

KISTANE FOLKLORE:
ANALYSIS OF A SOUTHERN ETHIO-SEMITIC LANGUAGE

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Abstract

The following research is a grammatical analysis of the Ethio-semitic language Kəstanəñña, including a corpus of texts taken from audio recordings of mother-tongue speakers. Since Kəstanəñña has been a little-studied representative of the Semitic family, this dissertation aims to bring more of it to light by expanding the number of writings available in this language, commenting on its structures, and readdressing previously held opinions regarding the development of some of its morphemes.

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Chapter 1

Background of the Kəstanəňña Language and its Research

I. The Language

The language of Kəstanəňña (otherwise known as Kistane, Aymälläl, and Soddo) is one of the southernmost members of the Semitic family. Within Semitic languages it falls under the subgroup of Ethio-semitic languages; within Ethio-semitic languages it is part of South Ethiopic; within South Ethiopic it belongs to a cluster of languages and dialects that are called Gurage. The Gurage languages are spoken by people living southwest of Addis Ababa, mostly in the Southern Peoples' State. Ronny Meyer defines the Gurage area as follows:

I understand Gurage in accordance with Hetzron (1972)¹ as a geographical term describing roughly an area from the Gibe in the west to Lake Ziway² in the east and from the Awash in the north to the Gibe in the southwest.²

The term Gurage comprises a diverse set of tribes (or people groups) with various names, languages, cultures, and religious practices. The term “Gurage” itself is not as much an indicator of linguistic unity as it is a geographical marker. Meyer states, “The term Gurage in linguistic descriptions has...neither a historical nor a cultural denotation but is only of heuristic descriptive value.”³ The Gurage languages are classified together inasmuch as they constitute an island of Semitic languages surrounded by Cushitic.⁴

¹ Robert Hetzron, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972).

² Ronny Meyer, *Wolane: Descriptive Grammar of an East Gurage Language (Ethiosemitic)* (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2006), 19-20.

³ Ibid., 20

⁴ Robert Hetzron, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages* (Napoli: Istituto orientale di Napoli, 1977), 3 – “...the so-called Gurage languages do not constitute one genetic branch... Thus, the use of the term ‘Gurage’ is justified only in the following sense: a conglomeration of Semitic speaking tribes surrounded by speakers of Cushitic.”

Speakers of Kəstanəňña are known as Kəstane, a name meaning “Christian” (from ክርስቲያን *krəstyan*).⁵ The –ňña suffix, as found on Kəstanəňña, is used in some Ethio-semitic languages to denote the name of a language, just as the language of the Amhara people, Amharic, is in their own language አማርኛ *amarəňña*. In SIL’s online Ethnologue Kəstanəňña is currently found under the name “Kistane.” I will here use the terms “Kəstane” and “Kəstanəňña” to denote the people and their language, respectively.

As regards the other names for this language – Aymälläl and Soddo – Leslau writes:

It will be noted that I call the language of these texts ‘Soddo’ and not ‘Aymellel’ (or ‘Aymallal’), a name used by other writers and by myself in some of my previous writings. Aymellel, however, is only one district of the province that uses the language of our texts, the province itself being called ‘Soddo’. It is, therefore, more appropriate to call the language ‘Soddo’ than ‘Aymellel’. The speakers of this language call themselves Kəstane ‘a Christian’, and their language *kəstanəňña* ‘Christian’, but do not object to calling their language ‘Soddo’.⁶

I have found the same to be true with respect to the name “Soddo” (or “Soddəňña”) through personal experience. Few Ethiopians living in Addis Ababa recognized the name “Kəstanəňña,” but “Soddəňña” was well known to them. Both terms I have heard used by Kəstane. Goldenberg writes,

The Kəstane people, proud of their “national” identity and of having been keeping their Christian faith through the ages of separation from the rest of Ethiopian Christendom, do not approve of the term Gurage when referred to them. Neither would they accept as synonymous with Kəstane the appellation Aymälläl, which is the name of one Kəstane tribe that seems to have lost its special importance. The term Soddo...formerly a region inhabited by the (Soddo)-Galla, apart from the Kəstane region,...was not the land of Gurage speakers; nowadays, as it is the official name of an administrative district, it may well be argued that Soddo is the centre of

⁵ The Kəstane are mostly Ethiopian Orthodox in faith.

⁶ Wolf Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background. III. Soddo*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), v.

the speakers of Kəstanəňňa; yet there exist Kəstane communities outside this district, to which the term Soddo is not plainly applicable.⁷

(Please note that the term “Galla,” used by Goldenberg, Leslau, and their Ethiopian informants in the 1960s, is now an outdated term that is considered an insult by some; the appropriate term now is “Oromo,” a Cushitic group). For these reasons stated – namely, that Aymälläl represents only one tribe of the whole, and Soddo is more suitable as a district (a district which is home to people of more than one language) than a linguistic name – it seems that these two terms are insufficient for labeling this language, and they will be abandoned here.

As far as the classification of the Gurage languages and the place of Kəstanəňňa among them, Leslau writes:

It (Gurage) is divided into three main groups: *a*) West Gurage including Chaha, Eža, Ennemor, Gyeto, Endegeň; with a possible sub-group of Muher, Masqan, and Gogot; *b*) East Gurage including Selti, Ulbarag, Wolane, and Zway; *c*) Northern Gurage with Aymellel as its only representative.⁸

Hetzron’s understanding of East Gurage matches up with that of Leslau, and he adds that “East Gurage with Harari is part of the Transversal group of South-Ethiopic.”⁹ Meyer notes that this affinity is due to Muslim expansion westwards in the 12th and 13th centuries.¹⁰ Hetzron, however, groups Kəstanəňňa together with Gogot and Muher as the group Northern Gurage.¹¹ Some of these issues of classification and shared traits will be dealt with in the final chapters.

⁷ Gideon Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňňa: Studies in a Northern Gurage Language of Christians,” *Orientalia Suecana* 17 (1968): 62.

⁸ Wolf Leslau, “Sketches in Ethiopic Classification,” *Studi Etiopici* Vol. 48 (1960): 89-90.

⁹ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 3.

¹⁰ Meyer, *Wolane*, 19.

¹¹ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 4.

II. Previous Research

Research on Kəstanəňña began with Johannes Mayer, a German missionary to Ethiopia, whose findings were published by the help of L. Krapf in 1878. Mayer collected some samples of different Ethiopian languages, including Kəstanəňña. He did not realize at the time that his so-called “Gurage Sprache” was really only the one language (Kəstanəňña) among a greater Gurage cluster. Leslau says of Mayer’s work that it “contains a few grammatical forms of these languages...and the second chapter of Matthew in Gurage, in Amharic script.”¹² The first grammatical analysis of Kəstanəňña was done in 1879 by Franz Praetorius, who was also unaware that this was only one of the Gurage languages. He includes the second chapter of John in Kəstanəňña – as collected by Mayer – and his own commentary as an appendix to his work on Amharic (which he titles “Ueber den Dialekt von Gurāguē”).¹³ By 1968, Goldenberg says of Praetorius’ work on Kəstanəňña:

The first grammatical analysis of a Gurage language was that of Kəstanəňña made by PRAETORIUS on the basis of MAYER’S materials. PRAETORIUS’ study, with all its inadequacies due to the scantiness of his sources, still deserves thorough consideration, and, unfortunately, has not been superseded by any detailed description of the same dialect.¹⁴

Mondon-Vidailhet makes references to Kəstanəňña which Goldenberg says “were too meagre to mark any progress in the study of Kəst.”¹⁵

The most groundbreaking analyses on Kəstanəňña to date have been those

¹² Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak*, 1. (In fact, it is the second chapter of the Gospel of John that Mayer recorded.)

¹³ Franz Praetorius, *Die amharische Sprache*, (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1879).

¹⁴ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña,” 65

¹⁵ Ibid., 65

published in 1968 by Goldenberg¹⁶ and Leslau.¹⁷ Both of these Semitists and Ethiopicists provided a grammatical summary of Kəstanəñña in their respective works, Leslau including a sample of Kəstane speech in text form. Hetzron also included a small sample of Kəstanəñña stories – among samples of other Gurage languages - in his book, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*.¹⁸

Leslau and Goldenberg's works answer many questions about Kəstanəñña, yet they leave some features of grammar and syntax untreated. For example, neither addresses prepositions or postpositions in much detail. The area of phonology also requires attention. Hetzron said of Leslau's work:

...Dr. Leslau had the excellent idea of having his Soddo texts preceded by a “brief description of Soddo morphology” (p. 6-34). However, since no attempt was made to undertake a morphophonemic analysis of the data, certain important points of Soddo grammar will remain unclear to those who have had no previous contact with this language, and to whom this book is mainly addressed...The list of consonant phonemes (p.6) is incomplete.¹⁹

Goldenberg himself acknowledges this need, saying, “A fuller account of derivational morphology in Soddo...will require a phonological re-analysis, mainly of the vowel system...”²⁰ Therefore, though these scholars have contributed greatly to our knowledge of the language, there is room for supplementing their work with further research.

The texts collected by Mayer and Leslau have their limitations too. Mayer's text,

¹⁶ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña.” Goldenberg’s field work was conducted in 1965 and 1966. He collected his speech samples in Addis Ababa and Waçço, his informants being “natives of Soddo (wäräda – GT) and Gäggä.” (pg. 66)

¹⁷ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*. Leslau’s field work was completed by 1967 at the latest. Though he does not mention where he found his informants, at least one was a native of Äsgäddiyä (qäbäle). (pg. 51)

¹⁸ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 145-157. Aside from these texts, Hetzron contributes little new to the specific study of Kəstanəñña.

¹⁹ Robert Hetzron, “A review of ‘Ethiopians Speak, Studies in Cultural Background. III. Soddo.’ By Wolf Leslau,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 90, no. 4 (1970): 562.

²⁰ Gideon Goldenberg, “Principles of Semitic Word-Structure,” in *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*, ed. Gideon Goldenberg and Shlomo Raz (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), 52.

being a translation of another language into Kəstanəňňa, is limited when it comes to judging the natural speech of Kəstane. Leslau's texts were elicited from questions that were prepared beforehand for his series "Ethiopians Speak." The answers given to these questions have indeed revealed aspects of Kəstane culture and language. However, more texts – particularly texts that arise from the Kəstane people's own motivations rather than from anticipatory questions – could shed greater light on their natural language and yield a larger sampling from which to draw our conclusions about the language as a whole.

III. Goals of the Present Research

The aim of this research is to bring to light more information on the Kəstanəňňa language, building off of the foundation laid primarily by Goldenberg and Leslau. Within this objective I have in mind both: 1) to put forth a corpus of Kəstane texts that have not been previously analyzed by semitists, and which have been collected according to the people's own interests and natural language,²¹ and 2) to discuss grammatical features of Kəstanəňňa not yet discovered, or not yet fully treated, by researchers.

²¹ Zellig S. Harris, *Methods in Structural Linguistics*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), 14. Harris writes: "Utterances are more reliable samples of the language when they occur within a conversational exchange. The situation of having an informant answer the questions of a linguist or dictate texts to him is not an ideal source, though it may be unavoidable in much linguistic work." It is for this reason that I collected samples of Kəstane people in conversation, in addition to more formulaic speech (ex.: stories, riddles). The goal of both was to gain samples of the language with the least amount of influence from myself, the researcher.

Chapter 2

Description of Fieldwork

I. Methods and Resources

I lived in Addis Ababa from Aug. 20, 2009 to Apr. 2, 2010. It was from this location that I made trips out to Kəstane towns and villages southwest of the capital. My specific objective was to collect Kəstane folktales for analysis. This choice of genre was made on the premise that folktales are often the best sources for preserving natural language with fewer outside influences than are found in day-to-day speech (especially for any Kəstanəñña speakers who might also know Amharic). Folktales, furthermore, do not require as much prompting from the researcher, and too many prompting questions can lend artificial results. I also considered that folktales would branch out from Leslau's questions about village and home life, which already satisfy many cultural questions about the Kəstane.²²

My language assistant²³ accompanied me to the Kəstane area, helped me in soliciting folktales from participants, and transcribed the audio that we had collected into fidäl (ፊደል; i.e. Ethiopic script) once we were back in Addis.²⁴

For language analysis I used the FieldWorks Version 6.0 program.²⁵ This is a linguistic program that I was graciously allowed to use, thanks to members of the Ethiopian branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). This software allows for

²² Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak*.

²³ He will be discussed below.

²⁴ For recording purposes I used an Olympus Digital Voice Recorder WS-311M. The audio recordings I took for this research should eventually be archived at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

²⁵ For more on FieldWorks software see the website: <http://fieldworks.sil.org/>.

lexical and grammatical tagging of texts.²⁶ I entered the fidäl transcriptions of the audio files as a modified Latin script into FieldWorks, while listening again to the audio files and making any necessary corrections to the transcriptions.²⁷

II. Areas Surveyed

The survey area was made up of points south of Addis Ababa, along the Buttajira road. Buttajira was the southernmost town where we took audio recordings. This is a town inhabited by Mäsqan, Dobbi (Gogot), and Kəstane peoples. Some of the recordings in this area were from speakers who had come to Buttajira from Damu, a Kəstane town up in the mountains north of Buttajira. We also interviewed people in Kella and Bu'i, the latter being known as a major center for the language. Kella and Bu'i are situated in the center of the Kəstanəñña language area.²⁸

III. Language Assistant

My language assistant on this project was Daniel Eressa (ዳንኤል አድራሻ). He accompanied me to the Kəstane towns and villages, helped me through his contacts to find willing participants for the study, and did the original transcription of the audio files which we collected. He studied at Addis Ababa University (AAU), where I first got in contact with him. Mr. Eressa's hometown is Jole, five miles south of Kella. He was born in 1972 and attended primary school in Gojeti, seventh and eighth grades in Kella, and

²⁶ For more on this type of text, an Interlinear Glossed Text (IGT), and its proper applications in language studies see the E-MELD website: <http://www.e-meld.org/school/classroom/text/igt.html>.

²⁷ I also used Field Works to analyze the Kəstanəñña texts collected by Leslau and Mayer, as well as some audio recordings from the following website: <http://globalrecordings.net/program/C19540>. The audio files on this site were labelled only “Gurage,” and upon listening to them I found that they were specifically Kəstanəñña. The website has since that time (2009) added audio files that are labeled as “Soddo,” and which are also Kəstanəñña.

²⁸ see Appendix A for map

high school in Buttajira. Mr. Eressa has both bachelor's and master's degrees in teaching English from Addis Ababa University. He has spent twelve years teaching English at a secondary school in Asossa, and six years at colleges in Addis Ababa. His skills in Kəstanəňña (his mother tongue), Amharic, and English proved invaluable to me.

Chapter 3

Corpus of Kəstanəňña Folktales

I. Introduction to the Material

Presented below is a corpus of texts in Kəstanəňña. They include folktales, histories, proverbs, and riddles. Each word of text is written interlinearly. The first line is modified Latin script, the second fidäl, the third morphemes (broken up when there is affixing and infixing), the fourth lexical forms for the morphemes, the fifth lexical definitions of the morphemes, and the sixth a literal translation for each word. The interlinear text is accompanied by a more fluid translation following every sentence break.

I have preserved each dialogue entirely as recorded, including minor comments, so as to give examples of natural speech in the language.

My use of the modified Latin script mirrors that of Leslau²⁹ in most cases. I have added the glottal stop “?”, which I found to be an occasional allophone of the ejectives. It should be noted that this sign is not used for the Semitic *alef*, which is weak in Kəstanəňña and other South Ethiopic languages. Because of allophones, the modified Latin script does not always match up with the fidäl script beneath it. These specifics will be dealt with in the phonology section of the next chapter. All the meaningful sounds (i.e.: phonemes) of Kəstanəňña can be represented adequately by fidäl - except for the lack of indication for geminated consonants - as it is used in Amharic pronunciation.³⁰

²⁹ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*.

³⁰ Gideon Goldenberg, “From Speech to Writing in Gurage-Land: First Attempts to Write in the Vernacular.” In *Egyptian, Semitic and General Grammar: Workshop in Memory of H. J. Polotsky (8-12 July 2001)*, ed. Gideon Goldenberg and Ariel Shisha-Halevy (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2008), 187-188. Goldenberg shares this sentiment: “...Amharic writing is well adequate for representing Kəstane consonants and vocalic phonemes.”

Without fully treating the matter of phonology here, the following should help with reading the texts:

- The first through seventh order vowels (pronounced exactly as they are used in Amharic) are represented in order as: ä , u , i , a , e , ə , o
- The ejectives are (with the exception of voiceless velar ejective, which is written “q”) represented with a dot beneath the consonant: t̥ , č̥ , (ş̥), (p̥)
- The palatalized consonants are written: ž , š , č , č̥ , ġ (for voiced alveolar affricate),ň

II. Corpus of Texts³¹

1. Yäwənqit (bäkella)

“Riddles” (Kella, session 1; Nov. 7, 2009; speakers: 1) Kene Gasshu, 2) Wägäne Abbäbu, and 3) large crowd)³²

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወንቂት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

1) A riddle!³³

³¹ A guide to these recording sessions may be found in Appendix B.

³² This first recording was taken on Kella on Saturday (that town’s market day) just shortly before the market was to begin at 10:00 A.M. The chief speakers, Kene Gasshu and Wägäne Abbäbu, were quickly surrounded by an energetic crowd of people wanting to listen and contribute. I have left the entire conversation, including crowd participation, to give a sense for the liveliness of the scene and the colloquial speech.

³³ This formula for giving a riddle comes from the preposition *yä-* “of” and the noun *wənqit* “riddle.”

Paragraph 2.

2.1. 2) nuq .

ኩቁ

nuq

noqä

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it!³⁴

Paragraph 3.

3.1. 1) ge mulä , ge mulä čälläma .

ገ መላ ገ መላ ፈይልማ

ge mulä ge mulä čälläma

ge mulä ge mulä čälläma

house whole house whole dark

the house whole the house whole dark

1) The entire house,...the entire house is dark.³⁵

Paragraph 4.

4.1. 2) ge mulä čälläma ?

ገ መላ ፈይልማ

ge mulä čälläma

ge mulä čälläma

house whole dark

the house whole dark

2)"The entire house is dark"?

³⁴ This formulaic verb for eliciting a riddle also means “to crow (rooster).” On riddle formulas v. Ch. 4, §XV.1.

³⁵ The speaker begins by attempting to recall a certain riddle. He produces it incorrectly here (hence the brief confusion), but reintroduces it below in correct form.

Paragraph 5.

5.1. 1) ge	mulä	... ädäll		, ädäll
z	σν·ʌ	Ἄελ		Ἄελ
ge	mulä	ädäl	=n	ädäl
ge	mulä	ädäbəl	=n	ädäbəl
house	whole	neg. of copula	=be (copula)	neg. of copula
the house	whole	it is not		=be (copula)
				it is not

1) The entire house...that's not it, that's not it.³⁶

Paragraph 6.

6.1. 2) ädäll

Ἄελ	
ädäl	=n
ädäbəl	=n
neg. of copula	=be (copula)
it is not	

2) That's not it.

Paragraph 7.

7.1. 1) qəbbəl qəbəbbəl		, därätäw
ቍብል ቍብብል		ደረታው
qəbbəl qəbəbbəl		därät -äw
qəbbəl qəbəbbəl		därät -äw
back and forth (said of receiving)	chest	his (3.m.sg.)
back and forth		his chest

yaqibbəll

ያቁብል		
yə-	aqibbəl	=nn
yə-	aqibbälä	=nn
3.m.sg.impf.	cause to accept	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
he causes it to accept		

1) He makes his chest receive (something) again and again.

³⁶ The negative copula, just like the copula, is conjugated by the use of objective pronominal suffixes. Notice the contraction of the root “ädäbəl” due to the spirantization and eventual loss of b. V. Ch. 4, §§II.1.1.1; VII.3.

Paragraph 8.

8.1. 2) sanqa

ሳንقا

sanqa

sanqa

doorframe

doorframe

2) A doorframe.³⁷

Paragraph 9.

9.1. 1) ዕምማያä ... yäwənqit

አማያ

የወኑቅት

ዶምማያä

yäwənqit

đommayyä

yäwənqit

stone a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a stone a riddle!

1) A stone...a riddle!³⁸

Paragraph 10.

10.1. 2) nuq

ኅቅ

nuq

noqä

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it!

³⁷ The reference is to a doorframe's reception of the door as it goes back and forth.

³⁸ A number of times the speaker will begin a thought, but forget to introduce the riddle formula. Here, and elsewhere, he corrects himself.

Paragraph 11.

11.1. 1) የምሃያ ሚን	yatwərrərət	?
አማያ	ያ-	ያተዥርርት
የምሃያ ሚን	ያ-	atwərrər
መሆኑ	ያ-	=nnət
መሆኑ	ያ-	atwärrä
stone	what?	cause to speak
a stone	what	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
		causes it to speak

1) What makes a stone talk?³⁹

Paragraph 12.

12.1. 2) iga	.
--------------	---

አጠቃላይ

iga

iga

water

water

2) Water.⁴⁰

Paragraph 13.

13.1. 3) ፌዴራል	ካፍቅ አበል	,	ታዕዛ	የባለት	አ
ደምሮ	ከፍቅ አበል	ተ	ዘ	ባለት	አ
ደምስ	-ዕል	ካፍቅ አበል	ተ=	ዘ	ባለት
ደምት	-ል	ካፍቅ አበል	ተ=	ዘ	ባለት
voice	your (2.m.sg.)	raise	from=	this	be greater
your voice		raise	from this	that is greater	

3) Raise your voice,⁴¹ louder than that.⁴²

³⁹ For a discussion on the assimilation of *n* to a preceding consonant v. Ch. 4 §II.1.2.1.

⁴⁰ That is, stones in a river are made to produce splashing and rolling sounds (“talking”) by the water.

⁴¹ A discussion of causative/factitive composite verbs (ex.: “ካፍቅ አበል”) can be in Ch. 4 §IX.3.1.

⁴² This is the first of many instances in which someone from the crowd interjects something.

Paragraph 14.

14.1. 1)	mən	nä?änna	nawoyä	?
	መን	ኋናንና	ኋውያ	
	mən	nä-	?änna	nawoyä
	<i>mən</i>	<i>nä-</i>	<i>qinna</i>	<i>awäyyä</i>
	what?	1.c.sg.juss.	do	1.c.sg.juss.
	what	should I do		shout
			should I shout	

1) What do you want me to do, shout?!

14.2. yäwənqit

የወንቅት
yäwənqit
<i>yäwənqit</i>
a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)
a riddle!

A riddle!

Paragraph 15.

15.1. 2) nuq

ኬቅ
nuq
<i>noqä</i>
tell a riddle
tell it!

2) Tell it!

Paragraph 16.

16.1. 1)	əmmít	" nədär	nədär	,
	አምት	ኩደር	ኩደር	
	əmmít	nə-	ədär	nə-
	<i>əmmít</i>	<i>nə-</i>	<i>addära</i>	<i>addära</i>
	mother	1.c.pl.juss.	spend the night	1.c.pl.juss.
	the mother	let us rest		spend the night
			let us rest	

gäräd	" nəbrär	nəbrär	"...
ගැරාද	නෙබ්රාර	නෙබ්රාර	
gäräd	nə-	brär	nə-
<i>gäräd</i>	<i>nə-</i>	<i>bärrärä</i>	<i>bärrärä</i>
daughter	1.c.pl.juss.	run fast	1.c.pl.juss.
the daughter	let us fly	let us fly	
attawərrərəm			
አታවዴርሬም			
al-	tə-	awərrər	-əm
<i>al-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>awärrärä</i>	<i>-əm</i>
neg-juss.	2.m.pl.juss.	talk	2.m.pl.jussive
do not talk			

1) The mother (says), "Let's rest, let's rest."⁴³ The daughter (says), "Let's fly, let's fly!"⁴⁴ ...don't talk, people.

Paragraph 17.

17.1. 2) awde	dähä
አውደ	ዳሕ
awd =e	dähä
<i>wädä</i> =e	dähä
tell =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	you (2.m.sg.)
tell me	you

2) You (there), tell me.⁴⁵

Paragraph 18.

18.1. 3)... wofçä	.
ወፍቃ	
wofçä	
<i>wäfčä</i>	
mill (for grinding grain)	
a mill	

⁴³ On the behavior of initial-alef verbs v. Ch. 4, §IX.4.5.

⁴⁴ The root meaning of this verb (*brr*) is "to fly," from which comes the secondary meaning "to run/move quickly."

⁴⁵ On the biradical verbs (Ex.: *wädä*) v. Ch. 4, §IX.4.2.

3) A mill.⁴⁶

Paragraph 19.

19.1. 1) gäbäya name

ගැඩායා	gäbäya	name
ගැඩායා	nam	=e
gäbäya	nam	=e
market	give! (impv.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
a market	give me	

1) Give me a market!⁴⁷

Paragraph 20.

20.1. 3)... wofčän

ව්‍යුෂෑන	wofčän	bäl
		.
ව්‍යුෂෑන	=n	bäl
wäfčä	=n	balä
mill (for grinding grain)	=be (copula)	say
it is a mill		say

3) Say it's a mill!

Paragraph 21.

21.1. 1) däs əmm bel

දාශ	-e-	əmm bäl
däs	-i-	əmm balä
you (2.f.sg.)	2.f.sg.impv.	be quiet
you		be quiet

1) You (there), be quiet!

⁴⁶ Here someone from the crowd offers the correct answer. The “mother” in the riddle refers to the lower millstone which is larger and stationary (“let’s rest”). The “daughter” refers to the upper millstone which is in motion (“let’s fly!”). For a discussion on the interchange of “wā” and “wo” v. Ch. 4, §II.1.1.2.

⁴⁷ The game of riddling, being that is a lighthearted battle of wits, incorporates a boastful formula (“Give me a market!”) which is said by the riddler if the guesser has failed to answer one or more riddles. For more on this see Ch. 4, §XV.1.

Paragraph 22.

22.1. 2) wofčän

ወፍቃን

wofčä	=n
wäfčä	=n
mill (for grinding grain)	=be (copula)
it is a mill	

2) It's a mill!⁴⁸

22.2. kʷahom

ከውም

kʷa

kʷa

he (3.m.sg.)

like him

attēbäl

አተበል

tə-

tə-

2.m.sg.juss.

do not say

dähä

ደኩ

bäl

balä

say you (2.m.sg.)

you

You, don't say it like he (does).

22.3. alšakkum

አለሻሁም

al-

al-

neg-perf.

I did not know

šal

šälä

know

and

-ku

-kʷ

1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)

=m

=m

=circumstantial action

he (3.m.sg.)

kʷa

ከ

kʷa

kʷa

he

I didn't know, but he...

Paragraph 23.

23.1. 1) yäwənqit

ያዥ-ንቀት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

1) A riddle!

⁴⁸ For a discussion on the enclitic copula, see Ch. 4, §VII.1.

Paragraph 24.

24.1. 2) nuq

ኅቁ

nuq

noqā

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it!

Paragraph 25.

25.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወ-ዘቂት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle

yäwənqit

, yäwənqit

...

የወ-ዘቂት

የወ-ዘቂት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle

a riddle

zi ge mən yəmollannət

?...

ዘ ጊ የወንድ ይሙላንነት

zi ge mən yə- molla =nnət

zi ge mən yə- molla =nnət

this house what? 3.m.sg.impf. fill =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

this house what fills it

1) (Let's see,) a riddle, a riddle, a riddle...What fills this house?⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Here the speaker correctly recalls the riddle he was attempting to say above.

25.2. attawərrərəm

!

አታዎርርዱም

al-	tə-	awərrər	-əm
<i>al-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>awärrärä</i>	<i>-əm</i>
neg-juss.	2.m.pl.juss.	talk	2.m.pl.juss.

do not talk

Don't talk, people!

Paragraph 26.

26.1. 2) " zi ge mən yəmollannət	?..."
ዘ જ મન યેમોલાન્નેત	
zi ge mən yə-	molla =nnət
<i>zi ge man ya-</i>	<i>molla =nnət</i>
this house what? 3.m.sg.impf.	fill =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
this house what	fills it

2) "What fills this house"?...

26.2. čäläma .

ጨાલામા

čälläma

čälläma

darkness

darkness

Darkness!⁵⁰

Paragraph 27.

27.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወ-ንቅት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

1) A riddle.

⁵⁰ The meaning of the riddle is “What can fill an entire house?” “Darkness” is the correct answer.

Paragraph 28.

28.1. 2) nuq

ኅቁ

nuq

noqä

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

Paragraph 29.

29.1. 1) bäzi yätikkälkunn

በዕለ የተከለሁን

bäzi yä= tikkäl -ku =nn

bäzi yä= tikkälä -k^w =nn

here that= cook 1.c.sg.perf.(subord.) =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)

here that I cooked it

ähutta damu fäkkam

አሸታ ስሙ ፈቅም

ähutta damu fäkka =m

äkutta damu fäkka =m

base of the ensete Damu (place name) go =circumstantial action

the base of the ensete (to) Damu it went and

yisota ...

የሰታ

yi- sota

yə- *sota*

3.m.sg.impf. smell

one smells (it)

attawərrərəm !

አቶ-ርርም

al- tə- awərrər -əm

al- *tə-* *awärrärä -əm*

neg-juss. 2.m.pl.juss. talk 2.m.pl.juss.

do not talk

The äkutta⁵¹ that I cooked here can be smelled⁵² as far as Damu⁵³ ...Don't talk, people!

Paragraph 30.

30.1. 2) "... damu	fäkkam	yisota	"?
ዶሙ	ፈከም	የሱታ	
damu	fäkka =m	yi-	sota
damu	fäkka =m	yə-	sota
Damu (place name)	go =circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf.	smell
(to) Damu	it went and	one smells (it)	

2) "...it can be smelled as far as Damu"?

Paragraph 31.

31.1. 1) ye .

የ

ye

ye

yes

yes

1) Yes.

Paragraph 32.

32.1. 2) wollät

ወለት

wollät

wällät

forked digging pick

a wällät

2) A wällät.

⁵¹ Äkutta is the base of the ensete plant (a.k.a. “false-banana plant”), a plant which is a staple for many Kœstane and other Gurage peoples. For more on this, consult: William A. Shack, *The Gurage: A People of the Ensete Culture* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966). With respect to the interchange of *k* and *h* see Ch. 4, §§II.1.4.1; II.1.5.1.

⁵² The verb “sota” can mean both “to smell” and “to sense/perceive.” This riddle plays on both meanings.

⁵³ Damu is a town of the Kœstane that lies up in the mountains running west along the road that leads from Addis Ababa to Buttajira. As it is used in this riddle, Damu signifies a long distance.

Paragraph 33.

33.1. 1) ädäll

କ୍ଳା	
ädäl	=n
ädäbəl	=n
neg. of copula	=be (copula)
it is not	

1) That's not it.

Paragraph 34.

34.1. 3) ... gäbäya täyyəq ...

ଗୀର	ମେଷ
gäbäya	täyyəq
gäbäya	<i>tiyyäqä</i>
market	ask
a market	ask

3) ...ask for a market...⁵⁴

Paragraph 35.

35.1. 1) dähä bääqqa

ଲୀ	ବୀଷ
dähä	bääqqa
dähä	<i>bäqqa</i>
you (2.m.sg.)	be enough
you	it is enough

1) That's enough out of you (there)!

35.2. bäzi	šəqq bäləm	baläm
ବାତ	ଶ୍ଵର ପାତ୍ର	ନାମ
bä=	zi	balä
bä=	zi	balä
from=	this move aside	-əm
from here	move aside	2.m.pl.impv. say
		=resultative action
		he has said

⁵⁴ Here someone in the crowd incites the riddler to “ask for a market” as per the boasting formula. v. Ch. 4, §XV.1.

säbočči !

ሰብቻ

säb -očč -i

säb -očč -i

person pl the

the people

Give us space here! He has spoken, people.

Paragraph 36.

36.1. 2) ... zämädən

ዘማድን

zämäd =ən

zämäd =ən

relative =be (copula)

it is relatives

2) (The answer) is relatives.⁵⁵

Paragraph 37.

37.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወንቃት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

1) A riddle.

Paragraph 38.

38.1. 2) nuq

ኩቅ

nuq

noqā

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

⁵⁵ This is the correct answer to the riddle posed above. The *smelling* of äkutta from far away symbolizes the *sensing* of familial ties in spite of physical separation.

Paragraph 39.

39.1. 1) bäzi yätikkälkunn

ብት የተከለከት

bäzi	yä=	tikkäl	-ku	=nn
<i>bäzi</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>tikkälä</i>	<i>-kʷ</i>	<i>=nn</i>
here	that=	cook	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
here	that	I cooked	it	

äkutta damu fäkkam

እኩታ **ዳሙ** **ፈኩማ**

äkutta damu fäkkam =m

äkutta *damu* *fäkkam* =m

base of the enset Damu (place name) go =circumstantial action

the äkutta (to) Damu it went and

yisota .

የስታ

yi- sota

yə- *sota*

3.m.sg.impf. smell

one smells (it)

1) The äkutta that I cooked here can be smelled as far as Damu.

Paragraph 40.

40.1. 2) zämädən

ዘመድን

zämäd =ən

zämäd =ən

relative =be (copula)

it is relatives

2) (The answer) is relatives.

Paragraph 41.

41.1. 1) " zämädən "?

ዘመድን

zämäd =ən

zämäd =ən

relative =be (copula)

it is a relative

1) "Relatives" you say?

Paragraph 42.

42.1. 2) ye .

ye

ye

yes

yes

2) Yes.

Paragraph 43.

43.1. 1) bäy ... yäwənqit

በያ የወጪት

bäy yäwənqit

bäy *yäwənqit*

all right a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

all right a riddle!

1) Ok, (that's right)...A riddle.

Paragraph 44.

44.1. 2) nuq .

ኬቅ

nuq

noqā

tell a riddle

tell it!

Tell it.

Paragraph 45.

45.1. 1) tädi təbälam

ተዲ

ትብላም

mən

ምን

tä= ädi

tə-

bäla =m

mən

tä= ädi

tə-

bälla =m

mən

with= I (1.c.sg.) 2.m.sg.impf.

eat =circumstantial action how

with me

you eat and

how (is it)

yakässaho

?

ያኩስ

yä= akässa =ho

yä= akässa =ho

that= make skinny =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(main)

that it has made you skinny

1) Though you eat with me,⁵⁶ why are you skinny?

Paragraph 46.

46.1. 2) anqäfo .

አንቀፅ

anqäfo

anqäfo

spoon

a spoon

2) A spoon.⁵⁷

Paragraph 47.

47.1. 1) ... tam

... yäwənqit

ታም

የውጥቷት

ta -m

yäwənqit

täwä -m

yäwənqit

desist 2.m.pl.impv.

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

desist

a riddle!

yäwənqit

, yäwənqit

የውጥቷት

የውጥቷት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

a riddle!

...

⁵⁶ For uses of the circumstantial particle -(ə)m see Ch. 4, §XIII.1.

⁵⁷ Anqäfo is particularly a long-necked spoon made out of animal horn. This long neck is the reason for the question “why are you skinny?”

ärä !

ä

ärä

ärä

why!

hey

1) ...cut it out, people⁵⁸...(let's see), a riddle, a riddle, a riddle...hey now!

47.2. aqqəs , dəgg bäl .

አቅስ ደግብል

aqqəs dəgg bäl

iqqäsä *dəgg balä*

wait be quiet

wait be quiet

Just wait quietly.

47.3. yäwənqit

የወንቃት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

A riddle.

Paragraph 48.

48.1. 2) nuq .

ኬቅ

nuq

noqä

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

⁵⁸ On the biradical verbs (Ex.: *täwä*) v. Ch. 4, §IX.4.2.

Paragraph 49.

49.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወንቃት	... የቻዬ	dähä
yäwənqit	የቻዬ	dähä
<i>yäwənqit</i>	የቻዬ	<i>dähä</i>
a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)	come on!	you (2.m.sg.)
a riddle!	come on!	you

ተቻዬ

ተቻዬ	... እና	nähä
tə-	čon	-u
<i>tə-</i>	<i>čonňā</i>	<i>-u</i>
2.m.sg.impf.	be better	2.m.sg.impf. (main)
you are better		come! (impv.)
		2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)
		come

zohom ... ye awdənn

ሁወም	የ	አውድን	
zohom	ye	ä-	awd =ənn
<i>zohom</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>ä-</i>	<i>wädä =nn</i>
here	yes	1.c.sg.impf.	speak =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
here	yes	I am speaking to him	

nähä

እና	... የቻዬ	dähəma	... ädi
nä	-hä	የቻዬ	እና
<i>nä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	<i>dähəma</i>	<i>ädi</i>
come! (impv.)	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	come on! you (2.f.pl.)	I (1.c.sg.)
come		come on! you	I

äqqibbälkoš

እችብልከሽ	...
ä-	qqibbäl =ko =ś
ä-	<i>täqibbälä</i> =ko =ś
1.c.sg.impf.	welcome =you (2.m.sg.obj.) =indeed
I welcome you	

täšäl

በባክክ			,
ተሻል	በባክክ		
tə-	ä-	šäl	bä=
<i>tə-</i>	<i>ä-</i>	<i>šälä</i>	<i>bä=</i>
neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.	know	when=
I do not know		when you said	that= say 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)

ädi	äwdähäyyänən		
ädi	äwdähäyyänən		
ädi	ä- äwd =ähä	=yyän	=ən
ädi	ä- wädä =nnähä	=yyän	=ən
I (1.c.sg.)	1.c.sg.impf. tell =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=to	=be (copula)
I	I am going to tell you		

1) A riddle...come now, you (there), you are better...come here...yes, I am speaking to him. Come!...Come on now, ladies!...I myself welcome you...I do not know when you said (it), but I am going to tell you.⁵⁹

Paragraph 50.

50.1. 3) ..." abbo	" baläm	yətära
λ <small>ብ</small>	ባልም	ያተራ
abbo	balä =m	yə-
abbo	balä =m	yə-
Abbo (angelic name)	say =circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf. call out
"Abbo"	he said and	he calls out

... bágägära ...

በንደ

bä= gägära
bä= gägära
on= mountain
on the mountains

3) ...He calls out saying, "Abbo"...on the mountains...

Paragraph 51.

51.1. 1) bágägära	" abbo	" baläm
በ <small>ን</small> ደ	ብ	ባልም
bä= gägära	abbo	balä =m
bä= gägära	abbo	balä =m
on= mountain	Abbo (angelic name)	say =circumstantial action
on the mountains	"Abbo"	he said and

⁵⁹ Here the riddler calls upon help from the crowd to help him think of more riddles, while telling others to quiet down.

yətära

Ɂənč

yə- tära

yə- täärra

3.m.sg.impf. call out

he calls out

1) He calls out on the mountains saying, "Abbo."

Paragraph 52.

52.1. 2) gänžəmo .

γανζəμo

gänžəmo

gänžəmo

ax

an ax

2) An ax.⁶⁰

Paragraph 53.

53.1. 1) ... nähä

ńń

nä -hä

nä -kä

come! (impv.) 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)

come

1) Come!

53.2. bäy , tätäkka

ńę t-tń

bäy tätäkka

bäy tätäkka

all right be replaced

all right he has been replaced

Ok, he has been replaced.

⁶⁰ An ax is used for chopping wood up in the mountains, where it makes a sound like “Abbo.”

53.3. dähä	, dähä	təčonū	.
ደኩ	ደኩ	ትርጉና	.
dähä	dähä	tə-	čonū
dähä	dähä	tə-	čonññā
you (2.m.sg.)	you (2.m.sg.)	2.m.sg.impf.	be better
you	you	you	are better

You, you are better.⁶¹

53.4. yäwənqit

የወንቃት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

A riddle.

Paragraph 54.

54.1. 2) nuq

ኬቅ

nuq

noqä

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

Paragraph 55.

55.1. 1) zi ge mulä ənqät

ዘ ጊ ገ ሙል ውንቀት

zi ge mulä ənqät

zi ge mulä ənqät

this house whole granule

this house whole granules

1) This whole house is filled with granules.

⁶¹ Here the speaker calls for more help from the crowd, calling for a replacement for someone else who was giving ideas.

Paragraph 56.

56.1. 2) " zi ge mulä ənqät , " " zi ge mulä ənqät " ...
 ዘ ገ ሙሉ እንቅት ዘ ገ ሙሉ እንቅት
 zi ge mulä ənqät zi ge mulä ənqät
 zi ge mulä ənqät zi ge mulä ənqät
 zi ge mulä ənqät zi ge mulä ənqät
 this house whole granule this house whole granule
 this house whole granules this house whole granules

täšäl

ተሻል

tə-	ä-	šäl
tə-	ă-	šälă
neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.	know
I do not know		

2) "This whole house is filled with granules," "this whole house is filled with granules"...I don't know.

Paragraph 57.

57.1. 3) ... quna mulä ənqät .
 ቁና ሙሉ እንቅት
 quna mulä ənqät
 quna mulä ənqät
 something whole granule
 something whole granules

3) ...Some whole thing is filled with granules.⁶²

Paragraph 58.

58.1. 2) ..." quna mulä ənqät "?
 ቁና ሙሉ እንቅት
 quna mulä ənqät
 quna mulä ənqät
 one whole granule
 one whole granules

2) ..."Some whole thing is filled with granules"?

⁶² This is a hint given by someone in the crowd.

Paragraph 59.

59.1. 1) **ye** .

የ

ye

ye

yes

yes

1) Yes.

Paragraph 60.

60.1. 2) **kokäb** .

ከከብ

kokäb

kokäb

star

stars

2) The stars (in the sky).⁶³

Paragraph 61.

61.1. 3) ... **gäbäya** **tətiyyəqqət**

?...

ገበያ ተተይያቸት

gäbäya tə- tiyyəq =nnət

gäbäya *tə-* *tiyyäqä* =nnət

market 2.m.sg.impf. ask =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

a market will you ask him

3) Will you ask him for a market?

Paragraph 62.

62.1. 1) **yäwənqit**

የውኑቅት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

⁶³ The stars correspond to the “granules,” and the “house” represents the sky.

1) A riddle.

Paragraph 63.

63.1. 2) nuq

ኅቁ

nuq

noqā

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

Paragraph 64.

64.1. 1) gurz məšt bäänbəl

wəšt ...

ገርዝ ሙሽት በእንበል

ወሻጥ

gurz məšt bää= anbəl

wəšt

gurz məšt bää= ambəl

wəšt a

old woman in= collard greens within

an old woman in collard greens within

awdəš

...

አውድና

ä- awd =əš

ă- wädä =nnəš

1.c.sg.impf. tell =you (2.f.sg.obj.)(subord.)

I will tell you

1) An old lady within collard greens⁶⁴ ...I will tell you...

Paragraph 65.

65.1. 2) natran

ኩራን

natran

natran

kind of sweet-smelling shrub

natran

⁶⁴ For the use of rhyme in this and other riddles see Ch. 4, §XV.1.1. On the shift from *n* to *m* before *b* see Ch. 4, §II.1.2.1.

2) (It is) natran.⁶⁵

Paragraph 66.

66.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወ-ኞቻት		: yiňňä gʷäy
yäwənqit	yi-	ňňä
yäwənqit	yə-	täňňa
a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)	3.m.sg.impf.	sleep
a riddle!		when he sleeps
arissahom , yənnäsa gʷäy		anbässahom .
አሪሳሁም	ይንኩ ነጋ	አንበሳሁም
arissa =hom	yə-	nnäsa gʷäy
arissa =hom	yə-	tänässa goy
corpse =like	3.m.sg.impf.	rise
(he is) like a corpse	when he rises	when lion =like
		(he is) like a lion

1) A riddle: when he sleeps he is like a corpse, when he awakes he is like a lion.⁶⁶

Paragraph 67.

67.1. 2) ... anbässahom ...

አንበሳሁም	
anbässa =hom	
anbässa =hom	
lion =like	
(he is) like a lion	

2) (hmmmm)... "he is like a lion"...

⁶⁵ Natran is a sweet-smelling mountain shrub. It has a blue-green/pale-green color. The “old woman” of the riddle stands for the blueish/pale aspect of the plant (because of an elderly woman’s white hair), and the “collard greens” stand for the green aspect of the plant.

⁶⁶ For the use of alliteration and assonance in this and other riddles see Ch. 4, §XV.1.3.

Paragraph 68.

68.1. 3) bərätən

ብርትን

bərät =ən

brät =ən

rifle =be (copula)

it is a rifle

3) It is a rifle.⁶⁷

Paragraph 69.

69.1. 2) bərätən

!

ብርትን

bərät =ən

brät =ən

rifle =be (copula)

it is a rifle

2) It's a rifle!

Paragraph 70.

70.1. 3) ... šäläm

...

ሻላም

šälä =m

šälä =m

know =resultative action

he knew (it)

3) He knew it.

⁶⁷ The terms “sleeps” and “corpse” represent an unused rifle. The terms “awakes” and “lion” represent a rifle being fired.

Paragraph 71.

71.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወንቃት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

1) A riddle.

Paragraph 72.

72.1. 2) nuq

ኅቅ

nuq

noqä

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

Paragraph 73.

73.1. 1) wəšṭahʷan

ወሻለሁን

wəšṭa -hʷan

wəšṭa -hʷan

inside his (3.m.sg.) bärbare (Ethiopian red pepper)

within him is bärbare

lalähʷan

ላለሁን

lalä -hʷan

lalä -hʷan

top his (3.m.sg.)

on his surface

awkäre mənən ?

አውሬ ዝንን

awkäre mən =ən

awkäre man =ən

idle what? =be (copula)

(he is) idle what is it

1) Within he is full of bärbare,⁶⁸ but on the surface he looks idle. What is it?

⁶⁸ Bärbare is a spice used in cooking throughout Ethiopia. It is hot, especially when used in large quantities.

Paragraph 74.

74.1. 3) ... gäbäya ab dähä ...
ගැඩායා අඬ දාහා
gäbäya ab dähä
gäbäya *abä* *dähä*
market give you (2.m.sg.)
a market give you

3) ...give him a market, you...

Paragraph 75.

75.1. 1) gäbäya nameya

ගැඩායා නමයා
gäbäya nam =e =ya
gäbäya *nam* *=e* *=ya*
market give! (impv.) =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.) =really
a market give me, really

1) Yeah, give me a market.

Paragraph 76.

76.1. 2) ... mässariyan

මෘත්‍යුරු
mässariya =n
mässariya =n
rifle =be (copula)
it is a rifle

2) It is a rifle.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ This is another riddle about the dormant power in a rifle. The “bärbare” signifies the power (since bärbare is spicy) inside a gun, while “awkäre” (“idle”) refers to how still a gun looks before it is shot. This answer is correct, but the riddler does not at first hear the guesser.

Paragraph 77.

77.1. 3) ay , gäbäya abənn

አይ	ገበያ	አበን
ay	gäbäya	ab =ənn
ay	gäbäya	abä =nn
no	market	give =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
no	a market	give him

3) No, give him a market.

Paragraph 78.

78.1. 1) gäbäya namä

ገበያ	ናማ
gäbäya	nam
gäbäya	nam
market	give! (impv.)
a market	give

1) Give me a market.

Paragraph 79.

79.1. 2) gäbäya .

ገበያ
gäbäya
gäbäya
market
a market

2) A market.

79.2. gäbäya ?

ገበያ
gäbäya
gäbäya
market
a market

A market?!

Paragraph 80.

80.1. 1) ye .

ye

ye

yes

yes

1) Yes.

Paragraph 81.

81.1. 2) ärob gäbäya .

ärob gäbäya

ärob gäbäya

ärob gäbäya

Wednesday market

Wednesday market

2) Wednesday market.⁷⁰

Paragraph 82.

82.1. 1) ärob gäbäya .

ärob gäbäya

ärob gäbäya

ärob gäbäya

Wednesday market

Wednesday a market

1) (Ah,) Wednesday market.

82.2. ablaye

ablā

=ye

abälla

=e

give to eat =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.) give to drink =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)

give me something to eat

asče

asče

=e

asäččä

=e

give me something to drink

⁷⁰ Here the guesser “yields” a market, because it is believed he has answered incorrectly. v. Ch. 4, §XV.1. With respect to the prosthetic ä- that is added to initial r (“ärob”), see Ch. 4, §II.1.2.2.

Give me something to eat and something to drink!⁷¹

82.3. ädi	bäbəčəl	ätonna	gʷäy	dähä
ädi	bä= bəčəl	ä-	tonna	gʷäy
ädi	bä= bəčəl	ä-	tonna	dähä
I (1.c.sg.)	on= mule	1.c.sg.impf.	ride (an equid)	while you (2.m.sg.)
I	on a mule	I ride		while you
bämar	tonna	.		
ämar	tonna			
bä= ämar	tonna			
bä= ämar	tonna			
on= donkey	ride (an equid)			
on a donkey	ride			

While I myself ride upon a mule, you, ride on a donkey.

82.4. ädi	čoma	äbäla	gʷäy	dähä	təfo?ay	bla
ädi	čoma	ä-	bäla	gʷäy	dähä	təfo
ädi	čoma	ä-	bäla	goy	dähä	?ay
I (1.c.sg.)	fat	1.c.sg.impf.	eat	while you (2.m.sg.)	bad	something eat
I	fat	I eat		while you	something	bad eat

While I myself eat the nice fat, you, eat the bad part (of the meat).

82.5. bääqqa	,	mässariyan	.
ä	ä		
bääqqa	mässariya	=n	
bääqqa	mässariya	=n	
be enough	rifle	=be (copula)	
it is enough	it is a rifle		

Ok, that's enough. Rifle is the answer.

⁷¹ This begins a few lines of good-humored boasting on the part of the victorious riddler. v. Ch. 4, §XV.1.

82.6. yäwənqit

የወንቃት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

A riddle.

Paragraph 83.

83.1. 2) nuq

ኅቅ

nuq

noqä

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

Paragraph 84.

84.1. 1) tatäw

ታተው

tatä -w

tatä -w

bottom his (3.m.sg.) splayed (of feet) top his (3.m.sg.)

beneath it

senketo

ሰንከቶ

senketo

senketo

splayed (of feet) top

it is splayed above it

laläw

ላላው

lalä -w

lalä -u

balteto

ባልተቶ

balteto

baltet

well-respected woman

a respectable woman

1) Below it has splayed feet, but above it (has the look of) a well-respected woman.⁷²

⁷² The image of “splayed feet” and a “well-respected woman” is meant as a humorous combination of awkwardness and dignity.

Paragraph 85.

85.1. 2) ässät⁷³

አስታ

ässät

ässät

false-banana plant (ensete)

ensete

2) Ensete.

Paragraph 86.

86.1. 1) ädäbəll

አዳበል

ädäbəl -n

ädäbəl -n

neg. of copula be (copula)

it is not

1) That's not it.

Paragraph 87.

87.1. 2) anbələn

አንበልን

anbəl =ən

ambəl =ən

collard greens =be (copula)

it is collard greens

2) It is collard greens.⁷⁴

⁷³ This is an incorrect answer. Ensete, as mentioned above, is a staple crop for many Kəstane. The Amharic word for this same plant is *ənsät*. Regarding the Kəstanəñña use of initial *ä* where Amharic has initial *a* v. Ch. 4, §II.2.3.

⁷⁴ The “splayed feet” symbolize the roots of the collard greens that go out to the side, and the “well-respected woman” symbolizes the stateliness of the plant’s leaves above ground.

Paragraph 88.

88.1. 3) ...	bägägära	däm	yəzära	səru		
	ብንራ	ዳም	የዕራ	ስሩ		
	bä=	gägära	däm	yə-	zära	səru
	bä=	gägära	däm	yə-	zärra	səru
	on=	mountain	blood	3.m.sg.impf.	sow seed	something like
	on the mountains	blood	he sows			something like

tətəblənn

?

ተትብለን

tə-	tə-	bl	=ənn
tə-	tə-	balä	=nn
neg-impf.(main)	2.m.sg.impf.	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
will you not say to him			

3) Will you not say to him something like "he sows blood on the mountains"?

Paragraph 89.

89.1. 1) bægägära	däm	yəzära	.		
	ቢንራ	ዳም	የዕራ		
	bæ=	gägära	däm	yə-	zära
	bæ=	gägära	däm	yə-	zärra
	on=	mountain	blood	3.m.sg.impf.	sow seed
	on the mountains	blood	he sows		

1) He sows blood on the mountains.

Paragraph 90.

90.1. 2) mašäla .

ማሽላ
mašäla
mašäla
sorghum
sorghum

2) Sorghum.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ This riddle refers to the red variety of sorghum, and hence the term “blood.”

Paragraph 91.

91.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወኑቅት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

1) A riddle.

Paragraph 92.

92.1. 2) nuq

ኅቃ

nuq

noqā

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

Paragraph 93.

93.1. 1) aččər məss yizzäm

አጭር ሙስ የዘጋም

aččər məss yizzä =m

aččər məss yizzä =m

short man hold =resultative action thought

a short man he holds his thoughts

fəss

፩፻

fəss

fəss

1) A short man lost in thought.

Paragraph 94.

94.1. 2) aččər məss yizzäm

አጭር ሙስ የዘጋም

aččər məss yizzä =m

aččər məss yizzä =m

short man hold =resultative action thought

a short man he holds his thoughts

fəss

...?

፩፻

fəss

fəss

2) "A short man lost in thought"?...

94.2. **gimmän**

ጂመን

gimmä =n

gimmä =n

headrest =be (copula)

headrest it is

It is a headrest.⁷⁶

Paragraph 95.

95.1. 1) **gimmän**

?

ጂመን

gimmä =n

gimmä =n

headrest =be (copula)

headrest it is

1) "It is a headrest," (you say)?

Paragraph 96.

96.1. 2) **ye**

የ

ye

ye

yes

yes

2) Yes.

Paragraph 97.

97.1. 3) ... **gäbäya** täqäbbäl ... **gäbäya** abənn

...

ገብያ ተቀበል ገብያ አበን

gäbäya täqäbbäl gäbäya ab =ənn

gäbäya *täqäbbälä* *gäbäya* *abä* =nn

market receive market give =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)

a market receive a market give him

⁷⁶ The headrest is a wooden block used in lieu of a pillow by some Ethiopians. Since it has “arms” to cradle one’s neck and a feet-like base, it is likened in this riddle to a short man who is says nothing, because he is “lost in thought.”

3) ...take a market...give him a market...

Paragraph 98.

98.1. 1) dəbər yobam

ደብር የበም

dəbər yə- oba =m

dəbər yə- wäbba =m

forest 3.m.sg.impf. go in =circumstantial action
the forest he goes in and

qäš qäräš tayyəbəl

yəwoṭa

ቍ ቅረሽ ታይያበል

የወጣ

tä=	al-	yə-	qäš qäräš bəl	yə-	woṭa
tä=	al-	yə-	qäš qäräš balä	yə-	wäṛṭa
with=	neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	make a rustling sound	3.m.sg.impf.	go out
					he goes out

without rustling

1) He enters the forest⁷⁷ and comes out without (ever) rustling (the leaves).

Paragraph 99.

99.1. 2) gubila .

ጊበላ

gubila

gubila

fog

fog

2) Fog.

Paragraph 100.

100.1. 1) gubilan

äššut ...

ጊበላን

gubila =n äššut

gubila =n äššut

fog =be (copula) well done!

it is fog well done!

⁷⁷ This semitic root *dbr*, here as *dəbər* (“forest”) retains its *b*. In Amharic the *b* is lost due to spirantization, yielding *dur*.

tibäqanä				ahu
ተበቃና				አሁ
tə-	yə-	bäqa	=nä	ahu
tə-	yə-	<i>bäqqa</i>	=nä	<i>ahu</i>
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	be enough	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)	now
is it not enough for us				now
zämmiddi	?			
ዘምሚዲ				
zämmi	-ddi			
zämm	-ddi			
brother	my (1.c.sg.)			
my brother				

1) It is fog, well done!...Isn't that enough now, my brother?

Paragraph 101.

101.1. 3) yegädəl		abbäbo		säb
የገዳል		አበበ		ሳብ
ye-	gädəl	abbäb	-o	säb
ye-	<i>gäddälä</i>	<i>abbäbä</i>	-o	<i>säb</i>
3.m.sg.juss.	kill	blossom	3.m.sg.perf.(main)	man
let him kill		he blossoms		a man
tisälabbo				bäl
ተሰላቦ				ባል
tə-	yə-	säla	bb= =o	bäl
tə-	yə-	<i>sälla</i>	<i>bä= =äw</i>	<i>balä</i>
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	reach	on= =him (3.m.sg.obj.)	say
he does not catch him (by surprise)				say

3) Say, "Let him kill, he blossoms; a man does not catch him by surprise."

Paragraph 102.

102.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወንቂት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

1) A riddle.

Paragraph 103.

103.1. 2) nuq .

ኅቁ

nuq

noqä

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

Paragraph 104.

104.1. 1) yegädəl

የግዳል

ye-

ye-

3.m.sg.juss.

let him kill

abbäbo

አበቦ

gädəl abbäb

gäddälä abbäbä

blossom

he blossoms

säbəm

ሳብም

säb =əm

säb =əm

3.m.sg.perf.(main) man =as for

as for a man

tisälabbo

ተስላቦ

tə-

yə-

säla

bb=

=o

... gäbäya

ገብያ

gäbäya

tə-

yə-

sälla

bä=

=äw

gäbäya

gäbäya

neg-impf.(main) 3.m.sg.impf. reach on= =him (3.m.sg.obj.) market
he does not catch him (by surprise) a market

name

ኋን

nam

nam

give! (impv.)

give me

... ärob

ገብያ

ärob

gäbäya

äröb

gäbäya

Wednesday market

Wednesday a market

abkäm

አብካም

ab -kä

abä -kä

give 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)

you have given

, lela

ለላ

lela

lela

resultative action

(give) another

1) Let him kill, he blossoms; a man does not catch him by surprise...give me a market...you have given me the Wednesday market, give me another.

Paragraph 105.

105.1. 2) **kella**

ከለ

kella

kella

Kella (town name)

Kella (market)

2) The Kella market.

Paragraph 106.

106.1. 1) **kelladdi**

ablaye

ከለዲ

አብላይ

kella

-ddi

abla

=ye

kella

-ddi

abälla

=e

Kella (town name)

my (1.c.sg.)

give to eat

=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)

my Kella (market)

give me something to eat

asče

kullu

አስቃ

ከሉ

asč̈ =e

kullu

asäččä

kulləm

give to drink =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)

everything

give me something to drink

everything

bädäggé

hulləmu bägəddi

በደግ

ሁልሙ በዳግ

bä= dägg̈ -e

hulləmu bä= äg̈ -əddi

bä= dägg̈ -e

kulləm bä= äg̈ -ddi

at= doorway my (Amharic influence)

everything in= hand my (1.c.sg.)

at my doorway

everything in my hands

1) Kella market is mine! Give me something to eat, give me something to drink, everything is at my doorstep, everything is in my hands!

Paragraph 107.

107.1. 3) ... zərahilən

ՀԵՂԱՆ

zərahil	=ən
<i>zərahil</i>	=ən
Zərahil (Grim Reaper)	=be (copula)
it is Zərahil	

3) ...It is Zərahil.⁷⁸

Paragraph 108.

108.1. 1) qät̄təlla

ԳՐԱ

qät̄təl	-ma	dähəma	...
<i>qät̄tälä</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>dähma</i>	
continue	2.f.pl.impv.	you (2.f.pl.)	
continue		you	

1) Go on,⁷⁹ ladies...

Paragraph 109.

109.1. 3) yallännähä?ay

ՔԱՂԻՓԵ

yä=	allä	=nnähä	?ay	qät̄təl	...
<i>yä=</i>	<i>allä</i>	<i>=nnähä</i>	<i>?ay</i>	<i>qät̄tälä</i>	
that=	be (of existence)	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	thing	continue	
the (ideas) that you have				continue	

3) Continue with the ideas you have...

⁷⁸ This is the correct answer to the riddle above. Zərahil is the personification of death in stories, who leads people away to die. It is my belief that this name is derived from the angel of death *Azra'el* (אֶזְרָאֵל).

⁷⁹ With reference to the assimilation of *m* by *l* see Ch. 4, §II.1.2.3.

Paragraph 110.

110.1. 1) tärässano

તಾರಾಸ್

tärässa =no

tärässa(nn) =änō

slip one's mind =us (1.c.pl.obj.)(main)
it has slipped our mind

, dero malä?äw

ದೆರೋ ಮಾಲಾ?

dero malä? -äw

dero maläq -w

in the past much his (3.m.sg.)
in the past much of it

nəšəl näbbär bayy

ನೆಂಳ ನೀಬ್ರ

nə- šəl näbbär bayy

nə- šälä näbbärä bayy

1.c.pl.impf. know be child
we used to know children

yallänä gʷäy

ಯಾಲಿ ಗ್ರಾಯ

yä= allä =nä gʷäy

yä= allä =nä goy

that= be (of existence) =us (1.c.pl.obj.) when
when we had

1) These riddles have slipped our minds. In the past we used to know many of them, back when we had (little) children.

110.2. yäwənqit

ಯಾವೆನ್ಕಿಟ್

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

A riddle.

Paragraph 111.

111.1. 2) nuq

ನುಷ್

nuq

noqä

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

Paragraph 112.

112.1. 1)	tädi gʷäy	yəzzo
	תָּדִי גַּוְיָה	יֵצֹזּוּ
	tä= ädi	gʷäy yəzzä -o
	tä= ädi	goy yizzä -o
	with respect to= I (1.c.sg.)	to hold 3.m.sg.perf.(main)
	to me	he holds

1) He holds onto me.

Paragraph 113.

113.1. 2)	ṭəlal	.
	תְּלָל	
	ṭəlal	
	<i>ṭəlal</i>	
	shadow	
	(my) shadow	

2) My shadow.

Paragraph 114.

114.1. 1)	yäwənqit	.
	יָוָנָקִית	
	yäwənqit	
	<i>yäwənqit</i>	
	a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)	
	a riddle!	

1) A riddle.

Paragraph 115.

115.1. 2)	nuq	.
	נוֹקָה	
	nuq	
	<i>noqā</i>	
	tell a riddle	
	tell it!	

2) Tell it.

Paragraph 116.

116.1. 1)	bäwagga	yawgagga	.
	በወጋ	ያውጋጋ	
bä=	wagga	yə-	awgagga
bä=	wagga	yə-	<i>awägagga</i>
in=	roof space	3.m.sg.impf.	move about
	in the roof		it moves about

1) It moves about in the roof.

Paragraph 117.

117.1. 2)	"bäwagga	yawgagga	"?...
	በወጋ	ያውጋጋ	
bä=	wagga	yə-	awgagga
bä=	wagga	yə-	<i>awägagga</i>
in=	roof space	3.m.sg.impf.	move about
	in the roof		it moves about

2) "It moves about in the roof"?...

Paragraph 118.

118.1. 3)	... gäbäya	täqäbbäl	dähä	... ab	gäbäya	dähä	.
	ገብያ	ተቁበል	ዳሕ	አብ	ገብያ	ዳሕ	
gäbäya	täqäbbäl	dähä		ab	gäbäya	dähä	
<i>gäbäya</i>	<i>täqäbbälä</i>	<i>dähä</i>		<i>abä</i>	<i>gäbäya</i>	<i>dähä</i>	
market	receive	you (2.m.sg.)		give	market	you (2.m.sg.)	
a market	receive	you		give	a market	you	

3) You, take a market...you, give (him) a market.

Paragraph 119.

119.1. 2)	melasən	.
	መላስን	
melas	=ən	
<i>melas</i>	=ən	
tongue	=be (copula)	
it is the tongue		

2) It is the tongue.⁸⁰

Paragraph 120.

120.1. 3) agāññānnəm

... bäddiyä

አግኑናንም

በዳያ

agāññā =nn

=əm

bä= äddiyä

agāññā =nn

=əm

bä= äddiyä

find =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)

=resultative action

in= river

he found it indeed

in the river

wəkk

...

ወ-ከ

wəkk

wəkk balä

sit down (quickly)

sit down

3) He found the answer...“sit down in the river”...

Paragraph 121.

121.1. 1) bäddiyä wəkk

በዳያ

ወ-ከ

bä= äddiyä wəkk

bä= äddiyä wəkk balä

in= river sit down (quickly)

in the river sit down

1) Sit down in the river!

Paragraph 122.

122.1. 2) " bäddiyä wəkk "... šamma

!

በዳያ

ወ-ከ

ሻማ

bä= äddiyä wəkk

šamma

bä= äddiyä wəkk balä

šamma

in= river sit down (quickly)

kind of jar for water

in the river sit down

šamma-jar

⁸⁰ The tongue moves about the in the “roof” of the mouth (just as in English usage). The term *wagga* can mean both the rafters of the roof/ceiling of a hut, as well as the space just under the ceiling.

2) "Sit down in the river"...(that's) a šamma-jar!⁸¹

Paragraph 123.

123.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወንቃት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

1) A riddle.

Paragraph 124.

124.1. 3) ... dähättənähä

ደኩታናኩ

dähä

=tt

=ən

=ähä

dähä

=*tt*

=*ən*

=*nnähä*

you (2.m.sg.)

=be (copula)

=be (copula)

=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)

it is you

təbəl

...

ትብል

tə-

bəl

tə-

balä

2.m.sg.impf. say

you are saying (it)

3) ...It is you⁸² who are saying (the riddles)...

Paragraph 125.

125.1. 1) bäy ... yäwoläne

gərid

በይ

የወላነ

ገራድ

bäy

yä= woläne

gərid

bäy

yä= woläne

gäräd

all right

of= Woläne (a Gurage people group)

girl

all right

of Woläne

the girls

⁸¹ This riddle refers to the manner in which a šamma-jar is made to “sit” in the river in order for one to draw water with it.

⁸² For a discussion of the copulas *tt* and (*ə*)*n* see Ch. 4, §§VII.1; VII.2.

yaräsəman**ያረሰማን**

yə- aräs -əman
yə- *arräsä* -əman
 3.f.pl.impf. plow 3.f.pl.impf.(main)
 they plow

yəblut**የብለት**

yə- bl -u =t
yə- *balä* -u =t
 3.m.sg.impf. say 3.m.sg.impf. (main) =him (3.m.sg.obj.main)
 one says it

yelläselwawit**የለላልዋዎት**

yellä selwawit
yellä *selwawit*
 neg. of existence thoroughly
 not thoroughly

1) All right then...It is said that the Woläne girls do not plow thoroughly.

Paragraph 126.**126.1. 2) gäbäya nabkäya**

?

ገበያ ካብያ
 gäbäya nä- ab =kä =ya
gäbäya *nä-* *abä* =kä =ya
 market 1.c.sg.juss. give =you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.) =really
 a market shall I give you

2) Shall I give you a market?

Paragraph 127.**127.1. 1) ye .****የ**

ye

ye

yes

yes

1) Yes.

Paragraph 128.

128.1. 2) sutän	gäbäya wəsäd
ስትን	ገብያ ወሰድ
sutän	gäbäya wəsäd
<i>sutän</i>	<i>gäbäya wässädä</i>
Sutän (town name)	market take
Sutän	market take

2) Take the Sutän market.

Paragraph 129.

129.1. 1) bÄy	sutän	gäbäya , ablaye
በይ	ስትን	ገብያ አብላይ
bÄy	sutän	gäbäya abla =ye
<i>bÄy</i>	<i>sutän</i>	<i>gäbäya abälla</i> =e
all right	Sutän (town name)	market give to eat =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
all right	Sutän	market give me something to eat
asče		fäyyafäyya yädi
አስቃ		ፈይያፈይያ የዲ
asč	=e	fäyya fäyya yä= ädi
<i>asäččä</i>	=e	<i>fäyya fäyya yä= ädi</i>
give to drink	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	good good of= I (1.c.sg.)
give me something to drink		all the good stuff (is) mine
ṭəfotəfo	yädähä	.
ጥፍጥፍ	የደኩ	
ṭəfo	ṭəfo	yä= dähä
<i>ṭəfo</i>	<i>ṭəfo</i>	<i>yä= dähä</i>
bad	bad	of= you (2.m.sg.)
all the bad stuff	(is) yours	

1) All right, the Sutän market - give me something to eat, give me something to drink, all the good stuff is mine, all the bad stuff is yours.

129.2. ginzen

ginz	=ən
<i>ginz</i>	<i>=ən</i>
honey	=be (copula)
it is honey	

It is honey.⁸³

Paragraph 130.

130.1. 3) ... bägełalä		sasa	fəyyälälä ...
	በግለላ		ፋይያልል
bä=	ge	lälä	sasa
bä=	ge	lälä	fəyyälälä
with respect to=	house	beyond	here and there goat
beyond the house			here and there goats

3) ...“In the back yard there are goats (scattered) here and there”...

Paragraph 131.

131.1. 1) yäwənqit

የወንቃት	.
yäwənqit	
<i>yäwənqit</i>	
a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)	
a riddle!	

1) A riddle.

Paragraph 132.

132.1. 2) nuq

ኬቅ	.
nuq	
<i>noqä</i>	
tell a riddle	
tell it!	

2) Tell it.

⁸³ This riddle focuses on the fluidity of honey, which is portrayed in this case as though it were the result of laziness in labor (“Woläne girls...do not plow thoroughly”; the “Woläne girls” corresponding to bees), and that is why is not more solid/sturdy. This riddle is also said mockingly of the Woläne, another Gurage group.

Paragraph 133.

133.1. 1) bägegalä	sasa	fayyälalä .
በገላለ	ሳሳ	ፈይያልල
bä=	ge	lalä
bä=	ge	sasa
with respect to=	house	beyond here and there goat
beyond the house		here and there goats

1) In the back yard there are goats (scattered) here and there.

Paragraph 134.

134.1. 2) angəray .

አንግራይ

angəray

angəray

lizard

lizards

2) Lizards.⁸⁴

Paragraph 135.

135.1. 1) šakkäm

ሻክም

šal -kä =m

šalä -kä =m

know 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) =resultative action

you knew it

1) You knew it.

Paragraph 136.

136.1. 3) ... bäddiyä	yazäffäl	bäl .
በዲያ	ያዛፍፍል	ባል
bä= äddiyä	yə-	azäffäl
bä= äddiyä	yə-	aziffälä
on= river	3.m.sg.impf.	overshadow say
on the river	it overshadows	say

⁸⁴ “Goats” in this riddle corresponds to “Lizards.” The statement “here and there” indicates their erratic scrambling.

3) ...Say, "It overshadows the river."

Paragraph 137.

137.1. 1) yäwənqit

ያዥ·ንቃት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

1) A riddle.

Paragraph 138.

138.1. 2) nuq

ኅቅ

nuq

noqä

tell a riddle

tell it!

2) Tell it.

Paragraph 139.

139.1. 1) bäddiyä yazäffäl

በዳያ

ያዛፍፈል

bä= äddiyä yə- azäffäl

bä= äddiyä yə- *aziffälä*

on= river 3.m.sg.impf. overshadow

on the river it overshadows

tətəfāta

bäčakkä

ተተፋታ

በቻክ

tə- tə- fāta bā= čal -kä

tə- *tə-* *fāta* *bā= čalä* *-kä*

neg-impf.(main) 2.m.sg.impf. solve (a riddle) if= be able 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)

will you not solve it if you can

?...

1) It overshadows the river...Will you not solve it if you can?

Paragraph 140.

140.1. 2) setanən

ሰትናን

setan =ən

setan =ən

Satan =be (copula)

it is Satan

2) It is Satan!

Paragraph 141.

141.1. 1) ädäbəll

አዳበል

ädäbəl -n

ädäbəl -n

neg. of copula be (copula)

it is not

1) No, it's not.

141.2. zänbaban

ዘንባባን

zänbabə =n

zänbabə =n

palm tree =be (copula)

it is a palm tree

It is a palm tree.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ This riddle is said of palm trees, which are found near bodies of water.

2. Tarik (bäkella)

“History” (Kella, session 2; Nov. 7, 2009; speakers: 1) Kene Gasshu, 2) large crowd)⁸⁶

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) dəro	grazmač	täfsa	zi
ደሮ	ግራዝማች	ተፋሳ	ዘ
dəro	grazmač	täfsa	zi
dəro	grazmač	täfsa	zi
in old times	commander of the left (honorific title)	hope	this
in old times	Grazmač	Täfsa	this
yäsoddo	wäräda	astädadari	näbbär .
የሰዶ	ወደዳ	አስተዳደሪ	ናበር
yä=	soddo	wäräda	näbbär
yä=	soddo	wäräda	näbbärä
of=	Soddo (region)	district	administrator
of Soddo	the district	the administrator	be
			he was

1) In old times Grazmač⁸⁷ Täfsa was the administrator of this district of Soddo.

Paragraph 2.

2.1. 2) ... nəšlu

ንዕስ		.
nə-	šl	-u
nə-	šalä	-u
1.c.pl.impf.	know	1.c.pl.impf. (main)
	we know	

2) ...we know.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ This brief segment of history of the Kəstane was the second recording taken in Kella. Once again, crowd participation is retained for what it reveals about Kəstane dialogue and about an audience’s responsive listening.

⁸⁷ The titles Azmač (“Commander”), Grazmač (“Commander of the Left”), and Qāñazmač (“Commander of the Right”) are attributed to elder men who have at one time in their life done something of considerable value for the community. They have nothing to do with military positions necessarily.

⁸⁸ This and other statements interjected into the main speaker’s history are common examples of audience participation in, and agreement with, a story. v. Ch. 4, §XV.2

Paragraph 3.

3.1. 1) čəqa šumi	sima čännäqo	näbbär .
ԾԵԳԱ ՇՈՒՄ	ՏԻՄ ՇԱՆՔ	ՆՈՅ
čəqa šum	-i sima čännäqo	näbbär
čəqa šum	-i sima čännäqo	näbbärä
village chief	the Sima Cännäqo (personal name)	be
the village chief	Sima Cännäqo	was

1) The village chief was Sima Čännäqo.

3.2. yäkənnämuma	aškär	gälan afoyye	näbbär .
ՔԻՆՆԱ-Թ	ԱՇԿԱՐ	ՂԱԼԱՆ ԱՓՈՅՅԵ	ՆՈՅ
yä= kənnämu	=mma	aškär	gälan afoyye
yä= kənnämu	=m	aškär	gälan afoyye
of= they (3.m.pl.)	=as for	servant	Gälän Afoyye (personal name) be
as for his (polite)		servant	Gälän Afoyye
			was

As for his⁸⁹ servant, he was Gälän Afoyye.

3.3. ähä	kahom	agäri	yämängəstəhom
ԷՒ	ԿԱՀՈՄ	ԱՎՐ	ՅԱՄԱՆԳԵՍՏԵՀՈՄ
ähä	kahom	agär	-i yä=
ähäk	kahom	agär	-i yä=
so	like that	region	the with respect to=
so then	like that	the region	like a government

yastədaddərəm näbbär

ՅԱՏԵԴԱՃՃԵՐԵՄ ՆՈՅ			
yə-	astədaddər	=əm	näbbär
yə-	attədaddärä	=əm	näbbärä
3.m.sg.impf.	administer	=circumstantial action	be

he was administrating

So then, he was administrating over our region like a government.

⁸⁹ On the use of the plural pronouns for polite reference see Ch. 4, §IV.4.

3.4. leba balbäza

ለባ ባልበዛ

leba bal bäza

leba *bal* *bäzza*

thief not be many

thieves there were not many

There were not many thieves.

Paragraph 4.

4.1. 2) ... yehun

የሁን

ye- hun

ye- *honä*

3.m.sg.juss. be

may it be

2) ...so be it.

Paragraph 5.

5.1. 1) aṭə?i balbäza

አጥቃ

aṭə?i bal bäza

aṭəqi *bal* *bäzza*

ruffian not be many

ruffians there were not many

1) There were not many ruffians⁹⁰.

Paragraph 6.

6.1. 2) ... yehun

የሁን

ye- hun

ye- *honä*

3.m.sg.juss. become

may it be

2) So be it...

⁹⁰ For the interchange of *q* and *?* (ex.: *aṭəqi/aṭə?i*) see Ch. 4, §§II.1.4.2, II.1.5.2.

Paragraph 7.

7.1. 1) azim gʷäy

አዘም ገዢ

azim gʷäy

azim goy

at that time

at that time

yəsäddum

ይሰዳም

yə- sädd =u =m

yə- *säddädä* =äw =m

3.m.sg.impf. chase away =him (3.m.sg.obj.) =circumstantial action

he would chase them (sg.) away and

yəzu näbbär

ይዘዥ ነበር

yə- z =u näbbär

yə- *yizzä* =äw *näbbärä*

3.m.sg.impf. arrest =him (3.m.sg.obj.) be

he would arrest them (sg.)

1) In those days he would chase them away and arrest them⁹¹.

Paragraph 8.

8.1. 2) ... yehun

...

የሁን

ye- hun

ye- *honä*

3.m.sg.juss. become

may it be

2) ...so be it.

⁹¹ On the use of *näbbär* with two imperfects see Ch. 4, §IX.1.3.

Paragraph 9.

9.1. 1) mäkina annäbär	... dero	zämädoččəňňa
መክና አልነበር	ደሬ	ዘማዕዶችና
mäkina al-	näbär	dero
<i>mäkina al-</i>	<i>näbbärä</i>	<i>dero</i>
car	neg-perf. be	in the past relative
cars	were not	pl our (1.c.pl.)
bäzi	yənnässänum	
በዝ	ይንኩሙም	
bä= zi	yə-	nnässä -mu
<i>bä= zi</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>tänässa</i> -əm
from= this	3.m.pl.impf.	depart
from this (place)	they would depart and	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.) =circumstantial action
addisaba	bägärkənnäm	
አዲስአበባ	በግዢከናኝም	
addisaba	bä=	ägər -kənnäm
<i>addis abäba</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>ägər</i> -kənnäm
Addis Ababa (city)	by (means)=	foot their (3.m.pl.)
(to) Addis Ababa	by their feet	
yalfəm näbbär		
የልፍም ካበር		
yə-	alf	-əm
yə-	<i>alläfä</i>	-əm
3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
they would go	be	

1) There were no⁹² cars...in the past our relatives would set out from here and go to Addis Ababa by foot.

Paragraph 10.

10.1. 2) ... bäy	...
በይ	
bäy	
<i>bäy</i>	
all right	
all right	

⁹² For the assimilation of the liquid *l* to *n* (ex.: *l* and *n* in *annäbär* < *alnäbär*) see Ch. 4, §II.1.2.3.

2) ...all right...

Paragraph 11.

11.1. 1)	bäsostəmay	barättəmay	bəčəl	
	በኢትማይ	ባረታማይ	በቻል	
bä=	sostə	may	bä= arättə may	bəčəl
bä=	sost	may	bä= arätt	may bəčəl
in=	three	day	in= four	day mule
	in three days		(or) in four days	a mule
yəčānəmum				
ይጠንማው				, ämar
yə-	čān	-əmu	=m	ämar
yə-	čanä	-əm	=m	ämar
3.m.pl.impf.	load	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	donkey
they would load or				a donkey
yəčānəmum				
ይጠንማው				bäza šäqät
yə-	čān	-əmu	=m	bäza šäqät
yə-	čanä	-əm	=m	bäza šäqät
3.m.pl.impf.	load	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	there merchandise
they would load and				there merchandise
yəzəmum				
ይዝማው				
yə-	z	-əmu	=m	
yə-	yizzä	-əm	=m	
3.m.pl.impf.	take	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	
they would take and				
yəmätəm näbbär				
ይመተም ካበር				.
yə-	mäṭa	-m	näbbär	
yə-	mäṭta	-əm	näbbärä	
3.m.pl.impf.	come	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	be	
they would come				

- 1) In three or four days they would load a mule or a donkey⁹³ and, taking along that merchandise, they would come.**

⁹³ Kəstanəňña ämar (“donkey”) comes likely from the root *√hmr*.

11.2. agärəňňa	yalämmo
አገር	ያለም
agär	-əňňa
agär	-əňňa
country	our (1.c.pl.)
our country	that= develop =him (3.m.sg.obj.) that one developed it

bägərən	, bágamma käftən	...
በገር	የገማ ክፍትን	
bä=	əgər =ən	bä= yägamma äkft =ən
bä=	ägər =ən	bä= yägamma äkft =ən
by (means)=	foot =be (copula)	by (means)= equid =be (copula)
it is by foot		it is by equids

It is by foot and by equids that our country was developed.

Paragraph 12.

12.1. 2) ... yehun	...
የሁን	
ye-	hun
ye-	honä
3.m.sg.juss.	become
may it be	

2) ...so be it...

Paragraph 13.

13.1. 1) ädi	zi	äšlu	bäqqa
እዲ	ዝি	እስሉ	በቋ
ädi	zi	ä-	bäqqa
ädi	zi	ä-	bäqqa
I (1.c.sg.)	this	1.c.sg.impf.	know 1.c.sg.impf. (main) be enough
I	this	I know	it is enough

1) As for me, this is what I know. That's it.

Paragraph 14.

14.1. 2) mässariya bäägasasä

መስሪያ በአጋሳስ

mässariya bää= agasasä
mässariya bää= agasäs
tool on= packhorse
tools on packhorses

yəčänəm näbbär

ይወጪንም ካበር

yə- čän -əm näbbär
yə- čanä -əm näbbärä
3.m.pl.impf. load 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.) be
that they would load

tətəbəl ?

ትትብል

tə- tə- bəl
tə- tə- balä
neg-impf.(main) 2.m.sg.impf. say
will you not say

Won't you say (the part about how) they would load tools on packhorses?

3. Tärät (bäbu?i)

“Story” (Bu'i, session 1; Nov. 7, 2009; speakers: 1) Azmač Gosaye Däbbälä; 2) Daniel Eressa)⁹⁴

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) ahu zi tärätən

አሁ ጂ ተረታት

ahu zi tärät =ən
ahu zi tärät =ən
now this story =be (copula)
now this is the story

⁹⁴ This recording, taken in Bu'i, begins with a story and moves into an account of Kəstane culture.

äbkäyi				: anbässa , fäyyäl , ambəl
አብካይ				አንበሳ ફેયાલ અમ્બેલ
ä-	äb	=kä	-yi	anbässa fäyyäl ambəl
ä-	<i>abä</i>	= <i>kä</i>	-i	<i>anbässa</i> <i>fäyyäl</i> <i>ambəl</i>
1.c.sg.impf.	give	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	the	lion goat collard greens
the that I shall give you			a lion	a goat collard greens
quna məss yizzäm			yalfu	.
ቁና ሚስ ውዘዥ			ያልቻ	
quna məss yizzä =m			yə-	alf -u
<i>quna məss yizzä</i> =m			yə-	<i>alläfä</i> -u
a man take =circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf.	go	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	
a man took and		he goes		

1) Now, this is the story that I shall give you - A man went along with a lion, a goat, and collard greens.⁹⁵

1.2. tiyalf ənnallä			yiga		
ተያለኝ አኔላ			የጋ		
tə=	yə-	alf	ənnə=	allä	yiga
tä=	yə-	<i>alläfä</i>	ənnə=	<i>allä</i>	<i>iga</i>
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	go	while=	be (of existence)	water
while he was going					water

mollaw

ምላው		
molla	-w	
<i>molla</i>	-o	

be plentiful 3.m.sg.perf.(main)
there was much

While he was going there was much water.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ On the use of tenses in storytelling see Ch. 4, §XV.2.

⁹⁶ For the interchange between *yi* and *i* (ex.: *iga/yiga*) see Ch. 4, §II.1.3.3.

1.3. yiga mollabbätən

የጋ ሙላበታን

yiga	molla	bb=	=ät	=ən
<i>iga</i>	<i>molla</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>=t</i>	<i>=ən</i>
water	fill	in=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)	=verb augment
			water	filled it

Water filled the place.

1.4. mənkom yaggännannäm

መንኮም ውገናናናም

mənkom	yə-	aggänna	=nnäm
<i>mənkom</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>agginna</i>	<i>=nnäm</i>
how?	3.m.sg.impf.	cause to cross (over)	=them (3.m.pl.obj.)(subord.)
how		could he cause them to cross (over)	

zim säbočč

ዘም ሳቦች

zi	=m	säb	-očč
<i>zi</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>säb</i>	<i>-očč</i>
these	=as for	person	pl
these		people	

How could he bring them across, these people?⁹⁷

1.5. yagginnabo

ያገናቦ

yə-	agginna	b=	=o
<i>yə-</i>	<i>agginna</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>=əw</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	cause to cross (over)	in=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)

that in which he might bring (them) over

qäbbäto

ቆበት

qäbbät	-o
<i>qäbbätä</i>	<i>-o</i>
find	3.m.sg.perf.(main)

he found

⁹⁷ In Kəstane folktales the term *säb(očč)* “person/people” may be used with respect to characters that are not human (ex.: animals, objects).

He found (a boat) in which he might bring them over.

1.6. anbässi

አንበስී

anbässa	-i
<i>anbässa</i>	<i>-i</i>
lion	the
the lion	

nayagäbannéyy

ናያገብናይ

nə=	al-	yə-	agäba	=nn
<i>nə=</i>	<i>al-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>agäbba</i>	<i>=nn</i>
deliberative particle=	neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	cause to enter	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
that he not bring him in				

nayəzəm

ናያዘም

nə=	al-	yə-	z	=əm
<i>nə=</i>	<i>al-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>yizzä</i>	<i>=əm</i>
deliberative particle=	neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	take	=circumstantial action
that he not take (him) and				

nayaləfəyy

, fəyyäli

ናያልፍ

nə=	al-	yə-	aləf	=əyy	fəyyäl	-i
<i>nə=</i>	<i>al-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfä</i>	<i>=yy</i>	<i>fəyyäl</i>	<i>-i</i>
deliberative particle=	neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	go	=to	goat	the
					the goat	
that he not go						

ambəli yəfägəbäyyänən

አምብල

ambəl	-i	yə-	fägə	bä=	=yyän	=ən
<i>ambəl</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>fägä</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>=yyän</i>	<i>=ən</i>
collard greens	the	3.m.sg.impf.	consume	against=	=to	=be (copula)
the collard greens that he would consume to his detriment it is						

**(The reason) that he did not put the lion in (the boat) and go over with him is
that the goat would eat up the collard greens.**

1.7. fäyyälamma	anbässi	aqqiddämä	
ፈየልማ	አንበስ	አቃድማ	
fäyyäl -i =mma	anbässä -i	aqqiddämä	
<i>fäyyäl</i> -i =m <i>anbässä</i> -i	<i>atqiddämä</i>		
goat the =as for lion	the cause to precede		
as for the goat	the lion	he made go first and	
yagäbba gäze	bäza fäyyäl		
ያገብባ ገዢ	በዛ ፍይል		
yä= agäbba	gäze	bäza fäyyäl	
<i>yä= agäbba</i>	<i>gize</i>	<i>bäza</i> <i>fäyyäl</i>	
that= cause to enter	when there goat		
when he caused (it) to enter	there the goat		
yäfägäbo		sälähonä , "ahu	
ያፈጋቦ		ሰላሕና አሁ	
yä- fäg	äb=	=o	sälä= honä ahu
<i>yä- fägäbä</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>=äw</i>	<i>sälä= honä ahu</i>
3.m.sg.impf. consume	against=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	because= be now
that he would consume (the collard greens)	to his detriment	because it is	now
män wä?änna	yinäbiw	"	
ምን ወቀና	የንበው		
män wä-	?änna	yinä b= =iw	
<i>män wä-</i>	<i>qinna</i>	<i>yinä</i> <i>bä=</i> <i>=ew</i>	
what? infinitive prefix	do	be (exist) on= =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)	
what to do		it is upon me	
waläm	.		
ዋለም			
walä =m			
<i>balä</i> =m			
say =resultative action			
he said			

When he made the lion enter (the boat) first, because (he realized) that the goat would eat the collard greens, he said⁹⁸, "Now what must I do?"

⁹⁸ For the interchange of *b* and *w* (ex.: *baläm/waläm* “he said”) v. Ch. 4, §II.1.1.1.

1.8. fəyyäl agäbbaw	, täwwäräm
ፈየል አገብባ-	ጣውራም
fəyyäl agäbba =w	täwwärä =m
<i>fyyäl agäbba =äw</i>	<i>täwwärä =m</i>
goat marry =him (3.m.sg.obj.)	carry =circumstantial action
the goat he caused to enter	he carried (it) and

alläfo

አለፍ

alläf -o

alläfä -u

go 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

he went

He made the goat get in first, then he went (across) carrying it (in the boat).

1.9. anbässa ambəl tibäla

እንበሳ አምቤል

ተበላ

anbässa ambəl

tə-

yə-

bäla

anbässa ambəl

tə-

yə-

bälla

lion collard greens neg-impf.(main)

3.m.sg.impf.

eat

the lion the cabbage he does not eat

The lion did not eat the cabbage.

Paragraph 2.

2.1. yəzzännəm

ያዝናንም

yəzzä =nn

=əm

yizzä =nn

=əm

take =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) =circumstantial action

he took him and

alläfäm

, mäṭṭaw

አለፍም

መጥዋ-

alläfä =m

mäṭṭa -w

alläfä =m

mäṭṭa -o

go =circumstantial action

come 3.m.sg.perf.(main)

he went and

he came (and)

täzibbäräm

ተዘበባር

täzibbärä =m

täzibbärä =m

return =resultative action

he returned

He took the goat across, then he came back.

2.2. täzibbäräm

ተዘበባር

täzibbärä =m

täzibbärä =m

return =circumstantial action

he returned and =circumstantial action

mättam

መጥም

mättä =m

mättä =m

come =circumstantial action

he came and =circumstantial action

, " ahu mən

አሁ መን

ahu mən

ahu man

now what?

now what

woqänna

yənäbiw

ወቂና

ይንበው

wo- qänna yənä b= =iw

wä- *qinna* *yinä* *bä=* =ew

infinitive prefix do be (exist) on= =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

to do is upon me

waläm

ነላም

walä =m

balä =m

say =resultative action

he said

"

He came back and said, "Now what must I do?"

2.3. anbässa yizzäm

አንበሳ የዝዛም

anbässa yizzä =m

anbässa *yizzä* =m

lion take =circumstantial action cross (over) 3.m.sg.perf.(main)

the lion he took and he crossed over

täginnaw

ተገናው

täginna -w

täginna -o

He crossed (the water) with the lion.

2.4. anbässi	yizzäm			
አንበስී	የዘመ			
anbässa	-i	yizzä	=m	
<i>anbässa</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>yizzä</i>	<i>=m</i>	
lion	the	take	=circumstantial action	
the lion		he took and		
täginnam		, fəyyäli		
ተገናም		ፈይላ		
täginna	=m	fəyyäl	-i	
<i>täginna</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>fəyyäl</i>	<i>-i</i>	
cross (over)	=circumstantial action	goat	the	
he crossed over and		the goat		
nayəbälaboyyän				
ናይበልቦይን				
nə=	al-	yə-	bäla	b=
<i>nə=</i>	<i>al-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>bälla</i>	<i>bä=</i>
deliberative particle=	neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	eat	against=
=o		=yyän		
=äw		=yyän		
=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=to			
in order that (the lion) not eat to his detriment				
fəyyäli	ahum ታውዥራም		täginnaw	,
ፈይላ	አሁም ጠውጥም		ተገናው	
fəyyäl	-i	ahum ታውዥራ =m	täginna	-w
<i>fəyyäl</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ahum ታውዥራ =m</i>	<i>täginna</i>	<i>-o</i>
goat	the	again carry	=circumstantial action	cross (over)
the goat	again	he carried (it) and		3.m.sg.perf.(main)
			he crossed over	
tätäziyyän	tanbəliyyän			.
ታተሪያን	ታንበለያን			
tätäziyyän	tä=	anbəl	-i	=yyän
<i>tätäziyyän</i>	<i>tä=</i>	<i>ambəl</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>=yyän</i>
this way (hither) with respect to=	collard greens	the	=to	
this way (hither) to the cabbage				

He took the lion across and, lest the lion eat the goat, he once again crossed over with the goat; back this way to the cabbage.

2.5. fəyyäli bääbäza

፩፻፷፻ በበዛ

fəyyäl -i bää= bääza
fəyyäl -i bää= bääza
 goat the in= there
 the goat there

aggädännəməmma

አንድጋዢማ

aggädä =nn	=əm	=əmma
aggädä =nn	=əm	=m
tie =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action	=and
he tied it and		
ambeli	yizzäm	täginnaw
አምበለ	ይዝዬ	ተገናው
ambel -i yizzä =m	täginna -w	
<i>ambəl</i> -i <i>yizzä</i> =m	<i>täginna</i> -o	
collard greens the take =circumstantial action	cross (over) 3.m.sg.perf.(main)	
the cabbage he took and	he crossed over	

He tied up the goat there and crossed (back) over with the cabbage.

2.6. fəyyäl kitt gʷäyən yagginno

፩፻፷፻ ክት ገዢን

fəyyäl kitt gʷäy =ən	yä= agginna	-o
<i>fəyyäl</i> kit goy =ən	<i>yä</i> = <i>agginna</i>	-o
goat two time =be (copula) that= cause to cross (over)	cause to cross (over)	3.m.sg.perf.(main)
the goat two times it is	that he made (it) cross over	

He brought the goat over two times.

Paragraph 3.

3.1. mäčäräša fəyyäləmu

agginnew

መጨረሻ ፍየልሙ

አንድጋዢ

mäčäräša fəyyäl =əm	-u	agginna	-w
<i>mäčäräša</i> <i>fəyyäl</i> =əm	-äw	<i>agginna</i>	-o
finally goat =as for his (3.m.sg.)	cause to cross (over)	3.m.sg.perf.(main)	
finally his goat	he brought over		

Finally he brought over his goat.

3.2. kulləm kənnäm	yəzzäm	alläfo
һ-λ-р-һ-н-р-	г-и-р-	х-л-е-
kulləm -kənnäm	yəzzä =m	alläf -o
<i>kulləm -kənnäm</i>	<i>yizzä =m</i>	<i>alläf -o</i>
all their (3.m.pl.) take =circumstantial action	he took and	go 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
all of them		he went

He went (across) with all of them.

3.3. yädəroyi	nəšli	.
ρ-ε-ር-ይ	ن-ش-ل-ي	
yä= dəro -yi nə-	šl -i	
<i>yä= dəro -i nə-</i>	<i>šalä -i</i>	
of= the past the 1.c.pl.impf. know the		
of the past the that we know		

What we know is of the past.

Paragraph 4.

4.1. 2) zi yämən	tärätən	?
ତୁ ପ୍ରପନ୍ଧ	ତେଣୁ	
zi yä= mən tärät =ən		
<i>zi yä= mən tärät =ən</i>		
this of= what? story =be (copula)		
this of what the story is		

2) This is the story of what...?

4.2. yanbässanna	yäfəyyäl	tärätən
የንበሳና	የፋይያል	ተଣ୍ଡନ
yä= anbässa =nna	yä= fəyyäl	tärät =ən
<i>yä= anbässa =nna</i>	<i>yä= fəyyäl</i>	<i>tärät =ən</i>
of= lion =and of= goat story =be (copula)		
of the lion and of the goat the story is		

wobälən

?

ƿ0λ̄?

wo- bäl =ən

wä- balä =ən

infinitive prefix mean =be (copula)

to mean it is

Are we to say this is the story of the lion and the goat?

Paragraph 5.

5.1. 1) yäfeyyäl	,	yanbässa	,	yambəl	tärät	.
የፋይያል		ያንበሳ		የምብል	ተራት	
yä=	feyyäl	yä=	anbässa	yä=	ambəl	tärät
yä=	feyyäl	yä=	anbässa	yä=	ambəl	tärät
of=	goat	of=	lion	of=	collard greens	story
of the goat	of the lion		(and) of the collard greens		the story	

1) (It is) the story of the goat, the lion, and the collard greens.

Paragraph 6.

6.1. 2) lelaš	?
---------------	---

ለላሽ

lela =š

lela =š

another =how about?

how about another

2) How about another?

Paragraph 7.

7.1. 1) lela	...?
--------------	------

ለላ

lela

lela

another

another

1) Another...?

7.2. zämädən

ՀԱՐՁԻ

zämäd =ən yə-

zämäd =ən yə-

relative =be (copula) 3.m.sg.impf. sense him (3.m.sg.obj.)

it is relatives that one senses them (sg.)

yəsotaw

ՔՆԴՔ

yə- sota -w

yə- sota -āw

sense him (3.m.sg.obj.)

that one senses them (sg.)

It is relatives that one senses.⁹⁹

7.3. bækəstane

ՈՒԽԵՎ

bä= kəstane bä= agär -əñña zämäd

bä= kəstane bä= agär -əñña zämäd

among= Kəstane (people group) in= land our (1.c.pl.) relative

among the Kəstane in our land relatives

bagärəñña

ՊԿԾ

bä= agär -əñña zämäd

bä= agär -əñña zämäd

in= land our (1.c.pl.) relative

in our land relatives

yəsotaw

ՔՆԴՔ

yə- sota -w

yə- sota -u

3.m.sg.impf. sense 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

one senses

Among the Kistane, in our land, one senses his relatives.

7.4. yəwoddut

ՅԹԳՒԴ

yə- wodd -u =t

yə- wäddädä -u =t

3.m.sg.impf. love 3.m.sg.impf. (main) =him (3.m.sg.obj.main)

one loves them (sg.)

He loves them.

⁹⁹ Here begins, not another folktale, but a discussion of Kəstane culture.

7.5. mən balännən		bäzi
ಮೆನ ಬಾಲಾನ್ನ		ಬಾಜಿ
mən balä =nn	=ən	bäzi
<i>mən</i> <i>balä</i> =nn	=ən	<i>bäzi</i>
what? say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=verb augment	here
what one said it		here
yätikkälkunn		ähutta
ರಥಾಹ್ರ		ಆಹುಟ
yä= tikkäl -ku	=nn	ähutta
<i>yä=</i> <i>tikkälä</i> -k ^w	=nn	<i>äkutta</i>
that= cook 1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	base of the enset
that I cooked it		the äkutta
damu	fäkkam	yəsota
ಡಾಮು	ಫಾಕ್ಕಾಮ	ಯೆಸೋತಾ
damu	fäkka =m	yə-
<i>damu</i>	<i>fäkka</i> =m	<i>yə-</i>
Damu (place name) go =circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf.	sense
(to) Damu it went and		one senses (it)
balännət		.
ನಾನ್ತ		.
balä =nnət		
<i>balä</i> =nnət		
say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)		
one said it		

How does the saying go?...It is said, "The äkutta that I cooked here can be sensed as far as Damu."¹⁰⁰

7.6. zämädən		wobälən	.
ಹಾಮಡ್ಯ		ಪೂಳ್ಯ	
zämäd =ən	wo-	bäl =ən	
<i>zämäd</i> =ən	<i>wä-</i>	<i>balä</i> =ən	
relative =be (copula)	infinitive prefix	mean =be (copula)	
it is relatives	to mean it is		

This is said to mean relatives.

¹⁰⁰ See pp. 27-28 for this same proverb/riddle and a discussion of its meaning.

7.7. mənən	bäbalkä	zämädən
ምን	በባልካ	ዘማድኑ
mən =ən	bä= bal -kä	zämäd =ən
mən =ən	bä= balä -kä	zämäd =ən
how =be (copula) if= say 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) relative =be (copula)		
how can it be if you say		it is relatives
təblu	dähä	azigəze , zämäd
ትብሉ	ደሕ	አዝግዣ
tə- bl -u	dähä	azi gəze zämäd
tə- balä -u	dähä	azi gize zämäd
2.m.sg.impf. say 2.m.sg.impf. (main) you (2.m.sg.) at that time relative		
you say	you	at that time relatives
yəsota	səlähonä .	
ይሰታ	ስለሃና	
yə- sota səlä= honä		
yə- sota səlä= honä		
3.m.sg.impf. sense since= be		
that one senses because it is		

If you say, "Why is it (that it means relatives)?" you at that moment say "It is relatives, because it is (the case) that one senses his relatives."

Paragraph 8.

8.1. soddo	kəstane	
ስዶ	ከስተነ	
soddo	kəstane	
soddo	kəstane	
Soddo (region)	Kəstane (people group)	
Soddo	Kəstane	
nəwzáyyənn		tarik läityopəya
ኋውዛያን		ታሪክ ለኢትዮጵያ
nə- wzäyy =ənn		tarik lä= ityopəya
nə- wəzäyyä =nn		tarik lä= ityopəya
1.c.pl.impf. make =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) history to= Ethiopia		
that we make it		history to Ethiopia

yaroššənn			mənən		?
ያርስኑን			ምንን		
yə-	arošš	=ənn	mən	=ən	
yə-	<i>aroššā</i>	=nn	<i>mən</i>	=ən	
3.m.sg.impf.	cause to learn	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	what?	=be (copula)	
that it teaches it				what is it	

What is it that the history which we Soddo Kəstane make teaches to Ethiopia (at large)?

8.2. əqqub	bäsoddo		kəstanen	
አቃብ	በሰዕዱ		ከስተነን	
əqqub	bä=	yä=	soddo	kəstane
<i>əqqub</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>soddo</i>	<i>kəstane</i>
credit society	from=	of=	Soddo (region)	Kəstane (people group)
the əqqub	from	of Soddo		=be (copula)
			the Kəstane	it is
yoṭa	(yaroššā)	
የጥ	ያርስ			
yə-	oṭa	yä=	aroššā	
yə-	<i>wäṭṭa</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>aroššā</i>	
3.m.sg.impf.	come out	that=	cause to learn	
that it comes out			that one has taught (it)	

It is from the Kəstane of Soddo that the Eqqub (credit society) has come forth (i.e.: that it has been taught).¹⁰¹

8.3. əqqub	əddər		kʷattən	
አቃብ	ልድር		ኩታን	
əqqub	əddər		kʷa	=tt
<i>əqqub</i>	<i>əddər</i>		<i>kʷa</i>	=tt
credit society	mutual aid fund	he (3.m.sg.)	=be (copula)	=be (copula)
the əqqub	a mutual aid fund	he it is		

The Eqqub...it is a mutual aid fund.

¹⁰¹ For the use of verbs in the impersonal see Ch. 4, §IX.5.

8.4. mulä ityopəya tälalläfäm

ሙላ ከትዮጵያ ተላላቂም

mulä ityopəya tälalläfäm =m

mulä ityopəya tälalläfäm =m

whole Ethiopia be transmitted =resultative action

whole Ethiopia it has been transmitted

It has been transmitted all over Ethiopia.

8.5. bätzitən

በዘጋጀ

bä= zi =tt =ən

bä= zi =tt =ən

in= this =be (copula) =be (copula)

in this (way) it is

yistədaddəru

የስተዳደር

yi- stədaddər =u

yi- stədaddər =u

yə- attädaddärä =äw

3.m.sg.impf. provide for one's family him (3.m.sg.obj.)

that one provides for his family

It is in this way that one provides for his family.

8.6. bäzi

በዝ

bä= zi

bä= zi

in= this

in this (way)

yəstədaddärutən

:

ይስተዳደሩትን

yə-	stədaddär	-u	=t
yə-	<i>attädaddärä</i>	-u	=t
3.m.sg.impf.	provide for one's family	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)

=ən

=ən

=verb augment

one provides for his family

šäbal yino

ሸባል ውኅ

šäbal yinä -o

šäbal *yinä* -o

wedding be (exist) 3.m.sg.perf.(main)

a wedding there is

This is the way in which one provides¹⁰² for his family (by means of the əqqub) - (let's say) there's a wedding.

8.7. bázagəze

ሻäbal

gäräd

በዛገዬ ስባል ገራድ

bä= za gəze šäbal gäräd

bä= za *gize šäbal* *gäräd*

in= that time wedding girl

at that time for a wedding (for) the girl

yətəqqəsut

gäräd

ይጥቅኩት

ገራድ

yə- təqqəs -u =t

gäräd

yə- *təqqäsä* -u =t

gäräd

3.m.sg.impf. ask 3.m.sg.impf. (main) =him (3.m.sg.obj.main) girl

one asks him (for) the girl

yətəqqəsut

...

ይጥቅኩት

yə- təqqəs -u =t

yə- *təqqäsä* -u =t

3.m.sg.impf. ask 3.m.sg.impf. (main) =him (3.m.sg.obj.main)

one asks him

¹⁰² For a discussion on the interchange of *yə-* and *yi-* (ex.: *yəstədaddärū/yistədaddärū*) see Ch. 4, §II.1.3.3.

yətəqqəsu gʷäy

ՅՌՓԻ ԴԵ

yə- toqqəs =u

yə- *toqqäṣä* =äw

3.m.sg.impf. ask =him (3.m.sg.obj.)
when one asks him

yägäräd abi

ՊԱՀ ՀՈ

gʷäy yä= gäräd abi

goy *yä*= *gäräd abi*

when of= girl father
of the girl the father

yebu

ՔՌ

yə- eb -u

yə- *abä* -u

3.m.sg.impf. give 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
he gives

At the time of the wedding one asks for the girl...one asks for the girl...when one asks (for her) the girl's father gives (her).

8.8. gabəčča

ՀԱԺ

gabəčča

gabəčča

marriage

the marriage

yayəmənn

ՔԸՊԾ

yə- ay -əm =ənn

yə- *ažžä* -əm =nn

3.m.pl.impf. perceive 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.) =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
they perceive it

yeb

ՔՌ

yə- eb

yə- *abä*

3.m.sg.impf. allow
(and) he allows it

The families perceive the marriage (that it is sensible), and (the father) allows it.

8.9. gabəččaddim		zi baläm
ጋብቃድም		ዘል ባለም
gabəčča -ddi	=m	zi balä =m
<i>gabəčča</i> -ddi	=m	<i>zi</i> <i>balä</i> =m
marriage my (1.c.sg.)	=as for	this say =circumstantial action
as for my marriage		this he said and

yəwosdu

ይዋስዏ

yə-	wosd	-u
<i>yə-</i>	<i>wässädä</i>	-u
3.m.sg.impf.	take	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
he took		

As for my wedding, he said this and the father took (the money).

Paragraph 9.

9.1. yəkäfəlugʷäy

የከፍልናይ

yə-	käfəl	=u	gʷäy
<i>yə-</i>	<i>käffälä</i>	=äw	<i>goy</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	pay	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	when
when one pays him			

yəmmiddähom

asrähitt

ይማዳህም

አነጋዘት

yə=	əmmiit	-dä	=hom	asrä	hitt
<i>yə=</i>	<i>əmmiit</i>	-dä	=hom	<i>assər</i>	<i>kit</i>
with respect to=	mother	your (2.m.sg.)	=like	ten	two
like (in the case of) your mother					twelve

bərr

ädäll

ብር

እዳል

bərr

ädäl

=nn

bərr

ädäbəl

=nn

Bərr (Ethiopian currency) neg. of copula =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)

bərr it is not

tebu**ተቡ**

tə-	yə-	eb	=u
tə-	yə-	<i>abä</i>	=äw
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	give	him (3.m.sg.obj.)
one does not give it			

When one pays him, as (in the case of) your mother, twelve bərr...that's not it...one does not give that...

9.2. asrahitt bərrən**አስራhit**

asra	hitt	bərr	=ən
<i>assər</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>bərr</i>	=ən
ten	two	Bərr (Ethiopian currency)	=be (copula)
twelve		bərr	it is

yebu**የቡ**

yə-	eb	=u
yə-	<i>abä</i>	=äw
3.m.sg.impf.	give	him (3.m.sg.obj.)
that one gives him		

(Yes,) it is twelve bərr that one gives him.

9.3. yahuhom**ያሁሁም**

yä=	ahu	=hom	zi	aynät	ləbs	zi	aynät	ləbs
<i>yä=</i>	<i>ahu</i>	<i>=hom</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>aynät</i>	<i>ləbs</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>aynät</i>	<i>ləbs</i>
with respect to=	now	=according to	this kind	clothing	this kind	clothing	this kind	clothing
nowadays			clothing	this kind of	clothing	this kind of	clothing	

tiblu**ተብሉ**

tə-	yə-	bl	=u
tə-	yə-	<i>balä</i>	=äw
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	say	him (3.m.sg.obj.)
one does not say it			

Nowadays, it is not said (that) this or that kind of clothing (is necessary).

9.4. bäge

fätälən

በ

ፈ

bä= yä= ge fätäl =ən

bä= yä= ge fätäl =ən

in= of= house clothing (spun) =be (copula)
in of the house clothing it is

yagäbʷa

ያ

yə- agäb =ʷa

yə- agäbba =a

3.m.sg.impf. marry =her (3.f.sg.obj)
that one marries her

It is in homemade clothes that she is married.

9.5. qämisisim

ቆማስ

qämisi -i =m

qämisi -i =m

kind of dress the =as for
as for the dress

tiqʷaču

ተቋር

tə- yə- qʷač =u

tə- yə- qʷačä =äw

neg-impf.(main) 3.m.sg.impf. wind (threads) =him (3.m.sg.obj.)
one does not wind it

The dress itself is not wound.

9.6. mäkinam

መከናም

mäkina =m

mäkina =m

machine =as for

as for a (sewing) machine

tilägədd

ተለግድ:

tə-	yə-	lägəd	=nn
tə-	yə-	<i>läggädä</i>	=nn
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	touch	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
one does not touch it			

A (sewing) machine is not (even) touched.

9.7. bägen

yəsifu

በንኩ

ይስፋ

bä=	ge	=n	yə-	sif	=u
<i>bä=</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>=n</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>säffa</i>	<i>=äw</i>
in=	house	=be (copula)	3.m.sg.impf.	sew	him (3.m.sg.obj.)
in the house it is				that one sews it	

It is sewn in the house.

9.8. bäg

yəsifu

በጀ

ይስፋ

bä=	əg	yə-	sif	=u
<i>bä=</i>	<i>əg</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>säffa</i>	<i>=äw</i>
by (means)=	hand	3.m.sg.impf.	sew	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
by hand			one sews it (and)	

yəwosdut

ይዋስዕት

yə-	wosd	-u	=t
<i>yə-</i>	<i>wässädä</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>=t</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	take	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)
one takes it			

When it has been sewn by hand one takes it.

9.9. yägäräd ge

የንደድ፡ ካ

yä= gäräd ge

yä= gäräd ge

of= girl house

(to) of the girl the house

yarikkəbut

ያርከብ፡

yə- arikkəb -u =t

yə- *atrikkäbä* -u =t

3.m.sg.impf. deliver (goods) 3.m.sg.impf. (main) =him (3.m.sg.obj.main)
one delivers it (and)

səlayew yəblu

ሳለው፡ ይብሉ

səla =yew yə- bl -u

sälla =ew yə- *balä* -u

reach =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main) 3.m.sg.impf. say 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
come to me one says

It is delivered to the girl's house, and (the person) says, "Come to me."

9.10. gäräd

ገርድ፡

gäräd

gäräd

girl

(to) the girl

yebutən

የበትና፡

yə- eb -u =t =ən

yə- *abä* -u =t =ən

3.m.sg.impf. give 3.m.sg.impf. (main) =him (3.m.sg.obj.main) =verb augment
one gives it

Then (the material) is given to the girl.

Paragraph 10.

10.1. šäbal	yøtära gøze	ahu
ስባል	ይትራ ገዢ	አሁ
šäbal	yø- tära	gøze ahu
šäbal	yø- tärra	gize ahu
wedding	3.m.sg.impf. invite	when now
(to) the wedding	when one invites	now
yøkäfalu?ay		yøno
ይከፍለሁያይ		ይኖ
yø- käfäl =u	?ay	yøn -o
yø- käffälä =äw	qay	yinä -o
3.m.sg.impf. pay =him (3.m.sg.obj.)	something be (exist)	3.m.sg.perf.(main)
something that one pays		there is

At present, when people are invited to the wedding, there is something that one pays.

10.2. gärädəm	gʷäšəm	biyaggibba	ənnäz
ገራድም	ገውሽም	ቢያጂብባ	እናዝ
gäräd =əm	gʷäš =əm	bi= yø-	aggibba ənnäz
gäräd =əm	gos̥ =əm	bä= yø-	atgibba ənnäz
girl =and boy =also when=		3.m.sg.impf. cause to marry simply	
the girl and the boy also when one arranges (for them) to marry simply			
tibälam		tiyalf	
ተበላም		ተያልፍ	
tø- yø-	bäla =m	ti- yø-	alf
tø- yø-	bälla =m	tø- yø-	alläfā
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	eat =and neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf. go
one does not eat and			one does not go

When it is arranged for the girl and boy to marry, one simply does not go and eat (anymore).

10.3. dəro	zi	yellä
ደሬ	ዘ	የለ
dəro	zi	yellä
dəro	zi	yellä
in the past this neg. of existence		
in the past this is not		

In the past this was not the case.

10.4. arättəm

yeräd

, amməstəm

አረትም

arätt =əm

arätt =əm

four =indeed

four indeed

የረድ

ye-

ye-

3.m.sg.juss.

let one

əräd

arrädä

slaughter

አምስተም

amməst =əm

amməst =əm

five =indeed

five indeed

yeräd

arrädäm

የረድ

አረዳም

ye- əräd arrädä =m

ye- arrädä arrädä =m

3.m.sg.juss. slaughter slaughter =circumstantial action

let one slaughter one slaughtered and

yabälaw

ያበላው

yə- abäla -w

yə- abälla -u

3.m.sg.impf. give to eat 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

he gives (them) to eat

yätärrann

zämädäw

የተራን

ዘማድ

yä= tärra =nn

zämäd -äw

yä= tärra =nn

zämäd -w

who= invite =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) relative his (3.m.sg.)

whom he invited his relatives

Whether he slaughter four or five (animals), he slaughters (the animals) and feeds them; that is, his relatives whom he has invited.

10.5. quna santim tiqqibbəl

ቁና ሰንቲም ተቅብል

quna santim tə-

yə-

qqibbəl

quna santim tə-

yə-

täqibbälä

single cent neg-impf.(main) 3.m.sg.impf. receive

a single cent one does not receive

Not a single cent was received.

Paragraph 11.

11.1. 2) quna frank ?

ቁና ቁርሻ

quna frank

quna *frank*

single coin

a single coin

2) (Do you mean) a single coin?

Paragraph 12.

12.1. 1) frank tiqqibbəl

ቁርሻ ተቁብል

frank tə- yə- qqibbəl

frank *tə-* *yə-* *täqibbälä*

coin neg-impf.(main) 3.m.sg.impf. receive

a coin one does not receive

1) (Yes), a coin was not received.

12.2. frank woqqäbbəl

näwrən

ቁርሻ ወቀበል

ነውርን

frank wo- qqäbbəl näwr =ən

frank *wä-* *täqibbälä* *näwr* *=ən*

coin infinitive prefix receive disgrace =be (copula)

a coin to receive a disgrace is

It was a disgrace to receive (even a single) coin.

12.3. ahu äroššut

አሁ አሮሽት

ahu ärošš -u =t

ahu *äroššä* -o =t

now be accustomed 3.m.sg.perf.(main) =him (3.m.sg.obj.main)

now one has become accustomed to it

Now (people) have grown accustomed (to the practice).

12.4. ahu yeroššu

አሁ ደርኝ

ahu	yə-	rošš	-u
<i>ahu</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>äroššä</i>	<i>-u</i>
now	3.m.sg.impf.	be accustomed	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
now	one is getting accustomed		

Now people are getting accustomed to it.¹⁰³

12.5. zi frank woqqäbbäl

bämanni

:

ዘ ቅድጂ ማቀበል

በማኒ

zi	frank	wo-	qqäbbäl	bä=	manni
<i>zi</i>	<i>frank</i>	<i>wä-</i>	<i>täqibbälä</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>manni</i>
this	coin	infinitive prefix	receive	from=	which one (person)?
this	coin	the receiving		from whom	is it

bamaran

yeroššu

ባማራን

ደርኝ

bä=	amara	=n	yə-	erošš	=u
<i>bä=</i>	<i>amara</i>	<i>=ən</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>äroššä</i>	<i>=äw</i>
from=	Amhara (people group)	=be (copula)	3.m.sg.impf.	learn	him (3.m.sg.obj.)
from the Amharas	it is			that one learns	(it)

From whom comes this (custom of) receiving coins? - It is from the Amharas that this is learned.

12.6. amara

frank yebu

አማራ

ፍቅር ይቡ

amara	frank	yə-	eb	-u
<i>amara</i>	<i>frank</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>abä</i>	<i>-u</i>
Amhara (people group)	coin	3.m.sg.impf.	give	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
an Amhara	a coin	gives		

An Amhara gives a coin.

¹⁰³ On the prosthetic *alef* added to *r* (Ex.: *äroššä* < *roššä*) see Ch. 4, §II.1.2.2.

12.7. yiňña	kʷahom	baläm	
የኝ	ከወም	ባለም	
yinňña	kʷa	=hom	balä =m
መኒኝ	kʷa	=hom	balä =m
we (1.c.pl.)	he (3.m.sg.)	=like	say =circumstantial action
we	like him		he says and
bällam		säččäm	
በለም		በለም	
bälla	=m	säččä	=m
bälla	=m	säččä	=m
eat	=circumstantial action	drink	=circumstantial action
he eats and		he drinks and	
mirrä?äm		yalfu	.
ማራቀም		ያልቁ	
mirrä?ä	=m	yə-	alf -u
mirräqä	=m	yə-	alläfä -u
bless	=circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf.	go 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
he blesses and		he goes	

He (the Amhara) and we (Kostane) alike (both have the custom that) after one has spoken, he eats and drinks, gives a blessing,¹⁰⁴ and then goes.

Paragraph 13.

13.1. yämot	märdäga	yawona	mänkomən	?
የሞት	መርዳገ	ያውና	ማንኮሙን	
yä= mot	märdäga	yə-	awona	mänkom =ən
yä= mot	märdäga	yə-	awänna	mänkom =ən
of= death	assistance	3.m.sg.impf.	put aside (save)	how? =be (copula)
of death	assistance	that one puts aside		how is it

How is it that one puts aside assistance (money) for death?

¹⁰⁴ I have been told by informants that the difference between *mirräqä* and *barräkä* is that the latter is merely a statement, while the former is said with full intention that the words of blessing will come true for the recipient of the benediction. An example of such a *märräqat* “benediction” may be found in Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 60-61.

13.2. assər santim näbbärä yämötäbo

ge

አስር አንተም ካብረ የጥተብ

ለ

assər santim näbbärä yä= motä b= =o

ge

assər santim näbbärä yä= motä bä= =äw

ge

ten cent be that= die in= =him (3.m.sg.obj.) house

ten cents it was that he died in it

the house

yebu

የብ

yə- eb -u

yə- abä -u

3.m.sg.impf. give 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

that one gives

It is ten cents that one would give to the household of the one who died.

13.3. äddərtänña

quna säb assər santim , quna säb

አድርትና

ቁና ስብ አስር አንተም ቁና ስብ

äddərtänña

quna säb assər santim quna säb

member of an äddər

each person ten cent each person

the member of of the burial society each person ten cents each person

assər santim yiqäbbəräbbo

አስር አንተም ዘቅበራብ

assər santim yi- qäbbər äbb= =o

assər santim yə- qibbärä bä= =äw

ten cent 3.m.sg.impf. bury with= =him (3.m.sg.obj.)

ten cents buries (him) with it

Each and every¹⁰⁵ member of the burial society buries him with ten cents.

13.4. betäkrəstiyən yəwosdu gʷäy

qes

ቤተክርስቲያን ይዋሱ ገዢ

ቁና

betäkrəstiyən yə- wosd =u gʷäy qes

betäkrəstiyən yə- wässädä =äw goy qes

church 3.m.sg.impf. take =him (3.m.sg.obj.) when priest

(to) the church when one takes him a priest

¹⁰⁵ On the repetition of a noun or noun phrase for indicating individuals within a plurality see Ch. 4, §XIV.2.

yälät	fətat	bäbalu	soss
የለት	፩ታት	በባሉ	ስሸስ
yälät	fətat	bä= bal =u	soss
<i>yälät</i>	<i>fətat</i>	<i>bä= balä =äw</i>	<i>sost</i>
of the day (specific)	absolution	if= say him (3.m.sg.obj.)	three
of the day	absolution	if he says it	three
bərrən		,	
ብር			
bərr		=ən	
<i>bərr</i>		<i>=ən</i>	
Bərr (Ethiopian currency)		=be (copula)	
bərr it is			
yəkäfəllət		, yäqesi	
ግክፋልት		የቁኬ	
yə-	käfəl	=nnət	yä=
<i>yə-</i>	<i>käffälä</i>	<i>=nnət</i>	<i>yä=</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	pay	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	direct object marker=
one pays him			priest the the priest (acc.)

When (the deceased) is taken to the church, if a priest says the day's¹⁰⁶ absolution (for the dead), it is three bərr that one pays him; to the priest (that is).

13.5. guzo	bäbalu	səddəst
ገዢ	በባሉ	ከድኬት
guzo	bä= bal =u	səddəst
<i>guzo</i>	<i>bä= balä =äw</i>	<i>səddəst</i>
journey	if= do him (3.m.sg.obj.)	six
a journey	if he makes	six
bərrən		.
ብር		
bərr		=ən
<i>bərr</i>		<i>=ən</i>
Bərr (Ethiopian currency)		=be (copula)
bərr it is		

If he makes a (long) journey it is six bərr.

¹⁰⁶ Yälät comes from yä- “of” and əlät “day.”

13.6. ahoňň bæzzam

አሁን በዛዕል

ahoňň bæzza =m

ahoňň bæzza =m

today increase =resultative action

today it has increased

Today it has increased.

13.7. amsa bərr

አምስት በር

amsa bərr yahəl fäkkam

amsa bərr yahəl fäkkam =m

amsa bərr yahəl fäkkam =m

fifty Bərr (Ethiopian currency) as much as come =resultative action

fifty bərr as much as it has come

It has come to be as much as fifty bərr.

13.8. dəro nəšli

, yädəroyi

ደሬ ነሽል

dəro nə- šl -i yä= dəro -yi

dəro *nə-* *šälä* *-i* *yä=* *dəro* *-i*

the past 1.c.pl.impf. know the of= the past the

the past the that we know (that) of the past

allä?äm

አለቀም

allä?ä =m

alläqä =m

come to an end =resultative action

has come to an end

As for the past, that which we know - of the past that is - has come to an end.

13.9. bahuyitt**yəzzänäm****ባሁያት****ይዘዛም**

bahuyitt

yəzzä

=m

*bahuyitt**yizzä**=m*

in the present hold 1.c.pl.perf.(subord.) =circumstantial action

in the present we hold and

närramäd**ነርማድ**

nä- rramäd

nä- *tärammädä*

1.c.pl.juss. progress

let us progress

Let us hold on to the present and move forward.**13.10. yädəroyi****የደሬዎች**

yä= dəro -yi

yä= *dəro* -i

direct object marker= the past the

the past (acc.)

addägnännət**አደገናኝነት**

addäg -nä =nnət

addägä -nä =nnət

abandon 1.c.pl.perf.(subord.) =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

we have abandoned

We have abandoned the past.**13.11. qum****nägäri****ቁም****ነጋ**

qum nägar -i

qum *nägar* -i

important matter the

the important matters

aladägnännöt

አለድግናኝት

al-	adäg	-nä	=nnöt
<i>al-</i>	<i>addägä</i>	<i>-nä</i>	<i>=nnöt</i>
neg-perf.	abandon	1.c.pl.perf.(subord.)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
we have not abandoned			

nastawwəssət

ኋላታው-ኋት

nə-	astawwəs	=nnöt
<i>nə-</i>	<i>astiwwäsä</i>	<i>=nnöt</i>
1.c.sg.impf.	remember	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
we remember them (sg.)		

The important matters we have not abandoned; we remember them.

13.12. bäyyägize

በያዘገ

bä=	əyyä-	gize	nə-	astawwəs	səlä=	honä
<i>bä=</i>	<i>əyyä-</i>	<i>gize</i>	<i>nə-</i>	<i>astiwwäsä</i>	<i>səlä=</i>	<i>honä</i>
in=	each (indf.pron.)	time	1.c.pl.impf.	remember	since=	be
in each time				that we remember		because it is

bäzihom

የእናዚ

በዘመኑ

ይንፎ

bä=	zi	=hom	yənä	=no
<i>bä=</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>=hom</i>	<i>yinä</i>	<i>=äno</i>
in=	this	=like	be (exist)	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)(main)
in this way			we have (them)	

Because we remember them all the time, we retain (them).

13.13. gizeyi

ገዝይ

gize -yi

gize -i

time the

the time

yatiddäränähom

ያተዳደሪሁም

yə-	atiddär	=änä	=hom
yə-	<i>atiddärä</i>	=änä	=hom
3.m.sg.impf.	cause to live (spend time)	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)(subord.)	=according to
as he He permits us to live			

nadəru

ናደሩ

nä-	adər	=u	balə -no
nä-	<i>addärä</i>	=äw	<i>balä</i> -no
1.c.pl.juss.	live (spend time)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	say 1.c.pl.perf.(main)
let us live it			we have said

(As) we have said: "Let us live the time as (God) permits us to live.

Paragraph 14.

14.1. 2) fäyyan ... yetmäsgän

ፈያን	የተመስገኘ
fäyya =n	ye- tmäsgän
<i>fäyya</i> =ən	<i>ye-</i> <i>täməsäggänä</i>
good =be (copula)	3.m.sg.juss. be praised
it is good	may He be praised

2) Well put...may God be praised.

Paragraph 15.

15.1. 1) ye , məsganähwan	, yäfaträänä	geta
የ ማስጋኙን	የፈተኑ	ንት
ye məsganä -hwan	yä= faträä =nä	geta
<i>ye</i> <i>məsgana</i> -hwan	<i>yä=</i> <i>faträä</i> =nä	<i>geta</i>
yes praise his (3.m.sg.)	who= create =us (1.c.pl.obj.) lord	
yes His praise	Who created us	the Lord

məsganäw

ማስጋኙው

məsganä -äw

məsgana -w

praise his (3.m.sg.)

His praise

1) Yes, the praise is His; the praise belongs to the Lord who created us.

Paragraph 16.

16.1. 2) ye , amen .

የ አመን

ye amen

ye amen

yes Amen

yes Amen

2) Yes, Amen.

4. Tärät 2 (bäbu?i)

“Story 2” (Bu'i, session 2; Nov. 7, 2009; speakers: 1) Azmač Gosaye Däbbälä; 2) Daniel Eressa)

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) zi kəstaniňňanəšš

ዝ ድብዳቤ

zi kəstaniňňa =n =əšš

zi kəstanəňňa =ən =ś

this Kəstanəňňa (language) =be (copula) =indeed

this Kəstanəňňa it is indeed

äbkəmi ?

እብካም

ä- äb =kəm -i

ä- *abä* =kəm -i

1.c.sg.impf. give =you (2.m.pl.obj.) the

the (stories) that I am giving you

1) These stories that I am giving you are indeed Kəstanəňňa, yes?

Paragraph 2.

2.1. 2) ye ...

የ

ye

ye

yes

yes

2) Yes...

Paragraph 3.

3.1. 1)	äamarenna	gäčä	gudda	tätizizəmun	.
	አማርና	ገዢ	ገዳ	ተተዘዘሙን	
	äamar	=ənna	gäčä	gudda	tätiziz -əmun
	ämar	=ənna	gäčä	gudda	tätizizä -əmun
	donkey	=and	hyena	treaty	be held together 3.m.pl.impf.(main)
	the donkeys and	the hyenas	(in a) treaty	they were held together	

1) The donkeys and hyenas were held together by a treaty.

3.2.	gudda	tätizizəmum		ahu
	ገዳ	ተተዘዘሙም		አሁ-
	gudda	tätiziz	-əmu	ahu
	gudda	tätizizä	-əm	ahu
	treaty	be held together	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action now
	(in a) treaty	they were held together	and	now

ämar fərq balo

አማር ፍርቅ ቤሎ

ämar fərq bal -o

ämar fərq balä -o

donkey behave freely 3.m.sg.perf.(main)

the donkeys behaved freely

They were held together by a treaty, so now the donkeys went about freely.

3.3. ahu gudda	tätizizəmum		
አሁ ገዢ	ተተዘዘሙም		
ahu gudda	tätiziz	-əmu	=m
<i>ahu gudda</i>	<i>tätizizä</i>	<i>-əm</i>	<i>=m</i>
now treaty	be held together	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
now (in a) treaty	they were held together and		
ahu ämar	fərq balo		
አሁ አማር	ፍርቅ በሎል		
ahu ämar	fərq bal	-o	
<i>ahu ämar</i>	<i>fərq balä</i>	<i>-o</i>	
now donkey	behave freely	3.m.sg.perf.(main)	
now the donkeys	behaved freely		

Now, they were held together by a treaty, so now the donkeys went about freely.

3.4. mənkomən	yəbəl		
መንኮምን	ይበል		
mənkom	=ən	yə-	bəl
<i>mənkom</i>	<i>=ən</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>balä</i>
how?	=be (copula)	3.m.sg.impf.	say
how is it		one says	

"How can that be?" one might say.

3.5. ahu gäčä	gudda	tätizizənnäm		
አሁ ግዢ	ገዢ	ተተዘዘኑም		
ahu gäčä	gudda	tätiziz	=ənnäm	
<i>ahu gäčä</i>	<i>gudda</i>	<i>tätizizä</i>	<i>=nnämun</i>	
now hyena	treaty	be held together	=them (3.m.pl.obj.)(main)	
now the hyenas	a treaty	it is held together with them		
tibälänä			əndäləbbəñña	yiga
ተብለና			አንደልብና	iga
tə-	yə-	bäla	=nä	əndäləbb -əñña yiga
<i>tə-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>bälla</i>	<i>=nä</i>	<i>əndäləbb -əñña iga</i>
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	eat	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)	at will our (1.c.pl.) water
they (sg.) do not eat us			according to our will	water

nəsäču			, särdonňa	
ንስሩ			ሰርዶና	
nə-	säč	-u	särdo	-ňña
nə-	<i>säččä</i>	-u	<i>särdo</i>	-əňňa
1.c.pl.impf.	drink	1.c.pl.impf. (main)	tall grass	our (1.c.pl.)
we drink			our tall grass	
nəbälam		baləmun	.	
ንብልም		ባልሙን		
nə-	bäla	=m	bal	-əmun
nə-	<i>bälla</i>	=m	<i>balä</i>	-mun
1.c.pl.impf.	eat	=even	say	3.m.pl.perf.(main)
we even eat			they said	

"Now the hyenas are held by a treaty; they do not eat us, so we drink water as we please,¹⁰⁷ and we also eat our tall grass," the (donkeys) said.

3.6. tädissätmum		tonnämun
ተዲስታም		ትኋናሙን
tädissät	-mu	=m
<i>tädissätä</i>	-m	=m
rejoice	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
they rejoiced and		live
		3.m.pl.perf.(main)
		they lived

So the donkeys lived happily.¹⁰⁸

Paragraph 4.

4.1. gäčä	za	gudda	koččäm
ገ	ዘ	ጋ	ከ
gäčä	za	gudda	koččä =m
<i>gäčä</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>gudda</i>	<i>koččä</i> =m
hyena	that	treaty	fear =resultative action
the hyena	that	treaty	feared

The hyena feared that treaty.

¹⁰⁷ The term *əndäləbb* comes from *əndä* "according to" (Amh.) and *ləbb* "heart." The term is most likely of Amharic influence, since the Kəstane word for *əndä* is the postposition *-kom*.

¹⁰⁸ For the adverbial use of circumstantial verbs see Ch. 4, §XIII.1.

4.2. attəm qay tibäla

አትም ቅይ ተበላ

attəm qay tə-	yə-	bäla	gʷähäna	čə
attəm qay tə-	yə-	bälla	gʷähäna	čə
anything neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	eat	white clay only	
anything he does not eat			white clay only	

yəgäṭu

ይንበ

yə-	gäṭ	-u
yə-	gaṭä	-u
3.m.sg.impf.	nibble	3.m.sg.impf. (main)

he nibbles

He couldn't eat anything, he just nibbled on white clay.

4.3. gʷähäna tigäṭ

ገዢና ተግጥ

gʷähäna	tə=	yə-	gäṭ	tə=	yə-	gäṭ
gʷähäna	tä=	yə-	gaṭä	tä=	yə-	gaṭä
white clay	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	nibble	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	nibble
white clay	while he nibbles			while he nibbles		

yiga tämmannəm

የጋ መማም

yiga	tämma	=nn	=əm
iga	tämma(nn)	=nn	=əm
water	thirst	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action
(for) water	he becomes thirsty and		

äddiyä yobaw

እዲያ የበው

äddiyä	yə-	oba	-w
äddiyä	yə-	wäbba	-u
river	3.m.sg.impf.	go in	3.m.sg.impf. (main)

(to the) river he goes in

While he nibbled and nibbled¹⁰⁹ the white clay, he got thirsty¹¹⁰ for water and went into the river.

¹⁰⁹ Concerning the doubling of verbs (sometimes with preposition *tə-*) for repetitive/prolonged action see Ch. 4, §§XIV.3; XV.2.

¹¹⁰ On the impersonals (Ex.: *tämma(nn)* “thirst”) v. Ch. 4, §IX.5.

4.4. yigi	säččäm	qomäm
የጊ	ሰራም	ቆመም
yiga	-i säččä =m	qomä =m
<i>iga</i>	<i>-i säččä =m</i>	<i>qomä =m</i>
water	the drink =circumstantial action	stand =circumstantial action
the water	he drank and	he stood and
yəbälann?ay		qäbbätäm
ይበላንቸያ		ቁበጣም
yə-	bäla =nn	?ay qäbbätä =m
<i>yə-</i>	<i>bälla =nn</i>	<i>qay qäbbätä =m</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	eat =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	thing lack =resultative action
	something that he eats (it)	he lacked

When he had drunk the water, he stood (there) with nothing to eat.

4.5. " ämar	za?ə	gudda	nänä	"
እማር	ዘመር	ገዢ	ኋ	
ämar	za?ə	gudda	nä	=nä
<i>ämar</i>	<i>začə</i>	<i>gudda</i>	<i>nä</i>	<i>=nä</i>
donkey	the same	treaty	be (copula)	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)
the donkey	the same	(in a) treaty	we are	
baläm				
ባለም				
balä	=m			
<i>balä</i>	<i>=m</i>			
say	=resultative action			
he said				

He said (to himself), "That's the same¹¹¹ donkey with whom we are in a treaty."

4.6. äddiyä	yoba gəze	qəzz baläm
እዲያ	የባ ግዢ	ቅዢ ባለም
äddiyä	yə-	oba gəze qəzz balä =m
<i>äddiyä</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>wäbba gize qəzz balä =m</i>
river	3.m.sg.impf.	go in when stare =circumstantial action
the river	when he entered	he stared and

¹¹¹ This *začə* comes from *za* “that” and *čə* “only.”

ažžənnətən

አዝጋኑን

ažž	=ənnət	=ən
ažžä	=nnət	=ən
look	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	=verb augment
he looked at him		

When (the donkey) entered the river, the hyena stared straight at him.

Paragraph 5.

5.1. " getaddi , bälalädi yemṭa ,"

ገተዳዲ በላላዲ የምጣ

geta	-ddi	bälalä	ädi	ye-	mṭa
geta	-ddi	bälalä	ädi	ye-	mätta
lord	my (1.c.sg.)	upon	I (1.c.sg.)	3.m.sg.juss.	come
my lord		upon me		may (evil) come	

balännətən ämar .

ባልናኑን እማር

balä	=nnət	=ən	ämar
balä	=nnət	=ən	ämar
say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	=verb augment	donkey
he said to him			the donkey

"Greetings,¹¹² good sir!" said the donkey.

5.2. yəbəlgʷäy " bäfanan

ይብልግዬ በፋናና

yə-	bəl	gʷäy	bä=	fana	=n
yə-	balä	goy	bä=	fana	=ən
3.m.sg.impf.	say	when	at=	distance	=be (copula)

when he said (this) at a distance it is

¹¹² This common Kastane greeting (often contracted to *bälalädimṭa*) means literally “May (evil) come upon me (instead of you).” The response to this greeting is *ädi čə* “Only I” (i.e.: “May evil come only upon me and not you.”) A similar salutation when one is saying goodbye to another who is leaving, while the speaker remains behind, is *ägrəddi yetagəd* “May my legs be bound,” to which the response is again *ädi čə*.

taworre**ታወረ**

tə-	aworr	=e
tə-	<i>awärrärä</i>	=e
2.m.sg.impf.	speak	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
you are speaking to me		

tətəmäṭam**ትተመማጥም**

tə-	tə-	mäṭa	=m
tə-	<i>tə-</i>	<i>mäṭta</i>	=m
neg-impf.(main)	2.m.sg.impf.	come	=and
will you not come and			

tətəsäme

wäy ,"

ትተሰሜ

wäy

tə-	tə-	säm	=e	wäy
tə-	<i>tə-</i>	<i>sämä</i>	=e	<i>wäy</i>
neg-impf.(main)	2.m.sg.impf.	kiss	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	or
will you not kiss me				or

balännətən**ባልናንተን**

balä	=nnət	=ən
<i>balä</i>	<i>=nnət</i>	<i>=ən</i>
say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	=verb augment
he said to him		

As the donkey was saying this the hyena said, "You are speaking to me from far away. Won't you come and greet me with a kiss?"¹¹³

5.3. qərb tibəl tənnallä**ቅርብ ተብል ተኋላ**

tə=	yə-	qərb bəl	tənnallä
tä=	yə-	<i>qərb balä</i>	<i>tənnallä</i>
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	come close	while
while he was approaching			

¹¹³ On the use of *wäy* in anticipatory questions see Ch. 4, §XIV.4.

kočcännəm

ከጥጋዥ

koččä	=nn	=əm
<i>koččä</i>	=nn	=əm
fear	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action
he feared him and		

fäkkam	" əmpʷa	" yəbəl gəze
ፈክም	አምኑ	ይብል ገዢ
fäkka =m	əmpʷa	yə- bəl gəze
<i>fäkka</i> =m	<i>əmpʷa</i>	<i>yə-</i> <i>balä</i> <i>gize</i>
come =circumstantial action	"mwa" (kissing sound)	3.m.sg.impf. say when
he came and	"mwa"	when he said
yälali känfäräw	nässalät	.
የእላ ከንፍራው	ናስሳት	
yälalä -i känfär -äw	nässa l= =ät	
<i>yälalä</i> -i <i>känfär</i> -w	<i>nässa</i> <i>lä=</i> =t	
upper the lip his (3.m.sg.) take away for= =him (3.m.sg.obj.main)		
the upper his lip	he took away for himself	

While the donkey approached he came fearfully, and when he kissed the hyena, the hyena took off his upper lip.

5.4. woṭṭaläm

ዋጥታዥ

woṭṭa	lä=	=m
<i>wäṭṭa</i>	<i>lä=</i>	=m
leave for=		=circumstantial action
he left for himself and		

əlləmm yəblu		yəroṭu
ዶልም ይብት		የሬጥ
yə-	əlləmm bl -u	yə- roṭ -u
yə-	əlləmm balä -u	yə- roṭä -u
3.m.sg.impf. vanish	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	3.m.sg.impf. run 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
he vanished (and)		he ran

Then he ran away in a flash.

Paragraph 6.

6.1. bääqäyyäma	yalli	ämar	sar	(särdo)
ብፋጣማ	ያለ	እማር	ሳር	ሰርዶ
bä= qäyyäma	yä= allä	-i	ämar	särdo
bä= qäyyäma	yä= allä	-i	ämar	särdo
in= neighborhood	that= be (of existence)	the	donkey	tall grass
in the neighborhood	the that was		donkey	tall grass

yəbälaw

ይበላው

yə-	bäla	-w
yə-	bälla	-u
3.m.sg.impf.	eat	3.m.sg.impf. (main)

he ate

Another donkey who was in the neighborhood was eating grass (tall grass).

6.2. " yämə?ay tädä?əbbiw

የግምቻይ ትደቅበብዎ

yämə?ay	tä- dä?	əbb= =iw
yäməqay	tä- daqä	bä= =ew
why	2.m.sg.impf.	laugh at= =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)
why	do you laugh	at me

tämä>tagʷäy **," balännät**

ትመጥንጂ **ባለንኩ**

tä-	mäta	gʷäy	balä	=nnät
tä-	mäṭa	goy	balä	=nnät
2.m.sg.impf.	come	when	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

when you come he said to him

The donkey (eating grass) said to him, "Why¹¹⁴ do you come laughing at me?"¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Yäməqay/yämə?ay is a contraction of yämən qay “of what thing?” See Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 73.

¹¹⁵ This is said because the donkey had his upper lip bitten off, thus exposing his teeth, which made him look as though he were laughing.

6.3. sənnähwan	yänäkkäsännəhom	
መንኩን	የነከናሁም	
sənnä -hwan	yä= näkkäsä =nn	=əhom
sənn -hwan	yä= näkkäsä =nn	=hom
tooth his (3.m.sg.)	that= bite	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
(with) his teeth	that he had bitten him	=that

alšalä .

አልሻለ

al-	šalä
al-	šalä
neg-perf.	know
he did not know	

(The donkey eating grass did not realize that the hyena had bitten the other with his teeth.)

Paragraph 7.

7.1. " mən ädä?əbbəko	getaňña	
ምን ፊደቅብ	ገታ	
mən ä- dä? əbbə= =ko	geta -ňña	
mən ä- daqä bä= =ko	geta -əňña	
what? 1.c.sg.impf. laugh at= =you (2.m.sg.obj.)	lord our (1.c.pl.)	
what that I laugh at you	our lord	
gudda käddamunəm	," balä .	
ጊዳ ይጠሙንም	ባለ	
gudda kädda -mun	=əm	balä
gudda kädda -əmun	=əm	balä
treaty betray 3.m.pl.impf.(main)	=resultative action	say
the treaty he (pol.) has betrayed		he said

"The reason I am 'laughing' at you is that our lord (the hyena) has¹¹⁶ broken the treaty," he said.

¹¹⁶ For the use of the plural form of the verb to indicate politeness see Ch. 4, §IX.6.

Paragraph 8.

8.1. " mənko ?"

ምንከ

mənko

mənkom

how?

how?

"How?" (said the other donkey.)¹¹⁷

Paragraph 9.

9.1. "	tətay	zə	känfärəddi	?
	ትታይ	ዘ	ከኻርዳ	
	tə-	ay	känfär	-əddi
	tə-	ažžā	zi	känfär -ddi
	neg-impf.(main)	2.m.sg.impf.	see this lip	my (1.c.sg.)
	do you not see		this my lip	

"Do you not see this lip of mine?

9.2. same

ሳሙ

sam =e

samā =e

kiss =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)

kiss me

baləmuňəm

zihom

ባልሙňም

ዘውም

bal -əmu

=ň

=əm

zihom

balā -əm

=ňň

=əm

zihom

say 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.) =me (1.c.sg.obj.)

=circumstantial action thus

he (pol.) said to me and

thus

¹¹⁷ On the abbreviated form of *-kom* (-ko) see Ch. 4, §X.2.1.

qinnämuňu		," balännət
ቁንሙኑ		ባልናነት
qinnä -mu	=ňu	balä =nnət
<i>qinna</i> -m	=ňň	<i>balä</i> =nnət
do 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he (pol.) did to me		he said to him

He said, 'Kiss me,' and then he did this to me!" he said to him.

Paragraph 10.

10.1. " ahu yiga mən nəsäču ?

አሁ ፍጋ ሙን ነስራ

ahu yiga	mən nə-	säč -u
<i>ahu iga</i>	<i>mən nə-</i>	<i>säččä</i> -u
now water how 1.c.pl.impf.	drink	1.c.pl.impf. (main)
now water how shall we drink		

"How shall we drink water now?

10.2. nəmut aldäbäl əňňa mənkom

ንዢት	አልዳበል እና	ምንክም
nə-	mut	aldäbäl əňňa
<i>nə-</i>	<i>motä</i>	<i>aldäbäl əňňa</i>
1.c.pl.juss.	die	unless we (1.c.pl.) how?
let us die		unless we (1.c.pl.) how

nəsäču

.

ንስራ

nə-	säč -u
<i>nə-</i>	<i>säččä</i> -u
1.c.pl.impf.	drink
shall we drink	1.c.pl.impf. (main)

Let us die unless we can somehow drink."

10.3.	yiga	tiyakäta	ämar	.
	የ	ተያከታ	አማር	
yiga	ti-	yə-	akäta	amar
<i>iga</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>akätta</i>	<i>amar</i>
water	neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	tolerate	donkey
water	they (sg.)	can not tolerate (going without)		donkeys

Donkeys cannot stand going without water.

Paragraph 11.

11.1.	quni	ämar	täsätäm	äddiyä
	ቁኒ	አማር	ታሰጥም	አዲያ
quna	-i	ämar	täsätä =m	äddiyä
<i>quna</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ämar</i>	<i>täsätä</i> =m	<i>äddiyä</i>
one	the	donkey	hide =circumstantial action	river
the one	donkey	hid himself and		the river

yobaw

የበው

yə-	oba	-w
<i>yə-</i>	<i>wäbba</i>	<i>-u</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	go in	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
he goes in		

The other donkey went into the river in secret.

11.2.	äddiyä	yoba gëze	ahum	gäčä	bäbäza
	አዲያ	የበ ግዢ	አሁም	ገዢ	በባዛ
äddiyä	yə-	oba	gëze	ahum	gäčä
<i>äddiyä</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>wäbba</i>	<i>gize</i>	<i>ahum</i>	<i>gäčä</i>
river	3.m.sg.impf.	go in	when	again	hyena
the river	when he entered		again	the hyena	there

qomäm		biga wəšta		" getaddi
ቆመም		ቢጋ ወሻታ		"ገተዳዲ
qomä	=m	bə=	iga	wəšta
<i>qomä</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>iga</i>	<i>wəšta</i>
stand	=circumstantial action	in=	water	within
stood and		within the water		my lord

bädilälä	yemṭä	" balännät
በዳልላ	የምጥ	ባልናነት
bä= ädi	lalä ye-	mṭä balä =nnät
bä= ädi	lalä ye-	mäṭa balä =nnat
on= I (1.c.sg.) upon 3.m.sg.juss.	come	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
upon me	may (evil) come	he said to him

When the donkey entered the river, the hyena again stood within the water and said to him, "Greetings, good sir!"

11.3. " tətəmäṭam

ት-ትመጥም

tə-	tə-	mäṭa	=m
tə-	tə-	mäṭa	=m
neg-impf.(main)	2.m.sg.impf.	come	=and
will you not come and			

ት-ትሰመው

,"

ት-ትሰመው

tə-	tə-	säm	=ew
tə-	tə-	sämä	=ew
neg-impf.(main)	2.m.sg.impf.	kiss	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)
will you not kiss me			

balännäm

yäzanimi ämar

ባልናም

የዘንም ፊማር

balä =nn	=əm	yäzanimi	ämar
balä =nn	=əm	yäzanimi	ämar
say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action	the other (one)	donkey
he said to him and		the other	donkey

"Will you not come and kiss me?" the hyena said to this other donkey.

11.4. yəbelgʷäy

ይ-በልግ-

yə-	bəl	gʷäy	yä= ädi	geta bæza	=m
yə-	balä	goy	yä= ädi	geta bæza	=m
3.m.sg.impf.	say	when	of= I (1.c.sg.)	lord there	=and
when he said			my	lord	there and

" yädi

የዲ

ንታ በዕም

geta bæza =m
geta bæza =m
lord there and

əmpʷa	, bäzam	əmpʷa	, bäzam
λምቷ	በዛም	λምቷ	በዛም
əmpʷa	bäza =m	əmpʷa	bäza =m
əmpʷa	bäza =m	əmpʷa	bäza =m
"mwa" (kissing sound)	there =and "mwa" (kissing sound)	"mwa"	there =and
"mwa"	there and "mwa"		there
əmpʷa	," balännəm		
ለዝም			
əmpʷa	balä =nn		=əm
əmpʷa	balä =nn		=əm
"mwa" (kissing sound)	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action	
"mwa"	he said to him and		

woṭṭalläm

ወጥታለም

woṭṭa llä =m
wäṭṭa lä= =m
 leave for =and
 he left for himself and

əlləmm baläm

ወልም በለም
 əlləmm balä =m
əlləmm balä =m
 vanish =circumstantial action
 he vanished and

alläfo

አለፍ
 alläf -o
alläfä -u
 go away 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
 he went away

When the hyena said this, the donkey replied, "Ah, my good sir! Let me blow kisses to you over there: mwa, mwa, mwa," and with that he left without a trace.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ The end of this, and many other stories in which a character tricks or outwits another, typically evoked much laughter from an audience at its conclusion.

5. Yädamu säbočč tarik (bäbuttağira)

“A History of the Damu People” (Buttajira, session 1; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Daniel Eressa; 2) Zälläqä Tuki (from Damu)¹¹⁹

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) mənən , mən

¶¶	¶¶
mən	=ən
<i>mən</i>	<i>=ən</i>
what?	=be (copula)
what is it	what

bakkänn

näməssi ?

¶¶

¶¶

bal	-kä	=nn	nä=	məss	-i
<i>balä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	<i>=nn</i>	<i>nä=</i>	<i>məss</i>	<i>-i</i>
say	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	to=	man	the
did you say to him				to the man	

1) What is it, what did you say to the man?¹²⁰

Paragraph 2.

2.1. 2) " fäyya wakkäm

?

¶¶

fäyya wal -kä =m

fäyya walä -kä =m

well spend the day 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) =resultative action

well have you spent the day

2) "Have you had a good day?¹²¹

¹¹⁹ The following was taken from our participant when he had just left a small shop and agreed to an interview. The shopkeeper was also Kəstane.

¹²⁰ “The man” here mentioned was the shopkeeper.

¹²¹ For the assimilation of /l to /k see Ch. 4, §II.1.2.3.

yahəlu

?"

ያሁለ

yə- ahəl -u

yə- akkälä -u

3.m.sg.impf. amount to 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
does it amount to

2) "There is," (he said). "What does it cost?" (I said).

4.2. " assər bərr

," balew

አስር በር

ባለው

assər bərr

bal =ew

assər bərr

balä =ew

ten Bərr (Ethiopian currency)

say =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

ten bərr

he said to me

"Ten bərr," he said to me.

4.3. " ärä , tawəšš ."

እራ ታውሽ

ärä taw =əšš

ärä täwä =ś

why! leave =indeed

why leave (it) indeed

"Well then, just forget it,"¹²² (I said).

Paragraph 5.

5.1. 1) tawu , yäməssənna

ታው

የማስኬ

taw =u yä= məss =ənna

täwä =äw yä= məss =ənna

leave =him (3.m.sg.obj.) of= husband =and

leave it of a husband and

¹²² On the biradical verbs (Ex.: täwä) see Ch. 4, §IX.4.2.

yäməštən ...

የማስታን

yä= məšt =ən

yä= məšt =ən

of= wife =be (copula)

of a wife it is

1) (Yes), forget it. It is for a husband and wife¹²³ ...

Paragraph 6.

6.1. 2) bunna məssənna məštəmma mässäman bunna

በና ሙስና የማትማ መያዝናን በና

bunna məss =ənna məšt =əmma mässäman bunna

bunna məss =ənna məšt =m mässäman bunna

coffee husband =and wife =also evening coffee

coffee a husband and a wife also (in the) evening coffee

balafäla balsäčä ...

ባለፈላ በልሳቃ

bä= al- afäla bä= al- säčä

bä= al- afälla bä= al- säččä

if= neg-perf. boil if= neg-perf. drink

if they (sg.) do not boil if they (sg.) do not drink

2) (As for) coffee, if a husband and wife do not boil and drink coffee in the evening...

Paragraph 7.

7.1. 1) tidänq

ተደንቅ

tə- yə- dänq ädäl =n

tə- yə- dännäqä ädäbəl =n

neg-impf.(main) 3.m.sg.impf. be admirable neg. of copula =be (copula)

it is not admirable is it not

?

ädäll

እዳል

¹²³ This is a reference to the fact that coffee is seen in the culture primarily as a drink offered by a husband and wife to their neighbors and other guests.

1) ...it's not admirable, is it?¹²⁴

Paragraph 8.

8.1. 2) **tidäʔəm**

ተዳቃዥ

tə-	yə-	dä?	-əm
tə-	yə-	daqä	-əm
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.pl.impf.	laugh	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
they do not laugh			

tidänq

ተዳንቅ

tə-	yə-	dänq
tə-	yə-	dännäqä
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	be admirable
it is not admirable		

2) People do not laugh,¹²⁵ it is not admirable.

8.2. **məštəmma balda?älkä**

ማስትማ

ባልዳቀል

məšt	=əmma	bä=	al-	da?ä	l=	=kä
məšt	=m	bä=	al-	daqä	lä=	=kä
wife	=as for	if=	neg-perf.	laugh	for=	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)
as for the wife	if one does not laugh for you					

təwoləm

təgäba gʷäy

ትዋልም

ትንበ ጉይ

tə-	wol	=əm	tə-	gäba	gʷäy
tə-	walä	=əm	tə-	gäbba	goy
2.m.sg.impf.	spend the day	=circumstantial action	2.m.sg.impf.	enter	when
when you spend the day and				when you enter	

¹²⁴ These statements imply the hospitality that is to be shown to guests through the traditional preparation of coffee. The meaning here is that if the husband and wife do not prepare coffee and drink (with their neighbors or other guests) they are acting inhospitably, which is shameful behavior.

¹²⁵ For the interchange of *q* and *ʔ* see Ch. 4, §II.1.4.2.

ge **bämärräräbbəkä**
z **ՂՃՀՀՈՒ**
 ge bä= märrärä bbə= =kä
 ge bä= märrärä bä= =kä
 house if= be angry against= =you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)
 the house if one is angry at you

տՅօ՞յայօն .

ՏԵՐԳԵԴ

տՅօ ?ay =ən
 tՅօ qay =ən
 bad thing =be (copula)
 it is a bad thing

As for the wife, if one does not laugh because of you,¹²⁶ when you spend the day and enter the house, if someone is angry at you, it is a bad thing.

Paragraph 9.

9.1. 1) yägemmitədä ...?

ՊՆՊՆԴԸ

yägemmit -ədä
 yägemmit -dä
 wife your (2.m.sg.)
 your wife

1) Your wife¹²⁷ ...?

Paragraph 10.

10.1. 2) yägemmitəddi	baltädäsätätt
ՊՆՊՆԴԸ	ՊԱՌՔԱՌԴ
yägemmit -əddi	bä= al- tädäsät -ätt
yägemmit -ddi	bä= al- tädässätä -ät
wife my (1.c.sg.)	if= neg-perf. be happy 3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)
my wife	if she is not happy

¹²⁶ The statement “laugh because of you” refers to entertaining one’s guests.

¹²⁷ Yägemmit “wife/mistress of the house” comes from yä- “of”, ge “the house”, and əmmmit “mother.” Cf. Gə’əz əmmäbet.

... ädi	bäzi	äsäčəm		
እዲ	በዚ እስጥም			
ädi	bäzi	ä-	säč	=əm
ädi	bäzi	ä-	säččä	=əm
I (1.c.sg.)	here	1.c.sg.impf.	drink	=circumstantial action
I	here	I drink and		

ägäbam			yägemmitəddi	
እገባም			የገመትኩ	
ä-	gäba	=m	yägemmit	-əddi
ä-	gäbba	=m	yägemmit	-ddi
1.c.sg.impf.	enter	=circumstantial action	wife	my (1.c.sg.)
I enter and			my wife	
baladdäsätku			motən	.
ብልደስታቱ			ሞትን	
bä= al-	addäsät	-ku	mot	=ən
bä= al-	atdissätä	-ki	mot	=ən
if= neg-perf.	please	1.c.sg.perf.(main)	death	=be (copula)
if I have displeased			it is death	

If my wife is not happy...I drink here and I come home, and if I have displeased my wife it means death.

10.2. enna	tähʷa	folä	tärätən	,
እና	ተኞቸለ		ተረትን	
=ənna	tä=	hʷa	folä	tärät =ən
=ənna	tä=	kʷa	fʷälä	tärät =ən
=and	from=	he (3.m.sg.)	after	story =be (copula)
and	after that		it is a story	

yäwənqitən		.
የወንቀቃን		
yäwənqit		=ən
yäwənqit		=ən
a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)		=be (copula)
it is a riddle		

And after that, it is a story or a riddle (that you want).

10.3. tärät	täble	gʷäy	"	mən
તಾರೆತ	ತಾಬಲೆ ಗ್ಯಾ			ಗ್ಯಾನ್
tärät	tə-	bl	=e	gʷäy
<i>tärät</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>=e</i>	<i>goy</i>
story	2.m.sg.impf.	say	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	when
a story	when you say to me			what?
				what

təšlu "

ತಾಳು

tə-	šl	-u	
<i>tə-</i>	<i>šalä</i>	<i>-u</i>	
2.m.sg.impf.	know	2.m.sg.impf. (main)	
do you know			.

bakkew

ಒಹ್ವೊ

bal	-kä	=ew	
<i>balä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	<i>=ew</i>	
say	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)	
you said to me			

When you asked me for a story, you said to me, "What (stories) do you know?"

10.4. ädi	lahänəm	dähä
ಅಡಿ	ಲಾಹಾನೆಮ್	ಡಾಹೆ
ädi	lahä	=ñ
<i>ädi</i>	<i>lakä</i>	<i>=ññ</i>
I (1.c.sg.)	send	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)
I	one sent me and	=circumstantial action
		you (2.m.sg.)
		you

yitti **talfu** ?

ಹಾತು **ಫಲ್ಫು**

yitti	tə-	alf	-u	
<i>yitti</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>alläfä</i>	<i>-u</i>	
where?	2.m.sg.impf.	go	2.m.sg.impf. (main)	
where	are you going			

"As for me, I have been sent, but where¹²⁸ are you yourself going?"

10.5. t̥laldä	tädähä gʷäy			
ΤΛΔŁ	†ŁŁ Ł ɻ			
t̥lal	-dä	tä=	dähä	gʷäy
t̥lal	-dä	tä=	dähä	goy
shadow	your (2.m.sg.)	with respect to=	you (2.m.sg.)	with
	your shadow		with you	
yikkittəlu¹²⁹		ädäll		?
የክትና		ጀዳል		
yi-	kkittəl	-u	ädäl	=n
yə-	täkittälä	-u	ädäbəl	=n
3.m.sg.impf.	follow	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	neg. of copula	=be (copula)
it follows			is it not	

Your shadow follows you along, doesn't it?¹³⁰

Paragraph 11.

11.1. 1) yi , t̥lalən	wobälən¹³¹				
የ	ወብልን				
yi	t̥lal	=ən	wo-	bäl	=ən
ye	t̥lal	=ən	wä-	balä	=ən
yes	shadow	=verb augment	infinitive prefix	say	=be (copula)
yes	it is shadow		to say it is		

1) Yes, that is to say it is shadow.

¹²⁸ On *yitti* see Ch. 4, §XI.1.

¹²⁹ On the assimilation of *t* to the first radical in *tä*-stems see Ch. 4, §§II.1.2.4; IX.2.1.

¹³⁰ This is the speaker's explanation of how the answer is "shadow." The same riddle can be seen above in different form on pg. 60.

¹³¹ On the shift of *wä* to *wo* see Ch. 4, §II.1.1.2.

Paragraph 12.

12.1. 2) dähä lahäkäm

گَهْ	لَاهَكَمْ	
dähä	lahä =kä	=m
<i>dähä</i>	<i>lakä</i> =kä	=m
you (2.m.sg.)	send =you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	=circumstantial action
you	one has sent you	

näməssale ... dähä

نَمْسَلَةُ	گَهْ
nä= məssale	dähä
<i>nä= məssale</i>	<i>dähä</i>
for= example	you (2.m.sg.)
for example	you

lahäkäm

لَاهَكَمْ	
lahä =kä	=m
<i>lakä</i> =kä	=m
send =you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	=circumstantial action
one has sent you	

ädäll ?

أَدَلَّ	
ädäl	=n
<i>ädäbəl</i>	=n
neg. of copula	=be (copula)
is it not	

2) As for you, someone sends you, for example,...one sends you, is it not?

12.2. təlaldä tädähä gʷäy

تَلَالَةُ	تَدَاهَةُ گَوْيَةُ	.
təlal	-dä	tä=
<i>təlal</i>	<i>-dä</i>	<i>tä=</i>
shadow	your (2.m.sg.)	with respect to=
your shadow		you (2.m.sg.)
		with

And your shadow (goes) with you.

Paragraph 13.

13.1. 1) kittälänni¹³² mənən

କିତ୍ତାଳନ୍ନି ମେନେନ

kittälännä -i mən =ən
kittälännä -i *mən* =ən
 second the what? =be (copula)
 the second what is it

yäwənqit ?

ଯୋଗ୍ଫଳ

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle!

1) What is the second riddle?

Paragraph 14.

14.1. 2) tädi təbälam

ତେଦି ତେବାଲାମ

tä= ädi tə- bälä =m
 tā= ädi tə- bällä =m
 with= I (1.c.sg.) 2.m.sg.impf. eat =circumstantial action what?
 with me you eat and what

yakäsaho ?

ଯକ୍ଷାହୋ

yə- akäsa =ho
 yə- akässa =əho
 3.m.sg.impf. make skinny =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(main)
 makes you skinny

2) "You eat with me, but why are you skinny?"¹³³

¹³² For the ordinals see Ch. 4, §VI.2.

¹³³ This same riddle can be see above on pp. 32-33.

Paragraph 15.

15.1. 1) ye , sostäläňña ?

ye **ሥስተላጀ**

ye sostäläňña

ye *sostäläňňä*

yes third

yes a third

1) Yes, a third riddle?

Paragraph 16.

16.1. 2) sostäläňña bärr alman käbäban¹³⁴ .

ሥስተላጀ **በር** **አልማን** **ከበባብ**

sostäläňña bär alman käbäba =n

sostäläňňä *bär* *alman* *käbäba* =*n*

third door without enclosure =be (copula)

the third is a door without an enclosure it is

2) The third riddle is: "An enclosure without a door."

Paragraph 17.

17.1. 1) mənən ?

ምናን

mən =ən

mən =*ən*

what? =be (copula)

what is it

1) What is it?

¹³⁴ *Käbäba* can also mean “circle.”

Paragraph 18.

18.1. 2) gäbäya name

ገበያ	gäbäya	nam	=e
	<i>gäbäya</i>	<i>nam</i>	=e
	market	give! (impv.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
	a market	give me	

2) Give me a market.

18.2. buttağıra name

ቡታገራ	buttağıra	nam	=e
	<i>buttağıra</i>	<i>nam</i>	=e
	Buttağıra (Gurage town)	give! (impv.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
	Buttağıra (market)	give me	

Give me Buttağıra market!

Paragraph 19.

19.1. 1) wəsäd

ወሮድ
wəsäd
<i>wässädä</i>
take

take (it)

1) Take it.

Paragraph 20.

20.1. 2) buttağıraddi

ቡታገራዲ
buttağıra
<i>buttağıra</i>
Buttağıra (Gurage town)
Buttağıra is mine

ablaye		asče	.
አብላይ		አስቃ	
abla	=ye	asč	=e
<i>abälla</i>	=e	<i>asäççä</i>	=e
give to eat	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	give to drink	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
give me something to eat		give me something to drink	

2) Buttağıra is mine! Give me something to eat, give me something to drink.

20.2. görgätən .

ገርግታን

gärgät	=ən
<i>gärgät</i>	=ən
hearth	=be (copula)
it is the hearth	

It is the hearth.¹³⁵

Paragraph 21.

21.1. 1) görgät ... görgät ?

ገርግታ	ገርግታ
gärgät	gärgät
<i>gärgät</i>	<i>gärgät</i>
hearth	hearth
hearth	hearth

1) The hearth...the hearth?

Paragraph 22.

22.1. 2) ye , bärr yellänn ... ahu

የ	በር	የለን	አሁ
ye	bärr	yellä	=nn
<i>ye</i>	<i>bär</i>	<i>yellä</i>	=nn
yes	door	neg. of existence	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
yes	a door	he does not have	now
			now

¹³⁵ The hearth in a traditional Kestane dwelling is a round pit dug into the ground. Hence the riddle speaks of an “enclosure/circle” with no doors.

tigäfrəññ ?

ተግፍርኝ

tə-	yə-	gäfr	=əññ
tə-	yə-	gäffärä	=əññ
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	let go	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)
will one not let me go			

Yes, it does not have a door...may I not go now?

Paragraph 23.

23.1. 1) ärä dəbäl , lela tarik .

እራ	ደብል	ለላ	ታሪክ
ärä	dəbäl	lela	tarik
ärä	däbbälä	lela	tarik
why!	add	another	history
come now!	add	another	history

1) Come now! Give us another one, another history.

6. Quna tämama sáb (bäbuttağıra)

“A Crooked Man” (Buttajira, session 2; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Zälläqä Tuki (from Damu); 2) Daniel Eressa)¹³⁶

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) quna tämama sáb ...

ቁና	ጥማማ	ሳብ
quna	tämama	sáb
quna	tämama	sáb
a	crooked	man
a	crooked	a man

1) A crooked man...

¹³⁶ In this discourse the speaker begins by explaining a Kəstane proverb. As he concludes he recognizes something in the features of Daniel Eressa, my language assistant, that offer him clues to pinpoint Mr. Eressa's lineage. This was rather remarkable, as Mr. Eressa had no knowledge of ever having met the speaker before this date.

Paragraph 2.

2.1. 2) aqqəs	, tämägämmäriyi	qəräsəss	.
አቃስ	ተመጀመሪያ	ቅርሱስ	
aqqəs	tä= mägämmäriya	-i qəräs	=əss
iqqässä	tä= mägämmäriya	-i qärrässä	=s
wait	from= beginning	the start	=indeed
wait	from the beginning	start	

2) Wait, start from the beginning.

Paragraph 3.

3.1. 1) " wäy	agär	gəfär	, wäy ¹³⁷	agär	wəsäd	"
ወይ	አገር	ገዢ	ወይ	አገር	ወ-ሳድ	
wäy	agär	gəfär	wäy	agär	wəsäd	
wäy	agär	gäffärä	wäy	agär	wässädä	
either	countryside	leave	or	countryside	take	
either	the countryside	leave	or	the countryside	take	
yäbalä	kəstane		?			
የባለ	ከስተና					
yä=	balä	kəstane				
yä=	balä	kəstane				
that=	say	Kəstane (people group)				
that he says	a Kəstane					

1) Isn't it that a Kəstane says, "Either leave the country or take the country"?

Paragraph 4.

4.1. 2) ä	.
አ	
ä	
ää	
yeah (interjection of agreement)	
yeah	

2) Yeah.

¹³⁷ For the use of *wäy* as "either...or" see Ch. 4, §XII.1.1.

Paragraph 5.

5.1. 1) yämənən ?

የግዢን

yämən =ən

yämən =ən

why? =be (copula)

why is it

1) Why is it?

5.2. bagär wəšta	ተወቃያ
ባገር ወሻታ	ጥቃቅያ
bä= agär	wəšta ተወቃ የያ
bä= agär	wəšta ተወቃ የያ
in= countryside	within bad something
in the countryside	something bad

tiwzäyy	.
ተውዘይ	
tə-	yə-
tə-	yə-
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.
one does not do	do

Bad things are not done in the countryside.

5.3. " wäy agär	məsäləm	ədär	, wäy agär
ወይ አገር	ምስልም	እደር	ወይ አገር
wäy agär	məsäl	=əm ədär	wäy agär
wäy agär	mässälä	=əm addärä	wäy agär
either countryside	be like	=and live (spend time)	or countryside
either the countryside	be like and	take your time	or the countryside

gəfärəm	əläfən	" yäbalu				
ግፋርም	አለፍን	የባለ				
gəfär	=əm	əläf	=ən	yä=	bal	=u
<i>gäffärä</i>	=əm	<i>alläfā</i>	=ən	<i>yä</i> =	<i>balä</i>	=äw
leave	=and	go	=be (copula)	that=	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
leave (it) and	go it is				that one says it	

It is said, "Either be like the countryside and take your time, or just leave it and go."

5.4. agär	wowsädəm			
አገር	ወውሳድም			
agär	wo-	wsäd	=əm	
<i>agär</i>	<i>wä-</i>	<i>wässäda</i>	=əm	
countryside	infinitive prefix	take	=and	
the countryside	to take and			
wodär	yelläbo			?
ወደር	የለቦ			
wo-	ədär	yellä	b=	=o
<i>wä-</i>	<i>addärä</i>	<i>yellä</i>	<i>bä</i> =	=äw
infinitive prefix	live (spend time)	neg. of existence	on=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
to spend time		is it not upon one		

Musn't one take the countryside and relax?

Paragraph 6.

6.1. 2) yinäbot

yinäbot			
የነበት			
yinä	bä=	=ot	
<i>yinä</i>	<i>bä</i> =	=äw	
be (exist)	on=	=him (3.m.sg.obj)	
it is upon one			

2) Yes, one must.

Paragraph 7.

7.1. 1)	wäyəm agär	wogfərəm		
	ወይም አገር	ወጋፍርም		
	wäyəm agär	wo-	gfr	=əm
	wäyəm agär	wä-	gäffärä	=əm
	or countryside	infinitive prefix	leave	=and
	or the countryside	to leave		and
woläf	yelläbo			?
ወልፍ	የለቦ			
wo-	əläf yellä	b=	=o	
wä-	alläfä yellä	bä=	=äw	
infinitive prefix	go neg. of existence	on=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	
to go	is it not upon one			

1) Otherwise, shouldn't he just leave the countryside and go?

Paragraph 8.

8.1. 2)	yämənən	agär	yəgäfərəm	
	የማንን	አገር	የጋፍርም	
	yämən =ən	agär	yə-	gäfər =əm
	yämən =ən	agär	yə-	gäffärä =əm
	why? =be (copula)	countryside	3.m.sg.impf.	leave =and
	why is it	the countryside	he should leave	it and
yalf				?
ያልፍ				
yə-	alf			
yə-	alläfä			
3.m.sg.impf.	go			
he should go				

2) Why is it that one should leave the countryside and pass it by?

Paragraph 9.

9.1. 1) fäyya baladärä

ፈ.፩ ብለደራ

fäyya bā= al- adärä
fäyya bā= al- addärä
 well if= neg-perf. live (spend time)
 well if he does not spend time

, tämama bähonä ...

ጥማማ በሁን

tämama bā= honä
tämama bā= honä
 crooked if= be
 crooked if he is

ትämamanna wäy yəgällu¹³⁸

ጥማማና ወይ ይገለት

tämama =nna wäy yə- gäll -u wäy
tämama =ənna wäy yə- *gäddälä -u* wäy
 crooked =and either 3.m.sg.impf. kill 3.m.sg.impf. (main) or
 crooked either he will kill or

yəgällut

የገለት

yə- gäll -u =t
yə- gäddälä -u =t
 3.m.sg.impf. kill 3.m.sg.impf. (main) =him (3.m.sg.obj.main)
 one will kill him

läzattən ahu

ለዝተን

lä= za =tt =ən ahu
lä= za =tt =ən ahu
 for= that =be (copula) =be (copula) now
 for that (reason) it is now

yegfärəñň

የግፈርኝ

ye- gfär =əñň
ye- gäffärä =əñň
 3.m.sg.juss. leave =me (1.c.sg.obj.)
 let one leave me

If one does not spend his time well, if he is crooked...crooked, either he will kill or he will be killed...it is for that reason; now let me go.

¹³⁸ On the assimilation of *d* to *l* v. Ch. 4, §II.1.2.3.

9.2. gäyyätəddi	näläf		, mənalbat gən
ಗೆಯ್ಯಾಡ್ಡಿ	ನಲ್ಲಿ		ಮೊನಾಲಬಟ್ ಗೆನ್
gäyyät -əddi	nä-	əläf	mənalbat gən
gäyyät -ddi	nä-	alläfää	mənalbat gən
hamlet my (1.c.sg.)	1.c.sg.juss.	go	perhaps but
(to) my hamlet	let me go		perhaps but
alfə gʷäy	äšäkko		.
ಅಳ್ಫ್ ಗ್ವೆಯ್	ಅಂಕ್ಕು		
ä-	alfə	gʷäy	=ko
ä-	alläfää	goy	=ko
1.c.sg.impf.	go	when	1.c.sg.impf. recognize =you (2.m.sg.obj.)
when I go		I recognize	you

Let me go to my hamlet, but perhaps, as I am going, I recognize you.

Paragraph 10.

10.1. 2) təšlewəšš			?
ತೆಂಳೆಷ್ಟು			
tə-	ſl	=ew	=əšš
tə-	ſalä	=ew	=ſ
2.m.sg.impf.	recognize	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)	=indeed
you recognize me	indeed		

2) You really recognize me?

Paragraph 11.

11.1. 1) yehunəšš		alfə gʷäy
ಹೆನುಣ್ಣಿ		ಅಳ್ಫ್ ಗ್ವೆಯ್
ye-	hun	=əšš
ye-	honä	=ſ
3.m.sg.juss.	be	=indeed
let it be	indeed	1.c.sg.impf.
		go
		when
		when I go

äšäkko

፳፻፲

ä-	šäl	=ko
ä-	šalä	=ko
1.c.sg.impf.	recognize	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)
I will recognize you		

1) Yes indeed, as I am leaving I recognize you.

11.2. damu

wolaʔədä

የሰው

ወለቁድ

damu	wo-	la?	-ədä
damu	wä-	laqä	-dä
Damu (place name)	infinitive prefix	grow up	your (2.m.sg.)
Damu	your growing up		

tiqirr¹³⁹

ተቋር

tə-	yə-	qirr
tə-	yə-	qirrä
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	fail
it will not fail		

Your upbringing was in Damu, without a doubt.

Paragraph 12.

12.1. 2) damu

ye yinäbiw

, maläs

የሰው

የይበው

ማለስ

damu

ye yinä

b=

=iW

maläs

damu

ye yinä

bä=

=ew

maläs

Damu (place name)

yes be (exist)

in=

=me

(1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

a little

Damu

yes it is in me

a little

¹³⁹ The use of *tiqirr* in Kəstanəňña is like that of *ayqärəm* in Amharic.

qay yinäbiw

ቁይ የንበው

qay yinä b= =iw

qay yinä bä= =ew

thing be (exist) in= =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

thing it is in me

2) Damu, yes, I have some in me, there is a little bit (of Damu) in me.

Paragraph 13.

13.1. 1) izkäyyänən

እዝካየያናን

ə-	iz	=kä	=yyän	=ən
ä-	yizzä	=kä	=yyän	=ən
1.c.sg.impf.	figure out	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	=to	=be (copula)
I am going to figure you out				

.

1) I am going to figure you out yet.

Paragraph 14.

14.1. 2) metiyyaččəddi

damu

ማተያችቸ፻

ዳሙ

metiyyä -ačč -əddi damu

metiyyä -ačč -ddi damu

grandparent pl my (1.c.sg.) Damu (place name)

my grandparents (people of) Damu

näm

.

ነም

nä =äm

nä =äm

be (copula) them (3.m.pl.obj.)

they are

2) My grandparents are from Damu.

Paragraph 15.

15.1. 1) izkäyyänən

አንከያን

ə-	iz	=kä	=yyän	=ən
ä-	yizzä	=kä	=yyän	=ən
1.c.sg.impf.	figure out	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	=to	=be (copula)
I am going to figure you out				

, izko

gən yäma

ge

አንከ

ግኝ የማ

ለ

ə-	iz	=ko	gən	yä=	ma	ge
ä-	yizzä	=ko	gən	yä=	ma	ge
1.c.sg.impf.	figure out	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)	but	of=	who	house
I shall figure you out			but	whose		house

bətəble

በትብል

bə=	tə-	bl	=e
bä=	tə-	balä	=e
if=	2.m.sg.impf.	say	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
if you say to me			

qäčč äbələm

ቁር ፊስልም

ä-	qäčč bəl	=əm
ä-	qäčč balä	=əm
1.c.sg.impf.	be straight	=circumstantial action

I shall be straight and

izkä

.

አንከ

ə-	iz	=kä
ä-	yizzä	=kä
1.c.sg.impf.	figure out	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)
I shall figure you out		

1) I am going to figure you out. I shall figure you out, but if you say to me of whose household you are I shall figure you out straightaway.

Paragraph 16.

16.1. 2)	əččə	awde	bäy	.
	λ̥θ	λθ·θ	θ	
	əččə	awd	=e	bäy
	əččə	wädä	=e	bäy
	come on! tell	=me (1.c.sg.obj.) (subord.)	all right	
	come on! tell me		all right	

2) All right then, tell me.

16.2. ä	yäma	gen	?
λ	ρη	τη	
ä	yä=	ma	ge =n
ä	yä=	ma	ge =ən
yeah (interjection of agreement)	of=	who	house =be (copula)
yeah		whose	house is it

Whose house is it?

Paragraph 17.

17.1. 1)	nawdähä	gən	?
	ρω·λη	ρη	
nä-	awd	=ähä	gən
nä-	wädä	=nnähä	gən
1.c.sg.juss.	tell	=you (2.m.sg.obj.) (subord.)	but
		should I tell you	but

1) But should I tell you?

Paragraph 18.

18.1. 2)	yi	.
	γ	
	yi	
	ye	
	yes	
	yes	

2) Yes.

Paragraph 19.

19.1. 1) tamnew

ታማዙው

tə-	amn	=ew
tə-	ammänä	=ew
2.m.sg.impf.	believe	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

you will believe me

ädäll ?

አልላ

ädäl	=n
ädäbəl	=n
neg. of copula	=be (copula)

is it not

1) And you will believe me, then?

19.2. aräda mägäñas

məndän

?...

አራዳ ሙጋናስ

aräda mägäñas	mən	-dä	=n
aräda mägäñas	mən	-dä	=n
Aräda Mägäñas (personal name)	what?	your (2.m.sg.)	=be (copula)
Aräda Mägäñas		is your what?	

What (relation) is Aräda Mägäñas to you?

Paragraph 20.

20.1. 2) metiyyäddin

!

መተያደን

metiyyä	-ddi	=n
metiyyä	-ddi	=n
grandparent	my (1.c.sg.)	=be (copula)

he is my grandfather

2) That is my grandfather!¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ *Aräda Mägäñas* is the maternal grandfather of Daniel Eressa. The term *metiyyä* shows no distinction between maternal and paternal grandparents, nor between the genders of the grandparents.

Paragraph 21.

21.1. 1) ädäbəkku ?

እደብኩ

ädäbəl -ku

ädäbəl -ki

neg. of copula 1.c.sg.perf.(main)

am I not (right?)

1) Am I not right?

21.2. aräda mägänas

wobälko

አራዳ ሙግናስ

aräda mägänas

የወልክ

wo- bäl =ko

aräda mägänas

wä-

balä =ko

Aräda Mägänas (personal name)

infinitive prefix

say =you (2.m.sg.obj.)

Aräda Mägänas

to say to you

yädamu .

ያዳሙ

yä= damu

yä= damu

of= Damu (place name)

of Damu

(I am right) in saying Aräda Mägänas...of Damu.

Paragraph 22.

22.1. 2) yämässäläčč

bayy näw

ያመሳላቻ

yä= mässäläčč

የይ ካው

bayy nä =äw

yä= mässäläčč

bayy nä =ew

of= Mässäläčč (personal name) son be (copula) =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

of Mässäläčč a son I am

ädi .

ԷՃ

ädi

ädi

I (1.c.sg.)

I

2) I am a son of Mässäläčč.¹⁴¹

Paragraph 23.

23.1. 1)	agär	bido	šässäm
	հԿԸ	Ա.Ք	ՌՃՊ
	agär	bido	šässä =m
	agär	bido	šässä =m
	country	Bido (place name)	flee =circumstantial action
	the country	(to) Bido	fled and
	yalfə gʷäy	ṭor	mätṭam
	ՔՃԳ Դ.Ք	ԹԸ	ՄՃՊ
	yə-	alfə	gʷäy ṭor mätṭa =m
	yə-	alläfā	goy ṭor mätṭa =m
	3.m.sg.impf.	go	when war come =circumstantial action
	when they (sg.)	went	war came and
	aräda mögänas		
	ՀՀԳ ՄՊԳՆ		
	aräda mögänas		
	aräda mögänas		
	Aräda Mägänas (personal name)		
	Aräda Mägänas		
	bäšässä ballä may		
	ՈՇՇ ՌԱ ՄՊ		
	bä=	yä=	šässä bä=
	bä=	yä=	šässä bä=
	when=	that=	flee in=
			that=
			be (of existence)
			day
	in the day	when he fled	

¹⁴¹ Mässäläčč is the name of Daniel Eressa's mother.

äbaləkkä

፳፻፲፭

ä-	bal	əl=	=kä
ä-	<i>balä</i>	<i>lä=</i>	<i>=kä</i>
1.c.sg.impf.	say	to=	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)
I say to you			

zattən

፩፻፭

za	=tt	=ən
za	=tt	=ən
that	=be (copula)	=be (copula)
it is that		

1) Everyone fled to Bido and, when they went, war came. That was the time, I say to you, when Aräda Mägänas fled.

23.2. yämässäläččənähä

የመስረተኞች

yä=	mässäläčč	=ən	=ähä
yä=	<i>mässäläčč</i>	=ən	=ähä
of=	Mässäläčč (personal name)	=be (copula)	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
you are of	Mässäläčč		

ädi äſlu ;

፳፻፲

ädi	ää-	šl	-u
<i>ädi</i>	<i>ää-</i>	<i>šl</i>	<i>-u</i>
I (1.c.sg.)	1.c.sg.impf.	know	1.c.sg.impf. (main)
I	I know		

väressä dänbäl ... ä ...

፲፭፻፯

yə=	əressa dänbäl	ä
yä=	<i>əressa dänbäl</i>	ä
of=	Eressa Dänbäl (personal name)	right?
of Eressa Dänbäl		right?

I myself know that you are (a son) of Mässäläčč; (a son) of Eressa
 Dänbäl¹⁴² ...right?

7. Tarik 2 (bäbuttağira)

“History 2” (Buttajira, session 3; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Abägaz Wändosən Dämbälo (from Wägäram); 2) Daniel Eressa)¹⁴³

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) Šängo	yəwoləm				
ሸንጻ	ይወሎም				
šängo	yə-	wol	=əm		
šängo	yə-	walä	=əm		
assembly	3.m.sg.impf.	spend the day	=and		
in the assembly	he spends the day and				
taysäma			gäbbaw ¹⁴⁴		
ታይሳማ			ገብባው		
tä= al-	y-	säma	gäbba	-w	
tä= al-	yə-	sämma	gäbba	-o	
with= neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	hear	come home	3.m.sg.perf.(main)	
without hearing			he comes home		
.					

- 1) "He spends the day in the assembly and comes home without hearing anything."

¹⁴² Eressa Dänbäl is the name of Daniel Eressa's father. It should be noted that in many Ethiopian cultures one's last name is the first name of one's father.

¹⁴³ The speaker here attempts to explain a Kästane proverb. The second half of the discourse is a brief account of Kästane history.

¹⁴⁴ The verb *gäbba*, the basic meaning of which is “to enter,” can, on its own, communicate the idea of entering one's own house.

1.2. taysäma

ታይሳማ

tä=	al-	y-	säma
<i>tä=</i>	<i>al-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>sämma</i>
with=	neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	hear
	without hearing		

gäbbaw

ገብባው

gäbba	-w	alä	o-	säma	-w
<i>gäbba</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>alä</i>	<i>wä-</i>	<i>sämma</i>	<i>-w</i>
come home	3.m.sg.perf.(main)	without	infinitive prefix	hear	his (3.m.sg.)
he comes home			without his hearing		

mənən

?

ምን

mən	=ən
<i>mən</i>	<i>=ən</i>
what?	=be (copula)
what is it	

"He comes home without hearing, without his having heard anything."

What does this saying mean?

1.3. šängo

waläm gʷäy

ዋን

ዋለም ካር

šängo	walä	=m	gʷäy
<i>šängo</i>	<i>walä</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>goy</i>
assembly	spend the day	=circumstantial action	when
in the assembly	when he spends the day		

taysäma

ታይሳማ

tä= al-

y-

säma

gäbba

-w

tä= *al-*

yə-

sämma

gäbba

-o

with= neg-impf.(subord.) 3.m.sg.impf. hear enter 3.m.sg.perf.(main)
without hearing he comes home

When he spends the day in the assembly without hearing, he comes home.

1.4. tayaworr

...

ታያዥር

tä=	al-	yə-	aworr
tä=	al-	yə-	awärräärä
without=	neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	tell
	without that he tells (anything)		

ማሻሻማንስ ነን , ግበባም

መሻሻማንስ		ግበባም	
mäššäman	=ən	gäbba	=m
mäššäman	=ən	gäbba	=m
evening	=be (copula)	come home	=circumstantial action
it is evening		he comes home and	
yewd?ay		yellä	.
የወድድብ		የለ	
yə-	ewd	?ay	yellä
yə-	wädä	qay	yellä
3.m.sg.impf.	tell	thing neg. of existence	
something that he tells		there is not	

Without telling anything...it becomes evening and, when he comes home there is nothing that he can relate.

1.5. gäbbaw

, waläm

.

ገበባው		ገለም	
gäbba	-w	walä	=m
gäbba	-o	walä	=m
come home	3.m.sg.perf.(main)	spend the day	=resultative action
he comes home		he spends the day	

He comes home, he spends the day.

Paragraph 2.

2.1. 2) yaworruyi

፩፭፻፯

yə-	aworr	=u	-yi	al-	atämämä
yə-	<i>awärrärä</i>	=äw	-i	al-	<i>atämmämä</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	discuss	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	the	neg-perf.	twist
the (things) that one discusses				that he does not twist	

wobälən

?

۹۰۶۳

wo-	bäl	=ən
wä-	<i>balä</i>	=ən
infinitive prefix	mean	=be (copula)
to mean it is		

ala-tämämä

አለምዎ

-yi	al-	aṭämämä
-i	al-	aṭämmämä
the	neg-perf.	twist

that he does not twist

Paragraph 3.

3.1. 1) tiyaworr

THE EPIPHANY

ti-	yə-	aworr
<i>tə-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>awärrärä</i>
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	tell
he does not tell (details)		

waläm

,

፩፭፻

walä	=m
<i>walä</i>	= <i>m</i>
spend the day	=cir
he spent the day	

¹⁴⁵ This question is asked to further clarify the meaning of the proverb.

šängö	waläm	,
ስንጂ	ወላም	
šängö	walä	=m
šängö	walä	=m
assembly	spend the day	=circumstantial action
in the assembly	he spent the day and	
taysäma		gäbbaw
ታይሱማ		ገበዋው
tä= al-	y-	säma gäbba -w
tä= al-	yə-	sämma gäbba -o
with= neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	hear come home 3.m.sg.perf.(main)
without hearing		he comes home
.		

He does not tell any details - he spends the day, he spends the day in the assembly, and comes home without having heard anything.¹⁴⁶

Paragraph 4.

4.1. attin	...	lela	za	yaboččəňňa	
አተን		ለላ	ዛ	ያቦችቃ	
att -i =n		lela	za	yä= abi -očč -əňňa	
at -i =ən		lela	za	yä= abi -očč -əňňa	
one the =be (copula)		other	that of= father pl our (1.c.pl.)		
that is one (account)		another	that of our fathers		
tarik ; yägošənnätkənnäm				, yägägənənnätkənnäm	.
ታርክ	የትርክናትኩናም			የግግኙንትኩናም	
tarik yä= gošənnät -kənnäm		yä=	ግግኙንትኩናም	-kənnäm	
tarik yä= gošənnät -kənnäm		yä=	ግግኙንትኩናም	-kənnäm	
history of= boyhood their (3.m.pl.)		of=	bravery	their (3.m.pl.)	
history of their boyhood			of their bravery		

This is one account...another is the history of our fathers; the story of their boyhood and of their bravery.

¹⁴⁶ The meaning of this proverb concerns those who do not pay attention to details.

4.2. bækʷankʷa	lela	čəggər
በእንከ	ለላ	ቻጋር
bä= kʷa =n	kʷa lela	čəggər
bä= kʷa =n	kʷa lela	čəggər
in= that =be (copula)	that other	problem
even in that circumstance	other	problems
binäbräbäm		
በነበረበም		
bə= yə-	näbr	äb= =äm
bä= yə-	näbbärä	bä= =nnäm
if= 3.m.sg.impf. be		against= =them (3.m.pl.obj.)(subord.)
if they (sg.) were against them		
battəzäba	attəmočä	
ባትዕዛባ	አትሞቃ	
bä= attə zäba attə močä		
bä= at zäba at močä		
on= one side one way		
on one side one way		
bimäṭabäm		ተጣት
በመጣበም		ጥቃት
bə= yə- mäṭa b= =äm		ተጣት
bä= yə- mäṭṭa bä= =nnäm		ተጣት
if= 3.m.sg.impf. come against= =them (3.m.pl.obj.)(subord.) assault		
if (the enemy) came against them		(in an) assault
bäfäräs , bätor	tägaġġəmum	,
በፈራስ በሙር	ተያጋጌሙም	
bä= färäs bä= ṭor tägaġġ -əmu		=m
bä= färäz bä= ṭor tägaġġä -əm		=m
on= horse with= spear fight 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)		=resultative action
on horse with spears they fought		
bägärängäre	tägaġġəmum	.
በገራንጻ	ተያጋጌሙም	
bä= gärängäre tägaġġ -əmu		=m
bä= gärängäre tägaġġä -əm		=m
with= shield fight 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)		=resultative action
with gärängäre they fought		

Even in those days, if they had other problems (arise), if (the enemy) came against them on one side or one way in an assault on horse, then they fought (that enemy) with spears, they fought with gärängäre.¹⁴⁷

Paragraph 5.

5.1. 2) gärängäre wobäl mən

ገርንጧል	ወብል	ምን
gärängäre	wo-	bäl
<i>gärängäre</i>	<i>wä-</i>	<i>balä</i>
shield	infinitive prefix	say what?
gärängäre	to say	what

wobälən ?

ወብልን

wo-	bäl	=ən
<i>wä-</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>=ən</i>
infinitive prefix	mean	=be (copula)
to mean it is		

2) What does it mean to say "gärängäre"?

Paragraph 6.

6.1. 1) gärängäre gašša wobälən .

ገርንጧል	ጋሻ	ወብልን
gärängäre	gašša	wo-
<i>gärängäre</i>	<i>gašša</i>	<i>wä-</i>
shield	shield	infinitive prefix
gärängäre	a shield	mean =be (copula)
		to mean it is

1) "Gärängäre" means (a kind of) shield.

¹⁴⁷ On the use of adverbs compounded from multiple words (ex.: *bäkʷakʷa*) see Ch. 4, §XI.2.

6.2. bähʷa

ብኩ

bä=	hʷa
bä=	kʷa
with=	he (3.m.sg.)
	with him

ታገገሙም ጽዴት

tägaḡg	-emu	=m	gəze	lə=	iňna
tägaḡgä	-em	=m	gize	lä=	əňña
fight	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	when	for=	we (1.c.pl.)
when they fought				for us	

ተወለደድቂኝናም

təwləddə	-kənnäm
təwlədd	-kənnäm
generation	their (3.m.pl.)
their generation	

ϙስሳልሙም

qossäl	-mu	=m
qʷässälä	-m	=m
be wounded	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
they were wounded and		

መትሙም

mot	-emu	=m
motä	-em	=m
die	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action
they died		

When they fought with the enemy for us, the men of their generation were wounded and died.

6.3. äraskənnäm¹⁴⁸	bimotəm		
እራስከናም	ብመትም		
äras -kənnäm	bə= yə-		
ras -kənnäm	bä= yə-		
self their (3.m.pl.)	when= 3.m.pl.impf.	mot die	-əm 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
themselves	when they died		
ወንዳ	ትክክሙም ገዢ		
አኅ	ተክሙም የዘ		
ወንዳ tikkä	-mu	=m	gəze
ወንዳ tikka	-m	=m	gize
we (1.c.pl.) take the place of	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	when
us	when they took the place of		
ahu kənnäm	ባውኖናሙ		tarik
አሁ ክናም	ባዋናሙ		ታርክ
ahu kənnäm	bä= yä= awonnä -mu		tarik
ahu kənnäm	bä= yä= awänna -m		tarik
now they (3.m.pl.) in= that= lay down	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	history	
now they	in (the) that they laid down		history
yahoňň	ባገዢ	ነዓቃውዋዕን	
ያሁን	በግዘ	ነጋዢውተን	
yä= ahoňň bä= gəze nə-	ččawwät	=ən	
yä= ahoňň bä= gize nə-	täčawwätä	=ən	
of= today in= time 1.c.pl.impf.	converse	=verb-final particle	
of today	in the time	we are conversing about that	
ädäll		?	
እዳል			
ädäl	=n		
ädäbəl	=n		
neg. of copula	=be (copula)		
is it not			

When they died, taking our place (in death), do we not at the present time discuss the history that they themselves laid down?

¹⁴⁸ On the use of prosthetic ä- for words with initial r v. Ch. 4, §II.1.2.2.

6.4. bägəzeyi huneta zə tähəgg gʷäy

በግዢያ

ሁኔታ ነት ተሸጋ ገይ

bä=	yä=	gəze	-yi	huneta	zə	tä=	həgg	gʷäy
bä=	yä=	gize	-i	huneta	zə	tä=	həgg	goy
in=	of=	time		the manner	thus	with respect to=	law	with
in the of time				manner thus with law				

tämängəst gʷäy

ዓዳል

ተመዝግበት ገይ

ፈረድ

tä=	mängəst	gʷäy	ädäl	=n
tä=	mängəst	goy	ädäbəl	=n
with respect to=	government	with	neg. of copula	=be (copula)
with government			is it not	

yallänä

?

ያለ

yä= allä -nä

yä= allä -nä

of= be (of existence) 1.c.pl.perf.(subord.)

that we are

In the manner of time, is it not in this way that we have law and government?

6.5. za säbočč bätzaynät¹⁴⁹ za tarik

ዘ **ሰብቻ**

በዘንት

ዘ **ታሪክ**

za	säb	-očč	bä=	za	aynät	za	tarik
za	säb	-očč	bä=	za	aynät	za	tarik
those	person	pl	in=	that	manner	that	history
those	people			in that manner		that	history

wəzäyyəmum

fäyya ?ay

ወ-ዘ-ይ-ይ-ም

ፈ **ቁ**

wəzäyy -əmu

=m

fäyya ?ay

wəzäyyä -əm

=m

fäyya qay

make	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	good	thing
they made	and		a good	thing

¹⁴⁹ On this and other contractions v. Ch. 4, §II.2.8.

awonnäumum			; liňña	
አዕስሙም			ለኝ	
awonnä	-mu	=m	lə=	iňña
<i>awänna</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>lä=</i>	<i>əňña</i>
lay down	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action	for=	we (1.c.pl.)
they laid down			for us	
läqərs	.			
አቅርብ				
lä=	qərs			
<i>lä=</i>	<i>qərs</i>			
for=	heritage			
for a heritage				

Those people made that history and laid down something good in that manner; for us, for a heritage.¹⁵⁰

6.6. liňña	lalänäy¹⁵¹	qərsočč	fäyya	
ለኝ	ለለኝ	ቁርሱች	ፈያ	
lə=	iňña	lalä	=nä	
<i>lä=</i>	<i>əňña</i>	<i>lalä</i>	<i>=nä</i>	
for=	we (1.c.pl.)	upon	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)	
for us		the that are upon us	the legacy pl well	
			legacies well	
awonnäumum			ዘ የኝ	
አዕስሙም			ዘለ ሌኝ	
awonnä	-mu	=m	zə	əňña
<i>awänna</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>zə</i>	<i>əňña</i>
lay down	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action	thus	we (1.c.pl.)
they laid down			thus	we
tätikkanäm				
ተተክናም				
tätikka	-nä	=m		
<i>tätikka</i>	<i>-nä</i>	<i>=m</i>		
succeed (take the place of)	1.c.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action		
we have succeeded and				

¹⁵⁰ On phrases following the main verb v. Ch. 4, §XIV.1.

¹⁵¹ On this preposition *lalä*, which is usually a postposition, v. Ch. 4, §X.2.5.

worräsnäm

¶ՀԱՆՊ

worräs	-nä	=m
wärräsä	-nä	=m
inherit	1.c.pl.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action
we have inherited		

They have laid down well for us the legacies that are upon us, thus we ourselves have succeeded them and inherited (those legacies).

6.7. wərs yənäno

Փ-Ը

wərs	yənä	=no
wərs	yinä	=äno
inheritance	be (exist)	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)(main)
an inheritance	we have	

babiyoččənňa

ՈՈՔ-Ք

bä=	yä=	abi	-yočč	-ənňa
bä=	yä=	abi	-očč	-ənňa
in=	of=	father	pl	our (1.c.pl.)
in of our fathers and				

bäbetoččənňa

tarik

ՈՈՔ-Ք	Ճ-Ճ				
bä=	yä=	bet	-očč	-ənňa	tarik
bä=	yä=	bet	-očč	-ənňa	tarik
in=	of=	household	pl	our (1.c.pl.)	history
in of our households					the history

wobälən

.

ՊՈՃ

wo-	bäl	=ən
wä-	balä	=ən
infinitive prefix	say	=be (copula)
to say it is		

We have an inheritance, that is to say, an inheritance in the history of our fathers and of our households.

6.8. kənnäm bayär

ከኝም ብር

kənnäm	bä=	ayyär
<i>kənnäm</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>ayyär</i>
they (3.m.pl.)	in=	air
they		in the air

tayalfəm

ታያለፍም

tä=	al-	yə-	alf	-əm
<i>tä=</i>	<i>al-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfā</i>	<i>-əm</i>
with=	neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
without that they would travel				

bämäkina

በመከና

bä=	mäkina
<i>bä=</i>	<i>mäkina</i>
by (means)=	car
by car	

tayalfəm

ታያለፍም

tä=	al-	yə-	alf	-əm
<i>tä=</i>	<i>al-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfā</i>	<i>-əm</i>
with=	neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
without that they would travel				

bätor mäqäle

በቶር ሚቅኤሌ

bä=	ṭor	mäqäle
<i>bä=</i>	<i>ṭor</i>	<i>mäqäle</i>
in=	war	Mäqäle (a province in Northern Ethiopia)
in war	(in)	Mäqäle

mayčo

ማይቃዬ

mayčo
<i>mayčo</i>
Mayčaw (a region in Northern Ethiopia)
(in) Mayčaw

baləmum			, bämäkina	
በልሙም			በማኬና	
bal -əmu	=m		bä=	mäkina
balä -əm	=m		bä=	mäkina
say 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action		by (means)=	car
they said			by car	
tayalfəm				
ታያልፍም				
tä= al-	yə-	alf	-əm	
tä= al-	yə-	alläfää	-əm	
with= neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	
without that they would travel				
bägärkənnäm		näddädəmum		
በገርከናም		ነደድድመም		
bä= ägər -kənnäm	näddäd -əmu		=m	
bä= ägər -kənnäm	näddädä -əm		=m	
in= leg their (3.m.pl.)	burn	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	
in their legs			they burned (i.) and	
lämäçči		təwlədd fäyya		
ለመራዣ		ትወልድ ፍያ		
lä= yä= mätta -i	təwlədd	fäyya		
lä= yä= mätta -i	təwlədd	fäyya		
to= that= come the generation good				
to the that came		generation a good (thing)		
awonnämullənäm				.
አውንኩሙሉናም				
awonnä -mu	llə= =nä		=m	
awänna -m	lä= =nä		=m	
lay down 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	for= =us (1.c.pl.obj.)		=resultative action	
they have laid it down for us				

As for them, without traveling in the air, without traveling by car,¹⁵² in the wars in Mäqäle and in Mayčaw, so they said, without traveling by car, they felt the burning in their legs and laid down for our coming generation a good thing.

¹⁵² For a similar discussion of past transportation see above pp. 74-76.

6.9. zə tätikkanäm

ዘእ **ተተክናም**

zə	tätikka	-nä	=m
zə	<i>tätikka</i>	<i>-nä</i>	<i>=m</i>
thus	succeed (take the place of)	1.c.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
thus	we have succeeded and		

ወንኑምለት **ፈያ**

ወንኑ	=mma	=tt	ፈያ
ወንኑ	=m	=tt	<i>fäyya</i>
we (1.c.pl.)	=as for	=be (copula)	well
it is we			well

ነዕኑሁ

ዘዕብሩ

nə-	näbr	-u	
<i>nə-</i>	<i>näbbärä</i>	<i>-u</i>	
1.c.pl.impf.	live	1.c.pl.impf. (main)	

we live

Thus we have succeeded them, and it is we who live well.

6.10. bäfäyya gəze , bäsənättälä¹⁵³

gəze

በእም	ገዢ	በስንጠረ	ገዢ			
bä=	fäyya	gəze	bä=	yä=	ssənättälä	gəze
<i>bä=</i>	<i>fäyya</i>	<i>gəzye</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>täsənättälä</i>	<i>gəzye</i>
in=	good	time	in=	that=	be civilized	time
in the good	time		in that is civilized			time

bätämarəbo

gəze bəzi

በተማርቦ	ገዢ	በተማርቦ	ገዢ				
bä=	yä=	tämar	əb=	=o	gəze	bä=	zi
<i>bä=</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>tämarä</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>=äw</i>	<i>gəzye</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>zi</i>
in=	that=	learn	in=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	time	in=	this
in that one learns in it			time in this				

¹⁵³ This verb (which in Amharic is *täsälättänä*) comes from the Semitic root *ʃlt*.

nənäbru

نَّبْرُ

nə-	näbr	-u
nə-	<i>näbbärä</i>	<i>-u</i>
1.c.pl.impf.	live	1.c.pl.impf. (main)
we live		

In a good time, in a time that is civilized, in a time in which one learns, in this (kind of time) we live.

6.11. zittən

لِتْنِ

zi	=ttə	=n	attə	tarik	-əddi	ädi
zi	=tt	=ən	at	tarik	-ddi	ädi
this	=be (copula)	=be (copula)	one	history	my (1.c.sg.)	I (1.c.sg.)
this it is			one	my history		I

äšäll

فَسَلَ

ä-	šäl	=nn
ä-	<i>šalä</i>	<i>=nn</i>
1.c.sg.impf.	know	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)

that I know it

This is my one bit of history that I know.

Paragraph 7.

7.1. 2) lelamma tarik tärät tärätkom

لَلَامَمَا

lela	=mma	tarik	tärät	tärätkom
<i>lela</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>tarik</i>	<i>tärät</i>	<i>tärätkom</i>
another	=too	history	story	story =like
another too		history	story	like a story

təšlu		?
ତେଶୁ		
tə-	šl	-u
tə-	šalä	-u
2.m.sg.impf.	know	2.m.sg.impf. (main)
do you know		

2) Do you know also another history that is like some kind of story?

Paragraph 8.

8.1. 1) täšäl

ତେଶାଳ		.
tə-	ä-	šäl
tə-	ä-	šalä
neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.	know
I do not know		

1) I do not know one.

Paragraph 9.

9.1. 2) tärät tärätkom ahu tətəšəl

?

ତେରାତ	ତେରାତିମ୍ବ	ଅହୁ	ତେତେଶେଲ	
tärät	tärät	=kom	ahu	tə-
tärät	tärät	=kom	ahu	tə-
story	story	=like	now	neg-impf.(main)
a story	like a story	now	you do not know	2.m.sg.impf. know

2) You do not now know some kind of a story?

Paragraph 10.

10.1. 1) awo

ଅପ୍ର

awo

awo

no (to a question in the negative)

no

1) No.

8. Yežənň yäbalä (bäbuttağıra)

"The One Who Says, 'Look at Me!'" (Buttajira, session 4; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers:
1) Abägaz Wändosən Dämbälo (from Wägäram); 2) Daniel Eressa)

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) " Yežənň

የዕስኝ

ye-	äž	=ənň
ye-	ažžä	=ənň
3.m.sg.juss.	see	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)
let one see me		

የዕስኝ

ye-	äž	=ənň	yä=	balä
ye-	ažžä	=ənň	yä=	balä
3.m.sg.juss.	see	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	who=	say
let one see me			who says	

bämənən

ባልሙሽ

?

በምንን

ባልሙ-

bä=	mən	=ən	bal	-əmu	=ss
bä=	mən	=ən	balä	-mun	=s
by (means)=	what?	=be (copula)	say	3.m.pl.perf.(main)	=indeed
how it is			they said indeed		

1) So they were asking what is the manner of one who says, "Look at me, look at me!"?

1.2. " yežənň

የዕስኝ

ye-	äž	=ənň	ye-	äž	=əmň
ye-	ažžä	=ənň	ye-	ažžä	=ənň
3.m.sg.juss.	see	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	3.m.sg.juss.	see	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)
let one see me			let one see me		

"

yäbalä	bähulləmqay	wättatən	(arden¹⁵⁴). አርደ
የባለ	በሁሉምቁይ	ወጥታን		
yä=	balä	bä=	hulləm	qay
yä=	balä	bä=	kulləm	qay
who=	say	in=	every	wättat
who says		in everything		=ən
			thing	wättat
			youth	=ən
			=be (copula)	arde
			youth	=n
			=be (copula)	arde
			a youth he is	a youth he is

The one who says "Look at me, look at me!" is in every way a silly youth.

1.3. kulləqay	šängom	" bädi	
ከልቅ	ሻንጻም	በኋ	
kullə	qay	šängo	=m
kulləm	qay	šängo	=m
every	thing	assembly	=as for
(in) everything			with= I (1.c.sg.)
			with me
yeläq	", čottam	" bädi	
የለቅ	ፋውታም	በኋ	
ye-	əläq	čotta	=m
ye-	alläqä	čotta	=m
3.m.sg.juss.	finish	conversation	=as for
let it finish		as for conversation	with= I (1.c.sg.)
			with me
yeläq	", kulləmqay	" bädi	yeläq
የለቅ	ከልምቁይ	በኋ	የለቅ
ye-	əläq	kulləm	qay
ye-	alläqä	kulləm	qay
3.m.sg.juss.	finish	every	thing
let it finish		(in) everything	with= I (1.c.sg.)
			3.m.sg.juss. finish
		with me	let it finish

In every way when he is in the assembly he says, "Let me have the last word!", in conversation he says, "Let me have the last word!", in every circumstance he says, "Let me have the last word!"

¹⁵⁴ Arde is the speaker's self-correction for wättat. Wättat is Amharic, while arde is Kəstanəñña.

1.4. "	ädi	čə	näməra	,	ädi	čən
	አዲ	ቻለ ካምራ			አዲ	ቻን
	ädi	čə	nä-	mära	ädi	čə
	ädi	čə	nä-	märra	ädi	čə
I (1.c.sg.)	only	1.c.sg.juss.		lead	I (1.c.sg.)	only
I	only	lead me lead		I	only it is	

nattämär	"	yiblu	.
ናትማር		የብሉ	
nä-	attämär	yi-	bl
nä-	attämarä	yə-	balä
1.c.sg.juss.	teach	3.m.sg.impf.	say
let me teach		he says	3.m.sg.impf. (main)

He says, "Only I should lead, only I should teach."

1.5. yibləm			alkoni
የብልም			አልከኒ
yi-	bl	=əm	al-
yə-	balä	=əm	al-
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=circumstantial action	neg-perf.
he says and			be the that which is not
tähöni		yəqəlaqqələm	za
ተሁኒ		ይቅላቅቅልም	ዘ
tä=	yä=	honä	-i
tä=	yä=	honä	-i
with=	that=	be	the
with that with is		3.m.sg.impf.	mix
			=circumstantial action
		he mixes and	that
yežənn̥		ähä	yämäčäräša
የጀኬን		äħä	gʷäy alkoni
ye-	äž	=ənn̥	äħä
ye-	ažžä	=ənn̥	yä=
3.m.sg.juss.	see	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	mäčäräša
let one see me (who says)		thus of=	goy al-
		thus of the end	time neg-perf.
			be time that which is not

nägär yəhonəbot ,

ነገር ደህንበት

nägär yə- hon əb= =ot

nägär yə- *honä* *bä=* *=äw*

thing 3.m.sg.impf. happen against= =him (3.m.sg.obj.)

thing it happens against him

yizut

የዘጥ

yi- z -u =t

yə- *yizzä* *-u* *=t*

3.m.sg.impf. catch 3.m.sg.impf. (main) =him (3.m.sg.obj.main)

one catches him

When he speaks he mixes what is false with what is true and, as for that attention grabber, the false things (that he says) thus finally come upon him, and he is caught.

1.6. yitiz gʷäy

yäwzäyyänn

የተዘጋጀ

የወ-ዘያን

yi- tiz gʷäy yä= wzäyyä =nn

yə- *tizzä* *goy* *yä=* *wəzäyyä* *=nn*

3.m.sg.impf. be caught when that= do =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)

when he is caught that which he does it

ləkk ädäbəll

.

አለ ፊደብ

ləkk ädäbəl -n

ləkk *ädäbəl* *-n*

correct neg. of copula be (copula)

correct it is not

When he is caught, what he is does is not correct.

1.7. yəzu gʷäy

"

የዘጋጀ

yə-	z	=u	gʷäy
yə-	yizzä	=äw	goy
3.m.sg.impf.	catch	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	when
		when one catches him	

የእዚኑ

የእዚኑ

"

የዘጋጀ

የዘጋጀ

ye-	äz	=əñň	ye-	äz	=əñň
ye-	ažžä	=əñň	ye-	ažžä	=əñň
3.m.sg.juss.	see	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	3.m.sg.juss.	see	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)
let one see me			let one see me		

yıäbalä " yäsaṭəñň

የባለ

የሳጥኝ

yıä=	balä	yä-	saṭ	=əñň
yıä=	balä	ye-	saṭä	=əñň
who=	say	3.m.sg.juss.	hide	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)
who says		let one hide me		

yıäsaṭəñň

የሳጥኝ

" yiblu

የብለ

yıä-	saṭ	=əñň	yi-	bl	-u
ye-	saṭä	=əñň	ye-	balä	-u
3.m.sg.juss.	hide	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	3.m.sg.impf.	say	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
let one hide me			he says		

When the one who says "Look at me, look at me!" is caught, he says, "Hide me, hide me!"

1.8. yəblu

, tärät¹⁵⁵

የብለ

ተረት

yə-	bl	-u	tärät
yə-	balä	-u	tärät
3.m.sg.impf.	say	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	proverb
one says			a proverb

¹⁵⁵ The term *tärät* and can be rather ambiguous in Kəstanəñña, sometimes meaning "story," and other times meaning "proverb," as here.

yənə

ይና

yən -o

yinā -o

be (exist) 3.m.sg.perf. (main)

there is

It is said. There is a proverb.

Paragraph 2.

2.1. 2) abbabalən

zi .

አባባልን

ዘ

abbabal

=ən

zi

abbabal

=ən

zi

expression (way of saying something) =be (copula) this

it is an expression

this

2) It is an expression, this (that you just said).

2.2. lelaš

kʷahom

zəhom

እርሱ

ለላሽ

ከዢም

ዘዢም

እቻ

lela =š

kʷa

=hom

zəhom

əርሱ

lela =š

kʷa

=*hom*

zihom

əርሱ

another =how about? he (3.m.sg.) =like likewise come on!

how about another like that (one) likewise come on!

bäkəstaniňña

.

በከስተኒኬ

bä= kəstaniňña

bä= kəstanəňña

in= Kəstanəňña (language)

in Kəstanəňña

How about another one just like that one; come on, in Kəstanəňña!

Paragraph 3.

3.1. 1) lela	, lela	ädi	täšäl		;
ለላ	ለላ	አዲ	ተሻል		
lela	lela	ädi	tə-	ää-	šäl
<i>lela</i>	<i>lela</i>	<i>ädi</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>ää-</i>	<i>šalä</i>
another	another	I (1.c.sg.)	neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.	know
another	another	I		I do not know	

äšäl?ay ?

እሻልቁይ

ä-	šäl	?ay
ä-	šalä	qay
1.c.sg.impf.	know	something
something that I know		

1) Another,...I do not know another; (you want) something that I know?

3.2. därəsi¹⁵⁶	dəro	,	täšäl		
ደርስ	ደሮ		ተሻል		
därəs	-i	dəro	tə-	ää-	šäl
<i>därəss</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>dəro</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>ää-</i>	<i>šalä</i>
song	the	in the past	neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.	know
the songs		in the past	I do not know		

abe .

አብ

abe

abetu

oh! (expression of surprise)

oh!

The songs were in the past, I just don't know them (anymore).

¹⁵⁶ *Därəss* can be a song or a dance (cf. Amh. *zäfän*).

Paragraph 4.

4.1. 2)	därəsi	təšlu	?
	ደርሱ	ትሽሉ	
	därəs	-i tə-	šl -u
	därəss	-i tə-	šalä -u
	song	the 2.m.sg.impf.	know 2.m.sg.impf. (main)
	the songs	do you know	

2) Do you know the songs?

Paragraph 5.

5.1. 1)	täšäl	, därəsi
	ተሻል	ደርሱ
	tə-	ää-
	tə-	ää-
	neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.
	I do not know	know song the the songs

bäšäl

በሻል

bä=	ää-	šäl
bä=	ää-	šalä
if=	1.c.sg.impf.	know
if I knew		

agäňňənn näbbär¹⁵⁷

አገኝና ካብር

ää-	agäňň	=ənn	näbbär
ää-	agäňňä	=nn	näbbärä
1.c.sg.impf.	find	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	be
I would find it			

1) I don't know them. If I knew the songs, I would find them.

¹⁵⁷ On the unreal conditional see Ch. 4, § XIV.5.1.2.

5.2. agäňňənn näbbär							, därəsi
አገኝና ነበር							ደርሱ
ä-	agäňň	=ənn		näbbär	därəs	-i	
ä-	agäňňä	=nn		näbbärä	därəss	-i	
1.c.sg.impf.	find	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	be		song	the	
I would find (them)						the songs	

täšäl			... lela	ahu bafayya	... ahu	
ተሻል			ለላ	አሁ በፋይያ	አሁ	
tə-	ä-	šäl	lela	ahu bafayya	ahu	
tə-	ä-	šälä	lela	ahu bafayya	ahu	
neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.	know		another now well	now	
I do not know				another now well	now	

bifti **zittən**

በቻት **ዘተን**

bə=	yift	-i	zi	=ttə	=n	
bä=	yift	-i	zi	=tt	=ən	
in=	past	the	this	=be (copula)	=be (copula)	
in the past			it is this			

yallänä

ያለና

yä=	allä	=nä	
yä=	allä	=nä	
that=	be (of existence)	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)	
that we have			

I would find them, but I don't know the songs...another (story), now, well...what we now have is this which was in the past.

5.3. yädəro säboččəňña bätämänğä

የዳሬ

ሰብቻቸ

በጣምንጫ

yä=	dəro	säb	-očč	-əňňa	bä=	ṭämänğä
yä=	dəro	säb	-očč	-əňňa	bä=	ṭämänğä
of=	the past	person	pl	our (1.c.pl.)	with=	rifle
of the past		our people			with rifles	

tayhon yiftə gʷäy

ታይሮን የፍት ገዢ

tä=	al-	yə-	hon	yiftə	gʷäy
tä=	al-	yə-	honä	yift	goy
with=	neg-perf.	3.m.sg.impf.	be	before	when
before one was					

wodkukəm

bätör

, **bägärängäre**

ወደከሁም

በሙር

በንረንጂ

wod	-ku	=kəm	bä=	ṭor	bä=	gärängäre
wädä	-ki	=kəm	bä=	tor	bä=	gärängäre
tell	1.c.sg.perf.(main)	=you (2.m.pl.obj.)	with=	spear	with=	shield
I told you (pl.)			with spears		with shields	

za näbbär wanni

ታይካሚንኬ

; **tärätənña**

,

ዘ ካር ወለ

ጠቃሚና

ተራትና

za	näbbär	wanna	-i	taqami	-nña	tärät	-ənña
za	näbbärä	wanna	-i	taqami	-ənña	tärät	-ənña
that	be	main	the	useful	our (1.c.pl.)	story	our (1.c.pl.)
that	it was	the main	our	useful (thing)		our story	

aqʷamənña

.

አቅማና

aqʷam -ənña

aqʷam -ənña

makeup (essence) our (1.c.pl.)

our makeup

**Our people in the past, before they had rifles, I told you that it was with
spears and with shields. Those were our main useful things. That's our story,
our makeup.**

Paragraph 6.

6.1. 2) yäwənqit

የወንቀት

yäwənqit

yäwənqit

a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)

a riddle

təšlu		?
ትሽሉ		
tə-	šl	-u
<i>tə-</i>	<i>šalä</i>	<i>-u</i>
2.m.sg.impf.	know	2.m.sg.impf. (main)
do you know		

2) Do you know a riddle?

Paragraph 7.

7.1. 1) täšäl

ትሻል		.
tə-	ä-	šäl
<i>tə-</i>	<i>ä-</i>	<i>šalä</i>
neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.	know
I do not know		

1) I do not know any.

Paragraph 8.

8.1. 2) yäwənqit

የወንቃት		
yäwənqit		
<i>yäwənqit</i>		
a riddle! (formula for introducing a riddle)		
a riddle		

tətəšəl		?
ትተሽል		
tə-	tə-	šəl
<i>tə-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>šalä</i>
neg-impf.(main)	2.m.sg.impf.	know
you do not know		

2) You do not know a riddle?

Paragraph 9.

9.1. 1) awo	täšäl	.
አዎ	ተሸል	
awo	tə-	ä-
awo	tə-	ä-
no (to a question in the negative)	neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.
no	I do not know	know

1) No, I do not know any.

9. Tärät 3 (bäbuttağıra)

“Story 3” (Buttajira, session 5; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Daniel Eressa; 2) Gosaye Tufär (from Damu Kiros))

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) Qəräś yiftə gʷäy	yäbakkähom	
ቁረስ የፍት ገዢ	የበካክለሁም	
qəräś	yiftə	gʷäy
qärräśä	yift	goy
begin	before	when
		that=
		say
		2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)
		as
	before you begin	as you said
zəndän ¹⁵⁸		
ዘንዳን		
zə	=n	-dä
zi	=ən	-dä
this	=be (copula)	your (2.m.sg.)
it is "zəndä"		=be (copula)

¹⁵⁸ Zəndä is an example of polite speech used in beginning some stories. The less formal is däħä “(Hey), you!”

yäbakke

?

የባክ

yä= bal -kä =e

yä= balä -kä =e

that= say 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)

that you said to me

1) Before you begin, as you were saying, it was "zändä" that you said to me?

Paragraph 2.

2.1. 2) ye .

የ

ye

ye

yes

yes

2) Yes.

Paragraph 3.

3.1. 1) zändä

bäləm qəräs .

ዘንዳ

በልም ቁርስ

zə =n -dä bäl =əm qəräs

zi =ən -dä balä =əm qärräsä

this =be (copula) your (2.m.sg.) say =and begin

this is yours say and begin

1) Begin by saying, "zändä."

Paragraph 4.

4.1. 2) yahuyi

የሁይ

yä= ahu -yi

yä= ahu -i

of= present (time) the

of the present

yosduyyänən					qali	?
የሰራየንን					ቁል	
yə-	osd	=u	=yyän	=ən	qal	-i
yə-	wässädä	=äw	=yyän	=ən	qal	-i
3.m.sg.impf.	take	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=to	=verb augment	word	the
that he is taking it	it is					the words

2) He is recording my words presently?

Paragraph 5.

5.1. 1) ye .

ፋ

ye

ye

yes

yes

1) Yes.

Paragraph 6.

6.1. 2) zändä

ዘንደ

zə	=n	-dä	kittə	säbočč	wozäla
zi	=ən	-dä	kit	säb	-očč wozäla
this	=be (copula)	your (2.m.sg.)	two	man	pl work
this is yours			two	men	work

yiwzáyyəmun

የወዛያዣምን

yi-

wzáyy

-əmun

; bämasa

wozäla

በማሳ

ቁል

yə-

wəzáyyä

-əmun

bä= masa

wozäla

3.m.pl.impf. do

3.m.pl.impf.(main)

bä= masa

wäzäla

they were doing

on= farming plot work

on a farming plot work

yiwzáyyəmun

፩ወ-ዘይሮን

yi-	wzáyy	-əmun
yə-	wəzäyyä	-əmun
3.m.pl.impf.	do	3.m.pl.impf.(main)
they were doing		

2) This (is a story) for you: two men were working; they were working on a farming plot.

6.2. quni	gäbäre ¹⁵⁹	yinännət	, quni
ቁኒ	ገብረ	የንኑት	ቁኒ
quna	-i	gäbäre	yinä
<i>quna</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>gäbäre</i>	<i>yinä</i>
one	the	hired farmer	be (exist)
the one	a hired farmer	he had	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
			one the
			the other
ቶማና		የውዛይ	.
ጠማኑ		ፈወ-ዘይ	
ቶማ	=n	-u	yə-
<i>tomā</i>	<i>=ən</i>	<i>-əw</i>	<i>yə-</i>
alone	=be (copula)	his (3.m.sg.)	3.m.sg.impf.
by himself it is			work
			that he was working

The one man had a hired hand (to help him), the other was working alone.

6.3. gäbäreyi yälellänni

ገብረ	የለለኬ
gäbäre	-yi
<i>gäbäre</i>	<i>-i</i>
hired farmer	the who=
the hired hand	the who did not have
	lellä
	<i>yä=</i>
	<i>lellä</i>
	=nn
	<i>=nn</i>
	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
	the

¹⁵⁹ *Gäbäre* can mean either “farmer” or “hired (attendant) farmer.” This term is not to be confused with tenant farmer. As I was told by Mr. Eressa, a *gäbäre* might own his own farmland but be hired for a day or more to help farm elsewhere.

məss kässät amättälläm

መስ ክስታ አማጥላም

məss kässät amättä llä =m

məss kässät amättä lä= =m

man lunch bring for =resultative action

man lunch one brought for him

The man who did not have the hired hand had lunch brought to him.

6.4. gäbare yallänni

ገበረ

gäbare yä= allä =nn -i

gäbare *yä=* *allä* *=nn* *-i*

hired farmer who= be (of existence) =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) the
the hired farmer the who had

məss kässätaw täfoläyyän baläm

መስ ክስታው ተፈላይያን በላም

məss kässät -aw täfoläyyän balä =m

məss kässät -w *täfoläyyän balä* *=m*

man lunch his (3.m.sg.) be late =resultative action

man his lunch it was late

The lunch of the man who had the hired hand was late in coming.

6.5. " tufär " baläm

ቱፍር

tufär balä =m

tufär *balä* *=m*

Tufär (personal name) say =circumstantial action

Tufär he said and

ትärrannət ; abinəddi

ተሩናት

itärra =nnət abi =n -əddi

itärra *=nnət* *abi* *=ən* *-ddi*

invite =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main) father =be (copula) my (1.c.sg.)

he invited him that is my father

(The man who had his lunch) invited the other saying, "Tufär!"; that is my father's name.

6.6. " nähä

ንኩ	ንኩ	,
nä	-hä	nä
<i>nä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	<i>nä</i>
come! (impv.)	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	come! (impv.)
come		2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)

wagaye¹⁶⁰

ዋጋዬ	ንኩ
wagaye	nä
<i>wagaye</i>	<i>nä</i>
my dear (term of endearment)	come! (impv.)
my dear	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)

nähä

ንኩ	〃 baläm
nä	-hä
<i>nä</i>	<i>-kä</i>
come! (impv.)	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)
come	say =circumstantial action

ትärrannət

መኢት	.
trärra	=nnət
<i>trärra</i>	<i>=nnət</i>
invite	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he invited him	

He invited him saying, "Come, come, my friend; come, come!"

¹⁶⁰ Wagaye “My dear (friend)” comes from *waga* “price/value.” The ending *-ye* appears to be Amharic influence.

6.7. " kässät nəbla	,"	balännət	.
ከስታት ነብላ		ባልናንተት	
kässät nə-	bla	balä	=nnət
kässät nə-	bälla	balä	=nnət
lunch 1.c.pl.juss.	eat	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
lunch let us eat		he said to him	

"Let's eat lunch," he said to him.¹⁶¹

Paragraph 7.

7.1. gäbäreyi	gʷäräramən	.
ገበረ	ገዢያምን	
gäbäre	-yi	gʷäräram =ən
gäbäre	-i	gʷäräram =ən
hired farmer	the	glutton =be (copula)
the hired farmer	a	glutton he was

Now, the hired hand was a glutton.

7.2. sost arät ənğära	.		
ሰስት አራት ውንጋራ			
sost arät	ənğära		
sost arätt	ənğära		
three four	ənğära (an Ethiopian flatbread)		
three (or) four	ənğära		
tiyaqomənn	.		
ተያቀምን			
ti-	yə-	aqom	=ənn
tə-	yə-	aqomä	=nn
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	stop	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
do not (sg.)	stop him		

Not even three or four ənğära could stop him.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ The man is offering to share his lunch with the one whose lunch has not arrived.

¹⁶² One ənğära is typically enough to satisfy an adult.

7.3. amaran		, qʷanqʷa
አማራን		ቁንቃ
amara	=n	qʷanqʷa
<i>amara</i>	= <i>n</i>	<i>qʷanqʷa</i>
Amhara (people group)	=be (copula)	language
he was an Amhara		(our) language

tišəl

ተሽል

tə-	yə-	šəl
<i>tə-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>šalä</i>
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	know
he did not know		

He was an Amhara, he did not know (the Kəstanəñña) language.

7.4. " mən yiblu		,	"
ምኑ	የብሉ		
mən	yi-	bl	-u
<i>mən</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>-u</i>
what?	3.m.sg.impf.	say	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
what	is he saying		

balännət

ባለንት

balä	=nnət
<i>balä</i>	<i>=nnət</i>
say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he said to him	

"What is he saying?" the hired hand said to his employer.

Paragraph 8.

8.1. " kässät bamäṭṭalkəm		yizəmum
ከስታት በማጥታልክም		የዘመሙም
kässät	bä= amäṭṭa l= =kəm	yiz -əmu =m
<i>kässät</i>	<i>bä= amäṭṭa l= =kəm</i>	<i>yizzä -əm</i>
lunch if= bring for= =you (2.m.pl.obj.)	grab 2.m.pl.impv.	=and
lunch if someone has brought for you	grab (it) and	

nähäm		baläno		,
ኋኩም		ባለኖ		
nä	-häm	balä	=no	
nä	-kəmu	balä	=äno	
come! (impv.)	2.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	say	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)(main)	
come			he said to us	
balännət	.			
ባለንት				
balä	=nnət			
balä	=nnət			
say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)			
he said to him				

"He said, 'If someone has brought you lunch, bring it over here,'" the employer replied.

8.2. yüza		məss täwonfəgənna		(
የዘ		ማስ ተወንቃኑ		
yä=	za	məss tä=	wo-	nfəg
yä=	za	məss tä=	wä-	näffägä
direct object marker=	that	man from=	infinitive prefix	be stingy
that (acc.)	man	from stinginess	and	
ä) zani	tišəl			ahu yiftə gʷäy
እ	ዘኒ	ተሻል		አሁ የፍት ጥይ
ä	zani	tə-	yə-	šəl
ä	zani	tə-	yə-	ahu yiftə
right?	that one	neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	gʷäy
right?	that one	he did not know	know now before	when
				now previously
yäbakkähom		yindä		ቂፍቅዱ
የበክሬም		ይንዳ		ይናና
yä= bal	-kä	=hom	yin	-dä
yä= balä	-kä	=hom	yin	-dä
that= say	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=as	eye	your (2.m.sg.) close
as you said			your eyes	close

balut**ባለት**

bal	-u	=t
<i>balä</i>	-o	=t
say	3.m.sg.perf.(main)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)
he said to him		

albakkä

?

አልባክ

al-	bal	-kä
<i>al-</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>-kä</i>
neg-perf.	say	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)
did you not say		

Now out of stinginess (right?) - that hired hand didn't know - as you said previously, the employer said to him, "Close your eyes." (Didn't you say that?).

8.3. kahom zani	" kässäddähäm ¹⁶³	bamäṭṭa
ከሠም ንዝ	ከስደህም	ባመጥታ
kahom zani	kässät -dähäm	bä= amäṭṭa
<i>kahom zani</i>	<i>kässät -dähäm</i>	<i>bä= amäṭṭa</i>
thus that one	lunch your (2.m.pl.)	if= bring
thus that one	your lunch	if someone brought

yizəmum	nähäm	qunayy
የዘመም	ንሕም	ቁናይ
yiz -əmu	=m nä	-häm
<i>yizzä -əm</i>	<i>=m nä</i>	<i>-kəmu</i>
grab 2.m.pl.impv.	=and come! (impv.)	2.m.pl.perf.(subord.) together
grab (it) and	come	together

nəblaw	, " balännət
ንብላው	ባለኋት
nə-	bla =w
<i>nə-</i>	<i>bälla =äw</i>
1.c.pl.juss. eat	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
let us eat it	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
	he said to him

¹⁶³ On the assimilation of t to d see Ch. 4, § II.1.2.6.

Thus that employer said to him, "(He said) 'If someone brought your lunch, bring it with you, and let us eat it together!'"

8.4. "	mən yiblu	,"
	ምኑ የብሉ	
mən	yi-	bl -u
<i>mən</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>balä</i> -u
what?	3.m.sg.impf.	say 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
what	is he saying	
baläm	yəssäl gəze	" kässäddähəm
ባለም	ይስል ገዢ	ከስደህም
balä =m	yə- ssäl gəze	kässät -dähəm
<i>balä</i> =m	<i>yə-</i> <i>täšilä</i> <i>gize</i>	<i>kässät</i> -dähəm
say =circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf. ask when	lunch your (2.m.pl.)
he said and	when he asked	your lunch
bamättä	qunayy nəblaw	
ገመጥ	ቁናይ ካብላው	
bä= amättä	qunayy nə-	bla =w
<i>bä</i> = <i>amättä</i>	<i>qunayy</i> <i>nə-</i>	<i>bälla</i> =äw
if= bring	together 1.c.pl.juss.	eat =him (3.m.sg.obj.)
if someone brought	together	let us eat it
yizəmunn		," balännət
የዘመን		ባለንተት
yiz -əmu	=nn	balä =nnət
<i>yizzä</i> -əm	=nn	<i>balä</i> =nnət
grab 2.m.pl.impv.	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
grab it		he said to him
.		

When the hired hand asked, saying, "What is he saying?" the employer said to him, "(He said) 'If someone brought your lunch let us eat it together; grab it!'"

8.5. kässäti näffägännöt

հՅՒ նԵՐԴԻ

kässät -i näffägä =nnöt

kässät -i näffägä =nnöt

lunch the be stingy =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

the lunch he was stingy with it

wobälən

ՔՈՃ

wo- bäl =ən

wä- balä =ən

infinitive prefix mean =be (copula)

to mean it is

It means he was stingy with the lunch.

Paragraph 9.

9.1. kittə säboččəmma močä

հ.Դ ԱՌԾՈՂ ՊԹԸ

kittə sáb -očč =əmma močä

kit sáb -očč =m močä

two man pl =as for road

two men as for (on the) road

yalfəmun

ՔՃՔՄՈՒՆ

yə- alf -əmun

yə- alläfä -əmun

3.m.pl.impf. go 3.m.pl.impf.(main)

they were going

Two men were going along the road.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ The speaker begins a new story here.

Paragraph 10.

10.1. 1) močä	yalfəmun	?
ምል	የልኝሙን	
močä	yə-	alf
močä	yə-	alläfā
road	3.m.pl.impf.	go
(on the) road	they were going	3.m.pl.impf.(main)

1) They were going along the road?

10.2. bäy .

በይ	
bäy	
bäy	
all right	
all right	

Okay then.

Paragraph 11.

11.1. 2) quni	gälləfən	,	quni	aččərən	.
ቁኒ	ገልፋን	,	ቁኒ	አቻርን	
quna	-i	gälləf	=ən	quna	-i
quna	-i	gälləf	=ən	quna	-i
one	the tall	=be (copula)	one	the short	=be (copula)
the one	was tall		the other	was short	

2) The one man was tall, the other short.

11.2. gälləfi	yift	yift	yalfu	.
ገልፋፊ	የፍት	የፍት	ያልፎ	
gälləf	-i	yift	yə-	alf
gälləf	-i	yift	yə-	alläfā
tall	the forward	forward	3.m.sg.impf.	go
the tall one	forward	forward	he goes	3.m.sg.impf. (main)

The tall one kept moving forward.

11.3. tiyalf

တိရာန			တိရာန		
tə=	yə-	alf	tə=	yə-	alf
tä=	yə-	<i>alläfā</i>	tä=	yə-	<i>alläfā</i>
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	go	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	go
	while going			while going	

tiyalf

တိရာန			တိရာန		
tə=	yə-	alf	tə=	yə-	alf
tä=	yə-	<i>alläfā</i>	tä=	yə-	<i>alläfā</i>
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	go	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	go
	while going			while going	

waləmum

qänä		
ΦΛΩΜ-ဂု		Փ՚
wal	-əmu	=m
<i>walä</i>	-əmun	=m
spend the day	3.m.pl.impf.(main)	=circumstantial action
they spend the day and		day
		the day

mässäm

.		
စားရှုံး		
mässä	=m	
<i>mässä</i>	=m	
become evening	=resultative action	
became evening		

When they had spent the day going a long, long, long, long way,¹⁶⁵ evening set in.

¹⁶⁵ On the repetition of a verb for repetitive/prolonged action see Ch. 4, §XIV.3.

11.4. "	gowä¹⁶⁶	nəruṭənnä¹⁶⁷		, qänä
	 Gowä	 नेरुटेन्ना		 फैना
	gowä	nə-	ruṭ	=nä
	gowä	nə-	roṭä	=nä
	hey, guy!	1.c.pl.juss.	run	for= =us (1.c.pl.obj.)
	hey, guy!	let us run for ourselves		day
				the day

mässäm ,"

मौसम

mässä =m

mässä =m

become evening =resultative action

has become evening

balännäm .

बालान्नम्

balä =nn =əm

balä =nn =əm

say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) =resultative action

he said to him

The tall one said to the short one, "Hey, guy! Let's start running, because the day has turned into evening."

Paragraph 12.

12.1. 1) bÄy .

बैय

bÄy

bÄy

all right

all right

1) All right.

¹⁶⁶ On the vocative see Ch. 4, §III.3.

¹⁶⁷ On the use of the ethical dative *lä-* in Kəstanəñña see Ch. 4, §X.1.2.

Paragraph 13.

13.1. 2) aččer	näfolän¹⁶⁸	.
አርር	ናይለን	
aččer	nä= folä =n	
aččer	nä= f'älä =ən	
short	to= back =be (copula)	
the short man	was behind (the tall one)	

2) The short man was in the back.

13.2. " ädi	täroṭənn	
አዲ	ትሬጥን	
ädi	tə-	ä- roṭ =ənn
ädi	tə-	ä- roṭä =nn
I (1.c.sg.)	neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf. run =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
I	will not run it	
yäwakku		bädähä
የዋክ		በዳሕ
yä= wal	-ku	bä= dähä
yä= walä	-ki	bä= dähä
that= spend the day	1.c.sg.perf.(main)	to= you (2.m.sg.)
that I have spent the day		to you
äsälaw		bakkum
እሳላው		ባኩም
ä- säla -w		bal -ku =m qənan
ä- sälla -u		balä -ki =m qənan
1.c.sg.impf. reach	1.c.sg.impf. (main)	say 1.c.sg.perf.(main) =and day
I will reach		I said and the day
aläžhe		aldäl ,"
አልጀዥ		አልደል
al- äž -hä		=e aldäl
al- ažžä -kä		=e aldäbäl
neg-perf. see	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.) however
you did not see me		however

¹⁶⁸ On the origins of the positionals nä- and folä see Ch. 4, §§X.1.2; X.2.2.

balännət

ባልናት

balä =nnət

balä =nnət

say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

The short man replied, "I myself will not run (the distance). I have spent the day trying to keep up with you, and the (whole) day you haven't even seen me?!"

10. Bus^wanna dəkula (bäbuttağira)

"The Leopard and the Antelope" (Buttajira, session 6; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Gosaye Tufär (from Damu Kiro); 2) Daniel Eressa)

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) Bädəro	gizen	bus^wanna	dəkula
በ&ር	ገዢ	ብሱን	ዶክላ
bä= yä= dəro	gize =n	bus ^w a =nna	dəkula
bä= yä= dəro	gize =n	buswa =ənna	dək ^w əla
in= of= in old times	time =be (copula)	leopard =and	antelope
in of old	time it is	the leopard and	the antelope

wolläho näm

ዋለሁ ነም

wolläho nä =äm

wälläho nä =äm

neighbor be (copula) them (3.m.pl.obj.)

neighbors they were

1) In old times the leopard and the antelope were neighbors.

Paragraph 2.

2.1. 2) bus^wanna dəkula ?

በኩና ደከላ
bus^wa =nna dəkula
buswa =ənna dəkʷəla
leopard =and antelope
the leopard and the antelope

2) The leopard and the antelope?

Paragraph 3.

3.1. 1) bägəfittəhənnäm gəddər gädäl yino .

በግዢትሁንም ገዢር ገደል የና
bä= gəfitt -əhənnäm gəddər gädäl yinä -o
bä= gəfitt -hənnäm gəddər gädäl yinä -o
in= middle their (3.m.pl.) big chasm be (exist) 3.m.sg.perf.(main)
between them a big chasm there was

1) Between them there was a big chasm.

3.2. bus^wa bægura yəwolu ,

በኩ በኩራ ይዋሉ
bus^wa bä= gura yə- wol -u
buswa bä= gura yə- walä -u
leopard on= left 3.m.sg.impf. spend the day 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
the leopard on the left he would spend the day

dəkula bæqäñña zäba yəwolu .

ደከላ በቁጥ ኮብ ይዋሉ
dəkula bä= qäñña zäba yə- wol -u
dəkʷəla bä= qäñña zäba yə- walä -u
antelope on= right side 3.m.sg.impf. spend the day 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
the antelope on the right side he would spend the day

The leopard would spend the day on the left side, while the antelope would spend the day on the right side.

3.3. yəwordum

ይዢርጋም

yə-	word	=u	=m
yə-	wärrädä	=äw	=m
3.m.sg.impf.	go down	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=circumstantial action
one would go down (the chasm)			

bägərge¹⁶⁹

yigginnäbo

በግርጂ

፩ንጻ

bä=	ägərge	yi-	gginnä	b=	=o
bä=	ägərge	yə-	täginna	bä=	=äw
on=	the bottom part	3.m.sg.impf.	cross (over)	by (means)=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
on the bottom		(a way)	that one could cross over by it		

yəno

.

ይና

yən -o

yinä -o

be (exist) 3.m.sg.perf. (main)

there was

One would go down the chasm, and on the bottom there was a way by which one could cross over.

3.4. busʷa dəkula yəšäyyän¹⁷⁰

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የሻሬያን

busʷa	dəkula	yə-	šä	=yyän
buswa	dəkʷula	yə-	ša	=yyän
leopard	antelope	3.m.sg.impf.	look for	=to
the leopard	the antelope	in order to look for		

yəwordəm

bägərge

ይዢርጋም

በግርጂ

yə- word =əm

bä= ägərge

yə- wärrädä =əm

bä= ägərge

3.m.sg.impf. go down =circumstantial action

on= the bottom part

he went down and

on the bottom

¹⁶⁹ The particle -ge can be attached a word such as ägər “foot” to indicate “the foot-part” (i.e. “the bottom”)

¹⁷⁰ The verb ša is likely a loanword from Arabic (عشا).

yəgginna gʷäy		bägunnängemma¹⁷¹
ይኑና ጥያ		ቢንናንጂማ
yə-	gginna	gʷäy
yə-	täginna	goy
3.m.sg.impf.	cross (over)	when
when he crossed over	on=	the top part
		=also
		on the top also

yəgginnäbo

ይኑኩ

yə-	gginnä	b=	=o
yə-	täginna	bä=	=äw
3.m.sg.impf.	cross (over)	by (means)=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
(a way) that one could cross by it			

yəno

.

ይና

yən	-o
yinä	-o
be (exist)	3.m.sg.perf. (main)

there was

The leopard went down the chasm in order to look for the antelope, and while he was crossing over on the bottom there was also a way by which one could cross over on the top.

3.5. dəkulamma	bägunnänge	zazär
ድሬለማ	ቢንናንጂ	ዛዛር
dəkula	=mma	bä=
dəkʷəla	=m	bä=
antelope	=as for	yä=
as for the antelope	by (means)=	gunnänge
	of=	za
	the top part	azär
	by of the top part	that side
		(to) that side

yəgginnaw

.

ይኑኩው

yə-	gginna	-w
yə-	täginna	-u
3.m.sg.impf.	cross (over)	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
he crossed		

¹⁷¹ Gunnänge comes from *gunnän* “head” and *-ge*. See discussion of *-ge* just above.

As for the antelope, he crossed over to the other side by the top path.

3.6. (gəfətti

ገፍታ

gəfətt	-i
<i>gəfitt</i>	<i>-i</i>
middle	the
the middle	

tizällum

ተዘለም

tə-	yə-	zäll	=u	=m
<i>tə-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>zällälä</i>	<i>=äw</i>	<i>=m</i>
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	jump	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=circumstantial action
one does not jump it and				

tigginno

.)

ተረጥ

tə-	yə-	gginna	=o	
<i>tə-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>täginna</i>	<i>=äw</i>	
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	cross (over)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	
one does not cross it				

(One could not cross the middle by jumping it.)

Paragraph 4.

4.1. busʷa ahum

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አሁም

busʷa	ahum
<i>buswa</i>	<i>ahum</i>
leopard	again
the leopard	again

yažənnəm

ያጃኊንም

yə-	až	=ənn	=əm
<i>yə-</i>	<i>až</i>	<i>=nn</i>	<i>=əm</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	see	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action
when he saw him and			

yəqäbətə gʷäy **ahum gunnänge**
ይቁብጥ ገዢ **አሁም ገንጻ**
 yə- qäbətə gʷäy ahum gunnänge
yə- *qäbbätä* *goy* *ahum* *gunnänge*
 3.m.sg.impf. find when again the top part
 when he found him again the top part

yəwoṭam

ይዋጥም

yə- woṭa =m
yə- *wäṭṭa* =m
 3.m.sg.impf. come out =circumstantial action
 he came out and

yigginnaw

የገናው

yi- gginna -w
yi- *täginna* -u
 3.m.sg.impf. cross (over) 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
 he crossed over

When the leopard caught sight of the antelope again, he once again came out and crossed over on the top part.

4.2. busʷa ahum ቴበባቅዕናንድ
በሸ **አሁም መስቀልም**
 busʷa ahum ቴበባቅ =ənn =əm
buswa *ahum tibbäq* *=nn* *=əm*
 leopard again wait =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) =circumstantial action
 the leopard again he waited for him and

bägärge zoräm

በግርጌ **ዘጋም**
 bä= ägärge zorä =m
bä= *ägärgē* *zorä* *=m*
 on= the bottom part go around =circumstantial action
 on the bottom (the antelope) went around and

yəgginnaw

ይንናው

yə- gginna -w

yə- täginna -u

3.m.sg.impf. cross (over) 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

he crossed over

The leopard waited for the antelope again, but the antelope had gone around and crossed over on the bottom.

Paragraph 5.

5.1. tinäbərəm

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tə= yə- näbər -əm

tä= yə- näbbärä -əm

while= 3.m.pl.impf. be present 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)

while they were present

tinäbərəm

,

ትናበርም

tə= yə- näbər -əm

tä= yə- näbbärä -əm

while= 3.m.pl.impf. be present 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)

while they were present

tinäbərəm

bəžä gəze

ትናበርም

ብና ገዢ

tə= yə- näbər -əm bəžä gəze

tä= yə- näbbärä -əm bəžä gəzye

while= 3.m.pl.impf. be present 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.) much time

while they were present much time

biqqäsəm gʷäy

" dəkula "

በቀኑም ንጻ

ቻኬ

bə= yə= iqqäs -əm gʷäy dəkula

bä= yä= iqqäśä -əm goy dəkʷəla

in= that= wait 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.) time antelope

when they waited antelope

balännət	; bus^wan	yibəl	.
ባልናት	ብሱዋን	የብል	
balä =nnət	bus ^w a =n	yi-	bəl
balä =nnət	buswa =ən	yə-	balä
say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	leopard =be (copula)	3.m.sg.impf.	say
he said to him	it was the leopard	who said	

**When they had been there waiting a long, long, long time, he said to him,
"Hey, Antelope!"; it was the leopard speaking.**

Paragraph 6.

6.1. " ye ?"

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ye

ye

yes

yes

"Yes?"

Paragraph 7.

7.1. " yämən təkkäsaw

የያምን ተከኑው-		, sari	zi
yämən tə-	kkäsa -w	sar -i	zi
yämən tə-	täkässa -u	sar -i	zi
why? 2.m.sg.impf.	be skinny 2.m.sg.impf. (main)	grass the this	
why are you skinny		the grass this	

yimäslu

የመስላለ

; yämən	
የያምን	
yi- mäsl -u	yämən
yə- mässälä -u	yämən
3.m.sg.impf. resemble 3.m.sg.impf. (main)	why?
it resembles	why

täkässaham ,"

ተከሱም

täkässä	-ha	=m
<i>täkässä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	<i>=m</i>
be skinny	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action
are you skinny		

balännəm

ባለንም

balä	=nn	=əm
<i>balä</i>	<i>=nn</i>	<i>=əm</i>
say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=resultative action
he said to him		

The leopard said to him, "Why are you skinny when the grass looks (as good) as this? Why are you skinny?"

Paragraph 8.

8.1. " yädähä

የደኩ

yä=	dähä	koččä	-hu	=m
<i>yä=</i>	<i>dähä</i>	<i>koččä</i>	<i>-k^w</i>	<i>=m</i>
direct object marker=	you (2.m.sg.)	fear	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=and
you (acc.)		I fear	and	

mäčä təbäləyew

መጋብ ተበላይው

mäčä tə-	bäla	=yew
<i>mäčä tə-</i>	<i>bälla</i>	<i>=ew</i>
when 2.m.sg.impf.	eat	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)
when will you eat me		

bakkum

ባክም

bal	-ku	=m
<i>balä</i>	<i>-k^w</i>	<i>=m</i>
say	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=and
I said	and	

issäbu			," balännət	.
አልበ			ባለንት	
ä-	issäb	-u	balä	=nnət
ä-	issäbä	-u	balä	=nnət
1.c.sg.impf.	think	1.c.sg.impf. (main)	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
I think			he said to him	

The anteloped answered, "I fear you and I think to myself, 'When is he going to eat me?'"

Paragraph 9.

9.1. " ädi	täbälaha	,
አዲ	ተበላה	
ädi	tə-	ä-
ädi	tə-	ä-
I (1.c.sg.)	neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.
I	I will not eat you	eat =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
gudda nəgäd	," balännət	.
ገದዳ	ባለንት	
gudda	nə-	əgäd
gudda	nə-	aggädä
treaty	1.c.pl.juss.	bind
a treaty	let us bind	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
		he said to him

"As for me, I will not eat you; let us make a treaty," the leopard said to him.

Paragraph 10.

10.1. " tətəbälaye		?"
ተተበላይ		
tə-	tə-	bäla =ye
tə-	tə-	bälla =e
neg-impf.(main)	2.m.sg.impf.	eat =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
you will not eat me		

"You will not eat me?"

Paragraph 11.

11.1. " awo ."

አዎ

awo

awo

no (to a question in the negative)

no

"No."

Paragraph 12.

12.1. " tətəbälaye ?"

ትተበላይ

tə- tə- bälä =ye

tə- tə- bällä =e

neg-impf.(main) 2.m.sg.impf. eat =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)

you will not eat me

You will not eat me?!"

Paragraph 13.

13.1. " awo ."

አዎ

awo

awo

no (to a question in the negative)

no

"No."

Paragraph 14.

14.1. " bäy , gudda nəgäd ," **baläm** .

ባይ **ጋዳ** **ነገድ** **ባለም**

bäy gudda nə- əgäd balä =m

bäy *gudda* *nə-* *aggädä* *balä* =*m*

all right treaty 1.c.pl.juss. bind say =resultative action

all right a treaty let us bind he said

"All right," said the antelope, "let us make a treaty."

14.2. " gudda : bäßällahukä

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	በበላሁካ		
gudda	bä=	bälla	-hu
<i>gudda</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>bälla</i>	<i>-kʷ</i>
treaty	if=	eat	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)
a treaty	if I eat you		=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)

ናትብälä , " baləmum

ነትብäl

	ባልሙም		
nä-	təbälä	bal	-əmu
<i>nä-</i>	<i>täbällä</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>-əm</i>
1.c.sg.juss.	be eaten	say	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)
let me be eaten		they said and	=circumstantial action

gudda aggädəmum

ገዳደ አገዳመም

gudda	aggäd	-əmu	=m
<i>gudda</i>	<i>aggädä</i>	<i>-əm</i>	<i>=m</i>
treaty	bind	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
a treaty	they bound and		

የንäበርämun

ይኑበርመን

yə-	näbər	-əmun	
<i>yə-</i>	<i>näbbärä</i>	<i>-əmun</i>	
3.m.pl.impf.	live	3.m.pl.impf.(main)	
they lived			

They said, "A treaty: if I eat you, may I be eaten," and, having made the treaty, they went on with their lives.

14.3. qunayy täqəlaqqäləmum

;

ቁኬይ ተቁላቅለመም

qunayy	täqəlaqqäl	-əmu	=m
<i>qunayy</i>	<i>täqəlaqqälä</i>	<i>-əm</i>	<i>=m</i>
as one	join together	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action
as one	they joined together		

bägudda .

በግዳ

bä= gudda

bä= *gudda*

in= treaty

in the treaty

They joined together as one; in the treaty, that is.

Paragraph 15.

15.1. täqəlaqqäləmum

tälätat

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ተለታት

täqəlaqqäl -əmu =m

täqəlaqqälä -əm =m

join together 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.) =resultative action among= day
they joined together among the days

attəmay busʷa

አትማይ በሱ

attə may busʷa

at may buswa

one day leopard

one day the leopard

yərābənn gʷäy

" dəkula "

የራበኑ ጥያ

ደክላ

yə- räb =ənn gʷäy dəkula

yə- *rabä(nn)* =nn goy *dəkʷəla*

3.m.sg.impf. be hungry =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) when antelope

when he was hungry antelope

balännət .

ባለንኑት

balä =nnət

balä =nnət

say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

They joined together and, on a particular day, the leopard became hungry and said to the antelope, "O, Antelope!"

Paragraph 16.

16.1. " ye ?"

የ

ye

ye

yes

yes

"Yes?"

Paragraph 17.

17.1. " gudda	yibluyi	mən	
ግዳ	የብሉይ	ምን	
gudda	yi-	bl =u	-yi mən
<i>gudda</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>balä</i> =äw	-i <i>mən</i>
treaty	3.m.sg.impf.	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)	the what?
the treaty	the that it says		what

yəqinnaw	," balännət	.
ያችው	ባለንተ	
yə-	qinna -w	balä =nnət
<i>yə-</i>	<i>qinna</i> -u	<i>balä</i> =nnət
3.m.sg.impf.	do 3.m.sg.impf. (main)	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
does it do		he said to him

"What does the treaty claim to do?" he asked the antelope.

17.2. (yəbälannəyyän

ይበላንተ

yə-	bäla =nn	=əyyän
<i>yə-</i>	<i>bälla</i> =nn	=əyyän
3.m.sg.impf.	eat =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=to
to eat him		

šäm .)

ሽም

šä =m

ša =m

wish =resultative action

he wished

(The leopard wanted to eat him.)

Paragraph 18.

18.1. " zär yaṭäfaw ,"

ዘር የጠፋው

zär yə- atäfa -w

zär yə- atäffa -u

offspring 3.m.sg.impf. destroy 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

(one's) offspring it will destroy

balännät .

ባልናነት

balä =nnät

balä =nnat

say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

"It will destroy one's offspring (if he breaks it)," the antelope said to him.

Paragraph 19.

19.1. " ädi ahoňň

እዲ አሸንኑ

ädi ahoňň

ädi ahoňň

I (1.c.sg.) today

I today

yəräbem gʷäy

ይረበም ገይ

yə-	räb	=e	=m	gʷäy
yə-	<i>rabä(nn)</i>	=e	=m	<i>goy</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	be starving	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action	while

while I am starving

läzärəddin , wäy ,"

ለዘራዱን

lä=	zär	-əddi	=n	wäy
<i>lä=</i>	<i>zär</i>	<i>-ddi</i>	<i>=ən</i>	<i>wäy</i>
for=	offspring	my (1.c.sg.)	=be (copula)	or
is it for my offspring				or

baläm bədəggə baläm

ባልም

balä	=m	bədəggə	balä	=m
<i>balä</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>bədəggə</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>=m</i>
say	=circumstantial action	get up		=circumstantial action
he said and		he got up and		

yəssäqqäləbot .

ይስቃቅልብት

yə-	ssäqqäl	əb=	=ot
yə-	<i>täsäqqälä</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>=äw</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	put oneself upon	at=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)

he threw himself at him

The leopard said, "As for me, while I am starving today, is it for my offspring?!" And with that he rose and pounced at the antelope.

Paragraph 20.

20.1. 2) bäy .

በይ

bäy

bäy

all right

all right

2) All right.

Paragraph 21.

21.1. 1) dəkula dənäbbäräm

ዶክላ **ዶንበባርም**

dəkula dənäbbärä =m

dəkʷəla *dənäbbärä* =m

antelope flee in fright =circumstantial action

the antelope when he fled in fright and

yənnäsa gʷäy

bäqärr

yebusʷa

የኋላ ገዢ

በቃር

በብሔራ

yə-	nnäsa	gʷäy	bä=	qärr	ye=	busʷa
<i>yə-</i>	<i>tänässa</i>	<i>goy</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>qärr</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>buswa</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	depart	when	by (means)=	horn (of an animal)	of=	leopard
when he departed			with (his) horns			of the leopard

kärs yəqäddu

.

ከርስ **ይቀዳዸ**

kärs yə-

qädd

-u

kärs *yə-*

qäddädä

-u

stomach 3.m.sg.impf. cut open 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

the stomach he cut open

1) When the antelope fled away he cut open the leopard's stomach with his horns.

Paragraph 22.

22.1. " dəkula , gäddälkew

,

ዶክላ ገዳልከው

dəkula gäddäl -kä =ew

dəkʷəla *gäddälä* *-kä* =ew

antelope kill 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

antelope you have killed me

gäddälkew

;

ገዳልከው

gäddäl -kä =ew

gäddälä *-kä* =ew

kill 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

you have killed me

yezär		yatäfaw	
የዘር		ያታፈው	
ye=	zär	yə-	aṭäfa
yä=	zär	yə-	aṭäffa
direct object marker=	offspring	3.m.sg.impf.	destroy
the offspring (acc.)		it will destroy	3.m.sg.impf. (main)

wakkäm gəze

በክም የዘ

wal	-kä	=m	gəze
balä	-kä	=m	gize
say	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	when
when you said			

aṭäffahe

አጥቃቸ

aṭäffa	-hä	=e
aṭäffa	-kä	=e
destroy	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
you have destroyed me		

ädäll

, wäy ,"

እዳል

ወይ

ädäl	=nn	wäy
ädäbəl	=nn	wäy
neg. of copula	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	or
is it not		or

balännət

.

ባለንኑት

balä	=nnət	
balä	=nnət	
say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	
he said to him		

The leopard said to him, "Antelope, you have killed me, you have killed me!
 Though you said the treaty would kill one's offspring, you destroyed me,
 haven't you, huh?!"

Paragraph 23.

23.1. "	metiyyädä	yäwzäyyänin	,	zi			
	መ-ት-የድ	የወ-ዘ-ይ-ያ-ን		ዘ			
	metiyyä	-dä	yä=	wzäyyä	-ni	=n	zi
	metiyyä	-dä	yä=	wəzäyyä	-i	=ən	zi
	grandparent	your (2.m.sg.)	that=	do	the	=be (copula)	this
	your grandfather		it is the (thing)	that he did			this
	yädähä	ädäbəll	,"	balännət			
	የዳ-ከ	እ-ዳ-ብ-ል		ባ-ለ-ን-ት			
	yä=	dähä	ädäbəl	-n	balä	=nnət	
	yä=	dähä	ädäbəl	-n	balä	=nnət	
	of=	you (2.m.sg.)	neg. of copula	be (copula)	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	
	of you		it is not			he said to him	
.							

The antelope replied, "Well, it must have been something your grandfather did; it has nothing to do with you."

11. Kittə lebočč (bäbuttağira)

"Two thieves" (Buttajira, session 7; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Gosaye Tufär (from Damu Kiro); 2) Daniel Eressa)

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) Kittə lebočč	yənämun	.			
ክ-ት ሌ-ቦ-ች	ይ-ኋ-ሙ-ን				
kittə	leba	-očč	yənä	-mun	
kit	leba	-očč	yinä	-mun	
two	thief	pl	be (exist)	3.m.pl.perf.(main)	
two	thieves		there were		

1) There were two thieves.

1.2. leba näm

ለባ **ናም**

leba nä =äm

leba *nä* =äm

thief be (copula) them (3.m.pl.obj.)

thieves they were

They were thieves.

1.3. quni bägämmoğgi yänäbəru

ቁን **በገምሞች** **ያናበሩ**

quna -i bä= gämmoğgi yə- näbər -u

quna *-i* *bä=* *gämmoğgi* *yə-* *näbbärä* *-u*

one the in= lowland 3.m.sg.impf. live 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

the one in the lowland he lived

quni bägäwä yänäbəru

ቁን **በገዢ** **ያናበሩ**

quna -i bä= gäwä yə- näbər -u

quna *-i* *bä=* *gäwä* *yə-* *näbbärä* *-u*

one the in= highland 3.m.sg.impf. live 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

the other in the highland he lived

The one thief lived in the lowlands, the other lived in the highlands.

1.4. mäkkannänum

መከኑሙም

mäkka	=nnämu	=m	attəmqay
mäkka	=nnämun	=m	attəqay
be troublesome	=them (3.m.pl.obj.)(main)	=circumstantial action	anything
it became troublesome for them and			anything

tiwzäyyəm

; leba

ተወካይም

ለባ

tə-	yə-	wzäyy	-əm	leba
tə-	yə-	wəzäyyä	-əm	leba
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.pl.impf.	do	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	thief
they do not do				thieves

näm

.

ነም

nä	=äm	
nä	=äm	
be (copula)	them (3.m.pl.obj.)	
they were		

Times became tough for them, but they would not do any work; they were thieves.

1.5. ärabännänum¹⁷²

እራብኑሙም

ärabä	=nnämu	=m
rabä(nn)	=nnämun	=m
be hungry	=them (3.m.pl.obj.)(main)	=resultative action
they became hungry		

They became hungry.

¹⁷² On the prosthetic *ä*- attached to initial *r* see Ch. 4, §II.1.2.2.

Paragraph 2.

2.1. yägäwi	... bəšša afär ..." məšto	,"
የገዥ	ብሔር አፈር መሙት	
yä= gäwä -i	bəšša afär	məšt -o
yä= gäwä -i	bəšša afär	məšt -o
of= highland the	red dirt	wife vocative marker
the of the highlands (thief)	red dirt	o wife

balänam

ባለኝም

balä =na	=m
balä =nna	=m
say =her (3.f.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=resultative action
he said to her	

The highlands thief...red dirt...he said to his wife, "O wife!"

Paragraph 3.

3.1. " yo	?"
-----------	----

የ	
yo	
yo	
yes? (response to being called)	
yes?	

"Yes?"

Paragraph 4.

4.1. " zi	bəšša afär tafin
-----------	------------------

ዘ	ብሔር አፈር መሙት
zi	bəšša afär tafin
zi	bəšša afär tafin
this red	dirt tef (millet-like grain)
this red	dirt tef it is
	=be (copula)

äbələm

እብልም

ä-	bəl	=əm
ä-	<i>balä</i>	=əm
1.c.sg.impf.	say	=circumstantial action
I shall say and		

ätiġgərrət , gäbäya

እቲጋርጥ

ä-	tiggər	=nnət	gäbäya
ä-	<i>tiggärä</i>	=nnət	<i>gäbäya</i>
1.c.sg.impf.	sell	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	market
I shall sell it			(for) market

näčanənn , bämär

ነጋኝን

nä-	čan	=ənn	bä= ämar
<i>nä-</i>	<i>čanä</i>	=nn	<i>bä= ämar</i>
1.c.sg.juss.	load	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	on= donkey
let me load it			on the donkey

baläm .

ባለም

balä	=m
<i>balä</i>	=m
say	=resultative action
he said	

He said, "I shall say that this red dirt is ቅef and sell it. Let me load it on the donkey for market."

4.2. " čannəm

əläf ,"

ዓላማ

čan	=nn	=əm	əläf
<i>čanä</i>	=nn	=əm	<i>alläfä</i>
load	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=and	go
load it and			go

balättut

በለተት

bal	-ätt	=ut
balä	-ät	=äw
say	3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
	she said to him	

"Load it and go," she said to him.

Paragraph 5.

5.1. yägämmoğgimma	fässäs		
የገምሞችማ	ፈሰሰ		
yä= gämmoğgi -i =mma	fässäs		
yä= gämmoğgi -i =m	fässäs		
of= lowland the =as for flood			
as for the (thief) of the lowlands a flood			
yaworrädänn		... gʷärft	... fässäs , ahu
ያዥረዳን		ገርፍ	ፈሰሰ አሁ
yä= aworrädä =nn		gʷärft	fässäs ahu
yä= awärrädä =nn		gorf	fässäs ahu
that= bring down =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)		flood	flood now
that it had brought it down		a flood	a flood now
gʷärftən	amarəñña	ädä	?
ገርፍን	አማርኛ	እደ	
gʷärft =ən	amarəñña	ädä	
gorf =ən	amarəñña	ädäbəl	
flood =be (copula)	Amharic (language)	neg. of copula	
a flood it is	Amharic	is it not	

As for the thief from the lowlands, that which a flood (fässäs) had brought down...wait, flood (gʷärft)...no, flood (fässäs), now flood (gʷärft) is Amharic, isn't it?¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Fässäs is Kəstanəñña, and gʷärft/gorf is Amharic for "flood."

5.2. fässäs yaworrädännən		ašäwa
ፈስስ የወርሃናን		አሻዋ
fässäs yä= aworrädä =nn	=ən	ašäwa
fässäs yä= awärrädä =nn	=ən	ašäwa
flood that= bring down =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=verb augment	sand
a flood that it brought it down		sand
zaqä zaqäm	" məšto	."
ዘቅ	ዘቅም	
zaqä zaqä =m	məšt	-o
zaqä zaqä =m	məšt	-o
scoop scoop =circumstantial action	wife	vocative marker
he scooped he scooped and	o wife	

**He scooped and scooped some sand that a flood had brought down and
(said), "O wife!"**

Paragraph 6.

6.1. " yo	?"
የ	
yo	
<i>yo</i>	
yes? (response to being called)	
yes?	

"Yes?"

Paragraph 7.

7.1. " zi assäbon	äbələm
ዘ አሰቦን	እብልም
zi assäbo =n	ä- bəl =əm
zi assäbo =ən	ä- balä =əm
this salt =be (copula) 1.c.sg.impf.	say =circumstantial action
this salt it is	I shall say and

ǟtiggerrətən				, gäbäya
እጋርጥን				ገበያ
ä-	tiggər	=nnət	=ən	gäbäya
ä-	<i>tiggärä</i>	=nnət	=ən	<i>gäbäya</i>
1.c.sg.impf.	sell	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	=verb augment	market
I shall sell it				(for) the market
näčannəm			näläf	,
ነፋናም			ነፈ	
nä-	čan	=nn	=əm	nä-
<i>nä-</i>	<i>čanä</i>	=nn	=əm	<i>nä-</i>
1.c.sg.juss.	load	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=and	1.c.sg.juss.
let me load it and				go
				let me go
balännam			.	
ባለናም				
balä	=nna		=m	
<i>balä</i>	<i>=nna</i>		=m	
say	=her (3.f.sg.obj.)(subord.)			=resultative action
he said to her				

He said to her, "I shall say that this is salt and sell it. Let me load it (on the donkey) for market and go."

Paragraph 8.

8.1. "	ähä	bayyočč	yäṭom
	እክ	ባይ	የትመ
ähä	bayy	-očč	yäṭom
<i>ähäk</i>	<i>bayy</i>	<i>-očč</i>	<i>yäṭom</i>
so	child	pl	without eating
so then	the children		without eating

yadərmun ?

የድርማን

yə-	adər	-mun
yə-	<i>addärä</i>	<i>-əmun</i>
3.m.pl.impf.	live (spend time)	3.m.pl.impf.(main)
shall they live		

"So, shall the children live without food?¹⁷⁴

8.2.	yizəm	əläf	,"	balättut	.
	ይዝም	አለፍ		ባላቻት	
	yiz	=əm	əläf	bal	-ätt
	yizzä	=əm	alläfä	balä	-ät
	take	=and	go	say	3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)
	take (it)	and	go	she said to him	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)

Take it and go," she said to him.

Paragraph 9.

9.1.	kittəm	čanəmum	
	ክትም	ችንሙም	
	kitt	=əm	čan
	kit	=əm	-əmu
	two	=as for	load
			3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)
		as for the two men	they loaded (their goods)
	gäbäya	.	
	ገበያ		
	gäbäya		
	gäbäya		
	market		
	(for) the market		

So the two men loaded their goods for the market.

9.2.	zam	čanäm	zahom
	ዛም	ችናም	ዛሮም
	za	=m	zahom
	za	=m	zahom
	that	=as for	load
			=circumstantial action
	as for that man	he loaded (his goods)	in that way
		and	in that way

¹⁷⁴ This statement is said in agreement to the thief's plan. It means essentially, "Go ahead with your plan, so the children will have something to eat."

yalfu**ያልቁ**

yə-	alf	-u	
yə-	<i>alläfā</i>	-u	
3.m.sg.impf.	go	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	
he went			

The one loaded his goods and went that way.**9.3. tiṭṭeyayyäqäm****ትጥያያቅäm**

tə-	yə-	tiṭṭeyayyäq	-äm
<i>tə-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>täṭəyayyäqä</i>	<i>-äm</i>
neg-impf.(main)	3.m.pl.impf.	inquire of each other	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
they did not inquire of each other			

They did not consult each other.**9.4. zam****čanäm****zəhom**

ዘም	መንም	ዘሁም		
za	=m	čanä	=m	zəhom
<i>za</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>čanä</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>zihom</i>
that	=as for	load	=circumstantial action	in this way
as for that man	he loaded (his goods) and			in this way

yalfu**ያልቁ**

yə-	alf	-u	
yə-	<i>alläfā</i>	-u	
3.m.sg.impf.	go	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	
he went			

The other loaded his goods and went this way.

9.5. kamməst	käsəddəst	gize		
ከምስት	ከሰዳደስት	ገዘ		
kä=	amməst	kä=	səddəst	gize
<i>kä=</i>	<i>amməst</i>	<i>kä=</i>	<i>səddəst</i>	<i>gize</i>
from=	five	from=	six	time
from five		(or) from six		times

bäggənaňňəm	folä " mən				
በጀናኝም	ፍላ ጥን				
bä=	yä=	ggənaňň	-əm	folä	mən
<i>bä=</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>tägənaňňä</i>	<i>-əm</i>	<i>fälä</i>	<i>mən</i>
when=	that=	meet	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	after	what?
when they had met				after	what
yizzähäm	,"				

የዘዝርም		
yizzä -hä	=m	
<i>yizzä -hä</i>	<i>=m</i>	
hold	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action
do you hold		

yəbəllət	.	
ይብልት		
yə-	bəl	=nnət
<i>yə-</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>=nnət</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he said to him		

When they had met five or six times the one man said to the other, "What do you have there?"

Paragraph 10.

10.1. " bəšša Ქ	näbbär .	
ብሽ ተፈ	ኋብር	
bəšša Ქ	näbbär	
<i>bəšša Ქ</i>	<i>näbbärä</i>	
red	ṭef (millet-like grain)	be
red	ṭef	it was

"It was red Ქ (that I brought with me).

10.2. dähäk ?"

ደከክ

dähä	=k
<i>dähä</i>	= <i>k</i>
you (2.m.sg.)	=as to
as for you	

How about you?"

Paragraph 11.

11.1. " assäbo yizzähum

አሰቦ የዘመን

assäbo	yizzä	-hu	=m
<i>assäbo</i>	<i>yizzä</i>	<i>-k^w</i>	<i>=m</i>
salt	take	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
salt	I took and		

ääqiyyəru

እቂይ

ä-	qiyyər	-u
<i>ä-</i>	<i>qiyyärä</i>	<i>-u</i>
1.c.sg.impf.	exchange	1.c.sg.impf. (main)
I shall exchange (it)		

wakkum ;

ባለም

wal	-ku	=m
<i>balä</i>	<i>-k^w</i>	<i>=m</i>
say	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action
I said		

nəqqəyayyär ,"

ንቅያር

nə-	qqəyayyär
<i>nə-</i>	<i>täqəyayyärä</i>
1.c.pl.juss.	exchange with one another
let us exchange with one another	

yəbəllət

ይበልት

yə- bəl =nnət

yə- *balä* =nnət

3.m.sg.impf. say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

"I took along some salt and intended to exchange it. Let us exchange (goods) with each other!" he said to him.

Paragraph 12.

12.1. " nəqqəyayyär

?"

ንቃያር

nə- qqəyayyär

nə- *täqəyayyärä*

1.c.pl.juss. exchange with one another

let us exchange with one another

"Let us exchange with each other?!"

Paragraph 13.

13.1. " yi , nəqqəyayyär

."

የ **ንቃያር**

yi nə- qqəyayyär

ye nə- *täqəyayyärä*

yes 1.c.pl.juss. exchange with one another

yes let us exchange with one another

"Yes, let's exchange!"

Paragraph 14.

14.1. " bäy , nəqqəyayyär

."

በ **ንቃያር**

bäy nə- qqəyayyär

bäy nə- *täqəyayyärä*

all right 1.c.pl.juss. exchange with one another

all right let us exchange with one another

"Okay, let's exchange with each other."

Paragraph 15.

15.1. " səlləččišš ?"

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səlləčča -i =šš
selləčča -i =š
animal skin bag the =how about?
how about the bags

"What about the bags?"

Paragraph 16.

16.1. " tifäto ;

ተፈጥ

tə- yə- fäta =o
tə- yə- fätta =äw
neg-impf.(main) 3.m.sg.impf. untie =him (3.m.sg.obj.)
one will not untie it

dähäm čanəm əläf , ädim

ደኩም ሽንም እለፍ ፌርም

dähä =m čan =əm əläf ädi =m
dähä =m čanä =əm alläfä ädi =m
you (2.m.sg.) =as for load =and go I (1.c.sg.) =too
as for you load (it) and go I too

äčänəm

እርጋም

ä- čän =əm
ä- čanä =əm
1.c.sg.impf. load =circumstantial action
I shall load (it) and

alfu ."

ከለ

ä- alf -u
ä- alläfä -u
1.c.sg.impf. go 1.c.sg.impf. (main)
I shall go

"They don't need to be opened; you just load yours and go, and I'll load mine and go."

16.2. kittəmkənnäm

କିତ୍ତମକେନ୍ନାମ

kittəm	-kənnäm	čan	-əmu	=m
kit	-kənnäm	čanä	-əm	=m
both	their (3.m.pl.)	load	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
both of them		they loaded	(their goods) and	

gegehənnäm¹⁷⁵

ଗେହେନ୍ନାମ

ge	ge	-hənnäm
ge	ge	-kənnäm
house	house	their (3.m.pl.)
their (respective) houses		

Both of them loaded up (their new goods) and (went to) their respective homes.

Paragraph 17.

17.1. gäyyät gäbbam

"

ଗେୟୀତ

ଗେୟୀତ

gäyyät	gäbba	=m
gäyyät	gäbba	=m
hamlet	enter	=circumstantial action

(his) hamlet he entered and

qinnahunnət¹⁷⁶

କିନ୍ନାହୁନ୍ନେତ

qinna -hu

qinna -kʷ

trick 1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)

I tricked him

məssi attə gäwa

ମେସ୍ସି

ଅତ୍ତେ

ଗୋଵା

mess -i attə gäwa

ମେସ୍ସି

ଅତ୍ତ

ଗୋଵା

mess -i at gäwa

ମାନ୍

ଦେବୀ

ଫୁଲ୍

ଫୁଲ୍

ଫୁଲ୍

ଫୁଲ୍

ଫୁଲ୍

ଫୁଲ୍

ଫୁଲ୍

¹⁷⁵ This repetition of *ge* signifies each individual house. v. Ch. 4, §XIV.2.

¹⁷⁶ The basic meaning of *qinna* is "to do," but in this context it means "to trick."

agäññähum

አገኘኬም

agäñña	-hu	=m
agäñña	-k ^w	=m
meet	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
I met and		

qinnahuləččəm

;

ቁናሁልቻም

qinna	-hu	lə=	=čč	=əm
qinna	-k ^w	lä=	=š	=əm
trick	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	for=	=you (2.f.sg.obj.subord.)	=resultative action
I tricked (him) for you				

näš

fəči

,"

ኋላ

ፉታ

nä	-š	fəta	-i
nä	-š	fätta	-i
come! (impv.)	2.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	untie	2.f.sg.impv.
come		untie (it)	

yəbələm

,

ይብልም

yə-	bəl	=əm
yə-	balä	=əm
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=circumstantial action
he said and		

yəfāto gʷäy

yäzam

ይፈተኑል

የዘም

yə-	fäta	=o	gʷäy	yä=	za	=m
yə-	fätta	=äw	goy	yä=	za	=m
3.m.sg.impf.	untie	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	when	of=	that	=as for
when he untied it					of that one	

ašäwan

; yäzam

afärən

.

አሽዋን

የዘም

አፈርን

ašäwa	=n	yä=	za	=m	afär	=ən
ašäwa	=ən	yä=	za	=m	afär	=ən
sand	=be (copula)	of=	that	=as for	dirt	=be (copula)
it was sand		of that one			it was dirt	

Each one entered his hamlet and (said to his own wife), "I tricked him! I met this one fool and tricked him for you! Come, open the bag!" But when the bags were untied, this man had sand, and that man had dirt.

Paragraph 18.

18.1. " qinnalim

zi məss ,"

ቁናላም

qinna	l=	=i	=m	zi	məss
<i>qinna</i>	<i>lä=</i>	<i>=e</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>məss</i>
do	to=	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	=resultative action	this man	
he has done this to me				this man	

tibəl

tinäddə

zam

ተብል

ተኋድ

ዘም

tə=	yə-	bəl	tə=	yə-	näddə	za	=m
<i>tä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>tä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>näddädä</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>=m</i>
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	say	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	burn	that	=as for
while saying					while he burned (with anger)		as for that man

ägäw

tiṭäbəs

,

እጋው

ተጠብስ

äg	-äw	tə=	yə-	ṭäbəs
<i>äg</i>	<i>-w</i>	<i>tä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>ṭäbbäsä</i>
hand	his (3.m.sg.)	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	burn
his hands				while he burned (with rubbing)

tinäddə

sammətt

ተኋድ

ሳምንት

tə=	yə-	näddə	sammətt
<i>tä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>näddädä</i>	<i>sammənt</i>
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	burn	week
while he burned (with anger)			a week

yəslət

.

ይሰላት

yə-	säla	-o	=t
<i>yə-</i>	<i>sälla</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>=t</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	reach	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)
it passed			

A week passed with each one saying, "That man did this to me," and burning inside, rubbing his hands together till they were hot.

Paragraph 19.

19.1. 2) b y

۸۶

bäy

bäy

all right

all right

2) All right.

sammættæ sällon
လုပ်၏ လုပ်မှု

sammættə	sälla	=o	=m
<i>sammættə</i>	<i>sälla</i>	= <i>äw</i>	= <i>m</i>
week	reach	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=circumstantial action
a week	passed and		

zam **bägäbäyawähennäm**

ՀԳԹ ԱՐԴՅՈՒՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

za =m bää= gäbäya -hennän

za = *m* *bä*= *gäbäya* - *kənnäm*

those =as for in= market their (3.m.pl.)

as for those men in their market

yəggənaňňəmun

፩፻፭፻፯፻

yə- ggənaňň -əmun

yə- *tägənaňňä* -əmun

3.m.pl.impf. meet 3.m.pl.impf.(main)

they met

1) A week passed, and those men met (again) in their market.

Paragraph 21.

21.1. " abe , mən qinnahe ,"

አበ የወንቻ ቅናዣ

abe mən qinna -hä =e

abetu mən qinna -kä =e

sir what? do 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)

sir what have you done to me

balo .

ባሎ

bal -o

balä -o

say 3.m.sg.perf.(main)

he said

"Sir, what have you done to me," the one said.

Paragraph 22.

22.1. " dähäš mən

ደሕሳስ

የወንቻ

dähä =ś mən

dähä =ś mən

you (2.m.sg.) =how about? what?

what about you what

addäləhalim

አድልሬሁም

addäl -əha l= =i =m

addälä -kä lä= =e =m

deal out 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) to= =me (1.c.sg.obj.) =resultative action

have you dealt out to me

lädi , " balännət .

ለዲ በላንንት

lä= ädi balä =nnət

lä= ädi balä =nnət

to= I (1.c.sg.) say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

to myself he said to him

"Me?! What about you?! What have you dealt me myself?" the other replied.

Paragraph 23.

23.1. "	zihomi	wozäla	tëšlu	,	wäy ?"
	ዘዝመ	ወዛላ	ተሻሉ		ወይ
	zihom	-i	wozäla	të-	wäy
	zihom	-i	wäzäla	të-	wäy
	this kind	the	work	2.m.sg.impf.	know
	this kind (of)	work	you know	2.m.sg.impf. (main)	or
					or

"You know this kind of work,¹⁷⁷ don't you?"

Paragraph 24.

24.1. "	ädi	äšlu	.
	እዲ	እሻሉ	
	ädi	ä-	šl
	ädi	ä-	salä
	I (1.c.sg.)	1.c.sg.impf.	know
	I	I know	1.c.sg.impf. (main)

"Yes, I do indeed know it."

Paragraph 25.

25.1. "	bäy	, ädim	äšlu	.
	በሃይ	እዲም	እሻሉ	
	bäy	ädi	=m	ä-
	bäy	ädi	=m	ä-
	all right	I (1.c.sg.)	=too	1.c.sg.impf.
	all right	I too		know
			I know	1.c.sg.impf. (main)

"Ok then, I too know it."

¹⁷⁷ "This kind of work" is thievery.

Paragraph 26.

26.1. "	bäqqa	mamär¹⁷⁸	ənnədəbälənnä			
	በቁ	ማሙር	አንድበልና			
	bäqqa	mamär	ənnə-	dəbäl	əl=	=nä
	<i>bäqqa</i>	<i>mamär</i>	<i>nə-</i>	<i>däbbälä</i>	<i>lä=</i>	<i>=nä</i>
	be enough	monthly gathering	1.c.pl.juss.	form	for=	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)
	it is enough	a mamär		let us form	for ourselves	

," yəbəllət

ይበለት

yə-	bəl	=nnət
<i>yə-</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>=nnət</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

"Fine, let's form a mamär," he said to him.

26.2. mamär	däbbälut	:
ማሙር	ዳብላት	
mamär	däbbäl	-u
<i>mamär</i>	<i>däbbälä</i>	<i>-o</i>
monthly gathering	form	3.m.sg.perf.(main)
a mamär	one formed	it
yälebənnät	mamär	.
የለበኑት	ማሙር	
yä= lebənnät mamär		
<i>yä= lebənnät mamär</i>		
of= thievery monthly gathering		
of thievery the mamär		

So a mamär was formed: the mamär of thievery.

¹⁷⁸ Mamär (which in Amharic is *ማሕበር mahbär*) is from the root *ሱ hbr.*

26.3. alläfəmun

አለፍሙን

alläf	-əmun
<i>alläfā</i>	<i>-mun</i>
go away	3.m.pl.perf.(main)
they went away	

Then they went away.

Paragraph 27.

27.1. ahu yəsärqəmuuyyänənən

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ahu	yə-	särq	-əmu	=yyän	=ən
<i>ahu</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>särräqä</i>	<i>-əm</i>	<i>=yyän</i>	<i>=ən</i>
now	3.m.pl.impf.	steal	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	=to	=be (copula)
now	in order that	they steal it	is		

yalfəm

የልፍም

yə-	alf	-əm
<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfā</i>	<i>-əm</i>
3.m.pl.impf.	go away	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
that	they went away	

Now, they went off to steal.

27.2. tiyalfəm

ትየልፍም

ti=	yə-	alf	-əm
<i>tä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfā</i>	<i>-əm</i>
while=	3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
while	they were going		

tiyalfəm

gäbäre

ትየልፍም

በኢትዮጵያ

ti=	yə-	alf	-əm	gäbäre
<i>tä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfā</i>	<i>-əm</i>	<i>gäbäre</i>
while=	3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	farmer
while	they were going			a farmer

yarsu

ያርሱ

yə-	ars	-u	
yə-	<i>arräsä</i>	-u	
3.m.sg.impf.	plow	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	
he was plowing			

While the thieves were walking and walking a farmer was plowing.

27.3. gäbäre yarsu

..." zi gäbäre borarä

ገበረ	ያርሱ		ዘ	ገበረ	ቦራየ
gäbäre	yə-	ars	-u	zi	gäbäre
<i>gäbäre</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>arräsä</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>gäbäre</i>
farmer	3.m.sg.impf.	plow	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	this farmer	ox
a farmer	he was plowing			this farmer	oxen

ənnəkälalätən

አንከላላትን

ənnə-	käla	lä=	=ät	=ən
<i>nə-</i>	<i>källa</i>	<i>lä=</i>	<i>=t</i>	<i>=ən</i>
1.c.pl.impf.	refuse	to=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)	=verb augment
we shall refuse him				

The farmer was plowing, (and the one thief said), "We shall refuse this man (the use of) his oxen.

27.4. zani akkababin

bämorähwan

yiga

ዘኒ	አካባቢ		በማራሕን		የጊ
zani	akkababi	=n	bä=	morä	-hwan
<i>zani</i>	<i>akkababi</i>	<i>=ən</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>morä</i>	<i>-hwan</i>
that one	vicinity	=be (copula)	in=	near	his (3.m.sg.) water
that one	vicinity it is		near him		water

yino

ይኖ

yinä -o

yinä -o

be (exist) 3.m.sg.perf.(main)

there is

In that area near him there is water.

27.5. yigi wəšṭa äwobam

ይገ ወሻታ አዎባም

yiga -i wəšṭa ä- woba =m

iga -i *wəšṭa* ä- *wäbba* =m

water the within 1.c.sg.impf. go in =circumstantial action

the water within I shall enter and

wəsädew , wəsädew

ወሻድዎ

wəsäd =ew wəsäd =ew

wässädä =ew *wässädä* =ew

take =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main) take =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

grab me grab me

awṭaye "

አውጥያ

awṭa =ye

awäṭta =e

bring out =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)

bring me out

äbəllətən

ኩብለትን

ä- bəl =nnət =ən

ä- *balä* =nnət =ən

1.c.sg.impf. say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main) =verb augment

I shall say to him

I shall enter the water and say to him, 'Grab me, grab me, bring me out!'

27.6. zi gʷäš yəmäṭaw

ዘ. ጽዴት ደመጣው

zi	gʷäš	yə-	mäṭa	-w
zi	gos̥	yə-	mäṭta	-u
this guy	3.m.sg.impf.	come	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	
this guy	he will come			

yädi

yawoṭayyän

የፋ

ያዋጥያን

yä=	ädi	yə-	awoṭa	=yyän
yä=	ädi	yə-	awäṭta	=yyän
direct object marker=	I (1.c.sg.)	3.m.sg.impf.	bring out	=to
me			that he might bring me out	

This guy will come to bring me out.

27.7. bäza säat quni bora yizəm əläf dähä

በዛ ስዓት ባኔ በራ ፍትም አለፍ ደኩል

bä=	za	säat	quna	-i	bora	yiz	=əm	əläf	dähä
bä=	za	säat	quna	-i	bora	yizzä	=əm	alläfä	dähä
at=	that	time	one		the ox	take	=and	go	you (2.m.sg.)
at that	time	the one		ox	take and		go	you	

At that time you yourself, grab one ox and go.

27.8. yädähä

yikkittälğväy

የደኩል

ቁስተኛነው

yä=	dähä	yi-	kkittäl	gʷäy
yä=	dähä	yə-	täkittälä	goy
direct object marker=	you (2.m.sg.)	3.m.sg.impf.	follow	when
you (acc.)			when he follows	

yädähä

yikkittälğväy

የደኩል

ቁስተኛነው

yä=	dähä	yi-	kkittäl	gʷäy
yä=	dähä	yə-	täkittälä	goy
direct object marker=	you (2.m.sg.)	3.m.sg.impf.	follow	when
you (acc.)			when he follows	

ädim	äkkittällötən				
ädi	äkkittälən				
ädi	=m	ä-	kkittäl	=nnət	=ən
ädi	=m	ä-	täkittälä	=nnət	=ən
I (1.c.sg.)	=too	1.c.sg.impf.	follow	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	=verb augment
I too			I shall follow him (and)		
quni boramma	ädi	izəm			
ಒನ್ನ ಬರಾ	ಎಡಿ	ಇಂಮ್			
quni bora	=mma	ädi	ä-	iz	=əm
quni bora	=m	ädi	ä-	yizzä	=əm
one ox	=also	I (1.c.sg.)	1.c.sg.impf.	grab	=circumstantial action
one ox also	I		I shall grab and		
alfu		.			
ಹಲಫು					
ä-	alf	-u			
ä-	alläfä	-u			
1.c.sg.impf.	go	1.c.sg.impf. (main)			
I shall go					

When he chases after you...when he chases after you, I myself shall follow him and will also grab an ox and go.

27.9. bäzi	wogän nəggənaňń	,	"
ಒಂ	ಪರ್ಯಾ	ಂಗಣ್ಣ	
bä=	zi	wogän nə-	ggənaňń
bä=	zi	wägän nə-	tägənaňńä
in=	this place	1.c.pl.impf.	meet
in this	place	we shall meet	
baləmum			qätäro
ಉದ್ದೋಷ			ಪರ್ಯಾ
bal	-əmu	=m	qätäro
balä	-əm	=m	qätäro
say	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	plan
they said and			a plan

qinnäumum**ቍነሙም**

qinnä	-mu	=m
<i>qinna</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>=m</i>
make	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
they made and		

tänässam**yalfu****ተናሻም****ያልፏ**

tänässa	=m	yə-	alf	-u
<i>tänässa</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfä</i>	<i>-u</i>
rise	=circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf.	go	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
the one arose and			he went	

Then we shall meet back here," they said. Having made their plan, the one thief got up and went.

27.10. biga wəšṭa**wobbam****gäbäreyi****በግ ወሻጣ****ወባም****ገበረ**

bə=	iga	wəšṭa	wobba	=m	gäbäre	-yi
<i>bä=</i>	<i>iga</i>	<i>wəšṭa</i>	<i>wäbba</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>gäbäre</i>	<i>-i</i>
in=	water	within	go in	=circumstantial action	farmer	the
within the water			he entered and		the farmer	

yarsu

.

ያርሱ

yə-	ars	-u
<i>yə-</i>	<i>arräsä</i>	<i>-u</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	plow	3.m.sg.impf. (main)

he was plowing

While he entered the water the farmer was plowing.

27.11. biga wəšta	wobbam	čolfwā
በግ ወሻታ	ወሻም	ቻልቸ
bə= iga	wəšta wobba =m	čolfwā
bä= iga	wəšta wäbba =m	čolfwā
in= water	within go in =circumstantial action	sound of splashing water
within the water	he entered and	splash
, čolfwā	, čolfwā	"
ቻልቸ	ቻልቸ	
čolfwā	čolfwā	
čolfwā	čolfwā	
sound of splashing water	sound of splashing water	
splash	splash	
wossädew	yiga	, wossädew
ውስድዎ-	የጊ	ውስድዎ-
wossäd =ew	yiga	wossäd =ew
wässädä =ew	iga	wässädä =ew
take =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)	water	take =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)
it has taken me	the water	it has taken me
zämmäddi	, zämmäddi	,
ዘምደዲ	ዘምደዲ	
zämm -äddi	zämm -äddi	
zämm -ddi	zämm -ddi	
brother my (1.c.sg.)	brother my (1.c.sg.)	
my brother	my brother	
əmm bakkäm		
አም ባክሙ		
əmm bal -kä	=m	
əmm balä -kä	=m	
be quiet 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action	
you are quiet		

tayew			wäy ,"
تَيْءَ			وَيْ
tə-	ay	=ew	wäy
tə-	ażżā	=ew	wäy
neg-impf.(main)	see	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main) or	
do you see me			or

balännəm

੧੮

balä	=nn	=əm
<i>balä</i>	=nn	=əm
say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=resultative action
he said to him		

The thief entered the water and splashing about wildly he said to the farmer, "The water has taken me, it has taken me! My brother, my brother, you stand there quietly! Do you see me or not?!"

27.12. tiroṭ		fäkkam		gäbare
ተርጥ		ፈ.ከም		ገበ
tə=	yə-	roṭ	fäkkä	=m
tä=	yə-	roṭä	fäkkä	=m
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	run	come	=circumstantial action
while running			he came and	farmer
				the farmer
borarähwan		aqomäm		tiroṭ
ቦራራሕን		አቆሙም		ተርጥ
borarä	-h ^w an	aqomä	=m	tə=
bora	-h ^w an	aqomä	=m	tä=
ox	his (3.m.sg.)	stop	=circumstantial action	while=
his oxen			while=	3.m.sg.impf.
		he stopped and		run
			while running	
fäkkam		ägäw		yizzäm
ፈ.ከም		እጅው		የዘም
fäkkä	=m	äg	-äw	yizzä
fäkkä	=m	äg	-w	yizzä
come	=circumstantial action	hand	his (3.m.sg.)	take
he came and				=circumstantial action
		his hand		he took and

yəgʷättät**ይንተተት**

yə-	gʷättät	=nnət
yə-	<i>gʷittätä</i>	=nnət
3.m.sg.impf.	drag	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he dragged him		

yawoṭannəyyän**ያወጥናያን**

yə-	awoṭa	=nn	=əyyän
yə-	<i>awäṭṭa</i>	=nn	=əyyän
3.m.sg.impf.	bring out	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=to
to bring him out			

The farmer came running and, having stopped his oxen, he came running, took him by the hand and dragged him in order to bring him out.

27.13. za	aṭabbäqäm	yizzäm
ዘ	አጥበቅም	የዝም
za	aṭabbäqä	=m
za	<i>aṭabbäqä</i>	=m
that	tighten	=circumstantial action
that one	he tightened and	grab =circumstantial action
		he grabbed and
ayyoṭahom		za bora
አየጊሁም		ዘ በራ
al-	yə-	otä
al-	yə-	<i>wäṭṭa</i>
neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	come out
so that he not come out		=that that ox
		that ox
yəfäto dəräs		giğəla
ይፋቶ ፍርድ		ገግላ
yə-	fäta	=o
yə-	<i>fäṭṭa</i>	=äw
3.m.sg.impf.	untie	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
until he untied him		until wrestling
		(in) wrestling

yizzäm

የዘም

yizzä =m

yizzä =m

take =circumstantial action
he took and

täfoläyy

ተፈለይ

tä= folä =yy

tä= fälä =yy

with respect to= back =toward
backwards

yəgʷättətu

ይጋጥቱ

yə- gʷättət -u

yə- gʷittätä -u

3.m.sg.impf. drag 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
he dragged (him)

; biga wəšṭa

በጋ ወሻታ

bə= iga wəšṭa

bä= iga wəšṭa

in= water within
within the water

yalli

.

ያለ

yä= allä -i

yä= allä -i

that= be (of existence) the
the who was

That thief held on tight so that he would not come out until the other thief could untie that ox, and he wrestled with him, pulling the farmer backwards; that is, the thief who was in the water.

Paragraph 28.

28.1. za quni bora fättam

ዘ ቁኒ በራ ፍትም

za quna -i bora fätta =m

za quna -i bora fätta =m

that one the ox untie =circumstantial action

that the one ox he untied and

yizzäm

የዘም

yizzä =m

yizzä =m

take =circumstantial action
he took and

əlləmm balo

እልም የለው

əlləmm bal -o

əlləmm balä -o

vanish 3.m.sg.perf.(main)
he vanished

That thief, having untied the ox, took off with it.

Paragraph 29.

29.1. "	abe	, nähä	wəṭa	zi	yiga
	አበ	ኋሕ	ወጥ	ዝ	ይጊ
	abe	nä	-hä	wəṭa	zi yiga
	<i>abetu</i>	<i>nä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	<i>wäṭṭa</i>	<i>zi iga</i>
	sir	come! (impv.)	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	come out this	water
	sir	come		come out this	water
	tiwosdähä				
	ተወስደኩ				
	tə-	yə-	wosd	=ähä	
	<i>tə-</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>wässädä</i>	<i>=nnähä</i>	
	neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	take	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	
	it is not taking you				

"Come now, sir, come out! This water is not taking you."

Paragraph 30.

30.1. " wossädeməš

ወስደም				
wossäd	=e		=m	=əš
<i>wässädä</i>	<i>=e</i>		<i>=m</i>	<i>=ś</i>
take	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=indeed	=indeed	=indeed
it has indeed taken me				

wossädem

ወስደም				
wossäd	=e		=m	
<i>wässädä</i>	<i>=e</i>		<i>=m</i>	
take	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action		
it has taken me and				

əmm bakkäm

እም በካም				
əmm bal	-kä		=m	
<i>əmm balä</i>	<i>-kä</i>		<i>=m</i>	
be quiet	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action		
you are quiet				

tayew			"	yarä?	däräs	.
جَهْوَ						
tə-	ay	=ew	yə-	arä?	däräs	
tə-	ažžā	=ew	yə-	araqä	däräs	
2.m.sg.impf.	see	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	remove	until	
do you see me				until he removed (the ox)		

**"It has indeed taken me; it has taken me and you just stand there quietly.
Don't you see me?!" (said the one thief) until the other thief removed the ox.**

Paragraph 31.

31.1. mäčäräša " abe , fäyya ädäkkä

مَعْرِشَا	أَبَهُ	فَيَّا	أَدَلْكَاهُ	
mäčäräša	abe	fäyya	ädäl	=kä
<i>mäčäräša</i>	<i>abetu</i>	<i>fäyya</i>	<i>ädäbəl</i>	=kä
finally	sir	nice	neg. of copula	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)
finally	sir	nice	you are not	

ayyäh^{w179} , zi yiga

أَيْيَاهُ		زِي	يِيْغَا
ayyä	-h ^w	zi	yiga
ažžä	-ki	zi	iġa
perceive	1.c.sg.perf.(main)	this	water
I perceive		this	water

yosdäho ,"

የሰዳዥ

يَاهُ	وَسَادُهُ	
yä-	osd	=äho
ye-	wässädä	=əho
3.m.sg.juss.	take	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(main)
may it take you		

balännäm

بَالَانِنَمْ			.
balä	=nn	=əm	
<i>balä</i>	<i>=nn</i>	<i>=əm</i>	
say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=resultative action	
he said to him			

¹⁷⁹ On y as an allophone of ž see Ch. 4, §II.1.3.4.

Finally the farmer said to him, "Sir, I can see that you are not nice. May this water take you!"

Paragraph 32.

32.1. " fäyya alkonkä	dähä	bäquna
ፈያ አልከኝ	ዳሕ	ባቸኑ
fäyya al- kon -kä	dähä	bä= quna
fäyya al- honä -kä	dähä	bä= quna
nice neg-perf. be 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	you (2.m.sg.)	with= one
nice you are not	you	with one
bora tarsu	," balännät	
ቦራ ታርሱ	ባለንኩት	
bora tə- ars -u	balä =nnət	
bora tə- arräsä -u	balä =nnət	
ox 2.m.sg.impf. plow 2.m.sg.impf. (main)	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	
ox you plow	he said to him	
.		

"You are the one who is not nice. You plow with just one ox," the thief said to him.

32.2. täzibbäräm	yayəgʷäy	bora
ተዘብበርም	የይግዢ	ቦራ
täzibbärä =m	yə-	ayə gʷäy bora
täzibbärä =m	yə-	ažžä goy bora
turn around =circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf.	look when ox
turn around and	when he looked	the ox
yellä	.	
የለ		
yellä		
yellä		
neg. of existence		
was not		

The farmer turned around, and when he looked the ox was not there!

32.3. yäbora	duka	täkittäläm	
የበራ	ዶካ	ተከተላም	
yä=	bora	duka	täkittälä =m
yä=	bora	duka	täkittälä =m
of=	ox	footprint	follow =circumstantial action
of the ox	the footprints	he followed and	
tiroṭ		, tiroṭ	,
ተሮጥ		ተሮጥ	
tə=	yə-	roṭ	tə= yə- roṭ
tä=	yə-	roṭä	tä= yə- roṭä
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	run	while= 3.m.sg.impf. run
while running			while running
tiroṭ		, tiroṭ	yellä
ተሮጥ		ተሮጥ	የለ
tə=	yə-	roṭ	tə= yə- roṭ yellä
tä=	yə-	roṭä	tä= yə- roṭä yellä
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	run	while= 3.m.sg.impf. run neg. of existence
while running			while running there is not

He followed the footprints of the ox and, though he ran and ran and ran, it was nowhere (to be found).

32.4. zamənimma	quni	bora	
ዘማኒምማ	ቁኒ	ቦራ	
za =m	-əni	=mma	quna -i bora
za =m	-i	=m	quna -i bora
that =as for	the	=also	one the ox
as for that one also			the one ox
yəzzäbom			
ያዝኗብም			
yəzzä b=	=o		=m
yizzä bä=	=äw		=m
take against=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)		=circumstantial action
he took to his detriment and			

alläfo**አለፋ**

alläf -o

alläfä -o

go away 3.m.sg.perf. (main)

he went away

As for that other thief, he also took an ox and slipped away.**32.5. mäčäräši täggaňňəmun¹⁸⁰ säbočči .**

ማይታል	ተገናኝሙን	ሰቦች
mäčäräša -i	täggaňň -əmun	säb -očč -i
<i>mäčäräša</i> -i	<i>täggaňňä</i> -mun	<i>säb</i> -očč -i
end the meet	3.m.pl.perf.(main)	man pl the
(in) the end they met		the men

In the end the thieves met up.**32.6. bora arrädut ,**

ቦራ አራዳት	=t
bora arräd -u	=t
<i>bora</i> <i>arrädä</i> -o	=t
ox slaughter 3.m.sg.perf.(main)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)
the ox one slaughtered it	

bällot

በለታ	=t
bälla -o	=t
<i>bälla</i> -o	=t
eat 3.m.sg.perf.(main)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)
one ate it	

Then the ox was slaughtered and eaten.¹⁸⁰ On the assimilation of *n* to a preceding *g* v. Ch. 4, §II.1.2.1.

Paragraph 33.

33.1. 2) kittəmu	bora wobälən	?
հ.րտ-	բ. թՈՃԴ	
kitt =əm	-u	bora wo-
kit =əm	-āw	bora wā-
two =as for his (3.m.sg.) ox		infinitive prefix mean
his two		oxen to mean it is

2) That is to say, his two oxen?

Paragraph 34.

34.1. 1) kittəmu	qunayyän
հ.րտ-	ք.ՐՊԴ
kitt =əm	-u
kit =əm	-āw
two =as for his (3.m.sg.) together	
his two	together

arrädut

հՀՔԴ	.
arräd -u	=t
arrädä -o	=t
slaughter 3.m.sg.perf.(main)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)
one slaughtered it	

1) Yes, his two oxen were slaughtered together.

34.2. ahu täsmammamun	: atti čoma
հԱ. ԴՆՊՊՄՄԴ	հԱ. ԾՈՄԴ
ahu täsmamma -mun	att -i čoma
ahu täsmamma -mun	at -i čoma
now agree 3.m.pl.perf.(main)	one the fat
now they agreed	the one fat

yəhonu			, atti	čəro
ՔՄՒ			հՒ	ՉԸՐ
yə-	hon	-u	att	-i
<i>yə-</i>	<i>honä</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>-i</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	be	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	one	the lean
it is			the one	lean
yəhonu		,		
ՔՄՒ				
yə-	hon	-u		
<i>yə-</i>	<i>honä</i>	<i>-u</i>		
3.m.sg.impf.	be	3.m.sg.impf. (main)		
it is				
yäqəla?əlu				
ՔՓՂՓՂ				
yä-	qəla?əl	=u		
<i>ye-</i>	<i>qəlaqqälä</i>	<i>=äw</i>		
3.m.sg.juss.	mix	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)		
let one mix it				
balum			qunayy	
ՊԼՊ			ՓԸՅ	
bal	-u	=m	qunayy	
<i>balä</i>	<i>-äw</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>qunayy</i>	
say	him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=circumstantial action	together	
one said it and			together	
arrädum			kittəmkənnäm	
ՀՀԶԳ			Ի.ԴՄՀԻԳ	
arräd	-u	=m	kittəm	-kənnäm
<i>arrädä</i>	<i>-äw</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>-kənnäm</i>
slaughter	him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=circumstantial action	both	their (3.m.pl.)
one slaughtered them (sg.) and			both of them	
borarä , bällom			qəntäbä	
ՈՀՀ	ՈՀՊ		ՔՆՈՒ	
borarä	bälla	=o	qəntäbä	
<i>bora</i>	<i>bälla</i>	<i>=äw</i>	<i>qəntäbä</i>	
ox	eat	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=circumstantial action	piece of meat
the oxen	one ate it and			pieces of meat

gärrom		quni	səmat
ገርም		ቁን	ሰማት
gärra =o	=m	quna -i	səmat
gärra =äw	=m	quna -i	səmat
be satiated =him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=circumstantial action	one	the excrement
one was sated on it and		the one	excrement
yizzäm	yalfu		.
የዘም	የልፍ		
yizzä =m	yə-	alf	-u
yizzä =m	yə-	alläfä	-u
seize =circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf.	go	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
it seized (him) and	he went		

Now they agreed: the one ox was fat, the other ox was lean; they said that (the meat) should be mixed, so the two oxen were slaughtered, the men ate and, when they had had their fill of meat, the one thief was seized with the need to defecate and went off (into the bushes).

34.3. gəlağähʷan	fättam	səmat
ገላጊሁን	ፈታም	ሰማት
gəlağä -hʷan	fätta =m	səmat
gəlağä -hʷan	fätta =m	səmat
trousers his (3.m.sg.)	untie =circumstantial action	excrement
his trousers	he untied and	(for) excrement
yittonna gʷäy	quni	dulla
የተናገሩ	ቁን	ዶላ
yi-	ttonna gʷäy	quna -i
yə-	tonna goy	quna -i
3.m.sg.impf.	sit when	the club (weapon)
when he sat down	the other	a club

nässam		yägoga	(). ¹⁸¹
ኩም		የጋ	
nässa =m		yä=	goga
<i>nässa</i> =m		<i>yä</i> =	<i>goga</i>
take =circumstantial action	direct object marker=		hide
he took and		the hide (acc.)	

When he had untied his trousers and sat down to defecate, the other thief took a club and smacked the hide (of one of the oxen).

34.4. " zammən

zammən		yarrädi	,
ዘማን		ያራዲ	
za =mm	=ən	yä=	arräd
<i>za</i> =m	=ən	<i>yä</i> =	<i>arrädä</i>
that =indeed	=be (copula)	who=	slaughter the
it is that one			the who slaughtered

zammən , ädi

zammən		ädi
ዘማን		ኤዲ
za =mm	=ən	ädi
<i>za</i> =m	=ən	<i>ädi</i>
that =indeed	=be (copula)	I (1.c.sg.)
it is that one		I

alarädku , ädi

alarädku		ädi
አላረዳክ		ኤዲ
al-	aräd	-ku
<i>al-</i>	<i>arrädä</i>	<i>-k^w</i>
neg-perf.	slaughter	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)
I did not slaughter		I (1.c.sg.)
		I

¹⁸¹ The empty parentheses here and below indicate that the speaker struck his hands together to simulate the sound of the club against the ox hide. The thief who is defecating interprets this sound as gunfire coming from the farmer whose oxen were stolen.

alarädku			," baläm		... ()¹⁸² "
አላረዳ-			ባልäm		
al-	aräd	-ku	balä	=m	
al-	<i>arrädä</i>	-k ^w	<i>balä</i>	=m	
neg-perf.	slaughter	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	say	=resultative action	
I did not slaughter			he said		
zəmən		zə	zə	," səmat	
ዝመን		ዝ	ዝ	ሳማት	
zə =m	=ən	zə	zə	səmat	
zi =m	=ən	zi	zi	<i>səmat</i>	
this =indeed	=be (copula)	this	this	excrement	
this is the one		this one	this one	(for) excrement	
tonnam			yaräw		
ቶናም		ያራው			
tonna =m		yä=		ar	-äw
<i>tonna</i> =m		<i>yä</i> =		<i>ar</i>	-w
sit =circumstantial action	direct object marker=			excrement	his (3.m.sg.)
he sat and		he excrement (acc.)			
yizzäm			, yaräw		
የዘማም		ያራው			
yizzä =m		yä=		ar	-äw
<i>yizzä</i> =m		<i>yä</i> =		<i>ar</i>	-w
keep =resultative action	direct object marker=			excrement	his (3.m.sg.)
he kept		he excrement (acc.)			
yizzäm		.			
የዘማም					
yizzä =m					
<i>yizzä</i> =əm					
keep =resultative action					
he kept					

"That's the man who slaughtered (the oxen), that's the man! I'm not the one who slaughtered them, I'm not the one who slaughtered them!" (the thief who was sitting) said. (He hit the hide again) - Smack! "This is the one, this one, this one!" he said as he sat, and he kept defecating and defecating.

¹⁸² Here again the one thief strikes the ox hide in order to scare the other.

34.5. g^wäga dəw abaläm

ገ.ጋ **ዶወ አባላም**

g ^w äga	dəw abalä	=m
goga	dəw abalä	=m
hide	strike (make a sound)	=circumstantial action
the hide	he struck and	

arəmu

ገፍፏርአም

ከርሙ		ገፍፏርአም	
ar	=əm	-u	gäffärä =m
ar	=əm	-äw	gäffärä =m
excrement	=as for	his (3.m.sg.)	leave =circumstantial action
his excrement			he abandoned and

woṭṭäläm

እልዕም ... **aräh^wan**

ወጣለም		እልዕም	እረሻን
woṭṭa	lä=	=m	əlləmm
wäṭṭa	lä=	=m	əlləmm balä
leave	for=	=circumstantial action	vanish
he left for himself and			excrement his (3.m.sg.)

gäffäräm

ውጥታለም

ገፍፏርአም		ውጥታለም	
gäffärä	=m	wotṭa	lä=
gäffärä	=m	wäṭṭa	lä=
leave	=circumstantial action	leave	for=
he abandoned and		he left for himself and	

əlləmm balo

.

እልዕም ብሎ

əlləmm bal	-o
əlləmm balä	-o
vanish	3.m.sg.perf.(main)
he vanished	

The other thief struck the hide, and so he left his excrement and quickly disappeared...he left his excrement and quickly disappeared.

Paragraph 35.

35.1. biyay	yəsädəd	säb	yellä
ብያይ	ይሰዳድ	ሳብ	የለ
bi=	yə-	ay yə-	sädəd
bä=	yə-	ażżā yə-	säddädä
when=	3.m.sg.impf.	look 3.m.sg.impf.	chase man
when he looked		who was chasing (him)	neg. of existence
			a man there was not
; täzibbäräm	yažəgʷäy		.
ተዝበርäm	ያžəgʷäy		
täzibbärä	=m	yə-	ažə
täzibbärä	=m	yə-	ażżä
turn around	=circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf.	look when
(when) he turned around and		when he looked	

When he looked, there was no one chasing him; when he turned around and looked.

35.2. " nähä

ኋላ

nä	=hä
nä	=ähä
be (copula)	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
it is you	

qinnahali

,

ቁናንል

qinna -ha	l=	=i
qinna -kä	lä=	=i
do 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	to=	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)
you did (that) to me		

ädäll

; bäy ädimma

እደል

በይ ፊደም

ädäl	=n	bäy	ädi	=mma
ädäbäl	=ən	bäy	ädi	=m
neg. of copula	=be (copula)	all right I (1.c.sg.)	=too	
is it not		all right I too		

äqinnalkä		" baläm	.
እቂናልከ		ባለም	
ä-	qinna l= =kä	balä =m	
ä-	qinna lä= =kä	balä =m	
1.c.sg.impf.	do to= =you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	say =resultative action	
I shall do (something) to you		he said	

"It is you who did that to me, is it not? Very well, I too shall do something to you."

Paragraph 36.

36.1. gehənnäm	yiftäw
ሁነም	የፍተዥ
ge -hənnäm	yift -äw
ge -kənnäm	yift -w
house their (3.m.pl.) before his (3.m.sg.)	
(at) their houses previously	

täšišiləmum

ተሻሻልመም
täšišil -əmu =m
täšišilä -əm =m
visit one another 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.) =circumstantial action
they had visited one another and

alläfäm	mässäm
አለፈም	ማሽም
alläfä =m	mässä =m
alläfä =m	mässä =m
go =circumstantial action	become evening =circumstantial action
one went and	it became evening and

sanqa	yoqaw
ሳንቋ	የቋው
sanqa yə- oqa -w	
sanqa yə- wäqqa -u	
door 3.m.sg.impf. knock 3.m.sg.impf. (main)	
(on the) door he knocked	

Previously they had visited each other's houses, so the one thief went when it was evening and knocked on the door.

36.2. yäsäddädi

የሰደድ

yä=	yä=	säddädä	-i	məss ge	,
yä=	yä=	säddädä	-i	məss ge	
of=	who=	chase	the man	house	
of the who chased (him)		man	(to) the house		

yäsäddädi

የሰደድ

yä=	yä=	säddädä	-i	məss ge	alläfäm
yä=	yä=	säddädä	-i	məss ge	alläfä =m
of=	who=	chase	the man	house	go =circumstantial action
of the who chased (him)		man	(to) the house	went and	

sanqa yoqa gʷäy

"

ሳንቋ ፍቋ ገዢ

sanqa	yə-	oqa	gʷäy
sanqa	yə-	wäqqa	goy
door	3.m.sg.impf.	knock	when
(on the) door			

when he knocked

mannähä

"

ማኑኩ

man	nä	=hä
ma	nä	=ähä
who?	be (copula)	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
who are you		

təbəllət

.

ትብልት

tə-	bəl	=nnət
tə-	balä	=nnət
3.f.sg.impf.	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
she said to him		

To the house of the man who had chased him...to the house of the man who had chased him he came and, when he knocked on the door, the man's wife said to him, "Who is it?"

Paragraph 37.

37.1. " ädittənäw

እዲትናው

ädi	=tt	=ən	=äw
ädi	=tt	=ən	=ew
I (1.c.sg.)	=be (copula)	=be (copula)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

it is I

mät̄tahi , kəfeč "

መጣ

mät̄ta	-hi	kəfät	-e-
mät̄ta	-ki	käffätä	-i-
come	1.c.sg.perf.(main)	open	2.f.sg.impv.

I have come open up

yəbəllat

ይበለት

yə-	bəl	=nnat
yə-	balä	=nnat
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=her (3.f.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to her

Her answered her, "It is I, (your husband). I have come back, open up!"

Paragraph 38.

38.1. dəro kəbrít yellä .

ድር

ከብርት

የለ

dəro kəbrít yellä

dəro kəbrít yellä

in the past match (for lighting) neg. of existence

in the past matches there were not

In the past there were no matches.

38.2. äsat zəhom

እሳት ንዝໂም

äsat zəhom

äsat zihom

fire in this way

a fire in this way

yadäfənum

የደፍኑም

yə- adäfən -u =m

yə- *adäffänä* -äw =m

3.m.sg.impf. have s.t. covered him (3.m.sg.obj.) =circumstantial action
one would have it covered and

kəbota mənamənən gurmä

ከቦታ ምናማንን

kəbota mənamən =ən gurmä

kəbota mənamən =ən *gurmä*

dung cake something (or other) =be (copula) tree stump

a dung cake something (or other) it was a tree stump

yadäfənum näbbär

የደፍኑም ካበር

yə- adäfən =u =m näbbär

yə- *adäffänä* =äw =m *näbbärä*

3.m.sg.impf. have s.t. covered him (3.m.sg.obj.) =circumstantial action be
one would have it covered

.

In this way one would have the fire covered. One would have it covered with a dung cake or some kind of stump.

38.3. yəkäftum

ይከፍተም

yə- käft =u =m

yə- *käffätä* =äw =m

3.m.sg.impf. open =him (3.m.sg.obj.) =circumstantial action
one would open it and

bägäräfa	čən
ብንኩ	ቧን
bä= gäräfa	čə =n
bä= gäräfa	čə =ən
with= a type of grass	only =be (copula)
with grass	only it is
yanäddu	,
ያነዳ	
yə- anädd	=u
yə- anäddädä	=äw
3.m.sg.impf.	light (a fire)
that one might light the fire	him (3.m.sg.obj.)
əff yəblumən	
እና ይብለምን	
yə- eff bl	=u
yə- aff balä	=äw
3.m.sg.impf.	blow (on a fire)
one would blow on the fire it is	him (3.m.sg.obj.)

One would open (the cover), light the fire with only some grass, and blow on it.

38.4. äsat	tanäddəyy		əff təbəl gʷäy		
እሳት	ታናድዳ			አፍ ተብል ጽይ	
äsat	tə-	anädd	=əyy	tə-	əff bəl
äsat	<i>tə-</i>	<i>anäddädä</i>	= <i>yy</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>əff balä</i>
fire	3.f.sg.impf.	light (a fire)	=to	3.f.sg.impf.	blow (on a fire) when
the fire	that she might light				when she blew
" gəfer	, äsat				
ገፈር	እሳት				
gəfär	-e-	äsat			
gäffärä	-i-	äsat			
leave alone	2.f.sg.impv.	fire			
leave it alone		the fire			

attandig

"

አታንዲግ

al-	tə-	andäd	-i-
<i>al-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>anäddädä</i>	<i>-i-</i>
neg-juss.	2.f.sg.juss.	light (a fire)	2.f.sg.juss.
do not light			

yibəllat**የብለት**

yi-	bəl	=nnat
<i>yə-</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>=nnat</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=her (3.f.sg.obj.)(main)
he said to her		

When she blew on the fire to light it, he said to her, "Leave it; don't light the fire."

Paragraph 39.**39.1. " yemən ?"****የየምን**

yemən

yämən

why?

why?

"Why?" she said to him.

Paragraph 40.**40.1. " gəfer , äsat****ገፈር****እሳት**

gəfar	-e-	äsat
<i>gäffärä</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>äsat</i>
leave alone	2.f.sg.impv.	fire
leave it alone		the fire

attandīg

አታንዲግ

al-	tə-	andäd	-i-
<i>al-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>anäddädä</i>	<i>-i-</i>
neg-juss.	2.f.sg.juss.	light (a fire)	2.f.sg.juss.
do not light			

bakkučəm

;

ባከኑቸው

bal	-ku	=č	=əm
<i>balä</i>	<i>-kʷ</i>	<i>=š</i>	<i>=əm</i>
say	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=you (2.f.sg.obj.subord.)	=and
I said to you and			

attandīg

!

አታንዲግ

al-	tə-	andäd	-i-
<i>al-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>anäddädä</i>	<i>-i-</i>
neg-juss.	2.f.sg.juss.	light (a fire)	2.f.sg.juss.
do not light (it)			

"I told you just leave it and don't light the fire, so don't light it!" he replied.

40.2. kəfečən

čə ."

ከፈትና

ቻለ

kəfät	-e-	=ən	čə
<i>käffätä</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>=ənn̥</i>	<i>čə</i>
open	2.f.sg.impv.	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	only
open for me			only

"Just open up for me!"

40.3. käffätättum

ከፈተተም

käffät	-ätt	=u	=m
<i>käffätä</i>	<i>-ät</i>	<i>=äw</i>	<i>=m</i>
open	3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=circumstantial action
she opened the door and			

gärrahum

"

ገራሁም

gärra	-hu	=m
gärra	-k ^w	=m
be full (after a meal)	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action
I am full		

yəbəllam**ይብለም**

yə-	bəl	=nna	=m
yə-	balä	=nna	=m
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=her (3.f.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action
he said to her and			

yinňo**የን**

yi-	ňña	-o	.
yə-	tänňa	-u	
3.m.sg.impf.	sleep	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	
he slept			

"Just sleep. Don't light the fire, I don't want dinner, I am full," he said to her. Then he slept.

Paragraph 42.

42.1. k ^y a	təňňä g ^w äy	fäqäqqə waläm			
ከያ	ተኝ ገያ	ፈቀቅ ባለም			
k ^y a	tə-	ňña	g ^w äy	fäqäqqə walä	=m
k ^y a	tə-	tänňa	goy	fäqäqq balä	=m
she (3.f.sg.)	3.f.sg.impf.	sleep	when	move aside	=circumstantial action
she (3.f.sg.)	when she slept			he moved aside and	
zəhom	əňňäm	täkiya	yiftaw		
ዘሮም	ለኝም	ትከያ	ይift		
zəhom	əňňäm	=m	tä=	kiya	yift -äw
zihom	tänňa	=m	tä=	k ^y a	yift -w
in this way	sleep	=circumstantial action	to=	she (3.f.sg.)	before his (3.m.sg.)
in this way	he slept and		to her		previously

täti^ggam yänäbbäri

ተጠግኗል የነበረ

tǟtigga	=m	yä=	näbbärä	-i
<i>tǟtigga</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>näbbärä</i>	<i>-i</i>
draw close	=circumstantial action	who=	be	the
the one who had drawn close				

fäqäqq baläm za ağire

፲፭፻፭

fäqäqq balä	=m	za	ağire
<i>fäqäqq balä</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>ağire</i>
move aside	=circumstantial action	that	that c
he moved aside and		that	that c

መጥም

mäṭṭa	=m	sanqa
<i>mäṭṭa</i>	= <i>m</i>	<i>sanqa</i>
come	=circumstantial action	door
he came and		(on the

yəqəbaqqəb gʷäy

ደቂዱቂብ ጽዴ

yə-	qəbaqqəb	gʷäy
yə-	qəbaqqäbä	goy
3.m.sg.impf.	knock (on a door)	when
when he knocked		

yəkäfəttət

፩፻፷፭

yə-	käfət	=nnət
yə-	<i>käffätä</i>	=nnət
3.m.sg.impf.	open	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he opened it		

While she slept he moved aside; thus he slept, and he who had at first drawn close to her moved aside. That other thief came home, and when he knocked on the door, he opened it for him.

42.2. bäsär täwwäräm

ብሔር መወገም

bäsär	täwwärä	=m	yə-	mäṭa	=m
<i>bäsär</i>	<i>täwwärä</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>mäṭa</i>	<i>=m</i>
meat	carry	=circumstantial action	3.m.sg.impf.	come	=too
meat	he carried and			he came too	

He came carrying the meat.¹⁸³

42.3. agäbba

አግባ

agäbba	addägäm	"	nəšši	"
<i>agäbba</i>	<i>addägä</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>nəsa</i>	<i>-i</i>
<i>agäbba</i>	<i>addägä</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>nässa</i>	<i>-i</i>
bring in	throw	=circumstantial action	take away	2.f.sg.impv.
he brought it in	he threw it (down) and		take it away	

yəblu

ይብሉ

yə-	bl	-u
<i>yə-</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>-u</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	say	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
he said		

He brought in the meat and, throwing it down, said, "Take it, (wife)."

42.4. kʷa

በዕዳገግ አባላም

ከ

kʷa	bədəgg abäläm	nässam
<i>kʷa</i>	<i>bədəgg abälä</i>	<i>nässa</i>
<i>kʷa</i>	<i>bədəgg abalä</i>	<i>nässa</i>
he (3.m.sg.)	pick up	=circumstantial action
he	he picked it up and	take =as for
		he took it and

¹⁸³ This is the rest of the ox meat that the two thieves had agreed to share.

lelay	yosdu	.		
ለለ	የስዕ			
lela	-y	yə-	osd	-u
<i>lela</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>wässädä</i>	<i>-u</i>
other	the	3.m.sg.impf.	take	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
the other man	he took it			

The other man picked it up and took it.

Paragraph 43.

43.1. ahum aččäm

አሁም አጋም

ahum aččä =m

ahum aččä =m

again close =circumstantial action

again he closed (the door) and

yətibbəqqət

ይመጥኩት

yə- tibbəq =nnət

yə- *tibbäqä* =nnət

3.m.sg.impf. wait =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he waited for him

He closed the door again and waited for him.

43.2. ahum sanqa yəqəbaqqəbu

አሁም ሳን቏

ይቅበቅበ

ahum sanqa yə- qəbaqqəb =u

ahum sanqa *yə-* *qəbaqqäbä* =äw

again door 3.m.sg.impf. knock (on a door) =him (3.m.sg.obj.)

again (on the) door he knocked on it (and)

yəmäṭam

ያመጥም

yə- mäṭa =m

yə- *mäṭta* =m

3.m.sg.impf. come =too

he came too

Again he knocked on the door and the other came.

43.3. "	kəfeč	,	käffätä	,	nəšši	,
	ከፋች		ከፋታ		ናሻ	
	kəfät	-e-	käffätä		nəsa	-i
	käffätä	-i-	käffätä		nässa	-i
	open	2.f.sg.impv.	open		take away	2.f.sg.impv.
	open up		he opened		take it away	
agäbba	yadgu					(
አባ	ያድጋ					
agäbba	yə-		adg	-u		
agäbba	yə-		addägä	-u		
bring in	3.m.sg.impf.	throw	3.m.sg.impf. (main)			
he brought it in (and)	he threw it down					
tənäsayy) za		täqibbäläm			
ተናሱ	ዘ		ተቁብላም			
tə-	näsa	=yy	za		täqibbälä	=m
tə-	nässa	=yy	za		täqibbälä	=m
3.f.sg.impf.	take	=to	that	receive	=circumstantial action	
that she might take it				that man	he received it and	
yənäsaw			.			
ይናወ						
yə-	näsa	-w				
yə-	nässa	-u				
3.m.sg.impf.	take	3.m.sg.impf. (main)				
he took it						

"Open up, (wife)," he said, and the other opened. "Take this, (wife)," he said and brought in the meat and threw it down (that she might take it). But the other man received it and took it away.

43.4. (kiya	tənkʷärrəriš		
	h.ø	ትንከርደሽ		
kiya	tə-	ənkʷärrər	-i	=š
k̥a	tə-	ənkorräärä	-i	=š
she (3.f.sg.)	3.f.sg.impf.	snore	3.f.sg.impf.(main)	=indeed
she		she was indeed snoring		
təšəl	?ay	yellä	.	
ትሽል	ቁይ	የለ		
tə-	šəl	?ay	yellä	
tə-	šalä	qay	yellä	
3.f.sg.impf.	know	something	neg. of existence	
that she knew		something	there was not	

(Meanwhile), the wife herself was snoring; she was aware of nothing.

Paragraph 44.

44.1. "	mäčäräša	zi	tihon		, wäy ?
	መጋረሻ	ዘ	ተሸኑ		ወይ
mäčäräša	zi	tə-	yə-	hon	wäy
mäčäräša	zi	tə-	yə-	honä	wäy
end	this	neg-impf.(main)	3.m.sg.impf.	be	or
the end	this	is it not			or

"Isn't this the end?

44.2. mənən		zi	bizzä?u		
	ምን	ዘ	በዝቅ		
mən	=ən	zi	bizzä?	=u	
mən	=ən	zi	bizzäqä	=äw	
what?	=be (copula)	this	pile up	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	
what is it		this	one piled it up		
bizzä?u		ayyaləq		?ay	?
	በዝቅ	አያላቅ		ቁይ	
bizzä?	=u	al-	yə-	aləq	?ay
bizzäqä	=äw	al-	yə-	alläqä	qay
pile up	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	neg-impf.(subord.)	3.m.sg.impf.	finish	thing
one piled it up			that does not finish		thing

Why is it that this stuff does not finish, though one piles it up in plenty?

44.3. ahu älä ʔuna gʷäy tämäṭa ,"

አሁ አላ **ቁና ገጋ ተመጥ**

ahu älä ʔuna gʷäy tə- ä- mäṭa
ahu älä quna goy tə- ä- mäṭṭa
now except one time neg-impf.(main) 1.c.sg.impf. come
now except for one time I will not come

yəbəllət ; "

ይብልት

yə- bəl =nnət
yə- balä =nnət
3.m.sg.impf. say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

talf ,"

ታልፍ

tə- ä- alf
tə- ä- alläfä
neg-impf.(main) 1.c.sg.impf. go

I will not go

yəbəllət .

ይብልት

yə- bəl =nnət
yə- balä =nnət
3.m.sg.impf. say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

"Now, I will not come but once more," he said to him; "I will not go," he said to him, (that is).

Paragraph 45.

45.1. " näw ."

ነው

nä =w

na =ew

be (copula) =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

It is I

"It is I," he said.

Paragraph 46.

46.1. " yi , äṭibbə?ko ."

ያ , አጥብበቅ

yi ä- tibbə? =ko

ye ä- tibbäqä =ko

yes 1.c.sg.impf. wait =you (2.m.sg.obj.)

yes I will wait for you

"Yes, I will wait for you," he said.

Paragraph 47.

47.1. ge dərəgəmm abaläm

ገ ደርግም አባላም

ge dərəgəmm abalä =m

ge dərəgəmm abalä =m

house snap shut (a door) =circumstantial action

the house he snapped shut and

aččäm

kʷa

əlləmm

bäsäräw

አጭም

ከ

አልም

በስረው

aččä =m

kʷa

əlləmm

bäsär -äw

aččä =m

kʷa

əlləmm

balä bäsär -w

close =circumstantial action

he (3.m.sg.)

vanish

meat

his (3.m.sg.)

he closed (the door) and

he

vanished

his meat

ẗäwwäräm	gäyyätäw	.
ጠዥረም	ገጥቶ	
ẗäwwärä =m	gäyyät -äw	
<i>täwwärä</i> =m	<i>gäyyät</i> -w	
carry =resultative action	hamlet his (3.m.sg.)	
he carried it	(to) his hamlet	

He quickly closed the door to the house, and he himself ran off to his village with his meat.

47.2. zani mätṭam

ዘኒ **መጣም**

zani	mätṭa	=m
<i>zani</i>	<i>mätṭa</i>	=m
that one come		=circumstantial action
that one he came and		

biqəbäqqəb

" bitti ahu

በቃበቃብ

በት አሁ

bə=	yə-	qəbäqqəb	bitti ahu
<i>bä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>qəbaqqäbä</i>	<i>bitti ahu</i>
when=	3.m.sg.impf.	knock (on a door)	how now
when he knocked			how now

alkäfätsəň

wäy

አልከፍተኛ

ውይ

al-	käfät	-š	=əň	wäy
<i>al-</i>	<i>käffätä</i>	<i>-š</i>	<i>=əňň</i>	<i>wäy</i>
neg-perf.	open	2.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	or
you did not open for me				or

məšto ;

ማሻሻል

məšt -o

məšt -o

wife vocative marker

o wife

tətənəši				wäy ?"
ተተናሽ				ወይ
tə-	tə-	nəsa	-i	wäy
tə-	tə-	nässa	-i	wäy
neg-impf.(main)	2.f.sg.impf.	take	2.f.sg.impf.(subord.) or	
will you not take it				or

That other thief came (back) and, when he knocked on the door (he said), "How is it that you do not now open for me, wife? Will you not take (the meat)?"

47.3. yellät

የለት

yellä	-ät
<i>yellä</i>	<i>-ät</i>
neg. of existence	3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)
she was not there	

täňňättäm

ተኝኢማ

täňňä	-ätt	=əm
<i>täňňa</i>	<i>-ät</i>	<i>=əm</i>
sleep	3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action
she was asleep		

But she was not there; she was asleep.

47.4. " məšto

ahu

ማሽቶ

አሁ

məšt	-o	ahu
<i>məšt</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>ahu</i>
wife	vocative marker	now
o wife		now

altäqäbäččəň			wäy ?
አልተቃበቻኝ			ወይ
al-	täqäbäl	-č	=əň
<i>al-</i>	<i>täqäbbälä</i>	<i>-š</i>	<i>=ənn̥</i>
neg-perf.	welcome	2.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.) or
you do not welcome me			or

"O wife, will you not now welcome me?

47.5. kəfečəňən

."

ከፈትኝ

kəfät	-e-	=əň	=ən
<i>käffätä</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>=ənn̥</i>	<i>=ən</i>
open	2.f.sg.impv.	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	=verb augment
open up to me			

Open up for me!"

47.6. yəkäftu?ay

yellä

የከፍተዋይ

?ay

yə-	käft	=u	?ay	yellä
<i>yə-</i>	<i>käffätä</i>	<i>=äw</i>	<i>qay</i>	<i>yellä</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	open	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	something	neg. of existence
something (by which)	he might open it			there was not

He had nothing with which to open the door.

47.7. bägədd awoyyä awoyyäm

በግድ አዎያ አዎያም

bä=	gədd	awoyyä	awoyyä	=m
<i>bä=</i>	<i>gədd</i>	<i>awäyyä</i>	<i>awäyyä</i>	<i>=m</i>
with=	force	wail	wail	=circumstantial action
with force		he wailed	he wailed and	

käffätättum			" mən
հՀԴՒՔՊ			գՊՆ
käffät -ätt	=u	=m	mən
<i>käffätä</i> -ät	=äw	=m	<i>mən</i>
open 3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=circumstantial action	what?
she opened the door and			what
awoṭṭannähä	mida	"	
ՀՊՊՆԻ	ՊԼ.Ք		
awoṭṭa =nnähä	mida		
<i>awäṭṭa</i> =nnähä	<i>mida</i>		
bring out =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	outside		
brought you	outside		
balättut	.		
ՊԼԻՒՐ			
bal -ätt	=ut		
<i>balä</i> -ät	=äw		
say 3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)		
she said to him			

When he had wailed and wailed loudly, she (finally) opened the door and said to him, "What brought you outside?"

Paragraph 48.

48.1. "	mən	awoṭṭannähä	?
գՊՆ	ՀՊՊՆԻ		
mən	awoṭṭa	=nnähä	
<i>mən</i>	<i>awäṭṭa</i>	=nnähä	
what? bring out	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)		
what brought you (outside)			

"'What brought you outside?' (you ask me)?!

I have been outside taking (meat) and bringing it back and forth, haven't I?!

48.3. nəšši		bakkuč	
ئە		بەككۇچ	
nəsa	-i	bal	-ku
<i>nässa</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>-ki</i>
take away	2.f.sg.impv.	say	1.c.sg.perf.(main)
take it away		I said to you	=you (2.f.sg.obj.subord.)
alnäsaš		wäy ?"	
اەلنىساش		ۋەي	
al-	näsa	-š	wäy
<i>al-</i>	<i>nässa</i>	<i>-š</i>	<i>wäy</i>
neg-perf.	take	2.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	or
you did not take it		or	

When I said 'take it away,' didn't you take it away?"

Paragraph 49.

49.1.	"	ärä	ädi	alnäsah^w	attəmqay		
		አረ	አዲ	አልናሳሁ	አትመቅይ		
		ärä	ädi	al-	näsa	-h ^w	attəmqay
		ärä	ädi	al-	nässa	-k ^w	attəqay
		why!	I (1.c.sg.)	neg-perf.	take	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	anything
		why	I		I did not take		anything

alabke**አለብከ**

al-	ab	-kä	=e
al-	<i>abä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	=e
neg-perf.	give	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
you did not give me			

"Why, I myself didn't take anything; you didn't give me anything!**49.2. gäbbaham****äsat****ገበባም****እሳት**

gäbba	-ha	=m	äsat
<i>gäbba</i>	<i>-ha</i>	<i>=m</i>	<i>äsat</i>
enter	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	fire
you entered and			the fire

anäddu**bäbəl****አናዳሁ****በበል**

ä-	anädd	=u	bä=	ä-	bəl
ä-	<i>anäddädä</i>	<i>=äw</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>ä-</i>	<i>balä</i>
1.c.sg.impf.	light (a fire)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	when=	1.c.sg.impf.	say
that I light it				when I said	

attandäg**አታንዳጅ**

al-	tə-	andäd	-i
al-	<i>tə-</i>	<i>anäddädä</i>	<i>-i</i>
neg-juss.	2.f.sg.juss.	light (a fire)	2.f.sg.juss.
do not light it			

bakkem**በከም**

bal	-kä	=e	=m
<i>balä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	<i>=e</i>	<i>=m</i>
say	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action
you said to me and			

atiññähem

አተኞችም

atiñña	-hä	=e	=m		
atiñña	-kä	=e	=m		
cause to sleep	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action		
you put me to sleep and					
gəzemma	məngʷäy	wotṭaha	?"		
ገዢማ	ምንጂያ	ወጥሐ			
gəze	=mma	mən	gʷäy	wotṭa	-ha
gize	=m	mən	goy	wäṭṭa	-kä
time	=as for what?	time	go out	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	
as for the time	what time		did you go out		

You entered and when I said that I would light the fire you said to me 'don't light it,' then you put me to sleep. So what time did you go out?"

Paragraph 50.

50.1. "	ädi	äšäl?ay	yellä	, attəm		
	እዲ	እሳልቅያ	የለ	አትም		
	ädi	ä-	šäl	?ay	yellä	attəm
	ädi	ä-	šälä	qay	yellä	attəm
	I (1.c.sg.)	1.c.sg.impf.	know	something	neg. of existence	anything
	I		something that I know		there is not	anything

alamṭahʷ ?

አለማጥታ

al-	amṭa	-hʷ
al-	amäṭṭa	-kʷ
neg-perf.	bring	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)
I did not bring		

"I don't know anything; I didn't bring anything?"

Paragraph 51.

51.1. " awo ."

አዎ

awo

awo

no (to a question in the negative)

no

"No."

Paragraph 52.

52.1. " ayyi qinnali zi məss ,"

አያይ

ቁንኩል

ዘ

ማስ

ayyi

qinna l= =i

zi məss

ayye

qinna lä= =i

zi məss

expression of pain do to= =me (1.c.sg.obj.) this man

ayyi! he did (this) to me

this man

baläm

.

ባላም

balä =m

balä =m

say =resultative action

he said

"Argh! That man did this to me!" he said.

52.2. " yäqinnahulähom

የቁናሁለሁም

yä= qinna -hu lä= =hom

yä= *qinna* -*kʷ* *lä*= =*hom*

that= do 1.c.sg.perf.(subord.) to= =as

as I did to him

qinnali	,"	baläm	.
ቁናላ		ባልም	
qinna l= =i		balä =m	
<i>qinna</i> <i>lä</i> = =i		<i>balä</i> =m	
do to= =me (1.c.sg.obj.)		say =resultative action	
he has done to me		he said	

"Just as I did to him, so has he done to me."

Paragraph 53.

53.1. zihom konəmun	säbočči	.
ዘሮም ክንሙን	ሳቦች	
zihom kon -əmun	säb -očč -i	
<i>zihom</i> <i>kon</i> -əmun	<i>säb</i> -očč -i	
thus be 3.m.pl.perf.(main)	man pl the	
thus they were	the men	

Thus were the (two) men.

12. Arätt säbočč (bäbuttağıra)

"Four Men" (Buttajira, session 8; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Gosaye Tufär (from Damu Kiro); 2) Daniel Eressa)

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) Säbočč arätt näm	.
ሳቦች ላይት ካም	
säb -očč arätt nä =äm	
<i>säb</i> -očč <i>arätt</i> <i>nä</i> =äm	
man pl four be (copula) them (3.m.pl.obj.)	
men four they were	

1) There were four men.

1.2. močä	yalfəm		aratti
ምል	የልፍም		አራት
močä	yə-	alf	-əm
močä	yə-	alläfä	-əm
road	3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
(on the) road	they were going		four the
			the four
säbočč	quni	äbabən	
ሰቦች	ቁኒ	እባብን	
säb	-očč	quna	-i
säb	-očč	quna	-i
man	pl	one	the
men		the one	snake
quni	zangärən		=be (copula)
ቁኒ	ዘንጋሩን		
quna	-i	zangär	=ən
quna	-i	zangär	=ən
one		the baboon	=be (copula)
the one		a baboon	he was

They were going along the road. As for the four men, the one was a snake, one was a mouse, and another was a baboon.¹⁸⁴

1.3. zi	säbočč	močä	yalfəmun	.
ዘ	ሰቦች	ምል	የልፍሙን	
zi	säb	-očč	močä	yə-
zi	säb	-očč	močä	yə-
these	man	pl	road	3.m.pl.impf.
these	men		(on the) road	they were going

These four men were going along the road.

¹⁸⁴ The fourth man who is not here mentioned is a human. For the use of *säb* “man” for an animal in a story see Ch. 4, §XV.2.

1.4. mässäbäumum¹⁸⁵

"

መኅበሙም

mässä	bä=	=ämu	=m
mässä	bä=	=nnäm	=m
become evening	on=	=them (3.m.pl.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action
it became evening to their disadvantage and			

yatäddärənä

"

የተደርሱ

yə-	atäddər	=ənä
yə-	atiddärä	=nä
3.m.sg.impf.	make spend the night	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)
it will make us spend the night		

yibləmun

የብለሙን

yə-	bl	-əmun
yə-	balä	-əmun
3.m.pl.impf.	say	3.m.pl.impf.(main)
they said		

Evening set upon them, so they said, "We must spend the night."

Paragraph 2.

2.1. kʷa " mannahəm

dähəm ?"

ከ

ማኅበም

ዳሕም

kʷa	man	nä	=həm	dähəm
kʷa	ma	nä	=əhəm	dähəm
he (3.m.sg.)	who?	be (copula)	=you (2.m.pl.obj.)(subord.)	you (2.m.pl.)
he	who are you	(pl.)		you (pl.)

As for him, he said, "You men, who are you?"

¹⁸⁵ For the bā- of disadvantage v. Ch. 4, §X.1.1.

Paragraph 3.

3.1. "	ädim	äbab	näw	,
	እዲም	እባብ	ናው	
ädi	=m	äbab	nä	=äw
ädi	=m	äbab	nä	=ew
I (1.c.sg.)	=as for	snake	be (copula)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)
as for me		a snake	I am	
zim	zangärän		zim	äfurən
ዘም	ዘንጋሩን		ዘም	እፈርን
zi	=m	zangärä	=n	=en
zi	=m	zangär	=ən	=ən
this	=as for	baboon	=be (copula)	this =as for mouse =be (copula)
as for this one		a baboon	he is	as for this one a mouse he is
ädim				
እዲም				
ädi	=m			
ädi	=m			
I (1.c.sg.)	=too			
I too				
əndähättənäw				
እንዳහትተኑው				
əndä=	=hä		=tt	=ən
əndä=	=ähä		=tt	=ən
like=	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=be (copula)	=be (copula)	
=äw	.			
=ew				
=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)				
I am like you				

"As for me, I am a snake, this one is a baboon, this one is a mouse; and I am (a man) like you."

Paragraph 4.

4.1. " ärä ärbaddähäm¹⁸⁶

አረ አርባዳዕሰም

ärä ärbat -dähäm

ärä ärbat -dähäm

why! dinner your (2.m.pl.)

why your dinner

yatiddəbew

ädi

የተደበው

ädi

yə- atiddəb =ew ädi

yə- atiddäbä =ew ädi

3.m.sg.impf. prove difficult to =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main) I (1.c.sg.)
it will be difficult for me I

yätələyayyähäm

የተልያይያሁም

yä= tələyayyä -häm

yä= täläyayyä -kəmu

who= differ 2.m.pl.perf.(subord.)

you who differ

säbənähäm

mən

ስብኩም

ምን

säb ənä =häm mən

säb nä =əhəm mən

man be (copula) =you (2.m.pl.obj.)(subord.) what?

you are people what

abäləhəmun

?"

አብላሁሙን

ä- abäla =həmun

ä- abälla =əhmun

1.c.sg.impf. feed =you (2.m.pl.obj.)(main)

what shall I feed you

"Why, (making) your dinner will be difficult for me myself. You are men
who differ (greatly). What shall I feed you?"

¹⁸⁶ For the assimilation of *t* to *d* see Ch. 4, §II.1.2.6.

Paragraph 5.

5.1. " lädim		ašära
ለዲም		አሻራ
lä= ädi	=m	ašära
lä= ädi	=m	ašära
for= I (1.c.sg.)	=as for	grounds (of coffee)
as for me		the grounds
äläsu		," yəblu
እልሱ		ይብሉ
ä- läs -u	yə-	bl -u
ä- lasä -u	yə-	balä -u
1.c.sg.impf. lick	1.c.sg.impf. (main)	3.m.sg.impf. say
I shall lick		he said
äbab .		
እባብ		
äbab		
äbab		
snake		
the snake		

"As for me, I shall lick the coffee grounds," said the snake.

5.2. " čeggər	yellännən
ቻገር	የለንናን
čeggər	yellä
čeggər	=nn
čeggər	=nn
problem	neg. of existence
a problem	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
	=verb augment
he does not have	
yäbunna	
የበኬ	
yä=	bunna
yä=	bunna
direct object marker=	coffee
the coffee (acc.)	

bafälläham

በፈለም

bä=	yä=	afällä	-ha	=m
bä=	yä=	<i>afälla</i>	- <i>kä</i>	=m
when=	that=	boil	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
when you boil				

aśärahʷan

ኤልasu

"

አስረኩን

እለት

aśära	-hʷan	ä-	läs	-u
<i>aśära</i>	<i>-hʷan</i>	<i>ä-</i>	<i>lasä</i>	<i>-u</i>
grounds (of coffee)	his (3.m.sg.)	1.c.sg.impf.	lick	1.c.sg.impf. (main)
its grounds		I shall lick		

yəblu

.

ይበላ

yə-	bl	-u
<i>yə-</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>-u</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	say	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
he said		

"There is no problem. When you boil the coffee I shall lick its grounds," he said.

Paragraph 6.

6.1. äfurəm " የላጊት " balä ..." የላጊት " balä ..."

እፈርም	አለት	ባለ	አለት	ባለ
äfur	=əm	əla?it	balä	əla?it
<i>äfʷər</i>	<i>=əm</i>	<i>əla?it</i>	<i>balä</i>	<i>əla?it</i>
mouse	=as for	chaff	say	chaff
as for the mouse	chaff	he said	chaff	he said

äbälaw ädi , kʷam

እበላው	እዲ	ከው
ä-	bäla	-w
ä-	<i>bälla</i>	-u
1.c.sg.impf.	eat	1.c.sg.impf. (main)
I shall eat		I
		as for it

yəhonew ."

ይሮዕዢ

yə-	hon	=ew
<i>yə-</i>	<i>honä</i>	<i>=ew</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	be	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)
it shall be mine		

As for the mouse, he said "the chaff"..."the chaff" he said..."I myself shall eat it; that shall be mine."

Paragraph 7.

7.1. 2) የላጊት መኖን ?

ለለት ምንን

የላጊት መኖን	=ወን
<i>əla?it mən</i>	<i>=ən</i>
chaff what?	=be (copula)
chaff what is it	

2) What is "የላጊት"?

Paragraph 8.

8.1. 1) የላጊት yanäffäsälä gäläbahomən¹⁸⁷

ለለት የነገሰለ

ገለባሁምን

የላጊት yä=	anäffäsä	lä=	gäläba	=hom	=ወን
<i>əla?it yä=</i>	<i>anäffäsä</i>	<i>lä=</i>	<i>gäläba</i>	<i>=hom</i>	<i>=ən</i>
chaff that=	winnow	for=	chaff	=like	=be (copula)
chaff that one winnows for himself	it is like chaff				

bäkəstaniňña የላጊት .

በከተኞች

ለለት

bä=	kəstaniňña	የላጊት
<i>bä=</i>	<i>kəstanəňňa</i>	<i>əla?it</i>
in=	Kəstanəňña (language)	chaff
in Kəstanəňña		chaff

1) "Ela?it" is like chaff that is winnowed; in Kəstanəňña that is "əla?it."

¹⁸⁷ *Gäläba* is Amharic.

Paragraph 9.

9.1. 2) yanäffäsälä

...

ያናፈሰላ

yä= anäffäsä lä=
 yä= *anäffäsä* lä=
 that= winnow for=
 that one winnows for himself

2) (Like chaff) that is winnowed...

Paragraph 10.

10.1. 1) yi , የልአጥን

የ አለጥን
 yi የልአጥ =ən
 ye የልአጥ =ən
 yes chaff =be (copula)
 yes it is chaff

1) Yes, it is chaff.

Paragraph 11.

11.1. 2) yi , የልአጥ .

የ አለጥ
 yi የልአጥ
 ye የልአጥ
 yes chaff
 yes chaff

2) Yes, chaff.

Paragraph 12.

12.1. 1) " የልአጥ , " balä " äbälaw

."

አለጥ	ባለ	እበላው		
የልአጥ	balä	ä-	bäla	-w
የልአጥ	balä	ä-	bälla	-u
chaff	say	1.c.sg.impf.	eat	1.c.sg.impf. (main)
chaff	he said	I shall eat		

1) "Chaff," he said "is what I shall eat."

Paragraph 13.

13.1. "	säbəm	säbən	.	
	ሰብም	ሰብን		
	säb	=əm	säb	=ən
	säb	=əm	säb	=ən
	man	=as for	man	=be (copula)
	as for the man	he is a man		

"As for the man, he is a man.¹⁸⁸

13.2. zanğäräm	äkələn	yibäla	.
ዝንጋሩም	እከልን	የበላ	
zanğärä	=m	äkəl	=ən
zanğär	=m	äkəl	=ən
baboon	=as for	cereal (grain)	=be (copula) 3.m.sg.impf.
as for the baboon	it is grain		eat
			that he shall eat

As for the baboon, he shall eat grain."

13.3. atiddärännämun

atiddärä	=nnämun
atiddärä	=nnämun
make spend the night	=them (3.m.pl.obj.)(main)
he let them spend the night	

So the man gave them lodging for the night.

Paragraph 14.

14.1. tinäbərəm

tə=	yə-	näbər	=əm
tä=	yə-	näbbärä	=əm
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	be	=circumstantial action
while it was			

¹⁸⁸ That is to say, the man among the group of four will be easy to feed because he will eat whatever food the host eats.

tinäbərəm

,

ተናበርም

tə=	yə-	näbər	=əm
tä=	yə-	näbbärä	=əm
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	be	=circumstantial action
		while it was	

tinäbərəm

,

ተናበርም

tə=	yə-	näbər	=əm
tä=	yə-	näbbärä	=əm
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	be	=circumstantial action
		while it was	

tinäbərəm**za****ተናበርም****¶**

tə=	yə-	näbər	=əm	za
tä=	yə-	näbbärä	=əm	za
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	be	=circumstantial action	that
		while it was		that

yatiddäränäm**məss ...****ያተዳደሪያም****ምኑ**

yä=	atiddärä	=näm	məss
yä=	atiddärä	=nnäm	məss
who=	make spend the night	=them (3.m.pl.obj.)(subord.)	man
	who let them spend the night		man

When a long, long, long, long time had passed, the man who had given them lodging...

Paragraph 15.**15.1. 2) manni****yatiddäri****?****ማኅ****ያተዳደ**

manni	yä=	atiddär	-i
manni	yä=	atiddärä	-i
which one (person)?	who=	make spend the night	the
which one		the who let (them) spend the night	

2) Wait, who is the one who gave them lodging?

Paragraph 16.

16.1. 1) quna ge sälläμum

ቁና ጥ ሰላሙም

quna ge sällä -mu =m

quna ge sälla -m =m

a house arrive 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.) =resultative action

(at) a house they had arrived

yädi ge wäym yädähä ge yäsäb

የዲ ጥ ወይም የዳහ ጥ የሳብ

yä= ädi ge wäy =m yä= dähä ge yä= säb

yä= ädi ge wäy =m yä= dähä ge yä= säb

of= I (1.c.sg.) house or =as for of= you (2.m.sg.) house of= someone

my house or (at) your house (at) someone's

ge sälläμum .

ጊ ሰላሙም

ge sällä -mu =m

ge sälla -m =m

house arrive 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.) =resultative action

house they had arrived

1) They had arrived at a certain house; it could be my house or your house, but it was at someone's house.

Paragraph 17.

17.1. 2) yäsäb ge ?

የሳብ ጥ

yä= säb ge

yä= säb ge

of= someone house

someone's house

2) Someone's house?

Paragraph 18.

18.1. 1) ye .

ye

ye

yes

yes

1) Yes.

Paragraph 19.

19.1. tinäbərəm

,

ተናበርም

tə= yə- näbər =əm

tä= yə- näbbärä =əm

while= 3.m.sg.impf. be =circumstantial action
while it was

tinäbərəm

za

ተናበርም

¶

tə= yə- näbər =əm za

tä= yə- näbbärä =əm za

while= 3.m.sg.impf. be =circumstantial action that
while it was

yatiddärännäm

məss močä

ያተዳደሪናም

ምስ ሙጋ

yä= atiddärä =nnäm məss močä

yä= atiddärä =nnäm məss močä

who= make spend the night =them (3.m.pl.obj.)(subord.) man road
who let them spend the night man (on the) road

tiyalf

äfur

ተያለፍ

ፈቻር

tə= yə- alf äfur

tä= yə- alläfä äf'är

while= 3.m.sg.impf. go mouse
while he was going the mouse

yagäňňənnət

ያገናኝት

yə-	agäňň	=ənnət
yə-	agäňňä	=nnət
3.m.sg.impf.	meet	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he met him		

When a long, long time had passed, that man who had given them lodging went along the road and met the mouse.

19.2. ay zi äfur močä arrätäm

አይ	ዘ	አፈር	ሞቃ	አረታም
ay	zi	äfur	močä	arrätä =m
ay	zi	äfər	močä	arrätä =m
why!	this	mouse	path	cut =circumstantial action
why!	this	mouse	(his) path	he cut and

yalfə gʷäy " ay

ያልፏ	ገዕ	አይ
yə-	alfə	gʷäy
yə-	alläfä	goy
3.m.sg.impf.	go	while
while he was going		why!

arrä?ke , taräť !"

አረትክ	አይ	ቻረጥ
arrä?	-kä	=e
arräťä	-kä	=e
cut	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
you cut me		be cut

Why, this mouse cut across his path while he was going, (and he said), "Why, you cut across me! You be cut across!"¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ To have something cut across one's pass is seen as bad luck. Therefore, the man curses the mouse for having cut across his path.

Paragraph 20.

20.1. zi äfur " yämən šem¹⁹⁰ ,"

ତୁ ଖ୍ରେଚ ପ୍ରମ୍ବନ କୁଗା

zi äfur yämən ša =e =m

zi *äf^wər* yämən ša =e =m

this mouse why? want =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.) =resultative action

this house why does he want me

baläm yiblu

ପାର୍ମ

balä =m yi- bl -u

balä =m yə- balä -u

say =circumstantial action 3.m.sg.impf. say 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

he said and he says

This mouse said (to himself), "What does he want with me?"

20.2. qäna baläm

ଫର୍ମ ପାର୍ମ

qäna balä =m

qäna balä =m

look up =circumstantial action

he looked up and

ažžənnəm

ଅଫୁର

ažž =ənn =əm äfur

ažžä =nn =əm *äf^wər*

see =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) =circumstantial action mouse

he saw him and the mouse

The mouse looked up and saw him.

¹⁹⁰ For the prominence of *e* over *a* see Ch. 4, §II.2.2.

20.3. "	məsso¹⁹¹	qunamay
	ման	ՔԱՄԱՅ
məss	-o	quna may
<i>məss</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>quna</i> <i>may</i>
man	vocative marker	one day
o man		one day
atiddärkeməss		
	հեղշերս	
atiddär	-kä	=e
<i>atiddärä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	<i>=e</i>
make spend the night	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
=m	=əšš	
=m	=š	
=circumstantial action	=indeed	
you let me spend the night	indeed and	
wəläta¹⁹²	yənänoho	
	ՅՆԻՒ	
wəläta	yənä	=no
<i>wəläta</i>	<i>yinä</i>	<i>=äno</i>
token of gratitude	be (exist)	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)(main)
a token of gratitude	we have for you	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(main)
əččə	aqqəse	,
	ՀՇԾ	"
əččə	aqqəs	=e
əččə	<i>iqqäsä</i>	<i>=e</i>
come on!	wait	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)
come on!	wait for me	
yəbəllət		.
	ԵՊԱԼ	
yə-	bəl	=nnət
yə-	<i>balä</i>	<i>=nnət</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he said to him		

¹⁹¹ On the vocative marker *-o* v. Ch. 4, §III.3.

¹⁹² *Wəläta* can be both a “favor” as well as a “token of gratitude” given as payment for a favor.

The mouse said to him, "O man, you have let me spend the night one day.
We have a token of gratitude for you. Just wait for me."

Paragraph 21.

21.1. " ädi ?"

ädi

ädi

I (1.c.sg.)

I

"I (did that)?"

Paragraph 22.

22.1. " yi ."

yi

ye

yes

yes

"Yes."

Paragraph 23.

23.1. " bittawgän bitti

በታወጌ

በት

bə= yitti wägän bə= yitti

bä= yitti wägän bä= yitti

in= where? place in= where?

in what place where

tägganñänäm

?"

ተገኘኝም

tägganñä -nä =m

tägənañña -nä =m

meet 1.c.pl.perf.(subord.) =resultative action

did we meet

"Where did we meet; in what place?"

Paragraph 24.

24.1. " bägedä arätt

በጋደ	አረት
bä= ge	-dä
bä= ge	-dä
in= house	your (2.m.sg.) four
in your house	four

honnäm

ሀኑም

hon	-nä	=m
honä	-nä	=m
be	1.c.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
we were and		

addärnäm

አድርናም

addär	-nä	=m	wəlāta
addärä	-nä	=m	wəlāta
spend the night	1.c.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	token of gratitude
we spent the night and			a token of gratitude

yənänohošš

ይኑኖሁሽ

yənä	=no	=ho	=ss	aqqəs
yinä	=äno	=əho	=s	iqqässä
be (exist)	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)(main)	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(main)	=indeed	wait
we have for you indeed				wait

aqqəs , " yəbləm

አቅስ የብለም

aqqəs	yə-	bl	=əm
iqqässä	yə-	balä	=əm
wait	3.m.sg.impf.	say	=circumstantial action
wait	he said and		

yərotəm		yädängänä	ge
የሮቶም		የዳንግኝና	ዘ
yə-	roṭ	=əm	yä= dängänä ge
yə-	roṭä	=əm	yä= dängänä ge
3.m.sg.impf.	run	=circumstantial action	of= rich house
he ran and			of the rich man the house
yəgäballəkom		mäto	bərr
የጋልከም		መቶ	ብር
yə-	gäba	llə= =kom	bərr
yə-	gäbba	lä= =kom	bərr
3.m.sg.impf.	enter	for= =as	Bərr (Ethiopian currency)
as he enterd for himself		hundred	one hundred bərr
mäzzäzäm		bäsətən	wossädäm
ወስደም		በሳተን	ውስደäm
mäzzäzä =m		bä= satən	wossädä =m
mäzzäzä =m		bä= satən	wässädä =m
draw out =circumstantial action	from=	box take	=circumstantial action
he drew out and		from a box	he took it and
yähä wəlatadä		"	"
የክ መለታደ			
yähä wəlāta		-dä	
yähä wəlāta		-dä	
here token of gratitude	your (2.m.sg.)		
here your token of gratitude			
yəbəllət		.	.
ይብልት			
yə-	bəl	=nnət	
yə-	balä	=nnət	
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	
he said to him			

The mouse said, "The four of us were in your house and stayed the night, and we have a token of gratitude for you; wait, wait!" With that he ran and entered the rich man's house and, drawing out a hundred bərr¹⁹³ from a box, he took it and said to the man, "Here is (our) token of gratitude to you."

¹⁹³ At the time of this research a one hundred bərr note was equivalent to about \$8.00 American. This is a large amount to many Ethiopians, especially those living in the countryside.

Paragraph 25.

25.1. wossädäm

ወስዳም

wossädä =m
wässädä =m
 take =circumstantial action
 he took it and

abänñəm

አበኝም

abä =nn	=əm	ay
<i>abä</i> =nn	=əm	<i>ay</i>
give =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action	why!
he gave it to him and		why!

əzgerəddi yabkä¹⁹⁴

አዝገርዲ **ያብካ**

əzger -əddi	yä-	ab	=kä	əzger
<i>əzger</i> - <i>ddi</i>	<i>ye-</i>	<i>abä</i>	= <i>kä</i>	<i>əzger</i>
God my (1.c.sg.)	3.m.sg.juss.	give	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	God
my God		may He give to you		God

yabkä

ያብካ

yä-	ab	=kä	abe	, əzger
<i>ye-</i>	<i>abä</i>	= <i>kä</i>	<i>abetu</i>	<i>əzger</i>
3.m.sg.juss.	give	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	sir	God
may He give to you			sir	God

yabkä

ያብካ

yä-	ab	=kä	balä	=m
<i>ye-</i>	<i>abä</i>	= <i>kä</i>	<i>balä</i>	= <i>m</i>
3.m.sg.juss.	give	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	say	=circumstantial action
may He give to you				he said and

¹⁹⁴ The Kəstane phrase *əzger yabkä* “may God give to you” is used in the same sense as the Amharic አግዥትኩር ይሰጥልኝ *əgziabher yəstələnñ*, often as a way of thanking someone.

bərräw		täqibbäläm	
በርዴ		ተቁብላም	
bərr	-äw	täqibbälä	=m
bərr	-w	täqibbälä	=m
Bərr (Ethiopian currency)	his (3.m.sg.)	receive	=circumstantial action
his bərr			he received and
yalfu		məss	.
ያልፍ		ምስ	
yə-	alf	-u	məss
yə-	alläfā	-u	məss
3.m.sg.impf.	go away	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	man
he went away			the man

The mouse took the money and gave it to him and the man said, "Oh! May God bless you, God bless you, o sir, may God bless you!" and, taking the bərr, he went away.

Paragraph 26.

26.1. tiyalf	, tiyalf	za
ትያልፍ	ትያልፍ	ዘ
tə= yə-	alf	alf za
tä= yə-	alläfā	alläfā za
while= 3.m.sg.impf.	go	that
while going	while going	that
yaddäri	säb yəggañnu¹⁹⁵	(
የዳራ	ሳብ የጋንኝ	
yä= addär	-i säb yə-	ggañ -u
yä= addärä	-i säb yə-	tägənaññä -u
who= spend the night	the man	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
the who had spent the night	man	he met

¹⁹⁵ On the assimilation of both *t* and *n* to *g* in this verb see Ch. 4, §§II.1.2.1; IX.2.1.

yəggəññəmən) täquna	məssəmma
ይጋናንኑ		ተቁና	ማስማ
yə-	ggaññ	-əmun	tä= quna məss =əmma
yə-	tägənaññä	-əmun	tä= quna məss =m
3.m.pl.impf.	meet	3.m.pl.impf.(main)	with= a man =and
they met			with a a man and
zamay	taddäri		məss .
ዘማይ	ታደሪ		ማስ
za	may	tä= yä= addär	-i məss
za	may	tä= yä= addärä	-i məss
that	day	with= who= spend the night	the man
that day		with the who had spent the night	man

While he was walking and walking along, he met the man who had spent the night (they met); (he met) with a certain man, and it was that man who had spent the night.

Paragraph 27.

27.1. " abe , fäyyanähä	?"
አበ	ፈያኑ
abe	fäyya nä =hä
abetu	fäyya nä =ähä
sir	well be (copula) =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
sir	are you well

"Ah sir, are you well?"

Paragraph 28.

28.1. " fäyya , fäyyanähä	?"
ፈያ	ፈያኑ
fäyya	fäyya nä =hä
fäyya	fäyya nä =ähä
fine	well be (copula) =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
fine	are you well

"I'm fine, and how are you?"

Paragraph 29.

29.1. " fäyya .

ፈ.፩

fäyya

fäyya

fine

fine

"Fine.

29.2. bitti

zäba tämätaw

quna may

በ.ቻ

ዘባ ተመተው

ቁና ማያ

bə=	yitti	zäba	tə-	mäṭa	-w	quna	may
bä=	<i>yitti</i>	<i>zäba</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>mäṭta</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>quna</i>	<i>may</i>
from=	where?	place	2.m.sg.impf.	come	2.m.sg.impf. (main)	one	day
	from where	place	do you come			one	day

atiddärkänäm

አትደርክናም

atiddär	-kä	=nä	=m
<i>atiddärä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	<i>=nä</i>	<i>=m</i>
make spend the night	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=us (1.c.pl.obj.)	=resultative action
you let us spend the night			

," yəbəllət

ይብልት

yə- bəl =nnət

yə- balä =nnət

3.m.sg.impf. say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

.

"From where are you coming? Ah, one day you let us spend the night (at your house)," he said to him.

Paragraph 30.

30.1. " näbbärkä

ከበር	dähäm	, ädi
läppär	dähä	=m
näbbärä	dähä	=m
be	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=indeed
you were	you (2.m.sg.)	I (1.c.sg.)
	indeed	I

alräsa hukäm

አልደሳሁ-ከም

al-	räsa	-hu	=kä	=m
al-	rässa	-k ^w	=kä	=m
neg-perf.	forget	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	=resultative action
I have not forgotten you				

tädähäm g^wäy

ተደሬም ገይ

tä=	dähäm	g ^w äy	yaddärä	äfur	əkko
tä=	dähäm	goy	yä=	addärä	äfur
with respect to=	you (2.m.pl.)	with	who=	spend the night	mouse yes, indeed!
with you all			the who	spent the night	mouse yes, indeed!

wäläta baläm

ወልታ በላም

wäläta balä	=m	mäto	bərr
wäläta balä	=m	mäto	bərr
do a favor	=circumstantial action	hundred	Bərr (Ethiopian currency)
he did a favor and		one hundred	bərr

abewəss

,"

አበውስ

ab	=ew	=əss
abä	=ew	=s
give	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)	=indeed
he gave me	indeed	

yəbəllət

ይበልት

yə- bəl =nnət

yə- balä =nnət

3.m.sg.impf. say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

The man said to him, "Ah, yes, you were there; I have not forgotten you!
The mouse who spent the night, along with you all, did a favor and actually
gave me one hundred bərr!"

Paragraph 31.

31.1. " ähä , mäto bərr

እኩ መቶ በር

ähä mäto bərr

äħäk mäto bərr

so hundred Bərr (Ethiopian currency)

so then one hundred bərr

abännähä ?

አበኝ

abä =nnähä

abä =nnähä

give =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)

he gave you

"What?! He gave you one hundred bərr?!

31.2. ay əzger yabənn

እርቃዬ

እኔ እዝገር ያብን

እቻዬ

ay əzger yä- ab =ənn

እርቃዬ

ay əzger ye- abä =nn

እርቃዬ

why! God 3.m.sg.juss. give =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) come on!

why! God may He give to him come on!

ወርሃ	bərri	ወርሃመን	,"	
አቶ	ብር	አቶምን		
ወርሃ	bərr	-i	ወርሃ	mən
ወርሃ	bərr	-i	ወርሃ	mən
come on!	Bərr (Ethiopian currency)	the	come on!	what?
come on!	the bərr		where is it	
baläm	.			
ባለም				
balä	=m			
balä	=m			
say	=resultative action			
he said				

Well, God bless him! Let's see it then, where is it?!" he said.

31.3. yayənnət

...

የይንት

yə-	ay	=ənnət
yə-	ażżä	=nnət
3.m.sg.impf.	see	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he saw it		

yatizzənnət

bərri

የተያዘንት

yə-	atiżż	=ənnət	bərr	-i
yə-	atiżżä	=nnət	bərr	-i
3.m.sg.impf.	show	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	Bərr (Ethiopian currency)	the
he showed him			the bərr	

awotṭam

አዎጥም

awotṭa	=m
awāṭṭa	=m
bring out	=resultative action
he brought out	

He saw it...that is, he showed him and pulled out the bərr.

31.4. bərri	ታላቂያም	angäti
ብር	መለፈዋም	አንተ
bərr	-i tälläfā =m	angät -i
bərr	-i <i>tälläfā</i> =m	<i>angät</i> -i
Bərr (Ethiopian currency)	the grab =circumstantial action	neck the
the bərr	he grabbed and	the neck
baläm¹⁹⁶	bädulla	gädäl
ባልዋም	በዳላ	ገዳል
balä =m	bä= nulla	gädäl
balä =m	bä= <i>nulla</i>	<i>gädäl</i>
hit =circumstantial action	with= club (weapon)	chasm
he hit and	with a club	(down a) chasm
säddädännət	.	
ሰዳደናት		
säddädä =nnət		
säddädä =nnət		
chase =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)		
he chased him		

Then the man grabbed the money, hit the other on the neck, and chased him down a chasm with a club.

31.5. säb	säb	wəlätahʷan	fäyya	ädäll	.
ስብ	ስብ	ወለታዢን	ፈያ	እዳል	
säb	säb	wəlätä -hʷan	fäyya	ädäl	=n
säb	säb	wəlätä -hʷan	fäyya	ädäbəl	=n
man	man	favor	his (3.m.sg.)	good	neg. of copula
a man	(to) a man	his favor		good	=be (copula)

A man does not treat his fellow man with good favor.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Though the meaning of *balä* is typically “to say,” in certain contexts it means “to hit.”

¹⁹⁷ This is a general statement, a proverb.

Paragraph 32.

32.1. gädäl

ገደል

gädäl

gädäl

chasm

(down the) chasm

säddädännäm

ሰዳዳናንም

säddädä =nn =əm

säddädä =nn =əm

chase =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) =circumstantial action

he chased him and

zanğärä gädäl yadərəyyän

ዘንጋሩ ገደል ውድረየያን

zanğärä gädäl yə- adər =əyyän

zanğär gädäl yə- addärä =əyyän

baboon chasm 3.m.sg.impf. spend the night =to

the baboon (to the) chasm that he might spend the night

yəmäṭaw .

ያመጥው

yə- mäṭa -w

yə- mäṭṭa -u

3.m.sg.impf. come 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

he came

He chased him down the chasm. Now the baboon came to the chasm to spend the night.

32.2. gʷäləmäm

, gʷäləmäm ,

ገልማም

ገልማም

gʷäləmäm

gʷäləmäm

gʷäləmäm balā

gʷäləmäm balā

stride (with prideful air)

stride (with prideful air)

(while he) strode

(while he) strode

gʷäləmäm tibəl		yəmäṭa gʷäy			
ገልጻም ተብል		ይመጥ ገይ			
tə=	yə-	gʷäləmäm bəl	yə-	mäṭa	gʷäy
tä=	yə-	gʷäləmäm balä	yə-	mäṭṭa	goy
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	stride (with prideful air)	3.m.sg.impf.	come	when
					when he came
məss	bäza wəšṭa	almotä	.		
ምኑ	በዚ ወ-ሽጣ እልምት				
məss	bäza wəšṭa	al-	motä		
məss	bäza wəšṭa	al-	motä		
man	there	within	neg-perf.	die	
the man	there	within	he did not die		

When the baboon came striding, striding, striding, (he noticed) the man had not died in there.

32.3. yoba gʷäy		zanğärä	məssi
የባ ገይ		ዘንጋረ	ምኑ
yə-	oba	gʷäy	zangärä
yə-	wäbba	goy	zangär
3.m.sg.impf.	go in	when	baboon
	when he went in	the baboon	man the
			the baboon the man
kʷattən		.	
ኩታን			
kʷa	=tt	=ən	
kʷa	=tt	=ən	
he (3.m.sg.)	=be (copula)	=be (copula)	
he it was			

When the baboon went into the chasm it was the man there.

32.4. " məssō

ምሳ	zi	wəšṭa	mən
məss -o	zi	wəšṭa	mən
<i>mass</i> -o	<i>zi</i>	<i>wəšṭa</i>	<i>mən</i>
man vocative marker	this	within	what?
o man	this	within	what

issägännähä

እስጋናኩ

issägä =nnähä	?
<i>issägä</i> =nnähä	
put =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	
put you	

"O man, what put you down here?

32.5. qunamay

ቁናማይ

quna may	
<i>quna</i> <i>may</i>	
one day	
one day	

atiddärkem

አተዳደርም

atiddär	-kä	=e
<i>atiddärä</i>	<i>-kä</i>	<i>=e</i>
make spend the night	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)

=m

=m

=resultative action

you let me spend the night

wəlätadä	zi	honä	, wäy ?"
ወለታደ	ዘ	ሁና	ወይ
wəläta -dä	zi	honä	wäy
wəläta -dä	zi	honä	wäy
favor your (2.m.sg.)	this	be	or
your favor	this	it was	or

One day you let me spend the night (at your house). That was your favor, wasn't it?"

Paragraph 33.

33.1. "	zəhom , zəhom , zəhom , zəhom konki	äfur				
ዘሮም	ዘሮም	ዘሮም	ዘሮም	ከንከ	እፈር	
zəhom	zəhom	zəhom	zəhom	kon	-ki	äfur
zihom	zihom	zihom	zihom	honä	-ki	äfwr
thus	thus	thus	thus	be	1.c.sg.perf.(main)	mouse
thus	thus	thus	thus	I was		the mouse
bərr	abewən	säb				
ብር	አበዎን	ብር				
bərr	ab =ew	=ən	säb			
bərr	abä =ew	=ən	säb			
Bərr (Ethiopian currency)	give =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)	=verb augment	man			
bərr	he gave me		the man			
tädähəm gʷäy	yaddäri	säb				
ተዳሬም ጥራይ	ያዳሪ	ብር				
tä=	dähəm	gʷäy	yä=	addär	-i	säb
tä=	dähəm	goy	yä=	addärä	-i	säb
with respect to=	you (2.m.pl.)	with	who=	spend the night	the man	
with you all				the who had spent the night	man	
zəhom	gädäl	issägewən	.			
ዘሮም	ገዳል	አስገዎን				
zəhom	gädäl	issäg	=ew	=ən		
zihom	gädäl	issägä	=ew	=ən		
in this way	chasm	put	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)	=verb augment		
in this way (down the)	chasm	he put me				

"Yes, yes, yes, yes, that was I. The mouse gave me some børr and that man, the man who spent the night with you all, is responsible for putting me down this chasm.

33.2. bäzi woqir	näw	."
በዘመን የቃርጥ	ነወ-	
bäzi wo-	qir	nä
bäzi wä-	qirrä	nä
here infinitive prefix	remain	be (copula)
here to remain	I am	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

I will have to remain here."¹⁹⁸

Paragraph 34.

34.1. " tətəqir			ädi
تَتَقِير			ädi
tə-	tə-	qir	ädi
<i>tə-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>qirrä</i>	<i>ädi</i>
neg-impf.(main)	2.m.sg.impf.	remain	I (1.c.sg.)
you shall not remain			I
awoṭaho			wəlätadä
أَوْتَحُو			وَلَاتَدَأْ
ä-	awoṭa	=ho	wəlätä -dä
<i>ä-</i>	<i>awäṭṭa</i>	<i>=əho</i>	<i>wəlätä</i> -dä
1.c.sg.impf.	bring out	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(main)	favor your (2.m.sg.)
I will bring you out			your favor
yädähä	maläqən	nähä	!
يَدَهَّ	مَلَاقِئْنَ	نَاهَّ	
yä= dähä	maläq =ən	nä	-hä
<i>yä= dähä</i>	<i>maläq</i> =ən	<i>nä</i>	<i>-kä</i>
of= you (2.m.sg.) big	=be (copula)	come! (impv.)	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)
of you	it was big	come	

"You shall not remain here. I will bring you out, because your kind favor was so big. Come!

¹⁹⁸ For this use of the copula following an infinitive see Ch. 4, §IX.1.6.1.

34.2.	yiz	wədinaddi	yiz	," baläm
	ይዝ	ወደናልዲ	ይዝ	ባልም
	yiz	wədina -ddi	yiz	balä =m
	yizzä	wədina -ddi	yizzä	balä =m
	grab	tail	my (1.c.sg.)	grab say =circumstantial action
	grab on	my tail	grab on	he said and
	anṭəlättäläm		bägädäl	awoṭṭam
	አንተለጻለም		በግዳል	አውጥታም
	anṭəlättälä	=m	bä=	gädäl awoṭṭa =m
	anṭəlättälä	=m	bä=	gädäl awoṭṭa =m
	swing	=circumstantial action	from=	chasm bring out =resultative action
	he swung (him) and		from the chasm	he brought (him) out

Grab on to my tail, grab on!" he said and, swinging him (by his tail), he brought him out of the chasm.

34.3.	" əläf močäädä	,"
	አላፍ ሙጋዳ	
	əläf močä -dä	
	alläfā močä -dä	
	go way your (2.m.sg.)	
	go your way	
	yəbəllət	
	ይ-በለት	
yə-	bəl	=nnət
yə-	balä	=nnət
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he said to him		

"Go your way," said the baboon to him.

34.4. alläfo

አለፍ

alläf	-o	močä	-h ^w an
<i>alläfā</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>močä</i>	<i>-h^wan</i>
go	3.m.sg.perf.(main)	way	his (3.m.sg.)
he went		his way	

So he went his way.

Paragraph 35.

35.1. močähwan

alläfo

tiyalf

ምጋዬን

አለፍ

ተያልፍ

močä	-h ^w an	alläf	-o	tə=	yə-	alf
<i>močä</i>	<i>-h^wan</i>	<i>alläfā</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>tä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfā</i>
way	his (3.m.sg.)	go	3.m.sg.perf.(main)	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	go
his way		he went		while going		

, tiyalf

, tiyalf

äbab

ተያልፍ

ተያልፍ

እባብ

tə=	yə-	alf	tə=	yə-	alf	äbab
<i>tä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfā</i>	<i>tä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfā</i>	<i>äbab</i>
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	go	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	go	snake

while going

the snake

yagäňňənnət

ያገናኝነት

yə- agäňň =ənnət

yə- agäňňä =nnət

3.m.sg.impf. meet =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he met him

He went his way, and when he had gone and gone and gone, he met the snake.

35.2. täbab	yəggəññəmun	zam
ተባብ	ይጋናንዬም	ዘማ
tä=	äbab	za
tä=	äbab	=m
with=	snake 3.m.pl.impf.	ta
with the snake	meet	=m
	3.m.pl.impf.(main)	that
	they met	as for
		as for that one

baläwəlätan	äbab	.
ባልዋለታን	እባብ	
baläwəläta	=n	äbab
baläwəläta	=ən	äbab
one who has received a favor	=be (copula)	snake
one who has received a favor it was		the snake

He met with the snake, and it was that snake who had received a favor (from him).

Paragraph 36.

36.1. " abe , bitti	täggaññənä	?
አበ	በቲ	ተጋናኑ
abe	bə=	yitti
abetu	bä=	yitti
sir	in=	where? meet
sir	where	have we met

"Ah sir, where have we met (before)?

36.2. ädinna	dähä	bitti
እዲና	ደሕ	በቲ
ädi	=nna	dähä
ädi	=ənna	dähä
I (1.c.sg.)	=and	you (2.m.sg.)
I and	you	in= where?

lägganä ?

†^{ᳪ᳨ᳮ}

lägganä	-enä
<i>tägənañña</i>	<i>-nä</i>
meet	1.c.pl.perf.(subord.)
have we met	

Where have you and I met (before)?

36.3. ayyi

ᳪ

ayyi

ayye

expression of disbelief

oh my

wäläta näbbärən

ወልታ ነበርን

wäläta näbbär

wäläta näbbärä

favor

a favor

be

it was

arätt

አረት

arätt

arätt

=verb augment

four

(with a group of) four

honkum

ሁክም

hon -ku

honä -k^w

be 1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)

I was and

=m

=m

=circumstantial action

addärkum

አዳርም

addär -ku

addärä -k^w

spend the night 1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)

I spent the night

=m

=m

=resultative action

tädähä g^wäy

"

ተደኩ ጥያ

tä= dähä g^wäy

tä= dähä goy

with respect to= you (2.m.sg.) with

with you

yəbəllət

ይ-በለት

yə- bəl =nnət

yə- *balä* =nnət

3.m.sg.impf. say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

Oh my, yes, it was a favor (you showed). I was with a group of four and I stayed at your place," said the snake to the man.

36.4. " mən wəläta ?

ምኑ ወለታ

mən wəläta

mən wəläta

what? token of gratitude

what a token of gratitude

"What was the token of gratitude (that we gave you)?"

36.5. alnäbärä ?"

አልነበራ

al- näbärä

al- näbbärä

neg-perf. be

it was not

There wasn't one, was there?"

Paragraph 37.

37.1. " yi zəhom zəhom äfur bərr

የ ንግግ ንግግ ፍቃር ጥር

yi zəhom zəhom äfur bərr

ye zihom zihom äfʷər bərr

yes thus thus mouse Bərr (Ethiopian currency)

yes thus thus the mouse bərr

abem			, za	säb
አበም			ዘ	ሰብ
ab	=e	=m	za	säb
abä	=e	=m	za	säb
give	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action	that man	
he gave me and			that man	
gädäl	issägem			,
ገደል	እስገም			
gädäl	issäg	=e	=m	
gädäl	issägä	=e	=m	
chasm	put	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action	
(down the) chasm	he put me and			
zanğärä	bägädäl			
ዘንግዥ	ባይሳል			
zanğärä	bä=	gädäl		
zanğär	bä=	gädäl		
baboon	from=	chasm		
the baboon	from the chasm			
awoṭṭayem			ahu	əzger
አወጥታይም			አሁ	አዝገር
awoṭṭa	=ye	=m	ahu	əzger
awäṭṭa	=e	=m	ahu	əzger
bring out	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action	now God	
he brought me out and			now God	
geddi	bagäbbaye			
ገዲ	ባጋቢያ			
ge	-ddi	bä= agäbba	=ye	
ge	-ddi	bä= agäbba	=e	
house	my (1.c.sg.)	if= cause to enter	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	
my house		if He will let me enter		
geddi	näw		"	
ገዲ	ናው			
ge	-ddi	nä	=äw	
ge	-ddi	nä	=ew	
house	my (1.c.sg.)	be (copula)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)	
(to) my house		I am		

yəbəllət

ይብልት

yə- bəl =nnət

yə- balä =nnət

3.m.sg.impf. say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

The man replied, "Oh yes, yes, (there was); the mouse gave me some bərr,
that man chased me down a chasm, the baboon brought me up from the
chasm, and now, if God let's me make it home, I am going home."

Paragraph 38.

38.1. "	aqqəs , aqqəs , aqqəs bəzi	wägän yädängänñä bayy
አቃስ	አቃስ	ወጪ
aqqəs	aqqəs	aqqəs bä= zi wägän yä= dängänñä bayy
<i>iqqäsä</i>	<i>iqqäsä</i>	<i>iqqäsä bä= zi wägän yä= dängänñä bayy</i>
wait	wait	wait in= this place of= rich child
wait	wait	wait in this place of a rich man the child
yämässä	yäzañä	attəsəl
የሙሽያን	የዘኅና	አትሽል
yä= mässä	yä= zañä	al- tə- šəl
<i>yä= mässä</i>	<i>yä= zañä</i>	<i>al- tə- šalä</i>
that= become evening	that= become morning	neg-perf. 3.f.sg.impf. know
that it has become evening	that it has become morning	who does not know
yädängänñä	bayy	yinätti
የደንግኙን	በይ	የነት
yä= dängänñä bayy	yinä -ätt	-i
<i>yä= dängänñä bayy</i>	<i>yinä -ät</i>	<i>-i</i>
of= rich child	be (exist) 3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	the
of the rich man	the child	the who is
təborrəqi		färäskom
ተቦርቅ		ፈረስክም
tə- borraq	-i	färäs =kom
<i>tə- bʷarräqä</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>färäz =kom</i>
3.f.sg.impf.	bound (leap)	horse like
she leaps	3.f.sg.impf.(main)	like a horse

yəzzättəm		ädi
ይዝትም		እዲ
yəzz -ätt	=əm	ädi
yizzä -ät	=əm	ädi
be like 3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	I (1.c.sg.)
she is like		I

änädəffatən

እንዳታን

ä-	nädəf	=nnat	=ən
ä-	<i>näddäfā</i>	=nnat	=ən
1.c.sg.impf.	bite (of a snake)	=her (3.f.sg.obj.)(main)	=verb augment
I shall bite her			

"Wait, wait, wait! In this place there is a rich man's daughter who does not know the difference between night and day; when she jumps she is like a horse; I myself shall bite her.

38.2. zi yizəm	tətägam gʷäy	zi
ዘ. የዘም	ተጠጋም ገይ	ዘ.
zi yiz =əm tə-	täga =m	gʷäy zi
zi yizzä =əm tə-	tägga =m	goy zi
this take =and 2.m.sg.impf.	approach =circumstantial action	when this
this take and	when you approach	this

mädanit yämärəz	mädanit (yädi	mädanitən)
መዳኑት የማርዥ	መዳኑት የየ	መዳኑትን	
mädanit yä= märəz	mädanit yä= ädi	mädanit =ən	
mädanit yä= märəz	mädanit yä= ädi	mädanit =ən	
medicine of= venom	medicine of= I (1.c.sg.)	medicine =be (copula)	
medicine (anti)venom	medicine my	medicine it is	

tafoyyənnat

ታፍኝኑ

tə-	afoyy	=ənnat
tə-	<i>afoyyä</i>	=nnat
2.m.sg.impf.	heal	=her (3.f.sg.obj.)(main)
you will heal her		

**Take this and, when you approach, with this medine (an antivenom
medicine, my medicine) you will heal her.**

38.3. bækʷa	folä yäsäbočči	quna bayy	
ብ	ፋለ የሰበቸ	ቁና በያ	
bä= kʷa	folä yä= sáb	-očč -i quna bayy	
bä= kʷa	fʷälä yä= sáb	-očč -i quna bayy	
from= he (3.m.sg.)	after of= people (collective)	pl the one child	
from that	after of the people	one child	
ädäll	yellänäm		
እል	የለናም		
ädäl	=n	yellä	
ädäbəl	=n	yellä	
neg. of copula	=be (copula)	neg. of existence	
it is not		they do not have	
kiya	tagäbaw	,	
ክያ	ታገባው		
kiya	tə-	agäba	-w
kʷa	tə-	agäbba	-u
she (3.f.sg.)	2.m.sg.impf.	marry	2.m.sg.impf. (main)
her		you will marry	
təworsu		bäzi	
ትወርሱ		ብዕ	
tə-	wors	-u	bäzi
tə-	wärräšä	-u	bäzi
2.m.sg.impf.	inherit	2.m.sg.impf. (main)	here
you will inherit			here
təddəladdäləm			
ትዳላድልአም			
tə-	ddəladdäl	=əm	
tə-	tädəladdälä	=əm	
2.m.sg.impf.	be well settled	=circumstantial action	
you will be well settled and			

tənäbru

ትናብሩ

tə-	näbr	-u
tə-	<i>näbbärä</i>	-u
2.m.sg.impf.	live	2.m.sg.impf. (main)

you will live

After that, the people do not have any other child. You will marry her, get an inheritance, settle down in this place, and live (happily).

38.4. yädähä

የደኩ	ወልታ	ዝተን	,
yä= dähä	wäläta	zi =ttə	=n
yä= <i>dähä</i>	<i>wäläta</i>	<i>zi</i> = <i>tt</i>	= <i>n</i>
of= you (2.m.sg.)	token of gratitude	this =be (copula)	=be (copula)
your	a token of gratitude	it is this	

ädi äkäfəkko

እዲ	አካፍቻ	〃	ባለም	.
ädi	ä-	käfəl	=ko	balä =m
ädi	ä-	<i>käffälä</i>	= <i>ko</i>	<i>balä</i> = <i>m</i>
I (1.c.sg.)	1.c.sg.impf.	pay	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)	say =resultative action
I	I shall pay you			he said

This is the token of gratitude for you, I shall pay you (back)," he said.

38.5. mädanit

መዳኑት

mädanit

mädanit

medicine

the medicine

atizzännäm			äbab
አተዘኝም			እባብ
atizzä	=nn	=əm	äbab
<i>atizzä</i>	=nn	=əm	<i>äbab</i>
cause s.o. to take	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action	snake
he caused him to take and			the snake
tägʷättätäm		gäbbam	
ትግዻተማም		ገብባም	
tägʷättätä	=m	gäbba	=m
<i>tägʷättätä</i>	=m	<i>gäbba</i>	=m
crawl	=circumstantial action	enter	=circumstantial action
crawled and		he entered and	
yäbayy		täfənaṭṭär	
የይይ		ትፈናጥር	
yä=	bayy	tə=	tə-
<i>yä=</i>	<i>bayy</i>	<i>tä=</i>	<i>tä-</i>
direct object marker=	child	while=	3.f.sg.impf.
the child (acc.)		while she sprang back	spring back

čäqq yabəlu

ሙቅ የበለ

yə-	čäqq abəl	-u
yə-	<i>čäqq abalä</i>	-u
3.m.sg.impf.	stick (with something sharp)	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
he stuck (her)		

The snake made him take the medicine, entered (the girl's house) crawling, and while the girl sprang back he stuck her (with his fangs).

38.6. awäyyatt

አወያት

awäyya	-ätt
<i>awäyyä</i>	<i>-ät</i>
shout	3.f.sg.perf.(subord.)
she shouted	

She shouted.

38.7. bayyi	yinäfannat	käräbohom	.
በያ	የንፋፍት	ከራቦሁም	
bayy -i yi-	näfa =nnat	käräbo =hom	
bayy -i yə-	näffa =nnat	käräbo =hom	
child the 3.m.sg.impf.	puff up =her (3.f.sg.obj.)(main)	drum =like	
the child it puffed her up			like a drum

The child puffed up like a drum.

38.8. məss	tägʷättätäm	sällam	
መስ	ተገዢታታም	ሰላም	
məss	tägʷättätä =m	sälla =m	
məss	tägʷättätä =m	sälla =m	
man	lag behind =circumstantial action	arrive =circumstantial action	
the man	lagged behind and	he arrived and	
" ädi	afoyyənnat	zi bayy mən woräta	
አዲ	አቶይናት	ዘ በያ ሙን ወርደታ	
ädi	ä- afoyy =ənnat	zi bayy mən woräta	
ädi	ä- afoyyä =nnat	zi bayy mən woräta	
I (1.c.sg.)	1.c.sg.impf. heal	=her (3.f.sg.obj.)(main) this child what? reward	
I	I shall heal her	this child what reward	
yəkäfələñňu	,		
ይከፍልໆ			
yə-	käfəl =əñňu		
yə-	käffälä =əñň		
3.m.sg.impf.	pay =me (1.c.sg.obj.)		
will he pay me			
yəblu	.		
ይብሉ			
yə-	bl -u		
yə-	balä -u		
3.m.sg.impf.	say 3.m.sg.impf. (main)		
he said			

The man, lagging behind, arrived and said, "I myself shall heal this child, but what reward will I get?"

Paragraph 39.

39.1. "	abe	yämötä	mən	tafoyyu	?
	አበ	የማዕታ	ምን	ታፋይ	
	abe	yä=	motä	mən tə-	afoyy -u
	<i>abetu</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>motä</i>	<i>mən tə-</i>	<i>afoyyä</i> -u
	sir	who=	die	how 2.m.sg.impf.	heal 2.m.sg.impf. (main)
	sir	who has died	how	will you heal	

"Sir, how will you heal one who has died?

39.2. arissa tafoyyələno

dähä

አራሳ	ታፋይለኖ	ደሬ
arissa	tə-	afoyy el= =əno
<i>arissa</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>afoyyä lä= =äno</i>
corpse	2.m.sg.impf.	heal for= =us (1.c.pl.obj.)(main) you (2.m.sg.)
		corpse will you heal for us you

arissana ."

አራሳ

arissa	=n	=a
<i>arissa</i>	<i>=n</i>	<i>=a</i>
corpse	=be (copula)	=her (3.f.sg.obj.)
she is a corpse		

Will you yourself heal a corpse, because she is a corpse!"

Paragraph 40.

40.1. " ädi afoyyənnat

አዲ አፋይናት

ädi	ä-	afoyy	=ənnat
<i>ädi</i>	<i>ä-</i>	<i>afoyyä</i>	<i>=nnat</i>
I (1.c.sg.)	1.c.sg.impf.	heal	=her (3.f.sg.obj.)(main)
I		I shall heal her	

gəddellädähəm¹⁹⁹ ."

ገደልዳහመ

gəddellä -dähəm

gəddellä -*dähəm*

carefree your (2.m.pl.)

do not worry

"I shall heal her, don't worry."

Paragraph 41.

41.1. "	arissa	bafoyyähä	əñña
	አርሳ	ባፋዮይહä	አና
	arissa	bä= afoyyä -hä	əñña
	<i>arissa</i>	<i>bä= afoyyä -hä</i>	<i>əñña</i>
	corpse	if= heal 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)	we (1.c.pl.)
	the corpse	if you heal	we
nəbrätəñña		bämulä yaläkiya	bayy yellä
ንብራትና		በሙላ የለኪያ	ባይ የለ
nəbrät	-əñña	bämulä yalä kiya	bayy yellä
<i>nəbrät</i>	<i>-əñña</i>	<i>bämulä</i> <i>yalä</i> <i>kiya</i>	<i>bayy</i> <i>yellä</i>
property	our (1.c.pl.)	entirely apart from she (3.f.sg.)	child neg. of existence
our property		entirely apart from her	a child there is not
torsu		kiyam	
ተርሱ		ከያም	
tə-	ors	-u	kiya =m
<i>tə-</i>	<i>wärräsä</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>k'ä</i> =m
2.m.sg.impf.	inherit	2.m.sg.impf. (main)	she (3.f.sg.) also
you shall inherit			she also
tagäbaw		,	"
ታገበው			
tə-	agäba	-w	
<i>tə-</i>	<i>agäbba</i>	<i>-u</i>	
2.m.sg.impf.	marry	2.m.sg.impf. (main)	
you will marry			

¹⁹⁹ *Gəddellä* is a contraction of *gədd* “obligation/concern” and *yellä* there is not.

yəblut

ይብሉት

yə-	bl	-u	=t
yə-	<i>balä</i>	-u	=t
3.m.sg.impf.	say	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main) he said to him

The man said to him, "If you heal this corpse, as for our part, you shall inherit all our property (we have no other child apart from her), and you shall also marry her."

Paragraph 42.

42.1. "	bäy	namuň	,"	baläm
	በ	ናሙኒ		ባላም
	bäy	namu	=ň	balä =m
	<i>bäy</i>	<i>nam</i>	=ňň	<i>balä</i> =m
	all right	give! (impv.)	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)	say =circumstantial action
	all right	give me		he said and
	qətäqqätäm		iga	čəmammäqäm
	ቁጥቅወም		ለ	ቁጥቅወም
	qətäqqätä	=m	iga	čəmammäqä =m
	<i>qətäqqätä</i>	=m	<i>iga</i>	<i>čəmammäqä</i> =m
	pulverize	=circumstantial action	water	squeeze =circumstantial action
	he pulverized (the medicine) and	(into) water	he squeezed it and	

yasäčənnat

ያሳቻናት

yə-	asäč	=ənnat
yə-	<i>asäččä</i>	=nnat
3.m.sg.impf.	give to drink	=her (3.f.sg.obj.)(main) he made her drink it

"Alright, give it to me," he said and, having pulverized the medicine and mixed it with water, he gave it to the girl to drink.

42.2. bayy	yinkí	täkäftí	.
በ	የንክ	ትከፍተ	
bayy	yin -ki	tə- käft -i	
bayy	yin -ki	tə- käffätä -i	
child	eye her (3.f.sg.)	3.f.sg.impf.	open 3.f.sg.impf.(main)
the child	her eyes	she opened	

The child opened her eyes.

42.3. yänäffanna	bämulä
የንፋና	በሙላ
yä= näffa =nna	bämulä
yä= näffa =nna	bämulä
that= puff up =her (3.f.sg.obj.)(subord.) entirely	entirely
that (swelling) that had puffed her up	entirely

ঁওয় যেবলু

ঁওয়	যেবলু
yə-	ঁওয় bl -u
yə-	ঁওয় balä -u
3.m.sg.impf.	deflate 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
it deflated	

(**yalfu**).

যালফ
yə-
alf -u
yə-
alläfä -u
3.m.sg.impf.
go away 3.m.sg.impf. (main)
it went away

The swelling that had puffed her up went down (i.e.: it went away).

42.4. zam	məss yäza	bayy
ዛማ	መስ የዕ	በ
za =m məss yä=		za bayy
za =m məss yä=		za bayy
that =as for man direct object marker=	that child	
as for that man that (acc.)	girl	

agäbbam	bäza	gäyyät za nəbrät
አንጻ	ባ	ገያት እ ጽጋጥ
agäbba =m	bä= za	gäyyät za nəbrät
agäbba =m	bä= za	gäyyät za nəbrät
marry =circumstantial action	in=	that hamlet that property
he married and	in that	hamlet that property
worräsäm	qʷami	honäm
ወረዳም	ቁማ	ሁናም
worräsä =m	qʷami	honä =m
wärräsä =m	qʷami	honä =m
inherit =circumstantial action	permanent become	=circumstantial action
he inherited and	permanent he became	and
tonnaw	äbəkko	!
ቶናው	እብክ	
tonna -w	ä-	bəl =ko
tonna -o	ä-	balä =ko
live 3.m.sg.perf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.	say =you (2.m.sg.obj.)
he lived	I say to you	

As for that man, he married that girl, inherited the property in that hamlet, and became a permanent resident there, let me tell you!

13. Yäqoläçänna yäfur tarik (bäbu'i)

“The Story of the Frog and the Mouse” (Bu'i, session 3; Nov. 28, 2009; speakers: 1) Awwäqä Daññe; 2) Daniel Eressa)

Paragraph 1.

1.1.1) əssi quna yäkəstaniňña	tärätən
አስ්	ተራት
əssi quna yä= kəstaniňña	tärät =ən
əssi quna yä= kəstanəňňā	tärät =ən
okay a of= Kəstanəňňā (language)	story =be (copula)
okay a of Kəstanəňňā	a story it is

äwdähä

ጀወዳዻ

ä-	äwd	=ähä
ä-	wädä	=nnähä
1.c.sg.impf.	tell	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)
that I shall tell you		

1) Okay, so it is a Kestanəñña story that I shall tell you.

1.2. qoläčänna äfur " qunayyän²⁰⁰ mamär

ቁለጭና	አፋር	ቁኝን	ማማር
qoläčä	=nna	äfur	qunayyän
qoläčä	=ənna	äfʷər	qunayyän
frog	=and	mouse	together
a frog		a mouse	together
nəsəč ²⁰¹		,	

ንሰም

nə-	səč
nə-	säččä
1.c.pl.impf.	attend (a mamär)
let us attend	

baləmum

?unayyän mamär

ባልሙም	ቁኝን	ማማር
bal -əmu	=m	?unayyän mamär
balä -əm	=m	qunayyän mamär
say 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action	together monthly gathering
they said and		together a mamär

yəsäčəmun

.

ይሰም

yə-	säč	-əmun
yə-	säččä	-əmun
3.m.pl.impf.	attend (a mamär)	3.m.pl.impf.(main)
they attended		

²⁰⁰ The adverb *qunayyän* comes from *quna* “one” and the postposition *-yyän* “to/towards.” V. Ch. 4, §XI.2.

²⁰¹ *Mamär wosäč* “to attend a mamär” means literally “to drink a mamär.” This is because there is always drinking at a mamär, though that is not the sole purpose of attending.

A frog and a mouse said, "Let us attend a mamär together!" So they attended a mamär together.

1.3. mägämmäriya tära yäfur	ge	näbbär .
መጀመሪያ ተራ የፋር	ገ	ናበር
mägämmäriya tära yä= äfur	ge	näbbär
<i>mägämmäriya tära yä= äfʷer</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>näbbärä</i>
first turn of= mouse	house	be
the first turn (at) of the mouse	the house	it was

The first turn (for hosting the meeting) was at the mouse's house.

1.4. qoläčä yinäbər	biga wəštan	;
ቆለቻ ይነበር	ቢጋ ወሻታን	
qoläčä yi-	näbər	bə= iga wəšta =n
<i>qoläčä yə-</i>	<i>näbbärä</i>	<i>bä= iga wəšta =n</i>
frog 3.m.sg.impf.	live	in= water within =be (copula)
the frog that he lived		within the water it was
äfurəmma	bämədər lalän	(bäyäbs)
እኔርማ	በምድር ሌላን	በየሰሳ
äfur =əmma	bä= mədər	lalä =n
<i>äfʷer =m</i>	<i>bä= mədər</i>	<i>lalä =n</i>
mouse =as for	on= land	upon =be (copula) on= dry land
as for the mouse	upon the land	it was on dry land
yənäbər	ənna bätärahʷan mäsärät	
ይነበር	እና በተረኞን መሰረት	
yə-	näbər	=ənna bä= yä= tära -hʷan
<i>yə-</i>	<i>näbbärä</i>	<i>=ənna bä= yä= tära -hʷan</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	live	=and on= of= turn his (3.m.sg.) basis
he lived	and	on the basis of his turn
äfur	diggäsäm gəze	
እኔር	ዲግጋስም ግዴ	
äfur	diggäsä	=m
<i>äfʷer</i>	<i>diggäsä</i>	<i>=m</i>
mouse	prepare a feast	=circumstantial action when
the mouse	when he prepared the feast	

ẗärrannət

ሙኑት

ẗärra =nnət

tärra =nnət

invite =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he invited him (and)

የዕቡሉተን²⁰²

ይ-በለትን

yə-	bl	-u	=t	=ən
-----	----	----	----	-----

yə-	<i>balä</i>	-u	=t	=ən
-----	-------------	----	----	-----

3.m.sg.impf.	say	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)	=verb augment
one says it				

.

The frog lived in the water, while the mouse lived on land (on dry ground). Because it was his turn, when the mouse prepared the feast, he invited the frog; so they say.

1.5. yalfəm

ያለፍም

yə-	alf	=əm	bä=	yä=	äfur	ge
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------	----

yə-	<i>alläfä</i>	=əm	<i>bä=</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>äfʷär</i>	<i>ge</i>
-----	---------------	-----	------------	------------	--------------	-----------

3.m.sg.impf.	go	=circumstantial action	in=	of=	mouse	house
he went and			in of the mouse		the house	

mabär

የሰራጋም ገዢ

ማብር

ይ-ሰራጋም ገዢ

mabär	yə-	säč	=əm	gəze
-------	-----	-----	-----	------

<i>mamär</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>säččä</i>	=əm	<i>gize</i>
--------------	------------	--------------	-----	-------------

monthly gathering	3.m.sg.impf.	attend (a mamär)	=circumstantial action	when
the mamär		when he attended		

²⁰² On the use of *yəblutən* in stories see Ch. 4, §XV.2.

yəgäbaw

ይግበው

yə-	gäba	-w
yə-	gäbba	-u
3.m.sg.impf.	enter	3.m.sg.imperf.(main)
he entered		

(tägehʷanəyyän

qoläčä

ተኩኝያን

ቆለጂ

tä=	ge	-hʷan	=əyyän	qoläčä
tä=	ge	-hʷan	=əyyän	qoläčä
with respect to=	house	his (3.m.sg.)	=to	frog
to his house				the frog

wobälən

) əndägänamma

tära

yäqoläčä

ወበልን

አንዳገናማ

ተራ

የቆለጂ

wo-	bäl	=ən	əndägäna	=mma	tära	yä=	qoläčä
wä-	balä	=n	əndägäna	=m	tära	yä=	qoläčä
infinitive prefix	say	=be (copula)	again	=and	turn	of=	frog
to say it is			and again			the turn	of the frog

yəhonu

.

ይሁኑ

yə-	hon	-u
yə-	honä	-u
3.m.sg.impf.	become	3.m.sg.impf. (main)

it became

When he went and attended the mamär at the mouse's house (that is to say, the frog went to his house), again it became the frog's turn (to host).

1.6. ahu qoläčä yənäbər

አሁ ቁለጂ የነበር

ahu	qoläčä	yə-	näbər	bä=	yiga	wəšta	səlä=	honä
ahu	qoläčä	yə-	näbbärä	bä=	iga	wəšta	səlä=	honä
now	frog	3.m.sg.impf.	live	in=	water	within	because=	be
now	the frog	that he lived				within the water		because it was

bäyiga wəšta

በይጋ ወሻታ

በይጋ ወሻታ

ስልሬኞች

bäyiga	wəšta	səlähonä
በይጋ	ወሻታ	ስልሬኞች
in=	water	within because=

äfur	za	mamär	yəsäčəyyän
äfur	za	mamär	yə- säč =əyyän
äfur	za	mamär	yə- säč =əyyän
äfur	za	mamär	yə- säč =əyyän
mouse	that	monthly gathering	3.m.sg.impf.
the mouse	that	mamär	attend (a mamär) =to that he might attend
yäqoläčä	ge	yalfəgʷäy	yigan
yä=	qoläčä	ge	yə- alfə gʷäy yiga =n =ənna
yä=	qoläčä	ge	yə- alläfä goy igä =n =ənna
of=	frog	house	3.m.sg.impf. go when water =be (copula) =and
of the frog	the house	when he went	(in) the water it was and
"gəba	, märo		," balännət (märi
gəba	märi	-o	balä =nnət märi
gäbba	märi	-o	balä =nnət märi
enter	friend	vocative marker	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main) friend
enter	o friend		he said to him friend
wobäl		yäləbb	bəṭe wobälən
wo-	bäl	yä= ləbb	bəṭe wo- bäl =ən
wä-	balä	yä= ləbb	bəṭe wä- balä =n
infinitive prefix	say	of= heart	infinitive prefix mean =be (copula)
to say		friend	of the heart a friend to mean it is
bäkəstaniňña).
ñ			
bä=	kəstaniňña		
bä=	kəstanəňña		
in=	Kəstanəňña (language)		
in Kəstanəňña			

Now, because the frog lived in the water, when the mouse went to the frog's house to attend the mamär, it was in the water, and the frog said to him, "Come in, friend (märi)!" (to say "friend" (märi) in Kəstanəňña is to say one's dear companion).

1.7. የንና ሳልዕዝ ፍጤዎን

አና	ስለዘ	የባውን		
=ንና	säläzi	yə-	oba	-w
=ንና	säläzi	yə-	wäbba	-u
=and	therefore	3.m.sg.impf.	go in	3.m.sg.impf. (main)
and	therefore		he went in	=verb augment

äfuri .

፩፭፮

äfur -i
äfʷər -i
 mouse the
 the mouse

And so the mouse went in the water.

1.8. äfuri täyigi wəšṭayyän

" gəba gəba

ግብር ጥናጥናን

äfur	-i	tä=	yiga	-i	wəšṭa	=yyän	gəba	gəba
<i>äfʷər</i>	-i	<i>tä=</i>	<i>iɣa</i>	-i	<i>wəšṭa</i>	=yyän	<i>gäbba</i>	<i>gäbba</i>
mouse	the	with respect to=	water	the	within	=to	enter	enter
the mouse		into the water					enter	enter

yädi

geddi

zi

wəšṭanəss

,"

የዲ

ዘዲ

ዘ

ወ-ጥንን

yä=	ädi	ge	-ddi	zi	wəšṭa	=n	=əss
<i>yä=</i>	<i>ädi</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>-ddi</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>wəšṭa</i>	<i>=n</i>	<i>=s</i>
of=	I (1.c.sg.)	house	my (1.c.sg.)	this	within	=be (copula)	=indeed
my		my house		this	within	it is indeed	

yəbəllətən

.

ይ-በልትን

yə-	bəl	=nnət	=ən
yə-	<i>balä</i>	=nnət	=ən
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	=verb augment
he said to him			

As the mouse entered the water the frog said to him, "Come in, come in, my house is within."

Paragraph 2.

2.1. " ärä mənkom ,," tibəl

እ	ማንከም	ትብል
ärä	mənkom	tə= yə- bəl
ärä	mənkom	tä= yə- balä
why!	how?	while= 3.m.sg.impf. say
why	how	while he was saying

" ä	gəba	
እ	ግብ	
ä	gəba	
ä	gäbba	
yeah (interjection of agreement)	enter	
yeah	enter	
gəddellänähä	ädi änäbər	
ገደዳለኝ	እዲ ኋናበር	
gəddellä nä	=ähä	ädi ä- näbər
gəddellä nä	=ähä	ädi ä- näbbärä
carefree be (copula)	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	I (1.c.sg.) 1.c.sg.impf. live
you are carefree		I that I live
bäzittən	," balännət	.
ቢዘትን	ባለንኩ	
bä= zi =tt	=ən	balä =nnət
bä= zi =tt	=n	balä =nnət
in= this =be (copula)	=be (copula)	say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
in this (place) it is		he said to him

When the mouse said, "How can I?" the frog replied, "Just come on in, don't be afraid; this is where I live."

2.2. ənna äfuri yoba gʷäy

እና	አፈር	የባ ገይ
=ənna äfur	-i yə-	oba gʷäy
=ənna äfʷər	-i yə-	wäbba goy
=and mouse	the 3.m.sg.impf.	go in when
and the mouse	when he went in	

በዕቅታል

በዕቅታል

bəqətəlləq

bəqətəlləq abalä

cause to go up and down

it caused him to go up and down

በዕቅታል አበላንነም

በዕቅታል አበላንነም

bəqətəlləq abälä =nn =əm

bəqətəlləq abalä =nn =əm

cause to go up and down =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) =circumstantial action

it caused him to go up and down

yiga wəšta yobam **məqay**

ይጋውሻጣ የባም

yiga wəšta yə- oba =m məqay

iga wəšta yə- wäbba =m məqay

water within 3.m.sg.impf. go in =circumstantial action something

within the water he entered and something

yəbəl gʷäy yəčänəqə gʷäy **qoläči**

ይበል ገብ የፋኩ ገብ **ቆላች**

yə- bəl gʷäy yə- čänəqə gʷäy qoläčä -i

yə- balä goy yə- čänäqä goy qoläčä -i

3.m.sg.impf. say when 3.m.sg.impf. suffocate when frog the

when he said when he was suffocating the frog

ayyäm gʷäy " märo

አያም ገብ **መር**

ayyä =m gʷäy märi -o

azzä =m goy märi -o

see =circumstantial action when friend vocative marker

when he saw o friend

mənnähä quna wəlim

ምንኩ **ቁና ወለም**

mən nä =ähä quna wəli =m

mən nä =nnähä quna wəli =m

how be (copula) =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) one tälla beer =even

how are you one tälla beer even

tattəsäčə

ՃՆՈՑ

tä= al- tə- säčə

tä= al- tə- säččä

with= neg-impf.(subord.) 2.m.sg.impf. drink
without that you drink

säkkärkä , wäy " balännət

ՃԿՇ ԹԵՇ

säkkär -kä wäy balä =nnət

säkkärä -kä wäy balä =nnət

become drunk 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) or say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
you have become drunk or he said to him

yəblutən

ՅՈՒԴՆ

yə- bl -u =t =ən

yə- balä -u =t =ən

3.m.sg.impf. say 3.m.sg.impf. (main) =him (3.m.sg.obj.main) =verb augment
one says

.

And when the mouse went in, the water caused him to go up and down, up and down. And when he entered the water and tried to say something and started suffocating, the frog saw him and said, "O friend, what is happening to you? Without having even one tälla beer you have gotten drunk?" So they say.

Paragraph 3.

3.1. 2) wəli wobäl mən

ԹԵԼ ԹՈԼ ԹԵՆ

wəli wo- bäl mən

wəli wä- balä mən

tälla beer infinitive prefix say what?

tälla beer to say what

wobälən

?

ƿ0ðə?

wo- bäl =ən

wä- balä =ən

infinitive prefix mean =be (copula)

to mean it is

2) What does it mean to say "wəli"?

Paragraph 4.

4.1. 1) tälla .

ma

tälla

tälla

tälla (a kind of beer)

tälla

1) It is tälla.

14. Kitt säbočč bämōčä (bäbu?i)

“Two Men on a Road” (Bu'i, session 4; Nov. 28, 2009; speaker: Awwäqä Daňñe)

Paragraph 1.

1.1. qunamma tärät nädəbələlkä

:

ቁናማ ተረት ካድብልእክ

quna =mma tärät nä- dəbəl əl= =kä

quna =m tärät nä- däbbälä lä= =kä

one =also story 1.c.sg.juss. add for= =you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)

one also story let me add for you

kittə säbočč qunayyän močä yalfəmun

ከተ ሰብቻ ቁናንን ጥጋጌ የለፈመን

kittə säb -očč qunayyän močä yə- alf -əmun

kit sāb -očč qunayyän močä yə- alläfā -əmun

two man pl together road 3.m.pl.impf. go 3.m.pl.impf.(main)

two men together (on the) road they were going

.

Let me add another story for you: two men were going together on the road.

1.2. močä

ምር

močä

močä

road

(on the) road

tiyalfäm ənnallä

ተያለፍም አናለ

ti= yə- alf -əm ənnə= yä=

tä= yə- *alläfä* -əm ənnə= yä=

with respect to= 3.m.pl.impf. go 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.) while= that=

allä

allä

be (of existence)

while they were going

kittämkennäm färäs čanəmum

ከትምከናም **ፈረስ** **ችንሙም**

kittäm -kennäm färäs čan -əmu =m

kit -kənnäm färäz čanä -əm =m

both their (3.m.pl.) horse saddle 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.) =circumstantial action

both of them horses they saddled and

yalfämun

.

የልፍሙን

yə- alf -əmun

yə- *alläfä* -əmun

3.m.pl.impf. go 3.m.pl.impf.(main)

they went

The two of them went along the road, having saddled their horses and gone.

1.3. zaňňät

bägehənnäm

မြန်

zaňňät	bä=	ge	-hənnäm
<i>zaňňät</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>-kənnäm</i>
early morning	from=	house	their (3.m.pl.)
(in the) early morning	from	their houses	

woťtamum

ရောက်-စွာ

woťta	-mu	=m
<i>wäťta</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>=m</i>
leave	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
they left and		

yalfəm

moči

ရလောက်

yə-	alf	-əm	močä	-i
<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfä</i>	<i>-əm</i>	<i>močä</i>	<i>-i</i>
3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	road	the
they went			the road	

yaləqəlämkom

ရလာဖူးစွာဟွာ

yə-	aləq	əl=	=äm	=kom
<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläqä</i>	<i>lä=</i>	<i>=nnäm</i>	<i>=kom</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	be used up	for=	=them (3.m.pl.obj.)(subord.)	=that
so that it might be used up for them				

" čäwata

amṭa

" balännət

atti

.

အော်များ

ဘုရားမှ

ထဲ

čäwata

amṭa

balä =nnət

att -i

čäwata

amäṭta

balä =nnət

at -i

conversation bring

say

=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

one the

conversation bring

he said to him

the one

They set out from their houses early in the morning and went. So that they might pass the time the one said to the other, "Pull out some conversation."

Paragraph 2.

2.1.	"	amṭa	dähä	,	"	balännət	.
		አምጥ	ደሕ			ባለንኑት	
		amṭa	dähä		balä	=nnət	
		amäṭṭa	dähä		balä	=nnət	
		bring	you (2.m.sg.)		say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	
		bring	you		he said to him		

"You bring out some conversation yourself," replied the other one.

Paragraph 3.

3.1.	attim	"	dähä	amṭa	"	balännət	.
	አተምዥ		ደሕ	አምጥ		ባለንኑት	
	att	-i	=m	dähä	amṭa	balä	=nnət
	at	-i	=m	dähä	amäṭṭa	balä	=nnət
	one	the	=and	you (2.m.sg.)	bring	say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
	and the one			you	bring	he said to him	

And the first one said to him, "No, you bring out some conversation yourself."

Paragraph 4.

4.1.	kahom	tibələm				maläs	
	ከሁም	ተብልም				ማለስ	
	kahom	tə=	yə-	bəl	-əm	maläs	
	kahom	tä=	yə-	balä	-əm	maläs	
	like that	while=	3.m.pl.impf.	say	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	a little	
	like that	while	they were talking			a little	
	alläfəmum	gʷäy				yäfolä atti	
	አለፍመም	ገይ				የይለ	አተ
	alläf	-əmu		=m		gʷäy	yäfolä att -i
	alläfä	-əm		=m		goy	yäfolä at -i
	go	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)		=circumstantial action	when then	one the	
	when they had gone					then the one	

təzz balännəm gʷäy**ትኩ ባለንም ጽጋይ**

təzz balä	=nn	=əm	gʷäy
təzz balä(nn)	=nn	=əm	goy
remember	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=circumstantial action	when
when he remembered			

kittəm kənnäm bäfäräs

kittəm	-kənnäm	bä=	färäs
kit	-kənnäm	bä=	färäz
both	their (3.m.pl.)	on=	horse
both of them		on	horses

tonnänum**ቶንኖም**

tonnä	-mu	=m
tonna	-m	=m
ride (an equid)	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
they rode and		

" aqqätäläle

"

አቃጥል

aqqätäl		=e
atqiqätälä		=e
cause to ride behind o.s. on the same horse	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.)	
let me sit behind you on your horse		

balännət atti .**ባለንት አጥ**

balä	=nnət	att	-i
balä	=nnət	at	-i
say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	one	the
he said to him		the one	

When they had gone on talking like that for a little while, the one remembered that both of them were riding on horses and said to the other, "Let me sit behind you on your horse."

təbəlew ,"

ተብለው

tə- bəl =ew

tə- *balä* =ew

2.m.sg.impf. say =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)
you say to me

balännətən

ባልናትን

balä =nnət =ən

balä =nnət =ən

say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main) =verb augment
he said to him

You are riding on a horse, and I am riding on a horse. Why do you say to me, 'Let me sit behind you on your horse'?" he said to him.

Paragraph 6.

6.1. " ay , bissäbkäbo

አይ በስራከቦ

ay bə= issäb -kä b= =o

ay *bä= issäbä -kä* *bä= äw*

why! if= think 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) about= =him (3.m.sg.obj.)
why! if you think about it

taqqiṭṭəlew ,"

ታችጥለው

tə- aqqiṭṭəl =ew

tə- *atqiṭṭälä* =ew

2.m.sg.impf. cause to ride behind o.s. on the same horse =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)
you can let me sit behind you on your horse

balännət

ባልናት

balä =nnət

balä =nnət

say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

"Well, if you think about it you can let me sit behind you on your horse," he said to him.

Paragraph 7.

7.1. " mənkom ?"

ምንከም

mənkom

mənkom

why?

why?

"Why?"

Paragraph 8.

8.1. " taqqiṭṭəlew

ታችጥለው

tə- aqqiṭṭəl

tə- *atqiqṭälä*

2.m.sg.impf. cause to ride behind o.s. on the same horse

you can let me sit behind you on your horse

=ew

,

=ew

=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

you can let me sit behind you on your horse

taqqiṭṭəlew

,

ታችጥለው

tə- aqqiṭṭəl

=ew

tə- *atqiqṭälä*

=ew

2.m.sg.impf. cause to ride behind o.s. on the same horse

=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)

you can let me sit behind you on your horse

bäqqa haqqən , " balännət .

በቁ የቁን በለንተ

bäqqa haqq =ən balä =nnət

bäqqa *haqq* =ən *balä* =nnət

be enough truth =be (copula) say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

it is enough it is the truth he said to him

"You can let me sit behind you, you can let me sit behind you! It is just the truth!" he said to him.

Paragraph 9.

9.1. " ärä bafəşşum ."

እራ በፋሽሁም

ärä bafəşşum

ärä bafəşşum

why! never

why never

"Why, never!"

Paragraph 10.

10.1. ahu tikkərakkärəm

,

አሁ ተክራክኩርም

ahu tə= yə- kkərakkär -əm

ahu tə= yə- tákərakkärä -əm

now while= 3.m.pl.impf. argue 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)

now while they argued

tikkərakkärəm

,

ተክራክኩርም

tə= yə- kkərakkär -əm

tə= yə- tákərakkärä -əm

while= 3.m.pl.impf. argue 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)

while they argued

tikkərakkärəm

za yäbalämuya

ዘ የባለሙያ

tə= yə- kkərakkär -əm za yä= balämuya

tə= yə- tákərakkärä -əm za yä= balämʷəya

while= 3.m.pl.impf. argue 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.) that of= skillful

while they argued that of the skillful man

agär	yəsälämuyyän		za	täräti
አር	ይሰለሙያን		ዘ	ተረት
agär	yə-	sälä	-mu	=yyän za tärät -i
agär	yə-	sälla	-əm	=yyän za tärät -i
country	3.m.pl.impf.	reach	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	=to that story the
the country	that they might reach			that the story
yäqärräsi	məss " ay			
የቋረሉ	ምስ እያ			
yä=	qärräsä	-i	məss	ay
yä=	qärräsä	-i	məss	ay
who=	begin	the man	why!	
the who had begun	man	why!		
ləkkənähä			, dähäm	
ልክኑኩ			ደክም	
ləkk	=ən		=ähä	
ləkk	=n		=nnähä	
correct	=be (copula)	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	you (2.m.sg.)	=as for
you are correct				as for you
bäfäräs	tonnaham			,
በፈራስ	ቶናහም			
bä=	färäs tonna	-ha		=m
bä=	färäz tonna	-kä		=m
on=	horse ride (an equid)	2.m.sg.perf.(subord.)		=resultative action
on a horse	you ride			
ädim	bäfäräs			
እዲም	በፈራስ			
ädi	=m	bä= färäs		
ädi	=m	bä= färäz		
I (1.c.sg.)	=too	on= horse		
I too		on a horse		
tonnahum			; bääqqa	,
ቶናሁም			በቋ	
tonna	-hu		bääqqa	
tonna	-kʷ		bääqqa	
ride (an equid)	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=resultative action	be enough	
I ride			it is enough	

ädim	yädähä		
እዲም	የዳሕ		
ädi	=m	yä=	dähä
ädi	=m	yä=	dähä
I (1.c.sg.)	=as for	direct object marker=	you (2.m.sg.)
as for me		you (acc.)	

waqqätäl

ዋቂጥል

wä-	aqqätäl			
wä-	<i>atqitälä</i>			
infinitive prefix		cause to ride behind o.s. on the same horse		
to let ride behind me on my horse				

täčäl			; dähäm
--------------	--	--	----------------

ተቻል			ደሕም
tə-	ä-	čäl	dähä
tə-	ä-	čälä	dähä
neg-impf.(main)	1.c.sg.impf.	be able	you (2.m.sg.)
I am not able			=as for as for you

yädi

የዳ

yä=	ädi		
yä=	ädi		
direct object marker=	I (1.c.sg.)		
me (acc.)			

waqqätäl

ዋቂጥል

wä-	aqqätäl		
wä-	<i>atqitälä</i>		
infinitive prefix		cause to ride behind o.s. on the same horse	
to let ride behind you on your horse			

tətäčäl			; kahom
----------------	--	--	----------------

ተተቻል			ከሸም
tə-	tə-	čäl	kahom
tə-	tə-	čälä	<i>kahom</i>
neg-impf.(main)	2.m.sg.impf.	be able	thus
you are not able			thus

yäbakkukä		moči
የበከሬ		ምርጫ
yä= bal -ku	=kä	močä -i
yä= <i>balä</i> - <i>kʷ</i>	= <i>kä</i>	<i>močä</i> - <i>i</i>
that= say 1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	=you (2.m.sg.obj.subord.)	road the
that I said to you		the road
yalqəlänäyyänən		,
ያልቅለኝንን		
yə- alq əlä= =nä =yyän =ən		
yə- <i>alläqä</i> <i>lä</i> = = <i>nä</i> = <i>yyän</i> = <i>ən</i>		
3.m.sg.impf. be used up for= =us (1.c.pl.obj.)	=to	=be (copula)
it is that it would be used up for us		
balännət	.	
ባልናት		
balä =nnət		
<i>balä</i> = <i>nnət</i>		
say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)		
he said to him		

Now, while they argued and argued and argued, the man who had begun the story so that they might (occupy their time) getting to the skillful man's country said, "You are correct: you yourself ride on a horse, and I myself ride on a horse. Okay then. I myself am unable to let you ride on the back of my horse, and you yourself are unable to let me ride on the back of your horse. Thus, that which I have said was to make the journey shorter for us."

10.2. "	moči	yalqəlänäyyänən
ምርጫ		ያልቅለኝንን
močä -i	yə-	alq əlä= =nä =yyän =ən
<i>močä</i> - <i>i</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläqä</i> <i>lä</i> = <i>nä</i> = <i>yyän</i> = <i>n</i>
road the	3.m.sg.impf.	be used up for= for= =to =be (copula)
the road		it is that it would be used up for us

," balännət

ብለንት

balä =nnət

balä =nnət

say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

He said to him, "It was to make the journey shorter for us."

Paragraph 11.

11.1. ahu za yäbalämuyi	gäyyät sällämun	,
አሁ ዘ ፍባላም-ያ	ገየት ሰላም-	
ahu za yä= balämuya -i	gäyyät sällä -mun	
ahu za yä= balämʷaya -i	gäyyät sälla -mun	
now that of= skillful	the hamlet arrive	3.m.pl.perf.(main)
now that of the skillful man	hamlet they arrived	
guddaykennäm	bäfişşäməm gʷäy	
ጊዳይከናም	በፊሽሬም ጉይ	
gudday -kennäm	bä= yä= fişşäm -əm	gʷäy
gudday -kennäm	bä= yä= fişşämä -əm	goy
business their (3.m.pl.) in=	that= complete	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.) time
their business	when they completed	
yəzzibbärəm gʷäyəmmatt		
ይዘብብር ጉይማት		
yə- zzibbär -əm	gʷäy =əmma =tt	
yə- təzibbärä -əm	goy =m =tt	
3.m.pl.impf. return	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.) when	=as for =be (copula)
it was when they were returning		
atti tärahʷan	" nawdähä "	"
አት ተራහʷን	ናውዳහ	
att -i tära -hʷan	nä- awd =ähä	
at -i tära -hʷan	nä- wädä =nnähä	
one the turn his (3.m.sg.)	1.c.sg.juss. tell =you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	
the one his turn (it was and)	let me tell you	

balännət	; tärät .
ባለንት	ተረት
balä =nnət	tärät
balä =nnət	tärät
say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	story
he said to him	a story

Now they reached that hamlet of the skillful man and, when they completed their business, it happened that while they were returning the one whose turn it was said, "Let me tell you a story."

11.2. zan	yätärahʷan	mägämmäriya
ዛ	የተራሕን	መጀመሪያ
za =n	yä= tära -hʷan	mägämmäriya
za =n	yä= tära -hʷan	mägämmäriya
that =be (copula) of= turn his (3.m.sg.) beginning		
that it was of his turn		the beginning

yalodi	.
ያሎዲ	
yä= al-	odä -i
yä= al-	wädä -i
who= neg-perf. tell the	
the who had not told (a story)	

It was the beginning of the turn for the one who had not told a story.

11.3. ənna

እና
=ənna
=ənna
=and
and

tiyalfəm ənnallä

ተያለፍም አናላ

ti=	yə-	alf	-əm	ənnə=	yä=
tä=	yə-	alläfä	-əm	ənnə=	yä=
with respect to=	3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	while=	that=

allä

allä

be (of existence)

while they were going

bähamlen

.

በአምለን

bä=	hamle	=n
bä=	<i>hamle</i>	=n
in=	Hamle (Ethiopian month)	=be (copula)
in Hamle it was		

And it was in the month of Hamle²⁰³ that they were going.

²⁰³ The Ethiopian month of *Hamle* is from July 8 – Aug. 6, during the rainy season.

11.4. ahu yalfəm

močä

አሁ የልፍም

የልፍ

ahu	yə-	alf	-əm
ahu	yə-	alläfä	-əm
now	3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
now	they were going		road (on) the road

močä

močä

močä

(on) the road

yalfəm

የልፍም

yə-	alf	-əm
yə-	alläfä	-əm
3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
they were going		

bähamlen

በአምለን

bä=	hamle	=n
bä=	hamle	=n
in=	Hamle (Ethiopian month)	=be (copula)
in Hamle it was		

čäbärən²⁰⁴ , zənab yellä .

መብረት ብሔን

čäbär	=ən	zənab	yellä
čäbär	=n	zənab	yellä
sun	=be (copula)	rain	neg. of existence
sun(ny) it was		rain	there was not

Now, they were going on the road in the month of Hamle; it was sunny, and there was no rain.²⁰⁵

11.5. kʷamay məssi təfi

ኩማይ ሙስዴ ተፈ

kʷa	may	məss	-i	təfi
kʷa	may	məss	-i	təfi
that	day	man	the	ṭef (millet-like grain)
that day		the man		ṭef

²⁰⁴ Čäbär is one Kəstanəňña word for sun. Another is imər.

²⁰⁵ No rain in Hamle is unusual, being that this is the rainy season.

yoqaw		; bämōčä	.
የቁዎ			
yə-	oqa	-w	bä= močä
yə-	wäqqä	-u	bä= močä
3.m.sg.impf.	thresh	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	on= road
he was threshing			on the road

On that day a man was threshing tef on the road.

11.6. ahu atti	tärahwan	" yäkʷa	mən "
አሁ አተ			
ahu	att	-i	tära -hwan
ahu	at	-i	tära -hwan
now one	the turn	his (3.m.sg.)	of= that what?
now the one	his turn (it was and)		of that what

yibələm

የበልም			
yi-	bəl	=əm	
yə-	balä	=əm	
3.m.sg.impf.	say	=circumstantial action	
he said and			

yışällət

የሽልት			
yi-	şšäl	=nnət	
yə-	täšilä	=nnət	
3.m.sg.impf.	ask	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	
he asked him			

Now it was the other's turn and he asked his friend saying, "Why is he doing that?"²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ The time for threshing tef would have been earlier, during the dry season.

Paragraph 12.

12.1. "	zi	tafi	yəftən	
	ዘ	ተፋ	ይፍትና	
	zi	tafi	yəft	=ən
	zi	täfi	yift	=n
	this	tef (millet-like grain)	before	=be (copula)
	this	tef	it was before	

yäwoqqannənna	ahoňňətt
የወቃናኝ	አሁንት
yä= woqqa =nn	=ənna ahoňň =ətt
yä= wäqqa =nn	=ənna ahoňň =tt
that= thresh =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=and today =be (copula)
that he threshed it and	today it is

yoqann			
የቁን			
yə-	oqa	=nn	
yə-	<i>wäqqäa</i>	=nn	
3.m.sg.impf.	thresh	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	
that he threshes it			

balännət	
ባለንት	
balä	=nnət
<i>balä</i>	<i>=nnət</i>
say	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
he said to him	

He said to him, "He threshed this tef before, and today he is threshing it (again)."

Paragraph 13.

13.1. " ähä

၁၅

ähää

ähäk

so

so then

tətaž ənnallä						ahoň
ትታሽ አናለ						አሁን
tə=	tə-	až	ənnə=	yä=	allä	ahoň
tä=	tə-	azzä	ənnə=	yä=	allä	ahoň
with respect to=	2.m.sg.impf.	look	while=	that=	be (of existence)	today
while you are looking						today
bora	tiyakid ənnallä					
ቦራ	ትያክיד አናለ					
bora	ti=	yə-	akid	ənnə=	allä	
bora	tä=	yə-	akedä	ənnə=	allä	
ox	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	thresh (with oxen)	while=	be (of existence)	
(with an) ox	while he is threshing					
mənkom əft	woqqannət					
መንኮም አፍት ወቃንት						
mənkom	əft	woqqa	=nnət			
<i>mənkom</i>	<i>yift</i>	<i>wäqqa</i>	<i>=nnət</i>			
why?	before	thresh	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)			
why	before	did he thresh				
təbəlew				zə	ahoň	
ትብለው				ዘል	አሁን	
tə-	bəl	=ew		zə	ahoň	
tə-	balä	=ew		zə	ahoň	
2.m.sg.impf.	say	=me (1.c.sg.obj.)(main)	thus today			
you say to me			thus today			
ädäll	yoqann					,
እዳል	የቅን					
ädäl	=n	yə-	oqa	=nn		
ädäbəl	=n	yə-	wäqqa	=nn		
neg. of copula	=be (copula)	3.m.sg.impf.	thresh	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)		
it is not		that he is threshing it				
balo	.					
ባሎ						
bal	-o					
balä	-o					
say	3.m.sg.perf.(main)					
he said						

He said, "So then, while you see that though he is threshing today with his ox, you ask me, 'Why did he thresh before?' Thus it is not the case that he is threshing today."

Paragraph 14.

14.1.	" ay yellä	zi Ბafi	ahoňň
	አይ የለ	ዘ ተፈ	አሁን
	ay yellä	zi Ბafi	ahoňň
	ay yellä	zi Ბafi	ahomň
	why! neg. of existence	this Ბef (millet-like grain)	today
	why! there is not	this Ბef	today
ädäll		yəwoqo	
እዳል		gəwə	
ädäl	=n	yə-	woqa =o
ädäbəl	=n	yə-	wäqqa =äw
neg. of copula	=be (copula)	3.m.sg.impf.	strike =him (3.m.sg.obj.)
it is not		that he threshes it	
iqqäsäm			
እቃስም			
iqqäsä	=m		
iqqäsä	=m		
wait	=circumstantial action		
he waited and			
bäwoqqannən			,
በወቅናን			
bä=	yä=	woqqa =nn	=ən
bä=	yä=	wäqqa =nn	=ən
when=	that=	thresh =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=be (copula)
it was	when he threshed it		
balo	.		
ባሎ			
bal	-o		
balä	-o		
say	3.m.sg.perf.(main)		
he said			

"Why, there is no Ქef there! This is not Ქef that he is threshing today. He waited to thresh," he said.

Paragraph 15.

15.1. " mənkom ?"

ምኑከም

mənkom

mənkom

why?

why

"Why?"

Paragraph 16.

16.1. bäzi	tikkərakkärəm	
በት	ተከራክሮ	
bä= zi	tə= yə-	kkərakkär -əm
bä= zi	tä= yə-	täkərakkärä -əm
about= this	while= 3.m.pl.impf.	argue 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
about this (matter)	while they argued	
, tikkərakkärəm		za yəftəgʷäy
ተከራክሮ		ዘ ይፍተኛለ
tə= yə-	kkərakkär -əm	za yəftə gʷäy
tä= yə-	täkərakkärä -əm	za yift goy
while= 3.m.pl.impf.	argue 3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	that before when
while they argued		that when before
färäsihom	čə	
ፈረስዎም	ቻ	
färäs -i =hom	čə	
färäz -i =hom	čə	
horse the =according to only		
according to the horses only		

tikkərakkärəm			za
ተክደ-ከርም			ዘ
tə= yə-	kkərakkär	-əm	za
tä= yə-	täkərakkärä	-əm	za
while= 3.m.pl.impf.	argue	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	that
while they argued			that
yännässämuboyi			
የኩስሙ-በያ			
yä= nnässä -mu	b= =o		-yi
yä= tänässa -m	bä= =äw		-i
that= depart 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	from= =him (3.m.sg.obj.)		the
the that they had departed from it			
yäraskənnäm	gayyät yisäläm		
የራሳኝም	ገጥ የሰላም		
yä= ras -kənnäm	gayyät yi-	sälä	-m
yä= ras -kənnäm	gayyät yə-	sälla	-əm
of= self their (3.m.pl.)	hamlet 3.m.pl.impf.	arrive	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
of their own	hamlet	that they arrived	
worat ahu yəlləyayyəm			worat " ay
ዋጌ አሁ ይልሬም			ዋጌ አይ
worat ahu yə-	lləyayy	=əm	worat ay
wärat ahu yə-	täläyayyä	=əm	wärat ay
time now 3.m.sg.impf.	differ	=circumstantial action	time why!
time now that differed			time why!
ləkkənähä		ṭafi	gən
ልክናኩ		ṭafi	gən
ləkk =ən	=äħä	ṭafi	gən
ləkk =ən	=nnähä	ṭafi	gən
correct =be (copula)	=you (2.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	secretary	but
you are correct		the tef	but
yoqannən			
የቃንን			
yə-	oqa	=nn	=ən
yə-	wäqqa	=nn	=ən
3.m.sg.impf.	thresh	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	=be (copula)
that he threshes it it is			

(yakid) ahoňňəttən		gən
የአዲስ		አሁንኔትን		ግኝ
yə-	akid	ahoňň	=ətt	=ən
yə-	akedä	ahoňň	=tt	=ən
3.m.sg.impf.	thresh (with oxen)	today	=be (copula)	=be (copula) but
	that he threshes with an ox	today it is		but

mägämmäriya taddägäbom

መጀመሪያ	ታደግበም		
mägämmäriya	taddägä	b=	=o
mägämmäriya	taddägä	bä=	=äw
first	borrow	on=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
first			=resultative action
	he borrowed (depending)	on it	

bərr , " balännət

ብር		ባለንኩ	
bərr		balä	=nnət
bərr		balä	=nnət
Bərr (Ethiopian currency)	say		=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)
bərr		he said to him	

yəblutən

ይብሉትን			
yə-	bl	-u	=t
yə-	balä	-u	=t
3.m.sg.impf.	say	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	=him (3.m.sg.obj.main)
one says			=verb augment

.

While they argued and argued about this matter, when they arrived at their own hamlet from which they had set out - only now it was a different time - he said to him, "Why, you are correct. It is ቴef, but he is threshing it today. However, first he borrowed bərr depending on it."²⁰⁷ So they say.

²⁰⁷ The final explanation for the farmer threshing tef so late is that he did not thresh it during the normal season, having relied on money he borrowed in advance for the tef he would eventually thresh.

15. Sost säbočč (bäbu?i)

“Three Men” (Bu'i, session 5; Nov. 28, 2009; speakers: 1) Azmač Kätäma Gällan; 2) Daniel Eressa)

Paragraph 1.

1.1. 1) Sostə	säbočč	bəltə	näm	.
սՈՒՐ	ՌՈՒՇ	ՌՈՒՐ	ՆՐՊ	
sostə	säb	-očč	bəltə	nä =äm
sost	säb	-očč	bəlt	nä =äm
three	man	pl	clever	be (copula) them (3.m.pl.obj.)
three	men		clever	they were

1) There were three clever men.

Paragraph 2.

2.1. 2) sostəmkənnäm		?
սՈՒՐԹՈՒՆՐՊ		
sost	=əm	-kənnäm
sost	=əm	-kənnäm
three	=as for	their (3.m.pl.)
three	of them	

2) Three of them?

Paragraph 3.

3.1. 1) ye	, nəgd	alläfəmun	.
բ	ՆԵԳ	ԱԼՖԵՄՈՒՆ	
ye	nəgd	alläf	-əmun
ye	nəgd	alläfä	-mun
yes	business	go away	3.m.pl.perf.(main)
yes	(on) business	they went away	

1) Yes. They went away on business.

3.2. atti	qəmmus	yizzäm	
አት	ቁሙስ	የዘምድ	
att	-i qəmmus	yizzä =m	
at	-i <i>qəmmus</i>	<i>yizzä</i> =m	
one	the bread made from the ensete with grain flour	take =resultative action	
the one	qəmmus	he took	
, atti	arṭ yizzäm	, atti	amäd
አት	አርጥ የዘምድ	አት	አመድ
att	-i arṭ yizzä =m	att	-i amäd
at	-i <i>arṭ yizzä</i> =m	at	-i <i>amäd</i>
one	the flour take =resultative action	one	the ashes
the one	flour he took	the one	ashes
yizzäm	.		
		የዘምድ	
yizzä	=m		
<i>yizzä</i>	=m		
take	=resultative action		
he took			

One took along qəmmus bread, another took along flour, and another took along ashes.

3.3. ädäll		, atti	afär yizzäm	,
እደል		አት	አደል የዘምድ	
ädäl	=n	att	-i afär yizzä =m	
<i>ädäbəl</i>	=n	at	-i <i>afär yizzä</i> =m	
neg. of copula	=be (copula)	one	the dirt take =resultative action	
that is not it		the one	dirt he took	
atti	... afär yizzäm	, atti	amäd	
አት	አደል የዘምድ	አት	አመድ	
att	-i afär yizzä =m	att	-i amäd	
at	-i <i>afär yizzä</i> =m	at	-i <i>amäd</i>	
one	the dirt take =resultative action	one	the ashes	
the one	dirt he took	the one	ashes	

yizzäm	, atti	qəmmus
የዘም	አት	ቅዱሙስ
yizzä =m	att	-i qəmmus
yizzä =m	at	-i qəmmus
take =resultative action	one	the bread made from the ensete with grain flour
he took	the one	qəmmus
yizzäm	.	
የዘም		
yizzä =m		
yizzä =m		
take =resultative action		
he took		

That's not it...the one took along dirt, the one...(yeah) he took along dirt, the other took along ashes, and the other took along qəmmus bread.

3.4. močä	alläfəmun	.
ሞቃ	አላፍመን	
močä	alläf	-əmun
močä	alläfä	-mun
way	go	3.m.pl.perf.(main)
(on the) road	they went	

They went on the road.

3.5. yädähäni	yebəlo	,
የዳሕና	የበላው	
yä= dähä	-ni ye-	bəla =o
yä= dähä	-i ye-	bälla =äw
of= you (2.m.sg.)	the 3.m.sg.juss.	eat =him (3.m.sg.obj.)
what is yours	let one eat it	

yädähäni

የዳሕኒ

yä=	dähä	-ni	ye-	bəla	=o
yä=	dähä	-i	ye-	bälla	=äw
of=	you (2.m.sg.)	the	3.m.sg.juss.	eat	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
what is yours		let one eat it			

yädähäni

የዳሕኒ

yä=	dähä	-ni	ye-	bəla	=o
yä=	dähä	-i	ye-	bälla	=äw
of=	you (2.m.sg.)	the	3.m.sg.juss.	eat	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)
what is yours		let one eat it			

tibələm

ተብልም

tə=	yə-	bəl	-əm
tä=	yə-	balä	-əm
while=	3.m.pl.impf.	say	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)
while they were saying			

tom waləmum

ትወልም ቅልሙም

tom wal	-əmu	=m
tom walä	-əm	=m
spend the day without eating	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
they spent the day without eating and		

mäššäbämum

ማሽሻበም

mäššä	bä=	=ämu	=m
mäššä	bä=	=nnämun	=m
become evening	against=	=them (3.m.pl.obj.)(main)	=resultative action
it became evening to their disadvantage			

When they had spent the day without eating, saying, "Let your stuff be eaten, let your stuff be eaten, let your stuff be eaten,"²⁰⁸ it became evening.

²⁰⁸ Each of the three merchants wanted to eat, but none of them was willing to share what he had.

3.6. yefolä yiga	wogän sällämun	.
የፍለ የጋ	ወጋን ሰላማሙን	
yefolä yiga	wogän sällä -mun	
<i>yäfolä iga</i>	<i>wägän sälla -mun</i>	
then water	place arrive 3.m.pl.perf.(main)	
then (of) water	a place they arrived	

Then they arrived at a place of water.

Paragraph 4.

4.1. yiga	wogän	sällämum	"
የጋ	ወጋን	ሰላማሙን	
yiga	wogän	sällä -mu	=m
<i>iga</i>	<i>wägän</i>	<i>sälla -m</i>	=m
water	place	arrive 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	=circumstantial action
(of) water	(at the) place	they arrived and	
ዹርቃዬ	" baläm	amädi	
አቶ	ባልም	አመዲ	
ዹርቃዬ	balä =m	amäd -i	
ዹርቃዬ	balä =m	amäd -i	
come on!	say =circumstantial action	ashes the	
come on!	one said and	the ashes	
fattannə gʷäy		" wäyy	,
ፈተና ጥይ		ወይ	
fätta =nnə		gʷäy wäyy	
<i>fätta</i> =nn		<i>goy</i> <i>wäyy</i>	
untie	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	when woe (cry of dismay)	
when he untied it		woe	
fälfälä	bayyočč	amäd	
ፈልፈላ	ባይዮች	አመዲ	
fälfälä	bayy -očč amäd		
<i>fälfälä</i>	<i>bayy -očč amäd</i>		
little (insignificant)	child pl	ashes	
(those) little	children	the ashes	

issägəmubom ,"

እስጋመብዴ

issäg	-əmu	b=	=o	=m
<i>issägä</i>	<i>-əm</i>	<i>bä=</i>	<i>=äw</i>	<i>=m</i>
add	3.m.pl.perf.(subord.)	to=	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	=resultative action
they have added to it				

balo

ባሎ

bal	-o
<i>balä</i>	<i>-o</i>
say	3.m.sg.perf.(main)
he said	

When they had arrived at the place of water, one said, "Come on!" and when he untied the (bag of) ashes he said, "Woe, those little children have added ashes!"²⁰⁹

4.2. " yädähänimma ?"

የደክኬማ

yä=	dähä	-ni	=mma
<i>yä=</i>	<i>dähä</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>=m</i>
of=	you (2.m.sg.)	the	=as for
as for what is yours			

"How about yours?"

Paragraph 5.

5.1. yəfəto gʷäy		" väyy	za
ይፍተ ጥያ		ወይ	ዘ
yə-	fəta	=o	gʷäy
<i>yə-</i>	<i>fätta</i>	<i>=äw</i>	<i>goy</i>
3.m.sg.impf.	untie	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)	while
while one was untying it			woe (cry of dismay)
			those
		woe	those

²⁰⁹ That is, he is acting as though he had brought food, but children put ashes in it; though ashes were all he brought.

bayyočč afär

ባይኑ አፈር

bayy -očč afär

bayy -očč afär

child pl dirt

children dirt

issägəmubom

እስጋግሙበዴ

issäg -əmu b= =o =m

issägä -əm bä= =äw =m

add 3.m.pl.perf.(subord.) to= =him (3.m.sg.obj.) =resultative action

they have added to it

yädini " baläm

የዳን ብላም

yä= ädi -ni balä =m

yä= ädi -i balä =m

of= I (1.c.sg.) the say =resultative action

what is mine he said

When the next one opened his he said, "Woe, those children have added dirt to mine!"

5.2. za zi gʷäy

ዘ **ዝ** **ገዢ**

za zi gʷäy

za zi goy

that this time

that one this time

algäbannən

አልጋባንን

al- gäba =nn =ən

al- gäbba =nn =ən

neg-perf. understand (used impersonally) =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) =verb augment

he did not understand

; za	ker ²¹⁰	guns	yizzi		
h	hC	r'ññ	gH		
za	ker	guns	yə=	yizzä	-i
za	ker	guns	yä=	yizzä	-i
that	good	bread	who=	take	the
that one	good	bread	the who had taken		

At this time the one who had taken along the good bread did not understand.

Paragraph 6.

6.1. 2) qəmmus	yizzi	?
ቅዱስ ካ	የዘዴ	
qəmmus	yə=	yizzä -i
<i>qəmmus</i>	<i>yä=</i>	<i>yizzä -i</i>
bread made from the ensete with grain flour	who=	take the
qəmmus	the who had taken	

2) The one who had taken along qəmmus?

Paragraph 7.

7.1. 1) " bÄy , nähäm		bahu
በእ	ኋኩም	በሁ
bÄy	nä	-häm
<i>bÄy</i>	<i>nä</i>	<i>-kəmu</i>
all right	come! (impv.)	2.m.pl.perf.(subord.)
all right	come	in= now

guddaydähəm

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gudday -dähəm

guddy -dähəm

business your (2.m.pl.)

your business

²¹⁰ *Ker* is a loanword from Arabic (خير).

šakkubəkəmum

ሻክብርከም

šal	-ku	bə=	=kəmu	=m
šalä	-k ^w	bä=	=kəm	=m
know	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)	against=	=you (2.m.pl.obj.)	=circumstantial action
I know to your detriment				

yiga	wogän	nəfka	, "	baläm
ይጋ	ወጋን	ናፍካ		ባለም
yiga	wogän	nə-	fka	balä =m
iga	wägän	nə-	fäkka	balä =m
water	place	1.c.pl.juss.	go	say =circumstantial action
(of) water	(to) the place	let us go		he said and

qəmmusi

ቅሙስ

qəmmus	-i
qəmmus	-i
bread made from the ensete with grain flour	the
the qəmmus	

abällännämun

አበላኝሙን

abällä	=nnämun
abälla	=nnämun
give to eat	=them (3.m.pl.obj.)(main)
he gave them to eat	

"All right, come, I know your business; let us go to the place of water," he said and gave them the qəmmus to eat.

Paragraph 8.

8.1. 2) tärät bäqqa ?

ትራት	በቅ
tärät	bäqqa
tärät	bäqqa
story	be enough
the story	it is enough

2) Is that the end of the story?

Paragraph 9.

9.1. 1) ... qəmmus

ቁዱስ፡

qəmmus

qəmmus

bread made from the ensete with grain flour

qəmmus

abällännämun

አበላናሙን

abällä =nnämun

abälla =*nnämun*

give to eat =them (3.m.pl.obj.)(main)

he gave them to eat

1) ...he gave them qəmmus to eat.

9.2. leamma

: ahu aččər

tägälləf

bämočä

ለላማ

አሁ አቻር

ተጋልፈ

ባሞቃ

lela =mma

ahu aččər

tä=

gälləf

bä= močä

lela =*m*

ahu aččər

tä=

gälləf

bä= močä

another =also

now short

with=

tall on= road

another also

now a short man with a tall man on the road

yalfəmun

.

ያለፈሙን

yə- alf -əmun

yə- *alläfä* -*əmun*

3.m.pl.impf. go 3.m.pl.impf.(main)

they were going

Here's another one: Now, a short man and a tall man were going on the road.²¹¹

²¹¹ For this same story as told by another see, above pp. 195-200.

9.3. bämöčä

ብምራ

bä= močä

bä= močä

on= road

on the road

tiyalfäm ənnallä

ተያልፍም አናለ

ti=	yə-	alf	-əm	ənnə=	yä=
<i>tä=</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfä</i>	<i>-əm</i>	<i>ənnə=</i>	<i>yä=</i>
with respect to=	3.m.pl.impf.	go	3.m.pl.impf.(subord.)	while=	that=

allä

allä

be (of existence)

while they were going

gällifi yalfu

, aččəri

ገልፈ የልቻ

ከበድ

gällef	-i	yə-	alf	-u	aččər	-i
<i>gällef</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>alläfä</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>aččər</i>	<i>-i</i>
tall	the	3.m.sg.impf.	go	3.m.sg.impf. (main)	short	the
the tall one	he was going				the short one	

tisälabo

ተስላቦ

tə= yə- säla b= =o

tä= yə- sälla bä= =äw

while= 3.m.sg.impf. reach to= =him (3.m.sg.obj.)

while he was reaching him

yeroṭu

.

የሬጥ

yə- rot -u

yə- rotä -u

3.m.sg.impf. run 3.m.sg.impf. (main)

he was running

While they were going down the road the tall one was walking, but the short one was running to keep up with him.

9.4. tiroṭ

, tiro?

tiroṭ		tiro?			
tə=	yə-	roṭ	tə=	yə-	ro?
tä=	yə-	roṭä	tä=	yə-	roṭä
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	run	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	run
	while he was running			while he was running	

tiro?

, tiroṭ

tiro?		tiroṭ			
tə=	yə-	ro?	tə=	yə-	roṭ
tä=	yə-	roṭä	tä=	yə-	roṭä
while=	3.m.sg.impf.	run	while=	3.m.sg.impf.	run
	while he was running			while he was running	

mässäm

qäni .

mañg

phi

mässä	=m	qänä	-i
mässä	=m	qänä	-i
become evening	=resultative action	day	the
it became evening		the day	

While he was running and running and running and running the day set into evening.

9.5. " nähä

guwä

nä

phi

nä -hä

guwä

nä -kä

gowä

come! (impv.) 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) guy (vocative)

come guy

mässäm

äruṭ ,"

mañg

phi

mässä =m

ä- ruṭ

mässä =m

ä- roṭä

become evening =circumstantial action 1.c.sg.impf. run

it has become evening and I shall run

balännət**ባልናት**

balä =nnət

balä =nnət

say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)

he said to him

"Come on, guy!" said the tall man. "It has become evening, so I will run."**Paragraph 10.****10.1. " ähä dähä****አኩ ዲኩ**

ähä dähä

ähäk dähä

so you (2.m.sg.)

so then you

altəzəbabärkäm**አልተዘበባብርኩም**

al- təzəbabär -kä =m

al- täzəbabärä -kä =m

neg-perf. go back and forth 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) =circumstantial action
you did not go back and forth and**aläyyəhe****aldäbäl****አልያዥ****aldäbäl**

al- äyyə -hä =e aldäbäl

al- azzä -kä =e aldäbäl

neg-perf. see 2.m.sg.perf.(subord.) =me (1.c.sg.obj.)(subord.) however
you did not see me however**ädi täroṭənnəss****እዲ ተሮጥንና**

ädi tä= ä- roṭ =ənn =əss

ädi tä= ä- roṭä =nn =s

I (1.c.sg.) while= 1.c.sg.impf. run =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.) =indeed
I running it indeed

yäwakku		,"	balännət	.
¶¶h			¶¶h	
yä= wal	-ku		balä =nnət	
yä= walä	-k ^w		balä =nnət	
that= spend the day	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)		say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	
that I have spent the day			he said to him	

The short man replied, "Well then, you have not had to go back and forth (today)! Did you not see me?! I have spent the day running!"

10.2. " ädi tärötənn

¶¶h	¶¶h			
ädi	tä= ä-	rot	=ənn	
ädi	tä= ä-	roṭä	=nn	
I (1.c.sg.) while=	1.c.sg.impf.	run	=him (3.m.sg.obj.)(subord.)	
I	running it			
yäwakku		,"	balännət	.
¶¶h			¶¶h	
yä= wal	-ku		balä =nnət	
yä= walä	-k ^w		balä =nnət	
that= spend the day	1.c.sg.perf.(subord.)		say =him (3.m.sg.obj.)(main)	
that I have spent the day			he said to him	

"I have spent the day running!" he said to him.

Chapter 4

Grammatical Analysis

I. Introduction to Layout

This chapter contains an analysis of Køstannøñña grammar.²¹² As I am building upon the previous work done by Goldenberg, Leslau, and Hetzron, I aim to expound most on subjects that have not been thoroughly covered by them or for which I offer new hypotheses. I try to limit my discussion on those subjects that are already well-covered. Exceptions are made with regard to those aspects of the language which bear repeating for clarification of the whole.²¹³ For a comprehensive understanding of the language, I refer the reader to the works of these scholars in addition to this present study.

II. Phonology

Except where otherwise indicated, the phonemes below have the same pronunciation as their counterparts in Amharic.²¹⁴

II.1. Consonants

For the places of articulation the terminology of Leslau is used.²¹⁵ Thus, the following section on consonants is divided into: Labials, Alveolars, Prepalatals, Velars, and Laryngeals. As Leslau wrote: “All the phonemes (here meaning consonants GT),

²¹² I use as the basis for my grammatical observations both those language samples collected by myself as well as those found in Praetorius (from Mayer’s fieldwork), Goldenberg, Leslau, Hetzron, and <http://globalrecordings.net/program/C19540>. Certain examples cited from my own corpus (Ch. 3) are indicated by a trinumeric system, the first number being that of the recording, the second the paragraph number, and the third the sentence number.

²¹³ In such cases, earlier work is cited.

²¹⁴ v. pg. 15, footnote 30

²¹⁵ With the exception of the term “Alveolars,” which is here used in place of “Dentals.” Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 6.

except *h*, can occur simply (e.g., /f/), or as geminated (/ff/).²¹⁶ It should be added that ?², an allophone of the ejectives, is another exception to the rule of gemination. Ex.: *yäqəla?əlu* “let one mix it” = *yäqəlaqqəlu*. Unless otherwise specified as ejective, the reader may assume that all phonemes are made with pulmonic air. All phonemes are made with egressive air. Below is a chart of the consonants in Kəstanəñña.

	<u>Labials</u>	<u>Alveolars</u>	<u>Prepalatals</u>	<u>Velars</u>	<u>Laryngeals</u>
<u>Plosives</u>		t		k, k ^w g, g ^w	(?)
	b	d			
<u>Affricates</u>				č g	
<u>Nasals</u>	m	n		ň	
<u>Trills/Flaps</u>		r			
<u>Fricatives</u>	f	s	š ž		h
		z			
<u>Approximates</u>	w			y	
<u>Lat. Approx.</u>		l			
<u>Ejectives</u>	(p)	t, (§)		č	q, q ^w

II.1.1. Labials

II.1.1.1. The Phoneme *b*

This phoneme may be considered a voiced bilabial plosive. This pronunciation is clearest when the consonant is doubled (ex.: *zibbäräm* “he returned (tr.)”) or begins certain words (ex.: *Bu?i* “Bu’i (place name)”). When *b* stands alone between two vowels it is often spirantized, as is the case in Amharic.²¹⁷ Ex.: *säbat* “seven,” pronounced [seβat^h]. This spirantization can also occur at the beginning of a word, sometimes even yielding a *w* in pronunciation. Ex.: *waläm* “he said,” <*baläm*. The spirantization of *b* may lead in certain instances to its being confused with *f*. Ex.: *käft* “cattle/wealth” <

²¹⁶ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 6.

²¹⁷ However, Amharic does not frequently exhibit the same degree of spirantization as Kəstanəñña, nor does it have word-initial spirantization.

käbt. I found one example where original *b* has been replaced by *m*. Ex.: *mamär* “monthly gathering” <*mabär*; cf. Amharic *mahbär* < √*ḥbr*.²¹⁸

Because of the frequent interchange of spirantized *b* with *w* and *f*, there are cases of hypercorrection in which *b* is inserted for what originally was a *w* or *f*. Ex.: *zibbäräm* “he returned (tr.)” < √*zwr*; *näbs* “soul” < *näfs*, though *näfs* also exists in Kəstanəñña.

In certain instances the spirantization of *b* has even led to its being audibly omitted (ex.: *ädäll* “he/it is not” < *ädäbəll*). This loss of *b* may have been expedited by the fact that *ädäbəll* is used frequently in speech (cf. Amh. *aydälläm* in anticipatory questions) and would more readily become a contraction as a result.

II.1.1.2. The Phoneme *w*

The phoneme *w* is a voiced bilabial approximate. In certain environments the phoneme *b* can be pronounced as *w*,²¹⁹ but it should be kept in mind that such is due only to extreme spirantization, and the two phonemes are distinct from one another.

In some cases a *w* in Kəstanəñña may stand for what was originally an *m*. This is seen especially in the infinitives, which in Amharic begin with *mä-* but in Kəstanəñña begin with *wä-*. It is likely, from the frequent use of *m*-prefixes in forming nominals in Semitic languages, that such a *wä-* for the infinitive (a verbal noun) was originally *mä-*.²²⁰

The *w* phoneme, due to its being a semivowel, often rounds the pronunciation of an immediately-following *ä*. The result is that many syllables which were originally *wä* become *wo*.²²¹ Ex.: *woläf* “to go” < *wäläf*; *wofčä* “a grinding mill” < *wäfčä*; *yəwoddut*

²¹⁸ v. pg. 238 (11.26.1)

²¹⁹ v. §II.1.1.1.

²²⁰ For a brief comparison of the infinitive in other Ethiosemitic languages v. Wolf Leslau, “Characteristics of the Ethiopic Language Group of Semitic Languages,” in *Linguistic analyses of the Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*, ed. by A.N. Tucker and N.A. Bryan (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 611.

²²¹ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 68.

“he loves him” <*yəwäddut*. The same occurs in Amharic, but with less frequency. The quality of *w* as a semivowel also accounts for its acting as a buffer between two vowels, when the second vowel is *u* or *o*.²²² Ex.: *wäzälaʷočč* “works/deeds.”

II.1.1.3. The Phoneme *m*

The phoneme *m* is a voiced bilabial nasal.²²³

II.1.1.4. The Phoneme *f*

The phoneme *f* is a voiceless labiodental fricative.

II.1.1.5. The Phoneme *p*

The phoneme *p* is a voiceless bilabial plosive with ejective air. The occurrences of this phoneme in Kəstanəňña are extremely rare. Any instances of this phoneme seem to come from foreign loans, possibly through Amharic. Ex.: *ityopəya* “Ethiopia” < Αἰθιοπία Gk.²²⁴ The phoneme *p* should therefore not be considered a natural Kəstanəňña phoneme.

II.1.2. Alveolars

I have used the term “Alveolars” instead of Leslau’s “Dentals,” since the alveolar ridge is rather the place where these consonants tend to be articulated. Within this group exist the liquids *l*, *r*, and *n*. Such liquids are more fluidly interchangeable in another Gurage language like Čäxa,²²⁵ but are less so in Kəstanəňña.

II.1.2.1. The Phoneme *n*

This is a voiced alveolar nasal. The *n* often assimilates to a preceding consonant if it is the beginning of a suffix, thus doubling the preceding consonant (ex.: *ädäbəll*

²²² Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 7.

²²³ For the relation between *m* and other consonants v. §§II.1.1.1; II.1.1.2; II.1.2.1.

²²⁴ Leslau recorded his Kəstane speakers saying *tobbəya* for “Ethiopia,” whereas I found Kəstane giving this pronunciation. For examples from one speaker see pp. 90 (3.8.1), 92 (3.8.4).

²²⁵ Wolf Leslau, *Ethiopic Documents: Gurage* (New York: The Viking Fund, 1950), 13.

“he/it is not” < *ädäbəl-* + *n*; *yatwərrərrət* “he will tell him” < *yatwərrər* + *nnət*). It also readily assimilates to a preceding voiced velar plosive *g*. Ex.: *tägganňəmun* “they met” < *tägnanňəmun* < *tägənaňňəmun*. When followed by the bilabial plosive *b*, *n* can become *m*²²⁶ (ex.: *anbəl* “collard greens” > *ambəl*; *sänbät* > *sämbät*), though occasionally the *n* resurfaces. The phoneme *n* may at times be realized as *l*. In some cases this may be the result of certain morphemes that originally had *l* making an entire shift to *n*.²²⁷ Ex.: *näməssale* “for example” < *läməssale* < *lä-* + *məssale*.²²⁸

The phoneme *n* sometimes appears as an alternative of *m*. Ex.: *ənšittatā* “women” < **əmšittatā* (from *məšt* “woman”); *bälalädinṭa* “may (evil) come upon me!” < *bälalädi yemṭa*.

II.1.2.2. The Phoneme *r*

The phoneme *r* is a voiced alveolar flap. The doubling of this consonant produces a voiced alveolar trill, making it easy to differentiate a single *r* from the geminated *rr*. Words which begin with *r* in Kəstanəňña frequently receive a prosthetic *ä-* for ease of speech.²²⁹ Ex.: *ärabännət* “he was/became hungry” < *rabännət*; *äraskənnäm* “themselves” < *raskənnäm*; *ärob* “Wednesday” < *rob*.²³⁰ Though this prosthetic *ä-* is marked by means of an *alef*() in the texts, this consonant should not be assumed as part of the root.

II.1.2.3. The Phoneme *l*

The phoneme *l* is a voiced alveolar lateral-approximate. It can be seen to absorb

²²⁶ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 8.

²²⁷ v. §II.1.2.3.

²²⁸ v. §X.1.2.

²²⁹ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 34.

²³⁰ Though in this last case the original root may have had a prosthetic *alef* for those forms with initial cluster of consonants *r* and *b* ($\sqrt{rb}\xi$; cf. *arätt* “four” < *?a + *rbätt*; *arba* “forty” < *?a + rba*), this prosthetic *ä-* is not likely the sign of an initial *alef*, an initial *alef* having been unnecessary for non-clustered forms (cf. Amh. *rob* “Wednesday”; *rub* “one fourth”).

consonants both following (Ex.: *qäṭṭəlla* “continue! (impv.f.pl.)” < *qäṭṭəlma*) as well as preceding it (Ex.: *yəgälləmun* “they kill/will kill” < *yəgädləmun*; *biyagʷäll* “if he diminishes” < *biyagʷädl*; these last two instances are helped by the fact that *d* and *l* are both alveolars). In other cases, *l* assimilates to a following consonant (if it is another alveolar). Ex.: *annäbär* “he/it/there was not” < *alnäbär*; *attandäg* “don’t light! (2fs)” < *altandäg*. This can also be seen occurring with the phonemes *k* and *č*. Ex.: *bakkäm* “you said” < *balkäm*; *wakkum* “I spent the day” < *walkum*; *täqäbbäččin* “you (fs.) welcomed” < *täqäbbäl -ččin*. A consonant that alternates with *l* is *n*.²³¹

II.1.2.4 The Phoneme *t*

The phoneme *t* is a voiceless alveolar plosive. When the *t* of the derived verbal stems *tä-* and *at-* comes in contact with the first radical of the verbal root, it often, though not always, assimilates to that radical.²³² A *t* may assimilate to a neighboring *s*.²³³ Ex.: *kissämbät* “two weeks (i.e.: “a fortnight”) < *kitsämbät*; *soss bərr* “three bərr” < *sost bərr*.

II.1.2.5. The Phoneme *t̪*

The phoneme *t̪* is a voiceless alveolar plosive with ejective air. An allophone of this is the glottal stop *?*. Ex. *bägəl?* “clearly” = *bägəlt̪*; *arrä?ke* “you cut (across) me” = *arrät̪ke*; *tiro?* “while he was running” = *tirot̪*.²³⁴ The phoneme *t̪* may be found for what in Amharic is a *§*. Ex.: *tafä* “write” = *ṣafä* Amh.; *tom* “a fast” = *ṣom* Amh.

II.1.2.6. The Phoneme *d*

The phoneme *d* is a voiced alveolar plosive. When found in the 2nd person pronominal suffixes (-*dähä*, -*däš*, -*dähəm*, -*dähma*) and following immediately after the

²³¹ v. §II.1.2.1.

²³² v. §§IX.2.1;IX.2.2. for discussion and examples.

²³³ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 8.

²³⁴ These last two instances come from environments in which the *t̪* is in proximity to another alveolar

alveolar *t*, it can assimilate the *t*. Ex.: *kässäddähäm* “your (pl.) lunch” <*kässätdähäm*; *yägemmidä* “your wife” <*yägemmiträ*.

II.1.2.7. The Phoneme *z*

The phoneme *z* is a voiced alveolar fricative. This sibilant is retained from earlier Semitic/Ethiosemitic forms of the demonstratives, where it is lost in Amharic.²³⁵ Ex.: *zi* “this/these” Kəst. = *yəh* “this (ms)” Amh.; *za* “that/those” Kəst. = *ya* “that (ms)” Amh.

II.1.2.8. The Phoneme *s̥*

The phoneme *s̥* is an affricate with ejective air that moves from a voiceless alveolar stop to voiceless alveolar fricative [ts’]. It is rare in Kəstanəñña.²³⁶ The phoneme *t* is sometimes found replacing it, though it occasionally returns in speech. Ex.: *dəmṣədä* “your (ms) voice” (otherwise the word is *dəmt*); *sədq* “righteousness.” The rarity of *s̥* in Kəstanəñña parallels that in other Gurage languages.²³⁷

II.1.2.9. The Phoneme *s*

The phoneme *s* is a voiceless alveolar fricative.

II.1.3. Prepalatals

II.1.3.1. The Phoneme *č*

The phoneme *č* is a voiceless alveolar-to-prepalatal affricate [tʃ].

II.1.3.2. The Phoneme *ć*

The phoneme *ć* is a voiceless alveolar-to-prepalatal affricate with ejective air [tʃ’]. An allophone of this is the glottal stop ? (sometimes followed by a slight remnant of palatalization ?). Ex.: *za?ə* “same” = *začə*; *siğara yəsä?əmun* “they smoke cigarettes” =

²³⁵ Except in cases where the Amharic demonstrative receives a prefix. Ex.: *əzzih/bäzzih* “(in) here.”

²³⁶ Leslau says “the glottalized sibilant *s̥* occurs in learned words taken from Geez.” Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 6.

²³⁷ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*; v. phoneme chart on pg. 37.

yəsāčəmun.

II.1.3.3. The Phoneme *y*

The phoneme *y* is a voiced prepalatal approximate. The nature of *y* as an approximate/semivowel means that, just as the phoneme *w*, it may alter the vowel following it. The vowels most affected by *y* are those of the first order *ä* and sixth order *ə*.

In the former case, the syllable *yä* frequently becomes *ye*.²³⁸ Ex.: *əzger yetmäsgän* “God be praised” <*yätmäsgän*; *yekʷa* “him” <*yäkʷa*. This may be compared with the same phenomenon in Amharic. Ex.: *yet* “where” <*yät*. In the case of the vowel *ə*, the syllable *yə* often becomes *yi*. Ex.: *yihonu* “he/it shall be” <*yəhonu*. In both cases the change of the vowel quality is effected by the closeness of *y* to the vowel *i*. In some instances this closeness leads to confusion between the syllables *yi* and *i* at the beginning of a word. Ex.: *iga/yiga* “water”; *yissäbo* “he thought/planned” <*issäbo* < \sqrt{hsb} . This led to confusion in Mayer’s *Kəstanəňña* texts, in which a couple imperfect 3ms prefix conjugations were written as initial *alef* when they should have begun with *y*. Ex.: *iniw* “I have” = *yiniw/yinew*; *ibəkkəm qay* “that which he says to you” = *yibəkkəm qay*.

Goldenberg comments on this problem for both the semivowels *y* and *w*:

...both *i*-, *u*- and *yə*-, *wə*- do occur, and in spite of some fluctuation, the variation of the smooth and the diphthongal sounds is unsymmetrical. It seems to me that post-vocalic and initial occurrences of *i* imply a preceding phonemic zero, and that *i* and *y* are phonemically identical (as are also *u* and *w*). It is completely unimportant whether these will be described as being vowel phonemes or not.²³⁹

Though Goldenberg’s position on the interchanges *i/y* and *u/w* after vowels is correct, the same cannot be said of syllable initial occurrences of *y* and *w*. Despite the occasional confusion between *yi*- and *i*-, initial *y* is clearly consonantal when present.

²³⁸ Goldenberg, *Kəstanəňña*, 68.

²³⁹ Ibid., 67.

The quality of *y* as a semivowel also accounts for its acting as a buffer between two vowels, when the second vowel is an *i* or *e*.²⁴⁰ Ex.: *geyi/geyi* “the house” <*ge* + *-i*; *ablaye/abla^ye* “feed me” <*abla* + *-e*.

When the syllable *yə* is preceded by *ə* the entire sequence goes to *i*.²⁴¹ Ex.: *bizzibbärəm* “if he returns (i.)” <*bə* + *yəzzibbärəm*; *tibələm* “they will not say” <*tə* + *yəb(ə)ləm*.

II.1.3.4. The Phoneme ū

The phoneme ū is a voiced prepalatal fricative. In some (if not all) cases, ū occurs where original *z* was followed by either of the vowels *i* or *e*, or by the approximate *y*. Ex.: *ażżäm* “he saw” < \sqrt{hzy} .²⁴² I found instances of *ażżä* becoming *ayyä* which might indicate that an allomorph of ū is *y*, though this could be merely a borrowing from Amharic.²⁴³ Ex.: *ayyähum* “I have seen” <*ażżähum*.

II.1.3.5. The Phoneme ū

The phoneme ū is a voiceless prepalatal fricative. Hetzron writes: “I found a free alternation *h^y* ~ ū in Soddo, while the dialect studied by Goldenberg...consistently has ū.”²⁴⁴ I found nothing along the lines of Hetzron’s proposed alternation in the samples I collected. I did, however, find an alternation ū ~ č in the 2fs perfect conjugation and 2fs objective pronominal suffix. Ex.: *bakkučəm* “I said to you” = *bakkušəm*; *altäqäbäččən* “you (fs) did not welcome me” = *altäqäbässən*/*altäqäbälšən*.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 7.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 7.

²⁴² In Amharic this is *ayyä*.

²⁴³ v. pp. 310 (12.31.3), 341 (13.2.2)

²⁴⁴ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 38.

²⁴⁵ v. pp. 267 (11.40.1), 279 (11.47.4). Both these examples came from one speaker whom I interviewed. However, such alternative forms were also given by Leslau’s informants.

II.1.3.6. The Phoneme ځ

The phoneme ځ is a voiced alveolar-to-prepalatal affricate [dʒ].

II.1.3.7. The Phoneme ڏ

The phoneme ڏ is a voiced palatal nasal [ɲ].

II.1.4. Velars

II.1.4.1. The Phoneme ڪ

The phoneme ڪ is a voiceless velar plosive. A consonant that alternates with ڪ is ڦ.²⁴⁶ Ex.: äkutta/ähutta. This is especially true when the original ڪ of a suffix follows a vowel. Ex.: gärrahum “I am full” < gärra +ku + -m; arissahom “like a corpse” < arissa + -kom. The frequency of this softening of ڪ to ڦ may account for some instances of hypercorrection/grammatical leveling, in which ڪ appears where ڦ would have been the original consonant. Ex.: kʷa “he” < *hʷa/hua; kʸa “she” < *hʸa/hiya; kəzb “people” < həzb < √hzb.

II.1.4.2. The Phoneme ڦ

The phoneme ڦ is a voiceless velar plosive with ejective air. A very common allophone for this phoneme is the glottal stop ?.²⁴⁷ Ex.: ?una “one” < quna; bu?i “Bu’i (town name)” < buqi; yədä?əmun “they laugh/will laugh” < yədäqəmun.

II.1.4.3. The Phoneme ڳ

The phoneme ڳ is a voiced velar plosive.

II.1.4.4. The Labiovelars ڪʷ, ڳʷ, ڦʷ

Each of the velars in Kəstanəñña may have a corresponding labialized phoneme (ڪ ~ ڪʷ, ڳ ~ ڳʷ, ڦ ~ ڦʷ) possibly due, as is likely the case with other Ethiosemitic languages,

²⁴⁶ v. §II.1.5.1.

²⁴⁷ This feature was noted by Leslau, though he failed to mention the same allophone ? for other ejectives. Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 6.

to Cushitic influence.²⁴⁸

Goldenberg says of labialization:

I should like to point out...that labialization in the sense it has e.g. in Čäxa is not operative in Køst. Where labialization occurs, it is but a special case of a consonant (*k* or *h*) in contact with *w*. Synchronic treatment of this phenomenon belongs to the phonetic level.²⁴⁹

Contrary to Goldenberg's position that labialization remains a strictly phonetic reality, the following minimal pair serves as a counterexample: *gʷäddälä* "lack" vs. *gäddälä* "kill."

II.1.5. Laryngeals

II.1.5.1. The Phoneme *h*

The phoneme *h* is a voiceless laryngeal fricative. In some places it appears in alternation with *k*.²⁵⁰ The occasional pronunciation of *h* as a voiceless velar fricative [x] – as found in Amharic – is absent in Køstanøñña.

II.1.5.2. The Glottal Stop ?

The voiceless laryngeal plosive ? does not appear to constitute an independent phoneme in Køstanøñña. It is an allophone for each of the ejectives (*q*, *t*, and *č*; though it is much less frequent for the last two), since the ejectives each consist of a point and manner of articulation accompanied by ejective/glottal air.²⁵¹ The glottal stop is an allophone for these three consonants in *Woläne* as well.²⁵² The use of fidäl signs based on *alef* in Køstanøñña might once have represented the glottal stop, but these seem over

²⁴⁸ Wolf Leslau, "The Influence of Cushitic on the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia: A Problem of Substratum," *Word* I, 1 (1945): 62. Leslau writes: "The Semitic languages do not possess the labiovelars as a phonemic series...and it is quite probable that the presence of the labiovelars in Ethiopic is due to the influence of the Cushitic languages."

²⁴⁹ Goldenberg, "Køstanøñña...", 67.

²⁵⁰ v. §II.1.4.1.

²⁵¹ v. §§ II.1.2.5; II.1.3.2; II.1.4.2.

²⁵² Meyer, *Wolane...*, 27-29.

time to have become simply vowel markers, as they have in Amharic. And though Kəstane people sometimes use an *alef* as indicator of the glottal stop in writing (ex.: *buʔi* “Bu’i (town name)” written) it is only in cases where the glottal stop is actually an allophone of an ejective (thus might be the better orthography for this town).²⁵³

II.2. Vowels

Below is a chart of the vowels in Kəstanəñña.

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>Close</u>	i		u
<u>Close-mid</u>	e		o
<u>Mid</u>		ø	
<u>Mid-open</u>		ä	
<u>Open</u>	a		

II.2.1. The Phoneme *i*

The phoneme *i* is a close front unrounded vowel. It is represented by the third order in fidäl writing. When the *i* of the 2fs imperfect, jussive, or imperative conjugation comes in contact with the alveolar of any root it palatalizes the consonant.²⁵⁴ Ex.: *kəfäč* “open up! (2fs)” <*kəfät* + -*i*; *attandič* “don’t light (it)!” <*attandäd* + -*i*-; *tətənəši wäy?* “won’t you (fs) take it?” <*tətənəsa* + -*i*.

II.2.2. The Phoneme *e*

The phoneme *e* is a close-mid front unrounded vowel. It is represented by the fifth order in fidäl writing. Leslau notes that the “consonant before *e* is occasionally palatalized; thus *Geto* and *Gyeto*.²⁵⁵ The vowel of the fifth order can elide a preceding ä or a. Ex.: *šem* “he is looking for me” <*ša* + -*e* + -*m*; *yäbakkem* “that which you said to me” <*yäbakkä* + -*e* + -*m*.

²⁵³ The town name is pronounced as either *buʔi* or *buqi*

²⁵⁴ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 7.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 7.

II.2.3. The Phoneme ä

The phoneme ä appears to fall within the range of an open-mid front unrounded vowel [ɛ] to a near-open central unrounded vowel [ə]. It is represented by the first order in fidäl writing. Goldenberg says “/ä/ which is always lax (in contrast to the vowels /i, e, o, u/ - GT), is mainly higher-low central [ə].”²⁵⁶ In some instances the vowel ä is added to a word with initial *r*.²⁵⁷ The phoneme ä often begins a word which in Amharic begins with *a*. Ex.: ässät “ensete (false-banana plant)” Kəst. = ənsät Amh.; äsat “fire” Kəst. = əsat Amh.; äddär “burial society” Kəst. = əddär Amh. Leslau comments on this feature saying:

A morpho-phonemic feature is the initial vowel ä in Chaha and Soddo, as against the vowel a of Amharic, in the imperfect 1st person, singular, and in the imperative of the verbs with initial *a-* (type *alläfä*). The forms are: imperfect, sg. 1st common, Chaha äräxəb ‘I find’, Soddo äbädär ‘I am first’ (against Amharic əsäbər); imperative of verbs with initial *a-*: Chaha ädär ‘spend the night!’, Soddo ädäg ‘throw down!’ (against Amharic ədär).²⁵⁸

Leslau is generally correct regarding his first point about the ä- of Kəstanəňña corresponding to Amharic a in some positions. However, I have found instances of initial a for the imperative of first-alef verbs (Type A) in addition to initial ä. Ex: əläf/äläf “go!”²⁵⁹

When an ä of one word/particle comes in contact with the ä of another, the two are elided to one. Ex.: yäfur “of the mouse” < yä- + äfur. When the ä of a word/particle is followed by a word/particle beginning with any other vowel, the ä is elided.²⁶⁰ Ex.:

²⁵⁶ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 68.

²⁵⁷ v. §II.1.2.2.

²⁵⁸ Wolf Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*. Vol. I, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979), xii.

²⁵⁹ v. pg. 222 (11.4.2)

²⁶⁰ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 7. There are some exceptions to this for a. Ex.: yälät “daily” < yä-əlät.

yabiʷoččən̨na tarik “the history of our forefathers” <*yä-* + *abiʷoččən̨na*; *yənšittatä wäzäla* “women’s work” <*yä-* + *ənšittatä*. These same rules for the elision of *ä* exist in Amharic, except that in Amharic *ä* is never elided by a following sixth order vowel.

II.2.4. The Phoneme *a*

The phoneme *a* is an open front unrounded vowel [a]. It is represented by the fourth order in fidäl writing. Goldenberg says:

/a/ is always tense, mainly low central. It happens occasionally to be fronted > [æ], esp. when in contact with *l*, e.g. *täšalmun* [te'ʃæ:lmun] “they asked”, *älam* [ə'læ:m] “cow”²⁶¹

At least in the case of the verb, this shortening is likely an occasional shift from *a* to *ä* in the morphology of mid-weak verbs that have *a* as their central vowel in the lexical forms (ex: *abä*²⁶² “give” > *yäbu/yebu* “he gives/will give”; *ša*²⁶³ “want/wish” > *äšännət* “I want it/I am looking for him”), and not necessarily an allophone of *a* in the vicinity of *l*. This shift from *a* to *ä* corresponds to the shift from *a* to *ə* for mid-weak verbs in Amharic.

Ex.: *saqä* “laugh” > *təsəqalläč* “she is laughing/will laugh.”

II.2.5. The Phoneme *ə*

The phoneme *ə* is generally a mid central vowel, though it takes on different shades of pronunciation in proximity to certain consonants. It is represented by the sixth order in fidäl writing. The vowel *ə*, when followed by the palatalized consonant *ň*, can become *i*. Ex.: *iňňäm* “he slept” <*ənňäm*; *iňňa* “we (1cp)” <*ənňa*. Goldenberg says “ə (with all its variations) is but a manifestation of the syllabic position of consonants in the absence of a vowel.”²⁶⁴ Hetzron echoes this idea, when reviewing Leslau’s work on

²⁶¹ Goldenberg, “Kəstanən̨na...,” 68.

²⁶² *abä* < *ȝyhb*

²⁶³ This is an Arabic loan from شاء

²⁶⁴ Goldenberg, “Kəstanən̨na...,” 67.

Kəstanəñña, saying:

A repeated source of inconsistency is the vowel *ə*. It is listed among the vowel *phonemes* (p. 6), but is not a phoneme. Its only function is to break up nonpermissible consonant clusters.²⁶⁵

It may be argued that *ə* is not solely a vehicle for breaking up consonant clusters. The occurrences of *ə* in the imperfect of Type B verbs (Ex.: *yəzibbəru/yəzäbbəru*) or in certain nouns (Ex.: *əddələññä* “lucky”; *əmmit* “mother”; *əqqub* “mutual aid society”; *gəze* “time” < *gize*) all stand for vowels that have been shortened to *ə*. This may be compared to *ə* in Gə’əz, of which Huehergard writes, “It is well known that the Gə’əz reflex of Proto-Semitic (PS) **a* in most environments is *a* (*ä*), while the reflex of PS **i* and **u* is usually *ə*.²⁶⁶ There is no observable trace of these original vowels in the allophones of *ə*, the pronunciation being determined rather – as mentioned above – by neighboring consonants.

II.2.6. The Phoneme *o*

The phoneme *o* is a close-mid back rounded vowel. It is represented by the seventh order in fidäl writing. Leslau notes that the “consonant before *o* is occasionally rounded (i.e.: labialized - GT); thus *goy* and *gʷoy*.²⁶⁷

II.2.7. The Phoneme *u*

The phoneme *u* is a close back rounded vowel. It is represented by the second order in fidäl writing. Goldenberg says that *u* and the vowels *i*, *e*, and *o* “are tense and stable, their phonetic values being close to those of the corresponding cardinal

²⁶⁵ Hetzron, “A review...,” 563.

²⁶⁶ John Huehnergard, “Reflexes of *QATL Forms in Gə’əz,” in *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*, ed. Geoffrey Kahn, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 26.

²⁶⁷ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 7.

vowels.”²⁶⁸

II.2.8. Vowel Contraction and Word Contraction

When vowels at the end and beginning of adjacent words are the same or similar, they may facilitate contraction of those words. Ex.: *bäzaynät* “in that manner/thus” < *bäza* “in that” + *aynät* “manner”; *bälalädimṭa* “may (evil) come upon me (instead of you)” < *bälalä* “upon” + *ädi* “me” + *yemṭa* “may it come.”

II.3. Syllables and Word Formation

The possible combinations of consonants and vowels for a syllable are:²⁶⁹ V, CV, VC, CVC, CVCC, VCC.²⁷⁰ Leslau noted that a “word can begin with any of the vowels...A word can end in any of the vowels except *ə*.²⁷¹ There exists at least one exception to Leslau’s assertion in the word *čə* “only.” The phoneme *ə* can also be found at the end of a word with a final consonant as a buffer between it and the next word. Ex.: *kittə lebočč* “two thieves” < *kitt*. Leslau notes that a “word can begin with any consonant...A word can end in any consonant,” though he adds, “I did not record any word beginning with *n̄*.²⁷² Leslau adds that “there are no initial consonant clusters except when the 2d consonant is *r*; thus *brəndo* ‘raw red meat’, *fras̄* ‘mattress’.”²⁷³

II.4. Stress

Leslau writes, “In most of the ETHIOPIC languages Stress is not easily

²⁶⁸ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 68.

²⁶⁹ The syllables beginning with V (i.e.: V, VC, VCC) originated from syllables with initial consonant (i.e.: CV, CVC, CVCC respectively), of which the initial consonant was *alef* or *ayin*, which have acquiesced in pronunciation in Southern Ethiopic languages.

²⁷⁰ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 7. Leslau writes: “Soddo has final consonant clusters of two consonants; the nature of certain consonants, however, excludes final clustering.”

²⁷¹ Ibid., 7.

²⁷² Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 7.

²⁷³ Ibid., 7.

perceptible in the word. In GE'EZ, HARARI, and CHAHA the penultimate seems normally to be stressed.”²⁷⁴ Ullendorff shares this conclusion about stress in the Ethiosemitic languages, saying:

The exact nature of stress as well as its measurement have still not been satisfactorily investigated. Most phoneticians consider stress to be a largely subjective phenomenon, both from the speaker's and the hearer's standpoint.²⁷⁵

Elsewhere in the same work Ullendorff gives a more definitive treatment of stress in Ethiosemitic languages:

Common to all Semitic Ethiopic languages is the “instability” of accent. In all of them the sentence accent predominates over such stress as might be apportioned to the individual word.²⁷⁶

More recent scholarship has little changed this evaluation of Ethiosemitic stress.

Appleyard, for example, in his treatment of Amharic says:

It is also the case that a word in prepausal position may have different stress from the same item within a phrase: in other words lexical stress is not absolute, but is...subject to phrase and sentence patterns.²⁷⁷

And Hetzron, writing specifically about the Gurage languages, reaches the same conclusion:

In most languages (of the Gurage area – GT) stress, a slight raise of the pitch, is not relevant. Only PWG (Peripheral Western Gurage – GT) has a system that is meaningful even for grammar.²⁷⁸

Goldenberg entitles a section of his article on Kəstanəňña “Stress, Pitch, and

²⁷⁴ Leslau, “Characteristics...,” 597.

²⁷⁵ Edward Ullendorff, *The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia: A Comparative Phonology* (London: Taylor's (Foreign) Press, 1955), 189.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 197.

²⁷⁷ David Appleyard, “R.C. Abraham's work on Amharic,” in *African Languages and Cultures. Supplement, No. 1, Papers in Honour of R.C. Abraham (1890-1963)*, ed. Philip J. Jaggar (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1992), 9.

²⁷⁸ Robert Hetzron, “Outer South Ethiopic,” in *The Semitic Languages*, ed. Robert Hetzron, (London: Routledge, 1997), 535-549.

Length.”²⁷⁹ With respect to Køstanø̄n̄a he writes:

Primary prominence is due first and foremost to stronger stress, but it involves the other attributes in a peculiar way: when the stress falls on *a*, it is often combined with duration; when it falls on *ä* or *ə* - it is often combined with pitch. Thus *a* in a prominent syllable is stressed and long; *ä* and *ə* in the same position are stressed and apt to have a higher voice-pitch. Whether (and to what extent) with the other vowels anything analogous takes effect, it is hard to say...The lengthening of /a/ when prominent ought in all probability to be ascribed to the inherent potential length of this vowel; the higher pitch of /ä/ in the same positions could be taken to be compensatory...for the inherent shortness of the vowel.²⁸⁰

Though he highlights this significance of length as an indicator of stress, he adds that

“length as a principle is non-distinctive in Køst.”²⁸¹

In my own findings stress often seems to come on the penultimate syllable. This is especially true of the final word(s) of a sentence. Ex.: *astädádari nábbár* “he was the manager”; *kássät amättälläm* “one brought lunch for him”; *wollähó näm* “they are neighbors.”²⁸² Notice in this last example how the rule of penultimate stress is applied to the combination of two words. A sentence that is a question typically ends both with a rising pitch and with stress on the ultimate syllable of the last word. Ex.: *mánnähəm dähám?* “who are you (pl.)?”; *wódär yellábó?* “ought he not spend time?”²⁸³ Apart from the final word(s) of a sentence, stress can be rather unpredictable and seems to hinge upon the speaker’s own desired emphasis. Ex.: *ánbässa, fáyyäl, ámbəl quná məss yizzáam yálfu* “a man takes along a lion, a goat, and collard greens”; *anbässá ámbəl tibälá* “the lion does not eat the collard greens.”²⁸⁴ Notice in these two examples the different place of stress within the word *anbässa*. Stress in Køstanø̄n̄a seems clearly to rely upon not

²⁷⁹ Goldenberg, “Køstanø̄n̄a...,” 68-69. Actually, for Køstanø̄n̄a stress is the only real component worth addressing, of which pitch and length are manifestations.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.,” 68-69.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 69.

²⁸² v. pp. 70 (2.1.1), 188 (9.6.3), 200 (10.1.1) respectively

²⁸³ v. pp. 287 (12.2.1), 144 (6.5.4) respectively

²⁸⁴ v. pp. 78 (3.1.1), 82 (3.1.9) respectively

words alone, but the entire flow of syntax. In this respect, Kəstanəňña does not differ from what scholars have found concerning stress in the Ethio-semitic languages in general.

III. Nouns

The nouns of Kəstanəňña may be masculine or feminine. This is rarely shown by any marker on the noun (except for the occasional feminine marker *-(i)t*), being rather indicated by gender agreement with the corresponding verb or pronoun.²⁸⁵

III.1. The Indefinite Article

The numeral *at(t)*, *quna* “one” may be used as an indefinite article, though its use is not obligatory to indicate indefiniteness.²⁸⁶ Ex.: *quna sāb* “a (certain) man;” *attə may* “(on) a (certain) day.” As far as I have seen, the two terms *at(t)* and *quna* are used interchangeably.

III.2. The Definite Article

The definite article in Kəstanəňña is the enclitic *-i*. The same article is used for male or female nouns, irrespective of whether they are plural or singular.²⁸⁷ Ex.: *məssi* “the man” <*məss* + *-i*; *məšti* “the woman” <*məšt* + *-i*; *lebočči* “the thieves” <*lebočč* + *-i*. The definite article in some cases causes a noun that ends with *ä* or *a* to drop that vowel. Ex.: *yälali känfäräw* “his upper lip” <*yälalä* + *-i*; *igi* “the water” <*iga* + *-i*. In other cases, with the vowels *ä*, *u*, *i*, *a*, *e*, *o*, it attracts the use of the semivowel *y*.²⁸⁸ Ex.: *äbkäyi* “that which I shall give you” <*äbkä* + *-i*; *säbakiyi* “the preacher” <*säbaki* + *-i*;

²⁸⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 8-9.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 8.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 8.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 8.

yämolləmuyi “those who filled” <*yämolləmu* + *-i*; *bäge yalləmayi ənsittatä* “the women who are in the house” <*yalləma* + *-i*; *yäwodkeyi nägär* “the thing(s) that you told me” <*yäwodke* + *-i*; *yädəroyi* “that which is of the past” <*yädəro* + *-i*. In still other cases the *i* attaches to a preceding vowel (*ä* or *a*) as *y*, forming a diphthong. Ex.: *yälalänäy qərsočč* “the legacies which are upon us” <*yälalänä* + *-i*; *ləlay* “the other one” <*lela* + *-i*.

When the noun is preceded by a modifier, the definite article goes on the modifier alone.²⁸⁹ Ex.: *maläqi ge* “the big house.”

Appleyard projects a possible origin for the definite article *-i/-y* in Kəstanəňňa (and certain other Gurage languages):

In the same way that Amharic definite *-u* proceeds directly from the 3rd masc. pronoun suffix, so definite *-i* of Silt’i, Soddo, Mäsqan and some other South Ethiopic languages, seems to derive from what now occurs only as an object or complement suffix of the 3rd masc., added to verbs. In Soddo and other languages, *-i/-y* occurs as a conditioned variant of *-u/-w* as the ‘heavy’ object suffix, i.e. occurring after originally long vowels, and arising from dissimilation after a rounded vowel (see Hetzron 1977:65-67). Here Hetzron argues that whilst the *-y* form was originally the marked one, the distributional features of the two allomorphs must have been reinterpreted and the labial *-w* form became the marked one, such that the palatal or *-y* form was adopted as the unmarked variant, hence its wider occurrence. If this is so, then it would be the natural choice for the pronoun suffix used as a definite marker. Subsequently, in possessive function, these languages later innovated and now use forms deriving from the independent pronouns, leaving the suffix *-i/-y* as a ‘relic’ in definite marking function. If this line of argument is correct, then all the South Ethiopic languages with the exception of Gafat, Muher and Ezha employ either originally 3rd person pronoun suffixes as definite markers, or, as a later development, independent pronouns now used in the former function. The background to this usage can obviously be seen already in Ge‘ez with the ‘by no means rare’ employment of pronoun suffixes as definite markers.²⁹⁰

Appleyard’s theory is unnecessarily complex, nor does it account for the fact that *-i*,

²⁸⁹ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 8.

²⁹⁰ David Appleyard, “Definite Markers in Modern Ethiopian Semitic Languages,” in *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*, ed. Geoffrey Kahn (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 59.

when preceded by a vowel, may at times become *-ni*. Ex.: *yäqinnani maläq nägär* “the great thing(s) that he did” <*yäqinna* + *-i*; *yämötäni* “the one who died” <*yämötä* + *-i*.

This form may also be drawn out by a preceding *n*, on which Goldenberg comments:

But unexpectedly *mánni?* “who is he?/who is it?” For the final *-i* I have no plausible explanation; notice should be taken of the homonymous *mánni?* “which one?” (cf. *zánni*, *nánni* “that one”).²⁹¹

The clearest explanation is that this *-ni*, which is the same as the elongated definite article *-ni*, originates as a common element borrowed from Sidamo near demonstrative pronouns *kuni* “this (m.)” and *tini* “this (f.)”.²⁹² In most cases the final *-i* is all that remains as the definite article.

III.3. The Vocative

The vocative is formed by suffixing the noun with *-o*. Ex.: *məšto* “o woman/wife!” <*məšt* “woman/wife”; *məsso* “o man/husband” <*məss*. There are exceptional forms for the vocative of some nouns. Ex.: *gowä* “hey, guy!” <*gos* “guy/boy.”

III.4. The Old Construct Form

Occasionally nouns, when suffixed by possessive pronominal suffixes, show traces of an older construct form, as found in Gə’əz. Ex.: *səmähwan* “his name” <*səm* + *kwan/hwan*. Other instances of the old construct are found in phrases that have been adopted from Gə’əz in frozen form. Ex.: *betä krəstiyān* “church.”

²⁹¹ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 74. Goldenberg adds this footnote: “PRAETORIUS thought of this *i* as being a general interrogative particle (Die amharische Sprache p. 521, § 51). Gafat *-i* in *məni*, *yäməni*, *säläməni* might be compared.”

²⁹² Grover Hudson, “Highland East Cushitic,” in *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, ed. M. Lionel Bender (East Lansing: African Studies Center Michigan State University, 1976), 255. Concerning the influence of Sidamo on Gurage languages see: Leslau, “The Influence of Sidamo on the Ethiopic Languages of Gurage,” *Language* Vol. 28, No. 1 (1952); Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary...*, lxxxiv; Ullendorff, *The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia...*, 26.

III.5. Plural Forms

Plurality is not always necessary to indicate in the form of nouns, being understood often by context.²⁹³ Ex.: *maläq säb* “many people/a big person”; *däbaqula ažžähum* “I saw (a) pumpkin(s).” The forms that do indicate plurality are below.

III.5.1. Plural Suffixes

The most commonly used plural suffix is *-očč*. When the noun to which this plural suffix is attached ends in a vowel, the *o* of *-očč* either elides the preceding vowel, or a semivowel (*w*, or sometimes *y* in the case of *i* or *e*) is inserted between the vowels.²⁹⁴ Ex.: *kəstanewočč/kəstaneʷočč* “Kəstane people” <*kəstane* + *-očč*; *abiyočč/abi�očč* “(fore)fathers” <*abi* + *-očč*.

Another plural suffix is *-ačč* which is used “mostly with nouns of relationship.”²⁹⁵ Ex.: *zämmaččəmu* “as for his brothers” <*zämm* + *-ačč*; *metiyyaččəddi* “my grandparents” <*metiyyä* + *-ačč*.

III.5.2. Partial Reduplication for Plurality

A very common marker of plurality is the partial reduplication of the base noun, yielding an ending of *-aCä*, in which *C* is the last consonant of the base noun.²⁹⁶ Ex.: *fayyälalä* “goats” <*fayyäl*; *gurzazä* “elders” <*gurz*; *ənšittatä* “women” < **məštatä* < *məšt*. Hetzron comments on this form, saying, “In East Gurage and Soddo, the plural formed by means of repetition of the last radical after an *a* is certainly of Cushitic inspiration.”²⁹⁷

²⁹³ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 9

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 9.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 9.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 9.

²⁹⁷ Robert Hetzron, “Genetic classification and Ethiopian Semitic,” in *Hamito-Semitic*, ed. James Bynon and Theodora Bynon, (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), 109.

I have not observed any connection made by scholars between the partial reduplication for the plurality of nouns and the partial reduplication of verbs for the plurality of action, which has also been attributed to Cushitic influence.²⁹⁸ The two cases of partial reduplication, in nouns and in verbs, are the same phenomenon. Both follow the pattern of *-aCä*,²⁹⁹ the only difference being that for the noun it is the last consonant that is reduplicated, and for the verb it is the next-to-last consonant (in the case of trilateral roots). Furthermore, evidence of partial reduplication of nouns and verbs is found in Sidamo, a member of Highland East Cushitic which has had considerable influence on Gurage languages.³⁰⁰ For example, Zaborski says concerning the partial reduplication of nouns in Sidamo:

In Sidamo there is a very considerable number of plural form with the gemination of the last consonant which may be interpreted as going back to partial reduplication...³⁰¹

And Hudson writes of the plurality of action in verbs (or what he calls “intensive derived stem”) that the “intensive derived stem, formed by repeating all or part of a monosyllabic stem, seems clearly productive...in Sidamo.”³⁰²

²⁹⁸ Leslau, “The Influence of Cushitic...,” 71; §17.

²⁹⁹ The gemination of the reduplicated consonant in the verb (ex.: *məsəsəsälä*) should not be counted as constituting a reduplicated form **aCCä*, since this doubling is due rather to the necessary doubling of the penultimate radical in verbs.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Leslau, “The Influence of Sidamo...”

³⁰¹ Andrzej Zaborski, *The Morphology of Nominal Plural in the Cushitic Languages* (Wien: Afro-Pub, 1986), 228-229.

³⁰² Hudson, “Highland...,” 272.

IV. Pronouns

IV.1. Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns are:³⁰³

3ms	<i>kʷa/kwa</i>	3mp	<i>kənnäm(u)</i>
3fs	<i>kʷa/kya/kiya</i>	3fp	<i>kənnäma</i>
2ms	<i>dähä</i>	2mp	<i>däh(ə)m(u)</i>
2fs	<i>däš</i>	2fp	<i>däh(ə)ma</i>
1cs	<i>ädi</i>	1cp	<i>əňňa/iňňa</i>

The alternative form for the 1cp (*iňňa*) results from the influence of the prepalatal *ň* upon the preceding *ə*. Regarding the occasional *-u* ending for plural masculine forms, Goldenberg writes:

3rd and 2nd m. pl. forms are *kənnäm*, *dähəm* when no suffixed elements follow, *kənnämu-*, *dähmu-* before suffixed particles... These pronouns may be presented as ending in *u*, which is retained in “close juncture” but dropped in “open juncture”. Historically, this alternation implies a final labialized *-m* (*-*mʷ*) in proto-Kəst. *m* being unlabializable in Kəst., the labial element can either be retained as *u* (in syllabic position), or dropped altogether.³⁰⁴

There is no trace of final labialization, or of an old labialization of *m*, in Kəstanəňña to confirm Goldenberg’s theory on the origins of these final *-u* forms. Final *-u* rather appears consistently in connection with pronouns and verbal endings. If there were such a case of final labialization (*-*mʷ*) in Proto-Kəstanəňña, we should expect to see remnants of it in other parts of speech. As it is, the presence of final *-u* after pronouns and verbs argues for the case that is made throughout this chapter for a restructuring of the

³⁰³ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 10; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 69-70. The order of all pronominal and verbal paradigm charts in this chapter is 3rd pers., 2nd pers., 1st pers. This is to conform to Leslau’s and Goldenberg’s earlier works, and, in the case of the perfect conjugation, to bring the barest form of the verb (3ms) to the fore.

³⁰⁴ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 70.

proposed origins of both into a more cohesive reconstruction of Proto-Kəstanəñña that can be phonologically and morphologically supported from what we know of this and other Ethiopic languages.

The presence of *d* in some of these pronouns may be the result of a deictic particle.³⁰⁵ In this vein, it may relate to the *t* that is found in a number of the independent personal pronouns of other Ethiosemitic languages. The case for an alveolar deictic (for that matter, anything ranging from the interdental to prepalatal region) element is readily supported by a survey of Semitic languages in general.

It is worth arguing that the 3rd person pronouns come from original *h*-forms³⁰⁶ (**hu'a* and **hiya*; cf. *hu'*, *hi'* Hebrew; *huwa*, *hiya* Arabic) that were changed to *k* through grammatical leveling to correspond to the 2nd person forms.³⁰⁷ Goldenberg takes another position, saying:

In reconstructing the development of the personal pronouns of the 3rd persons in Northern and Western Gurage, Hetzron has posited as ‘basic forms’ sg. m. **huta*, f. **hita*, pl. m. **hənnämu*, f. **hənnäma*... The independent forms and the possessive suffixes are, in these dialects, of the same origin. ‘The only problem’, it is said..., ‘is the initial *k*- instead of *h*- in Soddo [=Kəst.] and Gogot. Whereas a weakening *k* > *h* is very often attested in linguistics, the strengthening *h* > *k* is much rarer though not unattested.’ ‘At this stage’, Hetzron says, he ‘could not find a convincing reason for this change’. In fact, however, the existence of cognates... with *h*- and with *k*- implies ‘basic forms’ either with *k* or *x* or at least with what Marcel Cohen calls ‘palatal *h*’ (and anyway not with a sound that reflects a primitive *h*)... Moreover, H.’s presentation of the Kəst. (‘Soddo’) forms is faulty precisely as regards the initial consonant of these morphemes: the

³⁰⁵ Hetzron, *Ethiopian Semitic*, 31. Hetzron suggests that the *d* comes from the word for hand, but this seems less plausible.

³⁰⁶ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 58. Hetzron’s table shows that for the languages Muher, Mäsqan, Ezha, Ennemor, the 3rd persons all begin with *h*. He also says here: “The initial *k*- in the third persons comes from an original *h*-.”

³⁰⁷ There is hardly any need to argue here, when taking account of the 2nd person independent and suffix pronouns, and the perfect conjugations in Ethiosemitic languages in general, that the presence of *h* and *s* in Kəstanəñña 2nd person forms can both be attributed to what was originally a *k*, and that this (possibly “Proto-Kəstanəñña”) *k* was the reason for the grammatical leveling of the original *h*-forms of the 3rd persons.

possessives in this dialect are not as he holds sg.m. *-hʷan* f. *-hi*, pl.m. - *kənnäm* f. *-kənnäma*, but sg.m. *-kwan* ~ *-hwan* f. *-ki* ~ *-hi*, pl.m. - *kənnäm(u-)* ~ *--hənnäm(u-)* f. *-kənnäma* ~ *-hənnäma*, with a regular alternation of *-k* ---- (post-consonantal) and *-h* ---- (post-vocalic).

Everything indicates that the ‘basic forms’ of the Northern and Western Gurage pronouns of 3rd persons should not be reconstructed as beginning with a primitive laryngeal *h*.³⁰⁸

Contrary to Goldenberg’s assertion, the greater testimony from other Semitic languages in general – and from Ethio-semitic languages in specific – would speak to Kəstanəñña 3rd person pronouns originating as *h*-forms.³⁰⁹ As to the enigma of *k*-forms in the language, grammatical leveling with what were originally 2nd person *k*-forms adequately resolves this issue.³¹⁰

One may go yet further by saying that 3rd person forms could be projected back to forms that incorporated a *t* (cf. *wə'ətu*, *yə'əti* Ge'əz; *šu'ātu*, *ši'ātu* Akkadian),³¹¹ which could well account for the origin of the *t* element of objective pronominal suffixes as coming from a simple pronominal root.³¹²

Any difficulty arising from a contention that the labialization of the *k* in the 3ms is attributable to the very common velar-labialization (an influence of Cushitic³¹³) and not from an original *u* vowel, is answered by the absence of any such labialization of the *k* in the 3fs, which is clearly influenced by an original *i* vowel.

My reconstructions for the pronouns of Proto-Kəstanəñña are as follows:

³⁰⁸ Goldenberg, “The Semitic Languages...,” 296.

³⁰⁹ The common shift in 3rd person pronominal forms in Semitic languages seems to be: *š* > *h* > *?/Ø*.

³¹⁰ The *k* of 2nd person pronouns would have gone to *h* and *š* because of the influence of surrounding vowels (**däkä* > *dähä*; *däki* > *däš*); a phenomenon which would not have affected what had by this time become the *k* of the independent 3rd person pronouns, which is an initial consonant, not prone to spirantization.

³¹¹ Hetzron, “Genetic...,” 117. Hetzron writes: “The three Northern Gurage tongues...also dropped the element *t* in the third person masculine and feminine independent pronouns (*kʷa/kʷa* as against Western Gurage *huta/hita* and Gafat *wət/yət*; cf. Ge'əz *wə'ətu/yə'əti*).”

³¹² v. §IV.3

³¹³ Wolf Leslau, “The Influence of Cushitic...,” 62, v. footnote 248 above.

3ms	* <i>huwatu/huta</i> ³¹⁴	3mp	* <i>hənnämūn</i>
3fs	* <i>hiyatū/hita</i>	3fp	* <i>hənnämān</i>
2ms	* <i>täkä/däkä</i>	2mp	* <i>täkəmūn/däkəmūn</i>
2fs	* <i>täki/däki</i>	2fp	* <i>täkəmān/däkəmān</i>
1cs	* <i>anti/andi</i>	1cp	* <i>ənna</i>

These are not to be taken as definitive, but as rough guides to the overall schematic of the proto-language. The purpose here is to project the origins of those parts of speech that have been under debate.

IV.2. Possessive Pronominal Suffixes

The possessive pronominal suffixes that follow nouns with a final consonant are:³¹⁵

3ms	- <i>äw/u</i> , - <i>kʷan</i>	3mp	- <i>kənnäm(u)</i>
3fs	- <i>ki</i>	3fp	- <i>kənnäma</i>
2ms	- <i>dä</i>	2mp	- <i>däh(ə)m(u)</i>
2fs	- <i>däš</i>	2fp	- <i>däh(ə)ma</i>
1cs	- <i>əddi</i>	1cp	- <i>əňña</i>

The possessive pronominal suffixes that follow nouns with a final vowel are:³¹⁶

3ms	- <i>w</i> , - <i>hʷan</i>	3mp	- <i>hənnäm(u)</i>
3fs	- <i>hi</i>	3fp	- <i>hənnäma</i>
2ms	- <i>dä</i>	2mp	- <i>däh(ə)m(u)</i>

³¹⁴ The forms *huta* and *hita* were proposed by Hetzron (*Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*) and, based upon comparison with such 3ms independent pronouns as *wət* Gafat, *wəʔətu* Ge'ez, *huti* Mäsqan, *huda* Ennəmor, are a possibility for Proto-Kəstanəňňa. Whatever the case, it is likely that Proto-Kəstanəňňa 3rd person singular pronouns came from a root that originally had alef. Cf. *wəʔətu/yəʔəti* Ge'ez; *šu'ātu/ši'ātu* Akk.; *hu'/hi'* Heb. When this was lost remains uncertain.

³¹⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 11; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňňa...,” 75.

³¹⁶ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 11; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňňa...,” 75.

2fs	<i>-däš</i>	2fp	<i>-däh(ə)ma</i>
1cs	<i>-ddi</i>	1cp	<i>-ňña</i>

Leslau notes that for “a noun ending in a consonant cluster (e.g., *ləbs* ‘cloth’) a vowel of disjunction *ə* is added”³¹⁷ and the appropriate postvocalic suffixes are used. Ex.: *bäləbbəhənnäm* “in their heart(s)”; *bägəfittəhənnäm* “between them” (lit. “in the middle of them”); *abotoldəhənnäm* “their ancestry.”

The –äw form of possession for the 3ms that follows a noun ending in a consonant is really the form –*w/u*. The ä can be accounted for as being the remnant of the old construct form.³¹⁸ In instances where the 3ms possessive suffix is preceded by the particle –(ə)m or the copula –(ə)n, the original –*u* resurfaces.³¹⁹ Ex.: *əmmitəmu* “as for his mother” vs. *əmmitäw*; *fayyäləmu agginnaw* “he brought his goat across as well” vs. *fayyäläw*. This –*u/-w* seems quite clearly to come from *-hu which has lost its *h*. Goldenberg rejects this theory, saying:

La possibilité de coupure entre le nom et le suffixe possessif marque un changement si radical dans le statut grammatical de ce morphème par comparaison au possessif –(h)*u* en amharique, dans les langues éthiopiennes septentrionales et autres langues sémitiques, que même s’ils avaient initialement une origine commune, on ne peut voir dans ce possessif en kəstanəňña une continuation directe et ininterrompue du –(h)*u* possessif suffixé au nom. Le fait qu’il y ait ici une voyelle de liaison, et la comparaison aux possessifs des autres personnes, viennent appuyer cette conclusion.³²⁰

The bulk of comparative Semitic evidence would counter this point. There is no reason not to see here the same form *–*hu* that has led to 3ms possessive suffixes in other Ethiosemitic languages, even though a particle may be inserted between the noun and its

³¹⁷ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 11.

³¹⁸ v. §III.4.

³¹⁹ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 76.

³²⁰ Goldenberg “L’Étude...,” 464.

possessor. Furthermore, there is evidence of the insertion of a particle between the noun and other possessive suffixes. Ex.: *abinəddi* “he is my father” <*abi* + *-n* + *-ddi*. An original *-*hu* would also conform, along with the other possessive suffixes, to the etymology proposed in this dissertation for the independent personal pronouns, making it possible to claim a consistent pattern of correspondence between the personal pronouns and the pronoun suffixes. It can therefore be argued that the independent personal pronouns largely became shortened, leaving the following bases for the possessive pronominal suffixes:

3ms	* <i>hu</i>	3mp	* <i>hənnämūn</i>
3fs	* <i>hi</i>	3fp	* <i>hənnämān</i>
2ms	* <i>däkä</i>	2mp	* <i>däkəmūn</i>
2fs	* <i>däki</i>	2fp	* <i>däkəmān</i>
1cs	* <i>ndi/ddi</i>	1cp	* <i>nna</i>

Note that the 3ms and 3fs would have lost their deitic *t* element. Grammatical leveling, as suggested above, would have shifted the *h* element of the 3rd persons to *k*, before the *k* of the 2nd persons eventually softened to *h/š* due to neighboring vowels. The only thing this chart fails to account for is the *n* of the 3ms forms *-kʷan/-hʷan*, which I am presently at a loss to explain.

Something of particular interest in Kəstanəňña is the separation of the possessive pronominal suffix from the noun by the copula or the particle -(ə)*m*.³²¹ Ex.: *zämmaččəmu* “as for his brothers” <*zämmačč* + *-əm* + *-u*. Goldenberg says regarding the insertion of the copula, “I am not clear whether split possessive constructions are

³²¹ v. §XIII.3.

possible with copula-forms other than 3rd. m. sg.”³²² With respect to the copula, I too have only encountered 3ms forms inserted between a noun and its possessive suffix.

IV.3. Objective Pronominal Suffixes

The objective pronominal suffixes are of two varieties: those that attach to a main verb and those that attach to a subordinate verb.³²³ Those that attach to a subordinate verb are as follows:

3ms	<i>-nn</i>	3mp	<i>-nnäm(u)</i>
3fs	<i>-nna</i>	3fp	<i>-nnäma</i>
2ms	<i>-nnähä</i>	2mp	<i>-nnəh(ə)m(u)</i>
2fs	<i>-nnəš</i>	2fp	<i>-nnəhma</i>
1cs	<i>-e/-ä</i>	1cp	<i>-nä</i>

Those that attach to a main verb are as follows:

3ms	<i>-nnət</i>	3mp	<i>-nnämun</i>
3fs	<i>-nnat</i>	3fp	<i>-nnäman</i>
2ms	<i>-nnäho</i>	2mp	<i>-nnəhəmun</i>
2fs	<i>-nnəšin</i>	2fp	<i>-nnəhman</i>
1cs	<i>-ew/-äw</i>	1cp	<i>-no</i>

The verbs that attach to these suffixes are the shorter forms (i.e.: what appear to be “subordinate verb” forms³²⁴) even if the verb is a main verb. Sometimes the particle *-ən* is added to the end of these.³²⁵ Ex.: *ažənnətən* “I see it”; *balännətən* “he said to him”; *tənəžənnən* “we do not see him”; *yaššewən* “it is necessary for me.” When the verb to

³²² Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 75.

³²³ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 25; a subordinate verb is any verb that is in a subordinate clause.

³²⁴ v. §§IX.1.1.1; IX.1.2.1.

³²⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 25.

which the objective pronominal suffix attaches ends in a consonant, the *nn* of these suffixes assimilate to that consonant.³²⁶ Ex.: *ätiggərrət* “I will sell it” <*ätiggər* + *-nnət*; *änädəffat* “I shall bite her” <*änädəf* + *-nnat*. Goldenberg can only account for the *nn* as being originally 3rd person forms that, through grammatical leveling, were extended to the 2nd person forms.³²⁷ Hetzron attributes them to a Proto-Semitic remnant:

In the third person Ø suffixes, the distribution Light –*nn-* or –*: -* (i.e. gemination of the preceding consonant resulting from an older assimilation of the *n*) vs. Heavy (in Gunnän-Gurage languages in general – GT)...continues a proto-Semitic allomorphic division, also attested in Biblical Hebrew (e.g. *yišmər-ennū* ‘he will guard him’ vs. *yišmər-ehū* ‘let him guard him!’, respectively going back to older **yašmuru-nnu:* (with the suffix after a vowel) and **yašmur-hu:* (suffix after a consonant)...³²⁸

Hetzron makes the better point here (as is set forth clearly in the section below on the verbal endings³²⁹), though another possibility may be suggested: the *nn* might come from the preposition *lä-/nä-*, a preposition which can also serve as direct object marker in Kəstanəňña and other Semitic languages.³³⁰ Regardless of whether one accepts this theory or that proposed by Hetzron, both would account for the original object suffixes in a way that Goldenberg’s cannot.

Therefore, if we separate the *nn* component of the main verb objective pronominal suffixes, we are left with the following:

3ms	*-(ə) <i>t</i>	3mp	*-ä <i>mun</i>
3fs	*- <i>at</i>	3fp	*-ä <i>man</i>
2ms	*-ä <i>ho</i> (< *-ä <i>hä</i> + * <i>u</i>)	2mp	*-(ə) <i>həmun</i>

³²⁶ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 83. Goldenberg says, “It comes out clear...that –*nn-* and the gemination of the last radical are representatives of one and the same morpheme...”

³²⁷ Ibid.,” 83.

³²⁸ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 63.

³²⁹ v. §§IX.1.1.2; IX.1.2.2.

³³⁰ v. §X.1.2.1.

2fs	*-(<i>ə</i>)šin (<i><*</i> -ši + *n)	2fp	*-(<i>ə</i>)hman
1cs	*-ew/-äw (<i><*</i> -e + *u)	1cp	*-no (<i>< *</i> nä + *u)

If we compare this with the chart of reconstructed Proto-Kestanəñña independent personal pronouns, the derivation of these objective suffixes can be seen. For reference's sake, this new chart will be called the “object suffix origins chart” (the parts in bold are those elements which are used for the object suffixes):

3ms	*huwatu/huta ³³¹	3mp	*hənnämūn
3fs	*hiyatū/hita	3fp	*hənnämān
2ms	*täkä/däkä	2mp	*täkəmūn/däkəmūn
2fs	*täki/däki	2fp	*täkəmān/däkəmān
1cs	*anti/andi	1cp	*ənna

If the *nn* component is thus separated out of the objective suffixes, we are left with the original pronominal element.³³²

Goldenberg records an additional set of objective pronominal suffixes, which he calls “heavy object suffixes”,³³³:

3ms	- <i>u</i>	3mp	- <i>om(u-)</i>
3fs	- <i>wa</i>	3fp	- <i>omwa</i>
2ms	- <i>kkä</i>	2mp	- <i>kkəm(u-)</i>
2fs	- <i>čč</i>	2fp	- <i>kkəma</i>
1cs	- <i>ňň</i>	1cp	- <i>nnä</i>

³³¹ The reason that ***ut*** is in bold, and not just ***t***, will become apparent from the following discussion on the “heavy object suffixes.”

³³² The absence of any pronominal element in the subordinate 3ms objective suffix (i.e.: -*nn*) is explained by the like absence of such an element after the prepositions *bä-* and *lä-*. Ex.: *amättiälläm* “one brought for him” *< amäätä + -llä + (missing pronoun) + -m*.

³³³ Goldenberg, “Kestanəñña...,” 85.

Goldenberg's results here are derived from a confusion of verbal endings and objective suffixes. The verbal endings are traces of a Proto-Semitic *-u(n) which, when separated from the rest, yield the clearly pronominal roots:

3ms	*-u(n) + *-u(t)	3mp	*-u(n) + *-ämu(n)
3fs	*-u(n) + *-a(t)	3fp	*-u(n) + *-äma
2ms	*-(u)n + *-kä	2mp	*-(u)n + *-kämu(n)
2fs	*-(u)n + *-ki (>*š)	2fp	*-(u)n + *-käma(n)
1cs	*-(u)n + *-i	1cp	*-(u)n + *-na

In instances where the verbal ending *u* came in contact with *ä* the result was a juncture *wä* which, according to phonological rules,³³⁴ became the *o* forms that we see in Goldenberg's chart. A quick comparison between this chart and the "object suffix origins chart" above shows that the "object suffix origins chart" explains not only the *nn*-form object suffixes, but the heavy object suffixes as well.

The objective pronominal suffixes may be used resumptively for an object already specified.³³⁵ Ex.: *əmmayyä mən yatwərrərrət*? "What makes a stone talk?"; *əzger bərrähʷan aččənnət* "God closed its door."

IV.4. Polite Usage of Pronouns

Politeness or respect is shown for a person – typically due to age or rank – by using the plural pronouns. Thus, in addressing someone directly in the polite form, one would use *dähəm* "you (2mp)" instead of *dähä* "you (2ms), or *dähma* "you (2fp)" instead of *däš* "you (2fs)." In speaking of someone indirectly in the polite form, one would use *kənnäm/hənnäm* "they (3mp)" instead of *kʷa* "he (3ms)," or *kənnäma* "they (3fp)" instead

³³⁴ v. §II.1.1.2.

³³⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 10; Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 122.

of *kya/kiya* “she (3fs).” The same rule applies to possessive and objective pronominal suffixes. Ex.: *fäyya nähəm?* “are you (pol.) well?”; *gehənnäm* “his (pol.) house.” Polite/formal address is also indicated by the pluralizing of verbs.³³⁶

Goldenberg says of the polite forms that “2nd pl. forms are used in addressing a priest or a monk (or nun) or by a woman when addressing her husband’s folks.”³³⁷ Leslau’s Kəstane informant mentions the same polite form of address given by a woman to her in-laws, as well as by a man to his in-laws.³³⁸ My personal experiences among the Kəstane revealed a broader use of the polite forms than those described by Goldenberg and Leslau. Ex.: one’s elders, especially older men with the title *Azmač*. In addition to 2mp forms, the 3mp forms can be applied to individuals out of respect when speaking of them in the 3rd person.

IV.5. Demonstrative Pronouns

IV.5.1. Near Demonstrative

The near demonstrative for both genders, and for both the singular and plural, is *zi* “this/these.”³³⁹ The form *zini* “this one” is really the near demonstrative combined with what may be the root of the definite article *-ni*.³⁴⁰

IV.5.2. Far Demonstrative

The far demonstrative for both genders, and for both the singular and plural, is *za* “that/those.”³⁴¹ On the form *zani* “that one” see above (§IV.5.1.).

³³⁶ v. §IX.6.

³³⁷ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 70.

³³⁸ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 64-65.

³³⁹ Ibid., 11.

³⁴⁰ v. §III.2.

³⁴¹ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 11.

IV.6. Indefinite Pronouns

The indefinite pronouns and pronouns of totality are well covered by Leslau, and the reader is referred to his work for a comprehensive list.³⁴² Those that are not covered in his list include: (*ä*)*gäle* “so-and-so”; (*ä*)*käle* “so-and-so”; *əmm* “anything/nothing”; *əyyattattu* “each”; *mən* “something”; *mənamən* “something (or other)”; *məqay* “something”; *qay* “something.”

IV.7. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are *ma* “who?”, *mən* “what?”, *məqay/yämən* “why?” and *yitta/yittat* “which?”³⁴³ The interrogative *yittani* “which one” is a combination of *yitta* and the long definite article *-ni*.³⁴⁴ Goldenberg notes that *ma* “who?” is shortened from *man*, the final *n* returning when this pronoun is suffixed.³⁴⁵ Ex.: *mannähä* “who are you?” <*ma(n)* + *nähä*.

V. Adjectives

An adjective may match the noun to which it is applied in number (gender being mostly unmarked in Kəstanəňña). Ex.: *lelocč təbočč* “other tribes”; *mälkammočč ässätočč* “beautiful ensete plants.” In other cases, a singular adjective may be applied to a noun in the plural. Ex.: *kəfu säbočč* “wicked people.” When the noun is definite, the article is applied to the adjective instead of the noun. Ex.: *maläqi säb* “the big man.” This same rule applies to relative clauses as well, since, as modifiers, the category of adjectives applies to them. Ex.: *bämədər lalä yalləmi säbočč* “the people who are upon

³⁴² Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 12-13.

³⁴³ Ibid., 12.

³⁴⁴ v. §III.2.

³⁴⁵ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 73-74.

the earth”; *gäbäre yallänni mäss* “the man who had a hired hand.” Adjectives may be partially reduplicated before a plural noun to emphasize the individual members of a plurality. Ex.: *gədəddər zafočč* “big trees” < *gəddər* “big.”

Adjective morphemes include *-ňňa/-ňňä* (pl.: *-ňňočč*; Ex.: *kəstanəňňa* “(language) of the Kəstane” < *kəstane* “Kəstane”; *əddələňňä* “lucky” < *əddəl* “luck”), *-awi* (pl.: *-awiyān*; a gentilic that can be used for persons; Ex.: *alämawī* “worldly” < *aläm* “world”; *mabärəwī* “social/societal” < *mabär* “society”), *-amma* (pl.: *-ammočč*; Ex.: *wərqamma* “cold”; *mälkamma* “beautiful”; *gulbätamma* “strong”), and the addition of *yä-* to a noun (Ex.: *yälät* “daily” < *yä-* + *əlät*; *yäsäb* “human” < *yä-* + *säb*). Within the category of adjectival morphemes are the agentive forms (Ex.: *CäCaCi/CäCCaC* for Type A roots; *CäCCaCi* for Type B roots) that have attributive or substantive meaning, but all of which come from a participial origin. Ex.: *täqami* “useful”; *säbaki* “preacher”; *träggari* “seller”; *akbari* “respectful.”

VI. Numerals

VI.1. Cardinals

Below are some of the cardinal numbers:

<i>at(t)</i>	one	<i>səddəst</i>	six
<i>kit(t)</i>	two	<i>säbat</i>	seven
<i>sost</i>	three	<i>səmmənt</i>	eight
<i>arätt</i>	four	<i>zäťän</i>	nine
<i>amməst</i>	five	<i>assər</i>	ten

The tens from ten to ninety, as well as the numbers for hundred and thousand are the same as those for Amharic. The exception to this is the number twenty, which in Kəstanəñña is *kʷəya/kuya*. Twenty is most likely derived from the number for two *kit(t)*.³⁴⁶ The words for “one” (*att, quna*) may be used as indefinite articles.³⁴⁷

VI.2. Ordinals

The ordinals are formed from the cardinal number and the suffixes *-(ə)l* and *-äñña/-äñää*. Ex.: *kittəläñña* “second”; *sostəläñää* “third.” Occasionally these ordinals are found without *-(ə)l*. Ex.: *arättäñää* “fourth.”

VII. Copula

VII.1. Positive Copula (the *n*-form)

The forms of the positive copula (*n*-form) are as follows:³⁴⁸

3ms	<i>-(ə)n</i>	3mp	<i>näm</i>
3fs	<i>na</i>	3fp	<i>näma</i>
2ms	<i>nähä</i>	2mp	<i>nähəm</i>
2fs	<i>näs</i>	2fp	<i>näh(ə)ma</i>
1cs	<i>näw/new</i>	1cp	<i>nänää</i>

The positive copula, the root of which is *n(ä)*, is an enclitic in the case of the 3ms form, and occasionally is so for the other persons and numbers. Ex.: *agärəñña yalämmo bágərən* “it is by foot that our land was developed”; *mannähä?* “who are you?”; *ädittəñäw* “it is I.” Like a verb, it comes at the end of a clause. The positive copula is

³⁴⁶ *kitt* appears to come from the Semitic root *kl*? with feminine-marker *-t*, just like Amh. *hulätt*. The *l* most likely assimilated to the *t*.

³⁴⁷ v. §III.1.

³⁴⁸ Leslau, *Ethioians Speak...Soddo*, 13; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 70-74.

rather a particle than a verb, taking object suffixes for its conjugation. The same basic phenomenon can be found in Amharic and other Ethiosemitic languages. This may be a Cushitic borrowing, and might even correspond to the copula in such Bantu languages as Swahili.³⁴⁹

There is reason to disagree with Leslau's additional alternative form for the 1cs copula *näwh*. Leslau writes:

The copula of the 1st person sg. has in Chaha, Soddo, and Selti the subject suffix *-k* of the verb as against Amharic that uses the object suffix pronoun with the copula: Chaha *nəxw* 'I am', Soddo *näwx*, Selti *ənkw*, but Amharic *näňň*.³⁵⁰

Hetzron shares this opinion with Leslau, projecting an original *nähw* form.³⁵¹ This supposed *näwh/näwx* form would also give the impression that the 1cs copula was derived from 1cs perfect conjugation *-kʷ/-hʷ*, instead of from the objective pronominal suffix (in this case *-ew/-äw*), which, it may be contended, is the real "conjugation" of the copula. Furthermore, upon asking my language assistant whether the 1cs copula is ever *näwh* he could think of no definite instances. There is therefore no need to speculate on the copula having anything other than objective pronominal suffixes, especially since the one 1cs form *-ew* could not be explained as coming from **-ähʷ* (*ä* does not turn to *e* except in the vicinity of *i* or *y*), whereas the other form *-äw* can well be explained as coming from original *-ew* (Ex.: *namä* "give me!" <*name*>).

Goldenberg notes an occasional change in the placement of the *n*-form copula:

The copula keeps its "natural" place (which is that of a verb) at the end of the sentence when the predicative complement consists of a single

³⁴⁹ Karel Petráček, "La copule näw en amharique dans une perspective chamito-sémitique et africaine," in *Ethiopian Studies; Dedicated to Wolf Leslau*, ed. Stanislav Segert (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1983), 286-295.

³⁵⁰ Leslau, *Etymological...*, xii.

³⁵¹ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 37.

(primary) word. But if the complement has an adjunct, either a “genitive” or “relative” complex, an attributive demonstrative, or even a numeral, the (3rd m. sg.) copula may idiomatically be placed immediately after the adjunct, before the governing head. The word (or morpheme) immediately preceding the copula is thus formally marked as the one conveying the specific idea on which the predication is meant to insist.³⁵²

Ex.: *bus^{wan} yibal* “it is the leopard who is speaking”; *abinəddi* “he is my father.” This phenomenon might not be strictly limited to the copula, if one takes into account some of the other occasionally displaced parts of speech.³⁵³

The *n*-form copula may in some cases be preceded by another copula (*ə*)*tt*, for which see below.

VII.2. The Positive Copula (the *tt*-form)

An additional copula is the *tt* form. Leslau briefly mentions this, saying, “In the structure ‘it is he, it is she’, and so on, the element –*tt(ə)-* can be placed between the personal pronoun and the copula.”³⁵⁴ Goldenberg addresses this *tt*-form by creating two sets of copulae: 1) The copula of *n*-form, and 2) The copula of the *n*-form preceded by *tt*.³⁵⁵ He adds to the environments in which *tt* is found by saying:

...the –*tt(-)* is required after personal and demonstrative pronouns, and is found as well after the definite article –*i* and when an impersonal verb-form happens to precede immediately the copula.³⁵⁶

Regarding those cases where only the *tt*-form is found (and no *n*-form copula)

Goldenberg writes:

The bare *tt* will suffice (as 3rd m. sg. copula) when suffixed to attributive expression preceding the substantival head... It is tempting to induce from these examples that the dispensation with the –*n* in this form is connected somehow with the presence of a following noun to lean upon... It is,

³⁵² Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 71-72.

³⁵³ v. §XIV.1.

³⁵⁴ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak..Soddo*, 13.

³⁵⁵ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 71.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 71.

however, difficult to lay down a rule as to the distribution of *-tt* and *-ttə-*
*n.*³⁵⁷

It could possibly be the case that the *tt*-forms of the copula derive from the Proto-Ethiosemitic/Proto-Kəstanəňña pronominal forms with deictic *t* element.³⁵⁸ Goldenberg also speculates that this *tt*-form comes from an original pronoun with demonstrative *t* element, and concludes:

In Kəst., the post-suffixal indep.-affirm.-indic. *t* marker is still restricted to a preceding 3rd pers. (sg.) suff., whereas in copula-forms *tt* has expanded into a general post-pronominal copulative element.³⁵⁹

However, what Goldenberg calls the “post-suffixal indep.-affirm.-indic. *t* marker” can be better explained as the *t* element which was originally part of the 3ms independent personal pronoun, and came to be used as an objective pronominal suffix.³⁶⁰ As for the *tt*-form copula, though this form might have resulted from an original Semitic copula that made use of the personal/demonstrative pronoun (ex: *nəgus wə'ətu* “he is king” Gə'əz), yet it is more probable that its origin is due to the influence of Sidamo, since, as Hudson points out, “in Sidamo...the copula with pronouns, proper names, and other human nouns is *-ti*.³⁶¹ And a look at Hudson’s charts reveals how the copulae of Highland East Cushitic are derived from the demonstrative pronouns of these languages.

VII.3. Negative Copula

The forms of the negative copula are as follows³⁶²:

3ms	<i>ädäbəll</i>	3mp	<i>ädäbəlläm</i>
3fs	<i>ädäbəlla</i>	3fp	<i>ädäbəlläma</i>

³⁵⁷ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 73.

³⁵⁸ v. §IV.1.

³⁵⁹ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 91.

³⁶⁰ v. §IV.3.

³⁶¹ Hudson, “Highland...,” 274.

³⁶² Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 13; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 71.

2ms	<i>ädäbəkkä</i>	2mp	<i>ädäbəkkəm</i>
2fs	<i>ädäbəčč</i>	2fp	<i>ädäbəkkəma</i>
1cs	<i>ädäbukk/</i> <i>ädäbəkk^w</i>	1cp	<i>ädäbəllänä</i>

The negative copula *ädäbəl-* is “conjugated,” as with the positive copula, mostly by objective pronominal suffixes instead of the perfect suffix conjugation. Goldenberg notes this, saying:

In forms of the negative copula personal suffixes are appended to the base *ädäbəl-* (-lk- > -kk-; -lš > čč). The suffixes of the 3rd persons sg. & pl. are the same as (“light”) object suffixes of the Impf. (and Juss.); those of the 2nd persons sg. & pl. are identical with object suffixes of the Impf. as well as with the homonymous conjugational endings of the Perfect; 1st sg. suffix is identical with the Perfect affirmative; 1st pl. form is the same as the “light” object suffix of the Impf. except for the geminate –ll-. The paradigm as a whole is peculiar to the copula.³⁶³

The doubled *l* in such forms as 3ms *ädäbəll* and 3fs *ädäbəlla* is the result of an assimilated *n*-copula: *-n* “he is” and *-na* “she is” respectively.³⁶⁴ Goldenberg says concerning the origin of this root: “the origin of (the base) *ädäbəl-* is not clear. All we know to a certainty is that the same root is represented in Amharic and Gafat negative copulae.”³⁶⁵

VII.4. Other Forms of the Copula

In the past, the positive copula is simply the verb *näbbär(ä)* with its conjugations. Ex.: *astädadari näbbär* “he was the administrator.” The past negative copula is *alnäbbär(ä)/annäbbär* with its conjugations. Ex.: *čəqa šum annäbärk^w* “I was not a chief.” The future positive copula is formed from the imperfect forms of the root *honä*, and the

³⁶³ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 74.

³⁶⁴ v. §II.1.2.1.

³⁶⁵ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 74.

future negative copula is formed from the negative imperfect forms of the root *honä*.³⁶⁶

Ex.: *gølfati ammøst ägør yøhonu* “the length will be five feet”; *mäčäräša zi tihon* “this will not be the end.” For the past and present forms of the copula in subordination, the roots *näbbär(ä)* and *honä* are used respectively.

VIII. “To Be”

VIII.1. Existential

The verb of existence in the present is *yinä/yønä*, conjugated with the perfect conjugation.³⁶⁷ Ex.: *kittø lebočč yønämun* “there are two thieves”; *bäzi wägän yinätti* “she is in this place.”

VIII.2. Negative Existential

The negative existential in the present is the root *yellä*, conjugated with the negative perfect conjugation. Ex.: *bädi løbb dässøta yellä* “there is no happiness in my heart”; *bägeyi wøšta yellät* “she is not in the house.”

VIII.3. Other Forms of the Existential

In the past, the positive and negative existential are based on the root *näbbär(ä)*. Ex.: *bäza näbbärätt* “she was there”; *døro mäkina annäbär* “in the past there were no cars.” In the future the positive and negative existential are based on the root *honä*.³⁶⁸ Ex.: *bäzi ønnøhonu* “we shall be here”; *tøfo ?ay yøhonu* “there will be something bad.”

The present positive existential in subordination is expressed by the root *allä*, with perfect conjugation. Ex.: *biga wøšta yalli* “the one who is in the water” <*yä + allä + -i*>. The present negative existential in subordination is expressed by the root *lellä*, with

³⁶⁶ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 13.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 14.

³⁶⁸ v. §VII.4.

perfect conjugation.³⁶⁹ Ex.: *qes bällellä* “if there is no priest (present)” <*bä-* + *yä-* + *ellä*. For the past and present forms of the positive and negative existential in subordination, the roots *näbbär(ä)* and *honä* are used respectively.

VIII.4. The Use of the Existential for Possession

The existential verb *yinä* may be used to show possession in the present by attaching any of the objective pronominal suffixes.³⁷⁰ Ex.: *səltan yinännətən* “he has authority.” For the negative of this, as well as possession in the past or future, the same rules for the existential as are shown above are followed.³⁷¹ Ex.: *gäbäre yälleläni məss* “the man who does not have a hired hand”; *att maläq waga yänäbbäränn sāb* “a person who had great wealth.”

IX. Verbs

The verbs in Kəstanəñña come from consonantal roots which are “uniradical, biradical, triradical, quadriradical, and composite.”³⁷² For the discussion of the verbal aspects/tenses and derived stems, the regular triradical verb roots of Type A are used as examples.³⁷³ The reader is referred to the works of Leslau and Goldenberg on Kəstanəñña for more lists of verbal paradigms. Many of the verbal paradigms are here omitted, since they have already been fully addressed in those works. The paradigms that are included are intended to be the barest examples for reference purposes.

³⁶⁹ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 14-15.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 15.

³⁷¹ v. §VIII.3.

³⁷² Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 16.

³⁷³ For the other roots and their conjugation, the reader is referred to Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 16-17, 26-33; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 98-99.

IX.1. Aspects/Tenses

Included in this discussion of aspects/tenses is the volitive, though it is a mood, since its formation is along the lines of formation for aspect. Also included is the infinitive for the same reason. Leslau's terms "main" and "subordinate" are here used to indicate the type of clause in which the given verbal form is found.³⁷⁴

IX.1.1. Perfect

The bare perfect form may be used to indicate a simple past meaning. Ex.: *mäṭṭaw* "he came"; *bällatti* "she ate."

IX.1.1.1. Subordinate Perfect

The subordinate perfect is used in all subordinate clauses. Its conjugation is as follows (with the regular Type A verb *säbbärä* "break"):³⁷⁵

3ms	<i>säbbärä</i>	3mp	<i>säbbär(ə)m(u)</i>
3fs	<i>säbbärät(t)</i>	3fp	<i>säbbär(ə)ma</i>
2ms	<i>säbbärkä</i>	2mp	<i>säbbärkəm(u)</i>
2fs	<i>säbbärš</i>	2fp	<i>säbbärkəma</i>
1cs	<i>säbbärk^w/</i> <i>säbbärku</i>	1cp	<i>säbbärnä</i>

The *ə* of the 3rd person plural endings is not necessary when the verb root ends in a vowel. Ex.: *sällamum* "they arrived and..." <*sälla* + -(ə)*mu* + -*m*.

IX.1.1.2. Main Perfect

The main perfect is used in main clauses. Its conjugation is as follows (with the regular Type A verb *säbbärä* "break"):³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 18ff.

³⁷⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 18; Goldenberg, "Kəstanəñña...", 77-80.

³⁷⁶ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 18; Goldenberg, "Kəstanəñña...", 87-88.

3ms	<i>säbbäro</i>	3mp	<i>säbbär(ə)mun</i>
3fs	<i>säbbärätti</i>	3fp	<i>säbbär(ə)man</i>
2ms	<i>säbbärko</i>	2mp	<i>säbbärkəmun</i>
2fs	<i>säbbäršin</i>	2fp	<i>säbbärkəman</i>
1cs	<i>säbbärki</i>	1cp	<i>säbbärno</i>

Goldenberg notes that for the main perfect and main imperfect conjugations, “independent-affirmative indicative markers” are added to, as Leslau calls it, the “subordinate” conjugations. These so-called “independent-affirmative-indicative markers” are³⁷⁷:

3ms	<i>-u</i>	3mp	<i>-n</i>
3fs	<i>-i</i>	3fp	<i>-n</i>
2ms	<i>-u</i>	2mp	<i>-n</i>
2fs	<i>-in</i>	2fp	<i>-n</i>
1cs	<i>-i/-u</i>	1cp	<i>-u</i>

The final *-u* accounts for those main conjugation forms in which a final *-o* results from the interaction of *ä* and *u*. Ex.: *säbbäro* < *säbbärä* + *-u*. This *-u* is most clear (as a *-w*) when attached to verbs which end in *a*. Ex.: *qinnaw* “he did” < *qinna* + *-u/-w*.

Goldenberg believes that these endings are of “demonstrative-pronominal-copulative origin.”³⁷⁸ Goldenberg also recognizes what he calls the “independent-affirmative-indicative marker” *t*, which he says “indicates that the preceding *u* is the ‘heavy’ 3rd m. sg. object suffix taking the place of, or fused with, the *u* of the affirmative.”³⁷⁹ This *t* is rather, as mentioned above, an original 3ms objective pronominal suffix. As for the other

³⁷⁷ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 87-88.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 91.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 90.

“independent-affirmative-indicative markers” in Goldenberg’s chart, Leslau proposes that these same endings are actually from Proto-Semitic verbal endings.³⁸⁰ Regarding this postulation of Leslau’s, Goldenberg says he “should prefer to keep silent.”³⁸¹ Elsewhere, however, he makes it clear that he does not think the Proto-Semitic hypothesis is plausible.³⁸² Hetzron adopts a position somewhat like Leslau’s, but in which he proposes that these longer verb endings *-u* and *-n*, and the similar endings in Arabic, are derived from “a proto-Semitic copula **wn*, which has cognates in Egyptian and Cushitic.”³⁸³ Hetzron’s claims, however, seem unfounded for Semitic. More convincing is Leslau’s hypothesis, though he does not go into any details beyond his few surface-level observations on the matter. In response to Goldenberg’s conviction that these long verbal endings are from pronouns, it may be asserted that any similarity between the endings of the pronouns and the verbs is due to the fact that both verbal and nominal parts of speech in Proto-Semitic had longer endings that have been preserved in some Semitic languages throughout the course of history. That is to say, by way of example, that endings of the 3ms/p imperfect and 3ms/p independent personal pronoun would have been preserved as follows:³⁸⁴

<u>Proto-West Semitic</u>	<u>Proto-Ethiosemitic</u>	<u>Proto-South Ethiosemitic</u>
3ms Imperf.	<i>*yašburun</i>	> <i>*yisbäru(n)</i>
3ms PP	<i>*hu'ātu(n)</i>	> <i>*hu'atu(n)</i>

³⁸⁰ Wolf Leslau, “Hypothesis on a Proto-Semitic Marker of the Imperfect in Gurage,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* Vol. 26, No. 2. (1967): 121-125.

³⁸¹ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 92.

³⁸² Goldenberg, “L’Étude...”

³⁸³ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 92.

³⁸⁴ As mentioned above with regards to the projection of proto-Kəstanəňña pronouns, this chart is not meant to be definitive. The main focus here is on the endings of the verbs and pronouns.

3mp Imperf.	*yašburūn	>	*yisbärūn	>	*yəsäbrūn
3mp PP	*hummūn	>	*hunnumūn	>	*hənnämūn

Both the nominal and verbal elements in Proto-Semitic seem to have come from forms that ended in a nasal element *-m/-n which was the first to drop off, except in cases where the end of a word was heavy. This would not have been a copula, as Hetzron suggests, because such a proposed nasal copula is not a common Semitic element.³⁸⁵

Guiding Goldenberg's theory that these long verbal endings are not from Proto-Semitic, are his convictions that Ge'ez is the best testimony for reconstructing Proto-Ethiosemitic:

Et si même le témoignage intrinsèque du guèze...démontre l'absence de marquage primitif de l'indicatif par des suffixes, après tout la conclusion que le guèze serait plus proche de l'état ancien de l'éthiopien commun que les dialectes septentrionaux du gouragué n'est pas inattendue.³⁸⁶

However, if we go down this road, we may be making the same mistake that has been made by taking Akkadian as the closest language to Proto-Semitic, when it is only the Semitic language with the oldest written documents yet attested (already with its own innovations and influences from non-Semitic languages). Should we not then be cautious of making this same mistake about the role of Ge'ez within the greater scope of Ethiosemitic? And if Ge'ez were not the only Ethiosemitic language in its earliest days, but merely the “language of state” (as Amharic is at present), then should we not consider the possibility that it dropped certain Proto-Ethiosemitic markers while other, unwritten, Ethiosemitic languages retained them? How else, for example, would certain of the

³⁸⁵ Goldenberg, “L’Étude...,” 474. Goldenberg writes: “On admettra que si l’on s’aperçoit que les indicatifs affirmatifs indépendants sont des formes composées avec des auxiliaires d’origine copulative, toute hypothèse sur une origine proto-sémitique doit être exclue, car on ne peut parler de catégorie de copule dans le sémitique commun.” Goldenberg’s point here is sound. One may side with Leslau or Goldenberg on the matter, but what Hetzron attempts by projecting a Proto-Semitic *wn copula is unfounded.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 472.

Gurage languages have gotten their *h*-form 3rd person independent pronouns (going back to earlier Semitic *h*-forms) when Gə’əz has *wə’ətu* and *yə’əti*?

It is therefore the case that Goldenberg’s “independent-affirmative-indicative markers” in Kəstanəňña are descended from Proto-Semitic verbal endings, that were first on the imperfect forms and then applied secondarily to the perfects.³⁸⁷

IX.1.1.3. Negative Perfect

The negative perfect is based on the subordinate perfect forms, prefixed by the negative marker *al-*. Furthermore, the penultimate radical loses its gemination in the negative perfect.³⁸⁸ Ex.: *zam ge alwädäqä* “as for that house, it did not fall” <*wäddäqä*; *alarädku* “I did not slaughter” <*arrädku*. Verbs that are of Type B retain their doubled radicals, though the *i* vowel becomes *ä*.³⁸⁹ Ex.: *alzäbbärä* “he did not return (tr.) <*zibbärä*. Goldenberg draws the conclusion from this negative form, in comparison with the positive perfects of Gə’əz and Tigriňña (which lack gemination in the positive perfects), that the gemination in the positive perfect “montrant les innovations caractéristiques du verbe éthiopien méridional,” and that the lack of gemination in the negative perfect of Kəstanəňña, as well as the lack of initial *i* after the first radical in negative perfects of Type B, are remnants of earlier Ethiopic.³⁹⁰ The vowel *i* and doubling throughout of positive perfect forms may be innovations in southern Ethiosemitic languages. However, one should be cautioned against rushing to the judgment that northern Ethiosemitic languages are necessarily closer to Proto-Ethiosemitic.

³⁸⁷ For my construction of Proto-Kəst. imperfect endings v. §IX.1.2.2.

³⁸⁸ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 19.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 19.

³⁹⁰ Goldenberg, “L’Étude...,” 465.

IX.1.2. Imperfect

The imperfect usually expresses the present or the future. Ex.: *talfu* “she is going/will go.”

IX.1.2.1. Subordinate Imperfect

The subordinate imperfect is used in all subordinate clauses. Its conjugation is as follows (with the regular Type A verb *säbbärä* “break”)³⁹¹:

3ms	<i>yəsäbər</i>	3mp	<i>yəsäbrəm(u)</i>
3fs	<i>təsäbər</i>	3fp	<i>yəsäbrəma</i>
2ms	<i>təsäbər</i>	2mp	<i>təsäbrəm(u)</i>
2fs	<i>təsebər</i>	2fp	<i>təsäbrəma</i>
1cs	<i>äsbər</i>	1cp	<i>nəsäbər/ənnəsäbər</i>

In the 2fs form of the subordinate and main³⁹² imperfect and 2fs volitives³⁹³ a vowel *i* is inserted into the verbal base. Ex.: *attandiğ* “don’t light (fs)!” <*attandäd* + *-i-* + *-i*; *əmm bel* “be quiet (fs)!” <*əmm bäl* + *-i-*; *kəfāč* “open up (fs)!” <*kəfät* + *-i-* + *-i*. Goldenberg says of this *i* that:

The 2nd f. Impf. & Juss. formative *i* does not stick to its primitive final position, but would rather display its presence within the verbal base, often by affecting some consonant or vowel. The phenomenon has been observed in Čäxa: the change in vowel caused by this *i*, described as Umlaut by LESLAU (Ethiopic Documents: Gurage p. 14, §5), was shown by POLOTSKY (Notes on Gurage Grammar pp. 22-24) to be actually an i-epenthesis, scil. transference of the primitive *i* before the last consonant.³⁹⁴

The reader is referred to Goldenberg for a full discussion of the formative *i*.³⁹⁵

³⁹¹ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 20; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 77-80.

³⁹² v. §IX.1.2.2.

³⁹³ v. §IX.1.7.

³⁹⁴ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 78.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 78-79.

IX.1.2.2. Main Imperfect

The main imperfect is used in all main clauses. Its conjugation is as follows (with the regular Type A verb *säbbärä* “break”)³⁹⁶:

3ms	<i>yəsäbru</i>	3mp	<i>yəsäbrəmun</i>
3fs	<i>təsäbri</i>	3fp	<i>yəsäbrəman</i>
2ms	<i>təsäbru</i>	2mp	<i>təsäbrəmun</i>
2fs	<i>təsebrin</i>	2fp	<i>təsäbrəman</i>
1cs	<i>äsäbru</i>	1cp	<i>nəsäbru/ənnəsäbru</i>

Regarding the longer endings of the main imperfect conjugation against the subordinate imperfect conjugation (endings which Goldenberg refers to as “independent-affirmative-indicative markers”³⁹⁷) Leslau writes:

And, finally, there is another Proto-Semitic feature no longer preserved in any other spoken language, but still used in an Ethiopic dialect. It is only recently that I observed this feature, and I am not yet convinced that my interpretation is correct, but, if true, it would present an extremely interesting subject for investigation. I refer to the indicative, that is, the present-future in a main clause (“he writes,” or “he will write”). This indicative is expressed in classical Arabic by the ending *-u* as in *yaktub-u* “he writes.” The jussive, or a form used for command for the first and third persons (as in “let him write”) is expressed in classical Arabic by the marker *zero*; thus *yaktub* “let him write.” None of the spoken Arabic dialects have preserved the distinction between the indicative and jussive, since the spoken Arabic dialects have lost the short final vowels. However, the Gurage dialect of Soddo still preserves a final vowel *-u* for the main present-future (*yəbädr-u* “he comes first”) and has no final vowel for the subordinate present-future, the form being *yəbädər* “so that he comes first.”³⁹⁸

³⁹⁶ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 20; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 87-88.

³⁹⁷ v. §IX.1.1.2.

³⁹⁸ Wolf Leslau, *The Land of Prester John*. (Los Angeles: Faculty Research Lecture, University of California, 1965), 19. On this same subject see: Wolf Leslau, “An Archaic Vowel of the Jussive in Gurage, Gafat, and Harari,” *Orientalia* 37-1 (1968): 90-93; Leslau, Wolf. “Hypothesis on a Proto-Semitic Marker of the Imperfect in Gurage,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* Vol. 26, No. 2. (1967): 121-125.

As has been mentioned above,³⁹⁹ Goldenberg attributes these verb endings to “demonstrative-pronominal-copulative origin,” while Hetzron, though agreeing with Leslau that they are of Proto-Semitic origin, constructs a hypothetical *-wn copula of Proto-Semitic, for which there is no evidence in the Semitic languages. Here there is room to suggest a theory that supports Proto-Semitic verb endings with different evidence.

First of all, it may be assumed that all Proto-Semitic endings of imperfect forms ended in *n*, with the singulars having a short vowel and the plurals (except 1cp) having a longer vowel before the *n*.⁴⁰⁰ The following represents something of what Proto-Kəstanəňña (or an earlier language) imperfects might have inherited from Proto-Semitic roots:

3ms	*yəsäbrun	3mp	*yəsäbrəmūn
3fs	*təsäbrun	3fp	*yəsäbrəmān
2ms	*təsäbrun	2mp	*təsäbrəmūn
2fs	*təsäbrin	2fp	*təsäbrəmān
1cs	*äsařrun	1cp	*nəsäbrun/ənnəsäbrun

The short **u* would not have been strong enough to retain the final **n* (though the object suffixes may have brought it back), while the long **ū/ā* – particularly when in pausal position (such as when the imperfect is the main verb) – could easily retain the final **n*.⁴⁰¹ These kinds of endings would also apply to the pronominal endings,⁴⁰² since there is evidence from comparative Semitic studies that Proto-Semitic may have had a *-un/-um

³⁹⁹ v. §IX.1.1.2.

⁴⁰⁰ v. § IV.3., including Hetzron’s theory on the derivation of the *nn* of objective suffixes.

⁴⁰¹ cf. Biblical Hebrew pausal forms of plural imperfects. Ex.: *yis̤mərūn* “they keep/will keep” vs. *yis̤mərū* in non-pausal forms

⁴⁰² v. §IV.

ending for singular nominals, and a *-ūn/-ūm ending for plurals.⁴⁰³ The argument for a Proto-Kəstanəñña long *-ūn ending would also account for the -mu ending of the masculine plural pronouns and masculine plural verbal endings better than Goldenberg's proposed Proto-Kəstanəñña end labialization *-m^w.⁴⁰⁴ This would explain why the independent personal pronouns would not retain final *-n while the main objective suffixes would, since the former do not fall at the end of sentences (i.e.: pausal position), but the latter do. Any contention that the main verbal endings are of pronominal origin should take into account the lack of harmony between some of the pronouns and their corresponding main verb conjugations. Ex.: *ädi* and *äsäbru*.

The main imperfect can at times be accompanied by the particle -(ə)n.⁴⁰⁵

IX.1.2.3. Negative Imperfect (Subordinate and Main)

Both the subordinate and main negative imperfect forms are based on the subordinate imperfect forms. However, the subordinate and main imperfects have different negative prefixes. The conjugation of the negative subordinate imperfect is as follows (with the regular Type A verb *säbbärä* “break”)⁴⁰⁶:

3ms	<i>aysäbər</i>	3mp	<i>aysäbrəm(u)</i>
3fs	<i>attəsäbər</i>	3fp	<i>aysäbrəma</i>
2ms	<i>attəsäbər</i>	2mp	<i>attəsäbrəm(u)</i>
2fs	<i>attəsebər</i>	2fp	<i>attəsäbrəma</i>
1cs	<i>annəsäbər</i>	1cp	<i>annəsäbər</i>

⁴⁰³ cf. Akk. *šarrum* “king” vs. *šarrū* “kings” < **šarrūm* ?; Classical Arab. *kāfirun* “unbeliever” vs. *kāfirūna* “unbelievers.”

⁴⁰⁴ v. §IV.1.

⁴⁰⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 21.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 21.

These subordinate negative imperfects make use of the negative *al-*, which was also used for the negative perfect,⁴⁰⁷ though the *l* is assimilated to the prefixed element in each case (i.e.: *y*, *t*, *n*). The conjugation of the negative main imperfect is as follows (with the regular Type A verb *säbbärä* “break”)⁴⁰⁸:

3ms	<i>tisäbər</i>	3mp	<i>tisäbrəm(u)</i>
3fs	<i>təttəsäbər</i>	3fp	<i>tisäbrəma</i>
2ms	<i>təttəsäbər</i>	2mp	<i>təttəsäbrəm(u)</i>
2fs	<i>təttəsebər</i>	2fp	<i>təttəsäbrəma</i>
1cs	<i>tässäbər</i>	1cp	<i>tənnəssäbər</i>

The *tə-* element of the negative main imperfects is borrowed from Sidamo. As Leslau writes:

This difference in the expression of the negative in main and subordinate clauses is taken from Sidamo. There the negative element in a main clause is *di-* prefixed to the imperfect.⁴⁰⁹

IX.1.2.4. Deliberative Particle *nə-*

The deliberative particle *nə-* attaches to a subordinate imperfect form, together with the postposition *-(ə)yy(än)*⁴¹⁰ or *-kom/- (ə)hom* to indicate purpose or result. Ex.: *fayyäli naybälaboyyän* “so that/lest he eat the goat (to his detriment)” < *nə-* + *aybälabo* + *-yyän*; *nənəføyəhom* “that we may be saved” < *nə-* + *nəføy* + *-əhom*. The particle *nə-* is the Semitic volitive/deliberative marker *lə-* (cf. Arabic *liyaktub* “let him write”), which has undergone the shift from *l* to *n*.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁷ v. §IX.1.1.3.

⁴⁰⁸ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 21.

⁴⁰⁹ Leslau, “The Influence of Sidamo...,” 76-77.

⁴¹⁰ v. §X.2.3.

⁴¹¹ v. §II.1.2.1.

IX.1.2.5. Imminent Future

Hetzron observes a tense he calls “imminent future” that involves the imperfect form:

An imminent future composed of “Imperfect + ‘in order to’ + ‘is’” is found in Soddo, e.g. *alf-ɔyyän-ən* ‘I am about to go’ (‘It is so that I go’)…⁴¹²

I encountered one other potential marker of imminent future that involves the use of the infinitive. Ex.: *bäzi woqir näw* “I am going to stay here.”⁴¹³

IX.1.3. Past Imperfect/Past Progressive

The past imperfect indicates habitual action in the past, and the past progressive indicates progressive action in the past. Both these tenses are formed by a combination of the subordinate imperfect form plus the auxiliary *näbbär(ä)* “he/it was.” Ex.: *näsäč näbbär* “we were drinking/used to drink.” Though the imperfect itself is conjugated according to person and number, *näbbär(ä)* remains unchanged. Thus the literal meaning of the above example might be rendered “it was (that) we drink.” *Näbbärä* can be applied to two or more imperfects to indicate a number of continuous actions in the past. In such cases, the imperfect(s) preceding the last has the *-(ə)m* circumstantial particle.

Ex.: *yəsäddum yəzu näbbär* “he would chase after and arrest them (sg.).” In these cases the first imperfect(s) may have any of the meanings attributed to circumstantial action.⁴¹⁴

IX.1.4. The Present Perfect

The present perfect may be indicated by the subordinate perfect forms suffixed with the particle *-(ə)m* of resultative action.⁴¹⁵ Ex.: *gärrahum* “I am full”; *mättämum*

⁴¹² Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 85.

⁴¹³ v. §IX.1.6.1.

⁴¹⁴ v. §XIII.1.

⁴¹⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 19; v. §XIII.2.

“they have come.”

IX.1.5. The Pluperfect

The pluperfect may be indicated by the subordinate perfect form suffixed with the particle -(ə)m of resultative action and followed by an auxiliary näbbär(ā).⁴¹⁶ Ex.: tägg
alläqäm näbbär “the tägg had been used up”; *śahum näbbär* “I had wanted.”

IX.1.6. Infinitive

The infinitive is formed by prefixing a verbal base (“that of the jussive”⁴¹⁷) with the prefix *wä-*. Ex.: *wäsmä* “to hear”; *wäwsäd* “to take”; *wäṭäggär* “to sell.” Due to the influence of *w* upon the *ā*, this prefix is sometimes *wo-* or even *o-*.⁴¹⁸

IX.1.6.1. The Infinitive followed by the Copula

The infinitive may be followed by the copula and a pronominal object suffix to indicate an action in the immediate future or an obligatory/necessary action. Ex.: *bäzi woqir näw* “I will have to remain here.”⁴¹⁹

IX.1.7. Volitives

IX.1.7.1. Imperative

The imperative conjugation is as follows (with the regular Type A verb *säbbärä* “break”)⁴²⁰:

2ms	<i>säbär</i>	2mp	<i>säbärəm</i>
2fs	<i>säber</i>	2fp	<i>säbärma</i>

IX.1.7.2. Jussive

The jussive conjugation is as follows (with the regular Type A verb *säbbärä*

⁴¹⁶ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 20; v. §XIII.2.

⁴¹⁷ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 24.

⁴¹⁸ v. §II.1.1.2.

⁴¹⁹ v. pg. 316 (12.33.2)

⁴²⁰ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 23; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 77-80.

“break”)⁴²¹:

3ms	<i>yäsbär/yesbär</i>	3mp	<i>yäsbärəm/yesbärəm</i>
3fs	<i>täsbär</i>	3fp	<i>yäsbärma/yesbärma</i>
1cs	<i>näsbär</i>	1cp	<i>näsbär/ənnəsbär</i>

The *n-* of the 1cs jussive may be attributed to the same origin as the *nə-* deliberative particle that can be attached to imperfects; i.e.: an older volitive/deliberative marker *l-*, which has shifted to *n-*.⁴²² It is also noteworthy that the prefixes for 3ms, 3mp, and 3fp are not *yə-* but *yä-/ye-*.

IX.1.7.2.1. Negative Jussive

The negative jussive conjugation is as follows (with the regular Type A verb *säbbärä* “break”)⁴²³:

3ms	<i>ayäsbär</i>	3mp	<i>ayäsbärəm</i>
3fs	<i>attäsbär</i>	3fp	<i>ayäsbärma</i>
2ms	<i>attäsbär</i>	2mp	<i>attäsbärəm</i>
2fs	<i>attäsbär</i>	2fp	<i>attäsbärma</i>
1cs	<i>annäsbär</i>	1cp	<i>annäsbär</i>

The negative jussives use the same negative marker *al-* as that of the negative perfect and the subordinate negative imperfect.⁴²⁴ The second person negative jussives are used as the negative of imperatives.

IX.2. Derived Stems

At the beginning of this discussion of derived stems, let the reader note that the

⁴²¹ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 22; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 77-80.

⁴²² v. §IX.1.2.4.

⁴²³ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 22.

⁴²⁴ v. §§IX.1.1.3; IX.1.2.3.

consonantal root of a verb may be in one of three types of vocalic and consonantal structure: Type A, Type B, and Type C. Type A, for a regular, triliteral verb in the perfect, has the structure *CäCCäC*, Type B has *CiCCäC*, Type C has *CaCCäC*. Leslau says of these types that they “are lexical items and neither the nature of the consonants nor the meaning of the verb is likely to explain the reason for a verb having one or another type.”⁴²⁵ These types have their origin in the derived stems of earlier Semitic, but they are no longer productive as morphemes. This is true for other Ethiosemitic languages as well.⁴²⁶

In Type B verbs the vowel after the first radical of the root is *i* in the perfect, *i* or *ä* in the imperfect, and *ä* in the Jussive. Hudson observes the same *i/e* vowel for Type B in Gə’əz, Gafat, Harari, and Čäxa.⁴²⁷

IX.2.1. The *tä*-Stem

Leslau says of the *tä*-stem that it “expresses the passive...the reflexive...the intransitive.”⁴²⁸ Ex.: *täsämma* “be heard”; *taṭṭäbä* “wash oneself; *tänässa* “rise/depart.” When the *tä*-stem attaches to a Type C verb or a reduplicated stem it “expresses a reciprocal action.”⁴²⁹ Ex.: *tägabba* “marry each other”; *tägaddälä* “fight/struggle with one another.” The same type of reciprocal action may be expressed by the *tä*-form of partially reduplicated verbs. Ex.: *tärädaddä* “help one another”; *tätizizzä* “be joined to one another.” In instances in which the *t* of this stem comes in contact with the first radical of the verbal root (through the dropping of the *ä*), the *t* often, though not always,

⁴²⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 16.

⁴²⁶ Leslau, “Characteristics...,” 605.

⁴²⁷ Grover Hudson, “The Ethiopian Semitic B-Type,” in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies*, ed. R.S. Hess (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 101-109.

⁴²⁸ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 17.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 17.

assimilates to that radical.⁴³⁰ Ex.: *yəkkittəlu* “he follows/will follow” <*yətkittəlu*; *yəgganňu* “he meets (someone)” <*yətgənaňnu* (in this case an *n* has also assimilated to the *g*, thus *yəgganňu* <*yəggnaňnu* <*yəggənaňnu* <*yətgənaňnu*).⁴³¹

IX.2.2. The *at*-Stem

Leslau writes that the *at*-stem “is added to the basis of type B regardless of the original type of the verb.”⁴³² What should be said, rather, is that the *at*-stem is not found attached to a Type A. The *at*-stem may also be added to a Type C, in which case it “expresses the causative of reciprocity (‘cause to do something one against the other’) and the adjutative (‘help to do something’).”⁴³³ Ex.: *atqabbärä/aqqabbärä* “help to bury”; Exceptions to this might be in such verbs as *atsallä/assallä* “distribute (i.e.: cause to arrive)” and *atwarrädä/awwarrädä* “disgrace”. Leslau adds that “the *at*-stem expresses the causative of transitive verbs as well as the causative of the passive.”⁴³⁴ Some *at*-stems correspond to *as*-stems in Amharic. Ex.: *aggiddädä* “force” Kəst. = *asgäddädä* Amh.; *attiggärä* “cause difficulty” Kəst. = *asčäggärä* Amh. The *t* of this stem often, though not always, assimilates to the first radical of the verbal root.

IX.2.3. The *a*-Stem

The *a*-stem “expresses the causative of intransitive verbs...and the transitive.”⁴³⁵ There are other verb roots which occur only in the *a*-stem and do not appear to carry any causative or transitive meaning.⁴³⁶ Ex.: *amällätä* “escape.”

⁴³⁰ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 8.

⁴³¹ This last example is included because of the uniqueness of seeing a single consonant assimilating two other consonants, one on its left, and one on its right. v. pg. 305 (12.26.1)

⁴³² Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 18.

⁴³³ Ibid., 18.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 18.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 17.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 17.

IX.2.4. The *as-* and *ast-*Stems

The *as-* and *ast-*stems are rare in Kəstanəňña, but there are examples: Ex.: *asarrägä* “give a final benediction”; *aslammätä* “persuade”; *astägabba* “echo”; *astiwwäsä* “call to mind/remember.” Sometimes *ast-*stems appear as *att-*stems, though the *ast* may still resurface for these same verbs. Ex.: *attäamarä* “teach” Kəst. = *astäamarä* Amh.; *attädaddärä* “manage” Kəst. = *astädaddärä* Amh. It is not yet clear whether one can say that *att-*stems should constitute a verbal derivation of its own in Kəstanəňña, in which case perhaps all occurrences of *ast-*forms are to be attributed to Amharic influence upon modern speakers.

IX.2.5. The *ən-*Stem

Leslau refers to the *ən-* and *tän-*-forms as being rather a “class of verbs” (like Types A,B, and C), and that their only productive stem is the *an*-stem.⁴³⁷ In Amharic the same *ən*-stem occurs (always preceded by *a-* or *tä-*), which Bender and Fulass categorize as “expressive” in voice.⁴³⁸ This agrees with Cohen’s earlier evaluation of the stem:

Les préfixes *an-* et *tan-*, se préposant à des radicaux divers, fournissent, parallèlement aux thèmes plurilitères, des verbes à caractère expressif. Les sens exprimés sont souvent des mouvements répétés (tremblements, oscillations), des bruits (crépitements, ronflement), des attitudes anormales (étirement, etc.), des défauts variés.⁴³⁹

Though Kəstanəňña has an *ən*-stem that can stand alone (without *a-* or *tä-* prefixed), these same meanings as described by Cohen can be seen in Kəstanəňña. Ex.: *əngädäggädä* “tremble”; *ənkäballälä* “roll”; *ənkälawwäsä* “move about”; *ənkorrärä* “snore.”

⁴³⁷ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 18.

⁴³⁸ M. Lionel Bender and Hailu Fulass, *Amharic Verb Morphology: A Generative Approach*, (East Lansing: African Studies Center Michigan State University, 1978), 72.

⁴³⁹ Marcel Cohen, *Traité de langue amharique* (Paris: Institut d’ethnologie, 1936), 235.

IX.2.6. The *tän*-Stem

The *tän*-stem is originally the result of the passive/reflexive *tä-* being attached to an *ən*-stem. Ex.: *tänqəlaqqälä* “wander from place to place.”

IX.2.7. The *an*-Stem

The *an*-stem is the result of the causative/transitive *a-* being attached to an *ən*-stem.⁴⁴⁰ Ex.: *ankʷakkʷa* “knock (on a door)”; *antəlättälä* “hang/swing (tr.).”

IX.2.8. Reduplicated Stems

Reduplicated stems show partial reduplication of the verbal root. There are two basic varieties, the first being of the form CəCäCCäCä. Ex.: *bətäbbätä* “mix (tr.)”; *dərääddärä* “arrange in a row”; *gəsäggäsä* “hurry (i.)”; The second has the form CəCaCCäCä (for triliteral roots). Ex.: *čəmammäqä* “squeeze thoroughly”; *məsassälä* “resemble”; *šəfaffänä* “cover up (tr.).” The former likely originated from what were originally biliteral roots (possibly from Cushitic origin), with reduplication of both the first and second radicals. The latter seem to originate from triliteral or longer roots, with reduplication of only the penultimate radical. Leslau says of this stem that it “has a great variety of meanings: intensive, frequentative, augmentative, attenuative, and so on.”⁴⁴¹ It should be said, in connection with other examples of reduplication in Ethiopic languages,⁴⁴² that the reduplicated stem began as a means to convey the idea of repeated or prolonged action. The reduplicated stem can be augmented by any of the derivative stem prefixes. Ex.: *tüčəwawwätä* “converse”; *aqqärarräbä* “bring together”; *ənqäläqqälä* “be mischievous.” The *ən*-, *tän*-, and *an*-stems are particularly drawn to reduplicated roots.

⁴⁴⁰ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 18.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁴² v. §III.5.2.

IX.3. Composite Verbs

The composite verbs consist of a non-verbal and a verbal part, the latter of which is some conjugation of the verb *balä* “to say.”⁴⁴³ Ex.: *bəqətəlləq balä* “to bob up and down”; *fərq balä* “behave freely.” There exist instances of the non-verbal part (or “fixed element,” to use Leslau’s terminology⁴⁴⁴) being used alone, with the verbal *balä* being implied. Ex.: *arəmu gäffäräm wottaläm əlləmm* “leaving behind his excrement, he disappeared” <*əlləmm balä* “disappear.”⁴⁴⁵

IX.3.1. Causative/Factitive Composite Verbs

The causative/factitive of composite verbs is made by using the causative form of *balä*: *abalä* “to cause to say.” Ex. *käffabalä* “to make high/raise” <*käff balä* “to be high.”

IX.4. Irregular Verbs

Irregular verbs are those which do not follow the patterns typical of triradical verbs.

IX.4.1. Uniradical Verbs

The only example of uniradical verbs I have encountered is *ša* “wish/want,” which is a loan from Arabic (ش).

IX.4.2. Biradical Verbs

One set of biradical verbs (possibly from Cushitic) are of the perfect form *CäCä*. Ex.: *wädä* “tell,” *täwä* “desist/abandon.”

Biradical verbs that come from Semitic triradicals include *sämma* “hear,” *motä* “die,” *balä* “say.” Missing radicals in such forms can be seen in the vowels *a*, *o*, and *i/e*,

⁴⁴³ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 17.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 32.

⁴⁴⁵ v. pg. 259 (11.34.5)

representing original gutterals or approximates. Ex. *sämma* < $\sqrt{s}m\zeta$; *motä* < $\sqrt{m}wt$.

The *t* of *tä*-stems of reduplicated irregular biliteral verbs may be confused as part of the root. Ex.: *tätizzəmun* “they were united” (from the root *yizzä*).

IX.4.3. Quadriradical Verbs

Quadriradical Verbs have the perfect from *CəCäCCäCä*. Ex.: *məsäkkärä* “testify.” The vowel *a* appears to have come from an initial *ä* that was weakened due to the length of these verbs.⁴⁴⁶

IX.4.3.1. Abbreviated Quadriradical Verbs

Leslau’s term “abbreviated quadriradicals” applies to “verbs consisting of three consonants, the last consonant being geminated...these verbs go back to quadriradicals.”⁴⁴⁷ Ex.: *wəzäyyä* “work/make.”

IX.4.4. Quinquiradical Verbs

Goldenberg and Hetzron believe an example of a quinquiradical verb is found in *täsləkälläkä* “crawl”⁴⁴⁸ < \sqrt{slklk} , though one can hardly count a verb which has clearly undergone partial reduplication (*slklk* < *slk*) as a quinquiradical. It may be possible that the form *bəqətəlləq* from the composite verb *bəqətəlləq balä* “bob up and down” has come from a quinquiradical verbal root, but I could get no confirmation on this from my language assistant.

IX.4.5. Initial-*alef* Verbs

Verbs the roots of which have initial *alef* (ex.: *addärä* “spend the night,” *alläfä* “go”) and which are Type A have an initial long *a* (like the *a* of the fourth order vowel) after the *alef* in the perfect and imperfect (in the latter case the *alef* is dropped, but

⁴⁴⁶ cf. Amh. *məsäkkärä*.

⁴⁴⁷ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 17.

⁴⁴⁸ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 101; Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 77.

the *a* vowel remains; ex.: *yadäru* “he spends/will spend the night”). Whereas in Amharic this long *a* is preserved in the infinitive form (in spite of the regular infinitive form of CCVC with *shwa/Ø* after the first consonant), in Kəstanəñña this vowel is reduced to the *shwa/Ø* of regular verbs. Ex.: *wäläf* “to go” Kəst. <*wä-* + *'(ə)läf*= *maläf* “to pass (by)” Amh. <*mä-* + *'aläf*.

In the negative perfect initial-*alef* verbs may take the vowel *ä* after the negative particle.⁴⁴⁹ Ex: *aläžhe* “you did not see me.”

The perfects of Type B initial-*alef* verbs begin with the vowel *i*. Ex.: *issäbä* “think/plan” = *assäbä* Amh. I recorded instances of Kəstane speakers pronouncing this initial syllable as *yi*, which could lead to its confusion with imperfect forms. Ex.: *yissäbä* <*issäbä*.

IX.5. Impersonal Verbs

The impersonal verbs in Kəstanəñña are verbs with an unspecified agent (3ms). Ex.: *səməddi Bälaynäh yəblutən* “my name is Bälaynäh” (lit.: “one calls my name Bälaynäh”). The impersonal is also found in other Gurage languages (ex.: Čäxa) and in Harari.⁴⁵⁰ Goldenberg calls these impersonal verbs “generic person” and says of them:

It will be observed in these generic person forms a zero-morpheme is involved, and the addition of an (object or mediate) suffix is compulsory. It is in fact only through the choice of the appropriate suffix-form...that the zero makes itself evident...In Kəst., where no morphological labialization exists...the primitive *-ū ending of 3rd m. pl., from which the generic forms have originated, is only implicit in the above-mentioned zero.⁴⁵¹

Goldenberg says further regarding the *u* ending of the impersonal:

⁴⁴⁹ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 74.

⁴⁵⁰ Wolf Leslau, “The Impersonal in Chaha,” in *To Honor Roman Jakobsen* (The Hague: Mouton & Company, 1967), 1150-1162.

⁴⁵¹ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəñña...,” 80.

In fact there is no need for the impersonal to preserve any phonetic trace of its primitive *u* in order to keep itself morphologically distinct from other formal categories, as can be learnt from the formation of the impersonal in a dialect like Køst. [= ‘Soddo’] that has no IL (Internal Labialization) and consequently no EP (End Palatalization).⁴⁵²

Hetzron agrees with this assessment of the impersonal in Køstanøňña, saying:

Historically, the impersonal is a contribution of an older Pl.3m. form ending in *-u:. The Soddo converbial –u-... may be a survival of this. The actual plural third person suffixes, -mu/-ma, owe their shape to innovations based on the analogy of the Pl.2nd person endings of the past (masc./fem. *-kømu:/køn becoming –kømu/køma by analogy of the original Pl.3m/f. *-u:/-a:, then, the –k- being a second person marker, its absence would imply a third person, hence the new –mu/-ma...⁴⁵³

However, there are several examples of impersonals without anything that one could call a plural -u. Ex.: *mən balænnən?* “how does the saying go?” (lit. “how does one say it?”); *kässät amättälläm* “lunch was brought for him” (lit.: “one brought lunch for him”); *bägen yəsifū* “it is in the house that it is sewn” <*yəsif* + -u (objective suffix); *mäkina tilägədd* “a (sewing) machine is not (even) touched”; *ahu tigäfrəññ* “may I not go now?” (lit. “will one not release me?”); *amädi fättannə gʷäy* “when the (bag of) ashes was untied” (lit. “when one untied the ashes”).⁴⁵⁴ Any occurrences of –u should rather be understood as the main verb ending of the 3rd masculine singular, since this would agree with these other forms seen here (all of which are 3ms).

Leslau constructs charts for “impersonal” verbs with objective suffixes in the main and subjunctive forms of the perfect and imperfect.⁴⁵⁵ By way of example, here are the forms he gives for the subordinate imperfect impersonal:

3ms *yəsäbru* “one breaks him/it” 3mp *yəsäbrwäm* “one breaks them”

⁴⁵² Gideon Goldenberg, “The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia and their Classification,” in *Studies in Semitic Linguistics: Selected Writings by Gideon Goldenberg* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1998), 294.

⁴⁵³ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 83.

⁴⁵⁴ v. pp. 89 (3.7.5), 188 (9.6.3), 98 (3.9.7), 97-98 (3.9.6), 140-141 (5.22.1), 370 (15.4.1) respectively

⁴⁵⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 23-24.

3fs	<i>yəsäbrwa</i>	3fp	<i>yəsäbrwäma</i>
2ms	<i>yəsäbrəkkä</i>	2mp	<i>yəsäbrəkkəm</i>
2fs	<i>yəsäbrəčč</i>	2fp	<i>yəsäbrəkkəma</i>
1cs	<i>yəsäbrəñň</i>	1cp	<i>yəsäbrənnä</i>

And these are the forms Leslau gives for the main imperfect impersonal:

3ms	<i>yəsäbrut</i> “one breaks him/it”	3mp	<i>yəsäbrwämun</i> “one breaks them”
3fs	<i>yəsäbrwat</i>	3fp	<i>yəsäbrwäman</i>
2ms	<i>yəsäbrəkko</i>	2mp	<i>yəsäbrəkkəmun</i>
2fs	<i>yəsäbrəččin</i>	2fp	<i>yəsäbrəkkəman</i>
1cs	<i>yəsäbrəñňu</i>	1cp	<i>yəsäbrənnö</i>

A special conjugation for the impersonal is unnecessary for two reasons. The first reason is that the so-called “impersonal” forms are found for verbs which are clearly not impersonal (i.e.: the subject is understood). Ex.: *yindä čäffən balut* “he said to him ‘close your eyes’”; *sammətt yəsälot* “a week passes” (lit. “a week reaches it”); *kiyam tagäbaw yəblut* “he says to him, ‘And you shall marry her.’”⁴⁵⁶ The second reason is that these forms may be explained by what has been argued above to be a combination of 3ms verbs (ex.: *yəsäbr(u)* < **yəsäbrun*) and the pronominal suffixes from “object suffix origins chart.”⁴⁵⁷

Impersonal verbs are used when the subject matters little in the context. In the translations most of these impersonal verbs are rendered as passives, since this best conveys their meaning in natural English.

Some verbs are, by their nature, always impersonal. Ex.: *tämmannət* “he became

⁴⁵⁶ v. pp. 192-193 (9.8.2), 234 (11.18.1), 330-331 (12.41.1) respectively

⁴⁵⁷ v. §IV.3.

thirsty,” lit. – “it thirsted him”; *(ä)rabännämun* “they became hungry,” lit. – “it hungered them.”

IX.6. Polite Use of Verbs

Politeness or respect is shown for a person – typically due to age or rank – by using the plural form of verbs.⁴⁵⁸ When addressing someone with respect directly, the plurals of the second person forms are used. Ex.: *bitti mättaħəmum?* “From where have you (sg.pol.) come?” When speaking of someone with respect indirectly, the plurals of the third person verbs are used. Ex.: *getaňña gudda käddamunəm* “our lord has broken (pl.) the treaty.”⁴⁵⁹

X. Positionals

The purpose here is not to delineate every positional that exists in Kəstanəňña, but to highlight some examples so as to demonstrate the general functions of this category.

X.1. Prepositions

X.1.1. The Preposition *b(ä)-*

The preposition *b(ä)-* has such meanings as: in, on, by means of. When found at the beginning of verbs, this preposition has such meanings as: if, though, since. This preposition is often found attached to the end of certain verbs, but preceding a pronominal object suffix.⁴⁶⁰ In such cases the *b(ä)-* is still a preposition, since its real relation is to the pronominal suffix which follows. Its meanings remain the same: in, on, etc. The suffixes attached to this kind of verb-final preposition (for both *b(ä)-* and *l(ä)-*)

⁴⁵⁸ For the same principle in pronouns v. §IV.4.

⁴⁵⁹ v. pg. 121 (4.7.1)

⁴⁶⁰ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 26; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 85-86; cf. §X.1.2.

for subordinate verbs are⁴⁶¹:

3ms	-ä/-o ⁴⁶²	3mp	-äm(u)
3fs	-a	3fp	-äma
2ms	-kä	2mp	-kəm(u)
2fs	-s	2fp	-kəma
1cs	-i	1cp	-nä

The suffixes attached to the verb-final preposition (for both *b(ä)-* and *l(ä)-*) for main verbs are⁴⁶³:

3ms	-ät/-ot ⁴⁶⁴	3mp	-ämun
3fs	-at	3fp	-äman
2ms	-ko	2mp	-kəmun
2fs	-su	2fp	-kəman
1cs	-iw	1cp	-no

Once again, the “object suffix origins” chart can be consulted for explanation of these suffixes.

B(ä)- may have the additional sense, when at the end of a verb, of the dative of disadvantage. Ex.: *mässäbämum* “it became evening to their disadvantage.”

X.1.2. The Preposition *l(ä)-/n(ä)-*

This preposition comes from an original *l(ä)-*, which, due to the partial interchange of *l* and *n* in Kəstanəňňa, is sometimes found as *n(ä)-*.⁴⁶⁵ Its meanings are usually: to, for. This preposition is often found attached to the end of certain verbs, but

⁴⁶¹ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 26; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňňa...,” 85-86

⁴⁶² The form -ä is found only with *l(ä)-*, while the form -o only with *b(ä)-*.

⁴⁶³ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 26; Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňňa...,” 85, 87-88.

⁴⁶⁴ The form -ät is found only with *l(ä)-*, while the form -ot only with *b(ä)-*.

⁴⁶⁵ v. §§II.1.2.1;II.1.2.3.

preceding a pronominal object suffix. In such cases the *l(ä)-* is still a preposition, since its real relation is to the pronominal suffix which follows. Its meanings remain the same. There is the additional sense, when the *l(ä)-* is at the end of a verb, of the ethical dative or dative of advantage. Ex.: *nəruṭənnä* “let us run for ourselves/for our benefit” <*nəruṭ* + *əl-* + *-nä*.

X.1.2.1. The Preposition *n(ä)-* as Direct Object Marker

The preposition *n(ä)-* may be used to differentiate the direct object of a verb from the subject.⁴⁶⁶ Ex.: *näzi amlak nəsägdu* “we worship this God.” This may be the result of an original *l(ä)-* preposition being used to indicate the direct object.⁴⁶⁷ Hetzron seems to have found one example of *l(ä)-* as the direct object marker.⁴⁶⁸ I found only two myself.⁴⁶⁹

It has already been suggested above that the direct object marker *n(ä)-* may be the origin for the *nn* found in the objective pronominal suffixes.⁴⁷⁰ Ex.: *šalännət* “he knew him” <*šalä* + *n(n)-* + *-(ə)t*.

X.1.3. The Preposition *t(ä)-*

The preposition *t(ä)-* has such meanings as: from, with, with respect to. Hetzron says of *t(ä)-* in his Gunnän-Gurage languages: “*tä-* is a comitative (‘with, in the company of’), sometimes an ablative.”⁴⁷¹ The same preposition exists in Woläne, and Meyer defines its meaning in that language, saying, “Basically, this prefix expresses an ablative,

⁴⁶⁶ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 10.

⁴⁶⁷ cf. Classical Aramaic

⁴⁶⁸ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 153. The sentence reads: *ahu-m goš-kʷan lä-bəte-hʷan bā-färäs yəzzä-m amäṭṭa-lä-t* “Then, the son took the friend on a horse and brought him to [the father].”

⁴⁶⁹ *läləla sábočč tätäzi močäyyän ənnəmra* “let us lead others in this direction”; *lagāññānānim qay kulləmu ləzger waqrəb yəggibbano* “It is fitting for us to offer everything we find to God.”

⁴⁷⁰ v. §IV.3.

⁴⁷¹ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 54-55.

i.e. a movement away from a source.”⁴⁷² A basic ablative meaning does seem to apply to this preposition.

X.1.3.1. The Marker of Duration *t(ə)-*

There is a marker of duration *t(ə)-* which is attached to verbs. Its meaning is usually “while.” Ex.: *tiyalfəm* “while they are/were going”; *tibəl* “while he is/was saying.” This marker is likely the preposition *t(ä)-* attached to relative imperfects. The marker of duration may also be used before negative relative imperfects to give the meanings “before (i.e.: “while not yet”)/without (i.e.: “with that not”).” Ex.: *qäš qäräš tayəbəl* “without making a sound”; *bäṭämänğä tayhon yiftə gʷäy* “before one had a rifle.”

X.1.4. The Preposition *y(ä)-*

The preposition *y(ä)-* often shows the genitival relationship. Ex.: *yäge säb* “people of the house” (i.e.: family). When the preposition *y(ä)-* is preceded by another preposition, the *y(ä)-* element is elided.⁴⁷³ Ex.: *bäqoräčä ge* “in the frog’s house” <*bä-* + *yä-* + *qoräčä ge*. The origins of *yä-* may be the same as those of the *yä-* relative particle,⁴⁷⁴ in which case there may be a common demonstrative-pronominal form. Such a form would not likely have been a *zä* such as is seen in Ge’ez, since *z* pronominal forms are preserved in Kəstanəñña (ex.: *zi* “this/these”; *za* “that/those”). A possible Cushitic origin may be suggested for this.

X.1.4.1. The Preposition *y(ä)-* as Direct Object Marker

The preposition *y(ä)-* may be used to mark the direct object of a verb from the subject.⁴⁷⁵ Ex.: *yädähä koččähum* “I fear you”; *yäbunna bafällähum* “when you boil the

⁴⁷² Meyer, *Wolane...*, 187.

⁴⁷³ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 10.

⁴⁷⁴ v. §XIII.7.

⁴⁷⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 10.

coffee.”

X.1.5. The Preposition *ənnə-*

The preposition *ənnə-* can mean: while, even though, as soon as. Combined with the verb *allä* (prefixed with a hidden *yä-* preposition), and often accompanied by the preposition *tä-* as well, it can be used to form a postposition meaning “while/during the time that.” *tiyalf ənnallä* “while he was walking” <*tə-* *yalf ənnə-* *allä*; *tiwzáyy tənnallä* “while he was working” <*tə-* *yəwzáyy tə-* *ənnə-* *allä*.

X.2. Postpositions

Postpositions may be either enclitic or freestanding. A number of postpositions come from nouns and adjectives. Ex.: *folä* “back/rear”; *tatä* “bottom (part).”

X.2.1. The Postposition *-kom/-hom*

The postposition *-kom* comes from the Semitic freestanding preposition *kāmā* “like/as/according to.” When this postposition follows a vowel the *k* becomes *h*. Ex.: *anbässahom* “like a lion.” When attached to a noun, it can have the meanings: like, as, according to. When attached to a verb, it serves as a conjunction and has the meanings: how, that, whether. Ex.: *ənnəgäbahom močä wəzäyyälləno* “he has made a way for us so that we may enter”; *fäyya nuro ənnənäbərkom yastämərəno* “he teaches us how we may live a good life.” In some cases the final *m* drops off. Ex.: *mənko* “why?” <*mənkom*.

X.2.2. The Postposition *fʷälä/folä*

The posposition *fʷälä/folä* “behind, after” can be used spatially or temporally. It almost certainly comes from something like the Amharic *hʷala*. The original *h* was labialized, as seen in Amharic, and this labialization led to the middle vowel becoming *o* (*hʷalä* > *hʷolä*). The combination of the spirant *h* and rounding of the mouth for the

labialization is most likely the reason for the shift to *f*, at which point the labialization would have dropped off, leaving its trace in the middle *o* vowel (*h^wolä* > *f^wolä* > *folä*).

X.2.3. The Postposition -(ə)yy(än)

The postposition *(ə)yy(än)* generally has a meaning of “to/toward.” Ex. *iyäsus iyärusaleyyän wäṭṭaw* “Jesus set out towards Jerusalem.” In some cases it is accompanied by the ablative preposition *tä-*. Ex.: *täsoddayy yalfu* “he is going to Soddo.”

X.2.4. The Postposition *g^wäy/goy*

The postposition *g^wäy/goy* means “while/when” or “with.” Ex. *alfa goy* “when I go”; *yäfäto g^wäy* “while he was untying it.” This postposition can be accompanied by the ablative preposition *tä-*. Ex.: *tädähä g^wäy* “with you.”

X.2.5. The Postposition *lalä*

The postposition *lalä-* “upon/above/on top” appears to come from an original Semitic root of *l'l*, the combination of two prepositions *l(ä)* “to” + *'äl(ä)* “upon/above”. The long *a* is probably the trace of the original *ayin* that was lost. The final *ä* is a remnant of the old construct form as found in Ge'ez and retained in a number of Kəstanəñña words. *Lalä* may be accompanied by the preposition *bä-*. Ex.: *bašäwa lalä* “upon the sand.”

X.2.6. The Postposition *wäšta*

The postposition *wäšta* means “within/inside/among.” Though it is difficult to account for the *š*, the word looks to be from the root *√wst*.⁴⁷⁶ It may be accompanied by the preposition *bä-*. Ex.: *biga wäšta* “within the water.”

⁴⁷⁶ cf. سط و Arab.; *wäst* Amh.

X.2.7. The Postposition *yift*

The postposition *yift* means “before, in front of” and can be used spatially or temporally. This postposition comes from the noun “face/front.”⁴⁷⁷ This postposition may be accompanied by the preposition *tä-*. Ex.: *täqäbər yift* “before the burial.”

X.2.8. The Postposition *tatä*

The postposition *tatä* “beneath/under” comes from the root $\sqrt{t\,h\,t}$, which has lost the *h* but retained a trace of it through the long *a*. The final *ä* is a remnant of the old construct form as found in Gə’əz. The postposition may be accompanied by the preposition *bä-* or *tä-*. Ex.: *täčäwa tatä* “beneath a freeborn”; *bäkwa tatä* “underneath it.”

XI. Adverbs

Adverbs can often arise from nouns or adjectives that are simply used in an adverbial manner. Ex.: *mäčäräša* “end/finally”; *ləkk* “exact/exactly”; *maläq* “great/greatly.” Some of the postpositions serve secondarily as adverbs. Ex.: *f“älä/folä* “after/afterwards”; *qətt* “like/equally.” It is not the intention here to address all of the adverbs, but to give a general idea of their use in Kəstanəñña.

XI.1. Interrogative Adverbs

Examples of interrogative adverbs are *yitti* “where?” and *mäčä* “when?” The adverb *yitti* “where?” corresponds to the Amharic *yät/yet*. It appears to come from the root $\sqrt{y\,t}$, having lost its initial *alef*. The adverb may be combined with the preposition *b(ä)-* to form *bitti* “from where?” Ex.: *bitti mäčähäm?* “From where do you come?”

⁴⁷⁷ cf. (*bä*)*fīt* Amh.

XI.2. Adverbs formed with use of Positionals

Some adverbs are formed by a positional (preposition/postposition) attached to a nominal element. Ex.: *qunayyän* “as one/together” <*quna* + *-yänn*; *näfolä(yyän)* “from behind.” In certain cases they can be formed from a positional and two or more other elements. Ex.: *bäk^wank^wa* “even in that situation” <*bä-* + *k^wa* + *-n* (copula) + *k^wa*.

In certain cases, a preposition that has been frequently used as part of an adverb loses its prepositional quality, and the same preposition is added on to the adverb. Ex.: *bäbäza* “(in) there” <*bä-* + *bä-* + *za*; *tätäzi* “from here” <*tä-* + *tä-* + *zi*

XII. Conjunctions

In this section only some examples of conjunctions are given, so as to show the sense in which they operate for this language.

XII.1. Coordinating Conjunctions

XII.1.1. The Conjunction *wäy*

The conjunction *wäy* “or” is sometimes accompanied by the resumptive suffix –(ə)m.⁴⁷⁸ *Wäy* can be used at the end of a question in anticipation of a positive response.⁴⁷⁹ When *wäy* is found preceding two nouns or two clauses it represents an “either...or...” construction. Ex.: *wäy agär gəfär*, *wäy agär wəsäd* “either leave the country or take the country.” Leslau’s texts show that an alternative for *wäy* is *wänä*, though I collected no samples of this word myself.

XII.1.2. The Conjunction –(ə)nna

The conjunction –(ə)nna is an enclitic that means “and.” It is equivalent in form

⁴⁷⁸ v. §XIII.3.

⁴⁷⁹ v. §XIV.4.

and function to that which is seen in Amharic.

XII.1.3. The Conjunction (*nägär*) *gən*

The conjunction *gən* means “however/but/rather.” It may stand alone or be preceded by *nägär* with no observable change in meaning. It is equivalent in form and function to that which is in Amharic. The conjunction *gən* may come as the first or second word of a clause. Ex.: *əzger gən länəsəha yətärrannämun* “God, however, calls them to repentence”; *ləkkənnähä ቴafi, gən yoqannən ahonňəttən* “you are correct (in that it is) ቴeff, but it is today that he is threshing it.”

XII.1.4. The Conjunction *səläzi*

The conjunction *səläzi* means “therefore.” It comes from a combination of preposition and demonstrative: *səlä-* “because of” + *zi* “this.” This conjunction may be compared to *səläzzih* in Amharic, except that there is no final *h* in the demonstratives of *Kəstanəňña*.

XII.2. Subordinating Conjunctions

Leslau lists a good number of subordinating conjunctions in his work, many of which are built off of prepositions and postpositions.⁴⁸⁰ The following is one example that does not incorporate any positional.

XII.2.1. The Conjunction *aldäbäl*

The conjunction *aldäbäl* has the meaning “unless/except that.” Ex.: *nəmut aldäbäl əňňa mənkom nəsäč* “let us die, unless we can somehow drink.” It appears to come from the same verbal root as the negative copula *ädäbəl-*.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸⁰ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 34.

⁴⁸¹ v. §VII.3.

XIII. Particles

XIII.1. Circumstantial Particle -(ə)m

The particle -(ə)m can be used to link two or more verbs, yielding a number of different circumstantial ideas attendant to the main verb. This may be compared to the use of the gerund in Amharic. However, while the gerund constitutes an entire aspect category in Amharic, the particle -(ə)m is not limited to one aspect. It is often found attached to a perfect or imperfect. Ex.: *koččannəm fäkkaw* “he came fearing him”; *bäzi äsäçəm ägäbaw* “I shall drink here and go home.” It can also serve as the link between two or more past imperfect verbs all depending upon one *näbbär(ä)*. Ex.: *balabbat gulmassasä yəsbässəbəm yəkkəlakkäl näbbär* “the balabbat would assemble the young men and defend (his district)”; *šäqät yəzəmum yəmäṭam näbbär* “they would come with merchandise.” Like the gerund in Amharic, the verb-plus-circumstantial combination can convey an adverbial meaning attendant to the main verb. Ex.: *tädissätmum tonnämum* “they lived happily” (lit. – “they were happy and they lived).”

XIII.2. The Resultative Action Particle -(ə)m

The particle -(ə)m can be found attached to a subordinate perfect form to indicate resultative/completed action⁴⁸² (although there is at least the one example of the particle attached to a main verb form: *woddäqom* “it fell,” as opposed to *woddäqäm*).⁴⁸³ Ex.: *fäkkam* “he has come”; *gärrahum* “I am full”; *bällamum* “they have eaten.” This -(ə)m might come from the resumptive particle,⁴⁸⁴ in which case it could even be giving the perfect to which it is attached a more nominal/predicative meaning (possibly hinting at an older stative/adjectival function of the perfect).

⁴⁸² v. §IX.1.4.

⁴⁸³ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 19.

⁴⁸⁴ v. §XIII.3.

XIII.3. The Resumptive Particle $-(ə)m(ma)$

The particle $-(ə)m$ attached to a noun or pronoun may carry resumptive meanings, or draw particular attention to the noun (often in contrast or addition to another noun).

Ex.: *ädim äbab näw* “as for me, I am a snake”; *zangäräm äkələn yibäla* “as for the baboon, it is grain that he shall eat.” Goldenberg says of one particle $-(ə)m$ that it is “a particle expressing totality.”⁴⁸⁵ The possibility remains, however, that this is just an indirect result of the resumptive particle. Ex: *kittəmkənnäm* “both of them” < *kitt* + *-əm* + *-kənnäm* “as for the two of them.” Meyer calls the same particle in Woläne a “focus marker,” which is a nice umbrella term for this particle’s multiple uses.⁴⁸⁶ Hetzron says of this particle:

The main function of the particle $-m$ seems to be topic-marking. The “topic” of a sentence is an element (normally in initial position) that constitutes a link with the preceding context. It picks something out of the preceding context and makes it the center of interest for the new sentence just started, or it may bring up something that follows from the preceding context.⁴⁸⁷

This description is also apt.

The particle sometimes appears to manifest as $-(ə)mma$. Ex.: *ädimma äqinnalkä* “I too shall do something to you”; *bägunnängemma yagginnäbo yəno* “now on the top part there is also (a path) by which one may cross.” Hetzron projects that this $-ma$ is related to the Akkadian $-ma$.⁴⁸⁸ The fact that this particle may also be found on the end of verbs (Ex.: *fayyäli aggädännəməmma ambəli yizzäm täginnaw* “he tied up the goat and crossed over with the collard greens”) and in close association with the conjunction

⁴⁸⁵ Goldenberg, “Kəstanəňña...,” 75. His examples include: *kittə-m-kənnäm* “both of them” and *kulləm* “all.”

⁴⁸⁶ Meyer, *Wolane...*, 201-205.

⁴⁸⁷ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 129-130.

⁴⁸⁸ Hetzron, *Ethiopian Semitic*, 93.

-(ə)nna (Ex.: *bunna məssənna məštəmma balafāla* “if the husband and wife do not boil coffee”) suggests that this might also relate to the *-(ə)nna* conjunction. If that is the case, there may be grounds to project a common origin for the conjunction, the resumptive particle, and the circumstantial particle (possibly even the resultative particle) that had some nasal element *-ma/-na* and served as a connective between phrases and clauses. As it is, the present number of nasal particles seems too large, and their meanings too close, to assume that they all developed from separate origins that happened to produce such similar forms and functions.

XIII.4. The Particle *–s̥(s̥)*

The particle *–s̥(s̥)* corresponds to the Amharic *–ss*. Ex.: *səlləččiš?* “what about the bag(s)?”; *kiya tənkʷärrəriš* “she was actually snoring” Hetzron defines it in this way:

This particle probably has an expressive function. The item marked by it assumes a connotation of novelty, it appears as an element of surprise, sudden realization, contrast (as against what could be expected).⁴⁸⁹

XIII.5. The Particle *nə-*

On the deliberative particle *nə-* see § IX.1.2.4.

XIII.6. The Verb-Final Particle *–ən*

Often a verb ends in the particle *–ən*. It is quite possible that this *-ən* is the 3ms copula “it is” suffixed to the verb. Ex.: *yəblutən* “one says it” <*yəblu* + *-t* + *ən* “it is (that) one says it”; *ažžənnətən* “he looked at him” <*ažžə* + *-nnət* + *ən* “it is (that) he looked at him.” Evidence for this can be seen in the use of the copula for the imminent future tense.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁹ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 130.

⁴⁹⁰ v. §IX.1.2.5.

XIII.7. The Particle *yä-*

The particle *y(ä)-* may be attached to a verb in the perfect as a relative marker.

Ex.: *yarrädi mäss* “the man who slaughtered”; *yäfätträänä geta* “the Lord who created us.” Verbs in the imperfect subordinate may also be used as relatives, but in such a case there is no *y(ä)-* attached. Ex.: *azkäyyänən* “I am going to get you” (lit. “it is (the case) that I will get you”) <*ä- az -kä -yyän -ən*; *yalfə säb* “the one who going.”

XIV. Syntax

XIV.1. Syntax Order

The most common order of syntax in Kəstanəñña is SOV. There are, however, a number of examples of a word or phrase following the main verb. In some cases, a word or words are inserted after the main verb as an afterthought. Ex.: *fäyya qay awonnänum;* *liňña, läqərs* “They laid down something good; for us, for a heritage.”⁴⁹¹ In other cases, a word or words that follow the main verb do not seem to be added as an afterthought. Ex.: *yiga tiyakäta ämar* “donkeys cannot stand (going without) water.”⁴⁹² The frequent occurrences of such word(s) after the main verb – and that without a pause in speaking – seem to indicate that this is an alternative word order. Whenever the subject followed the verb it seemed to lay emphasis upon that subject. Ex.: *yahuyi yosduyyänən qali?* “he is recording (my) **words** now?”; *säläzi yobawən äfuri* “for this reason **the mouse** entered (lit. “enters”).”⁴⁹³ Hetzron, commenting on this phenomenon as found in the collected texts of his Gunnän-Gurage languages, says:

⁴⁹¹ v. pg. 166 (7.6.5)

⁴⁹² v. pg. 124 (4.10.3)

⁴⁹³ v. pp. 185-186 (9.4.1), 339 (13.1.7) respectively

One does find a few deviations from the verb-in-final-position constraint, where the main verb is followed by another element, a subject...an object...an instrumental...an unmarked locative...a temporal element with a subordinate verb...a relative phrase with a vocative function...With two exceptions, all these are parts of conversations quoted and thus may reflect features of informal spoken language where afterthoughts may be added more freely.⁴⁹⁴

What should be pointed out, however, is that written language is often derived from spoken, and here we are presented with a case for what may be a gradual shift in the syntax order of these languages.

XIV.2. Repetition of a Noun for Distributive Plurality

A noun, or noun phrase, may be repeated to distinguish a number of individuals within a plurality.⁴⁹⁵ Ex.: *äddərtänña quna säb assər santim, quna säb assər santim yiqaabbəräbbo* “each and every member of the burial society buries ten cents with him”; *gegehənnäm* “each of their homes.”

XIV.3. Repetition of a Verb for Repetitive/Prolonged Action

A verb may be repeated to indicate repetitive or prolonged action. Ex.: *ašäwa zaqä zaqäm* “he scooped and scooped the sand.” In some cases the repeated verb is accompanied by the preposition *tə-* “while” and is used to signify prolonged action precedent to a main verb. Ex: *tiyalfəm, tiyalfəm, tiyalfəm qäni mässäm* “when they had walked and walked and walked, it became evening.” This repetition of the verb, with or without *tə-*, is used often in storytelling.⁴⁹⁶

XIV.4. Anticipatory Questions

Anticipatory (rhetorical) questions that expect a positive answer have *wäy* “or” at the end. Ex.: *tətəmäṭam tətəsäme, wäy?* “will you not come and kiss me?” This

⁴⁹⁴ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 114.

⁴⁹⁵ Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak...Soddo*, 13.

⁴⁹⁶ v. XV.2.

corresponds to the use of *aydälläm* “is it not (so)?” in Amharic anticipatory questions.

XIV.5. Clauses

The basic clausal shape is SOV. In sentences with more than one clause, all subordinate clauses precede the verb of the main clause, the main clause coming last in the sentence. There are, however, exceptions to this.⁴⁹⁷ Relative subordinate clauses precede the nouns they modify.

XIV.5.1. Conditional Clauses

XIV.5.1.1. Real Conditions

Real conditions tend to be formed with by the preposition *b(ä)-* “if” attached to a subordinate perfect verb in the protasis. Ex.: *qes yälät fätat bäbalä, soss bərrən yəkäfəllət* “if a priest says the day’s absolution, he is paid three bərr”; *bunna balafäla tidänq* “if he does not boil coffee, it is not honorable.”

XIV.5.1.2. Unreal Conditions

An unreal condition is often formed by the preposition *b(ä)-* “if” attached to a subordinate imperfect verb in the protasis. Ex.: *därəsi bäsäl agänñən näbbär* “if I knew the songs/dances, I would find them (i.e.: “recall them”).”

XV. Formulaic Speech

XV.1. Riddles

A riddle is introduced by the poser of the riddle with the formula *yäwənqit*. This is derived from the preposition *yä-* “of” and noun *wənqit* “a riddle.” The compound itself may be adjectival in nature.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ v. §VII.1.

⁴⁹⁸ v. §V.

The response of the party attempting to solve the riddle is *nug* “tell it.” This is the ms imperative of *noqā* which has the basic meaning of “crow (of a rooster).”

If the guessing party has failed to answer one or more riddles, the riddler may then introduce another formula: *gäbäya name* “give me a market.”⁴⁹⁹ This is a playful means of the riddler boasting in his intellectual victory over the one attempting to guess. The guessing party, in response, must pick a market day/town to “give” to the riddler. This is when the riddler asserts his mock winnings from said market. The speakers I recorded always began with *ablaye asče* “Give me (something) to eat, give me (something) to drink!”⁵⁰⁰ He then often, though not always, talks of receiving nice things from the market, while the guessing party is said to receive only poor quality things. The riddler may repeat this taunt as often as the guesser fails at solving a riddle, at which the guesser must offer a different market from that which he has offered before. There are no actual goods at stake in playing the riddling game.

It is possible for riddles and proverbs in Køstanøňña to have some or all of the following patterns: rhyme, rhythm, alliteration, assonance.

XV.1.1. Rhyme

Rhyme can be seen in such riddles as *əmmit nədär nədär, gäräd nəbrär nəbrär* “the mother (says) ‘let’s rest, let’s rest,’ (but) the daughter says ‘let’s fly, let’s fly!’”⁵⁰¹ The intentionality of the rhyme is implied by the cadence of the riddle itself, which breaks the riddle into two parts, with equal stress upon the rhymed syllables.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁹ v. pp. 23 (1.19.1), 45 (1.75.1), 46 (1.78.1), 56 (1.104.1), 139 (5.18.1)

⁵⁰⁰ v. pp. 47 (1.88.2), 57 (1.106.1), 65 (1.129.1), 140 (5.20.1)

⁵⁰¹ v. pp. 21-22 (1.16.1)

⁵⁰² v. §XV.1.2.

XV.1.2. Rhythm

Rhythm is evidenced by stressed and unstressed syllables of paired cola lining up.

Ex.: *wəštahʷan bärbare, lälähʷan áwkäre* “within he is full of bärbare, but on the surface he looks idle.”⁵⁰³ This does not require that the cola have the same number of syllables.

Ex.: *gurz mäšt bäänbəl wášt* “an old woman inside collard greens”; the weight of *gurz* and *bäänbəl* are equal.⁵⁰⁴

XV.1.3. Alliteration and Assonance

The repetition of the same, or similar, consonants and vowels is a pattern used in some riddles and proverbs. Ex.: *yinňä gʷäy arissahom, yənnäsa gʷäy anbässahom* “when he sleeps he is like a corpse, when he wakes he is like a lion.”⁵⁰⁵ In this example, the doubled *s* of *arissa* and *anbässa* makes for the alliteration between the segments, while assonance is heard in the repetition of *a*.

XV.2. Stories

In listening to a story or history, I heard audiences interject sayings such as *bäy* “ok then/alright,” *yehun* “so be it,” or *näšlu* “we know.”⁵⁰⁶ This seemed to indicate to the storyteller that they understood what he was saying and/or they were in agreement.

Whereas a history is told with the use of past tense verbs (Perfect, Past Imperfect), an oral story is not restricted to tense. Of the stories that were collected, the narration was carried along by the use of past and present (Imperfect) tenses. Ex: *anbässa, fäyyäl, ambəl quna mäss yəzzäm yalfu...yagginnabo qäbbäto* lit. “a man goes along with a lion, a goat, and collard greens...he found (a boat) in which he might bring (them) across.” The

⁵⁰³ v. pg. 44 (1.73.1)

⁵⁰⁴ v. pg. 41 (1.64.1)

⁵⁰⁵ v. pg. 42 (1.66.1)

⁵⁰⁶ For good examples of this see the second text beginning on pg. 70.

translation of the stories has been kept consistently in the past tense.

A feature that is found implemented in a number of stories is the repetition of a verb to indicate prolonged/repetitive action.⁵⁰⁷ Ex.: *tiyalf, tiyalf, tiyalf, tiyalf waləmun* “they spent the day walking and walking and walking and walking.”⁵⁰⁸

Characters which are not human may still be referred to as *säb/säbočč* “person/people” in a story. Ex.: *aratti säbočč quni äbabən, quni äfurən, quni zangärən, quni məssən* “the four men were a snake, a mouse, a baboon, and a man.”⁵⁰⁹ This may be due to the fact that many stories are fables which give animals human characteristics.

Stories and histories may be told with the occasional interjection of the impersonal verb *yəblutən* “one says it” (i.e.: “so it is said”). This statement seems to indicate previous oral transmission of the account, and may even imply authority behind it. Hetzron views this same phenomenon in this manner: “Folktales are often narrated as one long direct quotation, hence the occurrence at the end of a quotative verb ‘so one says.’”⁵¹⁰ Contrary to this, I found this verb interposed throughout the narratives given by one of my speakers.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁷ v. XIV.3.

⁵⁰⁸ v. pg. 197 (9.11.3)

⁵⁰⁹ v. pg. 286 (12.1.2)

⁵¹⁰ Hetzron, *Gunnän-Gurage*, 132.

⁵¹¹ See the stories told by Awwäqä Daññe in Ch. 3; pp. 333-365.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

I. Observations from this Study

I.1. A More Cohesive System

Leslau and Goldenberg's studies left a rather complex system for explaining the pronouns, the *tt*-form copula, and the "main"/"independent-affirmative-indicative" verbal endings. Leslau focused most of his work on Kəstanəňña to the construction of paradigms and did little speculation on the origin of morphemes, other than to postulate that the "main" verbal conjugation endings were remnants of Proto-Semitic. Goldenberg expresses his doubts about these endings being derived from Proto-Semitic, and yet his own theories about pronominal origins of the verb endings do not account for the inconsistencies between the pronoun charts and the verbal conjugations; nor are his evaluations of final *-t* and the *tt*-form copula satisfying. Both scholars left the origin of "light" and "heavy" objective suffixes a mystery, as well as the reason for an "impersonal" vs. "normal" conjugation.

I have developed a more sound systematization of the language that accounts for all of these factors through 1) a projected construction of pronominal roots that would account for the origin of the objective and possessive pronominal suffixes, which does no violence to what we know of the pronouns in their current state, 2) the "object suffix origins" chart, which suggests a common etymology for all object suffixes in their various states, and 3) the chart of projected Proto-Kəstanəňña "main"/pausal verbal endings, which agrees with the system of objective suffixes.

I.2. New Materials in Kəstanəňňa

This present study has yielded more texts to the growing corpus of Kəstanəňňa. In this research I was able to collect examples of natural speech such as - to the best of my knowledge - have not been made available previously. These examples included conversation and individual musings. I was also able to record samples of formulaic speech such as proverbs, stories, and riddles. I had not encountered any samples of Kəstane riddles before the fieldwork for this study began, nor have I yet seen other collections aside from my own.

II. Conclusion

My goals for this research were: 1) to expand our present corpus of Kəstanəňňa with texts drawn from the Kəstane people's own interests and natural speech, and 2) to discuss grammatical aspects of the language not before discovered, or not yet fully treated, by scholars. I collected recordings from a handful of speakers. In the process, I was able to collect some genres of speech previously unanalyzed by scholars. These findings provided new material for my chapter on grammar.

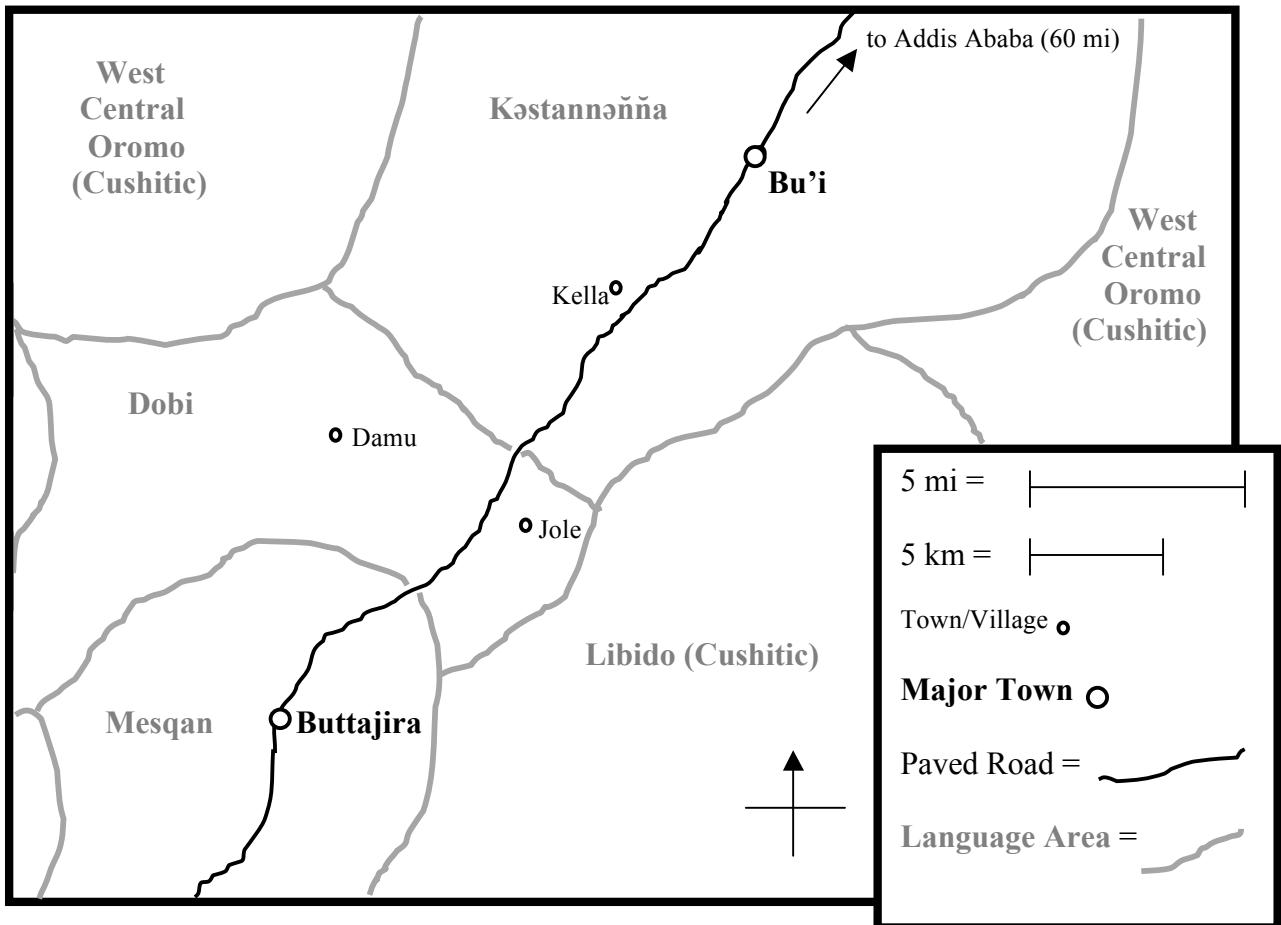
In the course of this research, I also proposed new solutions to what I consider an earlier state of confusion mostly concerning the verbs and pronominal suffixes. By giving my own suggestions for addressing these inconsistencies, I am proposing a new grammatical sketch for this language, and one which might be useful for general work in Ethiosemitic studies.

This new grammatical sketch produces answers to old questions regarding Kəstanəňňa, but also poses questions of its own for future study in Ethio-semitics. One

of those questions, with which I would close the present study, is this: given now the greater possibility that Kəstanəñña and other south Ethio-semitic languages have preserved (Proto-)Semitic features that were lost in Gə'əz (Ex.: Proto-Semitic verbal endings, *h*-form singular pronouns), what sources should we consult as authoritative in our projections of Proto-Ethiopic or in tracing the development of Ethio-semitic languages? As the Gurage languages continue to be studied, we may have more light on the matter.

Appendix A

Research Area Map



Let it be kept in mind that the language borders on this map were taken from the unpublished results of survey trips made by members of SIL-Ethiopia. The language areas designated should not be accepted as set in stone, nor should they preclude one language group from having considerable representation in the area of another. For example, Damu appears to be in the Dobi language area according to this map. However, I was told by informants that there are a great many Kəstane people in this town, and this may represent a Kəstane area.

Appendix B

A Guide to the Recording Sessions

1. Yäwənqit (bäkella) – pg. 16

“Riddles” (Kella, session 1; Nov. 7, 2009; speakers: 1) Kene Gasshu, 2) Wägäne Abbäbu, and 3) large crowd)

- Two men have a contest of riddles while attended by a crowd of onlookers.

2. Tarik (bäkella) – pg. 70

“History” (Kella, session 2; Nov. 7, 2009; speakers: 1) Kene Gasshu, 2) large crowd)

- Kene Gasshu recites some of the history of the Soddo region.

3. Tärät (bäbu?i) – pg. 77

“Story” (Bu'i, session 1; Nov. 7, 2009; speakers: 1) Azmač Gosaye Däbbälä; 2) Daniel Eressa)

- Azmač Gosaye Däbbälä tells the story of a man who must cross a body of water with three things. This is followed by an account of Kestane contributions to Ethiopia.

4. Tärät 2 (bäbu?i) – pg. 111

“Story 2” (Bu'i, session 2; Nov. 7, 2009; speakers: 1) Azmač Gosaye Däbbälä; 2) Daniel Eressa)

- Azmač Gosaye Däbbälä tells the story of a hyena and two donkeys.

5. Yädamu säbočč tarik (bäbuttağıra) – pg. 127

“A History of the Damu People” (Buttajira, session 1; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Daniel Eressa; 2) Zälläqä Tuki (from Damu))

- Daniel Eressa and Zälläqä Tuki have a conversation about the importance of coffee, and the latter poses a few riddles.

6. Quna tämama sáb (bäbuttağıra) – pg. 141

“A Crooked Man” (Buttajira, session 2; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Zälläqä Tuki (from Damu); 2) Daniel Eressa)

- Zälläqä Tuki explains a Kestane proverb and talks about Daniel Eressa’s family.

7. Tarik 2 (bäbuttağıra) – pg. 156

“History 2” (Buttajira, session 3; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Abägaz Wändosən Dämbälö (from Wägäram); 2) Daniel Eressa)

- Abägaz Wändosən Dämbälö explains a Kestane proverb and tells some of the history of his people.

8. Yežənň yäbalä (bäbuttağıra) – pg. 173

"The One Who Says, 'Look at Me!'" (Buttajira, session 4; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1)

Abägaz Wändosən Dämbälo (from Wägäram); 2) Daniel Eressa)

- Abägaz Wändosən Dämbälo explains a Kəstane saying.

9. Tärät 3 (bäbuttağıra) – pg. 184

"Story 3" (Buttajira, session 5; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Daniel Eressa; 2) Gosaye Tufär (from Damu Kiros))

- Gosaye Tufär tells the story of a stingy man, followed by the story of a tall man and a short man.

10. Bus^wanna dəkula (bäbuttağıra) – pg. 200

"The Leopard and the Antelope" (Buttajira, session 6; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Gosaye Tufär (from Damu Kiros); 2) Daniel Eressa)

- Gosaye Tufär tells the story of a leopard and an antelope.

11. Kittə lebočč (bäbuttağıra) – pg. 218

"Two thieves" (Buttajira, session 7; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Gosaye Tufär (from Damu Kiros); 2) Daniel Eressa)

- Gosaye Tufär tells the story of two thieves, each trying to outtrick the other.

12. Arätt säbočč (bäbuttağıra) – pg. 285

"Four Men" (Buttajira, session 8; Nov. 27, 2009; speakers: 1) Gosaye Tufär (from Damu Kiros); 2) Daniel Eressa)

- Gosaye Tufär tells the story of four individuals who stay the night at a man's house and repay him in different ways.

13. Yäqoläčänna yäfur tarik (bäbu?i) – pg. 333

"The Story of the Frog and the Mouse" (Bu'i, session 3; Nov. 28, 2009; speakers: 1) Awwäqä Daňñe; 2) Daniel Eressa)

- Awwäqä Daňñe tells the story of how a frog and a mouse form a mamär.

14. Kitt säbočč bämöčä (bäbu?i) – pg. 343

"Two Men on a Road" (Bu'i, session 4; Nov. 28, 2009; speaker: Awwäqä Daňñe)

- Awwäqä Daňñe tells the story of how two merchants occupy their time on a trip.

15. Sost säbočč (bäbu?i) – pg. 366

"Three Men" (Bu'i, session 5; Nov. 28, 2009; speakers: 1) Azmač Kätäma Gällan; 2) Daniel Eressa)

- Azmač Kätäma Gällan tells the story of three clever men, followed by the story of a tall man and a short man.

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