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6. Verbs

In this chapter verbal derivations such as the causative, middle, passive, inchoative, pluractionals and punctuals are discussed. I also present verb inflections including the perfective and imperfective aspects. The last section treats imperative and optative mood.

As we shall see in detail below, when a verb form contains both derivational and inflectional affixes, they occur in the following order: Verb root-derivational suffix-inflectional suffix

6.1. Verb derivation

6.1.1. Causative

Causative derivation is productive and applies to transitive as well as intransitive verb roots. The forms of the causative are -ʃ, -acciis, and -(n)ayʃ(-(n)aʃ. The causative suffix -acciis underlyingly has the frozen middle suffix -aɗ (see also Mous 2004). However, it is not clear whether the part of the suffix after the frozen middle is siis or ciis. In this work, I do not commit myself to accounting for the underlying form and hence use only -acciis.

The causative suffix -ʃ marks direct causative in verbs. The causative forms -(n)ayʃ(-(n)aʃ also mark direct causative in certain adjectival roots. The causative form -acciis marks indirect causative. Indirect causative is also occasionally marked by the suffix -siis.

In the direct causatives, we may have only two participants: the subject which can be agentive or non-agentive causes the action, and the object is the affected entity as illustrated below:

(1a) namasiʔ ʛoyrasiʔ ʔiʛepʃay
    nama-siʔ ʛoyra i=ʛep-ʃ-ay
    man-DEF.M/F tree 3=be.broken-DCAUS-PF[3M]
    ‘The man broke a tree.’

(1b) roopasiʔ ʔunta iɲapalʃay
    roopa-siʔ uncia i=ɲapal-ʃ-ay
    rain-DEF.M/F crop 3=be.destroyed-DCAUS-PF[3M]
    ‘The rain destroyed crops.’

In the above examples, the direct causative suffix -ʃ is added to the verb roots ʛep- ‘to be broken’ and ɲapal- ‘to be destroyed’. In (1a), the subject namasiʔ ‘the man’ is an agent causing the action of breaking to affect the object ʛoyra
‘tree’. Likewise, in (1b), the subject roopasiʔ ‘the rain’ is non-agentive causing the action of destroying the object ŋunta ‘crops’.

A direct causative may have three participants: the causer, the causee and the affected entity. For example, in (2), the subject Apitto is the causer, the object hellaaśliʔ ‘the children’ is the causee and muusita ‘banana’ is the affected entity.

(2) Apittuh hellaaśliʔ miusita idamJay
   Apittuʔ hellaa-siʔiʔ muusita
   Apitto-NOM children-DEF.P banana

   i=dam-f-ay
   3=eat-DCAUS-PF[3M]
   ‘Apitto fed the children banana.’

As mentioned earlier, causatives may be derived from intransitive verb roots such as muk- ‘to sleep’ in (3a) and kal- ‘to go home’ in (3b).

(3a) inantaśliʔ innaaśliʔ ?imukissi
    inanta-siʔ innaa-siʔ i=muk-f-t-i
    girl-DEF.M/F child-DEF.P 3=sleep-DCAUS-3F-PF
    ‘The girl made the child sleep.’

(3b) hellaaśliʔ talaasiniʔ ?ikalʃin
    hellaa-siʔiʔ talaa-siʔ i=kal-f-i-n
    children-DEF.P goats-DEF.P 3=return.home-DCAUS-PF-P
    ‘The children brought the goats home.’

In the above examples, the intransitive verb roots occur with the direct causative suffix -ʃ.

Mous (2004, 4-5) analyses the form of the causative as -iʃ after the alveolar consonants t\(^{10}\), ç and s and the palatal consonants š, c and š as in (4a).

(4a) waad- ‘to hurry’ waad-iʃ-
    pas- ‘to loose’ pas-iʃ-

\(^{10}\) There are also cases where the t of the verb root becomes š when the causative -ʃ is added to the verb root. The following are examples:

fat- ‘to vomit’ fatʃ- ‘to cause to vomit’
pat- ‘to disappear’ patʃ- ‘to destroy; lose’
git- ‘to collapse’ gitʃ- ‘to cause to collapse’
However, not all verb roots with t and ñ form the causative with -if. Rather, they are formed by the suffix -acciis (4b) or using a syntactic causative construction as in the case of the verb afañ- ‘to order’ discussed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>causative</th>
<th>causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(4b)</td>
<td>dot- ‘to stab’</td>
<td>*dot-if-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daññ- ‘to give’</td>
<td>*daññ-if-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>afañ- ‘to order’</td>
<td>*afañ-if-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(syntactic causative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Mous (2004) showed, with some verb roots that end in h, e.g. sañ- ‘sweep’, peeh- ‘to scatter’, mooñ- ‘to have more’, poh- ‘to collect’, only the indirect causative form can be used to derive the causative. However, in other verbs ending in h the causative with -ñ rather than -Vñ is preferred. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>çah- ‘to flee, run away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nah- ‘to be good hearted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miññ- ‘to be spoilt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some verb stems with frozen middle suffix have t before the causative -ñ. The i vowel before the causative suffix is an epenthetic vowel. Here are some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6a)</td>
<td>çap- ‘to catch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kam- ‘to be stubborn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dap- ‘to miss’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6b)</td>
<td>kanañ- ‘to be tired’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñorad- ‘to be fined’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the verb root piññññ- ‘to have lunch’ the causative marker can be either -ñ or -tñ, i.e. piññññ- or piññññññ- ‘to make eat lunch’.

The form of the direct causative with certain adjectival roots is -ayñ as in (7a), and -nayñ with other adjectival roots as in (7b). It is difficult to formulate rules for the distribution of the forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7a)</td>
<td>awl-ayñ- ‘to make yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>der-ayñ- ‘to make tall, long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leñ-ayñ- ‘to make many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñeh-ayñ- ‘to make near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>señ-ayñ- ‘to make far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>att-ayñ- ‘to make white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nukkull-ayñ- ‘to make weak, soft’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kummaʔ-ayʃ- ‘to make short’
ʃollaʔ-ayʃ- ‘to make light’

(7b) poor-nayʃ- ‘to make black’
tiip-nayʃ- ‘to make red’
ilaaw-nayʃ- ‘to make green’
ʛah-nayʃ- ‘to make thin’ <ʛaah- ‘to be thin’>
kokkon-nayʃ- ‘to make strong’ <kokkook- ‘to be strong’>
paʛaar-nayʃ- ‘to make good, beautiful’
neeʛ-nayʃ- ‘to make bad, ugly’

The following are sentential examples:

(8a) namasiχ χalittasiʔ ʔikummaayʃay
nama-siʔ χalitta-siʔ i=kummaʔ-ayʃ-ay
man-DEF.M/F stick.DEF.M/F 3=be.short-DCAUS-PF[3M]
‘The man shortened a stick.’

(8b) roopasip piita iʔilaawnayʃay
roopa-siʔ piita i=ʔilaaw-nayʃ-ay
rain-DEF.M/F land 3=be.green-DCAUS-PF[3M]
‘The rain made the land green.’

(8c) tikasip paʛaarnassi
tika-siʔ=iʔ paʛaar-naʃ-t-i
house-DEF.M/F=2 be.good-DCAUS-3F-PF
‘You (SG) made the house look good.’

(8d) napasiʔ ?oktaasiʔ ?ipoornani
napa-siʔ oktaa-siʔ i=poor-naf-ni
soot-DEF.M/F pot-DEF.M/F 3=be.black-DCAUS-IPF.PRES
‘The soot blackens the pot.’

As already mentioned, the indirect causative is marked by -acciis. In indirect causatives, the subject of the sentence is not directly involved in performing the action, and hence, has no direct control over the action. The subject lets someone/something else do the action (see also Mous 2004). Many transitive verb roots attach the indirect causative form rather than the direct causative form. The following are illustrative sentences:

(9a) antin namasin dilasicf cötacciisay
anti-ʔnama-siʔ=in dila-siʔ
1SG.PRO-NOM person-DEF.M/F=1 field-DEF.M/F
(9a)  ʔanto-NOM  tree-DEF.M/F  3 = cut[SG]-ICUAS-PF[3M]
     ʔanto had the tree cut.

In example (9a), we find three explicit participants: the indirect causer of the action of working on the field antu ‘I’ which is the subject, and the direct agent namasʔi ‘the person’, which is an object, and the affected entity ɗila ‘field’ which is also an object. In (9b), we only find two explicit participants: the indirect causer Anto which is the subject, and the affected entity ʛoyrasiʔ ‘the tree’.

Mous (2004: 9-13) reports the indirect causative marker -siis. However, this morpheme is very rare, used for example in deriving ʛap-siis ‘to make hold, make catch someone (say, a thief)’ from ʛap- ‘to hold, catch’. In contrast, the verb root muk- ‘to sleep’ in (10) requires only a direct causative form ʃ as in (10b).

(10a)  ? dınaote  innaa  muk-siis-ay
     dınaote  boy  sleep-ICAUS1-PF[3M]
     ‘dınaote made a boy sleep by using a sleeping pill.’

(10b)  dınaote  innaa  muk-ʃ-ay
     dınaote  boy  sleep-DCAUS1-PF[3M]
     ‘dınaote made a boy sleep by using a sleeping pill.’

Indirect causative is also expressed by the verb koɗ- ‘to make’ and a subordinate clause which contains the action done by the direct actor. Mous (2004: 2) calls this a syntactic indirect causative construction. The construction involves three participants: the causer, the causee and the affected entity as shown in (11a). Moreover, the verb koɗ- may attach the indirect causative -acciis as in (11b).

(11a)  ?akkaa  dam-t-u  i = koɗ-ay
     that.3  eat-3F-DP.IPF  3 = make-PF[3M]
     ‘He made her eat (something).’

(11b)  akkaa  damt-ʔu  i = koɗ-acciis-ay
     that.3  eat-3F-DP.IPF  3 = make-ICAUS-PF[3M]
     ‘He let someone make her eat (something).’
Causerless or impersonal causatives exist but they are fixed expressions in that they are based only on the verb stem parpaacciis- 'make want, need'. The verb stem parpaacciis is derived from the Oromo verb root baraâd- 'look for' and the causative suffix -ciis. The verb stem parpaacciis- is a transitive verb stem but it does not add an external causer. In other words, the constructions are without an explicit causer. Moreover, they always occur in the order Patient—Agent and the agent is human. Only the present imperfective aspect is allowed in causerless causatives. The examples in (12a) and (12b) are without overtly stated causers. In these examples, neither kaasa ‘gun’ nor okkatta ‘cow’ is an agent. Both kaasa ‘gun’ and okkatta ‘cow’ are patients and ana ‘me’ and ke ‘you (SG)’ are the causee.

(12a) kaasa ana parpaacciisni
    kaasa-a       ana       parpaadciis-ni
    gun-CLF     1SG.PRO.ACC  make.need-IPF.PRES
‘I need a gun.’
    (lit.: ‘It makes me need a gun.’)

(12b) okkatta-a ki parpaacciisni
    okkatta-a      ki       parpaadciis-ni
    cow-CLF      2SG.PRO.ACC  make.need-IPF.PRES
‘You (SG) need a cow.’
    (lit.: ‘It makes you (SG) need a cow.’)

The dative suffix may occur in the above constructions as shown in (13).

(13)  kaasa anap parpaacciisni
    kaasa       anap    parpaadciis-ni
    gun         1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT  make.need-IPF.PRES
‘A gun is needed for me.’

Tolemariam (2009) also reports causerless causatives for Oromo. The following (adapted) illustrative examples are taken from his work (2009:17).

(14a)  ibsaa isa barbaacc-is-a
    light.ABS   him.ABS  look.for-CAUS1-3M.IMPF
‘He needs light.’
    (lit.: ‘It makes him look for light.’)

(14b)  inni isaan ibsaa barbaacc-is-e
    he.NOM   him.INST light.ABS  look.for-CAUS1-3M.PF
‘He made him look for light.’
6.1.2. Middle

The middle derivation is marked by the suffix -aɗ. The most productive meaning of the middle derivation is to render the verb auto-benefactive, that is, the action is done for one’s own benefit. In (15a), for example, the subject namasiʔ ‘the man’ does the cutting for his benefit. Likewise, in (15b), the subject parkasiʔ ‘the workteam’ does the slaughtering for the benefit of its members. The middle has a wider semantic range of functions (see Mous 2004).

(15a) namasiɿ gōyraʔi? ?iimuraday

nama-siʔ  gōyra-siʔ  i=mur-ad-ay
person-DEF.M/F  tree-DEF.M/F  3 = cut[SG]-MID-PF[3M]

‘The man cut the tree for himself.’

(15b) parkasiʔ  ɿormasiʔ ?ičaladay

parka-siʔ  ɿorma-siʔ  i=čal-ad-ay
workteam-DEF.M/F  ox-DEF.M/F  3 = slaughter-MID-PF[3M]

‘The work team slaughtered the ox for themselves.’

The verb roots mur- ‘cut[SG]’ and čal- ‘to slaughter’ with which the middle derivation suffix occurs in the above examples are transitive.

There are many verb stems with the frozen middle suffix. The following are illustrative examples.

(16)  kollaɗ- ‘to learn’
      faalad- ‘to choose, love’
      ampaɗ- ‘to babysit’
      kaassad- ‘to ask’
      činsad- ‘to beg’
      kaassad- ‘to ask, request’
      čullad- ‘to bend down’

With the verb stems kallaad- ‘to live’ and akkaad- ‘to be seen’, the frozen form of the middle suffix has a long vowel: -aad.

With the verb roots given in (17), the middle suffix has a passive meaning (see also Mous 2007). But the agent cannot be expressed. As we shall see below, passive derivation is marked by a separate suffix -am. The agent cannot be expressed.

(17)  čal- ‘to give birth’  ĉalad- ‘to be born’
      kup- ‘to burn’  kupad- ‘to be burnt’
      čor- ‘to fine’  čorad- ‘to be fined’
The following are illustrative sentential examples with the derived verb stems above:

(18a)  kallappa parpalee ɗalatti  
       \[\text{kallappa} \quad \text{parpali}^?=i \quad \text{ɗal-adj-i}\]  
       kallappa \quad \text{last.year} = 3 \quad \text{give.birth-MID-3F-PF}  
       ‘Kallappa was born last year.’

(18b)  harka-awu  \quad i=kup-adj-ay  
       hand-1SG.POSS.M/F \quad 3 = \text{burn-MID-PF}[3M]  
       ‘My hand was burnt.’

(18c)  ʛimaytasiʔ ʔiχoraɗay  
       \[\text{ʛimayta-siʔ} \quad i=\text{χor-aɗ-ay}\]  
       old.man-DEF.M/F \quad 3 = \text{fine-MID-PF}[3M]  
       ‘The old man was fined.’

The substitution of the passive suffix for the middle suffix in the above examples yields unacceptable sentences as shown in (19).

(19a)  *harka-awu  \quad i=kup-am-ay  
       hand-1SG.POSS.M/F \quad 3 = \text{burn-PAS-PF}[3M]  
       (intended: ‘My hand was burnt.’)

(19b)  *ʛimaytasiʔ ʔiχoramay  
       \[\text{ʛimayta-siʔ} \quad i=\text{χor-am-ay}\]  
       old.man-DEF.M/F \quad 3 = \text{fine-PAS-PF}[3M]  
       (intended: ‘The old man was fined.’)

6.1.3. Passive

Passive derivation is marked by the suffix -am. Both transitive and intransitive verb roots can be passivized. First, I present passives with transitive verbs. The form of the passive derivation is illustrated in the following transitive verbs.

(20)  mur- ‘to cut[SG]’  
      mur-am- ‘to be cut[SG]’

čfd- ‘to beat’  
čfd-am- ‘to be beaten’

daŋ- ‘to eat’  
daŋ-am- ‘to be eaten’

dat- ‘to sell’  
dat-am- ‘to be sold’

cup- ‘to build’  
cup-am- ‘to be built’

fur- ‘to untie’  
fur-am- ‘to be untied’

A sentence with a transitive verb root without a passive suffix may occur with an agent and patient as in (21a). When such verb roots acquire the passive suffix, the sentence cannot have an expressed agent as shown by the ungram-
matical form in (21b). The passive sentence in (21c) is acceptable because it does not have an overt agent.

\[(21a) \quad \text{ifəʔ doyraʔiʔ \^i\^imura\^y} \]
\[\text{ifə-ʔ doyra-siʔ \^i=mur-ay} \]
\[3\text{SGM.PRO-NOM} \quad \text{tree-DEF.M/F} \quad 3 = \text{cut}[\text{SG}-\text{PF}[3\text{M}]} \]
\[\text{‘He cut the tree.’}\]

\[(21b) \quad *\text{doyra siʔ \^i\^i\^imurama\^y} \]
\[\text{doyra-siʔ \^i\^i-\text{n} \^i=mur-am-ay} \]
\[\text{tree-DEF.M/F} \quad 3\text{SM.PRO-INST} \quad 3 = \text{cut}[\text{SG}-\text{PF}[3\text{M}]} \]
\[(\text{intended: ‘The tree was cut by him.’})\]

\[(21c) \quad \text{doyraςiʔ \^i\^i\^imurama\^y} \]
\[\text{doyra-siʔ i=mur-am-ay} \]
\[\text{tree-DEF.M/F} \quad 3 = \text{cut}[\text{SG}-\text{PF}[3\text{M}]} \]
\[\text{‘The tree was cut.’}\]

When objects are used as instruments to accomplish certain actions, the instrumental suffix is added to the overtly expressed instrument. The sentence in (22) with a passive verb is acceptable for two reasons. First, there is no overt agent; secondly, faasita ‘axe’ is an instrument used for performing the action of cutting.

\[(22) \quad \text{doyrasif faasita-n imura\^y} \]
\[\text{doyra-siʔ faasita-n \^i=mur-am-ay} \]
\[\text{tree-DEF.M/F} \quad \text{axe-INST} \quad 3 = \text{cut}[\text{SG}-\text{PF}[3\text{M}]} \]
\[\text{‘The tree was cut with an axe.’}\]

As it is possible with transitive verbs not to have an explicit subject, it is also the case with intransitive verbs that the passive has no explicit subject. However, the implied subject of a passive clause with an intransitive verb, is always the first person singular or plural. The context makes the distinction whether the subject is first person singular or plural. In passives of intransitive verbs the gender agreement on the verb is always the third person feminine. In other parts of the grammar, including passives of transitive verbs, the impersonal verb form is that of third person masculine, which is zero-marked. It seems that the speaker has no subject in mind as referent to the third person feminine inflection. The passive derivation in intransitive verb roots mainly expresses having difficult circumstances. Here are some examples:

\[(23a) \quad \text{i=muk-am-t-i} \]
\[3 = \text{sleep-PAS-3F-PF} \]
\[\text{‘We spent the night.’}\]
(23b) \[ \text{i = kal-am-t-i} \]
\[ 3 = \text{return.home-PAS-3F-PF} \]
\[ \text{‘We returned home.’} \]

In example (23a), the speaker implies that they had a very difficult night. In the same fashion, in (23b), the speaker implies that they had difficulty when returning home, maybe due to danger, accident, etc. on the way.

With the verb root \text{hem- ‘marry’}, there is a lexical passive marking: a masculine subject always occurs in the active as in (24a) but a feminine always occurs in the passive as in (24b). The example in (24c) is unacceptable because the subject is masculine while the verb has a passive derivation.

(24a) \[ \text{name-siʔ \?inantaʔi \?ihemay} \]
\[ \text{name-siʔ \?inantaʔi \?i = hem-ay} \]
\[ \text{man-DEF.M/F \ girl-DEF.M/F \ 3 = marry-PF[3M]} \]
\[ \text{‘The man married the girl.’} \]

(24b) \[ \text{inantaʔin namasitiʔ \?ihemamti} \]
\[ \text{inantaʔi \ namasitiʔ \? \ i = hem-am-t-i} \]
\[ \text{girl-DEF.M/F \ man-DEF.M/F-DAT \ 3 = marry-PAS-3F-PF} \]
\[ \text{‘The girl was married to the man.’} \]

(24c) \[ * \text{namasiʔ \?inantaʔi \?ihemamay} \]
\[ \text{namasiʔ \?inantaʔi \? \ i = hem-am-ay} \]
\[ \text{man-DEF.M/F \ girl-DEF.M/F-DAT \ 3 = marry-PAS-PF[3M]} \]
\[ \text{(intended: ‘The man was married to the girl.’)} \]

In the \text{χolme} dialect, two separate verb roots are used: \text{hem- ‘to marry’} when the subject is male and \text{taw- ‘to marry’} when the subject is female. The verb root \text{taw-} does not require a passive derivation. The passive reading is entailed in the meaning of the verb root. Examples:

(25a) \[ \text{namasiʔ \?ihemay} \]
\[ \text{namasiʔ \? \ i = hem-ay} \]
\[ \text{man-DEF.M/F \ 3 = marry-PF[3M]} \]
\[ \text{‘The man married.’} \]

(25b) \[ \text{inantaʔi \?itawti} \]
\[ \text{inantaʔi \? \ i = taw-t-i} \]
\[ \text{girl-DEF.M/F \ 3 = be.married-3F.PF} \]
\[ \text{‘The girl was married.’} \]

There are certain verb roots which inherently entail passive reading: the two verb roots that refer to breaking \text{σep- ‘to be broken [long objects]’} and \text{paθ- ‘to
be broken [round objects]’ and the verb root ʄap- ‘to be infested with weevil; be soaked; be rotten’ are such verb roots. The use of the passive suffix with these verb roots yields unacceptable constructions, as exemplified by the unacceptable forms in (26).

(26a) *cøyrasʔ ?icəpamay
cøyra-siʔ  i=čep-ay
tree-DEF.M/F 3 = be.broken-PAS-PF[3M]
(intended: ‘The tree was broken.’)

(26b) *untasiʔ ?ifłaməti
unta-siʔ  i=ʄap-t-i
grain-DEF.M/F 3 = be.infested.with.weevils-PAS-3F-PF
(intended: ‘The grain was infested with weevils.’)

The correct versions are given in (27):

(27a) cøyra-siʔ ?icəpay
cøyra-siʔ  i=čep-pay
tree-DEF.M/F 3 = be.broken-PF[3M]
‘The tree was broken.’

(27b) untasiʔ ?oftware
unta-siʔ  i=ʄap-t-i
grain-DEF.M/F 3 = be.infested.with.weevils-3F-PF
‘The grain was infested with weevils.’

6.1.4. Inchoative

The inchoative is marked with derivational affixes. Inchoative suffixes may be derived from adjectival or nominal roots. In adjectival roots, the suffixes -aɗ, -aaɗ or -naaɗ are used to derive inchoative. Notice that the first of the inchoative suffixes is identical to the middle derivation marker.

The distribution of the inchoative suffixes in adjectival roots is as follows: adjectival roots that have a geminate consonant or a consonant cluster add -aɗ as in (28a); those that have the CVC- template add -aaɗ as in (28b); those with a long vowel in the root add -naaɗ as in (28c). It is difficult to formulate rules on the basis of phonological shapes or semantic categories to capture the distribution of these suffixes. For this reason, below, we provide the adjectival roots with the type of inchoative form that they require.

(28a) kapp- ‘to be fat’  kapp-aɗ- ‘to become fat’
kutt- ‘to be big’  kutt-aɗ- ‘to become big’
palɗ- ‘to be wide’  palɗ-aɗ- ‘to become wide’
It seems that adjectival roots that have a geminate consonant or a cluster of consonants tend to occur with the inchoative suffix -aɗ. Note that when the inchoative suffix is added to the adjectival roots ʛaah- ‘to be thin’ and kokkook- ‘to be strong’, the long vowels are shortened.

From the distributions of the inchoative and causative suffixes in adjectival roots, we can draw the following distributional parallels:

- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix -aɗ occur with the causative suffix -ʃ;
- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix -aad- occur with the causative suffix -ayʃ; and,
- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix -naad- occur with the causative suffix -nayʃ;

Exceptionally, the following adjectival roots require the inchoative suffix -aad:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Inchoative Suffix</th>
<th>Causative Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uls-</td>
<td>‘to be heavy’</td>
<td>uls-aad-</td>
<td>‘to become heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukkull-</td>
<td>‘to be weak’</td>
<td>nukkull-aad-</td>
<td>‘to become weak’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inchoative of nominal roots is derived by suffixes -ooɗ and -um. The inchoative suffix -ooɗ is added to nominal roots to express physical or mental state of becoming (30a). The suffix -um is added to nominal roots to express social status, such as becoming a father (30b).

(30a) χas-ooɗ ‘become happy’ χasa ‘happiness’
maaʃʃ-ooɗ ‘to become drunk’ maaʃʃaa ‘drunkenness’
dee-ooɗ ‘to become thirsty’ deeputa ‘thirst’
miir-ooɗ ‘to become angry’ miira ‘anger’
teʔʃ-ooɗ ‘to have elephantiasis’ teʔʃaa ‘elephantiasis’

(30b) aapp-um ‘to become a father’ aappaa ‘father’
moott-um ‘to become a friend’ mootta ‘friend’
aakk-um- ‘to become a grandfather’ aakkaa ‘grandfather’

6.1.5. Pluractionals and punctuals

Pluractionals and punctuals can be expressed by pairs of (lexical) suppletive verb roots or by means of derivational marking. Below, I first present the suppletive verb roots for pluractional and punctual. The pluractional and punctual suppletive verb roots can be either transitive (31a) or intransitive (31b). Lexical punctuals may express single events or single actions.

(31a) iʃʃ- ‘to kill[SG]’ leyʃ- ‘to kill[PL]’
pidd- ‘to buy[SG]’ heer- ‘to buy[PL]’
pit- ‘to uproot[SG]’ huuɓ- ‘to uproot[PL]’
mur- ‘to cut[SG]’ çtuur- ‘to cut[PL]’
χapt- ‘to throw[SG]’ dakk- ‘to throw[PL]’
day- ‘to hit[SG]’ çfû- ‘to hit[PL]’
cæniin- ‘to bite[SG]’ çtom- ‘to bite[PL]’

(31b) keer ‘to run[SG]’ hir- ‘to run[PL]’
toy ‘to die[SG]’ ley- ‘to die[PL]’
pø ‘to fall[SG]’ seh- ‘to fall[PL]’
χaʔad ‘to fly[SG]’ pælaʔad- ‘to run/fly[PL]’

In intransitive suppletive verbs, the choice of pluractional or punctual suppletive verb is determined by the number of the subject. For example, in (32a), the subject inantasiʔ ‘the girl’ is singular and hence keer- ‘to run[SG]’. In (32b), the subject hellaasiniʔ ‘the children’ is plural and hence hir- ‘to run[PL]’. The examples in (33) are unacceptable because of the mismatch between the number of the subject and the suppletive verb: in (33a) the subject is singular but the verb root is pluractional; in (33b), the subject is plural but the verb root is punctual.

In transitive suppletive verbs, the choice of the pluractional or punctual is determined by the number of the object rather than the subject. This is illustrated in the examples in (34), where we have the same singular subject but a singular object and punctual suppletive verb in (34a), and a plural subject and pluractional suppletive verb in (34b).

(34a)  nabasik karmaa iʔiʃʃay

\[
\text{namasik } \text{karmaa } \text{i=ʃʃ-ay}
\]

man-DEF.M/F  lion  3 = kill[SG]-PF[3M]
‘The man killed a lion.’

(34b)  nabasik karmadaa ileyʃay

\[
\text{namasik } \text{karmadaa } \text{i= eyʃ-ay}
\]

man-DEF.M/F  lions  3 = kill[PL]-PF[3M]
‘The man (has) killed lions.’

As stated earlier, pluractionality and punctual are also marked by means of derivation apart from the lexical suppletives. From underived (punctual) verb roots we derive pluractional verb stems, and from underived pluractional verb roots we derive punctual verb stems. From derived punctual stems we may also derive pluractionality. In what follows, I first discuss the derivation of pluractionals from singulative verb roots, then discuss the derivation of punctuals from pluractional verb roots. Then I return to the derivation of pluractionals, but this time, to their derivation from punctual verb stems. Since the marking of pluractionality is obligatory, the unmarked verb is interpreted to be punctual.
Pluractional derivation is marked by reduplicating the singulative verb root’s initial $C_V$ when there is a geminate consonant in the verb root as in (35a), otherwise $C_VC_1$ as in (35b). Notice that long vowels following the verb root’s initial consonant appear short in the reduplicated $C_V(C_1)$.

(35a)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{tu-tuʛʛuur} & \quad \text{‘to push[SG]’} \\
\text{fa-faʛʛal} & \quad \text{‘to stick to[SG]’} \\
\text{mo-moɗɗoor} & \quad \text{‘to twist[SG]’} \\
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*} 
\text{tu-tuʛʛuur} & \quad \text{‘to push.PL’} \\
\text{fa-faʛʛal} & \quad \text{‘to stick to.PL’} \\
\text{mo-moɗɗoor} & \quad \text{‘to twist.PL’} \\
\end{align*}  

(35b)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{ɗoɗ-ɗot} & \quad \text{‘to stab[SG]’} \\
\text{toot-toom} & \quad \text{‘to hit with fist[SG]’} \\
\text{tot-torp} & \quad \text{‘to shoot with spear[SG]’} \\
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*} 
\text{ɗoɗ-ɗot} & \quad \text{‘to stab.PL’} \\
\text{toot-toom} & \quad \text{‘to hit with fist.PL’} \\
\text{tot-torp} & \quad \text{‘shoot with spear.PL’} \\
\end{align*}  

Some pluractionals are derived by repeating the verb root. The following are illustrative:

(36)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{ɗam} & \quad \text{‘to eat’} \\
pul & \quad \text{‘to scatter’} \\
sar & \quad \text{‘to loot, plunder’} \\
ʄap & \quad \text{‘to decay’} \\
fur & \quad \text{‘to untie’} \\
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*} 
\text{ɗamɗam} & \quad \text{‘to chew a bit’} \\
pulpul & \quad \text{‘to dismantle’} \\
sarsar & \quad \text{‘to loot quickly’} \\
ʄapʄap & \quad \text{‘to rot completely’} \\
furfur & \quad \text{‘to untie quickly’} \\
\end{align*}  

Punctual derivation is different from pluractional derivation in that in punctual derivation, it is the verb root’s final part that is involved. Precisely, punctual is derived by geminating the final consonant of verb roots (see also Ongaye 2010). The derivation is quite productive and expresses that the action is done once. Here are some examples:

(37)  
\begin{align*} 
\text{ctof} & \quad \text{‘to pinch[PL]’} \\
rak & \quad \text{‘to hung[PL]’} \\
leɓ & \quad \text{‘to kick[PL]’} \\
ʄud & \quad \text{‘to pierce[PL]’} \\
tuuk & \quad \text{‘to push[PL]’} \\
moof & \quad \text{‘to break[PL]’} \\
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*} 
\text{ctoff} & \quad \text{‘to pinch.SG’} \\
rakk & \quad \text{‘to hung.SG’} \\
leɓɓ & \quad \text{‘to kick.SG’} \\
ʄudʄud & \quad \text{‘to pierce.SG’} \\
tuukk & \quad \text{‘to push.SG’} \\
mooff & \quad \text{‘to break.SG’} \\
\end{align*}  

From the above examples, we can notice that the pluractional verb roots from which punctual stems are derived may have a CVC- or CVVC- template. It is not possible to have a pluractional root ending in CC.

In Ts’amakko, Savá (2005:186) reports the derivation of punctual from the CVCVC verb root by geminating the second consonant of the verb root. Evidence of comparable material in Konso would probably be the verb root χosal- ‘to laugh’ which optionally derives the verb stem χossal-. It may also be argued that possibly the verb roots tuʛʛuur- ‘to push[SG]’, faʛʛal- ‘to stick
to[SG]’ and modɗoor- ‘to twist[SG]’ in (35a) are examples of frozen punctuals. The adjectival roots ilaaw- ‘to be green’ and paʛaar- ‘to be good, beautiful’ have free variant forms: ilaʔ- ‘to be green’ and paʛar- ‘to be good, beautiful’. The intensive form of paʛaar-/paʛaar is formed by geminating the middle con-
sonant: paʛ_projects_/paʛ_project 'to be very good, beautiful’. No punctual form is
derived from the verb roots with CVC[i] structure.

The object of punctual verb stems has to be singular. Unless the object requires
the efforts of many people who act as a team, the subject of punctual verb
stems has to also be singular. For instance, in (38a), both the subject namasiʔ ‘the man’ and the object inantasiʔ ‘the girl’ are singular. In (38b), the subject
orrasiʔ ‘the people’ is plural but the object dakaasiiʔ ‘the stone’ is singular,
implying that the single pushing required the effort of more than one person.
The example in (38c) is unacceptable because the subject is singular but the
object is plural. Likewise, the example in (38d) is unacceptable because the
subject is plural and the object singular, implying that the action of pinching
once does not require the effort of more than one person.

(38a) namasiʔ inantasiʔ iʛoʄʄay
    nama-siʔ inanta-siʔ i=ʛoʄʄ-ay
    person-DEF.F/M girl-DEF.M/F 3 pinch.SG-PF[3M]
    ‘The person pinched the child once.’

(38b) orrasiʔ dakaasiiʔ ituukkay
   orra-siʔ daka-siʔ i=tuukk-ay
    people-DEF.M/F stone-DEF.M/F 3 push.SG-PF[3M]
    ‘The people pushed the stone once.’

(38c) *namasiiʔ hellaasiiʔ iʛoʄʄay
    nama-siʔ hellaa-siʔ i=ʛoʄʄ-ay
    person-DEF.F/M children-DEF.P 3 pinch.SG-PF[3M]
    (intended: ‘The person pinched the children once.’)

(38d) *orrasiʔ innasiiʔ iʛoʄʄay
    orra-siʔ inna-siʔ i=ʛoʄʄ-ay
    people-DEF.M/F child-DEF.P 3 pinch.SG-PF[3M]
    (intended: ‘The people pinched the child once.’)

Apart from signalling the performance of an action being just once, some punc-
tual verb stems also imply the use of extra force/energy compared to their un-
derived verb roots. For instance, the punctual verb stems cɷff- ‘to pinch.SG’
and leɓɓ- ‘to kick.SG’ imply the use of more force than their corresponding
underived plurational verb roots cɷf- ‘to pinch[PL]’ and leɓ- ‘to kick[PL]’.
For the pairs, *faɗ* ~ *faɗɗ* ‘to look for[SG/PL]’ and *ik* ~ *ikk* ‘drink[SG/PL]’, they have the same meaning and both are used as equal alternatives for punctual and pluractional.

The verb root *χooɓɓ* ‘to take a sip’ is also a suppletive form for *ik(k)* ‘to drink’.

The verb root *muk* ‘to sleep’ is an instance of intransitive verb root with a punctual derivation: *mukk* ‘to take a nap; lie on something’.

The derivation of pluractionals from derived punctual verb stems are characterised by having a $C_1V$ reduplication of the punctual verb stem’s initial because the last consonant of all derived punctual verb stems is geminate. Pluractionals derived from punctual verb stems express the performance of an action more than once but less than many times. Examples:

(39a)  
\[
\text{raakasiʔ inantasiʔ i=ʛo-ʛoʄʄi-t-i} \\
\text{old.woman-DEF.M/F girlDEF.M/F 3=PL-pinch.SG-3F-PF} \\
\text{‘The old woman pinched the girl a few times.’}
\]

(39b)  
\[
\text{Kappoolik k*aasitasiʔ i=le-leɓɓ-ay} \\
\text{Kappoole-NOM ball-DEF.M/F 3=PL-kick.SG-PF[3M]} \\
\text{‘Kappoole kicked the ball a few times.’}
\]

The derivation of pluractional is also possible from the underived pluractional verb root. Since underived pluractional verb roots do not have geminate consonants, the derivation of pluractionals from the underived pluractional verb roots involves the reduplication of the verb root’s initial $C_1V$. With an individual entity, it expresses event plurality. That is, it indicates the performance of the action in question many times during more than one event. With plural entities, it expresses either event plurality (performing the action during each event on one individual many times) or the plurality of both the action and entities during an event.

(40)  
\[
\text{cɪməytasih hellasiniʔ i=ʣo-ʣof-ay} \\
\text{cɪməyta-siʔ hellaa-siniʔ} \\
\text{old.man-DEF.M/F children-DEF.P} \\
\text{i=ʣo-ʣof-ay} \\
\text{3 = PL-pinch[PL]-PF[3M]} \\
\text{‘The old man pinched the children many times.’}
\]
6.2. Verb inflection

6.2.1. Aspect
Konso makes a morphological distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect. The imperfective aspect is further distinguished in present imperfective and future imperfective. I use the term “perfective” because the distinction is primarily aspectual, but in fact all perfective marked verbs refer to the past. The imperfective present -ni is used for general truth statements. It is primarily imperfective and it can in fact be used for past reference, (54). The Imperfective Future is again primarily imperfective and is used for present tense with certain verbs, (47-48). Below I discuss the perfective and imperfective aspects in detail.

6.2.1.1. The Perfective
Except for first person singular and third person masculine, the perfective aspect is marked by suffix -i. Perfective aspect for the first person singular and third person masculine singular is marked by -ay. In Karatte dialect, perfective aspect is marked by suffix -e for all persons (Black (1973), Bliese and Sokka (1986)). Third person feminine and second person singular and first person plural have person marking before the perfective marker. For second person plural and third person plural, the perfective aspect marker occurs before the plurality marker on the verb. The perfective aspect expresses actions/events completed before or at the moment of speaking. The actual time difference between the completion of an action/event and the speech time does not affect the form of the perfective aspect suffix. However, adverbs such as amma ‘now’ and χala ‘yesterday’ locate the situation in time relative to the moment of speaking. The word asu ‘just’ is used with the adverb amma ‘now’ to give more emphasis to the completion of the action/event at the moment of speaking. Here are some examples:

(41a) antιχ χarʃasiʔ ʔindamay
anti-? χarʃa-siʔ in=ɗam-ay
1SG.PRO-NOM beans-DEF.M/F 1=eat-PF[3M]
‘I ate the beans.’

(41b) inantasɪχ χarʃasiʔ ʔidamtι
inanta-siʔ χarʃa-siʔ i=dam-t-i
girl-DEF.M/F beans-DEF.M/F 3=eat-3F-PF
‘The girl ate the beans.’

(41c) ammaa asu kodaasiɗ dikκissi
amma=i asu kodaa-siʔ dikkif-t-i
now=3 just work-DEF.M/F finish-3F-PF
‘She has just finished the work.’
In cleft constructions, the perfective aspect is invariably marked by the suffix -ay for all persons since the verb has the default 3M form in the cleft construction (see also 3.5). The examples in (42a-b) are non-cleft sentences but those in (42c-d) are equivalent clefts.

(42a) inantasì ixròsiʔ ?idamti
   inanta-siʔ  ixrò-sa-siʔ  i=dam-t-i
   girl-DEF.M/F  beans-DEF.M/F  3=eat-3F-PF
   ‘The girl ate the beans.’

(42b) ifìnàχ xalà dìlòppupa antin
   ifìnàʔ  xalà =il  dìla-oppupa  an-t-i-n
   2PL.PRO-NOM  yesterday = 2 field-into  go-2-PF-P
   ‘You (PL) went to the field yesterday.’

(42c) inantasìxì xaròsìʔ ?idamay
   inanta-siʔ-é  xarò-sa-siʔ  i=dam-ay
   girl-DEF.M/F-CLF  beans-DEF.M/F  3=eat-PF[3M]
   ‘It is the girl who ate the beans.’

(42d) ifìnàá xala dìlòppupa aanay
   ifìnà-á  xala  dìla-oppupa  aan-ay
   2PL.PRO[ACC]-CLF  yesterday field-into  go-PF[3M]
   ‘It is you (PL) who went to the field yesterday.’

6.2.1.2. The Imperfective

The imperfective aspect is further distinguished into the present imperfective and the future imperfective. Below, I treat each of them in turn.

The present imperfective is marked by suffix -ni for all persons. Except for first person plural and second person plural, there is no person marking on the verb. The present imperfective may be used to refer to situations taking place the same time the speech event takes place, as in (43a); it may also refer to habitual actions, as in (43b), or to general truth (43c).
(43a) amman tikupa anni

\[ \text{amna} = \text{in} \quad \text{tika-opa} \quad \text{an-ni} \]

\( \text{now} = 1 \quad \text{house-to} \quad \text{go-IPF.PRES} \)

‘I am going home now.’

(43b) tooalaasi? ?awtapiisa dılıppupa isookanni

\[ \text{tooła-asi?} \quad \text{awtapiisa} \quad \text{dila-oppupa} \]

family.DEM.M/F always field-into

\( i = \text{sookad-ni} \)

3 = go.to.field-IPF.PRES

‘This family goes to the field every day.’

(43c) karamadaa s*a pattaa dǝmmi

\[ \text{karamadaa} \quad \text{soʔaa} \quad \text{patta} = i \quad \text{dam-ni} \]

lions meat only = 3 eat-IPF.PRES

‘Lions only eat meat.’

The first person plural and second person plural also add -nna and -ttan, respectively, to -ni. This is shown in (44):

(44a) inuʔ ?urmalaaapan anninna

\[ \text{inu-ʔ} \quad \text{urmalaa-pa} = \text{in} \quad \text{an-ni-nna} \]

1PL.PRO-NOM market-to = 1 go-IPF.PRES-1PL

‘We are going to the market.’

(44b) iʃinat tikupa iɗɗeʔniittan

\[ \text{iʃina-ʔ} \quad \text{tika-opa} \quad \text{iʔ=dey-ni-ttan} \]

2PL.PRO-NOM house-to 2 = come-IPF.PRES-2PL

‘You (PL) are coming home.’

The present progressive suffix -nna for the first person plural is added to the perfective form of the first person plural as illustrated in (45a).

(45a) inuʔ ?urmalaaapan anninna

\[ \text{inu-ʔ} \quad \text{urmalaa-opa} = \text{in} \quad \text{an-ni-nna} \]

1PL.PRO-NOM market-to = 1 go-IPF.PRES-1PL

‘We are going to the market.’

(45b) inuʔ ?urmalaaapan anni

\[ \text{inu-ʔ} \quad \text{urmalaa-opa} = \text{in} \quad \text{an-n-i} \]

1PL.PRO-NOM market-to = 1 go-1PL-PF

‘We went to the market.’
In the imperfective aspect, third persons may also occur with the additional suffixes -tta, -ya and -yan for feminine subject (46a), masculine subject (46b) and plural subject (46c), respectively. These suffixes are optional and are used to add meaning such as contrary to expectation (see Section 12.4).

(46a)  
\textit{inan-tasiʔ \?ikallitta}  
\textit{inanta-siʔ \ i=kal-ni-tta}  
girl.DEF.M/F 3\ =\ return.home-IPF.PRES-3F.CEXPEC  
‘Hey! The girl is going home!’

(46b)  
\textit{hamiyasici silpootasiʔ \?i\=eenniya}  
\textit{hamiya-siʔ \ silpoota-siʔ \ i=\=e\=e\=nd-ni-ya}  
boy.DEF.M/F hoe.DEF.M/F 3\ =\ take-IPF.PRES-3M.CEXPEC  
‘Hey! The boy is taking the hoe!’

(46c)  
\textit{hellaasiniʔ \?ihirriyan}  
\textit{hellaa-siniʔ \ i=hir-ni-yan}  
children-DEF.P 3\ =\ run[PL]-IPF.PRES-3PL.CEXPEC  
‘Hey! The children are running!’

In the above examples, the addresser reports that in (46a) the addresser reports that the girl is going home but she is not expected to go home and in (46b), the boy is taking the hoe but he is not expected to take it. In (45c), the addresser reports that the children are running but they are not expected to run.

There are certain verb roots (listed in (47)) that require suffix -a rather than -ni to mark the present imperfective. The suffix -a marks the future imperfective to be discussed shortly. Thus, in the glossing, I maintain the use of IPF.FUT despite the present imperfective reference.

(47)  
\textit{up-} ‘to know’  
\textit{pah-} ‘to look like, resemble’  
\textit{heen-} ‘to want’  
\textit{sah-} ‘to be able to’  
\textit{\=ap-} ‘to have’  
\textit{\=hoʔ-} ‘to like something very much’

The following are sentential examples.

(48a)  
\textit{ifan namoosiʔ \?ii\=upa}  
\textit{if\=aʔ \ nama-osiʔ \ i=up-a}  
3SGM.PRO-NOM person-DEM.M/F 3\ =\ know-IPF.FUT  
‘He knows this person.’
(48b) inantaasiʔ ?aappaayʃuʔ ?ipahta
    inanta-asiʔ    aappaa-ayʃuʔ
girl-DEM.M/F    father-3PL.POSS.M/F

    i=pah-t-a
    3 = resemble-3F-IPF.FUT
    ‘This girl resembles her father.’

(48c) iʃoonnal luukkawwaasiniɗ ɗamiyaa iheenan
    iʃoonna-ʔ luukkawwaa-siniʔ ɗam-iyaa
3PL.PRO-NOM fruits-DEF.P eat-INF

    i=heen-a-n
    3 = want-IPF.FUT-P
    ‘They want to eat the fruits.’

The formation of the future imperfective from the above verb roots requires the
inchoative suffix -naaɗ. The examples in (49a) and (49b) are the future imper-
fective versions of the examples in (48a) and (48b), respectively.

(49a) iʃan namaosiʔ ?iʔapnaaɗa
    iʃa-ʔ nama-osiʔ i=upnaaɗ-a
3SGM.PRO-NOM person-DEM.M/F 3 = know.INCH-IPF.FUT
‘He will know this person.’

(49b) inantaasiʔ ?aappaayʃuʔ ?ipahnaatta
    inanta-asiʔ    aappaa-ayʃuʔ
girl-DEM.M/F    father-3PL.POSS.M/F

    i=pahnaaɗ-t-a
    3 = resemble.INCH-3F-IPF.FUT
    ‘This girl will resemble her father.’

The verb roots do not occur with the present imperfective suffix -ni except
when the verb is marked with inchoative suffix -naaɗ as shown in (50). But this
later use is not frequent.

(50) dilaasiʔ ?awtapiisa ʄaɓɓaa iʄapnaanni
    dila-asiʔ    awtapiisa    ʄaɓɓaa
field-DEM.M/F always weed

    i=ʄapnaaɗ-ni
    3 = have.INCH-IPF.PRES
    ‘This field always has weeds.’
Now, I return to the future imperfective of the imperfective aspect. As mentioned above, the future imperfective is marked by the suffix -a for all persons. It expresses actions that have not started yet at the moment of speaking. Positionally, the future imperfective suffix occurs after the subject marker on the verb. For second person plural and third person plural, it is followed by the plural person marker -n on the verb. The following are illustrative examples.

(51a) \textit{antik konfà parre impiɗḍa}
\begin{align*}
\text{anti-ʔ} & \quad \text{konfà} & \quad \text{parre} & \quad \text{in=piɗḍ-a} \\
1SG.PRO-NOM & \quad \text{shorts} & \quad \text{tomorrow} & \quad 1=\text{buy}[SG]-\text{IPF.FUT}
\end{align*}
‘I will buy shorts tomorrow.’

(51b) \textit{hekere còoyrooşi? ?ideraadà}
\begin{align*}
\text{hekere} & \quad \text{còoyra-oosiʔ} & \quad i=\text{der-aad-a} \\
\text{future} & \quad \text{tree-DEM.M/F} & \quad 3=\text{be.long-INCHOA-IPF.FUT}
\end{align*}
‘This tree will become long in the future.’

(51c) \textit{inantasip pijaaʔ ?iʔanta}
\begin{align*}
\text{inanta-siʔ} & \quad \text{ pijaa-ʔ} & \quad i=\text{an-t-a} \\
\text{girl-DEF.M/F} & \quad \text{water/DAT} & \quad 3=\text{go-3F-IPF.FUT}
\end{align*}
‘The girl will go to fetch water.’
(lit.: ‘The girl will go for water.’)

(51d) \textit{attiχ χonsupa iʔʔanta}
\begin{align*}
\text{atti-ʔ} & \quad \text{χonso-opa} & \quad iʔ=\text{an-t-a} \\
2SG.PRO-NOM & \quad \text{Konso-to} & \quad 2=\text{go-2-IPF.FUT}
\end{align*}
‘You (SG) will go to Konso.’

6.2.1.3. Continuative constructions

In this section, I discuss bounded and unbounded continuative constructions. I begin with the unbounded continuative constructions. Unbounded continuative constructions that express ongoing actions/events at the time of speaking without reference to the time of start are expressed by verbal nominals, the verb root \textit{kit-} ‘to be, exist’ and the postposition \textit{càaraa} ‘on (top of)’. Here are some examples:

(52a) \textit{inuk kirpa dawiya çàaraan kìnna}
\begin{align*}
\text{inu-ʔ} & \quad \text{kirpa} & \quad \text{daw-iya} & \quad \text{càaraa = in} \\
1PL.PRO-NOM & \quad \text{song} & \quad \text{sing-VN} & \quad \text{on = 1}
\end{align*}
\textit{kit=n-a}
be-P-IPF.FUT
‘We are singing a song.’
(lit.: ‘We are on (top of) singing a song.’)
Bounded continuative constructions that express actions/events that started before the moment of speaking but still in progress at the time of speaking are expressed by verbal nominals, the verb root kit- ‘to be, exist’ and the postposition ɗuɗaa ‘on (side)’ as demonstrated in (53).

(53a)  \[ \text{inu-ʔ kirpa daw-iya ɗuɗaa kinna} \]

\[ \text{1PL.PRO-NOM song sing-INF on=1} \]

\[ \text{kit-n-a} \]

be-IPF.FUT

‘We have been singing a song.’

(lit.: ‘We are on (the side of) singing a song.’)

(53b)  \[ \text{inuh hiranta ɗuɗaa kinna} \]

\[ \text{1PL.PRO-NOM run[PL]-VN on=1} \]

\[ \text{kit-n-a} \]

be-IPF.FUT

‘We have been running.’

(lit.: ‘We are on (the side of) running.’)

Similarly, bounded continuative constructions that express actions/events done over a certain period of time before the time of speaking are expressed by the present imperfective suffix -ni and the adverb χatta ‘in the past, long time ago’. The word pora ‘road, place’ is also commonly used in this context but most often it implies that the action is not approved by the speaker. In the following illustrative examples, I use the label IPF.PRES for the suffix -ni despite its past reference.

(54a)  \[ \text{namsi χatta horeetaa dawwini} \]

\[ \text{man-DEM.M/F long.ago cattle=3} \]
dawwi-ni
 tend-IPF.PRES
 ‘A long time ago this man used to tend cattle.’

(54b) iʃaχ χatta dillaa pora ikatanni
 iʃa-ʔ χatta dillaa pora
 3SGM.PRO-NOM long.ago fields road

i=kat-ad-ni
 i=sell-MID-IPF.PRES
 ‘A long time ago he used to sell fields for his benefit.’

6.2.2. Mood

6.2.2.1. Imperative

The affirmative imperative is marked by suffixes -i and -a for singular and plural addressee, respectively. (See Section 11.1.6 on negative imperatives.) This can be seen in (55a) and (55b). The second person plural may also be used with first person plural, as shown in (55c).

(55a) tika kara sah-i
 house in sweep-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Sweep the house!’

(55b) tika kara sah-a
 house in sweep-IMP.PL
 ‘(You (PL)) Sweep the house!’

(55c) tika kara sah-n-a
 house in sweep-1PL-IMP.PL
 ‘Let us sweep the house!’

The form of the imperative for singular addressee is -u when verb stems end in the (frozen) middle or inchoative suffixes. Here are some examples:

(56a) pidd-ad-u
 buy[SG]-MID-IMP.SG
 ‘(You(SG)), Buy for yourself!’

(56b) kutt-ad-u
 be.big-INCH-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Become big!’

Polite insistive expression is constructed on the basis of the imperative. It is formed by using the word ata and by attaching the suffix -n after the imperative.
morpheme. The word ata, which is obligatory and has the meaning ‘please’ in this context, may occur initially as in (57a-b) or finally as in (57c-d).

(57a)  ata ɗam-i-n
      please eat-IMP.SG-INSIST
      ‘(You (SG)) Eat, please!’

(57b)  ata ɗam-a-n
      please eat-IMP.PL-INSIST
      ‘(You (PL)) Eat, please!’

(57c)  ɗam-i-n  ata
      eat-IMP.SG-INSIST please
      ‘(You (SG)) Eat, please!’

(57d)  ɗam-a-n  ata
      eat-IMP.PL-INSIST please
      ‘(You (PL)) Eat, please!’

There is some level of overlap between imperative and optative.

6.2.2.2. Optative

Optative is marked on the verb by suffix -u for first persons and third person singular, and by -i for third person plural. In addition to the verbal suffixes, first person independent personal pronouns and the morpheme -a are used. As might be expected, there is no optative form for second persons. For third persons, the optative expresses an indirect order or wish. Note that there is some level of overlap between optative and imperative.

(58a)  ana-a tika sah-u
       1SG.PRO.ACC-OPT house sweep-OPT
       ‘Let me sweep the house.’

(58b)  inoo tikasahnu
       ino-a tika sah-n-u
       1PL.PRO.ACC-OPT house sweep-1PL-OPT
       ‘May we sweep the house.’

(58c)  a-tika sah-t-u
       OPT-house sweep-3F-OPT
       ‘Let her sweep the house.’

(58d)  a-tika sah-i-n
       OPT-house sweep-OPT-P
       ‘Let them sweep the house.’
Negative optative for first and third persons is expressed using the verb root *ɗiiʃ*- ‘to stop’ and a predicate nominal as in (59).

(59a)  \[ \begin{array}{ccc} \text{ana-a} & \text{keer-intaa} & \text{ɗiiʃ-u} \\ 1\text{SG.PRO.ACC-OPT} & \text{run}[\text{SG}-\text{VN}] & \text{stop-OPT} \end{array} \]

‘Let me not run.’
(lit.: ‘Let me stop running.’)

(59b)  \[ \begin{array}{ccc} \text{keerintaа adiissu} \\ \text{keer-intaa} & \text{a=ɗiiʃ-t-u} \\ \text{run}[\text{SG}-\text{VN}] & \text{OPT}=\text{stop-3F-OPT} \end{array} \]

‘Let her not run.’
(lit.: ‘Let her stop running.’)

For third persons, the optative negative can be formed by affixing negative subject clitics directly to the verb root rather than using *ɗiiʃ*- ‘stop’. Here are some examples:

(60a)  \[ \begin{array}{ccc} \text{iʃaʔ \text{ʔinkeerin}} \\ \text{iʃa-ʔ} & \text{in=keer-in} \\ 3\text{SGM.PRO-NOM} & 3\text{NEG}=\text{run}[\text{SG}-\text{NEG}] \end{array} \]

‘Let him not run.’

(60b)  \[ \begin{array}{ccc} \text{iʃeennaʔ \text{ʔinkeerin}} \\ \text{iʃeenna-ʔ} & \text{in=keer-in} \\ 3\text{SGF.PRO-NOM} & 3\text{NEG}=\text{run}[\text{SG}-\text{NEG}] \end{array} \]

‘Let her not run.’

(60c)  \[ \begin{array}{ccc} \text{iʃoonnaʔ \text{ʔinkeerin}} \\ \text{iʃoonna-ʔ} & \text{in=keer-in} \\ 3\text{PL.PRO-NOM} & 3\text{NEG}=\text{run}[\text{SG}-\text{NEG}] \end{array} \]

‘Let them not run.’

Without the overt subjects, it is impossible to identify the number of the subject in the above sentences. This can be seen from the translation of the following example:

(61)  \[ \text{in=keer-in} \]

3\text{NEG}=\text{run}[\text{SG}-\text{NEG}]

‘Let him/her/them not run.’

Verbal negative conjugations are discussed in chapter 11.