A Grammar of Dime
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               Dr. C.J. Rapold
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Maps

Major language families in Ethiopia

Source: Hayward (1995:7)
Omotic languages and dialects
Source: Hayward (1990:vi)
## Structure morphemes

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<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Name/approximate function</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-á</td>
<td>CNV1</td>
<td>converb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-af</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ándé</td>
<td>CNV2</td>
<td>converb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-áá</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>polar question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bab</td>
<td>AGEN</td>
<td>agitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bow</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dán</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>non tense copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-déé</td>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>imperfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-đée</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>perfective marker in non-verbal construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>đééf-ká</td>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>đéén</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula of existence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>đéén-ká</td>
<td>exist-PF</td>
<td>past copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dó/dót</td>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dótik</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>or</td>
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<tr>
<td>-éé</td>
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<td>-eé</td>
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<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-id</td>
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<td>plural agreement for modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-im</td>
<td>ACC / NMZ</td>
<td>accusative marker / nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-imá</td>
<td>INCH</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative to/for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ind</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine gender marker</td>
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<td>-inká</td>
<td>REAS</td>
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<tr>
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<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
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<tr>
<td>-is</td>
<td>DEF</td>
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</tr>
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<td>-is</td>
<td>PL.ADR</td>
<td>plural addressee</td>
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<td>-ká</td>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ká</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>INST</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-káy</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative marker</td>
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<td>-kiyó</td>
<td>prox</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
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<td>-matim</td>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>2/3 person marker</td>
<td>2/3 S/PL marker in declarative sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-súkiyó</td>
<td>distal</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-se</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sim</td>
<td>REC</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-t</code> 1 person marker</td>
<td><code>1S/PL</code> marker in declarative sentences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-tub</code> FUT</td>
<td>Future marker for first person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-ub</code> M</td>
<td>Masculine gender marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-ind F.RELT</td>
<td>Relative verb with feminine head noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-ub M.RELT</td>
<td>Relative verb with masculine head noun</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Abbreviations and symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td><code>.</code> high tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>//</code> phonemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>[ ]</code> phonetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>&lt;</code> derived from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>&gt;</code> derived to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>*</code> ungrammatical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>1S</code> first person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>1PL</code> first person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>2S</code> second person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>2PL</code> second person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>3SF</code> third person singular feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>3SM</code> third person singular masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>3PL</code> third person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ABL</code> ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ACC</code> accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ADJ</code> adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ADR</code> addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>adv</code> adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>AGEN</code> agentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>AGR</code> agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>C</code> consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>C1</code> the first consonant of a cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>C2</code> the second consonant of a cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>CAUS</code> causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>COND</code> conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>CNV1(CNV2)</code> converb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>CNJ</code> conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>COM</code> comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>COP</code> copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>DAT</code> dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>DEF</code> definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>DEM</code> demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>DGR</code> degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>DIM</code> diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>DIR</code> directional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>Dis</code> distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>DSJ</code> disjunction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

Numerous people have assisted me in the realization of the present study in one way or the other. Thanks are due to all of them. Although for reason of space not every one’s name can be given here, I will mention some of them.

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to the Dutch Science Foundation (NWO), for their generous four-years grant that enabled me to undertake the study. I am also grateful to the CNWS for their contribution to cover the cost of my medical expenses when I suffered a bout of malaria after coming back from fieldwork. In particular I would like to mention Prof. Barend ter Haar (then director of CNWS), Dr. Willem Vogelsang, Ilona Beumer-Grill and Sabine Luning. I have much to say about my supervisors, however the promotion regulations of Leiden University forbid me to thank any one of them.

I wish to thank the late Professor Peter Ladefoged, who checked some of the tone patterns of Dime in his phonetic laboratory presentation when we met in Ethiopia during the International Symposium on Endangered Languages in Ethiopia, April, 2005. He used my data for demonstration in a series of lectures on phonetics for staff and students of Addis Ababa University. I am highly indebted to Dr. Klaus Wedekind. Many of the ideas concerning Dime tone, velar and uvular consonants, and vowel systems were discussed with him during his stay in Addis for the same international conference. I am grateful to Dr. Haileyesus Engdasheset and Dr. Joachim Pesonen for their support. They spent much time reading most of the chapters of the thesis and gave insightful and valuable comments.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Dime people who taught me their language and culture. I would specially like to thank my consultants Shiftaye Yisan, Maikro Gizachew, Taddesse Gelbok, Memhir Tariku, Ato Daban Gaso, Ato Taye, and Ato Tuji.

My gratitude also goes to my friends of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church, both at Jinka, Addis Ababa, and in the Netherlands. I wish to mention some of them: my lovely friends Ato Kassahun Hailhamariam, Dr. Semu Mitiku, Ato Niguse Shiferaw, Ato Jimawork Aweke, Bezaye Ketema, Ato Yimer Hussen, Memihirt Abebech Bule, Memihirt Habtamu Asires, Qesis Mekuwamint Dejene, W/rt Aynalem, Dn. Asrat Tsegaye, Ato Mulugeta Alem, W/ro Fetlewok Bekele, W/ro Taddesu Yohanis, Ato Taddese Jara, Ato Engida Yehuwalashet, Ato Yafet John, Hewan Teshome, Abeba Tesfaye, W/rt Flora Tesfaye, Dn Sintayehu Yosef, W/ro Woyinshet, Ato Alemu Beyera, W/ro Fikirte Esthete, Ato Dawit Amare and W/ro Azeb, Dr. Fanta Mandefro, Dr. Getnet Taddele, W/ro Abaynesh Esthetu, Ato Tsegab Tibebo.

My colleagues and friends at Addis Ababa University helped me in one way or the other: Girma Demekel, Meley Mulugeta, Wondosen Tesfaye and all the ELRC staff; Hirut Wohlimariam, and the rest of the staff of the linguistics department. Thanks are due also to my colleagues in the departments of African languages and cultures at Leiden: Felix Ameke, Kofi Dorvol, Sander Steeman, Tolemariam Fufa, Anne-Christie Hellenthal, Maarten Kossmann, Jon Abink, Daniela Merolla, Maud Devos, Oumou Diaby, Maggie Konter-Katani, Graziano Savà, Connie Kutsch Lo-
jenga, Thilo C. Schadeberg, Mercy Lamptey. I would like to specially mention Anne-Christie Hellenthal and Kofi Dorvlo for their devotion to read and comment on most of the chapters.

I am grateful to my families on both the Addis and Asella side for their moral and material support over all my academic life. Special thanks and gratitude go to my parents, Ato Seyoum Gebeyaw and Asefefe Shiferaw, and my sister Kokebe Seyoum, and other members.

My utmost gratitude goes to my wife Aynalem Taye. Without her cooperation, patience, understanding, sacrifice, and encouragement the completion of this thesis would not be practical. I dedicated this thesis to you and to our lovely sons Atmarios Mulugeta, Fikremariam Mulugeta and Estifanos Mulugeta.

Finally, I must thank my God for his gift and care that endowed me with the strength to finish my work. I must also thank Saint Mary, the mother of God, for Her intercession and all the Saints in the Kingdom of God for their blessing.
1 Introduction

1.1 The Dime people

The southern part of Ethiopia is the homeland of a remarkable variety of communities. Their cultural and linguistic diversity results from a complex historical background, compounded by geographical and social differences. One of the communities inhabiting this culturally rich area is the Dime people. The Dime belong to the South Omo administrative region. According to Siebert (2002), the Dime people’s territory comprises a mountain range of less than 20 km’s width and 55 km’s length, which stretches from north to south with Mt. Smith (8,294 ft) as its highest elevation. There are conflicting views among different scholars concerning the statistics of the Dime population, for instance, Bender (1976: 8) estimates the total Dime population at about 2,000, while Fleming (1990:495) states that “they are steadily decreasing and now threatened with extinction”. According to a 1994 census the Dime constitute a population of 5,462 people. Similarly, Siebert’s (2002) estimation of the population is 5000.

According to an interview with Ato K’elob K’alob, an elderly of about 90 years from Gerfa area, “Dime” was originally the name of the person, who first settled the Dime people in the Us’a area.” The Dime people live in six villages: Gero, Us’a, Gerfa, Genč’ire, Geč’a and Irk’a. All these villages are located on the mountains of Gerfa, Woyede, Vingi, Bampre, Gulo, Irk’a and Galč’ic’. Some of the names of the villages seem to be derived from the names of the mountains. Among these six villages, only the people of the villages of Us’a and Gero are accustomed to using oxen for farming during the recent period, while the rest only use hoes for their traditional farming activities. In general, they are settled farmers raising crops. Their products include: Maize, sorghum, ’eff (Eragrostis abyssinica), potato, inset, and coffee. They also keep bees and domestic animals.

The language communities surrounding the Dime area are the Chara to the north (across the river Omo), the Basketto to the north-east and east, the Aari to the southeast, the Mursi and some Surma to the south-west, and the Bodi (Me’en) to the west. The Dime communities have currently peace. Fleming (1990) states that during the reign of Emperor Menelik II, around 1910, their territories embraced all the highlands and lowlands from Us’nu River to the Omo River. However, the Dime people were unable to protect themselves against their enemies, consequently their territories declined and they only occupy now the most mountainous areas.

Due to the absence of good roads and the lack of transportation system the Dime people do not have regular connection to the outside market. An interesting aspect of the traditional knowledge of the Dime people is their production of metal by smelting the ores found in the local soil. Concerning their traditional iron technology Abbink (2005:164) states that “they were also one of the few remaining Ethiopian societies that until the late 1970s retained the traditional art of iron-smelting, carried out in 1.5-m-high earthen furnaces. The iron was used for spears, plough points and various other tools.”
Most of the Dime between the ages of 7-20 attend school; they have relatively better access to education compared to their neighbours. Consequently the current government has given educated people from the Dime area positions of authority in local administration and they govern the Sala-Mago district. For instance, during my first fieldwork the administrative head of the District, the representative of the district, the head of the justice office, the head of the local finance office, and the head of the information office at Zone levels were all from the Dime people. However, due to their restricted number, they tend to be culturally influenced by the majority groups of their neighbours like the Bodi, and Aari. Moreover, for elementary and high school education they go out of their village and are obliged to live with other communities. For instance they have to go to Hanna for elementary school and to Jinka for attending high school. Since schools are located far from their villages and because of lack of transportation, they are forced to live away at least for half a year or more. Their chance to visit their family is during summer. Since the lingua franca language is Amharic in the region they often use Amharic to communicate with the other communities, teachers and students, rather than using their mother tongue.

The Dime have some cultural affinities with neighbouring groups. Their music and musical instruments resemble those of the other Omotic people such as the Aari.

Among the different cultural activities of the Dime, an interesting one is the burial customs of their chiefs, which occurs as follows: When their chiefs die, they do not bury the corpse under the ground. They place the chief on a seat, which is placed in a hole in the ground. Subsequently he is buried up to his neck, leaving his head above ground. They cover the head with a basket to prevent any damage. Within a few days it decomposes, and worms are visible moving on the ground. It is believed that during this period all his blessings are imparted to the people. They are convinced that if they bury his whole body under the ground, they would miss his blessings and they would be exposed to danger or punishment (cf. Mulugeta 1999: 52-62). Such ideas are prevalent among the traditional believers. Concerning religious affiliation, some follow traditional beliefs others are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church or the Protestant Christian church.

Another important aspect of Dime culture is the absence of promiscuity. Marriage is an honourable tradition with them. In the course of the wedding preparations, the value of the bride price is fixed through negotiations with the family of the girl. It is accepted in the Dime culture for the bridegroom to give only one or two cattle and some money, according to his income. This stands in contrast to the neighbouring Bodi culture where a man who intends to marry a girl has to provide 37-40 cattle and one gun to her family.

1.2 The Dime language

Dime is an endangered language. As Fleming (1990:494) states, the self-name is dim-aaf (Dime-mouth) or dim-ko-af (Dime-Gen-Mouth). Dime is the name of the language, the land and the people who speak the language. It belongs to the Omotic
language family according to the classification of Fleming (1976)\(^1\). Concerning this Fleming (1990:500) states the following:

Dime has been classified genetically by myself, Bender (1971), Greenberg (personal communication) and others as (a) an Afro-asiatic language, (b) an Omotic or “West Cushitic” language, and (c) a member of the south Omotic branch of Omotic. But the classification of Dime is still actively controversial, with some believing that it is not even Afro-asiatic, and others contending that it – as well as the rest of Omotic – is simply Cushitic. Some also used to believe that Dime and its close kin were not related to the northern “West Cushitic” languages like Kafa or Janjero, but rather was actually related to Nilotic or East Sudanic. However, no one that I know of doubts that Dime finds its closest genetic kin in Hamer and the Ari dialects extending from Bako to Umbar and Galila in western GemGofa.

According to Fleming (1976), Dime forms the South-Omotic branch of Omotic together with the “Hamer–Banna dialect cluster (including Beshada and Karo)”, and the “Ari dialects” (including Bako, Shangama, Ubamer, and Galila).\(^2\)

Most Dime people speak one or two languages next to their mother tongue, especially those living along the border with the Basketo, Aari, and Bodi. These are multilingual groups, but there are also monolingual groups in Dime which are in the middle of the Gerfa area.

Fleming (1990:490-500) states that Dime has three regional dialects: the north, central and a more divergent southern dialect. The author of the present study distinguishes two distinct dialects: the Us’a and the Gerfa dialects (Mulugeta 2005). This study is mainly concerned with the Us’a dialect. The name of the dialect is derived from the name of the village. According to my assistant, Us’a is the ancient place of Dime speakers. Concerning this Fleming (1990:498) pointed out that Us’a is “the most secure spot for Dimes.” (See also Siebert (2002) who shares this opinion).

The two dialects have some lexical and phonological differences. Moreover, most Gerfa words end in the vowel u, while in Us’a they end in e or i (see also Fleming 1990). The following words illustrate the lexical differences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Us’a</th>
<th>Gerfa</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koizi</td>
<td>?asû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔasin</td>
<td>bðe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔáá</td>
<td>ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisi</td>
<td>kacu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) As Bender (1990) states, the Omotic language family is the least known and the least studied language family from the Afro-asiatic phylum. Its classification is still problematic. Fleming (1976) classified it as an independent sub-family under the Afro-asiatic phylum; some scholars object Fleming’s classification and consider Omotic as part of Cushitic and use labels such as West Cushitic and “Sidama”.

\(^2\) Bender (2000:160) states that Dime is the most divergent Aroid language, which means, it is more distant from Ari and Hamer than the latter two are from each other.
1.3 Endangerment of the Dime language

One of the most important causes for urgency in linguistic research in Dime is language endangerment. Some of the earlier works on endangered languages in Ethiopia include Hayward (1998), Zelealem (1998), and Appleyard (1998), just to mention a few. Hayward (1998:17) calls on scholars to draw their attention to language endangerment: “I wonder whether our best strategy would be to draw attention as strongly as possible to any rare or unique linguistic properties found in languages that happen to be endangered, whenever we are aware of such properties.” See also Zelealem (1998) and Appleyard (1998).


Endangerment of the Dime language is strongly linked to the demographic state of its speakers. This in turn relates to historical enmity with the neighbouring Bodi people and competition for resources. Due to the fighting between Bodi and Dime people a lot of Dime died and migrated to other places. Consequently, the number of the speakers declined. Todd (1997:223) makes the following statement about this:

“The most obvious effect of the war on the Dime was that many of them left the country, and will probably never return. A similar number died. The population has therefore declined by somewhere between 1,000 and 3,000 which is a considerable loss for a people who did not originally number more than perhaps 11,000.”

Fleming (1990:495) expressed a similar concern:

Demographically the Dime are a small people, steadily decreasing and now threatened with extinction. If they disappear, it will be a case of creeping ‘ethnocide’. Unable to defend themselves against their enemies, the Bodi, yet undefended by their former masters (the ‘Dime Amhara’) or the central state,
many Dime have either fled to Basketo and Aari lands to the east or remained
in Dime huddled together defensively, fearful and depressed.

Competition for resources contributes to the endangerment of the Dime language.
The violence between the neighbouring communities and disease results in eco-
nomic crises and migration. Abbink (2005) expresses a similar generalization “since
the early years of 20th century Dime has been a society in crisis and demographic
decline, due to violence, disease, economic decline and immigration.”

The previous social and historical influence of Amhara governors and the
current use of Amharic as a lingua franca language for education and administration
purposes, and missionary activities in Amharic may also contribute to endangerment
of the Dime language. Dime children have no possibility to learn in their language in
elementary or treasury school as the language is not used in education, political and
other public functions. Since Dime is a non-literate language this role is taken by
Amharic.

Describing the language and developing a writing system to promote the lan-
guage to be used as medium of instruction at lower level of education for native
speakers may help the revival of the language.

Enfield (2004) states “without good quality documen-
tation while the lan-
guage is vital, … later generations would have no hope of reviving a language once
it is moribund or dead.”

Therefore the primary concern of this research is to document the Dime lan-
guage. This would contribute not only for the preservation of the Dime language but
also of some cultural, social and environmental knowledge of the speakers.

1.4 Previous studies on Dime

The Dime language is not well documented. Earlier works have not attempted to-
wards broader description of its phonology, morphology and syntax. The main
source of information on Dime is the work of Fleming (1990). It is a survey of the
Dime grammar, which contributed a lot to this study.

Fleming (1973) produced a comparative study of Dime, Ari and Basketo and
of Dime, Ari and Hamer (in Bender 1976:314-321). In his work, he also tried to
show the significance of the independent pronouns of Dime by comparing Galila,
Ari and Hamer.

Furthermore, Hetzron (1988) includes some comparative notes on Dime in
his study on the position of Omotic. Siebert (1995) collected some lexical items. The
other source of information on Dime is David Todd (unpublished, pamphlet no. 43);
he is more concerned with history and ethnography than language. Finally, Tsuge
Yoichi (1996) discussed Dime consonants in his work on the consonant correspon-
dences of south Omotic languages. Olson (1996) discussed the Dime people and the
classification of their language in his Ethno historical dictionary of the people of
Africa. Mulugeta (1999) provides brief information about the culture and the lan-
guage (in Amharic). The recent comparative morphology of Omotic by Bender
(2000) presents part of the Dime morphology partly based on the above mentioned

1.5 The scope of the present study

The present study describes the Dime language. The data for the study are mainly from the Us’a dialect. I also did some research with a few people speaking the Gerfa dialect to check the difference between the two dialects.

In comparison with other Ethiopian language groups such as Semitic and Cushitic, linguistic research on Omotic languages is still very limited. As the Dime language is an endangered language, with a small number of speakers, the primary concern of this study is to document the language. The description in the present work is a synchronic study, which makes use of data collected by the present author and also from the works of Fleming and Bender.

The major method employed in this study is fieldwork in the language area. Interview or consultation of native speakers was carried out using prepared questions based on research experience. Moreover, fieldwork guidance books such as Payne (1997) were used. Data collection included two periods of fieldwork in the Dime area. The first period was from May 2003 to December 2004 and the second period was from January 2004 to May 2005. My main research assistant was Shiftaye Yisan, 25 years old, born in Us’a in Salmago district. He worked with me during the first and second fieldwork. His talent helped me a lot to collect the necessary data for my analysis. Other highly involved people in my research were Tadese Gelbok, 20, born in Us’a; Maikro Gizachew Keto, 21, born in Us’a; Deban Gasso, 40, born in Us’a; Kuraze Mebratu, 26, born in Genchire; K’elob K’albo, 90, born in Gerfa.

1.6 What makes Dime special in the context of Omotic languages?

Dime reflects a few unusual features compared to related languages (Bender, 2000:160). Bender (1988) does not include /x, ù, χ, ù/ among the frequent consonants of the Omotic language family. The presence of these segments in the Dime language makes it somewhat different from the rest of Omotic. These segments appear in some Omotic languages only phonetically (cf. Wedekind 1990:73), for instance, the segments (χ, ù) are found phonetically in Yemsa. Ford, (1990:430) reports that (χ and ù) are found phonetically in Aari. Furthermore, the consonants (ž, w, y, ĉ) occur very rarely in other Omotic languages (Bender 1988). Fleming (1990:505) also reports no /p/ and /h/ in Dime and according to him the glides /w/

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3 Bender (2000) mentions a possible weakness in some field material, elicited from persons reasonably fluent in Amharic; especially schoolboys. He assumes that they include artificial forms based on direct translation from Amharic.
and /x/ are questionable. However, these segments are frequent in my data. Consider some of the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/z/</th>
<th>/c/</th>
<th>/y/</th>
<th>/w/</th>
<th>/h/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zomar</td>
<td>cuu</td>
<td>yagnam</td>
<td>wunt’u</td>
<td>hamex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ginger’</td>
<td>‘bottom’</td>
<td>‘farm’</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td>‘how many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuuz</td>
<td>wucub</td>
<td>yinci</td>
<td>wuc’i</td>
<td>halfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘heavy cough’</td>
<td>‘empty’</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
<td>‘drink (v)’</td>
<td>‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c’lizz</td>
<td>yinci</td>
<td>nayi</td>
<td>gawwu</td>
<td>tehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tuber’</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
<td>‘hyena’</td>
<td>‘hookworm’</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bender (1988:125) states that across Omotic languages a five vowel system is strongly supported. However, in Dime there are five basic vowels and two half-open and two central vowels. Among these, each of the basic five vowels has a long counterpart. The remaining four vowels do not have a long counterpart. Since the latter vowels are in contrast with the five basic vowels, I conclude that they have phonemic value. Thus Dime has a nine vowels system.

Hayward (1989:30) points out that all the modern Omotic languages abandoned grammatical gender, however, Dime has grammatical gender.

Moreover, it is interesting that demonstratives in Dime are formed by combining proximity indicating morphemes si- ‘proximal’ and sa- ‘distal’ with the third person subject pronouns. For instance, nu ‘he’, na ‘she’, keté ‘they’ result in sinu ‘this (M)’, sina ‘this (F)’, siket ‘these’ and sanu ‘that (M)’, sana ‘that (F), saket ‘those’.

We observe in Dime demonstratives that the language uses prefixes (i.e. considering the independent subject pronouns as bases for the derivation of the demonstratives). This also applies to the proximal and distal morphemes si- and sa-. No further prefix forms are attested in this language. In Omotic in general, prefixation is not a common phenomenon. Thus Dime demonstratives represent a rare pattern in the family.
2 Phonology

In this chapter, the speech sounds of Dime are identified and described. Moreover, common phonological processes, tone, syllable structure and co-occurrence of segments in the language are treated. The transcription largely employs the IPA conventions as revised in 1993. Note that \(p', s', t'^q, \text{\textcircled{t}}, k',\) are glottalized consonants and \(d\) is a voiced implosive. For the sake of convenience in subsequent sections, \(\text{\textcircled{t}}, t', f, s', k'\) and \(\text{\textcircled{z}}\) are written as \(c, c', s, z\) respectively.

We present the description of the consonants in 2.1, followed by the description of the vowels in section 2.2.

2.1 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ej imp</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>ej</td>
<td>s'</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ã</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>dż</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ej</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Consonant Phonemes of Dime

All consonants except ts, dż, ?, d, x, c, y, k, h, η and r occur as geminates. Before dealing with the detailed description of the consonant sounds we make some general observations about them. The evidence for these statements will be given in subsequent sections. The consonant phonemes include the plain voiceless stops \(p, t, k\) and their voiced counterparts \(b, d, g\). The glottal stop ? occurs very often word initially, and contrasts with the voiceless glottal fricative \(h\). Words that do not begin with another consonant are analyzed as beginning with a glottal stop.

The phoneme \(p\) appears in word initial position as in [p'blu] ‘make a vow’, word-medially as in dámpu ‘tobacco’, dippu ‘all’ and finally as in /göm/ ‘back’. We have a different analysis from Fleming (1990) who reported that there is no \(p\) in Dime. \(p\) may be realized as \(f\) or \(f\) in medial and final positions when it is not gemi-

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\(^4\) The exact pronunciation of \(t'\) is still uncertain; I sometimes heard it as a voiced ejective.
nated and when it does not form a cluster with another segment. p is aspirated and not realized as f or φ word initially but contrasts with f as in [pʰ uc' u] ‘small grass’, [fũcu] ‘open’. We analyse p as an independent phoneme since it contrasts with other sounds and forms near-minimal pairs as in [pʰ o'lu] ‘make a vow’, [bõku] ‘fruit sp.’ in word-initial position. Siebert (2000) also has the p phoneme in his Dime word list as in pasinpastu ‘dull’, balup ‘other’. He didn’t mention anything about the phonetic realizations of the sound.

The voiceless fricatives are f, s, šš šš, x, X and the voiced fricatives are z, žž žž, /1433, /3122. Fleming (1990:505) does not include the phoneme h in his chart but in the present study h is identified as a phoneme. It occurs in initial, medial and final position of words as in li̯h ‘six’, hame ‘home country’, sahī ‘to brush’, and ʔéhe ‘house’. Consonants such as x, ž, X seem to be phonemes in Dime. Fleming (1990:509) did not analyse the sounds x, ž, k', h as phonemes. The present author ascertained that x, k' are clearly independent phonemes. They contrast with their corresponding voiced and voiceless velar and glottal consonants and each occur in word initial, medial and final positions. The voiced uvular fricative /uni0281/uni0281/uni0281/uni0281/ is my data seems to correspond to Fleming’s R although he didn’t offer the exact phonetic description of this segment. I understand that it is the voiced counterpart of the voiceless uvular sound ž.

Even though the above velar and uvular sounds are not registered as phonemes in most Omotic languages, in some studies they are reported as phonetic elements. For instance, /1433, X, q, occur in Yemsa, phonetically (Wedekind 1990:73). The consonants [x, k, qX, q] are included in the phonetic chart of Aari (Ford 1990:430).

The affricates contain two voiceless and one voiced consonant ts, c, dʒ. The series of ejective sounds contains five consonants p', s', t', c', k', which are common sounds in Ethiopian languages.

There are three plain nasal consonants. These are the bilabial m, the alveolar n and the velar ɳ. The velar nasal sound ɳ is also an independent phoneme since it occurs both in word medial and final positions and it contrasts with n, g in an identical environment see also Fleming (1990:508). It is also reported that ɳ is found in Aari (Hayward 1990:431). The sound ɳ does not occur as a phoneme but it occurs as an allophone of n before c or dʒ (cf. see section 2.8.3). The voiced alveolar implosive ɗ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

The last group of consonants are the glides w and y, the lateral approximant l and the alveolar flap/trill r. Fleming (1990:505) states that the glides w and y are questionable. In the present work the glides w and y are analysed as independent phonemes because of their wider distribution and contrast in the language.

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5 Hayward (1990:431) states that h is on the verge of disappearance from Aari (South Omotic), though not without leaving a trace in the form of breathy phonation.

6 Bender (1988) treated the consonants across Omotic languages but he didn’t mention the sounds x, y, ž, X as sounds of the Omotic group (Bender, 1976:76).

7 Fleming (1990) states the phoneme /l/ is a resonant flap. Concerning a trill /l/ he points out that it is not clear whether it constitutes a phoneme or is derived from it or it is simply a variant.
According to Bender (1988) the consonant sounds ʃ, w, y, and ñ, are not very common in other Omotic languages but in Dime these are independent phonemes and found in any word position. The phoneme w and y occur word-initially, medially and finally.

Bender (2000:161) states that none of the phonemes h, c, r, ʃ, ts, x, and ñ appear initially in his comparative analysis of the Aroid phonological inventory. In Dime h, c, r, ʃ, ts occur word-initially; however, their frequency is very low compared to their occurrence in medial and final position. For instance, I found only two words with ts, one word with ʃ, three words with r, two words with c and many words with h in word initial position. These sounds are found very frequently in other positions. I have no words in the corpus that begin with ñ, x, y, ɔ, or k.

2.1.1 Description of the consonant sounds

The description of the consonant sounds of Dime will be presented below. When verbs are included in the examples, these are in the imperative form which is the simplest verbal form in the language. The order is based on the point of articulation of the consonants.

1. p is a voiceless bilabial stop
   pólú  ‘make a vow’
   gomp  ‘back’
   dampe  ‘tobacco’
   dippi  ‘all’

2. b is a voiced bilabial stop
   bânde  ‘hair’
   bûbud  ‘husband’
   k’a múb  ‘bad’
   kâbbe  ‘maize’

3. f is a voiceless, labio-dental fricative
   físt  ‘cough’
   kalfe  ‘shoulder’
   nørfe  ‘needle’
   düf  ‘foam’

4. p’ is a bilabial ejective stop. It is not attested word finally.
   p’ält’e  ‘testicle’
   c’up’u’  ‘squeezed’

5. m is a voiced bilabial nasal
   miči  ‘sister’
   suulu  ‘heat’
   hamzé  ‘birth place’
6. \( w \) is a voiced bilabial semi-vowel
   
   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{wunt’ú} & \quad \text{‘work’} \\
   \text{zawdín} & \quad \text{‘put on’} \\
   \text{gawwú} & \quad \text{‘hookworm’} \\
   \text{bow} & \quad \text{‘direction’}
   \end{align*} \]

7. \( t \) is a voiceless alveolar stop
   
   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{t’íst} & \quad \text{‘sneeze’} \\
   \text{gúntú} & \quad \text{‘rope’} \\
   \text{bált} & \quad \text{‘magic, evil’} \\
   \text{gáit} & \quad \text{‘hoe’}
   \end{align*} \]

8. \( d \) is a voiced alveolar stop
   
   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{dàré} & \quad \text{‘goat’} \\
   \text{s’édub} & \quad \text{‘short’} \\
   \text{bùud} & \quad \text{‘heart’} \\
   \text{bùbud} & \quad \text{‘husband’} \\
   \text{?ùddú} & \quad \text{‘four’}
   \end{align*} \]

9. \( t’ \) is an alveolar ejective stop
   
   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{t’íp’í} & \quad \text{‘drop’} \\
   \text{ʔùmint’} & \quad \text{‘arrow’} \\
   \text{p’ělt’e} & \quad \text{‘testicle’} \\
   \text{ʔát’t’e} & \quad \text{‘gave birth’}
   \end{align*} \]

10. \( d’ \) is a voiced alveolar implosive. It is a remarkable feature of Dime that /d/ retains its implosive character after a nasal.

   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{díle} & \quad \text{‘medicine’} \\
   \text{ʔùmindf} & \quad \text{‘arrow’} \\
   \text{goﬁnd} & \quad \text{‘hide’} \\
   \text{p’èlyend} & \quad \text{‘lightning’}
   \end{align*} \]

11. \( s \) is a voiceless alveolar fricative

   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{sinú} & \quad \text{‘this’} \\
   \text{ʔaźché} & \quad \text{‘clay’} \\
   \text{ʔuíis} & \quad \text{‘ask’} \\
   \text{túss} & \quad \text{‘pillar’}
   \end{align*} \]

---

8 Mostly in word final position \( d’ \) appears as an alternation of the ejective sound \( t’ \) which seems to be feature of the Aaroid group (Dime, Aari, Hamer) (Bender1988: 124) For example, \( ʔùmint’ \) or \( ʔùmindf \) ‘arrow’. \( d’ \) is a voiced alveolar implosive occurs word finally and medially only after nasal sounds.
12. **z** is a voiced alveolar fricative
   - zuulu 'rainbow'
   - kubzu 'fly'
   - yizi 'run'
   - yizzi 'deep'
   - koiz 'hen'

13. s’ is an alveolar ejective fricative. It is not attested word finally.
   - s’eet 'hundred '
   - k’os’uu 'scratch'
   - p’eis’e 'bold'
   - gas’s’e 'vagina'

14. **n** is a voiced alveolar nasal
   - niku 'nose'
   - ?urin 'rat'
   - zumu 'up'
   - wonu 'return'

15. r is a voiced alveolar flap. The sound /rl/ occurs at word final, word medial and also at word initial position. The word initial one is not as frequently found as compared to medial and final positions. No geminate form is attested.
   - ruu 'wealth'
   - garz 'cat'
   - daré 'goat'
   - gofir 'frog'

16. l is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant
   - lale 'stone'
   - kalfé 'shoulder'
   - ðil 'hare'
   - dyullú 'cheat'

17. ‹s is a voiceless palatal fricative
   - saaye 'sand'
   - misit 'seed'
   - tiiss 'ripe crop'

18. ‹z is a voiced palatal fricative
   - zomar 'ginger'
   - guuzu 'drink'
   - ¿lizz 'tuber'

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9 Bender (1988) states that /rl/ is one of the consonant sounds, which occurs relatively commonly in the Omotic languages.

10 Bender (1988) points out in his chart of consonant correspondences of Omotic languages that ‹z occurs only in medial position. We ascertained that ‹z occurs at word initial, medial and
19. ts is a voiceless alveolar affricate. No geminate form is attested.
   ʔitsé  ‘teeth’
   nits  ‘boy’
   tseki  ‘large’
   tsase  ‘towards there’

20. č is an alveo-palatal affricate
   čúu  ‘bottom’
   bač  ‘year’
   ʔišinči  ‘think’
   gicčo  ‘big’

21. ɖ is a voiced palatal affricate. ɖ is not attested word finally and no example is recorded with a geminate ɖ.
   ɖyákté  ‘throw’
   ʔánkódstáye  ‘arm pit’
   dʒgi  ‘sew’

22. č’ is a palatal affricate ejective
   č’li č’  ‘cloud’
   gəwč’é  ‘chin’

23. y is a voiced palatal glide
   ɣaynám  ‘farm’
   yikay  ‘not/none’
   nayí  ‘hyena’
   ʔiyí́l  ‘person’

24. k is a voiceless velar stop
   kúbzú  ‘fly’
   ʔunk’il  ‘chest’
   lóokk  ‘chat’

25. g is a voiced velar stop
   gícób  ‘big’
   mangé  ‘gourd’
   č’iggi  ‘pay’
   lág  ‘friend’

26. k’ is a velar ejective stop. It is not attested word finally.
   k’ot’  ‘velum’
   k’u k’ú  ‘taste’
   lák’k’ub  ‘small’

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final position in Dime.
27.  \( x \) is a voiceless velar fricative. It is not attested in word initial position.

- \( k\text{o}x\text{û} \) ‘love’
- \( t\text{o}rx\text{û} \) ‘fish’
- \( s\text{o}x\text{x}û \) ‘roasted cereals’
- \( j\text{ê}x \) ‘wet’

28.  \( y \) is a voiced velar fricative. It is not attested word initially and finally.

- \( s\text{e}l\text{ây}ê \) ‘devil’
- \( g\text{á}yô \) ‘inside’
- \( b\text{oytû} \) ‘forget’

29.  \( z \) is a voiceless uvular fricative. It is not attested word initially.

- \( y\text{â}y\text{s}ê \) ‘measure’
- \( h\text{am}ê\text{z} \) ‘how many’

30.  \( r \) is a voiced uvular fricative. It is not attested word initially and word finally.

- \( g\text{ã}c\text{é} \) ‘chin’
- \( l\text{â}x\text{t}ê \) ‘die’
- \( \text{ʔ}\text{ãs}\text{s}ê \) ‘neck.’
- \( w\text{à}\text{ñ}\text{à} \) ‘cattle’

31.  \( ñ \) is a voiced velar nasal. It is not attested word initially.

- \( k\text{ì}\text{ğ} \) ‘spider’
- \( ð\text{ê}ñ \) ‘high-land’
- \( t\text{ò}g\text{à}s \) ‘few’
- \( s\text{i}\text{ñs} \) ‘destroy’
- \( b\text{ì}ñg \) ‘spear’

32.  \( \dot{r} \) is a glottal stop. It often occurs at word initial position. There are no vowel initial words in Dime. Words that start with a vowel underlyingly, have a initial glottal stop phonetically.

- \( t\text{ò}rx\text{û} \) ‘fish’
- \( \text{ʔ}\text{à}nk\text{o}g\text{û} \) ‘finger (hand)’
- \( b\text{à}\text{ñ} \) ‘eat’ (for cereals or solid matter)

33.  \( h \) is a voiceless glottal fricative

- \( s\text{á}\text{ã}h \) ‘vomit’
- \( h\text{à}m\text{ê} \) ‘home country’
- \( s\text{á}ñi \) ‘clean’
- \( j\text{ê}ñ\text{ê} \) ‘house’

2.1.2  Near minimal pairs

In principle, if two sounds bring change of meaning in a pair of otherwise identical words, they are considered to be separate phonemes. The main objective of the arrangements of the following examples is to demonstrate the phonological contrast between consonants that are related phonetically. Some of the word pair contrasts
are arranged based on the parameter of their voice difference. Other pairs have been arranged based on their air stream mechanism, for instance pulmonic or non pulmonic, and a group of pairs shows phonemic contrast between nasal, velar, uvular and glottal place of articulation. The following are some of the minimal and near minimal pairs that have been identified in Dime.

34. \[ \text{[pʰ]} \quad \text{[b]} \]
   \[ \text{[pʰoú]} \quad \text{[bókú]} \] ‘make a vow’
   ‘fruit sp.’

35. \[ \text{[b]} \quad \text{[m]} \]
   \[ \text{[miči]} \quad \text{[biči]} \] ‘sister’
   ‘skin’

36. \[ \text{[m]} \quad \text{[n]} \]
   \[ \text{[múkú]} \quad \text{[núkú]} \] ‘huge’
   ‘nose’

37. \[ \text{[ŋ]} \quad \text{[n]} \]
   \[ \text{[yíŋjí]} \quad \text{[ʔíŋjí]} \] ‘see’
   ‘today’
   \[ \text{[šíŋší]} \quad \text{[šíndí]} \] ‘destroy’
   ‘wheat’

38. \[ \text{[t]} \quad \text{[d]} \]
   \[ \text{[wutú]} \quad \text{[ʔúdú]} \] ‘get out’
   ‘put’

39. \[ \text{[t’]} \quad \text{[t]} \]
   \[ \text{[t’íst]} \quad \text{[tišsí]} \] ‘sneeze’
   ‘ripe crop’

40. \[ \text{[d]} \quad \text{[f]} \]
   \[ \text{[dířé]} \quad \text{[dóótu]} \] ‘medicine’
   ‘leg’

41. \[ \text{[t]} \quad \text{[ts]} \]
   \[ \text{[ʔítsé]} \quad \text{[ʔíteč]} \] ‘teeth’
   ‘back of the neck’

42. \[ \text{[s]} \quad \text{[z]} \]
   \[ \text{[súulu]} \quad \text{[zuulu]} \] ‘heat’
   ‘rainbow’

43. \[ \text{[š]} \quad \text{[ž]} \]
   \[ \text{[tišsí]} \quad \text{[č’iżž]} \] ‘ripe crop’
   ‘tuber’
44. [z] [ʒ]  
[ʒómár] ‘ginger’
[zámù] ‘female cow which has not given birth’

45. [s] [ʃ]  
[ʃeys'ɛ] ‘neck’
[ʃəɣse] ‘break’

46. [ʃ] [ts]  
[ʃ'itsi] ‘right’
[ʃ'is'i] ‘grey hair’

47. [r] [l]  
[kulu] ‘roasted grain’
[kúru] ‘honey’

48. [c] [c̥]  
[c̥iiggi] ‘pay’
[c̥iilc̥] ‘draw’

49. [y] [I]  
[lâle] ‘stone’
[tâaye] ‘now’

50. [y] [r]  
[ɬurin] ‘rat sp.’
[kuyú] ‘dig’
[yeri] ‘donkey’
[nayi] ‘hyena’

51. [k] [g]  
[küç’u] ‘quarrel’
[guç’u] ‘burnt food’

52. [ɬ] [ɬ]  
[ɬéçhe] ‘push’
[ɬéçhe] ‘house’

53. [h]  
[hâme] ‘home country’
[ɬâne] ‘hand’
[ʃiɾi] ‘wash’
[ʃihi] ‘smell (bad)’

54. [g] [w]  
[dʒaŋé] ‘throw’
[dʒâgi] ‘rain with wind’
2.1.3 The distribution of consonant phonemes in Dime

In this section we demonstrate the various positions of phonemes in words and formations of consonant clusters. We show the distribution of consonants by classifying them according to their manner of articulation which is one of the basic compo-
ponents of speech production. These are stops, affricates, fricatives, glottal, and nasals, liquids and glides. Each class shows the word distribution in six columns. The words of the first column show the distributions of phonemes at word-initial position; the second column illustrates the distribution at word-medial (intervocalic) position; the third column represents the distribution at word-final position. In the fourth column possibilities of gemination are illustrated; in the fifth column the distribution at the pre-consonantal position is shown; in the last column are examples of distribution in post-consonantal position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>--C</th>
<th>C−</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>pòlu / 'made a vow'/</td>
<td>lüppe / 'suddenly'/</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>gúppú / 'fail down'/</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>gomp / 'back'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>bande / 'hair'/</td>
<td>búbud / 'husband'/</td>
<td>dūbub / 'thief'/</td>
<td>kábbe / 'maize'/</td>
<td>kúbzú / 'fly'/</td>
<td>dűruba / 'reach'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>dóóttu / 'leg'/</td>
<td>důdí / 'scar'/</td>
<td>bůud / 'heart'/</td>
<td>ʔúddú / 'four'/</td>
<td>ʔadźe / 'out'/</td>
<td>bánde / 'hair'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>tůfu / 'saliva'/</td>
<td>sótů / 'choke'/</td>
<td>gáit / 'hoe'/</td>
<td>bítüb / 'straight'/</td>
<td>důótgas / 'way'/</td>
<td>goštú / 'man'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>kobu / 'ant'/</td>
<td>nůků / 'nose'/</td>
<td>šáák / 'light'/</td>
<td>yekkké / 'equal'/</td>
<td>šokšů / 'swell'/</td>
<td>ʔásinká / 'why'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>góya / 'buttock'/</td>
<td>důgi / 'sew'/</td>
<td>lág / 'friend'/</td>
<td>čiiğgi / 'pay'/</td>
<td>magláf / 'net'/</td>
<td>mango / 'mango'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>těfě / 'mouth'/</td>
<td>[t͡ʃiʃ] / 'wash'/</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Stops and their distribution.

As can be seen from the above table the least versatile stop consonant phoneme in different word positions is the consonant phoneme ʔ. It occurs very frequently at word initial position. It is not attested as a member of a cluster, as a geminate, and word finally. This may strengthen Fleming’s (1990:507) statement that the phonemic status of ʔ is questionable in Dime. However, as we showed earlier ʔ is contrastive at word-initial position and should be regarded as a phoneme. The phone p becomes f or f when it occurs between or after vowels, while it is aspirated word initially.
As can be seen from the above table there are three pulmonic affricates \textit{ts}, \textit{c}, and \textit{dʒ} in Dime. The affricate sound \textit{ts} occurs in every positions of words but it has no geminate counterpart. It occurs frequently in the language especially at word medial and final position, e.g. \textit{tsi} ‘eat’, \textit{atsi} ‘fever’. It contrasts with \textit{t/}, \textit{s/} in \textit{tsi} ‘teeth’, \textit{itee} ‘back of the neck’, and \textit{s’itsi} ‘right’, \textit{s’is’i} ‘grey hair’. With the exception of the word \textit{efsisi} ‘need’ we did not find a cluster consonant with this sound. \textit{ts} is very rarely found word initially. My corpus contains only two instances of \textit{ts} at word initial position. The second affricate sound \textit{c} occurs in almost every position except in the pre-consonantal slot. It is not also frequently attested in word initial position (see also Fleming (1990:507)). The last affricate sound \textit{dʒ} does not occur in every position. It occurs in word-initial and pre-consonantal positions. It is not attested in other positions and it is not geminated.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>&quot;C&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;C−&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>fašint’</td>
<td>yafe</td>
<td>káf</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>gufs’usind</td>
<td>hálfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
<td>‘God’</td>
<td>‘wait’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘chameleon’</td>
<td>‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>súúu</td>
<td>tsuusí</td>
<td>k’uus</td>
<td>tuss</td>
<td>gíška</td>
<td>gársí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘heat’</td>
<td>‘family’</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td>‘pillar’</td>
<td>‘ancient’</td>
<td>‘louse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>zób</td>
<td>yízíž</td>
<td>kóizí</td>
<td>yízzi</td>
<td>gázde</td>
<td>bédze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘lion’</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>‘hen’</td>
<td>‘deep’</td>
<td>‘boundary’</td>
<td>‘out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>ssunú</td>
<td>míšít</td>
<td>dóotgas</td>
<td>?ussú</td>
<td>físt</td>
<td>mórší</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘grass’</td>
<td>‘seed’</td>
<td>‘way’</td>
<td>‘cook’</td>
<td>‘cough’</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>zomár</td>
<td>guuzu</td>
<td>fuuuz</td>
<td>é’lizzz</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>gárz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ginger’</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
<td>‘tuber’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>s’ááh</td>
<td>gís’é</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>láms’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘vomit’</td>
<td>‘shoot’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘leprosy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>kóxó</td>
<td>‘?ex’</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>soxsú</td>
<td>źórux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘love’</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cereals’</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/γ/</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>zayim</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>boyt’ú</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘tortoise’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ζ/</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>kezim</td>
<td>?ólócox</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>?ólólóya</td>
<td>p’elz’and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘dream’</td>
<td>‘quick’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘slowly’</td>
<td>‘lightning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>naxe</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>gásc’e</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘water’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘chin’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>hamzé</td>
<td>gēhē</td>
<td>mch</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘birth’</td>
<td>‘push’</td>
<td>‘money’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-4: Fricatives and their distribution

There are ten pulmonic fricative consonants in Dime. The segment /f/ appears in every position except as a geminate. The fricative consonants /s, z, š/ are found in every position. The sibilant /ž/ does not occur in pre-consonantal positions. The other segments such as /x, γ, ζ, β/ do not occur in every position. The fricative /h/ is found initially, medially and in word final position; it lacks a geminate counter-part and it is not found as a member of a cluster.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>–C</th>
<th>C–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p'/</td>
<td>p'ẽlt'e</td>
<td>c'up'u</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>gãi'p'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s'/</td>
<td>s'ĩmi</td>
<td>gĩs'i</td>
<td>kĩls'</td>
<td>gãs's'e</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>?ãũs'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ũ/</td>
<td>t'ẽmi</td>
<td>guĩt'-ub</td>
<td>fasint'</td>
<td>?at't'e</td>
<td>p'ẽlt'e</td>
<td>?ũmint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ũ'/</td>
<td>c'ũbu</td>
<td>kič'i</td>
<td>c'ũic'</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>yĩnc'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k'/</td>
<td>k'ãame</td>
<td>k'uk'ũ</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>lãk'k'ũ</td>
<td>mõk'd'u</td>
<td>surk'ũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d'/</td>
<td>ñile</td>
<td>bidi</td>
<td>ñumind'</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>p'élyand'een</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Glottalised consonants and their distribution

As shown in the above table, d', p', and ŋ' are not geminated. Moreover, p', s', ŋ', and d' cannot form the first element in a consonant cluster. p' and k' do not occur at word-final position. The most restricted ejective in terms of distribution is p'.

---

11 The consonants d and t' occur as free variants in word final position. d occurs in combination with a nasal when in word final position. ŋ' and t' occur also in combination with other consonants as in, boỹt'in 'forget', dubt'u 'carry', gaŋ'e 'chin', etc. d is reported for the related south Omotic language Aari as a voiced implosive stop (Hayward, 1990:429).
Table 6: Nasals, liquids and glides and their distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>C–</th>
<th>C–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>màte</td>
<td>zimê</td>
<td>zêlim</td>
<td>tammê</td>
<td>dâmpe</td>
<td>básmub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>‘chief’</td>
<td>‘wise’</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td>‘tobacco’</td>
<td>‘fearful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>nuku</td>
<td>zuru</td>
<td>suskin</td>
<td>wonnu</td>
<td>wuntu</td>
<td>‘žotnits’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
<td>‘up’</td>
<td>‘querer’</td>
<td>‘return’</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>bigê</td>
<td>ðéêŋ</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ñiðsi</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘highland’</td>
<td>‘spear’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘destroy’</td>
<td>‘emerge’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>ruu</td>
<td>yirî</td>
<td>zor</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>cárti</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘wealth’</td>
<td>‘placenta’</td>
<td>‘still’</td>
<td>‘emerge’</td>
<td>‘emerge’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>lâle</td>
<td>yâla</td>
<td>dôôtol</td>
<td>dûllû</td>
<td>bâlû</td>
<td>‘žotlu’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
<td>‘footprint’</td>
<td>‘cheat’</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wârôn</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>bow</td>
<td>gawwu</td>
<td>zawdîn</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘cattle’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘direction’</td>
<td>‘hook worm’</td>
<td>‘put on’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yîzî</td>
<td>yâyî</td>
<td>mây</td>
<td>ñîyyî</td>
<td>kuybab</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>‘wolf’</td>
<td>‘pot’</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
<td>‘digger’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nasal consonants m and n are attested in every position of a word. The resonant that is most restricted in terms of distribution is ŋ. It appears only in word medial, final and pre-consonantal positions. The consonant phoneme r does not occur geminatted and it is not attested in post-consonantal position. l appears very frequently in initial, medial, final, and in pre-consonantal position. w frequently occurs in word initial position and in rare cases in word final position. It has also a geminated form and it is attested in pre-consonantal position. y occurs in all positions except post-consonantal. The glides w and y occur geminated as in gawwu ‘hook worm’ and ñîyyî ‘person’. Both do not occur in post-consonantal position. It seems that there is a restriction on the vowels that occur after y and w. The glide w is followed only by back and central vowels, while the glide y is followed by front and central vowels.

2.1.4 Consonant phonemes and their allophones

If one phoneme is realized by two or more different phones, these phones are called allophones. The choice of an allophone is governed by phonological rules. This section deals with the consonant phonemes and the distribution of allophones.

66. /p/ [pʰ] voiceless aspirated bilabial stop word initially. E.g. [pʰołû] ‘make a vow’
[f] voiceless bilabial fricative occurs post-vocally e.g., [gôfû] 'ribs', [balufû] 'other'

[p] voiceless bilabial stop occurs elsewhere (i.e., after nasal and where geminated, e.g., [dämpu] 'tobacco', [gûppû] ‘fall down’, [dippi] ‘all’)


[b] voiced, bilabial stop occurs elsewhere, i.e., word initially and after a nasal. e.g., [beBu] 'Adam’s apple', [zimbBts] 'finger nail'

68. /t/ [tʰ] voiceless aspirated alveolar stop word initially e.g., [tʰamme] 'ten', [tʰîpi] 'go’

[t] voiceless un-aspirated alveolar stop elsewhere, e.g., [gûntu] ‘rope’, [fîst] ‘mucus’

69. /k/ [kʰ] voiceless aspirated velar stop word initially, e.g., [kʰúc’u] ‘quarrel’


70. /n/ [ŋ] voiced palatal nasal before palatal sound, e.g., [ʔišniči] ‘remember’, [yiči] ‘laugh’

[n] voiced, alveolar elsewhere, e.g. [niiri] ‘gum’, [gûntu] ‘rope’

h and ? are in free variation word initially in some lexemes:

71. a. ʔâlfê and hâlfê ‘knife’
    b. ʔâse and hâse ‘wood, tree’
    c. ʔââke and hââke ‘to pick up’
    d. ʔaay and haay ‘grass’

However, there are also words, where ? and h are in opposition word initially.

72. a. ʔâśìn ‘to insult’
    b. hâśìn ‘behind’

Moreover, there are examples which show free variation between y and h, and y and ?.

73. a. yîzi or hîzi ‘to run’
    b. yîn or ʔîn ‘you (obj)’

2.1.5 Gemination

Gemination is phonemic in Dime. For instance, ʔîme ‘breast’ contrasts with ʔîmme ‘give’, and túmû ‘deep water’ with túmmû ‘stomach’. However gemination is not
very frequent in Dime. Consonant gemination is possible in intervocalic (medial) position and final position of words. Word initial gemination is not attested. In the following examples we provide further minimal pairs showing the phonemic status of consonant length.

74. \[i]\ vs \[II]\ 
\[\text{\'q\-i\-k}\] ‘quick’
\[\text{\'sl\-o\-k}\] ‘slowly’

75a. \[n]\ vs \[nn]\ 
\[\text{\'h\-a\-n}\] ‘hand’
\[\text{\'w\-i\-fi\-re}\] ‘wild fire’

75b. \[\text{\'b\-i\-t\-e\ + i\-n\ + b\-i\-n}\]
leave-PF-3 ‘left’

The geminate \[nn\] in (75b) is formed due to the perfective and person marker suffix. The final consonant \[t]\ of the basic verb form changes to geminate \[nn\] after the suffixation of \[-i\-n\]. Here we observe two points. The first one is the assimilation of \[t]\ to \[n]\ and word final gemination and the second is vowel deletion between two nasal consonants. More examples on word final gemination are given in (76).

76. \[\text{g\-u\-s}\] ‘find’
\[\text{\'c\-\-i\-z\-i\-z\-i\-z}\] ‘tuber’

Thus, gemination is phonologically significant.

2.2 Vowel phonemes

We find the terms close, half-close, half-open, and open useful for the classification of Dime vowels according to height. The following vowel phonemes are recorded for Dime.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>ë</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-7: The vowel phonemes of Dime

In addition to these vowel phonemes, there are also diphthongs (see section 2.3.). The half-open vowels ë and ë tend to be more centralized than their corresponding half-close vowels (i.e., they are closer to schwa in the front/back dimension). Also, the vowels i, e, u, o and a tend to have the position of the tongue body slightly higher than the corresponding ñ, ë, ( and ë vowels. The latter vowels are always short and do not have length opposition. Moreover, they do not occur in an open syllable at the end of words. They need a following consonant.
2.2.1 Description of Dime vowels.

The following are illustrative examples of vowels of Dime:

77. \[i\], close front vowel. Examples:
   
   ?itsì ‘tooth’
   
   yìzì ‘run’

78. \[i\], close central vowel. Examples:
   
   ?ìsinèi ‘remember’
   
   ?irèi ‘moon’

79. \[e\], Half-close front vowel. Examples:
   
   báalè ‘market’
   
   deexè ‘cook’

80. \[e\], half open front vowel. Examples:
   
   p‘èlt’e ‘testicles’
   
   meh ‘money’

81. [a] open central vowel. Examples:
   
   ?áfè ‘mouth’
   
   wonnà ‘return’

82. [ə] half-open central vowel. Examples:
   
   baltè ‘luck’
   
   d’àl ‘flour’
   
   wòna ‘cattle’

83. [o] half close back vowel. Examples:
   
   polú ‘made a vow’
   
   kòxò ‘love’

84. [ɔ] half-open back vowel. Examples:
   
   wòna ‘cattle’
   
   kòxu ‘crow’

85. [u] close back vowel. Examples:
   
   kúlú ‘stick’
   
   fûrin ‘rat’

2.2.2 Contrast of comparable vowel phonemes

The vowels \[i, e, u, o\] and \[a\] contrast with \[i, e, ə and ə\]. The following are examples.

86. /a/ contrasts with /a/

86a. matè ‘problem’

mâtè ‘my head’
As Bender (1986:125) states, in Omotic languages a five vowel system is very common. However, in some Omotic languages including Dime, other vowels exist. For instance, Dizi has a sixth vowel ə (Bender 1986), and Hamer has a set of ‘lax’ vowels (Lydall 1976).

### 2.2.3 Vowel length

Dime has a nine vowel system with the vowels i, e, u, o, a, two half-open vowels ə and ɔ, and two central vowels i and a. Among these, only i, e, u, o, a have long counterparts. The following are examples of length contrast:
91. /u/ contrasts with /uu/
   a. gusu ‘big gourd’
      guusu ‘really’
   b. súulu ‘heat’
      súl ‘dishonest’

92. /i/ contrasts with /ii/
   ŋiki ‘to stab’
   ŋíkí ‘a kind of locust’

93. /oi/ contrasts with /oo/
   bóno ‘scar on girls’
   bóono ‘to be sufficient’

94. /e/ contrasts with /ee/
   geri ‘terrace’
   geéri ‘antelope’

95. /a/ contrasts with /aa/
   c‘áán ‘load’
   c‘án ‘slap’

2.3 Diphthongs

Dime has falling diphthongs. A diphthong is the combination of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. When the sonantal element comes first, the combination is a falling diphthong (Jones 1929). When the consonantal element comes first it is a rising diphthong. All diphthongs belong to the same phonological syllable. The following examples show the falling diphthongs of Dime.

96. /ai/ [gáit] ‘hoe’
97. /oi/ [zámóid] ‘when’
   [koiz] ‘hen’
98. /ei/ [s’éid-ub] ‘short’
99. /ui/ [gút’-ub] ‘white’
   [guidú] ‘monkey’

There are diphthongs that contrast with each other in the same environment:

100. ʔúis ‘ask’
     ʔóis ‘butter’
2.4 Tone

Tone is the use of pitch in languages to distinguish words. Not all languages use tone to distinguish meaning even though they use intonation to express emphasis, emotion etc. If a language uses tone to distinguish lexical and/or grammatical meaning, tones are as important and essential as consonantal phonemes and they are referred to as tonemes. Most of Omotic languages have either tone or pitch accent. For instance, Benchnon has six contrastive tones (Wedekind 1985b, Rapold 2006).

In Dime tone has not been well treated in any of the previous studies. In the present study, we only treat the vital roles played by tone without discussing tone fully. Thus, the tone system in Dime needs further investigation.

Dime has two basic tones, H and L, we represent high tone by (′) and leave low tone unmarked.

The tone-bearing unit is the vowel; there are no tone-bearing consonants or syllabic nasals in the language. Within a syllable a long vowel or a diphthong may bear a contour tone. For instance, in example 102 the adjective zúub ‘red’ and the verb lóok ‘speak’ the first part of the long vowel carries high tone and the second carries low tone. There are also examples in which the long vowel carries a level high or low tone: súum ‘rest’ and déén ‘be, exist’.

Downdrift: A low tone tends to lower the pitch of a following high tone as shown below:

101. másín + ká > másín-ká ‘by salt’

As can be seen in the above example, there is a gradual drop in the pitch of High tones from the beginning of the utterance to the end due to the intervening low tone during speech.

2.4.1 Tone patterns in nouns and verbs

In this section we discuss monosyllabic words. All possible combinations of H and L tone occur on monosyllabic words.

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12 Professor Peter Ladefoged checked some of the tone patterns of Dime in his phonetic laboratory presentation when we met in Ethiopia during the International Symposium on Endangered Languages of Ethiopia, 27-30 April 2005. Moreover, many of the ideas concerning Dime tone, velar and uvular consonants, and vowel systems have been discussed with Dr. Klaus Wedekind during his stay in Addis for the same conference and for providing training in phonetics at Addis Ababa University.
There are a few mono-syllabic words. Other examples include the open syllable words ściu ‘bottom’, ná ‘she’, nú ‘he’. Otherwise the Dime lexicon is predominantly disyllabic. The following are examples of tone patterns in disyllabic nouns and verbs.

2.4.2 Tone and lexical distinctions.

Tone in Dime has lexical functions. It is also used to identify affirmative and question constructions. The question constructions always have a high tone.13 The following data illustrate the lexical functions of tone in disyllabic words.

13 Fleming (1990:539) writes, “without precise understanding of vowel length and tones in Dime, I can still say that Dime questions have suprasegmental tone as marked features, as questions do in English and many other languages. Dime questioning tends strongly towards high pitch and stress on the last syllables of a sentence.”
The imperative form of the verb stem is the basic form in the language. By imposing a high tone onto the imperative form the interrogative is formed. This is an example indicating grammatical functions of tone in the language.

105a. [s /ch224:0133+6006 i /ch36:0133+6003 ne /ch36:0133+6003 ] ‘buy!’
105b. [s /ch224:0133+6006 i /ch219:0133+6002 ne /ch219:0133+6002 ] ‘is it bought?’
106a. [zi /ch36:0133+6003 s’i /ch219:0133+6002 ] ‘close!’
106b. [zi /ch36:0133+6003 s’i /ch219:0133+6002 ] ‘is it closed?’

2.4.3 Tone and affixation

In this section we discuss tone stability and contour tones. Tone stability is observed when a vowel resyllabifies or when a phonological rule deletes a tone-bearing unit (TBU) and the tone remains unaffected and associates with an adjacent TBU. Such stability can not be accounted for if tone is assumed to be an integral part of the phonological segment on which it appears in the phonetic representation. Tone stability shows that tone is an auto-segmental unit. In Dime, when the plural or definite marker is added to the root the terminal vowel is deleted but the tone remains attached to the suffix. Consider the following examples:

107. Root +plural suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Plural Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ūhē</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[ūhē-af] ‘houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zimē</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[zim-af] ‘chiefs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donu</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[don-af] ‘potatoes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gōbé</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[gōb-af] ‘Basketo people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gostū</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[gost-af] ‘men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guuru</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[guur-af] ‘crocodile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kābbe</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[kābb-af] ‘maize’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the above examples, when the plural morpheme -af is suffixed to the noun the terminal vowel of the noun is deleted but the tone of the vowel remains and is attached to the suffix vowel. When the tone of the final vowel is low it is deleted and reduction takes place as in [kābb-af] ‘maize’. The same phenomenon is observed with the definite marker:

---

There are languages that show tone stability such as Margi a language spoken in Nigeria Kenstowicz (1994:321): fa + ārī = fārī ‘farm’, ū + ārī = tyārī ‘mourning’, hu + ārī = hwārī ‘grave’. In this language the definite suffix -ārī, which has an underlying HL tonal melody, is added to the nominal stems (i.e., fā, ti and hu). However, while one of the vowels is deleted, the tone is not. The tone is stable and creates a contour tone on a single vowel.
Chapter 2

108. Root + definite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Definite Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋẽhẽ</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>[ŋẽh-ış] ‘the house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zimé</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>[ʒím-îs] ‘the chief’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guuru</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>[guûr-îs] ‘the crocodile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kábbie</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>[kábbie-îs] ‘the maize’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the possessive suffix -kó, which has an underlying High tone, is added to a nominal stem, the final vowel of the noun is deleted. However, the tone is not deleted and it creates a contour tone on the single vowel of the suffix as in (109a):

109a. ŋán‘hand’ + kó’GEN’ > [ŋán-kó] ‘my hand’

In fast speech, rising and falling tones also occur due to tone stability and vowel deletion. Examples.

109b. lâle ‘stone’ + káb > [lálkáb] ‘stony’

2.5 Syllable structure

A syllable that contains a consonant in the coda is called a closed syllable, while a syllable that does not contain a consonant in the coda is called an open syllable.

Dime has both open and closed syllables. According to Clements and Keyser (1983:29), languages of the world may have any one of the following inventories of canonical syllable types.

110. Type I: CV

Type II: CV, V

Type III: CV, CVC

Type IV: CV, V, CVC, VC

Among the above types, Dime can be considered as a type III language. However, it has some more syllable types: CVVC and CVCC. Goldsmith (1990:113) argues that languages frequently divide syllables into heavy and light syllables. Moreover, in word final position a super-heavy syllable may appear in a language, which consists of what looks like a heavy syllable plus an extra consonant (cf. McCarthy 1982:11 and Goldsmith 1990). These types of syllables are present in Dime and are presented in examples (111 e and f).

In Dime a sequence of consonants occurs only in word medial and final positions. The number of consonants in a sequence is just two consonants. In syllables, the onset can not be more than one consonant while the coda can be occupied by two consonants. The nucleus of the syllable can be a short or long vowel. The possible syllable types of Dime are:

111a. CV

| na  | ‘she’ |
| nū  | ‘he’ |
Phonology

111b. CVC
kâf  ‘wait’
lâg  ‘friend’

111c. CVV
kôû  ‘bottom’
loômû  ‘lemon’

111d. CVVC
neeû  ‘hunger’
zûub  ‘red’

111e. CVCC
guss  ‘nail’
fist  ‘mucus’
gôrz  ‘cat’

111f. CVVCC
lôôkk  ‘chat’
c’îzz  ‘tuber’

2.5.1 Onset
Any consonant, except the consonants x, ɲ, ʁ, ʁ̥̊, can be an onset of a syllable in Dime. Even though these consonants are not attested as an onset of a syllable, they can be a coda of a syllable. A word initial syllable must have an onset. Where there are no other consonants, the onset position is filled by the glottal stop, /ʔ/.

2.5.2 Coda
The coda of a closed syllable in Dime can be any consonant except the consonants /ʔ/ and /ɾ/. These consonants are not attested in coda position. The coda of a syllable can be zero as in na ‘she’, or it may have one or a cluster of two consonants. The cluster may consist of two different consonants or a geminate consonant as shown below:

112. goft  ‘happiness’
c’îZZ  ‘tuber’
kôstên  ‘two’

2.5.3 Nucleus
The nucleus in Dime can be a long or short vowel or a diphthong. The possible nuclei are as follows:

113. bâle  ‘charcoal’
hâáke  ‘pick up’
gâıt  ‘hoe’

The syllable structure in Dime can thus be represented as:
2.6 Clusters of consonants

The maximum number of consonants in a cluster is two in Dime. The following three points need to be mentioned in connection to consonant sequences in Dime:

115a. There are no word-initial consonant sequences

115b. Word-final sequences of at most two consonants, of which the sonority of the first is equal to or greater than the second, including final geminate consonants. For example *fist ‘sneeze’, talk ‘borrow’, sánk ‘floor’, tuss ‘pillar’\(^{15}\)

115c. Word medial sequences of at most two consonants, including cases with long consonants counted as two consonants. The sonority of consonant sequence can be rising or falling in medial position. No restrictions on sequence of consonants in word medial clusters have been observed. Examples: dámpe ‘tobacco’, básmb ‘fearful’, gádze ‘boundary’, bedze ‘out’

When consonant clusters occur word medially, the first consonant of a cluster manifests the coda of the preceding syllable, and the second consonant manifests the onset of the immediately following syllable.

2.7 Reduplication

Reduplication is a very frequent phenomenon in Dime. Some of the consonant segments, such as velar fricatives, glides, and affricates (i.e., ts) are not used in partial reduplication.

116. sitsá  sí-sitsá  *sitsatsa
     morning  RDP-morning

\(^{15}\) For Giegerich (1992:132), the sonority of a sound is its relative loudness compared to other sounds, everything else (pitch, etc.) being equal. Speech sounds can be ranked in terms of their relative sonority: voiceless oral stops have minimal sonority while low vowels have the highest degree of sonority of all speech sounds. All other sounds are ranked in between these two extreme points of the sonority scale.
117.  deis  de-deis-déé-n  *
kill  RDP-kill-IPF-3/2
‘kill’  ‘is killing’
118.  náye  ná-náy-tée-n  *
sleep  RDP-sleep-IPF-3/2
‘sleep’  ‘(he) is sleeping’
119  looyón  lo-loy-déé-n  *
'sweat'  RDP-sweet-IPF-3/2
‘sweat’  ‘(he) is sweating’

The second syllable can also be reduplicated as in (120) and (121).

120.  yíži  nü  yíž-zí  *
yíži
run  3MS  run-RDP-OPT
‘run’  ‘let him run’
121.  wuc  wuc‘-ič-i-n  *
wuc‘ič-i
'drink'  drink-RDP-PF-3/2
‘drink’  ‘drank’

As can be seen from the above examples the initial CV is reduplicated in (116-119) while the final is reduplicated in (120 and 121). The words with the symbol (*) are unacceptable. In most cases reduplication seems to take place to the left of the root but whenever the glide sounds occur in word initial position, the position of reduplication changes to the right as in (120) and (121) above. Reduplication of the segments ts, y and χ has not been recorded in the language. Since these do not occur in word initial position, we could not see their impact on the positions of reduplication as we observed in glides. The initial consonant segment is reduplicated when ts, y or χ appears as a second segment in a word as in (116) above. If ts, y or χ occur as a second consonant segment, and when they are preceded by a glide consonant in C1 position, the entire word is reduplicated as in (122). Reduplication of ts, y and χ is avoided.

Examples:

122.  ?até  č‘iy-ó  gsyó  wožim wožim-déé-t  
1S.SUBJ  cave-LOC  inside  RDP-enter-IPF-1
‘I am entering to the cave’

With the exceptions discussed above consonants can be reduplicated either in word initial or word final position. If both the first and the second consonant segments in a word are potentially reduplicable, the initial segment is more susceptible for partial reduplication. Consider the following examples:

123.  káš-in  ká-káš-tée-n  
remove-INF  RDP-remove-IPF-3/2
‘to remove branch’  ‘is removing the branch’
124. gîme \(\text{gî-gîm-déé-n}\)  
   tell \(\text{RDP-tell-IPF-3/2}\)  
   ‘tell’ ‘(he) is telling’

125. sînî \(\text{sî-sîn-déé-n}\)  
   buy \(\text{RDP-buy-IPF-3/2}\)  
   ‘buy’ ‘is buying’

126. maté \(\text{ma-mat-éé-n}\)  
   suffer \(\text{RDP-suffer-IPF-3/2}\)  
   ‘suffer’ ‘is suffering’

The consonants k, g, š, s, z, l and m are all reduplicable. Only the initial segment is reduplicated when any two or more of these segments occur in the same word, as in the examples in (123-126).

As mentioned earlier, reduplication is attested in different word categories of the language.

### 2.8 Phonological processes

#### 2.8.1 Spirantization

Stops are spirantized after vowels; whereas spirantization is blocked through gemination (cf. see section 2.1.4). Even though the application of this process varies from speaker to speaker, the spirantization of bilabial stops after vowels is a common phenomenon. The segments p and b are the basic forms since spirantization is blocked due to gemination. The followings are examples:

127. /p, b / > [f, ð] / v- or -v  
   /yapé/ > [yafé] ‘sky’  
   /ʔln-kaˈbow/ > [ʔln-kaβow] ‘towards you’  
   /liˈub/ > [liuβ] ‘clean’

128. /guppu/ > [guppu] ‘fell down’
   /kabbe/ > [kabbe] ‘maize’

#### 2.8.2 Distant voicing

A voiced consonant causes a fricative of the next syllable to be voiced, as shown below:

129. /taw-af/ > /taw-af/ ‘trees’
   tree-PL

130. /gicčo-b + is/ > [gicčo-β-iz] ‘the big one’  
   big-M + DEF

131. /támz-is/ > [támz-iz] ‘the woman’  
   woman-DEF
As can be seen from the above examples the voicing process is triggered by \( \text{y} \), \( \text{z} \), and \( \text{b} \). The voicing assimilation takes place at a distance since there is a vocalic element (\( \text{a} \) or \( \text{i} \)) in between the consonants.

2.8.3 Homorganic nasal assimilation

This process of assimilation is regressive assimilation in place of assimilation of the nasal to the following consonant. The nasal sound assimilates to the following palatal sound /\( \text{c}^{\text{h}} \)/ and /\( \text{d}^{\text{z}} \)/ as in (132) and (133).

132. \( /\text{žišinci}^{\text{c}}/ \) > [\( \text{žišinci} \)] ‘remember’
133. \( /\text{anďzi}-\text{is}/ \) > [\( \text{anďzi}^{\text{ž}} \)] ‘blessing’

Another interesting phenomenon is the change of the glottalized sound \( \text{t}' \) to \( \text{n} \) in the formation of the perfective form. It is a regressive assimilation after vowel deletion. It only happens to \( \text{t}' \) but not to \( \text{t} \).

134. \( \text{bit’e} \) ‘leave’ + \( \text{in} \) > \( \text{bit’-in} \) > \( \text{bit’n} \) > \( \text{binn} \) ‘he left’

2.8.4 Glottalization

Stop consonants following ejective sounds are glottalized. For instance, \( \text{t} \) changes to \( \text{t}' \) following \( \text{č} \). In addition to this glottal assimilation, stop consonants are glottalized following the velar nasal, e.g. \( \text{k} \) changes to \( \text{k}' \) following \( \text{n} \).

135a. \( \text{wuc‘i} \) ‘drink’ + déé ‘IPF’ > \( \text{wuc‘-t’èén} \) ‘(he) will drink’
135b. \( \text{yáaye wúyim wuc‘-wuc‘-t’èé} \)
2S.SUBJ what RDP-drink-IPF
‘What are you drinking?’
135c. \( \text{?até tíq-k’áy} \)
1S.SUBJ go-NEG
‘I do not go’

It is a bit strange that \( \text{k} \) changes to \( \text{k}' \) following \( \text{n} \) because \( \text{n} \) is not an ejective/glottalized sound.

2.8.5 Truncation of glottal stop in initial syllables

Due to compound formation segments are deleted at word boundary. Specifically, when the second word starts with a glottal stop and the onset of the preceding syllable (of the first word) is also a glottal stop. The following are examples:

136a. \( \text{?a‘-my} \) + \( \text{?iind} \) ‘mother’ > \( \text{?aind} \) ‘my mother’
136b. \( \text{baʔá ‘take’ + ?ádi ‘come’} \) > \( \text{baʔád} \) ‘bring’

In the combined word \( \text{?aind} \) ‘my mother’ the morpheme \( \text{?iind} \) ‘mother’ is reduced to –\( \text{ind} \).
As shown in the above examples a sequence of CV segments involving the glottal stop undergo deletion during compounding.

2.8.6 Epenthesis

Kenstowicz (1994) states that without the notion of syllable, it is difficult to understand why languages should have rules to insert vowels out of nowhere into quite specific points in phonological strings. By making use of the syllable, this is explained: the vowels are inserted to syllabify unparsed consonants.

Epenthesis is a common phenomenon in Ethiopian languages such as in Amharic (Hudson 2000, Mulugeta 2001, 2003). An epenthetic vowel \( i \) is inserted in Dime where a cluster of CCC arises due to affixation, cliticization or reduplication. The nature of the epenthetic vowel in every position of words is based on the cluster rule of the language.

If three consonants occur at word initial position, the epenthesis is between the first two consonants because a consonant cluster or geminate consonant is not permitted word initially. Since a sequence of two consonants is permitted at word medial and final position, the epenthesis is either between the first and the second or between the second and the third consonant.

For instance, between the word \( \text{goft} \) ‘happiness’ and \( \text{bābe} \) ‘father’ there is an epenthetic vowel \( i \) as in the examples below:

137a. \( \text{goft} \) ‘happiness’ + \( \text{bābe} \) ‘father’ \( \text{goft-}i\text{-bābe} \) ‘happy’
137b. \( \text{gist} \) ‘keep’ + \( \text{k’ay} \) ‘not’ \( \text{gist-}i\text{-k’ay} \) ‘not keep’

Another strategy to avoid CCC clusters is to drop the final consonant, e.g.

138. \( \text{āy}s\text{-tēē-n} \) > \( \text{āy}s\text{-ēē-n} \) ‘he breaks’

2.8.7 Deletion

The terminal vowels in the root are deleted when a vowel-initial morpheme is suffixed to a root.

139a. \( /\text{zimē-af}/ \) > \( /\text{zimaf}/ \)
   chief-PL ‘chiefs’
139b. \( /\text{guuru-af}/ \) > \( /\text{guural}/ \)
   crocodile-PL ‘crocodiles’
140. \( /\text{zimē-is}/ \) > \( /\text{zim-īs}/ \)
   chief-DEF ‘the chief’

As can be seen from the above examples, when suffixes are added to the root the terminal vowel is deleted but the tone remains attached to either the plural or definite suffix. In some cases when the final vowel of the stem has a morphological function it is not deleted during the suffixation process, but instead the initial vowel of the suffix is deleted, as in (141).
141. ?éhé ‘house’ + -ó = ?éh-ó + is > ?éh-ó-s ‘in the house’, where the final vowel -ó has a locative function.

2.8.8 Glide insertion

When the copula –éé is suffixed to the pronoun ná ‘he’, ná ‘she’, a glide is inserted as in (142a) and (142b) to avoid a sequence of more than two vowels.

142a. ná-y-éé ‘It is him’
142b. ná-y-éé ‘It is her’

Similarly, if the copula is followed by a morpheme beginning with a vowel, the glide is inserted.

142c. yá wúdúr-éé → yá wúdúr-éé-y-áá
   2S.SUBJ girl-COP 2S.SUBJ girl-COP-y-Q
   ‘You are a girl’    ‘Are you a girl?’

Glide insertion does not occur when the copula is suffixed to a noun which ends in consonant due to the deletion of the final vowel as in (143a) and (143b).

143a. ná gost-éé ‘He is a boy’
143b. nú wúdúr-éé ‘She is a girl’

2.8.9 Allomorphs of the imperfective marker

Due to consonant co-occurrence restriction, voicing and devoicing, and palatal assimilation processes the imperfective marker -déé has variant forms.

144a. -déé
144b. -téé (devoicing)
144c. -t’éé/déé (glottalization)
144d. -éé (consonant deletion)

Examples in (145a-d) demonstrate the above four variant forms of the imperfective aspect marker respectively.

145a. ?até ?ád-déé-t ‘I will come/I come’
145b. nú dés-teé-n ‘he kills’
145c. nú náre wuc’-t’-éé-n/-d’éé-n ‘he drinks water’
145d. nú ?ázs-éé-n ‘he breaks’

The initial consonant of the imperfective suffix déé becomes voiceless due to the preceding voiceless consonant (145b). The consonant of the suffix may be omitted due to impermissible sequence of consonants (145d). The language doesn’t allow a sequence of more than two consonants. Thus, if déé is preceded by two consonants the imperfective suffix either drops the initial consonant or uses an epenthetic vowel i.
The phonological conditions which determine these allomorphs are governed by the following rules: the voiced consonant /d/ becomes voiceless /t/ following a voiceless consonant; the voiced /d/ becomes /d/ following the ejective palatal sound or it becomes a voiceless sound /t'/ following a voiceless ejective sound. Since the language permits only a sequence of two consonants, the initial sound of the imperfective marker /d/ become zero following two consonants, or the epenthetic sound /i/ is inserted.
3 Nouns and nominal categories

3.1 Basic form of nouns

Most nouns end in vowels. There are, however, some nouns which end in consonants. Thus nouns in Dime can be classified into vowel final (V-final) and consonant final (C-final) nouns (cf. also Fleming 1990:516-18). The nouns that end in vowels consist of two components: the root and a terminal vowel. The terminal vowels are i, e and u. With some nouns, e.g. those in (1), terminal vowel i may be replaced by u or e without causing change of meaning.16

1. /âfi /âfu ‘eye’
   /âri /âru ‘tree/wood’
   k’ââmi /k’ââmu ‘leaf’
   nâi /nâe ‘water’
   ðêhi /ðêhé ‘house’

However, the alternation may not work for every word; for instance, it is possible to say nâe or nâi ‘water’ but not nâu. The same is true for ðêh ‘house’ and gââši ‘forest’ which may alternatively be pronounced as ðêhé ‘house’ and gââše. The terminal vowels e, i and u are often deleted when a vocalic morpheme is added to the noun.

It is noted that nouns ending with the vowels /e are common in the Us’i dialect, whereas in the Gerfa dialect nouns with u-ending are much common (cf. the list of words in chapter one indicating the lexical variation between the two dialects).

There are also vocalic morphemes such as locative -ô, interrogative -âá, and possessive -ê; the different morphological status of these vowels, vis-à-vis the terminal vowels, is indicated by placing morpheme boundaries before them. The base-noun and terminal vowels are not separated by a morpheme boundary. Consider the following examples:

2. dôottu ‘leg’
   dôott-âá ‘is it a leg?’
   dôott-ô ‘under the leg’

3. /af i ‘eye’
   /af -âá ‘is it an eye?’
   /af -ô ‘in the eye’

The following are examples of nouns that end in consonants:

---

16 Fleming (1990:500) also mentioned that his informant is capable of rendering a noun with a final [u] or [e] freely, u and e are contrastive phonemes.
Chapter 3

4.  
   k’uus  ‘bone’
   bângìl  ‘jaw’
   bùud  ‘heart’
   gömp  ‘back’
   dòóm  ‘foot print/heel’
   bòy  ‘knee’
   šâánk  ‘floor’
   nìts  ‘child’
   k’iz  ‘trap’
   dolìnd  ‘beetle’
   wugìr or mule  ‘rhinoceros’

The following sections deal with the inflectional morphology of nouns. In these sections definiteness, gender, number, and case are treated.

3.2  Definiteness

The term definite is used to refer to a specific, identifiable entity (or class of entities); it is usually contrasted with indefiniteness (Crystal 2003). The indefinite reference is not morphologically marked in the Dime language. Definiteness is marked morphologically by –is. The terminal vowels are replaced by the vowel of the definite marker –is as in the following nouns.

5.  čéhé  ‘a house’
    čéhé-is  ‘the house’

6.  nìts  ‘a child’
    nìts-is  ‘the child’

7.  ?ìyyì  ‘a person’
    ?ìyy-ìs  ‘the person’

8.  yerì  ‘a donkey’
    yer-ìs  ‘the donkey’

9.  goštú  ‘a male one’
    gošt-ìs  ‘the male one’

10a.  ŋàmzi  ‘a woman’
     ŋàmz-ìs  ‘the woman’

10b.  ŋàmzi  gùdùm-ind-ìs  ‘the tall woman’
     woman  tall-F-DEF  
     gùdùm-ub  gošt-ìs  ‘the tall man’
     tall-M  man-DEF

As can be seen from example (10b), in the presence of a modifier element in a noun phrase the definite marker is suffixed to the modifier.
Nouns and nominal categories

The definite marker –is may optionally be changed to –iz when following voiced consonants. Examples:

11. [zhéh-ís] ‘the house
    [gáśš-ís] ‘the road’

    [ʔánmz-îz] ‘the woman’
    [zúúb-îz] ‘the red one’

Generally, definiteness is marked at the end of the noun. With the exception of the accusative marker –im, other grammatical morphemes precede it.

12a. zhéh-áf-ís ‘the houses’
    dör-áf-ís ‘the goats’

12b. ṭató guur-áf-ís-im deis-i-t
    1S.SBJ crocodile-PL-DEF-ACC kill-PF-1
    ‘I killed the crocodiles’

Definiteness is optional when the noun is modified by demonstratives. For instance, if somebody asks by saying, “Who touched this gourd?” the response can be either with or without the definite marker on the head noun, (13a) and (13b) respectively.

13a. si-nú ṭiyi-y yíd-i-n mông-îs-m
    this(M) person touch-PF-3 gourd-DEF-ACC
    ‘This man touched the gourd’

13b. si-nú ṭiyy-is yíd-i-n mông-îs-m
    this (M) man-DEF touch-PF-3 gourd-DEF-ACC
    ‘This man touched the gourd’

3.3 Gender

In the present section we examine gender marking in nouns, by showing morphological as well as lexical means of distinguishing gender. We also discuss periphrastic expressions of gender and how gender marking is manifested in non-verbal predicative constructions. Gender in pronouns is discussed in Section 4.1.1. We first present a brief overview of the gender system.

The gender system in Dime distinguishes masculine and feminine. The markers occur in various modifying categories: in nominal modifiers, pronominal, and relative verbs but not on the noun. Like in most Omotic languages, gender is generally semantically motivated: in nouns referring to entities that make sex distinction, gender is assigned according to their inherent gender. That is, words like ‘man’ and ‘woman’ have masculine and feminine gender respectively. Most inanimate nouns are masculine by default. However, sometimes inanimate nouns may take feminine marker in order to express smallness of the referent. With few exceptions (see below), reference to inanimate nouns is made using the pronouns nú ‘he’ or sinú ‘this (M)’ rather than ná ‘she’ or siná ‘this (F)’. Examples:
14. nú ṭáue gúdúm-ub dán
   he tree tall-M COP
   ‘It is a tall tree’

15. sinú láte s’án-ub dán
   this (M) stone black-M COP
   ‘It is a black stone.’

There are a few inanimate words that have inherent gender that is not masculine but feminine. These are the words for ‘moon’ and ‘sun’ (see also Bender, 1991: 103). Examples:

16. ṛírf-ís múlmul-ind
   moon-DEF round-F
   ‘The moon is round’

17. ḷiy-ís gícó-nd
   sun-DEF big-F
   ‘The sun is big’

Bender (1991) following Fleming (1976) notes that “sun” is ambiguous and its modifier takes either feminine or masculine marker. However, we observed that both ṛírf ‘moon’ and ḷiy ‘sun’ in Dime are feminine by adjectival concord. No ambiguity is observed as informants reject the construction when the modifier is marked by a masculine gender.

18 * ṛírf múlmul-ub
   moon round-M
   Intended meaning: ‘The moon is round’

19. *ḷiy-ís gícó-b
   sun-DEF big-M
   Intended meaning: ‘The sun is big’

Some words referring to entities that have natural sex have different lexical forms for feminine and masculine. Examples:

20a. ṭámze woman’

20b. gostú ‘man’

20c. ṭánṣé ‘female lamb (goat/sheep)’ (equivalent to k’eb in Amharic)

20d. s’ūmpu ‘male lamb (goat/sheep)’ (equivalent to t’ābbot in Amharic)

To indicate the gender of a person among many persons, the numeral wókkil ‘one’ which singles out such a referent is marked for gender. Examples:

21. wó-kó-de wókkil-ub-is
   1PL-GEN-ABL one-M-DEF
   ‘One of us (M)’
In summary, with large animate nouns gender agreement is generally semantic. The same holds for gender marking in pronouns and demonstratives as will be discussed in detail in the respective sections below. Inanimate nouns have masculine gender agreement by default. In nouns gender is not marked but it is marked on noun modifiers. Masculine gender is marked by the suffix -ub while feminine gender is designated by the suffix -ind. The masculine gender marker -ab/ub resembles bābe ‘father’ and the feminine gender marker -ind is very similar to ūnde ‘mother’. There are instances of word formation which are similar to these gender markers.

There are some morphemes which are formally similar to the gender affixes but denote a different meaning. For instance, Żts-ind ‘the mother of a child’ is a combination of two nouns (nițs+?ind). The word nițs-ob means ‘something from one’s childhood.’ Examples:

23. kuraz-ko ?indiid-is nițs-ind
kuraze-GEN wife-DEF child-mother
‘The wife of Kuraze is the mother of Kuraze’s child.’

24. šiftay-ko šif-is ?een nițs-ob
shiftaye-GEN shoes-DEF early childhood
‘The shoes of Shiftaye are from his childhood.’

Gender marking in the relative clause is treated in section 7.1.6. Gender in pronouns and demonstratives is discussed in section 4.1.1 and section 4.2, respectively. The following table provides a summary of the gender marking morphemes in Dime.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>word class</th>
<th>Gender marker</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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<td>Pronouns</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Relative clauses</td>
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Table-1 Gender marking
### 3.4 Number

Nouns and noun phrases make singular and plural distinction. Singular is morphologically unmarked; plural is marked by the suffix -\textit{af}. That a head noun is plural can be also inferred from the morpheme –\textit{id} which is suffixed to modifiers of plural nouns. Generally, –\textit{af} is suffixed to the noun base, preceding the definite marker –\textit{is} and/or case marking morphemes. Examples:

25a. \textit{èh-af-is} ‘the houses’
    house-PL-DEF

25b. \textit{dăr-af-is} ‘the goats’
    goat-PL-DEF

25c. \textit{guur-af-is} ‘the crocodiles’
    crocodile-PL-DEF

The plural marker –\textit{id} is suffixed only to modifiers as in (26-28). It can be considered as plural agreement morpheme as shown below. Plural agreement replaces gender agreement: The word \textit{gicó} becomes \textit{gicó-nd} or \textit{gicó-b} suffixing –\textit{ind} or \textit{ub} to indicate feminine or masculine gender, respectively. When modifying a plural noun, however, the same adjective is \textit{gicó-d} (\textit{< gicó + -id}) to indicate agreement to the plural head noun.

26. \textit{s’us'-id kén-af}
    many-PL  dog-PL
    ‘many dogs’

27. \textit{mákkim gicó-d ?ámz-af ?ád-i-n}
    three  big-PL  woman-PL  come-PF-3
    ‘Three big women came’

28. \textit{k'astín fì-lìnt'-id wúdúr-af-is yigim-yigim-dcé-n}
    two  RDP-beautiful-PL  girl–PL-DEF  RDP-play-IPF-3
    ‘The two beautiful girls are playing.’

### 3.5 Case

Dime has at least six morphologically distinct case marking morphemes. These are: accusative \textit{-im}, dative \textit{-in}, genitive \textit{-ko}, locative \textit{-se} and \textit{-o}, instrumental \textit{-ká}, ablative \textit{-de}. Nominative case is unmarked. As Creissels (2000) stated “Among the languages that have case marking systems distinguishing the subject from the object, the most common type, both worldwide and at the level of African continent, is that in which the subject is unmarked for case, whereas the object takes a particular case form, called accusative”. Dime is part of this widely attested typological type. Case can be categorized into two different levels. The first one is “core case” which includes nominative, accusative and dative case. The second level, peripheral case, includes instrumental, genitive, locative, and ablative cases. Core cases express syntactic relation, while peripheral cases express semantic relations (Blake 1995:33).
In Section 3.5.1. and 3.5.2. respectively, we discuss the core cases, i.e. nominative, accusative and the marking of the dative case. In Sections 3.5.3.-3.5.6. the second-level (semantic) case roles are discussed.

3.5.1 Nominative and accusative cases

Dime is a nominative-accusative language. Except for the nominative case, the other cases in this language are morphologically marked. For instance, in examples (29) and (30), the subject kčné is not morphologically marked for case.

29. kčné řeft-im deis-i-n
dog bird-ACC kill-PF-3
‘A dog killed a bird’

30. řeft-im kčné deis-i-n
top-ACC dog kill-PF-3
‘A dog killed a bird’

In intransitive clauses also nominative case is not morphologically marked as in example (31).

31. kčné čh-ů ylz-i-n
dog house-LOC run-PF-3
‘A dog ran home.’

The accusative case identifies object nouns; it is marked by -im. It is suffixed to the patient or affected constituent of two argument verbs. This is in line with what accusative markers do in related languages. It is marked both in definite and indefinite nouns as comparison of (32a) and (33a) with (32b) and (33b), illustrates.

32a. šiftaye zit-im šin-i-n
shiftey ox-ACC buy-PF-3
‘Shiftaye bought an ox’

32b. šiftaye zit-is-im šin-i-n
shiftey ox-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
‘Shiftaye bought the ox’

33a. šiftaye ziti s’án-ub-im šin-i-n
shiftey ox black-M-ACC buy-PF-3
‘Shiftaye bought a black ox’

33b. šiftaye ziti s’án-ub-is-im šin-i-n
shiftey ox black-M-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
‘Shiftaye bought the black ox’

As examples (32a) to (33b) demonstrate the accusative marker occurs phrase finally. If there is no modifier, the accusative marker is suffixed to the noun.
In example (33a-b) we see that the case marker is affixed to the modifier if the latter is the last element of the phrase. If instead, the word order of NP is modifier-head, –im is attached to the noun as in example (34).

34. ściątayę s’àn-ub zit-îs-im śîn-i-n

ściątayę black-M ox-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3

‘ściątayę bought the ox’

It is observed that the accusative can be marked two or more times in a sentence as in (35) and (36), where it is marked both on the modifier and the head noun.

35. ńàáre ńád-ib-îs-im gośt-îs-im nû yéf-i-n

yesterday come-M-DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC 3SM.SUBJ see-PF-3

‘He saw the man who came yesterday’

36. ńaté nîts-îs-im deîs-ib-îs-im ńîyy-îs-im yéf-i-t

1S.SUBJ child-DEF-ACC kill-M-DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC saw-PF-1

‘I saw the man who killed the child’

Earlier we made the observation that case marking is phrasal marking. Accusative may be marked on all noun phrase constituents (35 and 36), but if it is only marked once, it will be on the final one.

Depending on the nature of the verb, we may find two object noun phrases in a sentence, both marked for the accusative case. For instance, with three-place verbs such as ńîm- ‘give’, both the object noun and the recipient are marked with –im as in (37a) and (37b). This is especially common when the recipient is designated by a pronoun. (See also §3.5.2. on the Dative case)

37a. ńaři kốn-im mes’af-îm ńîm-i-t

1S.SUBJ 3FS-ACC book-ACC give-PF-1

‘I gave her a book’

37b. nû kốn-(îm) t’él-îm ńîm-i-n

3SM.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-ACC medicine-ACC give-PF-3

‘He gave her medicine.’

The accusative case is also suffixed to interrogative pronouns in Dime. For instance, the interrogative pronouns wûyû ‘what’, ńaři ‘who’ have the accusative form wûy-îm ‘what’, ńař-îm ‘whom’. The following are examples:

38. ńaři wûy-îm wunt’

who what-ACC do-PF:Q

‘Who did what?’

39. ńaři ńař-îm deîs-téé

who who-ACC kill-IPF:Q

‘Who kills whom?’

Largely, in Ethiopian languages, direct object case affixes are differential according to the definite-indefinite distinction but this does not seem to be the case in Dime.
When accusative is marked on a definite noun the definite marker always precedes the case marker (cf. 35-36).

Definiteness can also be marked both on the head noun and its modifier. Example.

40. šiftaye zit-is s’án-ub-is-im šin-i-n
    shifte ox-DEF black-M-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye bought the balck ox’

With the exception of the inclusive marker –k, case markers tend to occur at the final position of the noun phrase. The inclusive occurs after the accusative case marker as in examples (41).

41. šiftaye zim-áf-is-im-k deis-i-n
    shifte chief-PL-DEF-ACC-too kill-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye killed the chiefs too.’

When two conjoined object nouns occur in a sentence both nouns must be marked for case as in 42.

42. ?até nits-is-im-ká wudur-is-im-ká yeʃ-i-t
    1S.SUBJ child-DEF-ACC-CNJ girl-DEF-ACC-CNJ see-PF-1
    ‘I saw the boy and the girl’

For the analysis of the morpheme –im as a nominalizing morpheme see section 3.6.3. Case marking in pronouns and demonstratives is treated under section (4.4).

3.5.2 The dative

The dative in Dime is marked with –in. In three place verbs, the patient/affected (direct) object complement is marked by the accusative which is discussed in the previous section. The second complement representing the recipient or goal noun is marked by the dative. The patient or the recipient argument can be omitted if it can be understood from the context. Examples:

43. šiftaye zim-is-in gîm-i-n
    shifte chief-DEF-DAT answer-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye answer to the chief’

44. šiftaye zim-is-in-k gîm-i-n
    shifte chief-DEF-DAT-too answer-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye answered to the chief too’

The following are some examples of verbs which take a dative:

45. ðimi ‘give’
    gîmû ‘tell/answer’
    ŋezi ‘show’
    šîni ‘buy/sell’
The sentential examples in (46-51) illustrate that in case marking in clauses that are headed by the verbs in (45), the dative is used to mark the semantic roles recipient and beneficiary.

46. šiftaye maikro-n mes'áf-im  ámb-i-n  
   Shiftaye Maikro-DAT book-ACC give-PF-3  
   ‘Shiftaye gave a book to Maikro.’

47. šiftaye maikro-n  ðuis-im  gêm-i-n  
   Shiftaye Maikro-DAT question-ACC answer-PF-3  
   ‘Shiftaye answered a question to Maikro.’

48. nú yif-id-in yeznám-im  ðejs-i-n  
   3SM guest-PL-DAT farm-ACC show-PF-3  
   ‘He showed the farm to the guests’

49. nú yif-id-af-in¹⁷ yeznám-im  ðejs-i-n  
   3SM guest-PL-DAT farm-ACC show-PF-3  
   ‘He showed the farm to the guests’

50. nú yer-ín  ðay-im baáyá  ðád-i-n  
   3SM donkey-DAT grass-ACC bring come-PF-3  
   ‘He brought grass for the donkey’

51. yá  ðamz-in mes'af-is-im  šin-i-n  
   2S.SUBJ woman- DAT book-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3  
   ‘You bought the book for a woman’

3.5.3 The genitive/possessive

The genitive / possessive relation between nouns can be marked in various ways: by a genitive suffix or by juxtaposition with deletion of the final vowel of the possessed noun: compare the (a) and (b) examples in (52-53). There is no semantic difference between these structures.

52a. zób-ko dóótu dež-ub  
   lion-GEN leg strong-M  
   ‘A lion’s leg is strong’

52b. zób dóót dež-ub  
   lion leg strong-M  
   ‘A lion’s leg is strong’

53a. kó-ko  ðáne s’éid-ub  
   her-GEN hand short-M  
   ‘Her hand is short.’

¹⁷ Surprisingly the plural marker for modifiers is used in yif-id ‘guest’ as in (48), and an additional nominal plural suffix –af can be used with no difference in meaning as in (49). This is a peculiarity of the lexeme yif- ‘guest’.
53b. kó ľáne s’éi d-ub
    her hand short-M
    ‘Her hand is short.’

It is also possible to use the genitive marker more than once in the same extended
noun phrase construction as in example (54) and (55).

54. zim-kó říndiid-is-ko máte
    chief’s-GEN wife-DEF-GEN head
    ‘the chief’s wife’s head’

55. řis-ko mát-ko bánde zú-ub
    1S.OBJ-GEN head-GEN hair red-M
    ‘My head’s hair is red.’

For more information on genitive case in pronouns, see section (4.1.3).

3.5.4 The instrumental and comitative

An instrumental case encodes the instrument with which an action is carried out
(Blake 1994). In Dime the instrumental case is marked by -ká.

56. řaté řár-im říbz-is-ká k’árs'-i-t
    1S.SUBJ tree-ACC axe-DEF-INST cut-PF-1
    ‘I cut a tree with the axe’

57. maikro gáit-ká kuy-ú don-im kór-i-n
    maikro hoe-INST dig-CNV1 potato-ACC plant-PF-3
    ‘Maikro planted a potato digging (the earth) with a hoe.’

The morpheme –ká is also used to express comitative case. Consider the following
example:

58. nú kí-ko měch-ká řeh-ó řínt-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN sister-COM home-LOC go-PF-3
    ‘He went home with his sister.

If the morpheme -ká is used in a sentence that combines the functions of coordina-
tion and the other functions discussed above we get multiple –ká. As we discuss in
section (3.5.5) the morpheme -ká expresses conjunction, comitative and instrumen-
tal. The conjunction -ká is suffixed to each coordinated constituent, while the in-
strumental and the comitative morpheme -ká is used only once in a single phrase.
Sometimes it can also be suffixed to each noun. To identify the instrumental and the
comitative -ká we distinguish them in the gloss. In example (59) -ká in řaté yin-ká
    ‘I with you’ is the comitative; in the same sentence there are two -ká in kóxs-im-
ká-ká ‘with love and …’, the first -ká in this coordinated noun phrase is the comi-
tative -ká, while the second -ká is the conjunction marking -ká.
59. ṭaté yěn-ká kóx-is-im-ká-ka ṭišinč-ká dá-tub
   18.SUBJ you-COM love-ACC-COM-CNJI think-CNJI live-FUT
   ‘I will live with you with love and devotion.’

We discuss in detail about the conjunction/coordinator -ka in the following section in addition to its usage of marking comitative and instrumental constructions.

3.5.5 Conjunction/coordinator -ka

Dime has a morpheme -ka which expresses conjunction/co-ordination, comitative, and instrumental relation (60-62). There is also a morpheme -yi which is occasionally used as an alternative form of the conjunction morpheme -ka (see ex 70a-b). In the present discussion we focus on the morpheme -ka which occurs very frequently in the language. The usage of the morpheme -ka in Dime is highly varied; other than the three functions mentioned above, -ka is also used in directional adverbials (see Section 6.4.3). The following examples demonstrate the three main uses of –ka.

60. taddese-ka- maikro-ka ʔeh-ó bin-n
   taddese-CNJ maikro-CNJ house-LOC go:PF-3
   ‘Taddese and Maikro went home.’

61. šiftaye kí-ʔind-ka ʔeh-ó ūŋ-i-n
   shiftaye 3SM-mother-COM house-LOC go:PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye went home with his mother.’

62. šiftaye kált-ka ʔáu-im das-i-n
   shiftaye axe-INST wood-ACC cut-PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye cut the wood with an axe.’

In (60) the morpheme -ka is suffixed to each coordinated noun: e.g., taddese-ká maikro-ká ‘Taddese and Maikro’. On the other hand, if -ka is used only once the meaning is different. For instance, -ká in šiftaye kí-ʔind-ká ‘Shiftaye with his mother’ in (61) expresses only the comitative. Similarly, in example (62) -ka is used only once but here it functions as instrumental because the noun it is attached to is inanimate and thus excludes a comitative reading. A comitative reading is only possible with animate nouns; example (63) is ungrammatical.

63. *šiftaye kí-kó tebiz-ká bál-ó ūŋ-i-n
   shiftaye 3MS.OBJ-GEN axe-COM market-LOC go-PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye went to market with his axe.’

Example (64) is a further example of the instrumental/ comitative function with an inanimate noun. Structurally, there is no difference between comitative and instrumental roles.

---

18 A similar morpheme –ka is used for coordination in some Ethiopian languages, e.g., in Konso (Mous to appear).
Like with nouns the morpheme -ka can be used to coordinate adjectives. Compare the following examples where the coordination and instrumental functions contrast:

65. zu-ub-ká s’án-ub-ká
red-M-CNJ black-M-CNJ.
‘red and black’

66. zu-ub s’án-ub-ká
red-M black-M-INST
‘red with black’

67. ?iyy-ís k’al-ími s’án-ub-is-im zu-ub-is-ká ŋíkkims-i-n
man-DEF colour black-M-DEF-ACC red-M-DEF-INST mix-PF-3
‘The man mixed the black colour with the red one.’

When multiple nouns are coordinated, -ka is suffixed to each of the nouns as in (68):

68. is-ka yi-ka ko-ka ko-ka na-ím
1S.OBJ-CNJ 2S.OBJ-CNJ 3SF.OBJ-CNJ 3SM.OBJ-CNJ water-ACC
wuc’-i-t
drink-PF-1
‘I, you, she, and he drank water.’

Multiple instances of -ka in the same sentence may represent two or more different functions, e.g., comitative and conjunction as in the following examples:

69a. ?até yín-ká koxs-im-ká-ka ŋíshí-m-ka da-tub
I you-COM love-NMZ-COM-CNJ interest-CNJ live-FUT
‘I will live with you with love and devotion.’

69b. ?afi kí-ká-ká kó-ká-ká wunt’-éé-t
1S.SUBJ 3MS-COM -CNJ 3FS:OBJ-COM-CNJ work-IPF-1
‘I work with him and with her.’

69c. taddese maikro-ká-ká šiftey-ká-ká wunt’-éé-n
Taddese maikro-COM-CNJ shiftaye-COM-CNJ work-IPF-3
‘Taddese works with Maikro and with Shiftaye.’

The following example illustrates conjunction with the morpheme –yi as an alternative form to the conjunction function of –ká.

70a. ?afi kí-ká-yí kó-ká-yí wunt’-éé-t
1S.SUBJ 3MS-COM-CNJ 3SF.OBJ-COM-CNJ work-IPF-1
‘I work with him and with her.’
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70b. ṭatí kóko-yi kóko k'obs-is-ko-yi ìgm-ì-t
1S.SUBJ 3FS:GEN-CNJ 3FS:GEN boss-DEF-GEN-CNJ speak-PF-1
‘I reported to her and to her boss.’

The morpheme -ká is suffixed only to an object pronoun form. Even when the pronoun with –ká is used as subject NP, the form containing subject pronoun plus -ká is not acceptable as in (71b) and (72b):

71a. kó-ká kí-ká wókkil-im ìgm-déé-n
3FS:OBJ-CNJ 3MS:OBJ-CNJ one-NMZ /ACC play-IPF-3
‘She and he are playing together.’

71b. *ná-ká nú-ká wókkil-im ìgm-déé-n
3FS:SUBJ-CNJ 3MS:SUBJ-CNJ together-NMZ/ACC play-IPF-3
Intended: ‘She and he are playing together.’

72a. ṭis-ká yín-ká kó-ká kí-ká
1S.OBJ-CNJ 2S–CNJ 3SF.OBJ-CNJ 3S.M.OBJ-CNJ
nàr-im wuč'i-t
water-ACC drink-PF-1
‘I, you, she, and he drank water.’

72b. *ṭatí-ká yá-ká ná-ká nú-ká
1S:SUBJ-CNJ 2S:SUBJ-CNJ 3SF:SUBJ-CNJ 3SM:SUBJ-CNJ
nàr-im wuč'i-t
water-ACC drink-PF-1
Intended meaning: ‘I, you, she, and he drank water.’

The morpheme –ká cannot be used to coordinate verbs. Verbs are coordinated by the converb marker -a as in (73a) and (73b).

73a. kété ṭád-ándé ìgm-i-n
3PL:SUBJ come-CN2V speak-PF-3
‘They came and spoke.’ [literally “Having come, they spoke.”]

73b. nú ṭits-ándé náy't'i-n
3SM:SUBJ eat-CN2V sleep-PF-3
‘He ate and slept.’

In summary, the same morpheme -ká is used to express conjunction, comitative, and instrumental relations. Stassen (2000) points out that many of the world’s languages use the same marker for expressing conjunction (‘A and B’) and comitative (‘A with B’) relations. He refers to such languages as ‘with-languages’. He argues that the identity of their shape may be due to a very common semantic-syntactic change from comitative marker to conjunction coordinator.

The morpheme -ik ‘too’ or ‘also’ is suffixed to nouns or conditional elements at word final position. The following are some examples:
74a. ʔis-ko-m-ik  kí-ko-m-ik
1S:OBJ-GEN-ACC-too  3SM:OBJ-GEN-ACC-too
‘Me, and him too’

74b. šiftaye zim-áf-is-im-k deis-i-n
shiftaye cheif-PL-DEF-ACC-too  kill-PF-3
‘Shiftay killed the chiefs too.

3.5.6  The locative

In this section we discuss case morphemes and other independent words which are
used for the expression of location. There are two locative case markers which are
suffixed to nouns. These are the suffixes -se ‘on’ and -o ‘in’. Examples:

75.  maŋ-ís  t'arap'ez-is-se  dáb-i-n
gourd-DEF table-DEF-LOC  stay-PF-3
‘The gourd is on the table.’

76. nûts-is ʔéh-ó  dán
child-DEF house-LOC  COP
‘The child is in the house’ (cf. citation form ʔéhé ‘house’)

77. nú mir-ó ʔótl-i-n
3SM.SUBJ river-LOC  jump-PF-3
‘He jumped into the river.’

Moreover, to express more specific location the locative noun can be followed by
lisín ‘on top/surface of’, gûy-ó ‘in the interior of’. The examples in (75-77) contrast
with those in (78-80):

78. maŋ-ís  t'arap'ez-is-se  lisín dáb-i-n
gourd-DEF table-DEF-LOC  on  live-PF-3
‘The gourd is on (surface) the table.’

79. nûts-is ʔéh-ó  gûy-ó  dán
child-DEF house-LOC  inside-LOC  COP
‘The child is inside the house’ (cf. citation form: ʔéhé ‘house’)

80. lâl-ís  mir-ó  gûy-ó  dán
stone-DEF river-LOC inside-LOC  COP
‘The stone is in the river.’

The noun preceding the words lisín ‘on top/surface of’ and gûy-ó ‘inside/interior of’
must always be marked for the locative case by one of the suffixes -o or -se. Otherwise,
lisín ‘on top/surface of’ and gûy-ó ‘inside/interior of’ cannot be used by
themselves to express location. Thus, example (81) is unacceptable because lisín is
preceded by the noun t'arap'ez-ís ‘the table’, without it being marked with the loca-
vive case.
The following table represents summary of the locative phrases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>locative plus locational noun</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Based on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-o + ɣy-ó</td>
<td>t'ərap'ez-is-ó ɣy-ó</td>
<td>ɣy-ó ‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-se + lisin</td>
<td>t'ərap’ez-se lisin</td>
<td>lisin ‘top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko + doott-ó</td>
<td>may-is-ko doott-ó</td>
<td>doottu ‘leg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko + baf-ó</td>
<td>t’ərap’ez-ko baf-ó</td>
<td>baf-ó ‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko-de + ʔáatim</td>
<td>t’ərap’ez-ko-de ʔáatim</td>
<td>ʔáatim ‘far’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-5 Locative case and locational noun in Dime
3.5.7 The ablative

The ablative case is marked by the suffix -de. It expresses source, e.g. ‘from’ or ‘out of’. In most cases the ablative case marker follows a genitive or locative stem (see section 4.1.3, table-5). Examples (87-91) illustrate that the ablative case is formed on the basis of a locative form.

87. ná kín-ze-de ?ád-i-n
   3SF.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-LOC-ABL come-PF-3
   ‘She came from his place.’

88. dim-ko ?ámze ?éd-is-se-de yič-á ?ád-i-n
dime-GEN woman mountain-DEF-LOC-ABL descend-CNV1 come-PF-3
   ‘A Dime woman came down from the top of the mountain’

89. nú ?éd-is-se-de ?ád-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ. mountain-DEF-LOC-ABL come-PF-3
   ‘He came from the top of the mountain.’

90. náu-is ?éd-is-ó-de ?ád-i-n
   water-DEF mountain-DEF-LOC-ABL come-PF-3
   ‘The water came from inside the mountain.’

91. nú mech-im wón-ze-de tálk’-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ money-ACC 1PL: OBJ-LOC-ABL borrow-PF-3
   ‘He borrowed money from us’

The ablative case morpheme can alternatively be suffixed to the directive particle as in example (92-95) instead of being attached to the source nouns as in the examples in (87-91).

92. šíftaye taddese-ká bow-de ?éh-ó ?ád-i-n
   shiftaye taddesse-COM DIR-ABL house-LOC come-PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye came out from Taddesse’s home.’

93. gún-is taddese-ká bow-de ?ád-i-n
   snake-DEF taddesse-COM DIR-ABL come-PF-3
   ‘The snake came out from Taddesse’s house.’

94. šíftaye taddese-ká bow-de bin-n
   shiftaye taddesse-COM DIR-ABL leave:PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye left from Taddesse’s place.’

95. ná ki-ká bow-de ?ád-i-n
   3SF.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-COM DIR-ABL come-PF-3
   ‘She came from his place.’

The morpheme bow- may have developed from a noun. The sequence Noun-ká-
bow (Noun-comitative/instrumental-directional) expresses direction towards the N (e.g. taddese in 96a). However, if the ablative marker is added to such a construction, i.e., Noun-ká-bow–de, it expresses direction away from the Noun (as in taddese in 96b).

96a. šiftaye taddese-ká–bow ŋ-i-n
    shiftaye taddese–COM-DIR go-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye went towards Taddese.’

96b. šiftaye taddese-ká–bow-de ŋád-i-n
    shiftaye taddese–COM-DIR-ABL come-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye came from the place where Taddese is found.’

In some cases of inherently locative nouns such as place names, the ablative is suffixed to nouns directly without a preceding locative case marker. For instance, in examples (97) and (98) we have gazer-de ‘Gazer, a place name in south west Ethiopia’, djinka-de ‘Jinka, a town in south west Ethiopia’ without any interference of another element between the ablative case and the noun.

97. ʔaté bunú liŋ-ub gazer-de šin-éé-t
    1S.SUBJ coffee good-M gazer–ABL buy-IPF-1
    ‘I bought a good coffee from Gazer’

98. taddese djinka-de kúrum bá-ʔád20-déé-n
    taddese jinka-ABL honey bring-IPF-3
    ‘Taddese will bring honey from Jinka’

The ablative case marking in pronouns is treated under section (4.1.3).

The following table represents summary of case marking morphemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>case type</th>
<th>Case marker</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>šiftaye yil-im yazn dán</td>
<td>Shiftaye is a farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>šiftaye yil-im yazn dán</td>
<td>Shiftaye is a farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>yer-in</td>
<td>for a donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-de</td>
<td>ke-se-de, ke-ko-de</td>
<td>from them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive/possessive</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>ʔámsz-is-ko doótu</td>
<td>the woman’s leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-se and -ó</td>
<td>t’arbaz-is-se/t’arbaz-is-ó</td>
<td>on the table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-ká</td>
<td>ʔaté ʔar-is-im fibz-is-ká</td>
<td>I cut a tree with the axe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-7: Summary of case marking morphemes in Dime

The ablative, dative, comitative and instrumental cases are also directly suffixed to interrogative pronouns as in example (99-101).

20 The word bá’ád is a combination of two words bá’a ‘take’ and ŋádi ‘come’.
3.6 Derived nominals

In this section we deal with derivation of nouns. Agentive, abstract and infinitive nominals are derived by adding the morphemes -bab, -im, and -in respectively to verbal or adjective base. Moreover, the cognate object nouns are also derived from their corresponding verb root by adding the above morpheme –im. Below, each of these is discussed in turn.

3.6.1 Agentive nouns

The morpheme –bab is suffixed to verb roots to derive agentive nouns. Such derived agentive nouns refer to the agent of the action indicated by the verb. The morpheme -bab seems to have originated from the noun bæbe ‘father’21. The following are examples:

102. Root derived agentive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Derived Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yïz- ‘run’</td>
<td>yïz-bab</td>
<td>‘runner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunt’- ‘work’</td>
<td>wunt’-bîb</td>
<td>‘worker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëm- ‘beg’</td>
<td>sëm-bab</td>
<td>‘beggar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëkë- ‘sew’</td>
<td>dëkë-bab</td>
<td>‘sewer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kôx ‘love’</td>
<td>kôx-bab</td>
<td>‘lover’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The (a) and (b) examples below illustrate the base verb and the use of the derived noun.

103a. nû tõlyô yïz-dëe-n

3SM.SUBJ quick run-IPF-3

‘He will run quickly’

103b. nû ?ahô-b yïz-bab dän

3SM.SUBJ good-M run-AGEN COP

‘He is a good runner’

21 In Sheko, a member of the Dizoid branch of Omotic, the word baaba ‘father’ is used in a similar way: e.g., unk’u ‘steal’ unk’u –baab ‘thief’ (Hellenthal p.c).
3.6.2 Infinitives

The infinitive is formed by suffixing the morpheme –in to the verb root (see also Fleming, 1990:565).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form / imperative</th>
<th>Derived infinitives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yîz-</td>
<td>yîz-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋad-</td>
<td>ŋad-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuc'-</td>
<td>wuc'-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋuus'-</td>
<td>ŋuus'-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋits-</td>
<td>ŋits-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’aáh-</td>
<td>s’aáh-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>küb-</td>
<td>küb-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Base form and Infinitive form of verbs

The infinitive occurs as object complement of verbs in both affirmative and negative constructions. Examples:

105a. ?atî ŋad-in k’ay-déé-t
1S.SUBJ come-INF want-IPF-1
‘I want to come’

105b. ŋad-in k’ay-déé-t
come-INF want-IPF-1
‘I/we want to come’

106a. ?atè yîn-im gis’-in k’ay-déé-t
1S.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC beat-INF want-IPF-1
‘I want to beat you’

106b. nù yîn-im gis’-in ŋad-déé-t
3SM.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC beat-INF come-IPF-3
‘He comes to beat you.’

107. bay-is ŋits-in ?ahó-b
food-DEF eat-INF good-M
‘The food is good to eat.’

108. zim-is ŋad-in k’ay-káy
chief-DEF come-INF want-NEG
‘The chief doesn’t want to come.’
There are also a few examples of infinitives with the morpheme –ta. But this morpheme is not productively used.

109. kété yǐn-im yīn-tú bin-n kaf-téé-n
   3PL.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC see-INF go:PF-3 wait-IPF-3
   ‘They are waiting to see you.’

3.6.3 -im nominalization

In Dime –im is used as a nominalizer morpheme which is suffixed to adjectives to derive abstract nouns and sometimes to verb roots to derive verbal nominals.

First we will discuss the use of the morpheme –im to derive abstract nouns from adjectives and second its use to derive cognate object nouns from their corresponding verbs. The following examples illustrate nouns derived from adjectives.

110. ?áń-is-ko giččó-b-is-im ság-in gá-gám-déé-n
    tree-DEF-GEN big-M-DEF-NMZ cut-INF RDP:difficult-IPF-3
    ‘The bigness of the tree makes it difficult to cut it.’
    (Adj = giččó-b ‘big’)

111. důůr-is-ko giččó-b-is-im ?éh-is-se-de
    elephant-DEF-GEN big-M-DEF-NMZ house-DEF-LOC-ABL
    kol-déé-n
    high-IPF-3
    ‘The bigness of the elephant is more than that of the house’
    (Adj = giččó-b ‘big’)

112. kín-m ?áfál-is-ko s’án-ub-is-im t’um-is-ká
    3SM.OBJ-ACC cloth-DEF-GEN black-M-DEF-NMZ dark-DEF-COM
    yekki wón-i-n
    equal be-PF-3
    ‘The blackness of his cloth makes him (look) darker’
    (Adj = s’ánu-b ‘black’)

113. sánk-is-ko č’ók’k’-ub-is-im ?ahó-b dán
    field-DEF-GEN small-M-DEF-NMZ good-M COP
    ‘The smallness of the field is good.’
    (Adj = č’ók’k’u-b ‘small’)

From the above examples (110-113) we observe two problems. First, if we consider -im as a nominalizer, it is strange that the definite marker precedes the nominalizer. If it is not a nominalizer the second option is to analyse -im as the accusative case marker –im. However, this second hypothesis is also problematic. That is, the –im-marked nominals occur in subject position (cf. 110-113). For now, we choose to analyse –im as a nominalizer morpheme which derives abstract nouns from adjectives. The use of such derived abstract nouns in context can be observed.
in texts (1:012, 013; text7: 005). For instance, the word wókkil ‘one’ is changed to wókkil-im ‘unity’. Just like in Amharic, where ኢንድ ‘one’ becomes ኢንድ-ሰመት ‘unity’, the adjectives k’äyy ‘red’ becomes k’äyy-ሰመት ‘redness’, and dägg ‘kind’ dägg-ሰመት ‘kindness’, by suffixing -ሰመት.

The morpheme –im can also be added to verbs to derive cognate nouns. No other affix intervenes between these two.

114. Root derived nouns

yi gi - ‘play’ yíg-im ‘game’
üt s - ‘eat’ yít-im ‘food’

The derived form is then used in sentences as cognate object to its related verb. For instance, by suffixing the morpheme –im to the verbs ይትስ ‘eat’, yígi ‘play’, zägi ‘dance’ their corresponding cognate object forms yít-im ‘food’, yíg-im ‘game’ and zäg-im ‘dancing/dance’ are derived.

115. nú yít-im yít-i-n
3SM.SUBJ food-NMZ eat-PF-3
‘He ate food’

116. nú káx-im káx-si-n
3SM.SUBJ dream-NMZ dream-PF-3
‘He dreamed a dream’

117. nú zäg-im zä-zäg-déé-n
3SM.SUBJ dance- NMZ RDP:dance-IPF-3
‘He is dancing a dance’

118. kēfî yíg-im yígim-déên
3PL.SUBJ game- NMZ play-IPF-3
‘They play a game’

The derived cognate object can be used both as subject and object. Its use in the object position is illustrated in the examples in (115-118). The following example illustrates its use as subject:

119. yíts-im-is yíts-ínt’i-n
eat-NMZ-DEF eat-PAS-PF-3
‘The food was eaten’

The fact that the cognate object is used as subject as in (119) and that an additional accusative –im is needed to form the accusative of a cognate object noun as in (120) justifies the analysis that –im has a nominalizing role.

120. kēfî yíg-im-is-im gîr-gîr-i-n
3PL.SUBJ game- NMZ -DEF-ACC RDP:hate-IPF-3
‘They hate the game’

In example (119) the noun is nominative, not overtly marked for case. In (120) the morpheme –im occurs twice: once preceding the definite marker and once following
the definite marker. In its first occurrence it nominalizes the verb. In its second occurrence it indicates that the derived nominal functions as object. In example (121) which is extracted from (Text 4: 005), laʒ-im-is-im ‘corpse/dead body’ is derived from laŋ’ti ‘die’.

121. yàk-af mákkim ʔád-á wókkil-is láŋ-im-is-im
sister-PL three come-CNV1 one-DEF corpse-NMZ-DEF-ACC
k’ásin-sub-is níts-is-im mákkim-sub-is gon-is-im
second-ORD-DEF child-DEF-ACC third-ORD-DEF hive-DEF-ACC
‘Three of his sister’s children come and then the first, the second and the third son carry the corpse, the child of the chief and the hive, respectively.

It is not possible at this point to satisfactorily defend the analysis of –im only as an accusative case marker, or as a nominalizer or as a morpheme that simultaneously serves to mark accusative case and to derive nominals from verbs and adjectives. Each of these possible analyses has a problem. We therefore leave this question open as a topic that needs further investigation.

### 3.7 Compound nouns

A compound is a complex word that consists of two or more lexemes. Dime allows the following types of compounds:

122. word class components compounds
    ADV+N lizin ‘fast’ + níts ‘child’ lizin-níts ‘thunder storm’
    V+V baʔa ‘take’ + ŋadé ‘come’ ba-ŋadé ‘bring’
    N+N ʔáfe ‘eye’ + náne ‘water’ ʔąfnáne ‘tears’
        ʔáfe ‘eye’ + níts ‘child’ ʔąfníts ‘eye nucleus’

The N+N compounds in (122) look very similar to genitive phrases which can be formed through juxtaposition of two simple nominals or alternatively through suffixation of –ko on the possessed nominal. In the present analysis, the forms in (122) are considered compounds because –ko cannot intervene between the two components. There are however, expressions such as those in (123) which formally look like the compounds we have shown before but may not be fully lexiclized because their first component can take –ko.

123. N+N ʔáne ‘hand’ + gús ‘finger’ ʔán-gús / ʔánko gús ‘finger’
      N+N dūʔuttu ‘leg’ + gús ‘finger’ dūʔott-gús / dūʔott-ko gús ‘toe’

There are also compound words which are formed by combining interrogative pronouns, conjunctions and some other word classes. Such kinds of compounds often contain more than two forms:

124. wūy-dó-lóok ‘something’
    wūyú ‘what’
    dót ‘if’
    look ‘thing’
124. wúyím- dót-ìk
wúyím  ‘anything’
dót  ‘what’
–ìk  ‘if’

125. ?ámó-dót-ìk
?ámó  ‘anywhere’
dót  ‘if’
–ìk  ‘too’
4 Pronouns

In this chapter we discuss personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. We will show that third person pronouns are the source of gender and number markers on demonstratives.

4.1 Personal pronouns

There are two separate sets of subject and object personal pronouns in Dime. In each set, both person and number are distinguished. For the third person singular, a further distinction in gender is made. In this section we also discuss dative and genitive/possessive personal pronouns. The base forms of the dative, possessive and ablative pronouns correspond formally to that of object pronouns. In contrast, the base form of subject pronouns is different from all other pronouns. This formal correspondence between object pronouns and dative, possessive and ablative pronouns is indicated by including OBJ (object) when glossing the latter group of pronouns, e.g. ki-n ‘for him’ is glossed as 3SM.OBJ-DAT.

4.1.1 Subject and object pronouns

Subject personal pronouns are independent and, except for the third person singular forms which show vowel alternation according to gender, they are morphologically simple. Object pronouns are different from these in that they comprise two to three morphemes: the base form of the pronoun, an additional –n- element (see below for discussion) and the accusative case marker -im which is also used for marking accusative case on nouns. There are seven subject and object pronouns. These are listed in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ʔatɛ</td>
<td>ʔis-im 'me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>yáay/yáye 'you'</td>
<td>yín-im 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>nu 'he'</td>
<td>kin-im 'him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF</td>
<td>ná 'she'</td>
<td>kon-im 'her'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>wótu 'we'</td>
<td>won-im 'us'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yesé 'you'</td>
<td>yen-im 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>kété 'they'</td>
<td>ken-im 'them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-1: Subject and object personal pronouns in Dime

In table 1, we observe that some of the base forms of subject and object pronouns are formally related but not identical. That is, the initial syllables of the plural object and subject pronouns are similar, as is the second person singular subject and object pronoun. In contrast, the base forms of third person singular feminine and third person singular masculine subject and object pronouns are completely different: ná ‘she’ and kó- in kon-im ‘her’. Similarly, the subject form of 3MS is nu ‘he’ while in the corresponding object pronoun kin-im ‘him’ we find the base form ki- . The object pronouns cannot occur independently but they require a case marker, while sub-
ject pronouns are not marked for case. We notice also from the above table that the first person subject and object pronoun forms ḍafé and ḍis- are not identical. Their similarity is based on the initial segment ḍ. The vowel and the second consonantal segment are different.

The Dime pronouns are similar in some respects to pronouns of other south Omotic languages, such as Aari and Hamar. However, there are also some differences among the languages with respect to their pronouns. For instance, as reported by Hayward (1990), Daniel (1994), the initial pronominal of object and subject pronouns in Aari are similar to the object and subject pronouns of Dime. The object form of the 3MS in Aari is ki-m and 3FS is ko-m whereas the corresponding 3MS and 3FS subject pronouns are: na ‘he’ and no ‘she’, just as in Dime. In both Aari and Dime, the direct object (accusative) marker is (-im). However there is a difference between Dime and Aari with regard to the affixation of (-im). In the pronoun paradigm of Dime the accusative marker -im is not directly suffixed to the object pronoun but rather it is preceded by an -n- element. This seems peculiar to Dime, which we discuss more fully in section 4.4. In Hamar there is no independent form for subject pronouns; the distinction between subject and object pronouns is marked by nominative and accusative suffixes –si and –na, respectively (cf. Moges, 2005: 117).

As can be observed from table 1, gender is distinct only in the third person singular pronouns; in the other pronouns it is not distinguished. In third person singular subject pronouns, masculine and feminine gender is marked by the suffixes -u and -a respectively (i.e., nu ‘he’ and na ‘she’). The masculine and feminine gender markers -ub and -ind are not used. The corresponding third person singular masculine and feminine object pronouns are distinguished as ki- and ko- respectively. The following examples illustrate the use of subject and object pronouns:

1a. ḍafé don-im déy-i-t
   1S.SUBJ potato-ACC cook-PF-1
   ‘I cooked the potato.’

1b. na ḍis-im yéf-i-n
   3SF.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-ACC see-PF-1
   ‘She saw me.’

2a. wótú wuuf ḍád-in k'ay-dë–t
   1PL.SUBJ all come-INF want-IPF-1
   ‘We all want to come.’

2b. na wón-im k’ís-im k’óm-i-t
   3SF.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-ACC bread-ACC make-PF-3
   ‘She made us bread.’

3a. nu wuč'-wuč'-dë–n
   3SM.SUBJ RDP-drink-IPF-3
   ‘He is drinking.’
In examples (2b, 3b) we have an n element before the accusative case marker. Analytic problems related to n intervening between the object pronoun base and the accusative case marker are discussed in section 4.4. For our purpose here, this specific form is not transliterated. Instead, n is represented as part of the pronoun. A formally similar dative case marking morpheme –(i)n on the other hand is transliterated as DAT.

The second person singular subject pronoun yáay or yáye can be reduced to yá, which is used as an alternative form to yáye. However, the other subject personal pronouns do not have a short form. The short form of the second person singular pronoun is only used as subject. Thus, second person has three subject forms yáye, yáay and yá, and only one object form, yín-im. The following three sentences illustrate the three forms.

4a. yáye wunt'-éé–n k'áys-ís-téé–n
   ‘You must do it.’

4b. yáye wunt'-éé–n k'áys-ís-téé–n
   ‘You must do it.’

4c. kété yín-im yín-tá bin-n kaf-téé–n
   ‘They are waiting to see you.’

4.1.2 The dative in personal pronouns

Pronouns can be marked by the dative suffix -in ‘for/to’. This morpheme is realised as –n when it follows a vowel and as –in when it follows a morpheme that ends in a consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tís-in ‘for/to me’</td>
<td>Wó-n ‘for/to us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yí-n ‘for/to you’</td>
<td>Ye-n ‘for/to you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ki-n ‘for/to him’</td>
<td>Ke-n ‘for/to them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ko-n ‘for/to her’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Dative pronouns

Examples (5 and 6) illustrate that dative marking in nouns is used for the semantic roles recipient and beneficiary.

5. nú dar-ín nán-is-im ?eýs-i-n
   ‘He led the goat to the water (so that it can drink).’
6. **nú** yer-in **7ay-im** baʔad-im

3SM.SUBJ donkey-DAT grass-ACC bring-PF-3

‘He brought grass for a donkey.’

In pronouns the same semantic roles, i.e. recipient and beneficiary may be expressed either by the dative (7) or accusative cases (8). In example (8) pronominal forms kon and ken which look like the dative found in the examples in (7) are affixed with the accusative –im and designate a recipient.

7a. **zim-is** kí-mát-im **kó-n** medal-im **7îm-i-n**

chief-DEF 3SM-REFL-DAT 3SF-DAT medal-ACC give-PF-3

‘The chief himself gave her the medal.’

7b. **kété** wó-n **sól-im** **7în-i-n**

3PL.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-DAT enjera-ACC buy-PF-3

‘They bought enjera for us.’

7c. **ná** kí-n **meh-im** **7îm-i-n**

3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-DAT money-ACC give-PF-3

‘She gave him money.’

8a. **nú** **kón-im** d’él-im **7îm-i-n**

3SM.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-ACC medicine-ACC give-PF-3

‘He gave her medicine.’

8b. **yá** kén-im **mes’af-is-im** **7în-i-n**

2S.SUBJ 3PL-ACC book-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3

‘You bought the book for them.’

As the above examples suggest, dative and accusative cases are not always clearly distinguished in pronouns. This is one of the difficulties in the analysis of Dime pronouns. Moreover, what looks like the dative case occurs with some mono-transitive verbs as in (9a). In contrast the accusative form occurs in di-transitive constructions where the dative case is expected as in (8) and (9b).

9a. **yesé** kó-n **yéf-i-n**

2PL.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-DAT see-PF-2

‘You saw her.’

9b. **ʔafl** kón-im **mes’af-im** **7îm-i-t**

1S.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-ACC book-ACC give-PF-1

‘I gave her a book.’

We will further discuss this issue in section 4.4.

4.1.3 Genitive/possessive pronouns

The genitive marker in Dime is **-ko**. It is suffixed to the object pronouns to form the genitive personal pronoun as shown in table 3:
Pronouns 69

Table-3: Genitive pronouns

The genitive personal pronouns function as possessive modifiers, (10, 11), and as independent possessive pronouns, (12).

10. kó-ko ʔáne ʔéid-ub
    3SF.OBJ-GEN hand short-M
    ‘Her hand is short.’

11. kó-ko màći
    3SF.OBJ-GEN sister
    ‘her sister’

12. yá ʔís-ko-ká wunt’-wunt’-ée-n
    2S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN-INST RDP:work-IPF-3
    ‘You are using mine/working with mine.’

The genitive can be also expressed with juxtaposition without using the suffix ko-.

Compare the (a) and (b) forms in the following two examples:

13a. ʔató ʔís-ko dóót-im nárá-ká së̀-i-t
    1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN leg-ACC water-INST wash-PF-1
    ‘I washed my leg with water.’

13b. ʔató ʔa-dóót-im nárá-ká së̀-i-t
    1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-leg-ACC water-INST wash-PF-1
    ‘I washed my leg with water.’

14a. nú kí-ko dóót-im tebzi-gá k’ars’-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN axe-INST cut-PF-3
    ‘He cut his leg with an axe.’

14b. nú kí-dóóót-im tebzi-gá k’ars’-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-leg-ACC axe-INST cut-PF-3
    ‘He cut his leg with an axe.’

A summary of the possessive pronouns both with and without ko- are given in the following table. The terminal vowel u is omitted in the later form.

---

22 -ká is changed to -gá due to the preceding voiced sound.
Chapter 4

**Genitive form**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>with –ko</th>
<th>without –ko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?is-ko doọtu</td>
<td>?a-dọọt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yin-ko doọtu</td>
<td>yi-dọọt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kỉ-ko doọtu</td>
<td>kỉ-dọọt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-ko doọtu</td>
<td>ko-dọọt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo-ko doọtu</td>
<td>wo-dọọt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye-ko doọtu</td>
<td>ye-dọọt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-ko doọtu</td>
<td>ke-dọọt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>ABL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?is-se-de</td>
<td>?is-ko-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yin-ze-de</td>
<td>yin-ko-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kỉn-ze-de</td>
<td>kỉ-ko-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon-ze-de</td>
<td>ko-ko-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo-ze-de</td>
<td>wo-ko-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye-ze-de</td>
<td>ye-ko-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-ze-de</td>
<td>ke-ko-de</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table-4 possessive pronouns in Dime**

The ablative case marker, –de, is preceded either by the locative or genitive case.

15a. ?is-se-de dỉibi meh temm-im dỉib-i-n. 1S.OBJ-LOC-ABL thief money ten-ACC steal-PF-3  
‘A thief has stolen ten birr from me.’ (birr is the name of Ethiopian currency)

15b ?is-ko-de dỉibi meh temm-im dỉib-i-n  
1S.OBJ-LOC-ABL thief money ten-ACC steal-PF-3  
‘A thief has stolen ten birr from me.’

4.1.4 Reflexive pronouns

It seems that the reflexive marker is derived from the noun māte ‘head’ as e.g. in the word /?a-mát/ ‘myself’ the morpheme /-mát/ is derived from /máte/ ‘head’. The reflexive root is preceded by either the genitive personal pronoun or by the object pronoun. Thus from the object pronoun ?a and mát the reflexive ?a-mát ‘myself’ is formed ( Reflexive-1 in table 6); alternatively, the dative marking morpheme –in can be added to simple reflexive-1 forms to derive reflexive-2 forms (cf. Table 6) as in ?a-mát-in ‘myself’. The noun mát ‘head’ may instead be preceded by the genitive

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23 Heine (1999:18) states that if in a given African language a new marker for reflexive arises, then it can be predicted with a certain degree of probability that that marker will be derived from a noun meaning ‘body’. A second choice, having a considerably lower degree of probability is that it will be a noun for ‘head’.
personal pronouns (cf. 4.1.2) and followed by either the dative case ending -in or by the conjunction/instrumental marker -ká as in ʔis-ko-mát-ká ‘I myself’ (lit. ‘I by my head’). We refer to these two latter forms as reflexive-3 and reflexive-4 in Table 6, respectively. These forms are not interchangeable; each of them has a slightly different meaning according to the case suffixed to it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subject Pronouns</th>
<th>Reflexive1</th>
<th>Reflexive2</th>
<th>Reflexive3</th>
<th>Reflexive4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ʔis-im</td>
<td>ʔa-mát</td>
<td>ʔa-mát-in</td>
<td>ʔis-ko-mát-in</td>
<td>ʔis-ko-mát-ká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>yín-im</td>
<td>yí-mát</td>
<td>yí-mát-in</td>
<td>yí-ko-mát-in</td>
<td>yí-ko-mát-ká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>kín-im</td>
<td>kl-mát</td>
<td>kl-mát-in</td>
<td>kl-ko-mát-in</td>
<td>kl-ko-mát-ká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF</td>
<td>kon-im</td>
<td>kó-mát</td>
<td>kó-mát-in</td>
<td>kó-ko-mát-in</td>
<td>kó-ko-mát-ká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>won-im</td>
<td>wó-mát</td>
<td>wó-mát-in</td>
<td>wó-ko-mát-in</td>
<td>wó-ko-mát-ká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>kën-im</td>
<td>kë-mát</td>
<td>kë-mát-in</td>
<td>kë-ko-mát-in</td>
<td>kë-ko-mát-ká</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-6: Reflexive pronouns

When the subject and the object are the same person the reflexive pronoun is coreferential with the subject of the clause in which it occurs. Consider the following examples:

16a. ʔató ʔa-mát tíćind-i-t

   1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-REFL cut-PF-1

   ‘I cut myself.’

16b. ʔató ʔa-mát-in karf-i-n

   1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-REFL-DAT speak-PF-1

   ‘I spoke to myself.’

17. nú kí-ko-mát-in ʔayim-káy

   3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN-REFL-DAT move-NEG

   ‘He can’t move himself.’ (lit. he can’t move for his head).

18a. kété kë-ko-mát-in k’ám-im sínš-i-n

   3PL.SUBJ 3PL.OBJ-GEN-REFL-DAT accident-ACC blame-PF-3

   ‘They blamed themselves for the accident.’ (lit. they blamed the accident for their head)

18b. nú kí-ko-mát-ká ʔayim-káy

   3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN-REFLINST move-not

   ‘He can’t move by himself.’ (lit. he can’t move by his head).

From the above examples, we observe that there are four forms of reflexive pronouns. That is, the reflexive pronouns are formed either by suffixing -mát to the subject pronouns as in (16a) or by adding the dative marker as in (16b) or by the combination of possessive plus -mát and finally a dative marker as in (17) and (18a).
Some reflexive pronouns may be used for emphasising the subject. For instance, in (19), to express the chief is the person who gave somebody the medal, the reflexive pronoun is used with the noun chief. In the data at hand, for the emphatic, only the reflexive forms with the dative case are used (19-20). There are no examples with the other reflexive forms. Whether or not these can be used for emphasis cannot be demonstrated.

19. zim-is kí-mát-in kó-n medal-im źim-i-n
   chief-DEF 3SM-REFL-DAT 3SF-DAT medal-ACC give-PF-3
   ‘The chief himself gave her the medal.’

20. šiftaye kí-mát-in kír-im puč-i-n
   shiftaye 3SM.OBJ-REFL-DAT door-ACC open-PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye himself opened the door.’

The following table summarizes the personal pronouns and all suffixes which they take.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>ATIVE</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>?até</td>
<td>?is-im</td>
<td>?is-in</td>
<td>?is-ko</td>
<td>?is-ko-de</td>
<td>?is-ka</td>
<td>?a-mát</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>yaye</td>
<td>yin-im</td>
<td>yi-n</td>
<td>yin-ko</td>
<td>yin-ko-de</td>
<td>yin-ka</td>
<td>y- mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>kin-im</td>
<td>ki-n</td>
<td>ki-ko</td>
<td>ki-ko-de</td>
<td>ki-ka</td>
<td>ki-mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FS</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>kon-im</td>
<td>ko-n</td>
<td>ko-ko</td>
<td>ko-ko-de</td>
<td>ko-ka</td>
<td>ko-mat</td>
</tr>
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<td>1PL</td>
<td>wetú</td>
<td>won-im</td>
<td>wo-n</td>
<td>wo-ko</td>
<td>wo-ko-de</td>
<td>wo-ka</td>
<td>wo-mat</td>
</tr>
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<td>2PL</td>
<td>yesi</td>
<td>yen-im</td>
<td>ye-n</td>
<td>ye-ko</td>
<td>ye-ko-de</td>
<td>ye-ka</td>
<td>ye- mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>kété</td>
<td>ken-im</td>
<td>ke-n</td>
<td>ke-ko</td>
<td>ke-ko-de</td>
<td>ke-ka</td>
<td>ke- mat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-7 Summary of personal pronouns

### 4.2 Demonstrative pronouns

In Dime, the same forms are used both as demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives. Consider the following examples:

21a. siná wúdúr-is dýinka-de źád-i-n
   this(F) girl-DEF jinka-ABL come-PF-3P
   ‘This girl came from Jinka.’

21b. siná ?is-ko můči
   this(F) 1S.OBJ-GEN sister
   ‘This one is my sister.’

22. sak-im źitsí
   that(M)-ACC eat
   ‘Eat that one.’

Thus demonstratives can be used as modifiers (21a), or they may head a noun phrase as subject or object as in (21b) and (22).
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Gender is marked on singular demonstrative pronouns. Consider the following examples:

23. siná ʔámz-is ʔád-déé-n
   this (F) woman-DEF come-IPF-3
   ‘This woman is black.’

24. saná ʔámz-is ʔiŋ-déé-n
   that (F) woman-DEF go-IPF-3
   ‘That woman will go.’

25. sanú ḫiyy-ʔis ʔiŋ-déé-n
   that (M) man-DEF go-IPF-3
   ‘That man will go.’

26. sinú ʔiŋ-déé-n
   this (M) go-IPF-3
   ‘This one (M) will go.’

27. siná ʔiŋ-déé-n
   this (F) go-IPF-3
   ‘This one (F) will go.’

In plural demonstrative pronouns gender is not marked. The following are examples:

28. sikét ʔámz-af
   these woman-PL
   ‘these women’

29. sikét níts-af
   these child-PL
   ‘these children’

30. sakét ʔámz-af
    those woman-PL
    ‘those women’

31. sakét goš-af
    those man-PL
    ‘those men’

Dime demonstratives can be classified into two basic types: those that distinguish distance only and those that involve elevation. Below, each of these is discussed in turn.

4.2.1 Demonstratives indicating nearness/farness

There are two basic demonstrative forms, proximal (Prox) si- and distal (Dis) sa.-. The full form of these demonstratives is formed by combining them with the third person subject pronouns nú ‘he’, ná ‘she’, kété ‘they’. This results in the forms in
32. Observing the compounding, from here on, the components of the demonstrative pronouns are separated by a morpheme boundary and are glossed separately.

32a. **si-nú**
Prox-3SM.SUBJ Prox-3SM.OBJ-ACC
‘this (M)’ ‘this (M)’

32b. **si-ná**
Prox-3SF.SUBJ Prox-3SF.OBJ-ACC
‘this (F)’ ‘this (F)’

32c. **sa-nú**
Dis-3SM.SUBJ Dis-3SM.OBJ-ACC
‘that (M)’ ‘that (M)’

32d. **sa-ná**
Dis-3SF.SUBJ Dis-3SF.OBJ-ACC
‘that (F)’ ‘that (F)’

32e. **si-két**
Prox-3PL.SUBJ Prox-3PL.OBJ-ACC
‘those’ ‘those’

32f. **sa-két**
Dis-3PL.SUBJ Dis-3PL.OBJ-ACC
‘those’ ‘those’

Demonstratives take the accusative case marker –im when they occur in object position. Interestingly, while *saki* and *sanú* are used interchangeably in their subject form, only the base *saki* is used in the object form. That is, the accusative form is only *sakin-im* ‘that’; there is no form *sanún-im* for the same meaning. Just like the accusative form of personal pronouns, the element n follows the demonstrative pronoun preceding the accusative case yielding *sakin-im*, as in (32c) above.

Diessel (1999:29) shows that in Lezgian the stem of demonstrative pronouns is formed from a demonstrative root and a third person pronoun, in a similar way as in Dime, or a classifier. The following table illustrates Dime demonstratives with their corresponding pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Corresponding pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si-nú/risnu ‘this (M)’</td>
<td>nú ‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siná ‘this (F)’</td>
<td>ná ‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanú/saki ‘that (M)’</td>
<td>nú ‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saná ‘that (F)’</td>
<td>ná ‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikét/tisket ‘these’</td>
<td>kété ‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakét ‘those’</td>
<td>kété ‘they’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-8: Demonstrative pronouns in Dime
The proximal singular and plural demonstrative pronouns are pronounced as *sinú* or *ʔisnú*, and *sikét* or *ʔiskét* by different speakers. The demonstrative forms *sanú* and *sakí* are used alternatively. The latter, *sakí* ‘that’, seems to be a reduced form of the adverbial *sakiyo* ‘there’. The following are examples:

33. *sinú dim-ko báhíl-im gîm-déé-b-is maš’af*
   this dime-GEN culture-ACC tell-IPF-M.RELT-DEF book
   ‘This is the book which has information about the Dime culture.’

34. *sinú ?aš’i t’ést-éé-b-is líŋ-ub hotel*
   this 1S.SUBJ know-IPF-M.RELT-DEF good-M hotel
   ‘This is the best hotel that I know.’

35. *sanú ?aš’i t’ést-éé-b-is líŋ-ub hotel*
   that 1S.SUBJ know-IPF-M.RELT-DEF good-M hotel
   ‘That is the best hotel that I know.’

36. *sikét zîm-af ýlz-déé-n*
   these chief-PL run-IPF-3
   ‘These chiefs will run.’

37. *sakét ?ámz-af ?ád-déé-n*
   those woman-PL come-IPF-3
   ‘Those women will come.’

There are two adverbial demonstratives: *sikiyó* ‘here’ and its distal counterpart *sakiyo* ‘there’.24

38a. *sakét ?ámz-af sikiyó líŋ-i-n*
   those woman-PL there go-PF-3
   ‘Those women went there.’

38b. *zîm-af-is sikiyó dáh-i-n*
   chief-PL-DEF here stay-PF-3
   ‘The chiefs stayed here.’

4.2.2 Demonstratives expressing ‘up-there’ and ‘down-there’

Demonstratives indicating up-ward and down-ward directions are used to refer to persons or places located at a higher or lower altitude from both the speaker and the listener’s point of view. These demonstratives are distal demonstratives because they are used when facing away from the mountain slope on which speaker and hearer are situated. Hayward (1980:285) describes demonstratives with a similar meaning in Gidole (also Diraytat); comparable forms are attested in Maale (Azeb Amha 2001: 140-141). This might be wide-spread among languages of the area.

24 In some cases, speakers use only *kiyó*, as a distal counterpart, instead of *sakiyo*. 
The roots of the Dime elevation-demonstratives are ʔaa for higher altitude and čúú for lower altitude. Fleming (1990:527) reported that čúú means down there; on a mountain that can be quite far. These roots are followed by the third person subject personal pronoun čúú-nú or by the proximal demonstrative čúúy sinú and the latter by an accusative marker when in object position čúúy sinú-m or by a deviant form of the object personal pronoun čúú-kí-nú-m. The deviation of the object personal pronoun lies in the fact that the gender vowel of the subject pronoun is fully realised and the vowel of the accusative -im is suppressed; thus, while the masculine and feminine third person object pronouns are kíním and kóním respectively, in these elevation demonstratives their forms are kínúm and kónam. This suggests that the n element in these pronouns is (a remnant of) the third person object pronoun. The fact that the proximal demonstrative form is used in these distal elevation demonstratives is surprising; possibly the proximal demonstratives are used as default demonstrative. The elevation demonstratives are presented in Table 9 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>ACC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čúú-nú</td>
<td>čúúy sinú</td>
<td>čúúy sinú-m</td>
<td>čúú-kí-nú-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čúú-na</td>
<td>čúúy siná</td>
<td>čúúy siná-m</td>
<td>čúú-kó-ná-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čúú-két</td>
<td>čúú-két-im</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaa-nú</td>
<td>ʔay sinú</td>
<td>ʔaa-kí-nú-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaa-nā</td>
<td>ʔay sinā</td>
<td>ʔaa-kó-ná-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaa-két</td>
<td>ʔaa-két-im</td>
<td>'those higher up (PL)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-9: Elevation demonstrative pronouns

Examples:

39. čúú-nú sugur dáŋ
down-3MS Bodi COP
'That down there is a Bodi man.'

40. čúú-ná sugur ʔámzi dáŋ
down-3FS Bodi woman COP
'That down there is a Bodi woman.'

41. čúú-két sugur-ko-d25 dáŋ
down-these/those Bodi-GEN-PL COP
'Those down there are Bodi people.'

42. ʔaa-nú ʔefte ſųŋ-ub ʔéh-ko kutse dá-déé-b-is
up-3MS bird beautiful-M house-GEN top of house stay-IPF-M.RELT-DEF
'That bird up there on the top of the house is beautiful.'

Note that here, the modifier NP sugur (i.e., 'a Bodi person') takes the plural gender modifier –(id rather than the plural noun modifier –af.

25
43. ʔaa-ná ʔed-ko máte dá-déé-nd-is ʔis-ko ʔind
up-3FS mountain-GEN head stay-IPF.RELT-DEF 1S.OBJ-GEN mother
‘That is my mother who stays up there on the top of the mountain.’

4.3 Prefixes added to demonstratives

In Omotic in general, prefixation is not a common phenomenon. In Dime we find prefixes in demonstratives.

If the object referred to is placed in a higher altitude than the speaker, the prefix s’ay- is added to the demonstrative sinú ‘this’ forming s’ay-sinú ‘this above the speaker’. If the object is found in horizontal position to the speaker, the Dime may use one of the following demonstratives depending on the distance between the point of reference and the referent: ʔoy-sinú ‘this near and visible horizontally’, say-sinú ‘that far away from the speaker’, and s’uy-sinú ‘that, out of sight of the speaker’. Interestingly, all these forms are based on the proximal demonstrative sinú (or its gender and number variants siná and siket) and the different prefixes express the distance, more suggesting that the proximal demonstrative is used as default. The prefix s’uy- can be reduplicated to intensify the expression of the distance even more.

44. si-nú ‘this here, (visible)’
    s’ay-sinú ‘this, at higher altitude compared to the speaker’
    ʔoy-sinú ‘this, (near and visible)’
    say-sinú ‘that, (further away, visible)’
    say-sikét ‘those, (further away, visible)’
    s’uy-si-nú ‘that, (furthest away out of reach and/or invisible)’
    s’u-s’uy-si-nú ‘that, (furthest away, out of reach and/or invisible)’

45. say-sinú náv-is sede sinú náv-is kol-déé-n
    that water-DEF than this water-DEF big-IPF-3
    ‘That river is bigger than this river.’

46. say-sikét kén-áf šin-is kó-ko wuuf yláz-déé-n
    those dog-PL five-DEF 3FS.OBJ-GEN all run:RDP-IPF-3
    ‘All those five dogs of hers are running.’

47. say-sinú tóŋ-ub níts-is ʔad-i-n
    that small-M boy-DEF come-PF-3
    ‘That small boy came.’

48. say-sikét nú tóŋas meh-im ké-n ʔim-i-n
    those 3MS some money-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-PF-3
    ‘He gave some money to those.’

The bases of the above forms are the simple demonstrative forms sinú, sanú, etc.; thus the elevation markers s’ay-, ʔoy- and say- are prefixes added to these base forms. There are no further prefixes in the language.
4.4 Case marking in personal and demonstrative pronouns

Personal pronouns and demonstratives are marked for case. First we discuss case marking in personal pronouns and later we will discuss case marking in demonstratives. Dime has two separate sets of subject and object pronouns. In each set, first, second and third person and singular-plural are distinguished. For the third person singular, a further distinction in gender is made. This results in the seven independent subject and object pronouns listed in table 10 below. The table also shows the dative, accusative, genitive, ablative, and instrumental pronouns which are formed on the basis of the object pronouns.

We briefly discussed in sections 4.1.1 to 4.1.3 case marking in pronouns and mentioned the problem of distinguishing accusative and dative forms in pronouns. In this section we focus on the analysis of the morphemes -im and n in object pronouns and on the formal similarity of the latter segment with the dative marker -(i)n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>INST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>?até</td>
<td>?is-im</td>
<td>?is-in</td>
<td>?is-ko</td>
<td>?is-ko-de</td>
<td>?is-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>yaye</td>
<td>vin-im</td>
<td>yi-n</td>
<td>yi-n-ko</td>
<td>yi-n-ko-de</td>
<td>yi-n-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>kín-im</td>
<td>kí-n</td>
<td>kí-ko</td>
<td>kí-ko-de</td>
<td>kí-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FS</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>kón-im</td>
<td>kó-n</td>
<td>kó-ko</td>
<td>kó-ko-de</td>
<td>kó-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>wótú</td>
<td>won-im</td>
<td>wo-n</td>
<td>wo-ko</td>
<td>wo-ko-de</td>
<td>wo-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yesí</td>
<td>yen-im</td>
<td>ye-n</td>
<td>ye-ko</td>
<td>ye-ko-de</td>
<td>ye-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>kété</td>
<td>kén-im</td>
<td>kê-n</td>
<td>kê-ko</td>
<td>kê-ko-de</td>
<td>kê-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table –10: Pronouns and their case marker forms

As we observe in the above table the subject pronoun forms are not marked for case, while the object pronouns are marked for various cases. The following examples illustrate their uses:

49. kété wón-im gís’i-n
   3PL.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-n-ACC hit-PF-3
   ‘They hit us.’

50. ná kón-im mes’af-im ?im-i-n
   3SF.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-n-ACC book-ACC give-PF-3
   ‘She gave her a book.’

With the exception of the first person singular, in all object pronouns we find the segment n preceding the accusative marker -im. In the second person singular, this n occurs in all columns except the subject.

A number of analyses or interpretation may be suggested with regard to the status of n in the object and related case forms:

The first possibility is that the insertion of n is phonologically motivated to avoid sequence of vowels, as suggested by Tsuge (1997:579). This can raise the following two questions:
i. Why is the element \( n \) not added to 2S in its object, genitive, ablative, instrumental forms in table 10 above?

ii. Why is the element \( n \) not used in nouns (51) and in interrogative pronouns (52)?

51  \( ?\text{a}t\text{i} \quad k'\text{ir-im} \quad z\text{is'}-i-t \)

1S.SUBJ  door-ACC  close-PF-1

‘I closed the door.’

52. \( ?\text{á}y\text{i} \quad ?\text{áy-im} \quad \text{deis} \)

who  who-ACC  kill:PF

‘Who killed whom?’

If the insertion on \( n \) was phonologically conditioned we would expect to find it in all personal and interrogative pronouns that meet the condition and also in nouns.

Since the \( n \) element and the dative case marker \(-\text{i}n\) are formally identical, one might suggest the analysis that the object pronoun paradigm is built on the dative case and displays a synchronic double case marking. However, this does not seem to be a likely scenario because were this an instance of double case marking one would expect the dative to be built on the accusative rather than the other way round.

There is a third analysis which I support. This is the line taken by Hayward and Tsuge (1998) in their historical and comparative analysis of Omotic languages. These authors suggest that the recurring \(-n\) element in the pronoun paradigm of many Omotic languages is a remnant/fossil element of a once productive morpheme.

They write:

In data recently collected from the Biyo dialect of Aari we see perhaps the last relics of a dative/benefactive function of \(*-n\) in Aari. This suffix was recorded only with pronouns; no examples having appeared with nouns.

(Hayward and Tsuge, 1998:27)

As Hayward and Tsuge (1998:24) stated, among the Ometo languages, accusative \(*n\) still survives as a fossil in the first and second person pronouns, and occasionally in interrogative pronouns e.g., in Zayse.

Thus, the \( n \) element in Dime in object pronouns may be the fossil element \(*n\) which is attested in many Omotic languages.

The other issue is case marking in demonstratives. The accusative case is suffixed to modifying demonstrative pronouns following the \( n \) element. Examples:

53. \( \text{nú} \quad \text{máy} \quad \text{sikin-im} \quad \text{šin-éé-n} \)

3SM.SUBJ  pot  this-ACC  buy:IPF-3

‘He buys this pot.’

---

26 In Aari, a related language, the accusative case marker \(-\text{im}\) is suffixed to pronouns without any intervention of \(-n\).
54. ñu sinú máy-im šin-i-n
3SM.SUBJ this pot-ACC buy-PF-3
‘He bought this pot.’

As can be seen from the above examples case is not marked on both demonstratives and nouns. It is marked either on the noun or on the demonstrative; whichever occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase carries the case marker.

Case marking on interrogative pronouns is similar to case marking in nouns. The accusative case marker is directly suffixed to the interrogative pronouns without the intervention of the –n element, as in (55).

55. ayi ay-im deix
who who-ACC kill:PF
‘Who killed whom?’
5 Adjectives and modifying nouns

5.1 Adjectives

In Dime adjectives constitute a separate word class. They are characterized by gender agreement whereas nouns and verbs are not marked for gender. There is a uniquely adjectival morpheme –id for plural agreement. Thus, the masculine and feminine gender distinction and plural agreement is a unique feature of adjectives compared to nouns and verbs. In addition adjectives may be marked for case and definiteness. Dime adjectives may precede or follow the nouns they modify. Semantic categories expressed by the adjective class include: dimension, colour, age, value, physical property and human propensity of the referent.

Generally, the basic form of the gender marking morphemes is –ub (masculine), –ind (feminine) and –id (plural). These are directly affixed to adjectival modifiers or to relativized verbs, sometimes replacing the terminal vowel of the adjective or the verb. In a few cases, however, it is the vowel of the gender morphemes that is dropped. Accordingly the above mentioned morphemes may be realised as -nd (1b), -b (2b), and -d respectively.

Comparison of the (a) and (b) examples in (1-3) demonstrates the above mentioned dropping of the vowels.

1a. ʔámi /fi-.flip/-nd-is
    woman RDP-beautiful-F-DEF
    ‘the beautiful woman’

1b. ʔámi /gi-ic-nd /fi-.flip/-nd-is
    woman big-F RDP-beautiful-F-DEF
    ‘the big beautiful woman’

2a. gošú /li-.flip/-ub-is
    man RDP-beautiful-M-DEF
    ‘the handsome man’

2b. gošú /gi-ic-b /li-.flip/-ub-is
    man big-M RDP-beautiful-M-DEF
    ‘the big handsome man’

3a. k’ástin-id-is /gúdum-id zim-af
    two-PL-DEF tall-PL chief-PL
    ‘the two tall chiefs’

3b. dór-is-im /wúdúr-is-in ʔin-i-d ʔá-mz-af-is
    goat-DEF-ACC girl-DEF-DAT buy-PF.RELT woman-DEF
    ‘goat bought by a girl who bought a woman’
Adjectives share a number of features with nouns in that they are marked for number, definiteness, and case. For instance, adjective and nouns both may take the accusative marker –im and the definite marker –is. The main distinction between adjectives and nouns is that adjectives are marked for gender while nouns are not. Fleming (1990:528) states: “Dime adjectives behave like themselves for the most part, taking some number and gender suffixes which are largely confined to adjectives.”

Adjectives can appear independently without the (understood) head noun that they modify. Consider the following examples:

4a. s’a n-ub-is ñad-i-n
   black-M-DEF come-PF-3
   ‘The black one (M) came.’

4b. s’a n-ind-is ñad-i-n
   black-F-DEF come-PF-3
   ‘The black one (F) came.’

For inanimate nouns the adjectives generally take the masculine gender marker but alternatively it may take the feminine gender marker only to express the diminutive. Consider feminine and masculine gender marking in the following extract:

5. ñeene ñešín-is k’ááru wókkil-ind déén–ka
   like this story-DEF ape one-F exist-PF
   wón-im gíst-téén wón-im gís-á bókú
   cattle-ACC keep-IPF-3 cattle-ACC keep-PF1 fruit (sp.)
   s’ot-téé-n boke-tub wón-ée ñáue ñáfe
   milk-IPF-3 bear_fruit (of boku)-FUT 1PL-COP wood fruit
   c’ak’k’-ub déén
   small-M exist

   ‘The story goes like this: there was one ape that kept cattle. As she tended her cattle, she collected their milk under the boku tree. This is the tree which produces for us the boku fruit.’

In the first clause of the text the feminine gender marker –ind is suffixed to the numeral modifier wókkil-ind ‘one’, while the masculine gender marker –ub is suffixed to the adjective c’ak’k’-ub in the last clause (see also text-7:001, text-6:005, text 8:002, 003). Tree is masculine because masculine is the default gender for inanimates; ape, being animate, can have feminine agreement depending on its natural/biological gender.

27 lácht’i ‘die’ is used only for human beings. For other animals deyi ‘die’ is used.
Adjectives show number agreement with nouns in three ways: by reduplication or by suffixing the plural agreement suffix –id or both. The adjective may be fully or partially reduplicated to express plurality. Example (6b) illustrates full reduplication of the adjective gičó- ‘big’.

6a. /is-ko kuš gicó-b-is ŋah-i-n
   1S.OBJ-GEN stick big-M-DEF break-PF-3
   ‘My big stick is broken.’

6b. /is-ko kuš gičó-gičó-b-is ŋah-i-n
   1S.OBJ-GEN stick RDP-big-M-DEF break-PF-3
   ‘My big sticks are broken.’

The possessed noun phrase in (6b) can also be constructed as kul-af gičó-d ‘big sticks’ or gičó-d kul-af, with the addition of the plural marker-af. An example of plural agreement with –id is given in (7).

7. ṭeēn-ɪ-b giš-ká ṭiyiyi mákkim-id dim-am-ze déeén ṭēl-i-n
   early-PF.M.RELT time-INST person three-PL Dime-ACC-LOC exist call-PF-3
   ‘In early times there were three people who were in Dime; it was said.’

Partial reduplication, in which word initial CV of the adjective is reduplicated is also attested (8b).

8a. ṭehe čak’k’-ub
   house small-M
   ‘small house’

8b. ṭeh-af ča-čak’k’-ub
   house-PL RDP:small-M
   ‘small houses’

The base form of some adjectives can be either a verb or an adverb. There are also some underived adjectives. As Givon (1990) states: adjectives fall semantically somewhere in between verb and nouns. In Dime some adjectives have corresponding verbal forms. The difference is that the adjectives consistently take the masculine or feminine gender suffixes –ub and -ind respectively. Compare the following forms:

9. Verb stem  Adjectival form
   s’eid ‘be short’  s’eid-ub goštú  s’eid-ind wuduri
      ‘a short man’  ‘a short girl’
   dëbi ‘steal’  dëb-ub goštú  dëb-ind ?ämzi
      ‘a thief (M)’  ‘a thief (F)’
   [a stealing man]  [a stealing woman]
   gūdumü ‘lengthen’  gūdum-ub goštú  gūdum-ind ?ämzi
Adjectival verbs take the same tense-aspect markers as other main verbs.

10. Verb stem  perfective  imperfective
    gûdûmu  gûdûm-i-n  gûdûm-dêe-n  ‘lengthen’
    diibi  diib-i-n  diib-dêe-n  ‘steal’
    wucu  wuč-i-n  wuč-têe-n  ‘dry’

The following are sentential examples of the verb wucu ‘dry’.

11a. ?ââ-is  wuč-têe-n  wood-DEF dry-IPF-3
    ‘The wood will be dry.’

11b. ?ââ-is  wuč-i-n  wood-DEF dry-PF-3
    ‘The wood has dried.’

In (12) the same form diib- ‘thief’ functions as an adjective (diib-ub) which modifies iyyi ‘the person’ and as a verb which is inflected for aspect (diib-i-n). At the end of section 5.2 we show that such adjectives can also be used independently as nouns.

12. ?iyy-is  diib-ub  ?ââ-is  diib-i-n  person-DEF thief-M  wood-DEF stole-PF-3
    ‘The thief (M) has stolen the wood.’

Fleming (1990: 528) states that “yet one adjective, liŋ28 ‘good, beautiful, clean’ can act like a verb also show concord with nouns!” Fleming uses linîŋ, liŋ, and liŋkt’ in his transcription. The following are examples from Fleming (1990: 533). The glossing is modified in some cases by the present author.

13a. ũ-ũŋ-s-i-n  RDP:clean-CAUS-PF-3
    ‘He cleaned.’

13b. ?am-is  liŋkt’-ub-êt  country-DEF good-M-COP
    ‘It’s the good country.’

28 I transcribe this word as ũŋ or ũŋt’ assuming that it has two alternative roots.
Adjectives and modifying nouns

13c. ści-lińkt'-ind
RDP-beautiful-F
‘beautiful (feminine)’

13d. ści-im ści-lińk-dé-n
1S.OBJ-ACC RDP-beautiful-IPF-3
‘It makes me happy.’

Fleming describes the same word as adjective and verb based on the suffix that it takes. Compare also example (14a) and (14b), where ląz is the head of the clause (14a) and a modifying category (14b).

14a. ści-ál-is-im śi-śiʔ-inká lą-łąź-i-n
cloth-DEF-ACC RDP-wash-REAS RDP-soft-PF-3
‘The cloth became soft since it was washed.’

14b. nú ści-ál ląź-ub-is-im śiń-i-n
3SM.SUBJ cloth soft-M-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
‘He bought the soft cloth.’

The base form of some adverbs and adjectives is related. The relation can be interpreted in two ways: i.e., the adverbs are derived from adjectives by omitting the gender marker or alternatively, it could be analysed as the adjectives are derived from adverbs by adding a gender marker. However, it is difficult to conclude which of these two directions of derivation is the best for the Dime data at hand. Consider the (a) and (b) forms in the following examples.

15a. yese gahz-im gičcó káss
2PL.SUBJ local_beer-ACC more add
‘You add more beer.’

15b. maikró gičcó-b níts
maikro big-M child
‘Maikro is a big boy.’

16a. nú ści-yáhó yíz-dé-n
3SM.SUBJ well run-IPF-3
‘He runs nice/well.’

16b. nú ści-yáhó-b goštú
3SM.SUBJ good-M man
‘He is a good man.’

One can not elicit roots of adjectives in isolation. If we try, we may get gender marked forms such as zú-ub ‘red’.

17. č’ak’k'-ub kęnį
small-M dog
‘a small dog (M)’

č’ak’k'-ind kęnį
small-F dog
‘a small dog (F)’
18. **zú-ub** žít-is  **zú-und** ʔot-is
   red-M ox-DEF red-F cow-DEF
   ‘the red ox’ ‘the red cow’

In contrast, there are modifying forms that do not take gender marker i.e., neither the masculine marker –ub nor the feminine marker –ind is used. For instance, the modifiers wolgú ‘new’, ʔez ‘wet’, ʔúmú ‘rotten’, do not show agreement of any sort with their head. Some of the meanings expressed by these words can also be expressed by adjectives, which are marked for gender: ʔín-ub ‘wet’, šukun-ub ‘rotten’ (see the forms in tables below). Thus, I assume these are not adjectives because gender agreement is the characteristic of adjectives (see also section 5.2). Since these words are not verbs, nor adverbs, they are best treated as nouns. Consider the following examples:

19. maikro ʔíni ʔáfál wolg-ím  ʔín-i-n
   maikro today cloth new-ACC buy-PF-3
   ‘Maikro has bought a new cloth.’

20. maikro ʔáfál wolg-ím nár-ó šiʔ-i-n
   maikro cloth new-ACC water-LOC wash-PF-3
   ‘Maikro washed a new cloth in water.’

21. ʔáfál wolgú ʔáts-i-n
   cloth new burn-PF-3
   ‘The new cloth is burned.’

Gender is not directly marked in nouns in Dime. If the noun is marked with the plural marker -af, the plural agreement morpheme –id is suffixed to modifiers. Thus, modifiers show plural agreement with the head noun.

22. k’astín-af-is diib-id koos-im yiğim-deén
   three-PL-DEF thief-PL ball-ACC play-IPF-3
   ‘The three thieves will play football.’

The following are some more examples of modifiers with plural agreement.

23. k’astín-id-is güdüm-id zîm-áf ʔád-i-n
   two-PL-DEF tall-PL chief-PL come-is-PF-3
   ‘The two tall chiefs came.’

24. makkim güdüm-id zîm-áf ʔád-i-n
   three tall-PL chief-PL come-PF-3
   ‘Three tall chiefs came.’

25. nú ʔámz-af s’án-id-is-in meh-im ʔím-i-n
   3MS.SUBJ woman-PL black-PL-DEF-DAT money-ACC give-PF-3
   ‘He gave money to the black women.’

A series of two or more modifiers can occur in the same structure. The following are elicited examples:
Adjectives and modifying nouns

26.  giččo-b-is  s’án-ub yerì  ḥád-i-n
    big-M-DEF  black-M donkey  come-PF-3
    ‘The big black donkey came.’

27.  gúdo-m-ub-is  kór-m-ub  ḥatsì  zim-is  lāgt-ı-n
    tall-M-DEF  thin-M  old  chief-DEF  die-PF-3
    ‘The tall, thin, old chief has died.’

28.  ḥahó-b-is  gúdo-m-ub  kór-m-ub  zimì  ḥatsì  yiqiz-déé-n
    good-M-DEF  tall-M  thin-M  chief  old  run-RDP-IPF-3
    ‘The good, tall, thin, old chief is running.’

29.  giččo-b-is  s’án-ub  fi-fiŋt’-ub  zim-áf
    big-M-DEF  black-M  RDP-beautiful-M  chief-PL
    ḥatsì  ḥád-ńád-déé-n
    old  RDP-come-IPF-3
    ‘The big, black, handsome old chiefs are coming.’

Adjectives may also be used as predicates in non-verbal clauses. Gender is also expressed in predicative adjectives, as is illustrated below (see also in section 9.1). The use of a copula -éé or dan is not obligatory.

30a.  sinú  ṭéh-ís  giččo-b-éé/dán
    this  house-DEF  big-M-COP
    ‘This house is big.’

30b.  sinú  ṭéh-ís  giččó-b
    this  house-DEF  big-M
    ‘This house is big.’

31a.  ná  fi-fiŋt’-ind-éé/dán
    3SF.SUBJ  RDP-beauty-F-COP
    ‘She is beautiful.’

31b.  ná  fi-fiŋt’-ind
    3SF.SUBJ  RDP-beauty-F
    ‘She is beautiful.’

32a.  náx-is  súúlum-ub-éé/dán
    water-DEF  hot-M-COP
    ‘The water is hot.’

32b.  náx-is  súúlum-ub
    water-DEF  hot-M
    ‘The water is hot.’

In the following section, I categorize adjectives according to semantic classes including dimension, physical property, human propensity, colour, age and value, (see Dixon (1982)).
Table-1: Adjectives of dimension

The following are some sentential examples of adjectives that are used to express dimension.

33. nâz-is sâak-ub
    river-DEF wide-M
    ‘The river is wide.’

34. buc’e ?êd-is gûdûm-ub dân
    buc’e(name) mountain-DEF tall-M COP
    ‘The mountain buc’e is high.’

Table-2: Adjectives of physical property

An example:

35. ná fi-fiÎ’t'-ind wûdûr
    she RDP-beauty-F girl
    ‘She is a beautiful girl.’
Adjectives and modifying nouns

Table 3: Adjectives of human propensity

The following sentential examples illustrate the above adjectives:

36. nū  kitim-ub  īyyé
   3SM.SUBJ  selfish-M  person
   ‘He is a selfish person.’

37. nū  biq-in  bās-ub
   3SM.SUBJ  spear-DAT  fear-M
   ‘He is fearful of spear.’

Table 4: Colours

The following sentences illustrate the above adjectives that express colours:

38. kétē  s’ān-id
   3PL.SUBJ  black-PL
   ‘They are black.’

39. maikro-ko  ?unts-in  nū  ?āfāl  güit’-ub-im  šin-i-n
    maikro–GENfiancee-DAT  3SM.SUBJ  cloth  white-M-ACC  buy-PF-3
    ‘Maikro bought white cloth for his fiancee.’

40. maikro-ko  biq-kā  kūlaf  dārē  k’at-im  zú-und-im  ?īk-i-n
    maikro-GEN  spear-INST  wild  goat  young-ACC  red-F-ACC  pierce-PF-3
    ‘Maikro has pierced the red wild young goat with his spear.’

In the following table we include adjectives which express value as well as two adjectives which express taste; the latter do not fit easily to the previous semantic categorisations:
Table 6: Value

Sentential examples with value expressing adjectives:

41. ná ŋahó-nd-éé
   3SF.SUBJ woman good-F-COP
   'She is a good woman.'

42. ná ŋáföl k’ám-ub-im k’óbt’-i-n
   3SF.SUBJ cloth bad-M-ACC dress-PF-3
   'She is dressed with a bad cloth.'

The following are quantifying adjectives:

s’us’id ‘many’
yiss-ub ‘little’
wuuf-id ‘all’
tonas few
fat’t’e much

Table 7: Quantifying adjectives

The form tonas ‘few’ in Table 7 is a quantifying modifier and it combines with countable head nouns (43a-b). It is based on the adjective tôn-ub ‘small’ (43c); see also Section 7.1.2 ex (13a-b). The adjective yiss-ub ‘little’ is directly used as a quantifier for non-countable nouns (44). For quantifying large numbers, the adjective s’us’u ‘many’ is used with countable nouns (45), and the nominal modifier fat’t’e ‘much’ is used with non-countable nouns (46). The quantifier wuuf-id ‘all’ is an adjective (47).

43a. tonas wudur-af
    few girl-PL
    ‘a few girls’

43b. say-si-két nú ton-ub méh-im ké-n ?imb-i-n
    those 3MS.SUBJ some money-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-PF-3
    ‘He gave some money to them.’

43c. say-si-nú tón-ub nîts-is ?ád-i-n
    that small-M boy-DEF come-PF-3
    ‘That small boy came.’

44. giččo yiss-ind náne
    very little-F water
    ‘very little water’
Adjectives and modifying nouns

45. s’us’-id ʔámz-af-is-ko ʔakim-is
   many-PL woman-PL-DEF-GEN calabash-DEF
   ‘the calabash of all the women’

46. giččo ʔat’t’e ńaše
   very much water
   ‘plenty of water’

47. wuuf-id zim-āf
   all-PL chief-PL
   ‘all the chiefs’

5.2 Modifying nouns

Nouns can modify nouns (see also in Section 7.1.1). Modifying nouns are not marked with gender suffixes. In Dime the independent words ʔatsé ‘old male’, gašin ‘old female’, ʔôt ‘cow’, and zit ‘ox’ are used to express the sex of the head noun as shown below:

48a. kéné ʔats-ís ńey-í-n
    dog  male-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The male dog died.’

48b. kéné gašin-ís ńey-í-n
    dog  female-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The female dog died.’

49a. ʔôt-níts-ís ńey-í-n
    cow-child-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The female calf died.’

49b. zit-níts-ís ńey-í-n
    ox-child-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The male calf died.’

Adjectives may precede modifying nouns such as ʔatsé ‘old male’, gašin ‘old female’. In this situation too, these nouns carry the function of modifier noun with the full semantic contribution i.e., inclusive of the sense ‘old’. Consider the following examples:

50a. kéné s’án-ub ʔatsé
    dog  black-M old.male
    ‘old black dog (M)’

50b. kéné s’án-ìnd gašin
    dog  black-F old.female
    ‘old black dog (F)’
Table-5 Modifying nouns of age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Modifier</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?atsé</td>
<td>‘old (M)’</td>
<td>maikro today cloth new-ACC buy-PF-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasín</td>
<td>‘old (F)’</td>
<td>medan cloth old-ACC water-LOC wash-PF-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nits</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
<td>man–DEF old die-PF-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolgú</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
<td>3SF.SUBJ child baby love-IPF-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?éxil</td>
<td>‘baby’</td>
<td>‘She loves a baby child.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuysimi</td>
<td>‘middle-aged’</td>
<td>‘He married the young girl.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentential examples of the above noun modifiers:

51. maikro ?ímí ?áfál wolg-ím šín-i-n
   ‘Maikro has bought a new cloth today.’

52. medan ?áfál ?ats-ím nán-ó šili-i-n
   ‘Medan washed the old cloth in water.’

53. ?iyy-ës ?atsé dey-ë-n
   ‘The old man died.’

54. ná nits ?éxil kóx-dëc-i-n
   ‘She loves a baby child.’

55a. gošt nits–is ‘the male child (M)’ *nits-ub
    male child-DEF

55b. ?ámzi nits–is ‘the female child’ *nits-ind
    woman child-DEF

Sentential examples:

56. nú goštú nits-is-im ?éh-ó ba-bin-n
    3SM.SUBJ male child-DEF-ACC house-LOC take-go:PF-3
    ‘He brought the boy home.’

57. nú ?ámzi nits-is-im ?indiid wonts-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ female child-DEF-ACC wife make-PF-3
    ‘He married the young girl.’

Since nouns are not marked for gender the noun nits doesn’t take the masculine or feminine gender marker.

The word yíf-ub ‘guest’ functions as modifier. For example in yíf-ub goštú ‘a (male) guest’ the noun goštú ‘man’ is modified by yíf-ub ‘guest’. On the other hand, yíf-ub can also head a noun phrase by itself as in, yíf-ub ?ád-i-n ‘a guest
came’, in which case yif-ub is used independently. However, yif-ub can not be a noun because only adjectives receive the suffix -ub/-ind. The inflection of the root form yif- ‘guest’ parallels that of adjectives as given below:

58a. yif-ub-is ‘the guest (M)’
58b. yif-ind-is ‘the guest (F)’
59. yif-ub-is nááxe ?ád-i-n
   guest-M-DEF yesterday come-PF-3
   ‘The guest (M) came yesterday.’
60. yif-ub-is-im tuku-m wuč’ ?et’
   guest-M-DEF-ACC coffee-ACC drink say
   ‘Ask the guest (M) to have coffee.’
61. yif-ind-is ?ámoíd ?ád
   guest-F-DEF when come
   ‘When did the guest (F) come?’
62. yif-ind-is-im ?él
   guest-F:DEF-ACC call
   ‘Call the guest (F)!’

Interestingly, the root dib- ‘steal’ belongs to two word classes in Dime. It is used as an adjective (dib-ub in 63) by adding a gender marker; at the same time, it is used independently as a noun: dibi ‘a thief’ (63b).

63a. dib-ub ?au-is dib-i-n
    thief-M wood-DEF stole-PF-3
    ‘A thief (M) has stolen the wood.’
63b. ?is-se-de dibi meh temm-im dib-i-n.
    1S.OBJ-LOC-ABL thief money ten-ACC steal-PF-3
    ‘A thief has stolen ten birr from me.’
6 Other word classes

6.1 Numerals

The Dime numeral system is decimal, although there are a few complex numerals which consist of more than one base form. The numerals 1 - 10 are the following:

1. wókkil ‘one’
k’astin ‘two’
mókkim ‘three’
?úddú ‘four’
sinni ‘five’
láxi ‘six’
tússum ‘seven’
k’asnasís ‘eight’
wóklásís ‘nine’
tamme ‘ten’

The numerals k’asnasís ‘eight’ and wóklásís ‘nine’ seem to be respectively formed from k’astin ‘two’ and -asís, and wókkil ‘one’ and -asís. In each case, the final syllable of the lower numeral is dropped. Thus, k’asnasís can be interpreted as ‘two more to ten’ and wóklásís as ‘one more to ten’.

Numerals (11 to 19) can be formed in two ways: (1) with the combination of tamme ‘ten’ and a lower numeral or (2) tamme ‘ten’ followed by ?áf-ó plus the lower numerals; ?áf-ó is the locative form of the noun ?áfé ‘mouth’. These two forms can be used alternatively without any meaning difference. ?áf-ó can not be replaced by any other noun. Examples:

2a. tamme mókkim dar-áf
   ten three goat-PL ‘thirteen goats’

2b. tamme ?áf-ó mókkim dar-áf
   ten mouth-LOC three goat-PL ‘thirteen goats’ [lit. ‘in the mouth of ten (add) three’]

In the following list, we provide a single representation for the two ways of forming the numerals (11-19):

---

29 Fleming (1990:541) has (bokolas/ukalas/okolas). My data show wokil which is similar to his last example.
3. tamme (ʔáf-ó) wókkil ‘eleven’
tamme (ʔáf-ó) k’astin ‘twelve’
tamme (ʔáf-ó) mákkim ‘thirteen’
tamme (ʔáf-ó) ŋüddú ‘fourteen’
tamme (ʔáf-ó) śinni ‘fifteen’
tamme (ʔáf-ó) láxi ‘sixteen’
tamme (ʔáf-ó) tüssu ‘seventeen’
tamme (ʔáf-ó) k’aśnáśis ‘eighteen’
tamme (ʔáf-ó) wóklásiš ‘nineteen’

Number twenty has a lexical form woidu. The rest of the decimal numbers from thirty up to ninety are formed by a combination of tamt’i and the lower numerals. In this combination there is a formal modification of tamme ‘ten’ to tamt’i.

4. woidu ‘twenty’
tamt’i mákkim ‘thirty’
tamt’i ŋüddú ‘fourty’
tamt’i śinni ‘fifty’
tamt’i láxi ‘sixty’
tamt’i tüssu ‘seventy’
tamt’i k’aśnáśis ‘eighty’
tamt’i wóklásiš ‘ninety’

ʔáf-ó may optionally be used in counting from ‘twenty one’ to ‘twenty nine’. Consider the following two examples:

5. woidi (ʔáf-ó) wókkil ‘twenty one’
woidi (ʔáf-ó) k’astin ‘twenty two’

In the numerals higher than 30 using ʔáf-ó is not optional. The absence of ʔáf-ó makes the structure ungrammatical in the numerals from thirty to hundred as shown by the forms preceded by (*):

6. tamt’i mákkim ʔáf-ó wókkil ‘thirty one’ *tamt’i-mákkim-wókkil
tamt’i mákkim ʔáf-ó k’astin ‘thirty two’ *tamt’i-mákkim-k’astin
tamt’i ŋüddú ʔáf-ó wókkil ‘fourty one’ *tamt’i-ŋüddú-wókkil
tamt’i ŋüddú ʔáf-ó k’astin ‘fourty two’ *tamt’i-ŋüddú-k’astin
tamt’i śinni ʔáf-ó wókkil ‘fifty one’
tamt’i śinni ʔáf-ó k’astin ‘fifty two’
tamt’i láxi ʔáf-ó wókkil ‘sixty one’
tamt’i láxi ʔáf-ó k’astin ‘sixty two’
tamt’i tüssu ʔáf-ó wókkil ‘seventy one’
tamt’i tüssu ʔáf-ó k’astin ‘seventy two’
tamt’i k’aśnáśis ʔáf-ó wókkil ‘eighty one’
tamt’i k’aśnáśis ʔáf-ó k’astin ‘eighty two’
tamt’i wóklásiš ʔáf-ó wókkil ‘ninety one’
tamt’i wóklásiš ʔáf-ó wóklásiš ‘ninety-nine’
There is one large number after tamt‘i wóklásis ḥáf-ó wóklásis ‘ninety-nine’. This numeral has a simple form s‘éet ‘hundred’. The same simple form is used in a number of Omotic languages, e.g. Maale, Wolaitta, Haro (cf. Azeb Amha 2001, Hirut W/Mariam 2004).

Examples of other complex counting forms:

7. s‘éet wókkil ḥáf-ó wókkil ‘one hundred and one’
   s‘éet wókkil ḥáf-ó k‘astin ‘one hundred and two’
   s‘éet wókkil ḥáf-ó tamme ‘one hundred and ten’
   s‘éet wókkil ḥáf-ó woyidu ‘one hundred and twenty’
   s‘éet wókkil ḥáf-ó tamt‘i mákkim ‘one hundred and thirty’
   s‘éet k‘astin ‘two hundred’
   s‘éet mákkim ‘three hundred’
   s‘éet tamme ‘one thousand’
   s‘éet tammi tammi ‘ten thousand’

Ordinal numerals are formed by suffixing the morpheme –sub to the cardinal numerals, which is followed by the definite marker –is:

8. wókkil-sub-is ‘the first’
9. k‘astin-sub-is ‘the second’
10. mákkim-sub-is ‘the third’
11. wut-sub-is ‘the fourth’
12. śin-sub-is ‘the fifth’
13. woid-sub-is ‘the twentieth’

6.2 Conjunctions

There are a few elements which are used for conjoining or disjoining clauses. The major ones are the suffixes –ka ‘and, with’ and –ik ‘also, too’. (See section 3.5.3). Conjoining words are dótik ‘or’, ṭendotik ‘but’, dót ‘if’, ṭengaśká ‘because’, bow-de-tíñ ‘after’, bow-de-wutó ‘before’. We will discuss each of them below:

The element dótik ‘or’ seems to be a combination of two elements. The conditional marker dót ‘if’ and the inclusive –ik ‘too, also’. Like -ká, dótik also is marked on both nouns. Examples:

14a. sǐftaye dótik taddese dótik ḥad-déé-n
    Shiftaye or taddese or come-IPF-3
    ‘Shiftaye or Taddese will come.’

14b. ḥaté sól-im dótik k‘is’-im dótik ṭést-téé-t
    1S.SUBJ enjera-ACC or bread-ACC or eat-IPF-1
    ‘I will eat enjera or bread.’

The form ḥendotik ‘but’ comprises a number of different morphemes. It seems to be a combination of ḥen ‘thing’, dót ‘if’, ik ‘too, also’. Examples:
15a. .staté  été-wá  ád-déè-t  éndóòtik
   1S.SUBJ  house-LOC  come-IPF-1  but
   nú  ád-káy
   3SM.SUBJ  come-NEG
   ‘I will come home but he will not come.’

15b.  wúć’u  éndóòtik  gužu-káy
   drink  but  drunkard-NEG
   ‘Drink but do not be a drunkard.’

The other connector is  dòng ‘if’ (see also in section 12.3.2.). It marks conditional clauses. The following are some examples.

16a.  sídëni  t’a-l-is-im  yá  wúć’-á  dòng
   this-ACC  medicine-ACC  2S.SUBJ  drink-CNV1  COND
   yá  lá÷t’-éè-n
   2S.SUBJ  die-IPF-2
   ‘If you drink this medicine, you will die.’

16b.  díib  dòng  staté  ád-káy
   rain  COND  1S.SUBJ  come-NEG
   ‘If it rains, I will not come.’

The conditional clause morpheme  dòng (17a) has an alternate reduced form –dó. The short form cliticizes to the element that precedes it, as in (17b-c).

17a.  ná-ís  báyzeñ-ub  dòng  táfí  wúć’-t’ub
   water-DEF  cold-M  COND  1S.SUBJ  drink-FUT
   ‘If the water is cold, I will drink it.’

17b.  ná-ís  báyzeñ-ub-dó  táfí  wúć’-t’ub
   water-DEF  cold-M-COND  1S.SUBJ  drink-FUT
   ‘If the water is cold, I will drink it.’

17c.  díib  -dó  staté  ád-káy
   rain-COND  1S.SUBJ  come-NEG
   ‘If it rains, I will not come.’

The reason clause linker  ëngësñá ‘because’ is used to conjoin two clauses (18).

18a.  nú  meh-bab  ëngësñá  liññ-is-á
   3SM.SUBJ  money-AGEN  because  well-CAUS-CNV1
   wunt’-éè-n
   work-IPF-3
   ‘He is rich because he works well.’
18b. **nú yîz-im šál-kây ʔengašká ḋatse dúñ**
   3SM.SUBJ run-ACC can-NEG because old COP
   ‘He can’t run because he is old.’

ʔengašká often occurs between two clauses. It can also occur sentence initially as in (19a) and (19b).

19a. **ʔengašká filh-is-á wunt’-cë-n nú meh-bab**
   because well-CAUS-CNV1 work-IPF-3 3SM.SUBJ money-AGEN
   ‘Because he works well, he is rich.’

19b. **ʔengašká ḋatse dúñ nú yîz-im šál-kây**
   because old COP 3SM.SUBJ run-ACC can-NEG
   ‘Because he is old, he can’t run.’

The coordinating conjunctions, **bow-de-tifo** ‘after’, **bow-de-wuto** ‘before’ and other connecting elements that are not included here are treated in Section 12.3.5. Table-2 summarizes the connecting morphemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ik</th>
<th>also/too</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dot</td>
<td>if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>döt-ik</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍen-döt-ik</td>
<td>but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍen-gaš-ká</td>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wonna-döt-ik</td>
<td>although</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍen-wonna-döt-ik</td>
<td>therefore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table-2: Coordinators**

### 6.3 Adverbials

Dime adverbials can be categorized into three semantic groups: manner, time and directional adverbials. Manner adverbs and time adverbs are expressed through simple lexical forms. Directionals are expressed with a bound morpheme.

#### 6.3.1 Manner adverbials

Manner adverbs indicate the manner in which the action is carried out. Dime has a few lexical forms that are used for expressing manner. The following are examples:

20. **nú ʔahó s’afti-i-n**
    3SM.SUBJ good write-PF-3
    ‘He wrote well.’

21. **nú bos-ká ʔahó lookum-dëé-n**
    3SM.SUBJ very-COM good speak-IPF-3
    ‘He speaks very well.’

Similarly, the adverb **gëccë** ‘very’ is added to the quantifiers to express degree.
22a. giĕčo s’us’u ʔéh-áf
   very many house-PL
   ‘very many houses’

22b. giĕčo yiss-ind náñe
   very little-F water
   ‘very little water’

22c. giĕčo fatt’e náñe
   very much water
   ‘a lot of water’

The adverbs ?ahó ‘well’ and giĕčo ‘very’ are formally related to the adjectives ?ahó-b ‘good’ and giĕčo-b ‘big’ respectively.

Other manner adverbs are ʔólóχ ‘soon’ and ʔólóχ ‘slowly’ which contrast by gemination of the medial consonant. The following are examples:

23a. nú ʔólóχ láχt’-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ soon die-PF-3
    ‘He died soon.’

23b. nú ʔólóχ dáh-á ūŋ-déé-n
    3SM.SUBJ slowly stay-CNV1 go-IPF-3
    ‘He goes slowly.’

Reduplicated manner adverbs may be used to express intensity of the action. This is illustrated below:

24. ná ʔólóχ ʔólóχ ʔíts-i-n
    3SF.SUBJ RDP:quick eat-PF-3
    ‘She ate very quickly.’

6.3.2 Time adverbials

Adverbials of time that are commonly used are the following:

25a. wuto ‘early/before’
25b. nááñe ‘yesterday’
25c. ŋiñi ‘today’
25d. gávir ‘tomorrow’

The following are sentential examples:

26. ná ŋiñi ŋuŋ-déé-n
    3SF.SUBJ today go-IPF-3P
    ‘She will go today.’

27. nú mes’af-im nááñe šín-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ book-ACC yesterday buy-PF-3
    ‘He bought a book yesterday.’
28. ይሬ-ስ ጥያለ የ-ታየ-ስ ያ-ማ деят-
man-DEF now ይÐP-go-IPF-3
‘The man is going now.’

Reduplication of time adverbials expresses frequentative (or habitual) action as shown in the examples below:

29a ዋ እስ-ስ እ-ሮ ያ-ማ деят-
3SM.SUBJ RDP-morning-LOC market-LOC go-IPF-3
‘He goes to the market every morning.’

29b ዋ አ-ትር-ሮ ካ-ሮ ያ-ማ деят-
3SM.SUBJ RDP-evening-LOC home-LOC go-IPF-3
‘He goes home every evening.’

The following list includes all attested forms expressing adverbs of time:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sitso</td>
<td>'morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuto</td>
<td>'before'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sãfát</td>
<td>'time' (borrowed from Amharic: sliat ‘time’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turdú</td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sis’í</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitse</td>
<td>'daily'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tãryé</td>
<td>'month'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tãay</td>
<td>'now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dábin</td>
<td>'late'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tólóx</td>
<td>'soon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taak</td>
<td>'still'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tólóx</td>
<td>'slowly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nãari</td>
<td>'yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðini</td>
<td>'today'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaziim</td>
<td>'tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðoksin</td>
<td>'the day after tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðoncil</td>
<td>'the fourth day'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-3: Time adverbials

6.3.3 Directional adverbials

A combination of bound forms is used to express directional adverbs. To express ‘direction towards someone or something’, there are at least two forms. The first one is -ká-bow which is formed by a combination of the comitative/instrumental marker -ká and the directional lexeme bow. It is attached to the goal noun, as in example (30):

30a. kétè kí-ká-bow yǐz-dey-n
3SF.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-COM-DIR run-IPF-3
‘They run towards him.’
30b. koos-is-im šiftaye maikro-ká-bow gíš'-i-n
ball-DEF-ACC shiftaye maikro-COM-DIR kick-PF-3
'Shiftaye kicked the ball to Maikro.'

30c. kúmz-is šiftaye-ká-bow ?ayim-déé-n
fly-DEF shiftaye-COM-DIR move-IPF-3
'The fly moves towards Shiftaye.'

The form -ká-bow can be attached to any noun or pronoun base. In the case of pronouns it is attached to the object form of the pronoun as shown in the following list:

31. ?is-ká -bow ‘towards me’
wó-ká-bow ‘towards us’
yín-ká-bow ‘towards you (S)’
ye-ká-bow ‘towards you (PL)’
kó-ká-bow ‘towards her’
ki-ká-bow ‘towards him’
ké-ká-bow ‘towards them’

The second way of expressing ‘direction towards a goal’ is through the use of bow-gaš-ká. Like -ká-bow, bow-gaš-ká also contains the lexeme bow and the morpheme -ká. However, they occur in different orders (compare examples (30-31) with (32)). Moreover, in bow-gaš-ká the two bound morphemes are intervened by the obligatory occurrence of gaš, which seems to be derived from the noun gaše ‘road’. The following are examples:

32a. ná ?is-ká bow-gaš-ká ?ád-déé-n
3SF.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-COM DIR-road-INST come-IPF-3
‘She comes towards me.’

32b. kété ki-ká bow-gaš-ká yíz-déé-n
3PL.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-COM DIR-road-INST run-IPF-3
‘They run towards him.’

The ‘source of movement to a direction’ is expressed by adding the ablative marker –de to one of the two directive forms which we discussed above, namely, -ká-bow. Examples:

33. koos šiftaye-ká-bow-de ?uza-ká bin-n
ball Shiftaye COM-DIR-ABL roll-INST go:PF-3
‘The ball rolled away from Shiftaye.’

34. šiftaye maikro-ká-bow-de bin-n
Shiftaye Maikro-COM-DIR-ABL go:PF-3
‘Shiftaye left from the place of Maikro.’

35. koos-is-im šiftaye maikro-ká-bow-de gíš’-i-n
ball-DEF-ACC shiftaye maikro-COM-DIR-ABL kick-PF-3
‘Shiftaye kicked the ball away from Maikro.’
The combination of -ká–bow-de and pronouns yields the following forms:

36. /ís-ká-bow-de / ‘from the direction/place of me’
wó-ká-bow-de / ‘from the direction/place of us’
yín-ká-bow-de / ‘from the direction/place of you (S)’
ye-ká-bow-de / ‘from the direction/place of you (PL)’
kó-ká–bow-de / ‘from the direction/place of her’
ké-ká–bow-de / ‘from the direction/place of them’

Finally, there are two deictic directional adverbs: saá-gas-in ‘in that direction, i.e., direction further away from the speaker’, and sóó-gas-in ‘in this direction, i.e, direction closer to the speaker’. The forms saá- and sóó- have some related forms in demonstrative pronouns, say-si-nú / ‘that, (further away, visible)’, 7oy-si-nú / ‘this, (near and visible)’ (cf. Section 4.2.). Examples:

37a. wó-n saá-gas-in / ‘Give us through that side (i.e., further away from the speaker).’
37b. nù sóó-gas-ká / ‘He came towards this side (i.e., closer to the speaker).’

The following is a stretch of connected speech, where several examples of the usage of directional adverbials are attested:

38a. ?até shifaye taddese-ká maikro-ká dáhí koos-im
1S.SUBJ shifaye taddese-CNJ maikro-CNJ be ball-ACC
yigim-yigim déén-ká
RDP-play exist-PF
‘I, Shiftaye, Taddesse and Maikro were playing football.’
38b. taddese koos-im /ís-ká-bow gís’-inká maikro wonn-á
1S.OBJ-COM-DIR taddese ball-ACC 1S.OBJ-COM-DIR turn-CNV1
shifaye-ká-bow kolits-á gís’-i-n
shifaye-COM-DIR pass-CNV1 beat-PF-3
‘Taddesse kicked the ball towards me, Maikro got it and he kicked it back and passed it to Shiftaye.’
38c. shifaye koos-im wonts-á maikro-ká-bow gašš-in
shifaye ball-ACC return-CNV1 maikro-COM-DIR road-DAT
yid-deéf-ká koos-is zaak-i-n saá-gas-ká bin-n
catch-TEMP-COM ball-DEF that-road-INST go-PF-3
‘When Shiftaye kicked the ball back towards Maikro, the ball rolled and left towards that way (i.e, it did not reach Maikro).’
38d.  sākiyó  dad-éé-b  nítsis  maikro-ká-bow
there  stay-IPF-RELT (M)  child-DEF  maikro-COM-DIR
wunts-á  gís'-i-n
return-CNV1  beat-PF-3
‘The child who was walking around nearby kicked it back to Maikro.’

38e.  koos-is  za-zag-ima  maikro-ká-bow  ʔáđ-á  wuy-i-n
ball-DEF  RDP:roll-INCH  maikro-COM-DIR  come-CNV1  stand-PF-3
maikro  šiftaye-ká-bow  wontsá  gís'-i-n
maikro  shiftextae-COM-DIR  return-CNV1  beat-PF-3
‘The ball rolled towards Maikro and it stopped near him. Maikro then
kicked it back towards Shiftaye.’

38f.  koos-im  šiftaye  ʔís-ká-bow  gís'-inká
ball-ACC  shiftextae  1S.OBJ-COM-DIR  beat-REAS
ʔató  šiftaye-ká-bow  wonts-á  gís'-inká
1S.SUBJ  shiftextae-COM-DIR  return-CNV1  beat-REAS
wótú  yissá  ýigim-í-t
2PL.SUBJ  some  play-PF-1
‘Shiftaye kicked the ball towards me, I kicked it back towards Shiftaye and
we played like this for some time.’

38g.  koos-is  gaš-ká-bow  zaa-ká  gáše  dädéey-id  wonts-á
ball-DEF  road-INST-DIR  roll-INSTroad  RDP:exist-PL  return-CNV1
wó-ká-bow  gís'-i-n
1PL-COM-DIR  beat-PF-3
‘The ball rolled towards passers-by in the road, they kicked it back towards
us.’

38h.  kiyó  wonn-á  sáá-gaš-ká  sóó-gaš-ká  yissá  ýigim-í-t
there  turn-CNV1  there-road-INST  here-road-INST  some  play-PF-1
‘We played the ball by directing it to here and there (in the road).’

6.4  Question words

The following are interrogative pronouns or content question words of Dime:
Other word classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wuyū</td>
<td>wuy-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭáyi</td>
<td>ṭay-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭamo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭāsiyá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭáméh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭámoid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭáminú</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭásinká</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-4: Question words

Among the above eight interrogative pronouns two have an accusative form i.e., wuy-im ‘what’, ṭáy-im ‘whom’. Moreover, except for the first interrogative pronoun wuyú ‘what’ the others begin with the same syllable ṭa-.

The content question word ṭāsiyá ‘how’ is used in greetings, e.g., ṭástdéé ‘how are you?’ which contains ṭáś-‘how’. Similarly, ṭáś ṭōxt ‘good morning’ consists of ṭáś ‘how’ and ṭōxt ‘morning’.
7 Noun phrase and quantifier phrase

The present chapter on syntax provides basic information on noun phrases with nouns, adjectives, numerals, possessive marker, demonstratives and relative clauses as modifiers. We also discuss locative noun phrases and measure phrases (quantifier phrase).

7.1 Noun phrases

In Dime, noun phrases have a flexible word order: both head-modifier and modifier-head orders occur. A noun can be modified by another noun, an adjective, a numeral, or a demonstrative. The order of morphemes in the noun phrase follows the following pattern: in modifiers, the first inflectional morpheme is the gender marker, then follow, an optional plural marker, the definite marker and finally the case marker. In nouns, the first inflectional morpheme is the plural marker which is followed by the definite and case markers; the inclusive marker –ik may follow the case marker word finally.

Gender is marked on modifiers but not on the head noun. If the noun is plural the plural agreement morpheme, –id, is suffixed on the modifier(s). In some cases the nominal plural marker –af can also be affixed to a modifier. But the morphemes –id and –af do not coocur. Definiteness and case markers often occur phrase finally but it is also possible to mark both the modifier and head noun in the phrase by definiteness and case morphemes. Numeral modifiers may or may not be marked with the plural agreement morpheme. Generally, the syntax of noun phrases exhibits flexibility in the order of constituents i.e., with few exceptions modifiers can precede or follow their head noun. There is also a degree of flexibility in marking grammatical morphemes which are part of the head noun on the modifier. These include number, definiteness and case marking morphemes.

In the following section we will discuss nouns with different modifiers.

7.1.1 Noun phrases with a noun as modifier

When a noun is used as modifier, the order of the head noun and the modifier noun is not free. The noun modifier always precedes the head noun. In the following examples the constituent order cannot be reversed:

1a. ʔot นิทส์
cow child
‘female calf’

1b. จิต นิทส์
ox child
‘male calf’

The modifiers ʔot ‘cow’ and จิต ‘ox’ express the gender of the head noun นิทส์ ‘child’, which in this context refers to a newly born calf. Similarly, the nouns โกสทุ ‘man’ and ยำมซี ‘woman’ modify the head noun นิทส์ ‘child’ to express the gender
of a newly born baby.

2a. gōst ŋnts
man child
‘male baby’

2b. ŋamz ŋnts
woman child
‘female baby’

The examples (1) and (2) have modifier-head order. In these examples the order of constituents cannot be changed whereas generally word order in noun phrases is flexible. Thus, reversing tōt ŋnts to ŋnts tōt or gōst ŋnts to ŋnts gōst in the examples in (1-2) is not possible. There are a few examples with noun-noun pattern but these do not seem to be phrases. The following are examples:

3a. ŋnts-īnd
child-mother
‘one’s brother, born by the same biological mother’

3b. dōmm-aaŋ
drum-wood
‘wooden drum’

4a. nāŋ māy
water pot
‘water pot’

4b. wohu māy
meat pot
‘meat pot’

7.1.2 Noun phrases with adjectives as modifiers

When the head noun is modified by an adjective, the adjective takes a morphological gender marker in agreement with the head noun: –ub is affixed to the adjective when the head noun is masculine while –īnd and –īd are respectively attached to the head noun when it is feminine singular and plural.

The word order is flexible when the modifier is an adjective (cf. section 12.5).

5a. gōstu ģūduŋ-ub ŋad-dē-ŋ
man tall-M come-IPF-3
‘A tall man will come.’

5b. ģūduŋ-ub gōstu ŋad-dē-ŋ
tall-M man come-IPF-3
‘A tall man will come.’
6a. ʔámzi s’án-ind-is láx́t’-ée-n
don black-F-DEF die-IPF-3
'The black woman will die.'

6b. s’án-ind-is ʔámz-is láx́t’-ée-n
black-F-DEF woman-DEF die-IPF-3
'The black woman will die.'

The adjectives gúdúm-ub ‘tall’, s’án-ind ‘black’, are modifiers of the head nouns gostú ‘man’, ʔámzi ‘woman’.

As showed in Section 3.5.1, the accusative case, i.e. one of the core cases, appears not only in nouns but also on certain dependents of the noun such as adjectives and determiners. It is generally marked on the last element of the noun phrase, whether the phrase-final element is a head or modifier. However, in some instances both the head noun and the modifiers are marked for the accusative case (see Section 12.2). The following examples demonstrate phrasal marking of the accusative case.

Examples:

7a. kéné ʔefti ǧicó-b-im deis-i-n
dog bird big-M-ACC kill-PF-3
'A dog killed a big bird.'

7b. kéné ǧicó-b ʔeft-ǐm deis-i-n
dog big-M bird-ACC kill-PF-3
'A dog killed a big bird.'

Due to the flexible order of Adj + N or N + Adj, example (7b) has two readings. It can be ‘a big dog killed a bird’ because the adjective ǧicó-b ‘big’ can modify the noun kéné ‘dog’ as in (8). Alternatively, it can be understood as: ‘a dog killed a big bird’ because the adjective ǧicó-b ‘big’ can also modify the noun ʔeft-ǐm ‘bird’ (9).

8. kéní ǧicó-b
dog big-M
‘big dog’

9. ǧicó-b ʔeft-ǐm.
bird-ACC
‘big bird’

If the position of the modifier is before the first noun, the above ambiguity is avoided as (10).

10. ǧicó-b kéní ʔeft-ǐm deis-i-n
big-LOC-M dog bird-ACC kill-PF-3
'A big dog killed a bird.'

Marking the left-most word of the NP for case leads to ungrammaticality as in (11):
11. *kén-im giččo-b ?effû deis-i-n
dog-ACC big-LOC-M bird kill-PF-3
Intended meaning: ‘A big dog killed a bird.’

If the noun is plural and it is marked by the suffix –af, the adjective accordingly takes the plural agreement morpheme –id, as in example (12):

12. s’án-id wūdūr-af-is yiźiz-déé-n
black-PL girl-PL-DEF run:RDP-IPF-3
‘The black girls are running.’

The agreement morpheme -id is not needed when the plural marker –af is suffixed to the adjective.

13a. ?ámzi tón-nd-is-im baʔ-i-n
woman small-F-DEF-ACC take-PF-3
‘The woman took the smaller one.’

13b. ?ámzi tón-nd-af-is-im baʔ-i-n
woman small-F-PL-DEF-ACC take-PF-3
‘The woman took the smaller ones.’

When a sequence of adjectives occurs in the same NP, the order of adjectives is not restricted. Compare the order in the following examples:

14. sinú guît’-ub k’oöl-ub ?iyy-ís láytt’-i-n
this white-M thin-M man-DEF die-PF-3
‘This white skinny man died.’

15. sinú k’oöl-ub guît’-ub ?iyy-ís láytt’-i-n
this thin-M white-M man-DEF die-PF-3
‘This skinny white man died.’

16. sanú ?ahó-b giččo-b kén-ís dey-ì-n
that good-M big-M dog-DEF die-PF-3
‘That big good dog died.’

Interestingly, when a series of adjectives are used as modifiers, the adjectives need not occur together. Some may occur before the noun while the remaining ones follow the head noun (17). This aspect of the syntax and its implication for constituent identification is not fully understood and it needs further research.

17a. sanú giččo-b kéné ?ahó-b-ìs dey-ì-n
that big-M dog good-M-DEF die-PF-3
‘That big good dog died.’

17b. ?ahó-b-ìs gūdūm-ub k’oöl-ub zimì ?átsi
good-M-DEF tall-M thin-M chief old
‘The good, tall, thin, old chief.’
Noun phrase and quantifier phrase

7.1.3 Noun phrases with numeral and possessive noun as modifiers

When the numeral occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase, it is marked for number, case and definiteness. Otherwise the head noun is marked for case. Compare the following two examples:

18a. maikro k’astin-id zim-áf-is-im yéf-i-n
    maikro two-PL chief-PL-DEF-ACC see-PF-3
    ‘Maikro saw the two chiefs.’

18b. maikro zimé k’astin-áf-is-im yéf-i-n
    maikro chief two-PL-DEF-ACC see-PF-3
    ‘Maikro saw the two chiefs.’

In noun phrases in which the modifier numeral is k’astin ‘two’ or higher (e.g. makkim ‘three’), plural marking on the head noun is optional (18b).

Numerals show number agreement (20-21) but this is not obligatory, as we have seen in example 24 of chapter 5, which is repeated below as example (19):

19. makkim gudúm-id zim-áf ?ád-i-n
    three tall-PL chief-PL come-PF-3
    ‘Three tall chiefs came.’

20. makkim-id ?ámz-af ?ád-i-n
    three-PL woman-PL come-PF-3
    ‘Three women came.’

21. k’astin-id wúdúr-af-is yížiz-dée-n
    two-PL girl-PL-DEF RDP-play-IPF-3
    ‘The two girls are running.’

A possessive pronoun requires the genitive suffix –kö and it precedes the noun. For instance, in (22-23), ñis-kó ‘my’ modifies the head noun zimú ‘chief’ that follows it.

22. ñaté ñis-kó zim-ím yéf-i-n
    1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN chief-ACC see-PF-3
    ‘I saw my chief.’

22. ñaté ñis-kó zim-áf-ím yéf-i-n
    1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN chief-PL-ACC see-PF-3
    ‘I saw my chiefs.’

23. ñaté ñis-kó k’astin-id zim-áf-im yéf-i-n
    1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN two-PL chief-PL-ACC see-PF-3
    ‘I saw my two chiefs.’

Thus, a possessive pronoun modifier is not as flexible in word order as adjective and numeral modifiers.
7.1.4 Noun phrases with demonstratives as modifiers

The head noun can be preceded or followed by a demonstrative. Demonstratives agree with their head noun in number and gender. These are bound morphemes which consist of the proximal/distal marker plus a third person feminine or masculine pronouns (see section 4.2). For instance, ʂinú ‘this (M)’ is a combination of the proximal morpheme ʂi- ‘this’ and the third person singular masculine pronoun ȵu ‘he’, while ʂana ‘that (F)’ consists of the distal morpheme ʂa- and the third person singular feminine pronoun ȵa ‘she’. In the present section I simply translate ʂinú and ʂana as ‘this’ and ‘that’ and ʂikét and ʂakét as ‘these’ and ‘those’ respectively.

In examples (24-27), the demonstratives modify the nouns ʂámże ‘woman’, ɡóstú ‘man’, ʐĩmĩ ‘chief’. In all cases, the demonstratives precede the head noun.

24a. ʂinú ɡóstú
    this:M man
    ‘this man’

24b. ʂana ʂámzi
    that:F woman
    ‘that woman’

25a. ʂa-קרקע ʐĩm-áf-ís
    those chief-PL-DEF
    ‘those chiefs’

25b. ʂi-kerja ʐĩm-áf-ís ʔád-i-n
    these two chief-PL-DEF come-PF-3
    ‘These two chiefs came.’

The following examples illustrate that demonstratives may follow their head noun.

26. ʂámz-ís ʂiná
    woman-DEF this (F)
    ‘this woman’

27. ʂámz-ís ʂana
    woman-DEF that (F)
    ‘that woman’

7.1.5 Noun phrases with the relative clause as modifier

The relative clause is marked for the gender or number of the noun that it modifies. When the modified noun is feminine the feminine gender marker is attached to the relative verb in agreement with the gender of the relativised noun. The same holds for the masculine and plural relativised noun as in the examples in (28-29). (See also section 12.2).
Noun phrase and quantifier phrase

28a. [bay-im ʔist-éé-b-is] ǥosțú č’ak’k’-ub
food-ACC eat-IPF-M.RELT-DEF man small-M
‘The man who eats food is small.’

28b. [bay-im ʔist-éé-d-is] ǥosț-áf č’ak’k’-ub
food-ACC eat-IPF-PL:RELT-DEF man-PL small-M
‘The men who eat food are small.’

29a. [bay-im ʔist-éé-ng-is] ʔámze č’ak’k’-ind
food-ACC eat-IPF-F.RELT-DEF woman small-F
‘The woman who eats food is small.’

29b. [bay-im ʔist-éé-d-is] ʔámz-áf č’ak’k’-ub
food-ACC eat-IPF-PL:RELT-DEF woman-PL small-M
‘The women who eat food are small.’

The word order of the head noun and the relative clause is flexible (30) and (31).

30. ǥosțú [ʔist- éé-b-is bay-im] č’ak’k’-ub
man eat-IPF-M.RELT-DEF food-ACC small-M
‘The man who eats food is small.’

31. ʔámze [ʔist- éé-ng-is bay-im] č’ak’k’-ub
woman eat-F.RELT-DEF food-ACC small-M
‘The woman who eats food is small.’

When the relative clause precedes the noun it modifies, the relative verb must occur as the final constituent of the relative clause. For instance, the relative clause in (32), which contains the same constituents as examples (28) and (30) is ungrammatical because the order of the two constituents within the pre-nominal relative clause, i.e., the verb and its complement, is changed.

32. [ʔist-éé-b-is bay-im] ǥosțú č’ak’k’-ub
eat-IPF-M.RELT-DEF food-ACC man small-M
Intended meaning: ‘The man who eats food is small.’

7.1.6 Locative noun phrases

The nouns mâte ‘head’, dőttů ‘leg’, and gömp ‘back’ have a locative form mált-ó ‘over’, dōtt-ó ‘under’, and gömp-ó ‘behind’, respectively. They express a locative relation by combining with another noun. The order of the constituents is fixed. In example (33a-b) both nouns are marked with the locative suffix -ó whereas in the examples in (34-35), the first noun is marked with the genitive morpheme –ko and the second noun is marked with the locative suffix -ó. In the examples in (33), it is difficult to identify the exact status of the suffix –ó on the first member of the pair of nouns, i.e., ʔúr-ís-ó (33a) and ʔěb-ó (33b). The –ó on these nouns could be a shortened form of the genitive -ko, because this suffix is used in the parallel examples in (34-35). Alternatively, the –ó on the first noun of the locative noun phrases in (33) could be assigned through concord with the second noun in the phrase. This second
explanation is plausible because in Dime modifier and head can take the same affixes even when this is not needed structurally e.g., definiteness and accusative case markers may occur on both modifier(s) and the head noun (see section 11.4. ex.28 and 29). Whether there is any semantic difference related to the alternative use of possessive –ko and locative –ó in the locative phrases such as those in (33a-b) is not known. Further investigation is needed to resolve this.

33a. wūdūr-is ?āw-is-ó dōōtt-ó dāh-i-n
girl-DEF tree-DEF-LOC leg-LOC sit-PF-3
'The girl sat under the tree.'

33b. nú ?ēh-ó gōmp-ó wuy-déé-n
3SM.SUBJ house-LOC back-LOC stand-IPF-3
'He stands behind the house.'

34a. nīts-is ?āmz-is-ko gōmp-ó dāh-i-n
child-DEF woman-DEF-GEN back-LOC sit-IPF-3
'The child sat behind the woman.'

34b. nú nīts-is-ko mátt-ó ?ūtil-i-n
3SM.SUBJ child-DEF-GEN head-LOC jump-IPF-3
'He jumped over the child.'

35. nú t’erep’ez-ko-de mátt-ó ?ūtil-i-n
3SM.SUBJ table-GEN-ABL head-LOC jump-IPF-3
'He jumped over the table.'

The examples in (36) demonstrate that bafó ‘near’, gōyó ‘inside’ are used in a similar way as mátt-ó ‘over’, dōōtt-ó ‘under’, and gōmp-ó ‘behind’ which are discussed above. However, unlike the latter nouns, bafó ‘near’, gōyó ‘inside’ do not have a corresponding citation form. Thus, we have to address the question whether the final vowel of the two nouns is part of the lexical root or whether it is the locative morpheme –ó. In the present analysis, we assume that the final vowel of these words is the locative marker –ó because bafo ‘near’ and gōyó ‘inside’ occur in parallel constructions as those in (33) which clearly have a suffixal –ó and because there are no other citation form nouns in Dime which end in the vowel –ó (see also Section 3.5.5.).

36a. nīts-is ?ind-is-ko baf-ó dāh-i-n
child-DEF mother-DEF-GEN near-LOC sit-IPF-3
'The child sat near his mother.'

36b. lál-is ?ēh-is-ó gōy-ó dān
stone-DEF house-DEF-LOC inside-LOC COP
'The stone is inside the house.'

The constituents on the right hand side of the locative noun phrases are not postpositions because they occur following case marked nouns and they themselves are also marked for locative case. Additional examples:
37. **nîts-is yer-îs-ko gömp-ô dáh-i-n**
   child-DEF donkey-DEF-GEN back-LOC sit-PF-3
   ‘The child sat behind the donkey.’

38. **nîts-is yer-îs-ko gömp-sé dâh-i-n**
   child-DEF donkey-DEF-GEN back-LOC sit-PF-3
   ‘The child sat on the back of the donkey.’

7.1.7 Measure phrases

Measure phrases have nominal heads that signify entities, which are employed as units of measurement. Any noun phrase indicating quantity, size, distance etc., can be called a measure phrase (cf. Matthews 1997). Measure phrases in Dime express precise amounts of both [-count] and [+count] nouns; structurally, they function as specifiers of the head noun that is being quantified. The following are examples:

39. **mâkkim dâyây yilê**
   three metre land
   ‘three metres of land’

40. **k’ôstîn dâyây ?âåe**
   two metre wood
   ‘two metres of wood’

In examples (41-43) below, the morpheme –kâ is suffixed to the head noun. –kâ in this use represents the instrumental case; it is used when the measure noun refers to some kind of container or means of transportation (in contrast –kâ is not used in the examples in (39-40))

41. **k’ôstîn ạkim-kâ nâåe**
   two calabash-INST water
   ‘two calabash of water’ (Lit. two calabash with/by water)

42. **sînnî òozur-kâ gêî**
   five sack-INST teff
   ‘five sacks of teff’ (Lit. five sacks with/by teff)

In the above examples, the measure phrase as a whole, e.g., **k’ôstîn ọakim-kâ** ‘two calabash’ (41–42), **sînnî òozur-kâ** ‘five sack’ (42), specifies the head noun, i.e., **nâåe** and **gêî**, respectively.

The noun modified by a measure phrase can be a simple noun as in (41–42), or it can also be a noun plus a modifier as in (43), in which the head **bunú** is modified by ìaf-ó:

43. **k’ôstîn ạkim-kâ ìaf-ó bunú**
   two calabash-INST seed-LOC coffee
   ‘two calabash coffee beans’

The measure phrases quantify uncountable nouns such as **gêî** ‘teff’, **nâåe** ‘water’, as
in (42-43) as well as countable nouns such as የህራ ‘wood as in (40), which are heads of the complex noun phrase. The measurement expressions contain countable nouns (sacks, bottles, metres), which may themselves be specified by numerals, for instance, ‘two bottles’. Moreover, various ways of transportation can also function as quantifiers of heads in measure phrases. These too take the instrumental marker - kä as shown below:

44. ŋîne yer-ká č’andʒ-ub sînde
   five donkey-INST load-M wheat
   ‘five donkey-loads of wheat’

45. tammé mākin-ká č’andʒ-ub kábbe
   ten car-INST loads-M maize
   ‘ten car-loads of maize’

In Dime measure phrases precede the head noun. If the measure phrase and the head noun are reversed the structure becomes ungrammatical. Consider the following examples:

46. *náre t’är múš-ká k’östīn
   water bottle-INST two
   Intended meaning:... ‘two bottles of water’

47. *yîlê d’âyāy mākkîm
   land metre three
   Intended meaning:... ‘three metres of land’

Within the measure phrase, however, it is possible to reverse the numeral and the unit of measurement as shown below:

48. k’östīn ወካ khoá náre
   two calabash-INST water
   ‘two calabashes of water’

49. t’är múš-ká k’östīn náre
   bottle-INST two water
   ‘two bottles of water’

50. mākkîm d’âyāy yîlê
    three metre land
    ‘three metres of land’

51. d’âyāy mākkîm yîlê
    meter three land
    ‘three metres of land’

In other Ethiopian languages such as Koorete (North Omotic) there is a similar structure of classifier phrases (Baye Yimam 1984, Biniyam Sisay 2002, Getahun Amare 2003).
Dime also has noun classifier phrases which are similar in structure to the measurement phrases we discussed above. The classifier noun phrase does not use measurement or container terms but rather individuating and enumerating nouns.

52. \( \text{?áf-ó wókkil bun-ko} \)
   eye-LOC one coffee-GEN
   ‘one coffee bean’

53. \( \text{máte kábbe wókkil} \)
   head maize one
   ‘one cob maize’

54a. \( \text{č'ič'í k'ástin ?ayim-ko kááse} \)
   root two enset-GEN plant
   ‘two individual plants of enset’

54b. \( \text{č'ič'í láx kábbi-ko kááse} \)
   root six maize-GEN plant
   ‘six individual plants of maize’

54c. \( \text{č'ič'í ?úddú birtukan-ko kááse} \)
   root four orange-GEN plant
   ‘four individual orange plants’

The selection of the head noun of the classifier phrase, e.g. \( \text{č'ič'í} \) ‘root’ in \( \text{č'ič'í k'ástin} \) ‘two roots’ in (54a), \( \text{?áf-ó} \) ‘seed’ in \( \text{?áf-ó wókkil} \) ‘one seed’ (in 52), is based on whether the head of the complex noun phrase refers to a plant, or to different parts of the plant, e.g., seed or fruit.

If the numerals are dropped from the above phrases this would lead to ungrammatical structure. Parallel to the examples in (54), we get the following unacceptable expressions:

55. \( \text{*č'ič'í ?ayim-ko kááse} \)
   root enset-GEN plant
   Intended meaning: ‘two individual plants of enset’

56. \( \text{*č'ič'í káb-ko kááse} \)
   root maize-GEN plant
   Intended meaning: ‘six individual plants of maize’

57. \( \text{*č'ič'í birtukan-ko kááse} \)
   root orange-GEN plant
   Intended meaning: ‘four individual orange plants’

Classifier nouns precede the noun (phrase) which they modify. Within the classifier noun phrase, the numeral and the classifier noun may change their order.

It is common in Dime that the accusative case is marked at the right edge of the noun phrase. Therefore, if the classifier is the last element within the complex noun phrase, it is marked for the accusative case (in the same manner as other noun phrases).
58. nú ʔuddú k’ab-ko mát-im das-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ four maize-GEN head-ACC cut-PF-3
   ‘He cut four heads of maize.’

59. ná sinni bun-ko ʔaf-im k’aid-ée-n
   3SF.SUBJ five coffee-GEN seed-ACC need-IPF-3
   ‘She wants five beans of coffee.’

60. wótú k’ostin kamay-ko mát-im šin-i-t
   1PL.SUBJ two sorghum-GEN head-ACC buy-PF-1
   ‘We have bought two heads of sorghum.’

However, changing the order of numerals, classifier and head nouns is also possible. If we compare examples (58) and (61), the structures correspond exactly to Amharic, ḥulät yamašilla ras ‘two head of Sorghum(two Sorghum head)’ or ḥulät ras mašilla ‘two head of Sorghum’ etc. Compare the examples in 58-60 with those 61-63.

61. nú máti ʔudd-ím k’ab-ko das-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ head four-ACC maize-GEN cut-PF-3
   ‘He has cut four heads of maize.’

62. ná sinni ʔaf-im bun-ko k’aïd-ée-n
   3SM.SUBJ five fruit-ACC coffee-GEN need-IPF-3
   ‘She wants five beans of coffee.’

63 wótú k’ostin mát-im kamay-kó šin-i-t
   1PL.SUBJ two head-ACC sorghum-GEN buy-PF-1
   ‘We have bought two heads of sorghum.’

The noun classifier phrases mát ʔudd-im ‘four head’ in (61), sinni ʔaf-im ‘five fruits’ in (62), and k’ostin mát-im ‘two heads’ in (63) restrict their respective heads. When the genitive marker –ko is suffixed to the nouns k’ábbe ‘maize’, bunú ‘coffee’, kamay ‘sorghum’, the accusative marker is suffixed to the classifier noun phrases such as máti ʔudd-ím ‘four head’, sinni ʔaf-im ‘five beans’, and k’ostin mát-im ‘two head’ as in (61), (62) and (63), respectively. It is not clear why the accusative is marked on the classifier phrases, while the genitive is marked on the head noun. Maybe the head noun represents the whole part of the noun, while the classifier represents one of the part (partitive).

Dime has yet another strategy to classify nouns, which can be considered as classification of functions of certain entities. For example, cattle can be categorized as ‘meat-cattle’, ‘farm-cattle’, and ‘milk-cattle’, etc. The following are examples:

66. ḏüşi wósan k’ostin
   milk cattle two
   ‘two milk cows’
In the above constructions the numeral plus noun forms are not classifier phrases, rather they label the function or role of the different types of cattle.

Generally, only a few types of classifier phrase are identified in Dime. Maybe this result supports the typological analysis of Creissels (2000), who pointed out that nominal classification systems are more used in East Asian languages, but are extremely rare in African languages. In Dime, measure phrases, classifier nouns and the functional categorization are used side by side to a limited extent (cf. Aikhenvald 2000 for a cross-linguistic analysis of classifiers).
8 Verb inflections

This chapter contains discussion of the verb root, subject-agreement, tense-aspect marking, and negation. All verb inflections in Dime involve suffixation.

8.1 Verb roots and the imperative

The basic verb is mainly biconsonantal. Hayward (2000:93) states that the Omotic verb root is most frequently biconsonantal, as is also the case in Chadic and Cushitic languages. The imperative form of the verb is the simplest verb form in Dime. The imperative stem can end in one of the vowels -e, -i, and -u or in any consonant. However, the basic form or the imperative verb stems which end in vowels lose the vowel when suffixes are added to the basic form, e.g., the plural addressee marker -is or the negative marker -koy. We can thus categorize the basic verb in two types. The first one contains verbs that end in a vowel, and the second one contains verbs that end in a consonant. Both type I and type II verbs have the same structure after suffixation, as in the plural addressee form in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative stem</th>
<th>Basic form (Single addressee)</th>
<th>Plural addressee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiži</td>
<td>yiž-is</td>
<td>Run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řáde</td>
<td>řád-is</td>
<td>Come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuč’u</td>
<td>wuč’-is</td>
<td>Drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řuus</td>
<td>řuus-is</td>
<td>Cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tálk’</td>
<td>tálk’-is</td>
<td>Borrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’ááh</td>
<td>s’ááh-is</td>
<td>Vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúb</td>
<td>kúb-is</td>
<td>Carry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-1: The basic verb forms of Dime

In the type I imperative stems the final vowels are varied. This is due to the vowel harmony between the root vowel and the imperative vowel. The final vowel assimilates completely to a preceding i, e or u but this is not the case with o and a. If the first vowel is o the second is either o or u. If the first vowel is a, the following vowel is either e or i. That is the vowels o and a show harmony in roundness. The following examples demonstrate the vowel harmony of the final vowel with the preceding one.

1. e-ending     i-ending     u-ending
   čéené ‘say’          řimi ‘give’          řádu ‘put’
   šemé ‘beg’           šijů ‘go’           kuýů ‘dig’
   t’eesé ‘know’        yižů ‘run’           wuć’u ‘drink’
   řáde ‘come’          gámi ‘win’          fótu ‘fail’
As can be observed from the above examples, imperative verbs have a final vowel whose shape is to a large extent determined by the preceding root vowel and which disappears before suffixation. In addition, there are very few verbs ending with –o in Dime, for instance, boono ‘be sufficient’, fookó ‘embrace’, k’ôŋk’o ‘knock’ which show similar pattern to the previous examples. There are also some exceptional verb forms where final vowels are not determined by the preceding root vowel, for example: k’ôté ‘arrive’, bôsini ‘end/finish’, bukté ‘take by force’, bolidi ‘forecast’ etc.

The basic verb form is used in commands and in some interrogatives with content question words (cf. 4a below). In negative imperatives or prohibitions the final vowel of the basic verb is dropped and the special negative marker -ko (not the negative declarative marker káy), is attached to the verb root. Consider the following examples:

2. Commands Prohibitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Prohibition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yîžî ‘Run!’</td>
<td>yîž-kóy ‘Do not run!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>géhé ‘Push!’</td>
<td>géh-kóy ‘Do not push!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭólóţ ‘Hurry!’</td>
<td>ṭólóţ-kóy ‘Do not hurry!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâhin ‘Wait!’</td>
<td>dâhin-kóy ‘Do not wait!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wûy ‘Stop!’</td>
<td>wûy-kóy ‘Do not stop!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For plural addressees the imperative verb is marked by –is. This morpheme is suffixed only to utterances directed to participants in the dialogue such as commands, questions, and greetings.

3a. šîftaye k’int’î
     shiftay stand.up
     ‘Shiftaye stand up!’

3b. šîftaye-ká taddese-ká kìnt’-is
     shiftaye-CNJ taddese-CNJ stand_up-PL.ADR
     ‘Shiftay and Taddese stand up!’

4a. ŭás ŭoʒt
    how spend night
    ‘Good morning! (singular addressee)’

4b. ŭás ŭoʒt-is
    how spend night-PL.ADR
    ‘Good morning! (pl. addressee)’

The following examples illustrate the use of the morpheme –is in interrogative clauses:

5a. yà wûy-îm ŭîts
    2S.SUBJ what-ACC eat:Q
    ‘What did you (2S) eat?’ (cf. basic form: ŭîtsî)
Verb inflections 123

5b. yâ wûy-im ŋts-déé
   2S.SUBJ what-ACC eat-IPF:Q
   ‘What do you (2S) eat?’

5c. yese wûy-im ŋts-is
   2PL.SUBJ what-ACC eat-PL.ADR:Q
   ‘What did you (2PL) eat?’

The suffix -is does not occur with first and third person. Consider the following examples:

6. nà ŋás ŋoxt
   3SF.SUBJ how night
   ‘How is she doing today?’ (lit. How did she pass the night)

7. nú wûy-im ŋts
   3MS.SUBJ what-ACC eat
   ‘What did he eat?’

8. nà ŋâmoid ŋad
   3FS.SUBJ when come
   ‘When did she come?’

Fleming (1990:568) states that verb roots with the suffix -u and with the suffix -m are used with a single addressee, while verb roots with the suffix -is are used when the command is directed to two or more addressees. However, as we have shown above, the verb roots may end in a vowel or a consonant in the case of a single addressee, while the suffix -is is used consistently with plural addressees. Whether the difference in our observations are based on dialect differences needs to be checked.

8.2 Subject agreement marking

Subject agreement in Dime is marked only in declarative affirmative clauses (for indirect indication of the second person in interrogative verbs, see section 12.4). The agreement indicates only person, distinguishing first person from second and third persons. The verb does not indicate the number and gender of the subject. The suffix -t indicates that the subject of the clause is first person (singular or plural), and the suffix -n indicates second and third person singular and plural subjects. The following table illustrates person marking in Dime verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal affix</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>1(S and PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>2 and 3 (S and PL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Person markers

The following are examples that show person agreement on the verb.
In summary, when the subject is first person the person marker in the verb is –t; it is –n when the subject is second or third person. The verb does not indicate whether the subject is plural or singular; masculine or feminine.

8.3 Aspect marking

Tense-aspect is expressed using suffixation and reduplication. In Dime the first person is distinguished from other persons as demonstrated in the overview in table 2. There is no person differentiation in the progressive past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>imperfetive</th>
<th>progressive(now)</th>
<th>Progressive(past)</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>far past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>?ad-dée-t</td>
<td>?ad-?ad-dée-t</td>
<td>?ad-?ad-déé-ká</td>
<td>?ad-i-t</td>
<td>?ad-?ad-i-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>?ad-dée-n</td>
<td>?ad-?ad-dée-n</td>
<td>?ad-?ad-déé-ká</td>
<td>?ad-i-n</td>
<td>?ad-?ad-i-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-3: Aspect tense distinction for the verb ?ad ‘come’

In the following sections we discuss the imperfective, progressive (present/past), perfective and far past tenses.

8.3.1 Imperfective –dée–

The imperfective aspect is marked by –dée and -tub. –dée is used for all persons in verbal constructions. -tub is used only in non-verbal clauses and as alternative for -dée for first person singular and plural subject in verbal constructions. –dée is followed by the person markers -n or –t (but see section 12.4).
The imperfective form consists of the basic verb, the imperfective morpheme and the person marker. The paradigm of the verb ṭáde ‘come’ is shown below:

10. ṭáde ṭád-déé-t ‘I will come/I come.’
    (ʔáte ṭád-tub) ‘I will come/I come.’
    wótú ṭád-déé-t ‘We will come/we come.’
    (wótú ṭád-tub) ‘We will come/we come.’
    yáay ṭád-déé-n ‘You will come/you come.’
    yesé ṭád-déé-n ‘You(PL) will come/you come.’
    nù ṭád-déé-n ‘He will come/he comes.’
    ná ṭád-déé-n ‘She will come/she comes.’
    kété ṭád-déé-n ‘They will come/they come.’

Some more examples of Dime imperfective verbs:

11. Imperfective form

   ṭáys-éé-n ‘(he) breaks’
   wójím-déé-n ‘(he) enters’
   wuc-’t’éé-n ‘(he) drinks’
   k’áams-éé-n ‘(he) hears’
   k’obt-éé-n ‘(he) wears’
   náyt-éé-n ‘(he) sleeps’
   yíz-déé-n ‘(he) runs’
   dáf-déé-n ‘(he) sits’

The imperfective marker -déé has variant forms -t’éé-, -téé, -éé due to consonant assimilations such as devoicing, glottalization and consonant sequence restrictions. For further information on phonological processes that apply to -déé see Section 2.8.9, ex. 144).

The suffix -déé of the imperfective seems to have originated from the existential verb déén. The imperfective aspect indicates present, habitual and future.

12. ná bindi náa-ó t’úl-déé-n
    3SF.SUBJ always river-in swim-IPF-3
    ‘She always swims in the river.’

13. ṭáte náa-ó t’úl-déé-t
    1S.SUBJ river-in swim-IPF-1
    ‘I swim in a river.’

The suffix –tub as in (14b) is used to indicate the imperfective aspect which subsumes present, habitual and future tenses in verbal constructions. –tub is used only in first person in free variation with -déé.

14a. ṭáte náa-ó t’úl-déé-t
    1S.SUBJ river-LOC swim-IPF-1
    ‘I will swim in a river.’
14b. ?até náx-ó t’úl-tub
   1S.SUBJ river-LOC swim-IPF:1
   ‘I will swim in a river.’

8.3.2 Progressive

To express the progressive aspect, Dime uses partial or full reduplication of the verb stem. The reduplicated stem is marked with the imperfective aspect marker. Consider the following progressive construction:

15. ?até náx-ó t’úl-túl-déé-t
   1S.SUBJ river-LOC RDP-swim-IPF:1
   ‘I am swimming in a river.’

The reduplication in the progressive aspect has two patterns. In one type the entire root is reduplicated as in (16) and (17), and in the other reduplication affects only the first CV sequence as in (18).

16. nu sól-im ñits-i-ñst-éé-n
   3SM.SBJ enjera-ACC RDP-i-eat-IPF:3
   ‘He is eating enjera’

17. kété čéé-ó fíñ-fíñ-déé-n
   3PL.SBJ house-LOC RDP-go-IPF:3
   ‘They are going home.’

18. ná lá-láxt’t-éé-n
   3SF.SBJ RDP-die-IPF:3
   ‘She is dying.’

In the reduplication of the entire root (16), epenthetic i is inserted to avoid an impermissible sequence of consonants (i.e., the ts/n sequence is not permitted).

In partial reduplication, some consonants, such as velar fricatives, glides, and the affricate ts are not used. For instance náže, ‘sleep’ can be partially reduplicated as na-náže-tee-n ‘he/she/they is/are sleeping’ but not as *náže-tee-n, since ze cannot be reduplicated. Similarly, there is restriction in the reduplication of y and y (see, 2.8).

The progressive forms of the verb fíñ ‘go’ with various subjects are shown below:

19. ?até fíñ-fíñ-déé-t ‘I am going.’
   wótū fíñ-fíñ-déé-t ‘We are going.’
   yáay fíñ-fíñ-déé-n ‘You are going.’
   yesé fíñ-fíñ-déé-n ‘You are going.’
   nu fíñ-fíñ-déé-n ‘He is going.’
   ná fíñ-fíñ-déé-n ‘She is going.’
   kété fíñ-fíñ-déé-n ‘They are going.’

If the reduplication of the verb stem in the above examples is omitted, the construc-
tion expresses the imperfective (i.e., future or habitual), e.g. ná ŋdĕ-n ‘she will go’. It is reported that Koorete, one of the Omotic languages in the Ometo cluster, also has a verb paradigm in which the verb root is reduplicated to mark a different aspect (Azeb, 1994:11).

The copula morpheme déén-ká is used to express past progressive action of the main verb. The verbs are not inflected for person in the past progressive, as illustrated in (20):

20. ?até t’ul-t’ul-dĕén-ká ‘I was swimming.’
   wótú t’ul-t’ul-dĕén-ká ‘We were swimming.’
   yāay t’ul-t’ul-dĕén-ká ‘You were swimming.’
   yesé t’ul-t’ul-dĕén-ká ‘You were swimming.’
   nú t’ul-t’ul-dĕén-ká ‘He was swimming.’
   ná t’ul-t’ul-dĕén-ká ‘She was swimming.’
   kété t’ul-t’ul-dĕén-ká ‘They were swimming.’

8.3.3 Perfective -i

The perfective aspect is mainly used to refer to completed actions. It is marked by the morpheme -i. The duration between the completion of the action/event and the utterance affects the form of the verb. If the completion of an event was followed by a long duration, then the verb is fully or partially reduplicated (cf. section 8.3.4). The following examples illustrate the perfective construction.

21. nū ŋmí sutsó ʔád-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ today morning come-PF-3
   ‘He came this morning.’

22. kété ʔád-i-n
   3PL.SUBJ come-PF-3
   ‘They came.’

23. ʔafí bay-is-im bós-i-t
   1S.SUBJ food-DEF-ACC finish-PF-1
   ‘I finished the food.’

24. yā ʔád-i-n
   2S.SUBJ come-PF-2
   ‘You came.’

As can be seen from the above examples, the perfective morpheme -i- is followed by one of the two person markers: -n and -t. The paradigm of the verb ŋádí ‘come’ is shown in (25):
25. ʔató ḏád-i-t ‘I came.’
    wótú ḏád-i-t ‘We came.’
    yáay ḏád-i-n ‘You came.’
    yesé ḏád-i-n ‘You came.’
    nū ḏád-i-n ‘He came.’
    ná ḏád-i-n ‘She came.’
    kêté ḏád-i-n ‘They came.’

The following proverbs illustrate the use of the perfective aspect:

26. ḭissim yeáf-ká-deé tir-im tir-i-n
    groom see-NEG-PF carpet-ACC plait-PF-3
    ‘Without seeing the bridegroom they prepared the carpet.’
    [i.e., actions have to be carried out according to their priority]

27. ḡīdu kō-goy-im ʔīn-ká-deé ʔiyỳi-kɔ-m k’or-i-n
    monkey 3SF.OBJ-buttock-ACC see-NEG-PF man-GEN-ACC complain-PF-3
    ‘A monkey complained about others’ beauty while forgetting to see a scar
    on its own buttock.’ [i.e., criticizing others but to fail to notice one’s own
    drawback is easy]

8.3.4 Far past

The remote past is expressed by reduplication of the verb stem and the addition of
the perfective morpheme, as shown in (28a) and (28b).

28a. ḧató náu-ís-ó t’ūl-t’ūl-i-t
    1S.SUBJ river-DEF-LOC RDP-swim-PF-1
    ‘I swam in the river (a long time ago).’

28b. nū ḏád-ḅḏád-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ RDP-come-PF-3
    ‘He had come long ago.’

The following paradigm illustrates the inflection of the verb ḏád ‘come’ for the far
past.

29. ḧató ḏád-ʔād-i-t ‘I came long ago.’
    wótú ḏád-ʔād-i-t ‘We came long ago.’
    yáay ḏád-ʔād-i-n ‘You came long ago.’
    yesé ḏád-ʔād-i-n ‘You came long ago.’
    nū ḏád-ʔād-i-n ‘He came long ago.’
    ná ḏád-ʔād-i-n ‘She came long ago.’
    kêté ḏád-ʔād-i-n ‘They came long ago.’

It seems that in affirmative constructions, copula verbs and reduplication have an
important role in expressing different tense-aspect distinctions, while in negative
constructions tense-aspect is not marked. The past and future tenses are expressed in
copula constructions (see also Section 9.2 and 9.3).
8.3.5 Aspect and negation

With one exception (see below in this section), the verb morphology of Dime does not distinguish perfective-imperfective aspect in negative constructions. The verb shows only the negation marker –ka. The negative morpheme may be realized as either -ká/ka or káy. The variation between the first two forms is the following: –ka is a reduced form of –káy and it occurs at non-final position, affixed to a copula verb or a main verb. káy is used following ejective consonants and the velar nasal (ŋ).

In negatives, aspectual distinction is neutralized as shown below:

30. ná ŋí ñád-káy
   3SF.SUBJ today come-NEG
   ‘She does not come today.’

31. ná gáxím ñád-káy
   3SF.SUBJ tomorrow come-NEG
   ‘She will not come tomorrow.’

32. ná nááší ñád-káy
   3SF.SUBJ yesterday come-NEG
   ‘She didn’t come yesterday.’

33. wótú gáxím wunt’-i-káy
   1P.SUBJ tomorrow work-i-NEG
   ‘We will not work tomorrow.’

The negative forms of the verb wunt in (33) and the paradigm of tìŋ ‘go’ in (34) illustrate that the initial consonant, k, of the negative morpheme changes to k’ after ejectives and ŋ (see also Section 2.8.4.).

34. ñáte tìŋ-káy
    ‘I do/will/did not go.’
 wótú tìŋ-káy
    ‘We do/will/did not go.’
 yáay tìŋ-káy
    ‘You do/will/did not go.’
 yesé tìŋ-káy
    ‘You do/will/did not go.’
 nu tìŋ-káy
    ‘He does/will/did not go.’
 ná tìŋ-káy
    ‘She does/will/did not go.’
 kété tìŋ-káy
    ‘They do/will/did not go.’

With verbs which end in consonants other than ejectives and ŋ the negative suffix is –káy but not -káy. For example, kété gaaz-káy ‘they will not curse’.

Refusal is expressed through a slightly different negative construction. As we already mentioned and demonstrated in example (34), tense-aspect is generally not expressed in negative verb forms. In the expression of refusal, however, the existential verb déen / déét and the morpheme –tub which marks future tense follow the negative marker –ká(y)/–ká(y) as illustrated in (35).
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35. wótù gásíim wunt’-k’a-deé-tub
1P.SUBJ tomorrow work-NEG-exist-FUT
‘We shall not work tomorrow.’ (lit. We are expected to work tomorrow, but we refuse to work)

The structure of the verb in example (35) is complex as it involves two verbs: wunt’- ‘work’ and deé ‘exist’. The final verb deé-tub is observed in nominal clauses (see section 9.3). The negative morpheme –káy also occurs following a copula verb but at sentence-final position (see examples 39 below):

36. nú sóó ?ád-ká dáhim
3SM.SUBJ here come-NEG stay
‘He has not come yet.’

37. nú naáre ?ád-káy
3SM.SUBJ yesterday come-NEG
‘He did not come yesterday.’

38. nú kění yi-ká-dée
3SM.SUBJ dog COP-NEG-PF
‘It was not a dog.’

39. ?ís-ko kění yi-káy
1S.OBJ-GEN dog COP-NEG
I have no dog.’

In interrogative sentences aspect is marked (cf. section 12.4). Verbs are not inflected for person in interrogatives.

We summarize the inflection of verbal suffixes in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspect marker</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>(no person marker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>-dée</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>-tub</td>
<td>no person marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ka-deé-tub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-4: Verbal suffixes
9 Nominal clauses

In this chapter we deal with tense-less, past and future copula clauses. We also discuss nominal clauses in negative and interrogative constructions. The copula may or may not be overt. In the following table, we present an overview of the affixes that mark attributive/equative and existential/possessive copula clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>copula</th>
<th>tense-less</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>negative non-past</th>
<th>negative past</th>
<th>negative future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>equative/attributive</td>
<td>-éé</td>
<td>déébdéé</td>
<td>déét-tub</td>
<td>yi-káy</td>
<td>yi-ká-déé</td>
<td>yi-ká-déét-tub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dán</td>
<td>déén-ká</td>
<td>déét-tub</td>
<td>yi-káy</td>
<td>yi-ká-déé</td>
<td>yi-ká-déét-tub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>existential/possessive</td>
<td>déén</td>
<td>dédéén-ká</td>
<td>déét-tub</td>
<td>yi-káy</td>
<td>yi-ká-déé</td>
<td>yi-ká-déét-tub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-1: Copula and tenses

9.1 Tenseless nominal clauses

Present / tense-less equative and attributive nominal clauses are marked by –éé or dán. These morphemes are used alternatively without any apparent meaning difference. Consider the following equative constructions:

1. maikro ṭis-kó wutun-ub ṭšim-ée
   maikro 1OBJ-GEN old-M brother-COP
   ‘Maikro is my eldest brother.’

2. maikro ṭis-kó wutun-ub ṭšim dán
   maikro 1OBJ-GEN old-M brother COP
   ‘Maikro is my eldest brother.’

In example (1), the subject of the clause Maikro is the referent that is equated to the nominal predication ‘my eldest brother’. Payne (1997:114) states that “equative clauses are those, which assert that a particular entity (the subject of a clause) is identical to the entity specified in the nominal predicate. Equative clauses mark a close connection between one referent and other referents”.

The copula markers in tense-less equative-attributive clauses may be dropped (4). In example (4), gabar ‘farmer’ is in the predicative position and it is used to identify the subject as belonging to a group of farmers.

3a. k’alób gabar-éé
   k’alób farmer-COP
   ‘K’alób is a farmer.’
3b.  
\[
\text{k’alób gabar dán}
\]
\[
k’alób \quad \text{farmer} \quad \text{COP}
\]
‘K’alób is a farmer.’

4.  
\[
k’alób gabar
\]
\[
k’alób \quad \text{farmer}
\]
‘K’alób is a farmer.’

In the examples in (5) and (6) the copula expresses the property that is associated with the subject.

5.  
\[
\text{zób-is wolk’a-b kúfó-b-éé}
\]
\[
\text{lion-DEF strong-M beast-M-COP}
\]
‘The lion is a strong animal.’

6.  
\[
\text{zób-is wolk’a-b kúfó-b dán}
\]
\[
\text{lion-DEF strong-M beast-M COP}
\]
‘The lion is a strong animal.’

In Dime, nominal clauses can be constructed in three ways: either by a zero copula without employing any marker as in example (7) \(^{30}\) or using one of the copula morphemes as in (8) and (9). Thus the copula is optional in present tense equative and attributive clauses.

7.  
\[
\text{nú ni ts ahó-b}
\]
\[
\text{3SM.SUBJ child good-M}
\]
‘He is a good child.’

8.  
\[
\text{nú ni ts ahó-b-éé}
\]
\[
\text{3SM.SUBJ child good-M-COP}
\]
‘He is a good child.’

9.  
\[
\text{nú ni ts ahó-b dán}
\]
\[
\text{3SM.SUBJ child good-M COP}
\]
‘He is a good child.’

Attributive clauses qualify the subject in terms of property, colour, etc. In the (a, b, c) examples in (10-12) we illustrate present tense copula constructions with zero-marking, with the morphemes -éé or dán.

10a.  
\[
\text{ná bi-fíŋt’-ind-éé}
\]
\[
\text{3SF.SUBJ RDP: beauty-F-COP}
\]
‘She is beautiful.’

\(^{30}\) In Ethiopian languages zero copula construction is a common phenomenon, which is attested in Tigre, Ge’ez (Crass, Demekte, Meyer and Watter, 2005), and Basketo (Omotic) (Alemayehu, 2002). Typologically it is reported that in many languages the optionality of the copula is restricted to the present tense (Hengeveld 1992:209).
In existential and possessive nominal clauses, even in non-tensed forms, the copula is obligatory. If the existential copula is missing, the construction becomes ungrammatical. Example:

13. nîts-is déén
    child-DEF exist
    ‘There is a child.’

The possessive construction is a special form of the existential/locative construction in which the possessor is expressed with a genitive case suffix and the possessed is the subject of the existential form déén. Compare the possessive construction in (14a) with the existential/locative one in (14b):

14a. ?is-ko nîts ?ahó-b déén
    me-GEN child good-M exist
    ‘I have a good child.’
There is a dog in the house.

The copula verb is not inflected for person. If the possessive clause is inflected for
person, e.g., by first person marker –t, the construction is ungrammatical as in (15).

In the following sections, we discuss tense-aspect marking in nominal clauses. Af-
firmative, negative and interrogative equative, existential and possessive construc-
tions will be examined in turn.

9.2 Past tense nominal clauses

The past nominal clause is expressed by déen-ká, which comprises the existential
verb déen and the perfective marker –ká. This form applies to the past tense of at-
tributive/equative clauses (The past tense of locative/possessive construction is dif-
ferent, see below). Compare the past nominal clauses in the (a) examples with their
(corresponding present or tense-less nominal clauses in the (b) examples:

16a. nú nits déen-ká
3SM.SUBJ child exist-PF
‘He was a child.’

16b. nú nits dán
3SM.SUBJ child COP
‘He is a child.’

17a. yá ?astemare déen-ká
2S.SUBJ teacher exist-PF
‘You were a teacher.’

17b. yá ?astemare dán
2S.SUBJ teacher COP
‘You are a teacher.’

18a. nits déen-ká
child exist-PF
‘There was a child.’

18b. nits déen
child exist
‘There is a child.’

The existential clause has only a copula verb and a complement, while the equative
clause has a subject, a complement noun and a copula verb. Both the existential and
equative clauses respectively illustrated in examples (16-17) and (18) use the past
tense copula deén-ká for second and third person. However, the past tense form of first person existential and equative clauses is different.

The suffix –déé is used as an imperfective marker in verbal clauses, as we have shown earlier. Surprisingly, in the non-verbal clauses –déé serves as a perfective aspect marker in combination with a distinct existential verb dééb. This combination, i.e., dééb-déé is used only when the subject is first person as in (19a), whereas in the second and the third person, the form deén-ká is used (16-18, above). The unacceptable sentence in (19c) illustrates that deéb cannot be used with first person subject; (19d) illustrates that the existential verb dééb cannot combine with the perfective marker – ká.

19a. ?até nits dééb-déé
   1S.SUBJ child exist-PF
   ‘I was a child.’

19b. ?até nits dán
   1S.SUBJ child COP
   ‘I am a child.’

19c. *?até nits deén-ká
   1S.SUBJ child exist-PF
   Intended meaning: ‘I was a child.’

19d. *?até nits dééb-ká
   1S.SUBJ child exist-PF
   Intended meaning: ‘I was a child.’

The 2nd and 3rd person past tense equative/attributive and existential-locative nominal clauses are similar in that all of these use the copula deén-ká. The past possessive, however, requires reduplication of the first CV of the verb deén-ká as in (20a). The present possessive/existential form is given in (20b) for comparison (reduplication is also used in verbal clauses to mark far-past, see Section 8.3.4.).

20a. kó-kó nits ?ahó-b dééb-deén-ká
    3SF.OBJ-GEN child good-M RDP-exist-PF
    ‘She had a good child.’

20b. kó-kó nits ?ahó-b déén
    3SF.OBJ-GEN child good-M exist
    ‘She has a good child.’

If the reduplicated existential verb in (20a) is replaced by a non-reduplicated deén-ká, the structure becomes ungrammatical as in (21) below:

21 *kó-kó nits ?ahó-b déén-ká
    3SF.OBJ-GEN child good-M exist-PF
    Intended meaning: ‘She had a good child.’

The past tense existential verb deén-ká is also used in combination with main verbs to indicate the past continuous tense, in which case the main verb is reduplicated.
before déén-ká (see section 8.3.2).

9.3 Future tense nominal clauses

The future tense in nominal clauses is expressed by the morpheme –tub. The same morpheme is used for expressing future or imperfective in verbal clauses, specifically with first person pronouns. In non-verbal constructions –tub expresses future tense with all subjects, irrespective of the person value of the subject. This is illustrated by the following examples comparing the equative, existential, and possessive future nominal clauses (22), (23), and (24) or (25), respectively. Due to the assimilation process the existential form déén changes to déét. 31

22. nú ʔámze déét-tub
3SF.SUBJ woman exist-FUT equative
‘She will be a woman.’

23. wúdú́r-af déét-tub
girl-PL exist-FUT existential
‘There will be girls.’

24. kí-ko mes’af déét-tub
3SM.OBJ-GEN book exist-FUT possessive
‘He will have a book.’

25. is-ko mes’af déét-tub
1S.OBJ-GEN book exist-FUT possessive
‘I will have a book.’

In verbal constructions –tub occurs as an alternative form of déét (see section 8.3.1). In copula clauses, however, –tub is directly affixed to déét as in examples (23-25).

9.4 Negative nominal clauses

The negative nominal clause is headed by the negative copula yi- and the negative marker -káy. Equative, attributive, existential, locative as well as possessive negative nominal clauses use yi-káy. In examples (26-28) the present negative nominal clause is illustrated:

26. nú kéní yi-káy
3SM.SUBJ dog COP-NEG
‘It is not a dog.’

27. kéní yi-káy
dog COP-NEG
‘There is no dog.’

31 The final consonant –n in déén assimilates to the consonant –t that follows it: déén-tub > dééttub.
As mentioned earlier, in verbal constructions too, the negative marker -kā is added to the main verb. This is illustrated here in (29) (see also Section 8.3.5 on verbal negative construction).

29. 

kēn-is ʔád-kāy

dog-DEF come-NEG

‘The dog doesn’t come.’

The past negative nominal clause is expressed by the element yi-kā-déē as shown below for equative, locative and possessive nominal clauses.

30  nū  kēnī  yi-kā-déē

3SM.SUBJ  dog  COP-NEG-PF

‘It was not a dog/he had no dog.’

31.  kēnī  yi-kā-déē

dog  COP-NEG-PF

‘There was no dog.’

32.  kēnī  yi-kā-déē-tub

dog  COP-NEG-PF-FUT

‘There will be no dog.’

In connection to the past negative form illustrated in (30-32), two important points should be noted: first, the morpheme -déē, which has been analysed as imperfective aspect marker in main verbs in Chapter 8, is used as perfective aspect marker in negative nominal clauses, as in (30-32) (see also section 9.2 ex.17). Secondly, preceding the perfective marker –déē in negative nominal clauses, and generally in medial position, the negative marker is realised as -kā instead of –kāy. The -kā in this context should not be confused with the perfective aspect marker -kā in affirmative past nominal clauses, i.e., déēn-kā.

The copula is obligatory in negative nominal clauses and in tensed nominal clauses in contrast to non-tensed ones.

9.5  Interrogative nominal clauses

The interrogative marker in nominal clauses is -áá for second person singular and plural, both in perfective and imperfective aspects. For the other persons, the interrogative in nominal clauses is indicated prosodically, through a high tone on the final vowel of the aspect marker. Interrogative sentences of Dime are treated in section 12.4. Here we will only provide a few examples of nominal interrogative clauses.

A glide is inserted between the copula and the interrogative marker -áá or the aspect marker -i as in (33-35).
33. yá ?astemar-ée-y-áá
   2S.SUBJ teacher-COP-y-Q
   ‘Are you a teacher?’

34a. ይይብ ድحلول ድحلول
   person house-LOC COP-y-PF:Q
   ‘Was there a man in the house?’

34b. ይይብ ድحلول ድحلول
   person house-LOC COP:Q
   ‘Is there a man in the house?’

35. እኔ-ኔ ድحلول-ካ ድحلول
   3SF.OBJ-GEN sister COP-y-PF:Q
   ‘Did she have a sister?’

36. yá ድወ dotyc ድحلول-ያ
   you girl COP-Q:2
   ‘Are you a girl?’

37. እኔ ድለ ድ诟-ኔ
   3SM.SUBJ who COP-IPF:Q
   ‘Who is he?’

38. እኔ-ኔ ድحلول-ካ ድحلول-ያ
   3SM.OBJ-GEN sister COP-y-PF:Q
   ‘Did he have a sister?’

The morpheme -i is a perfective aspect marker which is used in first and third person interrogative (34a, 35), while the vocalic element -áá is an interrogative marker for the second person both in affirmative and negative interrogative clauses (see also section 12.4.1 on interrogative sentences).

9.6 Some comparative notes

In contrast to Dime, in related Omotic languages such as Maale, a distinction of the present/tense-less and past copula constructions is not attested. Consider the following example from Maale:

39. ድወ ድወለረ-ኔ ድወለረ-ኔ ድወለረ-ኔ ድወለረ-ኔ ድወለረ-ኔ ድወለረ-ኔ ድወለረ-ኔ ድወለmere-ke
   ‘He is/was a student’ (Azeb 2001: 226)

In Basketo there is no special copula, in this language zero copula and independent lexemes are used to represent negative or past copula constructions as shown below:

40. ድወ ድወወare
   she student
   ‘She is a student.’ (Alemayehu 2002: 8)
Nominal clauses

41. **?izi tamare base** (Alemayehu 2002: 8)
    she student not
    ‘She is not a student.’

42. **?izi tini tamare dori** (Alemayehu 2002: 8)
    she before student was
    ‘She was a student before.’

However, Aari, which is closely related to Dime, has copula constructions that are similar to Dime. This language uses the morpheme –ye for present tense copula, as in example (43) and (44). For existential clauses the verb of existence daye is used as in example (45).

43. **kona gabre ey-ye** (Daniel 1993: 39)
    this gebre house-be
    ‘This is Gebre’s house.’

44. **yints-ina rotimi-ye** (Daniel 1993: 39)
    boy-M-DEF tall-be
    ‘The boy is tall.’

45. **kaži ga?ašonda daye-e** (Daniel 1993: 39)
    cold big exist-past
    ‘There is a severe cold.’

The negative copula is marked by **dak-aye** in example (46).

46. **laqmi dak-ay-e** (Daniel 1993:39)
    good be-not-past
    ‘It is not good.’

The following table summarizes the copula markers in Dime. The final row, which indicates tense-aspect marking in main verb clauses, is given for contrast.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal aspect</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb root: ūts - 'eat'</td>
<td>ūts -dée-t 'I/we eat or will eat' ūts -dée-n 'you / he / she / they eat or will eat'</td>
<td>ūts -i-t 'I/we ate' ūts -i-n 'you / he / she / they ate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>Tense-less</td>
<td>PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative/attributive</td>
<td>dán /-ée 'I am/ you are/ they are/ he/ she is'</td>
<td>dééb-déé 'I was/ we were' déén-ká 'she/he was or you (S/PL) / they were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>déen ‘I/you/we/they have, he/she has’</td>
<td>dééb-déé ‘I/we had’ dédééen-ká ‘you/he/she/they had’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential/locative</td>
<td>déen ‘I am at X/ I exist, you are at X/you exist, etc.’</td>
<td>dééb-déé ‘I was at X’ dééen-ká ‘you/they were at X, he/she was at X’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>yi-káy ‘I am not/ you are not/ they are not/ he or she is not’</td>
<td>yi-ká-déé ‘I was not/ we were not/ she/he was not/ you (S/PL) / they were not’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table-2. Copula verbs in Dime |
10 Verbal derivations

In Dime there are no derived words that are formed by prefixes. In contrast, suffixation is a common phenomenon in both inflectional and derivational processes of the language. Derived stems such as causative, passive, and reciprocal are formed by suffixing their respective morphemes to the verb roots. Reduplication is also a means of derivation. The derivational morphemes are shown in Table-1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derivational morpheme</th>
<th>Verb form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-is/-s</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-int'</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sim</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ima'</td>
<td>Inchoative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-1: The verbal derivational suffixes

10.1 Causative

The causative is formed by suffixing the morpheme -is to the verb root. The morpheme -is is widely attested with this function in many Afroasiatic languages (cf. Bender, 2000:6). The realization of the subject, causee, affected entity and the verb form in Dime is illustrated in the following example:

1. /thin/-is nits-is-im diš-im șin-is-i-n
   mother-DEF child-DEF-ACC milk-ACC buy-CAUS-PF-3
   ‘The mother got the child to buy milk.’

In this example, /thin-is ‘the mother’ is the causer subject, nits-is-im ‘the child’ is the causee and diš-im ‘milk’ is the affected entity. Both the causee and the affected entity are marked by the accusative case. The verb is morphologically marked by the causative suffix. Concerning morphological marking of the causative, Comrie (1989:167) writes:

   Turning to morphological causatives, the prototypical case has the following two characteristics. First, the causative is related to the non-causative predicate by morphological means, for instance by affixation, or whatever other morphological techniques the language in question has at its disposal (e.g., Turkish). The second characteristic of the prototypical morphological causative is that this means of relating causative and non-causative predicates is productive: in the ideal type, one can take any predicate and form a causative form of it by the appropriate morphological means.

The causative derivation in Dime is productive. Some examples:

32 This includes a number of Omotic languages such as Basketo, Kọ:rete, Kullo, and Maale (see Azeb 1994, 2001).
The following are examples of causative constructions of intransitive (3) and transitive (4) verbs.

3. \[\text{nûts-}\text{is-}\text{iyy-}\text{is-im-}\text{k'in-}\text{is-i-n}\]
   
   child-DEF man-DEF-ACC wake-CAUS-PF-3
   
   ‘The child woke the man up.’

4. \[\text{?afî-}\text{gošt-}\text{is-im-}\text{nàre-majé-}\text{wókkil-im-}\text{wuč'-}\text{is-i-t}\]
   
   1S.SUBJ boy-DEF-ACC water gourd one-ACC drink-CAUS-PF-1
   
   ‘I made the boy drink a calabash of water.’

When the morpheme \(-\text{is}/\) is suffixed to intransitive verbs, the verb is transitivized as in (3). Such kinds of transitivized verbs may take an additional causative suffix. Consequently a double causative verb form is created. Fleming (1990:578) refers to such kinds of causative forms in Dime as complex causatives. The causee or agent of the original verb and the patient of the original verb receive the accusative case marker. Fleming (1990:579) provides the following example to demonstrate what he labelled as complex causative:

5. \[\text{sat'an-}\text{is-im-}\text{zób-}\text{is-im-}\text{deis-}\text{is-i-n}\]
   
   sat’an me-ACC lion-DEF-ACC die-CAUS-CAUS-PF-3
   
   ‘Satan made me kill the lion.’

Double causative marking is also reported for other Omotic languages (cf. Azeb 1994:1123).

Azeb (2001:95) states in her analysis of Maale verbs that “the causative verb stem may be formed from transitive or intransitive verbs. In the causative of intransitive verb roots, the causative suffix is realized twice. One of these double causative affixes can be regarded as having a transitivizing effect to the intransitive verb”. Similarly, in Dime double causative occurs in the causative of intransitive verbs. The following are examples:

6. \[\text{?árs-}\text{ats-i-n}\]
   
   wood-DEF burn-PF-3
   
   ‘The wood burned.’

7. \[\text{nú-}\text{?árs-im-}\text{ats-ats-is-}\text{tée-n}\]
   
   3SM.SUBJ wood-DEF-ACC RDP-burn-CAUS-IPF-3
   
   ‘He is burning the wood.’
Reduplication affects the causative suffix. For instance, when reduplication takes place for expressing far past tense and if the verb stem is causative, each reduplicant contains the causative marker.

11. shiftaye 3SF.OBJ-ACC RDP-CAUS-kill-CAUS-PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye caused someone to kill (long ago).’

The following table provides more examples of Dime causative verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Double causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ats- ‘burn’</td>
<td>?ats-is-i-n</td>
<td>?ats-is-is-i-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuč- ‘dry’</td>
<td>wuč-is-i-n</td>
<td>wuč-is-is-i-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?in-t- ‘wet’</td>
<td>?in-is-i-n</td>
<td>?in-is-is-i-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dey- ‘be strong’</td>
<td>dey-is-i-n</td>
<td>dey-is-is-i-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’obt- ‘dress’</td>
<td>k’ob-is-i-n</td>
<td>k’ob-is-is-i-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?uuš ‘cook’</td>
<td>?uuš-is-i-n</td>
<td>?uuš-is-is-i-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Double causatives

10.2 Passive

In passive constructions the subject is affected by the action of the verb. The passive is marked by -int-, which is suffixed to the verb root preceding the aspect marker. Compare the (a) examples in (12-14) with those in (12-14b).

12a. ?ámz-is  ?ár-is-im  ?áys-i-n
    woman-DEF-ACC wood-DEF-ACC broke-PF-3
    ‘The woman broke the wood.’

12b. ?aż-is  ?áys-int’-i-n
    wood-DEF-broke-PAS-PF-3
    ‘The wood was broken.’
13a. wótú ñís-is-im sikýó wud-i-t
   1PL.SUBJ butter-DEF-ACC here keep-PF-1
   'We kept the butter here.'

13b ñís-is sikýó wud-int'-i-n
   butter-DEF here keep-PAS-PF-3
   'The butter was kept here.'

14a. ñaté sól-im ñís-tée-t³³
   1S.SUBJ enjera-ACC eat-IPF-1
   'I will eat enjera.'

14b. sól-is ñís-tée-éé-n
   enjera-DEF eat-PAS-IPF-3
   'The enjera will be eaten.'

In example (12b, 13b, and 14b) the active verbs ?áys-i-n 'you(sg./pl./he/she/they broke', wud-i-t 'I/we kept', ñís-tée-t 'you(sg./pl./he/she/they eat' are changed to ?áys-int'-i-n, wud-int'-i-n, ñís-int'-ée-n, respectively. In this passive construction who or what was responsible for the action is not mentioned. Often overt expression of the agent is avoided in Dime. However, it is not ungrammatical to express the agent in passive forms as can be observed in example (15d). Comrie (1977) states that some languages do not allow the expression of the agent, while in other languages it appears that passive clauses must always contain an agent phrase.

As mentioned earlier, the passive marker in Dime is suffixed to the verb preceding the aspect marker i.e., preceding the perfective marker -i and the imperfective marker -déé. However, it may also occur without the aspect marker in content question forms, as in (15c). Example (15) represents a short dialogue.

15a. níts-is wúyím wox-woxant'-ée
   child-DEF why RDP-scream-IPF:Q
   'Why is the child screaming?'

15b. ñasinкат’adót nú gís'-int'-gís'-int'-ib-is-o
   because 3MS.SUBJ RDP-beat-PAS-M.RELT-DEF-LOC
   'Because he is being beaten.'

15c. nú ñáy-ká gís'-int'
   3SM.SUBJ whom-INST beat-PAS:Q
   'By whom is he being beaten?'

15d. nú kí-bab-ká gís'-int'-i-n
   3SM. OBJ-father-INST beat-PAS-PF-3
   'He is being beaten by his father.'

A similar form of the passive marker, -int, is also attested in Basketo, a neighbour-

³³ When the imperfective marker is suffixed to the verb stem ñítsí, metathesis takes place to avoid non-permittable sequence of the consonants ts and t. Thus, ñítsí is changed to ñístéen
The active and passive forms of some verbs are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Passive Perfective</th>
<th>Passive Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?its-i-n</td>
<td>?its-ée-n</td>
<td>?its-int’-i-n</td>
<td>?its-int’-ée-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bug-i-n</td>
<td>bug-ée-n</td>
<td>bug-int’-i-n</td>
<td>bug-int’-ée-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’obt’-i-n</td>
<td>k’obt’-ée-n</td>
<td>k’obt’-int’-i-n</td>
<td>k’obt’-int’-ée-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kams-i-n</td>
<td>k’ams-ée-n</td>
<td>k’ams-int’-i-n</td>
<td>k’ams-int’-ée-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bast-i-n</td>
<td>bast-ée-n</td>
<td>bast-int’-i-n</td>
<td>bast-int’-ée-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuc’-i-n</td>
<td>wuc’-ée-n</td>
<td>wuc’-int’-i-n</td>
<td>wuc’-int’-ée-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a’gs-i-n</td>
<td>?a’gs-ée-n</td>
<td>?a’gs-int’-i-n</td>
<td>?a’gs-int’-ée-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunt-i-n</td>
<td>wunt-ée-n</td>
<td>wunt-int’-i-n</td>
<td>wunt-int’-ée-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ats-i-n</td>
<td>?ats-ée-n</td>
<td>?ats-int’-i-n</td>
<td>?ats-int’-ée-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Passive verbs

10.3 Reciprocal

The reciprocal stem is formed by suffixing -sim to verb roots. The reciprocal refers to an activity carried out by participants, who are both agent and patient of the action. Agent and patient are both expressed in the subject, which has to be plural or a coordinated noun phrase.

16. sonk- ‘kiss’ sonk-i-sim ‘kiss each other’
   k’áy- ‘find’ k’áy-sim ‘find each other’
   gís- ‘kick’ gís’-s’im ‘kick each other’
   deis- ‘kill’ deis-sim ‘kill each other’
   kaf- ‘wait’ kaf-sim ‘wait for each other’

Since a sequence of more than two consonants is not permitted in the language, the epenthetic vowel –i- is inserted between the verb root and the suffix –sim when the verb root ends in a geminate consonant or with a cluster of consonants, as in the case of the verb sonk-i-sim. Examples:

17. maikro-ká šiftaye-ká sónk-i-sim-i-n
    maikro-CNJ shiftaye-CNJ kiss-i-REC-PF-3
    ‘Maikro and Shifaye kissed each other.’

18. tadesė-ká taye-ká gíš’-s’im-i-n
    tadesė-CNJ taye-CNJ kick-REC-PF-3
    ‘Tadesė and Taye kicked each other.’

---

34 Affixation seems to be a very common means for deriving reciprocal verbs cross-linguistically (see Mchombo, 1991, Lewis 1967, Evans 2003).
19.  
**diim-bab-is dei-sim-i-n**  
war-AGEN-DEF kill-REC-PF-3  
'The warriors killed each other.'

### 10.4 Inchoative verbs

Dime forms inchoative verbs mainly through reduplication of the verb root. There are morphological elements that additionally signal an inchoative verb. The inchoative marker –imá is consistently used in addition to reduplication. When comparing the reduplicated inchoative verb with its corresponding nominal form, we observe that in some inchoative forms there is an additional final segment –t. The exact function of the element –t needs further investigation. The reduplication can be partial, affecting the first syllable of the stem as in (20-22) or it can be full reduplication of the stem (23-24).

#### 20. Basic form derived inchoative

- **šáak**  
  ‘wide’ RDP-wide-INCH  
  ‘become wide’

- **baam**  
  ‘near’ RDP-near-INCH  
  ‘become nearer’

- **zu**  
  ‘red-M’ RDP-red-INCH  
  ‘become red’

- **wuču**  
  ‘dry’ wood-DEF RDP-dry-INCH  
  ‘The wood becomes dry.’

- **?atsì**  
  ‘old’ RDP-old-ACC-t’-INCH  
  ‘become old’

The following sentential examples illustrate the use of the inchoative verbs listed above:

#### 25.  
**?áu-is wuc-wùc-imá**  
wood-DEF RDP-dry-INCH  
'The wood became dry.'

#### 26.  
**?iyy-is ?ats-im ?ats-im-t’-imá**  
person-DEF old-ACC old-ACC-t’-INCH  
'The person became old.'
27. kí-ko ʔindid-ko guufúšá-ʔáá́k-ima
   3SM.OBJ-GEN wife-GEN chest RDP-wide-INCH
   ‘The chest of his wife became wide.’

28. ʔámz-is-ko ʔāfe zú-zú-imá
   woman-DEF-GEN eye RDP-red-INCH
   ‘The eye of the woman became red.’

Dime also uses the verb ʔád- ‘come’ following the inchoative form to express durational inchoatives as in (29).

29. ʔáv-is wúč-wúč-imá ʔád-i-n
   wood-DEF RDP-dry-INCH come-PF-3
   ‘The wood became dry (slow progress).’

The verbs in examples (20 - 28) get aspectual interpretation from the context. Other Dime verbs that are not inflected for aspect include converbs, dependent verb forms which are used frequently in the language. The main verb inflects for aspect but the converb is not inflected (see Section 12.3.1). Example:

30. šiftaye sòl-im ʔits-á taddese nàs-im wúč-á
    shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CN 1 taddese water-ACC drink-CN 1
    kétè ūŋ-i-n
    3PL.SUBJ go-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye having eaten enjera and Taddese having drunk water they went.’

In Dime, intensive or frequentative action is expressed through reduplication of adverbs rather than using any productive derivational morpheme. Example:

31. ná ʔólóχ ʔólóχ ʔíts-i-n
    3SF.SUBJ RDP quick eat-PF-3
    ‘She ate very quickly.’

It is reported that in Omoto languages such as Maale, Basketo, and Koorete reduplication of the verb root is used to mark intensive/frequentative verb stems (see Azeb 1994: 1124).
11 Verbs and their arguments

Dime verbs can be categorized into one place verbs (intransitive) and two or three place verbs (i.e. transitives). There are however, some verbs that function as both one and two place verbs. For instance, *wučú* ‘dry’ is such a verb as illustrated in (1a) and (1b):

1a. ḡu-is ḡuč-i-n
    wood-DEF dry-PF-3
    ‘The wood dried.’

1b. ḡi-is ḡuč-im ḡuč-i-n
    sun-DEF wood-ACC dry-PF-3
    ‘The sun dried the wood.’

11.1 One place (intransitive) verbs

These are verbs with a single argument. They include verbs such as *wuţi* ‘stand’, ḡadi‘come’ ḡiři ‘cry’ and ḡiţa ‘run’ which occur with a subject. Such verbs may be proceeded by a circumstantial complement. For instance, in the example (2-6) ḡeḥ-ó ‘in the house’, ḡaṇi ḡaatim-de ‘from a far country’, ḡeččo ‘too much’, ḡi-ko mič-ká ‘with his sister’, and ḡimhirto ‘to school’ are such complements.

2. nis-is ḡeḥ-is-ó ḡu-ɪ-i-n
    child-DEF house-DEF-LOC stand-PF-3
    ‘The child stood in the house.’

3. nū ḡaṇi ḡaatim-de ḡá-d-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ country far place-ABL come-PF-3
    ‘He came from a far country.’

4. nū ḡeččo ḡiř-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ very cry-PF-3
    ‘He cried very much.’

5. nū ḡi-ko mič-ká ḡeḥ-ó ḡiŋ-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ 3SM OBJ-GEN sister-COM house-LOC go-PF-3
    ‘He went home with his sister.’

6. nū ḡimhirto ḡiţ-í-n
    3SM.SUBJ school-LOC run-PF-3
    ‘He ran to school.’

11.2 Two place (transitive) verbs

Givón (1984) classifies two-place verbs into two main types: prototypical transitive verbs and less prototypical transitive verbs. The prototypical transitive verb has a property that singles it out: having agent and patient nouns. The less prototypical transitive verb may deviate from the transitive verb prototype in various ways (cf.
Givón 1984: 89-106). For our purpose we classify the two place verbs in Dime as semi-transitive and mono-transitive. Each of these is discussed in turn.

11.2.1 Semi-transitive

These types of verbs have an optional cognate object noun; the stem of the verb and the object noun are formally very similar. Semi-transitive verbs behave syntactically like normal transitive verbs although the cognate object can be left out. In the following sentential examples the (a) and (b) forms represent sentences with and without the cognate object:

7a. nú žíts-im žíts-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ food-NMZ/ACC eat-PF-3
   'He ate food.'

7b. nú žíts-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ eat-PF-3
   'He ate.'

8a. nú káx-im káx-si-n
   3SM.SUBJ dream-NMZ/ACC dream-PF-3
   'He dreamed a dream.'

8b. nú káx-si-n
   3SM.SUBJ dream-PF-3
   'He dreamed.'

9a. ŋámr-is ŋán-im ŋá-ŋán-đée-n
   woman-DEF urine-NMZ/ACC RDP-urine-IPF-3
   'The woman is urinating urine.'

9b. ŋámr-is ŋá-ŋán-đée-n
   woman-DEF RDP-urine-IPF-3
   'The woman is urinating.'

10a. nú žäg-im žä-žäg-đée-n
    3SM.SUBJ dance-NMZ/ACC RDP-dance-IPF-3
    'He is dancing a dance.'

10b. nú žä-žäg-đée-n
    3SM.SUBJ RDP-dance-IPF-3
    'He is dancing.'

11a. kété yh-šk-im yh-déé-n
    3PL.SUBJ game-NMZ/ACC play-IPF-3
    'They play game.'

11b. kété yh-déé-n
    3PL.SUBJ play-IPF-3
    'They play.'
As mentioned earlier, the stem of the verb and its object complement are formally similar. The main difference is that the verb forms are inflected for aspect while the noun forms are affixed with the morpheme –im. This -im is either the nominalizer -im or the accusative case marking morpheme –im. Evidence for –im being a nominalizer in the examples in (7a-11a), comes from the fact that the cognate object noun can be used as subject in a passive sentence as in (12), see also Section 3.6.3.

12. ʔits-im is ʔits-int‘i-n
    eat-NMZ-DEF eat-PAS-PF-3
    ‘The food was eaten.’

For semi-transitive verbs with cognate-object nouns in related languages, see Azeb Amha (2001), Rapold (2006); for a cross-linguistic survey, see Næss (2003).

11.2.2 Mono-transitive

This is a simple transitive verb with two arguments: a subject and a single direct object. The subject is not marked by any special morpheme for its syntactic/semantic role. The object noun is marked by the accusative case marker –im. Such verbs often occur with overt subject and object complements. Some of the verbs that are categorized in this sub-class are koχd- ‘like’, šin- ‘buy, sell’, deχ- ‘cook’ and zis’- ‘close’, as exemplified below:

13. ʔati dime ʔiyy-af-is-im koχd-i-t
    1S.SUBJ Dime people-PL-DEF-ACC like-PF-1
    ‘I liked the Dime people.’

14. šiftaye mäs‘af-is-im šin-i-n
    shiftaye book-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye bought the book.’

15. ʔati dön-is-im deχ-i-t
    1S.SUBJ potato-DEF-ACC cook-PF-1
    ‘I cooked the potato.’

16. ʔati k‘ir-is-im zis‘i-t
    1S.SUBJ door-DEF-ACC close-PF-1
    ‘I closed the door.’


11.3 Three place (di-transitive) verbs

Verbs in this group commonly take three arguments. They include ʔimi ‘give’, gimi ‘tell’, and biṭsi ‘send’.
17. goṣṭ-š is-is k’is’s’-im źim-i-n
   man-DEF 1S.OBJ-DAT bread-ACC give-PF-3
   ‘The man gave me bread.’

18. šiftaye maikro-n lóokk tuss-im źim-i-n
   shiftaye maikro-DAT chat story-ACC tell-PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye told Maikro the story.’

19. šiftaye maikro-n meh-im bits-i-n
   shiftaye maikro-DAT money-ACC send-PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye sent money to Maikro.’

20. ná źis-in mes’af-im ba-źád-i-n
    3SF.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-DAT book-ACC bring-come-PF-3
    ‘She brought a book for me.’

21. nú yifìd-in yeźnám-im źezs-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ guest-DAT farm-ACC show-PF-3
    ‘He showed the farm to the guest.’

In some cases speakers leave out one of the objects of di-transitive constructions when these can be understood from the context, as in (22a-22c).

22a. ṭaté šiftay-in mes’af-im źim-tub
    1S.SUBJ shiftaye-DAT book-ACC give-FUT
    ‘I will give the book to Shiftaye.’

22b. ṭaté šiftay-in źim-tub
    1S.SUBJ shiftaye-DAT give-FUT
    ‘I will give to Shiftaye.’

22c. ṭaté mes’af-im źim-tub
    1S.SUBJ book-ACC give-FUT
    ‘I will give the book (to somebody).’
12 The syntax of clauses

Dime sentences often exhibit SOV word order. However, word order is not strict in the language. Fleming (1990: 572) reported that “Dime is clearly an SOV language, at least in its surface structure and in its simple declarative sentence.”.

The following sentence types are distinguished: affirmative and negative declarative clauses, interrogatives and imperatives. Nouns and their modifier(s), and verbs and their complements are discussed in chapter 7 and chapter 11, respectively. Imperative sentences are discussed in chapter 8. In the present chapter we deal with simple declarative clauses, relative clauses, complex clauses and interrogative clauses.

12.1 Simple declarative clauses

A simple declarative clause is made up of one independent clause with only one predicate. Simple clauses include sentences with main verbs, copula verbs, and adjectival or nominal predicates.

A simple clause consists of a noun phrase (NP) and verb phrase (VP):

1. [[zim-ís] [daré wókkil-im šin-i-n]]
   chief-DEF goat one-ACC buy-PF-3
   ‘The chief bought one goat.’

2. [[zim-ís] [wúdúr-is-im yéf-i-n]]
   chief-DEF girl-DEF-ACC see-PF-3
   ‘The chief saw the girl.’

3. [[?iyíy-í] [k’ís’-im ʔits-ʔísteen]]
   man-DEF bread-ACC RDP-eat-IPF-3
   ‘The man is eating bread.’

As demonstrated in example (4) adverbials precede the verb which is clause-final.

4. [[ʔámnz-í] [nááre ʔád-i-n]]
   woman-DEF yesterday come-PF-3
   ‘The woman came yesterday.’

The following examples illustrate simple clauses in which negation is marked on the main verb.

5. [[?iyíy-í] [k’ís’-im ʔits-káy]]
   man-DEF bread-ACC eat-NEG
   ‘The man is not eating bread.’

6. [[zim-ís] [daré wókkil-im šín-káy]]
   chief-DEF goat one-ACC buy-NEG
   ‘The chief does not buy a goat.’
12.2 Relative clauses

The relative clause is not introduced by a relative pronoun in Dime. The relative verb form is characterised by the morphemes –ub (masculine), –ind (feminine) or -id (plural agreement) which are identified as gender markers in modifiers of nouns. When the relativised noun is feminine the feminine gender marker is affixed to the relative verb in agreement with the gender of the head noun. Thus the gender distinction of the relativized noun is obligatorily marked on the relative verb. The verb in the relative clause may also be inflected for definiteness and case as well as for verbal inflectional categories such as aspect.

The initial vowel of the gender markers is deleted when the perfective or imperfective aspect marker is suffixed to the relative verb. A similar deletion is observed in adjectives. Thus, the masculine and feminine gender markers appear as –b and –nd respectively, while the plural agreement morpheme appears as –d. Examples:

7. ʔámz-is káy-déé–nd-is-im ʔálf-is-im yéf-i-n
woman-DEF want-IPF.F.RELT-DEF-ACC knife-DEF-ACC saw-PF-3
‘The woman found the knife that she is looking for.’

8. ʔámz-is káy-i–nd-is-im ʔálf-is-im yéf-i-n
woman-DEF want-PF.F.RELT-DEF-ACC knife-the-ACC saw-PF-3
‘The woman found the knife that she looked for.’

9. tááy ʔád-déé–b-is-im gost–is-im
now come-IPF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC
nu yéf-déé–n
3SM.SUBJ see-IPF-3
‘He sees the man who is coming now.’

The imperfective or perfective aspect marker, –déé or –i, is suffixed to the main verb as in (7-9) and an aspect marker is also suffixed to the relative verb, preceding the gender marker. The definite and accusative markers are affixed following the gender marker in the relative clause.

In some relative clauses, gender is marked twice, as in (10a). In these examples, the independently used numeral has its own gender marker. In addition, the relative clause, which is a nominalized modifier, is also marked for gender as well as definiteness.

10a. wókkil-ub k’ay-déé–b-is ‘the one who wants (M)’
wókkil-ub ūŋ-déé–b-is ‘the one who goes (M)’
wókkil-ub sáafint’-éé–b-is ‘the one who shaves (M)’
wókkil-ub gím-ub–is ‘the one who speaks (M)’
wókkil-ind yíyí-im–nd–is ‘the one who played (F)’
wókkil-ind yíz-déé–nd–is ‘the one who runs (F)’
wókkil-ind yíŋ–i–nd–is ‘the one who looked (F)’
wókkil-ind yíŋ-déé–nd–is ‘the one who looks (F)’
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The following is a sentential example:

10b. wōkkil-ub k’ay-dec-b-is ṭēh-im ṭād-i-n
    one-M want-IPF-M.RELT-DEF house-ACC come-PF-3
    ‘The one who wants the house came.’

If a possessive pronoun is used as a nominal predicate and thus occurs following the head noun of the relative clause, the gender of the possessed noun is marked on the (pronominal) predicate (compare 11a with 11b). The examples in (12) illustrate copula clauses the subject-complement of which is modified by a relative clause.

11a. ṭis-ko nūts-is ṭād-dee-n
    1S.OBJ-GEN child-DEF come-PF-3
    ‘My child comes.’ [non relativized]

11b. [tāāy ṭād-ub [nūts-is]] ṭis-ko-b dáñ
    now come-M.RELT child-DEF 1S.OBJ-GEN-M COP
    ‘The child who comes now is mine.’ [SBJ relativized]

12a. [tāāy ṭād-ub [?fis-ko nūts-is]] gumt’-deén-ká
    now come-M.RELT 1S.OBJ-GEN child-DEF sick-exist-PF
    ‘My child who comes now was sick.’ [SBJ relativized]

12b. [tāāy ṭād-ub [nūts-is] ṭis-ko-b] gumt’-deén-ká
    now come-M:RELAT child-DEF 1S.OBJ-GEN sick-exist-PF
    ‘My child who comes now was sick.’ [OBJ relativized]

    (‘Lit. ‘The child who’s coming now, who is mine, was sick’)

The following examples are further illustrations, contrasting subject and object relativization

13a. gostū yer-im nāāre šin-i-n
    man donkey-ACC yesterday sell-PF-3
    ‘A man sold a donkey yesterday.’ [non-relativized]

13b. yer-im nāārē šin-i-b-is gostū láyj’t-i-n
    donkey-ACC yesterday sell-PF- M.RELT-DEF man die-PF-3
    ‘The man who sold a donkey yesterday died.’ [SBJ relativized]

13c. gostim nāārē šin-i-b-is yer-īs láyj’t-i-n
    man yesterday sell-PF-M.RELT-DEF donkey-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The donkey that a man sold yesterday died.’ [OBJ relativized]

14. dar-im wūdūr-in šin-i-nd ūmz-is láyj’t-i-n
    goat-DEF-ACC girl-DAT buy-PF-F.RELT woman-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The woman who bought a goat for a girl died.’ [SBJ relativized]

15. ūmzim nūts-in šin-i-b dar-īs láyj’t-i-n
    woman child-DAT buy-PF-M:RELAT goat-DEF-ACC die-PF-3
    ‘The goat that a woman bought for a boy died.’ [OBJ relativized]
The relative verb agrees with the head of the relative clause in number, gender and definiteness. If the relativized noun is plural the suffix –(i)d is suffixed to the relative verb as shown in (16).

16. dôr-is-im wûdûr-is-in šîn-i-d ?ámz-af-is
   goat-DEF-ACC girl-DEF-DAT buy-PF-PL.RELT woman-PL-DEF
   laţî’-i-n
   die-PF-3
   ‘The women who bought the goat for the girl died.’

The imperfective marker dēc and the perfective marker –i are suffixed to the relative verb preceding the gender marker. Since these final vowels have morphological function they are not deleted; instead, the initial vowel in the suffix is deleted.

17. nîts-is-in gârim źîn-im šîn-dé–nd ?âmz-is
   child-DEF-DAT tomorrow sheep-ACC buy-IPF-F.RELT woman-DEF
   ‘the woman who will buy a sheep for the child tomorrow’

18. nîts-is-in náâsé źîn-im šîn-i-nd
   child-DEF-DAT yesterday sheep-ACC buy-PF-F.RELT
   ?ámz-is
   woman-DEF
   ‘the woman who bought a sheep for the child yesterday’

The definite marker can be suffixed only on the relativized noun as in (19) or on both the relative verb and on the relativized noun as in (20-21):

19. ?âmz-is-im nîts-is-in šîn-i-b dôr-is laţî’-i-n
   woman-DEF-ACC child-DEF-DAT buy-PF-M.RELT goat-DEF die-PF-3
   ‘The goat that the woman bought for the boy died.’

20. goşt-îm náâsé šîn-i-b-is yer-âs dey-i-n
   man-ACC yesterday sell-PF-M.RELT-DEF donkey-DEF die-PF-3
   ‘The donkey that the man sold yesterday died.’

21. náâsé źâd-î-b-is-im goşt-îs-im nû yêč-i-n
   yesterday come-PF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC 3SM.SUBJ see-PF-3
   ‘He saw the man who came yesterday.’

Just like other nominal modifiers relative clauses may precede or follow the noun which they modify. In most of the examples above, the relative clause precedes the head noun. Examples (22-23) illustrate the reverse order:

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35 laţî’ ‘die’ is used only for human beings. For other animals deyî ‘die’ is used.
36 Terminal vowels that have no morphological function in nouns are deleted when suffixes follow them. For instance, źîhê ‘house’ becomes źîh-îs ‘the house’ but if the final vowel has morphological function it is not deleted: źîh-ô ‘in a house’, źîh-ô-s ‘in the house’. In the last word, the vowel of the suffix –is is deleted.
22.  
gōštū [ʔist-ée-b—is bai-im]  č’ok’k’-ub  
man eat-IPF-M-DEF food-ACC small-M  
‘The man who eats food is small.’

23.  
ʔámzi [ʔist-ée-n-di is bai-im]  č’ok’k’-i nd  
woman eat-IPF-F-DEF food-ACC small-M  
‘The woman who eats food is small.’

12.3 Complex clauses

A complex clause contains one or more dependent clause(s) and a main/matrix clause. Below we discuss complex clauses involving converbs, conditional clauses, reason clauses, and temporal clauses.

12.3.1 Converbs

In Dime, the converb is a verb form that is used for the expression of (co)subordination and does not form a sentence on its own. The converb is not inflected for aspect or tense, while the main verb inflects for aspect.

There are two converb markers in Dime: a short form -a, and a long form -ándé. We label these as CNV1 and CNV2, respectively. There is a slight difference in the distribution of the two converb forms: a converb with the suffix -a is used to express events that are simultaneous or sequential to that expressed by the main verb as in (24) and (25).

24.  nu sól-im  žits-á  nás-im  wuč-á  fiŋ-i-n  
3SM.SUBJ enjera-ACC eat-CNV1 water-ACC drink-CNV1 go-PF-3  
‘Having eaten enjera and having drunk water, he went.’

25.  nu džinka-de ?ád-á  gumt-á  dách-á  
3SM.SUBJ Jinka-ABL come-CNV1 sick-CNV1 live-CNV1  
won-a fiŋ-i-n  
‘He came from Jinka, he became sick, he stayed (here) and left.’

Connected speech containing several of the short converb -a is given in (26).

26.  náári  ?afi  bal-ó  fiŋ-á.  ?afi  bai-im  
yesterday 1S.SUBJ market-LOC go-CNV1 1S.SUBJ food-ACC  
šin-á,  kín-im  ?até  ?is-ko  ?indí-d-ko  
buy-CNV1 3SM.OBJ-ACC 1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN wife-GEN  
čeh-ó  ba-ʔád-á  ?afi  kó-ko  dax-á  
house-LOC take-come-CNV1 1S.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-GEN cook-CNV1
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In contrast to the suffix -ánde, the suffix -nde is mainly used to express anterior events that occur before the event that is expressed by the main verb. Consider the following example:

27. nú sól-im ŋts-ánde nár-im wuč-á tői-n
3SM.SUBJ enjera-ACC eat-CNV2 water-ACC drink-CNV1 go-PF-3
‘He went out after he ate enjera and drank water.’

If -ánde appears twice in sequence with the same subject in a sentence, the resulting construction is ungrammatical as in example (28).

28*. nú dįnka-de ŋád-ánde gunt'-ánde dāb-ánde wonn-á
3SM.SUBJ jinka-ABL come-CNV2 sick-CNV2 live-CNV2 back-CNV1
tői-n
go-PF-3
Intended meaning: ‘He, having come from jinka, having been sick, he lived (here) and went back.’

However, when two or more converbs occur in a sentence and if these are separated by different subject nouns each of the converbs can be marked by -ánde, allowing it to occur twice or more times in the same sentence (30).

29. šiftaye sól-im ŋts-á taddese nár-im wuč-á
shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CNV1 taddese water-ACC drink-CNV1
kėtė tői-n
3PL.SUBJ go-PF-3
‘Shiftaye having eaten enjera and Taddese having drunk water they went.’

30. šiftaye sól-im ŋts-ánde taddese nár-im wuč'-ánde
shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CNV2 taddese water-ACC drink-CNV2
kėtė tői-n
3PL.SUBJ go-PF-3
‘Shiftaye having eaten enjera and Taddese having drunk water they went.’

On the other hand if there is only one converb in the sentence, either of the two converb marker can be used.

31. nú ŋār-is-im des-á yer-īs-im kofs-i-n
3SM.SUBJ wood-DEF-ACC cut-CNV1 donkey-DEF-ACC load-PF-3
‘Having cut the wood he loaded it on the donkey.’

32. nú ŋār-is-im des-ánde yer-īs-im kofs-i-n
3SM.SUBJ wood-DEF-ACC cut-CNV2 donkey-DEF-ACC load-PF-3
‘Having cut the wood he loaded it on the donkey.’
Furthermore repetition of the reduplicated converb is used to express repeated, durational, frequentative or distributive actions as illustrated in the following examples.

33. nú to-toys-á to-toys-á Ńits-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ RDP-less-CNV1 RDP-less-CNV1 eat-PF-3
   ‘He ate less and less (food).’

34. nú bi-birs-á bi-birs-á Ńits-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ RDP-more-CNV1 RDP-more-CNV1 eat-PF-3
   ‘He ate more and more (food).’

35. nú yîz-îz-á yîz-îz-á fač-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ run-RDP-CNV1 run-RDP-CNV1 tire-PF-3
   ‘Having run and run he became tired.’

36. nú gu-gumt-á gu-gumt-á la-lâcht'i-n
   3SM.SUBJ RDP-sick-CNV RDP-sick-CNV1 RDP-die-PF-3
   ‘Having been sick a long time he died.’

37. nú meh-is-im faš-faš-á faš-faš-á
   3SM.SUBJ money-DEF-ACC RDP-divide-CNV1 RDP-divide-CNV1 pas-i-n
   finish-PF-3
   ‘Handing out his money to several people, he finished it.’

38. nú ?ats-á-?ats-á ?áu-is-im bos-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ RDP-burn-CNV1 wood-DEF-ACC finish-PF-3
   ‘He burned and burned the wood and finished it.’

In complex sentences, converbs and other adverbial modifiers can be combined:

39. sîftaye sól-im Ńits-á náx-im wuč-á ?ád-á
    sîftaye enjera-ACC eat-CNV1 water-ACC drink-CNV1 come-CNV1
döt ?até doöt-im šîr-á ūr-im ūr-á
   COND 1S.SUBJ leg-ACC wash-CNV1 mattress-ACC lay-mattress-CNV1
   źês-is-tub
   sleep-CAUS-FUT
   ‘If Shiftaye comes having eaten enjera and drunk water, I will wash his feet and lay a mattress for him so that he can sleep.’

To sum up, there are two converb markers: -á and ânde. There is a slight difference in their distribution. That is, speakers prefer to use the short form to express a sequence of two or more actions that are carried out by the same subject.

Similar verbal constructions are reported for other Ethiopian languages (cf. Azeb Amha 2001:190, Azeb Amha and Dimmendaal 2006, Gasser 1983, Rapold 2006).
12.3.2 Conditional clauses

A conditional clause is subordinate to a main clause and it is marked by dót or -dó. The implementation of the situation which is expressed in the conditional clause is the prerequisite for implementation of the action expressed by the verb in the main clause. The conditional marker dót or its reduced form –dó can be used alternatively, as in (40a) and (40b).

40a. nápis báyzem-ub dót ?afí wuč'-t'ub
water-DEF cold-M COND 1S.SUBJ drink-FUT
‘If the water is cold, I will drink it.’

40b. nápis báyzem-ub-dó ?afí wuč'-t'ub
water-DEF cold-M-COND 1S.SUBJ drink-FUT
‘If the water is cold, I will drink it.’

41. nū ?ád-déé-n k'ay-á dót nú
3SM.SUBJ come-IPF-3 want-CNV1 COND 3SM.SUBJ
kín-im yéf-tee-n
3SM.OBJ-ACC see-IPF-3
‘If he wants to come, he will see him.’

42. sícín-im t'il-is-im yá wuč'-á dót
this-ACC medicine-DEF-ACC 2S.SUBJ. drink-CNV1 COND
yá láñt'-ée-n
2S.SUBJ. die-IPF-2
‘If you drink this medicine, you will die.’

The conditional clause need not contain a finite verb. It may contain a converb (42), or a nominal adjectival construction without a copula (40). The conditional clause mainly occurs before the main clause; however, it is also possible for it to occur after the main clause.

43. nū ?ád-káy diib k'án-ándé dót
3SM.SUBJ come-NEG rain rain-CNV2 COND
‘He will not come, if it rains.’

When the verb in the main clause is negative, it is not marked for aspect (43).

12.3.3 Reason clauses

A reason clause (REAS) is a type of subordinate clause that describes the motivation for an event or state of affairs to take place. The reason clause is marked by the morpheme -inká which is suffixed directly to the verb.

44. nū giçcő-b sa?at-im yíz-inká ònśa giśt-in
3SM.SUBJ long-M time-ACC run-REAS well breath-INF
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45. **nu des-ká-b bay-im ŋits-inká s’áss-i-n**
   3SM.SUBJ know-NEG-M.RELT food-ACC eat-REAS vomit-PF-3
   ‘Since he ate unknown food, he vomited.’

46. **wunt’i-bab-is bay-is-im mers-inká űts-af-is**
   servant-i-AGEN-DEF food-DEF-ACC prevent-REAS child-PL-DEF
   č’ir-i-n
   complain-PF-3
   ‘Since the servant took away their lunch, the children complained.

There is also another morpheme which marks reason clauses: ŋengāšká ‘because’. ŋengāšká introduces the reason clause as in (47) and (48) (for more discussion on conjunctions, see Section 6.4.)

47. **nu !mE h-ba/engas/ka/li/-li!N-is-a wunt’-e**
   3SM.SUBJ money-AGEN because RDP-well-CAUS-CNV1 work-IPF-3
   ‘He is rich because he works well.’

48. **nu yi-z-im s/al-ka/engas/ka/ntse da**
   3SM.SUBJ run-ACC can-NEG because old COP
   ‘He can’t run because he is an old man.’

12.3.4 Concessive clauses

A concessive clause is a subordinate clause which refers to a situation that contrasts with the one described in the main clause. In Dime there are at least three morphologically complex concessive conjunctions. The first one is wúy-dót-ik, which means ‘although’. The second way of expressing concession is through the use of the conjunction wúyim-dót-ik, ‘even though’ and another way of expressing concessive meaning is by using the conjunction wúy-dót-ik wonnado ‘whatever’. The first and the second conjunctions are related. All concessive conjunctions contain the conditional dot and the morpheme –ik ‘too’. Examples:

49. **wúy-dót-ik yá kož-ká-dó-t-ik táá-dó-t-ik**
   what-COND-too 2S.SUBJ like-NEG-if-too now-if-too
   ?aňó-b wont-á k’áys-is-téé-n
   good-M be-CNV1 find-CAUS-IPF-2
   ‘Although you don’t like him you can still be polite.’

50. **wúy-im-dó-t-ik ná fiŋ-ind won-ká**
   what-ACC-COND-too 3SF.SUBJ beauty-F be-NEG
51. wūy-döt-ik wonn-á dót yá wunt'-ā dót
what-COND-too return- CNV1 COND 2S.SUBJ work-CNVI COND

'Even though she is not beautiful, she will marry soon.'

52a. nú náw-is-im wuē'-dééfká yid-i-n
3SM.SUBJ water-DEF drink-TEMP cough-PF-3

'When he drank water, he coughed.'

52b. nú sóó gõmp-ō wunn-á tíŋ-dééfká nay ?ād-i-n
3SM.SUBJ here back-LOC turn-CNVI go-TEMP hyena come-PF-3

'When he turned back and looked, a hyena had already come.'

In the examples in (52), the temporal marker -dééfká is suffixed to the dependent verb that precedes the main verb. In this construction, the verb with the third person singular marker occurs as an independent main clause verb, i.e., yid-i-n 'he coughed'. The dependent temporal clauses are not marked for tense-aspect.

In example (53), the temporal marker wutó 'before' and tifó 'after' conjoin the relativized verb and the main verb. In all cases of temporal clauses, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

53a. nú k’otin-āb bow-dé wutó ?atū nîts-af-ko
3SM.SUBJ arrive-M.RELT DIR-ABL before 1S.SUBJ child-PL-GEN

bay-im ŋim-déé-t
give-IPF-1

‘Before he arrives, I’ll give the children their food.’

53b. nú k’otin-āb bow-dé tifó ?atū nîts-af-kó
3SM.SUBJ arrive-M.RELT DIR-ABL after 1S.SUBJ child-PL-GEN

bay-im ŋim-déé-t
give-IPF-1

‘After he arrives, I’ll give the children their food.’

12.4 Interrogative Clauses

The interrogative is characterized by a high tone in clause final position and the deletion of the person marker. The prosodic feature plays an important role in the for-
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12.4.1 Polar interrogatives

In this section we discuss informative polar interrogatives and tag questions. The form of the verb in polar interrogative clauses differs according to the person of the subject of the interrogative clause. First and third person informative polar interrogative sentences are signalled by dropping the subject agreement marker from the verb. This reduction of the person marker applies both in the perfective and imperfective aspect. For example, in the first and third person imperfective declarative form of the verb k’om- is k’om-déé-t and k’om-déé-n respectively. The interrogative counterpart of both the first and third person is: k’om-déé ‘will we, I, he/she/they bake?’, which only differs from the respective declarative forms only in the absence of the person markers –t and –n (see example 54-55). Similarly, the perfective declarative form of these persons is respectively k’om-i-t ‘I/we baked’ and k’om-i-n ‘he/she/they baked’ and the interrogative counterpart of these two forms is: k’om-ì ‘Did he/she/they bake?’. Thus, in the first and third person, the forms of the perfective and imperfective polar interrogative correspond to their affirmative counterparts except for the deletion of the person marker and change of intonation. On the other hand, with the second person singular and plural subject, the declarative verb form of which has the same person marker –n as that used in the third person, polar interrogative is formed by adding the morpheme –áá to the verb root, replacing both tense-aspect and person marking morphemes. With the second person, the morpheme -áá functions as an interrogative marker in both perfective and imperfective declarative clauses. Compare the second person declarative clause in (56a) with the second person interrogative in (56b). In (56b) both tense-aspect and person marking morphemes are replaced by -áá.

54a. wótù sól-is-im k’om-déé-t
   1PL.SUBJ enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF-1
   ‘We will bake the enjera.’

54b. wótù sól-is-im k’om-déé
   1PL.SUBJ enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF:Q
   ‘Shall we bake the enjera?’

55a. mánte sól-is-im k’om-déé-n
   mánte enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF-3
   ‘Mante bakes the enjera.’
mántə sōl-is-im k’óm-k’óm-déé
mántə enjera-DEF-ACC RDP-bake-IPF:Q
‘Is Mante baking the enjera?’

56a. yáayi sól-is-im k’óm-déé-n
2S.SUBJ enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF-2
‘You will bake the enjera.’

56b. yáayi sól-is-im k’óm-áá
2S.SUBJ enjera-DEF-ACC bake-Q
‘Will you bake the enjera?’

In affirmative interrogatives the morpheme –áá is restricted to second person. In
negative interrogatives however, –áá is used as interrogative marker for all persons
(see ex 59-62).

The same word order is used in both polar interrogatives and affirmative de-
basic word order to from yes/no question.” He mentions that in content questions the
situation is similar to that of yes/no questions.

Answers to polar questions may be preceded by yé ‘no’ or ści ‘yes’ which
always occur at the beginning of a sentence. These may then be followed by a de-
clarative clause. Thus, as a response to the polar question in (54b), either of the fol-
lowing two sentences can be used:

57. yáy, ná k’is’-is-im k’óm-i-n
no, 3FS.SUBJ bread-DEF-ACC bake-PF-3
‘No, she baked the bread.’

58. ści, ná sól-im k’óm-i-n
yes, 3FS.SUBJ enjera-ACC bake-PF-3
‘Yes, she baked the enjera.’

In the following two paradigms, the imperfective declarative and imperfective inter-
rogative can be compared. This shows that the major distinction between the two
constructions is the absence of person marker –n or –t in the interrogative structures.

59. Imperfective declarative Imperfective interrogative
?até ?ád-déé-t ‘I will come.’ ʔatè ʔád-déé ‘shall I come?’
wótú ?ád-déé-t ‘we will come.’ wótú ʔád-déé ‘shall we come?’
nú ʔád-déé-n ‘he will come.’ nú ʔád-déé ‘will he come?’
ná ʔád-déé-n ‘she will come’ ná ʔád-déé ‘will she come?’
kété ʔád-déé-n ‘they will come.’ kété ʔád-déé ‘will they come?’
yá ʔád-déé-n ‘you will come.’ yá ʔád-déé-y–áá ‘will you(S) come?’
yesé ʔád-déé-n ‘you will come.’ yesé ʔád-déé-y–áá ‘will you(PL) come?’

As we observe from the above examples, the second person form, in contrast to the
first and third person forms, is marked for the interrogative by –áá. There is a –y-
preceding the interrogative marker because of a regular glide insertion rule in the
language when a sequence of two vowels occurs.
The syntax of clauses

The interrogative in copula clauses is similar to that in verbal clauses. That is, a question marker -áá is suffixed to the copula when the subject is second person and when the clause is imperfective as in (60). In the perfective interrogative copula clause however, aspect is marked by attaching the regular perfective aspect marker –i to the copula verb.

60.  yá wúdúr dáñ-áá
    you  girl COP-Q:2S
    ‘Are you a girl?’

61.  nú ñáy dá-déè
    he  who COP-IPF:Q
    ‘Who is he?’

62.  yín-ko kané déé-y-ì
    you-GEN sister COP-y-PF:Q
    ‘Did you have a sister?’

Fleming (1990:537-541) reports that Dime interrogative verbs drop the final person marking suffix –n or –t and substitute it by –aa or –ee. The following are some of the examples Fleming provided: lotoxtá ‘did you spend the night well?’; k’Amu mObEE ‘Is it bad?’ (it seems that Fleming used upper-case vowels to indicate suprasegmental features such as tone and/or intonation). The morpheme –aa which Fleming mentioned corresponds to the interrogative marker -áá which we mentioned earlier. This suffix is also used in perfective interrogatives. The morpheme –ee, however, seems to be a variant of the imperfective marker –déé, which loses its initial consonant when preceded by another consonant.

To summarise, there are two ways of forming the interrogative in Dime: first by using the interrogative morpheme –áá. The second way is by adding high tone on the vowel of the aspect marker and omitting the person marker from verb final position. Interestingly, interrogative and declarative clauses differ in the way they treat subject agreement. That is, interrogative clauses treat the second person subject as distinct from first and third persons by overtly marking the interrogative only when the subject is second person. In contrast, affirmative declarative clauses treat the first person subject differently from second and third person subject by using one special subject agreement marker on the verb, i.e., -t for first person singular and plural, while second and third person singular and plural are marked by one and the same morpheme -n.

The full paradigm of perfective declarative and perfective interrogative is provided below:
The following are sentential examples:

64a. yá ʧŋ-k’áy-áá
2S.SUBJ go-NEG-Q
‘Didn’t you go?’

64b. yá ʧŋ-k’áy- áá
2S.SUBJ go-NEG-Q
Don’t you go?’
The syntax of clauses

65a. ná  wunt'-is-im  bos-káy-áá
   3SF.SUBJ  work-DEF-ACC  finish-NEG-Q
‘Didn’t she finish the work?’

65b. ná  wunt'-is-im  bos-káy-áá
   3SF.SUBJ  work-DEF-ACC  finish-NEG-Q
‘Doesn’t she finish the work?’

66. yá  bay-im  ñits-káy-áá
   2S.SUBJ  food-ACC  eat-NEG-Q
‘Aren’t you eating the food?’

67. kété  náu-ó  bosin-ká  ŋn-k’áy-áá
   3PL.SUBJ  water-LOC  place-CNJ  go-NEG-Q
‘Aren’t they going to the river at all?’

Consider also the form of gáñ'/a-k’áy-áá ‘will you not eat me?’ in the following example, extracted from text 1 (ex 011), in which the interrogative marker –áá occurs following the negative marker.

68. kën-is  gim-á  ?até  yin-kó  kiyó
   dog-DEF  speak-CNVI  1S.SUBJ  2S.OBJ-GEN  there
   k’ót-a  dót  yá  gáñ/a-k’áy-áá  ?et'-á  ?úis-i-n
   arrive-CNVI  if  2S.SUBJ  eat-NEG-Q  say-CNVI  ask-PF-3
   ‘The dog asked (the hyena) by saying “If I come down to you, will you not eat me?”

In the remaining part of this section we discuss tag/confirmation questions. This is a type of yes/no question that consists of a declarative clause followed by a “tag” that requests confirmation or rejection of the declarative clause (cf. Payne 1997). The examples in (69-73) question confirmation of a negative statement.

69. yá  kñ-im  yél-káy,  (yayél-áá
   2S.SUBJ  3MS.OBJ-ACC  see-NEG,  see-PF-Q
   ‘You did not see him, did you?

70. šiftaye  t’úlim  sál-káy,  (ñú)  sál-déé
   šiftaye  swim  can-NEG,  3MS.SUBJ  can-IPF:Q
   ‘Shiftaye can not swim, can he?’

71. šiftaye  t’úl-im  sál-káy,  (ñú)  sál-i
   šiftaye  swim-ACC  can-NEG,  3MS.SUBJ  can-PF:Q
   ‘Shiftaye could not swim, could he?’

72. ?até  kën-im  gís’-káy,  (ñaté)  gís’-á
   1S.SUBJ  3PL.OBJ-ACC  beat-NEG,  1S.SUBJ  beat-PF:Q
   ‘I did not beat them, did I?’
73. yá t’úlim šál-káy, (yá) šál-áá
2S.SUBJ swim can-NEG, 2S.SUBJ can-Q
‘You can not swim, can you?’

The structure of the verb in the “tag” question is the same as that in regular interrogative clauses.

Confirmation questions after affirmative statements are expressed by a copy of the verb followed by the negation marker -káy. The suffix -áá is added to the verb following the negative marker for all persons. Here the interrogative marker -áá which is used only with second person subjects in affirmative interrogatives is attached to all negative interrogative verbs irrespective of the person of the subject and the aspect of the verb. Examples:

74. p’et’ros yín-im madd-i-n, (nú) mad-káy-áá?
Peter 2S.OBJ-ACC help-PF-3 (3MS) help-NEG-Q
‘Peter helped you, didn’t he?’

75. mante sakiyó déén-ká, (ná) yi-káy-áá?
mante there exist-PF (3FS) COP-NEG-Q
‘Mante was there, wasn’t she?’

76. ?até dáh-ì-t, (?ati) da-káy-áá
1S.SUBJ late-PF-1, 1 be late-NEG-Q
‘I’m late, am I not?’

77. wó-n k’iy, šál-káy-áá
1PL.OBJ-DAT go, can-NEG-Q
‘Let’s go, can’t we?’

12.4.2 Non-polar interrogatives

In this section we treat content question words. There are eight content question words in Dime. It seems that all of these are derived from two basic roots wu- and ?a-. The accusative form of content question words is suffixed with the accusative case marker -im just as in nouns. The content question words can be used predicatively without the copula morpheme, as in tense-less nominal clauses in general.

78. ?ámz-is ?amó-de
woman-DEF where-ABL
‘Where is the woman from?’

79. ?ámz-is ?amó
woman-DEF where
‘Where is the woman?’

In the imperfective aspect, polar and non polar interrogative clauses have a similar structure. Their main difference is the presence or absence of a content question word. The two interrogative clauses mark the verb for imperfective aspect in the same way. Compare the (a) examples in (80-81) with the ones in (b).
The syntax of clauses

80a. ná dime-n ſiŋ-déé
    3SF.SUBJ dime-DAT go-IPF:Q
    ‘Will she go to Dime?’

80b. ná ?amoil dime-n ſiŋ-déé?
    3SF.SUBJ when dime-DAT go-IPF:Q
    ‘When does she go to Dime?’

81a. nú ʔád-déé
    3SM.SUBJ come-IPF:Q
    ‘Will he come?’

81b. ?áyi ʔád-déé
    who come-IPF:Q
    ‘Who will come?’

In the perfective, however, polar and non-polar interrogatives are different. In polar interrogatives the person marker is deleted from the verb and high tone is added to the perfective aspect marker. In contrast, in non polar interrogatives both the person and aspect marker are deleted from the verb as in (82b), (83b) and (84).

82a. níts-af-is ʔád-í
    child-PL-DEF come-PF:Q
    ‘Did the children come?’

82b. ?ameh-id níts-af ʔád
    how-many-PL child-PL come:PF:Q
    ‘How many children came?’

83a. nú ʔád-í
    3SM.SUBJ come-PF:Q
    ‘Did he come?’

83b. ?áyi ʔád
    who come:PF:Q
    ‘Who came?’

A list of perfective content question forms using the verb kóxú ‘love’ and various subjects is given in (84).

84. ?áté ?áy-im kóx  ‘Whom did I love?’
    wótu ?áy-im kóx  ‘Whom did we love?’
    ná ʔáy -im kóx  ‘Whom did she love?’
    nú ʔáy -im kóx  ‘Whom did he love?’
    kété ʔáy -im kóx  ‘Whom did they love?’
    yá ʔáy -im kóx  ‘Whom did you (2S) love?’
    yésé ʔáy -im kóx  ‘Whom did you (2PL) love?’

In perfective polar interrogative clauses the suffixes -á is essential (except in second person). The absence of the perfective aspect marker makes the structure ungram-
matical. In contrast, in perfective non-polar interrogatives, it is the absence of the aspect marker that identifies the structure, as the list in (84) and the sentential examples in (85) demonstrate.

More than one content question word may occur in a sentence. The following are examples:

85. ʔáyi ʔáy-im deis
    who who-ACC kill:PF:Q
    ‘Who killed whom?’

86. ʔáyi ʔáy-im deis-tée
    who who-ACC kill-IPF:Q
    ‘Who kills whom?’

In examples (85) and (86) the same question word is realized with a nominative and accusative case. The accusative is marked by –im, while the nominative one is un-marked. Different types of question words can also occur in the same sentence, one as a subject and the other as an object (87-91). The object is always marked with the accusative marker.

87. ʔáyi wúy-im wúč’
    Who what-ACC drink:PF:Q
    ‘Who drank what?’

88. ʔáyi wúy-im wúč’-déé
    Who what-ACC drink-IPF:Q
    ‘Who drinks what?’

89. ʔáyi ʔamó-de ʔád
    who where-ABL come:PF:Q
    ‘Who came from where?’

90. ʔáyi ʔamó ŋu
    who where go:PF:Q
    ‘Who went to where?’

91. ʔáyi wúy-im ʔáy-ká ʔam-ó wunt’
    who what-ACC who-CNJ where-LOC work:PF:Q
    ‘Who did what with whom and where?’

As examined above, it is possible to use multiple content question words in the same sentence. As Wachowicz (1975) typological observation correctly indicates multiple content words are used when the speaker misses the information provided by other speech participants, specifically when preceding statements/comments are about several parallel events.

Content question words may be marked by the dative, ablative or other peripheral cases (92-95).
The syntax of clauses

92. ʔáy-ká déén nú ʔits-int’
who-INST exist 3SM eat-PAS:Q
‘By whom was it eaten?’

93. yá ʔáy -ín mös’af–is-im ʔím
2S.SUBJ who-DAT book-DEF-ACC gave:Q
‘To whom did you give the book?’

94. wúyo-de kín-im yá wunt’
what-ABL 3SM.OBJ-ACC 2S.SUBJ made:Q
‘From what did you make it?’

95. ?até ʔáy-ká náw-ó ḡīn-túb
1S.SUBJ who-with water-LOC go-FUT:Q
‘With whom will I go to the river?’

Negative interrogative clauses with content question words are suffixed with the negative marker –k’a/y. In these cases aspect or tense distinction is not marked on the verb:

96. ná ʔamóid dime-n ḡīn-k’áy
3SF.SUBJ when dime-DAT go-NEG
‘When is it that she does not go to Dime?’

97. ʔáyi ʔád-k’áy
who come-NEG
‘Who did not come?’

98. ?ameh-id náts-af ʔád-k’áy
how.many-PL child-PL come-NEG
‘How many of the children are not coming?’

In summary, in the polar interrogative construction -déé marks imperfective aspect, while -á marks perfective aspect for first and third person. The morpheme -áad is a verbal interrogative marker that has a restricted use in perfective and imperfective polar interrogative clauses; namely, it is affixed to the verb when the subject of the interrogative clause is second person. In negative tag/confirmation questions the interrogative is marked by -áad for all persons. In non-polar interrogative clauses, the perfective aspect is not marked morphologically on the verb. The imperfective aspect is marked morphologically (using the morpheme -déé) both in polar and non-polar interrogative clauses. In both perfective and imperfective negative polar and non-polar interrogatives, the negative marker -k’áy is suffixed to the verb.

12.5 Word order

In Dime SOV word order is frequent. With the exception of the subject, every constituent is morphologically marked for case. Perhaps because of this morphological marking, which reflects the grammatical relation among the words in a sentence, word order is not strict in Dime. The following examples demonstrate the frequent
word order of simple sentences in both transitive and intransitive clauses:

96. **gos-ís**  **yiz-déé-n**  
boy-DEF  run-IPF-3  
‘The boy runs.’

97. **nú**  **k’is’-im**  **?íst-ée-n**  
3SM.SUBJ  bread-ACC  eat-IPF-3  
‘He eats bread.’

12.5.1 Word order in NPs

First we discuss word order in nouns and noun modifiers. This involves word order of noun phrases with adjectives, numerals, demonstratives and possessives. The word order of nouns and noun modifiers is flexible as the difference in the (a) and (b) forms in the examples in (98-95) shows.

98a. **nú**  **gúdm-úb**  **?ávé-im**  **?ats-i-n**  
3SM.SUBJ  tall-M  tree-ACC  burn-PF-3  
‘He burned a tall tree.’

98b. **nú**  **?ávé**  **gúdm-ub-im**  **?ats-i-n**  
3SM.SUBJ  tree  tall-M  burn-PF-3  
‘He burned a tall tree.’

99a. **ná**  **mákkim**  **?ázm-af-im**  **ba?ád-i-n**  
3SF.SUBJ  three  woman-PL-ACC  bring-PF-3  
‘She brought three women.’

99b. **ná**  **?ázm-af**  **mákkim-im**  **ba?ád-i-n**  
3SF.SUBJ  woman-PL  three-ACC  bring-PF-3  
‘She brought three women.’

100a. **siná**  **?ámzi**  
this  woman  
‘this woman’

100b. **?ámzi**  **siná**  
woman  this  
‘this woman’

Changing word-order in morphologically marked genitive constructions does not bring a change in meaning. Consider the following examples:

101a. **zím-kó**  **? índiiid-ká**  **? índ-ká**  **?ád-i-n**  
chief-GEN  wife-CNJ  mother-CNJ  come-PF-3  
‘A chief’s wife and mother came.’
In non-verbal constructions the predicative constituent occurs at sentence final position. For instance, the noun ʔis-ko ʔindiid ‘my wife’ (102a), saná ‘that’ (102b and 102c) and ʔis-ko-nd ‘mine (F)’ (102d) are predicates of their respective clauses.

102a. saná ʔis-ko ʔindiid
   that (F) 1S.OBJ-GEN wife
   ‘That is my wife.’

102b. ʔis-ko ʔindiid saná
   1S.OBJ-GEN wife that (F)
   ‘My wife is that.’

102c. ʔindiid ʔis-ko saná
   wife 1S.OBJ-GEN that (F)
   ‘My wife is that.’

102d. saná ʔindiid ʔis-ko-nd
   that (F) wife 1S.OBJ-GEN (F)
   ‘That is my wife.’

In example (102d) the genitive pronoun at the predicate position is suffixed with a gender marker, which indicates the gender of the possessed noun.

12.5.2 Word order in verbal sentences

Word-order is not restricted in verbal sentences as well. Verbs and adverbs alternate their order without changing the meaning of the phrase as shown in example (103). Objects and adverbs can also occur in any order (105), and the object can follow the verb (105c).

103a. wunt’ú ʔolóχ ʔolóχ
   work RDP quick
   ‘Work quickly!’

103b. ʔolóχ ʔolóχ wunt’ú
   RDP quick work
   ‘Work quickly!’

104a. nú ʔahó s’aft-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ well/nice write-PF-3
   ‘He wrote well.’

104b. nú s’aft-i-n ʔahó
   3SM.SUBJ write-PF-3 well/nice
   ‘He wrote well.’
More examples that demonstrate the freedom of word order are given below. Object can precede subjects, (106b); and follow the verb, (106c). The occurrence of the verb at sentence initial position is not common; however, there are instances of simple sentences, where the verb occurs initially (106d).

106a. yer-iš ḏa-iš-ti-n
donkey-DEF grass-ACC eat-PF-3
‘The donkey ate grass.’

106b. ḏa-iš-ti-n yer-iš
grass-ACC donkey-DEF eat-PF-3
‘The donkey ate grass.’

106c. yer-iš ḏits-i-n ḏa-iš-ti-n
donkey-DEF eat-PF-3P grass-DEF-ACC
‘The donkey ate the grass.’

106d. ḏits-i-n yer-iš ḏa-iš-ti-n
grass-PF-3 donkey grass-ACC
‘A donkey ate grass.’

The word order alternation in sentences with dative complements is illustrated in (107a-d) below:

107a. Ṽu ḏa-iš-ti-n yiss-ub-im ḏa-s’af-im ḏa-im-i-n
3SM.SUBJ some-M-ACC book-ACC give-PF-3
‘He gave some books to them.’

107b. Ṽu yiss-ub-im ḏa-s’af-im ḏa-im-i-n
3PL.DAT some-M-ACC book-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-PF-3
‘He gave some books to them.’

107c Ṽu ḏa-s’af-im ḏa-im-i-n yiss-ub-im
3SM.SUBJ book-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT some-M-ACC give-PF-3
‘He gave some books to them.’

107d. ḏa-s’af-im ḏa-im-i-n Ṽu yiss-ub-im
book-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-PF-3 3SM.SUBJ some-M-ACC
‘He gave some books to them.’
In Dime, dependent clauses usually occur before the main clause. However, they may also occur after the main clause, as illustrated in the examples below:

108a. ʔáMZ-is ʔád-á dót ʔiy-ís ʔíq-deé-n
woman-DEF come-CNV1 COND man-DEF go-IPF-3
‘If the woman comes, the man will go.’

108b. ʔíyy-ís ʔíq-deé-n ʔáMZ-is ʔád-á dót
man-DEF go-IPF-3 woman-DEF come-CNV1 COND
‘The man will go, if the woman comes.’

Word order is also flexible in relative clauses. The order of the relativized noun and the relative clause can be changed as examples (109) and (110) demonstrate:

109. níts-im deís-i-b-is ʔíyy-ís ʔád-i-n
child-ACC kill-PF-M.RELT-DEF man-DEF come-PF-3
‘The man who killed the child came.’

110. ʔíyyí níts-is-im gís’-i-b-is lázt’-i-n
man child-DEF-ACC beat-M.RELT-DEF die-PF-3
‘A man who has beaten the child died.’

However, within the relative clause, word order change is ungrammatical as in (111).

111. *deís-i-b-is níts-im ʔíyy-ís ʔád-i-n
kill-M.RELT-DEF child-ACC man-DEF come-PF-3
Intended meaning: ‘The man who killed the child came.’

Although word-order in a clause and within an NP is not strict, the changing of word order in Noun-Noun modifiers and compound words brings meaning change or leads to ungrammaticality. For instance, the order of the following construction is restricted:

112. ʔót níts
cow child
‘male calf’

113. ʔáf-náx
eye-water
‘tear’

The reverse order, namely, níts ʔót or náx ʔáf is not possible in the above examples.
13 Texts

13.1 Greetings

In this section we present some texts and greetings. Greetings are expressed using the words ʔás ‘how’ and ʔαχ ‘spend day’ or ʔοχτ ‘spend night’. The word ʔás seems to be a reduced form of ʔάσιya ‘how’. Thus, literally ʔás ʔοχτ means ‘how (did you) spend (the) night?’

Greeting in the morning

1. ʔás ʔοχτ
   how spend night
   ‘Good morning’ (2SF/M)

2. ʔás ʔοχτ-is
   how spend night-PL
   ‘Good morning (2PL)’

The answer to the above greetings will be:

3. ʔahó yá ʔás ʔοχτ
   fine 2S.SBJ how spend night
   ‘Fine! How have you spent the night.’

Greeting in the evening or midday

4. ʔás ʔαχ
   how spend day
   ‘Good afternoon (2SF/M)!’

5. ʔás ʔαχ-is
   how spend day-PL
   ‘Good afternoon (2PL)!’

The (interrogative) greeting forms illustrated above, can also be used to enquire the well-being of somebody else.

6. Maikro ʔás ʔαχ
   Maikro how spend day
   ‘How is Maikro doing (how did he spend the day?)’

7. ná ʔás ʔαχ
   3SF.SBJ how spend day
   ‘How is she doing?’

8. ʔahó! yá ʔás ʔαχ
   fine 2S.SBJ how spend
   ‘Fine! How did you spend the day.’
As can be seen from the above examples, there are different types of greetings for the morning and afternoon. There are no special greeting terms for the evening; there is no equivalent of the Amharic ከንወminster ዋለሸሸ, a special greeting expression for the evening.

Leave taking is expressed in the following way:

9a. saro አረጆ
   peace spend day
   ‘have a peaceful day’

9b. saro አሬት
   peace spend night
   ‘have a peaceful night’

The above leave taking expressions are formally similar to greetings in some other Omotic language such as Wolayta. For instance in Wolayta: sário ይእታ means ‘good day/have a nice day’, while sário ያወ እልገወ means ‘good night/have a nice evening (Alemayehu Dogamo, pc)’.

The following dialogue contains some more examples of Dime greeting expressions:

10a. ዋስ ጋል-ደወ
    how be-IPF:Q
    ‘How are you?’

10b. ወተ ወሮ ወሮ ወሮ ዋስ-Ðድ-ወ-ሯ-እ-
    1S.SUBJ good 2S.SUBJ good be-IPF-y-Q
    ‘I am fine, how are you?’

11. wuuf-is ወሮ-ወ-ሱ-ስ
    all-DEF good-w-Q
    ‘Is everything fine?’

12. ይከ ሰወያ ወሮ ወሮ ወሮ ዋስ-Ðድ-ወ-ሮ ቅመ-ሮ ወሮ-ሮ ወሮ ዋስ-ወ-ስ-
    person all-DEF good 2S.SUBJ good-IPF-Q come-Q enter-CNV1 stay-PF-3
    ‘Everybody is fine. Is everything alright (you came with good news?)? Get in and sit down.’

13. yaf ዇ንጆ ወተ ወስ-ጺ-ይ ዋስ-ወ-ት-ስ
    God bless 1S.SUBJ stay-NEG quickly go-IPF-1
    ‘God bless (you)! I will not stay (long). I will leave soon.’

14. saro ወስ-ቃ-ስ
    peace stay-CNV1
    ‘Stay in peace!’

15. saro ወስ-ቃ-ስ
    peace stay-PL
    ‘Stay in peace!’
The following extract illustrates conversation during a visit to a sick person.

16a. ðásta-ðéé
   how-IPF Q
   ‘how are you?’

16b. sakiyo ðéénde ða-ðéé-t
   there like that live-IPF-1
   ‘I am in the same condition (Lit., there, like that I live).’

17a. wúy-dót-ik loote-káy-áá
   what-if-too better–NEG-Q
   ‘There is no change in your situation?’

17b. wúy-dót-ik loote yí-káy
   what-if-too better COP-NEG
   ‘Nothing, I don’t feel better.’

18a. say-ká-dó ðakim ðéh-ó tígi
   cure-NEG-COND doctor home-LOC go
   ‘If you do not feel better, (it is better you) go to the hospital.’

18b. ðakim ðéh-ó tíñ-ta meh yí-káy
   doctor home-LOC go-DAT money COP-NEG
   ‘To go to the hospital, I have no money.’

19a. ðáhá! meh yí-káy šíd-inká ðakim ðéh-ó tíñ-ká
   ha! money COP-NEG remain-REAS doctor home-LOC go-NEG
   šíd-áá meh-im ðaté tal’d-ub
   stay-Q money-ACC 1.SUBJ lend-M
   ‘ha! you stay here because you don’t have money? I will lend you some money.’

19b. yaf ðím meh yent’-a-do ðím ðééneno ðakim
   God give money get-CNV1-COND today right now doctor
   ðéh-ó tíñ-tub
   home-LOC go-FUT
   ‘May God give you, if I get money, I will go to the hospital right away.’

20a. ðónóx ðakim-in’t
   quick treat-PAS
   ‘See a doctor soon!’

20b. ðîsí37 yaf ðím
   ok God give
   ‘Ok! Thank you!’ (lit. ‘(May) God give (you)’)

37 A word borrowed from Amharic, ðîsí ‘ok’
13.2 Stories

This section includes transcribed and glossed Dime stories. Text 1 is a story about a dog and a donkey. Text 2 describes the process of building a Dime house. Text 3 is about the good will of a Dime girl whose name is Abeba Shiftaye Mehil. Text 4 concerns the cultural traditions on selecting a Dime Chief. Text 5 narrates the friendship between two people. Text 6 is a story of the friendship between a lion, a wolf, a monkey and an ape. Text 7 is concerned with an ape and his relatives. Text 8 pursues a narrative concerning three people. Text 9 is a tale of the rat and the elephant. Text 10 relates the story of the rabbit and Deffersa (a wild animal sp.).

In all the texts we use a four-line transliteration: in the first line we represent the Dime sentence as it is recorded, in the second line we indicate morpheme boundaries, in the third line translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes is given, the fourth line contains a free-translation of the whole sentence.

13.2.1 Text 1: A dog and a donkey

This story was told by Shiftaye Yisan, 13 August 2003, Dime, Ethiopia.

A dog and a donkey

Once upon a time, a dog and a donkey agreed and said, “we must go to the bush in order to search for food together”. They went as agreed. After arriving at the appointed place, they began to search for food.

001. kën-kä yer-kä

‘A dog and a donkey’

kën-kä yer-kä wókkil ņinsé
dog-CNJ donkey-CNJ one day

wótú kúbó gas-ká tíña bayím k’áyá ņístúb
1PL.SUBJ forest-LOC road-INST go-CNV1 food-ACC find-CNV1 eat-FUT

řenét’á tíña ņišincibišo k’ótúb bowde tifó
say-CNV1 thought-DEF-LOC arrive-M.RELT DIR-ABL after

bayím k’áyt’a džemérin
food-ACC find-INF start-PF-3

‘Once up on a time, a dog and a donkey agreed and say, “we must go to the bush in order to search for food together”. They went as agreed. After arriving at the appointed place, they began to search for food.’

002. k’ótúb bow-de yer-is ūn-im ņitsá

k’ót-úb bow-de yer-is ūn-im ņits-á

arrive-M.RELT DIR-ABL donkey-DEF grass-ACC eat-CNV1

38džemere ‘start’ is borrowed from Amharic.
The donkey found grass to eat and satisfied himself.

The dog failed to find any food; consequently he remained hungry.

The donkey said “In the tradition of our father and mother after having eaten we neigh.” Despite this the donkey felt some fear, especially when the dog told him not to neigh.

However, the donkey begged him saying “Since my stomach is full I must neigh”.

It is interesting that the element –ta which occurs rarely as an alternative form of the infinitive marker –in appears here as –t’a following the infinitive marker –in.
‘The dog said “Perhaps, dangerous wild animals will come to eat us, let me first climb up a tree and then you can neigh”’.

After the dog climbed up the tree, the donkey started neighing. On hearing the donkey’s voice, two hyenas appeared. Having come, they caught the dog and ate it’.

‘Yet the dog feared that if he descended from the tree, he would (himself) be eaten by the hyenas. It remained silent there where he was. However,
without him realizing his mouth began to water and saliva dribbled onto the head of one of the hyenas’.

010. **nayis zunu wuná yíŋde yéfká ŋáriso kéní dán**

*nay-is zunú wun-á yíŋ-dé yéf-ká ŋá-sis-ó kéní dán*

hyena-DEF up turn-CNV1 look-IPF see-NEG tree-DEF-LOC dog COP

**nayiś kénískó yá sóó ŋádu ?até**

*nay-is kén-is-kó yá sóó ŋádu ?até*

hyena-DEF dog-DEF-GEN 2S.SUBJ LOC come 1S.SUBJ.

**yíŋkó sákiyó k’ótti ŋedíŋká**

*yín-kó sákiyó k’ótti ŋé-íŋká*

2S.OBJ-GEN there arrive tell-REAS

‘When the hyenas looked up, there was a dog on the tree. They hyena told the dog that either it should descend from the tree and come to them or they would climb up the tree’.

011. **kéníṣ gimá ?até yíŋko sákiyó k’óta**

*kén-is gim-á ?até yín-ko sákiyó k’ót-á*

dog-DEF speak-CNV1 1S.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-GEN there arrive-CNV1

**dot però gára-k’ayáa ŋeto ŋuyísí**

*dóth yo gára-k’ay-áá ?et-á ŋuyí-sí+n*

COND 2S.SUBJ eat-NEG-Q say-CNV1 ask-PF-3

‘The dog asked the hyenas “If I come down to you, won’t you eat me?”’

012. **nayis gímándé sóó wuto wohim yéfká**

*nay-is gim-andé sóó wutó woh-im yéf-ká*

hyena-DEF speak-CNV2 here front meat-ACC see-NEG

**?até yínim wúyta gažadéé**

*dóth yín-im wúy-tú gařa-deé*

1S.SUBJ 2P OBJ-ACC what-INF eat-IPF;Q

**kéníṣ yičá yiło kikábòw ŋádíŋká**

*kén-is yíc-á yil-ó ki-ká-bow ŋád-íŋká*

dog-DEF down-CNV1 ground-LOC 3MS.OBJ-COM-DIR come-REAS

**wókkil-im wohím gáram-éé ŋéďít**

*wókkil-im woh-im gára-m-cé ŋéď-i-t*

one-NMZ meat-ACC eat-m- cé say-PF-1

‘The hyenas replied to the dog “Don’t you see all this meat around us, why should we eat you?” Subsequently the dog climbed down the tree and the hyenas allowed him to eat meat with them’.

013. **wókkilim wohísí gáranđé yefká bóó̯nít**

*wókkil-im woh-is-im gára-án-dé yef-ká bóó̯n-i-t*

one-NMZ meat-DEF-ACC eat-CNV2 see-NEG finish-PF-1
wó tô yînîm gâ’adît yâ ŋî wôkkîl-im dáhá
wô tô yîn-im gâ’ad-i-t yâ ŋî wôkkîl-im dáh-á
1PL.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC eat-PF-1 2S.SUBJ today one-ACC stay-CN1

gâ’ándê yeﬁká wôkobis bôbôznîné
gâ’-ândê yef-kâ wô-ko-b-is bô-bô’t-i-n-éê
eat-CN2 see-CNJ 1PL.OBJ.-GEN-M-DEF RDP-finish-PF-3-éê
‘They ate together and the meat was finished. Eventually one of the hyenas said to the dog; “As soon as the meat is finished, we will eat you!”’

014. tâaye yînîm gâ’adá k’âysistéê t’êtt’înká
 tâaye yîn-im gâ’ad-á ?êf-â k’âys-is-éê-t
 now 2P.OBJ-ACC eat-CN1 tell-CN1 want-CAUS-PF-1

?êtt’-înká
say-REAS

‘Finally, the hyenas said; “now we want to eat you!”’

015. kênis gîmándê wôkó kîsi kô’tiréêbdéê
kê-n-is gîm-ândê wô-kó kîsi kô-tir-deé-b-deé
dog-DEF speak-CN2 1PL.OBJ-GEN custom jump-M.RELT-deé

?ate láâyît’êebis gišó kînim ?ate
?ate lá-lâyît’ê-é-b-is gišó kîn-im ?ate
1S.SUBJ RDP-die-M.RELT-DEF way it(3MS)-ACC 1S.SUBJ

yên
yê-n
2PL.OBJ-DAT

‘The dog said, “As I am somebody who is going to die, let me do it in my custom.”’

016. ŋešinká tîfô gâ’asé ?êtt’it nayis ?éeândôt
 ŋeš-inká tîfô gâ’a-sé ?êtt’-i-t nay-is ?eên dôt
show-REAS after eat-LOC say-PF-1 hyena-DEF like this COND

?ôloôg k’ô’tîrâ yînde ?ôxšeëen ?êt’a kîtít
?ôloôg k’ô’tîr-a yin-de ?ôxš-ëe-n ?êt’à kît-i-t
quick sing-CN1 2S.SUBJ-ABL show-IPF-3 say-CN1 order-PF-1

kênis
kê-n-is
dog-DEF

kô’tîrisim ?ôxše tê’dâ kêmîm midándê yîzá
kô’tîr-is-im ?ôx-îs-de tê’d-à kêm-im mid-ândê yîz-á
sing-DEF-ACC show-DEF-ABL say-CN1 dog-ACC cheat-CN2 run-CN1
kikó k’óbásko žehó láyat’i k’ádéé k’ótinée
ki-kó k’ób-is-ko Žeh-ó láyt’i-k’á-déé k’ót-i-n-éé
3MS.OBJ-GEN owner-DEF-GEN house-LOC die-NEG-IPF arrive-IPF-3-éé
“"If so, (they said) sing quickly and show us your talent!” However, when
the hyenas ordered the dog to sing, he was able to deceive them and escape
death and arrived safely at his owner’s house’

13.2.2 Text 2: The process of building a Dime house

This story was told by Shiftaye Yisan on September 2, 2003, Ethiopia.

001. háy žëhım kic’t’á binn k’áysistéeb gãš
háy Žeh-im kic’t’-á bin-n k’áys-is-téé-b gãš
glass house-ACC built-CNV1 go-: PF-3 find-CAUS-IPF-3-éé
‘The required way of building a house’.

002. wútó žëh-im kic’t’á binn bísínim meret’één
wútó Žeh-im kic’t’-á bin-n bísín-im meret’-t’éé-n⁴¹
before house-ACC work-CNV1 go-: PF-3 place-ACC choose-IPF-3
kiyóde tifó doč žásim k’árs’á kutstéén
kiyó-de tifó doč-žá-r-im k’árs’-á kutst-éé-n
there-ABL after-LOC wall-wood-ACC cut-CNV1 collect-IPF-3
‘In order to build a hut, one has to choose a suitable place for the building.
Then, the required amount of wood for construction purposes must be cut
and collected’.

003. žóló síkım giržáśímká tiğiįmká bāžadéé’t
žóló sík-im giržá-r-im-ká tiğiį-im-ká bāžád-éé-t
also this-ACC RB⁴²-wood-ACC-CNJ rope-ACC-CNJ bring-IPF-1
síkiská giržáśíska tiğiįská s’us’u bowde
síkis-ká giržá-s-is-ká tiğiį-s-ká s’us’u-bow-de
this-CNJ RB-wood-DEF-CNJ rope-DEF-CNJ full-DIR-ABL
žëhísim kic’t’á binn bísínim maléá
žeh-is-im kic’t’-á bin-n bísín-im malé-á
house-DEF-ACC built-CN1 go-.PF-3 place-ACC remove forest-CN1
liņisi’één kukuyá lalalá baśintsééén
liņ-iś-téé-n ku-kuy-á lašalá baśints-téé-n
clean-CAUS-IPF-3 RDP-dig-CN1 level make-IPF-3

⁴¹ meret’-éé-n ‘choose’ is from Amharic marráti’a ‘chose’.
⁴² RB is an abbreviation of ‘reinforcing beam’.
‘Different types of wood are required: for framing the roof, for reinforcing beams and for making rope. After preparing wood for the roof, for the reinforcing beam and rope, the existing trees and undergrowth must be removed from the place. It must be dug and leveled (and made suitable for constructing the hut)’.  

004. **sikiyóde tífó ŋémisko sákim yągsá**  
sikiyó-de tífó ŋęh-is-ko sákim yąg-sá  
here-ABL after house-DEF-GEN width-ACC measure-CN1  

**bisanisse ŋócáfim kuyá basintstéén**  
bisine-se ŋéc-affi kuy-á basint-téé-n  
place-DEF-LOC hole-PL-ACC dig-CN1 level-IPF-3  
‘Subsequently, the width of the hut must be measured out, the site leveled, and holes dug’.  

005. **ńōčis kuyint’á bońinka ŋōčisó dócú**  
ńōč-is kuyint’-á boń-in-ká ŋōč-is-ó dócú  
hole-DEF dig-CN1 finish-REAS hole-DEF-LOC wall  

**ńárafsim tárdin dédéye yilim süs’ugdéeń**  
ńa-ra-fe-is-im tárd-in de-déye yil-im sú-s’ug-déé-n  
wood-PL-DEF-ACC plant-INF RDP-strong soil-ACC RDP-compress-IPF-3  
‘On completing the holes, the wooden pillars to support the walls must be planted and the soil compressed (to bear the weight of the pillar)’.  

006. **kiyóde sikét wúnis bow bowde**  
kiyó-de sikét wún-is bow-bow-de  
there-ABL these work-DEF RDP-DIR-ABL  

**bosinisé ŋémisko gido ŋócim kuyá**  
bisine-se ŋęh-is-kó gid-ó ŋóc-im kuy-á  
final-DEF-LOC house-DEF-GEN middle-LOC hole-ACC dig-CN1  

**ńédim yidá giri ŋuddé ŋenígir bowde**  
ńéd-im yid-á giri ŋuddé ŋéni-gir bow-de  
ring roof-ACC catch-CN1 RBW four about-RBW DIR-ABL  

**girisim ŋémisko gíddé miló wutsá**  
gir-is-im ŋęh-is-kó gid-ó-dé mil-ó wuts-á  
RBW-DEF-ACC house-DEF-GEN middle-LOC-ABL outside-LOC take-CN1  

**gidisó ŋócim kuyá tússim tordin**  
gid-is-ó ŋóc-im kuy-á túss-im tord-i-n  
middle-DEF-LOC hole-ACC dig-CN1 pillar-ACC plant-PF-3
After finishing the central part of the house, a hole is dug, and the ring of the roof is constructed usually with four reinforcing beams proportionate to the hut’s width. Following this the reinforcing beam for the roof on the outside wall of the house are removed and a pillar is planted in the hole in the middle of the house.

The reinforcing wood is put on it until the house is finished and then thatched the roof with (dry) grass. He also covers the hole through which the central pillar was planted, by thatching over it.

Consequently, he arranges and levels the floor of the hut, adding water to compress it.

Finally, when the hut painting is dry the owner prepares coffee and invites the neighbours to the house to have coffee. They celebrate the end of a construction by drinking coffee together inside the house and subsequently the occupants begin to live there.
13.2.3  Text 3: Good will of a Dime girl

This story was told by Abeba Siftaye Mehel September 26, 2003, Jinka.

\[ ?\text{ahob k'aysistéén} \]
\[ ?\text{ahó-b k'aysis-téé-n} \]
\[ \text{good-M desire-IPF-3} \]
\[ ‘\text{Good wish’} \]

001. \text{?áté ?ísimo bábé šiftaye mihelisde}
\[ ?\text{áté ?ís-ko bábé shiftaye mihel-is-de} \]
\[ 1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN father shiftye mihel-DEF-ABL \]
\[ ?ísimo ?índ ?átan bersobisde s' Métammi \]
\[ ?ís-ko ?índ ?átan bersob-is-de s' Métammi \]
\[ 1S.OBJ-GEN mother ?átan bersob-DEF-ABL thousand-ten \]
\[ \text{wókkilase tamm'ti tussum ?áfó turdu k'astin bač-ká} \]
\[ \text{wókkilase tamm'ti tussum ?áfó turdu k'astin bač-ká} \]
\[ \text{nìne hundert seventy mouth-LOC year two year-INST} \]
\[ ?\text{át'imt'it} \]
\[ ?\text{át'imt'-i-t born-PF-1} \]
\[ ‘\text{My father is Shiftaye Mihel and my mother is Atan Bersob. I was born in} \]
\[ \text{the year nineteen seventy two (1972) (according to the Ethiopian calen-} \]
\[ \text{dar’).} \]

002. \text{?áté ?átimt’ ub bačisodé k’int’á ũnî}
\[ ?\text{áté ?átim-t’ub bač-is-o-dé k’int’-á ũnî} \]
\[ 1S.SUBJ born-FUT year-DEF-LOC-ABL begin-CNV1 today \]
\[ \text{k’otebka ?áté ?ísìnč?ísinčká ?ísimo woydi mákkmim} \]
\[ \text{k’oteb-ká ?áté ?ísìnč-?ísinč-ká ?ís-ko woidi mákkmim} \]
\[ \text{count-by 1S.SUBJ RDP-think-COM 1S.OBJ-GEN twenty three} \]
\[ \text{bač k’ot’in} \]
\[ \text{bač k’ot’-i-n year arrive-PF-3} \]
\[ ‘\text{Counting my age from my date of birth, I am twenty-three year old’}. \]

003. \text{?áté ?átimt’ bowde bač tammi k’asinubiská}
\[ ?\text{áté ?átimt’ bow-de bač tammi k’asin-ub-is-ká} \]
\[ 1S.SUBJ born DIR-ABL year ten two-M-DEF-COM \]
\[ \text{timhert čéhó wójimit táá bow ?ísimo} \]
\[ \text{timhert čéhó wójim-i-t táá bow ?ís-ko} \]
\[ \text{school house-LOC enter-PF-1P now DIR 1S.OBJ-GEN} \]
I attended school from the age of twelve, this year I will finish my secondary school education’. 

‘After returning, I will get a job, get married and thereafter live together with my husband’. 

‘If, by grace of God, I achieve a good result in my matriculation exams, I will join a College or University and eventually return (to my area) after graduation’.

‘After returning, I will get a job, get married and thereafter live together with my husband’.
13.2.4 Text 4: The selection of a chief in Dime

This story was told by Miakro Gizachew Keto on December 26, 2003, Ethiopia.

001. **zime wondéebis wutodeé tussiné gáska**
Chief be-IPF-M.RELT-DEF beg-IPF hereditary road-INST

**zimé wókkilub laart’inká nitsafisódé wókkilim**
Chief one-REL(M) die–REAS child-PL-DEF-LOC-ABL one-ACC

**wuddéén nitsafisódé wutunub íntsí**
Assign-IPF-3 child-PL-DEF-LOC-ABL begin-M.RELT child-DEF

*A chief is selected according to his degree of kinship with the previous chief. When a chief dies, one of his sons will be assigned to succeed him as the next chief. Normally the eldest son of a chief is assigned to inherit his father’s role as a chief*.

002. **wuddéén zimásim zímìsekó woogdéén**
Assign-IPF-3 chief-DEF-ACC chief-DEF-LOC-GEN law exist

These-ACC

*There is a customary procedure for assigning a chief*:

003. **deyedaf kusumdéén**
Wise/old-man-PL meet-IPF-3

*The wise old men hold a meeting*. 
004. ŋim baʔaddéén
 ŋim-im baʔ-ʔad-déé-n
 sheep-ACC take-come-IPF-3
 ‘They bring a sheep’.

005. kuru baʔaddéén
 kuru baʔ-ʔad-déé-n
 honey take-come-IPF-3
 ‘They bring honey’

006. gonumká bindimká baʔaddéén
 gonum-ká bind-im-ká baʔ-ʔad-déé-n
 hive-CNJ ash-ACC-CNJ take-come-IPF-3
 ‘They bring a hive and ashes’.

007. siketim wuufisim kutsbowde tifó deɣdaʃ ṭáda
 siket-im wuuf-is-im kuts-bow-de-tifó deɣd-af ṭád-á
 these-ACC all-DEF-ACC collect-DIR-ABL-after wise-PL come-CN1
 wókkilim kutsumá kiko woogisim dulumá,
 wókk-il-im kutsum-á kí-ko woog-is-im dulum-á,
 one-NMZ meet-CN1 3SM.OBJ-GEN law-DEF-ACC dance-CN1
 ‘After all these materials are collected, the wise men come together and
dance according to the custom’.

008. níts wutó bisine ěkho k’iru ṭáda nítsisim
 níts wutó bisine ěkho k’iru ṭád-á níts-is-im
 child infront place house-GEN door come-CN1 child-DEF-ACC
 yakis yídá kalfires baʔa dúmuldułumá
 yaks-is yíd-á kal-fi-res baʔ-á dulum-dulum-á
 sister-DEF catch-CN1 shoulder-DEF-LOC take-CN1 RDP-dance-CN1
 babkó kíš ?ěhó baʔak’ot’á ləst’imisko
 babkó kíš-ʔěh-ó baʔ-ʔak’ot’-á ləst’-im-is-ko
 father-GEN god-house-LOC enter-arrive-CN1 death-NMZ-GEN
 wutó wúdin ŋinisim mačá deɣdaf
 wutó wúd-in ŋín-is-im mač-á deɣd-af
 in front put-INF sheep-DEF-ACC slaughter-CN1 wise-PL
 č’olayisim wutsá yinbowde tifó
 č’olay-is-im wuts-á yin-bow-de-tifó.
 intestine-DEF-ACC out-CN1 see-DIR-ABL-after
 nítsim maςskáʔa kuruká bindká wuufubisim
 níts-im maς-s-káʔa kuru-ká bind-ká wuuf-ub-is-im
 child-ACC blood-COM-CNJ honey-CNJ ash-CNJ all-M-DEF-ACC
Then the wise men and the sons of the proposed chief’s sister (the candidate chief’s cousins) come to his door to bring him out. They dance carrying the candidate on their shoulder, and then they bring him before the God of his father. The wise men slaughter a sheep and then they tell his fortune predicting his future life, by reading the sheep intestines. They paint the body of the candidate with blood, honey and ashes. After painting his whole body they put the fat on the neck of the child and they pierce the wings of a bird on the hive.”
'Then three of his sister’s children come and then the first, the second and the third son carry the corpse, the son of the chief and the hive, respectively. They pass over mountains dancing quietly and visiting different places with the corpse and the son of the dead chief. When they (finally) return they bury the corpse of the chief. They bury him so that his body is underground, but his neck and head remain above ground'.

010. kiyódó wonná mátsim badé síšébis
kiyó-dó wonn-á máts-im badé síš-éé-b-is
there-COND return-CNV1 head-ACC leave-IPF-M. RELT-DEF

zimisko ?anjís yilzé šit’ýdéeén
zim-is-kö ?anj-ís yil-zé šit’ý-dée-n
chief-DEF-GEN bless-CAUS ground-LOC remain-IPF-3

‘Then they bury the corpse leaving the head above the ground to get the chief’s blessing’.

011. nitsís kiyó-de wonn-á deydañ bañá mišsó
nits-is kiyó-de wonn-á deydañ bañ-á mišs-ó
child-DEF there-ABL return-CNV1 wise-PL learn-CNV1 god house-LOC

bañánda bab wunt’éeb wunisimká
bañ-ánd-á bab wunt’ée-b wun-is-im-ká
take-come-CNV1 father work-IPF-M. RELT work-DEF-ACC-CNJ

woogisimká tamarsá k’amub bininó ūpiptitée
doog-is-im-ká tamars-á k’am-ub bin-in-ó ūpiptit-ée
rule-DEF-ACC-CNJ learn-CNV1 bad-M place-LOC go-IPF

yiká-m gimá šisbówde nitsís binínó
yi-ká-m gim-á šiš-bów-de nits-is bin-in-ó
COP-NEG-ACC tell-CNV1 leave-DIR-ABL child-DEF place-DEF-LOC

dáhá woogísim won’á šit’éeén
dáh-á woog-is-im won’-á šit’ée-n
live-CNV1 custom-DEF-ACC work-CNV1 left-IPF-3

‘Subsequently, the son returns and then the wise men bring him to the Gods’ house where his father was working. They teach him the rules and they advise him not to go to bad places. Finally, he acts as a chief based on the rules and the custom he is taught’.

13.2.5 Text 5: A story about two friends

This story was told by Shifataye Yisan on February 19, 2005, Jinka.
Together, they arrived at the place they intended to visit and one of them saw a hyena suddenly coming in their direction. This person quickly climbed up the tree to hide himself without telling his friend.
'When he (the other friend) turned back and looked the hyena had already come.'

005. ʔaːɾo wut-ta bɑm bɑm’t-éːn bɑːsɪŋkɑ
ʔaːɾo wut-ta bɑm-bɑm’t-éːn bɑːs-iŋkɑ
tree-LOC climb-INF RDP-near-IPF-3 fear-REAS

wuyə dɑdəɛʃkɑ wɔkkilub
wuy-á dɑ-dɛɛʃkɑ wɔkkil-ub
stop-CNV1 live-TEMP one-M

'The other friend was too afraid to start climbing up the tree, because the hyena was already approaching him'.

006. ʔiʃɪnci kɪko mɑttó ŋaːdɪn
ʔiʃɪnci kí-kɔ mɑtt-ɔ ŋád-i-n
think 3SM-OBJ-GEN mind-LOC come-PF-3

ʔeŋ kɪko bɑbaʃkɑ ŋiyyi dɛʒɪd
ʔeŋ kí-kɔ bab-af-kɑ ŋiyyi dɛʒ-id
early 3SM-OBJ-GEN father-PL-COM man wise-PL:RELT

ɡimɗeɛʃkɑ nɑyɪ lɑlɑɣs’im gɑːk’ɑb ŋeɗ’ɑ gɪm
gim-ɗɛɛʃkɑ náyi lá-láɣs’-im gaːk’á-b ŋeɗ-á gɪm
tell-TEMP hyena RDP:die-NMZ/ACceat-NEG-M.RELT say-CNV1 speak

'Then a new idea occurred to him. He said, he said (to himself), “our fore fathers, the wise men say that hyenas do not eat flesh from human corpse.”'

007. zɨmɪnta ŋoːlø tɑtɛ ʔaːɾɔ yɪzə wʊtkaːmɛɛ ʔɪʃko
zɨmɪnta ŋoːlø tɑtɛ ŋaːɾ-ɔ yɪz-ɑ wʊt-kåm-ɛɛ ʔɪs-ko
zɨmɪntita also 1P.SBJ tree-LOC run-CNV1 climb-NEG-ɛɛ 1S.OBJ-GEN

‘I can not run and I can not climb up the tree to save myself’.

008. ɬagɪsk ʔɪʃko ɡɪmkɑ dɑhɑ ʔaːɾo wʊtɑ
ɬag-i-s-k ʔɪs-ko ɡɪm-kɑ dåh-ɑ ŋaːɾ-ɔ wʊt-ɑ
friend-DEF-too 1S.OBJ-GEN speak-CNJ live-CNV1 tree-LOC climb-CNV1

dɑhɑ təaɭ ʔɑtɛ ʔɑʃɪtubebet’ɑndɛ ʔiʃɪncis mɑttɔ ŋɑdɑ
dåh-ɑ təaɭ tɑtɛ ʔɑʃɪtu-ebet’-ɑndɛ ʔiʃɪnc-ɪs mɑtt-ɔ ŋɑd-ɑ
stay-CNV1 now 1S.SBJ how-can be-CNV2 think-DEF head-LOC come-CNV1

bəwɗ dɪlɔ nɑnɑɣtɑ dɑhɑ lɑlɑɣs’im
bəw-ɗ dɪl-ɔ ná-nɑɣt-ɑ dåh-ɑ lá-láɣs’-im
DIR-ABL earth-LOC RDP:liedown-CNV1 stay-CNV1 RDP-die-NMZ

bɛzɑ dɑhɪnkwɑ nʊ ʔɑʃɔ dɑhɑ ƙɪnɪm ɣɪʃɪmɑ
bɛzɑ dåh-ɪnk-ɑ nʊ ŋaːɾ-ɔ dåh-ɑ ƙɪn-ɪm ɣɪʃ-ɪm-ɑ
like stay-REAS 3SM.SBJ tree-LOC stay-CNV1 3SM.OBJ-ACC see-INCH
dāhinkā nay-is ṭádándé nū nánáyx'tā
stay-REASHayena-DEF come-CNV2 3SM.SUBJ RDP-sleep-CNV1

dāhinkā kānim sušuksā yiŋyiŋá ẓọ́ło
stay-REAS3SM.OBJ-ACC RDP-smell-CNV1 RDP-see-CNV1 again

lālā yṣ‘im bezá bosin gîstká šeđinká yiŋá dáhá
RDP:dead-NMZ seem final breeze-NEG remain-REAS see-CNV1 stay-CNV1

šušuysá ūsusā bit’bowde
RDP: smell-CNV1 to-there go-DIR-ABL

‘Since my friend climbed up the tree without warning me, the best thing to
do at this moment is to lie down, so that I appear to be a dead person.” As
he lay down on the ground, his friend watched him from the tree above.
The hyena came to the sleeping friend and sniffed around him, finally left
him and went away’.

009. kiko lag-is yiló yičá
3SM.—GEN friend-DEF earth-LOC climb down-CNV1

nayis bit’bow-de tifó yičá
hayena-DEF go-DIR-ABL after climb down-CNV1

♩ádándé ŋimí nayis yiko k’amó wuyim
come-CNV2 tody hayena-DEF 28.OBJ-GEN ear-LOC what-ACC

gim-déč wuyimde gimá ♩ádá bit’e giminká
speak-IPF what-ACC-ABL speak-CNV1 come-CNV1 leave speak-REAS

‘When the animal was gone, the friend in the tree descended and
approached the one on the ground, asking him what the hyena had said when
he sniffed around near his ear’.

010. nū gimándé lagis k’amub giżé
3SM.SUBJ speak-CNV2 friend-DEF bad-M time

yinim seyskáy yinim šakšakiš-a kí-mátt-in
2S.OBJ-ACC cure-NEG 2S.OBJ-ACC RDP:leave-CNV1 3SM-head-DAT
13.2.6 Text 6: The relation between a lion, a wolf, a monkey and an ape

001. ?ašker zóbko yayí güidi k’áári mökkim déén-ká
   ?ašker zóbko yayí güidi k’áári mökkim déén-ká
   servant lion-GEN wolf monkey ape three exist-PF

mákkimsibis kiko zóbko ?ašker woná
mákkim-sib-is kí-ko zóbko ?ašker won-à
three-ORD-DEF 3SM.OBJ-GEN wolf monkey ape speak-CNV1

k’alim k’amsá dán
k’alim k’ams-á dán
order hear-CNV1 COP
‘The lion had a wolf, a monkey and an ape as a servant. The three of these lived with the lion, waiting on him as servants’.

002. K’alim k’amsá bindí kiko ?éhko
   K’alim k’ams-á bindí kí-ko ?éh-kó
   order hear-CNV1 always 3SM.OBJ-GEN house-GEN

kiko tizazik kiko kitok úŋṭiŋděén
kí-ko tizaz-ìk43 kí-ko kitok úŋ-úŋ-déé-n
3SM.OBJ-GEN order-too 3SM.OBJ-GEN message RDP:go-IPF-3
‘The ape served the lion tending his garden, delivering messages for him and carrying out his orders all the time’.

003. ?óló k’östinís ?ams’ëña wóninká kén lále
   ?óló k’östin-is ?ams’ëña wón-inká kén lále
   again two-DEF impolite be-REAS 3PL-DAT stone

43 tizaz ‘order’ is a borrowed Amharic word tizaz ‘order’
The monkey and the wolf asked the ape to appear before the lion'.

The monkey and the wolf were standing in such a way, they asked the lion why he went barefoot on the ground, when the ape could sew shoes for him. Consequently the lion caught the ape'.

The lion forced the other two (animals) to carry big stones on their heads and stand like that in order to teach them to serve him in a polite way'.

The monkey and the wolf asked the ape to appear before the lion'.

The monkey and the wolf asked the ape to appear before the lion'.

The monkey and the wolf asked the ape to appear before the lion'.
007. k’ak’ams-tub bow-de ?até ?asiá bultubéé
   k’a-k’ams-tub bow-de ?até ?asiá bult-ub-éé
   RDP-hear-FUT DIR-ABL 1S.SUBJ how solve-M.RELT-éé

   ?edáʔedáʔišinká dán
   ?ed-áʔed-áʔišink-á dán
   RDP-say-CNV1 think-CNV1 COP
   ‘The ape spent some time thinking “how can I solve the problem presented
   by the lion and how should I answer him”’.

008. išinč-išinč dahá ?iši yá k’ááre
   išinč-išinč dah-á ?iši yá k’ááre
   RDP-think stay-CNV1 ok 2S.SUBJ use-IPF

   č’amu ḏjigá ḏestene ḏa’čná
   č’amu ḏjig-á ḏestene ḏa’čn-á
   shoes sew-CNV1 know say-CNV1

   desteyá ?edá giminká ?ée ?até
   desté-y-áʔed-á gim-ing-ká ?ée ?até
   know-y-CNV1 say-CNV1 speak-REAS yes 1S.SUBJ

   ḏestetéé melsim zób-in gímin
   desté-téé mels-im zób-in gím-i-n
   know-IPF answer ACC lion-DAT speak-IPF-3

   ‘As the ape mused over what she should answer to the lion, the lion asked
   her whether she could sew shoes for him. The ape replied to the lion that
   she could indeed sew shoes’.

009. zóbin ?até ḏestetéé ḏáá gíma
   zóbin ḏaté ḏesté-téé ḏá-á gím-á
   lion-DAT 1S.SUBJ know-IPF say-CNV1 speak-CNV1

   gími bowde ņóló-táá yá kíko yáko
   gími bow-de ņóló táá yá kí-ko yá-ko
   speak DIR-ABL also now 2S.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN wolf-GEN

   ḏjínumi ņóló kíko goidko fatayimi
   ḏjínumi ņóló kí-ko goid-ko fatayimi
   vein also 3SM.OBJ-GEN monkey-GEN leather

   baʔándé č’am-im ḏjigdéé-b déénká
   baʔ-ándé č’am-im ḏjig-dié-b déé-ńká
   take-CNV2 shoes-ACC sew-M.RELT exist-IPF

   sínne šišinká ?até ŋúná kékoda
   sínne šiš-ing-ká ?até ŋún-á ké-ko-de
   five remain-REAS 1S.SUBJ go-CNV1 3PL-GEN-ABL
mיכָּא בַּאַהַתָּה יִמְּאֶהְנָה יִמְּזִיֶּנָה מיכָּא יִמְּמָמִינָה
imicä ba'ahatā ḥime ḥe'ēnā ḥimzi-n micā ūmam-minkā

ba'k'otā naa'ō dṣagā
bring-arrive-CN1 rive-LOC fail-CN1

'Consequently, the lion asked the ape to sew a (pair of) shoe(s) for him. Since the ape was sly and cunning, she asked the lion to bring the wolf’s vein as string and the skin of the monkey as leather, to serve as materials for sewing the shoes. In order to get the required material, the lion killed the monkey and the wolf and gave the ape the skin of the monkey and the vein of the wolf'.

diyig ba'adēde ḍedā gimde'ēn ūṣi ḍedā
diyig-ā ba'ah-dē-ē ḍedā-ē gim-de'ēn ūṣi-ē ḍedā-
sew-CN1 bring-IPF say-CN1 speak-IPF-3 ok say-CN1

kēte k'alisim zim da'ā k'alisim ba'adēēn
kēte k'al-is-im zim da-ā k'al-is-im ba'ah-dē-ē-n
3PL.SUBJ word-DEF-ACC silent say-CN1 word-DEF-ACC bring-IPF-3

'The ape informed the lion that she would bring him the shoes. Meanwhile the ape did not do anything'.

diyig ba'adēde de'ēnkalā diyig dādāndē
diyig-ā ba'ah-dē-ē de'en-kā diyig-ā dādāndē-
sew-CN1 bring-IPF exist-PF sew-CN1 stay-CN2

kiko bukdā wonn t'aannā ūṣińça dadēēdadēē
ki-ko bud-kā wonn t'aannā ūṣińčī-ā da-dē-ē da-dēē
3SM.SUBJ-GEN hear-CN1 only study-CN1 think-CN1 RDP-stay-IPF

žōlobo ūṣia ka'āre yā diyigā
diyigā-ē žōlo-b-ze ūṣia k'āare yā diyigā
next-M.RELT-LOC hear-you ape 2S.SUBJ sew-CN1

ba'adik yā da'ā giminkā ūṣiśi _utfē
take-come-too 2S.SUBJ say-CN1 speak-REAS ok 1S.SUBJ

diyig-diyyagā bosinkā yane da'ā ūskā gāsō
diyig-diyyagā bos-inkā yane da-ā ūskā gāsō-ē RDP-say-CN1 finish-REAS somebody say-CN1 1S.OBJ-COM way-LOC

'yūnīm yūnīnim bezdē bašbašā bašličē da'ā
yīn-im yīn-en-im bezdē baš-baš-ā baš-i-n-ēē da-ā
2S.OBJ-ACC yourself like RDP-fear-CN1 take-IPF-3-ē say-CN1

Eventually the lion (became impatient) and ordered the ape to bring him
Then the lion asked “who took the shoes?”

The ape brought the lion to the river bank and pointed her finger into the
river saying; “he is down there”.

015. **daá k’otinká zobísim bidzéée meselká yimt’één**

daá-á k’ot-inká zob-ís-im biz-déé-b meselk-á yim-t’éé-n
say-CNV1 arrive-REAS lion-DEF-ACC like-IPF-M.RELT similar-CNV1 saw-IPF-3

**néxó gayó dáfá nú wókkil č’irin-č’ir-ánde**

nár-ó gəγ-ó dáf-á nú wókkil č’irin-č’ir-ánde
river-LOC inside-LOC stay-CNV1 3SM.SUBJ one RDP-aggressive-CNV2

“When he looked into the water, the lion saw somebody resembling him, his own reflection in the river. He became aggressive and opened his mouth to defeat his enemy’.

016. **gaʔin k’isč-ánde zǔnú wóninká ḋi k’ob sóó yínim**

guʔ-ti-n k’isč-ánde zǔnú wón-inká ḋi k’ob sóó yín-im
eat-PF-3 think-CNV2 up return-REAS ah! lord here 2S.OBJ-ACC

**ʔaté wućumdéé ḋamanana yá nááó ḋotk’ayáá**

ʔaté wućum-deé ḋamanana yá nár-ó ḋotl-k’áá
1S.SUBJ dry-IPF I-blieve 2S.OBJ river-LOC jump-NEG-Q

**ʔedá gimdéeén ḋeéén dót t’etánde zǔnú ḋutsub**

ʔed-á gim-deé-n ḋeé-en dót t’et-ánde zǔnú ḋuts-ub
say-CNV1 speak-IPF-3 like this COND say-CNV2 up climb-M.RELT

**ʔóló k’otá č’irínká čuí dóthá ki-yeh**

ʔóló k’ot-á č’ir-inká čuí dóthá ki-yeh
again arrive-CNV1 aggressive-REAS down stay-CNV1 3SM-like

**dašinka tasfera yizzó fotánde nú**

daš-inká tasfera yizz-ó fot-ánde nú
openmouth-REAS stand deep-LOC fall-CNV2 3SM.SUBJ

**zóbis kikomátkká wókkil kiyó k’ék’éyít’inin**

zób-is kí-ko-máá-t-ká wókkil kiyó k’é-k’éy-t’in-i-n
lion-DEF 3SM.OBJ-GEN-head-CNJ one there disappear-PASP-3F

‘Subsequently, it looked calm and turned away from the water. At this point the ape admonished him; “Oh! My Lord why do you turn back? I think you should rather attack the one in the river”. The lion returned to the river and looked down into the water. Seeing his own image he became aggressive and opened his mouth. When the lion opened his mouth, the image inside the river also opened its mouth. The lion jumped down into the river to attack him and he disappeared’.

017. **čuí kíko sib-is koká ŋik’iskoká**

čuí kí-ko sib-is ko-ká ŋik’-is-ko-ká
down 3SM.OBJ-GEN shoes-DEF3SF-CNJ material-GEN-CNJ
The story goes like this: there was an ape that kept cattle. As she tended her cattle, she collected their milk under the boko tree (kind of tree). This is a tree which produces for us the boku fruit.

‘He milks there and comes to make offering to the ancestor spirit.’
kišá wuč’t’ind ?até wondá
kiš-á wuč’t’-i-nd ?até wondá
engaged in sorcery-CNV1 drink-PF-F.RELT 1S.SUBJ alone

wuč’t’indéé bedá ţišĉęstéen
wuč’t’-ind-éé bed-á ţišĉęstéé-n
drink-PF-F.RELT-éé say-CNV1 think-IPF-3
‘After offering part of the milk, she thought to herself; “What shall I do, call my relatives or drink it alone?”’

004. ţišĉę ţišĉę ţišĉę bosin kinim
ţiščę-á ţiščę-á ţiščę-is bosin kin-im
RDP think-CNV1 think-DEF finally 3SM.OBJ-ACC
čeneč’ene k’isinká ?éléšim ?élélizá
čeneč’-čeneč’-is-inká ?él-is-im ?él-él-iz-á
RDP-worry-DEF-REAS call-DEF-ACC call-RDP-CAUS-CNV1

ké-n ?eχsá ?eχs-á ?áfisšé wuč’adot kétk
ké-n ?eχs-á ?eχs-á ?áf-is-sé wuč’a dót ké-tik
3PL.OBJ-DAT RDP-show-CNV1 eye-DEF-LOC drink COND 3PL.OBJ-too
gak’adk’akáýéé ?até won dáhá wuč’adó
gak’ad-k’a-káy-éé ?até wó-n dáh-á wuč’-á dót
dis appoint-not-COP 1S.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-DAT stay-CNV1 drink-CNV1 COND
gagak’t’éénéé t’aándé ?éléldééén.
gagak’t’éé-á-éé t’a-ándé ?él-el-déé-n.
oppose-IPF-3-FOC say-CNV2 call-RDP-IPF-3

‘While worried and in deep thought, she decided to call them, and to show them the milk (clearly) in front of them. She said to herself: “if I drink it alone, they will be seriously disappointed. If we get together and I drink it alone, they will not object to that very much.” Finally, she called them all.

005. tusahsim wuifu k’ááre dëebisim
tus-ab-is-im wuifu k’ááre dë-éb-is-im
relative-M.RELT -DEF-ACC all ape call-M.RELT-DEF-ACC

?élé bosá ţóló kiko wulaf-imik
?él-á bos-á ţóló ki-ko wul-af-im-ik
call-CNV1 finish-CNV1 again 3SM-GEN neighbour-PL-ACC-too
‘Finally the ape invited all her relatives, and neighbours’.

006. dadéebisim ţiyyáf čëlá bosbosá
da-dëé-b-is-im ţiyy-áf ?él-á bos-bos-á
live-IPF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC man-PL call-CNV1 RDP:finish-CNV1
?iyýáfs wuwu ?één dadéébisó
?iyy-áf-is wuwu ?één da-déé-b-is-ó
man-PL-DEF all like this live-IPF-M.RELT-DEF-LOC

gido k’int’á wuyánde ?abeydée
gid-ó k’int’-á wuy-ándé ?abeyd-éé
between-LOC start-CNV1 stand-CNV2 person-COP

?ató seekemde wudá dáhá
?ató seekem-de wud-á dáh-á
1S.SUBJ much-ABL put-CNV1 stay-CNV1

yenim ?éldeénée déa gímiokoyée
yen-im ?él-déé-n-éé dá-á gími-kóy-éé
2PL-ACC call-IPF-3-éé say-CNV1 speak-NEG-éé

sinuyéé ?ísíko džíí s’óhá dadéébis
sinuy-éé ?ís-k,ó dzíí s’óh-á da-déé-b-is
this-éé 1S.OBJ-GEN milk suck-CNV1 stay-CNV1

sinuyéé síním ?ató wón dáhá wučá
sinú-y-éé síním ?ató wón-dáh-á wuč-á
this-y-éé this-ACC 1S.SUBJ alone-stay-CNV1 drink-CNV1

dót ?ató yen ?eçsáká dáhá wučá
dót ?ató ye-n ?eçs-ká dáh-á wuč-á
COND 1S.SUBJ 2PLOBJ-DAT show-NEG stay-CNV1 drink-CNV1

dót ?óló yésé ?ís-se gagag-déé-b-is giśín
dót ?óló yésé ?ís-se gagag-déé-b-is giśín
COND again 2PL.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-LOC RDP:opose-M.RELT-DEF since

?ísíko manjísím žééne yófsínka ?ató
1S.OBJ-GEN gound-DEF-ACC eye-COM as this see-DEF-REAS 1S.SUBJ

wuč’t’ubée déa bókíská kéñ
wuč’t’-ub-éé dá-á bók-is-ká ké-n
drink-M.RELT-éé say-CNV1 fruit-DEF-LOC 3PL.OBJ-DAT

‘When she had called all the people together, the ape stood between them
and said; ‘dear friends I called you here for a very small thing, it really
isn’t a big matter. It concerns this small quantity of milk that I have col-
lected until now. I called you to show you the milk under the boko tree with
your own eyes and just to drink it soon’.

007. ?eç?eçándé ?afó sohu kas-á bitsínská
?eç?eçánde ?af-ó sohu kas-á bits-inká
RDP-show-CNV2 mouth-LOC just enter-CNV1 send-REAS
008. ?óló ŋí ní gáy woná
\( ?óló ŋí ní gáy woná \) again today 3SM.SUBJ fool be-CNV1

\( \text{dáá h}-wónu \text{wuč'-ib dót gaggat'-edáne} \)
\( \text{dáh-à ŋéh'-wónu wuč'}-ib dót gaggat'-ádné stay-CNV1 \) house-LOC only drink-REL (M) COND RDP:oppose-CNV2

\( \text{daá wótú ñéśindécèb ñëshin ñyiyká} \)
\( \text{da-à wótú ñéshin-dée-b ñëshin ñyiy-ká} \) say-CNV1 1PL.SUBJ narrate-IPF-RELT (M) story person-COM

\( \text{?ató wókkiłim ŋíntta daá ñyiyká tusum tusum} \)
\( \text{?ató wókkił-im ŋínt-ta da-à ñyiy-ká tusu-m-tusu-m} \) 1S.SUBJ one-NMZ go-DAT say-CNV1 person-COM RDP-relative-ACC

\( \text{daá ŋíntta daá lookindécè-b lookis} \)
\( \text{da-à ŋínt-ta da-à lookin-dée-b look-is} \) say-CNV1 go-INF say-CNV1 talk-IPF-REL (M) thing-DEF

\( \text{sikinindécè ?ató ñéśindécè.} \)
\( \text{sikin-im-dée ?ató ñéśindécè.t.} \) this-ACC-dée 1S.SUBJ narrate-IPF-1

‘Now, if she had stayed at home like a foolish person and drank it (alone) they would have quarrelled with her. This story that the ape knew how to live with her relatives in a good way. This is the moral of the story’.

13.2.8 Text 8: The three persons

001. ?énéb gíšká ñyiyi mákkkimid dimamze déen ?él
\( ?énénegiš-ká ñyiyi mákkkim-id dim-am-zé déen ?él \) early time-INST person three-PL Dime-ACC-LOC exist say ‘Early times there were three people who were in Dime.’

002. ñyiyi mákkkimísôde wókkilis durbab kiko
\( ?yiyi mákkkim-is-ó-de wókkił-is dur-bab kìko \) person three-DEF-LOC-ABL one-DEF wealth-AGEN 3SM.OBJ-GEN

\( \text{bayik dééen santik dééen wuuf -ub look dééen.} \)
\( \text{bay-ik dééen santik dééen wuuf-ub look dééen.} \) food-too exist money exist all-M thing exist ‘There were three people, one of whom was well-placed, having food, money and everything he needed.’
003. **k'ośtinafis tőbid dāhinká k'ośtinafisóde**

k'ośtin-af-is tőb-id dāh-inká k'ośtin-af-is-ó-de two-PL-DEF thief-PL live-REAS two-PL-DEF-LOC-ABL

**wōkkilubis zelemká giččó ?eč’ kiko déen**

wōkkil-ub-is zelem-ká giččó ?eč’ ki-ko déen one-M-DEF clever-PF very wise 3SM.OBJ-GEN exist

'The (other) two were thieves. One of the two was clever and he was very wise.'

004. **wobis gaayi tāáy wōkkil sis’e k’ent’ándé**

wob-is gaayi tāáy wōkkil sis’e k’ent’-ándé other-DEF fool now one day stand-CNV2

?āmis durbabiskábow bayim diibta

?ām-is dur-bab-is-ká-bow bay-im diib-ta\(^{45}\) man-DEF wealth-AGEN-DEF-COM-DIR food-ACC steal-INF

**binn tųŋ-diēn tųŋ-ándé wōkkilim tųŋ-á tųŋ-kay**

bin-n tųŋ-deēn tųŋ-ándé wōkkil-im tųŋ-á tųŋ-kay go.-PF-3 go-IPF go-CNV2 one-NMZ go-CNV1 go-NEG

?āmobisko k’irızé k’ot-ándé kirim-ō wobis

?ām-ob-is-ko k’irızé k’ot-ándé kirim-ō wob-is person-M-DEF-GEN door arrive-CNV2 fence-LOC other-DEF

**zelemubisēe kirmō dāhánde yá kot-ándé**

zelem-ub-is-ēe kirm-ō dāh-ándé yā kot-ándé wise-M-DEF-COP fence-LOC sit-CNV2 2S.SUBJ go-CNV2

**kiko kikeyisim bayisim pučándé**

ki-ko ki-key-is-im bay-is-im puč-ándé 3SM.OBJ-GEN 3SM-something-DEF-ACC food-DEF-ACC open-CNV2

**gotarisim pučándé bayisim kiko**

gotar-Is-im puč-ándé bay-is-im ki-ko store-DEF-ACC open-CNV2 food-DEF-ACC 3SM.OBJ-GEN

**wutsā baʔáaddéén**

wutsā baʔ-á-d-dé-ē-n take out take-come-IPF-3

'The other thief was a fool. One day the thieves woke up and went to the rich man’s house to steal. When they arrived at the door of the rich man, the wise man positioned himself somewhere within the fence and instructed the other thief, “go to the store of the wealthy man and steal his food by breaking open the store.”'
005. **tááy wobis gaay-is lupu wo̱xmá k’ot-ándé**
   tááy wo-b-is gaay-is lupu wo̱xmá k’ot-ándé
   now one-M.DEF fool-DEF suddenly enter-CNV1 arrive-CNV2

**?éhó kikó goterisim k’otándé k’ik’ìnístéén**
   ?éh-ó kí-kó goter-is-im k’ot-ándé k’i’k’in-is-téé-n
   house-LOC 3MS.OBJ-GEN store-DEF-ACC arrive-CNV2 RDP-left-CAUS-IPF-3

**goterisim k’insándé bayi kiko natint’isim**
   goter-is-im k’ins-ándé bayi kí-ko natint’-is-im
   storm-DEF-ACC lift-CNV2 food 3MS.OBJ-GEN roof-DEF-ACC

**buktéebká íyyís durbbais ?ádándé yítdin**
   bukté-é-b-ká íyy-ís dur-báb-is ?ád-ándé yídt-i-n
   take-M.RELT-COM man-DEF-wealth-AGEN-DEF come-CNV2 catch-PF-3

The fool entered the house suddenly. Breaking through the roof of the store he removed the contents. While he was busy doing this, the wealthy man came and caught him.

006. **yídd bowde yíldándé ?óó bayísóde šánkisé**
   yídd bow-de yíld-ándé ?óó bay-is-ó-de šánk-is-se
   catch DIR-ABL catch-CNV1 also food-DEF-LOC-ABL field-DEF-LOC

**wutsá gisím-in parstín.**
   wuts-á gisím-in parst-i-n
   take out-CNV1 kick-INF start-PF-3

‘After having caught him, the rich man took the thief out side and he started to kick him’.

007. **gigíz’èébká nú kiyó dáhá**
   gigíz-t’éé-b-ká nú kiyó dáh-á
   RDP-hit-IPF-M.RELT-INST 3MS.SUBJ there stay-CNV1

**?u̱uy?-u̱uxá ?até yídínste ?isim gigíz’èénéé**
   ?u̱uy?-u̱ux-á ?até yídínste ?ís-im gi-gíz’-t’éé-n-éé
   RDP: cry-CNV1 1S.OBJ catch 1S.OBJ-ACC RDP: hit-IPF-3-éé

**?eenedándé ?u̱uy? ?uyst péén mílofko**
   ?eened-ándé ?u̱uy?-u̱uyst-téé-n milof-ko
   like-CNV2 RDP: cry-IPF-3 out-GEN

‘When the rich man hit the thief, the thief cried out to his friend saying: “I have been caught and am being beaten (by him).” He cried out like this for a long time’.

008. **míloši ?ú mílo dáhándé yáyaisó yízándé**
   mílo-b-is ?ú mílo dáh-ándé yáay-is-ó yíz-ándé
   Out-M.RELT-DEF there out stay-CNV2 you-DEF-LOC run-CNV2
The (second) thief who remained outside replied to his friend, who had been seized; "why don’t you get up and escape?" The (first) thief responded to his friend; how can I escape when I am being held tight and receiving heavy blows?

Now, all three men; both the rich man and the two thieves knew the Dime language.

The wise thief thought of a clever way of saving his foolish friend. He asked him “which part of your body has been seized (by the rich man)?”

The foolish thief replies; “My hand, he is holding my hand”.

The (second) thief who remained outside replied to his friend, who had been seized; "why don’t you get up and escape?" The (first) thief responded to his friend; how can I escape when I am being held tight and receiving heavy blows?"
Chapter 13

013. ʔiʔ isko ʔanim yidîn
\[\text{The wise friend said; did he catch your hand?}\]
\[\text{yes} \quad \text{1S.OBJ-GEN hand-ACC catch-PF-3}\]

014. ʔini yînko ʔanim yîdîbîs ʔiskîsî táá
\[\text{The foolish thief replied (again); “yes he is holding onto my hand.”}\]
\[\text{2S.OBJ-GEN hand-ACC catch-REL(M)-DEF 1S.OBJ-tie now}\]

\[\text{fastené ʔini yá kîn zede}\]
\[\text{escape first 2S.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ than}\]

\[\text{yînko nû kûsim yidá dót}\]
\[\text{yîn-ko nu kus-im yidá-dót}\]
\[\text{2S.OBJ-GEN 3SM.SUBJ nose-ACC catch-COND}\]

\[\text{The wise thief said; "since he caught you by your hand you can escape, but if he had manged to catch your nose you couldn’t escape from him!”}\]

015. yà ʔini fasesfaškây dâhînkà ãëdedéènkà nû ãamîs
\[\text{Upon hearing this exchange of words the rich man took note and thought}\]
\[\text{yà ʔini fas-fas-kây dâh-înkà ãëdëdëèèn-kà nû ãam-is}\]
\[\text{2S.OBJ first RDP-free-not say-EXIST-PF 3SM.SUBJ man-DEF}\]

\[\text{durbab-is ʔînî ãamîsim yîdá gîs’î’ibis}\]
\[\text{rich-AGEN first yid-á gis’i’ib-is}\]
\[\text{hand-ACC ACC hit-M.RELT-DEF}\]

\[\text{ʔaháá sinû ãissedé fasâ ʔadá bidëéènàá ʔeef-àndé}\]
\[\text{Oh! this 1S.OBJ-than escape come-CNV1 go-IPF-Q say-CNV2}\]

\[\text{tâá ãaté nûkûsim yîtûb dân}\]
\[\text{now 1S.OBJ nose-DEF-ACC catch-FUT COP}\]

\[\text{‘Upon hearing this exchange of words the rich man took note and thought}\]
\[\text{to himself; “if I catch his nose he will not escape from me!”}\]

016. ʔeef-àndé nûkûsim ʔotélà yîtéeèbkà nûkûsim
\[\text{yidá giz’tûb ãeefèèkà kîkò ãanîsôde}\]
\[\text{fas-àndé diib-ub-is gaay-is-ik yîz-àndé wut-i-n-éè.}\]
'Consequently he tried to catch his nose, thinking that he could hold him more firmly and kick him harder. However, the foolish thief was able to benefit from the sudden movement to escape out of his hand, and rush to his friend. And this is how the story ended.'

13.2.9 Text-9: A rat and an elephant.

001. ʌtur ʔɛf-tub duurko nîtsim bedá ʔuystenin
\(\text{tur} \ ʔɛf\)-tub duur-k\(\text{o}\) nîts-im bed-t\(\text{á}\) ʔuys\(\text{t}\)-i-n\(\text{n}\)
\(\text{rat call-FUT elephant-GEN child-ACC marry-INF ask-PF-3}
\text{‘The rat asked the daughter of the elephant to marry him’}.

002. duurk\(\text{o}\) nîtsim baďá ʔustée\(\text{f}\)k\(\text{á}\) ná nîtsis ʔi\(\text{s}\)e \(\text{ď}\)á
\(\text{duur-ko nîts-im baď-á} \ ʔu\text{-stée}\(\text{f}\)k\(\text{á}\) ná nîts-is ʔi\(\text{s}\)e \(\text{ď}\)á
\(\text{elephant-GEN child-ACC marry-CNV1 ask-TEMP 3SF child-DEF ok say}
\text{‘When the rat asked the daughter of the elephant agreed to marry’}.

003. k\(\text{á}\)lo ko\(\text{z}\)im ko\(\text{z}\)imink\(\text{á}\) babis ya\(\text{g}\)nôde tiná
\(\text{k\(\text{á}\)lo ko\(\text{z}\)im-ko\(\text{z}\)im-ink\(\text{á}\) bab-is ya\(\text{g}\)nô-de tin-\(\text{á}\)
\(\text{word RDP-agree-REAS father-DEF farm-LOC-ABL go-CNV1
\text{‘When the rat asked the daughter of the elephant agreed to marry’}.

\(\text{escape-CN2 thief-M-DEF fool-DEF too run-CN2 escape-PF-3-éé}.
\text{‘In ancient times it was said that the wise man who stayed outside, as well as foolish thief who went inside were able to escape’}.

\(\text{wise-M-DEF too out-LOC sit-CN2 fool-DEF-ACC too run-CN1 leave-CN1}
\text{‘In ancient times it was said that the wise man who stayed outside, as well as foolish thief who went inside were able to escape’}.

\(\text{escape-CN2 fool-DEF too out-LOC run-CN1 leave-CN1}
\text{escape-CN2 fool-DEF too out-LOC run-CN1 leave-CN1}
\text{go-PF-3 say COP say-M.RELT ancient time
\text{‘In ancient times it was said that the wise man who stayed outside, as well as foolish thief who went inside were able to escape’}.

\(\text{escape-CN2 fool-DEF too out-LOC run-CN1 leave-CN1
\text{escape-CN2 fool-DEF too out-LOC run-CN1 leave-CN1
\text{go-PF-3 say COP say-M.RELT ancient time
\text{‘In ancient times it was said that the wise man who stayed outside, as well as foolish thief who went inside were able to escape’}.

\(\text{escape-CN2 thief-M-DEF fool-DEF too run-CN2 escape-PF-3-éé}.
\text{‘Consequently he tried to catch his nose, thinking that he could hold him more firmly and kick him harder. However, the foolish thief was able to benefit from the sudden movement to escape out of his hand, and rush to his friend. And this is how the story ended’}.

\(\text{escape-CN2 thief-M-DEF fool-DEF too run-CN2 escape-PF-3-éé}.
\text{‘Consequently he tried to catch his nose, thinking that he could hold him more firmly and kick him harder. However, the foolish thief was able to benefit from the sudden movement to escape out of his hand, and rush to his friend. And this is how the story ended’}.

\(\text{escape-CN2 thief-M-DEF fool-DEF too run-CN2 escape-PF-3-éé}.
\text{‘Consequently he tried to catch his nose, thinking that he could hold him more firmly and kick him harder. However, the foolish thief was able to benefit from the sudden movement to escape out of his hand, and rush to his friend. And this is how the story ended’}.

\(\text{escape-CN2 thief-M-DEF fool-DEF too run-CN2 escape-PF-3-éé}.
\text{‘Consequently he tried to catch his nose, thinking that he could hold him more firmly and kick him harder. However, the foolish thief was able to benefit from the sudden movement to escape out of his hand, and rush to his friend. And this is how the story ended’}.
The elephant father ate his food and lie down on the ground to rest. When the elephant lay down on the ground, he touched the calabash, in which the rat was hiding. Subsequently, the rat cried out; s’ii, s’ii, s’iii! When the rat cried out; “s’ii, s’ii, s’iii,” the elephant heard and asked his daughter what the matter was, and who was crying. His daughter replied that it was her husband, the rat’.

\[\text{déébée} \text{ without suffixing to verb expresses a type of verb ‘to be’ which seems relative and also seems to be emphasized.}\]
006. ʔeré ʔaté ʔiyí yá ʔiyinéé dakyai č’ekk’ub
Ah! 1S.SUBJ man 2S.SUBJ man-DAT-ée marry small-M

ʔiskinéé dadeébi yínim Ñay fak’id yínká
3SM-Subject da-acc-2S-DAT: who permission 2S-COM

‘Oh! I am a dignified person; you should marry a worthy husband! Who permitted you to marry such a small animal?’

007. yá ʔiskinéé dadeé gím bowé nú
yá ʔis-acc de-acc gími bow-de nú
2S.SUBJ 1S-3SM-COP stay-IPF speak DIR-ABL 3SM

lum-ó wójim-á dähá wóirim k’aams-ândé žóló nú
hole-LOC enter-CNV1 stay-CNV1 talk-ACC hear-CNV2 also 3SM

‘After saying this to his daughter, the elephant went. The rat was listening and heard everything that the elephant told to his daughter, as he hid in the hole below’.

008. duuris bayim ñitsá k’int’á tukum wuč’á
duur-is bay-im ?its-á k’int-á tukum wuč’-á
elephant-DEF food-ACC eat-CNV1 stand-CNV1 coffee leaf drink-CNV1

yaxnu binn k’int’á ñtíŋdééfká tífóti fó ŋůndé
yaxnu bin-n k’int-á ti-ŋ-diééfká tífó-tífó ŋů-ândé
farm leave-IPF-3 prepare-CNV1 RDP-go-TEMPRDP: behind go-CNV2

k’otá kikistééfká kiso gáská wójimá
k’ot-á ki-kis-tééfká kiso gáská wójim-á
arrive-CNV1 RDP-toilet-TEMP anus road-INST enter-CNV1

kiko koko babisko buudum
ki-ko kó-ko bab-is-ko buud-im
3SM.SUBJ-GEN 3SF-GEN father-DEF-GEN heart-ACC

k’ars’á kínim láx-láystéen
k’ars-á kín-im láx-láy-stéen
cut-CNV1 3SM-ACC RDP-dé-IPF-3

‘The elephant having eaten his food and drunk coffee he went to his farm. When the elephant sat down to relieve himself, the rat entered into his body through his anus and ate his heart. This caused the elephant’s death’.

009. lááysá wonná yízá ŋadá yínkó
lá-láy-s-á wonn-á yíz-á ŋad-á yín-kó
RDP:kill-CNV1 again-CNV1 run-CNV1 come-CNV1 2S.OBJ-GEN
The rat killed the elephant and came back to his wife and told her that her father had died. He called all her relatives and gathered them to bury her father. They carried the corpse and buried him.

‘The rat killed the elephant and came back to his wife and told her that her father had died. He called all her relatives and gathered them to bury her father. They carried the corpse and buried him’.

‘However, after he was buried relatives of the elephant said: “the elephant may come back to us (i.e. may haunt us?)”. Therefore they decided to take revenge on the rat. They invited rats, and gave them a house and kept them together there’.

‘However, after he was buried relatives of the elephant said: “the elephant may come back to us (i.e. may haunt us?)”. Therefore they decided to take revenge on the rat. They invited rats, and gave them a house and kept them together there’.
zîzîs’á dâhâ ?ôlôö?êhëse nunim wudéén
zi-zîs’-á dâh-á ?ôlô ö?êh-se nun-im wudéé-n
RDP-close-CN1 stay-CN1 again house-LOC fire-ACC put-IPF-3

‘The elephant’s relatives waited some days, leaving the rats alone in the house. They gave them food and local beer to drink, warning them not to come out and not to see anybody. They closed the doors firmly, and eventually set fire to the house’.

012. ?êhse nunum wudinká kété ?êntaç besinsá
?êh-se nun-im wud-inká kété ?êntaç besins-á
house-LOC fire-ACC fire-REAS 3PL last time correct-CN1

liqsubo lumô šotšot yizâ wuqmá
li̱q-is-ub-ô lum-ô šot-šot yiz-á wuqm-á
prepare-CAUS-M.RELT-LOC hole-LOC RDP-enter run-CN1 enter-CN1

gîrînîjîm ?aká kutsá wutsub dëënká ?ôlô
gîrînîj-im ?ak-á kuts-á wut-sub dëën-kâ ?ôlô
bush-ACC pick-CN1 collect-CN1 put-FUT exist-PF again

?êhîs ãatatêêfâká gîrînîjîcîs gôjô dâhá tatayštëéén
?êh-is ãata-têêfâká gîrînîj-is gôjô dâh-á tatayš-êtëé-n
house-DEF fire-TEMP bush-DEF inside stay-CN1 explod-IPF-3

‘However, while the house burned the rats run away and entered a hole, which they had prepared before. They collected fruits from the bush and left them in the fire. When the house burned down the fruits exploded’.

013. kété ?êhîm ãatsá ?êsinû ãégîrtaçšîn ãégîrtasîn
kété ?êh-im ãats-á ?êsinû ãégîr-taçš-i-n ãégîr-taš-i-n
3PL.SUBJ house-ACC fire-CN1 this RDP-explode-IPF-3 explode-IPF-3

?êdá mizim fayêdéènká nû ?êhkiçô k’otá
?êd-á miz-im fay-dëéfâká nû ?êh-kiçô k’ot-á
say-CN1 name-ACC count-TEMP 3SM house-ground arrive-CN1

?êchîsim wûyá ãatsé ?êfá wonná ãûysîn
?êch-is-im wûyá ãatsé ?êf-á wonn-á ãûys-i-n
house-DEF-ACC what fire say-CN1 again-CN1 ask-PF-3

‘As the house burned down, the fruits exploded. The elephants outside counted the explosions and assumed that each one marked the explosion of the body of a rat. Finally the rat who was the husband of the elephant’s daughter (emerged) and asked who had set fire to the house’.

014. këko malkeydin malkeydînká ãabeside tasim wôtû ãasiyá
kê-ko malkeyd-in-malkeyd-ink-á ãabeside tasim wôt-û ãasiy-á
3PL-GEN RDP-disturb-REAS my dear near 1PL how
They reacted to the question with confusion. One of the elephants exclaimed: “Dears, what shall we do?” Finally they sent the rat (husband) with his wife to their home in the morning’.

On the way he departed from her and ate the crops (peas) of the farm along the way. The owner hit him on his cheek with a stone. When he was struck by the stone, he came back to his wife and told her the crow had hit him’.

‘On the way he departed from her and ate the crops (peas) of the farm along the way. The owner hit him on his cheek with a stone. When he was struck by the stone, he came back to his wife and told her the crow had hit him’.

‘On the way he departed from her and ate the crops (peas) of the farm along the way. The owner hit him on his cheek with a stone. When he was struck by the stone, he came back to his wife and told her the crow had hit him’.
'He told his wife to wash him with hot water'.

018 ná ṭoló táá ṭoló búbudéé t’iibisim ʔíst
ná ṭoló táá ṭoló búbud-éé t’iib-is-im ʔíst
3SF.SUBJ again now again husband-éé consider-DEF-ACC me

ná re šišideʔdéeénká ʔamó k’otti
ná re šišideʔ-déeen-ká ʔamó k’otti
water RDP:wash-exist-PF where arrive

ye’dá ūřim řégim sušubišá třé dée nká
yeď-á ūřim řerg-im šu-šub-iš-á třir déen-ká
say-CNV1 bed leaf-ACC RDP:get dry-CAUS-CNVI bed exist-PF

žirgem sušubiš melzé řiššá
žirge-m šuš-ub-iš melzé řišš-á
leaf-ACC get dry-M.RELT-CAUS floor make_sleep-CNVI

'She prepared hot water, intending to wash his jaw and make him sleep on
the bed. He ordered his wife to prepare a leaf out side, and remove the
moisture in order to wash him outside on it. She put the leaf outside on the
bed to wash him, while he slept outside on the floor’.

019. ná re šištì dá džídééfká kínim melzéde zol gis’á
ná re šištì dá džídééfká kín-im melzé-de zol gis’-á
water wash say enter-TEMP 3SM-ACC floor-ABL crow hit-CNVI

baʔá gis’i babinnéé daceb wóko
baʔ-á gis’i ba-bin-n-éé da-déé-b wó-ko
take-CNVI hit take-go.-PF-3-éé exist-M.RELT 1PL.OBJ-GEN

terete déé-éè
terete déé-éè
story exist-éé

'When she entered the home to bring the water in order to wash him, the
crow had struck him and taken him away. This is how the story is told’.

13.2.10 Text 10: A story about a rabbit and a deffersa47.

001. řilká kukká
řiʔ-ká kuk-ka
rabbit-CNJ deffersa-CNJ

‘Rabbit and deffersa’

002. řilká kukká bač giččóm wókkila dáhimá
řiʔ-ká kuk-ka bač gičč-ó-b-im wókkila dáh-imá
rabbit-CNJdeffersa-CNJ year big-LOC-M-ACC one stay-INCH

47 A deffersa is a kind of waterbuck.
‘Many years ago, the Rabbit and the Deffersa lived together’.

003. ʔil kukim ṭaylonsá dáh-ânde bind ŋisko zerde
ʔil kuk-im ṭaylonsá dáh-ânde bind ŋis-ko zer-de
Rat deffersa-ACC servant stay-CNV2 always me-GEN body-ABL

seimáka bitsá ŋisko zere ṭals’im-ʔals’imá ŋisim
seimá-ká bits-á ŋis-ko zere ṭals’im-ʔals’-imá ŋis-im
flea-INST find_out-CNV1 me-GEN body RDP: scratch-INCH 15.OBJ-ACC

seye gagaʔadéénéé seyimaká ŋisko bitsá dáhe d’á
seye gagaʔadé-ɛ-ɛ seyima-ká ŋis-ko bits-á dáhe d’á
flea RDP-eat-IPF-3-ɛ flea-INST me-GEN find-CNV1 stay say

gímít
gim-i-t
tell-PF-1

‘The deffersa was told by the rabbit that he would have to stay with him as a servant and remove the fleas from his body. He suffered from the bites of the fleas, which made him scratch his body very often’.

004. kukú zerdééyidís wuuf ŋiʃi d’á kíko
kukú zer-ðéé-yid-ís wuuf ŋiʃi d’á kí-ko
deffersa body-exist-PL-DEF all ok say 3SM.OBJ-GEN

dóóttó ʔoʃtá seyimá ṭahimá wonú bać gičóm
dóótt-ó ʔoʃt-á seyim-á ṭahim-á wonú bać giččo-m
leg-LOC govern-CNV1 flea-CNV1 find-CNV1 only year big-ACC

kölsín
kols-í-n
pass-PF-3

‘All the deffersa were subservient to the rule of the rabbits and they spent a very long time like this’.

005. kiyoðde tifó wókkilim s’ee ŋilis gimánde ŋisko
kiyoð-de tifó wókkil-im s’ee ŋil-is gim-ânde ŋis-ko
there-ABL after one-NMZ day rat-DEF speak-CNV2 1S.OBJ-GEN

ʔuʃim-ís-im ṭanká yidká meʃ ɓaʃo k’otká mɛh
ʔuʃim-ís-im ṭan-ká yid-ká meʃ ɓaʃ-ó k’ot-ká mɛh
horn-DEF-ACC hand-COM catch-NEG value near-LOC arrive-NEG money
After some time, one day a rabbit told the deffersas: “Don’t touch my horn with your hand and don’t go near it, you are only supposed to pick off the fleas from my body.” The rabbit was pretending that his ear was sharp and hard as a horn. This way the rabbits prevented the deffersas from having power over them, and they stayed like this for a long time.”

‘It went on like this for a long time. The differsas thought what they were bodies without touching the ears.’

‘It went on like this for a long time. The differsas thought what they were bodies without touching the ears.’

‘It went on like this for a long time. The differsas thought what they were bodies without touching the ears.’
"The rabbit later woke up from his sleep and started moving around. Another day when the rabbits ordered the deffersas to pick off the fleas from their body they refused to serve them. The deffersas admonished the rabbits not to trouble them. The rabbits warned them, threatening that if they did not serve them they would be killed by their sharp horns. The deffersas replied that they could no longer suppress them. We can kick you with our legs and we attack you together".
‘The rabbit was afraid and rushed out, when they (the differsas) came towards them. In this way the differsas liberated themselves from the influence of the rabbit, they declared their freedom. It is said that it happened this way’.
14 Word list

In this section we provide Dime word list in two different columns. In the first column the word list is arranged based on the following order: ?, b, č, ě, d, e, f, g, h, dž, k, k', l, m, n, p, p', r, s, s', š, t, t', ts, w, y, z, ž. In the second column the word list is arranged based on the English alphabet. Nouns end in vowels or consonants. The nouns that end in vowels consist of two components: the root and a terminal vowel. The terminal vowels are i, e and u. The imperative is the basic form of Dime verbs. The imperative stem can end in one of the vowels -e, -i, and -u or in any consonant. Adjectives are characterized by using the suffixes -ub/-ind.

14.1 Dime- English word list

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dime</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?aafė</td>
<td>n face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āāke</td>
<td>v pick up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aa k</td>
<td>n paternal grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aa sē</td>
<td>v insult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?absāγ</td>
<td>n fire wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ācimt’</td>
<td>v hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āde</td>
<td>v come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ūddū</td>
<td>n four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āfal</td>
<td>n cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āfē</td>
<td>n mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āfe</td>
<td>n eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?afē</td>
<td>v display/expose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?af</td>
<td>v result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ahō</td>
<td>adv well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aho-b</td>
<td>adj good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ākan</td>
<td>adj younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ākim</td>
<td>n calabash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ākk</td>
<td>n stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āyim</td>
<td>n enset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?alge</td>
<td>n bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?amas-ub</td>
<td>adj individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āmē</td>
<td>n woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ānjim</td>
<td>v bless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ānme</td>
<td>n wild fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ānuftim</td>
<td>n menstruation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āsyē</td>
<td>v break, bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āsyē</td>
<td>n clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āsīn kā</td>
<td>int why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āšī</td>
<td>v insult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?atē</td>
<td>pron 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ātši</td>
<td>n fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āt’te</td>
<td>v give birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āt’trim</td>
<td>n offspring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āne</td>
<td>n hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āngāskā</td>
<td>cnj because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ānkōdāye</td>
<td>n arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ānkōgūs</td>
<td>n finger(hand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ānkōsōnke</td>
<td>n palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ānzōl</td>
<td>n hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ārū</td>
<td>n hippopotamus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ātse</td>
<td>v burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ātse</td>
<td>n old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āre</td>
<td>n tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āysi</td>
<td>v drive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āyi či</td>
<td>n fire fighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āyli</td>
<td>n servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āyi</td>
<td>Int.pron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āimē</td>
<td>n movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āyse</td>
<td>n gift for marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āyyān</td>
<td>n luck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēęn</td>
<td>n high-land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēęs’l</td>
<td>v swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēfti</td>
<td>n bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēftśi</td>
<td>n need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēhē</td>
<td>n house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēl</td>
<td>v call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēme</td>
<td>n termite sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēnē</td>
<td>n ancient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēg</td>
<td>n wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēnōn</td>
<td>v judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ēysī</td>
<td>v show</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Word list

\(\text{ʔ\text{aus}t}\)  n throat (neck)
\(\text{ʔ\text{aus}t}\)  v sink
\(\text{ʔ\text{ec}'im}\)  v to be wise
\(\text{ʔ\text{ɛi}s}\)  n story
\(\text{ʔ\text{ɛtǐ}}\)  v wound him
\(\text{ʔ\text{ɛtǐm}}\)  n wound
\(\text{ʔ\text{ɛr}ɛn}\)  v sweat
\(\text{ʔ\text{idǐ}}\)  n tongue
\(\text{ʔ\text{ǐk}}\)  n paternal grand father
\(\text{ʔ\text{ǐnǐ}}\)  n sheep
\(\text{ʔ\text{istsē}}\)  n red-eyed
c\(\text{ʔ\text{ikǐ}}\)  v pierce
c\(\text{ʔ\text{ikimse}}\)  v mix
\(\text{ʔ\text{idǐ}}\)  n hare
\(\text{ʔ\text{idim ĕdīdīn}}\)  n ?udder
\(\text{ʔ\text{idim ĕme}}\)  n breast
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idim ĕmi}}\)  v give
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idim ĕnī}}\)  n today
\(\text{ʔ\text{idim ĕnk}}\)  n ant
\(\text{ʔ\text{idīnī}}\)  n journey
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīnē}}\)  n weight
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīsīm}}\)  n elder brother
\(\text{ʔ\text{idīrīmī}}\)  v threaten
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīsīncī}}\)  v think
\(\text{ʔ\text{idīsīn}}\)  v get hurt
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīndīb}}\)  n aunt son/daughter
\(\text{ʔ\text{idīdīdīdī}}\)  n wife
\(\text{ʔ\text{idīndotīk}}\)  cny therefore
c\(\text{ʔ\text{ĩɛnkān}}\)  n maternal aunt
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīnə}}\)  n day
\(\text{ʔ\text{idīnsē}}\)  n bee
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīrēfē}}\)  n moon
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīsi}}\)  v eat
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīsī}}\)  n teeth
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idītee}}\)  n back of the neck
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīsīsī}}\)  v lay down
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīsīn}}\)  n sorrow
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīlī}}\)  n sun light
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīyī}}\)  n person
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīyōsū}}\)  v shout
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīyōsōm}}\)  n shout
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idīyōzūr}}\)  n sack
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōcū}}\)  n a hole
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōsī}}\)  n butter
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōkīsīn}}\)  v the day after tomorrow
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōrkū}}\)  n snake
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōrōrxū}}\)  n fish
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōntīts}}\)  n calf
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōlpū}}\)  v draining water
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōtū}}\)  n cow
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōtlu}}\)  v jump
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōlōy}}\)  adv slowly
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōlo}}\)  adv also/again
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōlōy}}\)  adv quick
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idōtsū}}\)  v peel
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idūbsū}}\)  n evaporation
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idūdū}}\)  n four
\(\text{ʔ\text{idūdū}}\)  n put
\(\text{ʔ\text{idūdūlī}}\)  n mortar
\(\text{ʔ\text{idūk}}\)  v exchange
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idūminī}}\)  n arrow
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idūrīn}}\)  n rat spec
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idunksīl}}\)  n chest
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idūssū}}\)  v cook
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idūssūm}}\)  n horn
c\(\text{ʔ\text{idūsī}}\)  v ask

\(\text{bāāke}\)  n hearth
\(\text{baalim}\)  n blind
\(\text{bāālé}\)  n market
\(\text{bāām}\)  n near
\(\text{bāānī}\)  n big wound
\(\text{baʔa}\)  v eat (for serials or solid matter)
\(\text{baʔād}\)  v bring
\(\text{baɓē}\)  n father
\(\text{bāɓ-kān}\)  n paternal uncle
\(\text{bač}\)  n year
\(\text{bač \text{ʔintah}o}\)  adv last year
\(\text{baččē}e\)  n cattle fence
\(\text{bāfo}\)  n village
\(\text{bāgzem-ub}\)  adj cold
\(\text{bāhe}\)  n paternal aunt
\(\text{bālē}\)  n difference
\(\text{bāle (kīlē'ī)}\)  n charcoal
\(\text{balağı}\)  n foolishness
\(\text{bāl-ub}\)  adv other
\(\text{bābbālu}\)  n father-in-law
\(\text{bām-ūb}\)  adj shallow of water
\(\text{bām}\)  adv/adj near
\(\text{bānde}\)  n (fur of wild animal)
\(\text{bant}\)  n appointed drinking day
\(\text{bangi}\)  n vagina lip
\(\text{bāngił}\)  n jaw
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāne</td>
<td>v marry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bārzi</td>
<td>n meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāsīm</td>
<td>n fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāsim-ub</td>
<td>adj fearful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayi</td>
<td>n food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāze</td>
<td>n debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāzzām-ub</td>
<td>adj damned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāākī</td>
<td>v boil stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bābāšēten</td>
<td>v fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baltē</td>
<td>n forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balt’e</td>
<td>n trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bānde</td>
<td>n hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bārgol</td>
<td>n enemy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barži</td>
<td>n millet</td>
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<tr>
<td>bārži</td>
<td>n translate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāx</td>
<td>v get fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak’ul</td>
<td>n mule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baltē</td>
<td>n luck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balčē</td>
<td>n cooked cereal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bartsē</td>
<td>v increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāšē</td>
<td>n clay plate (for baking enjera)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēet</td>
<td>n refugee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēez</td>
<td>n star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēdze</td>
<td>adv out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēdza</td>
<td>v say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēsīn (gūsū)</td>
<td>v correct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bētā bētā</td>
<td>n lizard sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēzá</td>
<td>v seem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēč</td>
<td>n blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēčx</td>
<td>n goiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēčx</td>
<td>n fruit spec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būjē</td>
<td>n spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būmī</td>
<td>v satisfy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būndī</td>
<td>v create</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būndī</td>
<td>adv. always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būndī</td>
<td>n ashes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būkōlī</td>
<td>n bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīrgī</td>
<td>n summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīrzi</td>
<td>v repent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bītsē</td>
<td>v send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bītt-ub</td>
<td>adj straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būlit</td>
<td>n evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būlt’e</td>
<td>v leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būčē</td>
<td>n leather/skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būltakā</td>
<td>n system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīr</td>
<td>n adam’s apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būkū</td>
<td>n fruit sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boyt’u</td>
<td>v forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōolidi</td>
<td>v forecast</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bōsīnī</td>
<td>v end/finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōolú</td>
<td>v curse to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōno</td>
<td>n scar on girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōono</td>
<td>v be sufficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōyit</td>
<td>v be slippery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōž</td>
<td>n knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būbud</td>
<td>n husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būc’ū</td>
<td>n flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būlú</td>
<td>v untie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būrū</td>
<td>n kidney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būlūlú</td>
<td>n dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būlkú</td>
<td>v clear forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būxulū</td>
<td>v sprout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būktē</td>
<td>v take by force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būkú</td>
<td>n solid soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būlō</td>
<td>v disconnect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būltu</td>
<td>v solve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bůnů</td>
<td>n coffee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bůnk’ām</td>
<td>n coffee leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bůud</td>
<td>n heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buugu</td>
<td>v rob</td>
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<tbody>
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<td>č</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čiči</td>
<td>v draw/spill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čů</td>
<td>adv bottom</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>č’aán</td>
<td>n meeting place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’aak’e</td>
<td>n oath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’aáki</td>
<td>v swear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’ac’āzān</td>
<td>v slap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’aļle</td>
<td>v make peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’añe</td>
<td>v load</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’sọrti</td>
<td>v emerge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’ak’k-ub</td>
<td>v small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’ilil-ub</td>
<td>adj yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’orzyond-ub</td>
<td>adj green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’erké</td>
<td>n dew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’iri</td>
<td>n mercy/forgiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’išime</td>
<td>n flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’iyi</td>
<td>n cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’ițzz</td>
<td>n tuber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’li</td>
<td>n root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’lič’</td>
<td>n cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’līgī</td>
<td>v pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’līt’</td>
<td>v relax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
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<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č'olay</td>
<td>n belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č'olu</td>
<td>n dirty (spoiled intestine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č'úbí</td>
<td>v smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č'úbú</td>
<td>n smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č'uč'ufi</td>
<td>v be rot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č'upú</td>
<td>v squeezed</td>
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<tr>
<td>dál</td>
<td>v beat</td>
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<tr>
<td>dán copula</td>
<td>is/are/am</td>
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<tr>
<td>dándé</td>
<td>n long/high grass</td>
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<tr>
<td>dammé</td>
<td>n drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawú</td>
<td>n dragon</td>
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<tr>
<td>daré</td>
<td>n goat</td>
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<tr>
<td>děč-ub adj</td>
<td>virgin</td>
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<tr>
<td>děčé/ děét</td>
<td>v exsit</td>
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<tr>
<td>děs(ágé) v</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>děšé</td>
<td>n shadow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>děysi v kill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>děcèxé v cook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>děxy-ub adj</td>
<td>wise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dříbi v steal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>dříbi n rain</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>dříbi-řizgát</td>
<td>n heavy rain</td>
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<tr>
<td>dříb-ub adj</td>
<td>thief</td>
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<tr>
<td>dřídi n scar</td>
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<tr>
<td>dřími n war</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>dříni n soup (type)</td>
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<tr>
<td>dís v grind</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>dítsí v grow</td>
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<tr>
<td>díppí - all</td>
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<tr>
<td>díší v boil</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>díža n mid land</td>
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<tr>
<td>dólind n beetle</td>
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<tr>
<td>dólísta v adj</td>
<td>adjust the grinder</td>
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<tr>
<td>dómí v cut</td>
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<tr>
<td>dát cnj. if</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>dotík cnj. or</td>
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<tr>
<td>dótógás n way/path</td>
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<tr>
<td>dómí n foot print</td>
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<tr>
<td>dómítu n leg</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>důótádm n</td>
<td>bended leg</td>
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<tr>
<td>důší n round</td>
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<tr>
<td>důxtú v swir</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>donú n potato</td>
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<tr>
<td>důótto adv</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>důbtú (kubtu)</td>
<td>v carry</td>
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<tr>
<td>důchú v noise made by lion or ox</td>
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<tr>
<td>důf n foam</td>
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<tr>
<td>důlům n dance</td>
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<tr>
<td>dů nú n clay soil</td>
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<tr>
<td>duumu adv down</td>
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<tr>
<td>důmindí n slop</td>
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<tr>
<td>důrbab n rich</td>
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<tr>
<td>důru n wealth</td>
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<tr>
<td>důrú n elephant</td>
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<tr>
<td>důku v grave</td>
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<tr>
<td>důlí v dance</td>
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<tr>
<td>dudi n dump</td>
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<tr>
<td>durum n stamp</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>důkú v bury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duyúú v stoop</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fáčí v be tired</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fáre v fly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fásé v escape</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fáší falgé v divide</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fášint v separate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fátskaží adj useless</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fátáye n leather mat</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fááhe n light rain</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>fádi v judge</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>faidé v count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faré v fight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fášíndé n difference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faidé v read</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fántí v boil
fúrí v look in to
físt n common cold
fístéen v cough
firáší n matress
fótú v fail
fookó v embrace
fókú v throw stone
fónná v fall
fóórá/ fóóla v be tired of (sth)
fufínd n yoghurt
fúcú v open
fusú v send
fuúž n heavy cough
fúg n bladder

g

gáádí v demarcate/divide
gááyi n fool
gááž v curse
gále n provisions for journey
gáwwu n hookworm
gáádí v suck
gááit n hoe
gáásim adv tomorrow
gák’dí v disappoint
gááá v bite
gáámi v win
gáámis n robber
gáncíru n pot (big)
gááchib n plant sp.
gáarse n flea
garáam múštín n wizard
gársí n louse
gááši n road
gáááší n forest
gáá’s’e n clitoris/vagina
gááp’e v plaited (hair)
gáázdé n boundary
gáarám v groan
gááre n plant spec
gábtsé n group work
gááché n chin
gehé v push
gommaádo-úb adj inseparable
gonné n honerable woman
garž n cat
gášin n old woman
gérrí n terrace
gééri n an telope
géézhé n local beer
gééci n teff
gídó adv between
gíltó adv. down
gímí v tell
gíóí n vein
gíringé n bush
gírsí v relapse
gís’í v hit
gís’ím n satisfaction
gíást v breath
gíáí n shepherd
gíééí v cover
gíééíío adv very /more
gíééíío-b adj big
giíd v belch
gimél n camel
gííri n roof
gíírís n porcupine
gííshími n pasture
gííská adj ancient
gíísh’í v shoot
gíísh’il v satiate
gíísh’ilí n quarrel
gííri v hate
gíírsí v recovering
gíírsí n porcupine
gôbhë n basketo (person)
gáyó adj inside
gááwó n step back
gófínd v hide
gófír n frog
gofít n happiness
góiídu n monkey
gómp n back (body part)
góngu n boat
góngu n plate for serving food
gont’ v disagree
gónù n beehive
gós’ù n mosquito
gótíru n barn
góyá n buttack
golán n tail
gósú n man
güdúum n pork
güdúum-úb adj tall
Word list

227

gúít’-ub adj white
guls’ú n alge
gúntu n rope
gumt’i n disease
güppu v fail down
guurfu n empty (of house only)
guurfel n a kind of hole
guşs n nail
gúsu n big gourd
gús-mañ n gourd for drinking beer
guífungu n shield
gúfs’uind n chameleon
guífü n navel
guífu n ribs
gufu v stamp (on land)
guc’u n burnt food
guudyú n state of drunkenness
guudybab n dramkard
gumi v fry
gúnt’ú n thunder
gunt’i v twist
guuru n crocodile
gusá n truth
guuzú v get drunk

h

háakkó v resign
háake v ‘pick up’
háffe n knife
hamey adv how many
hame n home country
hamzé n birth place
hiği v go
hirin n pea
hirim n hump

dʒ

dʒányá n metre
dʒáne n forearm
dʒáne v throw
dʒárín v disappear
dʒafé n pluck
dʒala n friend
dʒamdʒánim v drink continuously
dʒamdʒimé v be difficult
dʒammé n salt
dʒampé n side (body part)
dʒank’è v move
dʒégi v sew
dʒagi n rain with wind
dʒiáu n muscles
dʒiši v milk
dʒiíre n valley
dʒímíníp’ v tremble
dʒómår n ginger
dʒórà n storm
dʒúbúr n circular wind
dʒullú v cheat

k

kááde v faint
kása v plant
kábбе n maize
kádi n locust
káf v wait
kámáy n sorghum
kámme n wing
kánim n sister (younger)
káše n check
kási v suckle
kásií n molar teeth
káze n firewood
kálfe n shoulder
káuím v chew
kátsé n worm
kérfe v talk
kets n taboo
késté n vagina
kégsí v dream
kéjim n dream
kéki n bird spec
kété pron. they
keysí v erase
kénsí n dog
kéz n sudden news of death
kì pron. him
kíni n spider
kís’ v snore
kísi n faeces
kílim n day
kíši n wasp
kit v command/order
kítim-ub adj selfish
kítok n message
kičí v cover with grass
kílo v follow foot step
kíndé n eye lash
kirčirč-ub adj hard
kívó adv. there
kö pron. her
köits v kick hard
köitsub n iron/metal
koíz n hen
köku v build (stone)
kökú n bird spec
kólab n child walk
kólúb adv previous
köólí n eagle
kólóu v put side way
kolsí v pass
komob v win
korada n bell
köórü n eagle
körruru n coriander seed
közyšim n agreement
köxí xí love
köbu n ant
köbi’tu v carry
ekofčú n lung
koisán n sugar cane
koizkísé n hen poop
komú n wind
korr n talk
kórr-bab n talkative
kot’iri v jump
kósú n scar (made of polished wood bark)
kóom v keep corpus from any danger
kax n crow
kúzbú n fly
kú blasts v load down
kúbt’i v carry
kúfu n forest
kúču v quarrel
kúčim v call
kúli n stick
kúlu n burnt grain
kúmtí v chew diet
kúmu n cabbage
kúmú v bread
kúkú n deffersa (animal spec)

kúyú v dig
kúy-báb n digger
kurú n honey
kurkur-ub adj ugly
kutsümú v meet
kusint’ n pile
kusú n fat (of meat)

k’

k’aámë n ear/leaf
k’aamsé v hear/listen
k’aáre n ape
k’aay n fog
k’ahé n necklace (of shell and beads)
kané v rain
k’ańzé n day
k’anp’á n plant.sp.
kašinašiš n eight
kašé v like
k’astín n two
kaśinsé n devil
k’ayé v want
k’afé v spread
k’amu n accedent
k’ám-ub adj bad
k’abati n belt
k’ač’anc’ir n giraffe
kané n edge
c’arase n strature
k’énsi v lift
c’érxe v gird
k’ets pron nothing
k’eyi v disappear
k’eisi v get off
k’ere n day
k’ii n door
k’int’i v wake up
k’inde n shirt
k’inti v stand
kíí v practice magic
k’is’sí n bread
k’isat n elbow
k’iz n trap
k’obtu v wear
k’oótxu v continue
k’óot v speak
k’ob n lord
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word list 229</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>k’obú</strong> n hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>k’obt’ú</strong> v carry</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’oisú</strong> n porriage</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’omu</strong> v make</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’ondingác</strong> n leprosy</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’oñyk’o</strong> v knock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>k’oñijú</strong> n fifty leg worm</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’óp’ild’</strong> n beans</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’os’ú</strong> v scratch</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’ot’</strong> n velum</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’óxu</strong> n knot</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’uk’ú</strong> <em>(la’s’s’e)</em> v taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>k’üúgu</strong> n fire wood</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’uurink’árs</strong> n back bone</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>kutsa’</strong> v collect</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k’uus</strong> n bone</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>lá’le</strong> n stone</td>
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<td><strong>lá’nim</strong> n corpse</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lá’rte</strong> v die</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lá’g</strong> n friend</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>láx</strong> n six</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>laas’t</strong> v looking back</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lákk’-ub</strong> adj small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>láms’t</strong> n leprosy</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>láy-ub</strong> adj soft</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lánsé</strong> v prepare</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lént’</strong> n joy</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lé’s’e</strong> v taste</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lé’s’i</strong> v lick</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>líih</strong> n bird (spec)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>línj-ub</strong> adj clean</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>línj-id</strong> adj innocents</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>línsí</strong> v correct</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>líit</strong> n witch craft</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>líiñj-ub</strong> adj beautiful</td>
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<td><strong>líisin</strong> prep on surface</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>líook</strong> n matter /thing</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lóó’s’a</strong> n uvula</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lóókk’</strong> v chat</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lobáč’</strong> n armpit</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>loomú</strong> n lemon</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>looyón</strong> v sweat</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lúmmú</strong> n window/opening</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>lüfsú</strong> v screw</td>
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| **lúpe** **adv** suddenly |

<table>
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<th><strong>M</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>máyse</strong> n blood</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>máake</strong> n mushroom</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>máddi</strong> v help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>máddi</strong> v frog (spec.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>máñé</strong> n gourd</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mántsé</strong> v weed (sth.)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>máte</strong> n head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>máto-gat’en</strong> n head ache</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>máttó</strong> n top</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>máti</strong> n tribe</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mangó</strong> n mango fruit</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>máy</strong> n pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>máki</strong> v sexual intercourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mákkim</strong> n three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>máráši</strong> n fat (of person)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mádentí</strong> v promise</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mágláf</strong> n net (for fish)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>márák’í</strong> n soup (of seed or meat)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>márfí</strong> n needle</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mársi</strong> v forbid</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>máte</strong> n problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>medí</strong> v cajole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mící</strong> n elder sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mídí</strong> v deny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>míki</strong> n buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>míri</strong> n drieanege/vallay</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mit’i</strong> n snail</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mízi</strong> n name</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mící</strong> v take off</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>míli</strong> n millstone</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mílo</strong> n outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mímir</strong> v refuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>minté</strong> n twins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mínti</strong> n placenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mit’ri</strong> v snach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mišít</strong> n seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mëch</strong> n money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mëhan</strong> n lizard hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mök’du</strong> n brain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mólu</strong> n egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mórú</strong> n spleen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>móótisi</strong> v judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>morku</strong> n roat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mükú</strong> n huge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
müürü n yeast
mulú n testicle
müüz n banana

N

nááue adv yesterday
nákur n pure honey
naá may n pot (of water)
náue n water
náxa-timmint’ n pool
natint’ n roof
názte v sleep
nayí n hyena
nárznimit’ n stout person
nárfe n needle
nee y n hunger
nite n child
nitskánd n pregnant
níkú n nose
ní nú n fire

P

parts v brush
parsten v start
pólú v made a vow
puc’u (mač’i) n short grass

P'
p’ále v split
p’élýánd n lightning
p’él’té e n testicle
p’él’s’e n ‘bold’

R

rukum n negotiation
ruku n catapult
rüú n wealth

S

sááni n broom
saro n peace
sáhi adv clean
sákét dem those
sánt-báb n rich
sánt dem. that
sáne n brush
sahí v rub
sáké v fat-tailed (sheep)
sákíyó adv there
sáts-im v to select a wife
séyi v recover
sinub adj dirty/ugly
sindy n wheat
simpí n damage/destroy
sísi n wax
síyi n flea
síkiyo adv here
sitsé n fruit bowl
sitsá n morning
síkét dem. these
sinú dem. this
sór-ub adj sour
sótí n choke
súúdind n ape (spec)
sú-ub adj. dishonest
súú n cheater
sú nú n kind of food (from inset)
súr n trousers
súttu n evening
súúlu n heat
suku n Ari people
surk’u v taste
súuí n aggressiveness

S’
s’ááh v vomit
s’ááme n eagle
s’aamé n pain
s’áff v shave
s’án-ub adj black
s’elayé n devil
s’écéle n a lofty place for scouting
s’eet n hundred
s’erxé v spit
s’eid-ub adj short
s’ílnint’ n big pool
s’imí n sperm
s’ís’e dax v be short
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s'is'i</td>
<td>n grey hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ít</td>
<td>n gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ítú</td>
<td>n soot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ítší</td>
<td>adv. right'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ôbhú</td>
<td>v milk a cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ôlum-ub</td>
<td>adj sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'osu</td>
<td>n evil spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'os-báb</td>
<td>n wizard (magician)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ümú</td>
<td>n evil eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ümú</td>
<td>n field/plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sänko</td>
<td>n desert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sänše</td>
<td>n rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâát</td>
<td>n spring (water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sââye</td>
<td>n 'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâčim</td>
<td>n butterfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâhi</td>
<td>v extract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâkat</td>
<td>n chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâkre</td>
<td>n termite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâsáde</td>
<td>v urinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şaye</td>
<td>v pick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şääyi</td>
<td>n sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şakše</td>
<td>v pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şaldé</td>
<td>v be able</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şâle</td>
<td>n thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şâkét</td>
<td>n stool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şâmpé</td>
<td>n life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şelí</td>
<td>v warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şep'í</td>
<td>v baptize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şemé</td>
<td>v beg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şêsem-deeb</td>
<td>v beggar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şempé</td>
<td>n soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şicim-ub</td>
<td>adj mixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šít'é</td>
<td>v absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shig</td>
<td>v open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŝigin</td>
<td>v lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šişi</td>
<td>v wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šîf</td>
<td>n shadow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šîfi</td>
<td>n shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šihí</td>
<td>v smell (bad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šini</td>
<td>n penis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šini</td>
<td>v buy/sell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šire</td>
<td>n termite</td>
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<tr>
<td>šisí</td>
<td>v leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šití</td>
<td>n place of worship</td>
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<tr>
<td>šitim</td>
<td>n  handicaped person</td>
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<tr>
<td>šidi</td>
<td>v absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šigin</td>
<td>n cause to sell/buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šîncë</td>
<td>v on sell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šînni</td>
<td>n five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šîrîmi</td>
<td>n diarrhea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şizi</td>
<td>v wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siz-báb</td>
<td>n washer</td>
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<tr>
<td>şootú</td>
<td>v make shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şôxšú</td>
<td>n roasted cereals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şokšú</td>
<td>v swell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şufú</td>
<td>v hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şugmú</td>
<td>v whistle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şükú</td>
<td>v shake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şuku</td>
<td>n malaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şūntú</td>
<td>n a cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şultá</td>
<td>v deceive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şunú</td>
<td>n bird (spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şuskin</td>
<td>v quiver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şuskdéeb</td>
<td>n bad smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şaukú</td>
<td>n movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şukûmu</td>
<td>n animal foot mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šûuxím</td>
<td>n bad smell/rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šûugind</td>
<td>adj never married woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šuum</td>
<td>v relax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šumû</td>
<td>n grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâáyte</td>
<td>n liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâáyi</td>
<td>adv now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabtabl</td>
<td>v speak about unnecessary topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâxil</td>
<td>n saliva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayjí</td>
<td>v exploit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâlk'</td>
<td>v borrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tammé</td>
<td>n ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>târîki</td>
<td>n story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan' - makkim</td>
<td>n thirty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tamt’i-˝uddu n fourty
	amt’i-ˇsini n fifty
	amt’i-ˇlaxi n sixty
	amt’i-ˇtussu n seventy
	amt’i-k’ašnasi n eighty
	amt’i-woklassi n ninety

tacči v revange

tóku v strike
	tamaré n student

téése n sister-in law

tebiz/ kált n axe
tiči v cut
tič-bab n cutter
tiŋi v go
tiri n mat
tiri n dust
tičé v slaughter
tiči v circumcise
t’išt v sneeze
tišš n ripe crop
tiš’ti v melt
tóol n mud
tógas adj. few
tuů n lake
tucú v count
tufú n saliva
túk’u v crouch
túrǐnši n malt
tüss n pillar
tüssu n seven
tumnu n stomach
tūum n garlic
tususu n family

t’
t’áame n mursi (person)
t’eesi v know
t’éesi n shadow of person
t’emí v push
t’eesi-bab n known
t’išt v sneeze
t’imi n stomach ache
t’ipí v drop
t’oki adj easily
t’ulú v swim
t’um n darkness
t’ult’abub adj gray

t’utsi v fill

ts

tsase prep towards there

tsakes (adj) large

W

wáde please
wáltu pron we
wačů adv well
wóbu pron other
wóχim n enter
wóχ n knee
wókki n one
wókkilam adv. together
wóklassi n nine
wókší v a limp person
wólgu n new
wóšu n paddle
wonna adv. also
wonnů v return
wontsú v answer
won-ub adj alone
wohů n meat
woxu v scream
woidú n twenty
wóizu n tube /washint/
woxan n cattle
woximů v enter
wúćub adj empty
wuć’u v drink
wudu v keep
wuddumi(˝uddu) n four
wúdunits n metal (used as a pestle)
wútů v go out/climb
wuu-id adj. all
wúuf-bison adv. every were
wúuf-sis’e adv every day
wugir n rhinoceros
wúyi v stop
wúyé int what
wuč-ub adj dry
wuntu n work
wutó loc infront of
wuyisů v stop
Y

yáfe n God/sky
yáyi n wolf
yáay/yaye pron you
yefé v see
yazni v cultivate
yokk-ob pron yours
yaré n donkey
yóxsi v measure
yaznám n farm
yekké adv equally
yesi pron you (pl)
yídi v catch
yífid n guests
yíri n placenta
yíri v climb down
yidim v start
yigí n playing
yilkáy neg not/none
yilé n land/earth
yin pro. for you
yínji n look/see
yíné v try
yínči v laugh
yínčí v flirt
yísí n pain
yíši v put off
yiss-úb adv. few/little
yitsí v take appointment
yízi v run
yízzi adv deep

Z

záádim lazy
záagé v dance
záák v roll
záákábur n a kind of animal food

14.2 English-Dime word list

a
able šaldé v
accendent k'amu n
add water kásé v

zááme n obstacle
záap'e v lie down
zaaté v compress
záát n pea (spec.)
zálá n fly (found on buffalos)
záte n forge
zarím n tortoise
zowdin v put on
zélím n wise
zéré n body
zérsé n obligation
žíti v hang up
žindo n jackal
žindá adv quite
žiti n bull
žimise v be king
žimé n chief
žisíl n door
žísíl v shut
žób n lion
žólú n food
zoor v advice
zoor-bab n advisor
žor adv still
zuuku n bundle imprisonment
žulú n a person with big head
žulú n elbow
žunú adv up
žúsú v creat
žutú n share
žúub n red
žúulu n rain bow
žúumúu adv tight
zuum-úb adj warm
zuusú v round

Ž
žómár n ginger

adjust the grinder doíslál v
advise zoor v
agreement koysim v
alge guls’ú n
all (every) dippî -
all wuuf-id adj
alone won-ub adj
also wonna cnj
also/again yolô adv
always bidî adv
antelope géeri n
ancient giska adj
anger/sorrow zîsin n
answer wontsû v
ant ŏlnk n
ant kobu n
antelope geeri n
ape k’aâre n
appoint yitsâ v
ari people suku n
arm ŏané n
armpit lobâê n
arrive k’ôte v
arrow ŏumint’n n
ashe bîndî n
ask ŏuys v
axe tebîz/ kâlt n

b

back õomp n
back of the neck n ŏitee
bad feeling after food ŏimî n
bad smell ŏuskdéêb n
bad k’am-ub adj
barke lion or ox dôxû v
buffalo mîkî n
bush giringîc n
bread kûmû n
banana múûz n
baptize šêp’î v
barn gôturû n
basketo (person) gobê n
be strong deksê v
beans k’ôp’ilôf n
beat dâl v
beautiful lîni-ub adj
because ŏangâskâ cnj
become sweet loozon v
bed ŏal gé n
beehive gônû n
beer gebzé n
bees wax šiši v
beetle dônînd n
brush parts v
buy/sell šini v
beggar šešem-deeb n
bel korada n
belt k’ôbatî n
belly č’olay n
bend ŏayzê v
bended leg dôótu-šûm n
between gidô adv
big gicô-b - adj
big head person zûlû n
big wound báani n
bird ŏeftî n
bird spec žih n
bird spec šûnû n
bird spec kêki n
bird spec kôkû n
birth place hamzê n
bite gâža v
black s’àn-ub adj
bladder fûg n
bless ŏanjîm v
body zere n.
bold p’els’e n
bone k’ûus n
borrow tâlk’ v
bottle bikôli n
bottom čûû pro
boundary gázdê n
bow ŏûnînd n
brain mók’du n
bread k’is’s’i n
breast ŏime n
bring ba?âd v
broom sàání n
brother (young) ŏakan n
build with grass kîč’i v
build with stone kôku v
bulld zîti n
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>burn</td>
<td>?atse v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burnut food</td>
<td>guć’u’ n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burrial place</td>
<td>duuku v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bury</td>
<td>duúku v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buttok</td>
<td>góya n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butterfly</td>
<td>šaćim n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butter</td>
<td>?ois n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cabbage</td>
<td>kumu n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cajole</td>
<td>medi v</td>
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<tr>
<td>calabash (big)</td>
<td>šáame n</td>
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<tr>
<td>calabash</td>
<td>řákim n</td>
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<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>řótnts n</td>
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<tr>
<td>call</td>
<td>kuč’i v</td>
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<tr>
<td>call</td>
<td>řéľ v</td>
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<tr>
<td>camel</td>
<td>řimél n</td>
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<tr>
<td>carry</td>
<td>kobt’u v</td>
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<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>gorz n</td>
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<tr>
<td>catch</td>
<td>yidi v</td>
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<tr>
<td>catch up</td>
<td>foökó v</td>
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<td>cattle</td>
<td>wóřán n</td>
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<tr>
<td>cattle fence</td>
<td>baččé n</td>
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<tr>
<td>cause to sell/buy</td>
<td>řigim v</td>
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<tr>
<td>cave</td>
<td>c’liy n</td>
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<tr>
<td>chair</td>
<td>šákát n</td>
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<tr>
<td>chameleon</td>
<td>gufs’ús’índ n</td>
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<td>charcoal</td>
<td>bále n</td>
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<tr>
<td>chat</td>
<td>lookk v</td>
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<tr>
<td>cheat</td>
<td>dyullu v</td>
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<tr>
<td>cheater</td>
<td>súlu n</td>
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<tr>
<td>check</td>
<td>kaše n</td>
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<td>chest, rib</td>
<td>guufú n</td>
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<tr>
<td>chewing</td>
<td>kárim v</td>
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<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>řimé n</td>
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<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>řits n</td>
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<tr>
<td>chin</td>
<td>gæć’e n</td>
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<tr>
<td>choke</td>
<td>zíli v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circular wind</td>
<td>dyúbár v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumcise</td>
<td>řiči v</td>
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<td>clay</td>
<td>řažše n</td>
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<tr>
<td>clay plate for baking</td>
<td>bašé n</td>
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<tr>
<td>clean</td>
<td>liq Ub adj</td>
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<tr>
<td>clean</td>
<td>sáhi v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clitoris/vagina</td>
<td>gás’s’e n</td>
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<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>c’lič’ n</td>
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<tr>
<td>coffee</td>
<td>búnú n</td>
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<tr>
<td>coffee leaf</td>
<td>bún-k’ám n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold</td>
<td>bágzem-ub v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collect</td>
<td>kutsú v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>?áde v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>command/order</td>
<td>řitv v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continue</td>
<td>k’oóxu v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cook</td>
<td>řuššu v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cook</td>
<td>řušé v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooking</td>
<td>řuuš n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooked cereals</td>
<td>balčé v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coriander seed</td>
<td>kóru n</td>
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<tr>
<td>corpse</td>
<td>laxim n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>correct</td>
<td>bésin v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>correct</td>
<td>řínši n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cough, mucus</td>
<td>říst v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cough (heavy)</td>
<td>řuuž n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>count</td>
<td>řáidé v</td>
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<tr>
<td>correct</td>
<td>říči v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>covering</td>
<td>řúntú n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>řótu v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>create</td>
<td>bindi v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crocodile</td>
<td>guuru v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crouch</td>
<td>tük’u n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow</td>
<td>koxu n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cry (shout)</td>
<td>řózsú v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cry</td>
<td>řífi n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut</td>
<td>řiči v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultivate</td>
<td>yáyni v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curse</td>
<td>gaáž v</td>
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<tr>
<td>curse to kill</td>
<td>boólu v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut</td>
<td>dómso/ desi v</td>
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<tr>
<td>cutter</td>
<td>řič-báh n</td>
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<tr>
<td>cutter</td>
<td>dááfe n</td>
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**d**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>damage/destroy</td>
<td>řišši n</td>
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<td>damned</td>
<td>báázmú n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>dúúl v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>zááge n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darkness</td>
<td>řúm n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>řinsé n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
day after tomorrow ?óksín n
day k’ánzé n
death láxt’i n
disease gunt’im n
debt báze v
deceive suftá n
deep yízí n
deffersa (animal spec) kúku v
demarcate gáádzi v
deny mólí v
deny mídì v
descend yićí n
desert šánko n
devil k’ásinsé n
devil s’elavé n
dew c’erké n
diarrhoea širimá n
dictator suul n
die (non-human) deyi v
die laxt’e v
difference bálé n
different fašánd-ub adj
difficult dšamjimé v
difficulty záámé adv
dig kúyú v
digger kuy-báb n
dirty (from intestine) c’ól-ub adj
dirty/ugly sin-ub adj
do disagree gont’ v
do disappointment gák’di v

do disappear dšagin(k’eyi) v
do disconnect bulú v
do dishonest sulub adj
do display/expose ?afé n
do dis-virgin déémbim bitsin v
do divide fáš/ falé n
do dog kéné n
do donkey yerí n
do door k’irií n
do door zis’i v
do dove (red-eyed sp.) ?iitsé n
do down duumú n
do down gilt v
do draining water ṭółp’ú v
do drink much dšamdžami v
draw/spill čiléí n
dream keįi v
dream keįm n
dress kć’i n
drink while eating kúmti n
drinking on appointment bant n
drive ?áysi n
drop t’ip’i v
drink (get _) gužú v
drinkard gudžbáb n
drum dammé n
dry wuc-ub n
dump dudi v
dust bulú n
dust tirí n
eagle kólú n
eagle s’áame n
ear/leaf k’ááme n
early ?éné adv
erase keysí v
easy t’ók-ub adv
eat źísí v
eat (cerial) baža v
edge k’are (fåse) n
egg mólu n
eight k’ásinašis n
eighty t Amandaši- k’ásinašis n
elbow k’isat n
elder brother čisim n
elephant dúru v
emerge č’artí v.
empty wúcub adj
empty (of house only) guufú n
enemy bárgal v
enset źayim n
enter wâximú v
equally yekké v
escape fásé v
exploit taṣí v
evil bít b n
eye źafe n
eye lash kindé n
Word list

**The word list contains the following entries:**

- **f**
  - face ?aafé n
  - faeces kūši v
  - fail fōtu v
  - faint nāāde v
  - fall fōnnu/guppy n
  - fall down guppy v
  - family tuusu n
  - farm yōgnām n
  - fat kuštì / bāx n
  - fat (white part of meat) maršì n
  - father bābe n
  - father in low bāb-bālub n
  - father’s mother ?aak n
  - father’s sister bāhe n
  - fatigue fāči n
  - fat-tailed (sheep) saké n
  - finish bōsìn v
  - fear bāsim n
  - fearful bāsm-ub adj
  - fedup (be_), annoyed fōóla v
  - fever ?ātsì n
  - few nojās adj
  - field/plain sāánke n
  - fierwood kāzë n
  - fifty tāmt’i-sini n
  - fight faré v
  - fill t’utsi v
  - final bōsìn v
  - finger (hand) ?ankōgūs n
  - finger gūs n
  - fire nūnū n
  - firend lāg n
  - fire extinguisher ?āybič n
  - fire wood ?absāx n
  - fish ?ōryu n
  - five šīnī n
  - flea gārsē n
  - flea (sp.) sīyī n
  - food (type of) zōólū n
  - floor sāānk n
  - fool gāāyī n
  - flour dāl n
  - flour of crop product dalim n
  - flower c’išime n
  - fly kūbzu n
  - fly (found on buffalo) zālā n
  - fly (spec) fāre v
  - flirt yīnt’in v
  - foam dūf n
  - fog k’aaay n
  - food bayim n
  - food (for animals to recover) zāākābur n
  - food for journey gāle n
  - food from inset sūnū n
  - follow foot step kilo v
  - foolish (be) balagā v
  - foot print dōóm n
  - forbid marsi v
  - forecast bolidi v
  - forearm džāse n
  - forehead baltë n
  - forest gāāsi n
  - forest kūfū n
  - forge zāte n
  - forget boyt’ū v
  - four ṭūddū n
  - four wuuddum n
  - fourty tāmt’i-ūddū n
  - few/little yiss-ūb adj
  - fresh crop tūss n
  - friend džala n
  - friend lāg n
  - frog gofir n
  - frog spec máādi v
  - fruit sp. bōkō n
  - fruit-bat sītsē n
  - fry gumi v
  - fur (wild) bānde n

- **g**
  - garlic tūm n
  - gass (smoke) ?ūbsú n
  - give birth ?āt’t’e v
  - get off k’eyši v
  - gift for marriage ?āyse n
ginger dɔmâr n
giraffe k’oc’ânë’ir n
gird k’ënxë v
give ŋìmi v
gladden lënt’i v
go (past) bìnn v
go hìjì v
go tíjì v
go out climb wùtú v
goat daré n
God/sky yâfe n
goitre bë𝑥 n
good ṭâho-b adj
gourd maŋé n
gourd (big) gùsu n
gourd (for local beer) gùs-maŋé n
grandmother ċaakë n
grass ŋuunù n
grass (big) dándë n
grave dëñukù v
gray t’ul’t’abub n
green č’argondub n
green disi v
grey hair s’is’ì n
group work gbëtsé n
groan garim v
grow diitsë v
guests yifid n
guide ċeysë v
gun s’ìt n

h

hair bânde n
hammered zâte v
handicapped person sî̀tim n
hand ṭâne n
happiness goft n
hard kirçikirë-ub adj
hate giri v
hawk ṭânzól n
how many hamëṣ ìnt
head mâte n
headache máto-gat’en n
hear /listen k’aamsë v
heart bûd n
hearth bââke n
heat sùûlu n
heavy rain diibì-ţìzgâf n
heavy cough fuuz n
help màddi v
hen koiz n
hen dropping koiz-kisë n
her kó pron.
hide goft’ (sûfû) v
high land ćeëg n
hinge the neck sótu v
hippopotamus ćarû n
hit gis’ì v
hoe gált n
hole rôcu n
hole (big) guurfèl n
home country hâme n
honorable woman gannë n
honey kûrû n
honey (pure) nákur n
hookworm gawwu n
horn ðùsùm n
how many hamëṣ pron
hug mûkù n
hump hîrim n
hundred s’ëc’t n
hunger neey n
husband bûbud n
hyena nayì n

i

I ńëtë pro
if dót cnj
impolite/powerful k’am-úb adj
increase bartsé v
individual ñama n
infront of wutó loc
innocent fig-ub adj
inseparable gommad-ub adj
inside gayó adv
insult ñaasé v
insult ñasín n
iron/metal kóitsub n

j
jano (red edge coloth) djané n
jackal zindu n
jump kót'iri v
jump jótu n
jaw bángil n
journey jòjù n
joyful lën’-ub adj
judge fádyì v

k
keep corpse koom v
keep wudu v
kidney bórú n
kick hard kóits v
kill deisi v
king-ship zimise n
knee bóx n
knife hálfe n
knock k’onjusu v
knot k’úuxu n
know t’éesi v
known t’esin-báb n

l
lake tuú n
lamb s’túmpu n
land/earth yillé n
large taskes adj
laugh yinc’i v
lay down ñísí v
lay down ñísí v

lazy záadim-ub adj
leather/skin bičé n
leather mat for sleep fatáye n
leave bit’e v
leaf k’ááme n
leave wútú v
leg dótú n
lemon loomú n
leprosy lams’ n
lick lés’i v
lie down zááp’e v
life šampé n
light šáák n
light rain fááhe n
lightning p’élýonf n
like k’ááse
limp person wójši n
lion zób n
live, sit, stay dáhi v
liver táyste n
lizard sp. bétá bétá n
lizard (home) mehan n
locust kádi n
lofty place for scouting s’ééle n
look/sej yinj v
look in to fiirí v
looking back laas’ n
lost dzáái v
louse gársi n
love kóxú v
luck ñayyán n
lung kócú n

m
made a vow pólu n
magic bít n
magic kíši v
maize kábbe n
make k’ómú v
make peace c’álle v
malaria šükú n
man goští n
mango fruit mangú n
many s’uṣ’- id adj
market báålé n
marry báje v
mat tiri n
matter, thing look n
malt türinsì n
measure yàysé v
meat woxú n
medicine dîle n
meet kutsumu (kutsumu) v
melt tõst’li v
menstruation ?ánúftin n
mercy č’rì n
message kitok n
metre dâyây n
mid-land dîžì n
migrant béét n
millet baržì n
milk dìjìši v
milk a cow s’oḥú v
millstone mìli n
miss šídì/ šit’ì v
mix ŋìkìnsè’ v
mixed sìcìm-ub adj
molar teeth kàsil n
money mèh n
monkey góðu n
monkey sp. suúðìnd n
moon ŋìrfè n
morning sìtsá n
mortar ŋûdûl n
mosquito gòs’u n
mouth ŋàfe n
move here and there džąnk’è v
movement zàyimé n
muscles dànì n
mud tòól n
mule bâk’ùl n
mursi person t’áâme n
mushroom mááke n

name mážì n
navel gwùfò n
near bâám n/adv
need rëfòsì v
needle nàrfe n
negotiation rukum n
net mágòfì n
new wòlù gù n
news of a person’s death këz n
never married (of woman) sùúgìnd adj
nice tâ hô adv
night dûúm n
ninety tôm’t’woklasìsì n
nock k’ògìk’ú v
nose nùkù n
not/none yìkày pron.
nothing k’ëts n
now tâàyí adv.

O

oath č’áák’è n
obligue zërsè n
offsprings ŋâ’t’ìmìnd n
old man ŋâse n
old woman gâsìn n
on lisìn Loc.
on sale šìncì v
one wòkìkì n
open fúcì v
open (for mouth) dâsè v
open sìkì v
opportunity bâltè n
or dotik cnj.
other bâl-ub out bêdêze n
outside miló loc
over tââdè loc
owner bāb n

P

necklace k’áhé n
neck ʔawùs’e n
paddle wòshù n
pain s’aa’mé n
pain yìshí/lìshí v
palm ʔankó-sónke n
paternal grandfather ʔík n
paternal grandmother ʔaak n
paternal uncle báb-kán n
pass kòlsí v
pasture gišimi n
pay c’iigi v
pea sp. hiriŋ n
pea sp. záánk’e n
pea sp. záát n
peace saro n
peel ʔotsú v
penis šini n
person ʔíyyí n
pestle wúdunis n
pick šaye v
pick up ʔáaké v
pierce ʔikí v
pillar tuss n
place of worship štíí n
placenta mîní/yírí n
plaited (hair) gáyp’e v
plant kòóru n
plant (sp.) gáre n
plant (sp.) gácib n
plant (sp.) k’anp’á n
plate for food góngu n
play yigi n
please wáde n
pluck dṣafé v
pool (big) nára-timmint’ n
pool (small) s’ilint’ n
porcupine gírs n
pork gúdúm n
porridge k’óisú n
pot may n
pot (big) gánčíru nd
potato donú n
pregnant s’ur-ind adj
previous kótúb n
problem maté n
promise madintí v
push géhé / t’émi v
put ʔùdú v
put on zawdín v
put off yìsí v
put aside kóolu v

Q

quarrel kúč’u v
quick žólož adv
quite zíndá v
quiver šuskin v

R

rain dúbí n
rainbow zuúlu n
rain with wind dṣági n
rat sp. žúríí n
react tókú v
read faidé v
recover sêyi v
red žúub n
refuse mímír v
rhinoceros wugir n
relapse gírsí v
remove forest máf’čí/búlú v
repent birží v
resign háakkó v
rest ším v
result ūaf v
return wonná v
revenge tačí n
ribs guufú n
rich dûr-báb/sánt-báb n
ripe crop tisí n
right s’itsí n
road gáší n
roasted cereals šóxšú n
roasted grain kulú n
rotate zuusu v
rob buugu v
robber gámis n
rock šáášê n
roll záák v
roof giři (natint’) n
root č’le’i n
rope gũntu n
rot č’u’ c’uфи v
rotate zuusú v
rotten č’u’ c’uфи adv
rotten smell šǔuxùn n
round doxlsú n
rub sahi n
run yıizi v

S

sack ʔoyuru n
saliva táxil/tutfú n
salt dañamné n
sand šáayi n
satisfy binní v
satisfaction giším n
satiate giší v
saturday k’ere n
say ʔééne (bedå) v
scar dúdí n
scare on girl bóno n
skirt (of polished wood bark) kòśu n
scratch k’os’i k’os’ú v
scream woxu v
screwdriver lúfsú v
skirt k’inde n
see yehe v
seed miši n
seem bezá v
selfish kitéum-ub adj
send bítśi/usú v
separate fášínt’ v
servant ʔayli n
seven tússim n
seventy tant’i-tussu n
sexual-intercourse mákù v
sew džígi v
shadow šifí n
shadow of person t’ééši n
shake šuukú v

shallow bám-ub adj
shape šootú v
shape zuuti n
sharp s’otum-ub adj
shave s’aﬃní v
sheep ōmí n
shield guuf n
shepherd ġiší n
shirt k’inde n
shoe šiﬁ n
shoot gišé v
short s’eid-ub adj
short s’is’e dax v
short grass puč’u n
shoulder kalfé n
shouting ʔóxsum n
show ʔayxse v
shut ziš’i v
sickness gumt’um n
side (body part) dšampé n
sink ṭeessí v
sister (elder) máčí n
sister (younger) ʔákan n
six láx n
sixth láše n
sixty tant’i-laxí n
skin bičí n
skin disease k’ondingáč n
slaughter tičé v
sleep názte v
slope dúmind n
slowly ʔoloyzó adv
small lak’k’-ub adj
smaller sister kánim n
smoke čúbú v
smell (bad) šûhi v
snail mit’i n
snake ŋorkú n
sneeze t’íst v
snore kíš’i v
soft laz-ub adj
solid soil bûkú n
solve bûltu v
soot s’líťú n
sorghum kámáy n
sorrow čín n
soul šempé n
soup márač’í n
soup (other type) diñi n
speak something unnecessary tabtabl v
speak look v
talk k’oót v
spear bíjé n
sperm s’imi n
spider kíji n
spite s’erýe n
spite tufú n
spleen mórú n
split p’ále v
spread k’afé v
spring šááte n
sprout búxúlu v
squeeze č’up’ú v
stamp gufú v
stand k’int / wúyí v
star béez n
start parsten v
start yidim v
state of drunkenness guujú v
stature k’orase n
steal dúbí v
step back goó n
stick (small) kúlú n
stick (big) daáke n
still zór v
stomach čákk n
stone lále n
stool šákát n
stool duuyúú v
stop wuyisu v
storm dyóró n
story tešín n
stout person narzini’t n
straight bitt-ub adj
student tamará n
sufficiently bóono adv
stump durum v
suck gágádí v
suckle kási v
suddenly lupé adv
sugar cane košán n
summer bírgí n
sun żiyí n
swallow žéess’í v
sweat loozóon v
swell šokšú v
swim t’úlu v
swirl dox’tú v
system bilátká n

t
tail golán n
take by force bukté v
take off mičí v
tall gūdum-ub adj
talk karf v
taste k’uk’u/les’e v
taste a bit surk’ú v
taboo kéts n
teeth źitsí n
teff gičí n
tell kerf/gimú v
ten tamné n
terrace géri n
termite sp. čemé n
termite sp. šãre n
termite sp. šákre n
testicle p’elt’e/ mulú n
that sánú dem.
there kłyó (short form)adv
those sákét dem.
there saklyó adv.
therefore žindotík cnj
these sıkét dem.
they kété pro.
thief dúbub adj
think žísínc n
thirty tom’t’-makkí n
this sinú dem.
three makkí n
thread šalé n
threaten širimī v
three hundred šeet-makkim n
throat (neck) šessential i n
throw dzärē v
throw stone fokū v
thunder guntu n
tight zūmū n
tire fači v
today žini n
toddler kūlab n
toe (animal) šuukūmu n
tortoise zayim n
trade zāyim n
translate bārži n
tremble djimzīnīp v
tribe māfī n
trouser sūr n
truth guusuā n
try yihē v
tube wōizu n
tuber ĉiżzī n
twenty voidū n
twins mintū n
twist gunti v
two k’sēstīn n
towards there tsase pron
two hundred šeet-k’sēstīn n

V

wait kaf v
wake up k’int’ī v
wall dārē n
want k’ayē v
war dimī n
warm šělī v
wash šīrī v
wasp sīz-bāmb n
water pot nur may n
water nāre n
wax sisi n
way dōd-gās n
we wōtū pronom
wealth dūru/ruū n
wear k’obtū v
well ?ahō pronom
well řinse v
what ?eg pronom
wheat řindi n
white šūgūm v
who řiy pronom
why ?asanka pronom
wide šāk pronom
win gāmi v
win komob v
wind komū n
window/opening lūmū n
wing k’anme n
wise dek’ub pronom
wise (be) řelim v

W

wait kaf v
wake up k’int’ī v
wall dārē n
want k’ayē v
war dimī n
warm šělī v
wash šīrī v
wasp sīz-bāmb n
water pot nur may n
water nāre n
wax sisi n
way dōd-gās n
we wōtū pronom
wealth dūru/ruū n
wear k’obtū v
well ?ahō pronom
well řinse v
what ?eg pronom
wheat řindi n
white šūgūm v
who řiy pronom
why ?asanka pronom
wide šāk pronom
win gāmi v
win komob v
wind komū n
window/opening lūmū n
wing k’anme n
wise dek’ub pronom
wise (be) řelim v

U

udder řim yiddidin n
ugly kurkur-ub adj
unbalance zikim v
under dōotto loc
untie búlū v
up zünū -adv
up(higher position) ?aa adv
urinate šasada v
urine šaan n
useless fātskā-b adj
uvula lóos’u n

vagina kėtsē n
vagina lip bāngi n
valley (big) dzürē n
valley (small) mīrī v
vein ginī n
velum k’ot ’ n
very /more gičči pronom
village bāfo n
virgin dēćm b n
violence gis’im n
vomit s’āāh v
witchcraft liit n
wizard s’os-báb n
wood (for fire) k’úg n
wolf yáyi n
woman yánze n
worm kátsé n
worm (sp.) k’ónšu n
wound žétim n
work wunt’ú n

y

year báč n/adv
yeast múuru n
yellow č’illil-ub adj
yesterday nááse adv
yoghurt fúnd n
you yin pron
you yáay/yá pron
you (pl) yésé pron
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Summary

This dissertation presents a descriptive study of Dime, an endangered south Omotic language of Ethiopia. The number of the speakers is about 5400. The Dime people are settled farmers. Dime has two dialects: the Us’a and the Gerfa dialects. The present study is based on the Us’a dialect. The linguistic description is based on 12 months fieldwork conducted between 2003 and 2005. The thesis is divided into fourteen chapters.

The first chapter provides an introduction about the Dime people, the state of language use and language endangerment and it outlines the scope of the research. Chapter 2 presents a description of the sound system of the language. The inventory of consonant phonemes shows a remarkable series of uvular and velar fricatives. The presence of these segments in the language makes Dime somewhat different from the rest of the Omotic group. A detailed description of the consonant and vowel phonemes is provided. Dime has two basic tones, H and L. A description of the syllable structure and cluster of consonants is made. This is followed by the discussion of phonological process.

In Chapter 3, nouns and nominal categories are discussed. The forms of nouns, definiteness, gender, number and case are described. Nouns in Dime are either vowel-final or consonant-final. In the presence of a modifier element in a noun phrase, the definite marker may be suffixed to the modifier(s). Dime distinguishes two grammatical genders: masculine and feminine. The gender markers are suffixed to various modifying categories such as adjectives and relative verbs. This is in contrast to what is reported for many Omotic languages. In the latter languages gender is not realized in associated words but rather masculine-feminine distinction is marked only on the noun itself. A two-way number distinction is made: singular is morphologically unmarked; plural is marked on nouns by the morpheme -af. There is a special plural-agreement morpheme -(i)nd, which is only affixed to modifiers. The case marking suffixes comprise: accusative -im, dative -in, genitive -ko, locative -se and -o, instrumental -ka and ablative -de. The nominative case is not morphologically marked. In Dime, case affixes are not differential according to the definite-indefinite distinction but this seems to be the case largely in Ethiopian languages. Morphologically marked nominal derivations include agentive, infinitive and abstract nouns. Compounding is not highly productive and some compound forms are difficult to distinguish from juxtaposed possessive noun phrases. These are discussed in the chapter at some length.

Chapter 4 focuses on Dime pronouns. It introduces personal and demonstrative pronouns. Subject, object, dative, genitive and reflexive pronouns are morphologically distinct. Demonstratives indicating nearness and farness as well as deictic expressions pointing out altitude differences (up-ward or down-ward from where the speaker is located) are identified. Some of the affixes in the demonstrative paradigm are prefixes. This is interesting in light of the fact that prefixation is not a common phenomenon in other Omotic languages. Within Dime itself prefixation is attested only with demonstratives.
In Chapter 5 we discuss adjectives and modifying nouns. Adjectives are characterized by suffixing masculine and feminine gender markers or the plural agreement suffix if the modified noun is plural. Moreover, adjectives share some features with nouns in that they may be marked for definiteness and case. When nouns are used as modifiers they are not marked with the adjectival affixes just mentioned.

Dime numerals, conjunctions/coordinators and adverbials which includes manner, time, and directional adverbials and question words are described in Chapter 6. The numeral system in Dime is decimal. Higher numerals must take the noun āfō ‘mouth’ as a connecting element. The conjunction marker in Dime is also used to mark instrumental and comitative cases. Dime adverbials can be categorized into three semantic groups: manner, time and directional adverbials. Manner adverbs and time adverbs are expressed through simple lexical forms. Directionals are expressed with a bound morpheme. Several content question words are derived from limited base forms.

Chapter 7 provides basic information on noun phrases with noun, adjective, numeral, possessive, demonstrative or relative clause modifiers. Locative noun phrases and measure phrases (quantifier phrase) are also discussed. The chapter demonstrates that noun phrases mainly have flexible word order: both head-modifier and modifier-head orders occur. However, when a noun is used as modifier, the order of the head noun and the modifier noun is not freely exchangeable. The noun modifier always precedes the head noun. There is also a degree of flexibility in marking grammatical morphemes which are part of the head noun. These include number, definiteness and case which may be marked either on the head noun or on the modifier or on both. Interestingly, when a series of adjectives are used as modifiers, the adjectives need not occur together. Some may occur before the noun while the remaining ones follow the head noun.

Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 are concerned with verbal and nominal inflections respectively, while Chapter 10 is devoted to verbal derivations. The chapter on verbal inflection contains a discussion of the verb root, subject-agreement, tense-aspect marking and negation. All verb inflections in Dime involve suffixation. Present (or tense-less) nominal clauses as well as past and future copula clauses which obligatorily take copula verbs are discussed. Chapter eight also discusses nominal clauses in negative and interrogative constructions. The copula may or may not be overt depending on tense and polarity. Suffixation is a common phenomenon in both inflectional and derivational processes of the language. Thus, the formation of derivational stems such as causative, passive, reciprocal and inchoative is formed by suffixation of their respective morphemes to the verb roots, as Chapter 10 demonstrates. Reduplication is also a means of derivation. Dime mainly uses reduplication to derive inchoative verbs. There are morphological elements that additionally signal an inchoative verb.

Verbs and their arguments are treated in Chapter 11. Dime verbs can be categorized into one place verbs (intransitive) and two or three-place verbs (i.e. transitives). There are however, some verbs that function as both one and two place verbs. Two place verbs in Dime are classified as semi-transitive and mono-transitive.
Semi-transitive verbs have a subject and an optional cognate object noun. In Dime cognate object nouns mainly denote names of the events of a corresponding verb or the affected entity. Mono-transitive verbs are simple transitive verbs with two arguments: a subject and a single direct object.

Chapter 12 deals with simple declarative clauses, relative clauses and complex clauses. A simple declarative clause is made up of one independent clause with only one main predicate. Thus, the simple clause includes sentences with main verbs, copula verbs, and adjectival predicates. The relative clause is not introduced by a relative pronoun in Dime. The relative verb is marked by the morphemes –ub, –ind or -id (plural agreement) which are identified as gender markers in modifiers of nouns. The relative verb thus in agreement with the gender of the head noun. The sections on complex clauses include discussion on the converb construction, conditional clauses, reason clauses, and temporal clauses. Polar interrogatives that involve “yes” or “no” answer and non-polar interrogatives, which involve content question words are discussed in sections 12.4.1 and 12.4.2. The interrogative is characterized by a high tone in clause final position and the deletion of person markers. SOV word order is frequent but other word orders are also attested.

The final chapters 13 and 14 incorporate texts and basic word lists respectively. The texts include greetings and stories. The word-list includes both Dime-English and English-Dime entries.
Samenvatting


Het proefschrift beslaat veertien hoofdstukken. Hoofdstuk 1 geeft een inleiding over het Dime volk, de taalsituatie en de reikwijdte van deze studie. Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt de klankstructuur. In de inventaris van medeklinkers valt de aanwezigheid van velare en uvulare wrijfklanken op; deze klanken zijn ongewoon voor de Omotische taalfamilie. Het hoofdstuk bevat een gedetailleerde beschrijving van de segmenten, klinkers en medeklinkers. Dime is een toontaal met Hoog en Laag als basistonen. Het hoofdstuk omvat ook de beschrijving van mogelijke lettergreepstructuren en van acceptabele medeklinkerclusters. Daarnaast worden de fonologische processen behandeld.


Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt de persoonlijke en aanwijzende voornaamwoorden. Er zijn verschillende voornaamwoorden voor subject, object, datief en genitieve naamval. Er is ook een apart wederkerig voornaamwoord. Aanwijzende voornaamwoorden kennen niet alleen een onderscheid tussen ver weg en dichtbij maar ook tussen hoger of lager. Een interessant detail is dat de aanwijzende voornaamwoorden voorvoegsels kennen terwijl achtervoegsels de norm zijn in Dime en andere Omotische talen.

Hoofdstuk 5 behandelt bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en andere naamwoorden die als modificeerder dienen. Bijvoeglijke naamwoorden kunnen als woordsoort worden gedefinieerd op grond van de overeenkomst die zij vertonen in getal en geslacht (modificerende naamwoorden doen dat niet). Bijvoeglijke naamwoorden
zijn naamwoordelijk in de eigenschap dat definietheid en naamval erop aangegeven kan worden.


Hoofdstuk 7 behandelt de structuur van de naamwoordelijke constituent met hoofdnaamwoorden en verschillende modificerders zoals bijvoeglijke naamwoorden, getallen, bezittelijke voornaamwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden en bijzinnen. Locatieve naamwoordelijke constituen ten en die die graad uitdrukken worden apart besproken. Een opmerkelijk feit is dat de woordvolgorde in de naamwoordelijke groep vrij is en modificerders zowel vóór als achter hun hoofd kunnen staan. Alleen naamwoorden die als modificeerder optreden zijn beperkt in plaatsing en moeten vóór hun hoofd staan. Ook grammaticale morfemen zoals die voor naamval, getal en definietheid vertonen plaatsingsvrijheid en kunnen op het hoofd, op de modificeerder of op beide voorkomen. Wanneer een naamwoord door verschillende bijvoeglijke naamwoorden wordt bepaald kunnen deze zowel vóór als achter het naamwoord staan.

Hoofdstuk 8 gaat over werkwoordvervoeging en 9 over naamwoordvervoeging, terwijl hoofdstuk 10 werkwoordverbuiging behandelt. Hoofdstuk 8 omvat de vorm van de werkwoordswortel, de uitdrukking van onderwerp op het werkwoord, de markering van tijd-aspect en van negatie. Al deze grammaticale markering is in de vorm van achtervoegsels. Ook de tijdmarkering, negatie en vraagvorming in nominale zinnen komt onder de loep. De noodzaak tot gebruik van een koppelwerkwoord hangt af van uitdrukking van tijd of negatie. In hoofdstuk 10 komen de werkwoordafleidingen voor causatief, passief, reciproque en inchoatief aan de orde. Dit zijn allemaal achtervoegsels maar de inchoatief kan ook door verdubbeling aangeduid worden.

Hoofdstuk 11 behandelt de argumentstructuur van werkwoorden. Er zijn werkwoorden met één, twee of drie verplichte argumenten. Sommige werkwoorden functioneren zowel als éénplaatsig (intransitief) als als tweeplaatsig (transitief). Semitransitieve werkwoorden hebben optioneel een cognaat object bestaande uit een nominalisatie van hetzelfde werkwoord in de zin en wijken daarin af van tweeplaatsige transitieve werkwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 12 behandelde de syntaxis van enkelvoudige hoofdzinnen, bijzinnen en van complexe zinnen. Enkelvoudige hoofdzinnen bevatten één predicaat: een hoofdwerkwoord, een koppelwerkwoord of een bijvoeglijk naamwoord. De betrekkelijke bijzin wordt niet geïntroduceerd door een betrekkelijk voornaamwoord. Het werkwoord in de betrekkelijke bijzin bevat de één van de morfemen -ub (manlik), -ind (vrouwlijk) of -id (meervoud) om de overeenkomst met het hoofd van de betrekkelijke bijzin uit te drukken. Deze concordantie morfemen treden ook op in bijvoeglijke naamwoorden. De paragrafen over de
complexe zin behandelen constructies met een afhankelijke werkwoord (converb), conditionele zinnen, en bijzinnen van rede en van tijd. Er zijn aparte paragrafen over de verschillende soorten vraagzinnen. Vraagzinnen worden gekenmerkt door een bepaalde zinsfinale intonatie en het wegvallen van de persoonaaanduiding. De meest voorkomende volgorde van constituenent is SOV maar andere volgordes komen ook voor.

Curriculum Vitae

Mulugeta Seyoum was born 4 February 1967 in Asella, Ethiopia. In June 1984 he completed his high school education at Asella Comprehensive Secondary School. Between September 1984 and July 1988 he completed a study for the B.A degree in linguistics at the Linguistics Department of Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. From 1988 to 1997 he was an employee of the Ethiopian Language Academy and worked in different regions in the country. In September 1998 he joined the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim and completed the advanced Masters Programme (MPhil) in linguistics in 2001. Between February 2001 and November 2002 he was lecturer at Addis Ababa University. From November 2002 to November 2006 he was employed as a Ph.D. researcher at Leiden University, Department of African Languages and Cultures. Currently he is working in Ethiopia at Addis Ababa University, in the Ethiopian Languages Research Centre. He is married with three sons, and a priest in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church.