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4. Nouns

This chapter is about nominal morphology. Here, I describe gender, number, plurality in adjectives, semantic gender distinction, diminutive, indefinite reference and indefinite–specific morphemes and definite reference. I also deal with demonstrative suffixes, numerals, nominal derivation, case and compounding.

4.1. Gender

4.1.1. Gender of nouns

There are three interacting notions with regard to gender in nouns. First, we have the notion of plural gender versus non-plural (masculine and feminine) gender; secondly, we have the notion of semantic plurality; and thirdly, pluralive versus singulative. The distinction plural gender versus non-plural masculine and feminine gender is based on the concord between a noun in the subject function and the verb of the same sentence. As will be shown later, the distinction of gender agreement markers on the verb is realised only when nouns serve as non-focused subjects. With regard to semantic plurality, we see that plural gender does imply semantic plurality in some cases but not in all, and that the non-plural genders can have plural interpretations. To avoid the confusion that might arise from the use of terms, I use the term ‘plural’ in the context of agreement on the verb whether the subject is numerically single or multiple. I also use the terms “singulative” and “plurative” for derived forms of nouns, and “base” for the form on which the derivation (singulative or plurative) is based. Moreover, I use the terms “single” and (following Hayward (1981)) “multiple” for the number values of nouns, and the terms, “masculine”, “feminine” and “plural” for the values of gender.

Like other Cushitic languages, Konso shows gender, not number, agreement in the subject inflection on the verb. And gender has the values M(asculine), F(eminine) and P(lural), as is not uncommon for Cushitic languages. The third value for gender agreement is P(lural) because that is the ending on the verb. I use the abbreviation M/F in those gender agreement markers that do not distinguish between M and F. The head noun may be either M or F.

Thus, according to gender agreement on the verb, we have nouns that trigger the same agreement as the third person male subject (marked by the suffix -ay), those that trigger the same agreement as the third person female subject (marked by suffix -t) and those that trigger the same agreement as the third person plural subject (marked by the suffix -n).

Most nouns which are semantically specified for sex as female trigger the third person feminine gender agreement marker -t on the verb as shown in (1):
Certain nouns that are semantically female have masculine gender agreement. Her is an example:

(2a) okkattasiʔ ?ipiʔay
    okkatta-siʔ i=piʔ-ay
    cow-DEF.M/F  3 = fall-PF[3M]
    ‘The cow fell.’

(2b) arpasiʔ ?idalay
    arpa-siʔ i=dal-ay
    elephant-DEF.M/F  3 = give.birth-PF[3M]
    ‘The elephant gave birth.’

Nouns that are semantically specified for sex as male trigger third person masculine gender agreement on the verb as in (3).

(3a) χormasiʔ ?ipatay
    χorma-siʔ i=pat-ay
    ox-DEF.M/F  3 = get.lost-PF[3M]
    ‘The ox got lost.’

(3b) hamiyaaʔ ?ideyay
    hamiyaa-siʔ i=dey-ay
    boy-DEF.M/F  3 = come-PF[3M]
    ‘The boy came.’

(3c) lahaiʔ ?ipatay
    laha-siʔ i=pat-ay
    ram-DEF.M/F  3 = get.lost-PF[3M]
    ‘The ram got lost.’

All nouns with plural suffixes have the plural gender agreement -n on the verb. For example, the suffix -wwaa in harreewwa ‘donkeys’ in (4a), -daa in χormadaa ‘oxen’ in (4b) and -diidaa in lahadidaa ‘rams’ in (4c) are plural suffixes and, thus, impose the plural gender agreement marker -n on the verb.
There are certain nouns which are semantically plural but have a masculine or feminine gender agreement on the verb. For instance, **iskatta** ‘women’ in (5a) is semantically plural but occurs with a masculine gender marker on the verb. In the same fashion, **kuyleeta** ‘the Ts’amakko’ in (5b) is semantically plural but occurs with a feminine gender agreement -t on the verb.

Most nouns that are semantically undetermined for sex require masculine gender agreement, feminine gender agreement or plural gender agreement. The gender assignment cannot be predicted by the semantics of the nouns. Here are some examples:
From our discussion so far, it is apparent that nouns fall into three groups based on their subject agreement on the verb: those with M(asculine), F(eminine) and P(lural) gender agreement. The three gender values to some degree follow the semantics of nouns but for quite a number of nouns the gender value cannot be predicted by semantics. Semantically plural nouns may trigger M, F or P agreement, and semantically singular nouns may trigger P agreement. Singular and plural pairs of nouns can have different gender values.

Agreement on the adjective shows that gender and number are separate agreement systems. On the adjective number is marked by reduplication (for plural), see 3.2 above, and P(lural) gender is marked by a suffix, see 4.1.4. Nouns that are plural in number need not be P(lural) in gender and nouns that are P(lural) in gender are not always plural in number. This state of affairs is confusing for those not acquainted with Cushitic languages. Using a different term for the third value of gender would be misleading because the agreement does coincide with that of third person plural 'they'.

When there are suppletive verb roots for singulative and plurational (see 6.2.5 for pluracitionality), nouns that have a singulative notion occur with singulative verb roots, and those that have a pluraative notion occur with plurational verb roots. Nouns with plural notion may differ in their gender agreement on the verb. For example, if we take, as in (7), the nouns kawwaadaa ‘the Gawwada’, kaahuta ‘Kaaho villagers’ and χoyraa ‘the Burji’ and the suppletive verb roots keer- ‘to run[SG]’ and hir- ‘to run[PL]’, we see that all the nouns have a plural notion, and hence occur with the suppletive plurational verb root hir- ‘to run[PL]’ rather than the singulative verb root keer- ‘to run[SG]’. However, they differ in gender agreement: kawwaadaa ‘the Gawwada’ in (7a) triggers the same gender agreement as the third person masculine subject, kaahuta ‘Kaaho villagers’ in (7b) triggers the same gender agreement as the third person feminine subject, and χoyraa ‘the Burji’ in (7c) triggers the same gender agreement as plural subject.

(7a)  kawwaadaasiʔ ?ihiray

kawwadaa-DEF.M/F  i=hir-ay

‘The Gawwada ran.’

There are some nouns with M~F gender values. The alternative use of the M~F does not bring any difference in meaning. For instance, the singulative raaka ‘old woman’ is semantically feminine but it may occur with the indefinite F takka in (8a) or with the M counterpart tokka in (8b), the former is preferred.

4.1.2. Gender agreement in definiteness marking

The gender of nouns determines the assignment of definite marking on nouns: nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as the masculine or feminine subject assign the definite suffix -siʔ as illustrated in (9).

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Nouns that trigger the same agreement as the plural subject on the verb assign the definite suffix -siniʔ. For example, the nouns innaa ‘child’ in (10a) and filaa ‘comb’ in (10b) are semantically singular. However, they add the plural gender agreement marker -n on the verb just like the noun lahadɗaa ‘rams’ in (10c). This clearly shows that -n is a gender agreement marker, not a number marker.

(10a) innaasiniʔ ?imukin
    innaa-siniʔ i=muk-i-n
    child-DEF.P 3 = sleep-PF-P
    ‘The child slept.’

(10b) filaasiniʔ ?iʛepin
    filaa-siniʔ i=ʛep-i-n
    comb-DEF.P 3 = be.broken-PF-P
    ‘The comb was broken.’

(10c) lahadɗaaasiniʔ ?ikataman
    lahadɗaa-siniʔ i=kat-am-a-n
    rams-DEF.P 3 = sell-PAS-IPF.FUT-P
    ‘The rams will be sold.’

4.1.3. Gender agreement in demonstratives

The gender of nouns determines the assignment of demonstrative marking on nouns. In other words, nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as masculine or feminine subject assign the demonstrative suffix -asiʔ or -osiʔ as illustrated in (11). For the distribution of the demonstrative suffixes, see Section 4.8.

(11a) kahartaasiʔ ?iɗalti
    kaharta-asiʔ i=ɗal-t-i
    ewe-DEM.M/F 3 = give.birth-3F-PF
    ‘This ewe gave birth.’

(11b) cọyroosiʔ ?iʛepay
    cọyra-osiʔ i=ʛep-ay
    tree-DEM.M/F 3 = be.broken-PF[3M]
    ‘This tree was broken.’

(11c) orraasiʔ ?ikalay
    orra-asiʔ i=kal-ay
    people-DEM.M/F 3 = return.home-PF[3M]
    ‘These people returned home.’
Nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as the plural subject on the verb assign the demonstrative suffix -osiniʔ. In the following examples, the semantically singular noun innaa ‘child’ (12a) and the plurative noun pottaawwaa ‘pumpkins’ (12b) add the plural gender agreement suffix -osiniʔ.

(12a) innoosinif fatanaappaa ipiʔin

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{innaa-osiniʔ} & \text{fatanaoppaa} \\
\text{child-DEM.P} & \text{exam-in} \\
=piʔ-i-n & 3 = \text{fall-PF-P}
\end{array}
\]

‘This child failed the exam.’

(12b) pottaawwoosiniʔ ?ipapalin

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
pottaawwaa-osiniʔ & i=napal-i-n \\
pumpkins-DEM.P & 3 = \text{be.spoiled-PF-P}
\end{array}
\]

‘These houses were spoiled.’

4.1.4. Gender agreement in adjectives

When adjectives serve as attributes, gender is marked in addition to number. Plural number is expressed by reduplicating the adjectival root’s initial \( C_1V(C_1) \). Gender agreement is marked by suffixes -a for M/F gender and by the suffix -aaʔ for plural gender. For example, in (13a), the modified noun \( \text{χormasiʔ} \) ‘the ox’ is semantically singulative and [M] in gender and it has an M/F gender suffix on the adjectival root. In (13b), the modified noun \( \text{filaasiniʔ} \) ‘the comb’ is semantically singulative but requires a plural gender suffix -aaʔ on the adjectival root. In (13c), the modified noun \( \text{ʔorrasiʔ} \) ‘the people’ is semantically plural and [M] in gender and requires a plural number agreement marked by reduplication but an M/F gender suffix on the adjectival root. In (13d), the object \( \text{χormaɗaasiniʔ} \) ‘the oxen’ is semantically plural and [P] in gender and has a plural number agreement marked by reduplication and a plural gender agreement suffix -aaʔ on the adjectival root. Notice that the subject of each sentence in (13) is the first person singular.

(13a) χormasik kappa inʔakkay

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{χorma-siʔ} & \text{kapp-a} \\
ox-DEF.M/F & \text{be.fat-M/F} \\
in=akk-ay & 1 = \text{see-PF[3M]}
\end{array}
\]

‘I saw the fat ox.’

(13b) filaasinip pooraaʔ inʔakkay

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{filaas-siʔ} & \text{poor-aaʔ} \\
\text{comb-DEF.P} & \text{be.black-P} \\
in=akk-ay & 1 = \text{see-PF[3M]}
\end{array}
\]

‘I saw the black comb.’

(13c) orrasik kakappa inʔakkay

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
orra-siʔ & \text{ka-kapp-a} \\
\text{people-DEF.M/F} & \text{PL-be.fat-M/F} \\
in=akk-ay & 1 = \text{see-PF[3M]}
\end{array}
\]

‘I saw the fat people.’
From the foregoing discussions, it is clear that gender as a morphological category has the M, F and P values in subject agreement marking on the verb, and M/F and P values in the noun phrase agreement, namely in definite nouns, demonstratives and adjectives.

4.2. Number

Number in nouns is derivational rather than inflectional (see Ongaye (in print)). The derivation of number in nouns involves the derivation of pluratives, and, to a much lesser degree, the derivation of singulatives. As I mentioned earlier, I use the terms “singulative” and “plurative” for derived forms of nouns, and “base” for the form on which the derivation (singulative or plurative) is based. Moreover, I use the terms “single” and (following Hayward (1981)) “multiple” for the number values of nouns. “Single” nouns refer to semantically individual entities while “multiple” nouns refer to semantically plural entities. In what follows, I first present the derivation of pluratives and then the derivation of singulatives.

Plurative is marked by the following ways:

A. attaching plurative suffixes
B. reduplicating the base-final consonant
C. geminating the last consonant of the base

Pluratives derived by any one of the above strategies are plural semantically and also trigger plural gender agreement marking on the verb. As we shall see later, there are also suppletives in Konso. Singular suppletives express single reference, while plural suppletives express multiple reference.

4.2.1. Number suffixes

There are five number suffixes used to mark pluralive in nouns. The number suffixes are arranged from the most to the least frequently occurring suffix with a sample of about 470 nouns (see Chapter 15).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of number suffix</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. -dää (27%)</td>
<td>stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. -wwaa (22%)</td>
<td>root-ta (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. -dää (16%)</td>
<td>stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. -ayaa (7.5%)</td>
<td>root-atta (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. -iyyaa (5.5%)</td>
<td>root-itta (M)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the correlation between the number suffixes and their bases, we can see that some plurative suffixes are added to bases while others replace singulative suffixes. Thus, the plurative suffix of each noun has to be learned lexically. Furthermore, a lexeme may occur with more than one plurative suffix. In some cases, nouns with plurative suffixes may serve as bases to further derive pluratives. In fact, sometimes it is only the singulative that is derived. In other words, the system has both singulatives and pluratives, and both can be basic.

Below, I discuss each of the number suffixes. In the illustrative examples, I only indicate the gender values of the bases because plurative suffixes impose a plural gender value.

### Plurative suffix -ɗɗaa

The plurative suffix -ɗɗaa is added to a base. Base final aa is shortened when -ɗɗaa is added. The bases may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender values. The bases are either underived, or derived singulatives in -ta. The following are illustrative examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plurative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daʔta (M)</td>
<td>‘butter’</td>
<td>daʔtaddaa</td>
<td>‘butters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kittayyaa (M)</td>
<td>‘bedbug’</td>
<td>kittayyaddaa</td>
<td>‘bedbugs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maakaa (M)</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
<td>maakaddaa</td>
<td>‘snakes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahanta (F)</td>
<td>‘grass’</td>
<td>mahantaddaa</td>
<td>‘grasses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oχinta (F)</td>
<td>‘fence’</td>
<td>oχintaddaa</td>
<td>‘fences’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiifaa (P)</td>
<td>‘curse’</td>
<td>fiifaddaa</td>
<td>‘curses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaariyyaa (P)</td>
<td>‘evil spirit’</td>
<td>kaariyyaddaa</td>
<td>‘evil spirits’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kosaa (P)</td>
<td>‘granary’</td>
<td>kosaddaa</td>
<td>‘granaries’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marcifinaa (P)</td>
<td>‘intestine’</td>
<td>marcifinaddaa</td>
<td>‘intestines’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plurative suffix -wwaa

The plurative suffix -wwaa replaces the singulative suffix -ta. Except apuyyaaata ‘maternal uncle (M)’ and kawkawa ‘lower jaw (M)’, all such singulative nouns trigger a feminine gender agreement. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plurative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hinfaakkata (F)</td>
<td>‘ant’</td>
<td>hinfaakkawwaa</td>
<td>‘ants’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaankita (F)</td>
<td>‘mule’</td>
<td>kaankiwwaa</td>
<td>‘mules’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foocifita (F)</td>
<td>‘mud’</td>
<td>foocifiwwaa</td>
<td>‘muds’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noodduta (F)</td>
<td>‘bribe’</td>
<td>noodduwwaa</td>
<td>‘bribes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muukuta (F)</td>
<td>‘frog’</td>
<td>muukuwwaa</td>
<td>‘frogs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fillayyaata (F)</td>
<td>‘flea’</td>
<td>fillayaawwaa</td>
<td>‘fleas’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>landeeta (F)</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
<td>landeewwaa</td>
<td>‘livers’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plurative suffix -ɗaa

Like the suffix -ɗɗaa, plurative suffix -ɗaa is added to its bases. The bases have either a consonant cluster or geminate consonants preceding the suffix with the short d. Although degemination in the context of geminate consonants or clusters of consonants has been attested elsewhere in the language, we cannot posit the suffix -ɗaa as an allomorph of the suffix -ɗɗaa because the suffix -ɗɗaa also occurs after clusters of consonants, as in oyintaddɗaa ‘fences’ and hawladdɗaa ‘graves’. Base final aa is shortened. The bases may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender value, but the majority have a masculine gender value. The following are illustrative examples. Notice that the plurative suffixes -ɗɗaa and -ɗaa are not allomorphs of the same plurative suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>plurative</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arpa (M)</td>
<td>‘elephant’</td>
<td>arpaɗaa</td>
<td>‘elephants’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipsaa (P)</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
<td>ipsaɗaa</td>
<td>‘lights’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɗalta (F)</td>
<td>‘seed’</td>
<td>ɗaltadɗaa</td>
<td>‘seeds’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farta (F)</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
<td>fartadɗaa</td>
<td>‘horses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maχ χa (M)</td>
<td>‘name’</td>
<td>maχχadɗaa</td>
<td>‘names’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirra (M)</td>
<td>‘river’</td>
<td>kirradɗaa</td>
<td>‘rivers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kappa (M)</td>
<td>‘wheat’</td>
<td>kappadɗaa</td>
<td>‘wheat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karmaa (M)</td>
<td>‘lion’</td>
<td>karmadɗaa</td>
<td>‘lions’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karkaa (M)</td>
<td>‘beehive’</td>
<td>karkadɗaa</td>
<td>‘beehives’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naaɲɲaa (P)</td>
<td>‘tomato’</td>
<td>naaɲɲadɗaa</td>
<td>‘tomatoes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paankan (P)</td>
<td>‘machete’</td>
<td>paankanɗaa</td>
<td>‘machetes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The base noun naaɲɲaa ‘tomato’ can have plural interpretation in the absence the plurative suffix -ɗaa. Plural or singular interpretation is understood not from the gender agreement on the verb, as both trigger plural gender agreement marking on the verb, but rather from the singulativity or pluractionality of the action: when the verb root is a singulative suppletive or the verb root’s initial C1V(C1) is not reduplicated (for non-suppletives), then it has a singular interpretation. However, when the verb root is a plurative suppletive or the verb root’s initial C1V(C1) is reduplicated (for non-suppletives), then it has plural interpretation.

Plurative suffix -ayaa

The plurative suffix -ayaa replaces the singulative suffix -atta as can be seen from the data in (17). The majority of the bases have a masculine gender agreement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>plurative</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oypatta (M)</td>
<td>tree species</td>
<td>oypayaa</td>
<td>tree species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arpatta (M)</td>
<td>grass species</td>
<td>arpayaa</td>
<td>grass species</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is one instance of a nominal root with a singulative suffix -eetta and a plural suffix -eeyyaa: kupeetta (M) kupeeyaa ‘lower bone of hind leg’.

Plurative suffix -iyyaa

The plurative suffix -iyyaa is added to roots by replacing the singulative suffix -itta. All the bases trigger a masculine gender agreement. Here are some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plurative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alkittta</td>
<td>‘sisal’</td>
<td>alkiyyaa</td>
<td>‘sisals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiɲɲittta</td>
<td>‘pimple’</td>
<td>fiɲɲiyyaa</td>
<td>‘pimples’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʛupittta</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
<td>ʛupiyyaa</td>
<td>‘fingers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilkittta</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
<td>ilkiyyaa</td>
<td>‘teeth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karittta</td>
<td>‘belly’</td>
<td>kariyyaa</td>
<td>‘bellies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orritta</td>
<td>‘devil’</td>
<td>orriyyaa</td>
<td>‘devils’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apittta</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>apiyyaa</td>
<td>‘fires’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʛinaʔittta</td>
<td>‘rib’</td>
<td>ʛinaʔiyyaa</td>
<td>‘ribs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2. Reduplicating the base final consonant

Reduplicating the base final consonant is another strategy that marks plurative. In this number derivation strategy, a base final consonant /l/ or /n/ in a consonant cluster is reduplicated and subsequently geminated/lengthened. The plurative forms have a final long aa. Most often the consonant clusters containing /l/ undergo metathesis (cf. 2.7.6.). The bases may have a short a or a long aa. A base final -aa is shortened in the plurative. The bases trigger either masculine or plural gender agreement, the majority triggering masculine gender agreement. The following is an exhaustive list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plurative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hawla</td>
<td>‘tomb, grave’</td>
<td>hawlallaa</td>
<td>‘tombs, graves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fanc̃ala</td>
<td>‘splinter’</td>
<td>fanc̃allaa</td>
<td>‘splinters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawna</td>
<td>‘bell’</td>
<td>tawnanna</td>
<td>‘bells’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moyña</td>
<td>‘rocky place’</td>
<td>moyñaanna</td>
<td>‘rocky places’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʛolf̃aa</td>
<td>‘park, pod’</td>
<td>ʛolf̃allaa</td>
<td>‘parks (of tree), pods’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The bases in (20a) have the same phonological pattern as those in (19) but they do not reduplicate the final consonant in the pluralive. The correct pluralive forms are given in (20b).

(20a) Base  gloss pluative
talpa (M)  ‘lentil’ *talpallaa
hupna (M)  ‘strength’ *hupnannaa
haynaa (P) ‘remains after sucking cane’ *haynannaa

(20b)  talpadaa (P)  ‘lentils’
hupnannaa (P) ‘strengths’
haynafaa (P) ‘remains after sucking cane’

4.2.3. Plurative marking by gemination

This plurative marking strategy geminates the onset of the last syllable. The short vowel /a/ of the bases is lengthened in the pluralive forms. The majority of the bases trigger masculine gender agreement. The following are illustrative data.

(21)  Base  gloss pluative gloss
tika (F)  ‘house’ tikkaa ‘houses’
raaka (F)  ‘old woman’ raakkaa ‘old women’
dila (M)  ‘field’ dillaa ‘fields’
kaɓa (M)  ‘canal’ kaɓɓaa ‘canals’
kaɓa (M)  ‘clan’ kaffaa ‘clans’
mura (M)  ‘forest’ murraa ‘forests’
pora (M)  ‘road, route’ porraa ‘roads, routes’
paaclass (M) ‘disease’ paaclass ‘diseases’
paala (M)  ‘feather’ paallaa ‘feathers’
kaasa (M)  ‘horn, gun’ kaassaa ‘horns, guns’
tuufa (M)  ‘pillar’ tuufaa ‘pillars’
hoofa (M)  ‘hole’ hoofaa ‘holes’

The pluratives of the following bases are derived by geminating the onset of the last syllable but the singulative is marked by suffix -ta.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plurative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaharta (F)</td>
<td>'ewe'</td>
<td>kaharraa</td>
<td>'sheep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>loọta (F)</td>
<td>'leg'</td>
<td>loọčaaa</td>
<td>'legs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiɓta (F)</td>
<td>'lip'</td>
<td>hiɓɓaa</td>
<td>'lips'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.4. Double plurative derivation

Certain plurative forms serve as bases for further derived pluratives. Double pluratives are derived by adding the plurative suffix -ɗaa when the plurative bases are formed by reduplicating the base final consonant as in (23a). They are also derived by adding the plurative suffix -ɗɗaa when the plurative bases are formed by geminating the base final consonant as in (23b).

#### (23a) Base (plurative) Plurative (double derived)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tikkaa</th>
<th>Tikkadāa</th>
<th>‘houses’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raakkaa</td>
<td>Raakkadāa</td>
<td>‘old women’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dillaa</td>
<td>Dilladāa</td>
<td>‘fields’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaɓɓaa</td>
<td>Kaɓɓadāa</td>
<td>‘canals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaffaa</td>
<td>Kaffadāa</td>
<td>‘clans’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Murraa</td>
<td>Murradāa</td>
<td>‘forests’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Porraa</td>
<td>Porradāa</td>
<td>‘roads, routes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paallaa</td>
<td>Paalladāa</td>
<td>‘feathers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaassaa</td>
<td>Kaassadāa</td>
<td>‘horns, guns’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuudfāaa</td>
<td>Tuudfadāa</td>
<td>‘pillars’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hoofffāaa</td>
<td>Hoofffadāa</td>
<td>‘holes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (23b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Silpalla</th>
<th>Silpalladāaa</th>
<th>‘metals’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diklalla</td>
<td>Diklladāaa</td>
<td>‘elbows’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kilpalla</td>
<td>Kilpalladāaa</td>
<td>‘knese’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kulpalla</td>
<td>Kulpalladāaa</td>
<td>‘big calabashes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cọlpalla</td>
<td>Cọlpalladāaa</td>
<td>‘he-goats’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hawllalla</td>
<td>Hawlladāaa</td>
<td>‘tombs, graves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fançalla</td>
<td>Fançalladāaa</td>
<td>‘splinters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tawnanna</td>
<td>Tawnannadāaa</td>
<td>‘bells’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moχnanna</td>
<td>Moχnannaddāaa</td>
<td>‘rocky places’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dapnanna</td>
<td>Dapnannaddāaa</td>
<td>‘temples’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cọlfalla</td>
<td>Cọlfalladāaa</td>
<td>‘parks (of tree), pods’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.5. Irregular pluratives

Certain pluratives do not fall into the patterns discussed above. For example, the plurative ildo ‘eyes’, which is derived from the nominal root il- ‘eye’ (singularative ilta (F) ‘eye’), does not conform to the pattern I discussed earlier for the plurative suffix -ɗaa. That is, in my earlier analysis, I showed that -ɗaa is added to bases, not roots. But in ildo ‘eyes’, it is added to a root. The other
pluratives that do not fall into our earlier patterns include ʛora ‘trees’, ʛoraa ‘hands’ and ʛoraa ‘thieves’. The plural ʛora ‘trees’ has the singulative ʛoryra (M) ‘tree’. The derivation of the plural ʛora ‘trees’ involves the deletion of the consonant ʛ in the singulative, and lengthening the final vowel of the singulative. The plural ʛoraa ‘hands’ is derived from the base by lengthening only the final vowel of the base. With regard to the derivation of the plural ʛoraa ‘thieves’ and its singulative ʛeraa (M) ‘thief’, both have a root ker- to which ʛer and -aa are added to derive the plural and singulative, respectively.

In fact, the pluratives ʛoraa ‘hands’ and ʛoraa ‘thieves’ can alternatively be used as stems to derive the plural ʛoraa and ʛoraa, respectively. Similarly, the singulative ʛoryra may serve as a stem to derive the plural ʛoryra. This derivation fits into our analysis for the derivational pattern of the number suffix -ɗaa.

4.2.6. Suppletive plurals

Certain single-reference nouns have suppletive multiple reference counterparts. An exhaustive list is given in (24). The single-reference forms may trigger masculine, feminine or plural gender agreement; on the other hand, the plurals may trigger masculine or plural gender agreement.

(24) Single gloss multiple gloss
innaa (P) ‘child’ hellaa (P) ‘(human) children’
nama (M) ‘man, person’ ʛora (M) ‘people’
saalla (M) ‘cow dung’ ʛufa (M) ‘pile of cow dung’
inanta (F) ‘girl’ ʛoraa (P) ‘girls’
innayaa (P) ‘young animal’ ʛoraa (P) ‘young animals/birds’

4.2.7. Pluratives without corresponding singulative forms

In the preceding sections, we discussed the derivation of pluratives from singulative bases. The roots of the bases carry the semantics of singulative. However, there are instances in which there is only one number form which is plural and not singulative. Such nouns are listed below.

(25) ʛor (F) ‘livestock’
sawwaa (M) ‘people (formal setting)’
ikkaamaa (P) ‘seed corn’

Our evidence for claiming that the above nouns are plural comes from agreement. For instance, the examples in (26) are acceptable because the nouns ʛor ‘livestock’ and sawwaa ‘people’ occur with the plural actional verb root hir- ‘run[PL]’. On the other hand, the examples in (27) are unacceptable be-
cause the same nouns horeeta and sawwaa occur with a singulative verb root keer- ‘run[SG]’.

(26a) horeetasiʔ ?ihirti
horeeta-siʔ  i=hir-t-i
livestock-DEF.M/F 3 = run[PL]-3F-PF
‘The livestock ran.’

(26b) keraasiʛ Ḩapiyas sawwaasiʔ ?ihiray
keraa-siʔ  Ḩap-iyaʔ- sawwaa-siʔ
thief-DEF.M/F catch-INF-DAT people-DEF.M/F
i=hir-ay
3 = run[PL]-PF[3M]
‘The people ran in order to catch the thief.’

(27a) *horeetasiʔ ?ikeerti
horeeta-siʔ  i=keer-t-i
livestock-DEF.M/F 3 = run[SG]-3F-PF
(intended: ‘The livestock ran.’)

(27b) *keraasiʛ Ḩapiyas sawwaasiʔ ?ikeeray
keraa-siʔ  Ḩap-iyaʔ- sawwaa-siʔ
thief-DEF.M/F catch-INF-DAT people-DEF.M/F
i=keer-ay
3 = run[SG]-PF[3M]
(intended: ‘The people ran in order to catch the thief.’)

4.2.8. Derivation of singulatives

Singulatives are derived from underived pluratives by deleting final vowels and adding the suffixes -ayta (M) as in (28a), -ta (M/F) as in (28b), -itta (M) as in (28c) or -teeta (F) as in (28d).

(28a) Plurative singulative gloss
daʔayaa daʔayta (M) plant species
darkaya karayta (M) ‘gorge’
dkeltaya keltayta (M) ‘baboon’
doottaya ottayta (M) tree species
dčìmayaa čìmayta (M) ‘old man’

(28b) kumaanaa kumaanta (M) ‘antelope’
maskahanaa maskahanta (M) tree species
pinaanaa pianta (M) ‘animal’
The singulative okkatta (M) ‘cow’ is derived from the plurative okkaa ‘cows’. The singulative apitta (M) ‘fire’ may also serve as a stem to derive the plura-
tive apittadâa.

4.2.9. Associative plural

Associative plural is marked by the particle opa followed by the noun it modifies. Associative plural expresses that the noun which the associative particle modifies has an associate(s) whose name(s) is (are) not mentioned. The associative plural may be a subject as in (29a) or an object as in (29b).

(29a) opa χampiruʔ ?ideyin  
      opa χampiruʔ i=deyi-n  
ASS χampiro-NOM 3 =come-PF-P  
‘χampiro and his associates came.’

(29b) antiʔ ?opa Apittun akkay  
      antiʔ opp Apitto=in akk-ay  
1SG.PRO-NOM ASS Apitto = 1 see-PF[3M]  
‘I saw ?apitto and his associate(s).’

7 The associative particle and the postposition indicating destination (see Section 8.2.1) have the same form opa but occur in different positions with regard to the noun they modify. I consider them to be distinct, homophonous morphemes.
4.3. Plurality in adjectives

Plural number agreement in adjectives is marked by reduplicating the root initial $C_1V$ when there is a geminate consonant in the root as in (30), otherwise, $C_1VC_1$ as in (31). For example, in (30a), the initial $C_1V$ of the adjectival root *čallaʔ* - ‘to be thin, slim’ is not reduplicated because the subject *inanta* ‘girl’ is singular. In (30b), it is reduplicated because the subject *tuparaa* ‘girls’ is plural. In the same fashion, in (31a), the initial $C_1VC_1$ of the adjectival root *déer* - ‘to be long’ is not reduplicated because the subject * čoyrasiʔ* ‘the tree’ is singular. In (31b), the initial $C_1VC_1$ of the adjectival root is reduplicated because the subject * čoraasiniʔ* ‘the trees’ is plural.

(30a)  inantaasiiʔ ʔičallaʔi
       inanta-asiʔ  i=čallaʔ-i
       girl-DEM.M/F 3 = be.slim-PF
       ‘This girl is slim.’

(30b)  tuparoosiniʔ ʔičallaʔi
       tuparaa-siniʔi = ča-čallaʔ-i
       girls-DEM.P 3 = PL-be.slim-PF
       ‘These girls are slim.’

(31a)  čoyrasiʔ ʔideeri
       čoyra-siʔ  i=đer-i
       tree-DEF.M/F 3 = be.tall-PF
       ‘The tree is tall.’

(31b)  čoraasiniʔ ʔideđđeri
       čoraas-siniʔ  i = đed-đer-i
       tree-DEF.P 3 = PL-be.tall-PF
       ‘The trees are tall.’

We should note that reduplicating the adjectival root’s initial $C_1V(C_1)$ shows only plural interpretation, and not plural gender agreement.

4.4. Semantic gender distinction

Names referring to certain domestic animals make a lexical semantic distinction between males and females. The lexical items that refer to ‘sheep’ are listed in (32a); those that refer to ‘cow, ox, bull’ are listed in (32b); and those that refer to ‘goat’ are listed in (32c).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(32a) laha (M) ‘ram’</td>
<td>kaharta (F) ‘ewe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sukeenta (F) ‘female lamb’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender agreement in the verb is also observed in kinship terms, as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aappaa ‘father’</td>
<td>aayyya ‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aappaa ‘husband’</td>
<td>ahta ‘wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuyyaata ‘maternal uncle’</td>
<td>maammata ‘aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aakkaa ‘grandfather’</td>
<td>okkooyyita ‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oopaa ‘grandson’</td>
<td>oopta ‘granddaughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afuma ‘nephew’</td>
<td>afumta ‘niece’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alawa ‘male sibling’</td>
<td>alawta ‘female sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamiya ‘baby boy’</td>
<td>inanta ‘baby girl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Semantic gender distinction in kinship terms

Certain proper names also distinguish gender. In most instances, the female names are derived from male names by geminating the onset of the last syllable of the male name. One instance (last example) shows that when the penultimate syllable of a male name has a closed syllable, the coda of that syllable is geminated for the female name rather than the onset of the final syllable (i.e. ...
Most of the male names end in -o and the female counterparts end in -a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(34a)</th>
<th>Male proper name</th>
<th>female proper name</th>
<th>source noun</th>
<th>meaning of source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Katano</td>
<td>Katanna</td>
<td>katana</td>
<td>'season for sowing'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roopo</td>
<td>Rooppa</td>
<td>roopa</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χampiro</td>
<td>χampirra</td>
<td>χampirteeta</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kappino</td>
<td>Kappinna</td>
<td>kappina</td>
<td>'bush'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urmale</td>
<td>Urmalla</td>
<td>?urmalaa</td>
<td>'market'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teykane</td>
<td>Teykanna</td>
<td>teykantaa</td>
<td>'morning'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χudaado</td>
<td>χudaadда</td>
<td>χudaadда</td>
<td>'late morning'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuyyawo</td>
<td>Kuyyanna</td>
<td>kuyyaʔta</td>
<td>'noon, day'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kallapo</td>
<td>Kallappa</td>
<td>kallapta</td>
<td>'late afternoon'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halkeeeyo</td>
<td>Halkeeyya</td>
<td>halkeetta</td>
<td>'midnight'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orχayto</td>
<td>Orχayya</td>
<td>orχayta</td>
<td>'adopted child'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(34b)</th>
<th>Male proper name</th>
<th>female proper name</th>
<th>source noun</th>
<th>meaning of source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oraapo</td>
<td>Oraappa</td>
<td>oraap-</td>
<td>'to fetch water'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutano</td>
<td>Kutanna</td>
<td>kut-</td>
<td>'to hunt'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaliʃo</td>
<td>Kaliʃso</td>
<td>kalf-</td>
<td>'to make go home'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5. Diminutives

Diminutive is marked by the suffix -(tt)eeta. The diminutive suffix is added to nouns that show third person masculine gender value. The diminutive suffix renders a third person feminine gender value to the noun it is added to. The diminutive suffix implies that the addressee has a low opinion of the noun in question. For example, in (35a), the addresser has a high opinion of the noun ωimayta-siʔ 'the old man', as it has no diminutive suffix; however, in (35b), it occurs with the diminutive suffix, implying that the addresser has a low opinion of the referent. In the translations of the examples below, I use the adjective 'little' to denote diminutive.

(35a) ωimayta- siʔ  ωoyra-siʔ  ωihaaʔdiay
old.man-DEF.M/F  tree-DEF.M/F  i=haaʔ-ay
old.man-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3 = carry-PF[3M]

'The old man carried the tree.'

(35b) ωimaytaeeta- siʔ  ωoyra-siʔ  ωihaaʔti
old.man-DIM-DEF.M/F  tree-DEF.M/F  i=haaʔ-3f-ay
old.man-DIM-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3 = carry-3F-PF

'The little old man carried the tree.'

kalisso is underlingly kalissto.
Diminutive does not seem to occur with nouns that trigger plural gender agreement. The only exception that I noted is innaa ‘child’ but even then, the form of the diminutive is different: -innaata as shown in (36b).

(36a)  innaasiniʔ ?ipiʔin
       innaa-siniʔ  i=piʔ-i-n
       child-DEF.P  3 = fall-PF-P
       ‘The child fell.’

(36b)  inninnaataʔiʔ ?ipiʔti
       innaa-nnaata-siʔ  i=piʔ-t-i
       child-DIM-DEF.M/F  3 = fall-3F-PF
       ‘The little child fell.’

The female lexical items okkatta ‘cow’ and tullatta ‘old cow’ that trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb acquire third person feminine gender agreement on the verb when the diminutive suffix is added to them. This is shown in (37).

(37a)  okkatteetasiʔ ?itoʔti
       okkatta-eeta-siʔ  i=toy-t-i
       cow-DIM-DEF.M/F  3 = die[SG]-3F-PF
       ‘The little cow died.’

(37b)  tullatteetasiʔ ?ipiʔti
       tullatta-eeta-siʔ  i=piʔ-t-i
       old.cow-DIM-DEF.M/F  3 = fall-3F-PF
       ‘The little old cow fell.’

In the following examples, we have the noun ʛoyra ‘tree’. This noun has third person masculine gender agreement without the diminutive as in (38a). However, with the diminutive suffix, it acquires third person feminine gender agreement on the verb, as illustrated in (38b).

(38a)  ʛoyrasiʔ  ?ikupaday
       ʛoyra-siʔ  i=kup-ad-ay
       tree.M-DEF.M/F  3 = burn-MID-PF[3M]
       ‘The tree was burnt.’

(38b)  ʛoyritteetasiʔ ?ikupatti
       ʛoyra-tteeta-siʔ  i=kup-ad-t-i
       tree.F-DIM-DEF.M/F  3 = burn-MID-3F-PF
       ‘The little tree was burnt.’
When the performance of a referent in question excels the expectation of the addressee, the diminutive suffix expresses a surprise of the addressee. The following are illustrative examples:

(39a)  **rakkitteasiʔ iʃapaatti**  
*raaka-teeta-siʔ  i=ʃapaad-t-i*  
old.woman-DIM-DEF.M/F  3 = be.strong-3F-PF  
‘Wow! The old little woman became strong.’

(39b)  **aappitteetiʃ ciyraʔiʔ ihaʔti**  
*aappa-a-teeta-siʔ  ciyra-siʔ  i=had-t-i*  
father-DIM-DEF.M/F  tree/wood-DEF.M/F  3 = carry-3F-PF  
‘Wow! The little man carried the log.’

Some nouns seem to have frozen diminutive suffix: talteeta ‘she-goat’, lammiteeta ‘second wife’.

### 4.6. Indefinite reference and indefinite-specific morphemes

Indefinite reference is not morphologically marked both in subject and object function. This can be seen from the nouns laha ‘ram’, ʔapitta ‘fire’, ʔimayaa ‘old men’ and χormaadaa ‘bulls’ with indefinite reference which appear in their citation forms as the following sentences demonstrate.

(40a)  **antil laha impidda**  
*anti-ʔ laha in=pidʔ-a*  
1SG.PRO-NOM  ram  1 = buy[SG]-IPF.FUT  
‘I will buy a ram.’

(40b)  **inantasiʔ ʔapitta iʔopassi**  
*inanta-siʔ  apitta  i=opay-f-t-i*  
girl-DEF.M/F  fire  3 = build.fire-DCAUS-3F-PF  
‘The girl built fire.’

(40c)  **ʔimayaa diʃ caa**  
*ʔimayaa  diʃ kiy-aa*  
old.men  there  be-IPF.PRES  
‘There are old men over there.’

(40d)  **iʃoonna χ ormadaa heerin**  
*iʃoonna-ʔ χ ormadaa=i heer-i-n*  
3PL.PRO-NOM  bulls = 3  buy[PL]-PF-P  
‘They bought bulls.’
Specific-indefinite reference may be marked by tokka ‘one.M’ or takka ‘one.F’ or takkan ~ takka-n ‘one-P’. In the following examples, tokka, takka and takkan specify the nouns hamiya ‘boy’,ʔinanta ‘girl’ and χormadāa ‘oxen’, respectively. These nouns have an inherent gender value: masculine, feminine and plural, respectively.

(41a) hamiya tokkaʔ ʔiɗeyay
\[\text{hamiya tokka-ʔ i=ɗey-ay}\]
\[\text{boy INDEF.M-NOM 3=come-PF}\]
‘A certain boy came.’

(41b) inanta takkaʔ ʔiɗeʔti
\[\text{inanta takka-ʔ i=ɗeʔ-t-i}\]
\[\text{girl INDEF.F-NOM 3=come-3F-PF}\]
‘A certain girl came.’

(41c) χormadāa takka-n=in akk-ay
\[\text{oxen INDEF-P=1 see-PF}\]
‘I saw a certain oxen.’

Sex-unspecific singulative nouns that have a specific-indefinite reference may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender value. For instance, the singulative alleeta ‘house (F)’ requires a feminine gender specific-indefinite reference marker takka in (42a). The singular čoyra ‘tree (M)’ requires a masculine gender specific indefinite reference marker tokka in (42b). The singulative filaa ‘comb (P)’ requires a plural gender specific-indefinite reference marker takkan in (42c).

(42a) alleeta takkan pidدافay
\[\text{alleeta takka= in pidداف-ay}\]
\[\text{house INDEF.F=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]}\]
‘I bought a certain house for myself.’

(42b) čoyra tokkan pidدافay
\[\text{čoyra tokka= in pidداف-ay}\]
\[\text{tree INDEF.M=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]}\]
‘I bought a certain tree for myself.’

(42c) filaa takka-n=in pidداف-ay
\[\text{comb INDEF-P=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]}\]
‘I bought a certain comb for myself.’

It should be noted that the specific-indefinite reference takka, but not tokka, is used in the numeral system, meaning ‘one’ (see Numerals in 4.8).
4.7. Definite reference

Definite reference is marked by suffixes -siʔ and -siniʔ on nouns. Inherently definite entities such as proper names may also appear with the definite suffix -siʔ.

Nouns which trigger masculine or feminine gender agreement add the definite suffix -siʔ. For instance, in (43), the singulative nouns cįmayaʔa ‘old man’ and raakaʔa ‘old woman’ and the pluralative noun orraʔa ‘people’ occur with the M/F definite reference -siʔ.

(43a)  cįmayaʔasisiʔ ʔimukay  
cįmayaʔasiʔ\(i=muk\)-ay  
old.man-DEF.M/F 3 = sleep-PF[3M]  
‘The old man slept.’

(43b)  raakaʔasiʔiiʔ ʔimukti  
raakaʔasiʔ\(i=muk\)-t-i  
old.woman-DEF.M/F 3 = sleep-3F-PF  
‘The old woman slept.’

(43c)  orraʔasiʔiiʔ ʔimukay  
orraʔasiʔ\(i=muk\)-ay  
people-DEF.M/F 3 = sleep-PF[3M]  
‘The people slept.’

Nouns that trigger plural gender agreement add the definite suffix -siniʔ. For instance, in (44), the singulatives furaaʔa ‘comb’ and aannaaʔa ‘milk’ and the pluralative karmaɗaaʔa ‘lions’ occur with the plural definite reference suffix.

(44a)  furaaʔasiniʔiʔ ʔipatin  
furaaʔasiʔ\(i=pat\)-i-n  
key-DEF.P 3 = disappear-PF-P  
‘The key disappeared.’

(44b)  aannaaʔasiniʔiʔ ʔiɲapalin  
aannaaʔasiʔ\(i=ɲapal\)-i-n  
milk-DEF.P 3 = be.spoiled-PF-P  
‘The milk went bad.’

(44c)  karmaɗaaʔasiniʔiʔ ʔihirin  
karmaɗaaʔasiʔ\(i=hir\)-i-n  
lions-DEF.P 3 = run[PL]-PF-P  
‘The lions ran.’
Nouns derived from verb roots occur with the M/F definite suffix -siʔ as can be seen from the following examples.

(45)  keeritaasiʔ ʔiʔana kaftiʃay
      keer-taa-siʔ i=ʔana
      run[SG]-VN-DEF.M/F 3 = 1SG.PRO.ACC

      kafaɗ-ʃ-ay
      tire[MID]-CAUS-PF[3M]
      ‘The running made me tired.’

Proper names can occur with the M/F definite suffix -siʔ. The definite suffix is added to a proper name when there is shared knowledge between the interlocutors about the person. Examples:

(46a)  Katannasiʔ ʔiʔaakta
       Katanna-siʔ i=aak-t-a
       Katanna-DEF.M/F 3 = be.well-3F-IPF.FUT
       ‘The Katanna is well (recovering from illness).’

(46b)  kappoolesiʔ ʔayyee ca
       kappoole-siʔ ayye=i kiy-a
       Kappoole-DEM.M/F here=3 be-IPF.FUT
       ‘The Kappoole is here.’

The shared knowledge between the interlocutors in (46a) is about Katanna’s health situation while in (46b), it is about Kappoole’s whereabouts.

When definite suffixes are followed by the dative or instrumental suffix, the definite suffixes have the forms -sit for M/F (47) and -sinit for P as shown in (48).

(47a)  okkattasitip piʃaa ɗaaʃi
       okkatta-siʔ piʃaa ɗaaʃ-i
       cow-DEF.M/F-DAT water give-IMP.SG
       ‘(You (SG)) Give water for the cow!’

(47b)  iskatteetasiʔ ʔorrasitiʔee ʄaʛaa katti
       iskatteeta-siʔ orra-sit-ʔ=i ʄaʛaa
       woman-DEF.M/F people-DEF.M/F-DAT=3 local.beer

       kat-t-i
       sell-3F-PF
       ‘The woman sold the people local beer.’
Definite reference does not obligatorily require definite marking. In stories and conversations, for instance, it is quite customary to encounter entities that have been mentioned before used without definite suffixes later in the story or conversation. For example, in sentence (49), taken from a story about a lion that lived in a jungle, the noun *karmaa* ‘lion’, which has been mentioned a couple of times earlier in the story, appears without a definite marker.

(49)  
\[
\text{karmaa ka } \text{gapaleesi } \text{garaa kaassumaa } \text{kaassaday} \\
\text{lion and monkey-DEM.M/F } \text{on} \\
\text{kaassuma}=i \quad \text{kaassad}-ay \\
\text{question}=3 \quad \text{ask-PF[3M]} \\
\text{‘And, [the] lion asked this monkey [the] question.’}
\]

### 4.8. Demonstrative suffixes

There are four demonstrative suffixes that express proximity. These are: -oosiʔ, -asiʔ, -siʔ and -oosiniʔ. The suffixes -oosiʔ, -asiʔ, and -siʔ occur with nouns that trigger an M/F gender. The suffix -oosiniʔ occurs with nouns that trigger a plural gender. Among -oosiʔ, -asiʔ, and -siʔ, the suffix -oosiʔ is added to any nominal root. Examples:

(50a)  
\[
\text{kut-oosiʔ} \\
\text{dog-DEM.M/F} \\
\text{‘this dog’}
\]
(50b)  karm-oosiʔ
lion-DEM.M/F
‘this lion’

(50c)  Orr-oosiʔ
people-DEM.M/F
‘these people’

The following are illustrative sentential examples:

(51a)  kutoosis s"aa ihatay
kut-oosiʔ so?aa i=hat-ay
dog-DEM.M/F meat 3=steal-PF[3M]
‘This dog stole meat.’

(51b)  dakoosiʔ ?iʔulsi
dak-oosiʔ i=ʔuls-i
stone-DEM.M/F 3=be.heavy-PF
‘This stone is heavy.’

(51c)  orroosiʔ ?ileki
orr-oosiʔ i=lek-i
people-DEM.M/F 3=be.many-PF
‘These people are numerous.’

The demonstrative suffix -asiʔ is added to nominal roots that have the nominaliser -a (but not -aa) or the singulative suffix -ta, as shown in the following illustrative phrases.

(52a)  kuta-asiʔ
dog-DEM.M/F
‘this dog’

(52b)  nama-asiʔ
person-DEM.M/F
‘this person’

(52c)  tuuyyata-asiʔ
pig-DEM.M/F
‘this pig’

(52d)  tapayta-asiʔ
rat-DEM.M/F
‘this rat’
The following are illustrative sentential examples in which the nouns kuta ‘dog’, ʛoyra ‘tree’ and tapayta ‘rat’ have the definite suffix -asiʔ.

(53a) kutaasiʔ ?ipoori
   kuta-asiʔ     i=poor-i
dog-DEM.M/F  3 = be.black-PF
‘This dog is black.’

(53b) ʛoyraasiʔ ?iʛepay
   ʛoyra-asiʔ   i=ʛep-ay
tree-DEM.M/F  3 = be.broken-PF[3M]
‘This tree was broken.’

(53c) tapaytaasiʔ ?ikappi
   tapayta-asiʔ  i=kapp-i
rat-DEM.M/F  3 = be.fat-PF
‘This rat is fat.’

Nominal roots that have the nominaliser -aa do not occur with the demonstrative suffix -asiʔ: karmaa ‘lion’, ɗakaa ‘stone’ karkaa ‘beehive’, maakaa ‘snake’. The nominal roots of such nouns occur only with the demonstrative suffix -oosiʔ.

The demonstrative suffix -siʔ occurs with nominal roots that have the nominaliser -a (but not -aa) or the singulative suffix -ta. In such cases -siʔ replaces the nominaliser and the singulative suffix. Note that -siʔ has the same form as the definite M/F reference marker.

(54a) por-siʔ  < pora ‘road’
road-DEM.M/F ‘this road’

(54b) tik-siʔ  < tika ‘house’
house-DEM.M/F ‘this house’

(54c) ʛimay-siʔ  < ʛimayta ‘old man’
old.man-DEM.M/F ‘this old man’

(54d) ɗam-siʔ  < ɗamta ‘food’
food-DEM.M/F ‘this food’
The following are illustrative sentential examples:

(55a) cîmaysîʔ ?iipaʔâni
      cîmây-sîʔ i=pâac-âni
  old.man-DEM.M/F 3=be.sick-IPF.PRES

‘This old man is sick.’

(55b) dâmsiʔ ?akataa meʔawni
      dam-sîʔ akata=i meʔaw-ni
  food-DEM.M/F very=3 be.sweet-IPF.PRES

‘This food is quite delicious.’

(55c) harreesîʔ ?ideepoodti
      harree-sîʔ i=dee-oof-t-i
  donkey-DEM.M/F 3=be.thirsty-MID-3F-PF

‘This donkey is thirsty.’

Nominal roots with a final CC (e.g. moott- ‘friend’, hark- ‘hand’) do not allow the demonstrative suffix -siʔ.

The demonstrative suffix -oosiniʔ, as mentioned earlier, is added to nouns that trigger a plural gender agreement on the verb. For instance, the nouns innaa ‘child’, pijaa ‘water’, harreewwaa ‘donkeys’ and dillaa ‘fields’ in the following examples occur with -oosiniʔ.

(56a) innoosiniʔ ?ipiʔîn
      innaa-oosiniʔ i=piʔ-i-n
  child-DEM.P 3=be.thin-PF-P

‘This child fell.’

(56b) pijooosiniʔ ?ipooraawîn
      pijaa-oosiniʔ i=pooraaw-i-n
  water-DEM.P 3=be.impure-PF-P

‘This water became impure.’

(56c) harreeww-oosiniʔ ?i=ka-kapp-i
      harreewwaa-oosiniʔ i=ka-kapp-i
  donkeys-DEM.P 3=PL-be.fat-PF

‘These donkeys are fat.’

(56d) dilloosiniʔ ?ipappalîfî
      dillaa-oosiniʔ i=pap-pald-i
  fields-DEM.P 3=PL-be.wide-PF

‘These fields are wide.’
Using the nominal root por- ‘road’ or the singulative noun pora ‘road’, in (57) we show the occurrence of the demonstrative suffixes and the definite reference suffix:

(57) por-siʔ  ‘this road’
    por-oosiʔ  ‘this road’
    pora-asíʔ  ‘this road’
    pora-siʔ   ‘the road’

Distal location is expressed by a locative adverb (see Section 8.2.1), the existential verb and a noun with a demonstrative suffix. The following are illustrative examples:

(58a) namsıɗ diise co moottaawu
    nam-siʔ  diise =i  kiy-o
person-DEM.M/F there = 3 be-3M

moottaa-wu
friend-1SG.POSS.M/F
‘That man is my friend.’

(58b) kaharroosiniʔ ?irre ca ileki
    kaharr-oosiniʔ  irre  kiy-a  i=lek-i
sheep-DEM.P up.there be-IPF.FUT 3 = be.many-PF
‘Those sheep up there are numerous.’

4.9. Numerals

4.9.1. Cardinal numbers

The cardinal number system is decimal. The cardinal kuma ‘thousand’ is the highest basic unit of the numeral system. The basic cardinal numbers are the following:

(59) takka  ‘one’
lakki  ‘two’
 sessaa  ‘three’
 afur  ‘four’
 ken  ‘five’
 leh  ‘six’
 tappa  ‘seven’
 setteeʔ  ‘eight’
 sakal  ‘nine’
 kudan  ‘ten’
dippa  ‘hundred’
The cardinal numbers **dippa** ‘hundred’ and **kuma** ‘thousand’ can occur with the basic cardinal units from one to nine as shown in (60a-b). Moreover, **kuma** ‘thousand’ may occur with the basic cardinal unit **kudan** ‘ten’ and **dippa** ‘hundred’, as demonstrated in (60c-d).

(60a) **dippa** takka
    hundred one
    ‘one hundred’

(60b) **kuma** lakki
    thousand two
    ‘two thousand’

(60c) **kuma** **kudan**
    thousand ten
    ‘ten thousand’

(60d) **kuma** **dippa**
    thousand hundred
    ‘hundred thousand’

The cardinal numbers **kudan** ‘ten’, **dippa** ‘hundred’ and **kuma** ‘thousand’ may take plural suffixes, as in (61). Note that there is metathesis when **kudan** ‘ten’ is plural: **kunda**. The plural suffixes indicate ‘many tens/hundreds/thousands’.

(61a) **kundaddaa**
    ‘tens’

(61b) **dippadaa**
    ‘hundreds’

(61c) **kumadadaa**
    ‘thousands’

Cardinals between eleven and nineteen are formed from the base ten (**kudan**), the conjunction **ka** ‘and’ and the lower cardinals (one to nine). Literally, the combination means ‘ten and X’, where X stands for a lower cardinal. The combinations are as follows:

(62) **kudan** ka takka ‘eleven’ (lit.: ten and one)
**kudan** ka lakki ‘twelve’ (lit.: ten and two)
**kudan** ka sessaa ‘thirteen’ (lit.: ten and three)
**kudan** ka afur ‘fourteen’ (lit.: ten and four)
kuɗan ka ken  ‘fifteen’ (lit.: ten and five)
kuɗan ka leh  ‘sixteen’ (lit.: ten and six)
kuɗan ka tappa  ‘seventeen’ (lit.: ten and seven)
kuɗan ka settee  ‘eighteen’ (lit.: ten and eight)
kuɗan ka sakal  ‘nineteen’ (lit.: ten and nine)

Multiples of ten, hundred or thousand are formed from base kunɗa < kudan > ‘tens’, dippa ‘hundred’ or kuma ‘thousand’ and the unit cardinals from one to nine. The following are illustrative examples.

\[(63)\]

kunɗa afur  ‘forty’
dippa sessaa  ‘three hundred’
dippa ken  ‘five hundred’
kuma leh  ‘six thousand’
kuma sakal  ‘nine thousand’

It is possible to say kunɗa takka  ‘ten’ (lit. ‘one ten’).

Addition is expressed by ka after the unit ten, but by ka or ? otherwise. The ? appears as a gemination of the initial consonant of the following cardinal. Addition of single digits to the multiples of ten, hundred or thousand requires base ten, hundred or thousand followed by the unit cardinal of the multiple of ten, hundred or thousand. The cardinals occur in descending order from left to right. Here are some examples:

\[(64a)\]
kundan lakkis sessaa
\[kundan \quad lakki-ʔ \quad sessaa\]
ten two-plus three
‘twenty-three’

\[(64b)\]
dippa sessaaak kunɗa ken
dippa sessaa-ʔ kunɗa ken
hundred three-plus tens five
‘three hundred fifty’

\[(64c)\]
dippa lakki kundan lakkis sessaa
dippa lakki-ʔ kundan lakki-ʔ sessaa
hundred two ten two-plus three
‘two hundred twenty-three’

\[(64d)\]
dippa ken ka kundan afuris sessaa
dippa \quad ken \quad ka \quad kundan \quad afur-ʔ \quad sessaa
hundred five and ten four-plus three
‘five hundred forty-three’
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(64e)  kuma afur ka dippa sessak kunda ken

\[ \text{kuma afur ka dippa sessa-ʔ} \]
\[ \text{thousand four and hundred three-plus} \]

\[ \text{kunda ken} \]
\[ \text{ten five} \]

‘four thousand three hundred and fifty’

The addition of digits of hundred expressed by ʔ in (64c) can be replaced by ka ‘and’. Likewise, ka ‘and’ in (64d) can be replaced by the suffix ʔ ‘plus’.

Single digits after the multiples of hundred are expressed by a multiple of hundred followed by conjunction ka ‘and’, postposition ʧaraa ‘on’ and the single unit. Similarly, single units or multiples of ten after the multiples of thousand are expressed by multiple of thousand followed by the conjunction ka ‘and’, postposition ʧaraa ‘on’ and the single unit or multiple of ten. Examples:

(65a)  dippa lakki ka ʧara-a sessaa

\[ \text{hundred two and on-LOC three} \]

‘two hundred and three’

(65b)  kuma tappa ka ʧara-a sakal

\[ \text{thousand seven and on-LOC nine} \]

‘seven thousand and nine’

(65c)  kuma ken ka ʧara-a kuɗan leh

\[ \text{thousand five and on-LOC ten six} \]

‘five thousand and sixty’

4.9.2. Mathematical operations

Two arithmetic exercise booklets (booklet I (2001) and booklet II (2004)) have been written in Konso by the Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus. With very little adaptation, I use the terminology used for mathematical operations in booklet II. The terminology is derived from verb roots or verb stems: the mathematical operation for addition is derived from the verb root pagaaw- ‘add, increase’, subtraction from ʔaʔʃ ‘to cause to rise, lift’, multiplication from lek- ‘to be many’, division from ʧoot- ‘to divide’. The expressions are given in (66a). In (66b), I provide the glossed versions of some of the expressions.

(66a)  pagaawtu                   addition           (+)
\[ \text{ʔaʔʃissu /ʔaʔʃstu} \]
\[ \text{subtraction}           (-) \]
\[ \text{lekiissu /lekiʃtu} \]
\[ \text{multiplication}        (\times) \]
\[ \text{ʧoottu} \]
\[ \text{division}             (\div) \]
minakkittu /minaʔkittu/ equal to (=)
čara čaptu greater than (>)
kelpa χata kittu less than (<)
čara čaptu taakkite minakkittu greater than or equal to (≥)
kelpa χata kittu taakkite minakkittu less than or equal to (≤)

(66b) čara čap-t-u
on exceed-3F-DP
‘greater than (>)’
kelpa χata kittu
kela-pa χata kit-t-u
under-to down be-3F-DP
‘less than (<)’

čara čaptu taakkite minak kittu
čara čap-t-u taakkite minaʔ kit-t-u
on exceed-3F-DP otherwise front-DEST be-3F-DP
‘greater than or equal to (≥)’
kelpa χata kittu taakkite minak kittu
kela-pa χata kit-t-u taakkite minaʔ
der-under-DEST down be-3F-DP otherwise front-DEST

kit-t-u
be-3F-DP
‘less than or equal to (≤)’

Note that all the expressions of mathematical operations have the third person feminine gender agreement marker -t.

Expressions of mathematical operations are introduced by conditional conjunctions. In addition, for the operation of addition the conjunction čara ‘on’ is required. The suffix -ʔ ‘plus’ is added to the conjunction. The following is an illustrative example.

(67) oo lakki čaral lakki padaawan, afure kodǝfini
oo lakki čaraʔ lakki padaaw-a-n
if two on-plus two add-IPF.FUT-P

afur=i kodǝ-fin
four=3 become-IPF.PRES
‘If two is added to two, it becomes four.’ (2 + 2 = 4)
The operation of addition may also be expressed by the conjunction *ka* ‘and’ as shown below:

(68a) lakki ka sassaa kenee koddni

\[
\begin{align*}
lakki & \quad ka & \quad sassaa & \quad ken = i & \quad koddni
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
two \quad and \quad three \quad five = 3 \quad become-IPF.PRES
\end{align*}
\]

‘Two and three become five.’

(68b) sessa ka afur tappaa koddni

\[
\begin{align*}
sessa & \quad ka & \quad afur & \quad tappa = i & \quad koddni
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
three \quad and \quad four \quad seven = 3 \quad become-IPF.PRES
\end{align*}
\]

‘Three and four become seven.’

Like that of addition, the operation of subtraction requires the conjunction *ćara* ‘on’ to which the locative suffix -a is attached. The following is an illustrative example.

(69) oo leh čaraa lakki ćaʔʃan, afure kelaa hasini

\[
\begin{align*}
oo & \quad leh & \quad čara-a & \quad lakki & \quad ćaʔʃ-a-n
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
if \quad six \quad on-LOC \quad two \quad lift-IPF.FUT-P
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
afur = i & \quad kela-a & \quad hasi-ni
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
four = 3 \quad under-LOC \quad remain-IPF.PRES
\end{align*}
\]

‘If two is taken away from six, four remains.’ (6 – 2 = 4)

The following is an example of the operation of multiplication:

(70) oo sessaan leh kiɗan, kuɗan ka settecʔe koddni

\[
\begin{align*}
oo & \quad sessaa-n & \quad leh & \quad kiɗ-a-n,
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
if \quad three-times \quad six \quad say-IPF.FUT-P
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kudan & \quad ka & \quad settecʔ = i & \quad koddni
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ten \quad and \quad eight = 3 \quad become-IPF.PRES
\end{align*}
\]

‘If six is said three times, it becomes eighteen.’ (6 × 3 = 18)

The following is an example of the operation of the division.

(71) oo kudan pora lakkić ćootan, kene koddni

\[
\begin{align*}
oo & \quad kudan & \quad pora & \quad lakki-? & \quad ćoot-a-n
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
if \quad ten \quad place \quad two-DAT \quad divide-IPF.FUT-P
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ken = i & \quad koddni
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
four = 3 \quad become-IPF.PRES
\end{align*}
\]

‘If ten is divided into two places, it becomes five.’ (10 ÷ 2 = 5)
The examples in (72a) and (72b) are illustrative examples for the operations of greater than and less than, respectively.

(72a)  tappak ken ciara cipta  
        tappaʔ ken ciara=i ciap-t-a  
    seven-NOM five on=3 exceed-3F-IPF.FUT  
‘Seven is greater than five.’  

(72b)  sakalik kuɗan kelpa χataa kitta  
        sakaliʔ kuɗan kela-opa χata=i  
    nine-NOM ten under-to down=3  

    kit-t-a  
be-3F-IPF.FUT  
‘Nine is less than ten.’  

4.9.3. Ordinals

All ordinal numerals, except for ‘first’, are formed by adding the suffix -atta to the cardinal numerals. The ordinal numeral ‘first’ is formed from the verb root paayy- ‘to start, begin’. The ordinal number ‘second’ is formed from the older Cushitic root lamm- ‘two’ (cf. the cardinal lakki ‘two’) and the suffix -atta. It is also important to point out: that the final vowel in sessaa ‘three’ is shortened in the ordinal, that there is metathesis in the ordinal numeral arf-atta ‘fourth’ (cf. afur ‘four’), that there is vowel deletion in saklatta ‘ninth’ (cf. sakal ‘nine’), and that /t/ replaces the glottal stop in the cardinal number setteeʔ ‘eight’.

(73)  paayyuta  ‘first’  
    lammatta  ‘second’  
    sessatta  ‘third’  
    arfatta  ‘fourth’  
    kenatta  ‘fifth’  
    lehatta  ‘sixth’  
    tappatta  ‘seventh’  
    setteetatta  ‘eighth’  
    saklatta  ‘ninth’  
    kundatta  ‘tenth’  
    kuɗan ka takkatta  ‘eleventh’  
    kuɗan ka sessatta  ‘thirteenth’  
    kunda kenatta  ‘fiftieth’  
    dippatta  ‘hundredth’
4.10. Nominal derivation

4.10.1. Denominal/adjecital abstract nominals

Abstract nominals may be derived from nominal or adjectival roots (not from derived stems) by the suffix -um. The abstract suffix is followed by the suffixes -a or -aa. Abstract nominals derived from nominal roots occur with -a (M) while those derived from adjectival roots occur with -aa (P). For example, the abstract nominal inuma ‘childhood (M)’ in (74a) is derived from innaa ‘child (P)’ while the abstract nominal kappumaa ‘fatness (P)’ in (74b) is derived from the adjectival root kapp- ‘be fat’.

(74a) innumasiʔ ?iʔiʔa diʃay
innaa-um-a-siʔ i=ʔiʔa diʃ-ay
child-ABS-NMZ-DEF.M/F 3=3SGM.PRO[ACC] leave-PF[3M]
‘He does not behave like a child any longer.’
(lit.: The childhood left him.)

(74b) okkattasik kappumaa ipaayyay
okkatta-siʔ kapp-um-aa i=paayy-ay
cow-DEF.M/F be.fat-ABS-NMLZ 3=start-PF[3M]
‘The cow started to get fat.’
(lit.: The cow started fatness.)

An abstract noun referring to ‘childhood’ is also derived from the suppletive multiple reference noun hellaa ‘children (P)’: helluma ‘childhood (M)’

4.10.2. Deverbal agentive nominals

Deverbal agentive nominals are derived from verb roots by the suffix -aamp. The agentive suffix is followed by the nominal gender suffixes -ayta for masculine, -ayt-eeta for feminine and -ayaa for plural. The feminine suffix is a serial derivation in that it is built on the masculine agentive. From the verb roots ʛot- ‘dig’, koɗ- ‘work’ and pol- ‘joke’, we derive the masculine agentive nominals (75a), the feminine agentive nominals (75b) and the plural agentive nominals (75c).

(75a) ʛotaamp-ayta ‘farmer.3M’
kodaamp-ayta ‘worker.3M’
polaamp-ayta ‘joker.3M’

(75b) ʛotaamp-ayt-eeta ‘farmer.3F’
kodaamp-ayt-eeta ‘worker.3F’
polaamp-ayt-eeta ‘joker.3F’
In the following examples, I show the nominal gender agreement with various subjects. In (76a), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal masculine gender suffix -ayta for the semantically singular subject nama ‘man’. In (76b), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal masculine gender suffix -ayta for the semantically plural subject χonsitta ‘the Konso’. In (76c), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal feminine gender suffix -ayteeta for the semantically plural subject kuyleeta ‘the Ts’amakko’. Lastly, in (76d), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal plural gender suffix -ayaa for the semantically singular subject innaa ‘child’.

(76a) namosiʛ otaampayta
name-OSI? otaAMP-ayta
‘This man is a (hard-working) farmer.’

(76b) χonsitta otaamp-ayta
Konso.PL farm-AGENT-3M
‘The Konso are (hard-working) farmers.’

(76c) kuyleeta otaamp-ayta-eeta
Ts’amakko.PL farm-AGENT-3M-3P
‘The Ts’amakko are (hard-working) farmers.’

(76d) innoosiniʛ otaampayta
inna-osiniʔ otaAMP-ayaa
‘This child is a (hard-working) farmer.’

4.10.3. Denominal ethnic nominals
Nationals or individuals of ethnic groups or place of residence (e.g. village) may be derived from nominal roots by means of gender suffixes: -itta (M) for male, -itteeta (F) for female and -itta (M), -aa (P) or -eeta (F) for plural. The plural form is the one used to refer to the name of the ethnic group or residents of a place. Table 2 contains illustrative examples for derived nominals referring to nationalities or ethnic groups. Table 3 contains illustrative examples for derived nominals referring to residents of particular villages.
Table 2: Examples of derived nominals referring to nationality or ethnic group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Village name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>χons-itta</td>
<td>χons-itta-eeta</td>
<td>χons-itta (M)</td>
<td>Konso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konso man</td>
<td>Konso woman</td>
<td>Konso people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χoyr-itta</td>
<td>χoyr-itta-eeta</td>
<td>χoyr-aa (P)</td>
<td>Burji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawwaad-itta</td>
<td>kawwaad-itt-eeta</td>
<td>kawwaad-aa (M)</td>
<td>Gawwada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firaat-itta</td>
<td>firaat-itt-eeta</td>
<td>firaat-aa (M)</td>
<td>Diraafe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyl-itta</td>
<td>kuyl-itt-eeta</td>
<td>kuyl-eta (F)</td>
<td>Ts’amakko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>claww-itta</td>
<td>claww-itt-eeta</td>
<td>claww-eeta (F)</td>
<td>Amhara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Examples of derived nominals referring to residents of particular villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Village name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuum-itta</td>
<td>kuum-itt-eeta</td>
<td>kuuma (M)</td>
<td>Kuume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(male) person</td>
<td>(female) person</td>
<td>people from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Kuume</td>
<td>from Kuume</td>
<td>Kuume village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafacT-itta</td>
<td>mafacT-itt-eeta</td>
<td>mafaca (M)</td>
<td>Maface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dekat-itt</td>
<td>dekat-itt-eeta</td>
<td>dekatoota (F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawkam-itta</td>
<td>sawkam-itt-eeta</td>
<td>sawkamaata (F)</td>
<td>Sawkama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaaʃal-itta</td>
<td>kaaʃal-itt-eeta</td>
<td>kaaʃala (M)</td>
<td>Kaaʃale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.10.4. Denominal nouns with indication of characteristic

Persons with certain characteristic are derived from nouns with the suffix -ool which is followed by the nominal gender marking suffixes -ayta (M), -ayt-eeta (F) and -ayaa for male, female and plural, respectively. The derivation is productive mainly occurring with plural nouns and has a semantic specialisation indicating large quantity of the entities in question. With singulatives, it indicates that the noun in question has a large size. For example, from the singulative matta ‘head’, kessa ‘chest’ and plurative dillaa ‘fields’, we may derive the masculine nominals in (77a), feminine nominals in (77b) or plural nominals in (77c).

(77a)  matt-oool-ayta  ‘one (M) with a big head’
       kess-oool-ayta  ‘one (M) with a broad chest’
       dill-oool-ayta  ‘one (M) with many fields’

(77b)  matt-oool-ayt-eeta  ‘one (F) with a big head’
       kess-oool-ayt-eeta  ‘one (F) with a broad chest’
       dill-oool-ayt-eeta  ‘one (F) with many fields’

(77c)  matt-oool-ayaa  ‘ones with big heads’
       kess-oool-ayaa  ‘ones with broad chests’
       dill-oool-ayaa  ‘ones with many fields’
With the noun χολμαα ‘neck (P)’, the derivation χολμ-ool-ayta means ‘a man who uses force to obtain something’; χολμ-ool-ayt-eeta ‘a woman who uses force to get something’ and χολμ-ool-ayaa ‘people who use force to obtain something’. With the noun hoppatta ‘guts (M)’ the derivation indicates greed: hoppatt-ooolayta ‘a greedy man’; hoppatt-oool-ayt-eeta ‘a greedy woman’ and hoppatt-oool-ayaa ‘greedy people’.

4.10.5. Deadjectival individual entities

Deadjectival nominals are derived from adjectival roots with the nominal gender suffixes -ayta, -ayteeta and -yaa for third person masculine, feminine and plural, respectively. Plural deadjectival nominals are also characterised by having the adjectival root based on the plural adjective and hence containing initial C1V(C1) reduplication. For instance, from the adjectival roots der- ‘be tall, long’, kapp- ‘be fat’ and qallaʔ- ‘be thin’, we can derive the masculine deadjectival nominals (78a), third person feminine deadjectival nominals (78b), singulative deadjectival nominals with plural gender (78c) or plural deadjectival nominals (78d).

(78a) derayta ‘tall one.3M’
kappayta ‘fat one.3M’
qallaʔayta ‘thin one.3M’

(78b) derayteeta ‘tall one.3F’
kappayteeta ‘fat one.3F’
qallaʔayteeta ‘thin one.3F’

(78c) derayaa ‘tall one.P’
kappayaa ‘fat one.P’
qallaʔayaa ‘thin one.P’

(78d) deđderayaa ‘tall ones’
kakappayaa ‘fat ones’
qacqallaʔayaa ‘thin ones’

The nominal gender suffixes added to deadjectival individual entities can be used not only to refer to persons but also to other entities.

4.10.6. Deverbal action nouns

Deverbal action nouns are derived from verb roots by using various suffixes as illustrated below. The list of the suffixes is not exhaustive.
(79a) -anta (F)

hatanta 'stealing' hat- 'to steal'
palanta 'ripening' pal- 'to ripen'
keranta 'ageing' ker- 'to be old'
faranta 'crack' far- 'to crack'

(79b) -antaa (M)

χaʔantaa 'flying' χaʔaɗ- 'to fly'
cʌʔantaa 'standing' cʌʔaɗ- 'to stand'
hirantaa 'running[PL]' hir- 'to run[PL]'

(79c) -oota (F)

dalooota 'birth' dal- 'to give birth'
cʌloota 'slaughtering' cʌl- 'to slaughter'

(79d) -eeta (F)

cʌoteeta 'digging' cʌot- 'to dig, farm'
pidɗeeta 'buying[SG]' pidɗ- 'to buy[SG]'
dipeeta 'washing' diip- 'to wash'

(79e) -naha (P)

cʌahnaa 'fleeing' cʌah- 'to flee'
pahnaa 'example' pah- 'to resemble'
ʔupnaa 'knowledge' ʔup- 'to know'
sahnaa 'capacity' sah- 'to be able to'

(79f) -a (M)

deeχa 'peace making' deexχ- 'to make peace'
diika 'blood' diik- 'to bleed'
χarʃa 'beans' χarʃ- 'to cook beans'

(79g) -aa (P)

fataa 'vomit' fat- 'to vomit'
damaa 'food' dam- 'to eat'
4.11. Case

Konso has nominative–accusative case alignment. The core cases nominative and accusative are rarely distinguished, see 4.11.1. Genitive constructions are marked with a genitive particle following its head noun. Dative and instrumental nouns are marked with a suffix. The dative suffix is homophonous with one of the locative suffixes, both consisting of a glottal stop. The other locative suffix is similar to the background suffix, both ending in -yye. When addressing people, a vocative ending can be used. These phenomena do not form a coherent system within the language but are discussed here under the heading Case.

4.11.1. The nominative and accusative cases

Proper names, pronouns and days of a week are marked for the nominative case with the suffix -ʔ. For example, the proper names Kappoole and Apitto occur in the subject positions as in (80a) and (80b), respectively. Both also occur unmarked in the object position as in (80b) and (80a), respectively. In (80c), the subject pronoun ?imu ‘we’ occurs with the suffix -ʔ, and in (80d), the week day palawwa ‘Saturday’ occurs with the suffix -ʔ.

Nominative marking by glottal stop is limited to the above cases. Common nouns do not distinguish nominative and accusative case (except in cleft constructions, see below). The items that do show nominative marking have in common that they are inherently specific. In this respect, it is interesting to observe that demonstrative and definite suffixes end in a glottal stop while possessive suffixes do not.

(80a) Kappooleʔ ?apittu ?i=offay
    Kappoole-NOM Apitto 3 = pinch.SG-PF[3M]
‘Kappoole pinched Apitto once.’

(80b) Apittuk Kappoole i=offay
    Apitto-NOM Kappoole 3 = pinch.SG-PF[3M]
‘Ashit pinched Kappoole once.’
With regard to pronouns, only first person singular and second person singular make a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases: anti ‘I’ vs. ana ‘me’ and atti ‘you (SG) and ke ‘you (SG)’ (see Chapter 5 for details of pronouns). All pronouns in the subject position are also marked for nominative by the suffix -ʔ. For example, the pronoun anti ‘I’ and ke ‘you (SG)’ in (81a) occur in the subject and object positions, respectively. Similarly, the pronouns atti ‘you (SG)’ and ana ‘me’ in (81b) occur in the subject and object positions, respectively.

(81a) antik ke inʛoʄʄay
  anti-ʔ ke in=ʛoʄʄ-ay
  1SG.PRO-NOM 2SG.PRO.ACC 1=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
  ‘I pinched you (SG) once.’

(81b) attiʔ ?ana Ḣʛʄʄtíti
  atti-ʔ ?ana iʔ=ʛoʄʄ-t-i
  2SG.PRO-NOM 1SG.PRO.ACC 2=pinch.SG-2-PF
  ‘You (SG) pinched me once.’

Pronouns that do not make a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative are still marked by the suffix -ʔ for nominative as shown in (82).

(82a) inuʔ ?ifoonna indaanni
  inu-ʔ ?ifoonna in=daan-n-i
  1PL.PRO-NOM 3PL.PRO[ACC] 1 = chase-1PL-PF
  ‘We chased them.’

(82b) ifoonnaʔ ?INU idaanni
  ifoonna-ʔ ?INU i=daan-n-i
  3PL.PRO-NOM 1PL.PRO[ACC] 3 = chase-3PL-PF
  ‘They chased us.’

Tone is used to make the nominative and accusative case distinction in cleft sentences in such a way that the nominative case is marked by a low tone whereas the accusative case is marked by a high tone. For example, in (83a-b),
we have the nouns harreeta ‘donkey’ and χorma ‘ox, bull’. In both examples, harreeta ‘donkey’ precedes χorma ‘ox, bull’. The lengthened final vowel of the noun harreeta ‘donkey’ in (83a) has a low tone; final vowel lengthening is one of the characteristic features of clefting (as discussed in Section 3.5). In (83b), however, the lengthened final vowel of harreeta ‘donkey’ has a high tone which marks the accusative case.

(83a) harreeta-a χorma diit-ay
    donkey-CLF[NOM] ox kick[SG]-PF[3M]
    ‘It is a donkey that kicked an ox.’

(83b) harreeta-á χorma diit-ay
    donkey-CLF[ACC] ox kick[SG]-PF[3M]
    ‘It is a donkey that an ox kicked.’

Now, when we exchange the positions of the two nouns harreeta ‘donkey’ and χorma ‘ox, bull’ in (84a-b), we find that the final vowel of χorma ‘ox, bull’ is lengthened. Moreover, in (84a), the lengthened final vowel carries a low tone, thus, marking nominative case while in (84b), the lengthened final vowel carries a high tone, thus, marking an accusative case.

(84a) χorma-a harreeta diit-ay
    ox-CLF[NOM] donkey kick[SG]-PF[3M]
    ‘It is an ox that kicked a donkey.’

(84b) χorma-á harreeta diit-t-i
    ox-CLF[ACC] donkey kick[SG]-3F-PF
    ‘It is an ox that a donkey kicked.’

4.11.2. The genitive case

The genitive is expressed with the genitive particle ʔa for human possessors, and ʔa...ʔ for non-human possessors. The final syllable of the possessor has a high tone.

The distribution of the genitive suffixes in accordance with whether the possessor is human or non-human is clear from the example in (85a) the noun locta ‘leg’ is possessed by a human possessor Kappoole but by a non-human possessor tulpeeta ‘hippo’ in (85b). Similarly, in the examples in (85c), the noun tika ‘house’ is possessed by the human possessor Anto while the noun naphta ‘ear’ in (85d) is possessed by the non-human possessor arpa ‘elephant’. In (85e), the noun taamta ‘branch’ is possessed by the non-human possessor ʛoyra ‘tree’.
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(85a)  **locṭa a kappooliʔ? akkiti**  
  \[locṭa \ a \ kappooli=ii \ akk-t-i\]  
  leg GEN kappoole = 2 see-2-PF  
  ‘You (SG) saw Kappoole’s leg.’

(85b)  **locṭa a tulpektáʔiʔ? akkiti**  
  \[locṭa \ a \ tulpektá-ʔ=ii \ akk-t-i\]  
  leg GEN hippo-GEN = 2 see-2-PF  
  ‘You (SG) saw hippopotamus’s leg.’

(85c)  **tika a Antú i=palɗ-i**  
  house GEN Anto 3 = be.wide-PF  
  ‘Anto’s house is wide.’

(85d)  **napahta a arpáʔ? i=palɗ-i**  
  ear GEN elephant-GEN 3 = wide-PF  
  ‘The ear of an elephant is wide.’

(85e)  **inantasit taamta a ʛoyraʔ ?imurti**  
  \[inan-ta-ṣiʔ \ taamta \ a \ ʛoyra-ʔ\]  
  girl-DEF.M/F branch GEN tree-GEN  
  \[i=mur-t-i\]  
  3 = cut[SG]-3F-PF  
  ‘The girl cut a branch of a tree.’

Proper names with a final aa also have ? in the genitive construction as in (86).

(86a)  **okkatta a Oynaáʔ=in akk-ay**  
  cow GEN Oynaa-GEN = 1 see-PF[3M]  
  ‘I saw Oynaa’s cow.’

(86b)  **iʃeennat tika a kaafaaʔ? ?iʔupta**  
  \[iʃeenna-ṣiʔ \ tika \ a \ kaafaa-ʔ\]  
  3SGF.PRO-NOM house GEN kaafaa-GEN  
  \[i=up-t-a\]  
  3 = know-IPF.FUT  
  ‘She knows Kaaɓaa’s house.’

Nouns possessed by associative plural are expressed with the genitive particle followed by the associative particle opa and the name, as illustrated in (87).
The genitive particle may occur after nouns with possessive suffixes, as illustrated below.

(88) **HELLAA-NNO A CHONSUʔI=DEY-I-N**

children-1PL.POSS.P GEN Konso-GEN 3 = come-PF-P

‘Our Konso fellows came.’

(lit.: ‘Children of our Konso came.’)

In fast speech, the glottal stop that occurs at the end of the genitive construction is elided, resulting in a complete assimilation to the initial vowel of the possessor noun if the possessor begins with a (glottal stop plus) vowel as in (89a-b). If the possessor begins with another consonant, the affix may be elided as in (89c).

(89a) **CHORMA AANTÚ I=POOR-I**

ox GEN Anto 3 = be.black-PF

‘Anto’s ox is black.’

(89b) **AANNOOKKATTÁʔ I=IK-AY**

milk GEN cow-GEN 1 = drink-PF[3M]

‘I drank cow milk.’

(89c) **HOOFÁ KARRATTÁʔ I=AKK-N-I**

hole GEN squirrel-GEN 1 = see-P-PF

‘We saw a squirrel’s hole.’

4.11.3. **The dative case**

The dative is marked with the suffix -ʔ. The dative suffix differs from the nominative suffix in that it is not limited to pronouns and names but also occurs on common nouns. The main role of the dative is to denote the beneficiary. The following are examples:
(90a)  attiʔ  colpasʔ  ?ifaʔ  ?ippiʔdiidi
att-iʔ  colpa-siʔ  ifa-iʔ
2SG.PRO-NOM  he-goat-DEF.M/F  3SGM.PRO-DAT

iʔ=piッド-di
2 = buy[SG]-2-PF
‘You (SG) bought him a he-goat.’

(90b)  inataʔ  ?anap piʧaa  idaassii
inata-siʔ  ana-iʔ  piʧaa  i=daaʃ-ii
girl-DEF.M/F  1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT  water  3 = give-3F-PF
‘The girl gave me water.’

(90c)  antin nama tokkaʔ?in  χapaa  piiδay
anti-iʔ  nama  tokka-siʔ=ii  χapaa
1SG.PRO-NOM  person  one.M-DAT = 1  shoes

piiδay
buy[SG]-PF[3M]
‘I bought shoes for someone.’

(90d)  tuparaasiniʔ  ?okkayaaʔe  oha  ohin
tuparaas-siʔ  okkayaa-iʔ
Girls-DEF.P  cows-DAT = 3

oha  oh-iʔ
fodder  cut.fodder-PF-P
‘The girls cut fodder for the cows.’

First and second person beneficiaries are always marked with the dative suffix. However, it is possible for third person beneficiaries not to be marked. In this case, the dative suffix occurs at the end of the verb. This results in the final vowel of the verb having a high tone. For example, in (91a), there is no dative suffix, and as a result the final vowel of the verb occurs with a low tone. In (91b), there is a dative suffix at the end of the verb, and the preceding vowel has a high tone.

(91a)  in=daaʃ-a
i = give-IPF.FUT
‘I will give (it).’

(91b)  in=daaʃ-iiʔ
i = give-IPF.FUT-DAT
‘I will give (it) for him/her/them.’
The example in (91b) can also be used to mean ‘I will give (it) on behalf of him/her/them.’

4.11.4. The instrumental case

The instrumental case is marked by the suffix -n(n). The suffix appears single before consonants (92a), and geminate before vowels (92b). It indicates that the noun it is added to is used as an instrument by an agent. For example, the nouns faasita ‘pick axe’ and ulayta ‘stick’ are used as instruments to accomplish the actions of cutting and hitting, respectively.

(92a) attif faasitan ʔoyrasiʔ ?immurti
     atti-ʔ faasita-n ʔoyra-siʔ
     2SG.PRO-NOM pickaxe-INST tree-DEF.M/F

       iʔ=mur-t-i
     2 = cut-2-PF
     ‘You (SG) cut the tree with a pickaxe.’

(92b) antiʔ ?ulaytannin pinantasid ʔayay
     anti-ʔ ulayta-nn=in pinanta-siʔ
     1SG.PRO-NOM stick-INST=3 animal-DEF.M/F

       ʔay-ay
     hit-PF[3M]
     ‘I hit the animal with a stick.’

The instrumental suffix also indicates manner as in (93).

(93) malannil lukkalittasiʔ câptin
     mala-nn =iʔ lukkalitta-siʔ câap-t-i-n
     wisdom-INST=2 chicken-DEF.M/F catch-3F-PF-P
     ‘You (PL) caught the chicken skillfully.’

4.11.5. The vocative case

The vocative is marked by the suffixes -u/o and -y. The former occurs with nouns that trigger M/F gender agreement on the verb, as in (94), and the latter with nouns that trigger a plural gender agreement on the verb, as in (95).

(94a) namu, maanaʔ ?aye koʔni
     nama-u maana =iʔ aye kod-ni
     man-VOC.M/F what=2 here do-IPF.PRES
     ‘You guy, what are you doing here?’
In kinship terms, we may find the vocative suffixes -u/o, -i/e and -a. The distribution is lexically determined as can be seen from the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocative form</th>
<th>source</th>
<th>source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aapp-u/o</td>
<td>‘daddy!’</td>
<td>aappaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okkooyy-u/o</td>
<td>‘grandma!’</td>
<td>okkooyyita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aayy-i/e</td>
<td>‘mamma!’</td>
<td>aayyaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aatt-i/e</td>
<td>‘elder sibling!’</td>
<td>aattaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aakk-a</td>
<td>‘grandpa!’</td>
<td>aakkaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maamm-a</td>
<td>‘(paternal) aunt!’</td>
<td>maammata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proper names with a final -o in the base form attach the vocative suffix -u/o as in (97a); those with a final -e attach the vocative -e/i as in (97b); those with a final -a attach the vocative suffix -a as in (97c).

(97a) Antu/o    ‘Anto!’
Katanu/o   ‘Katano!’
Parinu/o   ‘Parito!’

(97b) Kappoole/i ‘Kappoole!’
Kanaase/i ‘Kanaase!’

(97c) χalaalla ‘χalaalla!’
Orkeeta    ‘Orkeeta!’

4.11.6. The locational markers -Vyye and -ʔ

The suffixes -Vyye and -ʔ mark location (see locational adverbs in 8.2.1). The V of -Vyye is the lengthening of the final vowel of the noun. The locational
marker -Vyye occurs mainly with the verb root kiy- ‘be, exist’ whereas -ʔ occurs with actions verbs such as χaay- ‘put’, diʃ- ‘leave’. The following are illustrative examples.

(98a)  sakooyyaaf faaʃeeyyee ca
      sakooyya-NOM faaʃe-LOC = 3 be-IPF.FUT
      ‘Sakooyye is at Faaf’e.’

(98b)  inantasit tomasit tikaʔ ʔiχaayti
       inanta-siʔ toma-siʔ tika-ʔ i = χaay-t-i
       girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC = 3 put-3F-PF
       ‘The girl put the bowl at home.’

The locational markers do not replace each other. This can be seen from the examples in (99), which are modified versions of the examples in (98).

(99a)  *sakooyyaaf faaʃiʔ ʔica
       sakooyya-NOM faaʃe-LOC 3 = be-PF.FUT
       (intended: ‘Sakooyye is at Faaf’e.’)

(99b)  *inantasi tomasit tikaayye ʔχaayti
       inanta-siʔ toma-siʔ tika-ayye ʔi = χaay-t-i
       girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC = 3 put-3F-PF
       (intended: ‘The girl put the bowl at home.’)

The locational suffixes differ with respect to optionality: It is possible to leave out -Vyye but not -ʔ. For example, in (100a), -Vyye occurs with the noun tika ‘house’ but it does not occur with the same noun in (100b). On the other hand, -ʔ is obligatory. To demonstrate this, example (100b) is repeated with and without the suffix in (100c) and (100d).

(100a)  dímaytasit tikaayyee ca
        dímayta-siʔ tika-ayye = i kiy-a
        old man-DEF.M/F house-LOC = 3 be-IPF.FUT
        ‘The old man is at home.’

(100b)  dímaytasit tikaa ca
        dímayta-siʔ tika = i kiy-a
        old man-DEF.M/F house = 3 be-IPF.FUT
        ‘The old man is at home.’
The locational suffix -Vyye can be used as ablative, as in the following examples:

(101a) inantaasiχ χonsooyyee deʔti
\[\text{inanta-asi}\,\chi\,\text{onso-eyye}=i\,\text{ɗey-t-i}\]
girl-DEM.M/F Konso-LOC=3 come-3F-PF
‘This girl came from Konso.’

(101b) urmalaa-eyye=in laha piɗɗ-ay
\[\text{urmalaa-eyye}=\text{in}\,\text{laха}\,\text{piɗɗ-ay}\]
market-LOC=1 ram buy[SG]-PF[3M]
‘I bought a ram from the market.’

4.11.7. The background marker

The background is marked by the suffixes -eyye or -yye. The former has an allomorph -e. The distribution is phonologically determined: nouns with a short terminal -a occur with -eyye or -e, and nouns with a terminal vowel -aa occur with -yye. The background marker has the meaning ‘person-wise’ or ‘entity-wise’.

(102a) iʃan nameeyye iɗeri
\[\text{iʃa-}\,\text{nama-eyye}\,\text{i=ɗer-i}\]
3SG.PRO-NOM person-BKGRD.M/F 3=be.tall-PF
‘Person-wise, he is tall.’

(102b) čoyraasič čoyre čoyra a kokay
\[\text{čoyra-asi}\,\text{čoyra-e}\,\text{čoyra}\,\text{a}\]
tree-DEM.M/F tree-BKGRD.M/F tree REL
\[\text{kok-ay}\]
dry-PF[3M]
‘Tree-wise, this tree is dry.’
(lit.: ‘Tree-wise, this tree is a tree which is dry.’)
Deadjectival nominals that modify head nouns also occur with the background suffix -eye. For instance, the deadjectival nominal ʛallaʔayta ‘thin one’ in (103a) occurs with the head noun ʛoyra ‘tree’ which, in the example, has the background suffix -eye. However, head nouns that have the definite suffix -siʔ do not allow deajectival nominals to occur with the background suffix, as shown in (103b). Similarly, deadjectival nominals do not occur with subject clitics, as illustrated in (103c).

(103a) ʛoyreeyye ʛallaʔayta
ʛoyra-eyye ʛallaʔ-ayta
tree-BKGRD.M/F be.thin-NMLZ.M
‘Tree-wise, it is a thin one.’

(103b) *ʛoyreeyyesiʔ ʛallaʔayta
ʛoyra-eyye-siʔ ʛallaʔ-ayta
tree-BKGRD-DEF.M/F be.thin-NMLZ.M
(intended: ‘Tree-wise, the tree is thin.’)

(103c) *iʛallaʔayta
i = ʛallaʔ-ayta
3 = be.thin-NMLZ.M
(intended: ‘It is thin one.’)

4.12. Compounding

Compounding is not really productive; I disagree with Daniel (2000) on this point. The following are the compound nouns I was able to find. Most of them have the genitive particle a. The words are compounds because, for example, the first two have reduced first parts which do not exist in this form independently. The rest of the compound words have a specialised, non-predictable meaning and thus are lexicalised.

(104a) kurdakkayta
kurra + dakkayta
ear + deaf.M
tree species
The above compound words may form their pluratives by replacing the singularative suffix with a pluralative suffix, adding a pluralative suffix in the end or to the initial part. The first compound forms its pluralative by replacing the singularative suffix -ta with -aa. The second three compound words form their pluralatives by adding the pluralative suffix -ɗɗaa. The last two compound words form their pluralatives based on the pluralatives of the first words. Notice that the final genitive marker ʔ in the singularatives appears after the pluralative suffix. Below, I give the pluralative of each of the above compound words to show that these words are one word and a noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singulative</th>
<th>Plurative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(105a) kurdakkayta</td>
<td>kurdakkayaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurra + dakkayta</td>
<td>kurra + dakkayaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear + deaf.M</td>
<td>ear + be.deaf.P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree species</td>
<td>tree species</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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9 Also ussukkaarayyaa.
| (105b) | kuttimpira | kuttimpiraddaga  |
|        | kuttumaapir-a | kuttumaapir-dwua |
|        | growth-finish-NMLZ | growth-finish-NMLZ-P |
|        | 'molar tooth' | 'molar teeth' |

| (105c) | duusutakaarayia | duusutakaariyaddaga |
|        | duusuta-karayia-? | duusuta-karisiyaa-dwua-? |
|        | fart GEN-devil GEN | fart GEN-devil P GEN |
|        | 'mushroom (species)' | 'mushrooms' |

| (104d) | akalaparafia | akalaparfaddaga |
|        | akala-parafia-? | akala-parafaddaga-? |
|        | sack GEN-cereal species GEN | sack GEN-cereal species GEN P GEN |
|        | 'centipede' | 'centipedes' |

| (104e) | xoramwacaa | xoramadwacaa |
|        | xorama-wacau-? | xoramadwaa-wacau-? |
|        | ox GEN God GEN | oxen GEN God GEN |
|        | 'grasshopper (species)' | 'grasshoppers' |

| (104f) | keraawacaa | kerestawacaa |
|        | keraa-wacau-? | kerestawwa-wacau-? |
|        | thief GEN God GEN | thieves GEN God GEN |
|        | 'witchdoctor' | 'witchdoctors' |