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**Title:** A grammar of Hamar : a South Omotic language of Ethiopia
**Issue Date:** 2016-11-10
5 Other word classes

This chapter discusses locational, temporal, and manner adverbs, numerals, and ideophones. Spatial relations in Hamar are expressed in several ways: apart from the demonstratives discussed in chapter 4, Hamar describe static location and motion events through deictics (5.1) and postpositional body parts (5.2). The case system of Hamar plays a crucial role in the description of spatial relations; case affixes can be suffixed to both adverbial deictics and question words. For further information about the case system of Hamar, see chapter 8. Temporal specification is coded mainly syntactically, through the expression of tense and aspect on the verb, and through subordinating verbal markers. Additionally, Hamar has a rich variety of temporal shifters and expressions which are described in 5.3.

5.1 Locational adverbs

Locational deictics in Hamar grammatically function as adverbs and if they modify a locative NP, they generally precede it. These adverbs can be organized into four subgroups depending on whether they distinguish proximal, distal and elevation deixis; a further subgroup consists of directional deictics which specify the source or goal of motion. The deictic centre of the system is always the speaker. Proximal, distal and elevation deictics can get locative case affixes depending on whether they encode static location or motion. Proximal deictics further distinguish specific and non-specific location. Table 5.1 on the next page offers an overview of the Hamar spatial deictic system. The last column of the first section lists the question words hamá- and hamó-, ‘where?’. The specific and non-specific parameters apply as well to question words: the latter in fact perfectly match deictic adverbs, see table 5.1 and also chapter 11 on interrogative clauses.
Distal/proximal deixis and elevation relative to the speaker are commonly attested in the deictic systems of Omotic languages and other languages of Ethiopia. The specific vs. non-specific distinction in Hamar proximal deictics is linked to the gender system. The deictic *ka* which denotes specific proximal location must be related to the masculine proximal demonstrative *kaa*; proximal non-specific deictics are instead formed by *ko* which corresponds to the third person feminine pronoun *ko*. The question word *hamó-* denoting non-specific location is characterized by the vowel *o*, which resembles the nominal feminine inflection *-no*, whereas the question word *hamá-* which elicits specific location, is characterized by the vowel *-a* which could be analysed as masculine inflection. Locational adverbs glossed as specific deictics refer to identified places which are usually delimited, restricted in size, and which can be easily seen or individuated by the speakers. Non-specific deictics, instead, point out general, wide, and non-restricted spaces. The location denoted by non-specific deictics is not necessarily identifiable by the speakers. Likewise nouns inflected for masculine gender may denote, among others, small, specific and defined spaces whereas nouns inflected for feminine gender describe wide and undefined locations, see for instance examples (18) and (19) in chapter 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Specific</th>
<th>Non-specific</th>
<th>Question word ‘where?’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td><em>ka-</em></td>
<td><em>ko-</em></td>
<td><em>hamá-</em> / <em>hamó-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in here</td>
<td><em>ká-te</em></td>
<td><em>kó-te</em></td>
<td>*hamá-te / <em>hamó-te</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>around/on here</td>
<td><em>ká-bar</em></td>
<td><em>kó-bar</em></td>
<td>*hamá-bar / <em>hamó-bar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>through here</td>
<td><em>ká-xa</em></td>
<td><em>kó-xa</em></td>
<td>*hamá-xa / <em>hamó-xa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towards here</td>
<td>*ká-shet</td>
<td><em>kó-shet</em></td>
<td>*hamá-shet / <em>hamó-shet</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away from here</td>
<td><em>ká-rra</em></td>
<td><em>kó-rra</em></td>
<td>*hamá-rra / <em>hamó-rra</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>there</td>
<td><em>óo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>around there</td>
<td><em>óo-bar</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from there</td>
<td><em>ó-ra</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elevation</td>
<td>up</td>
<td><em>báa</em></td>
<td><em>báa-bar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>same level</td>
<td><em>sáa</em></td>
<td><em>sáa-bar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>down</td>
<td><em>cóo</em></td>
<td><em>cóo-bar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directional</td>
<td>up, uphill, upward</td>
<td><em>tára, tárawal</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>down, downhill, downward</td>
<td><em>méx, méxwal</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hither</td>
<td><em>ría, rírawal</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thither</td>
<td><em>úa, úsual</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The proximal bases \textit{ka}- and \textit{ko}- are always suffixed with case markers, whereas the deictics \textit{óo} (distal from the speaker), \textit{ɓáa} (above the speaker's level), \textit{sáa} (same level) and \textit{cóo} (below the speaker's level) can also be used as bare forms. The distal deictic \textit{óo} does not express whether the distant location is specific or non-specific. Locative case markers can be suffixed also to the distal deictic \textit{óo}, and to deictic adverbs distinguishing elevation, \textit{ɓáa}, \textit{sáa}, and \textit{cóo}. The general locative case \textit{-te} and the adessive case \textit{-bar} generally encode static location, whereas other cases such as the ablative \textit{-rra}, the instrumental/perlative \textit{-ka}, or the allative \textit{-shet} specify motion. When there is no case marking on these deictics, the values they express in terms of static location or motion depends on whether they modify stative verbs or motion verbs. In the examples below for instance, the distal deictic \textit{óo} modifies a motion verb in (1) and a stative verb in (2):

(1) \textit{háile selá-sa kaisí-na óo yiřá-ise boráana}  
Haile Selassie-GEN servant-PL DST go-CNV1 Boraana  
da-uxá  
IPFV-fight  
the vassals of Haile Selassie used to go there and raid the Boraana

(2) \textit{óo wodí beré shidó-da shid-é}  
DST 1PL later stay.1PL-IPFV stay-PRES  
later we will stay there

The following two sections offer examples showing the use and meaning of Hamar adverbial deictics. In order to give an overview of the spatial system of Hamar and to show the way in which case markers and adverbial deictics interact with motion and stative verbs, the discussion is organized in location (5.1.1) and motion (5.1.2).

### 5.1.1 Location

Static location is conveyed by the locative cases \textit{-te} and \textit{-bar}. The latter is used when contact is implied between the figure and the ground (see chapter 8 for further details on locative cases). The proximal adverbs \textit{káte} and \textit{kóte} are composed of a base form \textit{ka}- and \textit{ko}- to which the general locative case \textit{-te} can be suffixed (3).

(3) \textit{kó-te ña gas xoléi, kó-te banqí-be}  
PRX.NSP-LOC gun exist.not PRX.NSP-LOC spear-COM  
fálde-be bish dáa-ne  
arrow-COM only exist-COP  
here there are no guns, here there are only spears and poisoned arrows

In (3) the proximal deictic \textit{kóte} conveys the general meaning of ‘here in the land of the Hamar’. In (4) below the proximal deictic \textit{káte} is used to indicate a specific
deictic reference. The sentence, which was also accompanied by the pointing gesture of the speaker, was uttered to instruct somebody on how to take a picture with a camera, and the speaker was indicating the exact spot that needed to be touched on the display:

(4) ká-te, ká-te lazá!
PRX.SP-LOC PRX.SP-LOC touch.IMP.2SG
here, touch exactly here!

Distance from the deictic centre is coded by the adverb óo. In (5) below the deictic occurs in the bare form (5) and it translates as 'somewhere over there'. Note that the distal deictic óo in (5) does not refer to the temporal shifter éna ‘past', but it modifies the following locative NP. In (6) the locative adessive case -bar (6) encodes contact or proximity with the distal location:

(5) dattâ éna óo Mágo park-in-te
animal:M past DST Mágo park-F.OBL-LOC
han = kat'-â
2SG = shoot-REL.PAST.M
the wild animal that you shot long time ago somewhere in the Mago Park

(6) wa éé shaalá-n kodí bul-idí, wá-dán
another man:M ceiling-F.OBL 3F take.out-PF another-ACC
óo-bar ooní-n-sa gulí-n-te aash-idí
DST-AD house-F.OBL-GEN corner-F.OBL-LOC hide-PF
she sent one man above the ceiling, and hid the other one somewhere in the corner of the house

Same-level location from the deictic centre is conveyed by the deictic sáa:

(7) sáa éé shúpo-n-te dorq-â
SLEV man:M shadow-F.OBL-LOC sit-REL.PAST.M
ímba-ne
my.father-COP
the man who sits over there in the shadow is my father

Example (7) is uttered along with a gesture pointing at a specific person located on the same level of the speaker’s eyes. Elevation relative to the speaker is conveyed by the deictics bàa and cóo. The deictic bàa in example (8) is used to refer to a place situated at a higher altitude compared to the speaker's location: the sentence was in fact uttered in Dimeka Town, and it refers to a village, called Lala, which is up in the Buska mountains:
(8) saxá ɓáa lála-r han = aaf-áino
    tomorrow UP Lala-IN 2SG = see-REL.PRES.F
    the one (F) that you will see tomorrow up there in Lala […]

These deictics refer not only to uphill and downhill locations but in general they describe higher (9) and lower (10) locations, and objects positioned on the roof or on the top (11), or at the bottom (12):

(9) wó = na kash-े ɓáa c’ac’í-n-te dáa-ne
    1PL = DAT share-REL.PRES.M UP sky-F.OBL-LOC exist-COP
    the one who will give us is up there in the sky

(10) kidí noqó-n-sa fí-n-te cóó
    3 water-F.OBL-GEN stomach-F.OBL-LOC DOWN
    kin = shed-énka
    3 = look-CNv2
    when he looked down inside the water

As mentioned earlier, elevation deictics and the distal deictic can occur as bare forms or they can be suffixed with case suffixes. In (11) and (12) below the adessive case -bar is suffixed to the deictics ɓáa and cóó to code contact between the figure and the ground:

(11) kɔsɔ táaki ɓáa-bar ki=dáa-de
    ball:M now UP-AD 3 = exist-PFV
    the ball now is on the top

(12) kóopini cóó-bar fí-n-te wodá-ise […]
    squirrel DOWN-AD stomach-F.OBL-LOC sleep-CNv1
    after squirrel slept inside at the bottom […]

5.1.2 Motion

Motion events can be described by adverbial deictics and locative cases which describe paths, such as the allative, the instrumental/perlative and the ablative case. The proximal bases ka- and ko- in the example below describe motion towards general location (13), motion through a specific location (14) and motion from a general location (15):

(13) kó-shet gobá!
    PRX.NSP-ALL2 run.IMP.2SG
    run towards here!
(14) ká-xa wo=yiʔ-é
PRX.SP-INS 1PL=go-PRES
let's pass through here

(15) kó-raa mée kéna-dar saská-ise
PRX.NSP-ABL downwards Kenya-ALL1 cross:CAUS-CNVI
from here (they) made (them) cross downwards to Kenya […]

Different from the proximal deictics ka- and ko-, the distal deictic óo and the
elevation deictics báa, sáa, and cóo cannot be marked by any locative case: the distal
and elevation deictics occur only in combination with the adessive case (cf. ex-
amples (6), (11), (12) above), and with the ablative case to describe source of
motion. These deictics can occur as bare forms with both motion and stative verbs
(see (1) and (2) above), and when they modify motion verbs, the goal of motion is
lexically specified (16), (17).

(16) báa yiʔá-ise éna aapó-n han=galt’á
UP go-CNV1 past mouth-F.OBL 2SG=seal-REL.PAST.M
yáa bulá
2SG open.IMP.2SG
you go on the top and unseal the opening that you sealed in the past!

(17) ínta laai cóo kízo yiʔá-6
1SG IDEO.far DOWN kízo go-NARR
I go far down to Kizo

Source of motion needs to be expressed by suffixation of the ablative case. Note that
the long vowel of the distal and elevation deictics is shortened after suffixation of
the ablative case in order to avoid CVVC₁.C₁V syllabic structure (cf. chapter 2,
section 2.2.3).

(18) yáa-ne ó-raa t’álian baʔá-ise niʔ-á
2SG-COP DST-ABL Italians bring-CNVI come-REL.PAST.M
It’s you who came and brought the Italians from there

(19) kidí bá-raa mée dàm-m-idî-ne
3 UP-ABL downwards fall-PF-COP
he has fallen down from the top (of something)

Movement can be described as well by means of directional adverbial deictics which
are never suffixed with case markers. These are tûra (uphill, upwards), mée (down-
hill, downwards), 5ra (towards the deictic centre), us (away from the deictic centre):
(20a) **túra**  **utá**  
upwards  go.up.IMP.2SG  
go upwards / go uphill / climb up!

(20b) **mɛ́**  **anshá**  
downwards  descend.IMP.2SG  
go downwards / go downhill / climb down!

(20c) **ńra**  **niżá**  
HI  come.IMP.2SG  
come here! (towards the deictic centre)

(20d) **us**  **yiżá**  
THI  go.IMP.2SG  
go away! (away from the deictic centre, in the opposite direction)

The deictic reference of **túra** and **mɛ́** may overlap with that of **ɓáa** and **cóo**. According to the speakers they refer to the same trajectory (i.e. uphill or upwards for **túra** and **ɓáa**; downhill or downwards for **mɛ́** and **cóo**), and they can occur in the same contexts:

(21a) **sení**  **có-rra**  **túra**  **paxad-idí-ne**  
stone  down-ABL  upwards  throw:PASS-PF-COP  
a stone has been thrown up from below

(21b) **sentà**  **có-rra**  **ɓáa**  **paxad-idí-ne**  
stone:M  down-ABL  UP  throw:PASS-PF-COP  
the stone has been thrown up from below

(22a) **kɔsɔ**  **mɛ́**  **ki = anshá-de**  
ball:M  downwards  3 = descend-PFV  
the ball went down (lit. descended downwards)

(22b) **kɔsɔ**  **cóo**  **balí-n-dar**  **anshá-ise**  
ball:M  DOWN  plain-F.OBL-ALL1  descend-CNV1  
the ball descending down in the plain […]

The deictics **ńra** and **us** encode respectively hither (towards the deictic centre, i.e. the speaker) and thither (away from the deictic centre) trajectories:
(23a) **naasí** seení ó-ra ọ-ra ki=paxá-de
child stone DST-ABL HI 3=throw-PFV
a child threw a stone from there towards me

(23b) **marlé-m-bar** ọ-ra yin eshká-6
Arbore-F.OBL-AD HI so point-NARR
in Arbore (they) pointed at us

(24) **ínta** seení kó-raa us pax-idí-ne
child stone PRX.NSP-ABL THI throw-PF-COP
I have thrown a stone from here towards there (in the opposite direction)

The deictics túra, mɛ́ɛ, ɔ́ra, us, can occur as complement of the verb hamá ‘say’: in this case they need to end in -wal. Compare (25) and (26):

(25) **mɛ́ɛwal** hamá-ise ínta shadá-ti dáá-de
downwards say-CNV1 1SG look-SE.1SG exist-PFV
I am looking facing downwards

(26) **qáari-no** mɛ́ɛ maatá-ise wod-idí
python-F.S downwards turn-CNV1 sleep-PF
Python laid down facing downwards

The verb hamá ‘say’ generally functions as a light verb introducing temporal expressions and various ideophones, see 5.3 and 5.6.

An additional adverb súsu has been heard in spoken speech but unfortunately it does not occur in recorded texts. According to our information, which is however scanty on this point, it conveys degrees of rotation: súsu (and súswal) apparently describe 90° rotation rightwards or leftwards. Similarly, the adverb ús can refer to 180° rotation: by ordering to somebody úsúwal hamá, the person will turn around rotating 180°.

### 5.2 Body parts

Body part terms are used to describe scenes in which objects are in contact or in close proximity with a surface and they are used to describe both motion events and static location. Body part terms function as locative noun phrases heading a genitival construction and they form postpositional phrases expressing spatial relations such as ‘inside’, ‘back’, ‘behind’, ‘top of’, ‘through’ and so on.

The postposition íinte ‘inside’ (cf. examples (10) and (12) above) contains the body part noun ii ‘stomach’ followed by the locative case -te, and it can be analysed as follows:
(27) **íi-n-te**
    stomach-F.OBL-LOC
    in the stomach > inside

The noun *íi* 'stomach' is attested also with other case suffixes, such as the inessive case -*r* and the instrumental/perlative case -*ka*:

(28) **kut’úbo ráat’i-sa íi-r ardá-ise shid-idí**
    housefly milk-GEN stomach-IN enter-CNV1 stay-PF
    the housefly entered inside the milk and remained there

(29a) **dattóno doóbí-sa íi-n-ka gob-idí**
    wild.animal:F.S rain-F.OBL-GEN stomach-F.OBL-INS run-PF
    the wild animal ran through the (inside of the) rain

(29b) **käso óolo-sa íi-n-ka anshá-ise**
    ball:M hole-F.OBL-GEN stomach-F.OBL-INS descend-CNV1
    the ball descending through (the inside of) the hole [...]

The body parts *buudó* 'back' (30), and *tuɗí* 'buttock' (31) marked by the locative case -*te* or the adessive case -*bar*, form the postposition 'behind, at the back'. The body part noun *buudó* is used when there is no contact between the figure and the ground:

(30a) **kidí ooní-sa buudó-m-bar ki=dáa-de**
    3 house-F.OBL-GEN back-F.OBL-AD 3 = exist-PFV
    they are behind the house (lit. at the back of the house)

(30b) **₁=sa buudó-n-te dorqá**
    1SG = GEN back-F.OBL-LOC sit.IMP.2SG
    sit behind me!

(31) **yaatá yáan-sa tuɗí-m-bar ki=dáa-de**
    sheep:M sheep.F.OBL-GEN buttock-F.OBL-AD 3 = exist-PFV
    the male sheep is behind the female sheep

The body part term 'head' marked by the adessive case -*bar* translates as 'on the top of' (32):

(32) **ék dúka-n-sa meté-m-bar ki=dáa-de**
    man:M mountain-F.OBL-GEN head-F.OBL-AD 3 = exist-PFV
    the man is on the top of the mountain
5.3 Temporal adverbs

Time is specified through several adverbs and adverbial nouns. Shifters are adverbs referring to past, present and future intervals with respect to the present, and they are illustrated in Table 5.2. They often occupy the initial position of the sentence, but they never occur in sentence-final position or after the verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shifters</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɛ́na</td>
<td>in the past, long time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>léle</td>
<td>the last time, some time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iní</td>
<td>earlier, before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táaki</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beré</td>
<td>later</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from ɛ́na and léle, the shifters iní, táaki and beré refer to a time frame not extending beyond the limit of the day in which they are uttered.

(33) iní won = niʔ-énka
     earlier 1PL = come-CN
     when we came earlier [...]  

(34) táaki ínta macc-idí-ne
     now 1SG finish-PF-COP
     I’m done now  

(35) ínta koimó cóó beré anshá-te
     1SG fee DOWN later descend-SE
     kashá = i = da kash-é
     pay = 1SG = IPFV pay-PRES
     later I will get off and pay the fee, down there  

The temporal adverb ɛ́na is used in the fixed expression which opens folktales and introduces narratives of past events (36). It can be reduplicated to refer to more remote events, as in (37).

(36) zóbo ɛ́na wadénka éedi wodímo-ne
     lion once.upon.a.time person rich-COP
     Once upon a time Lion was a rich person [...]  

(37) éedi wáni, ɛ́na–ɛ́na, dong dá-ise
     person some past–past five exist-CN
     Long time ago there were five guys (lit. some guys, long time ago, were five)
Day terms refer to events within the span of nine days: yesterday, today, tomorrow and so on. In Table 5.3 it can be noted that day terms are perfectly symmetric and distinguish four days before and after today. These day terms are expressed by single words or lexicalized analytic constructions. The etymology and the morphology underlying these constructions is not transparent. Only the distal deictic adverb óobar can be split up in the expression óobar galá 'four days go'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day terms</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óobar galá</td>
<td>four days ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ánnibir galá</td>
<td>three days ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angála – angálla</td>
<td>two days ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náa</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níí</td>
<td>last night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kína</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saxá</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oshála</td>
<td>the day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ossambará</td>
<td>three days from now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okkantaná</td>
<td>four days from now</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Day terms occur at the beginning of the sentence and are used in the following way:

(38) angála kidí di-idí
two.days.ago 3 die-PF
he died two days ago

(39) saxá ínta yé = na yer giá = i = da gi-é
tomorrow 1SG 2PL = DAT thing say = 1SG = IPFV say = PRES
I’ll tell you something tomorrow

The main parts of the day are referred to with adverbial nouns which are formed from nouns marked by the instrumental/temporal case suffix -ka. The general form of these nouns is hardly ever attested in isolation:

(40a) burí > burí-n-ka
morning > morning-F.OBL-INS
morning > in the morning

(40b) ibán > ibán-in-ka
afternoon > afternoon-F.OBL-INS
afternoon > in the afternoon
Specific times of the day are expressed through periphrastic expressions which either function as the complement of the verb *hamá* ‘say’, or get suffixed with the instrumental/temporal case. Table 5.4 illustrates these time expressions and provides an approximation of the corresponding time of the day. For some time expressions a translation was suggested by the speakers and it is included in the table. Examples (41) shows the use of *sóoti* ‘night’ and *burí* ‘morning’ followed by the instrumental/temporal case.

(41) **sóoti-n-ka** wodá-ise **burí-n-ka** daaɓá-ise  
night-F.OBL-INS sleep-CNV1 morning-F.OBL-INS wake.up-CNV1  
after sleeping at night and waking up in the morning […]

Example (42) illustrates the time of the day *haitâ washgíl* ‘early afternoon’ functioning as the complement of the verb *hamá* ‘say’, whereas example (43) and (44) shows the expression *kɛ́ɗɗa lamá* ‘midnight’ and *róoro c’akó* ‘late morning’ with the instrumental/temporal case:

(42) **hai-tâ washgíl** hamá-isaxa ínta daaɓ-idí-ne  
sun-M move.down say-PAST.PF 1SG wake.up-PF-COP  
I woke up after the *haitâ washgíl* time (i.e. in the afternoon)

(43) **kɛ́ɗɗa lamá-xa** í = da niʔ-é  
half two-INS 1SG=IPFV come-PRES  
I will come at midnight

(44) **róoro c’akó-xa** wo = waadim-é  
day calm-INS 1PL=work-PRES  
Let’s work in the late morning
Table 5.4: Times of the day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burinka</th>
<th>Sédima</th>
<th>Sunset</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meránin wodá</td>
<td>‘time of milking the cow’</td>
<td>Between 7 and 10 a.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Róoro c’akó</td>
<td>‘calm day’</td>
<td>Between 10 and 12 a.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Róoro c’ingé</td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 12 and 14 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hákínka</td>
<td>Haitá washgl</td>
<td>‘when the sun starts moving down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Between 14 and 15 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fba ráoro</td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 16 and 17 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháakiná</td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 19 and 21 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kédá lamá</td>
<td>‘two halves’</td>
<td>Midnight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demínka maatadé</td>
<td>‘time of turning on the other side (while sleeping)’</td>
<td>Between 1 and 3 a.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Báasha berá oolé</td>
<td>‘the first cackle of the rooster’</td>
<td>Dawn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1 Days of the week

Days of the week in Hamar do not make up a distinct word class, however it is worth it to mention the way they are expressed. Apart from ‘Saturday’, called gabáno gémɓo, and ‘Tuesday’, called máana gabá, which are the market days in Hamar land, there are no other specific terms for naming weekdays. gabáno gémɓo translates as ‘big market day’ and máana gabá as ‘women’s market day’. The other days of the week can be referred to, if need be, with more complex expressions. The expressions for naming Monday and Wednesday use Tuesday as the day of reference:

(45) máa-na gabá saxá kénna kína
woman-PL market:M tomorrow 3:OPT today
Monday: the day before women’s market day (lit. if it was today, tomorrow would be women’s market day)

(46) máa-na gabá-sa wúda
woman-PL market:M-GEN Sunday (<Amh)
Wednesday: the ‘Sunday’ after women’s market day

The other days of the week (Thursday, Friday, Sunday) are named with Saturday as a day of reference:

(47) gabá-no gémɓo oshála kénna kína
market-F.S big:F.S day.after.tomorrow 3:OPT today
Thursday: Two days before big market day (lit. if it was today, the day after tomorrow would be big market day)
Friday: The day before big market day (lit. if it was today, tomorrow would be big market day)

Sunday: The ‘Sunday’ after big market day

The term for Sunday in examples (46) and (49) is a borrowing from Amharic [əhud]. The Amharic terms for weekdays are increasingly entering the vocabulary of the younger generations and are often attested in the speech of Hamar people who are more exposed to Amharic.

The term gabá ‘market’, which is also a borrowing from Amharic, is used alone to refer to the whole week:

I will come after two weeks (lit. after two markets)

5.4 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs specify the manner of an action. They occupy always the pre-verbal position in the sentence. Table 5.5 provides a list of Hamar manner adverbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>just, simply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kátti</td>
<td>very, a lot, especially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bish</td>
<td>only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yin</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lémá</td>
<td>slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sάña</td>
<td>quickly, fast, soon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payá</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of manner adverbs is illustrated in the examples below:

Goat had not even one birr, and he just got in

I miss you a lot
The adverbs láma and sána can be reduplicated (55), (56) and they can be suffixed with some verbal markers and inflections, however they cannot be fully inflected as prototypical verbs do:

(55) “láma láma” yin ko=giá-de
slowly slowly so 3F=say-PFV
“Slowly! slowly!” she said so […]

(56) sána sána maatá
quickly quickly go.back.IMP.2SG
come back soon!

The stem san- has been attested with the verbal marker for perfect -idí (57) and the stem lem- can be suffixed with the converb marker -ise (58):

(57) kánki san-idí
car be.fast-PF
the car goes fast

(58) lemá-ise dalqá
slow-CNV1 speak.IMP.2SG
speak slowly

The form lemáise probably developed from the constructions láma hayáise where the verb hayá ‘do’ selected the adverb láma. This construction is attested with ideophones and other adverbs as well. fayá ‘good, well’ for instance can be both an adjectival noun and an adverb. When it functions as adverb, it can modify a following verb (59) or it can be the complement of the dummy verb hayá ‘do’ (60):

(59) fayá giá
well say.IMP.2SG
speak well!
Listen carefully! (lit. doing well, listen!)

For constructions involving ideophones as the complements of the verbs *hamá* ‘say’ and *hayá* ‘do’ see section 5.6.

### 5.5 Numerals

Hamar has a base ten system for numerals from one to nineteen, and a base twenty for numerals above nineteen. ‘Zero’ is expressed by the noun *gur*: *gur* is a ring, similar to a wreath, traditionally made of bended and intertwined branches, used to hold the calabashes horizontally. The related noun *gúuri* means ‘empty’. A term for ‘number’ does not exist in Hamar, and young speakers use the Amharic word [qut’ar]. The verb designating the process of counting is *paidá*. The traditional numeral system of Hamar co-exists along with a faster system which uses borrowed numerals from Amharic. The latter is used in trading and for money-counting; this will be discussed in 5.5.3.

#### 5.5.1 Cardinal numbers

Table 5.6 shows the base-ten system of Hamar which consists of numbers from one to nineteen; table 5.7 and 5.8 illustrate the vigesimal system: the former includes multiples of twenty and the latter provides a few examples of numbers above twenty which are not multiples of twenty.

Numbers from one to ten are unanalyzable lexemes. The numeral ‘one’ *kála*

\[36\] comes from *kalí* ‘little finger, pinky’ which is also the first finger people bend down when counting. The counting gesture begins with the opened palm of the left hand and fingers are progressively bent down towards the palm. The right hand is sometimes used to help bending the fingers. A closed fist corresponds to the value of five. The counting gestures continues on the right hand and it begins from the little finger as well. When the number ‘ten’ is reached the two fists are gently knocked together with the fingers facing each other. One knock is interpreted as ‘ten’, two knocks as ‘twenty’ and so on.

---

\[36\] When counting, the numeral *kála* ‘one’ is pronounced with the stress on the last syllable: *kalá*. 
Table 5.6: Numbers from 1 to 19

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kála</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lamá</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>makkán</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>oidí</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>dong</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>lax</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>toɓɓá</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>lánkai</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sel</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>taɓí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whereas numbers from one to ten are lexical number words, numbers from ten to nineteen are formed by juxtaposing the numeral taɓí ‘ten’ and another unit. From twenty onwards, the system is vigesimal. One person (éedi) is assigned the value of twenty decimal units, hence the numeral for twenty corresponds to the expression ‘one complete person’: éedi kála kaisá. Multiples of twenty are formed by counting ‘complete persons’: the numeral forty thus corresponds to ‘two complete persons’: éedi lamá kaisá and so on.

Table 5.7: Multiples of twenty

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>éedi kála kaisá ‘1 complete person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>éedi lamá kaisá ‘2 complete persons’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>éedi makkán kaisá ‘3 complete persons’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>éedi oidí kaisá ‘4 complete persons’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>éedi dong kaisá ‘5 complete persons’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Decimal units after twenty are counted in ‘mouths’: for instance the numeral forty-seven corresponds to ‘two complete persons (forty) and seven mouths’: éedi lamá kaisá aafó toɓɓá. Similarly, numbers which are not multiples of twenty such as thirty, fifty and so on, are calculated in base-twenty and decimal units are counted in mouths: the number fifty-six for instance is composed of forty plus sixteen, i.e. éedi lamá kaisá aafó taɓí lax.

---

The verb kaisá can be translated as ‘finish’, ‘disappear’ or ‘erase’ as well.
Young speakers say that they can count beyond one hundred. The system just described allows to account for higher numbers, however the people who volunteered to enumerate numbers beyond one hundred had to think about it and often disagreed with each other. Numbers higher than one hundred are often replaced by the Amharic numeral system.

Numerals follow their head noun, and normally they modify general, uninflected forms. The numeral ‘one’ is inflected for masculine or feminine gender in agreement with its head. Numerals higher than ‘one’ do not inflect for plural number.

The following examples show the agreement pattern of the numeral kála ‘one’ modifying the uninflected form qulí in (61a), the masculine noun qultâ in (61b) and the feminine noun qulló in (61c):

(61a)  
\[1 = \text{sa} \quad \text{qulí} \quad \text{kála} \quad \text{dáa-ne}\]  
1SG = GEN  goat  one  exist-COP  
I have one goat

(61b)  
\[1 = \text{sa} \quad \text{qultâ} \quad \text{kalâ} \quad \text{dáa-ne}\]  
1SG = GEN  goat:M  one:M  exist-COP  
I have one buck

(61c)  
\[1 = \text{sa} \quad \text{qulló} \quad \text{kállo} \quad \text{dáa-ne}\]  
1SG = GEN  goat:F.S  one:F  exist-COP  
I have one doe

The general form of nouns modified by numerals higher than ‘one’ has plural interpretation:

(62)  
\[\text{kó} = \text{sa} \quad \text{gáu} \quad \text{toëbá} \quad \text{dáa-ne}\]  
3F = GEN  metal.bracelet  seven  exist-COP  
she has seven bracelets
Nouns modified by numerals higher than ‘one’ do not necessarily inflect for plural number. As will be discussed in chapter 7 (section 7.3), plural marking is used on pragmatic basis and the semantics of plural is strictly speaking paucal.

5.5.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are derived from the cardinal numbers by the suffix -so and they agree with their referent in gender. Masculine ordinal numbers are inflected by the masculine marker -d which merges with the preceding vowel, hence they end in -sɔ̂ (which depending on the speaker can be realized as [-sɔ̂] or [-sɔ́], see chapter 2). Feminine ordinal numbers end in -sōno, i.e. the feminine inflection -no is suffixed to the derivational suffix -so. The ordinal number for ‘first’ corresponds to the form berá; however the masculine ordinal number ‘one’ kalá can also be used.

Some morpho-phonological rules take place between the fricative consonant of the suffix -so and the final consonant of the numeral root, c.f. chapter 2.

A list of ordinal numbers is given in table 5.9. Ordinal numbers above ten are not attested.

Table 5.9: Ordinal numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Citation form</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>berá</td>
<td>berâ</td>
<td>beróno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>lánso</td>
<td>lansɔ̂</td>
<td>lansôno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>makkánso</td>
<td>makkansɔ̂</td>
<td>makkansôno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>óitto</td>
<td>óittɔ̂</td>
<td>óittóno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>dónso</td>
<td>donsɔ̂</td>
<td>donsôno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>láxso–lāhso–lāsko</td>
<td>laskɔ̂</td>
<td>laskóno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>tòbbisó</td>
<td>tobbisɔ̂</td>
<td>tobbisôno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>lānkaisó</td>
<td>lankaisɔ̂</td>
<td>lankaisôno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>sélso</td>
<td>selsɔ̂</td>
<td>selsôno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>tábisó</td>
<td>tabisɔ̂</td>
<td>tabisôno</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are illustrative examples of ordinal numbers:
Their names were: the first, Elephant, the second, Snake, the third Turtoise, the fourth, Worm, the fifth, Squirrel, the sixth, Fire, the seventh, Water.

A faster counting system can be used instead of the traditional decimal and vigesimal system described in 5.5.2. This counting system is attested in the context of trading, when counting and talking about money. From one to nine the Hamar numerals illustrated in table 5.6 above are used:

- Donkey has five birr

According to some Hamar speakers, the term bóndí comes from the English ‘pound’, which was the currency of the British administration.
5.6 Ideophones

Hamar ideophones can be organized in three groups depending on their syntactic function: the majority of ideophones attested in the data informing this work function as predicates; the second larger group includes ideophones which occur as complements of the verbs *hamá* ‘say’ or *hayá* ‘do’; ideophonic adverbs constitute a smaller group. Most of the ideophones attested have a monosyllabic structure. For further information about the semantics of Hamar ideophones see Lydall (2000).

Ideophones which function as head of a predicate phrase occur at the right edge of the clause, in the slot which is normally occupied by the main independent verb. However, there is no pronominal subject agreement or other verbal inflections marked on ideophones. In the following examples, the English translation of the ideophones is underlined.

The following excerpt shows the use of the ideophone *p'eu* which roughly translates the action of finishing or emptying something:

(68) \begin{tabular}{l}
\text{tíma} & kaá-6 & gaá-6, & yín & ki = dá-ika \\
boiled.grains & pour-NARR & chew-NARR & so & 3 = be-PF.CONT \\
p'eu! & ležé & lamá & yín & wod-énka, & isín-no \\
IDEO.finish & year & two & so & sleep-CNV2 & sorghum-F.S \\
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{l}
yín & p'eu! \\
só & IDEO.finish \\
\end{tabular} \\
After he had kept on boiling and chewing steamed sorghum, finished! after two years all the sorghum was gone!

The ideophone *dap* designate the action of taking something quickly, or stealing:

(69) \begin{tabular}{l}
kéda & borána-dán & oitá-ise & wongá & dap \\
then & Borána-ACC & chase-CNV1 & cows:PL & IDEO.take \\
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{l}
then after chasing the Boráana, they took the cows \\
\end{tabular}
In the following excerpt two ideophones are used. First, the ideophone *t'ik* which is the complement of the verb *hamá*, and then the predicative ideophone *pirsh* 'to open':

(70)  
\[ \text{té-sa} \quad \text{pií-n-dan} \quad \text{dap} \]
\[ \text{man:M-GEN} \quad \text{faeces-F.OBL-ACC} \quad \text{IDEO.take} \]
he took the faeces of the guy

The baboon was opening the lid on the top and since it was hard, he opened it with a knife.

The ideophone *darɗ* 'explode, crash' can occur as predicate (72) or as the complement of *hamá* (73):

(72)  
\[ \text{kodí} \quad \text{kéda} \quad \text{ancá-bi} \quad \text{hambi-énka} \]
\[ \text{3F} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{laugh-NARR} \quad \text{say:PASS-CN2} \]
\[ \text{ii-no} \quad \text{kó=sa} \quad \text{darď} \]
\[ \text{stomach-F.S} \quad \text{3F=GEN} \quad \text{IDEO.explode} \]
Then she laughed and her stomach exploded

The construction which consists of the verb *hamá* and *hayá* selecting ideophones as their complements can be seen in the following examples. This construction is employed with some manner adverbs and directional deictics discussed in the previous sections.

(74)  
\[ \text{dattá-dan} \quad \text{kat'áanna} \quad \text{qánte} \quad \text{zap} \quad \text{hayá-ise} \]
\[ \text{animal:M-ACC} \quad \text{shoot-OPT} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{IDEO.grab} \quad \text{do-CN1} \]
when he was ready to shoot the animal and he got it […]

The followings are very common expressions involving the verb *hamá*. The ideophone *c'ak* in (75a) resembles the time reference expression illustrated in 5.3 (*róoro c'akó* ‘calm day’):

(71)  
\[ \text{gaità} \quad \text{báá} \quad \text{shupí-no} \quad \text{kin=bul-énka} \quad \text{t'ik} \]
\[ \text{baboon:M} \quad \text{lid-F.S} \quad \text{3=open-CN2} \quad \text{IDEO.hard} \]
\[ \text{kómá-xa,} \quad \text{álpá-n-ka} \quad \text{pirsh} \]
\[ \text{3F.say-PAST.CONT} \quad \text{knife-F.OBL-INS} \quad \text{IDEO.open} \]
The baboon was opening the lid on the top and since it was hard, he opened it with a knife.

(73)  
\[ \text{kurró} \quad \text{darď} \quad \text{ham-idí-ne} \]
\[ \text{honey:F.S} \quad \text{IDEO.explode} \quad \text{say:PF-COP} \]
The big honey (container) crashed
Adverbial ideophones usually co-occur in combination with a fixed set of verbs. The ideophone *laii* is often found with motion verbs since it conveys the idea of a continuous movement. In some contexts it can translate as ‘far’. The lengthening of the final *i* evoke further distance or prolonged duration:

(76a)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Squirrel</th>
<th>IDEO.continuously</th>
<th>Run</th>
<th>Run-CNV1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kóopini</em></td>
<td><em>laii</em></td>
<td><em>gobá-ise</em></td>
<td><em>gobá-ise</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Squirrel ran and ran continuously

(76b)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Footprint</th>
<th>Long footprint</th>
<th>Footprint-LOC</th>
<th>Footprint-LOC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>laii</em></td>
<td><em>ras-te</em></td>
<td><em>ras-te</em></td>
<td><em>ras-te</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

he went for a long time footprint after footprint

Other adverbial ideophones are *t’if* ‘disappear’ and *put* ‘out’. The translation might sound redundant since they modify, accordingly, the verb ‘disappear’ and ‘go out’:

(77)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wild animal</th>
<th>IDEO.disappear</th>
<th>Disappear-PF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dabíño</em></td>
<td><em>t’if</em></td>
<td><em>kai-idí</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The wild animals disappeared

(78)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>IDEO.out</th>
<th>Go.out-CNV1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ēe</em></td>
<td><em>put</em></td>
<td><em>utá-ise</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The man went out […]
The ideophone *put* occurs often in the fixed expression introducing direct speech *put yin haménka*:

(79)  shóqo  put  yin  ham-énka:  “kóofini [...]
tick  IDEO.out  so  say-CNV2  squirrel
Tick said so: “Squirrel! […]]”