 'causee', which may appear optionally followed by the instrumental case marker –**ra**.

30a)   **⟨ís- í   má⟨o- z-   a   ⟨í- šogg – ín-   e**
        she- NOM   cloth-   MAS:DF-   ABS   3FS- wash-   PA-   AFF:DEC
        'She washed clothes.'

30b)   **⟨és-   í   bé   šaató- ra   má⟨o-kko   ⟨é   šog- us-   ín-e**
        he- NOM   3REF-   child-   INS   clothes-FOc   3MS   wash-   CAU-   PA-AFF:DEC
        'He caused his child wash clothes.'

In the case of transitivization, the subject of the intransitve verb occurs as an object of the transitive verb and is rather marked for Absolutive case (31b). Causativization of the transitivized verb, as mentioned earlier, adds a new causer and changes the subject into instrumental noun phrase (31c).

31a) assá-   z-   i   iita-na kko é-   yeek- ín-   e
      man- MAS:DF- NOM   bad-INS-FOC 3MS- cry-   PA-   AFF:DEC
      'The man cried badly.'

31b) assá- z-   i   šaatá- t-   o   nay-   us-   í
      man-   MAS:DF- NOM child- FEM:DF-   ABS:FEM get hungry- CAU- CNV
      é-   yeekk- us-   ín-   e
      3MS- cry-   CAU-   PA-   AFF:DEC
      'Having made hungry the man made the child cry.'

31c) ís- í   assa-z-   í-   ra   í-   os's'-   us-   í
      she- NOM man-   MAS:DF- NOM   INS   3FS- beat-   CAU- CNV
      šaatá- t-   o   í-   yeekk- us- us- ín-   e
      child- FEM:DF- FEM:ABS   3FS-cry-   CAU- CAU- PA- AFF:DEC
      'She made the child beaten by the man and made him cried.'

The following sentences further illustrate the point.

32a) miisí- z-   i   ú- kes-   ín- e
      cattle- MAS:DF- NOM 3PL- get out- PA- AFF:DEC
      'The cattle got out (of the house).'

32b) maaččá-   t-   i   miisí- z-   a   í- kes-   s-   n-   e
      woman-   FEM:DF- NOM   cattle- DF:MAS- ABS 3SF- get out- TRV- PA- AFF:DEC
      'The woman got the cattle out (of the house)'

32c) maaččá-t-   i   bé- išé- ra- miisí- z-   a
      woman-FEM:DEF-   NOM- REF- brother-INS- cattle- MAS:DF- MAS:ABS
      í-   kes-   s- us- ín- e
      3SF- take out- TRV-CAU- PA- AFF:DEC
      'The woman sent her brother and made him take the cattle out
      of the house)'

The causative in Haro can be based on the passive (33) or the passive reflexive verb stem (34) in which case, the meaning of the construction is compositional.

33) és- í   bé- adda   é- gal- utt- us- ín- e
     he- NOM 3REF- father:ABS 3MS- thank- PAS- CAU- PA- AFF:DEC
     'He made his father be thanked.'

34) és- í   šaatá- t-   o   é- bo - unt-   us- ín-   e
     he-   NOM child- FEM:DF- FEM:ABS 3MS- kneel down- PAS:REF-CAU-PA-AFF:DEC
     'He made the child kneel down'

5.3.2. The Passive

The passive verb formative is –**utt**- as illustrated in (35).

35) Verb root Passive verb stem

woʕ- 'kill' **woʕ-** 'be
ʔayk- 'hold **ʔayk-utt-** 'be
ʔis'- 'cut' **ʔis'-utt-** 'be
gač 'grind' **gač'-utt-** 'be
č'ašš- 'insult' **č'ašš-utt-** 'be
per- 'tear' **perʔ-utt-** 'be
yeekk- 'cry (mourned) ' **yeekk-utt-** 'be cried (mourned) '

With some verb stems which involve alternation or loss of final consonant, suffix –**tt**-

is used as a passive verb formative.

36) **deng**- 'get (find)' **de-tt-** 'be gotten (found)'
beed- 'see' **been-tt-** 'be seen'
bad- 'get lost' **ba-tt-** 'be lost'

With the following verbs, passivization brings about change in the final

consonant.

37) **sid-** 'hear' **sin-tt-** 'beheard'
muy- 'eat' **mud-utt**- 'be eaten'.

As is true for most languages of the world, passivaization in Haro promotes

an object of a transitive clause into a subject and demotes the subject to oblique. Both

of which are morphologically characterized via case marking and subject agreement

markers. The demoted subject can either be omitted from the structure or introduced

by the instrumental case marker -**ra**. Consider the following illustrative structures.

38a) **tá-** **mááče** **zaawá-** **z-** **a** **ʔí-** **pitt-** **ín-e**
1SG- wife:NOM house- MAS:DF- MAS:ABS 3FS- sweep- PA- AFF:DEC
'My wife swept the house.'

38b) **zaawá-** **z-** **i** **ʔé-** **pit-** **utt-** **ín-** **e**
house- MAS:DF- NOM 3MS- sweep- PAS- PA- AFF:DEC
'The house was swept.'

38c) **zaawá- z-** **i** **tá- maačé- ra ʔé- pit-** **utt-** **ín-e**
house- MAS:DF- NOM 1SG- wife- INS 3MS sweep- PAS-PA- AFF:DEC
'The house was swept by my wife.'

39a) **bišša-** **t-** **í** **ʔašó-** **z-** **a** **námʔu**
girl- FEM:DF-NOM meat- MAS:DF- MAS:ABS two

lók'a	é-	kes-	ín-	e
place	3MS	divide	PA-	AFF:DEC

'The girl divided the meat into two portions

39b)

ašó-	z-	i	nám⬤u	lók'a	é-	kes-	utt-	ín-	e
meat-	DF:MAS-	NOM	two	place:ABS	3MS-	divide-	PAS-	PA-AFF:DEC	

'The meat has been divided into two pieces.'

39c)

ašó-	z-	i	bišša-	t	ó-	ra	nám⬤u	lók'a
meat-	MAS:DF-	NOM-	girl-	FEM:DF-	ABS-	INS	two	place:ABS

é-	kes-	utt-	ín–	e
3MS-	divide-	PAS-	PA-	AFF:DEC

'The meat has been divided into two by the girl.'

In the active sentences (38a and 39a), the Agents, **tá-mááče** 'my

wife' and

bišša-t-í 'the girl' are subjects and the 'the house' and 'the meat' are patients

and objects. The passive versions (38b and 38b) however, have the patients as

subject and the agent as Instrumental.

Passive verbs 'be thirsty', 'be hungry' and 'be in problem' require a

Dative noun phrase argument.

40)

tán-	í	wassí-	si	tá-	sang-	útt-	e
I-	NOM	water-	DAT	1SG-	get thirsty-	PAS-	AFF:DEC

'I am thirsty for water (Lit: My thirsty is to water).'

41)

é⬤	í	miššé -	si	met-	utt-	á-	kko-é	■
	NOM	money-		DAT	get in problem	PAS-	INF-	FOC-
3MS-		IMPF-	AFF:DEC					

'He is has financial problem (Lit: He is troubled for money).'

A group of verb stems in Haro occur only in an extended form that is either with

passive or causative marker but lack the base form. The reason for such a gap could

be a semantic one.

42)

tal⬤-us-	'to lend'
tal⬤-utt-	'to borrow'
met-utt-	'to be bothered (be in problem)'
met-us-	'to bother (cause a problem)'

The verb roots **tal⬤-** and **met-** are attested occurring as a base for the formation of

the nouns **tál⬤-e** 'loan' and **mét-o** 'problem' respectively.

5.3.3. The passive reflexive

Two kinds of passive reflexive constructions are attested in Haro. One is syntactic whereas the second type is morphological. The latter is attested only with a few forms while the former is a widely used strategy. The syntactic reflexive construction involves a passive verb and a reflexive pronoun as illustrated below.

43) maydó- z- i hurdé- ra béna- kko ɗé- k'as'-utt- ín-e
ox- MAS:DF- NOM rope- INS 3REF -FOC 3MS- rap- PAS-PA-AFF:DEC
'The ox rapped himself by a rope.'

44) ɗúsín- í béna- kko ɗú- ɗeh- útt- e
they- NOM 3REF- FOC 3PL- love- PAS- AFF:DEC
'They love themselves.'

As mentioned above, Haro has a handful of passive reflexive verbs morphologically identified with the suffix **–unt-**. With the exception of one verb, they all lack a non-reflexive counterpart. Semantically, these verbs are characterized by denoting a kind of body action.

45) ɗač ɗaš- unt- 'be hidden'
? boɗ-unt- 'be kneel down'
? šaaɗ-unt- 'to yaw'
? gog-unt- 'to go round'

The following structures show reflexive verbs with their non-reflexive counterpart.

46) ɗés -í tíro- gídda ɗé- ɗaš- únt e
he- NOM dark- LOC 3MS- hid- REF:PAS- AFF:DEC
'He hides himself in the dark.'

47) ɗís- í bé- šááto tíro- gídda ɗí- ɗač- ín- e
she- NOM 3REF- child dark- LOC 3FS- hide- PA- AFF:DEC
'She hid her child in the dark.'

The last verbs in the above examples lack a basic form so the passive reflexive is the only form they have. Other verbs with essentially the same lexical meaning as the above ones appear with the causative/transitive marker rather than with the suffix **–unt**. These include **k'up-us-** 'cough' **ꞓiš-us-** 'sneeze' and **dir-is-** 'stretch ones body'.

The following structure illustrates the occurrence of a passive reflexive verb in a sentence.

48)   ʔés-   í   ʔé-   šaʔ-   únt-   e
      he-   NOM   3MS-   yaw-   REF:PAS-   AFF:DEC

      nay-   á-   kko-   ʔé-   dd-   e
      be hungry-   INF   FOC-   3MS-   PF-   AFF:DEC
      'He is yawing he is hungry.'

As shown above, only a few numbers of morphological reflexive verbs are identified in Haro. However, it seems Haro has more reflexive stems, at least historically. This is attested from a group of deverbal nominals, which have a verb stem similar to what is identified as reflexive verb stem. Such nominals are formed by suffixing a nominalizing suffix –**e** to verb stems, characterized by the suffix –**unt**-, an element identified as a reflexive passive marker (see also 3.3.2). The passive reflexive verb stems occurring as a base in the nominals do not exist synchronically.

49)   **dees'**-   'be heavy'   ***dees'-unt-**   **dees'-únt-e**   'being   heavy'
      harg-   'be sick'   ***kum-unt-**   **harg-únt-e**   'being   sick'
      kum-   'be full'   ***kum-unt-**   **kum-únt-e**   'being   full'
      pačč-   'wide'   ***pačč-unt-**   **pačč-únt-e**   'being wide

The passive reflexive verb stems shown above also have nominal counterparts.

50)   **ʔaš- unt-** 'be hidden'   **ʔaš- únt-e**   'being   hidden'
      boʔ-unt- 'be knelt down'   **boʔ-únt-e**   'knelt   down'
      šaaʔ-unt- 'to yaw'   **šaaʔ-únt-e**   'yawing'
      gog-unt- 'to go round'   **gog-únt- e**   'going round'

Hence, in addition to the passive reflexive verb stems, which function synchronically, one can also consider the verb bases of the stem in the above nominals as passive reflexive stems. This suggests that the passive reflexive verb structures in Haro, although not attested in the synchronic usage where they have been replaced by syntactic as constructions as shown above, have been well preserved in the nominal counterparts.

5.3.4. The causative reflexive

No trace of causative reflexive verb stems is attested functioning synchronically. However, parallel to the situation in the passive reflexive verb stems, we have nominals having causative reflexive stems, which suggest the presence of the verb stems underlying. As shown in chapter three, a group of nominals are considered as constituting a causative reflexive verb stem and a nominal formative suffix. The verb stem in such nominals constitutes a verb root and an element –**úns**-, a suffix that is paradigmatically in contrast with the passive reflexive marker –**unt**-, and can be considered as a causative reflexive marker.

51) &er-   'know'   *&er-uns   &er-úns-i   'knowledge'
     gap-   'get tired'   ***gap-uns-**   **gap-úns-i**   'exhaustion'
     yel-   'give birth'   ***yel-uns-**   **yel-úns-i**   'labour/giving   birth'
     &ap -   'cry/mourn'   *&ap-uns-   &ap -úns-i 'tear'

Semantically, such nominals denote results of some kind of self-causation and self-received actions. &**er-úns-i** 'knowledge' can be interpreted as 'something obtained by causing oneself to know', **gap-úns-i**   'exhaustion' means ' a feeling resulted from causing oneself to get exhausted, **yel-úns-i**   'labour' would be 'something causing oneself to give delivery of a baby', and &**ap-úns-i** 'something obtained by causing oneself to cry (tear)'

One can argue that the passive reflexive and causative reflexive markers –**unt**- and –**uns**-, which contrast paradigmatically, can be considered as compound morphemes. The element –**un**, which occurs in both forms can be considered as a reflexive marker, and the elements –**t**- and –**s-,** which occur following **-un** can be treated as manifestations of the passive (-**utt/-tt**) and causative markers (-**us/-s**) respectively. From what is observed so far, one can also point out that the reflexive in Haro does not appear independently as a verb stem marker, but always occurs combined with the passive or causative, **X-un-{t/s}**

5.3.5. The inchoative verb stem

The inchoative verb stem in Haro encodes 'getting into a certain state', and is formed by

suffixing -**et**- to a noun. The terminal vowel of the base gets dropped in the process.

52) **óla** 'war'   **ol-et**- 'being   in   war'
    kááti 'chief'   **kaat-et**- 'being   chief'
    hargé 'disease'   **harg-et**- 'being   sick'
    šíčča 'roasted grain'   **šičč-et**- 'become   roasted   grain'
    lágge 'friend'   **lágg-et**- 'become friend'

The following structure illustrates occurrence of the inchoative verb stem in a

sentence.

53) **é-** **gilla-** **óla** **ol-** **et-** **ín-** **e**
    3MS- LOC- war:ABS war- INCH- PA- AFF:DEC
    'He got into war.'

An inchoative verb can occur in a focal construction as shown in (49).

54) **és-** **í** **kaat -** **et-** **á-** **kko-** **é-** **dd-** **e**
    he- NOM king- INCO- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
    'He has become a king'

What is expressed by an inchoative verb is also equally possible to express

syntactically by the use of the noun followed by the verb **maak'**- 'become'.

55) **és-í** **kááti** **é-** **maak'-** **ín-** **e**
    he- NOM king:ABS 3MS- become- PA- AFF:DEC
    'He became a king.'

    With adjectives, no suffixal element is used to make an inchoative verb. Inchoative of adjectives is made by dropping

the terminal vowel and by suffixing the verbal markers into the root.

56) **wassá-z-** **i** **binn-** **á-** **kko-** **é-** **dd-** **e**
    water-MAS:DF- NOM warm- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
    'The water became warm.'

In its occurrence as a conditional clause, however, the adjectival inchoative

occurs suffixed to the inchoative marker.

57) **wássi** **binn-** **ét-** **etá-** **túke-** **tá-** **šog-** **utt-** **ór-** **e**
    water warm- INCH- AFF:DEC 1SG- foot:ABS- 1SG- wash- PAS- FUT- AFF:DEC
    'If the water becomes warm, I will wash my feet.'

5.3.6 The frequentative

In Haro, a process of reduplication forms verbs with frequentative, intensive or distributive meaning. Such verbs add a notion of plurality, intensity or distributiveness to the predicate. The type of reduplication attested is 'pre-reduplication', which one affects the leftmost CV- of the stem as illustrate below.

58)

wos'-	'run'	**wo-wos'-**	'run	here	and	there'
bokk-	'dig'	**bo-bokk-**	'dig	here	and	there'
biršitt-	'untie'	**bi-biršitt-**	'untie	this	and	that'
sas'-	'bit'	**sa-sas'-**	'bit	here	and	there'
ꞔis'-	'cut'	**ꞔi-ꞔis'**	'cut in	to	small	pieces'
meꞔ-	'break'	**me-meꞔ-**	'break in	to	small	pieces'
perꞔ-	'tear'	**pe-perꞔ-**	'tear in	to	small	pieces'
bokk-	'dig'	**bo-bokk-**	'dig	here	and	there'
mus'-	'kiss'	**mu-mus'-**	'kiss			repeatedly'
hasaꞔ-		'tell'	**ha-hasaꞔ-**	'tell repeatedly'		

The frequentative verbs are found more commonly in focal constructions as the notions expressed verbs show intensity.

59)

ꞔés-	**í**	**missí-**	**z-**	**a**	**ꞔí-**	**ꞔís'- á-**	**kko-**	**ꞔé-**	**dd- e**
he-	NOM	tree-	MAS:DF-	ABS	FRE-	cut- INF-	FOC-	3MS-	PF- AFF:DEC

'He has cut the tree into pieces.'

60)

ꞔés-	**í**	**ꞔólo**	**ꞔoh- é**	**há-**	**hásaꞔ-**	**á-**	**kko-**	**ꞔé- dd- e**
he-	NOM	old:ABS	tell- NMZ	FRE-	speak-	INF-	FOC-	3MS- PF- AFF:DEC

'He has told the old story repeatedly.'

A frequentative verb in Haro denotes an action carried out several times by a singular agent, or one or several times by a plural agent.

61)

ꞔaꞔꞔꞔ	**iꞔé-**	**z-**	**í**	**ꞔólo**	**ꞔoh-**	**é**
man-	PL-	MAS:DF-	NOM	old:ABS	tell-	NMZ

há-	**hásaꞔ-**	**á-**	**kko-**	**ꞔé-**	**dd-**	**e**
FRE-	speak-	INF-	FOC-	3MS-	PF-	AFF:DEC

'The men have told the old story repeatedly. / The men (each of them) have told the story.'

5. 3.7. The reciprocal

According to Kemmer (1993:96f), a prototypical reciprocal context is a simple event frame expressing a two-participant event in which there are two relations; each participant serves in the role initiator in one of those relations and

endpoint in the other. The reciprocal verb expresses an action performed by two or more persons who are both agents and patients at the same time. The semantic relation holding between the participants are prototypically of the direct affectedness type. The reciprocal situations may either involve simultaneous or sequential relations of actions.

Haro has two reciprocal constructions both of which involve a frequentative verb stem, which is formed by using partial reduplication of the root. It designates the fact that the action takes place repeatedly. In addition, a collective pronoun **wóla** 'together', which in this context functions as a reciprocal pronoun 'each other' takes part in the construction. In other Ometo languages such as Maale (Azeb 2001), **wóla** is a reciprocal pronoun with the meaning 'each other'. However, in the case of Haro, the expression **wóla** has a reading of 'together'. The following structure illustrates the use of **wóla** in non-reciprocal constructions.

62) **k'ááre- ni   šéé'o-   ni   wóla   ú–   yes- išš- ín- e**
    ape-   INC crocodile- INC   together 3PL- exist- PROG- PA- AFF:DEC
    'An ape and a crocodile were living together (Lit: An ape and a crocodile were existing together).'

The two reciprocal constructions differ in the voice of the verb stem they use. The first and the frequently used one involves a frequentative passive stem, while the other uses the active form. Structure of the reciprocal/collective pronoun also varies in the two constructions. With the passive verb stem, the form **wóla** is used whereas with the active stem, the pronoun gets suffixed to the Locative case marker **-gidda** to express a relational concept 'in side'. Final vowel of the expression **wóla** changes into -**i** when the case marker follows it. Compare the structures (63) with their respective counterpart in (64) below.

63a) **kan- ié- z-   i   wóla**
     dog- PL- MAS:DF- NOM   together

     ú- sa-   sas'- utt-   ín-   e
     3PL- FRE- bite- PAS-   PA-   AFF:DEC

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'The dogs bit each other (Lit: the dogs bit repeatedly together).'

63b) **mááčča- ißé- z-   i   wóla**
     woman-   PL- MAS:DF- NOM   together

     ☞ú- mu- mus'- utt- ín- e
     3PL- FRE- kiss- PAS- PA- AFF:DEC

     'The women kissed each other'

64a) **kan- ißé- z-   i   woli-   gídda   ☞ú-   sa- sas'-ín-e**
     dog- PL- MAS:DF- NOM   together- LOC   3PL- FRE- bite-PA-AFF:DEC
     'The dogs bit each other.'

64b) mááčč- ißé- z-   i   **wolí-   gidda**
     woman- PL- MAS:DF-   NOM   together   LOC

     ☞ú-   mu- mus'-   ín-   e
     3PL-   FRE-kiss-   PA   AFF:DEC
     'The women kissed each other'

5.3.8. The infinitive

Two kinds of infinitive verbs are identified in Haro. They differ in form as well as function. One type is formed from the verb root by the use of suffix -**óra**, and functions as a complement of other verbs. Attaching suffix -á to a verb root derives the second one. This form serves as a stem for a focal verb construction (cf. chapter 8).

65) Verb root   Infinitive$_1$ Infinitive$_2$

     hang-   'go'   **hang-óra**   **hang-á**   'to   go'
     ☞is'-   'cut'   **☞is'-óra**   **☞is'-á**   'to   cut'
     šuuk-   'slaughter'   **šuuk-óra**   **šuuk-á**   'to   slaughter'
     kees'-   'build'   **kees'-óra**   **kees'-á**   'to   build'
     zal☞-   'sell'   **zal☞-óra**   **zal☞-á**   'to sell'

     The following sentences illustrate the use of infinitive verbs as complements of other verbs.

66) **☞és-   í   yood- óra   ☞é-   wórg- e**
     he-   NOM   come- INF   3MS-   want- AFF:DEC
     'He wants to come.'

67) **gúta   nún- í   ☞óge   hang- óra   nú- č'ó☞l-e**
     tomorrow we-   NOM   road:ABS go-   INF   1PL-wish-AFF:DEC
     'We wish to go to Arbaminch tomorrow.'

68) **tán- í   tá-   míččo bed- óra   tá- yóód- e**
     I-   NOM   1SG-   sister see- INF   1SG-come- AFF:DEC
     'I come to see my sister.'

The following sentence illustrates occurrence of the infinitive verb in the focal verb construction. See also chapter 8.

69) **ís-   í   wássi uš-   á- kko-   í- dd-   e**
     she- NOM water drink- INF FOC- 3FS- PF-   AFF:DEC
     'She has drunk.'

5.4.   Inflections of the verb

The inflectional system of the verb involve the categories person, aspect, tense and mood. The verb morphology is transparently agglutinative and marks features by overly found signals. The order of the morphemes follows the following pattern:

AGREEMENT-VERB ROOT–ASPECT-TENSE-MOOD

With complex (focal) verbs, the following order is observed.

VERB ROOT-INF-FOC-AGREEMENT-ASP-MOOD

Discussions on person and tense-aspect below concern only the affirmative declarative verbs. Others will be discussed latter (see Chapter Eight). Below, we describe each of the categories in turn.

5.4.1. Person

A verb in Haro displays agreement with its subject noun phrase via a pronominal prefix attached to the stem. Like other East Ometo varieties such as Zayse (Hayward, 1990), Koyra (Hayward, 1982), Zergula (Baye, 1994) the agreement marking elements are phonologically reduced personal pronouns. Formally, the agreement markers differ from their independent counterparts, because segments that occur at the final position of the independent pronouns are absent from the agreement markers. The following table compares the subject markers of verbs with the independent pronoun counterparts.

	Subject agreement Markers	Subject personal Pronouns
1SG	**tá-**	**tání**
2SG	**né-**	**néní**
3MS	**ʔé-**	**ʔésí**
3FS	**ʔí-**	**ʔísí**
1PL	**nú**	**núní**
2PL	**ʔíní-**	**ʔíníní**
3PL	**ʔú -**	**ʔúsíní**

Table 1:Subject agreement markers and subject personal pronouns

Consider the occurrence of person markers in the following sentences.

70a) **tán- í** tolkó- kko **tá-** woʔ- ín-e
I- NOM hyena-FOC 1SG kill- PA-AFF:DEC
'I killed a hyena.'

70b) **nén- í** tolkó- kko **né-** woʔ- ín- e
you- NOM hyena- FOC 2SG - kill- PA- AFF:DEC
'You killed a hyena.'

70c) **ʔés- í** tolkó- kko **ʔé-** woʔ- ín- e
he- NOM hyena- FOC 3MS- kill- PA- AFF:DEC
'He killed a hyena.'

70d) **ʔís- í** tolkó- kko **ʔí-** woʔ- ín- e
she- NOM hyena- FOC 3FS- kill- PA- AFF:DEC
'She killed a hyena.'

70e) **nún- í** tolkó- kko **nú-** woʔ- ín-e
we- NOM hyena- FOC 1PL- kill- PA-AFF:DEC
'We killed a hyena.'

70f) **ʔínín- í** tolkó- kko **ʔíní-** woʔ- ín- e
you (pl)- NOM hyena- FOC 2PL- kill- PA- AFF:DEC

'You (pl) killed a hyena.'

70g) **ʔúsín- í** tolkó- kko **ʔú-** woʔ- ín- e
they- NOM hyena- FOC- 3PL kill- PA- AFF:DEC
'They killed a hyena.'

The reduced forms of the pronouns, which are used as agreement markers,

have lost their autonomous status without losing the semantic properties. The two

sets are not, therefore, interchangeable.

71) ***tá zíne tolkó tán-i woʔ-ín-e**
I yesterday hyena I-NOM kill-PA-AFF:DEC
'Yesterday I killed a hyena.'

A subject agreement marker is an obligatory component of a verb form, in contrast to the subject noun phrase, which is optional. Omission of the subject agreement makes the structure unacceptable while omission of the latter does not as illustrated below.

72a) ***táni zíne   tolkó   woↄ- ín- e**
      yesterday   hyena   kill-   PA- AFF:DEC
      'Yesterday I killed a hyena.'

72b) **zíne   tolkó   tá-   woↄ-   ín-   e**
      yesterday   hyena   1SG   kill-   PA-   AFF:DEC
      'Yesterday I killed a hyena.'

5.4.2. Tense-Aspect

The tense-aspect marking system in Haro is partly determined by the focal system of the language. The simple (non-focal) and complex (focal) verbs of Haro show different patterns of tense-aspect marking. Simple verbs are subjected mainly to tense marking. They also distinguish between the progressive and non-progressive aspects. Complex verbs distinguish only between the imperfective and perfective aspects. The latter do not involve tense marking (see chapter 8).

A simple verb stem in Haro makes a tripartite distinction among the present, past, and future tenses. The present and past tenses can further be combined with progressive or non-progressive aspects. Simple verbs do not make a contrast for imperfective and perfective aspects. In contrast, complex verbs make a two-way aspectual distinction between the imperfective and perfective. The three-way tense distinction attested with simple verbs is not the feature of complex verbs. Discussion on the complex verbs will be presented in chapter eight. In what follows, discussions on the tense-aspect marking of simple verbs will be presented.

5.4.2.1. The present

The present tense has no phonological signal, but it is paradigmatically identified by its lack of a tense marker. The fact that the present tense is unmarked or zero form in the tripartite tense paradigm is a common cross-linguistic typological phenomenon (cf. Baybee, 1985:155).

As illustrated with the following sentences, the present tense form of a verb in Haro is used to express events occurring habitually.

73) ⟨⟩assí   k'amá   ⟨⟩é- geh- e
    man:NOM   night:ABS   3MS sleep- AFF:DEC
    'A man (human being) sleeps at night.'

74) borbóno   ⟨⟩is'-   í   dadd- í   zá⊕a- gilla   nú-hánt-e
    Borbono:ABS   cut- CNV   boat-make-   CNV boat:ABS-   LOC   3PL-go-AFF:DEC
    'We cut Borbono (a kind of tree), make (boat) and travel by the boat.'

75) ⟨⟩úsín-   í   béé-   zá⊕a-   nna   béé-   ⟨⟩eh-   é   lók'a
    they-   NOM   3REF-   boat-   LOC   3REF-   like-   AFF:REL   place:ABS
    hang-   í   ⟨⟩ú-   yóón-   e
    go- CNV   3PL-   come-   AFF:DEC

    'Having gone by their boat to a place where they like, they come back.'

A verb in present tense also expresses an event overlapping at the speech moment.

76)   tán-   í   háng-   e
       I-   NOM   go-   AFF:DEC
       'I go/am going.'

5.4.2.2. The past tense

The past tense in Haro is expressed with the suffix **–ín-** which occurs next to the verb root and followed by a clause marker -**e**. The past tense in Haro is used to narrate an event carried out in the remote (77) or recent past (78)as illustrated in the following sentences respectively.

77) ⟨⟩óyddu   ⟨⟩assá-   z-   i   taná-   ra   tá- maččó-   ra
    four   person-   MAS:DF-   NOM   I:ABS-   COM   1SG-wife:ABS-   COM
    tá-   ballá-   ra   ⟨⟩é-   bíššó-   ra   ⟨⟩ogé-   kko-
    1SG-   father in-law- COM   3FM-   girl-   COM   road:ABS- FOC-
    nú-   hang- ín- e
    1PL-   go-   PA- AFF:DEC
    'Four persons, I with my wife, my father in-law and his daughter, went on a trip.'

78) &és- í   deyší- kko   &é- šuk-   ín- e
    he- NOM   goat- FOC   3MS slaughter- PA- AFF:DEC
    'He just slaughtered the goat.'

The past tense marker, -**ín**- has a free variant form, - **ír**-, which is used interchangeably.

79) &és- í   deyší- kko   &é- šuk-   ín- e
    he- NOM   goat- FOC   3MS- slaughter- PA- AFF:DEC
    'He has slaughtered the goat.'

A time adverbial may accompany a verb with present tense, but that is by no means obligatory in Haro.

80) &adé-   z-   i   zíne míč'- o   bóra   &é- mud-   ín- e
    man- Mas:DF- NOM yesterday burn- NMZ bread:ABS 3MS- eat-   PA- AFF:DEC
    'The man ate burned bread.'

5.4.2.3. The future tense

The future tense indicates an action carried out at a time subsequent to the moment of speaking. Compared to the other tenses, the future tense marking elements are many, and are correlated with modality. The fact that statements made about the future are based upon the speakers beliefs, prediction and therefore can often be used in atemporal functions associated with irrealis modality, is a widely attested typological phenomenon (cf. Comrie 1985, Lyons 1968, Bybee 1985, Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins 1994).

Haro has four different suffixes used to mark future tense. Three of them are portmanteau elements co-marking modality, whereas the other occurs in declarative sentences, and strictly speaking, non-modal. The non-modal future tense marker is the suffix –**ór,** and it occurs preceding the affirmative declarative marker as illustrated in the following sentences.

81) **nún-   í   gúta   arbamínč' nú-   hang- ór- e**
    you(pl.)- NOM   tomorrow Arbaminch 2PL- go   FUT- AFF:DEC
    'You (pl.) will go to Arbaminch tomorrow.'

82) **nún- í   gúta   moló   nú-   yal-   ór- e**
    we- NOM   tomorrow fish   1PL   sell- FUT- AFF:DEC
    'Tomorrow we will sell/trade fish.'

The other three future tense marking elements are: -**óno, -úšu** and –**aši**.
As mentioned earlier, these encode epistemic modalities in addition to futurity. The suffix -**óno** co-marks certainty, and indicates that the agent is surely determined to carry out the action, the second form –**úšu** expresses the possibility, and the last form -**aši** is used to indicate conditionality of the action, (see also 5.4.2.3). One may argue that these elements should be more considered as modalities rather than tense. However, tense and modality are intersecting here and so either one or the other label can be equally appropriate.
The following sentences illustrate the use of a verb, which is co-marked for future tense as well as certainty (83), possibility (84) and conditional (85) modality respectively.

83) **gúta   hang-   í   né-   ⬯ádda tá-   ⬯oyč'č'- óno**
    tomorrow   go-   CNV   2SG-   father 1SG- ask-   FUT:CER
    'Tomorrow, I will go and ask your father.'

84) **⬯ííta   šaató   muč'urk'ó-   na   miy-   úšu**
    bad   child:ABS   pinch-   INS   eat-   FUT:POS
    'A bad child will be eaten by a pinch (No problem a bad child will be pinched and be better.)'

85) **⬯és-í   ⬯é- yood- únu ⬯ís-   í   ⬰agg- í-   kko ⬯í-hang- áši**
    he-   NOM 3MS- come- TEM   she- NOM   leave- CNV- FOC 3FS- go- FUT:CON
    'When he comes she will leave and go out.'

5.4.2.4. The progressive/ non-progressive aspect

As mentioned earlier, the two aspectual parameters in simple verb stems are progressive and non-progressive. The non-progressive is marked by a zero morpheme, whereas the progressive which refers to an action running over an extended time, is encoded by an element-**šš**-. The progressive marker occurs following a verb root and preceding a tense marker. Compare the following structures.

86a) **⬯úsún-   í   béé-   ⬯ápe   ⬯ú- háár– e**
     they-   NOM   REF-   eye:ABS 3PL-rub-   AFF   :DEC
     'They rub their eyes.'

86b) ʔúsún-í béé- ʔáápe ʔú- háár– šš- e
they- NOM REF- eye:ABS 3PL- rub- PROG- AFF:DEC
'They are rubbing their eyes.'

86c) ʔúsún-í béé- ʔáápe ʔú- háár- šš- ín- e
they- NOM REF- eye:ABS 3PL- rub- PROG- PA- AFF:DEC
'They were rubbing their eyes.'

The imperfective and perfective aspects associated with complex verb (focal verbs) will be presented in section (chapter eight). In complex (focal verbs), the imperfective and perfective aspects are expressed by -**n**- and -**dd**- respectively as illustrated below for the verb **wong**- 'buy/trade'. See also Chapter Eight for discussion on complex verbs.

87)   *Imperfective*   *Perfective*
    1SG   **wong-á-tá –n-e**   **wong-á-tá –dd-e**
        2SG   **wong-á-kko-né –n-e**   **wong-á-kko-né –dd-e**
    3MS   **wong-á-kko-ʔé –n-e**   **wong-á-kko-ʔé –dd-e**
    3FS   **wong-á-kko-ʔí –n-e**   **wong-á-kko-ʔí –dd-e**
    1PL   **wong-á-kko-nú–n-e**   **wong-á-kko-nú–dd-e**
    2PL   **wong-á-kko-ʔíní –n-e**   **wong-á-kko-ʔíní–dd-e**
    3PL   **wong-á-kko-ʔú –n-e**   **wong-á-kko-ʔú –dd-e** .

The following table presents inventory of the tense-aspect markers in Haro.

Simple (non-focal) verbs		Complex (focal-verbs)
Tense	*Aspect*	*Aspect*
Present ∅	Progressive -**íšš**-	Imperfective -**n**-
Past **-in-/ -ir-** Future -**or**-	Non-progressive ∅	Perfective -**dd**-

Table 2: inventory of tense-aspect markers

5.4.3. Mood, modality and polarity

The working definition in particular of mood and modality found in the linguistic literatures seems quite controversial and, encompassing the two in an overlapping manner. In Bybee (1985:165-166), for instance, the term mood designates a wide variety of linguistic functions, that signal how the speaker chooses to put the proposition into the discourse context. This definition is formulated to be general

enough to cover what others distinguish as mood and modality. Included under this definition are epistemic modalities, i.e. those that signal the degree of commitment the speaker has to the truth of the proposition ranging from certainty to possibility and probability.

In another work by Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994:176-179), what were traditionally considered as mood and modality are rather categorized under modality, which is further classified into three types; speaker-oriented modality, agent-oriented modality and epistemic modality. All directives, which impose or propose some course of action or pattern of behaviour such as imperative, optative, etc., which were considered as mood, are categorized as speaker-oriented modality.

In another related work, Halliday, (1994:43-89), employs three categories: mood, modality and polarity to deal with issues under concern. According to his categorization mood is either indicative or imperative (and related ones); and if indicative, it could be either declarative or interrogative; if interrogative, it could be either polar interrogative ('yes-no' type) or content interrogative. Any proposition appears to be either positive (assertive) or negative that is where the notion of |polarity comes. All other intermediate possibilities between the positive and negative poles are probability, possibly and certainty to which the term 'modality' strictly belongs.

Following Halliday's categorization, a verb in Haro can be characterized into two general moods: the indicative, and the directive. The former constitutes the declarative and interrogative moods, while the latter refers to imperative, optative, and exhortive moods. Both directives and indicatives in Haro are further divided into affirmative or negative, and function to assert or deny a proposition, to command 'do' or 'do not do'. We have, therefore, affirmative declarative verbs

paradigmatically contrasting with the negative declarative verbs. Again, we have prohibitive verbs in contrast to imperative, optative and exhortive. Further, a verb in Haro can be marked for various kinds of modalities, and shows the different intermediate degrees between the positive and negative poles, i.e., degrees of probabilities, possibilities and certainties, which are presented under 'modality'.

5.4.3.1. The Indicative

Under this section, discussions on the two indicative moods, i.e., the declarative and interrogative moods will be presented.

5.4.3.1.1. The Declarative

As mentioned above, a declarative verb in Haro shows polarity and can be affirmative or negative. Each will be presented below in turn.

1.   The affirmative declarative

Unlike the negative, there is no independent morpheme standing for affirmative. The affirmative is expressed by a zero morpheme that contrasts paradigmatically with the negative marker -**á**. Hence in contrast to the negative declarative that involves distinct morphemes for polarity and mood, the affirmative declarative is marked by a single element, that is suffix –**e**. The affirmative declarative marker occurs at the final position of a verb stem, next to a tense/aspect marker. In the case of the present tense, which is marked by a zero morpheme, -**e** gets attached directly to the verb root. Consider the following sentences with verbs in present, past and future tenses respectively. See also Chapter Eight on the occurrence of the same form with focal verbs.

88) ᲦᲐadé -   z-   i   míč'- o bóra   ᲦᲐé- míy- e
     man- MAS:DF-   NOM burn-NMZ bread:ABS   3MS- eat-   AFF:DEC
     'The man eats a burned bread.'

89) ꭒís- í   máꭒo   ꭒí- šogg- ín- e
    she- NOM cloth:ABS 3FS- wash- PA- DEC:AFF
    'She washed clothes.'

90) ꭒí•ꭒ   í   nú- ri   bízzi   mamáko   tá-   hasaꭒ-   ór-
                                                              e
    she-   NOM 1PL- DAT one tale:ABS 1SG-   speak- FUT-   AFF:DEC
    'She will tell us one story'

2.   *The Negative declarative*

As mentioned above, the negative declarative verb is identified by having the
negative marker **á**, which itself is followed by -**wwa** the negative declarative marker.
The negative declarative contrasts paradigmatically with the negative interrogative as
shown below.

91a)   ꭒés-   í   geh- á-   wwa
        he- NOM   sleep- NEG- NEG:DEC
        'He does not sleep.'

91b)   ꭒés-   í   geh- á-   sa
        he- NOM   sleep- NEG- NEG:INT
        'Doesn't he sleep?'

91c)   ꭒés-   í   geh-   á-   mu
        he- NOM   sleep-   NEG- NEG:INT
        'May he not sleep?'

However, the negative declarative marker –**wwa**, as opposed to the others, is an
optional component of the verb, and so can be omitted without causing a meaning
difference in the structure. This may be because the negative marker, which involves
in the structure, indicates the sentence type.

92a)   ꭒés- í   ꭒí- ꭒáde   ꭒer- á- wwa
        he- NOM   3FS- husband   know- NEG-   NEG:DEC
        'He does not know her husband'

92b)   ꭒés- í   ꭒí- ꭒáde ꭒer-   á
        he- NOM 3FS- husband know- NEG
        'He does not know her husband'

Unlike the situation with the affirmative declarative verb, no agreement-
marking element occurs with the negative declarative verb forms.

The perfective /past tense form of a negative verb is expressed by using a
complex structure containing a converb and a negative predicate **b-**. In this

construction, the negative copula, but not the main verb carries the negative marker -**á** and the optional negative declarative marker **–wwa**.

93a) &**és-** **í** **né-** **náyši** **beed-** **í** **b-** **á-** **wwa**
    he- NOM 2SG- children:ABS see- CNV NEG:COP- NEG- NEG:DEC
    'He did not see your children.'

93b) &**és-** **í** **né-** **náyši** **beed-** **í** **b-** **á**
    he- NOM 2SG- children:ABS see- CNV NEG:COP- NEG
    'He did not see your children.'

Negative sentences shall be further discussed in Chapter Seven.

5.4.3.1.2. The Interrogative

Haro exhibits two types of interrogatives: polar interrogatives and content interrogatives. The former, but not the latter, involves inflectional ways of signalling interrogation. Only those dealing with verb morphology i.e., polar interrogatives are treated in this section. Discussions on content interrogatives will be presented in chapter seven.

As Sadock and Zwicky (1985:179) put it, a polar question is "one that seeks a comment on the degree of truth of the questioned proposition." Like the case in declarative verbs, interrogative verbs in Haro are subject to polarity and show affirmative and negative forms.

1. The Affirmative polar interrogative

There are two types of affirmative polar interrogative verbs in Haro: informative and permissive. The former is applied in order to have information about something whereas the latter is used to have permission for doing something.

The structure of informative polar interrogative verbs vary in simple and complex verbs. With simple verb stems, polar interrogative verbs have similar forms as the declarative ones, but differ only in their intonational pattern. In polar question, the intonational pattern associated to the verb and even to the whole proposition is rising, which is not the case in declarative clauses.

94a) &**úsín** **í** &**azáge** &**ú-** **miy-** **é**
    they- NOM hippopotamus 3PL- eat- INFO:INT
    'Do they eat hippopotamus?'

95b) &**ís** **í** **lo**&**ó** &**áde** &**í-** **gel-** **in–** **-é**
    she- NOM good husband:ABS 3FS- enter- PA- INFO:INT
    'Did she get married to a good husband?'

With complex verbs, a polar interrogative form differs from its declarative counterpart since it lacks the focus marker –**kko** and has a rising intonation. Compare the following structures.

96a).   🕮és- í   zíne   yott- á-   kko- 🕮é- dd-   e
        they- NOM   yesterday come- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF-   AFF:DEC
        'He has come yesterday.'

97b)   🕮és- í   zíne   yott- á-   🕮é- dd-   e
        they- NOM   yesterday come- INF- 3MS- PF-   AFF:DEC
        'Has he come yesterday?'

The permissive polar interrogative verb has affirmative and negative forms that contrast paradigmatically. The affirmative form is indicated by suffix -**aní**, which is attached to the verb root. The permissive interrogative has a similar form as the first person optative. However, the permissive interrogative, unlike the latter, is characterized by an accented final vowel, and a rising intonation that accompanies the sentence as a whole. The following are examples of permissive interrogative structures.

98)   **yood-** **í**   **né-**   **wóla**   **ka🕮-** **aní**
      come- CNV   2SG-   together   play-   PERM: INT
      'Having come, may I play with you?'

99)   **🕮ánzotá-**   **🕮ádda**   **madd-** **aní**
      today 1SG-   father help-   PERM:INT
      'Today, may I help my father today?'

2. The Negative polar interrogative

A negative polar interrogative verb is denoted by the negative marker **á**, which also occur in the negative declarative form shown above. Parallel to the affirmative interrogative verbs, there are two forms of negative polar interrogative verbs. These are the informative and permissive negative polar interrogative verb forms.

The negative informative interrogative is identified by the suffix –**sa**, which occurs following the negative marker –**á**.

100) ■é- hiid- é- s- a sid á– sa
2SG- say- AFF:REL- NMZ- ABS listen- NEG- NEG:INT₁
'Don't you (SG) listen to what they say?'

As in the case of declarative affirmative verbs, the perfective /past is expressed by a complex form involving a converb and a negative copula **b**-, to which the negative marker and the negative interrogative marker are suffixed.

101) **né- - hiid- é- s- a sid- í b á- sa**
2SG- say- AFF:REL- NMZ- ABS listen- CNV NEG:COP- NEG- NEG:INT₁
'Haven't you (SG) listened to what they are saying?'

The negative permissive interrogative is used in a situation where the speaker has already raised the case but could receive neither a positive nor a negative response. Here, the speaker is rather asking whether the situation that is, the silence means not being allowed, hence, a possible interpretation for such constructions is 'Shall I not do that?'

The negative permissive interrogative verb is marked via the suffix –**mu** that occurs following the negative marker –**á**.

102) **yood- í né- wóla ka◌- á- mu**
come- CNV 2SG- together play- NEG- NEG:INT₂
'May I not come and play with you?'

103) **◌ánzotá ◌ádda madd- á- mu**
today SG- father help- NEG- PERM:INT
'May I not help my father today?'

The responses to polar interrogatives are ◌éé 'yes' and ◌á◌í 'no', which are also polar. These two expressions function as statement' response to a question but also as acknowledgement to a statement and as an undertaking to a command. Phonologically they carry a tonic prominence.

The responses may occur elliptically, as a clause on their own, or with a thematic sentential response. The following are illustrative examples.

104a) **hang- aní**
come- INT:PERM
'Can I come?'

104b) ☞éé **hang- á**
    yes   come-   IMP:2SG
    'Yes, come!'

105c) ☞á☞í **hang- urupúna**
    no   come-   PROH
    'No, don't come

The expression ☞éé 'yes' also functions as a response to a call, where it carries a rising and prominent intonation.

5.4.3.2. The Directive mood

This section deals with verb forms that impose, or propose, some course of action or pattern of behaviour and indicate that it should be carried out. This includes commands, demands, requests, entreaties and warnings, exhortations, and recommendations. Bybee (1994:1794) terms all such directives and utterances as 'speaker-oriented modalities'. Haro distinguishes imperative, optative, prohibitive and exhortative moods.

5.4.3.2.1. The Imperative

The imperative shows polarity and has a negative counterpart, the prohibitive that paradigmatically contrasts to the affirmative form. In contrast to the imperative (affirmative) that bears a semantic content - 'do', the prohibitive has a meaning 'don't do'. The negative imperative will be separately presented under 'prohibitive' latter in this section.

In Haro, the suffix -**á** marks the imperative mood. With a second person plural subject the suffix –**yto**, which follows the imperative marker, is added as shown below.

106) Verb root   Imperative:SG   Imperative:PL

Verb root	Imperative:SG	Imperative:PL	
hang-	**hang-á**	**hang-á-yto**	'go!'
wo☚-	**wo☚-á**	**wo☚-á-yto**	'kill!'
worg-	**worg- á**	**worg-á -yto**	'find!'

Apart from giving commands, the imperative is also used as hortative which expresses a desire or blessing for a second person.

107a) **magg-á**
    be happy-IMP
    'May you be happy!'

107b) **bonč-á**
be prosperous-IMP
'May you be prosperous!'

Again, the imperative can serve for cursing:

108) **wássi- hínkki gukk- á**
water- like get splashed- IMP
'Get splashed as water (be unconscious or dead)!'

With sequences of imperatives, the pre-final imperative verbs take on the

shape of a converb, and only the last verb appears being marked for imperative mood.

109) **moló- ⬡aykk- í- ni ⬡ekk- í yood- í- ni kass- á**
fish catch- CNV- INC hold- CNV come- CNV- INC cook- IMP
'Catch a fish bring it and cook it (Lit: Catch a fish, hold and come,and cook it)!'

110) **né- ⬡er- é- s- a hasa⬡- í hang- á**
2PL- know- AFF:REL- NMZ ABS tell- CNV go- IMP
'Tell what you know and go!'

Haro has an emphatic imperative verb, which expresses a stronger command

than the one made with the ordinary imperative form. This form is marked by the

element –**tte** that occurs following the imperative marker. Often such verb forms are

preceded by manner of adverbials as to how the actions should be carried out.

The number distinction, attested in the imperative verbs, is not marked on the

emphatic forms. Thus, the singular form is the only one that appears to be used.

111) **⬡ell- us- í hang- á- tte**
fast- CAU- CNV go- IMP- EMP
'Go fast! (Lit: Go making fast!)'

112) **lákka hiid- í yood- á- tte**
slow say- CNV come- IMP- EMP
'Come slowly!'

113) **●□⬡⬡ ⬡••⬡ í ⬡oh- a- tte**
become good- TRV- CNV tell- IMP- EMP
'Speak well (speak making it good)!'

The suffix –**tte** is one of the two archaic copula markers postulated for the ancestral

Ometo language (cf: Hayward 1989).

The use of imperative **hiid-á** 'say' along an emphatic imperative verb indicates a

follow up command, i.e. 'do that and then do this'.

114) **dend- á- tte hiid- á hang- í nú- ⬙ekk- óno**
    get up- IMP- EMP say- IMP go- CNV 3PL- bring- FUT:CER
    'Get up (no more sitting), we should go and bring it.'

5.4.3.2.2. The Optative

The Optative mood is used for indirect command, wish, prayer and blessings delivered to first and third persons. Surprisingly, the optative in Haro does not have a different form that can paradigmatically contrast with the imperative form. Attachment of a subject-agreement element on the imperative verb results in optative forms.

115) The imperative-optative paradigm

hang-á-yto	'go:PL'
hang-á-yi	'let him go'
hang-á-ya	'let her go'
hang-utt-á-yi	'let them go'
hang-á-ni	'let me go'
hang- á-nu	'let us go'
miy-á	'eat:SG'
miy-á-yto	'eat:PL'
miy-á-yi	'let him eat'
miy-á-ya	**'**let her eat'
miy-utt-á-yi	'let them eat'
miy-á-ni	'let me eat'
miy- á -nu	'let us eat'

The imperative marker **á** and a person marker could be considered as a phonetic element inserted to avoid sequences of vowels. The fact that it occurs in the second person plural form where there is no vocalic sequence could, however, be considered as analogical formation. The elements -**i** and –**a,** which occur in third person singular masculine and feminine subjects respectively, are archaic forms attested as agreement elements in North Omotic languages (Hayward, 1991). This suggests that the archaic agreement markers of the verb in Haro, which are not traced in the system elsewhere, are preserved with the optative form of the verb.

The agreement element that occurs with the third person plural form is the same as the one with that of the third person singular masculine. However, very

strangely, the stem employed in the third person plural form is a passive stem, which is characterized by a suffix –**utt**. Hence, the eventual expressions involved with such forms are rather 'let it be gone', 'let it be eaten', etc. instead of 'let them go', 'let them eat', etc. This may be in order to make a formal distinction between the two forms: third person singular masculine and third person plural, which could otherwise remain ambiguous. Apparently, it is common in the context of Ethiopian languages. In Amharic passive verb forms such as **yibbäla** 'let it be eaten', **yikked** 'let it be gone', and **yissära** 'let it be done' are used as imperative or optative forms in circumstances when the speaker would not feel like directly referring to the subject for a reason of politeness or lack of interest.

The optative in Haro is used to express good wish, blessings and indirect commands as illustrated below.

116) &**áro láysi   yes-   á-   nu**
      big   year   exist- IMP- 1PL
      'May we live long (Lit: let us exist a big year).'

117) **sawwó- nna   yood- á-   ya**
      peace-   LOC   come- IMP- 3FS
      'Let her come in peace.'

118) **wónto né-ri sáwwo &ing- á-yi**
      God you-DAT peace give-IMP-3MS
      'Let God give you peace.'

5.4.3.2.3. The pesudo-optative

The pesudo optative is used to express speakers intention 'let something happen to him/her/them, I don't care'. Attaching the element -**abaš-** to the verb root, followed by the imperative and agreement marker respectively forms this verb. The element **-abaš**-, which is used as a base for suffixation of the passive marker, seems, at least historically, to have a lexical status. However it is not possible to identify its etymology.

119) **hay-abaš-á-yi**   'let him die (why doesn't he die: I don't care!)'
      hay-abaš-á-ya   'let her die (why doesn't she die: I don't care!)'
      hay-abaš-utt-á-yi   'let them die (why don't they die, I don't care!)'

      harg-abaš-á-yi   'let him be sick :I don't care!'
      harg-abaš-á-ya   'let her be sick :I don't care!'
      harg-abaš-utt-á-yi   'let them be sick : I don't care!'

5.4.3.2.4. The Prohibitive

Prohibitive is the mood for expressing negative command (Baybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:321). In Haro, prohibitives relate to second and third persons. In contrast to the imperative and optative forms that propose - 'do' or 'let do', the prohibitive proposes 'don't do' or 'let not do'.

The suffixes –**urúpu(na)** and **–irípe(na)** are prohibitive verb markers in Haro. The former occurs with second person subjects, whereas the latter occurs with third person subjects. The final segments in the prohibitive marker –**na-** can optionally be dropped when there is no other suffix following it. No special function is attested, to be associated with the element –**na-**, at least synchronically. From their polysyllabic structure, the prohibitive markers in Haro look like grammaticalized elements of certain lexical item. However, it is not possible to identify its historical identity.

As in the situation with imperative forms, the second person plural is indicated by the suffix –**yto**. In the same manner, having a passive verb stem characterizes the third person plural prohibitive. Consider the prohibitive forms of the verbs ☞**ekk**- 'take' **palang**- 'argue' and **hang-**'go' in for second person and third person in (112 a and 112b) respectively.

120a) Prohibitive:2SG Prohibitive:2PL

☞**ek-urúpú(na)**	☞**ek-urupuná-yto**	'Don't take'
palang-urúpú(na)	**palang-urupuná-yto**	'Don't argue'
hang-urupú(na)	**hang-urupúná-yto**	'Don't go'

120b) Prohibitive:3SG Prohibitive:3PL

⟨⟩ek -rípe	'Let him/her not take'	**⟨⟩ek -utt-irípe**	'Let them not take'
palang-irípe	'Let him/her not argue'	**palang-utt-irípe**	'Let them not argue'
ka⟨⟩-irípe	'Let him/her play	**ka⟨⟩-utt-irípe**	'Let them not play'

The following sentences illustrate the use of prohibitive.

121) ⟨⟩ɱ⟨⟩   ⟨⟩□⟨⟩č◊⟨⟩   í   ♌⟨⟩ á ⟨⟩ ◆⟨⟩ a   ⟨⟩□≋⟨⟩
◆□ú□◆(na)
3MS- ask-   CNV NEG:COP- NEG:REL- NMZ- ABS tell- PROH
'Don't tell him what he has not asked for (Lit: Dont tell him that which is not being asked by him)'

122) **ka⟨⟩- urúpuná- ytto tá- ⟨⟩ádda geh- á- kko- ⟨⟩é-   dd-e**
play- PROH-   2PL 1SG- father   sleep- INF FOC- 3MS-   PF-AFF:DEC
'Don't you (pl.) play, my father has slept.'

Like the emphatic imperative, the emphatic prohibitive is formed by the suffix **–tte** that occurs following the prohibitive marker.

123)   **hantt- urupúná- tte**
work-   PROH-   EMP
'Don't work!'

5.4.3.2.5. The Exhortative

According to Chung and Timberlake (1985:247), the exhortative is a mode in which the speaker exhorts the addressee to participate in realizing the event along with the speaker.

In Haro the exhortative is used to express the fact that the speaker is wondering why the addressee is lingering and incites the person to take on. In addition to giving a direct command to the second person, the exhortative is used to a lenient person, who has received the same order earlier or somehow knows that he is expected to take part in an action, but has not yet initiated to carry it out. In addition to second person, the exhortative can also be used with first person plural subject in that the speaker himself is inclusively intended to take part in the action. Other than these, with other subjects, the optative form appears to take place with same function.

The exhortative mode is expressed by suffixing **-áysu** and **–áns'u** to a verb root for second person plural and first person plural subjects, respectively. The

approximate literal translation of such expression in English 'why don't you/we do

it…? /come on, do it /let's do it'.

124a) **nén-   í   miy-   áysu**
        you-   NOM   eat-   2PL:EXH
        'Why don't you (pl.) eat (Come on! you eat)?'

124b) **nun-   i   miy-   áns'u**
        we-   NOM   eat-   1PL:EXH
        'Why don't we eat? (Come on! let us eat)

5.4.3.2.6. The Admonitive

The admonitive in Haro is used for issuing a warning to a second

person (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:321). This form of the verb is non-polite,

and shows the speaker's anger with someone (second person) who is supposed to

perform a certain action but has failed to do so. It is also applied to an addressee who

has received, but ignored a prior command. As in the case with imperative verb, no

tense-aspect distinction is made with such forms. Unlike the imperative forms, this

verb does not make a distinction between the singular and plural subjects.

Attaching the suffix –**áwu** to a verb root, forms the admonitive verb in Haro.

The admonitive marker can also be interpreted as a sequence of the imperative

marker and the suffix **–wu**.

125) **náyši-   ⌐ínkki   káre   kes-   í ka⌐- á-   wu**
        children- like   outside get out- CNV   play- IMP- ADM
        'Don't you go out and play like other children do!'

126) **⌐ú- hiid- é-   s-   a   sid-   á-   wu**
        2PL- say- AFF:REL- ELP- ABS   listen- IMP- ADM
        'Don't you listen to what they are saying?'

127) **hang-   í   né-   ⌐ádda   ⌐oyč'č'- á-   u**
        go-   CNV   2SG-   father   ask-   IMP- ADM
        'Don't you go and ask (visit) your father'

5.4.3.3. The Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality applies to assertions and indicates the extent to which the

speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition. The unmarked case in this

domain is total commitment to the truth of the proposition, and markers of epistemic

modality indicate something less than a total commitment by the speaker to the truth of the proposition (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:179). The commonly expressed epistemic modalities, according to these authors, are possibility, probability, and certainty. The epistemic modality that is used for more hypothetical situations, including situations that represent inductive generalisations, and also predictions about the future is also known as irrealis modality (see for instance Comrie 1985:45) The epistemic modalities in Haro are certainty, possibility, conditionality and probability which are all marked morphologically.

5.4.3.3.1. The certainty

The certainty verb implies that the speaker has a good reason for supposing that the proposition is true (cf. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:180).

The certainty modality in Haro is marked by suffix -**óno**. A certainty verb takes a subject agreement marker but no tense-aspect marker.

128) **ꞈíní-   kko-   pa   nú-   lag-   ét-   e**
      2PL-   FOC-   ABL   1PL-   many-   INCH-   AFF:DEC

      giꞈmó-   kko   ꞈíní- bed-   óno
      later-   FOC   2PL   see-   CER

      ' It is later that you will see we (our group) are bigger than you (your group)."

The suffix -**óno** also co-marks the future tense (see 5.4.2). The verb contrasts with the non-modal future declarative verb as shown below.

129) **ꞈíní-   kko-   pa   nú-   lag-   ét-   e**
      2PL-   FOC-   ABL   1PL-   friend-   INCH-   AFF:DEC

      giꞈmó- kko   ꞈíní- bed-   ór-e
      later-   FOC   2PL   see-   FUT-AFF:DEC

      'You will see later that our being larger in number than you (Lit: You will see later our being many from you.'

With a first person subject, the meaning encoded by the verb is not only one of certainty of the speaker about the proposed event but also a strong desire and determination on his part to carry out the action. This is because there is an overlap between the speaker (first person) and agent of the action in such a particular circumstance.

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of **–óno** as an expression of the agent's strong desire and determination to carry out the action.

130) **gúta   hang-   í   né-   ɗáddatá-   ʄoyč'č'-   óno**
      tomorrow   go-   CNV   2SG-   father 1SG- ask-   CER
      'Tomorrow, I will go and ask your father.'

131) **tá-   bóra   miy-   óra   ʔegg-   í   tá-   lágge   tá-   lágge**
      1SG-   bread   eat-   INF   refuse- CNV   1SG-   friend 1SG-   friend

      né-   ɗoh-e   ɗonní   ɗís- í   né-   ri   yes-   é-   s-i
      2SG-   say AFF:DEC   who   she- NOM   you-   DAT   exist- AFF:REL- ELP-NOM

      né-   laggé- kko   tá-   beed-   óno
      2SG-   friend- FOC   1SG-   see-   CER

      'You refuse eating my bread; you say you ate at your friend's, who is this friend of you (who is the one that exists for you)? I ´must see her!'

5.4.3.3.2. The Possibility

The possibility modality expresses that the speaker is indicating that the situation described in the proposition is possibly true (Baybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:320). It is morphologically encoded by the element **–ušu,** which like that of certainty verbs, co-marks future tense (see 5.4.2.). No subject marker is attested with such verbs.

132) **há-   gayyá- ga   ɗé-   zalɗ- útt-   e   ʔeggé- tte**
      this   market-LOC   3MS-   sell- PASS-   AFF:DEC   refuse- CND

      sé-   gayyá- kko   ɗé-   kang-   í   zalɗ- utt-   úšu
      that   market- FOC   3MS-   take-   CNV   sell- PASS-   POS

      'If it is not sold in this market, it will be taken to the other market and be sold.'

133) **sááme- si   wássi- kko   ɗuš- úšu**
      thirsty- for   water- FOC   drink- POS

      'For thirst water will be drunk.'

5.4.3.3.3. The Conditional (potential)

The potential or conditional sentence is expressed by the element -**aši**. Like the other epistemic modality markers shown above, the element –**aši** is a portmanteau morpheme also indicating the future tense. Thus, no separate tense marker occurs in the verb. The verb marked for the potentiality occurs in a complex clause having an independent temporal clause.

134) ⊯és-í   ⊯é- yood-   únu   ⊯ís-   í   ⊯agg- í-   kko
     he-   NOM   3MS- come-   TEM   she-   NOM   leave- CNV-   FOC

     ⊯í - hang- áši
     3FS- go-   COND

     'When he comes she will leave and go out.'

5.4.3.3.4. The Probability

Combination of two morphemes:–**išš,** the suffix used to mark a progressive aspect marker, and the certainty modality marker -**óno**, encodes that the speaker is indicating the situation described in the proposition would be probably true.

135) ⊯úsún- í   gúta   nú-   hang- išš-   óno   hiid-   í-   kko
     they-   NOM   tomorrow   1PL-   go-   PRO- CER   say-   CNV- FOC

     ⊯ú-   k'op-   e
     2PL-   think-   AFF:DEC

'They think that they might go tomorrow (Lit: they think saying they will certainly go tomorrow).'

136) ⊯ón- í   ⊯er-   é-   s-   í   ⊯í- geli-   išš- óno
     who-   NOM   know-   AFF:REL-   NM-   NOM   3FS-   enter-   PRO- CER

     'Who knows, she might be married (who is that knowing, she might be entered'

5.4.3.4. Deontic modalities

Agent-oriented modality reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate. The most common notions in this set are: obligation, necessity, ability and desire (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994:177-178).

Haro expresses the above mentioned notions lexically. Obligation is consistently expressed by a causative verb **beeys**- 'show (make see)'.

137) **dičč-   óra   miy-   é-   kko   bééy-   ss-   e**
     grow-   INF   eat-   NM-   FOC   see-   CAU-   AFF:DEC
     'You must eat to grow up (Lit: you show eating to grow up.)

138) **yes-   óra   lo⊯ó   hantt-   á-   kko   ⊯é-   bééy-   ss-   e**
     exist-   INF   good   work-   NOM-   FOC   3MS-   see-   CAU-   AFF:DEC
     'He must work hard to live (He must show good work to live)'

Ability reports the existence of internal enabling conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca,1994:177). The verb **danda⊯-** 'able' is used to express this modality in Haro.

139) ⊯és   í   hantt-   í   danda⊯-á-   wwa
     he-   NOM   work-   CNV   able-   NEG-   NEG:DEC

harg-	utt-	á-	kko-	⟨img⟩é-	dd-	e
get sick-	PAS-	INF-	FOC-	3MS-	PF-	AFF:DEC

'He cannot work, he is sick.'

Desire reports the existence of internal volitional conditions in the agent with respect to the predicate action (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994:178).

140)	**nún-**	**í**	**⟨img⟩és-**	**á**	**beey-**	**é-**	**kko**	**nú-**	**č'ol⟨img⟩- e**
	we-	NOM	he-	ABS	see-	NMZ-	FOC	1PL-	wish- AFF

'We wish (would like) to see him.'

The following table summarizes inventory of mood modality and polarity

markers expressed morphologically.

Indicative		Directive	Epistemic
Declarative	**Interrogative**	<u>Imperative</u> SG **-á-** PL **-á-yto** EMP **á-tte** <u>Optative</u> 3MS **-á-yi** 3FS **-á-ya** 3PL **-utt-á-yi** 1SG **-á-ni** 1PL **- á-nu** <u>Prohibitive</u> 2nd **-urupu(na)** 3rd **-iripe(na)** <u>Exhortative</u> 1pl **-áns'u** 2pl **-áysu** <u>Admonitive</u> - **áwu**	Certainty -ono Possibility -u**šu** Conditional -a**ši** Probability -i**šši…ono**
Affirmativ**e** -**e** Negative - **wwa**	<u>Affirmative polar</u> Informative **-é** Permissive **-aní** <u>Negative polar</u> Informative **-sa** Permissive -**mu**		
polarity in indicative mood : **Affirmative** Ⓞ **Negative** **á -**			

CHAPTER SIX

MODIFIERS

In this chapter, we will discuss words functioning as modifiers of nouns. These include adjectives, deictics, numerals and adverbial expressions.

6.1.   ADJECTIVES

Every adjective in Haro has a verbal counterpart, with which it shares the basic phonological structure and semantic content. This suggests that adjectives in Haro can be treated as derived forms.

The semantic relationship between adjectives and their verbal counterparts is that the adjectives denote states while their verbal counterparts denote change of state or what is known as inchoative. In other words, the verbal equivalents denote 'becoming Adjective'. This semantic relationship between adjectives and their verbal counterparts is common across languages of the world (cf. Saeed, 2003:72). In Haro, this semantic relationship is morphologically encoded. Adjectives are characterized by having one of the suffixal elements -**a, -o, -e,** and –**i.** The same elements are also attested forming nouns from verb roots (see chapter three). As in the case of nouns, the suffix –**a** occurs more commonly while –**i** occurs very rarely. Like other verbs in the language, the inchoative verb roots are followed by verbal suffixes, i.e., derivational or inflectional morphemes. Considering the formal and semantic similarity between adjectives and verbs in Haro, one can argue that it is the suffix which determines the category of the derived form. Otherwise, the two share the same root as well as the same basic semantic reference.

The following are examples of adjectives with the suffix –**a**:

hat-	'become	**hát-a**	'short'
galal-	'become	**galál-a**	'long'
Ɍok'-	'become	**Ɍók'-a**	'high'
lag-	'become	**lág-a**	'gorgy'
dudemb-	'become	**dudémb-a**	'plain'
doom-	'become	**dóóm-a**	'twisted'
mol-	'become	**mól-a**	'straight'
míčč-	'become	**míčč-a**	'hot'
mel-	'become	**mél-a**	'dry/sour'
k'aar-	'become	**k'áár-a**	'sharp'
sama-	'become	**sám-a-**	'rotten'
č'al-	'become sour(for drink'	**č'ál-a**	'sour'

*Table 1: Adjectives withx -**a***

The following are some of the adjectives formed by suffixing –**e** to a verb root:

kum-	'become	**kúm-e**	'full'
mum-	'become	**múm-e**	'deaf'
moɌ-	'become	**móɌ-e**	'fat'
s'um-	'become	**s'úm-e**	'narrow'
herp'-	'become	**hérp'-e**	'soft'
k'am-	'become	**k'ám-e**	'raw'
Ɍohett-	'become	**Ɍohétt-e**	'dirty'
k'óók'-	'become	**k'óók'-e**	'blind'
gešš-	'become clean'	**géšš-e**	'clean'

*Table 2: Adjectives with -**e***

Examples of adjectives with suffix –**o** are given below:

ar-	'become big'	**ár-o**	'big'
haak-	'become far'	**háák-o**	'far'
c'olol	'become deep'	**c'olól-o**	'deep'
des'-	'become heavy'	**dés'-o**	'heavy'
šug-	'become soft (for bread)'	**šúg-o**	'soft'
s'igg-	'become strong'	**s'ígg-o**	'strong'
mín-	'become strong'	**mín-o**	'strong'
lag-	'become many'	**lág-o**	'many'
šayk-	'become light/easy'	**šáyk-o**	'light/easy'

*Table 3: Adjectives with -**o***

Only verb few adjectives are attested ending with –**i**. Like in nouns adjectives with -**i** have a sibilant final consonant.

boss-	'become	**bóss-i**	white

guss-	'become little'	**gúss-i**	little/small

*Table4: Adjectives with -**i***

The following structures illustrate the occurrence of an adjective and its verbal

counterpart as a modifier and a predicate respectively.

1a) **táá-ri**　　　**kárⱭa**　　**kaná**　　　**yes-**　**é-**　　　**s-**　　　**i**
　　　1SG-DAT　　　black　　　dog:ABS　　exist-　AFF:REL-　NMZ-　NOM
　　　'I have a black dog (Lit: there is a black dog for me.).'

1b) **máási**　　　　**Ɱandé**　**wodé-**　**kko**　　　**Ɱé-　karⱭ-　ín-　　e**
　　　milk:NOM　　　when　　　day-　　FOC　　　3MS-　blacken-　PA-AFF:DEC
　　　'When does milk ever blacken? (Lit: in which day does milk get black)'

Like nouns, an adjective in Haro has both predicative and attributive functions.

As in the case of predicate nouns, predicate adjectives are indicated by a zero

morpheme when they are not focalized, in which case they occur with the element -

kko. The following sentences exemplify the two functions of adjectives:

2a) **Ɱáro Ɱazáge**　　　　　**wassí- pa**　**kes-　í-　kko　Ɱé-　yood-　ín-　　e**
　　　big hippopotamus:NOM　water-ABL　get out-CNV-FOC3MS-　come-　PA-　　AFF:DEC
　　　'Having got out of water, a big hippo came.'

2b) **yéé**　　**Ɱazáge**　　　　　**Ɱaró-kko**
　　　that　　hippopotamus:ABS　big-　FOC
　　　'That hippopotamus is big.'

3a) **há**　　**dóóma**　**míssi**　**hay-**　**ga-**　**pa**　　**Ɱek-　a-　　yto**
　　　this　　twisted　wood　　here-　LOC-　ABL　take-　IMP-　2PL
　　　'Take this twisted wood away from here.'

3b) **há**　　**míssi**　　**dóóma-kko**
　　　this　　wood:NOM　twisted-FOC
　　　'This wood is twisted.'

Attributive adjectives in Haro do not show agreement in number with the head

noun.

4)　　*Ɱar-iⱤe　　　　　　　　　　　　　Ɱazage-iⱤe

　　　big-PL hippopotamus-PL

In the absence of a head noun, however, an attributive adjective in Haro can

function as an elliptic phrase, and in that case, it attracts all the inflections of the

absent head noun. The following structures illustrate such grammatical parallelism

between nouns and adjectives occurring in an NP with a head noun and in headless

NP respectively.

5a) **ɓáro ɓazáge-   z-   i   hánna- kko   ɓé-   yood- ín-e**
     big   hippopotamus- MAS:DF- NOM   here- FOC   3MS- come-PA-AFF:DEC
     'The big hippopotamus came here.'

5b) **ɓaró-   z-   i   hana- kko   ɓé- yood- ín- e**
     big- MAS:DF-NOM   here- FOC   3MS- come- PA- AFF:DEC
     'The big one came here.'

6a) **ɓaro   ɓazag-   iɗe-   z-   i   hánna- kko   ɓé-   yood-ín-e**
     big   hippopotamus-PL- MAS:DF- NOM   here- FOC   3MS- come-PA-AFF:DEC
     'The big hippopotamus came here.'

6b) **ɓar-   iɗe-   z-   i   ɓé- yood-   ín-   e**
     big-   PL- MAS:DF- NOM 3MS-come- PA- AFF:DEC
     'The big ones came.'

7a) **dóóma   miissá-   z-   a   molus- á**
     twisted   wood-   MAS:DF- ABS   straighten- IMP
     'Straighten the twisted one.'

7b) **doomá-   z-   a   molus- á**
     twisted-   MAS:DF- ABS   straighten- IMP
     'Straighten the twisted one.'

Adjectives in Haro share properties with verbs as well as with nouns. Formally, as shown above, they are all dependent on their verb counterparts. Morpho-syntactically, as illustrated above, they behave in the same way as nouns. The fact that the class of adjectives overlaps with nouns and verbs, or in other words, tend to be between noun and verb classes, is emphasised in the linguistic literatures as a widely attested phenomenon (see for instance, Givón 1984:52, Schachter 1985:13, Dixon 1997:125).

Dixon (1977) has noted a cross-linguistic consistency in the range of meanings expressed by adjectives. The class of adjectives include words denoting dimensions, colour, age, and value, position (low, high etc.,), physical property (hard, soft etc.,), human property (kind cruel, etc.,) or speed.

Semantically, adjectives in Haro can be categorized into six: adjectives denoting *dimension*, e.g., **s'úme** 'narrow', **háta** 'short' **galála** 'long'etc, *physical properties*,. e.g., **dés'o** 'heavy', **múme** 'deaf',etc., *human properties*, e.g., **bóóa** 'foolish', **góba** 'courageous' etc., *colour* , i.e., **kárɓa** 'black', **zóɓo** 'red', **bóssi** 'white'etc.,

age,e.g., **č'íma** 'old', **gač'úna** 'young' etc., *value,* e.g., **loʔó** 'good', **ʔííta**

'bad'**,ʔááde** 'true' etc.,

Adjectives referring to physical properties are not so common in Haro, and so

agentive nouns are used instead.

8)   **ješš-**   'be afraid'   **ješš-áčči**   'coward'
     ʔer-   'know'   **ʔer-ássi**   'intelligent'
     k'op'-   'think'   **k'op'-ássi**   'thoughtful'

Adjectives denoting value are also very few in Haro. **loʔó** is used for everything

positive; it can mean 'beautiful', 'handsome', 'good', 'fine', 'well', 'delicious' etc. It

is only the context that specifies the exact denotation. The following examples

illustrate the occurrence of **loʔó** in different contexts.

9a)   **loʔó   kása   kas-á**
      delicious   food   cook
      'Cook delicious food.'

9b)   **ʔés-   í   loʔó   maččé-   kko   ʔé- ʔekk- ín-   e**
      he- NOM   beautiful   wife-   FOC   3MS- take-   PA-   AFF:DEC
      'He took a beautiful wife.'

10a) **loʔó-   ni**   **ʔé-**   yen-é
      good-INC   3MS-exist-INF:INT
      'Are you fine (Lit: Are you with good).'

10b) **loʔó-**   **kko**
      fine-FOC
      'I am fine.'

In the same way, its antonym **ʔítta** is used for all the negative qualities like

'bad', 'ugly', 'unpleasant' etc.

11)   **maččá-   t-   i   ʔittá-   kko**
      Woman-   FEM:DF-   NOM   bad-   FOC
      'The woman is bad/ugly/crooked etc.'

Another example of Haro adjectives, which fall into different semantic field, is

k'aara. It is used to mean' smart/ wise' for human beings and 'sharp' for things like

knife. The situation with such adjectives in Haro can be considered as polysemy.

5.1. Deictics

Elements of language which contextually bound are called deictic, derived from the noun deixis (from classical Greek *deiknymi* 'to show, point out') A deictic device in a language commits a speaker to set up a frame of reference around herself (Saeed 2003: 182).

Haro has a rich deictic system. Several deictic morphemes associated with different references are identified in Haro. The demonstratives in Haro function as both situational and non-situational deixis. They are used as spatial deictic, temporal deictic, recognition deictic, anaphoric deictic, locative deictic and manner deictic. Hence, in the actual speech situation the reference of demonstratives is determined by two parameters: orientation with regard to the speech act participants and distance to the speaker, distance to the addressee or to both of them.

6.2.1. Spatial deictic

The spatial deictic devices in Haro commit the speaker to set up a frame of reference around him. Based on their morphosyntactic behaviour, the spatial deictic forms in Haro can be categorized into two: modifier and nominal demonstratives. The modifier deictics are the basic forms from which the corresponding nominal deictics are derived. The modifier demonstratives always occur preceding a head noun, while the nominal demonstratives occur independently. Further, members in the former set are devoid of grammatical features such as gender, number, definiteness and case, while the latter do carry such features.

Within spatial deixis, Haro makes a two-way opposition between the proximal from distal. Furthermore, distal deixis varies according to the deictic center, which is used as a point of reference. The deictic center could be either first person or both first

as well as second person oriented. Different forms are used in each case. The spatial deictic in Haro are commonly accompanied by gestures. Discussions on the two demonstrative sets will be presented below.

6.2.1.1. Modifying demonstratives

Haro has three basic modifying demonstratives. Structurally, they all are monosyllabic. As mentioned above, these three demonstratives always occur preceding a head noun. They do not function as independent phonological words and thus have no freedom to occur independently. Such elements rather require a host to which they are attached. On the other hand, like lexical items, they are used as a base of a morphological process. These forms are not dependent on their host for their prosodic feature. They are always accented irrespective of the tone pattern of their host. Hence, such forms can best be treated as proclitic elements.

As mentioned earlier modifying deictics, just like attributive adjectives, do not show agreement with the head noun in gender or number features. Below are listed the modifying demonstratives in Haro.

há						proximal		demonstrative
yéé			distal		from		the	speaker
séé	distal	from	both	the	speaker	as well	as	the	address

*6.2.1.1.1.   The proximal demonstrative **há***

As mentioned above, **há**, indicates proximity; the referent is nearer to the deictic centre, which is adjacent to the speaker at the time of utterance. This demonstrative has a reading equivalent to 'this/these, here'. This form modifies nouns irrespective of gender, number and case features. This will be illustrated below. Note that the demonstratives in Haro have no equivalents in English for they lack indicating the number feature of the noun. The English translation, therefore, varies depending on the text.

12a) **há- lukká- t- i ⏱up'úle yel- á- wwa**
    this hen- FEM:DF- NOM egg:ABS give birth- NEG- NEG:DEC
    'This hen does not lay an egg.'

12b) **há- lukká- t- o ✆ekk- á- tte**
    this hen FEM:DF- FEM:ABS take- IMP- EMP
    'Take this hen away.'

12c) **há- lukk- í✒e ✆ekk- á- tte**
    these hen- PL- take- IMP- EMP
    'Take these hens away.'

*6.2.1.1.2.   The distal demonstrative **yéé***

The demonstrative **yéé** is used to refer to a thing or a person located distantly from the speaker, but close to the hearer. This form has a reading equivalent to the English expression 'that/those one(s) near you'. Like in the case of **há**, it can occur with masculine, feminine and plural nouns as illustrated in (13a-c) respectively below.

13a) **yéé- dó✆a bizzí ✆ušúme ✆é- keng- e**
    that wild animal:ABS one horn:ABS 3MS- have- AFF:DEC
    'That wild animal over there has a single horn.'

13b) **há- mííše- z- a yéé- maččá- t- is- i ✆ing-á**
    this- money- MAS:DF- MAS:ABS that woman- FEM:DF- DAT- NOM call- IMP
    'Give this money to that woman.'

13c) **yéé- náyši s'eeg- á**
    that child:ABS call- IMP
    'Call those children.'

*6.2.1.1.3. The distal demonstrative **séé***

The demonstrative **séé** can be interpreted as 'that/those over there'. It is used to refer to things remotely located from both the speaker as well as the addressee as in (14).

14) **✆ólo gére séé- zúma link'é- pa dandd- í- kko**
    old time people:NOM that mountain:ABS near- ABL raise- CNV- FOC
    há- lók'a ✆ú- yood- ín- e
    this place 3PL- come- PA- AFF:DEC
'People of old time came to this place having risen from that mountain over there.'

Like the other two deictic forms, **séé** is not gender, number or case sensitive, and so, it can specify any noun irrespective of the noun's gender and number. The

following sentences illustrate occurrence of **séé** with feminine and plural nouns

respectively.

15) **séé   maččá- t-   i   labú- kki ⟨⟩í wúdd- e-**
    that   woman- FEM:DF-   NOM   beach- DIR 3FS- go down-   AFF:DEC
    'That woman goes down to the beach.'

16) **séé ⟨⟩assá- z-   i   labú- kki ⟨⟩é wúdd-   e**
    that man-   MAS:DF- NOM beach- DIR   3MS- go down- AFF:DEC
    'That man looks like going down to the beach .'

So far, we have seen the modifying deictics in Haro. In what follows the nominal counterparts of such forms will be

presented.

6.2.1.2. Nominal demonstratives

As mentioned earlier, nominal demonstratives in Haro are formed from the

respective proclitic demonstratives such as **há**, **yéé** and **séé.** The elements -⟨⟩**is(a)-**

and –**nn(a)**- are employed to derive nominal demonstratives referring to masculine and

feminine referents. –**a** of the suffixes gets dropped if a vowel initial suffixes follows the

form. Somewhat similar forms are also attested to derive elliptic noun phrases from

relative clauses (3.3). They are therefore treated as elliptic noun phrase markers. The

nominal demonstratives in Haro may also be marked for definiteness, and in which the

elliptic markers are followed by a definite marker suffixe –**z**- or –**t**- with masculine and

feminine forms respectively. A case-marking vowel occurs at the final position. As with

nouns, the Absolutive case is denoted by the use of –**a** and –**o** in masculine and feminine

forms respectively. Similarly, the Nominative case is marked by –**i-**. As mentioned

earlier, demonstratives in this set are not accompanied with nouns that refer to the

object or person referred. However, all the grammatical features of the omitted noun

occur with the demonstratives to characterize what the referent. In addition, gesture,

context of the utterance, and presuppositions of the speaker play a great role for the

addressee to interpret the form as intended by the speaker.

6.2.1.2.1. *Nominal demonstratives referring to person/objects near the speaker*

The following table presents the Absolutive and Nominative forms of nominal demonstratives referring to things or persons near to the speaker. As mentioned above, the base involved in such structures is **há**, then follows the elliptic marker, the definite marker and the case marker respectively:

		ABSOLUTIVE		NOMINATIVE	
		MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
SG	IND	**há-ʃisa**	**há-nn-o**	**há-ʃis-i**	**há-nn-i**
	DF	**há-ʃisá-z-a**	**há-nná-t-o**	**há-ʃisá-z-i**	**há-nná-t-i**
PL	IND	**há-ʃis-iʀe**	**há-nn-iʀe**	**há-ʃis-iʀi**	**há-nn-iʀe**
	DF	**há-ʃis-iʀe-z-a**	**há-nn-iʀe**	**há-ʃis-iʀe-z-i**	**há-nn-iʀe-t-i**

Table 5:Inventory of demonstrative nominals referring to persons/ things near to the speaker

The following are illustrative examples of some of the forms given in table.5

17a) há-   ʃis-   a   ʃekk-   á
      this-   MAS:ELP-   ABS   take-   IMP
      'Take this one(MAS)'

17b) há-   ʃis-   z-   a   ʃekk-   á
      this-   MAS:ELP-   MAS:DF-   MAS:ABS   take-   IMP
      'Take that one(MAS DEF)'

17c) há-   nn-   o   ʃekk-á
      this-FEM:ELP-   FEM:ABS   take-IMP
      'Take this one(FEM IND)'

17d) há-   nn-   iʀe   ʃekk-   á
      this-   FEM:ELP-   PL   take-   IMP
      'Take this one(FEM PL)'

In their occurrence as subject of a copula predicate, the demonstrative nominals listed above occur in a similar form. They lack the elements identified as elliptic phrase markers,–ʃisa-/–nna-, instead occur with -ʃi/-yi . No inflection is associated with such form. Hence, a single form, **háʃ-i/ háy-i**, is used irrespective of gender and number of the referent. This may be so because of the fact that the noun denoting the referent occurs as a complement of the copula. Unlike the modifying demonstratives, however, this form appears to be a freestanding deictic.

18) **háʕ- i**   kaatí-   kko
     this- NOM   chief:ABS- FOC
     'This is a chief.'

19) **háʕ- i**   tá-   máč'é-   kko
     this- NOM   1SG- wife:ABS-   FOC
     'This is my wife.'

20) **háʕ- i**   tá-   nayší-   kko
     this- NOM 1SG- childern:ABS- FOC
     'These are my children.'

2. Nominal demonstrative referring objects away from the speaker

The following are nominal demonstratives referring to things or persons distantly located from the speaker but near to the addressee. These forms of demonstratives are formed from the   modifying proclitic deictic **yéé.** The same elements as shown above are involved in the morphological structure of the forms.

		ABSOLUTIVE		NOMINATIVE	
		MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
SG	IND	**yéé-ʕis-a**	**yéé-nn-o**	**yéé-ʕis-i**	**yéé-nn-i**
	DF	**yéé-ʕisá-z-a**	**yéé-nná-t-o**	**yéé-ʕisá-z-i**	**yéé-nná-t-i**
PL	IND	**yéé-ʕis-iɽe**	**yéé-nn-iɽe**	**yéé-ʕis-iɽe**	**yéé-nn-iɽe**
	DF	**yéé-ʕis-iɽé-z**	**yéé-nn-iɽé-t-o**	**yéé-ʕis-iɽè-z**	**yéé-nn-iɽé-t-i**

Table 6: Inventory of nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker

The following are some examples illustrating the occurrence of the above demonstratives.

21a) **yéé- nn-   o   hang- í   ʕekk- í   yood- á**
     that- FEM:ELP- FEM:ABS   go-   CNV take- CNV come- IMP
     'Go and bring that one(fem.) (Lit: Having gone, take that and come)'

21b) **yéé-   ʕis-   iɽe   hang- í   ʕekk- í   yood-   á**
     that- MAS:ELP PL   go-   CNV hold- CNV come-   IMP
     'Go and bring those ones '

21c) **yéé-   ʕis-   a   hang- í   ʕekk-   í   yood- á**
     that- MAS:ELP- ABS   go-   CNV take- CNV come- IMP
     'Go and bring (take and come) that one (mas.).'

In its occurrence as a subject of a copula predicate, as in the case of **há**, **yéé** occurs devoid of all other inflectional suffixes but the element-ʕi.

22) **yéé⟨⟩i** garmá -kko
     that:NOM   lion-FOC
     'That is a lion.'

6.2.1.2.3. Nominal demonstratives referring to object far away from both the speaker and addressee

As in the two types of demonstrative nominals presented above, those referring to the things far away from the speaker but near to the addressee are also formed from their respective basic **séé**.

		ABSOLUTIVE		NOMINATIVE	
		MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMINIE
SG	IND	**séé-⟨⟩is-a**	**séé-nn-o**	**séé-⟨⟩is-i**	**séé-nn-i**
	DF	**séé-⟨⟩isa-z-a**	**séé-nna-t-o**	**séé-⟨⟩isa-z-i**	**séé-nna-t-i**
PL	IND	**séé-⟨⟩is-iɓe**	**séé –nn-iɓe**	**séé-⟨⟩is-iɓe**	**séé–nn-iɓe**
	DF	**séé-⟨⟩is-iɓé-z-**	**séé–nn-iɓé-t-o**	**séé-⟨⟩is-i ɓé-z-i**	**séé –nn-iɓé-tt-i**

Table7:Nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker and addressee

6.2.2. Locative Deictics

Locative deictic nouns differ from the demonstratives discussed above in that they never refer to entities, but to regions or areas. The parameters distinguished by deictic local nouns are similar to those of demonstratives: relation to the speech act participants and distance form deictic centre.

The locative deictic nouns in Haro are formed by suffixing one of the two locative case markers, –**ga** or -**nna** ,to the basic forms of the demonstratives. As discussed earlier (3.2.4) the element -**ga** functions to indicate physical surroundings or circumstances as well as direction of motion of activity. Similarly, the locative morphemes –**nna** has a meaning equivalent to 'at the side' or 'near'. Syntactically, they are classified as nouns because they show case markers.

23) **há -ga**   **há -nna**   'here'
     yéé -ga **yéé -nna** 'there'
     séé -ga **séé-nna**   'over there(very far)'

The following sentences illustrate the use of the locative nouns in Haro:

24) és-í   há-   ga- kko   é-   geh-   ín-e
     he-NOM   this-LOC-FOC   3MS-sleep-PA-AFF:DEC
     'It was here that he slept.'

The place deictic nouns can further be marked for peripheral cases such as

Ablative and Locative as in (25) and (26).

25) šaató- z-   i   há- ga- pa   yéé-ga   hang-í- kko   é- maak'- ín-e
     boy- MAS:DF- NOM this- LOC-ABL that-LOC go- CNV-FOC 3MS-return-PA-AFF:DEC
     'The boy from here went there and returned.'

26) sílke   lók'a há- ga- pa   hááko- kko
     telephone place this- LOC- ABL far-   FOC
     'The telephone place is far from here.'

Suffixation of a locative marker to the locative noun gives a reading of

directional deictic as in (27).

27) yéé- ga-   nna-kko   é-   hang-ín-e
     that-LOC-LOC-FOC   3MS-go-   PA-AFF:DEC
     'He went that way (Lit: He went with there.)'

High degree of remoteness is expressed by reduplicating the locative diectic.

29) séé- nna séé- nna yes- é-   s-   i   tašoma- kko
     that- LOC that- LOC exist- AFF:REL- ELP- NOM   Teshome- FOC
     'That over there(very far) is Teshome.'

In addition, lengthening the final vowel of such forms also expresses greater

degree of distance.

30) séé- nnaaa yes- é-   s-   i   tašoma- kko
     that- LOC   exist- AFF:REL-   MAS:ELP- NOM   Teshome- FOC
     'That over there(very far) is Teshome.'

6.2.3. Manner deictics

Manner deictic terms are formed by suffixing the element **hinkki** 'like/ same as

'to the demonstrative bases. The element **hinkki** can be reduced into –**kki**.

31) **há-hinkki/há-kki**   'like   this'
     séé-hinki/séé-kki   'like   that   one   far   from   the   speaker'
     yéé-hinkki/yéé-kki   'like that one far from both the speaker and addressee'

Such manner deictics are accompanied by gestures and physical demonstrations,

and appear in structures like the following.

32) **séé**   **-hinkki**   **hant-á**
     that-like   work-IMP
     'Work like that.'

33) **séé- kki   há-   kki**   hiid-   irípuná   tte   ☞utt-   á
     that- like   this-   like   say- NEG:IMP- EMP sit down- IMP
     'Don't say(move) like this, like that. Sit down!'

The expression **séé-hinkki** can also be used to relate an earlier action to the one at the time of speaking. In such a context, they have an interpretation equivalent to 'again/as that one earlier'.

34) ☞és-   í   **séé-   hikki- kko**   ☞é-   ša☞-   unt-   é
     he-   NOM that-   like- FOC   3MS- yaw   PAS:REF-AFF:DEC

     nay-   á-   kko- ☞é- **dd-**   e
     hungry INF-   FOC- 3MS- PF-   AFF:DEC
     'He is yawing again (like that before) he is hungry.'

Reduplication of the deictic form **séé-kki** expresses recurrent occurrences of an action.

35) **séé-kki   séé-kki**   ☞é-   **harg-ús-**   e
     that-like   that-like   3MS-sick-CAU-AFF:DEC
     'He is sick again and again (Lit: he is caused to be sick like that one before like that before.)'

6.2.4. Direction deictics

Attaching the word bagga 'half' to the basic demonstrative forms and suffixing the locative marker **–na** form direction deictic expressions. Consider the following illustrative structures.

36a) **zéé- bagga**- nna   šiš-   a-   tte
      that   half-   LOC   make close- IMP- EMP
      'Make it close from that side.'

36b) **ha- bagga**- nna   šiš-   á-   tte
      this   half-   LOC   make close-IMP- EMP
      'Make it close from this side.'

6.2.5. Anaphoric deictics

The demonstrative **há** is attested functioning as a non-situational means of

expression; it is used to refer to the content of a preceding event in a text as illustrated

below.

37) moló hánta   yood-ín- e   moló hánta   yood-únu, gússi
     ✍ogólo   dadd-   í
     fish   work:NOM come-PA-AFF:DEC fish   work:NOM come-TEM small
     boat:ABS make- CVN
     hang-í moló gargedi   gamá-pa   ✍aykk-í   miirábe   hiid-í
     ✍ú-   hiid-é
     go-CNV fish Gargadi   far- ABL   hold-CNV Mirab:ABS say-CNV 3PL-
     say-AFF:REL

     gáde nú-za✍l-e,   **há-hánta** gedó-na núní-ni   ✍alkáso-ga nú-
     ✍utt-e
     place 1PL-sell-AFF:DEC this work   cause-INS we-INC   Alkaso-LOC
     1PL-sit-AFF:DEC
     há-hanta- z-   i ✊eg-únu   moló hantá -z-   i   ✊eg-únu
     núni-ni
     this work- MAS:DF-NOM fail-TEM   fish   work- MAS:DF-NOM fail-
     TEM we-NOM-INC
     ✍alkasó-ga ✍utt-ára dand-á-wwa
     Alkaso-LOC sit-INF   able-NEG-NEG:DEC

     '…fish work came, when fish work came, we made a small boat, and then,went and
     caught fish from far away, namely Gargadi, and sold at the place called Mirab.
     Because of **this** work we too sit in Alkaso. When **this** work fails, when fish work
     fails, we cannot sit in Alkaso.'

In the above example, **moló hánta** 'fish work' is the antecedent and **ha** 'this' is

the anaphoric deictic, which is coreferening to the antecedent.

6.2.6. Recognitional deictic

The demonstrative **yéé,** which basically serves as a distal deictic, has also a

recognitional reference. It is used to refer to a person or an object, which is mentioned

for the first time when the addressee is believed to recognize who or what the speaker

is referring to. In recognitional use, the intended referent is to be identified via specific

shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or reference to preceding

segments of the ongoing discourse (cf. Himmelmann, 1996:230). The following are

examples of such expressions.

38) **yéé-** ítta wóde bot- utt- í b- á- wwa
    that bad time forget- PAS- CNV NEG:COP-NEG-NEG:DEC

    'That bad time is not being forgotten.'

39) **yéé-** bíššo wáá- í- hiid- e
    that girl:NOM how- 3FM- say- AFF:DEC
    'How is that girl(How is that girl saying)?'

6.2.7. Temporal deictic

The spatial demonstratives **há** and **yéé** are also used as temporal deictics, which

relate the time of an event to the time of an utterance. As in the case of spatial deictic,

há expresses temporal proximity of an event to the time of utterance as in (40).

40) há- láysi addísabába hiid- í ú- hiid- é
    this year:ABS Addis Ababa say- CNV 3PL- say- AFF:REL

    gáde tá- hang-ór-e
    place 1SG- go FUT-AFF:DEC

    'This year I will go to the place they call Addis Ababa.'

In the same manner, **yéé** also encodes temporal points or spans that are distant

from the actual moment of the speech situation, as illustrated below.

41) hátte k'aré šémpo tá- ekk- óno k'aré šémpo ekk- í yood- í
    now ape soul 1SG- take- CER ape soul take- CNV come- CNV

    kess- í ing-óno **yéé-** wóde né- pas'- or- e…
    take out- CNV give- CER that time you- be cured- FUT- AFF:DEC

    '…now I will hold the soul of an ape, having the soul of the ape, I hold and come, and give it out to you, **that** time you will be cured….'

Haro has other lexical and phrasal temporal expressions which function like adverbs

but categorically nominal.

42)   hátta   **'now'**
           giⱭmo   'latter'
           hánzo   'today'
           zíni   'yesterday'
           gúta   'tomorrow'
           zágge wonto   'the day before/ prior day'
           guta peyši   'the day after'
           hánzo samínta   'a week from today'
           hánzo agúnna   'next month (moon)'
           hintto wonte   'days next to the day after'
           há-laysi   'this year'
           Ɑólo   'old time ago'
           wóónde   'earlier today'

The element **há** in the nouns **hátta** 'now' and **hánzo** 'today' seem to be the same as the proximity deictic proclitic element.

To summarize, the deictic expressions in Haro can occur as proclitic elements or as independent nominal expressions. The following are the meanings of demonstrative.

Demonstratives in Haro refer to individual entities by indicating its location in relation to the location of the speaker and addressee. They also express how events are temporally related to the actual moment of the speech situation. As a non-situational means of expression, they are used to refer to the content of a piece of the following text. Furthermore, they are used when the addressee is believed to remember who or what the speaker refers to although the person or object is mentioned for the first time (recognition use).

6.3.   Numerals

Numerals show trace of a quinary system. The quinary base used as 'five' is not, however, the word for 'five' but as revealed in our comparative investigation, it is a word, which is etymologically associated to a quantifier expression **Ɑappuna '** how many'. The numerals 'six' and 'eight' show the trace of **Ɑappuna**. The numerals 'eight' and 'nine' are innovations, which have replaced the archaic quinary

constructions (see Part II Chapter 4).). The following table presents the cardinals one-ten in Haro.

bizzé	'one'
námʔu	'two'
háyzzi	'three'
ʔóyddu	'four'
ʔišíčči	'five'
ʔizzípu	'six'
láppu	'seven.
lankúčči	'eight'
tansínde	'nine'
támmu	'ten'

Table8: Cardinals one to ten

The language distinguishes between cardinals and ordinals morphologically. The ordinals are formed from the cardinals by means of the suffix -**untso**.

bizz-úntso	'first'
namʔ-úntso	'second'
hayzz-úntso	'third'
ʔoydd-úntso	'fourth'
ʔišičč-úntso	'fifth'
ʔizzip-úntso	'sixth'
lapp-úntso	'seventh'
lankučč-úntso	'eighth'
tansind-úntso	'ninth'
tamm-úntso	'tenth'

Table 9: ordinals in Haro

Unlike the situation in other languages of Ometo like Dawuro (Hirut 1998), Zayse (Hayward 1990), Haro does not distinguish forms of modifying numerals from cardinals. The only distinction between the two is found only on the numeral 'one' which has a modifying form **bizzi** 'one', in contrast with the cardinal **bizze**.

Combining the numeral 'ten' with 'one' to 'nine' derives the numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' respectively The two constituents are connected by the element **ne,**

which is a coordinator. In this construction the numeral **támmu** 'ten' occurs as

támma.

támma ne bizzé	'eleven'
támma ne námɗu	'twelve'
támma ne háyzzi	'thirteen'
támma ne ɗóyddu	'fourteen'
támma ne ɗišíčči	'fifteen'
támma ne ɗizzípu	'sixteen'
támma ne láppu	'seventeen'
támma ne lankúčči	'eithteen'
támma ne tansínde	'nineteen'

Table 10: Cardinals from 11-19

Numerals referring to multiples of 'ten' constitute the numeral from 'one' to 'nine'

followed by 'ten'.

námɗu támmu	'twenty'
háyzzi támmu	'thirty'
ɗóyddu támmu	'forty'
ɗišičči támmu	'fifty'
ɗizzípu támmu	'sixty'
láppu támmu	'seventy'
lankúčči támmu	'eighty'
tansínde támmu	'ninty'

Table11: Cardinals from 20-90 in tens

The numerals 'one' to 'nine' occur following multiples of ten as shown in

Table 12.

ɗóyddu támmu ne námɗu	'forty two'
ɗóyddu támmu ne háyzzi	'forty three'
láppu támmu ne ɗóyddu	'seventy four'
láppu támmu ne ɗišíčči	'seventy five'
lánkúčči támmu ne bizzé	'eighty one'
lankúčči támmu ne tansínde	'eighty nine'

Table 12: Cardinals from 20-90 in tens

The words for 'hundred' and 'thousand' are **s'ééte** and **kuma,** respectively. Like

other modifying words, cardinals can occur as elliptic phrases in which they can be

marked for definiteness and case. The final vowel of the numeral changes into -**a** before

the inflectional element.

44)　　　　　　**bizzá-　t-　　　　o　　　góšši⬚ekk-　í　　　yood-　á**
　　　　　　　　one-　　FEM:DF-　FEM:ABS　only　take- CNV　come-　IMP
　　　　　　　　'Bring only one(feminine).'

More discussions on the numeral sytem of Haro will be presented later when

we consider the quinary numeral system in the Ometo group (see Part II chapter 5).

5.1.　　　　　　　　　　Adverbial expression

There is no word category of adverbs in Haro. However, there are expressions

that are categorically noun but function as adverbial (cf. 42).

Adverbial functions are also expressed by using adjectives to which the

Instrumental case marker –**na** is added. Consider, for example, the use of adjective

⬚**ítta** 'bad' as an adverbial argument modifying a verb below:

45)　Šaató-z-　　　i　　　⬚itta-　　ná-　　kko　　⬚é- yeek　-ín-　　e
　　child-MAS:DF-　　NOM　bad-　INS-　FOC　3MS- cry-　PA-
　　　AFF:DEC
　　'The child cried badly (Lit: the child cried with bad(loudly and intensively)).'

CHAPTER SEVEN

SENTENCE TYPES

Like other related languages, the word order in Haro sentences is SOV. The word order in Haro is quite rigid, that is, it cannot be changed. Based on their purpose, sentences in Haro can be divided into three types: the declarative, interrogative and negative.

7.1.   The Declarative

7.1.1. The verbal declarative sentence

The verbal declarative sentence in Haro can be affirmative or negative. The negative will be presented in 7.3. The affirmative declarative sentences are identified by having a verb marked with morphemes –**e** (see also 5.4.3).

1)   és-   í   ólo   oh- é   é- k'opús-e
        he- NOM   old:ABS   tell- NMZ   3MS- think-AFF:DEC
        'He remembers an old story.'

As we noted earlier, the affirmative declarative sentence, unlike its negative counterpart, has a subject agreement, and a tense marker on the verb.

7.1.2. The non-verbal declarative sentence

The copular sentences are sentences with a subject and predicate. The subject is a patient of state. The predicate may be either a noun or adjective. In Haro, this sentence type does not have a semantically depleted copular verb as the surface main verb of the construction.

2)   és-í   kááti
        he-NOM chief/king
        'He is a chief/king.'

3) deyššá- z- i mo↖e
    goat- MAS:DF- NOM fat
    'The goat is fat.'

When the predicate occurs in contrastive focus context, it is suffixed to the focus
–kko.

4) ☞és-í kaatí- kko
    he-NOM chief/king-FOC
    'He is a CHIEF/KING.'

5) deyššá-z- i mo↖é-kko
    goat- MAS:DF -NOM fat- FOC
    'The goat is FAT.'

As there is no verb carrying a tense-aspect marker, the past and future tenses

are expressed via a verbal construction. The verb **maak'**-'become' functions as a

main verb carrying tense-aspect markers. In such constructions, the predicate is

marked for focus. Consider the following sentences.

6a) ☞ís- í bozá-kko ☞í- maak'- íšš- e
     she-NOM lazy-FOC 3FS-become-PROG-AFF:DEC
     'She is becoming lazy'

6b) deyššá-z- i mo↖e-kko ☞e- maak'- íšš- e
     goat- MAS:DF-NOM fat- FOC 3MS-become-PROG-AFF:DEC
     'The goat is becoming fat.'

7a) ☞és-í kaatí- kko ☞é - maak'-ín- e
     he-NOM chief/king-FOC 3MS-become-PA-AFF:DEC
     'He was a king (Lit: He became a king.)'

7b) deyššá-z- i mo↖é-kko ☞é- maak'- ín- e
     goat- MAS:DF-NOM fat- FOC 3MS-become-PA-AFF:DEC
     'The goat was fat (Lit: The goat became fat.).'

8a) ☞ís í bozá-kko ☞í- maak'- ór- e
     she-NOM lazy-FOC 3FS-become-FUT-AFF:DEC
     'She will be lazy'

8b) deyššá-z- i mo↖é-kko ☞é- maak'- ór- e
     goat- MAS:DF-NOM fat- FOC 3MS-become-FUT-AFF:DEC
     'The goat will be fat.'

A non-verbal construction in Haro can occur as a verbal one. As

mentioned in 5.3. and 6.1., nouns and adjectives in Haro have

inchoative verbal counterparts. Especially in the case of adjectives, it

is always the case that there is a verbal counterpart for each form. In contexts where the action of changing into a certain state needs to be focalized, a noun or adjectival predicate occurs as a verb as in (9) and (10) below. The inchoative verb occurs in a complex (focal) structure if there is no modifier element in the sentence (see chapter eight on the default focus rule).

9) és-í   kaat- et-   á- kko- é- dd- e
    he-NOM chief/king-INCH-INF-FOC-3MS-PF-AFF:DEC
    'He became a king'

10) ís- í   boz- á- kko- í- dd- e
    she-NOM lazy-INF-FOC-3FS-PF-AFF:DEC
    'She became lazy.'

6.1.   The Interrogative

Discussions on various types of polar interrogatives, which are basically issues related to the verb morphology, have already been provided in Chapter five. In this section, we will focus on content interrogatives, interrogative structures that were not covered in the previous section because they do not involve morphology.

Content interrogatives in Haro, i.e. questions used to ask for new information instead of ascertaining the already given information, contain interrogative words or interrogative-elliptic phrases. However, there is no special morphology characterizing content interrogatives in Haro. Syntactically, such structures follow the same pattern as their equivalents of affirmative declarative sentences, i.e. Haro follows an in-situ strategy. The only difference would be the presence of an interrogative-word in the interrogative. Compare the following structures.

11) ís- í   al-á   í-worg- ín-e

she-NOM what-ABS 3FS-want-PA-AFF
'What did she want?'

12) ⟨ís-í   mííše   ⟨í- worg-ín-e
she-NOM money:ABS 3FS-want-PA-AFF
'She wanted money.'

In what follows, we will first introduce the question-words in Haro, and
then discuss interrogative structures with question-words, the elliptic interrogative
phrases, and non-verbal interrogatives in Haro.

7.2.1. Interrogatives with question-words

The interrogative-words in Haro are the following:

13a) ⟨oon-á
who-ABS:MAS
'who?'
13b) ⟨oon-í
who-NOM
'who?'
13c) ⟨oon-í
who-GEN
'whose?'
13d) ⟨al-á
what-ABS
'what?'
13e) ⟨al-í
what-NOM
'what?'
13f) ⟨aná   'where?'
13g) ⟨andé   'when?'
13h) ⟨ááns'u   'how many?'
13i) wayidé   'how?'
13j) wa-waydé 'of which type/kind?'
13k) wa-   'what to do'

With exceptions of ⟨ááns'u 'how many?' and wa-'what to do', the
interrogative words in Haro are characterized by a high tone on the final syllable. The
Nominative and Genitive interrogative pronouns have the same form. Such a formal
similarity between the Genitive and Nominative forms is also observed with definite
nouns. The interrogative words in Haro show a phonological similarity that leads to an
assumption that they may be morphologically complex derivatives, at least

historically. In this discussion, which is mainly synchronic in nature, it would be difficult to identify all units involved in the question words, and indicate the exact function or meaning they are associated to. The following notes are made on the elements recurring in the interrogative word paradigm. One can reduce interrogative-words attested in Haro into three basic underlying bound question forms, *⟨⟩**oo-,** *⟨⟩**a-** and ***wa-** from which all the ten forms listed above could be derived. Apparently, the latter form,***wa-,** is exhibited synchronically as a bound interrogative marker prefixed to verbs, as we will see it in (1.6) below. This actually reinforces the claim on the presence of a few underlying basic bound forms from which all the interrogative-words are derived. Further, it may be possible to define the distribution of such forms by saying that the forms ⟨⟩**oo-** occurs with personal question words (see 13 a,b and c above), whereas ⟨⟩**a-** recurs elsewhere. In three cases **wa-** is attested (see 13i, j, and k). Interrogative words with *⟨⟩**oo-** and *⟨⟩**a-** are always followed by **–n-**, an element also encountered with personal pronouns as well and attested to be an old Accusative case marker. In one exceptional case, ⟨⟩**alá** 'what?', we find a segment **–l-** instead of **–n-**. The element **–l-** is not attested elsewhere. Forms with ***wa-** i.e. '*how'* and '*what kind'*, on the other hand, lack neither of these two segments, -**n-** or **–l-** attested elsewhere. Such forms rather constitute an element **–de**, which is also encountered in another interrogative-word with *⟨⟩**a,** i.e., ⟨⟩**andé** 'when?'. Unfortunately, at this stage, it is not possible to identify what function the element **–de-** has. On the other hand, a more clear internal structure is exhibited with the quantifier interrogative word ⟨⟩**ááns'u** 'how many'. This word could be interpreted as a sequence of *⟨⟩**a-,** and -**áns'u,** an element having a similar form to the suffix -**uns'u,** a paucal number marker of nouns (3.2.3.2). The initial vowel of the

suffix appears to be in a total harmony with the final vowel of the base since a sequence of two different vowels is not allowed by phonotactics of the language.

Using the terminology of Sadock and Zwicky (1985:184), the interrogative words in Haro can be characterized as personal (who), impersonal (what), pro-adverbial(when, where, how), pronumeral (how many/much) and pro-verbal (to do what). In addition, Haro has a modifier interrogating forms used to ask 'kind /type' of a subject or object in a sentence. Discussions on each interrogative type will be presented below.

7. 2.2. Personal Interrogatives

As shown above, the personal interrogative-words in Haro are **oon-á** 'who:ABS' or **oon-í** 'who:NOM'. Like other personal pronouns, the personal interrogative pronouns in Haro are inflected for case. The elements employed to mark case in personal interrogatives are – **á** and – **í** for Absolutive and Nominative cases respectively. Unlike the situation with Absolutive personal pronouns, which makes use of two forms - **á** and –**ó** associated with masculine and feminine genders, case marking of personal interrogative does not characterize gender. Thus, the Absolutive interrogative pronoun is always marked by suffix – **á**, the form associated to the masculine gender elsewhere. This may be because of the fact that in Haro masculine is the default gender, which is, of course, used whenever gender of a noun is not identified. In the interrogative speech an act, the asker wants the addressee to identify someone for him, and obviously in such a circumstance the asker does not know the identity of the person under concern. Gender could be part of the unknown identity.

In Haro, the subject interrogative pronoun **oon-í** 'who:NOM' always has the same status as a focal subject, and this is manifested in the predicate selection of the subject. As with a focused subject NP, the subject personal interrogative, **oon-í** 'who:NOM', always requires a predicate which is a headless relative clause. Compare the structure with a subject interrogative pronoun (14a) with a declarative sentence consisting of a focused subject NP(14b) below.

14a) **◌oon-í**   káre   gu- guy- é-   s- i
who- NOM door:ABS FRQ-hit-AFF:REL-NMZ-NOM
'Who is knocking the door?'

14b) **tá- biššó-   kko** káre   gu-guy- é-   s- i
1SG-little girl:NOM-FOC door:ABS FRQ-hit-AFF:REL-NMZ -NOM
'MY LITTLE GIRL is knocking the door.'

The use of either a simple/non-focal or complex/focal verb stem with an interrogative subject results in ungramaticality of

the structure, as is true with focused subjects.

15a) ***◌oon-   í**   káre gu-guy- á   kko- ◌é- n-   e
who- NOM   door:ABS FRQ- knock- INF-   FOC- 3MS- IMPF- AFF:DEC
'Who IS KNOCKING the door?'

15b) *** tá- biššó-   kko** káre   gu-guy-á- kko- ◌é - n-   e
1SG-little girl:NOM-FOC door:ABS   FRQ- INF-FOC –3MS-IMPF-AFF:DEC
'MY LITTLE GIRL is knocking the door.'

16a) . ***◌oon-í**   káre   **◌é -guy- e**
who-NOM door:ABS 3MS-knock-AFF:DEC
'Who is knocking the door?'

16b). ***ta-biššo- kko**   káre   **◌é - guy- e**
1SG-little girl:NOM-FOC door:ABS 3MS-knock-AFF:DEC
'MY LITTLE GIRL is knocking the door.'

A parallel situation is attested with the Absolutive interrogative pronoun,

◌oon-á, which, like a focal Absolutive NP co-occurs with a simple/non-focal verb

predicate. An otherwise usage of the predicate makes the structure ungrammatical.

17)   **◌oon-á**   ◌í- worg-ín-e
who-ABS 3FS-want-PA-AFF:DEC
'Whom does she want?'

18)   ***◌oon-á**   worg- á- kko- ◌í-   n-   e
who-ABS   want-INF-FOC-3MS-IMPF AFF:DEC
'Whom does she WANT?'

19)   ***◌oon-á** worg-é-   s- i
who-ABS want-AFF:REL-NMZ-NOM
'Whom does she want? (Whom is that she wants)'

As noted above question words follow exactly the same pattern to that of

focused constituents with regard to predicate selection. The fact that question words

have intrinsic focus function is, of course, a commonly attested typological

phenomenon (cf. Dik: 1997:264). Sadock and Zwicky (1985:185) also point out that

the new information in a content interrogative is a request for identity of the interrogated part of the sentence; it can thus be called the 'focus' of a sentence.

The Nominative interrogative pronoun, ✏oon-í 'who:NOM', also serves also as a genitive form 'whose'(7). It is also the form used as a base for peripheral case marking. Thus, the Dative (8) and Ablative (9) interrogative pronouns are formed by suffixing the respective case markers to the Nominative form.

20)   ✏oon-   í   šaató   ✏è   ✏ekk-   e
      who-   NOM   child:ABS   3MS-   take-   AFF:DEC
         'Whose child does he take?'

21)   mííše   ✏oon-ísi   né-   ✏ing-ín-   e
      money   who-DAT   2SG-give-PA-AFF:DEC
         'To whom did you give the money?'

22)   mííše   ✏oon-ípa   né-✏ekk-ín-e
      money:ABS   who-ABL   2SG-take-PA-AFF
      'From whom did you take the money?'

A parallel situation, the use of Genitive case as a base for peripheral case marking, is also attested with definite nouns (see 3.2.4)

In Haro, it is possible to have a double interrogation with both subject as well as object interrogative-words in a sentence, in such a case, a headless relative clause, which occurs with the focused subject, occurs as a predicate.

23)   ✏oon-í   ✏oon-á   guyd-é-   s-i
      who-NOM   who-ABS   hit-   AFF:REL-ELP-NOM
      'Who hit whom?'

7.2.3. Impersonal interrogatives

The impersonal interrogative in Haro occurs as ✏al-á 'what?' in the Absolutive case and as ✏al-í in the Nominative case. As with the personal interrogative, other pronouns and definite nouns, the suffixes -í and -á in the impersonal interrogatives designate the Absolutive and Nominative cases respectively. Also, as in the personal

interrogative, the impersonal interrogatives behave in the same way to focused constituents, and therefore when they occur in the subject position, they require a headless relative clause as a predicate. (11). Similarly, when they occur as a direct object of a sentence they have a simple verb stem as a predicate (12).

11) ʔal -í   gukk-   e- s- i
     what-NOM get splashed-REL-ELP-NOM
     'What is that get splashed?'

12) zíne   ʔal-á né- hantt-ín-e
     Yesterday what   2SG- work-PA-AFF
     "What did you do yesterday?"

The use of a nominalized relative clause with a focused subject noun phrase and the use of a simple verb stem with a focus direct object is one of the focus marking strategies in Haro (see Chapter 8). This suggests that the impersonal interrogative pronouns, as the personal interrogative pronouns, are inherently focused.

7.2.4. Pro-adverbial interrogatives

The pro-adverbial question words in Haro, ʔandé 'when?', ʔaná 'where?', and **wayidé** 'how', are used in order to ask for an information given by adverbials in the declarative equivalents of the question. As with focused adverbial constituents, a question with pro-adverbial question-word takes a simple verb stem as a predicate. This situation is illustrated in (13) and below. Structures (13), (14), and (15) illustrate interrogatives with pro-adverbial question-words.

13) táá -ri   ʔandé né - ʔoh- ín-e
     1SG-DAT when   2SG-tell-PA-DEC:AFF
     'When did you tell me (that)?'

14) ʔaná   né- guyd-utt- ín-e
     where:ABS 2SG-hit-   PASS-Pa-DEC:AFF
     'Where have you been hit?'

15) **wayidé** tá- hang-ór- e   tán-í   wássi gílla hánt-a   ʔer- á- wwa
     how   1SG-go-FUT-AFF:DEC I-NOM   water-LOC go-NMZ know-NEG-NEG:DEC
     'How will I go? I do not know walking on water.'

In the genitive construction, as the case with definite nouns a form similar to that of the Nominative is used. Hence ʔaná 'when' occurs as ʔaní (see 20) below.

Pro-numeral interrogatives

As mentioned above, the pro-numeral interrogative, ʔá-áns'u 'how many', could be considered as containing the bound interrogative form, ʔá-, and a number marking suffix attested with nouns. Such interrogatives are attested with a headless relative clause (16) when the question refers to a subject, and with a simple verb (17) when quantity of the object is inquired about.

16) néé- ri   ʔááns'u   náyše   yes- é-   s-   i
     2SG-DAT how many children: NOM exist-AFF:REL-NMZ- NOM
     'How many children do you have (LIT: How many children do exist for you?'

17) ʔááns'u   tá- k'ans'-ór-e
     how much 1SG-pay- FUT-AFF:DEC
     'How much will I pay?'

The quantifier expression 'how many/ much' in Haro can also be expressed periphrastically by using the question phrase ʔaní likke, which literally can be translated as 'where limit'.

18) ʔaní líkke   tá- k'ans'-ór- e
     where limit:ABS 1SG-pay-FUT-AFF:DEC
     'How much will I pay(Lit: To where limit will I pay)?'

7.2.6. 'Type/kind' interrogatives

The word **wa-wayde,** which is formed by copying the initial **CV-** of the question word **waydé** 'how', is used to ask about types or kinds of entities expressed by an NP. Such kind of reduplication is commonly encountered with frequentative and intensive verb stems in Haro (see 5.3.7). As in the situation with verbs, the reduplication in this question-word denotes variety and plurality.

19)   háy-iɗe   **wa- waydé** gére/ger-íɗe
        this-PL:NOM   FRQ-how   people/people-PL
        'These ones, what kind of people are they?'

As presented in the next section, the form **wa-waydé** also occurs in an elliptic phrase when the head noun is omitted.

7.2.7. Interrogative pro-verbs

The bound interrogative form, **wa**-, which is encountered in **waydé** ('how') **wa-waydé** ('what kind'), occurs prefixed to an affirmative declarative verb and changes latter into an interrogative structure.

An interrogative verb commonly occurs preceded by another sentence, mostly containing a focused verb.

20) tá- missá-t-   i   hay☞-á- kko- ☞í-dd- e   wa-   tá -his-óno
     1SG- cow- FEM:DF-NOM   dead-INF-FOC-3FS-PF-AFF:DEC PRO-V-1SG-do-CER
     'My cow is dead. What can I do (how shall I do)?'

21) wa-   ☞í- hiid- e
     PRO-V- 3FS- say- AFF:DEC
     'What does she say/What happens to her?'

7.2.8. Elliptic interrogative phrases

The interrogative pronoun ☞aná , 'where' can occur as an elliptic noun phrase with a meaning 'which one'. The use of 'where' as a base for an expression 'which one' is a commonly found phenomenon in Ethiopian languages, for instance, the form **yet-u** 'which one (mas.)' in Amharic constitutes **yet** 'where' and a masculine definite marker – **u.**

Parallel to other elliptic phrases such as those of relative clauses, pronouns and demonstratives, the interrogative elliptic phrases using ☞**aná**, 'where' as a base contain an element –**s- or** -**nn-** for masculine and feminine genders respectively. Other elements involved are number and case marking elements.

22) ☞**aná- s-   a**
     where-MAS:ELP- MAS:ABS
     'which one(MAS)?'

23) ☞**aná - s-   i**
     where- MAS:ELP -NOM
     'which one(MAS)?'

24) ☞**aná -nn-   o**

where- FEM:ELP- FEM:ABS
'which one(FEM)?'

26) 🖎aná- nn-   i
where-FEM:ELP- NOM
'which one:FEM:NOM?'

27) 🖎aná- s-   iⵉe
where-MAS:ELP-PL
'which ones:?'

As with simple interrogative pronouns discussed earlier, interrogative

phrases behave like focused constituents as reflected in their selection of the right

form of a verb. Hence, the Absolutive and Nominative interrogative phrases are

attested occurring with a simple verb stem as in structures (28) and (29), and with a

relative clauses (30) and (31) respectively.

28   🖎aná- s-   a   né- dor-   ín- e
where-ELP-ABS:MAS 2SG-chose-PA-AFF:DEC
'Which one(mas.) did you choose?'

29) 🖎aná- nn- o   né- dor- ín- e
where -ELP-ABS:FEM 2SG- choose-PA-AFF:DEC
'Which one(fem.) did you choose?'

30) 🖎aná- nn- i   yood-e-   s-   i
where-ELP-NOM come-REL- ELP- NOM
'Which one(fem.) has come?'

31) 🖎aná- s- i   č'aš- utt-   é-   s-   i
where-ELP-NOM insult-PASS-AFF:REL-ELP-NOM
'Which one (mas) is insulting (Lit: which one is that is insulting)?'

A peripheral case marker can be suffixed to the Nominative forms, as in the
following.

32) 🖎aná-s-   isi   má🖎o   né – wong- ín-e
where-ELP-DAT-cloth:ABS 2SG-buy- PA-AFF:DEC
'To which one did you buy the cloth?'

An interrogative phrase in Haro can occur as a subject of a non-verbal clause.

The predicate in such sentences has only a zero form, a non-verbal affirmative

predicate also has a zero form if it is not marked for focus.

33) 🖎aná- s- iⵉe né - déyšši
which-ELP-PL   2SG-goat:ABS
'Which ones are your goats?'

The 'type/kind' interrogative expression **wa-waydé** also appears in a similar elliptic structure as shown below.

34) há-   gere   **wa-waydé- s-   a**
     this   people what kind-   MAS:ELP-   ABS
     'These people, of what kind of people are they?'

    35) há   ger- íↄe   **wa-waydé-   s-   íↄe**
       these   people- PL   what kind-   MAS:ELP-   PL

      'These people, of what kind of people are they?'

7.2.9. Non-verbal interrogations
Haro has nonverbal questions asking about identity of a person or any other entity. Such structures constitute a question word and the noun referring to the one whose identity is interrogated. Both the question word as well as the expressing, which refers to the questioned entity are marked for Nominative case. The noun being quested occurs preceding the question word.

36) nén- í   ↄoon-í
     You-NOM who-NOM
     'Who are you?'
37) ↄasa-z-   i   ↄoon-í
     man-MAS:DF-NOM who-NOM
     'Who is the man?'

The answer to such questions always occurs suffixed with a focus marker, -**kko.**

38) **tan-a-kko**
     I-ABS-FOC
     'It is me.'

In Haro, suffix -**ičči** is used to mean 'how about?'.

39) ↄ**isi-ČČi**   'how about she?'
     tani-ČČi   'how about me'
     ↄ**isiri-ČČi** 'how about for her?'

7.3.   Negation

In contrast to an affirmative-declarative speech act, which provides new information to the hearer against the background of the hearer's ignorance of the proposition, a negative declarative speech act is used to deny the issue against the

background of the hearer's presumed inclination to believe in the issue (cf: Givón, 1984:323-4).

As in other Ometo languages such as Zayse, Gamo, Dawuro, Maale , a negation marker in Haro always appears as a verbal suffix. That is, the verb is the only constituent in a sentence that gets inflected for negation. Hence, a negative sentence requires a verb to carry the negative marker. This implies that there is no non-verbal negative sentence in Haro.

As mentioned earlier, polarity is one of the categories for which verbs in Haro are specified, and so affirmative and negative verb forms occur in a paradigmatic relationship. It has also been noted that negation marking in Haro interacts with modal morphology. Thus, negation in a declarative verb is marked differently from the ones in imperative, optative and interrogative. In this section, we will investigate morpho-syntactic properties of negative constructions that distinguished the latter from affirmative and interrogative structures.

7.3.1. Negation of declarative sentences
As previously noted, and as further illustrated below, in Haro negation is regularly marked by the element –**á**, which contrasts paradigmatically with the affirmative that is expressed by zero morpheme. All types of negative constructions, such as verbal (40a) or non-verbal (40b), independent or a subordinate (40c), are characterized by having the suffix –**á.**

40a)   és- í   í- áde   **er- á- wwa**
            he- NOM 3FS-husband   know-NEG -NEG:DEC
            'He doesn't know her husband'

40b)   alkáso-ga déyšši **b-   á-   wwa**
            Alkaso-LOC goat   COP: NEG-NEG-NEG:DEC
            'In Alkaso there is no goat'

40c)   ☐é♦☐í
     ☐é☐   tú&☐ℳ š□Ŋₒ☐   účč☐   í   **b-**
             á ☐   **re**   ☐é ☐   Ŋₒé℺☐   ℳ
     he-NOM REF- foot wash-PA- CNV COP:NEG- NEG- PUR 3MS-sleep-AFF:DEC
     'He is sleeping without having his feet washed.'

The negative declarative marker -**wwa** can be optionally omitted from the structure dropped:

41a)   ☐és-í   ☐í- ☐áde   **☐er- á-**
     he-NOM 3FS-husband   know-NEG
     'He doesn't know her husband'

41b)   ☐alkáso-ga déyšši   **b-   á-**
     Alkaso-LOC goat:NOM NEG:COP-NEG
     'In Alkaso there is no goat.'

As mentioned earlier in (5.4.3), the negative declarative suffix –**wwa** is in a paradigmatic relationship with the informative and permissive negative interrogative markers as illustrated below.

42)   ☐és-í   ☐í- ☐áde   **☐er- á- sa**
     he-NOM 3FS-husband   know- NEG- NEG:INT
     'Doesn't he know her husband?'

43)   né- wóla   **ka☐- á-   mu**
     2SG-together play-NEG- PERM:INT
     'May I   play with you?'

A periphrastic way of expressing a negative event in the past is attested with a complex structure that comprises a converb and a negative existential copula. This form expresses the past negation by expressing the subjects state of existence without having an action done. Hence, literally such a structure means 'X is not existing having done some action'.

44)   ☐é♦☐í   ♦☐mar☐í   ☐☐   á-
☐☐☐   ♦áá☐□   ☐ℳ□☐   á-
☐☐☐
     he-NOM   learn-CNV COP:NEG-NEG-NEG:DEC   counting:ABs know-NEG-NEG:DEC
     'He didn't learn (go to school), he does not know counting (to count)(lit. He is not existing having learnt (and) does not count).'

A negative verb in Haro is characterized by lacking a subject agreement marker.

45)   tán-í   wássi-gilla hánt-a   tá- ☐ér- e
     I-NOM water-on   go-NMZ 1SG-know-AFF:DEC

'I know swimming (LIT: I know going/walking on water).'

46)   tán-í   wássi-gilla hant-a   ☞er- á-   wwa
       I-NOM   water-LOC go-NMZ:ABS know-NEG-NEG:DEC
       'I do not know swimming (LIT: I do not know going/walking on water.'

      This may be because of the salient property of a negative speech act: its primary purpose is not to give new information, but rather to deny or contradict the information that the speaker presupposes the hearer already had. The absence of a subject-marking element in the negative version of a declarative verb may be accounted for by its being part of the already shared background knowledge, and, thus, does not fall under the scope of assertion. As Givón (1984:323-4) puts it: when using a negative declarative speech-act, the speaker assumes that the hearer tends to believe in the corresponding affirmative, and then make a denial or contradiction of that assumed belief.

      As far as tense distinctions in the negative verbs are concerned, the tripartite contrast encountered with the affirmative form is lacking in the negative verb. Hence, lack of tense distinction is the other additional feature making a negative verb in Haro distinct from its affirmative equivalent. It seems that in Haro negation, unlike affirmation, is not bounded in time-spans, at least, as a morphological phenomenon. This, in fact, is true with verbs of existential and being/ becoming as well.

      A verbal construction in Haro consists of only a verb root and a single slot for the negation marker. This, in fact, makes it structurally similar to the present tense verb in the affirmative. As mentioned earlier, the form of the affirmative present tense also constitutes a verb root and a sentential type marker. However, unlike the situation with the negative verb, a verb in the affirmative has a slot for tense (even if it is filled with a zero morpheme, as in the present tense).

The tripartite tense-distinction encountered in affirmative declarative verbs is, therefore, neutralized in the negative, simply because they are not expressed. This type of neutralization is a common phenomenon of African languages, and identified as inflectional homonymy or syncretism (cf. Dimmendaal, 2000: 172). Neutralization of tense distinctions in negative sentences is a not infrequent phenomenon typologically. It arises out of the failure of negative paradigms to catch up with developments in positive paradigms (cf. Payne 1985:230)

Compare the following affirmative and negative sentences in (7) and (8), respectively.

47a).   ☞és-í   déyšši   ☞ášo   **míy-e**
         he-NOM goat:GEN meat:ABS eat-AFF:DEC
         'He eats goat's meat.'

47b).   ☞és-í   déyšši   ☞ášo   **miy-ín-e**
         he-NOM goat:GEN meat:ABS eat-PA-AFF:DEC
         'He ate goat's meat.'

47c)..   ☞és-í   déyšši   ☞ášo   **miy-ór-e**
         he-NOM goat:GEN meat:ABS eat-FUT-AFF:DEC
         'He will eat goat's meat.'

48a)   ☞és-í   déyšši   ☞ášo   **miy-á-   wwa**
         he-NOM goat:GEN meat:ABS eat- NEG- NEG:DEC
         'He does/did not/will not eat goat's meat.'

48b)   ☞és-í   déyšši   ☞ášo   **mi-í   b-   á-   wwa**
         he-NOM goat:GEN meat:ABS eat-CNV COP:NEG-NEG-NEG:DEC
         'He did not eat goat's meat(LIT: Having eaten meat he is not being.)'

The element –**íb**-, a sequence of the converb marker -**i** and the copula **b**-, at first sight may appear to be a past tense marker. However, this hypothesis cannot be correct for the following reasons. **b**- occurs as a negative existential copula whereby it is hardly related to tense. Moreover, tense is not an exponent of negative verbs is also exhibited with existential and being/ becoming, as presented in the coming section. Besides, such a periphrastic interpretation fits in with the glossary meaning provided by the informants.

A somehow similar construction to the periphrastic expression as an expression of the past/perfective is a common feature of other Ethiopian languages, for instance, in Amharic, the affirmative perfective form constitutes a converb and the verb 'exist'; **hed-o all** 'he has gone' has a literal glossing *'go-CNV exist'*.

7.3.2. Existential negation

As mentioned above, Haro has a negative existential copula, -**b**-, used primarily as a carrier of the negation marker –**á,** which is also attested with main verbs.

Parallel to the case with the negative main verbs, no slot for a tense-aspect is attested in the existential verbal predicative. Unlike what is noted with main verbs, temporal information is not given even periphrastically. The only way of conveying the temporal information here is syntactically, i.e. by using time adverbials (11).

Existential sentences in Haro, either affirmative or negative, always appear with a Dative argument as in (49).

49) tá- ⬬addá-si míssi **b-** **á-** **wwa**
1SG-father-DAT cattle:ABS COP:NEG-NEG-NEG:DEC
'My father has/had no cattle (Lit: There is/was no cattle for my father).'

The negative existential verb in Haro does not take a subject-agreement element. This is, however, not the case with the affirmative equivalent, as in below.

50) **tá- ⬬addá-si** **míssi** **⬬é- yén- e**
1SG-father-DAT cattle:ABS 3MS-exist-AFF:DEC
'My father has cattle (Lit: There is cattle for my father).'

7.3.3. Negation of 'being/becoming'

Negation of the states of 'being' and 'becoming' in Haro is expressed in a similar way by making use of the verb **maak**'- to which the negative marker **–á-** and the negative declarative marker **-wwa** are suffixed consecutively.

51) ⟨she⟩í♦í   bóza maak'-á-wwa
      she-NOM lazy become-NEG-NEG:DEC
      'She is not lazy/she is not becoming lazy.'

In the affirmative, however, the two are distinctly realized constructions. The verb **maak'**- followed by the affirmative marker is used only with the state of becoming (52), whereas the state of being is expressed by a zero morpheme (53) unless it is focused, in that case, it is introduced with the element -**kko**(54). Consider the following structures.

52) ⟨she⟩í♦⟨⟩   í   bóza maak'-e
      she-NOM lazy   become-AFF:DEC
      'She becomes lazy.'

53) ⟨she⟩í♦⟨⟩í   bóza
      she-NOM lazy
      'She is lazy.'

54) ⟨she⟩í♦⟨⟩í   bóza-kko
      she-NOM lazy-FOC
      'She IS lazy.'

As mentioned earlier a negative sentence in Haro requires a verbal predicate in the negative construction. Hence, a sentence construction of 'being', which is non-verbal in the affirmative, uses a verb 'become' in the negative, as the two are somehow close semantically. Hence, the two constructions, which are distinct in the affirmative, get neutralized in the negative.

The verb **maak'**- is not, however, a semantically depleted word as attested in its occurrence elsewhere. It is rather a kind of whereby word primarily associated to the meaning 'return' and 'turn one's own body' in which it behaves as a main verb marked for tense, person and mood. Below are illustrative examples on the occurrences of the verb **maak**'- 'return'   in the affirmative declarative (55) and imperative (56) structures.

55) **deyššá-t-   i   šapé- pa ⟨⟩áss-í   tá- maak'-ín-e**
      goat-   FEM:DF-NOM river- ABL cross-CNV 1SG-return-PA-AFF:DEC

'After having let the goat cross the river I returned.'

56) **tá-mííše   maak'-á**
1SG-money :ABS return-IMP
'Return my money!'

The following structure illustrates the use of **maak'-** in its sense of 'turn one's body'.

57) **č'ád-a   tán-á harg-   í   maak'-irípu hiid- í - kko ⬔é- hiid- ín-e**
piercing(a pain) I-ABS make sick-CNV turn- PROH say- CNV-FOC 3MS-say-PA-AFF:DEC

'I was sick and a piercing pain could not let me turn into the other side(Lit: a piercing pain made me sick and said to me do not turn.'

The verb **maak'-** is attested frequently in discourses whereby it functions as an element expressing a coherent relation. In such a context it always occurs in the form of a converb, and represents a sense ' (and) then '.

58)   ⬔óydduí   ⬔☺••á⬔   ⌘⬔ ⍾   ♫⌘⌘í ⬔ •□ ⬔óge
                nú- hang-   ín- e
four- person-   MAS:DF- NOM one- NMZ   trip 1PL go-
                PA-   AFF:DEC

O☺☺&₿⬔ó   ≋á⊠⌘⌘⍾ ♫óó□☺
          Oú○M̥ Oú○M̥ ℣☺••⬔á   ≋⍾⍾⸚⬔í   ⬔ú⬔
≋⍾⍾⸚⬔ í■⬔   M̥ ⬔⬔⬔
then- CNV three b□M̥☺⸚:ABS full   full   share-IMP say-CNV 3PL-say-PA-
AFF:DEC

'We, four people, had a trip together, and then, they (the three people, asked me to divide three breads one full for each…'

7.3.4. Negation and mood

As in other Ometo languages, e.g. Maale, Gamo, Wolaitta, Dawuro, Haro has distinctive imperative and optative negators: –**urúpu(ná)** and **-irípe** respectively. The element –**na** in the negative imperative marker is optional when no other morpheme, the emphatic marker **-tte**, follows it. When it is absent, the final vowel appears to have a high tone and the suffix occurs as -**urúpú**. The negative imperative and optative are considered as prohibitive mood in section (5.3). Structurally, these negation markers appear to be polysyllabic, and not fitting into the commonly found paradigm of affixes, (V)CV. From the phonological size they have, such elements appear rather as

a lexical word. However, their etymological background could not be attested in this study.

59) **s'og-urúpú**   ⟨glyphs⟩   ⟨glyphs⟩   ⟨glyphs⟩
ʃʔup-NEG:IMP   fall-INF-FOC.2SG-IMPF-AFF:DEC
'Don't jump you will fall down'

60) **s'og-irípe**   ⟨glyphs⟩ á ⟨glyph⟩   ⟨glyphs⟩   ⟨glyphs⟩
ʃʔup-NEG:OPT   fall-INF-FOC.2SG-IMPF-AFF:DEC
'Let him not jump he will fall down'

As with affirmative forms the negative imperative and optative forms can be marked for emphasis by the element –**tte**.

61) **hantt-urúpúna-tte**
work-PRO-EMP
'Don't work!'

In line with a common typological feature, the subject noun phrase in the imperative and optative sentences of Haro is usually absent (Watters, 2000:202).

7.3.5. Negative interrogative

The negative interrogative consists of a main verb manifested as a converb and a negative copula **b**-, to which special subject agreement markers are suffixed. The elements -**úú-,** -**óó-**and -**éé-,** which are not encountered elsewhere, are used as first, second and third person markers respectively. In addition, number-making elements, -**ans'**- and -**ayt**-, are attested marking distinctions between the first and second person forms respectively. As is common with optative and prohibitive verbs forms, is made assigning a passive verb stem to the plural makes the number distinction in third person verb forms.

62)   ⟨glyph⟩**oh-í m-úú**   'Haven't I told?'
⟨glyph⟩**oh-í m-ans'-úú**   'Haven't we told?'
⟨glyph⟩**oh-í b-óó**   'Haven't you(sg.) told?'
⟨glyph⟩**oh-í b-ayt-óó**   'Haven't you(pl) told ?'
⟨glyph⟩**oh-í b-éé**   'Haven't he/she told ?'
⟨glyph⟩**oh- utt-í b-éé**   'Haven't they told ?'

As shown in the above paradigm, the negative copula **b-** is realized as -**m**-with first person subjects. The variation in form of the copula can be accounted for by a way of a morphophonemic process, nasalization, triggered by a non-contingent nasal consonant of the number marking suffix -**ans**. This particularly holds for the first person plural form, **m-ans'-úú** , which constitutes of a suffix with a nasal segment, -**ans'**-. The situation with first person singular form could be accounted for analogy. Besides, the two forms share a similar person-marking element, and they are formally more similar to each other than to other constructions.

7.3.6. The Inherently negative verbs
Two inherently negative verbs are encountered in Haro. These are: ⬡✳■✦◊⬡□⬡ a verb used to decline and ⬅eg- 'fail/leave away', which by their very meaning incorporate a sense of negation into their lexical structure. These verbs have all the properties of other affirmative verbs, such as being inflected for tense, person, and mood. They also appear with an affirmative declarative marker.

The negative verb ⬡✳■✦◊⬡□⬡ 'decline' is frequently attested as a focal verb structure/complex verb as in the following.

63) ⬡é✦⬡í ⬚□⬡ó□◊ ✦□□◊⬡á-✦◊ ⬡✳■✦◊⬡□⬡á⬡ &&□⬡ ⬡é⬡ ⬤⬤⬡⬚
≋⬡⬡NOM come-INF want-NEG-NEG:DEC decline-INF-FOC-3MS-PF-AFF:DEC
'He does not want to come. He declined.'

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the verb ⬅eg- in the senses of 'fail' and 'leave away' respectively.

64) **boorá-z i táá- rí- ni tá- bišší- si- ni ⬡ellá-ra ⬡é- ⬅eg-ín-e**
food-DF:MAS-NOM 1SG-DAT-INC 1SG-girl- DAT-INC cover-INF- 3MS- fail-PA-AFF:DEC
'The food was not enough for me and my daughter (Lit: The food failed to be enough for me and my daughter.'

65) **nún-í nú- géri den- s- í ⬡ekk-í yood-óno hiid- í ⬡ú- dend- í**

we-NOM 1PL- people raise- TRV-CNV   hold-CNV   come-CER   say-CNV   3PL- raise- CNV

ꀔeg- i   ꤱú-hang- ín-e

leave-CNV 1PL-go-PA- AFF:DEC

'Saying let us raise and bring our people, they raised leave and went off(Lit: Saying we will raise, hold and let our people come, they raise went off and went.)'

The verb ꀔeg- 'leave/fail/refuse' is also used to negate the verb of being/becoming, **maak'**-. as in (66).

66) ꤱés-í   góba ꤱí -máák'e   ꀔég- e-   tte- ni   fatána ꤱar- á-
kko ꤱé- dd- e
     he-NOM clever 3MS-being-AFF:DEC fail-AFF:DEC-COND-INC exam   sknow-INF-FOC- 3MS-PF-
     AFF:DEC
     'Though he is not clever he passed the exam(Lit: Even if he fail to be cleaver, he has known the
     exam.'

In combination with a negative subordinate clause, the lexically negative verb

ꀔeg- can be suffixed to a negative marker,-**á**, with the corresponding construction

denoting a strong affirmation.

67) ꤱíᐧꤰó   ꤱℳℰℰꤰí
        ꃞꤰ   áꤰ   �☐ℳ   ꀔeg-á-   wwa
     she-ABS   take-CNV COP:NEG-NEG-PUR fail-NEG-NEG:DEC
     'I will certainly take (marry) her (Lit: I don't remain to take (marry) her.)'

The two negative verbs may co-occur in a complex clause.

68) ꤱéꤰ   ꤱins'ár-e-   tte   ꀔeg- á-   tte
     3MS-decline-AFF:DEC-COND leave -IMP-EMP
     'If he says no leave him.'

7.3.7. Negation in subordinate clauses
The negative subordinate clause is identified by absence of the negative

declarative marker -**wwa**. In the construction of a negative dependent clause, the main

verb appears as a converb, and it is followed by the negative copula **b**-, which itself is

attached to the negative marker. A clause type-marking element occurs following the

negative marker. Consider the purposive and temporal negative clauses in (69 and 70)

respectively.

69)   tán- í   addisába   bed-í   b-   á   re   ꀔꍓꤰ   á
              ᐧᐧꍓ

I-   NOM   Addis Ababa see-CNV COP:NEG- NEG-   PUR   remain- NEG-
NEG:DEC
'I don't refrain from seeing Addis Ababa.'

70)   ⟨éꝏ⟩ ⟨ꝏčꝏ⟩ Ӿ   ♌ꝏ
       áꝏ   •ꝏ   ⟨ꝏurúpuná-♦♦Ⅿ
       3MS-   ask-   CNV COP: NEG-NEG-TEM   tell-IMP:NEG-EMP
       'Don't tell him when he does not ask you.'

The negative relative clause is formed by simply adding the negative marking
element, **á**,. No other clause type-marking element is attested. A similar situation is
attested in parallel affirmative clauses, which occur only with the affirmative
declarative marker, -**e**. Thus, in Haro, a relative clause (affirmative or negative) is not
marked distinctively from the independent declarative counterpart. Compare a
negative relative clause with a negative declarative main verb (71), and an affirmative
relative clause with its independent counterpart (72) below.

71)   míísi   **keng-á**   bíššo   ⟨ekk-   á -   wwa
       cow:ABS posses-NEG   girl   take/marry-NEG NEG:DEC
       'I do not marry a girl who has no cattle.'

72)   míísi   **kéng-e**   bíššo   ⟨ékk-   e
       cow:ABS posses-AFF:REL   girl   take/marry-AFF:DEC
       'I will marry a girl who has cattle.'

A negative relative clause in Haro may also occur as an elliptic noun phrase, in
which case it takes nominal inflectional markers in the absence of the head noun.

73)   míísi **keng- á-   nna**   t-   o   ⟨ekk- á -   wwa
       cow   posses-NEG:REL-ELP   FEM:DF--ABS take/marry- NEG- NEG:DEC
       'I do not marry one(fem.) who have no cattle.'

Like a main verb, the negative existential verb, **b**-, can also be relativized (74); it
may also occur as an elliptic pr headless phrase (75) by taking an elliptic phrase marker
to which other nominal inflectional markers of the head are added

74)   háyí   gadé- ga   ⟨é- b-   á   ⟨ápe
       this   country-LOC 3MS-COP:NEG- NEG:REL   fruit:ABS
       'This is a fruit which does not exist in this country.

75)   háyí gadé-ga   ⟨é - b-   á-   s-   a
       this country-LOC   3MS-COP:NEG- NEG:REL- ELP-ABS
       'This is one which does not exist in this country.'

7.3.8. Interrogative pronouns as expression of negation

As is common in other Ethiopian languages, for instance Amharic (Baye 1994) and Maale (Azeb 2001), interrogative pronouns in Haro can appear as negative syntactic phrases when they occur suffixed to an inclusive marker, **-ni**. Semantically, such structures are equivalent to what are known as 'inherently negative quantifiers' such as 'nobody', 'nothing' etc of English (Payne, 1985:204).

Such expressions in Haro include interrogative pronouns such as **oon-a** 'who:ABS' **oon-i** 'who:NOM' and **a**-'what'. An inclusive marking suffix –**ni** occurs following the pronouns.

76a) **óón- í- ni**
who-   NOM-   INC
'nobody:NOM'

76b) **óón- á- ni**
who-   ABS:MAS-   INC
'nobody:ABS'

The word 'nothing' is expressed by using the interrogative pronoun **á** "what' and attaching the focus marker –**kko** to which the inclusive marker is suffixed as shown in (77a). The same expression can also be attained by suffixing the inclusive marker to numeral '**bizzo**' one as in (77b).

77) **á- kko-ni**
what-FOC-INC
'nothing'

bizzó-ni
one-INC
No one (nothing)

Such negative expressions in Haro occur with a negative verb.

78) **óón- í ni yood- á- wwa**
who-   NOM- INC   come-   NEG   NEG:DEC
'Nobody comes (Lit: who too do not come).'

79) **tán-í á- kko- ni ekk- á- wwa**
I-NOM what-FOC-INC- take- NEG- NEG:DEC

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'I do not take anything.(Lit: WHAT too I do not take)'

80) &és-i   **bizzó-ni mak'- áwwa**
   he-NOM   one-INC become-NEG:DEC
   'Nothing happened to him(Lit: He become nothing)'

7.3. 9. The expression 'except'
In Haro the word **péta** is used to express 'except'; it occurs

following an Ablative noun phrase as shown below.

81)   **tán-í**   &**í- kko- pa péta &ekk- á- wwa**
   I- NOM she-FOC-ABL other take- NEG-NEG:DEC
   'I will not take (marry) anybody other than her.'

82)   **tán-í**   &**ašó- pa péta miy- á- wwa**
   I-NOM meat-ABL other eat- NEG-NEG:DEC
   'I do not eat anything other than meat.'

7.3.10. Complete denial
Complete denial is expressed by the word **múle** 'never' that occurs before the

verb.

84)   **háre**   &**ašó**   **múle miy-utt- á- wwa**
   donky:GEN meat:NOM never eat-PAS-NEG- NEG:DEC
   'Donkey's meat is never being eaten.'

85)   **há** &**oh- é**   **múle tán-í siid- í b- á- wwa**
   this   tell- NMZ- never I- NOM hear   CNV- COP:NEG-NEG- NEG:DEC
   'I have never heard this story.'

CHAPTER EIGHT

FOCUS

This chapter discusses focus in Haro. The main purpuose of this chapter is to describe the strategy of focus marking and showing the various morphosyntactic phenomena associated with it. Following the presentation on the strategy of focus marking, we will next characterize the focus domains in Haro. Two domains of focus are attested in Haro. There is a default focus structure. The default interpretation of a sentence in isolation correlates with the default focus structure. However, focalisation can also be employed for discourse-pragmatic purposes. In a multi-proposal context, i.e., in connected speech, the default focus structure in a sentence may also be affected. Here, any constituent of a sentence can be marked for focus if the speaker wants it to put it in a contrastive focus.

8.1.   The strategy of focus marking in Haro

There is an increasinge awareness of the fact that different languages have different means to mark the informative part of the utterance, i.e., focus. Languages like English and many Germanic languages mark the focused material primarily by means of intonation, i.e., sentence accent. In Romance languages like Spanish and Italian, focus is marked by word order (see for instance Kempson and Marten 1999, Dik 1981, Sasse 1987, Lambrecht 1994, Valin &

LaPolla 1997). Morphological marking through the use of focus marking morphemes is another strategy for focus marking. This is commonly the case in the Cushitic and Omotic languages of Ethiopia (cf. Hayward 1999, Sasse 1987, Baye 1994).

In the case of Cushitic languages like Somali, Dabarre, Rendille, Afar, in which focus (and topic) plays a crucial role in determining the syntactic shape of sentences, focus is indicated by distinctive morphemes, which are located next to the focused constituent (see, for instance, Saeed 1993 in Somali). A somewhat similar situation is attested in East Ometo languages such as Zayse (Hayward 1990,1999), Koyra (Hayward 1982) and Zergula (Baye 1994), in which focus is morphologically expressed by attaching a copula marker to the focused phrase.

In Haro, a sentential component, which appears in focus, is marked by the element **–kko**. The element **-kko** is attested as one of the two affirmative copula element in the ancestral Ometo language (Hayward, 1985).

With nonverbal constructions, the focal construction is distinguished from its non-focal counterpart by the **-kko**, which occurs next to the nominal or adjectival complement.

1)   **há�} -i   kááti**
this-NOM   chief:ABS
'This is a chief.'

2)   **há�} -i kaatí-kko**
this-NOM   chief:ABS-FOC
This is a CHIEF.'

In there occurrence as a reply to the question 'who is it?' pronouns are suffixed to **–kko.**

3)   nén- í   ☞óó-i
you- NOM who- NOM
'Who is it? (Lit: You who?)

4) táná-kko   'It is me'

With verbal predicates, suffixation of the focus marker is not the only device used to indicate the focused phrase. The structure of the predicate also encodes what is brought into the scope of focus. The predicate appears to have three different structures corresponding to a focused subject, focused verb, and focused object as well as adverb) respectively. The three types of a predicate vary from each other in their morphological components and categorical classes. Hence, focus marking in Haro is a complex phenomenon interacting with different domains of the grammar. One can argue that a predicate in Haro is much more affected by focus than it is by the grammar itself.

Based on their morphosyntactic properties, which we will see in the coming sections, the three predicates are identified as simple predicate, complex predicate and nominalized relative clause. The following representation shows association of a predicate and type of a focused phrase.

Simple verbs = Focus on object or modifier

Complex verbs = Focus on verb

Nominalized relative clause verbs = Focus on subject

Below each of the three predicates will be discussed.

8.1.1. The simple predicate
This predicate is characterized by having a three-way tense system that distinguishes among the present, past, and future tenses by overtly found morphological signals. The present tense is paradigmatically identified by lack of an element standing for tense, whereas the past and future tenses are marked by the elements **–in** and **–or** respectively. A sentence type marker **–e** follows the tense marker in the declarative affirmative (see also Chapter 5). The simple verb in Haro

also displays agreement with its subject noun phrase by the use of pronominal elements, which are prefixed to a verb.

The simple predicate has wider occurrences, and attested in a thetic statement (5a) whereby no constituent is especially focused. A thetic statement is a statement not ABOUT an entity, but characterizing a situation as a whole (Sasse, 1981:549). It is also attested when both the verb and the subject are excluded from the scope of focus, that is, with a focused object noun phrase (5b) or with a focused adverbial argument (25).

5a)　　⬡　　　　　⬡••í moló ⬡é- wong- ín- e
　　man:NOM　　　fish:ABS　3MS- buy- PA- DEC:AFF
　　'A man bought fish.'

5b)　⬡assá- z i moló-kko ⬡é- wong- ín- e
　　man- MAS:DF- NOM fish:ABS- FOC 3MS- buy- PA-
　　AFF:DEC
　　'The man bought FISH.'

5c)　⬡assá- z- i tá- ⬡adde- pá- kko moló ⬡é-
　　　 wong- ín- e
　　man- MAS:DF- NOM 1SG- father- ABS- FOC
　　 fish:ABS 3MS- buy- PA- DEC:AFF
　　'The man bought fish FROM MY FATHER.'

Sentence 5b is elicited as a response for the questions What did the man buy?' and sentence 5c is elicited as a response for the question ' From whom did the man buy the fish?' respectively. In each case, the focused constituent appears to be marked with the suffix -**kko**.

8.1.2. The complex verb

The second form is structurally complex, and exclusively used when the verb is in the domain of focus. This verb involves different components, namely an infinitive verb (Verb root + INF marker) + a focus marker, + Pronominal + Aspect marker + Mood.

A complex verb in Haro in (6) has a cognate structure that involves double occurrence of the verb stem in Koyra (7).

6) yott- a- kko -ɗe –   n - e
    come-INF-FOC-3MS-IMP-DEC:AFF
    'He comes/He will come'

7) **yot -a - kko -ɗe -   yon-e**
    come-INF-FOC-3MS- come-DEC:AFF
    'He comes'

The form in Koyra contains two occurrences of a verb form, firstly as an infinitival form, and secondly, as a main verb. The sentence given above (7) has, therefore, a reading equivalent to 'He comes coming.' Similar verb forms attested in languages related to Haro, such as Zayse and Koyra, are identified as grammaticalized unitary entities of syntactic patterns (cf. Hayward, 1999:314). In the course of innovating such verb forms, Haro left out the main verb, while preserving the inflections, -**n-** and -**e**, the imperfect aspect and affirmative declarative marker respectively.

In contrast to simple verb stems, complex verbs in Haro are not inflected for tense marking. Such verbs, rather, make a two-way aspectual distinction between the imperfective and perfective. Since the main function of such verbs is expressing pragmatic prominence on the action itself, aspect that indicates whether the action is completed or still going on, is the crucial information. The three-way tense distinction exhibited with simple verbs may not seem relevant here.

The suffixes –**dd-,** and –**n**- are used to mark perfective and imperfective aspects respectively. This indicates that the complex verbs which are used when the verb is focused, represent the archaic form of the verb. A declarative affirmative marker, -**e**, which is also encountered with simple verbs, occurs following the aspect marker. Consider the perfective and imperfective paradigms of the verb **yott**- 'come'

8) 1SG   yott-á-tá -dd-e   yott -á -tá -n-e
    2SG   yott-á-**kko**-né-dd-e   yott -á -**kko**-né-n-e
    3MS   yott-á-**kko**-ɗé-dd-e   yott -á -**kko**-ɗé- n-e
    3FS   yott-á-**kko**-ɗí-dd-e   yott -á -**kko**-ɗí- n-e
    1PL   yott-á-**kko**-ɗúnú-dd-e   yott -á -**kko**-ɗúnú- n-e

| 2PL | yott-á-**kko**-ʔíní-dd-e | yott -á -**kko**-íní -n-e |
| 3PL | yott-á-**kko**-ʔú-dd-e | yott -á -**kko**-ʔú- n-e |

In its occurrence as part of the complex verb, the terminal vowel of the focus marker -**kko** is dropped before a vowel initial person marker, which also drops its initial consonant, the glottal stop. This suggests that the componential units are merging with each other to appear as a unitary element. However, in a slow and careful speech, vowel of the focus marker is present so does the initial segment of the person marker. Hence, a complex verb in Haro has two variant forms. Consider correspondent of the perfective paradigm of the verb 'come' shown above.

	9	1SG	yott-á-tá -dd-e
		2SG	yott-á-**kko**-né-dd-e
		3MS	yott-á-**kk**-é-dd-e
		3FS	yott-á-**kk**-í-dd-e
		1PL	yott-á-**kk**-únú-dd-e
		2PL	yott-á-**kk**-íní-dd-e
		3PL	yott-á-**kk**-ú-dd-e

Strangely, the focus marker –**kko** is not allowed attaching with a first person singular form of the verb in Haro. This may be due some extra-linguistic factors. It seems that when speaking about himself the speaker avoids the highest value of prominence to himself. Unlike the case with simple/non-focal verbs, the complex verbs in Haro are not subjected to modal categories. The only form encountered being distinct from the affirmative is the interrogative, which is expressed by omitting the focus marker -**kko** from the respective affirmative form.

10)		**Imperfective**	**Perfective**
	1SG	šog-á-tá -**n**-e	šog-á-tá -**dd**-e
	2SG	šog-á-né-**n**-e	šog-á-né-**dd**-e
	3MS	šog-á-ʔé-**n**-e	šog-á-ʔé-**dd**-e
	3FS	šog-á-ʔí-**n**-e	šog-á-ʔí-**dd**-e
	1PL	šog-á-ʔúnú-**n**-e	šog-á -ʔúnú -**dd**-e
	2PL	šog-á-ʔíní -**n**-e	šog-á -ʔíní -**dd**-e
	3PL	šog-á-ʔú-**n**-e	šog-á -ʔú-**dd**-e

8.1.3. The nominalized relative clause

A nominalized relative clause form of the verb is used when subject of a sentence is in focus. Unlike the other two, it is not inflected for person, tense, aspect mood or modality. But instead, it behaves more like nominal, and is marked for case. It occurs when head of a relative clause is omitted from a noun phrase. In Haro aattaching suffix –**é** into a verb root forms a relative clause, which modifies a head noun (11a). When the head noun in the construction is missing, the relative clause occurs in a different form (11b). It is attached to the element –**s**-, which is considered as a place holding suffix for an omitted head noun, then, followed by a case marker. Consider the underlined noun phrases in the following examples.

11a) tá-   maydó **wong- é**   ☜assá-   z--   i
      1SG-   ox:ABS   buy- AFF:REL man-   MAS:DEF- NOM
              'The man who bought my ox '

11b) tá-   maydó **wong-   é- s-   i**
      1SG-   ox:ABS buy- AFF:REL-   ELP-   NOM
              'The (one) who bought my ox .'

When a subject noun phrase occurs in focus, it gets attached to the focus maker suffix –**kko** and a headless relative clause occurs as a predicate of the structure as in (13).

12)   ☜ássi-   kko   moló **wong- é-   s- i**
        man- FOC fish   buy-   REL- ELP- NOM
        'THE MAN bought the fish (Lit: It is the man who bought the fish)'

13)   tá-   míssi- kko **yel-   é   s-   i**
        1SG- cow-   FOC give birth REL-ELP-NOM
        'MY COW gave birth (Lit: It is my cow that gave birth.'

7.1.   The focus domains

Haro has two focus domains, which according to Kiss (1995)'s classification, can be considered as information focus and contrastive focus. Information focus is the non-presupposed part of the sentece or

new information, whereas contrastive focus represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold (Kiss 1998:249).

8.2.1. The default focus structure in Haro

As a matter of fact, there is always a focalised constituent in a categorical statement of Haro. However, not more than one element is allowed in a focus domain. This situation in Haro confirms to the one-chunk-per-clause processing principle (Givón 1984:258).

Haro is a focus-prominent language in which a declarative sentence always occurs with one phrase in a focus domain. A sentence in Haro whether it occurs independently, i.e., out of a discourse context or whether it occurs in discourse, it contains one focused pharase. This includes a sentence, which is elicited when the informants are motivated to express an event or a process or translate a thetic sentence provided to him in another language. When occuring independently, a phrase that occurs in the focus domain is predictable from the structure of the sentence. That is the focus system in Haro interacts with the syntax and what appears in the focus domain is determined by the sentence structure. Hence, a sentence in Haro always has a default focus structure. In order to have a reading distinct from the unmarked focus structure, a sentence should occur in a discourse. In the later case, any constitute can occur in the focus domain if the speaker wants it to be focused and what is focused is unpredictable from the syntactic structure a proposition has. Elements which aquire focus by default are describe below.

8.2.1.1. Verbs with a subject/topic argument

Verbs with a subject or topic argument are attested occurring in a focus domain. These include intransitive and passive verbs that have only a single argument, which

occurs as a subject/topic in a sentence. The verb may denote a state in which the

subject may be an agent subject as in (14), or in the process that is not under voluntary

control as in (15) or patient/recipient (16).

14) ☞es- i yott- a- kko- e- dd- e
he- NOM come- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
'He has come.'

15) ☞es i láál- e- kko- ☞e- dd- e
he- NOM get thin- INF-FOC- 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
'It/He has become thin.'

16) zááwa- z- i ☞é- pitt utt - ín- e
house- MAS:DF- NOM 3MS- sweep- PAS- PA- AFF:DEC
'The house was swept.'

The meterological verbs in Haro occur in a focused structure.They do not have non-

focal form. Some examples of such verb constructions are given below.

17) gáde wont- á- kko- ☞é- dd- e
earth day- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
'It becomes day. (Lit:The earth has become a day.)'

18) gáde k'ang- á- kko- ☞é– dd- e
earth dark– INF- FOC- 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
'It becomes dark. (Lit: The earth has become dark.)'

19) gáde sikk- á- kko- ☞é- dd- e
earth late afternoon- INF- FOC- 3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
'The earth has became late afternoon (3:PM- 12:PM).'

As mentioned above, passivization changes the default focus structure of a clause.

In the active construction as in (21), the object noun phrase is focused and so a simple

verb stem is used. When the verb undergoes passivaization, as in (20) the focus shifts

from the object to the verb. Compare the following structures.

20) **mííš℩ hancčč☜ asi☜ í℩℩☜ si gujj- utt á☜**
&&□☜ ☞é☜ ⌓⌓☜ ℩
○□■℩y:ABS work-AGN- PL- DAT add- PAS- INF- FOC
3MS- PF- AFF:DEC
'Salary is increased to the workers(Lit: money has been increased to the
workers).'

21) **☞és- í hantt- así- i☜e-si mííše- kko**
☞é- gujj- ín- e
he- NOM work- AGN- PL- DAT money- FOC 3MS- add- PA-
AFF:DEC

He made a salary increment to the workers (Lit: he added money to the workers).'

1. Focus on adverbial arguments

If there is an adverbial argument in a clause it always occur in the focus domain. In the presence of an adverbial argument an intransitive cannot be focused. For instance, in (21 and 22) the adverbial argument but not the verb occurs in the focus domain

22)	és-	í	**há-**	**nna**	**kko**	é-	yon-	e
	he-	NOM	this-	LOC-	FOC	3MS	come-	AFF:DEC

'He is coming towards HERE.'

22)	úsún-		í	**zawwá-**	**kko**	ú-	gel-	ín-	e
	they-		NOM	house:ABS-	FOC	3PL-	get in-	PA-	
								AFF:DEC	

'They entered into a HOUSE.'

If a clause contains both a purposive adverbial argument and a locative argument, the former occurs in the domain focus.

23)	ís-		í	túkke	wong-	óra	**gáyya-**	**kko**	í-
							hang-	ín-	e
	she-	NOM		coffee:ABS	buy-	PUR	market-	FOC 3FS-go	PA-
									AFF:DEC

'She went to the MARKET to buy coffee.'

24)		és-	í	moló	**ayk-**	**óra** -	**kko**
					é- wudd-	ín-	e
	he-		NOM	fish:ABS	hold-	PUR -FOC	3MS- go
				down-		PA- AFF:DEC	

He went down to catch a fish'

As will be seen below, in a sentence that have a direct object, the direct object occurs in a focus domain if there is no adverb, which attracts focus. The rationale for focus sensitivity of adverbs is presumably that if an optional argument is added to a clause, it must be communicatively most salient. (See also Givon, 1984:260).

2. Focus on direct object

If there is a direct object involved in a sentence, and if there is no adverbial argument, the direct object occurs in the focus domain. In the presence of the direct object, both the verb as well as the subject are excluded from the scope of focus.

25) šéᴏ ᴀ**ássi-** **kko** ᴀé- ᴀekk- ín- e
crocodile:NOM man- FOC 3MS- take- PA- AFF:DEC
'A crocodile took a man(Lit: A crocodile ate a man.)'

26) lúkku ᴀ**alla-** **kko** ᴀé - bookk- e
hen:NOM earth- FOC 3MS- scratch- AFF:DEC
'A hen scratches earth.'

27) ᴀés- í **wontó-** **kko** ᴀé- galt- ín- e
he- NOM God- FOC 3MS- thank- PA- AFF:DEC
'He praised/thanked God'

One may argue that an object noun phrase occurs in the focus domain is focused because it is one of the several alternatives that can occur on the same slot, and present in the speaker's mind at the time of utterance. However, that does not always hold true because even those objects, which do not have alternatives are attested occurring in the focus domain.

28) zíízo **šída- kko** ᴀí- šííd- e
bee:NOM honey-FOC 3MS-make honey-AFF:DEC
'A bee makes honey.'

29) ᴀés- í **č'uččí- kko** ᴀé- č'utt- ín- e
he- NOM saliva- FOC 3MS- spit- PA- AFF:DEC
'He spited saliva.'

In the context of the above sentences, one hardly presupposes alternative topics as a set of individuals contrasting pragmatically with 'honey, and 'saliva' respectively. The fact that the 'bee' makes 'honey' but nothing else is what the speaker presupposes to be common knowledge. Even if the object is predictable and has no contrastive alternative, it occurs in the focus domain. Such a situation in Haro does not seem to fit into the theoretical consideration that a sentence containing focused material has a focus semantic value, also called focus set of alternatives. The

focus semantic value of a sentence is the set of alternative propositions construed by replacing the denotation of the focused expression with an object of the same semantic type (Rooth 1985,1992). In Haro, an object noun phrase cant be focused regardless of its having other potential alternatives. That is focus does not necessarily indicate the presence of alternative topics or so-called contrastive topics. This may suggest that focus in Haro is not just pragmatically motivated, but much more - grammatical. Another point to mention is that only indefinite nouns but not definite nouns are can be in focus in Haro

.
30) *še◷o &assa-z-a-kko ☞e-☞ekk-in-e
   crocodile:NOM man-DF:MAS-ABS-FOC 3MS-take-PA-AFF:DEC

This may be because an indefinite NP introduces a new referent, and the description of this referent cannot be presupposed, where as, a definite NP refers to an existing referent, and the descriptive part is presupposed. Presupposed material cannot be in focus.

3. Focus on complement of the verbs 'exist', 'become/ being'

The verb **yen**- 'exist' **mak**'- 'become/being' always have a focused complement.

31)	moló bizzí **lók'alók'a- kko**	☞é- yén- e
fish	one place place- FOC 3MS- exist- AFF:DEC	

'fish is found only in certain places.'

32) šató-	z-	i	**zawwá- gidda- kko**	☞é- yén- e
boy-		MAS:DF-	NOM house- LOC- FOC 3MS- exist- AFF:DEC	

'The boy is in the house'

33)	☞ís-í	**hantt- ássi-kko**	☞í- mak'- ín- e
she-	NOM work- AGN- FOC3MS	become- PA- AFF:DEC	

'She became a worker'

In summary, primarily, an adverbial argument attracts focus; if there is no adverbial argument, then, the direct object will be the second candidate; if the verb

involved is intransitive/passisve/reciprocal- have no object, then, the verb itself will be focused on.With existencial sentences, sentences with 'being' and 'becoming', the complement will attract the focus. An indirect object in Haro does not attract focus.

8.2.2. Focus in discourse
    In contrast to the situation with the default focus discussed above, focus is a context-dependent phenomenon in a multi-proposional discourse. Here, the speaker focuses on one member among a set of few alternatives normally closed by the discourse context. Unlike in the situation with the default focus, any constitute of a sentence can be marked for focus if the speaker thinks it to bear the highest value of information. For instance, a transitive verb or a subject of an intranstive verb can be in focus if the context deserves. Thus, the default focus structure may be affected in the discourse. There is also a possibility for the default focus structure to coincide with focus in a discourse. However, the readings differ in each case. A wide-focus reading, which is extracted from the default focus, is blocked in the discourse. This is because, unlike in the former case, in the case of a discourse, only a limited number of alternatives occur contrastively. For instance, in its occurrence in a discourse the sentence we saw earlier (1c) has a different reading from the one it has in a non-contextal or wide-focus reading.

> 34) ☞assá- z-   i   **moló-   kko** ☞é- wong- ín-   e
> man-   MAS:DF- NOM   fish:ABS-   FOC 3MS- buy- PA-
>   AFF:DEc
> 'The man bought FISH.'

    When used as an answer for the alternative question 'Did the man buy fish or potato?' or in an argument on what the man bought among a few specific things, the sentence has a narrow-focus reading. It means he bought fish, but not potatoes. The wide-focus readings are blocked here as the context limits a number of alternatives. On the other hand, when given context-independently, as a description of an event, it indicates a non-contrastive focus and has a wide-focus reading.

Below, illustrations on narrow-focus marking in verb, subject, adverb, will be given based on sentences extracted from a text. The following is the discourse background of the utterances of the three sentences. A hyena and a lion had a cow and an ox. The cow belongs to a hyena while the ox belongs to a lion. They agreed to guard the ox and the cow together at a field. They run the guarding job turn by turn. One day, while the lion was guarding, the cow gave birth to a calf. However, the lion wanted to have the calf, and told to the hyena that his ox has given birth. In the narrative story, sentence (35) is used by the lion to break the news.

35) tá-   máydo **yel** á   **kko** é -   **dd-**   e
1SG-   ox:NOM   give birth- INF-FOC- 3MS- PF   AFF:DEC
            'My ox GAVE BIRTH.'

In this sentence, the event or action of giving birth is what the speaker wanted to attach a higher prominence to, because he knew that what happened is something which the hearer never expects. Thus, a focused verb is used. When the lion that says, it must be the cow that gave the birth, challenges the hyena then he further argued (36).

36) tá-   máydo-   kko   yel- **é** - s-   i
1sg-   ox:NOM-   FOC   give birth- AFF:REL- NMZ-
                                            NOM
            'It is MY OX that gave birth.'

Here, the focus is shifted to the issue of who gave the birth; the cow or the ox is the most important information. Hence, the subject occurs in focus suffixed to –**kko**. The event is no more exciting or new information and therefore occur as a nominalized relative clause.

Sentence (37) gives the highest prominence for the temporal noun; it is used as an answer for 'when, in whose turn of guarding, did the ox give birth?', a question raised at a latter point of the argument by a judge .

37) tá-   maydo **zine- kko**   yel- ín-   e
1SG-   ox:NOM   today- FOC give birth- PAS- AFF:DEC
            'My ox gave birth TODAY.'

7.1.2.   Focus in content interrogatives

With Wh-questions, which are used to elicit new information in the context

when the entire clause with the exception of a single element which is requested, is

familiar, the default-focus structure occurs. The specific element, which is requested,

behaves like a focused element. Structure of the verb shows what is requested in the

same way as it shows what is focused. For instance, when the subject is requested, a

nominalized relative clause occurs as a predicate (see 38a), where as when the object

or the adverbial argument is requested, a simple verb stem is used as in (39a and 40a).

Similarly, the element given as an answer to the given question occur attached with

the focus marker -**kko** (see 38b,39b,40b).

38a).   **oon-í** káre gu- guy-   é-   s- i
who-NOM door:ABS   FRQ-   hit- AFF:REL- NMZ - NOM
'Who is knocking the door?'

38b) **tá-**   **biššó-**   **kko** káre gu-   guy- é-   s-   i
1SG-   little girl:NOM-   FOC door:ABS   FRQ- hit-
AFF:REL-   NMZ -NOM
'MY LITTLE GIRL is knocking the door.'

39a) ís-í **al-á** í-   worg- ín-   e
she-NOM what-ABS   3FS- want- PA-   AFF:DEC
'What did she want?'

39b) ís-í mííše-   kko í-   worg- ín-e
she-NOM money:ABS-   FOC 3FS-want- PA-   AFF:DEC
'She wanted money.'

40a)   táá- ri   **andé** né- oh- ín-   e
I- DAT when 2SG-   tell- PA- AFF:DEC
'When did I tell you (that)?'

40b) táá-   ri   zne- kko né - oh- ín-   e
I-   DAT   yesterday- FOC 2SG-   tell- PA-   AFF:DEC
'You told me (that) YESTERDAY.'

In summary, Haro has a default-focus structure that may be affected in the

discourse. A sentence always contains one and only one constituent marked for focus;

the element marked for focus is identified by the element –**kko**. Apart from placement

of the focus marker, one can identify what is focused from the structure of a predicate.

If the verb is focused, it appears in a special complex/focal form; if what is focused is a subject, the verb turns up into a nominalized relative clause, and the subject would have a semantically empty predicate, a copula. When a constituent other than a verb or a subject is focused, a simple/non-focal verb is used.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Below, summary of the main findings and some conclusive points are presented. The morphological properties shown in the Ometo languages, the relationship that Haro shows with the other members and the typical features exhibited in Haro are presented in the summary.

The system of terminal vowels of nominals in the ancestral Ometo contains five vowels rather than four, which is assumed in earlier studies. Terminal vowels of nominals are not mere phonetic elements but they are nominal class markers, which are associated to gender feature, at least historically. With a class of nominals, occurrence of the terminal vowels can be predictable from the phonological shape of the stem, i.e., from final consonant.

There is evidence showing that there has been a historical process taking place in the morphological system of the Ometo languages that has reduced two gender sensitive allomorphic variants in to one form. This situation is attested with the case marking morphs, definite marking morphs and copula markers. In each case, the present time languages of Ometo show retaining one of two allomorphs over the other counterpart. However, members of Ometo even those, which are very close to each other to belong into one subgroup, show variation in their choice or selection of retaining one morph over the other. For example, of the two archaic definite markers reconstructed for Proto-Omto, Dawuro and Malo have retained the feminine form, -**t**, whereas, Gamo and Maale have retained the masculine counterpart, -**z**. Note that all the three members belong to the North Ometo sub-branch. A few conservative languages of Ometo including Haro are attested preserving both forms.

In a similar way, it is attested that while Gamo retained the masculine copula marker, -**kko**, Dawuro retained the feminine counterpart, -**tte**. In the East Ometo branch, Koyra has preserved the masculine copula marker in contrast to Zayse, which has preserved the feminine form (see also Hayward 1989 for reconstruction of the archaic copula markers). Unlike the situation with the definite markers, no language has preserved both of the copula markers.

A quite similar thing is observed with the case markers in the Ometo languages. The ancestral Ometo language has two gender sensitive allomorphs in both the Nominative as well as the Absolutive cases. The East Ometo languages have undergone simplification of the old case marking system particularly in the Nominative case. While languages in the non-East Ometo subgroups still mark the Nominative case via two gender sensitive suffixes, that is, by the use of -**i** and -**a** for masculine and feminine nouns respectively, languages of East Ometo (Haro, Zayse, Zergula, Ganjule, and Koyra) use a single element, -**i,** as a sole Nominatve case marker occurring with all nouns. Hence, the Nominative case marker -**i**, which occurs in the East Ometo sub-branch and its cognate counterpart occurring elsewhere, are not identical in their synchronic function.

  It is also observed that, when a language preserves one of the two gender sensitive archaic morphs over the other, the retained morph may or may not keep the gender feature with it. This varies from morpheme to morpheme. A definite marker morph is attested retaining its gender sensitivity even though the other counter part is absent in a language. In other words, each one of the two definite markers, which are retained in different members of the group, are still gender sensitive and cannot be used with nouns other than their gender class.

In contrast, the Nominative case marker –**i**, which is associated to the masculine gender, as the synchronic situation with the non-East Ometo languages, has lost its gender feature in the East Ometo languages from which the feminine counterpart has been lost.

It is also noted that the Nominative case but not the Absolutive case shows such a reduction or simplification in the system of case marking. Why only the subject markers but not the object markers in East Ometo have undergone

simplification may be because of the fact that the subject is co-referred via bound pronominal elements, which are prefixed on the verb.

Concerning the pronoun system, East Ometo appears to be conservative preserving the archaic paradigm (forms with ***n**, the fossilized Accusative case marker). In East Ometo the archaic paradigm is attested in both Absolutive as well as Nominative cases, whereas, with the others the archaic paradigm occurs only in the Absolutive case. Zayse is an exceptional East Ometo language.

This study also shows that the first and second person pronoun categories are etymologically opaque and more archaic to the system while the third person pronoun category is relatively new. Etymological root of the third person pronouns is proved to be a remote demonstrative pronoun. It is also investigated that gender and number specifications in the third person pronouns is made by attaching archaic portmanteau prefixal elements, which stand for number, gender and definiteness, to the remote demonstrative. The prefixal elements are attested functioning synchronically in one member of East Ometo, Zayse. It is also noted that members of Ometo show a great variation on the third person pronoun category while showing similarity with the first and second person pronoun paradigms. Even within an individual language, the third person singular pronoun category appears to have more variant forms. Three different paradigms are attested for the third person pronouns. Members like Basketo and Maale have all the three forms functioning synchronically side-by-side. The three paradigms are assumed to be derivatives of different points in time in the history of the Ometo languages. While other pronoun categories underwent one stages of historical change, that is, reduction of the fossilized Accusative case marker -**n**, the third person pronouns have passed through two stages of developments. The later change is motivated by analogy in order to keep the paradigm coherence in the pronoun system.

It is attested that several grammatical properties are attested making Haro unique from the other Ometo languages. The fact that case is assigned only to definite nouns; that nouns make a three-way number distinction; that there is a clear distinction between tense and aspect exponents: that non-focal/ simple verbs make a three way tense distinction while their focal/complex verb counterparts make a two way aspectual distinction (this is not the case in other Ometo languages (see for instance Azeb (2001) for Maale and Hayward (1990) for Zayse); that it has a system of focus marking, which interacts and affects the grammar (the noun morphology, the verb morphology, categorization of a predicate) are some.

On the other hand, there are several linguistic features proving that Haro is a member of the East Ometo branch. The presence of prefixal subject agreement markers, which are short pronoun forms, the use of special-focal verb paradigms, (which is a typical feature of the Cushitic languages,) and the use of a reduced system of Nominative case marking that does not co-mark gender sensitive are some are attested being typical features distinguishing the East Ometo languages from the rest. Showing such peculiar features, Haro fits very well into the group. Hence Fleming's classification of 1976, which is based on lexicostatistics, goes in line with the findings of this study. Of the East Ometo varieties, Zayse appears to be peculiar from all other Ometo languages in many respects. The prefixal definite markers which also co-mark gender and number are unique to Zayse. It is noted that such elements in Zayse are archaic to be found in the third person pronoun category. Also, making a distinction between the inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns is typical to Zayse.

With regard to the numeral system in the Ometo languages, the East and North Ometo branches appear to be closer to each other than the West and South. A

historically quinary system is attested in the East and North Ometo. The system is not traced in the other two sub-branches: West and South branches. The West and South Ometo branches, on the other hand, show a decimal system. The decimal system is attested functioning for counting months of the year as attested in the traditional calendar of the South Ometo Maale.

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